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THE

IMPERIAL HISTORY

OF

ENGLAND,

Accurately and concisely compiled from the best Authorities.

RECORDING

The Revolutions it has undergone;

THE WARS

IN WHICH IT HAS BEEN ENGAGED;

Its Commercial Intercourse, Alliances, Parliamentary History, &c.

FROM

THE LANDING OF JULIUS CÆSAR,

TO THE COMMENCEMENT OF THE REIGN OF HIS MAJESTY

GEORGE THE THIRD;

FROM WHICH PERIOD TO THE PRESENT TIME WILL BE GIVEN

A FULL AND COPIOUS RELATION

Of all the momentous Events which have signalized that important Æra, and revolutionized

Europe, America, and the Indies.

VOL. I. 2 Vols in One

By THEOPHILUS CAMDEN, Esq.

ASSISTED BY COMMUNICATIONS FROM SEVERAL EMINENT POLITICAL AND LITERARY GENTLEMEN.

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AND

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PREFACE.

AMONG the various Pursuits of Mankind, there is, perhaps, no Study which contributes in so great a Degree to Instruction and Amusement, as that of History; for while it describes the Progress of Nations from Rudeness to a Civilized State, it presents us with a Detail of all those Particulars which are most interesting to the Human Race; and while it tends to remove every Kind of Prejudice, by enlarging the Sphere of our Ideas, it inculcates those Duties which we owe as Men, and as thé Members of a Community. But though the History of every Nation excites Curiosity and Attention, that of a free People exhibits the greatest Variety of Contests and Revolutions, and affords the most ample Field for the Exertion of Eloquence and Political Sagacity. England, in particular, offers, at least in modern Times, the greatest Number of important Objects to the Historian, the more especially if we consider the eventful Period of the present Reign; and although its Transactions have been delineated by very able and intelligent Writers; yet their voluminous Publications on this Subject, while they gratify those who have Leisure, and possess a Taste for Enquiry, are too minute and circumstantial for the Generality of Readers. It is admitted, that there have been many Histories of England published at different Periods; but few of them seem calculated to convey that Information which it is the peculiar Province of the Historian to confine himself to. Some have been written with the avowed Purpose of supporting the Prerogative of the Crown, upon high Tory Principles; others have been put forth with the View of advancing Party Notions, and in Defence of Democratical Ideas; and others again have been so much interspersed with Reflections and Observations on almost every Transaction, that they appear to be calculated more for the Purport of acquainting the World with the Writers' Opinion of the State of Affairs, than to lay before the Public an impartial Account of Events which have taken place concerning the Realm. No Work therefore written avowedly on Party Principles is properly calculated for the Conveyance of that Information which is essentially required; and as it is sufficient for the general Reader to be informed of the great Facts in the History of England, the Author of the present Work has restricted himself to the recording of mere Matter of Fact, totally divested of Prejudice to this or that Party or Faction, and unsophisticated with jesuitical Animadversion.

In the Prosecution of this Work it has necessarily been requisite to consult an immense Body of History, as well of our own as of other Nations; but the principal Authors we have chosen to make Use of are, Rapin, Tindal, Burnet, Carte, Hume, Smollet, Belsham, Clarendon, Guthrie, Macaulay, Coote, Henry, Andrews's Continuation of Henry's History, Bisset, Adolphus, and the Universal History. But in the Perusal of the above Authors it was particularly necessary to pay Attention to the Political and other Observations which they made upon many Transactions and Circumstances; to the End, that we might avoid falling into their Errors, and select only those Passages which bore Marks of undoubted Authenticity. Mr. Rapin's History of England with Tindal's Continuation has been generally allowed to be one of the best with which this Country has been favoured, so far as it reaches; but this Work is too voluminous for general Use. The Facts recorded therein are, for the most part, authentic, and the Dates are pretty accurate; but the Reflections of the Author, take up so great a Portion of his Work, that they rather tend to bewilder than inform the Reader. Mr. Hume's History is an elegant Piece of Composition, its Language is admirable, but he was defective in his Dates. He was avowedly a Republican and a Freethinker; so that while he seems to be writing in Praise of the State, he is endeavouring to sow the Seeds of a contrary Opinion: and whenever he had Occasion to mention Religion, he appears to have been desirous of playing a double Part, of seeming to some as if he reverenced, and to others as if he held it in Contempt. He appears indeed throughout his Work to be sensible of the political Necessity of Religion in every State; but at the same Time he would every where insinuate, that it owes its Authority to no higher an Origin.

Thus

Thus he endeavours to weaken its Influence, while he seems to contend for its Utility, and vainly hopes, that while Freethinkers shall applaud his Scepticism, real Believers will reverence him for his Zeal.—Mr. Smollet's History, Part of which usually accompanies Mr. Hume's as a Continuation to the End of the Reign of George the Second, is greatly inferior to that Gentleman's in point of Style and Elegance of Diction, and is likewise deficient in Matter of Fact.—Lord Clarendon's History is entirely a Party Work, written for the express Purpose of establishing arbitrary Power and the Prerogative of the Crown; and that of Catharine Macaulay, is on the avowed Principles of Republicanism.

In the present State of Affairs in the World, particularly in Europe, it is almost impossible for any Man, especially those who are engaged in Literary Pursuits, not to have some Opinion peculiar to himself; the Author of the present Work undoubtedly has his, but he does not think it necessary to trouble the World with the Notions which he esteems best suited for the Welfare of the Commonwealth: he thinks every Man should judge for himself; therefore he has kept himself from speaking in the Praise of one and condemning another Minister, merely for the sake of displaying his Talents in Eulogium, or of venting his Spleen in Sarcasm; so that whenever he has thought it necessary to say any Thing of Men or Measures, he has constantly been extremely brief, and has not hazarded an Opinion which is contrary to the General Feelings of every Englishman: Truth has been his Aim, and to that Maxim he has strenuously adhered. He has therefore kept himself at an equal Distance from that Conciseness which borders upon Obscurity, and that Prolixity which enervates Narration. He has taken his Information from a Consultation of our best Historians, and has omitted no Event of Importance. He has explained with Perspicuity the complicated Fabric of the Feodal Polity, and has examined with Attention the Constitution of our Government. He has neither allured the Vanity of the Great by Flattery, nor attempted to satisfy the Malignity of the Vulgar by Scandal. He has therefore contented himself with a faithful Detail of Historical Facts, and has kept himself free from the Charge of Petulancy or Adulation. Such is the Plan upon which this Work is written. One Thing, however, it may be necessary to observe, that the more important Matter is preserved in the Text, while that of less Consequence is thrown into Notes. Historical Documents, in the Form of Abstracts of Treaties, whether relative to the Affairs of State, or confined to the Purposes of Commercial Intercourse, by Reason of the Space they would occupy if inserted in the Text, are likewise preserved in the Notes.

The Engravings, with which this Work is embellished, are of that superlative Description which will not only add Elegance to the History, and illustrate the different Passages, but in a strong Point of View mark the Progress of that Branch of the Polite Arts in this Country. Printing and Engraving did not, in Great Britain, keep Pace with Literature; for till within the last Half Century all our best Engravings were had from abroad, and Encouragement to English Artists seemed totally neglected: the Want of Emulation to excel was the natural Consequence. The Taste and sound Judgment of the British Nation, however, would not suffer the Palm of Excellence to remain in the Hands of Foreigners. As Encouragement took Place, Talent made rapid Progress; and at this Day, English Engravings are in the highest Estimation all over the World, and our noblest and best Literary Compositions are accompanied and adorned with Embellishments suited to the Dignity of their Subjects.

THE

DESCRIPTION

OF THE

FRONTISPIECE.

BRITANNIA in the Centre, seated on a Rock, one Arm resting on the Bible, behind which is seen the Model of a Ship;—intended to convey this important Truth, that the grand Supports of the BRITISH EMPIRE are its Commerce and its Religion. At her Feet are,—Malice, bound Hand and Foot, and Superstition overthrown. Thus having conquered the internal Enemies of her Peace, Britannia is surveying, with Firmness and Composure, the Storms that agitate the Universe; she hears, unmoved, the Crash of Empires, and sits secure amidst a falling World.

Two Tuscan Columns, Emblems of the Simplicity and Strength of the British Character, support the whole Composition. A String of Tablets are seen passing round, and occasionally displaying the Names of those Princes who have contributed most to the Glory of the Empire, and whose Memories are cherished by Englishmen with Veneration and Gratitude. On one Side are Implements of War and Trophies of Victory, and on the other, Instruments of scientific Research; through one passes a Scroll, containing the Names of those Heroes whose Achievements have added Splendour to the British Name; and the other is inscribed with the Names of the Philosophers, whose Conquests over Nature have obtained for them a still more glorious and permanent Reward—the Admiration of Posterity! At the Bottom are seen the Rudder, the Ploughshare, and the Sickle; which, together with the Lamb, placed in the Centre, are intended to shew, that whatever temporary Fame we may obtain by the Splendour of our Arms, or the Extent of our Conquests, the Basis of real national Glory must ever be—Commerce, Agriculture, and the Arts of Peace. The Scroll at the Top, with the Names of celebrated Divines, surrounded by Glory, completes the Whole, and makes perfect the leading Idea of the Design; the Object of which is to illustrate an important Truth, *drawn from the Pages of History*, namely, that Commerce is the Means of the Growth of Empires, and Religion the Bulwark of their Security.

THE IMPERIAL

HISTORY OF ENGLAND.

INTRODUCTORY CHAPTER.

IT is a remark that has been made by the most enlightened authors, that, in perusing the history of the earlier periods of nations in general, we are presented with an uniform picture of ignorance, barbarism, and superstition. We perceive the harsh features of native ferocity, free from reserve, disguise, or affectation. We observe the licentious manners, the rude amusements, and the barbarous rites of illiterate tribes. The general prevalence of this savage state accounts for the darkness in which the origin of nations are enveloped. This obscurity, which, among the readers, as well as the writers, of history, is a constant theme of regret, cannot be supposed to suffer any diminution from the practice of the more ancient historiographers, who, instigated by vanity, caprice, or credulity, have ever been desirous of reserving the origin of their respective nations to periods of the remotest antiquity; and in the gratification of this desire they have too frequently disregarded the suggestions of truth, reason and probability. Indeed, the ancient history of this country is so much involved in uncertainty, that even the origin of its name rests upon conjecture. The most probable opinion is, that the word BRITAIN is derived from the Phœnician BARAT-ANAC, *i. e.* THE LAND OF TIN; or, that it is taken from BRITHAN, which signifies OUTER, because it was the farthest land known at that period. The inhabitants, however, called themselves CYMRI.

This island was, without doubt, originally peopled from that part of the continent which lay opposite to the coast of Kent, and which was then called Gaul. This idea is confirmed by the affinity between the language, religion, manners, customs, and complexion of the Gauls and Britons.

The people of Britain were, in general, tall and well made, and yellow-haired; which they permitted to grow to a great length, but shaved the whole face, except the upper lip, on which they encouraged the growth of enormous whiskers. Their constitution was so good, that it is said they frequently lived to the age of one hundred and twenty years.

The use of cloaths was scarcely known in the island; for none but the inhabitants of the southern parts made use of any sort of covering, and those that did, carelessly threw the skin of some wild beast over them. By way of ornament, they made incisions in their bodies, in the shape of flowers, trees, and animals; which they stained of a sky-blue colour with the juice of woad (*a*).

The aboriginals generally lived among the woods, in huts covered over with skins, boughs, or turf. Their usual food was milk, and flesh got by hunting. If they bred any domestic fowl, it was for pleasure, being strictly forbidden by their religion to eat either poultry or fish. Their towns, if such they might be called, were only a confused parcel of huts placed at a little distance from each other, without any regard to order. These were generally erected in the middle of a wood, the avenues whereof were defended with slight ramparts of earth, or with the trees which they felled to clear the ground. Notwithstanding this plain manner of living, they were as quick of apprehension, nay, even of greater penetration, than their neighbours the Gauls, and were remarkable for honesty, integrity, and hospitality. They had this curious custom among them; that ten or more brothers lived together, and had their wives in common; and the children produced from such an indiscriminate and incestuous commerce were adjudged to belong to those who had originally married the respective mothers (*b*).

It seems, indeed, extremely probable, that the jealousy for which the Phœnicians were remarkable, induced them to avoid communicating to other nations any intelligence respecting Britain; for they reaped such benefit from their traffic with this island, that it is reasonable to suppose, they wished to be the exclusive carriers of its commodities to the different parts of Europe, Asia, and Africa, with which they traded. This advantage, it is certain, they enjoyed for a considerable time; but the Greeks at length made a discovery of the island, and commenced an immediate traffic for those articles of British produce which they had before received through the medium of the Phœnicians. The chief commodities that were hence exported by these commercial adventurers, were tin, lead, and hides, for which they bartered earthen ware, salt, brass trinkets, and other trifles. But for some time previous to the invasion by Cæsar, the Gauls appear to have been the only foreign nation that carried on a direct trade with the Britons. Their intercouse was not confined, like that of the Phœnicians and Greeks, to the coast of Cornwall and the islands of Scilly (*c*), but extended to the greater portion of the long range of coast in the southernmost parts of the island, though the inhabitants of Kent are supposed to have had the principal share of the Gallic commerce.

The natives of the more inland parts of Britain, however, had very little trade or connection with the Belgic Britons, and still less with foreigners: their wealth was comprised in their herds of cattle, which they bartered, as occasion required, for other articles which, to them, appeared to be more necessary for their convenience. But notwithstanding the practice of bartering, the Britons carried on a part of their trade by the medium of pieces of metal; which, according to Cæsar, were either plates of brass, or rings of iron, of a determinate weight.

The arts of ship-building and navigation must have been very imperfectly understood by them. The vessels which they made use of were extremely small and light; the keels and ribs of which were formed of slender pieces of wood, the intermediate spaces were composed of wicker work, and the whole was covered with hides.

The military art, among a rude and savage people, divided into petty and discordant states, is generally better understood than others which relate to civil society. This seems to have been the case in Britain. The frequency of wars between contiguous powers kept the inhabitants always prepared for action, stimulated their courage, and increased their experience. All the members of the state, except

(*a*) It is worthy of remark, that a similar practice still prevails among the natives of the newly-discovered islands in the South Pacific Ocean.

(*b*) See Cæsar. De Bello Gallico, lib. v. cap. 10.—Dio Nicæus likewise informs us, that the same custom was common among the Caledonians, at the time of the emperor Severus's expedition against them. He also relates a conversation that took place on this subject between Julia, the wife of that emperor, and a British lady of rank. The empress, he says, was rallying the latter on the prevalence of this disgraceful practice among her countrywomen. The British lady, in her reply did not deny the charge, but observed, "that the Roman ladies had little reason to reproach them on that account; for they only performed openly with the best of their men what the former practised in secret with the worst of theirs, namely, freedmen and slaves." *Xiphil. ex Dione.*

(*c*) Called by them Cassiterides.

the Druids, (who were the ministers of religion,) were accustomed, from their youth, to martial exercises, in which they took great delight. The songs of their Bards contributed to cherish this warlike spirit, and the doctrine of the metempsychosis, in which they firmly believed, inspired them with a contempt of danger and of death. The offensive arms of the British infantry were daggers, broad-swords, javelins, and spears headed with copper or edged with flint; at the upper end of which was a hollow ball of brass, filled with pieces of metal, for the purpose of terrifying the horses of the enemy. Their defensive armour consisted of a light round target, made of wood, or osiers closely interwoven, covered with leather, and studded with brass nails, for strength as well as ornament. Their troops of horse were furnished with spears, shields, and broad swords; and the men would frequently dismount, and engage with the enemy on foot: their horses were so well trained, it has been asserted, with confidence, that they would remain on the spot where they were left till the return of their riders. The principal men of the state usually fought in chariots, which were generally drawn by two horses, and provided with sharp scythes and hooks fixed to the axle-tree. These carriages contained the charioteer and one or more warriors (*d*).

When an army of Britons was composed of the troops of several princes, each chieftain was captain of his own tribe; the sovereign of each state was commander in chief of the united tribes; and one of the sovereigns whose troops were thus confederated, was chosen generalissimo of the whole force. They generally attacked their enemy with the most eager impetuosity; but their ardour was too frequently cooled by the first repulse, after which it was difficult to rally them. When engaged in action they would sometimes retreat in apparent disorder, with an intention of drawing the enemy in pursuit of them; and when this feint had the desired effect, they returned to the charge with redoubled alacrity and ferocity.

It is a circumstance worthy of remark, that among the ancient inhabitants of Britain, every mother, notwithstanding her rank, nursed all her own children; not thinking it possible that the duties of nature could be performed by deputy, or that the care of a nurse employed for that purpose could prove an adequate substitute for parental affection. They always allowed their children to enjoy the free use of their limbs, which were wholly exempt from the stricture of dress. To this practice, together with the remarkable simplicity of their diet, it is that Cæsar very properly attributes the great strength of body, as well as boldness of mind, to which the British youth in general attained.

The religion of every country has a great influence on its government, and that of the Britons formed one of its most essential parts. The authority of their Druids, or priests, was almost unlimited: it was not merely confined to religious duties, but extended to the administration of all civil judicature (*e*). Besides the Druids, who were extremely numerous, there were also Druidesses, who shared the duties and participated the honours and emoluments of the priesthood. These Druidesses are supposed, on good authority, to have been divided into three classes.

The first class, like the Roman Catholic nuns, made vows of perpetual celibacy, lived together in communities, and mixed but little with the world. They were held in great veneration by the people, who resorted to them for purposes of divination and prophecy, to which these virgin fanatics were great pretenders; but, like more modern adepts in those mystic sciences, they refused to exert their knowledge till they were inspired by a present.

The second class was composed of certain devotees, who were married, but who allotted a much more considerable portion of their time to the discharge of religious than of conjugal duties.

The third and lowest class of Druidesses consisted of such as were employed in menial offices about the temples or persons of the Druids.

The Druids of Britain, like the Chaldeans of Assyria, the Magi of Persia, the Gymnosophists of India, and indeed all other priests of antiquity, had two sets of religious tenets: one of which they only imparted to such as were admitted into their own order, who were sworn to secrecy; nor was any precaution neglected which ingenuity could invent, or interest suggest, to prevent the promulgation of their secret doctrines. What those doctrines were it is impossible to say; but there is strong reason for believing that they were more agreeable to primitive tradition and to right reason than those which they rendered public, since they could have no possible temptation to conceal or disguise the truth in their private seminaries. "There is one thing," however, says Pomponius Mela, "which they teach their disciples, that has been made known to the people, in order to inspire them with courage, and to render them strangers to fear; which is, that souls are immortal, and that there is another life after the present."

We are informed by Cæsar, as well as by Diodorus Siculus, that the Druids likewise taught the Pythagorean doctrine of the metemsychosis, or the transmigration of souls, into other bodies. They probably considered this doctrine in no other light than as best suited to the gross conceptions of the vulgar, and as the most certain mode of securing obedience to their will by the powerful operations of religious terror. Whatever their own private opinions might have been, they were of little benefit to the multitude, from whom they were concealed with the most studious perseverance. These mercenary priests, like too many in more modern times, had adopted the maxim, that ignorance is the mother of devotion; and that the common people, incapable of being governed by the principles of plain reason, require to be awed by the more imposing rites of superstition. For this purpose they called in the aid of mythology, and admitted a plurality of gods.—Hesus, Teutates, Belinus or Bel, and Taranis, were their chief deities (*f*). Exclusive of these principal deities, they had a long list of inferior gods; men who had been deified by their eminence in wisdom, their valour, or their virtue.

The Britons likewise made sacrifices to the objects of their idolatry. They were not content, however, with the mere sacrifice of animals to their gods, but were urged, by the cruelty of superstition, to the offering up of human victims. That nothing but the life of a man could atone for the life of a man, had become an article in the Druidical creed, and was productive of the most horrid acts of barbarity which the fury of fanaticism could suggest. On some particular occasions they formed with osier twigs a large colossal figure of a man, which they filled with human victims; and, surrounding the whole with combustible materials, set fire to it, and reduced it to ashes. Though they gave a preference to criminals for this abominable purpose, as being most acceptable to their gods; yet, when a sufficient number were not to be had, they made no scruple to supply their places with innocent victims (*g*).

"The Druids," says Pliny, "had such an esteem for the oak, that they would not suffer any religious ceremony to be performed without being embellished with garlands made of its leaves. These philosophers," adds he, "believe that it is the chosen tree of God, and that whatever grows upon it cometh from Heaven." In consequence of this belief the misletoe shared in the honours paid to the

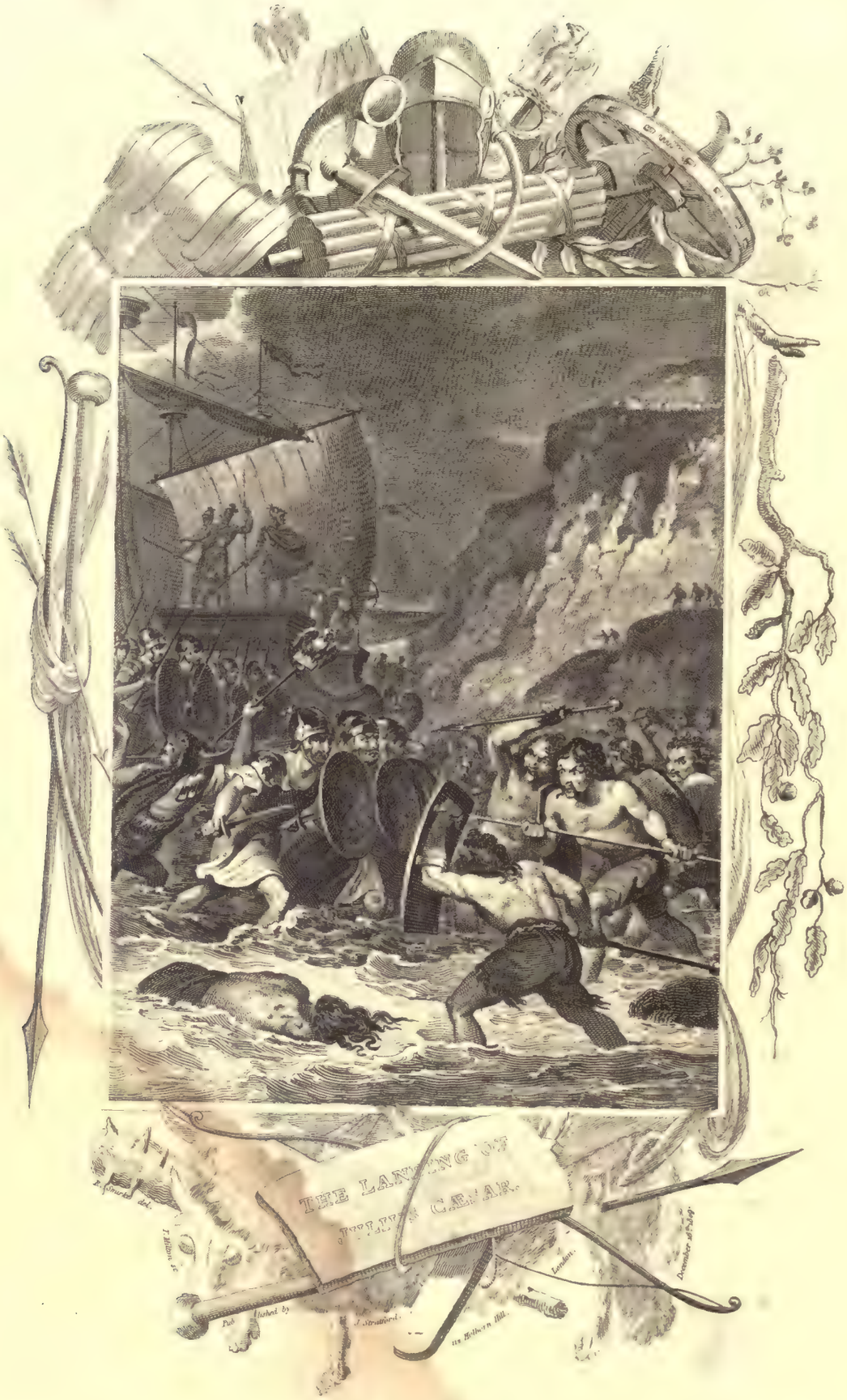
(*d*) The dexterity of the islanders in the management of these destructive vehicles is mentioned by ancient writers in terms of the highest commendation. They could stop the horses at full speed, with the greatest ease, even on the declivity of steep hills, and immediately guide and turn them: they could run along the pole, rest on the yoke, and thence, with surprising agility, return to their seats. They drove their chariots with great fury among the thickest ranks of the enemy, diffusing terror and confusion around them; and when they engaged the horse, they leaped from these machines, and fought on foot; their charioteers in the mean time retiring, and posting themselves in such a station, that, if their masters were in danger of being overpowered by numbers, they might effect a speedy retreat to their chariots. By this mode of combat (says Cæsar, lib. iv. cap. 29.) they blended the speed of cavalry with the steadiness of infantry.

(*e*) The first principles of their religion had, without doubt, descended to them, together with their language, from Gomer, the eldest son of Japhet; from whom the Gauls, the Britons, and all the other Celtic nations, derived their origin: but, unhappily, this religious knowledge had, in the course of its traditional descent from Gomer (Japhet was born one hundred years before the deluge, and Gomer a little after it,) to his numerous posterity in succeeding ages, been corrupted by superstition, and was, at this period, replete with absurdity, wickedness, and cruelty.

(*f*) Hesus and Teutates were names originally expressive of the attributes of the Supreme Being; the first signifying Omnipotence, the last God the Creator: but in these times of superstitious idolatry, they were worshipped as particular deities. To Hesus they paid the same divine honours as were rendered to Mars by the Greeks and Romans; and Teutates was their Pluto, the god of the infernal regions, whose favour they solicited by such offerings as could only be acceptable to an infernal deity. Belinus or Bel was the same with Apollo; and Taranis was named from Taran, which signifies thunder.

(*g*) These sacrifices were generally offered in times of public danger, to appease the anger, or to ensure the protection, of their deities; but sometimes merely to promote the cure of persons of rank labouring under some dangerous disorder.

oak;


THE LANDING OF
CAESAR.
London

oak; and the ceremony of cutting that arboreous plant, as performed by the Archdruid with a golden knife, was one of their most solemn festivals. This Archdruid, whose residence was at Mona (*h*), now the Isle of Anglesey, in North Wales, from the nature and extent of his authority, may be considered as the metropolitan, or the pontiff, of the Britons.

Had our ancestors, from their skill in divination, been enabled to foresee that their posterity would in future ages arrive at the summit of glory by means of the oak, of which their ships of war are built, they could not have held that sovereign of the British forests in higher respect or veneration.

We learn from Tacitus, that the Druids held it was not lawful to build temples to their gods, or to worship them under roofs, or within walls; for which reason their places of worship were the thickest woods and groves, planted for that purpose in proper situations. Each of these sacred retreats was surrounded by a ditch, to secure it from intrusion; and in the centre was an open space, of a circular form, containing an altar of four broad stones, three placed edgeways, and the fourth at top, for the purpose of sacrifice (*i*).

From the testimony of the best authors it appears, that the general form of government which prevailed in Britain was the monarchical; and that the whole island was divided into thirty-nine small states, which were independent of each other (*k*). These numerous nations were in a state of continual perturbation; each shaken by domestic faction, or harrassed by wars with its neighbours. The Britons, altogether unacquainted with those arts which give charms to peace, and add a zest to the enjoyments it procures, conceived a strong disgust to the sameness of a tranquil state, and they consequently had frequent recourse to war, as to a refuge which alone could afford them that variety without which life itself is a burden.

Such were the inhabitants of this island at the time when the ambitious Roman first formed the resolution of invading it. Had their discipline been equal to their courage, the laurels of Cæsar might have withered on the shores of Britain.

Though well situated for trade, the Britons had not any large vessels, and never ventured to sea beyond the coasts of Gaul. Their chief commerce was with the Phœnician merchants, who, after the discovery of the island, exported every year great quantities of tin.

BOOK I.

CHAPTER I.

THE BRITONS AND ROMANS.

ABOUT the year 55 before Christ, Julius Cæsar entertained the design of conquering Britain; in which he was actuated by two motives; the one, a thirst for glory; the other, a desire to enlarge the boundary of the Roman empire (*l*): but with a view to colour his ambition, he made use of the pretence, that the Britons had assisted the Gauls while the Romans were engaged in war against that nation. Not being able to gain the necessary information from the Gaulic merchants who traded to Britain, he sent Caius Volusenus in a galley to take a view of the coasts and gain information: in consequence of which the Britons sent ambassadors to Julius Cæsar, with offers of obedience, and with an intent to divert him from his attempt. Cæsar received the British envoys with his usual politeness, and exhorted them to persevere in the same favourable sentiments. Upon their return to Britain they were accompanied, at the desire of Cæsar, by Comius (*m*), who received instructions to persuade the Britons to enter into an alliance with the Romans; but they, for some reason at present unknown, put Comius in prison.

Exasperated at this treatment of his ambassador, Julius Cæsar embarked two legions on board eighty transports, and gave orders to the horse to follow in eighteen more. On the 26th of August, at about five o'clock in the afternoon, he landed at Ritupæ, at the mouth of the river that runs up to Richborough. The Britons, upon finding that Cæsar was intent on paying them a visit, prepared for defence, and assembled a large force on that part of the coast where they supposed he would endeavour to effect a descent. Cæsar therefore found the rocky coast which he first approached covered with troops; and the cliffs in this part had such a command of the landing places, that it would have been dangerous to have set foot on shore while those heights were so crowded with combatants. He then resolved

(*h*) Tre'r Dryw, in this island, is supposed to have been the place of the Archdruid's residence; and this opinion is corroborated by the signification of the name, which is, "the city of the Druid." In the environs of this town is a large circus or theatre, raised up of earth and stones to a great height, and called Bryn Gwyn, *i. e.* "the supreme or royal tribunal." This Mr. Rowlands supposes to have been the tribunal of the Druidical pontiff. See *Mona Antiquæ Restaurata*, p. 89.

(*i*) The principal Druidical temples of which we have any remains in this island, are those of Stonehenge and Abury in Wiltshire, and Tre'r Dryw above mentioned.

(*k*) The following is an enumeration of their names and situations:

1. The Danmonii, who possessed Cornwall and Devonshire.
2. The Durotriges—Dorsetshire.
3. The Belgi—Hampshire, Wiltshire, and Somersetshire.
4. The Bibroci—part of Berkshire.
5. The Attrebatii—part of Berkshire and part of Oxfordshire.
6. The Ancalites—part of Berkshire and part of Oxfordshire.
7. The Regni—part of Surrey and Sussex.
8. The Cantii—Kent.
9. The Trinobantes—Essex, Middlesex, and part of Surrey.
10. The Cattieuchlani—Herefordshire, Bedfordshire, and Buckinghamshire.
11. The Dobuni—Gloucestershire and part of Oxfordshire.
12. The Iceni—Suffolk, Norfolk, Cambridgeshire, and Huntingdonshire.
13. The Coritani—Northamptonshire, Leicestershire, Rutlandshire, Lincolnshire, Nottinghamshire, and Derbyshire.
14. The Cornavii—Warwickshire, Worcestershire, Staffordshire, Shropshire, and Cheshire.
15. The Silures—Herefordshire, Monmouthshire, Radnorshire, Brecknockshire, and Glamorganshire.
16. The Dimetæ—Caermarthenshire, Pembrokeshire, and Cardiganshire.
17. The Ordovices—Merionethshire, Montgomeryshire, Caernarvonshire, Denbighshire, and Flintshire.
18. The Ceangi—Unknown.
19. The Atticotti—Unknown.
20. The Parisi—East Riding of Yorkshire.
21. The Brigantes—Lancashire, Westmoreland, Cumberland, and part of Yorkshire.
22. The Otodini—Northumberland, Merse, and the Lothians.
23. The Gadeni—the mountainous parts of Northumberland and Tiviotdale.
24. The Selgovæ—Eskdale, Annandale, and Nithsdale.
25. The Novantæ—Galloway, Carrick, Kyle, and Cunningham.
26. The Damonii—Clydesdale, Renfrew, Lenox, and Stirlingshire.
27. The Epidii—peninsula of Cantyr, part of Argyleshire, and Lorn.
28. The Cerones—Lochaber and part of Ross.
29. The Carnonacæ—that part of Ross called Assenshire.
30. The Carini—about Lockbey on the N. W. coast of Ross.
31. The Carnavii—Strathnavern.
32. The Mertæ—the N. W. parts of Sutherland.
33. The Logi—the sea coast of Sutherland.
34. The Cantæ—the north side of Tayne Firth.
35. The Caledonii—Badenoch, Braidalbane, the inland parts of Murray, Bamff, Aberdeen, and Perth.
36. The Taxali—the sea coasts of Aberdeenshire.
37. The Vacomagi—part of Murray, Athol, Mearns, and Angus.
38. The Horesti—originally part of Angus, but afterwards united to the Vacomagi.
39. The Venicontes—Fife.

The last thirteen states were known by the general name of Caledonians till the beginning of the fourth century; when they were formed into two considerable nations, called the Scots and the Picts.

(*l*) Notwithstanding this assertion, which appears to be founded in truth, there are authors who aver, that the Roman people were not satisfied with this expedition; considering it not only as hazardous, but an unprofitable undertaking. Cicero, in one of his epistles to Atticus, says, "The event of the war in Britain is impatiently waited for. It is certain that all the approaches to that island are fortified by amazing outworks; and it is universally known, that a scruple of silver is not to be found in the whole island, nor are there hopes of any acquisition except slaves, amongst whom, I suppose, you will not expect to find either musicians or men of learning." Herein, however, the orator was mistaken; for the learning of the Druids was at least equal to that of the Romans.

(*m*) Comius was a particular and tried friend of Cæsar, whom that conqueror had promoted to the sovereignty of the Attrebatii in Gaul, who resided on that part of the continent which is best known by the names of Picardy, Artois, and French Flanders.

to make search for a more convenient strand; and having discovered, eight or nine miles further to the northward, an open level shore, he determined to make his descent. The Britons were not slow in suspecting his intention; and they detached their cavalry and military chariots to this spot, with a firm resolution of hindering, if possible, the landing of the Romans. The rest of the British army followed with great expedition.

The difficulties to which the Roman forces were exposed in endeavouring to land were truly formidable, and are thus described by the elegant pen of the general who conducted this expedition. Their ships were too large to float near the beach; so that the soldiers, though unacquainted with the depth, and encumbered with heavy armour, were obliged to leap overboard, fix their footing amidst the waves, and engage in unequal combat with enemies who either stood on dry ground, or advanced a little way into the water, in places of which they had a perfect knowledge; who had all their limbs at full liberty, made the most effectual use of their javelins, and pushed forward their horses, inured to hazardous service, with great intrepidity. This obstinate resistance struck the Romans, who were unaccustomed to such a mode of fighting, with confusion and dismay. They did not act with their usual courage and alacrity, and would perhaps have yielded to the desultory valour of the ferocious islanders, had not Cæsar's presence of mind suggested to him the following expedient: he gave orders that his galleys should be rowed nearer the shore, so as to flank the Britons, who might then be successfully attacked with engines, slings, and arrows. The novelty of this method of attack confounded the Britons, who made a sudden pause, and then retreated to a small distance. The Romans, however, were still unwilling to commit themselves to such a depth of water, in the face of the enemy; but they were soon roused from their timidity by the intrepid behaviour of the standard bearer of the tenth legion, who, after imploring protection of the gods, exclaimed with a loud voice, "Leap overboard, my fellow soldiers, unless you wish to betray the eagle into the hands of the enemy: for my own part, I am resolved to discharge my duty to my country and my commander." He had no sooner uttered this laconic and spirited harangue, than he leaped into the sea, and advanced his ensign against the Britons. The soldiers that were in his ship exhorted each other not to suffer so great a disgrace as the loss of their standard: the dread of danger gave way to the fear of shame; they all sprung from the vessel, and pushed forward amidst the waves with great resolution. This example soon diffused its influence among the other transports, from which the Romans leaped in mutual emulation, and proceeded in a body against the islanders.

A fierce conflict now ensued, which was maintained with equal obstinacy on both sides, till the Romans, finding it impracticable to form in the water, and being consequently unable to exert that superiority of discipline by which they were distinguished, were thrown into confusion; while the Britons furiously attacked all who gained the shore, and cut them in pieces before they could unite. In this second emergency, Cæsar ordered all the boats of his fleet to be filled with men, whom he directed to sustain such as appeared most to require assistance. This critical suceour turned the scale in favour of the Romans, who being now enabled to set foot on dry land in considerable numbers, formed their ranks, and attacked the islanders with renewed alacrity. This engagement on land was of very short continuance. The military skill and experience of the Romans, their steadiness of discipline, their confidence of victory over a tumultuous army of barbarians, rendered them superior to all the efforts of the enemy, whom they compelled to retire with precipitation; but Cæsar thought proper to desist from the pursuit, as his cavalry had not arrived.

This defeat threw the Britons into such a consternation, that they laid aside, for the present, all thoughts of resistance; they sot Comius at liberty, and sent ambassadors to sue for peace; which was granted four days after Cæsar's landing. The Roman horse did not arrive in Britain, for they were forced back to Gaul by a storm, which shattered the Roman gallies on the British shore. This circumstance encouraged the Britons to break the treaty; and attacking the seventh legion they obtained some advantage. They then attacked the Roman camp, but were repulsed. Hereupon they again sued for, and obtained a peace. Julius Cæsar, having repaired his fleet, left Britain about the 20th of September, and returned to Gaul (*n*).

Still entertaining a desire to subjugate Britain, he meditated a second expedition, and accordingly embarked with five legions and two thousand horse, on board six hundred ships, and twenty-eight gallies; with which he set sail from Calais, in the year 52, before Christ, and landed about Dover without opposition. The Britons, who had beheld the large fleet of Cæsar from the heights on the sea coast, were so terrified by its appearance, that they retired to a place of greater security, whither they were followed by Cæsar, and were soon put to flight. Cassibelaun, the British general, at the head of a powerful army, then made an attack upon the Romans, but was repulsed. In the next rencontre he gained some advantage over the Romans, but the day following the Britons were entirely defeated. Flushed with success, Julius Cæsar advanced farther into the country, and passed the Thames at Coway Stakes, near Walton upon Thames, in Surrey, in sight of the British army. The Trinobantes and some other states speedily submitted to him; and he took Cassibelaun's chief city, which is supposed to be Verulamium, in the vicinity of St. Albans, in the county of Hertford. The Roman camp was attacked by Cingetorix, Carvilius, Taximagulus, and Segonax, when Cingetorix was taken prisoner. Hereupon Cassibelaun sued for peace, which was granted upon condition that the Romans should receive an annual tribute; which was paid by Tenuantius and Cunobeline. Having taken hostages Julius Cæsar retired from Britain to Gaul, on the 26th of September, and never afterwards returned to this country (*o*).

For almost a century, subsequent to the departure of Julius Cæsar, there is a chasm in the history of this island. Some authors have endeavoured to fill up the void with improbable fiction and ill-founded conjecture; but as it is not our intention to amuse the reader with fabulous narrations, we shall endeavour to pursue a track in which he will not be bewildered, and relate only those circumstances which occur in the records of this period that have relation to Britain.

During the reign of Augustus, who succeeded Julius Cæsar, the Britons were threatened with a visit from the Romans, to enforce the payment of the tribute; but those menaces were never put in execution. Tacitus says, that Augustus was restrained from invading Britain by pru-

(*n*) This expedition of the great Julius Cæsar, though it scarcely exceeded the merit of a discovery, and was not attended with any advantages to the Roman republic, was so highly applauded by the senate, that a supplication of twenty days was decreed in honour of the enterprize. This decree, while it overbalanced the desert of the exploits from which it originated, may be deemed a tacit acknowledgement of the favourable sentiments which the Romans entertained not only of British valour, but of the importance of so extensive an island, which they hoped would soon be reduced under their dominion, and to the conquest of which, they might imagine, Cæsar would be greatly encouraged by a thanksgiving that redounded so much to his honour.

(*o*) The opinion of Cæsar's literary countrymen, and other ancient writers, respecting the merits of the two expeditions against Britain are various. Quintus Cicero, who accompanied Cæsar in the second of the expeditions, observes, in a letter to his brother the orator, that the affairs of Britain gave no room for much fear, nor, on the other hand, for much joy. Horace intimates, that the Britons, in the reign of Augustus, continued unsubdued; from which it is evident, that he did not conceive the atchievements of Julius Cæsar in Britain as having any claim to the merit of a conquest. Tibullus, the contemporary of Horace makes a similar assertion. Lucan even accuses Cæsar of having turned his back to the Britons; but it must be observed, that the poet has put these expressions into the mouth of Pompey, the avowed rival and adversary of Cæsar, while he is encouraging his troops to oppose that commander with confidence and hope, by depreciating his exploits and diminishing his successes. Tacitus remarks, that Cæsar seems rather, to have shewn Britain to the Romans, than to have delivered it into their hands. Suetonius mentions the British enterprize in words which are strictly true, if understood in a less general sense than the writer apparently meant them: he says, that Cæsar, after having conquered the Britons, imposed a tribute on them, and exacted hostages. Diodorus Siculus is also too general in his expressions on this head, and seems to intimate that the island was subdued and rendered tributary; though the real fact is, that a very small part of the aggregate British nation stood in that predicament. Strabo observes, that nothing of importance was performed by Cæsar in Britain, and that he did not advance far into the island. Dio Cassius insinuates, that his expeditions into Britain were not productive of any benefit to the Romans, or of glory or advantage to himself. Velleius Paterculus speaks in a lofty strain on the subject, as if Cæsar had twice passed through the island; but the testimony of Cæsar himself proves that his progress was very inconsiderable, and was confined to a distance not much exceeding a hundred miles from the place of his debarkation. From these concurring testimonies we infer, that although Cæsar by his veteran troops overcame the Britons in the several actions he had with them, yet the advantages he gained, if successes they could be called, scarcely produced a single denarium to the empire of Rome. Vide *Ciceronis Epist.* lib. iii. ep. 1.—*Hor. Epod.* viii. v. 7.—*Tibull.* lib. iv. 149.—*Luc. Phars.* lib. ii. v. 572.—*Taciti Vita Agric.*—*Sueton. in. Jul. Cæs.* cap. 25.—*Diod. Sicul.* lib. v. cap. viii.—*Strab.* lib. iv.—*Dio Cass.* lib. xxxix.—*Vell Paterc.* lib. ii. cap. 47.

dential



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dential motives: and when we consider that his favourite maxim was, "Never to engage in a war in which the hope of emolument was not greater than the fear of loss, we shall cease to wonder that he abstained from such an enterprize. Tiberius followed the example of his predecessor, and made no attempt on the island.

Caligula, the pusillanimous successor of Tiberius, was led to form a design of invading Britain by Adamine, son of Cunobeline, who had been banished the island by his father, and had fled to the continent, where he and his followers surrendered themselves to the emperor. This had such an effect on Caligula, that he immediately marched, with an army of two hundred thousand men, to the sea coast opposite Britain; where, having drawn up his army in order of battle, and made every preparation for an attack, he embarked on board a galley, and commanded his men to row him towards the British shore. When he had sailed to a little distance, he suddenly returned; and, mounting a throne, he harangued his troops, and gave them the word of command to begin the engagement: as no enemy appeared, he ordered his men to gather cockle-shells; and, for their alacrity in this important service, he bestowed on them the highest praises, and the most liberal rewards. The shells were sent to Rome, "as the spoils of the conquered ocean," which his courage had subdued, and for which he claimed the honours of a triumph; but which the senate refused to admit.

But the time now approached when Britain was to be deprived of her native liberty, and to submit to the government of Rome, whose power had become almost as boundless as her ambition. In the year 42 after Christ, Claudius Cæsar formed the design of conquering Britain; but the personal character of Claudius could not possibly afford the smallest grounds for apprehension to the Britons; for, to the indolence of Tiberius, he added the cowardice of Caligula: but it was his good fortune to be governed by men whose judgement was greatly superior to his own. He first demanded the tribute due to the Roman empire, which the Britons refused to pay: and thereupon he ordered Aulus Plautius to invade the island, which he did with fifty thousand men, in the year 43, without any resistance. He defeated Togodumnus and Caractacus. The Romans then passed a river in sight of the British army, by whom they were put in disorder; the victory long remained doubtful, but the Romans were ultimately victorious. Upon this defeat the Britons retired beyond the Thames, and the Romans immediately followed them, when another action ensued, in which Togodumnus was slain, and the Britons were again defeated with great slaughter.

In 44 Claudius arrived in Britain, defeated the islanders, and advanced as far as Camelodunum, (now Malden in Essex.) He behaved with great moderation towards the conquered, who erected a temple to him, and paid him divine honours. After about six months absence from the continent he returned to Rome, leaving Plautius in Britain, who returning to Rome, received the honours of an ovation, in which he walked at the right hand of the emperor. He left the command of the army to Vespasian, whose actions were more brilliant than even those of Plautius: he carried on the war against the inhabitants of the sea coasts from Kent to the Land's End in Cornwall; and in a short space of time he fought thirty-two battles, reduced the Isle of Wight, and totally subdued two powerful nations, the Belgæ and the Durotriges.

In the year 50, Plautius was succeeded by Ostorius Scapula in the government of Britain, who built forts to confine the Britons between the rivers Avon and Severn. About this period Camelodunum was made a military colony, and London a trading colony. That part of Britain which lay between the Thames and the sea was reduced to a Roman province, under the name of Britannia Prima. The Icem and other neighbouring nations united against Ostorius, but were defeated.

The most powerful enemy, however, that Ostorius had to encounter were the Silures, a warlike nation, whom his repeated conquests had not been able to intimidate, and whom neither his offers of lenity could soothe into subjection, nor his menaces of punishment awe into slavery. They were headed by the brave Caractacus, the most renowned prince of the Britons, who possessed every requisite for a great general. He had the most consummate prudence, and the most undaunted courage: quick to discern, bold to attempt, and ready to pursue; he had opposed, and successfully harassed the Romans for nine years. He possessed all the advantages over Ostorius which could arise from local knowledge; and, to render it effectual, he transferred the war into the country of the Ordovices. At length the two armies met, and, when Caractacus saw the Romans approach, he endeavoured, by the most animating speeches, to inspire his troops with a portion of that courage which glowed within his own breast, he flew from rank to rank, exhorting them to the most vigorous resistance; and conjured them, by the respect which they owed to their brave ancestors, to preserve themselves from slavery, and their wives and daughters from pollution, by a due exertion of their native spirit. But what could undisciplined valour avail against an army of equal courage, skilled in all the arts of war, and inspired by a long train of victories? The event was such as might be expected. The attack was resolute; the resistance firm; the contest long and bloody: but the Romans prevailed; the unfortunate Britons were routed with great slaughter; and the wife, daughter, and brothers of Caractacus, made prisoners. The importance of this victory was augmented by the treachery of Cartismandua, queen of the Brigantes; who, violating all the rights of hospitality, which even in the rude times of which we are treating were held sacred, delivered up Caractacus, who had fled to her court for protection, and this unhappy prince and his whole family were sent captives to the capital of the Roman empire. Such, however, was the glory that Caractacus had acquired by the noble stand which he had made against the invaders of his country, that Britain rung with his praises, and the fame of his exploits filled the empire of Rome with wonder and admiration. The emperor of Rome, proud of such a captive, determined to render his entry into the capital as solemn and as public as possible. Accordingly, on the day appointed, the prætorian bands were drawn up under arms; and the emperor and empress being seated on two lofty thrones, the captive Britons were ordered to advance. First appeared the vassals of the British king, with the military trappings and the spoils of war; next followed his brother, wife, and daughter, with looks that bespoke despair and seemed to implore mercy. The procession was closed by Caractacus himself, who, notwithstanding his misfortunes, appeared firm and undaunted; neither dejected by the consideration of his troubles, nor intimidated by the fear of punishment. Casting his eyes on the splendid objects which presented themselves as he passed along, he exclaimed, "Alas! how could a people, possessed of such magnificence at home, envy me a humble cottage in Britain!" When brought into the imperial presence, he addressed the emperor in the following terms: "Had my moderation been equal to my birth and fortune, I should not now have entered this city as a captive, but as a friend; nor would you have disdained the alliance of a prince descended from an illustrious line of ancestors, and reigning over many nations. My present state redounds to your honour, but to my disgrace. I was lately in possession of subjects, horses, arms, and wealth: is it wonderful that I should have endeavoured to preserve them? Because you are ambitious of universal power, does it follow that all the nations of the earth must tamely submit to servitude? Had I yielded without a struggle, your glory would have been trifling: the obstinacy of my resistance serves to increase the lustre of your victory. Should you now consign me to death, my name will soon be sunk in oblivion; but, if you preserve my life, I shall remain a lasting monument of your clemency" (*p*). This noble, firm, and bold address, from one situated as Caractacus then was, so wrought upon the feelings of Claudius that he was immediately won to mercy; and it is said that the tears of Agrippina his queen so powerfully influenced him, that he ordered the immediate releasement of Caractacus and his whole family.

Notwithstanding these misfortunes, the Britons were not conquered, and the Silures, a warlike nation, gained several advantages over the Romans, in the year 52. Ostorius, finding the Romans on the losing side, died with vexation in 53, and was succeeded by Aulus Didius; but before he could arrive, the Silures had defeated the legions commanded by Manlius Valens, and were making incursions into the territories of the Romans and their allies.

About this time Venutius, king of the Brigantes, was persuaded by his queen Cartismandua to enter into an alliance with the Romans; but upon a family quarrel, supposed to have originated in a criminal levity of the queen, the Romans espoused her cause, and Venutius declared war against them. About this time Claudius died, and,

In the year 57, under the reign of Nero, Suetonius Paulinus was invested with the command of the Romans in

(*p*) Vide Tacit. Ann. lib. xii. cap. 36.

Britain. Perceiving that Mona, now Anglesey, was the chief seat of the Druids, and the place which afforded protection to the baffled forces of the Britons, he resolved upon its subjugation. He accordingly marched his army to the coast, and transported his infantry to that island in flat-bottomed boats: his cavalry followed, partly by fording, and partly by swimming. The Britons endeavoured to obstruct the landing of the Romans on this last retreat of British superstition and British liberty, both by the force of their arms and the terrors of their religion. The women, dressed like furies, with dishevelled hair, and with torches in their hands, ran up and down the ranks, uttering loud imprecations on the Romans, and exhorting the troops to a determined resistance: there were also multitudes of Druids standing around the army, with their hands lifted up to heaven, imploring the vengeance of their deities on the enemy. Such an extraordinary spectacle had, at first, the desired effect. The Romans, struck with consternation, remained motionless, and received the first attack without opposition, but the suggestions of fear being quickly dispelled by the exhortations of their general and officers, they advanced to the charge, routed the British army, drove it from the field of battle, burned the Druids in the fires which had been prepared for their own immolation, and demolished the consecrated groves and altars. He now thought that the conquest of Britain would be easy; but Boadicea, queen of the Iceni, taking advantage of his absence, caused a general insurrection against the Romans (*q*). London, by this time become a flourishing Roman colony, was attacked by Boadicea, who headed the Britons in person, and reduced it to ashes. The Romans and all strangers, to the number of seventy thousand, were put to the sword without distinction. Suetonius revenged this cruelty in a great and decisive battle; where eighty thousand of the Britons are said to have perished, and Boadicea herself, rather than fall into the hands of the enraged victor, put an end to her existence by poison.

Previous to the commencement of this last battle, Boadicea appeared at the head of her army, standing in a war-chariot, and arrayed in her royal robes, with a spear in her hand, and her two daughters sitting at her feet. She harangued her troops as she drove through the ranks; and, by a representation of the wrongs they had received from their Roman oppressors, who, she observed, were prompt to injure, but slow to redress, endeavoured to inspire them with an eager thirst for vengeance. "Though a woman," said she, "I am fully determined to conquer or die; but the men, if such is their pleasure, may live and be slaves." Suetonius was determined to pursue the advantage he had gained, and treated the unfortunate Britons with unrelenting barbarity; but Nero, wisely judging that a man of his fierce disposition was more calculated to create animosity than to promote conciliation, thought fit to recall him in the year 62. He was succeeded by Petronius Turpilianus, whose mildness and humanity tended more to reconcile the Britons to the Roman yoke than the active spirit of his predecessor.

In the year 70 Vespasian ascended the imperial throne, and Petilius Cerealis was appointed governor of Britain in the room of Trebellius Maximus, who had succeeded Petronius Turpilianus. Cerealis carried on a long and bloody war with the Brigantes, whom he had not entirely reduced, when he was recalled; and at length Julius Agricola was made governor of Britain in 78. He made seven campaigns against the Britons, and conquered the isle of Mona. He then caused forts to be built in several places, and induced the Britons to conform to the Roman customs. He carried his conquests into Scotland, beyond the Friths of Dunbritton and Edinburgh, and raised forts between those two Friths. In 84 he defeated Galgacus, a British chief, under whom the Britons made their last effort to recover their liberties. From some capricious cause the emperor Domitian recalled Agricola in 85 (*r*).

That part of Britain which lay to the southward of the two Friths being now reduced to a Roman province, the Britons in general began to adopt the manners and customs of the conquerors, and the peace of the country continued uninterrupted, except from the incursions of northern invaders, till about the year 120, when the emperor Hadrian came over to Britain, on purpose to subdue the Caledonians. In order to confine them within the limits of Caledonia, he caused a rampart of earth to be thrown up, which he covered with turf, from the mouth of the Tine to Solway Frith, 80 miles in length; but the Caledonians destroyed it in several places.

The Caledonians, however, after the departure of Hadrian continued their ravages, making inroads into the Roman province; and, in 138, Lollius Urbicus, under the reign of Antoninus Pius, was sent to put a stop to their progress. Upon his arrival he found the Brigantes in arms, endeavouring to shake off the Roman yoke: these he subdued, and then marched against the Caledonians, whom he compelled to retire farther to the north, and then raised another rampart of earth between the Frith of Firth and the Frith of Clyde, about 37 miles in length.

About the year 165 Marcus Aurelius constituted Calphurnius Agricola governor of Britain; and it was in his time that Lucius, a British king, embraced Christianity. But the Caledonians, although checked in their progress, and apparently confined within their borders, were not conquered; for they made frequent irruptions into the Roman territory, committed great ravages, and overcame the Roman army in the north, whom they actually cut in pieces. Upon the news of these disasters the emperor Marcus Aurelius sent Ulpius Marcellus in 183 against them, who soon put an end to that dangerous war. He likewise restored the ancient discipline in the Roman army: but he was ill rewarded for his services by the emperor, who recalled him, and he narrowly escaped with his life.

Under the emperor Commodus, the old officers in Britain were either called home or broke by the orders of Perennis, who put his creatures in their places; in consequence of which the army mutinied, and sent a detachment to Rome, in 187, to demand justice of the emperor against him: the emperor, incensed at his conduct, delivered him up to the soldiers, who put him to death on the spot.

In order to suppress the mutinous spirit of the army, Commodus sent Pertinax to Britain in 186. As he resolved to proceed according to the rigour of military discipline, the ninth legion mutinied, and he was left for dead among the slain. He however gained his point, but desired to be dismissed, and he was succeeded by Clodius Albinus in 190; who was shortly after recalled, and Junius Severus appointed in his stead. Clodius Albinus was again made governor in 193; and upon the death of Julian, Albinus was proclaimed emperor by his army in Britain. At the same time Septimus Severus in Pannonia, and Pescennius Niger in Syria, received the same honour from their respective armies. Severus pretended to be willing to divide the empire with Albinus, in order to amuse him, and then marched against

(*q*) It should be observed, that Prasatagus, king of the Iceni, at his death, had bequeathed one half of his dominions to the Romans, and the other to his two daughters; hoping, that by the sacrifice of a part, he should secure the quiet possession of the remainder to his family: but the sequel proved very different to his expectations; for the funeral obsequies were no sooner performed, than the Roman procurator took possession of the whole. The houses of the deceased monarch were plundered by the officers and soldiers, and his family seized and made captives. When Boadicea, his widow, attempted to remonstrate against such injurious and unjustifiable conduct, she was ordered to be publicly scourged like a slave; and such was the outrageous brutality of the Roman officers, that they even proceeded to violate the chastity of her virgin daughters. These flagrant enormities were sufficient to rouse the indignation of the insulted Boadicea, and to excite a general revolt; and the desire of revenge now widely diffused itself through bosoms of little civilization, but who had still a high sense of honour.

(*r*) Agricola was a person of great accomplishments, military and political, and was justly held in the highest estimation. He had a perfect knowledge of the country he was sent to govern, and entered on his command with peculiar advantages. Though he had led an active life, he was greatly attached to speculative knowledge; and had studied, with diligent attention, the genius and disposition of the Britons. Experience had convinced him, when he served in the island under Suetonius and Cerealis, that the Britons were more easily to be drawn into compliance by acts of generosity, than forced to submission by severity. He administered justice throughout the conquered provinces. He commenced a strict reformation in his household, and among his immediate dependants. The conduct and discipline of his army underwent as severe a disquisition. Faults he would frequently excuse; but crimes he never failed to punish. His was the severity of justice, not the cruelty of oppression. He rather required than exacted imposts: he regulated the inequality of assessments; and, by striking at the root of corruption, destroyed all iniquitous impositions. He preferred the obedience which flows from esteem to the submission which arises from fear. In the disposal of preferments he was just and sagacious, uninfluenced by rank, and swayed only by merit. In veneration of such virtues, a real attachment to his person, and an humble imitation of his conduct, universally obtained: his soldiers became modest and regular, his officers generous and humane. In short, by the wisdom and mildness of his administration, the Britons began to be reconciled to the Roman government, and to enjoy the blessings of peace, which till then had been unknown to them. The news of Agricola's success was received by Domitian, who was now seated on the imperial throne, with the rancour of envy, and the discontent of ungratified malice, though the royal hypocrite concealed the real feelings of his mind beneath the specious mask of joy and satisfaction. As a pretence for recalling him from Britain, he pretended that he wished to bestow on him an honourable mark of his favour, but meanly and treacherously caused him to be put to death.

Pescennius,


BOADICEA HARANGUING
HER TROOPS.

Pescennius, who was slain in battle. He afterwards came to an engagement with Albinus near Lyons, who was also defeated and slain, in 196.

Severus being now sole emperor, divided Britain into two governments: but the island was not long at peace; for in 205 the Caledonians made fresh incursions into the northern provinces, and Severus in 207 came over to Britain to chastise their insolence, though he was sixty years of age at the time. Being applied to, he refused to make peace with them, unless they would submit to his mercy; which they positively determined not to do. Thinking to strike terror into them, he ordered his army to march, and penetrated to the utmost parts of the north; but in this expedition he lost upwards of fifty thousand men. At length, finding himself unable to vanquish them, he relinquished the northern parts, and caused a wall of free stone, sixty-eight miles in length, to be built in the place where Hadrian had before made his rampart. He then left the command of his army to his son Caracalla, and returned to York. By some supineness or mismanagement Caracalla suffered the Roman soldiery to grow licentious, and the Caledonians renewed hostilities. Those who fell into the hands of the Romans were ordered to be massacred by Severus, and shortly after, February 4, 211, he died at York. Caracalla and Geta, Severus's two sons, made peace with the Caledonians, and retired to Rome, about the year 259.

From this time the Roman empire was greatly troubled by factions; all strove for the mastery; and some of the thirty tyrants, by whom that empire was distracted, were acknowledged in Britain, although they were not personally present.

In the time of the emperor Probus, who was the first that permitted the Britons to plant vines, Bonosus, who was born in Britain, assumed the purple; and it is conjectured that his countrymen abetted him in his pretensions. But, after a short enjoyment of his usurped title, he was vanquished by Probus, and hanged himself in despair. After subduing the Vandals and Burgundians, Probus sent great numbers of those people to form a colony in Britain, who are supposed to have settled about Gogmagog Hill, near Cambridge.

About 285, Carausius was sent with a fleet to scour the seas about Britain of the piratical Franks and Saxons. He grew immensely rich, and assumed the imperial purple. With a design to chastise him, Maximian advanced as far as Gaul; but he was forced to associate him in the empire, and left him Britain for his share. Being desirous, however, to get rid of his associate, he sent Constantius Chlorus against him with an army, in the year 290. Carausius was slain by Alletus, who assumed the title of emperor. Alletus was put to death by Asclepiodotus, in 300, who also assumed the imperial dignity, and who was likewise afterwards slain in battle.

Dioclesian who reigned in the East, and Maximian who reigned in the West, resigned the empire, and Galerius and Constantius swayed the imperial sceptre. Some commotions, however, breaking out in Britain, occasioned Constantius to come to the island, where not long after he died, at York, on the 25th of July, 306.

Constantine, who succeeded Constantius, in 307, is supposed to have been born at Colchester in Britain. Under his government the Britons lived in great tranquillity; and the Christian religion flourished among them. He divided Britain into three provinces, viz. BRITANNIA PRIMA, BRITANNIA SECUNDA, and MAXIMA CÆSARIENSIS. The latter was afterwards divided into two.

In 353 the emperor Constantius, who succeeded Constantine, sent Paulus, a Spanish notary, into Britain, as inquisitor-general, an office well adapted to the disposition of his mind; in the discharge of which he committed numberless extortions, and cruelly oppressed the inhabitants. The villanies and extortions of Plautus were so great, that Martinus, the governor, a man of humanity, spared no pains to put an effectual stop to his flagitious proceedings; but all his remonstrances being despised and neglected, he formed the resolution of destroying him. For this purpose he repaired to Paulus's house; and, drawing his sword, made a furious thrust at him; but missing his aim, and knowing that the attempt would inevitably produce his destruction, he plunged the weapon into his own breast, and expired on the spot. Paulus avenged himself on Martinus's whole family, by exercising against them the engines of confiscation, torture, and exile (*s*).

(*s*) Ammanius Marcellinus acquaints us, lib. xxii. that the monster of inhumanity, Paulus, was afterwards burned alive by order of Julian the apostate.

The Picts and Scots again becoming restless, made incursions into the Roman province, and Lupicinus was dispatched in 361 by the emperor Julian, to stop their progress; but he was recalled before he reached London. Encouraged by this circumstance, and the dissatisfaction which pervaded the Roman empire, the Picts, Scots, Attacots, Franks, and Saxons, invaded the Roman province about the same time. Severus and Jovinus were successively sent by Valentinian to put a stop to their ravages, but in vain, in 365, and 366; and in 367 Theodosius the Elder was commissioned to command the Roman forces in Britain; he defeated his opponents in several encounters, and drove them out of the Roman province. After which, in 368, he repaired London and other places; built fortresses between the Friths of Forth and Clide, and made a fifth province, which he called VALENTIA.

Maximus, the governor of Britain, entertained the design of reducing the whole island; to effect which purpose, he engaged the Picts to join him against the Scots, who were compelled to fly into Ireland and the adjacent isles.

In 378 Gratian associated Theodosius in the empire; which so greatly displeased Maximus, that he formed the project of making himself emperor. At the same time the Scots endeavoured to recover their dominions, but were driven back into Ireland; and shortly after Maximus granted a peace to the Irish.

In 388 Maximus assumed the imperial dignity, and caused Gratian to be assassinated, but, being himself vanquished by Theodosius, was beheaded.

In 393 Arcadius and Honorius were at the head of the empire, and Honorius sent Victorinus over to Britain as governor, with orders to curb the insolence of the Picts: but he treated the Picts exceedingly ill; insomuch that they recalled the Scots, and invited Fergus II. from Denmark. Upon his landing in Scotland, they made him their king, and shortly after re-entered Britain. Fergus, in 403, took the fortresses which had been built by Theodosius, and, passing over Severus's wall, laid the Roman province waste.

In 408 the Britons resolved to choose an emperor of their own, and their choice fell upon Marcus, an officer, who was quickly slain or dethroned. After him Gratian was chosen, and he met with a similar fate: and Constantine, a common soldier, was the third they raised to the imperial dignity. He was successful against the northern people, compelled them to retire into their own country, and concluded a peace with them. But not being content to reign in Britain alone, he formed the design of becoming master of the whole empire: to effect which, he assembled an army, and passed over to Gaul in 409. Honorius, being now pressed on all sides, was forced to own Constantine for his associate in the empire. With this, however, Constantine was not satisfied, and therefore associated his son Constans with himself, and marched towards Italy, to dethrone Honorius. But Gerontius, the general of Constans, caused Maximus to be proclaimed emperor, and besieged Constans in Vienne, who was slain in a sally. Hereupon Constantine retired to Arles, where he was besieged by Gerontius. Honorius, to curb the insolence of his opposers, sent Constantius at the head of a powerful army. Gerontius fled into Spain, and was slain by his own people; and Constantine, being taken at Arles, was sent to Honorius, and beheaded.

In 410, the Britons being left to themselves, were reduced to great extremities. Their defenceless country was ravaged by the Picts and Scots; and in this extremity they implored the assistance of the Romans, but implored in vain; for the continental empire of the Romans was now on the point of being overwhelmed by a barbarous herd of Goths, Vandals, and other invaders, from the regions of the north and east. Honorius voluntarily resigned the sovereignty of Britain, and discharged the inhabitants from their allegiance to the Roman empire. This circumstance only tended to render the situation of the Britons more wretched, and the more exposed to the ravages of their northern neighbours. At length Ætius sent them a legion, in 416, under the command of Gallio, which, however, was shortly after recalled; and the commander of that legion advised them to inure themselves to arms, and to repair Severus's wall, which they accordingly did: and in 426 or 427 the Romans took their final leave of Britain. Thus were the Britons deprived of Roman assistance, and delivered from Roman tyranny (*t*).

CHAP.

(*t*) If we reckon from the year 50, A. D. about which time, by order of Claudius, the first British province was formed, the Romans had possession of a considerable part of Britain for the space of about three hundred

CHAP. II.

The History of the British Church, from the Conversion of the Britons, till the final Departure of the Romans.

CONCERNING the religion which prevailed in Britain at the earliest period from which its history can be traced, a concise view has been already given in the Introduction. The system of Druidism long flourished among the ancient Britons; but as the Druids, the ministers of that superstitious and sanguinary persuasion, were greatly persecuted by the Romans, many of them were induced to retire into the Isle of Anglesey, which was the principal seat of that superstition, and where the Archdruid resided.—Suetonius Paulinus attacked the Druids in this retreat, and exercised great cruelty against the promulgators of that persuasion, massacring or burning all that fell into his hands, as has been already mentioned. This severe blow to their religion was strengthened by the slaughter of a vast number of Druids, who accompanied the army of Boadicea, when an engagement took place between the British forces under that queen and the Roman legions under Suetonius. After that action many of the Druidical order retired into North Britain, Ireland, and the Hebrides or Western Isles, where they exercised their ancient mode of worship till the light of Christianity had spread its influence among them.

As to the precise time when the Christian faith was introduced among the Britons, the histories of that period give us no certain information. In the ages of monastic superstition, however, a tradition was current, importing that Joseph of Arimathea, who undertook the charge of burying the crucified Author of our religion, landed in Britain about the year 63, and was the first preacher of Christianity in this part of the world; and that he erected a church on that spot which was afterwards occupied by the abbey of Glastonbury. But this tradition is so destitute of genuine support, that it may be considered as the production of the monks of that abbey, who were prompted by the desire of encouraging the resort of pilgrims to a monastery built, as they pretended, on so sacred a spot.

Archbishop Usher has adduced various assertions of old writers, intimating that the apostle James preached the gospel in this island (*u*); and some authors have ascribed this pious work to Simon Zelotes (*x*). The apostles Paul and Peter (*y*) have been respectively mentioned as the first propagators of Christianity in this and other western countries: but there is some difficulty attending the proof that either of the apostles ever came into Britain; though if any one of them ever did, we hesitate not to give the preference to the apostle Paul, because in his favour the claim is by far the strongest (*z*).

But whoever was the first preacher of Christianity in this island, there is great reason to think that it became known here in the reign either of Claudius or Nero. It had been adopted by a considerable number of the Romans under the former of those emperors; and, as the intercourse between Rome and Britain was greatly augmented on the reduction of some of the British states by Claudius in person, we may infer that the Christian tenets had reached this island, and met with some proselytes, before the decease of that emperor, whose death happened A. D. 54. Nevertheless, it is certain that the pure religion of Jesus was known to the Britons about the middle of the first century, though at that time, and for many succeeding years, the converts were few in number, and their devotions were privately exercised. Their number may be supposed to have received some augmentation from the zealous exertions of those Roman Christians who fled hither during the persecutions of the infamous Nero, (who began to reign in 57,) in the more centrical parts of his empire; and the extermination of the Druids from provincial Britain, by disengaging the minds of the islanders from the dominion of those priests may have contributed to hasten the progress of Christianity among them.

It does not appear that the converts of this island were molested during the persecutions which the Christians suffered under several of the emperors who preceded Dioclesian: perhaps their tranquillity in this respect was owing to their being so few in number, and the unoffending quietness of their deportment. But in the reign of Dioclesian the British Christians, whose numbers had gradually increased, were exposed to the horrors of religious persecution, from which they had been hitherto exempt. The first person who suffered death in this island for his adherence to the faith of Christ, is generally allowed to have been a native of Verulam, named Alban, from whom that town was afterwards called St. Alban's. About the same time, Aron and Julius, two inhabitants of Caerleon upon Uske, and many other Britons, were put to death for their adherence to the Christian faith (*a*).

Constantius, who, while he enjoyed the title of Cæsar, had been under the necessity of enforcing the edicts of the joint emperors, Dioclesian and Maximian, against the Christians resident in Britain and the other provinces which he governed, had no sooner ascended the imperial throne, than he stopped the progress of persecution, and in the year 305 tolerated the exercise of the Christian worship.

In the reign of Constantine the Great, who was the first Christian emperor, the professors of that doctrine not only enjoyed the free and public exercise of their religion, but were indulged with considerable privileges. Thus honoured with imperial patronage, Christianity began to extend, in an eminent degree, her triumphs over the idolatry, of the Gentiles. The edict by which this prince permitted his subjects, of every rank and denomination, to bequeath their estates to the church, greatly increased the opulence, or rather removed the poverty of the Christian clergy, and stimulated their zeal for the conversion of the Pagans. Some years before the promulgation of this edict, in A. D. 314, a council was holden at Arles (*b*), for deliberating upon the concerns of the church. This is supposed to have been the first public council that took place among the Christian clergy. Three British ecclesiastics, who had been dignified with the episcopal title (*c*), attended on this solemn occasion, besides a priest and a deacon. From this circumstance it is evident that the church had been regularly established here by that time; but how long before it is not in the power of any one at the present day to ascertain, although, perhaps, it was not earlier than the accession of Constantine.

About this time, or a little after, the well-known heresy of Arius, an Alexandrian priest, had made some progress in disturbing the peace of the church; for it usually happens, that when religious persecution has ceased, internal animosities, arising from difference of opinion, assumes its place. His doctrine had been condemned in the council of Nice in 325, as repugnant to the catholic faith; but, in that of Ariminium, in 359, the party that favoured his heretical notions prevailed over those of the orthodox persuasion, and procured assent to a system of faith which differed in some particulars from the Nicene creed (*d*). Those British prelates who assisted at this synod subscribed the new creed; but, from their conduct, both at the beginning of the session, and after the dissolution of the assembly, their signatures appear to have been extorted by their fear of the Arian majority; for the bishops of the Gallic church, among whom those of Britain were included, (as this province was now a diocese under the præfect of Gaul,) not only signi-

hundred and seventy years; and computing from the first expedition of Julius Cæsar, in the year 55 before Christ, they had a constant intercourse with the island for nearly five centuries. There are doubts, however, among historians and antiquaries, with regard to the time of their final departure from this island. Rapin, whose authority we have thought fit to follow, places it in 426 or 427; Hume, in 448: Camden, in 446, though he afterwards altered it to 422; Stillingfleet, in 418: Milton in the last year of the reign of Honorius, which was 423; and Dr. Henry, in 420.

(*u*) De Primord. Eccles. Brit. cap. I.

(*x*) Nicephorus, Calist. Histor. Eccles.—Dorothei Apostolor. Synops.

(*y*) Simeon Metaphrastes, an ecclesiastical biographer of the tenth century, affirms, that St. Peter passed twenty-three years in preaching the gospel at Rome, and in Britain, and in other countries in the west. Cardinal Baronius, and other Romish writers, have endeavoured, but without success, to support Simeon's opinion respecting the conversion of the Britons by this apostle.

(*z*) Theodoret, a prelate of the fifth century, asserts that the Britons were converted by him; and St. Jerome agrees with that learned writer in the same opinion.

(*a*) Vid. Gildas, cap. viii—Bede, lib. i. cap. 7.—Many of the provincial Britons, to avoid the persecution of Dioclesian, retired into North Britain, where they propagated, among the unconquered islanders, the principles of the true faith. Vid. Buchanan, lib. iv. cap. 46. But this was not the first acquaintance which the latter had with Christianity, if the observation of Tertullian be founded in truth.

(*b*) Arles is a city of France, in the department of the mouths of the Rhone, in the late district of Lower Provence. It is seated on a hill at the east side of the Rhone, whose declivity is towards the north. Constantine took great delight in this place, and made it the capital of the Roman empire in Gaul. This town is very ancient, but the time of its being built is unknown: by some it is attributed to Julius Cæsar. Several councils, on the affairs of the church, were held at this place.

(*c*) These were, beyond doubt, the bishops of York, London, and Caerleon.

(*d*) Bibliotheque des Auteurs Ecclesiastique, par Du Pin, siècle 4me.

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fied in the council a disapprobation of the tenets of Arius, but, on their return from the place of meeting, renounced their compliance with the decrees of so heretical a synod (*e*). The emperor Constantius, by whom this council had been convoked, offered to defray the expences of attendance; a proposal which was rejected by all its members, except three of the bishops who had been deputed from Britain. These prelates, being less opulent than the continental clergy, and unwilling to burthen their ecclesiastical brethren, who expressed a readiness to bear their charges, thought proper to accept the emperor's bounty (*f*).

The time of the first introduction of the monastic order among the clergy of this island is uncertain. The origin of conventual seclusion is attributed to a Christian of Egypt, named Antony, who was afterwards canonized for his fanatical piety. This devotee founded some monasteries about the commencement of the fourth century, in which he stationed those Christians who had already embraced a life of solitude in the wilds of Egypt under his auspices. The renunciation of the vanities of the world soon spread from the east to the west, and buildings arose in various parts of Christendom for the reception of those who were desirous of devoting themselves, as they pretended, to the more immediate and exclusive service of their Creator. Monastic fraternities seem to have been formed in Britain towards the close of the fourth century; and that of Bangor was one of the first (*g*). The tenants of this monastery procured their principal support from manual labour; and this was perhaps the case of many of the early monastic foundations, though, in succeeding ages, the monks lived luxuriously on the bounty of charitable zealots.

An abbot of this celebrated monastery, named Pelagius (*h*), contributed, by the propagation of new doctrines, to sow disunion among his clerical countrymen. He did not himself broach his heterodox sentiments in Britain; but, while he was employed on the continent in the dissemination of his heresy, Agricola, one of his disciples, communicated it to the British clergy. It made such progress in the island, as to baffle all the efforts of the orthodox churchmen for its extinction. Application was therefore made to the prelates of Gaul, to assist in the confutation and suppression of the Pelagian doctrine. Germanus, bishop of Auxerre, and Lupus bishop of Troyes, were sent over, in 429, by the Gallic church, to aid their British brethren in the cause of orthodoxy. This mission, we are informed, was attended with success. The two reverend prelates preached in the churches, the highways, and the fields, with such a flow of eloquence, and strength of argument, that many of the Pelagian converts renounced their errors, the wavering clergy were confirmed in the true faith, and the orthodox found cause of triumph for having combated opinions which were now fully demonstrated to be erroneous and heretical. At a disputation held at Verulam, Germanus and his colleague Lupus are said to have completely confuted the errors of Pelagius, and the progress of Pelagianism was checked, at least, for a time, and tranquillity was restored to a divided church.

With regard to the doctrines and ceremonial observances prevalent in the British church at this period, it is sufficient to observe, that they resembled those of the other Christian churches of Europe, except that, in the celebration of the festival of Easter, the Britons followed the mode adopted by the churches of the East. The only heresies with which they had been infected were those of Arius and Pelagius; but the doctrines of the former met with fewer proselytes in the island than those of the latter.

CHAP. III.

Observations on the Progress of Learning and the Arts among the Britons, after the Invasion of the Romans.

THE Romans, when they began to provinciate a country which they had subdued, took every opportunity of propagating among their new subjects the knowledge of their own language, arts, and customs, and of introducing their own forms of government and policy. Thus they produced a speedy change in the appearance of the conquered regions, as well as in the manners and habitudes of the people. How far these observations are applicable to Britain, we shall now endeavour to make obvious.

The plantation of colonies at Camelodunum (Malden) and other places, proved highly beneficial to the Romans, not only in strengthening the subjection of the Britons, but in promoting among them the arts, and manners of the conquerors: for, although the behaviour of the first colonists did not exhibit the moderation which was best calculated to answer the intentions of the Roman goverment, and even contributed, among other provocations, to the great revolt under Boadicea, there cannot remain a doubt but that such establishments suggested to the Britons a desire for the more substantial accommodations of the Roman life; a wish of imitating that polished people, whose superior skill and refinement they could not but admire.

It is natural to suppose that the attachment of the islanders to their own language rendered them averse, for some time, to the acquisition of the Latin tongue; and the latter language was not generally studied by the British youth before the appointment of Julius Agricola to the government of the Roman possessions in Britain, A. D. 78. He was zealously actuated in his endeavours for the civilization of the provincials, and for the promotion of learning and politeness among them. He began with providing Roman instructors for the young Britons of a higher class, being aware that the example of the great is very efficacious in commanding imitation. When these pupils had acquired a competent knowledge of the language of their conquerors, they were gradually led to other branches of Roman education; and their proficiency in general learning was not contemptible.

The introduction of Christianity into the Roman province in Britain tended, among other advantages, to the improvement of the inhabitants in learning and civilization. Those who were destined to the work of the ministry found it incumbent on them to study the Scriptures, to cultivate eloquence and argumentation, and enable themselves to defend the articles of their faith against the attacks of philosophic Pagans and disputations of heretics. The bulk of the converts, at the same time, felt the humanizing influence of the religion of Jesus, by which their rude manners were softened, their licentious practices reformed, and their moral and social habits improved.

With respect to the arts of architecture, agriculture, clothing, and others which are connected with the convenience of mankind, the Britons made no inconsiderable progress in them during their subjection to Rome. A striking change took place in the towns of this island, which were soon furnished with handsome private buildings, and magnificent public ones, by the labour and ingenuity of Roman architects, who also erected many new and elegant towns in the best situations of South Britain. Agricola was the first governor who produced among the Britons a general imitation of the Roman style of building; but their great inexperience in substantial and commodious architecture obliged them, for some time, to make use of Roman architects and Roman workmen. Long observation, however, accompanied with occasional practice, enabled them to become proficients in the architectural art; and the country presented to the view an abundance of well-built towns and villages. But this art greatly declined among them before the final departure of the Romans; which was partly effected by the frequent and destructive incursions of their northern neighbours: this depressed their spirits, and relaxed their exertions.

Agriculture, indeed, flourished highly among the British provincials during the continuance of the Roman power. The cultivation of the land became general in South Britain; and the greatness of the produce demonstrated the fertility of the soil. No sooner had they cultivated a sufficient portion of ground for the subsistence of themselves and the Roman troops, than they began to raise large quantities of corn for exportation; and the legions of the continent

(*e*) Hilar. Fragm. p. 431.

(*f*) Sulpitii Severi. Hist. Sacr. lib. ii.—Du Pin, however, affirms, that the bishops of Gaul and Britain refused to accept the imperial allowance on this occasion.

(*g*) This abode of religious retirement was situated in Flintshire, and became so extensive as to contain apartments for upwards of two thousand monks, according to Bede and William of Malmesbury.

(*h*) The word Pelagius is a translation into Latin of the Welsh name Morgan, which signifies, one born or dwelling near the sea. The birth of Pelagius is attributed to North Wales; but the Scots, without sufficient ground, have claimed him as one of their countrymen. He was born in 354. This monk looked upon the doctrines, which were commonly received, "Concerning the original corruption of the human nature, and the necessity of divine grace to enlighten the understanding,

tinent were, for a considerable time, supplied with the bounty of the British soil (*i*).

The arts of dress and external ornament underwent a great alteration in consequence of the intercourse which subsisted between the Britons and the Romans. The skins with which the inland Britons heretofore covered themselves in the winter were soon laid aside, and coarse woollen mantles succeeded in their place. In the summer, they began to wear a garment of finer manufacture, dyed of various colours in squares or chequers. Although this garment resembled the coarse woollen mantles in shape, it was softer and lighter. It was at length accompanied with a tunic or doublet, and a sort of trowsers made of variegated woollen cloth. The use of linen for the immediate covering soon followed these improvements. In the time of Agricola, the British youth of distinction shewed a desire for assuming the Roman dress, and the use of the toga was not unfrequent; but this habit never became universal. The custom of painting the body declined, as clothing increased and civilization advanced; though it continued in the northern parts at least two hundred years after it had been relinquished in the south (*k*).

The various manufactures which the Romans practised on the continent were soon introduced into Britain, and greatly contributed to its flourishing state. Artisans and tradesmen abounded in the British towns; and the sea-ports were replete with merchants, who carried on a considerable commerce with the states on the continent. The exports, as well as the imports, were much more numerous than they had been before the arrival of Julius Cæsar; and this great traffic was not confined to foreign bottoms, for the Britons themselves built and employed a vast number of mercantile vessels. At this period London, which had long been the metropolis of Great Britain, was one of the most flourishing commercial towns in the island.

The inhabitants of South Britain were certainly indebted to the Romans for various improvements. The endeavours of that great people softened the original ferocity of the Britons, gave them a taste for the refinements of art and science, and instructed them in the laudable pursuits of mental accomplishments. By promoting agriculture, manufactures, and commerce, they introduced the blessings of plenty and opulence in a degree before unknown to the island: by furnishing examples of architecture, both elegant and solid, they encouraged the natives to aspire to ornament as well as accommodation in their private houses, and splendour in their public structures: by making admirable roads (*l*), and erecting bridges wherever they were requisite, they established an easy and regular communication from the extremity of Cornwall to the rampart of Antoninus: by draining morasses, and clearing woods, they not only enlarged the space for pasturage and agriculture, but improved the temperature of the air and the health of the inhabitants. But to counterbalance these improvements, it may be remarked, that the progress of luxury, which the Romans, for political purposes, strongly encouraged among the Britons, the privation and disuse of arms, their exclusion from all share in the government of the country, and the military exile of the bravest of the natives, contributed so much to the diminution of their natural vigour, and the extinction of their ancient spirit of liberty, that they seemed to have lost even the ordinary spirit of action, and the power of defensive opposition, and were disabled, by their own degeneracy, from the proper use and enjoyment of that independency which they now received from the abdication of the Romans.

BOOK II.

FROM THE ABDICATION OF BRITAIN BY THE ROMANS TO THE ESTABLISHMENT OF THE HEPTARCHY.

CHAPTER I.

From the Departure of the Romans to the calling in of the Saxons.

ON the final departure of the Romans, the Britons were thrown into the greatest consternation and despair; and instead of rejoicing at being freed from their tyrants, they regretted the loss of their protectors. They did not reflect on their helpless situation without a profusion of melancholy complaints; and, by thus indulging their sorrow, they increased their inability of defence. The Picts and Scots, on the contrary, rejoiced at the final retreat of the Romans, and rushed from their northern districts in confidence of an easy victory. Some of them poured through the breaches which they made in the northern wall, while others came over the friths, and over-ran the country as far as Severus's wall, carrying desolation wherever they went. They then made a bold attack on Severus's wall; but the Britons, although they had deserted the parts of which the Scots and Picts had lately taken possession, having roused themselves from their lethargy, prepared for the defence of this rampart, which was now in such a state of compleat repair, that, if the men who garrisoned its towers, and crowded its platforms, had acted with a manly spirit, the efforts of the assailants might have been frustrated. The event, however, was different; for the pusillanimous Britons made such a weak resistance, that the enemy soon gained possession of the barrier. The attack and defence exhibited a singular scene. The Picts and Scots made use of long iron hooks, with which they pulled down the Britons from the parapets, and threw them on the ground; while the defendants were, for the most part, so oppressed with cold, abstinence, and fatigue, that they were almost incapable of action, and at length retreated to the southward in great confusion. The invaders now made several breaches in the wall, and undermined its foundations in various parts. Elated with their success, they pursued the fugitives, and slew all that they overtook. They plundered the towns on the borders, and then returned within their own frontiers.

These predatory visitations were annually renewed for some years, to the impoverishment of the Britons, and the devastation of their territories. Multitudes of those who had been stripped of their property by the Picts and Scots resolved to supply their necessities by robbing their countrymen. The general anarchy which prevailed in South Britain, encouraged the continuance of this domestic rapine. This state of confusion produced a neglect of agriculture, the consequence of which was a famine; after which a pestilential disorder succeeded, and swept off a great number of persons.

The accumulation of their misfortunes induced many of the Britons, about the year, 433, to surrender to the enemy,

and purify the heart, as prejudicial to the progress of holiness and virtue, and tending to lull mankind in a presumptuous and fatal security. He maintained, that these doctrines were as false as they were pernicious; that the sins of our first parents were imputed to them alone, and not to their posterity; that we derive no corruption from their fall, but are born as pure and unspotted as Adam came out of the forming hand of his Creator; that mankind therefore are capable of repentance and amendment, and of arriving to the highest degrees of piety and virtue by the use of their natural faculties and powers; that, indeed, external grace is necessary to excite their endeavours, but that they have no need of the internal succours of the divine Spirit." See Mosheim's Ecclesiastical History, vol. i. p. 422, edit. 1758.

(*i*) Zosimus, lib. iii. acquaints us, that Julian the Apostate, before he was emperor, built in Germany a fleet of eight hundred vessels, which he sent to Britain to be laden with corn. The copious supply which these ships procured from the British market afford a strong proof of the industry of the inhabitants, who at the same time retained a sufficiency for home consumption.

(*k*) Camden supposes that the continuance of this custom in North Britain occasioned the tribes which inhabited that part of the island to be called *Picts*, i. e. painted persons, from the Latin *Picti*: but Dr. Macpherson imagines that they received the name of *Pictich* from the depredations they committed on their southern neighbours; for this word, which was easily Romanised into *Picti*, signifies, in the British language, *thieves* or *plunderers*. The same author is of opinion, that the confederates of the Picts were called *Sculte*, or wanderers, by the South Britons, whence originated the name of *Scoti* or Scots.

(*l*) Vestiges of these roads still remain, to the honour of Roman industry, and the reputation of Roman art. The principal roads were, Watling Street, Ikenild Street, Ermin Street, and the Fosse.

while

while others retired to the forests and mountains, where they procured a precarious subsistence from hunting. Some parties of them derived courage from despair, and sallied out of their retreats upon straggling bodies of the barbarians, with such spirit and ferocity as proved fatal to many of those plunderers. Apprehensive of these efforts of desperation, as well as fearful of the pestilence, the Picts and Scots relinquished their inroads for a few years. The Britons, now relieved from the incursions of these marauders, began to recultivate their lands, and an extraordinary abundance was the consequence of their industry, aided by a continuance of seasonable weather. Such a return of plenty banished their sorrows, and disposed their weak minds to debauchery and riot. These years of tranquillity were succeeded by a renewal of incursions from the North, which removed from the Britons the means of intemperance, and reduced them to a state of distress and poverty. In this deplorable situation they elected sovereigns in different parts of the country; but many of these were soon deposed from their new dignity, principally through the ambition of competitors, but not from any disaffection of their subjects (*m*).

In this distressed state the Britons applied again to Ætius, the Roman præfect of Gaul, who had signalized himself by a series of victories over the invaders of the western empire, to whom they sent a supplicatory epistle, in the year 446, entreating him, in terms of the most contemptible humiliation, to grant them some protection against the invasions of the Picts and Scots. The Britons addressed their letter "To Ætius, consul for the third time," and entitled it, "The Groans of the Britons:" which, after a short preface, proceeded in this manner; "The barbarians drive us towards the sea, and the sea forces us back upon the barbarians. We are therefore exposed to the miserable alternative of falling by the sword, or of being swallowed up by the waves." But their lamentations were futile, and procured no kind of assistance from Ætius; for he was then collecting all his forces, and raising fresh supplies, to repel the attacks of Attala, king of the Huns, who menaced the western empire with total destruction.

The Britons being now satisfied that they should never receive assistance from the Romans, became deeply depressed, and were for some time uncertain what steps to pursue in the present emergency. Their terrors were likewise augmented by an alarming rumour, which purported that the Picts and Scots had formed a resolution to enter their country with an amazing force, whereby they might exterminate the present possessors of South Britain, and fix their own residence in that division of the island. In consequence of this terrifying report, a general assembly of all who enjoyed authority among the Britons was convoked by Vortigern, who had been recently elected sovereign of South Britain, by a concurrence of those states which had before been disunited in their counsels. This prince harangued the assembly on the reduced state of the British nation, oppressed as it had long been by the inroads of a restless enemy, who had now adopted the resolution of expelling the southern natives from the island. As the Romans had exhausted the military strength of the British province by continual levies, and had left it, thus unprotected, to the insults of its neighbours, it was not in a condition, he said, to resist the attacks of so formidable and fierce a foe. Foreign assistance, he continued, was therefore become necessary, unless the Britons wished to be subjected to the risk of extirpation. If the assembly should concur in the expediency of external aid, he knew of no nation he could recommend in preference to the Saxons. He said, that these people had distinguished themselves by the success of their arms; and as they were not in an embarrassed or distressed situation like the Romans, there could be no doubt of their willingness to assist a people who would be happy in rewarding their services.

At length, after some debate, the council acquiesced in the proposition of Vortigern; and it was resolved that an embassy should be sent to the Saxons, to stipulate for their immediate assistance. The embassy accordingly set out in 449; and, according to Witichind, a Saxon historian, addressed the Saxons in the following abject terms: "Most valiant Saxons, the distressed and miserable Britons, harrassed by the perpetual incursions of their enemies, have sent us humbly to supplicate your assistance and protection. We are possessed of a country beautiful, extensive, and fertile, which we resign to your command and devotion. We formerly enjoyed peace and tranquillity under the government of the Romans; and now, confiding in your strength and courage, we seek for safety beneath the wings of your valour. If by your powerful assistance we should rise superior to our enemies, we shall willingly submit to the performance of any services which hereafter you may be pleased to impose." These servile solicitations were unfortunately crowned with success. The Saxons, who had long viewed this island with an eye of desire, were rejoiced at the invitation, which they immediately accepted, and prepared for the expedition.

(*m*) It is extremely probable that many petty kings, started up in different parts of South Britain, and that the new states thus formed were as independent of each other, as the various principalities had been which existed in the island before it was subjugated by the Romans. The dates of the transactions which intervened between the final departure of that people, and the arrival of the Saxons in 449, are so confused and uncertain, that it is impossible to determine, with any degree of accuracy, how long the Britons remained without kings after the former of these events, or at what time the different occurrences mentioned in this part of the history actually took place. Milton conjectures, that they did not proceed to the election of kings till after they had received the answer of Ætius; but others place it much earlier. Perhaps several ambitious men might procure their nomination to the government of some parts of the island very soon after the cessation of the Roman power in this country, while other distircts might continue in a state of anarchy to a later period.

(*n*) See his admirable work *De Situ, Moribus, et Populis Germaniæ.*

(*o*) Vid. Tacit. de Morib. German. cap. 12. This practice, as observed by Dr. Brady, was the foundation of our hundred courts.

CHAP. II.

Remarks on the Government, Religion, and Character of the Saxons.

AS the Saxons, from this period, acted a very conspicuous part in South Britain, and produced a remarkable change in the affairs of that country, the reader will naturally expect a brief account of their origin, government, and manners, before we proceed to a detail of their transactions in this island.

The Saxons were a branch of the ancient Germans, who seem to have been a part of that prolific nation known by the general name of Goths. The Saxons, properly so called, had for some time inhabited the Cimbrian Chersonesus, or peninsula of Jutland, (now part of Denmark,) and had rendered themselves formidable by their piratical excursions, to the provincial coasts of the western empire. In the lapse of time they extended their settlement to the southward, and occupied the whole range of coasts from Jutland to the mouth of the Rhine. At the time of the British embassy different tribes of Saxons possessed Holstein, great part of Westphalia, and the coasts of Friseland, Holland, and Zealand.

The people who arrived in Britain at this period, though they bore the general appellation of Saxons, were properly speaking, Saxons, Angles, and Jutes, with whom some tribes of Frisians were also intermingled. The Angles chiefly resided in the southern part of Jutland; the Jutes in the northern parts of that peninsula, and the Brisians in a part of Friseland.

As the Saxons were of German extract, their civil and religious government, manners, and customs resembled those of the Germans, as described by Tacitus (*n*). A great degree of liberty prevailed among them; for the fierceness of their tempers would not permit them to be passive instruments in the hands of their chieftains. Their states were independent; but, on occasions of general danger, a military union was formed, and a sovereign of the combined states elected, whose authority ceased on the return of public tranquillity.

The supreme power resided in a general council, which assembled at stated times, and regulated all affairs of moment; while matters of less importance were determined by the assembly of chieftains. Those who had a right to appear in the national council, were the chiefs, the priests, and the warriors; and no person was considered as belonging to the class of warriors, until he had been formally invested with a buckler and lance, with the consent, and in the presence of the council.

Justice was administered by chiefs appointed by this assembly, who respectively exercised their judicial functions in different districts. Each of these justiciaries had a hundred persons to assist him with their advice, and add weight to his authority (*o*).

The capital punishments which prevailed among these people were hanging and drowning. Traitors and deserters were punished in the former mode; cowards in the latter. Other offences were atoned by the payment of a mulct or fine, which varied according to the degree of guilt. Even the murder of a chieftain, however exalted his rank, was compensated by a fine, which was greater than that which was imposed on the murderer of an inferior person.

The Saxons made a threefold division among themselves: their nation, or rather themselves, were divided into three distinct and separate classes; viz. thanes or nobles, freemen, and slaves; and these orders were rarely connected by intermarriages, for the pride of the nobles hindered the alliance of that order with either of the other two, and the dignity of a freeman operated against his matrimonial connection with a slave. The slaves were the absolute property of their lords, who failed not to employ them in the most humble occupations. The freemen acted as farmers of the lands of the nobles, or engaged in some branch of mercantile or mechanic profession; but their habitual fondness for war, and their aversion to agriculture and traffic, rendered very unfrequent any employment of that nature.

The Saxons were polytheists, that is to say, they worshipped more gods than one; and their principal deities were Odin or Woden, Thor, Frea, Seater, the Sun, Mona or the Moon, and Tuisco (*p*). Although in the time of Tacitus the Saxons considered it as a degradation of celestial dignity to worship the gods within temples, or from supposed resemblances of them in idols or statues, they at length adopted the general custom of many other nations, and not only erected magnificent temples, but decorated them with the images of their objects of veneration (*q*). Tacitus informs us that they offered human sacrifices to Woden and their principal deities in times of national calamity; and although the victims were, for the most part, criminals or slaves, yet persons of the most exalted rank were sometimes sacrificed, when the exigency of the state was uncommonly critical. On ordinary occasions, the victims were quadrupeds.

In their religious solemnities, they were accustomed to sing hymns, which were probably composed by their priests. Of the peculiar privileges of this order of men we are not informed; but they seem, from all accounts, to have been in less estimation, and to have had much less influence over the people, than the Druids of Gaul or Britain. Priestesses officiated in the temples of the female divinities; and these sacerdotal females were treated with greater regard and submission than the priests (*r*).

The Saxons are said to have believed in the doctrine of the immortality of the soul, and the distribution of rewards and punishments in a future life. Their idea of paradise was adapted to those inclinations by which they were most strongly influenced. They apprehended, that if their valour in the field, and their general conduct in life, proved deserving of the favour of Woden or Odin, they should be admitted into his hall after their decease, where the day would be passed in warlike diversions, and the night in feasting and carousing, particularly in quaffing ale or mead presented to them by beautiful virgins, and contained in the sculls of their enemies who had fallen in battle by their hands. On the other hand, their place of future punishment presented ideas of unceasing anguish, terror, and famine (*s*).

The precepts which were most forcibly inculcated by their priests were the three following, viz. to worship the gods with prayer, sacrifice, and thanksgiving; to do no wrong; and to behave with intrepidity in battle. They placed great confidence in divination, which they practised in various modes. Besides the augury derived from the flight or the singing of the feathered tribe, they followed a method of prediction peculiar to the natives of ancient Germany; which was, to divine futurity from the neighing of white horses. These quadrupeds were treated with peculiar attention; and the presages drawn from them were honoured with the implicit belief of all ranks of people. Another mode of prognostication was by cutting several slips from a fruit tree, and making notches or marks on them: these being shaken in a white cloth, the priest (or, on private occasions, the master of the family,) took up each slip thrice, and foretold good or evil, according to the marks which appeared upwards. The events of a war was presaged by a formal duel between a captive of the hostile nation and a warrior of their own state, each with the weapons used by his tribe.

These people had a peculiar veneration for spells and incantations, and placed great confidence in the predictions of pretended sorceresses, whom they supposed to have communications with familiar spirits, and to learn the will of the gods from such intercourse. The answer given by the most celebrated of these women were deemed oracular, not only by the bulk of the people, but even by the leaders of administration; and Tacitus, a Roman historian of great veracity, speaks of a prophetess named Velleda, whom many of the German nations adored as a dees (*t*).

The manners of the Saxons were tinctured with all the ferocity which might be expected in a warlike, turbulent, and illiterate nation. From the close of the third century to the first formation of their settlement in Britain, the majority of the Saxons exercised the profession of pirates: they are even said to have degraded that illiberal employment by the cruelties which they exercised in their predatory expeditions. They were remarkably bold and fearless of

(*p*) The first and principal object of adoration among the Saxons was the idol of the Sun. This idol was placed in a temple, and there adored and sacrificed to; for they believed that the Sun in the firmament corresponded and co-operated with, or in this idol. To the day set apart for the adoration of this deity, they gave the name of *Sunsday*, whence our name for the first day of the week, *Sunday*. This idol is described as a half naked man, set upon a pillar; his face, as it were, brightened with gleams of fire, and holding, with both his arms stretched out, a burning wheel before his breast; the wheel being to signify the course which he runs round the world; and his brightness the light and heat wherewith he warms and cherishes the animal and vegetable world.

The next was the Moon, which they worshipped on the second day of the week, called by them *Monas daeg*, that is, *Monday*. The form of this idol is very extraordinary; for though made a woman, it is habited with a short coat, like a man, and a hood, with two long ears. Her holding a moon before her breast may probably be to express what she is; but the reason of her chapion appearing with long ears, short coat, and piked shoes, history is silent about.

Tuisco, another of their favourite deities, was worshipped as the first father, and ruler of the Germans and Scythians. Tuisco was considered their conductor, lord, and law-giver; and the day on which he was worshipped was called *Tuiscos daeg*, or *Tuesday*. This idol is represented, standing on a pedestal, as an old, venerable sage, clothed in a garment of skin, holding a sceptre in one hand, and the other spread more open, whether to denote his clemency, or his dictating to his subjects is not ascertained.

Woden or *Oden* was esteemed and honoured as their god of battle, and seems to resemble the Roman Mars. This character was that of a victorious prince or captain, they therefore prayed and sacrificed to him after his death, that by his aid they might obtain victory over their enemies, which, when obtained, they attributed to him, and sacrificed such prisoners as they had taken in battle. The name *Woden* signifies fierce, or furious, and the day peculiarly appropriated to his service was called *Wodens daeg*, or *Wednesday*. Many encomiums were bestowed on this deity. Woden is represented in a bold and martial posture, clad in armour, with a broad sword uplifted.

The next in order was their idol Thor, who was not only deified and sacrificed to by the ancient Pagan Saxons, but by all the Teutonic tribes. This great respected god, being of more estimation than many of the like sort, was majestically placed in a large and spacious hall; there seated as if reposing himself on a bed of state. Thor is represented with a crown of gold on his head, adorned with a circle in front, above and below, wherein were set twelve bright, burnished, golden stars; and with a kingly sceptre in his right hand. The deluded Pagans believed that Thor was a god of astonishing power and might; that he governed in the air, and, when displeased, caused thunder and lightning, tempest, excessive rain, &c. but that by being rendered propitious by their sacrifices, he blessed them with seasonable weather, and plenty of corn and fruits, as well as kept them from evil, and affliction of every kind. The day on which he was worshipped was called *Thors daeg*, (as it still is by the Danes and Swedes,) whence our *Thursday*.

The next idol in rank was Friga or Frea, who is depicted as an hermaphrodite, holding in her right hand a drawn sword, and in her left a bow, signifying thereby, that women, as well as men, should, in times of necessity, be ready to fight. This divinity was honoured by some as a god, and by others as a goddess, but chiefly the latter; for she was considered as the giver of love and peace, riches and plenty. The day on which the Saxons celebrated her praises, was called *Frigas daeg*, whence we have termed the day *Friday*.

The last, to complete the days of the week, was Seater, by some supposed to be Saturnus. He is represented on a pillar, whereon is placed a perch, (on the sharp prickly back of which he stood,) of a lean visage, with long hair, and a long beard, bareheaded and barefooted, and wearing a long coat girded with linen. In his left hand he held up a wheel, and in his right hand a pail of water, wherein were flowers and fruits. His standing on the sharp fins of this fish, signified the Saxons should pass, without harm, in the most dangerous and difficult places; by the wheel was betokened their unity and concord; by the girdle was signified their freedom; by the pail of water, with flowers and fruits, was declared, that by kind and seasonable showers he would nourish the earth for such productions. The appellation given to the day of his celebration is still retained, viz. *Seaters daeg*, by us called *Saturday*.

(*q*) Introduction à l'Histoire de Dannemarc, par M. Mallet.

(*r*) Vid. Cluverii German. Antiquit.

(*s*) Vid. Keysl. Antiq. Septent. et Celt.—Mallet.

(*t*) See Tacitus, de Morib. German.—and Cæsar, De Bello Gallico, lib. 1. cap. 40.

danger.





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danger, prompt to engage in difficult or hazardous enterprizes, active and dexterous in combat, patient of labour and fatigue.

They were much addicted to excessive drinking, which they considered as in no wise disgraceful; but this circumstance was the occasion of frequent quarrels, which too often terminated in bloodshed: as they usually appeared armed at their entertainments, it was an easy transition from contrariety of opinion, to the exercise of their weapons. Their hospitality was one of the best traits in their character; for they treated strangers with all the cordiality and friendship of intimate association. They were frank in their manners, credulous, and unsuspicious. Their attachment to their chieftains was strong and sincere; and their respect for the female sex gave indication of a delicacy which we could wish had been more generally diffused over their conduct.

They were extremely fond of the destructive vice of gaming; and it was no uncommon circumstance among them for a man to lose gradually, in games of chance, his whole property, and then, as the last desperate effort, put his person and liberty to the hazard of the die. In these final attempts the loser would patiently suffer himself to be bound by his fortunate adversary, and carried away as a slave. Those, says Tacitus, who had thus forfeited their liberty were generally sold by the winner, who wished to free himself from the shame of a victory so disgraceful.

But to their honour it must be recorded, they cultivated the virtues of chastity and connubial fidelity. Their amorous intercourse did not commence till both sexes had attained a maturity of years and vigour. Adultery was severely punished among them, particularly in the person of the woman. She was deprived of her hair by her husband, stripped of all her garments, in the presence of her relations, ejected from the house, and scourged by him from one end of the town or village to the other. After this publication of her shame, she lingered out the remainder of her life in disgrace and contempt.

The Saxons were entirely unacquainted with the sciences, and ignorant even of the elements of literature. They had no knowledge of the polite arts, and were far from being conversant in the useful ones. They paid little attention to agriculture or to architecture. The arts which were most practised among them, were those of clothing, and the manufacture of military weapons. The vessels which they made use of in their piratical excursions, were, in general, long galleys, calculated by the lightness of their structure for quickness of passage. With these they had frequently harassed the very people, who now solicited their aid against the invaders from the northern parts of the island, whom they found themselves unable to repel.

CHAP. III.

Hengist and Horsa, two Saxon Chieftains, arrive in Britain with a Body of Forces—They join the Britons, and rout the Scots and Picts—Reinforced by a large Body of their Countrymen—Hengist and Horsa commence Hostilities against their British Allies—Hengist establishes the Kingdom of Kent—Vortigern dethroned, and succeeded by Ambrosius—Several Saxon Leaders establish Kingdoms in South Britain—The Natives driven into Wales, Cornwall, and Cumberland—Reflections on the Revolution produced by the Anglo-Saxons.

THE Britons were far from exercising any degree of foresight concerning those whom they invited to their assistance; for these very persons soon became their most cruel oppressors. They appear to have thought only of Saxon valour, but did not reflect on the barbarity with which it was generally accompanied. They could have no reason to expect honour or fidelity from auxiliaries, whose general character was that of pirates and robbers, and who, whatever appearance of friendship or alliance they might at first assume, would, in all probability, take the first opportunity of throwing off the mask, and conclude with determined hostility against their credulous allies.

Three vessels with Saxon warriors on board, arrived in Kent soon after the invitation, and landed at Ebbesfleet in the Isle of Thanet, in 449, which island was allotted for their residence. The leaders of this band, (which it is supposed did not exceed sixteen hundred men,) were Hengist and Horsa, sons of Witigisil, who were distinguished by the nobility of their birth, as well as by their military talents. These were received by Vortigern with complacency and joy.

In the mean time the Scots and Picts had advanced as far southward as Stamford in Lincolnshire, and were ravaging the country without mercy: but their progress was speedily checked by the two Saxon brothers, who joined the forces which Vortigern had raised, and marched against the North Britons, whom they defeated with considerable slaughter, and compelled to retire to the northward. Vortigern and his subjects rejoiced at this victory, which they regarded as a sure presage of the complete expulsion of their northern enemies; and as a reward for their services Vortigern presented them with some lands in Lincolnshire, where they built Thongcaster. The Britons, however were dissatisfied at the liberality of Vortigern, and loudly murmured against him.

Hengist and his brother now thought of establishing a Saxon settlement in this island, and Hengist, to further his views, proposed to Vortigern to send for more Saxon forces to secure himself against his subjects. This proposal, meeting with the entire approbation of Vortigern, a reinforcement of five thousand Saxons was sent for, which arrived in seventeen ships, in 450, with Escus and Rowena. These forces made an immediate junction with the troops of Hengist and Horsa; and at this period the intentions of the Saxons began to unfold themselves.

With these adventurers Vortigern concluded an agreement, which imported that they should receive a certain stipend, and a regular allowance of provisions, on condition of their acting against the Picts and Scots. It does not, however, appear that Hengist employed these forces against those northern barbarians, but Vortigern made use of them to render himself more absolute.

Hengist having discovered the bent of Vortigern's inclination, gave him an invitation to partake of an entertainment at Thongcaster, at which Hengist's daughter, Rowena, was to be present. She is represented as a pattern of loveliness; and her charms were destined by her father to make a conquest of the British monarch. At table Hengist ordered his daugter to present his royal guest with a cup of wine. She obeyed, and in the elegance of her attitude, displayed such inimitable grace, as gave irresistible force to her beauty, and made the strongest impression on the heart of Vortigern, who refused to taste the wine till the cup had been touched by the lips of Rowena. The lovely cup-bearer complied with his request; and, for her affability, was rewarded by the amorous Briton with a fervent kiss, the effect of which completed her conquest. Vortigern, though already married, demanded Rowena for his wife; and Hengist having raised as many difficulties as he thought necessary to enhance the value of his compliance, at length yielded to the request, on condition that Vortigern should cede to him and his followers the county of Kent; which Vortigern, with the utmost readiness complied with; in order therefore to gratify his desires, he divorced his wife and married Rowena.

The next step which Hengist thought fit to take, was to inspire Vortigern with jealouy about Ambrosius Aurelianus; and, in order to strengthen himself against that chieftain, advised him to send for more Saxon forces. The credulous monarch followed his advice, and a fresh body of troops sailed from Germany in forty ships, under the command of Octa and Ebusa (*u*), who, after having ravaged the Orkney Islands, made descents on the eastern coasts of Scotland. After quelling the opposition they met with from the Picts, they took possession of Northumberland. Although these Saxons did not proceed so far southward as to co-operate with those who had before arrived in the island, they proved eminently serviceable to the designs of Hengist, by acting as a check on the Picts and their confederates, and promoting that alliance which this enterprizing and sagacious chief was desirous of concluding with these old enemies of the southern Britons before he declared war against the unfortunate nation which he had engaged to protect.

Hengist now sent continually for Saxon reinforcements, and when he thought himself sufficiently strong to execute the plan which he had projected, he complained, in 454, that the Britons had not strictly adhered to their contract, the subsidy being in arrear, and the provisions not regularly furnished. He threatened them with compulsive measures, unless they immediately complied with his demand. The Britons discerned the aim of the Saxon chief, and were convinced that submission to his claims would tend to augment

(*u*) These chieftains were both connected with Hengist by the ties of consanguinity.

his insolence, without protracting the execution of his design.

In the present state of affairs Vortimer, the eldest son of Vortigern, endeavoured to rouse the courage, and inflame the resentment of the Britons, against the encroachments of the Saxons. He urged them to prepare for war, as the intentions of the foreigners were now become manifest. Hengist and Horsa, on the other hand, were not idle in the prosecution of their schemes. Having entered into an alliance with the Picts, they commenced hostilities in the southern parts of the island, and ravaged it with uncommon fury and barbarity. The Britons, enraged at the treachery of the Saxons, immediately enlisted under the banners of Vortimer, who had lately been associated in the government with his father. The war between the Britons and the Saxons commenced in 455, and continued, with little intermission for a long series of years.

The accounts which have been handed down to us of the circumstances of this war, are various in different authors; and the difficulty is increased by the confusion of dates. From this mass of perplexity, we shall endeavour to elicit as distinct and authentic a narrative as the imperfect evidence will afford.

The first campaign was distinguished by a general engagement between the army of Vortigern, and that of Hengist and Horsa. In this battle, which was fought at Eglesford (now Anglesford) in Kent, the Saxons lost Horsa, who was slain in the field, and the Britons lost Catigern, the brother of Vortimer, who is said to have fallen by the hands of Horsa.

Another battle was fought in 457, near Crecanford (now Crayford) in Kent, wherein Vortimer was entirely defeated. The islanders are said to have lost four thousand men on this destructive day, as well as some of their bravest chiefs. The victor prosecuted his success by ravaging the neighbouring districts with all the implacable ferocity of a barbarian warrior. He marked his progress with blood and desolation. The old and the young, the strong and the weak, females as well as males, clergy as well as laity, were involved in indiscriminate massacre. Such was the consternation which this cruel treatment produced, that many of the Britons fled into the woods, and others into the mountainous parts of the island; while vast numbers thought proper to quit their native land, and got to Armorica, where they were received in a friendly manner by the descendants of their countrymen, who had fled thither from the persecutions of the Romans (*v*). Pleased with the success of his forces, Hengist declared himself king of Kent (*w*); and the warriors who had conquered under his auspices, acquiesced in this assumption of the regal title. They imposed, however, such restrictions on the new king as tended to preserve the freedom of the subject from the violence of tyranny: they allowed him the exercise of a limited authority, not the power of a despot or an emperor.

The Britons seem to have enjoyed a respite from the miseries of war for several years after the battle of Crayford, *i. e.* from 457 to 463. Vortimer died before the battle just mentioned, and Vortigern was restored to the throne; but we are unacquainted with the particulars of his conduct after his restoration. It is certain that he did not head the British army in the late engagement at Crayford; nor do we find that he made any attempts to recover his country from its reduced state. After he had been re-established in his sovereignty, he is said to have been invited by Hengist to a banquet, under pretence of accommodating, by treaty, all differences between the Britons and Saxons. Vortigern having accepted the invitation, the two kings met in form, according to the British historians, each attended by the flower of his nobility. In the course of the entertainment, the Saxons, on a preconcerted signal, drew their daggers, and furiously attacking their unsuspecting guests, slew the whole number of them, amounting to three hundred nobles. Vortigern himself was detained prisoner by Hengist, who refused to release him till he had surrendered to his treacherous host a large tract of country, comprehending what afterwards formed the counties of Sussex, Essex, and Middlesex.

The occasional accession of Saxon force which Hengist received in the interval of peace that followed his acquisition of Kent, encouraged the Kentish king to renew the war with great spirit. He had now, in 463, a very able competitor in the person of Ambrosius, who had come from Bretagne with some forces, to the assistance of his oppressed countrymen. The Britons flocked to his banner with a renewal of hope, and a confidence in his valour and capacity. He soon distinguished himself against the Saxons, over whom he obtained some advantages, and even penetrated to the extremity of Hengist's kingdom, if Wipped's-fleet was really situated in the Isle of Thanet; for, on a spot which now received that name from the fall of Wipped, a Saxon chief, a battle was fought between Hengist and the Britons in 465, when twelve principal officers were slain on the side of the latter, and a complete victory attended the arms of the Saxon prince. We are unacquainted with the progress of the war between the day of this engagement, and another which is said to have happened seven or eight years afterwards.

We find that Vortigern, by his neglect of the moral duties of a man, and the political concerns of a king, appeared so flagrant in the eyes of his subjects, as to call for a public mark of their resentment. A great council was convoked, and cognisance was taken of the mal-administration of Vortigern. The result of this deliberation was, that this prince was solemnly deposed, and Ambrosius elevated to the sovereignty of South Britain. How long Vortigern lived after his deposition cannot be precisely determined. He retired into Wales, where he is said to have spent the remainder of his days in solitude and contempt.

In the few years of respite which the Britons enjoyed, from 465 to 473, after the battle of Wipped's-fleet, Ambrosius appears to have been employed in endeavouring to heal the dissensions of the British tribes, in rebuilding the ruined towns, and in retrieving the affairs both of the church and state. He restored Pacentius, the only son of Vortigern, to the possession of his paternal estates, and to that political authority over the Silures, which he claimed in his father's right, and of which he (Ambrosius) had before deprived him for his seditious practices.

The next engagement of importance after that at Wipped's-fleet between the armies of Ambrosius and the Saxons, which did not take place till 473, is said to have been so unfortunate to the Britons, that their affairs were thrown back into that disorder from which their sovereign had lately rescued them. The victory gained by Hengist on this occasion gave him an opportunity of enlarging his British dominions by the conquest of adjoining territories.

Being fearful of a co-operation between the Northumbrian Saxons and their countrymen in Kent, Ambrosius made an alliance with the Scots, that he might employ them not only against the Saxons of the north, but against their Pictish allies. After the formation of this league, no event of importance occurred till the arrival of Ælla, a Saxon chieftain, who, encouraged by the success of Hengist, set sail from Germany with a small army of adventurers, in the hope of procuring a settlement in the fertile territories of South Britain. Accompanied by his three sons, Baldulph, Colgrin, and Cissa, he landed at a port in the present county of Sussex, in 477, but not before he had been obliged to contend with a body of the natives. He found great difficulty in establishing a kingdom in Britain; for the islanders opposed him with courage and obstinacy. After several years of casual conflict, with occasional intervals of peace, he fought a bloody battle at a place called, in the Saxon chronicle, Mearcredesburn, in 485. The victory was doubtful: it was fought with equal intrepidity on both sides, and the effects of it considerably weakened each of the armies. Ælla attempted nothing of consequence after this battle, till he was reinforced by other Saxon tribes that he invited from Germany.

Hengist appears to have enjoyed his kingdom in peace after his last victory; for the Britons, perceiving the impracticability of dislodging him, forbore to molest him. He established his royal residence at Canterbury, which had been a flourishing town in the Roman times. He died in 488, with the reputation of an eminent warrior and an able politician; a character, however, which was sullied by perfidy and cruelty. At the time of his decease, his kingdom comprehended not only the county of Kent, but Essex,

(*v*) This latter migration of Britons to Armorica, added to the numbers already settled there, procured that part of France the appellation of Bretagne, or Britanny, which came into use about this time.

(*w*) According to the Saxon Annals, Hengist assumed this title in 455; but the date we have adopted, appears to be preferable. Matthew of Westminster says, that when Kent was voluntarily surrendered to the Saxons by Vortigern, Horsa was proclaimed by his followers king of that territory. Other historians, however, do not concur in this assertion, which exclusive of the strong doubt respecting the donation of Kent by the British monarch, militates against the general opinion that Hengist was the first Saxon king in this island.

Middlesex,

Middlesex, and a part of Surrey. His son Esca succeeded him in his dominions.

The acquisitions which Ælla gradually made, bordered on the kingdom of Kent. So soon as this chief received reinforcements from Germany, he prosecuted the war with renovated spirit, and invested the town and fortress of Andred-ceaster, in 490. The siege was long and obstinate. At length Ælla divided his forces into two bodies, with one of which he attacked and defeated the British army which assisted the besieged, while the siege was continued by the other division. He then ordered his men to storm the place; and this vigorous assault was successful. The Saxon conqueror derogated from the glory of his triumph by the inhumanity with which it was followed; for he ordered a general massacre of the inhabitants, as well as the garrison, and the total destruction of the town and its fortifications. His commands were strictly executed; and thus was paved the way for the establishment of another Saxon kingdom in Britain, in 491; called, from its situation, the kingdom of the South Saxons, or Sussex, comprehending that county and the greater part of Surrey.

The next Saxon chief that made his appearance on the coast of Britain was Cerdic, who was accompanied by his son Cenric, and who brought with him a sufficient number of followers to occupy five ships. He was attacked on his landing, in 495, by the Britons, whom he with difficulty obliged to retire. His progress was opposed for many years; and not one of the Saxon tribes more forcibly experienced the valour of the natives. Ambrosius, assisted in the command of the British forces by prince Arthur, harassed the troops of Cerdic with such success, that he was under the necessity of sending for fresh supplies, besides the occasional aid he received from the Saxon kings of Kent and Sussex.

In consequence of the invitation of Cerdic, Porta, a Saxon chieftain, came to this island in 501, with his two sons, and a body of his countrymen, who were embarked in two vessels of unusual magnitude. They landed at Portsmouth, and sustained an immediate attack from the Britons, who rushed in a disorderly manner upon these invaders, but were soon routed by the steady valour of Porta, who proceeded to form a junction with Cerdic.

To exhibit a particular and connected detail of the progress of Cerdic and his colleagues, and the various engagements he was, without doubt, obliged to maintain with the natives, would, for want of genuine records, be a vain attempt; and to occupy this dark part of the British history with the fictions of romance and the tales of improbability, would be an insult on the undertanding and the penetration of the public. Having no clue but that of mere conjecture to separate truth from fable, we must either decline the task of cleansing this Augean stable, or suffer unsupported conclusions to take place of historic verity.

For the first seven years after the arrival of Porta, we have no authentic information either of the progress of the Saxons, or the transactions of the Britons. At the close of that interval, a general engagement happened between the army of Cerdic, reinforced by the troops of Porta, and auxiliaries from the kingdoms of Kent and Sussex, and a numerous British force assembled under the banners of Natan-leod, as he is called in the Saxon chronicle, but who seems to have been no other than Ambrosius. The British prince attacked the right wing of the army, commanded by Cerdic, in 508, with such vigour, that the Saxon chief was repulsed with great loss, and eagerly pursued by the Britons. In the mean time, his son Cenric, who headed the other Saxon corps, was successful against that body of the Britons which he encountered; and perceiving the confusion that prevailed among the pursuers of his father, he hastened to his relief, and fell upon the Britons in flank. This circumstance gave Cerdic time to rally; and the two divisions of the Saxon army now attacking the Britons in concert, the latter were completely routed. In this action the British general was slain, after he had fought with great gallantry; and five thousand of the British troops shared the same fate (*x*).

The illustrious Arthur, whose origin is involved in obscurity, is supposed to have succeeded Ambrosius in the supreme command of the confederated Britons. He is said to have defeated the Saxons in twelve battles; but perhaps neither of these were superior to skirmishes. Be this as it may, it is certain that Cerdic persisted in his efforts to obtain a permanent settlement in Britain. His endeavours were promoted by a further reinforcement from his own country, conducted by his maternal nephews Stufe and Withgar. This supply of Saxons came over in three ships in 514, and found a British corps drawn up near the coast in hostile disposition. A conflict ensued, which terminated to the disadvantage of the natives; and the victors marched up the country to join Cerdic.

In 519, about five years after the landing of Cerdic's nephews, he discomfited the Britons in a great battle; but, as the approach of night hindered pursuit, the vanquished effected a retreat, without much addition to the loss they had sustained in the engagement. After this victory Cerdic assumed the regal title, and erected the kingdom of Wessex, extending at that time from the western frontiers of the kingdom of the South Saxons in Somersetshire. Cerdic was crowned at Winchester.

In 520, Cerdic, eager to pursue his success, invested Caer-Badon (now Bath), which was even then a town of great strength. Arthur, aware of the importance of this place, used every effort to keep it from falling into the hands of the Saxon. He attacked the besiegers with impetuosity, and the engagement was desperate. Towards the close of the day, the troops of Cerdic, having raised the siege, posted themselves on Badon-hill, with intent to renew the fight in the morning. The British monarch, resolving to improve his advantage, made a furious assault on the Saxons as soon as day appeared; and, after an obstinate conflict, in which great numbers fell on both sides, the victory preponderated in favour of the Britons, who dislodged the enemy from their station, and totally routed them. The West Saxon king was so humbled by this engagement, that he gave the Britons no molestation for several years. At length, having recruited his strength by fresh supplies from Germany, he renewed the war, that he might extend the limits of his kingdom. The next battle which he fought was at Cerdic's-laeg (now Chardsley) in Buckinghamshire (*y*), in 527; and it was here that he bore off the palm of victory, since the Britons gave him little or no disturbance afterwards.

In the same year various Saxon leaders brought with them considerable numbers of adventurers, who landed on the eastern coasts of this island, where they gradually made themselves masters of different tracts of country; but none of their chiefs who arrived at this period, or their successors in the conquests which they gained, assumed the regal appellation till many years had elapsed from their invasion of Britain.

But while these new adventurers were prosecuting their encroachments on the possessions of the Britons, the active Cerdic was employed in the extension of his dominions. Thinking that the Isle of Wight would form an useful addition to his territories, he landed an army there in 530, and, with little difficulty, annexed it to the West Saxon kingdom. To this island, he afterwards invited a vast number of Jutes. About the same time he invited a considerable number of families from Germany, to augment the population of his British realm. These colonists he dispersed throughout his new territories. He fixed upon Caer-Guent (now Winchester) for his metropolis, where, as above-said, he was crowned. At the time of his death, the dominions over which he reigned included the present counties of Dorset, Wilts, Hants, Berks, a part of Buckinghamshire, and a part of Somersetshire (*z*). He was succeeded by his son

(*x*) The spot where this battle was fought derived, from the victory of Cerdic, the name of Cerdic's-ford, and is supposed to have been in the neighbourhood of Charford in Hampshire.

(*y*) This is the opinion of the antiquary Somner; but, if we consider that the Britons had no success against Cerdic after this battle, it is scarcely probable that it took place in Buckinghamshire; for he would doubtless have retained a part of that county within the boundaries of his kingdom. But, on the other hand, it may be said, that, as Wessex included the county of Berks, it might also comprehend a part of the adjoining shire of Buckingham; for, when we speak of certain counties forming any of the kingdoms of the Saxon Heptarchy, we must not be understood to appropriate to each shire the exact space which it occupied in the regular division of English counties. In mentioning the extent of these kingdoms, we can only give a general idea of the limits, not being informed of the particular line of boundary by the writers of those times.

(*z*) Rapin says, that Cornwall, Berkshire, Wiltshire, Devonshire, and Dorsetshire, were ceded to him in 530.

We may here remark, that from this Saxon prince, Cerdic, the kings of England, down to Edward the Confessor, derived their descent on the male side; and, in the female line, his present majesty George the Third, may deduce his origin from the same stock. Cerdic, like the other founders of the Anglo-Saxon heptarchy, claimed the honour of being descended from Woden or Odin, the deified hero of the German and Scandinavian nations.

Cenric,

Cenric, who did not, however, inherit the whole of his father's dominions, the Isle of Wight having been conferred by Cerdic on his nephews Stufe and Withgar.

To return to king Arthur, it will be sufficient to inform the reader, that several of the ancient historians have filled up the latter part of his life with the miseries of civil war and domestic dissension; but we cannot venture to give the particulars, without better authority than that of legendary fabulists. His death is attributed to the wounds he received in a combat with his nephew Modred, in which both were slain (*a*). Arthur was buried, according to Taliessin (*b*), the Welsh bard, and others, at Glastonbury (*c*).

On the death of the great prince Arthur, the British states did not elect a successor in the general command of their united forces. They now began to slacken their exertions, and seemed to relapse into that lethargy and torpor which had disgraced their deportment on the final secession of the Romans. The constant influx, indeed, of warlike strangers, co-operating in the same plan of hostility with the natives of this country, now firmly established in the island by foreign arms, might have reduced a more courageous and politic nation to a degree of despair If perchance they defeated the Saxons, and a great slaughter ensued among those invaders, a fresh body of them quickly supplied the loss thus produced; and the minds of the Britons could not but be depressed by seeing their enemies spring with recruited vigour from every blow, while they themselves were destitute of such a resource, and, exclusive of the diminution of their force by the carnage of the martial field, sustained a more alarming decrease by the frequent migrations of their countrymen, who were eager to exchange the horrors of a ruinous war for the delightful scenes of peace and tranquillity.

In the year 547 the Northumbrian Saxons, who had been frequently involved in hostilities with the Scots, received a very strong reinforcement of their countrymen, under the conduct of Ida, an Anglo, who landed at Flamborough in Yorkshire. This accession of force gave them a decided superiority over their enemies; Ida completed the reduction of the present county of Northumberland, and the south-eastern part of Scotland, from the Tweed to the Forth, and took upon himself the title of king of Bernicia, over which he reigned with great reputation.

About the same period, or within a few years afterwards, Alla, another Saxon general, established the kingdom of Deïra, including the country situated between the æstuary of the Humber and the river Tyne. This kingdom, before the close of the sixth century, was united to that of Bernicia, under the general appellation of the kingdom of Northumberland.

Of the several Saxon chiefs who by this time had established separate kingdoms in Britain, one was usually considered as the head of that political confederacy which the sovereigns of these distinct states thought proper to maintain in a hostile country, in imitation of the practice adopted by that people on the continent. Hengist was the first prince who was regarded as the head of the Saxon confederacy in this island; and Ælla, king of the South Saxons, or Sussex, succeeded him in that dignity. The next was Cerdic; and Cenric followed his illustrious father. Cenric lived in peace with the natives for many years, and applied himself to the improvement of his kingdom in the civil arts.

In his declining years, however, the Britons endeavoured to recover a part of the dominions he had wrested from them. They penetrated into Wiltshire, as far as Old Sarum, where an engagement took place between the Britons and the forces of Cenric in 552, in which the former were repulsed with great slaughter. Four years afterwards, in 556, a numerous army of Britons marched against the West Saxons, and a furious engagement ensued between them and the forces of Wessex (*d*); and though the Saxons were generally superior to the Britons in close fight, this seems to have been a drawn battle. The Britons, however, gave Cenric no further disturbance.

In the year 560 Cenric was succeeded by his son Ceaulin in the supremacy of the Saxon confederacy. His courage was great, and he exceeded his father and his grandfather in his views of ambition and enterprize. His great warlike preparations excited the apprehensions of the Britons, and roused the jealousy of the other Saxon potentates. Ethelbert, king of Kent, was as ambitious as himself, but less experienced. He aspired to the supreme direction of the confederacy; and being filled with this idea, he assembled an army, and marched towards the territories of Ceaulin. The king of Wessex, unwilling to disappoint the impatience of Ethelbert, advanced, in 567, with his brother Cutha against the hostile army; and a battle was the consequence of the meeting. The Kentish prince was defeated with the loss of two of his principal officers, and a considerable number of warriors of inferior rank (*e*). He was a second time routed by Ceaulin, and constrained to yield the superior power to that monarch.

The next event of importance was an engagement between the West Saxons and the Britons, in 568, in which the latter were discomfited. This victory was followed by the capture of four of the British towns, in 571, *viz.* Leighton in Bedfordshire, Aylesbury in Buckinghamshire, Bensington, and Eynsham in Oxfordshire (*f*).

The kingdom of the East Angles was founded in 573, under Uffa. It contained the present counties of Norfolk, Suffolk, and Cambridge. It was almost about the same period that Eichenwin assumed the title of king of the East Saxons or Essex, and reigned over the county of that name, Middlesex, and a part of Hertfordshire.

The ambition of Ceaulin, however, was not yet satisfied. He was not content with possessing a more flourishing kingdom than any Saxon prince that then reigned in Britain, but resolved to increase it at the expence of the harassed islanders. He therefore marched into Gloucestershire, in 577, and gained a compleat victory over three of the native princes, who all fell in battle (*g*). He pursued his success by the reduction of three towns of note, namely, Cirencester, Gloucester, and Bath. These exploits drove many of the Britons to the mountainous parts of the island west of the Severn, where they united with their countrymen.

Many of the British princes, roused by the progress of Ceaulin, laid aside their internal dissensions, and assembled an army, the command of which was given to Mael-Gwinneth, prince of Anglesey, in 583. This general is said to have been reinforced by a powerful body of Scottish auxiliaries, on the renewal of the league between the South Britons and the Scots; and, according to the same narrators, the Picts and Northumbrian Saxons ranged themselves on the side of Ceaulin (*h*). Mael-Gwinneth and his allies,

(*a*) This was the third engagement which Arthur had had with Modred, for the recovery of his dominions, which, in the absence of Arthur, Modred had seized upon. He is likewise said to have debauched Arthur's queen, then to have publicly married her, and afterwards to have been crowned at London.

(*b*) Who sung the praises of Arthur in a poem called Llywarch-hen.

(*c*) In Stow's Chronicle we are informed, that about six centuries afterwards, in the reign of Henry II. that king passing through Wales, and hearing the songs of the bards which were descriptive of the burial place of Arthur, was possessed with an ardent desire to discover the truth of their descriptions; and accordingly, in the year 1189, he issued an order to search for the body of Arthur. After digging to the depth of seven feet, a broad grave stone appeared, in the lower surface of which was fixed a leaden cross, with this inscription: "*Hic jacet sepultus Inclitus Rex* ARTHURUS, *in Insulâ Avallonia.*" Some feet deeper in the ground, a wooden coffin was discovered, which contained the skeleton of a man of very large dimensions; and Giraldus Cambrensis, who was present, says, he counted ten wounds on the skull, all of which had been healed up except one, that remained still open, and was supposed to have been the immediate cause of his death. At the same time the coffin of his second wife Guinever was opened, when her golden tresses, plaited in a very curious manner, appeared bright and entire; but, on being touched, they mouldered into dust. The two skeletons were removed into the new church, and there buried in a marble tomb; and the leaden cross with the inscription was preserved in the treasury of Glastonbury till the suppression of the monasteries in the reign of Henry VIII.

Arthur was indisputably a great general; and though his actions have given rise to numberless fables, and served to embellish the motley volumes of romance, yet most of them were not unworthy to decorate the page of historical narration. His skill and courage were great, his morals were unblemished, and his generosity was unbounded. He is said to have instituted the order of "The Knights of the Round Table;" and though this institution has been generally regarded as altogether chimerical, we are told by Cassiodorus, that Theodoric, king of the Ostrogoths, actually instituted an order of a similar nature in Italy, in the same century.

(*d*) According to the Saxon Chronicle, this battle was fought at Baranbyrig, concerning the situations of which antiquarians doubt. Some place it in Wiltshire, while others, with less probability, assert, that it was at Banbury in Oxfordshire.

(*e*) This battle was fought at Wibbandune (now Wimbledon) in Surrey.

(*f*) This battle was fought at Bedicanford (now Bedford). *Saxon Chronicle.*

(*g*) Some authors place the erection of the East Saxon kingdom much earlier; but it is improbable, that such a circumstance could have taken place before the reign of Octa or Emeric in the kingdom of Kent, who were princes of a very pacific and unambitious turn. Above half the kingdom of the East Saxons was originally a part of the kingdom of Kent, which was governed by a lieutenant under the Kentish monarch. It is therefore probable that Erchenwin acted as a viceroy to one of these pacific princes, and that he took advantage of his master's peaceable disposition to form his delegated government into a separate royalty.

(*h*) Deorham, near Puckle-church, was the place where this conflict happened.

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in 584, attacked an advanced party of the enemy, commanded by a son of the West Saxon king, whom they slew with his whole detachment. But Ceaulin at the head of the main body, avenged the death of his son by a total defeat of his adversaries (*i*).

While Ceaulin was propagating the terror of the Saxon arms, a numerous fleet approached the eastern coast, and poured into Britain a powerful body of Angles, who, eager to share in the spoils of the islanders, marched towards the interior under the conduct of Crida, and, being supported by their countrymen, were successful against the wretched natives. Their success was so great, that in 585 they erected a seventh kingdom, which comprehended the midland counties of England. This new kingdom was called Mercia, because it extended to the *marches* or borders of most of the other kingdoms of Saxon establishment, and likewise to the frontiers of Wales.

But the natives, notwithstanding their losses and defeats, were resolved to attempt the chastisement of the Saxons, particularly of Ceaulin, whose ambition and haughtiness had kindled the jealousy of their contemporary Saxon princes, who were secretly desirous of checking his pride, and crushing his superiority. They knew the aspiring temper of the king of Kent, who, though unsuccessful against Ceaulin before, would gladly embrace an opportunity of attacking him. The decease of Cissa, king of Sussex, who died without issue, stimulated the avidity of Ceaulin, who took immediate possession of that kingdom; which gave great dissatisfaction to the other Saxon kings, and Ethelbert was exceedingly active in fomenting the general displeasure, and a confederacy was formed against the king of the West Saxons. The Britons, desirous of entering into the association, were permitted to join the Saxon confederates with their army; and the allies entered the dominions of Ceaulin in 591, and obtained a complete victory over that prince in the neighbourhood of Wodensburg in Wiltshire. This misfortune was accompanied with one still more alarming; for a considerable part of his subjects rose in rebellion against him, under the conduct of his own nephew Ceolric. The malcontents drove the unhappy monarch into exile, and he died in poverty in 592, the year following the loss of his crown.

The natives of South Britain being now expelled from that territory, except Wales, Cumberland, and Cornwall, where the remains of an oppressed nation still maintained themselves, we proceed to the separate history of the seven kingdoms founded by the Saxons in this country. But some reflections on the causes and consequences of this great revolution will properly precede the narrative of the transactions which distinguished the establishment of the Heptarchy.

When we reflect on the wretched and imbecile state of the Britons at the time of the departure of the Romans, we shall at first be disposed to wonder at the length of time which intervened between the commencement of Saxon hostilities under Hengist and Horsa, and the completion of the Anglo-Saxon Heptarchy; a space of a hundred and thirty years (from the year 455 to the erection of the kingdom of Mercia in 588). It might have been expected, that on the first view of the helpless situation of the natives about the beginning of this period, that the resistance of such a degenerate, unwarlike, and divided nation, against the hostile attempts of such fierce and rapacious tribes, long accustomed to the exercise of arms, would have been feeble in the extreme. But, on a more deliberate review of the subject, there was reason to imagine, that the general indignation which must have inflamed their minds against their perfidious allies, and the despair of obtaining relief or deliverance, would excite the courage and animate the efforts of a people so unjustly attacked, and so egregiously deceived.

The motives which induced the Saxon chiefs to establish their residence in South Britain are obvious. They found their native districts were stocked through the prolific effusions of the northern hive; they were greedy of plunder; and expected to find an ample booty in a country which the Romans had left in a state of opulence and plenty: they knew it to be a more fertile and pleasant region than their own; and, from the weak opposition made by the Britons to the occasional descents of Frank and Saxon pirates, and the irruptions of the Picts and Scots, they concluded that an establishment would be easy, in a province deserted by its Roman protectors. A concurrence of such favourable circumstances prompted the frequent invasions of Britain by the Saxon adventurers. But the natives were not so weak and pusillanimous as the Saxons supposed they were; therefore the greatest cruelty towards the islanders was exercised by the Saxons in their military operations.

Had the natives of South Britain entered with sincerity into a general union when they first suspected the intentions of Hengist and his brother Horsa, they might perhaps have expelled those perfidious chiefs and their followers; but, at the period we are treating of, fatal dissensions prevailed among the petty principalities which had been established after the abdication of the Romans. It is true, that a sovereign had been elected to preside over a confederacy of these states, but the union was imperfect, for the *reguli* refused submission to his authority. The ill consequences of disunion were aggravated by the incapacity and contemptible character of the sovereign who ostensibly guided the helm at the time of Hengist's arrival: his government, instead of checking, promoted the growth of dissention; and his connivance at the junction of fresh troops to the army of that chieftain, argued a passiveness of deportment that ill became the ruler of a nation in a crisis of danger and emergency. Thus by the want of union among the Britons, by their frequent migrations to Armorica, and by their being driven into Wales, by which their strength rapidly declined, while that of the Saxons was constantly recruited from the continent, all hopes of expelling the intruders vanished from the minds of the natives.

The success of the Saxon adventurers in Britain produced an important change in that part of the island which is now called *England*, and which received this appellation from its German conquerors, the majority of whom were *Angles*. The natives were, for the most part, either destroyed or expelled from those regions which composed the heptarchy: the polity, religion, manners, and language, which had lately prevailed in the conquered territories, had retired with their late possessors into other districts; and a new scene appeared in these respects, borrowed from the coasts and forests of Germany. The government here introduced by the Saxons bore nearly the same form as that under which they lived on the continent: the religion of Christ was superseded by the assiduities of Paganism; but the eagerness of the popes to extend Christianity among the nations of Europe, soon caused it to get a footing among the Saxons: and the laws, customs, and habits of life, which had influenced the practice of the original inhabitants, gave way to the imported novelties of the new possessors of the country.

The Britons being now chiefly confined to Wales, their history ceases to form a part of the history of England, except in a secondary or collateral view, when their affairs happen to be connected with those of the English nation.

(*i*) This battle, by some historians, is said to have taken place in Northumberland; but Bishop Gibson's conjecture appears nearer the truth: he says, with the Saxon Chronicle, that it was fought at Fethanleag, that is, Frethern in Gloucestershire.

BOOK III.

THE HISTORY OF THE KINGDOMS OF THE HEPTARCHY.

CHAPTER I.

Of the Kingdom of KENT.

HENGIST, the first Saxon king in Britain, was the founder of the kingdom of Kent, but as we have already spoken of the most memorable transactions of his life and reign, we shall pass on to Esca, his son and successor, who ascended the throne in 488. He seems not to have possessed the military genius of his father, who first made way for the entrance of the Saxon arms into Britain, but was content to possess in tranquillity the kingdom of Kent, which he left in 512 to his son Octa, in whose time the East Saxons established their monarchy, and dismembered the provinces of Essex and Middlesex from that of Kent. His death, after a reign of twenty-two years, made room for his son Hermenric, in 534, who performed nothing memorable during a reign of upwards of thirty years, except associating with him his son Ethelbert in the government, that he might secure the succession in his family, and prevent such revolutions as are incident to a turbulent and barbarous monarchy. The reign of Ethelbert revived the reputation of his family, which had languished for some generations. The inactivity of his predecessors, and the situation of his country, secured from all hostility with the Britons, seem to have much enfeebled the warlike genius of the Kentish Saxons; and Ethelbert, in his first attempt to aggrandize his country, and distinguish his own name, was unsuccessful. He was twice defeated by Ceaulin, king of Wessex; and obliged to yield the superiority in the heptarchy to that ambitious monarch, who reduced the kingdom of Sussex to subjection, and excited jealousy in all the other princes. An association was formed against him; and Ethelbert, intrusted with the command of the allies, gave him battle, and obtained a decisive victory, in 591, by which he gained the supremacy of the heptarchy. Ceaulin died soon after; and Ethelbert reduced all the princes, except the king of Northumberland, to a strict dependance upon him; and even established himself by force on the throne of Mercia, the most extensive of the Saxon kingdoms. Apprehensive, however, of a dangerous league against him, like that by which he himself had been enabled to overthrow Ceaulin, he had the prudence to resign the kingdom of Mercia to Wibba, the rightful heir, the son of Crida, who had first founded that monarchy. But governed still by ambition more than justice, he gave Wibba possession of the crown on such conditions, as rendered him little better than a tributary prince under the Kentish sovereign.

The most important event which distinguished the reign of Ethelbert, was the introduction of Christianity among the English Saxons, in 597. But as this subject properly belongs to the History of the Church, it will be treated of in the close of this book. Ethelbert enacted, with the consent of the states of his kingdom, a body of laws (*k*), the first written laws promulgated by any of the northern conquerors; and his reign was in every respect glorious to himself, and beneficial to his people. He governed the kingdom of Kent fifty years; and dying in 616, left the succession to his son, Eadbald, the offspring of his first wife Bertha. This prince, seduced by a passion for his mother-in-law, deserted for some time the Christian faith, which permitted not these incestuous marriages: his whole people immediately returned with him to idolatry. Laurentius, the successor of Augustine in the archbishopric of Canterbury, found the Christian worship wholly abandoned, and was prepared to return to France, in order to escape the mortification of preaching the gospel without fruit to the infidels. Mellitus and Justus, who had been consecrated bishops of London and Rochester, had already departed the kingdom; when Laurentius, before he should entirely abandon his dignity, made one effort to reclaim the king. He appeared before that prince; and throwing off his vestments, showed his body all torn with bruises and stripes, which he had received. Eadbald, wondering that any man should have dared to treat in that manner a person of this rank, was told by Laurentius, that he had received his chastisement from St. Peter, the prince of the apostles, who had appeared to him in a vision, and severely reproving him for his intention to desert his charge, had inflicted on him these visible marks of his displeasure. Whether Eadbald was struck with the miracle, or influenced by some other motive, he divorced himself from his mother-in-law, in 618, and returned to the profession of Christianity: his whole people returned with him. Eadbald reached not the fame or authority of his father, and died in 640, after a reign of twenty-five years; leaving two sons, Erminfrid and Ercombert.

Ercombert, though the younger son, by Emma, a French princess, found means to mount the throne. He is celebrated by Bede for two exploits, for establishing the fast of Lent in his kingdom, and for utterly extirpating idolatry; which, notwithstanding the prevalence of Christianity, had hitherto been tolerated by the two preceding monarchs. He reigned twenty-four years; and left the crown to Egbert his son, in 664, who reigned nine years, and died in 673. This prince is renowned for his encouragement of learning; but infamous for putting to death his two cousin-germans, sons of Erminfrid, his uncle.

The bloody precaution of Egbert could not fix the crown on the head of his son Edric. Lothaire, brother of the deceased prince, took possession of the kingdom; and, in order to secure the power in his family, he associated with him Richard, his son, in the administration of the government. Edric, the dispossessed prince, had recourse to Edilwach, king of Sussex, for assistance; and being supported by that prince, fought a battle with his uncle, who was defeated and slain in 684. Richard fled into Germany, and afterwards died in Lucca, a city of Tuscany.

Lothaire reigned eleven years; Edric his successor, only two. Edric's short reign was exceedingly tumultuous, and his death violent, but history is silent as to the cause of it. Upon his death, which happened in 686, Widred, his brother, obtained possession of the crown: but as the succession had been of late so much disjointed by revolutions and usurpations, faction began to prevail among the nobility; who invited Ceadwalla, king of Wessex, with his brother Mollo, to attack the kingdom. These invaders committed great devastations in Kent; but the death of Mollo, who was slain in a skirmish (*l*), gave a short breathing-time to that kingdom. Widred restored the affairs of Kent; and, after a reign of thirty-two years, left the crown to his posterity.

Widred's son Eadbert succeeded him in 725, but during his reign the kingdom of Kent was not distinguished by any important transaction, it being now reduced to such a state of insignificance, as neither to awaken the jealousy, nor allure the cupidity, of the other Anglo-Saxon princes.

Ethelbert, another son of Widred, succeeded to the kingdom of Kent in 748: he reigned about twelve years in peace, surviving his own son Ardulf, whom he had associated in the government.

After Ethelbert's death, in 760, Alric, the youngest son of Widred, succeeded to the throne. In the long interval of tranquillity which the kingdom of Kent had enjoyed since the devastations of Ceadwalla, its sovereigns had endeavoured to repair the mischiefs which it then suffered; so that it now assumed a different aspect, and became an object worthy of the ambition of its neighbours. Offa, king of Mercia, desirous of annexing it to his territories, attacked Alric, and defeated him with great carnage, about 774; but he was diverted from pursuing his success by a sudden invasion of Mercia from Wales (*m*). The duration of Alric's reign is said to have extended to thirty-four years.

His

(*k*) This code is still extant in the Saxon tongue, and contains not only civil but ecclesiastical laws. It is, however, nothing more than a multifarious gradation of fines.

(*l*) Such is the account given by Hume, which he borrowed from Higden, Polychron. lib. v. But the Saxon Chronicle, William of Malmesbury, and other historians, assert, that he was consumed, with twelve attendants, in a house to which he had fled, and to which his enemies set fire.

(*m*) The Saxons gave the name of *Wealon* or *Weales* to the country between the Severn and the Irish Sea, and the appellation of *Weallas* to it;

His son Alcmund had been associated with him in the royal sway; but that prince died before his father, who, by this privation, became the last of the family of Hengist.

On the death of Alric the crown of Kent was disputed by the factious leaders of the state; and the successful candidate was one Eadbert, surnamed Pren, who began to reign in 794, but his reign was very short and unfortunate: for, in 796, Cenulf, king of Mercia, invaded his dominions, which he ravaged with the utmost fury. Eadbert, with all the forces he could muster, gave battle to the intruder, by whom he was defeated and carried prisoner into Mercia. According to the Saxon annalists, he was deprived both of his hands and eyes by command of his inhuman conqueror.

The victorious Mercian conferred the Kentish crown on Cuthred, a person of his own kindred, who held it on his tributary. Cuthred reigned nine years, and was succeeded, in 805, with the consent of Cenulf, by his son Baldred, who also reigned as a vassal of the Mercian monarch. His reign, which lasted eighteen years, was concluded by the submission of Kent to the arms of Egbert, king of Wessex, who, by the medium of his son Ethelwulf, totally defeated the troops of Baldred, and annexed the Kentish kingdom to his own dominions, in 823. The vanquished king fled from the field of battle, and the reduction of Kent was followed by the subjugation of the other Anglo-Saxon kingdoms, which Egbert successively brought under his yoke, so as to unite the petty states of the heptarchy into one powerful kingdom.

The duration of the Kentish kingdom amounted to three hundred and sixty-six years, *viz.* from 457, when Hengist assumed the regal title, to 823, when its last king was vanquished and dethroned by Egbert.

CHAP. II.

Of the Kingdom of Sussex.

THE founder of this small kingdom was Ælla, who, after carrying on a war with the Britons about fourteen years, took the title of king of the South Saxons in 491. He was active and courageous, but it does not appear that he extended his conquests after he became a king. On the death of Hengist he was regarded as the head of the British Saxons. He reigned twenty-three years, and was succeeded by his son Cissa, in 514, who, if he was brought over by his father, as he is said to have been, must have lived at least to the age of one hundred and thirteen years. The reign of Cissa was more distinguished by its long duration, than by any remarkable transactions that occurred in the course of it. He ruled over the South Saxons, in peace and obscurity, for seventy-six years. He built the city of Chichester, which he denominated Cissan-ceaster, *i. e.* the fortress of Cissa; at this place he fixed his royal seat, and endeavoured to render it populous and flourishing. He lived in a kind of dependence on his powerful neighbour Cerdic, whom he had frequently assisted with auxiliary forces. He died without issue in 590, and his kingdom was invaded and seized by the ambitious Ceaulin, king of Wessex, who placed his nephew Ceolric on the throne of Sussex in 591. Ceolric afterwards succeeded Ceaulin as king of Wessex.

Ceolric was succeeded in the kingdom of Sussex by his brother Ceolwulf in 607; but as the South Saxons did not quietly submit to the loss of their independence, they took up arms and hazarded an engagement with this prince, in which both parties suffered greatly; but the West Saxons had the advantage, and the revolt was suppressed. After an interval of some years, they made another effort to release themselves from their dependence on Wessex. They embraced the opportunity which the distractions of that country afforded them, when Penda, king of Mercia, had expelled Cenowalch, the West Saxon monarch, from his dominions, in 645, and retained them in his own hands. On this occasion they conferred the title of king on a nobleman, named Adelwalch, in 646, whom Penda did not attempt to deprive of his dignity, which he remained in possession of, till Wulfer, who succeeded Penda in his turbulent spirit, as well as in his throne, invaded Sussex with an army, and overcame Adelwalch in an engagement, whom he made prisoner, and subjected his kingdom to the Mercian yoke in 661. Adelwalch, however, was treated with favour and indulgence: he was converted to Christianity in 664, and Wulfer himself answered for him at the baptismal font. Soon after this he recovered his liberty, with which he received a donation of territory, comprehending the Isle of Wight and a part of Hampshire, then lately subdued by the arms of Mercia. It is probable he was also at the same time restored to the throne of Sussex, but this is uncertain. It is true, however, that he did regain the crown of Sussex, that he reigned peaceably for some years, and that he was afterwards defeated and slain by Ceadwalla, in 685, who became king of Wessex. This was effected by a small number of troops; but it should be recollected that Adelwalch had some time before sent two of his best officers, with an army, into Kent, to assist Edric in dethroning his uncle Lothaire, and that such a diminution of the force of so small a kingdom as that of Sussex must have greatly weakened the efforts of its sovereign.

While the victorious Ceadwalla was prosecuting his success in this kingdom, Berthun and Authun, the two commanders of the South Saxon forces who supported the cause of Edric, returned in triumph from their Kentish expedition. They soon put a stop to his ravages, but being raised to the throne of Wessex, he reduced the kingdom of Sussex to a province of his dominions.

The insignificance of this petty kingdom, and the imperfection of the records of this period, have produced a chasm in the history of Sussex, from the last invasion of Ceadwalla to the thirty-fourth year of the reign of Ina, king of Wessex. In that year (722) the South Saxons rose in arms, with a view of retrieving their independence; but Ina quickly reduced the insurgents to submission. In 725 they again revolted, under the conduct of one Albert, and were again defeated by the arms of the West Saxon monarch, their leader being slain in the engagement.

During the reign of Sigebert in Wessex, they again flew to arms, and elected Osmond king in 754, who ruled over them several years; but Cenulf, the successor of Sigebert, reduced them again to obedience; and Egbert, the last sovereign of Wessex, inherited from Brithric, the successor of Cenulf the firm possession of the South Saxon territories, before he commenced the execution of his grand scheme for reducing under his dominion the whole of the Saxon Heptarchy.

CHAP. III.

Of the Kingdom of Essex.

THERE are no certain accounts of the time when Erchenwin founded this petty kingdom, the principal part of which had belonged to the dominions of Hengist and his immediate successors Esea and Octa. But the events of Erchenwin's reign have not been transmitted to us. He died in peace, and was succeeded by his son Sleda, about 587, who espoused the daughter of Hermenric, king of Kent. The year of his death is not known; but he was succeeded by Sebert, son of the preceding prince. Sebert was the first Christian king of the East Saxons; and in his reign, about the year 610, the first church that was ever built in London, rose in honour of St. Paul, by the direction of his uncle Ethelbert, king of Kent, to whom he was tributary. Not long after, in 612, another Christian church was erected on the site of the present abbey-church of Westminster (*n*), by order of Sebert, who, after a reign distinguished by no other works than those of piety, left the crown in 616, to his three sons Sexred, Seward, and Sigebert, who reigned in conjunction. These princes re-established Paganism, and expelled from their dominions Mellitus, the first bishop of London. They afterwards engaged in a war with the West Saxons, which terminated in the death of the three brothers, who are said to have been all killed in the same battle in 623.

Sigebert, surnamed the Little, the son of Seward, succeeded his father and uncles; but no transactions of his

its inhabitants, not, as some authors have erroneously supposed, because they were strangers, (a meaning which the word will undoubtedly bear,) but on account of their Gallic origin. They also termed the south-western extremity of England *Cornweales*, the latter part of which word is obviously of the same import with *Weales* above-mentioned, and the former part of the word plainly intimates the formation of that district, it being shaped somewhat like a horn.

(*n*) This church is said to have been erected on the ruins of a Roman temple, sacred to Apollo, and that of St. Paul on the site of a temple of Diana. *Camden.*

reign are recorded. He was succeeded by Sigebert, who derived from his virtues the epithet of Good. Under the auspices of this prince the Christian religion revived in Essex. The Northumbrian king Oswy, had the merit of converting this prince from the errors of Paganism; and a priest of the name of Cedda, who accompanied Sigebert from the court of Oswy to the East Saxon metropolis about the year 654, exerted his endeavours with great success in promoting Christianity. The death of Sigebert, who certainly merited a better fate, was produced by the hand of violence. The circumstances which attended it are worthy of mention. Cedda, who had been raised to the see of London, had excommunicated a nobleman for impurity, and notwithstanding this sentence, by which all conversation with the delinquent was prohibited, the king repaired to his house to partake of a banquet to which he had been invited. The prelate met his royal master returning from the habitation of the excommunicated person. Enraged at Sigebert's neglect of the prohibition, the arrogant priest said, "Because thou hast not abstained from the house of that excommunicate, in that house thou shalt die." This prediction was soon afterwards accomplished; and perhaps the conscientious Cedda, was indirectly concerned in the murder of his sovereign. The agents who inflicted the deadly wound (which the bishop set forth as the vengeance of Heaven on the profane king) were two of Sigebert's relations, one of whom was the excommunicated nobleman, and the second his brother.

Swithelm, brother of the murdered king, ascended the vacant throne, in 661; but as no particulars of his reign are handed down to us, we pass on to his successors.

Sighere and Seba, who jointly ruled the kingdom of Essex in 664. In this reign a pestilential disorder broke out in the southern parts of the island, and spread gradually towards the north; and the East Saxons being particularly afflicted with it, Sighere absurdly imagined that it was sent as a punishment from the gods of the Saxons, on account of their forsaking the religion of their progenitors. Anxious to avert the resentment of the angry deities, he relapsed into Paganism, and many of his people imitated his example. His colleague, however, did not apostatize, and his influence hindered Paganism from gaining the ascendancy in this kingdom: at length Sighere was reconverted, and Christianity again triumphed over the errors of Pagan superstition. Sighere died in 683, and Seba swayed the sceptre alone, till 694, when, in his declining age, he embraced the monastic life.

On Seba's abdication, his crown had sufficient charms to draw his son Sigheard from a monastery to which he had retired. This prince reigned conjointly with his brother Sonfred; they died at no great distance of time from each other, and were succeeded by Offa, son of Sighere, about 705, who likewise, on the persuasion of his wife, a Mercian princess, adopted a life of religious seclusion in 709. The next king of Essex was Selred, descended from Sigebert the Good, whose reign was extended to thirty-four years, though we are not acquainted with the events with which it was attended, or of the particulars of that violence which is said to have closed it in 747. He was the last prince of the family of Erchenwin. Three other persons are recorded to have successively filled the throne of Essex from the death of Selred, namely, Swithred, Sigeric, and Sigered, who were vassals to the kings of Mercia. At length, in 824, this kingdom submitted to the power of the fortunate Egbert.

CHAP. IV.

Of the Kingdom of NORTHUMBERLAND.

THE regal title over that extensive territory which lies between the Forth and the Humber, was not assumed by any of the Saxon chiefs till the arrival of Ida, in 547, who founded the kingdom of Bernicia, which was soon followed by the erection of that of Diera. With respect to Ida, we have reason to believe, that he filled the throne of Bernicia with distinguished credit to himself, and advantage to his subjects. He died in 560, the thirteenth year after his landing on the shores of Britain. Nothing is recorded of his son Adda, who succeeded him on the throne, nor of Clappa, Freothulf, Theodoric, and Ethelfrid, who successively ruled the kingdom of Bernicia for thirty years after the death of Ida.

During the reigns of all these kings Ælla still governed the neighbouring kingdom of Diera, of which he was the founder. By marrying his daughter Acca to Ethelfrid, the son and co-adjutor of Ethelric, he was the unintentional promoter of the union of the two kingdoms in the person of his son-in-law, to the prejudice of his own son Edwin's right to the Dierian succession. Ethelric, who was a son of the illustrious Ida, died after a short reign; surviving Ælla only two years, and was succeeded by Ethelfrid, in 590, who by the expulsion of Edwin, the infant son of Ælla, usurped the territories to which that prince had a superior claim. He thus united into one monarchy all the Anglo-Saxon possessions to the north of the Humber; and the names of Diera and Bernicia were sunk for a time in the general denomination of Northumberland. He was a prince of great courage, capacity, and ambition, and was the only Saxon monarch who disdained and refused subserviency to the authoritative demands of Ethelbert king of Kent. He spread the terror of the Saxon arms to the neighbouring people; and obtained a signal victory over Aidan, king of Scotland in 603; but his victory was dearly purchased, for he lost his brother Theobald, with all the troops which that prince commanded: he, however, extended his dominions in the north.

Ethelfrid afterwards waged war with the Britons, from whom he wrested some territories bordering on North Wales. In the progress of his conquests, he advanced to Chester, then a considerable town, to which he laid siege. The Britons marched out with all their forces to engage him; and they were attended by a body of one thousand two hundred and fifty monks from the monastery of Bangor, who stood at a small distance from the field of battle, in order to encourage the combatants by their presence and exhortations. Ethelfrid enquiring the purpose of this unusual appearance, was told, that these priests had come to pray against him: "Then are they as much our enemies," said he, "as those who intend to fight against us:" And he immediately sent a detachment, who fell upon them, and did such execution, that only fifty escaped with their lives. The Britons, astonished at this event, received a total defeat: Chester was obliged to surrender: and Ethelfrid, pursuing his victory, made himself master of Bangor, and entirely demolished the monastery; a building so extensive, that there was a mile's distance from one gate of it to another; and it contained two thousand one hundred monks, who are said to have been there maintained by their own labour.

Notwithstanding Ethelfrid's success in war, he lived in inquietude on account of young Edwin, whom he had unjustly dispossessed of the crown of Diera. This prince, now grown to man's estate, wandered from place to place, in continual danger from the attempts of Ethelfrid; and received at last protection in the court of Redwald, king of the East Angles in 615; where his engaging deportment procured him general esteem and affection. Redwald, however, was strongly solicited by the king of Northumberland to kill or deliver up his guest: rich presents were promised him if he would comply; and war denounced against him in case of his refusal. After rejecting several messages of this kind, his generosity began to yield to the motives of interest: and he retained the last ambassador, till he should come to a resolution in a case of such importance. Edwin, informed of his friend's perplexity, was yet determined at all hazards to remain in East-Anglia; and thought, that if the protection of that court failed him, it were better to die, than prolong a life so much exposed to the persecutions of his powerful rival. This confidence in Redwald's honour and friendship, with his other accomplishments, engaged the queen on his side; and she effectually represented to her husband the infamy of delivering up to certain destruction their royal guest, who had fled to them for protection against his cruel and jealous enemies. Redwald embracing more generous resolutions, thought it safest to prevent Ethelfrid, before that prince was aware of his intention, and to attack him while he was yet unprepared for defence. He marched suddenly with an army into the kingdom of Northumberland, and fought a battle with Ethelfrid in 617; in which that monarch was defeated and killed, after avenging himself by the death of Regner, son of Redwald. His own sons, Eanfrid, Oswald, and Oswy, yet infants, were carried into Scotland; and Edwin obtained possession of the crown of Northumberland.

Edwin commenced his administration with the true spirit of a patriot king. He enacted the wisest laws for securing the peace of the community, and established admirable regulations

gulations for promoting the prosperity of this people. The police which he introduced was so perfect, that acts of violence and rapine, which had been so frequent in the reign of his predecessor, were, in his time, almost unknown to the practice of the Northumbrians.

Edwin was the greatest prince of the Heptarchy in that age, and distinguished himself, by his influence over the other kingdoms, as well as by the strict execution of justice in his own dominions. He reclaimed his subjects from the licentious life to which they had been accustomed; and it was a common saying, that during this reign a woman or child might openly carry every where a purse of gold, without any danger of violence or robbery. There is a remarkable instance, transmitted to us, of the affection born him by his servants. Cuichelme, king of Wessex, was his enemy; but finding himself unable to maintain open war against so courageous and powerful a prince, he determined to use treachery against him, and he employed one Eumer for that criminal purpose. The assassin having obtained admittance, by pretending to deliver a message from Cuichelme, drew his dagger, and rushed upon the king. Lilla, an officer of his army, seeing his master's danger, and having no other means of defence, interposed with his own body between the king and Eumer's dagger, which was pushed with such violence, that, after piercing Lilla, it even wounded Edwin: but before the assassin could renew his blow, he was dispatched by the king's attendants.

The East-Angles conspired against Redwald, their king; and having put him to death, they offered their crown to Edwin, of whose valour and capacity they had had experience, while he resided among them. But Edwin, from a sense of gratitude towards his benefactor, obliged them to submit to Earpwold, the son of Redwald; and that prince preserved his authority, under the protection of the Northumbrian monarch.

Edwin, after his accession to the crown, married Ethelburga, the daughter of Ethelbert, king of Kent. This princess, emulating the glory of her mother Bertha, who had been the instrument for converting her husband and his people to Christianity, carried Paulinus, a learned bishop, along with her; and besides stipulating a toleration for the exercise of her own religion, which was readily granted her, she used every reason to persuade the king to embrace it. Edwin hesitated on the proposal; but promised to examine the foundations of that doctrine; and declared, that if he found them satisfactory, he was willing to be converted. Accordingly he held several conferences with Paullinus; canvassed the arguments propounded with the wisest of his counsellors; retired frequently from company, in order to revolve alone that important question; and, after a serious and long enquiry, declared in favour of the Christian religion: the people soon after imitated his example. Besides the authority and influence of the king, they were moved by another striking example. Coifi, the high-priest, being converted after a public conference with Paullinus, led the way in destroying the images, which he had so long worshipped, and was forward in making this atonement for his past idolatry.

This able prince perished with his son, Osfrid, in a great battle which he fought against Penda, king of Mercia, and Cadwallon, king of North Wales. That event, which happened in the forty-eighth year of Edwin's age and seventeenth of his reign, divided the monarchy of Northumberland, which that prince had united in his person. Eanfrid, the son of Ethelfrid, returned with his brothers, Oswald and Oswy, from Scotland, and took possession of Bernicia, his paternal kingdom: Osric, Edwin's cousin-german, established himself in Deïra, the inheritance of his family; but to which the sons of Edwin had a preferable title. Eanfrid, the elder surviving son, fled to Penda, by whom he was treacherously slain. The younger son, Vuscfræa, with Yffi, the grandson of Edwin, by Osfrid, sought protection in Kent, and not finding themselves in safety there, retired into France to king Dagobert, where they died.

Osric, king of Deïra, and Eanfrid of Bernicia, returned to paganism; and the whole people seem to have returned with them; since Paullinus, who was the first archbishop of York, and who had converted them, thought proper to retire with Ethelburga, the queen dowager into Kent. Both these Northumbrian kings perished soon after, the first in battle against Cadwallon, the Briton; the second, by the treachery of that prince. Oswald, the brother of Eanfrid, of the race of Bernicia, united again the kingdom of Northumberland in the year 634, and restored the Christian religion in his dominions. He gained a compleat victory over Cadwallon, after an obstinate and well-disputed contest in 635; the last vigorous effort which the Britons made against the Saxons.

He died in battle against Penda, king of Mercia, in 642, and was succeeded by his brother Oswy; who established himself in the government of the whole Northumbrian kingdom, by putting to death Oswin, the son of Osric, the last king of the race of Deïra. His son Egfrid succeeded him in 670; who perished in battle against the Picts, without leaving any children, because Adelthrid, his wife, refused to violate her vow of chastity. Alfred, his natural brother, acquired possession of the kingdom, which he governed for nineteen years; and left it to Osred, his son, a boy of eight years of age, in 704. This prince, after a reign of eleven years, was murdered by Kenred his kinsman, who, after enjoying the crown only a year, perished by a like fate. Osric, and after him Ceolwulph the son of Kenred, next mounted the throne, which the latter relinquished in the year 738, in favour of Eadbert his cousin-german, who, imitating his predecessor, abdicated the crown, and retired into a monastery. Oswulf, son of Eadbert, was slain in a sedition, a year after his accession to the crown, in 759; and Mollo, who was not of the royal family, seized the crown. He perished by the treachery of Ailred, a prince of the blood; who, having succeeded in his design upon the throne, was soon after expelled by his subjects. Ethelred (*o*), his successor, the son of Mollo, underwent a like fate. Celwold, the next king, the brother of Ailred, was deposed and slain by the people, and his place was filled by Osred, his nephew, who, after a short reign of a year, made way for Ethelbert, another son of Mollo, whose death was equally tragical with that of almost all his predecessors. After Ethelbert's death an universal anarchy prevailed in Northumberland; and the people having, by so many fatal revolutions, lost all attachment to their government and princes, were well prepared for subjection to a foreign yoke; which Egbert, king of Wessex, finally imposed upon them, in 827.

CHAP. V.

Of the Kingdom of East-Anglia.

THE reign of Uffa, the Saxon chief who erected the kingdom of East Anglia in 573 is so lost in obscurity, that we cannot communicate any of the transactions of his reign. He was succeeded in 578 by his son Titil; from whom the crown passed to Redwald, his son, in 599, a prince who acquired a high reputation among the kings of the Heptarchy. Educated in the arts of government under the auspices of Ethelbert, king of Kent, he became an eminent and illustrious prince. He received baptism at the court of that monarch; but he does not appear to have been zealous in his profession of Christianity; for the persuasions of his Pagan queen induced him to revert his former religion; but he offered no violence to the consciences of his subjects. It was this king who succoured the fugitive Edwin, which we have already mentioned, whom he placed on the Northumbrian throne. He was, after the subjugation of Northumberland, elevated to the rank of chief of the Saxon confederacy, in 617. At his death, in 624, already noticed, his crown was offered to Edwin, but he refused it, and persuaded the East-Angles to acknowledge Earpwald, the son of Redwald, as their king. He was assassinated by Riobert, a Pagan nobleman in 633, the same year in which Edwin was slain in battle.

After an interregnum of three years, Sigebert, uterine brother of Earpwald, returned from France, whither he had

(*o*) Towards the close of the reign of this prince, in 793, the Danes made a descent on Lindisfarne, pillaged the monastery of that island, massacred some of its inmates, and carried others to their ships as prisoners. The plunder collected by them in this predatory expedition allured them to a repetition of their piratical ravages in the subsequent year; but their second descent on the Northumbrian territories did not terminate so fortunately as the first. After they had plundered the monastery of Waremouth, the inhabitants rose in arms against them, killed one of their captains, and drove them to their vessels; and a storm which then arose wrecked several of their ships, so that many of the pirates were drowned, and those that were forced back on the coast suffered decapitation or other modes of death from the hands of the enraged Northumbrians.

fied from the jealousy of Redwald his father-in-law, and was placed on the throne of East-Anglia, 636. He restored the influence of the Christian faith among his subjects, most of whom had apostatized on the death of Earpwald. Having imbibed, during his exile, a taste for literature, he was eager to disseminate among his people the advantages of learning, and therefore established schools for their instruction. After he had thus provided for the intellectual improvement of the East-Angles, he quitted his throne for a life of religious retirement.

About 642, Egric, one of Sigebert's kindred, was raised to the throne, which he did not long enjoy in peace. He had the misfortune to be a neighbour to Penda the Mercian, whose appetite for war was insatiable. That monarch invaded his dominions, and so harrassed his subjects, that they requested Sigebert to leave his retreat, and take the field as a general. Though he was prevailed upon to repair to the camp, he did not attempt to sustain that military character which the East-Angles supposed he would. He was so far from exerting the functions of a warrior, that he appeared in the field bearing a wand instead of a warlike weapon; and a battle ensuing, he was slain with his royal kinsman, and the East-Anglian troops underwent a total defeat in 644.

Annas, a prince of the blood, was preferred to the vacant throne. He afforded refuge to Cenowalch, when that prince had been expelled from his kingdom of Wessex by Penda. The royal exile, after receiving baptism at the court of his protector, found means to recover his dominions; and it is probable that Annas furnished him with some assistance for that purpose. On this account Penda marched an army into the territories of Annas, slew that prince and his eldest son in battle, and cut off a great part of the East-Anglian forces, in 654.

Ethelhere, the brother and successor of Annas, made his submissions to Penda, and joined that king in the invasion of Northumberland, where they both perished in the field, in the year 655. Ethelhere was succeeded in the throne by Ethelwald, the only surviving brother of Annas. This prince obscurely reigned for nine years, and was succeeded by his nephew Aldulf, in 664. After Adulf the throne was filled by Elfwald, Switheard, Beorna, and Ethelred, who reigned successively in equal obscurity. On the death of the last of these princes, his son Ethelbert, a prince of considerable merit, wore the crown of East-Anglia. He made propositions of marriage to Elfrida, one of the daughters of Offa, king of Mercia, who invited him to his court at Hereford, for the solemnization of the nuptials, and then ordered him to be privately beheaded, in 792; an act of treachery that will ever stigmatize the memory of Offa, who immediately after the assassination seized upon the dominions of the murdered Ethelbert. From this period to the union of the Heptarchy East-Anglia formed a province of Mercia.

CHAP. VI.

Of the Kingdom of MERCIA.

MERCIA was the most spacious of all the kingdoms of the Heptarchy, except, perhaps, that of Northumberland in its most enlarged state. Crida was the fortunate chief who erected it into a monarchy in 585; but we are not acquainted with the particular progress of his arms in acquiring so extensive a tract, though there is every reason to believe he met with but little opposition, the minds of the Britons being completely bowed down by the time of his arrival.

On the death of Crida, in 593, Ethelbert, the ambitious and powerful king of Kent, seized on his dominions, and maintained himself three years in his usurpation, when he placed Wibba, in 596, who was the son of Crida, on the throne. He extended the western boundaries of his kingdom at the expence of the Britons. After his death his kinsman Ceorl was placed on the throne, by the influence of the Kentish monarch, in 615. Wibba indeed left a son of the name of Penda, who was about forty years of age; but being of a turbulent disposition, Ethelbert thought fit to displace him, and set the crown on the head of Ceorl; who made no attempt to release himself from the Kentish yoke during the life of Ethelbert, but after that prince's death he rendered himself independent of all control, except that which belonged to the chief of the heptarchical union; a station then filled by the East-Anglian Redwald. Having reigned ten years, his death, in 625, made way for the accession of Penda, who was then fifty years old; but his temerity and restless disposition were found nowise abated by time, experience, or reflection. He engaged in continual hostilities against all the neighbouring states; and, by his injustice and violence, rendered himself equally odious to his own subjects and to strangers. Sigebert, Egric, and Annas, three kings of East-Anglia, perished successively in battle against him; as did also Edwin and Oswald, the two greatest princes that had reigned over Northumberland. At last, Oswy, brother to Oswald, having defeated and slain him in a decisive battle, freed the world from this sanguinary tyrant. Peada, his son, mounted the throne of Mercia in 655, and lived under the protection of Oswy, whose daughter Alchfleda he had espoused. This princess was educated in the Christian faith, and she employed her influence with success, in converting her husband and his subjects to that religion. Thus the fair sex have had the merit of introducing the Christian doctrine into all the most considerable kingdoms of the Saxon Heptarchy. Peada died a violent death. His son, Wulfhere, succeeded to the government in 659, and after having reduced to dependence the kingdoms of Essex and East-Anglia, he left the crown to his brother Ethelred, who, though a lover of peace, showed himself not unfit for military enterprizes. Besides making a successful expedition into Kent, he repulsed Egfrid, king of Northumberland, who had invaded his dominions; and he slew in battle Elfwin, the brother of that prince. Desirous, however, of composing all animosities with Egfrid, he paid him a sum of money as a compensation for the loss of his brother. After a prosperous reign of thirty years, he resigned the crown to Cenred, son of Wulfhere, in 702, and retired into the monastery of Bardney in Lincolnshire. Cenred returned the present of the crown to Ceolred, the son of Ethelred, in 709; and making a pilgrimage to Rome, passed his life there in penance and devotion. The place of Ceolred was supplied by Ethelbald, in 716, who was great-grand nephew to Penda, by Alwy, his brother; and this prince, being slain in a mutiny, was succeeded by Offa, who was a degree more remote from Penda, by Eawa, another brother.

This prince, who mounted the throne in 755, had some great qualities, and was successful in his warlike enterprizes against Lothaire, king of Kent, and Kenwulph, king of Wessex. He defeated the former in a bloody battle at Otford upon the Darent, and reduced the kingdom to a state of dependence: he gained a victory over the latter at Bensington in Oxfordshire; and conquering that county, together with that of Gloucester, annexed both to his dominions. But all these successes were stained by his treacherous murder of Ethelbert (*p*), king of the East-Angles, and his violent seizing of that kingdom. The perfidious prince, desirous of re-establishing his character in the world, and perhaps of appeasing the remorses of his own conscience, paid great court to the clergy, and practised all the monkish devotion so much esteemed in that ignorant and superstitious age. He gave the tenth of his goods to the church; bestowed rich donations on the cathedral of Hereford, and even made a pilgrimage to Rome, where his great power and riches could not fail of procuring him the papal absolution. The better to ingratiate himself with the sovereign pontiff, he engaged to pay him a yearly donation for the support of an English college at Rome, and in order to raise the sum, he imposed the tax of a penny on each house possessed of thirty pence a year. This imposition, being afterwards levied on all England, was commonly denominated Peter's pence; and though conferred at first as a gift, was afterwards claimed as a tribute by the Roman pontiff. Carrying his hypocrisy still farther, Offa, feigning to be directed by a vision from heaven discovered at Verulam the reliques of St. Alban, the martyr, and endowed a magnificent monastery in that place. Moved by all these acts of piety, Malmesbury, one of the best of the old English historians, declares himself at a loss to determine whether the merits or crimes of this prince preponderated. Offa died, after a reign of thirty-nine years, in 796 (*q*).

Offa,

(*p*) We have mentioned the circumstances attending the death of this prince above, chap. v.

(*q*) This prince was become so considerable in the Heptarchy, that the emperor Charlemagne entered into an alliance and friendship with him;

Offa, in order to protect his country from Wales, drew a rampart or ditch of a hundred miles in length, from Basinwerke in Flintshire, to the south sea near Bristol. See *Speed's Description of Wales*. This place is still called Offa's Dike.

Egfrith succeeded to his father, Offa, but survived him only five months; when he made way for Cenulf, a descendant of the royal family. This prince waged war against Kent; and taking Egbert, the king, prisoner, he cut off his hands, and put out his eyes; leaving Cuthred, his own brother, in possession of the crown of that kingdom. Cenulf was killed, in 819, in an insurrection of the East-Anglians, whose crown his predecessor, Offa, had usurped. He left his son, Cenelm, a minor; who was murdered the same year by his sister, Quendrida, who had entertained the ambitious view of assuming the government. But she was supplanted by her uncle, Ceolwulf; who, two years after, in 821, was dethroned by Beornulf. The reign of this usurper, who was not of the royal family, was short and unfortunate: he was defeated by the West-Saxons, and killed by his own subjects, the East-Angles, in 824. Ludican, his successor, underwent the same fate; and Withlaff, who mounted this unstable throne, and found every thing in the utmost confusion, could not withstand the fortune of Egbert, who united all the Saxon kingdoms into one great monarchy.

CHAP. VII.

Of the Kingdom of WESSEX.

THE kingdom of Wessex, which finally swallowed up all the other Saxon states, met with great resistance on its first establishment: and the Britons, who were now enured to arms, yielded not tamely their possessions to those invaders. Cerdic, the founder of the monarchy, and his son, Cenric, fought many successful and some unsuccessful battles against the natives; and the martial spirit, common to all the Saxons, was, by means of these hostilities, carried to the greatest height among this tribe. Ceaulin, who was the son and successor of Cenric, and who began his reign in 560, was still more ambitious and enterprising than his predecessors; and, by waging continual war against the Britons, he added a great part of the counties of Devon and Somerset to his other dominions. Carried along by the tide of success, he invaded the other Saxon states in his neighbourhood, and becoming terrible to all, he provoked a general confederacy against him. This alliance proved successful under the conduct of Ethelbert, king of Kent; and Ceaulin, who had lost the affections of his own subjects by his violent disposition, and had now fallen into contempt from his misfortunes, was expelled the throne, and died in exile and misery. Cuichelme and Cuthwin, his sons, governed jointly the kingdom, till the expulsion of the latter in 591, and the death of the former in 593, made way for Ceolric, to whom succeeded Ceolwulf in 593, by whose death, which happened in 611, Cinigisil inherited the crown. This prince embraced Christianity, through the persuasion of Oswald, king of Northumberland, who had married his daughter, and who had attained a great ascendant in the Heptarchy. Cenowalch succeeded to the monarchy in 643, and dying in 672, left the succession so much disputed, that Sexburga, his widow, a woman of spirit, kept possession of the government till her death, which happened two years after. Escwin then peaceably acquired the crown; and, after a short reign of two years, made way for Centwin, who governed nine years. Ceodwalla, his successor, mounted not the throne, in 685, without opposition; but proved a great prince, according to the ideas of those times; that is, he was enterprising, warlike, and successful. He entirely subdued the kingdom of Sussex, and annexed it to his own dominions, in 686. He made inroads into Kent; but met with resistance from Widred, the king, who proved successful against Mollo, brother to Ceodwalla, and slew him in a skirmish. Ceodwalla, at last, tired with wars and bloodshed, was seized with a fit of devotion; bestowed several endowments on the church, and made a pilgrimage to Rome, where he received baptism, and died in 689. Ina, his successor, inherited the military virtues of Ceodwalla, and added to them the more valuable ones of justice, policy, and prudence. He made war upon the Britons in Somerset; and having finally subdued that province, he treated the vanquished with a humanity hitherto unknown to the Saxon conquerors. He allowed the proprietors to retain possession of their lands, encouraged marriages and alliances between them and his ancient subjects, and gave them the privilege of being governed by the same laws. These laws he augmented and ascertained; and though he was disturbed by some insurrections at home, his long reign of thirty-seven years may be regarded as one of the most glorious and most prosperous of the Heptarchy. In the decline of his age he made a pilgrimage to Rome; and after his return, shut himself up in a cloister, where he died.

Ina having no children of his own, and lying much under the influence of Ethelburga, his queen, left by will the succession to Ethelard, her brother, who was his remote kinsman; but this destination did not take place without some difficulty. Oswald, a prince more nearly allied to the crown, took arms against Ethelard; but he being suppressed, and dying soon after, the title of Ethelard was not any farther disputed; and in the year 741, he was succeeded by his cousin Cuthred. The reign of this prince was distinguished by a great victory which he obtained, by means of Ethelhun, his general, over Ethelbald, king of Mercia. His death in 754, made way for Sigebert, his kinsman, who rendered himself so odious to his subjects by his cruelties, and attempts to establish a despotic dominion over them, that they rose in an insurrection, and dethroned him, crowning Cenulf in his stead, in 755. The exiled prince found a refuge with duke Cumbra, governor of Hampshire; who, that he might add new obligations to Sigebert, gave him many salutary counsels for his future conduct, accompanied with some reprehensions for the past. But these were so much resented by the ungrateful prince, that he conspired against the life of his protector, and treacherously murdered him. After this infamous action, he was forsaken by all the world; and wandering about in the wilds and forests, was at last discovered by a servant of Cumbra's, who instantly took revenge upon him for the murder of his master.

Cenulf, who had obtained the crown on the expulsion of Sigebert, was fortunate in many expeditions against the Britons of Cornwall; but afterwards lost some reputation by his ill success against Offa, king of Mercia, who wrested from him those portions of the counties of Oxford and Gloucester which had for some time belonged to the West-Saxon kingdom. Cynehard also, brother to the deposed Sigebert, gave him disturbance; and though expelled the kingdom, he hovered on the frontiers, and watched an opportunity for attacking his rival. The king had an intrigue with a young woman who lived at Merton in Surrey, whither having secretly retired, he was on a sudden invironed, in the night-time, by Cynehard and his followers, and after making a vigorous resistance, was murdered, with all his attendants. The nobility and people of the neighbourhood, rising next day in arms, took revenge on Cynehard for the slaughter of their king, and put every one to the sword who had been engaged in that criminal enterprize. This event happened in 784.

Brithric next obtained possession of the government, though remotely descended from the royal family; but he enjoyed not that dignity without inquietude. Eoppa, nephew to king Ina, by his brother Ingild, who died before that prince, had begot Eta, father to Alchmond, from whom sprung Egbert, a young man of the most promising hopes, who gave great jealousy to Brithric, the reigning prince, both because he seemed by his birth better entitled to the crown, and because he had acquired, to an eminent degree, the affections of the people. Egbert, sensible of his danger from the suspicions of Brithric, secretly withdrew into France; where he was well received by Charlemagne. By living in the court, and serving in the armies of that prince,

him; a circumstance which did honour to Offa; as distant princes at that time had usually little communication with each other. That emperor being a great lover of learning and learned men, in an age very barren of that ornament, Offa, at his desire, sent him over Alcuin, a clergyman much celebrated for his knowledge, who received great honours from Charlemagne, and even became his preceptor in the sciences. The chief reason why he had at first desired the company of Alcuin, was, that he might oppose his learning to the heresy of Felix, bishop of Urgil in Catalonia; who maintained, that Jesus Christ, considered in his human nature, could, more properly, be denominated the adoptive, than the natural, son of God. This heresy was condemned in the council of Francfort, held in 794, and consisting of three hundred bishops. Such were the questions which were agitated in that age, and which employed the attention not only of cloistered scholars, but of the wisest and greatest princes.

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he acquired those accomplishments, which afterwards enabled him to make such a shining figure on the throne. And familiarizing himself to the manners of the French, who, as Malmesbury observes, were eminent both for valour and civility above all the western nations, he learned to polish the rudeness and barbarity of the Saxon character: his early misfortunes thus proved of singular advantage to him.

It was not long ere Egbert had opportunities of displaying his natural and acquired talents. Brithric, king of Wessex, had married Eadburga, natural daughter of Offa, king of Mercia, a profligate woman, equally infamous for cruelty and for incontinence. Having great influence over her husband, she often instigated him to destroy such of the nobility as were noxious to her; and where this expedient failed, she scrupled not being herself active in traiterous attempts against them. She had mixed a cup of poison for a young nobleman, who had acquired her husband's friendship, and had on that account become the object of her jealousy: but, unfortunately, the king drank of the cup along with his favourite, and soon after expired, in 800. This tragical incident, joined to her other crimes, rendered Eadburga, so odious, that she was obliged to fly into France (*r*); whence Egbert was at the same time recalled by the nobility, in order to ascend the throne of his ancestors, which he did in 801.

In the kingdoms of the Heptarchy, an exact rule of succession was either unknown or not strictly observed; and thence the reigning prince was continually agitated with jealousy against all the princes of the blood, whom he still considered as rivals, and whose death alone could give him entire security in his possession of the throne. From this fatal cause, together with the admiration of the monastic life, and the opinion of merit attending the preservation of chastity even in a married state, the royal families had been entirely extinguished in all the kingdoms except that of Wessex; and the emulations, suspicions, and conspiracies, which had formerly been confined to the princes of the blood alone, were now diffused among all the nobility in the several Saxon states. Egbert was the sole descendant of those first conquerors who subdued Britain, and who enhanced their authority by claiming a pedigree from Woden, the supreme divinity of their ancestors. But that prince, though invited by this favourable circumstance to make attempts on the neighbouring Saxons, gave them for some time no disturbance, and rather chose to turn his arms against the Britons in Cornwall, whom he defeated in several battles. He was recalled from the conquest of that country by an invasion made upon his dominions by Beornulf, king of Mercia.

The Mercians, before the accession of Egbert, had very nearly attained the absolute sovereignty in the Heptarchy: They had reduced the East-Angles under subjection, and established tributary princes in the kingdoms of Kent and Essex. Northumberland was involved in anarchy; and no state of any consequence remained but that of Wessex, which, much inferior in extent to Mercia, was supported solely by the great qualities of its sovereign. Egbert led his army against the invaders; and encountering them at Ellandum in Wiltshire, obtained a complete victory, and by the great slaughter which he made of them in their flight, gave a mortal blow to the power of the Mercians. Whilst he himself, in prosecution of his victory, entered their country on the side of Oxfordshire, and threatened the heart of their dominions; he sent an army into Kent, commanded by Ethelwulph, his eldest son; and expelling Baldred, the tributary king, soon made himself master of that country. The kingdom of Essex was conquered with equal facility; and the East-Angles, from their hatred to the Mercian government, which had been established over them by treachery and violence, and probably exercised with tyranny, immediately rose in arms, and craved the protection of Egbert. Beornulf, the Mercian king, who marched against them, was defeated and slain; and two years after, Ludican, his successor, met with the same fate. These insurrections and calamities facilitated the enterprises of Egbert, who advanced into the centre of the Mercian territories, and made easy conquests over a dispirited and divided people. In order to engage them more easily to submission, he allowed Withlaf, their countryman, to retain the title of king, whilst he himself exercised the real powers of sovereignty. The anarchy which prevailed in Northumberland, tempted him to carry still farther his victorious arms; and the inhabitants, unable to resist his power, and desirous of possessing some established form of government, were forward, on his first appearance, to send deputies, who met him in form at a place called Dore in Yorkshire, submitted to his authority, and swore allegiance to him as their sovereign. Egbert, however, still allowed to Northumberland, as he had done to Mercia and East-Anglia, the power of electing a king, who paid him tribute, and was dependent on him.

Thus were united all the kingdoms of the Heptarchy in one great state, near four hundred years after the first arrival of the Saxons in Britain; and the fortunate arms and prudent policy of Egbert at last effected, what had been so often attempted in vain by so many princes. Kent, Northumberland, and Mercia, which had successively aspired to general dominion, were now incorporated in his empire; and the other subordinate kingdoms seemed willingly to share the same fate. His territories were nearly of the same extent with what is now properly called England; and a favourable prospect was afforded to the Anglo-Saxons, of establishing a civilized monarchy, possessed of tranquillity within itself, and secure against foreign invasion. This great event happened in the year 827.

It requires but a small degree of reflection to point out the causes that co-operated to the dissolution of the government of the Heptarchy. The principal source seems to have been the degeneracy of the Saxon spirit, which became very visible in the last century of the Heptarchy. It is a remark of Bede, one of the most intelligent of the Anglo-Saxon historians, that the decline of the martial courage among his countrymen had so manifestly shown itself in his time, as to threaten consequences fatal to their tranquillity and independence. The diminution of their warlike spirit was partly the effect of that indolence which seized them after their conversion to Christianity, and partly to the peaceful establishment which they enjoyed after a series of war and tumult. In addition to this neglect of military attainments, which weakened the efforts of the states of the Heptarchy, and promoted their subjection to the controul of one sovereign, who, in a few years of peace, had prepared his subjects for conflicts by improvements in discipline and military tactics, we may observe, that the divisions which took place in most of the kingdoms on the extinction of the male line of their royal families, the contests for the succession, and the jealousies which filled the mind of the reigning prince, which suspected the attempts of such nobles as conceived themselves equally entitled to the crown with himself, produced frequent disturbances among the people, and at length prompted them to an easy surrender of their liberty and independence to a prince, who, like Egbert, was almost the sole remaining descendant in Britain of the family of Woden, to whom all the Saxons looked up with habitual reverence and esteem.

Another cause, which contributed largely to the union of the Heptarchy, was the profusion of many of the kings to the ecclesiastical establishment, which diminished their ability of rewarding the services of the field, of maintaining the dignity of their royal station, and of preserving that influence which is requisite for a kingly form of government.

Another, and a principal cause of this union, was the superstitious inclination which manifested itself for the retirement of a cloister. The clergy of the times prompted the kings and nobles to this dereliction of worldly affairs, which they recommended as the certain means of procuring a remission of sins. No fewer than eight kings of the Heptarchy (*s*) exchanged their royal robes for the monastic habit; and this example was imitated by a considerable number of the nobility. The continuance of such a practice must have conduced to the enervation of those states among which it most prevailed, as it deprived them of the active service of many who would otherwise have been able defenders of their countries' liberties. It may be farther remarked, that the great inequality of the seven kingdoms in power and magnitude accelerated their final union.

In assigning the probable causes of the establishment of

(*r*) She went to the court of Charlemagne, who having cherished a friendly correspondence with her father, appointed her to the government of a wealthy abbey. She soon forfeited this comfortable situation by her incontinence, which so disgusted the emperor, that he insisted on her departure. She then led the life of a vagabond, and at length died in Pavia in misery and depression, affording a lesson to the readers of history, that no elevation of rank will shield from contempt and misfortune those who abandon the dignity of their character, and devote themselves to a series of profligacy and iniquity.

(*s*) These were, Sigebert, king of the East Angles, in 642; Seba, king of the East Saxons, in 694; Ethelred, king of Mercia, in 704; Cenred his successor, and Offa, king of the East Saxons, in 709; Ina, king of Wessex, in 728; Ceolwulf and Eadbert, kings of Northumberland, in 738 and 758.

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a monarchy in place of the heptarchial government, it may not be impertinent to add, that the appointment of a head to the Anglo-Saxon confederacy seems to have contributed in some measure to the dissolution of that Heptarchy which it was formed to cement: for so many of them had perverted the original purposes of this institution, by transforming it into an engine of despotism, the passion of the people for independence gradually declined, so as to prepare them for submission to an acknowledged master, in the place of one who, though invested with an imperfect kind of superiority over the other kings of the Heptarchy, affected to consider himself as authorized in the exertion of unlimited supremacy.

CHAP. VIII.

The History of the British Church from the final Departure of the Romans till the Expulsion of the Britons from the greater Part of the Country now called England, by the Formation of the Saxon Heptarchy.

GERMANUS bishop of Auxerre, and Lupus bishop of Troyes, were indefatigable in their endeavours to exterminate the heresy of Pelagius from the minds of the British Christians; but it does not appear that it was so effectually overcome as those venerable prelates had imagined. The advocates of Pelagianism, after an interval of silence, renewed with astonishing zeal the propagation of their heretical dogmas; and although the learned arguments of the two prelates had appeared so cogent to the greater part of their auditors, their tendency was afterwards counteracted by the sophistry of the Pelagian leaders. That alarm, therefore, which had subsided on the apparent success of the disputation at Verulam, now revived in the minds of the orthodox churchmen, who again had recourse to the expedient of sending over to Gaul for spiritual succour (*t*). Germanus answered this application by repairing a second time to Britain, about the year 445, and was accompanied by Severus bishop of Treves. The pretended miracles which these prelates wrought, joined to their preaching and exhortations, reclaimed many from the devious paths of heterodoxy; but being unwilling to place their sole confidence on the virtue of their miracles, or in the efficacy of argument, they thought proper to employ one of the engines of the church, and put in force an edict of the emperor Valentinian III. which condemns heretics to exile. The people having delivered up to them the most strenuous abettors of Pelagianism, the two bishops, enraged at their obstinacy, ordered them to be banished to the continent.

It having occurred to Germanus that the best way to counteract the revival and spreading of this heresy, would be to establish schools for the purpose of religious education in several parts of the country, gave directions to his disciples in Britain, the principal of whom were Dubrikius and Iltutus. These ecclesiastics followed the advice of the prelate, and erected schools in different parts of South Britain, which they themselves superintended. Two of these seminaries were situated on the river Wye, one at Heutland, and the other at Mochus. Another school was set up in the county of Glamorgan, under the immediate care of Iltutus, at a place which received from him the name of Llan-Iltud. These schools produced many learned men, who afterwards attained distinguished stations in the churches of Gaul and Britain (*u*).

The history of the British church, however, at this period is very imperfect; for all the information we have concerning it consist of detached fragments, gleaned from a mass of various intelligence.

We are informed by Bede, that those respectable prelates, who governed this church after the departure of Germanus, by their indefatigable exertions preserved it from the infection of heresy. That bishop, before his return to Auxérra, had established the Gallic liturgy in the churches of Britain; and, as the form of it was different from the ritual of the Romish church, the introduction of it seemed to argue an independence on the see of Rome: but in what particular it differed from that of Rome we are not able to ascertain, except that it ordained a different time for the celebration of the festival of Easter.

The clergy of Britain held synods at various times for adjusting the more important affairs of the church. In one of these councils, held in 512, Dubricius was translated from the bishopric of Llandaff, which he had long filled with great reputation, to the archiepiscopal see of Caerleon; and Theliaus was promoted to the see vacated by his translation. Another council was afterwards holden (in 519) for deliberating on the most efficacious means of rooting out the remains of Pelagianism; but we are not acquainted with the decrees of this synod for that laudable purpose. The famous St. David, whom the Welsh hold in such reverential estimation, acted as president of this assembly (*v*).

Besides the above councils several others of a less general nature were occasionally holden: and it may not be improper briefly to mention the transactions of several of these, as they exhibit strong features of the characters both of the British princes and the clergy of those times. Oudoceus, who succeeded Theliaus in the see of Llandaff, convoked three synods of the clergy of that diocese. In the first of these meetings in 560, cognizance was taken of the delinquency of Mauricus, a petty prince of Glamorganshire, who had treacherously murdered Cynetu, another British prince. Regardless of the rank and power of the offender, the council passed a sentence of excommunication against him, and subjected his principality to an interdict. These censures remained in force for two years, and were then removed by Oudoceus on the three following conditions; *viz.* that the murderer should occasionally fast, employ himself in frequent prayer, and become a liberal distributor of alms. Mauricus, to testify his repentance, immediately bestowed four manors on the church of Llandaff, by which he effectually purchased the future favour of the bishop and his whole diocese (*w*).

In another ecclesiastical assembly holden by Oudoceus, the case of Morcant, a prince who had assassinated his uncle, came under consideration. An oath it appears had been taken by each of these princes, purporting, that if either of them should destroy or treacherously use the other, the delinquent should, instead of commuting the punishment of his crime for gold or silver, abdicate his principality, and pass the remainder of his days in pilgrimage. When Morcant had committed the atrocious deed above mentioned, he repented of his oath, and applied to the church of Llandaff for a commutation of the penalties of abdication and pilgrimage. Oudoceus and his clergy consented to absolve him from his oath on the same conditions that were annexed to the removal of the interdict in the case of Mauricus. Morcant also followed the example of that prince, by gratifying the church with a considerable donation, which the pious ecclesiastics regarded as an ample atonement for the most heinous crimes, and as a sufficient proof of the penitence of any criminal (*x*).

The third synod in which Oudoceus presided excommunicated Guidnorth, a British prince, who had stained his hands with fraternal blood. The criminal remained about three years under this sentence, which in those days was extremely severe, as the excommunicated person was deemed an outcast, and subjected to the contempt of his subjects, who avoided him as an impious reprobate. After suffering so long under the miseries of this interdict, he requested Oudoceus to grant him absolution for his crime, of which he professed a sincere contrition and unfeigned repentance. The bishop, however, was unwilling to receive the prince into favour, and therefore sent him on a pilgrimage to the archbishop of Dol in Bretagne. Guidnorth, by returning from this expiatory excursion before the time allotted by the prelate, excited his displeasure so much, that he actually refused to remove the excommunication. On the death of Oudoceus, which happened soon after, Bertheguin, his successor in the bishopric, restored Guidnorth to all the rights of society, in consideration of three manors which that prince conferred on the church of Llandaff.

The earliest British historian Gildas has given us a very unfavourable representation of the characters of his clerical countrymen at this period. He describes them as destitute of learning, virtue, and piety, haughty and insolent to the poor, servile and obsequious to the rich;

(*t*) Vid. Bed. Hist. Eccl. lib. i. cap. 21.
(*u*) Vid. Usserii Primord. Ecclesiast. Britan.—Godwin de Præsulibus Angliæ.—Leland. Collectan. vol. ii.
(*v*) Vid. Spelman. Concil. vol. i.
(*w*) Vid. Histor. Eccles. Llandav. apud. Spelman. Concil.
(*x*) Vid. Histor. Eccles. Llandav. apud. Spelm. Concil.—In this performance, a remark occurs of the sentiments of the clergy on the subject of eleemosynary donation, the most meritorious branch of which, in their opinion, was the distribution of largesses among the ecclesiastics, "Sicut aqua extinguit ignem, ita eleemosyna peccatum:" that is, "As water extinguishes fire, so eleemosynary donations atone for sin."

regardless of the spiritual interest of their flock, and intent only on their own preferment; wallowing in gluttony, ebriety, and incontinence; and deviating from every path of morality. The censures of this author must, however, be received with caution, since he appears to have been addicted to a complaint, and to have written under the influence of a gloomy disposition, inflamed to such a degree of uneasiness and resentment at the success and barbarity of the Saxons, that he viewed every object, as it were, with a prejudiced eye. Candor will induce us to except from the reprehension of Gildas a few of the ecclesiastics of that age, who, at a time when the majority of their clerical brethren were less cultivated by learning, or dignified by virtue, than the nature of their employment required, and when a general relaxation of morals pervaded the laity, maintained the respectability of their station, and merited the fame of learned, upright, and religious persons.

So inconsiderable is our knowledge of the events of that period which elapsed between the departure of the Romans and the retreat of the Britons into Wales, particularly in the affairs of the church, that we are under the necessity of here concluding the ecclesiastical history of this people: but, as the learning of that time was confined to the clergy, some account of those South-Britons who made the greatest figure in literature and science, is far from being incompatible with the subject of this chapter.

Merlin, the celebrated fatidical bard, is supposed to have flourished about the middle of the fifth century. He was a native of South-Wales, and distinguished himself by his skill in mathematics and natural philosophy, which gave occasion to the undiscerning vulgar to consider him as a magician and a prophet (*y*).

Dubricius and Iltutus have been already mentioned. These two ecclesiastics were men of great learning and ability, and were particularly eminent in the didactic line. Dubricius, in the decline of life, in 516, retired into a monastery in the isle of Bardsey, where he died at a very advanced age in 522.

Samson, archbishop of Dol in Bretagne, was an elève either of Dubricius or Iltutus, and was a prelate of great piety and erudition. Some historians speak of two successive archbishops of Dol, of the name of Samson: but there seems not to be sufficient authority for such an assertion.

St. David, the tutelar saint of Wales, was archbishop of Caerleon, whence he removed the archiepiscopal see to Menevia in Pembrokeshire, which was afterwards denominated St. David's from him. He adorned the sixth century by his learning and eloquence, as well as by the purity of his life. He is said to have been related to king Arthur.

Gildas, whose labours have been occasionally referred to in the prosecution of this work, studied under Iltutus, and was first a member of the monastery of Glastonbury, and afterwards of that of Bangor in Flintshire. Though he was styled Gildas the Wise by his admiring cotemporaries, an enlightened reader of his history of Britain would not be inclined to form a very favourable opinion of the sense or learning of the writer. His life has been written by Caradon of Llanscarvon. He died about the year 570.

St. Petroe, who was a native of Cornwall, studied theology in Ireland; and, after his return to Britain, taught that science with great success at a monastery on the banks of the Severn.

St. Asaph, who derived his birth from North-Wales, was the disciple of Kentigern, a Pictism ecclesiastic, who fixed his residence in Flintshire about the middle of the sixth century, and erected a cathedral as well as monastery at Llan. Elwys Asaph, who became his successor not only in the government of the monastery, but also in the bishopric of Llan-Elwy, gave his own name to this place, and died in high fame for his knowledge and virtue, towards the close of the century in question (*z*).

In this outline of ecclesiastical affairs, and this concise list of the literary ornaments of the dark period of which we are treating, the reader must have perceived that little mention has been made of the government of the church in that part of South Britain called England, or of those persons who made the most shining figure in that country. This omission is the consequence of the total want of records respecting the transactions of the church in these parts, the calamities of a very ruinous war having either occasioned the destruction of the literary monuments of the times, or prevented the clergy (the only persons who then attempted to transmit events to posterity) from having any leisure for the tranquil pursuits of learning. By one or the other of these causes we are deprived of any knowledge of the affairs of the church at this period, in any part of South-Britain, except Wales and its borders, where the natives, and those Britons who fled thither from other districts for protection, were exempt from the desolating fury of the arms of the Saxon chieftains.

(*y*) Lel. de Scriptor. Britann.—Lhuidii Archælogia Britannica.
(*z*) Lel. de Scriptor. Britan.—Usserii Primord. Eccl. Brit.

CHAP. IX.

The Affairs of the Church from the Æra of the Anglo-Saxon Conversion to the Subjugation of the Heptarchy by Egbert.

THE Saxon tribes who invaded and settled in the isle of Britain continued to exercise that system of idolatrous worship which had been sanctioned by the practice of their ancestors from the arrival of Hengist till the close of the sixth century. Their aversion to the name of Christians seems to have encreased the animosity of these Pagans against the islanders, who, on their part, could not but feel an increase of resentment and indignation against those fierce idolaters, whose perfidy, in the first instance of their hostility, was greatly aggravated by their inhuman and barbarous treatment of the Christian clergy, and their destruction of the sacred seats of religious adoration.

It must, however, be admitted, that when these invaders had established themselves in the peaceable possession of their newly acquired territories, they began to relax in their inveteracy against the professors of Christianity, and to entertain more favourable ideas of a doctrine which had already made considerable progress among the northern conquerors of the continental parts of Europe, to whom they were attached by the ties of one common origin. If the war between the Britons and the Saxons had been prosecuted with less fury, and those natives who submitted to the latter had been considered in a more respectable light than that of slaves, it is probable that a conversion of the conquerors might have been gradually affected even by the vanquished party. But as the mutual animosity of these two nations continued for such a length of time, the Saxons were far from being disposed to receive a new faith from the Britons; and, on the other hand, the islanders were unwilling to impart the valuable doctrine of redemption to a people who had acted as their most inveterate foes.

The introduction of Christianity among the Anglo-Saxons is said to have been owing to the following circumstance: An Italian clergyman, named Gregory, who was afterwards elevated to the papal see, observed one day, about 577, in the market place of Rome some handsome youths exposed for sale. Being struck with their appearance, he enquired what nation they belonged to. In answer to his interrogations, he was informed that they were Angles from the kingdom of Deïra, that the name of their sovereign was Alla; and that they were immersed in the darkness of idolatry (*a*). He immediately conceived a desire of converting this unenlightened people, and made application to pope Benedict, whose permission he obtained for undertaking a voyage to England, with a view to instruct the Anglo-Saxons in the doctrines of Christianity. He was on the point of embarking on his expedition, when the citizens of Rome remonstrated with his holiness, begging him to put a stop to Gregory's intention. Benedict complied with their request, and the zealous priest was obliged to resume his functions at Rome. At length Gregory was raised to the pontificate in the year 590; and as his eagerness for the conversion of the Anglo-Saxons continued unabated, he selected forty monks, and ordered them to repair to this island in 596, under the direction of Augustine, who was also of the monastic order. These

(*a*) Vid. Bed. lib. ii. cap. i.—Gregory's taste for punning may be estimated by the remarks which he is said to have made on this occasion. When he heard that they were *Angles*, he replied, that the name was very apposite, as they had the appearance of *angels*. The name of *Deïra* suggested to him another allusion, importing that they and their countrymen should be saved *de ira*, or from the wrath of God; and on learning the appellation of their king (Alla), he exclaimed "*Allelujah!* They must be taught to sing the praise of God."

ecclesiastics

ecclesiastics did not, however, enter on their journey with good will; or perhaps their fears of danger overcame their Christian ardour. A serious deliberation on the employment assigned them by the pope, induced them to repent of having undertaken such an expedition; and they unanimously agreed to send a petition to their spiritual father, representing the probable difficulties and perils of the mission, and entreating him to recall them from the enterprize. Augustine, who returned to Rome to represent the affair to the pope, was encouraged by Gregory to disregard the dangers of the mission, and was entrusted with the conveyance of a letter to his monkish associates, in which his holiness exhorted them to use their efforts for meriting a future salvation by persisting in so glorious a task. Gregory, at the same time, furnished letters of recommendation to Theodebert and Theodoric, kings of the Franks, to Brunchaud their grandmother, who officiated as regent during their minority, and to Etherius, archbishop of Arles.

Thus animated the missionaries resumed their journey; and when they arrived at the court of the Franks, Brunchaud received them in a friendly manner, and supplied them with interpreters. Having provided themselves with proper necessaries, Augustine and his companions embarked at one of the ports of Gaul, and landed in the isle of Thanet in 597.

At the time of the arrival of these missionaries Ethelbert was king of Kent. That prince had, several years before, married Bertha, a French princess, to whom, by agreement, he allowed the free exercise of the Christian religion. The church of St. Martin, in the suburbs of Canterbury, had been appropriated by Ethelbert to the religious use of his queen, whose influence over her consort had diminished his attachment to paganism, while the purity of Luidhard's (*b*) life operated as a silent recommendation of the Christian faith to the king and his subjects. This state of affairs was therefore favourable to the designs of Gregory; for many of the Kentish Saxons, and particularly their sovereign, were prepared for renouncing the absurdities of the pagan worship.

Immediately after his debarkation, Augustine sent one of his interpreters to the king of Kent, intimating that he had come from Rome to instruct him and his people on a subject which concerned their most essential interests, and their welfare in a future state. Hereupon Ethelbert ordered the strangers to be supplied with necessaries, and promised them a speedy audience. A few days afterwards he went into the isle of Thanet, and admitted the monks to a conference in the open air. Augustine having harangued the king (by the medium of an interpreter) on the merits of Christianity, Ethelbert replied, that as an established religion ought not to be slightly renounced, in favour of an unknown system, he could not think of making any change in his creed, till he should have amply considered what he had then heard; but said, that the missionaries should be treated with hospitality, and that they should have full permission to disseminate their doctrines among his subjects. With this declaration he put an end to the conference, and assigned to Augustine and his associates a residence in his metropolis. After this the monks entered Canterbury with all the formalities of a religious procession: they commenced their evangelical labours with strong hopes of success, founded on the friendly reception afforded them by the king. Their expectations were abundantly answered; for the self-denying strictness of their lives, the fervency of their prayers, and the apparent sincerity of their exhortations, co-operating with the opinion which the people entertained of the good will of their sovereign towards the religion of his queen, induced considerable numbers to offer themselves for baptism. At length Ethelbert himself declared his intention of adopting the doctrines of Christianity; a circumstance which foreboded, in the mind of Augustine, a general conversion of the Kentish-Saxons. The king was baptized in 598, within a year after the landing of the missionaries; and his example produced a copious supply of new Christians.

Before his departure from Rome, Augustine received a promise from the pope, that if he were successful in converting the Britons, he should be raised to a high dignity in the church. As he had been prosperous in the work, he returned to Gaul, and proceeded without delay to Arles, where he procured his consecration as archbishop and primate of the English nation, in 601. Shortly afterwards Augustine dispatched Laurence and Peter, two of his fellow missionaries, to Rome, that they might communicate to the pope the pleasing intelligence of the fruit he had lately gathered in the vineyard of Christ, and receive answers to a variety of questions respecting the future constitution of the infant church he had been planting.

Gregory was highly gratified when he was informed of the amazing progress which Christianity had made among the Anglo-Saxons, and gladly replied to the interrogatories of Augustine. He sent a letter to Ethelbert and his queen, accompanied with valuable presents; nominated several new missionaries to assist the apostle of the English; gave them recommendatory epistles to some of the French princes and prelates; and rewarded the zeal of Augustine with the metropolitan distinction of the pall, with which he sent a number of sacramental and other ecclesiastical utensils, besides vestments, reliques, and ritual and devotional books. Exclusive of his answers to the questions of Augustine, he gave various injunctions to the new prelate for the direction of his future proceedings. Among other points, he advised him to accommodate the Christian ceremonies to the Pagan rites, wherever it could be done without encroaching on the essentials of Christianity; for such concessions, he apprehended, would tend to facilitate the reception of the latter faith, by making the transition from Paganism appear the less violent or offensive to the feelings of those who had acquired, by long practice, a reverence for the Gentile system. He exhorted him not to demolish, but to consecrate for Christian use, the Heathen temples; and, after removing the idols, to erect new altars, and decorate them with reliques. As he knew that the Anglo-Saxons were accustomed to sacrifice oxen and other animals, and conclude the solemnity with feasting and merriment, he expressed a willingness to allow them some indulgence in these habits; and authorized the English metropolitan to permit the converts, on particular Christian anniversaries, to kill their cattle in the vicinity of the church, recreate their bodies with plentiful but not immoderate feastings, and relax their minds with innocent mirth. With these exhortations, Gregory transmitted to Augustine a plan for the establishment of the English church, regulating the number of prelates, and fixing two metropolitan sees, one at London, the other at York; though, till the death of Augustine, Canterbury was, at his request, to enjoy the honour of the primacy; and in the sequel the archbishops of London and York were to be respectively deemed primates according to priority of consecration.

When Lawrence and Peter, loaded with dispatches and clerical apparatus returned to Augustine they found him actively employed in the formation of that church over which he had been appointed to preside. Melitus, Paulinus, Ruganus, and Justus, who, with several other ecclesiastics, came over to extend the success of the mission, were well received by the new archbishop of Canterbury, who soon pointed out proper objects for their spiritual attention.

In the time of the Romans a church had been built and devoted to the purposes of Christianity at Canterbury; and, in 602, Augustine fixed upon this place for his cathedral. Having put it in a state of compleat repair, and supplied it with every requisite, he gave it the name of Christ Church, and built a neighbouring mansion for himself and his successors. He also, with the assistance of Ethelbert, founded a church and monastery to the eastward of Canterbury, of which the above-mentioned Peter was the first abbot. Ethelbert became so zealously attached to Augustine and his religion, that he left his capital to the care of the archbishop and the missionaries, and retired to a palace of his own building at Reculver (*c*).

Augustine having been directed by pope Gregory, to embrace, under his metropolitan jurisdiction, the bishops and other clergy of the British church, he prevailed upon them to meet him in council. When they were met, he harangued them, with an air of superiority, on the expediency of their conforming to the custom of the Romish church, in the time of celebrating Easter, and in the mode of administering the baptismal rite: but as they were not convinced by his arguments, he had recourse to the efficacy of a miracle, which he pretended to perform on a Saxon who appeared to be blind, and whom he restored to sight after the British prelates had made fruitless attempts for that purpose. Though this pious farce seemed to have some effect on a

(*b*) Luidhard was bishop of Soissons, and, with many other ecclesiastics, had accompanied Bertha to the Kentish court.

(*c*) Vid. Bed. lib. 1. and Camden's Britannia, article Kent.

few

few of the British clergy, yet it did not procure their assent to Augustine's propositions. They did not, however, give a determinate answer to the archbishop; but postponed their decision till a second meeting with the Romish ecclesiastics. This council, which was held in 603, was more numerous on the part of the Britons than the former (*d*). Augustine renewed his exhortations in a manner that bordered on arrogance and haughtiness. He not only required their adoption of the Romish ordinances respecting Easter and baptism, but that they should acknowledge his metropolitan authority, and the pope's supremacy, and co-operate with him in the conversion of the Saxons: if they would comply, he said, in these particulars, he would not object to their variance in other points. Dinoth, abbot of Bangor, replied, in the name of the British clergy, that they owed no other obedience to the pope than what was due from one Christian to another in the spirit of brotherly love and philanthrophy; and that with respect to the discipline and ritual of their church they were subject to the directions of the bishop of Caerleon. Augustine, finding his counsels thus rejected, was filled with rage and resentment, and exclaimed in a menacing tone, "Since you refuse to accept terms of peace and unity from your brethren, you shall have war from your enemies; and since you will not concur with us in preaching the word of life to your Saxon neighbours, you shall receive your death from their hands." Ethelfrid's massacre of a great number of the British ecclesiastics before the battle of Chester, as related in the history of the kingdom of Northumberland (*e*), has been considered by some of our historians as the consequence of Augustine's virulent enmity; for he has been accused of having, by the medium of Ethelbert, instigated Ethelfrid to make war upon the Britons, murder their clergy, and destroy their principal seminary of religious education, the monastery of Bangor.

Augustine's mortification at his ill success in endeavouring to establish the pope's authority over the British church did not relax his eagerness for the settlement of that of the Anglo-Saxons. Having a great esteem for Lawrence, one of his coadjutors, he consecrated him as his successor in the see of Canterbury, and, with the consent of Ethelbert, founded an episcopal see at Rochester, of which he appointed Justus the first bishop in 604. At the same time he commissioned Mellitus to repair, in the quality of bishop, into the East Saxon kingdom, where the influence of Ethelbert was so powerful, that there was little doubt of reaping in that quarter a plenteous harvest of conversion. Soon after these consecrations he paid the debt of nature, in 605; and Lawrence immediately assumed the primacy, notwithstanding the direction of pope Gregory, that the dignity of primate should be detached from the see of Canterbury on the death of Augustine.

While Lawrence was employed in the completion of the church of Kent, Mellitus was equally active in the kingdom of Essex, where he baptized Sebert and a great number of his subjects. A church being erected by Ethelbert in London, on the spot where the present cathedral of St. Paul is situated, Mellitus became bishop of this see in 610. After the affairs of the church had continued in a prosperous train in these two kingdoms, the deaths of their respective sovereigns, Ethelbert and Sebert, occasioned a sudden change, very adverse to the interests of Christianity; for not only Eadbald, the successor of Ethelbert in Kent, but also the three sons of Sebert, who jointly reigned over the East Saxons, superseded the religion of Christ by the restoration of Paganism about 616.

The three kings of Essex, who had never received baptism, were desirous of finding some pretext for expelling Mellitus from their dominions. Entering his cathedral, they ordered him to give them some of the sacramental bread; and when he signified a refusal, they insisted upon his departure from their kingdom. He immediately retired into Kent, whence, after consulting with Lawrence and Justus, on the unfortunate situation of their infant church, he embarked with the latter in 617 for France. Lawrence, who would otherwise have followed them, found means to reclaim Eadbald, who returned with the bulk of his people to the profession of Christianity. After this circumstance the two fugitive prelates were recalled, and Justus was restored by this prince to his bishopric; but his influence was insufficient to procure the re-establishment of Mellitus in the see of London, the East Saxons still adhering to their renunciation of the Christian faith.

Archbishop Lawrence (*f*) did not survive Ethelbert above three years; and Mellitus, who was celebrated for his miracles by the monastic historians, succeeded him in 619. When the see of Canterbury had been filled by Mellitus about five years, he was succeeded by Justus in 624. To this person pope Boniface V. sent the pall, as an acknowledgement of his metropolitan dignity.

During the ecclesiastical government of this prelate the knowledge of the Gospel was propagated in the kingdom of Northumberland; an event which was principally occasioned by the marriage of its sovereign with a Christian princess. Ethelburga, who gave her hand to the great Edwin in 625, endeavoured, by all the arts of persuasion, to convert that monarch from his Pagan principles. Her exhortations, though seconded by the spiritual advice of Paulinus, who had been promoted to the episcopal dignity by archbishop Justus before he attended Ethelburga into Northumberland, were for some time ineffectual; but at length Edwin was induced, by deliberate reflection, to acknowledge, in 627, the cogency of the prelate's arguments. This conversion was followed by that of the majority of his subjects, twelve thousand of whom (if we can credit the account of Nennius in his History of the Britons) were baptized in one day by Paulinus in the river Swale in Yorkshire.

Encouraged by his success in the Northumbrian dominions, Paulinus passed to the southward of the Humber, and converted many of the inhabitants of Lindsey, particularly Blecca, the governor of Lincoln, in 628. A part of this county seems to have belonged at that time to the East-Angles, whose king Eorpwald was a vassel to Edwin, and was baptized at his request in 632; but Christianity, though allowed in this kingdom, was not universal while Eorpwald managed the reins of government.

Honorius I. who then sat in the papal chair, executed the intentions of his predecessor Gregory, and sent a pall to Paulinus, who had become bishop of York. This prelate being thus invested with the dignity of a metropolitan, consecrated a priest named Honorius (who had been a disciple of Gregory) archbishop of Canterbury, on the death of Justus, in 633.

Osric and Eanfrid, who divided the dominions of Edwin, having restored Paganism in their respective kingdoms, the Northumbrian church, which suffered greatly during the devastations committed by the conquerors of Edwin, was almost annihilated. Thereupon Paulinus fled with Ethelburga into Kent, where Eadbald made him compensation for his loss of the prelacy of York, by conferring on him the vacant see of Rochester, in 634. The affairs of the Northumbrian church, however, were soon retrieved by the accession of Oswald, in 635, who added to his military and political talents a sincere regard for the interests of Christianity. Having been educated in Scotland, he invited some of the clergy of that nation to reconvert his apostate subjects, and to endeavour the conversion of those who had never renounced the absurdities of Paganism. Having been successful, Aidan (who came from Scotland with other monks) requested Oswald to remove the episcopal see from York to Lindisfarne, or Holy Land; which he did, and made Aidan the first bishop of that see.

Oswald was also instrumental, by his influence and example, in the conversion of the West Saxons, to whose court he repaired with a view to espouse the daughter of Cinigisil, one of their joint kings. The West-Saxon king, aware of the advantages of a connection with so powerful a prince,

(*d*) Seven British bishops are said to have been present at this synod; an assertion which, notwithstanding the reduced and circumscribed state of the church of the South Britons at this period, may be deemed credible, if we suppose either that some of these were itinerant prelates, destitute of a particular diocese, or that their dioceses were very small. It is indeed well known that the fury of Saxon hostilities had greatly diminished the number, narrowed the limits, and obscured the lustre, of the church of South Britain at this period.

(*e*) See above, p. 24.

(*f*) This prelate was as much inclined as his predecessor in the see of Canterbury to bring the Britons to a conformity with the church of Rome. He wrote pastoral letters to the Welsh clergy, as well as to those of Scotland; warmly soliciting them, but without success, to adopt the Romish usages, particularly in the grand point respecting the time of solemnizing Easter. The difference was merely this: on whatever day the full of the moon took place at the vernal equinox, the Romanists celebrated the Sunday following as Easter day; whereas the British Christians kept it on the very day when the moon was at the full, if it proved to be of a Sunday. This trivial circumstance produced no small degree of animosity between the Welsh and Scots on the one hand, and Romanists and Saxons on the other. The partizans of Rome called this practice of their adversaries the quarto-deciman schism, because they celebrated the Paschal festival on the fourteenth day of the moon, when it was Sunday.

a prince, was eager to effect the marriage of his daughter to Oswald; and, as he knew that his royal guest was a zealous Christian, he was desirous of conciliating the attachment of that monarch by receiving baptism himself, and encouraging the propagation of the gospel in his dominions. Oswald, pleased at the religious compliance of his future father-in-law, appeared as his sponser at the font: and then hastened into Northumberland with his West-Saxon bride, to attend to the peculiar concerns of his own kingdom, which he governed with high reputation. Cuichelm following the example of his colleague Cinigisil, a general conversion was accomplished in the kingdom of Wessex, in 636, by the ministry of Berinus, (an Italian, who had been honoured with the episcopal distinction by Honorius,) who was permitted to establish his see at Dorchester.

About the same time, the East-Angles, among whom there had been a relapse after the assassination of Earpwald, felt the beneficial influence of a Christian sovereign, in the person of Sigebert, who, with the assistance of Felix, a Burgundian priest, and Fursæus, a Scot, reclaimed the apostates, and converted the unenlightened. A bishop's see was fixed at Donmor (now Dunwich) in Suffolk, and the zealous Felix was appointed to occupy it.

Towards the middle of the seventh century, a religious change was effected in the Mercian kingdom. Peada, the son of Penda, desirous of a matrimonial connection with the daughter of Oswy king of Bernicia, whom he could not procure without acceding to the express stipulation of his embracing the Christian doctrines, submitted to this proviso, with little hesitation, and received baptism at the court of Oswy, with all his retinue. He was accompanied in his return to Mercia by four Christian priests, who were suffered by his pagan father to communicate their tenets to his subjects. Their endeavours were at first confined to the county of Leicester, which had been erected into a principality in favour of Penda; but in process of time, their labours were beneficially extended over the whole Mercian kingdom. Diuma, the principal of these four ecclesiastics, was consecrated bishop of the Mercians by Finan, who had succeeded Aidan in the see of Landisfarne, in 656. After Oswy had subdued the Mercian territories, he erected a cathedral for Diuma at Litchfield.

This prince, by converting Sigebert the East-Saxon, known by the appellation of Sigebert the Good, promoted the restoration of Christianity among the subjects of the new converts, who was attended to London, which was his metropolis, by Cedda, a Northumbrian clergyman. This priest, being nominated to the bishopric of London, which had remained vacant since the expulsion of Mellitus, re-established the affairs of the church in the kingdom of the East-Saxons, and erected several structures for religious worship. He distinguished himself by his abstinence and the austerity of his life; but this did not compensate for the concern he had in the murder of Sigebert his sovereign.

The kingdom of Sussex did not receive the benefit of conversion till after the six other states of the Heptarchy had been enlightened with Christian knowledge. Adelwalch, who had reigned over this petty state, had been converted by Wulfer, who had carried him prisoner into Mercia. After his return to his kingdom, he endeavoured to prevail on his people to renounce the errors of paganism; but, though his persuasions were aided by those of Dieol, a Scottish monk, and a few other ecclesiastics, who formed a fraternity at Bosenham, no success resulted from these attempts, till Wilfred, the deposed bishop of York, took refuge among the South-Saxons, in 680. Adelwalch, received the exiled prelate with great marks of favour, and requested him to preach the Christian doctrine among his subjects. Wilfred readily consented, and his labours in the vineyard were rendered particularly successful by his dexterity in teaching the common people the art of fishing in the sea with nets, at a time when a dreadful famine raged among them. After he had contributed, by his instructions in this respect, to the supply of their corporeal necessities, they listened with more attention to his spiritual advice, and were baptized in great numbers by him and his clerical companions. The king rewarded the zeal of Wilfred and his associates, by a donation of the peninsula of Selsey, at the south-western extremity of Sussex. Here he established an episcopal see in his own favour, and also founded a monastery. While he filled this see, he received from Ceadwalla the West-Saxon, who had subdued the isle of Wight, the grant of a fourth part of that island, the inhabitants of which he converted by the medium of his nephew Berwinin, in 686.

During these transactions, Kent, the first Christian kingdom of the Heptarchy, had been governed in spiritual affairs by Honorius and Deuodedit or Deodatus, on whose death the see of Canterbury continued vacant for four years, in the reign of Egbert, the son of Ereombert. Egbert, in a conference with Oswy the Northumbrian, who was then at the head of the Saxon confederacy, fixed upon Wighart, a Kentish priest, for the vacant prelacy; and it was resolved by the two princes, that this ecclesiastic should be sent to Rome, to be consecrated archbishop according to the Romish forms; for Oswy, some time before (in a public assembly at Whitby in Yorkshire, in 664, where, among other points, the grand dispute respecting the time of the celebration of Easter had been agitated by Northumbrian and Scottish priests on the one hand, and the Romanists and their disciples on the other) had been prevailed upon to renounce the Scottish ritual, and adopt the forms and usages of the church of Rome. Hence arose his eagerness for Wighart's being dispatched to Rome for consecration. This priest, soon after his arrival at the Romish capital, caught the infection of a pestilence which then diffused its ravages in that city, and fell a victim to the contagion. Pope Vitalian immediately assumed the right of supplying the vacancy in the English church; and having consecrated Theodore, a native of Asia Minor, in 668, sent him to England as archbishop of Canterbury. But, as it was not improbable that the new prelate might introduce into this country some of the forms of the Greek church, Adrian, an abbot by whom the archbishopric had been refused, was desired by his holiness to accompany Theodore, and watch his proceedings.

Theodore commenced his metropolitan function by visiting all the churches of the Heptarchy; and wherever he observed the practice of any rites different from those of Rome, he ordered them to be superseded by the Romish usages. To promote an uniformity of worship among the English churches, he convoked at Hereford, in 673, a synod of the bishops and principal clergy, before whom he produced ten canons, sanctioned by the observance of the Romish church. To these the whole assembly subscribed, and bound themselves to the enforcement of them in their respective dioceses and parishes. The first of these canons prescribed the celebration of Easter on the Sunday after the fourteenth day of the moon in the first month, agreeable to the established practice of the Romanists, and contrary to the mode which the Welch and Scots had long followed (*g*).

After an interval of seven years, Theodore held another synod, at the request of the pope, who wished to know the opinion of the Anglo-Saxon church on the prevailing heresy of the Monothelites, who, according to the import of the name, affirmed that Christ had only one will, notwithstanding the difference between the divine and human nature; for that, as those two natures were united in our Saviour so as to form one person, he had not a different will for each. This heretical doctrine was unanimously condemned by the English synod now assembled; and the faith and tenets which had been authorised by the five first general councils, were amply confirmed (*h*).

Some years before these councils, Theodore had exercised his metropolitan power in the deposition of Chad or Cedda bishop of York, who had been informally consecrated; though the primate afterwards made some amends for this severity, by promoting Chad to the see of Litchfield. Winfrid, the successor of Chad in the bishopric of Litchfield, was also punished by Theodore with deprivation for his freedom in expostulating with the haughty metropolitan on his assumption of too great an authority over the other prelates of the English church.

Theodore gave several proofs of his inclination for increasing the number of English bishops. Bisi, bishop of the East-Angles, being oppressed by the infirmities of age, expressed his wish to abdicate his episcopal function; in consequence of which the primate nominated two bishops for the government of the East-Anglian church, in the

(*g*) The other canons adopted by this synod, contained regulations for the behaviour of bishops as well as inferior clergy, ordinances respecting matrimony and divorce, and a resolution that an ecclesiastical council be assembled once a year, on the calends of August, at a place called Cloveshoo, supposed by some to be Cliff (near Rochester) in Kent, and by others Abingdon in Berkshire. *Vid. Spelm. Conc.* vol. I.

(*h*) *Vid. Spelm. Conc.* vol. I.—This council assembled at Hatfield in Hertfordshire.

room of the debilitated Bisi; one at Dunwich, where the see had hitherto been, and the other at Elmham in Norfolk. Not long after, about 687, he divided the Northumbrian diocese into three parts, with the concurrence of king Egfrid, as well as of a synod which he convoked for the discussion of that point; and consecrated Rosa and Eta to act as bishops in that northern kingdom, in conjunction with Wilfrid, who had hitherto, as bishop of York, retained under his immediate government the whole extent both of Bernicia and Deira. Wilfrid, enraged at this diminution of his jurisdiction and emoluments, hastened to the palace of Egfrid, and accused him with the archbishop of having conducted themselves like two robbers, in depriving him of so great a part of the estates, which had been appropriated by preceding kings to the Northumbrian church. The king, without suffering himself to be betrayed into an unmanly warmth at this specimen of priestly arrogance, replied, that he had acted, as he thought, for the benefit of his kingdom, and was resolved to adhere to the alterations he had made, and which he, as a sovereign, was authorised to make in the ecclesiastical government of his own dominions, in concert with the metropolitan of the English church. Wilfrid then declared, that he would appeal to the pope from the injustice of Egfrid and Theodore; an idea which was considered as so absurd and extraordinary by the king and his courtiers, that they could not refrain from expressing their sentiments of such an appeal by loud fits of laughter; which the bishop answered by threatening the whole court with the vengeance of the supreme pontiff, who would make them pay dearly for their present merriment. This turbulent and resentful prelate actually undertook a journey to Rome, to procure redress of his holiness for the contraction of his spiritual authority and episcopal revenues. He was attended in his expedition by a great number of monks, who admired his courage and abilities. His departure was regarded as an abdication of his bishopric; and Bosa and Eta, who would otherwise have shared the Northumbrian diocese with him, now ruled it with several other bishops. Eta's see was fixed at Lindisfarne, and that of Bosa at York: a third prelate was established at Hexham in the county of Northumberland, and a fourth at Abercorn, near the frith of Forth, then belonging to Bernicia. Another bishop is said to have been appointed for the district of Lindsey in Lincolnshire, which Egfrid had won from the Mercians; but Eadfred, who was raised to this bishopric, lost it in the following year, Lindsey being then recovered by Ethelred king of Mercia.

Wilfred, after passing some time in Friselarid, where he converted many of the people to the Christian faith, arrived at Rome, and immediately presented a petition to pope Agatha, who having received from archbishop Theodore a statement of the dispute between him and Wilfred, called a council at Rome in 680 to consider of this business. The result of the meeting was, that Wilfred should be reinstated in the see of York: that the bishops who had lately been chosen for the Northumbrian kingdom should be ejected; and that Wilfred should receive such episcopal coadjutors as should, by an English synod, be deemed worthy of that trust. Possessed of this decree, the haughty exile returned to England, and took the first opportunity of presenting it to Egfrid. This prince, after having formally proposed it to the consideration of a meeting of clergy and laity, expressed a total disregard of an order which, he said, had been procured by the arts of corruption; and, not content with this rejection of the papal decree, commanded that the bearer of it should be imprisoned. When Wilfred had remained in confinement for about a twelvemonth, he was released at the mediation of Ebba, the king's aunt, on condition of his submitting to a sentence of banishment from the kingdom of Northumberland. The remainder of this prelate's active life may be summed up in a few words. During his exile, he had the chief merit of converting the South-Saxons, as we have already seen; acted for some years as bishop of Selsey in Sussex, was in high favour with the West-Saxon king Ceadual, and, at the request of Ethelred the Mercian, and archbishop Theodore, was permitted by Alfred, the successor of Egfrid, to return into the Northumbrian territories, where he was gratified with the bishopric of York in 687, to which the government of the abbey of Rippon was added; but his ambition of power and wealth rendered him so clamorous, that Alfred, though he had been a pupil to Wilfrid, at last thought proper to expel him from his kingdom, whence he repaired to the court of Ethelfred, who preferred him to the see of Leicester, one of the four bishoprics into which the Mercian diocese had been lately divided. His refractory spirit still continued to interrupt his tranquillity, as well as that of the king his protector; and the prince who had banished him; for he not only disgusted Ethelred by the effusions of his arrogance and discontent, but increased the resentment of Alfred by his incessant endeavours for recovery of his rank and revenues in the Northumbrian kingdom. Brithwald, who had by this time succeeded Theodore (*i*) in the primacy, was prompted by Alfred to convoke a synod in 701, to which he summoned Wilfrid to answer for his conduct. Being accused of crimes that merited a sentence of deposition and degradation, he vindicated himself with great eloquence and fortitude, boasted of the success of his pious efforts for the good of religion and the church, asserted the incompetence of the synod to proceed to his condemnation, and expressed his resolution of submitting his cause to the only judicature to which (he said) he was legally amenable, that of the pope and his consistorial clergy. Being deposed and excommunicated by this council, he again repaired to Rome, where he procured from pope John VI. a decree for his complete restoration, which, however, was not regarded for some time, till at length, during the minority of Alfred's son Osred, Brithwald held a council in 705 on the banks of the Nidd in Yorkshire, the result of which was, the promotion of Widfred to the see of Hexham, and his restoration to the abbacy of Rippon. Some years afterwards, in 709, he ended in peace a busy and tumultuous life, in the course of which he had displayed a considerable portion of learning, eloquence, and talent; great haughtiness, arrogance, and contumacity; a strong attachment to pomp and splendour of appearance; and, to gratify his private resentment, had endeavoured to sap the foundations of the independence of the English church, by appealing to the Romish pontiff against the determinations of an English synod, and the authority of his natural sovereign.

The presidency of Brithwald over the English church was extended to the long duration of near forty years. He was the first archbishop of Canterbury of Saxon birth; for Wighart, who was also an Anglo-Saxon, though named to that dignity, died before his consecration. After the death of Wilfred, great tranquillity prevailed in the church, during the remainder of Brithwald's government, and for many succeeding years.

Tatwin, a Mercian monk, followed Brithwald in the see of Canterbury, in 730; and, not long after, Egbert, an ecclesiastic of great merit, was promoted to the bishopric of York about the year 732 by his cousin Ceolwulk, king of Northumberland. This prelate found means to procure the restoration of that metropolitan dignity which the bishops of this see had ceased to enjoy since the retreat of Paulinus into Kent, and which Gregory the Great had intended they should regularly possess. Having received a pall from Rome, he exercised the metropolitical power over the Anglo-Saxon bishops to the north of the Humber. He distinguished himself by founding a library at York, which comprehended the best collection of books then in England. He held his archbishopric during the whole reign of his brother Eadbert, who succeeded Ceolwulf in the sovereignty of Northumberland (*k*).

The death of archbishop Tatwin in 735 made way for Nothelm, after whom Cuthbert, bishop of Hereford, was translated to the see of Canterbury, in 741. This primate, at the request of Boniface archbishop of Mentz, summoned a council at Cloveshoo, in 747, consisting of the bishops and clergy of the south of the Humber, to consider of the best means of rectifying the abuses of ecclesiastical government, and reforming the lives both of the clergy and laity. Ethelbald king of Mercia was present at

(*i*) It ought not to be omitted, that Theodore introduced into the English church a more regular form of government than had before prevailed; established a tax upon every town and village in the Heptarchy, for the maintenance of the parochial clergy; and encouraged the erection of the churches, ordaining that the patronage of them should remain to the founders and their heirs.

(*k*) About the time of Egbert's advancement to the see of York, the number of prelates who governed the English church amounted to six teen, whose sees were as follow: Canterbury and Rochester, in the kingdom of Kent; London, in that of the East Saxons: Hereford, Leicester, Worcester, Litchfield, and Sydneucester (or Linsey), in Mercia; Dunwich and Elmham, in East Anglia; Winchester and Sherborn, in the West Saxon kingdom; and York, Lindisfarne, and Hexham, in that of Northumberland, besides Whitherne in Galloway, then under subjection to the Northumbrian monarch. *Vid. Bed. Hist. Eccles. lib. V.*

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this synod, with many of the nobles of his realm. Of the thirty canons enacted on this occasion, the greater part were borrowed from the edicts of a synod which Boniface had lately holden at Mentz; but, though the German council had professed a perfect subjection to the church of Rome, and had unequivocally recognised the supremacy of the pope, as the vicar of St. Peter, the assembly of Cloveshoo, unwilling to follow their brethren of Mentz in this particular, judiciously omitted all mention of a dependence to which they did not conceive the pope to be entitled, and contented themselves with substituting, in lieu of the German canon on that head, a general declaration of sincere affection toward all the members of the Christian church, however divided by local distance (*l*).

Cuthbert, who presided seventeen years in the archiepiscopal chair, was succeeded in 759, after a year's vacancy, by Bregurin, a native of Germany, who died before he had ruled the church above three years. The next archbishop of Canterbury was Janebert or Lambert, abbot of St. Augustine's monastery, who was elected by the canons of Christchurch in that city in 762. These electors were not induced by his merit to make choice of him, but by a desire of preventing the effects of his appeal to the pope against them, for having buried the last two archbishops in the cathedral, contrary to the right which the monks of St. Augustine claimed by prescription, of interring the prelates of this see in their monastery. Lambert having procured his election by a promise of desisting from his appeal, was confirmed in his metropolitan rank by the present of a pall from his holiness. While he filled the see which he had thus obtained by a fortunate incident, the extent of his jurisdiction was considerably diminished by the power, ambition, and resentment, of Offa, the Mercian king, who was not only displeased at the subjection of any of the bishops in his dominions at the see of another kingdom, but was personally exasperated at the conduct of Lambert, for having been concerned (as Offa supposed) in the attempts of several of the English princes to instigate Charlemagne to an invasion of Mercia. Influenced by these suggestions, he entered into a negotiation with pope Adrian, for the erection of the see of Litchfield into an archbishopric. Notwithstanding all the opposition which Lambert gave to this measure, the interest of Offa ultimately gained the victory at the court of Rome. Adrian, who is said to have been won by the valuable presents of the Mercian monarch, transmitted to him an order in 786 for the establishment of an archiepiscopal see at Litchfield, to which all the Mercian bishops were to be suffragans, as well as those of East-Anglia; so that there were now three metropolitans in England, namely, the archbishops of Canterbury, York, and Litchfield, the province of the first being now so reduced as to be inferior in extent of country, and number of suffragans, to that of Litchfield, and hardly superior in these respects to the province of York. About the same time the pope commissioned Gregory bishop of Ostia, and Theophylact bishop of Todi, to visit the different churches of England, as legates of the papal see. They first waited on archbishop Lambert, with whom they perhaps conferred on the proposed diminution of his province, by the elevation of the bishop of Litchfield to the rank of a metropolitan. From Kent they proceeded into Mercia, where they separated, Gregory continuing his journey to the court of Elfward king of Northumberland. Here a council was called, and twenty canons, proposed by Gregory, received the sanction of Elfwald and his peers both spiritual and temporal. The same canons were agreed to in a council convoked by Offa at a place called Caalchythe, where archbishop Lambert was present.

Near the close of this century, the English prelates gave a proof of their superiority to those of Rome in purity of worship; for, at a time when the Romish clergy had adopted the decrees of the second council of Nice in 787, which, among other points, authorised not only the use but the adoration of images, representations of scriptural history, figures of saints, &c. both in painting and sculpture, had been constantly used among the English Christians; but they had not yet deviated into the idolatrous practice of adoring these works of art, considering them only as incentives to devotion by reminding them of that Omnipotent Being to whom alone adoration is due.

(*l*) Several years before this synod, a council had assembled at the same place, by the direction of king Ethelbald and archbishop Cuthbert, and had followed an example given by Withred king of Kent, for securing from all invasion and encroachment the possessions of the church and the endowments of monasteries, and exempting estates of this description from all imposts and services, except those which related to the erection of bridges and castles. *Spelman.*

Hegbert, bishop of Litchfield, who had become archbishop of that see, did not long survive the increase of his spiritual honours. His successor was Adulf, who, after exercising for several years the functions of a metropolitan, was divested of that dignity by pope Leo III. with the consent of his sovereign Cenulf. In 803 a synod convened by Athelhard, the successor of Lambert in the archbishopric of Canterbury, confirmed the papal decree for restoring to this see those dioceses which had been dismembered from it by the policy of Offa and the interested complaisance of Adrian.

The next point of importance in the ecclesiastical history of the Heptarchy, was the convocation of a council at Cealchythe by Walfred archbishop of Canterbury, at which Cenulf and his nobles assisted, in 810. One of the canons of this council was particularly aimed at the Scots, whom it prohibited from acting as clergymen within the province of Canterbury. The reason alledged by the canons for this exclusion, was, that it was uncertain by whom, or in what manner, they were ordained, and it was expedient to refuse the sacred ministrations from such nations as had no metropolitan among them, and paid little regard to others orders.

From this period to the union of the Heptarchy, no genuine transactions of moment occur in the history of the English church. We shall therefore close the present section with a brief account of those ecclesiastics who were most distinguished by the acquisition of learning and science during the continuance of the heptarchical government.

Aldhelm was one of the first who endeavoured to redeem his country from the reproach of ignorance. He was nearly related to Ina, king of Wessex, by whom he was promoted to the bishopric of Sherborn, about the end of the seventh century. He was the first Anglo-Saxon who wrote in the Latin tongue, whether in prose or verse. He acquired such reputation as a poet, that his metrical compositions were long admired by his countrymen. He was master of all the learning of the times. A treatise written by him against the British mode of fixing the celebration of Easter, is said to have had some effect in bringing over many of the Britons to the Romish custom in this particular. His literary merit has been warmly commended by two of the best of our old historians, Bede and William of Malmsbury. Before he became bishop of Sherborn, he had presided for about thirty years over an abbey which he had founded on the site of a small monastic foundation erected at Malmsbury by a Scot named Maildulphus. He died in 709.

During the time that Aldhelm flourished, literature began to be more cultivated by the English than before; and Theodore, archbishop of Canterbury, merits the praises of posterity for having contributed to the encouragement of learned and scientific pursuits. He had brought over with him from the continent a good number of Greek and Latin books, as well as some able professors of the sciences then in vogue. He considerably improved the school which Augustine had established in his monastery at Canterbury; and he himself read lectures on divinity, medicine, and other departments of knowledge. Adrian the abbot, one of his companions, taught in this academy, and was deservedly celebrated as an instructor of youth. The branches of learning then studied in England besides those which have been specified, were, the Greek and Latin tongues, poetry, logic, rhetoric, the Roman law, arithmetic, astronomy, and music.

Wilbrood, the first bishop of Utrecht, was a learned English priest. He made a voyage to the hither Frisia (now a part of the Dutch territories), and was instrumental in the conversion of many of the inhabitants. Pope Sergius I. to encourage his efforts for the dissemination of evangelical truth, consecrated him bishop of the Frisians, before the expiration of the seventh century. Benedict Biscop, who founded the abbey of Weremouth, near Durham, in 674, and that of Zarrow some years after, was a man of considerable learning, and eager to promote it in others. He undertook several journeys to Rome, that he might purchase books, paintings, statues, &c. for the use and ornament of his monasteries. In the school annexed to the former of these foundations (for the greater part of the monasteries, if not all, were provided with schools, the celebrated Bede, who derived from his piety and erudition

the epithet of Venerable, received the earlier part of his education. He was instructed at different times by the founder of this abbey, by Ceadfrid, his successor in the government of it, and John of Beverley, by whom, at that time bishop of Hexham, he was ordained. His literary eminence was so distinguished, that pope Sergius I. wrote to Ceolfrid, requesting him to send Bede to Rome, that his holiness might consult him on some important points relative to the administration of the church. We find that Bede did not comply with the pope's wish, but continued to live a recluse life in the Northumbrian kingdom, employing himself with indefatigable diligence in the performance of the clerical office, in the communication of knowledge to youth, in private study, and in the composition of a great number of works. He not only wrote on theological subjects, his more immediate province, but also on grammar, arithmetic, astronomy, natural philosophy, history, and music. His ecclesiastical history of the English nation, though it exhibits a strong tincture of that superstitious credulity which was so prevalent in his time, is an ingenious and learned work, if we contrast it with the general ignorance of the age in which he wrote. His death happened in 735, in the monastery of Zarrow, at the time of his grand climactric.

Bede speaks of an English poet who flourished in his time, named Caedmon, a monk of Wehitby. He did not possess much learning; but was endued with such a talent for poetry, that he was universally admired among his cotemporaries.

Heddi or Eddius, a monk of Canterbury, was patronised by the famous bishop of Wilfred, whose life he wrote in a style not destitute of elegance. He was eminent for his skill in church music; and died about the year 720.

Acca, the successor of Wilfred in the see of Hexham, wrote some theological treatises; and was skilled in the science of church music, which was then extremely fashionable.

Winfred, an English monk, who assumed the name of Boniface, acquired great fame by his learning and pious zeal. Being desirous of preaching the gospel among the gentiles, he left his country for that purpose, and was employed for many years in the conversion of the Germanic tribes. Pope Gregory II. honoured him with the episcopal dignity; and Gregory III. appointed him archbishop of Mentz, and legate of the papal see for Germany. He erected several bishoprics in that country, of which he was styled the apostle. He at length owed his death to his zeal in the cause of Christianity; for he was assasinated by some pagans in the Frisian territories, in 754, in the eighty-fourth year of his age. Many of his letters have been printed.

Alcuin, a native of the Northumbrian kingdom, was one of the most learned men of his time. Educated at York, under the auspices of archbishop Egbert, he had the benefit of the valuable library which that prelate had collected. He is said to have been abbot of St. Augustine's, Canterbury. Being sent by Offa the Mercian to Charlemagne, he was prevailed upon by that prince to settle in the French court. Here he acquired so great a share of favour, that he was consulted by his royal patron in affairs of great importance; and this illustrious monarch condescended to become the pupil of an English ecclesiastic, in logic, rhetoric, theology, and mathematics. By his influence with Charles, Alcuin had an opportunity of promoting the cause of literature, and the cultivation of the arts and sciences, in so effectual a manner, as to restore, in some degree, that lustre which had illumined Gaul in the flourishing times of Roman sway. After residing some years at the court of this prince, he was permitted, on his earnest solicitation, to retire from public life to St. Martin's abbey at Tours, one of the monasteries which Charles had conferred on him. Few instances occur of so unabated a continuance of princely favour and friendship, as that which was testified by Charlemagne for Alcuin, who merited this regard by the purity and integrity of his life and manners, by preserving a dignity of character untainted by servility, and uniting the flowers of politeness with the matured fruits of a cultivated understanding. He wrote some theological pieces, in one of which he reprobated the practice of paying adoration to images; and, in another, supported the orthodox faith against the heresy of Felix, bishop of Urgel, who had broached an opinion, importing that Christ, with reference to his human nature, was the adopted rather than the natural son of God. He also produced some historical tracts and poems. He died at Tours, in 804.

Besides the churchmen whom we have mentioned as excelling in literature, there were some laymen during the Heptarchy who were reputed to possess no inconsiderable share of learning. The persons here alluded to were of high rank: Sigebert, king of East-Anglia; Oswald, king of Northumberland; and Alfred, one of his successors. Ina, the West-Saxon, and Offa, the Mercian, were not only celebrated as legislators, but as patrons of learning; though we do not find that they personally excelled in any particular branch of literature; neither are any pieces said to be written by any of them known to be extant.

BOOK IV.

FROM THE COMPLETE ESTABLISHMENT OF THE ENGLISH MONARCHY TO THE NORMAN CONQUEST.

CHAPTER I.

From the Accession of Egbert, as Monarch of England, to the Death of Alfred the Great.

EGBERT.

THE final dissolution of the Heptarchy in 827 seemed to promise a cessation not only of those internal commotions, kindled by a disputed succession, which had frequently agitated the different kingdoms, but also of those external hostilities which had so often prevailed between jealous and ambitious sovereigns. The excellent character of Egbert, and the fame of his courage and abilities, appeared to prognosticate a continuance of that submission which he now experienced from the Anglo-Saxon communities; and the people might reasonably expect to be rewarded for their acquiescence in his new dignity, by an extension to the whole kingdom of England of the same upright and laudable administration which had long secured to him the affection and esteem of his peculiar subjects of Wessex. The concentration of the English power under one head afforded ground for hope, that the new kingdom would flourish in arts, riches, and civilization, in a degree which the disunion of seven states had hitherto prevented; that union and concord would succeed to division and animosity; and that the general respectability of the nation would command that regard from foreign powers, which the comparative insignificance of the individual states of the Heptarchy had been unable to procure.

Soon after the submission of the kingdom of Northumberland, by which Egbert completed in his own person the sovereignty of England, he returned to Winchester, where he dazzled his people with the splendor of a coronation; a measure which was sanctioned by the consent of a great council. He then issued a proclamation, enjoining the application of the general name of England to the dominions that lately formed the Heptarchy.

The hopes of a durable tranquillity, which had begun to flatter the minds of the English nation, were checked in the bud. The restless and rapacious Danes threatened them with a constant succession of hostile descents, and predatory invasions. A body of these pirates landed on the isle of Sheppey, plundered it, and made good a retreat to their ships in 832. In the succeeding year, thirty-five Danish vessels stopped on the coast of Dorsetshire, and poured forth a numerous corps of northern warriors at Charmouth. Egbert, as soon as he was informed of their appearance on the coast, hastily marched with an army to repel the invaders; and a battle commenced with great fury. Though the king disordered the enemy at the first onset, they at length

pressed

pressed him so warmly, that in all probability, notwithstanding his utmost efforts, his troops would have met with a total defeat, if the approach of night had not separated the combatants. Both armies sustained great loss; and Egbert, in particular, lost two of his principal officers, besides two of his prelates, who had made a temporary exchange of their spiritual warfare for the more destructive weapons of military service. The Danes kept the field for some time, and then retired to their vessels. The smallness of Egbert's force was the cause of his ill success on this occasion; but the event taught him to be more provident in future, while the specimen he had given the intruders of his martial spirit convinced them that their attempts on his dominions would not be bloodless.

The sagacity of Egbert must have pointed out to him the great utility of a maritime force for the security of the realm against invasion. He must have lamented the utter decline of that naval eminence which the Saxons had formerly enjoyed; and there is little doubt that he endeavoured, during the remainder of his reign, to prepare a sufficient navy for the defence of his coasts. But a length of time was requisite for the restoration of maritime power; and this great work was reserved for the enterprising and universal genius of his grandson Alfred the Great.

While Egbert was devising the most efficacious means for preserving the safety of his dominions, the Danes were meditating a more formidable invasion. They formed a league with some tribes of Cornish Britons, who, being averse to the yoke of their ancient enemies the Saxons, revolted from Egbert, and joined a Danish army which landed in that part of England, in 835. The king, with a greater force than that which he had conducted to the field of Charmouth, advanced to meet the confederates, and punished their attempts with a signal defeat, which was attended with an extraordinary slaughter of the vanquished (*m*).

No other memorable action distinguished the reign of this prince, who resigned his breath in the following year, and was interred at Winchester, where he had usually resided. His character seems to have been that of an active, brave, and enterprising warrior, an able statesman, and a beneficent sovereign. His ambition was restrained within the limits of prudence, which rendered him, in the end, more securely successful. Foreseeing the effects of that indolence and timidity, which, among the majority of the English, had superseded the warlike spirit of their Saxon ancestors, he remarked to his son Ethelwulf, on his deathbed, that he might think it a great happiness, if his kingdom were not ruined by that inactivity and sloth which had so generally infected the manners of the people (*n*).

ETHELWULF

HAD neither the abilities nor the vigour of his father; and was better qualified for governing a convent than a kingdom. He began his reign, in 836, with making a partition of his dominions, and delivering over to his eldest son, Athelstan (*o*), the new-conquered provinces of Essex, Kent, and Sussex. But no inconveniencies seem to have arisen from this partition; as the continual terror of the Danish invasions prevented all domestic dissension. A fleet of these ravagers, consisting of thirty-three sail, appeared at Southampton, in 837; but were repulsed with loss by Wulfhere, governor of the neighbouring county. The same year, Æthelhelm, governor of Dorsetshire, routed another band which had disembarked at Portsmouth; but he obtained the victory after a furious engagement, but lost his life in the action. Next year the Danes made several inroads into England, and fought battles; had several skirmishes in East-Anglia and Lindesey and Kent; where, though they were sometimes repulsed and defeated, they always obtained their end, of committing spoil upon the country, and carrying off their booty. They avoided coming to general engagement, which was not suited to their plan of operations. Their vessels were small, and ran easily up the creeks and rivers; where they drew them ashore, and having formed an entrenchment round them, which they guarded with part of their number, the remainder scattered themselves every where, and carrying off the inhabitants and cattle and goods, they hastened to their ships, and quickly disappeared. Every part of England was held in continual alarm; and the inhabitants of one county durst not give assistance to those of another, lest their own families and property should in the mean time be exposed by their absence to the fury of those barbarous ravagers. All orders of men were involved in this calamity; and the priests and monks, who had been commonly spared in the domestic quarrels of the Heptarchy, were the chief objects on which the Danish idolaters exercised their rage and animosity. Every season of the year was dangerous; and the absence of the enemy was no reason why any man could esteem himself a moment in safety (*p*).

These incursions had now become almost annual; when the Danes, encouraged by their successes against France as well as England (for both kingdoms were alike exposed to this dreadful calamity), invaded the last in so large a body, in 851, as seemed to threaten it with subjugation. But the English, more military than the Britons, roused themselves with a vigour proportioned to the exigency. Ceorle, governor of Devonshire, fought a battle with one body of the Danes at Wiganburgh, and put them to rout with great slaughter. King Athelstan attacked another at sea near Sandwich, sunk nine of their ships, and put the rest to flight. A body of them, however, ventured, for the first time, to take up winter-quarters in England; and receiving in the spring a strong reinforcement of their countrymen, in three hundred and fifty vessels, they advanced from the Isle of Thanet, where they had stationed themselves; burnt the cities of London and Canterbury; and having put to flight Berthulf, who now governed Mercia under the title of king, they marched into the heart of Surrey, and laid every place waste around them. Ethelwulf, impelled by the urgency of the danger, marched against them at the head of the West-Saxons; and carrying with him his second son, Ethelbald, gave them battle at Okely, and gained a decisive victory over them. This advantage procured but a short respite to the English. The Danes still kept their settlement in the Isle of Thanet; and being attacked by Ealher and Huda, governors of Kent and Surrey, in 853, though defeated in the beginning of the action, they finally repulsed the assailants, and slew both governors. They removed thence to the Isle of Shepey; where they took up their winter-quarters, that they might farther extend their devastation and ravages.

This unsettled state of England hindered not Ethelwulf from making a pilgrimage to Rome in 855; whither he carried his fourth, and favourite son, Alfred, then only six years of age. He passed there a twelvemonth in exercises of religion; and failed not in that most essential part of devotion, liberality to the church. Besides giving presents to the more distinguished ecclesiastics, he made a perpetual grant of three hundred mancuses (*q*) a year to that see; one third to support the lamps of St. Peter's, another those of St. Paul's, a third to the pope himself. In his return home, he married Judith, daughter of the emperor Charles the Bald; but on his landing in England, he met with an opposition which he little expected.

His eldest son, Athelstan, being dead; Ethelbald, his second, who had assumed the government, formed, in concert with many of the nobles, the project of excluding his father from a throne, which his weakness and superstition seem to have rendered him so ill qualified to fill. The people were divided between the two princes; and a sanguinary

(*m*) The scene of this battle was Hengsdown, near Kellington, in Cornwall.

(*n*) A severe law is ascribed to Egbert, enacting that every Briton who should pass to the eastward of Offa's Dyke, should suffer death; a circumstance not very probable, if it be true that he had reduced the Welsh to submission; in which case he would hardly have been so eager to separate his English subjects from all connexion with a vassal people.

(*o*) Athelstan is supposed by some to have been the son, by others the brother of Ethelwulf.

(*p*) About this time (for historians differ with regard to the particular year) a great revolution happened in the northern division of Great Britain. Kenneth Mac-Alpin, king of the Scots, whose hereditary hatred of the Picts had been inflamed by recent injuries, and who had a claim on the Pictish crown by right of blood, gained several victories over these old enemies of the Scots, and gratified his ambition and revenge by effecting a complete subjugation of the Picts to his authority; in consequence of which, he became the sole sovereign of North-Britain. It is affirmed by some of the historic writers of Scotland, that the Picts were exposed to a general massacre, and punished with utter extirpation: but it is evident, from various circumstances, that this account is not just; for, though there is reason to believe, that the troops of Kenneth were guilty of great cruelties in the prosecution of their two principal victories over the Picts, yet he appears to have incorporated the remainder of their nation among his native subjects, so that their name, in the lapse of time, was lost in that of the victorious Scots.

(*q*) A mancus is supposed to have been worth about seven shillings and six-pence sterling. Spelman says, it was about the weight of our present half-crown.

civil war, joined to all the other calamities under which the English laboured, appeared inevitable; when Ethelwulf had the facility to yield to the greater part of his son's pretensions. He made with him a partition of the kingdom; and taking to himself the eastern part, which was always at that time esteemed the least considerable, as well as the most exposed, he delivered over to Ethelbald the sovereignty of Wessex (*r*).

ETHELBALD and ETHELBERT.

ETHELWULF lived only two years after making his profuse grants to the church; and by his will he shared England between his two eldest sons, in 857, Ethelbald and Ethelbert; the west being assigned to the former; the east to the latter. Ethelbald was a profligate prince; and marrying Judith, his mother-in-law, gave great offence to the people; but moved by the remonstrances of Swithun, bishop of Winchester, he was at last prevailed on to divorce her. His reign was short; and

ETHELBERT,

his brother, succeeding to the government, in 860, behaved himself, during a reign of five years, in a manner more worthy of his birth and station. The kingdom, however, was still infested by the Danes, who made an inroad and sacked Winchester; but were there defeated. A body also of these pirates, who were quartered in the Isle of Thanet, having deceived the English by a treaty, unexpectedly broke into Kent, and committed great devastations.

ETHELRED I.

ETHELBERT was succeeded by his brother Ethelred, in 866, who, though he defended himself with bravery, enjoyed, during his whole reign, no tranquillity from those Danish irruptions. His younger brother, Alfred, seconded him in all his enterprises; and generously sacrificed to the public good all animosity which he might entertain on account of his being excluded by Ethelred from a large patrimony which had been left him by his father.

The first landing of the Danes in the reign of Ethelred was among the East-Angles, who, more anxious for their present safety than for the common interest, entered into a separate treaty with the enemy; and furnished them with horses, which enabled them to make an irruption by land into the kingdom of Northumberland. They there seized the city of York; and defended it against Osbert and Ælla, two Northumbrian princes, who perished in the assault (*s*). Encouraged by these successes, and by the superiority which they had acquired in arms, they now ventured, under the command of Hinguar and Hubba, to leave the sea-coast, and penetrating into Mercia, in 867, they took up their winter-quarters at Nottingham, where they threatened the kingdom with a final subjection. The Mercians, in this extremity, applied to Ethelred for succour; and that prince, with his brother Alfred, conducting a great army to Nottingham, obliged the enemy to dislodge, and to retreat into Northumberland, in 870. Their restless disposition, and their avidity for plunder, allowed them not to remain long in those quarters: they broke into East-Anglia, defeated and took prisoner Edmund, the king of that country, whom they afterwards murdered in cool blood; and committing the most barbarous ravages on the people, particularly on the monasteries (*t*), they gave the East-Angles cause to regret the temporary relief which they had obtained, by assisting the common enemy.

The next station of the Danes was, in 871, at Reading; whence they infested the neighbouring country by their incursions. The Mercians, desirous of shaking off their dependence on Ethelred, refused to join him with their forces; and that prince, attended by Alfred, was obliged to march against the enemy, with the West-Saxons alone, his hereditary subjects. The Danes, being defeated in an action, shut themselves up in their garrison; but quickly making thence an irruption, they routed the West-Saxons, and obliged them to raise the siege. An action soon after ensued at Aston in Berkshire, where the English, in the beginning of the day, were in danger of a total defeat. Alfred advancing with one division of the army, was surrounded by the enemy in disadvantageous ground; and Ethelred, who was at that time hearing mass, refused to march to his assistance, till prayers should be finished: but as he afterwards obtained the victory, this success, not the danger of Alfred, was ascribed by the monks to the piety of that monarch. This battle of Aston did not terminate the war. Another battle was a little after fought at Basing; where the Danes were more successful; and being reinforced by a new army from their own country, they became every day more terrible to the English. Amidst these confusions, Ethelred died of a wound which he received in an action with the Danes; and left the inheritance of his cares and misfortunes, rather than of his grandeur, to his brother Alfred, then twenty-two years of age.

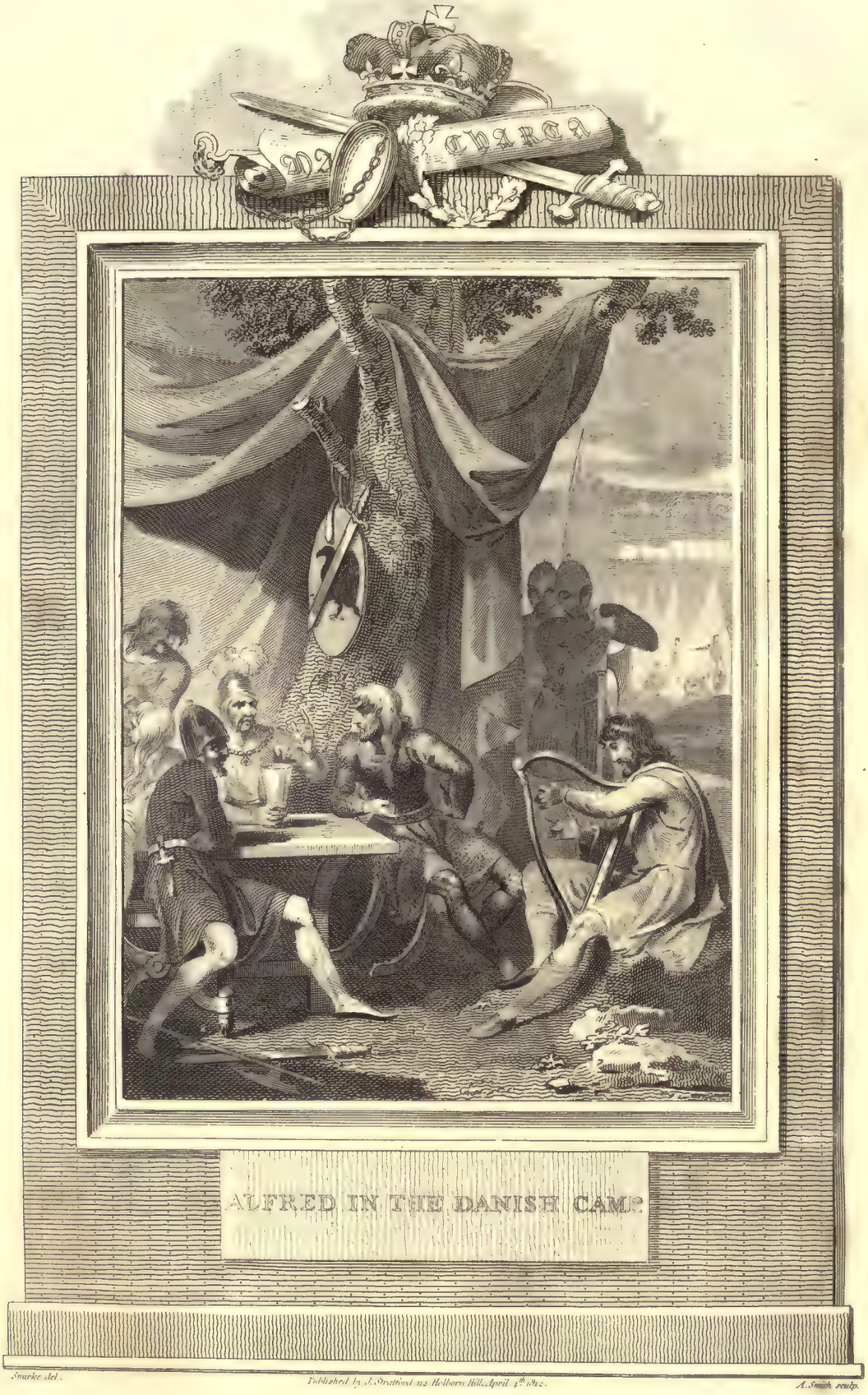
ALFRED THE GREAT,

WHO ascended the throne in 871, gave early marks of those great virtues and shining talents, by which, during the most difficult times, he saved his country from ruin and subversion. Ethelwulf, his father, the year after his return with Alfred from Rome, had again sent the young prince thither with a numerous retinue; and a report being spread of the king's death, the pope, Leo III. gave Alfred the royal unction; whether prognosticating his future greatness from the appearances of his pregnant genius, or willing to pretend, even in that age, to the right of conferring kingdoms. Alfred, on his return home, became every day more the object of his father's affections; but being indulged in all youthful pleasures, he was much neglected in his education; and he had already reached his twelfth year, when he was yet totally ignorant of the lowest elements of literature. His genius was first roused by the recital of Saxon poems, in which the queen took delight; and this species of erudition, which is sometimes able to make a considerable progress even among barbarians, expanded those noble and elevated sentiments which he had received from nature. Encouraged by the queen, and stimulated by his own ardent inclination, he soon learned to read those compositions; and proceeded thence to acquire the knowledge of the Latin tongue, in which he met with authors that better prompted his heroic spirit, and directed his generous views. Absorbed in these elegant pursuits, he is said to have regarded his accession to royalty rather as an object of regret than of triumph; but being called to the throne, in preference to his brother's children, as well by the will of his father, a circumstance which had great authority with the Anglo-Saxons, as by the vows of the whole nation, and the urgency of public affairs, he shook off his literary indolence, and exerted himself in defence of his people. He had scarcely buried his brother, when he was obliged to take the field, in order to oppose the Danes, who had seized Winchester, and were exercising their usual ravages on the countries around. He marched against them with the few troops which he could assemble on a sudden; and giving them battle, gained at first an advantage, but by his pursuing the victory too far, the superiority of the enemy's numbers prevailed, and recovered them the day. Their loss, however, in the action was so considerable, that, fearing Alfred would receive daily reinforcements from his subjects, they were content to stipulate for a safe retreat, and promised to depart the kingdom. For that purpose they were conducted to London, and allowed to take up winter-quarters there; but, careless of their engagements, they immediately set themselves to the committing of spoil on the neighbouring country. Burrhed, king of Mercia, in whose territories London was situated, made a new stipulation with them, and engaged them, by presents of money, to remove to Lindesey in Lincolnshire, in 872; a country which they had already reduced to ruin and desolation. Finding therefore no object in that place, either for their rapine or violence, they suddenly turned back, in 873, upon

(*r*) Immediately after, he summoned the states of the whole kingdom, and with the same facility conferred a perpetual and important donation on the church.

(*s*) Brompton attributes the Danish invasion of Northumberland to the intrigues of Bruern Bocard, a nobleman of that kingdom, whose wife had been ravished by Osbert, he was instigated by motives of revenge to solicit Hinguar and Hubba to attempt the conquest of Northumberland.

(*t*) Amidst the devastations of this campaign, the following event occurred: Ebba, abbess of Coldingham, in the shire of Berwick, apprehending an attack from the Danes, cut off her nose and upper lip, and prevailed upon the nuns of her convent to disfigure themselves in the same manner, that the enemy might be so disgusted with their appearance as to leave their virginity uncontaminated. The lust of the Danes being converted into revenge for their disappointment, they set fire to the abbey, which was consumed with its heroic inhabitants.



ALFRED IN THE DANISH CAMP.

Smirke del.

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A. Smith sculp.

Mercia, in a quarter where they expected to find it without defence; and fixing their station at Repton in Derbyshire, they laid the whole country desolate with fire and sword. Burrhed, despairing of success against an enemy, whom no force could resist, and no treaties bind, abandoned his kingdom, and flying to Rome; took shelter in a cloister, in 874. He was brother-in-law to Alfred, and the last who bore the title of king in Mercia.

The West-Saxons were now the only remaining power in England; and though supported by the vigour and abilities of Alfred, they were unable to sustain the efforts of those ravagers, who from all quarters invaded them. In 875 a new swarm of Danes came over under three princes, Guthrum, Oscital, and Amund; and having first joined their countrymen at Repton, they soon found the necessity of separating, in order to provide for their subsistence. Part of them, under the command of Haldene, their chieftain, marched into Northumberland in 876, where they fixed their quarters; part of them took quarters at Cambridge, whence they dislodged in the ensuing summer, and seized Wereham, in the county of Corset, the very centre of Alfred's dominions (*u*). That prince so straightened them in these quarters, that they were content to come to a treaty with him, and stipulated to depart his country. Alfred, well acquainted with their usual perfidy, obliged them to swear upon the holy reliques to the observance of the treaty; not that he expected they would pay any veneration to the reliques; but he hoped, that, if they now violated this oath, their impiety would infallibly draw down upon them the danger of heaven. But the Danes, little apprehensive of the danger, suddenly, without seeking any pretence, fell upon Alfred's army; and having put it to rout, marched westward and took possession of Exeter. The prince collected new forces, and exerted such vigour, that he fought in one year eight battles with the enemy, and reduced them to the utmost extremity. In 878 he hearkened, however, to new proposals of peace; and was satisfied to stipulate with them, that they would settle elsewhere in England, and would not permit the entrance of more ravagers into the kingdom. But while he was expecting the execution of this treaty, which it seemed the interest of the Danes themselves to fulfil, he heard that another body had landed, and having collected all the scattered troops of their countrymen, had surprised Chippenham, then a considerable town, and were exercising their usual ravages all around them.

This last incident quite broke the spirit of the Saxons, and reduced then to despair. Finding that, after all the miserable havoc which they had undergone in their persons and in their property; after all the victorious actions which they had exerted in their own defence; a new band, equally greedy of spoil and slaughter, had disembarked among them; they believed themselves abandoned by heaven to destruction, and delivered over to those swarms of robbers, which the fertile north thus incessantly poured forth against them. Some left their country, and retired into Wales, or fled beyond sea: others submitted to the conquerors, in hopes of appeasing their fury by a servile obedience. And every man's attention being now engrossed in concern for his own preservation, no one would hearken to the exhortations of the king, who summoned them to make under his conduct one effort more in defence of their prince, their country, and their liberties. Alfred himself was obliged to relinquish the ensigns of his dignity, to dismiss his servants, and to seek shelter, in the meanest disguises, from the pursuit and fury of his enemies. He concealed himself under a peasant's habit, and lived some time in the house of a neat-herd, who had been entrusted with the care of some of his cows. There passed here an incident, which has been recorded by all the historians, and was long preserved by popular tradition; though it contains nothing memorable in itself, except so far as every circumstance is interesting, which attends so much virtue and dignity, reduced to such distress. The wife of the neat-herd was ignorant of the condition of her royal guest; and observing him one day busy by the fire-side, in trimming his bow and arrows, she desired him to take care of some cakes which were toasting, while she was employed elsewhere in other domestic affairs. But Alfred, whose thoughts were otherwise engaged, neglected this injunction; and the good woman, on her return, finding her cakes all burnt, rated the king very severely, and upbraided him, that he always seemed very well pleased to eat her warm cakes, though he was thus negligent in toasting them.

By degrees, Alfred, as he found the search of the enemy become more remiss, collected some of his retainers, and retired into the centre of a bog, formed by the stagnating waters of the Thone and Parret, in Somersetshire. He here found two acres of firm ground; and building a habitation on them, rendered himself secure by its fortifications, and still more by the unknown and inaccessible roads which led to it, and by the forests and morasses with which it was every way environed. This place he called Æthelingay, or the Isle of Nobles; and it now bears the name of Athelney. He thence made frequent and unexpected sallies upon the Danes, who often felt the vigour of his arm, but knew not from what quarter the blow came. He subsisted himself and his followers by the plunder which he acquired; he procured them consolation by revenge; and from small successes, he opened their minds to hope, that, notwithstanding his present low condition, more important victories might at length attend his valour.

Here lay concealed, but not inactive, the intrepid Alfred, during a twelvemonth; when the news of a prosperous event reached his ears, and called him to the field. Hubba, the Dane, having spread devastation, fire, and slaughter, over Wales, had landed in Devonshire from twenty-three vessels, and laid siege to the castle of Kinwith, a place situated near the mouth of the small river Tau. Oddune, earl of Devonshire, with his followers, had taken shelter there; and being ill supplied with provisions, and even with water, he determined, by some vigorous blow, to prevent the necessity of submitting to the barbarous enemy. He made a sudden sally upon the Danes before sun-rising; and taking them unprepared, he put them to rout, pursued them with great slaughter, killed Hubba himself, and got possession of the famous *Reafen*, or enchanted standard, in which the Danes put great confidence. It contained the figure of a raven, which had been inwoven by the three sisters of Hinguar and Hubba with many magical incantations, and which, by its different movements, prognosticated, as the Danes believed, the good or bad success of any enterprize.

Animated by this successful specimen of returning courage in his subjects, Alfred resolved to improve the advantage. Being convinced, however, that it would be hazardous to make an attempt against the enemy, without some acquaintance of their force and posture, he disguised himself as a harper or minstrel, (a profession highly esteemed by all the northern nations,) and repaired with one attendant to the Danish camp. The reception which he met with answered his warmest expectations. He passed through every part of the camp without incurring the least suspicion: and, after entertaining the soldiers by his songs and music, he was introduced to Guthrum, the principal commander of their army, who was pleased with his musical talents, and charmed with his sprightly sallies of wit. Continuing several days in the camp, he reconnoitred the enemy to his full satisfaction. They appeared to him to be under no apprehensions of an attack from the English; their negligence was strikingly manifest; and they were wholly unprepared to make any effectual resistance to a sudden aggression. He had no sooner returned to Æthelingay, than he secretly sent messengers to the nobles of Somersetshire, Wilts, and Hants, directing them to conduct their vassals, on an appointed day, to Ecbyrhtes-stan (supposed to be Brixton) on the borders of the forest of Selwood. This requisition brought a considerable army to the place of rendezvous, whose first meeting with their monarch was attended with looks of eagerness and shouts of loyalty. He instantly conducted them to Eddington in Wiltshire, where the Danes were encamped; and taking advantage of his previous knowledge of the place, he directed his attack upon the most unguarded quarter of the enemy. The Danes, surprised to see an army of English, whom they considered as totally subdued, and still more astonished to hear that Alfred was at their head, made but a faint resistance, notwithstanding their superiority of numbers, and were soon put to flight with great slaughter. The remainder of the routud army, with their prince, was besieged by Alfred in a fortified

(*u*) In the course of this year, Rollo, a Norman leader, landed on the English coast; but, reflecting on the great qualities and indefatigable spirit of Alfred, and finding also the country was already stocked with swarms of rapacious invaders, of the same origin with himself and his followers, he crossed the channel, made the northern parts of France the objects of his depredations, and at length became the founder of the Norman power in that kingdom. Some historians have brought down his arrival in England to a later period; namely, to the time when Alfred had subjected to his crown the Danes of East-Anglia, Mercia, and Northumberland, and had restored peace to all parts of his kingdom.

camp

camp to which they fled; but being reduced to extremity by want and hunger, they had recourse to the clemency of the victor, and offered to submit on any conditions. The king, no less generous than brave, gave them their lives; and even formed a scheme for converting them, from mortal enemies, into faithful subjects and confederates. He knew, that the kingdoms of East-Anglia and Northumberland were totally desolated by the frequent inroads of the Danes, and he now proposed to repeople them, by settling Guthrum and his followers in that quarter. He hoped that the new planters would at last betake themselves to industry, when, by reason of his resistance, and the exhausted condition of the country, they could no longer subsist by plunder, and, that they might serve him as a rampart against any future incursions of their countrymen. But before he ratified these mild conditions with the Danes, he required, that they should give him one pledge of their submission, and of their inclination to incorporate with the English, by declaring their conversion to Christianity. Guthrum, and his army, had no aversion to the proposal; and, without much instruction, or argument, or conference, they were all admitted to baptism. The king answered for Guthrum at the font, gave him the name of Athelstan, and received him as his adopted son.

The success of this expedient seemed to correspond to Alfred's hopes: the greater part of the Danes settled peaceably in their new quarters, in 880. Some smaller bodies of the same nation, which were dispersed in Mercia, were distributed into the five cities of Derby, Leicester, Stamford, Lincoln, and Nottingham, and were thence called the Fif or Five-burghers. The more turbulent and unquiet made an expedition into France under the command of Hastings; and except by a short incursion of Danes, who sailed up the Thames and landed at Fulham, but suddenly retreated to their ships on finding the country in a posture of defence, Alfred was not for some years infested by the inroads of those barbarians.

The king employed this interval of tranquillity in restoring order to the state, which had been shaken by so many violent convulsions; in establishing civil and military institutions; in composing the minds of men to industry and justice; and providing against the return of like calamities. He was, more properly than his grandfather Egbert, the sole monarch of the English (for so the Saxons were now universally called,) because the kingdom of Mercia was at last incorporated in his state, and was governed by Ethelbert, his brother-in-law, who bore the title of earl: and though the Danes, who peopled East-Anglia and Northumberland, were for some time ruled immediately by their own princes, they all acknowledged a subordination to Alfred, and submitted to his superior authority. As equality among subjects is the great source of concord, Alfred gave the same laws to the Danes and English, and put them entirely on a like footing in the administration both of civil and criminal justice. The fine for the murder of a Dane was the same with that for the murder of an Englishman; the great symbol of equality in those ages.

The king, after rebuilding the ruined cities, particularly London, in 886, which had been destroyed by the Danes in the reign of Ethelwulf, established a regular militia for the defence of the kingdom. He ordained that all his people should be armed and registered; he assigned them a regular rotation of duty; he distributed part into the castles and fortresses, which he built at proper places; he required another part to take the field on any alarm, and to assemble at stated places of rendezvous; and he left a sufficient number at home, who were employed in the cultivation of the land, and who afterwards took their turn in military service. The whole kingdom was like one great garrison; and the Danes could no sooner appear in one place, than a sufficient number was assembled to oppose them, without leaving the other quarters in a defenceless state.

But Alfred, sensible that the proper method of opposing an enemy, who made incursions by sea, was to meet them on their own element, took care to provide himself with a naval force, which, though the most natural defence of an island, had hitherto been totally neglected by the English. He increased the shipping of his kingdom both in number and strength, and trained his subjects in the practice, as well of sailing, as of naval tactics. He distributed his armed vessels in proper stations round the island, and was sure to meet the Danish ships either before or after they had landed their troops, and to pursue them in all their incursions. Though the Danes might suddenly, by surprise, disembark on the coast, which was generally become desolate by their frequent ravages, they were encountered by the English fleet in their retreat; and escaped not, as formerly, by abandoning their booty, but paid, by their total destruction, the penalty of the disorders which their temerity had committed.

Thus did Alfred repel several inroads of the piratical Danes, and maintained his kingdom, during some years, in safety and tranquillity. A fleet of a hundred and twenty ships of war was stationed upon the coast; and being provided with warlike engines, as well as with expert seamen, both Frisians and English (for Alfred supplied the defects of his own subjects by engaging able foreigners in his service,) maintained a superiority over those smaller bands, with which England had so often been infested. But at last, in 893, Hastings, the famous Danish chief, having ravaged all the provinces of France, both along the sea-coast and the Loire and Seine, and being obliged to quit that country, more by the desolation which he had occasioned, than by the resistance of the inhabitants, appeared off the coast of Kent with a fleet of three hundred and thirty sail. The greater part of the enemy disembarked in the Rother, and seized the fort of Apuldore, in 894. Hastings himself, commanding a fleet of eighty sail, entered the Thames, and fortifying Milton in Kent, began to spread his forces over the country, and to commit the most destructive ravages. But Alfred, on the first alarm of this descent, flew to the defence of his people, at the head of a select band of soldiers, whom he always kept about his person; and gathering to him the armed militia from all quarters, appeared in the field with a force superior to the enemy. All straggling parties, whom necessity, or love of plunder, had drawn to a distance from their chief encampment, were cut off by the English; and these pirates, instead of increasing their spoil, found themselves cooped up in their fortifications, and obliged to subsist by the plunder which they had brought from France. Tired of this situation, which must in the end prove ruinous to them, the Danes at Apuldore rose suddenly from their encampment, with an intention of marching towards the Thames, and passing over into Essex; but they escaped not the vigilance of Alfred, who encountered them at Farnham, put them to rout, seized all their horses and baggage, and chased the runaways on board their ships, which carried them up the Colne to Mersey in Essex, where they entrenched themselves. Hastings, at the same time, and probably by concert, made a like movement; and Deserting Milton, took possession of Bamflete, near the Isle of Canvey in the same county; where he hastily threw up fortifications for his defence against the power of Alfred.

Another unfortunate circumstance for the English, was the death of Guthrum, prince of the East-Anglian Danes; as also of Guthred, whom the king had appointed governor of the Northumbrians; and those restless tribes, being no longer restrained by the authority of their princes, and being encouraged by the appearance of so great a body of their countrymen, broke into rebellion, shook off the authority of Alfred, and yielding to their inveterate habits of war and depredation, embarked on board two hundred and forty vessels, and appeared before Exeter in the west of England. Alfred lost not a moment in opposing this new enemy. Having left some forces at London to make head against Hastings and the other Danes, he marched suddenly to the west; and falling on the rebels before they were aware, pursued them to their ships with great slaughter. These ravagers sailing next to Sussex, began to plunder the country near Chichester; but the order which Alfred had every where established, sufficed here, without his presence, for the defence of the place; and the rebels meeting with a new repulse, in which many of them were slain, and some of their ships taken, were obliged to put again to sea, and were discouraged from any other attempt.

Meanwhile, the Danish invaders in Essex, having united their force under the command of Hastings, advanced into the inland countries and made spoil of all around them; but soon had reason to repent their temerity. The English army left in London, assisted by a body of the citizens, attacked the enemy's entrenchments at Bamflete, overpowered the garrison, and having done great execution upon them, carried off the wife and two sons of Hastings. In 895, Alfred generously spared these captives; and even restored them to Hastings, on condition that he should depart the kingdom.

But though the king had thus honourably rid himself of this dangerous enemy, he had not entirely subdued or expelled the invaders. The piratical Danes willingly followed in an excursion any prosperous leader who gave them hopes of booty; but were not so easily induced to relinquish their

enterprise, or submit to return, baffled and without plunder, into their native country. Great numbers of them, after the departure of Hastings, seized and fortified Shobury at the mouth of the Thames; and having left a garrison there, marched along the river, till they came to Boddington in Gloucestershire; where, being reinforced by some Welsh, they threw up entrenchments, and prepared for defence. The king here surrounded them with the whole force of his dominions; and as he had now a certain prospect of victory, he resolved to trust nothing to chance, but rather to master his enemies by famine than assault. They were reduced to such extremities, that, having eaten their own horses, and having many of them perished with hunger, they made a desperate sally upon the English; and though the greater number fell in the action, a considerable body made their escape. These roved about for some time in England, still pursued by the vigilance of Alfred; they attacked Leicester with success, defended themselves in Hartford, and then fled to Quatford, where they were finally broken and subdued, in 897. The small remains of them either dispersed themselves among their countrymen in Northumberland and East-Anglia, or had recourse again to the sea, where they exercised piracy, under the command of Sigefert, a Northumbrian. This freebooter, well acquainted with Alfred's naval preparations, had framed vessels of a new construction, higher, and longer, and swifter, than those of the English: but the king soon discovered his superior skill, by building vessels still higher, and longer, and swifter, than those of the Northumbrians; and falling upon them, while they were exercising their ravages in the west, he took twenty of their ships; and having tried all the prisoners at Winchester, he hanged them as pirates, the common enemies of mankind.

The well-timed severity of this execution, together with the excellent posture of defence established every where, restored full tranquillity in England, and provided for the future security of the government. The East-Anglian and Northumbrian Danes, on the first appearance of Alfred upon their frontiers, made anew the most humble submissions to him; and he thought it prudent to take them under his immediate government, without establishing over them a viceroy of their own nation. The Welsh also acknowledged his authority; and this great prince had now, by prudence and justice and valour, established his sovereignty over all the southern parts of the island, from the English channel to the frontiers of Scotland; when he died, October 28, 901, in the vigour of his age and the full strength of his faculties, after a glorious reign of twenty-nine years and a half, and fifty-third of his age, in which he deservedly attained the appellation of Alfred the Great, and the title of Founder of the English Monarchy.

The following exceedingly just character of Alfred is given by Mr. Hume: The merit of this prince, both in private and public life, may with advantage be set in opposition to that of any monarch or citizen which the annals of any age or any nation can present to us. He seems indeed to be the model of that perfect character, which, under the denomination of a sage or wise man, philosophers have been fond of delineating, rather as a fiction of their imagination, than in hopes of ever seeing it really existing. So happily were all his virtues tempered together; so justly were they blended; and so powerfully did each prevent the other from exceeding its proper boundaries! He knew how to reconcile the most enterprising spirit with the coolest moderation; the most obstinate perseverance with the easiest flexibility; the most severe justice with the gentlest lenity; the greatest vigour in commanding with the most perfect affability of deportment; the highest capacity and inclination for science, with the most shining talents for action. His civil and his military virtues are almost equally the objects of our admiration; excepting only, that the former, being more rare among princes, as well as more useful, seem chiefly to challenge our applause. Nature also, as if desirous that so bright a production of her skill should be set in the fairest light, had bestowed on him every bodily accomplishment, vigour of limbs, dignity of shape and air, with a pleasing, engaging, and open countenance. Fortune alone, by throwing him into that barbarous age, deprived him of historians worthy to transmit his fame to posterity; and we wish to see him delineated in more lively colours, and with more particular strokes, that we may at least perceive some of those small specks and blemishes, from which, as a man, it is impossible he could be entirely exempted.

But we should give but an imperfect idea of Alfred's merit, were we to confine our narration to his military exploits, and were not more particular in our account of his institutions for the execution of justice, and of his zeal for the encouragement of arts and sciences.

Alfred having subdued, and expelled the Danes, found the kingdom in the most wretched condition; desolated by the ravages of those barbarians, and thrown into disorders, which were calculated to perpetuate its misery. Though the great armies of the Danes were broken, the country was full of straggling troops of that nation, who, being accustomed to live by plunder, were become incapable of industry; and who, from the natural ferocity of their manners, indulged themselves in committing violence, even beyond what was requisite to supply their necessities: The English themselves, reduced to the most extreme indigence by these continued depredations, had shaken off all bands of government; and those who had been plundered to-day, betook themselves next day to the like disorderly life, and, from despair, joined the robbers in pillaging their fellow-citizens. These were the evils for which it was necessary that the vigilance of Alfred should provide a remedy.

That he might render the execution of justice strict and regular, he divided all England into counties; these counties he subdivided into hundreds; and the hundreds into tithings. Every householder was answerable for the conduct of his family and slaves, and even of his guests, if they lived above three days in his house. Ten neighbouring householders were formed into one corporation, who, under the name of a tithing, decennary, or fribcurg, were answerable for each other's conduct, and over whom one person, called a tithingman, headbourg, or borsholder, was appointed to preside. Every man was punished as an outlaw, who did not register himself in some tithing. And no man could change his habitation, without a warrant or certificate from the householder of the tithing to which he formerly belonged.

When any person in any tithing or decennary was guilty of a crime, the borsholder was summoned to answer for him; and if he were not willing to be surety for his appearance, and his clearing himself, the criminal was committed to prison, and there detained till his trial. If he fled, either before or after finding sureties, the borsholder and decennary became liable to enquiry, and were exposed to the penalties of law. Thirty-one days were allowed them for producing the criminal; and if that time elapsed without their being able to find him, the borsholder, with two other members of the decennary, was obliged to appear, and, together with three chief members of three neighbouring decennaries (making twelve in all,) to swear that his decennary was free from all privity both of the crime committed, and of the escape of the criminal. If the borsholder could not find such a number to answer for their innocence, the decennary was compelled by fine to make satisfaction to the king, according to the degree of the offence. By this institution every man was obliged from his own interest to keep a watchful eye over the conduct of his neighbours; and was in a manner surety for the behaviour of those who were placed under the division to which he belonged: whence these decennaries received the name of frank-pledges.

So regular a distribution of the people, with so strict confinement in their habitation, may not be necessary in periods when men are more enured to obedience and justice, and it might perhaps be regarded as destructive of liberty and commerce in a polished nation; but it was well calculated to reduce that fierce and licentious people under the salutary restraint of law and government. But Alfred took care to temper these rigours by other institutions favourable to the freedom of the citizens; and nothing could be more popular and liberal than his plan for the administration of justice. The borsholder summoned together his whole decennary to assist him in deciding any smaller difference which occurred among the members of this little community. In affairs of greater moment, in appeals from the decennary, or in controversies arising between members of different decennaries, the cause was brought before the hundred, which consisted of ten decennaries, or a hundred families of freemen, and which was regularly assembled once in four weeks, for the decision of causes. The method they practised deserves to be noticed, as being the origin of juries; an institution, admirable in itself, and the best calculated for the preservation of liberty and the administration of justice, that ever was devised by the wit of man. Twelve freeholders were chosen; who, having sworn, together with the hundreder, or presiding magistrate of

that division to administer impartial justice, proceeded to the examination of that cause which was submitted to their jurisdiction. And beside these monthly meetings of the hundred, there was an annual meeting, appointed for a more general inspection of the police of the district; for the enquiry into crimes, the correction of abuses in magistrates, and the obliging of every person to shew the decennary in which he was registered. The people, in imitation of their ancestors, the ancient Germans, assembled there in arms; whence a hundred was sometimes called a wapentake, and its court served both for the support of military discipline, and for the administration of civil justice.

The next superior court to that of the hundred was the county-court, which met twice a year, after Michaelmas and Easter, and consisted of the freeholders of the county, who possessed an equal vote in the decision of causes. The bishop presided in this court, together with the alderman; and the proper object of the court was the receiving of appeals from the hundreds and decennaries, and the deciding of such controversies as arose between men of different hundreds. Formerly, the alderman possessed both the civil and military authority; but Alfred, sensible that this conjunction of powers rendered the nobility dangerous and independent, appointed also a sheriff in each county, who enjoyed a co-ordinate authority with the former in the judicial function (*v*). His office also empowered him to guard the rights of the crown in the county, and to levy the fines imposed; which in that age formed no inconsiderable part of the public revenue.

There lay an appeal, in default of justice, from all these courts to the king himself in council; and as the people, sensible of the equity and great talents of Alfred, placed their chief confidence in him, he was soon overwhelmed with appeals from all parts of England. He was indefatigable in the dispatch of these causes; but finding that his time must be entirely engrossed by this branch of duty, he resolved to obviate the inconvenience, by correcting the ignorance or corruption of the inferior magistrates, from which it arose. He took care to have his nobility instructed in letters and the laws: he chose the earls and sheriffs from among the men most celebrated for probity and knowledge: he punished severely all malversation in office: and he removed all the earls, whom he found unequal to the trust; allowing only some of the more elderly to serve by a deputy, till their death should make room for more worthy successors.

The better to guide the magistrates in the administration of justice, Alfred framed a body of laws which was called his Dome Book, or Liber Judialis, for the general use of the whole kingdom; which, though now lost, served long as the basis of English jurisprudence, and is generally deemed the origin of what is denominated the COMMON LAW. He appointed regular meetings of the states of England twice a year in London; a city which he himself had repaired and beautified, and which he thus rendered the capital of the kingdom. The similarity of these institutions to the customs of the ancient Germans, to the practice of the other northern conquerors, and to the Saxon laws during the Heptarchy, prevents us from regarding Alfred as the sole author of this plan of government; and leads us rather to think, that, like a wise man, he contented himself with reforming, extending, and executing the institutions which he found previously established. But, on the whole, such success attended his legislation, that every thing bore suddenly a new face in England: robberies and iniquities of all kinds were repressed by the punishment or reformation of the criminals: and so exact was the general police, that Alfred, it is said, hung up, by way of bravado, golden bracelets near the highways; and no man dared to touch them. Yet, amidst these rigours of justice, this great prince preserved the most sacred regard to the liberty of his people; and it is a memorable sentiment preserved in his will, that it was just the English should for ever remain as free as their own thoughts.

As good morals and knowledge are almost inseparable, in every age, though not in every individual; the care of Alfred for the encouragement of learning among his subjects, was another useful branch of this legislation, and tended to reclaim the English from their former dissolute and ferocious manners: but the king was guided in this pursuit, less by political views, than by his natural bent and inclination towards letters. When he came to the throne, he found the nation sunk into the grossest ignorance and barbarism, proceeding from the continued disorders in the government, and from the ravages of the Danes: the monasteries were destroyed, the monks butchered or dispersed, their libraries burnt; and thus the only seats of erudition in those ages were totally subverted. Alfred himself complains, that on his accession he knew not one person, south of the Thames, who could so much as interpret the Latin service; and very few in the northern parts, who had even reached that pitch of erudition. But this prince invited over the most celebrated scholars from all parts of Europe; he established schools every where for the instruction of his people; he founded, at least repaired (*w*), the university of Oxford, and endowed it with many privileges, revenues, and immunities; he enjoined by law all freeholders possessed of two hydes (*x*) of land or more, to send their children to school for their instruction; he gave preferment both in church and state to such only as had made some proficiency in knowledge; and by all these expedients he had the satisfaction, before his death, to see a great change in the face of affairs; and in a work of his, which is still extant, he congratulates himself on the progress which learning, under his patronage, had already made in England.

But the most effectual expedient employed by Alfred, for the encouragement of learning, was his own example, and the constant assiduity with which, notwithstanding the multiplicity and urgency of his affairs, he employed himself in the pursuits of knowledge. He usually divided his time into three equal portions: one was employed in sleep, and the refection of his body by diet and exercise; another

(*v*) Besides the courts we have mentioned, there was a superior court, at which the king himself presided; and which, being supposed to contain the collective talents and wisdom of the whole kingdom, was honoured with the appellation of Wittena-gemote, or assembly of wise men. It was the peculiar province of this supreme court to enact laws; establish imposts; decide all questions relative to peace and war; to determine causes of the highest moment; and, finally, to regulate the most important acts of public administration; so that its ostensible authority was equivalent to our present parliaments, and the prerogative of our kings. But as the monarch always proposed the subject of debate which had been previously discussed in the privy council, his influence was considerable; and, indeed, where any question is agitated in the presence of a monarch, whose sentiments are first known, it requires a much greater firmness of mind than is possessed by the largest portion of mankind, to assert that independence of thought and freedom of speech which constitutes the soul of debate.

All archbishops, bishops, abbots, presbyters, aldermen, heretoges, shire-reeves, and judges, were, in virtue of their respective offices, entitled to a seat in the wittena-gemote; all proprietors of land to a certain amount were likewise members of it: but whether the ceorls, or husbandmen, and farmers of inferior property, were allowed this privilege has not been ascertained; though much time and learned labour have been spent in the investigation. Attempts have, indeed, been made to prove that they were represented by their tything men or borsholders, and the traders and mechanics by their portreeves: but no evidence has been adduced that could possibly operate conviction.

When the ceorls had, by succession or industry, increased their property to the amount of the stipulated qualifications, they were declared by an express law to be thanes and members of the wittena-gemote. The qualification was five hydes of land; and all freemen possessed of such an estate, with a church, a bell-house, and manor-place, upon it, were considered as nobles, and entitled to be members. This qualification was probably found to be too small, as it was gradually augmented; till, in the reign of Edward the Confessor, it was fixed at forty hides, or about four thousand acres. The members of the wittena-gemote enjoyed many privileges; and their personal security was specially provided for, both in going to and returning from the assembly, except they were notorious thieves and robbers.

The time of meeting in this national council was entirely arbitrary, depending solely on the king's pleasure: it was therefore extremely irregular, and sometimes several years elapsed without a single meeting taking place; till Alfred established, as a perpetual usage, that the wittena-gemote should meet regular twice a year, and oftener, if occasion should require, "to treat of the government of God's people, how they should keep themselves from sin, live in peace, and receive justice."

(*w*) That king Alfred only repaired the university of Oxford is an erroneous opinion, which has, however, been adopted by some of our best historians; from a supposition, that learning had been taught in the schools there by the monks of former times; but, in consequence of the troubles which had lately pervaded the kingdom, the knowledge of letters had sunk to so low an ebb, that it might, with equal justice, be said to be almost extinct; but, notwithstanding the above opinion obtained such credit as it did, yet it is abundantly evident, according to Camden, that Alfred founded three halls or schools in Oxford: the first, situated at the end of High Street, for grammarians, was called Little University Hall; the second, in School Street, for philosophy, was stiled Less University Hall; and the third in High Street, to the west of the first, was termed Great University Hall, and is now University College.

(*x*) With regard to what quantity of land signified by the word hide, Henry of Huntingdon informs us, that it was as much as was sufficient to employ one plough for a year. Some reckon it eighty, others at one hundred, and some even at two hundred acres.

in the dispatch of business; a third in study and devotion; and that he might more exactly measure the hours, he made use of burning tapers of equal length, which he fixed in lanthorns; an expedient suited to that rude age, when the geometry of dialling, and the mechanism of clocks and watches, were totally unknown. And by such a regular distribution of his time, though he often laboured under great bodily infirmities, this martial hero, who fought in person fifty-six battles by sea and land, was able, during a life of no extraordinary length, to acquire more knowledge, and even to compose more books, than most studious men, though blest with the greatest leisure and application, have, in more fortunate ages, made the object of their uninterrupted industry.

Sensible that the people, at all times, especially when their understandings are obstructed by ignorance and bad education, are not much susceptible of speculative instruction, Alfred endeavoured to convey his morality by apologues, parables, stories, apophthegms, couched in poetry; and besides propagating among his subjects, former compositions of that kind, which he found in the Saxon tongue, he exercised his genius in inventing works of a like nature, as well as in translating from the Greek the elegant fables of Æsop. He also gave Saxon translations of Orosius's and Bede's histories; and of Boethius concerning the consolation of philosophy. And he deemed it nowise derogatory from his other great characters of sovereign, legislator, warrior, and politician, thus to lead the way to his people in the pursuits of literature.

Meanwhile, this prince was not negligent in encouraging the vulgar and mechanical arts, which have a more sensible, though not a closer connexion with the interests of society. He invited, from all quarters, industrious foreigners to repeople his country, which had been desolated by the ravages of the Danes. He introduced and encouraged manufactures of all kinds; and no inventor or improver of any ingenious art did he suffer to go unrewarded. He prompted men of activity to betake themselves to navigation, to push commerce into the most remote countries, and to acquire riches by propagating industry among their fellow-citizens. He set apart a seventh portion of his own revenue for maintaining a number of workmen, whom he constantly employed in rebuilding the ruined cities, castles, palaces, and monasteries. Even the elegancies of life were brought to him from the Mediterranean and the Indies; and his subjects, by seeing those productions of the peaceful arts, were taught to respect the virtues of justice and industry, from which alone they could rise. Both living and dead, Alfred was regarded by foreigners, no less than by his own subjects, as the greatest prince after Charlemagne, that had appeared in Europe during several ages, and as one of the wisest and best that had ever adorned the annals of any nation.

Alfred had, by his wife, Ethelswitha, daughter of a Mercian earl, three sons and three daughters. The eldest son, Edmund, died without issue, in his father's life-time. The third, Ethelward, inherited his father's passion for letters, and lived a private life. The second, Edward, succeeded to his power; and passes by the appellation of Edward the Elder, being the first of that name who sat on the English throne.

CHAP. II.

From the Accession of EDWARD THE ELDER *to the Death of* EDGAR.

EDWARD THE ELDER.

THE beginning of the reign of Edward the Elder was not without trouble; for he met with a competitor in the person of his cousin Ethelwold, son of Alfred's brother Ethelbert. Indeed Ethelwold, according to the generally received doctrine of hereditary right, had a preferable title to the throne than Edward; but Edward was the son of Alfred, a man of great personal merit, and highly esteemed by the people. Ethelwold having collected a body of forces, marched to Winburne in Dorsetshire, which he seized and fortified. He also took possession of Christ Church, in the adjacent county of Hants. The king immediately assembled an army, with which he advanced against his opponent; and his near approach struck such an alarm into the heart of Ethelwold, that he fled by night from Winburne, and hastened beyond the Humber, where the Danes, who had perhaps encouraged him to assert his pretensions, received him with open arms, and proclaimed him their king. To strengthen his interest, he made a voyage to France, where he remained some years, during which he was employed in collecting a host of turbulent adventurers, who had emigrated from the coasts of the Baltic to seek their fortunes in the more southern parts of Europe. With this force he re-embarked for England, and landed on the eastern coast in the year 904.

The kingdom was now threatened with a renewal of those disorders from which it had been relieved by the courage and wisdom of Alfred. Ethelwold, being joined by a great number of Danes from the provinces of East-Anglia and Northumberland, advanced into the heart of Mercia, and ravaged it with great fury. The king had no sooner levied an army, in 905, than he marched in pursuit of the enemy, who had retreated into East-Anglia. He retaliated their devastations, by a similar treatment of the Danish districts in that province: but not meeting with the hostile army, he ordered all his troops to retire. The Kentishmen, however, from an avidity of spoil, disobeyed the royal commands, and were surprised by the forces of Ethelwold, with whom they fought a desperate battle near Bury, in which they lost several men of rank, as well as the victory. On the side of the enemy, Ethelwold himself, a Danish prince named Eoric, and some of the chief officers of the army, lost their lives.

The valour of the Kentishmen having thus put an end to the competition of Ethelwold, the king concluded a peace with the East-Anglian and Northumbrian Danes in 906: but this accommodation was not of long continuance; for the turbulent infidelity of the Danes violated the treaty, and entailed on them the resentment of Edward, who sent a strong army, in 909, into Northumberland, which committed great slaughter and depredation. In the succeeding year, the king equipped a hundred sail, which he dispatched towards the Northumbrian coasts. The Danes, instead of defending these coasts, poured into Mercia in a numerous body, with a view of indemnifying themselves by the richer spoils of that province, for what they might lose by the descent of Edward's forces. The king, foreseeing the probability of this irruption, had prepared to defeat the purposes for which it was intended. An English army suddenly attacked the plunderers as they were returning to the northward; and a desperate conflict ensued, in which several thousand Danes were slain, among whom were many distinguished officers. All the booty which the enemy had acquired, was recovered by the victors; and the Danes of Northumberland were so weakened by the effects of this engagement, that they gave little molestation to Edward during the remainder of his reign.

That the country might be the less exposed to the insults of the Danes, Edward pursued that policy which his father had adopted, of fortifying the principal towns in his dominions. In these works of defence, he was cordially seconded by his sister Ethelfleda, who, superior to the ordinary occupations of female life, shone in the manly characters of warrior and politician. She had by this time lost her husband Ethelred, whom she succeeded, in 912, in the government of Mercia. She defended this province with great success both against the Danes and Welsh, and erected a considerable number of towns and castles in different parts of it.

After a few years of desultory incursions from small parties of Danes, over whom the English were usually victorious, a strong body of Scandinavian adventurers, who had been plundering the coasts of Bretagne, sailed towards this island, and entered the Bristol Channel. In 918 they landed in Wales, and prosecuted their predatory course as far as Erchenfield in Herefordshire; but were at length, in 919, encountered by the forces of the neighbouring shires, routed with great slaughter, and compelled to give hostages for their speedy departure out of the realm. Before they complied with this agreement, they landed in the county of Somerset, where the king had taken such precautions for the security of the coast, that they were defeated in two descents, and so effectually disappointed in their hopes of success against the English, that they made a descent on the coast of Ireland.

On the death of Ethelfleda, in 920, who seems, as well as her husband, to have possessed over the Mercians an authority superior to that of an ordinary governor, and approaching to that of a palatine, her daughter Elfwina inherited her extensive demesnes, and testified an inclination to connect herself in marriage with a Danish prince; a measure

measure which would have proved dangerous to Edward's power. He therefore resolved to act a bold and politic part, and marching with a body of forces into the Mercian province, in 921, took possession of its principal towns and fortresses, as well as the person of Elfwina, and subjected it to his immediate government.

The active reign of this prince was distinguished by further exertions for the extension of his power, and the chastisement of his enemies. He reclaimed to a due subordination, by force of arms, the revolted Danes of East-Anglia and Northumberland, and exacted from them a renewal of the oath of allegiance which they had taken to Alfred. By a fortunate expedition to the westward of the Severn, he repressed the inroads of the Welsh, and compelled them to yield to his authority. He reduced the Britons of Strathcluyd to a dependent state; and is said to have received the submissions of Constantine king of Scotland: so that he exceeded his father in regal supremacy and extent of territory.

Satiated with glory and success, Edward died in 925, in the vigour of his age, at Farringdon in Berks, after a reign of twenty-four years, and was buried at Winchester. In courage and military skill, he was equal to his illustrious parent; and though his mind was less adorned by nature, and less cultivated by study, than that of Alfred, he possessed a sufficient share of sagacity and prudence to follow the plan of government which that prince had established. He is the reputed founder of the university of Cambridge, to which he is said to have transplanted several of the Oxonian professors (*y*). Some of his laws are yet extant (*z*).

ATHELSTAN.

GREAT were the hopes entertained of this prince, who in his infancy, had been particularly distinguished by his grandfather Alfred, had received the honour of knighthood from that monarch, and had been educated under the eye of his aunt Ethelfleda and her Mercian consort. He was crowned at Kingston soon after the death of Edward, in 925, amidst the general acclamations of the people. His accession, however, in 926, was disturbed by the intrigues of a nobleman named Alfred, who alledged the illegitimacy of his birth as a reason for endeavouring to depose him, and place his brother Edwin on the throne. Their design, however, being discovered, Alfred, the chief conspirator, was seized and brought to trial; but the evidence adduced to prove his guilt being insufficient to convict him, his offer to assert his innocence by oath in the presence of the pope was accepted, and he was accordingly sent to Rome. The oath was administered by John, who was then vested with the papal dignity; and Alfred had no sooner taken it than he fell into convulsions, of which he expired in three days. A stronger indication of his guilt could not have been offered to the sovereign pontiff, who ordered the body to be placed in the English college till he knew whether Athelstan would allow it Christian burial. The king, well pleased at the news of his death, immediately confiscated his estate, as if he had been really convicted of treason, and bestowed it on the monastery of Malmesbury; taking special care that all the particulars of this superstitious transaction should be inserted in the grant (*a*).

Though the spirit of activity and enterprize which had appeared in Athelstan during the reign of the late king, might have been deemed sufficient to awe the turbulence of the Danish colonists into peace and submission, those of Northumberland began to shake off the English yoke. Athelstan marched into that province, and endeavoured to conciliate the affections of the Danes by bestowing one of his sisters, named Editha, in marriage, on Sithric, their principal leader, and by permitting him to assume the title of king of the Northumbrians. The Danish prince at the same time embracing Christianity, preserved his fidelity to the English sovereign till his death, which happened in 927, within the space of a few months after his nuptials. Anlaf and Guthfred, his sons by a former wife, seized the reins of government, and made an open declaration of their independence on Athelstan: but on the approach of an English army, they thought it prudent to abandon their country; and Anlaf fled for refuge to Ireland, while his brother retired to the court of Constantine, king of Scotland, to whom messengers were immediately dispatched by the English king, requesting that Guthfred might be delivered into his hands. Constantine, unwilling to violate the rights of hospitality, for some time resisted the solicitations of Athelstan; but, when these solicitations were converted into menaces, prudence dictated an apparent compliance; and a promise was accordingly made to give up his guest, though without the least intent of performance: for Guthfred, apprized by the Scottish king of the danger that threatened him, made his escape. Constantine, to appease the fury of a monarch whose power he dreaded, proposed an interview with Athelstan, which took place at Dackers, in Cumberland, in 928; where a compromise was effected, apparently to their mutual satisfaction. But, while Constantine was thus outwardly on friendly terms with Athelstan, he felt a strong inclination to clip the aspiring wings of so powerful a neighbour, and readily entered into a confederacy for that purpose with Eugenius prince of Cumberland, and Anlaf, the son of Sithric, (or, as others say, an Hibernian chief of the same name.) The knowledge of this combination produced an invasion of Scotland, in 934, from Athelstan, whose fleet terrified the coasts of that kingdom, while his army ravaged the inland parts. Constantine was so intimidated by the progress of the English in his dominions, that he is said to have purchased peace by doing homage for his kingdom (*b*).

While Athelstan was acquiring an increase of glory by the humiliation of his enemies, his domestic repose was disturbed, in 938, by the intervention of an unfortunate circumstance, which is thus related by Brompton: A nobleman, who entertained a professed enmity to Edwin, the king's brother, accused that prince of being concerned in the conspiracy of Alfred; and Athelstan, affording too ready an attention to this ill-grounded accusation, resolved to operate his destruction. Fearing, however, to expose himself to popular indignation by a public execution, he ordered his unfortunate brother to be placed in a boat without rudder or sails, and committed to the fury of the waves. Edwin, who strenuously asserted his innocence, finding his supplications for mercy were fruitless, patiently resigned himself to his fate; and, seeing his destruction was inevitable, hastened its period by casting himself headlong into the sea (*c*).

During these transactions, a fresh storm was gathering in the north; for, as soon as Athelstan returned to England, Anlaf and Constance had formed a project to renew their confederacy; and, as they exerted the utmost caution, and observed the most profound secrecy, their preparations did not suffer interruption from premature discovery. At the expiration of four years, they were amply prepared for a formidable invasion, and Anlaf, with a considerable body of Danish pirates whom he had found hovering on the Irish coast, having joined Constantine, whose troops were already united to those of the Welsh and Britons under Ewen, the confederate army marched into England in 938. Athelstan,

(*y*) This point is disputed by some of the Oxford writers, who will not allow that any university was erected at Cambridge before the reign of Henry I. But setting aside the chimerical notions of those who would make Cantaber, a Spaniard, the founder four centuries before Christ, it is evident, from the best authorities, that Edward the Elder was the principal founder of this university.

(*z*) This prince had three natural children by Egwina, a young maiden of remarkable beauty and accomplishments, though of humble birth: Athelstan, the eldest, who succeeded him in the throne; Alfred, who died before his father, and a daughter, by some named Editha, and by others Beatrix.

He had likewise two wives; by the first of which, Elfleda, daughter of Elfhelm, a Saxon earl, he had two sons: Ethelwald, who died just before his father, and Edwin. She also bore him six daughters, two of whom were nuns; two were married to Charles the Simple, and Hugh Capet, kings of France; a fifth to Otho, emperor of Germany; and the youngest to Louis the Blind, king of Provence.

By his second wife he had two sons, Edmund and Edred, who successively reigned in England; and two daughters, one a nun, and the other married to a foreign prince.

(*a*) This story has the assertion of William of Malmesbury, lib. ii. cap. 6. for its authority.

(*b*) This last circumstance is strenuously denied by the Scotch, and as firmly supported by the English historians. The contest is of little importance; for, whether the fact be ascertained or confuted, neither honour nor disgrace can possibly accrue to the inhabitants of either nation. But if we consider the respective strength of the two monarchs, we must certainly conclude that an exaction of homage was likely to be made by the one, and submitted to by the other. Indeed, both parties agree that Constantine was indebted for the preservation of his crown to the submission he made: and, it is scarcely probable that a victorious monarch, who conceived himself injured, should be contented with a simple apology from the aggressor, a cession of territory, or acknowledgement of superiority, were the only marks of submission that could be required or accepted; and, as the former was not made, it is fair to presume that the latter was imposed.

(*c*) The authenticity of this account, however, is questioned by Malmesbury; and, by some authors, the whole event is treated as a fiction. Huntingdon, indeed, remarks, that Edwin perished at sea; but mentions his death as an accident that was much lamented by Athelstan.

who had foreseen this storm, met the invaders in the northern part of his kingdom; and a general conflict ensued, which continued, with no intermission of sanguinary fury, from morning till night (*d*). The slaughter was great on both sides, five petty princes being killed on the part of the allies, and seven chieftains, with many thousands of inferior combatants; while, on the side of the English, two princes of the blood, and a considerable number of men, fell victims to the rage of war. A complete victory attended the arms of Athelstan, who, in company with his brother Edmund, led the West-Saxons to the attack, Turketul, his chancellor or secretary, commanding the other division of his army. Though the king displayed a great degree of intrepidity and martial skill, the fortune of the day was principally attributed to the prowess of Turketul. Constantine and Anlaf effected their escape from the field of battle, with a small party of the powerful host which they had brought with them.

Athelstan pursued his victory by reducing some parts of Scotland, as well as a portion of the Cambrian principality. He also recovered the full subjection of the English Danes; and turning his course into Wales, compelled the chief prince of that country to pay him an annual tribute. His next expedition was into the county of Devon, in 939, whence he expelled the Britons, whom he forced to confine themselves to the province of Cornwall.

A perfect tranquillity pervaded the remainder of the reign of Athelstan, whose fame was now diffused over the continent, as one of the most illustrious princes of his time. He died at Gloucester, without issue, in 941, in the forty-sixth year of his age, and the sixteenth of his reign, and was buried at Malmesbury. He had acquired the reputation of a liberal and enlightened monarch, an able and politic governor, an enterprising warrior, and a wise legislator. He was the patron of learning, arts, and commerce; and was so distinguished by his munificence to the church, that the monastic writers, bestow on him the most extravagant encomiums.

Several useful laws were enacted under his auspices; and the two following in particular, are such as merit the praise of all who are friends either to learning or commerce. One is, that whoever made such progress in erudition as to be entitled to priest's orders, should enjoy all the privileges of a thane or nobleman; the other, that the same privileges should belong to a merchant who had made three voyages over the high seas, with his own ship and cargo. This prince is reported to have employed some learned Jews in translating the Old Testament into the Saxon language.

EDMUND I.

EDMUND, the brother of Athelstan, succeeded him on the throne, in 941. The Danes, taking the opportunity of a new king's accession, now renewed those troubles which had so frequently agitated the kingdom. They gladly received Anlaf, who had resided in Ireland since the battle of Brunanburgh, and who, returning from that country as soon as he had heard of the decease of Athelstan, took possession of York, in 942, and was proclaimed king by the Northumbrians. He then marched into Mercia, where the Five-burghers, or those Danes who had been settled by Alfred the Great in the towns of Lincoln, Nottingham, Derby, Leicester, and Stamford, willingly espoused his cause, and assisted him in his depredations. Edmund advanced against him with an army, and compelled the revolters to sue for peace. He punished the five-burghers by depriving them of their towns, and removing them from the centre of his kingdom into places where their rebellious attempts would be less injurious.

The Northumbrians not adhering to their stipulations of peace, Edmund again found it necessary to have recourse to arms. He reduced them with great facility to external submission, in 944, and expelled their princes Anlaf and Reginald. His next enterprize was equally successful: the objects of it were the Cambrian and Strath-cluyd Britons, who had frequently co-operated with the enemies of the English. He subdued the territories of these descendants of the ancient Britons; and having deposed their prince, in 945, conferred the principality on Malcolm king of Scotland, on condition that he and his successors should do homage for it to the sovereigns of England, and assist him against the Danes, both by land and sea.

Edmund had struck such terror into his enemies by his prowess and vigour, that his subjects flattered themselves, in idea, with a series of peaceful years under his sway; and the justice, prudence, and sagacity, which he had manifested in his civil administration, gave them hopes that this season of peace would be accompanied with prosperity and happiness. But the event did not realise these pleasing expectations; for an extraordinary incident occurred, which deprived them of their king after a very short reign, while he was yet in the flower of his age. He was celebrating the festival of St. Augustine in his villa at Pucklechurch, in the county of Gloucester, in 948, with a party of his nobles, when one Leolf, who had formerly been banished for his robberies, entered the hall, and took his seat among the guests, most of whom were inflamed with liquor. Edmund recognised this delinquent, and was so enraged at the audacious intrusion of the wretch who had forfeited the protection of the laws, that he sprung from his seat, seized the ruffian by the hair, and laid him prostrate. Leolf having entangled himself with the king so as to occasion his falling over him, hastily drew a dagger, and pierced the royal bosom with the utmost force. Edmund immediately expired, in the eighth year of his reign, and was buried at Glastonbury; while his retinue, roused from their inattention by this sudden catastrophe, hewed Leolf in pieces, but not before he had wounded several of the assailants.

This prince promulgated some beneficial laws, among which were the following, viz. 1. That the oldest member of a gang of thieves should not be redeemed from death, as before, by paying his wiregild, or the price at which the law valued his life, but should be punished with hanging. 2. That a murderer should be the sole object of the enmity and resentment of the kindred of the murdered person; and that any one who should take revenge, for a murder, on the relatives of the assassin, by prosecution or other mode, should forfeit all his property. The latter statute was designed to prevent those lasting feuds which had so often embroiled the whole kindred of a murderer with the family and connexions of the person whom he had slain.

EDRED.

AS Edwy and Edgar, the sons of Edmund, were still in their infancy, their father's age not having exceeded twenty-five years at his death, his brother Edred, the only surviving son of Edward the Elder, ascended the throne, in 948, with the approbation of the wittena-gemote. In the first year of his reign, he led an army into the Northumbrian province, where the Danes, on the death of Edmund, had testified a desire of independence. The terror of the English arms extorted from them the most plausible declarations of submission; and all their nobles swore allegiance to Edred, by the medium of Turketul, his kinsman and secretary, the person who had so greatly contributed to the signal victory at Brunanburgh, and who afterwards was abbot of the monastery of Croyland. At the same time Malcolm king of Scotland did homage for the Cambrian principality to the new king of England.

The Northumbrians, averse to the English yoke, conferred the royal title on one Eric, against whom Edred marched with a full determination of severely punishing those restless barbarians. In 952 he carried slaughter and devastation into the heart of their province; but he does not appear to have taken measures for the dethroning of the Danish king, whom he perhaps suffered to reign as his vassal. As he was returning into Wessex, his rear was attacked

(*d*) William of Malmesbury relates on this occasion, a remarkable anecdote. Before the battle, Anlaf, in the disguise of an itinerant musician, reconnoitred the English camp, and procured an introduction into the royal tent. His performance before the king gained him a pecuniary reward; but his unseasonable pride produced a discovery of his person. As he was putting into the ground the money he had received, (for, as a prince, he disdained to keep what he had earned as a minstrel,) he aroused the suspicions of one of Athelstan's soldiers, who had once served under Anlaf himself, and who now recognised his former master. The honour of the soldier would not suffer him to betray one to whom he had sworn allegiance. He therefore did not communicate his observations to Athelstan till the pretended minstrel had accomplished a safe retreat. He then advised the king to remove his tent, as it was dangerous to continue a station against which Anlaf would doubtless direct his principal attack. Athelstan complying with this counsel, the spot which he left was soon occupied by a bishop, who brought a reinforcement to the army. The ensuing night, Anlaf penetrated into the English camp with a chosen body, and reaching the part where he had seen the king, slew the unfortunate prelate, and all his followers. This attack brought on a general action at day-break, the scene of which was Brunanburgh, a place supposed to have been in the county of Northumberland.

by a body of Danes, who suddenly rushed from York, and cut off many of his troops. Edred was so enraged at this unexpected assault, that he prepared for the most exemplary vengeance on the whole province; but his anger was appeased by an embassy of Northumbrian nobles, who made him valuable pecuniary presents, renewed their promises of subjection, and consented to expel Eric from their throne, and to receive an English governor. Their submissions being accepted by Edred, he placed English garrisons in their chief towns, and appointed Osulf to the government of their territory, under the title of earl of Northumberland.

From this time Edred sunk into a superstitious indolence, which was increased by his infirm state of health. Dunstan, abbot of Glastonbury, who had been in high favour with the late king, took advantage of the bigotry of his present sovereign to insinuate himself into such a degree of power, that he acted as the minister of Edred both in spiritual and temporal government. Fortified with this influence over the king, he, under the pretence of rigid piety, endeavoured, with some success, to introduce into the church of England the practice of strict celibacy, which the Roman pontiffs had for a long time been extremely eager to establish throughout the Christian church, with a view of augmenting their own power, as heads of the hierarchy, by detaching the clergy from secular interests, and rendering them more independent of the civil magistrates. The attempts of Dunstan and other ecclesiastics towards the accomplishment of this point, occasioned violent disturbances in the kingdom. He commenced his grand scheme with the expulsion of the married clergy from his own abbey of Glastonbury; for the monasteries had hitherto been the promiscuous receptacles both of single and married devotees. He took all opportunities of inveighing against the libertinism of those churchmen who indulged themselves in the luxury of the nuptial bed, representing all amorous intercourse as a degradation of that dignity of manners, and that purity of life, which ought to be conspicuous in the conduct of such as had destined themselves to the ministry of the gospel, and the exclusive practice of religious duties. The absurdity of this doctrine, and its repugnance to one of the strongest passions of our nature, did not prevent it from operating with considerable influence on the bigotry and enthusiasm so prevalent among the clergy of those times.

While Dunstan was thus employed, Edred fell a victim to a disorder which had reduced him to a state of langour and emaciation, November 23, 955, in the tenth year of his reign, and was buried at Winchester. He was a prince of courage and capacity; but his general merit was tarnished by that superstition which the monastic writers considered as his best quality. Though he left two sons, Bertfrid and Elfred, his nephew Edwy ascended the throne without opposition.

EDWY.

THIS prince's reign was short, turbulent, and unhappy; about the time of his accession, in 955, he espoused Ethelgiva, notwithstanding the dissuasions of his ecclesiastical counsellors, who reprobated the match as unlawful, the consanguinity between the parties being such as to authorize a prohibition by the canon law. This step excited the displeasure of the more rigid monks, who warmly exclaimed against their sovereign's impiety. Edwy had too much sensibility not to resent the seditious clamours of the monkish fraternities, and too much penetration not to discern the hypocrisy of their character. It was not therefore to be expected, that he would countenance the hostilities which they had now declared against the married clergy, whom they strove to eject from all the monastic foundations, as having devoted themselves, by matrimony to a secular life.

The king's resentment against the monks was highly inflamed by an insult which he received from their two chief patrons on the day appropriated to his coronation. From the hall in which his nobles were feasting, he retired into his wife's apartment, where, in company with her mother, he enjoyed the attractions of female conversation. Dunstan affected to be shocked at the lascivious disposition of his royal master, and resolved to intrude on his privacy. Attended by Odo, archbishop of Canterbury, he boldly entered the room to which the king had withdrawn, reproved the effeminacy of Edwy and the wantonness of Ethelgiva, forced him from her arms, and triumphantly brought him back into the hall as a culprit.

Edwy, for the present, patiently endured this gross affront, though he was eager to revenge his insulted dignity on the arrogant Dunstan and his monkish partizans. As the haughty abbot had been entrusted by Edred with the management of the treasury, and was supposed to have misused great portions of the public money, Edwy ordered him to give an account of the sums which had passed through his hands. Dunstan replied, that whatever he had expended, as treasurer, had been paid by order of his late sovereign; and that, therefore, no inquiry ought to be instituted on the subject. The king, unwilling to admit this apology, accused the abbot of mal-administration, and commanded him to quit the kingdom, in 956 (*e*).

In the absence of Dunstan, archbishop Odo was the grand patron of rebellion: he sent a party of soldiers into the royal palace, who seized the queen, and conducted her to him; when that abandoned prelate, having previously burned her face with an iron which he had heated for the purpose, that he might destroy that fatal beauty to which he attributed the seduction of Edwy, conveyed her by force into Ireland, where he left her with peremptory orders never to return. His vengeance not being satiated by this act of savage barbarity, he pronounced a formal divorce between Edwy and his unfortunate consort, who was not yet exempted from the fatal effects of ecclesiastical rancour, being doomed to experience a catastrophe which, so long as the page of history shall be read, will not only excite the most indignant horror against the immediate perpetrator, but reflect eternal infamy on the age in which it could be suffered to pass with impunity.

In the mean time, the monks were straining every nerve to disseminate through the kingdom a spirit of disaffection and revolt; and their efforts were attended with success in the provinces of Mercia and Northumberland. The insurgents prevailed on Edgar, the king's brother, a youth of thirteen years of age, to put himself at their head. The Mercians were so eager to shake off their allegiance to Edwy, that their states were assembled, and Edgar was solemnly acknowledged as their king. Edwy was unable to resist the torrent of misfortune which now rushed upon him; for, though the West-Saxons still adhered to him, he was too weak to make head against the revolters, who at length, in 957, gained over to the side of Edgar the inhabitants of all England to the northward of the Thames.

Soon after this revolution, Dunstan re-appeared in his native country, having been recalled from his exile by Edgar, who found it expedient to comply with the prejudices of the monks, as he was indebted to their powerful support for his sudden elevation from the rank of a subject to that of a sovereign. He rewarded the sufferings of this pious abbot with the bishopric of Winchester, and admitted him to a great store of his confidence.

Edwy could not reflect on the triumph of monkish revenge without feeling the most sensible mortification. He was himself deprived of the major part of his dominions, when he had committed no crime that merited such treatment from his subjects. He had been compelled to separate from the object of his warmest affection, for a trivial irregularity in his marriage with her; and his sorrows were augmented by the unjustifiable cruelties exercised on this unhappy princess after her return from banishment.

The wounds inflicted on that amiable princess, with the malicious intent of defacing her beauty, being perfectly cured, and their expected effect defeated by a total obliteration of the scars, she resolved to return to England; and was flying on the wings of affection to the embraces of Edwy, whom she still regarded as her lawful husband, when a band of ruffians, employed by Odo to observe her motions, intercepted her flight, and seized her at Gloucester. The imperious primate determined to punish this instance of disobedience to his will with a severity adapted to his mind: and, though death in its common garb would have appeared sufficiently terrible to satiate the vengeance of a less dignified persecutor, the rancour of Odo, the mighty patron of monastic bigotry, the bosom-friend of Dunstan, required him to be clothed in additional horrors. In com-

(*e*) Every reader who is acquainted with the principal features which marked the character of the monks, will readily conclude, that their whole order poured forth the most virulent invectives against the tyranny and injustice of Edwy, in banishing their great friend and most active supporter. How great then must have been their clamours, when the king restored the married ecclesiastics to the convents from which they had been expelled by the arts of Dunstan, and ejected those monks which had been lately substituted in their place!

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pliance with his commands, the villains, proceeded, with relentless inhumanity, to ham-string her; and her lovely body, whose charms would have roused the embers of pity in the most frigid breast, and enforced compassion from the most obdurate, was barbarously mangled, and left to writhe in excruciating torments for the space of three days before the unhappy victim expired, in 958 (*f*).

A continued reflection on the injuries which he had sustained as a king and as a lover, and on the success of fanatical hypocrisy over the common sense of his people, had such an effect on the frame of Edwy, that he did not survive the mutilation of his territories above two years. He died of a broken heart, October 1, 959, before he had attained the age of twenty-one years, and was buried at Winchester, after a reign of four years and some months, leaving the undivided sovereignty of England in the hands of Edgar.

The character of Edwy has been roughly handled by the monkish historians, who could distinguish no merit or virtues in any sovereign that had the spirit to resist the insolence and the encroachments of their order. A secular priest, however, has ventured to bestow the tribute of praise on his memory, by remarking, that he governed his dominions in a laudable manner; that the kingdom flourished under his sway; but that his prosperous beginning was interrupted by an immature death.

EDGAR.

EDGAR succeeded his brother Edwy in 959, at the age of sixteen. The turbulence of the last reign was followed by a long season of tranquillity, which was derived from the following causes. The monks, who had embroiled the administration of Edwy by their malicious calumnies and treasonable arts, found so steady a patron in his politic brother, that they had no inducement to disturb the peace of the community. But the principal cause of the calm which pervaded Edgar's reign, was his own undeviating attention to every circumstance that could secure to his subjects the blessings of peace; a conduct by which he obtained the epithet of the Pacific. He was convinced that the most effectual means of preventing either domestic insurrections or foreign invasions, would be, to keep not only the internal, but also the maritime parts of his kingdom, in a posture of defence. With this view, he quartered a strong body of well-disciplined troops in those parts of his dominions where he had most reason to apprehend occasional commotions. He established a greater navy than any English monarch that preceded him, which he divided into three squadrons, one stationed on the eastern coasts, another on the western, and a third on the northern (*g*). These squadrons were accustomed to sail every summer along the coasts and in the narrow seas, each meeting the other, and then returning to its former station; by which means the English commerce met with constant protection, and pirates or invaders were deprived of all opportunities of a descent.

Besides this attention to the defence of the country, Edgar took the most prudent precaution for the impartial administration of justice throughout his territories. He made an annual visitation of the different provinces, that he might inquire into the conduct of the magistrates, punish such as had given corrupt decisions, and redress the grievances which the poor might have suffered from the oppression of the opulent. He also enacted a law, imposing a considerable mulct on any magistrate who should pronounce an unjust or illegal sentence, unless it appeared to have arisen from a defect of judicial knowledge; and, if such want of skill or judgement should be clearly evident, the same law ordained, that he should be dismissed from his office (*h*).

In the affairs of the church Edgar was principally directed by the counsels of Dunstan, now archbishop of Canterbury, who, in conjunction with two other zealous advocates of the monks, Ethelwald and Oswald, bishops of Winchester and Worcester, carried into general effect the plan which the pope had so much at heart, for purging the monasteries and cathedrals of all ecclesiastics who refused to adopt a life of celibacy, and take the rigid vows of the Benedictine order, Edgar entered with affected zeal into the views of this triumvirate; and, in a general council, held in 960, of the prelates, and the heads of the religious orders. He inveighed against the dissolute lives of the secular clergy; the smallness of their tonsure, which it is probable, maintained no longer any resemblance to the crown of thorns; their negligence in attending the exercise of their functions; their mixing with the laity in the pleasures of gaming, hunting, dancing, and singing; and their openly living with concubines, by which it is commonly supposed he meant their wives. He then turned himself to Dunstan the primate; and, in the name of Edred, whom he supposed to look down from heaven with indignation against all those enormities, addressed him to the following purport: "It was by your advice, O Dunstan, that I founded monasteries, built churches, and expended my treasure in the support of religion and religious houses. You were my counsellor and my assistant in all my schemes; you were the director of my conscience: to you I was obedient in all things. When did you call for supplies which I refused you? Was my assistance ever wanting to the poor? Did I deny support and establishments to the clergy and convents? Did I not hearken to your instructions, who told me that these charities were, of all others, the more grateful to my Maker, and fixed a perpetual fund for the support of religion? And are all our pious endeavours now frustrated by the dissolute lives of the priests? Not that I throw any blame on you: you have reasoned, besought, inculcated, inveighed: but it now behoves you to use sharper and more vigorous remedies; and conjoining your spiritual authority with the civil power, to purge effectually the temple of God from thieves and intruders." It is easy to imagine, that this harangue had the desired effect; and that, when the king and prelates thus concurred with the popular prejudices, it was not long before the monks prevailed, and established their new discipline in almost all the convents.

While Dunstan and his two associates were actively engaged, in 970, in what they regarded as the reformation of the monasteries, their royal patron was promoting the arts of peace, and extending his authority, without the effusion of blood, over the other princes of the island. He is said to have received the submissions of the king of Scotland, the prince of Cumberland, the king of Man and the Isles, and all the princes of Wales; and to this pompous list several of the Hibernian chieftains are added by some historians. Though we ought to admit, with some reserve, the affirmations of Edgar's panegyrists, who, from a reverential gratitude to the memory of such a munificent benefactor of the monks, might be disposed to emblazon and exaggerate his regal superiority, there is reason to doubt that the vigour of his preparations, and the fame of his power and policy, might enable him to assert his empire over the various princes of Britain, as they were respectively so much inferior to him in extent of territory and strength of dominion. In 973, eight of his princely vassals are reported to have attended him at Chester, and to have rowed his barge on the river Dee, while he sat at the helm (*i*). This has been considered as a frolic; but Edgar might wish

(*f*) Thus miserably perished the wretched Ethelgiva, over whose fate the most rigid virtue may shed the tear of regret without fear of degredation, as her errors, if such they can be called, sprang from the most natural, if not the most noble, of all human passions; while her virtues were of ample magnitude to claim respect and command esteem. The detested assassin calls for an equal tribute of justice with the unhappy victim of his superstitious cruelty; but our language cannot afford an epithet sufficiently expressive of abhorrence to convey those sentiments which the conduct of Odo must naturally inspire.

(*g*) Most of our ancient historians have magnified the number of Edgar's ships to an amount that is far from being credible. Brompton makes his naval armament consist of four thousand vessels; Hoveden, Simeon of Durham, and the Mailros Chronicle, compute it at three thousand six hundred; others at three thousand. These accounts are so repugnant to probability, after admitting, in the fullest extent, the flourishing state of the navy at the death of Alfred, and the progressive improvement of it, that we must consider them as a link of that chain of exaggeration which appears in the monkish histories, or rather panegyrics of Edgar's reign. On the other hand, Thorne represents this monarch's fleet as comprehending no more than three hundred ships; a calculation which is perhaps, below the truth. The Saxon Chronicle mentions a fleet equipped by Ethelred II. in the year 1008, to have been greater than any which has ever appeared in the reign of any former king of England; and, as this fleet did not amount to one thousand vessels, we may conclude that Edgar's navy, however blazoned by encomiastic amplification, was inferior in number even to the fourth part of Brompton's calculation.

(*h*) The good effects of this regulation were speedily felt; and that exemplary distribution of justice which Alfred the Great had established; but which had been in some measure interrupted by the subsequent commotions of the realm, was now restored by the patriotic policy of Edgar.

(*i*) These princes are supposed to have contributed to the expence of Edgar's navy, on the consideration of his protecting their territories from invasion.

to implicate an idea of his sovereignty over these princes, with the prosecution even of a casual amusement.

The reign of this prince was not protracted to so long a period as might have been expected from the early age at which he mounted the throne. He died July 18, 975, in the thirty-second year of his age, and the sixteenth of his reign; leaving two sons, Edward and Ethelred, and a daughter named Editha; and was buried in Glastonbury church. His character is the theme of extravagant praise with all our ancient historians, one of whom styles him the honour and delight of the English nation, while another calls him a second Solomon, and a third makes no scruple to assert, that he was to the English what Romulus was to the Romans, Cyrus to the Persians, Alexander to the Macedonians, Arsaces to the Parthians, and Charlemagne to the French. They have not only represented him as an admirable politician, but as a very virtuous and religious prince. Such was the strained encomiums of those who received advantages from his villainy: but after-ages, less prepossessed in his favour, have ranked him among more suitable company in a much lower class. Very judicious historians have taken him from the list of saints, whither the monks, his flatterers, had placed him, and have not hesitated to reckon him among the number of the vilest of princes. Thus Burnet, an author of good repute and credit, in his Preface to his History of the Reformation, places him in the same class with Bruinchild and Irene. It is indeed somewhat extraordinary, that one should have been extolled for his virtues by the monks, whose irregularities were so peculiarly opposite to the tenets they enforced. His first transgression of this kind was, the breaking into a convent, carrying off Editha, a nun, by force, and even committing violence on her person. For this act of sacrilege and barbarity, no other penance was enjoined than that he should abstain from wearing his crown for seven years. As for the lady herself, he was permitted to continue his intercourse with her without scandal. There was another mistress of Edgar's, named Elfleda the Fair, with whom he formed a connection, by a kind of accident. For being at the house of one of his nobles, and fixing his affections on the nobleman's daughter, he privately requested that the young lady should pass that very night with him. The lady's mother knowing his power, and the impetuosity of his temper, prevailed upon her daughter seemingly to comply with his request; but, in the mean time substituted a beautiful domestic in the young lady's place. In the morning, when the king perceived the deceit, instead of being displeased at the stratagem, he expressed pleasure in the adventure; and transferring his love to Elfleda, as the damsel was called, she became his favourite mistress, and maintained an ascendancy over him till his marriage with Elfrida. The story of this lady is too remarkable to be passed over in silence.

Edgar had long heard of the beauty of a young lady, whose name was Elfrida, daughter of Olgar, earl of Devonshire; but unwilling to credit common fame in this particular, he sent Ethelwald, his favourite friend to see, and inform him, if Elfrida was indeed that incomparable woman report had described her. Ethelwald arriving at the earl's, had no sooner cast his eyes upon that nobleman's daughter than he became desperately enamoured of her himself. Such was the violence of his passion, that, forgetting his master's instructions, he solicited only his own interests, and demanded for himself the beautiful Elfrida from her father in marriage. The favourite of a king was not likely to find a refusal; the earl gave his consent, and their nuptials were performed in private. Upon his return to court, which was shortly after, he assured the king, that her riches alone, and her high quality, had been the cause of her admiration, and he appeared amazed how the world could talk so much, and so unjustly of her charms. The king was satisfied, and no longer felt any curiosity, while Ethelwald secretly triumphed in his address. When he had, by this deceit, weaned the king from his purpose, he took an opportunity, after some time, of turning the conversation on Elfrida, representing, that though the fortune of the earl of Devonshire's daughter would be a trifle to a king, yet it would be an immense acquisition to a needy subject. He therefore, humbly entreated permission to pay his addresses to her, as she was the richest heiress in the kingdom. A request so seemingly reasonable, was readily complied with; Ethelwald returned to his wife, and their nuptials was solemnized in public. His greatest care, however, was employed in keeping her from court; and he took every precaution, to prevent her appearing before a king so susceptible of love, while she was so capable of aspiring that passion. But it was impossible to keep his treachery long concealed. Favourites are never without private enemies, who watch every opportunity of rising upon their ruin. Edgar was soon informed of the whole transaction; but dissembling his resentment, he took occasion to visit that part of the country, where this miracle of beauty was detained, accompanied by Ethelwald, who reluctantly attended him thither. Upon coming near the lady's habitation, he told him that he had a curiosity to see his wife, of whom he had formerly heard so much, and desired to be introduced as his acquaintance. Ethelwald, thunder-struck at the proposal, did all in his power, but in vain, to dissuade him. All he could obtain was permission to go before, on pretence of preparing for the king's reception. On his arrival, he fell at his wife's feet, confessed what he had done to be possessed of her charms, and conjuring her to conceal, as much as possible, her beauty from the king, who was but too susceptible of its power. Elfrida, little obliged to him for a passion that had deprived her of a crown, promised compliance; but, prompted either by vanity, or revenge, adorned her person with the most exquisite art, and called up all her beauty on the occasion. The event answered her expectations; the king no sooner saw, than he loved her. The better to effect his intentions, he concealed his passion from the husband, and took leave with a seeming indifference; but his revenge was not the less certain and fatal. Ethelwald was some time after sent into Northumberland, upon pretence of urgent affairs; but the unfortunate earl never performed his journey; for he was found murdered in a wood (*k*) by the way. Some say, he was stabbed by the king's own hand; others, that he only commanded the assassination; however this be, Elfrida was invited soon after to court, by the king's own order, and their nuptials were performed with the usual solemnity. Thus the murder of Ethelwald seemed, in some measure, to be accounted for.

That Edgar was not without a tincture of cruelty, is further evident from his having ordered the Isle of Thanet to be pillaged and laid waste, because some of the inhabitants had plundered several merchants of York who had touched on the coast; or, as others relate, because his royal rights had been invaded, and his institutions disregarded, by a part of the islanders. In the gratification of his sensual appetites, this boasted saint was irregular and vicious; for he made no scruple of debauching the wives and daughters of his subjects, whenever the impulse of beauty inspired him with libidinous ideas.

This monarch, from motives of policy, encouraged the resort of foreigners to his court; many of whom were induced, by his countenance and persuasion, to fix their residence in England, where they doubtless contributed to the improvements of the arts, and at the same time, in the opinion of some of the early writers, corrupted the manners of the natives; yet historians of a more philosophic turn have concluded that these continental strangers softened the ferocity, and polished the rudeness, of the Anglo-Saxon character; for, though, by the sedulous labours of Alfred, a superior state of civilization had taken place, the effect of his endeavours had not been so permanent as to prevent a relapse (*l*).

(*k*) Harewood Forest.

(*l*) In Edgar's reign, the country was so infested with wolves, that a remedy for this evil became an object worthy of the royal consideration. He not only converted the legal punishment of particular offences into an obligation upon the criminal to produce, by a limited time, a certain number of wolves' tongues; but, as great numbers of these voracious animals poured into England from the mountainous parts of Wales, he commuted the tribute of money and cattle, which Athelstan had imposed on the Welsh, into an annual delivery of three hundred wolves' heads. By these means, as well as by the frequent hunting of the wolf in

CHAP. III.

From the Death of EDGAR *till the Norman Conquest; comprizing the Reigns of* EDWARD THE MARTYR, ETHELRED II. EDMUND IRONSIDE, CANUTE, HAROLD HAREFOOT, HARDICANUTE, EDWARD THE CONFESSOR, *and* HAROLD II.

EDWARD THE MARTYR.

THE accession of this prince met with considerable opposition from the intrigues of his step-mother Elfrida, who wished to raise her own son Ethelred to the throne, though





THE TREACHERY OF ELFRIDA.

Drawn by Stothard. Published July 7th 1810 by J. Stockdale 41 Piccadilly. Engraved by A. Smith.

though he was then only seven years of age. The pretensions of this ambitious woman were founded on the supposed illegitimacy of Edward's birth, arising from some circumstances which she insisted were sufficient to invalidate the marriage of Edgar with his mother. Notwithstanding the fallacy of her claims, that influence which she had possessed at court, during the life of her husband had gained her many friends, who were now ready to stand forth in their support. But the title of Edward was supported by many advantages. He was appointed successor by the will of his father: he was approaching to man's estate, and might soon be able to take into his own hands the reins of government: the principal nobility, dreading the imperious temper of Elfrida, were averse to her son's government, which must enlarge her authority, and probably put her in possession of the regency: above all, Dunstan whose character for sanctity had given him great credit with the people, had espoused the cause of Edward, over whom he had already acquired great ascendancy; and he was determined to execute the will of Edgar in his favour. To cut off all opposite pretensions, Dunstan anointed and crowned the young prince at Kingston, in 975; and the whole kingdom, without farther dispute, submitted to his authority.

It was of great importance to Dunstan and the monks, to place on the throne a king favourable to their cause: the secular clergy had still partizans in England, who wished to support them in the possession of the convents, and of the ecclesiastical authority. On the first intelligence of Edgar's death, Alfere, duke of Mercia, expelled the new orders of monks from all the monasteries which lay within his jurisdiction; but Elfwin, duke of East-Anglia, and Brithnoth, duke of the East-Saxons, protected them within their territories, and insisted upon the execution of the late laws enacted in their favour. In order to settle this controversy, several synods were summoned which, according to the practice of those times, consisted partly of ecclesiastical members, partly of the lay nobility. The monks were able to prevail in these assemblies; though, as it appears, contrary to the secret wishes, if not the declared inclination, of the leading men in the nation: they had more invention in forging miracles to support their cause; or having been so fortunate as to obtain, by their pretended austerities, the character of piety, their miracles were more credited by the populace.

In one synod, Dunstan, finding the majority of votes against him, rose up, and informed the audience, that he had that instant received an immediate revelation in behalf of the monks: the assembly was so astonished at this intelligence, or probably so overawed by the populace, that they proceeded no farther in their deliberations. In another synod, held in the old monastery at Winchester in 977, a voice issued from the crucifix, and informed the members, that the establishment of the monks was founded on the will of heaven, and could not be opposed without impiety. But the miracle performed in the third synod, which was held at Calne in Wiltshire, in 978, was still more alarming: the floor of the hall in which the assembly met sunk of a sudden, and a great number of the members were either bruised or killed by the fall. It was remarked, that Dunstan had that day prevented the king from attending the synod, and that the beam, on which his own chair stood, was the only one that did not sink under the weight of the assembly: but these circumstances, instead of begetting any suspicion of artifice, were regarded as the surest proof of the immediate interposition of Providence, in behalf of those favourites of Heaven.

Edward lived four years after his accession, and there passed nothing memorable during his reign. His death alone was memorable and tragical. This young prince was endowed with the most amiable innocence of manners; and as his own intentions were always pure, he was incapable of entertaining any suspicion against others. Though his step-mother had opposed his succession, and had raised a party in favour of her own son, he always shewed her marks of regard, and even expressed, on all occasions, the most tender affection towards his brother. He was hunting one day in Dorsetshire; and being led by the chase near Corfe Castle, where Elfrida resided, he took the opportunity of paying her a visit, unattended by any of his retinue, and he thereby presented her with the opportunity which she had long wished for. Not chusing to dismount, he desired some liquor to be brought him: while holding the cup in his hand, a servant of Elfrida approached him, and stabbed him in the back (*m*). The prince, finding himself wounded, put spurs to his horse; but becoming faint by loss of blood, he fell from the saddle, his foot stuck in the stirrup, and he was dragged along by his unruly horse till he expired. Being traced by the blood, his body was found, and was privately interred at Wareham by his servants; from whence it was removed to the monastery of Shaftesbury; where, according to the superstition of the times, it wrought innumerable miracles (*n*).

The regard which this prince testified for the monks, the general innocence and piety of his life, and the complacency of his manners, joined to his tragical death, in the flower of his youth, procured him the epithet of Saint and Martyr.

ETHELRED II.

DUNSTAN, averse to the succession of Ethelred, endeavoured to prevail on Editha, the natural daughter of Edgar, to assume the crown, which, he affirmed, the influence of himself and his friends would enable her to wear in safety. But this offer being declined, he consented to crown Ethelred in 979, though he performed the office with a very ill grace; for, during the ceremony, he pretended to prophecy a long series of calamities that would befall the new king and his people, by way of judgement from Heaven for the murder of the late monarch.

The freedom which England had so long enjoyed from the depredations of the Danes, seems to have proceeded, partly from the establishments which that piratical nation had obtained in the north of France, and which employed all their superfluous hands to people and maintain them; partly from the vigour and warlike spirit of a long race of English princes, who preserved the kingdom in a posture of defence by sea and land, and either prevented or repelled every attempt of the invaders. But a new generation of men being now sprung up in the northern regions, who could no longer disburthen themselves on Normandy; the English had reason to dread that the Danes would again visit an island to which they were invited, both by the memory of their past successes, and by the expectation of assistance from their countrymen, who, though long established in the kingdom, were not yet thoroughly incorporated with the natives, nor had entirely forgotten their inveterate habits of war and depredation. And as the reigning prince was a minor, and even when he attained to man's estate, never discovered either courage or capacity sufficient to govern his own subjects, much less to repel a formidable enemy, the people might justly apprehend the worst calamities from so dangerous a crisis.

The Danes, before they durst attempt any important enterprize against England, made an inconsiderable descent by way of trial; and having landed from seven vessels near Southampton, in 981, they ravaged the country, enriched themselves by spoil, and departed with impunity. In 982, they made a like attempt in Cornwall and Devonshire, and met with the like success. The invaders, having now found affairs in a very different situation from that in which they formerly appeared, encouraged their countrymen to assemble a greater force, and to hope for more considerable advantages. They landed in Essex, in 991, under the command of two leaders, Justin and Guthmund; and having defeated and slain at Maldon, Brithnoth, duke of that country, who ventured, with a small body, to attack them, they spread their devastations over all the neighbouring provinces. In this extremity, Ethelred, to whom historians give the epithet of the *Unready*, instead of

in the way of diversion, an extraordinary diminution of this pest was effected in a few years; but Mr. Hume committed an error in saying, that from the time of Edgar, "the animal has been no more seen in this island:" an assertion which is ill-founded, when confined to England: for it appears that wolves began to multiply, in the reign of Edward I. who issued a mandate to one Peter Corbet to take the most efficacious measures for their extirpation from Gloucestershire and some of the neighbouring counties. After that monarch's reign, it does not appear that any more wolves were seen in England or Wales; but they were not exterminated from North-Britain till the seventeenth century.

(*m*) This assassination happened in 979.

(*n*) Elfrida, to extirpate her guilt, had recourse to the usual mode of erecting monasteries. She built one at Ambresbury, in Wiltshire, and another at Worwell, in Northamptonshire: but, finding the good opinion of the public, who were in general too easily duped by the delusion of hypocrisy, irretrievably lost, she submitted to the penance of greater severity, by retiring to the last of these convents, where she passed the remainder of her life in solitary confinement.

rousing his people to defend with courage their honour and their property, hearkened to the advice of Siric, archbishop of Canterbury, which was seconded by many of the degenerate nobility; and paying the enemy the sum of ten thousand pounds, he bribed them to depart the kingdom (*o*). This shameful expedient was attended with the success which might be expected. The Danes next year appeared off the eastern coast, in hopes of subduing a people who defended themselves by their money, which invited assailants, instead of their arms, which might repel them. But the English, sensible of their folly, had, in the interval, assembled in a great council, and had determined to collect at London a fleet able to give battle to the enemy; though that judicious measure failed of success, from the treachery of Alfric duke of Mercia, whose name is infamous in the annals of that age, by the calamities which his repeated perfidy brought upon his country. This nobleman had, in 983, succeeded to his father, Alfere, in that extensive command; but being deprived of it two years after, and banished the kingdom, he was obliged to employ all his intrigue, and all his power, which was too great for a subject, to be restored to his country, and re-instated in his authority. Having had experience of the credit and malevolence of his enemies, he thenceforth trusted for security, not to his services, or to the affections of his fellow-citizens, but to the influence which he had obtained over his vassals, and to the public calamities, which he thought must, in every revolution, render his assistance necessary. Having fixed this resolution, he determined to prevent all such successes as might establish the royal authority, or render his own situation dependent or precarious. As the English had formed the plan of surrounding and destroying the Danish fleet in harbour, he privately informed the enemy of their danger; and when they put to sea, in consequence of this intelligence, he deserted to them, with the squadron under his command, the night before the engagement, and thereby, disappointed all the efforts of his countrymen. Ethelred, enraged at his perfidy, seized his son Alfgar, and ordered his eyes to be put out. But such was the power of Alfric, that he again forced himself into authority; and though he had given this specimen of his character, and received this grievous provocation, it was found necessary to entrust him anew with the government of Mercia. This conduct of the court, which in all its circumstances is so barbarous, weak, and imprudent, both merited and prognosticated the most grievous calamities.

The northern invaders, now well acquainted with the defenceless condition of England, made a powerful descent in 993, under the command of Sweyn king of Denmark, and Olave king of Norway: they landed at Bamborough in Northumberland, and carried off copious spoils to their vessels; then coasting along, they sailed up the Humber, and spread on all sides their destructive ravages. Many of the Northumbrian Danes joined the confederate kings, against whom an army was at length sent by Ethelred, under the command of three nobles of Danish extraction. When the two armies were on the point of engaging, the three generals of the English forces, unwilling to fight against their northern brethren, fled from the field, and their troops thus deserted, preferred an unmanly flight to the glory of a spirited resistance.

Encouraged by this success, and still more by the contempt which it inspired for their enemy, the piratical Danes ventured to attack the centre of the kingdom; and entering the Thames in ninety-four vessels, laid siege to London in 994, and threatened it with total destruction. But the citizens, alarmed at the danger, and firmly united among themselves, made a bolder defence than the cowardice of the nobility and gentry gave the invaders reason to apprehend; and the besiegers, after suffering the greatest hardships, were finally frustrated in their attempt. In order to revenge themselves, they laid waste Essex, Sussex, and Hampshire; and having there procured horses, they were thereby enabled to spread, through the more inland counties, the fury of their depredations. In this extremity, Ethelred and his nobles had recourse to the former expedient; and sending ambassadors to the two northern kings, they promised them subsistence and tribute, on condition they would, for the present, put an end to their ravages, and soon after depart the kingdom. Sweyn and Olaus agreed to the terms, and peaceably took up their quarters at Southampton, where the sum of sixteen thousand pounds was paid to them. Olaus even made a journey to Andover, where Ethelred resided; and he received the rite of confirmation from the English bishops, as well as many rich presents from the king. He here promised that he would never more infest the English territories; and he faithfully fulfilled the engagement.

This composition brought only a short interval to the miseries of the English. The Danish pirates appeared, in 997, in the Severn; and having committed spoil in Wales, as well as in Cornwall and Devonshire, they sailed round to the south coast, and entering the Tamar, completed the devastation of these two counties. They then returned to the Bristol Channel; and penetrating into the country by the Avon, spread themselves over all that neighbourhood, and carried fire and sword even into Dorsetshire. They next changed the seat of war; and after ravaging the Isle of Wight, they entered the Thames and Medway, and laid siege to Rochester, where they defeated the Kentish men in a pitched battle, in 999. After this victory, the whole province of Kent was made a scene of slaughter, fire, and devastation. The extremity of these miseries forced the English into counsels for common defence both by sea and land; but the weakness of the king, the divisions among the nobility, the treachery of some, the cowardice of others, the want of concert in all, frustrated every endeavour: their fleets and armies either came too late to attack the enemy, or were repulsed with dishonour; and the people were thus equally ruined by resistance or by submission. The English, therefore, destitute both of prudence and unanimity in council, of courage and conduct in the field, had recourse to the same expedient which by experience they had already found so ineffectual: they offered the Danes to buy peace, by paying them a large sum of money. These ravagers rose continually in their demands; and now required the payment of twenty-four thousand pounds (*p*), to which the English were so mean and imprudent as to submit. The departure of the Danes procured them another short interval of repose, which they enjoyed as if it were to be perpetual, without making any effectual preparations for a more vigorous resistance upon the next return of the enemy.

Besides receiving this sum, the Danes were engaged by another motive to depart a kingdom which appeared so little in a situation to resist their efforts: in the year 1000 they were invited over by their countrymen in Normandy, who at that time were hard pressed by the arms of Robert king of France, and who found it difficult to defend the settlement which, with so much advantage to themselves and glory to their nation, they had made in that country. It is probable also, that Ethelred, observing the close connection thus maintained among all the Danes, however divided in government and situation, was desirous of forming an alliance with that formidable people: for this purpose, being now a widower, he made his addresses to Emma, sister to Richard II. duke of Normandy, and he soon succeeded in his negociation. The princess came over to England, and was married to Ethelred in 1001.

The Danes had been established during a longer period in England than in France; and though the similarity of their original language to that of the Saxons invited them to a more early coalition with the natives, they had hitherto found so little example of civilized manners among the English, that they retained all their ancient ferocity, and valued themselves only on their national character of military bravery. The recent as well as more ancient atchievements of their countrymen, tended to support this idea; and the English princes, particularly Athelstan and Edgar, sensible of that superiority, had been accustomed to keep in pay bodies of Danish troops, who were quartered about the country, and committed many violences upon

(*o*) A Saxon pound usually consisted of about forty-eight shillings, each of which comprehended five Saxon pence; and as a penny was then almost equal in weight to what a silver three-pence would now be, a pound, in those times, nearly amounted to three pounds of our present money; and, if we consider the amazing change produced in the value of money by the much greater plenty of it now in circulation, as well as by the difference between that and the current century in point of population and industry, ten thousand pounds in the reign of Ethelred, must have been at least equivalent to the present sum of three hundred thousand pounds.

(*p*) About seven hundred and twenty thousand pounds in present value. The occasion for which this money was raised procured it the appellation of Dane-geld; a name which was also given to the money raised for the equipment of fleets against Danish or other pirates. This gave rise to a regular land-tax levied at the rate of twelve pence on every hide of land.

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the inhabitants. These mercenaries had attained to such a height of luxury, according to the old English writers, that they combed their hair once a day, bathed themselves once a week, changed their clothes frequently; and by all these arts of effeminacy, as well as by their military character, had rendered themselves so agreeable to the fair sex, that they debauched the wives and daughters of the English, and dishonoured many families. But what most provoked the inhabitants was, that instead of defending them against invaders, they were ever ready to betray them to the foreign Danes, and to associate themselves with all straggling parties of that nation. The animosity between the inhabitants of English and Danish race had, from these repeated injuries, risen to a great height; when Ethelred, from a policy incident to weak princes, embraced the cruel resolution of massacring the latter, throughout all his dominions (*q*). Secret orders were dispatched to commence the execution every where on the same day; and the festival of St. Brice, which fell on a Sunday, (November 13, 1002,) the day on which the Danes usually bathed themselves, was chosen for that purpose. It is needless to repeat the accounts transmitted concerning the barbarity of this massacre: the rage of the populace, excited by so many injuries, sanctified by authority, and stimulated by example, distinguished not between innocence and guilt, spared neither sex nor age, and was not satiated without the torture as well as death of the unhappy victims. Even Gunilda, sister to Sweyn king of Denmark, who had married earl Paling, and had embraced Christianity, was, by the advice of Edric, earl of Wilts, seized and condemned to death by Ethelred, after seeing her husband and children butchered before her face. This unhappy princess foretold, in the agonies of despair, that her murder would soon be avenged by the total ruin of the English nation.

Never was prophecy better fulfilled: and never did barbarous policy prove more fatal to the authors. Sweyn and his Danes, who wanted but a pretence for invading the English, appeared off the western coast in 1003, and threatened to take full revenge for the slaughter of their countrymen. Exeter fell first into their hands, from the negligence or treachery of earl Hugh, a Norman, who had been made governor by the interest of queen Emma. They began to spread their devastations over the country; when the English, sensible what outrages they must now expect from their barbarous and offended enemy, assembled more early, and in greater numbers than usual, and made an appearance of vigorous resistance. But Ethelred, instead of heading his forces in person, gave the command of them to duke Alfric, whose treachery he had before experienced. The consequence of this injudicious choice was, that, when the two armies met, Alfric feigned a sudden indisposition; and the English were so dejected at the want of a commander, that they retired without encountering the enemy. Sweyn pursued them with little success as far as Wilton, which he plundered and burned. He then made himself master of Old Sarum, to which he set fire, and returned to his ships with considerable booty.

The next year, he changed the seat of war, and made his appearance in Norfolk, where he spread such an alarm by his devastations, that Ufketul, earl of East-Anglia, thought proper to purchase a peace by pecuniary contribution. Sweyn, however, did not long adhere to his stipulations; but, being still bent on revenge, suddenly assaulted Thetford, plundered it, and reduced it to ashes. Ufketul, perceiving that no confidence was to be placed in such perfidious tribes, resolved to make a vigorous opposition. He sent directions to the provincials to attack the Danish fleet in harbour; but want of courage, or perhaps treachery, prevented the execution of these orders. He posted himself and his forces between the Danes and their ships, with a view of intercepting their retreat; and, as soon as they approached him, he charged them with such impetuosity, that they were on the point of being vanquished; but the fortune of the day veering on their side, they effected their return to the fleet, after a desperate conflict.

A great famine, which, in 1005, oppressed the unfortunate English, procured them a remission of Danish irruptions, by inducing Sweyn to return to his native country. This respite, however, continued only for one year; at the expiration of which, in 1006, the horrors of desolation were renewed by a fresh and formidable shoal of adventurers from the Baltic.

Unspeakably wretched was the condition of the English for many successive years from this period. They were robbed and murdered with impunity; many of their principal towns were totally consumed by fire; no place, however sacred; no rank, however exalted; neither the tenderness of infancy, nor the imbecility of age; neither the engaging weakness of the female character, nor the beauty of person with which it is usually accompanied, could soften the destructive rage of the banditti who now assailed the country. Armies were levied, and fleets equipped (*r*), for the chastisement of the inhuman invaders; but such a want of union prevailed among the English, such a deficiency of judgement appeared in the conduct of their sovereign, and so enormous was the treachery of some of the nobles (particularly Edric Streon, successor of Alfric in the dukedom of Mercia, who had espoused the king's daughter Edgitha,) that every scheme calculated for the defence or deliverance of the kingdom was completely frustrated (*s*). Though an interval of rest was sometimes procured from the Danes by the payment of large sums (*t*), which could not be raised without the oppression of the public, respites thus purchased were rendered almost momentary by the rapacious and insatiate perfidy of the enemy. Without detailing the progress of these hostilities, we shall only observe, that, after the Danish ravages had been continued for several years in the absence of Sweyn, he himself returned to England with a strong fleet, in 1013, in firm hopes of subduing a nation already reduced to the brink of ruin. He landed at Sandwich; and, after a short stay in that neighbourhood, sailed to the northward. Entering the mouth of the Humber, he proceeded up the Trent to Gainsborough, where he fixed his station. The terror of his arms, and the attachment of the English Danes to a prince of their original country, produced the immediate submission of the Northumbrians and their governor Uthred: and the East-Angles were soon induced to imitate this example of defection. Having intrusted his fleet to the care of his son Canute, with whom he also left the hostages received from the different tribes which he had compelled the northern inhabitants to provide for his use. He then directed his course to the southward, with a numerous and well-appointed host; and so intimidated, by the barbarity of his ravages, such as were disposed to resist, that he obtained the homage of the people wherever he passed. Oxford, which had been almost ruined by the Danes about four years before, was speedily reduced to subjection; and when he had taken hostages for the fidelity of that town and county, he hastened through Berks into Hampshire, and took easy possession of Winchester. His next object was the metropolis of the kingdom, where the citizens, animated by the presence of Ethelred, exhibited such an intrepid spirit of resistance, that he raised the

(*q*) The universality of this massacre is spoken of by almost all the ancient historians: but when we consider that the Danes were almost the sole inhabitants of the kingdoms of Northumberland and East-Anglia, and very numerous in Mercia, this representation of the matter appears very doubtful. Great resistance must have been made, and violent wars ensued; which was not the case. Wallingford, who supports this latter opinion, must therefore be admitted as the only impartial historian in this circumstance. We are told, that the word *Lurdane, (Lord Dane,)* for an idle lazy fellow, who lives at other people's expence, came from the conduct of the Danes, who were put to death. But the English princes had been entirely masters for several generations; and only supported a military corps of that nation. It seems probable, therefore, says Hume, that it was these Danes only that were put to death.

(*r*) In the year 1008, Ethelred procured the enactment of a law, compelling the proprietors of three hundred and ten hides of land to provide one ship of war; a measure so judicious, as to form a contrast to most of the other transactions of his administration. In consequence of this statute, a fleet of near eight hundred sail was soon equipped; but it was rendered useless to the country, partly by the factious and disloyal spirit of the nobles. *Saxon Chronicle.* There were two hundred and forty-three thousand six hundred hides in England. Consequently the ships equipped must be seven hundred and eighty-five. The cavalry was thirty thousand four hundred and fifty men. *Hume.*

(*s*) Edric had impelled his brother Brithric to prefer an accusation of treason against Wolfnoth, governor of Sussex, the father of the famous earl Godwin; and that nobleman, well acquainted with the malevolence as well as power of his enemy, found no means of safety but in deserting with twenty ships to the Danes. Brightric pursued him with a fleet of eighty sail; but his ships being shattered in a tempest, and stranded on the coast, he was suddenly attacked by Wolfnoth, and all his vessels burnt and destroyed. The imbecility of the king was little capable of repairing this misfortune: the treachery of Edric frustrated every plan for future defence; and the English navy, disconcerted, discouraged, and divided, was at last scattered into its several harbours. *Hume.*

(*t*) Besides the three payments before mentioned, the English paid their invaders thirty thousand pounds in the year 1007, and forty-eight thousand pounds in 1012, which last sum would be equal to one million four hundred and forty thousand pounds of present money.

siege with some loss, and retired to Bath. Here he was gratified with the submissions of the principal nobility of Wessex, who found themselves unable, in the calamitous situation of the country, to make head against the fierce invader.

Ethelred now relinquished all hopes of maintaining himself on his throne. The greater part of his people had already submitted to the king of Denmark; and there were strong grounds of apprehension, that if he should continue in England he might fall into the hands of that royal barbarian, whom he had too deeply offended to expect from him any marks of kindness or clemency: He therefore left his capital; and, after continuing a short time at Greenwich with a Danish squadron of forty-five vessels, which had submitted to him in the preceding year, he sailed to the Isle of Wight, with an intention of taking refuge in Normandy, whither he had sent before him queen Emma, and her two sons Alfred and Edward. Richard received his unhappy guests with a generosity that does honour to his memory.

The king had not been above six weeks in Normandy, when in 1014, he heard of the death of Sweyn, who expired at Gainsborough, before he had time to establish himself in his newly-acquired dominions. The English prelates and nobility, taking advantage of this event, sent over a deputation to Normandy; invited Ethelred to return to them, expressing a desire of being again governed by their native prince, and intimating their hopes that, being now tutored by experience, he would avoid all those errors which had been attended with such misfortunes to himself and to his people. But the misconduct of Ethelred was incurable; and on his resuming the government, he discovered the same incapacity, indolence, pusillanimity, and credulity, which had so often exposed him to the insults of his enemies. His son-in-law, Edric, notwithstanding his repeated acts of treason, retained such influence at court, as to instil into the king jealousies of Sigefert and Morcar, two of the chief nobles of Mercia: Edric allured them into his house, where he murdered them; while Ethelred participated in the infamy of the action, by confiscating their estates, and thrusting into a convent the widow of Sigefert. She was a woman of singular beauty and merit; and in a visit which was paid her, during her confinement, by prince Edmund, the king's eldest son, she inspired him with so violent an affection, that he released her from the convent, and soon after married her, without the consent of his father.

In the mean time the English found in Canute, the son and successor of Sweyn, an enemy no less terrible than the prince from whom death had so lately delivered them. He ravaged the eastern coast with merciless fury, and put ashore all the English hostages at Sandwich, after having cut off their hands and noses. He was obliged, by the necessity of his affairs, to make a voyage to Denmark; but returning soon after, he continued his depredations along the southern coast: he even broke into the counties of Dorset, Wilts, and Somerset; where an army was assembled against him, under the command of prince Edmund and duke Edric. The latter still continued his perfidious machinations; and after endeavouring in vain to get the prince into his power, he found means to disperse the army; and he then openly deserted to Canute with forty vessels in 1015. Notwithstanding this misfortune, Edmund was not disconcerted; but assembling all the force of England, was in a condition to give battle to the enemy. The king had had such frequent experience of perfidy among his subjects, that he had lost all confidence in them: he remained at London, pretending sickness, but really from apprehensions that they intended to buy their peace, by delivering him into the hands of his enemies. The army called aloud for their sovereign to march at their head against the Danes; and, on his refusal to take the field, they were so discouraged, that those vast preparations became ineffectual for the defence of the kingdom. Edmund, deprived of all regular supplies to maintain his soldiers, was obliged to commit equal ravages with those which were practised by the Danes; and after making some fruitless expeditions into the north, which had submitted entirely to Canute's power, he retired to London, determined there to maintain, to the last extremity, the small remains of English liberty. He here found every thing in confusion by the death of the king, who expired after an unhappy and inglorious reign of thirty-seven years, at the age of forty nine, on the 23rd of April, 1016. He left two sons by his first marriage, Edmund, who succeeded him, and Edwy, whom Canute afterwards murdered. His two sons by the second marriage, Alfred and Edward, were immediately, upon Ethelred's death, conveyed into Normandy by queen Emma.

Notwithstanding the troubles attendant on this reign, many prudent and beneficial laws were enacted during the course of it, calculated for the promotion of social order, and the encouragement of commerce.

(x) By Hoveden, page 249, Sceorstan is placed in Worcestershire. Some authores fix it at the four *shire-stones*, a spot where the counties of Gloucester, Oxford, Worcester, and Warwick meet; which does not disagree with the account given by Hoveden.

EDMUND II. GENERALLY CALLED IRONSIDE.

IMMEDIATELY after his father's death Edmund was proclaimed king by the citizens of London and the nobles assembled there; and his coronation soon afterwards took place, the crown being placed on his head by Livingus archbishop of Canterbury. But the greater part of the English nobility and people, and all the Anglo-Danish colonists, acknowledged Canute as their sovereign; and that prince received, at Southampton, the homage of the principal nobles, prelates, and abbots, who abjured the race of Ethelred. The Dane, in return for these submissions, swore to the assembly, that, both in spiritual and temporal affairs, he would be their faithful lord.

It was supposed that the death of Ethelred would procure a cessation of hostilities; but this was not the case; for Edmund, not in the least dismayed by the success of Canute, was still inspired with the hopes of victory; and the Danish prince, equally courageous and sanguine, panted for the full possession of the English throne. Edmund marched with an army into Wessex, to recover that province from the dominion of his rival; and, by defeating the Danes near Gillingham in Dorsetshire, encouraged several of the West Saxon counties to revert to their rightful sovereign. In the mean time Canute had reached London with his fleet, and had invested that city with all his forces. He caused a deep fosse to be dug round those parts of the town which were not washed by the Thames, to hinder the citizens from being supplied with provisions; and then made many assaults, which, however, were constantly unsuccessful. Having raised the siege, he advanced against Edmund, that he might decide the contest by a general engagement. The two armies met at Sceorstan, where a furious battle commenced, which continued till the approach of night, and was renewed in the morning with fresh vigour. The extraordinary prowess and martial skill of Edmund at length threw the Danish ranks into disorder; and a complete victory would probably have attended the arms of the English prince, if Edric, who commanded a body of troops on the side of the Danes, had not employed artifice to second the efforts of courage. He cut off the head of a soldier who, in his features, resembled Edmund, and, fixing it on the point of his spear, cried out to the English, "Fly, ye wretches! your king is slain: behold his head!" A sudden consternation seized them, which might perhaps have terminated in flight, had not their sovereign posted himself on an eminence, and shewn himself without his helmet to his terrified forces. He then hastened to the spot where Edric was combating, and darted a javelin at him with great force, which the crafty traitor found means to avoid. The English now returned to the charge, and the engagement did not cease until the evening: but the Danes had taken such advantage of the temporary alarm of the former, that they maintained their ground, and disappointed Edmund's hopes of a decisive day. The Danes, however, so severely felt the effects of this obstinate conflict, that they silently retreated towards London in the course of that night (*u*).

The siege of the capital was now resumed by Canute; but Edmund resolved to make an attempt for delivering the loyal citizens from the assaults of the besiegers. He met with success in his endeavours for this purpose, compelling the Danes to retire from the walls with precipitation. He encountered their army near Brentford, and defeated them with considerable slaughter, though he had previously lost a number of his own men, who were drowned in passing the Thames. He then returned into Wessex, while Canute invested London a third time, but



R. Smirke delin.

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T. Medland sculp.

still found the reduction of it impracticable. Again raising the siege, he first ravaged some of the Mercian counties, and afterwards made his appearance in Kent, whither he was followed by the active Edmund.

Edric perceiving the small hopes of conquering the English prince by open war, devised the expedient of ruining him by artifice. With the consent of Canute, he solicited pardon of Edmund for his treasonable conduct, and made such plausible protestations of future fidelity, that the generosity of the king overcame his prudence, and he received his brother-in-law into favour. Accompanied by this hypocritical traitor, he engaged the Danes at Otford on the Darent; and having put them to the rout, he pursued them to Aylesford, where he was prevailed on by Edric to desist from the prosecution of his victory, lest the enemy, driven to despair, should rally on the pursuers, and inflict a severe retaliation. His weakness in listening to the insinuation of this villain occasioned the loss of an opportunity which never occurred to him in the sequel, of destroying, or greatly weakening, the Danish power.

Edmund now increased his army to the utmost of his ability, and attacked the whole force of Canute at Assington in Essex. Here a bloody conflict ensued, the two rival kings contending with uncommon spirit for the attractive prize of English royalty. Edmund displayed the most heroic intrepidity, and had penetrated to the guards of the Danish prince, with whom he wished for a personal combat; when the fortune of the day, which visibly inclined to the English, was suddenly changed by a signal act of treachery. Edric, apprehensive of Canute's discomfiture, quitted the field with that division which he commanded, and though Edmund strained every nerve to prevent the ill consequences of such a desertion, all his efforts to retrieve the declining courage of those who were thus abandoned, and whom the Danes now pressed with redoubled confidence and ardour, were inefficacious. Many of the English nobles fell on this fatal day; and an extraordinary slaughter was made of the inferior ranks of the soldiery.

Edmund retiring with a small party to Gloucester, was pursued by the victor, who could not, however, prevent him from assembling another army, with which he prepared for a strenuous renewal of hostilities. But some of the nobles of each party, weary of the dangers and fatigues of constant action, persuaded the royal competitors to compromise their dispute. To this proposition the two kings agreed; and a formal meeting took place at Deerhurst in Gloucestershire. While their respective armies stood in array on the opposite banks of the Severn, they passed into a small island formed by that river; and, after a brief conference, it was resolved that the kingdom of England should be divided between them. The provinces of Mercia, East-Anglia, and Northumberland, were assigned to Canute; and Edmund retained the ancient East-Saxon kingdom (including the city of London,) with all the country south of the Thames.

By this treaty a period was put to the wars which had so long raged between the Danes and Anglo-Saxons, and which had reduced the latter nation to such an extremity of distress, that nothing but a durable peace could restore it to any degree of lustre. It is certain, however, that Edmund did not survive the treaty more than a month (*v*); for he was murdered (*w*) at Oxford, November 30, 1016, by two of his own domestics, who were suborned by the traitor Edric, (the first to bear the news to Canute, and to congratulate him on his accession to the throne of England.) But we do not find that Canute, who derived so great an accession of power from the death of his formidable rival, either instigated the traitor to the commission of so nefarious an act, or gave it the sanction of his connivance.

CANUTE.

THE brave and intrepid Edmund being thus traiterously cut off in the flower of his age, Canute took possession of the dominions which that prince had reserved to himself by the treaty of partition; but he was unwilling to seize them before he had made a formal allegation of right, founded (as he and his creatures falsely asserted) on one of the articles of that convention, purporting that he should be the successor of Edmund. In a general assembly convoked at London in 1017, by order of the Danish monarch, the evidence adduced in his favour was deemed valid; and all the members took the oath of allegiance to him, abjuring the brothers and sons of Edmund. Shortly after this decision of the states he was crowned.

After Canute had possessed himself of the sovereignty of England, his first care was to divide it into four governments, viz. Mercia, Northumberland, East Anglia, and Wessex. The first of these he restored to Edric; the second he conferred on Eiric, a powerful Danish chieftain; the third, on Turkill; while he kept the fourth under his own immediate administration. In these appointments he was influenced rather by necessity than inclination. By thus acting he gratified the ambition and rapacity of those nobles who had been instrumental in raising him to his present power: but he intended to take the earliest opportunity of reducing them to a state of comparative insignificance, that they might not be enabled, in case of a change in their sentiments of loyalty towards him, to shake the foundations of that throne on which their efforts had contributed to place him.

But Canute did not consider himself as securely established on the throne while so many princes of the Anglo-Saxon race were living; therefore he contrived the means of freeing himself from uneasiness on that head. He first banished, and then murdered Edwy, the brother of Edmund, who acquired such popularity among the country people, that he was styled *Ceorles-cyng*, i. e. king of the husbandmen. He sent Edward and Edmund, the infant sons of the late king, to Sweden, with a private intimation to the king of that country that their death would be agreeable to him: but the Swede had more humanity, and sent the children to Solomon king of Hungary, whom he requested to take proper care of their maintenance and education. With respect to Edward and Alfred, the sons of Ethelred by the Norman Emma, Canute was apprehensive of the attempts of their uncle Richard to dispossess him, in their favour, of the dominions of Edmund Ironside. To silence the clamours of the duke, who had remonstrated with him on his injustice to those princes, he offered to espouse Emma, and promised to bequeath the crown of England to the eventual offspring of such marriage. Richard and his sister acquiesced in these proposals; and Canute's fears of a Norman invasion were removed by the appearance of the fair widow at his court, to whom he was immediately united in marriage.

Being now free from apprehension on account of the English princes, Canute proceeded to take measures for the punishment of those noblemen who had been disloyal to their former sovereign, and the removal of such as seemed dangerous by their power and influence. Canute was reproached by Edric with having neglected to reward him according to his merits, and to treat him with that superior confidence which he deserved; whereupon Canute ordered that monster of turpitude to be instantly put to death, as the betrayer and murderer of Edmund. He also punished with death the supposed accomplices of Edric in the assassination of that monarch. He banished some of the English nobility, and deprived others of their lives, either because he was diffident of their fidelity, or was alarmed at their power. He seized the estates of many of the disaffected English, and conferred them on his principal Danish followers, as a recompence for their zeal and services.

Canute's next step was to render his government popular among his new subjects, by confirming the laws of the Saxon kings in a great council assembled at Oxford in 1018. He further gratified them by sending back to Denmark the greater part of his fleet and army; though, before their return, he exacted for their payment the sum of eleven thousand pounds from the city of London, and seventy-two thousand pounds from the rest of the kingdom. In the administration of justice, he avoided all distinction between Danes and English; and made it his particular aim to suppress all remains of that national animosity which had hindered the Anglo-Danish tribes from being completely incorporated with the Saxon inhabitants.

Thinking himself now firmly seated on the English throne, he repaired to Denmark, in 1019, which was then harassed by the Swedes and Norwegians. He made a successful campaign against the enemy (*x*), and returned to England in 1020, where he employed himself in promoting

(*v*) Edmund left two sons by his wife Algitha, Edwin and Edward.
(*w*) The body of Edmund was buried at Glastonbury.

(*x*) Earl Godwin, who afterwards became so eminent and powerful, accompanied Canute on this occasion, and greatly contributed to the success

ing the security and welfare of the kingdom, and repairing the mischiefs inseparable from a long course of fierce hostilities. Soon after his return he thought proper to annul that exorbitant power which he had granted to Eiric and Turkill, the governors of Northumberland and East Anglia. He expelled both these noblemen from England in 1021, and suffered no person, throughout the realm, to possess such a degree of authority as might enable him to oppose the royal commands with any tolerable hopes of success.

Although Canute, by adding England to his hereditary kingdom of Denmark, had rendered himself a very powerful monarch, his ambition was by no means satisfied. He still thirsted for an increase of dominion; and finding that Olaus king of Norway had become hateful to his subjects by his endeavours to check their piratical practices, and had fallen into contempt among them for his unwarlike spirit, he fomented their disaffection by corrupting the principal nobles; and, by opening his English purse, secured a strong party of Norwegians in his interest. But before his scheme was ripe for execution, the Swedes renewed the war with Denmark, and compelled him to make another voyage to that country in 1025, whence he returned to England with loss and discomfiture. His subsequent success in Norway, however, compensated for this misfortune; for, sailing to the North Sea with a fleet of fifty vessels, he was enabled to expel Olaus from his throne, and to take possession of the Norwegian realm in 1028, which he preserved against all the efforts of the partizans of the exiled prince, who lost his life in attempting its recovery.

Canute, now become the sovereign of three kingdoms, returned to his English dominions, in 1029, and renewed his encouragement of those arts which render a nation flourishing and happy. He was a zealous patron of commerce and manufactures; he promoted the interests of religion and learning; he dispensed the most impartial justice to his people; and endeavoured to atone for his former barbarities by the equity, moderation, and humanity, of his government. In the midst of these patriotic exertions he was alarmed by the intelligence of a projected invasion from Normandy, in favour of Ethelred's sons Edward and Alfred, whom Robert, the second sovereign of that duchy after Emma's brother, was desirous of placing on the throne of England. This prince had prepared a strong fleet for asserting the right of his cousins; but his ships were so damaged by a storm, that they were obliged to return into port. Robert not being deterred from his design by this accident, Canute resolved to amuse him by negociation; and made an offer of Wessex to the two princes. This proposal delayed the invasion till the following year, when Robert, influenced by motives of superstition, and compunction for his connivance at the murder of his brother and predecessor, duke Richard III. made a pilgrimage to Jerusalem, and dying at Bithynia on his return, delivered Canute from his anxiety.

The more effectually to make his peace with Heaven for the blood he had shed, and the injustice he had committed, Canute undertook a journey to Rome, in 1031, where he received absolution from his holiness, bestowed valuable presents on the pontiff and the principal churches, confirmed the grant of the tax called Peter-pence, procured a reduction of the price paid at Rome by the English archbishops for their palls, and obtained new privileges for the English college in that city. Meeting there with the emperor Conrad II. and Rodolph king of Arles, he prevailed on them to remit the tolls and impositions exacted from his subjects, whether merchants or pilgrims, in passing through their dominions to the Romish metropolis.

On his return from Rome, in 1032, he levied an army to enforce the payment of *Dane-geld* from Duncan, who as heir to the crown of Scotland, possessed the Cumbrian principality. For this territory he had refused to do homage to Canute, alledging that he was not king of England *de jure*. But the appearance of that monarch soon compelled Duncan to make the desired submissions, though it does not appear that he paid any part of the pecuniary demand.

success of the war. Being entrusted with the command of a body of English troops, who were stationed near the hostile camp, he surprized the enemy by a nocturnal attack, and having forced their entrenchments, put them to a total rout. Though he had transgressed the rules of martial discipline, by engaging without the orders of his commander in chief, his courage and good fortune so pleased Canute, (who, not seeing the English in the morning, suspected they had been guilty of desertion,) that he rewarded Godwin with particular marks of favour, and gave him in marriage the sister of his brother-in-law Ulf. *Henry of Huntingdon, Brompton, Adam of Bremen.*

Of the remainder of Canute's reign, we read no other particulars that merit our notice. He died in peace at Shaftesbury, November 12, 1035, after having bequeathed the crown of England to his second son Harold, that of Norway to his eldest son Sweyn, and that of Denmark to Hardicanute, who was his only son by Emma, and who, though his father had engaged, by the nuptial contract, to secure his succession to the English throne, was perhaps deemed by him too young and inexperienced to rule a nation lately subjected to a foreign yoke (*y*).

From his abilities as a warrior and a statesman, Canute derived the epithet of Great. He may, in some respects, be compared with Augustus Cæsar. Like that prince, he was cruel and vindictive while he was occupied in the acquisition of sovereignty; and, like him, he seemed to have changed his nature after he had attained the aims of his ambition. The ferocity of a conqueror gave way to the benevolence of an amiable monarch; and the odium of devastation and murder was sunk in the lenity of a popular administration.

We are told by Huntingdon, that as he was one day walking on the beach at Southampton, accompanied by his courtiers, who were remarkably profuse in their expressions of flattery, and even bestowed on him the attributes of the Deity, declaring that nothing in nature dared to disobey his commands; he ordered his chair to be placed by the sea-side, as the tide was rising, and seating himself, commanded the approaching waves to retire, and evince their obedience to him who was lord of the ocean. He continued to sit some time, as in expectation of their submission; but, being almost surrounded by the water, he at length arose, and turning to his courtiers, reproved them for their flattery; telling them to learn, from what they had seen, that all human power was weak and insignificant, and that omnipotence was vested in God alone! a truth sufficiently obvious, but not often impressed by royalty in the circle of adulation. From that moment he is said never to have worn the crown; but to have ordered it to be placed on the head of a crucifix in the church at Winchester, where it remained till his death.

HAROLD I. SURNAMED HAREFOOT (*z*).

NO sooner was the decease of Canute and his testamentary disposition known, than an assembly of the Anglo-Danish thanes, together with some of the English nobles, and the mercantile thanes of London, took place at Oxford, in 1035; and the result of this meeting was the election of Harold to the sovereignty of England. This prince, by seizing his father's treasures at Winchester, had been enabled to strengthen his interest, but not so powerfully as to secure the concurrence of the majority of the English, who declared in favour of Hardicanute, as destined to the succession by the articles of his mother's marriage with Canute, which a subsequent devise ought not to invalidate. Earl Godwin, whose influence was very considerable, supported the pretensions of the latter; and both parties being inflamed with mutual animosity, the contest might have proceeded to open violence, had not the leaders at length consented to a compromise, by which it was determined, in 1036, that Harold should reign over all the provinces to the north of the Thames, and Hardicanute over the southern territories; that Emma, in her son's name, should govern his portion till his return from Denmark; and that Godwin should act as her prime minister, and as commander of the army in Hardicanute's division.

The duchy of Normandy being now in the hands of a minor (William, son of duke Robert,) great disorders arose among the nobility; insomuch that Edward and Alfred, the sons of Ethelred, found their residence in that country inconvenient and hazardous. They therefore took the opportunity of coming over to England, at a time when their mother lived in regal state at Winchester (*a*). The arrival of the two princes to whom the English were greatly attached by reason of their descent from the Anglo-

(*y*) Besides these children, Canute had a daughter named Gunilda, who was married to the emperor Henry III. but afterwards forsook his bed in resentment for his unjust suspicions of her honour, and died in the seclusion of a nunnery. *Brompton.*

(*z*) So called from his uncommon agility and swiftness of foot.

(*a*) The author of "Encomium Emmæ" affirms, that Harold procured a letter to be forged in the name of Emma, inviting these princes to pay her a visit; but that only one of them (Alfred) came over.

Saxon

Saxon kings, gave alarm to Harold, who felt himself insecure on the throne while they were present, and ready to take advantage of the current of popular loyalty. Having gained over Godwin to his interest, he invited the two princes to his court with hypocritical expressions of friendship and regard; and Alfred, the more enterprising of the two, accepted the invitation. Godwin, with a numerous party of armed followers, intercepted the prince and his Norman retinue, consisting of about seven hundred persons, put the greater part of them to death, and having deprived the unfortunate Alfred of his sight, imprisoned him in the monastery of Ely, where he soon fell a victim to the inhumanity of his treatment (*b*). Emma, shocked at the fate of her son, and apprehensive of the bloodthirsty violence of Harold and his infamous associate, fled into Flanders, while prince Edward returned to Normandy. Harold, taking advantage of the departure of Emma, and the absence of her son Hardicanute, who still remained in Denmark, procured the suffrages of the nobility and people in the territories assigned to that prince, and, in 1037, became sovereign of all England. From this time nothing is recorded of him but the imposition of a tax for the support of a fleet of sixteen ships, destined for the protection of the coasts. He died after a short reign at Oxford, on the 17th of March (*c*), 1039, unlamented by his subjects, as his character was that of a brutal and unenlightened monarch.

HARDICANUTE.

PREVIOUS to the death of Harold, Hardicanute had sailed from his Danish kingdom with a well-manned fleet of sixty vessels, with which, in all probability, he intended to have made an attempt on the southern counties of England, as belonging to him by the late convention. He first paid a visit to his mother, whose residence was at Bruges; and here he received a deputation from the states of England, requesting him to assume the reins of government, in the room of his deceased brother-in-law. He readily accepted the offer of the English crown; and immediately crossing the channel, was welcomed with the general joy of the nation. No sooner had he ascended the throne, than he exhibited such a specimen of his disposition as could not fail of disgusting his new subjects. To evince his detestation of the conduct of Harold in having violated the partition-treaty, and treated prince Alfred with such unprovoked cruelty, he gave a singular commission to Alfric archbishop of York, earl Godwin, Styre the high-steward, and other officers, to assist the executioner in disinterring the body of the late king, cutting off the head, and throwing the corpse into the Thames, where it was soon after discovered by a fisherman, by whom it was delivered to the Danish inhabitants of London, and deposited in their burial-ground, at St. Clement's Danes.

His next transaction gave more real disgust to the people, as it did not merely affect their feelings, but attacked their property. He laid on them a tax of thirty-two thousand pounds for the payment of his fleet and army which had attended him from Denmark, at a time when famine raged throughout the kingdom, in 1040. This impost gave rise to animated complaints; and the public indignation was kindled to such a height at Worcester, by the insolence of the collectors, and the oppressive nature of the tax itself, that two of the king's officers were slain by the tumultuous fury of the citizens. Hardicanute, barbarously vindictive, issued orders to Godwin and other noblemen to march with an army to that city, plunder and destroy the inhabitants, set fire to the buildings, and ravage the circumjacent country. These commands were put in execution, except that part which related to the massacre of the people, a very small number of whom suffered death, the rest of the citizens having fortified themselves in an island of the Severn, whence they were permitted, on the intercession of the nobles with the king, to return in safety.

Hardicanute, notwithstanding the tincture of cruelty which he possessed, did not suffer it to appear in his treatment of his brother-in-law Edward, at whose prior right to the crown he felt no jealousy or alarm. He professed a great regard for this prince, whom he entertained at his court, and seemed determined to prosecute the murderers of his brother Alfred. The archbishop of York having accused earl Godwin, and Livingus bishop of Worcester, of being concerned in that scene of barbarity, the king deprived Livingus of his see, and would have punished Godwin for his conduct in that iniquitous business, had not the earl secured his pardon by corruption. Perceiving the king's taste for magnificence, he presented him with a splendid galley, curiously wrought and completely equipped, the crew consisting of eighty men, each of whom had two golden bracelets, a gilt helmet, corslet, shield, and other martial accoutrements equally brilliant. Hardicanute was appeased by this costly present, and suffered the donor to escape justice, on his swearing that he had no concern in the death of Alfred, and that, in putting out that prince's eyes, and confining him in a monastery, he had only executed the express orders of Harold. The same rapacious spirit which dictated the acceptance of Godwin's present, as a commutation for the legal punishment of a crime, induced Hardicanute to restore Livingus to his bishopric, in consideration of a pecuniary compliment.

This monarch died suddenly at Lambeth, at the nuptial feast of one of his Danish courtiers, in the midst of jollity and intemperance, in 1041. He appears to have been frank and open in his disposition: his court was the abode of liberality and magnificence: he was an affectionate son, and an hospitable master. On the other hand, he was unreasonably severe in his government, arbitrary, rapacious, and revengeful.

EDWARD THE CONFESSOR.

ON the death of Hardicanute, the English saw a favourable opportunity for recovering their liberty, and for shaking off the yoke which had oppressed them under four Danish kings. Sweyn, king of Norway, the eldest son of Canute, was absent; and as the two last kings had died without issue, none of that race presented himself, nor any whom the Danes could support as successor to the throne. Prince Edward, the only surviving son of Ethelred, was fortunately at court; and though the descendants of Edmund Ironside were the true heirs of the Saxon family, yet their absence in so remote a country as Hungary (*d*), appeared a sufficient reason for their exclusion to a people like the English, so little accustomed to observe a regular order in the succession of their monarchs. All delays might be dangerous; and the present occasion must hastily be embraced; while the Danes, without concert, without a leader, astonished at the present incident, and anxious only for their personal safety, were afraid to oppose the united voice of the nation.

But this concurrence of circumstances in favour of Edward, might have failed of its effect, had his succession been opposed by Godwin, whose power, alliances, and abilities, gave him great influence at all times, especially amidst those sudden opportunities which always attended a revolution of government, and which, either seized or neglected, commonly prove decisive. There were opposite reasons which divided men's hopes and fears with regard to Godwin's conduct. On the one hand, the credit of that nobleman lay chiefly in Wessex, which was almost entirely inhabited by English. It was therefore presumed, that he would second the wishes of that people in restoring the Saxon line, and in humbling the Danes, from whom he, as well as they, had reason to dread, as they had already felt, the most grievous oppressions. On the other hand, there subsisted a declared animosity between Edward and Godwin, on account of his brother Alfred's murder, which Edward indeed never sincerely pardoned. But their common friends here interposed; and representing the necessity of their good correspondence, obliged them to lay aside all jealousy and rancour, and concur in restoring liberty to their native country. Godwin only stipulated that

(*b*) Though this anecdote is discredited by some historians, it is so confidently asserted by others, as a matter of notoriety, that, as it is not incompatible with the unprincipled characters of Harold and Godwin, there seems to be insufficient reason to doubt the substance of it, though the narrators may have exaggerated the number of the Normans who were slain, and the horrid tortures practised on the occasion.

(*c*) According to Rapin; but Hume says he died on the 14th of April. He was buried at Westminster.

(*d*) Edward, the son of Edmund Ironside, had indeed a preferable claim to the crown; but his long exile in Hungary, where he had espoused the sister-in-law of his protector Solomon, threw a damp on his pretensions, and reconciled his countrymen to the exclusion of a prince who was too remotely situated, and too little known, to command their exertions, or interest their affections.

Edward, as a pledge of his reconciliation, should promise to marry his daughter Editha; and having fortified himself by this alliance, he summoned a general council at Gillingham, and prepared every measure for securing the succession to Edward. The English were unanimous and zealous in their resolutions; the Danes were divided and dispirited: any small opposition which appeared in this assembly was brow-beaten and suppressed; and Edward was crowned king, with every demonstration of duty and affection.

Upon this signal and decisive advantage, the triumph of the English was at first attended with some violence against the Danes; but the king, by the mildness of his character, soon reconciled the latter to his administration, and the distinction between the two nations gradually disappeared. The joy, however, of their present deliverance made such impression on the minds of the English, that they instituted an annual festival for celebrating that great event; and it was observed in some countries even to the time of Spelman.

The popularity which Edward enjoyed on his accession, was not destroyed by the first act of his administration, which was his resuming all the grants of his immediate Danish predecessors; an attempt which is commonly attended with the most dangerous consequences. The poverty of the crown convinced the nation that this act of violence was become absolutely necessary; and as the loss fell chiefly on the Danes, who had obtained large grants from the late kings, their countrymen, on account of their services in subduing the kingdom, the English were pleased to see them reduced to their primitive poverty. The king's severity also towards his mother Emma, the queen-dowager, though exposed to more censure, met not with very general disapprobation. He had hitherto lived on indifferent terms with that princess: he accused her of neglecting him and his brother during their adverse fortune: he remarked, that as the superior qualities of Canute, and his better treatment of her, had made her intirely indifferent to the memory of Ethelred, she also gave the preference to her children of her second bed, and always regarded Hardicanute as her favourite. The same reasons had probably made her unpopular in England; and though her benefactions to the monks obtained her the favour of that order, the nation was not, in general, displeased to see her stripped by Edward of immense treasures which she had amassed. He confined her, during the remainder of her life, in a monastery at Winchester; but carried his rigour against her no farther.

The English flattered themselves that, by the accession of Edward, they were delivered for ever from the dominion of foreigners; but they soon found that this evil was not yet entirely removed. The king had been educated in Normandy; and had contracted many intimacies with the natives of that country, as well as an affection for their manners. The court of England was soon filled with Normans, who, being distinguished both by the favour of Edward, and by a degree of cultivation superior to that which was attained by the English in those ages, soon rendered their language, customs, and laws, fashionable in the kingdom. The study of the French tongue became general among the people. The courtiers affected to imitate that nation in their dress, equipage, and entertainments: even the lawyers employed a foreign language in their deeds and papers: but above all, the church felt the influence and dominion of those strangers: Ulf and William, two Normans, who had formerly been the king's chaplains, were created bishops of Dorchester and London. Robert, a Norman also, was promoted to the see of Canterbury, and always enjoyed the highest favour of his master, of which his abilities rendered him not unworthy. And though the king's prudence, or his want of authority, made him confer almost all the civil and military employments on the natives, the ecclesiastical preferments often fell to the share of the Normans; and as the latter possessed Edward's confidence, they had secretly a great influence on public affairs, and excited the jealousy of the English, particularly of earl Godwin.

This powerful nobleman, besides being duke or earl of Wessex, had the counties of Kent and Sussex annexed to his government. His eldest son, Sweyn, possessed the same authority in the counties of Oxford, Berks, Gloucester, and Hereford: and Harold, his second son, was duke of East-Anglia, and at the same time governor of Essex. The great authority of this family was supported by immense possessions and powerful alliances; and the abilities, as well as ambition, of Godwin himself, contributed to render it still more dangerous. A prince of greater capacity and vigour than Edward would have found it difficult to support the dignity of the crown under such circumstances; and as the haughty temper of Godwin made him often forget the respect due to his prince, Edward's animosity against him was grounded on personal as well as political considerations, on recent as well as more ancient injuries. The king, in pursuance of his engagements, had indeed married Editha, the daughter of Godwin; but this alliance became a fresh source of enmity between them. Edward's hatred of the father was transferred to that princess; and Editha, though possessed of many amiable accomplishments, could never acquire the confidence and affection of her husband.

Sweyn, the eldest son of Godwin, gave an early instance of misconduct. Being captivated with the charms of the abbess of Leominster, he seduced her to incontinence; which so enraged the king, that he compelled the delinquent to quit his dominions, in 1048, though he offered to marry the lady whom he had debauched. Sweyn, thus exiled, retired to Denmark; and there he equipped eight vessels, with which he piratically infested the coasts of his native country. Edward was at length prevailed on, in 1049, to pardon this turbulent youth, and restore him to his honours, notwithstanding an additional crime which he had committed while he kept the sea with his squadron; for he had even murdered his kinsman, earl Beorn, who had gone on board one of his ships, to treat with him on the terms of his reconciliation with the king.

The most popular pretence on which Godwin could ground his disaffection to the king and his administration, was to complain of the influence of the Normans in the government; and a declared opposition had thence arisen between him and these favourites. It was not long before this animosity broke into action. Eustace, count of Bologne, having paid a visit to the king, passed by Dover in his return: one of his train, being refused entrance to a lodging which had been assigned him, attempted to make his way by force, and in the contest he wounded the master of the house. The inhabitants revenged this insult by the death of the stranger; the count and his train took arms, and murdered the wounded townsman; a tumult ensued; near twenty persons were killed on each side; and Eustace, being overpowered by numbers, was obliged to save his life by flight from the fury of the populace. He immediately repaired to court, and complained of the usage he had met with: the king entered zealously into the quarrel, and was highly displeased that a stranger of such distinction, whom he had invited over to his court, should, without any just cause, as he believed, have felt so sensibly the insolence and animosity of his people. He gave orders to Godwin, in whose government Dover lay, to repair immediately to the place, and to punish the inhabitants for the crime: but Godwin, who desired rather to encourage than repress the popular discontents against foreigners, refused obedience, and endeavoured to throw the whole blame of the riot on the count of Bologne, and his retinue. Edward now saw the necessity of exerting the royal authority; and threatened Godwin, if he persisted in his disobedience, to make him feel the effects of his displeasure.

Earl Godwin perceiving a rupture to be unavoidable, made preparations for his own defence, or rather for an attack on Edward. Under pretence of repressing some incursions of the Welsh, he secretly assembled an army, and was approaching the king, who resided, without any military force, and without suspicion, at Gloucester. Edward applied for protection to Siward, duke of Northumberland, and Leofric, duke of Mercia, two powerful noblemen, whose jealousy of Godwin's greatness, as well as their duty to the crown, engaged them to defend the king in this extremity. They hastened to him with such of their followers as they could assemble on a sudden; and finding the danger much greater than they had at first apprehended, they issued orders for mustering all their forces within their respective governments, and for marching them without delay to the defence of the king's person and authority. Edward, meanwhile, endeavoured to gain time by negociation; while Godwin, who thought the king entirely in his power, and who was unwilling to save appearances, fell into the snare.

The English, though they had no high idea of Edward's vigour and capacity, hastened from all quarters to defend him from the present danger. His army was now so considerable, that he ventured to take the field: and marching to London, he summoned a great council in 1050

to

to judge of the rebellion of Godwin and his sons. These noblemen pretended at first that they were willing to stand their trial; but having in vain endeavoured to make their adherents persist in rebellion, they offered to come to London, provided they might receive hostages for the safety of their persons: this proposal being rejected, they were obliged to disband the remains of their forces, and have recourse to flight. Baldwin, earl of Flanders, gave protection to Godwin and his three sons, Sweyn, Tosti, and Girth; Tosti had married the daughter of that prince; Harold and Leofwin, two other of his sons, took shelter in Ireland. The estates of the father and sons were confiscated: their governments were given to others: Queen Editha was confined in a monastery at Warewel; and the greatness of this family, once so formidable, seemed now to be totally supplanted and overthrown.

Godwin, however, had fixed his authority on too firm a basis, and he was too strongly supported by alliances, both foreign and domestic, not to occasion farther disturbances, and make new efforts for his re-establishment. The earl of Flanders, in 1051, permitted him to purchase and hire ships within his harbours; and Godwin, having manned them with his followers, and with free-booters of all nations, put to sea, and attempted to make a descent at Sandwich. The king, informed of his preparations, equipped a considerable fleet, much superior to that of the enemy; and the earl hastily, before their appearance, made his retreat into the Flemish harbours. The English court, allured by the present security, and destitute of all vigorous counsels, allowed the seamen to disband, and the fleet to go to decay; while Godwin, expecting this event, kept his men in readiness for action. He put to sea immediately, and sailed to the Isle of Wight, where he was joined by Harold, with a squadron which that nobleman had collected in Ireland. He was now master of the sea; and entering every harbour on the southern coast, seized all the ships, and summoned his followers in those counties, which had so long been subject to his government, to assist him in procuring justice to himself, his family, and his country, against the tyranny of foreigners. Reinforced by great numbers from all quarters, he entered the Thames; and appearing before London, threw every thing into confusion. The king alone seemed resolute to defend himself to the last extremity; but the interposition of the English nobility, many of whom favoured Godwin's pretensions, made Edward hearken to terms of accommodation; and the feigned humility of the earl, who disclaimed all intentions of offering violence to his sovereign, and desired only to justify himself by a fair and open trial, paved the way for his more easy admission. It was stipulated, that he should give hostages for his good behaviour, and that the primate and all the foreigners should be banished (*e*): by this treaty, the present danger of a civil war was obviated, but the authority of the crown was considerably impaired. Edward, sensible that he had not power sufficient to secure Godwin's hostages in England, sent them over to his kinsman, the young duke of Normandy.

The death of Godwin, which happened soon after his restoration, while he was sitting at table with the king, to whom he was steward of the household, prevented him from farther establishing the authority which he had acquired, and from reducing Edward to still greater subjection. He was succeeded in the government of Wessex, Sussex, Kent, and Essex, and in the office of steward of the household, a place of great power, by his son Harold, (now his eldest surviving son (*f*), who was actuated by an ambition equal to that of his father, and was superior to him in address, in insinuation, and in virtue. By a modest and gentle demeanor, he acquired the good-will of Edward; at least softened the hatred which that prince had so long borne to his family; and gaining every day new partizans by his bounty and affability, he proceeded in a more silent, and therefore a more dangerous manner, to the increase of his authority. The king, who had not sufficient vigour directly to oppose his progress, knew of no other expedient than that hazardous one, of raising him a rival in the family of Leofric, duke of Mercia, whose son Algar was invested with the government of East-Anglia, which, before the banishment of Harold, had belonged to the latter nobleman. But this policy, of balancing opposite parties, required a more steady hand to manage it than that of Edward, and naturally produced faction, and even civil broils, among nobles of such mighty and independent authority. Algar was soon after expelled his government by the intrigues and power of Harold; but being protected by Griffith, prince of Wales, who had married his daughter, as well as by the power of his father Leofric, he obliged Harold to submit to an accommodation, and was reinstated in the government of East-Anglia. This peace was not of long duration: Harold, taking advantage of Leofric's (*g*) death, which happened soon after, expelled Algar anew, and banished him the kingdom: and though that nobleman made a fresh irruption into East-Anglia with an army of Norwegians, and over-ran the country, his death soon freed Harold from the pretensions of so dangerous a rival. Edward, the eldest son of Algar, was indeed advanced to the government of Mercia; but the balance, which the king desired to establish between those potent families, was wholly lost, and the influence of Harold greatly preponderated.

The death of Siward, duke of Northumberland, in 1055, made the way still more open to the ambition of that nobleman. Siward, besides his other merits, had acquired honour to England, by his successful conduct in the only foreign enterprize undertaken during the reign of Edward. Duncan, king of Scotland, was a prince of a gentle disposition, but possessed not the genius requisite for governing a country so turbulent, and so much infested by the intrigues and animosities of the great. Macbeth, a powerful nobleman, and nearly allied to the crown, not content with curbing the king's authority, carried still farther his pestilential ambition: he put his sovereign to death; chased Malcolm Kenmore, his son and heir, into England; and usurped the crown. Siward, whose daughter was married to Duncan, embraced, by Edward's orders, the protection of this distressed family: he marched an army into Scotland, in 1054, and having defeated and killed Macbeth in battle, he restored Malcolm to the throne of his ancestors. This service, added to his former connections with the royal family of Scotland, brought a great accession to the authority of Siward in the north; but as he had lost his eldest son, Osberne, in the action with Macbeth, it proved in the issue fatal to his family. His second son, Waltheof, appeared, on his father's death (*h*), too young to be entrusted with the government of Northumberland; and Harold's influence obtained that dukedom for his own brother Tosti.

The king, now worn out with cares and infirmities, felt himself far advanced in the decline of life; and having no issue himself, began to think of appointing a successor to the throne. He sent a deputation to Hungary, to invite over his nephew Edward, son of his elder brother, and the only remaining heir of the Saxon line. That prince, whose succession to the crown would have been easy and undisputed, came to England with his children, Edgar Atheling, Margaret, and Christina; but his death, which happened within a month after his arrival, threw the

(*e*) A *wittena-gemot* being assembled to ratify this convention, Godwin is said to have been formally impeached of the murder of Alfred, and to have received the king's pardon for his concern in that dark transaction.

(*f*) We have before mentioned the murder of Beorn by Sweyn; to expiate which, soon after his exile, he undertook a pilgrimage to Jerusalem, but in his return to Europe he was slain by the Saracens.

(*g*) The story of Leofric's wife, Godiva, riding through Coventry naked, is as follows: Godiva, the wife of Leofric, is highly extolled by historians both for her mental and personal accomplishments. It is said that, in order to relieve the inhabitants of Coventry from an oppressive tax imposed on them by her husband, she consented to ride naked through the city, such being the condition of their exemption, stipulated by the caprice of her lord. Accordingly, having previously forbidden the inhabitants to look at her on pain of death, she mounted her horse, and rode from one extremity of the town to the other, with no covering but what her hair, which was extremely long and beautiful, could afford her. It is pretended that one man, being prompted by curiosity to disobey her injunction, was struck dead with lightning for his presumption. In remembrance of this event, there is still an annual procession observed at Coventry, in which the figure of a naked woman is carried through the town on horseback. The pictures of Leofric and Godiva are also to be seen in the windows of Trinity Church, with the following inscription—

" I Luric, for the love of thee,
Do set Coventy toll-free."

(*h*) There are two circumstances related of Siward, which discover his high sense of honour, and his martial disposition. When intelligence was brought him of his son Osberne's death, he was inconsolable; till he heard that the wound was received in the breast, and that he had behaved with great gallantry in the action. When he found his own death approaching, he ordered his servants to clothe him in a complete suit of armour; and sitting erect on the couch, with a spear in his hand, declared, that in that posture, the only one worthy of a warrior, he would patiently await the fatal moment.

king into new difficulties. He saw, that the great power and ambition of Harold had tempted him to think of obtaining possession of the throne on the first vacancy, and that Edgar, on account of his youth and inexperience, was unfit to oppose the pretensions of so popular and enterprizing a rival. In this state of uncertainty, he is said to have secretly cast his eye towards his kinsman, William duke of Normandy, as the only person whose power, reputation, and capacity, could support any destination which he might make in his favour, to the exclusion of Harold and his family.

Duke William was natural son of Robert duke of Normandy, by Harlotta, daughter of a tanner in Falaise, and was early established in that grandeur from which his birth seemed to have set him at so great a distance. While he was but nine years of age, his father had resolved to undertake a pilgrimage to Jerusalem. Before his departure, he assembled the states of the duchy; and informing them of his design, engaged them to swear allegiance to his natural son, William, whom, as he had no legitimate issue, he intended, in case he should die in the pilgrimage, to leave successor to his dominions. As he was a prudent prince, he could not but foresee the great inconveniencies which must attend this journey, and this settlement of his succession, arising from the perpetual turbulency of the great, the claims of other branches of the ducal family, and the power of the French monarch: but all these considerations were surmounted by the prevailing zeal for pilgrimages; and, probably, the more important they were, the more would Robert exult in sacrificing them to what he imagined to be his religious duty.

This prince, as he had apprehended, died in his pilgrimage; and the minority of his son was attended with all those disorders which were almost unavoidable in that situation: so that the regency established by Robert encountered great difficulties in supporting the government under the complication of dangers to which it was subjected; and the young prince, when he came to maturity, found himself reduced to a very low condition. But the great qualities which he soon displayed in the field and in the cabinet, gave encouragement to his friends, and struck terror into his enemies. He opposed himself on all sides against his rebellious subjects, and against foreign invaders; and by his valour and conduct prevailed in every action. He obliged the French king to grant him peace on reasonable terms; he expelled all pretenders to the sovereignty; and reduced his turbulent barons to submission. The natural severity of his temper appeared in a rigorous administration of justice; and having found the happy effects of this plan of government, without which the laws in those days became totally impotent, he regarded it as a fixed maxim, that an inflexible conduct was the first duty of a sovereign.

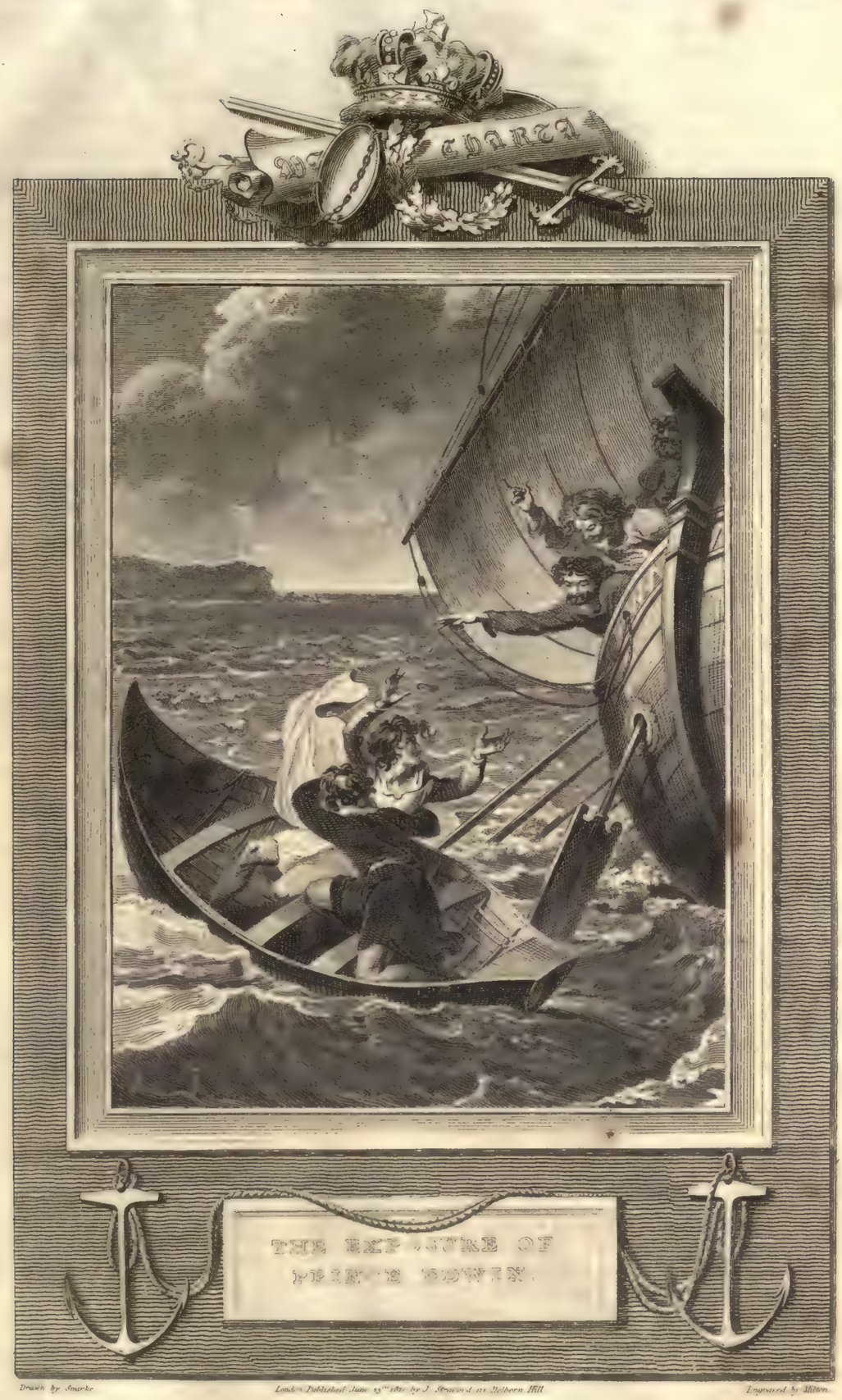
The tranquillity which he had established in his dominions, had given William leisure to pay a visit to the king of England during the time of Godwin's banishment in 1051; and he was received in a manner suitable to the reputation which he had acquired, to the relation by which he was connected with Edward, and to the obligations which that prince owed to his family. On the return of Godwin, and the expulsion of the Norman favourites, it is said that Robert, archbishop of Canterbury, before his departure, had persuaded Edward to think of adopting William as his successor; a counsel which was favoured by the king's aversion to Godwin, his prepossessions for the Normans, and his esteem of the duke. Of this circumstance, however, there is some doubt; and Edward thinking that the English would more easily acquiesce in the restoration of the Saxon line, invited his brother's descendants from Hungary, with a view of having them recognized heirs to the crown; but the death of his nephew, as above-mentioned, made him doubtful what mode to adopt, and he is said to have kept his purpose secret from all his ministers, and even from those who were most intimately connected with him.

But Harold proceeded after a more open manner, in encreasing his popularity, in establishing his power, and in preparing the way for his advancement on the first vacancy; an event which, from the age and infirmities of the king, appeared not very distant. But there was still another obstacle, which it was requisite for him previously to overcome. Earl Godwin, when restored to his power and fortune, had given hostages for his good behaviour; and among the rest, Ulnoth his son, and Hacun his grandson, by Sweyn, whom Edward, for greater security, as has been related, had consigned to the custody of the duke of Normandy. Harold, though not aware of the duke's being his competitor, was uneasy that such near relations should be detained prisoners in a foreign country; and he was fearful lest William should, in favour of Edgar Atheling, retain these pledges as a check on the ambition of any other pretender. He represented, therefore, to the king, his unfeigned submission to royal authority, his steady duty to his prince, and the little necessity there was, after such an uniform trial of his obedience, to detain any longer those hostages who had been required on the first composing of civil discords. By these topics, enforced by his great power, he extorted the king's consent to release them; and in order to effect his purpose, he immediately proceeded, with a numerous retinue, on his journey to Normandy. A tempest drove him on the territory of Guy count of Ponthieu, who, being informed of his quality, immediately detained him prisoner, and demanded an exorbitant sum for his ransom. Harold found means to convey intelligence of his situation to the duke of Normandy; and represented, that while he was proceeding to his court, in execution of a commission from the king of England, he had met with this harsh treatment from the mercenary disposition of the count of Ponthieu.

William was sensible of the importance of the incident. He foresaw, that if he could once gain Harold, either by favours or menaces, his way to the throne of England would be open, and Edward would meet with no farther obstacle in executing the favourable intentions which he had entertained in his behalf. He sent, therefore, a messenger to Guy, in order to demand the liberty of his prisoner; and that nobleman, not daring to refuse so great a prince, put Harold into the hands of the Norman, who conducted him to Roüen. William received him with every demonstration of respect and friendship; and after shewing himself disposed to comply with his request, in delivering up the hostages, he took an opportunity of disclosing to him the great secret of his pretensions to the crown of England, and of the will which Edward intended to make in his favour. He desired the assistance of Harold in perfecting that design; he made professions of the utmost gratitude in return for so great an obligation; he promised that the present grandeur of Harold's family, which supported itself with difficulty under the jealousy and hatred of Edward, should receive new encrease from a successor who would be so greatly beholden to him for his advancement. Harold was surprized at this declaration of the duke; but being sensible that he should never recover his own liberty, much less that of his brother and nephew, if he refused the demand, he feigned a compliance, renounced all hopes of the crown for himself, and professed his sincere intention of supporting the will of Edward, and seconding the pretensions of the duke of Normandy. William, to bind him faster to his interests, besides offering him one of his daughters in marriage, required him to take an oath that he would fulfil his promises; and in order to render the oath more obligatory, he employed an artifice well suited to the ignorance and superstition of the age. He secretly conveyed under the altar, on which Harold agreed to swear, the reliques of some of the most revered martyrs; and when Harold had taken the oath, he shewed him the reliques, and admonished him to observe religiously an engagement which had been ratified by so tremendous a sanction. The English nobleman was astonished; but dissembling his concern, he renewed the same professions, and was dismissed with all the marks of mutual confidence by duke William.

Harold finding himself at liberty, sought to justify the violation of an oath, which had been extorted from him by fear, and which, if fulfilled, might be attended with the subjection of his native country to a foreign power. He continued still to practise every art of popularity; to encrease the number of his partizans; to reconcile the minds of the English to the idea of his succession; to revive their hatred of the Normans; and by an ostentation of his power and influence to deter the timorous Edward from executing his intended will in favour of William. Fortune, about this time, threw two incidents in his way, by which he was enabled to acquire general favour, and to encrease the character which he had already attained, of virtue and abilities.

The Welsh, though a less formidable enemy than the Danes, had long been accustomed to infest the western borders;



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borders; and after committing spoil on the low countries. they usually made a hasty retreat into their mountains, where they were sheltered from the pursuit of their enemies, and were ready to seize the first favourable opportunity of renewing their depredations. Griffith, the reigning prince, had greatly distinguished himself in those incursions; and his name had become so terrible to the English, that Harold found he could do nothing more acceptable to the public, and more honourable for himself, than the suppressing of so dangerous an enemy. He formed the plan of an expedition against Wales; and having prepared some light-armed foot to pursue the natives into their fastnesses, some cavalry to scour the open country, and a squadron of ships to attack the seacoast, he employed at once all these forces against the Welsh, prosecuted his advantages with vigour, made no intermission in his assaults, and at last reduced the enemy to such distress, that, in order to prevent their total destruction, they made a sacrifice of their prince, whose head they cut off, and sent to Harold; and they were content to receive, as their sovereigns, two Welsh noblemen appointed by Edward to rule over them. The other incident was no less honourable to Harold.

Tosti, brother of this nobleman, who had been created duke of Northumberland, being of a violent tyrannical temper, had acted with such cruelty and injustice, that the inhabitants rose in rebellion, and chased him from his government. Morcar and Edwin, two brothers, who possessed great power in those parts, and who were grandsons of the great duke Leofric, concurred in the insurrection; and the former, being elected duke, advanced with an army to oppose Harold who was commissioned by the king to reduce and chastise the Northumbrians. Before the armies came to action, Morcar, well acquainted with the generous disposition of the English commander, endeavoured to justify his own conduct. He represented to Harold, that Tosti had behaved in a manner unworthy of the station to which he was advanced, and no one, not even a brother, could support such tyranny, without participating, in some degree, of the infamy attending it; that the Northumbrians, accustomed to a legal administration, and regarding it as their birth-right, were willing to submit to the king, but required a governor who would pay regard to their rights and privileges; that they had been taught by their ancestors, that death was preferable to servitude, and had taken the field, determined to perish, rather than suffer a renewal of those indignities to which they had so long been exposed; and they trusted that Harold, on reflection, would not defend in another that violent conduct, from which he himself, in his own government, had always kept at so great a distance. This vigorous remonstrance was accompanied with such a detail of facts, so well supported, that Harold found it prudent to abandon his brother's cause; and returning to Edward, he persuaded him to pardon the Northumbrians, and to confirm Morcar in the government. He even married the sister of that nobleman; and by his interest, procured Edwin, the younger brother, to be elected into the government of Mercia. Tosti in a rage departed the kingdom, and took shelter in Flanders with earl Baldwin, his father-in-law.

By this marriage Harold broke all measures with the duke of Normandy; and William perceived that he could no longer rely on the oaths and promises which he had extorted from him. But the English nobleman was now in such a situation, that he deemed it no longer necessary to dissemble. He had, in his conduct towards the Northumbrians, given such a specimen of his moderation as had gained him the affections of his countrymen. He saw that almost all England was engaged in his interests; while he himself possessed the government of Wessex, Morcar that of Northumberland, and Edwin that of Mercia. He now openly aspired to the succession; and insisted, that since it was necessary, by the confession of all, to set aside the royal family, on account of the imbecility of Edgar Atheling, the sole surviving heir, there was no one so capable of filling the throne as a nobleman of great power, of mature age, of long experience, of approved courage and abilities, who, being a native of the kingdom, would effectually secure it against the dominion and tyranny of foreigners. Edward, broken with age and infirmities, saw the difficulties too great for him to encounter; and though his inveterate prepossessions kept him from seconding the pretensions of Harold, he took but feeble and irresolute steps for securing the succession to the duke of Normandy (*i*). While he continued in this uncertainty, he was surprised by sickness, which brought him to his grave, on the 5th of January, 1066, in the sixty-fifth year of his age, and twenty-fifth of his reign.

Edward was possessed of virtues that might have entitled him to respect in a private sphere of life though his talents were insufficient to make him shine as a monarch. It was, however, a fortunate circumstance for his subjects that his defects proved a source of tranquillity; for, had his mind been susceptible of a laudable spirit of resentment, his ardour to repress the daring encroachments of Godwin must have necessarily involved the kingdom in the dreadful calamities of a civil war: but, indolent and timid, he sacrificed his glory to his ease, and rather chose to submit to illegal infringements on his authority, than to maintain the prerogative of the crown by any violent exertion. The general tenour of his conduct affords just grounds for believing that he was wholly exempt from those strong passions which are equally productive of signal virtues and flagrant vices; but his continence, which is so highly extolled by the monkish writers, who assert that he married the beautiful Editha for the sole purpose of exercising his virtue, by exposing it to continual temptation, appears to have been the effect of constitutional frigidity, which it certainly would have been more commendable to overcome than indulge. His piety and charity, however, merit the highest praise, and procured him the titles of Saint and Confessor, which were confirmed to him by Pope Alexander the Third, by whom he was canonized about too centuries after his death. The sums which are too commonly devoted by princes to purposes of private gratification, were applied by Edward to charitable uses; and his extreme attention to all religious concerns, shews that he entertained a just sense of the first duties of a monarch.

He is likewise entitled to commendation for his impartial administration of justice, to facilitate which he compiled a body of laws, from the collections of Ethelbert, Ina, and Alfred. This compilation must have been formed with judgement, since it long continued to be cherished by the English, even after the introduction of new laws: but it is now unfortunately lost; for the laws that pass under the name of Edward the Confessor, bear evident marks of a subsequent composition.

Edward was the first sovereign who is said to have received from Heaven the special privilege of curing the king's evil by the touch. The high opinion which the people entertained of his sanctity, induced them to pay an implicit belief to the efficacy of this extraordinary remedy; and the succeeding monarchs, finding it ensured a greater portion of reverence and respect, endeavoured to confirm the opinion from motives of policy. It continued till the accession of the present royal family; who, observing that it could only furnish a subject for ridicule and derision to the thinking part of mankind, and was no

(*i*) The whole story of the transactions between Edward, Harold, and the duke of Normandy, is told so differently by the ancient writers, that there are few important passages of the English history liable to so great uncertainty. I have followed the account which appeared to me the most consistent and probable. It does not seem likely, that Edward ever executed a will in the duke's favour, much less that he got it ratified by the states of the kingdom, as is affirmed by some. The will would have been known to all, and would have been produced by the Conqueror, to whom it gave so plausible, and really so just a title; but the doubtful and ambiguous manner in which he seems always to have mentioned it, proves that he could only plead the known intentions of that monarch in his favour, which he was so desirous to call a will. There is indeed a charter of the Conqueror preserved by Dr. Hickes, vol. I. where he calls himself *rex hereditarius*, meaning heir by will; but a prince, possessed of so much power, and attended with so much success, may employ what pretence he pleases: it is sufficient to refute his pretences to observe, that there is a great difference and variation among historians, with regard to a point which had it been real, must have been agreed upon by all of them.

Again, some historians, particularly Malmesbury and Matthew of Westminster, affirm, that Harold had no intention of going over to Normandy, but that taking the air in a pleasure-boat on the coast, he was driven over by stress of weather to the territories of Guy count of Ponthieu; but besides that this story is not probable in itself, and is denied by most of the ancient historians, it is contradicted by a very curious and authentic monument discovered within these few years. It is a tapestry preserved in the ducal place of Roüen, and supposed to have been wrought by the orders of Matilda, wife to the emperor, at least it is of very great antiquity. Harold is there represented as taking his departure from king Edward in execution of some commission, and mounting his vessel with a great train. The design of redeeming his brother and nephew, who were hostages, is the most likely cause that can be assigned; and is accordingly mentioned by Eadmar, Hoveden, Brompton, and Simeon of Durham. For a farther account of this piece of tapestry, see *Histoire de l'Academie de Literature, tom. IX. p. 535.*

longer

longer an object of astonishment even to the populace, wisely abolished the custom.

Before we conclude the reign of Edward, we think it necessary to relate two private incidents of his life, which tend more strongly to evince his native indolence and facility of disposition than those public transactions which may justly be supposed to result from study and deliberation.

One day, as he was reposing himself on a couch, a servant, who did not know he was there, entered the room without perceiving the king; and repairing to a chest of money that was open, took out a part of its contents. Encouraged by the success of his first attempt, he returned in a few minutes; when the king, thinking to put a stop to his rapacity—"Boy," said he very calmly, "you had better rest satisfied with what you have got; for should Hugolin my chamberlain come and catch you, he will not only take from you what you first stole, but order you to be severely whipped."

Another time, as he was hunting, a sport to which he was greatly attached, an insolent peasant crossed the hounds for the express purpose of spoiling his diversion; upon which the king rode up to him in a violent passion, and exclaimed---"By our Lady, fellow, I would be revenged on thee, were it in my power!"

Upon the whole, we may conclude that, though Edward possessed few qualities which could entitle him to the appellation of a great monarch, he was endued with many that gave him a just claim to the more enviable title of a good man.

HAROLD II.

THE accession of Harold to the throne of England in January, 1066, was attended with as little opposition and disturbance, as if he had succeeded by the most clear and indisputable title. The citizens of London were his zealous partizans: the clergy had espoused his cause; and all the powerful nobility, connected with him by alliance or friendship, willingly seconded his pretensions. The title of Edgar Atheling was scarcely noticed; much less the claim of the duke of Normandy; and Harold, assembling his friends, received the crown from their hands, without waiting for the free deliberation of the states, or regularly submitting the question to their determination (*k*). If any were averse to this measure, they were obliged to conceal their sentiments; and the new prince, taking a general silence for consent, and founding his title on the supposed suffrages of the people, which appeared unanimous, was, on the day immediately succeeding Edward's death, crowned and anointed king, by Aldred archbishop of York, at the cathedral of St. Paul; and the whole nation seemed joyfully to acquiesce in this elevation.

The commencement of the reign of Harold was marked by many popular acts of government, which afforded ample testimony of his wisdom, and of a close attention to the rights and liberties of his subjects. He treated the clergy with a becoming deference, without paying a blind submission to their will. When he found them guilty of irregularities, he exercised a requisite severity; but did not fail to bestow the most signal marks of his royal favour on those whose conduct was suitable to their character, rewarding them by a confirmation of their charters, and a reasonable extension of their immunities. He enforced a most rigid and impartial administration of justice, commanded an attentive revision of the laws, and inflicted the most exemplary punishment on all robbers and violaters of the public tranquillity, whom the lenity of the late reign had rather encouraged than repressed. He conferred on Edgar Atheling the earldom of Oxford; cultivated the favour of the nobility by acts of kindness and friendship; eased the people of many burthensome taxes; and established such salutary regulations for the security of their property, that his authority was in no danger of being exposed to the dangerous attacks of domestic commotions; and, in order to defend his dominions from foreign invasion, he prepared a powerful fleet and army to repel any attempts that might be made on them.

The first symptoms of danger which the king discovered came from abroad, and from his own brother Tosti, who had submitted to a voluntary banishment in Flanders. Enraged at the successful ambition of Harold, to which he himself had fallen a victim, he filled the court of Baldwin with complaints of the injustice he had suffered: he engaged the interest of that family against his brother: he endeavoured to form intrigues with some of the discontented nobles in England: he sent his emissaries to Norway, in order to rouse the freebooters of that kingdom to arms, and to excite their hopes of reaping advantage from the unsettled state of affairs on the usurpation of the new king: and that he might render the combination more formidable, he made a journey to Normandy; in expectation that the duke, who had married Matilda, another daughter of Baldwin, would, in revenge of his own wrongs, as well as those of Tosti, second, by his counsels and forces, the projected invasion of England.

William duke of Normandy, when he first received intelligence of Harold's accession, had been moved to the highest pitch of indignation; but that he might give the better colour to his pretensions, he sent an embassy to England, upbraiding that prince with his breach of faith, and summoning him to resign instantly possession of the kingdom. Harold replied to the Norman ambassadors, that the oath, with which he was reproached, had been extorted by fear of personal violence, and therefore could never be regarded as obligatory: that he had had no commission, either from the late king or the states of England, who alone could dispose of the crown, to make any tender of the succession to the duke of Normandy; and if he, a private person, had assumed so much authority, and had even voluntarily sworn to support the duke's pretensions, the oath was unlawful, and it was his duty to seize the first opportunity of breaking it: that he had obtained the crown by the unanimous suffrages of the people; and should prove himself totally unworthy of their favour, did he not maintain those national liberties, with whose protection they had entrusted him: and that the duke, if he made any attempt by force of arms, should experience the power of an united nation, conducted by a prince, who, sensible of the obligations imposed on him by the royal dignity, was determined that the same moment which might put a period to his government should put an end to his life.

This answer was no other than William expected; and therefore he made the most formidable preparations for war. Consulting only his courage, his resentment, and his ambition, he overlooked all the difficulties inseparable from an attack on a great kingdom by such inferior force, and he saw only the circumstances which would facilitate his enterprize. He considered that England, ever since the accession of Canute, had enjoyed profound tranquillity, during a period of nearly half a century; and it would require time for its soldiers, enervated by long peace, to learn discipline, and its generals experience. He knew that it was entirely unprovided with fortified towns, by which it could prolong the war; but must venture its whole fortune in one decisive action against a veteran enemy, who, being once master of the field, would be in a condition to overrun the kingdom. He saw that Harold, though he had given proofs of vigour and bravery, had newly mounted a throne, which he had acquired by faction, from which he had excluded a very ancient royal family, and which was likely to totter under him by its own instability, much more if shaken by any violent external impulse. And he hoped, that the very circumstance of his crossing the sea, quitting his own country, and leaving himself no hopes of retreat; as it would astonish the enemy by the boldness of the undertaking, would inspirit his soldiers by despair, and rouse them to sustain the reputation of the Norman arms.

The Normans had been long distinguished by valour among the European nations, and at this time had attained to the highest pitch of military glory. Besides dismembering France of such a noble territory as Neustria; besides defending it against the unremitted attempts of the French monarch and all its neighbours; besides exerting many acts of vigour under their present sovereign; they had, about this very time, revived their ancient fame, by the most hazardous exploits, and the most wonderful successes, in the other extremity of Europe. About the beginning of this century, a few Norman pilgrims, on their return from Jerusalem, having stopped at the town of Salermo in Italy, found it invested by a numerous army of Saracens; while the dispirited inhabitants, unable to defend themselves, were bargaining for their ransom. The Normans, enraged to find a spirit of cowardice prevail where confidence and vigour might have promoted success, immediately repaired to the governor, and made an offer

(*k*) Many of the historians say, that Harold was regularly elected by the states; some say, that Edward left him his successor by will.

offer to expel the enemy from his territories. Their services were joyfully accepted; and the succeeding night was fixed on for putting their promises in execution. Accordingly, about midnight, they boldly sallied from the town, to the number of sixty, accompanied by a few of the inhabitants, who had offered themselves as volunteers; and, attacking the camp of the enemy, put some thousands of the Saracens to the sword; while those who could escape the carnage, retired to their ships with precipitation, and instantly put to sea. The fame of this action was diffused all over Europe; and the pilgrims returning to Normandy, inspired their countrymen with such a spirit of emulation, that a numerous band of adventurers, under the command of Osmond, who was banished his country for murder, prepared to embark for Italy, with the view of enlisting in the service of the different princes, then engaged in a war with the Saracens. The success of this band induced others to follow; and, in the course of half a century, the Normans became so numerous in Italy, that having expelled not only the Saracens, but the Greeks and Germans, who had made inroads into the country, they subdued the Italians themselves; and taking possession of an extensive territory, laid the foundation of the kingdom of Naples and the Two Sicilies. These enterprizes of men, who were all of them vassals in Normandy, many of them banished for faction and rebellion, excited the ambition of William; who disdained, after such examples of fortune and valour, to be deterred from making an attack on a neighbouring country, where he could be supported by the whole force of his dominions.

The situation also of Europe inspired William with hopes, that, besides his brave Normans, he might employ against England the flower of the military force which was dispersed in all the neighbouring states. France, Germany, and the Low Countries, by the progress of the feudal institutions, were divided and subdivided into many principalities and baronies; and the possessors, enjoying the civil jurisdiction within themselves, as well as the right of arms, acted, in many respects, as independent sovereigns, and maintained their properties and privileges less by the authority of laws than by their own force and valour. A military spirit had universally diffused itself throughout Europe; and the several leaders, whose minds were elevated by their princely situation, embraced the most hazardous enterprizes with avidity; and being accustomed to nothing from their infancy but recitals of the success attending wars and battles, they were prompted by a natural ambition to imitate those adventurers, which they heard so much celebrated, and which were so much exaggerated by the credulity of the age. United, however loosely, by their duty to one superior lord, and by their connexions with the great body of the community to which they belonged, they desired to spread their fame each beyond his own district; and in all assemblies, whether instituted for civil deliberations, for military expeditions, or merely for shew and entertainment, to outvie each other by the reputation of strength and prowess. Hence their genius for chivalry; hence their impatience of peace and tranquillity; and hence their readiness to embark in any dangerous enterprize, how little soever interested in its failure or success.

William, by his power, his courage, and his abilities, had long maintained a pre-eminence among those haughty chieftains; and every one who desired to signalize himself by his address in military exercises, or his valour in action, had been ambitious of acquiring a reputation in the court and in the armies of Normandy. Entertained with that hospitality and courtesy which distinguished the age, they had formed attachments with the prince, and greedily attended to the prospects of the signal glory and elevation which he promised them in return for their concurrence in an expedition against England. The more grandeur there appeared in the attempt, the more it suited their romantic spirit: the fame of the intended invasion was already diffused in all directions: multitudes crowded to tender their service to the duke, together with that of their vassals and retainers; and William found less difficulty in completing his levies, than in chusing the most veteran forces, and in rejecting the offers of those who were impatient to acquire fame under so renowned a warrior.

Besides these advantages, which William owed to his personal valour and good conduct; he was indebted to fortune for procuring him some assistance, and also for removing many obstacles which he naturally expected in an undertaking, in which all his neighbours were so deeply interested. Conan, count of Britanny, was his inveterate foe: in order to throw a damp upon the duke's enterprize, he chose this conjuncture for reviving his claim to Normandy itself; and required, that in case of William's success against England, the possession of that duchy should devolve to him. But Conan died suddenly after making this demand; and Hoel, his successor, instead of adopting the malignity of his predecessor, zealously seconded the duke's views, and sent his eldest son, Alain Fergeant, to serve under him with a body of five thousand Bretons. The counts of Anjou, Poictou, Maine, and Boulogne, also engaged to supply him with troops and transports, on condition of being repaid for their services by a stipulated portion of land after the conquest of England; and even the court of France, though it might justly fear the aggrandizement of so dangerous a vassal, pursued not its interests on this occasion with sufficient vigour and resolution. Philip I. the reigning monarch, was a minor; and William, having communicated his project to the council, having desired assistance, and offered to do homage, in case of his success, for the crown of England, was indeed openly ordered to lay aside all thoughts of the expedition; but the earl of Flanders, his father-in-law, being at the head of the regency, favoured under-hand his levies, and secretly encouraged the adventurous nobility to enlist under the standard of the Norman duke.

The emperor of Germany, Henry IV. besides openly giving his vassals permission to embark in this expedition, which so much engaged the attention of Europe, promised his protection to the duchy of Normandy during the absence of the prince, and thereby enabled him to employ his whole force in the invasion of England. But the most important ally, whom William gained by his negociations, was the pope, who had a mighty influence over the ancient barons, no less devout in their religious principles, than valorous in their military exploits. The Roman pontiff, after an insensible progress during several ages of darkness and ignorance, began now to lift his head openly above all the princes of Europe; to assume the office of a mediator, or even an arbiter, in the quarrels of the greatest monarchs; to interpose in all secular affairs; and to obtrude his dictates as sovereign laws on his obsequious disciples. It was a sufficient motive to Alexander II. the reigning pope, for embracing William's quarrel, that he had made an appeal to his tribunal, and rendered him umpire of the dispute between him and Harold; but there were other advantages which that pontiff foresaw must result from the conquest of England by the Normans. That kingdom, though at first converted by Romish missionaries, though it had afterwards advanced some farther steps towards subjection to Rome, maintained still a considerable independence in its ecclesiastical administration; and forming a world within itself, entirely separated from the rest of Europe, it had hitherto proved inaccessible to those exorbitant claims which supported the grandeur of the papacy. Alexander therefore hoped, that the French and Norman barons, if successful in their enterprize, might import into that country a more devoted reverence to the holy see, and bring the English churches to a nearer conformity with those of the continent. He declared immediately in favour of William's claim; pronounced Harold a perjured usurper; denounced excommunication against him and his adherents; and the more to encourage the duke of Normandy in his undertaking, he sent him a consecrated banner, and a ring with one of St. Peter's hairs in it. Thus were all the ambition and violence of that invasion covered over safely with the broad mantle of religion.

The greatest difficulty which William had to encounter in his preparations, arose from his own subjects in Normandy. The states of the duchy were assembled at Lisle-bonne; and supplies being demanded for the intended enterprize, which promised so much glory and advantage to their country, there appeared a reluctance in many members, both to grant sums so much beyond the common measure of taxes in that age, and to set a precedent of performing their military service at a distance from their own country. The duke, finding it dangerous to solicit them in a body, conferred separately with the richest individuals in the province; and beginning with those on whose affections he most relied, he gradually engaged all of them to advance the sums demanded. The count of Longueville seconded him in this negociation; as did the count of Mortaigne, Odo bishop of Baieux (brother to the duke,) and especially William Fitz-Osborne, count of Breteuil, and constable of the duchy. Every person,

when he himself was once engaged, endeavoured to bring over others; and at last the states themselves, after stipulating that this concession should be no precedent, voted that they would assist their prince to the utmost in his intended expedition.

William had by this time collected a fleet of three thousand vessels, and assembled an army of sixty thousand men; among whom were more than five thousand nobles, four hundred and fifty of whom were of the first rank. The most celebrated were Guy, count of Ponthieu; Alain Fergeant, count of Dol; Amaury, viscount of Thouars; the lords of Vetré, Châteaugiron, Gael, and Loheac; all of them Bretons. The chief of the Normans were Odo, bishop of Baieux; the count of Mortaigne, and his son Geoffrey de Rotrou; Roger, count of Beaumont, and his son Robert; the count of Longueville; with the lords of Avranches, Touques, Etouteville, Arques, Gournay, and St. Sauveur de Cotentin, an old general of eighty, who was resolved to terminate a life of glory in the field of honour. There were also Eustace, count of Boulogne; Hugh, count of Estaples; William Fitz-Richard, count of Evreux; William de Warrenne; Hugh de Grentmesnil; Charles Martel; Roger de Montgomery; and Walter Giffard. To these courageous chieftains William promised the spoils of England, as a reward for their valour; and, pointing to the British coast, told them that was the field in which they must render their names immortal, and procure themselves honourable establishments.

While he was making these immense preparations, the duke, that he might increase the number of Harold's enemies, excited the inveterate rancour of Tosti, and encouraged him, in concert with Harold Harfager, king of Norway, to infest the coasts of England. Tosti, having collected about sixty vessels in the ports of Flanders, put to sea; and after committing some depredations on the south and east coasts, about the beginning of September, he sailed to Northumberland, where he was joined by Harfager, who came over with an armament of three hundred sail. The combined fleets entered the Humber, and disembarked the troops, who began to extend their depredations on all sides; when Morcar earl of Northumberland, and Edwin earl of Mercia, the king's brothers-in-law, having hastily collected some forces, ventured to oppose their progress; and the two armies meeting at Fulford near York, on the 19th of September, an obstinate engagement ensued; but the numbers and discipline of the enemy at length prevailing, the English sustained a total defeat.

The Norwegians then marched to York, which was compelled to open its gates to them: but their triumph was of short duration; for Harold, being apprized of their descent, marched with an army to the protection of his people, who flocked to his standard from all quarters; so that by the time he reached the enemy he found himself in a condition to give them battle. The action took place on the 24th of September, near Stanford Bridge, since called Battle Bridge, situated on the river Derwent, at a small distance from York. Here the Norwegians had thrown up strong entrenchments, and taken possession of an advantageous post on the opposite banks of the river, being masters of the only bridge by which they could possibly be attacked. When Harold approached, he saw that this important passage must be gained at all events; and therefore ordered the attack to be made without delay. The Norwegians long defended the bridge with great courage; but were at last compelled to yield to the more vigorous efforts of the English. A single Norwegian, however, is said, by many historians, to have maintained his post against the whole army of the English for a considerable time. Brompton affirms, that he killed forty men with his own hand, and continued to fight till slain by an arrow. When Harold had gained possession of the bridge, he crossed the river with his army, and attacked the enemy in their entrenchments. The battle lasted from seven in the morning till three in the afternoon, and was sustained with obstinate valour on both sides; but the English obtained a decisive victory. Both Harfager and Tosti were slain, and almost the whole of the Norwegian army cut to pieces. All the spoils which they had made were retaken; and their whole fleet fell into the hands of Harold, who generously granted prince Olaus, the son of Harfager, his liberty, and suffered him to depart with twenty vessels. But Harold had scarcely time to rejoice for this victory when he received intelligence that the duke of Normandy was landed with a powerful army on the southern coast.

The Norman fleet and army had been assembled, early in the summer, at the mouth of the small river Dive, and all the troops had been instantly embarked; but the winds proved long contrary, and detained them in that harbour. The authority, however, of the duke, the good discipline maintained among the seamen and soldiers, and the great care in supplying them with provisions, had prevented any disorder; when at last the wind became favourable, and enabled them to sail along the coast, till they reached St. Valori. There were, however, several vessels lost in this short passage; and as the wind again proved contrary, the army began to imagine that Heaven had declared against them, and that, notwithstanding the pope's benediction, they were destined to certain destruction. These bold warriors, who despised real dangers, were very subject to the dread of imaginary ones; and many of them began to mutiny, some of them even to desert their colours; when the duke, in order to support their drooping hopes, ordered a procession to be made with the reliques of St. Valori, and prayers to be said for more favourable weather. The wind fortunately changed: and as this incident happened on the eve of the feast of St. Michael, the tutelar saint of Normandy, the soldiers, fancying they saw the finger of Providence in all these concurring circumstances, set out with great alacrity: they met with no opposition on their passage: a great fleet, which Harold had assembled, and which had cruised all summer off the Isle of Wight, had been dismissed, on his receiving false intelligence that William, discouraged by contrary winds and other accidents, had laid aside his preparations. The Norman armament, proceeding in great order, arrived, without any material loss, at Pevensey in Sussex; and the army disembarked without opposition. The duke himself, as he leaped on shore, happened to stumble and fall; but had the presence of mind, it is said, to turn this omen, which might otherwise have discouraged his superstitious forces, to his advantage, by calling aloud that he had thus taken possession of the country. And a soldier, running to a neighbouring cottage, plucked some thatch, which, as if giving him seizine of the kingdom, he presented to his general. The joy and alacrity of William and his whole army was great, and they were in nowise dismayed when they heard of Harold's victory over the Norwegians.

After a short stay at Pevensey, he marched along the sea coast to Hastings; where he caused a fort to be erected, and published a manifesto, containing the motives which induced him to invade the island, in hopes that some of the English might be prevailed upon to espouse his cause. He declared that he came to revenge the death of prince Alfred, brother to Edward; to effect the restoration of Robert the Norman to the see of Canterbury; and to assist the English in inflicting a punishment on Harold for having usurped the crown, in direct violation of the oath he had taken at the Norman court. Reasons more frivolous and absurd could not well have been suggested: it is not surprizing, therefore, that they were not able to procure him a single partizan (*l*).

Harold's victory over the Norwegians, though great and honourable had proved in the main prejudicial to his interests, and may be regarded as the immediate cause of his ruin. He lost many of his bravest officers and soldiers in the action; and he disgusted the rest, by refusing to distribute the Norwegian spoils among them: a conduct which was little agreeable to his usual generosity of temper; but which his desire of sparing the people, in the war that impended over him from the duke of Normandy, had probably occasioned. He hastened, by quick marches, to reach this new invader; but though he was reinforced at London and other places with fresh troops, he found himself also weakened by the desertion of his old soldiers, who from fatigue and discontent secretly withdrew from their colours. His brother Girth, a man of bravery and conduct, began to entertain apprehensions of the event; and remonstrated with the king, that it would be better policy to prolong the war; at least, to spare his own person in the action. He urged to him, that the desperate situation of the duke of Normandy made it requisite for that prince to bring matters to a speedy decision, and put his whole fortune on the issue of a single battle; but that

(*l*) It is worthy of remark, that in this manifesto not the smallest mention was made of any will executed, or intended to be executed, by Edward, in favour of William, nor even of any verbal promise, though it is natural to suppose that William would not have neglected to promulgate every possible reason that could tend to afford the smallest colour of justice to his pretensions. *See above, p. 60. note (k).*

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the king of England, in his own country, beloved by his subjects, provided with every supply, had more certain and less dangerous means of ensuring to himself the victory: that the Norman troops, elated on the one hand with the highest hopes, and seeing, on the other, no resource in case of a discomfiture, would fight to the last extremity; and being the flower of all the warriors of the continent, must be regarded as formidable to the English: that if the first fire, which is always the most dangerous, were allowed to languish for want of action; if they were harassed with small skirmishes, straitened in provisions, and fatigued with the bad weather and deep roads during the winter season, which was approaching, they must fall an easy and a bloodless prey to their enemy: that if a general action were delayed, the English, sensible of the imminent danger to which their properties, as well as liberties, were exposed from those rapacious invaders, would hasten from all quarters to his assistance, and would render his army invincible: that, at least, if he thought it necessary to hazard a battle, he ought not to expose his own person; but reserve, in case of disastrous accidents, some resource to the liberty and independence of the kingdom: and that having once been so unfortunate as to be constrained to swear, and that upon the holy reliques, to support the pretensions of the duke of Normandy, it were better that the command of the army should be entrusted to another, who, not being bound by those sacred ties, might give the soldiers more assured hopes of a prosperous issue to the combat.

These remonstrances, though founded in prudence, were rejected by Harold; who, elated with his past prosperity, as well as stimulated by his native courage, resolved to give battle in person; and for that purpose drew near to the Normans, who had removed their camp and fleet to Hastings, where they fixed their quarters. He was so confident of success, that he sent a message to the duke, promising him a sum of money if he would depart the kingdom without effusion of blood; but his offer was rejected with disdain; and William, not to be behind with his enemy in vaunting, sent him a message by some monks, requiring him either to resign the kingdom, or to hold it of him in fealty, or to submit their cause to the arbitration of the pope, or to fight him in single combat. Harold replied, that the God of battles would soon be the arbiter of all their differences.

The English and Normans now prepared themselves for this important decision; but the aspect of things, on the night before the battle, was very different in the two camps. The English spent the time in riot, and jollity, and disorder; the Normans in silence, and in prayer, and in the other functions of their religion. On the morning, the duke called together the most considerable of his commanders, and made them a speech suitable to the occasion. He represented to them, that the event, which they and he had long wished for, was approaching; the whole fortune of the war now depended on their swords, and would be decided in a single action: that never army had greater motives for exerting a vigorous courage, whether they considered the prize which would attend their victory, or the inevitable destruction which must ensue upon their discomfiture: that if their martial and veteran bands could once break those raw soldiers, who had rashly dared to approach them, they conquered a kingdom at one blow, and were justly entitled to all its possessions as the reward of their prosperous valour: that, on the contrary, if they remitted in the least their wonted prowess, an enraged enemy hung upon their rear, the sea met them in their retreat, and an ignominious death was the certain punishment of their imprudent cowardice: that, by collecting so numerous and brave a host, he had ensured every human means of conquest; and the commander of the enemy, by his criminal conduct, had given him just cause to hope for the favour of the Almighty, in whose hands alone lay the event of wars and battles: and that a perjured usurper, anathematized by the sovereign pontiff, and conscious of his own breach of faith, would be struck with terror on their appearance, and would prognosticate to himself that fate which his multiplied crimes had so justly merited. The duke next divided his army into three lines: the first, led by Montgomery, consisted of archers and light-armed infantry: the second, commanded by Martel, was composed of his bravest battalions, heavy-armed, and ranged in close order: his cavalry, at whose head he placed himself, formed the third line; and were so disposed, that they stretched beyond the infantry, and flanked each wing of the army. He ordered the signal of battle to be given; and the whole army, moving at once, and singing the hymn or song of Roland, the famous peer of Charlemagne, advanced in order and with alacrity towards the enemy.

Harold had seized the advantage of a rising ground, and having likewise drawn some trenches to secure his flanks, he resolved to stand upon the defensive, and to avoid all action with the cavalry, in which he was inferior. The Kentish men were placed in the van; a post which they had always claimed as their due: the Londoners guarded the standard; and the king himself, accompanied by his two valiant brothers, Girth and Leofwin, dismounting, placed himself at the head of his infantry, and expressed his resolution to conquer, or to perish in the attempt. The first attack of the Normans was desperate, but was received with equal valour by the English; and after a furious combat, which remained long undecided, the former, overcome by the difficulty of the ground, and hard pressed by the enemy, began first to relax their vigour, then to retreat; and confusion was spreading among the ranks, when William, who found himself on the brink of destruction, hastened with a select band to the relief of his dismayed forces. His presence restored the action; the English were obliged to retire with loss; and the duke, ordering his second line to advance, renewed the attack with fresh forces, and with redoubled courage. Finding that the enemy, aided by the advantage of ground, and animated by the example of their prince, still made a vigorous resistance, he had recourse to a stratagem, which was very delicate in its management, but which seemed advisable in its desperate situation, where, if he gained not a decisive victory, he was completely undone: he commanded his troops to make a hasty retreat, and to allure the enemy from their ground by the appearance of flight. The artifice succeeded, and the English followed the Normans into the plain. William gave orders, that at once the infantry should face about upon their pursuers, and the cavalry make an assault upon their wings, and both of them pursue the advantage, which the surprize and terror of the enemy must give them in that critical juncture. The English were repulsed with great slaughter, and driven back to the hill; where, being rallied by the bravery of Harold, they were able, notwithstanding their loss, to maintain the post, and continue the combat. The duke tried the same stratagem a second time with the same success; but even after this double advantage, he still found a great body of the English, who, maintaining themselves in firm array, seemed determined to dispute the victory to the last extremity. He ordered his heavy-armed infantry to make an assault upon them; while his archers, placed behind, should gall the enemy, who were exposed by the situation of the ground, and who were intent in defending themselves against the swords and spears of the assailants. By this disposition he at last prevailed: Harold was slain by an arrow, which entering the eye, penetrated his brain, while he was combating with great bravery at the head of his troops: his two brothers shared the same fate; and the English, discouraged by the fall of those princes, gave ground on all sides, and were pursued with great slaughter by the victorious Normans. A few troops, however, of the vanquished had still the courage to turn upon their pursuers; and attacking them in deep and miry ground, obtained some revenge for the slaughter and dishonour of the day. But the appearance of the duke obliged them to seek their safety by flight; and darkness saved them from any farther pursuit of the enemy.

Thus was gained by William, duke of Normandy, the great and decisive victory of Hastings, on the 14th of October, 1066, after a battle which was fought from morning till sunset, and which seemed worthy, by the heroic valour displayed by both armies, and by both commanders, to decide the fate of a mighty kingdom. William had three horses killed under him; and there fell near fifteen thousand men on the side of the Normans: the loss was still more considerable on that of the vanquished; besides the death of the king and his two brothers. The succeeding morning his soldiers were employed in burying their dead; while the neighbouring peasants were allowed to perform the same sad office to their mangled countrymen. The body of Harold, defaced with wounds, was discovered with difficulty, and carried to William, who ordered it to be restored without a ransom, together with those of his brothers Girth and Leofwin, to their mother Githa, by whom it was interred, with due honours, in the Abbey of Waltham, which Harold himself had founded.

Thus

Thus perished Harold, in defence of his own rights, and those of his subjects, against the lawless ambition of a foreign usurper. Though he prepared his way to the throne by unjustifiable attempts to acquire popularity, yet he certainly enjoyed it by the best of all possible titles—the unanimous suffrages of the people; and the wisdom and equity of his administration, during his short reign of nine months and nine days, proved him truly worthy of the elevated station to which he had been raised. Harold, doubtless, possessed many virtues; and though resolute and undaunted in the hour of danger, he was liberal, affable, and humane.

Harold was twice married.—By his first wife, whose name is unknown, he had three sons, Edmund, Godwin, and Magnus, who retired into Ireland after the death of their father. By his second wife, Edgiva, sister of Morcar and Edwin, he had a son named Wulf, who was afterwards knighted by William Rufus; and two daughters, the eldest of whom, Gunilda, being deprived of her sight, retired to a nunnery, where she remained till her death: the youngest was married to Waldemar, king of Russia; by whom she had a daughter, who was married to Waldemar, king of Denmark.

The death of Harold put an end to the dominion of the Anglo-Saxons in England, which had been continued for more than six hundred years since the accession of Hengist, the first monarch of Kent.

CHAP. IV.

History of the ENGLISH CHURCH, *from the Union of the Heptarchy under* EGBERT *to the* NORMAN INVASION—*Brief View of the State of* LEARNING.

ON the dissolution of the Heptarchy, in 827, the ecclesiastical bodies of the different kingdoms had reason to expect, that the union of the church under one temporal head would conduce to the interests of that establishment, in the same proportion in which the coalition of the several states would tend to the general benefit of the united nation. The event did not deviate from these expectations. But the flourishing state of the church was soon impaired by the invasion of the Danes, who were Pagans, and made a practice of plundering and burning the churches and monasteries, and who committed the most inhuman acts of unprovoked cruelty on the clergy, whom they frequently massacred with barbarous triumph. The constant repetition of their ravages proved detrimental to the church in other respects, by checking the spirit of agriculture, and impoverishing the people, who were consequently incapacitated from contributing to the maintenance of their clerical instructors. The parochial priests were unable to procure the regular allowance to which they were entitled; and such of the monks as were spared by the invaders, entered into a military or mechanical life, or fled to the continent. These disorders did not take place in their full extent till the reign of Ethelred I. when the Danes penetrated further into the inland parts of the kingdom than they had before done, and reduced the people to misery and despair. In the time of his successor Alfred, they repeated their devastations with such ferocious perseverance, that, notwithstanding all the efforts of that able prince for the deliverance of his country, both the church and state were violently convulsed: but, after his great victory at Eddington, in 878, a new scene presented itself. The churches were rebuilt; new monasteries were founded; and those which had not been entirely destroyed underwent a substantial repair. The ecclesiastical laws, which could not be properly enforced amidst the rage of extensive hostilities, were renewed, augmented, and improved. And, as learning was then at a low ebb, to which the distractions of the times had greatly contributed, the revival of it, particularly among the ministers of religion, employed a great portion of Alfred's attention. He filled the bishoprics and other preferments with men of competent literature, among whom Grimbald, (a French monk,) Asser of St. David's, (the writer of Alfred's life,) Plegmund archbishop of Canterbury, St. Neot the abbot, Werefrid and Wulfrig, bishops of Worcester and London, were the most distinguished.

In the reign of Alfred's son Edward, the king and his people are said to have been excommunicated by the pope, for suffering some bishoprics to continue several years unfilled. However this be, the king did not only fill up the vacant prelacies, but erected three new bishoprics, one at Crediton, another at Padstow, and the third at Wells, in 909. The Northumbrian and East-Anglian Danes having deserted Christianity in this prince's reign, at the time of their revolting from his authority, he testified his regard for that religion by making their re-conversion one of the conditions on which he granted them peace.

Athelstan, the successor of Edward the Elder, was not inattentive to the prosperity of the church. He held several councils for the regulation of ecclesiastical affairs, in one of which, in 928, the payment of tithes to the clergy was strictly enjoined. Hence we may suppose that king Ethelwulf's ordinance for that purpose had not been sufficiently observed; and the new edict does not appear to have met with general acquiescence, as the same point was afterwards strongly inculcated by Odo archbishop of Canterbury, in a collection of canons which he published in his capacity of primate, in 943. In the following year, some ecclesiastical statutes were promulgated with a better sanction than the sole authority of the metropolitan; a great council, consisting both of clergy and laity, being convoked by Edmund at London. One of the canons of this council ordained, that the tithes, church-scot, and alms-fee (*m*), should be regularly paid to the clergy on pain of excommunication; whence it appears, that the tenth part of the produce of the land was not deemed sufficient, but that eleemosynary fees and church-scot were still required. In a subsequent assembly convened by this monarch, in 946, some matrimonial regulations were enacted, though this was rather an enforcement of former customs, than the introduction of any novelties. It was ordered, that whoever wished to enter into the state of matrimony, should first obtain the consent of the lady's guardian (for every woman was subject to the guardianship or protection of a person of the opposite sex;) that he should give security for the proper treatment of his future wife; that he should immediately settle a certain dowry on her, of which she might retain the usufruct during marriage; and that he should then fix the amount of her jointure; with respect to which, the synod recommended half the husband's estate as not more than an adequate settlement. After these stipulations, for which securities were given, the nuptial ceremony was performed by the mass-priest. It was a custom more generally observed than at present, for all the relatives of the bride and bridegroom, within the third degree of consanguinity, testified their satisfaction by presents proportioned to their circumstances; and, at the same time, the bride's guardian (who was her father, or, in case of his death, her elder brother, otherwise the nearest male kinsman) presented the bridegroom with his wife's fortune.

In the reign of Edred, the rigid rules of St. Benedict were introduced into some of the English monasteries by the influence of the celebrated St. Dunstan, abbot of Glastonbury, who had reduced that devout prince under the most implicit subjection. The views of this aspiring priest were indeed checked by Edwy, the successor of Edred, by whom he was banished; but, in the reign of Edgar, he shone after his eclipse with redoubled lustre. On the death of Odo (*n*), in 958, who had been a warm advocate for Dunstan's scheme of making celibacy an indispensable requisite of the monkish character, Elfsin

(*m*) The *church-scot*, was a tax of a Saxon penny on every house rented at thirty pence, and it increased in a regular proportion. The *alms-fee* was a certain offering which the clergy annually required of the laity.

(*n*) The conduct of the clergy in the unhappy times of which we are speaking, exclusive of their readiness to profit by the ignorance of the laity, seems to have been swayed by a spirit of violence and rapine, and wholly devoid of that meekness and humility which a strict attention to the three principles of the Christian religion could not have failed to inspire. The justice of this accusation is amply evinced by the following passage from "The Constitutions of Odo," archbishop of Canterbury, which were published in the year 943.—"I strictly command and charge," says that haughty and tyrannical primate, "that no man presume to lay any tax on the possessions of the clergy, who are the sons of God, as the sons of God ought to be exempt from all earthly impositions in every kingdom of the globe. If any man shall dare to disobey the discipline of the church in this particular, he will be possessed of more wickedness and presumption than the soldiers who crucified Christ. I command the king, the princes, and all those who are in authority, to obey, with great humility, the archbishops and bishops, for they have the keys of the kingdom of Heaven."—A more imperious and arrogant rhapsody scarcely ever fell from the pen of an ecclesiastical despot!

bishop of Winchester was translated by Edwy to the primacy; but this prelate dying while he was on his journey to Rome for the pall, Brithelm was preferred, in 959, by the same prince, from the see of Wells to that of Canterbury. The new primate, however, being hostile to the encroachments of the Benedictine monks on the married clergy, who were on the point of being ejected by Dunstan from the monasteries and cathedrals, for which marriage had not hitherto been regarded as a disqualification, all the artifice and interest of that intriguing abbot were employed to remove Brithelm from his metropolitan dignity. Edgar, whose revolt against his brother had been cordially encouraged by the monks, remembered their exertions with gratitude, after he had obtained the full sovereignty of England by the death of Edwy; and was eager to serve their leader Dunstan, in whose favour he consented to the deposition of Brithelm, in 960, as a prelate who was destitute of that knowledge, spirit, and ability, which the important station of primate required.

The principal feature of the ecclesiastical government under archbishop Dunstan, was the expulsion of the married clergy from the monastic foundations; a design which was attended with such success, that, by the end of Edgar's reign, there was scarcely a monastery unfilled with Benedictine monks, the professed followers of a life of celibacy. In this reign, several councils were holden, in one of which the annual payment of Peter-pence was enjoined under a heavy penalty. In another synod, a great number of penitential canons, supposed to have been framed by Dunstan himself, were enacted; some of which are pregnant with the grossest absurdity and superstition.

The progress of the dispute between the monks and secular clergy, and the methods pursued by Dunstan in the reign of Edward the Martyr so fully promoted the triumph of the former over the latter, that it is hardly necessary to observe, that the monasteries to the southward of the Humber were at length completely appropriated to unmarried ecclesiastics (*o*).

The long reign of Ethelred II. was particularly unfortunate, both with regard to the church and state. While the renewal of Danish invasions convulsed and impoverished the kingdom, the payment of ecclesiastical dues could not be expected to proceed in a regular train; and the plundering and burning of the churches and monasteries augmented the distress of the clergy, who at the same time lost many individuals of their order by the sword of the Danes. After a series of destructive ravages, the metropolitan city of Canterbury was invested by these barbarians, and taken on the twentieth day of the siege, its capture being accelerated by the treachery of an archdeacon named Elmer. The greater part of it was reduced to ashes; and nine-tenths of the inhabitants, whether monks, secular priests, or lay citizens, were massacred in various modes of torture. Alphage, who then filled the archiepiscopal see, was carried in fetters on board the Danish fleet; and when he had remained in confinement for seven months, he was murdered in a council of chieftains, in 1012, because he was either unwilling or unable to pay the sum of three thousand pounds, which they demanded for his ransom.

The return of peace, on the accession of Canute, in 1017, contributed to the retrieval of the affairs of the church. That prince was a zealous promoter, in his new dominions, of the interests of religion. He procured the enactment of many ecclesiastical laws: he erected several new churches, and repaired the ruined monasteries: he increased the endowments of some of these foundations, and confirmed the privileges which they had before enjoyed: he assumed the deportment of a pious Christian, that his example might encourage the devotions of his people. Egelnoth, the second archbishop of Canterbury after Alphage, was in high favour with this monarch, whose views for the benefit of the church he prompted by his advice and exhortations.

Among the canons enacted in the reign of Canute, there were some extremely favourable to priests; it being ordained by one, in particular, that if a priest should be accused of a crime by only three persons, he should be at liberty to purge himself by his single oath at mass; and that, if he should have six accusers, his own oath, taken at the eucharist, should be corroborated by similar attestations from two other priests. In the former of these contingencies, the escape depended solely on the conscience of the delinquent, who would not perhaps be very scrupulous of adding perjury to his prior offence; and, in the latter case, he might easily, in an age when breaches of faith and violations of conscience were frequent, procure two individuals of his own fraternity to join in his exculpation. Another canon, however, which was adopted by the same council, was less indulgent to his priestly order, as it enjoined celibacy to the clergy in general, but more particularly to priests. This statute, being inimical to the animal propensities of our nature, appears to have been little regarded, as it required occasional enforcement in succeeding times.

From this time to the invasion of England by William duke of Normandy, few facts of moment occur in the annals of the English church. The reign of Edward the Confessor produced, indeed, some variations in the laws by which it was governed; but, of the canons now extant which are justly attributed to him, neither the novelty nor the importance can be deemed sufficient to claim the attention of the general reader. The attachment of the prince to the Normans, and their continental neighbours, induced him to favour them in the disposal of ecclesiastical preferments. He elevated Robert of Jumieges, a man of learning and ability, to the bishopric of London, whence he translated him to the see of Canterbury: he preferred two other Normans, William and Wulf, to the sees of London and Dorchester: he conferred on Herman, a Fleming, the bishopric of Ramsbury, which was soon united to that of Sherborne, for the emolument of this foreigner: he promoted to the sees of Crediton and Padstow one Leofric, a native of Lorrain, who immediately removed his episcopal seat to Exeter, and gave an early display of his authority by the expulsion of the monks from the abbey of St. Peter, in that city, in whose room he substituted secular clergy or canons. Robert was afterwards expelled by the interest of earl Godwin, in 1051, as were also Wulf and William, though the mild virtues of the last mentioned ecclesiastic soon procured his restoration to his prelacy; and some are of opinion that Wulf was permitted to return to his see.

Edward, being a prince of a religious turn of mind, was strongly disposed to augment the endowments of the church, and extend the privileges of the clergy; and his favours and benefactions to their order, added to those which so many of his predecessors had conferred on them, were highly detrimental to the state. The ecclesiastical lands being exempt from taxation, the government lost those considerable contributions which would have been reaped from the same property, if it had continued in the hands of the laity; and the only return which the nation received for this dereliction of a fair claim, consisted of the prayers of the clergy for public success, offered up with all the mummery of superstition, at a time when actual service was most essentially requisite (*p*). If the assertion of an eminent antiquary be true, that the clergy

(*o*) St. Dunstan died in 988, leaving behind him the character of the most active and enterprising churchman that had appeared in England since the days of Wilfred, bishop of York. Making every reasonable deduction from the very pompous and extravagant encomiums which the monkish authors have lavished on the memory of this celebrated ecclesiastic, we may conclude that he was a man of talent and address, possessed of some mechanical ingenuity, and not unskilled in the learning of the times; that he was ambitious, violent, and vindictive; that he had little piety, and less virtue; and was more studious of the aggrandizement of his own order than of the general interests of the kingdom.

(*p*) Superstition indeed seems to have been at its height during the former part of the eleventh century. It may be in some measure accounted for from the general ignorance which pervaded the kingdom, and from the vast increase and astonishing influence of the monks. The consequence of this degenerate spirit was natural. A scrupulous observance of external ceremonies was deemed an ample discharge of religious duty; hoards of reliques were more highly valued than precepts of morality; munificence to the clergy was more strongly inculcated than charity to mankind; and a pilgrimage to Rome was regarded as the *ne plus ultra* of fervent piety. So great was the concourse of English vagrants, during this period, who repaired to that metropolis of bigotry, that the revenues of those princes whose territories lay on the road from England to Rome received an important increase from the mere exaction of tolls. That city was also the grand emporium for the toys of superstition, of which the pope and his clergy were furnished with inexhaustible stores. The cross was disposed of by retail, at an exorbitant price, to kings, princes, and prelates, whose fortunes were as great as their credulity; and such was the pious eagerness of the purchasers, that as much of it was disposed of in the course of two centuries, as would have sufficed to build a formidable fleet! The limbs of the apostles were likewise reserved for persons of opulence and distinction, though as many of them were constantly kept ready for sale as would have amply supplied all the cabinets of Europe! but the venders seem to have acted on that wary principle of commerce which forbids them to overstock the market, lest the value of the commodity should suffer diminution: subordinate bigots were therefore compelled to be satisfied with the limbs of subordinate saints. Some idea of the value of these

clergy had a third part of the cultivated lands of the whole kingdom in their possession, about the middle of the eleventh century, it will evidently appear, that the government must have been ill provided with effective support, and little calculated, after a long interval of peace, to resist so formidable an invasion as that of the Normans, reinforced as they were by the most celebrated warriors of the continent.

WITH respect to the literature of the period to which the present chapter refers, a few remarks will be sufficient. From what is affirmed by Alfred the Great of the wretched state of ignorance in which the English were immersed at the time of his accession, we may conclude that the gleam of light which irradiated the republic of letters in the days of Bede, though it did not wholly lose its lustre till nearly the middle of the ninth century, had then given way to the shades of profound darkness. This decline of learning may be chiefly ascribed to the ravages of the Danes, who vented their fury on the monastic and episcopal edifices, the only seats of mental instruction in those times.

The success of Alfred's military efforts against the Danes, gave him an opportunity of restoring the arts of peace, and of reviving literature and science. The learned churchmen who flourished under his auspices, having been mentioned in the former part of this chapter, we proceed to treat of those persons who were most distinguished by their erudition during the remainder of the Anglo-Saxon government. But, though Edward and Athelstan, the son and grandson of that prince, were patrons of learning, and prevented it from being entirely lost in their reigns, we do not read of any of their subjects who deserve mention as literati. From the death of Athelstan to that of the last Anglo-Saxon prince (a space of one hundred and twenty-five years, the only Englishmen celebrated for their learning were Odo, archbishop of Canterbury, St. Dunstan, his successor, and Alfric, a grammarian and translator of homilies; and their erudition was only remarkable from their appearing in times of ignorance, as a faint glimmering of light is conspicuous amidst the contrast of surrounding darkness.

BOOK V.

THE NORMAN LINE.

FROM THE NORMAN CONQUEST TILL THE ACCESSION OF HENRY II.

COMPRIZING THE REIGNS OF

WILLIAM I. WILLIAM II. SURNAMED RUFUS, HENRY I. AND STEPHEN.

CHAPTER I.

WILLIAM I. STYLED THE CONQUEROR.

HAVING got possession of the sovereignty, by appearing to accept the crown as a free gift from the English, William retired to Barking, in Essex; for he suspected the fidelity of the Londoners, and the fortresses which he had ordered to be erected, were not yet completed. At Barking he received the submissions of such of the nobility as had not been present at his coronation. Earl Coxo, a man renowned for his valour; Edric, grandnephew to Edric Streon; who was distinguished for his perfidy in former reigns; even Edwin and Morcar, came and swore fealty to him, together with many others of the principal nobility: they were all received into favour, and confirmed in the possession of their honours and their estates. By such means was William released from all apprehension of farther opposition; and, by a succession of occurrences, as fortunate as they were unexpected, he obtained the entire possession of a country, which, by a moderate exertion of its powers, might have resisted his utmost efforts, and have turned his glory into ignominy and disgrace.

William having accepted the crown, fixed on the approaching festival of Christmas for his coronation; and while the preparations for that ceremony were making, he resided at Barking, where he amused himself with the sports of the field. On the morning of Christmas day he repaired to the abbey of Westminster in magnificent procession, accompanied by many of the English nobility, and the principal of the Norman chieftains who had attended him in his expedition to this country. The prelate who officiated on this occasion was Aldred, archbishop of York, whom the new king preferred to Stigand, archbishop of Canterbury, for he regarded the latter as an illegal occupant of that see (*q*). Aldred commenced the business of the day by a short oration addressed to the English, at the close of which he enquired of them whether they would permit William to be crowned as their king. They testified their assent by general shouts of applause; and the Normans received with equal approbation a similar question put to them by Gothofred bishop of Coutances. After this form of election, which the success of William's arms had previously decided, he took the usual oath, purporting that he would be a protector of the church, would enact just laws, repress all violence and rapine, and govern with equity and impartiality. He then underwent the royal unction, and being placed on the throne, was invested with the diadem of the Anglo-Saxon kings. The acclamations which took place on this occasion were so loud and vehement, and the confused sounds of English and foreign voices were so alarming to the Norman soldiers who had been stationed round the abbey for the security of their master, that, apprehensive of the sinister intentions and the treachery of the natives, they resolved on immediate revenge. In the first ebullition of their fury, they set fire to the adjacent houses; and the tumult that ensued so terrified the spectators of the coronation, that they ran in haste out of the abbey church; but the exertions of William at length put a period to a riot, in which the aggressors exhibited a strong proof of the precipitancy and violence of the Norman character, and kindled the jealousy already entertained of them by the English into no small degree of animosity and hatred.

The first act of William's sovereignty was to seize on the treasure of Harold, at Winchester: by which important acquisition, and the valuable presents he received from many of his new subjects, he was enabled to distribute several sums among his troops; so that they were induced to wait patiently for those more solid rewards which he had promised them before their embarkation. He had likewise received assistance, both from the ecclesiastics of England and the continent, in the prosecution of his favourite scheme; therefore, he presented them with such tokens of his gratitude as he well knew would be acceptable. Harold's standard (remarkable for its elegant workmanship, and enriched with gold and jewels), was sent to the pope, with many valuable presents, not only as an acknowledgment of past obligation, but as a mean of procuring his future protection. All the monasteries and churches in France, where prayers had been put up for his success, were rewarded for their pious supplications. The English monks were promised countenance and support; and, to establish his sanctity, he built a convent near Hastings, in Sussex, which he called Battle Abbey, and to which he granted an exemption from episcopal jurisdiction (*r*).

He introduced into England that rigid execution of justice

these articles of religious traffic may be formed from the price given by Agelnoth, archbishop of Canterbury, for an arm of St. Augustine, bishop of Hippo, which he purchased from the pope when he was at Rome, in the year 1021. It was no less than one hundred talents, or six thousand pounds weight of silver, and one talent, or sixty pounds weight of gold! Since bishops, who at this period were the most strenuous advocates for monachism, were able to make such expensive purchases, we may reasonably conclude, that, however rigid their tenets might be in point of celibacy, they did not rank poverty in the class of monastic virtues.

(*q*) William of Newburgh, Brompton, and several other writers, assert that Stigand refused to crown William.

(*r*) At this convent, which was built in commemoration of his victory, prayers were continually offered up for his own soul and for that of



justice which had distinguished his government in Normandy. He enjoined his officers to be circumspect in their conduct to the English, to treat them with humanity, and to respect them as fellow-subjects. The strictest orders were issued to the army, to hinder the soldiers from violating the chastity of the women, and committing other outrages which the insolence of conquest is too apt to produce; and he published an edict to confirm the privileges of the people, and to fulfil the promises he made at his coronation. He appeared anxious to unite the English and the Normans by intermarriages and alliances; and all his new subjects that approached his person were received with respect. He displayed an appearance of unlimited confidence, and even confirmed Edgar Atheling, the lawful heir to the crown, in the earldom of Oxford, which Harold had conferred on him; and affected to treat him with great kindness, as the nephew of Edward the Confessor, whom he considered as his friend and benefactor. He granted a new charter to the city of London, secured its ancient privileges and immunities, and expressed his intention to preserve the Saxon laws and constitution. The better to reconcile the English to his authority, he made a progress through some parts of England; and by his majestic deportment, and the splendour of his court, he acquired a considerable portion of the esteem of the people, which he heightened by an artful display of justice and lenity.

Notwithstanding this appearance of clemency, he confiscated the estates, not only of Harold and his brothers, but of all those nobles who had perished at the battle of Hastings in defence of their country. To justify this act of injustice and violence, he represented Harold as an usurper: a subterfuge too trifling to impose on ignorance itself, and too contemptible for a monarch to employ; but fraud and rapine can only be supported by falsehood and chicanery. And beneath the confidence which he assumed, he harboured suspicion and mistrust; so that he took every precaution to secure by force what he had originally obtained by violence. Although he had confirmed the privileges of the citizens of London, he deprived them of their arms; as he did those of several other populous places which he feared might make a formidable resistance in case of a revolt. He also built the Tower of London, and caused citadels to be erected at Norwich, Winchester, Hereford, and other cities rendered important by their situation; all of which he garrisoned with Norman troops, since on them alone he could rely. The forfeited estates he bestowed on his most distinguished officers, and established funds for the payment of his forces. By these various proceedings he attempted to reconcile the civil administration of a legal sovereign with the military institutions of an arbitrary tyrant.

Finding his authority firmly established, he resolved to revisit Normandy. He therefore appointed his uterine brother Odo, bishop of Baieux, and William Fitz Osborne, to be regents of England during his absence. He embarked at Pevensey, in Sussex, about the close of March, 1067, and soon after arrived in his native country with a numerous fleet, and a splendid train of followers (*s*), whom he took with him, as much to prevent danger from revolt, as to add to the splendour of his court. During his stay in Normandy he was visited at the Abbey of Fescamp, where he resided for some time, by Rodolph, uncle to the king of France, and many other princes and nobles, who had contributed to his expedition against England, and were now anxious to congratulate him on its success. The English courtiers, willing to do him honour, strove to outvie each other in the splendour of their dress and the magnificence of their equipages; and by an ostentatious display of their riches they excited the astonishment and admiration of the Normans, who could not be restrained from displaying their insolence and pride; which mortified the English nobles, who considered themselves as honourable captives, led to Normandy to grace the triumph of an insolent conqueror.

But while William was gratifying his vanity in his native land, a spirit of revolt discovered itself in England. Murmurs and discontents were heard on every side; conspiracies were formed; hostilities actually commenced in some places; and every thing seemed to threaten a revolution as rapid as that which seated William on the throne. This sudden change was in consequence of the tyranny and oppression of the regents, who encouraged every species of disorder and excess; while the chief officers of the Norman army abused their power, and treated the English with great indignity (*t*).

The inhabitants of Kent, who had been the first to submit to the dominion of William, were more immediately exposed to the extortions and encroachments of Odo and his colleague in the regency; and these were the first to attempt to throw off the yoke. After repeated remonstrances without redress, they applied to Eustace, count of Boulogne, who assisted them in an attack upon the garrison of Dover, during the absence of Hugh de Montfort, governor of the castle: but the Normans repulsed the assailants with some slaughter, and took the nephew of count Eustace prisoner. This miscarriage, however, did not deter Edric the Forester, whose possessions lay on the banks of the Severn, from forming an alliance with Blethyn and Rhyvallon, two princes of Wales, and repelling the depredations of Richard Fitz Scrope, and others, and, in his turn, laying waste their possessions. But though these open hostilities were not very considerable, the disaffection among the English was general, and the people began, too late, to perceive that strength will ever give laws to justice. A secret conspiracy was therefore formed for destroying all the Normans, as the Danes had formerly been cut off; and this was prosecuted with so much animosity, that earl Coxo was put to death by his own vassals for refusing to head them in an insurrection, and persisting in his fidelity to William.

News of the insurrection having reached Normandy, William hastened to England, where he arrived on the 6th of December, just in time to prevent the execution of this sanguinary enterprize (*v*). His presence quickly disconcerted their schemes; those who had been more open in their mutiny betrayed their guilt by flight; and this served to confirm the proofs of an accusation against those who remained. William now began to lose all confidence in his English subjects, and to regard them as inveterate and implacable enemies. He had already raised such a number of fortresses in the kingdom, that he no longer dreaded the tumultuous efforts of a discontented multitude; he therefore determined to treat them as a conquered nation, to indulge his own avarice, and that of his followers, by numerous confiscations, and to secure his power by humbling all who were able to make any resistance. The first signal of his arbitrary power was manifested in renewing the odious tax of Danegeld, which had been abolished by Edward the Confessor. This measure produced remonstrances, complaints, and even insurrections, in different parts of the kingdom; but William, conscious of his power, marched against such as were most formidable, and soon compelled them to sue for mercy. In this manner the inhabitants of Exeter and Cornwall excited his resentment, and experienced his lenity (*u*).

Having quelled this revolt, he marched to Winchester, where he was joined by his consort Matilda, who now visited England for the first time. By William's order the ceremony of her coronation was performed by Aldred, on Whitsunday 1068. Soon after she was delivered of her fourth son, who was named Henry. Her three elder sons, Robert, Richard, and William, still remained in Normandy.

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of Harold; thus seeking to cover his vanity by the specious mask of devotion. Among other privileges with which he endowed this abbey, one was, that if any murderer or other felon took sanctuary there, he should be free from punishment.

(*s*) Among these were Edgar Atheling; Stigand, archbishop of Canterbury; the earls Edwin and Morcar; Waltheof, the son of earl Siward; and many others, distinguished from the extent of their possessions, the greatness of their families, or for their dignities either ecclesiastical or civil.

(*t*) It has been supposed, perhaps with some degree of probability, that this line of conduct was pursued in pursuance of secret instructions given by William himself to his brother the bishop of Baieux; that he might have an opportunity of rewarding his Norman followers by confiscating their estates.

(*v*) The conspirators had already taken the resolution, and fixed the day for their intended massacre, which was to have been on Ash-Wednesday, during the time of divine service, when the Normans always attended barefoot and unarmed, as penitents, according to the superstition of the times.

(*u*) When the king advanced against Exeter in 1068, he was met at some distance from the city by the magistrates, who, sensible of the inequality of the contest, had persuaded the people to submit, and to deliver hostages for their obedience. But a meeting among the populace broke this agreement, and the gates of the town were shut against William; who, appearing before the walls, ordered the eyes of one of the hostages to be put out in view of the rebels; which act of barbarity so intimidated them, that they sent another deputation to him, which being favourably received, the town was surrendered at discretion; and the conqueror evinced his clemency by pardoning the rebels, and setting guards at all the gates to protect the city from plunder.

But

But the insurrections in the west were slight, compared with that which broke out in the north in 1068, which seemed to threaten the most important consequences. This was excited by the intrigues of the two brothers, Edwin and Morcar, who were by far the most powerful of all the English nobles that had survived the battle of Hastings. These were joined by Blethyn, prince of North Wales, Malcolm, king of Scotland, and Sweyn, king of Denmark; and were resolved to make one great effort for the recovery of their ancient liberties. But the vigour and celerity of William destroyed their projects before they were ripe for execution; for, advancing towards them at the head of a powerful army, by forced marches, the two earls were so intimidated, that, instead of opposing, they had recourse to the conqueror's clemency, by submission. He did not think proper to reject their advances, and therefore pardoned them without hesitation. Archil, another powerful nobleman of the north followed their example, and delivered his son as a pledge for his future fidelity. A peace which William made with Malcolm, king of Scotland, shortly after, deprived them of all hopes of future assistance from that quarter.

Notwithstanding the successes of William, the inhabitants, whether English or Normans, were at that time in a most dreadful situation. All the miseries that insolence on the one hand, and hatred on the other; that tyranny and treason, suspicion and assassination, could bring upon a people, were there united. The Normans committed continual insults on the English, and these in vain sought redress from their partial masters. Thus legal punishment being denied, they had recourse to private vengeance; and a day seldom passed, but the bodies of assassinated Normans were found in the woods and highways, without any possibility of bringing the perpetrators to justice. Thus, at length, the conquerors themselves began to wish for the tranquility and security of their native land; and several of them, though entrusted with great commands, desired to be dismissed the service. In order to hinder these desertions, which William highly resented, he was obliged to induce others to stay, by the largeness of his bounties. These brought on fresh exactions, and new insurrections were the natural consequence.

Three sons of the late king Harold, viz. Godwin, Edmund, and Magnus, who had fled to Ireland after the fatal battle of Hastings, where they had met with a favourable reception from Dermot, prince of that country, now projected an invasion of England; and having found means to collect a body of forces, and a fleet of sixty ships, resolved to make an attempt to retrieve the ruined fortune of their family. They landed in Devonshire about the beginning of 1069; but being opposed by Briaux, son of Eudo, count of Bretagne, at the head of some foreign troops, they were defeated, and obliged to re-embark by night, and return to Ireland, with the loss of seventeen hundred men.

The efforts of the Normans were now directed to the North, where a general confusion prevailed. William had dispatched Robert de Comyn, with seven hundred men, to take possession of Durham, to the government of which he had been previously appointed; and that officer, neglecting the caution he had received from bishop Egelwin, who advised him to be upon his guard against the animosity of the inhabitants, suffered his troops to range about the city in small parties, committing every species of rapine, and even allowed them to extend their depredations into the adjacent country. The Northumbrians,' justly incensed at these acts of unprovoked violence, assembled in great numbers, and, taking the city by surprize, slew all the Normans they could meet with: they then proceeded to the bishop's castle, where the governor resided, and experienced such a vigorous resistance, that, being unable to force the gates, they were induced to set fire to it; and Robert de Comyn, with all his attendants, perished in the flames. The Norman governor of York, Robert Fitz-Richard, was likewise put to death; and the insurgents, being reinforced by a Danish army, commanded by Osborne, brother to Sweyn, king of Denmark, accompanied by his two brothers Harold and Canute, who had landed from a fleet of three hundred sail, laid siege to the castle, which was defended by William Mallet, on whom the command devolved after the death of Fitz-Richard. The castle was defended by a garrison of three thousand men. Mallet, the governor, that he might the better provide for its defence, set fire to some houses that lay contiguous; but the conflagration spreading, the whole city was quickly in flames. This proved the cause of his destruction; for the enraged inhabitants, joining in the assault, entered the citadel sword in hand, and butchered the whole garrison without mercy (*w*). This transient gleam of success seemed to spread a general spirit of insurrection. The counties of Somerset, Dorset, Cornwall, and Devon, united in the common cause, and determined to attempt the regaining of their former freedom.

William had been employed in suppressing the insurrections in the south, when he first received intelligence of the commotions in the north, and, in the excess of his passion, he uttered the most bitter imprecations of vengeance against the Northumbrians, swearing that he would extirpate them from the face of the earth. He therefore advanced with his army towards the north, confident that his presence alone would be sufficient to repress these rude efforts of unadvised indignation. Accordingly, wherever he appeared, the insurgents either submitted or retired. The Danes were content to return to their ships, without committing any farther hostilities (*x*). The king then invested York castle, and ordered an assault to be made; but, though the attack was furious, the place was so well defended by the English, who were commanded by the valiant Waltheof, that the Normans were repulsed with great slaughter. Such was the conduct and vigilance of this intrepid governor, that William despaired of reducing the castle, when famine compelled Waltheof to capitulate. The king not only granted him honourable terms, but received him into favour, and bestowed his own neice, Judith, on him in marriage. Having gained possession of York, he remained there till the beginning of the ensuing year.

At the commencement of 1070, William marched northward with his army, resolving to execute his menaces against the Northumbrians. This was a task congenial to his soul, and was performed with a severity that afforded him the highest satisfaction. All that fertile tract of land which, for the extent of sixty miles, lies between the Humber and the Tees, was entirely desolated; every house, church, and monastery, reduced to ashes, and the wretched inhabitants put to the sword. In the same cruel manner did this execrable and sanguinary tyrant proceed as far as Hexham, marking his progress with indiscriminate destruction. All the implements of husbandry were destroyed; the cattle seized and driven away by these merciless ravagers, with their king at their head; and the few who escaped from the sword, by retiring to the neighbouring woods, perished by famine. Not less than one hundred thousand persons are computed to have fallen victims to the ferocity of the Normans in this memorable expedition, in which the whole tract of country from York to Durham was changed into one continual scene of dreary desolation, and for some succeeding years remained without a house or an inhabitant. Indeed so great was the devastation, that even now, at the distance of nearly seven hundred and fifty years, it is but thinly inhabited.

From this time Edgar Atheling and his followers perceived that all their hopes of future resistance were now totally destroyed; and therefore they thought it high time to escape from the fury of the enraged monster: they accordingly retired to Scotland; but Cospatric had recourse to his clemency, and, paying a sum of money as an atonement for his offence, was again received into favour, and was even invested with the earldom of Northumberland. All the English insurgents, in other parts of the country, except Hareward, who still kept his fastnesses, returned to their obedience, and left the Normans undisputed masters of the kingdom.

William, now finding himself absolute master of England, determined to throw off the mask of justice which he had hitherto occasionally worn; and to gratify the natural severity of his temper, by proceeding to extremities against his vanquished subjects, in order to reduce them

(*w*) The English were also joined by Edgar Atheling, who brought with him Cospatric, Waltheof, Siward, Bearne, Marleswain, Adelin, and other leaders.

(*x*) It is confidently asserted, that when the king had advanced with his army into Yorkshire, he found the Danes had taken possession of an important post, situated between the rivers Ouse and Trent, from whence he perceived it would be difficult to dislodge them; and as the attempt must evidently be attended with danger, and if it failed must have proved fatal, he wisely determined to have recourse to a more easy expedient. He entered into a secret negociation with the Danish commander; and prevailed on him, by means of a considerable bribe, and permission to plunder the sea-coast, to withdraw his army, and to return to Denmark in the spring.

to

to such a state as would totally relieve him from all fears of molestation, or future disturbance to his government. The numerous insurrections and conspiracies which had recently occurred in various parts of the kingdom, had involved the greatest number of the landed proprietors in the guilt of treason, and had consequently subjected them to those forfeitures and attainders which were so favourable to William's darling plan, and which were therefore enforced with the utmost rigour and violence. His tyranny, indeed, did not always extend to the infliction of a capital punishment; it was sometimes contented with a deprivation of the means of subsistence, and the confiscation of estates, which were bestowed on foreigners with unbounded profusion. As he had openly avowed his intention of effecting the ruin of all the English nobility and gentry, the accusations preferred against the objects of his revenge were not investigated with that scrupulousness that justice requires. In fact, it would have been useless to affect an appearance of equity in the prosecution of his tyrannical schemes: vague suspicions, therefore, were substituted for convincing proofs; and rank, opulence, and power, were considered as crimes of the highest magnitude. Thus the policy of the king, coinciding with the rapacity of foreign adventurers, operated almost a total revolution in the landed property of the kingdom. By this means all the ancient and honourable families of England were deprived of their hereditary possessions, and reduced to beggary. Their castles and manors were bestowed on Normans of the meanest birth and lowest stations; and they had the additional mortification of finding themselves excluded from every path that could lead to wealth, honour, or preferment.

Farther to confirm his authority, and to retain that military power which had enabled him to subdue the kingdom, William extended the feudal system of government, which had been long established in France and Normandy, over his British dominions. The feudal system indeed was not altogether unknown in the time of the Anglo-Saxons, but William made such considerable additions to it, that it may be justly asserted, that the introduction of the feudal laws was entirely owing to him. The sovereign of a feudal state was supposed to be the proprietor of all the lands in his dominions; part of which he retained in his own possession, for the maintenance of his family and the support of his dignity; and the remainder he distributed to his subjects, as fees for certain stipulated services to be performed by them, or on such other conditions as he chose to require, and they to accept. On similar terms did William distribute the lands of England, which he had obtained by violence from their legal possessors, to the most considerable of his Norman adventurers (*y*).

It must not, however, be supposed that, in the general distribution of lands, William neglected the interest of the crown, for he reserved to himself fourteen hundred and twenty-two manors, besides a proportionable number of forests, parks, chaces, farms, and houses, in various parts of the country.

The great barons, or chief tenants, of which the kingdom contained about seven hundred, who held immediately of the crown, retained that part of their lands which lay contiguous to their castles in their own possession; and granted the rest to other foreigners, who were called knights, or vassals, and who paid their lords the same services and prestations which he himself owed to his sovereign. In short, a feudal baron was a subordinate monarch, and his barony a subordinate kingdom. Even the vassals of barons sometimes granted subinfeudations, but always on a similar plan; so that the oppressive impositions of the feudal system descended from the first subject in the realm to the meanest possessor of land by military tenure. It is true, indeed, that some of these landholders, (who were called *socmen*, because they followed the *soc* or plough), were exempted from several of the feudal servitudes; such as personal attendance, wardship, marriages, &c. But this was owing to their insignificancy, and to the contempt bestowed on them by their sovereign and his imperious barons, who refused them admittance to their courts and company. Yet many of these socmen were not less slaves than the military vassals of the king and his chief tenants; for they were subjected to a baser and more laborious species of servitude, being compelled, on various occasions, to furnish a number of men, horses, and carriages, and also to plough and sow the lands of their lords. Thus William may be said to have rendered the feudal laws universal in England, and by that means to have extinguished every remaining mark of civil liberty.

The introduction of the feudal system also produced many important changes in the administration of justice. Every baron had a court in which he presided in person, to settle all disputes between his own immediate vassals; to compel the payment of debts, and the performance of contracts; to redress wrongs, and to punish crimes. His power even extended to the infliction of capital punishments. The military vassals of the barons had also similar courts within their respective manors, endowed with the same privileges, except that of life and death.

(*y*) To Hugh de Abrencis, the son of his sister, he granted the whole county of Chester; to Robert, count of Mortaigne, and Odo, bishop of Baieux, his two uterine brothers, he gave to the first nine hundred and seventy-three manors and lordships, and to the last four hundred and thirty-nine; to Alain Fergeant, duke of Bretagne, and earl of Richmond, four hundred and forty-two; to William de Warrenne, two hundred and ninety-eight, besides twenty-eight towns or hamlets in Yorkshire; to Geoffrey, bishop of Coutance, two hundred and eighty; to Roger Bigod, one hundred and twenty-three; to Walter Giffard, earl of Buckingham, one hundred and seven; to Richard de Clare, one hundred and seventy-one; to William de Percy, one hundred and nineteen; to Todenei, eighty-one; to Robert, earl of Eu, one hundred and nineteen; to Roger Mortimer, one hundred and ninety manors, besides several hamlets; to Robert de Stafford, one hundred and thirty; to Walter de Ewins, earl of Salisbury, forty-six; to Geoffrey de Mandeville, one hundred and eighteen; to Hugh de Beauchamp, forty-seven; to Baldwin de Riglvers, one hundred and sixty-four; to Henry de Ferrers, two hundred and twenty-two; and to Norman d'Arcy, thirty-three. Besides these liberal grants, he bestowed on Roger de Montgomery, first, the towns of Arundel and Chichester; and afterwards the county of Salop. Hereford was given to William Fitz Osborne; and the castle of Tutbury to Henry de Ferrers: and all the other chieftains were rewarded according to the importance of their services, or the degree of favour they enjoyed.

All the lands thus distributed by William were subject to a variety of obligations, of two kinds, viz. personal and military services; and certain payments, or prestations, which constituted a considerable part of the royal revenue. The services consisted in homage and fealty; in personal attendance on the king in his court, at the grand festivals of Christmas, Easter, and Whitsuntide, and at other times in his parliament, whenever regularly summoned; and in military service, either in the field, or in defence of his castles, for a fixed time, with a stipulated number of followers, according to the extent of their estates.

The pecuniary prestations were chiefly these: reserved rents, wardships, marriages, reliefs, scutage, and aids.—*Reserved rents*, were certain annual payments, generally inconsiderable, exacted from the vassals of the crown, to remind them that the property, or *dominium directum* of their lands, were vested in the sovereign. These were collected by the sheriffs of the counties in which the lands were situated. When any vassal of the crown died, and left his heir a minor, and consequently incapable of performing those personal services to his sovereign to which he was bound by his tenure, the king took possession of his estate, that he might support the heir, and provide another person to perform his services. This right of *Wardship* was productive of great profits to the king, who sometimes employed them to enrich his favourites, by transferring to them the guardianship of some of his most opulent wards.—The king's female wards were restrained from *Marriage* without the consent of their royal guardian, that they might not bestow an estate derived from the crown on a person who was disagreeable to the sovereign. By this cruel and ignominious servitude heiresses were obliged to purchase from the king the liberty of bestowing themselves in marriage upon the objects of their affections. No less than ten thousand marks, equivalent in value to upwards of one hundred thousand pounds of our present money, were paid to the king for the wardship and marriage of a single heiress. This oppressive servitude was afterwards extended to male heirs.—Besides the guardianship of heirs, the king always obtained from them a sum of money when they came of age, and were admitted to the possession of their estates: he also received the same from such heirs as were of age at the death of the vassal from whom they inherited. This last was called *Relief*, because it relieved their lands from the possession of their sovereign, to whom they were supposed to devolve upon the death of every proprietor. Hence are derived our present copyhold tenures, the only reliques of feudal slavery that now remain in England.—*Scutage*, or shield money, was another payment to which all the military vassals of the crown were subjected. It was a pecuniary fine, paid in lieu of actual service in the field by those who were either unable or unwilling to perform it in person, or to provide a substitute. The rate of this commutation was not fixed, and therefore gave rise to frequent oppression, as kings would sometimes engage, or pretend to engage, in expeditions to distant parts, or at times when they knew it would be inconvenient for their vassals to attend, merely for the purpose of demanding scutage.—Besides these payments there were certain pecuniary *Aids* exacted, on particular occasions, from the immediate vassals of the crown. The purposes for which these aids were demanded by the king were, to make his eldest son a knight; to marry his eldest daughter; or to ransom his own person when taken prisoner in battle.

That all these different services and imposts, so pregnant with oppression and ignominious slavery, were first imported into England by William, is a fact too firmly established to admit of doubt. To add still farther to the strength and security of his kingdom, that politic prince subjected the lands of the spiritual barons, such as archbishops, bishops, abbots, and priors, to the same military services as those of his temporal vassals. The wisdom of this measure will be evident, when we consider the extent of their possessions; for on the famous survey of England, recorded in Doom's-day Book, it appeared, that of sixty thousand, two hundred and fifteen knight's fees which the kingdom was found to contain, no less than twenty-eight thousand, one hundred and fifteen belonged to the church.

There was likewise the county-court, as in the Saxon times, to judge between the subjects of different baronies. This was a court of great power and dignity, in which the earl presided with the bishop of the diocese, and where all the freeholders of the county; and even the most powerful barons, were obliged to attend, and assist in the administration of justice. But, during the reign of William, the authority of this court suffered considerable diminution, by the encouragement of appeals to the supreme court, which tended to increase the power and influence of the crown.

The highest court was that of the king, called *Curia*, or *Aula Regis*, because it was always held in the great hall of the king's palace, wherever he happened to reside. He there heard causes, and pronounced judgement; and though he was assisted by the advice of the other members, it will easily be conceived that his word was law. In his absence the chief justiciary presided, who was the first magistrate in the state, and regent of the kingdom when the sovereign was abroad. The other chief officers of the crown, the Constable, Seneschal, Mareschal, Chamberlain, Treasurer, and Chancellor, were members, together with such feudal barons as chose to attend; and the barons of the Exchequer, who were at first feudal barons, appointed by the king. The Chancellor's office was to keep the great seal, which he affixed to all charters; a custom that was introduced by the Normans. This court, which was sometimes called the King's Court, sometimes the Court of Exchequer, judged in all cases, civil and criminal; and comprehended the whole business which is now divided among four courts; the Chancery, the King's Bench, the Common Pleas, and the Exchequer.

By these various innovations, and the consequent accumulation of power to the sovereign, the Norman dominion appeared to have acquired a solid footing, which its most formidable enemies could not destroy. The subjection of the ecclesiastical revenues to the rigours of the feudal law, though the least oppressive of William's new regulations, excited greater clamours than all his other arbitrary proceedings. The pope and the clergy, whose tenets, at this period, were favourable to slavery, inveighed against this as an exertion of insupportable tyranny. But William's absolute command over his army so effectually secured his authority, and shielded him from every hostile attempt, that even the formidable shafts of superstition fell powerless at his feet.

But to obviate any possible effects of ecclesiastical resentment within his dominions, he resolved to expel all the English from the dignities they enjoyed in the church, and to supply their places with foreigners. Many of the English sees were indeed already possessed by Normans, who had owed their promotion to the partiality of Edward the Confessor: but still many of the prelates were natives; and among them was Stigand, archbishop of Canterbury; who by his vigour and address, the greatness and power of his connections, the extent of his possessions, as well as by the dignity of his office, and conseqent influence over the English, had become an object of jealous apprehension to William. He had, however, been careful to conceal his suspicions of that prelate; and had even treated him with signal marks of esteem and affection, being determined not to betray his tyrannical designs till a favourable opportunity should occur for rendering them effective. His recent success in the adoption of violent measures now led him to believe that the time was arrived when any instance of oppression, however strong, would be unable to excite the least popular clamour: but he wisely considered, that the better way would be to sanction his proceedings by a colour of justice, and, to promote his own purpose, by paying court to the pope of Rome.

The supremacy of the pope, and the authority annexed to it, had always been strenuously resisted by the English church: but this ridiculous doctrine had diffused itself over the southern parts of Europe; and pope Alexander, who had assisted William in his invasion, sent Hermanfrede, bishop of Sion, as his legate into England, who, in return for the favourable reception he had experienced from William, became the instrument of that monarch's tyranny, assisting him in the degradation of the English prelates, which he knew would tend to advance the authority of the pope. For this purpose he summoned a council of the prelates and abbots to meet at Winchester, in 1070; and being assisted by two cardinals, Peter and John, he cited Stigand, archbishop of Canterbury, to attend and answer for his conduct (z). At this council, the primate, and several of the suffragan bishops were deprived of their livings, and the vacant sees were immediately filled by foreigners. Lanfranc, a Milanese, and abbot of Caen in Normandy, a man distinguished for his learning and piety, was appointed to succeed Stigand in the primacy; Thomas, canon of Baieux, was promoted to the archbishopric of York; while Walkelin, Walkerine, Harefact, Stigand, Peter, Herman, and Remigius, all of them Normans, were placed in the sees of Winchester, Durham, Norwich, Chichester, Litchfield, Salisbury, and Lincoln. Thus the power of the pope soon attained to the same height in England which it had previously reached in France and Italy.

The king, thinking he could not oppress the English too much, attempted even the abolition of their language; and to promote the knowledge of the French tongue, he ordered that it should be taught in all schools throughout the kingdom: a practice which continued to prevail till the reign of Edward III. The pleadings in the supreme court of judicature were in French; indeed the Norman justiciary, who occasionally presided there, knew no other language. Law-deeds were drawn in French; the laws were composed in that idiom; it was the only tongue spoken at court; and soon became the language of all fashionable company. From this, and the continual intercourse between the inhabitants of England and Normandy, proceeded that mixture of French which is still to be found in the language of this country. Notwithstanding the oppressive measures adopted by William, he restored a part of the laws of Edward the Confessor; which afforded the English great satisfaction, though it by no means tended to rescue them from the rigours of feudal slavery.

The situation of the two powerful earls, Morcar and Edwin, was now become very disagreeable. Though they retained their allegiance to William during the insurrections of their countrymen, they did not gain the king's confidence, and were therefore exposed to the malignity of his courtiers, who treated them, in common with the English, with the utmost contempt. Sensible that they could not remain long in safety, they resolved to rescue their country, or perish in the attempt. While Edwin retired to his estate in the north, in 1071, to commence an insurrection, Morcar repaired to the Isle of Ely, to join the brave Hereward de Wake, who, secured by the situation of the place, which was surrounded by a morass, still defended himself against the Normans. But this attempt only served to accelerate the ruin of the few English, who had hitherto preserved their rank or fortune during the convulsions. William having surrounded the Isle of Ely with flat-bottomed boats, and made a causeway through the morasses two miles in length, after an obstinate resistance; obliged the besieged to surrender at discretion. Hereward alone forced his way, sword in hand, through the king's troops; and then continued his hostilities by sea against the Normans, till at last William, charmed with his bravery, received him into favour, and restored him to his estate. Earl Morcar, and Egelwin, bishop of Durham, who had joined the insurgents, were thrown into prison, where the latter soon after died. Edwin, attempting to escape into Scotland, was slain by a party of Normans, to the great affliction of the English: even the cruel William himself, though long inured to scenes of blood, could not refrain from tears, when the head of this youth was presented to him by his perfidious assassins, who claimed the reward of their treachery, which was justly bestowed, in a sentence of perpetual banishment. The extensive estates of Edwin and Morcar were immediately confiscated; and

(z) The primate was accused of three crimes: the holding of the see of Winchester, together with that of Canterbury; the officiating in the pall of Robert, his predecessor; and the having received his own pall from Benedict IX. who had usurped the papacy, and had afterwards been dethroned for simony. It would be superfluous to expatiate on the futility of these accusations: the ruin of Stigand was determined on, and therefore he was prosecuted with the most unremitting severity. The legate, by virtue of his office, degraded him from his dignity; and the king confiscated his estate, and cast him into prison, where the wretched Stigand continued, in poverty and want, during the remainder of his life. Agilmare, bishop of Norwich, and Agilric, bishop of Chichester, were deposed and imprisoned; as were also many powerful abbots. The bishops of Lincoln and Durham fled into Scotland; and Wulstan, bishop of Worcester, a man of a tranquil disposition, was the only prelate that escaped this general proscription, and was suffered to retain his dignity. Aldred, archbishop of York, who had placed the crown on the head of William, had lately died of grief and vexation; and, with his parting breath, had bestowed a malediction on the king for the breach of his coronation oath, and for those acts of tyranny and oppression which daily marked his conduct to the English.

being

being informed that many of the English had secreted their money and most valuable effects in different monasteries, he ordered a general search, and seized all that could be found. Of the prisoners which he took in the Isle of Ely, he commanded the hands of many of them to be cut off, and their eyes to be put out; in which miserable condition he dispersed them throughout the country, to deter others from incurring a similar punishment by a similar conduct.

While William was employed in quelling this insurrection, Malcolm, king of Scotland, was ravaging the northern counties. Cospatrick, governor of Northumberland, was too weak to oppose the progress of the Scottish monarch, and sought to create a diversion, by invading his English territories; and accordingly entering the province of Cumberland, he ravaged it in a cruel manner. At length William determined to chastise Malcolm, and marched an army into Scotland, whither that monarch had retired with a considerable booty. On his arrival he found Malcolm so advantageously situated, that an attempt to dislodge him would have been extremely hazardous. The two armies lay opposite each other for several days, neither being willing to risk an engagement which must probably have proved fatal to the one or the other. A negociation was therefore entered upon, and a peace was concluded, by which Malcolm consented to renew his homage to William for his English possessions, and the king agreed to receive Edgar Atheling into favour, to allow him a competent subsistence, and permit him to live in England unmolested. On his return from Scotland, William deprived Cospatrick of the government of Northumberland, under pretence that he had maintained a correspondence with the enemy, and bestowed it on Waltheof, who now enjoyed a great portion of his confidence and favour. Cospatrick retired to Scotland, and Malcolm conferred on him the earldom of Dunbar.

The province of Maine in France had, by the will of Herbert, the last count, fallen under the dominion of William previous to his conquest of England; but the inhabitants becoming dissatisfied with the Norman government, and instigated by Fulk, count of Anjou, (who pretended he had a right to succeed to that province), rose in rebellion, and expelled the magistrates whom the king had placed over them. William having quelled the insurrections in England had now leisure to attend to his affairs in France. Thinking it unsafe to remove his Norman forces from England, he took with him an army composed almost entirely of English, which he joined to some troops levied in Normandy, and with these forces entered the revolted province. The English appeared desirous to retrieve the national reputation for valour, which had lately suffered degradation by their submission to the Normans; and by their assistance he speedily triumphed over all opposition: the inhabitants submitted, and the count of Anjou relinquished his pretensions to the sovereignty of that province. William, however, passed the whole of 1073, and the greater part of the following year in Normandy, to regulate his domestic affairs.

During these transactions, and the long absence of the king, the government of England was greatly disturbed; and that too by those very foreigners, who had experienced his liberality, and who were the exclusive objects of his esteem. The Norman barons, in the true spirit of feudal tyranny, though anxious to impose the yoke of servitude on their inferiors, were always impatient to bear it themselves. The spirit of discontent became general among those haughty nobles; and even Roger, earl of Hereford, son and heir of William's chief favourite Fitz-Osborne, having promised his sister in marriage to Ralph de Guader, earl of Norfolk, had thought it his duty to make application to the king for his consent; but meeting with a refusal, he proceeded nevertheless to solemnize the marriage, and invited his friends, and those of Guader, to attend the celebration. The two earls, disgusted by the denial of their request, and dreading William's resentment for their disobedience, here prepared measures for a revolt; and during the gaiety of the festival, while the company was heated with wine, they opened the design to their guests. They inveighed against the king as an imperious tyrant, complained of his cruelty to the English, whose misfortunes they affected to commiserate; his haughty behaviour to his barons of the noblest birth; and his apparent intention to reduce the victors and the vanquished to a like ignominious servitude. Amidst their complaints, the indignity of submitting to a bastard (*a*), whom they determined to dethrone, was not forgotten; the certain prospect of success in a revolt, by the assistance of the Danes, the Welsh, and the discontented English, was insisted on. The plan was immediately adopted; and the whole company entered into a solemn engagement to promote its accomplishment. Even earl Waltheof, who was present, after some hesitation, gave his consent.

But earl Waltheof, when the fumes of the liquor had subsided, reflected on the futility of an engagement made in the ardour of intoxication, which was big with the most fatal consequences both to himself and to his country. In this state of anxiety and perturbation he had recourse to his wife Judith, who was the king's niece, and without the least reserve unbosomed himself to her; for he had the most firm reliance on her fidelity: but, alas, he was deceived; for his treacherous consort had secretly fixed her affections on another, and only wanted an opportunity of getting rid of her husband at any rate. She therefore communicated the whole affair to the king, and represented her husband's conduct in the most disadvantageous point of view, aggravating every circumstance which she thought might incense William against him. In the mean time Waltheof himself confessed the whole conspiracy to Lanfranc, who exhorted him, by all means, to reveal it to the king; which he was at last persuaded to do; but it was not till the whole had been divulged by his faithless spouse. He went over to Normandy for that purpose, and was apparently well received by the king, who coolly thanked him for his fidelity, but was secretly resolved to punish him.

During this interval, the conspirators being informed that Waltheof was gone over to Normandy, justly concluded that their designs were betrayed, and flew to arms before their schemes were ripe for execution. The earl of Hereford was checked by Walter de Lacy, a great baron in the king's interest. The earl of Norfolk was defeated by Odo, the king's brother; and the prisoners who were taken had each a right foot cut off, in order to deter others from a similitude of treason. The earl himself retired to Denmark; so that William, upon his arrival in England, found that nothing remained for him to do, but to punish the criminals, which was performed with unusual severity. Many of the rebels were hanged, some had their eyes put out, and others their hands cut off. The unfortunate Waltheof, who had imprudently entered into the conspiracy, but attempted to atone for his fault by an early confession, found no mercy. He was rich, and he was an Englishman, two faults that served to aggravate his guilt; he was accordingly tried, condemned and executed, April 29, 1075. His infamous wife did not long enjoy the fruits of her perfidy; but falling some time after under the king's displeasure, was abandoned by the world, and passed the rest of her life in contempt, remorse, and misery. Fitz-Aubert, a noble Norman, who was also beheaded on this occasion, were the only two persons of note that were executed during the reign of William the First. Having thus extinguished the embers of rebellion with blood, William returned once more to the continent, in order to pursue Guader, who, escaping from England, had taken refuge with the count of Bretagne. Finding, him, however, too powerfully protected by that prince, instead of prosecuting his vengeance, he wisely came to a treaty with the count, in which Guader was included. The better to strengthen this alliance, a marriage was proposed between the princess Constance, William's eldest daughter, and Alain Fergeant, son to the count of Bretagne, which was celebrated at Caen, in Normandy, with great magnificence.

England, during the absence of William, remained in tranquility; and nothing remarkable occurred, except two ecclesiastical synods which were summoned, one at London, another at Winchester. In the former, the precedency among the episcopal sees was settled, and the seat of some of them was removed from small villages to the most considerable town within the diocese. In the second was transacted a business of more importance, viz. that concerning investitures, which took place in 1076.

The industry and perseverance are surprising, with which the popes had been treasuring up powers and pretensions during so many ages of ignorance; while each

(*a*) William was so little ashamed of his birth, that he assumed the appellation of Bastard in some of his letters and charters. Vid. Spelman. Glossary in verbo *Bastardus*, and Camden in *Richmondshire*.

pontiff

pontiff employed every fraud for advancing purposes of imaginary piety, and cherished all claims which might turn to the advantage of his successors, though he himself could not expect ever to reap any benefit from them. All this immense store of spiritual and civil authority was now devolved on Gregory VII. of the name of Hildebrand, the most enterprising pontiff that had ever filled the papal chair, and the least restrained by fear, decency, or moderation. Not content with shaking off the yoke of the emperors, who had hitherto exercised the power of appointing the pope on every vacancy, at least of ratifying his election, he undertook the arduous task of entirely disjoining the ecclesiastical from the civil power, and of excluding profane laymen from the right which they had assumed, of filling the vacancies of bishoprics, abbies, and other spiritual dignities. The sovereigns, who had long exercised this power, and who had acquired it, not by encroachments on the church, but on the people to whom it originally belonged, made great opposition to this claim of the court of Rome; and Henry IV. the reigning emperor, defended this prerogative of his crown with a vigour and resolution suitable to its importance. The few offices, either civil or military, which the feudal institutions left the sovereign the power of bestowing, made the prerogative of conferring the pastoral ring and staff the most valuable jewel of the royal diadem; especially as the general ignorance of the age bestowed a consequence on the ecclesiastical offices, even beyond the great extent of power and property which belonged to them. Superstition, the child of ignorance, invested the clergy with an authority almost sacred; and as they ingrossed the little learning of the age, their interposition became requisite in all civil business, and a real usefulness in common life was thus superadded to the spiritual sanctity of their character.

When the usurpations, therefore, of the church had come to such maturity as to embolden her to attempt extorting the right of investitures from the temporal power, Europe, especially Italy and Germany, was thrown into the most violent convulsions, and the pope and the emperor waged implacable war on each other. Gregory dared to fulminate the sentence of excommunication against Henry and his adherents, to pronounce him rightfully deposed, to free his subjects from their oaths of allegiance; and, instead of shocking mankind by this gross encroachment on the civil authority, he found the stupid people ready to second his most exorbitant pretensions. Every minister, servant, or vassal of the emperor, who received any disgust, covered his rebellion under the pretence of principle; and even the mother of this monarch, forgetting all the ties of nature, was seduced to countenance the insolence of his enemies. Princes themselves, not attentive to the pernicious consequences of those papal claims, employed them for their present purposes: and the controversy, spreading into every city of Italy, engendered the parties of Guelf and Ghibbelin; the most durable and most inveterate factions that ever arose from the mixture of ambition and religious zeal. Besides numberless assassinations, tumults, and convulsions, to which they gave rise, it is computed that the quarrel occasioned no less than sixty battles in the reign of Henry IV. and eighteen in that of his successor, Henry V. when the claims of the sovereign pontiff finally prevailed.

But the bold spirit of Gregory, not dismayed with the vigorous opposition which he met with from the emperor, extended his usurpations all over Europe; and well knowing the nature of mankind, whose blind astonishment ever inclines them to yield to the most impudent pretensions, he seemed determined to set no bounds to the spiritual, or rather temporal monarchy, which he had undertaken to erect. He pronounced the sentence of excommunication against Nicephorus, emperor of the east; Robert Guiscard, the adventurous Norman who had acquired the dominion of Naples, was attacked by the same dangerous weapon: he degraded Boleslaus, king of Poland, from the rank of king; and even deprived Poland of the title of a kingdom: he attempted to treat Philip, king of France with the same rigour which he had employed against the emperor: he pretended to the entire property and dominion of Spain; and he parcelled it out amongst adventurers, who undertook to conquer it from the Saracens, and to hold it in vassalage under the see of Rome: even the Christian bishops, on whose aid he relied for subduing the temporal princes, saw that he was determined to reduce them to servitude; and by assuming the whole legislative and judicial power of the church, to centre all authority in the sovereign pontiff.

William, king of England, the most potent, the most haughty, and the most vigorous prince in Europe, was not, amidst all his splendid successes, secure from the attacks of this enterprising pontiff. Gregory wrote him a letter, requiring him to fulfil his promise in doing homage for the kingdom of England to the see of Rome, and to send him over that tribute, which all his predecessors had been accustomed to pay to the vicar of Christ. By the tribute, he meant Peter pence; which, though at first a charitable donation of the Saxon princes, was interpreted, according to the usual practice of the Romish court, to be a badge of subjection acknowledged by the kingdom. William replied, that the money should be remitted as usual; but that neither had he promised to do homage to Rome, nor was it his intention to impose that servitude on his state. And the better to shew Gregory his independence, he ventured, notwithstanding the frequent complaints of the pope, to refuse to the English bishops the liberty of attending a general council which that pontiff had summoned against his enemies.

But though the king displayed this vigour in supporting the royal dignity, he was infected with the general superstition of the age, and he did not perceive the ambitious scope of those institutions, which, under colour of strictness in religion, were introduced or promoted by the court of Rome. Gregory, while he was throwing all Europe into combustion by his violence and impostures, affected an anxious care for the purity of manners; and even the chaste pleasures of the marriage-bed were inconsistent, in his opinion, with the sanctity of the sacerdotal character. He had issued a decree prohibiting the marriage of priests, excommunicating all clergymen who retained their wives, declaring such unlawful commerce to be fornication, and rendering it criminal in the laity to attend divine worship when such profane priests officiated at the altar. This point was a great object in the politics of the Roman pontiffs; and it cost them infinitely more pains to establish it, than the propagation of any speculative absurdity which they had ever attempted to introduce. Many synods were summoned in different parts of Europe, before it was finally settled; and it was there constantly remarked, that the younger clergymen complied cheerfully with the pope's decrees in this particular, and that the chief reluctance appeared in those who were more advanced in years: an event so little consonant to men's natural expectations, that it could not fail to be glossed on, even in that blind and superstitious age. William allowed the pope's legate to assemble, in his absence, a synod at Winchester, in order to establish the celibacy of the clergy; but the church of England could not yet be carried the whole length expected. The synod was content with decreeing, that the bishops should not thenceforth ordain any priests or deacons without exacting from them a promise of celibacy; but they enacted, that none, except those who belonged to collegiate or cathedral churches, should be obliged to separate from their wives.

Having secured the peace of his dominions, William now expected rest from his labours; and finding none either willing or powerful enough to oppose him, he hoped that the end of his reign would be marked with prosperity and peace. But such is the blindness of human hope, that he found enemies where he least expected them, and such too as served to embitter all the latter part of his life. His last troubles were excited by his own children, from the opposing of whom he could expect to reap neither glory nor gain. He had four sons, Robert, Richard, William, and Henry, besides several daughters. Robert, his eldest son, surnamed Curthose, from the shortness of his legs, was a prince who inherited all the bravery of his family and nation, but was rather bold than prudent, rather enterprising than politic. Earnest after fame, and even impatient that his father should stand in the way, he aspired at that independence to which his temper, as well as some circumstances in his situation, conspired to invite him. He had formerly been promised by his father the government of Maine, a province of France, which had submitted to William, and was also declared successor to the dukedom of Normandy. However, when he came to demand the execution of these engagements, he received an absolute denial; the king shrewdly observing, that it was not his custom to throw off his clothes till he went to bed. Richard openly declared his


MAGNA CHARTA
WILLIAM WOUNDED BY HIS SON ROBERT

resentment, and was often heard to express his jealousy of his two surviving brothers, William and Henry, for Richard was killed, in hunting, by a stag. These, by greater assiduity, had wrought upon the credulity and affections of the king, and consequently were the most noxious to Robert. A mind, therefore, so well prepared for resentment, soon found or made a cause for an open rupture. The princes were one day in sport together, and, in the idle petulance of play, took it in their heads to throw water upon their eldest brother as he passed through the court, on leaving their apartment. Robert, all alive to suspicion, quickly turned this idle frolic into a studied indignity; and having these jealousies still farther inflamed by Alberic de Grentmesnil (*b*), one of his favourites, he drew his sword, and ran up stairs with an intent to take revenge. The whole castle was quickly filled with tumult, and it was not without some difficulty that the king himself was able to appease it. But he could not allay the animosity, which, from that moment, ever after prevailed in his family. Robert, attended by several of his confederates, withdrew to Roüen the same night, hoping to surprize the castle, but his design was defeated by the governor, Roger de Ivery.

The flame being thus kindled, the popular character of the prince, and a sympathy of manners, engaged all the young nobility of Normandy and Maine, as well as of Anjou and Bretagne, to espouse his quarrel; even Matilda, his mother, it is said, supported him by secret remittances, and aided him in this obstinate resistance by private encouragement. This unnatural contest continued for several years to inflame the Norman state; and William was at last obliged to have recourse to England for supporting his authority against his son. Accordingly, drawing an army of Englishmen together, he led them over into Normandy, in 1079, where he soon compelled Robert and his adherents to quit the field, and he was quickly reinstated in all his dominions. As for Robert, he being no longer able to resist his father, took shelter in the castle of Gerberoy, in the Beauvoisis, which the king of France had provided for him, where he was shortly after besieged by his father. As the garrison was strong, and conscious of guilt, they made a most gallant defence; and many were the skirmishes and duels that were fought under its walls. In one of these, accident brought the king and his son together; but, being both concealed by their helmets, they attacked each other with mutual fury. A fierce and dreadful combat ensued between them, till at last the young prince wounded his father in the arm, and threw him from his horse. The next blow would, in all probability, have put an end to the king's life, had he not cried out for assistance. Robert then immediately recollected his father's voice; and at once stung with a consciousness of his crime, he leaped from his horse, and raised the fallen monarch from the ground. He then prostrated himself in his presence, and craved pardon for his offences, promising for the future a strict adherence to his duty. The resentment harboured by the king was not so easily appeased; perhaps his indignation at being overcome added to his anger; instead therefore of pardoning his son, he gave him his malediction, and departed for his own camp on Robert's horse, which the prince had assisted him to mount. However, the conduct of the son served, after some recollection, to appease the father. As soon as William was returned to Roüen, he became reconciled to Robert, and carried him with him into England, where he was successfully employed in retaliating an invasion of Malcolm king of Scotland.

William, being thus freed from foreign and domestic enemies, began to have sufficient leisure for a more attentive application to the duties of peace. For this purpose, the compilation of the Domesday Book was begun by his order, in 1081, which contains a general survey of all the lands in the kingdom; their extent in each district; their proprietors, tenures, value, the quantity of meadow, pasture, wood, and arable land, which they contained; and in some counties, the number of tenants, cottagers, and people of all denominations, who lived upon them. The detail enabled him to regulate the taxations in such a manner, that all the inhabitants were compelled to bear their duties in proportion to their abilities (*c*).

William was no less careful of the methods of saving money than of accumulation. He reserved a very ample revenue for the crown; and, in the general distribution of land among his followers, he kept possession of no less than fourteen hundred and twenty-two manors in different parts of the country. Such was his income, that it has been said to have exceeded that of any English prince either before or since his time (*d*). No king of England was ever so opulent; none so able to support the splendor and magnificence of a court; none had so many places of trust and profit to bestow; and none, consequently had his commands attended with such implicit obedience.

There was one pleasure, to which William, as well as all the Normans and ancient Saxons, was addicted, which was hunting. To indulge this in its utmost extent, he depopulated the county of Hants for thirty miles, turning out the inhabitants, destroying all the villages, and making the wretched out-casts no compensation for such injury. In the time of the Saxon kings, all noblemen, without distinction, had a right to hunt in the royal forests; but William appropriated all these to himself, and published very severe laws to prohibit his subjects from encroaching on this part of his prerogative. The killing of a deer, a boar, or even a hare, was punished with the loss of the delinquent's eyes, at a time when the killing of a man might be atoned for by paying a moderate fine or composition.

As the king's wealth and power were so great, it may be easily supposed that the riches of his ministers were in proportion. Those of his uterine brother Odo, bishop of Baieux, were so great that he resolved to purchase the papacy. For this purpose, taking the opportunity of William's absence, he equipped a vessel at the Isle of Wight, on board of which he sent immense treasures, and prepared for his embarkation; but he was detained by contrary winds. In the mean time William, having had intimation of his design, resolved to prevent the exportation of so much wealth from his dominions. Accordingly returning from Normandy, where he was then employed, he came into England at the very instant his brother was stepping on board, and immediately ordered him to be made prisoner. His attendants, however, respecting the immunities of the church, scrupled to execute his commands; so that the king himself was obliged with his own hands to seize him. Odo, disconcerted at so unexpected an intervention, appealed to the pope; who, he alledged, was the only person upon earth to try a bishop. To this the king replied, that he did not seize him as bishop of Baieux, but as earl of Kent; and in that capacity he expected, and would have, an account of his administration. He was, therefore, sent prisoner into Normandy; and, notwithstanding all the remonstrances and threats of Gregory, he was detained in custody during the remainder of William's reign.

In the year 1083, the king made a voyage to Normandy, to visit his queen Matilda (*e*), who was seized with a lingering disorder, which brought her to the grave on the 2nd of November, that year.

William's return to England was hastened by the in-

(*b*) Son of Hugh de Grentmesnil, whom William had formerly deprived of his fortune, when that baron deserted him during his greatest difficulties in England.

(*c*) This work was six years in compiling, but the more northern counties, perhaps from their wild and uncultivated state at that period, were not comprehended in the survey. Domesday Book is certainly the most valuable piece of antiquity possessed by any nation, and is still preserved in the Exchequer. It has, however, been transcribed, and since printed and published in two volumes folio, and serves to illustrate, in many particulars, the ancient state of England. The great Alfred had finished a like survey of the kingdom in his time, which was long kept at Winchester, and which probably served as a model to William in this undertaking.

(*d*) An ancient historian computes, that the xed annual revenue of William, besides escheats, fines, reliefs, and oth er casual profits to a great value, amounted to near four hundred thousand pounds a year; a sum which, if all circumstances be attended to, will appear enormous. A pound in William's time contained three times the weight of silver that it does at present; and the same weight of silver, by the most probable computation, would purchase twelve times more of the necessaries of life, though not in the same proportion of the finer manufactures. His revenue, therefore, would be equal to between fourteen and fifteen millions at present; and as that prince had neither fleet nor army to support, the former being only an occasional expence, and the latter being maintained, without any charge to him, by his military vassals, we may readily conclude, that no emperor or prince, in any age or nation, can be compared to William for opulence and riches.

(*e*) Queen Matilda is represented as a person of amiable manners, strict virtue, and deep learning; and, notwithstanding the ferocious disposition of her husband, she had lived with him, in the utmost harmony, for three and thirty years. William, it is said, entertained the highest esteem for her, and was greatly afflicted at her death.

telligence he received of an intended invasion of the island by Canute IV. king of Denmark, who had some distant pretensions to the crown of England. To counteract this decision, William collected a powerful army on the continent, which he brought to England, and quartered on the maritime provinces; where they remained for several months, committing numerous acts of insolence and oppression. At length William was relieved from his apprehensions, by the information which was given to him of Canute's having relinquished his intention, owing to contrary winds, which hindered his fleet from sailing, and some violent dissensions among his nobles. The king now dismissed his mercenary troops, to the great joy of his subjects: but he omitted to restore a considerable sum of money which he had levied to defray the expences of the war, by imposing a severe tax of six shillings on every hide of land; which was three times as much as the ordinary Danegeld.

William, king of England, and Philip, king of France, had long acted with coolness towards each other, which, in 1087, was converted into an open rupture, by the incursions of some powerful French barons, who resided on the borders of Normandy, into the territories of William. These depredations increased to an alarming height, and William suspected that the barons were countenanced by the French king. Hubert de Beaumont, in particular, had put several Norman barons to death, and enriched himself with their spoils. William therefore revisited Normandy, that he might check the progress of this daring invader, and take revenge for the injuries which his subjects had sustained. But, previous to his departure, he summoned all his prelates, nobles, and knights, to meet him at Salisbury on the first of August; when he compelled them to renew their oaths of fealty, and to grant him extraordinary aids to a considerable amount. From thence he proceeded to the Isle of Wight, and embarked for Normandy, taking with him Edgar Atheling; who being greatly beloved by the English, was still an object of William's jealousy. That unfortunate prince, justly disgusted with his precarious and dependent situation, and aware of the danger to be apprehended from the king's suspicious temper, asked his permission to make a pilgrimage to the Holy Land; to which William gladly assented.

William's displeasure against Philip was increased by the account he received of some railleries which that monarch had used against him. The king was become corpulent, and had been confined to his bed some time by sickness; upon which Philip jocosely said, that he hoped his brother of England would soon be delivered of his big belly, and be enabled to quit his chamber. This sarcasm threw him into a violent passion, and he swore, "by the splendour and resurrection of God," his usual oath, that the first time he should go abroad, he would at his churching present such a number of tapers in the church of Notre Dame, as would set the kingdom of France in a flame: alluding to the usual practice, at that time, of women after childbirth; who, when they were churched, always presented a number of lighted candles. Nor did he fail to put this menace in execution; for, immediately on his recovery, he levied an army, with which he entered the Isle of France, at a time when the harvest was ripe for gathering, and laid waste the whole country with fire and sword. He took the town of Mante by assault, which he first plundered and then reduced to ashes, with all the churches and monasteries it contained. But the progress of these hostilities was stopped by an accident, which soon after put an end to William's existence. His horse suddenly started, and he bruised his belly on the pommel of the saddle. Being in a bad habit of body, as well as advanced in years, he began to apprehend the consequences, and desired to be carried on a litter to the monastery of St. Gervais. Finding his infirmity increase, and being sensible of the approach of death, he discovered at last the vanity of all human grandeur, and was struck with remorse for those horrible cruelties and acts of violence, which, in the attainment and defence of, he had committed during the course of his reign over England. He endeavoured to make atonement by presents to churches and monasteries; and issued orders that earl Morcar, Siward Bearne, and Ulnoth, brother to Harold, whom he had detained prisoner since he had first received him to keep as an hostage for Edward the Confessor; but it was with great difficulty that he could be persuaded to restore to liberty his brother Odo, bishop of Baieux, against whom he was greatly incensed. He at length, however, yielded to the importunities of his brother, the count of Mortagne, and signed the order for his release; prognosticating, at the same time, that his liberty would be productive of considerable mischief.

He next made his will; and bequeathed Normandy and Maine to his eldest son Robert: he wrote to Lanfranc, desiring him to crown William king of England: he left Henry nothing but the possessions of his mother Matilda; but foretold, that he would one day surpass both his brothers in power and opulence. Having settled his affairs, he expired at the monastery of St. Gervais, near Roüen, on the ninth of September, 1087, in the sixty-third year of his age, in the twenty-first year of his reign over England, and in the fifty-fourth of that over Normandy. His body was conveyed to Caen, where it was buried, in compliance with his own request, in a church which he had himself founded (*f*).

Although historians greatly differ in their delineation of the character of William the First, the smallest degree of attention to his conduct, in the various transactions of his reign, will enable a person of the plainest understanding to form as just an opinion of it as the most refined philosopher. It is abundantly evident that avarice and ambition were the predominant passions of his soul; and to their gratification he sacrificed every moral and religious duty. From these contaminated sources, cruelty and extortion naturally sprang; and revenge, the sure token of a vicious mind, being added to the dark catalogue of his vices, rendered his government arbitrary, tyrannical, and oppressive. Yet has William been termed, by historians of established reputation, a great and wise monarch. If by wisdom is meant that political sagacity which induced him to secure the fruits of his usurpation by a regular system of oppression, we readily admit the justice of the assertion: but, if we adhere to the true import of the term, no man had ever more feeble pretensions to wisdom than William the First. Were we to consider him only as a general, his claim to greatness might appear well founded; for no one can doubt his native courage and military skill: but, as a monarch, in whose breast self was the prevailing principle, and in whose reign it would be difficult to discover a single transaction in which public good was not sacrificed to private interest, we cannot, with justice, assent to bestow on him the smallest portion of praise, except such as he may be entitled to for his temperance, the only virtue he seemed to possess. In short, from a review of his life, after he became seated on the throne of England, the cool historian and true philosopher cannot but consider him as a cruel and rapacious tyrant (*g*).

WILLIAM

(*f*) By his wife Matilda, (daughter of Baldwin, fifth earl of Flanders), William had four sons: Robert, who succeeded his father in the dukedom of Normandy; Richard, who was killed by a stag in the New Forest; William, who succeeded to the throne of England; and Henry, who was born at Selby in Yorkshire, and was afterwards king of England. He had also five daughters, viz. Cicely, a nun in the monastery of Fescamp, and afterwards abbess of the convent of the Holy Trinity, at Caen, in Normandy, where she died, in 1127; Constance, who was married to Alain Fergeant, duke of Bretagne; Agatha, contracted to Harold in her infancy, and afterwards betrothed to Alphonso, king of Galicia, but who died before the marriage was consummated, in her way to Spain; Alice, who died in her infancy; and Adela, married to Stephen, count of Blois.

(*g*) The revolution effected by the accession of William to the throne of England was as complete as any that is recorded in history, except that which followed the conquest of this country by the Saxons, who attempted a total extermination of the natives. Though William, by appearing to accept the crown as a free gift of the people, renounced all pretensions to rule by the right of conquest; yet his subsequent conduct shews that he regarded his power as acquired by force of arms, and exercised it accordingly. He treated the English as a conquered people, and thought no state of subjection too bad for them. The consequence was, that, before the conclusion of his reign, there was not a single Englishman who enjoyed the rank of earl, baron, bishop, or abbot: even the English name became a term of reproach; and several generations elapsed before one family of Saxon pedigree attained the possession of any considerable honours.

The predilection which William had for the laws of his native country urged him to frequent violations of his coronation oath, by the introduction of many of them into England: a measure which could not fail to give great dissatisfaction to his English subjects, since he had sworn to preserve the laws of Edward the Confessor.

The introduction of the *Curfew*, or *Couvre-feu*, about 1070, in this king's reign, was extremely disgusting to the English. This was a law which enacted, that at the sounding of a bell, which was rung at eight o'clock at night, all companies should disperse, and the fire and candles be extinguished in every house. The original intent of this law was to prevent accidents from fire, which indeed frequently occurred in the large

CHAP. II.

WILLIAM II. SURNAMED RUFUS (*h*).

WILLIAM, the favourite son of the Conqueror, who was present in Normandy, had no sooner received his father's recommendatory epistle to Lanfranc, archbishop of Canterbury, than he hastened over to England to take measures for securing to himself the government of that kingdom. Sensible that a deed so unformal, and so little prepared, which violated Robert's right of primogeniture, might meet with opposition, he trusted entirely for success to his own celerity; and having left St. Gervais, while William was breathing his last, he arrived in England before intelligence of his father's death had reached that kingdom. Pretending orders from the king, he secured the royal treasure at Winchester, amounting to sixty thousand pounds, while some faithful friends, who had accompanied him from the continent, found means to get possession of the fortresses of Dover, Pevensey, and Hastings, whose situation rendered them of the greatest importance. The primate, whose rank and reputation in the kingdom gave him great authority, had been entrusted with the care of his education, and had conferred on him the honour of knighthood; and being connected with him by these ties, and probably deeming his pretensions just, declared that he would pay a willing obedience to the last will of the Conqueror, his friend and benefactor. Having assembled some bishops, and some of the principal nobility, whom he prevailed upon to espouse the cause of William, he instantly proceeded to crown the new king, which ceremony he performed in Westminster abbey, September 26, 1087 (*i*). By this dispatch he endeavoured to prevent all faction and resistance. At the same time Robert, who had been already acknowledged successor to Normandy, took peaceable possession of that duchy.

But though this partition appeared to have been made without any violence or opposition, there remained in England many causes of discontent, which seemed to menace that kingdom with a sudden revolution. The barons, who generally possessed large estates both in England and in Normandy, were uneasy at the separation of those territories; and foresaw, that as it would be impossible for them to preserve long their allegiance to two masters, they must necessarily resign either their ancient patrimony or their new acquisitions. Robert's title to the duchy they esteemed incontestible; his claim to the kingdom plausible; and they all desired that this prince, who alone had any pretensions to unite these estates, should be put in possession of both. A comparison also of the personal qualities of the two brothers led them to give the preference to the elder. The duke was brave, open, sincere, generous: even his predominant faults, his extreme indolence and facility, were not disagreeable to those haughty barons who affected independence, and submitted with reluctance to a vigorous administration in their sovereign. The king, though equally brave, was violent, haughty, tyrannical, and seemed disposed to govern more by the fear than by the love of his subjects. Odo, bishop of Baieux, now released from his confinement, had been restored by William Rufus to the earldom of Kent; but he and Robert, earl of Montagne, maternal brothers of the Conqueror, envying the great credit of Lanfranc, which was increased by his late services, enforced all these motives with their partisans, and engaged them in a formal conspiracy in 1088, to dethrone the king. They communicated their design to Eustace, count of Bologne, Roger, earl of Shrewsbury and Arundel, Robert de Belesme, his eldest son, William, bishop of Durham, Robert de Moubray, Roger Bigod, and Hugh de Grentmesnil; so that they easily procured the assent of these potent noblemen. The conspirators, retiring to their castles, hastened to put themselves in a military posture; and expecting to be soon supported by a powerful army from Normandy, they had already began hostilities in many places.

William, sensible of his perilous situation, endeavoured to engage the affections of the native English. As that people were now so thoroughly subdued that they no longer aspired to the recovery of their ancient liberties, and were content with the prospect of some mitigation in the tyranny of the Norman princes, they zealously embraced William's cause, upon receiving general promises of good treatment, a diminution of taxes, a revival of the Anglo-Saxon laws, and of enjoying the licence of hunting in the royal forests. By the plausibility of his professions he conciliated their attachment and support: and an army of nearly thirty thousand English soon enlisted under his banners. The king was soon in a situation to take the field; and as he knew the danger of delay, he suddenly marched into Kent; where his uncles had already seized the fortresses of Pevensey and Rochester. These places he successively reduced by famine; and though he was prevailed on by the earl of Chester, William de Warrenne, and Robert Fitz Hammon, who had embraced his cause, to spare the lives of the rebels, he confiscated all their estates, and banished them the kingdom. This success gave authority to his negociations with Roger, earl of Shrewsbury, whom he detached from the confederates: and as his powerful fleet, joined to the indolent conduct of Robert, prevented the arrival of the Norman succours, all the other rebels found no resource but in flight or submission. Some of them received a pardon; but the greater part were attainted; and the king bestowed their estates on the Norman barons, who had remained faithful to his cause.

William, freed from the danger of these insurrections, took little care of fulfilling his promises to the English, who still found themselves exposed to the same oppressions which they had undergone during the reign of the Conqueror, and which were rather augmented by the violent temper of the present monarch. The death of Lanfranc (*k*), who retained great influence over him, gave soon after a full career to his tyranny. To the beneficial influence which Lanfranc possessed over Rufus, the pernicious counsels of Flambard, a person of very different character, succeeded. This minister was a Norman by birth, and had been enrolled among the feudal vassals of the Conqueror. By his fearless and enterprizing disposition, a great degree of insinuation and eloquence, and a dexterity in the management of affairs, he had attracted the notice of the present king, who at length entrusted him with the direction of his finances. To gratify his sovereign's avidity, he devised the most oppressive exactions, which rendered him so unpopular, that a plan was formed for his assassination. Being decoyed into a boat on the Thames, he was conveyed towards the mouth of the river, and obliged to embark in a ship, where two persons, hired by his enemies, waited to deprive him of life; but the confusion produced by a violent tempest gave rise to emotions of humanity and compassion, which, seconded by the address and the promises of Flambard, induced Gerold, the principal conspirator, to relinquish his design, and conduct the minister to shore. Ralph, rejoiced at his escape, hastened to London; while Gerold, not having sufficient confidence in the generosity or forbearance of so unprincipled a character, sought refuge in a voluntary exile.

In order to replenish the king's coffers, Flambard suggested to his majesty the idea of a new survey of the kingdom, which was immediately put in execution. The reason assigned for this measure was, that the survey in the late reign had been partially conducted, as the jurors, on whose oaths it had been registered, had frequently diminished the quantity and value of the lands. Wherever the new commissioners found any extenuation of

large towns on the continent, where they were all built of wood, and covered with straw; from whence it was called *La Loi du Couvre-feu*. This law had long been in force in Normandy; and, according to some French authors, prevailed in all the cities of the north of Europe. Considered in this light merely, the regulations it tended to enforce were salutary; but as it had never been practised in England before, the English regarded it as useless and tyrannical. The general opinion is, that William adopted it from suspicion and mistrust, with a view to put an end to those nocturnal meetings in which the fate of kingdoms has been frequently decided, and which he feared might prove fatal to his own authority.

(*h*) Or *The Red*, from the colour of his hair.

(*i*) Immediately after his coronation, he returned to Winchester, and distributed a part of that monarch's treasures among the indigent inhabitants of every county in England, as well as among all the churches and monasteries. The proportions observed in this distribution were as follows: to the principal monasteries and cathedrals ten marks were given; to others six; to each of the parochial churches five shillings; and to every county a hundred pounds (nearly equal in value to the present sum of three thousand pounds) were sent for the benefit of the poor. From the same source he bestowed considerable largesses on many of the military members of the community, that he might depend on their support of his interests against the attempts of any competition.

(*k*) The archbishop died of a fever in 1089.

this kind, William took possession of the surplus, and augmented the taxes on the remainder. Though some acts of oppression were practised in this survey, it excited less clamour than that which arose from the king's constant custom of retaining the profits of vacant sees and abbacies in his own hands, sometimes for one year, and sometimes even for four years; for that was the period between Lanfranc's death and his appointing a successor to him. Although the Conqueror was extremely desirous of wealth, he always took early opportunities to supply the vacant ecclesiastical preferments. Had Rufus resumed, with the consent of a national council, for the necessary exigencies of government, a part of the opulent church endowments, his conduct would not have been reprehensible; but he employed in riot and prodigality the sums which he derived from the income of vacant dignities; and when he felt an inclination to supply them, he generally disposed of them by sale; a practice which did not tend to fill the church with those pure and disinterested characters that were the most qualified to reflect credit on the establishment. Though the murmurs of the ecclesiastics, which were quickly propagated to the nation, rose high against this grievance, the terror of William's authority, confirmed by the suppression of the late insurrections, retained every one in subjection, and preserved general tranquillity in England.

In the year 1090, the king thought himself so firmly established on the throne, that he apprehended he was enabled to disturb his brother in the possession of Normandy. The loose and negligent administration of Robert had emboldened the Norman barons to affect a degree of independency; and their mutual quarrels and devastations had rendered that whole territory a scene of violence and outrage. Two of them, Walter and Odo, were bribed by William to deliver the fortresses of St. Valori and Aumale (or Albemarle) into his hands: others soon after imitated the example of revolt; while Philip, king of France, who ought to have protected his vassal in the possession of his fief, was, after making some efforts in his favour, engaged by large presents from William Rufus to remain neuter. The duke had also reason to apprehend danger from the intrigues of his brother Henry. This young prince, who had inherited nothing of his father's great possessions, but some of his money, had furnished Robert, while he was making his preparations against England, with the sum of three thousand marks; and, in return for so slender a supply, had been put in possession of the Cotentin, which comprehended nearly a third of the duchy of Normandy. Robert afterwards, upon suspicion, threw him into prison; but finding himself exposed to invasion from the king of England, and dreading the conjunction of the two brothers against him, he now gave Henry his liberty, and even made use of his assistance in suppressing the insurrections of his rebellious subjects. Conan, a rich burgess of Roüen, who had been won by William's gold, entered into a conspiracy to deliver that city to him; but Henry, on the detection of his guilt, carried the traitor up to a high tower, and with his own hands flung him from the battlements.

The king appeared in Normandy, in 1091, at the head of an army which he disembarked near the Ville d'Eu; and affairs seemed to have come to extremity between the brothers; when the nobility on both sides, strongly connected by interest and alliances, interposed and mediated an accommodation. The chief advantage of this treaty accrued to William, who obtained possession of the county of Eu, the towns of Aumale, the town and abbey of Fescamp, and other places: but in return he promised that he would assist his brother in subduing Maine, which had rebelled; and that the Norman barons, attainted in Robert's cause, should be restored to their estates in England. The two brothers also stipulated, that, on the demise of either without issue, the survivor should inherit all his dominions; and twelve of the most powerful barons on each side swore, that they would employ their power to insure the effectual execution of the whole treaty.

Henry, however, disgusted that so little care had been taken of his interests in this accommodation, retired to St. Michael's Mount, a strong fortress on the coast of Normandy, and infested the neighbourhood with his incursions. Robert and William, with their joint forces, besieged him in this place for several weeks, and had nearly reduced him by the scarcity of water; when Robert, hearing of his distress, granted him permission to supply himself, and also sent him some pipes of wine for his own table. Being reproved by William for this ill-timed generosity, he replied, "*What, shall I suffer my brother to die of thirst? Where shall we find another when he is gone?*" The king also, during this siege, performed an act of generosity which was less suitable to his character. Riding out one day alone, to take a survey of the fortress, he was attacked by two soldiers and dismounted. One of them drew his sword in order to dispatch him: when the king exclaimed, "*Stop, fellow! I am the king of England.*" The soldier suspended his blow; and respectfully raising the king from the ground, received a handsome reward, and was taken into his service. Prince Henry was soon after obliged to capitulate; and being despoiled of all his patrimony, wandered about the continent with a retinue composed of one knight, three esquires, and a chaplain; and in the course of his peregrinations, he occasionally laboured under great penury and distress.

To this Norman war succeeded hostilities with Scotland, which were not of long duration. William, after he had settled his new acquisitions in Normandy, and procured the expulsion of Edgar Atheling from that duchy, returned to England with duke Robert, and prepared a powerful fleet and a large army for the invasion of Malcolm's dominions. But the equinoctial storms so damaged and dispersed his fleet, to which he trusted for supplies of provisions, that his army felt all the inconveniencies of want, which, added to the attacks of cold and fatigue, considerably diminished his numbers, and darkened his prospect of victory. In this emergency, Robert, who commanded William's army on this occasion, proposed to his brother that affairs should be accommodated with the Scots; and the wreck of his fleet, conspiring with the wretched condition of his forces, softened the mind of Rufus into acquiescence. By the mediation of the duke and of Edgar Atheling, who had by this time joined his brother-in-law Malcolm, peace was concluded between the two kings (*l*).

The peace with Scotland was, however, but of short duration; for William appeared unwilling to execute the stipulations of the treaty; and Malcolm, resenting this conduct, repaired to the English court in 1093, to demand the performance of the conditions. But William refused to admit the Scottish monarch to an interview, unless he would consent to refer the dispute to the decision of *his* barons sitting in judicature. This, as may be supposed, was an appeal which Malcolm disclaimed as unreasonable and unjust, affirming that the only equitable mode of determining their difference was, by submitting the contested points to a council composed both of Scotch and English nobility, who should be assembled on the frontiers of the two kingdoms. The arrogant behaviour of William occasioned a renunciation of the treaty on the part of Malcolm, who, returning into Scotland from Gloucester, (the place where the court of England then resided,) levied an army, and made an irruption into Northumberland. After a course of devastation, he invested the castle of Alnwick; but, during the siege, one Morel, at the head of the military vassals of Robert de Mowbray, earl of Northumberland, attacked him by surprize, and the action which ensued proved fatal both to the king himself and his eldest son Edward. The Scots immediately raised the siege, and carried home the unwelcome information of the death of their sovereign and his heir apparent, which had so violent an effect on the conjugal and maternal feelings of Margaret his queen, that she died on the third day after receiving the melancholy intelligence. This incident interrupted for some years the regular succession to the Scottish crown. Though Malcolm (*m*) left legitimate sons, his brother Donald, on account of the youth of these princes, was

(*l*) The terms of the treaty were, that Malcolm should do homage to the sovereign of England for the territories which had formerly belonged to that kingdom; that William should restore to him the twelve English manors which he had enjoyed under the Conqueror, and allow him an annuity of twelve marks; and that Edgar Atheling should be received into favour by the English monarch.

(*m*) Concerning Malcolm we may observe, that he was a prince of courage and ability, who contributed in many respects to the improvement

was advanced to the throne; but did not long keep possession of it. That prince had not reigned above six months, when, in 1094, Duncan, natural son of Malcolm, formed a conspiracy against him; and being assisted by William with a small force, made himself master of the kingdom.

The frank, open, and remiss temper of Robert duke of Normandy was ill fitted to withstand the interested and rapacious character of William, who, supported by greater power, was still encroaching on his brother's possessions, and instigating his turbulent barons to rebellion against him. The king, having gone over to Normandy in 1094, to support his partizans, ordered an army of twenty thousand men to be levied in England, and to be conducted to the sea-coast, as if they were instantly to be embarked. Here Ralph Flambard, the king's minister, and the chief instrument of his extortions, enacted ten shillings a-piece from them, in lieu of their service, and then dismissed them into their several counties. This money was so skilfully employed by William, that it rendered him better service than he could have expected from the army. He engaged the French king by new presents to depart from the protection of Robert; and he daily bribed the Norman barons to desert his service: but was prevented from pushing his advantages by an incursion of the Welsh, which obliged him to return to England. He found great difficulty in repelling the enemy, and was not able to make any considerable impression on a country guarded by its mountainous situation; and having sustained a considerable diminution of his force, he was glad to return, in the spring 1095, from so unsuccessful an expedition.

During William's absence in Normandy, a conspiracy of his own barons, which was formed at this time, engrossed all his attention. Robert de Mowbray, earl of Northumberland, was at the head of this combination; and he engaged in it William count d'Eu, Richard de Tunbridge, Roger de Lacey, Hugh earl of Shrewsbury, and many others. The purpose of the conspirators was to dethrone the king, and to advance in his stead Stephen, count of Aumale, nephew to the Conqueror. William's dispatch prevented the design from taking effect, and disconcerted the conspirators. Mowbray made some resistance; but being taken prisoner, was attainted, and thrown into confinement, where he died about thirty years after. The count d'Eu denied his concurrence in the plot; and to justify himself fought, in 1096, in the presence of the court at Old Sarum, a duel with Geoffrey Bainard who accused him; but being worsted in the combat, he was condemned to be castrated, and to have his eyes put out. William de Alderi, the count's cousin and steward, was treated with more rigour; for he was sentenced to be hanged, though it was generally believed he had not taken any part in the conspiracy.

The noise of these petty wars and commotions was quite sunk in the tumult of the crusades, which engrossed the attention of Europe about this time, and have ever since engaged the curiosity of mankind, as the most signal and most durable monument of human folly that ever appeared in any age or nation. After Mohammed had, by means of his pretended revelations, united the dispersed Arabians under one head, they issued forth from their deserts in great multitudes; and being animated with zeal for their new religion, and supported by the vigour of their new government, they made deep impression on the eastern empire, which was far in the decline, with regard both to military discipline and to civil policy. Jerusalem, by its situation, became one of their most early conquests; and the Christians had the mortification to see the holy sepulchre, and the other places, consecrated by the presence of their religious founder, fallen into the possession of infidels. But the Arabians or Saracens were so employed in military enterprizes, by which they spread their empire in a few years from the banks of the Ganges in the east, to the Streights of Gibraltar in the west, that they had no leisure for theological controversy: and though the Koran, the original monument of their faith, seems to contain some violent precepts, they were much less infected with the spirit of bigotry and persecution, than the indolent and speculative Greeks, who were continually refining on the several articles of their religious system. They gave little disturbance to those zealous pilgrims, who daily flocked to Jerusalem; and they allowed every man, after paying a moderate tribute, to visit the holy sepulchre, to perform his religious duties, and to return in peace. But the Turcomans or Turks, a tribe of Tartars, who had embraced Mahomedanism, having wrested Syria from the Saracens, and having, in the year 1065, made themselves masters of Jerusalem, rendered the pilgrimage much more difficult and dangerous to the Christians. The barbarity of their manners, and the confusions attending their unsettled government, exposed the pilgrims to many insults, robberies, and extortions; and these zealots returning from their fatigues and sufferings, filled all Christendom with indignation against the infidels, who, it was pretended, profaned the holy city by their presence, and derided the sacred mysteries in the very place of their completion. Gregory VII. among the other vast ideas which he entertained, had formed the design of uniting all the western Christians against the Mohammedans; but the egregious and violent invasions of that pontiff on the civil power of princes, had created him so many enemies, and had rendered his schemes so suspicious, that he was not able to make great progress in this undertaking. The work was reserved for a meaner instrument, whose low condition in life exposed him to no jealousy, and whose folly was well calculated to coincide with the prevailing principles of the times.

Peter, commonly called the Hermit, a native of Amiens in Picardy, had made the pilgrimage to Jerusalem. Being deeply affected with the dangers to which that act of piety now exposed the pilgrims, as well as with the instances of oppression under which the eastern Christians laboured, he entertained the bold, and in all appearance impracticable project of leading into Asia, from the farthest extremities of the West, armies, sufficient to subdue those potent and warlike nations which now held the holy city in subjection. He proposed his views to Urban II. who filled the papal chair, and who, though sensible of the advantages which the head of the Christian religion must reap from a religious war, and though he esteemed the blind zeal of Peter a proper means for effecting the purpose, resolved not to interpose his authority, till he saw a greater probability of success. He summoned a council at Placentia, which consisted of four thousand ecclesiastics, and thirty thousand seculars; and which was so numerous that no hall could contain the multitude, and it was necessary to hold the assembly in a plain. The harangues of the pope, and of Peter himself, representing the dismal situation of their brethren in the east, and the indignity suffered by the Christian name, in allowing the holy city to remain in the hands of infidels, here found the minds of men so well prepared, that the whole multitude suddenly and violently declared for the war, and solemnly devoted themselves to perform this service, so meritorious as they believed it, to God and the true faith.

Although Italy seemed thus to have zealously embraced the enterprize, Urban knew, that, in order to insure success, it was necessary to enlist the greater and more warlike nations in the same engagement; and having previously exhorted Peter to visit the chief cities and sovereigns of Christendom, he summoned another council at Clermont, in Auvergne. The fame of this great and pious design, being now universally diffused, procured the attendance of the greatest prelates, nobles, and princes; and when the pope and the hermit renewed their pathetic exhortations, the whole assembly, as if impelled by an immediate inspiration, not moved by their preceding impressions, exclaimed with one voice, "It is the will of God! It is the will of God!" Words deemed so memorable, and so much the result of a divine influence, that they were employed as the signal of rendezvous and battle in all the future exploits of those adventurers. Men of all ranks flew to arms with the utmost ardour; and an exterior symbol too, a circumstance of chief moment, was here chosen by the devoted combatants. The sign of the cross, which had been hitherto so much revered among Christians, and which, the more it was an object of reproach among the Pagan world, was the more passionately cherished by them, became the badge of union, and was affixed to their right shoulder, by all who enlisted themselves in this sacred warfare.

Europe was at this time sunk into profound ignorance

provement of his country; but all his hostilities against England were conducted in such a manner, as to have rendered him more deserving the character of a barbarian depredator, than that of a great and magnanimous warrior.

and superstition: the ecclesiastics had acquired the greatest ascendant over the human mind: the people, who, being little restrained by honour, and less by law, abandoned themselves to the worst of crimes and disorders, knew of no other expiation than the observances imposed on them by their spiritual pastors; and it was easy to represent the holy war as an equivalent for all penances, and an atonement for every violation of justice and humanity. But, amidst the abject superstition which now prevailed, the military spirit also had universally diffused itself; and though not supported by art or discipline, was become the general passion of the nations governed by the feudal law. All the great lords possessed the right of peace and war: they were engaged in perpetual hostilities with each other; the open country was become a scene of outrage and disorder: the cities, still mean and poor, were neither guarded by walls nor protected by privileges, and were exposed to every insult: individuals were obliged to depend for safety on their own force, or their private alliances; and valour was the only excellence which was held in esteem, or gave one man the pre-eminence above another. When all the particular superstitions, therefore, were here united in one great object, the ardour for military enterprizes took the same direction; and Europe, impelled by its two ruling passions, was loosened, as it were, from its foundations, and seemed to precipitate itself in one united body upon the east.

All orders of men, deeming the crusades the only road to heaven, enlisted themselves under these sacred banners, and were impatient to open the way with their sword to the holy city. Nobles, artisans, peasants, even priests, enrolled their names; and to decline this meritorious service was branded with the reproach of impiety, or what perhaps was esteemed still more disgraceful, of cowardice. The infirm and aged contributed to the expedition by presents and money; and many of them, not satisfied with the merit of this atonement, attended it in person, and were determined, if possible, to breathe their last in sight of that city where their Saviour had died for them. Women themselves, concealing their sex under the disguise of armour, attended the camp; and commonly forgot still more the duty of the sex, by prostituting themselves, without reserve, to the army. The greatest criminals were forward in a service, which they regarded as a propitiation for all crimes; and the most enormous disorders were, during the course of those expeditions, committed by men enured to wickedness, encouraged by example, and impelled by necessity. The multitude of the adventurers soon became so great, that their more sagacious leaders, Hugh, count of Vermandois, brother to the French king, Raymond, count of Toulouse, Godfrey of Bouillon, prince of Brabant, and Stephen, count of Blois, became apprehensive lest the greatness itself of the armament should disappoint its purpose; and they permitted an undisciplined multitude, computed at three hundred thousand men, to go before them, under the command of Peter the Hermit and a knight named Walter. These men took the road towards Constantinople through Hungary and Bulgaria; and trusting that Heaven, by supernatural assistance, would supply all their necessities, they made no provision for subsistence on their march. They soon found themselves obliged to obtain by plunder, what they had vainly expected from miracles; and the enraged inhabitants of the countries through which they passed, gathering together in arms, attacked the disorderly multitude, and put them to slaughter without resistance. The more disciplined armies followed after; and passing the streights at Constantinople, they were mustered in the plains of Asia, and amounted in the whole to the number of seven hundred thousand combatants.

Amidst this universal frenzy which spread itself by contagion throughout Europe, especially in France and Germany, men were not entirely forgetful of their present interests; and both those who went on this expedition, and those who staid behind, entertained schemes of gratifying, by its means, their avarice or their ambition. The nobles who enlisted themselves were moved, from the romantic spirit of the age, to hope for opulent establishments in the east, the chief seat of arts and commerce during those ages; and in pursuit of these chimerical projects, they sold at the lowest price their ancient castles and inheritances, which had now lost all value in their eyes. The greater princes, who remained at home, besides establishing peace in their dominions by giving occupation abroad to the inquietude and martial disposition of their subjects, took the opportunity of annexing to their crown many considerable fiefs, either by purchase, or by the extinction of heirs. The pope frequently turned the zeal of the crusades from the infidels against his own enemies, whom he represented as equally criminal with the enemies of Christ. The convents and other religious societies bought the possessions of the adventurers; and as the contributions of the faithful were commonly entrusted to their management, they often diverted to this purpose what was intended to be employed against the infidels. But no one was a more immediate gainer by this epidemic fury than the king of England, who kept aloof from all connexions with those fanatical and romantic warriors.

Robert, duke of Normandy, impelled by the bravery and mistaken generosity of his spirit, had early enlisted himself in the crusade; but being always unprovided with money, he found that it would be impracticable for him to appear in a manner suitable to his rank and station at the head of his numerous vassals and subjects, who, transported with the general rage, were determined to follow him into Asia. He resolved, therefore, to mortgage, or rather to sell, his dominions, which he had not talents to govern; and he offered them to his brother William, for the very unequal sum of ten thousand marks. The bargain was soon concluded: the king raised the money by violent extortions on his subjects of all ranks, even on the convents, who were obliged to melt their plate in order to furnish the quota demanded from them (*n*): he was put in possession of Normandy and Maine, and Robert, providing himself with a magnificent train, set out for the Holy Land, in pursuit of glory, and in full confidence of securing his eternal salvation.

The fury of the crusades, during this age, less infected England than the neighbouring kingdoms; probably because the Norman conquerors, finding their settlement in that kingdom still somewhat precarious, durst not abandon their houses in quest of distant adventures. The selfish interested spirit also of the king, which kept him from heightening the general flame, checked its progress among his subjects; and as he is accused of open profaneness, and was endued with a sharp wit, it is likely that he made the romantic chivalry of the crusaders the object of his perpetual raillery (*o*).

William had the misfortune about this time to be engaged in quarrels with the ecclesiastics, particularly with Anselm, archbishop of Canterbury; and it is no wonder his memory should be blackened by the historians of that order, so that we must admit their aspersions with caution. After the death of Lanfranc, the king for several years retained in his own hands the revenues of Canterbury, as he did those of many other vacant bishoprics (which we have before noticed); but falling into a dangerous sickness, he was seized with remorse, and the clergy represented to him, that he was in danger of eternal perdition, if before his death he did not make atonement for those multiplied impieties and sacrileges, of which he had been guilty. He resolved therefore to supply instantly the vacancy of Canterbury; and for that purpose he sent for Anselm, a Piedmontese by birth, abbot of Bec, in Normandy, who was much celebrated for his learning and piety. The abbot earnestly refused the dignity, fell on his knees,

(*n*) The smallness of this sum, with the difficulties which William found in raising it, suffices alone to refute the account which is heedlessly adopted by historians, of the enormous revenue of the Conqueror. Is it credible, that Robert would consign to the rapacious hands of his brother such considerable dominions, for a sum, which, according to that account, made not a week's income of his father's English revenue alone? Or that the king of England could not on demand, without oppressing his subjects, have been able to pay him the money? The Conqueror, it is agreed, was frugal as well as rapacious; yet his treasure, at his death, exceeded not sixty thousand pounds, which hardly amounted to his income for two months: another certain refutation of that exaggerated account.

(*o*) As an instance of his irreligion, we are told, that he once accepted of sixty marks from a Jew, whose son had been converted to Christianity, and who engaged him by that present to assist him in bringing back the youth to Judaism. William employed both menaces and persuasion for that purpose; but finding the convert obstinate in his new faith, he sent for the father and told him, that as he had not succeeded, it was not just that he should keep the present; but as he had done his utmost, it was but equitable that he should be paid for his pains; and he would therefore retain only thirty marks of the money. At another time, it is said, he sent for some learned Christian theologians and some rabbies, and bade them fairly dispute the question of their religion in his presence. He was perfectly indifferent between them; had his ears open to reason and conviction; and would embrace that doctrine which upon comparison should be found supported by the most solid arguments.

knees, wept, and entreated the king to change his purpose; and when he found the prince obstinate, in forcing the pastoral staff upon him, he kept his fist so fast clenched, that it required the utmost violence of the by-standers to open it, and force him to receive that ensign of spiritual dignity. William soon after recovered; and his passions regaining their wonted vigour, he returned to his former violence and rapine. He detained in prison several persons whom he had ordered to be freed during the time of his penitence; he still preyed upon the ecclesiastical benefices; the sale of spiritual dignities continued as open as ever; and he kept possession of a considerable part of the revenues belonging to the see of Canterbury. But he found in Anselm that persevering opposition which he had reason to expect from the ostentatious humility which that prelate had displayed in refusing his promotion. The opposition made by Anselm was the more dangerous on account of the character of piety which he soon acquired in England, by his great zeal against all abuses, particularly those in dress and ornament (*p*). He was extremely averse to the long hair and curled locks which were then fashionable among the courtiers, and zealously preached against them; he even refused the ashes on Ash-Wednesday to those who were so accoutred; and his authority and eloquence had such influence that the young men universally abandoned that ornament, and appeared in the cropped hair, which was recommended to them by the sermons of the primate (*q*).

When William recovered his health, he became engaged in controversies with this austere prelate. There was at that time a schism in the church between Urban and Clement, who both pretended to the papacy; and Anselm, who, as abbot of Bec, had already acknowledged the former, was determined, without the king's consent, to introduce his authority into England. William, who, imitating his father's example, had prohibited his subjects from recognizing any pope whom he had not previously received, was enraged at this attempt; and summoned a synod at Rockingham, with an intention of deposing Anselm: but the prelate's suffragans declared, that, without the papal authority, they knew of no expedient for inflicting that punishment on their primate. The king was at last engaged by other motives to give the preference to Urban's title; Anselm received the pall from that pontiff, who sent it to England by the bishop of Albano; and matters seemed to be accommodated between the king and the primate, when the quarrel broke out afresh from a new cause. William had undertaken an expedition against Wales in the summer of 1097, and required the archbishop to furnish his quota of soldiers for that service; but Anselm, who regarded the demand as an oppression on the church, and yet durst not refuse compliance, sent them so miserably accoutred, that the king was extremely displeased, and threatened him with a prosecution. Anselm, on the other hand, demanded positively that all the revenues of his see should be restored to him; appealed to Rome against the king's injustice; and affairs came to such extremities, that the primate, finding it dangerous to remain in the kingdom, frequently solicited permission to go to Rome, which the king as often refused: at length he extorted the royal consent, couched, however, in the form of a peremptory order for his speedy departure. He had no sooner quitted the kingdom than William declared all his archiepiscopal acts null and void, and seized all the estates belonging to the see which he had occupied. Anselm was received with great respect by Urban, who considered him as a martyr in the cause of religion, and even menaced the king, on account of his proceedings against the primate and the church, with the sentence of excommunication. Anselm assisted at the council of Bari, where, besides fixing the controversy between the Greek and Latin churches concerning the procession of the Holy Ghost, the right of election to church preferments was declared to belong to the clergy alone, and spiritual censures were denounced against all ecclesiastics, who did homage to laymen for their sees or benefices, and against all laymen who exacted it. The rite of homage, by the feudal customs, was, that the vassal should throw himself on his knees, should put his joined hands between those of his superior, and should in that posture swear fealty to him. But the council declared it execrable, that pure hands, which could create God, and could offer him up as a sacrifice for the salvation of mankind, should be put, after this humiliating manner, between profane hands, which, besides being enured to rapine and bloodshed, were employed day and night in impure purposes, and obscene contacts. Such were the reasonings prevalent in that age; reasonings which, though they cannot be passed over in silence, without omitting the most curious, and, perhaps, not the least instructive part of history, can scarcely be delivered with the requisite decency and gravity.

William's attention was now called to the affairs of Scotland. Duncan, to whose accession he had greatly contributed, had become extremely unpopular, from his partiality to the English and Normans, and had lost his life by a conspiracy of some of the Scottish nobles. On the assassination of this prince, Donald had been raised to the throne; but his subserviency to Magnus, king of Norway, by whose support he had been enabled to procure the crown, gave great dissatisfaction to the Scots, among whom a strong party was formed against him. Edgar, the eldest surviving son of Malcolm and Margaret, was invited to his paternal throne by Donald's opponents; and, as William had assisted in the first deposition of Donald, he now lent his aid to the second dethronement of that prince, and furnished Edgar Atheling with a body of troops, that he might place his nephew on the throne of Scotland. As soon as this army appeared on the borders, it was reinforced by the disaffected Scots; the king was defeated and taken prisoner; and young Edgar, by the efforts of his uncle, conspiring with his father's merits, obtained the crown, which he wore in peace and reputation.

The cession of Normandy and Maine by duke Robert increased the king's territories; but brought him no great increase of power, because of the unsettled state of those countries, the mutinous disposition of the barons, and the vicinity of the French king, who supported them in all their insurrections. Even Helie, lord of la Flêche, a small town in Anjou, was able to give him inquietude; and this great monarch was obliged to make several expeditions abroad, particularly in 1098, without being able to prevail over so petty a baron, who had acquired the confidence and affections of the inhabitants of Maine. He was, however, so fortunate as at last to take him prisoner, and the count of Anjou took arms in his vassal's cause; but he soon consented to make peace with William, on terms very advantageous to that monarch. He agreed to cede to him the whole county of Maine, on condition of his granting liberty to Helie and all the prisoners whom he had taken. Thus deprived of Maine, Helie offered his service to the king of England, who was inclined to accede to the request of so gallant a warrior, but was dissuaded from it by the jealousy of the earl of Meulant, one of his favourite courtiers. Finding his offer rejected, Helie boldly intimated to William, that, as he had refused the tender of his friendship and service, he ought not to be surprized if he should act as his enemy, and exert all his efforts for the recovery of the territories which he had lost. A timid and suspicious prince would have seized the person of any one who, at the instant of being restored to liberty, uttered so haughty a menace; but William, with a magnanimity worthy of a king, replied, "Be gone, and do whatever you think proper! I fear not your utmost resentment." He then furnished Helie with a safe-conduct to La Flêche, where he employed himself in strengthening his fortifications; while the king, regardless of his threats, passed the winter in Normandy, and returned to England in the spring of 1099. Here he celebrated the festival of Whitsuntide in the spacious and magnificent hall of Westminster, which had lately been erected at his expence, and which he affected to undervalue as being scarcely of sufficient dimensions for a king's bed-chamber. Amidst

(*p*) There was a mode, which, in that age, prevailed throughout Europe, both among men and women, to give an enormous length to their shoes, to draw the toe to a sharp point, and to affix to it the figure of a bird's bill, or some such ornament, which was turned upwards, and which was often sustained by gold or silver chains tied to the knee. The ecclesiastics took exception at this ornament, which they said was an attempt to bely the scripture, where it is affirmed that no man can add a cubit to his stature; and they declaimed against it with great vehemence, nay assembled some synods, who absolutely condemned it. But, such are the strange contradictions in human nature! though the clergy, at that time, could overturn thrones, and had authority sufficient to send above a million of men on *their* errand to the deserts of Asia, they could never prevail against these long-pointed shoes; on the contrary, that caprice, contrary to all other modes, maintained its ground during several centuries; and if the clergy had not at last desisted from their persecution of it, it might still have been the prevailing fashion in Europe.

(*q*) Eadmer, the historian of Anselm, who was also his companion and secretary, celebrates highly this effort of his zeal and piety, in p. 23 of his life of the primate.

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the jollity of this season, he conferred the bishopric of Durham, which he had kept in his own hands for three years, on Ralph Flambard, who had long acted as his prime minister and chief justiciary of the realm; and who still retained the favour of his sovereign by the same means that entailed on him the hatred of the people; by a fertility of invention in the arts of raising money on the subject, and by an uncommon perseverance in bringing his schemes to issue, notwithstanding all the effusions of popular clamour, and all the menaces of public indignation. Helie, being introduced by the citizens into the town of Mans, besieged the garrison in the citadel: William, who was hunting in the New Forest, when he received intelligence from the earl of Shrewsbury (*r*) of this hostile attempt, was so provoked, that he immediately turned his horse, and galloped to the sea-shore at Dartmouth; declaring, that he would not stop a moment till he had taken vengeance for the offence. He embarked on board a crazy vessel, with a very small number of followers, but found the weather so cloudy and tempestuous, that the mariners thought it dangerous to put to sea: yet the king hurried on board, and ordered them to set sail instantly; telling them, that they never yet heard of a king that was drowned. The next morning he landed at Barfleur, rode with the utmost speed to Bonneville, levied an army of Normans, and advanced towards Mans. By this vigour and celerity, he delivered the citadel of Mans from its present danger; and pursuing Helie into his own territories, he laid siege to Majol, a small castle in those parts; but a wound, which he received before this place, obliged him to raise the siege; and he returned to England in the autumn.

The weakness of the greatest monarchs, during this age, in their military expeditions against their nearest neighbours, appears the more surprizing, when we consider the prodigious numbers, which even petty princes, seconding the enthusiastic rage of the people, were able to assemble, and to conduct in dangerous enterprizes to the remote provinces of Asia. William, earl of Poictou and duke of Guienne, enflamed with the glory, and not discouraged by the misfortunes, which had attended former adventurers in the crusades, had put himself at the head of an immense multitude, computed by some historians to amount to sixty thousand horse, and a much greater number of foot (*s*), and he purposed to lead them into the Holy Land, against the infidels. He wanted money to forward the preparations requisite for this expedition, and he offered to mortgage all his dominions to William, without entertaining any scruple on account of that rapacious and iniquitous hand, to which he resolved to consign them. The king accepted the offer; and had prepared a fleet and an army, in order to escort the money, and take possession of the rich provinces of Guienne and Poictou; when an accident put an end to his life, and to all his ambitious projects, on the 2nd of August, 1100. He was engaged in hunting, in the New Forest, the sole amusement, and indeed the chief occupation of princes in those rude times, when society was little cultivated, and the arts afforded few objects worthy of attention. Walter Tyrrel, a knight of Pontoise, remarkable for his address in archery, attended him in this recreation; and Tyrrel, impatient to show his dexterity, let fly an arrow at a stag, which suddenly started before him. The arrow, glancing from a tree, struck the king in the breast, and instantly slew him; while Tyrrel, without informing any one of the accident, put spurs to his horse, hastened to the sea-shore, embarked for France, and joined the crusade in an expedition to Jerusalem; a penance which he imposed on himself, for this involuntary crime. The body of William was found in the forest by the country-people, and was buried without any pomp or ceremony in the cathedral at Winchester. His courtiers were negligent in performing the last duties to a master who was so little beloved; and every one was too much occupied in the interesting object of fixing his successor, to attend the funeral of a dead sovereign. The age of William Rufus at the time of his death did not exceed forty-two years; and he had nearly completed the thirteenth year of his reign.

The memory of this monarch is transmitted to us with little advantage by the churchmen, whom he had offended (*t*); and though we may suspect, in general, that their account of his vices is somewhat exaggerated, his conduct affords little reason for contradicting the character which they have assigned him, or for attributing to him any very estimable qualities. He seems to have been a violent and tyrannical prince; a perfidious, encroaching, and dangerous neighbour; an unkind and ungenerous relation. He was equally prodigal and rapacious in the management of his treasury; and if he possessed abilities, he lay so much under the government of impetuous passions, that he made little use of them in his administration; and he indulged, without reserve, that domineering policy, which suited his temper, and which, if supported, as it was in him, with courage and vigour, proves often more successful in disorderly times, than the deepest foresight and most refined artifice.

The most laudable foreign enterprize which William undertook, was the sending of Edgar Atheling, three years before his death, into Scotland with a small army, to restore prince Edgar, the true heir of that kingdom, son of Malcolm, and of Margaret, sister of Edgar Atheling; and the enterprize proved successful. It was remarked in that age, that Richard, an elder brother of William's, perished by an accident in the new forest; Richard, his nephew, natural son of duke Robert, lost his life in the same place, after the same manner; and all men, upon the king's fate, exclaimed, that, as the Conqueror had been guilty of extreme violence, impelling all the inhabitants of that large district to make room for his game, the just vengeance of Heaven was signalized, in the same place, by the slaughter of his posterity. As he was never married, he left no legitimate issue. The monuments which remain of this prince in England, are Westminster-Hall, and London-Bridge, which he built.

In the eleventh year of this reign, Magnus, king of Norway, made a descent on the isle of Anglesea, but was repulsed by Hugh, earl of Shrewsbury. This is the last attempt made by the northern nations upon England. That restless people seem about this time to have learned the practice of tillage, which thenceforth kept them at home, and freed the other nations of Europe from the devastations spread over them by those piratical invaders. This proved one great cause of the subsequent settlement and improvement of the southern nations.

In the year 1092, a great part of London was consumed by fire; and soon after considerable damage was done to the coast of Kent by an extraordinary inundation of the sea, which entirely overflowed the lands which had belonged formerly to the powerful family of earl Godwin; from whence the place received the appellation of Godwin's Sands.

CHAP. III.

HENRY I.

THE adventurers in the holy war being assembled on the banks of the Bosphorus, opposite to Constantinople, proceeded on their enterprize; but soon experienced those difficulties which their zeal had concealed from them. The Greek emperor, Alexis Comnenus, who had applied to the western Christians for succour against the Turks, entertained hopes of obtaining a moderate supply, which, acting under his command, might enable him to repulse the enemy: but he was astonished to see his dominions suddenly overwhelmed by an inundation of licentious barbarians, who, under the pretence of friendship, despised his subjects as unwarlike, and detested them as heretical. By all the arts of policy he endeavoured to divert the torrent; but while he employed professions, caresses, civilities, and seeming services towards the leaders of the crusade, he secretly regarded those imperious allies as more dangerous than the open enemies by whom his empire had been formerly invaded. Having effected that difficult point of disembarking them safely in Asia, he entered into a private correspondence with Soliman, emperor of the Turks; and practised every art, which his genius, his power,

(*r*) Robert de Belesme, who succeeded to that earldom in 1098, on the death of his brother Hugh, whom the king of Norway slew in battle, in the isle of Anglesea.

(*s*) W. Malm. p. 149. The whole is said by Order. Vital. p. 789, to amount to three hundred thousand men.

(*t*) At the time of his death, William had, in his own possession, the archbishopric of Canterbury, the sees of Winchester and Sarum, and the estates of eleven abbeys.

or



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Smirke delin.

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or his situation, enabled him to employ, for disappointing the enterprize, and discouraging the Latins from making thenceforward any such prodigious migrations. His dangerous policy was seconded by the disorders inseparable from so vast a multitude, who were not united under one head, and were conducted by leaders of the most independent intractable spirit, unacquainted with military discipline, and determined enemies to civil authority and submission. The scarcity of provisions, the excesses of fatigue, the influence of unknown climates, joined to the want of concert in their operations, and to the sword of a warlike enemy, destroyed the adventurers by thousands, and would have abated the ardour of men impelled to war by less powerful motives. Their zeal however, their bravery, and their irresistible force, still carried them forward, and continually advanced them to the great end of their expedition. After an obstinate siege, they took Nice, the seat of the Turkish empire; they defeated Soliman in two great battles; they made themselves masters of Antioch; and entirely broke the force of the Turks, who had so long retained those countries in subjection. The sultan of Egypt, whose alliance they had courted, recovered, on the fall of the Turkish power, his former authority in Jerusalem, and informed them by his ambassadors, that if they came disarmed to that city, they might perform their religious vows, and that all Christian pilgrims, who should afterwards visit the holy sepulchre, might expect the same good treatment which they had ever received from his predecessors. The offer was rejected; the sultan was required to deliver the city to the Christians; and on his refusal, the champions of the cross advanced to the siege of Jerusalem, which they regarded as the consummation of their labours. By the detachments which they had made, and the disasters which they had undergone, they were diminished to the number of twenty thousand foot and fifteen hundred horse; but these were still formidable, from their valour, their experience, and the obedience which, from past calamities, they had learned to pay to their leaders. After a siege of five weeks, they took the city by assault; and, impelled by a mixture of military and religious rage, they put the numerous garrison and inhabitants to the sword without distinction. Neither arms defended the valiant, nor submission the timorous: no age nor sex was spared: infants on the breast were pierced by the same blow with their mothers, who sued for mercy: even a multitude, to the number of ten thousand persons, who had surrendered themselves prisoners, and were promised quarter, were butchered in cool blood by those ferocious conquerors. The streets of Jerusalem were covered with dead bodies; and the triumphant warriors, after every enemy was subdued and slaughtered, immediately turned themselves, with the sentiments of humiliation and contrition, towards the holy sepulchre. They threw aside their arms, still streaming with blood: they advanced with reclined bodies, and naked feet and heads, to that sacred monument: they sung anthems to their Saviour, who had there purchased salvation by his death and agony; and their devotion, enlivened by the presence of the place where he had suffered, so overcame their fury, that they dissolved in tears, and bore the appearance of every soft and tender sentiment. So inconsistent is human nature with itself! and so easily does the most effeminate superstition ally, both with the most heroic courage and with the fiercest barbarity! This great event happened on the 5th of July, 1100. The Christian princes and nobles, after chusing Godfrey of Bouillon king of Jerusalem, began to settle themselves in their new conquests; while some of them returned to Europe, in order to enjoy at home that glory, which they had acquired in this popular and (in their eyes) meritorious enterprize. Among these was Robert duke of Normandy, who, as he had relinquished the greatest dominions of any prince that attended the crusade, had all along distinguished himself by the most intrepid courage, as well as by that affable disposition and unbounded generosity which gain the hearts of soldiers, and qualify a prince to shine in a military life. In passing through Italy, he became acquainted with Sibylla, daughter of the count of Conversana (*u*), a young lady of great beauty and merit, whom he espoused: indulging himself in this new passion, as well as fond of enjoying ease and pleasure, after the fatigues of so many rough campaigns, he lingered a twelvemonth in that delicious climate; and though his friends in the north looked every moment for his arrival, none of them knew when they could with certainty expect it. By this delay he lost the kingdom of England, which the great fame he had acquired during the crusades, as well as his undoubted title, both by birth and by the agreement with his deceased brother, (solemnly confirmed by the principal nobles of England and Normandy,) would, had he been present, have infallibly secured to him.

Prince Henry was hunting with William Rufus in the New Forest, when intelligence of that monarch's death was brought him; and being sensible of the advantage attending dispatch, he hastened to Winchester castle, in order to secure the royal treasure, which he knew to be a necessary implement for facilitating his designs on the crown. He had scarcely reached the place when William de Breteuil, keeper of the treasure, arrived, and opposed himself to Henry's pretensions. This nobleman, who had been engaged in the same party of hunting, had no sooner heard of his master's death, than he made the utmost expedition to take care of his charge; and he told the prince, that this treasure, as well as the crown, belonged to his elder brother, who was now his sovereign; and that for his part, he was determined, in spite of all other pretensions, to maintain his allegiance to him, whom he had sworn to support. But Henry, drawing his sword, threatened him with instant death if he dared to disobey him; and as others of the late king's retinue, particularly the earls of Warwick and Meulant, who came every moment to Winchester, joined the prince's party, Breteuil was obliged to withdraw his opposition, to acquiesce in this violence, and to put him in possession of the royal treasure.

Henry, without losing a moment, hastened with the money to London; and having assembled some noblemen and prelates, whom his address, or abilities, or presents, gained to his side, he was suddenly elected, or rather saluted king; and immediately proceeded to the exercise of royal authority. On the 5th of August, three days after his brother's death, the ceremony of his coronation was performed by Maurice, bishop of London; thus, by his courage and celerity, he got possession of the vacant throne. No one had sufficient spirit to appear in defence of the absent prince: all men were seduced or intimidated: present possession supplied the defects in Henry's title; and the barons, as well as the people, acquiesced in a claim, which, though it could neither be justified nor comprehended, could now, they found, be opposed only through the perils of civil war and rebellion.

But as Henry foresaw that a crown, usurped against all rules of justice, would sit unsteadily on his head, he resolved, by fair professions at least, to gain the affections of all his subjects. Besides taking the usual coronation-oath to maintain the laws and execute justice, he passed a charter, on the day of his coronation, which was calculated to remedy many of the grievous oppressions which had been complained of during the reigns of his father and brother. He there promised, that, at the death of any bishop or abbot, he never would seize the revenues of the see or abbey during the vacancy, but would leave the whole to be reaped by the successor; and that he would never let to farm any ecclesiastical benefice, nor dispose of it for money (*v*). He promised that, upon the death of any earl, baron, or military tenant, his heir should be admitted to the possession of his estate, on paying a just and lawful relief; without being exposed to such violent exactions as had been usual during the late reigns: he remitted the wardship of minors, and allowed guardians to be appointed, who should be answerable for the trust: he promised not to dispose of any heiress in marriage, but by the advice of all the barons; and if any baron intended to give his daughter, sister, niece, or kinswoman in marriage, it should only be necessary for him to consult the king, who promised to take no money for his consent, nor ever to refuse permission, unless the person, to whom it was purposed to marry her, should happen to be his enemy: he granted his barons and military tenants the power of bequeathing, by will, their money or personal estates; and if they neglected to make a will, he promised that their heirs should succeed to them: he renounced the right of imposing moneyage, and of levying taxes at pleasure on the farms which the barons retained in their own hands: he made some general professions of moderating fines; he offered a pardon for all murders and offences

(*u*) The count of Conversana was a nobleman of Norman extraction.

(*v*) By this master-piece of policy he gained the good will of the clergy, whose services he thought he might one day stand in need of.

committed previous to his coronation; and he remitted all debts due to the crown: he required that the vassals of the barons should enjoy the same privileges which he granted to his own baronies; and he promised a general confirmation and observance of the laws of Edward the Confessor, as improved by William I. (w). This is the substance of the chief articles contained in that famous charter.

Henry's next measure tended farther to increase his popularity; he degraded and committed prisoner to the Tower of London Ralph Flambard, bishop of Durham, who had been the chief instrument of oppression under his brother, William II. but this act was followed by another, which was a direct violation of his own charter, and was a bad prognostic of his sincere intentions to observe it: he kept the see of Durham vacant for five years, and during that time retained possession of all its revenues. Sensible of the great authority which Anselm had acquired by his character of piety, and by the persecutions which he had undergone from William, he sent to him at Lyons, where he resided, and invited him to return and take possession of his dignities. On the arrival of the prelate, he proposed to him the renewal of that homage which he had done his brother, and which had never been refused by any English bishop: but Anselm had acquired other sentiments by his journey to Rome, and gave the king an absolute refusal. He objected the decrees of the council of Bari, at which he himself had assisted; and declared, that so far from doing homage for his spiritual dignity, he would not so much as communicate with any ecclesiastic who paid that submission, or who accepted of investitures from laymen. Henry, who expected, in his present delicate situation, to reap great advantages from the authority and popularity of Anselm, durst not insist on his demand.

There immediately occurred an important affair, in which the king was obliged to have recourse to the authority of Anselm. Matilda, daughter of Malcolm III. king of Scotland, and niece to Edgar Atheling, had, on her father's death, and the subsequent revolutions in the Scottish government, been brought to England, and educated under her aunt Christina, in the nunnery of Rumsey. This princess Henry purposed to marry; but as she had worn the veil, though never taken the vows, doubts might arise concerning the lawfulness of the act; and he was careful not to shock the religious prejudices of his subjects. The affair was examined by Anselm, in a council of the prelates and nobles which was summoned at Lambeth: Matilda there proved that she had put on the veil, not with a view of entering into a religious life, but merely in consequence of a custom familiar to the English ladies who protected their chastity from the brutal violence of the Normans, by taking shelter under that habit, which, amidst the horrible licentiousness of the times, was yet generally revered. The council, sensible that even a princess had otherwise no security for her honour, admitted this reason as valid: they pronounced that Matilda was still free to marry; and her espousals with Henry were celebrated by Anselm with great pomp and solemnity. No act of the king's reign rendered him equally popular with his English subjects, or tended more to establish him on the throne.

But the policy and prudence of Henry, which, if time had been allowed for these virtues to produce their full effect, would have secured him possession of the crown, ran great hazard of being frustrated by the sudden appearance of Robert, who returned to Normandy about a month after the death of his brother William. He took possession, without opposition, of that duchy; and immediately made preparations for recovering England, of which, during his absence, he had by Henry's intrigues been defrauded. The great fame which he had acquired in the crusade forwarded his pretensions; and the Norman barons, sensible of the consequences, expressed the same discontent at the separation of the duchy and kingdom, which had appeared on the accession of William. Robert de Belesme, earl of Shrewsbury and Arundel, William de Warrenne, earl of Surrey, Arnulf de Montgomery, Walter Giffard, Robert de Pontefract, Robert de Mallet, Yvo de Grentmesnil, and many others of the principal nobility, invited Robert to make an attempt upon England, and promised, on his landing, to join him with all their forces. But the principal stimulator of the duke's ambition and resentment was Ralph Flambard, who, having escaped from the Tower, had fled to Normandy, where, by his eloquence and address, he had insinuated himself into the favour of Robert. Even the seamen were affected with the general popularity of his name, and they carried over to him, in 1101, the greater part of a fleet which had been equipped to oppose his passage. Henry, in this extremity, began to be apprehensive for his life, as well as for his crown; and had recourse to the superstition of the people, in order to oppose their sentiment of justice. He paid diligent court to Anselm, whose sanctity and wisdom he pretended to revere. He consulted him in all difficult emergencies; seemed to be governed by him in every measure; promised a strict regard to ecclesiastical privileges; professed a great attachment to Rome, and a resolution of persevering in an implicit obedience to the decrees of councils and to the will of the sovereign pontiff. By these caresses and declarations he entirely gained the confidence of the primate, whose influence over the people, and authority with the barons, were of the utmost service to him in his present situation. Anselm scrupled not to assure the nobles of the king's sincerity in those professions which he made, of avoiding the tyrannical and oppressive government of his father and brother: he even rode through the ranks of the army which was assembled at Pevensey, recommended to the soldiers the defence of their prince, represented the duty of keeping their oaths of allegiance, and prognosticated to them the greatest happiness from the government of so wise and just a sovereign. By this expedient, joined to the influence of the earls of Warwick and Meulant, of Roger Bigod, Richard de Redvers, and Robert Fitz-Hamon, powerful barons, who still adhered to the present government, the army was retained in the king's interest, and marched, with seeming union and firmness, to oppose Robert, who had landed with his forces at Portsmouth.

The two armies lay in sight of each other for several days without coming to action; and both princes, being apprehensive of the event, which would probably be decisive, hearkened to the counsels of Anselm and those who mediated an accommodation between them. After employing some negociation, it was agreed that Robert should resign his pretensions to England, and receive in lieu of them an annual pension of three thousand marks; that if either of the princes died without issue, the other should succeed to his dominions; that the adherents of each should be pardoned, and restored to all their possessions either in Normandy or England; and that neither Robert nor Henry should thenceforth encourage, receive, or protect the enemies of the other.

This treaty, though calculated so much for Henry's advantage, he was the first to violate. He restored indeed the estates of all Robert's adherents; but was secretly determined, that noblemen so powerful and so ill affected, who had both inclination and ability to disturb his government, should not long remain unmolested in their present opulence and grandeur. He began with Robert de Belesme, earl of Shrewsbury, who was watched for some time by spies, and then indicted on a charge, consisting of forty-five articles, which was delivered to him in writing in the king's court of judicature, and which he promised to answer; but instead of preparing his vindication, he prepared to defend himself by arms; but being soon sup-

(w) To give greater authenticity to these concessions, Henry lodged a copy of his charter in some abbey of each county; as if desirous that it should be exposed to the view of all his subjects, and remain a perpetual rule for the limitation and direction of his government: yet it is certain that, after the present purpose was served, he never once thought, during his reign, of observing one single article of it; and the whole fell so much into neglect and oblivion, that, in the following century, when the barons, who had heard an obscure tradition of it, desired to make it the model of the great charter which they exacted from king John, they could with difficulty find a copy of it in the kingdom. But as to the grievances here meant to be redressed, they were still continued in their full extent: and the royal authority, in all those particulars, lay under no manner of restriction. Reliefs of heirs, so capital an article, were never effectually fixed till the time of Magna Charta (x); and it is evident that the general promise here given, of accepting a just and lawful relief, ought to have been reduced to more precision, in order to give security to the subject. The oppression of wardship and marriage was perpetuated even till the reign of Charles II.: and it appears from Glanville, the famous justiciary of Henry II., that, in his time, where any man died intestate, an accident which must have been very frequent when the art of writing was so little known, the king, or the lord of the fief, pretended to seize all the movables, and to exclude every heir, even the children of the deceased; a sure mark of a tyrannical and arbitrary government.

(x) *What is called a relief in the Conqueror's laws, preserved by Ingulf, seems to have been the heriot; since reliefs, as well as the other burdens of the feudal law, were unknown in the age of the Confessor, whose laws these originally were.*

pressed

pressed by the activity and address of Henry, he was banished the kingdom, in 1102, and his estates were confiscated. His ruin involved that of his two brothers, Arnulf de Montgomery, and Roger, earl of Lancaster. Soon after followed the prosecution and condemnation of Robert de Pontefract and Robert de Mallet, who had distinguished themselves among Robert's adherents. William de Warenne was the next victim: even William, earl of Cornwall, son of the earl of Mortagne, the king's uncle, having given matter of suspicion against him, lost all the vast acquisitions of his family in England, in 1103.

Robert, enraged at the fate of his friends, imprudently ventured to come into England; and he remonstrated with his brother, in severe terms, against his breach of the treaty; but met with so bad a reception, that he began to apprehend danger to his own liberty, and was glad to purchase an escape, by resigning his pension. His indiscretion soon exposed him to more fatal injuries. This prince, whose bravery and candour procured him respect while at a distance, had no sooner attained the possession of power and enjoyment of peace, than all the vigour of his mind relaxed; and he fell into contempt among those who approached his person, or were subject to his authority. He was so remiss, both in the care of his treasure and the exercise of his government, that his servants pillaged his money with impunity, stole from him his very clothes, and proceeded thence to practice every species of extortion on his defenceless subjects. The barons gave reins to their unbounded rapine upon their vassals, and inveterate animosities against each other; and all Normandy, during the reign of this prince, was become a scene of violence and depredation. The Normans at last, in 1104, applied to Henry to use his authority for the suppression of these disorders; thereby affording him a pretext for interposing in the affairs of Normandy. Instead of employing his mediation to render his brother's government respectable, or to redress the grievances of the Normans, he made a visit to that duchy, and finding that the nobility were disposed to pay submission to him rather than to their legal sovereign, he collected, by arbitrary extortions on England, a great army and treasure, and returned in the spring of 1105 to Normandy, in a situation to obtain, either by violence or corruption, the dominion of that province. He landed at Barfleur, and proceeded to Carentan, where he encamped. Here he was soon joined by many of the Norman nobility, who, seduced by corruption, opened their fortresses for the admission of English garrisons. He was also reinforced by Helie de la Flèche, who, on the death of William Rufus, had recovered the county of Maine; and by a body of mercenaries from Bretagne. Before he entered on hostilities against his unfortunate brother, he pretended to have received dispatches from pope Pascal, encouraging him to deliver the Norman church from oppression, and re-establish, by vigorous measures, that tranquillity which the duke was unable to maintain. In the church of Carentan he was gratified with an elaborate discourse from the bishop of Seez, expatiating on the multiplied miseries of the Normans, oppressed as they were by inhuman tyrants, whom their sovereign was too weak and indolent to chastize; exaggerating the misconduct, incapacity, and debauchery of the duke; prognosticating a continuance of the same calamities and disorders, unless the duchy should speedily have a new master; and conjuring Henry to take active steps for rescuing his father's subjects from the horrors of anarchy and intestine commotion, by assuming the government of the duchy, which his brother had justly forfeited by a long series of impolitic management, and by withholding from his people that protection which alone entitled him to their allegiance. He then advanced against Baieux, which he took by storm after an obstinate siege, and revenged himself on the inhabitants by reducing it to ashes, and putting many of them to the sword. He made himself master of Caen by the voluntary submission of the inhabitants: but being repulsed at Falaise, and obliged by the winter season to raise the siege, he returned into England; after giving assurances to his adherents that he would persevere in supporting and protecting them.

In the year 1106 he opened the campaign with the siege of Tenchebrai, a fortress belonging to the earl of Mortagne; and it became evident, from his preparations and progress, that he intended to usurp the entire possession of Normandy. Robert was at last roused from his lethargy; and being supported by the earl of Mortagne and Robert de Belesme, the king's inveterate enemies, he raised a considerable army, and approached his brother's camp, with a view of finishing, in one decisive battle, the quarrel between them. He was now entered on that scene of action in which alone he was qualified to excel; and he so animated his troops by his example, that they threw the English into disorder, and had nearly obtained the victory; when the flight of Belesme spread a panic among the Normans, and occasioned their total defeat. Henry, besides doing great execution on the enemy, made near ten thousand prisoners; among whom was duke Robert himself, and all the most considerable barons who adhered to his interests. This battle was fought on the 28th of September. This victory was followed by the final reduction of Normandy: Roüen immediately submitted to the conqueror: Falaise, after some negociation, opened its gates; and by this acquisition, besides rendering himself master of an important fortress, he got into his hands prince William, the only son of Robert, whose age did not exceed five years. He assembled the states of Normandy; and having received the homage of all the vassals of the duchy, having settled the government, revoked his brother's donations, and dismantled the castles lately built, he returned into England in 1107, and carried along with him the duke as prisoner. That unfortunate prince was detained in custody during the remainder of his life, which was no less than twenty-eight years, and he died in the castle of Cardiff in Glamorganshire, when he had exceeded the eightieth year of his age; happy if, without losing his liberty, he could have relinquished that power which he was not qualified either to hold or exercise (*y*). Prince William was committed to the care of Helie de St. Saen; who had married Robert's natural daughter, and who being a man of probity and honour beyond what was usual in those ages, executed the trust with great affection and fidelity. Edgar Atheling, who had followed Robert in the expedition to Jerusalem, and who had lived with him ever since in Normandy, was another illustrious prisoner taken in the battle of Tenchebrai. Henry gave him his liberty, and settled a small pension on him, with which he retired; and he lived to a good old age in England, totally neglected and forgotten (*z*).

Having completed the conquest of Normandy, and settled the government of that province, Henry finished a controversy, which had been long depending between him and the pope, with regard to the investitures in ecclesiastical benefices; and though he was here obliged to relinquish some of the ancient rights of the crown, he extricated himself from the difficulty on easier terms than most princes, who in that age were so unhappy as to be engaged in disputes with the apostolic see. The king's situation, in the beginning of his reign, obliged him to pay great court to Anselm: the advantages which he had reaped from the zealous friendship of that prelate, had made him sensible how prone the minds of his people were to superstition, and what an ascendant the ecclesiastics had been able to assume over them. He had seen, on the accession of his brother William Rufus, that though the rights of promogeniture were then violated, and the inclinations of almost all the barons thwarted, yet the

(*y*) Such was the severe fate which the unfeeling policy of a brother inflicted on Robert, duke of Normandy; a prince who inherited all the valour of his great ancestor Rollo, and who added, to his inherent courage, a profound knowledge of the art of war, according to the practice of the times in which he flourished. His natural capacity was far from being contemptible; and he possessed a fund of eloquence and vivacity. He was gay and prodigal in his personal expences, and immoderately lavish in his bounties to his friends. The principal cause of his ruin was his imprudent relaxation of the reins of government; a fault which he carried to such an excess as to render the condition of his subjects more miserable than if he had ruled them with all the rigour of a despot; for the number of petty tyrants who were fostered by his lenity of temper, could not but produce the most flagrant and general oppression. Though he was capable of giving judicious advice in the affairs of others, he had not the fortitude of mind which was necessary to apply it to the purposes of his own government. Upon the whole, he was an extraordinary compound of animal courage and political weakness; and, as his heart was too tender and humane to enforce even that moderate strictness of administration which is at all times necessary for the peace of the community, but is more particularly requisite in a licentious age, his greatest advocates must admit, that he was absolutely unqualified to exercise, with dignity or effect, the functions of sovereign power.

(*z*) This prince was distinguished by personal bravery; but nothing can be a stronger proof of his mean talents in every other respect, than that, notwithstanding he possessed the affections of the English, and enjoyed the only legal title to the throne, he was allowed, during the reigns of so many violent and jealous usurpers, to live unmolested, and go to his grave in peace.

authority

authority of Lanfranc, the primate, had prevailed over all other considerations: his own case, which was still more unfavourable, afforded an instance in which the clergy had more evidently shewn their influence and power. These recent examples, while they made him cautious not to offend that mighty body, convinced him that it was his interest to retain the prerogative of the crown in filling offices of such vast importance, and to check the ecclesiastics in that independence to which they visibly aspired. The choice which his brother had made of Anselm, was so far unfortunate to the king's pretensions, that this prelate was celebrated for his piety and zeal, and austerity of manners; and though his monkish devotion, and narrow principles, prognosticated no great knowledge of the world or depth of policy, he was, on that very account, a more dangerous instrument in the hands of politicians, and retained a greater ascendant over the bigoted populace. The prudence and temper of the king appear in nothing more conspicuous than in the management of this delicate affair; where he was always sensible that it had become necessary for him to risque his whole crown, in order to preserve the most invaluable jewel of it. Anselm had no sooner returned from banishment, than his refusal to do homage to the king raised a dispute, which Henry evaded at that critical juncture, by promising to send a messenger, in order to compound the matter with Pascal II. who then filled the papal chair. The messenger, as was probably foreseen, returned with an absolute refusal of the king's demands; and that fortified by many reasons, which were well qualified to operate on the understandings of men in those ages. Pascal quoted the scriptures, to prove that Christ was the door; and thence inferred, that all ecclesiastics must enter into the church through Christ alone, not through the civil magistrates, or any profane laymen. "It is monstrous," added the pontiff, "that a son should pretend to beget his father, or a man to create his God—priests are called gods in scripture (*a*), as being the vicars of God; and will you, by your abominable pretensions to grant them their investiture, assume the right of creating them?" These arguments, however, could not cause Henry to resign so important a prerogative; and, as he was possessed of reflection and learning, he thought that the absurdity of a man's creating his God, even allowing priests to be gods, was not urged with the best grace by the pope. But as he wished to delay the coming to any dangerous extremity with the church, he persuaded Anselm, that he should be able, by farther negociation, to attain some composition with Pascal; and for that purpose he dispatched three bishops to Rome, while Anselm sent two messengers of his own, to be more fully assured of the pope's intentions. Pascal returned letters equally positive and arrogant, both to the king and primate; urging to the former, that by assuming the right of investitures, he committed a kind of spiritual adultery with the church, who was the spouse of Christ, and who must not admit of such a commerce with any other person; and insisting with the latter, that the pretension of kings to confer benefices was the source of all simony; a topic which had but too much foundation in those ages.

Henry suppressed the letter addressed to himself, and persuaded the three bishops to prevaricate, and the word of two monks was not deemed equal to that of three bishops; so that the king, as if he had finally gained his cause, proceeded to fill the sees of Hereford and Salisbury, and to invest the new bishops in the usual manner. But Anselm, who gave no credit to the asseveration of the king's messengers, refused not only to consecrate them, but even to communicate with them; and the bishops themselves, finding how odious they were become, returned to Henry the ensigns of their dignity. The quarrel every day increased between the king and the primate: the former, notwithstanding the prudence and moderation of his temper, threw out menaces against such as should pretend to oppose him in exerting the ancient prerogatives of the crown; and Anselm, sensible of his own dangerous situation, desired leave to make a journey to Rome, in order to lay the case before the pope. Henry, well pleased to be rid, without violence, of so inflexible an antagonist, readily granted him permission. The prelate was attended to the shore by infinite multitudes of all ranks, who thus declared for their primate against their sovereign, and who regarded his departure as the final abolition of religion in the kingdom. The king, however, seized all the revenues of his see; and sent William de Warelwast to negociate with Pascal, and to find some means of accommodation in this delicate affair.

The English minister told Pascal, that his master would rather lose his crown, than part with the right of granting investitures. "And I," replied Pascal, "would rather lose my head than allow him to retain it." Henry secretly prohibited Anselm from returning, unless he resolved to conform himself to the laws and usages of the kingdom; and the primate took up his residence at Lyons, in expectation that the king would at last be obliged to yield the point which was the present object of controversy between them. Soon after, he was permitted to return to his monastery at Bec, in Normandy; and Henry, besides restoring to him the revenues of his see, treated him with great respect, and held several conferences with him, in order to soften his opposition, and bend him to submission. The people of England, who thought all differences now accommodated, were inclined to blame their primate for absenting himself from his charge; and he daily received letters from his partizans, representing the necessity of his return. The total extinction, they told him, of religion and Christianity was likely to ensue from the want of his fatherly care: the most shocking customs prevail in England: and the dread of his severity being removed, sodomy, and the practice of wearing long hair, gain ground among all ranks of men, and these enormities openly appear every where, without sense of shame or fear of punishment (*b*).

Pascal had already excommunicated the earl of Meulant, and the other ministers of Henry, who were instrumental in supporting his pretensions: he daily menaced the king himself with a like sentence; and suspended the blow only to give him leisure to prevent it by a timely submission. The malcontents waited impatiently for the opportunity of disturbing his government by conspiracies and insurrections: the king's best friends were anxious at the prospect of an incident which would set their religious and civil duties at variance; and the countess of Blois, his sister, a princess of piety, who had great influence

(*a*) Eadmer, p. 61. I much suspect, that this text of scripture is a forgery of his holiness; for I have not been able to find it. Yet it passed current in those ages, and was often quoted by the clergy as the foundation of their power. See *Epist. St. Thom.* p. 169.

(*b*) The policy of the court of Rome has commonly been much admired; and men, judging by success, have bestowed the highest eulogies on that prudence by which a power, from such slender beginnings, could advance, without force of arms, to establish an universal and almost absolute monarchy in Europe. But the wisdom of so long a succession of men who filled the papal throne, and who were of such different ages, tempers, and interests, is not intelligible, and could never have place in nature. The instrument, indeed, with which they wrought, the ignorance and superstition of the people, is so gross an engine, of such universal prevalence, and so little liable to accident or disorder, that it may be successful, even in the most unskilful hands: and scarcely any indiscretion can frustrate its operations. While the court of Rome was openly abandoned to the most flagrant disorders, even while it was torn with schisms and factions, the power of the church daily made a sensible progress in Europe; and the temerity of Gregory and caution of Pascal were equally fortunate in promoting it. The clergy, feeling the necessity which they lay under of being protected against the violence of princes, or rigour of the laws, were well pleased to adhere to a foreign head, who, being removed from the fear of the civil authority, could freely employ the power of the whole church, in defending her ancient or usurped properties and privileges, when invaded in any particular country: the monks, desirous of an independence on their diocesans, professed a still more devoted attachment to the triple crown; and the stupid people possessed no science or reason, which they could oppose to the most exorbitant pretensions. Nonsense passed for demonstration; the most criminal means were sanctified by the piety of the end: treaties were not supposed to be binding, where the interests of God were concerned: the ancient laws and customs of states had no authority against a divine right: impudent forgeries were received as authentic monuments of antiquity: and the champions of holy church, if successful, were celebrated as heroes; if unfortunate, were worshipped as martyrs; and all events thus turned out equally to the advantage of clerical usurpations. Pascal himself, the reigning pope, was, in the course of this very controversy concerning investitures, involved in circumstances, and necessitated to follow a conduct, which would have drawn disgrace and ruin on any temporal prince that had been so unfortunate as to fall into a like situation. His person was seized by the emperor Henry V. and he was obliged, by a formal treaty, to resign to that monarch the right of granting investitures, for which they had so long contended. In order to add greater solemnity to this agreement, the emperor and pope communicated together on the same host; one half of which was given to the prince, the other taken by the pontiff: the most tremendous imprecations were publicly denounced on either of them who should violate the treaty: yet no sooner did Pascal recover his liberty, than he revoked all his concessions, and pronounced the sentence of excommunication against the emperor, who, in the end, was obliged to submit to the terms required of him, and to yield up all his pretensions, which he never could resume.

over him, was affrighted with the danger of her brother's eternal damnation. Henry, on the other hand seemed determined to run all hazards, rather than resign a prerogative of such importance, which had been enjoyed by all his predecessors; and it seemed probable, from his great prudence and abilities, that he might be able to sustain his rights, and finally prevail in the contest. While Pascal and Henry thus stood mutually in awe of each other, it was the more easy to bring about an accommodation between them, and to find a medium in which they might agree.

Before bishops took possession of their dignities, they had formerly been accustomed to pass through two ceremonies: they received from the hands of the sovereign a ring and crosier, as symbols of their office; and this was called their investiture: they also made those submissions to the prince which were required of vassals by the rites of the feudal law, and which received the name of homage. And as the king might refuse both to grant the investiture and to receive the homage, though the chapter had, by some canons of the middle age been endowed with the right of election, the sovereign had in reality the sole power of appointing prelates. Urban II. had equally deprived laymen of the rights of granting investiture and of receiving homage: the emperors never were able, by all their wars and negociations, to cause any distinction to be admitted between them: the interposition of profane laymen, in any particular, was still represented as impious and abominable; and the church openly aspired to a total independence on the state. But Henry had put England as well as Normandy in such a situation, as gave greater weight to his negociations; and Pascal was for the present satisfied with his resigning the right of granting investitures, by which the spiritual dignity was supposed to be conferred; and he allowed the bishops to do homage for their temporal properties and privileges. The pontiff was well pleased to have made this acquisition, which, he hoped, would in time involve the whole; and the king, anxious to procure an escape from a very dangerous situation, was content to retain some, though a more precarious authority, in the election of prelates.

After the principal controversy was accommodated, it was not difficult to adjust the other differences. The pope allowed Anselm to communicate with the prelates who had already received investitures from the crown; and he only required of them some submissions for their past misconduct. He also granted Anselm a plenary power of remedying every other disorder, which, he said, might arise from the barbarousness of the country. Such was the idea which the popes then entertained of the English; and nothing can be a stronger proof of the miserable ignorance in which the people of England were then plunged, than that a man who sat on the papal throne, and who subsisted by absurdities and nonsense, should think himself entitled to treat them as barbarians.

During the course of these controversies, a synod was held at Westminster, where the king, intent only on the main dispute, allowed some canons of less importance to be enacted, which tended to promote the usurpations of the clergy. The celibacy of priests was enjoined, a point which it was still found very difficult to carry into execution: and even laymen were not allowed to marry within the seventh degree of affinity (*c*). The synod also passed a vote, prohibiting the laity from wearing long hair. The aversion of the clergy to this mode was not confined to England. When the king went to Normandy, before he had conquered that province, the bishop of Seez, in a formal harangue, earnestly exhorted him to redress the manifold disorders under which the government laboured, and to oblige the people to poll their hair in a decent form. Henry, though he would not resign his prerogatives to the church, willingly parted with his hair: he cut it in the form which they required of him, and obliged all the courtiers to imitate his example.

In the year 1108 Henry endeavoured to remedy some civil grievances which had excited the murmurs of the nation. Whenever a royal progress was made into any of the countries, the king and his retinue were supplied with provisions and carriages by the tenants of the crown lands; and when they passed through such parts as were not comprehended among the demesnes of the crown, they purchased whatever they required at a low price. In the reign of William II. this practice of purveyance had been the source of much oppression: wherever the king appeared, the domestics of the court seized without distinction every thing which came in their way, treated the people with all the insolent tyranny of office, sold or destroyed what they could not consume, and rendered the whole country through which they passed a scene of devastation, outrage, and riot. These disorders had been so frequent, that many of the inhabitants of those parts in which the sovereign was expected, were accustomed to make their escape into the woods with whatever they could conveniently carry off; and the report of the royal approach produced a consternation nearly equal to that which would have arisen from the proximity of an invading army. As the royal attendants had continued to act with equal injustice in the present reign, Henry resolved to make some compensation to his subjects for his late grievous exactions in the prosecution of his attempts on Normandy, by repressing the enormous abuses which had accompanied his occasional progresses. He issued a proclamation, fixing the quantity of supplies which the king's servants should take, and the price should be paid in return; and inflicting, on all who should offend in the instances above mentioned, either the privation of sight, or the amputation of limbs. These punishments being enforced with great rigour, the continuance of the evil was effectually stopped throughout this reign. Another grievance which Henry redressed about the same time, was the adulteration of the current coin, which had become extremely frequent. To check this practice, he ordained that such as counterfeited the coin should be punished with the loss of their sight, as well as of their virility.

The acquisition of Normandy was a great point of Henry's ambition; being the ancient patrimony of his family, and the only territory, which, while in his possession, gave him any weight or consideration on the continent: but the injustice of his usurpation was the source of great inquietude, involved him in frequent wars, and obliged him to impose on his English subjects those many heavy and arbitrary taxes, of which all the historians of that age unanimously complain. His nephew William was but five years of age, when he committed him to the care of Helie de St. Saen; and it is probable, that his reason for entrusting that important charge to a man of so unblemished a character, was to prevent all malignant suspicions, in case any accident should befal the life of the young prince. He soon repented of his choice, and conceiving a desire of getting the young prince into his power, he went over to the continent, and commissioned Robert de Beauchamp to repair, with a party of cavalry, to the castle of St. Saen, (from which Helie was then absent,) and seize the object of royal jealousy. This scheme, however, was rendered abortive by the faithful vigilance of Helie's servants, who carried off young William while he was asleep, and delivered him into the hands of his guardian. The king, mortified at the ill success of this project, confiscated the estates of Helie; in consequence of which, that worthy nobleman was reduced to the necessity of wandering from the territories of one prince to those of another, accompanied by his pupil, whose interests he promoted with the most cordial eagerness.

During Henry's stay in Normandy, he was involved in hostilities with Louis le Gros, who had succeeded to the crown of France on the death of the first Philip, and whom Henry had irritated by the seizure of Gisors, a well-fortified town on the frontiers of the duchy of Normandy, contrary to the terms of a treaty between the two princes, which imported that this place should be in the possession of a third person, subject to neither of the sovereigns. Louis, enraged at the perfidy of the king of England, challenged him to single combat, which Henry thought proper to decline. A war was the consequence, in which the dukes of Burgundy and Guienne, and Theobald, earl of Blois, the nephew of Henry, supported that monarch's cause against Louis; while the latter was assisted by Fulk, count of Anjou and Robert, earl of Flanders, who had returned from the Holy Land with a high reputation for heroic achievements. Henry did not at first personally

(*c*) By this contrivance the pope augmented the profits which he reaped from granting dispensations; and likewise those from divorces, for as the art of writing was then rare, and parish registers were not regularly kept, it was not easy to ascertain the degrees of affinity even among people of rank; and any man who had money sufficient to pay for it, might obtain a divorce, on pretence that his wife was more nearly related to him than was permitted by the canons.

engage in this war, which was carried on with various success between his allies and the king of France; but when some French detachments had entered Normandy, he marched against them, and put them to the rout. A peace was then concluded, in 1109, by which Gisors was ceded to Henry, and an indemnity granted to those vassals of France who had joined him against their feudal lord.

On his return to England, he received an embassy from the emperor Henry V. demanding in marriage his daughter Matilda (or Maud), who was then about seven years of age. The king treated the deputies with courtesy and magnificence, and acceded to their sovereign's request. The nuptial treaty being concluded, the young princess was sent over to the emperor in the succeeding year, 1110, with a handsome portion, produced by an impost of three shillings on every hide of land throughout the kingdom (*d*). By the customs of the feudal law the king was entitled to an extraordinary subsidy from his vassals, on the marriage of his eldest daughter, that he might give her a suitable portion; but as the people had very lately felt the oppressive exactions which Henry had imposed on them to assist him in acquiring dominion in France, the enormous tax he demanded of them on the present occasion was borne with discontent and murmuring.

Henry's continental dominions appearing to him to require his presence, he again crossed the channel in 1111, and renewed the war with the French monarch, who had encouraged Fulk, count of Anjou, in his views of opposition. Fulk having, on the death of Helie de la Flêche, taken possession of the county of Maine, the new duke of Normandy required him to hold that province as a fief of the duchy. The count not only refused to comply with this demand; but resolved to act as the assertor of young William's claim to the dukedom. To this prince he had promised his daughter Sibylla in marriage; and he now displayed his zeal in the cause of his intended son-in-law, by an invasion of Normandy. The earl of Blois, having been prompted by his uncle to revolt from Louis, gave a diversion to the arms of that prince, who lost his brave ally, the earl of Flanders, in an engagement with his rebellious vassal. The events of this petty war being unworthy of detail, it will be sufficient to notice, that, after it had continued about a year, Robert de Belesme, who had taken part against Henry, was sent by Louis, in 1112, to mediate a peace with his royal antagonist. Henry was so exasperated at the revolt of Robert de Belesme, that he ordered him to be arrested as a rebel, and condemned him, with the assent of the justiciaries of his court, to perpetual confinement. This imprisonment was followed by the siege of Alençon, one of his fortresses, which soon surrendered to the English monarch. Some other advantage being gained by Henry, the count of Anjou listened to the propositions made by that prince, who, eager to detach Fulk from his support of young William's interests, tempted him with the offer of marrying his own son of the same name to a daughter of the count. A treaty being concluded between them in 1113, the count was confirmed in the possession of Maine, on condition of his holding it of the sovereign of Normandy in feudal tenure; and it was stipulated, that Matilda, the eldest daughter of the Anjevin prince, should be given in marriage to Henry's heir. This agreement depriving duke Robert's son of that protection which he had lately received at the court of Anjou, he was conducted by his guardian into the territories of Baldwin, the new earl of Flanders, by whom he was treated with marks of favour and friendship. The defection of Fulk induced the king of France to negociate a peace with Henry, who required him to give up the strong fortress of Belesme, situated in the French dominions, and belonging to the captive earl. Louis not only acceded to this demand, but permitted the count of Bretagne to transfer his homage to Henry, as duke of Normandy. Having demolished the castle of Belesme, Henry returned to England, pleased with the advantageous termination of the war.

Henry next undertook to conduct in person an expedition against the Welsh, to repress their incursions on his frontiers. He had before transplanted into South Wales a body of Flemings, who had migrated from their native country in consequence of an inundation, which overwhelmed a long tract of coast. They had been stationed by William II. in Cumberland, at the time of his rebuilding Carlisle; from which county they were removed by Henry into Pembrokeshire, where they proved constant eyesores to the Welsh, who in vain endeavoured to exterminate them. The campaign now made in Wales by Henry, who was accompanied by Alexander, king of Scotland, in 1114, restored for a time the peace of the borders; but it was not sufficiently decisive to secure a long continuance of pacific disposition.

Henry's good fortune in acquiring foreign possessions, did not remove his apprehensions of the future attempts of his nephew, Robert's son. That prince was now, 1116, of the age of fifteen; and had given such indications of a pregnant capacity and aspiring genius, as alarmed his uncle, who endeavoured to allure him into his power by the offer of three English earldoms: but the young prince was too prudent to commit himself into the hands of the unprincipled monarch. The assistance afforded by Henry to his nephew the earl of Blois, in a fresh revolt which that nobleman now kindled against his Gallic sovereign, formed a pretence for the open interposition of Louis in behalf of the lawful heir of Normandy. After demanding the release of his vassal, duke Robert, he declared war against Henry; and, having entered into a league with the earl of Flanders and his former ally Fulk, he invaded the Norman duchy, where he was joined by many of the principal nobility.

For the maintenance of this war Henry renewed those immoderate taxations with which he had frequently oppressed his subjects. He took into his service a number of mercenaries whom the count of Bretagne had permitted him to levy in his dominions. He likewise raised a strong army of English; but he met with ill success in his first efforts. He had the mortification to see the vicinity of the Norman capital furiously ravaged by the earl of Flanders, in 1117; at which he was highly incensed, and menaced Baldwin, who was so far from being intimidated, that he challenged the king to battle, which Henry thought fit to decline, and retired at the commencement of winter without coming to any general action.

The next campaign, in 1118, was more prosperous to Henry, as his most active adversary, the earl of Flanders, received a wound that disabled him from the service of the field; and, returning to his own territories, he rendered his wound mortal by intemperance.

The calamities which the duchy suffered by this war, did not so much affect the feelings of Henry as the open defection of many of his barons, and the uncertain fidelity of others. The intrigues of his enemies had disseminated such a spirit of disaffection among his subjects, that he was almost unwilling to repose confidence in any person. His suspicions were increased by a plot which he discovered to have been formed against his life by some of the officers of his bed-chamber. The conspiracy rendered him so apprehensive of assassination, that, during the continuance of these troubles, he constantly kept a sword and shield by his bed-side, and stationed near his apartment a considerable number of armed domestics of experienced honour, for the nocturnal security of his person.

Louis, finding himself unable to wrest Normandy from the king by force of arms, had recourse, in 1119, to the expedient of applying to the spiritual power, and of affording the ecclesiastics a pretence to interpose in the temporal concerns of princes. He carried young William to a general council, which was assembled at Rheims by pope Calistus II. presented the Norman prince to them, complained of the manifest usurpation and injustice of Henry, craved the assistance of the church for reinstating the true heir in his dominions, and represented the enormity of detaining in captivity so

(*d*) Although a shilling was the forty-eighth part of a Saxon pound, it began to be estimated in the Anglo-Norman times in the same proportion which it now bears to a pound; and as the pound continued in the Norman reigns at the same rate which had prevailed in the time of the Saxon kings, a shilling, which, of its original proportion to a pound had remained unaltered, would have consisted only of five Saxon pence, and have been inferior in weight to fifteen pence of our present silver, because, in the reigns of William the First and his successors, nearly equal in weight to three shillings of modern coin. If therefore we calculate the number of hides at about one hundred and eighty thousand, the portion of Henry's daughter amounted to forty-two thousand pounds, which being almost of the same weight with one hundred and twenty-six modern pounds, must, on the smallest computation that has been adopted in treating of the difference in the value of money between those times and the present, have been equivalent to six hundred and thirty thousand of our pounds; and, according to the estimate of other writers, who do not seem to be extravagant in their calculations, must have been little inferior in efficacy to a million.

brave

brave a prince as Robert, one of the most eminent champions of the cross, and who, by that very quality, was placed under the immediate protection of the holy see. Henry knew how to defend the rights of his crown with vigour, and dexterity. He had sent over the English bishops to this synod; but at the same time had warned them that if any farther claims were started by the pope or the ecclesiastics, he was determined to adhere to the laws and customs of England, and maintain the prerogatives transmitted to him by his predecessors. "Go," said he to them, "salute the pope in my name; hear his apostolical precepts; but take care to bring none of his new inventions into my kingdom." Finding, however, that it would be easier for him to elude than oppose the efforts of Calistus, he gave his ambassadors orders to gain the pope and his favourites by liberal presents and promises. The complaints of the Norman prince were thenceforth heard with great coldness by the council; and Calistus confessed, after a conference which he had the same summer with Henry, and when that prince probably renewed his presents, that, of all men whom he had ever yet been acquainted with, he was beyond comparison the most eloquent and persuasive.

The warlike measures of Louis proved as ineffectual as his intrigues. He had laid a scheme for surprising Noyon; but Henry having received intelligence of the design, marched to the relief of the place, and suddenly attacked the French in the plain of Brenneville, near Andeli, as they were advancing towards it. A sharp conflict ensued on the 20th of August; where prince William behaved with great bravery, and the king himself was in the most imminent danger. He was wounded in the head by Crispin, a gallant Norman officer, who had followed the fortunes of William; but as soon as he recovered from the shock, he beat his antagonist to the ground, and so encouraged his troops by his example, that they put the French to total rout, and had very nearly taken their king prisoner. The dignity of the persons engaged in this skirmish, rendered it the most memorable action of the war; for, in other respects, it was not of great importance. There were nine hundred horsemen, who fought on both sides; yet were there only three persons slain. The rest were defended by that heavy armour worn by the cavalry in those times. An accommodation ensued between the kings of France and England in 1120; the terms of which were, that all places taken during the war should be reciprocally restored; that all the remaining prisoners should be released without ransom; and that Henry's son William should be invested by the king of France with the duchy of Normandy, for which he was to do homage to the French crown. The rebellious nobles of the duchy were comprehended in this accommodation; but the interests of young William were entirely neglected.

This public prosperity of Henry was much overbalanced by a domestic calamity which befel him. His only son William had now reached his eighteenth year; and the king, from the facility with which he himself had usurped the crown, dreading that a like revolution might subvert his family, had taken care to have him recognised successor by the states of the kingdom, and had carried him over to Normandy, that he might receive the homage of the barons of that duchy. The king, on his return, set sail from Barfleur on the 26th of November, with a numerous train of barons, and was soon carried by a fair wind out of sight of land. He arrived in England the following morning. The prince was detained by some accident; and his sailors, as well as their captain Thomas Fitz-Stephens, having spent the interval in drinking, were so disordered, that, being in a hurry to follow the king, they heedlessly run the ship on a rock, where she foundered. William was put into the long-boat, with some young nobles of high rank, and had got clear of the ship; when hearing the cries of his natural sister, the countess of Perche, he ordered the seamen to row back in hopes of saving her; but the numbers who then crowded in soon sunk the boat; and the prince with all his retinue perished. Above a hundred and forty young noblemen of the principal families of England and Normandy, were lost on this occasion. A butcher of Roüen was the only person on board who escaped: he clung to the mast, and was taken up next morning by fishermen. Fitz-Stephens also took hold of the mast; but being informed by the butcher that prince William had perished, he said that he would not survive the disaster; and he threw himself headlong into the sea. Henry entertained hopes for three days, that his son had put into some distant port of England; but when certain intelligence of the calamity was brought him, he fainted away; and it was remarked, that he never after was seen to smile, nor ever recovered his wonted cheerfulness.

The death of William may be regarded in one respect as a misfortune to the English; because it was the immediate source of those civil wars, which, after the demise of the king, caused such confusion in the kingdom; but it is remarkable, that the young prince had entertained a violent aversion to the natives; and had been heard to threaten, that when he should be king, he would make them draw the plough, and would turn them into beasts of burthen. These prepossessions he inherited from his father, who, though he appeared, when it might serve his purpose, to value himself on his birth, as a native of England, shewed, in the course of his government, an extreme prejudice against that people. All hopes of preferment, to ecclesiastical as well as civil dignities, were denied them during his whole reign; and any foreigner, however ignorant or worthless, was sure to have the preference in every competition. As the English had given no disturbance to the government during the course of fifty years, this inveterate antipathy in a prince of so much temper as well as penetration, forms a presumption that the English of that age were still a rude and barbarous people even compared to the Normans, and impresses us with no very favourable idea of the Anglo-Saxon manners.

Prince William left no children; and the king had not now any legitimate issue; except one daughter, Matilda, whom in 1110, he had betrothed, though only eight years of age, to the emperor Henry V. as above-mentioned. But as her absence from the kingdom, and her marriage into a foreign family, might endanger the succession, Henry, who was now a widower (e), was induced to marry, in hopes of having male heirs; and he made his addresses in 1121 to Adelina, daughter of Godfrey, duke of Louvain, and niece of pope Calistus, a young princess of an amiable person. But Adelina brought him no children; and the prince, who was most likely to dispute the succession, and even the immediate possession of the crown, recovered hopes of subverting his rival, who had successively seized all his patrimonial dominions.

William, son of duke Robert, was still protected in the French court. The count of Anjou, who had alternately assisted and deserted prince William, returned about this time from the Holy Land, whither he had repaired immediately after the nuptials between his daughter and Henry's son; and finding that the princess had become a widow, sent to the English court to demand not only her person, but her dowry, as the marriage by reason of her impuberty, had not been consummated. The king readily delivered up the lady, but withheld the dower: a conduct which so offended the count, that he again embraced the cause of Henry's nephew, in 1122, and renewed his promise of giving him the hand of one of his daughters.

The intrigues of young William's friends were so successful as to produce a conspiracy of many of the barons of Normandy, whose object was to deprive Henry of the sovereignty of that duchy; but their measures were not carried on so secretly as to escape the penetration of Henry, who went over to Normandy in 1123, and found that his suspicions were not ill-grounded, though the conspirators had not taken to arms. They, however, took the field before they were properly prepared, and Henry gained some advantage over them, but was not able to extinguish the rebellion, hostilities being recommenced in the spring of 1124. This war was speedily terminated;

(e) Queen Matilda died on the first of May, 1118. She was a princess of great virtue and signal accomplishments, equally distinguished for her charitable exertions, and for her strict attention to the duties of her religion. Among other works of charity, she founded an hospital for lepers in the city of London; and erected the priory of Christ Church, within Aldgate. As she was once passing the river Lea, at Old Ford, near London, she very narrowly escaped being drowned, which induced her to order the erection of two stone bridges, at the distance of a mile from the Old Ford; one over the main body of the river Lea, at the end of the town of Stratford, and the other over a contiguous branch, commonly called Channel's Bridge. Between these two bridges she caused a highway of gravel to be raised. For the support of these works she made over certain manors, and a mill, known by the name of Wiggon Mill, to the abbess of Barking. We are told, in Stow's Annals, that these were the first bridges in England, that were composed of stone; and that because they were raised in the form of a bow, the town of Stratford was afterwards denominated Bow.

for the leaders of the revolt were surprized on a march when they were attended by a very small party, and taken prisoners. This blow totally crushed the hopes of the rebels; and, by the imprisonment of the ringleaders, and the infliction of various kinds of punishment on others, tranquillity was soon re-established throughout the duchy.

Fulk, count of Anjou, a person in whose honour, no confidence could be reposed, was this year induced by the promises of Henry to renounce the allegiance of his nephew; and that prince's nuptial contract with the count's daughter Sibylla was dissolved, on the application of the English monarch, by a papal sentence, founded on the pretext of consanguinity, though the parties did not bear a nearer degree of relation to each other, than had existed between Henry's son and Fulk's eldest daughter, whose marriage had not been considered as liable to the smallest objection. But Henry's nephew and competitor, William, still enjoyed an asylum in the French court; and, on the dissolution of his matrimonial contract with Sibylla, Louis gave him his queen's sister in marriage, with the whole Vexin François for her dowry, in 1125. The acquisition of this territory gave the prince an opportunity of making occasional attempts on Normandy, which were defeated, however, by the vigilance of his uncle.

During these turmoils on the continent, a great discontent prevailed in England, in consequence of the oppressive burthens of perpetual and enormous taxation. The miseries which proceeded from this source were accompanied, in the present year, 1125, with an extraordinary dearth, which was aggravated by the evils arising from the circulation of counterfeit coin. Complaints on this head having reached the king, he dispatched orders from Normandy to Roger, bishop of Salisbury, chief justiciary and regent of the kingdom, to punish the coiners with exemplary rigour. A great number of these criminals were immediately apprehended, and condemned to lose their right hands as well as the distinctive marks of virility.

While the king was preserving by his presence the peace of Normandy, his daughter Matilda, having lost her consort, the emperor of Germany, returned to his court, in compliance with his requisition. So soon as he was convinced of the improbability of his receiving any increase to his family, he had been desirous of constituting her the heiress of his dominions; but her union with the emperor formed a strong objection to this scheme, as the English nation would not submit to the rule of a person whose marriage with a foreign potentate would expose the realm to the degradation of becoming a province to a distant sovereignty. This obstacle being removed by the decease of her husband, Henry resumed his intentions in her favour; and, conducting her to England in 1126, he took the earliest opportunity of proposing her to the national council, as his successor. Having convoked that assembly at London in 1127, he pronounced an harangue in support of his daughter's right to the crown, of which, he said, she was the lawful heir, both on the father's and mother's side. His influence over the deliberations of the council had the desired effect, and the members bound themselves by oath to acknowledge Matilda as their sovereign, if her royal father should die without legitimate male issue.

But the satisfaction which Henry derived from this approbation of his proposal, was greatly allayed by intelligence which he shortly after received from the continent, importing that Charles of Denmark, earl of Flanders, surnamed the Good, had been assassinated in a church at Bruges, by a party of his own subjects; and that the king of France, as sovereign lord of that earldom, had conferred it on the young Norman prince, who had strong pretensions to it as great-grandson of Baldwin IV. father of the Conqueror's queen. This aggrandisement of his nephew gave great uneasiness to Henry, who dreaded the success of that prince's future attempts for the reduction of Normandy, which might not prove a difficult task to an enterprizing warrior, possessed of a flourishing state, and favoured with the secret wishes of most of the nobles of that duchy. As Henry knew the inconstancy of the count of Anjou, whom he looked upon with an eye of jealousy and fear, (his territories being extremely well situated for harassing and embroiling the duchy of Normandy,) he meditated on the most procable mode of hindering a connection between his nephew and the count. To effect this he proposed to give his daughter, the widow of the late emperor, in marriage to Geoffrey (*f*), the son of Fulk. He therefore negociated this alliance without delay, and the count and his son readily acceded to it, though it was not equally agreeable to Matilda herself. Not presuming, however, to oppose the will of her father, she went to Normandy, and was immediately betrothed to Geoffrey; and, on the king's arrival at Roüen in the same summer, the nuptials were completely solemnized. Fulk then resigned all his dominions (comprehending the provinces of Anjou, Touraine, and Maine,) to his son; a cession he was induced to make by the reversionary offer of the crown of Jerusalem, which Baldwin II. had engaged to secure to him, if he would consent to espouse his eldest daughter. Repairing to the Holy Land, he gave his hand to the princess, succeeded to the crown after an interval of four years, and defended his new territories against the infidels with great spirit and success.

The treaty of marriage between Matilda and Geoffrey had been planned and negociated with such secrecy, that the accomplishment of it gave great surprize to the nobles of England and Normandy; and their wonder was succeeded by resentment at the neglect with which their sovereign had treated them, in taking so important a step without their concurrence. The discontent which this clandestine measure produced was so general, as to give room to suspect that it would have a sinister influence on the fidelity of many of those who had lately sworn to support Matilda's succession.

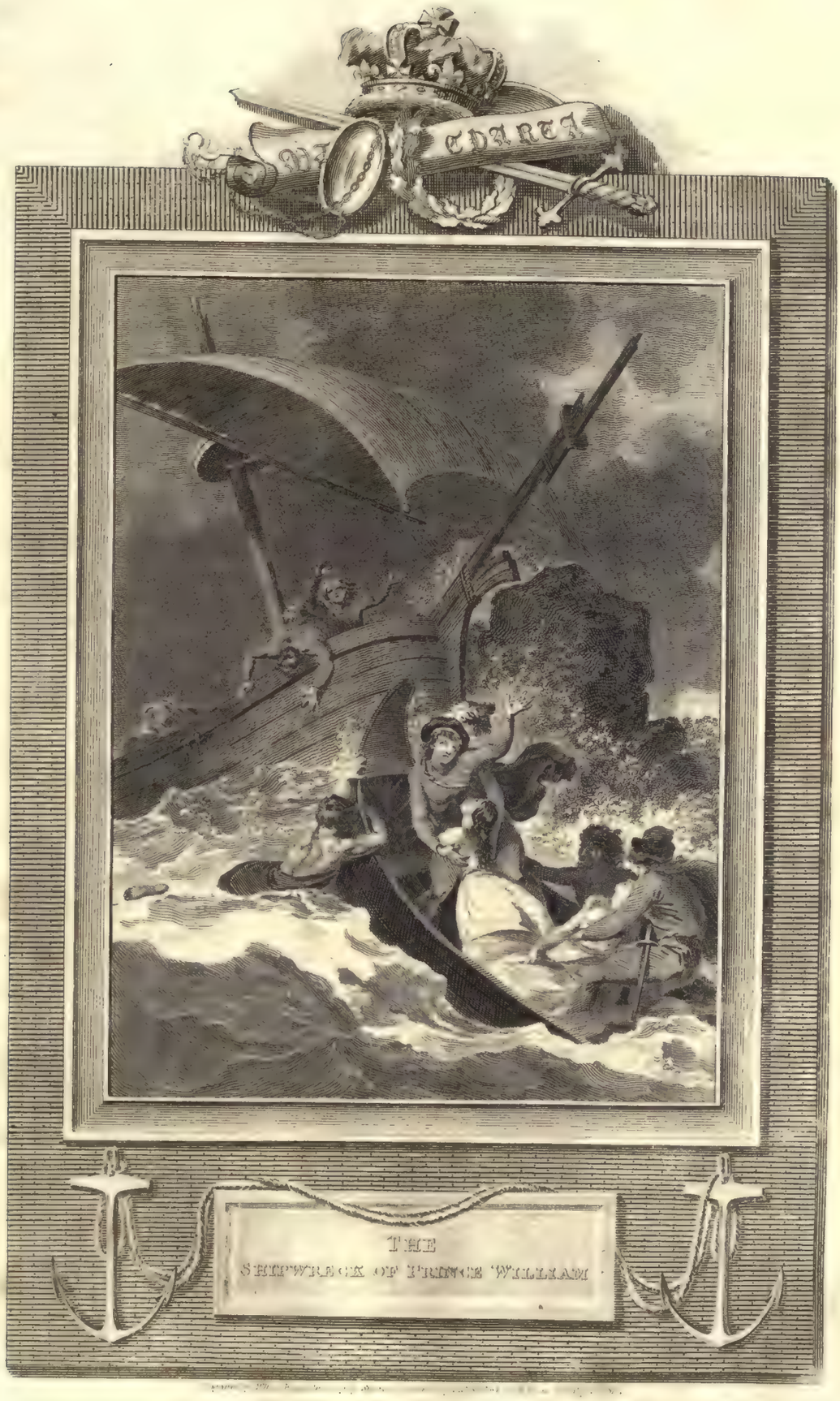
Henry's nephew, the new earl of Flanders, having commenced his administration with the rigorous punishment of all who had been concerned in the murder of his predecessor Charles, had excited, by this meritorious act of retributive justice, the odium of the turbulent part of his subjects. Some complained of his haughtiness; others, of his parsimony; and some, of his propensity to voluptuous gratification. Henry fomented the disaffection of the Flemings, and encouraged them to transfer their allegiance to Theodoric landgrave of Alsace, who had some pretension to the earldom. While the earl was making preparations for the invasion of Normandy, he was engaged in hostilities with Stephen, earl of Bologne, the nephew and ally of Henry; an opportunity which seemed favourable to the views of Theodoric, who, entering Flanders in 1128, was soon put in possession of Ghent, Lisle, and other towns, by the traitorous inhabitants. The French king was inclined to assist his friend William in this emergency; but the politic Henry, by marching an army into France, disconcerted the schemes of Louis, and compelled him to observe a neutrality. William, with all the forces he could raise, invested the citadel of Alost, which had revolted to Theodoric. When the fortress was on the point of surrendering, the landgrave advanced to its relief; and a battle took place between his troops and those of the earl of Flanders, in which the former at first gained the advantage; but the extraordinary valour of William soon changed the scene, and routed the enemy. The victor then resuming the siege, found near the gates of the citadel a party of the garrison, who had sallied out during the engagement, and whom he instantly encountered. In this skirmish he received a wound in his hand, by endeavouring to seize a lance which a soldier held out against him. This accident, apparently so trifling, caused his death in a few days, the wound turning to a gangrene. Before he expired he entreated, by letter, his uncle's forgiveness, and conjured him to extend the same elemency to Helie de St. Saen, and his other friends, who had adhered to him.

Henry was now delivered from that anxiety with which his mind had been continually harrassed by the competition of his enterprizing nephew. The removal of his jealous fears gave room for the operations of generosity; and he complied with the final request of that prince, by receiving into his favour all who were desirous of obtaining it. Even the disaffected Norman barons, having lost the prince whom they wished to put in possession of the duchy, submitted to the government of Henry in 1129; and the king of France gave him no further molestation.

This fortunate concurrence of events secured tranquillity to the remainder of Henry's reign; and the national business which principally attracted his attention in that interval of peace, was the continuance of the crown in his family by the succession of his only legitimate child Matilda. The ambition of his old age was solely directed to that point. He brought her with him into England in 1131, and summoned a public assembly at Northampton, where the members renewed their oaths in favour of Matilda, as the immediate heir to the crown. Soon after she returned home to the continent.

Matilda had not yet borne any children either to her former

(*f*) Geoffrey was surnamed Martel from his ancestors, and Plantagenet from a sprig of broom which he wore on the crest of his helmet.



THE
SHIPWRECK OF PRINCE WILLIAM



former or her present husband; but in 1133, the sixth year of her second marriage, Henry received intelligence of her being delivered of a son. Impatient to see his grandson, and revisit a daughter for whom he had the strongest affection, he made another voyage to the continent, whence he never afterwards returned. He was gratified the next year, 1134, with the birth of another grandson; and, in the year following, 1135, with a third. The pleasure he received from the society of his daughter induced him to prolong his stay on the continent; and the misunderstanding which arose between him and Geoffrey, who demanded the surrender of Normandy in consequence of a previous agreement, which Henry did not admit in the sense affixed to it by the count, operated as another reason for his residence in Normandy, that he might be on the spot to counteract the intrigues of his son-in-law.

Having taken the diversion of hunting one day near Roüen, he returned in the evening with his blood inflamed by long-continued exercise; and, after feasting immoderately on lampreys, a food of which he was remarkably fond, he was attacked by a fever in the night, which baffled all the efforts of his physicians, and he died, after an illness of six days, at St. Denys le Forment, near his Norman capital, on the first of December, in the sixty-seventh year of his age, and the thirty-sixth of his reign, having survived his injured brother Robert about a year (*g*). Previous to his death he gave orders for the restoration of all the English and Norman exiles to their country and possessions, remitted all arrears due to him, and enjoined to his son, the earl of Gloucester, the distribution of sixty thousand pounds from his treasure at Falaise among his domestics and stipendiary soldiers. The earl and other nobles having requested him to communicate his last sentiments with regard to a successor, he replied, that he bequeathed all his dominions to his daughter Matilda, and her heirs, in regular progression. In this disposal of his territories he made no mention of her husband the count of Anjou, whom he was incensed against for some insults he had offered him.

Henry the First, is said, by ancient historians, to have excelled all his predecessors both in mental and personal accomplishments. His person was graceful, and his countenance insinuating: his eyes were piercing and serene; and his address was distinguished by that discreet affability which at once tended to encourage the loyal advances of useful confidence, and to repress the forward sallies of disrespectful familiarity. The splendor of his eloquence, and solidity of his judgement, must have ensured him distinction even in a private station of life: nor could his courage and military talents have failed to excite respect. His natural abilities were strong, and had received every improvement which a good education could afford them. Indeed his progress in literature was so great, that it procured him the appellation of *Beau-Clerc*, or the *Fine Scholar*. In the cabinet, as in the field, he was cool, cautious, and resolute; and had he been as earnest in the pursuit of virtue as in the gratification of a lawless ambition, he might have just claims to a distinguished place in the annals of history. But his tyrannical conduct to his brother Robert, and his nephew William, evinced a total disregard to every maxim of justice and equity, and shewed that he was always ready to sacrifice the most sacred ties, both of religion and morality, to the promotion of his ambitious projects. Notwithstanding his liberal professions to the English at the commencement of his reign, and his celebrated charter for the security of their rights and liberties, his government was despotic and oppressive: but it is not surprizing that a man, whose bosom was callous to the warmest feelings of nature, should resist the generous dictates of gratitude. Among other instances of his tyranny may be adduced the burthensome taxes that he imposed upon his subjects, and his considerable augmentation of the royal forests, any encroachments on which he punished with the utmost severity. To kill a stag was rendered more criminal than to murder a man; and all dogs that were kept on the borders of his forests were cruelly mutilated.

There is extant a code of laws which passed under this monarch's name; but its authenticity is doubted by our most able antiquaries. It is, however, replete with instruction on the manners and customs of those times. We learn from it that a great distinction was made between the English and Normans, much to the prejudice of the former. Those destructive feuds which were so common among the Saxons, and which the privilege of inflicting private revenge tended greatly to encourage, still prevailed in a certain degree, not being yet formally repressed by any positive law.

Henry, on his accession, granted a charter to the city of London, which appears to have been the first step towards erecting it into a corporation. By this charter the city was empowered to keep the farm of Middlesex at three hundred pounds a year, to elect its own sheriff and justiciary, and to hold pleas of the crown; and it was exempted from the impost of Danegeld, from trials by combat, and from the obligation of lodging the king's retinue. These, with a confirmation of the privileges of their Court of Hustings, Wardmotes, and Common Halls, and the liberty of hunting in the counties of Middlesex and Surrey, form the principal articles of this charter.

A magnificent palace was built in this king's reign at Woodstock, in an extensive park that was enclosed with a stone wall; it is affirmed to have been the first park that was made in England. In the year 1121 a navigable canal was made, by order of the king, between the rivers Trent and Witham, for the benefit of the commerce of Lincoln, which was at that time a rich and populous city.

CHAP. IV.

STEPHEN.

IN the progress and settlement of the feudal law, the male succession to fiefs had taken place some time before the female was admitted; and estates being considered as military benefices, not as property, were transmitted to such only as could serve in the armies, and perform in person the conditions upon which they were originally granted. But when the continuance of rights, during some generations, in the same family, had, in a great measure, obliterated the primitive idea, the females were gradually admitted to the possession of feudal property; and the same revolution of principles which procured them the inheritance of private estates, naturally introduced their succession to government and authority. The failure, therefore, of male heirs to the kingdom of England and duchy of Normandy, seemed to leave the succession open, without a rival, to the empress Matilda; and as Henry had made all his vassals in both states swear fealty to her, he presumed that they would not easily be induced to depart from her hereditary right, and from their own reiterated oaths and engagements. But the irregular manner in which he himself had acquired the crown, might have instructed him, that neither his Norman nor English subjects were as yet capable of adhering to a strict rule of government; and as every precedent of this kind seems to give authority to new usurpations, he had reason to dread, even from his own family, some invasion of his daughter's title, which he had taken such pains to establish.

Adela, daughter of William the First, had been married to Stephen, count of Blois, by whom she had several children; among whom Stephen and Henry, the two youngest, had been invited over to England by the late king, and had received great honours, riches, and preferment. Henry, who had betaken himself to the ecclesiastical profession, he having become a monk in the monastery of Clugni, was first created abbot of Glastonbury and afterwards bishop of Winchester; and though these dignities were considerable, Stephen had, from his uncle's liberality, attained establishments still more solid and durable. The king had married him to Matilda, who was daughter and heiress of Eustace, count of Boulogne, and who brought him, besides that feudal sovereignty in France, an immense property in England, which in the distribution of lands, after the establishment of the Norman government, had been conferred on the family of Boulogne. By this marriage also Stephen acquired a new connexion with the

(*g*) His bowels were deposited in the conventual church of Notre Dame de Pré, in the suburbs of Roüen; and his corpse, being transported to England, was interred in the abbey of Reading, which he himself had founded and richly endowed. His offspring, except William and Matilda, whom he had by his first queen, were all illegitimate. Of his natural sons, the principal of them were, the earl of Gloucester, born of a Welsh princess; Richard, who was drowned with prince William; Reginald, earl of Cornwall; and Henry, the ancestor of the Herbert family. Of the female fruits of his incontinence, the most considerable were, Elizabeth (or Sibylla) the wife of Alexander the Fierce, king of Scotland; Matilda, countess of Bretagne; and the countesses of Breteuil and Perche. Thirteen illegitimate children are ascribed to him upon good authority; but some writers have increased the number.

royal family of England; as Mary, his wife's mother, was sister to David the reigning king of Scotland, and to Matilda, the first wife of Henry I. and mother of the empress Matilda, who was afterwards married to, and was at this time the wife of, Geoffrey, the son of Fulk, count of Anjou. The king, still imagining that he strengthened the interests of his family by the aggrandizement of Stephen, took pleasure in enriching him by the grant of new possessions; and he conferred on him the great estate forfeited by Robert Mallet in England, and that forfeited by the earl of Mortagne in Normandy. Stephen, in return, professed great attachment to his uncle; and appeared so zealous for the succession of Matilda, that, when the barons swore fealty to that princess, he contended with Robert, earl of Gloucester, the king's natual son, who should first be admitted to give her this testimony of zeal and fidelity. Meanwhile he endeavoured to cultivate, by every art of popularity, the friendship of the English; and many virtues, with which he seemed to be endowed, favoured the success of his intentions. By his bravery, activity, and vigour, he gained the esteem of the barons: by his generosity, and affable and familiar address, he obtained the affections of the people, particularly of the Londoners. And though he dared not to take any further steps, lest he should expose himself to the suspicions of Henry, he still hoped that, by accumulating riches and power, and by acquiring popularity, he might in time be able to open his way to the possession of the crown.

Stephen was at Boulogne when he received intelligence of Henry's death, and insensible to all the ties of gratitude and fidelity, and blind to danger, he gave full reins to his ambition, and trusted that the celerity of his enterprize, and the boldness of his attempt, might overcome the weak attachment which the English and Normans bore to the laws and to the rights of their late sovereign. He hastened over to England; and though the citizens of Dover, and those of Canterbury, apprized of his intentions, shut their gates against him, he stopped not till he arrived at London, where some of the lower rank, instigated by his emissaries, as well as moved by his general popularity, immediately proclaimed him king. His next point was to acquire the good-will of the clergy, which was absolutely necessary; and by performing the ceremony of his coronation, to get in possession of the throne, from which he was confident it would not be easy afterwards to expel him. His brother Henry, bishop of Winchester, gained him the friendship of Roger, bishop of Salisbury, chief justiciary and regent of the kingdom, who, though he owed a great fortune and advancement to the favour of the late king, preserved no sense of gratitude to that prince's family; he applied, in conjunction with that prelate, to William Corboil, archbishop of Canterbury, and required him, in virtue of his office, to give the royal unction to Stephen. The primate, who, as all the others, had sworn fealty to Matilda, refused to comply with the requisition; but his opposition was overcome by an expedient equally dishonourable with the other steps by which this revolution was effected. Hugh Bigod, steward of the household, made oath before the primate, that the late king on his death-bed had shewn a dissatisfaction with his daughter Matilda, and had expressed his intention of leaving the count of Boulogne heir to all his dominions. William, either believing, or feigning to believe, Bigod's testimony, anointed Stephen, and put the crown upon his head, on the 22d of December; and from this religious ceremony that prince, without any shadow either of hereditary title or consent of the nobility or people, was allowed to proceed to the exercise of sovereign authority. Very few barons attended his coronation, not one abbot, and of the prelates, only the primate and the bishops of Winchester and Salisbury: but none opposed his usurpation, however unjust or flagrant. The sentiment of religion which, if corrupted into superstition, has often little efficacy in fortifying the duties of civil society, was not affected by the multiplied oaths taken in favour of Matilda, and only rendered the people obedient to a prince who was countenanced by the clergy, and who had received from the primate the rite of royal unction and consecration (*h*).

Stephen, that he might farther secure his throne, passed a charter, in the beginning of 1136, in a national council at Oxford, wherein he made liberal promises to all orders of men; to the clergy, that he would speedily fill all vacant benefices, and would never levy the rents of any of them during the vacancy; to the nobility, that he would reduce the royal forests to their ancient boundaries, and correct all encroachments; and to the people, that he would remit the tax of Danegeld, and restore the laws of king Edward. The late king had a great treasure at Winchester, amounting to a hundred thousand pounds; besides jewels and plate to an immense value. And Stephen, by obtaining possession of these riches, through the assistance of his brother, immediately turned against Henry's family the precaution which that prince had employed for their grandeur and security: an event which naturally attends the policy of amassing treasures. By means of this money the usurper insured the compliance, though not the attachment, of the principal clergy and nobility; but not trusting to this frail security, he invited over from the continent, particularly from Bretagne and Flanders, great numbers of those bravoes or disorderly soldiers, with whom every country in Europe, by reason of the general ill police and turbulent government, extremely abounded. These mercenary troops guarded his throne by the terrors of the sword; and Stephen, that he might also overawe all malcontents by new and additional terrors of religion, procured a bull from Rome, which ratified his title, and which the pope, seeing this prince in possession of the throne, and pleased with an appeal to his authority in secular controversies, very readily granted him.

Matilda, and her husband Geoffrey, were as unfortunate in Normandy as they had been in England. The Norman nobility, moved by an hereditary animosity against the Anjevins, first applied to Theobald, count of Blois, Stephen's elder brother, for protection and assistance; but hearing afterwards that Stephen had got possession of the English crown, and having many of them the same reasons as formerly for desiring a continuance of their union with that kingdom, they transferred their allegiance to Stephen, and put him in possession of their government. Louis the Younger, the reigning king of France, accepted the homage of Eustace, Stephen's eldest son, for the duchy; and the more to corroborate his connexions with that family, he betrothed his sister Constantia to the young prince. The count of Blois resigned all his pretensions, and received in lieu of them an annual pension of two thousand marks; and Geoffrey himself was obliged to conclude a truce for two years with Stephen, on condition of the king's paying him, during that time, a pension of five thousand. Stephen, who had taken a journey to Normandy, finished all these transactions in person, and soon after returned to England.

David, king of Scotland, and uncle to Matilda, was the first who appeared to support her cause, by entering England with an army in vindication of her rights. He took Carlisle and Newcastle, and over-ran the counties of Cumberland and Northumberland; but, finding that few of the English were ready to join him, he entered into a negociation with Stephen, who had advanced to meet him, at the head of his troops, about the beginning of Lent. An accommodation accordingly took place, by which Stephen consented to cede the county of Northumberland and the city of Carlisle to the Scottish monarch, to be held as a fief of the English crown. He likewise conferred the earldom of Huntingdom on Henry, the eldest son of David, and promised not to dispose of the earldom of Northumberland till he had investigated the pretensions of that prince, who had laid claim to it as the grandson and heir of Waltheof.

Robert, earl of Gloncester, natural son of the late king, was a man of honour and abilities; and as he was firmly attached to the interests of his sister Matilda, and zealous for the lineal succession, it was chiefly from his intrigues and resistance that the king had reason to dread a new revolution of government. This nobleman, who was in Normandy when he received intelligence of Stephen's accession, found himself much embarrassed concerning the measures which he should pursue in that difficult emergency. To swear allegiance to the usurper appeared to him dishonourable, and a breach of his oath to Matilda. To refuse giving this pledge of his fidelity, was to banish himself from England, and be totally incapacitated from serving the royal family, or contributing to their restoration. He offered Stephen to do him homage, and to take

(*h*) Such stress was formerly laid on the rite of coronation, that the monkish writers never give any prince the title of king till he is crowned; though he had for some time been in possession of the throne, and exercised all the powers of sovereignty.

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the oath of fealty; but with an express condition that the king should maintain all his stipulations, and should never invade any of Robert's rights or dignities: and Stephen, though sensible that this reserve, so unusual in itself, and so unbefitting the duty of a subject, was meant only to afford Robert a pretence for a revolt on the first favourable opportunity, was obliged, by the numerous friends and retainers of that nobleman, to receive him on those terms. The clergy, who could scarcely at this time be deemed subjects to the crown, imitated that dangerous example: they annexed to their oaths of allegiance this condition, that they were only bound so long as the king defended the ecclesiastical liberties, and supported the discipline of the church. The barons, in return for their submission, exacted terms still more destructive of public peace, as well as of royal authority: many of them required the right of fortifying their castles, and of putting themselves in a posture of defence; and the king found himself totally unable to refuse his consent to this exorbitant demand. All England was immediately filled with those fortresses, which the noblemen garrisoned either with their vassals, or with licentious soldiers, who flocked to them from all quarters. Unbounded rapine was exercised upon the people for the maintenance of these troops; and domestic feuds and private animosities, which had with difficulty been restrained by law, now breaking out without control, rendered England a scene of uninterrupted riot and devastation. Wars between the nobles were carried on with the utmost fury in every quarter; the barons even assumed the distinguishing marks of royalty, the right of coining money, and of exercising, without appeal, every act of jurisdiction; and the inferior gentry, as well as the people, finding no defence from the laws during this total dissolution of sovereign authority, were obliged, for their immediate safety, to pay court to some neighbouring chieftain, and to purchase his protection, both by submitting to his exactions, and by assisting him in his rapine upon others. The erection of one castle caused the building of many others; and even those who obtained not the king's permission, thought that they were entitled, by the great principle of self preservation, to put themselves on an equal footing with their neighbours, who commonly were also their enemies and rivals. The aristocratical authority, which is usually so oppressive in the feudal governments, had now risen to its utmost height during the reign of a prince who, though endowed with vigour and abilities, had usurped the throne without the pretence of a title, and who was necessitated to tolerate in others the same violence to which he himself had been indebted for his elevation to the sovereign power.

While England was thus involved in anarchy and confusion, the empress Matilda, and her husband Geoffrey Plantagenet, were endeavouring to enforce their pretensions to the continental dominions; but they experienced the same ill fortune in Normandy as in this kingdom. This was partly owing to the hereditary hatred which had long subsisted between the Normans and the Anjevins, and partly by the desire of the Norman barons to be governed by the same sovereigns as the English, that they might secure the possession of their estates in either country. So soon, therefore, as these noblemen received intelligence of Stephen's accession to the throne of England, they deputed messengers to wait on him with an invitation to repair to Normandy, and assume the sovereignty of that duchy. Stephen having effected an accommodation with the king of Scotland, and received the submission of the earl of Gloucester, thought himself at liberty to comply with their request, and accordingly made a voyage to Normandy about the middle of Lent, in 1137. Soon after his arrival on the continent, he had an interview with Louis king of France, and formed an alliance with that monarch, by betrothing his son Eustace to the princess Constantia, sister to Louis, who granted the investiture of the duchy of Normandy to his future brother-in-law.

After this transaction, Stephen advanced with his forces to attack the count of Anjou, who had entered Normandy; and having made an unsuccessful attempt to take the city of Caen by surprize, had retired to Argantan; but when he had marched as far as Lisieux, a dispute occurred between two of his principal officers, William D'Ypres, earl of Kent, and Renaud de St. Valerie, on the subject of precedence; which being espoused with equal warmth by the adherents of each of them, brought on a skirmish, that produced a great effusion of blood on both sides. Whether Stephen on this occasion evinced a partiality to his foreigh troops, in which he placed his chief reliance; or whether his favourite, the earl of Kent, was so much disliked by the Normans, that they resolved not to serve under him, certain it is, that they left the army; nor could the king, who followed and overtook them at Pont Audemer, prevail upon their leaders, Hugh de Gournay, and young William de Warrenne, to return to their duty.

In this perplexing situation, in a country the fidelity of whose inhabitants he had every reason to suspect, Stephen was reduced to the necessity of purchasing a truce for two years from the count of Anjou, by an annuity of five thousand marks, and another of two thousand to his own brother Theobald, count of Blois, who had formed pretensions to the duchy of Normandy, in consequence of an invitation from some of the principal barons previous to their application to the king of England.

Notwithstanding this negociation, the flames of civil war still continued to rage among the Norman barons, and all the efforts of Stephen were inadequate to quell them. While he had been thus engaged on the continent, Robert, earl of Gloucester had been exerting himself in England to excite an insurrection in favour of his sister Matilda; and, having settled his plans, repaired to Normandy. William D'Ypres, who suspected the earl of Gloucester's intentions, communicated his thoughts to the king, and advised him to seize his person: but, before the scheme could be effected, that nobleman received intelligence of their designs; and by his conduct gave Stephen to understand that he was no stranger to his intention. Apprehensive of the fatal effects of a rupture with that nobleman, whose power and popularity were so firmly established, he made overtures to Robert for an accommodation; and, after much difficulty, obtained a personal interview, in which he apologized for his past conduct, and swore, in the presence of the archbishop of Roüen, that he would never again form any design against the person or liberty of the earl. Robert accepted his excuses, and was apparently reconciled; but he was too well acquainted with the disposition of Stephen to repose the smallest degree of confidence in his oaths.

Stephen's presence was now required in England, where the most dreadful anarchy was universally prevalent. The foreign mercenaries, who formed the chief support of his authority, having exhausted the royal treasure, subsisted wholly by depredations on the unfortunate natives. Extortion and cruelty were every where practised; and those whose power and influence might have rendered their efforts effectual, were seen to promote those disorders which it was their duty to repress. Stephen therefore found it expedient to return, though he had not yet been able to check the turbulency of the Norman barons, which disturbed the repose of his continental dominions.

On his arrival in England, he found that David, king of Scotland had made incursions into the county of Northumberland, to the earldom of which his son, prince Henry, had renewed his pretensions; but, at the instigation of Thurstan, archbishop of York, he had consented to delay the prosecutions of his claims till the return of Stephen. The demand of the prince was now formally enforced by ambassadors deputed for that purpose; but the king peremptorily refusing to comply with it, David again entered Northumberland, at the beginning of 1138; when his troops committed the most destructive ravages, reducing whole towns to ashes, and putting the defenceless inhabitants to the sword, without discrimination of age or sex (*i*). Stephen immediately advanced at the head of a powerful army, to check the progress of the Scottish king; who, on his approach, retired to the castle of Roxburgh, whither the English pursued him. But while the two armies were posted opposite to each other, the king discovered such symptoms of disaffection among his own troops, that he deemed it dangerous to risk an action, and therefore returned to the south, where his affairs had taken an unfavourable turn.

Robert, earl of Gloucester, who had only taken the oath of fealty to Stephen that he might be enabled the more effectually to promote the interests of his sister, having now completed the plan of an insurrection, determined to throw off the mask. To give an appearance of candour to his proceedings, he consulted the pope on the validity of his oath, and received an answer agreeable to his wishes

(*i*) These abominable acts of cruelty are attributed by the Scottish historians to the men of Galloway; whom they represent as a ferocious and undisciplined band, that no endeavours of their sovereign could possibly restrain within the smallest degree of subordination.

and

and expectations; which informed him that he was wholly absolved from it, as a compliance with the obligations it imposed would involve him in perjury, by compelling him to violate that which he had formerly taken to the empress; and which, from priority, as well as the justice of its motives, claimed an indisputable preference. Fortified with this answer, he sent to Stephen from Normandy, to bid him open defiance, formally to renounce the allegiance he had conditionally sworn to preserve, and to upbraid him with the breach of those terms which had been annexed to his oath of fealty. This was the stipulated signal to the English barons, whom he had prevailed on to join him in his attempts to raise the empress to the throne; and numbers of them immediately retired to their castles, and prepared for the execution of this important design.

This formidable conspiracy, however, only tended to augment the courage and activity of Stephen, and to urge him to more powerful exertions. He attacked the fortresses of his rebellious nobles, took many of them, and either punished their lords, or compelled them to return to their obedience. But while he was employed in the south, David, king of Scotland, appeared at the head of an army in defence of his niece's title, and, penetrating into Yorkshire, committed the most barbarous devastations on that country. The fury of his massacres and ravages enraged the northern nobility, who might otherwise have been inclined to join him; and William earl of Albemarle, Robert de Ferrers, William Percy, Robert de Bruce, Roger Moubray, Hubert Lacey, Walter l'Espée, Bernard de Baliol, and Walter de Grant, powerful barons in those parts, assembled an army, with which they encamped at North-Allerton, and awaited the arrival of the enemy. A great battle was here fought, on the 22nd of August, called the battle of the Standard, from a high crucifix, erected by the English on a waggon, and carried along with the army as a military ensign. The king of Scots was defeated, and he himself, as well as his son Henry, narrowly escaped falling into the hands of the English. David retired to Carlisle, where he was soon joined by his son Henry. Having there collected their scattered troops, they laid siege to the castle of Werk, which they reduced by famine. This success overawed the malcontents in England, and might have given some stability to Stephen's throne, had he not been so elated with prosperity as to engage in a controversy with the clergy, who were at that time an overmatch for any monarch.

Though the great power of the church in ancient times weakened the authority of the crown, and interrupted the course of the laws, it may be doubted whether, in ages of such violence and outrage, it was not rather advantageous that some limits were set to the power of the sword, both in the hands of the prince and nobles, and that men were taught to pay regard to some principles and privileges. The chief misfortune was, that the prelates on some occasions acted entirely as barons, employed military power against their sovereign or their neighbours, and thereby often increased those disorders which it was their duty to repress. Roger, bishop of Salisbury, in imitation of the nobility, had built two strong castles, one at Sherborne, another at the Devizes, and had laid the foundations of a third at Malmesbury. His two nephews, Nigell, bishop of Ely, and Alexander, bishop of Lincoln, had followed the example of their uncle; and Stephen, who was now sensible from experience of the mischiefs attending these multiplied citadels, resolved to begin with destroying those of the clergy, who by their function seemed less entitled than the barons to such military securities. Making pretence of a fray which had arisen in court between the retinue of the bishop of Salisbury and that of Alain, earl of Bretagne, he seized both that prelate and the bishop of Lincoln, threw them into prison, and obliged them by menaces to deliver up those places of strength in 1139, which they had lately erected.

Henry, bishop of Winchester, the king's brother, being armed with a legantine commission, now conceived himself to be an ecclesiastical sovereign no less powerful than the civil; and forgetting the ties of blood which connected him with the king, he resolved to vindicate the clerical privileges, which he pretended were here openly violated. He assembled a synod at Westminster on the 30th of August, and there complained of the impiety of Stephen's measures, who had employed violence against the dignitaries of the church, and had not awaited the sentence of a spiritual court, by which alone, he affirmed, they could lawfully be tried and condemned, if their conduct had in any wise merited censure or punishment. The synod ventured to send a summons to the king, charging him to appear before them, and to justify his measures; and Stephen, instead of resenting this indignity, sent Aubrey de Vere to plead his cause before that assembly. De Vere accused the two prelates of treason and sedition; but the synod refused to try the cause, or examine their conduct, till those castles, of which they had been dispossessed, were previously restored to them. The bishop of Salisbury declared that he would appeal to the pope; and had not Stephen and his partizans employed menaces, and even shown a disposition of executing violence by the hands of the soldiery, affairs had instantly come to extremity between the crown and the mitre.

While this quarrel, joined to so many other grievances, increased the discontents among the people, the empress, invited by the opportunity, and secretly encouraged by the legate himself, landed in England, with Robert, earl of Gloucester, on the 30th of September, and a retinue of a hundred and forty knights. She fixed her residence at Arundel castle, whose gates were opened to her by Adelina, the queen-dowager, now married to William de Albini, earl of Sussex; and she excited by messengers her partizans to take arms in every county of England. Adelina, who had expected that her daughter-in-law would have invaded the kingdom with a much greater force, became apprehensive of danger; suspecting that she had not the smallest design of encouraging an insurrection; that she had only granted her daughter-in-law admission into her castle, from a just respect to the memory of her deceased father; and declaring, that if he would grant her a safe passport to some other part of the kingdom, she would prevail on her to quit it without delay; and Matilda, to ease her of her fears, removed first to Bristol, which belonged to her brother Robert, thence to Gloucester, where she remained under the protection of Milo, a gallant nobleman in those parts, who had embraced her cause (*k*). Soon after Geoffrey Talbot, William Mohun, Ralph Lovel, William Fitz-John, William Fitz-Alan, Paganell, and many other barons, declared for her; and her party, which was generally favoured in the kingdom, seemed every day to gain ground upon that of her antagonist.

Were we to relate all the military events transmitted to us by contemporary and authentic historians, it would be easy to swell our accounts of this reign into a large volume: but those incidents, so little memorable in themselves, and so confused both in time and place, could afford neither instruction nor entertainment to the reader.

(*k*) It is not less difficult to account for the king's motives in thus suffering Matilda to escape, when he must have been anxious to obtain possession of her person, than for those which could induce the empress to repose so important a confidence in a man who had been guilty of such repeated violations of the most solemn oaths. This singular event, the veracity of which cannot admit of a doubt, has never been satisfactorily accounted for. Contemporary historians simply relate the fact, unaccompanied by any kind of elucidation; while modern writers have either neglected to notice it, or have ascribed it to principles which could have but a partial effect. Dr. Henry indeed, whose profound erudition merits the most ample tribute of commendation, imputes it to that spirit of gallantry, and strict regard to the point of honour, which prevailed at that period. This might, perhaps, have engaged Stephen to keep his word in this case, but could certainly not have induced him to plight it; for, under such circumstances, he never could have betrayed, at a subsequent period, an anxiety to seize the person of Matilda: nor can we believe that the princess would have trusted to his observance of a promise, who had trifled with the solemnity of an oath. We must therefore reject the opinion of Dr. Henry, and endeavour to account for this extraordinary transaction in a manner which to us appears more consistent with reason and probability. The castle of Arundel was a fortress of considerable strength, and deemed almost impregnable; consequently the only mode of reducing it must have been by cutting off all supplies of provision, which would inevitably have required a great length of time to execute. Stephen, aware of this circumstance, and apprehending that, while he was employed in the siege, his enemies might be making a dangerous progress under the conduct of the earl of Gloucester, whose vigour and activity experience had taught him to dread, might justly deem it an act of policy to permit the empress to join her brother, as his enemies would then be concentrated in one point, against which he would be enabled to direct his whole force. As to Matilda, it is highly probable that she was compelled by her step-mother to depart from the castle: for, as the queen-dowager, by sending to Stephen to offer apologies for her conduct, had evinced a fear of his resentment, and knew no other means of averting it, and at the same hour and time of demonstrating the sincerity of her professions, than by getting rid of her royal guest, it is not to be supposed, when so favourable an opportunity offered to provide for her own personal safety, without violating the rights of hospitality, that she would suffer it to escape.

It suffices to say, that the war was spread into every quarter; and that those turbulent barons, who had already shaken off, in a great measure, the restraint of government, having now obtained the pretence of a public cause, carried on their devastations with redoubled fury, exercised implacable vengeance on each other, and set no bounds to their oppressions over the people. The castles of the nobility were become receptacles of licensed robbers; who, sallying forth day and night, committed spoil on the open country, on the villages, and even on the cities; put the captives to torture, in order to make them reveal their treasures; sold their persons to slavery; and set fire to their houses, after they had pillaged them of every thing valuable. The fierceness of their disposition, leading them to commit wanton destruction, frustrated their rapacity of its purpose; and the poverty and persons even of the ecclesiastics, generally so much revered, were at last, from necessity, exposed to the same outrage which had laid waste the rest of the kingdom. The land was left untilled; the instruments of husbandry were destroyed or abandoned; and a grievous famine, the natural result of those disorders, affected equally both parties, and reduced the spoilers, as well as the defenceless people, to the most extreme want and indigence.

After several fruitless negociations and treaties of peace, which never interrupted these destructive hostilities, there happened at last an event, which seemed to promise some end of the public calamities. Ralph, earl of Chester, and his half brother William de Roumara, partizans of Matilda, had surprized the castle of Lincoln; but the citizens, who were better affected to Stephen, having invited him to their aid, that prince laid close siege to the castle, in hopes of soon rendering himself master of the place, either by assault or by famine. The earl of Gloucester hastened with an army to the relief of his friends; and Stephen, informed of his approach, took the field with a resolution of giving him battle. After a violent shock, the two wings of the royalists were put to flight; and Stephen himself, surrounded by the enemy, was at last, after exerting great efforts of valour, borne down by numbers, and taken prisoner (*l*). He was conducted to Gloucester; and though at first treated with humanity, was soon after, on some suspicion, thrown into prison, and loaded with irons. This took place on the 2d of February, 1141.

Stephen's party was entirely broken by the captivity of their leader, and the barons came in daily from all quarters, and did homage to Matilda. The princess, however, amidst all her prosperity, knew that she was not secure of success, unless she could gain the confidence of the clergy; and as the conduct of the legate had been of late very ambiguous, and showed his intentions to have rather aimed at humbling his brother, than totally ruining him, she employed every endeavour to fix him in her interests. She held a conference with him on the 2d of March, in an open plain near Winchester, where she promised upon oath, that if he would acknowledge her for sovereign, would recognise her title as the sole descendant of the late king, and would again submit to the allegiance which he, as well as the rest of the kingdom, had sworn to her, he should in return be entire master of the administration, and in particular should, at his pleasure, dispose of all vacant bishoprics and abbies. Earl Robert, her brother, Brian Fitz-Count, Milo of Gloucester, and other great men, became guarantees for her observing these engagements, and the prelate was at last induced to promise her allegiance, but that still burdened with the express condition, that she should on her part fulfil her promises. He then conducted her to Winchester, led her in procession to the cathedral, and with great solemnity, in the presence of many bishops and abbots, denounced curses against all those who cursed her, poured out blessings on those who blessed her, granted absolution to such as were obedient to her, and excommunicated such as were rebellious. Theobald archbishop of Canterbury soon after came also to court, and swore allegiance to the empress; after which she proceeded to Oxford, where she celebrated the festival of Easter with great pomp and magnificence.

Matilda, that she might farther ensure the attachment of the clergy, was willing to receive the crown from their hands; and instead of assembling the states of the kingdom, the measure which the constitution, had it been either fixed or regarded, seemed necessarily to require, she was content, that the legate should summon an ecclesiastical synod, and that her title to the throne should there be acknowledged. In consequence of this convention, a great council of the clergy met at Winchester on the 7th of April; when the legate, addressing himself to the assembly, told them, that "in the absence of the empress, Stephen, his brother, had been permitted to reign, and, previously to his ascending the throne, had seduced them by many fair promises of honouring and exalting the church, of maintaining the laws, and of reforming all abuses: that it grieved him to observe how much that prince had in every particular been wanting to his engagements; public peace was interrupted, crimes were daily committed with impunity, bishops were thrown into prison and forced to surrender their possessions, abbies were put to sale, churches were pillaged, and the most enormous disorders prevailed in the administration: that he himself, in order to procure a redress of these grievances, had formerly summoned the king before a council of bishops; but instead of inducing him to amend his conduct, had rather offended him by that expedient: that, how much soever misguided, that prince was still his brother, and the object of his affections; but his interests, however, must be regarded as subordinate to those of their heavenly father, who had now rejected him, and thrown him into the hands of his enemies: that it principally belonged to the clergy to elect and ordain kings; he had summoned them together for that purpose; and having invoked the divine assistance, he now pronounced Matilda the only descendant of Henry, their late sovereign, queen of England. In the name of this council, said he, I do promise her loyalty and support." The whole assembly, by their acclamations or silence, gave, or seemed to give, their assent to this declaration (*m*).

The only laymen summoned to this council, which decided the fate of the crown, were the Londoners; and even these were required not to give their opinion, but to submit to the decrees of the synod. The deputies of London, however, were not so passive: they insisted that their king should be delivered from prison; but were told by the legate, that it became not the Londoners, who were regarded as noblemen in England, to take part with those barons, who had basely forsaken their lord in battle, and who had treated holy church with contumely. It is with reason that the citizens of London assumed so much authority, if it be true, what is related by Fitz-Stephen, a contemporary author, that that city could at this time bring into the field no less than eighty thousand combatants (*n*).

London, notwithstanding its great power, and attachment to Stephen, was at length obliged to submit to Matilda; and her authority, by the prudent conduct of earl Robert, seemed to be established over the whole kingdom: but affairs remained not long in this situation. That princess, besides the disadvantages of her sex, which weakened her influence over a turbulent and martial people, was of a passionate, imperious spirit, and knew not how to temper with affability the harshness of a re-

(*l*) In this action the king fought with the most desperate courage till his battle axe was totally broken; when, drawing his sword, he long defended himself against a host of foes, inveighing against the dastardly conduct of his faithless troops. In this unequal contest, his sword being shivered in pieces, he had recourse to his truncheon, which he continued to employ till a blow from a stone brought him to the ground. Still his ardour was unabated, and he was preparing to rise for the purpose of renewing the combat, when William de Kaines, a knight of the opposite party, seized him by the helmet, presented his sword to his throat, and menaced him with instant death, if he refused to surrender. Notwithstanding the dangerous extremity to which he was reduced, he resolutely declared that he would yield to no other than the earl of Gloucester, who being at hand, advanced and took him prisoner, together with four noblemen, who had valiantly fought by the side of their monarch.

(*m*) W. Malmesbury, p. 188. This author, a judicious man, was present, and says, that he was very attentive to what passed. This speech, therefore, may be regarded as entirely genuine.

(*n*) Were this account to be depended on, London must at that time have contained near four hundred thousand inhabitants, which is above double the number it contained at the death of queen Elizabeth. But these loose calculations, or rather guesses, deserve very little credit. Peter of Blois, a contemporary writer, and a man of sense, says there were then only forty thousand inhabitants in London, which is much more likely. See Epist. 151. What Fitz-Stephen says of the prodigious riches, splendour, and commerce of London, proves only the great poverty of the other towns of the kingdom, and indeed of all the northern parts of Europe.

fusal. Stephen's queen, seconded by many of the nobility, petitioned for the liberty of her husband; and offered, that, on this condition, he should renounce the crown, and retire into a convent. The legate desired that prince Eustace, his nephew, might inherit Boulogne and the other patrimonial estates of his father. The Londoners applied for the establishment of king Edward's laws, instead of those of king Henry, which, they said, were grievous and oppressive. All these petitions were rejected in the most haughty and peremptory manner.

The legate, who had probably never been sincere in his compliance with Matilda's government, availed himself of the ill humour excited by this imperious conduct, and secretly instigated the Londoners to a revolt. A conspiracy was entered into to seize the person of the empress; and she saved herself from the danger by a precipitate retreat. She fled to Oxford: soon after she went to Winchester: whither the legate, desirous to save appearances, and watching the opportunity to ruin her cause, had retired. But having assembled all his retainers, he openly joined his force to that of the Londoners, and to Stephen's mercenary troops, who had not yet evacuated the kingdom; and he besieged Matilda in Winchester, which he invested on the first of August (*o*). The princess, being hard pressed by famine, made her escape to the Devizes; but in the flight, earl Robert, her brother, fell into the hands of the enemy. This nobleman, though a subject, was as much the life and soul of his own party, as Stephen was of the other; and the empress, sensible of his merit and importance, consented to exchange the prisoners on equal terms. This was accomplished on the first of November; and the civil war was again kindled with greater fury than ever.

The legate, who had been the chief instrument of his brother's deliverance, convened an ecclesiastical synod at Westminster, on the 7th of December, in which he appeared in a character diametrically opposite to that which he had assumed at the council of Winchester but a few months before. After the king had opened the council by a speech, in which he complained of the infidelity of his subjects, who, not content with waging war against him in direct violation of their oaths of allegiance, had quietly resigned him to all the horrors of a tedious imprisonment; the bishop of Winchester, in an harangue, more distinguished for rhetorical eloquence than for depth of reasoning or solidity of argument, attempted to apologize for the flagrant inconsistency of his own misconduct, and the frequent breach of his oaths, which he imputed, with greater impudence than address, to the necessity of the times. As a farther justification of himself, he affirmed that Matilda had not only broken all the stipulations she had made him previous to her election, but had likewise formed designs against his life and dignity. He concluded his speech by pronouncing a sentence of excommunication against all the adherents of the countess of Anjou, the only title he now would consent to bestow on the empress, though he had so lately acknowledged her queen of England.

Whatever disgust the ecclesiastical members of this assembly might conceive at the arrogance and inconsistency of the legate, there was not one of them endued with sufficient firmness of mind to express his sentiments on the subject. A lay deputy, who attended the council by order of Matilda, was the only person present who conducted himself with the resolution to do it: he boldly taxed the bishop, in the name of his royal mistress, with perjury and rebellion; affirmed, that the voyage of Matilda to England had been made in consequence of his frequent and earnest solicitations; that her subsequent conduct had been wholly guided by his direction; and that even the detention of Stephen in prison was in compliance with his advice. To these direct and positive charges the bishop very prudently forebore to reply. The name of this person historians have unfortunately neglected to mention; though a man, possessed of such uncommon fortitude and honesty as, in the presence of a sovereign surrounded by his adherents, to assert the supremacy of his rival and boldly accuse his principal supporter, is indisputably deserving of the highest praise an author can bestow, and should be transmitted to posterity as an object of imitation to every member of a national assembly, where the voice of reason is sometimes liable to be suppressed by the dictates of interest, or overawed by the prevalence of faction.

The earl of Gloucester, finding the successes on both sides nearly balanced, went over to Normandy, in 1142, which, during Stephen's captivity, had submitted to Geoffrey Plantagenet, earl of Anjou, and husband to Matilda; and he persuaded Geoffrey to allow his eldest son Henry, a promising young prince, to take a journey to England, and appear at the head of his partizans. The expedient, however, produced nothing decisive.

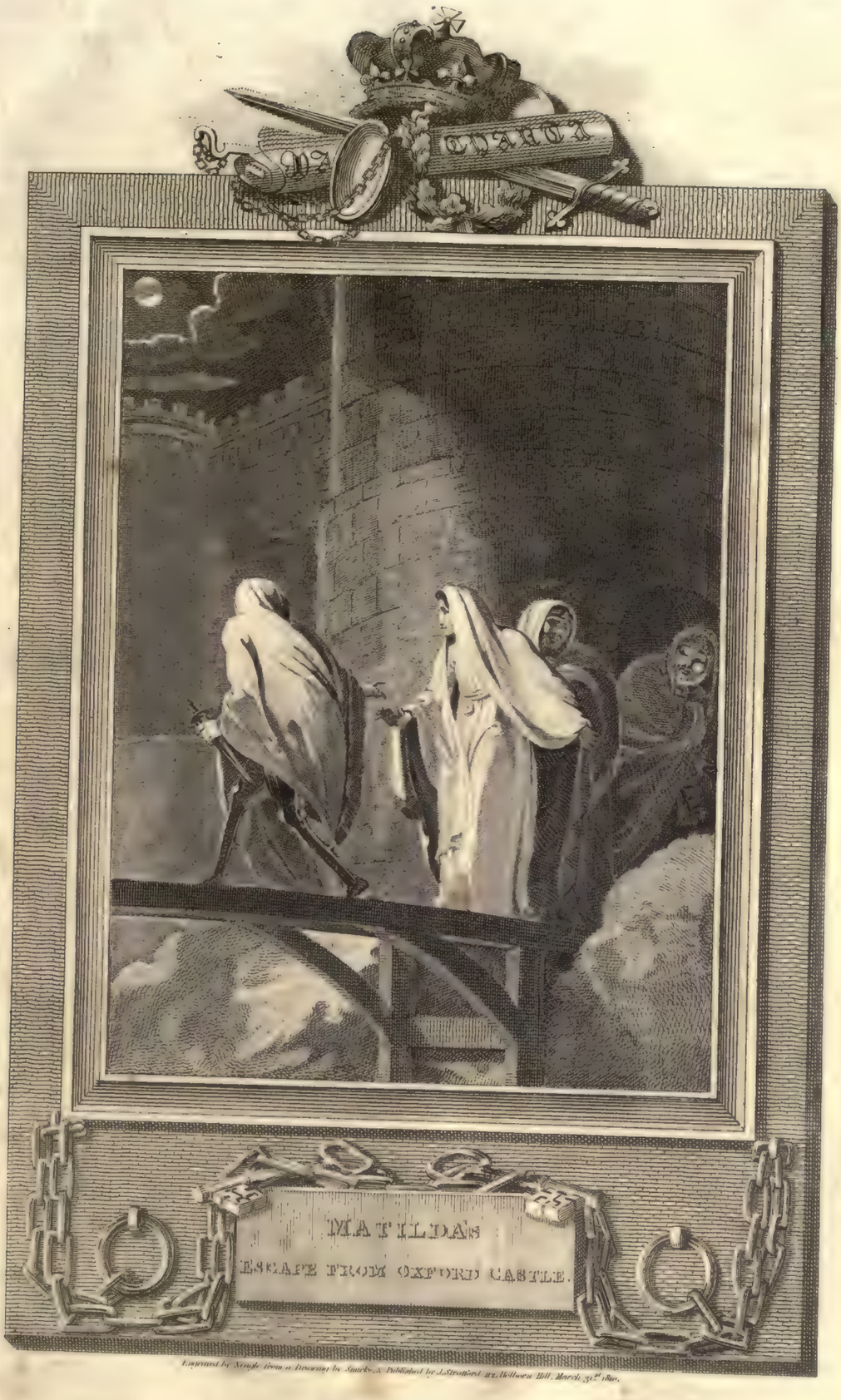
About this period, Henry de Tracey, a nobleman who had hitherto supported the interests of Stephen in Devonshire, despairing to see his authority firmly established, resolved to provide for his own safety by submitting to the empress, who had now obtained possession of all that tract of country which composed the ancient kingdom of Wessex, except the county of Hants; while her competitor enjoyed but a precarious and unsettled influence in other provinces, except in the city of London, the inhabitants of which adhered to his cause with firmness and unanimity.

A part of Wales, with the counties on the borders of the Severn, had declared for Matilda: the bishopric of Durham, and the three Norman provinces possessed by David, king of Scotland, had likewise acknowledged her sovereignty. The power of William, earl of Yorkshire, who adhered to Stephen, was counterbalanced by that of Alain, earl of Richmond, who embraced the opposite party: while Ralph, earl of Chester, Hugh Bigod, earl of Norfolk, and many other noblemen who resided in the ancient kingdom of East-Anglia, maintained a kind of independent sovereignty within their respective districts, though they were contented to recognize Stephen for their monarch. The seat of war was therefore chiefly confined to Berkshire and the parts immediately contiguous; but as Stephen was unable to assemble a formidable army, the contest was merely supported by sieges and blockades of castles, or slight skirmishes between detached parties. This irregular kind of war was continued during the three succeeding years, to the total destruction of industry, and the ruin and depopulation of the country.

Stephen took Oxford after a long siege in 1143; he was defeated by earl Robert, of Wilton: and the empress, though of a masculine spirit, yet being harassed with a variety of good and bad fortune, and alarmed with continual dangers to her person and family, at last retired into Normandy, whither she had sent her son in the summer of 1147. The death of her brother, which happened at his castle of Bristol, on the 31st of October, would have proved fatal to her interests, had not some incidents occurred, which checked the course of Stephen's prosperity. This prince, finding that the castles built by the noblemen of his own party, encouraged the spirit of independence, and were little less dangerous than those which remained in the hands of the enemy, endeavoured to extort from them a surrender of those fortresses; and he alienated the affections of many of them by this equitable demand. The artillery also of the church, which his brother had brought over to his side, had, after some interval, joined the other party. Eugenius III. had mounted the papal throne; the bishop of Winchester was deprived of the legantine commission, which was conferred on Theobald, archbishop of Canterbury, the enemy and rival of the former legate. The pontiff also, having summoned a general council at Rheims, in Champagne, instead of allowing the church of England, as had been usual, to elect its own deputies, nominated five English bishops to represent that church, and required their attendance in the council. Stephen, who, notwithstanding his present difficulties, was jealous of the rights of his crown, refused them permission to attend; and the pope, sensible of his advantage in contending with a prince who reigned by a disputed title, took revenge by laying all Stephen's party under an interdict. The discontents of the royalists, at being thrown into this situation, were augmented by a comparison with Matilda's party, who

(*o*) As the inhabitants of that city had evinced an imprudent zeal in promoting the cause of Matilda, the bishop set fire to it, although it was the capital of his diocese: nor could the flames of it be extinguished, till, according to William of Malmesbury, twenty churches, and the greatest part of the town, were reduced to ashes. A celebrated monastery, called The Hide, that was situated in the suburbs, shared the same fate; from which, however, the bishop was careful to preserve, for his own use, a massy golden cup, richly studded with precious stones, that had been presented to that convent by king Canute; together with three royal diadems, with stands of the purest Arabian gold, embellished with jewels, and enriched with the most curious devices.

enjoyed



Engraved by Neagle from a Drawing by Smirke. R. Published by J. Stratford 112 Holborn Hill, March 31st 1800.



enjoyed all the benefits of the sacred ordinances; and Stephen was at last obliged, by making proper submissions to the see of Rome, to remove the reproach from his party.

The weakness of both sides, at the beginning of the year 1148, rather than any decrease of mutual animosity, having produced a tacit cessation of arms in England, many of the nobility, Roger de Moubray, William de Warrenne, and others, finding no opportunity to exert their military ardour at home, inlisted themselves in a new crusade, which with surprising success, after former disappointments and misfortunes, was now preached by St. Bernard. But an event soon after happened which threatened a revival of hostilities in England. Prince Henry, who had reached his sixteenth year, was desirous of receiving the honour of knighthood; a ceremony which every gentleman in that age passed through before he was admitted to the use of arms, and which was even deemed requisite for the greatest princes. He intended to receive his admission from his great uncle, David, king of Scotland; and for that purpose he passed through England with a great retinue, and was attended by the most considerable of his partizans. This ceremony was performed at Carlisle, May 22, 1149, with great pomp and magnificence, in the midst of a prodigious concourse of the nobility of England, Scotland, and Normandy. He remained some time with the king of Scotland; made incursions into England; and by his dexterity and vigour in all manly exercises, by his valour in war, and his prudent conduct in every occurrence, he roused the hopes of his party, and gave symptoms of those great qualities which he afterwards displayed when he mounted the throne of England. Soon after his return to Normandy, in January, 1150, he was, by Matilda's consent, invested in that duchy; and upon the death of his father Geoffrey, which happened in the subsequent year, he took possession of Anjou, Touraine, and Maine, and concluded a marriage, which brought him a great accession of power, and rendered him extremely formidable to his rival. Eleanor, the daughter and heir of William, duke of Guienne, the earl of Poictou, had been married sixteen years to Louis VII. king of France, and had attended him in a crusade, which that monarch conducted against the infidels: but having there lost the affections of her husband, and even fallen under some suspicion of gallantry with a handsome Saracen, Louis, more delicate than politic, procured a divorce from her, and restored her those rich provinces, which by her marriage she had annexed to the crown of France. Young Henry, neither discouraged by the inequality of years, nor by the reports of Eleanor's gallantries, made successful courtship to that princess, and, espousing her six weeks after her divorce, in 1152, got possession of all her dominions as her dowry. The lustre which he received from this acquisition, and the prospect of his rising fortune, had such an effect in England, that when Stephen, desirous to ensure the crown to his son Eustace, required the archbishop of Canterbury to anoint that prince as his successor, the primate refused compliance, and made his escape beyond sea, to avoid the violence and resentment of Stephen.

Henry, informed of these dispositions in the people, made an invasion on England: having gained some advantage over Stephen at Malmesbury, and having taken that place, he proceeded thence to throw succours into Wallingford, which the king had advanced with a superior army to besiege. A decisive action was every day expected; when the great men of both sides, terrified at the prospect of farther bloodshed and confusion, interposed with their good offices, and set on foot a negociation between the rival princes. The death of Eustace, during the course of the treaty, facilitated its conclusion: an accommodation was settled, by which it was agreed, that Stephen should possess the crown during his lifetime, that justice should be administered in his name, even in the provinces which had submitted to Henry, and that this latter prince should, on Stephen's demise, succeed to the kingdom, and William, Stephen's son, to Boulogne and his patrimonial estate. After all the barons had sworn to the observance of this treaty, and done homage to Henry, as to the heir of the crown, that prince evacuated the kingdom; and the death of Stephen, which happened on the 25th of October, 1154 (*p*), after a short illness, prevented all those quarrels and jealousies, which were likely to have ensued in so delicate a situation.

During the reign of Stephen this country suffered great miseries. His personal and mental qualities were such as must inevitably have secured him universal esteem, had they been employed in a different pursuit. His mind was distinguished by candour and liberality; and, though possessed of that intrepid courage which borders on ferocity, he was affable, and condescending. His talents were neither brilliant nor despicable; his judgement rather superficial than profound. He discharged all the domestic duties of life with a scrupulousness that demonstrated great goodness of heart: as a husband, he was kind and affectionate; as a parent, tender and indulgent; as a friend, sincere and liberal, even to profusion. With these virtues, had Stephen succeeded to the crown by a lawful title, there can be little doubt that his government would have been productive of happiness to his subjects, and of prosperity to the nation: but his usurpation of the throne, to the exclusion of the legitimate heir, impelled him to the commission of many acts of violence, which reflect disgrace on his memory. Authority obtained by injustice is commonly preserved by oppression. On his accession, he had been induced to grant a charter of privileges, which his necessities soon urged him to infringe. After this violation of a solemn oath, (a thing too much practised in those days, under the idea of policy or necessity) it is not surprizing that he should have been guilty of many subsequent breaches of gratitude. Yet, notwithstanding his precarious situation, he never indulged himself in the exercise of cruelty or revenge; and during the short calm which he enjoyed after the treaty with Henry, he made a progress through his dominions; published an edict to restrain all rapine and violence; and disbanded the foreign mercenaries, who had so long preyed upon his subjects. As those vices which ambition engendered were severely punished by the miseries which he experienced, in common with his people, during the greater part of his reign, though we have not much to say in favour of the monarch, we cannot but commiserate the man.

The religious sentiments of Stephen did not form a conspicuous part of his character, though we do not find that he was guilty of any flagrant impiety, if we except the breach of his oaths, which was practised by both parties, as interest or fear preponderated. Of bigotry he had no traces: the reveries of the monks, and the omens of superstition, excited only his contempt.

CHAP. V.

History of the ENGLISH CHURCH *from the Norman Conquest to the Death of Stephen, i. e. from* 1066 *to* 1154.

TOWARDS the close of the Anglo-Saxon government, the church was in a flourishing state. The superstition of many of the kings who reigned prior to the Conquest, had gradually augmented the possessions of the clergy, and multiplied the monastic foundations. The same devotion to the ecclesiastical order which prompted the different sovereigns to increase the endowments of the church, impelled them also to grant such privileges and immunities as raised their spiritual subjects greatly above the temporal inhabitants of the kingdom.

In this state of elevation, opulence, and power, William the First found the English clergy on his acquisition of the crown, in 1066. Though this prince assumed the appearance of religion, expressed an apparent regard for the clerical establishment, and treated the individuals belonging to it with politeness of demeanour, he soon formed the intention of rendering them more subservient to the crown than they had before been, and of obliging them to contribute their full share towards defraying the expences of government, as they certainly ought to have done. He subjected all the lands of the church to the same tenures of barony and knights' service, to which he had reduced the possessions of the laity; an innovation at which the ecclesiastics murmured in vain.

In 1070 the Conqueror introduced baronial tenures among the clergy; the same year was distinguished by the deposition of Stigand, archbishop of Canterbury, and other English prelates as well as abbots, chiefly on account of their being natives; and the king's precedent for introducing the papal jurisdiction into the œconomy of the English church, to which, however, he was not influenced by motives of implicit obedience to the holy see,

(*p*) King Stephen died at Dover, and was buried in the abbey of Feversham in Kent, which he had founded, by the side of his consort Matilda.

see, but by a desire of sheltering his violent deprivation of the English dignitaries under the cloak of the pope's authority. At his requisition, and in his presence, a legatine council assembled at Winchester, in which Eremfrid, bishop of Sion, and two cardinals, named John and Peter, presided, as representatives of pope Alexander II. over the hierarchy of England. In this synod, archbishop Stigand, Agelmar, bishop of Elmham, and several abbots, were formally deposed, on the pretence of their holding a plurality of preferments, of uncanonical election, or of some other delinquency, either frivolous in itself or falsely alleged. In another council convoked by Eremfrid, such further deprivations were made as were agreeable to the wishes of the king, who immediately filled the vacancies with foreign ecclesiastics.

The person whom he selected for the archbishopric of Canterbury, was Lanfranc, a native of Lombardy, who had long resided in the Norman duchy, and had been translated by William from the government of the abbey of Bec to that of Caen, founded by William himself. His great esteem for Lanfranc induced him, on the removal of Stigand, to invite the learned abbot from Normandy, that he might be elevated to the rank of primate of England. He readily accepted the invitation; and, on his arrival in this kingdom, was consecrated by eight suffragans of the see which he came to occupy. He gave an early instance of his desire of maintaining the supremacy of his see; for, when Thomas de Baieux, who had been promoted on the death of Aldred, to the archbishopric of York, applied to the new primate for consecration, he refused to gratify the solicitor, unless he would deliver a written declaration of canonical obedience to the present archbishop of Canterbury and his successors, confirmed by an oath. As Thomas was unwilling to make this submission, Lanfranc withheld from him the ceremony of consecration. This dispute being communicated to the king, he ordered that Thomas should promise, in writing, an absolute obedience to Lanfranc in all points relative to the exercise of Christianity, but not to his successors, unless, in a full investigation of the affair in council, it should be determined against him. Having complied with the royal mandate, he was consecrated by Lanfranc without delay. But the contest for clerical superiority did not rest here. Two years afterwards, in 1072, an assembly of the clergy met at Windsor, for the decision of this point. After a long debate, it was determined, that, though Gregory had ordained that the metropolitan rank of the see of Canterbury should continue only during the life of St. Augustine, and had commanded the erection of archiepiscopal sees at London and York, the precedency of which was to be regulated by the priority of consecration, this decree had been virtually abrogated by the prescriptive practice of all the successors of Augustine, who had constantly acted as primates of all England, extending their authority over the archbishops of York, without regard to priority of appointment. It was also proved, that the superiority of the archbishop of Canterbury over all the churches of Britain had been acknowledged by several of the pontiffs who had succeeded Gregory. It was decreed by the council, that the Humber should form the boundary between the provinces of Canterbury and York; that the occupant of the latter see should attend with his suffragans at any council to which he might be summoned by the archbishop of Canterbury, whom he was bound to serve in Christian obedience; and that he should give a written acknowledgement of the supremacy of the see of Canterbury, to which he should even swear, if the primate should require such a function. This determination was highly agreeable to Lanfranc, who now received a paper from the archbishop of York, professing a complete obedience in spiritual affairs to him and his successors.

Lanfranc held many councils during his archiepiscopate; but, as it would be superfluous to enumerate all the canons enacted under his auspices, (or rather under those of the Conqueror, who would not suffer a single measure to be proposed in convocation, unless it had been stamped with his prior assent), we shall content ourselves with mentioning the most curious and important ones.

It is probable that the clergy still found a difficulty in procuring tithes; for, it was deemed expedient, in one of Lanfranc's synods, to pass a specific canon, enjoining the payment of these dues. In another, it was enacted, that every person who had killed one or more men in the battle of Hastings, should do penance one year for every individual who had fallen by his hands; and that a penance of forty days for every man who had been wounded in that engagement, should be imposed on the soldier who had inflicted the wounds. Many other penances were ordained in the same council for offences of the military kind (*q*).

In another synod, held in 1075, all clergymen were prohibited from sitting in judgement in a cause which affected life or limb. This was doubtless intended to shew, that the purity of the clerical character was so remote from the idea of bloodshed, as to be wholly unconcerned with any sanguinary process. The spirit of this canon is still observed.

Several attempts had been made by the popes to introduce celibacy among all the members of the church, that the absence of secular connexions might render them more independent of the temporal power, and attach them the more to the exclusive interests of their own order. In the reign of Edgar, as we have before seen, this mode of life had been adopted in the greater part of the monasteries and cathedrals. But it was not yet universal even among the monks, and had made very little progress among the secular or parochial clergy. Gregory VII. who now filled the papal chair, was a strenuous promoter of this scheme, which he enforced by repeated canons. Lanfranc was also a zealous advocate for it; and he procured, in 1076, the enactment of a law, ordaining, that no monk, canon, or prebendary, should be allowed to have wife; that such priests as lived in castles, towns, or villages, should not enter into the matrimonial state, but that those who were already married might retain their wives; and that bishops should not give holy orders to any married persons, or to one who would not promise to refrain from matrimony. In the same council, a canon was enacted against the supplantation of churches. Among the Anglo-Saxons, lands were frequently conveyed by the delivery of a sword, a staff, an arrow, a cup, &c. without any written instrument; and the Conqueror and his nobles, taking advantage of this insufficiency of evidence, endeavoured to supplant the churches and monasteries, by seizing those lands to which a right of property could not be proved by written testimony. To guard against this supplantation, many deeds and charters were forged by the clergy; and, with a view of giving additional security to the lands of the church, a statute was now particularly directed against the rapacity of the supplanters.

Of the changes which William I. made in the constitution of the English church, the most important was about the year 1085, when he separated the ecclesiastical from the civil courts. In the Saxon times, every earl or governor of a shire presided in the county-court with the bishops of the diocese; and the causes and offences both of the clergy and laity were there tried. But the persuasions of the Norman prelates, who wished to establish a separate jurisdiction for the church, prevailed on William to confine clerical causes to the determination of the prelates and archdeacons. This measure tended to promote the independence of the church on the civil power, and encourage the encroachments of the see of Rome, appeals to which from the ecclesiastical courts were likely to become frequent, disunited as they now were from the temporal judicature.

Lanfranc, after having presided over the English church nearly nineteen years, died in 1089, the second year of the reign of William Rufus, to whom he had been preceptor. He acquired a great reputation for piety, munificence, ability, and erudition; but he degraded his understanding by his zealous adoption of the ridiculous tenet of transubstantiation, which was introduced into the English creed by his efforts and patronage. He not only recommended this doctrine in his discourses, but wrote an elaborate treatise in defence of it against the learned Berenger, archdeacon of Angers, who had ably combated the absurdities of that idea.

The primacy remained unoccupied about four years, during which period William Rufus enjoyed the revenues

(*q*) Here it is necessary to remark, that the most usual penances were these, viz. fasting, pilgrimage, frequent lamentations, abstinence from the luxury of a soft bed or agreeable clothing, &c. These and other penetential inflictions might be redeemed by the payment of such sums as the bishop of the diocese should appoint, by the copious distribution of alms, or by the erecting or endowing a church or a monastery, of

of his see. This monarch, by way of jocular apology for his practice of retaining vacant ecclesiastical dignities in his own hands, observed, that Christ's bread was sweet and delicious, and therefore very proper for kings. It was not till he was reduced to a state of despondency by an alarming indisposition, in 1093, that he consented to divest himself of the future revenues of the archbishopric of Canterbury, by conferring that dignity on Anselm, abbot of Bec. He, at the same time, filled up the opulent see of Lincoln, and restored the church-lands which he had arbitrarily taken possession of.

The dissensions between William Rufus and archbishop Anselm having been mentioned in the civil history, it is unnecessary to recapitulate them here. When the disputes had driven the primate to the continent, in 1097, the king seized the temporalities of his see, and applied the income to his own use during the remainder of his reign. No alterations were made in the discipline or doctrines of the church; for this prince would not suffer any councils to be called for the regulation of ecclesiastical affairs. But his successor, who affected a regard for religion, was more attentive to the concerns of the church. Having recalled Anselm to his see, he permitted him to hold a synod at Westminster, in 1102, when six abbots were deposed for simoniacal practices, though some of them were afterwards restored by a repetition of the same crime for which they had been removed from their dignities. Three other abbots were deposed by the same authority for different offences. This assembly went a step further than any former synod had proceeded, with respect to the marriage of the clergy; for it was now ordained, that no clergyman of any denomination should take a wife, or retain one whom he had already espoused; and that any priest who should (r) not comply with this canon, should be incapacitated from celebrating mass, or performing sacerdotal functions. By other canons of this council, it was decreed, that persons who were related within the seventh degree should not be coupled in matrimony; that clergymen should be shaven in the crown of the head; that every person should take care to prevent his hair from over-shadowing his eyes, or covering his ears; besides a variety of other ordinances, partly frivolous, and partly judicious.

The contest between Henry and the court of Rome, concerning the investiture and homage of prelates and abbots, continued for the first seven years of his reign. It was then decided, in 1107, to the prejudice of the king, who was constrained to relinquish the prerogative of investiture, though he afterwards recovered it during the pontificate of Calistus II.

The clergy of England being extremely averse to a compliance with the late canons against their marriage, a national council was convened for the purpose of enforcing those decrees in 1108. It was enacted by this assembly, that no woman should dwell on ground belonging to the church; that those clergymen who presumed to live in the married state should be divested of their spiritual office, deprived of their movable goods, excommunicated and declared infamous; and that such deans and archdeacons as should take money for dispensing with those statutes, or should refuse to swear that they would not accept bribes in this way, should be subjected to a privation of their dignities. But, though deans and archdeacons were prohibited from taking money for a relaxation of the rigour of those provisions, the king himself did not scruple to receive bribes from those ecclesiastics who wished to retain wives!

Anselm was as tenacious of the supremacy of his see, as his predecessor Lanfranc had been. On the death of Girard archbishop of York, one Thomas was appointed by the king to succeed him; but this ecclesiastic, being no less eager than his kinsman Thomas of Baieux to avoid the humiliating declaration of canonical obedience to the see of Canterbury, declined, on various pretences, a visit to Anselm for consecration. The primate, suspecting the intentions of Thomas, who, with a view of eluding the odious submission, had sent to Rome for a pall, not only wrote a peremptory letter to the archbishop elect, commanding him to come to Canterbury to be consecrated, but dispatched an express to the pope, requesting him not to gratify Thomas with a pall before he had received lawful consecration, and had professed obedience to the primacy. Not content with these demonstrations of firmness, he sent circular letters to all the bishops of the kingdom, giving them a strict injunction not to consecrate the refractory Thomas, or hold communion with him, if he should procure consecration from any foreign prelates. While this dispute remained undecided, Anselm resigned his breath, in 1109, with the character of a learned and zealous defender of all the claims advanced by the see of Rome, however absurd or extravagant. Soon after his decease, Thomas was compelled, by the determination of the king and his council, to give, under his hand and seal, a solemn profession of obedience to the see of Canterbury, with a reserve of his allegiance to his sovereign, and of the submission which he owed to the pope. He was then consecrated by the bishop of London, "receiving from the servant (says Eadmer) what he refused to receive from the master." He then exercised that imperfect superiority which had been allowed him over the church of Scotland, by consecrating Turgot, who had been nominated to the see of St. Andrews.

On the death of Anselm, Henry, in imitation of the example of his brother William Rufus, seized the estates of the see of Canterbury, and kept them in his own hands for five years. He then proposed to fill the important station with a new incumbent; and Ralph, bishop of Rochester, being honoured with the choice of the monks of Canterbury, in 1114, was confirmed in the primacy by the king, and the bishops of the province. The translation of this prelate having been settled without the concurrence of pope Pascal, he was greatly offended at such a neglect of his pontifical authority; and, when he sent a pall for the new archbishop, which he for some time refused to grant, he wrote a letter of reproof and menace, addressed to the king and the prelates of England.

The same year which gave a new primate to the kingdom, exhibited a new archbishop of York, in the person of Thurstan, whose obstinacy revived the contest between the two sees. To dwell on the display of clerical ambition, pride, and pertinacity, would be superfluous: suffice it to say, that Thurstan, being commanded by Henry and his council to profess a due obedience to the church of Canterbury, on pain of forfeiting the see to which he had been elected, embraced the latter alternative; that, repenting of this step, he in vain solicited the king to restore him, till the pope had issued his mandate for that purpose; that he still persisted in refusing to make the submissions required by the primate; that he procured consecration at Rheims, in 1119, from pope Calistus, as well as the honour of the pall; that, being prohibited from returning either into England or Normandy, he remained in France about a year and a half, and then recovered his see without any declaration of obedience, in consequence of the pope's having, in 1121, threatened the king with excommunication, the primate with suspension, and the realm with an interdict.

Ralph, who was not inferior to Anselm or Lanfranc in piety, learning, or spirit, was succeeded in the archbishopric by William de Corboil, who was elected in 1123, the year after his predecessor's death. The new archbishop, when he repaired to Rome for his pall, endeavoured to obtain from the pope a final decision in favour of the superiority of his see over that of York; but Calistus was unwilling to comply with his solicitations.

The see of Rome, for many years had been labouring to establish her authority over the church of England, by introducing her legates into that kingdom. But though William I. had permitted a papal legation when it coincided with his private views, neither the exhortations of Alexander II. who had promoted that prince's designs on the English throne, nor the enterprizing arrogance of Gregory VII. could prevail on him to receive a legate in ordinary, or acquiesce in other encroachments meditated by the holy see. His son William Rufus was equally inflexible to the demands and menaces of the papal court; and his brother Henry, for some time, boldly resisted the idea of a Romish legation, having denied a reception to several ecclesiastics who had been sent at different times to officiate as the representatives of the pope. At length, however, he consented in 1125, to admit the cardinal John de Crema in that capacity, from an unwillingness to exasperate the sovereign pontiff (Honorius II.) who, he apprehended, might be induced, by his refusal, to patronize the claim of duke Robert's son, that prince being then in arms against his royal uncle.

The cardinal legate on his arrival in England, made a progress through some of the dioceses, and afterwards presided in a council at Westminster, which was numerously

(r) See the reign of Henry I. supra.

rously attended. Among other canons of this synod, there was one which prohibited the marriage of ecclesiastics of every denomination: for the neglect of the former statutes on this subject rendered it necessary, in the legate's opinion, to enforce them by the papal authority. In a speech which he addressed to the assembly he inveighed against the lewdness and immorality of those churchmen who lived in a state of matrimony, and affirmed it to be "the height of impiety for a priest to make the body of Christ when he had lately risen from the side of a prostitute;" for it was the custom of the bigots of those times to give that opprobrious appellation to the wives of the clergy. In the evening of the same day, the cardinal himself, after he had administered the eucharist, was detected in the enjoyment of amorous intercourse with a professed courtezan. The shame of this discovery, which was immediately propagated over the kingdom, so confounded the legate, that he abruptly made his retreat to the continent. This adventure afforded cause of triumph to the married clergy, and gave them some respite from the strict execution of the laws against them.

After the separation of the late council, the archbishops of Canterbury and York repaired to Rome, to treat with the pope on the dispute between the two sees. The superior influence of Thurstan procured a bull for the exemption of himself and his successors from all dependence on the see of Canterbury, and for establishing a perfect equality between the two prelates, except that the point of precedency should be enjoyed by the one who had first received consecration. Mortified by this decision, William, though he had been desired to remonstrate with his holiness on his invasion of the independence of the English church by the delegation of his representative, consented to accept a commission from Honorius in 1127, appointing him the papal legate for the whole kingdom of England, by which he expected to recover a full superiority over the archbishop of York and the suffragans of that see. By his acceptance of the legatine character, he betrayed the true interests of the church over which he presided, sunk his independent metropolitan dignity in the office of deputy to a foreign priest, and completed the subjection of the national church to the decrees of one who had no shadow of right to exercise any jurisdiction over it. Before he thus degraded himself, he had a plenary authority, by prescriptive claim, and royal confirmation, over all the dioceses of England; an authority which no papal bulls could either augment or diminish, if the spirit of the sovereign and the nation had been properly exerted.

Soon after his return from Rome, William, eager to preside in his legatine capacity, summoned a general council of the English and Welsh clergy, in which he enacted severe laws against that "plague of the church," the marriage of ecclesiastics. But the clergy still continuing to neglect the prohibition, another synod was convoked in 1129, when the king was present. It was decreed on this occasion, that those clergymen who should either marry in future, or refuse to dismiss the wives with whom they now cohabited, should be expelled from their churches and houses, and be declared incapable of ever filling any ecclesiastical department. Henry, however, deprived this canon of its efficacy, by drawing into his own coffers a pecuniary compensation for the infringement of it.

During the schism in the papacy, which commenced on the death of Honorius, in 1130, for whose tiara a cardinal named Peter, who assumed the distinction of Ancletus, powerfully contended with Innocent II. which lasted eight years, the English church was not disturbed by the arrogant claims of the court of Rome. William's legatine authority having expired with Honorius, he directed the affairs of the church in his original character of metropolitan.

As the prelates of this kingdom, induced by the promises of Stephen to violate their oaths to the empress Matilda, concurred in the usurpation of that prince, he particularly favoured the clerical order in the charter which he granted at Oxford within a few months after his coronation, in 1136. William, who either believed, or pretended to believe, the perjured assertion of the earl of Norfolk, importing that king Henry, on his death-bed, had absolved his subjects of the oaths which they had taken in Matilda's favour, had anointed and crowned Stephen; but he did not survive the performance of that ceremony above a year; and, at his decease, the king, in direct contravention of one of the articles of his charter, kept the archbishopric in his own hands for two years. The vacancy was then supplied with Theobald, abbot of Bec, in 1138, principally by the influence of Alberic, bishop of Ostia, whom Innocent, presuming on the favour which he had shewn to Stephen by granting him a bull to confirm his usurpation, had sent over to interfere in the ecclesiastical government.

Prior to the see of Canterbury being conferred on Theobald, Alberic held a national synod at Westminster, in which the laws against the marriage and concubinage of the clergy were renewed, and the receiving of investiture from the hands of a layman was prohibited. Theobald was then elected, with the approbation of the king, to the vacant see, and consecrated by the legate, in 1109, to the great disappointment of Henry, bishop of Winchester, who had expected, from the favour of his brother Stephen, a translation to the metropolitan see. The discontent, however, of this ambitious prelate, was partly removed by the legatine commission which he now received from the pope, and which gave him a superiority over all the prelates of the realm.

While the bishop of Winchester continued in the exercise of his legation, the practice of appealing to Rome began to be more frequent than it had ever been before: and, indeed, as the pope had now established his power of nominating legates, appeals to his immediate jurisdiction were the natural consequences of that concern which he had arrogated in the direction of the English church; for, if the sentence of the deputy did not meet with approbation, the obvious remedy was an appeal to the principal himself.

The regularity of spiritual government was so much impeded by the intestine wars of this reign, that few points of ecclesiastical history occur; and the deliberations of the different synods which assembled after the departure of the bishop of Ostia, had such reference to the temporal business of the nation, that the circumstances and result of their meeting were necessarily mentioned among the civil affairs of this period. The occasional quarrels between Stephen and the dignified clergy have been also assigned to that department; and nothing purely ecclesiastical remains to be recorded, except the long contention for the see of York, between the king's nephew William, treasurer of that church, and Henry Murdoch, abbot of Fountains in that county. The interest of the latter at length prevailed; for, in the council convoked by Eugenius III. at Rheims, in 1148, William was deprived of his see, on pretence of irregular election. He did not recover it before the decease of Murdoch; and then he enjoyed it for a very short time, being removed from the world by a sudden indisposition, in 1154, which was attributed to the effects of poison.

TO the ecclesiastical affairs of this period, *i. e.* from 1066 till 1154, an account of the learned and ingenious men who flourished in the Anglo-Norman times will not be deemed an improper appendix, as erudition and science were then principally confined to that part of the community whose history has been the object of this chapter.

For some time before the conquest, literary and scientific pursuits were in a low state of cultivation among the English, notwithstanding the endeavours of Edward the Confessor, and of his learned and accomplished queen Editha, to promote the intellectual benefit of the people. But the arrival of the Normans proved beneficial to the cause of learning, which, at that period, flourished more on the continent than in England. Most of the clergy who accompanied William the First to this kingdom, or who came over after he had established himself on the throne, were far superior to any of the contemporary English in literary acquisitions. Of the ecclesiastics who flourished under this monarch, Lanfranc, archbishop of Canterbury, was the most celebrated for his learning and abilities. He had acquired a high fame for his lectures on logic and scholastic theology before his elevation to the primacy of England, and his defence of transubstantiation procured him the general applause of the advocates of the see of Rome. While he filled the metropolitan chair, he endeavoured to revive among the English a taste for mental improvement; and his efforts seem to have been attended with success.

Archbishop Anselm was one of the pupils of Lanfranc





in the duchy of Normandy; and his subsequent reputation for learning was nearly equal to that of his predecessor. See the reign of Henry I.

Eadmer, a monk of Canterbury, the secretary and confidential friend of Anselm, wrote a history of his own times (from the year 1066 to 1122,) in which he principally dwells on ecclesiastical affairs. Though nearly two-thirds of his work may be rather termed a life of Anselm, than a history of England, there are many political facts interspersed throughout it, by which it is rendered an useful and interesting production. His style is tolerably pure, and sometimes elegant; his arrangement is more methodical and judicious than that of most of our early historians; and, notwithstanding his prejudices in favour of Anselm, and his support of the papal supremacy, he is, upon the whole, an impartial writer. His fame was so great that Alexander I. king of Scotland, sent for him to fill the see of St. Andrews; but, after he had received investiture, he lost his archbishopric by refusing to be consecrated by any prelate except the archbishop of Canterbury; for Alexander would never suffer him to return to it, even when he promised a full compliance with that monarch's will. Turgot, one of the predecessors of Eadmer in the see of St. Andrew's, was an Englishman of learning and merit, and wrote the life of Malcolm Kenmore, king of Scotland, as well as a history of the church of Durham, which Simeon, precentor of that church, published under his own name.

Ingulph, who flourished in the reigns of William the Conqueror, William Rufus, and Henry I. was a man of erudition and capacity; and having acted as secretary to the first of those princes before his invasion of England, he was afterwards promoted by him to the government of Croyland Abbey, affording an exception to the general rule adopted by that monarch, of filling both the civil and ecclesiastical dignities of this kingdom with foreigners; for Ingulph was born in London of Anglo-Saxon parents. He published a well-written history of the abbey over which he presided; a work which contains a variety of particulars respecting the political affairs of England, from the time of Penda, king of Mercia, till the latter end of the eleventh century.

One of the most celebrated divines in the twelfth century was Robert White, who read lectures on theology in the university of Oxford, with such applause and reputation, as procured him an invitation to Rome from pope Celestine the Second, by whose successor Lucius he was elevated to the rank of a cardinal.

Osmund, who was both bishop of Salisbury and earl of Dorset in the reigns of the two Williams, was a learned prelate, as well as an able politician. He is principally known to the literary world by the liturgy which he compiled for the use of his own church, and which was soon adopted in most of the English churches.

Joffrid, who succeeded Ingulph as abbot of Croyland, was a Frenchman of learning, and distinguished himself by sending (as we are informed by Peter of Blois) to his manor of Cottenham, near Cambridge, in 1109, four Norman monks, who employed themselves in teaching the sciences in that town, and thus contributed to the revival (or, as others say, the foundation) of that university.

Florence, a monk of Worcester, was the author of a chronicle, ending at the year 1117. He is much inferior, as a writer to William of Malmesbury, his contemporary, who is justly celebrated as one of the best historians of the middle ages; whose diction has more purity and elegance than could have been expected from the times in which he lived; who has enriched his narrative with a spirit of philosophy, uncommon among the monkish writers; and whose works, though disgraced by the occasional mention of the miracles of superstition, may even give pleasure in the perusal to the fastidious scholars of the present day. Besides five books of civil history, and a short supplement, he wrote a copious biography of the English prelates. He officiated as librarian of the abbey of Malmesbury, where he died before the middle of the twelfth century. The patron of this ingenious monk was Robert, earl of Gloucester, to whom he dedicated his history.

In the same century lived Simeon, precentor of Durham, who was a great collector of historical records, and wrote a chronicle of the kings of England to the year 1130, which was continued to 1156, by John, prior of Hexham. He has borrowed much from Florence of Worcester, who was himself greatly indebted to Marianus Scotus.

Henry, archdeacon of Huntingdon, was no contemptible historian, and was one of the best poets of his time. He was patronized by Alexander, bishop of Lincoln, one of the prelates whose wealth and influence attracted the jealousy and violence of Stephen. About the same time lived Geoffrey of Monmouth, bishop of St. Asaph, the translator, as some think, of a Welsh history of Britain, or, as others suppose, the inventor of most of the fables which appear in the history published under his name.

Ealred or Ethelred, abbot of Rievaulx in Yorkshire, was a writer of some merit, and published a life of Edward the Confessor, a genealogy of the kings of England, and a history of the war between the English and Scots in the reign of Stephen. Contemporary with this abbot was Alfred of Beverley, who, though he has occasionally borrowed from Geoffrey of Monmouth, is, in general, much more deserving of attention than that inventive genius.

Geoffrey, prior of Winchester, is celebrated by William of Malmesbury as an elegant writer, and an ingenious epigrammatist. Though in his epigrams he gave vent to satirical effusions, he was as much inclined to praise as to censure; for he exercised his poetical talents in composing a panegyric on the different primates of England.

William of Poictiers, chaplain to William the First, wrote a history of the Conquest, with less partiality than might have been expected from his situation; and Ordericus Vitalis, who, though a native of England, was a monk of St. Eurolis, in Normandy, was the author of an ecclesiastical history, which includes many of the political transactions of the reigns of the four first Norman kings.

In treating of the literature of this period we ought not to omit mentioning the Saxon Chronicle, one of the most authentic monuments of English history. It is brought down to the last year of Stephen's reign; and chiefly consists of the bare narration of events, unaccompanied with the least detail of causes or circumstances. It was written by different hands, doubtless by Anglo-Saxon ecclesiastics, whose names, however, have not been handed down to us.

BOOK VI.

RESTORATION OF THE SAXON LINE.

THE REIGNS OF HENRY II. RICHARD I. JOHN, HENRY III. EDWARD I. EDWARD II. EDWARD III. AND RICHARD II.

CHAPTER I.

HENRY II.

PREVIOUS to the conquest of England by the duke of Normandy, Great Britain was as much separated from the rest of the world in politics as in situation; and except from the inroads of the Danish pirates, the English, happily confined at home, had neither enemies nor allies on the continent of Europe. The foreign dominions of William connected them with the king and great vassals of France; and while the opposite pretensions of the pope and the emperor in Italy produced a continual intercourse between Germany and that country, the two great monarchs of France and England formed, in another part of this quarter of the globe, a separate system, and carried on their wars and negociations, without meeting either with opposition or support from the other states.

On the decline of the Carlovingian race, the nobles in every province of France, taking advantage of the weakness

ness of the sovereign, and obliged to provide, each for his own defence, against the ravages of the Norman freebooters, had assumed, both in civil and military affairs, an authority almost independent, and had reduced within very narrow limits the prerogative of their princes. The accession of Hugh Capet, by annexing a great fief to the crown, had brought some addition to the royal dignity; but this fief, though considerable for a subject, appeared a narrow basis of power for a prince who was placed at the head of so great a community. The royal demesnes consisted only of Paris, Orleans, Estampes, Compiegne, and a few places scattered over the northern provinces: in the rest of the kingdom, the prince's authority was rather nominal than real: the vassals were accustomed, nay entitled, to make war without his permission, on each other: they were even entitled, if they conceived themselves injured, to turn their arms against their sovereign: they exercised all civil jurisdiction, without appeal, over their tenants and inferior vassals: their common jealousy of the crown easily united them against any attempt on their exorbitant privileges; and as some of them had attained the power and authority of great princes, even the smallest baron was sure of immediate and effectual protection. Besides six ecclesiastical peerages, which, with the other immunities of the church, cramped the general execution of justice; there were six lay peerages, Burgundy, Normandy, Guienne, Flanders, Toulouse, and Champagne, which formed extensive and puissant sovereignties. Although the combination of those princes and barons could, on urgent occasions, muster a mighty power; yet was it very difficult to set that great machine in motion; it was almost impossible to preserve harmony in its parts; a sense of common interest alone could, for a time, unite them under their sovereign against a common enemy; but if the king attempted to turn the force of the community against any mutinous vassal, the same sense of common interest made the others oppose themselves to the success of his pretensions. Louis le Gros, the last sovereign, marched at one time to his frontiers against the Germans at the head of an army of two hundred thousand men; but a petty lord of Corboil, of Puiset, of Couci, was able, at another period, to set that prince at defiance, and to maintain open war against him.

The authority of the English monarch was more extensive within his kingdom, and the disproportion greater between him and the most powerful of his vassals. His demesnes and revenue were large, compared to the greatness of his state: he was accustomed to levy arbitrary exactions on his subjects: his courts of judicature extended their jurisdiction into every part of the kingdom: he could crush by his power, or by a judicial sentence, well or ill founded, any baron that had become disagreeable in his conception: and though the feudal institutions which prevailed in his kingdom, had the same tendency as in other states, to exalt the aristocracy and depress the monarchy, it required, in England, according to its present constitution, a great combination of the vassals to oppose their sovereign lord, and there had not hitherto arisen any baron so powerful as of himself to levy war against the prince, and afford protection to the inferior barons.

While such were the different situations of France and England, and the latter enjoyed so many advantages above the former; the accession of Henry II. a prince of great abilities, possessed of so many rich provinces on the continent, might appear an event dangerous, if not fatal, to the French monarchy, and sufficient to break the balance between the states. He was master, in the right of his father, of Anjou and Touraine; in that of his mother, of Normandy and Maine; in that of his wife, of Guienne, Poictou, Xaintonge, Auvergne, Perigord, Angoumois, and the Limousin. He soon after annexed Bretagne to his other states, and was already possessed of the superiority over that province, which, on the first cession of Normandy to Rollo the Dane, had been granted by Charles the Simple, in vassalage to that formidable ravager. These provinces composed above a third of the whole French monarchy, and were much superior in extent and opulence to those territories which were subjected to the immediate jurisdiction and government of the king. The vassal was here more powerful than his liege lord: the situation which had enabled Hugh Capet to depose the Carlovingian princes, seemed to be renewed, and that with much greater advantages on the side of the vassal: and when England was added to so many provinces, the French king had reason to apprehend, from this conjuncture, some great disaster to himself and to his family; but, in reality, it was this circumstance, which appeared so formidable, that saved the Capetian race, and by its consequences exalted them to that pitch of grandeur which they enjoyed till the decapitation of Louis XVI.

The limited authority of the prince in the feudal constitutions, hindered the king of England from employing with advantage the force of so many states, which were subjected to his government; and these different members, disjoined in situation, and disagreeing in laws, language, and manners, were never thoroughly cemented into one monarchy. He soon became, both from his distant place of residence, and from the incompatibility of interests, a kind of foreigner to his French dominions; and his subjects on the continent considered their allegiance as more naturally due to their superior lord, who lived in their neighbourhood, and who was acknowledged to be the supreme head of their nation. He was always at hand to invade them; their immediate lord was often at too great a distance to protect them; and any disorder in any part of his dispersed dominions gave advantages against him. The other powerful vassals of the French crown were rather pleased to see the expulsion of the English, and were not affected with that jealousy which would have arisen from the oppression of a co-vassal who was of the same rank with themselves. By this means the king of France found it more easy to conquer those numerous provinces from England, than to subdue a duke of Normandy and Guienne, a count of Anjou, Maine, or Poictou. And after reducing such extensive territories, which immediately incorporated with the body of the monarchy, he found greater facility in uniting to the crown the other great fiefs which still remained separate and independent.

But as these important consequences could not be foreseen by human wisdom, the king of France remarked with terror the rising grandeur of the house of Anjou or Plantagenet; and, in order to retard its progress, he had ever maintained a strict union with Stephen, and had endeavoured to support the tottering fortunes of that usurper. But after this prince's death it was too late to think of opposing the succession of Henry, or preventing the performance of those stipulations which, with the consent of the nation, he had made with his predecessor. The English, harassed with civil wars, and disgusted with the bloodshed and depredations which, during the course of so many years, had attended them, were little disposed to violate their oaths, by excluding the lawful heir from the succession. Many of the most considerable fortresses were in the hands of his partizans: the whole nation had seen the noble qualities with which he was endued, and probably compared them with the mean talents of William, the son of Stephen; and as they were acquainted with his great power, and were rather pleased to see the accession of so many foreign dominions to the crown of England, they never entertained the least idea of resisting them. Henry himself, sensible of the advantages attending his present situation, was in no hurry to arrive in England; and being engaged in the siege of a castle on the frontiers of Normandy, belonging to one of the refractory barons, when he received intelligence of Stephen's death, he made it a point of honour not to depart from his enterprize, till he had brought it to an issue.

When he had reduced the castle he repaired to Roüen, where he conferred on the circumstances of his situation with his mother the empress Matilda, as well as with the principal nobility of the duchy; then proceeding to the port of Barfleur, he prepared for his voyage to the dominions which had now devolved to him. After a month's detention, the consequence of contrary winds, he set sail for England, accompanied by his duchess, his two brothers, and a magnificent train of barons. He was welcomed on his arrival in this kingdom, December 8, 1154, with the loudest acclamations, and with grateful effusions of heartfelt joy. The nation hailed him as the restorer of peace and prosperity, for it had long been subject to turmoils and misfortunes.

In the interval between the death of Stephen and the appearance of his successor, Theobald, archbishop of Canterbury, one of Henry's warmest friends, governed the realm at the head of a regency in a very able manner. He afterwards officiated at the coronation of the new king and queen, which was solemnized in the abbey of Westminster, on the 19th of December, with an extraordinary attendance of rank and fashion.

The first act of Henry's government, in the beginning

of 1155, corresponded to the high idea entertained of his abilities, and prognosticated the re-establishment of justice and tranquillity, of which the kingdom had so long been bereaved. He immediately dismissed all those mercenary soldiers who had committed great disorders in the nation during the preceding reign; and he sent them abroad, together with William D'Ypres, their leader, the friend and confidant of Stephen. He revoked all the grants made by his predecessor, even those which necessity had extorted from the empress Matilda; and that princess, who had resigned her rights in favour of Henry, made no opposition to a measure so necessary for supporting the dignity of the crown. In a parliament assembled at London, he granted a charter of liberties, or rather renewed and confirmed that which had been granted by his grandfather Henry the First. He repaired the coin, which had been extremely debased during the reign of his predecessor; and took proper measures against the return of a like abuse. He was rigorous in the execution of justice, and in the suppression of robbery and violence; and that he might restore authority to the laws, he caused all the new-erected castles to be demolished, which had proved so many sanctuaries to freebooters and rebels. The earl of Albemarle, Hugh Mortimer, and Roger, the son of Milo, of Gloucester, were inclined to make some resistance to this salutary measure; but the approach of the king with his forces soon obliged them to submit to his authority. In short, this youthful monarch accomplished more good, and more effectually secured the affections of his subjects, in the first year of his reign, than any other prince had done in the same space of time since the death of Alfred.

To put a stop to the evils of a disputed succession, and secure the crown to his own family, he summoned a great council at Wallingford, the members of which took an oath of fealty to his eldest son William, as the immediate successor of his father, and, in the event of that prince's death, to his second son Henry, then newly born.

Every thing being restored to full tranquillity in England, Henry went abroad in 1156, that he might oppose the attempts of his brother Geoffrey, who, during his absence, had made an incursion into Anjou and Maine, had advanced some pretensions to those provinces, and had got possession of a considerable part of them. On the king's appearance the people returned to their allegiance; and Geoffrey, resigning his claim for an annual pension of a thousand pounds, departed and took possession of the county of Nantes, which the inhabitants, who had expelled count Hoël their prince, had put into his hands. Henry returned to England in the spring of 1157, and entered into a negociation with Malcolm IV. king of Scotland, whose inability to contend with so formidable an adversary obliged him to relinquish the northern counties which the Scottish monarchs had hitherto held of the English crown: these were Northumberland, Cumberland, and Westmoreland.

The incursions of the Welsh then provoked him to make an invasion upon them; where the natural fastnesses of the country occasioned him great difficulties, and even brought him into danger. His vanguard, being engaged in a narrow pass, was put to rout: Henry de Essex, the hereditary standard-bearer, seized with a panic, threw down the standard, took to flight, and exclaimed that the king was slain; and had not the prince immediately appeared in person, and led on his troops with great gallantry, the consequence might have proved fatal to the whole army. For this misbehaviour, Essex was six years afterwards, impeached in form by Robert de Montfort, and a trial by duel taking place, the accused person was vanquished, but was saved from the capital punishment of his guilt by the clemency of the king, who permitted him to become a monk in the abbey of Reading, while his ample estates were confiscated, as he was disqualified, by the rigour of the laws of chivalry, for holding lands by barony or knight-service. The submissions of the Welsh procured them an accommodation with England.

The martial disposition of the princes in that age engaged them to head their own armies in every enterprize, even the most frivolous; and their feeble authority made it commonly impracticable for them to delegate, on occasion, the command to their generals. Geoffrey, the king's brother, died soon after he had acquired possession of Nantes: though he had no other title to that county than the voluntary submission or election of the inhabitants two years before Henry laid claim to the territory as devolved to him by hereditary right, and he went over in 1158 to support his pretensions by force of arms. Conan, duke or earl of Bretagne (for these titles are given indifferently by historians to those princes), pretended that Nantes had been lately separated by rebellion from his principality, to which of right it belonged; and immediately on Geoffrey's death he took possession of the disputed territory. Lest Louis the French king should interpose in the controversy, Henry paid him a visit; and so illured him by caresses and civilities, that an alliance was contracted between them; and they agreed that young Henry, heir to the English monarchy, should be affianced to Margaret, daughter of Louis, by his second wife Constantia, of Castile; though the former was only five years of age, the latter was still in her cradle. Henry, now secure of meeting with no interruption on this side, advanced with his army into Bretagne; and Conan, in despair of being able to make resistance, delivered up the county of Nantes to him. The able conduct of the king procured him more important advantages from this incident. Conan, harassed with the turbulent disposition of his subjects, was desirous of procuring to himself the support of so great a monarch; and he betrothed his daughter and only child, yet an infant, to Geoffrey, the king's third son, who was of the same tender years. The duke of Bretagne died about seven years after; and Henry, being mesne lord, and also natural guardian to his son and daughter-in-law, put himself in possession of that principality, and annexed it for the present to his other extensive dominions.

The king had a prospect of making still farther acquisitions; and the activity of his temper suffered no opportunity of that kind to escape him. Philippa, duchess of Guienne, mother queen of Eleanor, was the only issue of William IV. count of Toulouse; and would have inherited his dominions, had not that prince, desirous of preserving the succession in the male line, conveyed the principality to his brother Raymond de St. Gilles, by a contract of sale which was in that age regarded as fictitious and illusory. By this means the title to the county of Toulouse came to be disputed between the male and female heirs; and the one or the other, as opportunities favoured them, had obtained possession. Raymond, grandson of Raymond de St. Gilles, was the reigning sovereign; and on Henry's reviving his wife's claim, this prince had recourse for protection to the king of France, who was so much concerned in policy to prevent the farther aggrandizement of the English monarch. Louis himself, when married to Eleanor, had asserted the justice of her claim, and had demanded possession of Toulouse; but his sentiments changing with his interest, he now determined to defend by his power and authority the title of Raymond. Henry found that it would be requisite to support his pretensions against potent antagonists; and that nothing but a formidable army could maintain a claim which he had in vain asserted by arguments and manifestos.

An army, composed of feudal vassals, was commonly very intractable and undisciplined, both because of the independent spirit of the persons who served in it, and because the commands were not given, either by the choice of the sovereign, or from the military capacity and experience of the officers. Each baron conducted his own vassals; and the rank which he bore in the army was greater or less, proportioned to the extent of his property: even the supreme command under the prince was often attached to birth; and as the military vassals were obliged to serve only forty days at their own charge, (though, if the expedition were distant, they were put to great expence), the prince reaped little advantage from their attendance. Henry, sensible of these inconveniences, levied upon his vassals in Normandy, and other provinces which were remote from Toulouse, a sum of money in lieu of their service; and this commutation, by reason of the great distance, was still more advantageous to his English vassals. He imposed, therefore, in 1159, a scutage of one thousand eight hundred pounds on the knights' fees, a commutation to which, though it was unusual, and the first perhaps to be met with in history, the military tenants willingly submitted; and with this money he levied an army which was more under his command, and whose service was more durable and constant. Assisted by Berenger, count of Barcelona, and Trincaval, count of Nismes, whom he had gained to his party, he invaded the county of Toulouse; and after taking Verdun, Castlenau, and other places, he besieged the capital of the province, and was likely to prevail in the enterprize; when Louis, advancing before the arrival of his main body, threw himself into the place with a small reinforcement. Henry

was urged by some of his ministers to prosecute the siege, to take Louis prisoner, and to impose his own terms in the pacification; but he either thought it so much his interest to maintain the feudal principles, by which his foreign dominions were secured, or bore so much respect to his superior lord, that he declared he would not attack a place defended by him in person; and he immediately raised the siege. He marched into Normandy to protect that province against an incursion which the count of Dreux, instigated by king Louis his brother, had made upon it. War was now openly carried on between the two monarchs, but produced no memorable event: it soon ended in a cessation of arms, and that followed by a peace, which was not, however, attended with any confidence or good correspondence between those rival princes. The ratification of the articles took place in October, 1160; when prince Henry did homage to the king of France for the duchy of Normandy. The fortress of Gisors, being part of the dowry stipulated to Margaret of France, had been consigned by agreement to the knights templars, on condition that it should be delivered into Henry's hands after the celebration of the nuptials. The king, that he might have a pretence for immediately demanding the place, ordered the marriage to be solemnized between the prince and princess, though both infants; and he engaged the grand-master of the templars, by large presents, as was generally suspected, to put him in possession of Gisors. Louis resenting this conduct, banished the templars, and would have made war upon the king of England, had it not been for the mediation and authority of pope Alexander III. who had been chased from Rome by the anti-pope Victor IV. and resided at that time in France. The terms of the late treaty were accordingly renewed about Midsummer, 1161. That we may form an idea of the authority possessed by the Roman pontiff during those ages, it may be proper to observe that the two kings had, the year before, met the pope at the castle of Torci on the Loire; and they gave him such marks of respect, that both dismounted to receive him, and holding each of them one of the reins of his bridle, walked on foot by his side, and conducted him in that submissive manner into the castle. "A spectacle," cries Baronius in an ecstacy, "to God, angels, and men; and such as had never before been exhibited to the world!"

Henry, soon after he had accommodated his differences with Louis, by the pope's mediation, returned to England in 1163, where he was received, after an absence of nearly four years, with demonstrations of general joy. Rees ap Griffith, prince of South Wales, having ravaged the possessions of the English in that principality, on pretence that Henry had not strictly adhered to his treaty with him, the king, with that activity which marked his character, advanced into the county of Brecknock, where without bloodshed, he intimidated Rees into submission, and again received the homage and fealty of that prince.

Henry then turned his attention to civil affairs; and, by his command, a general inquisition was taken throughout England, for ascertaining the number of baronies and knight's fees, both at the time of Henry the First's death, and in the present year; and for accurately determining the various services and payments due to the crown. A new survey of this kind was rendered necessary by the confusions of the late reign, and the artful practices which had been adopted for evading a full contribution to the exigences of the state.

Soon after his return to England he commenced an enterprize, which, though required by sound policy, and even conducted in the main with prudence, bred him great disquietude, involved him in danger, and was not concluded without some loss and dishonour.

The usurpations of the clergy, which had at first been gradual, were now become so rapid, and had mounted to such a height, that the contest between the regale and pontificale was really arrived at a crisis in England; and it became necessary to determine whether the king or the priests, particularly the archbishop of Canterbury, should be sovereign of the kingdom. The aspiring spirit of Henry, which gave inquietude to all his neighbours, was not likely long to pay a tame submission to the encroachments of subjects; and as nothing opens the eyes of men so readily as their interest, he was in no danger of falling, in this respect, into that abject superstition which retained his people in subjection. From the commencement of his reign, in the government of his foreign dominions, as well as of England, he had shown a fixed purpose to repress clerical usurpations, and to maintain those prerogatives which had been transmitted to him by his predecessors. During the schism of the papacy between Alexander and Victor, he had determined, for some time, to remain neuter: and when informed that the archbishop of Roüen, and the bishop of Mans, had, from their own authority, acknowledged Alexander as legitimate pope, he was so enraged, that though he spared the archbishop on account of his great age, he immediately issued orders for overthrowing the houses of the bishop of Mans and archdeacon of Roüen; and it was not till he had deliberately examined the matter, by those views which usually enter into the councils of princes, that he allowed that pontiff to exercise authority over any of his dominions. In England, the mild character and advanced years of Theobald, archbishop of Canterbury, together with his merits in refusing to put the crown on the head of Eustace, son of Stephen, prevented Henry, during the life-time of that primate, from taking any measures against the multiplied encroachments of the clergy; but after his death, the king resolved to exert himself with more activity; and that he might be secure against any opposition, he advanced to that dignity Becket (*s*), his chancellor, on the 3rd of June, 1162, of whose compliance he thought he could entirely depend.

Thomas à Becket, the first man of English descent who, since the Norman conquest, had, during the course of a whole century, risen to any considerable station, was born, in 1119, of reputable parents in the city of London; and being endowed both with industry and capacity, he early insinuated himself into the favour of archbishop Theobald, and obtained from that prelate some preferments and offices. By their means he was enabled to travel for improvement to Italy, where he studied the civil and canon law at Bologna; and on his return he appeared to have made such proficiency in knowledge, that he was promoted by his patron to the archdeaconry of Canterbury, an office of considerable trust and profit. He was afterwards employed with success by Theobald in transacting business at Rome; and on Henry's accession he was recommended to that monarch as worthy of farther preferment. Henry, who knew that Becket had been instrumental in supporting that resolution of the archbishop, which had tended so much to facilitate his own advancement to the throne, was already prepossessed in his favour; and finding, on further acquaintance, that his spirit and abilities entitled him to any trust, he soon promoted him to the dignity of chancellor, one of the first civil offices in the kingdom. The chancellor, in that age, besides the custody of the great seal, had possession of all vacant prelacies and abbies; he was the guardian of all such minors and pupils as were the king's tenants; all baronies which escheated to the crown were under his administration; he was entitled to a place in council, even though he were not particularly summoned; and as he exercised also the office of secretary of state, and it belonged to him to countersign all commissions, writs, and letters-patent, he was a kind of prime minister, and was concerned in the dispatch of every business of importance. Besides exercising this high office, Becket, by the favour of the king or archbishop, was made provost of Beverley, dean of Hastings, and constable of the Tower: he was put in possession of the honours of Eye and Berkham, large baronies that had escheated to the crown: and to complete his grandeur, he was entrusted with the education of prince Henry, the king's eldest son, and heir of the monarchy. The pomp of his retinue, the sumptuousness of his furniture, the luxury of his table, the munificence of his presents, corresponded to these great preferments; or rather exceeded any thing that England had ever before seen in any subject. His historian and secretary, Fitz-Stephens, mentions, among other particulars, that his apartments were every day in winter covered with clean straw or hay, and in summer with green rushes or boughs; lest the gentlemen who paid court to him, and who could not, by reason of their great number, find a place at table, should soil their fine clothes by sitting on a dirty floor (*t*). A great number of knights were retained in his service; the greatest barons

(*s*) Thomas à Becket had enjoyed the office of chancellor five years, and was about the age of forty-three when he was advanced to the primacy.

(*t*) John Baldwin held the manor of Oterasfee, in Aylesbury, of the king in soccage, by the service of finding litter for the king's bed, *viz.* in summer grass or herbs, and two grey geese; and in winter, straw, and three eels, thrice in the year, if the king should come thrice in the year to Aylesbury. *Madox, Bar. Anglica*, p. 247.

were proud of being received at his table; his house was a place of education for the sons of the chief nobility; and the king himself frequently vouchsafed to partake of his entertainments. As his way of life was splendid and opulent, his amusements and occupations were gay, and partook of the cavalier spirit, which, as he had only taken deacon's orders, he did not think unbefitting his character. He employed himself at leisure hours in hunting, hawking, gaming, and horsemanship; he exposed his person in several military actions; he carried over, at his own charge, seven hundred knights to attend the king in his wars at Toulouse; in the subsequent wars on the frontiers of Normandy he maintained, during forty days, twelve hundred knights, and four thousand of their train; and in an embassy to France, with which he was entrusted, he astonished that court by the number and magnificence of his retinue.

Henry, besides committing all his more important business to Becket's management, honoured him with his friendship and intimacy; and whenever he was disposed to relax himself by sports of any kind, he admitted his chancellor to the party. An instance of their familiarity is mentioned by Fitz-Stephens, which, as it shows the manners of the age, it may not be improper to relate. One day, as the king and the chancellor were riding together in the streets of London, they observed a beggar who was shivering with cold. Would it not be very praiseworthy, said the king, to give that poor man a warm coat in this severe season? It would, surely, replied the chancellor; and you do well, Sir, in thinking of such good actions. Then he shall have one presently, cried the king: and seizing the skirt of the chancellor's coat, which was scarlet, and lined with ermine, began to pull it violently. The chancellor defended himself for some time; and they had both of them like to have tumbled off their horses in the street, when Becket, after a vehement struggle, let go his coat; which the king bestowed on the beggar, who, being ignorant of the quality of the persons, was not a little surprized at the present.

Becket, who by his complaisance and good humour had rendered himself agreeable, and by his industry and abilities, useful to his master, appeared to him the fittest person for supplying the vacancy made by the death of Theobald. As he was well acquainted with the king's intentions of retrenching, or rather confining within the ancient bounds, all ecclesiastical privileges, and always showed a ready disposition to comply with them, Henry, who never expected any resistance from that quarter, immediately issued orders for electing him archbishop of Canterbury. But this resolution, which was taken contrary to the opinion of Matilda, and many of the ministers, drew after it very unhappy consequences; and never prince of so great penetration appeared in the issue to have so little understood the genius and character of his minister.

No sooner was Becket installed in this high dignity, which rendered him for life the second person in the kingdom, with some pretensions of aspiring to be the first, than he totally altered his demeanour and conduct, and endeavoured to acquire the character of sanctity, of which his former busy and ostentatious course of life might, in the eyes of the people, have naturally bereaved him. Without consulting the king, he immediately returned into his hands the commission of chancellor; pretending that he must thenceforth detach himself from secular affairs, and be solely employed in the exercise of his spiritual function; but in reality, that he might break off all connections with Henry, and apprise him, that Becket, as primate of England, was now become entirely a new personage. He maintained, in his retinue, and attendants alone, his ancient pomp and lustre, which was useful to strike the vulgar: in his own person he affected the greatest austerity and most rigid mortification, which he was sensible would have an equal or a greater tendency to the same end. He wore sack-cloth next his skin, which, by his affected care to conceal it, was necessarily the more remarked by every one: he changed it so seldom, that it was filled with dirt and vermin: his usual diet was bread; his drink water, which he even rendered farther unpalatable by the mixture of unsavoury herbs: he tore his back with the frequent discipline which he inflicted on it: he daily on his knees washed, in imitation of Christ, the feet of thirteen beggars, whom he afterwards dismissed with presents: he gained the affections of the monks by his frequent charities to the convents and hospitals: every one who made profession of sanctity was admitted to his conversation, and returned full of panegyrics on the humility, as well as on the piety and mortification of the holy primate: he seemed to be perpetually employed in reciting prayers and pious lectures, or in perusing religious discourses: his aspect wore the appearance of seriousness, and mental recollection, and secret devotion: but all men of the least penetration saw that he was meditating some great design, and that the ambition and ostentation of his character had turned itself towards a new and more dangerous object.

Becket waited not till Henry should commence those projects against the ecclesiastical power, which he knew had been formed by that prince: he was himself the aggressor, and endeavoured to overawe the king by the intrepidity and boldness of his enterprizes. In 1163, he summoned the earl of Clare to surrender the barony of Tunbridge, which ever since the conquest had remained in the family of that nobleman; but which, as it had formerly belonged to the see of Canterbury, Becket pretended his predecessors were prohibited by the canons to alienate. The earl of Clare, besides the lustre which he derived from the greatness of his own birth, and the extent of his possessions, was allied to all the principal families in the kingdom; his sister, who was a celebrated beauty, had farther extended his credit among the nobility, and was even supposed to have gained the king's affections; and Becket could not better discover, than by attacking so powerful an interest, his resolution of maintaining with vigour the rights, real or pretended, of his see.

William de Eynsford, a military tenant of the crown, was patron of a living which belonged to a manor that held of the archbishop of Canterbury: but Becket, without regard to William's right, presented, on a new and illegal pretext, one Laurence to that living, who was violently expelled by Eynsford. The primate making himself, as was usual in spiritual courts, both judge and party, issued in a summary manner the sentence of excommunication against Eynsford, who complained to the king that he who held *in capite* of the crown should, contrary to the practice established by the Conqueror, and maintained ever since by his successors, be subjected to that terrible sentence, without the previous consent of the sovereign. Henry, who had now broken off all personal intercourse with Becket, sent him, by a messenger, his orders to absolve Eynsford, but received for answer, that it belonged not to the king to inform him whom he should absolve and whom excommunicate; and it was not till after many remonstrances and menaces, that Becket, though with the worst grace imaginable, was induced to comply with the royal mandate.

Henry, though he found himself thus grievously mistaken in the character of Becket, determined not to desist from his former intention of retrenching clerical usurpations. He was entirely master of his extensive dominions: the prudence and vigour of his administration, attended with perpetual success, had raised his character above that of any of his predecessors: the papacy seemed to be weakened by a schism which divided all Europe; and he rightly judged, that if the present favourable opportunity were neglected, the crown must, from the prevalent superstition of the people, be in danger of falling into an entire subordination under the mitre.

The union of the civil and ecclesiastical power serves extremely, in every civilized government, to the maintenance of peace and order; and prevents those mutual encroachments which, as there can be no ultimate judge between them, are often attended with the most dangerous consequences. Whether the supreme magistrate, who unites these powers, receive the appellation of prince or prelate, is not material: the superior weight which temporal interests commonly bear in the apprehensions of men above spiritual, renders the civil part of his character most prevalent; and in time prevents those gross impostures and bigoted persecutions, which in all false religions are the chief foundation of clerical authority. But during the progress of ecclesiastical usurpations, the state, by the resistance of the civil magistrate, is naturally thrown into convulsions; and it behoves the prince, both for his own interest, and for that of the public, to provide in time sufficient barriers against so dangerous and insidious a rival. This precaution had hitherto been much neglected in England, as well as in other catholic countries; and affairs at last seemed to have come to a dangerous crisis;

crisis; a sovereign of the greatest abilities was now on the throne: a prelate of the most inflexible and intrepid character was possessed of the primacy: the contending powers appeared to be armed with their full force, and it was natural to expect some extraordinary event to result from their conflict.

Among their other inventions to obtain money, the clergy had inculcated the necessity of penance as an atonement for sin; and having again introduced the practice of paying them large sums as a commutation, or species of atonement for the remission of those penances, the sins of the people, by these means had become a revenue to the priests; and the king computed, that by this invention alone they levied more money upon his subjects than flowed, by all the funds and taxes, into the royal exchequer. That he might ease the people of so heavy and arbitrary an imposition, Henry required that a civil officer of his appointment should be present in all ecclesiastical courts, and should for the future give his consent to every composition which was made with sinners for their spiritual offences.

The ecclesiastics in that age had renounced all immediate subordination to the magistrate: they openly pretended to an exemption in criminal accusations from a trial before courts of justice; and were gradually introducing a like exemption in civil causes: spiritual penalties alone could be inflicted on their offences: and as the clergy had extremely multiplied in England, and many of them were consequently of very low characters, crimes of the deepest dye, murders, robberies, adulteries, rapes, were daily committed with impunity by the ecclesiastics. It had been found, for instance, on enquiry, that no less than a hundred murders had, since the king's accession, been perpetrated by men of that profession, who had never been called to account for these offences; and holy orders were become a full protection for all enormities. A clerk in Worcestershire, having deflowered a gentleman's daughter, had at this time proceeded to murder the father; and the general indignation against this crime moved the king to attempt the remedy of an abuse which was become so palpable, and to require that the clerk should be delivered up, and receive condign punishment from the magistrate (*u*). Becket insisted on the privileges of the church: confined the criminal in the bishop's prison, lest he should be seized by the king's officers; maintained that no greater punishment could be inflicted on him than degradation: and when the king demanded, that immediately after he was degraded he should be tried by the civil power, the primate asserted that it was iniquitous to try a man twice upon the same accusation, and for the same offence.

Henry, laying hold of so plausible a pretence, resolved to push the clergy with regard to all their privileges, which they had raised to an enormous height, and to determine at once those controversies which daily multiplied between the civil and the ecclesiastical jurisdictions. He summoned an assembly of all the prelates in England; and he put to them this concise and decisive question, Whether or not they were willing to submit to the ancient laws and customs of the kingdom? The bishops unanimously replied, that they were willing, "saving their own order:" a device by which they thought to elude the urgency of the king's demand, yet reserve to themselves, on a favourable opportunity, the power of resuming all their pretensions. The king was sensible of the artifice, and was extremely provoked. He left the assembly, with visible marks of displeasure: he required the primate instantly to give up the tuition of the prince royal, and to surrender the honours and castles of Eye and Berkham (*v*): the bishops were terrified, and expected still farther effects of his resentment. Becket alone was inflexible; and nothing but the interposition of the pope's legate and almoner, Philip, who dreaded a breach with so powerful a prince at so unseasonable a juncture, could have prevailed on him to retract the saving clause, and give a general and absolute promise of observing the ancient customs.

But Henry was not content with a declaration in such general terms: he resolved, ere it was too late, to define expressly those customs with which he required compliance, and to put a stop to clerical usurpations before they were fully consolidated, and could plead antiquity, as they already did a sacred authority, in their favour. The claims of the church were open and visible. After a gradual and insensible progress during many centuries, the mask had been taken off, and several ecclesiastical councils, by their canons, which were pretended to be irrevocable and infallible, had positively defined those privileges and immunities, which gave such general offence, and appeared so dangerous to the civil magistrate. Henry therefore deemed it necessary to define with the same precision the limits of the civil power; to oppose his legal customs to their divine ordinances; to determine the exact boundaries of the rival jurisdictions; and for this purpose he summoned a general council of the nobility and prelates at Clarendon, on the 25th of January, 1164, to whom he submitted this great and important question.

The barons were all gained to the king's party, either by the reasons which he urged, or by his superior authority: the bishops were overawed by the general combination against them; and the following laws, commonly called the "Constitutions of Clarendon," were voted without opposition by this assembly. It was enacted, that all suits concerning the advowson and presentation of churches should be determined in the civil courts: that the churches belonging to the king's see should not be granted in perpetuity without his consent: that clerks accused of any crime should be tried in the civil courts: that no person, particularly no clergyman of any rank, should depart the kingdom without the king's license: that excommunicated persons should not be bound to give security for continuing in their present place of abode: that laics should not be accused in spiritual courts, except by legal and reputable promoters and witnesses: that no chief tenant of the crown should be excommunicated, nor his lands be put under an interdict, except with the king's consent: that all appeals in spiritual causes should be carried from the archdeacon to the bishop, from the bishop to the primate, from him to the king; and should be carried no farther without the king's consent: that if any law-suit arose between a layman and a clergyman concerning a tenant, and it be disputed whether the land be a lay or an ecclesiastical fee, it should first be determined by the verdict of twelve lawful men to what class it belonged; and if it be found to be a lay-fee, the cause should finally be determined in the civil courts: that no inhabitant in demesne should be excommunicated for non-appearance in a spiritual court, till the chief officer of the place where he resides be consulted, that he may compel him by the civil authority to give satisfaction to the church: that the archbishops, bishops, and other spiritual dignitaries, should be regarded as barons of the realm; should possess the privileges, and be subjected to the burthens belonging to that rank; and should be bound to attend the king in his great councils, and assist at all trials, till the sentence, either of death or loss of members, be given against the criminal: that the revenue of vacant sees should belong to the king; the chapter, or such of them as he pleases to summon, should sit in the king's chapel till they made the new election with his consent, and that the bishop-elect should do homage to the crown: that if any baron or tenant *in capite* should refuse to submit to the spiritual courts, the king should employ his authority in obliging him to make such submissions; if any of them throw off his allegiance to the king, the prelates should assist the king with their censures in reducing him: that goods forfeited to the king should not be protected in churches or church-yards: that the clergy should no longer pretend to the right of enforcing payment of debts contracted by oath or promise; but should leave these lawsuits, equally with others, to the determination of the civil courts: and that the sons of villans or copy-holders should not be ordained clerks, without the consent of the lord of the manor in which they were born.

(*u*) By a contemporary historian the number of murders committed by clergymen, during the first nine years of Henry's reign, amounted to upwards of a hundred.

(*v*) These castles had been committed to the custody of Becket while he acted as chancellor, but at the time when he resigned the great seal he forgot to return these fortresses to the king: perhaps he thought the possession of these strong holds would be no hindrance to his being solely employed in the exercise of his spiritual function; while his holding the office of chancellor would be an insurmountable barrier to the performing of the duties of his metropolitan office aright. The truth seems to be, that by retaining such appendages of his former elevated station in his hands, he augmented his power and opulence, and therefore he thought there could be no harm in the retention of them.

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These articles, to the number of sixteen, were calculated to prevent the chief abuses which had prevailed in ecclesiastical affairs, and to put an effectual stop to the usurpations of the church, which, gradually stealing on, had threatened the total destruction of the civil power. Henry, therefore, by reducing those ancient customs of the realm to writing, and by collecting them in a body, endeavoured to prevent all future dispute concerning them; and by passing so many ecclesiastical ordinances in a national and civil assembly, he fully established that superiority of the legislature above all papal decrees or spiritual canons, and gained a signal victory over the ecclesiastics. But knowing that the bishops, though overawed by the present combination of the crown and the barons, would take the first favourable opportunity of denying the authority which had enacted these constitutions, he resolved that they should all set their seal to them, and give a promise to observe them. None of the prelates opposed his will, except Becket (*w*), who, though urged by the earls of Cornwall and Leicester, the barons of principal authority in the kingdom, obstinately withheld his assent, and refused to sign his name. At last, Richard de Hastings, grand prior of the templars in England, threw himself on his knees before him; and with many tears entreated him, if he paid any regard either to his own safety or that of the church, not to provoke, by a fruitless opposition, the indignation of a great monarch, who was resolutely bent on his purpose, and who was determined to take full revenge on every one that should dare to oppose him. Becket, finding himself deserted by all the world, even by his own brethren, was at last obliged to comply; and he promised, "legally, with good faith, and without fraud or reserve," to observe the Constitutions; and again took an oath to that purpose. The king, thinking that he had now finally prevailed in this great enterprize, sent the Constitutions to pope Alexander, who then resided in France; and he required that pontiff's ratification of them; but Alexander, who, though he had owed the most important obligations to the king, perceived that these laws were calculated to establish the independency of England on the papacy, and of the royal power on the clergy, condemned them in the strongest terms; abrogated, annulled, and rejected them. There were only six articles, the least important, which, for the sake of peace, he was willing to ratify.

Becket, when he observed that he might hope for support in an opposition, expressed the deepest sorrow for his compliance; and endeavoured to engage all the other bishops in a confederacy to adhere to their common rights, and to the ecclesiastical privileges, in which he represented the interest and honour of God to be so deeply concerned. He redoubled his austerities, in order to punish himself for his criminal consent to the Constitutions of Clarendon: he proportioned his discipline to the enormity of his supposed offence; and refused to exercise any part of his archiepiscopal function, till he should receive absolution from the pope; which was readily granted him. Henry, informed of his present disposition, resolved to take vengeance for this refractory behaviour, and attempted to crush him, by means of that very power which Becket had been so anxious to support. He applied to the pope, requesting him to grant the commission of legate in his dominions to the archbishop of York; but Alexander, as politic as he, though he granted the commission, annexed a clause, that it should not impower the legate to execute any act in prejudice of the archbishop of Canterbury; and the king, finding how fruitless such an authority would prove, sent back the commission by the same messenger that brought it.

The primate, however, who found himself still exposed to the king's indignation, endeavoured twice to escape secretly from the kingdom; but was as often detained by contrary winds; and Henry hastened to make him feel the effects of an obstinacy, which he deemed so criminal. He instigated John, mareschal of the exchequer, to sue Becket in the archiepiscopal court for some lands, part of the manor of Pageham; and to appeal thence to the king's court for justice. On the day appointed for trying the cause, the primate sent four knights to represent certain irregularities in John's appeal; and at the same time to excuse himself, on account of sickness, for not appearing personally that day in the court. This offence was represented as a grievous contempt of court; the four knights were menaced, and with difficulty escaped being sent to prison, as offering falsehoods to the court; and Henry, being determined to prosecute Becket to the utmost, summoned at Northampton a great council, in October, 1164, which he purposed to make the instrument of his vengeance against the inflexible prelate.

The king had raised Becket from a low station to the highest offices, had honoured him with his countenance and friendship, had trusted to his assistance in forwarding his favourite project against the clergy; and when he found him suddenly become his most rigid opponent, while every one beside complied with his will, rage at the disappointment, and indignation against such signal ingratitude, transported him beyond all bounds of moderation; and the bishops themselves concurred in the sentence which was denounced against their primate. In vain did Becket urge, that his court was proceeding with the utmost regularity and justice in trying the mareschal's cause; which, however, he said, would appear from the sheriff's testimony to be entirely unjust and iniquitous: that he himself had discovered no contempt of the king's court; but, on the contrary, by sending four knights to excuse his absence, had virtually acknowledged its authority: that he also, in consequence of the king's summons, personally appeared at present in the great council, ready to justify his cause against the mareschal, and to submit his conduct to their enquiry and jurisdiction: that even should it be found that he had been guilty of non-appearance, the laws had fixed a very slight penalty to that offence; and that, as he was an inhabitant of Kent, where his archiepiscopal palace was seated, he was by law entitled to some greater indulgence than usual in the rate of his fine. These pleas, however, not being admitted, he was condemned as guilty of a contempt of the king's court, and as wanting in the fealty which he had sworn to his sovereign; and all his goods and chattels were confiscated. Henry, bishop of Winchester, the prelate who had been so powerful in the preceding reign, was obliged, by order of the court, to pronounce the sentence against him. The primate submitted to the decree; but the king agreed to take five hundred pounds of him in lieu of the confiscation; and all the prelates, except Gilbert Folliot, bishop of London, became sureties for his payment of the fine.

The king now proceeded to the adduction of other charges against him. Next day, he demanded of Becket the sum of three hundred pounds, which the primate had levied upon the honours of Eye and Berkham, while in his possession. Becket, after premising that he was not obliged to answer to this suit, because it was not contained in his summons; after remarking that he had expended more than that sum in repairs of those castles, and of the royal palace at London; expressed his resolution, that money should not be any ground of quarrel between him and his sovereign: he agreed to pay the sum; and immediately gave sureties for it. In the subsequent meeting, the king demanded the payment of five hundred marks, which he had lent Becket before his promotion to the see of Canterbury; and another sum to the same amount, for which that prince had been surety for him to a Jew of Toulouse. Immediately after these two claims, he preferred a third, of still greater importance: he required him to give in the accounts of his administration while chancellor, and to pay the balance due from the revenues of all the prelacies, abbies, and baronies, which had, during that time, been subjected to his management. Becket observed, that, as this demand was totally unexpected, he had not come prepared to answer it; but he required a delay, and promised in that case to give satisfaction. The king insisted upon sureties; and Becket desired leave to consult his suffragans in a case of such importance.

There is good ground for supposing that Becket had appropriated large sums to his own use; but the king was remiss in not calling him to an account before for his malversations. Two years had since elapsed; no demand had been made upon him; it was not till the quarrel arose concerning ecclesiastical privileges, that the claim was started, and the primate was required to produce his accounts. To find sureties, that he should answer the claim, which in the king's estimation amounted to forty-four thousand marks, was impracticable; and Becket's suffragans were at a loss what counsel to give him in such an emergency. By the advice of the bishop of Winchester he offered two thousand marks as a general satisfaction for all demands; but this offer was rejected by the king. Some prelates exhorted him to resign his see, on condition of receiving an acquittal: others were of opinion, that he ought to submit himself to the king's mercy; but the primate, thus pushed to the utmost, had too much courage to sink under the oppression:

(*w*) It should, however, be remarked, that this prelate had made oath that he would obey the Constitutions of Clarendon.

he determined to brave the storm, to trust to the sacredness of his character for protection, to involve his cause with that of God and religion, and to stand the utmost efforts of royal indignation.

After a few days spent in deliberation, Becket went to church, and said mass, where he had previously ordered, that the introit to the communion service should begin with these words, "Princes sat and spake against me;" the passage appointed for the martyrdom of St. Stephen, whom the primate thereby tacitly pretended to resemble in his sufferings for righteousness' sake. He went thence to court arrayed in his sacred vestments: so soon as he arrived within the palace-gate, he took the cross into his own hands, bore it aloft as his protection, and marched in that posture into the royal apartments. The king, who was in an inner room, was astonished at this parade, by which he seemed to menace him and his court with excommunication; and he sent some of the prelates to remonstrate with him on account of such audacious behaviour. These prelates complained to Becket, that, by subscribing himself to the Constitutions of Clarendon, he had seduced them to imitate his example; and that now, when it was too late, he pretended to shake off all subordination to the civil power, and appeared desirous of involving them in the guilt which must attend any violation of those laws, established by their consent, and ratified by their subscriptions. Becket replied, that he had indeed subscribed the Constitutions of Clarendon, "legally, with good faith, and without fraud or reserve;" but in these words was virtually implied a salvo for the rights of their order, which being connected with the cause of God and his church, could never be relinquished by their oaths and engagements: that if he and they had erred in resigning the ecclesiastical privileges, the best atonement they could now make was to retract their consent, which, in such a case, could never be obligatory, and to follow the pope's authority, who had solemnly annulled the Constitutions of Clarendon, and had absolved them from all oaths which they had taken to observe them: that a determined resolution was evidently embraced to oppress the church; the storm had first broken upon him; for a slight offence, and which too was falsely imputed to him, he had been tyrannically condemned to a grievous penalty; a new and unheard-of claim was since started, in which he could expect no justice; and he plainly saw that he was the destined victim, who, by his ruin, must prepare the way for the abrogation of all spiritual immunities: that he strictly inhibited them who were his suffragans from assisting at any such trial, or giving their sanction to any sentence against him; he put himself and his see under the protection of the supreme pontiff, and appealed to him against any penalty which his iniquitous judges might think proper to inflict upon him: and that, however terrible the indignation of so great a monarch as Henry, his sword could only kill the body; while that of the church, entrusted into the hands of the primate, could kill the soul, and throw the disobedient into everlasting perdition.

Appeals to the pope, even in ecclesiastical causes, had been abolished by the Constitutions of Clarendon, and were become criminal by law; but an appeal in a civil cause, such as the king's demand upon Becket, was a practice altogether new and unprecedented; it tended directly to the subversion of the government, and could receive no colour of excuse. The king might have pushed the affair to the utmost extremity against him, if he had been inclined; but he did not seem inclined to do so. Becket refused to hear the sentence, which the barons, sitting apart from the bishops, and joined to some sheriffs and barons of the second rank, had given upon the king's claim.

The earl of Leicester, one of the chief justiciaries, came to Becket from an inner room, and desired him to attend to his sentence. "My sentence!" exclaimed the archbishop; "I decline the judgement of this tribunal, as I am solely amenable, under God, to the jurisdiction of our lord the pope, to whom I now make my appeal from the sentence of those profane children who have presumed to judge their spiritual father." While the earl and his companions were returning to the king with Becket's answer, the archbishop retired from the hall; and though the sentence included an order for his immediate imprisonment, no one ventured to obstruct his retreat. He then sent a message to the king asking permission to leave the kingdom. Henry replied, that he would deliberate with his council on the propriety of acceding to his request on the following day; but the primate left Northampton that night, at which the king was not displeased; he took shipping on the 10th of November, 1164, and arrived safely at Gravelines on the same evening.

The prosecution of Becket had a tendency to turn the minds of some people on his side, and procured him countenance and protection abroad. Philip, earl of Flanders, and Louis, king of France, jealous of the rising greatness of Henry, were well pleased to give him disturbance in his government; and forgetting that this was the common cause of princes, they affected to pity extremely the condition of the exiled primate; and the latter even honoured him with a visit to Soissons, in which city he had invited him to fix his residence. The pope, whose interests were more immediately concerned in supporting him, gave a cold reception to a magnificent embassy which Henry sent to accuse him; while Becket himself, who had come to Sens in order to justify his cause before the pontiff, was received with the greatest marks of distinction. The king, in turn sequestered the revenues of Canterbury; and banished all the primate's relations and domestics, to the number of four hundred, whom he obliged to swear, before their departure, that they would instantly join their patron. But this policy, by which Henry endeavoured to reduce Becket sooner to necessity, lost its effect: the pope, when they arrived beyond sea, absolved them from their oath, and distributed them among the convents in France and Flanders: a residence was assigned to Becket himself in the convent of Pontigny, where he lived for some years in great magnificence, partly from a pension granted him on the revenues of that abbey, partly from remittances made him by the French monarch.

The more to ingratiate himself with the pope, Becket resigned into his hands the see of Canterbury, in 1165, to which, he affirmed, he had been uncanonically elected by the authority of the royal mandate; and Alexander, in his turn, besides investing him anew with that dignity, pretended to abrogate, by a bull, the sentence which the great council of England had passed against him. Henry, after attempting in vain to procure a conference with the pope, who departed soon after for Rome, whither the prosperous state of his affairs now invited him, made provisions against the consequences of that breach which impended between his kingdom and the apostolic see. He issued orders to his justiciaries, inhibiting, under severe penalties, all appeals to the pope or archbishop; forbidding any one to receive any mandates from them, or apply in any case to their authority; declaring it treasonable to bring from either of them an interdict upon the kingdom, and punishable in secular clergymen by the loss of their eyes and by castration, in regulars by amputation of their feet, and in laics with death; and menacing with sequestration and banishment the persons themselves, as well as their kindred, who should pay obedience to any such interdict: and he farther obliged all his subjects to swear to the observance of those orders. These were edicts of the utmost importace, affected the lives and properties of all the subjects, and even changed, for the time, the national religion, by breaking off all communication with Rome: yet were they enacted by the sole authority of the king, and were derived entirely from his will and pleasure.

The spiritual powers, which, in the primitive church, were, in a great measure, dependent on the civil, had by a gradual progress reached an equality and independence; and though the limits of the two jurisdictions were difficult to ascertain or define, it was not impossible, but by moderation on both sides, government might still have been conducted in that imperfect and irregular manner which attends all human institutions. But as the ignorance of the age encouraged the ecclesiastics daily to extend their privileges, and even to advance maxims totally incompatible with civil government, Henry had thought it high time to put an end to their pretensions, and formally, in a public council, to fix those powers which belonged to the magistrate, and which he was for the future determined to maintain. In this attempt he was led to re-establish customs, which, though ancient, were beginning to be abolished by a contrary practice, and which were still more strongly opposed by the prevailing opinions and sentiments of the age. Principle, therefore, stood on the one side, power on the other. Becket, in order to prejudice the king, filled all places with exclamations against the violence which he had suffered. He impiously compared himself to Christ, who had been condemned by a lay tribunal, and who was crucified anew in the present oppressions under which his church laboured: he took it for granted, as a point incontestible, that his cause was the cause of God: he assumed

the character of champion for the patrimony of the Divinity: he pretended to be the spiritual father of the king and all the people of England; and he even told Henry, that kings reign solely by the authority of the church. The king, that he might employ the weapons of temporal power remaining in his hands, suspended the payment of Peter-pence; he made advances towards an alliance with the emperor, Frederic Barbarossa, who was at that time engaged in war with pope Alexander; he discovered some intentions of acknowledging Pascal III. the present antipope, who was protected by that emperor; and by these expedients he endeavoured to terrify the enterprizing pontiff from proceeding to extremities against him.

But the violence of Becket, still more than the nature of the controversy, kept affairs from remaining long in suspence between the parties. That prelate, instigated by revenge, and animated by the present glory attending his situation, pushed matters to a decision, and issued a censure, in 1166, excommunicating the king's chief ministers by name, and comprehending in general all those who favoured or obeyed the Constitutions of Clarendon: these Constitutions he abrogated and annulled; he absolved all men from the oaths which they had taken to observe them; and suspended the spiritual thunder over Henry himself.

The situation of Henry was so unhappy, that he could employ no expedient for saving his ministers from this terrible censure, but by appealing to the pope himself, and having recourse to a tribunal whose authority he had himself attempted to abridge in this very article of appeals, and which, he knew, was so deeply engaged on the side of his adversary. But even this expedient was not likely to be long effectual. Becket had obtained from the pope a legatine commission over England; and in virtue of that authority, which admitted of no appeal, he summoned the bishops of London, Salisbury, and others, to attend him, and ordered, under pain of excommunication, the ecclesiastics, sequestered on his account, to be restored in two months to all their benefices. But John of Oxford, the king's agent with the pope, had the address to procure orders for suspending this sentence; and gave the pontiff hopes of a speedy reconcilement between the king and Becket; so that two legates, William of Pavia, and Otho, were sent to Normandy, where the king then resided, and they endeavoured to find expedients for that purpose. But the pretensions of the parties were, as yet, too opposite to admit of an accommodation: the king required, that all the Constitutions of Clarendon should be ratified: Becket, that, previously to any agreement, he and his adherents should be restored to their possessions: and as the legates had no power to pronounce a definitive sentence on either side, the negociation soon after came to nothing. The cardinal of Pavia also, being much attached to Henry, took care to protract the negociation; to mitigate the pope, by the accounts which he sent of that prince's conduct; and to procure him every possible indulgence from the see of Rome. About this time the king had also the address to obtain a dispensation for the marriage of his third son Geoffrey, with the heiress of Bretagne; a concession which gave great scandal both to Becket, and to his zealous patron the king of France.

The intricacies of the feudal law had, in that age, rendered the boundaries of power between the prince and his vassals, and between one prince and another, as uncertain as those between the crown and the mitre; and all wars took their origin from disputes, which, had there been any tribunal possessed of power to enforce their decrees, ought to have been decided only before a court of judicature. Henry, in prosecution of some controversies, in which he was involved with the count of Auvergne, a vassal of the duchy of Guienne, had invaded the territories of that nobleman; who had recourse to the king of France, his superior lord, for protection, and thereby kindled a war between the two monarchs. But this war was, as usual, no less feeble in its operations, than it was frivolous in its cause and object; and after occasioning some mutual depredations, and some insurrections among the barons of Poictou and Guienne, was terminated by a peace. The terms of this peace were rather disadvantageous to Henry, and prove that that prince had, by reason of his contest with the church, lost the superiority which he had hitherto maintained over the crown of France.

The pope and the king began at last to perceive, that, in the present situation of affairs, neither of them could expect a decisive victory over the other, and that they had more to fear than to hope from the duration of the struggle. Though the vigour of Henry's government had confirmed his authority in all his dominions, his throne might be shaken by a sentence of excommunication; and if England itself could, by its situation, be more easily guarded against the contagion of superstitious prejudices, his French provinces at least, would be much exposed, on that account, to some great revolution or convulsion. He could not, therefore, imagine that the pope, while he retained such a check upon him, would formally recognize the Constitutions of Clarendon, which both put an end to papal pretensions in England, and would give an example to other states of asserting a like independency. Pope Alexander, on the other hand, being still engaged in dangerous wars with the emperor Frederic, might apprehend, that Henry, rather than relinquish claims of such importance, would join the party of his enemy; and as the trials hitherto made of the spiritual weapons by Becket, had not succeeded to his expectation, and every thing had remained quiet in all the king's dominions, nothing seemed impossible to the capacity and vigilance of so great a monarch. The disposition of minds on both sides produced frequent attempts towards an accommodation; but as both parties knew that the essential articles of the dispute could not then be terminated, they entertained a perpetual jealousy of each other, and were anxious not to lose the least advantage in the negociation. The nuncios Gratian and Vivian, having received a commission to endeavour a reconciliation, met with the king in Normandy; and after all differences seemed to be adjusted, Henry offered to sign the treaty, with a salvo to his royal dignity; which gave such umbrage to Becket, that the negociation, in the end, became fruitless, and the excommunications were renewed against the king's ministers. Another negociation was conducted at Montmirail, in presence of the king of France and the French prelates; where Becket also offered to make his submissions, with a salvo to the honour of God, and the liberties of the church; which, for a like reason, was offensive to the king, and rendered the treaty abortive. A third conference, which took place in 1169, under the same mediation, was broken off, by Becket's insisting on a like reserve in his submissions; and even in a fourth treaty, when all the terms were adjusted, and when the primate expected to be introduced to the king, and to receive the kiss of peace, Henry refused him that honour, under pretence, that, during his anger, he had made a vow to that purport. This formality served to prevent the conclusion of the treaty; and though the difficulty was attempted to be overcome by a dispensation which the pope granted to Henry from his vow, that prince could not be prevailed on to depart from the resolution he had taken.

In one of these conferences, at which the French king was present, Henry said to that monarch: "There have been many kings of England, some of greater, some of less authority than myself: there have also been many archbishops of Canterbury, holy and good men, and entitled to every kind of respect: let Becket but act towards me with the same submission which the greatest of his predecessors have paid to the least of mine, and there shall be no controversy between us." Louis was so struck with this state of the case, and with an offer which Henry made to submit his cause to the French clergy, that he condemned the primate, and withdrew his friendship from him for some time; but the bigotry of that prince, and their common animosity against Henry, soon produced a renewal of their former good correspondence.

All difficulties were at last adjusted between the parties; and the king allowed Becket to return, July 22, 1170. Becket was not required to give up any rights of the church, or resign any of those pretensions which had been the original ground of the controversy. It was agreed that all these questions should be buried in oblivion; but that Becket and his adherents should, without making farther submission, be restored to all their livings, and that even the possessors of such benefices as depended on the see of Canterbury, and had been filled during the primate's absence, should be expelled, and Becket have liberty to supply the vacancies. In return for concessions which entrenched so deeply on the honour and dignity of the crown, Henry reaped only the advantage of seeing his ministers absolved from the sentence of excommunication, and of preventing the interdict, which was ready to be laid on all his dominions. So anxious was Henry to accommodate all differences, and to reconcile himself with Becket, that he took the most extraordinary steps to flatter his vanity, and even, on one occasion, held the stirrup of that haughty prelate while he mounted his horse.

But the king attained not even that temporary tranquillity

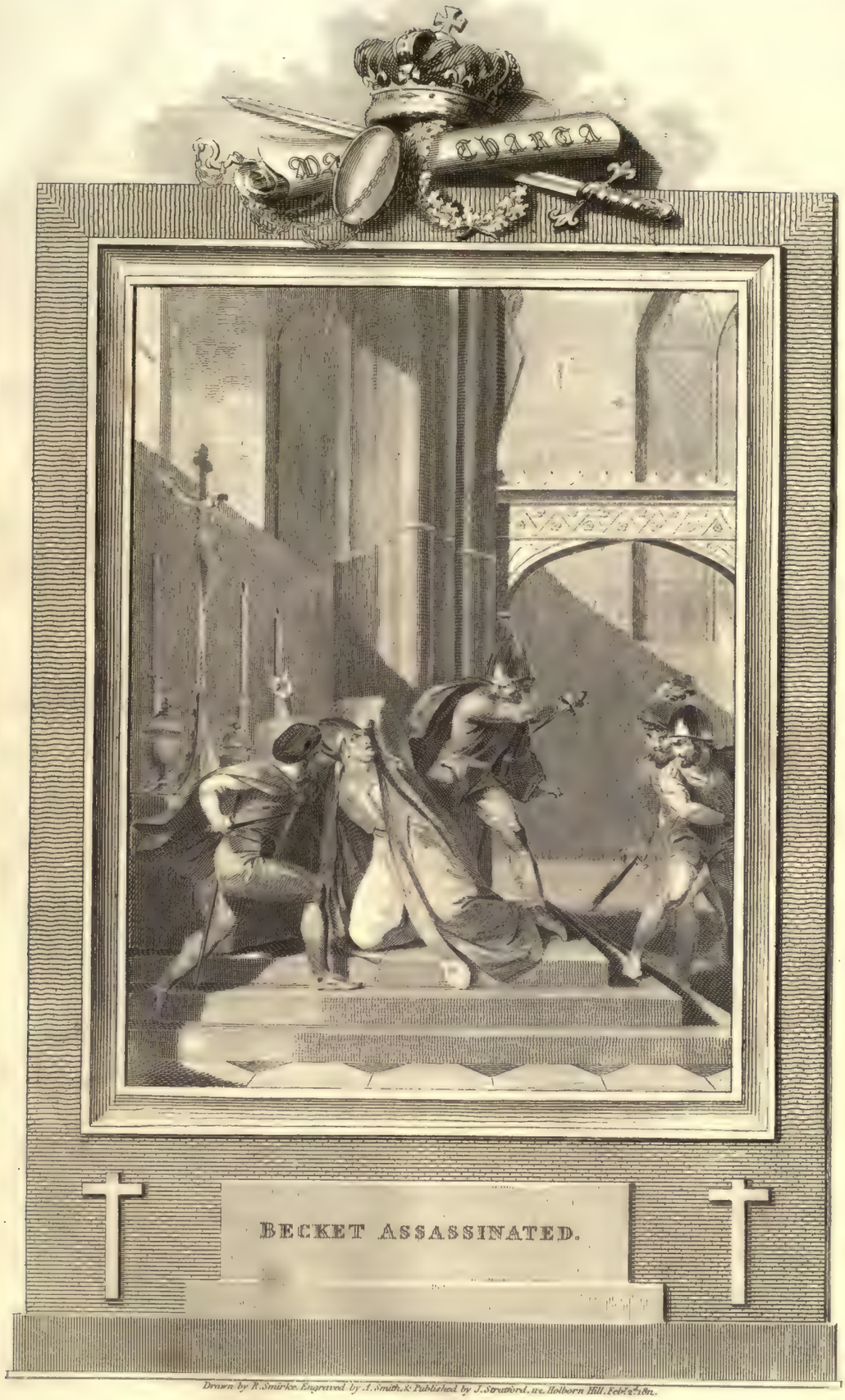
lity which he had hoped to reap from these expedients. During the heat of his quarrel with Becket, while he was every day expecting an interdict to be laid on his kingdom, and a sentence of excommunication to be fulminated against his person, he had thought it prudent to have his son, prince Henry, associated with him in the royalty, and to make him be crowned king by the hands of Roger, archbishop of York. By this precaution he both ensured the succession of that prince, which, considering the many past irregularities in that point, could not but be esteemed somewhat precarious; and he preserved at least his family on the throne, if the sentence of excommunication should have the effect which he dreaded, and should make his subjects renounce their allegiance to him. Though this design was conducted with expedition and secrecy, Becket, before it was carried into execution, had got intelligence of it; and being desirous of obstructing all Henry's measures, as well as anxious to prevent this affront to himself, who pretended to the sole right, as archbishop of Canterbury, to officiate in the coronation, he had inhibited all the prelates of England from assisting at this ceremony, had procured from the pope a mandate to the same purport, and had incited the king of France to protest against the coronation of young Henry, unless the princess, daughter of that monarch, should at the same time receive the royal unction. Henry, after apologizing to Louis for the omission with regard to Margaret, and excusing it on account of the secrecy and dispatch requisite for conducting that measure, promised that the ceremony should be renewed in the persons both of the prince and princess; and he assured Becket, that besides receiving the acknowledgements of Roger, and the other bishops, for the seeming affront put on the see of Canterbury, the primate should, as a farther satisfaction, recover his rights by officiating in this coronation. But the violent spirit of Becket, elated by the power of the church, and by the victory which he had already obtained over his sovereign, was not content with this voluntary compensation, but resolved to make the injury, which he pretended to have suffered, a handle for taking revenge on all his enemies. On his arrival in England he met the archbishop of York, and the bishops of London and Salisbury, who were on their journey to the king in Normandy: he notified to the archbishop the sentence of suspension, and to the two bishops that of excommunication, which at his solicitation the pope had pronounced against them. Reginald de Warrenne, and Gervase de Cornhill, two of the king's ministers who were employed on their duty in Kent, asked him, on hearing of this bold attempt, whether he meant to bring fire and sword into the kingdom? but the primate, heedless of the reproof, proceeded, in the most ostentatious manner, to take possession of his diocese. In Rochester, and all the towns through which he passed, he was received with the shouts and acclamations of the populace. As he approached Southwark, the clergy, the laity, men of all ranks and ages, came forth to meet him, and celebrated with hymns of joy his triumphant entrance. And though he was obliged, by order of the young prince, who resided at Woodstock, to return to his diocese, he found that he was not mistaken when he reckoned upon the highest veneration of the public towards his person and dignity. He proceeded, therefore, with the more courage to dart his spiritual thunders: he issued the sentence of excommunication against Robert de Broc, and Nigel de Sackville, with many others, who either had assisted at the coronation of the prince, or been active in the late persecution of the exiled clergy. This violent measure, by which he in effect denounced war against the king himself, is ascribed to the vindictive disposition and imperious character of Becket.

Though Henry dropped, for the present, the prosecution of Becket, he still reserved to himself the right of maintaining, that the Constitutions of Clarendon, the original ground of the quarrel, were both the ancient customs and the present law of the realm: and though he knew that the papal clergy asserted them to be impious in themselves, as well as abrogated by the sentence of the pope, he intended, in spite of their clamours, steadily to put those laws in execution, and to trust to his own abilities, and to the course of events, for success in that perilous enterprize. He hoped that Becket's experience of a six years' exile would, after his pride was fully gratified by his restoration, be sufficient to teach him more reserve in his opposition; or if any controversy arose, he expected thenceforth to engage in a more favourable cause, and to maintain with advantage, while the primate was now in his power, the ancient and undoubted customs of the kingdom against the usurpations of the clergy. But Becket determined not to betray the ecclesiastical privileges by his connivance, and apprehensive lest a prince of such profound policy, if allowed to proceed in his own way, might probably in the end prevail, resolved to take all the advantage which his present victory gave him, and to disconcert the cautious measures of the king, by the vehemence and rigour of his own conduct. Assured of support from Rome, he was little intimidated by dangers, which his courage taught him to despise, and which, even if attended with the most fatal consequences, would serve only to gratify his ambition and thirst of glory.

When the suspended and excommunicated prelates arrived at Baieux in Normandy, where the king then resided, and complained to him of the violent proceedings of Becket, he instantly perceived the consequences; was sensible that his whole plan of operations was overthrown; foresaw that the dangerous contest between the civil and spiritual powers, a contest which he himself had first roused, but which he had endeavoured, by all his late negociations and concessions, to appease, must come to an immediate and decisive issue; and he was thence thrown into commotion. The archbishop of York remarked to him, that so long as Becket lived, he could never expect to enjoy peace or tranquillity: the king himself, being vehemently agitated, burst forth into an exclamation against his servants, whose want of zeal, he said, had so long left him exposed to the enterprizes of that ungrateful and imperious prelate. Four gentlemen of his household, Reginald Fitz-Urse, William de Tracey, Hugh de Moreville, and Richard Brito, taking these passionate expressions to be a hint for Becket's death, immediately communicated their thoughts to each other; and swearing to avenge their prince's quarrel, secretly withdrew from court. Some menacing expressions which they had dropped, gave a suspicion of their design; and the king dispatched a messenger after them, charging them to attempt nothing against the person of the primate: but these orders arrived too late to prevent their fatal purpose. The four assassins, though they took different roads to England, arrived nearly about the same time at Saltwoode, near Canterbury; and being there joined by some assistants, they proceeded in great haste to the archiepiscopal palace. They found the primate, who trusted entirely to the sacredness of his character, very slenderly attended; and though they threw out many menaces and reproaches against him, he was so incapable of fear, that, without using any precautions against their violence, he immediately went to St. Benedict's church to hear vespers. They followed him thither, on the 29th of December, attacked him before the altar, and having cloven his head with many blows, retired without opposition (*x*).

Though the murder of Thomas à Becket was attended with every aggravating circumstance that could operate on the weak minds of the people, yet no tumult ensued in any part of the kingdom; not a single attempt was made to

(*x*) This was the tragical end of Thomas à Becket, a prelate of the most lofty, intrepid, and inflexible spirit, who was able to cover to the world, and probably to himself, the enterprizes of pride and ambition, under the disguise of sanctity, and of zeal for the interests of religion. That he was a man of extensive abilities there can be no doubt, since the concurring accounts of all ancient historians tend to confirm the fact: but the actions of his life most certainly afford not the smallest proof of superior wisdom. If we believe that, during his enjoyment of the high office of chancellor, his ostentatious display of extraordinary pomp and magnificence, and his avowed fondness for scenes of dissipation, were wholly affected, and that he had adopted a regular system of hypocrisy, in order to attain that elevated station to which he was afterwards promoted, we must indeed allow him to have been possessed of acute penetration and consummate art: but if from thence we are induced to admit (as some authors have) the sincerity of his conduct as primate; to believe that he was truly of opinion that the cause of religion could be promoted by the encouragement of clerical usurpations, the protection of ecclesiastical culprits, a contempt for the laws of the realm, a violation of solemn oaths, and an attempt to excite a rebellion: if we are led to believe that Becket could really entertain such sentiments, notwithstanding the prevalent spirit of superstition, we must strenuously maintain that his talents were marked with the strongest trait of imbecility. On the other hand, if we transfer his hypocrisy from the Chancellor to the Primate—for the suspicion to which every transition, that is sudden and violent, is justly liable, renders it impossible to exempt him from the charge of dissimulation—we are equally at a loss to discover any vestige of his wisdom. In either case, we find that Thomas à Becket was destitute of the grand requisite in every minister, but more especially in the chief minister of religion—virtue. He was, however, possessed of those inferior qualities which too frequently cause the want of it to be overlooked. His personal



BECKET ASSASSINATED.

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to inflict vengeance on the assassins, or even to bring them to justice. They passed the night in the neighbourhood of Canterbury, wholly free from molestation; from whence they soon after departed, without endeavouring to see the young king or any of his ministers, or daring to return to the continent to Henry. They retired to the castle of Knaresborough in Yorkshire, which belonged to Hugh de Moreville, where they remained several months in solitude; but, being at length commanded by the king to submit to the judgement of the pope, they repaired to Rome, from whence they were ordered to make a pilgrimage to Jerusalem.

On the first report of Becket's violent measures, Henry had purposed to have him arrested, and had already taken some steps towards the execution of that design; but the intelligence of his murder threw him into great consternation; and he was immediately sensible of the dangerous consequences likely to result from so unexpected an event. An archbishop of reputed sanctity assassinated before the altar, in the exercise of his functions, and on account of his zeal in maintaining ecclesiastical privileges, must attain the highest honours of martyrdom; while his murderer would be ranked among the most bloody tyrants that ever were exposed to the hatred and detestation of mankind. Interdicts and excommunications, weapons in themselves so terrible, would, he foresaw, be armed with double force, when employed in a cause so much calculated to work on the human passions, and so peculiarly adapted to the eloquence of popular preachers and declaimers. In vain would he plead his own innocence, and even his ignorance of the fact: he was sufficiently guilty, if the church thought proper to esteem him such; and his concurrence in Becket's martyrdom, becoming a religious opinion, would be received with that implicit credit which belonged to the most established articles of faith. These considerations gave the king great concern; and as it was his interest to clear himself from all suspicion, he took no care to conceal the depth of his affliction. He shut himself up from the light of day, and from all commerce with his servants; he even refused, during three days, all food and sustenance: the courtiers, apprehending dangerous effects from his despair, at last broke in upon his solitude; and they employed every topic of consolation, induced him to accept of nourishment, and occupied his leisure in taking precautions against the consequences which he so justly apprehended from the murder of the primate.

The point of chief importance to Henry was to convince the pope of his innocence; or rather, to persuade him that he would reap greater advantages from the submissions of England, than from proceeding to extremities against that kingdom. The archbishop of Roüen, the bishops of Worcester and Evreux, with five persons of inferior quality, were sent to Rome, in 1171, and orders were given them to perform their journey with the utmost expedition. Though the name and authority of the court of Rome were so terrible in the remote countries of Europe, which were sunk in profound ignorance, and were entirely unacquainted with its character and conduct; the pope was so little revered at home, that his enemies surrounded the gates of Rome itself, and even controlled his government in that city; and the ambassadors who, from a distant extremity of Europe, carried to him the abject submissions of the greatest potentate of the age, found the utmost difficulty to make their way to him, and to throw themselves at his feet. It was at length agreed that Richard Barre, one of their number, should leave the rest behind, and run all the hazards of the passage, in order to prevent the fatal consequences which might ensue from any delay in giving satisfaction to his holiness. He found, on his arrival, that Alexander was already wrought up to the greatest rage against the king, that Becket's partizans were daily stimulating him to revenge, that the king of France had exhorted him to fulminate the most dreadful sentence against England, and that the very mention of Henry's name before the sacred college was received with every expression of horror and execration. The Thursday before Easter was now approaching, when it is customary for the pope to denounce annual curses against all his enemies; and it was expected that Henry should, with all the preparations peculiar to the discharge of that sacred artillery, be solemnly comprehended in the number. But Barre found means to appease the pontiff, and to deter him from a measure which, if it failed of success, could not afterwards be easily recalled: the anathemas were only levelled in general against all the actors, accomplices, and abettors of Becket's murder. The abbot of Valasse, and the archdeacons of Salisbury and Lisieux, with others of Henry's ministers, who soon after arrived, besides asserting their prince's innocence, made oath before the whole consistory, that he would stand to the pope's judgement in the affair, and make every submission that should be required of him. The terrible blow was

sonal accomplishments were great: he was deeply skilled, like most of the dignified clergy of that age, in all the insidious arts of sophistry; which, being decorated with the specious embellishments of erudition, wore the appearance, and had too often the effect, of solid argument. He was endued with a considerable portion of native cunning; his spirit was lofty and imperious; his courage no dangers could daunt; his designs, though seldom adopted with prudence, were, from his inflexible perseverance in their prosecution, sometimes crowned with that success which should be the sole reward of wisdom and integrity. His favourite schemes were of a most pernicious tendency, being calculated to emancipate the ministers of religion from the necessary restraints of law, and to subject his king and country to the domination of a foreign power. His vanity was excessive; he was obstinate and implacable, equally unmoved by the entreaties of his friends, or the threats of his enemies. His conduct was invariably marked by a spirit of violence, revenge, and ambition, strangely derogatory to his sacred character, as it evinced a more anxious solicitude in the pursuit of terrestrial objects than in the attainment of religious consolation. Among the numerous vices of this extraordinary man, his signal ingratitude to his royal benefactor holds a conspicuous place, and has fixed an indelible stain upon that character which, stripped of the vain garb in which the weak sons of superstition have arrayed it, is now exposed to posterity in its native colours, and discovers the sinner in the saint.

So strangely superstitious were the people of this age, that, some time after the death of Thomas à Becket, the world began to ring with the noise of his miracles; insomuch that Petrus Blesensis asserted, that England need not envy the Indies; they had their Thomas the Apostle, we have Thomas the Martyr. The following, selected from a number of miracles said to have been wrought by Thomas à Becket, serve to shew how easily the people of this realm were deceived by the machinations of the designing monks:

The English legend in the life of Thomas à Becket relates, that when he was at Rome, on a particular fast day, a fowl being provided for his dinner, because no fish could be bought, the capon was miraculously turned into a carp, rather than the holy man should break the orders of the church.

Polydore Virgil, lib. 13. tells a remarkable story of God's miraculously vindicating Thomas against his enemies. His words are, "Thomas being accounted the king's enemy, began to be so contemned and hated by the common people, that coming to a town called Stroud, (near Rochester) the inhabitants of that place, intending to put an affront upon this good despised father, cut off the horse's tail which he rode upon: but hereby they brought a perpetual reproach upon themselves; for afterwards, by the pleasure of God, it happened, that all the race of those men, who were concerned in this transaction, were born with tails like brute beasts, (whence comes the proverb of Kentish long tails.) But this

note of infamy is long since worn off, together with that generation of men that so sinned." This latter clause was well inserted, because it might save people the trouble of looking for men with tails.

A great number of miracles were said to have been wrought by St. Thomas after his death; but as it is not our intention to dwell upon such ridiculous accounts, we shall just briefly mention a few, by which the wickedness of the designing monks may appear. They inform us, that as soon as Thomas was slain, the gates were shut, and the bells rang of themselves.—Before he was buried, as he lay in the choir upon a bier, in the morning, lifting up his right hand, he pronounced a benediction on the monks.—They also acquaint us, that the water of an adjoining well, by the influence of St. Thomas appeared bloody, and that it changed colour several times. In the Salisbury Breviary it is said,

> Aqua Thomæ quinquies varians colorem,
> In lac semel transiit, quater in cruorem;
> Ad Thomæ memoriam quater lux descendit,
> Et in sancti gloriam cereos accendit.

That is,

> Five times his water changed colour quite,
> Four times blood-red, and once not milk more white;
> And that St. Thomas' fame might never dwindle,
> Four times did light descend, and torches kindle.

—A bird that was taught to speak, being seized on by a sparrow hawk, called upon St. Thomas for help, and the sparrow hawk fell down dead. St. Thomas likewise had the reputation, after his death, of restoring eyes to the blind, and the parts of virility to those who had been deprived of them through the sentence of the law for some misdemeanour. A felon having been condemned to have his eyes put out, and to undergo castration, had the sentence executed upon him, and was in danger of death by loss of blood; he put his trust in God, our Lady, and holy St. Thomas, and the next day rubbing his eyes, he received his sight again, and a little after, rubbing the other place, what he had been deprived of were also restored, and he became a perfect man. We forbear to comment on these absurdities, and shall only observe, that they were attested with more impudence by the villainous monks of that age, than any which ever disgraced the legends of the most credulous confessor. Gervase of Canterbury says, that when he wrote, two volumes of his miracles were to be seen in Christ Church, Canterbury, equal to any which we read of in the Gospel. His body was removed to a sumptuous shrine, enriched with splendid gifts from all parts of Christendom. Pilgrimages were performed to obtain his intercession with Heaven, and it was computed that, in one year, above a hundred thousand pilgrims arrived at Canterbury, and paid their devotions at his tomb. Among these was Louis, king of France; who, according to Mezeray, left "rich marks of his piety" behind him.

thus eluded; the cardinals Albert and Theodin were appointed legates to examine the cause, and were ordered to proceed to Normandy for that purpose; and though Henry's foreign dominions were already laid under an interdict by the archbishop of Sens, Becket's great partizan, and the pope's legate in France, the general expectation, that the monarch would easily exculpate himself from any concurrence in the guilt, kept every one in suspense, and prevented the bad consequences which might be dreaded from that sentence.

The clergy, meanwhile, though their rage was diverted from falling on the king, were not idle in magnifying the sanctity of Becket; in extolling the merits of his martyrdom; and in exalting him above all that devoted tribe who in several ages had, by their blood, cemented the fabric of the temple. Other saints had only borne testimony by their sufferings to the general doctrines of christianity; but Becket had sacrificed his life to the power and privileges of the clergy; and this peculiar merit challenged, and not in vain, a suitable acknowledgement to his memory. Endless were the panegyrics on his virtues; and two years after his death he was canonized by pope Alexander; a solemn jubilee was established for annually celebrating his merits.

It may not be amiss to remark, before we conclude the subject of Thomas à Becket, that the king, during his controversy with that prelate, was on every occasion more anxious than usual to express his zeal for religion, and to avoid all appearance of negligence on that head. He gave his consent to the imposing of a tax on all his dominions for the delivery of the Holy Land, now threatened by Saladin: this tax amounted to two-pence a pound for one year, and a penny a pound for the four subsequent. Almost all the princes of Europe laid a like imposition on their subjects, which received the name of Saladin's tax.

As soon as Henry found that he was in no immediate danger from the thunders of the Vatican, he undertook an expedition against Ireland; a design which he had long projected, and by which he hoped to recover his credit, which was somewhat impaired by his late transaction with the hierarchy. But before we proceed to give an account of his expedition against that country, it will not be improper to lay before the reader a precinct narrative of the state of that island.

As Britain was first peopled from Gaul, so was Ireland (*y*) probably from Britain; and the inhabitants of all these countries seem to have been so many tribes of the Celtæ, who derive their origin from an antiquity that lies far beyond the records of any history or tradition. The Irish from the beginning of time had been buried in the most profound barbarism and ignorance; and as they were never conquered, or even invaded by the Romans, from whom all the western world derived its civility, they continued still in the most rude state of society, and were distinguished by those vices alone to which human nature, not tamed by education, or restrained by laws, is always subject. The small principalities into which they were divided, exercised perpetual rapine and violence against each other; the uncertain succession of their princes was a continual source of domestic convulsions; the usual title of each petty sovereign was the murderer of his predecessor; courage and force, though exercised in the commission of crimes, were more honoured than pacific virtues; and the most simple arts of life, even tillage and agriculture, were almost wholly unknown among them. They had felt the invasions of the Danes and the other northern tribes; but these inroads, which had spread barbarism in other parts of Europe, rather tended to improve the Irish; and the only towns which were to be found in the island, had been planted along the coast by the freebooters of Norway and Denmark. The other inhabitants exercised pasturage in the open country; sought protection from danger in their forests and morasses; and being divided by the fiercest animosities against each other, were still more intent on the means of mutual injury, than on the expedients for common or private interest.

Besides many small tribes, there were in the age of Henry II. five principal sovereignties in the island, Munster, Leinster, Meath, Ulster, and Connaught; and as it had been usual for the one or the other of these to take the lead in their wars, there was commonly some prince, who seemed, for the time, to act as monarch of Ireland. Roderic O'Connor, king of Connaught, was then advanced to this dignity; but his government, ill obeyed, even within his own territory, could not unite the people in any measure, either for the establishment of order, or for defence against foreigners. The ambition of Henry had, very early in his reign, been moved by the prospect of these advantages, to attempt the subjection of Ireland; and a pretence was only wanting to invade a people who, being always confined to their own island, had never given any reason of complaint to their neighbours. For this purpose, he had recourse to Rome, which assumed a right to dispose of kingdoms and empires; and not foreseeing the dangerous disputes, which he was one day to maintain with that see, he helped, for present, or rather for an imaginary convenience, to give sanction to claims which were now become dangerous to all sovereigns. Adrian IV. who then filled the papal chair, was by birth an Englishman; and being on that account the more disposed to oblige Henry, he was easily persuaded to act as master of the world, and to make, without any hazard or expence, the acquisition of a great island to his spiritual jurisdiction. The Irish had, by former missions from the Britons, been imperfectly converted to christianity; and, what the pope regarded as the surest mark of their imperfect conversion, they followed the doctrines of their first teachers, and had never acknowledged any subjection to the see of Rome. Adrian, therefore, in 1156, issued a bull in favour of Henry: in which, after premising that this prince had ever shewn an anxious care to enlarge the church of God on earth, and to increase the number of his saints and elect in heaven; he represents his design of subduing Ireland as derived from the same pious motives: he considers his care of previously applying for the apostolic function as a sure earnest of success and victory; and having established it as a point incontestible, that all Christian kingdoms belong to the patrimony of St. Peter, he acknowledges it to be his own duty to sow among them the seeds of the gospel, which might in the last day fructify to their eternal salvation: he exhorts the king to invade Ireland, in order to extirpate the vice and wickedness of the natives, and oblige them to pay yearly from every house, a penny to the see of Rome: he gives him entire right and authority over the island, commands all the inhabitants to obey him as their sovereign, and invests with full power all such godly instruments as he should think proper to employ in an enterprize thus calculated for the glory of God and the salvation of the souls of men. Henry, though armed with this authority, did not immediately put his design in execution; but being detained by more interesting business on the continent, waited for a favourable opportunity of invading Ireland.

Dermot Macmorrogh, king of Leinster, had, by his licentious tyranny, rendered himself odious to his subjects, who seized with alacrity the first occasion that offered of throwing off the yoke, which was become grievous and oppressive to them. This prince had formed a design on Dovergilda, wife of Oric, prince of Breffny; and taking advantage of her husband's absence, who, being obliged to visit a distant part of his territory, had left his wife secure, as he thought, in an island surrounded by a bog; he suddenly invaded the place and carried off the princess. This exploit, though usual among the Irish, and rather deemed a proof of gallantry and spirit, provoked the resentment of the husband; who, having collected forces, and being strengthened by the alliance of Roderic, king of Connaught, invaded the dominions of Dermot, and expelled him his kingdom. The exiled prince had recourse to Henry in 1168, who was at this time in Guienne, craved his assistance in restoring him to his sovereignty, and offered, on that event, to hold his kingdom in vassalage under the crown of England. Henry, whose views were already turned towards making acquisitions in Ireland, readily accepted the offer; but being at that time embarrassed by the rebellions of his French subjects, as well as by his disputes with the see of Rome, he declined for the present embarking in the enterprize, and gave Dermot no farther assistance than letters patent, by which he em-

(*y*) The name by which Ireland was formerly distinguished by the natives themselves was Erin; from whence are evidently derived Jerna, Juverna, Jouernia, Ouernia, Bernia, and several other appellations bestowed on it by ancient writers. The early Britons called it Yverdon; the Romans, Hibernia; and the Saxons Iren-land, or the Country of Iren, or Erin. The etymology of the word Erin has not been strictly ascertained; but the conjecture of Camden, who derives it from an Irish word that signifies West, is the most consistent with probability, as Ireland is the most western island of Europe.

powered

powered all his subjects to aid the Irish prince in the recovery of his dominions. Dermot, supported by this authority, came to Bristol; and after endeavouring, though for some time in vain, to engage adventurers in his cause, he at last formed a treaty with Richard, surnamed Strongbow, earl of Strigul, or Pembroke. This nobleman, who was of the illustrious house of Clare, had impaired his fortune by expensive pleasures; and being ready for any desperate undertaking, he promised assistance to Dermot, on condition that he should espouse Eva, daughter of that prince, and be declared heir to all his dominions. While Richard was assembling his succours, Dermot went into Wales; and meeting with Robert Fitz-Stephens, constable of Abertivi, and Maurice Fitz-Gerald, he also engaged them in his service, and obtained their promise of invading Ireland. Being now assured of succour, he returned privately to his own state; and lurking in the monastery of Fernes, which he had founded (for this ruffian was also a founder of monasteries), he prepared every thing for the reception of his English allies.

The troops of Fitz-Stephens being first ready, he landed in Ireland with thirty knights, sixty esquires, and three hundred archers, in the spring of 1169; but this small body, who were brave men, not unacquainted with discipline, and completely armed, a thing almost unknown in Ireland, struck a great terror into the barbarous inhabitants, and seemed to menace them with some signal revolution. The conjunction of Maurice de Prendergast, who, about the same time, carried over ten knights and sixty archers, enabled Fitz-Stephens to attempt the siege of Wexford, a town inhabited by the Danes; and after gaining an advantage, he made himself master of the place. Fitz-Gerald arrived soon after, with ten knights, thirty esquires, and a hundred archers; and being joined by the former adventurers, Dermot found himself at the head of a force which nothing in Ireland was able to withstand. Roderic, the chief monarch of the island, was foiled in different actions; the prince of Ossory was compelled to submit, and give hostages for his peaceable demeanour; and Dermot, not content with being restored to his kingeom of Leinster, projected the deposition of Roderic, and aspired to the sole dominion of the island.

In prosecution of these views, he sent a messenger to the earl of Strigul, challenging the performance of his promise, and displaying the advantages which might now be reaped by a reinforcement of warlike troops from England. Richard, not satisfied with the general allowance given by Henry to all his subjects, went to that prince, then in Normandy; and having obtained a cold or ambiguous permission, prepared himself for the execution of his design. He first sent over Raymond, one of his retinue, with ten knights and seventy archers, who, landing near Waterford, defeated a body of three thousand Irish that had ventured to attack him; and as Richard (z) himself, who brought over two hundred horse, and a body of archers, joined, a few days after, the victorious English, they made themselves masters of Waterford, and proceeded to Dublin, which was taken by assault. Roderic, in revenge, cut off the head of Dermot's natural son, who had been left as a hostage in his hands; and Richard, marrying Eva, became soon after, by the death of Dermot (a), sovereign of the kingdom of Leinster, and prepared, in pursuance of his father-in-law's maxims, to extend his authority over all Ireland. Roderic, and the other Irish princes, were alarmed at the danger; and combining their forces, besieged Dublin with an army of thirty thousand men: but earl Richard, making a sudden sally at the head of ninety knights, with their followers, put this numerous army to rout, chased them off the field, and pursued them with great slaughter. None in Ireland now dared to oppose themselves to the English.

Henry, jealous of the progress made by his own subjects, sent orders to recall all the English, and he made preparations to attack Ireland in person: but Richard, and the other adventurers, found means to appease him, by making him the most humble submissions, and offering to hold their acquisitions in vassalage to his crown. That monarch embarked his army at Milford Haven, on board a fleet of four hundred and forty transports; and, sailing from thence with a fair wind, landed, on the 26th of October, near the town of Waterford, at the head of five hundred knights, besides other soldiers: he found the Irish so dispirited by their late misfortunes, that, in a progress which he made through the island, he had no other occupation than to receive the homage of his new subjects. He left most of the Irish chieftains or princes in possession of their ancient territories; bestowed some lands on the English adventurers, and gave earl Richard the commission of seneschal of Ireland. By these trivial exploits, scarcely worth relating, except for the importance of the consequences, was Ireland subdued, and annexed to the English crown.

From Waterford he advanced with his army to Dublin, which city he entered on the 21st of November, without having heard the smallest tidings of an enemy. In this metropolis of his newly acquired kingdom he celebrated the festival of Christmas, in a temporary palace, composed of wood, that was erected for the purpose: and here he was visited by many of the tributary chieftains, who could not refrain from bursting into exclamations of surprize at the sight of such abundance and variety of provisions which they beheld. During his residence at Dublin, where he passed the first months of the year 1172, he took some pains to regulate the affairs of his new dominions, and to establish a kind of police by the introduction of the English laws and customs. The Irish clergy, in the acts of a council held at Cashel on the 25th of March this year, confessed their obligations to him in the most grateful terms; acknowledging that, previous to his arrival in Ireland, many evil customs had obtained, the abolition of which had been effected by his wisdom and authority. In order to render his conquest more secure, he put garrisons into all the places of importance which he had in his possession, and appointed Hugh Lacy, a nobleman whose courage, wisdom, and fidelity, he had frequently experienced, governor of Dublin and chief justiciary of the kingdom.

The low state of commerce and industry during those ages made it impracticable for princes to support regular armies, which might retain a conquered country in subjection; and the extreme barbarism and poverty of Ireland, could still less afford means of bearing the expence. The only expedient, by which a conquest could then be maintained, was by pouring in a multitude of new inhabitants, dividing among them the lands of the vanquished, establishing them in all offices of trust and authority, and thereby transforming the ancient inhabitants into a new people. By this policy, the northern invaders of old, and of late the duke of Normandy, had been able to fix their dominion, and to erect kingdoms, which remained stable on their foundations, and were transmitted to the posterity of the first conquerors. But the state of Ireland rendered it so little inviting to the English, that only a few of desperate fortunes could be persuaded, from time to time, to transport themselves to that island; and instead of reclaiming the natives from their uncultivated manners, they were gradually assimilated to the ancient inhabitants, and degenerated from the customs of their own nation. It was also found requisite to bestow great military and arbitrary powers on their leaders, who commanded a handful of men amidst such hostile multitudes; and in a little time, law and equity became as much unknown in the English settlements, as they had ever been among the Irish tribes. Palatinates were erected in favour of the new adventurers, who were allowed to enjoy an independent authority. The natives, never fully subdued, still retained their animosity against the conquerors: their hatred was retaliated by like injuries; and from these causes, the Irish, during the course of four centuries, remained still savage and untractable: it was not till the latter end of Elizabeth's reign, that the island was fully subdued; nor till that of her successor, James, that it gave hopes of becoming a useful conquest to the English.

Besides that the easy and peaceable submission of the Irish left Henry no farther occupation in that island, he was recalled from it by another incident, which was of the highest importance to his interest and safety. The two legates, Albert and Theodwin, to whom was committed the trial of his conduct in the murder of archbishop Becket, were arrived in Normandy; and being impatient of delay, sent him frequent letters, full of menaces, if he protracted any longer making his appearance before them. He embarked at Wexford on Easter Monday, and in the evening

(z) Richard, earl of Strigul, embarked his troops at Milford Haven, and landed, on the 23d of August, 1170, in the vicinity of Waterford.

(a) Which happened at the monastery of Fernes, on the first of May, 1171.

of the same day landed at Pontfinnan, in South Wales; from whence he proceeded to Portsmouth, and embarked for Barfleur, in Normandy, where he arrived on the 9th of May. He had a conference with the pope's legate at Savigné, but their demands were so exorbitant, that he broke off the negociation, threatened to return to Ireland, and bade them do their worst against him. They perceived that the season was now past for taking advantage of that tragical incident; which, had it been pursued by interdicts and excommunications, was capable of throwing the whole kingdom into combustion. But the time which Henry had gained, had contributed to appease the minds of men: the event could not now have the same influence as when it was recent; and as the clergy every day looked for an accommodation with the king, they had not opposed the pretensions of his partizans, who had been very industrious in representing to the people his entire innocence in the murder of the primate, and his ignorance of the designs formed by the assassins. The legates, therefore, found themselves obliged to lower their terms; and Henry concluded an accommodation with them at Avranches, on the 27th of September. He declared upon oath, before the reliques of the saints, that, so far from commanding or desiring the death of the archbishop, he was extremely grieved when he received intelligence of it: but as the displeasure which he had expressed on account of that prelate's conduct, had probably been the occasion of his murder, he stipulated the following conditions as an atonement for the offence: he promised, that he should pardon all such as had been banished for adhering to Becket, and should restore them to their livings; that the see of Canterbury should be reinstated in all its ancient possessions; that he should pay the templars a sum of money sufficient for the subsistence of two hundred knights during a year in the Holy Land; that he should himself take the cross at the Christmas following, and, if the pope required it, serve three years against the infidels, either in Spain or Palestine; that he should not insist on the observance of such customs, derogatory to ecclesiastical privileges, as had been introduced in his own time; and that he should not obstruct appeals to the pope in ecclesiastical causes, but should content himself with exacting sufficient security from such clergymen as left his dominions to prosecute an appeal, that they should attempt nothing against the rights of his crown. Upon signing these concessions, Henry received absolution from the legates, and was confirmed in the grant of Ireland made by pope Adrian; and nothing proves more strongly the great abilities of this monarch, than his extricating himself, on such easy terms, from so difficult a situation. He had always insisted, that the laws established at Clarendon contained not any new claims, but the ancient customs of the kingdom; and he was still at liberty, notwithstanding the articles of this agreement, to maintain his pretensions. Appeals to the pope were indeed permitted by that treaty; but as the king was also permitted to exact reasonable securities from the parties, and might stretch his demands on this head as far as he pleased, he had it virtually in his power to prevent the pope from reaping any advantage by this seeming concession. And on the whole, the Constitutions of Clarendon remained still the law of the realm; though the pope and his legates seem so little to have conceived the king's power to lie under any legal limitations, that they were satisfied with his departing, by treaty, from one of the most momentous articles of these constitutions, without requiring any repeal by the states of the kingdom.

Henry, freed from this dangerous controversy with the ecclesiastics, and with the see of Rome, seemed now to have reached the pinnacle of human grandeur and felicity, and to be equally happy in his domestic situation and in his political government. A numerous progeny of sons and daughters gave both lustre and authority to his crown, prevented the dangers of a disputed succession, and repressed all pretensions of the ambitious barons. The king's precaution also, in establishing the several branches of his family, seemed well calculated to prevent all jealousy among the brothers, and to perpetuate the greatness of his family. He had appointed Henry his eldest son, to be his successor in the kingdom of England, the duchy of Normandy, and the counties of Anjou, Maine, and Touraine; territories which lay contiguous, and which, by that means, might easily lend to each other mutual assistance both against intestine commotions and foreign invasions. Richard, his second son, was invested in the duchy of Guienne, and county of Poictou; Geoffrey, his third son, inherited, in right of his wife, the duchy of Bretagne; and the new conquest of Ireland was destined for the appanage of John, his fourth son. He had also negociated in favour of this last prince, a marriage with Adelais, the only daughter of Humbert, count of Savoy and Maurienne; and was to receive as her dowry considerable demesnes in Piedmont, Savoy, Bresse, and Dauphine. But this exaltation of his family excited the jealousy of all his neighbours, who made those very sons, whose fortunes he had so anxiously established, the means of disturbing his government, and of embittering his future life.

Young Henry, who was now in his sixteenth year, and rising to man's estate, began to display his character, and aspire to independence: brave, ambitious, liberal, munificent, affable; he discovered qualities which gave great lustre to youth; prognosticate a shining fortune; but unless tempered in mature age with discretion, are the forerunners of the greatest calamities. It is said, that at the time when this prince received the royal unction, his father, in order to give greater dignity to the ceremony, officiated at table as one of the retinue; and observed to his son, that never king was more royally served. "It is nothing extraordinary," said young Henry to one of his courtiers, "if the son of a count should serve the son of a king." This saying, which might pass only for an innocent pleasure, or even for an oblique compliment to his father, was however regarded as a symptom of his aspiring temper; and his conduct soon after justified the conjecture.

Henry, agreeably to the promise which he had given both to the pope and French king, permitted his son to be crowned anew, in 1173, by the hands of the archbishop of Roüen, and associated the princess Margaret, spouse to young Henry, in the ceremony (*b*). He afterwards allowed him to pay a visit to his father-in-law at Paris, who took the opportunity of instilling into the young prince those ambitious sentiments to which he was naturally but too much inclined. Though it had been the constant practice of France, ever since the accession of the race of Capet, to crown the son during the life-time of the father, without conferring on him any present participation of royalty; Louis persuaded his son-in-law, that, by this ceremony, which in those ages was deemed so important, he had acquired a title to sovereignty, and that the king could not, without injustice, exclude him from immediate possession of the whole, or at least a part, of his dominions. In consequence of these extravagant ideas, young Henry, on his return, desired the king to resign to him either the crown of England, or the duchy of Normandy, together with the territories of Anjou and Maine; discovered great discontent on the refusal; spake in the most undutiful terms of his father; and soon after, in concert with Louis, made his escape to Paris, where he was protected and supported by that monarch.

While Henry was alarmed at this incident, and had the prospect of dangerous intrigues, or even of a war, which, whether successful or not, must be extremely calamitous and disagreeable to him, he received intelligence of new misfortunes, which affected him in the most sensible manner. Queen Eleanor, who had disgusted her first husband by her gallantries, was no less offensive to her second by her jealousy; and after this manner carried to extremity in the different periods of her life, every circumstance of female weakness. She communicated her discontents against Henry to her two younger sons, Geoffrey and Richard, persuaded them that they were also entitled to present possession of the territories assigned them; engaged them to fly secretly to the court of France; and was meditating, herself, an escape to the same court, and had even put on man's apparel for that purpose; when she was seized by orders from her husband, and thrown into confinement. Thus Europe saw with astonishment the best and most indulgent of parents at war with his whole family; three boys, scarcely arrived at the age of puberty, require a great monarch, in the full vigour of his age, and height of his reputation, to dethrone himself in their favour; and several princes not

(*b*) It appears from Madox's History of the Exchequer, that silk garments were then known in England, and that the coronation robes of the young king and queen cost eighty-seven pounds ten shillings and four-pence money of that age.



ELEANOR DOING PENANCE
FOR WITCHCRAFT.

Drawn by Simcox Engraved by J. Smith & Published by J. Stockdale N. Bell's Buildings April 10th 1811.

ashamed to support them in these unnatural and absurd pretensions.

Henry, reduced to this disagreeable situation, had recourse to the court of Rome. Though sensible of the danger attending the interposition of ecclesiastical authority in temporal disputes, he applied to the pope, as his superior lord, to excommunicate his enemies, and by these censures to reduce to obedience his undutiful children, whom he found such reluctance to punish by the sword of the magistrate. Alexander, well pleased to exert his power in so justifiable a cause, issued the bulls required of him; but it was soon found, that these spiritual weapons had not the same force as when employed in a spiritual controversy; and that the clergy were negligent in supporting a sentence, which was not calculated to promote the interests of their order. The king, after taking in vain this humiliating step, was obliged to have recourse to arms, and to inlist such auxiliaries, as are the usual resource of tyrants, and have seldom been employed by so wise and just a monarch.

The loose government which prevailed in all the states of Europe, the many private wars carried on among the neighbouring nobles, and the impossibility of enforcing any general execution of the laws, had encouraged a tribe of banditti to disturb every where the public peace, to infest the highways, to pillage the open country, and to brave all the efforts of the civil magistrate, and even the excommunications of the church, which were fulminated against them. Troops of them were sometimes enlisted in the service of one prince or baron, sometimes in that of another: they often acted in an independent manner, under leaders of their own: the peaceable and industrious inhabitants, reduced to poverty by their ravages, were frequently obliged, for subsistence, to betake themselves to a like disorderly course of life; and a continual intestine war, pernicious to industry, as well as to the execution of justice, was thus carried on in the bowels of every kingdom. Those desperate ruffians received the name sometimes of Brabançons, sometimes of Routiers or Cottereaux; but for what reason is not agreed by historians; and they formed a kind of society or government among themselves, which set at defiance the rest of mankind. The greatest monarchs were not ashamed, on occasion, to have recourse to their assistance; and as their habits of war and depredation had given them experience, hardiness and courage, they generally composed the most formidable part of those armies, which decided the political quarrels of princes. Several of them were enlisted among the forces levied by Henry's enemies; but the great treasures amassed by that prince enabled him to engage more numerous troops of them in his service; and the situation of affairs rendered even such banditti the only forces on whose fidelity he could depend. His licentious barons, disgusted with a vigilant government, were more desirous of being ruled by young princes, ignorant of public affairs, remiss in their conduct, and profuse in their grants; and as the king had ensured to his sons the succession to every particular province of his dominions, the nobles dreaded no danger in adhering to those who, they knew, must some time become their sovereigns. Prompted by these motives, many of the Norman nobility had deserted to his son Henry; the Breton and Gascon barons seemed equally disposed to embrace the quarrel of Geoffrey and Richard. Disaffection had crept in among the English; and the earls of Leicester and Chester in particular had openly declared against the king. Twenty thousand Brabançons, therefore, joined to some troops which he brought over from Ireland, and a few barons of approved fidelity, formed the sole force with which he intended to resist his host of enemies.

Louis, in order to bind the confederates in a closer union, summoned at Paris an assembly of the chief vassals of the crown, received their approbation of his measures, and engaged them by oath to adhere to the cause of young Henry. This prince, in return, bound himself by a like tie never to desert his French allies; and having made a new great seal, he lavishly distributed among them many considerable parts of those territories which he purposed to conquer from his father. The counts of Flanders, Boulogne, Blois, and Eu, partly moved by the general jealousy arising from Henry's power and ambition, partly allured by the prospect of reaping advantage from the inconsiderate temper and necessities of the young prince, declared openly in favour of the latter. William, king of Scotland, had also entered into this great confederacy; and a plan was concerted for a general invasion on different parts of the king's extensive and factious dominions.

Hostilities were first commenced by the counts of Flanders and Boulogne on the frontiers of Normandy. Those princes laid siege to Aumale, which was delivered into their hands by the treachery of its count; who surrendered himself prisoner; and on pretence of thereby paying his ransom, opened the gates of all his other fortresses. The two counts next besieged and made themselves masters of Drincourt: but the count of Boulogne was here mortally wounded in the assault; and this incident put some stop to the progress of the Flemish forces.

In another quarter, the king of France, being strongly assisted by his vassals, assembled an army of seven thousand knights and their followers on horseback, and a proportionable number of infantry; carrying young Henry along with him, he laid siege to Verneüil, which was vigorously defended by Hugh de Lacey and Hugh de Beauchamp, the governors. After he had lain a month before the place, the garrison, being straitened for provisions, capitulated; and they engaged, if not relieved within three days, to surrender the town, and to retire into the citadel. On the last of these days, Henry appeared with his army upon the heights above Verneüil. Louis, dreading an attack, sent the archbishop of Sens and the count of Blois to the English camp, and desired that next day should be appointed for a conference, in order to establish a general peace, and terminate the difference between Henry and his sons. The king, who passionately desired this accommodation, and suspected no fraud, gave his consent; but Louis, that morning, obliging the garrison to surrender according to capitulation, set fire to the place; and began to retire with his army. Henry provoked at this artifice, attacked the rear with vigour, put them to rout, and took several prisoners. The French army, as their time of service was now expired, immediately dispersed themselves into their several provinces; and left Henry free to prosecute his advantages against his other enemies.

The nobles of Bretagne, instigated by the earl of Chester and Ralph de Fougeres, were all in arms; but their progress was checked by a body of Brabançons, which the king, after Louis's retreat, had sent against them. The two armies came to an action near Dol; where the rebels were defeated, fifteen hundred slain on the field, and the leaders, the earls of Chester and Fougeres, obliged to take shelter in the town of Dol. Henry hastened to form the siege of that place, and carried on the attack with such ardour, that he obliged the governor and garrison to surrender themselves prisoners. By these vigorous measures and successes, the insurrections were quelled in Bretagne; and the king, thus fortunate in all quarters, willingly agreed to a conference with Louis, in hopes that his enemies, finding all their efforts frustrated, would terminate hostilities on moderate conditions.

The two monarchs met between Trie and Gisors; and Henry had here the mortification to see his three sons in the retinue of his inveterate enemy. As Louis had no other pretence for war than supporting the claims of the young princes, the king made them such offers as children might be ashamed to insist on, and could be extorted from him by nothing but his parental affection, or by the present necessity of his affairs. He insisted only in retaining the sovereign authority in all his dominions; but offered young Henry half the revenues of England, with some places of surety in that kingdom; or, if he rather chose to reside in Normandy, half the revenues of that duchy, with all those of Anjou. He made a like offer to Richard in Guienne; he promised to resign Bretagne to Geoffrey: and if these concessions were not deemed sufficient, he agreed to add to them whatever the pope's legates, who were present, should require of him. The earl of Leicester was also present at the negociation; and either from the impetuosity of his temper, or from a view of abruptly breaking off a conference which must cover the allies with confusion, he gave vent to the most violent reproaches against Henry, and he even put his hand to his sword, as if he meant to attempt some violence against him. This furious action threw the company into confusion, and put an end to the treaty.

The chief hopes of Henry's enemies seemed now to depend on the state of affairs in England, where his authority was exposed to imminent danger. One article of prince Henry's agreement with his foreign confederates

was, that he should resign Kent, with Dover, and all its other fortresses, into the hands of the earl of Flanders: yet so little national or public spirit prevailed among the independent English nobility, so wholly bent were they on the aggrandizement each of himself and his own family, that notwithstanding this pernicious concession, the greater part of them had conspired to make an insurrection, and to support the prince's pretensions. The king's principal resource lay in the church and the bishops, with whom he was now in perfect agreement; whether that the decency of their character made them ashamed of supporting so unnatural a rebellion, or that they were satisfied with Henry's atonement for the murder of Becket, and for his former invasion of ecclesiastical immunities. That prince, however, having resigned none of the essential rights of his crown in the accommodation: he maintained still the same prudent jealousy of the court of Rome, admitting no legate into England, without his swearing to attempt nothing against the royal prerogatives; and he even obliged the monks of Canterbury, who pretended to a free election on the vacancy occasioned by the death of Becket, to chuse Roger, Prior of Dover, to supply his place.

The king of Scotland made an irruption into Northumberland, and committed great devastations; but being opposed by Richard de Lucy, whom Henry had left guardian of the realm, he retreated into his own country, and agreed to a cessation of arms. This truce enabled the guardian to march southward with his army, in order to oppose an invasion which the earl of Leicester, at the head of a body of Flemings, had made upon Suffolk. The Flemings had been joined by Hugh Bygod, who made them masters of his castle of Framlingham; and marching into the heart of the kingdom, where they hoped to be supported by Leicester's vassals, they were met by Lucy, who, assisted by Humphry Bohun, the constable, and the earls of Arundel, Gloucester, and Cornwall, had advanced to Farnham with a less numerous, but braver army, to oppose them. The Flemings were broken in an instant; ten thousand of them were put to the sword, the earl of Leicester was taken prisoner, and the remains of the invaders were glad to compound for a safe retreat into Flanders.

This great defeat did not dishearten the malcontents; who being supported by the alliance of so many foreign princes, and encouraged by the king's own sons, determined to persevere in their enterprize. The earl of Ferrars, Roger de Moubray, Archetil de Mallory, Richard de Moreville, Hamo de Mascie, together with many friends of the earls of Leicester and Chester, rose in arms in 1174. The fidelity of the earls of Clare and Gloucester were suspected: and the guardian, though vigorously supported by Geoffrey bishop of Lincoln, the king's natural son by the fair Rosamond, found it difficult to defend himself from so many open and concealed enemies. The more to augment the confusion, the king of Scotland, on the expiration of the truce, broke into the northern provinces with a great army of eighty thousand men; and Henry, who had baffled all his enemies in France, and put his frontiers in a posture of defence, now found England the seat of danger; and determined by his presence to overawe the malcontents, or by his conduct and courage to subdue them. He landed at Southampton on the 8th of July; and knowing the influence of superstition over the minds of the people, he hastened to Canterbury, in order to make atonement to the ashes of Thomas à Becket, and tender his submissions to a dead enemy. As soon as he came within sight of the church of Canterbury, he dismounted, walked barefoot towards it, prostrated himself before the shrine of the saint, remained in fasting and prayer during a whole day, and watched all night the holy reliques. Not content with this hypocritical devotion towards a man, whose violence and ingratitude had so long disquieted his government, and had been the object of his most inveterate animosity, he submitted to a penance still more singular and humiliating. He assembled a chapter of the monks, disrobed himself before them, put a scourge of discipline into the hands of each, and presented his bare shoulders to the lashes which these ecclesiastics successively inflicted upon him. Next day he received absolution; and departing for London, got soon after the agreeable intelligence of a great victory which his generals had obtained over the Scots, and which being gained, as was reported, on the very day of his absolution, was regarded as the earnest of his final reconciliation with Heaven and with Thomas à Becket.

William king of Scots, though repulsed before the castle of Prudhow, and other fortified places, had committed horrible depredations upon the northern provinces: but on the approach of Ralph de Glanville, the famous justiciary, seconded by Bernard de Baliol, Robert de Stuteville, Odonel de Umfreville, William de Vesci, and other northern barons, together with the bishop of Lincoln, he thought proper to retreat nearer his own country, and he fixed his camp at Alnwick. He had here weakened his army extremely, by sending out numerous detachments in order to extend his ravages; and he lay absolutely safe, as he imagined, from any attack of the enemy. But Glanville made a hasty march to Newcastle; and allowing his soldiers only a small interval for refreshment, immediately set out towards evening for Alnwick. He marched that night above thirty miles; arrived in the morning of the 13th of July, under cover of a mist, near the Scottish camp; and regardless of the numbers of the enemy, began the attack with his small but determined body of cavalry. William was living in such supine security, that he took the English, at first, for a body of his own ravagers, who were returning to the camp; but the sight of their banners convincing him of his mistake, he entered on the action with no greater body than a hundred horse, in confidence that the numerous army which surrounded him, would soon hasten to his relief. He was dismounted on the first shock, and taken prisoner; while his troops, hearing of this disaster, fled on all sides with precipitation. The dispersed ravagers made the best of their way to Scotland; and discord arising among them, they proceeded to mutual hostilities, and suffered more from each other's sword, than from that of the enemy.

This important victory proved decisive in favour of Henry, and entirely broke the spirit of the English rebels. The bishop of Durham, who was preparing to revolt, made his submissions; Hugh Bigod, though he had received a strong reinforcement of Flemings, surrendered all his castles, and threw himself on the king's mercy; no better resource was left to the earl of Ferrars and Roger de Moubray; the inferior rebels imitating the example, all England was restored to tranquillity in a few weeks; and as the king appeared to lie under the immediate protection of Heaven, it was deemed impious any longer to resist him. The clergy exalted anew the merits and powerful intercession of Becket; and Henry, instead of opposing this superstition, plumed himself on the new friendship of the saint, and propagated an opinion which was so favourable to his interests.

Prince Henry, who was ready to embark at Gravelines, with the earl of Flanders and a great army, hearing that his partizans in England were suppressed, abandoned the enterprize, and joined the camp of Louis, who, during the absence of the king, had made an irruption into Normandy, and had laid siege to Rouen. The place was defended with vigour by the inhabitants; and Louis, despairing of success by open force, tried to gain the town by stratagem. He proclaimed in his own camp a cessation of arms on pretence of celebrating the festival of St. Laurence; and when the citizens, supposing themselves in safety, remitted their guard, he purposed to take advantage of their security. Happily, some priests had, from mere curiosity, mounted a steeple, where the alarm-bell hung; and observing the French camp in motion, they immediately rang the bell, and gave warning to the inhabitants, who ran to their several stations. The French, who, on hearing the alarm, hurried to the assault, had already mounted the walls in several places; but being repulsed by the citizens, were obliged to retreat with loss. Next day Henry, who had hastened to the defence of his Norman dominions, passed over the bridge in triumph; and entered Rouen in sight of the French army. The city was now in safety; and the king, in order to brave the French monarch, commanded the gates, which had been walled up to be opened; and prepared to push his advantages against the enemy. Louis saved himself from this perilous situation by a new piece of deceit, not so justifiable. He proposed a conference for adjusting the terms of a general peace, which he knew would be greedily embraced by Henry, and while the king of England trusted to the execution of his promise, he made a retreat with his army into his own territories.

There was however, a necessity on both sides for an accommodation. Henry could no longer bear to see his three sons in the hands of his enemy; and Louis dreaded lest this monarch, victorious in all quarters, crowned with glory, and absolute master of his dominions, might take revenge

for the many dangers and disquietudes which the arms, and still more the intrigues of France, had, in his disputes both with Becket and his sons, found means to raise against him. After making a cessation of arms, a conference was agreed on near Tours; where Henry granted his sons much less advantageous terms than he had formerly offered; and he received their submissions. The most material of his concessions were some pensions which he stipulated to pay them, and some castles which he granted them for the place of their residence; together with an indemnity for all their adherents, who were restored to their estates and honours.

Of all those who had embraced the cause of the young prince, William king of Scotland was the only considerable loser by that enterprize. Henry delivered from confinement, without exacting any ransom, about nine hundred knights, whom he had taken prisoners; but it cost William the ancient independency of his crown as the price of his liberty. He stipulated to do homage to Henry for Scotland and all his other possessions: he engaged that all the barons and nobility of his kingdom should also do homage; that the bishops should take an oath of fealty; that both should swear to adhere to the king of England against their native prince, if the latter should break his engagements; and that the fortresses of Edinburgh, Stirling, Berwick, Roxborough, and Jedborough, should be delivered into Henry's hands, till the performance of articles. The terms were settled August 10, 1175. This severe and humiliating treaty was executed in its full rigour. William, being released, brought up all his barons, prelates, and abbots; and they did homage to Henry in the cathedral of York, and acknowledged him and his successors for their superior lord. The English monarch stretched still farther the rigour of the conditions which he exacted. He engaged the king and states of Scotland to make a perpetual cession of the fortresses of Berwick and Roxborough, and to allow the castle of Edinburgh to remain in his hands for a limited time (*c*).

Henry having thus, contrary to expectation, extricated himself from a situation in which his throne was exposed to great danger, was employed for several years in the administration of justice, in the execution of the laws, and in guarding against those inconveniencies, which either the past convulsions of his state, or the political institutions of that age, unavoidably occasioned. The provisions which he made show such largeness of thought as qualified him for being a legislator; and they were commonly calculated as well for the future as the present happiness of his kingdom. In 1176 he exacted severe penalties against robbery, murder, false coining, arson; and ordained that these crimes should be punished by the amputation of the right hand and right foot. The pecuniary commutation for crimes had been gradually disused; and seems to have been entirely abolished by the rigour of these statutes. The superstitious trials by fire and water ordeals, though condemned by the church, still subsisted; but Henry ordained, that any man accused of murder, or any heinous felony, by the oath of the legal knights of the country, should, even though acquitted by the ordeal, be obliged to adjure the realm. Though sensible of the absurdity attending the trial by duel or battle, he did not venture to abolish it; but admitted either of the parties to challenge a trial by an assize or jury of twelve freeholders. This latter method of trial seems to have been very ancient in England, and was fixed by the laws of king Alfred; but the barbarous and violent genius of the age had of late given more credit to the trial by battle, which had become the general method of deciding all important controversies. It was never abolished by law in England; and there is an instance of it so late as the reign of Elizabeth; but the institution revived by this king, being found more reasonable and more suitable to a civilized people, gradually prevailed over it.

The partition of England into four divisions, and the appointment of itinerant justices to go the circuit in each division, and to decide the causes in the counties, was another important ordinance of this prince, which had a direct tendency to curb the oppressive barons, and to protect the inferior gentry and common people in their property. Those justices were either prelates or considerable noblemen; who, besides carrying the authority of the king's commission, were able, by the dignity of their own character, to give weight and credit to the laws.

That there might be fewer obstacles to the execution of justice, the king was vigilant in demolishing all the new erected castle of the nobility, in England as well as in his foreign dominions: and he permitted no fortress to remain in the custody of those whom he found reason to suspect.

But lest the kingdom should be weakened by this demolition of the fortresses, the king fixed an assize of arms, by which all his subjects were enjoined to put themselves in a situation for defending themselves and the realm. Every man possessed of a knight's fee was ordained to have for each fee a coat of mail, a helmet, a shield, and a lance; every free layman, possessed of goods to the value of sixteen marks, was to be armed in like manner; every one that possessed ten marks was obliged to have an iron gorget, a cap of iron, and a lance: all burgesses were to have a cap of iron, a lance, and a wambais; that is, a coat quilted with wool, tow or such like materials. It appears that archery, for which the English were afterwards so renowned, had not at this time become very common among them. The spear was the chief weapon employed in battle.

The king passed an equitable law, that the goods of a vassal should not be seized for the debt of his lord, unless the vassal be surety for the debt; and that the rents of vassals should be paid to the creditors of the lord, not to the lord himself. It is remarkable, that this law was enacted by the king in a council which he held at Verneüil, and which consisted of some prelates and barons of England, Normandy, Poictou, Anjou, Maine, Touraine, and Bretagne; and the statute took place in all these last-mentioned territories (*d*), though totally unconnected with each other (*e*): a proof how irregular the ancient feudal government was, and how near the sovereigns, in some instances, approached to despotism, though in others they seemed scarcely to possess any authority (*f*).

The success which had attended Henry in his wars did not much encourage his neighbours to form any attempt against him; and his transactions with them, during several years, contain little memorable. Scotland remained in that state of feudal subjection to which he had reduced it, and gave him no farther inquietude. He sent over his fourth son, John, into Ireland, to make a more complete conquest of the island; but the petulance and incapacity of this prince, by which he enraged the Irish chieftains, obliged the king soon after to recal him. Louis king of France dying of an apoplexy about this time, was succeeded by his son Philip, not then sixteen years of age; who proved the ablest and greatest monarch that had governed that kingdom since the age of Charlemagne. The superior years, however, and experience of Henry, while they moderated his ambition, gave him such an ascendant over this prince, that no dangerous rivalship, for a long time, arose between them. The English monarch, in 1180, instead of taking advantage of his own situation, employed his good offices in composing the quarrels which arose in the royal family of France; and he was successful in mediating a reconciliation between Philip and his mother and uncles. These services were ill requited by Philip, who, when he came to man's estate, encouraged Henry's sons in their ungrateful and undutiful behaviour towards him.

Prince Henry, finding his income inadequate to support his expensive amusements, and equally impatient of obtaining power, renewed to the king the demand of his resigning Normandy; and on meeting with a refusal, he fled with his consort to the court of France; but Philip not being disposed to enter into a war for his sake, he accepted

(*c*) This was the first great ascendant which England obtained over Scotland; and indeed the first important transaction which had passed between the kingdoms. Few princes have been so fortunate as to gain considerable advantages over their weaker neighbours with less violence and injustice than was practised by Henry against the king of Scots, whom he had taken prisoner in battle, and who had wantonly engaged in a war, in which all the neighbours of that prince, and even his own family, were, without provocation, combined against him.

(*d*) It was usual for the kings of England, after the conquest of Ireland, to summon barons and members of that country to the English parliament. *Molineux's Case of Ireland*, p. 64, 65, 66.

(*e*) Spelman even doubts whether the law was not also extended to England. If it were not, it could only be because Henry did not chuse it; for his authority was greater in that kingdom than in his transmarine dominions.

(*f*) If a prince much dreaded and revered, like Henry, obtained but the appearance of general consent to an ordinance which was equitable and just, it became immediately an established law, and all his subjects acquiesced in it. If the prince was hated or despised; if the nobles who supported him had small influence; if the humours of the times disposed the people to question the justice of his ordinance; the fullest and most authentic assembly had no authority. Thus all was confusion and disorder; no regular idea of a constitution; force and violence decided every thing.

of his father's offers of reconciliation, and made him submissions. After this accommodation, Geoffrey, by the king's desire, did homage to his elder brother for the duchy of Bretagne; Richard, whom he had made master of Guienne, refused to obey Henry's orders, in doing homage to his elder brother for that duchy; and defended himself against young Henry and Geoffrey, who, uniting their arms, carried war into his territories. The contest was pursued with such malevolent fury, that no quarter was given on either side. The king, with great difficulty, composed this difference: but soon found his eldest son engaged in conspiracies, and ready to take arms against himself. While the young prince was conducting these criminal intrigues, he was seized with a fever at Martel, a castle near Turenne, to which he had retired in discontent; and when his physicians informed him that they did not think he could recover, he was struck with remorse for his undutiful behaviour towards his father. He sent a message to the king, who was not far distant, expressed his contrition, and entreated the favour of a visit, that he might at least die with the satisfaction of having obtained his forgiveness. Henry, who had so often experienced the prince's ingratitude and violence, apprehended that his sickness was feigned, and he was advised not to intrust himself into his son's hands; he, however, took a ring from his finger, which was well known to his son, and sent it to him by the archbishop of Bourdeaux, as a token of his forgiveness. The prince received it with great emotion; and pressing it to his lips, soon afterwards expired. When the king received intelligence of young Henry's death, which happened on the 11th of June, 1183, and the proofs of his sincere repentance, this good prince was affected with the deepest sorrow; he thrice fainted away; he accused his own hardheartedness in refusing the dying request of his son; and lamented that he had deprived that prince of the last opportunity of making atonement for his offences, and of pouring out his soul in the bosom of his reconciled father. This prince died in the twenty-eighth year of his age.

The behaviour of his surviving children did not tend to give the king any consolation for the loss. As prince Henry had left no posterity, Richard was become heir to all his dominions; and the king intended that John, his third surviving son and favourite, should inherit Guienne as his appanage; but Richard refused his consent, fled into that duchy, and even made preparations for carrying on war, as well against his father as against his brother Geoffrey, who was now put in possession of Bretagne.

At a council held at Windsor on the first of April, 1185, the king of Scotland attended, and received from Henry a grant of the county of Huntingdon. Prince John having, at the same time, been solemnly knighted, was sent to Ireland with a fleet of sixty sail, and a considerable army to take upon him the government of that country. When he landed at Waterford, he was received by the archbishop of Dublin, and several of the English nobility, who took the oaths of fealty. Many of the Irish chieftains of the vicinity, who had continued to live peaceably under the English government from the time of their first submission, came to congratulate him on his safe arrival, and to give him the *kiss* of peace. But the prince and the young noblemen of his train treated these venerable chiefs with scorn and derision; and, in obedience to an impulse of juvenile folly, plucked their beards, which were extremely long and thick. Justly enraged at this unprovoked insult, they retired, and fled for refuge into the territories of Limerick, Cork and Connaught; to whose princes they represented the case, and urged them to projects of revenge. All thoughts of subjection to the English government were now rejected with scorn; the petty princes of the country, hitherto at variance, now resolved to suppress their private animosities, the more effectually to enforce the assertion of their ancient liberty. Thus all the authority which the courtesy and prudence of Henry had acquired over the minds of the Irish, during his abode in their island, was forfeited, by the folly and imprudence of the prince and his youthful companions; whose mad conduct occasioned a war, in which John lost almost the whole of his army before the expiration of the year; when the king thought it necessary to recal him, and trust the direction of affairs in Ireland to John de Courcy, whose valour and prudence he had experienced on many occasions.

Henry's presence on the continent was now requisite, to extinguish the flames of war, which had again broken out between his two turbulent sons, Richard and Geoffrey. For this purpose he embarked at Dover on the 16th of April; and landing at Whitsand, pursued his journey to Normandy, where he immediately collected an army. He was, however, desirous of bringing the matter to an amicable termination, without being under the necessity of interfering in a forcible manner; to effect which, he sent a messenger to prince Richard, to command him to lay down his arms, and resign the disputed territory to his mother, queen Eleanor, to whom it belonged; threatening, in case of a refusal, to assert her rights at the head of his army. This remonstrance had the desired effect. Richard, by the advice of his friends; or, perhaps, dreading an insurrection of the Gascons in her favour; or, retaining some sense of duty towards her; readily paid obedience to the commands of Henry; after which he returned in peace to his father's court, and was again received into favour.

No sooner was this quarrel accommodated, than Geoffrey, perhaps the most vicious of all Henry's children, broke out into violence; demanded Anjou to be annexed to his dominions of Bretagne; and on meeting with a refusal, fled to the court of France and levied forces against his father. Henry was freed from this danger by his son's death, who was killed in consequence of a fall he received in a tournament at Paris (*g*). The widow of Geoffrey, soon after his decease, was delivered of a son, who received the name of Arthur, and was invested in the duchy of Bretagne, under the guardianship of his grandfather, who, as duke of Normandy, was also superior lord of that territory. Philip, as lord paramount, disputed some time his title to this wardship; but was obliged to yield to the inclinations of the Bretons, who preferred the government of Henry.

But the rivalship between these potent princes, and all their inferior interest, seemed now to have given place to the general passion for the relief of the Holy Land, and the expulsion of the Saracens. Those infidels, though obliged to yield to the immense inundation of Christians in the first crusade, had recovered courage after the torrent was past; and attacking on all quarters the settlements of the Europeans, had reduced these adventurers to great difficulties, and obliged them to apply again for succours from the west. A second crusade, under the emperor Conrade, and Louis VII. king of France, in which above two hundred thousand men were sacrificed to their frantic enthusiasm, brought them but a temporary relief; and those princes, after losing such immense armies, and seeing the flower of their nobility fall by their side, returned with little honour into Europe. But these repeated misfortunes, which drained the western world of its people and treasure, were not yet sufficient to cure men of their passion for those spiritual feats of knight-errantry; and a new incident rekindled with fresh fury the zeal of the ecclesiastics and military adventurers among the Latin Christians. Saladin, a prince of great generosity, bravery, and conduct, having on the death of the khalif Alad, fixed himself on the throne of Egypt, began to extend his conquests over the East; and finding the settlement of the Christians in Palestine an invincible obstacle to the progress of his arms, (for he had already reduced Syria, Arabia, Persia, and Mesopotamia,) he bent the whole force of his policy and valour to subdue that small and barren, but important territory. Taking advantage of the dissensions which prevailed among the champions of the cross, and having secretly gained the count of Tripoli, who commanded their armies, he invaded the frontiers with a mighty power in 1187; and, aided by the treachery of that count, gained over them at Tiberiade a complete victory, which utterly annihilated the force of the kingdom of Jerusalem, whose monarch, Guy de Lusignan, was taken prisoner (*h*).

(*g*) This prince was distinguished from his two elder brothers by the superior degree of cunning which he possessed. In him the fire of youth was checked by the coolness of hypocrisy; he was deeply versed in all the intricate mazes of political deception; and endued with that persuasive eloquence so admirably calculated to render that dangerous knowledge a source of advantage to its possessor. His projects of ambition were never repressed by the interference of filial affection, or sentiments of remorse. His father's continual indulgence had excited no impulse of gratitude in his bosom; and even in the hour of death he evinced no signs of repentance for his unnatural conduct. Henry, therefore, who was well acquainted with his son's character, expressed no concern at his death, though an excess of paternal fondness was one of his principal failings,—if a failing it can be called.

(*h*) The loss which the Christians mostly lamented in this celebrated battle, was the *real* cross on which our Saviour was crucified, that fell into the hands of the Infidels. Bigord, a contemporary historian, asserts with great gravity, that, after this dismal event, all the children who were born throughout Christendom, had only twenty, or two and twenty teeth instead of thirty, or two and thirty, which was their former complement. The same miraculous author asserts, that about this period, during

The holy city itself fell into his hands, after a feeble resistance; the kingdom of Antioch was almost entirely subdued; and except some maritime towns, nothing considerable remained of those boasted conquests, which, nearly a century before, it had required the efforts of all Europe to obtain.

The western Christians were thrown into the most astonishing consternation on receiving this dismal intelligence. Pope Urban III. was so much affected at the news, that it was pretended he died of grief; and his successor, Gregory VIII. employed the whole time of his short pontificate in rousing to arms all the Christians who acknowledged his authority. The general cry was, that they were unworthy of enjoying any inheritance in heaven, who did not vindicate from the domination of the Infidels the inheritance of God on earth, and deliver from slavery that country which had been consecrated by the footsteps of their Redeemer. William, archbishop of Tyre, having procured a conference between Henry and Philip near Gisors, on the 21st of January, 1188, enforced all these topics; gave a pathetic description of the miserable state of the Eastern Christians; and employed every argument to excite the ruling passions of the age, superstition, and jealousy of military honour. The two monarchs immediately took the cross from the hands of the archbishop; many of their most considerable vassals imitated their example; and as the emperor Frederic I. entered into the same confederacy, some well-grounded hopes of success were entertained: and men flattered themselves, that an enterprize which had failed under the conduct of many independent leaders, or the temerity of imprudent princes, might at last, by the efforts of such potent and able monarchs, be brought to a happy termination.

Henry hastened his return to England, where he landed January 31, to prepare for his intended expedition to Palestine. He convened a great council of the prelates and barons, on the 11th of February, at Gritington, in Northamptonshire; in which a tax was imposed, amounting to the tenth of all rents for a year, and the tenth of all moveable goods, on such as remained at home; but as they exempted from this burden most of the regular clergy, the secular aspired to the same immunity; pretended that their duty obliged them to assist the crusade with their prayers alone; and it was with some difficulty they were constrained to desist from an opposition, which in them, who had been the chief promoters of those pious enterprizes, appeared with the worst grace imaginable. This backwardness of the clergy is perhaps a symptom, that the enthusiastic ardour which had at first seized the people for crusades, was now by time and ill success considerably abated; and that the frenzy was chiefly supported by the military genius and love of glory in the monarchs of that age. Baldwin, archbishop of Canterbury, preached before the council, on the mystery of the cross; and, by his persuasive eloquence, impelled a considerable number of prelates, nobles, knights, and their vassals, to enlist in this holy war. He afterwards made a progress through Wales with the same view, and met with equal success.

But before this great machine could be put in motion, there were still many obstacles to surmount. Philip, jealous of Henry's power, entered into a private confederacy with young Richard, and, working on his ambitious and impatient temper, persuaded him, instead of supporting and aggrandizing that monarchy which he was one day to inherit, to seek present power and independence by disturbing and dismembering it. In order to give a pretence for hostilities between the two kings, Richard made an irruption into the territories of Raymond count of Toulouse in 1189, who immediately carried complaints of this violence before the king of France as his superior lord. Philip remonstrated with Henry; but received for answer, that Richard had confessed to the Archbishop of Dublin, that his enterprize against Raymond had been undertaken by the approbation of Philip himself, and was conducted by his authority. The king of France, who might have been covered with shame and confusion by this detection, still prosecuted his design, and invaded the English provinces of Berri and Auvergne, under colour of revenging the quarrel of the count of Toulouse. Henry now found his presence requisite on the continent, and therefore embarked for France, where he landed on the 11th of July, and retaliated, by making inroads upon the frontiers of that nation, and burning Dreux. As this war, which destroyed all hopes of success in the projected crusade, gave great scandal, the two kings held a conference in October, at the accustomed place between Gisors and Trie, in order to find means of accommodating their differences: they separated on worse terms than before; and Philip, to shew his disgust, ordered a great elm, under which the conferences had been usually held, to be cut down; as if he had renounced all desire of accommodation, and was determined to carry the war to extremities against the king of England. But his own vassals refused to serve under him in so invidious a cause, and he was obliged to come afresh to a conference with Henry, and to offer terms of peace. These terms were such as entirely opened the eyes of the king of England, and fully convinced him of the perfidy of his son, and his secret alliance with Philip, of which he had before only entertained suspicion. The king of France required that Richard should be crowned king of England in the lifetime of his father, should be invested in all his transmarine dominions, and should immediately espouse Alice, Philip's sister, to whom he had formerly been affianced, and who had already been conducted into England. Henry had experienced such fatal effects, both from the crowning of his eldest son, and from that prince's alliance with the royal family of France, that he rejected these terms; and Richard, in consequence of his secret agreement with Philip, immediately revolted from his father, in the presence of all the nobles who attended the conference, did homage to the king of France for all the dominions which Henry held of that crown, and received the investitures as if he had already been the lawful possessor. This unexpected occurrence being naturally productive of infinite confusion, the conference broke up.

Cardinal Albano, the legate of pope Clement III. displeased with these increasing obstacles to the crusade, excommunicated Richard, as the chief spring of discord; but the sentence of excommunication, which, when it was properly prepared, and was zealously supported by the clergy, had often great influence in that age, proved ineffectual in the present case. The chief barons of Poictou, Guienne, Normandy, and Anjou, being attached to the young prince, and finding that he had now received the investiture from their superior lord, declared for him, and made inroads into the territories of such as still adhered to the king. Henry, disquieted by the daily revolts of his mutinous subjects, and dreading still worse effects from their turbulent disposition, had again recourse to papal authority; and engaged the cardinal Anagni, who had succeeded Albano in the legateship, to threaten Philip with laying an interdict on all his dominions. But Philip, who was a prince of great vigour and capacity, despised the menace, and told Anagni, that it belonged not to the pope to interpose in the temporal disputes of princes, much less in those between him and his rebellious vassal. He even proceeded so far as to reproach him with partiality, and with receiving bribes from the king of England; while Richard, still more outrageous, offered to draw his sword against the legate, and was hindered by the interposition alone of the company, from committing violence upon him.

The king of England was now obliged to defend his dominions by arms, and to engage in a war with France and his eldest son, a prince of great valour, on such disadvantageous terms. Ferte-Bernard fell first into the hands of the enemy: Mans was next taken by assault; and Henry, who had thrown himself into that place, escaped with some difficulty: Amboise, Chaumont, and Chateau de Loire, opened their gates on the appearance of Philip and Richard: Tours was menaced; and the king, who had retired to Saumur, and had daily instances of the cowardice or infidelity of his governors, expected the most dismal issue to all his enterprizes. While he was in this state of despondency, the duke of Burgundy, the earl of Flanders, and the archbishop of Rheims, interposed with their good offices; and the intelligence which he received of the taking of Tours, and which made him fully sensible of the desperate situation of his affairs, so subdued his spirit that he submitted to all the rigorous terms which were imposed upon him. He agreed, that Richard should marry the prin-

during his residence at the monastery of Argenteuil, one moon-light morning, a little before the break of day, the moon, which was then in the full, quitted its station in the firmament; descended upon the earth; and after resting there some time, as if to recover its strength, returned very leisurely to the place assigned it by the Creator. This was certainly a historian worthy the crusaders!

cess Alice; that that prince should receive the homage and oath of fealty of all his subjects both in England and his transmarine dominions; that he himself should pay twenty thousand marks to the king of France as a compensation for the charges of the war; that his own barons should engage to make him observe this treaty by force, and in case of his violating it, should promise to join Philip and Richard against him; and that all his vassals who had entered into confederacy with Richard, should receive an indemnity for the offence.

But the mortification which Henry, who had been accustomed to give the law in most treaties, received from these disadvantageous terms, was the least that he met with on this occasion. When he demanded a list of those barons to whom he was bound to grant a pardon for their connections with Richard, he was astonished to find at the head of them the name of his second son John; who had always been his favourite, whose interests he had ever anxiously at heart, and who had even, on account of his ascendant over him, often excited the jealousy of Richard. The unhappy father, already overloaded with cares and sorrows, finding his last disappointment in his domestic tenderness, broke out into expressions of the utmost despair, cursed the day in which he received his miserable being, and bestowed on his ungrateful and undutiful children a malediction which he never could be prevailed on to retract. The more his heart was disposed to friendship and affection, the more he resented the barbarous return which his four sons had successively made to his parental care; and this finishing blow, by depriving him of every comfort in life, quite broke his spirit, and threw him into a lingering fever, of which he expired at the castle of Chinon near Saumur, on the 6th of July, 1189, which was the thirty-fifth year of his reign, and the fifty-seventh of his age. His natural son Geoffrey, who alone had behaved dutifully towards him, attended his corpse to the nunnery of Fontevrault; where it lay in state in the abbey-church. Next day Richard, who came to visit the dead body of his father, and who, notwithstanding his criminal conduct, was not wholly destitute of generosity, was struck with horror and remorse at the sight; and as the attendants observed, that at that very instant, blood gushed from the mouth and nostrils of the corpse, he exclaimed, agreeably to a vulgar superstition, that he was his father's murderer; and he expressed a deep sense, though too late, of that undutiful behaviour which had brought his parent to an untimely grave.

Thus died the greatest prince of his time for wisdom, virtue, and abilities, and the most powerful in extent of dominion of all those that had ever filled the throne of England. His character, in private as well as in public life, is almost without a blemish; and he seems to have possessed every accomplishment, both of body and mind, which makes a man either estimable or amiable. He was of a middle stature, strong and well proportioned: his countenance was lively and engaging; his conversation affable and entertaining: his elocution easy, persuasive, and ever at command. He loved peace, but possessed both bravery and conduct in war; was provident without timidity; severe in the execution of justice without rigour; and temperate without austerity. He preserved health, and kept himself from corpulency, to which he was somewhat inclined, by an abstemious diet, and by frequent exercise, particularly hunting. When he could enjoy leisure, he recreated himself either in learned conversation or in reading; and he cultivated his natural talents by study above any prince of his time. His affections, as well as his enmities, were warm and durable; and his long experience of the ingratitude and infidelity of men never destroyed the natural sensibility of his temper, which disposed him to friendship and society. His character has been transmitted to us by several writers who were his contemporaries; and it extremely resembles, in its most remarkable features, that of his maternal grandfather Henry I. Excepting only, that ambition, which was a ruling passion in both, found not in the first Henry such unexceptionable means of exerting itself, and pushed that prince into measures, which were both criminal in themselves, and were the cause of farther crimes, from which his grandson's conduct was happily exempted.

This prince, says Hume, whose observations are exceedingly just, like most of his predecessors of the Norman line, except Stephen, passed more of his time on the continent than in this island: he was surrounded with the English gentry and nobility, when abroad: the French gentry and nobility attended him when he resided in England: both nations acted in the government as if they were the same people; and, on many occasions, the legislatures seem not to have been distinguished. As the king and all the English barons were of French extraction, the manners of that people acquired the ascendant, and were regarded as the models of imitation. All foreign improvements, therefore, such as they were, in literature and politeness, in laws and arts, seem now to have been, in a great measure, transplanted into England; and that kingdom was become little inferior in all the fashionable accomplishments, to any of its neighbours on the continent. The more homely but more sensible manners and principles of the Saxons, were exchanged for the affectations of chivalry and the subtilties of school philosophy: the feudal ideas of civil government, the Romish sentiments in religion, had taken entire possession of the people: by the former, the sense of submission towards princes was somewhat diminished in the barons; by the latter, the devoted attachment to papal authority was much augmented among the clergy. The Norman and other foreign families established in England, had now struck deep root; and being entirely incorporated with the people, whom at first they oppressed and despised, they no longer thought that they needed the protection of the crown for the enjoyment of their possessions, or considered their tenure as precarious. They aspired to the same liberty and independence which they saw enjoyed by their brethren on the continent, and desired to restrain those exorbitant prerogatives and arbitrary practices, which the necessities of war, and the violence of conquest had at first obliged them to indulge in their monarch. That memory also of a more equal government under the Saxon princes, which remained with the English, diffused still farther the spirit of liberty, and made the barons both desirous of more independence to themselves, and willing to indulge it to the people. And it was not long ere this secret revolution in the sentiments of men produced, first violent convulsions in the state, then an evident alteration in the maxims of government.

The history of all the preceding kings of England since the conquest, gives evident proofs of the disorders attending the feudal institutions; the licentiousness of the barons, their spirit of rebellion against the prince and laws, and of animosity against each other: the conduct of the barons in the transmarine dominions of those monarchs, afforded perhaps still more flagrant instances of these convulsions; and the history of France, during several ages, consists almost entirely of narrations of this nature. The cities, during the continuance of this violent government, could neither be very numerous, nor populous; and there occur instances which seem to evince, that, though these are always the first seat of law and liberty, their police was in general loose and irregular, and exposed to the same disorders with those by which the country was generally infested. It was a custom in London for great numbers, to the amount of a hundred or more, the sons and relations of considerable citizens, to form themselves into a licentious confederacy, to break into rich houses and plunder them, to rob and murder the passengers, and to commit with impunity all sorts of disorder. By these crimes, it had become so dangerous to walk the streets by night, that the citizens durst no more venture abroad after sun-set, than if they had been exposed to the incursions of a public enemy. The brother of the earl of Ferrars had been murdered by some of these nocturnal rioters; and the death of so eminent a person, which was much more regarded than that of many thousands of an inferior station, so provoked the king, that he swore vengeance against the criminals, and became thenceforth more rigorous in the execution of the laws.

There is another instance given by historians, which proves to what a height such riots had proceeded, and how open these criminals were in committing their robberies. A band of them had attacked the house of a rich citizen, with an intention of plundering it; had broken through a stone wall with hammers and wedges; and had already entered the house sword in hand; when the citizen, armed cap-a-pee, and supported by his faithful servants, appeared in the passage to oppose them: he cut off the right hand of the first robber that entered: and made such stout resistance, that his neighbours had leisure to assemble and come to his relief. The man who lost his hand was taken; and was tempted by the promise of pardon to reveal his confederates; among whom was one John Senex, esteemed among the richest and best-born citizens

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in London. He was convicted by the ordeal; and though he offered five hundred marks for his life, the king refused the money, and ordered him to be hanged (*i*).

Henry's care in administering justice had gained him so great a reputation, that even foreign and distant princes made him arbiter, and submitted their differences to his judgment. Sanchez, king of Navarre, having some controversies with Alfonso, king of Castile, was contented, though Alfonso had married the daughter of Henry, to chuse this prince for a referee; and they agreed, each of them to consign three castles into neutral hands, as a pledge of their not departing from his award. Henry made the cause to be examined before his great council, and gave a sentence, which was submitted to by both parties. These two Spanish kings sent each a stout champion to the court of England, in order to defend his cause by arms, in case the way of duel had been chosen by Henry.

Henry so far abolished the barbarous and absurd practice of confiscating ships which had been wrecked on the coast, that he ordained, if one man or animal were alive in the ship, that the vessel and the goods should be restored to the owners.

The reign of Henry was remarkable also for an innovation which was afterwards carried farther by his successors, and was attended with the most important consequences. This prince was disgusted with the species of military force which was established by the feudal institutions, and which, though it was extremely burdensome to the subject, yet rendered very little service to the sovereign. The barons, or military tenants, came late into the field; they were obliged to serve only forty days; they were unskilful and disorderly in all their operations; and they were apt to carry into the camp the same refractory and independent spirit, to which they were accustomed in their civil government. Henry, therefore, introduced the practice of making commutation of their military service for money; and he levied scutages from his baronies and knights fees, instead of requiring the personal attendance of his vassals. There is mention made, in the history of the exchequer, of these scutages in his second, fifth, and eighteenth years; and other writers give us an account of three more of them. When the prince had thus obtained money, he made a contract with some of those adventurers in which Europe at that time abounded: they found him soldiers of the same character with themselves, who were bound to serve for a stipulated time; the armies were less numerous, but more useful, than when composed of all the military vassals of the crown: the feudal institutions began to relax; the kings became rapacious for money, on which all their power depended: the barons, seeing no end of exactions, sought to defend their property; and as the same causes had nearly the same effects in the different countries of Europe, the several crowns either lost or acquired authority, according to their different success in the contest.

This prince was also the first that levied a tax on the moveables or personal estates of his subjects, nobles as well as commons. Their zeal for the holy wars made them submit to this innovation; and a precedent being once obtained, this taxation became, in following reigns, the usual method of supplying the necessities of the crown. The tax of Danegeld, so generally odious to the nation, was remitted in this reign.

It was a usual practice of the kings of England to repeat the ceremony of their coronation thrice every year, on assembling the states at the three great festivals. Henry, after the first years of his reign, never renewed this ceremony, which was found to be very expensive and useless. None of his successors revived it. It is considered as a great act of grace in this prince, that he mitigated the rigour of the forest laws, and punished any transgressions of them, not capitally, but by fines, imprisonments, and other more moderate penalties.

Since we are here collecting some detached incidents, which show the genius of the age, and which could not so well enter into the body of our history, it may not be improper to mention the quarrel between Roger archbishop of York, and Richard archbishop of Canterbury. We may judge of the violence of military men and laymen, when ecclesiastics could proceed to such extremities. Cardinal Haguezun being sent, in 1176, a legate into Britain, summoned an assembly of the clergy at London; and as both the archbishops pretended to sit on his right hand, this question of precedency begat a controversy between them. The monks and retainers of archbishop Richard fell upon Roger, in the presence of the cardinal and of the synod, threw him to the ground, trampled him under foot, and so bruised him with blows, that he was taken up half dead, and his life was, with difficulty, saved from their violence. The archbishop of Canterbury was obliged to pay a large sum of money to the legate, in order to suppress all complaints with regard to this enormity.

We are told by Gyraldus Cambrensis, that the monks and prior of St. Swithun threw themselves, one day, prostrate on the ground and in the mire before Henry, complaining with many tears and much doleful lamentation, that the bishop of Winchester, who was also their abbot, had cut off three dishes from their table. How many has he left you? said the king. Ten only, replied the disconsolate monks. I myself, exclaimed the king, never have more than three; and I enjoin your bishop to reduce you to the same number.

This king left only two legitimate sons, Richard who succeeded him, and John who inherited no territory, though his father often intended to leave him a part of his extensive dominions. He was thence commonly denominated Lackland. Henry left three legitimate daughters, Maud, born in 1156, and married to Henry, duke of Saxony; Eleanor, born in 1162, and married to Alfonso, king of Castile; Joan, born in 1165, and married to William king of Sicily.

Henry is said by ancient historians to have been of a very amorous disposition: they mention two of his natural sons by Rosamond (*k*), namely, Richard Longespee, or Longsword (so called from the sword he usually wore,) who was afterwards married to Ela, the daughter and heir of the earl of Salisbury; and Geoffrey, first bishop of Lincoln, then archbishop of York.

CHAP. II.

RICHARD I. SURNAMED CŒUR DE LION.

RICHARD's compunction on account of his undutiful behaviour towards his father was durable, and greatly influenced him in the choice of his ministers and servants after his accession to the throne. Those who had favoured his rebellion, instead of meeting with that trust and honor which they expected, were surprized to find themselves under

(*i*) It appears from a statute of Edward I. that these disorders were not remedied even in that reign. It was then made penal to go out at night after the hour of the curfew, to carry a weapon, or to walk without a light or lanthorn. It is said in the preamble to this law, that both by night and by day, there were continual frays in the streets of London.

(*k*) This lady was the first mistress of Henry. She was the daughter of Walter Clifford, baron of Herefordshire, and the most celebrated beauty in England. Their intrigue must have commenced in the year 1149, during the short stay Henry made in the west before he went to join the Scots at Carlisle, when he was but little more than sixteen years of age; for from that period he was never in England till 1153; and his youngest son was almost twenty years old when he was elected bishop of Lincoln, in 1179: the eldest must therefore have been born in 1150, unless we suppose that his mother followed her lover into France, of which there is not the smallest intimation in any of our ancient authors. At Henry's return into England, in the year 1153, he renewed his amour with her; and she must have borne him Geoffrey, her second son, in the course of that year. As he was then married, it is probable he might be fearful of exciting the jealousy of Eleanor; and therefore solicitous to conceal his intrigue from her knowledge. The necessity of this precaution he might conceive to be still greater when she came with him to England, after his accession to the throne: and this circumstance gave rise to the romantic tradition, mentioned by Brompton, of his having formed a kind of labyrinth at Woodstock to screen his mistress from the sight and vengeance of his queen; but the tale of her having been poisoned there by Eleanor, is wholly without foundation. Before her death Rosamond retired to the nunnery of Godstow, where she expired. Henry bestowed large revenues on the convent, from respect to her memory; in return for which he required that lamps should be kept constantly burning about her remains, which were placed near the high altar, in a tomb covered with silk: but during the reign of his successor, Hugh bishop of Lincoln, commanded them to be taken away, as being unworthy of so holy a place; in consequence of which they were removed to the chapter-house of the nunnery, and there interred. Many other proofs of Henry's incontinence are recorded by historians; but his love for Rosamond, or any other woman, was distinguished by no other weakness than what was inseparable from the passion itself, and the irregular indulgence of it: he never sacrificed to them one hour of business, nor suffered them to interfere in the government of his kingdom; nor was he guilty of profusion in the bestowal either of honours or riches on their relations or dependents. No worthless man ever rose to power by their favours: no worthy man ever incurred disgrace by their malice. Henry, indeed, was *too frequently* a lover; but he was *always* a king.

under disgrace with the new king, and on all occasions despised by him. He had learned that the panders of a prince were unfit companions for a monarch. The faithful ministers of Henry, who had vigorously opposed the enterprizes of his sons, were received with friendship, and continued in the enjoyment of those offices which they had discharged under their former master, with honour, rectitude, and ability (*l*).

Richard was so little apprehensive of any impediment to his succession, that he remained on the continent more than a month after the death of his father; during which time he paid a visit to the French monarch, who invested him with the duchy of Normandy. That he might make atonement to one parent for his breach of duty to the other, he immediately sent orders for the release of the queen dowager from the confinement in which she had long been detained; and he entrusted her with the government of England till his own arrival. His bounty to his brother John was rather profuse and imprudent. Besides bestowing on him the county of Mortague in Normandy, granting him a pension of four thousand marks a year, and marrying him to Avisa the daughter of the earl of Gloucester, by whom he inherited all the possessions of that opulent family, he increased his appanage, which the late king had destined him, by other extensive grants and concessions. He conferred on him the whole estate of William Peverell, which had escheated to the crown: he put him in possession of eight castles, with all the forests and honours annexed to them: he delivered over to him no less than seven earldoms, Cornwall, Devon, Somerset, Nottingham, Dorset, Lancaster, and Derby: and endeavouring, by favours, to fix that vicious prince in his duty, he put it too much in his power, whenever he pleased, to depart from it. He likewise bestowed the see of York on Henry's natural son Geoffrey.

The king, impelled more by the love of military glory than by superstition, acted, from the beginning of his reign, as if the sole purpose of his government had been the relief of the Holy Land, and the recovery of Jerusalem from the Saracens. His zeal against infidels being communicated to his subjects, broke out in London on the day of his coronation (*m*), and made them find a crusade less dangerous, attended with more immediate profit. The prejudices of the age had made the lending of money on interest pass by the invidious name of usury: yet the necessity of the practice had still continued it, and the greater part of that kind of dealing fell principally into the hands of the Jews; who, being already deemed infamous on account of their religion, had no honour to lose, and were apt to exercise a profession, odious in itself, by every kind of rigour, and even sometimes by rapine and extortion. The industry and frugality of this people had put them in possession of all the ready money, which the idleness and profusion common to the English with other European nations, enabled them to lend at exorbitant and unequal interest. The monkish writers represent it as a great stain on the wise and equitable government of Henry, that he had carefully protected this infidel race from all injuries and insults; but the zeal of Richard afforded the populace a pretence for venting their animosity against them. The king had issued an edict prohibiting their appearance at his coronation; but some of them bringing him large presents from their nation, presumed, in confidence of that merit, to approach the hall in which he dined: being discovered, they were exposed to the insults of the bystanders; they took to flight; the people pursued them; the rumour was spread, that the king had issued orders to massacre all the Jews; a command so agreeable was executed in an instant on such as fell into the hands of the populace: those who had kept at home were exposed to equal danger; the people, moved by rapacity and zeal, broke into their houses, which they plundered, after having murdered the owners; where the Jews barricadoed their doors and defended themselves with vigour, the rabble set fire to the houses, and made way through the flames to exercise their pillage and violence; the usual licentiousness of London, which the sovereign power with difficulty restrained, broke out with fury and continued these outrages; the houses of the rich citizens, though Christians, were next attacked and plundered; and weariness and satiety at last put an end to the disorder; yet, when the king impowered Glanville, the justiciary, to inquire into the authors of these crimes, the guilt was found to involve so many of the most considerable citizens, that it was deemed more prudent to drop the prosecution; and very few suffered the punishment due to this enormity. But the disorder stopped not at London. The inhabitants of some other cities of England, particularly Lynn, Stamford, York, Lincoln, and other towns in which the Jews were numerous, hearing of this slaughter of the Jews, imitated the example: in York, five hundred of that nation, who had retired into the castle for safety, and found themselves unable to defend the place, murdered their own wives and children, threw the dead bodies over the walls upon the populace, and then setting fire to the houses, perished in the flames. The gentry of the neighbourhood, who were all indebted to the Jews, ran to the cathedral, where their bonds were kept, and made a solemn bonfire of the papers before the altar (*n*).

The ancient situation of England, when the people possessed little riches and the public no credit, made it impossible for sovereigns to bear the expence of a steady or durable war, even on their frontiers; much less could they find regular means for the support of distant expeditions like those into Palestine, which were more the result of popular frenzy than of sober reason or deliberate policy. Richard, therefore, knew that he must carry with him all the treasure necessary for his enterprize, and that both the remoteness of his own country and its poverty, made it unable to furnish him with those continued supplies which the exigencies of so perilous a war must necessarily require. His father had left him a treasure of above a hundred thousand marks; and the king, negligent of every consideration but his present object, endeavoured to augment this sum by all expedients, how pernicious soever to the public, or dangerous to royal authority. He put to sale the revenues and manors of the crown; the offices of greatest trust and power, even those of forester and sheriff, which anciently were so important (*o*), became venal; the dignity of chief justiciary, in whose hands was lodged the whole execution of the laws, was sold to Hugh de Puzas, bishop of Durham, for a thousand marks; the same prelate bought the earldom of Northumberland for his own life; and the honor of Sudbery, for him and his successors in that see for ever. The king received considerable sums from the barons of Bedfordshire, and the knights of Surrey, for permitting them to clear certain parts of their respective counties which had been converted into forest ground. Many of the champions of the cross, who had repented of their vow, purchased the liberty of violating it; and Richard, who stood less in need of men than of money, dispensed, on these conditions, with their attendance. Elated with the hopes of fame, which in that age attended no wars but those against the infidels, he was blind to every other consideration; and when some of his wiser ministers objected to this dissipation of the revenue and power of the crown, he replied, that he would sell London itself, could he find a purchaser. Nothing indeed could be a stronger proof how negligent he was of all future interests in comparison of the crusade, than his selling, for so small a sum as ten thousand marks, the vassalage of Scotland, together with the fortresses of Roxborough and Berwick, the greatest acquisition that had been made by his father during the course of his victorious reign; and his accepting the homage of William in the usual terms, merely for the territories which that prince held in England. The English of all ranks and stations, were oppressed by numerous exactions: menaces were employed, both against the innocent and the guilty, in order to extort money from them: and where a pretence was wanting against the rich, the king obliged them by the fear of his displeasure, to lend him sums which, he knew, it would never be in his power to repay.

But though Richard sacrificed every interest and consideration

(*l*) Richard seized the person of Stephen de Tours, whom the late king had entrusted with the care of his foreign treasures. Although this officer immediately delivered up his valuable charge, he was not released till he had gratified the rapacity of the new king by the surrender of his private fortune. Richard then continued him in his office of seneschal of Anjou, which he exercised with ability and diligence.

(*m*) The third of September, 1189.—Richard, after he had settled his affairs on the continent, embarked for England, and landed at Portsmouth on the 13th of August.

(*n*) The compiler of the Annals of Waverly, in relating these infamous events, blesses the Almighty for thus delivering over this impious race to destruction. *Gale's Collec.* vol. iii. p. 165.

(*o*) The sheriff had anciently both the administration of justice and the management of the king's revenue committed to him in the county. See *Hale of Sheriff's Accounts*.

sideration to the success of this pious enterprize, he carried so little the appearance of sanctity in his conduct, that Fulk, curate of Neuilly, a zealous preacher of the crusade, who from that merit had acquired the privilege of speaking the boldest truths, advised him to rid himself of his notorious vices, particularly his pride, avarice, and voluptuousness, which he called the king's three favourite daughters. "You counsel well," replied Richard, "and I have already provided husbands for them all. I give the first to the Templars, the second to the Benedictines, and the third to my prelates."

Richard, jealous of attempts which might be made on England during his absence on the crusade, laid prince John, as well as his natural brother Geoffrey archbishop of York, under engagements, confirmed by their oaths, that neither of them should enter the kingdom till his return; though before his departure, he withdrew this prohibition on the request of his mother. The administration of government was left in the hands of Hugh bishop of Durham, and of Longchamp bishop of Ely, whom he appointed justiciaries and guardians of the realm. The latter was a Frenchman of mean birth, and of a violent character; who by art and address had insinuated himself into the royal favour, whom Richard had created chancellor, and whom he had engaged the pope also to invest with legatine authority, that, by centering every kind of power in his person, he might the better ensure the public tranquillity. All the military and turbulent spirits flocked about the person of the king, and were impatient to distinguish themselves against the infidels in Asia, whither his inclinations and his engagements led him. Having made the above arrangement for the government of England, Richard embarked at Dover on the 11th of December, and landed the same evening at Gravelines; from whence he pursued his journey through Flanders into Normandy. Soon after his arrival on the continent he had an interview with the king of France, at Gue St. Remi, to settle all the preliminaries of their intended expedition.

The emperor Frederic, a prince of great spirit and conduct, had already taken the road to Palestine at the head of one hundred and fifty thousand men, collected from Germany and other northern nations. Having surmounted every obstacle thrown in his way by the artifices of the Greeks and the power of the infidels, he had penetrated to the borders of Syria; when, bathing in the cold river Cydnus during the greatest heat of the summer season, he was seized with a mortal distemper, which put an end to his life and his rash enterprize. His army, under the command of his son Conrade, reached Palestine; but was so diminished by fatigue, famine, maladies, and the sword, that it scarcely amounted to eight thousand men; and was unable to make any progress against the great power, valour, and conduct of Saladin. These reiterated calamities attending the crusades had taught the kings of England and France the necessity of trying another road to the Holy Land; and they determined to conduct their armies thither by sea, to carry provisions along with them, and by means of their naval power, to maintain an open communication with their own states, and with the western parts of Europe. The place of rendezvous was appointed in the plains of Vezelay, on the borders of Burgundy; Philip and Richard, on their arrival there, on the 29th of June, 1190, found their combined army amount to one hundred thousand men.

The French prince and the English here reiterated their promises of cordial friendship, pledged their faith not to invade each other's dominions during the crusade, mutually exchanged the oaths of all their barons and prelates to the same effect, and subjected themselves to the penalty of interdicts and excommunications, if they should ever violate this public and solemn engagement. They left Vezelay on the first of July, and marched in one body to Lyons; but, finding it extremely inconvenient to proceed in the same order, the two kings parted at that city. Philip took the road to Genoa, Richard that to Marseilles, with a view of meeting their fleets, which were severally appointed to rendezvous in these harbours. They put to sea on the 14th of September; and, nearly about the same time, were obliged, by stress of weather, to take shelter in Messina, where they were detained during the whole winter. The king of France with his army remained in the city, and Richard took up his quarters in the suburbs. This incident laid the foundation of animosities which proved fatal to their enterprize (q).

The last king of Sicily and Naples was William II. who had married Joan, sister to Richard, and who, dying without issue, had bequeathed his dominions to his parental aunt Constantia, the only legitimate surviving descendant of Roger, the first sovereign of those states who had been honoured with the royal title. This princess had, in expectation of that rich inheritance, been married to Henry VI. the reigning emperor; but Tancred, her natural brother, had fixed such an interest among the barons, that, taking advantage of Henry's absence, he had acquired possession of the throne, and maintained his claim, by force of arms, against all the efforts of the Germans. The approach of the crusaders gave him apprehensions for his unstable government; and he was uncertain, whether he had most reason to dread the presence of the French or of the English monarch. Philip was engaged in a strict alliance with the emperor his competitor: Richard was disgusted by his rigours towards the queen-dowager, whom the Sicilian prince had confined in Palermo; because she had opposed with all her interest his succession to the crown. Tancred, therefore, sensible of the present necessity, resolved to pay court to both these formidable princes; and his attempts were not unsuccessful. He persuaded Philip that it was improper for him to interrupt his enterprize against the infidels, by any attack upon a Christian state: he restored Queen Joan to her liberty; and found means to make an alliance with Richard, who stipulated by treaty to marry his nephew Arthur, the young duke of Bretagne, to one of the daughters of Tancred. But before these terms of friendship were settled, Richard, jealous both of Tancred and the inhabitants of Messina, had taken up his quarters in the suburbs, as above-mentioned, and had possessed himself of a smal fort, which commanded the harbour; and he kept himself on his guard against their machinations. The citizens took umbrage in October. Mutual insults and attacks passed between them and the English: Philip, who had fixed his quarters in the town, endeavoured to accommodate the quarrel, and held a conference with Richard for that purpose. While the two kings, meeting in the open fields, were engaged in discourse on this subject, a body of those Sicilians seemed to be drawing towards them; and Richard pushed forwards, in order to inquire into the reason of this extraordinary movement. The English, insolent from their power, and inflamed with former animosities, wanted but a pretence for attacking the Messinese: they soon chased them off the field, drove them into the town, and entered with them at the gate. The king employed his authority to restrain them from committing violence on the defenceless inhabitants; but he gave orders, in token of his victory, that the standard of England should be erected on the walls. Philip, who considered that place as his quarters, exclaimed against the insult, and ordered some of his troops to pull down the standard: but Richard informed him by a messenger, that, though he himself would willingly remove that ground of offence, he would not permit it to be done by others; and if the French king attempted such an insult upon him, he should not succeed but by the utmost effusion of blood. Philip, content with this species of haughty submission, recalled his orders: the difference was seemingly accommodated; but still left the remains of rancour and jealousy in the breasts of the two sovereigns.

Tancred, who, for his own security, desired to inflame their mutual hatred, employed an artifice which might have been attended with consequences still more fatal. He showed Richard a letter in the beginning of 1191, signed by the French king, and delivered to him, as he pretended, by the duke of Burgundy; in which that mo-

(q) Richard and Philip were, by the situation and extent of their dominions, rivals in power; by their age and inclinations, competitors for glory; and these causes of emulation which, had the princes been employed in the field against the common enemy, might have stimulated them to martial enterprizes, soon excited, during the present leisure and repose, quarrels between monarchs of such a fiery character. Equally haughty, ambitious, intrepid, and inflexible, they were irritated with the least appearance of injury, and were incapable, by mutual condescensions, to efface those causes of complaint which unavoidably arose between them. Richard, candid, sincere, undesigning, impolitic, violent, laid himself open, on every occasion, to the designs of his antagonist: who, provident, interested, intriguing, failed not to take all advantages against him: and thus both, the circumstances of their disposition in which they were similar, and those in which they differed, rendered it impossible to preserve that harmony which was so necessary to the success of their understanding.

narch desired Tancred to fall upon the quarters of the English, and promised to assist him in putting them to the sword, as common enemies. The unwary Richard gave credit to the information; but was too candid not to betray his discontent to Philip, who absolutely denied the letter, and charged the Sicilian prince with forgery and falsehood. Richard either was, or pretended to be, entirely satisfied.

Lest these jealousies and complaints should multiply between them, it was proposed, that they should, by a solemn treaty, obviate all future differences, and adjust every point that could possibly hereafter become a controversy between them. But this expedient started a new dispute, which might have proved more dangerous than any of the foregoing, and which deeply concerned the honour of Philip's family. When Richard, in every treaty with the late king, insisted on being permitted to marry Adelais of France, he had only sought a pretence for quarrelling; and never meant to take to his bed a princess suspected of a criminal amour with his own father. After he became master, he no longer spake of that alliance: he even took measures for espousing Berengaria, daughter of Sanchez king of Navarre, with whom he had become enamoured during his abode in Guienne: queen Eleanor was daily expected with that princess at Messina: and when Philip renewed to him his applications for espousing his sister Adelais, Richard gave him an absolute refusal *(p)*. It is certain, from the treaty itself, which remains in Rymer's Fœdera, vol. i. p. 69, that Philip permitted Richard to give his hand to Berengaria; and having settled all other controversies with that prince, he immediately set sail for the Holy Land, on the 30th of March, 1191. Richard awaited some time the arrival of his mother and bride; and when they joined him, he separated his fleet into two squadrons, and set forward on his enterprize on the 10th of April, with a fleet of two hundred sail. Queen Eleanor returned to England; but Berengaria, and the queen dowager of Sicily, his sister, attended him on the expedition.

The English fleet, two days after leaving the port of Messina, met with a furious tempest; and the squadron on which the two princesses were embarked, was driven on the coast of Cyprus, and some of the vessels were wrecked near Limisso the capital of that island. Isaac, king of Cyprus, who assumed the magnificent title of emperor, pillaged the ships that were stranded, threw the seamen and passengers into prison, and even refused to the princesses liberty, in their dangerous situation, of entering the harbour of Limisso. But Richard, who arrived soon after, took ample vengeance on him for the injury. He disembarked his troops; defeated the tyrant, who opposed his landing; entered Limisso by storm; gained next day a second victory; obliged Isaac to surrender at discretion; and established governors over the island. The Greek prince, being thrown into prison and loaded with irons, complained of the little regard with which he was treated: upon which Richard ordered silver fetters to be made for him; and this emperor, pleased with the distinction, expressed a sense of the generosity of his conqueror. The king here espoused Berengaria, on the 12th of May, who, immediately embarking, carried along with her to Palestine, (where she landed on the first of June,) the daughter of the Cypriot prince; a dangerous rival, who was believed to have seduced the affections of her husband. Such, says Hume, were the libertine character and conduct of the heroes engaged in this pious enterprize!

The English army arrived in time to partake in the glory of the siege of Acre or Ptolemais, which had been attacked for above two years by the united force of all the Christians in Palestine, and had been defended by the utmost efforts of Saladin and the Saracens. The remains of the German army, conducted by the emperor Frederic, and the separate body of adventurers who continually poured in from the West, had enabled the king of Jerusalem to form this important enterprize: but Saladin, having thrown a strong garrison into the place under the command of Caracos, his own master in the art of war, and molesting the besiegers with continual attacks and sallies, had protracted the success of the enterprize, and wasted the force of his enemies. The arrival of Philip and Richard inspired new life into the Christians; and these princes, acting by concert, and sharing the honour and danger of every action, gave hopes of a final victory over the infidels. They agreed on this plan of operations: when the French monarch attacked the town, the English guarded the trenches: next day, when the English prince conducted the assault, the French succeeded him in providing for the safety of the assailants. The emulation between those rival kings and rival nations produced extraordinary acts of valour: Richard, in particular, animated with a more precipitate courage than Philip, and more agreeable to the romantic spirit of that age, drew to himself the general attention, and acquired a great and splendid reputation. But this harmony was of short duration; and occasions of discord soon arose between these jealous and haughty monarchs.

The family of Boüillon, which had first been placed on the throne of Jerusalem, ending in a female, Fulk, count of Anjou, grandfather to Henry II. of England, married the heiress of that kingdom, and transmitted his title to the younger branches of his family. The Anjevin race ending also in a female, Guy de Lusignan, by espousing Sibylla, the heiress, had succeeded to the title; and though he lost his kingdom by the invasion of Saladin, he was still acknowledged by all the Christians for king of Jerusalem. But as Sibylla died without issue, during the siege of Acre, Isabella, her youngest sister, put in her claim to that titular kingdom, and required Lusignan to resign his pretensions to her husband Conrade marquis of Montferrat. Lusignan, maintaining that the royal title was unalienable and indefeazable, had recourse to the protection of Richard, attended on him before he left Cyprus, and engaged him to embrace his cause. There needed no other reason for throwing Philip into the party of Conrade; and the opposite views of these great monarchs brought faction and dissention into the Christian army, and retarded all its operations. The Templars, the Genoese, and the Germans, declared for Philip and Conrade; the Flemings, the Pisans, the knights of the hospital of St. John, adhered to Richard and Lusignan. But notwithstanding these disputes, as the length of the siege had reduced the Saracen garrison to the last extremity, they surrendered themselves prisoners on the 12th of July, stipulated that the garrison should be allowed to march out only in their shirts, leaving all their arms and baggage behind them; that Saladin should restore the true cross, with two thousand five hundred Christian prisoners of the greatest note; that he should cause to be paid to the two victorious monarchs two hundred thousand pieces of gold, called Bysantines, for the ransom of the garrison, who were to be retained as hostages till the payment of the money *(r)*. Thus this great enterprize, which had long engaged the attention of all Europe and Asia, was at last, after the loss of three hundred thousand men, six archbishops, twelve bishops, forty earls, and five hundred barons, brought to a happy period.

But Philip, instead of pursuing the hopes of farther conquest, and of redeeming the holy city from slavery, being disgusted with the ascendant assumed and acquired by Richard, and having views of many advantages which he might reap by his presence in Europe, declared his resolution of returning to France; and he pleaded his bad state of health as an excuse for his desertion of the common cause. He left, however, to Richard, ten thousand of his troops, under the command of the duke of Burgundy; and he renewed his oath never to commence hostilities against that prince's dominions during his absence. But he had no sooner reached Italy than he applied, it is pretended, to pope Celestine III. for a dispensation from this vow; and when denied that request, he still proceeded, though after a covert manner, in a project, which the present situation of England rendered inviting, and which gratified, in an eminent degree, both his ambition and his revenge.

Immediately after Richard had left England, and begun his march to the Holy Land, the two prelates, whom

(q) It is pretended by Hoveden, and other historians, that he was able to produce such convincing proofs of Adelais's infidelity, and even of her having borne a child to Henry, that her brother desisted from his applications, and chose to conceal the dishonour of his family, and consign it to oblivion.

(r) However great the glory acquired by Richard in the siege of Acre, the lustre of it was tarnished by an act of vindictive inhumanity. Saladin having refused to restore the cross, and pay the sum stipulated by the treaty, Richard was so enraged at his perfidy, that he ordered the Mohammedan hostages, amounting to two thousand seven hundred persons, to be brought out before the town, and beheaded in the sight of their countrymen. This mark of cruelty was immediately retaliated by Saladin, who ordered the instant decapitation of a considerable number of Christian prisoners.

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he had appointed guardians of the realm, broke out into animosities against each other, and threw the kingdom into combustion. Longchamp, presumptuous in his nature, elated by the favour which he enjoyed with his master, and armed with the legatine commission, could not submit to an equality with the bishop of Durham: he even arrested his colleague, and extorted from him a resignation of the earldom of Northumberland, and of his other dignities, as the price of his liberty. The king, informed of these dissensions, ordered, by letters from Marseilles, that the bishop should be reinstated in his offices; but Longchamp had still the boldness to refuse compliance, on pretence that himself was better acquainted with the king's secret intentions. He proceeded to govern the kingdom by his sole authority; to treat all the nobility with arrogance; and to display his power and riches with an invidious ostentation. He never travelled without a strong guard of fifteen hundred foreign soldiers, collected from that licentious tribe with which the age was generally infested. Nobles and knights were proud of being admitted into his train: his retinue wore the aspect of royal magnificence; and when, in his progress through the kingdom, he lodged in any monastery, his attendants, it is said, were sufficient to devour, in one night, the revenue of several years. The king, who was detained in Europe longer than the haughty prelate expected, hearing of this ostentation, which exceeded even what the habits of that age indulged in ecclesiastics; being also informed of the insolent and tyrannical conduct of his minister; thought proper to restrain his power: he sent new orders, appointing Walter archbishop of Roüen, William Mareshal earl of Strigul, Geoffrey Fitz-Peter, William Briewere, and Hugh Bardolf, counsellors to Longchamp; and commanding him to take no measure of importance without their concurrence and approbation. But the violence of this turbulent prelate had diffused such general terror among the people, that even the archbishop of Roüen and the earl of Strigul durst not produce the king's mandate; and Longchamp still maintained an uncontrouled authority over the nation. But when he proceeded so far as to throw into prison, Geoffrey archbishop of York, who had opposed his measures, this breach of ecclesiastical privileges excited such an universal ferment, that prince John, disgusted with the small share he possessed in the government, and personally disobliged by Longchamp, ventured to summon, at Reading, a general council of the nobility and prelates, and cite him to appear before them. Longchamp thought it dangerous to entrust his person in their hands, and he shut himself up in the Tower of London; but being soon obliged to surrender that fortress, he fled beyond sea, concealed under a female habit, and was deprived of his offices of chancellor and chief justiciary; the last of which was conferred on the archbishop of Roüen, a prelate of prudence and moderation. The commission of legate, however, which had been renewed to Longchamp by pope Celestine, still gave him, notwithstanding his absence, great authority in the kingdom, enabled him to disturb the government, and forwarded the views of Philip, who watched every opportunity of annoying Richard's dominions. That monarch held a conference with the seneschal of Normandy on the 20th of January, 1192, in which he demanded the cession of Gisors; and, his request being rejected with scorn, he attempted to carry open war into Normandy; but as the French nobility refused to follow him in an invasion of a state which they had sworn to protect, and as the pope, who was the general guardian of all princes that had taken the cross, threatened him with ecclesiastical censures, he desisted from his enterprize, and employed against England the expedient of secret policy and intrigue. He debauched prince John from his allegiance; promised him his sister Adelais in marriage; offered to give him possession of all Richard's transmarine dominions; and had not the authority of queen Eleanor, and the menaces of the English council, prevailed over the inclinations of that turbulent prince, he was ready to have crossed the seas, and to have put in execution his criminal projects.

The jealousy of Philip was every moment excited by the glory which the great actions of Richard were gaining him in the East, and which, being compared to his own desertion of that popular cause, threw a double lustre on his rival. His envy, therefore, prompted him to obscure that fame which he had not equalled; and he embraced every opportunity of throwing the most violent and improbable calumnies on the king of England. There was a petty prince in Asia, commonly called "The old man of the mountain," who had acquired such an ascendant over his fanatical subjects, that they paid the most implicit deference to his commands; esteemed assassination meritorious, when sanctified by his mandate; courted danger, and even certain death, in the execution of his orders; and fancied, that when they sacrificed their lives for his sake, the highest joys of paradise were the infallible reward of their devoted obedience. It was the custom of this prince, when he imagined himself injured, to dispatch secretly some of his subjects against the aggressor, to charge them with the execution of his revenge, to instruct them in every art of disguising their purpose; and no precaution was sufficient to guard any man, however powerful, against the attempts of those subtle and determined ruffians. The greatest monarchs stood in awe of this prince of the Assassins (for that was the name of his people; whence the word has passed into most European languages), and it was the highest indiscretion in Conrade marquis of Montferrat to offend and affront him. The inhabitants of Tyre, who were governed by that nobleman, had put to death some of this dangerous people: the prince demanded satisfaction: for, as he piqued himself on never beginning any offence, he had his regular and established formalities in requiring atonement: Conrade treated his messengers with disdain, the prince issued the fatal orders: two of his subjects, who had insinuated themselves in disguise among Conrade's guards, openly, in the streets of Sidon, wounded him mortally; and when they were seized and put to the most cruel tortures, they triumphed amidst their agonies, and rejoiced that they had been destined by Heaven to suffer in so just and meritorious a cause. Every one in Palestine knew from what hand the blow came. Richard was entirely free from suspicion. Though that monarch had formerly espoused the cause of Lusignan against Conrade, he had become sensible of the bad effects attending those dissentions, and had voluntarily conferred on the former the kingdom of Cyprus, on condition that he should resign to his rival all pretensions to the crown of Jerusalem. Conrade himself, with his dying breath, had recommended his widow to the protection of Richard; the prince of the Assassins avowed the action in a formal narrative which he sent to Europe; yet on this foundation, the king of France thought fit to build the most egregious calumnies, and to impute to Richard the murder of the marquis of Montferrat, whose elevation he had once openly opposed. He filled all Europe with exclamations against the crime; appointed a guard for his own person, in order to defend himself against a like attempt; and endeavoured by these artifices, to cover the infamy of attacking the dominions of a prince, whom himself had deserted, and who was engaged with so much glory in a war, universally acknowledged to be the common cause of the christian world.

After Philip's departure, the whole burden of the war devolved upon Richard, who found himself in a very perplexed situation, owing to the contest between Guy of Lusignan and Conrade marquis of Montferrat about the crown of Jerusalem. This competition had occasioned great dissentions in the army, till an accommodation was effected by the interposition of the other christian princes, by which it was settled, that Lusignan should possess the kingdom for life; that the succession should fall to Conrade and his heirs; and that, in the interim, they should divide its revenues between them.

Notwithstanding this pacification, Conrade still maintained a correspondence with Saladin, and avoided a junction with the king of England: who having repaired the walls of Ascalon, quitted that city on the 25th of August, and directed his march towards Joppa along the sea coast, for the convenience of being supplied with provisions from his fleet. Saladin, at the head of an army of three hundred thousand men, attended his motions, and harassed his troops with perpetual skirmishes, in which astonishing acts of valour were performed on both sides. At length Richard, in no wise dismayed by the superiority of their numbers, determined to bring the enemy to a general engagement: accordingly, on the 6th of September was fought one of the greatest battles of that age. Early in the day, the right wing of the christians, commanded by James d'Avesnes, and the left, commanded by the duke of Burgundy, were thrown into disorder; when Richard, who led on the main body, restored the battle; and, by a wonderful display of personal courage and military skill, turned the tide of success in favour of the christians. The Saracens were completely defeated, with the loss of forty thousand men, who perished in the field.

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After this important victory the Christian army continued their march to Joppa, which they found deserted by its inhabitants, and almost demolished. Richard proposed, therefore, to proceed with all possible expedition to Ascalon; but the duke of Burgundy, who had received secret instructions from his sovereign to thwart all the projects of the king of England, insisted, with such inflexible pertinacity, on staying to repair Joppa, that he was compelled to consent.

During his stay in this city an adventure befel Richard that had nearly been attended with fatal consequences. As he was one day returning from hunting, finding himself considerably fatigued, he alighted from his horse, and laid himself down to sleep beneath a tree, with only six attendants about his person: when he was rouzed by the sudden appearance of a party of Saracen horse. As they were but few in number, he mounted his horse and pursued them, till they drew him into an ambuscade, that consisted of a whole squadron. Richard, who was unused to fly, defended himself with wonderful bravery; but four of his attendants being slain, he must inevitably have been taken, but for a stratagem of William Despreaux, one of his company; who, seeing his danger, cried out in the Saracen language, "I am the king of England!" This exclamation immediately drew the attention of the enemy on himself, and all their efforts were accordingly directed to make themselves masters of his person, which gave Richard time to provide for his safety by flight; while the Saracens, content with their success, conducted their prisoner to Saladin. Despreaux had the prudence not to discover himself till he came into the presence of the Sultan, to whom he ingenuously confessed the stratagem he had adopted to save his sovereign. Saladin highly commended his fidelity, but being sensible that Richard would not suffer so faithful a servant to remain long in captivity, fixed his ransom so high, that he procured ten emirs, or Saracen princes, in exchange for him.

After remaining seven weeks at Joppa, Richard, in the beginning of November, began his march to Jerusalem; but his progress was considerably retarded, as well by the heavy rains and frequent assaults of the enemy, as by the numerous castles that had been demolished by the Saracens, which he found it necessary to rebuild: and when he had surmounted every obstacle, and had arrived in the vicinity of the holy city, in the last week of December, the Templars, Hospitallers, and Pisans, at the instigation of the duke of Burgundy, opposed the commencement of the siege, and compelled him to return to Ascalon.

There appeared now an absolute necessity of abandoning for the present all hopes of farther conquest, and of securing the acquisitions of the christians by an accommodation with Saladin. Richard, therefore, concluded a truce with that monarch, and stipulated, that Acre, Joppa, and other sea-port towns of Palestine, should remain in the hands of the Christians, and that every one of that religion should have liberty to perform his pilgrimage to Jerusalem unmolested. This truce was concluded for three years, three months, three weeks, three days, and three hours; a magical number, which had probably been devised by the Europeans, and which was suggested by a superstition well suited to the object of the war (s).

There remained, after the truce, no business of importance to detain Richard in Palestine; and the intelligence which he received, concerning the intrigues of his brother John, and those of the king of France, made him sensible, that his presence was necessary in Europe. He left the port of Acon in a swift sailing vessel, on the 9th of October, (having previously sent away the queens of England and Sicily,) and as he dared not to pass through France, he sailed to the Adriatic; where being shipwrecked near Aquileia, he put on the disguise of a pilgrim, with a purpose of taking his journey secretly through Germany. Pursued by the governor of Istria, he was forced out of the direct road to England, and was obliged to pass by Vienna; where his expenses and liberalities betrayed the monarch in the habit of the pilgrim; and he was arrested on the 20th of December, by order of Leopold duke of Austria. This prince had served under Richard at the siege of Acre; but being disgusted by some insult of that monarch, he was so ungenerous as to seize the present opportunity of gratifying at once his avarice and revenge; and he threw the king into prison. The emperor Henry VI. who also considered Richard as an enemy, on account of the alliance contracted by him with Tancred king of Sicily, dispatched messengers to the duke of Austria, required the royal captive to be delivered to him, and stipulated a large sum of money as a reward for this service. Thus the king of England, who had filled the whole world with his renown, found himself, in the beginning of 1193, during the most critical state of his affairs, confined in a dungeon, and loaded with irons, in the heart of Germany, and entirely at the mercy of his enemies, the basest and most sordid of men.

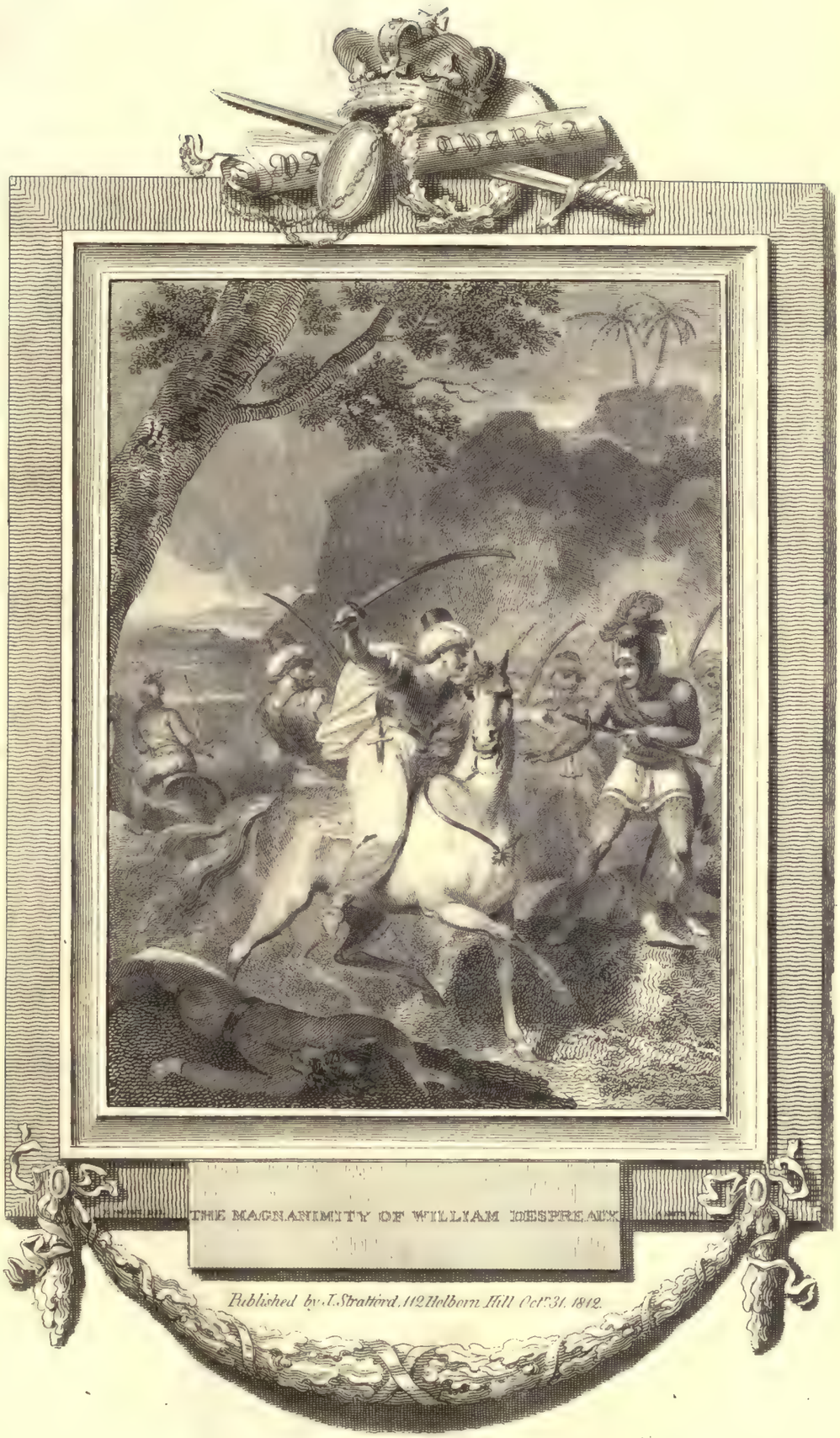
The English council was astonished on receiving this fatal intelligence; and foresaw all the dangerous consequences which might naturally arise from that event. The queen-dowager wrote reiterated letters to pope Celestine, exclaiming against the injury which her son had sustained; representing the impiety of detaining in prison the most illustrious prince that had yet carried the banners of Christ into the Holy Land; claiming the protection of the apostolic see, which was due even to the meanest of those adventurers; and upbraiding the pope, that, in a cause where justice, religion, and the dignity of the church, were so much concerned, a cause which it might well befit his holiness himself to support by taking in person a journey to Germany, the spiritual thunders should so long be suspended over those sacrilegious offenders. The zeal of Celestine corresponded not to the impatience of the queen-mother; and the regency of England were, for a long time, left to struggle alone with all their domestic and foreign enemies.

The king of France, quickly informed of Richard's confinement by a message from the emperor, prepared himself to take advantage of the incident; and employed every means of force and intrigue, of war and negociation, against the dominions and the person of his unfortunate rival. He revived the calumny of Richard's assassinating the marquis of Montferrat; and by that absurd pretence he induced his barons to violate their oaths, by which they had engaged that, during the crusade, they never would, on any account, attack the dominions of the king of England. He made the emperor the largest offers, if he would deliver into his hands the royal prisoner, or at least detain him in perpetual captivity: he even formed an alliance by marriage with the king of Denmark, desired that the ancient Danish claim to the crown of England should be transferred to him, and solicited a supply of shipping to maintain it. But the most successful of Philip's negociations was with prince John, who, forgetting every tye to his brother, his sovereign, and his benefactor, thought of nothing but how to make his own advantage of the public calamities. That traitor, on the first invitation from the court of France, suddenly went abroad, had a conference with Philip, and made a treaty, of which the object was the perpetual ruin of his unhappy brother. He stipulated to deliver into Philip's hands all that part of Normandy which lies north of the Seine, except Roüen, and some other towns: he received, in return, the investiture of all Richard's transmarine dominions; and it is reported by several historians, that he even did homage to the French king for the crown of England.

This treaty being concluded, Philip invaded Normandy; and by the treachery of John's emissaries, made himself master, without opposition, of many fortresses, Neufchatel, Neauffle, Gisors, Pacey, Ivree: he subdued the counties of Eu and Aumale; and advancing to form the siege of Roüen, he threatened to put all the inhabitants to the sword, if they dared to make resistance. Fortunately, Robert earl of Leicester appeared in that critical moment. This gallant nobleman, who had acquired great honour dur-

(s) The liberty, in which Saladin indulged the Christians, to perform their pilgrimages to Jerusalem, was an easy sacrifice on his part; and the furious wars which he waged in defence of the barren territory of Judea, were not with him, as with the European adventurers, the result of superstition, but of policy. The advantage indeed of science, moderation, humanity, was at that time entirely on the side of the Saracens; and this gallant emperor, in particular, displayed, during the course of the war, a spirit and generosity, which even his bigotted enemies were obliged to acknowledge and admire. Richard, equally martial and brave, carried with him more of the barbarian character; and was guilty of acts of ferocity, which threw a stain on his celebrated victories. When Saladin refused to ratify the capitulation of Acre, the king of England ordered all his prisoners, to the number of five thousand, to be butchered; and the Saracens found themselves obliged to retaliate upon the Christians by a like cruelty. Saladin died at Damascus soon after concluding this truce with the princes of the crusade. It is memorable, that, before he expired, he ordered his winding-sheet to be carried as a standard through every street in the city; while a crier went before, and proclaimed with a loud voice, "This is all that remains to the mighty Saladin, the conqueror of the East." By his last will he ordered charities to be distributed to the poor, without distinction of Jew, Christian, or Mohammedan.

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THE MAGNANIMITY OF WILLIAM DESPREAUX

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ing the crusade, and who, being more happy than his master in finding his passage homewards, took on him the command in Roüen, and exerted himself, by his exhortations and example, to infuse courage into the dismayed Normans, whom he advised to despise the menaces of the French king. Philip was repulsed in every attack; the time of service from his vassals expired; and he consented to a truce with the English regency, on the 9th of July, 1193: he received in return the promise of twenty thousand marks, and had four castles put into his hands, as security for the payment.

Prince John, who, with a view of increasing the general confusion, went over to England, was still less successful in his enterprizes. He was only able to make himself master of the castles of Windsor and Wallingford; but when he arrived in London, and claimed the kingdom as heir to his brother, of whose death he pretended to have received certain intelligence, he was rejected by all the barons, and measures were taken to oppose and subdue him. The justiciaries, supported by the general affection of the people, provided so well for the defence of the kingdom, that John was obliged, after some fruitless efforts, to conclude a truce with them; and before its expiration, he thought proper to return into France, where he openly avowed his alliance with Philip.

In the mean time the high spirit of Richard suffered in Germany every kind of insult and indignity. The French ambassadors, in their master's name, renounced him as a vassal to the crown of France, and declared all his fiefs to be forfeited to his liege-lord. The emperor, that he might render him more impatient for the recovery of his liberty, and make him submit to the payment of a larger ransom, treated him with the greatest severity, and reduced him to a condition worse than that of the meanest malefactor. He was even produced before the diet of the empire at Worms, on the 13th of July, and accused by Henry of many crimes and misdemeanors; of making an alliance with Tancred, the usurper of the crown of Sicily; of turning the arms of the crusade against a Christian prince, and subduing Cyprus; of affronting the duke of Austria before Acre; of obstructing the progress of the Christian arms by his quarrels with the king of France; of assassinating Conrade marquis of Montferrat; and of concluding a truce with Saladin, and leaving Jerusalem in the hands of the Saracen emperor. Richard, whose spirit was not broken by his misfortunes, and whose genius was rather roused by these frivolous or scandalous imputations; after premising that his dignity exempted him from answering before any jurisdiction, except that of Heaven; yet condescended, for the sake of his reputation, to justify his conduct before that great assembly. He observed, that he had no hand in Tancred's elevation, and only concluded a treaty with a prince, whom he found in possession of the throne: that the king or rather tyrant of Cyprus, had provoked his indignation by the most ungenerous and unjust proceedings; and though he chastised this aggressor, he had not retarded a moment the progress of his chief enterprize: that if he had at any time been wanting in civility to the duke of Austria, he had already been sufficiently punished for that sally of passion; and it better became men, embarked together in so holy a cause, to forgive each other's infirmities, than to pursue a slight offence with such unrelenting vengeance; that it had sufficiently appeared by the event, whether the king of France or he were most zealous for the conquest of the Holy Land, and were most likely to sacrifice private passions and animosities to that great object; that if the whole tenor of his life had not shewn him incapable of a base assassination, and justified him from that imputation in the eyes of his very enemies, it was in vain for him, at present, to make his apology, or plead the many irrefragable arguments which he could produce in his own favour: and that, however he might regret the necessity, he was so far from being ashamed of his truce with Saladin, that he rather gloried in that event; and thought it extremely honourable, that, though abandoned by all the world, supported only by his own courage and by the small remains of his national troops, he could yet obtain such conditions from the most powerful and most warlike emperor that the east had ever yet produced. Richard, after thus deigning to apologize for his conduct, burst out into indignation at the cruel treatment which he had met with; that he, the champion of the cross, still wearing that honourable badge, should, after expending the blood and treasure of his subjects in the common cause of Christendom, be intercepted by Christian princes in his return to his own country, be thrown into a dungeon, be loaded with irons, be obliged to plead his cause, as if he were a subject and a malefactor; and, what he still more regretted, be thereby prevented from making preparations for a new crusade, which he had projected, after the expiration of the truce, and from redeeming the sepulchre of Christ, which had so long been profaned by the dominion of infidels. The spirit and eloquence of Richard made such impression on the German princes, that they exclaimed loudly against the conduct of the emperor; the pope threatened him with excommunication; and Henry, who had hearkened to the proposals of the king of France and prince John, found that it would be impracticable for him to execute his and their base purposes, or to detain the king of England any longer in captivity. He therefore concluded with him a treaty for his ransom, and agreed to restore him to his freedom for the sum of one hundred and fifty thousand marks, about three hundred thousand pounds of our present money; of which one hundred thousand marks were to be paid before he received his liberty, and sixty-seven hostages delivered as a security for the payment of the remainder. The emperor, as if to gloss over the infamy of this transaction, made at the same time a present to Richard of the kingdom of Arles, comprehending Provence, Dauphiny, Narbonne, and other states, over which the empire had some antiquated claims; a present which the king very wisely neglected to attempt taking possession of.

The captivity of the superior lord was one of the cases provided for by the feudal tenures; and all the vassals were in that event obliged to give an aid for his ransom. Twenty shillings were therefore levied on each knight's fee in England; but as this money came in slowly, and was not sufficient for the intended purpose, the voluntary zeal of the people readily supplied the deficiency. The churches and monasteries melted down their plate, to the amount of thirty thousand marks; the bishops, abbots, and nobles, paid a fourth of their yearly rent; the parochial clergy contributed a tenth of their tithes; and the requisite sum being thus collected, queen Eleanor, and Walter archbishop of Roüen, set out with it for Germany on the 4th of February, 1194; paid the money to the emperor and the duke of Austria at Mentz; delivered them hostages for the remainder, and freed Richard from captivity. His escape was very critical. Henry had been detected in the assassination of the bishop of Liege, and in an attempt of a like nature on the duke of Louvain; and finding himself extremely disagreeable to the German princes on account of these odious practices, he had determined to seek support from an alliance with the king of France; to detain Richard, the enemy of that prince, in perpetual captivity; to keep in his hands the money which he had already received for his ransom; and to extort fresh sums from Philip and prince John, who were very liberal in their offers to him. He therefore gave orders that Richard should be pursued and arrested; but the king making all imaginable haste, had already embarked at the mouth of the Scheldt, and was out of sight of land, when the messengers of the emperor reached Antwerp.

Richard landed at Sandwich on the 20th of March, and proceeded to London. The joy of the English was extreme on the appearance of their monarch, who had suffered so many calamities, who had acquired so much glory, and who had spread the reputation of their name into the East, whither their fame had never before been able to extend. He gave them, soon after his arrival, an opportunity of publicly displaying their exultation, by ordering himself to be crowned anew at Winchester, on the 17th of April; as if he intended, by that ceremony, to reinstate himself in his throne, and to wipe off the ignominy of his captivity. Their satisfaction was not damped, even when he declared his purpose of resuming all those exorbitant grants, which he had been necessitated to make before his departure for the Holy Land. The barons also, in a great council, confiscated, on account of his treason, all prince John's possessions in England; and assisted the king in reducing the fortresses which still remained in the hands of his brother's adherents. Richard, having settled every thing in England, he collected his forces, embarked at Portsmouth on board a fleet of a hundred sail, and landed at Barfleur in Normandy, on the 12th of May; being impatient to make war on Philip, and to revenge himself for the many injuries which he had received from that monarch. As soon as Philip heard of the king's deliverance from captivity, he wrote to his confederate John, in these

terms: "Take care of yourself: the devil is broken loose."

When we consider such powerful and martial monarchs, inflamed with personal animosity against each other, enraged by mutual injuries, excited by rivalship, impelled by opposite interests, and instigated by the pride and violence of their own temper; our curiosity is naturally raised, and we expect an obstinate and furious war, distinguished by the greatest events, and concluded by some remarkable catastrophe. Yet are the incidents, which attend those hostilities, so frivolous, that scarcely any historian can entertain such a passion for military descriptions as to venture on a detail of them: a certain proof of the extreme weakness of princes in those ages, and of the little authority they possessed over their refractory vassals! The whole amount of the exploits on both sides is, the taking of a castle, the surprize of a straggling party, a renconter of horse, which resembles more a rout than a battle. Richard obliged Philip to raise the siege of Verneüil; he took Lochis, a small town in Anjou; he made himself master of Beaumont, and some other places of little consequence; and after these trivial exploits, the two kings began already to hold conferences for an accommodation. Philip insisted that, if a general peace were concluded, the barons on each side should, for the future, be prohibited from carrying on private wars against each other: but Richard replied, that this was a right claimed by his vassals, and he could not debar them from it. After this fruitless negociation, there ensued an action between the French and English cavalry at Fretteval, on the 5th of July, in which the former were routed, and the king of France's cartulary and records, which commonly at that time attended his person, were taken. But this victory leading to no important advantages, a truce for a year was at last, from mutual weakness, concluded between the two monarchs, on the 23rd of that month.

During this war, prince John deserted from Philip, threw himself at his brother's feet, craved pardon for his offences, and by the intercession of queen Eleanor was received into favour. "I forgive him," said the king, "and hope I shall as easily forget his injuries, as he will my pardon." John was incapable even of returning to his duty, without committing a baseness. Before he left Philip's party, he invited to dinner all the officers of the garrison which that prince had placed in the citadel of Evreux; he massacred them during the entertainment; fell, with the assistance of the townsmen, on the garrison, whom he put to the sword; and then delivered up the place to his brother.

The king of France was the great object of Richard's resentment and animosity; the conduct of John, as well as that of the emperor and duke of Austria, had been so base, and was exposed to such general odium and reproach, that the king deemed himself sufficiently revenged for their injuries; and he seems never to have entertained any project of vengeance against any of them. The duke of Austria, about this time, having crushed his leg by the fall of his horse at a tournament, on St. Stephen's day, was thrown into a fever; and being struck on the approaches of death, with remorse for his injustice to Richard, he ordered, by will, all the English hostages in his hands to be set at liberty, and the remainder of the debt due to him to be remitted; his son, who seemed inclined to disobey these orders, was constrained by his ecclesiastics to execute them. The emperor also made advances for Richard's friendship, in 1195, and offered to give him a discharge of all the debt not yet paid to him, provided he would enter into an offensive alliance against the king of France; a proposal which Richard embraced. The treaty with the emperor took no effect; but it served to rekindle the war between France and England before the expiration of the truce. This war was not distinguished by any more remarkable incidents than the foregoing. After mutually ravaging the open country, and taking a few insignificant castles, the two kings concluded a peace at Louviers, on the 5th of December, and made an exchange of some territories with each other. Their inability to wage war occasioned the peace; but their mutual antipathy engaged them again in war before two months had expired, which commenced about the middle of January, 1196. Richard imagined, that he had now found an opportunity of gaining great advantages over his rival, by forming an alliance with the counts of Flanders, Toulouse, Boulogne, Champagne, and other considerable vassals of the crown of France. But he soon experienced the insincerity of those princes; and was not able to make any impression on that kingdom, while governed by a monarch of so much vigour and activity as Philip. The most remarkable incident of this war was the taking prisoner in battle the bishop of Beauvais, a martial prelate, who was of the family of Dreux, and a near relation of the French king's. Richard, who hated that bishop, threw him into prison, and loaded him with irons; and when the pope demanded his liberty, and claimed him as his son, the king sent to his holiness the coat of mail which the prelate had worn in battle, and which was all besmeared with blood; and he replied to him, in the terms employed by Jacob's sons to that patriarch, "This have we found: Know now whether it be thy son's coat or no (*t*)." This new war between the rival kings of England and France, though carried on with such virulence, that both parties frequently put out the eyes of their prisoners, was soon finished by a truce of five years; and immediately after signing this treaty, the monarchs were ready, on some new offence, to break out again into hostilities. After the conclusion of this truce, the pope again exerted his mediatory powers in order to effect a lasting peace, that the two kings might be enabled to undertake a second expedition to Palestine, and the cardinal of St. Mary, the pope's legate, accommodated the difference. This prelate even engaged the princes to commence a treaty for a more durable peace; but the death of Richard put an end to the negociation.

Vidomar, viscount of Limoges, a vassal of the king's, had found a valuable treasure, consisting of ancient coins and medals, of which he sent part to that prince; but Richard, as superior lord, claimed the whole; and, at the head of some Brabançons, besieged the viscount in the castle of Chalus, near Limoges, in order to make him comply with his demand. The garrison offered to surrender; but the king replied, that, since he had taken the pains to come thither and besiege the place in person, he would take it by force, and would hang every one of them. The same day Richard, accompanied by Marcadée, leader of his Brabançons, approached the castle in order to survey it; when one Bertrand de Gourdon, an archer, took aim at him, and pierced his shoulder with an arrow. The king, however, gave orders for the assault on the 28th of March, 1129, took the place, and hanged all the garrison, except Gourdon, who had wounded him, and who was reserved for a more deliberate and cruel execution. The wound was not in itself dangerous; but the unskilfulness of the surgeon made it mortal: he so mangled Richard's shoulder in extracting the arrow, that a gangrene ensued. That prince, sensible that his life was drawing towards a period, sent for Gourdon, and asked him, "Wretch, what have I ever done to you, to oblige you to seek my life?" "What have you done to me?" replied coolly the prisoner: "You killed with your own hands my father and my two brothers; and you intended to have hanged myself: I am now in your power, and you may take revenge, by inflicting on me the most severe torments; but I shall endure them all with pleasure, provided I can think that I have been so happy as to rid the world of such a tyrant." Richard, struck with the reasonableness of this reply, and humbled by the near approach of death, ordered Gourdon to be set at liberty, and a sum of money to be given him; but Marcadée, unknown to him, seized the unhappy man, flayed him alive, and then hanged him. Richard died on the 6th of April, in the tenth year of his reign, and the forty-second of his age (*u*); leaving no issue behind him, except one natural son.

The most shining part of this prince's character are his military talents. No man, even in that romantic age, carried personal courage and intrepidity to a greater height; and this quality gained him the appellation of *Cœur de Lion*, or the Lion-hearted. He passionately loved glory, chiefly military glory; and as his conduct in the field was not inferior to his valour, he seems to have possessed every talent necessary for acquiring it. His resentments also were high; his pride unconquerable; and his subjects, as well as his neighbours, had therefore reason to apprehend, from the continuance of his reign, a perpetual scene of blood and violence. Of an impetuous and vehement spirit, he was distinguished by all the good, as well as the bad qualities, incident to that character; he was open, frank, generous,

(*t*) Genesis, chap. xxxvii. ver. 32.

(*u*) In compliance with Richard's own request, his bowels were interred in the abbey of St. Sauveur de Charroux, in Poictou, his heart, which proved to be be of an astonishing magnitude, was deposited, in a silver shrine, in the cathedral of Roüen; and his body was buried at the feet of his father in the church of Fontevrault.

generous, sincere, and brave; he was revengeful, domineering, ambitious, haughty, and cruel; and was thus better calculated to dazzle men by the splendour of his enterprizes, than either to promote their happiness or his own grandeur, by a sound and well-regulated policy. As the splendor of military talents make great impression on the minds of people, he seems to have been much beloved by his English subjects; and he is remarked to have been the first prince of the Norman line that bore any sincere regard to them. He passed however only four months of his reign in that kingdom: the crusade employed him nearly three years; he was detained about fourteen months in captivity; the rest of his reign was spent either in war, or preparations for war, against his perfidious neighbour, Philip king of France: and he was so pleased with the fame which he had acquired in the East, that he determined, notwithstanding his past misfortunes, to have farther exhausted his kingdom, and to have exposed himself to new hazards, by conducting another expedition against the infidels in the Holy Land.

Though the English pleased themselves with the glory which the king's martial genius procured them, his reign was extremely oppressive, and somewhat arbitrary, by the high taxes which he levied on them, and often without consent of the states or great council. In the ninth year of his reign, he levied a tax of five shillings on each hyde of land; and because the clergy refused to contribute their share, he put them out of the protection of law, and ordered the civil courts to give them no sentence for any debts which they might claim. Twice in his reign he ordered all his charters to be sealed anew, and the parties to pay fees for the renewal. It is said that Hubert, his justiciary, sent him over to France, in the space of two years, no less a sum than one million one hundred thousand marks, besides bearing all the charges of the government in England. This account, however, is quite incredible, unless we suppose that Richard made a thorough dilapidation of the demesnes of the crown, which it is not likely he could do with any advantage after his former resumption of all grants. A king, who possessed such a revenue, could never have endured fourteen months captivity, for not paying one thousand five hundred marks to the emperor, and be obliged at last to leave hostages for a third of the sum. The prices of commodities in this reign are also a certain proof that no such enormous sum could be levied on the people. A hyde of land, which consisted of about a hundred and twenty acres, was commonly let at twenty shillings a year, money of that time. As there were two hundred and forty three thousand six hundred hydes in England, it is easy to compute the amount of all the landed rents of the kingdom. The general and stated price of an ox was four shillings; of a labouring or draught horse the same; of a sow, one shilling; of a sheep with fine wool, ten pence; and of one with coarse wool, sixpence. These commodities seem not to have advanced in their prices since the conquest, and to have still been ten times cheaper than at present.

Richard renewed the severe laws against transgressors in his forests, whom he punished by castration and putting out their eyes, as in the reign of his great grandfather. He established by law one weight and measure throughout his kingdom. An useful institution, which the mercenary disposition and necessities of his successor engaged him to dispense with for money.

The disorders in London, derived from its bad police, had risen to a great height during this reign; and in the year 1196, there seemed to be formed so regular a conspiracy among the numerous malefactors, as threatened the city with destruction. There was one William Fitz-Osbert, commonly called Longbeard, a lawyer who had rendered himself extremely popular among the lower rank of citizens; and, by defending them on all occasions, had acquired the appellation of the advocate or the saviour of the people. He exerted his authority, by injuring and insulting the more substantial citizens, with whom he lived in a state of hostility, and who were every moment exposed to the most outrageous violences from him and his licentious emissaries. Murders were daily committed in the streets; houses were broken open and pillaged in day-light; and it is pretended by some historians, that no less than fifty-two thousand persons (but the number is without doubt greatly exaggerated) had entered into an association, by which they bound themselves to obey all the orders of this dangerous ruffian. Archbishop Hubert, who was then chief justiciary, summoned him before the council to answer for his conduct; but he came so well attended, that no one dared to accuse him, or to give evidence against him; and he was permitted to return in triumph to the city; but the primate, finding the impotence of law, contended himself with exacting from the citizens hostages for their good behaviour. He kept, however, a watchful eye on Fitz-Osbert; and seizing a favourable opportunity, attempted to commit him to custody; but the criminal, murdering one of the public officers, escaped with his concubine to the church of St. Mary le Bow, where he defended himself by force of arms. He was at last forced from his retreat, condemned, and executed, amidst the regrets of the populace, who were so devoted to his memory, that they stole his gibbet, paid the same veneration to it as to the cross, and were equally zealous in propagating and attesting reports of the miracles wrought by it. But though the sectaries of this superstition were punished by the justiciary, it received so little encouragement from the established clergy, whose property was endangered by such seditious practices, that it suddenly sunk and vanished.

The realm of England enjoyed the most profound tranquillity under the wise government of Hubert, the primate; who, uniting the dignity of the legate with that of chief justiciary, had great influence in all affairs, both civil and ecclesiastical; but the national happiness was interrupted in 1198 by a famine, occasioned by a succession of unfavourable seasons. This dreadful affliction was also accompanied by a pestilence, which raged with such incredible violence for the space of six months, that scarcely a sufficient number escaped to do the last duties to the dead, who were thrown in heaps into deep holes, dug for the purpose. William of Newberry, a contemporary writer, observes, that the monasteries were the only places in the kingdom which were exempt from the ravages of this plague. Though this was, agreeable to the superstition of the times, attributed to the superior sanctity of the inhabitants, the only proof that it can be allowed to afford, in the present age, is, that the monks were better accommodated, in point of provision and comfort, than their fellow citizens,

It was during the crusades, that the custom of using coats of arms was introduced into Europe. The knights, cased up in armour, had no way to make themselves be known and distinguished in battle, but by devices on their shields; and these were gradually adopted by their posterity and families, who were proud of the pious and military enterprizes of their ancestors.

King Richard was a passionate lover of poetry; there even remain some poetical works of his composition: and he bears a rank among the Provençal poets or Trobadores, who were the first of the modern Europeans that distinguished themselves by attempts of that nature.

The celebrated Robin Hood, and his companion Little John, the heroes of so many ancient ballads, lived about this time. They are said to have been men of good families; who, by a life of continual dissipation, reduced themselves to poverty, which they attempted to remedy by committing robberies on the highway. Their depredations were chiefly confined to the forests of Yorkshire and Nottinghamshire, and appear to have been conducted on a kind of philosophic principle; as they never were guilty of any species of cruelty, always suffered the poor to pass free from molestation, and not unfrequently supplied their wants from the spoils of the rich. A proclamation having been issued for the apprehension of Robin Hood, he repaired to the monastery of Berkeley, where he fell sick; and desiring to be blooded, was betrayed by the surgeon, and bled to death.

CHAP. III.

JOHN.

A REGULAR mode had not been perfectly established for the succession of the crown of England at this period of our history; and the deviations from it had been so frequent, that the appointment of John to succeed his brother in the government of the realm excited but little opposition or disturbance; though Arthur, his nephew, who was duke of Bretagne, was thereby defeated of his claim, as by right of representation he stood in the place of his father Geoffrey, John's eldest brother. It is, however,

ever, worthy remark, that John claimed the throne, as appears from his charters, by hereditary right—"Regni Angliæ, quod nobis jure competit hæreditario:" that is, as next of kin to the deceased monarch, being his surviving brother; whereas Arthur, being his brother's son, was supposed to be removed one degree farther. But the doctrine of hereditary succession appears to have made more progress on the continent than in this country. All the prelates and barons of Anjou, Maine, and Touraine, supported the claim of Arthur, who was now only in his thirteenth year, acknowledged him as their liege-lord; and, in an act of their assembly, established him the possession of the government. The young prince was placed, by his mother Constantia, under the protection of Philip king of France, to whom he did homage for all the transmarine dominions of his deceased uncle; and Philip, whose enmity to the English was uniformly inveterate, by whatever monarch they were governed, willingly embraced his cause, in the hope of embarrassing John, and dismembering his dominions.

In the mean while, John, who was in Normandy at the time of his brother's decease, had hastened to Chinon, where the royal treasures were deposited, under the care of Robert de Turnham, who immediately delivered them into his hands, together with all the fortresses in his custody. Having secured this important object, he dispatched Hubert archbishop of Canterbury, and William Mareschal, earl of Strigul, to England, to concert measures for establishing his succession in that kingdom with Geoffrey Fitz-Piers, the chief justiciary, who had espoused his cause. The influence of these nobles was so great, that they prevailed on the clergy and barons to swear fealty to John, who repaired to Roüen, and was invested with the duchy of Normandy from the archbishop of that city. He next came over to England, where he arrived on the 25th of May, 1199, and the ceremony of his coronation was performed at Westminster on the 27th, by the archbishop of Canterbury.

Having taken precautions for the preservation of tranquillity during his absence, the king returned to Normandy on the 18th of June, in order to conduct the war against Philip, and to recover the revolted provinces from his nephew Arthur. Soon after his arrival, he concluded a truce with Philip, which lasted till the 16th of August, when an interview took place between the two monarchs, at which the demeanor of the French king was so insolent, and his demands were so exorbitant, that John rejected them with disdain. The alliances which Richard had formed with the earl of Flanders, and other potent French princes, though they had not been very effectual, still subsisted, and enabled John to defend himself against all the efforts of his enemy. In an action between the French and Flemings, the elect bishop of Cambray was taken prisoner by the former; and when the cardinal of Capua claimed his liberty, Philip, instead of complying, reproached him with the weak efforts which he had employed in favour of the bishop of Beauvais, who was in a like condition. The legate, to shew his impartiality, laid at the same time the kingdom of France and duchy of Normandy under an interdict; and the two kings found themselves obliged to make an exchange of these military prelates.

The selfish intriguing character of Philip, who acted in the provinces that had declared for Arthur, without any regard to the interests of that prince, enabled John to bring this war to a happy issue, so much as Constantia, seized with a jealousy that he intended to usurp the entire dominion of them, carried off her son secretly from Paris: she put him into the hands of his uncle; restored the provinces which had adhered to the young prince; and made him do homage for the duchy of Bretagne, which was regarded as a rere-fief of Normandy. From this incident, Philip saw but little prospect of making any progress against John; and being threatened with an interdict on account of his irregular divorce from Ingelburga, the Danish princess whom he had espoused, he became desirous of concluding a peace with England. After some fruitless conferences, the terms were at length adjusted: and the two monarchs seemed in this treaty to have an intention of preventing all future causes of discord, and of obviating every controversy which could hereafter arise between them. They adjusted the limits of their respective territories; mutually secured the interests of their vassals; and, to render the union more durable, John gave his niece, Blanche of Castile, in marriage to prince Lewis,

Philip's eldest son, and with her the baronies of Issoudon, Chateauroux, Graçai, and other fiefs in Berri. Nine barons of the king of England, and as many of the king of France, were guarantees of this treaty; and all of them swore, that, if their sovereign violated any article of it, they would declare themselves against him, and embrace the cause of the injured monarch.

John, now secure, as he imagined, on the side of France, became enamoured of Isabella, the daughter and heir of Aymar Tailleffer, count of Angoulême. His queen, heiress of the family of Gloucester, with whom he received the earldom of Gloucester and other extensive possessions, was still alive; Isabella was married to Hugh le Brun, count de la Marche, and was already consigned to the care of that nobleman; though, by reason of her tender years, the marriage had not been consummated. The passion of John made him overlook all these obstacles; he persuaded the count of Angoulême to carry off his daughter from her husband; and having, on some pretence or other, procured a divorce from his own wife, he espoused Isabella; to whom he was married by the archbishop of Bourdeaux, regardless both of the menaces of the pope, who exclaimed against these irregular proceedings, and of the resentment of the injured count, who soon found means of punishing his powerful and insolent rival. John conducted his young queen to England; and they were both solemnly crowned at Westminster, by the archbishop of Canterbury, on the 8th of October, 1200.

But John had not the heart of attaching his barons either by affection or by fear. The count de la Marche, and his brother the count d'Eu, taking advantage of the general discontent against him, excited commotions in Poictou and Normandy; and obliged the king to have recourse to arms, in order to suppress the insurrection of his vassals. He summoned the barons of England, and required them to meet him at Portsmouth on Whitsunday, 1201, that they might pass the sea under his standard, and quell the rebels; but he found that he possessed as little authority in that kingdom as in his transmarine provinces. The English barons unanimously replied, that they would not attend him on this expedition, unless he would promise to restore and preserve their privileges. This was the first symptom of a regular association and plan of liberty among those noblemen. But affairs were not fully ripe for the revolution projected. John, by menacing the barons, broke the concert; and both engaged many of them to follow him into Normandy, and obliged the rest, who staid behind, to pay him a scutage of two marks on each knight's fee, as the price of their exemption from the service.

The force which John carried abroad with him, and that which joined him in Normandy, rendered him much superior to his malcontent barons: and so much the more as Philip did not publicly give them any countenance, and seemed as yet determined to persevere steadily in the alliance which he had contracted with England. But the king, elated with his superiority, advanced claims which gave an universal alarm to his vassals, and diffused still wider the general discontent. As the jurisprudence of those times required, that the causes in the lord's court should chiefly be decided by duel, he carried along with him certain bravos, whom he retained as champions, and whom he destined to fight with his barons, in order to determine any controversy which he might raise against them. The count de la Marche, and other noblemen, regarded this proceeding as an affront, as well as an injury: and declared, that they would never draw their sword against men of such inferior quality. The king menaced them with vengeance; but he had not vigour to employ against them the force in his hands, or to prosecute the injustice, by crushing entirely the nobles who opposed it.

This government, equally feeble and violent, gave the injured barons courage as well as inclination to carry farther opposition. In 1202 they appealed to the king of France; complained of the denial of justice in John's court; demanded redress of him as their superior lord; and entreated him to employ his authority, and prevent their final ruin and oppression. Philip perceived his advantage, opened his mind to great projects, interposed in behalf of the French barons, and began to talk in a menacing style to the king of England. John, who could not disavow Philip's authority, replied, that it belonged to himself first to grant them a trial by their peers in his own court; it was not till he failed in this duty, that he was

answerable

answerable to his peers in the supreme court of the French king; and he promised, by a fair and equitable judicature, to give satisfaction to his barons. When the nobles, in consequence of this engagement, demanded a safe-conduct, that they might attend his court, he at first refused it; upon the renewal of Philip's menaces, he promised to grant their demand; he violated this promise; fresh menaces extorted from him a promise to surrender to Philip the fortresses of Tillieres and Boutavant, as a security for the performance; he again violated this engagement; his enemies, sensible both of his weakness and want of faith, combined still closer in the resolution of pushing him to extremities; and a new and powerful ally soon appeared to encourage them in their invasion of this odious and despicable government.

Constantia, duchess of Bretagne, having died at Nantes in the course of the year, her son Arthur repaired to Rennes, took possession of the duchy, and received the homage of the nobility. The young prince was now (1203) rising to man's estate, sensible of the dangerous character of his uncle, determined to seek both his security and elevation by an union with Philip and the malcontent barons. He joined the French army, which had begun hostilities against the king of England: he was received with great marks of distinction by Philip; was knighted by him; espoused his daughter Mary; and was invested not only in the duchy of Bretagne, but in the counties of Anjou and Maine, which he had formerly resigned to his uncle. Every attempt succeeded with the allies. Tillieres and Boutavant were taken by Philip, after a feeble resistance: Mortimar and Lyons fell into his hands. That prince next invested Gournai; and opening the sluices of a lake which lay in the neighbourhood, poured such a torrent of water into the place, that the garrison deserted it, and the French monarch took possession of that important fortress. The progress of the French arms was rapid, and promised considerable success. In answer to every advance which John made towards peace, Philip still insisted, that he should resign all his transmarine dominions to his nephew, and rest contented with the kingdom of England; when an event happened, which seemed to turn the scales in favour of John, and to give him a decisive superiority over his enemies.

Young Arthur, fond of military renown, had entered into Poictou at the head of a small army; and passing near Mirebeau, he heard that his grandmother, queen Eleanor, who had always opposed his interests, was lodged in that place, and was protected by a weak garrison and ruinous fortifications. He immediately determined to lay siege to the fortress, and make himself master of her person: but John, roused from his indolence by so pressing an occasion, collected an army of English and Brabançons, and advanced from Normandy with hasty marches to the relief of the queen-mother. He fell on Arthur's camp before that prince was aware of the danger; dispersed his army; took him prisoner, together with the count de la Marche, Geoffrey de Lusignan, and the most considerable of the revolted barons; and returned in triumph to Normandy. Philip, who was lying before Arques in that duchy, raised the siege on the first of August, 1203, and retired, upon his approach. The greater part of the prisoners were sent over to England; but Arthur was shut up in the castle of Falaise.

The perfidious king had here a conference with his nephew; represented to him the folly of his pretensions; and required him to renounce his alliance with France, which had encouraged him to live in a state of enmity with all his family, and to forego a claim that could be productive only of mischief: but the brave, though imprudent, youth, whose spirit was rendered more haughty from misfortunes, maintained the justice of his cause; asserted his claim, not only to the French provinces, but to the crown of England; and, in his turn, required the king to restore the son of his elder brother to the possession of his inheritance. John, sensible, from these symptoms of spirit, that the young prince, though now a prisoner, might hereafter prove a dangerous enemy, determined to prevent all future peril by depriving his nephew of life; and Arthur was never more heard of. The circumstances which attended this deed of darkness were, no doubt, carefully concealed by the actors, and are therefore variously related by historians; but the account which appears most consistent with probability is the following: the king, it is said, first proposed to William de la Bray, one of his servants, to dispatch Arthur; but William replied, that he was a gentleman, not a hangman; and positively refused compliance. Another instrument of murder was found, and was dispatched with proper orders to Falaise; but Hubert de Burgh, chamberlain to the king, and governor of that castle, feigning that he himself would execute the king's mandate, sent back the assassin, spread the report that the young prince was dead, and publicly performed all the ceremonies of his interment; but finding, that the Bretons vowed revenge for the murder, and that all the revolted barons persevered more obstinately in their rebellion, he thought it prudent to reveal the secret, and to inform the world that the duke of Bretagne was still alive, and in his custody. A prince endued with common sense and common policy, would have learned, from the universal resentment excited by this report, to dread the danger of sacrificing a life so deservedly dear to the public; but this discovery proved fatal to the young prince: John first ordered Arthur to be removed to the castle of Roüen, and when he was at that place, John made application to others, who rejected the office with similar disdain and contempt; so that he formed the resolution of becoming executioner himself. He accordingly went in a boat, during the night-time, to that place, and commanded Arthur to be brought forth to him. The young prince, aware of his danger, and now more subdued by the continuance of his misfortunes, and by the approach of death, threw himself on his knees before his uncle, and begged for mercy; but the barbarous tyrant making no reply, thrust his sword several times through his body; and fastening a heavy stone to the corpse, threw it into the Seine, from whence it was afterwards dragged ashore in a fisherman's net, and secretly interred in the priory of Notre Dame du Pré (*w*).

All men were struck with horror at this inhuman deed; and from that moment the king, detested by his subjects, retained a very precarious authority over both the people and the barons in his dominions. The Bretons, enraged at this disappointment in their fond hopes, waged implacable war against him; and fixing the succession of their government, put themselves in a posture to revenge the murder of their sovereign. John had got into his power his niece, Eleanor, sister to Arthur, commonly called the Maid of Bretagne; and carrying her over to England, detained her ever after in prison: but the Bretons, in despair of recovering this princess, chose Alice for their sovereign; a younger daughter of Constantia, by her second marriage with Guy de Thouars; and they entrusted the government of that duchy to that nobleman. The states of Bretagne, meanwhile, carried their complaints before Philip, as their liege lord, and demanded justice for the violence committed by John on the person of Arthur, so near a relation, who, notwithstanding the homage which he did to Normandy, was always regarded as one of the chief vassals of the crown. Philip received their application with pleasure; summoned John to appear, and answer to the charge; and, on his non-appearance, passed a sentence, with the unanimous concurrence of the peers, couched in the following terms: "Whereas John, duke of Normandy, forgetting his oath to king Philip, his lord, has murdered the son of his elder brother, who was an homager of the crown of France, and the king's kinsman; and perpetrated the crime within the seignory of France; he is found guilty of felony and treason, and adjudged to forfeit all the territories which he holds by homage."

The king of France, whose ambitious and active spirit had been hitherto confined, either by the sound policy of Henry, or the martial genius of Richard, seeing now the opportunity favourable against this base and odious prince, embraced the project of expelling the English, or rather the English king, from France, and of annexing to the crown so many considerable fiefs, which, during several ages, had been dismembered from it. Many of

(*w*) Whatever may be the truth of this account, it is certain that Arthur suddenly disappeared; and that his uncle was anxiously sedulous in propagating a report that he had perished in the Seine, in attempting to make his escape. That John was the contriver, if not the actual perpetrator, of the murder, obtained universal belief; and, as soon as it was performed, he hastened to England, and was again crowned at Canterbury; as if he thought the pageantry of a coronation, like a papal indulgence, would make him a new man, and purify him from those sins he was conscious of having committed.

the other great vassals, whose jealousy might have interposed, and have obstructed the execution of this project, were not at present in a situation to oppose it; and the rest either looked on with indifference, or gave their assistance to this dangerous aggrandizement of their superior lord. The earls of Flanders and Blois were engaged in the holy war: the count of Champagne was an infant, and under the guardianship of Philip: the duchy of Bretagne, enraged at the murder of their prince, vigorously promoted his measures; and the general defection of John's vassals made every enterprize easy and successful against him. Philip, after reducing several castles and fortresses beyond the Loire, which he either garrisoned or dismantled, received the submissions of the count of Alençon, who deserted John, and delivered up all the places under his command to the French; upon which Philip broke up his camp, in order to give the troops some repose after the fatigues of the campaign. John, suddenly collecting some forces, laid siege to Alençon; and Philip, whose dispersed army could not be brought together in time to succour it, saw himself exposed to the disgrace of suffering the oppression of his friend and confederate. But his active and fertile genius found an expedient against this evil. There was held at that very time a tournament at Moret in the Gatinois; whither all the chief nobility of France and the neighbouring countries had resorted, in order to signalize their prowess and address. Philip presented himself before them; craved their assistance in his distress; and pointed out the plains of Alençon, as the most honourable field in which they could display their generosity and martial spirit. Those valorous knights vowed, that they would take vengeance on the base parricide, the stain of arms and of chivalry; and putting themselves, with all their retinue, under the command of Philip, instantly marched to raise the siege of Alençon. John, hearing of their approach, fled from before the place; and in the hurry abandoned all his tents, machines, and baggage, to the enemy.

Philip next turned his arms against Normandy; and, after reducing several castles, he at length, about the middle of August, invested Chateau-Guillard, an important fortress on the banks of the Seine, built by Richard, and deemed impregnable. Though John's army was equal in numbers to the French, that pusillanimous monarch was afraid to risk an action, but had the meanness to intreat the interposition of a foreign power. He applied to pope Innocent III. requesting his mediation; and that pontiff, pleased with an opportunity of evincing his superiority, sent Philip orders to stop the progress of his arms, and make peace with the king of England. This interference, however, being treated with the contempt it deserved, John found it necessary to exert himself; and at length determined, if possible, to throw supplies into Chateau-Guillard. This fortress was defended by Roger de Lacy, constable of Chester, a determined officer, who had a numerous garrison under his command; and Philip, despairing to take it by force, had converted the siege into a bockade; and that he might effectually cut off the communication of the garrison with the neighbouring country, had thrown a bridge of boats across the Seine.

In order to succour the besieged, John detached the earl of Pembroke, an officer of approved courage and capacity, with an army of four thousand infantry and three thousand cavalry; while a fleet of seventy flat-bottomed vessels, loaded with provisions and ammunition, and manned with three thousand Flemings, were ordered to sail up the river, and destroy the bridge at the same moment that the earl of Pembroke should attack the camp. The scheme was projected with wisdom; but the vessels, having both wind and tide against them, moved so slowly, that the earl arrived at the scene of action long before they reached the bridge; and, attacking the enemy's camp in the night, filled it with disorder and consternation. His Brabançons, however, were more intent upon plunder than desirous of improving the advantage they had obtained; and the French perceiving them dispersed, and busily employed in pillaging the camp, rallied, and charged them with such vigour, that they were speedily routed and put to flight. The fleet did not appear till daylight; when the whole force of the French being prepared to oppose its efforts, the commander found it impracticable either to demolish the bridge or throw supplies into the place, and was obliged to fall down the river with all possible expedition.

This feeble effort was the last exploit of that slothful and cowardly prince for the defence of his dominions. While Philip continued to blockade Chateau-Guillard, he took Andely, and even reduced Radepont, an important place in the neighbourhood of Roüen, the king of England remained in total inactivity at that city, passing all his time with his young wife, in pastimes and amusements, as if his state had been in the most profound tranquillity, or his affairs in the most prosperous condition. If he ever mentioned war, it was only to give himself vaunting airs, which, in the eyes of all men, rendered him still more despicable and ridiculous. "Let the French go on," said he, "I will retake in a day what it has cost them years to acquire." His stupidity and indolence at this alarming crisis appeared so extraordinary, that the people endeavoured to account for the infatuation by sorcery, and believed that he was thrown into this lethargy by some magic or witchcraft. The English barons, finding that their time was wasted to no purpose, and that they must suffer the disgrace of seeing, without resistance, the progress of the French arms, withdrew from their colours, and secretly returned to their own country. No one thought of defending a man, who seemed to have deserted himself; and his subjects regarded his fate with the same indifference, to which they saw him totally abandoned. John now despairing of success in the defence of Normandy, basely resolved to abandon it to the enemy; and, in order to expose the country to their incursions, he dismantled Pont à l'Arche, Moulineux, and Montfort l'Amauri; and then, having privately ordered vessels to be prepared for his departure, he embarked and set sail for England, where he arrived on the 6th of December, 1203.

Chateau-Guillard was situated partly on an island in the river Seine, partly on a rock opposite to it; and was secured by every advantage, which either art or nature could bestow upon it. The late king, having cast his eye on this favourable situation, had spared no labour or expence in fortifying it. Roger de Lacy defended himself for a twelvemonth with great obstinacy; and having bravely repelled every attack, and patiently borne all the hardships of famine, he was at last overpowered by a sudden assault in the night-time, and made prisoner of war, with his garrison. Philip, who knew how to respect valour, even in an enemy, treated him with civility, and gave him the whole city of Paris for the place of his confinement. When the bulwark of Normandy was once subdued, all the province lay open to the inroads of Philip.

Not daring to repose confidence in any of his barons, whom he believed to be universally engaged in a conspiracy against him, John entrusted the government of the province to Archas Martin and Lupicaire, two mercenary Brabançons, whom he had retained in his service. Philip, now secure of his prey, pushed his conquests with vigour and success against the dismayed Normans. Falaise was first besieged; and Lupicaire, who commanded in this important fortress, after surrendering the place, inlisted himself with his troops in the service of Philip, and carried on hostilities against his former master. Caen, Coutance, Seez, Evreux, Baieux, soon fell into the hands of the French monarch, and all the lower Normandy was reduced under his dominion. To forward his enterprizes on the other division of the province, Guy de Thouars, at the head of the Bretons, broke into the territory, and took Mount St. Michael, Avranches, and all the other fortresses in that neighbourhood. The Normans, who abhorred the French yoke, and who would have defended themselves to the last extremity if their prince had appeared to conduct them, found no resource but in submission; and every city opened its gates as soon as Philip appeared before it. Roüen alone, Arques, and Verneüil, determined to maintain their liberties; and formed a confederacy for mutual defence. Philip began with the siege of Roüen, in 1205: the inhabitants were so inflamed with hatred to France, that, on the appearance of his army, they fell on all the natives of that country whom they found within their walls, and put them to death. But after the French king had begun his operations with success, and had taken some of their outworks, the citizens, seeing no resource, offered to capitulate; and demanded only thirty days to advertise their prince of their danger, and to require succours against the enemy. Upon the expiration of the term, which was the first of June, as no supply had arrived, they opened their gates to Philip; and the whole province soon imitated the example, and submitted to the victor. Thus was this important territory re-united to the crown of France, about three centuries after the cession of it by Charles

Charles the Simple to Rollo, the first duke: and the Normans, sensible that this conquest was probably final, demanded the privilege of being governed by French laws; which Philip, making a few alterations on the ancient Norman customs, readily granted them. But the French monarch had too much ambition and genius to stop in his present career of success. He carried his victorious army into the western provinces; soon reduced Anjou, Maine, Touraine, and part of Poictou: and in this manner the French crown, during the reign of one able and active prince, received such an accession of power and grandeur, as, in the ordinary course of things, it would have required several ages to attain.

When John arrived in England, that he might cover the disgrace of his own conduct, exclaimed loudly against his barons, who, he pretended, had deserted his standard in Normandy; and he arbitrarily extorted from them a seventh of all their movables, as a punishment for the offence. Soon after he forced them to grant him a scutage of two marks and a half on each knight's fee for an expedition into Normandy; but he did not attempt to execute the service for which he pretended to exact it. Next year, he summoned all the barons of his realm to attend him on this foreign expedition, and collected ships from all the sea-ports; but meeting with opposition from some of his ministers, and abandoning his design, he dismissed both fleet and army, and then renewed his exclamations against the barons for deserting him. He next put to sea with a small army, and his subjects believed, that he was resolved to expose himself to the utmost hazard for the defence and recovery of his dominions: but they were surprized, after a few days, to see him return again into the harbour, without attempting any thing. In the subsequent season, 1206, he had the courage to carry his hostile measures a step farther. Guy de Thouars, who governed Bretagne, jealous of the rapid progress made by his ally, the French king, promised to join the king of England with all his forces; and John ventured abroad with a considerable army. He embarked at Portsmouth on the 25th of June, and landed at Rochelle on the 9th of July. He marched to Angers; which he took and reduced to ashes. But the approach of Philip with an army threw him into a panic; and he immediately made proposals for peace, and fixed a place of interview with his enemy: but instead of keeping this engagement, he stole off with his army, embarked at Rochelle, and returned, loaded with new shame and disgrace into England. The mediation of the pope procured him at last a truce for two years with the French monarch; almost all the transmarine provinces were ravished from him; and the English barons, though harassed with arbitrary taxes and fruitless expeditions, saw themselves and their country baffled and affronted in every enterprize.

In an age when personal valour was regarded as the chief accomplishment, such conduct as that of John, always disgraceful, must be exposed to peculiar contempt; and he must thenceforth expect to rule his turbulent vassals with a very doubtful authority. But the government exercised by the Norman princes had wound up the royal power to so high a pitch, and so much beyond the usual tenour of the feudal constitutions, that it still behoved him to be debased by new affronts and disgraces, ere his barons could entertain the view of conspiring against him, in order to retrench his prerogatives. The church, which, at that time, declined not a contest with the most powerful and most vigorous monarchs, took first advantage of John's imbecility; and, with the most aggravating circumstances of insolence and scorn, fixed her yoke upon him.

The papal chair was filled by Innocent III. who, having attained that dignity at the age of thirty-seven years, and being endowed with a lofty and enterprizing genius, gave full scope to his ambition, and attempted, perhaps more openly than any of his predecessors, to convert that superiority, which was yielded him by all the European princes, into a real dominion over them. The hierarchy, protected by the Roman pontiff, had already carried to an enormous height its usurpations upon the civil power; but in order to extend them farther, and render them useful to the court of Rome, it was necessary to reduce the ecclesiastics themselves under an absolute monarchy, and to make them entirely dependent on their spiritual leader. For this purpose, Innocent first attempted to impose taxes at pleasure upon the clergy; and in the first year of this century, taking advantage of the popular frenzy for crusades, he sent collectors over all Europe, who levied, by his authority, the fortieth of all ecclesiastical revenues for the relief of the Holy Land, and received the voluntary contributions of the laity to a like amount. The same year Hubert, archbishop of Canterbury, attempted another innovation, favourable to ecclesiastical and papal power: in the king's absence, he summoned, by his legatine authority, a synod of all the English clergy, contrary to the inhibition of Geoffrey Fitz-Peter, the chief justiciary; and no proper censure was ever passed on this encroachment, the first of the kind, upon the royal power. But a favourable incident soon after happened, which enabled so aspiring a pontiff as Innocent to extend still farther his usurpations on so contemptible a prince as John.

Hubert, the primate, died on the 18th of July, 1205; and as the monks or canons of Christ Church, Canterbury, possessed a right of voting in the election of their archbishop, some of the juniors of the order, who lay in wait for that event, met clandestinely the very night of Hubert's death; and without any congé d'élire from the king, chose Reginald, their sub-prior, for the successor; installed him in the archiepiscopal see before midnight; and having enjoined him the strictest secrecy, sent him immediately to Rome, in order to solicit the confirmation of his election. The vanity of Reginald prevailed over his prudence; and he no sooner arrived in Flanders, than he revealed to every one the purpose of his journey, which was immediately known in England. The king was enraged at the novelty and temerity of the attempt, in filling so important an office without his knowledge or consent: the suffragan bishops of Canterbury, who were accustomed to concur in the choice of their primate, were no less displeased at the exclusion given them in this election: the senior monks of Christ Church were injured by the irregular proceedings of their juniors: the juniors themselves, ashamed of their conduct, and disgusted with the levity of Reginald, who had broken his engagements with them, were willing to set aside his election; and all men concurred in the design of remedying the false measures which had been taken. But as John knew that this affair would be canvassed before a superior tribunal, where the interposition of royal authority in bestowing ecclesiastical benefices was very invidious; where even the cause of suffragan bishops was not so favourable as that of monks; he determined to make the new election entirely unexceptionable: he submitted the affair wholly to the canons of Christ Church; and departing from the right claimed by his predecessors, ventured to inform them privately, that they would do him an acceptable service if they chose John de Gray, bishop of Norwich, for their primate. The election of that prelate was accordingly made without a contradictory vote; and the king, to obviate all contests, endeavoured to persuade the suffragan bishops not to insist on their claim of concurring in the election: but those prelates, persevering in their pretensions, sent an agent to maintain their cause before Innocent; while the king, and the convent of Christ Church, dispatched twelve monks of that order to support, before the same tribunal, the election of the bishop of Norwich.

Thus there lay three different claims before the pope, whom all parties allowed to be the supreme arbiter in the contest. The claim of the suffragans, being so opposite to the usual maxims of the papal court, was soon set aside: the election of Reginald was so obviously fraudulent and irregular, that there was no possibility of defending it: but Innocent maintained, that though this election was null and invalid, it ought previously to have been declared such by the sovereign pontiff, before the monks could proceed to a new election; and that the choice of the bishop of Norwich was of course as uncanonical as that of his competitor. Advantage was therefore taken of this subtlety for introducing a precedent, by which the see of Canterbury, the most important dignity in the church, after the papal throne, should ever after be at the disposal of the court of Rome.

While the pope maintained so many fierce contests, in order to wrest from princes the right of granting investitures, and to exclude laymen from all authority in conferring ecclesiastical benefices, he was supported by the united influence of the clergy, who fought, with all the ardour of ambition, and all the zeal of superstition, under his sacred banners. But no sooner was this point, after a great effusion of blood, and the convulsions of many states, established in some tolerable degree, than the victorious leader, as is usual, turned his arms against his

his own community, and aspired to centre all power in his person. By the invention of reserves, provisions, commendams, and other devices, the pope gradually assumed the right of filling vacant benefices; and the plenitude of his apostolic power, which was not subject to any limitations, supplied all defects of title in the person on whom he bestowed preferment. The canons which regulated elections were purposely rendered intricate and involved: frequent disputes arose among candidates: appeals were every day carried to Rome: the apostolic see, besides reaping pecuniary advantages from these contests, often exercised the power of setting aside both the litigants, and, on pretence of appeasing faction, nominated a third person, who might be more acceptable to the contending parties.

The present controversy about the election to the see of Canterbury, afforded Innocent an opportunity of claiming this right; and he failed not to perceive and avail himself of the advantage. He sent for the twelve monks deputed by the convent to maintain the cause of the bishop of Norwich; and commanded them, under the penalty of excommunication, to choose for their primate, cardinal Stephen Langton, an Englishman by birth, but educated in France, and connected, by his interest and attachments, with the see of Rome. In vain did the monks represent, that they had received from their convent no authority for this purpose; that an election, without a previous writ from the king, would be deemed highly irregular; and that they were merely agents for another person, whose right they had no power to abandon. None of them had the courage to persevere in this opposition, except one, Elias de Brantefield: all the rest, overcome by the menaces and authority of the pope, complied with his orders, and made the election required. Thus, by the election of a few solitary monks, in a foreign country, or rather by the simple fiat of the pope; was Stephen Langton raised to the dignity of primate of England. He was consecrated by the pope at Viterbo, in Italy, on the 27th of June, 1207.

Innocent, sensible that this usurpation would be resented by the court of England, wrote John a mollifying letter; sent him four golden rings set with precious stones; and endeavoured to enhance the value of the present, by informing him of the many mysteries implied in it. He begged him to consider seriously the *form* of the rings, their *number*, their *matter*, and their *colour*. Their form, he said, being round, shadowed out Eternity, which had neither beginning nor end; and he ought thence to learn his duty of aspiring from earthly objects to heavenly, from things temporal to things eternal. The number four, being a square, denoted steadiness of mind, not to be subverted either by adversity or prosperity, fixed for ever on the firm basis of the four cardinal virtues. Gold, which is the matter, being the most precious of metals, signified Wisdom, which is the most valuable of all accomplishments, and justly preferred by Solomon to riches, power, and all exterior attainments. The blue colour of the sapphire represented Faith; the verdure of the emerald, Hope; the redness of the ruby, Charity; and the splendour of the topaz, Good Works. By these conceits, Innocent endeavoured to repay John for one of the most important prerogatives of his crown, which he had ravished from him; conceits probably admired by Innocent himself: for it is easily possible for a man, especially in a barbarous age, to unite strong talents for business with an absurd taste for literature and the arts.

John, as might naturally be expected, was inflamed with the utmost rage when he heard of this attempt of the court of Rome; and he immediately vented his passion on the monks of Christ Church, whom he found inclined to support the election made by their fellows at Rome. He sent Fulke de Cantelupe, and Henry de Cornhulle, two knights of his retinue, men of violent tempers and rude manners, to expel them the convent, and take possession of their revenues. These knights entered the monastery with drawn swords, commanded the prior and the monks to depart the kingdom, and menaced them, that, in case of disobedience, they would instantly burn them with the convent. Innocent prognosticating, from the violence and imprudence of these measures, that John would finally sink in the contest, persevered the more rigorously in his pretensions, and exhorted the king not to oppose God and the church any longer, nor to prosecute that cause for which the holy martyr St. Thomas had sacrificed his life, and which had exalted him equal to the highest saints in heaven. This was a hint to John to profit by the example of his father, and to remember the prejudices and established principles of his subjects, who bore a profound veneration to that martyr, and regarded his merits as the subject of their chief glory and exultation.

Innocent, finding that John was not sufficiently tamed to submission, sent three prelates, the bishops of London, Ely, and Worcester, to intimate, that if he persevered in his obstinacy and disobedience, the sovereign pontiff would be obliged to lay the kingdom under an interdict. All the other prelates threw themselves on their knees before him, and entreated him, with tears in their eyes, to prevent the scandal of this sentence, by making a speedy submission to his spiritual father, by receiving from his hands the new-elected primate, and by restoring the monks of Christ Church to their rights and possessions. He burst out into the most indecent invectives against the prelates; swore by God's teeth, (his usual oath), that if the pope presumed to lay his kingdom under an interdict, he would send to him all the bishops and clergy in England, and would confiscate all their estates; and threatened, that if thenceforth he caught any Romans in his dominions, he would put out their eyes, and cut off their noses, in order to set a mark upon them which might distinguish them from all other nations. Amidst all this idle violence, John stood on such bad terms with his nobility, that he never dared to assemble the states of the kingdom, who, in so just a cause, would probably have adhered to any other monarch, and have defended with vigour the liberties of the nation against these palpable usurpations of the court of Rome. Innocent, therefore, perceiving the king's weakness, fulminated at last the sentence of interdict, which he had for some time held suspended over him. This interdict was accordingly published in England, at the command of the pontiff, on the 23d of March, 1208, by the bishops of London, Ely, and Worcester; who, having thus sown the seeds of discord and disorder, retired precipitately from the kingdom, to avoid the just indignation of their sovereign.

This sentence was at that time the great instrument of vengeance and policy employed by the court of Rome; was denounced against sovereigns for the lightest offences; and made the guilt of one person involve the ruin of millions, even in their spiritual and eternal welfare. The execution of it was calculated to strike the senses in the highest degree, and to operate with irresistible force on the superstitious minds of the people. The nation was of a sudden deprived of all exterior exercise of its religion: the altars were despoiled of their ornaments: the crosses, the reliques, the images, the statues of the saints, were laid on the ground; and, as if the air itself were profaned, and might pollute them by its contact, the priests carefully covered them up, even from their own approach and veneration. The use of bells entirely ceased in all the churches: the bells themselves were removed from the steeples, and laid on the ground with the other sacred utensils. Mass was celebrated with shut doors, and none but the priests were admitted to that holy institution. The laity partook of no religious rite, except baptism to new-born infants, and the communion to the dying: the dead were not interred in consecrated ground: they were thrown into ditches, or buried in common fields; and their obsequies were not attended with prayers, or any hallowed ceremony. Marriage was celebrated in the church-yards; and that every action in life might bear the marks of this dreadful situation, the people were prohibited the use of meat, as in Lent, or times of the highest penance; were debarred from all pleasures and entertainments: and were forbidden even to salute each other, or so much as to shave their beards, and give any decent attention to their person and apparel. Every circumstance carried symptoms of the deepest distress, and of the most immediate apprehension of divine vengeance and indignation.

The king, that he might oppose his temporal to their spiritual terrors, immediately, from his own authority, confiscated the estates of all the clergy who obeyed the interdict; banished the prelates, confined the monks in their convents, and gave them only such a small allowance from their own estates as would suffice to provide them with food and raiment. He treated with the utmost rigour all Langton's adherents, and every one that showed any disposition to obey the commands of Rome. And in order to distress the clergy in the tenderest point, and at the same time expose them to reproach and ridicule, he threw into prison all their concubines, and required high fines as the price of their liberty.

After

After the canons which established the celibacy of the clergy were, by the zeal of archbishop Anselm, more rigorously executed in England, the ecclesiastics gave, almost universally and avowedly, into the use of concubinage; and the court of Rome, which had no interest in prohibiting this practice, made slight opposition to it. The custom was become so prevalent, that, in some cantons of Switzerland, before the reformation, the laws not only permitted, but, to avoid scandal, enjoined the use of concubines to the younger clergy; and it was usual every where for priests to apply to the ordinary, and obtain from him a formal liberty for this indulgence. The bishop commonly took care to prevent the practice from degenerating into licentiousness: he confined the priest to the use of one woman, required him to be constant to her bed, obliged him to provide for her subsistence and that of her children; and though the offspring was, in the eye of the law, deemed illegitimate, this commerce was really a kind of inferior marriage, such as is still practised in Germany among the nobles; and may be regarded by the candid as an appeal from the tyranny of civil and ecclesiastical institutions, to the more virtuous and more unerring laws of nature.

The quarrel between the king and the see of Rome continued for some years; and though many of the clergy, from the fear of punishment, obeyed the orders of John, and celebrated divine service, they complied with the utmost reluctance, and were regarded, both by themselves and the people, as men who betrayed their principles, and sacrificed their conscience to temporal regards and interests. During this violent commotion, the king, to give a lustre to his government, attempted military expeditions against Scotland, Ireland, the Welsh; and commonly prevailed, more from the weakness of his enemies, than from his own vigour or abilities. Meanwhile, the danger to which his government stood continually exposed from the discontents of the ecclesiastics, increased his natural propensity to tyranny; and he seems to have even wantonly disgusted all orders of men, especially his nobles, from whom alone he could reasonably expect support and assistance. He dishonoured their families by his licentious amours; he published edicts, prohibiting them from hunting feathered game, and thereby restrained them from their favourite occupation and amusement; he ordered all the hedges and fences near his forests to be levelled, that his deer might have more ready access into the fields for pasture; and he continually loaded the nation with arbitrary impositions. Conscious of the general hatred which he had incurred, he required his nobility to give him hostages for security of their allegiance; and they were obliged to put into his hands their sons, nephews, or near relations. When his messengers came with like orders to the castle of William de Braouse, a baron of great note, the lady of that nobleman replied, That she would never entrust her son into the hands of one who had murdered his own nephew while in his custody. Her husband reproved her for the severity of this speech; but, sensible of his danger, he immediately fled with his wife and son into Ireland, where he endeavoured to conceal himself. The king discovered the unhappy family in their retreat; seized the wife and son, whom he starved to death in prison; and the baron himself narrowly escaped, by flying into France.

The court of Rome had artfully contrived a gradation of sentences; by which she kept offenders in awe; still afforded them an opportunity of preventing the next anathema by submission; and, in case of their obstinacy, was able to refresh the horror of the people against them, by new denunciations of the wrath and vengeance of Heaven. As the sentence of interdict had not produced the desired effect on John, and as his people, though extremely discontented, had hitherto been restrained from rising in open rebellion against him, he was soon to look for the sentence of excommunication: and he had reason to apprehend, that notwithstanding all his precautions, the most dangerous consequences might ensue from it. He was witness of the other scenes which at that very time were acting in Europe, and which displayed the unbounded and uncontrolled power of the papacy. Innocent, far from being dismayed at his contests with the king of England, had excommunicated the emperor Otho, John's nephew; and soon brought that powerful and haughty prince to submit to his authority. He published a crusade against the Albigenses, a species of enthusiasts in the south of France, whom he denominated heretics; because, like other enthusiasts, they neglected the rites of the church, and opposed the power and influence of the clergy: the people from all parts of Europe, moved by their superstition and their passion for wars and adventures, flocked to his standard: Simon de Montfort, the general of the crusade, acquired to himself a sovereignty in these provinces: the count of Toulouse, who protected, or perhaps only tolerated the Albigenses, was stripped of his dominions: and these sectaries themselves, though the most innocent and inoffensive of mankind, were exterminated, with all the circumstances of extreme violence and barbarity. Here were therefore both an army and a general, dangerous from their zeal and valour, who might be directed to act against John; and Innocent, after keeping the thunder long suspended, gave at last, in 1209, authority to the bishops of London, Ely, and Worcester, to fulminate the sentence of excommunication against him. These prelates obeyed the pope's orders, and sent over the sentence to be published in the different churches; but their brethren were deterred from publishing the dreadful sentence.

No sooner was the excommunication known, than the effects of it appeared. Geoffrey, archdeacon of Norwich, who was entrusted with a considerable office in the court of exchequer, being informed of it while sitting on the bench, observed to his colleagues the danger of serving under an excommunicated sovereign; he immediately left his chair, and departed the court. John gave orders to seize him, to throw him into prison, to cover his head with a great leaden cope; and by this and other severe usage he soon put an end to his life: nor was there any thing wanting to Geoffrey, except the dignity and rank of Becket, to exalt him to an equal station in heaven with that great and celebrated martyr. Hugh de Wells, the chancellor, being elected, by the king's appointment, bishop of Lincoln, upon a vacancy in that see, desired leave to go abroad, in order to receive consecration from the archbishop of Rouen; but he no sooner reached France than he hastened to Pontigny, where Langton then resided, and paid submissions to him as primate. The bishops, finding themselves exposed either to the jealousy of the king or hatred of the people, gradually stole out of the kingdom; and at last there remained only three prelates to perform the functions of the episcopal office. Many of the nobility, terrified by John's tyranny, and hateful to him on different accounts, imitated the example of the bishops; and most of the others who remained were, with reason, suspected of having secretly entered into a confederacy against him. John was alarmed at his dangerous situation; a situation which prudence, vigour, and popularity might formerly have prevented, but which no virtues or abilities were now sufficient to retrieve. He desired a conference with Langton at Dover; offered to acknowledge him as primate, to submit to the pope, to restore the exiled clergy, even to pay them a limited sum as a compensation for the rents of their confiscated estates. But Langton, perceiving his advantage, was not satisfied with these concessions: he demanded that full restitution and reparation should be made to all the clergy; a condition so exorbitant that the king, who probably had not the power of fulfilling it, and who foresaw that this estimation of damages might amount to an immense sum, finally broke off the conference.

The next gradation of papal sentences was to absolve John's subjects from their oaths of fidelity and allegiance, and to declare every one excommunicated who had any commerce with him in public or in private; at his table, in his council, or even in private conversation: and this sentence was accordingly, with all imaginable solemnity, pronounced against him, in 1212. But as John still persevered in his contumacy, there remained nothing but the sentence of deposition; which, though intimately connected with the former had been distinguished from it by the artifice of the court of Rome; and Innocent determined to dart this last thunderbolt against the refractory monarch. But as a sentence of this kind required an armed force to execute it, the pontiff fixed on Philip, king of France, as the person into whose powerful hand he could most properly entrust that weapon, the ultimate resource of his ghostly authority. And he offered the monarch, besides the remission of all his sins, and a great variety of spiritual benefits, the property and possession of the kingdom of England, as the reward of his labour.

It was the common concern of all princes to oppose these exorbitant pretensions of the Roman pontiff, by which they themselves were rendered vassals, and vassals totally dependent on the papal crown: yet even Philip, the most able

able monarch of the age, was seduced by the flattering idea of present interest, and by the prospect of so tempting a prize, to accept this offer of the pontiff, and thereby to ratify that authority which, if he ever opposed its boundless usurpations, might next day hurl him from his throne. He levied a large army in the beginning of 1213; summoned all the vassals of the crown to attend him at Roüen; collected a fleet of seventeen hundred vessels in the seaports of Normandy and Picardy; and prepared a force, which seemed equal to the greatness of his enterprize. The king, on the other hand, issued out writs, requiring the attendance of all his military tenants at Dover, and even of all able-bodied men, to defend the kingdom in this dangerous extremity. A great number appeared; and he selected an army of sixty thousand men; a power invincible, had they been united in affection to their prince, and animated with a becoming zeal for the defence of their native country. But the people were swayed by superstition, and regarded their king with horror, since he was anathematized by papal censures: the barons, besides lying under the same prejudices, were disgusted by his tyranny, and many of them were suspected of holding a secret correspondence with the enemy; and the incapacity and cowardice of the king himself, made men prognosticate the most fatal effects from the invasion of the French.

Pandolf, whom the pope had chosen for his legate, and appointed to head this important expedition, had, before he left Rome, applied for a secret conference with his master, and had asked him, whether if the king of England were willing to submit to the apostolic see, the church should, without the consent of Philip, grant him any terms of accommodation? Innocent, expecting from his agreement with a prince so abject both in character and fortune, more advantages than from his alliance with a great and victorious monarch, who, after such mighty acquisitions, might become too haughty to be bound by spiritual chains, explained to Pandolf the conditions on which he was willing to be reconciled to John. The legate, therefore, as soon as he arrived in the north of France, sent over two knights templars to desire an interview with John at Dover, which was readily granted: he there represented to him his lost condition, the disaffection of his subjects, the secret combination of his vassals against him, the mighty armament of France, so that John yielded at discretion, and subscribed to all the conditions which Pandolf was pleased to impose upon him, on the 13th of May, 1213. He promised, among other articles, that he would submit himself entirely to the judgement of the pope; that he would acknowledge Langton for primate; that he would restore all the exiled clergy and laity who had been banished on account of the contest; that he would make them full restitution of their goods, and compensation for all damages, and instantly consign eight thousand pounds in part of payment; and that every one outlawed or imprisoned for his adherence to the pope, should immediately be received into grace and favour. Four barons swore, along with the king, to the observance of this ignominious treaty.

But the ignominy of the king was not yet carried to its full height. Pandolf required him, as the first trial of obedience, to resign his kingdom to the church; and he persuaded him, that he could nowise so effectually disappoint the French invasion, as by thus putting himself under the immediate protection of the apostolic see. With this daring request, unparalleled even in the annals of papistical insolence, John was base enough to comply. He passed a charter, in which he declared, that, not constrained by fear, but of his own free will, and by the common advice and consent of his barons, he had, for remission of his own sins, and those of his family, resigned England and Ireland to God, to St. Peter and St. Paul, and to pope Innocent and his successors in the apostolic chair: he agreed to hold those dominions as feudatory of the church of Rome, by the annual payment of a thousand marks; seven hundred for England, three hundred for Ireland; and he stipulated, that if he or his successors should ever presume to revoke or infringe this charter, they should instantly, except upon admonition they repented of their offence, forfeit all right to their sovereignty.

In consequence of this agreement, John did homage to Pandolf as the pope's legate, with all the submissive rites which the feudal law required of vassals before their liege-lord and superior, on the 15th of May. He came disarmed into the legate's presence, who was seated on a throne; flung himself on his knees before him; lifted up his joined hands, and put them within those of Pandolf; swore fealty to the pope; and paid part of the tribute which he owed for his kingdom as the patrimony of St. Peter. The legate, elated by this supreme triumph of sacerdotal power, could not forbear discovering extravagant symptoms of joy and exultation: he trampled on the money, which was laid at his feet, as an earnest of the subjection of the kingdom: an insolence of which, however offensive to all the English, no one present, except the archbishop of Dublin, dared to take any notice. But though Pandolf had brought the king to submit to these base conditions, he still refused to free him from the excommunication and interdict, till an estimation should be taken of the losses of the ecclesiastics, and full compensation and restitution should be made to them all.

John, reduced to this abject situation under a foreign power, still shewed the same disposition to tyrannize over his subjects, which had been the chief cause of all his misfortunes. One Peter of Pomfret, a hermit, had foretold that the king, this very year, should lose his crown; and for that rash prophecy he had been thrown into prison in Corfe Castle. John now determined to bring him to punishment as an impostor; and though the man pleaded, that his prophecy was fulfilled, and that the king had lost the royal and independent crown which he formerly wore, the defence was supposed to aggravate his guilt: he was dragged at horses' tails, to the town of Warham, and there hanged on a gibbet with his son.

When Pandolf, after receiving the homage of John, returned to France, he congratulated Philip on the success of his pious enterprize; and informed him that John had now come to a just sense of his guilt; had returned to obedience under the apostolic see; and even consented to do homage to the pope for his dominions; and having thus made his kingdom a part of St. Peter's patrimony, had rendered it impossible for any Christian prince, without the most manifest and flagrant impiety, to attack him. Philip was enraged on receiving this intelligence: he exclaimed, that having, at the pope's instigation, undertaken an expedition, which had cost him above sixty thousand pounds sterling, he was frustrated of his purpose, at the time when its success was become infallible: he complained that all the expence had fallen upon him; all the advantages had accrued to Innocent: he threatened to be no longer the dupe of these hypocritical pretences: and assembling his vassals, he laid before them the ill treatment he had received, exposed the interested and fraudulent conduct of the pope, and required their assistance to execute his enterprize against England, in which he told them, that, notwithstanding the inhibitions and menaces of the legate, he was determined to persevere. The French barons were, in that age, little less ignorant and superstitious than the English: yet, so much does the influence of those religious principles depend on the present dispositions of men! they all vowed to follow their prince on his intended expedition, and were determined not to be disappointed of that glory and those riches which they had long expected from this undertaking. The earl of Flanders alone, who had previously formed a secret treaty with John, declaring against the injustice and impiety of the measure, retired with his forces; and Philip, that he might not leave so dangerous an enemy behind him, first turned his arms against the dominions of that prince. Meanwhile, the English fleet was assembled under the earl of Salisbury, the king's natural brother; and, though inferior in number, received orders to attack the French in their harbours. Salisbury performed this service with so much success, that he took three hundred ships; destroyed a hundred more; and Philip, finding it impossible to prevent the rest from falling into the hands of the enemy, set fire to them himself, and thereby rendered it impossible for him to proceed any farther in his projected expedition.

John, exulting in his present security, insensible to his past disgrace, was so elated with his success, that he thought of invading France in his turn, and recovering all those provinces which the arms of Philip had formerly ravished from him. He proposed this expedition to the barons, who were already assembled for the defence of the kingdom. But the English nobles both hated and despised their prince: they prognosticated no success to any enterprize conducted by such a leader; and pretending that their time of service was elapsed, and their provisions exhausted, they refused to second his undertaking. The king, however, resolute in his purpose, embarked with a few followers, and sailed from Portsmouth to Jersey, in the expectation that the barons would be ashamed not to follow him.

But finding himself disappointed, he returned to England; and raising some troops, threatened to take vengeance on his nobles for their desertion and disobedience. The archbishop of Canterbury, who was in a confederacy with the barons, here interposed; strictly inhibited the king from thinking of such an attempt; and threatened him with a renewal of the sentence of excommunication, if he pretended to levy war upon any of his subjects, before the kingdom were freed from the interdict.

The several anathemas pronounced against John, were recalled by the same gradual progress with which they had been first issued. By receiving his homage, and admitting him to the rank of a vassal, his deposition had been virtually annulled, and his subjects were again bound by their oaths of allegiance. The exiled prelates had then returned in great triumph, with Langton at their head; and the king, hearing of their approach, went forth to meet them, and throwing himself on the ground before them, he entreated them, with tears, to have compassion on him and the kingdom of England. The primate, seeing these marks of sincere penitence, led him to the chapter-house of Winchester, and there administered an oath to him, on the 20th of July, by which he again swore fealty and obedience to Innocent and his successors; promised to love, maintain, and defend holy church and the clergy; engaged that he would re-establish the good laws of his predecessors, particularly those of St. Edward, and would abolish the wicked ones; and expressed his resolution of maintaining justice and right in all his dominions. The primate next gave him absolution in the requisite forms, and admitted him to dine with him, to the great joy of all the people. The sentence of interdict, however, was still upheld against the kingdom. A new legate, Nicolas, bishop of Tusculum, came into England in the room of Pandolf; and he declared it to be the pope's intentions never to loosen that sentence till full restitution was made to the clergy of every thing taken from them, and ample reparation for all damages which they had sustained. He only permitted mass to be said with a low voice in the churches, till those losses and damages could be estimated to the satisfaction of the parties. Certain barons were appointed to take an account of the claims; and John was astonished at the greatness of the sums to which the clergy made their losses to amount. No less than twenty thousand marks were demanded by the monks of Canterbury alone; twenty-three thousand for the see of Lincoln; and the king, finding these pretensions to be exorbitant and endless, offered the clergy the sum of a hundred thousand marks for a final acquittal. The clergy rejected the offer with disdain; but the pope, willing to favour his new vassal, whom he found zealous in his declarations of fealty, and regular in paying the stipulated tribute to Rome, directed his legate to accept of forty thousand. The issue of the whole was, that the bishops and considerable abbots got reparation beyond what they had any title to demand: the inferior clergy were obliged to sit down contented with their losses; and the king, after the interdict was taken off, renewed, in the most solemn manner, and by a new charter, sealed with gold, his professions of homage and obedience to the see of Rome.

This vexatious affair being at last concluded, the king, as if he had nothing farther to attend to but triumphs and victories, went over to Poictou, which still acknowledged his authority (*x*). He embarked at Portsmouth on the 2nd of February, 1214, and landed at Rochelle on the 15th; and now carried war into Philip's dominions. He besieged a castle near Angiers; but the approach of prince Louis, Philip's son, obliged him to raise the siege with such precipitation, that he left his tents, machines, and baggage behind him; and he returned to England with disgrace; where he arrived on the 19th of October, after having concluded a truce with Philip for five years. About the same time, he heard of the great and decisive victory gained by the king of France, at Bovines, over the emperor Otho, who had entered France according to agreement, at the head af one hundred and fifty thousand Germans; a victory which established for ever the glory of Philip, and gave full security to all his dominions. John could, therefore, think henceforth of nothing farther, than of ruling peaceably his own kingdom; and his close connections with the pope, which he was determined at any price to maintain, ensured him, as he imagined, the certain attainment of that object. But the last and most grievous scene of this prince's misfortunes still awaited him; and he was destined to pass through a series of more humiliating circumstances than had ever yet fallen to the lot of any other sovereign.

The introduction of the feudal law into England by William the Conqueror had much infringed the liberties, however imperfect, enjoyed by the Anglo-Saxons under their ancient government, and had reduced the whole people to a state of vassalage, and even the greater part of them to a state of real slavery. The necessity also of entrusting great power in the hands of a prince, who was to maintain military dominion over a vanquished nation, had engaged the Norman barons to submit to a more severe and absolute prerogative, than that to which men of their rank, in other feudal governments, were commonly subjected. The power of the crown, once raised to a high pitch, was not easily reduced; and the nation, during the course of a hundred and fifty years, was governed by an authority unknown, in the same degree, to all the kingdoms founded by the northern conquerors. Henry I. that he might ingratiate himself with the people, and exclude his elder brother Robert from the crown, had granted them a charter, favourable in many particulars to their liberties; Stephen had renewed the grant; Henry II. had confirmed it: but the concessions of all these princes had still remained without effect; and the same unlimited, at least irregular authority, continued to be exercised both by them and their successors. The only happiness was, that arms were never yet taken from the hands of the barons and people: the nation, by a great confederacy, might still vindicate its liberties; and nothing was more likely, than the character, conduct, and fortunes of the reigning prince, to produce such a general combination against him. Equally odious and contemptible, both in public and private life, he affronted the barons by his insolence, dishonoured their families by the seduction of their wives and daughters, enraged them by his tyranny, and gave discontent to all ranks of men by his endless exactions and impositions. The effect of these lawless practices had already appeared in the general demand made by the barons of a restoration of their privileges; and after he had reconciled himself to the pope, by abandoning the independence of the kingdom, he appeared to all his subjects in so despicable a light, that they universally thought they might with safety and honour insist upon their pretensions.

But nothing forwarded this confederacy so much as the concurrence of Langton, archbishop of Canterbury; a man whose memory, though he was obtruded on the nation by a palpable encroachment of the see of Rome, ought always to be respected by the English. This prelate, whether he was moved by the generosity of his nature, and his affection to the public good; or had entertained an animosity against John, on account of the long opposition made by that prince to his election; or thought that an acquisition of liberty to the people would serve to increase and secure the privileges of the church; had formed the plan of reforming the government, and had prepared the way for that great innovation, by inserting those singular clauses above mentioned in the oath which he administered to the king, before he would absolve him from the sentence of excommunication. Soon after, in a private meeting of some principal barons at London, he showed them a copy of Henry the First's charter, which, he said, he had happily found in a monastery; and he exhorted them to insist on the renewal and observance of it: the barons swore, that they would sooner lose their lives than depart from so reasonable a demand. The confederacy began to spread wider, and to comprehend almost all the barons in England; and a new and more numerous meeting was summoned by Langton, in November, at St. Edmondsbury, under colour of devotion. He again produced to the assembly the old charter of Henry; renewed his exhortations of unanimity and vigour in the prosecution of their purpose; and represented in the strongest colours the tyranny to which they had so long been subjected, and from which it now behoved them to free themselves and their posterity. The barons, inflamed by his eloquence, incited by the sense of their own wrongs, and encouraged by the appearance of their power and numbers, solemnly took an oath, before the high altar, to adhere to each other, to insist on their demands, and to make endless war on the king, till he should submit to grant them. They agreed, that, after the festival of Christmas, they would prefer in a body their common petition; and, in the mean time they separated, after mutually engaging, that they would put themselves in a posture of defence, would

(*x*) Queen Eleanor died in 1203 or 1204.

would inlist men and purchase arms, and would supply their castles with the provisions necessary for carrying on war against the king, in case he refused their request.

The barons appeared in London on the day appointed, January 6, 1215; and demanded of the king, that, in consequence of his own oath before the primate, as well as in deference to their just rights, he should grant them a renewal of Henry's charter, and a confirmation of the laws of Edward the Confessor. The king, alarmed with their zeal and unanimity, as well as with their power, required a delay; promised that, at the festival of Easter, he would give them a positive answer to their petition; and offered them the archbishop of Canterbury, the bishop of Ely, and the earl of Pembroke, the mareschal, as sureties for his fulfilling his engagement. The barons accepted of the terms, and peaceably returned to their castles.

During this interval, John, in order to break or subdue the league of his barons, endeavoured to avail himself of the ecclesiastical power, of whose influence he had, from his own recent misfortunes, had such fatal experience. He granted to the clergy a charter, on the 15th of January, relinquishing for ever that important prerogative for which his father and all his ancestors had zealously contended; yielding to them the free election of all vacancies; reserving only the power to issue a congé d'elire, and to subjoin a confirmation of the election; and declaring that, if either of these were withheld, the choice should nevertheless be deemed just and valid. He made a vow to lead an army into Palestine against the infidels, and he took on him the cross; in hopes that he should receive from the church that protection which he tendered to every one that had entered into this sacred and meritorious engagement. And he sent to Rome his agent, William de Mauclerc, to complain to the pope against the violence of his barons, and procure him a favourable sentence from that powerful tribunal. The barons also were not negligent on their part in endeavouring to engage the pope in their interests: they dispatched Eustace de Vesci to Rome; laid their case before Innocent as their feudal lord; and petitioned him to interpose his authority with the king, and oblige him to restore and confirm all their just and undoubted privileges.

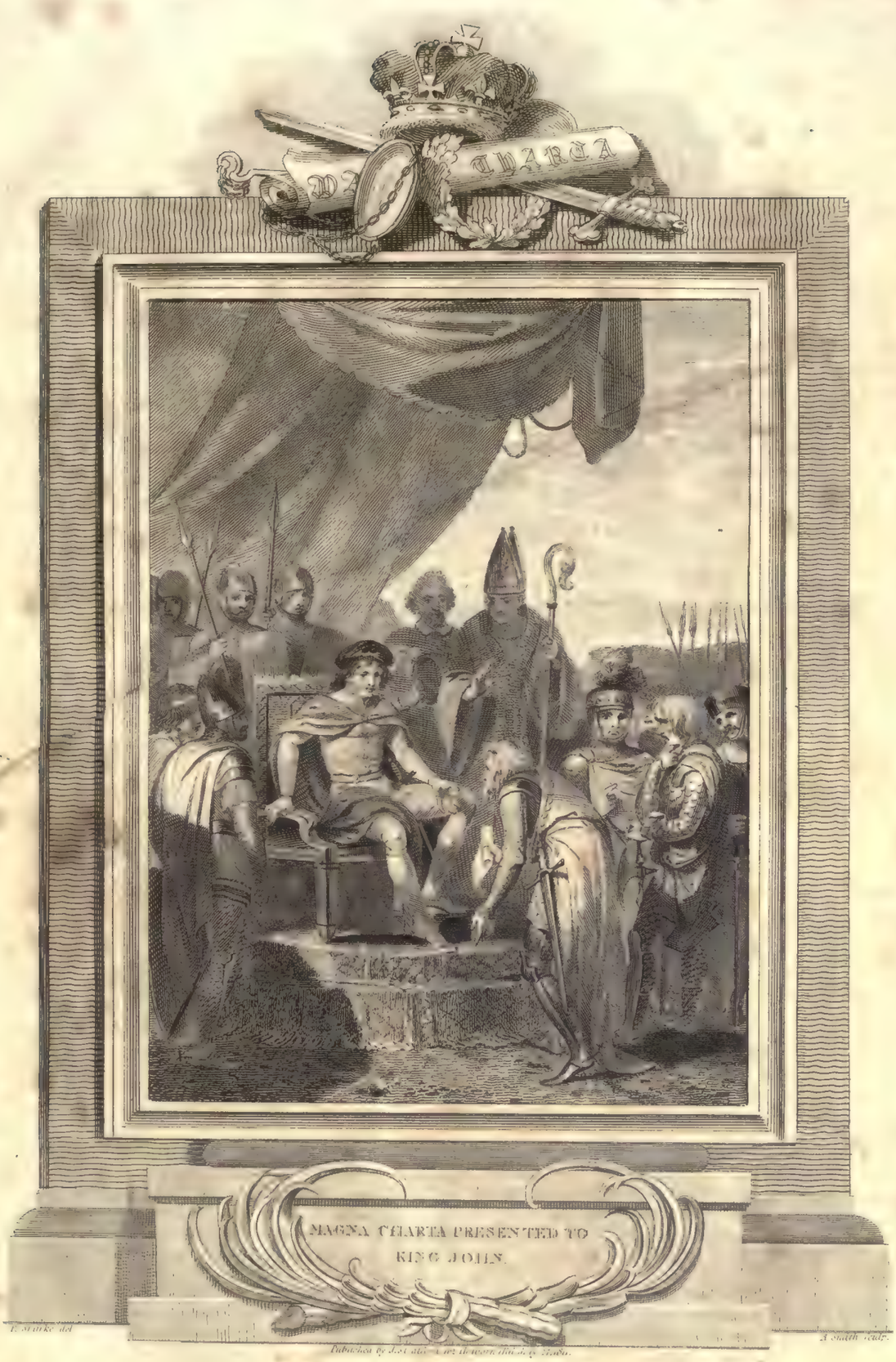
Innocent beheld with regret the disturbances which had arisen in England, and was much inclined to favour John in his pretensions. He had no hopes of retaining and extending his newly acquired superiority over that kingdom, but by supporting so base and degenerate a prince, who was willing to sacrifice every consideration to his present safety: and he foresaw, that, if the administration should fall into the hands of the barons, they would vindicate the honour, liberty, and independence of the nation, with the same ardour which they now exerted in defence of their own. He wrote letters therefore to the prelates, to the nobility, and to the king himself. He exhorted the first to employ their good offices in conciliating peace between the contending parties, and put an end to civil discord: to the second, he expressed his disapprobation of their conduct in employing force to extort concessions from their reluctant sovereign: the last, he advised to treat his nobles with grace and indulgence, and to grant them such of their demands as should appear just and reasonable.

From the tenor of these letters, the barons easily saw that they must reckon on having the pope, as well as the king, for their adversary; but they had advanced too far to recede from their pretensions, and their passions were so deeply engaged, that it exceeded even the power of superstition itself any longer to control them. They also foresaw, that the thunders of Rome, when not seconded by the efforts of the English ecclesiastics, would be of small avail against them: and they perceived, that the most considerable of the prelates, as well as all the inferior clergy, professed the highest approbation of their cause. Besides that these men were seized with the national passion for laws and liberty; blessings, of which they themselves expected to partake; there concurred very powerful causes to loosen their devoted attachment to the apostolic see. It appeared, from the late usurpations of the Roman pontiff, that he pretended to reap alone all the advantages accruing from that victory, which, under his banners, though at their own peril, they had every where obtained over the civil magistrate. The pope assumed a despotic power over all the churches: their particular customs, privileges, and immunities, were treated with disdain: even the canons of general councils were set aside by his dispensing power: the whole administration of the church was centured in the court of Rome: all preferments ran of course in the same channel; and the provincial clergy saw, at least felt, that there was a necessity for limiting these pretensions. The legate, Nicolas, in filling those numerous vacancies which had fallen in England during an interdict of six years, had proceeded in the most arbitrary manner; and had paid no regard in conferring dignities to personal merit, to rank, to the inclination of the electors, or to the customs of the country. The English church was universally disgusted; and Langton himself, though he owed his elevation to an incroachment of the Romish see, was no sooner established in his high office, than he became jealous of the privileges annexed to it, and formed attachments with the country subjected to his jurisdiction. These causes, though they opened slowly the eyes of men, failed not to produce their effect: they set bounds to the usurpations of the papacy: the tide first stopped, and then turned against the sovereign pontiff: and it is otherwise inconceivable, how that age, so prone to superstition, and so sunk in ignorance, or rather so devoted to a spurious erudition, could have escaped falling into an absolute and total slavery under the court of Rome.

About the time that the pope's letters arrived in England, the malcontent barons, on the approach of Easter, when they were to expect the king's answer to their petition, met by agreement at Stamford; and they assembled a force, consisting of above two thousand knights, besides their retainers and inferior persons without number. Elated with their power, they advanced, on the 27th of April, in a body to Brackley, within fifteen miles of Oxford, the place where the court then resided; and they there received a message from the king, by the archbishop of Canterbury, and the earl of Pembroke, desiring to know what those liberties were which they so zealously challenged from their sovereign. They delivered to these messengers a schedule, containing the chief articles of their demands; which was no sooner shewn to the king, than he burst into a furious passion, and asked, why the barons did not also demand of him his kingdom? swearing that he would never grant them such liberties as must reduce himself to slavery.

No sooner were the confederated nobles informed of John's reply, than they chose Robert Fitz-Walter their general, whom they called "the mareschal of the army of God and of holy church;" and they proceeded without farther ceremony to levy war upon the king. They besieged the castle of Northampton during fifteen days, though without success: the gates of Bedford castle were willingly opened to them by William Beauchamp, its owner: they advanced to Ware in their way to London, where they held a correspondence with the principal citizens: they were received without opposition into that capital on the 24th of May; and finding now the great superiority of their force, they issued proclamations, requiring the other barons to join them; and menacing them, in case of refusal or delay, with committing devastation on their houses and estates. In order to shew what might be expected from their prosperous arms, they made incursions from London, and laid waste the king's parks and palaces; and all the barons, who had hitherto carried the semblance of supporting the royal party, were glad of this pretence for openly joining a cause they always had secretly favoured. The king, who had retired from Oxford to Odiham, in Hampshire, with a poor retinue of only seven knights; and after trying several expedients to elude the blow, after offering to refer all differences to the pope alone, or to eight barons, four to be chosen by himself, and four by the confederates, he found himself at last obliged to submit at discretion. He therefore sent the earl of Pembroke to London, to propose a conference with the barons; which accordingly took place in a large meadow, by the side of the Thames, between Windsor and Staines, called Runnemede, on the 15th of June.

The two parties encamped apart, like open enemies; and after a debate of a few days, the king, with a facility somewhat suspicious, signed and sealed the charter which was required of him, on the 19th of June, 1215. This famous deed, commonly called MAGNA CHARTA, or THE GREAT CHARTER, either granted or secured very important liberties and privileges to every order of men in the kingdom; to the clergy, to the barons, and to the people. Although many of these articles appear at the present day trifling and unimportant; yet, as it is justly deemed the grand palladium of English liberty—the sacred basis of those legal and political blessings which render the country



MAGNA CHARTA PRESENTED TO
KING JOHN.

T. Stirke del. A. Smith sculp.

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try the envy and wonder of the world—and which every Briton ought to possess a copy of—we think it essentially necessary to insert it at full length, rather than to attempt an analysis, which might not give satisfaction to a lover of his country and the asserter of his own rights and privileges (*y*).

The generous spirit of the barons who extorted the Great Charter from their sovereign has been highly extolled by the generality of historians: but, while we hail with reverential awe the sacred fabric itself, we dare not sacrifice Truth at the shrine of Prejudice, by evincing our insensibility to the demerits of those who raised it, in employing the courtly language of panegyric where impartiality demands censure. That the conduct of the barons at this memorable crisis was influenced rather by selfish motives, that never find a residence in the bosom of true patriotism, than by a generous concern for the liberty of the subject, and the general good of the country, appear to us evident from the following circumstances:

Henry the First, in order to sanction the exclusion of his elder brother Robert, had, as we have mentioned before, granted a charter of liberties to his subjects, which was renewed and confirmed by the succeeding monarchs; and, after enumerating those rights and privileges which it tended to secure, expressly enjoined that they should be extended from the barons to their vassals, and so on to the lowest class of freemen or freeholders. Had the barons therefore been anxious to propagate that freedom they were so eager to enjoy, they would naturally have been willing to enforce, as far as lay in their power, an observance of the charter of Henry, by complying with the article in favour to their vassals. It could be but a feeble excuse to assert that, as the charter had not been observed with respect to themselves, they were not bound to extend its advantages to others. Such a plea might, indeed, be offered with propriety by a strenuous supporter of despotism; but could certainly never be seriously urged by a patriotic champion of liberty. This consideration impels us to believe that, had the king's tyranny only affected the people, the barons would have suffered him to exercise it with impunity: and, indeed, whoever considers with attention the uniform disposition of the feudal nobles, as well in England, as in other parts of Europe, will be compelled to acknowledge that, even under monarchs the most arbitrary, the weight of their oppression was more severely felt by the people in general than the rigours inflicted by the despot who filled the throne. But John, whose conduct was as weak as it was vicious, extended his severities indiscriminately to every class of his subjects: his rigorous enforcement of the feudal laws gave great displeasure to the barons; but their indignation was more powerfully excited by his regulations relative to the royal forests, by which they were deprived of their favourite diversions—to them, probably, more interesting than the welfare of their vassals. These were injuries that were felt but slightly, if at all, by the grand body of the people; yet were they sufficient to impel the barons to those successful exertions, which the potent consideration of rescuing their country from a state of the most abject slavery had proved inadequate to urge them to.

The truth of these observations must appear manifest from their inactivity during the daring attempts of the pope on the independence of the kingdom; and their still more degrading appeal to that aspiring pontiff, at the commencement of their contest with the king; in which, by the acknowledgement of Innocent as their feudal lord, they became accessary to the disgrace of their sovereign, and voluntarily resigned that liberty which they pretended to assert. Had their bosom glowed with the generous flame of pure patriotism, they would, for a time at least, have sacrificed their private resentment to the public good; and have endeavoured, even though their endeavours had been thwarted by the king himself, to oppose the unjust efforts of a foreign foe, whom they suffered to reduce their country to an ignominious dependence before they attempted to redress the injuries themselves had sustained. Farther, had the public welfare been the principal object of their concern, in sixty-three articles which this celebrated charter contains, they would surely have inserted more than one petty clause in favour of the most numerous body of men in the kingdom; that is, the villans, or all such as were not freeholders, whose exemption from losing, by fine, their carts, ploughs, and implements of husbandry was the sole advantage they derived from a deed that should have equally extended its beneficent effects to all ranks, from the proudest nobleman to the meanest peasant.

It must, however, be confessed, that the former articles of the Great Charter contain such mitigations and explanations of the feudal law as are reasonable and equitable; and that the latter involve all the chief outlines of a legal government, and provide for the equal distribution of justice and free enjoyment of property; the great objects for which political society was at first founded by men, which the people have a perpetual and unalienable right to recal, and which no time, nor precedent, nor statute, nor positive institution, ought to deter them from keeping ever uppermost in their thoughts and attention. Though the provisions made by this charter might, conformably to the genius of the age, be esteemed too concise, and too bare of circumstances, to maintain the execution of its articles, in opposition to the chicanery of lawyers, supported by the violence of power; time gradually ascertained the sense of all the ambiguous expressions; and those barons, who first extorted this concession, still held their swords in their hands, and could turn them against those who dared on any pretence to depart from the original spirit and meaning of the grant. We may now, from the tenor of this charter, conjecture what those laws were of king Edward which the English nation, during so many generations, still desired, with such an obstinate perseverance, to have recalled and established. They were chiefly the latter articles of Magna Charta; and the barons who, at the beginning of these commotions demanded the revival of the Saxon laws, undoubtedly thought that they had sufficiently satisfied the people, by procuring them this concession, which comprehended the principal objects to which they had so long aspired. But what we are most to admire is, the prudence and moderation of those haughty nobles themselves, who were enraged by injuries, inflamed by opposition, and elated by a total victory over their sovereign. They were content, even in this plenitude of power, to depart, from some articles of Henry I's charter, which they made the foundation of their demands, particularly from the abolition of wardships, a matter of the greatest importance; and they seem to have been sufficiently careful not to diminish too far the power and revenue of the crown. If they appear, therefore, to have carried other demands to too great a height, it can be aseribed only to the faithless and tyrannical character of the king himself, of which they had long had experience, and which, they foresaw, would, if they provided no farther security, lead him soon to infringe their new liberties, and revoke his own concessions. This alone gave birth to those other articles, seemingly exorbitant, which were added as a rampart for the safe-guard of the Great Charter.

The barons to secure the possession of the privileges granted by this charter, obliged the king to agree that London should remain in their hands, and the Tower be consigned to the custody of the primate, till the 15th of August ensuing, or till the execution of the several articles of the Great Charter. The better to ensure the same end, John allowed them to chuse five-and-twenty members from their own body, as conservators of the public liberties; and no bounds were set to the authority of these men either in extent or duration. If any complaint were made of a violation of the charter, whether attempted by the king, justiciaries, sheriffs, or foresters, any four of these barons might admonish the king to redress the grievance; if satisfaction were not obtained, they could assemble the whole council of twenty-five; who, in conjunction with the great council, were empowered to compel him to observe the charter; and in any case of resistance, might levy war against him, attack his castles, and employ every kind of violence, except against his royal person, and that of his queen and children. All men throughout the kingdom were bound, under the penalty of confiscation, to swear obedience to the twenty-five barons; and the freeholders of each county were to chuse twelve knights, who were to make report of such evil customs as required redress, conformably to the tenor of the Great Charter (*z*)

(*y*) A translation of this justly celebrated charter will be found at the close of this reign, page 139.

(*z*) This seems a very strong proof that the house of commons was not then in being: otherwise the knights and burgesses from the several counties could have given in to the lords a list of grievances, without so unusual an election. *Hume.*

The names of those conservators were, the earls of Clare, Albemarle, Gloucester, Winchester, Hereford, Roger Bigod earl of Norfolk, Robert de Vere earl of Oxford, William Mareschal the younger, Robert Fitz-Walter, Gilbert de Clare, Eustace de Vescey, Gilbert Delaval, William de Moubray, Geoffrey de Say, Roger de Mombezon, William de Huntingfield, Robert de Ros, the constable of Chester, William de Aubenie, Richard de Perci, William Maler, John Fitz-Robert, William de Lanvalay, Hugh de Bigod, and Roger de Montfichet. These noblemen were, by this convention, really invested with the sovereignty of the kingdom: they were rendered co-ordinate with the king, or rather superior to him, in the exercise of the executive power; and as there was no circumstance of government which, either directly or indirectly, might not bear a relation to the security or observance of the Great Charter, there could scarcely occur any incident in which they might not lawfully interpose their authority.

In consequence of these concessions, a number of the nobility now applied to John for the restitution of lands, and the government of castles, which they claimed by hereditary right; and he accordingly appointed an inquisition to investigate the validity of their pretensions; but in the interim, he ceded the castle of Rochester to archbishop Langton, as a government which anciently belonged to the see of Canterbury. He next issued writs directed to the different sheriffs, ordering them to constrain every one to swear obedience to the twenty-five conservators: he dismissed all his foreign mercenaries, and took every necessary step to promote the observance of the charter. He also remitted all crimes and transgressions committed from the foregoing Easter to the conclusion of the treaty; while the barons, on their part, renewed their homage to him, which they had publicly renounced at the commencement of the revolt.

John seemed to submit passively to all these regulations, however injurious to majesty: besides the above concessions, he pretended that his government was thenceforth to run in a new tenor, and be more indulgent to the liberty and independence of his people. But he only dissembled till he should find a favourable opportunity for annulling all his declarations. The injuries and indignities which he had formerly suffered from the pope and the king of France, as they came from equals or superiors, seemed to make but small impressions on him: but the sense of this perpetual and total subjection under his own rebellious vassals, sunk deep in his mind, and he was determined, at all hazards, to throw off so ignominious a slavery. He grew sullen, silent, and reserved: he shunned the society of his courtiers and nobles: he retired into the Isle of Wight, as if desirous of hiding his shame and confusion; but in his retreat he meditated the most fatal vengeance against all his enemies. He secretly sent abroad his emissaries to inlist foreign soldiers, and to invite the rapacious Barbançons into his service, by the prospect of sharing the spoils of England, and reaping the forfeitures of so many opulent barons, who had incurred the guilt of rebellion by rising in arms against him: and he dispatched a messenger to Rome, in order to lay before the pope the Great Charter, which he had been compelled to sign, and to complain, before that tribunal, of the violence which had been imposed upon him.

When the charter was read before the sovereign pontiff, Innocent, who considered himself as feudal lord of the kingdom, was incensed at the temerity of the barons, who, though they pretended to appeal to his authority, had dared, without waiting for his consent, to impose such terms on a prince, who, by resigning to the Roman pontiff his crown and independence, had placed himself immediately under the papal protection. He issued, therefore, a bull, dated the 24th of August, in which, from the plenitude of his apostolic power, and from the authority which God had committed to him, to build and destroy kingdoms, to plant and overthrow, he annulled and abrogated the whole charter, as unjust in itself, as obtained by compulsion, and as derogatory to the dignity of the apostolic see. He prohibited the barons from exacting the observance of it: he even prohibited the king himself from paying any regard to it: he absolved him and his subjects from all oaths which they had been constrained to take to that purpose; and he pronounced a general sentence of excommunication against every one who should persevere in maintaining such treasonable and iniquitous pretensions.

The king, as his foreign forces arrived along with this bull, now ventured to take off the mask; and, under sanction of the pope's decree, recalled all the liberties which he had granted to his subjects, and which he had solemnly sworn to observe. But the spiritual weapon was found, upon trial, to carry less force with it than he had reason from his own experience to apprehend. The primate, to whom the bulls were addressed, refused to obey the pope in publishing the sentence of excommunication against the barons; and though he was cited to Rome, that he might attend a general council there assembled, and was suspended on account of his disobedience to the pope, and his secret correspondence with the king's enemies; though a new and particular sentence of excommunication was pronounced by name against the principal barons, John still found that his nobility and people, and even his clergy, adhered to the defence of their liberties, and to their combination against him: the sword of his foreign mercenaries was all he had to trust to for restoring the authority he had lost.

After obtaining the Great Charter, the barons seem to have been lulled into a fatal security, and to have taken no rational measures, in case of the introduction of a foreign force, for re-assembling their armies. The king was, from the first master of the field; and immediately laid siege to the castle of Rochester, which was obstinately defended by William de Albiney, at the head of a hundred and forty knights with their retainers, but was at last reduced by famine, on the 30th of November. John, irritated with the resistance, intended to have hanged the governor and all the garrison; but, on the representation of William de Mouleon, who suggested to him the danger of reprisals, he was content to sacrifice, in this barbarous manner, the inferior prisoners only. The captivity of William de Albiney, the best officer among the confederated barons, was an irreparable loss to their cause: and no regular opposition was thenceforth made to the progress of the royal arms. The ravenous and barbarous mercenaries, incited by a cruel and enraged prince, were let loose against the estates, tenants, manors, houses, parks, of the barons, and spread devastation over the face of the kingdom. Nothing was to be seen but the flames of villages and castles reduced to ashes, the consternation and misery of the inhabitants, tortures exercised by the soldiery to make them reveal their concealed treasures, and reprisals no less barbarous committed by the barons and their partizans on the royal demesnes, and on the estates of such as still adhered to the crown. The king, marching through the whole extent of England, from Dover to the borders of Scotland, laid the provinces waste on each side of him; and considered every state, which was not his immediate property, as entirely hostile, and the object of military execution. The nobility of the north, in particular, who had shewn the greatest violence in the recovery of their liberties, and who, acting in a separate body, had expressed their discontent even at the concessions made by the Great Charter, as they could expect no mercy, fled before him with their wives and families, and purchased the friendship of Alexander, the young king of Scots, by doing homage to him.

The barons, reduced to this desperate extremity, and menaced with the total loss of their liberties, their properties, and their lives, employed a remedy no less desperate; and making applications to the court of France, they offered to acknowledge Louis, the eldest son of Philip, for their sovereign, on condition that he would afford them protection from the violence of their enraged prince. Though the sense of the common rights of mankind, the only rights that are entirely indefeasible, might have justified them in the deposition of their king, they declined insisting before Philip on a pretension which is commonly so disagreeable to sovereigns, and which sounds harshly in their royal ears. They affirmed that John was incapable of succeeding to the crown, by reason of the attainder passed upon him during his brother's reign; though that attainder had been reversed, and Richard had even, by his last will, declared him his successor. They pretended that he was already legally deposed by sentence of the peers of France, on account of the murder of his nephew: though that sentence could not possibly regard any thing but his transmarine dominions, which alone he held in vassalage to that crown. On more plausible grounds they affirmed, that he had already deposed himself by doing homage to the pope, changing the nature of his sovereignty, and resigning an independent crown for a fee under a foreign power. And as Blanche of Castile, the

wife

wife of Louis, was descended by her mother from Henry II. they maintained, though may other princes stood before her in the order of succession, that they had not shaken off the royal family in chusing her husband for their sovereign.

Philip was strongly tempted to lay hold on the rich prize which was offered him. The legate menaced him with interdicts and excommunications if he invaded the patrimony of St. Peter, or attacked a prince who was under the immediate protection of the holy see: but as Philip was assured of the obedience of his own vassals, his principles were changed with the times, and he now undervalued as much all papal censures, as he formerly pretended to pay respect to them. His chief scruple was with regard to the fidelity which he might expect from the English barons in their new engagements, and the danger of entrusting his son and heir into the hands of men who might, on any caprice or necessity, make peace with their native sovereign, by sacrificing a pledge of so much value. He therefore exacted from the barons twenty-five hostages of the most noble birth in the kingdom; and having obtained this security, he sent over first a small army to the relief of the confederates; then more numerous forces, which arrived with Louis himself at their head.

The first effect of the young prince's appearance in England, who landed at Sandwich in Kent on the 23rd of May, 1216, was the desertion of John's foreign troops, who, being mostly levied in Flanders, and other provinces of France, refused to serve against the heir of their monarchy. The Gascons and Poictevins alone, who were still John's subjects, adhered to his cause; but they were too weak to maintain that superiority in the field which they had hitherto supported against the confederated barons. Many considerable noblemen deserted John's party, the earls of Salisbury, Arundel, Warrenne, Oxford, Albemarle, and William Mareschal the younger: his castles fell daily into the hands of the enemy; Dover was the only place which, from the valour and fidelity of Hubert de Burgh the governor, made resistance to the progress of Louis: and the barons had the melancholy prospect of finally succeeding in their purpose, and of escaping the tyranny of their own king, by imposing on themselves and the nation a foreign yoke. But this union was of short duration between the French and English nobles; and the imprudence of Louis, who on every occasion shewed too visible a preference to the former, increased that jealousy which it was so natural for the latter to entertain in their present situation. The viscount of Melun too, it is said, one of his courtiers, fell sick at London, and finding the approaches of death, he sent for some of his friends, among the English barons, and warning them of their danger, revealed Louis's secret intentions of exterminating them and their families as traitors to their prince, and of bestowing their estates and dignities on his native subjects, in whose fidelity he could more reasonably place confidence: this story, whether true or false, was universally reported and believed; and concurring with other circumstances which rendered it credible, did great prejudice to the cause of Louis. The earl of Salisbury, and other noblemen deserted again to John's party; and as men easily changed sides in a civil war, especially where their power is founded on an hereditary and independent authority, and is not derived from the opinion and favour of the people, the French prince had reason to dread a sudden reverse of fortune. The king was assembling a considerable army, with a view of fighting one great battle for his crown; but marching from Lynne to Lincolnshire, his road lay along the sea-shore, which was overflowed at high water; and not chusing the proper time for his journey, he lost in the inundation all his carriages, treasures, baggages, and regalia. The affliction for this disaster, and vexation from the distracted state of his affairs, increased the sickness under which he then laboured. Being entertained at the abbey of Swineshead, it has been asserted that he injured his constitution by a surfeit, and though he reached the castle of Newark, he was obliged to halt there, and his distemper soon put an end to his life (*a*), on the 19th of October, 1216, in the forty-ninth year of his age, and eighteenth of his reign; and freed the nation from the dangers to which it was equally exposed, by his success or by his misfortunes.

The character of this prince is nothing but a complication of vices, equally mean and odious; ruinous to himself, and destructive to his people. Cowardice, inactivity, folly, levity, licentiousness, ingratitude, treachery, tyranny, and cruelty; all these qualities appear too evidently in the several incidents of his life, to give us room to suspect that the disagreable picture has been anywise overcharged by the prejudices of the ancient historians. It is hard to say whether his conduct to his father, his brother, his nephew, or his subjects, was most culpable; or whether his crimes, in these respects, were not even exceeded by the baseness which appeared in his transactions with the king of France, the pope, and the barons. His European dominions, when they devolved to him by the death of his brother, were more extensive than have ever, since his time, been ruled by any English monarch: but he first lost, by his misconduct, the flourishing provinces in France, the ancient patrimony of his family: he subjected his kingdom to a shameful vassalage under the see of Rome: he saw the prerogatives of his crown diminished by law, and still more reduced by faction: and he died at last, when in danger of being totally expelled by a foreign power, and of either ending his life miserably in a prison, or seeking shelter as a fugitive from the pursuit of his enemies.

The prejudices against this prince were so violent, that he was believed to have sent an embassy to the Miramoulin or emperor of Morocco, and to have offered to change his religion and become Mohammedan, in order to purchase the protection of that monarch. But though this story is told us, on plausible authority, by Matthew Paris, it is in itself utterly improbable; except that there is nothing so incredible but may be believed to proceed from the folly and wickedness of John.

The monks throw great reproaches on this prince for his impiety and even infidelity; and as an instance of it, they tell us, that having one day caught a very fat stag, he exclaimed, "How plump and well fed is this animal! and yet I dare swear he never heard mass." This sally of wit, upon the usual corpulency of the priests, more than all his enormous crimes and iniquities, made him pass with them for an atheist

John left two legitimate sons behind him, Henry, born on the first of October, 1207, and now nine years of age; and Richard, born on the 6th of January, 1209; and three daughters, Jane, afterwards married to Alexander king of Scots; Eleanor, married first to William Mareschal the younger, earl of Pembroke, and afterwards to Simon Montford, earl of Leicester; and Isabella, married to the emperor Frederic II. All these children were born to him by Isabella of Angoulême his second wife. His illegitimate children were numerous; but none of them were anywise distinguished.

It was this king who, in the ninth year of his reign, first gave by charter to the city of London, the right of electing annually a mayor out of its own body, an office which was till now held for life. He gave the city also power to elect and remove its sheriffs at pleasure, and its common-council-men annually. John likewise accorded to the Cinque Ports those peculiar privileges of which they still remain possessed. London Bridge, composed of stone, was finished in this reign: the former bridge was of wood. Maud the empress was the first that built a stone bridge in England.

MAGNA CHARTA, OR THE GREAT CHARTER.

The very important instrument which we have here presented to the reader is translated from an authentic copy, deposited in the library of the British Museum. It differs in several passages from the copy which appears in Matthew Paris's History, but the variations are of little moment.

JOHN, (by the grace of God) king of England, lord of Ireland, duke of Normandy and Aquitaine, and earl of Anjou to all his archbishops, bishops, abbots, earls, barons, justiciaries, foresters, sheriffs, governors, officers, and to all his bailiffs and faithful subjects, wisheth health. Know ye, that we, from our regard to God, and for the salvation of our own soul, and for the souls of our ancestors, and of our heirs, to the honour of God, the exaltation of our holy church, and the amendment of our kingdom, by the advice of our venerable fathers, Stephen archbishop of Canterbury primate of all England, and cardinal of the holy Roman church, Henry archbishop of Dublin, William of London, Peter of Winchester, Joceline of Bath and Glastonbury, Hugh of Lincoln, Walter of Worcester, William of Coventry, Benedict of Rochester, bishops; of master Pandulph,

(*a*) Some old authors pretend, that he was poisoned by a monk.

dulph, the pope's subdeacon and familiar, brother Eymeric master of the knights-templars in England, and of the following noble persons, William Mareschal, earl of Pembroke, William earl of Salisbury, William earl of Warrenne, William earl of Arundel, Alan of Galloway constable of Scotland, Warin Fitz-Gerald, Peter Fitz-Herbert, Hubert de Burgh seneschal of Poictou, Hugh de Nevil, Matthew Fitz-Herbert, Thomas Basset, Alan Basset, Philip d'Albiney, Robert de Roppel, John Mareschal, John Fitz-Hugh, and of others of our liegemen; have granted to God, and by this our present charter have confirmed, for us, and our heirs for ever.

1st. That the English church shall be free, and shall have her whole rights, and her liberties inviolate; and we will have this observed in such a manner, that it may appear thence, that the freedom of election, which was reputed most necessary to the English church, which we granted, and by our charter confirmed, and of which we obtained the confirmation from pope Innocent III. before the rupture between us and our barons, was granted of our own free will. Which charter we shall observe; and we order it to be observed, with good faith, by our heirs for ever.—We have also granted to all the freemen of our kingdom, for us and our heirs for ever, all the under-written liberties, to be enjoyed and holden by them and their heirs, of us and our heirs.

2. If any of our earls or barons, or others who hold of us in chief by military service, shall die, and at his death his heir shall be of full age, and owe a relief, he shall have his inheritance by the ancient relief, viz the heirs or heir of an earl, for a whole earl's barony, by one hundred pounds; the heir or heirs of a baron, for a whole barony, by one hundred pounds (*b*); the heir or heirs of a knight, for a whole knight's fee, by one hundred shillings at most; and he who owes less shall give less, according to the ancient custom of fees.

3. But if the heir of any such person be a minor, and in wardship, when he comes of age he shall have his inheritance without relief and without fine.

4. The warden of an heir who is under age, shall not take of the lands of the heir any but reasonable issues, reasonable customs, and reasonable services, and that without destruction and waste of the tenants or effects; and if we commit the custody of any such lands to a sheriff, or to any other person who is bound to answer to us for the issue of them, and he shall make destruction or waste upon the ward-lands, we will recover damages of him, and the lands shall be committed to two legal and discreet men of that fee, who shall answer for the issues to us, or to him to whom we have assigned them; and if we grant or sell to any one the custody of any such lands, and he shall make destruction or waste, he shall lose the custody which shall be committed to two legal and discreet men of that fee, who shall answer to us as was said before.

5. The warden, as long as he shall have the custody of the lands, shall keep in order the houses, parks, warrens, ponds, mills, and other things belonging to them, out of their issues; and he shall deliver to the heir, when of age, his whole estate provided with ploughs and other implements of agriculture, according to what the season requires, and the profits of the lands can reasonably afford.

6. Heirs shall be married without disparagement, and before the marriage is contracted it shall be notified to the relations of the heir by consanguinity.

7. A widow, after the death of her husband, shall immediately, and without difficulty, have her marriage-goods, and her inheritance; nor shall she give any thing for her dower, or her marriage-goods, or her inheritance, which her husband and she held on the day of his death. And she may remain in her husband's house forty days after his death, within which time her dower shall be assigned to her.

8. No widow shall be compelled to marry, while she thinks proper to live without a husband; but she shall give security that she will not marry without our consent, if she hold of us, or without the consent of the lord of whom she holds, if she holds of another.

9. Neither we nor our bailiffs shall sieze any land or rents for any debt, while the chattels of the debtor are sufficient for the payment of it; nor shall the sureties of the debtor be distrained, while the principal debtor is able to pay the debt: and if the principal debtor fail in payment of the debt, not having the means for discharging it, the sureties shall answer for the debt; and, if they please, they shall have the lands and rents of the debtor, till satisfaction be made to them for the debt which they had before paid for him, unless the principal debtor can shew that he is discharged from it by the said sureties.

10. If any one shall have borrowed from the Jews, more or less, and die before that debt is paid, the debt shall be liable to no interest as long as the heir shall be under age, of whomsoever he holds; and if that debt shall fall into our hands, we will not take any thing except the chattels contained in the bond.

11. And if any one shall die indebted to the Jews, his wife shall have her dower, and pay nothing of that debt; and if children of the defunct remain who are under age, necessaries shall be provided for them, according to the tenement which belonged to the defunct; and out of the surplus the debt shall be paid saving the rights of the lords. The same rules shall be observed with respect to debts due to others than Jews.

12. No scutage or aid shall be imposed, in our kingdom, except by the common council of our kingdom, but for redeeming our person, for making our eldest son a knight, and for once marrying our eldest daughter; and for these a reasonable aid shall be demanded. This extends to the aids of the city of London.

13. And the city of London shall have all her ancient liberties, and her free customs, as well by land as by water. Besides, we grant, that all other cities, burghs, towns, and sea-ports, shall have all their liberties and free customs.

14. And to have a common council of the kingdom, to assess an aid otherwise than in the three cases above-mentioned, or to assess a scutage, we will cause to be summoned the archbishops, bishops, abbots, earls, and greater barons, singly by our letters; and besides, we will cause to be summoned in general, by our sheriffs and bailiffs, all those who hold of us in chief, to a certain day, at the distance of forty days at least, and to a certain place; and in all the letters of summons, we will express the cause of the summons; and the summons being thus made, the business shall go on at the day appointed, according to the advice of those who shall be present, though all who had been summoned may not have come.

15. We will not give leave to any one, for the future to take an aid of his free tenants, except for redeeming his own person, making his eldest son a knight, and marrying once his eldest daughter; and then only a reasonable aid.

16. Let none be distrained to perform more service for a knight's fee, or any other free tenement, than what is due.

17. Common pleas shall not follow our court, but shall be holden in some certain place.

18. Assises on the writs of Novel Disseisin, Mort d'Ancestre (death of the ancestor), and Darrein presentment (last presentation,) shall not be taken but in their proper counties, and in this manner.—We, our chief justiciary when we are out of the kingdom, shall send two justiciaries into each county, four times a year, who, with four knights of each county, chosen by the county, shall take the said assises, at a stated time and place, within the county.

19. And if the said assises cannot be taken on the day of the county-court, let as many knights and freeholders of those who were present at the county-court, remain behind, as may be sufficient to take the said assises, according to the greater or less importance of the business.

20. A freeman shall not be amerced for a small offence, but according to the degree of the offence; and for a great delinquency, according to the magnitude of the delinquency, saving his contenement (*c*): a merchant shall be amerced in the same manner, saving his merchandize; and a villan, saving his implements of husbandry. If they fall into our mercy, none of the said amerciaments shall be assessed, but by the oath of honest men of the vicinage.

21. Earls and barons shall not be amerced but by their peers, and then only according to the degree of their delinquency.

22. No clerk shall be amerced for his lay-tenement, but according to the manner of others aforesaid, and not according to the quantity of his eclesiastical benefice.

23. Neither a town nor a tenant shall be distrained to build bridges, or make embankments, except those who anciently, and of right are bound to do it.

24. No sheriff, constable, coroner, or bailiff of ours, shall hold pleas of our crown.

25. All counties, hundreds, wapentakes and tithings, shall be at the ancient rents, without any increase, except our demesne-manors.

26. If any one holding of us a lay-fee dies, and the sheriff or our bailiff shall shew our letters-patent of our summons for a debt which the defunct owed to us, it shall be lawful for the sheriff or our bailiff to attach and register the chattels of the defunct found on that fee, to the amount of that debt, at the view of lawful men, so that nothing shall be removed thence till our debt is paid to us. The clear overplus shall be left to the executors, to fulfil the testament of the defunct; and if nothing is due to us from him, all the chattels shall devolve to the defunct; saving to his wife and children their reasonable shares.

27. If any freeman shall die intestate, his chattels shall be distributed by his nearest relations and friends, at the view of the church, saving to every one the debts which the defunct owed to him.

28. No constable or bailiff of ours shall take the corn or other goods of any one, without instantly paying money for them, unless he can obtain respite by consent of the seller.

29. No constable (governor of a castle) shall distrain any knight

(*b*) This is marks in Matthew Paris; a reading which seems preferable. *M. Paris*, edit Tigur. p. 246.

(*c*) A contenement is a reservation of those possessions without which a person could not pursue his former occupation.

knight to give money for castle-guard, if he is willing to perform it by his own person, or by another proper man, if he cannot perform it himself, for a reasonable cause. And if we shall have led or sent him into the army, he shall be excused from castle-guard, according to the space of time he shall have been in the army at our command.

30. No sheriff, or bailiff of ours, or any other person, shall take the horses or carts of any freeman, for carriage, without the consent of the said freeman.

31. Neither we, nor our bailiffs, shall, take another man's wood, for our castles or other uses, without the consent of him to whom the wood belongs.

32. We will not retain the lands of those who have been convicted of felony, above one year and one day, and then they shall be given up to the lord of the fee.

33. All kydels (wears) for the future shall be quite removed out of the Thames, the Medway, and throughout all England, except on the sea-coast.

34. The writ which is called Præcipe for the future shall not be granted to any one concerning any tenement by which a freeman may lose his court.

35. There shall be only one measure of wine through all our kingdom, and one measure of ale, and one measure of corn, viz. the quarter of London; and one breadth of dyed cloth and of russets, and of halberjects, viz. two ells within the lists. It shall be the same with weights as with measures.

36. Nothing shall be given or taken in future for the writ of inquisition of life or limb; but it shall be given gratis and not denied.

37. If any one holds of us by fee-farm, or soccage, or burgage, and holds an estate of another by military service, we will not have the custody of the heir, or of his land, which is of the fee of another, on account of that fee-farm, or soccage, or burgage, nor will we have the care of that fee-farm itself, or soccage, or burgage, unless the fee-farm owes military service. We shall not have the custody of the heir, or of the land of any one, which he holds of another by military service, on account of any petty sergeantry which he holds of us, by giving us knives, arrows, or the like.

38. No bailiff, for the future, shall put any man to his law, upon his own simple affirmation, without credible witnesses produced to that purpose.

39. No freeman shall be seized or imprisoned, or disseised, or outlawed, or any way destroyed, nor will we try him, or pass sentence on him, except by the legal judgment of his peers, or by the law of the land.

40. To none will we sell, to none will we deny, to none will we delay right or justice.

41. All merchants shall be safe and secure in coming into England, in going out of England, and staying and travelling through England, as well by land as by water, to buy and sell, without any unjust exactions, according to ancient and right customs, except in time of war, and if they be of a nation at war against us. And if such are found in our dominions at the beginning of a war, they shall be apprehended without injury of their bodies and goods, till it be known to us, or to our chief justiciary, how the merchants of our country are treated by the nation at war against us; and if ours are safe there, the others shall be safe in our country.

42. It shall be lawful for any person in future, to go out of our kingdom, and to return safely and securely, by land and by water, saving his allegiance, except in time of war, for some short space, for the common good of the kingdom, except prisoners, outlaws according to the law of the land, and people of the nation at war against us, and merchants, who shall be treated as is said above.

43. If any one holds of any escheat, as of the honour of Wallingford, Nottingham, Boulogne, Lancaster, or of other escheats which are now in our hands and are baronies, and shall die, his heir shall not give any other relief, or do any other service to us, than he would have done to the baron, if that barony had been in the hands of the baron; and we will hold it in the same manner that the baron held it.

44. Men who dwell without the forest, shall not come, for the future, before our justiciaries of the forest, on a common summons, unless they be parties in a plea, or sureties for some person or persons who are attached for the forest.

45. We will not make men justiciaries, constables, sheriffs, or bailiffs, unless they understand the law of the land, and are well disposed to observe it.

46. All barons who have founded abbeys, of which they have charters of the kings of England, or ancient tenure, shall have the custody of them when they become vacant, as they ought to have.

47. All forests which have been made in our time, shall be immediately disforested; and the same shall be done with water-banks which have been fenced in our time.

48. All evil customs of forests and warrens, and of foresters and warreners, sheriffs and their officers, water-banks and their keepers, shall immediately be inquired into by the twelve knights of the same county, upon oath, who shall be chosen by the good men of the same county; and within forty days after the inquisition is made, they shall be quite destroyed by them, never to be restored; provided this be previously notified to us, or to our justiciary, if we are not in England.

49. We will immediately restore all hostages and charters which have been delivered to us by the English, in security of the peace, and of their faithful service.

50. We will remove from their offices the relations of Gerard de Athyes, that for the future they shall have no office in England; Engelard de Cygony, Andrew, Peter, and Gyone de Chancell, Gyone de Cygony, Geoffrey de Martin, and his brothers; Philip Mark, and his brothers; and Geoffrey, his nephew; and all their followers.

51. And immediately after the conclusion of the peace, we will remove out of our kingdom all foreign knights, cross-bow-men, servants, and stipendiary soldiers, who have come with horses and arms to the molestation of the kingdom.

52. If any have been disseised or dispossessed by us, without a legal verdict of the peers, of their lands, castles, liberties, or rights, we will immediately make restitution; and if a question shall arise on this head, it shall be determined by the verdict of the twenty-five barons, mentioned below, for the security of the peace. But as to all those things of which any one hath been disseised or dispossessed, without a legal verdict of his peers, by king Henry our father, or king Richard our brother, which we have in our hand, or others hold with our warrants, we shall have respite till the common term of the crusards, except those concerning which a plea had been moved, or an inquisition taken by our precept, before our taking the cross. But as soon as we shall return from our expedition, or if, by chance, we shall not go upon our expedition, we shall immediately do complete justice therein.

53. We shall have the same respite, and in the same manner, concerning the justice to be done about disforesting or continuing the forests which Henry our father, or Richard our brother, had made, and about the wardship of lands which are of the fee of some other person, but the wardship of which we have hitherto had, on account of a fee which some one held of us by military service; and about abbeys which had been founded in fee of another, and not in ours, in which abbeys the lord of the fee hath claimed a right. And when we shall have returned, or if we shall desist from our expedition, we shall immediately do complete justice in all these pleas.

54. No man shall be apprehended or imprisoned on the appeal of a woman, for the death of any other man than her husband.

55. All fines that have been made with us unjustly, or contrary to the law of the land, and all amerciaments that have been imposed unjustly, or contrary to the law of the land, shall be remitted or disposed of by the verdict of the twenty-five barons, mentioned below, for the security of the peace, or by the verdict of the major part of them, together with Stephen, archbishop of Canterbury, if he can be present, and others whom he may think proper to bring with him; and if he cannot be present, the business shall proceed without him: but if one or more of the twenty-five barons have a similar plea, let them be removed from that particular trial, and others elected and sworn by the residue of the same twenty-five, be substituted in their room, only for that trial.

56. If we have disseised or dispossessed any Welshmen of their lands, liberties, or other rights without a legal verdict of their peers, in England or in Wales, they shall be immediately restored to them; and if a question shall arise, let it be determined in the marches by the verdict of their peers, if the tenement be in England, according to the law of England; if the tenement be in Wales, according to the law of Wales; and if the tenement be in the marches, according to the law of the marches. The Welsh shall do the same to us and our subjects.

57. But concerning those things of which any Welshman hath been disseised or dispossessed without a legal verdict of his peers, by king Henry our father, or king Richard our brother, which we have in our hand, or others hold with our warrantry, we shall have respite, until the common term of the crusards, except those concerning which a plea had been moved, or an inquisition taken, by our precept, before we took the cross. But as soon as we shall return from our expedition; or if, by chance, we shall not go upon our expedition, we shall immediately do complete justice therein, according to the laws of Wales, and the parts aforesaid.

58. We will immediately deliver up the son of Lewellyn, and all the hostages of Wales, and the charters which have been given to us for security of the peace.

59. We shall do to Alexander, king of Scotland, concerning the restoration of his sisters and hostages, and his liberties and rights, according to the form in which we act to our other barons of England, unless it ought to be otherwise by charters which we have from his father William, late king of Scotland; and that by the verdict of his peers in our court.

60. But all these above-mentioned customs and liberties which we have granted in our kingdom, to be enjoyed by our tenants,

as far as concerns us, all our clergy and laity shall observe towards their tenants, as far as concerns them.

61. But since we have granted all these things for the honour of God, and the amendment of our kingdom, and for the better extinction of the discord arising between us and our barons, being desirous that these things should possess entire and unshaken stability for ever, we give and grant to them the security under written, viz. That the barons may elect twenty-five barons of the kingdom, whom they please, who shall, with their whole power, observe and keep, and cause to be observed, the peace and liberties which we have granted to them, and have confirmed by this our present charter, in this manner. That if we, or our justiciary, or our bailiffs, or any of our officers, shall have injured any one in any thing, or shall have violated any article of the peace or security, and the injury shall have been notified to four of the twenty-five barons, these four barons shall come to us, or to our justiciary if we are out of the kingdom, and making known to us the excess committed, require that we cause that excess to be redressed without delay; and if we shall not have redressed the excess, or if we have been out of the kingdom, our justiciary, shall not have redressed it, within the term of forty days, computing from the time in which it shall have been made known to us, or to our justiciary if we have been out of the kingdom, the said four barons shall lay that cause before the residue of the twenty-five barons; and these twenty-five barons, with the community of the whole land, shall distress and harass us by all the ways in which they can, that is, by the taking of our castles, lands, and possessions, and by other means in their power, till the excess shall have been redressed, according to their verdict; saving our person, and the persons of our queen and children; and when it has been redressed, they shall behave to us as they had done before: and any person of our land may swear, that he will obey the commands of the twenty-five barons, in accomplishing all the things aforesaid, and that with them he will harass us to the utmost of his power: and we publicly and freely give leave to every one to swear, who is willing to swear; and we will never forbid any man to swear. But all those of our land, who, of themselves, and their own accord, are unwilling to swear to the twenty-five barons, to distress and harass us together with them, shall be compelled by our command, to swear as aforesaid. And if any one of the twenty-five barons shall die, or remove out of the land, or in any other way shall be prevented from executing the things above stated, those who remain of the twenty-five barons shall elect another in his place, according to their pleasure, who shall be sworn in the same manner as the rest. But in all those things which are appointed to be done by these twenty-five barons, if it happen that all the twenty-five have been present and have differed in their opinions about any thing, or if some of them who had been summoned, would not, or could not be present, that which the major part of those who were present shall have provided and decreed, shall be deemed as firm and valid as if all the twenty-five had agreed in it. And the aforesaid twenty-five shall swear, that they will faithfully observe, and, to the utmost of their power, cause to be observed, all the things mentioned above. And we will obtain nothing from any one, by ourselves, or by another, by which any of these concessions or liberties may be revoked or diminished. And if any such thing be obtained, let it be void and null; and we will never use it, either by ourselves or by another.

62. And we have fully remitted and pardoned to all men, all the ill-will, virulence, and resentments which have arisen between us and our subjects, both clergy and laity, from the commencement of the discord. Besides, we have fully remitted to all the clergy and laity, and, as far as belongs to us, we have fully pardoned all transgressions committed on occasion of the said discord, from Easter, in the sixteenth year of our reign, to the conclusion of the peace. And we have also granted them testimonial letters-patent of Stephen, archbishop of Canterbury, Henry, archbishop of Doublin, and of the bishops above-mentioned, and of Pandulf, concerning the security, and the aforesaid concessions.

63. Wherefore, our will is, and we firmly command, that the church of England be free, and that the men in our kingdom have and hold all the aforesaid liberties, rights, and concessions, well and in peace, freely and quietly, fully and entirely, to them and their heirs, of us and our heirs, in all things and places for ever, as aforesaid. An oath hath been taken, as well on our part, as on the part of the barons, that all these things above enumerated shall be observed in good faith, and without any evil intention, before the above-named witnesses, and many others.

Given under our hand, in the meadow, which is called Runingmede, between Windsor and Staines, this fifteenth day of June, in the seventeenth year of our reign.

CHAP. IV.

HENRY III.

AT the time of John's decease the earl of Pembroke was mareschal of England, was by his office at the head of the armies, and consequently, during a state of civil wars and convulsions, at the head of the government. This nobleman, who had maintained his loyalty unshaken to John during the lowest fortune of that monarch, determined to support the authority of the infant prince; nor was he dismayed at the number and violence of his enemies. Sensible that Henry, agreeably to the prejudices of the times, would not be deemed a sovereign, till crowned and anointed by a churchman, he carried the young prince to Gloucester, where the ceremony of coronation was performed, on the 28th of October, 1216, in the presence of Gualo the legate, and a few noblemen, by the bishops of Winchester and Bath. Young Henry was obliged to swear fealty to the pope, and renew that homage to which his father had subjected the kingdom: and in order to enlarge the authority of Pembroke, and to give him a more regular and legal title to it, a general council of the barons was soon after summoned at Bristol, on the 11th of November, where that nobleman was chosen protector of the realm.

Pembroke, that he might reconcile all men to the government of his pupil, made him grant a new charter of liberties, which, though mostly copied from the former concessions extorted from John, contains some alterations, which may be deemed remarkable. The full privilege of elections in the clergy, granted by the late king, was not confirmed, nor the liberty of going out of the kingdom without the royal consent: whence it appears, that Pembroke and the barons were both desirous of renewing the king's claim to issue a congé d'elire to the monks and chapters, and thought it requisite to put some check to the frequent appeals to Rome. The obligation, however, to which John had subjected himself, of obtaining the consent of the great council before he levied any aids or scutages upon the nation, was omitted; and this article was even declared hard and severe, and was left to future deliberation. We accordingly find that Henry, in the course of his reign, while he gave frequent occasions for complaint, with regard to his violations of the Great Charter, never attempted by his mere will, to levy any aids or scutages; though he was often reduced to great necessities, and was refused supply by his people. The charter was again confirmed by the king in 1217, with the addition of some articles to prevent oppressions by sheriffs: and also with an additional charter of forests, by which all the forests, which had been inclosed since the reign of Henry II. were disaforested; and new perambulations were appointed for that purpose: offences in the forests were declared to be no longer capital; but punishable by fine, imprisonment, and more gentle penalties; and all the proprietors of land recovered the power of cutting and using their own wood.

These famous charters were thus brought nearly to the shape in which they have since stood; and were, during many generations, the peculiar favourites of the English nation, and esteemed the rampart to national liberty and independence. As they secured the rights of all orders of men, they were anxiously defended by all, and became the basis, in a manner, of the English monarchy, and a kind of original contract, which both limited the authority of the king, and ensured the conditional allegiance of his subjects. Though often violated, they were still claimed by the nobility and people; and as no precedents were supposed valid that infringed them, they rather acquired than lost authority, from the frequent attempts made against them in several ages, by the arbitrary power of the monarchs.

While Pembroke, by renewing and confirming the Great Charter, gave so much satisfaction and security to the nation in general, he also applied himself successfully to individuals: he wrote letters, in the king's name, to all the malcontent barons; in which he represented to them, that, whatever jealousy and animosity they might have entertained against the late king, a young prince, the lineal heir of their ancient monarchs, had now succeeded to the throne, without succeeding either to the resentments or principles of his predecessor: that the desperate expedient, which they had employed, of calling in a foreign potentate, had, happily for them, as well as for the nation, failed

failed of success; and it was still in their power, by a speedy return to their duty, to restore the independence of the kingdom, and to secure that liberty, for which they so zealously contended: that, as all past offences of the barons were now buried in oblivion, they ought, on their part, to forget their complaints against their late sovereign, who had left to his son the salutary warning, to avoid the paths which had led to such fatal extremities: and that having now obtained a charter for their liberties, it was their interest to shew, by their conduct, that this acquisition was not incompatible with their allegiance, and that the rights of king and people, so far from being hostile and opposite, might mutually support and sustain each other.

These considerations had a mighty influence on the barons; and most of them began to negociate with him, and many of them returned to their duty. The diffidence which Louis discovered of their fidelity, forwarded this general propension towards the king; and when the French prince refused the government of the castle of Hertford to Robert Fitz-Walter, who had been so active against the late king, and who claimed that fortress as his property, they perceived that the English were excluded from every trust, and that foreigners had engrossed the confidence and affection of their new sovereign. The excommunication too, denounced by the legate against all the adherents of Louis, failed not to produce a mighty effect upon them; and they were easily persuaded to consider a cause as impious, for which they had already entertained an unsurmountable aversion. Though Louis made a journey to France, and brought over succours from that kingdom, he found, on his return, that his party was still more weakened by the desertion of his English confederates, and that the death of John had, contrary to his expectations, given an incurable wound to his cause. The earls of Salisbury, Arundel, and Warrenne, together with William Mareschal, eldest son of the protector, had embraced Henry's party; and every English nobleman was looking for an opportunity of returning to his allegiance. Pembroke was so much strengthened by these accessions, that he ventured to invest Mountsorel; though upon the approach of the count of Perche with the French army, he desisted from his enterprize, and raised the siege. The count, elated with this success, marched to Lincoln; and being admitted into the town, began to attack the castle, which he reduced to extremity. The protector summoned all his forces from every quarter, to relieve a place of such importance; and appeared so much superior to the French, that they shut themselves up within the city, and resolved to act upon the defensive. But the garrison of the castle, having received a strong reinforcement, made a vigorous sally upon the besiegers; while the English army, by concert, assaulted them in the same instant from without, mounted the walls by scalade, and bearing down all resistance, entered the city sword in hand. Lincoln was delivered over to be pillaged; the French army was totally routed; the count of Perche, with only two persons more, was killed; but many of the chief commanders, and about four hundred knights, were made prisoners by the English.

Prince Louis was informed of this fatal event while employed in the siege of Dover, which was still valiantly defended by Hubert de Burgh. He immediately retreated to London, the centre of his party; and there received intelligence of a new disaster, which put an end to all his hopes. A French fleet, bringing over a strong reinforcement, had appeared on the coast of Kent, where they were attacked by the English, under the command of Philip d'Albiney, and were routed with considerable loss (*c*).

After this misfortune of the French, the English barons hastened to make peace with the protector, and, to prevent those attainders to which they were exposed on account of their rebellion. Louis, whose cause was now desperate, became anxious for the safety of his person, and was glad to make his escape from a country where every thing was become hostile to him. He concluded a peace with Pembroke, promised to evacuate the kingdom, and only stipulated, in return, an indemnity to his adherents, and a restitution of their honours and fortunes, together with the free and equal enjoyment of those liberties which had been granted to the rest of the nation. Thus was happily ended a civil war, which seemed to be founded on the most incurable hatred and jealousy, and had threatened the kingdom with the most fatal consequences (*d*).

The prudence and equity of the protector's conduct after the French were expelled, contributed to cure those wounds which intestine discord had occasioned. He received the rebellious barons into favour; observed strictly the terms of peace; restored them to their possessions; and endeavoured to bury all past animosities in oblivion. The clergy alone, who had adhered to Louis, were sufferers in this revolution. As they had rebelled against their spiritual sovereign, by disregarding the interdict and excommunication, it was not in Pembroke's power to make any stipulations in their favour; and Gualo the legate prepared to take vengeance on them for their disobedience. Many of them were deposed; many suspended; some banished, and all who escaped punishment made atonement for their offence by large pecuniary sacrifices to the legate, who amassed an immense treasure by this expedient.

The earl of Pembroke did not long survive the pacification, which had been chiefly owing to his wisdom and valour; he died in May, 1219, and he was succeeded in the government by Peter des Roches, bishop of Winchester, and Hubert de Burgh, the justiciary. The councils of the latter were chiefly followed; and had he possessed equal authority in the kingdom with Pembroke, he seemed to be every way worthy of filling the place of that virtuous nobleman. But the barons, who had once broken the reins of subjection to their prince, and had obtained by violence an enlargement of their liberties and independence, could ill be restrained by laws under a minority; and the people, no less than the king, suffered from their outrages and disorders. They retained by force the royal castles, which they had seized during the past convulsions, or which had been committed to their custody by the protector. They usurped the king's demesnes: they oppressed their vassals: they infested their weaker neighbours: they invited disorderly people to enter in their retinue, and to live upon their lands: and they gave them protection in all their robberies and extortions. No one was more infamous for these practices than the earl of Albemarle; who, though he had early returned to his duty, and had been serviceable in expelling the French, augmented the general disorder, and committed outrages in all the counties of the North. In order to reduce him to obedience, Hubert seized an opportunity of getting possession of Rockingham castle, which Albemarle had garrisoned with his licentious retinue; but this nobleman, instead of submitting, entered into a secret conference with Fawkes de Breauté, Peter de Mauleon, and other barons, and both fortified the castle of Biham for his defence, and made himself master, by surprize, of that of Fotheringay. Pandulf, who was restored to his legateship, was active in suppressing this rebellion; and with the concurrence of eleven bishops, he pronounced the sentence of excommunication against Albemarle and his adherents: an army was levied: a scutage of ten shillings, a knight's fee, was imposed on all the military tenants; Albemarle's associates gradually deserted him: and he himself was obliged at last to sue for mercy. He rereived a pardon, and was restored to his estate. This lenity encouraged Fawkes de Breauté, a man whom king John had raised from a low origin, to persevere in the course of violence to which he had owed his fortune, and to set at nought all law and justice. When thirty-five verdicts were at one time found against him, on account of his violently expelling so many freeholders from their possessions; he came to the court of justice with an armed force, seized the judge who had pronounced the verdicts, and imprisoned him in Bedford castle. He then levied open war against

(*c*) D'Albiney employed a stratagem against them, which is said to have contributed to the victory: having gained the wind of the French, he came down upon them with violence; and throwing in their faces a great quantity of quick lime, which he purposely carried on board, he so blinded them, that they were disabled from defending themselves.

(*d*) The precautions which the king of France used in the conduct of this whole affair are remarkable. He pretended that his son had accepted of the offer from the English barons without his advice, and contrary to his inclination: the armies sent to England were levied in Louis's name: when that prince came over to France for aid, his father publicly refused to grant him any assistance, and would not so much as admit him to his presence: even after Henry's party acquired the ascendant, and Louis was in danger of falling into the hands of his enemies, it was Blanche of Castile his wife, not the king his father, who raised armies and equipped fleets for his succour. All these artifices were employed, not to satisfy the pope; for he had too much penetration to be so easily imposed on: nor yet to deceive the people; for they were too gross even for that purpose: they only served for a colouring to Philip's cause; and in public affairs, men are often better pleased that the truth, though known to every body, should be wrapped up under a decent cover, than if it were exposed in open daylight to the eyes of all the world.

against the king; but being subdued and taken prisoner, his life was granted him; but his estate was confiscated, and he was banished from the realm.

In 1222, a frivolous emulation in a wrestling-match, between the Londoners on the one hand, and the inhabitants of Westminster and those of the neighbouring villages on the other, occasioned a commotion. The former rose in a body, and pulled down some houses belonging to the abbot of Westminster; but this riot which, considering the tumultuous disposition of that capital, would have been little regarded, seemed to become more serious by the symptoms which then appeared, of the attachment of the citizens to the French interest. The populace made use of the cry of war commonly employed by the French troops; "Mountjoy, Mountjoy, God help us and our lord Louis. The justiciary made enquiry into the disorder; and finding one Constantine Fitz-Arnulf to have been the ringleader, an insolent man, who justified his crime in Hubert's presence, he proceeded against him by martial law, and ordered him immediately to be hanged, without trial or form of process. He also cut off the feet of some of Constantine's accomplices. This act of power was complained of as an infringement of the Great Charter: yet the justiciary, in a parliament summoned at Oxford, made no scruple to grant in the king's name a renewal and confirmation of that charter. When the assembly made application to the crown for this favour, as a law in those times seemed to lose its validity if not frequently renewed, William de Briewere, one of the council of regency, openly declared that those liberties were extorted by force, and ought not to be observed: but he was reprimanded by the archbishop of Canterbury, and was not countenanced by the king or his chief ministers. A new confirmation was demanded and granted two years after; and an aid, amounting to a fifteenth of all movables, was given by the parliament, in return for this indulgence. The king issued writs anew to the sheriffs, enjoining the observance of the charter; but he inserted a remarkable clause in the writs; that those who payed not the fifteenth should not for the future be entitled to the benefit of those liberties.

The reduced state into which the crown was fallen made it requisite for a good minister to be attentive to the preservation of the royal prerogatives, as well as to the security of public liberty. Hubert applied to the pope, now considered as superior lord of the kingdom, and desired him to issue a bull, declaring the king to be of full age, and entitled to exercise in person all the acts of royalty. In consequence of this declaration, the justiciary resigned into Henry's hands the two important fortresses of the Tower and Dover castle, which had been entrusted to his custody; and he required the other barons to imitate his example; but they refused to comply with his request: the earls of Chester and Albemarle, John, Constable of Chester, John de Lacy, Brian de l'Isle, and William de Cantel, with some others, even formed a conspiracy to surprize London, and met in arms at Waltham with that intention; but finding the king prepared for defence, they desisted from their enterprize. When summoned to court, to answer for their conduct, they appeared and confessed the design: they told the king, that they had no bad intentions against his person, but only against Hubert de Burgh, whom they were determined to remove from his office. They appeared too formidable to be chastized; the failure of their first enterprize did not discourage them, and they again met in arms at Leicester, in order to seize the king, who then resided at Northampton: but Henry, informed of their purpose, was so well armed and attended, that the barons desisted from making the attempt; and they sat down and kept Christmas in his neighbourhood.

From the present appearance of affairs, the archbishop and the prelates, perceiving every thing tend towards a civil war, interposed with their authority, and threatened the barons with excommunication, if they persisted in detaining the king's castles. This well-timed menace at last prevailed: most of the fortresses were surrendered; though the barons complained, that Hubert's castles were soon after restored to him by the king, while he still kept theirs in his own custody. There are said to have been one thousand one hundred and fifteen castles at that time in England.

It must be acknowledged, that the influence of the prelates and the clergy was often of great service to the public. Though the religion of that age can merit no better name than that of superstition, it served to unite together a body of men who had great sway over the people, and who kept the community from falling to pieces, by the factions and independent power of the nobles. And what was of great importance, it threw a mighty authority into the hands of men, who, by their profession, were averse to arms and violence; who tempered by their mediation the general disposition towards military enterprizes; and who still maintained, even amidst the shock of arms, those secret links, without which it is impossible for human society to subsist.

Notwithstanding these intestine commotions in England, and the precarious authority of the crown, Henry was obliged to carry on war in France; and he employed to that purpose the fifteenth which had been granted him by parliament. Louis VIII. surnamed the Lion, who had succeeded to his father Philip, instead of complying with Henry's claim, who demanded the restitution of Normandy, and the other provinces wrested from England by Philip, made an irruption into Poictou, took the towns of Niort and St. Jean d'Andely; and continuing his march to Guienne, reduced all the places that lay in his way, and received the homage of the inhabitants. He next directed his course to Rochelle, which he took after a long siege, and seemed determined to expel the English from the few provinces which still remained to them. On receiving intelligence of these losses, Henry sent over his uncle, the earl of Salisbury, together with his brother prince Richard, to whom he had granted the earldom of Cornwall, which had escheated to the crown, with a considerable army. Salisbury stopped the progress of Louis's arms, and retained the Poictevin and Gascon vassals in their allegiance; but no military action of any moment was performed on either side. The earl of Cornwall, after two years' stay in Guienne, returned to England, having concluded a truce with the king of France in 1227; by which means the nation was restored to a state of tranquillity both at home and abroad.

Prince Richard was no wise turbulent or factious in his disposition: his ruling passion was to amass money, in which he succeeded so well as to become the richest subject in Christendom: yet his attention to gain threw him sometimes into acts of violence, and gave disturbance even to the government. There was a manor, which had formerly belonged to the earldom of Cornwall, but had been granted to Waleran de Ties, before Richard had been invested with that dignity, and while the earldom remained in the possession of the crown. Richard claimed this manor, and expelled the proprietor by force: Waleran complained to the king, who immediately ordered his brother to do justice to the man, and restore him to his rights; but the earl said that he would not submit to these orders, till the cause should be decided against him by the judgement of his peers: Henry replied, that it was first necessary to reinstate Waleran in possession, before the cause could be tried; and he reiterated his orders to the earl. We may judge of the state of the government, when this affair had nearly produced a civil war. The earl of Cornwall, finding Henry peremptory in his commands, associated himself with the young earl of Pembroke, who had married his sister, and who had conceived a disgust against the king on account of his requiring him to deliver up some royal castles which were in his custody. These two malcontents took into the confederacy the earls of Chester, Warrenne, Gloucester, Hereford, Warwick, and Ferrars, who were all displeased on a like account. They assembled a numerous army, which the king had not the power or courage to resist; and he was obliged to give his brother satisfaction, by grants of much greater importance than the manor, which had been the first ground of dispute.

The character of the king, as he grew to man's estate, became every day better known; and he was found in every respect unqualified for maintaining a proper sway among those turbulent barons, whom the feudal constitution subjected to his authority. Gentle, humane, and merciful, he seems to have been steady in no other circumstance of his character; but to have received every impression from those who surroundsd him, and whom he loved for the time, with the most unreserved affection. Without activity or vigour, he was unfit to conduct war; without policy or art, he was ill fitted to maintain peace: his resentments, though hasty and violent, were not dreaded, while he was found to drop them with such facility; his friendships were little valued, because they were neither derived from choice, nor maintained with constancy. A proper pageant of state in a regular monarchy, where his ministers could have conducted all affairs in his name and by his authority; but too feeble in those disorderly times to sway a sceptre, whose weight depended entirely on the firmness and dexterity of the hand which held it.

Louis VIII. king of France, had died in 1226, after a short reign of three years and four months; and the regency having been entrusted to the care of Blanche of Castile during the infancy of his son and successor, Saint Louis, that kingdom had become a scene of confusion, and presented to the English monarch the fairest prospect of recovering those continental dominions which had been wrested from his father. Henry even received a pressing invitation from the Normans; who promised, if he would land in their province with an army sufficient to effect their liberation from the French yoke, that they would assist him to the utmost of their power. He suffered, however, this favourable opportunity to escape: though when the political hemisphere of France had recovered its serenity, and the authority of Blanche was established on a solid foundation, he imprudently resolved on the adoption of those vigorous measures from whence he could not hope to derive the smallest advantage. In consequence of this resolution, the king summoned all his military tenants, both of England and Ireland, to meet him at Portsmouth on Michaelmas-day, 1229, in order to attend him to the continent: but when, in obedience to his summons, a numerous and gallant army appeared at the appointed time ready for embarkation, it was found that the number of ships prepared to receive them were greatly inadequate to the purpose.

The expedition being thus postponed, Henry made a progress into the North; and passed the festival of Christmas at York, where he received a visit from Alexander, king of Scotland. He then assembled the parliament, and obtained a scutage for defraying the expences of another armament. The general rendezvous was appointed at Reading, for the beginning of April 1230; from whence he marched to Portsmouth, and on the last day of the month embarked for France, and arrived safe at St. Malo; where he was received by the duke of Bretagne, who surrendered several places of strength into his hands; and a great number of the nobility did homage to him as their sovereign.

The young king of France had already taken Angiers, in the vicinity of which his army was posted to observe the motions of the English, and oppose their irruptions into Poictou; but seeing that Henry remained at Nantes in a state of inactivity, he advanced towards Amiens, which he invested and took, together with several places in the neighbourhood of Henry's quarters, without having experienced the smallest interruption from that prince; who devoted his whole time to festivity and pleasure.

Notwithstanding the prudent and wise administration of the queen-regent, the discontented nobles of France, in the hope of being sustained by Henry, embraced the opportunity afforded them by the absence of their monarch, to excite fresh commotions, which compelled Louis to retire from Anjou, in order to reduce them to obedience; and had Henry possessed skill and spirit sufficient to avail himself of this favourable juncture, there is little doubt that he would have been able to recover the dominions he was anxious to possess. The French forces were all employed in another quarter; and the Normans continued their solicitations to him to take possession of their country; but, instead of complying with their request, he marched into Poictou, and made himself master of Mirebeau; then repaired to Guienne to receive the homage of the Gascon barons; and, lastly, returned to Bretagne, where he relapsed into his former indolence, and suffered Louis to complete the pacification of his kingdom. So impolitic and absurd was the conduct of Henry on this occasion, that the French barons unanimously consented to accept the terms offered them by their sovereign. The French king shortly after marched to oppose the king of England, and Henry departed for his native dominions, where he arrived about the end of October, loaded with disgrace. But the earls of Chester, Albemarle, and Pembroke, who commanded the troops that were left behind, made incursions into Anjou, took and dismantled several fortresses, and ravaged the frontiers of Normandy.

The ablest and most virtuous minister that Henry ever possessed, was Hubert de Burgh; a man who had been steady to the crown in the most difficult and dangerous times, and who yet shewed no disposition, in the height of his power, to enslave or oppress the people. The only exceptionable part of his conduct is that which is mentioned by Matthew Paris; if the fact be really true, and proceeded from Hubert's advice, namely, the recalling publicly and the annulling of the charter of forests, a concession so reasonable in itself, and so passionately claimed both by the nobility and people: but it must be confessed that this measure is so unlikely, both from the circumstances of the times and character of the minister, that there is reason to doubt of its reality, especially as it is mentioned by no other historian. Hubert, while he enjoyed his authority, had an entire ascendant over Henry, and was loaded with honours and favours beyond any other subject. Besides acquiring the property of many castles and manors, he married the eldest sister of the king of Scots, was created earl of Kent, and, by an unusual concession, was made chief justiciary of England for life: yet Henry, in a sudden caprice, in June, 1232, threw off this faithful minister, and exposed him to the violent persecutions of his enemies. Among other frivolous crimes objected to him, he was accused of gaining the king's affections by enchantment, and of purloining from the royal treasury a gem, which had the virtue to render the wearer invulnerable, and of sending this valuable curiosity to the prince of Wales. The nobility, who hated Hubert on account of his zeal in resuming the rights and possessions of the crown, no sooner saw the opportunity favourable, than they inflamed the king's animosity against him, and pushed him to seek the total ruin of his minister. Hubert took sanctuary in a church: the king ordered him to be dragged from his asylum: he recalled those orders: he afterwards renewed them: he was obliged by the clergy to restore him to the sanctuary: he constrained him soon after to surrender himself prisoner, and he confined him in the castle of the Devizes. Hubert made his escape, was expelled the kingdom, was again received into favour, recovered a great share of the king's confidence, but never showed any inclination to reinstate himself in power and authority.

This virtuous minister was succeeded in the government of the king and kingdom, by Peter, bishop of Winchester, a Poictevin by birth, who had been raised by the late king, and who was no less distinguished by his arbitrary principles and violent conduct, than by his courage and abilities. This prelate had been left by king John justiciary and regent of the kingdom during an expedition which that prince made into France; and his illegal administration was the principal cause of that combination among the barons, which finally extorted from the crown the charter of liberties, and laid the foundations of the English constitution. Henry had imbibed the same arbitrary principles as his father, though he was incapable, from his character, of pursuing the same violent maxims; and in pursuance of Peter's advice, he invited a great number of Poictevins, and other foreigners, to this country, apprehending they could be more safely trusted than the English, and who seemed useful to counterbalance the great and independent power of the nobility. Every office and command was bestowed on these strangers; they exhausted the revenues of the crown, which were already too much impoverished; they invaded the rights of the people; and their insolence, still more provoking than their power, drew on them the hatred and disgust of all orders of men.

The earl of Pembroke was the first who ventured openly to declare his sentiments on this unjust and impolitic attachment to strangers. He told the king that his partiality to foreigners alienated the affections of his native subjects, and produced such discontent as would certainly be attended with fatal consequences. To this remonstrance, the bishop of Winchester, who was present, replied, that the earl's insolence deserved chastisement, for pretending to deprive his sovereign of the liberty to employ those whom he judged most proper for his service; and that, if the foreigners already in the kingdom were insufficient to reduce his rebellious subjects to obedience, a greater number should be brought over for that purpose. A declaration so replete with arrogance could not fail to irritate the English nobles; who forthwith retired from court, and began to form associations for their mutual defence. A parliament being summoned by the king to meet at Oxford, on the 24th of June, 1233, the barons unanimously refused to attend, on pretence of the danger to which they were exposed from the machinations of the Poictevins. A second citation to meet at Westminster, on the 11th of July, was treated with equal neglect; nay, so deeply rooted was their resentment, that they sent a deputation to the king, to desire that he would immediately dismiss the bishop of Winchester and his foreigners, otherwise they should be reduced to the necessity of deposing him, and filling the vacant throne with some prince more worthy to enjoy it. This bold and daring language greatly terrified Henry,

and made no small impression on the minister, who now perceived that his only hopes of safety must proceed from the probability of sowing the seeds of dissension among the barons. This politic scheme he accordingly adopted, and it was attended with such success, that he speedily detached from the confederacy the earls of Cornwall, Chester, and Lincoln; and their example was followed by so many of their adherents, that the earl of Pembroke was nearly deserted by his whole party, and left to sustain the undivided weight of the royal indignation. After defending himself for some time with great bravery, sensible of the impossibility of supporting so unequal a contest, that gallant nobleman at length withdrew to Ireland, where he was treacherously murdered by the contrivance of the bishop of Winchester. Many other barons were punished by the confiscation of their estates, without legal sentence or trial by their peers, in direct violation of one of the principal articles of Magna Charta. Peter bestowed the possessions so forfeited on his Poictevin countrymen; and his insolence had acquired such force from success, that he publicly declared, that the barons of England had no pretensions to enjoy the same liberties as the nobles of France; the monarchs of the former country being endued with a more absolute power than the latter.

We are told by Matthew Paris, that when at any time the king was checked in his illegal practices, and reminded of the stipulations of the Great Charter, he was wont to reply, "Why should I observe this charter, which is neglected by all my grandees, both prelates and nobility?" It was reasonably said to him: "It is your duty, Sir, to set them the example (*e*)."

The violent ministry of the bishop of Winchester was not of long duration; and its fall proceeded from the influence of the church, not from the efforts of the nobles. Edmund, archbishop of Canterbury, came to court, attended by many other prelates, and represented to the king the pernicious measures embraced by Peter des Roches, the discontents of his people, the ruin of his affairs; and after requiring the dismission of the minister and his associates, threatened him with excommunication in case of his refusal. Henry, who knew that an excommunication, so agreeable to the sense of the people, would produce the most dangerous effects, was obliged to submit: foreigners were banished: the natives were restored to their place in council: the primate, who was a man of prudence, and who took care to execute the laws, and observe the charter of liberties, bore the chief sway in the government.

The English now flattered themselves that they should be long free from the dominion of foreigners; but their hopes were fallacious. The king, having married Eleanor, daughter of Raymond Berenger, count of Provence, on the 24th of January, 1236, was surrounded by a great number of strangers from that country, whom he greatly caressed, and enriched by an imprudent generosity. William, bishop of Valence, a prelate of the house of Savoy, and maternal uncle to the queen, was appointed prime minister, and employed every art to amass wealth for himself and his relations. Peter of Savoy, a brother of the same family, was created earl of Richmond, and received the rich wardship of earl Warrenne: Boniface of Savoy was promoted to the see of Canterbury: many young ladies were invited over from Provence, and married to the chief noblemen in England, who were the king's wards: and as the source of Henry's bounty began to fail, his Savoyard ministry applied to the sovereign pontiff, and obtained a bull; permitting him to resume all past grants; absolving him from the oath he had taken to maintain them; even enjoining him to make such a resumption, and representing those grants as invalid, on account of their being prejudicial to the interests of the pope, in whom the superiority of the kingdom was vested. The opposition however, made to the intended resumption prevented it from taking place; but the nation saw the indignities to which the king was willing to submit, in order to gratify the avidity of his foreign favourites. About the same time, he published in England the sentence of excommunication pronounced against the emperor Frederic, his brother-in-law; and alleged, as an excuse, that, being the pope's vassal, he was obliged by his oath of allegiance to obey all the commands of his holiness. Thus was this weak monarch induced to trifle with religious obligations, and taught to consider an oath as sacred only when the observance of it accorded with his own private interest.

The resentment of the English barons rose high, at the preference given to foreigners; but no remonstrance could prevail on the king to abandon, or even to moderate his attachment towards them. After the Provençals and Savoyards might have been supposed pretty well satiated with the dignities and riches which they had acquired, a new set of hungry foreigners were invited over, in 1247, and shared among them those favours, which the king ought in policy to have conferred on the English nobility, by whom his government could have been supported and defended. His mother, Isabella, who had been unjustly taken by the late king from the count de la Marche, to whom she was betrothed, was no sooner mistress of herself by the death of her husband, than she married that nobleman; and she had borne him four sons, Guy, William, Geoffrey, and Aymer, whom she sent over to England, in order to pay a visit to their brother. Henry was moved at the sight of such near relations; and he considered neither his own circumstances, nor the inclinations of his people, in the honours and riches which he conferred upon them. Complaints rose as high against the credit of the Gascon, as ever they had done against that of the Poictevin and of the Savoyard favourites. Violations of the Great Charter were frequently mentioned; and it is indeed more than probable, that foreigners, ignorant of the laws, and relying on the affections of a weak prince, would, in an age when a regular administration was not any where known, pay more attention to their present interest than to the liberties of the people. It is reported, that the Poictevins and other strangers, when the laws were at any time appealed to, in opposition to their oppressions, scrupled not to reply, "What did the English laws signify to them? They minded them not." This open contempt of the English tended to aggravate the general discontent, and made every act of violence committed by the foreigners appear not only an injury, but an affront.

We reckon not among the violations of the Great Charter some arbitrary exertions of prerogative to which Henry's necessities urged him, and which, without producing any discontent, were uniformly continued by all his successors, till the last century. As the parliament often refused him supplies, and that in a manner somewhat rude and indecent, he obliged his opulent subjects, particularly the citizens of London, to grant him loans of money: and it is natural to imagine, that the same want of œconomy which reduced him to the necessity of borrowing, would prevent him from being punctual in the repayment. He demanded benevolences, or pretended voluntary contributions, from his nobility and prelates. He was the first king of England since the conquest, that could fairly be said to lie under the restraint of law; and he was also the first that practised the dispensing power, and employed the clause of *non obstante* in his grants and patents. When objections were made to this innovation, he replied, that the pope exercised that authority; and why might not he imitate the example? But the abuse which the pope made of his dispensing power, in violating the canons of general councils, in invading the privileges and customs of all particular churches, and in usurping on the rights of patrons, was more likely to excite the jealousy of the people, than to reconcile them to a similar practice in their civil government. Roger de Thurkesby, one of the king's justices, was so sensible of the pernicious tendency of such a precedent, that he exclaimed, "Alas! what times are we fallen into? Behold, the civil court is corrupted in imitation of the ecclesiastical, and the river is poisoned from that fountain.

The partiality and profuse bounty of the king to his foreign relations, and their friends and favourites, would have appeared more tolerable to the English, had any thing been done for the honour of the nation; or had Henry's enterprizes in foreign countries been attended with any success or glory to himself or to the public: at least, such military talents in the king would have served to keep his barons in awe, and have given weight and authority to his government. But though he declared war against Louis IX. in 1242, and made an expedition into Guienne, upon the invitation of his father-in-law, the count de la Marche, who promised to join him with all his forces: he was unsuccessful in his attempts against that great monarch, was worsted at Taillebourg, was deserted by his allies, lost what

(*e*) This anecdote sufficiently demonstrates, that the barons in their eagerness to obtain Magna Charta, were not actuated by the most laudable motives, since the whole tenour of their conduct evinced a determination to render it subservient to their own interested views and ambitious projects.

remained

remained to him of Poictou, and was obliged to return, with loss of honour, into England. The Gascon nobility were attached to the English government; because the distance of their sovereign allowed them to remain in a state of almost total independence: and they claimed, in 1253, Henry's protection against an invasion which the king of Castile made upon that territory. Henry returned to Guienne, and was more successful in this expedition; but he thereby involved himself and his nobility in an enormous debt, which both increased their discontents, and exposed him to greater danger from the enterprizes of his factious barons.

Henry's debts, before this expedition, had become so troublesome, that he sold all his plate and jewels, in order to discharge a part of them. When this idea was first suggested to him, he asked where he should find purchasers? It was replied, the citizens of London. "On my word," said he, "if the treasury of Augustus were brought to sale, the citizens are able to be the purchasers: These clowns, who assume to themselves the name of barons, abound in every thing, while we are reduced to necessities." And he was thenceforth observed to be more rigorous and greedy in his exactions upon the citizens.

But the grievances which the English during this reign had reason to complain of in the civil government, seem to have been trifling in comparison with those which they suffered from the usurpations and exactions of the court of Rome. On the death of Langton, in July, 1228, the monks of Christ Church, Canterbury, elected Walter de Hemesham, one of their own body, for his successor: but as Henry refused to confirm the election, the pope, at his desire, annulled it (*f*); and immediately appointed Richard Le Grand, chancellor of Lincoln, for archbishop, without waiting for a new election. On the death of Richard, in August, 1231, the monks elected Ralph de Neville, bishop of Chichester; and though Henry was much pleased with the election, the pope, who thought that prelate too much attached to the crown, assumed the power of annulling his election. He rejected two clergymen more, whom the monks had successively chosen; and told them, that, if they would elect Edmund Rich, treasurer of the church of Salisbury, he would confirm their choice; and his nomination was complied with. The pope had the prudence to appoint both times very worthy primates; but men could not forbear observing his intention of thus drawing gradually to himself the right of appointing to the first ecclesiastical dignity in the kingdom.

But the avarice, more than the ambition, of the see of Rome, seems to have been in this age the ground of general complaint. The papal ministers, finding a vast stock of power amassed by their predecessors, were desirous of turning it to immediate profit, which they enjoyed at home, rather than of enlarging their authority in distant countries. Every thing was become venal in the Romish tribunals; simony was openly practised; neither favour nor justice could be obtained without a bribe; the highest bidder was sure to be the purchaser, without regard either to the merits of the person or of the cause; and besides the usual perversions of right in the decision of controversies, the pope assumed an absolute authority of setting aside, by the plenitude of his apostolic power, all particular rules, and all privileges of patrons, churches, and convents. On pretence of remedying these abuses, pope Honorius, in 1226, complaining of the poverty of his see as the source of all grievances, demanded from every cathedral two of the best prebends, and from every convent two monks portions, to be set apart as a perpetual and settled revenue of the papal crown: but all men being sensible that the revenue would continue for ever, his demand was rejected. About three years after, the pope demanded and obtained the tenth of all ecclesiastical revenues, which he levied in a very oppressive manner; requiring payment before the clergy had drawn their rent or tithes, and sending about Italian usurers, who advanced them the money at exorbitant interest. In 1240, cardinal Otho, the legate, having in vain attempted the clergy in a body, obtained separately, by intrigues and menaces, large sums from the prelates and convents, and on his departure is said to have carried more money out of the kingdom than he left in it. This experiment was renewed four years after with success by Martin the nuncio, who brought from Rome powers of suspending and excommunicating all clergymen that refused to comply with his exorbitant demands. The king, who relied on the pope for the support of his tottering authority, never failed to countenance the exactions of the papal court.

All the chief benefices of the kingdom were in the mean time conferred on Italians; great numbers of that nation being sent over to be provided for; non-residence and pluralities were carried to an enormous height; Mansel, the king's chaplain, is computed to have held at once seven hundred ecclesiastical livings; and the abuses became so evident as to be palpable even to the blindness of superstition itself. The people, entering into associations, rose against the Italian clergy; pillaged their barns; wasted their lands; insulted the persons of such of them as they found in the kingdom; and when the justices made inquiry into the authors of this disorder, the guilt was found to involve so many, and those of such high rank, that it passed unpunished. At last, when Innocent IV. in 1245, called a general council at Lyons, to excommunicate the emperor Frederic, the king and nobility sent over agents to complain before the council of the rapacity of the Romish church. They represented, among many other grievances, that the benefices of the Italian clergy in England had been estimated, and were found to amount to sixty thousand marks (*g*) a year, a sum which exceeded the annual revenue of the crown itself (*h*). They obtained only an evasive answer from the pope; but as mention had been made before the council, of the feudal subjection of England to the see of Rome, the English agents, at whose head was Roger Bigod, earl of Norfolk, protested against the pretension, and insisted, that king John had no right, without the consent of his barons, to subject the kingdom to so ignominious a servitude. The popes indeed, afraid of carrying matters too far against England, seem thenceforth to have little insisted on that pretension.

But this check, received at the council of Lyons, was not able to stop the court of Rome in its rapacity: Innocent exacted the revenues of all vacant benefices, the twentieth of all ecclesiastical revenues without exception; the third of such as exceeded a hundred marks a year, and the half of such as were possessed by non-residents. He claimed the goods of all intestate clergymen; he pretended a title to inherit all money gotten by usury; he levied benevolences upon the people; and when the king, contrary to his usual practice, prohibited these exactions, he threatened to pronounce against him the same censures which he had emitted against the emperor Frederic.

The most oppressive expedient, however, employed by the pope, was the embarking of Henry, in 1255, in a project for the conquest of Naples, or Sicily on this side the Faro di Messina, as it was called; an enterprize which threw much dishonour on the king, and involved him in great trouble and expence for several years. The Romish church, taking advantage of favourable incidents, had reduced the kingdom of Sicily to the same state of feudal vassalage which she pretended to extend over England, and which, by reason of the distance, as well as high spirit of this latter kingdom, she was not able to maintain. After the death of the emperor Frederic II. the succession of Sicily devolved on Conradine, grandson of that monarch; and Mainfroy, his natural son, under pretence of governing the kingdom during the minority of the prince, had formed a scheme of establishing his own authority. Pope Innocent, who had carried on war against Frederic, and had endeavoured to dispossess him of his Italian dominions, still continued hostilities against his grandson; but being disappointed in his schemes by the activity of Mainfroy, he found that his own force alone was not sufficient to bring to a happy issue so great an enterprize. He pretended to dispose of the Sicilian crown, but as superior lord of that kingdom, and as vicar of Christ, to whom all the kingdoms of the earth were subjected; and he made a tender of it to Richard, earl of Cornwall, whose immense riches, he flattered himself, would be able to support the military operations against Mainfroy. As Richard had the prudence to refuse the present, he ap-

(*f*) It is said that the pope's compliance with Henry's request was in consequence of the liberal pecuniary offer which that monarch made to his holiness, viz. the tenth of all the movables, as well of the clergy as the laity in England.

(*g*) Innocent's bull in Rymer, vol. i. p. 471. says only fifty thousand marks a year.

(*h*) The customs were part of Henry's revenue, and amounted to six thousand pounds a-year. They were at first small sums paid by the merchants for the use of the king's warehouses, measures, weights, &c. *See Gilbert's History of the Exchequer, p.* 214.

plied

plied to the king, whose levity and thoughtless disposition gave Innocent more hopes of success; and he offered him the crown of Sicily for his second son Edmund. Henry, allured by so magnificent a present, without reflecting on the consequences, without consulting either with his brother or the parliament, accepted of the insidious proposal; and gave the pope unlimited credit to expend whatever sums he thought necessary for completing the conquest of Sicily. Innocent, who was engaged by his own interests to wage war with Mainfroy, was glad to carry on his enterprizes at the expence of his ally: Alexander IV. who succeeded him in the papal throne, continued the same policy; and Henry was surprized to find himself on a sudden involved in an immense debt, which he had never been consulted in contracting. The sum already amounted to one hundred and thirty-five thousand five hundred and forty-one marks, beside interest; and he had the prospect, if he answered this demand, of being soon loaded with more exorbitant expences; if he refused it, of both incurring the pope's displeasure, and losing the crown of Sicily, which he hoped soon to have the glory of fixing on the head of his son.

In this dilemma he applied to the parliament for supplies: and that he might not meet with opposition, he sent no writs to the more refractory barons: but even those who were summoned, sensible of the ridiculous cheat imposed by the pope, determined not to lavish their money on such chimerical projects; and making a pretext of the absence of their brethren, refused to take the king's demand into consideration. The king then had recourse to the clergy; and as both their temporal and spiritual sovereign concurred in loading them, they were ill able to defend themselves against this united authority. The pope published a crusade for the conquest of Sicily; and commanded every one who had taken the cross against the infidels, or had vowed to advance money for that service, to support the war against Mainfroy, a more terrible enemy, as he asserted, to the Christian faith than any Saracen. He levied a tenth on all ecclesiastical benefices in England for three years; and gave orders to excommunicate all bishops who made not punctual payment. He granted to the king the goods of intestate clergymen; the revenues of vacant benefices; the revenues of non-residents.

But these taxations, being levied by some rule, were deemed less grievous than another imposition, which arose from the suggestion of the bishop of Hereford, and which might have opened the door to endless and intolerable abuses. This prelate, who resided at the court of Rome by a deputation from the English church, drew bills of different values, but amounting on the whole to one hundred and fifty thousand five hundred and forty marks, on all the bishops and abbots of the kingdom; and granted these bills to Italian merchants, who it was pretended had advanced money for the service of the war against Mainfroy. As there was no likelihood of the English prelates submitting, without compulsion, to such a demand, Rustand, the legate, was charged to employ authority to collect it; and he summoned an assembly of the bishops and abbots, whom he acquainted with the pleasure of the pope and of the king. When the clergy were assembled, the bishop of Worcester exclaimed, that he would lose his life rather than comply: the bishop of London said, that the pope and king were more powerful than he; but if his mitre were taken off his head, he would put on a helmet in its place. The legate was no less violent on the other hand; and told the assembly, that all ecclesiastical benefices were the property of the pope, and he might dispose of them, either in whole or in part, as he thought fit. In the end, the bishops and abbots, being threatened with excommunication, which would have caused all their revenues to fall into the king's hands, were obliged to submit to the exaction; and the only mitigation which the legate allowed them was, that the tenths already granted should be accepted as part of the payment of the bills. But the money was still insufficient for the pope's purpose: the conquest of Sicily was as remote as ever: the demands which came from Rome were endless: pope Alexander became so urgent, that he sent over a legate to England; threatening the kingdom with an interdict, and the king with an excommunication, if the arrears which he pretended to be due to him were not instantly remitted: and at last Henry, sensible of the cheat, began to think of breaking off the agreement, and of resigning into the pope's hands that crown which Alexander never intended that he or his family should ever enjoy.

Although the earl of Cornwall had refused the fraudulent bargain with Rome, he engaged in an enterprize no less extensive and vexatious than that of his brother, and not attended with much greater probability of success. The immense opulence of Richard having made the German princes cast their eye on him as a candidate for the empire, he was tempted to expend vast sums of money on his election; and he succeeded so far as to be chosen king of the Romans, which seemed to render his succession infallible to the imperial throne. He went over to Germany, and carried out of the kingdom the sum of seven hundred thousand marks, if we may credit the account given by Matthew Paris; but it is probably much exaggerated. His money, while it lasted, procured him friends and partizans; but it was soon drained from him by the avidity of the German princes; and having no personal or family connexions in that country, and no solid foundation of power, he found that he had lavished away the frugality of a whole life, in order to procure a splendid title; and that his absence from England, joined to the weakness of his brother Henry's government, gave reins to the factious English barons, and involved his own country and family in great troubles.

The successful revolt of the nobility from king John, their imposing on him and his successors, limitations of their royal power, had made them feel their own weight and importance, had set a dangerous precedent of resistance, and being followed by a long minority, had impoverished as well as weakened that crown, which they were at last induced to replace on the head of young Henry. In the king's situation great abilities and great caution were necessary to prevent the complaints of the barons; but it must be confessed, that this prince was possessed of neither of these talents. He had not prudence to chuse right measures; and was apt, in his administration, to neglect all the salutary articles of the Great Charter; which he remarked to be so little regarded by his nobles. This conduct had extremely lessened his authority in the kingdom; had multiplied complaints against him, and had exposed him to affronts, and even to dangerous attempts upon his prerogative. In 1244, when he desired a supply from parliament, the barons, complaining of the frequent breaches of the Great Charter, and of the many fruitless applications which they made for the redress of grievances, demanded in return that he should give them the nomination of the great justiciary and of the chancellor, to whose hands chiefly the administration of justice was committed: and, if we may credit the historian, they had formed the plan of other limitations, as well as of associations to maintain them, which would have reduced the king to an absolute cypher, and have held the crown in perpetual dependence. The king, to satisfy them, would agree to nothing but a renewal of the charter, and a general permission to excommunicate all the violaters of it; and he received no supply, except a scutage of twenty shillings on each knight's fee for the marriage of his eldest daughter to the king of Scotland; a burden which was expressly annexed to their feudal tenures.

Four years after, in a full parliament, when Henry demanded a new supply, he was reproached with a breach of his word, and with frequent violations of the charter. He was asked whether he was not ashamed to ask any aid from his people, whom he hated and despised, to whom on all occasions he preferred foreigners, and who groaned under the oppressions which he either permitted or exercised over them. He was told that, besides disparaging his nobility by forcing them to contract unequal and mean marriages with strangers, no rank of men was so low as to escape vexations from him or his ministers; that even the victuals consumed in his household, the clothes which himself and his servants wore, still more the wine which they used, were all taken by violence from the lawful owners, and no compensation was ever made them for the injury they sustained; that foreign merchants avoided the English harbours, as if they were possessed by pirates, and the commerce with all nations was cut off by these acts of violence; that loss was added to loss, and injury to injury, while the merchants, who had been despoiled of their goods, were also obliged to carry them at their own charge to whatever place the king was pleased to appoint; that even the poor fishermen on the coast could not escape his oppressions and those of his courtiers; and finding

ing that they had not full liberty to dispose of their commodities in the English market, were constrained to carry them to foreign ports; and that his very religion was a ground of complaint to his subjects, while they observed that the waxen tapers and splendid silks, employed in so many useless possessions, were the spoils which he had forcibly ravished from the true owners. Throughout this remonstrance, there appears a strange mixture of regal tyranny in the practices which gave rise to it, and of aristocratical liberty in the expressions employed by the parliament. But a mixture of this kind is observable in all the ancient feudal governments; and both of them proved equally hurtful to the people in general.

The king, in answer to their remonstrance, gave the parliament only good words and fair promises, attended with the most humble submissions, but as they had often found them deceitful, he obtained at that time no supply; and therefore in 1253, when he found himself again under the necessity of applying to parliament, he had provided a new pretence, which he deemed infallible, and taking the vow of a crusade to Palestine, he demanded their assistance in that pious design. The parliament, however, for some time hesitated to comply; and the ecclesiastical order sent a deputation, consisting of four prelates, the primate, and the bishops of Winchester, Salisbury, and Carlisle, in order to remonstrate with him on his frequent violations of their rights and privileges; the oppressions with which he had loaded them and all his subjects, and the uncanonical and forced elections which were made to vacant dignities. "It is true," replied the king, "I have been somewhat faulty in this particular: I obtruded you, my lord of Canterbury, upon your see: I was obliged to employ both entreaties and menaces, my lord of Winchester, to have you elected: my proceedings, I confess, were very irregular, my lords of Salisbury and Carlisle, when I raised you from the lowest stations to your present dignities: I am determined henceforth to correct these abuses; and it will also become you, in order to make a thorough reformation, to resign the benefices you at present enjoy, and try to enter again in a more regular and canonical manner." The bishops, surprized at these unexpected sarcasms, told the king, that the question was not at present how to correct past errors, but to avoid them for the future. The king promised redress both of ecclesiastical and civil grievances; and the parliament in return agreed to grant him a supply, a tenth of the ecclesiastical benefices, and a scutage of three marks on each knight's fee: but as they had experienced his frequent breach of promise, they required that he should ratify the Great Charter in a manner still more authentic and more solemn than any which he had hitherto employed. All the prelates and abbots were assembled: they held burning tapers in their hands: the Great Charter was read before them: they denounced the sentence of excommunication against every one who should thenceforth violate the fundamental law: they threw their tapers on the ground and exclaimed, "May the soul of every one who incurs this sentence so stink and corrupt in hell!" The king bore a part in this ceremony, and subjoined: "So help me God, I will keep all these articles inviolate, as I am a man, as I am a christian, as I am a knight, and as I am a king crowned and anointed." Yet was the tremendous ceremony no sooner finished than his favourites, abusing his weakness, caused him to return to the same arbitrary and irregular administration; and the expectations of his people were thus perpetually frustrated.

The province of Gascony in France belonged to the crown of England; but several of the barons having entered into a confederacy to emancipate themselves from the English government, Henry had sent over Simon de Montfort, earl of Leicester, with an army, to reduce them to subjection. This nobleman was a younger son of that Simon de Montfort, who had conducted with such valour and renown the crusade against the Albigenses, and who, though he tarnished his famous exploits by cruelty and ambition, had left a name very precious to all the bigots of that age, particularly to the ecclesiastics. A large inheritance in England fell by succession to his family; but as the elder brother enjoyed still more opulent possessions in France, and could not perform fealty to two masters, he transferred his right to Simon, his younger brother, who came over to England, did homage for his lands, and was raised to the dignity of earl of Leicester. In the year 1238, he espoused Eleanor, dowager of William, earl of Pembroke, and sister to the king: but the marriage of this princess with a subject and a foreigner, though contracted with Henry's consent, was greatly complained of by the earl of Cornwall, and all the barons of England; and Leicester was supported against their violence by the king's favour and authority alone. He had, however, no sooner established himself in his possessions and dignities, than he acquired, by insinuation and address, a strong interest with the nation, and gained equally the affections of all orders of men. But he lost the friendship of Henry, from the usual levity and fickleness of that prince; he was banished the court; he was recalled; he was entrusted with the command in Gascony, where he succeeded in reducing the revolted barons to obedience. But the severities which he exercised after the establishment of tranquillity, exasperated the Gascons to such a degree, that they sent over commissioners to England to accuse him of tyranny and oppression. The earl, not contented with denying the imputations cast on his government, with great heat and indecency upbraided the king for listening to such frivolous complaints against a man who had served him so faithfully, and even expended a considerable income in the exercise of an office by which other governors had enriched themselves. Henry assured him that he did not believe the accusations; and, in order to manifest his innocence, that he would send commissaries into Guienne, to investigate the conduct of the inhabitants: in the mean time, as a convincing proof of his confidence and regard, he supplied him with a sum of money, and desired he would hold himself in readiness to return and resume his administration.

The Gascons, being informed of the king's intention, deputed the archbishop of Bourdeaux to repeat their complaints, and renew their petition for another governor; and, during the prelate's residence at London, the commissioners returned from Gascony, where they had examined the disputes between the earl and the people. Their report was favourable to Leicester; but, as the archbishop assured the king that, if he were permitted to return, a general revolt would be the infallible consequence, Henry, rather than incur the danger of such a rebellion, resolved to sacrifice Leicester to their resentment; and ordered the articles of his impeachment to be laid before his peers, that he might be tried by the laws of the kingdom. The earl, knowing the caprice and inconstancy of his sovereign, had by this time engaged in his interest the earls of Cornwall and Gloucester, with several of those factious barons who were ever ready to countenance rebellion. Thus supported, he appeared in court, and vindicated his conduct to the satisfaction of his judges, who had indeed resolved, at all events, to acquit him. The archbishop of Bourdeaux was so confounded by the partiality of the court, that he could scarcely proceed with his evidence. Henry himself was irritated to such a degree by the insolence of Leicester, that he could not refrain from venting some injudicious expressions; which provoked the earl to accuse him of ingratitude, and to demand, in the most arrogant manner, the recompence he had so often promised in consideration of his manifold services. The king answered, in a transport of rage, that he did not think himself obliged to perform his promise to a traitor: an appellation that so incensed the earl, that he told his sovereign he lied: that he believed he never went to confession; and that if he did it was not attended with repentance. "I never repented any thing so much," replied the king, "as having lavished so many favours on a man, like you, so destitute of gratitude and decorum." When he had said this, it was his intention to arrest the earl upon the spot; but perceiving a number of barons prepared to afford him protection, his indignation gave way to his fear, and he was compelled to smother his resentment; he even listened to proposals of accommodation made by some of the barons, and in appearance was reconciled to Leicester; but the insolence of that haughty nobleman had made so strong an impression on his mind, that he could never afterwards behold him without horror.

Though Henry had such just grounds for complaint against Leicester, he thought it prudent to send him back to Gascony, lest the appointment of another governor should occasion fresh disturbances; and, by removing him to such a distance from the kingdom, he likewise secured himself from the effects of his intrigues and ambitious projects: but, in order to indulge the Gascons with the prospect of being one day relieved from his tyranny, he by an authentic deed, conveyed that province, together with the Isle of Oleron, to his eldest son Edward, only

with a reservation of the sovereignty during his own life; and such of the natives as were in England at that time did homage to the young prince.

Leicester in the mean time repaired to his government, glowing with resentment against the Gascons; and, at his arrival, threw the whole province into confusion. He encouraged the renewal of hostilities, and attacked the nobility with implacable fury; but, blinded by his passion, he was guilty of such indiscretion and misconduct, that he at length found himself blocked up in Montauban, and was obliged to purchase a capitulation by the release of his prisoners. Chagrined at this disgrace, he resigned his government, and retired to France; though not before he had surrendered to the insurgents three of the most important fortresses, and had reduced the province to a state of universal anarchy.

Alphonso X. king of Castile, profiting by these commotions, formed a spurious kind of claim to a part of Gascony, founded on a grant of Henry the Second, and Eleanor of Guienne, to Alphonso VIII. who married their daughter. He found means to engage several of the principal noblemen to support this pretension; and the whole province renounced its allegiance to Henry, except the city of Bourdeaux, and the territories immediately adjoining, which were in the utmost danger of being lost for want of proper assistance from England. The pope, however, excommunicated all the adherents of Alphonso; and Henry resolved to go thither in person. With this view he issued writs for a general muster of such as were obliged to have arms, that they might be prepared to keep watch and ward in the different towns and cities, and maintain the peace of the nation in his absence: he then levied a fund for the defraying of the expences of the expedition, by raising an aid on his own demesnes; and summoning all who possessed fifteen pounds a year by military tenure to come and receive knighthood. He also raised money by dispensing with the execution of some ordinances made against the Jews; and as, by the feudal tenure, he was authorized to demand a scutage of each of his military tenants for the knighting of his eldest son, he assembled a parliament at Westminster, on the 5th of April, 1253, in the hope that the barons would fix it at a higher rate than he would choose to impose by his own authority.

Henry now began to make preparations for his voyage to Gascony; and, with that intention, summoned all his military tenants to meet him at Portsmouth, at which place he embarked. Having arrived at Bourdeaux on the 15th of August with a powerful army, he soon recovered all the places that had been taken by the revolted barons, and compelled the Castilian monarch to make a formal renunciation of his pretensions to Gascony. So complete indeed was the reconciliation between the courts of England and Castile, that a marriage was concluded between the English prince Edward, and Eleanor, the daughter of Alphonso. But though, in consequence of this accommodation, hostilities had entirely ceased, yet Henry, who wanted fresh sums of money to supply the rapacity of his favourites, carefully concealed this circumstance; and sent over his commands to the queen, and to his brother, the earl of Cornwall, who governed the kingdom as joint regents during his absence, to summon the parliament, and demand supplies for supporting the expences of the war. The parliament accordingly met on the 27th of January, 1254; but having heard some vague reports relative to the pacification, refused to grant any supplies till they should have verified the fact. Henry, dissatisfied with the reasons they alledged for withholding the grant, sent orders to the regents to assemble the parliament fifteen days after Easter. The earl of Leicester, however, returning from the continent in the interim, discovered the true state of affairs in Gascony; upon which the parliament persisted in their refusal to grant any farther supplies. Henry, finding his dishonourable acts detected, resolved to return to England; and, preferring a journey by land to a voyage by sea, made application to Louis, king of France, who had just arrived from his unfortunate expedition to Palestine, for permission to pass through his dominions. This being cheerfully granted him, he went to Paris, where he was sumptuously entertained by the French king; and he was so well pleased with the honours he received at the different towns through which he passed, that he was in no haste to reach England, where he did not arrive till the commencement of 1255.

Although the eyes of Henry had been opened to the impositions of the pope, that pontiff had art enough to continue or rather to renew, the delusion, and to persuade him to persist in the ridiculous design of conquering Sicily; for which purpose he summoned a parliament, and demanded the necessary supplies. This imprudent step afforded a specious pretext to the discontented barons, who were now headed by the earl of Leicester, to attempt an innovation in the government, and to wrest the crown from its legal possessor. That haughty nobleman, conscious that his sovereign must view him with an eye of suspicion, found greater advantage in cultivating his interest with the public, and in seeking to inflame the general discontents which prevailed against the administration. He filled every place with complaints against the infringement of the Great Charter, the acts of violence committed on the people, the combination between the pope and the king in their tyranny and extortions, Henry's neglect of his native subjects and barons; and though himself a foreigner, he was more vociferous than any in representing the indignity of submitting to the dominion of foreigners. By his hypocritical pretensions to devotion he gained the favour of the clergy: by his seeming concern for public good he acquired the affections of the public; and independent of the private friendships which he had cultivated with the barons, his animosity against the favourites created an union of interests between him and that powerful order of men.

A recent quarrel which broke out between Leicester and William de Valence, the queen's maternal uncle, and Henry's chief favourite, brought matters to extremity, and determined the former to give full scope to his bold and unbounded ambition, which the laws and the king's authority had hitherto with difficulty restrained. He secretly called a meeting of the most potent barons, particularly Humphrey de Bohun, high constable; Roger Bigod, earl mareschal; and the earls of Warwick and Gloucester; men who by their family and possessions stood in the first rank of the English nobility. He represented to this company the necessity of reforming the state, and of putting the execution of the laws into other hands than those which had hitherto appeared, from repeated experience, so unfit for the charge with which they were entrusted. He exaggerated the oppressions exercised against the lower orders of the state, the violations of the privileges of the barons, the continued depredations committed on the clergy; and, in order to aggravate the enormity of his conduct, he appealed to the Great Charter, which Henry had so often ratified, and which was calculated to prevent for ever the return of those intolerable grievances. He magnified the generosity of their ancestors, who had extorted that famous concession from the crown; but expressed his concern at their own degeneracy, who allowed so important an advantage, once obtained, to be wrested from them by a weak prince and by insolent strangers: and he insisted that the king's word, after so many submissions and fruitless promises on his part, could no longer be relied on; and that the only security to be procured for his observance of the national privileges, was to place him in such a situation as should render him wholly unable to infringe them.

These topics, which were founded in truth, and suited so well the sentiments of the assembly, had the desired effect; and the barons embraced a resolution of redressing the public grievances, by taking into their own hands the administration of government. Henry having summoned a parliament, in expectation of receiving supplies for his Sicilian project, the barons appeared in the hall, clad in compleat armour, with their swords by their sides. The king on his entry, struck with the unusual appearance, asked them what object they had in view, and whether they intended to make him their prisoner? Roger Bigod replied, in the name of the rest, that he was not their prisoner, but their sovereign; and they even wished to grant him ample supplies, in order to fix his son on the throne of Sicily; that they only expected an adequate return for this expence and service; and that, as he had frequently made submissions to the parliament, had acknowledged his past errors, and had still allowed himself to be carried into the same path, which gave them such just reason of complaint, he must now yield to more strict regulations, and confer authority on those who were able and willing to redress the national grievances. Henry, partly allured by the hopes of obtaining supplies, partly intimidated by the union and martial appearance of the barons, agreed to their demand, and promised to summon another

another parliament at Oxford, in order to digest the new plan of government, and to elect the persons who were to be entrusted with the supreme authority.

This parliament, which the royalists, and even the nation, from experience of the confusions that attended its measures, afterwards denominated The Mad Parliament, met on the 11th of June, 1258; and, as all the barons brought along with them their military vassals, and appeared with an armed force, the king, who had taken no precautions against them, was in reality a prisoner in their hands, and was obliged to submit to all the terms which they were pleased to impose upon him. Twelve barons were selected from among the king's ministers, twelve more were chosen by parliament: to these twenty-four, unlimited authority was granted to reform the state, and to pursue such measures as they should deem most proper for the future government of the kingdom; and the king himself took an oath, that he would maintain whatever ordinances they should think proper to enact for that purpose. Leicester was at the head of this supreme council, to which the legislative power was thus in reality transferred; and all their measures were taken by his secret influence and direction.

The first step they took bore a specious appearance, and seemed well calculated to promote the public good; which they professed to be the chief object of all these innovations: they ordained that four knights should be chosen by each county, to inquire into all the grievances of which their neighbourhood had reason to complain, that they should attend the ensuing parliament, in order to give information to that assembly of the state of their particular counties; and that the expences of such knights should be borne by their respective counties. This regulation bore a much nearer resemblance to our present constitution than had been made by the barons in the reign of king John, when the knights were only appointed to meet in their several counties, and there to draw up a detail of their grievances. Meanwhile the twenty-four barons proceeded to adopt those measures which appeared necessary for the redress of such grievances as were supposed to be sufficiently notorious. They ordered that three sessions of parliament should be regularly held every year, in the months of February, June, and October; that a new sheriff should be annually elected by the votes of the freeholders in each county; that the sheriffs should have no power of fining the barons who neglected to attend their courts, or the circuits of the justiciaries; that no heirs should be committed to the wardship of foreigners, and no castles intrusted to their custody; and that no new warrens or forests should be created, nor the revenues of any counties or hundreds be let to farm (*i*).

But the earl of Leicester and his associates, having advanced so far to satisfy the nation, instead of continuing in this popular course, or granting the king that supply which they had promised him, immediately provided for the extension and continuance of their own authority. They renewed the popular clamour against the foreigners; and they fell with the utmost violence on the king's half-brothers, who were supposed to be the secret authors of all the national grievances, and whom Henry had no longer any power to protect. The four brothers, sensible of their danger, sought their safety in flight, with an intention of making their escape out of the kingdom; but being eagerly pursued by the barons, Aymer, one of the brothers, who had been elected to the see of Winchester, took shelter in his episcopal palace, and carried the others along with him; they were speedily surrounded in that place, and threatened to be dragged out by force, and to be punished for their crimes and misdemeanors; and it was with difficulty that the king, who pleaded the sacredness of an ecclesiastical sanctuary, could extricate them from this danger by banishing them the kingdom. In this act of violence, as well as in the former usurpations of the barons, the queen and her uncles were thought to have chiefly concurred; being jealous of the credit acquired by the brothers, which, they found, had eclipsed and annihilated their own.

But the subsequent proceedings of the twenty-four barons were sufficient to convince the nation of their sinister views, and to prove their intention of reducing, for ever, both the king and the people under the arbitrary power of a very narrow aristocracy, which must at last have terminated either in anarchy, or in a violent usurpation and tyranny. They pretended that they had not yet digested all the regulations necessary for the reformation of the state and for the redress of grievances; and they must still retain their power, till that great purpose were thoroughly effected; in other words, they must be perpetual governors, and must continue to reform, till they were pleased to abdicate their authority. They formed an association among themselves, and swore that they would stand by each other with their lives and fortunes: they displaced all the chief officers of the crown, the justiciary, the chancellor, the treasurer; and advanced either themselves or their own creatures in their places; even the offices of the king's household were disposed of at their pleasure: the government of all the castles was put into hands in whom they found reason to confide: and the whole power of the state being thus transferred to them, they ventured to impose an oath, by which all the subjects were obliged to swear, under the penalty of being declared public enemies, that they would obey and execute all the regulations, both known and unknown, of the twenty-four barons: and all this, they had the temerity to declare, was for the greater glory of God, the honour of the church, the service of the king, and the advantage of the kingdom. No one dared to withstand this tyrannical authority: prince Edward himself, the king's eldest son, a youth of eighteen, who began to give indications of that great and manly spirit which appeared throughout the whole course of his life, was, after making some opposition, constrained to submit, and to take that oath, which really deposed his father and his family from sovereign authority. Earl Warrenne was the last person in the kingdom that could be brought to give the confederated barons this mark of submission.

But the twenty-four barons, not content with the usurpation of the royal authority, introduced an innovation in the constitution of parliament, which was of the utmost importance. They ordained, that this assembly should chuse a committee of twelve persons, who should, in the intervals of the sessions, possess the authority of the whole parliament, and should attend, on receiving a summons, the person of the king, in all his motions. But to such an alarming degree of power had the barons attained, that this regulation was also submitted to; the whole government was overthrown, or fixed on new foundations; and the monarchy was totally subverted, without its being possible for the king to do any thing in defence of the constitution against the newly-elected oligarchy.

The report which prevailed in 1259, that the king of the Romans intended to pay a visit to England, gave alarm to the ruling barons, who dreaded lest the extensive influence and established authority of that prince would be employed to restore the prerogatives of his family, and overturn their plan of government. They sent over the bishop of Worcester, who met him at St. Omers; asked him, in the name of the barons, the reason of his journey, and how long he intended to stay in England; and insisted that, before he entered the kingdom, he should swear to observe the regulations established at Oxford. On Richard's refusal to take the oath required of him they prepared to resist him as a public enemy; they fitted out a fleet, assembled an army, and exciting the inveterate prejudices of the people against foreigners, from whom they had suffered so many oppressions, spread the report that Richard, attended by a number of strangers, meant to restore by force the authority of his exiled brother, and to violate all the securities provided for public liberty. The king of the Romans, unable to resist the torrent, was at last obliged to submit to the terms required by the barons.

But the barons, in proportion to their continuance in power, began gradually to lose that popularity which had

(*i*) Such were the first regulations which the twenty-four barons established at Oxford (generally denominated The Statutes of Oxford,) for the redress of public grievances. The names of the barons were as follow: the twelve chosen by the king's council were, the bishops of London and Winchester; Henry, son of Richard, king of the Romans; John, earl of Warrenne; Guy de Lusignan, and William de Valence, the king's half-brothers; John, earl of Warwick; John Mansel, a frier; J. de Darlington, abbot of Westminster; Henry de Wengham, dean of St. Martin's, London; the twelfth is omitted by Matthew Paris, but is supposed to have been either Peter of Savoy, or James Audeley. The other twelve chosen by the barons were, Walter de Canteloupe, bishop of Worcester; the earls of Leicester, Hereford, Gloucester, and Norfolk; Roger Mortimer; John Fitz-Geoffrey; Hugh Bigod, brother to the earl of Norfolk; Richard de Gray; William Bardolf; Peter de Montfort; and Hugh le Despenser.

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assisted them in obtaining it; and men repined, that regulations, which were occasionally established for the reformation of the state, were likely to become perpetual, and to subvert entirely the ancient constitution. They were apprehensive lest the power of the nobles, always oppressive, should now exert itself without control, by removing the counterpoise of the crown; and their fears were increased by some new edicts of the barons, which were evidently calculated to procure to themselves an impunity in all their violences. They ordained that the circuits of the itinerant justices, the sole check on their arbitrary conduct, should be held only once in seven years; and men easily perceived that a remedy, which returned after such long intervals, against an oppressive power, which was perpetual, would prove totally insignificant and useless. The barons were loudly called upon to complete their intended regulations. The knights of the shires, who appear now to have been pretty regularly assembled, and sometimes in a separate house, made remonstrances against the slowness of their proceedings: they represented that, though the king had complied with all the conditions required of him by the Statutes of Oxford, the barons had hitherto done nothing for the public good, and had only been careful to promote their own private advantage, and to make inroads on royal authority; and they even appealed to prince Edward, and claimed his interposition for the interests of the nation and the reformation of the government. The prince replied, that though it was from constraint, and contrary to his private sentiments, he had sworn to maintain the Provisions of Oxford, he was determined to observe his oath; but he sent a message to the barons, requiring them to bring their undertaking to a speedy termination, and fulfil their engagements to the public: otherwise he menaced them, that at the expence of his life he would oblige them to do their duty, and would shed his blood, if necessity required it, in promoting the interests, and satisfying the just wishes of the nation.

The barons, urged by so pressing a necessity, published at last a new code of ordinances for the reformation of the state; but the expectations of the people were greatly disappointed, when they found that these consisted only of some trivial alterations in the municipal law; and still more, when the barons pretended that the task was not yet finished, and that they must farther prolong their authority, in order to bring the work of reformation to the desired conclusion. The current popularity was now much turned to the side of the crown; and the barons had little to rely on for their support, besides the private influence and power of their families, which, though exorbitant, was likely to prove inferior to the combination of king and people. Even this resource was daily weakened by the jealousies and disputes which arose among themselves: their ancient and inveterate quarrels broke out when they came to share the spoils of the crown; and the rivalship between the earls of Leicester and Gloucester, the chief leaders among them, threatened a speedy dissolution of the whole confederacy. The latter, more moderate in his pretensions, was desirous of stopping or retarding the career of the barons' usurpations; but the former, enraged at the opposition which he met with in his own party, pretended to throw up all concern in English affairs; and he retired into France.

The kingdom of France, the only state with which England had any considerable intercourse, was at this time governed by Louis IX. a prince of the most singular character that is to be met with in all records of history. This monarch united, to the mean and abject superstition of a monk, all the courage and magnanimity of the greatest hero; and, what may be deemed more extraordinary, the justice and integrity of a disinterested patriot, the mildness and humanity of an accomplished philosoper. So far was he from taking advantage of the divisions among the English, or attempting to expel those dangerous rivals from the provinces which they still possessed in France, he had entertained many scruples with regard to the sentence of attainder pronounced against the king's father, had even expressed some intention of restoring the other provinces, and was only prevented from taking that imprudent resolution by the united remonstrances of his own barons, who represented the extreme danger of such a measure, and, what had a greater influence on Louis, the justice of punishing, by a legal sentence, the barbarity and felony of John. Whenever this prince interposed in English affairs, it was always with an intention of composing the differences between the king and his nobility; he recommended to both parties every peaceable and reconciling measure; and used all his authority with the earl of Leicester, his native subject, to bend him to a compliance with Henry. He made a treaty with England, on the 20th of May, at a time when the distractions of that kingdom were at the greatest height, and when the king's authority was totally annihilated; and the terms which he granted might, even in a more prosperous state of their affairs, be deemed reasonable and advantageous to the English. He yielded up some territories which had been conquered from Poictou and Guienne; he ensured the peaceable possession of the latter province to Henry; he agreed to pay that prince a large sum of money, and he only required that the king should, in return, make a final cession of Normandy, and the other provinces, which he could never entertain any hopes of recovering by force of arms. This cession was ratified by Henry, by his two sons and two daughters, and by the king of the Romans and his three sons: Leicester alone, either moved by a vain arrogance, or desirous to ingratiate himself with the people of England, protested against the deed, and insisted on the right, however distant, which might accrue to his consort. Louis perceived, in this obstinacy, the unbounded ambition of the earl; and as the barons insisted that the money due by treaty should be at their disposal, not at Henry's, he also saw, and probably with regret, the low condition to which this monarch, who had more erred from weakness than from any bad intentions, was reduced by the turbulence of his own subjects.

The situation of Henry wore a more favourable aspect, in the year 1261. The twenty-four barons had now enjoyed the sovereign power nearly three years; and had visibly employed it, not for the reformation of the state, which they declared was their sole object, but for the aggrandizement of themselves and their families. The breach of trust was apparent to all the world, and excited universal murmurs; the dissensions among the barons themselves, which increased the evil, made also the remedy more obvious and easy; and the secret desertion, in particular of the earl of Gloucester to the crown, seemed to promise Henry success in any attempt he might think proper to make for the resumption of his authority. Yet durst he not take that step, so reconcilable both to justice and policy, without making a previous application to Rome, and desiring an absolution from his oaths and engagements.

The pope was at this time much dissatisfied with the conduct of the barons; who, in order to acquire popularity with the people and clergy of England, had expelled all the Italian ecclesiastics, had confiscated their benefices, and expressed a determination to maintain the liberties and privileges of the English church, in which the rights of patronage belonging to their own families were included. The extreme animosity of the English clergy against the Italians was also a source of his disgust to this order; and an attempt which had been made by them for farther liberty, and greater independence on the civil power, was therefore less acceptable to the court of Rome.

About the same time that the barons, by the Statutes of Oxford, had annihilated the prerogatives of the monarchy, the clergy met in a synod at Merton, and passed several ordinances, which were no less calculated to promote their own grandeur at the expence of the crown. They decreed, that it was unlawful to try ecclesiastics by secular judges; that the clergy were not to regard any prohibitions from civil courts; that lay-patrons had no right to confer spiritual benefices; that the magistrate was obliged, without farther inquiry, to imprison all persons against whom a sentence of excommunication had been issued; and that ancient usage, without any particular grant or charter, was a sufficient authority for any clerical possessions or privileges. About a century before, these claims would have been supported by the court of Rome beyond the most fundamental articles of faith: they were the chief points maintained by that prince of martyrs, Thomas à Becket; and his resolution in defending them had exalted him to the high station which he held in the catalogue of Romish saints. But principles were changed with the times: the pope was become jealous of the independence of the English clergy, which made them stand less in need of his protection, and even emboldened them to resist his authority, and to complain of the preference given to the Italian courtiers, whose interests, it is natural to imagine, were the chief object of his concern. He was ready, therefore, on the king's application, to annul these new constitutions of the church

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of England as dangerous innovations; and, at the same time, he absolved Henry and all his subjects from the oath which they had taken to observe the provisions of Oxford.

Prince Edward returned to England during these transactions. His liberal mind, though in such early youth, had taught him the great prejudice which his father had incurred, by his levity, inconstancy, and frequent breach of promise, refused for a long time to take advantage of this absolution; and declared that the Provisions of Oxford, how unreasonable soever in themselves, and how much soever abused by the barons, ought still to be adhered to by those who had sworn to observe them. He himself had been constrained by violence to take that oath; yet was he determined to keep it. By this scrupulous fidelity, the prince acquired the confidence of all parties, and was afterwards enabled to recover fully the royal authority, and to perform such great actions, both during his own reign and that of his father.

The situation of England, during this period, as well as that of most European kingdoms, was somewhat peculiar. There was no regular military force maintained in the nation: the sword, however, was not, properly speaking, in the hands of the people: the barons were alone entrusted with the defence of the community; and after any effort which they made, either against their own prince or against foreigners, as the military retainers departed home, the armies were disbanded, and could not speedily be re-assembled at pleasure. It was easy, therefore, for a few barons, by a combination, to be beforehand with another party, to collect suddenly their troops, and to appear unexpectedly in the field with an army, which their antagonists, though equal, or even superior in power and interest, would not dare to encounter. Hence the sudden revolutions, which often took place in those governments: hence the frequent victories obtained without a blow by one faction over the other; and hence it happened, that the seeming prevalence of a party was seldom a prognostic of the long continuance in authority.

The king, having received the pope's absolution from his oath, accompanied with menaces of excommunication against all opponents, trusting to the countenance of the church, to the support promised him by many considerable barons, and to the returning favour of the people, immediately took off the mask. After justifying his conduct by a proclamation, in which he set forth the private ambition, and the breach of trust, conspicuous in the earl of Leicester, and his associates, he declared, that he had resumed the government, and was determined thenceforth to exert the royal authority for the protection of his subjects. He removed Hugh le Despenser and Nicholas de Ely, the justiciary and chancellor appointed by the barons; and put Philip Basset and Walter de Merton in their places. He substituted new sheriffs in all the counties: he placed new governors in most of the castles: he changed all the officers of his household: he summoned a parliament, which assembled at London on the 23rd of April, 1262, in which the resumption of his authority was ratified, with only five dissenting voices.

By this means the kingdom was involved in great confusion; some paying obedience to the officers and magistrates nominated by the king, while others still obeyed those who had been appointed by the barons; and many, profiting by the general anarchy, were wholly unrestrained by any authority whatever, and lived as if a total dissolution of government had taken place.

By the generous declaration of prince Edward abovementioned, that he was determined to keep the oath he had taken to maintain the Provisions of Oxford, his father Henry was highly mortified, and his confusion was greatly increased by an accommodation which took place between the rival earls of Leicester and Gloucester, who saw no prospect of success but in the sacrifice of their private animosities to the good of that cause in which they were both embarked. These noblemen renewed, with added solemnity, their oaths to support each other, and to maintain the Statutes of Oxford, with their lives and fortunes. The party of the barons being thus fortified, they gave the king to understand, that unless he would voluntarily remove from his person those evil counsellors who had given him such pernicious advice, they would find means to effect that removal by compulsion.

Henry, who had engaged in an enterprize he was unable to conduct, had by this time relapsed into his native perplexity and irresolution; and, as he could not determine upon what answer it would become him to make, he took no notice of the message, but remained in the Tower, from an apprehension that his person would not be safe in any other habitation. His fears, however, daily acquiring fresh strength, he was induced to seek for a diminution of them, by attempting to increase the number of his adherents; and, with this view, published the pope's bull, which absolved him from the obligation of his oath. This imprudent step was attended with effects diametrically opposite to those which he had expected to derive from it, as it deprived him of that regard which many, from principles of loyalty, still preserved for his person, and furnished his enemies with a plausible pretext for representing him as a prince, on whose faith and sincerity not the smallest dependence could be placed. The barons, encouraged by this defection, resolved to make some desperate attempt; and accordingly formed a plan for surprizing him at Winchester, whither he had lately repaired, on the faith of a negociation with which they thought to amuse him: but Henry, having gained intelligence of their design, returned to the Tower in time to hinder its success.

A civil war now seemed unavoidable; but each party being unwilling to incur the odium of having caused it, they mutually accepted the mediation of the king of the Romans; who effected an accommodation on the following terms: That Henry should once more submit to the Provisions of Oxford; and that the barons should change and mitigate certain arrangements which were most offensive to the king. The earl of Leicester, however, protested against the arrangement; alledging, that they could not, with any regard to their own honour and safety, repose the smallest degree of confidence in the professional sincerity of a prince who had made the most sacred ties subservient to his own interested views: and, having made this declaration, he retired to France in disgust. Several other barons also expressed their dislike to the articles; but suffered themselves to be over-ruled by a majority, rather than incur the danger of being reproached as the authors of civil dissension. By this treaty the tranquillity of England appeared to be restored; yet under this specious semblance of peace, the embers of discord still glowed; and in a little time burst into a flame, that raged with uncommon violence. The agreement, however, was ratified, and Henry embraced the opportunity afforded him by the pacification to repair in person to the continent, in order to regulate the affairs of Gascony; and being seized with a dangerous distemper at Bourdeaux, he was under the necessity of prolonging his stay much beyond the time which he had originally fixed for his return.

Richard earl of Gloucester, dying in the mean time, his son Gilbert made a voyage to Gascony to receive the investiture of the earldom; but the conduct of his father had irritated Henry to such a degree, that he was compelled to submit to the trouble of a tedious solicitation, and even present him with a considerable sum of money, before he could obtain his request.

The king, in order to cut off every objection to his conduct, offered to refer all the differences between him and the earl of Leicester, to Margaret queen of France. The integrity of Louis gave a mighty influence to any decision which issued from his court; and Henry probably hoped that the barons would submit to the award of that princess. By an admirable conduct, probably as political as just, Louis continually interposed his good offices to allay the civil discords of the English: he forwarded all healing measures, which might give security to both parties; and he still endeavoured, though without success, to sooth by persuasion the fierce ambition of the earl of Leicester, and to convince him how much it was his duty to submit to the authority of his sovereign in a peaceable manner.

The bold and artful Leicester was nowise discouraged by the bad success of his former enterprizes. The death of Richard earl of Gloucester, who was his chief rival in power, and who, before his decease, had joined the royal party, seemed to open a new field to his violence, and to expose the throne to fresh insults and injuries. It was in vain that the king professed his intentions of observing strictly the Great Charter, even of maintaining all the regulations made by the reforming barons at Oxford or afterwards, except those which entirely annihilated the royal authority; these powerful chieftains, now hateful to the court, could not peaceably resign the hopes of entire independence and uncontrolled power, with which they had flattered themselves, and which they had so long enjoyed. Many of them engaged in Leicester's views: and among the rest, Gilbert the young earl of Gloucester, who brought

him a mighty accession of power, from the extensive authority possessed by that opulent family. Even Henry, son of the king of the Romans, commonly called Henry d'Allmaine, though a prince of the blood, joined the party of the barons, in 1263, against the king, the head of his own family. The earl of Leicester himself, who still resided in France, secretly formed the links of this great conspiracy, and planned the whole scheme of operations.

The princes of Wales, notwithstanding the various attempts made to subdue them by the monarchs, both of the Saxon and Norman line, still preserved their authority in their own country. Though they had frequently been compelled to pay tribute to the crown of England, they were with difficulty retained in subordination, or even in peace; and almost through every reign since the Conquest, they had infested the English frontiers with such petty incursions and sudden inroads, as seldom merit to be recorded in a general history. The English, still content with repelling their invasions, and forcing them back into their native mountains, had never pursued the advantages obtained over them, nor been able, even under their greatest and most active princes, to reduce them even to a state of feudal subjection on the country. This advantage was reserved to the present monarch, the weakest and most indolent prince, who obtained from chance what he could neither obtain from his conduct nor his courage.

In the year 1237, Llewellyn prince of Wales, declining in years, and broken with infirmities, and harrassed with the rebellion and undutiful behaviour of his youngest son Griffin, had recourse to the protection of Henry; and consenting to subject his principality, which had hitherto, with some short intervals of exception, maintained its independence, to vassalage under the crown of England, had purchased security and tranquillity on these dishonourable terms. His eldest son and heir, David, renewed his homage to England; and having taken his brother prisoner, delivered him into Henry's hands, who committed him to custody in the Tower. That prince, endeavouring to make his escape, lost his life in the attempt: and David, freed from the apprehensions of so dangerous a competitor, paid thenceforth less regard to the English monarch, and even renewed those incursions, by which the Welch, during so many ages, had been accustomed to infest the English border. Llewellyn, however, the son of Griffin, who succeeded to his uncle David, had been obliged to renew the homage, which was now claimed by England as an established right; but he was well pleased with an opportunity of fomenting those civil discords, on which he rested his present security, and founded his hopes of future independence. He entered into a confederacy with the earl of Leicester, and collecting all the force of his principality, invaded England with an army of thirty thousand men. He ravaged the lands of Roger de Mortimer, and of all the barons who adhered to the crown; he marched into Cheshire, and committed similar depredations on prince Edward's territories; every place where his disorderly troops appeared was laid waste with fire and sword; and though Mortimer, a gallant and experienced warrior, made stout resistance, it was found necessary that the prince himself should head the army against the invader. Edward repulsed Llewellyn, and obliged him to take shelter in the mountains of North Wales; but he was prevented from making further progress against the enemy, by the disorders which soon after broke out in England, and now began to wear a most serious aspect.

The Welch invasion was the appointed signal for the malcontent barons to rise in arms; and Leicester, coming over secretly from France, collected all the forces of his party, and commenced an open rebellion. He seized the person of the bishop of Hereford; a prelate become hateful to all the inferior clergy, on account of his devoted attachment to the court of Rome. Simon bishop of Norwich, and John Mansel, because they had published the pope's bull, absolving the king and kingdom from their oaths to observe the Provisions of Oxford, were made prisoners, and exposed to the rage of the party. The king's demesnes were ravaged with unbounded fury; and as it was Leicester's interest to allure to his side, by the hopes of plunder, all the disorderly ruffians in England, he gave them a general license to pillage the barons of the opposite party, and even all such as observed a strict neutrality. But one of the principal resources of his faction was the populace of the cities, particularly of London; and as he had, by his hypocritical pretensions to sanctity, and his zeal against Rome, engaged the monks and inferior clergy in his party, his dominion over the lower ranks of men became uncontrollable. Thomas Fitz-Richard, mayor of London, a furious and licentious man, gave the countenance of authority to these disorders in the metropolis, and having declared war against the opulent citizens, he loosened all the bands of government, by which that turbulent city was commonly but ill restrained. On the approach of Easter, the zeal of superstition, the appetite for plunder, or what is often as prevalent with the populace as either of these motives, the pleasure of being engaged in a riot, and committing havoc and destruction, prompted them to attack the unhappy Jews, who were first pillaged without resistance, then massacred to the number of five hundred persons. The Lombard bankers were next exposed to the rage of the populace; and though, by taking sanctuary in the churches, they escaped with their lives, all their money and goods became a prey to the licentious multitude. Even the houses of the rich citizens, though English, were attacked by night; and way was made by sword and by fire to the pillage of their goods, and often to the destruction of their persons, who sometimes perished in the flames. The queen, who resided with her royal consort in the Tower, was terrified by such dangerous commotions in the neighbourhood of her residence, resolved to go by water to the castle of Windsor; but as she approached London Bridge, the populace assembled, and insulted her in the most brutal manner: they exclaimed, "Drown the witch;" and besides abusing her with the most opprobrious language, and pelting her with rotten eggs and dirt, they had prepared large stones to sink her barge, when she should attempt to shoot the bridge; and she was so frightened, that she prudently returned to the Tower.

The violence and fury of Leicester's faction had risen to such a height in all parts of England, that the king, unable to resist their power, was obliged to set on foot a treaty of peace; and to make an accommodation with the barons on the most disadvantageous terms, on the 18th of July, 1263. He agreed to confirm anew the Provisions of Oxford, even those which entirely annihilated the royal authority; and the barons were again re-instated in the sovereignty of the kingdom. They restored Hugh le Despenser to the office of chief justiciary; they appointed their own creatures sheriffs in every county of England; they took possession of all the royal castles and fortresses; they even named all the officers of the king's household; and they summoned a parliament to meet at Westminster, on the 11th of October, in order to settle more fully the plan of government. They here produced a new list of twenty-four barons, to whom they proposed that the administration should be entirely committed; and they insisted that their authority should continue, not only during the reign of the present king, but also during that of his successor.

Prince Edward, previous to his father's accommodation with the barons, had repaired to Bristol with a determination to defend the castle of that place against all attacks; and for that purpose he issued orders to the inhabitants to supply all the necessary stores and provisions at their own expence: but the people being incensed at a demand which they deemed arbitrary and oppressive, a sedition ensued; and the prince was compelled to retire to the castle for safety; where he was immediately invested. Wholly unprepared for sustaining a siege, he was compelled to have recourse to a stratagem in order to escape the fury of the enraged populace. He desired to speak with the bishop of Worcester, to whom he declared his intention of espousing the cause of the barons; but observed, that he first wished to try whether he could not persuade his father to grant them the satisfaction they required without proceeding to extremities; he therefore proposed, that the bishop should exert his influence with the people to procure him permission to attempt the execution of his design; and, to favour his deception, he entreated that prelate to accompany him, that he might assist him with his advice, and be convinced of the sincerity of his professions. The bishop, satisfied with his declarations, represented to the populace the evil effects that might arise from the detention of the prince at such a critical juncture. The siege was accordingly raised; and the prince departed for London, accompanied by the unsuspecting prelate. When they arrived at Egham, Edward bade a hasty adieu to his companion; and, clapping spurs to his horse, rode to the castle of Windsor, where he thought himself secure: but the bishop, provoked at his escape, and at the artifice he had employed to effect it, hastened to London, and persuaded the barons to lay immediate siege to that fortress. The prince, knowing that

he was unable to defend himself, was no sooner apprized of their march, than he advanced to meet the earl of Leicester, in the hope of amusing him with a negociation, by which he might be allowed to keep possession of the castle; but the earl refusing to comply with the terms he proposed, he was detained a prisoner, and compelled to purchase his liberty by surrendering the fortress to that baron.

Edward having recovered his liberty, employed his activity in defending the prerogatives of his family, and gained a great party even among those who had at first adhered to the cause of the barons. His cousin Henry d'Allmaine; Roger Bigod, earl Mareschal; earl Warrenne; Humphrey Bohun, earl of Hereford; John lord Basset; Ralph Basset; Hamond l'Estrange; Roger de Mortimer; Henry de Piercy; Robert de Brus; Roger de Leybourne, with almost all the lords marchers, as they were called, on the boarders of Wales and Scotland, the most warlike parts of the kingdom, declared in favour of the royal cause; and hostilities, which were scarcely well composed, were again renewed in every part of England. But the near balance of the parties in point of force, joined to the universal clamour of the people, who were harassed with perpetual commotions, obliged the king and barons to open anew the negociations for peace; and it was agreed by both sides to submit their differences to the arbitration of Louis IX. king of France.

This virtuous monarch, the only man, who in like circumstances, could safely have been intrusted with such an authority by a neighbouring nation, had never ceased to interpose his good offices between the English king and his rebellious subjects; and had even, during the short interval of peace, invited over to Paris both the king and the earl of Leicester, in order to accommodate the differences between them; but found, that the fears and animosities on both sides, as well as the ambition of Leicester were so violent, as to render all his endeavours ineffectual. But when this solemn appeal, ratified by the oaths and subscriptions of the leaders in both factions, was made to his judgement, he was not discouraged from pursuing his honourable purpose: he summoned the states of France at Paris on the 23rd of January, 1264; and there, in the presence of that assembly, as well as in that of the king of England and Peter de Montfort, Leicester's son, he brought this great cause to a trial and examination. It appeared to him, that the Provisions of Oxford, even had they not been extorted by force, had they not been so exorbitant in their nature, and subversive of the ancient constitution, were expressly established as a temporary expedient, and could not, without breach of trust, be rendered perpetual by the barons. He therefore annulled these provisions; restored to the king the possession of his castles, and the power of nomination to the great offices; allowed him to retain what foreigners he pleased in his kingdom, and even to confer on them places of trust and dignity; and, in a word, reestablish the royal power in the same condition on which it stood before the meeting of the parliament at Oxford. But while he thus suppressed dangerous innovations, and preserved unimpaired the prerogatives of the English crown, he was not negligent of the rights of the people; and besides ordering that a general amnesty should be granted for all past offences, he declared, that his award was not in any wise meant to derogate from the privileges and liberties which the nation enjoyed by any former concessions or charters.

This equitable sentence was no sooner known in England, than Leicester and his confederates determined to reject it, and to have recourse to arms, in order to procure to themselves more safe and advantageous conditions. Without regard to his oaths and subscriptions, the enterprizing earl of Leicester directed his two sons, Richard and Peter de Montfort, in conjunction with Robert de Ferrars, earl of Derby; to attack the city of Worcester; while Henry and Simon de Montfort, two others of his sons, assisted by Llewellyn, prince of Wales, were ordered to lay waste the estate of Roger de Mortimer, a man whose loyalty had withstood every temptation. The earl himself resided at London; and employing as his instrument Fitz-Richard, the seditious mayor, who had violently and illegally prolonged his authority, he wrought up that city to the highest ferment and agitation. The populace formed themselves into bands and companies; chose leaders; practised all military exercises; committed violence on the royalists; and, to give them greater countenance in their disorders, an association was entered into between the city and eighteen great barons, never to make peace with the king but by common consent and approbation. At the head of those who bound themselves by oath to maintain this association, were the earls of Leicester, Gloucester, and Derby, with Hugh le Despenser the chief justiciary; men who had all previously sworn to submit to the award of the French monarch. Their only pretence for this breach of faith was, that the latter part of Louis's sentence was, as they affirmed, a contradiction to the former: he ratified the Charter of liberties, yet annulled the Provisions of Oxford; which were only calculated, as they maintained, to preserve that charter; and without which, in their estimation, they had no security for its observance.

The king and prince, finding a civil war inevitable, prepared themselves for defence; and summoning the military vassals from all quarters, and being reinforced by Baliol lord of Galloway, Brus lord of Annandale, Henry Piercy, John Comyn, and other barons of the north, they composed an army, formidable, as well from its numbers as its military prowess and experience. The first enterprize of the royalists was the attack of Northampton, which was defended by Simon de Montfort, with many of the principal barons of that party; and a breach being made in the walls by Philip Basset, the place was carried by assault, and both the governor and the garrison were made prisoners, on the 5th of April, 1264. The royalists marched thence to Leicester and Nottingham; both which places opened their gates to them. Prince Edward then proceeded with a detachment into the county of Derby, in order to ravage with fire and sword the lands of the earl of that name, and take revenge on him for his disloyalty.

The earl of Leicester, master of London, and of the counties in the south-east of England, formed the siege of Rochester, the only place that declared for the king in those parts, and which, besides earl Warrenne, the governor, was garrisoned by many noble and powerful barons of the royal party. The king and prince hastened from Nottingham, where they were then quartered, to the relief of the place; and on their approach, Leicester raised the siege, and retreated to London, which being the centre of his power, he was afraid might, in his absence, fall into the king's hands, either by force, or by a correspondence with the principal citizens, who were all secretly inclined to the royal cause. Reinforced by a great body of Londoners, and having summoned his partizans from all quarters, he thought himself strong enough to hazard a general battle with the royalists, and to determine the fate of the nation in one decisive engagement; which, if it proved successful, must be completely against the king, who had no retreat for his broken troops in those parts; while Leicester himself, in case of any sinister accident, could easily take shelter in the city. To give the better colouring to his cause, he previously sent a message with conditions of peace to Henry, submissive in the language, but exorbitant in the demands; and when the messenger returned with an answer adapted to the insolence of the proposal from the king, the prince and the king of the Romans, he sent a new message, renouncing, in the name of himself and of the associated barons, all fealty and allegiance to Henry. He then marched out of the city with his army, divided into four bodies: the first commanded by his two sons, Henry and Guy de Montfort, together with Humphrey de Bohun earl of Hereford, who had deserted to the barons; the second led by the earl of Gloucester, with William de Montchesny and John Fitz-John; the third, composed of Londoners, under the command of Nicholas de Segrave; the fourth headed by himself in person. The bishop of Chichester gave a general absolution to the army, accompanied with assurances that, if any of them should fall in the ensuing action, they would infallibly be received into heaven, as the reward of their suffering in so meritorious a cause.

The earl of Leicester, who possessed great talents for war, conducted his march with such skill and secrecy, that he had nearly surprized the royalists in their quarters at Lewes in Sussex, on the 14th of May; but the vigilance and activity of prince Edward soon repaired this negligence; and he led out the king's army to the field in three bodies. He himself conducted the van, attended by earl Warrenne and William de Valence: the main body was commanded by the king of the Romans and his son Henry: the king himself was placed in the rear at the head of his principal nobility. Prince Edward rushed upon the Londoners, who had demanded the post of honour in leading the rebel army, but who, from their ignorance of discipline and want of experience, were ill fitted to resist the veteran

veteran army, of whom the prince's body was composed. They were broken in an instant; were chased off the field; and Edward transported by his martial ardour, and eager to revenge the insolence of the Londoners against his mother, he pursued them to the distance of four miles, without giving them any quarter, and without reflecting on the fate which in the mean time attended the rest of the army. The earl of Leicester, perceiving the royalists thrown into confusion by their eagerness in the pursuit, led on his remaining troops against the bodies commanded by the two royal brothers, Henry, and the king of the Romans. He defeated with great slaughter the forces headed by the king of the Romans; and that prince was obliged to yield himself prisoner to the earl of Gloucester; he then penetrated to the body where the king himself was placed, threw it into disorder, pursued his advantage, chased it into the town of Lewes, and Henry was compelled to surrender himself prisoner.

Prince Edward, returning to the field of battle from his precipitate pursuit of the Londoners, was astonished to find it strewed with the dead bodies of his friends, and still more to hear, that his father and uncle were defeated and taken prisoners, together with Arundel, Comyn, Brus, Hamond l'Estrange, Roger Leybourne, and many considerable barons of his party. Earl Warrenne, Hugh Bigod, and William de Valence, struck with despair at this event, immediately took to flight, hastened to Pevensey, and made their escape to the continent with seven hundred of their followers. But the prince, intrepid amidst the greatest disasters, exhorted his troops to revenge the death of their friends, to relieve the royal captives, and to snatch an easy conquest from an enemy disordered by their own victory. He found his followers intimidated by their situation; while Leicester, afraid of a sudden and violent blow from the prince, amused him by a feigned negociation, till he was able to recall his troops from the pursuit, and bring them into order. There now appeared no farther resource to the royal party; surrounded by the armies and garrisons of the enemy, destitute of forage and provisions, and deprived of their sovereign, as well as of their principal leaders, who could alone inspirit them to an obstinate resistance. The prince, therefore, was compelled to submit to Leicester's conditions, which were short, summary, and comprehensive; such as might naturally be expected from the unfortunate situation of the royalists. It was stipulated that prince Edward and Henry d'Allmaine, son to the king of the Romans, should surrender themselves prisoners as pledges in lieu of the two kings; that all other prisoners on both sides should be released; and that, in order to settle fully the terms of agreement, application should be made to the king of France, that he should name six Frenchmen, three prelates, and three noblemen: these six to chuse two others of their own country: and these two to chuse one Englishman, who, in conjunction with themselves, were to be invested by both parties with full powers to make what regulations they thought proper for the settlement of the kingdom. The prince and young Henry accordingly delivered themselves into Leicester's hands, who sent them under a guard to Dover castle. Such are the terms of agreement, commonly called the *Mise* of Louis, from an obsolete French term of that meaning: for it appears, that all the gentry and nobility of England, who valued themselves on their Norman extraction, and who disdained the language of their native country, made familiar use of the French tongue, till this period, and for some time after.

The earl of Leicester had no sooner gained his victory, and gotten the whole royal family in his power, than he openly violated every article of the treaty, and acted as sole master of the kingdom. He still detained the king in effect a prisoner, and made use of that monarch's authority for purposes the most prejudicial to his interests, and the most oppressive to his subjects. He disarmed the royalists, and kept his own partizans in a military posture: he observed the same partial conduct in the deliverance of the captives, and exclusive of those who had been taken in the battle of Lewes, he threw many of the king's adherents into prison: he carried the king from place to place, and obliged all the royal castles, on pretence of Henry's commands, to receive a governor and garrison of his own appointment: all the officers of the crown and of the household were named by him; and the whole authority, as well as arms of the state, was lodged in his hands: he instituted in the counties a new kind of magistracy, endowed with new and arbitrary powers, that of conservators of the peace. Grown wanton with success that exceeded his fondest expectations, he gave way to his favourite passions, ambition and avarice; and being wholly unrestrained either by fear or principle, he resolved to gratify them to the utmost He seized the estates of no less than eighteen barons, as his share of the spoil gained in the battle of Lewes: he engrossed to himself the ransom of all the prisoners; and told his barons, with a barefaced insolence, that it was sufficient for them, that he saved them by that victory from the forfeitures and attainders which hung over them: he even treated the earl of Gloucester in the same injurious manner, and applied to his own use the ransom of the king of the Romans, who in the field of battle had yielded himself prisoner to that nobleman. Henry, his eldest son, made a monopoly of all the wool in the kingdom, the only valuable commodity for foreign markets which it at that time produced. The inhabitants of the cinque-ports, during the present dissolution of government, practised the most licentious acts of piracy, plundering the ships of all nations, and throwing the mariners into the sea; which barbarity soon banished all merchants from the English coasts and harbours. Every foreign commodity rose to an exorbitant price: and woollen cloth, which the English had not then the art of dying, was worn by them white, and without receiving the last hand of the manufacturer. In answer to the complaints which arose on this occasion, Leicester replied, that the kingdom could well enough subsist within itself, and needed no intercourse with foreigners. And it was found, that he even combined with the pirates of the cinque-ports, and received as his share the third part of all the prizes they made.

No farther mention was made of the reference to the king of France, so essential an article in the agreement of Lewes; and Leicester summoned a parliament, entirely composed of his own partizans, in order to rivet, by their authority, that power which he had acquired by so much violence, and which he used with so much tyranny and injustice. An ordinance was there passed, to which the king's consent had been previously extorted by threats of perpetual imprisonment, that every act of royal power should be exercised by a council of nine barons, who were to be chosen and removed by a majority of three, Leicester himself, the earl of Gloucester, and the bishop of Chichester. By this intricate plan of government, the sceptre was really put into Leicester's hands; and as he had the entire direction of the bishop of Chichester, and thereby commanded all the resolutions of the council of three, who could appoint or discard at pleasure every member of the supreme council.

It was, however, impossible that things could long remain in this situation. The earl of Leicester was exposed to anxiety from every quarter; and felt that the smallest incident was capable of overturning that immense and ill-cemented fabric which he had reared. The queen, whom her husband had left on the continent, had collected an army of desperate adventurers from Germany, Burgundy, and other countries, and had assembled a great number of ships, with a view of invading the kingdom, and of bringing relief to her unfortunate family. Louis, detesting Leicester's usurpations and perjuries, and disgusted at the English barons, who had refused to submit to his award, secretly favoured all her enterprizes, and was generally believed to be making preparations for the same purpose. An English army, by the pretended authority of the captive king, was assembled on the sea-coast to oppose this projected invasion; but Leicester owed his safety more to cross winds, which long detained on the Flemish coast, and at last dispersed and ruined the queen's fleet, than to any resistance which, in their present situation, could have been expected from the English.

But Leicester was better able to resist the spiritual thunders which were levelled against him. The pope, still adhering to the king's cause against the barons, dispatched cardinal Guido as his legate into England, with orders to excommunicate, by name, the three earls, Leicester, Gloucester, and Norfolk, and all others in general, who concurred in the oppression and captivity of their sovereign. Leicester menaced the legate with instant death, if he dared to set foot within the kingdom; but Guido, meeting at Boulogne the bishops of Winchester, London, and Worcester, who had been sent thither on a negociation, commanded them, under the penalty of ecclesiastical censures, to carry his bull into England, and to publish it against the barons. When the prelates arrived off the coast, they were boarded by the piratical

mariners of the Cinque-Ports, to whom it is supposed they gave a hint of the nature of the cargo which they brought along with them: the bull was torn and thrown into the sea; which furnished the prelates with a plausible excuse for not obeying the orders of the legate. Leicester then appealed from Guido to the pope in person; but, before the ambassadors appointed to defend his cause could reach Rome, the pontiff was dead; and they found the legate himself, from whom they had appealed, seated on the papal throne, by the name of Urban IV. The aspiring Leicester was not dismayed by this incident; and as he found that a great part of his popularity in England was founded on his opposition to the court of Rome, which was now become odious, he bade defiance to the spiritual thunders that were levelled against him, and persisted with the more obstinacy in the prosecution of his plans.

That he might both increase and turn to advantage his popularity, Leicester summoned a new parliament to meet at London, on the 20th of January, 1265, where he knew his power was uncontrollable; and he fixed this assembly on a more democratical basis than any which had ever been summoned since the foundation of the monarchy.

This memorable parliament merits a distinguished place in the history of England; not from the transactions that passed in it, but from the peculiar mode of assembling it; but being the first, since the days of William the First, in which the people were permitted to have any weight or influence.

Leicester summoned, by particular writs, only eleven bishops, five earls, and eighteen barons, all of his own party, to attend it; but, in order to supply the deficiency occasioned by the non-attendance of the prelates, earls, and barons of the royal party, who were not summoned, he issued writs to sixty-four abbots, thirty-seven friers, and five deans, many of whom were not immediate tenants of the crown. This singular circumstance was probably owing to the great partiality which the clergy entertained for Leicester, whom they regarded as the first champion of ecclesiastical prerogative. Writs were also sent to the different sheriffs, directing them to send from each county two knights of known discretion to attend this parliament. But what is chiefly worthy of remark is, that the citizens of different cities, and the burgesses of different boroughs, received similar notice of attendance; each city being required to send two of its citizens most renowned for their honesty and discretion, and each borough two of its burgesses most famed for their wisdom and integrity: an order of men which, in former ages, had been deemed too insignificant to enjoy a place in the grand council of the nation. Each of the Cinque Ports were likewise commanded to send two of its barons. But in what manner these new members of the parliament were chosen, whether by vote, or by the arbitrary will of the magistrates, is not known.

From this parliament the English House of Commons is generally esteemed to have derived its origin; and it is certain that prior to this period, there is no mention made by historians of any representatives sent to parliament by the boroughs. In all the general accounts given in preceding times of those assemblies, the prelates and barons, or *Magnates et Nobiles*, are mentioned as the constituent members; and even in the most particular narratives of parliamentary transactions, there is not throughout the whole the smallest appearance of a House of Commons. This glorious institution, when matured by the wisdom of subsequent ages, was attended with the most beneficial effects to the nation, and it tended to bring the English constitution to that superior state of excellence which distinguishes it from all other kingdoms of Europe; by giving the greater body of the people an adequate portion of influence in the council, by whose decrees they were to be governed, equally to guard themselves against the dangers of despotism, and the formidable terrors of aristocracy. From this period the feudal system, so inimical to every principle of civil liberty, began gradually to decline, though for a considerable time its declension was almost imperceptible; and both the king and the people, who had experienced its inconveniencies, though not in an equal degree, concurred in favouring this newly elected power, which evinced a greater regard to the legal prerogatives of the crown than the imperious barons, and at the same time afforded protection to the inferior orders of the state.

Leicester, having thus assembled a parliament of his own model, and trusting to the attachment of the populace of London, seized the opportunity of crushing his rivals among the powerful barons. Robert de Ferrars, earl of Derby, was accused in the king's name, seized, and committed to custody, without the form of a legal trial. John Gifford, menaced with a similar fate, fled from London, and took shelter in the borders of Wales. Even the earl of Gloucester, whose power and influence had so much contributed to the success of the barons, but who of late was extremely disgusted with Leicester's arbitrary conduct, found himself in danger from the prevailing authority of his quondam confederate; and retired from parliament. This known dissension gave courage to all Leicester's enemies and to the king's friends, who were now sure of protection from so powerful a leader. Though Roger Mortimer, Hamond L'Estrange, and other powerful marchers of Wales, had been obliged to leave the kingdom, their authority still remained over the territories subjected to their jurisdiction; and there were many others who were disposed to give disturbance to the new government. The animosities, inseparable from the feudal aristocracy, broke out with fresh violence, and threatened the kingdom with new convulsions and disorders.

The earl of Leicester, surrounded with these difficulties, embraced a measure, from which he hoped to reap some present advantages, but which proved in the end the source of all his future calamities. The active and intrepid prince Edward had languished in prison ever since the fatal battle of Lewes; and as he was extremely popular in the kingdom, there arose a general desire of seeing him again restored to liberty. Leicester finding that he could with difficulty oppose the concurring wishes of the nation, stipulated with the prince, that, in return, he should order his adherents to deliver up to the barons all their castles, particularly those on the borders of Wales; and should swear neither to depart the kingdom during three years, nor introduce into it any foreign forces. The king took an oath to the same effect, and also passed a charter, in which he confirmed the agreement or Misc of Lewes; and even permitted his subjects to rise in arms against him, if he should ever attempt to infringe it. This convention being signed and ratified, prince Edward was conveyed from Dover Castle, the place of his imprisonment, to Westminster Hall, where he was declared free by the barons on the 11th of March, and nine prelates joined in pronouncing a sentence of excommunication against all such as should be accessary to the violation of this agreement. But instead of really recovering his liberty, as he had vainly expected, he found that the whole transaction was a fraud on the part of Leicester; that he himself still continued a prisoner at large, and was guarded by the emissaries of that nobleman; and that, while the faction reaped all the benefit from the performance of his part of the treaty, care was taken that he should enjoy no advantage by it.

As the earl of Gloucester, on his rupture with the barons, had retired for safety to his estates on the borders of Wales, Leicester followed him with an army to Hereford, continued still to menace and negociate; and that he might add authority to his cause, he carried both the king and prince along with him. The earl of Gloucester here concerted with young Edward the manner of that prince's escape. He found means to convey to him a horse of extraordinary swiftness; and appointed Roger Mortimer, who had returned into the kingdom, to be ready at hand with a small party to receive the prince, and to guard him to a place of safety. Edward pretended to take the air with some of Leicester's retinue, who were his guards, on the 28th of May; and making matches between their horses, after he thought he had tired and blown them sufficiently, he suddenly mounted Gloucester's horse, and called to his attendants, that he had long enough enjoyed the pleasure of their company, and now bid them adieu. They followed him for some time, without being able to overtake him; and the appearance of Mortimer with his company put an end to their pursuit.

The royalists, secretly prepared for this event, immediately flew to arms; and the joy of this prince's deliverance, the oppressions under which the nation laboured, the expectation of a new scene of affairs, and the countenance of the earl of Gloucester, procured Edward an army which Leicester was utterly unable to withstand. This nobleman found himself in a remote quarter of the kingdom; surrounded by his enemies; barred from all communication with his friends by the Severne, whose bridges Edward had broken down; and obliged to fight the

cause of his party under these multiplied disadvantages. In this extremity he wrote to his son Simon de Montfort, to hasten from London with an army for his relief; and Simon had advanced to Kenilworth with that view, where, fancying that all Edward's force and attention were directed against his father, he lay secure and unguarded. But the prince, making a sudden and forced march, surprized him in his camp, dispersed his army, and took the earl of Oxford, and many other noblemen prisoners, almost without resistance. Leicester, ignorant of his son's fate, passed the Severne in boats during Edward's absence, and lay at Evesham, in expectation of being every hour joined by his friends from London: whence the prince, who availed himself of every favourable moment, appeared in the field before him. Edward made a body of his troops advance from the road which led to Kenilworth, and ordered them to carry the banners taken from Simon's army; while he himself, making a circuit with the rest of his forces, proposed to attack the enemy on their quarter. Leicester was long deceived by this stratagem, and took one division of Edward's army for his friends; but at last, perceiving his mistake, and observing the great superiority and excellent disposition of the royalists, he exclaimed that they had learned from him the art of war; adding, "The Lord have mercy on our souls, for I see our bodies are the prince's!" The battle immediately began, though on very unequal terms. Leicester's army, by living on the mountains of Wales without bread, which was not then much used among the inhabitants, had been extremely weakened by sickness and desertion, and was soon broken by the victorious royalists; while his Welsh allies, accustomed only to a desultory kind of war, immediately took flight, and were pursued with great slaughter. Leicester himself, asking for quarter, was slain in the heat of the action, with his eldest son Henry, Hugh le Despenser, and about an hundred and sixty knights, and many other gentlemen of his party. The old king had been purposely placed by the rebels in the front of the battle; and being clad in armour, and thereby not known by his friends, he received a wound, and was in danger of his life: but crying out, "I am Henry of Winchester, your king," he was saved; and put in a place of safety by his son, who flew to his rescue (*k*).

Thus fell Simon de Montfort, earl of Leicester, who attained to celebrity more from the confusion of the times, and the timid disposition of the reigning monarch, than from any singular abilities of his own. His character has been variously represented by different writers, but it will require only a small degree of sagacity to form a just opinion of it from his actions, which point out the violence, ingratitude, tyranny, rapacity, and treachery of the man, give a very bad idea of his moral character, and make us regard his death as the most fortunate event which in this conjuncture could have happened to the English nation: yet we must allow that he possessed great abilities, and the appearance of great virtues, who, though a stranger, could, at a time when foreigners were the most odious and the most universally decried, have acquired so extensive an interest in the kingdom, and have so nearly paved his way to the seat of royalty. His military capacity, and his political craft, were equally eminent: he possessed the talents both of governing men and conducting business; and though his ambition was boundless, it seems neither to have exceeded his courage nor his genius; and he had the happiness of making the low populace, as well as the haughty barons, co-operate towards the success of his selfish and dangerous purposes. A prince of greater abilities and vigour than Henry might have directed the talents of this nobleman either to the exaltation of his throne, or to the good of his people; but the advantages given to Leicester, by the weak and variable administration of the king, brought on the ruin of the royal authority, and produced great confusions in the kingdom, which, however, in the end preserved and improved national liberty, and the constitution. His popularity, even after his death, continued so great, that though he was excommunicated by Rome, the people believed him to be a saint; and many miracles were said to have been wrought upon his tomb.

The victory of Evesham, with the death of Leicester, proved decisive in favour of the royalists, and made an equal though an opposite impression on friends and enemies in every part of England. The king of the Romans was restored to liberty; and all the other prisoners of the royal party were released from confinement: Fitz-Richard, the seditious mayor of London, who had marked out forty

of the most opulent citizens for slaughter, immediately stopped the execution of his purpose on receiving intelligence of this important event; and almost all the castles, garrisoned by the barons, hastened to make their submissions, and to open their gates to the king. The isle of Axholme alone, and that of Ely, trusting to the strength of their situation, ventured to make resistance; but were at last reduced, as well as the castle of Dover, by the valour and activity of prince Edward. Adam de Gourdon, a courageous baron, maintained himself during some time in the forests of Hampshire, committed depredations in the neighbourhood, and obliged the prince to lead a body of troops into that part of the country against him. Edward attacked the camp of the rebels, and being transported by the ardour of battle, leaped over the trench with a few followers, and encountered Gourdon in single combat. The victory was long disputed between these valiant combatants; but ended at last in the prince's favour, who wounded his antagonist, threw him from his horse, and took him prisoner. He not only gave him his life; but introduced him on the same night to the queen at Guildford, procured him his pardon, restored him to his estate, received him into favour, and was faithfully served by him the remainder of his days.

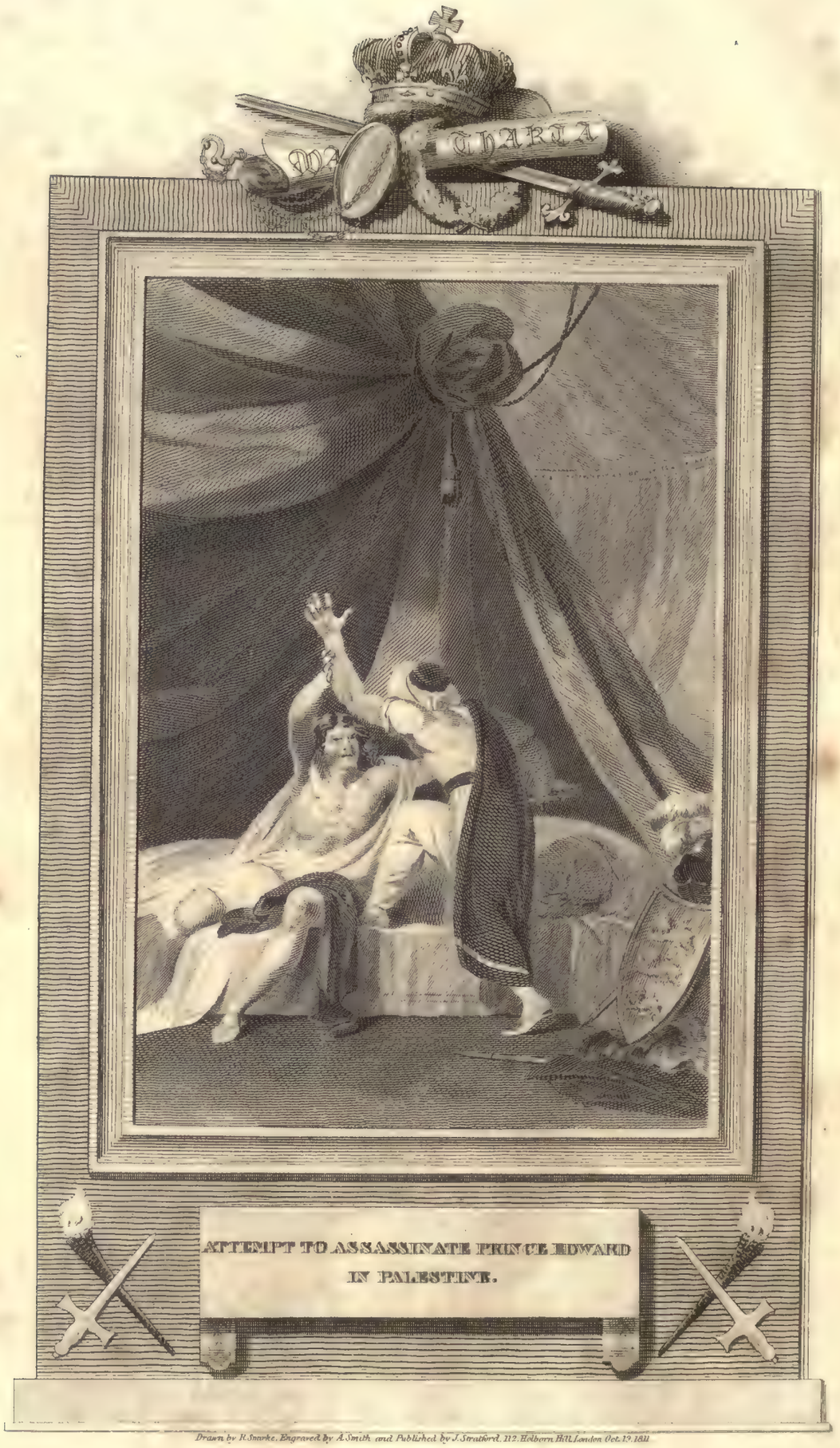
A complete victory of the sovereign over so extensive a rebellion frequently produces a revolution of government, and strengthens, as well as enlarges for some time the prerogatives of the crown: yet no sacrifices of national liberty were made on this occasion; the Great Charter remained still inviolate; and the king, sensible that his own barons, by whose assistance alone he had prevailed, were no less jealous of their independence than the other party, seems thenceforth to have carefully abstained from all those exertions of power which had afforded so plausible a pretence to the rebels. The clemency of this victory is also remarkable: no blood was shed on the scaffold: no attainders, except of the Montfort family, were carried into execution: and though a parliament assembled at Winchester attainted all those who had borne arms against the king, easy compositions were made with them for their lands; and the highest sum levied on the most noxious offenders did not exceed five years rent of their estate. Even the earl of Derby, who again rebelled, after having been pardoned and restored to his fortune, was obliged to pay only seven years rent, and was a second time restored. The mild disposition of the king, and the prudence of the prince, tempered the insolence of victory, and gradually restored order to the several members of the state, disjointed by so long a continuance of civil wars and commotions.

The city of London, which had been most violent against the king, and which seemed determined to stand upon its defence after almost all the kingdom had submitted, was restored to most of its liberties and privileges; and Fitz-Richard the mayor was only punished by fine and imprisonment. The countess of Leicester, the king's sister, who had been very forward in all attacks on the royal family, was dismissed the kingdom, with her two sons, Simon and Guy, who carried their hatred to the royal family so far, that five years afterwards, they assassinated, at Viterbo in Italy, their cousin Henry d'Allmaine, who at that very time was endeavouring to make their peace with the king; and by taking sanctuary in the church of the Franciscans, they escaped the punishment due to so great an enormity.

The merits of the earl of Gloucester, after he returned to his allegiance, had been so great in restoring the prince to his liberty, and assisting him in his victories against the rebellious barons, that he thought no honours nor rewards were adequate to requite them; it was almost impossible to content him in his demands; and his youth and temerity, as well as his great power, tempted him, under pretence that the king had not fulfilled the promises he had made to his followers before the battle of Evesham, he resolved to raise again the flames of rebellion in the kingdom.

The first symptom of his discontent was a refusal to attend a parliament that was assembled at St. Edmundsbury, on the 10th of February, 1267, to which he had been summoned. The messengers sent to him by the king found him employed in levying troops; but he gave them the most solemn assurances that they were only designed to act against Mortimer, who was his personal enemy: he even delivered to them a declaration, signed and sealed, that he would never bear arms against his sovereign. Notwithstanding

(k) This great battle, called the battle of Evesham, was fought on the 4th of August, 1265.



ATTEMPT TO ASSASSINATE PRINCE EDWARD
IN PALESTINE.

Drawn by R. Smirke, Engraved by A. Smith, and Published by J. Stratford, 112. Holborn Hill, London Oct. 1st. 1811

standing these promises, he took an opportunity, while the king was employed in reducing the Isle of Ely, and the prince was engaged in the north, to march to London, where the mutinous populace, at his instigation, took to arms; and the prince was obliged to levy an army of thirty thousand men, in order to suppress them. Even this second rebellion did not provoke the king to any act of cruelty; and the earl of Gloucester himself escaped with total impunity. He was only required to enter into a bond of twenty thousand marks that he should never again be guilty of rebellion: a proof of the dangerous independence of the barons in those ages! These powerful nobles were, from the danger of the precedents, averse to the execution of the laws of forfeiture and felony against any of their brethren; though they should not refuse to concur in obliging them to fulfil any voluntary contract and engagement into which they had entered.

Having reduced his English subjects to obedience, the king resolved to chastise the Welsh, who had always supported the rebels with succours during the late commotions. For this purpose he advanced with his army to Shrewsbury; and Llewellyn, unable to contend with so powerful a force, was under the necessity of suing for peace, which was granted him on the following conditions: That the conquered lands should be restored on both sides, and the customs of the Marches preserved; that Llewellyn and his heirs should bear the title of Prince of Wales, and all the Welsh barons should do him homage, and swear him fealty; but that he and his successors should hold the principality as a fief of the English crown; and that, for this concession, he should pay to the king the sum of twenty-five thousand marks.

The troubles of the kingdom being thus appeased, Henry convoked a parliament at Northampton, in the month of April, 1268; in which Ottoboni the pope's legate, declared that the sovereign pontiff had determined to publish a crusade through all Christendom; and he therefore exhorted the English to contribute, by their riches and personal attendance, to the success of an expedition undertaken for the glory of God and the advantage of Holy Church. As the flames of civil discord were now totally extinguished, prince Edward, seduced by his thirst for glory, and by the prejudices of the age, as well as by the earnest solicitations of the king of France, resolved to assume the cross; and accordingly received it from the hands of the legate. His example was followed by the earls of Warwick and Pembroke, and upwards of one hundred and twenty knights, besides an inferior number of inferior rank, whom the late civil wars had inured to military toil.

While preparations were making for this holy expedition, another parliament was held at Marlborough, in which several laws were enacted, which are well known by the name of The Statutes of Marlborough. Among other salutary regulations, it was decreed, that all appeals from the courts of inferior lords should be carried directly to the king's courts, without passing through the courts of the lords immediately superior. It was also ordered, that money should bear no interest during the minority of the debtor. This law was reasonable, as the estates of minors were always in the hands of their lords; and the debtors could not possibly pay interest where they had no revenue. The charter of king John had first granted this indulgence, which was omitted in that granted by Henry at the commencement of his reign, and was not renewed till now. Most of the other articles contained in these statutes are calculated to restrain the oppressions of sheriffs, and the violence and indignities committed in distraining cattle and other personal property.

The itinerant judges, who had been restrained from discharging the duties of their office during the late commotions, began about this period to resume the practice of going the circuits, in order to settle the administration of justice in the different counties.

Charles Count of Anjou, was by this time seated on the throne of Sicily, after a victory obtained over young Conradin, whom he cruelly put to death; and, as the king of Tunis had paid an annual tribute to the emperor, Frederic II. Charles pretended that the right devolved to him, as king of the Two Sicilies: he therefore demanded the tribute; and, the Moorish monarch having scornfully refused to comply with his request, he persuaded his brother, the king of France, to invade his dominions; alledging, that an expedition against the Saracens of Barbary would prove as acceptable to God as a new crusade against the infidels of Palestine, where he had already met with such bad success. Louis, whose superstitious zeal enabled him to bear with patience the horrors of captivity, which he had already experienced, and was sufficiently strong to overbalance every consideration of policy, and every dictate of common sense, consented to join the troops of his brother in making a descent on the coast of Africa, and was very desirous of engaging prince Edward in the same enterprize. With this view he invited him to his court, where he communicated the scheme, and secured his association with a loan of thirty thousand marks; in consequence of which the plan of the expedition was finally adjusted, and the execution of it fixed for the middle of August in the ensuing year. Accordingly preparations were made for the prince's departure; and he previously took every possible precaution to settle the state in such a manner as to dread no bad effects from his absence. As the extensive power and known turbulence of the earl of Gloucester inspired him with apprehensions, he insisted on taking him along with him, in consequence of a vow which that nobleman had made to resume the cross and repair to Palestine. In the mean time, he compelled him to resign some of his castles, and to enter into a bond not to disturb the peace of the kingdom.

When these necessary arrangements were completed, he sailed with his army from Portsmouth, in the month of May, 1270, and arrived in Louis's camp before Tunis in Africa, where he found that monarch already dead, from an epidemical dysentery, that had likewise destroyed a great number of his troops. The great, if not only weakness of this prince in his government, was his imprudent passion for crusades; but it was his zeal chiefly that procured him from the clergy the title of St. Louis, by which he is known in the French history; and if that appellation had not been so extremely prostitute as to become rather a term of reproach, he seems, by his uniform probity and goodness, as well as his piety, to have fully merited the title; for he was one of the most virtuous sovereigns that ever filled the Gallic throne. He was succeeded by his son Philip, denominated the Hardy: a prince of some merit, though much inferior to that of his father.

Not discouraged by this event, Prince Edward continued his voyage to the Holy Land, where he signalized himself by acts of valour; revived the glory of the English name in those parts; and struck such terror into the Saracens, that they employed an assassin to murder him, who wounded him in the arm, but perished in the attempt (*l*). Meanwhile, his absence from England was attended with many of those pernicious consequences which had been dreaded from it. The laws were not executed: the barons oppressed the common people with impunity: they gave shelter on their estates to bands of robbers, whom they employed in committing ravages on the estates of their enemies: the populace of London, no longer awed by the fear of punishment, returned to their usual licentiousness; and the old king, unequal to the burthen of public affairs, sent letters to his son, requesting him to return immediately, and to assist him in swaying that sceptre which was ready to drop from his feeble and irresolute hands

A serious riot took place at the city of Norwich, in which a church and a convent were burnt by the mob, claimed the king's particular attention, and he repaired to St. Edmundsbury, where he convoked a parliament, to concert measures for bringing the rioters to justice. He then, pursuant to the advice of his prelates and nobles, went to Norwich in person, deprived the city of its liberties, and caused thirty of the principal insurgents to be put to death. On his return to St. Edmundsbury, he was seized with the disorder which put a period to his existence. Having been conveyed by easy journies from thence to Westminster, he there expired, on the 16th of November, 1272, in the sixty-fifth year of his age, and fifty-seventh of his reign.

(*l*). The ruffian was furnished with letters from the governor of Joppa, containing proposals for an accommodation; by which means he obtained admittance to Edward, who conversed with him freely, at different times, in the French language, which the infidel understood. Having thus secured free egress and regress, he entered the prince's apartment on a summer's afternoon; and, the weather being extremely hot, found him sitting, in a loose garment, on his bed side. Nobody being present, he judged this a proper opportunity for the execution of his infamous project; and, drawing a dagger from his bosom, aimed a blow at the prince's heart. The prince, in parrying the stroke, received a deep wound in his arm; and perceiving the infidel about to repeat his blow, he wrested the weapon from his hand, and plunged it in his bosom.

His

His brother, the king of the Romans, (for he never attained the title of emperor,) died about seven months before him.

The most obvious circumstance of Henry's character is, his incapacity for government, which rendered him as much a prisoner in the hands of his own ministers and favourites, and as little at his own disposal, as when detained a captive in the hands of his enemies. From this source rather, than from insincerity or treachery, arose his negligence in observing his promises; and he was too easily induced, for the sake of present convenience, to sacrifice the lasting advantages arising from the trust and confidence of his people. Hence too were derived his profusion to favourites, his attachment to strangers, the variableness of his conduct, his hasty resentments, and his sudden forgiveness and return of affection. Instead of reducing the dangerous power of his nobles, by obliging them to observe the laws towards their inferiors, and setting them the salutary example in his own government; he was seduced to imitate their conduct, and to make his arbitrary will, or rather that of his ministers, the rule of his actions. Instead of accommodating himself, by a strict frugality, to the embarrassed situation in which his revenue had been left, by the military expeditions of his uncle, the dissipations of his father, and the usurpations of the barons; he was tempted to levy money by irregular exactions, which, without enriching himself, impoverished, at least disgusted, his people. Of all men nature seemed least to have fitted him for being a tyrant; yet are there instances of oppression in his reign which, though derived from the precedents left him by his predecessors, had been carefully guarded against by the Great Charter, and are inconsistent with all rules of good government. And on the whole we may say, that greater abilities with his good dispositions, would have prevented him from falling into his faults; or, with worse dispositions, would have enabled him to maintain and defend them.

This prince was noted for his piety and devotion, and his regular attendance on public worship; and a saying of his on that head is much celebrated by ancient writers. He was engaged in a dispute with Louis IX. of France, concerning the preference between sermons and masses: he maintained the superiority of the latter, and affirmed that he would rather have one hour's conversation with a friend, than hear twenty of the most elaborate discourses pronounced in his praise.

As to his violations of the most sacred oaths and promises, at the same time that we bestow on them that just condemnation which every deviation from veracity, even the most trivial, should incur, we cannot but recollect that he was absolved from the observance of those engagements by a power which the superstitious maxims of the age taught him, in spiritual concerns, to regard as supreme.

Though his reign was almost one continued scene of turbulence and confusion, Henry found leisure and opportunity to afford great encouragement to the arts; and, notwithstanding the numerous drawbacks on his revenues, expended considerable sums in accelerating their progress. His generosity as a friend, his fidelity as a husband, and his affection as a parent, likewise entitled him to a great share of commendation.

In short, from an attentive review of the life and conduct of this monarch, we are induced to believe that his vices were chiefly owing to his situation; and that he was endued with such qualities as, in a private sphere of life, might have ensured him respect and esteem.

Henry left two sons, Edward his successor, and Edmund earl of Lancaster; and two daughters, Margaret queen of Scotland, and Beatrix duchess of Bretagne. He had five other children, who died in their infancy.

The following are the most remarkable laws enacted during this reign. There had been great disputes between the civil and ecclesiastical courts concerning bastardy, but this controversy was finally settled by one of the Statutes of Merton, passed in the year 1236. The common law had deemed all those to be bastards who were born before wedlock: by the canon law they were legitimate: and when any dispute of inheritance arose, it had formerly been usual for the civil courts to issue writs to the spiritual, directing them to inquire into the legitimacy of the person. The bishop always returned an answer agreeable to the canon law, though contrary to the municiple law of the kingdom. For this reason the civil courts had changed the terms of their writ; and instead of requiring the spiritual courts to make inquisition concerning the legitimacy of the person, they only proposed the simple question of fact, whether he were born before or after wedlock? The prelates complained of this practice to the parliament assembled at Merton, and desired that the municiple law might be rendered conformable to the canon law: but received from all the nobility the memorable reply, "*Nolumus leges Anglæ mutare*," that is, "We will not change the laws of England."

In the thirty-fifth year of Henry the Third's reign an assize was fixed of bread, the price of which was settled, according to the different prices of corn, from one shilling a quarter to seven shillings and six-pence, money of that age; yet did the prices often rise much higher than any taken notice of by the statute. The Chronicle of Dunstable tells us, that in this reign (anno 1258) wheat was sold for a mark, nay, for a pound a quarter; that is, three pounds of our present money. The same law affords us a proof of the little communication between the parts of the kingdom, from the very different prices which the same commodity bore at the same time. A brewer, says the statute, may sell two gallons of ale for a penny in cities, and three or four gallons for the same price in the country. The Chronicle above-mentioned observes, that wheat one year was sold in many places for eight shillings a quarter, but never rose in Dunstable above a crown.

Though commerce was still very low, it seems rather to have increased since the reign of William the First; at least if we may judge of the increase of money by the price of corn. The medium between the highest and lowest prices of wheat assigned by the statute is four shillings and three-pence a quarter, that is, says Hume, twelve shillings and nine-pence of our present money. Yet the middling price of cattle, so late as the reign of king Richard, we find to be above eight, near ten times lower than the present. It is to be remarked, that Henry's assize of corn was copied from a preceding assize established by king John: consequently the prizes which we have here compared of corn and cattle may be looked on as contemporary; and they were drawn, not from one particular year, but from an estimation of the middling prices for a series of years.

Interest had in that age amounted to an enormous height. Instances occur of fifty per cent. paid for money. There is an edict of Philip Augustus near this period, limiting the Jews in France to forty-eight per cent. Such profits tempted the Jews to remain in the kingdom, notwithstanding the grievous oppressions to which, from the prevalent bigotry and rapine of the times, they were continually exposed. It is easy to imagine how precarious their state must have been under an indignant prince, somewhat restrained in his tyranny over his native subjects, but who possessed an unlimited authority over the Jews, the sole proprietors of money in the kingdom, and hated, on account of their riches, their religion, and their usury: yet will our ideas scarcely come up to the extortions which, in fact, we find to have been practised upon them. In the year 1241, twenty thousand marks were exacted from them: two years after money was again extorted; and one Jew alone, Aaron of York, was obliged to pay above four thousand marks: in 1250, Henry renewed his oppressions; and the same Aaron was condemned to pay him thirty thousand marks upon an accusation of forgery: the high penalty imposed upon him, and which, it seems, he was thought able to pay, is rather a presumption of his innocence than of his guilt. In 1255, the king demanded eight thousand marks from the Jews, and threatened to hang them if they refused compliance. They now lost all patience, and desired leave to retire with their effects out of the kingdom. But the king replied: "How can I remedy the oppressions you complain of? I am myself a beggar. I am despoiled, I am stripped of all my revenues: I owe above twenty thousand marks; nay, if I had said thirty thousand, I should not exceed the truth: I am obliged to pay my son prince Edward fifteeen thousand marks a year; I have not a farthing; and I must have money, from any hand, from any quarter, or by any means." He then delivered over the Jews to the earl of Cornwall, that, as Matthew Paris shrewdly observes, "those whom the one brother had flayed, the other might embowel." King John, his father, once demanded ten thousand marks from a Jew of Bristol; and on his refusal, ordered one of his teeth to be drawn every day till he should comply. The Jew lost seven teeth, and

then


EDWARD I
RICHARD II

then paid the sum required of him. One talliage laid upon the Jews in 1243 amounted to sixty thousand marks; a sum equal to the whole yearly revenue of the crown.

To give a better pretence for extortions, the Jews were accused with having crucified a child in derision of the sufferings of Christ. Eighteen of them were hanged at once for this crime; though it was no wise credible, that even the antipathy borne them by the Christians, and the oppressions under which they laboured, would ever have pushed them to be guilty of that dangerous enormity. But it is natural to imagine, that a race, exposed to such insults and indignities, both from king and people, and who had so uncertain an enjoyment of their riches, would carry usury to the utmost extremity, and by their great profits make themselves some compensation for their continual perils. Though these acts of violence against the Jews proceeded much from bigotry, they were still more derived from avidity and rapine. So far from desiring in that age to convert them, it was enacted by law in France, that, if any Jew embraced Christianity, he forfeited all his goods, without exception, to the king or his superior lord. These plunderers were careful, lest the profits accruing from their dominion over that unhappy race should be diminished by their conversion.

Commerce must indeed be in a wretched condition, where interest was so high, and where the sole proprietors of money employed it in usury only, and were exposed to such extortion and injustice. But the bad police of the country was another obstacle to improvement; and rendered all communication dangerous, and all property precarious. The Chronicle of Dunstable says, that men were never secure in their houses, and that whole villages were often plundered by bands of robbers, though no civil wars at that time prevailed in the kingdom. In 1249, some years before the insurrection of the barons, two merchants of Brabant came to the king at Winchester, and told him, that they had been spoiled of all their goods by certain robbers, whom they knew, because they saw their faces every day in his court; that like practices prevailed all over England, and travellers were continually exposed to the danger of being robbed, maimed, and murdered; that these crimes escaped with impunity, because the ministers of justice themselves were in a confederacy with the robbers; and that they, for their part, instead of bringing matters to a fruitless trial by law, were willing, though merchants, to decide their cause with the robbers by arms and a duel. The king, provoked by these abuses, ordered a jury to be inclosed, and to try the robbers: the jury, though consisting of twelve men of property in Hampshire, were found to be also in a confederacy with the felons, and acquitted them. Henry, in a rage, committed the jury to prison, threatened them with severe punishment, and ordered a new jury to be inclosed, who, dreading the fate of their fellows, at last found a verdict against the criminals. Many of the king's own household were discovered to have participated in the guilt; and they said, for their excuse, that they received no wages from him, and were obliged to rob for a subsistence. "Knights and esquires," says the Dictum of Kenelworth, "who were robbers, if they have no land, shall pay the half of their goods, and find sufficient security to keep in future the peace of the kingdom." Such were the manners of the times!

The trial by ordeal was abolished in this reign by order of council: a faint mark of improvement in the age.

Henry granted a charter to the town of Newcastle, in which he gave a licence to the inhabitants to dig coal. This is the first mention of coal in England.

We learn from Madox, that this king gave at one time one hundred shillings to master Henry, his poet: also the same year he ordered this poet ten pounds.

It appears from Selden, that in the forty-seventh of this reign, a hundred and fifty temporal, and fifty spiritual barons were summoned to perform the service due by their tenures. In the thirty-fifth of the subsequent reign, eighty-six temporal barons, twenty bishops, and forty-eight abbots, were summoned to a parliament convened at Carlisle.

CHAP. V.

EDWARD I.

THE death of almost every king of England since the Conquest had been attended with commotions, and the council, reflecting on the recent civil wars, and the animosities which naturally remain after these great convulsions, apprehended dangerous consequences from the absence of prince Edward, successor of Henry. They therefore hastened to proclaim him, to swear allegiance to him, and to summon the states of the kingdom, in order to provide for the public peace in this important conjuncture. Walter Giffard, archbishop of York, the earl of Cornwall, son of Richard king of the Romans, and the earl of Gloucester, were appointed guardians of the realm. At a subsequent meeting of the parliament in January, 1273, this choice was confirmed; and those nobles proceeded peaceably to the exercise of their authority, without either meeting with opposition from any of the people, or being disturbed with emulation and faction among themselves. The high character acquired by Edward during the commotions of his father's reign, his military genius, his success in subduing the rebels, his moderation in settling the kingdom, had procured him great esteem, mixed with affection, among all orders of men; and no one could reasonably entertain hopes of making any advantage of his absence, or of raising disturbance in the nation. The earl of Gloucester himself, whose great power and turbulent spirit had excited most jealousy, was forward to give proofs of his allegiance: and the other malcontents, being destitute of a leader, were obliged, however reluctant, to remain quiet and submissive.

Prince Edward, after having signalized himself in the Holy Land, and concluded a truce with the sultan of Babylon for ten years, ten weeks, and ten days, sailed for England. He had reached Sicily when he received intelligence of his father's death: and discovered a deep concern on the occasion. At the same time he learned the death of an infant son, John, whom his princess, Eleanor of Castile, had borne him at Acre in Palestine; and as he appeared much less affected with that misfortune, the king of Sicily expressed a surprize at this difference of sentiment; but was told by Edward, that the death of a son was a loss which he might hope to repair; the death of a father was a loss irreparable.

As soon as he was acquainted with the quiet settlement of the kingdom, Edward was in no hurry to take possession of the throne. On the frontiers of Savoy he was met by several English nobles and prelates; and his queen, having left him at Lyons, repaired to Gascony, where she was soon delivered of a son, who was named Alphonso. He spent near a year in France, before he made his appearance in England. In his passage by Chalons in Burgundy, he was challenged by the prince of the country to a tournament which he was preparing; and as Edward excelled in those martial and dangerous exercises, the true image of war, he declined not the opportunity of acquiring honour in that great assembly of the neighbouring nobles. The English monarch and his knights obtained the honour of the day, and the image of war was here unfortunately turned into the thing itself. The French knights, provoked at the superiority of the English made a serious attack upon them, which was repulsed, and much blood was idly shed in the quarrel. This rencontre received the name of The petty Battle of Chalons.

From Chalons Edward went to Paris, and did homage to Philip for the dominions which he held in France. He thence returned to Guienne, in 1274, and settled that province, which was in some confusion. He made his journey to London through France, landing at Dover on the 2nd of August; in his passage he accommodated at Montreuil a difference with Margaret countess of Flanders, heiress of that territory; he was received with joyful acclamations by his people, and was solemnly crowned at Westminster, by Robert archbishop of Canterbury, on the 19th of August.

The king immediately applied himself to the re-establishment of his kingdom, and to the correcting of those disorders which the civil commotions and the loose administration of his father had introduced into every part of government. The plan of his policy was equally generous and prudent. He considered the great barons both as the immediate rivals of the crown, and oppressors of the people; and he purposed by an exact distribution of justice, and a rigid execution of the laws, to give at once protection to the inferior orders of the state, and to diminish the arbitrary power of the great, on which their dangerous authority was chiefly founded. Making it a rule in his own conduct to observe, except on extraordinary occasions, the privileges secured to them by the Great Charter, he acquired a right to insist upon their observance of the same charter towards their vassals and inferiors; and he made

the crown be regarded by all the gentry and commonalty of the kingdom, as the fountain of justice, and the general asylum against oppression. Besides enacting several useful statutes, in a parliament which he summoned at Westminster, on the 16th of February, 1275, he inspected the conduct of all his magistrates and judges, and displaced such as were either negligent or corrupt: he provided them with sufficient force for the execution of justice; he extirpated all bands and confederacies of robbers, and he repressed those more silent robberies which were committed either by the power of the nobles, or under the countenance of public authority. By this rigid administration, the face of affairs was soon changed; and order and justice took place of violence and oppression: but amidst the excellent institutions and public-spirited plans of Edward, there still appears somewhat both of the severity of his personal character, and of the prejudices of the age.

As the various kinds of malefactors, the murderers, robbers, incendiaries, ravishers, and plunderers, had become so numerous and powerful, that the ordinary ministers of justice, especially in the western counties, were afraid to execute the laws against them, the king provided an extraordinary remedy for the evil; and he erected a new tribunal which would have been deemed, in times of more regular liberty, a great stretch of arbitrary power. It consisted of commissioners, who were empowered to inquire into disorders and crimes of all kinds, and to inflict the proper punishments upon the delinquents. The officers, charged with this unusual commission, made their circuits through the counties of England most infested with this evil, and carried terror into all those parts of the kingdom. In their zeal to punish crimes, they did not sufficiently distinguish between the innocent and guilty; the smallest suspicion became a ground of accusation and trial; the slightest evidence was received against criminals; prisons were crowded with malefactors, real or pretended; severe fines were levied for small offences; and the king, though his exhausted exchequer was supplied by this expedient, found it necessary to stop this course of rigour, and after terrifying and dissipating, by this tribunal, the gangs of disorderly people in England, he prudently annulled the commission.

The adulteration of the coin was loudly complained of, and as this crime required more art than the English of that age, who chiefly employed force and violence in their iniquities, were possessed of, the imputation fell upon the Jews. Edward also seems to have indulged a strong prepossession against that people; and this ill-judged zeal for Christianity being naturally augmented by an expedition to the Holy Land, he let loose the whole rigour of his justice against that unhappy race. Two hundred and eighty of them were hanged at once for this crime in London alone, besides those who suffered in other parts of the nation. The houses and lands, (for the Jews had of late ventured to make purchases of that kind,) as well as the goods of great multitudes, were sold and confiscated to the use of the king, who, lest it should be suspected that the riches of the sufferers were the chief part of their guilt, ordered a moiety of the money raised by these confiscations to be set apart and bestowed upon such as were willing to be converted to Christianity. But resentment was more prevalent with them than any temptation from their poverty; and very few of them could be induced by interest to embrace the religion of their persecutors. The miseries of this people did not here terminate. Though the arbitrary talliages and executions levied upon them had yielded a constant and considerable revenue to the crown; Edward resolved some time after, about 1290, to purge the kingdom of that hated race, and to seize to himself their whole property as the reward of his labour. He left them only money sufficient to bear their charges into foreign countries, where new persecutions and extortions awaited them: but the inhabitants of the Cinque Ports, imitating the avidity of their sovereign, despoiled most of them of this small pittance and even threw many of them into the sea: a crime for which the king, who was determined to be sole plunderer in his dominions, inflicted a capital punishment upon them. No less than fifteen thousand Jews were at this time robbed of their effects, and banished the kingdom. As it is impossible for a nation to subsist without lenders of money, the practice of usury was thenceforth exercised by the English themselves upon their fellow-citizens, or by Lombards and other foreigners.

The great poverty of the crown, was probably the cause of this egregious tyranny exercised against the Jews; but Edward also practised other more honourable means of replenishing his exhausted treasury. He employed a strict frugality in the management and distribution of his revenue: he engaged the parliament to vote him a fifteenth of all moveables; the pope to grant him the tenth of all ecclesiastical revenues for three years; and the merchants to consent to a perpetual imposition of half a mark on every sack of wool exported, and a mark on every three hundred skins. He also issued commissions to inquire into all encroachments on the royal demesnes; into the value of escheats, forfeitures, and wardships; and into the means of repairing or improving every branch of the revenue. The commissioners, in the execution of their office, began to carry matters too far against the nobility, and to question titles to estates which had been transmitted from father to son for several generations. Earl Warrenne, who had done such eminent service in the late reign, being required to show his titles, drew an old rusty sword from its scabbard; and subjoined that William the Bastard had not conquered the kingdom for himself alone: "This," said he, "is the instrument by which my ancestors gained their estates, and by which I am resolved to preserve them while I have life." This bold declaration being reported to Edward, he became sensible of the danger of proceeding in the investigation, and prudently annulled the commission.

Edward's active spirit could not long remain without employment. He soon after, in the year 1276, undertook an enterprize more prudent for himself, and more advantageous to his people. Llewellyn, prince of Wales, had been deeply engaged with the Montfort faction; had entered into their conspiracies against the crown; had frequently fought on their side; and till the battle of Evesham, so fatal to that party, had employed every expedient to depress the royal cause, and promote the success of the barons. In the general accommodation made with the vanquished, Llewellyn had also obtained his pardon; but as he was the most powerful, and therefore the most hateful vassal of the crown, he became anxious about his situation, and dreaded the future effects of the resentment and jealousy of Edward. For this reason, he determined to provide for his security by maintaining a secret correspondence with his former associates; and made his addresses to a daughter of the earl of Leicester, who was sent to him from beyond sea, but, being intercepted in her passage near the isles of Sicily, was detained in the court of England. This incident increasing the jealousy between Edward, and Llewellyn, the latter, when required to come to England, and do homage to the new king, scrupled to put himself in the hands of an enemy, desired a safe conduct from Edward, insisted upon having the king's son and other noblemen delivered to him as hostages, and demanded that his consort should previously be set at liberty. The king, having now brought the state to a full settlement, was not displeased with this occasion of exercising his authority, and subduing entirely the principality of Wales. He refused all Llewellyn's demands, except that of a safe-conduct; sent him repeated summons to perform the duty of a vassal; levied an army to reduce him to obedience; obtained a new aid of a fifteenth from parliament; and marched out with certain assurance of success against the enemy, in 1277. Besides the great disproportion of force between the kingdom and the principality, the circumstances of the two states were entirely reversed; and the same intestine dissensions which had formerly weakened England, now prevailed in Wales, and had even taken place in the reigning family. David and Roderic, brothers to Llewellyn, dispossessed of their inheritance by that prince, had been obliged to have recourse to the protection of Edward, and they seconded with all their interest, which was extensive, his attempts to enslave their native country. The Welch prince had no resource but in the inaccessible situation of his mountains, which had hitherto through many ages defended his forefathers against all attempts of the Saxon and Norman conquerors; and retiring among the hills of Snowden, resolved to defend himself to the last extremity. But Edward, equally vigorous and cautious, entering by the north with a formidable army, pierced into the heart of the country; and having carefully explored every road before him, and secured every pass behind him, approached the Welsh army in its last retreat. He here avoided the putting to trial the valour of a nation proud of its ancient independence, and, inflamed with animosity against its hereditary enemies, he trusted to the slow but sure effects of famine for reducing that people to subjection. The rude and simple manners of the natives, as well as the mountainous situation

situation of their country, had made them entirely neglect tillage, and trust to pasturage for their subsistence. Destitute of magazines, cooped up in a narrow corner, they, as well as their cattle, suffered all the rigours of famine; and Llewellyn, without being able to strike a blow for his independence, was at last obliged to submit at discretion, and receive the terms imposed upon him by the victor. He bound himself, on the 19th of November, to pay to Edward fifty thousand pounds, as a reparation of damages; to do homage to the crown of England; to permit all the other barons of Wales, except four near Snowden, to swear fealty to the same crown; to relinquish the country between Cheshire and the river Conway; to settle on his brother Roderic a thousand marks a year, and on David five hundred; and to deliver ten hostages as a security for his future submission.

Edward, on the performance of the other articles, remitted to the prince of Wales the payment of the fifty thousand pounds, which were stipulated by treaty, and which it is probable the poverty of the country made it absolutely impossible for him to levy. But notwithstanding this indulgence, complaints of iniquities soon arose on the side of the vanquished: the English, insolent on their easy and bloodless victory, oppressed the inhabitants of the districts which were yielded to them: the lords marchers committed all kinds of violence on their Welsh neighbours: new and more severe terms were imposed on Llewellyn himself; and Edward, when the prince attended him at Worcester, exacted a promise that he would retain no person in his principality who should be hateful to the English monarchy. There were other personal insults which raised the indignation of the Welsh, and made them determine rather to encounter a force which they had already experienced to be so much superior, than to bear oppression from the haughty victors. Prince David, seized with the national spirit, made peace with his brother, and promised to concur in the defence of public liberty. The Welsh flew to arms; and Edward, not displeased with the occasion of making his conquest final and absolute, assembled his military tenants, and advanced into Wales with an army which the inhabitants could not reasonably hope to resist. The situation of the country gave the Welsh at first some advantage over Luke de Tany, one of Edward's captains, who had passed the Menau with a detachment: but Llewellyn being surprized by Mortimer, was defeated and slain in an action, on the 11th of December, 1282, and two thousand of his followers were put to the sword. This memorable action was fought at Llanfair in Buelt. David, who succeeded him in the principality, could never collect an army sufficient to face the English; and being chased from hill to hill, and hunted from one retreat to another, was obliged to conceal himself under various disguises, and was at length betrayed to Edward, who sent him in chains to Shrewsbury; and bringing him to a formal trial before the peers of England, ordered this sovereign prince to be hanged, drawn, and quartered, as a traitor, for defending by arms the liberties of his native country, together with his own hereditary authority (*m*). All the Welsh nobility submitted to the conqueror; the laws of England, with the sheriffs and other ministers of justice, were established in that principality; and though it was long before national antipathies were extinguished, and a thorough union attained between the people; yet this important conquest, which it had required eight hundred years fully to effect, was at last, through the abilities of Edward, completed by the English.

A parliament was held at Acton Burnel in Shropshire, in October, 1283, wherein the laity granted a thirteenth, and the clergy a twentieth, part of their goods, to defray the expences of the war with Wales: and here also was enacted the law known by the name of the Statute of Acton Burnel, which enabled merchants to recover their debts, by recognizances, in the three great cities of London, York, and Bristol; but the ordinances for the incorporation of Wales with England were made at Ruddlan, where Edward had resided during the whole time of his expedition. He divided North Wales into counties; and appointed sheriffs and other officers for the due administration of justice, in the same manner as in England: but it was decreed that the Welsh should not be sued for debts and trespasses, except in their own country. He erected Ruddlan, Caernarvon, Aberystwith, and other towns, into corporations, and endowed them with particular privileges for the encouragement of trade, and for the purpose of alluring the natives from their mountains into a more sociable way of life, that, by tasting the sweets of industry, their attention might be diverted from the more dangerous objects of war and rebellion. He published a proclamation, offering peace and security to all such as would place themselves under his protection, and he left them in possession of the same lands and liberties which they had enjoyed under the government of their own princes: but he deviated from these principles of justice in his conduct to the British Bards, whom he treated with unexampled cruelty. From an idea that their traditional poetry, reciting the glorious deeds of their ancestors, animated by the music of their harps, tended to preserve the spirit of their countrymen, and to make a strong impression on the minds of their youth, he collected them together; and, from a policy which reflects disgrace on his memory, commanded them all to be put to death.

Notwithstanding this variety of precautions, he could not properly reconcile the Welsh to his government. The idea of paying obedience to a foreigner, and witnessing the abolition of their ancient laws and customs in favour of new regulations which they could not understand, and which were imposed on them by a people who were the objects of their detestation, inspired their minds with a disgust that could not easily be removed. In order, however, to conciliate their affections, we are told, that Edward promised to give them a prince of unexceptionable manners, a Welshman by birth, and one who could speak no other language. On their acclamations of joy, and promise of obedience, he invested in the principality his second son Edward, then an infant, who had been born at Caernarvon. The death of his eldest son Alphonso soon after made young Edward heir of the monarchy: the principality of Wales was fully annexed to the crown; and henceforth gives a title to the eldest son of the kings of England.

The settlement of Wales appeared so complete to Edward, that in less than two years after he set sail for France on the 24th of June, 1286, in order to make peace between Alphonso king of Arragon, and Philip the Fair, who had lately succeeded his father Philip III. on the throne of France. The difference between these two princes had arisen about the kingdom of Sicily, which the pope, after his hopes from England failed of success, had bestowed on Charles, brother to St. Louis, and which was claimed upon other titles by Peter king of Arragon, father to Alphonso. Edward had powers from both princes to settle the terms of peace, and he succeeded in his endeavours; but as the controversy nowise regards England, we shall not enter into a detail of it. He stayed abroad above three years; and on his return, August 12, 1289, found many disorders to have prevailed, both from open violence, and from the corruption of justice.

Thomas Chamberlain, a gentleman of good family, but of desperate fortune, had assembled several of his profligate associates at Boston in Lincolnshire, under pretence of holding a tournament, an exercise practised by the gentry only; but in reality with a view of plundering the rich fair that was held at that town, and robbing the merchants. To facilitate his purpose, he privately set fire to the town; and while the inhabitants were employed in quenching the flames, the conspirators broke into the booths, and carried off the goods. Chamberlain himself was detected and hanged; but maintained so steadily the point of honour to his accomplices, that he could not be prevailed on, by offers or promises, to discover any of them. Many other instances of robbery and violence broke out in all parts of England: though the singular circumstances attending this conspiracy have made it alone be particularly recorded by historians.

During Edward's residence in France, he was informed, that the Statute of Winchester, which had been enacted in 1285, for the more effectual suppression of robbers, and the prevention of public outrages, was wholly disregarded; that the numbers of thieves had greatly increased, and that they exercised their depredations with impunity; that the want of civil policy was owing to the privileges of the barons, who interrupted the course of justice by affording protection to criminals on their own estates. Finding that these abuses actually prevailed, he abolished the of-

(*m*) The cruel sentence was executed with rigour: the head of David, together with that of Llewellyn, was exposed to public view on the walls of the Tower; and his quarters were sent to York, Bristol, Northampton, and Winchester. Thus miserably perished the last of the ancient sovereigns of Wales!

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fice of chief justiciary, and appointed a new species of magistrates, immediately dependent on the crown, and empowered to administer justice in all parts of the kingdom to which their commissions extended. These offices were granted to certain knights in every county of England, in order to maintain the peace, and to enforce a due observance of the Statute of Winchester; and the sheriffs were directed to assist them, in case of necessity, with the *posse comitatus*, for the execution of their orders and warrants. Such was the origin of Justices of the Peace, so denominated from the object of their institution.

But the corruption of the judges, by which the fountains of justice were poisoned, seemed of still more dangerous consequence. In order to remedy this prevailing abuse, Edward summoned a parliament, and brought the judges to a trial; where all of them, except two who were clergymen, were convicted of this flagrant iniquity, were fined and deposed. The amount of the fines levied upon them is alone a sufficient proof of their guilt; being above one hundred thousand marks, an immense sum in those days, and sufficient to defray the charges of an expensive war between two great kingdoms. The king afterwards made all the new judges make oath that they would not take bribes; but his expedient, of deposing and fining the old ones, was the more effectual remedy.

It is now proper to give an account of the state of affairs in Scotland, which gave rise to the most interesting transactions of this reign, and some of the subsequent; though the intercourse of that kingdom with England, either in peace or war, had hitherto produced so few events of moment, that, to avoid tediousness, we have omitted many of them, and have been very concise in relating the rest.

Though the government of Scotland had been continually exposed to factions and convulsions incident to all barbarous, and to many civilized nations; and though the successions of their kings had often been disordered by irregularities and usurpations, the true heir of the royal family had still in the end prevailed, and Alexander III. who had espoused Margaret the sister of Edward, probably inherited, after a period of about eight hundred years, and through a succession of males, the sceptre of all the Scottish princes who had governed the nation since its first establishment in the island. This prince died on the 19th of March, 1286, by a fall from his horse at Kinghorn, without leaving any male issue, and without any descendant, except Margaret, born of Eric, king of Norway, and of Margaret, daughter of the Scottish monarch. This princess, commonly called the maid of Norway, though a female, and an infant, and a foreigner, yet being a lawful heir of the kingdom, had, through her grandfather's care, been recognized successor by the states of Scotland; and on Alexander's death, the dispositions which had been previously made against that event, appeared so just and prudent, that no disorders ensued in the kingdom. Margaret was acknowledged queen of Scotland; five guardians, the bishops of St. Andrews and Glasgow, the earls of Fife and Buchan, and James, steward of Scotland, entered peaceably upon the administration; and the infant princess, under the protection of Edward her great uncle, and Eric her father, who exerted themselves on this occasion, seemed firmly seated on the throne of Scotland. The English monarch was naturally led to build mighty projects on this incident; and having lately by force of arms brought Wales under subjection, he attempted, by the marriage of Margaret with his eldest son Edward, to unite the whole island into one monarchy, and thereby to give it security both against domestic convulsions and foreign invasions. The amity which had of late prevailed between the two nations, and which, even in former times, had never been interrupted by any violent wars or injuries, facilitated the execution of this project; and the states of Scotland, which assembled at Brighton, near Kelso, on the 18th of July, 1290, gave their assent to the English proposals, and agreed that their young sovereign should be educated in the court of Edward. Anxious, however, for the liberty and independency of their country, they stipulated very equitable conditions, ere they trusted themselves into the hands of so great and so ambitious a monarch. It was agreed that they should enjoy all their ancient laws, liberties, and customs; that in case young Edward and Margaret should die without issue, the crown of Scotland should revert to the next heir, and should be inherited by him free and independent; that the military tenants of the crown should never be obliged to go out of Scotland, in order to do homage to the sovereign of the united kingdoms, nor the chapters of cathedral, collegiate, or conventual churches, in order to make elections; that the parliaments summoned for Scottish affairs should always be held within the bounds of that kingdom; and that Edward should bind himself under the penalty of one hundred thousand marks, payable to the pope for the use of the holy wars, to observe all these articles. Although Edward gave his assent to the article concerning the future independency of the Scottish crown, with a saving of his former rights; this reserve gave no alarm to the nobility of Scotland, both because these rights, having hitherto been little heard of, had occasioned no disturbance, and because the Scots had so near a prospect of seeing them entirely absorbed in the rights of their sovereignty.

But this project, so happily formed and so amicably conducted, failed of success, by the sudden death of the Norwegian princess, who expired on her passage to Scotland, and left a dismal prospect to the kingdom. Though disorders were for the present obviated by the authority of the regency formerly established, the succession itself of the crown was now become an object of dispute; and the regents could not expect that a controversy, which is not usually decided by reason and argument alone, would be peaceably settled by them, or even by the states of the kingdom, amidst so many powerful pretenders. The posterity of William king of Scotland, the prince taken prisoner by Henry II. being all extinct by the death of Margaret of Norway; the right of the crown devolved on the issue of David earl of Huntingdon, brother to William, whose male line being also extinct, left the succession open to the posterity of his daughters. The earl of Huntingdon had three daughters; Margaret, married to Alan lord of Galloway, Isabella, wife of Robert Brus or Bruce, lord of Annandale, and Adama, who espoused Henry lord Hastings. Margaret, the eldest of the sisters, left one daughter, Devergilda, married to John Baliol, by whom she had a son of the same name, one of the present competitors for the crown: Isabella, the second, bore a son, Robert Bruce, who was now alive, and who also insisted on his claim: Adama, the third, left a son, John Hastings, who pretended that the kingdom of Scotland, like many other inheritances, was devisable among the three daughters of the earl of Huntingdon, and that he, in right of his mother, had a title to a third of it. Baliol and Bruce united against Hastings, in maintaining that the kingdom was indivisible; but each of them asserted the preference of his own title. Baliol was sprung from the elder branch: Bruce was one degree nearer the common stock: if the principle of representation was regarded, the former had the better claim: if propinquity was considered, the latter was entitled to the preference: the sentiments of men were divided: all the nobility had taken part on one side or the other: the people followed implicitly their leaders: the two claimants themselves had great power and numerous retainers in Scotland: and it is no wonder that, among the rude people, more accustomed to arms than enured to laws, a controversy of this nature should threaten the state with the most fatal convulsions.

Each century had its peculiar mode in conducting business; and men, guided more by custom than by reason, follow, without enquiry, the manners which are prevalent in their own time. The practice of that age, in controversies between states and princes, seems to have been to chuse a foreign prince, as an equal arbiter, by whom the question was decided, and whose sentence prevented those dismal confusions and disorders, inseparable at all times from war, and which were multiplied a hundred fold, and dispersed into every corner, by the nature of the feudal governments. The parliament of Scotland, therefore, threatened with a furious civil war, and allured by the great reputation of the English monarch, as well as by the present amicable correspondence between the two kingdoms, agreed in making a reference to Edward; and Fraser, bishop of St. Andrews, with their deputies, was sent to notify to him their resolution, and to claim his good offices in the present dangers to which they were exposed. His inclination, they flattered themselves, led him to prevent their dissensions, and to interpose with a power which none of the competitors would dare to withstand. When this expedient was proposed by one party, the other deemed it dangerous to object to it: indifferent persons thought that the perils of a civil war would thereby be prevented; and no one reflected on the ambitious character of Edward, and the almost certain ruin which must

must attend a small state, divided by faction, when it thus implicitly submits itself to the will of so powerful and encroaching a neighbour.

The temptation was too strong for the virtue of the English monarch to resist. He purposed to lay hold of the present favourable opportunity, and if not to create, at least to revive, his claim of a feudal superiority over Scotland; a claim which had hitherto lain in the deepest obscurity, and would have effectually prevented the Scottish barons from chusing him for an umpire. He well knew, that, if this pretension was once submitted to, the absolute sovereignty of that kingdom would soon follow; and that one great vassal, cooped up in an island with his liege lord, without resource from foreign powers, without aid from any fellow vassals, could not long maintain his dominions against the efforts of a mighty kingdom, assisted by all the cavils which the feudal law afforded his superior against him. In pursuit of this great object, very advantageous to England, perhaps in the end no less beneficial to Scotland, but extremely unjust and iniquitous in itself, Edward busied himself in searching for proofs of his pretended superiority; and instead of looking into his own archives, which, if his claim had been real, must have afforded him numerous records of the homages done by the Scottish princes, and could alone yield him any authent testimony, he made all the monasteries be ransacked for old chronicles and histories written by Englishmen, and he collected all the passages which seemed anywise to favour his pretensions. Yet even in this method of proceeding, which pointed out the injustice of his claim, he was far from being fortunate. He began his proofs from the time of Edward the Elder, and continued them through all the subsequent Saxon and Norman times; but produced nothing to his purpose. The whole amount of his authorities during the Saxon period is, that the Scots had sometimes been defeated by the English, had received peace on disadvantageous terms, had made submissions to the English monarch, and had even perhaps fallen into some dependence on a power which was so much superior, and which they had not at that time sufficient force to resist. His authorities from the Norman period were, if possible still less conclusive. The historians indeed make frequent mention of homage done by the northern potentate; but none of them says that it was done for his kingdom; and several of them declare, that it was relative only to the fiefs which he enjoyed south of the Tweed; in the same manner, as the king of England himself swore fealty to the French monarch, for the fiefs which he inherited in France. And to such scandalous shifts was Edward reduced, that he quotes a passage from Hoveden, where it is asserted, that a Scottish king had done homage to England; but he purposely omits the latter part of the sentence, which expresses that this prince did homage for the lands which he held in England.

When William, king of Scotland, was taken prisoner in the battle of Alnwic, he was obliged, for the recovery of his liberty, to swear fealty to the victor for his crown itself. The deed was performed according to all the rites of the feudal law; the record was preserved in the English archives, and is mentioned by all the historians; but as it is the only one of the kind, and as historians speak of this superiority as a great acquisition gained by the fortunate arms of Henry II., there can remain no doubt, that the kingdom of Scotland was, in all former periods, entirely free and independent. Its subjection continued a very few years: king Richard desirous, before his departure for the Holy Land, to conciliate the friendship of William, renounced that homage which had been done by the Scottish princes for the lands which they held in England. But though this transaction rendered the independence of Scotland still more unquestionable, than if no fealty had ever been sworn to the English crown; the Scottish kings, apprized of the point aimed at by their powerful neighbour, seem for a long time to have retained some jealousy on that head, and, in doing homage, to have anxiously obviated all such pretensions. When William in 1200 did homage to John at Lincoln, he was careful to insert a salvo for his royal dignity: when Alexander III. sent assistance to his father-in-law Henry III. during the wars of the barons, he previously procured an acknowledgement, that this aid was granted only from friendship, not from any right claimed by the English monarch; and when the same prince was invited to assist at the coronation of this very Edward, he declined attendance, till he received a like acknowledgement.

But all these reasons were but a feeble rampart against the power of the sword, Edward, carrying with him a great army, to enforce his proofs, advanced to the frontiers, and invited the Scottish parliament, and all the competitors, to attend him in the castle of Norham, a place situated on the southern banks of the Tweed, a few miles distant from Berwick, in order to determine that cause which had been referred to his arbitration. But though this deference seemed due to so great a monarch, and was no more than what his father and the English barons had, in similar circumstances, paid to Louis IX., the king sent the Scottish barons an acknowledgement, that, though at that time they passed the frontiers, this step should never be drawn into precedent, or afford the English kings a pretence for exacting a like submission in any future transaction. When the whole Scottish nation had thus unwarily put themselves in his power, Edward opened the conference at Norham, on the 10th of May, 1291. He informed the parliament, by the mouth of Roger le Brabançon, his chief justiciary, that he was come thither to determine the right among the competitors to their crown; that he was determined to do strict justice to all parties; and that he was entitled to this authority, not in virtue of the reference made to him, but in quality of superior and liege lord of the kingdom. He then produced his proofs of this superiority, which he pretended to be unquestionable, and required of them to acknowledge it; a demand which betrayed Edward's consciousness of his defective title. The Scottish parliament was astonished at so new a pretension, and answered only by their silence; but the king, in order to maintain the appearance of free and regular proceedings, desired them to remove into their own country, to deliberate upon his claim, to examine his proofs, to propose their objections, and to inform him of their resolutions; and he appointed a plain at Upsettletod, on the northern banks of the Tweed, for that purpose.

When the Scottish barons assembled in this place, though indignant at the injustice of this claim, and at the fraud with which it had been conducted, they found themselves betrayed into a situation, in which it was impossible for them to make any defence for the ancient liberty and independence of their country. The king of England, a martial and politic prince, at the head of a powerful army, lay at a very small distance, and was only separated from them by a river fordable in many places. Yet, even in this desperate state of their affairs, the Scottish barons, as we learn from Walsingham, one of the best historians of that period, had the courage to reply, that, till they had a king, they could take no resolution on so momentous a point. The journal of king Edward says, that they made no answer at all. Therefore, interpreting their silence as consent, the king addressed himself to the several competitors, and previously to his pronouncing sentence, required their acknowledgement of his superiority.

It is evident from the genealogy of the royal family of Scotland, that there could only be two questions about the succession, and between Baliol and Bruce on the one hand, and lord Hastings on the other, concerning the partition of the crown; and that between Baliol and Bruce themselves concerning the preference of their respective titles, supposing the kingdom indivisible: yet there appeared on this occasion no less than nine claimants besides; John Comyn or Cummin lord of Badenoch, Florence earl of Holland, Patric Dunbar earl of March, William de Vescey, Robert de Pynkeni, Nicholas de Soules, Patric Galythly, Roger de Mandeville, Robert de Ross, not to mention the king of Norway, who claimed as heir to his daughter Margaret (*n*).

Edward found all the competitors equally obsequious on this occasion. Robert Bruce was the first that acknowledged Edward's right of superiority over Scotland; even in his petition, as though he anticipated the king's pretensions, he set forth his claim to the crown, by applying to him as liege lord of the kingdom; a step which was not taken by any of the other competitors. They all,

(*n*) Some of these competitors were descended from more remote branches of the royal family; others were even sprung from illegitimate children; and as none of them had the least pretence of right, it is natural to conjecture, that Edward had secretly encouraged them to appear in the list of claimants, that he might sow the more division among the Scottish nobility, make the cause appear the more intricate, and be able to chuse, among a great number, the most obsequious candidate.

however, made a like acknowledgement when required; though Baliol, lest he should give offence to the Scottish nation, took care to be absent during the first days, and was the last that recognized the king's title. Edward next deliberated concerning the method of proceeding in the discussion of this great controversy. He gave orders, that Baliol, and such of the competitors as adhered to him, should chuse forty commissioners; Bruce and his adherents forty more: to these the king added twenty-four Englishmen: he ordered these hundred and four commissioners to examine the cause deliberately among themselves, and make their report to him; and promised in the ensuing year to give his determination. Meanwhile he pretended that it was requisite that the fortresses of Scotland should be delivered into his hands, that he might, without opposition, put the true heir in possession of the throne; and even this exorbitant demand was complied with, both by the states and by the claimants. The governors also of all the castles immediately resigned their command; except Umfreville earl of Angus, who refused, without a formal and particular acquittal from the parliament and the several claimants, to surrender his fortress to so domineering an arbiter, who had given to Scotland so many reasons of suspicion. Before this assembly broke up all the prelates and barons there present swore fealty to Edward; and that prince appointed commissioners to receive a like oath from all the other barons and persons of distinction in Scotland. Edward having finally made, as he imagined, this important acquisition, left the commissioners to sit at Berwick, and examine the titles of the several competitors who claimed the crown, which he was willing for some time to allow the lawful heir to enjoy. He went southwards to Ambresbury, both in order to assist at the funeral of his mother queen Eleanor (*o*), who died about this time, and to compose some differences which had arisen among the principal nobility.

Gilbert earl of Gloucester, the greatest baron of the kingdom, had espoused the king's daughter; and being elated by that alliance, permitted his bailiffs and vassals to commit violence on the lands of Humphrey Bohun, earl of Hereford, who retaliated the injury by like violence. But this was not a reign in which such illegal proceedings could pass with impunity. Edward ordered their conduct to be investigated, and the fact being verified by a verdict of jurors, he committed them both to prison, and would not restore them to their liberty till he exacted a fine of one thousand marks from Hereford, and one of ten thousand from his son-in-law.

During this interval, the titles of John Baliol and of Robert Bruce, whose claims appeared to be the best founded among the competitors for the crown of Scotland, were the subject of general disquisition, as well as of debate among the commissioners; who commenced their inquiries on the 2nd of August, 1292, which lasted three months; and having made known the result of their investigation to Edward, he appointed the 17th of November for pronouncing sentence. In order to give greater authority to his intended decision, he proposed this general question both to the commissioners and to all the celebrated lawyers in Europe; Whether a person descended from the eldest sister, but farther removed by one degree, were preferable, in the succession of kingdoms, fiefs, and other indivisible inheritances, to one descended from the younger sister, but one degree nearer to the common stock? This was the true state of the case; and the principle of representation had now gained such ground every where, that an uniform answer was returned to the king in the affirmative. He therefore pronounced sentence in favour of Baliol; and when Bruce, upon this disappointment, joined afterwards lord Hastings, and claimed a third of the kingdom, which he now pretended to be devisible, Edward, though his interest seemed more to require the partition of Scotland, again pronounced sentence in favour of Baliol. That competitor, upon renewing his oath of fealty to England, was put in possession of the kingdom; all his fortresses were restored to him; and the conduct of Edward, both in the deliberate solemnity of the proceedings, and in the justice of the award, was so far unexceptionable. Baliol was then crowned at Scone, and all the Scottish nobility swore obedience to him, except Robert Bruce, who absented himself from the ceremony; which was no sooner finished, than the new king repaired to Newcastle upon Tyne, where he renewed his homage and fealty to Edward.

Had the king entertained no other view than that of establishing his superiority over Scotland, though the iniquity of that claim was apparent, and was aggravated by the most egregious breach of trust, he might have fixed his pretensions, and have left that important acquisition to his posterity; but he immediately proceeded in such a manner, as made it evident, that, not content with this usurpation, he aimed also at the absolute sovereignty and dominion of the kingdom. Instead of gradually enuring the Scots to the yoke, he encouraged, in 1293, appeals to England; required king John himself, by six different summons on trivial occasions, to come to London; refused him the privilege of defending his cause by a procurator; and obliged him to appear at the bar of his parliament as a private person. These humiliating demands were hitherto quite unknown to a king of Scotland: they are, however, the necessary consequences of vassalage by the feudal law; and it is evident that Edward's intention was to enrage Baliol by these indignities, to engage in rebellion, and to assume the dominion of the state, as the punishment of his treason and felony. Accordingly Baliol, though a prince of a gentle spirit, returned into Scotland highly offended at this usage, and determined to vindicate his liberty; and the war which soon after broke out between France and England gave him a favourable opportunity for executiug his purpose.

The occasion of the rupture between France and England was this: a Norman and an English vessel met off the coast near Bayonne; and both of them having occasion for water, they sent their boats to land, and the several crews came at the same time to the same spring; there ensued a quarrel for the preference: a Norman, drawing his dagger, attempted to stab an Englishman; who grappling with him, threw his adversary on the ground; and the Norman, as was pretended, falling on his own dagger, was slain. This scuffle between two seamen about water, soon kindled a bloody war between the two nations, and involved a great part of Europe in the quarrel. The mariners of the Norman ship carried their complaints to the French king: Philip, without enquiring into the fact, without demanding redress, bade them take revenge, and trouble him no more about the matter. They seized an English ship in the channel; and hanging along with some dogs, several of the crew on the yard-arm, in presence of their companions, dismissed the vessel; and bade the mariners inform their countrymen, that vengeance was now taken for the blood of the Norman killed at Bayonne. This injury was resented by the mariners of the cinque-ports, who retaliated, by committing like barbarities on all French vessels without distinction. The French, provoked by their losses, preyed on the ships of all Edward's subjects, whether English or Gascon: the sea became a scene of piracy between the nations: the sovereigns, without either seconding or repressing the violence of their subjects, seemed to remain indifferent spectators: the English made private associations with the Irish and Dutch seamen; the French with the Flemish and Genoese; and the animosities of the people on both sides became every day more violent and barbarous. A fleet of two hundred Norman vessels set sail to the south for wine and other commodities; and in their passage seized all the English ships they met with; hanged the seamen, and seized the goods. The inhabitants of the English sea-ports, informed of this incident, fitted out a fleet of sixty sail, stronger and better manned than the others, and awaited the enemy on their return. After an obstinate battle, they put them to rout, and sunk, destroyed, or took the greater part of them. No quarter was given; and it is pretended that the loss of the French amounted to fifteen thousand men; which is accounted for by this circumstance, that the Norman fleet was employed in transporting a considerable body of soldiers from the south.

The affair was now become too important to be any longer overlooked by the sovereigns. On Philip's sending an envoy to demand reparation and restitution, the king dispatched the bishop of London to the French court, in order to accommodate the quarrel; but his proposals were rejected by the king of France; so that the war continued, and depredations were daily committed on both sides, by the Gascons on the western coast of France, as well as by the English in the channel.

Philip cited the king, on the 24th of November, 1294, as duke of Guienne, to appear in his court at Paris, and answer for these offences; but Edward, apprehensive of danger to that province, sent John St. John, an experienced soldier, to Bourdeaux, and gave him directions to put Gui-

(*o*) This was the second loss which Edward sustained in his family in the course of a few years; for a few months before his queen Eleanor of Castile, had expired at Grantham.

enne in a posture of defence. Anxious, however, to prevent a final rupture between the nations, the king dispatched his brother, Edmund earl of Lancaster, to Paris; and as this prince had espoused the queen of Navarre, mother to Jane queen of France, he seemed, on account of that alliance, the most proper person for finding expedients to accommodate the difference. Jane pretended to interpose with her good offices: Mary, the queen-dowager, feigned the same amicable disposition; and these two princesses told Edmund, that the circumstance the most difficult to adjust was the point of honour with Philip, who thought himself affronted by the injuries committed against him by his sub-vassals in Guienne; but if Edward would consent to give him seizin and possession of that province, he would think his honour fully repaired, would engage to restore Guienne immediately, and accept of an easy satisfaction for the other injuries. The king was consulted on the occasion; and as he then found himself in immediate danger of war with the Scots, which he regarded as the more important concern, this politic prince, blinded by his favourite passion for subduing that nation, allowed himself to be deceived by so gross an artifice. He sent his brother orders to sign and execute the treaty with the two queens; Philip solemnly promised to execute his part of it; and the king's citation to appear in the court of France was accordingly recalled: but the French monarch was no sooner put in possession of Guienne, than the citation was renewed; Edward was condemned for non-appearance; and Guienne, by a formal sentence, was declared to be forfeited and annexed to the crown of France.

The king, though extremely incensed at the perfidious conduct of Philip, acted with prudence and moderation. His first object was to procure money for defraying the expences of the war in which he was engaged: he seized many large sums that had been collected for the holy wars, and were deposited in different convents: he likewise obtained very considerable supplies from his parliament. The clergy at one time granted him one-half, the merchants one-sixth, and the rest of the laity one-tenth, of all their moveables. These sums were increased by a sale of a quantity of wool and hides, which had been prepared for exportation, and were seized by Edward, who promised to pay the full value for them at a future time.

Sensible of the extreme difficulties which he should encounter in attempting the recovery of Gascony, where he had not retained a single place in his hands, he endeavoured to compensate that loss, by forming alliances with several of the German princes, who he projected should attack France on all quarters, and make a diversion of her forces. Adolphus de Nassau, king of the Romans, entered into a treaty with him for that purpose; as did also Amadæus count of Savoy, the archbishop of Cologne, the counts of Gueldre and Luxembourg, the duke of Brabant and count of Barre, who had married his two daughters, Margaret and Eleanor. These alliances, however, were extremely burdensome to his narrow revenues, and proved in the issue entirely ineffectual. More impression was made on Guienne by an English army, which he completed by emptying the jails of many thousand thieves and robbers, who had been confined there for their crimes. The king himself was detained in England, first by contrary winds, then by his apprehensions of a Scottish invasion, and by a rebellion of the Welsh, (excited, if Mezeray may be credited, by the intrigues of Philip,) whom he repressed and brought again under subjection, in 1295. The small army, which he sent to Guienne, was commanded by his nephew, John de Bretagne earl of Richmond, and under him by John de St. John, Robert de Tibetot, and other officers of reputation; who made themselves masters of the town of Bayonne, as well as of Bourg, Blaye, Reole, St. Severe, and other places, which straitened Bourdeaux, and cut off its communication both by sea and land. The Gascon nobility were greatly attached to the English government, and seemed to promise still greater successes; but Philip's brother, Charles de Valois, who commanded the French armies, having laid siege to Podensac, a small fortress near Reole, in possession of the English, obliged Giffard the governor to capitulate; and the articles, though favourable to the English, left all the Gascons prisoners at discretion, of whom about fifty were hanged by Charles as rebels: a policy by which he both intimidated that people, and produced an irreparable breach between them and the English. That prince immediately attacked Reole, where the earl of Richmond himself commanded; and as the place seemed not tenable, the English general drew his troops to the water side, with an intention of embarking with the greater part of the army. The enraged Gascons fell upon his rear, and at the same time opened their gates to the French, who, besides making themselves masters of the place, took many prisoners of distinction. St. Severe was more vigorously defended by Hugh de Vere, son of the earl of Oxford; but was at last obliged to capitulate. The French king, not content with these successes in Gascony, projected an invasion of England; and, by a sudden attempt, his troops took and burnt Dover, but were obliged soon after to retire. And in order to make a greater diversion of the English force, and engage Edward in dangerous and important wars, he formed a secret alliance with John Baliol king of Scotland, the treaty being signed on the 23rd of October, 1295. This was the commencement of that strict union which during so many centuries was maintained by mutual interests and necessities between the French and Scottish nations. John confirmed this alliance, by stipulating a marriage between his eldest son Edward and Jane the daughter of Charles de Valois.

Before we proceed with our narrative of the war with Scotland, it may not be improper to introduce a summary account of the constitution of Parliament; and although it breaks the thread of the discourse, yet it must be recollected that it was to Edward the First that the parliament, as it at present stands, owes its origin, who constituted it about this period. Indeed it was the enormous expences which attended these multiplied wars of Edward, and his preparations for war, joined to alterations which had insensibly taken place in the general state of affairs, that obliged him to have frequent recourse to parliamentary supplies, that introduced the lower orders of the state into the public councils, and that laid the foundations of great and important changes in the government.

Though nothing could be worse calculated for cultivating the arts of peace, or maintaining peace itself, than the long subordination of vassalage from the king to the meanest gentleman, and the consequent slavery of the lower orders of the people; evils inseparable from the feudal system; that system was never able to fix the state in a proper warlike posture, or give it the full exertion of its power for defence, and still less for offence, against a public enemy. The military tenants, unaccustomed to obedience, unexperienced in war, held a rank in the troops by their birth, not by their merits or services; composed a disorderly, and consequently a feeble army; and during the few days which they were obliged by their tenures to remain in the field, were often more formidable to their own prince, than to foreign powers, against whom they were assembled. The sovereigns came gradually to disuse this cumbersome and dangerous machine, so apt to recoil upon the hand which held it; and exchanging the military service for pecuniary supplies, inlisted forces by means of a contract with particular officers, whom they dismissed at the end of the war (*p*). The barons and knights themselves often entered into these engagements with the prince; and were enabled to fill their bands, both by the authority which they possessed over their vassals and tenants, and from the great numbers of loose disorderly people, whom they found on their estates, and who willingly embraced an opportunity of gratifying their appetite for war and plunder.

Meanwhile the old Gothic fabric, being neglected, went gradually to decay. Though the Conqueror had divided all the lands of England into sixty thousand knights' fees, the number of these was insensibly diminished by various artifices; and the king at last found, that by putting the law in execution, he could assemble a small part only of the ancient force of the kingdom. It was an usual expedient for men who held of the king or great barons by military tenure, to transfer their land to the church, and receive it back by another tenure, called frank-almoigne, by which they were not bound to perform any service (*q*). A law was made against this practice; but the abuse had probably gone far before it was attended to, and was not entirely corrected by the new statute, which, like most laws of that age, had been but feebly executed by the magistrate against the perpetual interest of so many individuals. The constable and mareschal, when they mustered the armies, often in a hurry, and for want of better information, received the service of a baron for fewer knights' fees than were due by him; and one precedent of this kind was held good against the king, and became ever after a reason for diminishing the service (*r*). The rolls of knights' fees were inaccurately kept; no care was taken to correct

(*p*) Cotton's Abridgement, p. 11. (*q*) Madox's Baronia Anglica, p. 114. (*r*) Ibid. p. 115.

correct them before the armies were summoned into the field (*s*); it was then too late to think of examining records and charters; and the service was accepted on the terms which the vassal himself was pleased to acknowledge, after all the various subdivisions and conjunctions of property had thrown an obscurity on the nature and extent of his tenure (*t*). It is easy to judge of the intricacies which would attend disputes of this kind with individuals; when even the number of military fees belonging to the church, whose property was fixed and unalienable, became the subject of controversy; and we find, that when the bishop of Durham was charged with seventy knights' fees for the aid levied on occasion of the marriage of Henry II.'s daughter to the duke of Saxony, that prelate acknowledged ten, and disowned the other sixty (*u*). It is not known in what manner this difference was terminated; but had the question been concerning an armament to defend the kingdom, the bishops' service would probably have been received without opposition for ten fees; and this rate must also have fixed all his future payments. Pecuniary scutages, therefore, diminished as much as military services (*v*): other methods of filling the exchequer, as well as the armies, must be devised: new situations produced new laws and institutions; and the great alterations in the finances and military power of the crown, as well as in private property, were the source of equal innovations in every part of the legislature or civil government.

The exorbitant estates conferred by the Norman on his barons and chieftains, remained not long entire and unimpaired. The landed property was gradually shared out into more hands; and those immense baronies were divided, either by provisions to younger children, by partitions among co-heirs, by sale, or by escheating to the king, who gratified a great number of his courtiers, by dealing them out among them in smaller portions. Such moderate estates, as they had required œconomy, and confined the proprietors to live at home, were better calculated for duration: and the order of knights and small barons grew daily more numerous, and began to form a very respectable rank or order in the state. As they were all immediate vassals of the crown by military tenure, they were, by the principles of the feudal law, equally entitled with the greatest barons to a seat in the national or general councils; and this right, though regarded as a privilege which the owners would not entirely relinquish, was also considered as a burthen, which they desired to be subjected to on extraordinary occasions only. Hence it was provided in the charter of king John, that while the great barons were summoned to the national council by a particular writ, the small barons, under which appellation the knights were also comprehended, should only be called by a general summons of the sheriff. The distinction between great and small barons, like that between rich and poor, was not exactly defined; but agreeably to the inaccurate genius of that age, and to the simplicity of ancient government, was left to be determined by the discretion of the king and his ministers. It was usual for the prince to require, by a particular summons, the attendance of a baron in one parliament, and to neglect him on future occasions (*w*); nor was this uncertainty ever complained of as an injury. He attended when required: he was better pleased, at other times, to be exempted from the burthen; and as he was acknowledged to be of the same order with the greatest barons, it gave them no surprize to see him take his seat in the great council, whether he appeared of his own accord, or by a particular summons from the king. The barons by *writ*, therefore, began gradually to intermix themselves with the barons by *tenure;* and as Camden informs us (*x*), from an ancient manuscript now lost, that after the battle of Evesham a positive law was enacted, prohibiting every baron from appearing in parliament who was not invited thither by a particular summons, the whole baronage of England held thenceforward their seat by writ, and this important privilege of their tenures was in effect abolished. Only where writs had been regularly continued for some time in one great family, the omission of them would have been regarded as an affront, and even as an injury.

A similar alteration gradually took place in the order of earls, who were the highest rank of barons. The dignity of an earl, like that of a baron, was formerly territorial and official (*y*): he exercised jurisdiction within his county: he levied the third of the fines to his own profit: he was at once a civil and a military magistrate; and though his authority, from the time of William I. was hereditary in England, the title was so much connected with the office, that where the king intended to create a new earl, he had no other expedient than to erect a certain territory into a county or earldom, and to bestow it upon the person and his family (*z*). But as the sheriffs, who were the vicegerents of the earls, were named by the king, and removeable at pleasure, he found them more dependent upon him; and endeavoured to throw the whole authority and jurisdiction of the office into their hands. This magistrate was at the head of the finances, and levied all the king's rents within the county: he assessed at pleasure the talliages of the inhabitants in royal demesne: he had usually committed to him the management of wards, and often of escheats: he presided in the lower courts of judicature; and thus, though inferior to the earl in dignity, he was soon considered, by this union of the judicial and fiscal powers, and by the confidence reposed in by the king, as much superior to him in authority, and undermined his influence within his own jurisdiction (*a*). It became usual, in creating an earl, to give him a fixed salary, commonly about twenty pounds a year, in lieu of his third of the fines: the diminution of his power kept pace with the retrenchment of his profit; and the dignity of earl, instead of being territorial and official, dwindled into personal and titular. Such were the mighty alterations which already had fully taken place, or were gradually advancing in the house of peers; that is, in the parliament: for there seems anciently to have been no other house.

But though the introduction of barons by writ, and of titular earls, had given some increase to royal authority, there were other causes which counterbalanced those innovations, and tended in a higher degree to diminish the power of the sovereign. The disuse into which the feudal militia had in a great measure fallen, made the barons almost forget their dependence on the crown: by the diminution of the number of knights' fees, the king had no reasonable compensation when he levied scutages, and exchanged their service for money: the alienations of the crown lands had reduced him to poverty; and, above all, the concession of the Great Charter had set bounds to kingly power, and had rendered it more difficult and dangerous for the prince to exert any extraordinary act of arbitrary authority. In this situation, the king courted the friendship of the lesser barons and knights, whose influence was by no means dangerous to him, and who, being exposed to oppression from their powerful neighbours, sought a legal protection under the authority of the throne. He desired, therefore, to have their presence in parliament, where they served to control the turbulent resolutions of the great. To exact a regular attendance of the whole body would have produced confusion, and would have imposed too heavy a burden upon them. To summon only a few by writ, though it was practised, and had a good effect, served not entirely the king's purpose: because these members had no farther authority than attended their personal character, and were eclipsed by the appearance of the more powerful nobility. He therefore dispensed with the attendance of most of the lesser barons in parliament; and, in return for this indulgence, required them to chuse in each county a certain number of their own body, whose charges they bore, and who, having gained the confidence, carried with them of course the authority of the whole order. This expedient had been practised at different times in the reign of Henry III. (*b*) and regularly during that of the present king. The numbers sent up by each county varied at the will of the prince (*c*): they took their seat

(*s*) We hear only of one king, Henry II. who took this pains; and the record, called Liber Niger Scaccarii, was the result of it.

(*t*) Madox, Bar. Ang. p. 116. (*u*) Ibid. p. 122. Hist of Exch. p. 404.

(*v*) In order to pay the sum of one hundred thousand marks, as king Richard's ransom, twenty shillings were imposed on each knight's fee. Had the fees remained on the original footing as settled by the Conqueror, this scutage would have amounted to ninety thousand marks, which was nearly the sum required; but we find that other grievous taxes were imposed to complete it: a certain proof that many frauds and abuses had prevailed in the roll of knights' fees.

(*w*) Chancellor West's Enquiry into the Manner of creating Peers, p. 43. 46, 47. 55. (*x*) In Britannia, p. 122.

(*y*) Spelm. Gloss. in voce *Comes*.

(*z*) Essays on British Antiquaries. This practice, however, seems to have been more familiar in Scotland, and the kingdoms on the continent, than in England.

(*a*) There are instances of the princes of the blood who accepted of the office of sheriff. Spelman in voce *Vicecomes*.

(*b*) Rot. Claus. 38 Hen. III. m. 7. and 12 d.; as also Rot. Claus. 49 Hen. III. m. 1. d. Prynne's Pref. to Cotton's Abridgement.

(*c*) Brady's Answer to Petit, from the records, p. 151.

among

among the other peers; because by their tenure they belonged to that order (*d*): the introducing of them into that house scarcely appeared an innovation; and though it was in the king's power, by varying their number, to command the resolutions of the whole parliament, this circumstance was not attended to in an age when force was more prevalent than laws, and when a resolution, though taken by the majority of a legal assembly, could not be executed if it opposed the will of the more powerful minority.

But there were other important consequences which followed the diminution and consequent disuse of the ancient feudal militia. The king's expence in levying and maintaining a military force for every enterprize was increased beyond what his narrow revenues were able to bear: as the scutages of his military tenants, which were accepted in lieu of their personal service, had fallen to nothing, there were no means of supply but from voluntary aids granted him by the parliament and clergy; or from the talliages which he might levy upon the towns and inhabitants in royal demesne. In the preceding year Edward had been obliged to exact no less than the sixth of all moveables from the merchants, a tenth from the laity, and a moiety of all ecclesiastical benefices (*e*), for his expedition into Poictou, and the suppression of the Welsh; and this distressful situation, which was likely often to return upon him and his successors, made him think of a new device, and summon the representatives of all the boroughs to parliament. This period, which is the twenty-third of his reign, seems to be the real and true epoch of the house of commons, and the faint dawn of popular government in England. For the representatives of the counties were only deputies from the smaller barons and lesser nobility; and the former precedent of representatives from the boroughs, who were summoned by the earl of Leicester, was regarded as the act of a violent usurpation, had been discontinued in all the subsequent parliaments; and if such a measure had not become necessary on other accounts, that precedent was more likely to hurt than give credit to it.

During the course of several years the kings of England, in imitation of other European princes, had embraced the salutary policy of encouraging and protecting the lower and more industrious orders of the state; whom they found well disposed to obey the laws and civil magistrate, and whose ingenuity and labour furnished commodities requisite for the ornament of peace and the support of war. Though the inhabitants of the country were still left at the disposal of their imperious lords; many attempts were made to give more security and liberty to citizens, and make them enjoy unmolested the fruits of their industry. Boroughs were erected by royal patent within the demesne lands: liberty of trade was conferred upon them; the inhabitants were allowed to farm at a fixed rent their own tolls and customs (*f*): they were permitted to elect their own magistrates: justice was administered to them by these magistrates, without obliging them to attend the sheriff or county court; and some shadow of independence, by means of these privileges, was gradually acquired by the people (*g*). The king, however, retained still the power of levying talliages or taxes upon them at pleasure (*h*); and though their poverty and the customs of the age, made these demands neither frequent nor exorbitant, such unlimited authority in the sovereign was a sensible check upon commerce, and was utterly incompatible with the principles of a free government. But when the multiplied necessities of the crown produce a greater avidity for supply, the king, whose prerogative entitled him to exact it, found that he had not power sufficient to enforce his edicts, and that it was necessary before he imposed taxes, to smooth the way for his demand, and to obtain the previous consent of the boroughs, by solicitations, remonstrances, and authority. The inconvenience of transacting this business with every particular borough was soon felt; and Edward became sensible, that the most expeditious way of obtaining supply was, to assemble the deputies of all the boroughs, to lay before them the necessities of the state, to discuss the matter in their presence, and to require their consent to the demands of their sovereign. For this reason he issued writs to the sheriffs, enjoining them to send to parliament, along with two knights of the shire, two deputies from each borough within their county (*i*), and these provided with sufficient powers from their community to consent in their name, to what he and his council should require of them. "As it is a most equitable rule," says he, in his preamble to this writ, "that whatever concerns all should be approved of by all; and common dangers be repelled by united efforts (*k*); a noble principle, which may seem to indicate a liberal mind in the king, and which laid the foundation of a free and an equitable government.

After the election of these deputies by the aldermen and common council, they gave sureties for their attendance before the king and parliament: their expences were respectively borne by the borough which sent them; and they had so little idea of appearing as legislators, a character extremely wide of their low rank and condition (*l*), that no intelligence could be more disagreeable to any borough, than to find that they must elect, or to any individual than that he was elected to a trust from which no profit or honour could possibly be derived (*m*): they composed not, properly speaking, any essential part of the parliament: they sat apart both from the barons and knights (*n*), who disdained to mix with personages of such mean extraction: after they had given their consent to the taxes required of them, their business being then finished, they separated, even though the parliament still continued to sit, and to canvass the national business (*o*): and as they all consisted of men who were real burgesses of the place from which they were sent, the sheriff, when he found no person of abilities or wealth sufficient for the office, often took the liberty of omitting particular boroughs in his returns; and as he received the thanks of the people for this indulgence, he gave no displeasure to the court, who levied on all the boroughs, without distinction, the tax agreed to by the majority of deputies (*p*).

The union, however, of the representatives from the boroughs gave gradually more weight to the whole order; and it became customary for them, in return for the supplies which they granted, to prefer petitions to the crown for the redress of any particular grievance of which they found reason to complain. The more the king's demands multiplied, the faster these petitions increased both in number and authority; and the prince found it difficult to refuse men whose grants had supported his throne, and to whose assistance he might so soon be again obliged to have recourse. The commons, however, were still much below the rank of legislators (*q*). Their petitions, though they received a verbal assent from the throne, were only the

(*d*) Brady's Treatise of Boroughs, App. No. 13.

(*e*) Ibid. p. 31. from the records. Heming. vol. i. p. 52. Matt. West p. 422. Ryley, p. 462.

(*f*) Madox, Firma Burgi, p. 21.

(*g*) Brady of Boroughs, App. No. 1, 2, 3.

(*h*) The king had not only the power of talliating the inhabitants within his own demesnes, but that of granting to particular barons the power of talliating the inhabitants within theirs. See Brady's Answer to Petyt, p. 118. Madox's Hist. of the Exchequer, p. 518.

(*i*) Writs were issued to about one hundred and twenty cities and boroughs.

(*k*) Brady of Boroughs, p. 25, 33. from the records. The writs of the parliament immediately preceding remain; and the return of knights is there required, but not a word of the boroughs: a demonstration that this was the very year in which they commenced. In the year immediately preceding, the taxes were levied by a seeming free consent of each particular borough, beginning with London. Id. p. 31, 32, 33. from the records. Also his Answer to Petyt, p. 40, 41.

(*l*) Reliquia Spelm. p. 64. Prynne's Pref. to Cotton's Abridg. and the Abridg. passim. (*m*) Brady of Boroughs, p. 59, 60.

(*n*) Ibid. p. 37, 38. from the records, and Append. p. 19. Also his Append. to his Answer to Petyt, Record. And his Glossary in verb. *Communitas Regn.* p. 33.

(*o*) Ryley's Placit. Parliam. p. 241, 242, &c. Cotton's Abridgement, p. 14.

(*p*) Brady of Boroughs, p. 52. from the records. There is even an instance in the reign of Edward III. when the king named all the deputies. Id. Answer to Petyt, p. 161. If he fairly named the most considerable and creditable burgesses, little exception would be taken; as their business was not to check the king, but to reason with him, and consent to his demands. It was not till the reign of Richard II. that the sheriffs were deprived of the power of omitting boroughs at pleasure. See Statutes at Large, 5th Richard II. cap. 4.

(*q*) Throughout the reign of Edward I. the assent of the commons is not once expressed in any of the enacting clauses; nor in the reigns ensuing, till the 9 Edward III. nor in any of the enacting clauses of 10 Rich. II. Nay even so low as Hen. VI. from the beginning till the 8th of his reign, the assent of the commons is not once expressed in any enacting clause. See Preface to Ruffhead's edition of the Statutes, p. 7. If it should be asserted, that the commons had really given their assent to these statutes, though they are not expressly mentioned, this very omission, proceeding, if you will, from carelessness, is a proof how little they were respected. The commons were so little accustomed to transact public business, that they had no speaker till after the parliament 6th Edw. III. See Prynne's Preface to Cotton's Abridgement: not till the first of Richard II. in the opinion of most antiquaries. The commons were very unwilling to meddle in any state affairs, and commonly either referred themselves to the lords, or desired a select committee of that house to assist them, as appears from Cotton. 5 E. III. n. 5; 15 E. III. n. 17; 21 E. III. n. 5; 47 E. III. n. 5; 50 E. III. n. 10; 51 E. III. n. 18; 1 R. II. n. 12; 2 R. II. n. 12; 5 R. II. n. 14; 2 parl. 6 R. II. n. 14; parl. 2. 6 R. II. n. 8, &c.

rudiments of laws: the judges were afterwards entrusted with the power of putting them into form; and the king, by adding to them the sanction of his authority, and that sometimes without the assent of the nobles, bestowed validity upon them. The age did not refine so much as to perceive the danger of these irregularities. No man was displeased that the sovereign, at the desire of any class of men, should issue an order which appeared only to concern that class; and his predecessors were so near possessing the whole legislative power, that he gave no disgust by assuming it in this seemingly inoffensive manner. But time and farther experience gradually opened men's eyes, and corrected these abuses. It was found that no laws could be fixed for one order of men, without affecting the whole; and that the force and efficacy of laws depended entirely on the terms employed in wording them. The house of peers, therefore, the most powerful order in the state, with reason, expected that their assent should be expressly granted to all public ordinances (*r*); and in the reign of Henry V. the commons required that no laws should be framed merely upon their petitions, unless the statutes were worded by themselves, and had passed their house in the form of a bill (*s*).

But as the same causes which had produced a partition of property continued still to operate, the number of knights and smaller barons, or what the English call the gentry, perpetually increased, and they sunk into a rank still more inferior to the great nobility. The equality of tenure was lost in the great inferiority of power and property; and the house of representatives from the counties was gradually separated from that of the peers, and formed a distinct order in the state (*t*). The growth of commerce in the mean time, augmented the private wealth and consideration of the burgesses; the frequent demands of the crown increased their public importance; and as they resembled the knights of shires in one material circumstance, that of representing particular bodies of men; it no longer appeared unsuitable to unite them together in the same house, and to confound their rights and privileges (*u*). Thus the third estate, that of the commons, reached at last its present form; and as the country gentlemen made thenceforward no scruple of appearing as deputies from the boroughs, the distinction between the members was entirely lost, and the lower house acquired thence a great accession of weight and importance in the kingdom. Still, however, the office of this estate was very different from that which it has since exercised with so much advantage to the public. Instead of checking and controlling the authority of the king, they were naturally induced to adhere to him as the great fountain of law and justice, and to support him against the power of the aristocracy, which at once was the source of oppression to themselves, and disturbed him in the execution of the laws. The king in his turn gave countenance to an order of men, so useful and so little dangerous: the peers also were obliged to pay them some consideration; and by this means the third estate, formerly so abject in England, as well as in all other European nations, rose by slow degrees to their present importance; and in their progress made arts and commerce, the necessary attendants of liberty and equality, flourish in the kingdom (*v*).

What sufficiently proves that the commencement of the house of burgesses, who are the true commons, was not an affair of chance, but arose from the necessities of the present situation, is, that Edward at the very same time summoned deputies from the inferior clergy, the first that ever met in England (*w*), and he required them to impose taxes on their constituents for the public service. Formerly the ecclesiastical benefices bore no part of the burthens of the state: the pope indeed of late had often levied impositions upon them: he had sometimes granted this power to the sovereign (*x*): the king himself had in the preceding year exacted, by menaces and violence, a very grievous tax of half the revenues of the clergy; but as this precedent was dangerous, and could not easily be repeated in a government which required the consent of the subject to any extraordinary resolution, Edward found it expedient to assemble a lower house of convocation, to lay before them his necessities, and to ask some supply; but on this occasion he met with difficulties. Whether that the clergy thought themselves the most independent body in the kingdom, or were disgusted by the former exorbitant impositions, they absolutely refused their assent to the king's demand of a fifth of their moveables, and it was not till a second meeting that, on their persisting in this refusal, he was willing to accept of a tenth. The barons and knights granted him, without hesitation, an eleventh; the bur-

(*r*) In those instances found in Cotton's Abridgement, where the king appears to answer of himself the petitions of the commons, he probably exerted no more than that power which was long inherent in the crown, of regulating matters by royal edicts or proclamations. But no durable or general statute seems ever to have been made by the king from the petition of the commons alone, without the assent of the peers. It is more likely that the peers alone, without the commons, would enact statutes.

(*s*) Brady's Answer to Petyt, p. 85. from the records.

(*t*) Cotton's Abridgement, p. 13.

(*u*) It is very agreeable to the maxims of all the feudal governments, that every order of the state should give their consent to the acts which more immediately concerned them; and as the notion of a political system was not then so well understood, the other orders of the state were often not consulted on these occasions. In this reign even the merchants, though no public body, granted the king impositions on merchandise, because the first payments came out of their pockets. They did the same in the reign of Edward III. but the commons had then observed that the people paid these duties, though the merchants advanced them; and they therefore remonstrated against this practice. Cotton's Abridgement, p. 39. The taxes imposed by the knights on the counties were always lighter than those which the burgesses laid on the boroughs; a presumption that in voting those taxes the knights and burgesses did not form the same house. See Chancellor West's Enquiry into the Manner of creating Peers, p. 8. But there are so many proofs that those two orders of representatives were long separate, that it is needless to insist on them. Mr. Carte, who had carefully consulted the rolls of parliament, affirms that they never appear to have been united till the 16th of Edward III. See his History, vol. ii. p. 451. But it is certain that this union was not even then final: in 1372, the burgesses acted by themselves, and voted a tax after the knights were dismissed. See Tyrrel, Hist. vol. iii. p. 734. from Rot. Claus. 46 Edw. III. n. 9. In 1376 they were the knights alone who passed a vote for the removal of Alice Pierce from the king's person, if we may credit Walsingham, p. 189. There is an instance of a like kind in the reign of Richard II. Cotton, p. 193. The different taxes voted by those two branches of the lower house naturally kept them separate: but as their petitions had mostly the same object, namely, the redress of grievances, and the support of law and justice, both against the crown and the barons, this cause as naturally united them, and was the reason why they at last joined in one house for the dispatch of business. The barons had few petitions. Their privileges were of more ancient date: grievances seldom affected them: they were themselves the chief oppressors. In 1333, the knights by themselves concurred with the bishops and barons in advising the king to stay his journey into Ireland. Here was a petition which regarded a matter of state, and was supposed to be above the capacity of the burgesses. The knights, therefore, acted apart in this petition. See Cotton Abridg. p. 13. Chief baron Gilbert thinks, that the reason why taxes always began with the commons or burgesses was, that they were limited by the instructions of their boroughs. See Gilbert's History of the Exchequer, p. 37.

(*v*) The chief argument from ancient authority, for the opinion that the representatives of boroughs preceded the forty-ninth of Henry III. is the famous petition of the borough of St. Albans, first taken notice of by Selden, and then by Petyt, Brady, Tyrrel, and others. In this petition, presented to the parliament in the reign of Edward II. the town of St. Albans asserts, that though they held *in capite* of the crown, and owed only for all other service, their attendance in parliament, yet the sheriff had omitted them in his writs; whereas both in the reign of the king's father, and all his predecessors, they had always sent members. Now, say the defenders of this opinion, if the commencement of the house of commons were in Henry III.'s reign, this expression could not have been used. But Madox, in his History of the Exchequer, p. 522, 523, 524, has endeavoured, and with great reason, to destroy the authority of this petition for the purpose alleged. He asserts, first, That there was no such tenure in England as that of holding by attendance in parliament, instead of all other service. Secondly, That the borough of St. Albans never held of the crown at all, but was always demesne land of the abbot. It is no wonder, therefore, that a petition which advances two falsehoods, should contain one historical mistake, which indeed amounts only to an inaccurate and exaggerated expression; no strange matter in ignorant burgesses of that age. Accordingly St. Albans continued still to belong to the abbot. It never held of the crown till after the dissolution of the monasteries. But the assurance of these petitioners is remarkable. They wanted to shake off the authority of their abbot, and to hold of the king; but were unwilling to pay any services even to the crown: upon which they framed this idle petition, which later writers have made the foundation of so many inferences and conclusions. From the tenour of the petition it appears, that there was a close connection between holding of the crown, and being represented in parliament: the latter had scarcely ever a place without the former: yet we learn from Tyrrel's Appendix, vol. iv. that there were some instances to the contrary. It is not improbable that Edward followed the roll of the earl of Leicester, who had summoned, without distinction, all the considerable boroughs of the kingdom; among which there might be some few who did not hold of the crown. Edward also found it necessary to impose taxes on all the boroughs in the kingdom without distinction. This was a good expedient for augmenting his revenue. We are not to imagine, because the house of commons have since become of great importance, that the first summoning of them would form any remarkable and striking epoch, and be generally known to the people even seventy or eighty years after. So ignorant were the generality of men in that age, that country burgesses would readily imagine an innovation, seemingly so little material, to have existed from time immemorial, because it was beyond their own memory, and perhaps that of their fathers. Even the parliament in the reign of Henry V. say, that Ireland had, from the beginning of time, been subject to the crown of England. (See Brady.) And surely, if any thing interests the people above all others, it is war and conquests, with their dates and circumstances.

(*w*) Archbishop Wake's State of the Church of England, p. 235. Brady of Boroughs, p. 34. Gilbert's History of the Exchequer, p. 46.

(*x*) Annals of Waverley, p. 227, 228. I. Wykes, p. 99. 120.

gesses a seventh. But the clergy still scrupled to meet on the king's writ, lest by such an instance of obedience they should seem to acknowledge the authority of the temporal power; and this compromise was at last fallen upon, that the king should issue his writ to the archbishop; and that the archbishop should, in consequence of it summon the clergy, who, as they then appeared to obey their spiritual superior, no longer hesitated to meet in convocation. This expedient, however, was the cause why the ecclesiastics were separated into two houses of convocation under their several archbishops, and formed not one estate, as in other countries of Europe; which was at first the king's intention (*y*). Having given a clear and succinct account of the origin of parliaments in this kingdom, we proceed to the course of our narration.

Edward, fully sensible of the reasons of disgust which he had given to Baliol, informed of the dispositions of that people, and expecting the most violent effects of their resentment, employed the supplies granted him by his people, in making preparations against the hostilities of the king of Scots. When in this situation, he received intelligence of the treaty secretly concluded between John and Philip; and though uneasy at this concurrence of a French and Scottish war, he resolved not to encourage his enemies by a pusillanimous behaviour, or by yielding to their united efforts. He summoned John to perform the duty of a vassal, and to send him a supply of forces against the threatened invasion from France. He next required that the fortresses of Berwick, Jedborough, and Roxborough, should be put into his hands as a security during the war; he cited John to appear in an English parliament to be held at Newcastle; and when none of these successive demands were complied with, he marched to Newcastle, in the spring of 1296, with a numerous army of thirty thousand foot and four thousand horse, to chastise his rebellious vassal. The Scottish nation, who had little reliance on the vigour and ability of their prince, assigned him a council of twelve noblemen, in whose hands the power of the state was in fact deposited, and who put the country in the best posture of defence which the present distractions would admit. A great army, composed of forty thousand infantry, though supported only by five thousand cavalry, advanced to the frontiers; and after a fruitless attempt upon Carlisle, marched eastwards to defend those provinces which Edward was preparing to attack. But some of the most considerable of the Scottish nobles, Robert Bruce the father and son, the earls of March and Angus, prognosticating the ruin of their country, endeavoured here to obtain favour with Edward, by an early submission; and the king, encouraged by this incident, led his army into the enemy's country, and crossed the Tweed without opposition at Coldstream on the 28th of March. He then received a message from John, by which that prince, having now procured for himself and his nation pope Celestine's dispensation from former oaths, renounced the homage which had been done to England, and set Edward at defiance. The bravado was but ill supported by the military operations of the Scots. Berwick was already taken by assault: sir William Douglas, the governor, was made prisoner; above seven thousand of the garrison were put to the sword; and Edward, elated by this success, dispatched earl Warrenne with twelve thousand men, to lay siege to the castle of Dunbar, which was defended by the flower of the Scottish nobility.

The Scots, sensible of the importance of this fortress, which, if taken, must leave their whole country open to the enemy, advanced to its relief with their main army, under the command of the earls of Buchan, Lenox, and Marre, in order to relieve it. Warrenne, undismayed at the superiority of their number, marched out to give them battle. He attacked them with great impetuosity on the 27th of April, soon threw them into confusion, and chased them off the field with great slaughter. The loss of the Scots is said to have amounted to twenty thousand men: the castle of Dunbar, with all its garrison, surrendered next day to Edward, who, after the battle, had brought up the main body of the English, and who now proceeded with an assured confidence of success. The castle of Roxborough was yielded by James, steward of Scotland; and that nobleman, from whom the royal family of Stuart descended, was again obliged to swear fealty to Edward. After a feeble resistance, the castles of Edinburgh and Stirling opened their gates to the enemy. All the southern parts were instantly subdued by the English; and, to enable them the better to reduce the northern, Edward sent for a strong reinforcement of Welsh and Irish, who, being accustomed to a desultory kind of war, were the best fitted to pursue the fugitive Scots into the recesses of their lakes and mountains. But the spirit of the nation was already broken by their misfortunes; and the feeble and timid Baliol, discontented with his own subjects, and overawed by the English, abandoned all those resources which his people might yet have possessed in this extremity. An interview took place between the two kings at a place called Stroutharrack, on the 2nd of July, and Baliol made his submissions to Edward; expressed the deepest penitence for his disloyalty to his liege lord; and made a solemn and irrevocable resignation of his crown into the hands of that monarch. Edward marched northwards to Aberdeen and Elgin, without meeting an enemy: even the turbulent Highlanders, ever refractory to their own princes, and averse to the restraint of laws, endeavoured to prevent the devastation of their country, by giving him early proofs of obedience; and Edward, having brought the whole kingdom to a seeming state of tranquillity, returned to the south with his army. There was a stone, to which the popular superstition of the Scots paid the highest veneration: all their kings were seated on it, when they received the rite of inauguration: an ancient tradition assured them, that, wherever this stone was placed, their nation should always govern; and it was carefully preserved at Scone, as the true palladium of their monarchy, and their ultimate resource amidst all their misfortunes. Edward got possession of it; and carried it with him to England. He gave orders to destroy the records, and all those monuments of antiquity, which might preserve the memory of the independence of the kingdom, and refute the English claims of superiority. The great seal of Baliol was broken; and that prince himself was carried prisoner to London, and committed to custody in the Tower. Two years after, he was restored to liberty, and submitted to a voluntary banishment in France; where he died at an advanced age in a private station. Earl Warrenne was left governor of Scotland: Englishmen were entrusted with the chief offices; and Edward, flattering himself that he had attained the end of all his wishes, and that the numerous acts of fraud and violence, which he had practised against Scotland, had terminated in the final reduction of that kingdom, returned with his army into England.

An attempt, which he made about the same time, for the recovery of Guienne, was not equally successful. He sent thither a reinforcement of seven thousand men, under the command of the earl of Lancaster. The prince at first gained some advantages over the French at Bourdeaux; but was soon after seized with a distemper, of which he died at Bayonne. The command devolved on the earl of Lincoln, who, from the superiority of the French, was compelled to remain in a state of inactivity during the rest of the compaign.

But the ambitious spirit of Edward could not be satisfied, so long as Guienne, the ancient patrimony of his family, remained in the hands of the French monarch. Finding that the distance of that province rendered all his efforts against it feeble and uncertain, he purposed to attack France in a quarter where she appeared more vulnerable; and with this view he married his daughter Elizabeth to John earl of Holland, and at the same time contracted an alliance with Guy earl of Flanders, stipulated to pay him the sum of seventy-five thousand pounds, and projected an invasion, with their united forces, upon Philip, their common enemy. He hoped that, when he himself, at the head of English, Flemish, and Dutch armies, reinforced by his German allies, to whom he had promised or remitted considerable sums, should enter the frontiers of France, and threaten the capital itself, Philip would be obliged to relinquish his acquisitions, and purchase peace by the restitution of Guienne. But, in order to set this great machine in motion, considerable supplies were requisite from the parliament; and Edward, without much difficulty, obtained from the barons and knights a new grant of a twelfth of all their moveables, and from the boroughs, that of an eighth. The great and almost unlimited power of the king over the latter, enabled him to throw the heavier part of the burthen on them; and the prejudices which he seems always to have entertained against the church, on account of the former zeal of the clergy for the Montfort faction, made him resolve to load them with still more considerable impositions, and he required

(*y*) Gilbert's History of the Exchequer, p. 51. 54.

quired of them a fifth of their moveables. But he here met with an opposition, which for some time disconcerted all his measures and engaged him in enterprizes that were somewhat dangerous to him; and would have proved fatal to any of his predecessors.

Boniface VIII. who had succeeded Celestine in the pontifical chair, was a man of the most lofty and enterprizing spirit; and was determined to carry the authority of the tiara, and his dominion over the temporal power, to as great a height as it had ever attained in any former period. Sensible that his immediate predecessors, by oppressing the church in every province of Christendom, had extremely alienated the affections of the clergy, and had afforded the civil magistrate a pretence for laying like impositions on ecclesiastical revenues, he attempted to resume the former station of the sovereign pontiff, and to establish himself as the common protector of the spiritual order against all invaders. For this purpose, he issued a general bull, prohibiting all princes from levying, without his consent, any taxes upon the clergy, and all clergymen from submitting to such impositions; and threatened both of them with the penalties of excommunication in case of disobedience. This edict is said to have been procured by the solicitation of Robert de Winchelsey, archbishop of Canterbury, who had been promoted to that see on the death of archbishop Peckham in 1292, and who intended to employ it as a rampart against the extortions which the church had felt from Edward, and the still greater, which that prince's multiplied necessities gave them reason to apprehend. When a demand, therefore, was made on the clergy of a fifth of their moveables, a tax which was probably much more grevious than a fifth of their revenue, the clergy took shelter under the bull of pope Boniface, and pleaded conscience in refusing compliance. The king came not immediately to extremities on this repulse; but, after locking up all their granaries and barns, and prohibiting all rent to be paid them, he appointed a new synod, which assembled on the 15th of January, 1297, to confer with him upon his demand. The primate not dismayed by these proofs of Edward's resolution, here plainly told him, that the clergy owed obedience to two sovereigns, their spiritual and their temporal; but their duty bound them to a much stricter attachment to the former than to the latter: they could not comply with his commands in contradiction to the express prohibition of the sovereign pontiff.

Edward, however, paid little regard to those privileges, on which they set so high a value. He had formerly seized, in an arbitrary manner, all the money and plate belonging to the church and convents, and had applied them to the public service; and they could not but expect more violent treatment on this sharp refusal, grounded on such dangerous principles. He therefore resolved to employ the power in his hands; and told the ecclesiastics, that, since they refused to support the civil government, they were unworthy to receive any benefit from it; and he would accordingly put them out of the protection of the laws. This vigorous measure was immediately carried into execution. Orders were issued to the judges to receive no cause brought before them by the clergy; to hear and decide all causes in which they were defendants: to do every man justice against them; and do them justice against nobody. The ecclesiastics soon found themselves in a most miserable situation. They could not remain in their own houses or convents for want of subsistence: if they went abroad in quest of maintenance, they were dismounted, robbed of their horses and clothes, abused by every ruffian, and no redress could be obtained by them for the most violent injury. The primate himself was attacked on the highway, was stripped of his equipage and furniture, and was at last reduced to board himself, with a single servant, in the house of a country clergyman; and though the archbishop issued a general sentence of excommunication against all who attacked the persons or property of ecclesiastics, it was not regarded.

The spirits of the clergy were at last broken by this harsh treatment. Besides that the whole province of York, which lay nearest the danger that still hung over them from the Scots, voluntarily, from the first, voted a fifth of their moveables; the bishops of Salisbury, Ely, and some others, made a composition for the secular clergy within their dioceses; and they agreed not to pay the fifth, which would have been an act of disobedience to Boniface's bull, but to deposit a sum equivalent in some church appointed them; whence it was taken by the king's officers. Many particular convents and clergymen made payment of a like sum, and received the king's protection. Those who had not ready money, entered into recognizances for the payment. And there was scarcely found one ecclesiastic in the kingdom, who seemed willing to suffer, for the sake of religious privileges, this new species of martyrdom, the most tedious and languishing of any, the most mortifying to spiritual pride, and not rewarded by that crown of glory, which the church holds up, with such ostentation, to her devoted adherents.

But as the supplies granted by parliament, though considerable, were not sufficient to answer the king's necessities, and that levied by compositions with the clergy came in slowly, Edward, for the purpose of obtaining farther supply, exerted his arbitrary power, and laid an oppressive hand on all orders of men in the kingdom. He limited the merchants in the quantity of wool allowed to be exported; and at the same time forced them to pay him a duty of forty shillings a sack, which was computed to be above the third of the value. He seized all the rest of the wool, as well as all the leather of the kingdom, into his hands, and disposed of these commodities for his own benefit: he required the sheriffs of each county to supply him with two thousand quarters of wheat, and as many of oats, which he permitted them to seize wherever they could find them: the cattle and other commodities necessary for supplying his army were laid hold of without the consent of the owners; and though he promised to pay afterwards the equivalent of all these goods, men saw but little probability that he could ever be reduced to a strict observance of his engagements. He evinced, at the same time an equal disregard to the principles of the feudal law, by which all the lands of this kingdom were held. In order to increase his army, and enable him to support that great effort which he intended to make against France, he required the attendance of every proprietor of land possessed of twenty pounds a year, even though he held not of the crown, and was not obliged by his tenure to perform any such service.

These acts of violence and arbitrary power, notwithstanding the great personal regard generally borne to the king, created murmurs in every order of men; and it was not long ere some of the great nobility, jealous of their own privileges as well as of national liberty, gave countenance and authority to these complaints. Edward, assembled an army on the sea-coast, which he purposed to send over to Gascony, to make a diversion in that quarter, while he himself should in person make an impression on the side of Flanders; and he intended to put these forces under the command of Humphrey Bohun earl of Hereford, the high constable, and Roger Bigod earl of Norfolk, the mareschal of England. But these two powerful noblemen refused to execute his commands, and affirmed, that they were only obliged by their office to attend his person in the wars. A violent altercation ensued; and the king, in the height of his passion, addressed himself to the constable, exclaimed, "Sir earl, by the eternal God, you shall either go or hang." "By the eternal God, Sir King," replied Hereford, "I will neither go nor hang." And he immediately departed, accompanied by the mareschal, and more than thirty other considerable barons.

Upon this opposition, the king thought it prudent to lay aside the project of an expedition against Guienne: and to assemble the forces which he proposed to transport into Flanders. But the two earls, irritated in the contest and elated by impunity, pretending that none of their ancestors had ever served in that country, refused to perform the duty of their office in mustering the army. The king, now finding it advisable to proceed with moderation, instead of attainting the earls, who possessed their dignities by hereditary right, appointed Thomas de Berkeley, and Geoffrey de Geyneville, to act, in that emergency, as constable and mareschal. He endeavoured to reconcile himself with the church; took the primate again into favour; made him, in conjunction with Reginald de Grey, tutor to the prince, whom he intended to appoint guardian of the kingdom during his absence; and he even assembled a great number of the nobility in Westminster Hall, to whom he deigned to make an apology for his past conduct. He pleaded, by way of palliation, the urgent necessities of the crown; his extreme want of money; his engagements from honour as well as interest to support his foreign allies: and he promised, if ever he returned in safety, to redress all their grievances, to restore the due execution of the laws, and to make all his subjects ample compensation for the losses which they had sustained in the seizure of their effects. Meanwhile he begged them

to suspend their animosities; to judge of him by his future conduct, of which, he hoped, he should be more master; to remain faithful to his government, or, if he should perish in the present war to preserve their allegiance to his son and successor.

There were certainly, from the concurrence of discontents among the great, and grievances of the people, materials sufficient in any other period to have kindled a civil war in England; but the vigour and abilities of Edward kept every one in awe; and his dexterity, in stopping on the brink of danger, and retracting the measures to which he had been pushed by his violent temper and arbitrary principles, saved the nation from so great a calamity. The two great earls of Hereford and Norfolk dared not to break out into open violence: they proceeded no farther than framing a remonstrance, which was delivered to the king at Winchelsea, when he was ready to embark for Flanders. They there complained of the violations of the great charter, and of that of forests; the violent seizure of corn, leather, cattle, and above all, of wool, a commodity which they affirmed to be equal in value to half the lands of the kingdom; the arbitrary imposition of forty shillings a sack on the small quantity of wool allowed to be exported by the merchants; and they claimed an immediate redress of all these grievances. The king told them, that as the greater part of his council were now at a distance, he could not deliberate on measures of so great importance without their advice.

But the constable and mareschal, with the barons of their party, resolved to take advantage of Edward's absence, and to obtain an explicit assent to their demands. When summoned to attend the parliament at London, they came accompanied by all the barons of their party, and with a great body of cavalry and infantry; and before they would enter the city, required that the gates should be delivered into their custody. The primate, who secretly favoured all their pretensions, advised the council to comply with their request; and thus they became masters both of the young prince and of the resolutions of parliament. Their demands, however, were moderate; and such as sufficiently justify the purity of their intentions in all their past measures: they only required, that the two charters, which had been frequently violated should receive a solemn confirmation; that a clause should be added to secure the nation for ever against all impositions and taxes without consent of parliament; and that they themselves, and their adherents, who had refused to attend the king into Flanders, should be pardoned for the offence, and should be again received into favour. The young prince of Wales and his council assented to these terms; and the charters were sent over to the king in Flanders to be there confirmed by him. Edward felt the utmost reluctance to this measure, which, he apprehended, would for the future impose fetters on his conduct, and set limits to his lawless authority. On various pretences he delayed giving any answer to the disputes for three days; and when the pernicious consequences of his refusal were represented to him, he was at last obliged, after many internal struggles, to affix his seal to the charters, as also to the clause that bereaved him of the power, which he had hitherto assumed, of imposing arbitrary taxes on his subjects.

That we may finish at once this interesting transaction concerning the settlement of the charters, we shall briefly mention the subsequent events which relate to it. The constable and mareschal, informed of the king's compliance, were satisfied; and not only ceased from disturbing the government, but assisted the regency with their power against the Scots, who had risen in arms, and had thrown off the yoke of England. But being sensible, that the smallest pretence would suffice to make Edward retract these detested laws, which, though they had often received the sanction both of king and parliament, and had been acknowledged during three reigns, were never yet deemed to have sufficient validity; they insisted, that he should again confirm them on his return to England, and should thereby renounce all plea which he might derive from his residing in a foreign country, when he formerly affixed his seal to them. It appeared that they judged aright of Edward's character and intentions: he delayed his confirmation as long as possible; and when the fear of worse consequences obliged him to comply, he expressly added a salvo for his royal dignity or prerogative, which in effect enervated the whole force of the charters. The two earls and their adherents left the parliament in disgust; and the king was constrained, on a future occasion, to grant to the people, without any subterfuge, a clear and absolute confirmation of those laws, which were so much the object of their affection. Even farther securities were then provided for the establishment of national privileges. Three knights were appointed to be chosen in each county, and were invested with the power of punishing, by fine and imprisonment, every transgression or violation of the charters: a precaution which, though it was soon disused, as encroaching too much on royal prerogative, proves the attachment which the English, in that age, bore to liberty, and their well-grounded jealousy of the arbitrary disposition of Edward. The work, however, was not yet entirely finished and complete. In order to execute the lesser charter, it was requisite, by new perambulations, to set bounds to the royal forests, and to disafforest all land which former encroachments had comprehended within their limits. Edward discovered the same reluctance to comply with this equitable demand; and it was not till after many delays on his part, and many solicitations and requests, and even menaces of war and violence (z) on the part of the barons, that the perambulations were made, and exact boundaries fixed, by a jury in each county, to the extent of his forests. Had not his ambitious and active temper raised him so many foreign enemies, and obliged him to have recourse so often to the assistance of his subjects, it is not likely that those concessions could ever have been extorted from him. But while the people, after so many successful struggles, deemed themselves happy in the secure possession of their privileges, they were surprised in 1305 to find that Edward had secretly applied to Rome, and had procured, from that court, an absolution from all oaths and engagements, which he had so often reiterated, to observe both the charters. There are some historians so credulous as to imagine, that this perilous step was taken by him for no other purpose than to acquire the merit of granting a new confirmation of the charters, as he did soon after; and a confirmation so much the more unquestionable, as it could never after be invalidated by his successors, on pretence of any force or violence which had been imposed upon him. But besides that this might have been done with a better grace, if he had never applied for any such absolution, the whole tenor of his conduct proves him to be little susceptible of such refinements in patriotism; and this very deed itself, in which he confirmed the charters afresh, carries on the face of it a very opposite presumption. Though he ratified the charters in general, he still took advantage of the papal bull so far as to invalidate the late perambulations of the forests, which had been made with such care and attention, and to reserve to himself the power, in case of favourable incidents, to extend as much as formerly those arbitrary jurisdictions. If the power was not in fact made use of, we can only conclude that the favourable incidents did not offer. Thus, after the contests of near a whole century, and these ever accompanied with violent jealousies, often with public convulsions, the Great Charter was finally established; and the English nation have the honour of extorting, by their perseverance, this concession from the ablest, the most warlike, and the most ambitious of all their princes (a). It is computed, that above thirty confirmations of the charter were at different times required of several kings, and granted by them in full parliament; a precaution which, while it discovers some ignorance of the true nature of law and government, proves a laudable jealousy of national privileges in the people, and an extreme anxiety lest contrary precedents should ever be pleaded as an authority for infringing them. Accordingly we find, that, though arbitrary practices often prevail, and were even able to establish themselves into settled customs, the validity of the Great Charter was never afterwards formally disputed; and that grant was still regarded as the basis of English government, and the

(z) We are told by Tyrrell, vol. ii. p. 145. from the Chronicle of St. Alban's, that the barons, not content with the execution of the charter of forests, demanded of Edward as high terms as had been imposed on his father by the earl of Leicester; but no other historian mentions this particular.

(a) It must, however, be remarked, that the king never forgave the chief actors in this transaction; and he found means afterwards to oblige both the constable and mareschal to resign their offices into his hands. The former received a new grant of it: but the office of mareschal was given to Thomas of Brotherton, the king's second son.

sure rule by which the authority of every custom was to be tried and canvassed. The jurisdiction of the star chamber, martial law, imprisonment by warrants from the privy-council, and other practices of a like nature, though established for several centuries, were scarcely ever allowed by the English to be parts of their constitution: the affection of the nation for liberty still prevailed over all precedent, and even all political reasoning: the exercise of these powers, after being long the source of secret murmurs among the people, was, in fulness of time, solemnly abolished as illegal, at least as oppressive, by the whole legislative authority.

Though the king's impatience to appear at the head of his armies in Flanders made him overlook all considerations, either of domestic discontents or of commotions among the Scots; his embarkation had been so long retarded by the various obstructions thrown in his way, that he lost the proper season for action, and after his arrival made no progress against the enemy. The king of France, taking advantage of his absence, had made an incursion into the Low Countries; had defeated the Flemings in the battle of Furnes; had made himself master of Lisle, St. Omer, Courtrai, and Ypres; and threatened to take full vengeance on the earl of Flanders, his rebellious vassal. But Edward, seconded by an English army of fifty thousand men, was soon able to stop the career of his victories; and Philip, finding all the weak resources of his kingdom nearly exhausted, began to dread a reverse of fortune, and to apprehend an invasion on France itself. The king of England, on the other hand, being disappointed of assistance from Adolphus, king of the Romans, which he had purchased at a very high price, and finding many urgent calls for his presence in England, was desirous of ending, on any honourable terms, a war which served only to divert his force from the execution of more important projects. This disposition in both monarchs soon produced a cessation of hostilities for two years; and engaged them to refer all their differences to the arbitration of the sovereign pontiff.

Boniface was among the last of the sovereign pontiffs that exercised an authority over the temporal jurisdiction of princes; and these exorbitant pretensions, which he had been tempted to assume from the successful example of his predecessors, but of which the season was now past, involved him in so many calamities, and were attended with so unfortunate a catastrophe, that they have been secretly abandoned, though never openly relinquished, by his successor in the apostolic chair. Edward and Philip equally jealous of papal claims, took care to insert in their reference, which was made in the year 1298, that Boniface was made judge of the difference by their consent, as a private person, not by any right of his pontificate; and the pope, without seeming to be offended at this mortifying clause, proceeded to give sentence between them in which they both acquiesced. He brought them to agree that their union should be cemented by a double marriage; that of Edward himself, who was now a widower, with Margaret, Philip's sister, and that of the prince of Wales with Isabella, daughter of that monarch. Philip was likewise willing to restore Guienne to the English, which he had indeed no good pretence to detain; but he insisted that the Scots, and their king John Baliol, should, as his allies, be comprehended in the treaty, and should be restored to their liberty. The difference, after several disputes, was compromised, by their making mutual sacrifices to each other. Edward agreed to abandon his ally the earl of Flanders, on condition that Philip should treat in like manner his ally the king of Scots. The prospect of conquering these two countries, whose situation made them so commodious an acquisition to the respective kingdoms, prevailed over all other considerations; and though they were both finally disappointed in their hopes, their conduct was very reconcileable to the principles of an interested policy. A peace was accordingly concluded at Montreuil, on the 9th of June, 1299, was ratified by the two monarchs on the 3d of August following, and, about a month after, Edward was married to the princess Margaret of France. This was the first specimen which the Scots had of the French alliance, and which was exactly conformable to what a smaller power must always expect, when it blindly attaches itself to the will and fortunes of a greater. That unhappy people, now engaged in a brave though unequal contest for their liberties, were totally abandoned, by the ally in whom they reposed their final confidence, to the will of an imperious conqueror.

Though England as well as other European countries was, in its ancient state, but ill qualified for making, and still worse for maintaining, conquests, Scotland was so much inferior in its internal force, and was so ill situated for receiving foreign succours, that it was no wonder Edward, an ambitious monarch, should have cast his eye on so tempting an acquisition, which brought both security and greatness to his native country. But the instruments which he employed to maintain his dominion over the northern nations were not happily chosen; and acted not with the requisite prudence and moderation in reconciling the Scots to a yoke which they bore with such extreme reluctance. Warrenne, earl of Surrey, retiring into England on account of his bad state of health, left the administration entirely in the hands of Ormesby, who was appointed justiciary of Scotland, and to Cressingham, who bore the office of treasurer; and a small military force remained to secure the precarious authority of those ministers. The latter had no other object than the gratification of his avarice by the most rapacious and illegal means. The former distinguished himself by the rigour and severity of his temper; and both of them treating the Scots as a conquered people, made them sensible too early of the grievous servitude into which they had fallen. As Edward required that all the proprietors of land should swear fealty to him; every one who refused or delayed giving this testimony of submission, was outlawed and imprisoned, and punished without mercy; and the bravest and most generous spirits of the nation were thus exasperated to the highest degree against the English government.

Every thing was now ripe for a revolution; and a leader was only wanting to head an enraged people, who evinced a determined resolution to rescue their country from the yoke of oppression. The task was arduous; it required extraordinary courage to attempt, and singular talents to accomplish it. The Scottish nobles, aware of the difficulties that must attend the desperate undertaking, stood aloof: that prudence which had ever distinguished the very natives of Caledonia was displayed in its full vigour; their valour, at this time impetuous, was rendered subservient to it, and this national virtue was so strongly implanted in their bosoms as to damp the ardour of patriotism.

In this emergency, there was one William Wallace, the son of a private gentleman in the West of Scotland, of a small fortune, but descended of an ancient family, whose courage prompted him to undertake, and enabled him finally to accomplish, the desperate attempt of delivering his native country from the dominion of foreigners. This man, whose valourous exploits are the object of just admiration, but have been much exaggerated by the traditions of his countrymen, had been provoked by the insolence of an English officer to put him to death; and finding himself obnoxious on that account to the severity of the administration, he fled into the woods, and offered himself as a leader to all those whom their crimes, or bad fortune, or avowed hatred of the English, had reduced to a like necessity. He was endowed with gigantic force of body, with heroic courage of mind, with disinterested magnanimity, with incredible patience, and ability to bear hunger, fatigue, and all the severities of the seasons; and he soon acquired, among those desperate fugitives, that authority to which his virtues so justly entitled him. Beginning with small attempts, in which he was always successful, he gradually proceeded to more momentous enterprizes; and he discovered equal caution in securing his followers, and valour in annoying the enemy. By his knowledge of the country he was enabled, when pursued, to ensure a retreat among the morasses, or forests, or mountains; and again collecting his dispersed associates, he unexpectedly appeared in another quarter, and surprized, and routed, and put to the sword the unwary English. Every day brought accounts of his great actions, which were received with no less favour by his countrymen than terror by the enemy: all those who thirsted after military fame were desirous to partake of his renown: his successful valour seemed to vindicate the nation from the ignominy into which it had fallen, by its tame submission to the English; and though no nobleman of note ventured as yet to join his party, he had gained a general confidence and attachment, which birth and fortune are not alone able to confer.

Wallace having, by many fortunate enterprizes, brought the valour of his followers to correspond to his own, resolved to strike a decisive blow against the English government; and he concerted the plan of surprizing Ormesby of Scone,

and of taking vengeance on him for all the violence and tyranny of which he had been guilty. The justiciary, apprized of his intentions, fled with precipitation into England; and all the other English officers imitated his example: their terror added alacrity and courage to the Scots, who betook themselves to arms in every quarter: many of the principal barons, and among the rest sir William Douglas, openly countenanced Wallace's party: Robert Bruce secretly favoured and promoted the cause; and the Scots, shaking off their fetters, prepared themselves to defend, by an united effort, that liberty which they had so unexpectedly recovered from the hands of their oppressors.

But Warrenne, collecting an army of forty thousand men in the north of England, determined to re-establish his authority; and he endeavoured, by the celerity of his march, to compensate for his past negligence, which had enabled the Scots to throw off the yoke of the English government. By a forced march he entered Annandale, and came up with the enemy at Iwine, before their forces were fully collected, and before they had put themselves in a proper posture of defence. Many of the Scottish nobles, alarmed with their dangerous situation, here submitted to the English, renewed their oaths of fealty, promised to deliver hotages for their good behaviour, and received a pardon for past offences. Others who had not yet declared themselves, such as the steward of Scotland, Richard Lundy, and the earl of Lenox, joined, though with reluctance, the English army; and waited a favourable opportunity for embracing the cause of their distressed countrymen. But Wallace, whose authority over his retainers was more fully confirmed by the defection of these great nobles, persevered obstinately in his purpose; and finding himself unable to give battle to the enemy, he marched northwards, with an intention of prolonging the war, and of turning to his advantage the situation of that mountainous and barren country. When Warrenne advanced to Stirling, he found Wallace encamped at Cambuskenneth, on the opposite banks of the Forth; and being continually urged by the impatient Cressingham, who was actuated both by personal and national animosities against the Scots, he prepared, notwithstanding the remonstrance of Richard Lundy, to attack them in that position, which Wallace, no less prudent than courageous, had chosen for his army. He ordered his army to pass a bridge which lay over the Forth; but he was soon convinced, by fatal experience, of the error of his conduct. Wallace, allowing such numbers of the English to pass as he thought proper, attacked them before they were fully formed, put them to rout, pushed part of them into the river, destroyed the rest by the edge of the sword, and gained a complete victory over them. Among the slain was Cressingham himself, whose memory was so extremely odious to the Scots, that they flayed his dead body, and made saddles and girths of the skin. This was on the 11h of September, 1297. Warrenne, finding the remainder of his army much dismayed by this misfortune, was obliged again to evacuate the kingdom, and retire into England. The castles of Roxborough and Berwick, ill fortified and feebly defended, fell soon into the hands of the Scots.

Wallace, universally revered as the deliverer of his country, now received from the hands of his followers the dignity of regent or guardian under the captive Baliol; and finding that the disorders of war, as well as the unfavourable seasons, had produced a famine in Scotland, he urged his army to march into England, to subsist at the expence of the enemy, and to revenge all past injuries, by retaliating on that hostile nation. The Scots, who deemed every thing possible under such a leader, joyfully attended his call. Wallace, breaking into the northern counties during the winter season, laid every place waste with fire and sword; and after extending on all sides, without opposition, the fury of his ravages as far as the bishopric of Durham, he returned, loaded with spoils, and crowned with glory, into his own country. The disorders which at that time prevailed in England, from the refractory behaviour of the constable and mareschal, made it impossible to collect an army sufficient to resist the enemy, and exposed the nation to this loss and dishonour.

The intelligence of these extraordinary events being transmitted to Edward, who was still on the continent, accelerated his return to England, where he arrived in the month of March, 1298, and was determined, by his activity and valour, not only of wiping off this disgrace, but of recovering the important conquest of Scotland, which he always regarded as the chief glory and advantage of his reign. He appeased the murmurs of his people by concessions and promises: he restored to the citizens of London the election of their own magistrates, of which they had been bereaved in the latter part of his father's reign: he ordered strict inquiry to be made concerning the corn and other goods which had been violently seized before his departure, as if he intended to pay the value to the owners: and making public professions of confirming and observing the charters, he regained the confidence of the discontented nobles. Having, by all these popular arts, acquired the affections of his people, he collected the whole military force of England, Wales, and Ireland, and marched with an army to the northern frontiers. When he arrived at Roxburgh he found himself at the head of eighty thousand foot and seven thousand horse.

Nothing could have enabled the Scots to resist but for one season so mighty a power, except an entire union among themselves; but as they were deprived of their king, whose personal qualities, even when he was present, appeared so contemptible, and had left among his subjects no principle of attachment to him or his family, factions, jealousies, and animosities arose among the great, and distracted all their councils. The elevation of Wallace, though purchased by so great merit and such eminent services, was the object of envy to the nobility, who dissatisfied at seeing a private gentleman raised above them by his rank, and still more by his glory and reputation. Wallace himself, sensible of their jealousy, and dreading the ruin of his country from those intestine discords, voluntarily resigned his authority, and retained only the command over that body of his followers, who, being accustomed to victory under his standard, refused to follow any other leader into the field. The chief power devolved on the steward of Scotland, and Cummin of Badenoch; men of eminent birth, under whom the great chieftains were more willing to serve in defence of their country. The two Scottish commanders, collecting their several forces from every quarter, fixed their station at Falkirk, and purposed there to abide the assault of the English. Wallace was at the head of a third body, which acted under his command. The Scottish army placed their pikemen along their front: lined the intervals between the three bodies with archers; and dreading the superiority of the English cavalry, endeavoured to secure their front by pallisadoes, tied together by ropes. In this disposition they expected the approach of the enemy.

The king, when he arrived in sight of the Scots, was pleased with the prospect of being able, by one decisive stroke, to determine the fortune of the war; and dividing his army also into three bodies, he led them to the attack on the 22d of July, 1298. The English archers, who began about this time to surpass those of other nations, first chased the Scottish bowmen off the field; then pouring in their arrows among the pikemen, who were cooped up within their entrenchments, threw them into disorder, and rendered the assault of the English pikemen and cavalry more easy and successful. The whole Scottish army was broken, and driven from the field with great slaughter; which the historians, attending more to the exaggerated relations of the populace than to the probability of things, make amount to fifty or sixty thousand men. It is only certain that the Scots never suffered a greater loss in any action, nor one which seemed to threaten more inevitable ruin to their country. In this general rout of the army, Wallace's military skill and presence of mind enabled him to keep his troops entire; and retiring behind the Carron, he marched leisurely along the banks of that small river, which protected him from the enemy. After the battle of Falkirk the king passed some time at Stirling for the recovery of his health, while his troops were employed in ravaging the country, and reducing the towns of Perth and St. Andrew's to ashes. He then directed his march westward, and found the castle of Ayr abandoned and burnt by Robert Bruce, who had once more forsaken the English interest. Edward would have pursued this wavering chieftain into Galloway; but was prevented by a scarcity of provisions: he therefore continued his march through the Forest of Selkirk to Annandale, where he reduced the castle of Lochmaban, and from thence proceeded to Carlisle. The subjection of Scotland, however, was not yet completed. The English army, after reducing the southern provinces, was obliged to retire, and left the northern counties in the hands of the natives.

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The Scots had by this time begun to recover from the consternation into which they had been thrown by the victory of Falkirk; and, being determined to renew the contest for their independence, had collected a body of troops, and invested the castle of Stirling. In order to hinder that important fortress from falling into their hands, Edward set out to join his army in the north, soon after his marriage with the princess Margaret of France; but when he arrived at Berwick, his barons, discontented with his neglect to perform the promises he had made them, refused to proceed into Scotland, under a pretence that the season was too far advanced for such an expedition: the king therefore was constrained to disband his troops, after sending permission to the garrison of Stirling Castle to surrender on the best terms they could procure. But as he had resolved to persevere in the conquest of Scotland, he found it necessary to remove the discontents of his barons; and for that purpose he summoned a parliament to meet at London in Lent, 1300. He there solemnly confirmed the two charters; and the sheriffs throughout England were ordered to publish them in the courts of justice every quarter. Farther securities were likewise provided for the establishment of national privileges. Three knights were appointed to be chosen in each county, who were invested with the power of punishing, by fine and imprisonment, every violation of the charters. But in order to execute the Charter of Forests, it was requisite by new perambulations to ascertain the exact boundaries of the royal forest, and to disafforest all lands which former encroachments had comprehended within their limits: for this purpose he issued writs to the sheriffs; and the boundaries were fixed by a jury in each county.

Having adopted these popular measures, he assembled his army about midsummer; and, entering the west of Scotland, took some castles, and penetrated into Galloway; where a petition was presented to him from the guardians and community of the realm, requesting he would permit their lawful sovereign, John Baliol, to return to his dominions, and reign over them in peace; and allow the Scottish nobles to redeem their lands from the English, to whom they had been granted. This curious petition, as might naturally have been supposed, was rejected with disdain.

Edward's progress was interrupted by the presence of the archbishop of Canterbury, who arrived in the English camp on the 26th of August, and presented to the king a letter which he had received from the pope. The Scots, during Edward's negociation with the king of France, had endeavoured, by application to foreign courts, to procure some assistance. Though Philip had rejected their supplications, the Scottish ministers had experienced greater success with the court of Rome. Boniface, pleased with an occasion of exerting his authority, wrote a letter to Edward, exhorting him to desist from his oppressions in Scotland; and displaying all the proofs, such as had probably been furnished him by the Scots themselves, for the ancient independence of that kingdom. Among other arguments, he mentioned the treaty conducted and finished by Edward himself, for the marriage of his son with the heiress of Scotland; a treaty which would have been absurd, had he been superior lord of the kingdom, and had possessed, by the provisions of the feudal law, the right of disposing of his ward in marriage. He enumerated several other striking facts, which fell within the compass of Edward's own knowledge; particularly, that Alexander, when he did homage to the king, openly and expressly declared in his presence, that he swore fealty not for his crown, but for the lands which he held in England: and the pope's letter might have passed for a reasonable one, had he not in being thus strenuous to confute the pretensions of Edward, subjoined his own claim to be liege lord of Scotland.

The extreme absurdity and imprudence of this claim, certainly not less unjust than the other, must have excited surprize equal to the indignation it inspired, had it issued from any other quarter; but the papal ambition had been so accustomed to soar on the wings of injustice, that no flight it could take, however lofty, or into regions hitherto unexplored, was able to create the smallest astonishment. His holiness pretended to derive this curious claim to the feudal sovereignty of Scotland from the most remote antiquity; and it was certainly a proof of his sagacity to place its foundation in times immemorial—in times that not only defied the exertions of memory, but rendered abortive the most laborious researches of plain temporal sense, unassisted by spiritual inspiration. But he seems to have deviated from his accustomed policy, in boldly asserting, that the justice of his claim was notorious, and its validity fully supported by prescription, when not a man in the kingdom had ever heard of its existence. He surely should have been content to rest his right in the mere antiquity of his claim, and have imputed its apparent novelty to the meekness and forbearance of his predecessors; and more especially to the mild, gentle, and unaspiring soul of the pious Hildebrand, whose mind, wholly absolved in spiritual contemplations, deigned not to bestow one solitary thought on the vain treasures of the earth; but, continually bent on the deity, recollecting that "all his paths are paths of peace," and encouraged by the benedictions of his Redeemer on the promoters of concord, wisely forbore to engage in terrestrial disputes; and rather chose to forego his pretensions, though founded in justice, or suffer claims of acknowledged validity to lie dormant, than by his powerful interference to give birth to discord, scatter desolation over the land, and deluge the plains with the blood of his fellow creatures.

It is somewhat extraordinary that arguments, such as Boniface advanced in support of his claim, should have been productive of considerable trouble both to the king and to his ministers. After some time passed in collecting materials for an answer to his holiness, they laid the affair before the parliament, which assembled at Lincoln on the 23th of January, 1301. The English barons, inspired with indignation at the presumption of a foreign priest, in summoning their sovereign to appear before him—for the pope had cited Edward to appear and plead his cause, either in person or by deputy, in his presence, before the expiration of six months—unanimously declared that they would not suffer their king to submit to such an indignity. A deed expressive of their sentiments, dated at Lincoln the 12th of February, was signed and sealed by one hundred and four of the temporal barons in the name of the whole parliament of England. Edward also made a reply, in his own name, to the letter of Boniface; which contains particulars no less singular and remarkable. He attempts to prove the superiority of England by historical facts, deduced from the period of Brutus the Trojan, who, he said, founded the British monarchy in the age of Eli and Samuel: he supports his position by all the events which passed in the island before the arrival of the Romans: and after laying great stress on the extensive dominions and heroic victories of king Arthur, he vouchsafes at last to descend to the time of Edward the Elder, with which, in his first speech to the states of Scotland, he had chosen to begin his claim of superiority. He asserts it to be a fact, "notorious and confirmed by the records of antiquity," that the English monarchs had often conferred the kingdom of Scotland on their own subjects; had dethroned these vassal kings when unfaithful to them; and had substituted others in their stead. He displays with great pomp the full and complete homage which William had done to Henry II., but forbears to mention the formal abolition of that extorted deed by king Richard, and the renunciation of all future claims of the same nature. Yet this paper he hypocritically begins with a solemn appeal to the Almighty, the searcher of hearts, for his own firm persuasion of the justice of his claim; and the barons assembled in parliament at Lincoln, concur in maintaining before the pope, under their seals, the validity of these pretensions. At the same time, however, they take care to inform Boniface, that, though they had justified their cause before him, they did not acknowledge him for their judge: they had sworn to maintain all its royal prerogatives, and would never permit the king himself, were he willing, to relinquish its independence.

That neglect, almost total, of truth and justice, which sovereign states discover in their transactions with each other, is an evil universal and inveterate; is one great source of the misery to which the human race is continually exposed; and it may be doubted whether, in many instances, it be found in the end to contribute to the interests of those princes themselves, who thus sacrifice their integrity to their politics. As few monarchs have lain under stronger temptations to violate the principles of equity, than Edward in his transactions with Scotland; so never were they violated with less scruple and reserve: yet his advantages were hitherto precarious and uncertain; and the Scots, once roused to arms and enured to war, began to appear a formidable enemy, even to this military and ambitious monarch.

At the time when the primate delivered the pope's letter

to his sovereign, Edward, whose troops were in great distress from a scarcity of provisions, had marched them back into England, and granted the Scots a truce from the 30th of October to Whitsunday in the following year. That time being now expired, he re-entered Scotland about Midsummer, attended by his son, the prince of Wales, and a powerful army. The Scots, being in no condition to hazard a battle, retired to their woods and mountains, contenting themselves with making excursions, in which they sometimes cut off detached parties of the English, and intercepted some convoys of provisions. Thus the whole campaign was passed without any action of importance; and Edward retired to Linlithgow at the approach of winter, where he signed a truce with the Scots, on the 26th of January, 1301, that was to continue till the 30th of November following. At the expiration of this second truce, he sent an army into Scotland under the command of John de Segrave, one of the most celebrated warriors of that age. This general divided his forces into three bodies, that marched at the distance of some miles from each other; and, as he expected no opposition, he advanced with the most careless security as far as Roslin, in the vicinity of Edinburgh. There he was attacked unexpectedly by the Scottish army, under the command of John Cummin, the regent, and sir Simon Frazer, who soon put his first division to flight, and pursued them with great slaughter. The few that escaped, flying to the second division, gave warning of the approach of the enemy: the soldiers ran to their arms; and were immediately led on to take revenge for the death of their countrymen. The Scots, elated with the advantage already obtained, made a vigorous impression upon them: the English, animated with a thirst of vengeance, maintained a stout resistance: the victory was long undecided between them; but at last declared itself entirely in favour of the former, who broke the English and chased them to the third division, now advancing with a hasty march to support their distressed companions. Many of the Scots had fallen in the two first actions; most of them were wounded; and all of them extremely fatigued by the long continuance of the combat: yet were they so transported with success and military rage, that, having suddenly recovered their order, and arming the followers of their camp with the spoils of the slaughtered enemy, they drove with fury upon the ranks of the dismayed English. The favourable moment decided the battle; which the Scots, had they met with a steady resistance, were not long able to maintain: the English were chased off the field: three victories were thus gained in one day: and the renown of these great exploits, seconded by the favourable dispositions of the people, soon made the regent master of all the fortresses in the south; and it became necessary for Edward to begin anew the conquest of the kingdom.

The Scots, independent of the advantages they had recently obtained, derived some encouragement from their hopes of assistance from France; but these were speedily defeated by a treaty of peace that was concluded on the 20th of May, 1303, between the kings of England and France, in which the Scots were totally neglected.

The king, having now no other enemies to contend with, prepared for this enterprize with his usual vigour and abilities. He assembled both a great fleet and a great army; and entering the frontiers of Scotland, appeared with a force which the enemy could not think of resisting in the open field: the English navy, which sailed along the coast, secured the army from any danger of famine: Edward's vigilance preserved it from surprizes; and by this prudent disposition they marched victorious from one extremity of the kingdom to the other, ravaging the open country, reducing all the castles, and receiving the submissions of all the nobility, even those of Cummin the regent. The most obstinate resistance was made by the castle of Brechin, defended by sir Thomas Maule; the place sustained a regular siege, and for some time defied all the efforts of the English to reduce it, and its gates were not opened, till the death of the governor by discouraging the garrison, obliged them to submit to the fate which had overwhelmed the rest of the kingdom. Wallace, though he attended the English army in their march, found but few opportunities of signalizing that valour which had formerly made him so terrible to his enemies.

Edward having completed his conquest, which employed him during the space of near two years, now undertook the more difficult work of settling the country, of establishing a new form of government, and of making his acquisition durable to the crown of England. He seems to have carried matters to extremity against the natives: he abrogated all the Scottish laws and customs: he endeavoured to substitute the English in their place: he entirely rased or destroyed all the monuments of antiquity: such records or histories as had escaped his former search were now burnt or dispersed; and he hastened, by too precipitate steps, to abolish entirely the Scottish name, and to sink it finally in the English.

Edward, however, still deemed his favourite conquest exposed to some danger, so long as Wallace was alive; and being prompted both by revenge and policy, he employed every art to discover his retreat, and become master of his person. At last, that hardy warrior, who was determined, amidst the universal slavery of his countrymen, still to maintain his independency, was betrayed into Edward's hands by sir John Monteith (*b*), his friend, whom he had made acquainted with the place of his concealment (*c*).

This heroic captive was immediately conveyed to London, and, on the day after his arrival, was brought to his trial at Westminster Hall. Being accused of treason, he pleaded "Not Guilty," though he objected at the same time to the competency of the court; he expatiated on the injustice and absurdity of preferring an accusation of treason against him, when he had never made submissions, swore fealty, or in any way acknowledged the sovereignty of that prince against whom the treason was said to be committed: he farther affirmed, that as he was a free-born native of an independent kingdom, he could not be deemed subject to the laws of a foreign country. But Edward, being enraged at some acts of violence committed by Wallace during the fury of war, had resolved to overawe the Scots by an example of severity: the judges therefore overruled a plea that should have been received as unanswerable, and condemned Wallace to die the death of a traitor. He was accordingly executed on Tower Hill on the 23rd of August, 1305. The conduct of Edward in this particular must reflect disgrace on his memory: brave and magnanimous himself, he should have respected similar qualities in an enemy, nor have suffered the voice of Revenge to silence the dictates of Justice. Though the character of Wallace has been variously represented, yet his actions must convince every impartial mind that his courage was intrepid, his patriotism ardent, and his integrity incorruptible.

But the barbarous policy of Edward failed of the purpose to which it was directed. The Scots, already disgusted at the great innovations introduced by the sword of a conqueror into their laws and government, were farther enraged at the injustice and cruelty exercised upon Wallace; and all the envy which, during his life-time, had attended that gallant chief, being now buried in his grave, he was universally regarded as the champion of Scotland, and the patron of her expiring independency. The people, inflamed with resentment, were every where disposed to rise against the English government; and it was not long ere a new and more fortunate leader presented himself, who conducted them to liberty, to victory, and to vengeance.

Robert Bruce, grandson of that Robert who had been one of the competitors for the crown, had succeeded, by his grandfather's and father's death, to all their rights; and the demise of John Baliol, together with the captivity of Edward, eldest son of that prince, seemed to open a full career to the aspiring genius of this young nobleman. He saw that the Scots, while the title to their crown had expired in the males of their ancient royal family, had been divided into parties nearly equal between the houses of Bruce and Baliol; and that every incident, which had since happened, had tended to wean them from any attachment to the latter. The slender capacity of John had proved unable to defend them against their enemies: he had meanly resigned his crown into the hands of the conqueror: he had, before his deliverance from captivity, reiterated that resignation in a manner seemingly voluntary; and had in that deed thrown out many reflections extremely dishonourable to his ancient subjects, whom he publicly called traitors, ruffians, and rebels, and with whom he declared he was determined to maintain no farther correspondence

(*b*) Sir John Monteith was governor of the castle of Dunbarton.

(*c*) Notwithstanding what the Scottish historians say concerning Wallace's being treacherously betrayed, we do not see reason to acquiesce in their opinion, for Monteith was an officer professedly attached to the interests of the English.

spondence: he had, during the time of his exile, adhered strictly to that resolution; and his son, being a prisoner, seemed ill qualified to revive the rights, now fully abandoned, of his family. Bruce therefore hoped that the Scots, so long exposed from the want of a leader to the oppressions of their enemies, would unanimously fly to his standard, and seat him on the vacant throne, to which he brought such plausible pretensions. His aspiring spirit, inflamed by the fervour of youth, and buoyed up by his natural courage, saw the glory alone of the enterprize, or regarded the prodigious difficulties which attended it, as the source only of farther glory. The miseries and oppressions which he had beheld his countrymen suffer in their unequal contest; the repeated defeats and misfortunes which they had undergone; proved to him so many incentives to bring them relief, and conduct them to vengeance against the haughty victor. The circumstances which attended Bruce's first declaration are variously related; but we shall rather follow the account given by the Scottish historians; not that their authority is in general anywise comparable to that of the English, but because they may be supposed sometimes better informed concerning facts which so nearly interested their own nation.

Bruce, who had long harboured in his breast the design of freeing his enslaved country, ventured at last to open his mind to John Cummin, earl of Badenoch, a powerful nobleman, with whom he lived in strict intimacy. He found his friend, as he imagined, fully possessed with the same sentiments; and he needed to employ no arts of persuasion to make him embrace the resolution of throwing off, on the first favourable opportunity, the usurped dominion of the English. But on the departure of Bruce, who attended Edward to London, Cummin, who either had all along dissembled with him, or began to reflect more coolly in his absence on the desperate nature of his undertaking, resolved to atone for his crime in assenting to this rebellion, by the merit of revealing the secret to the king of England. Edward did not immediately commit Bruce to custody; because he intended at the same time to seize his three brothers, who resided in Scotland; and he contented himself with secretly setting spies upon him, and ordering all his motions to be strictly watched. A nobleman of Edward's court, Bruce's intimate friend, was apprized of his danger; but not daring, amidst so many jealous eyes, to hold any conversation with him, he fell on an expedient to give him warning, that it was full time he should make his escape. He sent him by his servant a pair of gilt spurs, and a purse of gold, which he pretended to have borrowed from him; and left it to the sagacity of his friend to discover the meaning of the present. Bruce immediately contrived the means of his escape; and as the ground was at that time covered with snow, he had the precaution, it is said, to order his horses to be shod with their shoes inverted, that he might deceive those who should track his path over the open fields or cross roads, through which he purposed to travel. He arrived in a few days at his own castle at Lochmaban, where he communicated the treachery of Cummin to some particular friends; and being told that Cummin was at Dumfries, in Annandale, the chief seat of his family interest, he repaired thither, where he found a great number of the Scottish nobility assembled, and among the rest, John Cummin, his former associate.

The noblemen were astonished at the appearance of Bruce among them on the 10th of February; and still more when he discovered to them the object of his journey. He told them that he was come to live or die with them in defence of the liberties of his country, and hoped, with their assistance, to redeem the Scottish name from all the indignities which it had so long suffered from the tyranny of their imperious masters: that the sacrifice of the rights of his family was the first injury which had prepared the way for their ensuing slavery; and by resuming them, which was his firm purpose, he opened to them the joyful prospect of recovering from the fraudulent usurper their ancient and hereditary independence: that all past misfortunes had proceeded from their disunion; and they would soon appear no less formidable than of old to their enemies, if they now deigned to follow into the field their rightful prince, who knew no medium between death and victory: that their mountains, and their valour, which had, during so many ages, procured their liberty from all the efforts of the Roman empire, would still be sufficient, were they worthy of their generous ancestors, to defend them against the utmost violence of the English tyrant: that it was unbecoming men, born to the most ancient independence known in Europe, to submit to the will of any masters; but fatal to receive those who, being irritated by such persevering resistance, and inflamed with the highest animosity, would never deem themselves secure in their usurped dominion, but by exterminating all the ancient nobility, and even all the ancient inhabitants; and that, being reduced to this desperate extremity, it were better for them at once to perish, like brave men, with swords in their hands, than to dread long, and at last undergo the fate of the unfortunate Wallace, whose merits, in the brave and obstinate defence of his country, were finally rewarded by the hands of an English executioner.

The spirit with which this discourse was delivered, the bold sentiments which it conveyed, the novelty of Bruce's declaration, assisted by the graces of his youth and manly deportment, made deep impression on the minds of his audience, and roused all those principles of indignation and revenge with which they had long been secretly actuated. The Scottish nobles declared their unanimous resolution to use their utmost efforts in delivering their country from bondage, and to second the courage of Bruce, in asserting his and their undoubted rights against their common oppressors. Cummin alone, who had secretly taken his measures with the king, opposed this general determination; and by representing the great power of England, governed by a prince of such uncommon vigour and abilities, he endeavoured to set before them the certain destruction which they must expect, if they again violated their oaths of fealty, and shook off their allegiance to the victorious Edward. Bruce, already apprized of his treachery, and foreseeing the certain failure of all his own schemes of ambition and glory from the opposition of so potent a leader, took immediately his resolution; and moved partly by resentment, partly by policy, followed Cummin on the dissolution of the assembly, attacked him in the cloysters of the Grey Friars, through which he passed, and running him through the body, left him for dead. Sir Thomas Kirkpatrick, one of Bruce's friends, asking him soon after if the traitor was slain; "I believe so," replied Bruce. "And is that a matter," cried Kirkpatrick, "to be left to conjecture? I will secure him." Upon which he drew his dagger, ran to Cummin, and stabbed him to the heart (*d*).

The murder of Cummin affixed the seal to the conspiracy of the Scottish nobles: they had now no resource left but to shake off the yoke of England, or to perish in the attempt: the genius of the nation roused itself from its present dejection; and Bruce, flying to different quarters, excited his partizans to arms, attacked with success the dispersed bodies of the English, got possession of many of the castles, and having caused his authority to be acknowledged in most parts of the kingdom, was solemnly crowned and inaugurated in the abbey of Scone by the bishop of St. Andrews, (who had zealously embraced his cause,) on the 27th of March, 1306. The English were again chased out of the kingdom, except such as took shelter in the fortresses that still remained in their hands; and Edward found that the Scots, twice conquered in his reign, and often defeated, must yet be anew subdued. Not discouraged with these unexpected difficulties, he sent Aymer de Valence with a considerable force into Scotland, to check the progress of the malcontents; and that nobleman falling unexpectedly upon Bruce at Methven, in Perthshire, threw his army into such disorder as ended in a total defeat. Bruce fought with the most heroic courage, was thrice dismounted in the action, and as often recovered himself; but was at length obliged to yield to superior fortune, and take shelter, with a few followers, in the western isles. The earl of Athole, sir Simon Frazer, and sir Christopher Seton, who had been taken prisoners, were ordered by Edward to be executed as rebels and traitors. Many other acts of rigour were exercised by him; and that prince, vowing revenge against the whole Scottish nation, whom he deemed incorrigible in their aversion to his government, assembled a great army, and was preparing to enter the frontiers, sure of success, and determined to make the defenceless Scots the victims of his severity. About this time he was severely attacked with a dysentery, which con-

(*d*) This deed of Bruce and his associates, which contains circumstances justly condemned by our present manners, was regarded in that age as an effort of manly vigour and just policy. The family of Kirkpatrick took for the crest of their arms, which they still wear, a hand with a bloody dagger; and chose for their motto these words, "I will secure him;" the expression employed by their ancestor when he executed that violent action.

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fined him to his chamber, and a report was propagated that he was actually dead. To disprove it he departed from Carlisle on the 3rd of July, but the disorder rendered him so feeble that he was able to travel only three miles the first day. After a day's repose he renewed his journey, reached Burgh on the Sands, about five miles from Carlisle, on the 5th, and there expired in his tent, on the 7th of that month, 1307; enjoining with his last breath his son and successor to prosecute the enterprize, and never to desist till he had finally subdued the kingdom of Scotland. He expired in the sixty-ninth year of his age, and the thirty-fifth of his reign, hated by his neighbours, but extremely respected and revered by his own subjects (*e*).

The enterprizes finished by this prince, and the projects which he formed, and brought near to a conclusion, were more prudent, more regularly conducted, and more advantageous to the solid interests of his kingdom, than those which were undertaken in any reign, either of his ancestors or his successors. He restored authority to the government, disordered by the weakness of his father; he maintained the laws against all the efforts of his turbulent barons; he fully annexed to his crown the principality of Wales; he took many wise and vigorous measures for reducing Scotland to a like condition; and though the equity of this latter enterprize may reasonably be questioned, the circumstances of the two kingdoms promised such certain success, and the advantage was so visible of uniting the whole island under one head, that those who give great indulgence to reasons of state in the measures of princes, will not be apt to regard this part of his conduct with much severity. But Edward, however exceptionable his character may appear on the head of justice, is the model of a politic and warlike king: he possessed industry, penetration, courage, vigilance, and enterprize: he was frugal in all expences that were not necessary; he knew how to open the public treasures on a proper occasion; he punished criminals with severity; he was gracious and affable to his servants, and courtiers; and being of a majestic figure, expert in all military exercises, and in the main well-proportioned in his limbs, notwithstanding the great length and the smallness of his legs, (by which he obtained the appellation of Long Shanks,) he was as well qualified to captivate the populace by his exterior appearance, as to gain the approbation of men of sense by his more solid virtues.

The chief advantage which the people of England reaped, and still continue to reap, from the reign of this great prince, was the correction, extension, amendment, and establishment of the laws, which Edward maintained in great vigour, and left much improved to posterity: for the acts of a wise legislator commonly remain, while the acquisitions of a conqueror often perish with him. This merit has justly gained to Edward the appellation of the English Justinian. Not only the numerous statutes passed in his reign touch the chief points of jurisprudence, and, according to Sir Edward Coke (*f*), truly deserve the name of establishments, because they were more constant, standing, and durable laws than any made since; but the regular order maintained in his administration gave an opportunity to the common law to refine itself, and brought the judges to a certainty in their determinations, and the lawyers to a precision in their pleadings. Sir Matthew Hale has remarked the sudden improvement of English law during this reign; and ventures to assert, that till his own time it had never received any considerable increase (*g*). Edward settled the jurisdiction of the several courts; first established the office of justice of peace; abstained from the practice too common before him, of interrupting justice by mandates from the privy-council (*h*); repressed robberies and disorders (*i*); encouraged trade, by giving merchants an easy method of recovering their debts (*k*); and, in short, introduced a new face of things by the vigour and wisdom of his administration. As law began now to be well established, the abuse of that blessing began also to be remarked. Instead of their former associations for robbery and violence, men entered into formal combinations to support each other in law-suits; and it was found requisite to check this iniquity by act of parliament (*l*).

There happened in this reign a considerable alteration in the execution of the laws: the king abolished the office of chief justiciary, which he thought possessed too much power, and was dangerous to the crown (*m*): he completed the division of the court of exchequer into four distinct courts, which managed each its several branch, without dependence on any one magistrate; and as the lawyers afterwards invented a method, by means of their fictions, of carrying business from one court to another, the several courts became rivals and checks to each other; a circumstance which tended much to improve the practice of the law in England.

But though Edward appeared thus, throughout his whole reign, a friend to law and justice, it cannot be said that he was an enemy to arbitrary power; and in a government more regular and legal than was that of England in his age, such practices as those which may be remarked in his administration, would have given sufficient ground of complaint, and sometimes were, even in his age, the object of general displeasure. The violent plunder and banishment of the Jews; the putting of the whole clergy at once, and by an arbitrary edict, out of the protection of law; the seizing of all the wool and leather of the kingdom; the heightening of the impositions on the former valuable commodity; the new and illegal commission of Trailbaston; the taking of all the money and plate of monasteries and churches, even before he had any quarrel with the clergy; the subjecting of every man possessed of twenty pounds a year to military service, though not bound to it by his tenure; his visible reluctance to confirm the Great Charter, as if that concession had no validity from the deeds of his predecessors; the captious clause which he at last annexed to his confirmation; his procuring of the pope's dispensation from the oaths which he had taken to observe that charter; and his levying of talliages at discretion even after the statute, or rather charter, by which he had renounced that prerogative; these are so many demonstrations of his arbitrary disposition, and prove with what exception and reserve we ought to celebrate his love of justice. He took care that his subjects should do justice to each other; but he desired always to have his own hands free in all transactions, both with them and with his neighbours.

The chief obstacle to the execution of justice in those times was the power of the great barons; and Edward was perfectly qualified, by his character and abilities, for keeping these tyrants in awe, and restraining their illegal practices. This salutary purpose was accordingly the great object of his attention; yet was he imprudently led into a measure which tended to increase and confirm their dangerous authority. He passed a statute which, by allowing them to entail their estates, made it impracticable to diminish the property of the great families, and left them every means of increase and acquisition (*n*).

Edward observed a contrary policy with regard to the church: he seems to have been the first Christian prince that passed a statute of mortmain; and prevented by law the clergy from making new acquisitions of lands, which by the ecclesiastical canons they were for ever prohibited from alienating. The opposition between his maxims with regard to the nobility and to the ecclesiastics, leads us to conjecture that it was only by chance he passed the beneficial statute of mortmain, and that his sole object was to maintain the number of knights' fees, and to prevent the superiors from being defrauded of the profits of wardship, marriage, livery, and other emoluments arising from the feudal tenures. This is indeed the reason assigned in the statute itself, and appears to have been his real object in

(*e*) Edward had by his first wife, Eleanor of Castile, four sons; but Edward, his heir and successor, was the only one that survived him. She also bore him eleven daughters, most of whom died in their infancy: of the surviving, Joan was married first to Gilbert, earl of Gloucester, and after his death to Ralph de Monthermer: Margaret espoused John duke of Brabant: Elizabeth espoused first John, earl of Holland, and afterwards Humphrey de Bohun, earl of Hereford: Mary was a nun at Ambresbury. He had by his second wife Margaret of France, two sons and a daughter; Thomas, created earl of Norfolk, and mareschal of England; and Edmund, who was created earl of Kent by his brother when king. The princess died in her infancy.

(*f*) Institute, p. 156.

(*g*) History of the English Law, p. 158. 163.

(*h*) Articuli super Cart. cap. 6. Edward enacted a law to this purpose: but it is doubtful whether he ever observed it. We are sure that scarcely any of his successors did. The multitude of these letters of protection were the ground of a complaint by the commons in 3 Edward II. See Ryley, p. 525. This practice is declared illegal by the statute of Northampton, passed in the second of Edward III. but it still continued, like many other abuses. There are instances of it so late as the reign of queen Elizabeth.

(*i*) Statute of Winton.

(*k*) Statute of Acton Burnel.

(*l*) Statute of Conspirators.

(*m*) Spelman Gloss. in verbo *Justiciarius*. Gilbert's History of the Exchequer, p. 8.

(*n*) Brady of Boroughs, p. 25. from the Records.

enacting

enacting it. The author of the annals of Waverly ascribes this act chiefly to the king's anxiety for maintaining the military force of the kingdom; but adds that he was mistaken in his purpose; for that the Amalekites were overcome more by the prayers of Moses than by the sword of the Israelites. The statute of mortmain was often evaded afterwards by the invention of *uses*.

Edward was active in restraining the usurpations of the church; and, excepting his ardour for crusades, which adhered to him during his whole life, seems in other respects to have been little infected with superstition, the vice chiefly of weak minds. But the passion for crusades was really in that age the passion for glory. As the pope now felt himself somewhat more restrained in his former practice of pillaging the several churches in Europe, by laying impositions upon them, he permitted the generals of particular orders, who resided at Rome, to levy taxes on the convents subjected to their jurisdiction; and Edward was obliged to enact a law against this new abuse. It was also become a practice of the court of Rome to provide successors to benefices before they became vacant: Edward found it likewise necessary to prevent by law this species of injustice.

The tribute of one thousand marks a year, to which king John, in doing homage to the pope had subjected the kingdom, had been pretty regularly paid since his time, though the vassalage was constantly denied, and, indeed, for fear of giving offence, had been but little insisted on. The payment was called by a new name of *census*, not by that of tribute. King Edward seems to have always paid this money with great reluctance, and he suffered the arrears at one time to run on for six years (*o*), at another for eleven (*p*); but as princes in that age stood continually in need of the pope's good offices, for dispensations of marriage and for other concessions, the court of Rome always found means, sooner or later, to get possession of the money. The levying of first-fruits was also a new device begun in this reign, by which his holiness thrust his fingers very frequently into the purses of the faithful; and the king seems to have unwarily given way to it.

In the former reign the taxes had been partly scutages, partly such a proportional part of the moveables as was granted by parliament: in this scutages were entirely dropped; and the assessment on moveables was the chief method of taxation. Edward in his fourth year had a fifteenth granted him; in his fifth year a twelfth; in his eleventh year a thirtieth from the laity, a twentieth from the clergy; in his eighteenth year a fifteenth, in his twenty-second year a tenth from the laity, a sixth from London and other corporate towns, half of their benefices from the clergy; in his twenty-third year an eleventh from the barons and others, a tenth from the clergy, a seventh from the burgesses; in his twenty-fourth year a twelfth from the barons and others, an eighth from the burgesses, from the clergy nothing, because of the pope's inhibition; in his twenty-fifth year an eighth from the laity, a tenth from the clergy of Canterbury, a fifth from those of York; in his twenty-ninth year a fifteenth from the laity, on account of his confirming the perambulations of the forests; the clergy granted nothing; in his thirty-third year, first a thirtieth from the barons and others, and a twentieth from the burgesses, then a fifteenth from all his subjects; in his thirty-fourth year a thirtieth from all his subjects for knighting his eldest son.

These taxes were moderate; but the king had also duties upon exportation and importation granted him from time to time: the heaviest were commonly upon wool. Poundage, or a shilling a pound, was not regularly granted the kings for life till the reign of Henry V.

In 1296 the famous mercantile society, called the "Merchant Adventurers," had its first origin: it was instituted for the improvement of the woollen manufacture, and the vending of the cloth abroad, particularly at Antwerp (*q*). For the English at this time scarcely thought of any more distant commerce.

This king granted a charter or declaration of protection and privileges to foreign merchants, and also ascertained the customs or duties which those merchants were in return to pay on merchandize imported and exported. He promised them security; allowed them a jury on trials, consisting half of natives, half of foreigners; and appointed them a justiciary in London for their protection. But notwithstanding this seeming attention to foreign merchants, Edward did not free them from the cruel hardship of making one answerable for the debts, and even for the crimes, of another that came from the same country (*r*). We read of such practices among the present barbarous nations. The king also imposed on them a duty of two shillings on each tun of wine imported, over and above the old duty; and forty pence on each sack of wool exported, besides half a mark on the former duty (*s*).

In the year 1303 the Exchequer was robbed, and of no less a sum than one hundred thousand pounds, as is pretended (*t*). The abbot and monks of Westminster were indicted for this robbery, but acquitted. It does not appear that the king ever discovered the criminals with certainty; though his indignation fell on the society of Lombard merchants, particularly the Frescobaldi, very opulent Florentines.

The pope having, in 1307, collected much money in England, the king enjoined the nuncio not to export it in specie, but in bills of exchange (*u*). A proof that commerce was but ill understood at that time.

(*o*) Rymer, vol. ii. p. 77. 107. (*p*) Id. p. 862.
(*q*) Anderson's History of Commerce, vol. i. p. 137.
(*r*) Id. p. 146.

(*s*) Rymer, vol. iv. p. 361. It is the charter of Edw. I. which is there confirmed by Edw. III.
(*t*) Rymer, vol. ii. p. 930. (*u*) Ibid. p. 1092.

CHAP. VI.

EDWARD II.

THE prepossessions entertained in favour of Edward the Second kept the English from being fully sensible of the loss which they had sustained by the death of his father; and all men came with alacrity to take the oath of allegiance to his son and successor. This prince was in the twenty-third year of his age, of an agreeable figure, of a mild and gentle disposition, and having never discovered a propensity to any dangerous vice, it was natural to prognosticate tranquillity and happiness from his government. But the first act of his reign blasted all these hopes, and shewed him to be totally unqualified for that perilous situation, in which every English monarch, during those ages, had, (from the unstable form of the constitution, and the turbulent dispositions of the people derived from it,) the misfortune to be placed. The indefatigable Robert Bruce, though his army had been dispersed, and himself had been obliged to take shelter in the western isles, remained not long inactive; but before the death of the late king, had sallied from his retreat, had again collected his followers, had appeared in the field, and had obtained by surprize an important advantage over Aymer de Valence, who commanded the English forces. He was now become so considerable as to have afforded the king of England sufficient glory in subduing him, without incurring any danger of seeing all those mighty preparations made by his father fail in the enterprize. But Edward, having passed three weeks at Carlisle in receiving the homage of his barons and other military tenants of the crown, began his march to Scotland on the first of August, 1307, and on his arrival at Dumfries, received the oath of fealty from such of the Scottish nobles as chose to obey the citation he had previously issued for their attendance. But, far from pursuing the vigorous measures adopted by his father for the reduction of Bruce and his adherents, he advanced no farther than Cumnock, in the shire of Ayr, and having staid there but a few days, appointed Aymer de Valence, earl of Pembroke, guardian of Scotland; and returned to England himself in the beginning of September, after disbanding a considerable part of his army. His grandees perceived from this conduct, that the authority of the crown, fallen into such feeble hands, was no longer to be dreaded, and that every insolence might be practised by them with impunity.

The next measure taken by Edward, during his residence at Dumfries, gave them an inclination to attack those prerogatives which no longer kept them in awe. There was one Piers Gavaston, son of a Gascon knight of some distinction, who had honourably served the late king, and who, in reward of his merits, had obtained an establishment for his son in the family of the prince of Wales. This young man soon insinuated himself into the affections of his master, by his agreeable behaviour, and by supplying him with all those innocent, though frivolous amusements

which suited his capacity and his inclinations. He was endowed with the utmost elegance of shape and person, was noted for a fine mien and easy carriage, distinguished himself in all warlike and genteel exercises, and was celebrated for those quick sallies of wit in which his countrymen usually excel. By all these accomplishments he gained so entire an ascendant over young Edward, whose heart was strongly disposed to friendship and confidence, that the late king, apprehensive of the consequences, had banished him the kingdom, and had, before he died, made his son promise never to recal him. But no sooner did he find himself master, as he vainly imagined, than he sent for Gavaston; and even before his arrival at court, endowed him with the whole earldom of Cornwall, which had escheated to the crown by the death of Edmund, son of Richard, king of the Romans. Not content with conferring on him those possessions, which had sufficed as an appanage for a prince of the blood, he daily loaded him with new honours and riches; married him to his own niece, sister to the earl of Gloucester; and seemed to enjoy no pleasure in his royal dignity, but as it enabled him to exalt to the highest splendour this object of his affections. Actuated by the counsels of this foreign favourite, he displaced all his principal ministers: the chancellor, treasurer, judges, and barons of the Exchequer, were removed, and their offices conferred on the creatures of Gavaston. Langton, bishop of Litchfield, was committed to prison; and the temporalities of his see were sequestered, until his conduct and management of the treasury during the late reign could be fully investigated: while Gavaston himself, being appointed great chamberlain and secretary of state, governed the whole kingdom as prime minister.

The haughty barons, offended at the superiority of a minion, whose birth, though reputable, they despised as much inferior to their own, concealed not their discontent; and soon found reasons to justify their animosity in the character and conduct of the man they hated. Instead of disarming envy by the moderation and modesty of his behaviour, Gavaston displayed his power and influence with the utmost ostentation; and deemed no circumstance of his good fortune so agreeable as its enabling him to eclipse and mortify all his rivals. He was vain-glorious, profuse, rapacious; fond of exterior pomp and appearance, giddy with prosperity; and as he imagined that his fortune was now as strongly rooted in the kingdom, as his ascendant was uncontrolled over the weak monarch, he was negligent in engaging partizans, who might support his sudden and ill-established grandeur. At all tournaments he took delight in foiling the English nobility by his superior address: in every conversation he made them the object of his wit and raillery: every day his enemies multiplied upon him; and nought was wanting but a little time to cement their union, and render it fatal both to him and to his master.

The king now determined to take a journey to France, both in order to do homage for the duchy of Guienne, and to espouse the princess Isabella, to whom he had long been affianced, though unexpected accidents had hitherto retarded the completion of the marriage. Edward left Gavaston guardian of the realm, with a power to grant congés d'elire for ministers of cathedral and conventual churches; to receive the oaths from prelates at their election; to restore temporalities; to dispose of the prebendaries and benefices that were in the gift of the crown; and to bestow such wardships as might fall during the king's residence on the continent. Regardless of the murmurs excited by this imprudent mark of attachment to a foreigner, Edward crossed the sea to Boulogne in the month of January, 1308, where he did homage to the king of France for the duchy of Guienne; and the next day his nuptials were celebrated with great magnificence. Having feasted some days with the kings of France, Navarre, and Sicily, who assisted at his marriage, he returned to England on the 7th of February, with his consort, and a splendid train of French nobility: their coronation was performed in Westminster Abbey, on the 25th of the same month, by the bishops of Winchester, Salisbury, and Chichester, commissioned by Winchelsea the primate, whose suspension had been removed by the pope at the intercession of Edward; though he was prevented by sickness from assisting at the ceremony.

On his return with his young queen, Edward renewed all the proofs of that fond attachment to the favourite, of which every one so loudly complained. This princess was of an imperious and intriguing spirit; and finding that her husband's capacity required, as his temper inclined, him to be governed, she thought herself best intitled, on every account, to perform the office; and she contracted a mortal hatred against the person who had disappointed her in these expectations. She was well pleased, therefore, to see a combination of the nobility forming against Gavaston, who, sensible of her hatred, had wantonly provoked her by new insults and injuries.

Thomas, earl of Lancaster, cousin-german to the king, and first prince of the blood, was by far the most opulent and powerful subject in England, and possessed in his own right, and soon after in that of his wife, heiress of the family of Lincoln, no less than six earldoms, with a proportionable estate in land, attended with all the jurisdictions and power which commonly in that age were annexed to landed property. This nobleman was turbulent and factious in his disposition; mortally hated the favourite, whose influence over the king exceeded his own; and he soon became the head of that party among the barons, who desired the depression of this insolent stranger. The confederated nobles assembled in the refectory of Westminster Abbey, bound themselves by oath to expel Gavaston: both sides began already to put themselves in a warlike posture: the licentiousness of the age broke out in robberies and other disorders, the usual prelude of civil war; and the royal authority, despised in the king's own hands, and hated in those of Gavaston, became insufficient for the execution of the laws, and the maintenance of peace in the kingdom. A parliament being summoned to meet at Westminster on the 28th of April, Lancaster and his party came thither with an armed retinue; and were there enabled to impose their own terms on the sovereign. They required the banishment of Gavaston for life, imposed an oath on him never to return, and engaged the bishops, who never failed to interpose in all civil concerns, to pronounce him excommunicated, if he remained any longer in the kingdom. Edward was obliged to submit; but even in his compliance gave proofs of his attachment to his favourite (*v*).

Meanwhile the king, less shocked with the illegal violence which had been imposed upon him, than unhappy in the absence of his minion, employed every expedient to soften the opposition of the barons to his return; as if success in that point were the chief object of his government. The high office of hereditary steward was conferred on Lancaster: his father-in-law, the earl of Lincoln, was bought off by other grants: earl Warrenne was also mollified by civilities, grants, or promises: the insolence of Gavaston, being no longer before men's eyes, was less the object of general indignation; and Edward, deeming matters sufficiently prepared for his purpose, applied to the court of Rome, and obtained for Gaveston a dispensation from that oath which the barons had compelled him to take, that he would for ever abjure the realm. The recall was then issued; and the infatuated prince flew with the impatient ardour of a youthful bridegroom to meet his favourite at Chester, on his first landing from Ireland (*w*); flew into his arms with transports of joy; and having obtained the formal consent of the barons in parliament, which assembled on the 26th of July, to his re-establishment, set no longer any bounds to his extravagant fondness and affection.

Had the king and his favourite been capable of deriving wisdom from experience, they would have been careful, by prudence and moderation, to preserve the tranquillity they were now allowed to enjoy: but the insolence of Gavaston, whom no lesson of adversity could improve, was rather increased than diminished by the disgrace he had so lately experienced. His former life of dissipation and prodigality was renewed; and, with the view to secure a strong party in his favour, he prevailed on the king to deprive a great number of people of their places, and to bestow them on his own adherents. This imprudent conduct revived the animosity of the whole nation; the nobles were incensed at his presumption; and the earl of Lancaster, in particular, vowed revenge against him for some private injury which he had sustained at his hands. Their

(*v*) Instead of removing all umbrage by sending him to his own country, as was expected, he appointed him lord lieutenant of Ireland, attended him to Bristol on his journey thither, and before his departure conferred on him new lands and riches both in Gascony and England. Gavaston, who did not want bravery, and possessed talents for war, acted during his government with vigour against some Irish rebels, whom he reduced to obedience.

(*w*) This minion of the king's arrived in England about the close of June, 1309.

murmurs of discontent, however, seem to have inspired him with no kind of apprehension; on the contrary, he expressed the utmost contempt for their resentment. The first noblemen in the kingdom became the subject of his sarcasms and ridicule; and, though an object of universal detestation, he thought himself secure in the smiles of his sovereign, and set the machinations of his enemies at defiance.

The king, in order to avert the storm which he saw gathering over the head of his favourite, made a progress into the North; and summoned a parliament to meet at York, on the 18th of October, 1309, in which Gavaston took his seat as earl of Cornwall. But the barons, taking this opportunity to express their displeasure, refused to attend it; and finding that this expedient had not been successful, they began to think of employing sharper and more effectual remedies. Though there had scarcely been any national ground of complaint, except some dissipation of the public treasure: though all the acts of mal-administration, objected to the king and his favourite, seemed of a nature more proper to excite heart-burnings in a ball or assembly, than commotions in a great kingdom: yet such was the situation of the times, that the barons were determined, and were able, to make them the reasons of a total alteration in the constitution and civil government. As the barons refused to attend the parliament summoned to meet on the 18th of October, it was prorogued till the 13th of February, 1310; but the cause for complaint still subsisting, the barons again refused to attend; so that the king, whose necessities required an immediate supply, desired his favourite to absent himself for a time, and issued a third summons for the parliament to meet in March. It accordingly met at Westminster, and the barons attended: but in open defiance of the laws, and in contempt of the king's prohibition; for, as they came accompanied with a numerous retinue of armed followers, they found themselves entirely masters; and presented a petition, which was equivalent to a command, requiring Edward to devolve on a chosen junto the whole authority, both of the crown and of the parliament. The king was obliged to sign a commission, empowering the prelates and barons to elect twelve of their own order, under the title of Ordainers, who should, till the term of Michaelmas in the year following, have authority to enact ordinances for the government of the kingdom, and regulation of the king's household; consenting that these ordinances should thenceforth and for ever have the force of laws; allowing the ordainers to form associations among themselves and their friends, for their strict and regular observance; and all this for the greater glory of God, the security of the church, and the honour and advantage of the king and kingdom. The barons in return signed a declaration; in which they acknowledged that they owed these concessions merely to the king's free grace; promised that this commission should never be drawn into precedent; and engaged that the power of the Ordainers should expire at the time appointed (*x*).

The chosen junto accordingly framed their ordinances, and presented them to the king and parliament for their confirmation in the ensuing year. Some of these ordinances were laudable, and tended to the regular execution of justice: such as those requiring sheriffs to be men of property, abolishing the practice of issuing privy seals for the suspension of justice, restraining the practice of purveyance, prohibiting the adulteration and alteration of the coin, excluding foreigners from the farms of the revenue, ordering all payments to be regularly made into the exchequer, revoking all late grants of the crown, and giving the parties damages in the case of vexatious prosecutions. But what chiefly grieved the king, was the ordinance for the removal of evil counsellors, by which a great number of persons were by name excluded from every office of power and profit; and Piers Gavaston himself was for ever banished the king's dominions, under the penalty, in case of disobedience, of being declared a public enemy. Other persons, more agreeable to the barons, were substituted in all the offices. And it was ordained, that for the future all the considerable dignities in the household, as well as in the law, revenue, and military governments, should be appointed by the baronage in parliament; and the power of making war, or assembling his military tenants, should no longer be invested solely in the king, nor be exercised without the consent of the nobility.

Edward, from the same weakness both in his temper and situation, which had engaged him to grant this unlimited commission to the barons, was led to give a parliamentary sanction to their ordinances: but as a consequence of the same character, he secretly made a protest against them, and declared, that since the commission was granted only for the making of ordinances to the advantage of king and kingdom, such articles as should be found prejudicial to both, were to be held as not ratified and confirmed. It is no wonder, indeed, that he retained a firm purpose to revoke ordinances which had been imposed on him by violence, which entirely annihilated the royal authority, and above all, which deprived him of the company and society of a person whom, by an unusual infatuation, he valued above all the world, and above every consideration of interest or tranquillity.

As soon, therefore, as Edward, removing to York, had freed himself from the immediate terror of the barons' power, he invited back Gavaston from Flanders, which that favourite had made the place of his retreat; and declaring his banishment to be illegal, and contrary to the laws and customs of the kingdom, openly re-instated him in his former credit and authority. The barons, highly provoked at this disappointment, and apprehensive of danger to themselves, from the declared animosity of so powerful a minion, saw that either his or their ruin was now inevitable; and they renewed, with redoubled zeal, their former confederacy against him. The earl of Lancaster was a dangerous head of this alliance. Guy, earl of Warwick, entered into it with a furious and precipitate passion: Humphrey Bohun, earl of Hereford, the constable, and Aymer de Valence, earl of Pembroke, brought to it a great accession of power and interest: even earl Warrenne deserted the royal cause, which he had hitherto supported, and was reduced to embrace the side of the confederates. And as Robert de Winchelsea, archbishop of Canterbury, professed himself of the same party, he determined the body of the clergy, and consequently the people, to declare against the king and his minion. So predominant at that time was the power of the great nobility, that the combination of a few of them was always able to shake the throne; and such an universal concurrence became irresistible. The earl of Lancaster suddenly raised an army, and marched to York, where he found the king already removed to Newcastle. He flew thither in pursuit of him; and Edward had just time to escape to Tinmouth, where he embarked, and sailed with Gavaston to Scarborough. He left his favourite in that fortress, which, had it been properly supplied with provisions, was deemed impregnable; and he marched forward to York, in hopes of raising an army, which might be able to support him against his enemies. Pembroke was sent by the confederates to besiege the castle of Scarborough; and Gavaston, sensible of the bad condition of his garrison, was obliged to capitulate, and to surrender himself prisoner on the 19th of May, 1312. He stipulated that he should remain in Pembroke's hands for two months; that endeavours should, during that time, be mutually used for a general accommodation; that if the terms proposed by the barons were not accepted, the castle should be restored to him in the same condition as when he surrendered it; and that the earl of Pembroke and Henry Piercy should, by contract, pledge all their lands for the fulfilling of these conditions. Pembroke, now master of the person of this public enemy, conducted him to the castle of Dedington, near Banbury, in Oxfordshire; where, on pretence of other business, he left him, protected by a feeble guard. Warwick, probably in concert with Pembroke, attacked the castle on the 17th of June: the garrison refused to make any resistance: Gavaston was yielded up to him, and conducted to Warwick castle: the earls of Lancaster, Hereford, and Arundel, immediately repaired thither;

(*x*) In those ages, when the government was subject to such continual revolutions, the situation of the people must have been truly deplorable; for, whenever the monarch sought to infringe on their rights by an undue exercise of his prerogative, the haughty and imperious barons, under pretence of reformation, seldom failed to make encroachments more dangerous to the constitution, and more fatal to the interests and happiness of society. Had a sovereign, endued with wisdom, prudence, and penetration, been anxious to establish a despotic and unlimited authority, he might easily have accomplished his purpose, by leaguing with the people against their aristocratical tyrants, who were always odious from continued oppression; and on the ruins of their power he might have raised his own on a solid foundation.

thither; and without any regard either to the laws, or the military capitulation, they ordered the head of the noxious favourite to be struck off by the hands of the executioner (*y*).

The king had retired northward to Berwick when informed of Gavaston's murder; and his resentment was proportioned to the affection which he had ever borne him while living. He threatened vengeance on all the nobility who had been active in that bloody scene, and made preparations for war in all parts of England. But he was not possessed of sufficient authority to ensure success to his endeavours; and having received intelligence that the confederated barons were advancing by hasty marches to the metropolis, at the head of an army more powerful and numerous than his own, the ardour of revenge became suddenly damped, and he appeared disposed to listen to conciliatory terms.

The count of Evreux, the queen's uncle; cardinal Arnaud, the pope's nuncio; and the earls of Gloucester and Richmond, offering themselves as mediators at this favourable juncture, a treaty was set on foot between the king and the barons. During the negociation the queen was delivered of a son, prince Edward, at Windsor, on the 13th of November; and Edward, whose weak mind was not susceptible of lasting impression, appears to have experienced such joy on this occasion, that he forgot his murdered favourite, and expressed his willingness to accede to any reasonable terms which his nobles might think proper to impose. In consequence of this disposition, a peace was concluded on the 30th of December, 1312; by which he granted the barons a pardon of all offences; and as they stipulated to ask him publicly pardon on their knees, he was so pleased with these vain appearances of submission, that he seemed to have sincerely forgiven all past injuries. But as they still pretended, notwithstanding their lawless conduct, a great anxiety for the maintenance of law, and required the establishment of their former ordinances as a necessary security for that purpose, Edward told them, that he was willing to grant them a free and legal confirmation of such of these ordinances as were not entirely derogatory to the prerogative of the crown. This answer was received, for the present, as satisfactory. The king's person, after the death of Gavaston, was now become less contemptible to the public; and as the ordinances insisted on appeared to be nearly the same with those which had formerly been extorted from Henry III. by Montfort, and which had been attended with so many fatal consequences, they were, on that account, demanded with less vehemence by the nobility and people.

In the interval between the meeting of parliament, Edward, having appointed his nephew, the earl of Gloucester, guardian of the realm, embarked at Dover for France, on the 23rd of May, with his queen, and a splendid retinue, to attend at the coronation of his brother-in-law, Louis, king of Navarre, which was performed at Paris on the 3rd of April.

During his stay on the continent, he sent over a commission to the bishops of Bath and Worcester, and the earls of Gloucester and Richmond, to hold a parliament; which was summoned to meet at Westminster on the 8th of July. But the king's absence prevented the transaction of business; and the barons, becoming impatient at his neglect to fulfil the conditions of his treaty with them, (for he certainly shewed a reluctance to comply with the terms agreed upon,) vented their discontent in murmurs, and threatened to have recourse to arms: but Edward arriving soon after, and being made sensible of the danger of trifling any longer with men whose minds were so turbulent, and whose power was so formidable, summoned a parliament to meet on the 23rd of September, when he complied with the terms of the pacification. The barons came into Westminster Hall, and on their knees implored his pardon; which the king soon after published, and which extended to themselves and all their adherents: but on the 17th of October, particular pardons passed the great seal, to the earls of Lancaster, Hereford, and Warwick, and about five hundred knights and gentlemen of their party, whose names were mentioned. As a proof that their reconciliation was sincere, the barons and knights of shires granted the king a twentieth, and the citizens and burgesses a fifteenth, of their moveables, to enable him to prosecute with vigour the war against Scotland.

Immediately after Edward's retreat from Scotland, as mentioned above, Robert Bruce left his fastnesses, in which he intended to have sheltered his feeble army; and supplying his defect of strength by superior vigour and abilities, he made deep impression on all his enemies, foreign and domestic. He chased lord Argyle, and the chieftain of the Macdowals, from their hills, and made himself entirely master of the high country: he thence invaded, with success, the Cummins in the low countries of the north: he took the castles of Inverness, Forfar, and Brechin. He daily gained some new accession of territory; and, what was a more important acquisition, he daily reconciled the minds of the nobility to his dominion, and inlisted under his standard every bold leader, whom he enriched by the spoils of his enemies. Sir James Douglas, in whom commenced the greatness and renown of that warlike family, seconded him in all his enterprizes: Edward Bruce, Robert's own brother, distinguished himself by acts of valour: and the terror of the English power being now abated by the feeble conduct of the king, even the least sanguine of the Scots began to entertain hopes of recovering their independence; and the whole kingdom, except a few fortresses, which he had not the means to attack, had acknowledged the authority of Robert.

In this situation, Edward had found it necessary to grant a truce to Scotland; and Robert successfully employed the interval in consolidating his power, and introducing order into the civil government, disjointed by a long continuance of wars and factions. The interval was very short: the truce, ill observed on both sides, was at last openly violated; and war recommenced with greater fury than ever. Robert, not content with defending himself, had made successful inroads into England, subsisted his needy followers by the plunder of that country, and taught them to despise the military genius of a people who had long been the object of their terror. Edward, at last, roused from his lethargy, had marched an army into Scotland; and Robert, determined not to risk too much against an enemy so much superior, retired again into the mountains. The king advanced beyond Edinburgh; but being destitute of provisions, and being ill supported by the English nobility, who were then employed in framing their ordinances, he was soon obliged to retreat, without gaining any advantage over the enemy. But the appearing union of all the parties in England, after the death of Gavaston, seemed to restore that kingdom to its native force, opened again the prospect of reducing Scotland, and promised a happy conclusion to a war in which both the interests and passions of the nation were so deeply engaged.

Edward assembled forces from all quarters, with a view of finishing, at one blow, this important enterprize. He summoned the most warlike of his vassals from Gascony: he inlisted troops from Flanders, and other foreign countries: he invited over great numbers of the disorderly Irish as to a certain prey: he joined to them a body of the Welsh, who were actuated by like motives; and assembling the whole military force of England, he marched to the frontiers with an army with which, according to the Scotch writers, amounted to a hundred thousand men.

The army collected by Robert exceeded not thirty thousand combatants; but being composed of men who had distinguished themselves by many acts of valour, who were rendered desperate by their situation, and who were inured to all the varieties of fortune, they might justly, under such a leader, be deemed formidable to the most numerous and best appointed armies. The castle of Stirling, which, with Berwick, was the only fortress in Scotland that remained in the hands of the English, had long been besieged by Edward brother to Bruce: Philip de Mowbray, the governor, after an obstinate defence, was at last obliged to capitulate, and to promise, that if, before a certain day which was near at hand, he were not relieved, he should open his gates to the enemy. Robert therefore, sensible that here was the ground on which he must expect the English, chose the field of battle with all the skill and prudence imaginable, and made the necessary preparations for their reception. He posted himself at Bannockburn, about two miles from Stirling: where he had a hill on his right flank, and a morass on his left; and not content with having taken these precautions to prevent his being surrounded by the more numerous army of the English, he forcsaw the superior strength of the enemy in cavalry, and made provision against it. Having a rivulet in front, he commanded deep pits to be dug along its banks, and sharp stakes to be planted in them; and he ordered the whole to be carefully covered over with turf. The English arrived in sight on the even-

(*y*) Piers Gavaston was beheaded at Blacklow Hill, near Warwick, on the first of July.

ing, and a bloody conflict immediately ensued between two bodies of cavalry; where Robert, who was at the head of the Scots, engaged in single combat with Henry de Bohun, a gentleman of the family of Hereford, and at one stroke cleft his adversary to the chin with a battle-ax, in sight of the two armies. The English horse, dismayed by this action, which inspired the Scots with fresh vigour, fled with precipitation to their main body.

The Scots, encouraged by this favourable event, and glorying in the valour of their prince, prognosticated a happy issue to the combat on the ensuing day: the English, confident in their numbers, and elated with former successes, longed for an opportunity of revenge; and the night, though extremely short in that season and in that climate, appeared tedious to the impatience of the several combatants. Early in the morning of the 25th of June, 1314, Edward drew out his army, and advanced towards the Scots. The earl of Gloucester, his nephew, who commanded the left wing of the cavalry, impelled by the ardour of youth, rushed on to the attack without precaution, and fell among the covered pits, which had been prepared by Bruce for the reception of the enemy. This body of horse was disordered: Gloucester himself was overthrown and slain: sir James Douglas, who commanded the Scottish cavalry, gave the enemy no leisure to rally, but pushed them off the field with considerable loss, and pursued them in sight of their whole line of infantry. While the English army were alarmed with this unfortunate beginning of the action, which commonly proves decisive, they observed an army on the heights towards the left, which seemed to be marching leisurely in order to surround them; and they were distracted by their multiplied fears. This was a number of waggoners and sumpter-boys, whom Robert had collected; and having supplied them with military standards, gave them the appearance, at a distance, of a formidable body. The stratagem took effect: a panic seized the English: they threw down their arms, and fled: they were pursued with great slaughter, for the space of ninety miles, till they reached Berwick: and the Scots, besides an inestimable booty, took many persons of quality prisoners, and above four hundred gentlemen, whom Robert treated with great humanity, and whose ransom was a new accession of wealth to the victorious army. The king himself narrowly escaped, by taking shelter in Dunbar, whose gates were opened to him by the earl of March; and he thence passed by sea to Berwick (z).

Robert, in order to avail himself of his present success, entered England, and ravaged all the northern counties without opposition: he laid siege to Carlisle; but that place was saved by the valour of sir Andrew Harcla, the governor: he was more successful against Berwick, which he took by assault: and this prince, elated by his continued prosperity, now entertained hopes of making the most important conquests on the English. He sent over his brother Edward, with an army of six thousand men, into Ireland (a): and that nobleman assumed the title of king of that Island: Robert himself followed soon after with more numerous forces: the horrible and absurd oppressions which the Irish suffered under the English government made them, at first, fly to the standard of the Scots, whom they regarded as their deliverers: but a grievous famine, which at that time desolated both Ireland and Britain, reduced the Scottish army to the greatest extremities, and Robert was obliged to return, with his forces much diminished, into his own country. His brother, after having experienced a variety of fortune, was defeated and slain near Dundalk by the English, commanded by lord Bermingham, on the 14th of October. And these projects, too extensive for the force of the Scottish nation, thus vanished into smoke.

Edward, besides suffering those disasters from the invasion of the Scots, and the insurrection of the Irish, was also infested with a rebellion in Wales; and, above all by the factions of his own nobility, who took advantage of the public calamities, insulted his fallen fortunes, and endeavoured to establish their own independence on the ruins of the throne. Lancaster, and the barons of his party, who had declined attending him on the Scottish expedition, no sooner saw him return with disgrace, than they insisted on the renewal of their ordinances, which, they still pretended, had validity; and the king's unhappy situation obliged him to submit to their demands. The ministry was new modelled by the direction of Lancaster: that prince was placed at the head of the council: it was declared, that all the offices should be filled, from time to time, by the votes of parliament, or rather by the will of the great barons; and the nation, under this new model of government, endeavoured to put itself in a better posture of defence against the Scots. But the factious nobles were far from being terrified with the progress of these public enemies: on the contrary, they founded the hopes of their own future grandeur on the weakness and distresses of the crown: Lancaster himself was suspected, with great appearance of reason, of holding a secret correspondence with the king of Scots: and though he was entrusted with the command of the English armies, he took care that every enterprize should be disappointed, and every plan of operations prove unsuccessful.

All the European kingdoms, especially that of England, were at this time unacquainted with the office of a prime minister, so well understood at present in all regular monarchies; and the people could form no conception of a man, who, though still in the rank of a subject, possessed all the power of a sovereign, eased the prince of the burthen of affairs, supplied his want of experience or capacity, and maintained all the rights of the crown, without degrading the greatest nobles by their submission to his temporary authority. Edward was plainly, by nature, unfit to hold himself the reins of government: he had no vices, but was unhappy in a total incapacity for serious business: he was sensible of his own defects, and necessarily sought to be governed: yet every favourite whom he successively chose was regarded as a fellow-subject exalted above his rank and station: he was the object of envy to the great nobility: his character and conduct were decried with the people: his authority over the king and kingdom was considered as an usurpation; and unless the prince had embraced the dangerous expedient of devolving his power on the earl of Lancaster, or some mighty baron, whose family interest was so extensive as to be able alone to maintain his influence, he could expect no peace or tranquillity upon the throne.

The countess of Lancaster being dissatisfied with the conduct of her husband, to whom she had brought an immense fortune, eloped from his house with a knight, who was a retainer to John de Warrenne, earl of Surrey; and that nobleman afforded her protection at his castle of Rye-gate. The knight advanced a claim to the person of the countess, founded on a contract prior to that which gave her to the earl of Lancaster: he also pretended to have cohabited with her as her husband; and, by an action brought in the king's court at Westminster, demanded, in her right, the earldoms of Lincoln and Salisbury, to which she was heiress. This outrage could not fail to irritate the earl of Lancaster, who was a prince of the blood royal, the first subject in England, and of a temper haughty and imperious: but, to render his mortification more complete, the countess, with all the effrontery of a lewd woman, made a voluntary confession of her own dishonour, and joined in the prosecution of her husband. Lancaster regarded the knight as a mere tool of the earl of Surrey; and as, in such cases, a man's suspicions are apt to fall on those he has most injured, he suspected the king of being concerned in this plot against his honour and fortune. Impressed with this idea, he determined to exact vengeance on the different objects of his resentment; and for that purpose assembled an army of eighteen thousand men.

Edward, being in no condition to cope with so powerful an adversary, was obliged to negociate with his rebellious subject; and some efforts were made by people, who preferred moderation to discord, to avert the dreadful calamities of a civil war: but their efforts were ineffectual; the queen entreated the cardinals to interpose their good offices toward an accommodation, which was accordingly brought about at Leicester. But though this peace had been made with every apparent intention of preserving it, Lancaster's animosity to his sovereign, probably heightened by a consciousness of the injuries he had done him, was such as to prevent his being satisfied with any thing short

(z) Such was the great and decisive battle of Bannockburn, which secured the independence of Scotland, fixed Bruce on the throne of that kingdom, and may be deemed the greatest overthrow that the English nation, since the Conquest, has ever received. The number of slain on these occasions is always uncertain, and is commonly much magnified by the victors: but this defeat made a deep impression on the minds of the English; and it was remarked, that, for some years, no superiority of numbers could encourage them to keep the field against the Scots.

(a) These troops landed at Carrickfergus, on the 26th of May, 1315.

of his virtual deposition. The cardinals were now requested by the barons to persuade the king to an unconditional confirmation of the ordinances; and, having obtained a promise to that effect, they departed the kingdom, after issuing a sentence of excommunication and interdict against Bruce and his dominions.

After their departure, a parliament was holden at Northampton, in July, 1318; at which the power of the earl of Lancaster bore down all opposition. The unfortunate Edward, overawed and insulted by this nobleman, was compelled again to confirm the ordinances; and was, moreover, obliged to consent to an additional regulation of the same tenour, by which a perpetual council of eight bishops, four earls, and four barons, were appointed constantly to attend the king by turns, four every quarter; and without their advice, he was restrained from performing any one act of government.

During this time, the Scots had made frequent incursions into the northern counties, where they had committed great depredations; Edward therefore determined to embrace the earliest moment to revenge these insults; and, having passed the winter in the north, he assembled a parliament at York, in the spring of 1319, in which the preliminaries for an expedition to Scotland were arranged. The barons and knights of shires granted him an eighteenth, the citizens and burgesses a twelfth, and the clergy a tenth, to defray the expences of it; and all the military vassals of the crown were summoned to appear at Newcastle on the tenth of June. The citation being obeyed with alacrity, a numerous army was assembled, with which he invested Berwick on the first of September; while a fleet from the Cinque Ports blocked up the harbour. The siege was conducted with spirit; and the place was defended with equal bravery by the steward of Scotland, son-in-law to Bruce, who sustained several desperate assaults, in some of which the English troops had actually mounted the ramparts. Bruce, finding the enemy were so advantageously posted that he could not attack them with any prospect of success, resolved to make a diversion in favour of the besieged. The queen had established her residence at a village in the vicinity of York, where she lived exempt from any apprehension of danger, as she concluded that the Scots were so deeply employed in the defence of their own country, that they could not spare any troops for an expedition into England. Bruce formed a plan for surprizing the princess; and Sir James Douglass being appointed to carry it into execution, advanced with a body of chosen men towards the place of his destination; but the design miscarried, through the apprehension of one of his spies; who, being seized at York, was put to the torture and disclosed his scheme, so that the queen was removed in time to a place of safety. The archbishop of York determined to punish the Scots for their temerity, assembled the militia of the county; and, on the 20th of September, marched forth to attack them. Douglas, apprized of their approach, was ready to receive them; and as they advanced with the wind in their faces, he set fire to a great quantity of damp straw, which he had prepared for the purpose; and they were so completely blinded by the smoke, that they were unable to make any resistance. Great numbers of them were slain; and the remainder, with great difficulty, saved themselves by flight.

The king, informed of this disaster, raised the siege of Berwick, and divided his forces into two bodies, with a view to intercept the Scots in their retreat; but Douglas regulated his march with such prudence, that he avoided both divisions, and returned to his own country laden with plunder.

The bad success of this campaign induced Edward to make peaceable overtures to Bruce; in consequence of which commissioners were deputed from either kingdom, who met at Newcastle, December 6, 1319; and, on the 21st of the same month, a truce was concluded for two months.

In the summer of 1320 Edward was obliged to take a voyage to the continent, in order to do homage for the duchy of Guienne and the county of Poictou, to Philip le Long, who had lately succeeded to the throne of France, and had summoned the king to attend for that purpose. After his return, a parliament was held at Westminster, in the month of October; in which many salutary laws were enacted for restoring the internal police of the kingdom, which had been greatly relaxed by the late commotions, and for other purposes. But the beneficent works of peace were now destined to give way to the horrors of civil dissension.

Edward, unendowed by nature with those qualifications which are essentially requisite in a monarch, experienced an insuperable disgust to all serious exertions; and being conscious of his own defects, and moreover attached to the social enjoyments of private friendship in a degree that is almost incredible, ever anxiously sought for an object in whom he might repose an unlimited confidence, and who might assist him to support the weight of government, which he was unable to sustain alone. The queen certainly appeared to be the most proper person for this important trust; but her disposition is said to have been so truly diabolical, that Edward refused to make her the companion of his leisure hours, the only friend of his heart. The death of Piers Gavaston had left a vacuum in the king's breast, which he was eager to supply; and, after some deliberation, he bestowed his confidence on Hugh le Despenser, a young man of English birth, of high rank, and of a noble family. He possessed all the exterior accomplishments of person and address, which were fitted to engage the weak mind of Edward; but was destitute of that moderation and prudence which might have qualified him to mitigate the envy of the great, and conduct him through all the perils of that dangerous station to which he was advanced. His father, who was of the same name, and who by means of his son, had also attained great influence over the king, was a nobleman venerable from his years, respected through all his past life for wisdom, valour, and integrity, and well fitted by his talents and experience, could affairs have admitted of any temperament, to have supplied the defects both of the king and of his minion. But no sooner was Edward's attachment declared for young Despenser, than the turbulent Lancaster, and most of the great barons regarded him as their rival, made him the object of their animosity, and formed violent plans for his ruin. They first declared their discontent by withdrawing from parliament; and it was not long ere they found a pretence for proceeding to greater extremities against him.

The king, who set no limits to his bounty towards his minions, had married the younger Despenser to his niece, one of the co-heirs of the earl of Gloucester, who was slain at Bannockburn. The favourite, by his succession to that opulent family, had inherited great possessions in the marches of Wales; and being desirous of extending still farther his influence in those quarters, he is accused of having committed injustice on the barons of Audley and Ammori, who had also married two sisters of the same family. There was likewise a baron in that neighbourhood, called William de Braouse, lord of Gower, who had made a settlement of his estate on John de Mowbray, his son-in-law; and, in case of failure of that nobleman and his issue, had substituted the earl of Hereford in the succession to the barony of Gower. Mowbray, on the decease of his father-in-law, entered immediately in possession of the estate, without the formality of taking livery and seizin from the crown; but Despenser, who coveted that barony, persuaded the king to put in execution the rigour of the feudal law, to seize Gower as escheated to the crown, and to confer it upon him. This transaction, which was the proper subject of a law-suit, immediately excited a civil war in the kingdom. The earls of Lancaster and Hereford flew to arms: Audley and Ammori joined them with all their forces: the two Rogers de Mortimer and Roger de Clifford, with many others, disgusted, for private reasons, at the Despensers, brought a considerable accession to the party; and their army being now formidable, they sent a message to the king, requiring him immediately to dismiss or confine the younger Despenser; and menacing him, in case of refusal, with renouncing their allegiance to him, and taking revenge on that minister by their own authority. They scarcely waited for an answer; but immediately fell upon the lands of young Despenser, which they pillaged and destroyed; murdered his servants, drove off his cattle, and burned his houses. They thence proceeded to commit like devastations on the estates of Despenser the father, whose character they had hitherto seemed to respect; and having drawn and signed a formal association among themselves, they marched to London with all their forces, stationed themselves in the neighbourhood of that city, and demanded of the king the banishment of both the Despencers. These noblemen were then absent; the father abroad; the son at sea, and both of them employed in different commissions: the king therefore replied, that his coronation oath, by which he was bound to observe the laws, restrained him from giving his assent to so illegal a demand, or condemning noblemen who were accused of no crime, nor had any opportunity afforded them of making answer.

Equity and reason were but a feeble opposition to men who had arms in their hands, and who, being already involved in guilt, saw no safety but in success and victory. They entered London with their troops; and giving in to the parliament, which was then sitting, a charge against the Despensers, of which they attempted not to prove one article, they procured, on the 15th of July, 1321, by menaces and violence, a sentence of attainder and perpetual exile against those ministers (*b*). The only symptom which these turbulent barons gave of their regard to law, was their requiring from the king an indemnity for their illegal proceedings; which having obtained on the 19th of August, they disbanded their army, and separated in security, as they imagined, to their several castles.

This act of violence, in which the king was obliged to acquiesce, rendered his person and his authority so contemptible, that every one thought himself entitled to treat him with neglect. The queen, in a journey of devotion to Canterbury, having occasion soon after to pass by the castle of Leeds in Kent, which belonged to the lord Badlesmere (*c*), desired a night's lodging, but was refused admittance; and some of her attendants, who presented themselves at the gate, were killed (*d*). The insult upon this princess, who had always endeavoured to live on good terms with the barons, and who joined them heartily in their hatred of the young Despenser, was an action which nobody pretended to justify; and the king thought that he might, without giving general umbrage, assemble an army, and take vengeance on the offender. No one came to the assistance of Badlesmere and Edward prevailed (*e*): but having now some forces on foot, and having concerted measures with his friends throughout England, he ventured to take off the mask, to attack all his enemies, and to recal the two Despensers, whose sentence he declared illegal, unjust, contrary to the tenor of the Great Charter, passed without the assent of the prelates, and extorted by violence from him and the estate of barons (*f*). Still the commons were not mentioned by either party.

The king had now got the start of the barons; an advantage which, in those times, was commonly decisive; and he hastened with his army to the marches of Wales, the chief seat of the power of his enemies, whom he found totally unprepared for resistance. Many of the barons in those parts endeavoured to appease him by submission (*g*): their castles were seized, and their persons committed to custody. But Lancaster, in order to prevent the total ruin of his party, summoned together his vassals and retainers; declared his alliance with Scotland, which had long been suspected; received the promise of a reinforcement from that country, under the command of Randolf earl of Murray, and Sir James Douglas; and being joined by the earl of Hereford, advanced with all his force against the king, who had collected an army of thirty thousand men, and was superior to his enemies. Lancaster posted himself at Burton upon Trent, and endeavoured to defend the passages of the river; but being disappointed in that plan of operations, this prince, who had no military genius, and whose personal courage was even suspected, fled with his army to the north, in expectation of being there joined by his Scottish allies. He was pursued by the king; and his army diminished daily, till he came to Boroughbridge, where he found Sir Andrew Harcla posted with some forces on the opposite side of the river, and ready to dispute the passage with him. He was repulsed in an attempt which he made to force his way; the earl of Hereford was killed; the whole army of the rebels was disconcerted, on the 16th of March, 1322; Lancaster himself was become incapable of taking any measure either for flight or defence; and he was seized, without resistance, by Harcla, and conducted to the king. In those violent times, the laws were so much neglected on both sides, that, even where they might, without any sensible inconvenience, have been observed, the conquerors deemed it unnecessary to pay any regard to them. Lancaster, who was guilty of open rebellion, and was taken in arms against his sovereign, instead of being tried by the laws of his country, which pronounced the sentence of death against him, was condemned by a court-martial, and led to execution. Edward, however little vindictive in his natural temper, here indulged his revenge, and employed against the prisoner the same indignities which had been exercised, by his orders, against Gavaston. He was clothed in a mean attire, placed on a meagre hack, without a bridle, a hood was put on his head, and in this posture, attended by the acclamations of the people, this prince was conducted to an eminence about a mile distant, near Pomfret, one of his own castles, and there beheaded (*h*), on the 23rd of the same month.

In this situation, no success could be expected from foreign wars; and Edward, after making one more fruitless attempt against Scotland, whence he retreated with dishonour, found it necessary to terminate hostilities with that kingdom by a truce of thirteen years: the treaty for which was concluded on the 30th of March, 1323. Robert, though his title to the crown was not acknowledged in the treaty, was satisfied with ensuring his possession of it during so long a time. He had repelled with gallantry all the attacks of England: he had carried war both into that kingdom and into Ireland: he had rejected with disdain the pope's authority, who pretended to impose his commands upon him, and oblige him to make peace with his enemies: his throne was firmly established, as well in the affections of his subjects as by force of arms: yet there naturally remained some inquietude in his mind, while at war with a state which, however at present disordered by faction, was of itself so much an over-match for him, both in riches and in numbers of people. And this truce was, at the same time, the more seasonable for England, because the nation was at that juncture threatened with hostilities from France.

Philip the Fair, king of France, who died in 1315, had left the crown to his son Louis Hutin, who, after a short reign, dying without male issue, was succeeded by Philip the Long, his brother, whose death soon after made way for Charles the Fair, the youngest brother of that family. This monarch had some grounds of complaint against the king's ministers in Guienne; and as there was no common or equitable judge in that strange species of sovereignty established by the feudal law, he seemed desirous to take advantage of Edward's weakness, and, under that pretence, to confiscate all his foreign dominions. Edward was cited to appear at Amiens, on or before the first of July, 1324. After an embassy with the earl of Kent, the king's brother, had been tried in vain, queen Isabella obtained permission to go over to Paris, and endeavour to adjust, in an amicable manner, the difference with her brother: but while she was making some progress in this negociation, Charles started a new pretension, the justice of which could not be disputed, that Edward himself should appear in his court, and do homage for the fees which he held in France. But there occurred many difficulties in complying with this demand. Young Despenser, by whom the king was implicitly governed, had unavoidably been engaged in many quarrels with the queen, who aspired to the same influence; and though that artful princess, on her leaving England, had dissembled her animosity, Despenser, well acquainted with her secret sentiments, was unwilling to attend his master to Paris, and appear in a court where her

(*b*) This sentence was voted by the lay barons alone; for the Commons, though now an estate in parliament, were yet of so little consideration, that their assent was not demanded; and even the votes of the prelates were neglected amidst the present disorders.

(*c*) This nobleman had been under great obligations to Edward, but had lately abandoned his interests, and joined himself to the confederate barons.

(*d*) Rymer, vol. iii. p. 89. Walsing. p. 114, 115. T. de la More, p. 595. Murimuth, p. 56.

(*e*) Walsing. p. 115.

(*f*) Rymer, vol. iii. p. 907. T. de la More, p. 595.

(*g*) Walsing. p. 115. Murimuth, p. 57.

(*h*) Thus perished Thomas, earl of Lancaster, prince of the blood, and one of the most potent barons that had ever been in England. His public conduct sufficiently discovers the violence and turbulence of his character: his private deportment appears not to have been more innocent; and his hypocritical devotion, by which he gained the favour of the monks and populace, will rather be regarded as an aggravation than an alleviation of his guilt. Bedlesmer, Giffard, Barret, Cheney, Fleming, and about eighteen of the most notorious offenders, were afterwards condemned by a legal trial, and executed. Many were thrown into prison: others made their escape beyond sea: some of the king's servants were rewarded from the forfeitures: Harcla received for his services the earldom of Carlisle, and a large estate, which he soon after forfeited with his life, for a treasonable correspondence with the king of Scotland. But the greater part of those vast escheats was seized by young Despenser, whose rapacity was insatiable. Many of the barons of the king's party, were disgusted with this partial division of the spoils; the envy against Despenser rose higher than ever: the usual insolence of his temper, inflamed by success, impelled him to commit many acts of violence: the people, who always hated him, made him still more the object of aversion: all the relations of the attainted barons and gentlemen secretly vowed revenge; and though tranquillity was, in appearance, restored to the kingdom, the general contempt of the king, and odium against Despenser, became the source of future revolutions and convulsions.

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credit might expose him to insults, if not to danger. He hesitated no less on allowing the king to make the journey alone; both fearing, lest that easy prince should in his absence fall under other influence; and foreseeing the perils to which himself should be exposed, if, without the protection of royal authority, he remained in England, where he was so generally despised. While these doubts occasioned delays and difficulties, Isabella proposed, that Edward should resign the dominion of Guienne to his son, now thirteen years of age; and that the prince should come to Paris, and do the homage which every vassal owed to his superior lord. This expedient, which seemed so happily to remove all difficulties, was immediately embraced: Despenser was charmed with the contrivance: young Edward was sent to Paris; and the ruin covered under this fatal snare, was never perceived or suspected by any of the English council.

The queen, on her arrival in France, had there found a great number of English fugitives, the remains of the Lancastrian faction; and their common hatred of Despenser soon begat a secret friendship and correspondence between them and that princess. Among the rest was young Roger Mortimer, a potent baron in the Welsh marches, who had been obliged, with others, to make his submissions to the king; had been condemned for high treason; but having received a pardon for his life, was afterwards detained in the Tower, with an intention of rendering his confinement perpetual. He was so fortunate as to make his escape into France; and being one of the most considerable persons now remaining of the party, as well as distinguished by his violent animosity against Despenser, he was easily admitted to pay his court to queen Isabella. The grace of his person and address advanced him quickly in her affections, he became her confidant and counsellor in all her measures; and gaining ground daily upon her heart, he engaged her to sacrifice at last to her passion, all the sentiments of honour and of fidelity to her husband. Hating now the man whom she had injured, and whom she never valued, she entered ardently into all Mortimer's conspiracies; and having artfully gotten into her hands the young prince, and heir of the monarchy, she resolved on the utter ruin of the king, as well as of his favourite. She engaged her brother to take part in the same criminal purpose: her court was daily filled with the exiled barons: Mortimer lived in the most declared intimacy with her: a correspondence was secretly carried on with the malcontent party in England: and when Edward, informed of those alarming circumstances, required her speedily to return with the prince, she publicly replied, that she would never set foot in the kingdom, till Despenser was for ever removed from his presence and councils: a declaration which procured her great popularity in England, and threw a decent veil over all her treasonable enterprizes.

Edward endeavoured to put himself in a posture of defence, and prepare for the worst; but, besides the difficulties arising from his own indolence and slender abilities, and the want of authority which of consequence attended all his resolutions, it was not easy for him, in the present state of the kingdom and revenue, to maintain a constant force ready to repel an invasion, which he knew not at what time or place he had reason to expect. All his efforts were unequal to the traitorous and hostile conspiracies, which, both at home and abroad, were forming against his authority, and which were daily penetrating farther even into his own family. His brother, the earl of Kent, a virtuous but weak prince, who was then at Paris, was engaged by his sister-in-law, and by the king of France, who was also his cousin-german, to give countenance to the invasion, whose sole object, he believed, was the expulsion of the Despensers: he prevailed on his elder brother, the earl of Norfolk, to enter secretly into the same design: the earl of Leicester, brother and heir of the earl of Lancaster, had too many reasons for his hatred of these ministers, to refuse his concurrence. Walter de Reynel, archbishop of Canterbury, and many of the prelates, expressed their approbation of the queen's measures: several of the most potent barons, envying the authority of the favourite, were ready to fly to arms: the minds of the people, by means of some truths and many calumnies, were strongly disposed to the same party; and there needed but the appearance of the queen and prince, with such a body of foreign troops as might protect her against immediate violence, to turn all this tempest, so artfully prepared, against the unhappy Edward.

Charles, though he gave countenance and assistance to the faction, was ashamed openly to support the queen and prince against the authority of a husband and father; and Isabella was obliged to court the alliance of some other foreign potentate, from whose dominions she might set out on her intended enterprize. For this purpose she affianced young Edward, whose tender age made him incapable to judge of the consequences, with Philippa, daughter of the count of Holland and Hainault; and having, by the open assistance of this prince, and the secret protection of her brother, inlisted in her service near three thousand men, she set sail from the harbour of Dort, and landed safely, and without opposition, at Orwell Haven, near Walton, on the coast of Suffolk, on the 24th of September, 1326. The earl of Kent and her paramour Roger Mortimer, were in her company: two other princes of the blood, the earl of Norfolk and the earl of Leicester, joined her soon after her landing with all their followers: three prelates, the bishops of Ely, Lincoln, and Hereford, brought her both the force of their vassals and the authority of their character: even Robert de Watteville, who had been sent by the king to oppose her progress in Suffolk, deserted to her with all his forces. To render her cause more favourable, she renewed her declaration, that the sole purpose of her expedition was to free the king and kingdom from the tyranny of the Despensers, and of chancellor Baldoc, their creature. The populace were allured by her specious pretences: the barons thought themselves secure against forfeitures by the appearance of the prince in her army: and a weak irresolute king, supported by ministers generally despised by the nation, was unable to stem this torrent, which bore with such irresistible violence against him.

Edward, after trying in vain to rouse the citizens of London to espouse his cause, departed for the west, where he hoped to meet with a better reception; and he had no sooner discovered his weakness by leaving the city, than the rage of the populace broke out without control against him and his ministers. They first plundered, then murdered all those who were disagreeable to them: they seized the bishop of Exeter, a virtuous and loyal prelate, as he was passing through the streets; and having beheaded him, they threw his body into the river. They made themselves masters of the Tower by surprize; then entered into a formal association to put to death, without mercy, every one who should dare to oppose, the enterprize of queen Isabella, and of the prince (*i*).

Edward was pursued to Bristol by the earl of Kent, seconded by the foreign forces under John de Hainault. He found himself disappointed in his expectations with regard to the loyalty of those parts; and passed over to Wales, where, he flattered himself, his name was more popular, and which he hoped to find uninfected with the contagion of general rage which had seized the English. The elder Despenser, created earl of Winchester, was left governor of the castle of Bristol; but the garrison mutinied against him, and he was delivered into the hands of his enemies. This venerable noble, who had nearly reached his ninetieth year, was instantly, without trial, or witness, or accusation, or answer, condemned to death by the rebellious barons: he was hanged on a gibbet; his body was cut in pieces, and thrown to the dogs; and his head was sent to Winchester, the place whose title he bore, and was there set on a pole, and exposed to the insults of the populace (*k*).

The king, disappointed anew in his expectations of succour from the Welsh, took shipping for Ireland; but being driven back by contrary winds, he endeavoured to conceal himself in the mountains of Wales: he was soon discovered, was put under the custody of the earl of Leicester, and was confined in the castle of Kenilworth. The younger Despenser,

(*i*) A like spirit was soon communicated to all other parts of England; and threw the few servants of the king, who still entertained thoughts of performing their duty, into terror and astonishment.

(*k*) "So much," says Dr. Henry, "had civil rage hardened the hearts and enflamed the passions of the *humane* and *generous* English." We confess ourselves utterly at a loss to conceive what part of our history this learned author could have founded his opinion on, that *humanity* and *generosity* were the characteristic virtues of the English nation. So far are we from concurring in these sentiments, that we will venture to assert without the least apprehension of contradiction, that the annals of the world do not present us with a country in which an equal progress having been made in the various arts of civilization, a spirit of savage ferocity was more prevalent than in England, from the earliest times to the period we are now delineating, with the single exception of the reign of Alfred: and a more despotic race of tyrants, more arbitrary in their principles, more cruel in their conduct, than the feudal nobles of England, during some centuries subsequent to the accession of William the First, could with difficulty be found in the history of any age or climate.

spenser, his favourite, who also fell into the hands of his enemies, was executed, like his father, without any appearance of a legal trial: the earl of Arundel, almost the only man of his rank in England who had maintained his loyalty, was, without any trial, put to death at the instigation of Mortimer: Baldoc, the chancellor, being a priest, could not with safety be so suddenly dispatched; but being sent to the bishop of Hereford's palace in London, he was there, as his enemies probably foresaw, seized by the populace, was thrown into Newgate, and soon after expired, from the cruel usage which he had received. Even the usual reverence paid to the sacerdotal character gave way, with every other consideration, to the present rage of the people.

The queen, to avail herself of the prevailing delusion, summoned, in the king's name, a parliament at Westminster; where, together with the power of her army, and the authority of her partisans among the barons, who were concerned to secure their past treasons by committing new acts of violence against their sovereign, she expected to be seconded by the fury of the populace, the most dangerous of all instruments, and the least answerable for their excesses. A charge was drawn up against the king, on the 13th of January, 1327, in which, even though it was framed by his inveterate enemies, nothing but his narrow genius, or his misfortunes, were objected to him: for the greatest malice found no particular crime with which it could reproach this unhappy prince. He was accused of incapacity for government, of wasting his time in idle amusements, of neglecting public business, of being swayed by evil counsellors, of having lost, by his misconduct, the kingdom of Scotland, and part of Guienne; and to swell the charge, even the death of some barons, and the imprisonment of some prelates, convicted of treason, were laid to his account. It was in vain, amidst the violence of arms and tumult of the people, to appeal either to law or to reason: the deposition of the king, without any appearing opposition, was voted by parliament: the prince, already declared regent by his party, was placed on the throne: and a deputation was sent to Edward at Kenilworth, to require his resignation, which menaces and terror soon extorted from him.

But it was impossible that the people, however corrupted by the barbarity of the times, still farther enflamed by faction, could for ever remain insensible to the voice of nature. Here, a wife had first deserted, next invaded, and then dethroned her husband; had made her minor son an instrument in this unnatural treatment of his father; had, by lying pretences, seduced the nation into a rebellion against their sovereign; had pushed them into violence and cruelties that had dishonoured them: all these circumstances were so odious in themselves, and formed such a complicated scene of guilt, that the least reflection sufficed to open men's eyes, and make them detest this flagrant infringement of every public and private duty. The suspicions which soon arose of Isabella's criminal commerce with Mortimer, the proofs which daily broke out of this part of her guilt, increased the general abhorrence against her; and her hypocrisy, in publicly bewailing with tears the king's unhappy fate, was not able to deceive even the most prejudicial of her adherents. In proportion as the queen became the object of public detestation, the dethroned monarch, who had been the victim of her crimes and her ambition, was regarded with pity, with friendship, with veneration; and men became sensible, that all his misconduct, which faction had so much exaggerated, had been owing to the unavoidable weakness, not to any voluntary depravity, of his character. The earl of Leicester, now earl of Lancaster, to whose custody he had been committed, was soon touched with those generous sentiments; and besides using his prisoner with gentleness and humanity, he was suspected to have entertained still more honourable intentions in his favour. The king, therefore, was taken from his hands, and delivered over to lord Berkeley, and Mautravers, and Gournay, who were entrusted alternately, each for a month, with the charge of guarding him. While he was in the custody of Berkeley, he was still treated with the gentleness due to his rank and his misfortunes; but when the turn of Mautravers and Gournay came, every species of indignity was practised against him, as if their intention had been to break entirely the prince's spirit, and to employ his sorrows and afflictions, instead of more violent and more dangerous expedients, for the instruments of his murder (*l*). The cruel methods practised for laying Edward in his grave appeared too slow to the impatient Mortimer, he secretly sent orders to the two keepers, who were at his devotion, instantly to dispatch him; and these ruffians contrived to make the manner of his death as cruel and barbarous as possible. Taking advantage of Berkeley's sickness, in whose custody he then was, and who was thereby incapacitated from attending his charge; they came to Berkeley-castle, and put themselves in possession of the king's person. They threw him on a bed; held him down violently with a table, which they flung over him; thrust into his fundament a red-hot iron, which they inserted through a horn; and though the outward marks of violence upon his person were prevented by this expedient, the horrid deed was discovered to all the guards and attendants by the screams with which the agonizing king filled the castle, while his bowels were consuming. Thus miserably perished the unfortunate Edward, on the 21st of September, 1327, which was the forty-third of his age, after a reign of nineteen years and six months, from the time of his accession to that of his deposition.

Gournay and Mautravers were held in general detestation; and when the ensuing revolution in England hurled their protectors from power, they found it necessary to provide for their safety by flying the kingdom. Gournay was afterwards seized at Marseilles, delivered over to the seneschal of Guienne, put on board a ship with a view of carrying him to England; but was beheaded at sea by secret orders, as was supposed, from some nobles and prelates in England, anxious to prevent any discovery which he might make of his accomplices. Mautravers concealed himself for several years in Germany; but having found means of rendering some service to Edward III. he ventured to approach his person, threw himself on his knees before him, submitted to mercy, and received a pardon.

It is not easy to imagine a man more innocent and inoffensive than the unhappy king whose tragical death we have related; nor a prince less fitted for governing that fierce and turbulent people subjected to his authority. He was obliged to devolve on others the weight of government, which he had neither ability nor inclination to bear. The same indolence and want of penetration led him to make choice of ministers and favourites who were not always the best qualified for the trust committed to them. The seditious grandees, pleased with his weakness, yet complaining of it; under pretence of attacking his ministers, insulted his person and invaded his authority; and the impatient populace, mistaking the source of their grievances, threw all the blame upon the king, and increased the public disorders by their faction and violence. It was in vain to look for protection from the laws, whose voice, always feeble in those times, was not heard amidst the din of arms. What could not defend the king was less able to give shelter to any of the people: the whole machine of government was torn in pieces with fury and violence; and men, instead of regretting the manners of their age, and the form of their constitution, which required the most steady and most skilful hand to conduct them, imputed all errors to the person who had the misfortune to be entrusted with the reins of empire. But though such mistakes are natural and almost unavoidable while the events are recent, it is a shameful delusion in modern historians, to imagine that all the ancient princes, who were unfortunate in their government, were also tyrannical in their conduct, and that the seditions of the people always proceeded from some invasion of their privileges by the monarch. Even a great and a good king was not in that age secure against faction and rebellion, as appears in the case of Henry II.; but a great king had the best chance, as we learn from the history of the same period, for quelling and subduing them. Compare the reigns and characters of Edward I. and II. The father made several violent attempts against the liberties of the people: his barons opposed him: he was obliged, at least found it prudent, to submit; but as they dreaded his valour and abilities, they were content with reasonable satisfaction, and pushed no farther their advantages against him. The facility and weakness of the son, not his violence, threw every thing into confusion: the laws and government were overturned: an attempt to reinstate them was an unpardonable crime; and no atonement, but the deposition and tragical death of the king himself, could give those barons contentment. It is easy

(*l*) It is reported that one day, when Edward was to be shaved, they ordered cold and dirty water to be brought from the ditch for that purpose; and when he desired it to be changed, and was still denied his request, he burst into tears, which bedewed his cheeks: and he exclaimed, that in spite of their insolence, he should be shaved with clean and warm water,

to perceive that a constitution which depended so much on the personal character of the prince, must necessarily, in many of its parts, be a government of will, not of laws. But always to throw, without distinction, the blame of all disorders upon the sovereign, would introduce a fatal error in politics, and serve as a perpetual apology for treason and rebellion: as if the turbulence of the great, and madness of the people, were not, equally with the tyranny of princes, evils incident to human society, and no less carefully to be guarded against in every well-regulated constitution.

While these abominable scenes passed in England, the theatre of France was stained with a wickedness equally barbarous, and still more public and deliberate. The order of knights templars had arisen during the first fervour of the crusades; and uniting the two qualities, the most popular in that age, devotion and valour, and exercising both in the most popular of all enterprizes, the defence of the Holy Land, they had made rapid advances in credit and authority, and had acquired, from the piety of the faithful, ample possessions in every country of Europe, especially in France. Their great riches, joined to the course of time, had, by degrees, relaxed the severity of these virtues; and the templars had in a great measure lost that popularity which first raised them to honour and distinction. Acquainted from experience with the fatigues and dangers of those fruitless expeditions to the East, they rather chose to enjoy in ease their opulent revenues in Europe; and being all men of birth, educated, according to the custom of that age, without any tincture of letters, they scorned the ignoble occupations of a monastic life, and passed their time wholly in the fashionable amusements of hunting, gallantry, and the pleasures of the table. Their rival order, that of St. John of Jerusalem, whose poverty had as yet preserved them from like corruptions, still distinguished themselves by their enterprizes against the infidels, and succeeded to all the popularity, which was lost by the indolence and luxury of the templars. But though these reasons had weakened the foundations of this order, once so celebrated and revered, the immediate cause of their destruction proceeded from the cruel and vindictive spirit of Philip the Fair, who, having entertained a private disgust against some eminent templars, determined to gratify at once his avidity and revenge, by involving the whole order in an undistinguished ruin. On no better information than that of two knights, condemned by their superiors to perpetual imprisonment for their vices and profligacy, he ordered on one day all the templars in France to be committed to prison, and imputed to them such enormous and absurd crimes, as are sufficient of themselves to destroy all the credit of the accusation. Besides their being universally charged with murder, robbery, and vices the most shocking to nature; every one, it was pretended, whom they received into their order, was obliged to renounce his Saviour, to spit upon the cross, and to join to this impiety the superstition of worshipping a gilded head, which was secretly kept in one of their houses at Marseilles. They also initiated, it was said, every candidate by such infamous rites, as could serve to no other purpose, than to degrade the order in his eyes, and to destroy for ever the authority of all his superiors over him. Above a hundred of these unhappy gentlemen were put to the torture, in order to extort from them a confession of their guilt: the more obstinate perished in the hands of their tormentors: several, to procure immediate ease in the violence of their agonies, acknowledged whatever was required of them: forged confessions were imputed to others; and Philip, as if their guilt were now certain, proceeded to a confiscation of all their treasures. But no sooner were the templars relieved from their tortures, than, preferring the most cruel execution to a life with infamy, they disavowed their confessions, exclaimed against the forgeries, justified the innocence of their order, and appealed to all the gallant actions performed by them in ancient or latter times, as a full apology for their conduct. The tyrant, enraged at this disappointment, and thinking himself now engaged in honour to proceed to extremities, ordered fifty-four of them, whom he branded as relapsed heretics, to perish by the punishment of fire in his capital: great numbers expired after a like manner in other parts of the kingdom; and when he found that the perseverance of these unhappy victims, in justifying to the last their innocence, had made deep impressions on the spectators, he endeavoured to overcome the constancy of the templars by new inhumanities. The grand master of the order, John de Molay, and another great officer, brother to the sovereign of Dauphiny, were conducted to a scaffold, erected before the church of Notre Dame, at Paris, a full pardon was offered them on the one hand; the fire, destined for their execution, was shown to them on the other; these gallant nobles still persisted in the protestations of their own innocence and that of their order; and were instantly hurried into the flames by the executioner (*m*).

The kingdom of England was afflicted with a grievous famine during several years of the reign of Edward II. Perpetual rains and cold weather not only destroyed the harvest, but bred a mortality among the cattle, and raised every kind of food to an enormous price. The parliament in 1315, endeavoured to fix more moderate rates to commodities; not sensible that such an attempt was impracticable, and that, were it possible to reduce the price of provisions by any other expedient than by introducing plenty, nothing could be more pernicious and destructive to the public. When the produce of a year, for instance, falls so short, as to afford full sustenance only for nine months, the only expedient for making it last all the twelve, is to raise the price, to put the people by that means on short allowance, and oblige them to save their food till a more plentiful season. But, in reality, the increase of prices is a necessary consequence of scarcity; and laws, instead of preventing it, only aggravate the evil, by cramping and restraining commerce. The parliament accordingly, in the ensuing year, repealed their ordinance, which they had found useless and burdensome.

The prices affixed by the parliament are somewhat remarkable: three pounds twelve shillings of our present money for the best stalled ox: for other oxen, two pounds eight shillings: a fat hog of two years old, ten shillings: a fat wether unshorn, a crown; if shorn, three shillings and six-pence: a fat goose, seven-pence halfpenny: a fat capon, six-pence: a fat hen, three-pence: two chickens, three-pence: four pigeons, three-pence: two dozen of eggs, three-pence. If we consider these prices, we shall find that butcher's meat, in this time of great scarcity, must still have been sold, by the parliamentary ordinance, six times cheaper than our middling prices at present: poultry somewhat lower; because, being now considered as a delicacy, it has risen beyond its proportion. In the country places of Ireland and Scotland, where delicacies bear no price, poultry is at present as cheap, if not cheaper, than butcher's meat. But the inference we would draw from the comparison of prices is still more considerable: we suppose that the rates, affixed by parliament, were inferior to the usual market prices in those years of famine and mortality of cattle; and that these commodities, instead of a third, had really risen to a half of the present value. But the famine at that time was so consuming, that wheat was sometimes sold for above four pounds ten shillings a quarter (*n*), usually for three pounds; that is, thrice our middling prices: a certain proof of the wretched state of tillage in those ages. We formerly found that the midling price of corn in that period was one-third of the present price; while the midling price of cattle was only a twelfth part; we here find the same immense disproportion in years of scarcity. It may thence be inferred with certainty, that the raising of corn was a species of manufactory, which few in that age could practise with advantage; and there is reason to think, that other manufactures more refined, were sold even beyond their present prices: at least there is a demonstration for it in the reign of Henry VII. from the rates affixed to scarlet and other broad cloth by act of parliament. During

(*m*) In all this barbarous injustice, Clement V. who was the creature of Philip, and then resided in France, fully concurred; and without examining a witness, or making any enquiry into the truth of facts, he summarily, by the plenitude of his apostolic power, abolished the whole order. The templars all over Europe were thrown into prison; their conduct underwent a strict scrutiny; the power of their enemies still pursued and oppressed them; but no where except in France, were the smallest traces of their guilt pretended to be found. England sent an ample testimony of their piety and morals; but as the order was now annihilated, the knights were distributed into several convents, and their possessions were, by command of the pope, transferred to the order of St. John.

(*n*) Walsingham, p. 108, says it rose to six pounds.

all those times, it was usual for the princes and great nobility to make settlements of their velvet beds and silken robes, in the same manner as of their estates and manors. In the list of jewels and plate which had belonged to the ostentatious Gavaston, and which the king recovered from the earl of Lancaster after the murder of that favourite, we find some embroidered girdles, flowered shirts, and silk waistcoats. It was afterwards one article of accusation against that potent and opulent earl, when he was put to death, that he had purloined some of that finery of Gavaston. The ignorance of those ages in manufactures, and still more, their unskilful husbandry, seem a clear proof that the country was then far from being populous.

All trade and manufactures indeed were then at a very low ebb. The only country in the northern parts of Europe where they seem to have risen to any tolerable degree of improvement, was Flanders. When Robert, earl of that country, was applied to by the king, and was desired to break off commerce with the Scots, whom Edward called his rebels, and represented as excommunicated on that account by the church, the earl replied, that Flanders was always considered as common, and free and open to all nations.

The petition of the elder Despenser to parliament complaining of the devastation committed on his lands by the barons, contains several particulars which are curious, and discovers the manners of the age. He affirms, that they had ravaged sixty-three manors belonging to him, and he makes his losses amount to forty-six thousand pounds; that is, to one hundred and thirty-eight thousand of our present money. Among other particulars he enumerates twenty-eight thousand sheep, one thousand oxen and heifers, one thousand two hundred cows with their breed for two years, five hundred and sixty cart horses, two thousand hogs, together with six hundred bacons, eighty carcases of beef, and six hundred muttons in the larder; ten tuns of cyder, arms for two hundred men, and other warlike engines and provisions. The plain inference is, that the greater part of Despenser's vast estate, as well as the estates of the other nobility, was farmed by the landlord himself, managed by his stewards or bailiffs, and cultivated by his villans. Little or none of it was let on lease to husbandmen: its produce was consumed in rustic hospitality by the barons or his officers: a great number of idle retainers, ready for any disorder or mischief, were maintained by him: all who lived upon his estate were absolutely at his disposal: instead of applying to courts of justice, he usually sought redress by open force and violence: the great nobility were a kind of independent potentates, who, if they submitted to any regulations at all, were less governed by the municipal law, than by a rude species of the law of nations. The method in which we find they treated the king's favourits and ministers, is a proof of their usual way of dealing with each other. A party which complains of the arbitrary conduct of ministers, ought naturally to affect a great regard for the laws and constitution, and maintain at least the appearance of justice in their proceedings: yet those barons, when discontented, came to parliament with an armed force, constrained the king to assent to their measures, and without any trial or witness or conviction, passed from the pretended notoriety of facts, an act of banishment or attainder against the minister, which on the first revolution of fortune, was reversed by like expedients. The parliament, during factious times, was nothing but the organ of present power. Though the persons, of whom it was chiefly composed, seemed to enjoy great independence, they really possessed no true liberty; and the security of each individual among them, was not so much derived from the general protection of law, as from his own private power and that of his confederates. The authority of the monarch, though far from absolute, was irregular, and might often reach him; the current of a faction might overwhelm him: a hundred considerations of benefits and injuries, friendships and animosities, hopes and fears, were able to influence his conduct; and amidst these motives a regard to equity and law and justice was commonly, in those rude ages, of little moment. Nor did any man entertain thoughts of opposing present power, who did not deem himself strong enough to dispute the field with it by force, and was not prepared to give battle to the sovereign or the ruling party.

Before we conclude this reign, we cannot forbear making another remark, drawn from the detail of losses given in by the elder Despenser; particularly the great quantity of salted meat which he had in his larder; six hundred bacons, eighty carcases of beef, six hundred muttons. We may observe that the outrage of which he complained began after the third of May, or the eleventh new style, as we learn from the same paper. It is easy therefore to conjecture what a vast store of the same kind he must have laid up at the beginning of winter; and we may draw a new conclusion with regard to the wretched state of ancient husbandry, who could not provide sustenance for the cattle during winter, even in such a temperate climate as the south of England; for Despenser had but one manor so far north as Yorkshire. There being few or no inclosures, except perhaps for deer, no sown grass, little hay, and no other resource for feeding cattle; the barons, as well as the people, were obliegd to kill and salt their oxen and sheep in the beginning of winter, before they became lean upon the common pasture: a precaution still practised with regard to oxen in the least cultivated parts of this island. The salting of mutton is a miserable expedient, which has every where been long disused. From this circumstance, however trivial in appearance, may be drawn important inferences with regard to the domestic œconomy and manner of life in those ages.

The disorders of the times, from foreign wars and intestine dissensions, but above all, the cruel famine, which obliged the nobility to dismiss many of their retainers, increased the number of robbers in the kingdom; and no place was secure from their incursions. They met in troops like armies, and over-ran the country. Two cardinals themselves, the pope's legates, notwithstanding the numerous train which attended them, were robbed, and despoiled of their goods and equipage, when they travelled on the highway.

Among the other wild fancies of the age, it was imagined, that the persons affected with leprosy, a disease at that time very common, probably from bad diet, had conspired with the Saracens to poison all the springs and fountains; and men being glad of any pretence to get rid of those who were a burthen to them, many of those unhappy people were burnt alive on this chimerical imputation. Several Jews also were punished in their persons, and their goods were confiscated on the same account.

Stowe, in his survey of London, gives us a curious instance of the hospitality of the ancient nobility in this period: it is taken from the accounts of the cofferer or steward of Thomas earl of Lancaster, and contains the expences of that earl during the year 1313, which was not a year of famine. For the pantry, buttery, and kitchen, three thousand four hundred and five pounds. For three hundred and sixty-nine pipes of red wine, and two of white, one hundred and four pounds, &c. The whole seven thousand three hundred and nine pounds; that is near twenty-two thousand pounds of our present money; and making allowance for the cheapness of commodities, near a hundred thousand pounds.

I have seen a French manuscript, containing accounts of some private disbursements of this king. There is an article, among others, of a crown paid to one for making the king laugh. To judge by the events of this reign, this ought not to have been an easy undertaking.

The king left four children, two sons and two daughters: Edward, his eldest son and successor; John, created afterwards earl of Cornwall, who died young at Perth; Jane, afterwards married to David Bruce, king of Scotland; and Eleanor, married to Reginald count of Gueldres.

CHAP. VII.

EDWARD III.

EDWARD the Third may justly be said to have commenced his reign on the 24th of January, 1327, for on that day the same parliament which had effected the deposition of his father had caused him to be proclaimed king; and he had accordingly been crowned in Westminster Abbey, on the first of February, by the Archbishop of Canterbury.

The violent party, which had taken arms against the unfortunate Edward II., deemed it requisite for their future security to pay so far an exterior obeisance to the law, as to desire a parliamentary indemnity, for all their illegal proceedings; on account of the necessity which it was pretended, they lay under, of employing force against

against the Despensers and other evil counsellors, enemies of the kingdom. All the attainders also, which had passed against the earl of Lancaster and his adherents, when the chance of war turned against them, were easily reversed during the triumph of their party; and the Despensers, whose former attainder had been reversed by parliament, were now again, in this change of fortune, condemned by the votes of their enemies. A council of regency was likewise appointed by parliament, consisting of twelve persons; five prelates, the archbishops of Canterbury and York, the bishops of Winchester, Worcester, and Hereford; and seven lay peers, the earls of Norfolk, Kent, and Surrey, and the lords Wake, Ingham, Piercy, and Ross. The earl of Lancaster was appointed guardian and protector of the king's person (*o*). That none of the abettors in the late criminal proceedings might go unrewarded, at a subsequent parliament, held at Westminster on the 13th of November, a pardon was accorded to the citizens of London for all the acts of violence they had committed; and in consideration of those very crimes, for which a pardon was deemed necessary, they received a confirmation of their charter, and a considerable enlargement of their privileges: at the same time, the city obtained the right of extending its jurisdiction over the borough of Southwark. Although it was reasonable to expect, that, as the weakness of the former king had given reins to the licentiousness of the barons, great domestic tranquility would not prevail during the present minority.

The king of Scots declining in years and health, but retaining still that martial spirit which had raised his nation from the lowest ebb of fortune, deemed the present distracted state of England a favourable opportunity for attacking it with advantage, and regardless of the truce which had been concluded in the late reign, entered on the borders with an army, and made an attempt on the castle of Norham, in which he was disappointed by the vigilance of sir Robert Manners, the governor of that fortress; he then collected an army of twenty-five thousand men on the frontiers, and having given the command to the earl of Murray and lord Douglas, threatened an incursion into the northern counties. The English regency, after trying in vain every expedient to restore peace with Scotland, made vigorous preparations for war; and besides assembling an English army of nearly sixty thousand men, they invited back John de Beaumont, who had returned to Hainault, and some foreign cavalry, whom they had dismissed, and whose discipline and arms had appeared superior to those of their own country. Young Edward himself, inheriting the martial ardour of his grandfather, and burning with a passion for military fame, appeared at the head of these numerous forces; and began his march to the north; but his progress was retarded by a dangerous dispute that occurred at York between the English archers and the foreign troops, which was not settled till after much blood had been shed on both sides. When they had composed this quarrel, he left York on the 10th of July, 1327, and advanced to Durham, the appointed place of rendezvous, where he arrived on the 18th. Here he received intelligence that the Scottish army had passed the river Tyne, and were laying every thing waste around them.

Murray and Douglas, to whom Bruce had entrusted the command of the forces, were the two most celebrated warriors, bred in the long hostilities between the Scots and English; and their forces, trained in the same school, and enured to hardships, fatigues, and dangers, were perfectly qualified, by their habits and manner of life, for that desultory and destructive war which they carried into England. Except a body of about four thousand cavalry, well armed, and fit to make a steady impression in battle, the rest of the army were light-armed troops, mounted on small horses, which found subsistence every where, and carried them with rapid and unexpected marches whether they meant to commit depredations on the peaceable inhabitants, or to attack an armed enemy, or to retreat into their own country (*p*).

The chief difficulty which Edward met with, was to come up with an army so rapid in its marches, and so little incumbered in its motions. Though the flame and smoke of burning villages directed him sufficiently to the place of their encampment, he found, upon hastening thither, that they had already dislodged; and he soon discovered, by new marks of devastation, that they had removed to some distant quarter. After harassing his army during some time in this fruitless chace, he advanced northwards, and crossed the Tyne, with a resolution of awaiting them on their return homewards, and taking vengeance for all their depredations. But that whole country was already so much wasted by their frequent incursions, that it could not afford subsistence to his army; and he was obliged again to return southwards, and change his plan of operations. He had now lost all track of the enemy; and though he promised the reward of a hundred pounds a year to any one who should bring him an account of their motions, he remained inactive for some days, before he received any intelligence of them. He found at last, by the intelligence he received from Thomas Rockesby, that they had fixed their camp on the southern banks of the Were, as they intended to await a battle; but their prudent leaders had chosen the ground with such judgement, that the English, on their approach, saw it impracticable, without temerity, to cross the river in their front, and attack them in their present situation. Edward, impatient for revenge and glory, here sent them a defiance, and challenged them, if they dared, to meet him in an equal field, and try the fortune of arms. The bold spirit of Douglas could ill brook this bravado, and he advised the acceptance of the challenge; but he was over-ruled by Murray, who replied to Edward, that he never took the counsel of an enemy in any of his operations. The king, therefore, kept still his position opposite to the Scots; and daily expected, that necessity would oblige them to change their quarters, and give him an opportunity of overwhelming them with superior forces. After a few days, they suddenly decamped, and marched farther up the river; but still posted themselves in such a manner as to preserve the advantage of the ground, if the enemy should venture to attack them. Edward insisted, that all hazards should be run, rather than allow these ravagers to escape with impunity; but Mortimer's authority prevented the attack, and opposed itself to the valour of the young monarch. While the armies lay in this position, an incident happened which had well nigh proved fatal to the English. Douglas, having gotten the word, and surveyed exactly the situation of the English camp, entered it secretly in the night time, with a body of two hundred determined soldiers, and advanced to the royal tent, with a view of killing or carrying off the king in the midst of his army. But some of Edward's attendants, awaking in that critical moment, made resistance; his chaplain and chamberlain sacrificed their lives for his safety; the king himself, after making a valorous defence, escaped in the dark: and Douglas, having lost the greater part of his followers, was glad to make a hasty retreat with the remainder. Soon after, the Scottish army decamped without noise in the dead of night; and having thus gotten the start of the English, arrived without further loss in their own country. Edward, on entering the place of the Scottish encampment, found only six Englishmen, whom the enemy, after breaking their legs, had tied to trees, in order to prevent their carrying any intelligence to their countrymen (*q*).

The king was highly incensed at the disappointment which he had met with in his first enterprize, and at the head of so powerful an army. The symptoms which he had

(*o*) The appointment of this regency, however, proved merely a matter of form, for the Queen and Mortimer, by whose intrigues the late revolution had been effected, were careful to monopolize all the authority of the state; and, at once to increase the influence and gratify their avarice, they appropriated to themselves all the forfeited property of the Despensers and their adherents, which was of immense value. Isabella likewise obtained from this prostituted parliament a grant of twenty thousand pounds to discharge her debts; besides an annual pension of equal value, by way of jointure.

(*p*) Their whole equipage, as described by Froissard, lib. iv. chap. 18. consisted of a bag of oat-meal, which, as a supply in case of necessity, each soldier carried behind him; together with a light plate of iron, on which he instantly baked the meal into a cake in the open fields. But his chief subsistence was the cattle which he seized; and his cookery was as expeditious as all his other operations. After flaying the animal, he placed the skin, loose and hanging in the form of a bag, upon some stakes; he poured water into it, kindled a fire below, and thus made it serve as a cauldron for the boiling of his victuals.

(*q*) Froissard, lib. iv. chap. 19.—It is somewhat singular that Dr Henry, in his account of this transaction, should have omitted to mention this last circumstance, though he was studious to detail every minutia of cruelty at any time practised by the English: it is also strange he should have asserted that, although Douglas in his attempt on the king's person experienced *a desperate resistance*, he retired, after having killed three hundred of the enemy, *with little loss*.

had discovered of bravery and spirit gave extreme satisfaction, and were regarded as sure prognostics of an illustrious reign: but the general displeasure fell violently on Mortimer, who was already the object of public odium; and every measure which he pursued, tended to aggravate, beyond all bounds, the hatred of the nation both against him and queen Isabella.

When the council of regency was formed, Mortimer, though in the plenitude of his power, had taken no care to ensure a place in it; but this semblance of moderation was only a cover to the most iniquitous and most ambitious projects. He rendered that council entirely useless by usurping to himself the whole sovereign authority; he settled on the queen-dowager the greater part of the royal revenues; he never consulted either the princes of the blood or the nobility in any public measure; the king himself was so besieged by his creatures that no access could be procured to him; and all the envy which had attended Gavaston and Despenser fell much more deservedly on the new favourite.

Mortimer, sensible of the growing hatred of the people, thought it requisite on any terms to secure peace abroad; and he entered into a negociation with Robert Bruce for that purpose. As the claim of superiority in England, more than any other cause, had tended to inflame the animosities between the two nations, Mortimer, besides stipulating a marriage between Jane, sister of Edward, and David, the son and heir of Robert, consented to resign absolutely this claim, to give up all the homages done by the Scottish parliament and nobility, and acknowledge Robert as independent sovereign of Scotland. In return for these advantages, Robert stipulated the payment of thirty thousand marks to England; which are said to have been divided between the queen and Mortimer. This treaty was ratified by parliament (*r*), in April, 1328; but was nevertheless the source of great discontent among the people, who, having entered zealously into the pretensions of Edward I. and deemed themselves disgraced by the successful resistance made by so inferior a nation, were disappointed, by this treaty, in all future hopes both of conquest and of vengeance.

The princes of the blood, Kent, Norfolk, and Lancaster, were much united in their councils; and Mortimer justly entertained suspicions of their designs against him. In summoning them to parliament, he strictly prohibited them, in the king's name, from coming attended by an armed force, an illegal but usual practice in that age. The three earls, as they approached to Salisbury, the place appointed for the meeting of parliament, found, that though they themselves, in obedience to the king's command, had brought only their usual retinue with them, Mortimer and his party were attended by all their followers in arms; and they began with some reason to apprehend a dangerous design against their persons. They retreated, assembled their retainers, and were returning with an army to take vengeance on Mortimer; when the weakness of Kent and Norfolk, who deserted the common cause, obliged Lancaster also to make his submissions. The quarrel by the interposition of the prelates, seemed for the present to be appeased.

Charles le Bel, king of France, dying in the month of February, 1328, left one daughter: his queen, however, being pregnant, the next male heir was appointed regent, with a declared right of succession, if the issue should prove female. This prince was Philip of Valois, cousin-german to the deceased king, being son of Charles de Valois, brother to Philip the Fair. The queen of France being delivered of a daughter, the regency ended; and Philip was unanimously placed on the throne. Immediately after his accession, he summoned Edward to do homage to him for his continental territories; but the young monarch had been inspired with the absurd idea that he himself was heir to the French crown, in right of his mother Isabella, who was sister to Charles le Bel; though it was notorious that, by a custom uninterrupted during the course of eleven generations, females were expressly excluded from the throne; and, to suppose that they could convey a right which they did not possess themselves, was as gross an absurdity as folly or ambition had ever engendered. Impressed, however, with the idea that his claim was valid, Edward was loth to evince any mark of submission to a monarch whom he deemed an usurper of his rights; but, being unable, at present, to enter into a contest with Philip, he was obliged, however unwilling, to obey the citation and to content himself with protesting, before his own council, that in so doing he only acted from prudential motives, without any intention of renouncing his right to the crown of France. After this precaution, not less absurd than the claim itself, he sailed from Dover on the 26th of May, 1329; did homage to Philip at Amiens; and returned to England on the 11th of the following month. Though his stay in France was but short, he had sufficient time to be dazzled with the splendour of the French court, and to be stricken with the beauty and fertility of the country: and this confirmed him in the resolution he had previously adopted of undertaking, at a convenient period, the conquest of that kingdom.

But Mortimer, in order to intimidate the princes, determined to have a victim; and the simplicity, with the good intentions of the earl of Kent, afforded him soon after an opportunity of practising his malice upon him. By himself and his emissaries he propagated a report, that king Edward the Second was still alive, and detained in Corfe Castle, or in some secret prison in England. This report soon reached the ears of the earl of Kent, whose remorse for the part which he had acted against the late king probably inclined him to give credit to this intelligence, which he wished to be true: he entered into a design of restoring him to liberty, of reinstating him on the throne, and of making thereby some atonement for the injuries which he himself had unwarily done him. The earl of Kent wrote a letter to sir James Devernel, the governor of Corfe Castle, who having been tutored for the purpose, gave such an answer to the earl's enquiries as tended to confirm his suspicions. The governor even offered to deliver a letter to the king his brother; which Kent having written, Devernel immediately sent it to Mortimer; who having received it, by the assistance of the queen, procured a parliament to be summoned to meet at Westminster on the 11th of March, 1330. The earl of Kent was particularly cited to attend; and, on his appearance, was instantly arrested. As this servile parliament was chiefly composed of the queen's factious adherents, it was no difficult matter to persuade them to condemn a man who had become odious to his minion. Kent was tried on the 16th, and convicted of high treason, on the curious accusation of having intended to raise a dead man to the throne. The queen and Mortimer, apprehensive of young Edward's lenity towards his uncle, hurried on the execution, and the unfortunate earl was beheaded on March 19th, the third day after his trial. But so general was the affection born him, and such pity prevailed for his unhappy fate, that though peers had been easily found to condemn him, it was evening before his enemies could find an executioner to perform the office. About three months after the execution of the earl of Kent, the young queen was delivered of a son at Woodstock, who was baptized by the name of Edward, and afterwards so well known to the world under the appellation of *The Black Prince*. This happy event filled the nation with joy, and was attended with a favourable turn in the administration of affairs.

The earl of Lancaster, on pretence of his having assented to this conspiracy, was soon after thrown into prison: many of the prelates and nobility were prosecuted: Mortimer employed this engine to crush all his enemies, and to enrich himself and his family by the forfeiture of their estates. The estate of the earl of Kent was seized for his younger son Geoffrey: the immense fortunes of the Despensers and their adherents were mostly converted to his own use: he affected a state and dignity equal or superior to the royal: his power became formidable to every one: his illegal practices were daily complained of; and all parties, foregoing their mutual animosities, conspired in their hatred of this licentious favourite.

It was impossible that these abuses could long escape the observation of a prince endowed with so much spirit and judgement as young Edward, who being now in his eighteenth year, and feeling himself capable of governing, repined at being held in fetters by an insolent minister and an unprincipled parent. But so much was he surrounded by the emissaries of Mortimer, that it behoved him to conduct the project for subverting him with the same secrecy and precaution as if he had been forming a conspiracy against his sovereign. He communicated his intentions to lord Montacute; and as the destruction of Mortimer was the necessary consequence of the king's resolution, and must necessarily be effected before the project could take place, it could not fail to prove agreeable to the nobles, who entertained the most invetrate hatred

(*r*) Previous to this ratification, though Edward was only in his sixteenth year, his marriage with Philippa, daughter of William the Third, count of Hainault and Holland, had been solemnized at York.

hatred to that rapacious minion. The lords Molins, Clifford, Ufford, Stafford, and Clinter, sir John Nevil of Hornby, sir Edward, sir Humphrey, and sir William de Bohun, and some others, to engage in their views; and the meeting of the next parliament, which was appointed to assemble at the castle of Nottingham fifteen days after Michaelmas, was fixed on as a proper time for putting their scheme in execution. The queen-dowager and Mortimer lodged in that fortress: the king also was admitted, though with a few only of his attendants; and as the castle was strictly guarded, the gates locked every evening, and the keys carried to the queen, who placed them under her pillow, it became necessary to communicate the design to sir William Eland the governor, who zealously took part in it. By his direction the king's associates were admitted, on the morning of the 19th of October, through a subterraneous passage, which had formerly been contrived for a secret outlet from the castle, but was now buried in rubbish; and Mortimer, without having it in his power to make resistance, was suddenly seized in an apartment adjoining to that of the queen. Isabella earnestly entreated her son to spare the life of her beloved favourite; but he was deaf to all her solicitations, and her entreaties experienced the contempt they deserved. The base object of her criminal desires was sent, under a proper guard to the Tower of London. Two of Mortimer's sons, with many of his adherents, were apprehended at the same time; and that very day Edward caused a proclamation to be issued, in which his subjects were informed that he had taken the reins of government into his own hands. A new parliament was summoned to meet at Westminster on the 26th of November, in order to try the prisoners. No formal trial, however, took place. Mortimer was accused before that assembly of having usurped regal power from the council of regency appointed by parliament; of having procured the death of the late king; of having deceived the earl of Kent into a conspiracy to restore that prince, who was dead; of having solicited and obtained exorbitant grants of the royal demesnes; of having dissipated the public treasure; of secreting twenty thousand marks of the money paid by the king of Scotland; and of other crimes and misdemeanours. The guilt of Mortimer, from the notoriety of the facts preferred against him in the accusation was so apparent, that it was thought unnecessary to examine witnesses, or even to hear an answer from himself. So little were the forms of law attended to in those days; and so ignorant were our ancestors of this important truth—That in legal processes where the form of justice is destroyed, the substance must speedily follow! Mortimer was declared by the the parliament to be found guilty of high treason, and condemned to suffer the death of a traitor. This sentence was accordingly put in execution on the 29th of November, 1330, at a place called The Elms, in the vicinity of the metropolis; where his body was suffered to hang two days on the common gibbet (*s*). It is remarkable that this sentence was, near twenty years after, reversed by parliament, in favour of Mortimer's son; and the reason assigned was the illegal manner of proceeding. The principles of law and justice were established in England, not in such a degree as to prevent any iniquitious sentence against a person hateful to the ruling party; but sufficient, on the return of his credit or that of his friends, to serve as a reason or pretence for its reversal.

Justice was also executed, by a sentence of the house of peers, on some of the inferior criminals, particularly on Simon de Bereford: but the barons in that act of jurisdiction entered a protest, that though they had tried Bereford, who was none of their peers, they should not for the future be obliged to receive any indictment of a similar nature. The queen was confined to her own house at Risings near London: her revenue was reduced to three thousand pounds a year; and though the king, during the remainder of her life, paid her a decent visit once or twice a year, she never was able to reinstate herself in any credit or authority.

Edward having, by those just and spirited proceedings, now taken the reins of government into his own hands, applied himself with industry and judgment to redress all those grievances which had proceeded either from want of authority to the crown, or from the late abuses of it. He issued writs to the judges, enjoining them to administer justice, without paying any regard to arbitrary orders from the ministers. He was studious to enforce a rigid and impartial administration of justice; and as the robbers, thieves, murderers, and criminals of all kinds, had, during the course of public convulsions, multiplied to an enormous degree, and were openly protected by the great barons, who made use of them against their enemies, the king, after exacting from the peers a solemn promise in parliament, that they would break off all connections with such malefactors, set himself in earnest to remedy the evil. Many of these gangs had become so numerous as to require his own presence to disperse them; and he exerted both courage and industry in executing this salutary office. The ministers of justice, from his example, employed the utmost diligence in discovering, pursuing, and punishing the criminals; and this disorder was by degrees corrected, at least palliated; the utmost that could be expected with regard to a disease hitherto inherent in the constitution.

In proportion as the government required authority at home, it became formidable to the neighbouring nations; and the ambitious spirit of Edward sought, and soon found, an opportunity of exerting itself. The wise and valiant Robert Bruce, who had recovered by arms the independence of his country, and had fixed it by the last treaty of peace with England, soon after died, and left David his son, a minor, under the guardianship of Randolf earl of Murray, the companion of all his victories (*t*).

Edward Baliol, the son of that John who was crowned king of Scotland, had been detained some time a prisoner in England after his father was released; but having also obtained his liberty, he went over to France, and resided in Normandy, on his patrimonial estate in that country, without any thoughts of reviving the claims of his family to the crown of Scotland. His pretensions, however, plausible, had been so strenuously abjured by the Scots, and rejected by the English, that he was universally regarded as a private person; and he had been thrown into prison on account of some private offence of which he was accused. Lord Beaumont, a great English baron, who in the right of his wife claimed the earldom of Buchan in Scotland (*u*), found him in this situation; and deeming him a proper instrument for his purpose, made such interest with the king of France, who was not aware of the consequences, that he recovered him his liberty, and brought him over with him to England.

The injured nobles, possessed of such a head, began to think of vindicating their rights by force of arms; and they applied to Edward for his concurrence and assistance. But there were several reasons which deterred the king from openly avowing their enterprize. In this treaty with Scotland he had entered into a bond of twenty thousand pounds, payable to the pope, if within four years he violated the peace; and as the term was not yet elapsed, he dreaded the exacting of that penalty by the sovereign pontiff, who possessed so many means of forcing princes to make payment. He was also afraid that violence and injustice would every where be imputed to him, if he attacked with superior force a minor king, and a brother-in-law, whose independent title had so lately been acknowledged by a solemn treaty. And as the regent of Scotland, on every demand which had been made of restitution to the English barons, had always confessed the justice of their claim, and had only given an evasive answer, grounded on plausible pretences, Edward resolved not to proceed by open violence, but to employ like artifices against him. He secretly encouraged Baliol in his enterprize;

(*s*) Thus perished Roger Mortimer, earl of March, by a death well suited to the ignominy of his life. This rapacious nobleman appears not to have possessed a single virtue that could afford the smallest compensation for the numerous bad qualities which vitiated his mind, and corrupted his heart; and, as the principal actions by which he had risen to distinction consisted in the complicated crimes of treason, adultery, and murder, it is not surprizing that he should at length have sunk to the disgrace he so justly merited; and that the rigour of his fate should have become an object of applause, instead of regret.

(*t*) It had been stipulated in this treaty, that both the Scottish nobility who before the commencement of the wars enjoyed lands in England, and the English who inherited estates in Scotland, should be restored to their respective possessions: but though this article had been executed pretty regularly on the part of Edward, Robert, who observed that the estates claimed by Englishmen were much more numerous and valuable than the others, either thought it dangerous to admit so many secret enemies into the kingdom, or found it difficult to wrest from his own followers the possessions bestowed on them as a reward of former services; and he had protracted the performance of his part of the stipulation. The English nobles, disappointed in their expectations, began to think of a remedy; and as their influence was great in the north, their enmity alone, even though unsupported by the king of England, became dangerous to the minor prince, who succeeded to the Scottish throne.

(*u*) Rymer, vol. iv. p. 251.

connived at his assembling forces in the north; and gave countenance to the nobles who were disposed to join the attempt. A force of near two thousand five hundred men were inlisted under Baliol, by Umfreville earl of Angus, the lords Beaumont, Ferrars, Fitz-warin, Wake, Stafford, Talbot, and Moubray. As these adventurers apprehended that the frontiers would be strongly armed and guarded, they resolved to make their attack by sea; and having embarked at Ravenspur, and sailing up the Frith of Forth, they landed at Kinghorn on the 6th of August, 1332.

Scotland was at that time in a very different situation from that in which it had appeared under the victorious Robert. Besides the loss of that great monarch, whose genius and authority preserved entire the whole political fabric, and maintained an union among the unruly barons, lord Douglas, impatient of rest, had gone over to Spain, in a crusade against the Moors, and had there perished in battle: the earl of Murray, who had long been declining through age and infirmities, had lately died, and had been succeeded in the regency by Donald earl of Marre, a man of much inferior talents: the military skill of the Scots, though still unbroken, was left without a proper guidance and direction; and a minor king seemed ill qualified to defend an inheritance, which it had required all the consummate valour and abilities of his father to acquire and maintain. But as the Scots were apprized of the intended invasion, great numbers, on the appearance of the English fleet, immediately ran to the shore, in order to prevent the landing of the enemy. Baliol had valour and activity, and he drove back the Scots with considerable loss. He marched westward into the heart of the country, flattering himself that the ancient partizans of his family would declare for him. But the fierce animosities which had been kindled between the two nations, inspiring the Scots with a strong prejudice against a prince supported by the English, he was regarded as a common enemy; and the regent found no difficulty in assembling a great army to oppose him. It is pretended that Marre had no less than forty thousand men under his banners; but the same hurry and impatience that made him collect a force, which from its greatness was so disproportioned to the occasion, rendered all his motions unskilful and imprudent. The river Erne ran between the two armies; and the Scots, confiding in that security, as well as in their great superiority of numbers, kept no order in their encampment. Baliol passed the river in the night-time; attacked the unguarded and undisciplined Scots on the 11th of August; threw them into confusion, which was increased by the darkness, and by their very numbers to which they trusted; and he beat them off the field with great slaughter. But in the morning, when the Scots were at some distance, they were ashamed of having yielded the victory to so weak a foe, and they hurried back to recover the honour of the day. Their eager passions urged them precipitately to battle, without regard to some broken ground which lay between them and the enemy, and which disordered and confounded their ranks. Baliol seized the favourable opportunity, advanced his troops upon them, prevented them from rallying, and anew chased them off the field with redoubled slaughter. There fell above twelve thousand Scots in this action; and among these the flower of the nobility; the regent himself, the earl of Carrie, a natural son of their late king, the earls of Athole and Monteith, lord Hay of Errol, constable, and the lords Keith and Lindsey. The loss of the English scarcely exceeded thirty men; a strong proof among many others, of the miserable state of military discipline in those ages.

Baliol soon after made himself master of Perth; but still was not able to bring over any of the Scots to his party. Patric Dunbar earl of March, and sir Archibald Douglas, brother to the lord of that name, appeared at the head of the Scottish forces, which amounted still to near forty thousand men; and they proposed to reduce Baliol and the English by famine. They blockaded Perth by land; they collected some vessels with which they invested it by water; but Baliol's ships, attacking the Scottish fleet, gained a complete victory; and opened the communication between Perth and the sea. The Scotch armies were then obliged to disband for want of pay and subsistence: the nation was, in effect, subdued by a handful of men: each nobleman who found himself most exposed to danger, successively submitted to Baliol: that prince was crowned at Scone, on the 27th of September: David, his competitor, was sent over to France with his betrothed wife, Jane, sister to Edward; and the heads of his party sued to Baliol for a truce, which he granted them, in order to assemble a parliament in tranquillity, and have his title recognized by the whole Scottish nation.

But Baliol's imprudence, or his necessities, making him dismiss the greater part of his English followers, he retired to Annan, there to celebrate the approaching festival of Christmas. But sir Archibald Douglas, the young earl of Murray, Sir Simon Fraser, and some other chieftains of that party, who had been taught by their late sovereign to despise both treaties and truces when impelled by interest to a violation of them, attacked Baliol in the night so suddenly, that he had scarcely time to effect his escape to Carlisle, on horseback, half naked: his brother John Baliol was slain, with many of his adherents; and thus lost his kingdom by a revolution as sudden as that by which he had acquired it.

While Baliol enjoyed his short-lived and precarious royalty, he had been sensible, that without the protection of England, it would be impossible for him to maintain possession of the throne; and he had secretly sent a message to Edward, offered to acknowledge his superiority, to renew the homage for his crown, and to espouse the princess Jane, if the pope's consent could be obtained for dissolving her former marriage, which was not yet consummated. Edward, ambitious of recovering that important concession, made by Mortimer during his minority, threw off all scruples, and willingly accepted the offer; but as the dethroning of Baliol had rendered this stipulation of no effect, the king prepared to reinstate him in possession of the crown; an enterprize which appeared from late experience so easy and so little hazardous. The Scots, in the mean time, flushed with success, made incursions into Cumberland, and spread their devastations over the whole country; which afforded a fair pretence to Edward for espousing the cause of the monarch whom they had lately expelled. Accordingly, having summoned a parliament to meet at York, in the beginning of March, he asked the advice of his barons on the subject. They declined, however, giving any opinion: but their approbation of his scheme, though not openly expressed, (probably from the idea of gaining a plausible pretext for exciting commotions in the kingdom, from which they were ever sure to derive advantage, should he fail in its execution,) was certainly implied in the grant which they made him, in order to support the enterprize, of a fifteenth of the personal estates of the nobility and gentry, and a tenth of the moveables of boroughs. But to this grant they added a petition, that the king would thenceforth live on his own revenue, without grieving his subjects by illegal taxes, or by the outrageous seizure of their goods in the shape of purveyance.

As the Scots expected that the chief brunt of the war would fall upon Berwick, Douglas, the regent, threw a strong garrison into that place, under the command of sir William Keith, and he himself assembled a great army on the frontiers, ready to penetrate into England, as soon as Edward should have invested that place. The English army was less numerous, but better supplied with arms and provisions, and retained in stricter discipline; and the king, notwithstanding the valiant defence made by Keith, had, in two months, reduced the garrison to extremities, and had obliged them to capitulate, on the 16th of July, 1333: they engaged to surrender, if they were not relieved by the morning of the 20th by their countrymen. This intelligence being conveyed to the Scottish army, which was preparing to invade Northumberland, changed their plan of operations, and engaged them to advance towards Berwick, and attempt the relief of that important fortress. Douglas, who had ever purposed to decline a pitched battle, in which he was sensible of the enemy's superiority, and who intended to have drawn out the war by small skirmishes, and by mutually ravaging each other's country, was forced, by the impatience of his troops, to put the fate of the kingdom upon the event of one day. He attacked the English at Halidown Hill, a little north of Berwick, on the 19th; and, though his heavy-armed cavalry dismounted, in order to render the action more steady and desperate, they were received with such valour by Edward, and were so galled by the English archers, that they were soon thrown into disorder, and, on the fall of Douglas their general, were totally routed. The whole army fled in confusion, and the English, but much more the Irish, under the command of Lord Darcy, gave little quarter in the pursuit:

pursuit: all the nobles of chief distinction were either slain or taken prisoners: near thirty thousand of the Scots fell in the action: while the loss of the English was inconsiderable (*x*).

After this fatal blow, the Scottish nobles had no other resource than instant submission; and Edward, leaving a considerable body with Baliol to complete the conquest of the kingdom, returned with the remainder of his army to England. Baliol was acknowledged king by a parliament assembled at Perth soon after Michaelmas; the superiority of England was again recognized; many of the Scottish nobility swore fealty to Edward; and to complete the misfortunes of that nation, Baliol repaired to Newcastle, on the 12th of June, 1334, and on the 18th did homage in person to Edward for the kingdom of Scotland; and ceded to him the counties of Edinburgh, Roxburgh, Selkirk, Dumfries, Peebles, Haddington, and Linlithgow; which were accordingly declared to be for ever annexed to the English monarchy.

If Baliol, on his first appearance, was dreaded by the Scots, as an instrument employed by England for the subjection of the kingdom, this deed confirmed all their suspicions, and rendered him the object of universal detestation. Whatever submissions they might be obliged to make, they considered him, not as their prince, but as the delegate and confederate of their determined enemy; and neither the manners of the age, nor the state of Edward's revenue, permitting him to maintain a standing army in Scotland, the English forces were no sooner withdrawn, than the Scots revolted from Baliol, and returned to their former allegiance under Bruce. Sir Andrew Murray, appointed regent by the party of this latter prince, employed with success his valour and activity in many small but decisive actions against Baliol; and in a short time had almost wholly expelled him the kingdom. Edward was obliged again to make application to his parliament for supplies, to assemble an army, and to march into Scotland: the Scots, taught by experience, withdrew into their hills and fastnesses: he destroyed the houses and ravaged the estates of those whom he called rebels: but this confirmed them still farther in their obstinate antipathy to England and to Baliol; and being now rendered desperate, they were ready to take advantage, on the first opportunity, of the retreat of their enemy, and they soon re-conquered their country from the English. Edward made anew his appearance in Scotland with like success: he found every thing hostile in the kingdom, except the spot on which he was encamped; and though he marched uncontrolled as far north as Inverness, from whence he proceeded to Aberdeen, which he reduced to ashes, the nation itself was farther than ever from being broken and subdued. Besides being supported by their pride and anger, passions difficult to tame, they were encouraged, amidst all their calamities, by daily promises of relief from France; and as a war was now likely to break out between that kingdom and England, they had reason to expect, from this incident, a great diversion of that force which had so long oppressed and overwhelmed them.

We now come to a transaction, on which depended the most memorable events, not only of this long and active reign, but of the whole English and French history, during more than a century; and it will therefore be necessary to give a particular account of the springs and causes of it.

It had long been a prevailing opinion, that the crown of France could never descend to a female; and, in order to give more authority to this maxim, and assign it a determinate origin, it had been usual to derive it from a clause in the Salian Code, the law of an ancient tribe among the Franks; though that clause, when strictly examined, carries only the appearance of favouring this principle, and does not really, by the confession of the best antiquaries, bear the sense commonly imposed upon it. But though positive law seems wanting among the French for the exclusion of females, the practice had taken place; and the rule was established beyond controversy on some ancient, as well as some modern precedents. During the first race of the monarchy, the Franks were so rude and barbarous a people, that they were incapable of submitting to a female reign; and in that period of their history there were frequent instances of kings advanced to royalty in prejudice to females, who were related to the crown by nearer degrees of consanguinity. These precedents, joined to like causes, had also established the male succession in the second race; and though the instances were neither so frequent nor so certain during that period, the principle of excluding the female line seems still to have prevailed, and to have directed the conduct of the nation. During the third race, the crown had descended from father to son for eleven generations, from Hugh Capet to Louis Hutin; and thus, in fact, during the course of nine hundred years, the French monarchy had always been governed by males, and no female, and none who founded his title on a female, had ever mounted the throne. Philip the Fair, father of Louis Hutin, left three sons, this Louis, Philip the Long, and Charles the Fair, and one daughter, Isabella queen of England. Louis Hutin, the eldest, left at his death one daughter, by Margaret sister to Eudes duke of Burgundy; and as his queen was then pregnant, Philip his younger brother was appointed regent, till it should appear whether the child proved a son or a daughter. The queen bore a male, who lived only a few days: Philip was proclaimed king; and as the duke of Burgundy made some opposition, and asserted the rights of his niece, the states of the kingdom, by a solemn and deliberate decree, gave her an exclusion, and declared all females for ever incapable of succeeding to the crown of France. Philip died after a short reign, leaving three daughters; and his brother Charles, without dispute or controversy, then succeeded to the crown. The reign of Charles was also short: he left one daughter; but as his queen was pregnant, the next male heir was appointed regent, with a declared right of succession, if the issue should prove female. This prince was Philip de Valois, cousin german to the deceased king; being the son of Charles de Valois, brother of Philip the Fair. The queen of France was delivered of a daughter: the regency ended; and Philip de Valois was unanimously placed on the throne of France.

The king of England, who was at that time a youth of fifteen years of age, embraced a notion that he was intitled, in right of his mother, to the succession of the kingdom, and that the claim of the nephew was preferable to that of the cousin-german. There could not well be imagined a notion weaker or worse grounded. The principle of excluding females was of old an established opinion in France, and had acquired equal authority with the most express and positive law: it was supported by ancient precedents; it was confirmed by recent instances, solemnly and deliberately decided; and what placed it still farther beyond controversy; if Edward was disposed to question its validity, he thereby cut off his own pretensions; since the three last kings had all left daughters, who were still alive, and who stood before him in the order of succession. He was therefore reduced to assert, that, though his mother Isabella was, on account of her sex, incapable of succeeding, he himself, who inherited through her, was liable to no such objection, and might claim by the right of propinquity. But, besides that this pretension was more favourable to Charles king of Navarre, descended from the daughter of Louis Hutin, it was so contrary to the established principles of succession in every country of Europe, was so repugnant to the practice, both in private and public inheritances, that nobody in France thought of Edward's claim: Philip's title was universally recognized; and he never imagined that he had a competitor; much less so formidable an one as the king of England.

But though the youthful and ambitious mind of Edward had rashly entertained this notion, he did not think proper to insist on his pretensions, which must have immediately involved him, on very unequal terms, in a dangerous and implacable war with so powerful a monarch. Philip was a prince of mature years, of great experience, and, at that time, of an established character both for prudence and valour; and by these circumstances, as well as by the internal union of his people, and their acquiescence in his undoubted right, he possessed every advantage above a raw youth, newly raised, by injustice and violence, to the government of the most intractable and most turbulent subjects in Europe. But there immediately occurred an incident which required that Edward should either openly declare his pretensions, or for ever renounce and abjure them. He was summoned to do homage for Guienne: Philip was preparing to compel him by force of arms: that country was in a very bad state of defence; and the forfeiture of so rich an inheritance was, by the feudal law, the immediate consequence of his refusing or declining to perform the duty of a vassal. Edward therefore thought it prudent to submit to present necessity: he went over to Amiens: did homage to Philip; and as there had arisen some controversy concerning the terms of this submission, he afterwards sent over a formal deed, in which he acknowledged that he owed liege homage to France; which was in effect ratifying, and that in the strongest terms, Philip's title to the

(*x*) The English on this memorable occasion, lost one knight, one esquire, and thirteen private soldiers! But this seems so incredible, that we wonder at its being adopted by Hume.

the crown of that kingdom. His own claim indeed was so unreasonable, and so thoroughly disavowed by the whole French nation, that to insist on it was no better than pretending to the violent conquest of the kingdom; and it is probable that he would never have farther thought of it, had it not been for some incidents which excited an animosity between the monarchs.

Robert of Artois was descended from the blood royal of France, was a man of great character and authority, had espoused Philip's sister, and, by his birth, talents, and credit, was entitled to make the highest figure, and fill the most important offices, in the monarchy. This prince had lost, in 1309, the county of Artois, which he claimed as his birth-right, by a sentence, commonly deemed iniquitous, of Philip the Fair; and he was seduced to attempt recovering possession by an action so unworthy of his rank and character as a forgery. The detection of this crime covered him with shame and confusion: his brother-in-law not only abandoned him, but prosecuted him with violence, and confiscated his effects: Robert, incapable of bearing disgrace, left the kingdom, and hid himself in the Low Countries: chased from that retreat, by the authority of Philip, he came over to England; in spite of the French king's menaces and remonstrances, he was favourably received by Edward; and was soon admitted into the councils, and shared the confidence of that monarch. Abandoning himself to all the movements of rage and despair, he endeavoured to revive the prepossession entertained by Edward in favour of his title to the crown of France, and even flattered him, that it was not impossible for a prince of his valour and abilities to render his claim effectual. The king was the more disposed to hearken to suggestions of this nature, because he had, in several particulars, found reason to complain of Philip's conduct with regard to Guienne, and because that prince had both given protection to the exiled David Bruce, and supported, at least encouraged, the Scots in their struggles for independence. This resentment gradually filled the breasts of both monarchs, and made them incapable of hearkening to any terms of accommodation proposed by the pope, who never ceased interposing his good offices between them. Philip thought that he should be wanting to the first principles of policy, if he abandoned Scotland: Edward affirmed, that he must relinquish all pretensions to generosity, if he withdrew his protection from Robert. The former, informed of some preparations for hostilities which had been made by his rival, issued a sentence of felony and attainder against Robert, and declared, that every vassal of the crown, whether *within* or *without* the kingdom, who gave countenance to that traitor, would be involved in the same sentence; a menace easy to be understood: the latter, resolute not to yield, endeavoured to form alliances in the Low Countries and on the frontiers of Germany, the only places from which he either could make an effectual attack upon France, or produce such a diversion as might save the province of Guienne, which lay so much exposed to the power of Philip.

The king began with opening his intentions to the count of Hainault his father-in-law; and having engaged him in his interests, he employed the good offices and counsels of that prince in drawing into his alliance the other sovereigns of that neighbourhood. The duke of Brabant was induced by his mediation, and by large remittances of money from England, to promise his concurrence: the archbishop of Cologne, the duke of Gueldres, the marquis of Juliers, the count of Namur, the lords of Faquemont and Baquen, were engaged by like motives to embrace the English alliance. These sovereign princes could supply, either from their own states or from the bordering countries, great numbers of warlike troops; and naught was wanting to make the force on that quarter very formidable but the accession of Flanders; which Edward procured by means somewhat extraordinary and unusual.

As the Flemings were the first people in the northern parts of Europe, that cultivated arts and manufactures, the lower ranks of men among them had risen to a degree of opulence unknown elsewhere to those of their station in that barbarous age; had acquired privileges and independence; and began to emerge from that state of vassalage, or rather of slavery, into which the common people had been universally thrown by the feudal institutions. It was probably difficult for them to bring their sovereign and their nobility to conform themselves to the principles of law and civil government, so much neglected in every other country: it was impossible for them to confine themselves within the proper bounds in their opposition and resentment against any instance of tyranny: they had risen in tumult: had insulted the nobles: had chased their earl into France: and delivering themselves over to the guidance of a seditious leader, had been guilty of all that insolence and disorder, to which the thoughtless and enraged populace are so much inclined, whenever they are unfortunate enough to be their own masters.

Their present leader was James d'Arteville, a brewer in Ghent, who governed them with a more absolute sway than had ever been assumed by any of their lawful sovereigns: he placed and displaced the magistrates at pleasure: he was accompanied by a guard, who, on the least signal from him, instantly assassinated any man that happened to fall under his displeasure: all the cities of Flanders were full of his spies; and it was immediate death to give him the smallest umbrage: the few nobles who remained in the country, lived in continual terror from his violence: he seized the estates of all those whom he had either banished or murdered; and bestowing a part on their wives and children, converted the remainder to his own use. Such were the first effects that Europe saw of popular violence; after having groaned, during so many ages, under monarchical and aristocratical tyranny.

James d'Arteville was the man to whom Edward addressed himself for bringing over the Flemings to his interests; and that prince, the most haughty and most aspiring of the age, never courted any ally with so much assiduity and so many submissions, as he employed towards this seditious and criminal tradesman. D'Arteville, proud of these advances from the king of England, and sensible that the Flemings were naturally inclined to maintain connexions with the English, who furnished them the materials of their woollen manufactures, the chief source of their opulence, readily embraced the interests of Edward, and invited him over into the Low Countries. Edward, before he entered on this great enterprize, affected to consult his parliament, asked their advice, and obtained their consent. And the more to strengthen his hands, he procured from them a grant of twenty thousand sacks of wool; which might amount to about a hundred thousand pounds: this commodity was a good instrument to employ with the Flemings; and the price of it with his German allies. He completed the other necessary sums by loans, by pawning the crown jewels, by confiscating, or rather robbing at once all the Lombards, who now exercised the invidious trade formerly monopolized by the Jews, of lending on interest; and being attended by a body of English forces, and by several of his nobility, he sailed over to Flanders. Having at length completed his preparations, and appointed his eldest son Edward guardian of the realm, he sailed from the port of Orwell in Suffolk, the 16th of July, 1338, with a large fleet and a powerful army.

The German princes, in order to justify their unprovoked hostilities against France, had required the sanction of some legal authority; and Edward, that he might give them satisfaction on this head, had applied to Lewis of Bavaria, then emperor, and had been created by him *vicar of the empire;* an empty title, but which seemed to give him a right of commanding the service of the princes of Germany. The Flemings, who were vassals of France, pretending like scruples with regard to the invasion of their liege lord; Edward, by the advice of d'Arteville, assumed, in his commissions, the title of king of France; and, in virtue of this right, claimed their assistance for dethroning Philip de Valois, the usurper of his kingdom. This step, which he feared would destroy all future amity between the kingdoms, and beget endless and implacable jealousies in France, was not taken by him without much reluctance and hesitation; and not being in itself very justifiable, it has in the issue been attended with many miseries to both kingdoms. From this period we may date the commencement of that great animosity, which the English nation have ever since borne to the French, which has so visible an influence on all future transactions, and which has been, and continues to be, the spring of many rash and precipitate resolutions among them. In all the preceding reigns since the conquest, the hostilities between the two crowns had been only casual and temporary; and as they had never been attended with any bloody or dangerous event, the traces of them were easily obliterated by the first treaty of pacification. The English nobility and gentry valued themselves on their French or Norman extraction; they affected to employ the language of that country in all public transactions, and even in familiar conversation: and

both the English court and camp being always full of nobles, who came from different provinces of France, the two people were during some centuries, more intermingled together than any two distinct nations whom we meet with in history. But the fatal pretensions of Edward III. dissolved all these connexions, and left the seeds of great animosity in both countries, especially among the English. For it is remarkable, that this latter nation, though they were commonly the aggressors, and by their success and situation were enabled to commit the most cruel injuries on the other, have always retained a stronger tincture of national antipathy; nor is their hatred retaliated on them to an equal degree by the French. That country lies in the middle of Europe, has been successively engaged in hostilities with all its neighbours, the popular prejudices have been diverted into many channels, and among a people of softer manners, they never rose to a great height against any particular nation, till the late revolution, which has subverted and overthrown the governments of all the kingdoms of Europe, except England, and made France by far the greatest power in the world.

Philip made great preparations against the attack from the English, and such as seemed more than sufficient to secure him from the danger. Besides the concurrence of all the nobility in his own populous and warlike kingdom, his foreign alliances were both more cordial and more powerful than those which were formed by his antagonist. The pope, who at this time lived at Avignon, was dependent on France, and being disgusted at the connexions between Edward and Lewis of Bavaria, whom he had excommunicated, he embraced with zeal and sincerity the cause of the French monarch. The king of Navarre, the duke of Bretagne, the count of Bar, were in the same interests; and on the side of Germany the king of Bohemia, the Palatine, the dukes of Lorraine and Austria, the bishop of Liege, the counts of Deuxpoint, Vaudemont, and Geneva. The allies of Edward were in themselves weaker; and having no object but his money, which began to be exhausted, they were slow in their motions and irresolute in their measures. The duke of Brabant, the most powerful among them, seemed even inclined to withdraw himself wholly from the alliance; and the king was necessitated, both to give the Brabanters new privileges in trade, and to contract his son Edward with the daughter of that prince, ere he could bring him to fulfil his engagements. The summer of 1339 was wasted in conferences and negociations before Edward could take the field; and he was obliged, in order to allure his German allies into his measures, to pretend that the first attack should be made upon Cambray a city of the empire which had been garrisoned by Philip. But finding, upon trial, the difficulty of the enterprize, he conducted them towards the frontiers of France; and there saw, by a sensible proof, the vanity of his expectations: the count of Namur, and even the count of Hainault his brother-in-law (for the old count was dead), refused to commence hostilities against their liege lord, and retired with their troops. So little account did they make of Edward's pretensions to the crown of France!

The king, however, notwithstanding this defection, entered the enemy's country, and encamped on the fields of Vironfosse near Capelle, with an army of near fifty thousand men, composed almost entirely of foreigners; Philip approached him with an army of near double the force, composed chiefly of native subjects; and it was daily expected that a battle would ensue. But the English monarch was averse to engage against so great a superiority: the French thought it sufficient if he eluded the attacks of his enemy, without running any unnecessary hazard. The two armies faced each other for some days: mutual defiances were sent: and Edward, at last, retired into Flanders, and disbanded his army.

Such was the fruitless and almost ridiculous conclusion of Edward's mighty preparations; and, as his measures were the most prudent that could be embraced in his situation, he might learn from experience in what a hopeless enterprize he was engaged. His expences, though they had led to no end, had been consuming and destructive: he had contracted near three hundred thousand pounds of debt; he had anticipated all his revenue; he had pawned every thing of value which belonged either to himself or his queen; he was obliged, in some measure, even to pawn himself to his creditors, by not sailing to England till he obtained their permission, and by promising, on his word of honour, to return in person, if he did not remit their money. Among other engagements which the king had entered into with his allies, he had promised not to quit the continent till the conclusion of the war; but this was a promise he now found it impossible to perform, his presence being absolutely necessary in England, to procure supplies for supporting the contest. Having therefore left his queen and his infant son Lionel, afterwards duke of Clarence, with four of his principal nobles, at Antwerp, as hostages for his return within a week after Midsummer, he embarked for England, and landed at Harwich on the 21st of February, 1340.

But he was a prince of too much spirit to be discouraged by the first difficulties of an undertaking; and was anxious to retrieve his honour by more successful and more gallant undertakings. For this purpose, he had, during the course of the campaign, sent orders to summon a parliament by his son Edward, whom he had left with the title of guardian, and to demand some supply in his urgent necessities. The barons seemed inclined to grant his request; but the knights, who often, at this time, acted as a separate body from the burgesses, made some scruple of taxing their constituents without their consent; and they desired the guardian to summon a new parliament, which might be properly empowered for that purpose. The situation of the king and parliament was for the time nearly similar to that which they constantly fell into about the beginning of the last century; and similar consequences began visibly to appear. The king, sensible of the frequent demands which he should be obliged to make on his people, had been anxious to ensure to his friends a seat in the house of commons, and at his instigation the sheriffs and other placemen had made interest to be elected into that assembly; an abuse which the knights desired the king to correct by the tenor of his writ of summons, and which was accordingly remedied. On the other hand, the knights had professedly annexed conditions to their intended grant, and required a considerable retrenchment of the royal prerogatives, particularly with regard to purveyance, and the levying of the ancient feudal aids for knighting the king's eldest son, and marrying his eldest daughter. The new parliament called by the guardian retained the same free spirit; and though they offered a large supply of thirty thousand sacks of wool, no business was concluded; because the conditions which they annexed appeared too high to be compensated by a temporary concession. But when Edward himself came over to England, in February, 1340, as above-mentioned, he summoned another parliament, to meet on the 29th of March, and had the interest to procure a supply on more moderate terms. A confirmation of the two charters, and of the privileges of boroughs, a pardon for old debts and trespasses, and a remedy for some abuses in the execution of common law, were the chief conditions insisted on; and the king, in return for his concessions on these heads, obtained from the barons and knights an unusual grant, for two years, of the ninth sheaf, lamb, and fleece on their estates; and from the burgesses a ninth of their moveables at their true value. The whole parliament also granted a duty of forty shillings on each sack of wool exported, on each three hundred wool fells, and on each last of leather for the same term of years; but dreading the arbitrary spirit of the crown, they expressly declared that this grant was to continue no longer, and was not to be drawn into precedent (*y*).

But there appeared at this time another jealousy in the parliament, which was very reasonable, and was founded on a sentiment that ought to have engaged them rather to check than support the king in all those ambitious projects so little likely to prove successful, and so dangerous to the nation if they did. Edward, who before the commencement of the former campaign, had in several commissions assumed the title of king of France, now more openly in all public deeds gave himself that appellation, and always quartered the arms of France with those of England in his seals and ensigns. The parliament thought proper to obviate the consequences of this measure, and to declare that they owed him no obedience as king of France, and that

(*y*) Being soon after sensible that this supply, though considerable and very unusual in that age, would come in slowly, and would not answer the king's urgent necessities, proceeding both from his debts and his preparations for war; they agreed that twenty thousand sacks of wool should immediately be granted him, and their value be deducted from the ninths which were afterwards to be levied.

the two kingdoms must for ever remain distinct and independent (z).

As Philip was apprized, from the preparations which were making both in England and the Low Countries, that he must expect another invasion from Edward, he fitted out a great fleet of four hundred vessels, manned with forty thousand men; and he stationed them off Sluys, with a view of intercepting the king in his passage. The English navy was much inferior in number, consisting only of two hundred and sixty sail; but whether it were by the superior abilities of Edward, or the greater dexterity of his seamen, they gained the wind of the enemy, and had the sun in their backs; and with these advantages began the action, on the morning of Midsummer day. The battle was fierce and bloody: the English archers, whose force and address were now much celebrated, galled the French on their approach; and when the ships grappled together, and the contest became more steady and furious, the example of the king, and of so many gallant nobles who accompanied him, animated to such a degree the seamen and soldiery, that they maintained every where a superiority over the enemy. The French also had been guilty of some imprudence in taking their station so near the coast of Flanders, and chusing that place for the scene of action. The Flemings, descrying the battle, hurried out of their harbours, and brought a reinforcement to the English; which coming unexpectedly, had a greater effect than in proportion to its power and numbers. Two hundred and thirty French ships were taken; thirty thousand Frenchmen were killed, with two of their admirals: the loss of the English was inconsiderable, compared to the greatness and importance of the victory. None of Philip's courtiers, it is said, dared to inform him of the event; till his fool or jester gave him a hint, by which he discovered the loss that he had sustained. The day after the action, Edward entered the harbour of Sluys in triumph.

This splendid victory increased the king's authority among his allies, who assembled their forces with expedition, and joined the English army. Edward marched to the frontiers of France, early in the month of July, at the head of above one hundred thousand men, consisting chiefly of foreigners, a more numerous army than either before or since has ever been commanded by any king of England. At the same time the Flemings, to the number of fifty thousand men, marched out under the command of Robert d'Artois, and laid siege to St. Omer; but this tumultuary army, composed entirely of tradesmen unexperienced in war, was routed by a sally of the garrison, and, notwithstanding the abilities of their leader, was thrown into such a panic, that they were instantly dispersed, and never more appeared in the field. The attempts of Edward, though not attended with so inglorious an issue, proved equally vain and fruitless. The king of France had assembled an army more numerous than the English; was accompanied by all the chief nobility of his kingdom; was attended by many foreign princes, and even by three monarchs, the kings of Bohemia, Scotland, and Navarre: yet he still adhered to the prudent resolution of putting nothing to hazard, and after throwing strong garrisons into all the frontier towns, he retired backwards, persuaded that the enemy, having wasted their force in some tedious and unsuccessful enterprize, would afford him an easy victory.

Tournay was at that time one of the most considerable cities of Flanders, containing above sixty thousand inhabitants of all ages, who were affectionate to the French government; and as the secret of Edward's designs had not been strictly kept, Philip learned that the English, in order to gratify their Flemish allies, had intended to open the campaign with the siege of this place: he took care, therefore, to supply it with a garrison of fourteen thousand men, commanded by the bravest nobility of France; and he reasonably expected that these forces, joined to the inhabitants, would be able to defend the city against all the efforts of the enemy. Accordingly Edward, when he commenced the siege, about the end of July, found every where an obstinate resistance: the valour of one side was encountered with equal valour by the other: every assault was repulsed, and proved unsuccessful; and the king was at last obliged to turn the siege into a blockade, in hopes that the great numbers of the garrison and citizens, which had enabled them to defend themselves against his attacks, would but expose them to be the more easily reduced by famine. The count d'Eu, who commanded in Tournay, as soon as he perceived that the English had formed this plan of operations, endeavoured to save his provisions, by expelling all the useless mouths; and the duke of Brabant, who wished no success to Edward's undertakings, gave every one a free passage through his quarters.

After the siege had continued ten weeks, the city was reduced to distress; and Philip, recalling all his scattered garrisons, advanced towards the English camp, at the head of a mighty army, with an intention of still avoiding any decisive action, but of seeking some opportunity for throwing relief into the place. Here Edward, irritated with the small progress he had hitherto made, and with the disagreeable prospect that lay before him, sent Philip a defiance by a herald; and challenged sim to decide their claims for the crown of France, either by single combat, or by an action of a hundred against a hundred, or by a general engagement. But Philip replied, that Edward having done homage to him for the duchy of Guienne, and having solemnly acknowledged him for his superior, it by no means became him to send a defiance to his liege lord and sovereign: that he was confident, notwithstanding all Edward's preparations, and his conjunction with the rebellious Flemings, he himself should soon be able to chace him from the frontiers of France: that as the hostilities from England had prevented him from executing his purposed crusade against the infidels, he trusted in the assistance of the Almighty, who would reward his pious intentions, and punish the aggressor, whose ill-grounded claims had rendered them abortive: that Edward proposed a duel on very unequal terms, and offered to hazard only his own person against both the kingdom of France, and the person of the king: but that if he would increase the stake, and put also the kingdom of England on the issue of the duel, he would, notwithstanding that the terms would still be unequal, very willingly accept of the challenge. It was easy to see that these mutual bravadoes were intended only to dazzle the populace, and that the two kings were too wise to think of executing their pretended purpose.

While the French and English armies lay in this situation, the siege having continued about two months, and a general action was every day expected, Jane, countess of Hainault (a), interposed with her good offices, and endeavoured to conciliate peace between the contending monarchs, and to prevent any farther effusion of blood. As Philip had no material claims on his antagonist, she found that he hearkened willingly to the proposals; and even the haughty and ambitious Edward, who found his allies less ardent in his cause than he had expected, his supplies come in more slowly than he had hoped for, and being convinced of his fruitless attempt, was not averse to her negociation. He was sensible, from experience, that he had engaged in an enterprize, which far exceeded his force; and that the power of England was never likely to prevail over that of a superior kingdom, firmly united under an able and prudent monarch. He discovered that all the allies whom he could gain by negociation were at bottom averse to his expedition; and though they might second it to a certain length, would immediately detach themselves, and oppose its final accomplishment, if ever they could be brought to think that there was seriously any danger of it. He even saw that their chief purpose was to obtain money from him; and as his supplies from England had much disappointed his expectations, he perceived their growing indifference in his cause, and their desire of embracing all plausible terms of accommodation. Convinced at last that an undertaking must be imprudent which could only be supported by means so unequal to the end, he concluded a truce, on the 25th of September, for nine months, which left both parties in possession of their present acquisitions, and stopped all farther hostilities on the side of the Low Countries, Guienne, and Scotland, till midsummer next. A negociation was soon after opened at Arras, under the mediation of the pope's legates; and the truce was attempted to be converted into solid peace. Edward here required that Philip should free Guienne from all claims of superiority, and entirely withdraw his protection from Scotland; but as he seemed not anywise entitled to make such

(z) 14 Edward III. They undoubtedly foresaw that France, if subdued, would in the end prove the seat of government; and they deemed this previous protestation necessary, in order to prevent their becoming a province to that monarchy. A frail security, if the event had really taken place!

(a) This princess was mother-in-law to Edward, and sister to Philip; and though she had taken the vows in a convent, and had renounced the world, she left her retreat on this occasion, and employed all her pious efforts to allay those animosities which had taken place between persons so nearly related to her and to each other.

high

high demands, either from his past successes, or future prospects, they were totally rejected by Philip, who agreed only to a prolongation of the truce till the 25th of June, 1342.

The king of France soon after detached the emperor Lewis from the alliance of England, and engaged him to revoke the title of Imperial Vicar, which he had conferred on Edward. The king's other allies on the frontiers of France, disappointed in their hopes, gradually withdrew from the confederacy. And Edward himself, harassed by his numerous and importunate creditors, was obliged to make his escape by stealth into England: to effect which, he repaired to Zealand with great secrecy; and having embarked with his queen, landed at the Tower on the 30th of November, about midnight

The unusual tax of a ninth sheaf, lamb, and fleece, imposed by parliament, together with the great want of money, and still more of credit in England, had rendered some remittances the English were obliged to make extremely backward; nor could it be expected, says Hume, that any expeditious method of collecting an imposition, which was so new in itself, and which yielded only a gradual produce, could possibly be contrived by the king or his ministers. And though the parliament, foreseeing the inconvenience, had granted, as a present resource, twenty thousand sacks of wool, the only English goods that bore a sure price in foreign markets, and were the next to ready money; it was impossible but the getting possession of such a bulky commodity, the gathering it from different parts of the kingdom, and the disposing of it abroad, must take up more time than the urgency of the king's affairs would permit, and must occasion all the disappointments complained of during the course of the campaign in Flanders, where the king at that time was. But though nothing had happened which Edward might not reasonably have foreseen, he was so irritated with the unfortunate issue of his military operations, and so much vexed and affronted by his foreign creditors, that he was determined to throw the blame somewhere off himself, and he came highly chagrined into England. He discovered his peevish disposition by the first act which he performed after his arrival: as he landed unexpectedly, he found the Tower negligently guarded; and he immediately committed to prison Nicholas de la Beches the constable, and all others who had the charge of that fortress, and he treated them with unusual rigour. His vengeance fell next on the officers of the revenue, the sheriffs, the collectors of the taxes, the undertakers of all kinds; and besides dismissing all of them from their employments, he appointed commissioners to inquire into their conduct; and these men, in order to gratify the king's humour, were sure not to find any person innocent who came before them. Sir John St. Paul, keeper of the privy seal; sir John Stonore, chief justice; Andrew Aubrey, mayor of London; with many sheriffs of counties, and other public officers of inferior note, were displaced and imprisoned; as were also the bishop of Chichester, chancellor, and the bishop of Litchfield, treasurer. John Stratford, archbishop of Canterbury, to whom the charge of collecting the new imposts had been chiefly entrusted, fell likewise under the king's displeasure; but being absent at the time of Edward's arrival, he escaped feeling the immense effects of it (*b*).

Dreading to incur that censure he was conscious of meriting, the faithless primate had hastily retired to Canterbury; whither the king sent him a summons to appear at court, and answer for his conduct. To this citation Stratford coolly replied, that he did not chuse to appear in a place where he should be exposed to the malicious attacks of his enemies; and that, as to the other part of his majesty's proposal, which required him to account for the sums he had received, he should take the propriety of complying with it into consderation. But this mode of consideration was as curious as his reply was insolent; for he immediately summoned the clergy of his diocese to assemble in the cathedral of Canterbury, where, in an harangue well calculated to accomplish the design he meant to promote, he highly extolled the conduct of his immaculate predecessor, Thomas à Becket; censured himself for having suffered secular transactions to engross too large a portion of his time; and declared his firm resolution of supporting, in future, the rights and immunities of the church. As the officers who had been committed to prison for malversation were chiefly clergymen, this undaunted champion of clerical privileges, boldly issued a general sentence of excommunication against all who on any pretext exercised violence on the person or goods of clergymen; who infringed those privileges secured by the great charter, and by ecclesiastical canons; or who accused a prelate of treason, or any other crime, in order to bring him under the king's displeasure. Even Edward had reason to think himself struck at by this impudent sentence; both on account of the imprisonment of the two bishops and that of other clergymen concerned in levying the taxes, and on account of his seizing their lands and moveables, that he might make them answerable for any balance which remained in their hands. The clergy, with the primate at their head, were now formed into a regular combination against the king; and many calumnies were spread against him, in order to deprive him of the confidence and affections of his people. It was pretended that he meant to recal the general pardon, and the remission which he had granted of old debts, and to impose new and arbitrary taxes without consent of parliament. The archbishop went so far, in a letter to the king himself, as to tell him that there were two powers by which the world was governed, the holy pontifical apostolic dignity, and the royal subordinate authority: that of these two powers the clerical was evidently the supreme; since the priests were to answer at the tribunal of the divine judgement for the conduct of kings themselves: that the clergy were the spiritual fathers of all the faithful, and amongst others of kings and princes; and were entitled, by a heavenly charter, to direct their wills and actions, and to censure their transgressions; and that prelates had heretofore cited emperors before their tribunol, had sitten in judgement on their life and behaviour, and had anathematized them for their obstinate offences. These topics were not well calculated to appease Edward's indignation; and when he called a parliament, to assemble at Westminster on the 23rd of April, he sent not to the primate, as to the other peers, a summons to attend it. Stratford was not discouraged at this mark of neglect or anger: he appeared before the gates, arrayed in his pontifical robes, holding the crosier in his hand, and accompanied by a pompous train of priests and prelates; and he required admittance as the first and highest peer in the realm. But Edward, who was neither to be dazzled by priestly pomp, nor to be abashed by sacerdotal confidence, refused to let him enter till the charge preferred against him had undergone a minute investigation. This well-timed display of firmness in the king at length subdued the overbearing pride and insolence of the primate, who consented to make a public submission to his sovereign in the Painted Chamber; upon which he was permitted to take his seat; and a committee was appointed to examine his answers, and report the result of their examination to the next parliament. But, as no parliament was assembled till two years after this period, the archbishop, in the interim, had found means to re-instate himself in the favour of his sovereign, and all the proceedings against him were therefore cancelled (*c*).

Edward

(*b*) There were strong reasons which might discourage the kings of England in those ages from bestowing the chief offices of the crown on prelates and other ecclesiastical persons. These men had so intrenched themselves in privileges and immunities, and so openly challenged an exemption from all secular jurisdiction, that no civil penalty could be inflicted on them for any malversation in office; and as even treason itself was declared to be no canonical offence, nor was allowed to be a sufficient reason for deprivation or other spiritual censures, that order of men had ensured to themselves an almost total impunity, and were not bound by any political law or statute. But, on the other hand, there were many peculiar causes which favoured their promotion. Besides that they possessed almost all the learning of the age, and were best qualified for civil employments; the prelates enjoyed equal dignity with the greatest barons, and gave weight, by their personal authority, to the powers entrusted with them: while at the same time they did not endanger the crown, by accumulatsng wealth or influence in their families, and were restrained, by the decency of their character, from that open rapine and violence so often practised by the nobles. These motives had induced Edward, as well as many of his predecessors, to entrust the chief departments of government in the hands of ecclesiastics, at the hazard of seeing them disown his authority as soon as it was turned against them.

(*c*) Mr. Hume, in his account of this violent altercation between the Crown and the Mitre, concludes that the king was induced to put a stop to the prosecution against the primate from a conviction that the accusations he had preferred against him were wholly groundless. But this is an inference that no passage in the "Anglia Sacra," which he quotes, can possibly authorize; and which, indeed, is neither warranted by the accounts of any of the ancient writers, nor by the conduct of either of the parties concerned in the dispute. Had Stratford been actuated by the honest pride of conscious innocence, his conduct would have been manly and moderate, not violent and seditious: far from shunning investigation.

Edward now found himself in a bad situation both with his own people and with foreign states; and it required all his genius and capacity to extricate himself from such multiplied difficulties and embarrassments. His unjust and exorbitant claims on France and Scotland had engaged him in an implacable war with these two kingdoms, his nearest neighbours: he had lost almost all his foreign alliances by his irregular payments: he was deeply involved in debts, for which he owed a consuming interest: his military operations had vanished into smoke; and except his vaval victory, none of them had been attended even with glory or renown, either to himself or to the nation: the animosity between him and the clergy was open and declared: the people were discontented on account of many arbitrary measurs in which he had been engaged; and, what was more dangerous, the nobility, taking advantage of his present necessities, were determined to retrench his power, and by encroaching on the ancient prerogatives of the crown, to acquire to themselves independence and authority. But the aspiring genius of Edward, which had so far transported him beyond the bounds of discretion, proved at last sufficient to reinstate him in his former authority, and, finally, to render his reign the most triumphant that is to be met with in English history: though for the present he was obliged, with some loss of honour, to yield to the current which bore so strongly against him.

The parliament framed an act, which was likely to produce considerable innovations in the government. They premised, that whereas the great charter had, to the manifest peril and slander of the king, and damage of his people, been violated in many points, particularly by the imprisonment of free men, and the seizure of their goods, without suit, indictment, or trial, it was necessary to confirm it anew, and to oblige all the chief officers of the law, together with the steward and chamberlain of the household, the keeper of the privy-seal, the comptroller and treasurer of the wardrobe, and those who were entrusted with the education of the young prince, to swear to the regular observance of it. They also remarked, that the peers of the realm had formerly been arrested and imprisoned, and dispossessed of their temporalities and lands, and even some of them put to death, without judgement or trial; and they therefore enacted, that such violences should henceforth cease, and no peer be punished but by the award of his peers in parliament. They required, that whenever any of the great offices above mentioned became vacant, the king should fill it by the advice of his council, and the consent of such barons as should at that time be found to reside in the neighbourhood of the court. And they enacted, that on the third day of every session, the king should resume into his own hand all these offices, except those of justices of the two benches, and the barons of exchequer; that the ministers should for the time be reduced to private persons; that they should in that condition answer before parliament to any accusation brought against them; and that, if they were found anywise guilty, they should finally be dispossessed of their offices, and more able persons be substituted in their place (*d*).

In return for these important concessions, the parliament offered the king a grant of twenty thousand sacks of wool; and his wants were so urgent, from the clamours of his creditors, and the demands of his foreign allies, that he was obliged to accept of the supply on these hard conditions. He ratified this statute in full parliament; but he secretly entered a protest of such a nature as were sufficient, one would imagine, to destroy all future trust and confidence with his people: he declared, that as soon as his convenience permitted, he would, from his own authority, revoke what had been extorted from him (*e*). Accordingly, he was no sooner possessed of the parliamentary supply, than he issued an edict, which contains many extraordinary positions and pretensions. He first asserts, that that statute had been enacted contrary to law; as if a free legislative body could ever do any thing illegal. He next affirms, that as it was hurtful to the prerogatives of the crown, which he had sworn to defend, he had only dissembled when he seemed to ratify it, but that he had never in his own breast given his assent to it. He does not pretend that either he or the parliament lay under force; but only that some inconvenience would have ensued, had he not seemingly affixed his sanction to that pretended statute. He therefore, with the advice of his council, and of some earls and barons, abrogates and annuls it; and though he professes himself willing and determined to observe such articles of it as were formerly law, he declares it to have thenceforth no force or authority (*f*). The parliaments that were afterwards assembled took no notice of this arbitrary exertion of royal power, which, by a parity of reason, left all their laws at the mercy of the king; and during the course of two years, Edward had so far re-established his influence, and freed himself from his present necessities, that he then obtained from his parliament a legal repeal of the noxious statute (*g*).

But though Edward had recovered his authority at home, which had been impaired by the events of the French war, he had undergone so many mortifications from that attempt, and saw so little prospect of success, that he would probably have dropped his claim, had not a revolution in Bretagne opened to him more promising views, and given his enterprizing genius a full opportunity of displaying itself.

John III. duke of Bretagne had, during some years, found himself declining through age and infirmities; and having no issue, was solicitous to prevent those disorders to which, on the event of his demise, a disputed succession might expose his subjects. His younger brother, Guy, count of Penthievre, had left only one daughter, named Jane, whom the duke deemed his heir; and as his family had inherited the duchy by a female succession, he thought her title preferable to that of the count of Montfort, who, being his brother by a second marriage, was the male heir of that principality. He accordingly purposed to bestow his niece in marriage on some person who might be able to defend her rights; and he cast his eye on Charles Blois, nephew of the king of France, by his mother Margaret of Valois, sister to that monarch. But as he both loved his subjects, and was beloved by them, he determined not to take this important step without their approbation; and having assembled the states of Bretagne, he represented to them the advantages of that alliance, and the prospect which it gave of an entire settlement of the succesion. The Bretons willingly concurred in his choice: the marriage was concluded: all his vassals, and among the rest the count of Montfort, swore fealty to Charles and to his consort as to their future sovereigns; and every danger of civil commotions seemed to be obviated, as far as human prudence could provide a remedy against them. But on the death of this good prince, which happened on the 30th of April, 1341, the ambition of the count of Montfort broke through all these regulations, and kindled a war, not only dangerous to Bretagne, but to a great part of Europe. While Charles de Blois was soliciting at the court of France the investiture of the duchy, Montfort was active in acquiring immediate possession of it; and by force or intrigue he made himself master of Rennes, Nantz, Brest, Hennebonne, and all the most important fortresses, and engaged many considerable barons to acknowledge his authority. Sensible that he could expect no favour from Philip, he made a voyage to England, on pretence of soliciting his claim to the earldom of Richmond, which had devolved to him by his brother's death; and there, offering to do homage to Edward as king of France, for the duchy of Bretagne, he proposed a strict alliance for the support of their mutual pretensions. Edward saw immediately the advantages attending this treaty: Montfort, an active and valiant prince, closely united to him by interest, opened

vestigation, he would have courted enquiry; instead of threats he would have employed proofs; or, if he had been weak enough to have made use of the former, when he found they had failed to intimidate, he never would have had recourse to submission. Of the force of this last instance, Mr. Hume, indeed, was probably aware; and therefore, with the prudence of a partizan, though not with the fidelity of an historian, suppressed it.

(*d*) 15 Edward III.—By these last regulations the barons approached as near as they durst to those restrictions which had formerly been imposed on Henry III. and Edward II. and which, from the dangerous consequences attending them, had become so generally odious, that they did not expect to have either the concurrence of the people in demanding them, or the assent of the present king in granting them.

(*e*) Statutes at Large, 15 Edward III. That this protest of the king's was secret, appears evidently, since otherwise it would have been ridiculous in the parliament to have accepted of his assent: besides, the king owns that he dissembled, which would not have been the case had his protest been public.

(*f*) Statutes at Large, 15 Edward III.

(*g*) This transaction certainly contains remarkable circumstances, which discover the manners and sentiments of that age, and may prove what inaccurate work might be expected from such rude hands, when employed in legislation, and in rearing the delicate fabric of laws and a constitution.

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at once an entrance into the heart of France, and afforded him much more flattering views than his allies on the side of Germany and the Low Countries, who had no sincere attachment to his cause, and whose progress was also obstructed by those numerous fortifications which had been raised on that frontier. Robert de Artois was zealous in enforcing these considerations: the ambitious spirit of Edward was little disposed to sit down under those repulses which he had received, and which he thought had so much impaired his reputation: and it required a very short negociation to conclude a treaty of alliance between two men who, though their pleas with regard to the preference of male or female succession were directly opposite, were intimately connected by their immediate interests.

As this treaty was still a secret, Montfort on his return ventured to appear at Paris, in order to defend his cause before the court of peers; but observing Philip and his judges to be prepossessed against his title, and dreading their intentions of arresting him, till he should restore what he had violently seized, he suddenly made his escape; and war immediately commenced between him and Charles de Blois. Philip sent his eldest son the duke of Normandy, with a powerful army, to the assistance of the latter; and Montfort, unable to keep the field against his rival, remained in the city of Nantz, where he was besieged. The city was taken by the treachery of the inhabitants; Montfort fell into the hands of his enemies; was conducted as prisoner to Paris; and was shut up in the tower of the Louvre.

This event seemed to put an end to the pretensions of the count of Montfort; but his affairs were immediately retrieved by an unexpected incident, which inspired his party with new vigour. Jane, countess of Montfort, and sister to the earl of Flanders, the most extraordinary woman of the age, was roused, by the captivity of her husband, from those domestic cares to which she had hitherto confined her attention; and she courageously undertook to support the falling fortunes of her family. No sooner did she receive the fatal intelligence, than she assembled the inhabitants of Rennes, where she then resided; and carrying her infant son in her arms, deplored to them the calamity of their sovereign. She recommended to their care the illustrious orphan, the sole male remaining of their ancient princes, who had governed them with such indulgence and lenity, and to whom they had ever professed the most zealous attachment. She declared herself willing to run all hazards with them in so just a cause; discovered the resources which still remained in the alliance of England; and entreated them to make one effort against an usurper who, being imposed on them by the arms of France, would in return make a sacrifice to his protector of the ancient liberties of Bretagne. The audience, moved by the affecting appearance, and inspirited by the noble conduct of the princess, vowed to live and die with her in defending the rights of her family: all the other fortresses of Bretagne embraced the same resolution: the countess went from place to place, encouraging the garrisons, providing them with every thing necessary for subsistence, and concerting the proper plans for defence; and after she had put the whole province in a good posture, she shut herself up in Hennebonne, where she waited with impatience the arrival of those succours which Edward had promised her. Meanwhile she sent over her son to England, that she might both put him in a place of safety, and engage the king more strongly, by such a pledge, to embrace with zeal the interests of her family.

Charles de Blois, anxious to make himself master of so important a fortress as Hennebonne, and still more to take the countess prisoner, from whose vigour and capacity all the difficulties to his succession in Bretagne now proceeded, sat down before the place, in the spring of 1342, with a great army, composed of French, Spaniards, Genoese, and some Bretons; and he conducted the attack with indefatigable industry. The defence was no less vigorous: the besiegers were repulsed in every assault: frequent sallies were made with success by the garrison; and the countess herself being the most forward in all military operations, every one was ashamed not to exert himself to the utmost in this desperate situation. One day she perceived that the besiegers, entirely occupied in an attack, had neglected a distant quarter of their camp; and she immediately sallied forth at the head of a body of two thousand cavalry, threw them into confusion, did great execution upon them, and set fire to their tents, baggage, and magazines: but when she was preparing to return, she found that she was intercepted, and that a considerable body of the enemy had thrown themselves between her and the gates. She instantly took her resolution: she ordered her men to disband, and to make the best of their way by flight to Brest: she met them at the appointed place of rendezvous, collected another body of five hundred horse, returned to Hennebone, broke unexpectedly through the enemy's camp, and was received with shouts and acclamations by the garrison, who, encouraged by this reinforcement, and by so rare an example of female valour, determined to defend themselves to the last extremity. The reiterated attacks, however, of the besiegers had at length made several breaches in the walls; and it was apprehended that a general assault, which was every hour expected, would overpower the garrison, diminished in numbers, and extremely weakened with watching and fatigue. It became necessary to treat of a capitulation; and the bishop of Leon was already engaged, for that purpose, in a conference with Charles de Blois; when the countess, who had mounted a high tower, and was looking towards the sea with great impatience, descried some sails at a distance. She immediately exclaimed, "Behold the succours! the English succours! no capitulation!" This fleet had on board a body of heavy-armed cavalry, and six thousand archers, whom Edward had prepared for the relief of Hennebonne, but who had been long detained by contrary winds (*h*). They entered the harbour under the command of sir Walter Manny, one of the bravest captains of England; and having inspired fresh courage into the garrison, immediately sallied forth, beat the besiegers from all their posts, and obliged them to raise the siege.

But notwithstanding this success, the countess of Montfort found that her party, overpowered by numbers, was declining in every quarter; and she went to solicit more effectual succours from the king of England. Edward granted her a considerable reinforcement under Robert de Artois: who embarked on board a fleet of forty-five ships and sailed to Bretagne. He was met in his passage by the enemy; an action ensued, where the countess behaved with her wonted valour, and charged the enemy sword in hand; but the hostile fleets, after a sharp action, were separated by a storm, and the English arrived safely in Bretagne. The first exploit of Robert was the taking of Vannes, which he mastered by conduct and address: but he survived a very little time this prosperity. The Breton noblemen of the party of Charles assembled secretly in arms, attacked Vannes of a sudden, and carried the place; chiefly by reason of a wound received by Robert, of which he soon after died at sea on his return to England.

After the death of this unfortunate prince, the chief author of all the calamities with which his country was overwhelmed for more than a century, Edward undertook in person the defence of the countess of Montfort; and as the last truce with France was now expired, the war, which the English and French had hitherto carried on as allies to the competitors of Bretagne, was thenceforth conducted in the name and under the standard of the two monarchs. The king sailed from Sandwich on the 5th of October, 1342, and landed at Morbian, near Vannes, with an army of twelve thousand men; and, being master of the field, he endeavoured to give a lustre to his arms, by commencing at once three important sieges, that of Vannes, of Rennes, and of Nantz. But by undertaking too much, he failed of success in all his enterprizes. Even the siege of Vannes, which Edward conducted in person with vigour, advanced but slowly; and the French had all the leisure requisite for making preparations against him. The duke of Normandy, eldest son of Philip, appeared in Bretagne, at the head of an army of thirty thousand infantry and four thousand cavalry; and Edward was now obliged to draw together all his forces, and to entrench himself strongly before Vannes, where the duke of Normandy soon after arrived, and in a manner invested the besiegers. The garrison and the French camp were plentifully supplied with provisions: while the English, who durst not make any attempt upon the place in the presence of a superior army, drew all their subsistence from England, exposed to the hazards of the sea, and sometimes to those which arose from the fleet of the enemy. In this dangerous situation, Edward willingly hearkened to the mediation of the pope's legates, the cardinals of Palestine and Frescati, who endeavoured to negociate, if not a peace, at least a truce,

(*h*) The English fleet did not sail till the beginning of July.

truce, between the two kingdoms. A treaty was concluded for a cessation of arms during three years; and Edward had the abilities, notwithstanding his present dangerous situation, to procure to himself very equal and honourable terms. It was agreed that Vannes should be sequestered, during the truce, in the hands of the legates, to be disposed of afterwards as they pleased; and though Edward knew the partiality of the court of Rome towards his antagonists, he saved himself, by this device, from the dishonour of having undertaken a fruitless expedition. It was also stipulated, that all prisoners should be released, that the places in Bretagne should remain in the hands of the present possessors, and that the allies on both sides should be comprehended in the truce. Edward, soon after concluding this treaty, embarked with his army for England, and landed at Weymouth on the 2nd of March, 1343.

The king on his arrival in England, laid the truce he had concluded before a parliament, which had been summoned to meet at Westminster on the 28th of April, and consulted them on the proposals which had been made by the legates for entering into a negociation in order to promote a solid peace. The lords and commons having separately deliberated on the subject, expressed their approbation of the truce, and advised the king to send commissioners to negociate an accommodation in the presence of the pope; and the commons, who had deputed sir William Russel to deliver their sentiments apart, farther added, that if he could not obtain a reasonable peace, they would assist him to the utmost in supporting the honour of the nation and the dignity of the crown. In consequence of this advice, the king appointed Hugh Despenser, lord of Glamorgan; Ralph de Stafford; William de Norwich, dean of Lincoln; William Russel, knight; and Andrew de Ufford, professor of civil law; his commissioners, to negociate a peace with those of Philip de Valois, in the presence of the pope, who was to be considered as acting in the capacity of a common friend, and not in that of a judge. These conferences were accordingly opened at Avignon, where the sovereign pontiff then resided, on the 22nd of October, and continued till the 22nd of the following month; when they concluded, without coming to any determination.

Each monarch now endeavoured to throw on the other the blame of the infraction of the truce, for though it was calculated for a long time, it was but of short duration. Of course the historians of the two countries differ in their account of the matter. It seems probable, however, as is affirmed by the French writers, that Edward, in consenting to the truce, had no other view than to extricate himself from a perilous situation into which he had fallen, and was afterwards very careless in observing it. In all the memorials which remain on this subject, he complains chiefly of the punishment inflicted on Oliver de Clisson, John de Montauban, and other Breton noblemen, who he says were partizans of the family of Montfort, and consequently under the protection of England. But it appears, that at the conclusion of the truce, these noblemen had openly, by their declarations and actions, embraced the cause of Charles de Blois; and if they had entered into any secret correspondence and engagements with Edward, they were traitors to their party, and were justly punishable by Philip and Charles for their breach of faith; nor had Edward any ground of complaint against France for such severities. But when he laid these pretended injuries before the parliament, which met at Westminster on the 7th of June, 1344, whom he affected to consult on all occasions, that assembly entered into the quarrel, advised the king not to be amused by a fraudulent truce, and granted him supplies for the renewal of the war: the counties were charged with a fifteenth for two years, and the boroughs with a tenth. The clergy consented to give a tenth of the produce of their livings for three years. He raised a farther sum by summoning every gentleman in the kingdom possessed of forty pounds a year to repair to court by the 10th of August, in order to receive the honour of knighthood, or to pay a pecuniary fine to have his attendance dispensed with. This was a species of extortion frequently practised in the times we are delineating, and authorized by the feudal institutions.

These supplies enabled the king to complete his military preparations; and having published a manifesto, containing his reasons for renewing the war before the expiration of the truce, he dispatched a small force into Bretagne, under sir Thomas Dagworth, to assist the countess of Montfort and her adherents; he then sent his cousin, Henry earl of Derby, son of the earl of Lancaster, into Guienne, for the defence of that province. This prince, the most accomplished in the English court, possessed to a high degree the virtues of justice and humanity, as well as those of valour and conduct (*i*); and not content with protecting and cherishing the province committed to his care, he made a successful invasion on the enemy. He attacked Bernard count de L'Isle, the French general, at Bergerac, beat him from his entrenchments, and took the place. He reduced a great part of Perigord, and continually advanced in his conquests, till the count de L'Isle, having collected an army of ten or twelve thousand men, sat down before Aubroche, in hopes of recovering that place, which had fallen into the hands of the English. The earl of Derby came upon them by surprize, with only a thousand cavalry, threw the French into disorder, pushed his advantages and obtained a complete victory. L'Isle himself, with many considerable nobles, was taken prisoner. After the action, Derby returned to Bourdeaux; and having put his troops into winter quarters, sailed to England, to solicit a reinforcement.

About this time John de Montfort, who had languished in prison for four years, effected his escape from the Louvre in the disguise of a beggar, and soon after repaired to the court of Edward; to whom, as king of France, he did homage for the duchy of Bretagne, on the 20th of May, 1345; and in the following month returned to the continent with a supply of English troops, which enabled him to make some progress in support of his pretensions. But he was not long permitted to enjoy the flattering prospect that had opened itself to his view, being seized with a fever at Hennebonne, which put an end to his life on the 20th of September.

The earl of Derby had, in the month of June, returned to Guienne, with the reinforcement he had come over to solicit, and had pursued his conquests with astonishing rapidity and success. He took Monsegur, Monsepat, Villefranche, Miremont, and Tonnins, with the fortress of Damassen. Aiguillon, a fortress deemed impregnable, fell into his hands from the cowardice of the governor. Angouleme was surrendered after a short siege. The only place where he met with considerable resistance was Reole, which, however, was at last reduced, after a siege of above nine weeks. He made an attempt on Blaye, but thought it more prudent to raise the siege, than waste his time before a place of small importance.

While the earl of Derby was thus actively engaged, Edward had made a voyage to Flanders, in the hope of obtaining that earldom for his son; but his patron and ally, James D'Arteville, the brewer of Ghent, who had induced him to undertake this expedition, being massacred on the 17th of July, by that very populace who had so long revered him as their idol, the king was compelled to forego his designs, and returned to his own dominions.

The reason why the earl of Derby was permitted to make, without opposition, such progress on the side of Guienne, was the difficulties under which the French finances then laboured, and which had obliged Philip to lay on new impositions, particularly the duty on salt, to the great discontent, and almost mutiny, of his subjects. But after the court of France was supplied with money, great preparations were made; an army of one hundred thousand men was collected: and the duke of Normandy, attended by the duke of Burgundy and other great nobility, led towards Guienne a powerful army, which the English could not think of resisting in the open field. The earl of Derby stood on the defensive, and allowed the French to carry on, at leisure, the siege of Angouleme, which was their first enterprize. John lord Norwich, the governor, after a brave and vigorous defence, found himself reduced to such extremities, as obliged him to employ a stratagem, in order to save his garrison, and to prevent his being reduced to surrender at discretion. He appeared on the walls, and desired a parley with the duke of Normandy. The prince there told Norwich, that he supposed he intended to capitulate. "Not at all," replied the governor: "but as to-morrow is the feast of the Virgin, to whom I

(*i*) It is reported of this prince, that having once, before the attack of a town, promised the soldiers the plunder, one private man happened to fall upon a great chest full of money, which he immediately brought to the earl, as thinking it too great for himself to keep possession of. But Derby told him that his promise did not depend on the greatness or smallness of the sum; and ordered him to keep it all for his own use.

know

know that you, Sir, as well as myself, bear a great devotion, I desire a cessation of arms for that day." The proposal was agreed to; and Norwich, having ordered his forces to prepare all their baggage, marched out next day, and advanced towards the French camp. The besiegers, imagining they were to be attacked, ran to their arms; but Norwich sent a messenger to the duke, reminding him of his engagement. The duke, who piqued himself on faithfully keeping his word, exclaimed, "I see the governor has outwitted me: but let us be content with gaining possession of the town: and the English were allowed to pass through the camp unmolested. After some other successes, the duke of Normandy laid siege to Aiguillon; and as the natural strength of the fortress, together with a brave garrison under the command of the earl of Pembroke and sir Walter Manny, rendered it impossible to take the place by assault, he purposed, after making several fruitless attacks, to reduce it by famine: but, before he could finish this enterprize, he was called to another quarter of the kingdom, by one of the greatest disasters that ever befel the French monarch.

Edward, informed by the earl Derby of the great danger to which Guienne was exposed, had prepared a force with which he intended, in person, to bring it relief. He embarked at Southampton, on board a fleet of near a thousand sail of all dimensions; and carried with him, besides all the chief nobility of England, his eldest son, the prince of Wales, now fifteen years of age. The winds proved long contrary, and kept the fleet wind bound from the beginning of June, till the 10th of July, 1346; when the king, in despair of arriving in time at Guienne, was persuaded by Geoffrey d'Harcourt (*k*), to change the destination of his enterprize. The reasons urged by this nobleman, which had not before been duly weighed by Edward, began to make more impression, after the disappointments which he met with in his voyage to Guienne: he ordered his fleet to sail to Normandy, and safely disembarked his army at La Hogue, on the 12th of that month.

This army, which during the course of the ensuing campaign was crowned with the most splendid success, consisted of four thousand men at arms, ten thousand archers, ten thousand Welsh infantry, and six thousand Irish. The Welsh and Irish were light disorderly troops, fitter for doing execution in a pursuit, or scouring the country, than for any stable action. The bow was always esteemed a frivolous weapon, where true military discipline was known, and regular bodies of well-armed foot maintained. The only solid force in this army were the men at arms; and even these, being cavalry, were on that account much inferior, in the shock of battle, to good infantry; and as the whole were new levied troops, we are led to entertain a very unfavourable idea of the military force of those ages, which, being ignorant of every other art, had not properly cultivated the art of war itself, the sole object of general attention.

The king created the earl of Arundel constable of his army, and the earls of Warwick and Harcourt mareschals: he bestowed the honour of knighthood on the prince of Wales and several of the young nobility immediately upon his landing. After destroying all the ships in la Hogue, Barfleur, and Cherbourg, he spread his army over the whole country, and gave them an unbounded licence of burning, spoiling, and plundering every place of which they became masters. The loose discipline then prevalent could not be much hurt by these disorderly practices; and Edward took care to prevent any surprize, by giving orders to his troops, however they might disperse themselves in the day-time, always to quarter themselves at night near the main body. In this manner Montebourg, Carentan, St. Lo, Valognes, and other places in the Cotentin, were pillaged without resistance; and the whole province was thrown into the utmost consternation.

The intelligence of this unexpected invasion soon reached Paris; and threw Philip into great perplexity. He issued orders, however, for levying forces in all quarters, and dispatched the count d'Eu, constable of France, and the count de Tancarville, with a body of troops, to the defence of Caen, a populous and commercial, but open city, which lay in the neighbourhood of the English army. The temptation of so rich a prize soon allured Edward to approach it; and the inhabitants, encouraged by their numbers, and by the reinforcements which they daily received from the country, ventured to meet him in the field. But their courage failed them on the first shock: they fled with precipitation: the counts d'Eu and Tancarville were taken prisoners: the victors entered the city along with the vanquished, and a furious massacre commenced, without distinction of age, sex, or condition. The citizens, in despair, barricadoed their houses, and assaulted the English with stones, bricks, and every missile weapon: the English made way by fire to the destruction of the citizens: till Edward, anxious to save both his spoils and his soldiers, stopped the massacre; and having obliged the inhabitants to lay down their arms, gave his troops licence to begin a more regular and less hazardous plunder of the city. The pillage continued for three days: the king reserved for his own share the jewels, plate, silks, fine cloth, and fine linen; and bestowed all the remainder of the spoil on his army. The whole was embarked on board the ships, and sent over to England; together with three hundred of the richest citizens of Caen, whose ransom was an additional profit, which he expected afterwards to levy. This dismal scene passed in the presence of two cardinal legates, who had come to negociate a peace between the kingdoms.

The king next advanced to Roüen, in hopes of treating that city in the same manner; but found that the bridge over the Seine was already broken down, and that the king of France himself was arrived there with his army. He marched along the banks of that river towards Paris, destroying the whole country, and every town and village which lay on his road. Some of his light troops carried their ravages even to the gates of Paris; and the royal palace of St. Germains, together with Nanterre, Ruelle, and some other villages, was reduced to ashes within sight of the capital. The English intended to pass the river at Poissy, but found the French army encamped on the opposite banks, and the bridge at that place, as well as all others over the Seine, broken down by orders from Philip. Edward now saw that the French meant to inclose him in their country, in hopes of attacking him with advantage on all sides; but he saved himself by a stratagem from this perilous situation. He gave his army orders to dislodge, and to advance farther up the Seine; but immediately returning by the same road, he arrived at Poissy, which the enemy had already quitted in order to attend his motions. He repaired the bridge with incredible celerity, passed over his army, and having thus disengaged himself from the enemy, advanced by quick marches towards Flanders. His vanguard, commanded by Harcourt, met with the townsmen of Amiens, who were hastening to reinforce their king, and defeated them with great slaughter: he passed by Beauvois, and burned the suburbs of that city; but as he approached the Somme, he found himself in the same difficulty as before: all the bridges on that river were either broken down, or strongly guarded: an army under the command of Godemar du Faye, was stationed on the opposite banks: Philip was advancing on him from the other quarter, with an army of an hundred thousand men; and he was thus exposed to the danger of being inclosed, and of starving in an enemy's country. In this extremity he published a reward to any one that should bring him intelligence of a passage over the Somme. A peasant, called Gobin Agace, whose name has been preserved by the share which he had in these important transactions, was tempted on this occasion to betray the interests of his country; and he informed Edward of a ford below Abbeville which had a sound bottom, and might be passed without difficulty at low water. The king hastened thither, but found Godemar du Faye on the opposite banks. Being urged by necessity, he deliberated not a moment; but threw himself into the river, sword in hand, at the head of his troops; drove the enemy from their station; and pursued them to a distance on the plain. The French army under Philip arrived at the ford when the rear-guard

(*k*) This nobleman was a Norman by birth, had long made a considerable figure in the court of France, and was generally esteemed for his personal merit and his valour; but being disobliged and persecuted by Philip, he had fled into England; and recommended himself to Edward, who was an excellent judge of men; and had succeeded to Robert d'Artois in the invidious office of exciting and assisting the king in every expedition against his native country. He had long insisted, that an expedition to Normandy promised, in the present circumstanees, more favourable success than one to Guienne; that Edward would find the northern provinces almost destitute of military force, which had been drawn to the south; that they were full of flourishing cities, whose plunder would enrich the English; that their cultivated fields, as yet unspoiled by war, would supply them with plenty of provisions; and that the neighbourhood of the capital rendered every event of importance in those quarters.

of the English were passing. So narrow was the escape which Edward, by his prudence and celerity, made from this danger! the rising of the tide prevented the French king from following him over the ford, and obliged that prince to take his rout over the bridge at Abbeville; by which some time was lost.

It is natural to think that Philip, at the head of so vast an army, was impatient to take revenge on the English, and to prevent the disgrace to which he must be exposed if an inferior enemy should be allowed, after ravaging so great a part of his kingdom, to escape with impunity. Edward also was sensible that such must be the object of the French monarch; and, as he had advanced but a little way before his enemy, he saw the danger of precipitating his march over the plains of Picardy, and of exposing his rear to the insults of the numerous cavalry, in which the French camp abounded. He therefore chose his ground with advantage, near the village of Crecy; he disposed his army in excellent order; he determined to await in tranquillity the arrival of the enemy; and he hoped that their eagerness to engage and to prevent his retreat, after all their past disappointments, would hurry them on to some rash ill-concerted action. He drew up his army on a gentle ascent, and divided them into three lines: the first, consisting of eight hundred men at arms, four thousand archers, and six thousand Welsh infantry, was commanded by the prince of Wales, and under him by the earls of Warwick and Oxford, by Harcourt, and the lords Chandos, Holland, and other noblemen: the earls of Arundel and Northampton, with the lords Willoughby, Basset, Roos, and sir Lewis Tufton, were at the head of the second line, which was composed of eight hundred men at arms, four thousand halberdiers, and two thousand archers. He took to himself the command of the third division, consisting of seven hundred men at arms, five thousand three hundred billmen, and six thousand archers, by which he purposed either to bring succour to the two first lines, or to secure a retreat in case of any misfortune, or to push his advantages against the enemy. He had likewise the precaution to throw up trenches on his flanks, in order to secure himself from the numerous bodies of the French, who might assail him from that quarter; and he placed all his baggage behind him in a wood, which he also secured by an intrenchment.

The skill and order of this disposition, with the tranquillity in which it was made, served extremely to compose the minds of the soldiers; and the king, that he might farther inspirit them, rode through the ranks with such an air of cheerfulness and alacrity, as conveyed the highest confidence into every beholder. He pointed out to them the necessity to which they were reduced, and the certain and inevitable destruction which awaited them, if in their present situation, enclosed on all hands in an enemy's country, they trusted to any thing but their own valour, or gave that enemy an opportunity of taking revenge for the many insults and indignities which they had of late put upon him. He reminded them of the visible ascendant which they had hitherto maintained over all the bodies of the French troops that had fallen in their way; and assured them, that the superior numbers of the army which at present hovered over them, gave them not greater force, but was an advantage easily compensated by the order in which he had placed his own army, and the resolution which he expected from them. He demanded nothing, he said, but that they would imitate his own example, and that of the prince of Wales; and as the honour, the lives, the liberties of all were now exposed to the same danger, he was confident that they would make one common effort to extricate themselves from the present difficulties, and that their united courage would give them the victory over all their enemies.

It is related by some historians, that Edward, besides the resources which he found in his own genius and presence of mind, employed also a new invention against the enemy, and placed in his front some pieces of artillery, the first that had yet been made use of on any remarkable occasion in Europe (*l*). The invention of artillery was at this time known in France as well as in England; but Philip, in his hurry to overtake the enemy, had probably left his cannon behind him, which he regarded as a useless incumbrance. All his other movements discovered the same imprudence and precipitation. Impelled by anger, a dangerous counsellor, and trusting to the great superiority of his numbers, he thought that all depended on forcing an engagement with the English; and that, if he could once reach the enemy in their retreat, the victory on his side was certain and inevitable. He made a hasty march, in some confusion, from Abbeville; but after he had advanced above two leagues, some gentlemen, whom he had sent before to take a view of the enemy, returned to him, and brought him intelligence, that they had seen the English drawn up in great order, and awaiting his arrival. They therefore advised him to defer the combat till the ensuing day, when his army would have recovered from their fatigue, and might be disposed into better order than their present hurry had permitted them to observe. Philip assented to this counsel; but the former precipitation of his march, and the impatience of the French nobility, made it impracticable for him to put it in execution. One division pressed upon another: orders to stop were not seasonably conveyed to all of them: this immense body was not governed by sufficient discipline to be manageable; and the French army, imperfectly formed into three lines, arrived, already fatigued and disordered, in presence of the enemy. The first line, consisting of fifteen thousand Genoese cross-bow men, was commanded by Anthony Doria and Charles Grimaldi: the second was led by count d'Alençon, brother to the king: the king himself was at the head of the third. Besides the French monarch, there was no less than three crowned heads in this engagement: the king of Bohemia, the king of the Romans, his son, and the king of Majorca; with all the nobility and great vassals of the crown of France. The army now consisted of above one hundred and twenty thousand men, more than three times the number of the enemy. But the prudence of one man was superior to the advantage of all this force and splendour.

The English, on the approach of the enemy, kept their ranks firm and immoveable; and the Genoese first began the attack. There had happened, a little before the engagement, a thunder shower, which had moistened and relaxed the strings of the Genoese cross-bows; their arrows, for this reason, fell short of the enemy. The English archers, taking their bows out of their cases, poured in a shower of arrows upon this multitude who were opposed to them, and soon threw them into disorder. The Genoese fell back upon the heavy-armed cavalry of the count of Alençon; who, enraged at their cowardice, ordered his troops to put them to the sword. The artillery fired amidst the crowd; the English archers continued to send in their arrows among them; and nothing was to be seen in that vast body but hurry and confusion, terror and dismay. The young prince of Wales had the presence of mind to take advantage of this situation, and to lead on his line to the charge. The French cavalry, however, recovering somewhat their order, and encouraged by the example of their leader, made a stout resistance; and having at last cleared themselves of the Genoese runaways, advanced upon their enemies, and by their superior numbers began to hem them round. The earls of Arundel and Northampton now advanced their line to sustain the prince, who, ardent in his first feats of arms, set an example of valour, which was imitated by all his followers. The battle became, for some time, hot and dangerous; and the earl of Warwick, apprehensive of the event from the superior numbers of the French, dispatched a messenger to the king, and entreated him to send succours to the relief of the prince. Edward had chosen his station on the top of the hill; and he surveyed in tranquillity the scene of action. When the messenger accosted him, his first question was, whether the prince were slain or wounded? on his receiving an answer in the negative, "Return," said he, "to my son, and tell him that I reserve the honour of the day to him: I am confident that he will show himself worthy of the honour

(*l*) This is the epoch of one of the most singular discoveries that has been made among men; a discovery which changed by degrees the whole art of war, and by consequence many circumstances in the political government of Europe. But the ignorance of that age in the mechanical arts rendered the progress of this new invention very slow. The artillery first framed were so clumsy, and of such difficult management, that men were not immediately sensible of their use and efficacy; and even to the present times, improvements have been continually making on this furious engine, which, though it seemed contrived for the destruction of mankind, and the overthrow of empires, has in the issue rendered battles less bloody, and has given greater stability to civil societies. Nations by its means have been brought more to a level: conquests have become less frequent and rapid: success in war has been reduced nearly to be a matter of calculation; and any nation overmatched by its enemies, either yields to their demands, or secures itself by alliances against their violence and invasion.



INTERVIEW BETWEEN EDW: III, AND THE PRINCE OF WALES,

AFTER THE BATTLE OF CRECY.

Smirke delin.ᵗ Published by J. Stratford, 112 Holborn Hill, Augᵗ 20. 1812. Milton sculp.ᵗ

of knighthood which I so lately conferred upon him: he will be able, without my assistance, to repel the enemy." This answer being reported to the prince and his attendants, inspired them with fresh courage: they made an attack with redoubled vigour on the French, in which the count d'Alençon was slain: that whole line of cavalry was thrown into disorder: the riders were killed or dismounted: the Welsh infantry rushed into the throng, and with their long knives cut the throats of all who had fallen; nor was any quarter given that day by the victors.

The king of France advanced in vain with the rear to sustain the line commanded by his brother: he found them already discomfited; and the example of their rout increased the confusion which was before but too prevalent in his own body. He had himself a horse killed under him: he was remounted; and, though left almost alone, he seemed still determined to maintain the combat; when John de Hainault seized the reins of his bridle, turned about his horse, and carried him off the field of battle. The whole French army took to flight, and was followed and put to the sword, without mercy, by the enemy; till the darkness of the night put an end to the pursuit. The king, on his return to the camp, flew into the arms of the prince of Wales, and exclaimed, "My valiant son! persevere in your honourable course: you are my son; for you have acquitted yourself nobly to-day: you have shewn yourself worthy the crown you are destined to wear."

The prince, whose modesty was equal to his courage, made no reply to this effusion of paternal satisfaction: the blush of unconscious merit suffused his youthful cheek; he sunk down on his knee, and demanded the blessing of his father.

This battle, which is known by the name of the battle of Crecy, began about three o'clock in the afternoon, of the 26th of August, 1346, and continued till evening. The next morning was foggy; and as the English observed that many of the enemy had lost their way in the night and in the mist, they employed a stratagem to bring them into their power: they erected on the eminences some French standards which they had taken in battle; and all who were allured by this false signal were put to the sword, and no quarter given them. In excuse for this inhumanity, it was alledged that the French king had given like orders to his troops; but the real reason probably was, that the English, in their present situation, did not chuse to be encumbered with prisoners. On the day of battle, and on the ensuing, there fell, by a moderate computation, one thousand two hundred French knights, one thousand four hundred gentlemen, four thousand men at arms, besides about thirty thousand of inferior rank: many of the principal nobility of France, the dukes of Lorraine and Bourbon, the earls of Flanders, Blois, Vaudemont, Aumale, Alençon, Auxerre, Sancerre, and St. Pol, were left on the field of battle. The king also of Bohemia and Majorca were slain (*m*). The loss of the English is not accurately known: Knyghton indeed asserts that it only amounted to one esquire, three knights, and a very few of inferior rank: but this assertion can only be believed by those who are possessed of sufficient credulity to accept it as a demonstration, that the prudent disposition planned by Edward, and the disorderly attack made by the French, had rendered the whole rather a rout than a battle; which was indeed the common case with engagements in those times.

The prudence of Edward appeared not only in obtaining this memorable victory, but in the measures which he pursued after it. Not elated by his present prosperity, so far as to expect the total conquest of France, or even that of any considerable provinces; he purposed only to secure such an easy entrance into that kingdom, as might afterwards open the way to more moderate advantages. He knew the extreme distance of Guienne: he had experienced the difficulty and uncertainty of penetrating on the side of the Low Countries, and had already lost much of his authority over Flanders by the death of d'Arteville. The king, therefore, limited his ambition to the conquest of Calais; and after the interval of a few days, which he employed in interring the slain, he marched from Crecy on the first of September, with his victorious army, and presented himself before that place on the 8th.

John of Vienne, a valiant knight of Burgundy, was governor of Calais, and being supplied with every thing necessary for defence, he encouraged the townsmen to perform to the utmost their duty to their king and country. Edward, therefore, sensible from the beginning that it was in vain to attempt the place by force, purposed only to reduce it by famine: he chose a secure station for his camp; drew entrenchments round the whole city; raised huts for his soldiers, which he covered with straw or broom; and provided his army with all the conveniences necessary to make them endure the winter season, which was approaching. As the governor soon perceived his intention, he expelled all the useless mouths; and the king had the generosity to allow these unhappy people to pass through his camp, and, it is said, he even supplied them with money to defray the expences of their journey.

While Edward was engaged in this siege, which employed him near a twelvemonth, there passed in different places many other events, and all to the honour of the English arms.

The retreat of the duke of Normandy from Guienne left the earl of Derby master of the field; and he was not negligent in making his advantage of the superiority. He took Mirebeau by assault: he made himself master of Lusignan in the same manner: Taillebourg and St. Jean d'Angeli fell into his hands; Poictiers opened its gates to him; and the earl of Derby having thus broken into the frontiers on that quarter, carried his incursions to the banks of the Loire, and filled all the southern provinces of France with horror and devastation.

The flames of war were at the same time kindled in Bretagne. Charles de Blois invaded that province with a considerable army, in the summer of 1347, and invested the fortress of Roche de Rien; but the countess of Montfort, reinforced by some English troops under sir Thomas Dagworth, attacked him during the night in his intrenchments, on the 20th of June, dispersed his army, and took Charles himself prisoner. His wife, by whom he enjoyed his pretensions to Bretagne, compelled by the present necessity, took on her the government of the party, and proved herself a rival in every shape, and an antagonist to the countess of Montfort, both in the field and in the cabinet. And while these heroic dames presented this extraordinary scene to the world, another princess in England, of still higher rank, showed herself no less capable of exerting every manly virtue.

The Scottish nation, after long defending, with incredible perseverance, their liberties against the superior force of the English, recalled their king David Bruce, in 1342. Though that prince, neither by his age nor capacity, could bring them great assistance, he gave them the countenance of sovereign authority; and as Edward's wars on the continent proved a great diversion to the force of England, they rendered the balance more equal between the kingdoms. In every truce which Edward concluded with Philip, the king of Scotland was comprehended; and when Edward made his last invasion upon France, David was strongly solicited by his ally to begin also hostilities, and to invade the northern counties of England. The nobility of his nation being always forward in such incursions, David soon mustered a great army, entered Northumberland at the head of above fifty thousand men, and carried his ravages and devastations to the gates of Durham. But queen Philippa, assembling a body of little more than twelve thousand men, which she entrusted to the command of lord Percy, ventured to approach him at Neville's Cross, near that city; and riding through the ranks of her army, exhorted every man to do his duty, and to take revenge on these barbarous ravagers. Nor could she be persuaded to leave the field, till the armies were on the point of engaging. The Scots have often been unfortunate in the great pitched battles which they fought with the English; even though they commonly declined such engagements where the superiority of numbers was not on their side: but never did they receive a more fatal blow than the present. They were broken and chased off the field: fifteen thousand of them, some historians say twenty thousand, were slain; among whom were Edward Keith, earl mareschal; and sir Thomas Charteris, chancellor; and the king himself was taken prisoner, with the earls of Sutherland,

(*m*) The fate of the king of Bohemia was remarkable: he was blind from age; but being resolved to hazard his person, and set an example to others, he ordered the reins of his bridle to be tied on each side to the horses of two gentlemen of his train; and his dead body, and those of his attendants, were afterwards found among the slain, with their horses standing by them in that situation. The standard of this king, who acted as a volunteer, was taken and carried to the prince of Wales: on it was his crest, which was three ostrich feathers; and his motto these German words, "*Ich dien*," "*I serve*;" which the prince of Wales and his successors adopted in memorial of this great victory.

Fife, Monteith, Carrick, lord Douglas, and many other noblemen. This battle happened on the 17th of October.

Philippa, having secured her royal prisoner in the Tower, crossed the sea at Dover; and was received in the English camp before Calais with all the triumph due to her rank, her merit, and her success. This age was the reign of chivalry and gallantry: Edward's court excelled in these accomplishments as much as in policy and arms: and if any thing could justify the obsequious devotion then professed to the fair sex, it must be the appearance of such extraordinary women as shone forth during that period.

The town of Calais had been defended with remarkable vigilance, constancy, and bravery by the townsmen, during a siege of unusual length: but Philip, informed of their distressed condition, determined at last to attempt their relief; and he approached the English with an immense army, which the writers of that age make to amount to two hundred thousand men. But he found Edward so surrounded with morasses, and secured by intrenchments, that, without running on inevitable destruction, he concluded it impossible to make an attempt on the English camp. He had no other resource than to send his rival a vain challenge to meet him in the open field; which being refused, he was obliged to decamp with his army, and disperse them into their several provinces.

John de Vienne, governor of Calais, now saw the necessity of surrendering his fortress, which was reduced to the last extremity by famine (*n*) and the fatigue of the inhabitants. He appeared on the walls, and made a signal to the English centinels that he desired a parley. Sir Walter Manny was sent to him by Edward. "Brave knight," cried the governor, "I have been entrusted by my sovereign with the command of this town: it is almost a year since you besieged me; and I have endeavoured, as well as those under me, to do our duty. But you are acquainted with our present condition: we have no hopes of relief; we are perishing with hunger; I am willing therefore to surrender, and desire, as the sole condition, to ensure the lives and liberties of these brave men, who have so long shared with me every danger and fatigue. Manny replied, that he was well acquainted with the intentions of the king of England; that that prince was incensed against the townsmen of Calais for their pertinacious resistance, and for the evils which they had made him and his subjects suffer; that he was determined to take exemplary vengeance on them; and would not receive the town on any condition which should confine him in the punishment of these offenders. "Consider," replied Vienne, "that this is not the treatment to which brave men are entitled: if any English knight had been in my situation, your king would have expected the same conduct from him. The inhabitants of Calais have done for their sovereign what merits the esteem of every prince; much more of so gallant a prince as Edward. But I inform you, that if we must perish, we shall not perish unrevenged; and that we are not yet so reduced, but we can sell our lives at a high price to the victors. It is the interest of both sides to prevent these desperate extremities; and I expect that you yourself, brave knight, will interpose your good offices with your prince in our behalf." Manny was struck with the justness of the sentiments, and represented to the king the danger of reprisals, if he should give such treatment to the inhabitants of Calais. Edward was at last persuaded to mitigate the rigour of the conditions demanded: he only insisted that six of the most considerable citizens should be sent to him, to be disposed of as he thought proper; that they should come to his camp carrying the keys of the city in their hands, bareheaded and barefooted, with ropes about their necks; and, on these conditions, he promised to spare the lives of all the remainder. When this intelligence was conveyed to Calais, it struck the inhabitants with new consternation. To sacrifice six of their fellow-citizens to certain destruction for signalizing their valour in a common cause, appeared to them even more severe than that general punishment with which they were before threatened; and they found themselves incapable of coming to any resolution in so cruel and distressful a situation. At last one of the principal inhabitants, called Eustace de St. Pierre, whose name deserves to be recorded, stepped forth, and declared himself willing to encounter death for the safety of his friends and companions: another, animated by his example, made a like generous offer: a third and a fourth presented themselves to the same fate; and the whole number was soon completed. These six heroic burgesses appeared before Edward in the guise of malefactors, laid at his feet the keys of their city, and implored his mercy; but were ordered to be led to execution. It is surprizing that so generous a prince should ever have entertained such a barbarous purpose against such men; and still more that he should seriously persist in the resolution of executing it. But the entreaties of his queen saved his memory from that infamy: she threw herself on her knees before him, and, with tears in her eyes, begged the lives of these citizens. Having obtained her request, she carried them into her tent, ordered a repast to be set before them, and, after making them a present of money and clothes, dismissed them in safety (*o*).

The king took possession of Calais, on the 4th of August, 1347; and immediately, in order to secure a conquest which had cost him so much trouble to acquire, he executed an act of rigour, more justifiable, because more necessary, than that which he had before resolved on. He knew that, notwithstanding his pretended title to the crown of France, every Frenchman regarded him as a mortal enemy; and therefore ordered all the inhabitants of Calais to evacuate the town, and he peopled it anew with English; a policy which probably preserved so long to his successors the dominion of that important fortress. He made it the staple of wool, leather, tin, and lead; the four chief, if not sole commodities of the kingdom, for which there was any considerable demand on the continent. All the English were obliged to bring thither these goods: foreign merchants came to the same place in order to purchase them; and at a period when posts were not established, and when the communication between states was so imperfect, this institution, though it hurt the navigation of England, was probably of advantage to the kingdom.

Through the mediation of the pope's legates, Edward concluded a truce with France, to continue till the 8th of July, 1348; and which was afterwards prolonged by different treaties, till the year 1355: but, even during this cessation of arms, he had very nearly lost Calais, the sole fruit of all his boasted victories. The king had entrusted that place to Aimerie de Pavie, an Italian, who had discovered bravery and conduct in the wars, but was utterly destitute of every principle of honour and fidelity. He then embarked for England with his family, and landed at Sandwich on the 12th of October, 1347. Amerie de Pavie, agreed to deliver up Calais for the sum of twenty thousand crowns; and Geoffrey de Charni, who commanded the French forces in those quarters, and who knew that, if he succeeded in this service, he should not be disavowed, ventured, without consulting his master, to conclude the bargain with him. Edward, informed of this treachery by means of Aimerie's secretary, summoned the governor to London on other pretences; and having charged him with the guilt, promised him his life, but on condition that he would turn the contrivance to the destruction of the enemy. The Italian easily agreed to this double treachery. A day was appointed for the admission of the French; and Edward, having prepared a force of about a thousand men, under sir Walter Manny, secretly departed from London, carrying with him the prince of Wales; and, without being suspected, arrived the evening before at Calais. He made a proper disposition for the reception of the enemy, and kept all his forces and the garrison under arms. On the appearance of Charni, at the gate of Boulogne, a chosen band of French soldiers was admitted

(*n*) It is asserted, that the distresses of the town were so great, their provisions having been long expended, that neither a horse, cat or any species of vermin that was eatable, however impalatable and disgusting, remained in the town.

(*o*) Such is the account of this extraordinary transaction, as recorded by Froissard; but it should be remembered, that it rests on the single testimony of that author, since all subsequent writers have taken it from him, whose frequent errors and misrepresentations are universally acknowledged. Robert de Avesbury, a contemporary writer, says not a word on the subject; and his history of the reign of Edward III. up to the year 1356, is remarked for its correctness and fidelity. From this consideration, and from an attentive review of Edward's character, we are strongly inclined to doubt the veracity of Froissard's account, and to believe that his love of the marvellous, so frequently visible in his works, induced him to exaggerate. Edward, exasperated by the obstinacy of their resistance, might possibly excite the fears of the inhabitants of Calais in an unjustifiable manner, by promulgating a pretended resolution to sacrifice six of the principal citizens; but we cannot believe that he could seriously intend to punish with death an uncommon portion of courage; when, at other times, acts of extraordinary valour formed the chief objects of his praise and admiration.



THE SIEGE OF CALAIS.

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admitted at the postern; and Aimerie, receiving the stipulated sum, promised that, with their assistance, he would immediately open the great gate to the troops, who were waiting with impatience for the fulfilling of his engagement. All the French who entered were immediately slain, or taken prisoners, on the 1st of January, 1349: the great gate opened: Edward rushed forth with cries of battle and of victory: the French, though astonished at the event, behaved with valour: a fierce and bloody engagement ensued. As the morning broke, the king, who was not distinguished by his arms, and who fought as a private man under the standard of sir Walter Manny, remarked a French gentleman, called Eustace de Ribaumont, who exerted himself with singular vigour and bravery; and he was seized with a desire of trying a single combat with him. He stepped forth from his troop, and challenging Ribaumont by name (for he was known to him), began a sharp and dangerous encounter. He was twice beaten to the ground by the valour of the Frenchman: he twice recovered himself: blows were redoubled with equal force on both sides: the victory was long undecided; till Ribaumont, perceiving himself to be left almost alone, called out to his antagonist, "Sir knight, I yield myself your prisoner;" and at the same time delivered his sword to the king. Most of the French, being overpowered by numbers, and intercepted in their retreat, lost either their lives or their liberty (*p*).

Shortly after Edward's landing in England from Calais, he summoned a parliament to assemble at Westminster on the 14th of January, 1348, and asked their advice as to the propriety of attempting to negociate a solid peace during the continuation of the truce: and as to the most effectual means of preserving the internal peace of the kingdom. The commons, recollecting how dearly they had paid for the last counsels they had afforded him, were careful not to advise him to pursue the war, as the demand of a subsidy would, they knew, be the inevitable consequence. The king, finding them backward in offering what he wished them to grant, speedily dismissed them; and in a short time summoned another parliament, to meet at the same place, on the 17th of March. He there represented the alarming preparations of France for an invasion of his dominions; and demanded an aid, that he might be enabled to adopt such means as should be deemed necessary for averting a danger of so serious a nature. The commons, after making heavy complaints of the late onerous imposts, and strenuously pleading their extreme poverty, granted him a supply of three fifteenths, to be expressly appropriated to defray the expences of the war.

The prudent conduct and great success of Edward in his foreign wars had excited a strong emulation, and a military genius among the English nobility; and these turbulent barons, overawed by the crown, gave now a more useful direction to their ambition, and attached themselves to a prince who led them to the acquisition of riches and of glory. That he might farther promote the spirit of emulation and obedience, the king instituted the order of the Garter, in imitation of some orders of a like nature, religious as well as military, which had been established in different parts of Europe. The number received into this order consisted of twenty-five persons, besides the sovereign; and as it has never been enlarged, this badge of distinction continues as honourable as at its first institution, and is still as valuable, though a cheap present, which the prince can confer on his greatest subjects. A vulgar story prevails, but is not supported by any ancient authority, that at a court-ball, Edward's mistress, commonly supposed to be the countess of Salisbury, dropped her garter; and the king, taking it up, observed some of the courtiers to smile, as if they thought that he had not obtained this favour merely by accident: upon which he called out, "*Honi soit qui mal y pense*," i. e. "Evil be to him that evil thinks;" and as every incident of gallantry among those ancient warriors was magnified into a matter of great importance, he instituted the order of the Garter in memorial of this event, and gave these words as the motto of the order. The origin, though frivolous, is not unsuitable to the manners of the times; and it is indeed difficult by any other means to account, either for the seemingly unmeaning terms of the motto, or for the peculiar badge of the garter, which seems to have no reference to any purpose either of military use or ornament (*q*).

But a sudden damp was thrown over this festivity and triumph of the court of England, by a destructive pestilence which invaded that kingdom, as well as the rest of Europe; and is computed to have swept away near a third of the inhabitants in every country which it attacked. It was probably more fatal in great cities than in the country; and above fifty thousand souls are said to have perished by it in London alone (*r*). This malady first discovered itself in the north of Asia, was spread over all that country, made its progress from one end of Europe to the other, and sensibly depopulated every state, through which it passed. So grievous a calamity, more than the pacific disposition of the princes, served to maintain and prolong the truce between France and England.

While England was afflicted with this grievous calamity, its coasts were infested and insulted by a formidable fleet of Spanish pirates, consisting of forty sail of strong ships, supposed to be secretly instigated by the court of France; and these daring depredators, not content with taking every vessel that came in their way, had the audacity to meditate an invasion, and even to flatter themselves with the conquest of the kingdom. Edward, however, soon put a stop to their destructive courses; for, having embarked on board a powerful fleet, accompanied by many of his chief nobility, he came up with the pirates, off Winchelsey, on the 29th of August, 1350; and after a severe conflict, obtained a compleat victory, and took twenty-four of their vessels.

During this true Philip de Valois died, without being able to re-establish the affairs of France, which his ill success against England had thrown into disorder. This monarch, during the first years of his reign, and obtained the appellation of *Fortunate*, and acquired the character of prudent; but he ill maintained either the one or the other; less from his own fault, than because he was over-matched by the superior fortune and superior genius of Edward. But the incidents in the reign of his son John gave the French nation cause to regret even the calamitous times of his predecessor. John was distinguished by many virtues, particularly a scrupulous honour and fidelity: he was not deficient in personal courage: but he wanted that masterly prudence and foresight, which his difficult situation required. Soon after his accession this prince renewed the truce with England; but the mutual animosity which prevailed between the two nations induced its violation whenever an opportunity occurred. Frequent incursions

(*p*) The French officers who had fallen into the hands of the English were conducted into Calais; where Edward discovered to them the antagonist with whom they had the honour to be engaged, and treated them with great regard and courtesy. They were admitted to sup with the prince of Wales and the English nobility; and, after supper, the king himself came into the apartment, and went about conversing familiarly with one or other of his prisoners. He even addressed himself to Charni, and avoided reproaching him, in too severe terms, with the treacherous attempt which he had made upon Calais during the truce: but he openly bestowed the highest encomiums on Ribaumont! called him the most valorous knight that he had ever been acquainted with; and confessed that he himself had at no time been in so great danger as when engaged in combat with him. He then took a string of pearls, which he wore about his own head, and throwing it over the head of Ribaumont, he said to him, "Sir Eustace, I bestow this present upon you as a testimony of my esteem for your bravery: and I desire you to wear it a year for my sake: I know you to be gay and amorous, and to take delight in the company of ladies and damsels; let them all know from what hand you had the present: you are no longer a prisoner; I acquit you of your ransom; and you are at liberty to-morrow to dispose of yourself as you think proper." Though the human mind may be replete with contradictory sentiments, and subject to continual changes that baffle all arguments, it is difficult to conceive that a prince, who could act thus generously, should be guilty of such flagrant barbarity as is laid to the charge of Edward in his conduct to the six citizens of Calais.

(*q*) The institution of this noble order consisted of the king of England, as sovereign, and twenty-five knights, companions; and as the number has never been augmented, this badge of distinction continues as honourable as at its first institution. On the festival of St. George this year, (1349) the knights walked bareheaded in procession, clad in gowns of russet, and mantles of fine blue woollen cloth, with the rest of the habit of the order, to St. George's Chapel, Windsor; where they heard mass celebrated by William Edendon, bishop of Winchester, prelate of the order; and, after divine service was finished, they returned to a sumptuous entertainment! The solemnity concluded with military sports of tilts and tournaments; at which David Bruce, with other prisoners of quality, both Scots and French, were permitted to assist. Indeed these diversions formed the principal occupation of Edward in times of peace, probably as much from motives of policy as inclination, that he might thereby keep the minds of his martial barons employed; for, as war was their only source of amusement, when public tranquillity was restored, and nothing remained to fix their attention, they were to apt to give way to their turbulent spirit, and seek for employment in seditious practices.

(*r*) Stowe's Survey, p. 478. There were buried fifty thousand bodies in one church-yard, which sir Walter Manny had bought for the use of the poor; on which was afterwards founded a convent of Carthusian friars. The same author says, that there died above fifty thousand persons of the plague in Norwich, which is quite incredible.

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were made, both by the English and French governors, on the territories of each other, in the course of the two succeeding years; which, as usual, gave rise to mutual complaints; but no event occurred of sufficient importance to be recorded in history, except an action on the plain of Mauron, near Rennes, in Bretagne, which took place on the 14th of August, 1352, between a body of English troops under the command of sir Walter Bentley, and a French army under the mareshal de Nesle, in which the former, though taken by surprize, and greatly inferior in numbers to the enemy, obtained a complete victory. The French general was slain, with eighty knights and five hundred gentlemen; and one hundred and sixty knights and gentlemen were made prisoners.

Edward, conscious that the hour of victory was the most proper time for securing an advantageous peace, seems at this period to have been seriously inclined to listen to terms of accommodation. A negociation having taken place, under the mediation of the pope, he gave instructions to his plenipotentiaries, the archbishop of Canterbury and the duke of Lancaster, to propose his entire resignation of the French crown, on condition that the king of France would, in return, give up to him the absolute sovereignty of Guienne, Aquitaine, and the town and marches of Calais. But these proposals were rejected by John, though the state of his kingdom, weakened by frequent and unsuccessful exertions, and shaken by intestine feuds, should have urged him to seek for peace on almost any terms he could procure. The dangerous faction that now prevailed in France owed its origin to Charles king of Navarre, who received the epithet of the *bad* or *wicked*, and whose conduct fully entitled him to that appellation (*s*).

The constable of Eu, who had been taken prisoner by Edward at Caen, recovered his liberty, on the promise of delivering as his ransom the town of Guisnes, near Calais, of which he was superior lord: but as John was offended at this stipulation, which, if fulfilled, opened still farther that frontier to the enemy; and as he suspected the constable of more dangerous connexions with the king of England, he ordered him to be seized, and, without any legal or formal trial, caused him to be assassinated in prison. Charles de la Cerda was appointed constable in his place; and had a like fatal end: the king of Navarre ordered him to be assassinated; and such was the weakness of the crown, that this prince, instead of dreading punishment, would not even agree to ask pardon for his offence, but on condition that he should receive an accession of territory: and he had also John's second son put into his hands as a security for his person, when he came to court, and performed this act of mock penitence and humiliation before his sovereign, in the year 1354.

The two French princes seemed entirely reconciled; but this dissimulation, to which John submitted from necessity, and Charles from habit, did not long continue; and the king of Navarre knew that he had reason to apprehend the most severe vengeance for the many crimes and treasons which he had already committed, and the still greater, which he was meditating. To ensure himself of protection, he entered into a secret correspondence with England, by means of Henry earl of Derby, now earl of Lancaster, who at that time was employed in fruitless negociations for peace at Avignon, under the mediation of the pope. John detected this correspondence; and to prevent the dangerous effects of it, he sent forces into Normandy, the chief seat of the king of Navarre's power, and attacked his castles and fortresses. But hearing that Edward had prepared an army to support his ally, he had the weakness to propose an accommodation with Charles, and even to give this traiterous subject the sum of a hundred thousand crowns as the purchase of a feigned reconcilement, which rendered him still more dangerous; for he employed the money in the acquisition of new partizans. The king of Navarre, insolent from past impunity, and desperate from the dangers which he apprehended, continued his intrigues; and associating himself with Geoffrey d'Harcourt, who had received his pardon from Philip de Valois, but persevered still in his factious disposition, he increased the number of his adherents in every part of the kingdom. He even seduced, by his address, Charles the king of France's eldest son, a youth of seventeen years of age, who was the first that bore the appellation of Dauphin, by the re-union of the province of Dauphiny to the crown. But this prince, being made sensible of the danger and folly of these connexions, promised to make atonement for the offence by the sacrifice of his associates; and, in concert with his father, he invited the king of Navarre, and other noblemen of the party, to a feast at Rouen, where they were betrayed into the hands of John. Some of the most noxious were immediately led to execution; the king of Navarre was thrown into prison: but this stroke of severity in the king, and of treachery in the dauphin, was far from proving decisive in maintaining the royal authority. Philip of Navarre brother to Charles, and Geoffrey d'Harcourt, put all the towns and castles belonging to that prince in a posture of defence; and had immediate recourse to the protection of England in this deperate extremity.

The truce between the two kingdoms, which had always been ill observed on both sides, expired at Midsummer in 1355; and Edward was entirely free to support the French malcontents. Well pleased that the factions in France had at length gained him some partizans in that kingdom, which his pretensions to the crown had never been able to accomplish, he purposed to attack his enemy both on the side of Guienne, under the command of the prince of Wales, and on that of Calais, in his own person.

Young Edward sailed from Plymouth, and arrived in the Garonne with his army, on board a fleet of three hundred sail, on the 10th of September, attended by the earls of Warwick, Salisbury, Oxford, Suffolk, and other English noblemen. Being joined by the vassals of Gascony, he took the field; and as the present disorders in France prevented every proper plan of defence, he carried on with impunity his ravages and devastations, according to the mode of war in that age. He reduced all the villages and several towns in Languedoc to ashes: he presented himself before Thoulouse; passed the Garonne, and burned the suburbs of Cacassonne; advanced even to Narbonne, laying every place waste around him; and after an incursion of six weeks, returned with a vast booty and many prisoners to Guienne, where he took up his winter quarters. The constable of Bourbon, who commanded in these provinces, received orders, though at the head of a superior army, on no account to run the hazard of a battle.

The king of England's incursion from Calais (*t*) was of the same nature, and attended with the same issue. He broke into France at the head of a numerous army; to which he gave a full licence of plundering and ravaging the open country. He advanced to St. Omer, where the king of France was posted; and on the retreat of that prince followed him to Hesdin. John still kept at a distance, and declined an engagement: but, in order to save his reputation, he sent Edward a challenge to fight a pitched battle with him; a usual bravado in that age, derived from the practice of single combat, and ridiculous in the art of war. The king finding no sincerity in this defiance, retired to Calais, and thence went over to England, in order to defend that kingdom against a threatened invasion of the Scots.

The Scots, taking advantage of the king's absence, and that of the military power of England, had surprized Berwick; and had collected an army with a view of committing ravages upon the northern provinces: but on the approach of Edward (*u*) they abandoned that place, which was not tenable while the castle was in the hands of the English; and retiring to their mountains, gave the enemy full liberty of burning and destroying the whole country from Berwick to Edinburgh. Baliol attended Edward on

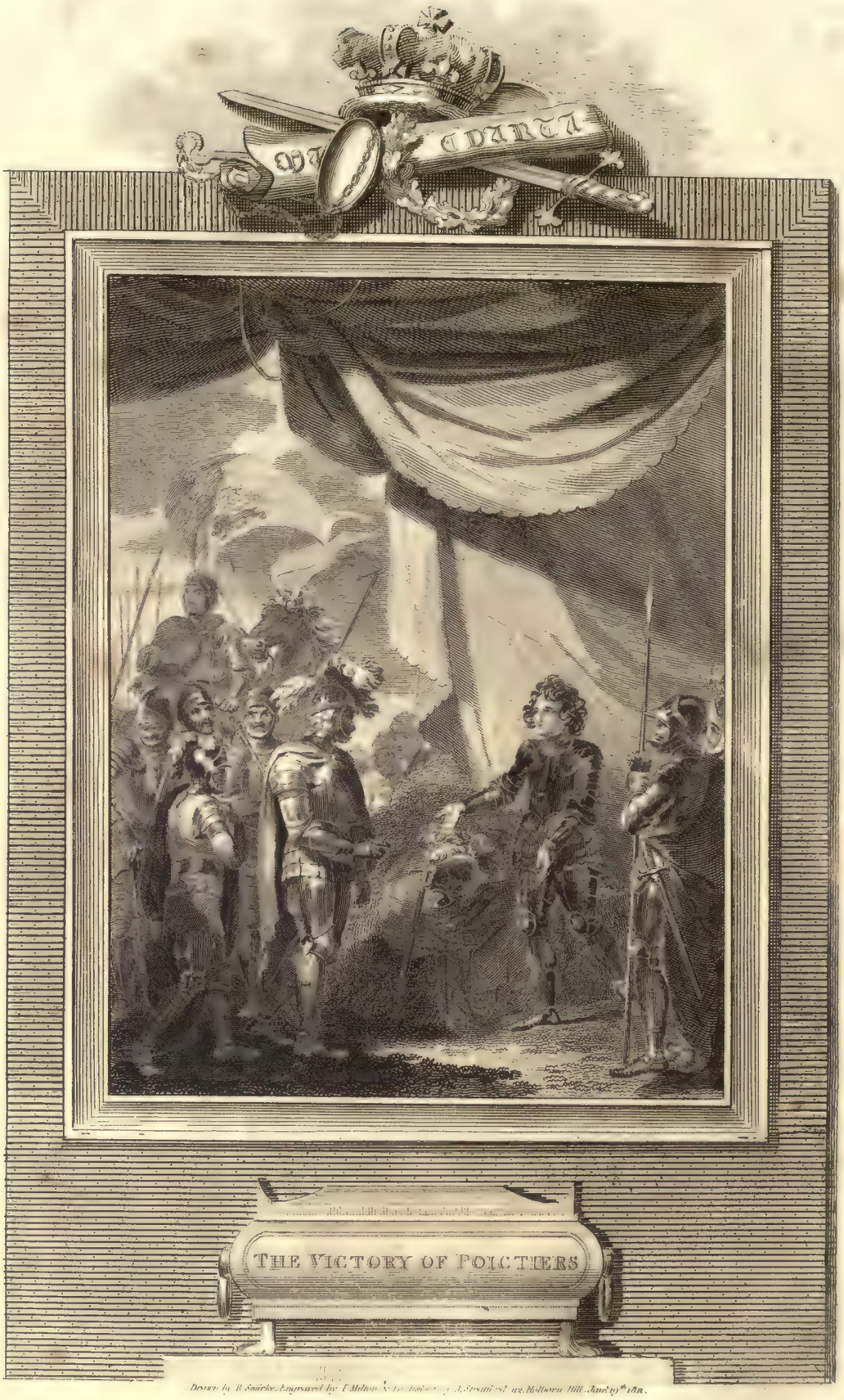
(*s*) This prince was descended from the males of the blood royal of France; his mother was daughter of Lewis Hutin; he had himself espoused a daughter of king John: but all these ties, which ought to have connected him with the throne, gave him only greater power to shake and overthrow it. With regard to his personal qualities, he was courteous, affable, engaging, eloquent; full of insinuation and address; inexhaustible in his resources; active and enterprizing. But these splendid accomplishments were attended with such defects as rendered them pernicious to his country, and even ruinous to himself: he was volatile, inconstant, faithless, revengeful, malicious: restrained by no principle or duty: insatiable in his pretensions; and whether successful or unfortunate in one enterprize, he immediately undertook another, in which he was never deterred from employing the most criminal and most dishonourable expedients.

(*t*) King Edward landed at Calais, with a numerous army, in the month of October.

(*u*) Upon Edward's return to England from Calais, he summoned a parliament to meet at Westminster on the 23rd of November; at which sir Walter Manny, by order of his sovereign, gave an account of the Scottish invasion; and demanded an aid, to enable the king to bring the war to a speedy and propitious termination. This demand gave rise to some debate; which, however, ended in a determination to grant a liberal supply of fifty shillings on every sack of wool exported for three years.

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Drawn by R. Smirke. Engraved by T. Milton. Published by J. Stockdale 26. Piccadilly Hall. June 1st 1811.

this expedition; but finding that his constant adherence to the English had given his countrymen an unconquerable aversion to his title, and that he himself was declining through age and infirmities, he finally resigned into the king's hands his pretensions to the crown of Scotland, and received in lieu of them an annual pension of two thousand pounds, with which he passed the remainder of his life in privacy and retirement. After this transaction the king returned to London, in the month of February, 1356; and the earl of Northumberland concluded a truce with the Scots till Michaelmas.

During these military operations, Edward received information of the increasing disorders in France, arising from the imprisonment of the king of Navarre; and he sent Lancaster, at the head of a small army, to support the partizans of that prince in Normandy. The war was conducted with various success; but chiefly to the disadvantage of the French malcontents; till an event happened in another quarter of the kingdom, which threatened the monarchy of France with annihilation.

The prince of Wales, encouraged by the success of the preceding campaign, marched from Bourdeaux on the 6th of July, 1356, with an army, which no historian makes amount to above twelve thousand men, viz. two thousand men at arms, six thousand archers, and four thousand infantry, of which not a third were English; and, with this small body, he ventured to penetrate into the heart of France. After ravaging the Agenois, Quercy, Auvergne, and the Limousin, he entered the province of Berry, and made some attacks, though without success, on the towns of Bourges and Issoudun. It appeared, that his intentions were to march into Normandy, and to join his forces with those of the earl of Lancaster and the partizans of the king of Navarre; but finding all the bridges on the Loire broken down, and every pass carefully guarded, he was obliged to think of making his retreat into Guienne. He found this resolution the more necessary, from the intelligence which he received of the king of France's motions. That monarch, provoked at the insult offered him by this incursion, and entertaining hopes of success from the young prince's temerity, collected a great army of above sixty thousand men, and advanced, by hasty marches, to intercept his enemy. The prince, not aware of John's near approach, lost some days on his retreat before the castle of Remorantin; which he took after a siege of six days, on the 4th of September; and thereby he gave the French an opportunity of overtaking him. They came within sight at Maupertuis near Poictiers, on the 17th of September; and Edward, sensible that his retreat was now become impracticable, prepared for battle with all the courage of a young hero, and with all the prudence of the oldest and most experienced commander. But the utmost prudence and courage would have proved insufficient to save him in this extremity, had the king of France known how to make use of his present advantages. His great superiority in numbers enabled him to surround the enemy; and, by intercepting all provisions, which were already become scarce in the English camp, to reduce this small army, without a blow, to the necessity of surrendering at discretion. But such was the impatient ardour of the French nobility, and so much had their thoughts been bent on overtaking the English as their sole object, that this idea never struck any of the commanders; and they immediately took measures for the assault, as for a certain victory. While the French army was drawn up in order of battle, on the ensuing morning, they were stopped by the appearance of the cardinal of Perigord; who, having learned the approach of the two armies to each other, had hastened, by interposing his good offices, to prevent any farther effusion of blood. By John's permission, he carried proposals to the prince of Wales; and found him so sensible of the bad posture of his affairs, that an accommodation seemed not impracticable. Edward told him, that he would agree to any terms consistent with his own honour and that of England; and he offered to purchase a retreat, by ceding all the conquests which he had made during this and the former campaign, by restoring all the prisoners and all the booty he had taken, and by stipulating not to serve against France during the course of seven years. But John, imagining that he had now got into his hands a sufficient pledge for the restitution of Calais, required that Edward should surrender himself prisoner with a hundred of his attendants; and offered, on these terms, a safe retreat to the English army. The prince rejected the proposal with disdain; and declared that whatever fortune might attend him, England should never have his ransom to pay. This resolute answer cut off all hopes of accommodation; but, as the day was already spent in negociating, the battle was delayed till the next morning, the 19th.

The cardinal of Perigord, as did all the prelates of the court of Rome, bore a great attachment to the French interest; but the most determined enemy could not, by any expedient, have done a greater prejudice to John's affairs than he did them by this delay. The prince of Wales had leisure, during the night, to strengthen, by new intrenchments, the post which he had before so judiciously chosen; and he contrived an ambush of three hundred men at arms, and as many archers, whom he put under the command of the Captal de Buche, and ordered to make a circuit, that they might fall on the flank or rear of the French army during the engagement. The van of his army was commanded by the earl of Warwick, the rear by the earls of Salisbury and Suffolk, the main body by the prince himself. The lords Chandos, Audeley, and many other brave and experienced commanders, were at the head of different corps of his army. John also arranged his forces in three divisions, nearly equal: the first was commanded by the duke of Orleans, the king's brother; the second by the dauphin, attended by his two younger brothers; the third by the king himself, who had by his side Philip his fourth son and favourite, then about fourteen years of age. There was no reaching the English army but through a narrow lane, covered on each side by hedges; and in order to open this passage, the mareschals Andrehen and Clermont were ordered to advance with a separate detachment of men at arms. While they marched along the lane, a body of English archers, who lined the hedges, plyed them on each side with their arrows; and being very near them, yet placed in perfect safety, they coolly took their aim against the enemy, and slaughtered them with impunity. The French detachment, much discouraged by the unequal combat, and diminished in their number, arrived at the end of the lane, where they met on the open ground the prince of Wales himself, at the head of a chosen body, ready for their reception. They were discomfited and overthrown: one of the mareschals was slain; the other taken prisoner: and the remainder of the detachment, who were still in the lane, and exposed to the shot of the enemy, without being able to make resistance, recoiled upon their own army, and put every thing into disorder. In that critical moment the Captal de Buche unexpectedly appeared, and attacked in flank the dauphin's line, which fell into some confusion. Landas, Bondenai, and St. Venant, to whom the care of that young prince and his brothers had been committed, too anxious for their charge or for their own safety, carried them off the field, and set the example of flight, which was followed by that whole division. The duke of Orleans, seized with a like panic, and imagining all was lost, thought no longer of fighting, but carried off his division by a retreat, which soon turned into a flight. Lord Chandos called out to the prince, that the day was won; and encouraged him to attack the division under king John, which, though more numerous than the whole English army, were somewhat dismayed with the precipitate flight of their companions. John here made the utmost efforts to retrieve by his valour what his imprudence had betrayed; and the only resistance made that day was by his line of battle. The prince of Wales fell with impetuosity on some German cavalry placed in the front, and commanded by the counts of Sallebruche, Nydo, and Nassau: a fierce battle ensued: one side were encouraged by the near prospect of so great a victory: the other were stimulated by the shame of quitting the field to an enemy so much inferior; but the three German generals, together with the duke of Athens constable of France, falling in battle, that body of cavalry gave way, and left the king himself exposed to the whole fury of the enemy. The ranks were every moment thinned around him: the nobles fell by his side one after another: his son, scarce fourteen years of age, received a wound, while he was fighting valiantly in defence of his father: the king himself, spent with fatigue, and overwhelmed by numbers, might easily have been slain; but every English gentleman, ambitious of taking alive the royal prisoner, spared him in the action, exhorted him to surrender, and offered him quarter: several who attempted to seize him suffered for their temerity. He still cried out, "Where is my cousin, the prince of Wales?" and seemed unwilling to become prisoner to any person of inferior rank. But being told that the prince was at a distance on the field, he threw down his

gauntlet, and yielded himself to Dennis de Morbec, a knight of Arras, who had been obliged to fly his country for murder. His son was taken with him. The prince of Wales, who had been carried away in pursuit of the flying enemy, finding the field entirely clear, had ordered a tent to be pitched, and was reposing himself after the toils of battle; enquiring still with great anxiety concerning the fate of the French monarch. He dispatched the earl of Warwick to bring him intelligence; and that nobleman came happily in time to save the life of the captive prince, which was exposed to greater danger than it had been during the heat of the action. The English had taken him by violence from Morbec: the Gascons claimed the honour of detaining the royal prisoner: and some brutal soldiers, rather than yield the prize to their rivals, had threatened to put him to death. Warwick overawed both parties, and approaching the king with great demonstrations of respect, offered to conduct him to the prince's tent.

Here commences the real and truly admirable heroism of Edward: for victories are vulgar things in comparison of that moderation and humanity displayed by a young prince of twenty-seven years of age, not yet cooled from the fury of battle, and elated by as extraordinary and as unexpected success as had ever crowned the arms of any commander. He came forth to meet the captive king with all the marks of regard and sympathy; administered comfort to him amidst his misfortunes; paid him the tribute of praise due to his valour; and ascribed his own victory merely to the blind chance of war, or to a superior providence, which controls all the effects of human force and prudence. The behaviour of John shewed him not unworthy of this courteous treatment: his present abject fortune never made him forget a moment that he was a king: more touched by Edward's generosity than by his own calamities, he confessed, that, notwithstanding his defeat and captivity, his honour was still unimpaired; and that, if he yielded the victory, it was at least gained by a prince of such consummate valour and humanity. Edward ordered a magnificent repast to be prepared in his tent for the prisoner; and he himself served at the royal captive's table, as if he had been one of his retinue: he stood at the king's back during the meal; constantly refused to take a place at table; and declared, that, being a subject, he was too well acquainted with the distance between his own rank and that of royal majesty, to assume such freedom. All his father's pretensions to the crown of France were now buried in oblivion: John, in captivity, received the honours of a king, which were refused him when seated on the throne: his misfortunes, not his title, were respected; and the French prisoners, conquered by this elevation of mind, more than by their late discomfiture, burst into tears of admiration; which were only checked by the reflection, that such genuine and unaltered heroism in an enemy must certainly in the issue prove but the more dangerous to their native country (*x*).

The day after the battle, Edward ordered a general thanksgiving to the Dispenser of all human events for the glorious victory he had obtained: he then thanked his troops for the gallantry of their conduct, to which, under Heaven, he ascribed his success. As the lord Audley had signalized his bravery during the action in a very particular manner, the prince bestowed on him a grant of five hundred marks a year, to be paid out of his own inheritance; which that generous nobleman immediately divided among his four valiant esquires who had fought by his side during the action. Edward, informed of this circumstance, highly applauded an act in which justice and generosity coincided; confirmed the donation; and made a farther grant to the earl of six hundred marks a year, payable from the coinage of the stannaries of Cornwall.

The prince of Wales, finding his army not sufficiently powerful to pursue the advantages he had gained by extending his military operations, retired by easy marches to Bourdeaux, where he passed the winter. As the pope still continued to offer his mediation, and their misfortunes had rendered the French more tractable, a truce was concluded between England and France, on the 23rd of March, 1357, to continue for two years; and, on the 24th of the following month, prince Edward, accompanied by the French monarch and his son, and attended by a numerous train of English and French nobility, sailed from Bourdeaux, and arrived in England at the beginning of May. The king, on receiving the intelligence of his son's success, endued with that philosophic firmness of mind which adversity cannot sink to depression, nor prosperity transport beyond the limits of moderation, instead of evincing any extravagant symptoms of joy, ordered the archbishop of Canterbury to appoint a week of prayer and thanksgiving; which was religiously observed throughout the kingdom. He then ordered his son to be received with the honours that were due to his merit, and to the rank of the captive who accompanied him. The lord mayor was commanded to raise triumphal arches on the road, and to regulate the procession appointed to attend him. That magistrate accordingly met the prince in Southwark on the 24th of May, followed by the aldermen, adorned with the insignia of their office, and one thousand of the principal citizens. The captive monarch was arrayed in royal robes, and mounted on a superb white courser, conspicuous for its size and beauty, and the magnificence of its furniture; while his princely victor, habited in a simple manner, rode by his side on a black palfry, whose figure and trappings displayed an appearance of that humility which dignified and adorned the soul of its master. The houses were hung with tapestry and military weapons, and the streets were lined with an infinite concourse of people. In this situation, more glorious than a Roman emperor in the hour of triumph, insulting the misfortunes of his shackled captives, did the prince of Wales proceed to Westminster Hall; where his father descended from his throne, and advanced to meet the king of France, whom he received with the same respect and cordiality as if he had repaired to his court for the purpose of paying him a visit of friendship. When the ceremony of reception was over, John and his son were conducted to the palace of the Savoy; where they were entertained in the most sumptuous and hospitable manner (*y*).

The king of France, besides the generous treatment which he met with in England, had the melancholy consolation of the wretched, to see companions in affliction. The king of Scots had been eleven years a captive in Edward's hands; and the good fortune of this latter monarch had reduced at once the two neighbouring potentates, with whom he was engaged in war, to be prisoners in his capital. But Edward, finding that the conquest of Scotland was nowise advanced by the captivity of its sovereign, and that the government, conducted by Robert Stuart, his nephew and heir, was still able to defend itself, consented to restore David Bruce to his liberty, for the ransom of one hundred thousand marks sterling; and that prince delivered the sons of all his principal nobility as hostages for the payment, which was to be made in the course of ten years, during which time a truce was to subsist between the two nations.

Meanwhile, the captivity of John, joined to the preceding disorders of the French government, had produced in that country a dissolution, almost total, of civil authority, and had occasioned confusions, the most horrible and destructive that had ever been experienced in any age or in any nation. The dauphin, now (1358) about eighteen years of age, naturally assumed the royal power during his father's captivity; but though endowed with an excellent capacity, even in such early years, he possessed neither experience nor authority sufficient to defend a state, assailed at once by foreign power and shaken by intestine faction. In order to obtain supply, he assembled the states of the kingdom: that assembly, instead of supporting his administration, were themselves seized with the

(*x*) All the English and Gascon knights imitated the generous example set them by their prince, and the captives were every where treated with humanity. History affords but few examples of a victory so complete and extraordinary as that of Poictiers. The French are said to have left on the field of battle two dukes, nineteen counts, a great number of knights and gentlemen, five thousand men at arms, and about eight thousand infantry; so that, if this account be true, the number of slain exceeded that of the whole British army. Besides the king and his son Philip, there were taken the counts of Ponthieu, Eu, and Tankarville, princes of the blood; the archbishop of Sens; seventeen counts; fifteen hundred barons, knights, and gentlemen, and several thousand men at arms. These were all set at liberty, except the king and his son, on paying a moderate ransom to the persons into whose hands they had fallen. The extent of their fortunes was considered; and an attention was given, that they should have sufficient means left to perform their military service in a manner suitable to their rank and quality. Every soldier in Edward's army was enriched with the spoils of the French camp, which amounted to a considerable sum; for, when the ransom of a captive did not exceed ten thousand crowns, it belonged to the captor; when more, it became the property of the king.

(*y*) It is impossible, in reflecting on this noble conduct, not to perceive the advantages which resulted from the otherwise whimsical principles of chivalry, and which gave men, in those rude times, some superiority even over a people of a more cultivated age and nation.

spirit

spirit of confusion; and laid hold of the present opportunity to demand limitations of the prince's power, the punishment of past malversations, and the liberty of the king of Navarre. Marcel, provost of the merchants, and first magistrate of Paris, put himself at the head of the unruly populace; and from the violence and temerity of his character, pushed them to commit the most criminal outrages against the royal authority. They detained the dauphin in a sort of captivity; they murdered in his presence Robert de Clermont and John de Conflans, mareschals, the one of Normandy, the other of Burgundy; they threatened all the other ministers with a like fate; and when Charles, who was obliged to temporize and dissemble, made his escape from their hands, they levied war against him, and openly erected the standard of rebellion. The other cities of the kingdom, in imitation of the capital, shook off the dauphin's authority; took the government into their own hands; and spread the disorder into every province. The nobles, whose inclinations led them to adhere to the crown, and were naturally disposed to check these tumults, had lost all their influence; and being reproached with cowardice on account of the base desertion of their sovereign in the battle of Poictiers, were treated with universal contempt by the inferior orders. The troops, who, from the deficiency of pay, were no longer retained in discipline, threw off all regard to their officers, sought the means of subsistence by plunder and robbery, and associating to them all the disorderly people, with whom that age abounded, formed numerous bands, which infested all parts of the kingdom. They desolated the open country, burned and plundered the villages; and by cutting off all means of communication or subsistence, reduced even the inhabitants of the walled towns to the most extreme necessity. The peasants, formerly oppressed and now left unprotected by their masters, became desperate from their present misery; and rising every where in arms, carried to the last extremity those disorders which were derived from the sedition of the citizens and disbanded soldiers. The gentry, hated for their tyranny, were every where exposed to the violence of popular rage; and instead of meeting with the regard due to their past dignity, became only, on that account, the object of more wanton insult to the mutinous peasants. They were hunted like wild beasts, and put to the sword without mercy: their castles were consumed with fire, and levelled to the ground: their wives and daughters were first ravished, then murdered: the savages proceeded so far as to impale some gentlemen, and roast them alive before a slow fire: a body of nine thousand of them broke into Meaux, where the wife of the dauphin, with above three hundred ladies, had taken shelter: the most brutal treatment and most atrocious cruelty were justly dreaded by this helpless company: but the Captal de Buche, though in the service of Edward, yet moved by generosity, and by the gallantry of a true knight, flew to their rescue, and beat off the peasants with great slaughter. In other civil wars, the opposite factions, falling under the government of their several leaders, commonly preserve still the vestige of some rule and order: but here the wild state of nature seemed to be renewed: every man was thrown loose and independent of his fellows; and the populousness of the country, derived from the preceding police of civil society, served only to increase the horror and confusion of the scene.

Amidst these disorders, the king of Navarre made his escape from prison, and presented a dangerous leader to the furious malcontents. But the splendid talents of this prince qualified him only to do mischief, and to increase the public distractions: he wanted the steadiness and prudence requisite for making his intrigues subservient to his ambition, and forming his numerous partizans into a regular faction. He revived his pretensions, somewhat obsolete, to the crown of France: but while he advanced his claim, he relied entirely on his alliance with the English, who were concerned in interest to disappoint his pretensions; and who, being public and inveterate enemies to the state, served only, by the friendship which they seemingly bore him, to render his cause the more odious. And in all his operations he acted more like a leader of banditti, than one who aspired to be the head of a regular government, and who was engaged, by his station, to endeavour the re-establishment of order in the community.

The eyes, therefore, of all the French, who wished to restore peace to their miserable and desolated country, were turned towards the dauphin; and that young prince, though not remarkable for his military talents, possessed so much prudence and spirit, that he daily gained the ascendant over all his enemies. Marcel, the seditious provost of Paris, was slain while he was attempting to deliver the city to the king of Navarre and the English; and the capital immediately returned to its duty. The most considerable bodies of the mutinous peasants were dispersed and put to the sword: some bands of military robbers underwent the same fate; and though many grievous disorders still remained, France began gradually to assume the face of a regular civil government, and to form some plan for its defence and security.

During the confusion of the dauphin's affairs, Edward seemed to have a favourable opportunity for pushing his conquests: but besides that his hands were tied by the truce, and he could only assist underhand the faction of Navarre; the state of the English finances and military power during those ages, rendered the kingdom incapable of making any regular or steady effort, and obliged it to exert its force at very distant intervals, by which all the projected ends were commonly disappointed. Edward employed himself, during a conjuncture so inviting, chiefly in negociations with his prisoner; and John had the weakness to sign terms of peace, on the 4th of May, 1359, which, had they taken effect, must have totally ruined and dismembered his kingdom. He agreed to restore all the provinces which had been possessed by Henry II. and his two sons, and to annex them for ever to England, without any obligation of homage or fealty on the part of the English monarch. But the dauphin and the states of France rejected this treaty, so dishonourable and pernicious to the kingdom; and Edward, on the expiration of the truce, having now by subsidies and frugality collected some treasure, prepared himself for a new invasion of France.

The great authority and renown of the king and the prince of Wales, the splendid success of their former enterprizes, and the certain prospect of plunder from the defenceless provinces of France; soon brought together the whole military power of England; and the same motives invited to Edward's standard all the hardy adventurers of the different countries of Europe. He sailed for Calais on the 27th of October, with an army of near a hundred thousand men (*z*); a force which the dauphin could not pretend to withstand in the open field: that prince, therefore, prepared himself to elude a blow which it was impossible for him to resist. He put all the considerable towns in a posture of defence, ordered them to be supplied with magazines and provisions; distributed proper garrisons in all places; secured every thing valuable in the fortified cities; and chose his own station at Paris, with a view of allowing the enemy to vent their fury on the open country.

Edward, aware of this plan of defence, was obliged to carry along with him six thousand waggons, loaded with the provisions necessary for the subsistence of his army. He marched from Calais on the 4th of November, and after ravaging the province of Picardy, he advanced into Champagne; and having a strong desire of being crowned king of France at Rheims, the usual place in which this ceremony is performed, he laid siege to that city, and carried on his attacks, though without success, for the space of seven weeks. The place was bravely defended by the inhabitants, encouraged by the exhortations of the archbishop John de Craon; till the advanced season (for this expedition was entered upon in the beginning of winter) obliged the king to raise the siege (*a*). The province of Champagne meanwhile was desolated by his incursions; and he thence conducted his army with a like intent into Burgundy. He took and pillaged Tonnerre, Gaillon, Avalon, and other small places; but the duke of Burgundy, that he might preserve his country from farther ravages, consented to pay him the sum of one hundred thousand nobles. Edward then bent his march towards the Nivernois, which saved itself by a similar composition: He laid waste Brie and the Gatinois; and after a long

(*z*) Edward's fleet employed on this occasion, amounted to eleven hundred sail, on board of which were his four eldest sons, and all the principal nobility of England.

(*a*) Edward expected, from the success which had hitherto attended him in his military expeditions, to be invested with the royal diadem of France at the place; and the archbishops of Lincoln and Durham attended him for the express purpose of performing the ceremony of coronation.

march,

march, very destructive to France, and somewhat ruinous to his own troops, he appeared before the gates of Paris, and taking up his quarters at Bourg-la-Reine, extended his army to Long-jumeau, Mont-rouge, and Vaugirard. He tried to provoke the dauphin to hazard a battle, by sending him a defiance; but could not make that prudent prince change his plan of operations. Paris was safe from the danger of an assault by its numerous garrison; from that of a blockade by its well supplied magazines; and as Edward himself could not subsist his army in a country wasted by foreign and domestic enemies, and left also empty by the precaution of the dauphin, he was obliged to remove his quarters; and he spread his troops into the provinces of Maine, Beausse, and the Chartraine, which were abandoned to the fury of their devastations. The only repose which France experienced, was during the festival of Easter, in 1360, when the king stopped the course of his ravages. For superstition can sometimes restrain the rage of men, which neither justice nor humanity is able to control.

While the war was carried on in this ruinous manner, the negociations for peace were never interrupted: but as the king still insisted on the full execution of the treaty, which he had made with his prisoner at London, and which was strenuously rejected by the dauphin, there appeared no likelihood of an accommodation. The earl, now duke of Lancaster (for this title was introduced into England during the present reign) endeavoured to soften the rigour of these terms, and to finish the war on more equal and reasonable conditions. He insisted with Edward, that notwithstanding his great and surprising successes, the object of war, if such were to be esteemed the acquisition of the crown of France, was not become any nearer than at the commencement of it; or rather was set at a greater distance by those very victories and advantages which seemed to lead to it. That his claim of succession had not from the first procured him one partizan in the kingdom; and the continuance of these destructive hostilities had united every Frenchman in the most implacable animosity against him. That though intestine faction had creeped into the government of France, it was abating every moment; and no party, even during the greatest heat of the contest, when subjection under a foreign enemy usually appears preferable to the dominion of fellow-citizens, had ever adopted the pretensions of the king of England. The king of Navarre himself, who alone was allied with the English, instead of being a cordial friend, was Edward's most dangerous rival, and, in the opinion of his partizans, possessed a much preferable title to the crown of France. That the prolongation of the war, however it might enrich the English soldiers, was ruinous to the king himself, who bore all the charges of the armament, without reaping any solid or durable advantage from it. That if the present disorders of France continued, that kingdom would soon be reduced to such a state of desolation, that it would afford no spoils to its ravagers; if it could establish a more steady government, it might turn the chance of war in its favour, and by its superior force and advantages be able to repel the present victors. That the dauphin, even during his greatest distresses, had yet conducted himself with so much prudence, as to prevent the English from acquiring one foot of land in the kingdom; and it were better for the king to accept by a peace what he had in vain attempted to acquire by hostilities, which, however hitherto successful, had been extremely expensive, and might prove very dangerous: and that Edward having acquired so much glory by his arms, the praise of moderation was the only honour to which he could now aspire; an honour so much the greater, as it was durable, was united with that of prudence, and might be attended with the most real advantages.

These reasons induced Edward to accept of more moderate terms of peace; and it is confidently said, that, in order to palliate this change of resolution, he ascribed it to a vow made during a dreadful tempest, which attacked his army on their march (*b*). Be this as it may, the conferences between the English and French commissioners were carried on during a few days at Bretigni in the Chartraine, and the peace was at last concluded, May 8, 1360, on the following conditions: It was stipulated that king John should be restored to his liberty, and should pay as his ransom three millions of crowns of gold, about one million five hundred thousand pounds of our present money; which was to be discharged at different payments: that Edward should for ever renounce all claim to the crown of France, and to the provinces of Normandy, Maine, Touraine, and Anjou, possessed by his ancestors; and should receive in exchange the provinces of Poictou, Xaintonge, l'Agenois, Perigord, the Limousin, Quercy, Rovergue, l'Angoumois, and other districts in that quarter, together with Calais, Guisnes, Montreuil, and the county of Ponthieu, on the other side of France: that the full sovereignty of all these provinces, as well as that of Guienne, should be vested in the crown of England, and that France should renounce all title to feudal jurisdiction, homage, or appeal from them: that the king of Navarre should be restored to all his honours and possessions: that Edward should renounce his confederacy with the Flemings, John his connexions with the Scots: that the disputes concerning the succession of Bretagne, between the families of Blois and Montfort, should be decided by arbiters appointed by the two kings; and if the competitors refused to submit to the award, the dispute should no longer be a ground of war between the two kingdoms; and that forty hostages, such as should be agreed on, should be sent to England as a security for the execution of all these conditions (*c*).

When Edward had completed the pacification, he embarked for England; and, on the 18th of May, landed at Rye in Sussex. About seven weeks after his arrival, on the 8th of July, he sent John to Calais, whither he soon after repaired himself; and there the treaty, after some deliberation, was solemnly ratified by the two kings, on the 24th of October. The next day John set out for Boulogne; and Edward accompanied him the distance of a mile from Calais, where they parted with the most cordial professions of mutual amity and esteem.

The good disposition of John made him fully sensible of the generous treatment which he had received in England, and obliterated all memory of the ascendant gained over him by his rival. There seldom has been a treaty of so great importance so faithfully executed by both parties. Edward had scarcely from the beginning entertained any hopes of acquiring the crown of France: by restoring John to his liberty, and making peace at a juncture so favourable to his arms, he had now plainly renounced all pretensions of this nature: he had sold at a very high price that chimerical claim: and had at present no other interest than to retain those acquisitions which he had made with such singular prudence and good fortune. John, on the other hand, though the terms were severe, possessed such fidelity and honour, that he was determined at all hazards to execute them, and to use every expedient for satisfying a monarch who had indeed been his greatest political enemy, but had treated him personally with singular humanity and regard. But, notwithstanding his endeavours, there occurred many difficulties in fulfilling his purpose; chiefly from the extreme reluctance which many towns and vassals in the neighbourhood of Guienne expressed against submitting to the English dominion.

The joy experienced by every class of people at the termination of a war which, though marked with success, had occasioned the exaction of numerous imposts, was excessive. But their satisfaction was speedily interrupted by a dreadful pestilence, which made its appearance in the spring of the year 1361, and destroyed great numbers of people; and among others the lords Mowbray and Seymour, and several other noblemen of rank: but the loss of no man caused such extreme regret as that of Henry duke of Lancaster, justly denominated *The Good*; a nobleman whose virtuous principles and numerous accomplishments, both of mind and person, highly deserved that esteem and affection in which he was universally held.

(*b*) At the distance of about two leagues from Chartres Edward's army was overtaken by a dreadful storm of hail, the stones of which were of such a prodigious size as to kill six thousand horses, and one thousand men. The king, frightened at the dreadful scene, threw himself prostrate on the ground; and extending his arms towards the church of Chartres, made a solemn vow no longer to reject the offers of peace, if he could obtain it on reasonable terms.

(*c*) The hostages were the two sons of the French king, John and Louis; his brother Philip duke of Orleans, the duke of Bourbon, James de Bourbon count de Ponthieu, the counts d'Eu, de Longueville, de St. Pol, de Harcourt, de Vendome, de Couci, de Craon, de Montmorency, and many of the chief nobility of France. The princes were mostly released on the fulfilling of certain articles: others of the hostages, and the duke of Berry among the rest, were permitted to return upon their parole, which they did not keep. Rymer, vol. vi. p. 278, 285, 287.

Edward,

Edward, finding his new subjects on the continent still averse to the English government, determined to place them under the immediate command of the prince of Wales, who was esteemed even by his enemies. The prince had lately married, by virtue of a dispensation from the pope, his cousin Jane, daughter and heiress of Edward Plantagenet, earl of Kent, and widow of Sir Thomas Holland; when his father had conveyed to him the county of Poictou, together with all the provinces in his possession from thence to the Pyrennees; and the king now farther invested him with the dignity of Prince of Aquitaine, accompanied by a grant of part of Gascony, and of all other territories which he enjoyed in France, subject to feudal homage, and an annual tribute of an ounce of gold.

The prince of Wales, having received the investiture of his new dominions, resolved to fix his residence at Bourdeaux, at which place he arrived in the month of February, 1363, and experienced a most welcome reception from all the nobles of that country, who immediately took the oath of fealty; and he soon found means, by a mild and equitable administration, to conciliate the affections of the people.

The final execution of the treaty of Bretigni, however, was still retarded, as above mentioned, by many of the French governors, who refused, in opposition to the orders of their sovereign, to evacuate the places entrusted to their command; the brother and two sons of the French king, the dukes of Orleans, Anjou, and Berry, who had been sent as hostages to the English court, evinced an anxiety to return to their native country; and they gave Edward to understand, that if they were removed to Calais they might by their influence remove those obstructions which delayed their liberation. They were accordingly conveyed thither, and suffered to enjoy as much liberty as they could desire; but, finding their efforts unsuccessful, the duke of Anjou broke his parole, and escaped into the dominion of his father, who severely reproved him for his dishonourable conduct; and in order to make atonement for his fault, he resolved to repair to England in person, to obviate the possibility of misrepresentation, and to concert measures with Edward for the accomplishment of the treaty. When his ministers, who thought honour should be subservient to policy, endeavoured to divert him from a resolution which to them appeared imprudent and dangerous, he told them, that "though honour and good faith were banished from every other place, they ought always to find an asylum in the bosoms of princes." A sentiment which shewed that the monarch who possessed it was worthy the crown he wore. John accordingly embarked for England, and was received by Edward with those marks of respect which his virtues so richly deserved. He was lodged in the Savoy, where he had resided during his captivity; and where he died of a fever, about three months after his arrival, on the 8th of April, 1364 (*d*).

John was succeeded in the throne of France by his son Charles the Fifth, a prince educated in the school of adversity, and well qualified, by his consummate prudence and experience, to repair all the losses which the kingdom had sustained from the errors of his two predecessors. Contrary to the practice of all the great princes of those times, which held nothing in estimation but military courage, he seems to have fixed it as a maxim never to appear at the head of his armies; and he was the first king in Europe that shewed the advantage of policy, foresight, and judgement, above a rash and precipitate valour. The events of his reign, compared with those of the preceding, are a proof how little reason kingdoms have to value themselves on their victories, or to be humbled by their defeats; which in reality ought to be ascribed chiefly to the good or bad conduct of their rulers, and are of little moment towards determining national characters and manners.

Before Charles could think of counterbalancing so great a power as England, it was necessary for him to remedy the many disorders to which his own kingdom was exposed. He turned his arms against the king of Navarre, the great disturber of France during that age: he defeated this prince by the conduct of Bertrand du Guesclin, a gentleman of Bretagne, one of the most accomplished characters of the age, whom he had the discernment to chuse as the instrument of all his victories: and he obliged his enemy to accept of moderate terms of peace. Du Guesclin was less fortunate in the wars of Bretagne, which still continued, notwithstanding the mediation of France and England: he was defeated and taken prisoner at Auray by John de Chandos, constable of Guienne: Charles of Blois was there slain, and the young count of Montfort soon after got entire possession of that duchy. But the prudence of Charles broke the force of this blow: he submitted to the decision of fortune: he acknowledged the title of Montfort, though a zealous partizan of England; and received the proffered homage for his dominions. But the chief obstacle which the French king met with in the settlement of the state proceeded from obscure enemies, whom their crimes alone rendered eminent, and their numbers dangerous.

On the conclusion of the treaty of Bretigni, the many military adventurers who had followed the standard of Edward, being dispersed into the several provinces, and possessed of strong holds, refused to lay down their arms, or relinquish a course of life to which they were now accustomed, and by which alone they could gain a subsistence. They associated themselves with the banditti, who were already enured to the habits of rapine and violence; and under the name of the *companions*, became a terror to all the peaceable inhabitants. Some English and Gascon gentlemen of character, particularly sir Matthew Gournay, sir Hugh Calverly, the chevalier Verte, and others, were not ashamed to take the command of these ruffians, whose numbers on the whole amounted to near forty thousand, and who bore the appearance of regular armies, rather than bands of robbers. These leaders fought pitched battles with the troops of France, and gained victories; in one of which Jaques de Bourbon, a prince of the blood, was slain; and they proceeded to such a height, that they wanted little but regular establishments to become princes, and thereby sanctify, by maxims of the world, their infamous profession. The greater spoil they committed on the country, the more easy they found it to recruit their number: all those who were reduced to misery and despair flocked to their standard: the evil was every day increasing; and though the pope, who resided at Avignon, and expected a visit from these formidable depredators, declared them excommunicated; they, however deeply affected with the sentence, to which they paid a much greater regard than to any principles of morality, could not be induced by it to betake themselves to peaceable or lawful professions.

As Charles was not enabled by power to redress so enormous a grievance, he was led by necessity, and by the turn of his character, to correct it by policy, and to contrive some method of discharging into foreign countries this dangerous and intestine evil.

Peter, king of Castile, stigmatized by his contemporaries and by posterity with the epithet of *Cruel*, had filled with blood and slaughter his kingdom and his own family; and having incurred the universal hatred of his subjects, he kept, from present terror alone, an anxious and precarious possession of the throne. His nobles fell every day the victims of his severity: he put to death several of his natural brothers from groundless jealousy: each murder, by multiplying his enemies, became the occasion of fresh barbarities; and as he was not destitute of talents, his neighbours, no less than his own subjects, were alarmed at the progress of his violence and injustice. The ferocity of his temper, instead of being softened by his strong propensity to love, was rather inflamed by that passion, and took thence new occasion to exert itself. Instigated by Mary de Padilla, who had acquired the ascendant over him, he threw into prison Blanche de Bourbon, his wife, sister to the queen of France; and soon after made way by poison for the espousing of his mistress.

Henry, count of Trastamare, his natural brother, seeing

(*d*) Some historians would detract from the merit of this honourable conduct, by representing John as enamoured of an English lady, to whom he was glad on this pretence to pay a visit; but besides that this surmise is not founded on any good authority, it appears somewhat unlikely, on account of the advanced age of that prince, who was now in his fifty-sixth year.—Nothing can be a stronger proof of the great dominion of fortune over men, than the calamities which pursued a monarch of such eminent valour, goodness, and honour, and which he incurred merely by reason of some slight imprudences, which in other situations would have been of no importance. But though both his reign and that of his father proved extremely unfortunate to their kingdom, the French crown acquired, during their time, very considerable accessions, those of Dauphiny and Burgundy. This latter province, however, John had the imprudence again to dismember by bestowing it on Philip his fourth son, the object of his most tender affections; a deed which was afterwards the source of many calamities to the kingdom.

the fate of every one who had become noxious to this tyrant, took arms against him; but being foiled in the attempt, he sought for refuge in France, in 1366, where he found the minds of men extremely inflamed against Peter, on account of his murder of the French princess. He asked permission of Charles to enlist the companies in his service, and to lead them into Castile; where, from the concurrence of his own friends, and the enemies of his brother, he had the prospect of certain and immediate success. The French king, charmed with the prospect, employed du Guesclin in negociating with the leaders of these banditti. The treaty was soon concluded. The high character of honour which that general possessed made every one trust to his promises: though the intended expedition was kept a secret, the companies implicitly inlisted under his standard: and they required no other condition before their engagement, than an assurance that they were not to be led against the prince of Wales in Guienne. But that prince was so little averse to the enterprize, that he allowed some gentlemen of his retinue to enter into the service under du Guesclin.

Du Guesclin, having completed his levies, led the army first to Avignon, where the pope then resided, and demanded, sword in hand, an absolution for his soldiers, and the sum of two hundred thousand livres. The first was readily promised him; some more difficulty was made with regard to the second. "I believe that my fellows," replied du Guesclin, "may make a shift to do without your absolution; but the money is absolutely necessary." The pope then extorted from the inhabitants in the city and neighbourhood the sum of a hundred thousand livres, and offered it to du Guesclin. "It is not my purpose," cried that generous warrior, "to oppress the innocent people. The pope and his cardinals themselves can well spare me that sum from their own coffers. This money, I insist, must be restored to the owners. And should they be defrauded of it, I shall myself return from the other side of the Pyrenees, and compel you to make them restitution." The pope found the necessity of submitting, and paid him from his treasury the sum demanded. The army, hallowed by the blessings, and enriched by the spoils of the church, proceeded on their expedition.

These experienced and hardy soldiers, conducted by so able a general, easily prevailed over the king of Castile, whose subjects, instead of supporting their oppressor, were ready to join the enemy against him. Peter fled from his dominions, took shelter in Guienne, and craved the protection of the prince of Wales, whom his father had invested with the sovereignty of these conquered provinces, by the title of the principality of Aquitaine (*e*). The prince promised his assistance to the dethroned monarch; and having obtained the consent of his father, he levied a great army, and set out upon his enterprize in 1367. He was accompanied by his younger brother, John of Gaunt, created duke of Lancaster, in the room of the good prince of that name, who had died without any male issue, and whose daughter he had espoused. Chandos also, who bore among the English the same character which du Guesclin had acquired among the French, commanded under him in this expedition.

The first blow which the prince of Wales gave to Henry of Trastamare, was the recalling of all the companies from his service; and so much reverence did they bear to the name of Edward, that great numbers of them immediately withdrew from Spain, and enlisted under his banners. Henry, however, beloved by his new subjects, and supported by the king of Arragon and others of his neighbours, was able to meet the enemy with an army of one hundred thousand men; forces three times more numerous than those which were commanded by Edward. Du Guesclin, and all his experienced officers, advised him to delay any decisive action, to cut off the prince of Wales's provisions, and to avoid every engagement with a general, whose enterprizes had hitherto been always conducted with prudence and crowned with success. Henry trusted too much to his numbers; and ventured to encounter the English prince at Najara, on the 3rd of April, 1367. It is said that Henry was chased off the field, with the loss of above twenty thousand men; and that there perished only four knights and forty private men on the side of the English. A very incredible story.

Peter, who so well merited the infamous epithet which he bore, purposed to murder all his prisoners in cold blood; but was restrained from this barbarity by the remonstrances of the prince of Wales. All Castile now submitted to the victor: Peter was restored to the throne; and Edward finished this perilous enterprize with his usual glory. But he had soon reason to repent his connexions with a man like Peter, abandoned to all sense of virtue and honour. The ungrateful tyrant refused the stipulated pay to the English forces; and Edward, finding his soldiers daily perish by sickness, and even his own health impaired by the climate, was obliged, without receiving any satisfaction on this head, to return into Guienne.

The barbarities exercised by Peter over his helpless subjects, whom he now regarded as vanquished rebels, revived all the animosity of the Castilians against him; and, on the return of Henry of Trastamare, together with du Guesclin, and some forces levied anew in France, the tyrant was again dethroned, and was taken prisoner. His brother, in resentment of his cruelties, murdered him with his own hand; and was placed on the throne of Castile, which he transmitted to his posterity. The duke of Lancaster, who espoused in second marriage the eldest daughter of Peter, inherited only the empty title of that sovereignty, and, by claiming the succession, increased the animosity of the new king of Castile against England.

But the prejudice which the affairs of prince Edward received from this splendid though imprudent expedition, ended not with it. He had involved himself in so much debt, by his preparations and the pay of his troops, that he found it necessary, on his return, to impose on his principality a new tax, to which some of the nobility consented with extreme reluctance, and to which others absolutely refused to submit (*f*). This incident revived the animosity which the inhabitants bore to the English, and which all the amiable qualities of the prince of Wales were not able to mitigate or assuage. They complained that they were considered as a conquered people, that their privileges were disregarded, that all trust was given to the English alone, that every office of honour and profit was conferred on these foreigners, and that the extreme reluctance which most of them had expressed to receive the new yoke, was likely to be long remembered against them. They cast, therefore, their eyes towards their ancient sovereign, whose prudence they found had now brought the affairs of his kingdom into excellent order; and the counts of Armagnac, Comminge, and Perigord, the lord d'Albret, with other nobles, went to Paris, and were encouraged to carry their complaints to Charles, as to their lord paramount, against these oppressions of the English government.

In the treaty of Bretigni it had been stipulated that the two kings should make renunciations, Edward of his claim to the crown of France, and to the provinces of Normandy, Maine, and Anjou; John of the homage and fealty due for Guienne, and the other provinces ceded to the English. But when that treaty was confirmed and renewed at Calais, it was found necessary, as Edward was not yet in possession of all the territories, that the mutual renunciations should for some time be deferred; and it was agreed that the parties meanwhile should make no use of their respective claims against each other. Though the failure in exchanging these renunciations had still proceeded from France, Edward appears to have taken no umbrage at it; both because this clause seemed to give him entire security, and because some reasonable apology had probably been made to him for each delay. It was, however, on this pretence, though directly contrary to treaty, that Charles resolved to ground his claim, of still considering himself as superior lord of those provinces, and of receiving the appeals of his sub-vassals.

But as views of policy, more than those of justice, enter into

(*e*) The prince seemed now to have entirely changed his sentiments with regard to the Spanish transactions; whether he was moved by the generosity of supporting a distressed prince, and thought, as is but too usual among sovereigns, that the rights of the people were a matter of much less consideration; or dreaded the acquisition of so powerful a confederate to France as the new king of Castile; or, what is most probable, was impatient of rest and ease, and sought only an opportunity for exerting his military talents, by which he had already acquired so much renown.

(*f*) This tax was a livre upon a hearth; and it was imagined that the imposition would have yielded one million two hundred thousand livres a year, which supposes so many hearths in the provinces possessed by the English. But such loose conjectures have commonly no manner of authority, much less in such ignorant times. There is a strong instance of it in the present reign. The house of commons granted the king a tax of twenty-two shillings on each parish, supposing that the amount of the whole would be fifty thousand pounds. But they were found to be in a mistake of near five to one. Cotton, p. 3. And the council assumed the power of augmenting the tax upon each parish.

into the deliberations of princes; and as the mortal injuries received from the English, the pride of their triumphs, the severe terms imposed by the treaty of peace, seemed to render every prudent means of revenge honourable against them; Charles was determined to take this measure, less by the reasonings of his civilians and lawyers than by the present situation of the two monarchies. He considered the declining years of Edward, the languishing state of the prince of Wales's health, the affection which the inhabitants of all these provinces bore to their ancient master, their distance from England, their vicinity to France, the extreme animosity expressed by his own subjects against these invaders, and their ardent thirst of vengeance; and having silently made all the necessary preparations, he sent to the prince of Wales a summons to appear in his court at Paris on the 1st of May, 1369, and there to justify his conduct towards his vassals. The prince replied, that he would come to Paris; but it should be at the head of sixty thousand men. The unwarlike character of Charles kept prince Edward, even yet, from thinking that that monarch was in earnest in this bold and hazardous attempt.

The prince of Wales having apprized his father of the dishonourable conduct of Charles, Edward summoned a parliament to meet on the 3rd of June, who advised him to renew his pretensions to the throne of France, and immediately to resume the title and arms of king of France. To enable him to support these claims, and the war they would necessarily occasion, they granted him a considerable supply, arising from a heavy duty on wool, wool-fells, and leather.

Charles having foreseen the storm that would inevitably attend the resumption of his own superiority over the foreign dominions of Edward, had made preparations to oppose it with vigour and effect; but, as his address was superior to his courage, he relied chiefly on intrigue for the success of his schemes. The governors of several towns and fortresses, both in Ponthieu and Guienne, were bribed to violate their oath, and to betray the interest of their lawful sovereign. The citizens of Abbeville opened their gates to the French; those of St. Valori, Rue, and Crotoy, followed their example; the gallant Lord Chandos, constable of Guienne, was slain in a skirmish on the 1st of January, 1370; and the health of the prince of Wales being so much impaired, as to render him unable to sit his horse, or to head his troops, the French pursued their advantage with astonishing rapidity. Among the towns that were taken by treachery, was Limoges, whose inhabitants, instigated by their bishop, had revolted, and granted admission to a French garrison. The prince of Wales, having expended considerable sums in fortifying this city, was greatly enraged at the loss of it; and sent word to the inhabitants, that if they did not return to their duty, and expel the enemy, he would level the place with the ground, and put all the citizens to the sword. But the people of Limoges, relying on his inability to put his threats in execution, sent an answer that was couched in terms of insolence and contempt. The prince collected a body of forces; and placing himself in a litter, being unable to ride, conducted them to Limoges, and laid siege to the city, but, sensible that the place was sufficiently strong to resist any attempts to take it by assault, he began by undermining the walls; and, having by that means effected a practicable breach, he entered it at the head of his troops, and put the whole garrison, together with three thousand of the inhabitants, to the sword. He was prevailed on, however, to spare the life of the bishop, who, having been the primary cause of the revolt, ought certainly to have been the first victim of his own perfidy.

The reduction of Limoges was the last military atchievement of the prince of Wales; who, being weakened by sickness, retired to Bourdeaux; but, being led to expect benefit from his native air, he determined to quit the continent. Accordingly, having exacted a promise from the nobles, that they would pay obedience to his brother John of Gaunt, duke of Lancaster, he embarked for England, in January, 1371, with his princess, and only surviving son, Richard, and arrived at Southampton.

The king, incensed at the losses in France, threatened to put to death all the French hostages who remained in his hands; but on reflection abstained from that ungenerous revenge. After resuming, by advice of parliament, the vain title of king of France, he endeavoured to send succours into Gascony; but all his attempts both by sea and land proved unsuccessful. The earl of Pembroke was intercepted at sea, and taken prisoner with his whole army near Rochelle, by a fleet which Henry king of Castile had fitted out for that purpose (*g*). Edward himself embarked for Bourdeaux with another army; but was so long detained by contrary winds, that he was obliged to lay aside the enterprize. Sir Robert Knolles, at the head of thirty thousand men, marched out of Calais, and continued his ravages to the gates of Paris, without being able to provoke the enemy to an engagement: he proceeded in his march to the provinces of Maine and Anjou, which he laid waste; but part of his army being there defeated by the conduct of du Guesclin, who was now created constable of France, and who seems to have been the first consummate general that had yet appeared in Europe, the rest were scattered and dispersed, and the small remains of the English forces, instead of reaching Guienne, took shelter in Bretagne, whose sovereign had embraced the alliance of England. The duke of Lancaster, some time after, made a like attempt with an army of twenty-five thousand men; with which he set out from Calais on the 20th of July, 1373; and marched the whole length of France from Calais to Bourdeaux; but was so much harrassed by the flying parties which attended him, that he brought not the half of his army to the place of their destination. It is remarkable that he besieged not a single town, or fought a single battle. Edward, from the necessity of his affairs, was at last obliged to conclude a truce with the enemy; after almost all his ancient possessions in France had been ravished from him, except Bourdeaux and Bayonne, and all his conquests, except Calais. This truce was signed on the 11th of February, 1374, and was to continue till Easter; but, before its expiration, it was prolonged till the 1st of May, 1375. The duke of Anjou, however, who had before broken his parole with Edward, in violation of the truce, entered the province of Guienne, and reduced the greatest part of it to submission; so that what the king had gained by the valour of his troops, he now lost by the perfidy of his enemies. But this treacherous conduct did not prevent a farther prolongation of the truce till the first of April, 1377; and, as it was generally believed that the war would be then renewed with additional vigour, the king summoned a parliament to meet at Westminster in the month of April, 1376, and obtained a continuation of the extra duty on wool, wool-fells, and leather, for the term of three years; and a promise of farther supplies, should the necessity of his affairs require them.

The decline of the king's life was exposed to many mortifications, and corresponded not to the splendid and noisy scenes which had filled the beginning and the middle of it. Besides seeing the loss of his foreign dominions, and being baffled in every attempt to defend them; he felt the decay of his authority at home, and experienced, from the sharpness of some parliamentary remonstrances, the great inconstancy of the people, and the influence of present fortune over all their judgements. This prince, who, during the vigour of his age, had been chiefly occupied in the pursuits of war and ambition, began, at an unseasonable period, to indulge himself in pleasure; and being now a widower, he attached himself to a lady of sense and spirit, one Alice Pierce, who acquired a great ascendant over him, and by her influence gave such general disgust, that, in order to satisfy the parliament, he was obliged to remove her from court. The indolence also, naturally attending old age and infirmities, had made him, in a great measure, resign the administration into the hands of his son the duke of Lancaster, who, as he was far from being popular, weakened extremely the affection which the English bore to the person and government of the king. Men carried their jealousies very far against the duke; and as they saw, with much regret, the death of the prince of Wales every day approaching, they apprehended, lest the succession of his son Richard, now a minor, should be defeated by the intrigues of Lancaster, and by the weak indulgence of the old king. But Edward, in order to satisfy both the people and the prince on this head, declared in

(*g*) Henry king of Castile had warmly espoused the interest of the French king. The English and Spanish fleets met on the morning of the 23rd of June, 1372, when the action immediately commenced, and continued with unremitting ardour till the darkness of night put an end to the combat; which was, however, renewed on the ensuing morning with equal fury. As the contest was maintained with equal skill and valour by the two contending fleets, the victory was at length decided in favour of the Spaniards, who had in this action the advantage of cannon, with which the English fleet was wholly unprovided. Most of the English ships were either taken or sunk.

parliament his grandson heir and successor to the crown; and thereby cut off all the hopes of the duke of Lancaster, if he ever had the temerity to entertain any.

The prince of Wales, after a lingering illness, died at the palace of Westminster, on the 8th of June, 1376, in the forty-sixth year of his age; and left a character illustrious for every eminent virtue, and from his earliest youth, till the hour he expired, unstained by any blemish. His valour and military talents formed the smallest part of his merit: his generosity, humanity, affability, and moderation, gained him the affections of all men; and he was qualified to throw a lustre, not only on that rude age in which he lived, and which nowise infected him with its vices, but on the most shining period of ancient or modern history (*h*). The king survived about a year this melancholy incident: England was deprived at once of both these princes, its chief ornament and support: he expired at his palace of Shene in Surrey, on the 21st of June, 1377, in the sixty-fifth year of his age and the fifty-first of his reign; and the people were then sensible, though too late, of the irreparable loss which they had sustained.

The English are apt to consider with peculiar fondness the history of Edward III. and to esteem his reign, as it was one of the longest, the most glorious also, that occurs in the annals of their nation. The ascendant which they then began to acquire over France, their rival and supposed national enemy, makes them cast their eyes on this period with great complacency, and sanctifies every measure which Edward embraced for that end. But the domestic government of this prince is really more admirable than his foreign victories; and England enjoyed, by the prudence and vigour of his administration, a longer interval of domestic peace and tranquillity than she had been blest with in any former period, or than she experienced for many ages after. He gained the affections of the great, yet curbed their licentiousness: he made them feel his power, without their daring, or even being inclined, to murmur at it: his affable and obliging behaviour, his munificence and generosity, made them submit with pleasure to his dominion; his valour and conduct made them successful in most of their enterprizes; and their unquiet spirits, directed against a public enemy, had no leisure to breed those disturbances to which they were naturally so much inclined, and which the frame of the government seemed so much to authorize. This was the chief benefit which resulted from Edward's victories and conquests. His foreign wars were, in other respects, neither founded in justice, nor directed to any salutary purpose. His attempt against the king of Scotland, a minor and a brother-in-law, and the revival of his grandfather's claim of superiority over that kingdom, were both unreasonable and ungenerous; and he allowed himself to be too easily seduced, by the glaring prospect of French conquests, from the acquisition of a point which was practicable, and which, if attained, might really have been of lasting utility to his country and his successors. The success which he met with in France, though chiefly owing to his eminent talents, was unexpected; and yet, from the very nature of things, not from any unforeseen accidents, was found, even during his life-time, to have procured him no solid advantages. But the glory of a conqueror is so dazzling to the vulgar, the animosity of nations is so violent, that the fruitless desolation of so fine a part of Europe as France, is totally disregarded by us, and is never considered as a blemish in the character or conduct of this prince. And indeed, from the unfortunate state of human nature, it will commonly happen, that a sovereign of genius, such as Edward, who usually finds every thing easy in his domestic government, will turn himself towards military enterprizes, where alone he meets with opposition, and where he has full exercise for his industry and capacity (*i*).

It is remarked by an elegant historian, that conquerors, though usually the bane of human kind, proved often, in those feudal times, the most indulgent of sovereigns. They stood most in need of supplies from their people; and, not being able to compel them by force to submit to the necessary impositions, they were obliged to make them some compensation by equitable laws and popular concessions. This remark is, in some measure, though imperfectly, justified by the conduct of Edward III. He took no steps of moment without consulting his parliament and obtaining their approbation, which he afterwards pleaded as a reason for their supporting his measures (*k*). The parliament, therefore, rose into greater consideration during his reign, and acquired more regular authority, than in any former time; and even the house of commons, which, during turbulent and factious periods, was naturally depressed by the greater power of the crown and barons, began to appear of some weight in the constitution. In the later years of Edward III. the king's ministers were impeached in parliament, particularly lord Latimer, who fell a sacrifice to the authority of the commons (*l*); and they even obliged the king to banish his mistress by their remonstrances. Some attention was also paid to the election of their members; and lawyers, in particular, who were at that time men of character somewhat inferior, were totally excluded the house during several parliaments (*m*).

One of the most popular laws enacted by any prince, was the statute which passed in the twenty-fifth of this reign (*n*), and which limited the cases of high treason, before vague and uncertain, to three principal heads, conspiring the death of the king, levying war against him, and adhering to his enemies; and the judges were prohibited, if any other cases should occur, from inflicting the penalty of treason without an application to parliament. The bounds of treason were indeed so much limited by this statute, which still remains in force without any alteration, that the lawyers were obliged to enlarge them, and to explain a conspiracy for levying war against the king, to be equivalent to a conspiracy against his life; and this interpretation, seemingly forced, has, from the necessity of the case, been tacitly acquiesced in. It was also ordained, that a parliament should be held once a year, or oftener, if need be: a law which, like many others, was never observed, and lost its authority by disuse (*o*).

Edward granted above twenty parliamentary confirmations of the Great Charter; and these concessions are commonly appealed to as proofs of his great indulgence to the people, and his tender regard for their liberties. But the contrary presumption is more natural. If the maxims of Edward's reign had not been in general somewhat arbitrary, and if the Great Charter had not been frequently violated, the parliament would never have applied for these frequent confirmations, which could add no force to a deed regularly observed, and which could serve to no other purpose than to prevent the contrary precedents from turning into a rule, and acquiring authority. It was indeed the

(*h*) As a proof of the ascendancy which the singular endowments of this prince were calculated to obtain over the minds of those whom he honoured with his friendship, it is said, that the celebrated warrior, John de Greilly, captal de Buche, (who had been taken prisoner in Guienne, and was now in confinement at Paris,) was so extremely affected with the news of his death, that he obstinately refused to take any kind of nourishment, from a fixed determination not to survive a master to whom he was so firmly attached, and from whose interest and service the court of France had in vain tried to seduce him, by the most tempting offers of extraordinary preferment. In consequence of this resolution, he expired a few days after the prince.

(*i*) Edward had a numerous posterity by his queen Philippa of Hainault. His eldest son was the heroic Edward, usually denominated the Black Prince, from the colour of his armour. This prince was born at Woodstock, the 15th of June, 1330, and espoused his cousin Joan, commonly called the *Fair Maid of Kent*, daughter and heir of his uncle, the earl of Kent, who was beheaded in the beginning of this reign. She was first married to sir Thomas Holland, by whom she had children. By the prince of Wales she had a son Richard, who alone survived his father, and succeeded his grandfather on the throne.

The second son of king Edward (for we pass over such as died in their childhood) was Lionel duke of Clarence, who was first married to Elizabeth de Burgh, daughter and heir of the earl of Ulster, by whom he left only one daughter, married to Edward Mortimer earl of Marche. Lionel espoused in second marriage Violante, the daughter of the duke of Milan, and died in Italy soon after the consummation of his nuptials, without leaving any posterity by that princess. Of all the family, he resembled most his father and elder brother in his noble qualities.

Edward's third son was John of Gaunt, so called from the place of his birth: he was created duke of Lancaster; and from him sprang that branch which afterwards possessed the crown. The fourth son of this royal family was Edmund, created earl of Cambridge by his father, and duke of York by his nephew. The fifth son was Thomas, who received the title of earl of Buckingham from his father, and that of duke of Gloucester from his nephew. In order to prevent confusion, we shall always distinguish these two princes by the titles of York and Gloucester, even before they were advanced to them.

There were also several princesses born to Edward by Philippa, to wit, Isabella, Joan, Mary, and Margaret, who espoused, in the order of their names, Ingelram de Coucy earl of Bedford, Alphonso king of Castile, John of Montfort duke of Bretagne, and John Hastings earl of Pembroke. The princess Joan died at Bourdeaux before the consummation of her marriage.

(*k*) Cotton's Abridg. p. 108. 120. (*l*) Ibid. p. 122.
(*m*) Ibib. p. 18. (*n*) Chap. 2.
(*o*) 4 Edw. III. chap 14.

effect

effect of the irregular government during those ages, that a statute which had been enacted some years, instead of acquiring, was imagined to lose force by time, and needed to be often renewed by recent statutes of the same sense and tenour. Hence, likewise, that general clause so frequent in old acts of parliament, that the statutes enacted by the king's progenitors should be observed (*p*); a precaution which, if we do not consider the circumstances of the times, might appear absurd and ridiculous. The frequent confirmations, in general terms, of the privileges of the church, proceeded from the same cause.

It is a clause in one of Edward's statutes, "that no man, of what state or condition soever, shall be put out of land or tenement, nor taken nor imprisoned, nor disherited, nor put to death, without being brought in answer by due process of the law (*q*)." This privilege was sufficiently secured by a clause of the Great Charter, which had received a general confirmation in the first chapter of the same statute. Why then is the clause so anxiously, and, as we may think, so superfluously repeated? Plainly, because there had been some late infringements of it, which gave umbrage to the commons (*r*).

But there is no article in which the laws are more frequently repeated during this reign, almost in the same terms, than that of purveyance, which the parliament always calls an *outrageous* and *intolerable* grievance, and the source of *infinite* damage to the people (*s*). The parliament tried to abolish this prerogative altogether, by prohibiting any one from taking goods without the consent of the owners (*t*), and by changing the *heinous name* of *purveyors*, as they term it, into that of *buyers* (*u*): but the arbitrary conduct of Edward still brought back the grievance upon them; though contrary both to the Great Charter and to many statutes. This disorder was in a great measure derived from the state of the public finances and of the kingdom; and could therefore the less admit of remedy. The prince frequently wanted ready money; yet his family must be subsisted: he was therefore obliged to employ force and violence for that purpose, and to give tallies, at what rate he pleased, to the owners of the goods which he laid hold of. The kingdom also abounded so little in commodities, and the interior communication was so imperfect, that, had the owners been strictly protected by law, they could easily have exacted any price from the king; especially in his frequent progresses when he came to distant and poor places, where the court did not usually reside, and where a regular plan for supplying it could not easily be established. Not only the king, but several great lords, insisted upon this right of purveyance (*v*).

The magnificent castle of Windsor was built by Edward III. and his method of conducting the work may serve as a specimen of the condition of the people in that age. Instead of engaging workmen by contracts and wages, he assessed every county in England to send him a certain number of masons, tilers, and carpenters, as if he had been levying an army (*w*).

They mistake, indeed, very much the genius of this reign, who imagine that it was not extremely arbitrary. All the high prerogatives of the crown were to the full exerted in it; but what gave some consolation, and promised in time some relief to the people, they were always complained of by the commons: such as the dispensing power (*x*); the extension of the forests (*y*); erecting monopolies (*z*); exacting loans (*a*); stopping justice by particular warrants (*b*); the renewal of the commission of *trailbaton* (*c*); pressing men and ships into the public service (*d*); levying arbitrary and exorbitant fines (*e*); extending the authority of the privy council or star-chamber to the decision of private causes (*f*); enlarging the power of the mareschal's and other arbitrary courts (*g*); imprisoning members for freedom of speech in parliament (*h*); obliging people, without any rule, to send recruits of men at arms, archers, and hoblers, to the army (*i*).

But there was no act of arbitrary power more frequently repeated in this reign, than that of imposing taxes without consent of parliament. Though that assembly granted the king greater supplies than had ever been obtained by any of his predecessors, his great undertakings, and the necessity of his affairs, obliged him to levy still more; and after his splendid success against France had added weight to his authority, these arbitrary impositions became almost annual and perpetual. Cotton's Abridgement of the Records affords numerous instances of this kind, in the first (*k*) year of his reign, in the thirteenth year (*l*), in the fourteenth (*m*), in the twentieth (*n*), in the twenty-first (*o*), in the twenty-second (*p*), in the twenty-fifth (*q*), in the thirty-eighth (*r*), in the fiftieth (*s*), and in the fifty-first (*t*).

The king openly avowed and maintained this power of levying taxes at pleasure. At one time he replied to the remonstrance made by the commons against it, that the impositions had been exacted from great necessity, and had been assented to by the prelates, earls, barons, and *some* of the commons (*u*); at another, that he would advise with his council (*v*). When the parliament desired that a law might be enacted for the punishment of such as levied these arbitrary impositions, he refused compliance (*w*). In the subsequent year they desired that the king might renounce this pretended prerogative; but his answer was, that he would levy no taxes without necessity, for the defence of the realm, and where he reasonably might use that authority (*x*). This incident passed a few days before his death; and these were, in a manner, his last words to his people. It would seem that the famous charter or statute of Edward I. *de tallagio non concedendo*, though never repealed, was supposed to have already lost, by age, all its authority.

These facts can only shew the *practice* of the times: for as to the *right*, the continual remonstrances of the commons may seem to prove that it rather lay on their side: at least, these remonstrances served to prevent the arbitrary practices of the court from becoming an established part of the constitution. In so much a better condition were the privileges of the people, even during the arbitrary reign of Edward III. than during some subsequent ones, particularly those of the Tudors, where no tyranny or abuse of power ever met with any check or opposition, or so much as a remonstrance, from parliament.

In this reign we find, according to the sentiments of an ingenious and learned author, the first strongly marked, and probably contested, distinction between a proclamation by the king and his privy-council, and a law which had received the assent of the lords and commons (*y*).

It is easy to imagine that a prince of so much sense and spirit as Edward, would be no slave to the court of Rome. Though the old tribute was paid during some years of his minority (*z*), he afterwards withheld it; and when the pope, in 1367, threatened to cite him to the court of Rome for default of payment, he laid the matter before his parliament. That assembly unanimously declared, that king John could not, without a national consent, subject his kingdom to a foreign power: and that they were therefore determined to support their sovereign against this unjust pretension (*a*).

During this reign, the statute of provisors was enacted, rendering it penal to procure any presentations to benefices from the court of Rome, and securing the rights of all patrons and electors, which had been extremely encroached on by the pope (*b*). By a subsequent statute, every person was outlawed who carried any cause by appeal to the court of Rome (*c*).

The laity, at this time, seem to have been extremely prejudiced against the papal power, and even somewhat against their own clergy, because of their connexions with the Roman pontiff. The parliament pretended that the usurpations of the pope were the cause of all the plagues, injuries, famine, and poverty of the realm; were more destructive to it than all the wars; and were the reason why it contained not a third of the inhabitants and commodities which it formerly possessed: that the taxes levied by him exceeded five times those which were paid to the king:

(*p*) 36 Edw. III. cap. 1. 37 Edw. III. cap. 1, &c.
(*q*) 28 Edw. III. cap. 3.
(*r*) They assert, in the 15th of this reign, that there had been such instances. Cotton's Abridg. p. 31. They repeat the same in the 21st year.
(*s*) 36 Edward III. &c.
(*t*) 14 Edward III. cap. 19. (*u*) 36 Edward III. cap. 2.
(*v*) 7 Rich. II. cap. 8. (*w*) Ashmole's Hist. of the Garter, p. 129.
(*x*) Cotton's Abridg. p. 148. (*y*) Cotton, p. 71.
(*z*) Cotton's Abridg. p. 56. 61. 122. (*a*) Rymer, vol. v. p. 491. 574. Cotton's Abridg. p. 56. (*b*) Cotton, p. 114.
(*c*) Ibid. p. 67. (*d*) Cotton's Abridg. p. 47. 79. 113.
(*e*) Ibid. p. 32. (*f*) Ibid. p. 74. (*g*) Ibid.

(*h*) Walsing. p. 189, 190.
(*i*) Tyrrel's Hist. vol. viii. p. 554. from the Records.
(*k*) Rymer, vol. iv. p. 363. (*l*) P. 17, 18. (*m*) P. 39.
(*n*) P. 47. (*o*) P. 52, 53. 57, 58. (*p*) P. 69.
(*q*) P. 76. (*r*) P. 101. (*s*) P. 138. (*t*) P. 152.
(*u*) Cotton, p. 53. He repeats the same answer in p. 60. *Some of the commons* were such as he should be pleased to consult with.
(*v*) Cotton, p. 57. (*w*) Ibid. p. 138. (*x*) Ibid. p. 132.
(*y*) Observations on the Statutes, p. 193. (*z*) Rymer, vol. iv. p. 434.
(*a*) Cotton's Abridg. p. 110.
(*b*) 25 Edw. III. 27 Edw. III.
(*c*) 27 Edw. III. 38 Edw. III.

that every thing was venal in that sinful city of Rome; and that even the patrons in England had thence learned to practise simony without shame or remorse (*d*). At another time they petition the king to employ no churchman in any office of state (*e*); and they even speak in plain terms of expelling by force the papal authority, and thereby providing a remedy against oppressions, which they neither could nor would any longer endure (*f*). Men who talked in this strain were not far from the reformation: but Edward did not think proper to second all this zeal: though he passed the statute of provisors, he took little care of its execution; and the parliament made frequent complaints of his negligence on this head (*g*). He was content with having reduced such of the Romish ecclesiastics as possessed revenues in England, to depend entirely upon him by means of this statute.

As to the police of the kingdom during the reign of Edward III. it was certainly better than during times of faction, civil war, and disorder, to which England was so often exposed: yet were there several vices in the constitution, the bad consequences of which, all the power and vigilance of the king could not prevent. The barons, by their confederacies with those of their own order, and by supporting and defending their retainers in every iniquity (*h*), were the chief abettors of robbers, murderers, and ruffians of all kinds; and no law could be executed against those criminals. The nobility were brought to give their promise in parliament, that they would not avow, retain, or support, any felon or breaker of the law (*i*); yet this engagement, which we may wonder to see exacted from men of their rank, was never regarded by them. The commons make continual complaints of the multitude of robberies, murders, rapes, and other disorders, which, they say, were become numberless in every part of the kingdom, and which they always ascribe to the protection that the criminals received from the great (*k*). The king of Cyprus, who paid a visit to England in this reign, was robbed and stripped on the highway, with his whole retinue (*l*). Edward himself contributed to this dissolution of law, by his facility in granting pardons to felons from the solicitation of the courtiers. Laws were made to retrench this prerogative (*m*), and remonstrances of the commons were presented against the abuse of it (*n*): but to no purpose. The gratifying of a powerful nobleman continued still to be of more importance than the protection of the people. The king also granted many franchises, which interrupted the course of justice, and the execution of the laws (*o*).

Commerce and industry were certainly at a very low ebb during this period. The bad police of the country alone affords a sufficient reason. The only exports were wool, skins, hides, leather, butter, tin, lead, and such unmanufactured goods, of which wool was by far the most considerable. Knyghton has asserted, that one hundred thousand sacks of wool were annually exported, and sold at twenty pounds a sack, money of that age. But he is widely mistaken, both in the quantity exported and in the value. In 1349, the parliament remonstrate that the king, by an illegal imposition of forty shillings on each sack exported, had levied sixty thousand pounds a year (*p*): which reduces the annual exports to thirty thousand sacks. A sack contained twenty-six stone, and each stone fourteen pounds (*q*); and at a medium was not valued at above five pounds a sack (*r*), that is, fourteen or fifteen pounds of our present money. Knyghton's computation raises it to sixty pounds, which is near four times the present price of wool in England. According to this reduced computation, the export of wool brought into the kingdom about four hundred and fifty thousand pounds of our present money, instead of six millions, which is an extravagant sum. Even the former sum is so high as to afford a suspicion of some mistake in the computation of the parliament with regard to the number of sacks exported. Such mistakes were very usual in those ages.

Edward endeavoured to introduce and promote the woollen manufacture, by giving protection and encouragement to foreign weavers (*s*), and by enacting a law, which prohibited every one from wearing any cloth but of English fabric (*t*). The parliament prohibited the exportation of woollen goods, which was not so well judged, especially while the exportation of unwrought wool was so much allowed and encouraged. A like injudicious law was made against the exportation of manufactured iron (*u*).

It appears from a record in the Exchequer, that in 1354 the exports of England amounted to two hundred and ninety-four thousand one hundred and eighty-four pounds seventeen shillings and two-pence: the imports to thirty-eight thousand nine hundred and seventy pounds three shillings and six-pence, money of that time. This is a great balance, considering that it arose wholly from the exportation of raw wool and other rough materials. The import was chiefly linen and fine cloth, and some wine. England seems to have been extremely drained at this time by Edward's foreign expeditions and foreign subsidies, which probably was the reason why the exports so much exceeded the imports.

The first toll we read of in England for mending the highways, was imposed in this reign: it was that for repairing the road between St. Giles's and Temple Bar (*v*).

In the first of Richard II. the parliament complain extremely of the decay of shipping during the preceding reign, and assert, that one sea-port formerly contained more vessels than were to be found in the whole kingdom. This calamity they ascribe to the arbitrary seizure of ships by Edward for the service of his frequent expeditions (*w*). The parliament in the fifth of Richard renew the same complaint (*x*); and we likewise find it made in the forty-sixth of Edward III. So false is the common opinion, that this reign was favourable to commerce.

There is an order of this king directed to the mayor and sheriffs of London, to take up all ships of forty tons and upwards, to be converted into ships of war (*y*).

The parliament attempted the impracticable scheme of reducing the price of labour after the pestilence, and also that of poultry (*z*). A reaper, in the first week of August, was not allowed above two-pence a day, or near six-pence of our present money; in the second week a third more. A master carpenter was limited through the whole year to three-pence a day, a common carpenter to two-pence, money of that age (*a*). It is remarkable, that in the same reign, the pay of a common soldier, an archer, was six-pence a day; which, by the change both in denomination and value, would be equivalent to near five shillings of our present money (*b*). Soldiers were then enlisted only for a very short time: they lived idle all the rest of the year, and commonly all the rest of their lives: one successful campaign, by pay and plunder, and the ransom of prisoners, was supposed to be a small fortune to a man; which was a great allurement to enter into the service (*c*).

The staple of wool, wool-fells, leather, and lead, was fixed by act of parliament in particular towns of England (*d*). Afterwards it was removed by law to Calais: but Edward, who commonly deemed his prerogative above law, paid little regard to these statutes; and when the parliament remonstrated with him on account of those acts of power, he plainly told them, that he would proceed in that matter as he thought proper (*e*). It is not easy to assign the reason of this great anxiety for fixing a staple; unless perhaps it invited foreigners to a market, when they knew beforehand that they should there meet with great choice of any particular species of commodity. This policy of inviting foreigners to Calais was carried so far, that all English merchants were prohibited by law from exporting any English goods from the staple; which was in a manner the total abandoning of all foreign navigation, except that to Calais (*f*): a contrivance seemingly extraordinary.

It was not till the middle of this century that the English

(*d*) Cotton. p. 74. 128, 129. (*e*) Ibid. p. 112.
(*f*) Ibid. p. 41. (*g*) Ibid. p. 119. 128, 129, 130. 148.
(*h*) 11 Edw. III. cap. 14. 4 Edw. III. cap. 2. 15 Edw. III. cap. 4.
(*i*) Cotton, p. 10. (*k*) Ibid. p. 51. 62. 64. 70. 160.
(*l*) Walsing. p. 170. (*m*) 10 Edw. III. cap. 2. 27 Edw. III. cap. 2.
(*n*) Cotton, p. 75. (*o*) Ibid. p. 54.
(*p*) Ibid. p. 48. 69. (*q*) 34 Edw. III. cap. 5. (*r*) Cotton, p. 29.
(*s*) 11 Edw. III. cap. 5. Rymer, vol. iv. p. 723. Murimuth, p. 88.
(*t*) 11 Edw. III. cap. 2. (*u*) 28 Edw. III. cap. 5.
(*v*) Rymer, vol. v. p. 520. (*w*) Cotton, p. 155. 164.
(*x*) Cap. 3. (*y*) Rymer, vol. iv. p. 064.
(*z*) 37 Edw. III. cap. 3. (*a*) 25 Edw. III. cap. 1. 3.
(*b*) Dugdale's Baronage, vol. i. p. 784. Brady's Hist. vol. ii. App. No. 92. The pay of a man at arms was quadruple. We may therefore conclude that the numerous armies, mentioned by historians in those times, consisted chiefly of ragamuffins, who followed the camp, and lived by plunder. Edward's army before Calais consisted of thirty-one thousand and ninety-four men; yet its pay for sixteen months was only one hundred and twenty-seven thousand two hundred and one pounds. Brady, ibid.
(*c*) Commodities seem to have risen since the Conquest. Instead of being ten times cheaper than at present, they were, in the age of Edward III. only three or four times. This change seems to have taken place in a great measure since Edward I. The allowance granted by Edward III. to the earl of Murray, then a prisoner in Nottingham castle, is one pound a week; whereas the bishop of St. Andrews, the primate of Scotland, had only six-pence a day allowed him by Edward I.
(*d*) 27 Edw. III. (*e*) Cotton, p. 117. (*f*) 27 Edw. III. cap. 7.

began

began to extend their navigation even to the Baltic (*g*); nor till the middle of the subsequent, that they sailed to the Mediterranean (*h*).

Luxury was complained of in that age, as well as in others of more refinement; and attempts were made by parliament to restrain it, particularly on the head of apparel, where surely it is the most obviously innocent and inoffensive. No man under a hundred a year was allowed to wear gold, silver, or silk in his clothes: servants also were prohibited from eating flesh meat or fish above once a day (*i*). By another law it was ordained, that no one should be allowed either for dinner or supper, above three dishes in each course, and not above two courses: and it is likewise expressly declared, that soused meat is to count as one of these dishes (*k*). It was easy to foresee that such ridiculous laws must prove ineffectual, and could never be executed.

The use of the French language in pleadings and public deeds was abolished (*l*). It may appear strange that the nation should so long have worn this badge of conquest: but the king and nobility seem never to have become thoroughly English, or to have forgotten their French extraction, till Edward's wars with France gave them an antipathy to that nation. Yet still it was long before the use of the English tongue came into fashion. The first English paper which we meet with in Rymer is in the year 1386, during the Reign of Richard II (*m*). There are Spanish papers in that collection of more ancient date (*n*): and the use of the Latin and French still continued.

We may judge of the ignorance of this age in geography, from a story told by Robert of Avesbury. Pope Clement VI. having, in 1344, created Lewis of Spain prince of the Fortunate Islands, meaning the Canaries, then newly discovered; the English ambassador at Rome, and his retinue, were seized with an alarm that Lewis had been created king of England; and they immediately hurried home, in order to convey this important intelligence. Yet such was the ardour for study at this time, that Speed, in his Chronicle, informs us there were then thirty thousand students in the university of Oxford alone. What was the occupation of all these young men? to learn very bad Latin, and still worse logic.

In 1364 the commons petitioned, that in consideration of the preceding pestilence, such persons as possessed manors holden of the king in chief, and had let different leases without obtaining licences, might continue to exercise the same power, till the country were become more populous (*o*). The commons were sensible that this security of possession was a good means for rendering the kingdom prosperous and flourishing; yet durst not apply all at once for a greater relaxation of their chains.

There is not a reign among those of the ancient English monarchs which deserves more to be studied than that of Edward III. nor one where the domestic transactions will better discover the true genius of that kind of mixed government which was then established in England. The struggles with regard to the validity and authority of the great charter were now over: the king was acknowledged to lie under some limitations: Edward himself was a prince of great capacity, not governed by favourites, not led astray by any unruly passion, sensible that nothing could be more essential to his interests than to keep on good terms with his people: yet, on the whole, it appears that the government at best was only a barbarous monarchy, not regulated by any fixed maxims, or bounded by any certain undisputed rights, which in practice were regularly observed. The king conducted himself by one set of principles; the barons by another; the commons by a third; the clergy by a fourth. All these systems of government were opposite and incompatible: each of them prevailed in its turn, as incidents were favourable to it: a great prince rendered the monarchial power predominant: the weakness of a king gave reins to the aristocracy: a superstitious age saw the clergy triumphant: the people, for whom chiefly government was instituted, and who chiefly deserve consideration, were the weakest of the whole. But the commons, little obnoxious to any other order, though they sunk under the violence of tempests, silently reared their head in more peaceable times; and while the storm was brewing, were courted by all sides, and thus received still some accession to their privileges, or at worst some confirmation of them.

It has been an established opinion, that gold coin was not struck till this reign: but there has lately been found proof that it is as ancient as Henry III (*p*).

(*g*) Anderson, vol. i. p. 151.
(*h*) Id. p. 177.
(*i*) 37 Edw. III. cap. 8, 9, 10, &c.
(*k*) 10 Edw. III.
(*l*) 36 Edw. III cap. 15.
(*m*) Rymer, vol. vii. p. 526. This paper, by the style, seems to have been drawn by the Scots, and was signed by the wardens of the marches only.

CHAP. VIII.

RICHARD II.

SHORTLY after the king's accession a parliament was summoned, which was both elected and assembled in tranquillity; and the great change, from a sovereign of consummate wisdom and experience to a boy of eleven years of age, was not immediately felt by the people. The habits of order and obedience which the barons had been taught during the long reign of Edward, still influenced them; and the authority of the king's three uncles, the dukes of Lancaster, York, and Gloucester, sufficed to repress, for a time, the turbulent spirit to which that order, in a weak reign, was so often subject. The dangerous ambition likewise of these princes themselves was checked by the plain and undeniable title of Richard, by the declaration of it made in parliament, and by the affectionate regard which the people bore to the memory of his father, and which was naturally transferred to the young sovereign upon the throne. The different characters also of these three princes rendered them a counterpoise to each other; and it was natural to expect, that any dangerous designs which might be formed by one brother, would meet with opposition from the others. Lancaster, whose age and experience, and authority under the late king, gave him the ascendant among them, though his integrity seemed not proof against great temptations, was neither of an enterprizing spirit, nor of a popular and engaging temper. York was indolent, unactive, and of slender capacity. Gloucester was turbulent, bold, and popular; and being the youngest of the family, was restrained by the power and authority of his elder brothers. There appeared, therefore, no circumstance in the domestic situation of England which might endanger the public peace, or give any immediate apprehensions to the lovers of their country.

On the very day of Edward the Third's death, a solemn deputation from the citizens of London repaired to Kingston upon Thames, where Richard then resided; and with the warmest professions of attachment to his person and interest, pressed him to establish his residence in the metropolis. With this invitation the youthful monarch complied; he went to London on the following day; and on the 16th of July, 1377, was crowned at Westminster, amidst the acclamations of his subjects.

Though Edward had fixed the succession to the crown, he had taken no care to establish a plan of government during the minority of his grandson, it behoved the parliament to supply this defect; and the house of commons distinguished themselves by taking the lead on the occasion. This house, which had been rising to consideration during the whole course of the late reign, naturally received an accession of power during the minority; and as it was now becoming a scene of business, the members chose, for the first time, a speaker, who might preserve order in their debates, and maintain those forms which are requisite in all numerous assemblies. Peter de la More (*q*) was the person pitched on; the same gentleman that had been imprisoned, and detained in custody by the late king, for his freedom of speech in attacking the mistress and ministers of that prince. But though this election discovered a spirit of liberty in the commons, and was followed by farther attacks both on these ministers and on Alice Pierce, they were still too sensible of their great inferiority, to assume at first any immediate share in the administration of government, or the care of the king's person. They were content to apply by petition to the lords for that purpose, and desire them, both to appoint a council of nine, who might direct the public business,

(*n*) Rymer, vol. vi. p. 554.
(*o*) Cotton, p. 97.
(*p*) See Observations on the more ancient Statutes, p. 375. 2d Edit.
(*q*) Peter de la More was knight of the shire for the county of Hereford.

and to chuse men of virtuous life and conversation, who might inspect the conduct and education of the young prince. The lords complied with the first part of this request, and elected the bishops of London, Carlisle, and Salisbury, the earls of Marche and Stafford, sir Richard de Stafford, sir Henry le Scrope, sir John Devereux, and sir Hugh Segrave, to whom they gave authority, for a year, to conduct the ordinary course of business. But as to the regulation of the king's household, they declined interposing in an office which, they said, both was invidious in itself, and might prove disagreeable to his majesty.

The commons, as they acquired more courage, ventured to proceed a step farther in their applications. They presented a petition, in which they prayed the king to check the prevailing custom among the barons, of forming illegal confederacies, and supporting each other, as well as men of inferior rank, in the violations of law and justice. They received from the throne a general and obliging answer to this petition: but another part of their application, that all the great officers should, during the king's minority, be appointed by parliament, which seemed to require the concurrence of the commons, as well as that of the upper house, in the nomination, was not complied with: the lords alone assumed the power of appointing these officers: the commons tacitly acquiesced in the choice; and thought that, for the present, they themselves had proceeded a sufficient length, if they but advanced their pretensions, though rejected, of interposing in these more important matters of state.

On this foot then the government stood. The administration was conducted entirely in the king's name: no regency was expressly appointed: the nine counsellors and the great officers, named by the peers, did their duty, each in his respective department; and the whole system was for some years kept together by the secret authority of the king's uncles, especially of the duke of Lancaster, who was in reality the regent.

The parliament was dissolved, after the commons had represented the necessity of their being re-assembled once every year, as appointed by law; and after having elected two citizens, John Philpot and William Walworth, as their treasurers, to receive and disburse the produce of two fifteenths and tenths, which they voted to the crown. In the other parliaments called during the minority, the commons still discover a strong spirit of freedom, and a sense of their own authority, which, without breeding any disturbance, tended to secure their independence, and that of the people.

Edward had left his grandson involved in many dangerous wars. The pretensions of the duke of Lancaster to the crown of Castile made that kingdom still persevere in hostilities against England. Scotland, whose throne was now filled by Robert Stuart, nephew to David Bruce, and the first prince of that family, maintained such close connections with France, that war with one crown almost inevitably produced hostilities with the other. The French monarch, whose prudent conduct had acquired him the sirname of wise, as he had already baffled all the experience and valour of the two Edwards, was likely to prove a dangerous enemy to a minor king: but his genius, which was not naturally enterprizing, led him not, at present, to give any disturbance to his neighbours; and he laboured, besides, under many difficulties at home, which it was necessary for him to surmount before he could think of making conquests in a foreign country. England was master of Calais, Bourdeaux, and Bayonne; had lately acquired possession of Cherbourg from the cession of the king of Navarre, and of Brest from that of the duke of Bretagne; and having thus an easy entrance into France from every quarter, was able, even in its present situation, to give disturbance to his government. Before Charles could remove the English from these important posts, he died in the flower of his age, on the 16th of September, 1380, and left his kingdom to a minor son, then in the twelfth year of his age, who bore the name of Charles VI.

In the mean time the war with France was carried on in a manner somewhat languid, and produced no enterprize of lustre or renown. Sir Hugh Calverly, governor of Calais, making an incursion into Picardy with a detachment of the garrison, set fire to Boulogne. The duke of Lancaster conducted an army into Bretagne, and invested St. Malo; but, on the approach of the constable Du Guesclin, he raised the siege, and returned without being able to perform any thing worthy of record. In a subsequent year, the duke of Gloucester marched out of Calais with a body of two thousand cavalry, and eight thousand infantry; and scrupled not, with his small army, to enter into the heart of France, and to continue his ravages through Picardy, Champagne, the Brie, the Beausse, the Gatinois, the Orleanois, till he reached his allies in the province of Bretagne. Though the duke of Burgundy, at the head of a more considerable army, came within sight of him in his march, the French were so overawed by the former successes of the English, that no superiority of numbers could tempt them to venture a pitched battle with the troops of that nation. As the duke of Bretagne, soon after the arrival of these succours, formed an accommodation with the court of France, this enterprize also proved in the issue unsuccessful, and made no durable impression upon the enemy.

The expences of these military expeditions, and the usual want of œconomy attending a minority, when the private interests of many are to be gratified at the public expence, exhausted the English treasury, and obliged the parliament, besides making some alterations in the council, to impose a new and unusual tax of three groats on every person, male and female, above fifteen years of age; and they ordained that, in levying that tax, the opulent should relieve the poor by an equitable compensation. This salutary regulation, however, from the vague and indefinite terms in which it was expressed, being wholly neglected, and the impost levied with the most cruel rigour by a set of rapacious collectors, to whom the king, from his necessities, had compelled the government to farm it, a violent commotion ensued, which threatened to overturn the constitution of the kingdom.

That numerous class of men, distinguished in the feudal governments by the appellation of villans, had about this period begun to entertain some faint ideas of their own strength and importance. A growing spirit of independence was the natural consequence of those ideas; and that spirit made them spurn the yoke of slavery, which their fathers had borne with the most patient submission. These strong symptoms of increased civilization gave rise to popular insurrections both in France and Flanders; the report of which events being brought to England—where we are told that slavery was carried to a greater extent than in any other country in Europe—prepared the minds of the multitude for any desperate exertion that could effect their emancipation from that state of servitude to which they were reduced. Thus disposed, the smallest grounds for discontent were sufficient to impel them to the most dangerous attempts; and this disposition was greatly increased by the seditious efforts of one John Ball, an itinerant preacher, who had acquired a considerable share of popularity by favouring the ideas of the people, and by inculcating the doctrine of primitive equality, which gave all men an equal right to the enjoyment of civil as well as of natural liberty. He expatiated on the tyranny of artificial distinctions, and the abuses which had arisen from the degradation of the more considerable part of the species, and the aggrandizement of a few insolent rulers. These doctrines, so agreeable to the populace, and so conformable to the ideas of primitive equality which are engraven in the hearts of all men, were greedily received by the multitude; and scattered the sparks of that sedition, which the present tax raised into a conflagration (r).

The insurrection began in Essex; where a report was circulated with industry, that it was the intention of the nobles to put all the peasants and lower class of people to death. The gross improbability of this report did not prevent it from obtaining universal credit; and the populace, alarmed at the dreadful intelligence, assembled in great numbers, armed with such offensive weapons as they could hastily collect. A deputation was immediately sent to the inhabitants of Kent, to urge them to join in support of the common cause, and an incident, which had just occurred at Deptford, induced them to obey the summons with alacrity. The poll-tax gatherers went to the shop of a plebeian named Walter, a tyler by trade, and demanded payment for his daughter; which was refused, on the ground that she had not attained the age assigned by the statute. One of the ruffians, however, maintained the contrary, and, in order to prove his assertion, proceeded

(r) There were two verses at that time in the mouths of all the common people, which, in spite of prejudice, one cannot but regard with some degree of approbation:

"When Adam delv'd and Eve span,
Where was then the gentleman?"



Drawn by Smirke Engraved by Milton & Published by J.Stratford 112 Holborn Hill Dec.r 23.1810.

to acts of the most gross indecency, which the father immediately resented, by knocking out his brains with a hammer. The by-standers applauded the action, and exclaimed, that it was full time for the people to take vengeance on their tyrants, and to vindicate their native liberty. They immediately flew to arms: the whole neighbourhood joined in the sedition: the flame spread in an instant over the county: it soon propagated itself into that of Kent, of Hertford, Surrey, Sussex, Suffolk, Norfolk, Cambridge, and Lincoln. Before the government had the least warning of the danger, the disorder had grown beyond control or opposition: the populace had shaken off all regard to their former masters; and being headed by the most audacious of their associates, who assumed the feigned names of Wat Tyler, Jack Straw, Hob Carter, and Tom Miller, by which they were fond of denoting their mean origin, they committed every where the most outrageous violence on such of the gentry or nobility as had the misfortune to fall into their hands (*s*).

The mutinous populace, amounting to a hundred thousand men, assembled on Blackheath under their leaders Tyler and Straw, on the 12th of June, 1381; and as the princess of Wales, the king's mother, returning from a pilgrimage to the shrine of St. Thomas à Becket at Canterbury, passed through the midst of them, they insulted her attendants; and some of the most insolent among them, to shew their purpose of levelling all mankind, forced kisses from her; but they allowed her to continue her journey, without attempting any farther injury. They sent a message to the king, who had taken shelter in the Tower; and they desired a conference with him. Richard sailed down the river in a barge for that purpose; but on his approaching the shore, he saw such symptoms of tumult and insolence, that he put back and returned to that fortress. The seditious peasants, meanwhile, favoured by the populace of London, had broken into the city; had burned the duke of Lancaster's palace of the Savoy; cut off the heads of all the gentlemen whom they laid hold off; expressed a particular animosity against the lawyers and attornies; and pillaged the warehouses of the rich merchants. A great body of them quartered themselves at Mile-end; and the king, finding no defence in the Tower, which was weakly garrisoned, and ill supplied with provisions, was obliged to go out to meet them, and ask their demands. They required a general pardon, the abolition of slavery, freedom of commerce in market towns without toll or impost, and a fixed rent on lands, instead of the services due by villenage. These requests, which, though extremely reasonable in themselves, the nation was not sufficiently prepared to receive, and which it was dangerous to have extorted by violence, were, however, complied with; charters to that purpose were granted them; and this body immediately dispersed, and returned to their several homes.

During this transaction, another body of the rebels had broken into the Tower; had murdered Simon Sudbury, the primate and chancellor, with sir Robert Hales, the treasurer, and some other persons of distinction; and continued their ravages in the city. The king, passing along Smithfield, on the 15th of June, very slenderly guarded, met with Wat Tyler, at the head of these rioters, and entered into a conference with him. Tyler having ordered his companions to retire till he should give them a signal, after which they were to murder all the company except the king himself, whom they were to detain prisoner, feared not to come into the midst of the royal retinue. He there behaved himself in such a manner, that Walworth, the mayor of London, was not able to bear his insolence, struck him so violent a blow with his mace as brought him to the ground, where he was instantly dispatched by others of the king's attendants. The mutineers, seeing their leader fall, prepared themselves for revenge; and this whole company, with the king himself, had undoubtedly perished on the spot, had it not been for an extraordinary presence of mind which Richard discovered on the occasion. He ordered his company to stop; he advanced alone towards the enraged multitude; and accosting them with an affable and intrepid countenance, he asked them, "What is the meaning of this disorder, my good people? are ye angry that ye have lost your leader? I am your king: I will be your leader myself; follow me to the fields, and whatever you desire, I will grant." The populace, overawed by his presence, implicitly followed him: he led them into the fields, to prevent any disorder which might have arisen by their continuing in the city: being there joined by sir Robert Knolles, and a body of well-armed veteran soldiers, who had been secretly drawn together, he strictly prohibited that officer from falling on the rioters, and committing an undistinguished slaughter upon them; and he peaceably dismissed them with the same charters which had been granted to their fellows.

While the king was employed in suppressing the insurgents of London, the most violent commotions were raging in other parts of the kingdom. At St. Alban's, an immense mob, conducted by William Gryndicobbe, and William Cadyndon, a chandler, put several gentlemen to death; and, by threatening to murder the abbot and all his monks, extorted from them charters of freedom and manumission. At St. Edmundsbury, another mob, under the command of one Robert Westbroom, committed the most dreadful depredations; and beheaded sir John Cavendish, chief justice of England, with many others of inferior note. At the same time a great number of rustics had assembled in Norfolk, and chose for their leader John Littister, a dyer of Norwich; who, assuming the title of "King of the Commons," proceeded to emulate the violence of the other insurgents. But the duration of these popular tumults was fortunately short; for the nobility and gentry hearing of the king's danger, in which they were all involved, flocked to London with their adherents and retainers, and by that means enabled Richard to take the field with an army of forty thousand men. The rebels therefore were compelled to submit; the charters which had been granted by the king to them were formerly revoked by the parliament; the lower class of people were reduced to the same state of slavery as before; commissioners were appointed to try the insurgents in the different counties; and these executed their trusts with such severity, that fifteen hundred of the rioters were condemned and executed. Some were even executed without process or form of law (*t*). It was pretended, that the intentions of the mutineers had been to seize the king's person, to carry him through England at their head, to murder all the nobility, gentry, and lawyers, and even all the bishops and priests, except the mendicant friars; to dispatch afterwards the king himself, and having thus reduced all to a level, to order the kingdom at their pleasure. It is not impossible, but many of them, in the delirium of their first success, might have formed such projects; but of all the evils incident to human society, the insurrections of the populace, when not raised and supported by persons of higher quality, are the least to be dreaded: the mischiefs consequent to an abolition of all rank and distinction, become so great, that they are immediately felt, and soon bring affairs back to their former order and arrangement.

The king having now attained his sixteenth year, concluded a treaty of marriage with the princess Anne, daughter of the emperor Charles the Fourth, and sister to Wenceslaus, king of Bohemia; and that princess arriving in England at the commencement of the year 1382, the nuptials were celebrated with great magnificence. Richard had discovered so much courage, presence of mind, and address, and had so dextrously eluded the violence of the late tumult, raised great expectations in the nation; and it was natural to hope, that he would, in the course of his life, equal the glories which had so uniformly attended his father and his grandfather in all their undertakings. But the expectations of the people soon proved fallacious; the glorious road to honour which the king had hitherto pursued, in imitation of his illustrious father, was now forsaken for the more alluring paths of voluptuousness. His uncles, who had the chief superintendence of his education, were too busy in accomplishing the projects of their own ambition, to pay the requisite attention to the mind and morals of their royal pupil. That important task, on which the glory of their sovereign and the welfare of the people so greatly depended, was resigned to a train of youthful sycophants, more studious to please than to instruct:

(*s*) They demolished the houses of the nobility, put all the lawyers they met with to instant death, burnt all the court-rolls and records, and compelled every man to swear that he would support them in opposing the collection of imposts.

(*t*) 5 Rich. II. cap. ult. as quoted in the Observations on ancient Statutes, p. 262.

struct; men of specious talents, but of dissolute manners, who corrupted with adulation the mind they should have strengthened with advice. Thus tutored, a love of ostentation and pleasure superseded every nobler impulse, and the prince was sunk in the sensualist. The first effect of this pernicious neglect which rendered him justly unpopular, was the removal of the seals from the hands of Henry le Scroop, to whom the parliament had entrusted them, because that nobleman, with a degree of firmness that reflects the utmost honour on his character, had refused to affix them to certain extravagant grants of land, which Richard had been persuaded to make to some of his profligate and interested retainers. The king incensed at this virtuous opposition to his will, put the seals to the different grants with his own hand, and then delivered them to the care of Robert Braybroke, bishop of London.

The war with France still continued; and the French threatening to invest Calais, a parliament assembled in February, 1383, to adopt such resolutions as should appear necessary for the defence of the English possessions. They determined to send over a body of troops under the command of the bishop of Norwich, a martial prelate who had signalized himself during the late commotions. The bishop accordingly sailed for Calais with his army, in May; and, after refreshing his troops, marched to attack Gravelines, which he took by assault. He next engaged and defeated an army of thirty thousand French near Dunkirk, and made himself master of that place; after which he continued his successful progress, with wonderful rapidity, through great part of Flanders; taking the towns of Burburgh, Cassel, Dixmude, Furnes, Nieuport, and Poperiny. But these conquests were attended with more glory than advantage; for, having invested Ypres, the garrison made so resolute a defence, that the bishop was under the necessity of raising the siege; while his army, being apprized of the approach of the enemy, separated; a part of them retiring to Burburgh, (which place they were soon after obliged to surrender to the French,) and the remainder to Gravelines. The French army immediately laid siege to that town; and the bishop, having no prospect of relief from England, agreed to the proposals of the French commander, who offered to pay him fifteen thousand marks, and give him the liberty of demolishing the town, and retiring with his army whither he should please. Although this martial prelate had certainly evinced both skill and courage in this expedition, on his return to England he was arraigned by the parliament for its failure; and, finding his enemies too potent to be openly resisted, he was compelled to submit to the mercy of the king, who for some time deprived him of his temporalities.

The truce with the Scots being now expired, Richard, who had obtained the necessary supplies from the parliament, resolved to conduct an army into the north, and sixty thousand men were raised for that purpose. The Scots, sensible of their own deficiency in cavalry, had applied to the regency of Charles VI.; and John de Vienne, admiral of France, had been sent over with a body of one thousand five hundred men at arms, to support them in their incursions against the English. When Richard approached with his army, the Scots did not pretend to make resistance against so great a force: they abandoned without scruple their country to be pillaged and destroyed by the enemy; and when de Vienne expressed his surprize at this plan of operations, they told him, that all their cattle was driven into the forests and fastnesses; that their houses and other goods were of small value; and that they well knew how to compensate any losses which they might sustain in that respect, by making an incursion into England. Accordingly, when Richard entered Scotland by Berwick and the east coast, the Scots, to the number of thirty thousand men, attended by the French, entered the borders of England by the west, and carrying their ravages through Cumberland, Westmoreland, and Lancashire, collected a rich booty, and then returned in tranquillity to their own country. Richard in the mean time advanced towards Edinburgh, and destroyed in his way all the towns and villages on each side of him: he reduced that city to ashes: he treated in the same manner, Perth, Dundee, and other places in the low countries; but when he was advised to march towards the west coast, to await there the return of the enemy, and to take revenge on them for their devastations, his impatience to return to England, and enjoy his usual pleasures and amusements, outweighed every consideration; and he led back his army without effecting any thing by all these mighty preparations. The Scots, soon after, finding the heavy bodies of French cavalry very useless in that desultory kind of war to which they confined themselves, treated their allies so ill, that the French returned home, much disgusted with the country, and with the manners of its inhabitants. And the English, though they regretted the indolence and levity of their king, saw themselves for the future secured against any dangerous invasion from that quarter.

But it was so material an interest of the French court to wrest the sea-port towns from the hands of their enemy, that they resolved to attempt it by some other expedient, and found no means so likely as an invasion of England itself. They collected a great fleet and army at Sluys; for the Flemings were now in alliance with them: all the nobility of France were engaged in this enterprize: the English were kept in alarm: great preparations were made for the reception of the invaders: and though the dispersion of the French ships by a storm, and the taking of many of them by the English, before the embarkation of the troops, freed the kingdom from the present danger, the king and council were fully sensible that this perilous situation might every moment return upon them.

There were two circumstances, chiefly, which engaged the French at this time to think of such attempts. The one was the absence of the duke of Lancaster, who had sailed for Spain in August, 1386, and carried with him the flower of the English military force, to the amount of twenty thousand men, in prosecution of his vain claim to the crown of Castile; an enterprize in which, after some promising success, he was finally disappointed: the other was, the violent dissensions and disorders which had taken place in the English government.

A parliament having been summoned to meet on the first of October, 1386, to provide for the support of a considerable body of forces that were posted along the sea coast; the commons, instead of granting the supplies with that alacrity which the pressure of the occasion seemed to require, made vehement complaints against Michael de la Pole, earl of Suffolk, the chancellor; and insisted on his immediate removal from the high office he enjoyed, as well as from the king's council. The king, averse to comply with their request, made no answer, and retired with his whole court to Eltham; whither the parliament sent the duke of Gloucester, with James Arundel, bishop of Ely, to desire he would return; and to assure him, that if he did not comply, they would immediately dissolve, and leave the kingdom in its present distracted state. Richard, still refusing to accede to their terms, they threatened him with a similar treatment to that which was experienced by Edward the Second, if he persisted in absenting himself from parliament. The king, at length, intimidated by their threats, gave up his opposition, and returned to parliament; when the bishop of Ely was appointed to the dignity of chancellor, which the earl of Suffolk had resigned. The bishop of Hereford was made treasurer in the place of the bishop of Durham; and John de Waltham was the keeper of the privy seal.

The parliament, having shewn their power, did not think proper at that time to exercise it against any of the other ministers; but they made an attack on the royal prerogative, more dangerous in its nature, and more fatal to the welfare of the constitution. They compelled the king to sign a commission, by which he delegated the regal authority for one year to fourteen commissioners, consisting of the newly appointed chancellor, treasurer, and keeper of the privy seal, with eleven of the principal barons. By this means the government was suddenly converted to an aristocracy; which, though nominally limited in its duration, was evidently designed to be rendered perpetual. Richard now found himself wholly divested of power, and enjoying the title of king without any one attribute of royalty. His person was treated with neglect; his court forsaken; and every application was made either to the duke of Gloucester, or to some of the other commissioners, who were all, except Nevil, archbishop of York, mere creatures of the duke. Thus reduced to a state of insignificancy, he could not fail to experience the most lively resentment against the authors of his disgrace; and these sentiments were encouraged by the few followers who still adhered to him, and he attempted to shake off the yoke his enemies had imposed upon him. Robert de Vere, earl of Oxford, a young man of a noble family, of an agreeable figure, but of dissolute manners, had acquired an ascendant over him, and governed him with an absolute

absolute authority. The king set so little bounds to his affection, that he first created his favourite marquis of Dublin, a title before unknown in England, then duke of Ireland; and transferred to him by patent, which was confirmed in parliament, the entire sovereignty for life of that island. He gave him in marriage his cousin-german, the daughter of Ingelram de Couci, earl of Bedford; but soon after he permitted him to repudiate that lady, though of an unexceptionable character, and to marry a foreigner, a Bohemian, with whom he had become enamoured. These public declarations of attachment turned the attention of the whole court towards the minion: all favours passed through his hands; access to the king could only be obtained by his mediation; and Richard seemed to take no pleasure in royal authority, but so far as it enabled him to load with favours and titles and dignities this object of his affections.

The jealousy of power immediately produced an animosity between the minion and his creatures on the one hand, and the princes of the blood and chief nobility on the other; and the usual complaints against the insolence of favourites were loudly echoed, and greedily received, in every part of the kingdom. Moubray earl of Nottingham, the mareschal, Fitz-Alan earl of Arundel, Percy earl of Northumberland, Montacute earl of Salisbury, Beauchamp earl of Warwick, were all connected with each other, and with the princes, by friendship or alliance, and still more by their common antipathy to those who had eclipsed them in the king's favour and confidence. No longer kept in awe by the personal character of the prince, they scorned to submit to his ministers; and the method which they took to redress the grievance complained of, well suited the violence of the age, and proves the desperate extremities to which every opposition was sure to be instantly carried.

Michael de la Pole, lately created earl of Suffolk, was the son of an eminent merchant; but had risen by his abilities and valour during the wars of Edward III., had acquired the friendship of that monarch, and was esteemed the person of greatest experience and capacity among those who were attached to the duke of Ireland and the king's secret council. The duke of Gloucester, who had the house of commons at his devotion, impelled them to exercise that power, which they seem first to have assumed against lord Latimer during the declining years of the late king; and an impeachment against the chancellor was carried up by them to the house of peers, which was no less at his devotion. The king foresaw the tempest preparing against him and his ministers. At the same time a member was encouraged to call for the record containing a parliamentary deposition of Edward II.; a plain intimation of the fate which Richard, if he continued refractory, had reason to expect from them. The king, finding himself unable to resist, was content to stipulate, that, except finishing the present impeachment against Suffolk, no attack should be made upon any other of his ministers.

Nothing can prove more fully the innocence of Suffolk, than the frivolousness of the crimes which his enemies, in the present plenitude of their power, thought proper to object against him. It was alledged, that being chancellor, and obliged by his oath to consult the king's profit, he had purchased lands of the crown below their true value: that he had exchanged with the king a perpetual annuity of four hundred marks a year, which he inherited from his father, and which was assigned upon the customs of the port of Hull for lands of an equal income; that having obtained for his son the priory of St. Anthony, which was formerly possessed by a Frenchman, an enemy, and a schismatic, and a new prior being at the same time named by the pope, he had refused to admit this person, whose title was not legal, till he made a composition with his son, and agreed to pay him a hundred pounds a year from the income of the benefice; that he had purchased, from one Tydeman of Limborch, an old and forfeited annuity of fifty pounds a-year upon the crown, and had engaged the king to admit that bad debt; and that, when created earl of Suffolk, he had obtained a grant of five hundred pounds a year, to support the dignity of that title (*u*). Even the proof of these articles, frivolous as they are, was found very deficient upon the trial: it appeared that Suffolk had made no purchase from the crown while he was chancellor, and that all his bargains of that kind were made before he was advanced to that dignity. It is almost needless to add, that he was condemned notwithstanding his defence; and that he was deprived of his office.

The duke of Gloucester and his assosiates observed their stipulation with the king, and attacked no more of his ministers; but, as we have mentioned above, they immediately attacked himself and his royal dignity, and framed a commission after the model of those which had been attempted almost in every reign since that of Richard I. and which had always been attended with extreme confusion (*v*). By this commission, which was ratified by parliament, a council was appointed, all of Gloucester's faction, except Nevil archbishop of York. The sovereign power was transferred to these men. The king, who had now reached the twenty-first year of his age, was in reality dethroned: the aristocracy was rendered supreme; and though the term of the commission was limited, it was easy to foresee that the intentions of the party were to render it perpetual, and that power would with great difficulty be wrested from those grasping hands to which it was once committed. Richard, however, was obliged to submit: he signed the commission; he took an oath never to infringe it; and though at the end of the session he publicly entered a protest, that the prerogatives of the crown, notwithstanding his late concession, should still be deemed entire and unimpaired, the new commissioners, without regarding this declaration, proceeded to the exercise of their authority.

The king, thus dispossessed of royal power, was soon sensible of the contempt into which he was fallen. His favourites and ministers, who were as yet allowed to remain about his person, failed not to aggravate the injury, which, without any demerit on his part, had been offered to him. And his eager temper was of itself sufficiently inclined to seek the means, both of recovering his authority, and of revenging himself on those who had invaded it. As the house of commons appeared now of weight in the constitution, he secretly tried some expedients for procuring a favourable election: he sounded some of the sheriffs, who being at that time both the returning officers and magistrates of great power in the counties, had naturally considerable influence in elections (*w*); but, as most of them had been appointed by his uncles, either during his minority, or during the course of the present commission, he found them, in general, averse to his enterprize. The sentiments and inclinations of the judges, to whom he applied, were more favourable to him. He met, at Nottingham, sir Robert Tresilian, chief justice of the King's Bench, sir Robert Belknappe, chief justice of the Common Pleas, sir John Cary, chief baron of the Exchequer, Holt, Fulthorpe, and Bourg, inferior justices, and Lockton, serjeant at law; and he proposed to them some queries; which these lawyers, either from the influence of his authority, or of reason, made no scruple of answering in the way he desired. They declared that the late commission was derogatory to the royalty and prerogative of the king; that those who procured it, or advised the king to consent to it, were punishable with death; that those who necessitated and compelled him were guilty of treason; that those were equally criminal who should persevere in maintaining it; that the king has the right of dissolving parliaments at pleasure; that the parliament, while it sits, must first proceed upon the king's business; and that this assembly cannot, without his consent, impeach any of his ministers and judges. Even according to our present strict maxims with regard to law and royal prerogative, all these determinations, except the two last, appear justifiable; and as the great privileges of the commons, particularly that of impeachment, were hitherto new, and supported by few precedents, there want not plausible reasons to justify these opinions of the judges (*x*). They signed therefore their answer to the king's queries in

(*u*) It is probable that the earl of Suffolk was not rich, nor able to support the dignity without the bounty of the crown: for his father, Michael de la Pole, though a great merchant, had been ruined by lending money to the late king. See Cotton, p. 194. We may remark that the dukes of Gloucester and York, though vastly rich, received at the same time each of them a thousand pounds a year, to support their dignity. Rymer, vol. vii. p. 481. Cotton, p. 310.

(*v*) Knyghton, p. 2680. Statutes at Large, 10 Rich. II. cap. i.

(*w*) In the preamble to 5 Henry IV. cap. vii. it is implied, that the sheriffs in a manner appointed the members of the house of commons, not only in this parliament but in many others.

(*x*) The parliament, in 1341, exacted of Edward III. that, on the third day of every session, the king should resume all the great offices; and that the ministers should then answer to any accusation that should be brought against them: which plainly implies that, while ministers, they could not be accused or impeached in parliament. Henry IV. told the

in the presence of the archbishops of York and Dublin, the bishops of Durham, Chichester, and Bangor, the duke of Ireland, the earl of Suffolk, and two other counsellors of inferior quality.

The duke of Gloucester and his adherents soon got intelligence of this secret consultation, and were naturally very much alarmed at it (*y*). They saw the king's intentions; and determined to prevent the execution of them. With this view, they sent private orders to all their friends and followers to hold themselves in readiness to take arms at a moment's warning; and then dispatched the archbishop of Canterbury to the king, to persuade him to come to London; which he did on the 10th of November, 1387, and was received by the mayor and a great concourse of citizens, who conducted him to the palace. As soon as he came to London, which they knew was well disposed to their party, they secretly assembled their forces, and appeared in arms on the 13th, at Haringay park, near Highgate, with forty-thousand men, a power which Richard and his ministers were not able to resist. They sent him a message by the archbishop of Canterbury, and the lords Lovel, Cobham, and Devereux, and demanded that the persons who had seduced him by their pernicious counsel, and were traitors both to him and to the kingdom, should be delivered up to them. A few days after they appeared in his presence, armed and attended with armed followers; and they accused, by name, the archbishop of York, the duke of Ireland, the earl of Suffolk, sir Robert Tresilian, and sir Nicholas Brembre, as public and dangerous enemies to the state. They threw down their gauntlets before the king, and fiercely offered to maintain the truth of their charge by duel. The persons accused, and all the other noxious ministers, had withdrawn or had concealed themselves.

The duke of Ireland fled to Cheshire, and levied some forces, with which he advanced to relieve the king from the violence of the nobles. Gloucester encountered him on the 20th of December, at Radcot Bridge, in Oxfordshire, with much superior forces; routed him (*z*), dispersed his followers, and obliged him to fly into the Low-Countries, where he died in exile a few years after. The duke of Gloucester returned with his victorious army to London; and, arriving at Clerkenwell, on the 26th of December, was met by the lord mayor, who delivered him the keys of the city. The same day he had a conference with the king, in the Tower; and Richard being entirely at the mercy of the rebels, was compelled to submit to whatever terms they pleased to require of him. Every person they chose to accuse, was therefore committed by the king's orders; about fourteen peers, knights, and gentlemen, were put to different prisons, in order to take their trials at the approaching parliament. Two prelates, three peers, and as many peeresses, were arbitrarily banished the court; from whence every one was driven who had the misfortune to be distinguished by the partiality of his sovereign. The lords then appeared at London, with an army of forty thousand men; and having obliged the king to summon a parliament, on the 3rd of February, 1388, which was entirely at their devotion, they had full power, by observing a few legal forms, to take vengeance on all their enemies. Five great peers, men whose combined power was able at any time to shake the throne, the duke of Gloucester, the king's uncle; the earl of Derby, son of the duke of Lancaster; the earl of Arundel; the earl of Warwick, and the earl of Nottingham, mareschal of England, entered before the parliament an accusation or appeal, as it was called, against the five counsellors whom they had already accused before the king. The parliament, who ought to have been judges, were not ashamed to impose an oath on all their members, by which they bound themselves to live and die with the lords appellants, and to defend them against all opposition with their lives and fortunes.

The other proceedings were well suited to the violence and iniquity of the times. A charge, consisting of thirty-nine articles, was delivered in by the appellants; and, as none of the accused counsellors except sir Nicholas Brembre was in custody, the rest were cited to appear; and, upon their neglect to obey the citation, the house of peers, after a very short interval, without hearing a single witness, without examining a single fact, or deliberating on any one point of law, declared them guilty of high treason. The earl of Suffolk made his escape to Paris, where he died in a few months; the archbishop of York was taken at Shields, but the sacredness of his character saved him from an ignominious death; he was suffered to escape from confinement, and, retiring to Flanders, there passed the remainder of his days in the capacity of a country curate. Sir Nicholas Brembre, who was produced in court, had the appearance, and but the appearance, of a trial: the peers, though they were not by law his proper judges, pronounced, in a very summary manner, sentence of death upon him; and he was executed, together with sir Robert Tresilian, who had been discovered and taken in the interval; the latter on the 19th, the former on the 20th of February.

It would be tedious to recite the whole charge delivered in against the five counsellors; which is to be met with in several collections (*a*). It is sufficient to observe, in general, that if we reason upon the supposition, which is the true one, that the royal prerogative was invaded by the commission extorted by the duke of Gloucester and his associates, and that the king's person was afterwards detained in custody by rebels, many of the articles will appear, not only to imply no crime in the duke of Ireland and the ministers, but to ascribe to them actions which were laudable, and which they were bound by their allegiance to perform. The few articles impeaching the conduct of these ministers before that commission, which subverted the constitution, and annihilated all justice and legal authority, are vague and general; such as their engrossing the king's favour, keeping his barons at a distance from him, obtaining unreasonable grants for themselves or their creatures, and dissipating the public treasure by useless expences. No violence is objected to them; no particular illegal act (*b*); no breach of any statute; and their administration may therefore be concluded to have been so far innocent and inoffensive. All the disorders indeed seem to have proceeded, not from any violation of the laws, or any ministerial tyranny, but merely from a rivalship of power, which the duke of Gloucester and the great nobility, agreeably to the genius of the times, carried to the utmost extremity against their opponents, without any regard to reason, justice, or humanity.

These were not the only deeds of violence committed during the triumph of this inveterate party. All the other judges, who had signed the extra-judicial opinions at Nottingham, were condemned to death, and were, as a grace or favour, banished to Ireland; though they pleaded the fear of their lives, and the menaces of the king's ministers as their excuse. Lord Beauchamp of Holt, sir James Berners, and John Salisbury, were also tried and condemned for high treason; merely because they had attempted to defeat the late commission: but the life of the latter was spared. The fate of sir Simon Burley was more severe: this gentleman was much beloved for his personal merit, had distinguished himself by many honourable actions (*c*), was created knight of the garter, and had

the commons, that the usage of parliament required them first to go through the king's business in granting supplies; which order the king intended not to alter. Parl. Hist. vol. ii. p. 65. Upon the whole, it must be allowed, that, according to ancient practice and principles, there are, at least, plausible grounds for all these opinions of the judges. It must be remarked, that this affirmation of Henry IV. was given deliberately, after consulting the house of peers, who were much better acquainted with the usage of parliament than the ignorant commons. And it has the greater authority, because Henry IV. had made this very principle a considerable article of charge against his predecessor; and that a very few years before. So ill grounded were most of the imputations thrown on the unhappy Richard!

(*y*) The day after this consultation it was imparted by Althorpe to the earl of Kent, who made the duke of Gloucester and his adherents acquainted with it.

(*z*) The duke of Ireland escaped with great difficulty, by passing the sis on horseback, at the hazard of his life.

(*a*) Knyghton, p. 1715. Tyrrel, vol. iii. part 2. p. 919. from the records. Parl. Hist. vol. i. p. 414.

(*b*) We must except the twelfth article, which accuses Brembre of having cut off the heads of twenty-two prisoners, confined for felony or debt, without warrant or process of law. But, as it is not conceivable what interest Brembre could have to treat these felons and debtors in such a manner, we may presume that the fact is either false, or misrepresented. It was in these men's power to say any thing against the persons accused: no defence or apology was admitted: all was lawless will and pleasure. They are also accused of designs to murder the lords: but these accusations either are general, or destroy one another. Sometimes, as in article fifteenth, they intend to murder them by means of the mayor and city of London: sometimes, as in article twenty-eighth, by trial and false inquests: sometimes, as in article twenty-eighth, by means of the king of France, who was to receive Calais for his pains.

(*c*) At least this is the character given of him by Froissard, lib. ii. who knew him personally: Walsingham, p. 334, gives a very different character

had been appointed governor to Richard, by the choice of the late king and of the Black Prince: he had attended his master from the earliest infancy of that prince, and had ever remained extremely attached to him: yet all these considerations could not save him from falling a victim to Gloucester's vengeance. This execution, more than all the others, made a deep impression on the mind of Richard: his queen too (for he was already married to the sister of the emperor Wenceslaus, king of Bohemia) interested herself in behalf of Burley: she remained three hours on her knees before the duke of Gloucester, pleading for that gentleman's life; but though she was become extremely popular by her amiable qualities, which had acquired her the appellation of the good queen Anne, her petition was sternly rejected by the inexorable tyrant, and the worthy Burley underwent the sentence imposed on him by a venal and prostituted parliament.

The parliament concluded this violent scene, by a declaration that none of the articles, decided on these trials to be treason, should ever afterwards be drawn into precedent by the judges, who were still to consider the statute of the twenty-fifth of Edward, as the rule of their decisions. The house of lords seem not, at that time, to have known or acknowledged the principle, that they themselves were bound, in their judicial capacity, to follow the rules which they, in conjunction with the king and commons, had established in their legislative capacity (*d*). It was also enacted, that every one should swear to the perpetual maintenance and support of the forfeitures and attainders, and of all the other acts passed during this parliament. The archbishop of Canterbury added the penalty of excommunication, as a farther security to these violent transactions.

In the intervals of these trials, the parliament had found leisure to impose more taxes on the people, by granting the king three shillings on every ton of wine imported, and a shilling in the pound on all merchandize except wool; the highest duties on which, as well as wool fells and leather, were continued. The duke of Gloucester having gratified his revenge, now took care to do the same by his avarice, by obtaining a vote of twenty thousand pounds to himself and his associates; after which the parliament was dissolved on the 4th of June, the session having lasted four months, which was the longest that had ever been yet known in England.

A spirit of opposition, even at this period, betrayed itself among the people, who were divided into parties; and, though slaves themselves, maintained their political opinions with as much energy and virulence as is displayed on similar occasions in the present æra. The Gloucestrian party—which, as foes to government, was consequently most vociferous, and, what was of greater consequence, most powerful—called the late factious assembly, "The Parliament that wrought wonders;" while the loyalists termed it, with a much greater degree of justice, "The merciless Parliament."

It might naturally be expected, that the king, being reduced to such slavery by the combination of the princes and chief nobility, and having appeared so unable to defend his servants from the cruel effects of their resentment, would long remain in subjection to them; and never would recover the royal power, without the most violent struggles and convulsions: but the event proved contrary. In less than a twelvemonth, Richard, who was in his twenty-third year, declared in council, on the 23rd of May, 1389, that, as he had now attained the full age which entitled him to govern by his own authority his kingdom and household, he resolved to exercise his right of sovereignty; and when no one ventured to contradict so reasonable an intention, he deprived Thomas Arundel, archbishop of Canterbury, of the dignity of chancellor, and bestowed that high office on William Wickham, bishop of Winchester; the bishop of Hereford was displaced from the office of treasurer, the earl of Arundel from that of admiral; even the duke of Gloucester and the earl of Warwick were removed for a time from the council: and no opposition was made to these great changes. The history of this reign is imperfect, and little to be depended on; except where it is supported by public records; and it is not easy for us to assign the reason of this unexpected event. Perhaps some secret animosities, naturally to be expected in that situation, had crept in among the great men, and had enabled the king to recover his authority. Perhaps the violence of their former proceedings had lost them the affections of the people, who soon repent of any cruel extremities to which they are carried by their leaders. However this may be, Richard exercised with moderation the authority which he had resumed. He never attempted to recal from banishment the duke of Ireland, whom he found so noxious to them: he confirmed, by proclamation, the general pardon which the parliament had passed for all offences; and he courted the affections of the people, by voluntarily remitting some subsidies which had been granted him; a remarkable and almost singular instance of such generosity.

At this juncture, the duke of Lancaster returned to England from Spain, having resigned to his rival all pretensions to the crown of Castile, upon payment of a large sum of money, and having married his daughter Philippa to the king of Portugal. The duke of Lancaster, the king's eldest uncle, who had never offended him, and who appeared to be more moderate in his views than the king's other uncles, effected an apparent reconciliation between the king and the duke of Gloucester: as a recompence for which service he was created duke of Aquitaine, by the parliament which met at Westminster in the month of January, 1390, and invested with the ensigns of honour appertaining to that dignity. Edward Plantagenet, eldest son of the duke of York, was gratified with the earldom of Rutland, and a pension of eight hundred marks a year. On the fourth day of the session, the bishop of Winchester resigned the great seal to the king; the bishop of St. David's delivered up the keys of the exchequer, which had been given into his custody as treasurer; and all the lords of the council were discharged at their own desire. They then asked, in open parliament, if any person had any thing to advance against their conduct; it was answered, both by the lords and commons, "That they had nothing to alledge against them, and that they had all conducted themselves with rectitude and propriety in their respective offices." The king immediately after this declaration, restored them to their places, and added the dukes of Lancaster and Gloucester to the list of his counsellors; though he thought it necessary at the same time to declare, that nothing then done should be construed as a resignation of his right to remove, at his pleasure, any member of his council. There happened an incident, which produced a dissension between Lancaster and his two brothers. After the death of the Spanish princess, he espoused Catharine Swineford, daughter of a private knight of Hainault, by whose alliance York and Gloucester thought the dignity of the family much injured: but the king gratified his uncle, by passing in parliament a charter of legitimation to the children whom that lady had born him before marriage, and by creating the eldest earl of Somerset. After this restoration of the government to its natural state, there is an interval of some years wholly unproductive of important events.

The wars, meanwhile, which Richard had inherited with his crown, still continued; though interrupted by frequent truces, according to the practice of that age, and conducted with little vigour, by reason of the weakness of all parties. The French war was scarcely heard of; the tranquillity of the northern borders was only interrupted by one inroad of the Scots, which proceeded more from a rivalship between the two martial families of Percy and

character of him: but he is a writer somewhat passionate and partial; and the choice made of this gentleman by Edward III. and the Black Prince for the education of Richard, makes the character given him by Froissard much more probable.

(*d*) In general, the parliament in those days never paid a proper regard to Edward's statute of treasons, though one of the most advantageous laws for the subject that has ever been enacted. In the 17th of the king, "the dukes of Lancaster and Gloucester complain to Richard that sir Thomas Talbot, with others of his adherents, conspired the death of the said dukes in divers parts of Cheshire, as the same was confessed and well known: and praying that the parliament would judge of the fault. Whereupon the king and the lords in the parliament judged the same fact to be open and high treason: and hereupon they award two writs, the one to the sheriff of York, and the other to the sheriffs of Derby, to take the body of the said sir Thomas, returnable in the King's Bench in the month of Easter then ensuing. And open proclamation was made in Westminster Hall, that upon the sheriff's return, and at the next coming in of the said sir Thomas, the said Thomas should be convicted of treason, and incur the loss and pain of the same: and all such as should receive him, after the proclamation, shall incur the same loss and pain." Cotton, p. 354. It is to be observed, that this extraordinary judgement was passed in a time of tranquillity. Though the statute itself of Edward III. reserves a power to the parliament to declare any new species of treason, it is not to be supposed that this power was reserved to the house of lords alone, or that men were to be judged by a law *ex post facto*. At least, if such be the meaning of the clause, it may be affirmed that men were at that time very ignorant of the first principles of law and justice.

Douglas, than from any national quarrel: a fierce battle or skirmish was fought at Otterborne, on the 15th of August, 1388, in which young Percy, sirnamed *Hotspur*, from his impetuous valour, was taken prisoner, and Douglas slain; and the victory remained undecided.

In the summer of 1394, Richard resolved to undertake an expedition into Ireland, as well to settle some affairs which required arrangement, as to divert his grief for the loss of his amiable consort, who died on Whitsunday, at the palace of Shene, near Richmond. He accordingly embarked at Milford Haven about Michaelmas; and on his arrival in Ireland, found all the Irish chieftains, whose incursions had been the cause of his voyage, ready to make any kind of submission he should require; and Richard, by nature generous and humane, wisely preferred attaching them to his interest by acts of munificence, than to attempt to awe them into subjection by threats or punishment. He therefore received them kindly, and loaded them with presents. Having passed the winter in Dublin, where he assembled a parliament, he returned to England in the spring of 1395.

At last, the English and French courts began to think in earnest of a lasting peace; but found it so difficult to adjust their opposite pretensions, that they were content to establish a truce of twenty-five years: Brest and Cherbourg were restored, the former to the duke of Britanny, the latter to the king of Navarre: both parties were left in possession of all the other places which they held at the time of concluding the truce: and to render the amity between the two crowns more durable, Richard, who had been a widower about a year, was affianced to Isabella, the daughter of Charles. This princess was only seven years of age; but the king's object in agreeing to so unequal a match, was chiefly that he might fortify himself by this alliance, against the enterprizes of his uncles, particularly of the duke of Gloucester, and the incurable turbulence as well as inconstancy of his barons.

The English ambassadors having settled all the articles of the intended marriage, the contract was confirmed by the French monarch at Paris, on the 9th of March, 1396. As the contracting parties were within the degrees of consanguinity prohibited by the canons, a dispensation from the pope was requisite to be obtained; on which account the marriage was delayed till the first of November, when the nuptials were celebrated with great pomp in the church of St. Nicholas, at Calais, by the archbishop of Canterbury.

The administration of the king, though it was not, in this interval, sullied by any unpopular act, except the seizing of the charter of London, which was soon after restored, tended not much to corroborate his authority; and his personal character brought him into contempt, even while his public government appeared, in a great measure, unexceptionable. Indolent, profuse, addicted to low pleasures; he spent his whole time in feasting and jollity, and dissipated, in idle show, or in bounties to favourites of no reputation, that revenue which the people expected to see him employ in enterprizes directed to public honour and advantage. He forgot his rank by admitting all men to his familiarity; and he was not sensible, that their acquaintance with the qualities of his mind was not able to impress them with the respect which he neglected to preserve from his birth and station. The earls of Kent and Huntingdon, his two uterine brothers, were his chief confidents and favourites; and though he never devoted himself to them with so profuse an affection as that with which he had formerly been attached to the duke of Ireland, it was easy for men to see, that every grace passed through their hands, and that the king had rendered himself a mere cypher in the government. The small regard which the public bore to his person, disposed them to murmur against his administration, and to receive, with avidity every complaint which the discontented or ambitious grandees suggested against him.

The duke of Gloucester soon perceived the advantages which this dissolute conduct gave him; and finding, that both resentment and jealousy on the part of his nephew still prevented him from acquiring any ascendant over that prince, he determined to cultivate his popularity with the nation, and to revenge himself on those who eclipsed him in favour and authority. He seldom appeared at court or in council: he never declared his opinion but in order to disapprove of the measures embraced by the king and his favourites; and he courted the friendship of every man, whom disappointment or private resentment had rendered an enemy to the administration. The long truce with France was unpopular with the English, who breathed nothing but war against that hostile nation; and Gloucester took care to encourage all the vulgar prejudices which prevailed on this subject. Forgetting the misfortunes which attended the English arms during the later years of Edward, he made an invidious comparison between the glories of that reign and the inactivity of the present, and he lamented that Richard should have degenerated so much from the heroic virtues by which his father and his grandfather were distinguished. The military men were inflamed with a desire of war, when they heard him talk of the signal victories formerly obtained, and of the easy prey which might be made of French riches by the superior valour of the English: the populace readily embraced the same sentiments; and all men exclaimed that this prince, whose counsels were so much neglected, was the true support of English honour, and alone able to raise the nation to its former power and splendour. His great abilities, his popular manners, his princely extraction, his immense riches, his high office of constable, all these advantages, not a little assisted by his want of court-favour, gave him a mighty authority in the kingdom, and rendered him formidable to Richard and those who held the reins of government.

Froissard, a contemporary writer and very impartial, but whose credit is somewhat impaired by his want of exactness in material facts, ascribes to the duke of Gloucester more desperate views, and such as were totally incompatible with the government and domestic tranquillity of the nation. In the spring and summer of the year 1397, he had several private meetings with the principal prelates and nobles of his party, in which the most desperate designs are said—and with the greatest appearance of truth—to have been formed against the government, if not against the person of the king. According to that historian, he proposed to his nephew, Roger Mortimer earl of Marche, whom Richard had declared his successor, to give him immediate possession of the throne, by the deposition of a prince so unworthy of power and authority; and when Mortimer declined the project, he resolved to make a partition of the kingdom between himself, his two brothers, and the earl of Arundel; and entirely to dispossess Richard of the crown. The king, it is said, being informed of these designs, saw that either his own ruin or that of Gloucester was inevitable; and he resolved, by a hasty blow, to prevent the execution of such destructive projects. This is certain, that Gloucester, by his own confession, had often affected to speak contemptuously of the king's person and government; had deliberated concerning the lawfulness of throwing off allegiance to him; and had even borne part in a secret conference, where his deposition was proposed and talked of, and determined (*e*): but it is reasonable to think, that his schemes were not so far advanced as to make him resolve on putting them immediately in execution. The danger, probably, was still too distant to render a desperate remedy entirely necessary for the security of government.

But whatever opinion we may form of the danger arising from Gloucester's conspiracies, his aversion to the French truce and alliance was public and avowed; and that court, which had now a great influence over the king, pushed him to provide for his own safety, by punishing the traiterous designs of his uncle. The resentment against his former acts of violence revived; the sense of his refractory and uncompliant behaviour was still recent; and a man, whose ambition had once usurped royal authority, and who had murdered all the faithful servants of the king, was thought capable, on a favourable opportunity of renewing the same criminal enterprizes. The king's precipitate temper admitted of no deliberation: Gloucester was unexpectedly arrested at his castle of Pleshy in Essex; hurried on board a ship which was lying in the river; and carried over to Calais, where alone, by reason of Richard's numerous partizans, he could safely be detained in custody. The earls of Arundel and Warwick were seized at the same time: the malcontents, so suddenly deprived of their leaders,

(*e*) Cotton, p. 378. Tyrrel, vol. iii. part 2. p. 972. from the records. Parliamentary History, vol. i. p. 473. That this confession was genuine, and obtained without violence, may be entirely depended on. Judge Rickhill, who brought it over from Calais, was tried on that account, and acquitted in the first parliament of Henry IV. when Gloucester's party was prevalent. His acquittal, notwithstanding his innocence, may even appear marvellous, considering the times. See Cotton, p. 393.

were

were astonished and overawed; and the concurrence of the dukes of Lancaster and York in those measures, together with the earls of Derby and Rutland, the eldest sons of these princes, bereaved them of all possibility of resistance.

A parliament was immediately summoned to meet at Westminster on the 17th of September, and the king doubted not to find the peers, and still more the commons, compliant with his will. This house had in a former parliament given him very sensible proofs of their attachment (*f*); and the present suppression of Gloucester's party made him still more assured of a favourable election. As a farther expedient for that purpose, he is also said to have employed the influence of the sheriffs; a practice which, though not unusual, gave umbrage, but which the established authority of that assembly rendered afterwards still more familiar to the nation. Accordingly the parliament passed whatever acts the king was pleased to dictate to them (*g*): they annulled for ever the commission which usurped upon the royal authority, and they declared it treasonable to attempt, in any future period, the revival of any similar commission (*h*): they abrogated all the acts which attainted the king's ministers, and which that parliament who passed them, and the whole nation, had sworn inviolably to maintain: and they declared the general pardon then granted to be invalid, as extorted by force, and never ratified by the free consent of the king. Though Richard, after he resumed the government, and lay no longer under restraint, had voluntarily, by proclamation, confirmed that general indemnity: this circumstance seemed not, in their eyes, to merit any consideration. Even a particular pardon, granted six years after to the earl of Arundel, was annulled by parliament; on pretence that it had been procured by surprize, and that the king was not then fully apprized of the degree of guilt incurred by that nobleman.

The commons then preferred an impeachment against Thomas Arundel, archbishop of Canterbury, for his concurrence in procuring the illegal commission, and in attainting the king's ministers. The primate being found guilty, was punished by banishment, and the sequestration of his temporalities. An appeal or accusation was presented against the duke of Gloucester, and the earls of Arundel and Warwick, by the earls of Rutland, Kent, Huntingdon, Somerset, Salisbury, and Nottingham, together with the lords Spencer and Scrope, and they were accused of the same crimes which had been imputed to the archbishop, as well as of their appearance against the king in a hostile manner at Haringay Park. The earl of Arundel, who was brought to the bar, wisely confined all his defence to the pleading of both the general and particular pardon of the king; but his plea being over-ruled, he was condemned and conveyed immediately from the bar to Tower Hill, where he was beheaded, on the 21st of September. The earl of Warwick, who was also convicted of high treason, was, on account of his submissive behaviour, pardoned as to his life, but doomed to perpetual banishment in the Isle of Man. No new acts of treason were imputed to either of these noblemen. The only crimes, for which they were condemned, were the old attempts against the crown, which seemed to be obliterated, both by the distance of time and by repeated pardons. The reason of this method of proceeding, it is difficult to conjecture. The recent conspiracies of Gloucester seem certain from his own confession: but, perhaps, the king and ministry had not at that time in their hands any satisfactory proof of their reality; perhaps, it was difficult to convict Arundel and Warwick of any participation in them; perhaps, an inquiry into these conspiracies would have involved in the guilt some of those great noblemen who now concurred with the crown, and whom it was necessary to cover from all imputation; or perhaps the king, according to the genius of the age, was indifferent about maintaining even the appearance of law and equity, and was only solicitous by any means to ensure success in these prosecutions. This point, like many others in ancient history, we are obliged to leave altogether undetermined.

A warrant was issued to the earl mareschal, governor of Calais, to bring over the duke of Gloucester, in order to his trial; but the governor returned for answer, that the duke had died suddenly of an apoplexy in that fortress. It was then required by the lords appellants, and by the commons likewise, that the late duke of Gloucester should be declared to have been a traitor, and that all his estates should be confiscated; which requisition was instantly complied with. Nothing could be more suspicious, from the time, than the circumstances of that prince's death: it became immediately the general opinion, that he was murdered by orders from his nephew: in the subsequent reign undoubted proofs were produced in parliament, that he had been suffocated with pillows by his keepers (*i*). And it appeared that the king, apprehensive lest the public trial and execution of so popular a prince, and so near a relation, might prove both dangerous and invidious, had taken this base method of gratifying, and, as he fancied, concealing his revenge upon him. Both parties, in their successive triumphs, seem to have had no farther concern than that of retaliating upon their adversaries; and neither of them were aware, that, by imitating, they indirectly justified, as far as it lay in their power, all the illegal violence of the opposite party.

This session concluded with the creation or advancement of several peers: the earl of Derby was made duke of Hereford; the earl of Rutland, duke of Albemarle; the earl of Kent, duke of Surrey; the earl of Huntingdon, duke of Exeter; the earl of Nottingham, duke of Norfolk; the earl of Somerset, marquis of Dorset; lord Spenser, earl of Gloucester; Ralph Nevil, earl of Westmoreland; Thomas Percy, earl of Worcester; William Scrope, earl of Wiltshire. The parliament, after a session of twelve days, was adjourned to Shrewsbury. The king, before the departure of the members, exacted from them an oath for the perpetual maintenance and establishment of all their acts; an oath similar to that which had formerly been required by the duke of Gloucester and his party, and which had already proved so vain and fruitless.

Both king and parliament met in the same dispositions at Shrewsbury, on the 28th of January, 1398. So anxious was Richard for the security of these acts, that he obliged the lords and commons to swear anew to them on the cross of Canterbury; and he soon after procured a bull from the pope, by which they were, as he imagined, perpetually secured and established. The parliament, on the other hand, conferred on him *for life* the duties on wool, woolfells, and leather, and granted him, besides a subsidy of one tenth and a half, and one fifteenth and a half. They also reversed the attainder of Tresilian and the other judges, and, with the approbation of the present judges, declared the answers, for which these magistrates had been impeached, to be just and legal; and they carried so far their retrospect, as to reverse, on the petition of lord Spenser, earl of Gloucester, the attainder pronounced against the two Spensers in the reign of Edward II. The ancient history of England is nothing but a catalogue of reversals: every thing is in fluctuation and movement: one faction is continually undoing what was established by another; and the multiplied oaths, which each party exacted for the security of the present acts, betray a perpetual consciousness of their instability.

Before the parliament was dissolved they elected a committee of twelve lords and six commoners (*k*), whom they invested with the whole power both of lords and commons, and

(*f*) In the preceding parliament the commons had shewn a disposition very complaisant to the king; yet there happened an incident in their proceedings which is curious, and shews us the state of the house during that period. The members were either country gentlemen or merchants, who were assembled for a few days, and were entirely unacquainted with business; so that it was easy to lead them astray, and draw them into votes and resolutions very different from their intention. Some petitions concerning the state of the nation were voted; in which, among other things, the house recommended frugality to the king; and for that purpose desired that the court should not be so much frequented as formerly by *bishops* and *ladies*. The king was displeased with this freedom: the commons very humbly craved pardon: he was not satisfied unless they would name the mover of the petitions. It happened to be one Haxey, whom the parliament, in order to make atonement, condemned for this offence to die the death of a traitor. But the king, at the desire of the archbishop of Canterbury and the prelates, pardoned him. When a parliament in those times, not agitated by any faction, and being at entire freedom, could be guilty of such monstrous extravagance, it is easy to judge what might be expected from them in more trying situations. See Cotton's Abridgement, 361, 362.

(*g*) The nobles brought numerous retainers with them to give them security, as we are told by Walsingham, p. 354. The king had only a few Cheshire men for his guard. It is said by Rymer and Hollinshed, that the nobles were attended by such prodigious retinues, that they not only filled all the vacant apartments in London and its vicinity, but in all the towns and villages within ten miles of the metropolis.

(*h*) Statutes at Large, 21 Richard II.

(*i*) Cotton, p. 399, 400. Dugdale, vol. ii. p. 171.

(*k*) The names of the commissioners were, the dukes of Lancaster, York, Albemarle, Surrey, and Exeter; the marquis of Dorset; the earls

and endowed with full authority to finish all business which had been laid before the houses, and which they had not had leisure to bring to a conclusion. This was an unusual concession; and though it was limited in the object, might, either immediately or as a precedent, have proved dangerous to the constitution; but the cause of that extraordinary measure was an event singular and unexpected, which engaged the attention of the parliament.

After the destruction of the duke of Gloucester and the heads of that party, a misunderstanding broke out among those noblemen who had joined in the prosecution; and the king wanted either authority sufficient to appease it, or foresight to prevent it. The duke of Hereford appeared in parliament, and accused the duke of Norfolk of having spoken to him, in private, many slanderous words of the king, and of having imputed to that prince an intention of subverting and destroying many of his principal nobility. Norfolk denied the charge, gave Hereford the lie, and offered to prove his innocence by duel. The challenge was accepted: the time and place of combat were appointed: and as the event of this important trial by arms might require the interposition of legislative authority, the parliament thought it more suitable to delegate their power to a committee, than to prolong the session beyond the usual time which custom and general convenience had prescribed to it (*l*).

The duke of Hereford was certainly very little delicate in the point of honour, when he revealed a private conversation to the ruin of the person who had entrusted him; and we may thence be more inclined to believe the duke of Norfolk's denial, than the other's asseveration. But Norfolk had in these transactions betrayed an equal neglect of honour, which brings him entirely on a level with his antagonist. Though he had publicly joined with the duke of Gloucester and his party in all the former acts of violence against the king; and his name stands among the appellants who accused the duke of Ireland and the other ministers; yet was he not ashamed publicly to impeach his former associates for the very crimes which he had concurred with them in committing; and his name increases the list of those appellants who brought them to a trial. Such were the principles and practices of those ancient knights and barons during the prevalence of the aristocratical government, and the reign of chivalry.

The lists for this decision of truth and right were appointed at Coventry, before the king, on the 16th of September. All the nobility of England bandied into parties, and adhered either to the one duke or the other: the whole nation was held in suspense with regard to the event; but when the two champions appeared in the field, accoutred for the combat, the king interposed, to prevent both the present effusion of such noble blood, and the future consequences of the quarrel. By the advice and authority of the parliamentary commissioners he stopped the duel; and to shew his impartiality, he ordered, by the same authority, both the combatants to leave the kingdom; assigning one country for the place of Norfolk's exile, which he declared perpetual; another for that of Hereford, which he limited to ten years.

The duke of Norfolk was greatly affected at the cruelty of the king's judgement: he first retired to Germany, and from thence repaired to Venice, where his grief in a short time brought him to his grave. Hereford, on the contrary, was a man of great prudence and command of temper; and behaved himself with so much submission in these delicate circumstances, that the king, before his departure, shortened the term of his exile four years; and he also granted him letters patent, by which he was empowered, in case any inheritance should in the interval devolve to him, to enter immediately in possession, and to postpone the doing of homage till his return.

The weakness and fluctuation of Richard's counsels appear no where more evident than in the conduct of this affair. No sooner had Hereford left the kingdom, than the king's jealousy of the power and riches of that prince's family revived; and he was sensible, that, by Gloucester's death, he had only removed a counterpoise to the Lancastrian interest, which was now become formidable to his crown and kingdom. Being informed that Hereford had entered into a treaty of marriage with the daughter of the duke of Berry, uncle to the French king, he determined to prevent the finishing of an alliance which would so much extend the interest of his cousin in foreign countries; and he sent over the earl of Salisbury to Paris with a commission for that purpose. The death of John of Gaunt, duke of Lancaster, which happened on the 3rd of February, 1399, in the fourth month after Hereford's exile, called upon him to take new resolutions with regard to that opulent succession. The present duke, in consequence of the king's patent, desired to be put in possession of the estate and jurisdictions of his father; but Richard, afraid of strengthening the hands of a man whom he had already so much offended, applied to the parliamentary commissioners, and persuaded them, that this affair was but an appendage to that business which the parliament had delegated to them. By their authority he revoked his letters patent, and retained possession of the estate of Lancaster; and by the same authority he seized and tried the duke's attorney, who had procured and insisted on the letters, and he had him condemned as a traitor, for faithfully executing that trust to his master (*m*). An extravagant act of power! even though the king changed, in favour of the attorney, the penalty of death into that of banishment.

Henry, the new duke of Lancaster, had acquired, by his conduct and abilities, the esteem of the public; and having served with distinction against the infidels in Lithunia, he had joined to his other praises those of piety and valour, virtues which have at all times a great influence over mankind, and were, during those ages, the qualities chiefly held in estimation. He was connected with most of the principal nobility by blood, alliance, or friendship; and as the injury done him by the king might in its consequences affect all of them, he easily brought them, by a sense of common interest, to take part in his resentment. The people, who must have an object of affection, who found nothing in the king's person which they could love or revere, and who were even disgusted with many parts of his conduct (*n*), easily transferred to Henry that attachment, which the death of the duke of Gloucester had left without any fixed direction. His misfortunes were lamented; the injustice which he had suffered was complained of; and all men turned their eyes towards him, as the only person that could retrieve the lost honour of the nation, or redress the supposed abuses in the government.

While such were the dispositions of the people, Richard had the imprudence to embark for Ireland, in order to revenge the death of his cousin, Roger earl of Marche, the presumptive heir of the crown, who had lately been slain in a skirmish by the natives; and he thereby left the kingdom of England open to the attempts of his provoked and ambitious enemy. Henry of Bolingbroke, the present duke of Lancaster, was at the court of France when he received intelligence of his father's death, and of the revocation of his letters patent; and, as his friends in England were both numerous and powerful, he received very pressing invitations to profit by the king's absence, in order to recover those estates which were unjustly with-held from him. Thus encouraged, he determined on the voyage; and having obtained a few ships from the duke of Britanny, he embarked at Nantz with a retinue of sixty armed men, accompanied by Thomas Arundel, the exiled primate, and the young earl of Arundel, nephew to the archbishop. After hovering some days on the coast, he landed at Ravenspur in Yorkshire, on the 4th of July, and was immediately joined by the earls of Northumberland and Westmoreland, two of the most potent nobles in England. Here he took a solemn oath, that he had no other purpose in this invasion, than to recover the duchy of Lancaster, unjustly detained from him; and he invited all his friends in England, and all lovers of their country, to second him in this reasonable and moderate pretension. Deceived by these specious pretensions, thus sanctioned

earls of Marche, Salisbury, Northumberland, Gloucester, Winchester, and Wiltshire; John Bussey, Henry Green, John Russel, Robert Teyne, Henry Chelmeswicke, and John Golofre. It is to be remarked, that the duke of Lancaster always concurred with the rest in all their proceedings, even in the banishment of his son, which was afterwards so much complained of.

(*l*) In the first year of Henry VI. when the authority of parliament was great, and when that assembly could least be suspected of lying under violence, a like concession was made to the privy council, from like motives of convenience. See Cotton, p. 564.

(*m*) Tyrrel, vol. iii. part 2. p. 991, from the records.

(*n*) He levied fines upon those who had ten years before joined the duke of Gloucester and his party: they were obliged to pay him money, before he would allow them to enjoy the benefit of the indemnity; and in the articles of charge against him, it is asserted, that the payment of one fine did not suffice. It is indeed likely, that his ministers would abuse the power put into their hands; and this grievance extended to very many people. Historians agree in representing this practice as a great oppression. See Otterbourne, p. 199.

by the much prostituted solemnity of an oath, every place was in commotion; the malcontents in all quarters flew to arms; London discovered the strongest symptoms of its disposition to mutiny and rebellion; and Henry's army, increasing on every day's march, soon amounted to the number of sixty thousand combatants.

The duke of York was left guardian of the realm; a place to which his birth entitled him, but which both his slender abilities, and his natural connexions with the duke of Lancaster, rendered him utterly incapable of filling in such a dangerous emergency. Such of the chief nobility as were attached to the crown, and could either have seconded the guardian's good intentions, or have overawed his infidelity, had attended the king into Ireland; and the efforts of Richard's friends were every where more feeble than those of his enemies. The duke of York, however, appointed the rendezvous of his forces at St. Alban's, and soon assembled an army of forty thousand men; but found them entirely destitute of zeal and attachment to the royal cause, and more inclined to join the party of the rebels. He hearkened therefore very readily to a message from Henry, who entreated him not to oppose a loyal and humble supplicant in the recovery of his legal patrimony; and the guardian even declared publicly that he would second his nephew in so reasonable a request. His army embraced with acclamations the same measures; and the duke of Lancaster, reinforced by them, was now entirely master of the kingdom. He hastened to Bristol, into which some of the king's ministers had thrown themselves; and soon obliging that place to surrender, he yielded to the popular wishes, and without giving them a trial, ordered the earl of Wiltshire, Sir John Bussy, and Sir Henry Green, whom he there took prisoners, to be led to immediate execution.

The king, receiving intelligence of this invasion and insurrection, hastened over from Ireland, and landed in Milford Haven with a body of twenty thousand men: but even this army, so much inferior to the enemy, was either overawed by the general combination of the kingdom, or seized with the same spirit of disaffection; and they gradually deserted him, till he found that he had not above six thousand men who followed his standard. It appeared, therefore, necessary to retire secretly from this small body, which served only to expose him to danger; and he fled to Conway Castle in the isle of Anglesea, where it was discussed, with all the deliberation which the emergency would admit of, whether it would be most proper to leave the kingdom, and repair for shelter to his French dominions, or to open a negociation with the duke of Lancaster, who had not yet promulgated his designs on the crown. Unfortunately the last of these measures was adopted, and the duke of Exeter dispatched for the purpose of proposing a treaty; but that nobleman was detained by Lancaster, who sent the earl of Northumberland to Conway Castle, with demands of such specious moderation, that the king was impelled to an immediate compliance. The earl then prevailed on Richard to hold a personal conference with Lancaster at Flint Castle, in order to complete the negociation; but the king was seized on the road by a body of armed men, and conducted to the duke of Lancaster; who conveyed him first to his head quarters at Chester; and then, by easy journies, to the Tower of London, where he was safely lodged on the second of September. It is pretended that the recorder met him on the road, and in the name of the city, entreated him, for the public safety, to put Richard to death, with all his adherents who were prisoners; but the duke prudently determined to make many others participate in his guilt, before he would proceed to those extremities. For this purpose, he issued writs of election in the king's name, and appointed the meeting of a parliament at Westminster, on the 30th of the same month.

Such of the peers as were most devoted to the king, were either fled or imprisoned; and no opponents, even among the barons, dared to appear against Henry, amidst that scene of outrage and violence, which commonly attends revolutions, especially in England during those turbulent ages. It is also easy to imagine, that a house of commons, elected during this universal ferment, and this triumph of the Lancastrian party, would be extremely attached to that cause, and ready to second every suggestion of their leaders. That order, being as yet of too little weight to stem the torrent, was always carried along with it, and served only to increase the violence, which the public interest required it should endeavour to control. The duke of Lancaster, therefore, sensible that he should be entirely master, began to carry his views to the crown itself; and he deliberated with his partizans concerning the most proper means of effecting his purpose. He first extorted a resignation from Richard, on the day previous to the meeting of parliament; but as he knew that this deed would plainly appear the result of force and fear, he also purposed, notwithstanding the danger of the precedent to himself and his posterity, to have him solemnly deposed in parliament, for his pretended tyranny and misconduct. With this view, a charge, consisting of thirty-three articles, was accordingly drawn up against him, and presented to that assembly. The coronation oath was prefixed to it, for the purpose of proving that by particular acts specified in those articles, he had violated that oath.

If we examine these articles, which are expressed with extreme acrimony against Richard, we shall find that, except some rash speeches which are imputed to him, and of whose reality, as they are said to have passed in private conversation, we may reasonably entertain some doubt; the chief amount of the charge is contained in his violent conduct during the two last years of his reign, and naturally divides itself into two principal heads. The first and most considerable is the revenge which he took on the princes and great barons, who had formerly usurped, and still persevered in controlling and threatening, his authority; the second is the violation of the laws and general privileges of his people. But the former, however irregular in many of its circumstances, was fully supported by authority of parliament, and was but a copy of the violence which the princes and barons themselves, during their former triumph, had exercised against him and his party. The detention of Lancaster's estate was properly speaking, a revocation by parliamentary authority, of a grace, which the king himself had formerly granted him. The murder of Gloucester (for the secret execution, however merited, of that prince, certainly deserves this appellation,) was a private deed, formed not any precedent, and implied not any usurped or arbitrary power of the crown, which could justly give umbrage to the people. It really proceeded from a defect of power in the king, rather than from his ambition; and proves that instead of being dangerous to the constitution, he possessed not even the authority necessary for the execution of the laws.

Concerning the second head of accusation, as it mostly consists of general facts, was framed by Richard's inveterate enemies, and was never allowed to be answered by him or his friends, it is more difficult to form a judgement. The greater part of these grievances, imputed to Richard, seems to be the exertion of arbitrary prerogatives; such as the dispensing power (*o*), levying purveyance (*p*), employing the marshal's court (*q*), extorting loans (*r*), granting protections from law-suits (*s*); prerogatives which, though often complained of, had frequently been exercised by his predecessors, and continued to be so by his successors. But whether his irregular acts of this kind were more frequent, and injudicious, and violent than usual, or were only laid hold of and exaggerated by the factions to which the weakness of his reign had given birth, we are not able, at this distance, to determine with certainty. There is, however, one circumstance in which his conduct is visibly different from that of his grandfather: he is not accused of having imposed one arbitrary tax, without consent of parliament, during his whole reign (*t*): scarcely a year passed during the reign of Edward, which was free from complaints with regard to this dangerous exertion of authority. But, perhaps, the ascendant which Edward had acquired over the people, together with his great prudence, enabled him to make a use very advantageous to his subjects of this and other arbitrary prerogatives, and rendered them a smaller grievance in his hands, than a less absolute authority in those of his grandson. This is a point which it would be rash for us to decide positively on either side; but it is certain, that a charge drawn up by the duke of Lancaster, and assented to by a parliament situated in those circumstances, forms no manner of pre-

(*o*) Art. 13, 17, 18. (*p*) Art. 22. (*q*) Art. 27. (*r*) Art. 14. (*s*) Art. 16.

(*t*) We learn from Cotton, p. 362, that the king, by his chancellor, told the commons, "that they were sunderly bound to him, and namely in forbearing to charge them with desmes and fifteens, the which he meant *no more* to charge them in his own person." These words *no more*, allude to the practice of his predecessors: he had not himself imposed any arbitrary taxes: even the parliament, in the articles of his deposition, though they complain of heavy taxes, affirm not that they were imposed illegally or by arbitrary will.

sumption with regard to the unusual irregularity or violence of the king's conduct in this particular (*u*).

When the charge against Richard was presented to the parliament, though it was liable, almost in every article, to objections, it was not canvassed, nor examined, nor disputed in either house, and seemed to be received with universal approbation. One man alone, Thomas Merks, bishop of Carlisle, had the courage, amidst this general disloyalty and violence, to appear in defence of his unhappy master, and to plead his cause against all the power of the prevailing party. Though some topics, employed by that virtuous prelate, may seem to favour too much the doctrine of passive obedience, and to make too large a sacrifice of the rights of mankind; he was naturally pushed into that extreme by his abhorrence of the present licentious factions; and such intrepidity, as well as disinterestedness of behaviour, proves, that whatever his speculative principles were, his heart was elevated far above the meanness and abject submission of a slave. He represented to the parliament, that all the abuses of government which could justly be imputed to Richard, instead of amounting to tyranny, were merely the result of error, youth, or misguided counsel, and admitted of a remedy, more easy and salutary than a total subversion of the constitution. That even had they been much more violent and dangerous than they really were, they had chiefly proceeded from former examples of resistance, which, making the prince sensible of his precarious situation, had obliged him to establish his throne by irregular and arbitrary expedients. That a rebellious disposition in subjects was the principal cause of tyranny in kings: laws could never secure the subject, which did not give security to the sovereign: and if the maxim of inviolable loyalty, which formed the basis of the English government, were once rejected, the privileges belonging to the several orders of the state, instead of being fortified by that licentiousness, would thereby lose the surest foundation of their force and stability. That the parliamentary deposition of Edward II. far from making a precedent which could control this maxim, was only an example of successful violence; and it was sufficiently to be lamented, that crimes were so often committed in the world, without establishing principles which might justify and authorize them. That even that precedent, false and dangerous as it was, could never warrant the present excesses, which were so much greater, and which would entail distraction and misery on the nation, to the latest posterity. That the succession, at least of the crown, was then preserved inviolate: the lineal heir was placed on the throne; and the people had an opportunity, by their legal obedience to him, of making atonement for the violence which they had committed against his predecessor. That a descendant of Lionel duke of Clarence, the elder brother of the late duke of Lancaster, had been declared in parliament successor to the crown: he had left posterity; and their title, however it might be overpowered by present force and faction, could never be obliterated from the minds of the people. That if the turbulent disposition alone of the nation had overturned the well-established throne of so good a prince as Richard; what dreadful commotions must ensue, when the same cause was united to the motive of restoring the legal and undoubted heir to his authority? That the new government, intended to be established, would stand on no principle; and would scarcely retain any pretence, by which it could challenge the obedience of men of sense and virtue. That the claim of lineal descent was so gross as scarcely to deceive the most ignorant of the populace: conquest could never be pleaded by a rebel against his sovereign: the consent of the people had no authority in a monarchy not derived from consent, but established by hereditary right; and however the nation might be justified in deposing the misguided Richard, it could never have any reason for setting aside his lawful heir and successor, who was plainly innocent. And that the duke of Lancaster would give them but a bad specimen of the legal moderation which might be expected from his future government, if he added to the crime of his past rebellion, the guilt of excluding the family, which, both by right of blood, and by declaration of parliament, would, in case of Richard's demise, or voluntary resignation have been received as the undoubted heirs of the monarchy (*v*).

All the circumstances of this event, compared to those which attended the late revolution in 1688, shew the difference between a great and civilized nation, deliberately vindicating its established privileges, and a turbulent and barbarous aristocracy, plunging headlong from the extremes of one faction into those of another. The noble freedom of the bishop of Carlisle, which from men of honour and honesty must have extorted applause, was rewarded by an order, from the rebellious tyrant who now aspired to the crown, to the earl mareschal, to take the virtuous prelate into custody, and send him prisoner to the abbey of St. Alban's—an act of violence infinitely more arbitrary and unconstitutional than any that had been committed during the reign of Richard. No farther debate was attempted: thirty-three long articles of charge were, in one meeting, voted against Richard; and voted unanimously by the same peers and prelates who a little before had, voluntarily and unanimously, authorized those very acts of violence of which they now complained. That prince was deposed by the suffrages of both houses; and the throne being now vacant, the duke of Lancaster stepped forth, and having crossed himself on the forehead and on the breast, and called upon the name of Christ, he pronounced these words, which we shall give in the original language, because of their singularity:

"In the name of Fadher, Son, and Holy Ghost, I Henry of Lancaster challenge this rewme of Ynglonde, and the crowne, with all the membres, and the apeurtenances; als I that am descendit by right line of the blode, comyng fro the gude Lord King Henry Therde, and throghe that ryght that God of his grace hath sent me, with helpe of my kyn, and of my frendes to recover it; the whiche rewme was in point to be ondone by defaut of governance, and ondoying of the gude lawes."

In order to understand this speech, it must be observed, that there was a silly story, received among some of the lower orders of the people, that Edmund earl of Lancaster, son of Henry III. was really the elder brother of Edward I.; but that, by reason of some deformity in his person, he had been postponed in the succession, and his younger brother imposed on the nation in his stead. As the present duke of Lancaster inherited from Edmund by his mother, this genealogy made him the true heir of the monarchy; and it is therefore insinuated in Henry's speech: but the absurdity was too gross to be openly avowed either by him or by the parliament. The case is the same with regard to his right of conquest: he was a subject who rebelled against his sovereign: he entered the kingdom with a retinue of no more than sixty persons: he could not therefore be the conqueror of England; and this right is accordingly insinuated, not avowed. Still there is a third claim derived from his merits in saving the nation from tyranny and oppression; and this claim is also insinuated: but as it seemed, by its nature, better calculated as a reason for his being *elected* king by a free choice, than for giving him an immediate right of possession, he durst not speak openly even on this head; and to obviate any notion of election, he challenges the crown as his due, either by acquisition or inheritance. The whole forms such a piece of jargon and nonsense, as is almost without example: no objection, however, was made to it in parliament: the unanimous voice of lords and commons placed Henry on the throne: he became king, nobody could tell how or wherefore: the title of the house of Marche, formerly recognized by parliament, was neither invalidated nor repealed; but passed over in total silence; and as a concern for the liberties of the people seems to have had no hand in this revolution, their right to dispose of the government, as well as all their other privileges, was left pre-

(*u*) To shew how little credit is to be given to this charge against Richard, we may observe, that a law, in the 13 Edw. III. had been enacted against the continuance of sheriffs for more than one year: but the inconvenience of changes having afterwards appeared from experience, the commons, in the twentieth of this king, applied by petition, that the sheriffs might be continued; though that petition had not been enacted into a statute, by reason of other disagreeable circumstances which attended it. See Cotton, p. 361. It was certainly a very moderate exercise of the dispensing power in the king to continue the sheriffs, after he found that that practice would be acceptable to his subjects, and had been applied for by one house of parliament: yet is this made an article of charge against him by the present parliament. See art. 18. Walsingham, speaking of a period early in Richard's minority, says, "But what do acts of parliament signify, when after they are made they take no effect; since the king, by the advice of the privy council, takes upon him to alter, or wholly set aside all those things which by general consent had been ordained in parliament?" If Richard, therefore, exercised the dispensing power, he was warranted by the examples of his uncles and grandfather, and, indeed, of all his predecessors from the time of Henry III. inclusive.

(*v*) Sir John Heywarde, p. 101.

cisely on the same footing as before. But Henry having, when he claimed the crown, dropped some obscure hint concerning conquest, which, it was thought, might endanger these privileges, he soon after made a public declaration, that he did not thereby intend to deprive any one of his franchises or liberties; which was the only circumstance, where we shall find meaning or common sense, in all these transactions.

The subsequent events discover the same headlong violence of conduct, and the same rude notions of civil government. The deposition of Richard dissolved the parliament: it was necessary to summon a new one; and Henry, October 6, 1399, called together, without any new election, the same members; and this assembly he denominated a new parliament. They were employed in the usual task of reversing every deed of the opposite party. All the acts of the last parliament of Richard, which had been confirmed by their oaths, and by a papal bull, were now abrogated: all the acts which had passed in the parliament where Gloucester prevailed, which had also been confirmed by their oaths, but which had been abolished by Richard, were anew established. The answers of Tresilian, and the three other judges, which one parliament had annulled, but which another parliament, and new judges, had approved, here received a second condemnation. The peers who had accused Gloucester, Arundel, and Warwick, and who had received higher titles for that piece of service, were all of them degraded from their new dignities: even the practice of prosecuting appeals in parliament, which bore the air of a violent confederacy against an individual, rather than of a legal indictment, was wholly abolished; and trials were restored to the course of common law. The natural effect of this conduct was to render the people giddy with such rapid and perpetual changes, and to make them lose all notions of right and wrong in the measures of government.

The earl of Northumberland made a motion, on the 23rd of October, in the house of peers, with regard to the unhappy prince whom they had deposed. He asked them what advice they would give the king for the future treatment of him; since Henry was resolved to spare his life. They unanimously replied, that he should be imprisoned under a secure guard, in some secret place, and should be deprived of all commerce with any of his friends or partizans. It was easy to foresee, that he would not long remain alive in the hands of such barbarous and sanguinary enemies. In a very short time Richard was murdered, though historians differ with regard to the manner in which he was put to death. It was long the prevailing opinion, that Sir Piers Exton, and others of his guards, fell upon him in the castle of Pomfret, (Pontefract) in Yorkshire, where he was confined, and dispatched him with their halberts. But it is more probable, that he was starved to death in prison; and after all sustenance was denied him, he prolonged his unhappy life, it is said, for a fortnight, before he reached the end of his miseries (*w*). He died in the thirty-fourth year of his age, and the twenty-third of his reign. He was buried at Westminster. He left no posterity, either legitimate or illegitimate. At the death of Richard the Second the Saxon race of princes became extinct.

All the writers, who have transmitted to us the history of Richard, lived during the reigns of the Lancastrian princes; and candour requires, that we should not give entire credit to the reproaches which they have thrown upon his memory. But, after making all proper allowances, he still appears to have been a very weak prince, and unfit for the government of a large kingdom, less for want of natural parts and capacity, than of solid judgement and a good education. He was violent in his temper; profuse in his expence; fond of idle show and magnificence; devoted to favourites; and addicted to pleasure: passions, all of them, the most inconsistent with a prudent œconomy, and consequently dangerous in a limited and mixed government. Had he possessed the talents of gaining, and still more those of overawing, his great barons, he might have escaped all the misfortunes of his reign, and been allowed to carry much farther his oppressions over the people, if he really was guilty of any, without their daring to rebel, or even to murmur against him. But when the grandees were tempted, by his want of prudence and of vigour, to resist his authority, and execute the most violent enterprizes upon him, he was naturally led to seek an opportunity of retaliation; justice was neglected; the lives of the chief nobility were sacrificed; and all these enormities seem to have proceeded less from a settled design of establishing arbitrary power, than from the insolence of victory, and the necessities of the king's situation. The manners indeed of the age were the chief source of such violence: laws, which were feebly executed in peaceable times, lost all their authority during public convulsions: both parties were alike guilty: or if any difference may be remarked between them, we shall find, that the authority of the crown, being more legal was commonly carried, when it prevailed, to less desperate extremities than was that of the aristocracy.

On comparing the conduct and events of this reign, with those of the preceding, we shall find equal reason to admire Edward, and to blame Richard; but the circumstance of opposition, surely, will not lie in the strict regard paid by the former to national privileges, and the neglect of them by the latter. On the contrary, the prince of small abilities, as he felt his want of power, seems to have been more moderate in this respect than the other. Every parliament assembled during the reign of Edward, remonstrates against the exertion of some arbitrary prerogative or other: we hear not any complaints of that kind during the reign of Richard, till the assembling of his last parliament, which was summoned by his inveterate enemies, which dethroned him, which framed their complaints during the time of the most furious convulsions, and whose testimony must therefore have, on that account, much less authority with every equitable judge (*x*). Both these princes experienced the encroachments of the Great upon their authority. Edward, reduced to necessities, was obliged to make an express bargain with his parliament, and to sell some of his prerogatives for present supply; but as they were acquainted with his genius and capacity, they ventured not to demand any exorbitant concessions, or such as were incompatible with regal and sovereign power: the weakness of Richard tempted the parliament to extort a commission, which, in a manner, dethroned the prince, and transferred the sceptre into the hands of the nobility. The events of these encroachments were also suitable to the character of each. Edward had no sooner gotten the supply, than he departed from the engagements which had induced the parliament to grant it; he openly told his people, that he had but *dissembled* with them when he seemed to make them these concessions; and he resumed and retained all his prerogatives. But Richard, because he was detected in consulting and deliberating with the judges on the lawfulness of restoring the constitution, found his barons immediately in arms against him; was deprived of his liberty; saw his favourites, his ministers, his tutor, butchered before his face, or banished and attainted; and was obliged to give way to all this violence. There cannot be a more remarkable contrast between the fortunes of two princes: it were happy for society, did this contrast always depend on the justice or injustice of the measures which men embrace; and not rather on the different degrees of prudence and vigour with which those measures are supported. Richard's domestic virtues incontestably prove that he was not born to be a tyrant--as a husband, he was mild and affectionate; as a master, liberal and indulgent; and as a friend, steady and sincere.

It cannot be supposed that, during a reign of turbulence and disorder, a very strict and impartial administration of justice could be preserved. The laws, despised by those who should have been most studious to enforce an observance of them, must naturally have fallen into general contempt. The following is the preamble to the statute against Maintenance, which was enacted by parliament at the beginning of the reign of Richard II. in the year 1377: "Whereas divers persons of small revenue of land, rent, or other possessions, do make great retinue of people, as well of esquires as of others, in many parts of the realm, giving to them hats and other livery of one suit by year, taking again towards them the value of the same livery, or percase the double value, by such covenant and assurance, that every of them shall maintain other in all quarrels, be they reasonable or unreasonable, to the great

(*w*) This account is more consistent with the story, that his body was exposed in public, and that no marks of violence were observed upon it.

(*x*) Peruse, in this view, the abridgement of the records by sir Robert Cotton, during these two reigns.

mischief

mischief and oppression of the people, &c."(*y*) This preamble contains a true picture of the state of the kingdom. The laws had been so feebly executed, even during the long, active, and vigorous reign of Edward III. that no subject could trust to their protection. Men openly associated themselves, under the patronage of some great baron, for their mutual defence. They wore public badges, by which their confederacy was distinguished. They supported each other in all quarrels, iniquities, extortions, murders, robberies, and other crimes. Their chief was more their sovereign than the king himself; and their own band was more connected with them than their country. Hence the perpetual turbulence, disorders, factions, and civil wars of those times: hence the small regard paid to a character or the opinion of the public: hence the large discretionary prerogatives of the crown, and the danger which might have ensued from the too great limitation of them. If the king had possessed no arbitrary powers, while all the nobles assumed and exercised them, there must have ensued an absolute anarchy in the state. One great mischief attending these confederacies, was the extorting from the king pardons for the most enormous crimes. The parliament often endeavoured, in the reign of Edward III. to deprive the prince of this prerogative; but, in that of Richard II. they were content with an abridgement of it. They enacted, that no pardon for rapes or for murder from malice prepense should be valid, unless the crime were particularly specified in it (*z*). There were also some other circumstances required for passing any pardon of this kind: an excellent law; but ill observed, like most laws that thwart the manners of the people, and the prevailing customs of the times.

It is easy to observe, from these voluntary associations among the people, that the whole force of the feudal system was in a manner dissolved, and that the English had nearly returned, in that particular, to the same situation in which they stood before the Norman conquest. It was, indeed, impossible that that system could long subsist under the perpetual revolutions to which landed property is every where subject. When the great feudal baronies were first erected, the lord lived in opulence in the midst of his vassals: he was in a situation to protect and cherish and defend them: the quality of patron naturally united itself to that of superior: and these two principles of authority mutually supported each other. But when, by the various divisions and mixtures of property, a man's superior came to live at a distance from him, and could no longer give him shelter or countenance; the tie gradually became more fictitious than real: new connections from vicinity or other causes were formed: protection was sought by voluntary services and attachment: the appearance of valour, spirit, abilities in any great man, extended his interest very far: and if the sovereign were deficient in these qualities, he was no less, if not more exposed to the usurpations of the aristocracy, than even during the vigour of the feudal system.

During the reign of Richard II. the constitution appears to have undergone a regular analysis. By the separation of its component parts, in an early period of this reign a democracy (though of a very short duration) was visible; at another time, a perfect aristocracy prevailed; and, in the interval, a monarchy, nearly approaching to absolute, predominated.

The hereditary revenues of the crown were now become inadequate to the expences of government, particularly in time of war; which obliged Richard, whose personal expences considerably increased the deficit, to make frequent applications to parliament for supplies. Among other taxes imposed for the discharge of these continual demands, there was one which, from its singularity, merits particular attention. This was a capitation tax, proportioned to the different ranks and degrees which men held in society. The established proportions were as follow:

A duke, ten marks; an earl four pounds; a baron, banneret, or knight, of equal estate with a baron, two pounds; every bachelor or esquire, who by estate ought to be made a knight, twenty shillings; widows of such bachelors and esquires, twenty shillings; esquires of less estate, four shillings and seven pence; widows of such esquires, six shillings and eight pence; esquires without lands, but who bear arms, three shillings and three pence; chief prior of the hospital of St. John, forty shillings; every commander of the order twenty shillings; every knight of the order, thirteen shillings and four pence; every brother of the order three shillings and four pence; judges of the King's Bench and Common Pleas, and chief baron of the exchequer, each one hundred shillings; every serjeant and great apprentice of the law, forty shillings; other apprentices of the law, twenty shillings; attornies, six and eight pence; the mayor of London, four pounds: aldermen of London, forty shillings; mayors of great towns, forty shillings; mayors of smaller towns, from twenty shillings to six and eight pence; jurats of towns, and capital merchants, twenty shillings; sufficient merchants, eight shillings and four pence; inferior merchants, artificers, and husbandmen, according to the value of their estates, four shillings and eight pence, three and four pence, two shillings, or one and six pence; every serjeant and freeman of the country, six shillings and eight pence, or forty pence; the farmers of manors, parsonages, and granges, dealers in cattle, and other tradesmen, according to the value of their estates, six shillings and eight pence, forty pence, two shillings, or one shilling; advocates, notaries, and proctors, who are married, according to their estates, three shillings and four pence, two shillings, or one shilling; inn-keepers, according to their estates, forty pence, two shillings, or one shilling; every married man, above the age of sixteen, for himself and wife, four pence; every unmarried man or woman, above sixteen, four pence; and every foreign merchant, according to his abilities.

Notwithstanding the partial distribution of justice, some wise and salutary laws for the encouragement of navigation, trade, and commerce, were passed in this reign. By one of these it was enacted, that the merchants of England should neither export nor import merchandize of any denomination in foreign vessels. This act may be considered as our first navigation act.

The greatest novelty introduced into the civil government during this reign was the creation of peers by patent. Lord Beauchamp of Holt was the first peer that was advanced to the house of lords in this manner. The practice of levying benevolences is also first mentioned in the present reign.

This prince lived in a more magnificent manner than perhaps any of his predecessors or successors. His household consisted of ten thousand persons: he had three hundred in his kitchen; and all the other offices were furnished in proportion (*a*). It must be remarked, that this enormous train had tables supplied them at the king's expence, according to the mode of that age. Such prodigality was probably the source of many exactions by purveyors, and was one chief reason of the public discontents.

CHAP. IX.

The History of the Church from the Accession of Henry the Second till the Death of Richard the Second.

IT is an incontrovertable fact, that whenever the throne of England has been filled by an usurper, the power and jurisdiction of the church of Rome has increased in an astonishing degree. These usurpers were so desirous of procuring the pope's confirmation of their precarious royalty, that they scrupled not to purchase it by concessions of the utmost importance. Such was the case with Stephen, who permitted the sovereign pontiffs to interfere with more direct authority in the government of the English church, than they had ever done in any of the preceding reigns. But, when Henry the Second acceded to the sovereignty of this country, whose hereditary right rendered it unnecessary to court the recognition of his holiness, it was natural to expect that he would endeavour to check the progress of that arbitrary interference which the vicar of St. Peter, prompted by priestly ambition, operating on the pliancy of an usurper, had endeavoured to establish as the prerogative of his see. The vigour and policy of Henry, with the great popularity which he enjoyed at the time of his accession, qualified him for a defender of the liberties of his church against the arrogant claims of the encroaching pontiffs. But, in the earlier part of his reign, he adopted a measure which rather encouraged than repressed the pretensions of the Romish see to a general dominion over Christian states. We allude to the application which he made to Adrian IV. in 1155, for the permission of invading Ireland. Though a papal

(*y*) 1 Rich. II. cap. 7. (*z*) 13 Rich. II. cap. _. (*a*) Harding: this poet says, that he speaks from the authority of a clerk of the green cloth.

papal bull was likely to be of some service in promoting the submission of the Irish, among whom the authority of the pope had already been exerted, it was not very judicious in Henry to take any step which tended in the least to the recognition of the exorbitant claims of Romish superiority.

The prelate who ruled the English church at the time of Stephen's death, was Theobald, who sat for above twenty-two years in the archiepiscopal chair of Canterbury. Having favoured the claims of Henry Plantagenet in his competition with Stephen, he enjoyed the confidence of that prince, which he retained till his death. Although Theobald was disposed to resist the royal exercise of compulsive power over the church, as appeared in his contests with Stephen, he was, on the whole, a moderate and unambitious ecclesiastic. His character in this respect was more particularly noticed after his decease, by a comparison between him and his turbulent successor, Thomas à Becket, who, when the primacy had been vacant for a twelvemonth, was removed, in 1162, from the station of high chancellor to that which his patron Theobald had occupied.

The conduct which Thomas à Becket pursued after his elevation to the archiepiscopal see of Canterbury, which placed him at the head of the church in England, has been so amply related in our account of the reign of Henry the Second, that it is unnecessary to recapitulate in the present chapter his long and pertinacious contest with his sovereign, on the subject of ecclesiastical exemptions and immunities; his inflexible obstinacy in maintaining the cause of the church against the interposition of the civil power; his intrigues with pope Alexander III. for the diminution of the royal prerogative; his long exile from his see; his outward reconciliation with Henry; his return to England, and his tragical death in 1170. It would likewise be superfluous to re-state the terms of accommodation which Henry concluded with Alexander, in 1172, and which, when compared with those which the sovereign pontiff had exacted from other European princes with whom she had been involved in contention, were far from being severe or oppressive.

During Henry's quarrel with Thomas à Becket and the pope, a party of German heretics made their appearance in England, and attracted the immediate attention of the heads of the church. Their leader was one Gerard, who, when examined before a synod at Oxford, replied that he and his brethren were Christians, and that they believed the apostolic doctrines. It is said, that they rejected baptism, marriage, the eucharist, and the invocation of saints; and being condemned as obstinate heretics by the council, they were ordered by the king, who, on this occasion, gave way to clerical intolerance, to be branded on the forehead, whipped through the streets of Oxford, and turned out into the fields, all persons being prohibited from affording them any relief or protection. It was then the midst of winter; and the sentence being rigorously executed, they perished by cold and famine. This was in the year 1165. It is said, that they succeeded in converting one person (a woman) to their doctrines.

When Henry was inclined to fill the vacancy occasioned by the death of Thomas à Becket, a dispute arose between the monks of Christ Church, Canterbury, and the suffragans of the province, the former being eager to have the sole and unbiassed election of the new primate. The king recommended the bishop of Bayeux, as a proper person to sit in the archiepiscopal chair; but the monks rejected him. After some consultation they agreed to compromise the affair by nominating three ecclesiastics, one of whom should be chosen by the king and the suffragans. Roger, abbot of Bec, in Normandy, was fixed on in 1173; but, either from an unaspiring temper, or from a dread of the sufferings of his predecessor, he obstinately refused the dignity to which he had been elected. Two persons were then proposed by the monks and the bishops, namely, Odo, prior of Canterbury, and Richard, prior of Dover. The latter was the object of royal appointment; but, before he received consecration, Henry's son, the young king, protested against the election, as it had not been honoured with his consent. This opposition produced an appeal to the pope, who, after various hearings, confirmed the nomination of Richard, consecrated him archbishop, and invested him with the legatine authority, in 1174.

With the consent, and in the presence of the two kings, Richard held a council at Westminster for the regulation of the affairs of the church, May 18, 1175. In this assembly a new law was enacted for the enforcement of celibacy among the clergy. By other canons, they were forbidden to wear long hair, to demand any fees for baptism, extreme unction, or other sacraments, to frequent houses of public entertainment, to execute civil or military offices, &c.

The old disputes between the archbishops of Canterbury and York were not yet effectually composed. Roger, the occupant of the latter see, had declined appearance in the late synod; but had sent some of his clergy to it, to claim the right of carrying his cross erect within the province of Canterbury, and to demand that the bishops of Lincoln, Chester, Worcester, and Hereford, should be considered as his suffragans. These claims were rejected by the council, and Roger's agents gave notice of an appeal to the sovereign pontiff on the subject. Other differences subsisting between the two archbishops, Henry requested the pope to send a legate for the decision of the controversy. Cardinal Huguezun was accordingly dispatched to England by the pope in 1176, who prevailed on Richard to give up some inferior points of difference; and it was agreed that a truce should take place between him and his rival for five years. This suspension of clerical hostility, however, was not long observed; for in the lent following Huguezun summoned an assembly of the clergy at Westminster; and when the cardinal had taken his seat, a contest arose between the two metropolitans for the honour of sitting at the right hand of the legate, which Richard claimed as the established privilege of his see, while Roger affirmed that it was due to him by reason of his priority of consecration. Roger having first entered, possessed himself of the envied seat, which Richard so resented, that the monks and retainers of Canterbury, pulled Roger from the seat, threw him on the ground, trampled on him, and so cruelly beat him, that he was taken up half dead; and it was with difficulty he escaped with his life. The cardinal was so hurt at this scene of violence, that he precipitately left the chapel; and the assembly broke up without doing any business. The archbishop of Canterbury was obliged to pay a large sum of money to the cardinal, to suppress all complaints that might be preferred against him for this enormous outrage (*b*).

Cardinal Huguezun, with the king's permission, made a progress through many parts of the kingdom, to visit the opulent churches and abbeys. "As his business," says Gervase of Canterbury, "was to root out and to plant, he performed it with great diligence and assiduity, by rooting out money from the purses of others, and planting it in his own coffers."

Archbishop Richard differed widely from his predecessor, Thomas à Becket, with respect to the propriety of exempting clerical offenders from the civil judicature, to which, he thought, all criminals ought to be subject. He warmly inveighed against the practice of suffering the murderers of clergymen to escape with no other punishment than that of excommunication. Henry remedied this complaint by enacting a law, purporting that all who murdered ecclesiastics should be tried in his court, and suffer the punishment, annexed to the murder of laymen. But while the king thus endeavoured to deter the licentious public from the murder of the clergy, he did not act with consistency in giving up (as he did about this time) that article of the Constitutions of Clarendon which rendered all ecclesiastics amenable to a civil tribunal for murder, theft, and other crimes not included under the denomination of spiritual offences.

Richard, archbishop of Canterbury, died on the 16th of February, 1184, and was succeeded, after the usual opposition, by Baldwin, bishop of Worcester. Soon after the election of the new primate, in the year 1185, Heraclius, patriarch of Jerusalem, arrived in England with the grand master of the knights hospitallers, to solicit the aid of Henry for the Christians of the East. Baldwin was a warm friend to this service; but his sovereign, having consulted the states of the realm, was dissuaded from en-

(*b*) This remonstrance, among many others which might be adduced, tends, in some measure, to elucidate the genius of the age we are describing. Indeed, we may form some judgement of the violence of military men and laymen, when ecclesiastics could proceed to such extremities.

gaging in an enterprize with which he had so little concern. Some time afterwards the archbishop of Tyre came from the Holy Land with fresh intelligence of the distressful predicament to which the kingdom of Jerusalem had been reduced by the arms of Saladin, who had taken the capital of that declining monarchy. From this prelate Henry and the king of France, and many of their respective nobles, received the cross; and archbishop Baldwin, being seized with the epidemic frenzy of the age, likewise assumed the cross. Having spent about three years in preaching up the crusade in Wales and other parts of Britain, he embarked at Dover for Palestine, in the month of March, 1191, joined Richard Cœur de Lion at Acre, and died in November following before that place, which was then besieged by the Christians.

William de Longchamp, bishop of Ely, who acted as regent in the absence of Richard I. procured from pope Clement the commission of legate, and held two councils in that capacity; but these synods were attended with nothing remarkable. This prelate tyrannized over the church as well as over the state; and his expulsion from the kingdom was amply merited by his insolent deportment and arbitrary administration.

Walter, archbishop of Roüen, who had the principal share in the government after the ejection of Longchamp, aspired to the see of Canterbury after the death of Baldwin; but towards the close of the year 1192, the monks of Canterbury chose Reginald, bishop of Bath and Wells to succeed to the vacant see. Reginald, however, dying within a month after his election, and the whole kingdom being thrown into confusion on account of the captivity of Richard, their sovereign, no steps were taken for some time to fill the vacant see. Richard conceiving that the appointment of a zealous friend to that important station might greatly contribute to raise the money requisite for his ransom, wrote to his mother, queen Eleanor, and to his ministers, earnestly entreating them to procure the advancement of Hubert Fitz-Walter, bishop of Salisbury, (who had accompanied him in his expedition to Palestine,) to the primacy; and the affair was accordingly conducted with that address, that Hubert was unanimously elected by the monks of Canterbury, on the 20th of May, 1193, and as unanimously approved by the bishops of the province on the subsequent day. In the second year of his archiepiscopate, 1195, Hubert received a legatine commission from pope Celestine III. and by virtue of his new character he held a synod at York for regulating the affairs of that province. The person who then filled that see was Geoffrey (the illegitimate son of Henry II.) who had shewn himself a spirited opposer to the arbitrary interposition of the court of Rome in the concerns of the English church. By this conduct he had involved himself in quarrels both with the pope and with his own clergy; and the old rivalry between the metropolitan sees, as well as a personal animosity between Hubert and Geoffrey, rendered the former desirous of displaying his authority over the church of York on the present occasion. The consequence was, that Geoffrey was shortly after suspended from his functions by the pope; but Hubert did not long retain the favour of his holiness.

The king, as well as the bishops of the province of Canterbury, had long been exasperated at the conduct of the monks of that cathedral, in claiming an exclusive right to the election of the archbishops. To effect a diminution of that influence, Baldwin, the late primate, had attempted to establish a society of Secular Canons at Hackington, near Canterbury: and though, by the interposition of the pope, he had been prevented from accomplishing his scheme; his successor, Hubert, formed the design of establishing a similar society at Lambeth, hoping that its distance from Canterbury would prevent any opposition. But it was impossible to elude the vigilant suspicion of the crafty monks; who resisting all the offers of the king and primate, dispatched two of their body to Rome, where they obtained a bull from pope Innocent the Third, dated the 25th of April, 1197, and addressed to the archbishop of Canterbury, commanding that prelate, in the most imperious manner, to demolish all the buildings he had erected at Lambeth within thirty days, under the penalty of suspension: "For it is not fit," said that insolent pontiff, "that any man should enjoy the smallest portion of authority, who doth not revere and obey the apostolic see." The king, justly incensed at this application to the pope, which was made without his knowledge, seized all the treasures and possessions of the monks; and the primate dispatched agents to Rome, to operate a change in the sentiments of his holiness. But all their resistance proved fruitless; for the pontiff obstinately persisted in his design, and issued another bull, in which he threatened the archbishop with excommunication, and peremptorily commanded the king to restore what he had taken from the monks; adding, "That he would not endure the smallest contempt of himself, or of God, whose place he held on earth; but would punish without delay, and without respect of persons, every one who should presume to disobey his commands, in order to convince the world that he was determined to act in a royal manner." Such was the intolerable arrogance and impiety of this audacious priest; who, by his pertinacity, enabled the factious monks to obtain a compleat victory over the king and primate, by procuring the demolition of the buildings which formed the subject of their complaints.

Since the pope could conduct himself in so imperious a manner towards the lion-hearted Richard, it is not wonderful that he should display his insolence in a still greater degree to his pusillanimous successor, John. He gave an early indication of his design to exert his authority over him at the very commencement of his reign, by bestowing the revenues of the vacant see of St. David's, which were the undoubted property of the king, on the famous Giraldus Cambrensis. This unwarrantable invasion of the rights of the crown was the more insulting, as Giraldus was the inveterate and avowed enemy of the king; a circumstance well known to the pope.

All the misfortunes that had befallen the Christians in the Holy Land were insufficient to deter the sovereign pontiff from promoting another crusade. He accordingly issued a bull, towards the conclusion of the year 1199, addressed to all the prelates of the Christian church, commanding them and all their clergy, by the authority of the Apostolic See, of Almighty God, and of the Holy Ghost, and under the penalty of eternal damnation, to pay the fortieth part of all their revenues, for defraying the expences of this expedition, which was to be commanded by two cardinals, named by the pope (c). The money thus peremptorily demanded was speedily raised, and carried to Rome; and the king, far from resenting an insult sufficient to provoke meekness itself to resentment, voluntarily granted the fortieth part of his own revenues to the pope, and exhorted the barons to follow his example. Innocent having, by these means, accumulated a sufficient sum, dispatched emissaries into the different kingdoms of Europe, to exhort the laity to assume the cross; but, when he had collected a powerful army, instead of employing it to rescue the Holy Land from the hands of the Infidels, he sent it to dethrone the Christian emperor of Constantinople, in order to reduce that empire to a state of subjection to the see of Rome.

In the second year of the reign of king John, (1200,) Hubert held a general assembly of the clergy at Westminster. The canons then enacted by him were chiefly borrowed from the decrees of the Romish councils, and contained nothing very important. On the death of this prelate, 1205, who had ably discharged the different characters of a warrior, a statesman, and an ecclesiastic, a warm contest arose between the monks and the suffragans of Canterbury, in consequence of the clandestine appointment of a successor by the former. This dispute, in which John was also concerned, involved that prince in a rupture with Innocent; the most remarkable circumstances of which we have related in our account of the reign of that monarch, who, though he at first opposed the pontiff with spirit, finally submitted to the ignominious conditions of tributary vassalage imposed on him by the haughty Innocent in 1213.

Cardinal Langton, whom the pope had compelled John to receive as archbishop of Canterbury, was not distinguished by that obsequiousness to the court of Rome which might have been expected from the manner of his promotion, and from his former connexions with that court. The bishop of Tusculum, having been sent into England as legate after John's degrading reconciliation with Innocent, excited, by his arbitrary and partial proceedings, the clamours of Langton, who appealed to the pope

(c) This was the first attempt to impose a tax on the clergy of all nations by the authority of the pope, as sovereign of the church, which ought to have excited the most universal indignation; but superstition was too prevalent in these unhappy times to admit of resistance to papal usurpations, however daring and violent.

against

against his representative; but the negociations of the primate's agents had not the desired effect. When the barons concerted an insurrection against their sovereign, Langton was one of the heads of the confederacy, though he was conscious that such a scheme was repugnant to the wishes of his spiritual father, to whom John was now a subservient vassal. For his concurrence in designs of the insurgents, he was suspended by the pope from his archiepiscopal dignity in 1215.

The pope, having established his superiority over the kingdom of England through the imbecility of its monarch, had now attained the acme of his power; and, in order to display his own greatness in all the pomp of priestly ostentation, he assembled a general council in the church of St. Saviour de Lateran, at Rome, in the month of November, 1215; which was attended by no less than four hundred and twelve bishops, besides an incredible number of abbots, priors, and inferior clergy. The seventy canons enacted in this council had been previously prepared, and passed without any deliberation or debate: it was not, therefore, to discuss them that the council was convened, but merely to gratify the vanity of Innocent. In the Confession of Faith contained in the first of these canons, the new doctrine of transubstantiation is inserted, in the following strong terms: "The body and blood of Christ are contained really in the sacrament of the altar under the species of bread and wine; the bread being transubstantiated into the body of Jesus Christ, and the wine into his blood, by the power of God." For this miracle of miracles the following curious reason is assigned: "That we might receive of Christ's nature what he had received of ours!" The third canon commands kings and princes to extirpate all heretics that should be found in their territories, under the penalty of excommunication and deposition; which gave rise to scenes of cruelty and bloodshed, as disgraceful to the tyrant who commanded them as they were repugnant to the mild and beneficent spirit of the Christian religion (*d*).

The ecclesiastical history of this period chiefly consists of the disputes between the crown of England and the popes; who, after the resignation of John, ever treated this country as a conquered province, which they had a right to impoverish at their pleasure. The extortions of the sovereign pontiff during the reign of Henry III. with the wonderful increase of Italian clergy in England, we have already noticed in our history of the reign of that monarch, whose barons, by a spirited exertion of their power, procured a temporary relief from an evil which their sovereign had not the resolution to eradicate. But, unfortunately for the nation, the imbecility of Henry continued to encourage the papal encroachments, which all the efforts of the English prelates were inadequate to repress.

We have before mentioned that Stephen Langton, archbishop of Canterbury, was suspended by the pope from his archiepiscopal function; but he recovered his rank and authority under the reign of Henry III. and as he had been engaged at Rome on the accession of that prince, he procured the second coronation of that monarch, in 1220, that he might officiate in this established prerogative of his see. He held a synod at Oxford in 1222, the sixth year of Henry's reign: on which occasion canons were enacted against the adduction of false testimony, the non-residence of incumbents, the practice of simony, &c. (*e*).

When the primacy was vacated in 1228, by the death of Langton, who was a person of some literary reputation, fresh disputes arose with regard to the choice of a successor. The monks elected Walter de Hemesham; but the king, as well as the bishops of the province, opposed the appointment. An appeal being made to pope Gregory IX. Walter's election was annulled; and Richard le Grand, chancellor of Lincoln, was appointed to the archbishopric, which he did not long enjoy. Three different elections were made on his death in 1231, by the monks, and successively invalidated by the pope, who prevailed on them in 1233, to concur in the choice of Edmund Rich, treasurer of the church of Salisbury.

The reign of Henry the Third was fertile in papal encroachments. The pontiffs took advantage of that prince's weakness to procure the chief ecclesiastical dignities of England for persons of their own choice, to the prejudice of the rights of the crown; and frequently invaded the privileges of private patrons by compelling them to admit Italian clergymen to their benefices. These usurpations at length produced an association against the foreign intruders, who were insulted and plundered by the enraged natives. As the circumstances attending these transactions have been already mentioned (*f*), there is no occasion to repeat them.

In the Collection of English Councils (*g*), some canons are ascribed to Edmund Rich; and while he filled the chair of Canterbury, Otho, a cardinal legate, held a council in St. Paul's church, London, in which twenty-nine canons were enacted. Of these, the eleventh prohibited the invasion of benefices; for it was not unusual, in those unsettled times, for persons to intrude into a benefice, in the absence of the incumbent, by false pretences of his death or of his abdication; while others obtained preferments by forcibly taking possession of them. The fifteenth decreed the deprivation of married clergymen. The twentieth ordained, that archdeacons, in their visitations, should particularly avoid extortion. The twenty-third, and all the following ones, related to the due administration of justice in the spiritual courts.

When the death of Edmund was notified to Henry, he resolved to promote Boniface of Savoy, his queen's uncle, to the primacy of England. Some difficulties, however, occurred to obstruct his desire of serving this foreign favourite; but these at last gave way to his promises and threats; and Boniface was elevated to the metropolitan dignity.

The pope continuing to send legates to plunder the English clergy, and usurp the rights of patronage in behalf of Italian ecclesiastics, a general clamour pervaded the nation. The laity joined the clerical orders in expressing their detestation of the unjustifiable conduct of the court of Rome; and a remonstrance was dispatched to his holiness in 1245, in the name of the states of the realm, enumerating the grievances to which they were subjected by his flagrant encroachments on the rights of their church, and his systematic series of exactions, and threatening him with their determined resolution to oppose his future acts of injustice and oppression. The pope, Innocent IV. seemed to be alarmed at this specimen of English spirit, and tortured with shame and vexation at the bold harangues of some of the envoys who presented the memorial. But these emotions were transient, and had no effect towards the reformation of his behaviour; for, though he soon after published a bull in favour of the rights of patrons, he was not so conscientious as to scruple the violation of that instrument by the clause of *non obstante* (*h*), which was frequently used by pontiffs of little integrity.

The strongest opposition made to the pope was by Robert Gros-teste, bishop of Lincoln (*i*), a prelate of extensive learning and exemplary piety; who, having received a bull from Innocent the Fourth, containing a clause of *non obstante*, (so justly reprobated in that age,) and commanding him to bestow a considerable living in his gift on his nephew, who was then an infant; instead of complying with its contents, sent the pope a letter, in which he exposed the injustice and impiety of his commands with the greatest freedom and severity. Speaking of the clause *non obstante*, he says, "It brings in a deluge of mischief upon Christendom, and gives occasion to a great deal of inconstancy and breach of faith; it even shakes the very foundations of trust and security amongst mankind, and makes language and letters almost insignificant." Then proceeding to the request of bestowing a benefice upon an infant, he says, "Next to the sins of Lucifer and Antichrist, there cannot be a greater defection, or one which carries a more direct opposition to the

(*d*) The spirit of these canons sufficiently demonstrates the darkness of the times we have been delineating; and affords the strongest proof that the court of Rome had made the most daring and dangerous encroachments on the civil and religious rights of mankind.

(*e*) Under the government of Langton, some severities were practised against ecclesiastical delinquents; and a deacon, in particular, was committed to the flames for having become a proselyte to the Jewish religion, with a view of marrying a woman of that persuasion.

(*f*) See above, p. 147, &c.

(*g*) Spelm. Concil. ad Ann. 137.

(*h*) This clause was so called from the practice of inserting, in a bull, deed, or charter, a declaration importing that the new grants were made *non obstante*, or any former privilege to the contrary *notwithstanding*.

(*i*) To which see he was elected on the 18th of May, 1235, and died in 1254.

doctrine of our Saviour and his apostles, than that which destroys people's souls, by depriving them of the benefits of the pastoral office; and yet those persons are guilty of this sin, who undertake the sacerdotal function, and receive the profits without discharging the duty annexed to it. From hence it is evident, that those who bring such unqualified persons into the church, and debauch the hierarchy, are much to blame; and that their crimes rise in proportion to the height of their station." The sovereign pontiff, little accustomed, and less willing to hear the language of truth, burst into the most passionate exclamations on the perusal of this spirited epistle. He swore by his favourite saints, Peter and Paul, that he would utterly confound "that old, impertinent, deaf, doating fellow," and render him a topic of conversation, a subject of astonishment, and a striking example of the whole world. "What!" exclaimed this insolent priest, "is not the king of England, his master, our vassal, or rather our slave? and will he not, at the smallest sign from us, cast him into prison?" But when his holiness had somewhat recovered his senses, the cardinals ventured to remonstrate; they observed to him, "that the world began to discover the truth of many things in the bishop's letter; and that, if he persecuted a prelate so justly renowned for piety, learning, and sanctity of life, it might prove the means of raising up many enemies to the court of Rome." This prudent observation had the desired effect; the pope listened to their advice, and took no farther notice of the letter (*k*). Innocent, however, soon recovered himself from the consternation into which he had been thrown: and although fresh complaints were made by the nation in the following year, (1246,) he still prosecuted his career of insolence and rapacity. The superstition of the times, the weakness of the king, and the enterprising perseverance of the pontiff, occasioned the continuance of the same practices by which the English had been before oppressed.

Boniface, archbishop of Canterbury, was a strenuous advocate for ecclesiastical immunities, as the constitutions enacted under his auspices clearly evince. During his archiepiscopate, cardinal Othobon, legate for Britain and Ireland, held a council in the English metropolis, in April 1268, in which, among other regulations, it was ordained that the laity, in cases of necessity, should be permitted to administer the baptismal rite; that all priests who should exercise secular jurisdiction should be punished with a suspension of their clerical rank and benefice; and that no pluralities should be enjoyed without a papal dispensation (*l*).

The successor of Boniface in the primacy was Robert Kilwardby, an ecclesiastic belonging to the order of Black Friers; a community which was then in high reputation. The monks of Canterbury had elected another person; but the pope superseded their choice by the appointment of Robert. In the absence of Edward I. in 1272, the guardians of the realm did not oppose the reception of the archbishop thus obtruded by the pontiffs, though they protested against the encroachment, and insisted that it should not serve as a precedent. The monks were greatly displeased at the arbitrary interference of his holiness; and, that their rights might not be forgotten, renewed the forms of an election, which, however, fell on Kilwarby. This prelate was confirmed in the see by Edward, whom he crowned after his return from Palestine in 1274.

In the beginning of the reign of Edward I. the Roman yoke had become so intolerable, that the English, with their vigorous king at their head, began to concert measures for their redemption from the state of abject servitude to which they had been reduced by the machinations of the sovereign pontiffs. The clergy during the reign of Henry III. had claimed an exemption from civil jurisdiction; but Edward took upon him the task of limiting the prerogatives they had assumed, and of rendering them subservient to the civil power. He ordained, that every churchman accused of felony should be tried in his court: he suffered no canons to be enacted that seemed to infringe any of his royal rights: by the Statute of Mortmain he set bounds to their rapacious avarice, which would, in time, have led them to monopolize all the landed estates in the kingdom; and he obliged the reluctant clergy to grant him supplies for the purposes of national expenditure. But, though ecclesiastical encroachments were considerably repressed under the government of that politic prince, the progress of superstition was by no means impeded.

His holiness having presented Kilwardby with a cardinal's hat, and with the valuable bishopric of Oporto, he resigned the see of Canterbury in 1278; and with the monks chose Robert Burnell to fill the vacancy. But the pope rejected this appointment, and preferred John Peckham, a Franciscan frier, to the vacant see. Edward, unwilling at that time to disoblige the court of Rome, acquiesced in Peckham's promotion. This prelate, in a synod at Reading, held in 1279, revived several former canons, and passed some new ones, several of which were so displeasing to the king, that he summoned the archbishop to appear before him in parliament, and give his assent to the abrogation of the noxious articles (*m*). It is observable, that, among the clauses thus annulled, there was one for affixing a copy of Magna Charta on the doors of churches; a proof how much Edward had the liberties of his people at heart.

In the year 1281, the ninth of Edward I. archbishop Peckham held another council at Lambeth; but, in this meeting, he was cautious of adopting any provisions which might arouse the jealousy of the king. A singular canon, however, was promulgated, relative to the administration of the Eucharist; by which it was decreed that the bells should ring at the elevation of the host; and that all who heard them, even out of the church, should fall down on their knees! It also contains directions to the priests, as to the instructions they should give to the people; one of which is so remarkable as to merit particular notice: "Let priests also be careful, when they give the holy communion at Easter, or any other time, to the simple, diligently to instruct them, that the body and blood of our Lord is given them at once under the species of bread; nay, the very living and true Christ, who is entirely under this species in the sacraments. And let them also instruct them, that what is given them to drink at the same time, is not the sacrament, but mere wine, to be drank for the more easy swallowing of the sacrament which they have just taken (*n*)."

The primate, who presided at the Lambeth council, having been elected by the pope, was ever strenuous in supporting the ecclesiastical in opposition to the regal power; and, in the year 1281, he wrote an epistle of reproof to his sovereign, complaining of the oppressions which the church suffered under that monarch's sway; but Edward was a prince whom neither his arguments could convince, nor his threats intimidate: he was therefore compelled to turn the force both of his eloquence and his anger on some object who was less capable of resisting them. In the year 1286, he had an opportunity of displaying his talents in the condemnation of various propositions maintained and promulgated by one Richard Knapwell, a Dominican frier, the only heretic that appeared in England during the thirteenth century, (unless the person who became a convert to Judaism, mentioned above, can be called so.) As these propositions shew what were the chief subjects of controversy and disquisition among the divines and philosophers of this period, they may justly be deemed curious; and we shall therefore give them, as specified by Wykes, Knyghton, and Spelman:

"1. That the body of Jesus Christ, when dead, had not the same substantial form as it had when living.

"2. That if the Eucharistical Bread had been consecrated with these words, 'This is my body,' during the three days that Jesus Christ lay in his grave, the bread would have been transubstantiated into the new form which the body of Christ assumed at its separation from the soul.

(*k*) Had the virtuous bishop of Lincoln been properly supported by his brethren, and countenanced by his sovereign, a salutary restraint might certainly have been imposed on papal exactions; but Henry, at variance with his subjects, supposed it to be his interest, to maintain an unnatural alliance with the pope; from whence his subjects experienced the most cruel oppressions, and were burthened with the most onerous imposts.

(*l*) Vid. Spelm. Concil. vol. ii.

(*m*) Vid. Ryley, Placit. Parliament.

(*n*) Thus it appears that the famous doctrine of Transubstantiation was raised on such a sandy foundation, that one half of it was already demolished. As they had dared to deprive the water of its miraculous properties, it is a pity that they had not ventured one step farther, and reduced the bread likewise to its primitive state. But, unfortunately, a very different motive to that of reformation influenced the conduct of the council in this particular; these sapient instructions being merely intended to prepare the minds of the unsanctified laics for a regulation afterwards adopted, by which they were totally deprived of the cup when they received the sacrament, and compelled to swallow the bread with such moisture only as their own mouths could afford.

"3. That

"3. That, after the Resurrection of Jesus Christ, the Eucharistical Bread is transubstantiated, by virtue of these words, 'This is my body,' into the whole living body of Christ; that is, the matter of the bread is converted into the matter of his body, and the substantial form of the bread into the substantial form of his body; that is to say, into his intellectual soul, so far as it constitutes the form of his body.

"4. That in man there is only one form, namely, his rational soul, without any other substantial form.

"5. That in articles of faith, a man is not bound to rest on the authority of the pope, or of any priest or doctor; but that the Holy Scriptures, and right reason, are the only foundations of our assent."

It is almost inconceivable, that the same head which engendered the unintelligible nonsense of the four first propositions could give birth to that important truth which is contained in the last! Had not that truth, however, been uttered, the frier might have passed uncensured, nor have incurred the imputation of heresy.

Archbishop Peckham died in the year 1292, with the reputation of a learned divine, a severe exactor of discipline, and a warm advocate for clerical privileges. After an interval of two years, Robert de Winchelsey was elected by the monks of Canterbury to the archiepiscopate in 1294, in which he was confirmed both by the king and the pope. This prelate, however, had very little reason to be contented with his station; for the demands of Edward upon the church—arising from the expensive wars in which he was almost continually engaged—were so frequent, that the king and the clergy were perpetually at variance. In the fifth year of the primate's promotion, Edward, having summoned an assembly of the clergy to meet at Westminster, in the month of September, demanded from them one half of their revenues, both spiritual and temporal. This demand was productive of great dissension; the particulars of which are given above under the reign of Edward the First.

Some new regulations in the doctrines and discipline of the church took place towards the close of the thirteenth century. The chief of these were the alteration which we have noticed in the doctrine of Transubstantiation; a more strict injunction of Auricular Confession; and the introduction of general Excommunications. By these last all who were guilty of certain vices and crimes, though known only to God and themselves, were declared to be excommunicated. Excommunications of this kind were at first confined to such only as injured the clergy, by detaining their tythes, defrauding them of their dues, or stealing any thing which belonged to the church. They were ordered to be published by the priest in every parish with the utmost solemnity, before the whole congregation, in the mother tongue, on Christmas, Easter, Pentecost, and All-Hallows day; and, to render them more impressive and terrible to weak minds, they were made to contain the most horrid maledictions which priestly depravity could devise. The following specimen, taken from Wanly's Catalogue, will suffice to shew, that the heart which could dictate, and the tongue which could utter them were equal strangers to the mild and beneficent spirit of true Christianity: "Let them be accursed, eating and drinking, walking and sitting, speaking and holding their peace, waking and sleeping, rowing and tiding, laughing and weeping, in house and in field, on water and on land, in all places. Cursed be their head and their thoughts, their eyes and their ears, their tongues and their lips, their teeth and their throats, their shoulders, and their breasts, their feet and their legs, their thighs and their inwards. Let them remain accursed from the foot to the crown of the head, unless they bethink themselves, and come to satisfaction; and, just as this candle is deprived of its present light, so let them be deprived of their souls in hell."

During this time, the ambition of the popes, which could only be equalled by their avarice, had arisen to such an extraordinary height, as to induce them to claim a superiority, as well in temporal as in spiritual matters, over the whole Christian world; and to regard, not only the kings of England, but all the monarchs of Europe, as their vassals. The bull addressed to Philip the Fair, king of France, by pope Boniface the Eighth, dated the 5th of December, 1301, affords a strong instance of papal humility. It runs thus: "Boniface the Bishop, a servant of the servants of God, to Philip, king of France. Fear God, and keep his commandments. We will you to know, that you are subject to us, both in spirituals and temporals. You have no right to bestow benefices and prebends, &c. We declare them heretics who believe the contrary."

The commencement of the fourteenth century was distinguished by general complaints against the rapacity of the popes, which still continued to increase, and to thrive, as it were, by opposition. At a parliament held at Carlisle in 1307, some laws were enacted to restrain their oppressive proceedings in England; but, being ill executed, they were not productive of any good consequence.

Immediately after the accession of Edward the Second, Robert de Winchelsey, archbishop of Canterbury, was recalled from exile (*o*); but refusing to dispense with the canons against pluralities and non-residences in favour of royal chaplains and court clergy, he soon incurred the displeasure of his sovereign.

The disputes between the civil and ecclesiastical courts, which had been productive of so many civil commotions, were at this time renewed with additional virulence, every attempt to regulate the boundaries of the different jurisdictions having proved abortive. Many complaints on this subject were laid by the clergy before the king; who, pursuing the advice of his ministers, neglected to give any satisfactory answers, notwithstanding the interference of the pope, who issued a bull, commanding him to redress, without delay, the grievances complained of, in order to save himself and his kingdom from total destruction. The chief subject of complaint in this curious bull seems to be, "That clerks, invested with the sacerdotal character, and shining with the splendour of pontifical dignity, were tried by laymen, condemned and hanged, when found guilty of *murder* or *robbery*, to the great provocation of the Supreme King, who hath forbidden the secular power to touch his anointed." Never, surely, were the scriptures so grossly perverted, or applied to the support of a doctrine more replete with infamy and danger!

We have before mentioned the dissolution of the Knights Templars, which took place while Robert de Winchelsey was archbishop of Canterbury. This body of men, so unjustly accused and cruelly tortured in France, experienced a more lenient treatment in England. It is true they lost their possessions, but most of the English templars were distributed among the monastic foundations, the archbishop of York setting the example, in order to provide for their decent maintenance. Archbishop Winchelsey did not long survive the dissolution of the order of Knights Templars. He died on the 11th of May, 1313, about nineteen years after his elevation to the primacy; and as he had been an advocate for public liberty, his memory was long respected by the people. He was celebrated as a man of learning, a liberal rewarder of merit, and a munificent friend to the indigent. For his strenuous assertion of the privileges of the clergy, his character has been variously drawn by writers of opposite parties.

The monks of Christ Church, Canterbury, provided a successor for Winchelsey in the person of Thomas de Cobham, dean of Salisbury, who was distinguished by the appellation of The Good Priest; but the object of their choice was rejected by the pope, who, at the king's desire, promoted Walter Reynolds, bishop of Worcester, to the archiepiscopate. He took possession of his see on the first of October. This prelate appears to have been highly favoured by the sovereign pontiff, Clement the Fifth; since he granted him very unusual and extraordinary powers. By one bull, he authorized him to visit the several dioceses within his province by proxy; by another he empowered him to absolve one hundred persons, who lay under the sentence of excommunication and interdict; and, by others, he enabled him to grant a remission of one hundred days penance to all those who heard him preach or say mass; to bestow holy orders on one hundred illegitimate children; to allow twelve clerks, under age, to enjoy benefices with cure of souls; and to dispense with the canons of the church against pluralities in favour of forty clergymen. The privilege claimed by the pope, in this instance, of not only exercising the power of dis-

(*o*) He had been suspended from his archiepiscopal functions by pope Clement the Fifth, who ordered his revenues to be seized. He remained above two years in disgrace: and was restored to his dignity in 1308.

pensation himself, but of delegating it to another, affords a sufficient proof that his authority was most dangerously extensive.

In the year 1316, a singular statute, commonly called "Articulus Cleri," was made, for terminating the disputes between the spiritual and temporal courts. As this law was procured by the clergy, at a time when their assistance was much wanted, it was highly favourable to their exorbitant claims of exemption from civil authority. By the last chapter it is enacted, "That when clerks confess before temporal judges their heinous offences, such as theft and murder, they cannot be condemned by those judges upon their own confession, without violating the privilege of the church; and the privilege of the church being demanded in due form by the ordinary, shall not be denied." One of the prelates, who had contributed to the obtaining this statute, had soon occasion to plead it as a protection from that punishment which was due to his crimes. This was Adam de Orleton, bishop of Hereford, a martial and factious prelate, who had joined the rebellious barons, and shared in their defeat at Borough Bridge, in 1321. Being accused of high treason before the House of Peers, he pleaded his privilege as a clerk, to prevent his trial by laymen; and his plea, being supported by the other bishops, was deemed valid. The king, some time after, attempted to bring him to trial for the same crime, in the court of King's Bench; but the three archbishops of Canterbury, York, and Dublin, came into the court with their crosses carried before them, and bore him away in triumph, prohibiting all who were present, "in the name of God, and on pain of excommunication," from laying violent hands on him. Edward, enraged at this instance of clerical presumption, directed the jury to give their verdict; and when they had declared the prelate guilty of the crimes imputed to his charge, he ordered his temporalities to be seized.

Some constitutions have been published under the name of archbishop Reynolds; but they are of little importance. This prelate lived to witness the deposition of his royal benefactor, whom he had served in the offices of chancellor and treasurer. He was a friend to the ambitious designs of queen Isabella, whom he supplied with money after her invasion. He survived, by a few weeks, the murdered Edward, to whom, from a supple courtier, he had become an ungrateful rebel. His death happened on the 15th of November, 1327.

On the death of Walter Reynolds, Simon Mepham, one of the canons of Chichester, was elected to the primacy. In 1328, soon after his consecration, he held a council at London, in which he regulated the observance of certain festivals, menaced all violators of ecclesiastical liberties with the sentence of the greater excommunication, and subjected to the same censure all persons who obstructed the collection of tythes. One of the canons of this synod was calculated for the benefit of prædial slaves, or such as were annexed to the lands of their lords. Though these were allowed to have some property, their masters would not allow them to dispose of it by will; but the council now ordained, that all who should hinder the execution of the testaments of these individuals should be excommunicated (*p*).

Archbishop Mepham was involved in a long contest with the monks of St. Augustine, at Canterbury, who refused to submit to his authority, because the sovereign pontiff, they alleged, had exempted them from his jurisdiction. While the dispute continued, some of the primate's servants wounded two of the monks, and assaulted a notary, who had summoned him to appear before a papal commissioner. Mepham was obliged to make a humble apology for the conduct of his domestics, and to discharge them from his service. The commissioner afterwards decided the contest in favour of the monastery, and condemned the archbishop in heavy costs.

Mepham had another violent dispute in the course of his primacy. Attempting a visitation of the diocese of Exeter, he was met by John Grandison, bishop of that see, who had assembled a body of armed men to oppose the exertion of metropolitan authority. He did not long survive this incident, for he died at Magfield, in October, 1333, in the sixth year of his archiepiscopate.

The metropolitan see being now vacant, John Stratford was, by the interest of Edward III. at the court of Rome, translated from the see of Winchester to the archiepiscopacy. The new primate was high in favour with his sovereign, to whom he was for some time chancellor. Being of a more intrepid spirit than his predecessor, he humbled the monks of St. Augustine into a dereliction of the sentence which had lately been pronounced in their favour.

The particulars of the obstinate contest between this prelate and his sovereign we have already related in the history of the reign of Edward III. After the reconciliation between them, Stratford was more careful to conduct himself in a manner consistent with the character he had to support. In the year 1342, he published at Lambeth, certain Statutes and Constitutions for regulating the proceedings in the Archbishop's Court, commonly called The Court of Arches, from the place in which it was held. He also held several synods for the reformation of abuses. In 1342 he held two provincial councils at London, in which several canons were enacted, among which were the following, viz. one for checking the corruption and extortions of ecclesiastical officers; another for repressing luxury and extravagance; others prohibiting the seizure of oblations by laymen; another against the admission of any persons except relations to the nocturnal watchings over a corpse, (which, says the archbishop had become scenes of adultery, fornication, theft, and other misdeeds;) another against the contraction of clandestine marriages, &c.

During the primacy of Stratford, the pope continued his encroachments on the rights of the crown, particularly in the articles of *reservations* and *provisions*; by the former of which he reserved to himself the next presentation to any benefice he chose to fix on; and by the latter, he secured the reversion of a living to whomsoever he pleased to nominate. These abuses induced Edward to send a very pointed remonstrance to his holiness, pope Clement the Sixth; in which he observed, "That, by these provisions and reservations, all incitements to religious exertion were bestowed on unqualified and mercenary foreigners, who neither resided in the country, nor understood its language; by which means the ends of the priesthood were frustrated; his own subjects were discouraged from the prosecution of their studies; the treasures of the kingdom were carried off by strangers; the jurisdiction of its courts rendered useless by constant appeals to a foreign power; and both the crown and private patrons were deprived of their most unquestionable rights." "These mischiefs," added the king, "are now become intolerable; and our subjects in parliament have requested us to put a stop to them by some speedy and effectual remedy." This just and spirited remonstrance had no effect on his holiness, whom the dictates of interest rendered deaf to the demands of equity: so rooted was the arrogance of "the servant of servants of God," as the pontiffs usually stiled themselves. Edward was at this time so busily occupied in the prosecution of his continental wars, that he neglected to pay much attention to the religious state of his dominions; so that the matter by degrees lost its efficacy, and the people of England still continued to be tyrannized over by the pope.

John Stratford filled the archiepiscopal chair nearly fifteen years. He was a man of some talents, a good politician, and not inattentive to the interests of the church. On his decease, in August, 1348, the same dispute, which had frequently occurred on the death of the archbishop, was now renewed; and one of the worst consequences which resulted from these spiritual dissensions, was an augmentation of the power of the court of Rome, occasioned by the appeals made to the pope by the contending parties. On the decease of Stratford, the monks of Christ Church, Canterbury, supplied the vacancy with Thomas Bradwardin, the king's confessor. The king, however, intended the primacy for another, and therefore made immediate application to the pope, by which mean he counteracted his own efforts, and gave strength and plausibility to those claims which he had before evinced an anxiety to invalidate. He now requested his holiness to promote John Ufford, dean of Lincoln, to the see of Canterbury; and the pope was too well pleased with the application not to comply with his request: Ufford was accordingly nominated, but died before his consecration, on the 7th of June, 1349.

About this time a most dreadful pestilence raged in England, which proved so particularly destructive to the clergy, that in many churches, not a priest could be found to officiate. "Before this plague," says Knyghton,

(*p*) Vid. Spelm. Concil. vol. ii.

ton, "you might have hired a curate for four or five marks a year, or for two marks and his board; but after it, you could scarcely find a clergyman who would accept a vicarage of twenty marks, or twenty pounds a year."

Upon the death of Ufford, the king withdrew his opposition to the promotion of his confessor, Thomas Bradwardin, who was again chosen primate by the canons of Christ Church, and the pope acquiesced in their choice. He was accordingly consecrated at Avignon, where the pope then resided; but he did not long enjoy his elevated station, for he died at Lambeth on the 26th of August, 1349, only seven days after his return to England.

The successor of Bradwardin was Simon Islip, keeper of the privy seal, who proved a most rigid disciplinarian in all affairs of the church. Even in his first visitation of his province, he deprived several ecclesiastics of their preferments for the irregularity of their lives. The king and the temporal peers having complained, that the clerical magistrates neglected the due enforcement of the laws on delinquents of their own order, Islip published a constitution in 1351, purporting that all clerks who had been delivered up by the civil power to their ordinaries, and sentenced by them to perpetual confinement, should be kept under very strict regulations, and should undergo a course of abstinent mortification. During the primacy of Simon Islip, the second statute of provisors was passed, as an additional check to papal encroachments; by which it was enacted, "That if any person shall procure reservations or provisions from the pope in disturbance of free elections, or of the presentees of the king, or other patrons; that the said provisors, their procurators, and notaries, shall be apprehended and brought to answer; and, in case they are convicted, they shall be kept in prison till they have made fine and ransom to the king, at his will, and have satisfied the party aggrieved, by paying his damages." But this was not the only subject of complaint which the English had at this time against the court of Rome: the frequency of appeals to his holiness was, if possible, a grievance of a more alarming nature, and attended with greater vexation and expence. As a remedy for this evil, a statute was formed, by which it was enacted, "That all people of the king's legiance, who shall draw out of the realm in a plea, whereof the cognizance pertains to the king's court, shall have two months warning (*q*) given them to appear in the king's courts to answer the contempt; and if, they do not appear in their proper persons to be at the law within the time appointed, they, their procurators, &c. shall, from that day forth, be put out of the king's protection; and their lands, goods, and chattels, shall be forfeited to the king; and their bodies imprisoned, and ransomed at the king's will." But these statutes, like others which had been enacted against the court of Rome, proved inadequate to remedy the evils they were intended to restrain; which continued to increase, till the connection between England and his holiness was happily dissolved.

A second pestilence which raged in the kingdom in the year 1360, proved as destructive to the clergy as the former one; and in that year no less than seven bishoprics became vacant, which, notwithstanding the statute of provisors, were all filled by papal provisions. No other transaction of importance occurred during the primacy of Islip, who died on the 16th of April, 1366.

On the death of Islip, the pope, as if determined to shew his contempt of those laws which had been made to restrain the illegal and arbitrary exertion of his power, resolved to appoint his successor; and though the chapter of Canterbury had elected William Edyndon, bishop of Winchester, he granted a provision to the archiepiscopacy to Simon Langham, bishop of Ely, and chancellor of England, who was received without the smallest opposition, the king also confirming his nomination. But Langham did not derive much comfort from his promotion; for, having been imprudent enough to accept, without the king's permission, the dignity of a cardinal, conferred on him by the pope, Edward, incensed at his presumption, seized the temporalities of his see, which affected him so deeply, that he resigned his archbishopric in 1368, and retired to the papal court of Avignon.

Upon the resignation of Langham, William Wittlesey, bishop of London, was translated to the see of Canterbury, by a papal provision. About this time almost all the great places in the kingdom, either of honour or emolument, being possessed by the clergy; a petition was presented by the parliament, in the year 1371, setting forth, "That the government of the kingdom had for a long time been managed by men of the church, whereby many mischiefs and damages had happened in time heretofore, to the disherison of the crown, and to the great prejudice of the kingdom:" for which reason they prayed, "That it would therefore please the king, that laymen, and no others, might, for the future, be made chancellor, treasurer, clerk of the privy seal, barons of the Exchequer, comptroller, or other great officers and governors of the kingdom." But the king, deeming this an improper interference with his royal prerogative, returned for answer, "He would do in this point what seemed best to him by advice of the council."

The pope still continued to exercise his usurped right of appointing foreigners to the best livings in the kingdom. The king, in order to ascertain the extent of a grievance which occasioned such just and general complaint, issued writs to all the bishops, in the year 1374, requiring them to return certificates into Chancery of all the benefices in their respective dioceses which were in the possession of foreigners. During this investigation William Wittlesey, the primate died, about six years after he was chosen to fill the archiepiscopal chair, and the monks re-elected Cardinal Langham; but the king would not suffer him to accept the appointment, and prevailed on the pope to agree to the choice of Simon Sudbury, bishop of London, who was accordingly invested with the primacy in 1375.

In 1376, the Commons, in consequence of the information they had received from the bishops, presented a remonstrance to the king against the intolerable extortions of the court of Rome; in which they affirmed—though the assertion almost exceeds credibility—"That the taxes paid to the pope yearly, out of England, amounted to five times as much as the taxes paid to the king."

The universal disgust created by the tyrannical exactions of the pontiffs gave rise to a bold and spirited attack, not only on the authority of the court, but on the doctrines of the church of Rome. This attack was conducted by John Wickliffe, a secular priest, equally renowned for his piety and for his learning. He endeavoured to dispel the clouds of prejudice and error from the religious horizon, and to expose the absurdity of those opinions which had originated in superstition, and had been fostered by artful policy on the part of the clergy, and supine ignorance on that of the laity. Wickliffe's numerous good qualities having recommended him to the notice of archbishop Islip, he was appointed, in 1365, to be warden of Canterbury College, Oxford. During his residence in that university, the lectures which he read on divinity attracted universal admiration, though they contained some severe censures on the clergy in general, and particularly on the Mendicant Friers. A discourse which he published against the pope's demand of homage and tribute from Edward the Third, procured him the favour of that monarch, who not only conferred on him several valuable livings, but employed him in various embassies; in one of which—to Rome, in 1374—he discovered so many of the corruptions of that court, and of the errors of the Romish church, that, convinced by ocular demonstration of the justice of his opinions, his strictures became more severe, and were delivered with less reserve.

It has been supposed by some writers, that the real sentiments of this spirited Reformer could hardly be developed, since the fear of martyrdom seems to have impelled him to make some partial recantations, and since many tenets were ascribed to him by his enemies which he certainly never entertained: but his doctrines being chiefly derived from the Scriptures, and from a studious attention to the practice of the primitive Christians, appear to have been nearly the same with those which were more successfully propagated by the celebrated Reformers of the sixteenth century. The austerity of his manners, and the purity of his life, obtained him many disciples of all ranks and stations, who were distinguished by the appellation of Wickliffites, or Lollards; but his denial of the pope's supremacy, and his exposure of that prelate's tyrannical conduct, excited the indignation of his holiness, who issued a bull for his apprehension in 1377, and for examining into the scope of his opinions, which he emphatically termed *damnable heresies*. Wickliffe, however, had by this time acquired

(*q*) From this circumstance of the *warning*, the act in question was denominated the Statute of *Præmunire*; a word used in the middle ages for *Præmonere*.

acquired protectors of sufficient consequence to screen him from the effects of ecclesiastical persecution. The duke of Lancaster, who then governed the kingdom, not only favoured his principles, but did not hesitate, when he went to the primate, and Courteney, bishop of London, who had been appointed by the pope to be his judges, to appear openly in court with him, accompanied by Henry Lord Percy, mareschal of England, in order to countenance him on his trial. The duke of Lancaster insisted that Wickliffe should be seated in the presence of his judges; but this being opposed by Courteney, a violent altercation arose between the duke and the bishop, which occasioned so great a tumult in the court, that it broke up without proceeding to business. Wickliffe again appeared before the papal commissioners at Lambeth; but the two prelates, perceiving that he was attended by a vast concourse of the citizens of London, were afraid to pronounce sentence against him, and contented themselves with prohibiting him from the further propagation of such dogmas as were repugnant to the established tenets of the church of Rome; and their commission soon after terminated by the death of the pope, which happened in March, 1378.

The prosecution against Wickliffe was now suspended for some time, by the schism in the papacy which succeeded the death of Gregory the Eleventh, and by the insurrection of the commons in England under Wat Tyler, which involved the kingdom in confusion. But no sooner had these commotions—(during which Simon Sudbury, the primate, had fallen a victim to the rage of the populace, who beheaded him; and William Courteney, bishop of London, had been translated to the see of Canterbury by a bull of pope Urban the Sixth, in 1381;)—subsided, than the new primate applied himself with great zeal to suppress the heretical opinions of the Lollards (*r*), or Wickliffites. For this purpose he convoked a synod of his suffragans, to meet in the priory of the Preaching Friers at London, on the 17th of May, 1382, which he reinforced by many doctors of divinity and law. To this assembly he submitted for their examination twenty-four positions, extracted from the writings of Wickliffe; when ten of these opinions were unamously pronounced to be *heretical*, and fourteen of them founded in error. Several of Wickliffe's most conspicuous disciples were then summoned to appear before the council, and commanded to declare their opinion of his doctrines; and, their answers appearing evasive and unsatisfactory, they were declared to stand convicted of heresy.

In order to give additional weight to the decrees of this council, the clergy prevailed upon the king (Richard the Second) to issue a proclamation, on the 12th of July, authorizing and commanding the bishops to seize and imprison all persons who were suspected of favouring any of those doctrines which they had recently condemned. But where authority is made to supply the place of argument, and force is employed where reason alone should be exerted, the consciousness of a bad cause is evidently betrayed; and its success in general proves adequate to its deserts. Thus it was with Wickliffe; whose followers, acquiring fresh strength from opposition, daily increased in numbers and in consequence: insomuch that the king revoked the order for their imprisonment at the solicitation of the commons. The virtuous reformer himself retired from the scene of action to his living at Lutterworth, in Leicestershire, where he passed the two last years of his life in translating the Bible, and in other works of piety. On the 28th of December, 1384, he was seized with a paralytic affection, which deprived him of his speech, and he died on the last day of that year.

It is a matter of compleat astonishment, if we consider the character of the age in which he lived, that a person so odious to the principal clergy as John Wickliffe, should have been permitted to descend to his grave in peace; but although capital severities were not exercised against the Lollards in the reign of Richard the Second; yet in the reign of his successor, Henry the Fourth, they experienced the most horrid persecutions and the most violent deaths.

After the death of Wickliffe, the clergy (who had persecuted him during his life with the most inveterate malice) displayed the most indecent and unchristian-like joy at his demise, which they attributed to the immediate vengeance of Heaven. "On the day of St. Thomas the Martyr, archbishop of Canterbury," says Walsingham, a contemporary writer, "that limb of the devil, enemy of the church, seducer of the people, idol of heretics, mirror of hypocrites, author of schism, propagator of hatred, and fabricator of falsehood, John Wickliffe, was, by the immediate judgement of God, suddenly stricken with a palsy, which seized all the members of his body, when he was ready, as they say, to vomit forth his blasphemies against the blessed St. Thomas, in a sermon which he had prepared to preach that day (*s*)."

The joy, however, occasioned by the death of Wickliffe, was not of long duration; for the clergy soon found that his doctrines had outlived their founder, and continued, after his decease, to be propagated with great zeal and success. Knyghton, a contemporary historian, affirms that the New Doctrines, as they were called, were received, with such avidity, that "more than one half of the people of England, in a few years, became Lollards:" The same writer, who was himself an ecclesiastic, and consequently an inveterate enemy to the reformers, acknowledges that Wickliffe excelled the most learned men of the age in religious disputation; and that some of his disciples, in a short time, acquired great reputation for the same powers, and for their eloquence in preaching, which he wisely ascribes to the assistance of the devil; who, he says, took possession of them as soon as they became Lollards.

This rapid success roused the indignation of the clergy, who had once more recourse to their powerful instrument—persecution. They had sufficient art and influence to obtain a statute, in a surreptitious manner, which had the formality of an enrolment, without the previous consent of the Commons, (though this glaring defect has not caused it to be expunged from our Statute Book, where it still remains,) by which the sheriffs were summoned to seize and imprison all preachers of heresy, and their abettors. They also prevailed on the king, in the year 1387, to grant a commission to certain persons to seize all the books and manuscripts of Wickliffe, and other writers whom they called heretical; and to imprison all who transcribed, sold, bought, or concealed, such books or manuscripts. But Knyghton observes, with infinite regret, "that these laws and edicts were but slowly and faintly executed, because the time of correction was not yet come."

Notwithstanding all the efforts of the votaries of the papal church, the opinions of Wickliffe were openly maintained, by his numerous converts; though his writings were burned wherever they could be found, many copies escaped destruction; and though his doctrines were condemned by successive councils, they flourished in the midst of opposition. Though some of his followers purchased the forgiveness of the church by recantation or by a promise of silence, others persisted in the dissemination of what they conceived to be the dictates of religious truth. In the mean time the English parliament continued to check the clergy, and the court of Rome, by expedients more suitable to their wisdom and consequence. When a clerk had been inducted to a living by the bishop of the diocese, in consequence of a sentence in his favour by the king's court, it was usual for the pope, when appealed to by the party who conceived himself prejudiced by the sentence, to excommunicate the bishop; and when an English bishop had by any means incurred the displeasure of his holiness, he

(*r*) Whence the appellation of Lollard arose, is a matter of doubt. It has been supposed that it arose from the words of pope Gregory XI. who, in one of his bulls against Wickliffe, censures the clergy for suffering *lolium*, or darnel, to spring up among the wheat, and urges them to aim at the extirpation of this *lolium*. This, however, has the appearance of a forced etymology; and we may more reasonably adopt the opinion of those who affirm that the Wickliffites derived the name of Lollards from their resemblance to a sect which appeared in Germany about the beginning of the fourteenth century, whose leader is said to have been one Walter Lollard.

(*s*) This passage, which is taken from Walsingham, p. 312, may serve to shew the extreme virulence of the clergy of the church of Rome, falsely called *orthodox* ministers, against the man who dared to expose the wickedness and villainy of the sovereign pontiffs, and the doctrines they promulgated. The merits of the man, who could extort such virulent abuse even from prejudice itself, must have been great indeed; and in a more enlightened and liberal age, would doubtless have experienced that commendation which it so eminently deserved.

frequently

frequently translated him to a foreign see, by way of punishment, without his own consent, or even that of the king. To prevent a repetition of these flagrant abuses, in a parliament held at Winchester, in the year 1392, a law was enacted, which inflicted a very severe punishment on such persons as should solicit or bring into the kingdom any papal bulls of excommunication, translation, or, in short, any bulls or other instruments which should tend to detract from the rights and dignities of the crown. In the following year, (1393,) the Commons prayed "that remedy might be had against such religious persons as cause their villans to marry free women inheritable, whereby the estate comes to those religious hands by collusion." This petition was designed to prevent the consequences of a new device invented by the clergy for the purpose of eluding the Statute of Mortmain.

These contests between the Commons and the clergy encouraged the Lollards to act with more boldness than they had hitherto ventured to assume, by making a direct attack on the Established Church. During the king's absence in Ireland, in the year 1394, they presented to a parliament, assembled by the duke of York at Westminster, a remonstrance, containing twelve articles of complaint against the church and clergy, praying for redress and reformation. The chief subjects of complaint were: The exorbitant power, excessive wealth, and profligate lives of the clergy, which last they ascribed chiefly to their vows of celibacy: Transubstantiation, and the superstitious practices which the belief of that absurd doctrine gave rise to: Prayers for the dead: The worship of images: Pilgrimages: Auricular confession, which, they affirmed, furnished the priests with opportunities to debauch the morals and persons of their penitents: Female celibacy, which was productive of infamous connections, abortion, and murder: And several other particulars, some of which were similar to those which constitute the principal difference between the present Protestant church and that of Rome. We are not informed what kind of reception this remonstrance experienced from the parliament; but the clergy were so much alarmed at this spirited attack, that they dispatched the archbishop of York, the bishop of London, and some other commissioners to Richard the Second, to request that he would immediately return to England, and adopt some effectual mode of affording protection to the church, which, they affirmed, was in danger of destruction. "So soon," says the fanatical Walsingham, "as the king heard the representation of the commissioners, being inspired by the divine Spirit, he hastened into England, thinking it more necessary to defend the church than to conquer kingdoms." On Richard's arrival, he cited several noblemen who favoured the Lollards to appear before him; and, by threatening them with instant death if they gave any farther encouragement to heretical preachers, induced them to withdraw their protection. He likewise directed the chancellor of Oxford, in 1395, to expel from the university all those who had adopted the principles of that sect. Discouraged by this defection of their patrons, several of the chief preachers recanted their principles, and returned into the bosom of Holy Mother Church. Thomas Arundel, archbishop of York, one of their most inveterate persecutors, obliged the Lollards of his diocese to take the following curious oath: "I ———, before you, worshipful Fadher and Lord Archbishop, and your clergy, with my free will and full avysed, swere to God, and to all his seyntes, upon this holy gospel, that fro this day forthword I shall worship images, with praying and offering unto them, in the worship of the seyntes that they may be made after; and also, I shall never more despise pylgremage, ne states of holy chyrche, in no degre. And also, I shall be buxum to the laws of holy chyrche, and to yhowe, as to myn archbishop, and myn other ordinaries and curates, and keep the laws up with my power, and meyntein them. And also, I shall never meyntein, ne techen, ne defenden, errors, conclusions, ne techeng, of the Lollards, ne swych conclusions and techengs that men clopeth Lollards doctrine; ne shall her books, ne swych-books, ne hem or any suspect or diffamed of Lollardary, receyve or company with all, willingly, or defend in tho matters; and if I know any swych, I shall, with all the hast that I may, do yhowe, or else your nex officers, to wyten and of ther bokes," &c.

The factious prelate Thomas Arundel, who framed this curious oath, succeeded to the primacy, on the death of Courteney, who departed this life on the 16th of July, 1396; but the troubles in which he was soon involved, hindered him from extending his persecutions against the Lollards so far as he proposed. His attachment to that factious party which had effected the virtual deposition of Richard II. in 1386, proved the cause of his disgrace, and procured his exile. Having been found guilty of high treason, in the manner we have already related, in the reign of Richard the Second, he was deprived of his see, and banished the kingdom, about a year after his promotion. Roger Walden, treasurer of England, had been appointed to the metropolitan see on the exile of Thomas; but he did not long enjoy his station; for those troubles which occasioned the murder of the king (*t*), effected the deposition of the primate, and produced the recal of Arundel, who took possession of his archbishopric towards the commencement of the year 1399.

CHAP. X.

Biographical Account of celebrated Persons, from the Accession of Henry the Second till the Death of Richard the Second.

HAVING brought down our history of the affairs of the church from the year 1154, when Henry the Second ascended the throne, till the year 1399, when Richard the Second was murdered, we deem it necessary to communicate some particulars with regard to such Englishmen of learning, genius, and science, as flourished during that period. These persons being principally of the clerical order, we are justified in giving in a separate chapter a sketch of their character and attainments, because they were intimately connected with the progress of our ecclesiastical history.

Nicolas Breakspear, a native of Hertfordshire, was distinguished by his extraordinary rise from indigence and obscurity, to rank and power, and by having been the only person of English birth who ever had worn the triple crown (*u*). Being rejected from the abbey of St. Alban's by the abbot for insufficiency of learning, he resolved to seek his fortune on the continent; and having, by indefatigable industry and study, obtained, in the metropolis of France, a competent share of erudition, he was admitted into the monastery of St. Rufus, in Provence, of which he was at length chosen abbot. Some of his monks complaining of his conduct in this capacity, he was obliged to vindicate himself before pope Eugenius III. who, pleased with his learning and capacity, promoted him to the bishopric of Alba, and enrolled him among the members of the sacred college. He was afterwards sent as legate of the holy see to Denmark and Norway, where he greatly contributed to the propagation of Christianity. On the death of Anastasius IV. in 1154, he was elected to the papal chair, which he filled under the name of Adrian IV. This pontificate was signalized by firmness and vigour; but it was of short duration, and is said to have been terminated by a violent death; though this circumstance is destitute of confirmation. Some of his epistles and homilies are extant.

John of Salisbury was one of the most ingenious and learned men of the twelfth century. He was the confidential friend of archbishop Theobald, who died in 1161, and his successor Thomas à Becket; and, for his intimacy with the latter, he was banished from his native country by Henry II. Splendid offers were made him by the king to induce him to desert this prelate; but he rejected them with scorn. After the murder of his patron, he was preferred to the bishopric of Chartres, by the favour of Louis le Jeune and pope Alexander III. He died in 1182, between the age of sixty and seventy. His principal work is his "Poly-craticon," in which he keenly satirizes the manners of the age. His style is far from being inelegant or unclassical; and he displays a considerable knowledge of the sciences which were then in vogue. Contemporary with him was Peter of Blois, who, though an Englishman, deserves to be here mentioned as one of the ornaments of

(*t*) See above, p. 224.

(*u*) Cardinal Pole, an Englishman, was indeed chosen to succeed pope Paul III. in 1549; but, regarding his election as informal, he declined the acceptance of the offered dignity.

the court of Henry the Second, who employed him as his private secretary, and gave him several preferments in this kingdom. Peter was a man of strong abilities, and had no small share of erudition. Many of his letters, sermons, and tracts, have been printed.

Roger de Hoveden, one of the chaplains of Henry the Second, wrote a series of annals, commencing at the year 732, and terminating in 1201. He has borrowed largely from Simeon of Durham; and, even in his own time, from Benedict of Peterborough. These authors he, in general, copies verbatim. Where he appears to be an original writer, he is dull and jejune, though he merits praise for fidelity of narration.

William Little, generally styled William of Newburgh, from the monastery to which he belonged, was, next to William of Malmsbury, the most elegant and philosophical of the monkish writers. His history commences at the Conquest, and ends at the year 1197.

Benedict, abbot of Peterborough, was a faithful historian of his own times, to which his work is confined, being only an account of English affairs from the year 1170 to 1192. He enjoyed, for a short time, the office of keeper of the great seal in the reign of Richard I. in whose fifth year he died.

Gervase, a monk of Canterbury, and Ralph de Diceto, dean of St. Paul's, cultivated historic composition with success. They flourished in the reigns of Richard and John.

Girald Barry, a native of Wales, whence he is usually styled Giraldus Cambrensis, was a learned ecclesiastic of this period. He had some connection with the court of England, and several benefices in that kingdom. He was appointed chaplain to Henry II. who sent him over to Ireland with prince John. Here he collected materials for his topography of that island, as well as for his history of the conquest of it by the English. In the reign of Richard I. he refused some valuable preferments; but when the see of St. David's became vacant, he offered himself a candidate for it, and was unanimously elected by the chapter; but the powerful opposition of Hubert, archbishop of Canterbury, prevented him from obtaining the object of his wishes. He wrote a copious account of a progress which he made through Wales, in the train of Baldwin, the English primate. He was also the author of a description of Wales, as well as of many other works, which are debased by the insertion of legendary fictions and miraculous tales. His style is, in general, affected and verbose; but it is occasionally pleasing and elegant.

John Hanville, a monk of St. Alban's, who lived in the reigns of Henry II. and Richard I. was eminent as a poet. His "Architrenius" is a work of merit; and he produced several other Latin poems, which are not unworthy of modern perusal. But this writer was inferior to Joseph of Exeter, who seems to have been the first Latin poet of his time, and whose poem on the Trojan war is yet extant, while only a fragment is preserved of his "Antiocheis," of which Richard Cœur de Lion was the hero. Alexander Neckham was contemporary with these two authors; and he acquired great reputation in the same line of composition. Walter Mapes, archdeacon of Oxford, one of the chaplains of Henry II. was also a poetical Latinist; and as his productions are, for the most part, of the lighter species, he may be termed the Anacreon of the twelfth century.

Robert Grosteste, bishop of Lincoln, was distinguished by his genius and his erudition, by the integrity of his life, and by his resolute opposition to papal tyranny, which we have related in the last chapter. He was the author of a great number of treatises in natural philosophy, divinity, ethics, philology, &c. He died about the middle of the thirteenth century.

Roger Bacon, a Franciscan friar, was, without controversy, the greatest man of the age in which he lived. He studied at the universities of Oxford and Paris; and acquired, by the union of a surprizing genius and intense application, such a degree of knowledge as far surpassed the attainments even of his most celebrated contemporaries. His skill in astronomy, and in the various branches of natural philosophy, subjected him to the suspicion of being conversant in the magic art. His great superiority of knowledge excited the envy of his own fraternity; and being accused of holding intercourse with evil spirits, he was imprisoned by the direction of the general of the order. He continued many years in confinement; and it is not improbable, that this rigorous treatment might partly arise from the liberality of his sentiments on the subject of religion, which rendered him hateful to the bigots of that dark age. Notwithstanding the persecutions which he endured from the prejudices of the times, he was enabled to make such discoveries and improvements in art and science, as must excite the astonishment of those who consider the imperfect lights afforded him by the learning of the thirteenth century. He discovered the art of constructing reading glasses, telescopes, and several other constituent parts of philosophical apparatus. He was so conversant in the nature of the mechanical powers, as to invent or improve machines of general utility. He explained the composition and use of gunpowder, though that destructive combustible was not publicly known in Europe till near the middle of the fourteenth century, when Schwartz, a German monk, claimed the honour of its invention. He observed that error in the Gregorian calendar which afterwards occasioned the Gregorian correction of the style. He devised most of the operations practised in chemistry, and improved the art of healing the disorders of the human frame. In short, he was endued with a most perspicacious and comprehensive genius, which penetrated into the recesses of knowledge and science, which enlightened the obscurity of former ages, and paved the way for the progress of a Verulam and a Newton. This extraordinary man, who, though assisted in a pecuniary way by some of his learned friends, of whom bishop Grosteste was the principal, never attained any important preferment, died in 1292, at the age of seventy-eight, in a monastery belonging to his order at Oxford. Of his writings, some have been printed, others are lost, and some are yet in manuscript. His "Opus Majus," of which he sent a copy to pope Clement IV. is a valuable collection of scientific tracts.

Matthew Paris, the historian, was contemporary with Roger Bacon. He assumed the monastic habit at St. Alban's in 1217; and, by his learning and integrity, soon acquired the esteem of the monks of his society. He was at length favoured with the friendship of Henry III. by whom, as he informs us, he was assisted in the composition of his history. He corresponded with Haco king of Norway, at whose request he repaired to that country, to visit and reform the conventual foundations. His principal work was his "Historia Major," in which he has recounted the affairs of England from the Conquest to 1259, the year of his death. In the earlier part of this work, he is supposed to have derived much aid from the labours of Roger de Wendover, who preceded him in the office of historiographer to the monastery of St. Alban's. In the boldness and freedom of his remarks, he exceeded all the writers of his time; for he ventured to exhibit a strong picture of the arbitrary, rapacious, and fraudulent proceedings of the court of Rome, notwithstanding the dangerous height of power to which it had then arrived. He is, on the whole, a faithful historian, but too fond of superstitious tales and relations of miracles said to have been wrought by Romish saints. His style is perspicuous, and sometimes elegant; and the information which he affords us respecting the events of his own time is copious and interesting.

Nicolas Trivet, a Dominican frier, son of Sir Thomas Trivet, one of the justiciaries in the reign of Henry III. is a writer of merit. His Annals deserve our praise for their apparent sincerity, and the chronological accuracy with which they are arranged. About the same time with Trivet, lived Thomas Wikes and Matthew of Westminster, who respectively wrote histories of their native country.

Of the English schoolmen who flourished in this period, William Ockham seems to have been the most celebrated. He was a disciple of Duns Scotus, the formidable opponent of Thomas Aquinas; and, as these two divines were the founders of the Scotists and Thomists, Ockham was the head of another sect of scholastic theologians, called from him Ockhamists. He defended the rights of the Christian princes against the usurpations of the Roman pontiffs; and for this conduct, as well as for some bold opinions in divinity, which they considered as heretical, he was harassed with the spiritual hostilities of three successive occupants of the papal throne, namely, John XXII. Benedict XII. and Clement VI. His works evince, that he was a man of great learning, acuteness, and ability.

Walter Hemingford, a monk of Gisbourne in Yorkshire, flourished in the reign of Edward III. He composed a history of his native country, which is more estimable for fidelity of narration than for beauty of style. The reader of the earlier part of it will perhaps be inclined to dispute this

this criticism, till we inform him that the part alluded to was principally borrowed from William of Newburgh.

Adam de Murimuth was a man of considerable eminence in his day, both as a negociator and as an author. His history is principally confined to his own times. He lived in the reigns of Edward II. and III.

Ralph Higden, a monk of Chester, flourished in the fourteenth century, and acquired the character of an assiduous collector of historical facts. His work, which is entitled "Polychronicon," contains some valuable materials. Contemporary with him was John of Tinmouth, who wrote a voluminous work, to which his vanity induced him to give the pompous appellation of "Historia Aurea."

Robert of Avesbury wrote a history of a part of the reigns of Edward II. and III. but his work is more useful for the original papers it contains, than distinguished by the peculiar merit of the writer.

Henry Knyghton, canon of Leicester, obtained some reputation in the historic department. His history of England, which is continued to the year 1395, is not unworthy of the attention of his countrymen, being generally faithful and authentic. At the same time with him flourished John Froissart, a native of Hainault, who chiefly resided at the English court. Froissart was both a poet and an historian. His Chronicle, (a new and elegant edition of which has been lately reprinted,) though not confined to England, is particularly copious with regard to the affairs of that nation. He is, for the most part, a writer of good authority. It may not be improper to remark, that all the above histories, mentioned in this chapter, have been consulted in the progress of the former period of our history.

The principal ornaments of the fourteenth century were Geoffrey Chaucer and John Gower, the fathers of English poetry. Both of them were students in the law, and both were possessed of a great share of general learning. Chaucer was patronized by John of Gaunt, duke of Lancaster, and obtained the favour of Edward III. by whom he was employed in some official departments. In the subsequent reign he fell into disgrace at court, by supporting the doctrines of Wickliffe, and adhering to John of Northampton, mayor of London, who, being prosecuted by the ministry for seditious practices, was condemned to perpetual imprisonment. To avoid the vengeance of the court, Chaucer fled to the continent, whence he returned to England in a state of poverty, after an absence of several years. He was soon discovered, and thrown into prison; but, being prevailed on, by menace and promise, to disclose the contrivances of his party, he was restored to liberty. He afterwards recovered the good graces of king Richard, from whom he procured several grants, which were increased by his successor Henry. He died in the last year of the fourteenth century, at an advanced age. He was a man of uncommon genius, which he cultivated with great success. His poems, though they may appear harsh and uncouth to modern readers, soar above the general barbarism of the age in which he lived. By his contemporaries they were deemed elegant and harmonious: and the good sense with which they abound, recommends them to more enlightened ages. Many editions have been printed of his "Canterbury Tales," and they still continue to delight those who have a taste for the poetical compositions of our ancestors.

John Gower enjoyed the patronage of Thomas of Woodstock, duke of Gloucester. With the events of his life we are little acquainted: but we find that he was eminent for his knowledge of the law, and we know, from his productions, that he was a respectable poet for the age in which he wrote. His versification is more rugged than that of Chaucer; but his poems merit our praise for the multifarious knowledge which they display, and for the justness of the remarks they contain. To Chaucer and Gower the English language is greatly indebted for its improvement.

CHAP. XI.

Progress of the Arts, Sciences, and Literature, in England.

TO trace and delineate the progress and improvement in the arts and sciences in this country with the minute accuracy of a chronologist, would lead to the transgression of those bounds which the plan of our history has compelled us to prescribe to ourselves; but to omit it altogether would be a mark of remissness; we shall therefore make a few general remarks on their progressive advancement, which will be amply sufficient to convey adequate ideas of their influence on the manners and characters of the people.

Although in the period we have been delineating, science had begun to emerge from that state of obscurity in which it had been unhappily involved during the middle ages, the circumscribed circle of its votaries prevented any material extension of its influence. The little learning which was to be found in the country was still confined to the clergy; though the gross ignorance of the laity was rather owing to the rude taste and manners of the age than to the want of opportunity for the acquisition of knowledge, for, exclusive of the universities and other important seminaries, there was not a city or considerable town in the kingdom, but had its schools, in which youth were instructed, not only in reading, writing, and the principles of grammar, but in the more sublime arts of rhetoric, logic, and other branches of erudition. The modes of improvement in the art of disputation, practised by the pupils of those days, bear so striking a resemblance to the most celebrated modern theatres for the display of oratorical abilities, that the following short account of them, taken from Fitz-Stephens, a contemporary writer, cannot prove unacceptable to the reader: "On holidays," says that author, "it is usual for these schools to hold public assemblies in the churches, in which the scholars engage in demonstrative or logical disputations: some employing enthymemes; others, perfect syllogisms. The sole object of many of them is to obtain the victory, and make an ostentatious display of their acuteness; while others aim at the investigation of truth. Artful sophists, on these occasions, acquire great applause; some by a wonderful copiousness and fluency of expression; others, by gilding the most fallacious arguments with the most specious embellishments. When the disputations are finished, another class of scholars deliver rhetorical declamations, in which every rule of art is carefully preserved, and no topic of persuasion neglected."

The revival of literature, however, in this period, as well in England as in other European countries, was generally attempted by persons who had received instruction, or derived their principles of science, either from the Greeks in the Eastern Empire, or from the Arabians in Spain and Africa. Both these people, as an elegant and profound historian has justly observed, being acute and inquisitive to excess, corrupted those sciences which they cultivated: the former rendered theology a system of speculative refinement, or of endless controversy; the latter communicated to philosophy a spirit of metaphysical and frivolous subtlety. Misled by these fallacious guides, the persons who first applied to science were involved in a maze of intricate enquiries. Instead of allowing their fancy to take its natural range, and to produce such works of invention as might have improved their taste and refined their sentiments, they were fettered by authority, they were led astray by example, and wasted the whole force of their genius in speculations which were equally difficult and unavailing.

Having imbibed this spirit, they were continually employed, either in the penetration of mysteries, and the decision of questions, to the solution or even comprehension of which the limited faculties of the human mind are utterly inadequate; or else in the examination of subjects which reason could not stoop to investigate without degradation. Among the sublime and incomprehensible objects of their enquiries, Peter of Blois mentions "the substantial form of sounds," and "the essence of universals." As a proof that they were likewise addicted to the opposite extreme, we are told by John of Salisbury, that the following question, among others of equal *importance*, was frequently agitated with infinite warmth, viz. "When a hog is taken to market with a rope about its neck, which is held at one end by a man, whether is the hog taken to market by the rope, or by the man?"

The same spirit of subtlety which distinguished the philosophical writings and disputations of this age, extended its pernicious effects to divinity, and produced that scholastic theology which degraded the schools with its infinite train of daring disquisitions and absurd distinctions, which are not the object of human reason. When the divines composed commentaries on the Scriptures, it was not with the view of illustrating the important truths they contain, but

but merely to extract from them certain mystical or allegorical senses, which tended to perplex, but not to enlighten; and to form subjects for disputation, some of which were not only useless, but impious; many of them tinctured with the grossest obscenity; and others so trifling and ridiculous, as to render those who proposed, and those who discussed them, equal objects of contempt. Of the latter class, the following examples will suffice: "Was Christ the same between his death and resurrection that he was before his death and after his resurrection?—Doth the glorified body of Christ stand or sit in heaven?—Is the body of Christ, that is eaten in the sacrament, dressed or undressed?—Were the cloaths in which Christ appeared to the disciples real, or only apparent?"

The various canons enacted, in different councils, by the bishops of Rome, for the purpose of governing that spiritual monarchy which their ambition had urged them to erect, formed an essential part of the study of bishops and their officials, as their decisions, as judges of the ecclesiastical courts, were guided by those laws. But it was not till after the publication of the Decretals of Gratian, about the middle of the twelfth century, that the canon law attained the rank of a science, and was taught and studied in the schools. Its students and practitioners were speedily infected with the same corruption that pervaded every other branch of science, as may be seen by the assertion of Peter de Blois, who speaks thus of them: "It is the chief study of the ecclesiastical judges of our days, to multiply litigations, to invent delays, to invalidate contracts, to suppress truth, to encourage falsehood, to encrease extortions, and, in a word, to confound all law and justice by their quirks and subtleties."

Medicine, which had hitherto been practised as an art, now began to be studied as a science: but, though the professors of it seem to have been perfectly satisfied with their own abilities, it does not appear that their knowledge was equal to their vanity. The state of medicine at this period may be more accurately known by the following passage from John of Salisbury, one of the most learned and ingenious men of the twelfth century, than by the most ample dissertation of any modern author: "The professors of the theory of medicine are very communicative: they will tell you all they know, and, perhaps, through excess of kindness, a little more. You may learn from them the nature of things in general; the causes of sickness and of health; how to banish the one, and to preserve the other: for they can do both at pleasure. They will describe to you, with wonderful minuteness, the origin, the beginning, the progress, and the cure, of all diseases. In short, I am charmed with their harangues: I think them equal to Mercury and Esculapius; and almost persuade myself that they are able to raise the dead. There is but one thing that staggers me: their theories are as directly opposite to one another as light and darkness. This idea cannot but create doubts: two contradictory propositions cannot be true. But what shall I say of the practical physicians? I must say nothing to offend them; since it pleaseth God, for the punishment of my sins, to suffer me to fall too frequently into their hands. They must be soothed, and not exasperated. That I may not experience too rough treatment in my next illness, I dare scarcely allow myself to think in secret what others speak aloud." In another work, written at a subsequent period, and probably at a time when he enjoyed a better state of health, he speaks with greater freedom of the medical practitioners: "They soon return from college, full of flimsy theories, to practise what they have learned. Galen and Hippocrates are continually in their mouths. They speak aphorisms on every subject; and inspire their audience with wonder by their long, technical, high-sounding words. The good people believe they can do any thing, because they lay claim to universal knowledge. They have but two maxims which they hold inviolate:---Never regard the poor---Never refuse money from the rich."

There were three circumstances which appear to have contributed to the revival of learning at this period: the accession of the Norman princes to the English throne, who were themselves scholars, and to whose court the most learned men on the continent repaired, diffusing, by their example and instruction, a love and knowledge of letters—the increase of monasteries in England, which augmented the number both of teachers and students; multiplied the inducements to pursue, and the opportunities to acquire, knowledge; and rendered books more common and easy of attainment than they had been at any former period—and, lastly, the art of making paper, which was invented about this time, considerably decreased the value of books, and promoted their circulation.

The introduction of the Normans into England proved as favourable to the promotion of the arts as to the culture of the sciences. Agriculture, which from its extensive utility claims particular attention, was considerably improved by the importation of many thousands of husbandmen from the fertile and well cultivated plains of Flanders, France, and Normandy; who, having obtained lands in this island, employed the same modes of cultivation which they had successfully used in their native countries. Nor did the proud barons of those times disdain to superintend the improvement of their estates: some of them are even celebrated in history for their skill in agriculture. But the Norman clergy, and the monks in particular, paid still greater attention to this necessary art; and the lands of the church, especially those of the convents, were distinguished for their superior cultivation: for the monks of every monastery retained such of their lands as were most conveniently situated in their own possession, and cultivated them with great care, under their own immediate inspection, and frequently with their own hands. Indeed the custom of assisting in the practice of agriculture was so prevalent with the monks at this period, especially in seed and harvest times, that the famous Thomas à Becket, after he was promoted to the archbishopric of Canterbury, used frequently to repair to the fields, accompanied by the monks of the monasteries where he happened to reside, and assist them in reaping their corn and making their hay.

That the protection and encouragement of all who were employed in agricultural pursuits was an object of attention to the church, appears from the twenty-sixth canon of the general council of Lateran, held in the year 1179; by which it was decreed, "That all presbyters, clerks, monks, converts, pilgrims, and peasants, when they are engaged in the labours of husbandry, together with the cattle that draw their ploughs, and the seed which they carry into the field, shall enjoy perfect security; and that all who molest or interrupt them, if they do not desist when they have been admonished, shall be excommunicated."

Gardening too, in all its various branches, appears to have been cultivated with peculiar assiduity by the Normans. William of Malmsbury tells us, that the Vale of Gloucester produced great quantities of the finest fruits; and that it was thickly planted with vineyards that yielded grapes in the greatest abundance, and of the sweetest taste, of which wine was made little inferior in flavour to the wines of France.

Architecture likewise received great improvement during this period, owing to the universal rage for building which prevailed throughout the kingdom in the twelfth century, when great numbers of churches and monasteries were erected in all parts of the island. The sacred architecture of the Anglo-Normans, which at the commencement of this period strongly resembled, in style and manner, that of the Anglo-Saxons, yielded by degrees to structures more airy, elevated, and embellished, which led to that bold magnificent style of building denominated, for what reason we know not, *the later Gothic*. This mode of architecture, which with some variations flourished more than three centuries, produced many stupendous edifices, which are still viewed with pleasure and admiration. Many of these magnificent structures, being built with stones brought from the quarries near Caen, in Lower Normandy, must have been attended with an immense expence.

This improvement in architecture did not, however, affect the habitations of the lower class of people, who were extremely depressed in the times we are now delineating. Even in the metropolis all the houses inhabited by mechanics and common burgesses were built of wood, and covered either with straw or reeds, towards the conclusion of the twelfth century: but the palaces or castles of the kings, barons, and prelates, were materially different from the residences of persons of the same rank among the Saxons. Indeed they were prompted to the erection of fortified castles, not only by the custom of their native country, but by the more potent consideration of personal safety, arising from the dangerous situation in this island, where they were surrounded by multitudes, whose abhorrence they had justly incurred by plunder and oppression. Indeed William the First was sensible that the want of fortified places in England had greatly promoted his conquest, and might

might possibly accelerate his expulsion; he therefore hastened to remedy this important defect, by building castles of great strength and magnificence in all the towns within the royal demesnes. This example was soon followed by his nobles; and the first care of every person who received the grant of an estate from the crown, was to erect a castle for its defence. This spirit of building fortresses was maintained by the disputes about the succession in the subsequent reigns; and increased to such a degree during the turbulent reign of Stephen, that we are told by the author of the Saxon Chronicle, that the poor people were worn out with the toil of these buildings, and the whole kingdom was covered with castles: an expression that will not appear exaggerated, when we are informed that, in the short space of nineteen years, from 1135 to 1154, no fewer than eleven hundred and fifteen castles were raised from the foundation, exclusive of those which had been erected before that period (*f*).

The arts of refining and working metals, which are of such extensive utility, both intrinsic and relative, were highly improved in the present period. The art of making defensive armour, in particular, had arrived at such perfection, that a knight, completely armed, was deemed almost invulnerable. But the artists who wrought in the more precious metals of gold and silver, had attained to a still greater degree of excellence, as appears from the positive testimony of contemporary writers, and from the description of their productions.

The importation of a considerable number of cloth manufacturers from Flanders tended greatly to promote the improvement of the different clothing arts; for the encouragement whereof, the weavers in all the principal towns were formed into gilds or corporations; and had various privileges bestowed upon them by royal charters, for which they paid certain fines into the Exchequer.

It is almost superfluous to observe, that the art of war was an object of universal attention in this martial age: but there was a considerable defect in the military system, owing to the feudal regulations, which were highly subversive of discipline and subordination, as they gave to every earl the command of the troops of his own county, and to every baron those of his barony; by which means such important commands, being hereditary, were frequently entrusted to persons wholly unqualified to hold them. "In our time," says a contemporary writer, "military skill and discipline have much declined, and are indeed almost totally destroyed, because many possess the highest offices without having passed through the subaltern degrees; who are proud indeed of their commands and titles, but despise the most necessary qualifications. Young men, who are gamesters, hunters, hawkers, and even fools by nature, who have never handled arms, or acquired any knowledge of the art of war, take upon them to act the part of generals."

The progress of the English, at this period, in the Fine Arts, appears to have been equal to their more useful improvements. Sculpture has in all ages attracted the particular attention of a people inclined to idolatry, and endued with wealth; and as the inhabitants of England were at this time much addicted to a superstitious veneration for the images of saints, they were sedulous in the cultivation of it: every church had an image of its patron saint; and the cathedrals were absolutely crouded with these inanimate objects of fanatical adoration.

Painting, historical, portrait, and ornamental, was as much cultivated as sculpture, as well for religious purposes as for those of vanity and ostentation. We are told by Henry the Second's chaplain, Peter de Blois, archdeacon of Bath, that the great barons and chief officers of his time had their shields and saddles ornamented with the representations of battles. "They carry shields into the field," says that author, "so richly gilded, that they present the enemy with a prospect of booty rather than of danger; and they return with them untouched; and, as I may say, in a virgin state. They also cause their shields and saddles to be decorated with representations of battles and equestrian combats, that they may please their imaginations with the contemplation of scenes in which they are averse to engage."

The art of Painting Glass, it is imagined, was brought into England in the reign of king John; but this is a conjecture, rather founded on the circumstance of its being practised in France at that time than supported by tradition. There was another kind of painting, however, that was certainly practised in this country during that period: this was called *illuminating*—from whence *limning* is derived---and was chiefly used for the illustration and embellishment of the Bible and other books.

As the Normans were more learned than the Anglo-Saxons, and not less devoted to the Muses, the delightful art of Poetry was cultivated with equal ardour, and greater success, in this than in the former period. Though the vernacular language of England was in such a state of imperfection as not only to render it improper for the sublimer strains of poetry, but even to be deemed unfit for the purposes of teaching the sciences, maintaining an epistolary correspondence, or for prosaic compositions; yet so prevalent was the *furor poeticus*, that a prodigious number of poems, on various subjects, were composed in that crude and unformed tongue. The minstrels had a set of songs, which they sang to their harps in the courts of kings, and in the halls of barons, on Sundays, instead of those on love and war, which they sang on other days.

The poets of this age seem to have indulged themselves in satirical compositions, as well personal as general, though they must have exercised their wit at the risk of their lives, as appears from an incident which occurred in the reign of Henry the First; who, in the year 1124, sentenced one Luke de Barra to lose his eyes, for having written defamatory ballads against him: and, notwithstanding the strenuous intercession of the count of Flanders, the sentence was executed with such rigour, that the unfortunate poet died in consequence of the wounds he received. But though the monarchs and nobles of those times were thus impatient of satire, they were not averse to the courtly strains of panegyric. The celebrated William Longchamp, bishop of Ely, chancellor and chief justiciary of England, the pope's legate, and chief favourite of Richard the First, is said to have kept a number of poets in his pay to compose songs and poems in his praise; and to have allowed the best singers and minstrels, by considerable presents, to come from the continent, and sing these compositions in the streets of the different cities of England.

Some of the best poems of these times were written in the Latin language, which the imperfection of the English had rendered extremely prevalent. Some fragments of these may be seen in Camden's Remains, which in elegance and harmony may justly vie with the most polished productions of the Augustan age.

The language which the Normans imported into England was that which was called *Lingua Romana*, or the Romance Language, which was the vulgar tongue of all the provinces of France in the eleventh and twelfth centuries. It was in this language,---a base corruption of the Latin, which had itself superseded the Celtic of the ancient Gauls, at the time when the Roman arms had made

(*f*) The following description of one of these abodes of feudal tyranny, chiefly taken from Mr. Grose's Antiquities of England and Wales, will convey an adequate idea of their strength and structure. It was generally situated on an eminence, and near to a river: the whole site of the castle, which was frequently of great extent and irregular figure, was surrounded by a broad ditch, sometimes filled with water, and sometimes dry, called the *Fossé*. Before the great gate was an outwork, called a *Barbacan*, or *Antemural*, which consisted of a strong high wall, provided with turrets, for the defence of the gate and drawbridge. On the inside of the fossé stood the wall of the castle, about eight or ten feet thick, and between twenty and thirty feet high, with a parapet, and a species of embrasures, called *Crennels*, on the top. On this wall, at equal distances, were erected square towers, two or three stories high, in which some of the principal officers of the castle generally resided; and, on the inside, apartments were made for the common servants or retainers of the proprietor; beside granaries, storehouses, and other necessary offices. On the top of this wall, and on the flat roofs of these buildings, stood the defenders of the castle when it was besieged, and from thence discharged arrows, darts, and stones on the assailants. In this wall also was placed the great gate of the castle, protected by a tower on each side, and rooms over the entrance, which was closed with thick folding doors made of oak, often plated with iron, and defended by an iron portcullis, or grate, let down from above. Within this outward wall was a large open space or court, called the *Outer Bayle*, or *Ballium*, in which a church or chapel commonly stood. Within this outer bayle was another ditch, wall, gate, and towers, inclosing the *Inner Bayle* or court; within which the chief tower, or *Keep*, was built. This was a spacious square fabric, four or five stories high, the walls of which were of a prodigious thickness, and the windows extremely small, which rendered the apartments dark and gloomy. This grand tower was the mansion of the proprietor, and the residence of the constable, or governor. As beneath it were dark, dismal vaults, for the purpose of confining prisoners, it was sometimes called the *Dungeon*. In this building also was the great hall, in which the lord of the castle displayed his hospitality. At one end of the hall was a place somewhat elevated above the floor, called the *Dais*, where the chief table was placed, at which sate persons of the highest rank.

a conquest of their country, and from whence the French is derived---that many metrical romances were composed by the poets of France and Normandy during the eleventh and twelfth centuries; and it was from the language in which they were written, rather than from the extravagant fables which they commonly contained, that these compositions received the denomination of Romances.

The Provençal Poets were justly celebrated in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries in most of the countries of Europe; they were called *Troubadours*, or *Finders*, from the fertility of their invention; and were, in fact, the fathers of modern poetry. No bards ever received a greater encouragement or protection: they were invited to the courts of the greatest princes, where they were equally respected by the brave and the fair, as they celebrated the atchievements of the one, and the charms of the other. So flattering was the applause they attracted, that several crowned heads devoted their leisure hours to the Muses, became Troubadours, and composed poems in the Provençal language, which was then the most perfect of all the European tongues. Richard the First was one of these royal poets; some of whose poems in the Provençal dialect, are still extant; and one of them has been published in the first volume of Mr. Walpole's Catalogue of Royal and Noble Authors of England.

In times when Poetry was so much esteemed and cultivated, we may be sure that Music could not be neglected; particularly as these two arts were much more intimately connected in those days than they are at present: for most of the poets of France and England, like the ancient bards of Gaul and Britain, were musicians, and sung their verses to the music of their harps. These poetical musicians, known by the name of Minstrels, were entertained in the courts and castles of princes, barons, and prelates, who lavished on them a great part of their wealth. Matilda, consort to Henry the First, was so fond of music and poetry, and so profuse in her gifts to the professors and votaries of these sciences, that she expended almost the whole of her revenues upon them, and even oppressed her family in order to procure money to reward them for their labours. An art so highly cherished, and so liberally rewarded, could not fail to flourish.

Sacred Music was likewise cultivated with equal ardour during this period; and many of the dignified clergy paid such application to it as to become considerable proficients in this pleasing art (*g*). The church music of England did not long preserve that grave and solemn style which was so peculiarly calculated to inspire the mind with religious sentiments; for, before the end of the twelfth century, its primitive simplicity had degenerated into softness and effeminacy. John of Salisbury complains, that this effeminate kind of church music had even debased the dignity, and polluted the purity of religious worship; that the sweet modulations of the choristers rather resembled a concert of syrens than of men; that, by attending to their artificial sounds, the ear lost its capacity of discrimination; and the mind, overpowered with sweetness, was unable to decide on the merits of the performers, who, exceeding the bounds of moderation, were more apt to raise unhallowed passions in the hearts of men than excite devout affections. If this description be not grossly exaggerated, though such music was highly improper for a place of worship, the skill of the composers, and abilities of the performers, must have been far from contemptible.

The arts and sciences, however, continued to advance and improve; but their progress was slow, and their improvement was gradual; so that little remains to be said in addition to what is above stated. Among the principal excitements to study may be reckoned the considerable additions that were made to the two universities of Oxford and Cambridge, and the foundation of numerous schools in different parts of the kingdom. In Oxford, from the year 1249 to 1386, no less than seven colleges were founded and endowed; viz. University, Baliol, Merton, Exeter, Oriel, Queen's, and New College: and in Cambridge, nine halls and colleges were founded in the same period; *viz.* Peter House, Michael College, (now Trinity,) University Hall, (which was burnt down soon after its foundation,) King's Hall, (united to Trinity College by Henry the Eighth,) Clare Hall, Pembroke Hall, Corpus Christi, (now Ben'et College,) Trinity Hall, and Gonvil Hall.

Although the arts were by no means neglected in the period we are now delineating, yet there were many circumstances which prevented them from making a rapid progress towards perfection. The situation of the country was peculiarly unfavourable to the improvement of the necessary arts. Agriculture was so little encouraged, that the preference which Edward the Second evinced to it over martial exercises, exposed him to the reproach and contempt of his subjects. The attention of the people too, and especially of the nobility, was almost constantly diverted from the cultivation of their lands by foreign wars and domestic commotions; and, as they could not find time to bestow on agriculture, that primary source of subsistence, it is not to be expected that arts of an inferior consequence could be promoted with any degree of assiduity. The great barons and prelates, who were the chief proprietors of the soil, kept a vast quantity of land in their own possession, which was cultivated, partly by their slaves or villans, and partly by their tenants; who, whenever they were called upon, were under the necessity of neglecting the cultivation of their own land, to attend to that of their lords: and, as these slaves and tenants could have no interest in the produce of their labours, it is natural to suppose that they would perform them with negligence and inattention (*h*).

It is a circumstance not less curious than singular, that not only treatises composed at this period for the instruction of farmers and their servants, down to the very swineherd, were written in Latin; but even the accounts of the profits and expences of farms and dairies were kept in that language. The Latin employed for these purposes was not indeed strictly classical, as will appear from the following specimen, which we have extracted from Kennet's Parochial Antiquities: "Et pro uno *seedcod* empto iii d. Et pro uno *cartsadel* uno *colero* cum uno pari tractuum emptis xiv d. Et pro fractura de *drawgere* iii d. Et pro uno *dongecart* empto xiv d. Et pro serratione et dolatione unius *carthody* vi d."

The useful art of clock-making was introduced into England during this period. The first clock we hear of in this country was placed in the old clock tower, opposite to the gate of Westminster Hall, and was purchased, as we are told by Selden, with part of a fine of eight hundred marks imposed on Randolf de Hengham, chief justice of the King's Bench, in 1288. In 1292, another clock, which cost thirty pounds---equivalent to four hundred pounds of our present money---was placed in the cathedral of Canterbury. About seventy or eighty years afterwards the art of clock-making in England had attained to a considerable degree of perfection. Leland gives an account of a very curious clock, made by Richard de Wallingford, abbot of St. Alban's, in the reign of Richard II. which he describes as representing the revolutions of the sun and moon, the fixed stars, and the ebbing and flowing of the sea. He informs us, that the abbot composed a book of directions for the management of this curious piece of mechanism, to prevent its being spoiled by the ignorance of the monks.

It is not possible to fix, with precision, the time when the use of gunpowder and fire-arms were introduced into England, though we know it was during this period. We have already mentioned, in the last chapter, that Roger Bacon invented the art of making it; but as he was endued with those principles of humanity which prevent the perversion of knowledge to destructive purposes, so he dreaded to communicate his dangerous discovery to the world: therefore, by an artful transposition of the letters contained in the

(*g*) The invention of the Gamut, by an Italian monk named Guido Aretin, a native of Arezzo, about the year 1022, contributed in a great degree to increase the ardour of the clergy in their application to Music, by facilitating the acquisition of musical knowledge. This invention made a great noise in the church; and the author was thrice sent for to Rome, to explain and teach it to the clergy of that metropolis. Aretin, in a letter to the pope, affirms, that any person, by the aid of his invention, may make as great proficiency in Music, in one year, as he could before have made in ten. He insinuates to his Holiness, that he had been inspired by Heaven with this happy thought, which had procured him an ample atonement for all his sins, and secured the salvation of his soul!

(*h*) Some idea of the immense tracts of land which the barons and prelates retained in their own possession may be formed from the following account of the stock upon the lands belonging to the see of Winchester, delivered to bishop Wykeham, in the year 1367, by the executors of his predecessor, *viz.* One hundred and twenty-seven draught horses; fifteen hundred and fifty-six head of black cattle; three thousand eight hundred and seventy-six wethers; four thousand seven hundred and seventy-seven ewes; and three thousand five hundred and forty-one lambs; besides the sum of one thousand six hundred and sixty-two pounds ten shillings—equivalent to upwards of twenty thousand pounds of our present money—which they paid for a deficiency in the stock.

Latin

Latin words, which signified charcoal, he rendered the passage obscure, and consequently useless. The passage is this: "Sed tamen salis petræ, *luru mope can vbre* (carbonum pulvere) et sulphuris; et sic facies tonitrum et coruscationem, si scias artificium." By this mean the knowledge of the materials made use of in the composition of gunpowder was concealed till it was accidentally discovered by Barthold Schwartz, a German monk and chemist, towards the commencement of the fourteenth century, as he was pounding the ingredients for medical purposes.

Though fire-arms were frequently used in these times, their invention did not produce any material change in the art of war. This may be ascribed to a variety of causes; but principally to the difficulty of procuring gunpowder, the art of making which was known only to a few persons, and that but imperfectly. The English too, were at this time in possession of many destructive instruments of war, which they were unwilling to change for others with which they were but imperfectly acquainted. The chief of these instruments were, the cross-bow, and engines for throwing stones: some of which would throw stones of three hundred weight to a considerable distance.

The Fine Arts, during the present period, experienced much greater encouragement than those which tend to gratify the wants and to supply the comforts of life. The superstitious spirit of the age, with the extreme opulence of the clergy, which is almost a necessary consequence of that spirit, rendered the cultivation of Sculpture, Painting, or Music, a study of great honour and immense profit. The sculptor and statuary supplied the external embellishments of the churches, palaces, and castles, of the nobles; while they joined their skill to that of the painter, in order to stock the inside of the buildings with such immoderate numbers of their productions, that they bore a much stronger resemblance to modern exhibition-rooms than to places of public worship, or private residence.

The love of poetry still prevailed; though the barbarism of the language in which the poets of that age wrote has prevented their works from being generally known to posterity, except those of Chaucer, and his successor, John Gower, whose poetical talents are thus described by Mr. Warton: "In elevation and elegance, in harmony and perspicuity of versification, Chaucer surpasses his predecessors in an infinite proportion; that his genius was universal, and adapted to themes of unbounded variety; that his merit was not less in painting familiar manners with humour and propriety than in moving the passions, and in representing the beautiful or the grand objects of nature with grace and sublimity. In a word, that he appeared with all the lustre and dignity of a true poet, in an age which compelled him to struggle with a barbarous language, and a national want of taste; and when, to write verses at all, was considered as a singular qualification.

"If Chaucer had not existed, the compositions of John Gower, the next poet in succession, would alone have been sufficient to rescue the reigns of Edward the Third and Richard the Second, from the imputation of barbarism. His education was liberal and uncircumscribed; his course of reading extensive; and he tempered his severer studies with a knowledge of life. By a critical cultivation of his native language, he endeavoured to reform its irregularities, and to establish an English style."

As to music, independent of the minstrels, who continued to flourish during the fourteenth century, sacred music was cultivated with great ardour by the clergy. The church, indeed, by a gradual departure from the primitive simplicity of the Christian religion, and the consequent introduction of organs into places of worship, to the sound of which many of the offices were sung, had rendered the study of music essentially necessary to all who were to partake of the celebration. Music was accordingly taught and studied in all colleges, cathedrals, convents, and capital churches; and we are told by that laborious investigator, Sir John Hawkins, in his History of Music, "That the clergy were by much the most able proficients, as well in instrumental as vocal music."

(*i*) The subjects treated of in this chapter, having received all the attention which their nature required by Mr. Hume, we have thought fit to transcribe the principal of his arguments, and to elucidate them by observations drawn from other historians of high authority.

CHAP. XII.

DISSERTATION ON THE FEUDAL AND ANGLO-NORMAN GOVERNMENT AND MANNERS.

Origin of the Feudal law—Its Progress—Feudal Government of England—The Feudal Parliament—The Commons—Judicial Power—Revenue of the Crown—Commerce—The Church—Civil Laws—Manners.

THE Feudal Law is the chief foundation, both of the political government and of the jurisprudence established by the Normans in England (*i*). Our subject therefore requires that we should form a just idea of this law, in order to explain the state as well of that kingdom as of all other kingdoms of Europe, which during those ages were governed by similar institutions. And though I am sensible, says Mr. Hume, that I must here repeat many observations and reflections which have been communicated by others (*k*); yet, as every book, agreeably to the observation of a great historian (*l*), should be as complete as possible within itself, and should never refer for any thing material to other books, it will be necessary in this place to deliver a short plan of that prodigious fabric which for several centuries preserved such a mixture of liberty and oppression, order and anarchy, stability and revolution, as was never experienced in any other age, or any other part of the world.

After the northern nations had subdued the provinces of the Roman empire, they were obliged to establish a system of government which might secure their conquests, as well against the revolt of their numerous subjects who remained in the provinces, as from the inroads of other tribes, who might be tempted to ravish from them their new acquisitions. The great change of circumstances made them here depart from those institutions which prevailed among them while they remained in the forests of Germany; yet was it still natural for them to retain, in their present settlement, as much of their ancient customs as was compatible with their new situation.

The German governments, being more a confederacy of independent warriors than a civil subjection, derived their principal force from many inferior and voluntary associations, which individuals formed under a particular head or chieftain, and which it became the highest point of honour to maintain with inviolable fidelity. The glory of the chief consisted in the number, the bravery, and the zealous attachment of his retainers: the duty of the retainers required that they should accompany their chief in all wars and dangers, that they should fight and perish by his side, and that they should esteem his renown or his favour a sufficient recompence for all their services (*m*). The prince himself was nothing but a chieftain, who was chosen from among the rest, on account of his superior valour or nobility: and who derived his power from the voluntary association or attachment of the other chieftains.

When a tribe, governed by these ideas, and actuated by these principles, subdued a large territory, they found that though it was necessary to keep themselves in a military posture, they could neither remain united in a body, nor take up their quarters in several garrisons, and that their manners and institutions debarred them from using these expedients; the obvious ones, which in a like situation would have been employed by a more civilized nation. Their ignorance in the art of finances, and perhaps the devastations inseparable from such violent conquests, rendered it impracticable for them to levy taxes sufficient for the pay of numerous armies; and their repugnance to subordination, with their attachment to rural pleasures, made the life of the camp or garrison, if perpetuated during peaceful times, extremely odious and disgustful to them. They seized, therefore, such a portion of the conquered lands as appeared necessary; they assigned a share for supporting the dignity of their prince and government; they distributed other parts, under the title of fiefs, to the chiefs; these made a new partition among their retainers; the express condition of all these grants was, that they might be resumed at pleasure, and that the possessor, so long as he enjoyed them, should still remain in readiness

(*k*) L'Esprit de Loix. Dr. Robertson's History of Scotland.
(*l*) Padre Paolo Histor. Concil. Trident.
(*m*) Tacitus, de Moribus Germanicus.

to take the field for the defence of the nation. And though the conquerors immediately separated, in order to enjoy their new acquisitions, their martial disposition made them readily fulfil the terms of their engagement: they assembled on the first alarm; their habitual attachment to the chieftain made them willingly submit to his command; and thus a regular military force, though concealed, was always ready to defend, on any emergence, the interest and honour of the community.

We are not to imagine that all the conquered lands were seized by the northern conquerors; or that the whole of the land thus seized was subjected to those military services. This supposition is confuted by the history of all the nations on the continent. Even the idea given us of the German manners by the Roman historian, may convince us that that bold people would never have been content with so precarious a subsistence, or have fought to procure establishments which were only to continue during the good pleasure of their sovereign. Though the northern chieftains accepted of lands which, being considered as a kind of military pay, might be resumed at the will of the king or general; they also took possession of estates which, being hereditary and independent, enabled them to maintain their native liberty, and support, without court-favour, the honour of their rank and family.

But there is a great difference, in the consequences, between the distribution of a pecuniary subsistence, and the assignment of lands burthened with the condition of military service. The delivery of the former at the weekly, monthly, or annual terms of payment, still recalls the idea of a voluntary gratuity from the prince, and reminds the soldier of the precarious tenure by which he holds his commission. But the attachment, naturally formed with a fixed portion of land, gradually begets the idea of something like property, and makes the possessor forget his dependent situation, and the condition which was at first annexed to the grant. It seemed equitable, that one who had cultivated and sowed a field should reap the harvest: hence fiefs, which were at first entirely precarious, were soon made annual. A man who had employed his money in building, planting, or other improvements, expected to reap the fruits of his labour or expence: hence they were next granted during a term of years. It would be thought hard to expel a man from his possessions who had always done his duty, and performed the conditions on which he originally received them: hence the chieftains in a subsequent period, thought themselves entitled to demand the enjoyment of their feudal lands during life. It was found, that a man would more willingly expose himself in battle, if assured that his family should inherit his possessions, and should not be left by his death in want and poverty: hence fiefs were made hereditary in families, and descended, during one age, to the son, then to the grandson, next to the brothers, and afterwards to more distant relations (*n*). The idea of property stole in gradually upon that of military pay; and each century made some sensible addition to the stability of fiefs and tenures.

In all these successive acquisitions, the chief was supported by his vassals; who, having originally a strong connection with him, augmented by the constant intercourse of good offices, and by the friendship arising from vicinity and dependance, were inclined to follow their leader against all his enemies, and voluntarily, in his private quarrels, paid him the same obedience to which, by their tenure, they were bound in foreign wars. While he daily advanced new pretensions to secure the possession of his superior fief, they expected to find the same advantage, in acquiring stability to their subordinate ones; and they zealously opposed the intrusion of a new lord, who would be inclined, as he was fully intitled, to bestow the possession of their lands on his own favourites and retainers. Thus the authority of the sovereign gradually decayed; and each noble, fortified in his own territory by the attachment of his vassals, became too powerful to be expelled by an order from the throne; and he secured by law what he had at first acquired by usurpation.

During this precarious state of the supreme power, a difference would immediately be experienced between those portions of territory which were subjected to the feudal tenures, and those which were possessed by an allodial or free title. Though the latter possessions had at first been esteemed much preferable, they were soon found, by the progressive changes introduced into public and private law, to be of an inferior condition to the former. The possessors of a feudal territory, united by a regular subordination under one chief, and by the mutual attachments of the vassals, had the same advantages over the proprietors of the other, that a disciplined army enjoys over a dispersed multitude; and were enabled to commit with impunity all injuries on their defenceless neighbours. Every one, therefore, hastened to seek that protection which he found so necessary; and each allodial proprietor, resigning his possessions into the hands of the king, or of some nobleman respected for power or valour, received them back with the condition of feudal services (*o*), which, though a burden somewhat grievous, brought him ample compensation, by connecting him with the neighbouring proprietors, and placing him under the guardianship of a potent chieftain. The decay of the political government thus necessarily occasioned the extension of the feudal: the kingdoms of Europe were universally divided into baronies, and these into inferior fiefs: and the attachment of vassals to their chief, which was at first an essential part of the German manners, was still supported by the same causes from which it at first arose; the necessity of mutual protection, and the continued intercourse, between the head and the members, of benefits and services.

But there was another circumstance which corroborated these feudal dependencies, and tended to connect the vassals with their superior lord by an indissoluble bond of union. The northern conquerors, as well as the more early Greeks and Romans, embraced a policy, which is unavoidable to all nations that have made slender advances in refinement: they every where united the civil jurisdiction with the military power. Law, in its commencement, was not an intricate science, and was more governed by maxims of equity, which seem obvious to common sense, than by numerous and subtile principles, applied to a variety of cases by profound reasonings from analogy. An officer, though he had passed his life in the field, was able to determine all legal controversies which could occur within the district committed to his charge; and his decisions were the most likely to meet with a prompt and ready obedience, from men who respected his person, and were accustomed to act under his command. The profit arising from punishments, which were then chiefly pecuniary, was another reason for his desiring to retain the judicial power; and when his fief became hereditary, this authority, which was essential to it, was also transmitted to his posterity. The counts, and other magistrates, whose power was merely official, were tempted, in imitation of the feudal lords, whom they resembled in so many particulars, to render their dignity perpetual and hereditary; and in the decline of the regal power, they found no difficulty in making good their pretensions. After this manner the vast fabric of feudal subordination became quite solid and comprehensive; it formed every where an essential part of the political constitution; and the Normans and other barons, who followed the fortunes of William, were so accustomed to it, that they could scarcely form an idea of any other species of civil government (*p*).

The Saxons who conquered England, as they exterminated the ancient inhabitants, and thought themselves secured by the sea against new invaders, found it less requisite to maintain themselves in a military posture: the quantity of land which they annexed to offices seems to have been of small value; and for that reason continued the longer in its original situation, and was always possessed during pleasure by those who were intrusted with the command. These conditions were too precarious to satisfy the Norman barons, who enjoyed more independent possessions and jurisdictions in their own country; and William was obliged, in the new distribution of land, to copy the tenures, which were now become universal on the continent. England of a sudden became a feudal kingdom (*q*); and received all the advantages, and was exposed to all the inconveniencies, incident to that species of civil polity.

According to the principles of the feudal law, the king was the supreme lord of the landed property: all posses-

(*n*) Lib. Feud. lib. 1. tit. 1.

(*o*) Marculf. Form. 47. apud. Lidenbr. p. 1238.

(*p*) The ideas of the feudal government were so rooted, that even lawyers, in those ages, could not form a notion of any other constitution. *Regnum* (says Bracton, lib. 2. cap. 34.) *quod ex comitatibus & baronibus dicitur esse constitutum.*

(*q*) Coke's Comment. on Littleton, p. 1, 2. ad sect. 1.

sors,

sors, who enjoyed the fruits or revenue of any part of it, held those privileges, either mediately or immediately, of him; and their property was conceived to be, in some degree, conditional (*r*). The land was still apprehended to be a species of *benefice*, which was the original conception of a feudal property; and the vassal owed, in return for it, stated services to his baron, as the baron himself did for his land to the crown. The vassal was obliged to defend his baron in war; and the baron, at the head of his vassals, was bound to fight in defence of the king and kingdom. But besides these military services, which were casual, there were others imposed of a civil nature, which were more constant and durable.

The northern nations had no idea, that any man, trained up to honour, and inured to arms, was ever to be governed, without his own consent, by the absolute will of another; or that the administration of justice was ever to be exercised by the private opinion of any one magistrate, without the concurrence of some other persons, whose interest might induce them to check his arbitrary and iniquitous decisions. The king, therefore, when he found it necessary to demand any service of his barons or chief tenants, beyond what was due by their tenures, was obliged to assemble them, in order to obtain their *consent*: and when it was necessary to determine any controversy which might arise among the barons themselves, the question must be discussed in their presence, and be decided according to their opinion or *advice*. In these two circumstances of consent and advice, consisted chiefly the civil services of the ancient barons; and these implied all the considerable incidents of government. In one view, the barons regarded this attendance as their principal *privilege*; in another, as a grievous *burden*. That no momentous affairs could be transacted without their consent and advice, was in general esteemed the great security of their possessions and dignities: but as they reaped no immediate profit from their attendance at court, and were exposed to great inconvenience and charge by an absence from their own estates, every one was glad to exempt himself from each *particular* exertion of this power; and was pleased both that the call for that duty should seldom return upon him, and that others should undergo the burden in his stead. The king, on the other hand, was usually anxious, for several reasons, that the assembly of the barons should be full at every stated or casual meeting: this attendance was the chief badge of their subordination to his crown, and drew them from that independence which they were apt to affect in their own castles and manors; and where the meeting was thin or ill attended, its determinations had less authority, and commanded not so ready an obedience from the whole community.

The case was the same with the barons in their courts, as with the king in the supreme council of the nation. It was requisite to assemble the vassals, in order to determine by their vote any question which regarded the barony; and they sat along with the chief in all trials, whether civil or criminal, which occurred within the limits of their jurisdiction. They were bound to pay suit and service at the court of their baron; and as their tenure was military, and consequently honourable, they were admitted into his society, and partook of his friendship. Thus, a kingdom was considered only as a great barony, and a barony as a small kingdom. The barons were peers to each other in the national council, and, in some degree, companions to the king: the vassals were peers to each other in the court of barony, and companions to their baron (*s*).

But though this resemblance so far took place, the vassals, by the natural course of things, universally, in the feudal constitutions, fell into a greater subordination under the baron, than the baron himself under his sovereign; and these governments had a necessary and infallible tendency to augment the power of the nobles. The great chief, residing in his country-seat, which he was commonly allowed to fortify, lost, in a great measure, his connection or acquaintance with the prince; and added every day new force to his authority over the vassals of the barony. They received from him education in all military exercises: his hospitality invited them to live and enjoy society in his hall: their leisure, which was great, made them perpetual retainers on his person, and partakers of his country sports and amusements: they had no means of gratifying their ambition but by making a figure in his train: his favour and countenance was their greatest honour: his displeasure exposed them to contempt and ignominy: and they felt every moment the necessity of his protection, both in the controversies which occurred with other vassals, and, what was more material, in the daily inroads and injuries which were committed by the neighbouring barons. During the time of general war, the sovereign, who marched at the head of his armies, and was the great protector of the state, always acquired some accession to his authority, which he lost during the intervals of peace and tranquillity: but the loose police, incident to the feudal constitutions, maintained a perpetual, though secret hostility, between the several members of the state; and the vassals found no means of securing themselves against the injuries to which they were continually exposed, but by closely adhering to their chief, and falling into submissive dependence upon him.

If the feudal government was so little favourable to the true liberty even of the military vassal, it was still more destructive of the independence and security of the other members of the state, or what, in a proper sense, we call the people. A great part of them were *serfs*, and lived in a state of absolute slavery or villainage: the other inhabitants of the country paid their rent in services, which were in a great measure arbitrary; and they could expect no redress of injuries, in a court of barony, from men who thought they had a right to oppress and tyrannise over them: the towns were situated either within the demesnes of the king or the lands of the great barons, and were almost entirely subjected to the absolute will of their master. The languishing state of commerce kept the inhabitants poor and contemptible; and the political institutions were calculated to render that poverty perpetual. The barons and gentry, living in rustic plenty and hospitality, gave no encouragement to the arts, and had no demand for any of the more elaborate manufactures: every profession was held in contempt but that of arms: and if any merchant or manufacturer rose by industry and frugality to a degree of opulence, he found himself but the more exposed to injuries, from the envy and avidity of the military nobles.

These concurring causes gave the feudal governments so strong a bias towards aristocracy, that the royal authority was extremely eclipsed in all the European states; and, instead of dreading the growth of monarchial power, we might rather expect that the community would every where crumble into so many independent baronies, and lose the political union by which they were cemented. In elective monarchies, the event was commonly answerable to this expectation; and the barons, gaining ground on every vacancy of the throne, raised themselves almost to a state of sovereignty, and sacrificed to their power both the rights of the crown and the liberties of the people. But hereditary monarchies had a principle of authority which was not so easily subverted; and there were several causes which still maintained a degree of influence in the hands of the sovereign.

The greatest baron could never lose view entirely of those principles of the feudal constitution which bound him, as a vassal, to submission and fealty towards his prince; because he was every moment obliged to have recourse to those principles, in exacting fealty and submission from his own vassals. The lesser barons, finding that the annihilation of royal authority left them exposed, without protection, to the insults and injuries of more potent neighbours, naturally adhered to the crown, and promoted the execution of general and equal laws. The people had still a stronger interest to desire the grandeur of the sovereign; and the king, being the legal magistrate, who suffered by every internal convulsion or oppression, and who regarded the great nobles as his immediate rivals, assumed the salutary office of general guardian or protector of the commons. Besides the prerogatives with which the law invested him, his large demesnes and numerous retainers rendered him, in one sense, the greatest baron in the kingdom; and where he was possessed of personal vigour and abilities (for his situation required these advantages,) he was commonly able to preserve his authority, and maintain his station at the head of the community, and the chief fountain of law and justice.

The first kings of the Norman race were favoured by another circumstance, which preserved them from the encroachments of their barons. They were generals of a conquering army, which was obliged to continue in a military posture, and to maintain great subordination under their leader, in order to secure themselves from the revolt of the numerous natives, whom they had bereaved of all

(*r*) Somner of Gravelkind, p. 109. Smith de Rep. lib. 3. cap. 10. lib. i. tit. p. 18.

(*s*) Du Cang. Gloss. in verb. *Parliamentum*. Cujac. Commun. in Lib. Feud. Spelm. Gloss. in verb.

all their proporties and privileges. But though this circumstance supported the authority of William and his immediate successors, and rendered them extremely absolute, it was lost as soon as the Norman barons began to incorporate with the nation, to acquire a security in their possessions, and to fix their influence over their vassals, tenants, and slaves. And the immense fortunes which the Conqueror had bestowed on his chief captains, served to support their independence, and make them formidable to the sovereign (*t*). Sir Henry Spelman computes, that, in the large county of Norfolk, there were not, in the Conqueror's time, above sixty-six proprietors of land. Men, possessed of such princely revenues and jurisdictions, could not long be retained in the rank of subjects. The great earl Warrenne, in a subsequent reign, when he was questioned concerning his right to the lands which he possessed, drew his sword, which he produced as his title; adding, that William the Bastard did not conquer the kingdom himself; but that the barons, and his ancestor among the rest, were joint-adventurers in the enterprize (*u*).

The supreme legislative power of England was lodged in the king and great council, or what was afterwards called the parliament. It is not doubted but the archbishops, bishops, and most considerable abbots, were constituent members of this council. They sat by a double title: by prescription, as having always possessed that privilege, through the whole Saxon period, from the first establishment of Christianity; and by their right of baronage, as holding of the king *in capite* by military service. These two titles of the prelates were never accurately distinguished. When the usurpations of the church had risen to such a height, as to make the bishops affect a separate dominion, and regard their seat in parliament as a degradation of their episcopal dignity; the king insisted that they were barons, and, on that account, obliged by the general principles of the feudal law, to attend him in his great councils (*v*). Yet there still remained some practices, which supposed their title to be derived merely from ancient possession: when a bishop was elected, he sat in parliament before the king had made him restitution of his temporalities; and during the vacancy of a see, the guardian of the spiritualities was summoned to attend along with the bishops.

The barons were another constituent part of the great council of the nation. These held immediately of the crown by a military tenure: they were the most honourable members of the state, and had a right to be consulted in all public deliberations: they were the immediate vassals of the crown, and owed as a service their attendance in the court of their supreme lord. A resolution taken without their consent was likely to be but ill executed: and no determination of any cause or controversy among them had any validity, where the vote and advice of the body did not concur. The dignity of earl or count was official and territorial, as well as hereditary; and as all the earls were also barons, they were considered as military vassals of the crown, were admitted in that capacity into the general council, and formed the most honourable and powerful branch of it.

But there was another class of the immediate military tenants of the crown, no less, or probably more, numerous than the barons, the tenants *in capite* by knights service; and these, however inferior in power or property, held by a tenure which was equally honourable with that of the others. A barony was commonly composed of several knights fees: and though the number seems not to have been exactly defined, seldom consisted of less than fifty hydes of land (*w*): but where a man held of the king only one or two knights fees, he was still an immediate vassal of the crown, and as such had a title to have a seat in the general councils. But as this attendance was usually esteemed a burthen, and one too great for a man of slender fortune to bear constantly; it is probable that, though he had a title, if he pleased, to be admitted, he was not obliged, by any penalty, like the barons, to pay a regular attendance. All the immediate military tenants of the crown amounted not fully to seven hundred, when Domesday Book was framed; and as the members were well pleased, on any pretext, to excuse themselves from attendance, the assembly was never likely to become too numerous for the dispatch of public business.

So far the nature of a general council, or ancient parliament, is determined without any doubt or controversy. The only question seems to be with regard to the commons, or the representatives of counties and boroughs; whether they were also, in more early times, constituent parts of parliament? this question was once disputed in England with great acrimony: but such is the force of time and evidence, that they can sometimes prevail even over faction; and the question seems, by general consent, and even by their own, to be at last determined against the ruling party. It is agreed that the commons were no part of the great council, till some ages after the conquest; and that the military tenants alone of the crown composed that supreme and legislative assembly.

The vassals of a baron were by their tenure immediately dependant on him, owed attendance at his court, and paid all their duty to the king, through that dependance which their lord was obliged by his tenure to acknowledge to to his sovereign and superior. Their land, comprehended in the barony, was represented in parliament by the baron himself, who was supposed, according to the fictions of the feudal law, to possess the direct property of it, and it would have been deemed incongruous to give it any other representation. They stood in the same capacity to him, that he and the other barons did to the king: the former were peers of the barony; the latter were peers of the realm: the vassals possessed a subordinate rank within their district; the baron enjoyed a superior dignity in the great assembly: they were in some degree his companions at home; he the king's companion at court: and nothing can be more evidently repugnant to all feudal ideas, and to that gradual subordination which was essential to those ancient institutions, than to imagine that the king would apply either for the advice or consent of men, who were of a rank so much inferior, and whose duty was immediately paid to the mesne lord that was interposed between them and the throne (*x*).

If it be unreasonable to think that the vassals of a barony, though their tenure was military and noble and honourable, were ever summoned to give their opinion in national councils, much less can it be supposed, that the tradesmen or inhabitants of boroughs, whose condition was so much inferior, would be admitted to that privilege. It appears from Domesday, that the greatest boroughs were, at the time of the conquest, scarcely more than country villages; and that the inhabitants lived in entire dependance on the king or great lords, and were of a station little better than servile (*y*). They were not then so much as incorporated; they formed no community; were not regarded as a body politic; and being really nothing but a number of low dependent tradesmen, living without any particular civil tie, in neighbourhood together, they were incapable of being represented in the states of the kingdom. Even in France, a country which made more early advances in arts and civility than in England, the first corporation is sixty years posterior to the conquest under the duke of Normandy; and the erecting of these communities was an invention of Louis le Gros, in order to free the people from slavery under the lords, and to give them protection, by means of certain privileges and a separate jurisdiction (*z*). An ancient French writer calls them a new and wicked device, to procure liberty to slaves, and encourage them in shaking off the dominion of their masters (*a*). The famous charter, as it is called, of the conqueror to the city of London, though granted at a time when he assumed the appearance of gentleness and lenity, is nothing but a letter of protection, and a declaration that the citizens should not be treated as slaves (*b*). By the English feudal law, the superior lord was prohibited from marrying his female ward to a burgess or a villan (*c*); so near were these two ranks esteemed to each other, and so much inferior to the nobility and gentry. Besides

(*t*) Vid. supra. p. 69. where is enumerated the vast estates given by William the Conqueror to the principal persons who fought under his banner.

(*u*) Dug. Bar. vol. i. p. 79. Ibid. Origines Juridicales, p. 13.

(*v*) Spel. Gloss. in verb. *Baro.*

(*w*) Four hydes made one knight's fee: the relief of a barony was twelve times greater than that of a knight's fee; whence we may conjecture its usual value. Spelm. Gloss. in verb. *Feodum.* There were two hundred and forty-three thousand six hundred hydes in England, and sixty thousand two hundred and fifteen knights fees; whence it is evident that there were a little more than four hydes in each knight's fee.

(*x*) Spelm. Glosss in verb. *Baro.*

(*y*) *Liber homo* anciently signified a gentleman; for scarcely any one beside was entirely free. Spelm. Gloss. in verbo.

(*z*) Du Cange's Gloss. in verb. *Commune, Communitas.*

(*a*) Guiburtus de vita sua, lib. iii. cap. 7.

(*b*) Stat. of Merton, 1235, cap. 6. (*c*) Holingshead, vol. iii. p. 15.

possessing the advantages of birth, riches, civil powers and privileges, the nobles and gentlemen alone were armed, a circumstance which gave them a mighty superiority, in an age when nothing but the military profession was honourable, and when the loose execution of laws gave so much encouragement to open violence, and rendered it so decisive in all disputes and controversies (*d*).

The great similarity among the feudal governments of Europe is well known to every man that has any acquaintance with ancient history; and the antiquaries of all foreign countries, where the question was never embarrassed by party disputes, have allowed, that the commons came very late to be admitted to a share in the legislative power. In Normandy particularly, whose constitution was most likely to be William's model in raising his new fabric of English government, the states were entirely composed of the clergy and nobility; and the first incorporated boroughs or communities of that duchy were Roüen and Falaise, which enjoyed their privileges by a grant of Philip Augustus in the year 1207 (*e*). All the ancient English historians, when they mention the great council of the nation, call it an assembly of the baronage, nobility, or great men; and none of their expressions, though several hundred passages might be produced, can, without the utmost violence, be tortured to a meaning which will admit the commons to be constituent members of that body (*f*). If in the long period of two hundred years, which elapsed between the Conquest and the latter end of Henry III. and which abounded in factions, revolutions, and convulsions of all kinds, the house of commons never performed one single legislative act so considerable as to be once mentioned by any of the numerous historians of that age, they must have been totally insignificant: and in that case, what reason can be assigned for their ever being assembled? Can it be supposed, that men of so little weight or importance possessed a negative voice against the king and the barons? Every page of the subsequent histories discovers their existence; though these histories are not written with greater accuracy than the preceding ones, and indeed scarcely equal them in that particular. The Magna Charta of king John provides, that no scutage or aid should be imposed, either on the land or towns, but by consent of the great council; and for more security, it enumerates the persons entitled to a seat in that assembly, the prelates and immediate tenants of the crown, without any mention of the commons: an authority so full, certain, and explicit, that nothing but the zeal of party could ever have procured credit to any contrary hypothesis (*g*).

It was probably the example of the French barons which first emboldened the English to require greater independence from their sovereign: it is also probable, that the boroughs and corporations of England were established in imitation of those of France. It may, therefore, be proposed as no unlikely conjecture, that both the chief privileges of the peers in England, and the liberty of the commons were originally the growth of that foreign country.

In ancient times, men were little solicitous to obtain a place in the legislative assemblies; and rather regarded their attendance as a burden, which was not compensated by any return of profit or honour proportionate to the trouble and expence. The only reason for instituting those public councils was, on the part of the subject, that they

(*d*) Madox's Baron. Angl. p. 19.

(*e*) Norman. Du Chesnii, p. 1066. Du Cange Gloss. in verb. *Communc.*

(*f*) Sometimes the historians mention the people, *populus*, as a part of the parliament; but they always mean the laity, in opposition to the clergy. Sometimes the word *communitas* is found; but it always means *communitas baronagii*. These points are clearly proved by Dr. Brady. There is also mention sometimes made of a crowd or multitude that thronged into the great council on particular interesting occasions; but as deputies from boroughs are never once spoke of, the proof, that they had not then any existence, becomes the more certain and undeniable. These never could make a crowd, as they must have had a regular place assigned them, if they had made a regular part of the legislative body. There were only one hundred and thirty boroughs who received writs of summons from Edward I. It is expressly said in Gesta Reg. Steph. p. 932. that it was usual for the populace, *vulgus*, to crowd into the great councils; where they were plainly mere spectators, and could only gratify their curiosity.

(*g*) Such are the arguments made use of by the celebrated Mr. Hume against the existence of the commons, which we have chosen to give in his own words, that the reader may be able to judge of the validity of those arguments, when contrasted with the following, in which we have taken a candid view of the subject:

Under the Anglo-Saxons, the great council, or *wittena gemot*, possessed, in conjunction with the king, the sovereignty of the state. In this assembly, laws were enacted for the whole community, taxes were imposed, and the most important points of polity were discussed and determined. With respect to the members who composed this council, such doubts have arisen among historians and antiquaries as perhaps can hardly be resolved at this distance of time. Many writers of reputation have confined to the nobility the right of attendance in the *wittena gemot*; and others, without a due examination of the subject, have supposed a doctrine maintained by celebrated names. But when we find that the principal advocates for the exclusion of the commons from the Anglo-Saxon legislature, are persons who, in other respects, have proved themselves unfriendly to the cause of liberty, and to the just claims of the people, we shall be the less inclined to pay an implicit deference to their opinions, or to receive with undiscerning acquiescence what may appear to be the dictates of party or the conclusions of prejudice.

It is acknowledged, by every writer of eminence, that the Saxons preserved, after their settlement in this island, the same customs and institutions which they had followed on the continent. We are informed by an historian of undoubted credit and ability, that, among the states of Germany, the freemen in general had the right of assembling in the national council, and of joining with the nobility in the discussion of matters of superior importance, while affairs of smaller moment were determined by the nobles alone. Tacitus, de Moribus Germanicus, cap. xi. says, "*De minoribus rebus principes* consultant, *de majoribus omnes;* ita tamen, ut ea quoque, quorum penes plebum arbitrium est, apud principes pertractentur." From this single authority, we are justified in inferring the presence of the commons, not only in the councils of the Heptarchy, but in those of the subsequent monarchy. Is it reasonable to suppose that a high spirited and victorious people would abandon, in the establishment of colonies in a conquered country, the grand rampart of general liberty, when no cause or pretence offered itself for such dereliction?

The expressions used by our earlier writers when they mention the public councils, are for the most part such as *seem* to favour the idea of excluding the commons; but the monks not being remarkably accurate in their modes of speech, may have included under one pompous appellation (as, *principes, magnates, proceres, optimates*, &c.) not only the nobles, who were more particularly entitled to such a style, but such of the gentry as had been deputed by the land-holders and freemen of the realm to represent them in the *wittena gemot*. The persons thus delegated acquired a temporary superiority over those members of the community who were not the objects of representative choice, and might, without much distortion of signification, be comprehended under the general denomination of the principal or the greatest men of the kingdom.

But, though there is reason to conclude, that individuals answering to our present gentry were admitted to a seat in the national assemblies, we are not inclined to carry this idea so far as to suppose, with some authors, that persons so inconsiderable as the heads of tithings sat as representatives of the ten families under their jurisdiction; a circumstance which would not only have rendered the councils too numerous, but would have been an unnecessary extension of the popular interference in the legislature. It is probable, however, that the hundredary, or magistrate of the hundred, was admitted to the privilege of representing that division of a county; and that the chief magistrate of a great town was honoured with a similar trust. We are expressly informed, that a *ceorl* who possessed five hides of land was regarded as a *thane*, and had a right to a seat in the *wittena gemot*. As it can hardly be contended that all who had acquired that property were nobles in the strict sense, for they ought rather to be classed among the gentry, we may consider them as corresponding in some measure with our present idea of the commons. And though the estate of qualification seems to have been considerably enlarged before the Conquest, it does not thence follow that the governing magistrates of towns and of hundreds, who, if they really sat in the *wittena gemot*, were admitted in consequence of their office, or were excluded.

The power of this assembly not only extended to the principal acts of government and legislation, but even to the deposition of such sovereigns as were guilty of flagrant violations of the rights of their subjects. We learn, that Sigebert, king of Wessex, was deposed, for his tyranny and barbarity, by the states of his realm. See the Saxon Chronicle for the year 755, and Henry of Huntingdon, book iv.

Although the greatest caution ought to be used in the exercise of this right of removing a tyrant from his throne, the act itself is justifiable on the principles of reason. Whatever may be advanced, in opposition to this doctrine, by the bigots of indefeasible right, and however strong may be their deprecation of the dangers that may arise from inculcating such an idea into the public mind, the right of deposition seems to exist in the collective body of every state, though it should only be enforced in cases of extreme necessity. Government was manifestly intended for the protection and benefit of the whole community, not for the gratification of the vanity, ambition, caprice, avarice, or despotism of the ruling individual. Without discussing the subject of an original contract between the governor and the governed, we may conclude, that a reciprocity was adopted in the original formation of monarchies or states; that the ties of submission and allegiance were supposed to be requited by the obligations of justice, moderation, and equity, on the part of the rulers; and that flagrant violations of these duties authorize a revocation of that power which was only a trust for the public weal, and which, when grossly abused, ought to be transferred to other hands. Mr. Burke, in his celebrated pamphlet on the French Revolution, remarks, that "the question of dethroning kings will always be, as it has always been, an extraordinary question of state, and wholly out of the law; a question (like all other questions of state) of dispositions, and of means, and of probable consequences, rather than of positive rights. As it was not made for common abuses, so it is not to be agitated by common minds. The speculative line of demarcation, where obedience ought to end, and resistance must begin, is faint, obscure, and not easily definable." But the faintness of this metaphysical line is of little consequence. Gross and continued acts of tyranny and injustice will appear, even to ordinary minds, as the only grounds of resistance; and few civilized communities will even think of aiming at the removal of their sovereign without being justified by such a series of the most unequivocal acts of oppression and iniquity, as must supersede all doubts respecting the termination of the line of boundary.

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desired some security from the attempts of arbitrary power; and on the part of the sovereign, that he despaired of governing men of such independent spirits without their own consent and concurrence. But the commons, or the inhabitants of boroughs, had not as yet reached such a degree of consideration as to desire *security* against their prince, or to imagine, that even if they were assembled in a representative body, they had power or rank sufficient to enforce it. The only protection which they aspired to, was against the immediate violence and injustice of their fellow-citizens; and this advantage each of them looked for from the courts of justice, or from the authority of some great lord, to whom by law or his own choice he was attached. On the other hand, the sovereign was sufficiently assured of obedience in the whole community, if he procured the concurrence of the nobles; nor had he reason to apprehend that any order of the state could resist his and their united authority. The military sub-vassals could entertain no idea of opposing both their prince and their superiors: the burgesses and tradesmen could much less aspire to such a thought: and thus, even if history were silent on the head, we have reason to conclude, from the known situation of society during those ages, that the commons were never admitted as members of the legislative body.

The *executive* power of the Anglo-Norman government was lodged in the king. Besides the stated meetings of the national council at the three great festivals of Christmas, Easter, and Whitsuntide (*h*), he was accustomed, on any sudden exigence, to summon them together. He could at his pleasure command the attendance of his barons and their vassals, in which consisted the military force of the kingdom; and could employ them, during forty days, either in resisting a foreign enemy, or reducing his rebellious subjects. And, what was of great importance, the whole judicial power was ultimately in his hands, and was exercised by officers and ministers of his appointment.

Notwithstanding the assertion of Mr. Hume to the contrary, as before mentioned, it was in the reign of Henry the Third, that the commons, beyond all doubt, were admitted to a seat in the national council; and there is even some reason to believe that they took part in the legislature even before that period. When Simon de Montfort, earl of Leicester, had rendered himself master of the government, he summoned to parliament, in addition to the nobility, two knights for each shire, and the same number of representatives from the principal cities and boroughs of the realm. This was done in January, 1265, the forty-ninth year of the reign of Henry III. It does not appear that the commons, on this occasion sat, in a different hall from the superior members of the legislative body; and indeed historians have not ascertained the precise time of their meeting in separate apartments, as distinct houses of parliament.

In this and the following reign, the forms of the parliamentary constitution underwent occasional fluctuations. Sometimes that assembly was composed only of noblemen and knights of shires; at other times citizens and burgesses were summoned. At one time, two knights were chosen for each county; at another period, three and even four. In one of the parliaments of Edward I. no clergymen were present; while, on a different occasion, not only the prelates and abbots, but archdeacons and representatives of the inferior clergy, were admitted (*i*).

The parliamentary sessions, at this period, were generally very short. The members in general were not strongly attached to the discussion of national business; and their impatience to return to their respective provinces induced them to leave many affairs unsettled, which were afterwards determined by the king and his privy council.

In the reigns of Edward II. and III. an irregularity continued to prevail in the meeting and constitution of parliament. When those princes wished only to consult the nobility, they issued no writs for the election of knights, citizens, or burgesses; but when they desired the general advice and contributions both of the lords and commons, they summoned a full parliament. From the turbulence of the age, we may suppose that those meetings were not attended with that order and decorum which are now observed in our parliamentary assemblies.

The great power and influence of the nobility kept the commons, even after their full establishment, in a state of humble inferiority; but being courted by successive kings, who wished to employ them as a check on the haughty barons, they gradually acquired that respectability and importance which they now enjoy, forming a very valuable branch of our system of government, and contributing to the perfection of that mixed constitution which has met with such general admiration, and which the philosophers of antiquity regarded as a *desideratum* in the politics of the world.

The general plan of the Anglo-Norman government was, that the court of barony was appointed to decide such controversies as arose between the several vassals or subjects of the same barony; the hundred-court and county-court, which were still continued as during the Saxon times (*k*), to judge between the subjects of different baronies (*l*); and the *curia regis*, or king's court, to give sentence among the barons themselves (*m*). But this plan, though simple, was attended with some circumstances which, being derived from a very extensive authority assumed by the Conqueror, contributed to increase the royal prerogative; and as long as the state was not disturbed by arms, reduced every order of the community to some degree of dependance and subordination.

The king himself often sat in his court, which always attended his person (*n*): he there heard causes and pronounced judgement (*o*); and though he was assisted by the advice of the other members, it is not to be imagined that a decision could easily be obtained contrary to his inclination or opinion. In his absence the chief justiciary presided, who was the first magistrate in the state, and a kind of viceroy, on whom depended all the civil affairs of the kingdom (*p*). The other chief officers of the crown, the constable, mareschal, seneschal, chamberlain, treasurer, and chancellor (*q*), were members, together with such feudal barons as thought proper to attend, and the barons of the Exchequer, who at first were also feudal barons appointed by the king (*r*). This court, which was sometimes called the king's court, sometimes the court of Exchequer, judged in all causes, civil and criminal, and comprehended the whole business which is now shared out among four courts, the Chancery, the King's Bench, the Common Pleas, and the Exchequer (*s*).

Such an accumulation of powers was itself a great source of authority, and rendered the jurisdiction of the court formidable to all the subjects; but the turn which judicial trials took soon after the Conquest, served still more to increase its authority, and to augment the royal prerogatives. William, among the other violent changes which he attempted and effected, had introduced the Norman law into England (*t*), had ordered all the pleadings to be in that tongue, and had interwoven, with the English jurisprudence, all the maxims and principles which the Normans, more advanced in cultivation, and naturally litigious, were accustomed to observe in the distribution of justice. Law now became a science, which at first fell entirely into the hands of the Normans; and which, even after it was communicated to the English, required so much study and application, that the laity, in those ignorant ages, were incapable of attaining it, and it was a mystery almost solely confined to the clergy, and chiefly to the monks (*u*). The great officers of the crown, and the feudal barons,

(*h*) Dugd. Orig. Jurid. p. 15. Spelm. Gloss. in verbo *Parliamentum*.

(*i*) Statutes at Large—Brady's Introduction—Ryley's Placit. Parliam.

(*k*) Ang. Sacra, vol. i. p. 334, &c. Dugd. Orig. Jurid. p. 27. 29. Madox, Hist. of Exch. p. 75, 76. Spelm. Gloss. in verbo *Hundred*.

(*l*) None of the feudal governments in Europe had such institutions as the county courts, which the great authority of the Conqueror still retained from the Saxon customs. All the freeholders of the county, even the greatest barons, were obliged to attend the sheriffs in these courts, and to assist them in the administration of justice. By these means they received frequent and sensible admonitions of their dependence on the king or supreme magistrate: they formed a kind of community with their fellow barons and freeholders: they were often drawn from their individual and independent state, peculiar to the feudal system; and were made members of a political body: and, perhaps, this institution of county-courts in England has had greater effects on the government than has yet been distinctly pointed out by historians, or traced by antiquaries. The barons were never able to free themselves from this attendance on the sheriffs and itinerant justices till the reign of Henry III.

(*m*) Brady, Pref. p. 143.

(*n*) Madox Hist. of Exch. p. 103.

(*o*) Bracton, lib. iii. cap. 9. § 1. cap. 10. § 1.

(*p*) Spelm. Gloss. in verbo *Justiciarii*.

(*q*) Madox, Hist. Exch. p. 27. 29. 33. 38. 41. 54. The Normans introduced the practice of sealing charters; and the chancellor's office was to keep the Great Seal. *Ingulph. Dugd.* p. 33, 34.

(*r*) Madox, Hist. of the Exch. p. 134, 135. Gerv. Dorob. p. 1387.

(*s*) Ibid. p. 56. 70.

(*t*) Dial. de Scac. p. 30. apud Madox, Hist. of the Exchequer.

(*u*) Malmes. lib. 4. p. 123.

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who were military men, found themselves unfit to penetrate into those obscurities; and though they were entitled to a seat in the supreme judicature, the business of the court was wholly managed by the chief justiciary and the law barons, who were men appointed by the king, and entirely at his disposal (*v*). This natural course of things was forwarded by the multiplicity of business which flowed into that court, and which daily augmented by the appeals from all the subordinate judicatures of the kingdom.

In the Saxon times, no appeal was received in the king's court, except upon the denial or delay of justice by the inferior courts; and the same practice was still observed in most of the feudal kingdoms of Europe. But the great power of the Conqueror established at first in England an authority which the monarchs in France were not able to attain till the reign of St. Louis, who lived nearly two centuries after: he empowered his court to receive appeals both from the courts of barony and the county-courts, and by that means brought the administration of justice ultimately into the hands of the sovereign (*w*). And lest the expence or trouble of a journey to court should discourage suitors, and make them acquiesce in the decision of the inferior judicatures, itinerant judges were afterwards established, who made their circuits throughout the kingdom, and tried all causes that were brought before them (*x*). By this expedient the courts of barony were kept in awe; and if they still preserved some influence, it was only from the apprehensions which the vassals might entertain of disobliging their superior, by appealing from his jurisdiction. But the county-courts were much discredited; and as the freeholders were found ignorant of the intricate principles and forms of the new law, the lawyers gradually brought all business before the king's judges, and abandoned the ancient simple and popular judicature. After this manner the formalities of justice, which, though they appear tedious and cumbersome, are found requisite to the support of liberty in all monarchical governments proved at first, by a combination of causes, very advantageous to royal authority in England.

We shall here lay before our readers the most authentic account of the revenue of the crown we are able to collect, from the time of the Normans.

The power of the Norman kings was supported by a great revenue; and that revenue was fixed, perpetual, and independent of the subject. The people, without betaking themselves to arms, had no check upon the king, and no regular security for the due administration of justice. In those days of violence, many instances of oppression passed unheeded; and soon after were openly pleaded as precedents, which it was unlawful to dispute or control. Princes and ministers were too ignorant to be themselves sensible of the advantages attending an equitable administration; and there was no established council or assembly which could protect the people, and, by withdrawing supplies, regularly and peaceably admonish the king of his duty, and ensure the execution of the laws.

The first branch of the king's stated revenue was the royal demesnes or crown lands, which were very extensive, and comprehended, beside a great number of manors, most of the chief cities of the kingdom. It was established by law that the king could alienate no part of his demesne, and that he himself or his successor could at any time resume such donations (*y*): but this law was never regularly observed; which happily rendered in time the crown somewhat more dependent. The rent of the crown-lands, considered merely as so much riches, was a source of power: the influence of the king over his tenants and the inhabitants of his towns, increased this power: but the other numerous branches of his revenue, besides supplying his treasury, gave, by their nature, an almost unbounded latitude to arbitrary authority, and were a support of the prerogative; as will appear from an enumeration of them.

The king was never content with the fixed rents, but levied heavy talliages at pleasure on the inhabitants both of town and country, who lived within his demesnes. All bargains of sale, in order to prevent theft, being prohibited, except in boroughs and public markets (*z*), he pretended to exact tolls on all goods which were there sold (*a*). He seized two hogsheads, one before and one behind the mast, from every vessel that imported wine. All goods paid to his customs a proportional part of their value (*b*): passage over bridges and on rivers was loaded with tolls at pleasure (*c*): and though the boroughs by degrees bought the liberty of farming these impositions, yet the revenue profited by these bargains; new sums were often exacted for the renewal and confirmation of their charters (*d*), and the people were by these means held in perpetual dependence. Such was the situation of the inhabitants within the royal demesnes. But the possessors of land, or the military tenants, though better protected both by law and by the privilege of carrying arms, were, from the nature of their tenures, much exposed to the inroads of power, and possessed not what we should esteem, in our age, a very durable security. The Conqueror ordained that the barons should be obliged to pay nothing beyond their stated services (*e*), except a reasonable aid to ransom his person if he were taken in war, to make his eldest son a knight, and to marry his eldest daughter. What should on these occasions be deemed a reasonable aid, was not determined; and the demands of the crown were so far discretionary.

The king could require in war the personal attendance of his vassals, that is, of almost all the landed proprietors; and if they declined the service, they were obliged to pay him a composition in money, which was called a scutage. The sum was, during some reigns, precarious and uncertain; it was sometimes levied without allowing the vassal the liberty of personal service (*f*); and it was a usual artifice of the king's to pretend an expedition, that he might be entitled to levy the scutage from his military tenants. Danegelt was another species of land-tax levied by the early Norman kings, arbitrarily, and contrary to the laws of the Conqueror (*g*). Moneyage was also a general land-tax of the same nature, levied by the two first Norman kings, and abolished by the charter of Henry I (*h*). It was a shilling paid every three years by each hearth, to induce the king not to use his prerogative in debasing the coin. Indeed it appears from that charter, that though the Conqueror had granted his military tenants an immunity from all taxes and talliages, he and his son William had never thought themselves bound to observe that rule, but had levied impositions at pleasure on all the landed estates of the kingdom. The utmost that Henry grants is, that the land cultivated by the military tenant himself shall not be so burdened; but he reserves the power of taxing the farmers: and as it is known that Henry's charter was never observed in any one article, we may be assured that this prince and his successors retracted even this small indulgence, and levied arbitrary impositions on the lands of their subjects. On account of the heaviness of these taxes, Malmesbury tells us, that the farmers, in the reign of William Rufus, abandoned tillage, and a famine ensued (*i*).

The escheats were a great branch both of power and of revenue, especially during the first reigns after the Conquest. In default of posterity from the first baron, his land reverted to the crown, and continually augmented the king's possessions. The prince had indeed by law a power of alienating these escheats; but by this means he had an opportunity of establishing the fortunes of his friends and servants, and thereby enlarging his authority. Sometimes he retained them in his own hands; and they were gradually confounded with the royal demesnes, and became difficult to be distinguished from them. This confusion is probably the reason why the king acquired the right of alienating his demesnes.

Besides escheats from default of heirs, those which ensued from crimes or breach of duty towards the superior

(*v*) Dugd. Orig. Jurid. p. 25.

(*w*) Madox, Hist. of the Exch. p. 65. Glanv. lib. 12. cap. 1. 7. LL. Hen. I. § 31. apud Wilkins, p. 248. Fitz-Stephens, p. 36.—Coke's Comment. on the Statute of Malbridge, cap. 20.

(*x*) Madox, Hist. of the Exch. p. 83, 84. 100. Gerv. Dorob. p. 1410. What made the Anglo-Norman barons more readily submit to appeals from their court to the king's court of Exchequer, was their being accustomed to like appeals in Normandy to the ducal court of Exchequer. See Gilbert's History of the Exchequer, p. 1, 2; though the author thinks it doubtful whether the Norman court was not rather copied from the English, p. 6. *Hume.*

(*y*) Fleta, lib. 1. cap. 8. § 17. lib. 3. cap. 6. § 3. Bracton, lib. 2. cap. 5. (*z*) LL. Will. I. cap. 61. (*a*) Madox, p. 530.

(*b*) Ibid. p. 529. This author says a fifteenth. But it is not easy to reconcile this account to other authorities.

(*c*) Madox, p. 529.

(*d*) Madox's Hist. of the Exch. p. 275, 276, 277, &c.

(*e*) LL. Will. Conq. § 55. (*f*) Gervase de Tilbury, p. 25.

(*g*) Madox's Hist. of the Exch. p. 475.

(*h*) Matth. Paris. p. 38.

(*i*) So also Chron. Abb. St. Petri de Burgo, p. 55. Knyghton, p. 2366.

lord, were frequent in ancient times. If the vassal, being thrice summoned to attend his superior's court, and do fealty, neglected or refused obedience, he forfeited all title to his land (*k*). If he denied his tenure, or refused his service, he was exposed to the same penalty (*l*). If he sold his estate without licence from his lord (*m*), or if he sold it upon any other tenure or title than that by which he himself held it (*n*), he lost all right to it. The adhering to his lord's enemies (*o*), deserting him in war (*p*), betraying his secrets (*q*), debauching his wife, or his near relations (*r*), or even using indecent freedoms with them (*s*), might be punished by forfeiture. The higher crimes, rapes, robbery, murder, arson, &c. were called felony; and being interpreted want of fidelity to his lord, made him lose his fief (*t*). Even where the felon was vassal to a baron, though his immediate lord enjoyed the forfeiture, the king might retain possession of his estate during a twelvemonth, and had the right of spoiling and destroying it, unless the baron paid him a reasonable composition (*u*). We have not here enumerated all the species of felonies, or of crimes by which forfeiture was incurred: we have said enough to prove, that the possession of feudal property was anciently somewhat precarious, and that the primary idea was never lost, of its being a kind of *fee* or *benefice*.

When a baron died, the king immediately took possession of the estate; and the heir, before he recovered his right, was obliged to make application to the crown, and desire that he might be admitted to do homage for his land, and pay a composition to the king. This composition was not at first fixed by law, at least by practice: the king was often exorbitant in his demands, and kept possession of the land till they were complied with.

If the heir were a minor, the king retained the whole profit of the estate till his majority; and might grant what sum he thought proper for the education and maintenance of the young baron. This practice was founded on the notion that a fief was a benefice, and that while the heir could not perform his military services, the revenue devolved to the superior, who employed another in his stead. It is obvious, that a great proportion of the landed property must, by means of this device, be continually in the hands of the prince, and that all the noble families were thereby held in perpetual dependance. When the king granted the wardship of a rich heir to any one, he had the opportunity of enriching a favourite or minister: if he sold it, he thereby levied a considerable sum of money. Simon de Montfort paid Henry III. ten thousand marks, an immense sum in those days, for the wardship of Gilbert de Umfreville (*v*). Geoffrey de Mandeville paid to the same prince the sum of twenty thousand marks, that he might marry Isabel countess of Gloucester, and possess all her lands and knights fees. This sum would be equivalent to three hundred thousand, perhaps four hundred thousand pounds in our time (*w*).

If the heir were a female, the king was entitled to offer her any husband of her rank he thought proper; and if she refused him, she forfeited her land. Even a male heir could not marry without the royal consent: and it was usual for men to pay large sums for the liberty of making their own choice in marriage (*x*). No man could dispose of his land, either by sale or will, without the consent of his superior. The possessor was never considered as full proprietor: he was still a kind of beneficiary; and could not oblige his superior to accept of any vassal that was not agreeable to him.

Fines, amerciaments, and oblatas, as they were called, were another considerable branch of the royal power and revenue. The ancient records of the Exchequer, which are still preserved, give surprising accounts of the numerous fines and amerciaments levied in those days (*y*), and of the strange inventions to exact money from the subject. It appears that the ancient kings of England put themselves entirely on the foot of the barbarous eastern princes, whom no man must approach without a present, who sell all their good offices, and who intrude themselves into every business that they may have a pretence for extorting money. Even justice was avowedly bought and sold; the king's court itself, though the supreme judicature of the kingdom, was open to none that brought not presents to the king; the bribes given for the expedition, delay (*z*), suspension, and, doubtless, for the perversion of justice, were entered in the public registers of the royal revenue, and remain as monuments of the perpetual iniquity and tyranny of the times. The barons of the Exchequer, for instance, the first nobility of the kingdom, were not ashamed to insert, as an article in their records, that the county of Norfolk paid a sum that they might be fairly dealt with (*a*); the borough of Yarmouth, that the king's charters, which they have for their liberties, might not be violated (*b*); Richard, son of Gilbert, for the king's helping him to recover his debt from the Jews (*c*); Serlo, son of Terlawaston, that he might be permitted to make his defence, in case he were accused of a certain homicide (*d*); Walter de Burton, for free law, if accused of wounding another (*e*); Robert de Essart, for having an inquest to find whether Roger the butcher, and Wace and Humphrey, accused him of robbery and theft out of envy and ill-will, or not (*f*); William Bathurst, for having an inquest to find whether he were accused of the death of one Godwin, out of ill-will, or for just cause (*g*). We have selected these few instances from a great number of a like kind, which Madox had selected from a still greater number, preserved in the ancient rolls of the exchequer (*h*).

Sometimes the party litigant offered the king a certain portion, a half, a third, a fourth, payable out of the debts which he, as the executor of justice, should assist him in recovering (*i*). Theophania de Westland agreed to pay the half of two hundred and twelve marks, that she might recover that sum against James de Eughleston (*k*); Solomon the Jew engaged to pay one mark out of every seven that he should recover against Hugh de la Hose (*l*); Nicholas Morrel promised to pay sixty pounds, that the earl of Flanders might be distrained to pay him three hundred and forty-three pounds, which the earl had taken from him; and these sixty pounds were to be paid out of the first money that Nicholas should recover from the earl (*m*).

As the king assumed the entire power over trade, he was to be paid for a permission to exercise commerce or industry of any kind (*n*). Hugh Oisel paid four hundred marks for liberty to trade in England (*o*): Nigel de Havene gave fifty marks for the partnership in merchandise which he had with Gervase de Hanton (*p*): the men of Worcester paid one hundred shillings, that they might have the liberty of selling and buying dyed cloth as formerly (*q*): several other towns paid for a like liberty (*r*). The commerce indeed of the kingdom was so much under the control of the king, that he erected gilds, corporations, and monopolies wherever he pleased; and levied sums for these exclusive privileges (*s*).

There were no profits so small as to be below the king's attention. Henry, son of Arthur, gave ten dogs to have a recognition against the countess of Copland for one knight's fee (*t*). Roger, son of Nicholas, gave twenty lampreys and twenty shads for an inquest, to find whether Gilbert, son of Alured, gave to Roger two hundred muttons to obtain his confirmation for certain lands, or whether Roger took them from him by violence (*u*): Geoffrey Fitz-Pierre, the chief justiciary, gave two good Norway hawks, that Walter le Madine might have leave to export a hundred weight of cheese out of the king's dominions (*v*).

It is really amusing to remark the strange business in which the king sometimes interfered, and never without a present: the wife of Hugh de Neville gave the king two hundred hens, that she might lie with her husband one night (*w*); and she brought with her two sureties, who answered each for a hundred hens. It is probable that her husband was a prisoner, which debarred her from having access to him. The abbot of Rucford paid ten marks for leave to erect houses and place men upon his land near Welhang, in order to secure his wood there from being stolen (*x*): Hugh archdeacon of Wells gave one tun of wine for leave to carry six hundred of corn whither he would (*y*): Peter de Peraris gave twenty marks for leave to salt fishes, as Peter Chevalier used to do (*z*).

(*k*) Hottom de Feud. Disp. cap. 38. col. 886.
(*l*) Lib. Feud. lib. 3. tit. 1. 4. tit. lib. 21. 39. (*m*) Id. lib. 1. tit. 21.
(*n*) Id. lib. 4. tit. 44. (*o*) Id. lib. 3. tit. 1. (*p*) Id. lib. 4. tit. 14. 21.
(*q*) Id. lib. 4. tit. 14. (*r*) Id. lib. 1. tit. 14. 21. (*s*) Id. lib. 1. tit. 1.
(*t*) Spelm. Gloss. in verb. *Felonia*. (*u*) Spelm. Gloss. in verb. *Felonia*. Glanville, lib. 7. cap. 17.
(*v*) Madox's Hist. of the Exch. p. 223. (*w*) Id. p. 322. (*x*) Id. p. 320.
(*y*) Madox's Hist. of the Exch. p. 272. (*z*) Id. p. 274. 309.

(*a*) Id. p. 295. (*b*) Id. ibid.
(*c*) Id. p. 296. He paid two hundred marks, a great sum in those days.
(*d*) Id. p. 296. (*e*) Id. ibid. (*f*) Id. p. 298. (*g*) Id. p. 302.
(*h*) Id. chap. xii. (*i*) Id. p. 311. (*k*) Id. ibid. (*l*) Id. p. 79. 312.
(*m*) Id. p. 312. (*n*) Id. p. 323. (*o*) Id. ibid. (*p*) Id. ibid.
(*q*) Id. p. 324 (*r*) Id. ibid. (*s*) Id. p. 232, 233, &c.
(*t*) Id. p. 298. (*u*) Id. p. 305. (*x*) Id. p. 325.
(*w*) Id. p. 326. (*x*) Id. ibid. (*y*) Id. p 320. (*z*) Id. p. 326.

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It was usual also to pay high fines, in order to gain the king's good-will, or mitigate his anger. In the reign of Henry II. Gilbert, the son of Fergus, fines in nine hundred and nineteen pounds nine shillings to obtain that prince's favour; William de Chataignes a thousand marks, that he would remit his displeasure. In the reign of Henry III. the city of London fines in no less a sum than twenty thousand pounds on the same account (*a*). The king's protection and good offices of every kind were likewise bought and sold. Robert Grislet paid twenty marks of silver, that the king would help him against the earl of Mortaigne in a certain plea (*b*): Robert de Cundet gave thirty marks of silver that the king would bring him to an accord with the bishop of Lincoln (*c*): Ralph de Breckham gave a hawk, that the king would protect him (*d*); and this is a very frequent reason for payments: John, son of Ordgar, gave a Norway hawk to have the king's request to the king of Norway to let him have his brother Godard's chattels (*e*): Richard de Neville gave twenty palfreys to obtain the king's request to Isolda Bisset, that she should take him for a husband (*f*): Roger Fitz-Walter gave three good palfreys to have the king's letter to Roger Betram's mother, that she should marry him (*g*): Eling, the dean paid one hundred marks, that his whore and his children might be let out upon bail (*h*): the bishop of Winchester gave one tun of good wine for his not putting the king in mind to give a girdle to the countess of Albemarle (*i*): Robert de Veaux gave five of the best palfreys, that the king would hold his tongue about Henry Pinel's wife (*k*). There are, in the records of Exchequer, many other singular instances of a similar nature (*l*). It will however be just to remark, that the same ridiculous practices and dangerous abuses prevailed in Normandy, and probably in all the other states of Europe (*m*); so that we may conclude that England was not, in this respect, more barbarous than the neighbouring powers.

These iniquitous practices of the Norman kings were so well known, that on the death of Hugh Bigod, in the reign of Henry II. the best and most just of these princes, the eldest son and the widow of this nobleman came to court, and strove, by offering large presents to the king, each of them to acquire possession of that rich inheritance. The king was so equitable as to order the cause to be tried by the great council! but in the mean time he seized all the money and treasure of the deceased (*n*). Peter of Blois, a judicious and even an elegant writer for that age, gives a pathetic description of the venality of justice, and the oppressions of the poor under the reign of Henry: and he scruples not to complain to the king himself of these abuses (*o*). We may judge what the case would be under the government of worse princes. The articles of enquiry concerning the conduct of sheriffs, which Henry promulgated in 1170, shew the great power, as well as the licentiousness of these officers (*p*).

Amerciaments or fines for crimes and trespasses were another considerable branch of the royal revenue (*q*). Most crimes were atoned for by money; the fines imposed were not limited by any rule or statute; and frequently occasioned the total ruin of the person, even for the slightest trespasses. The forest laws, particularly, were a great source of oppression. The king possessed sixty-eight forests, thirteen chaces, and seven hundred and eighty-one parks, in different parts of England (*r*); and, considering the extreme passion of the English and Normans for hunting, these were so many snares laid for the people, by which they were allured into trespasses, and brought within the reach of arbitrary and rigorous law, which the king had thought proper to enact by his own authority.

But the most barefaced acts of tyranny and oppression were practised against the Jews, who were entirely out of the protection of law, were extremely odious from the bigotry of the people, and were abandoned to the immeasurable rapacity of the king and his ministers. Besides many other indignities to which they were continually exposed, it appears that they were once all thrown into prison, and the sum of sixty-six thousand marks exacted for their liberty (*s*): at another time, Isaac the Jew paid alone five thousand one hundred marks (*t*); Brun, three thousand marks (*u*); Jernet, two thousand, Bennet, five hundred: at another, Licorica, widow of David the Jew of Oxford, was required to pay six thousand marks; and she was delivered over to six of the richest and discreetest Jews in England, who were to answer for the sum (*v*). Henry III. borrowed five thousand marks from the earl of Cornwall; and for his repayment consigned over to him all the Jews in England (*w*). The revenue arising from exactions upon this nation was so considerable, that there was a particular court of Exchequer set apart for managing it (*x*).

We may judge concerning the low state of commerce among the English, when the Jews, notwithstanding these oppressions, could still find their account in trading among them, and lending them money. And as the improvements of agriculture were also much checked by the immense possessions of the nobility, by the disorders of the times, and by the precarious state of feudal property, it appears that industry of no kind could then have place in the kingdom (*y*).

It is asserted by Sir Harry Spelman (*z*), as an undoubted truth, that, during the reigns of the first Norman princes, every edict of the king, issued with the consent of his privy council, had the full force of law. But the barons, surely, were not so passive as to entrust a power, entirely arbitrary and despotic, into the hands of the sovereign. It only appears, that the constitution had not fixed any precise boundaries to the royal power; that the right of issuing proclamations on any emergence, and of exacting obedience to them, a right which was always supposed inherent in the crown, is very difficult to be distinguished from a legislative authority; that the extreme imperfection of the ancient laws, and the sudden exigencies which often occurred in such turbulent governments, obliged the prince to exert frequently the latent powers of his prerogative; that he naturally proceeded, from the acquiescence of the people, to assume, in many particulars of moment, an authority from which he had excluded himself by express statutes, charters, or concessions, and which was, in the main, repugnant to the general genius of the constitution; and that the lives, the personal liberty, and the properties of all his subjects, were less secured by law against the exertion of his arbitrary authority, than by the independent power and private connections of each individual. It appears from the Great Charter itself, that not only John, a tyrannical prince, and Richard, a violent one, but their father Henry, under whose reign the pre-

(*a*) Id. p. 327, 329. (*b*) Madox, Hist. of Exch. p. 329.
(*c*) Id. p. 330. (*d*) Id. p. 332. (*e*) Id. ibid. (*f*) Id. p. 333.
(*g*) Id. ibid. (*h*) Id. p. 342. *Pro habenda amica sua et filiis, &c.*
(*i*) Id. p. 352, (*k*) Id. ibid. *Ut rex taceret de uxore Henrici Pinel.*
(*l*) We shall here gratify the reader's curiosity by subjoining a few more instances from Madox, p. 332. Hugh Oisel was to give the king two robes of a good green colour, to have the king's letters patent to the merchants of Flanders, with a request to render him one thousand marks, which he lost in Flanders. The abbot of Hyde paid thirty marks, to have the king's letters of request to the archbishop of Canterbury, to remove certain monks that were against the abbot. Roger de Trihanton paid twenty marks and a palfrey, to have the king's request to Richard de Umfreville to give him his sister to wife, and to the sister that she would accept of him for a husband. William de Cheveringworth paid five marks, to have the king's letter to the abbot of Perfore, to let him enjoy peaceably his tythes as formerly. Matthew de Hereford, clerk, paid ten marks for a letter of request to the archbishop of Landaff, to let him enjoy peaceably his church of Schenfrith. Andrew Neulun gave three Flemish caps for the king's request to the prior of Chikesand, for performance of an agreement made between them. Henry de Fontibus gave a Lombardy horse of value to have the king's request to Henry Fitz-Harvey, that he would give him his daughter to wife. Roger, son of Nicholas, promised all the lampreys he could get, to have the king's request to earl William Mareshal, that he would grant him the manor of Langeford at Firm. The burgesses of Gloucester promised three hundred lampreys, that they might not be distrained to find the prisoners of Poicton with necessaries, unless they pleased. Id. p. 352. Jordan, son of Reginald, paid twenty marks to have the king's request to William Paniel, that he would grant him the land of Mill Nierenuit, and the custody of his heirs; and if Jordan obtained the same, he was to pay the twenty marks, otherwise not. Id. p. 333.
(*m*) Madox's Hist. of the Exch. p. 359. (*n*) Bened. Abb. p, 180, 181.
(*o*) Petri Bles. Epist. 95. apud Bibl. Patrum, tom. 24. p. 2014.
(*p*) Hoveden, Chron. Gerv. p. 1410. (*q*) Madox, chap. xiv.
(*r*) Spelm. Gloss. in verbo *Foresta*.
(*s*) Madox's Hist. of the Exch. p. 151. This happened in the reign of king John.
(*t*) Id. p. 151. (*u*) Id. p. 153. (*v*) Id. p. 168.
(*w*) Id. p. 156. (*x*) Id. ch. vii.
(*y*) We learn from the extracts given us of Domesday by Brady, in his Treatise of Boroughs, that almost all the boroughs of England had suffered in the shock of the Conquest, and had extremely decayed between the death of the Confessor, and the time when Domesday was framed.
(*z*) Gloss. in verb, *Judicium Dei*. The author of the *Mirror des Justices* complains, that ordinances are only made by the king and his clerks, and by aliens and others, who dare not contradict the king, but study to please him. Whence, he concludes, laws are oftener dictated by will, than founded on right.

valence

valence of gross abuses is the least to be suspected, were accustomed, from their sole authority, without process of law, to imprison, banish, and attaint the freemen of their kingdom.

A great baron, in ancient times, considered himself as a kind of sovereign within his territory; and was attended by courtiers and dependants more zealously attached to him than the ministers of state and the great officers were commonly to their sovereign. He often maintained in his court the parade of royalty, by establishing a justiciary, constable, mareschal, chamberlain, seneschal, and chancellor, and assigning to each of these officers a separate province and command. He was usually very assiduous in exercising his jurisdiction; and took such delight in that image of sovereignty, that it was found necessary to restrain his activity, and prohibit him by law from holding courts too frequently (*a*). It is not to be doubted, but the example set him by the prince, of a mercenary and sordid extortion, would be faithfully copied; and that all his good and bad offices, his justice and injustice, were equally put to sale. He had the power, with the king's consent, to exact talliages even from the free citizens who lived within his barony; and as his necessities made him rapacious, his authority was usually found to be more oppressive and tyrannical than that of the sovereign (*b*). He was ever engaged in hereditary or personal animosities or confederacies with his neighbour, and often gave protection to all desperate adventurers and criminals who would be useful in serving his violent purposes. He was able alone, in times of tranquillity, to obstruct the execution of justice within his territories; and by combining with a few malcontent barons of high rank and power, he could throw the state into convulsions. And, on the whole, through the royal authority was confined within bounds, and often within very narrow ones, yet the check was irregular, and frequently the source of great disorders; nor was it derived from the liberty of the people, but from the military power of many petty tyrants, who were equally dangerous to the prince, and oppressive to the subject.

The power of the church was another rampart against royal authority; but this defence was also the cause of many mischiefs and inconveniences. The dignified clergy, perhaps, were not so prone to immediate violence as the barons; but as they pretended to a total independence on the state, and could always cover themselves with the appearances of religion, they proved, in one respect, an obstruction to the settlement of the kingdom, and to the regular execution of the laws. The policy of the Conqueror was in this particular liable to some exception. He augmented the superstitious veneration for Rome, to which that age was so much inclined; and he broke those bands of connection, which, in the Saxon times, had preserved an union between the lay and the clerical orders. He prohibited the bishops from sitting in the county courts; he allowed ecclesiastical causes to be tried in spiritual courts only (*c*); and he so much exalted the power of the clergy, that of sixty thousand two hundred and fifteen knights fees, into which he divided England, he placed no less than twenty-eight thousand and fifteen under the church (*d*).

The right of primogeniture was introduced with the feudal law: an institution which is hurtful, by producing and maintaining an unequal division of private property; but is advantageous in another respect, by accustoming the people to a preference in favour of the eldest son, and thereby preventing a partition or disputed succession in the monarchy. The Normans introduced the use of sirnames, which tend to preserve the knowledge of families and pedigrees. They abolished none of the old absurd methods of trial by the cross or ordeal; and they added a new absurdity, the trial by single combat (*e*), which became a regular part of jurisprudence, and was conducted with all the order, method, devotion, and solemnity imaginable (*f*). The ideas of chivalry also seem to have been imported by the Normans: no traces of those fantastic notions are to be found among the plain and rustic Saxons.

The feudal institutions, by raising the military tenants to a kind of sovereign dignity, by rendering personal strength and valour requisite, and by making every knight and baron his own protector and avenger, begat that martial pride and sense of honour, which, being cultivated and embellished by the poets and romance-writers of the age, ended in chivalry. The virtuous knight fought not only in his own quarrel, but in that of the innocent, of the helpless, and, above all, of the fair, whom he supposed to be for ever under the guardianship of his valiant arm. The uncourteous knight who, from his castle, exercised robbery on travellers, and committed violence on virgins, was the object of his perpetual indignation; and he put him to death, without scruple, or trial, or appeal, wherever he met with him. The great independence of men made personal honour and fidelity the chief tie among them; and rendered it the capital virtue of every true knight, or genuine professor of chivalry. The solemnities of single combat, as established by law, banished the notion of every thing unfair or unequal in rencounters; and maintained an appearance of courtesy between the combatants, till the moment of their engagement. The credulity of the age grafted on this stock the notion of giants, enchanters, dragons, spells (*g*), and a thousand wonders, which still multiplied during the times of the crusades; when men, returning from so great a distance, used the liberty of imposing every fiction on their believing audience. These ideas of chivalry infected the writings, conversation, and behaviour of men, during some ages; and even after they were, in a great measure, banished by the revival of learning, they left modern *gallantry* and the *point of honour*, which still maintain their influence, and are the genuine offspring of those ancient affectations.

The concession of the Great Charter, or rather its full establishment (for there was a considerable interval of time between the one and the other), gave rise, by degrees, to a new species of government, and introduced some order and justice into the administration. The ensuing scenes of our history are therefore somewhat different from the preceding. Yet the Great Charter contained no establishment of new courts, magistrates, or senates, nor abolition of the old. It introduced no new distribution of the powers of the commonwealth, and no innovation in the political or public law of the kingdom. It only guarded, and that merely by verbal clauses, against such tyrannical practices as are incompatible with civilized government, and, if they become very frequent, are incompatible with all government. The barbarous licence of the kings, and perhaps of the nobles, was thenceforth somewhat more restrained: men acquired some more security for their properties and their liberties: and government approached a little nearer to that end for which it was originally instituted, the distribution of justice, and the equal protection of the citizens. Acts of violence and iniquity in the crown, which before were only deemed injurious to individuals, and were hazardous chiefly in proportion to the number, power, and dignity of the persons affected by them, were now regarded, in some degree, as public injuries, and as infringements of a charter calculated for general security. And thus the establishment of the Great Charter, without seeming anywise to innovate in the distribution of political power, became a kind of epoch in the constitution.

(*a*) Dugd. Jurid. Orig. p. 26. (*b*) Madox, Hist. of Exch. p. 520.
(*c*) Char. Will. apud. Wilkins, p. 230. Spel. Conc. vol. ii. p. 14.
(*d*) Spel. Gloss. in verb. *Manus Mortua*. We are not to imagine, as some have done, that the church possessed lands in this proportion, but only that they and their vassals enjoyed such a proportionable part of the landed property.
(*e*) LL. Will. cap. 68.
(*f*) Spel. Gloss. in verb. *Campus*. The last instance of these duels was in the 15th Eliz. So long did that absurdity remain.
(*g*) In all legal single combats, it was part of the champion's oath that he carried not about him any herb, spell, or inchantment, by which he might procure victory. Dugd. Orig. Jurid. p. 82.


HENRY IV.
HENRY V.
HENRY VI.
EDWARD V.
EDWARD IV.
RICHARD III.

BOOK VII.

THE LINE OF LANCASTER.

COMPRIZING THE

REIGNS OF HENRY IV. HENRY V. AND HENRY VI.

CHAPTER I.

HENRY IV.

THE usurpation of Henry of Bolingbroke was productive of a series of misfortunes to the English. Had Richard been suffered to reign, and to descend to the grave in peace, he would have been succeeded, in the event of his dying without offspring, by Edmund earl of Marche, son of that earl who had been recognised by parliament as presumptive heir of the crown; a circumstance that would have prevented those virulent and destructive hostilities between the houses of York and Lancaster, which originated in the ambition of Henry the Fourth.

When a subservient parliament had permitted Henry to assume the reins of government, he fixed a day for the next meeting, as well as for the solemnity of the coronation; which was accordingly performed at Westminster on the 13th of October; when archbishop Arundel officiated at the ceremony, and anointed the new king with an oil, which it was pretended had been brought from heaven by the Virgin Mary, who had presented it to St. Thomas a Becket, for the express purpose of anointing the English sovereigns. This invention was calculated to sanction the title and the person of Henry in the eyes of the populace, and to varnish his guilt with the idea of the divine approbation.

No sooner was the coronation of Henry performed than he issued a proclamation, signifying that his claim to the throne was founded on the right of conquest, the resignation of Richard in his favour, and of his being next male heir of the late king. Though not one of these claims could bear the smallest examination, he was probably induced to prefer them to the more plausive title acquired by the consent of the people, from an idea that the throne which is obtained by election might be vacated by the will of the electors, and must likewise be subject to such limitations as those electors should choose to impose. This declaration therefore, in which he arrogated to himself the united rights of blood and conquest, was calculated to reject every kind of restriction, and to lay the foundation of an arbitrary and despotic reign (*h*). On the same day that this proclamation was published, he created Henry, his eldest son, who was then in the thirteenth year of his age, prince of Wales, duke of Cornwall, and earl of Chester; and on the subsequent day, the parliament proceeded to business. But though Henry had secured peaceable possession of the throne, his situation appeared extremely hazardous, and was productive of infinite perplexity. He was conscious of the absurdity of his claims: his resumption of that right of conquest, which he had before disavowed, was too dangerous to maintain; and his claim of hereditary right was so truly ridiculous, that not one of his subjects could possibly be duped by it. He had indeed a present advantage over his competitor Edmund, the young earl of Marche, and heir of the house of Mortimer, who had been declared, in parliament, heir to the crown, was a boy of seven years of age: his friends consulted his safety, by keeping silence with regard to his title: Henry detained him and his younger brother in custody at Windsor castle; but he had reason to dread, that, in proportion as that nobleman grew to man's estate, he would draw to him the attachment of the people, and make them reflect on the fraud, violence, and injustice, by which he had been excluded from the throne. Many favourable circumstances would occur in his behalf: he was a native of England; possessed an extensive interest from the greatness of his family, and their powerful alliances; however criminal the deposed monarch might be supposed to be, this youth was intirely innocent; he was of the same religion, and educated in the same manners with the people, and could not be governed by any separate interest: these views combined would all concur to favour his claim; and though the abilities of the present prince might ward off any dangerous revolution, it was justly to be apprehended, that his authority could with difficulty be brought to equal that of his predecessors, so as to secure stability to his government.

Independent of this ground of apprehension, the king had other subjects of uneasiness. Richard, earl of Cambridge, one of the sons of Edmund duke of York, who had married Anne, sister to Edmund earl of Marche, conceived himself to be injured by the usurpation of Henry. Charles the Sixth, king of France, was also extremely incensed against the usurper, for having effected the deposition of his son-in-law; and the Scots were only waiting for a favourable opportunity to profit by these commotions which they imagined must speedily take place in England. The obligations, moreover, which Henry had received from the potent earls of Northumberland and Westmoreland, were of a nature most likely to produce discontent on the one side, and ingratitude on the other; so that he found it not less difficult to secure the adherence of his friends, by the gratification of their desires, than to guard against the designs of his enemies.

Henry, in the very first parliament he assembled, had reason to see the danger attending that station which he had assumed, and the obstacles he would meet with in governing an unruly aristocracy, always divided by faction, and at present inflamed with the resentments consequent on such recent convulsions. The peers, on their assembling, broke out into violent animosities against each other. The lord Fitz-Walter challenged Aumale as a traitor to his lawful sovereign; and lord Morley taxed the earl of Salisbury with treachery both to Richard and to Henry. The cause of these disputants being espoused by other noblemen, forty gauntlets were thrown on the floor as pledges of battle. *Liar* and *traitor* resounded from all quarters; and the house of peers resembled a lawless band of licentious ruffians more than a chosen assembly of British senators. The king had so much authority with these doughty champions, as to prevent the present effusion of blood; but he was not able to allay the dangerous heats of party, or to promote that cordial reconciliation between those revengeful nobles which was so essential to the tranquillity of his reign.

It was not long before these passions broke into action. The earls of Rutland, Kent, and Huntingdon, and lord Spencer, who were now degraded from the respective titles of Albemarle, Surrey, Exeter, and Gloucester, conferred on them by Richard, as a reward for their attachment and fidelity, entered into a conspiracy, together with the earl of Salisbury and lord Lumley, for raising an insurrection, and for seizing the king's person at Windsor; but the treachery of Rutland gave him warning of the

(*h*) "The English, says Mr. Hume, had so long been familiarized to the hereditary succession of their monarchs, the instances of departure from it had always borne such strong symptoms of injustice and violence, and so little of a national choice or election, and the returns to the true line had ever been deemed such fortunate incidents in their history, that Henry was afraid lest, in resting his title on the consent of the people, he should build on a foundation to which the people themselves were not accustomed, and whose solidity they would with difficulty be brought to recognize. The idea too of choice seemed always to imply that of conditions, and a right of recalling the consent upon any supposed violation of them; an idea which was not naturally agreeable to a sovereign, and might, in England, be dangerous to the subjects, who, lying so much under the influence of turbulent nobles, had ever paid but an imperfect obedience even to their hereditary princes. For these reasons, Henry was determined never to have recourse to this claim; the only one on which his authority could consistently stand: he rather chose to patch up his title in the best manner he could from other pretensions; and in the end, he left himself, in the eyes of men of sense, no ground of right but his present possession; a very precarious foundation, which, by its very nature, was liable to be overthrown by every faction of the great, or prejudice of the people."

danger. He suddenly withdrew to London; and the conspirators, who came to Windsor, on the 4th of January, 1400, with a body of five hundred horse, found that they had missed this blow, on which all the success of their enterprize depended. Henry appeared next day at Kingston upon Thames, at the head of twenty thousand men, mostly drawn from the city; and his enemies, unable to resist his power, dispersed themselves, with a view of raising their followers in the several counties which were the seat of their interest. But the adherents of the king were hot in the pursuit, and every where opposed themselves to their progress. The earls of Kent and Salisbury, directed their route to Cirencester; where they were seized by the citizens, and were next day beheaded without farther ceremony, according to the custom of the times (*i*). The citizens of Bristol treated Spencer and Lumley in the same manner. The earl of Huntingdon being apprehended in Essex, was sent to the Tower on the 10th of January; and, five days after, was beheaded without any previous trial, and with circumstances of peculiar cruelty. Sir Benedict Shelley, sir Bernard Brokes, sir Thomas Blount, and eight and twenty other knights and gentlemen, suffered death on the gibbet, by orders from Henry: and when the quarters of these unhappy victims were brought to London, no less than eighteen bishops and thirty-two mitred abbots joined the populace, and met them with the most indecent marks of joy and exultation.

To close this scene of infamy and blood, an object appeared that must have roused the indignation of every mind, not wholly callous to the dictates of honour and the feelings of humanity. This was that arch-traitor Rutland, bearing on a pole the head of his brother-in-law, lord Spencer, which he presented in triumph to Henry, as a token of his loyalty. This abandoned wretch, who by the death of his father soon after attained the title of duke of York, and became the first prince of the blood, had been instrumental in the murder of his uncle, the duke of Gloucester: he had basely deserted Richard, whose confidence he had acquired; had formed a conspiracy against the life of Henry, to whom he had sworn allegiance; had betrayed his associates, whom he had seduced into this enterprize; and now dared openly to display, with marks of triumph and exultation the badges of his complicated villainy. These scenes of barbarous violence formed a worthy prelude to those cruel and sanguinary contests between the houses of York and Lancaster, which originated in the tyranny and injustice of Henry the Fourth.

Henry was sensible, that though the execution of these conspirators might seem to give security to his throne, the animosities, which remain after such bloody scenes, are always dangerous to royal authority; and he therefore determined not to increase, by any hazardous enterprize, those numerous enemies with whom he was every where environed. While a subject, he was believed to have strongly imbibed all the principles of his father, the duke of Lancaster, and to have adopted the prejudices which the Lollards inspired against the abuses of the established church: but, finding himself possessed of the throne by so precarious a title, he thought superstition a necessary implement of public authority; and he resolved, by every expedient, to pay court to the clergy. There were hitherto no penal laws enacted against heresy; an indulgence which had proceeded, not from a spirit of toleration to the Romish church, but from the ignorance and simplicity of the people, which had rendered them unfit either for starting or receiving any new or curious doctrines, and which needed not to be restrained by rigorous penalties. But when the learning and genius of Wickliffe had once broken, in some measure, the fetters of the prejudice, the ecclesiastics called aloud for the punishment of his disciples; and the king, who was very little scrupulous in his conduct, was easily induced to sacrifice his principles to his interest, and to acquire the favour of the church by that most effectual method, the gratifying their vengeance against opponents. He engaged the parliament to pass a law for that purpose: it enacted, that when any heretic, who relapsed, or refused to abjure his opinions, was delivered over to the secular arm by the bishop or his commissaries, he should be committed to the flames by the civil magistrate before the whole people (*k*). This weapon did not long remain unemployed in the hands of the clergy: William Sautré, rector of St. Osithes in London, had been condemned by the convocation of Canterbury; his sentence was ratified by the house of peers; the king issued his writ for the execution (*l*); and the unhappy man atoned for his erroneous opinions by the penalty of fire. Thus one horror more was added to those dismal scenes which at that time were already but too familiar to the people.

But the utmost precaution and prudence of Henry could not shield him from those numerous inquietudes which assailed him from every quarter. The connexions of Richard with the royal family of France made that court exert its activity to recover his authority, or revenge his death (*m*); but though the confusions in England tempted the French to engage in some enterprize by which they might distress their ancient enemy, the greater confusions which they experienced at home obliged them quickly to accommodate matters; and Charles, content with recovering his daughter from Henry's hands, laid aside his preparations, and renewed the truce between the kingdoms (*n*). The attack of Guienne was also an inviting attempt, which the present factions that prevailed among the French obliged them to neglect. The Gascons, affectionate to the memory of Richard, who was born among them, refused to swear allegiance to a prince that had dethroned and murdered him; and the appearance of a French army on their frontiers would probably have tempted them to change masters (*o*). The citizens of Bourdeaux, in particular, so highly resented the deposition of their lawful sovereign, that they positively declared they would rather submit to the king of France than obey the usurper of his throne. But Thomas Percy, earl of Worcester, arriving with some English troops, gave countenance to the partizans of Henry, and overawed their opponents. Religion too was here found a cement to their union with England. The Gascons had been engaged by Richard's authority, to acknowledge the pope of Rome; and they were sensible that, if they submitted to France, it would be necessary for them to pay obedience to the pope of Avignon, whom they had been taught to detest as a schismatic. Their principles on this head were too fast rooted to admit of any sudden or violent alteration (*p*).

Henry's next alarm proceeded from the Scots, who were tempted, by the apparent instability of his government, to make incursions into England. The king, desirous of exacting vengeance, and yet fearful of rendering his administration unpopular by a requisition of considerable supplies from his subjects, summoned a council of peers only, to meet at Westminster, and laid before them the state of his affairs. The military part of the feudal constitution was at this time considerably weakened, though its pernicious effects on the civil rights and properties of men still retained their primitive force. At this assembly no demand of personal attendance was made on the barons; but the king exposed to them his situation, and they *voluntarily* undertook to attend him in an expedition to Scotland, with a certain number of their retainers. Having conducted his army to Edinburgh, of which he easily made himself master, he there summoned Robert the Third to do homage for his crown: but finding that the Scottish prince would neither pay the required submission, nor afford him an opportunity of establishing his claim by force of arms, he returned in three weeks, without having effected any thing but the exposure of his own weakness.

The hasty retreat of Henry has been ascribed, with great plausibility, to the intelligence which he had received of an insurrection in Wales. This revolt was excited by the celebrated Owen ap Griffith Vaughan, lord Glendoudwy, commonly called Owen Glendowr, a gentleman of high spirit and intrepid courage, who was descended from Llewellyn ap Griffith, the last prince of Wales. Owen Glendowr had received his education, as a lawyer, in the inns of court, and afterwards served Richard the Second as one of his body esquires. On the usurpation of Henry, to whom he was become hateful for his attachment to Richard, he had retired to his paternal estate; and Reginald lord Gray of Ruthyn, who was intimately connected with the king, and who possessed a considerable property in the Marches of Wales, thought the opportunity favourable for oppressing his neighbour, and taking possession of his estate. Glendowr, provoked at the injustice

(*i*) For this act of violence and barbarity, Henry rewarded them by a grant of all the spoils they had taken from the deceased.
(*k*) 2 Henry IV. chap. vii. (*l*) Rymer, vol. viii. p. 178.
(*m*) Ibid. p. 123. (*n*) Ibid. p. 142, 152, 219.

(*o*) Ibid. p. 110, 111.
(*p*) The bishop of Bourdeaux, indeed, joined the earl of Worcester, and by his influence tranquillity was soon restored, and Henry was acknowledged sovereign of Gascony.

of

of the attempt, and still more at the indignity offered to him, recovered possession by the sword; and Henry, having espoused the cause of Gray, issued a proclamation from Northampton, on the 19th of September, 1401, inviting all able-bodied men, in the counties of Warwick, Leicester, Nottingham, Derby, Worcester, Salop, Stafford, Gloucester, Hereford, and Northampton, to repair immediately to his standard, in order to march against Glendowr, whom he pronounced a rebel. Thus, by the unconstitutional and unjust interference of the king, was a private quarrel converted into a national war, which the valour and activity of Glendowr, aided by the natural strength of his country, sustained for several years. When Henry had collected his army, he marched into Wales; but, as Glendowr had taken refuge in the mountains, he was soon obliged to return.

The remainder of the year was spent in negociations with the court of France on the subject of a truce, which was eagerly wished for by Henry; who was also anxious to obtain Isabella, widow to Richard the Second, in marriage for his son. But Charles the Sixth insisting that the princess should be restored, together with her marriage portion, Henry was at length obliged to accede to that monarch's terms; in consequence of which a truce of thirty years was concluded between the two kings. Though Henry's attempt to form an advantageous alliance for his son had proved ineffectual, he had more success in a similar negociation for his daughter, the princess Blanche, whom he married in the spring of the following year, to Louis of Bavaria, eldest son of the emperor of Germany.

By this time Owen Glendowr had fully prevailed on his countrymen to espouse his cause; and not only to renounce their dependence on the crown of England, but to acknowledge him for their sovereign, as the legitimate descendant of their ancient princes. By these means he was enabled to collect a powerful army, with which he made incursions into England, laying waste the country, and plundering the inhabitants. Early in the spring of 1402, Owen Glendowr, having taken the field, was opposed by lord Gray, whom he defeated and took prisoner. The next enemy he had to encounter was sir Edmund Mortimer, uncle to the young earl of Marche; who, having collected all the friends and vassals of his family, advanced to meet Glendowr, at the head of twelve thousand men. An action accordingly took place on the 22nd of June, near Knighton, in Radnorshire, in which the Welshman again proved victorious, killing eleven hundred of his enemies, and taking their leader prisoner. Though Henry was highly pleased at the captivity of Mortimer, he was greatly alarmed at the progress of Glendowr; and therefore entered Wales, in the month of August, with a numerous army, which he divided into three bodies; one of which he reserved for himself, and the others he entrusted to the conduct of Henry, prince of Wales, and the earl of Anendale: but as the Welsh retired, as usual, to their mountains, and were studious to avoid an engagement, he was soon reduced to distress for want of provisions, and obliged to forego his enterprize.

During this time a report had been circulated throughout the kingdom with great industry, and chiefly by the monks of the order of St. Francis, purporting, that Richard the Second was still alive; and, having effected his escape into Scotland, was there raising an army, with which he would speedily march into England, to deprive the usurper of his throne. Henry appears to have been greatly alarmed at these rumours, from the repeated proclamations which he published, declaring them to be false, and threatening with immediate death all those who should dare to diffuse them: nor did he fail to put his threats in execution on several persons who disobeyed his commands; and particularly on sir Roger Clarendon, whom he caused to be hanged, together with his esquire and valet, and eleven priests and friers. The effect of these reports, however, soon appeared in an incursion of the Scots, who entered England in the month of July, 1402, under the command of sir Archibald Douglas. This army, which amounted to twelve thousand men, was attended by many of the principal nobility of Scotland, and committed devastations on the northern counties. On his return home, he was overtaken by the Perceys at Homeldon, on the borders of England, and a fierce battle ensued, where the Scots were totally routed. Douglas himself was taken prisoner; as was Mordac earl of Fife, son of the duke of Albany, and nephew of the Scottish king, with the earls of Angus, Murray, and Orkney, and many others of the gentry and nobility (*q*). When Henry received intelligence of this victory, he sent the earl of Northumberland orders not to ransom his prisoners, which that nobleman regarded as his right by the laws of war received in that age. The king intended to detain them, that he might be able, by their means, to make an advantageous peace with Scotland; but by this policy he gave a fresh disgust to the family of Percy.

The obligations which Henry had owed to Northumberland were of a kind the most likely to produce ingratitude on the one side, and discontent on the other. The sovereign naturally became jealous of that power which had advanced him to the throne; and the subject was not easily satisfied in the returns which he thought so great a favour had merited. Though Henry, on his accession, had bestowed the office of constable on Northumberland for life (*r*), and conferred other gifts on that family, these favours were regarded as their due; the refusal of any other request was deemed an injury. The impatient spirit of Henry Percy, (better known by the appellation of *Hotspur*,) and the factious disposition of the earl of Worcester, younger brother of Northumberland, inflamed the discontents of that nobleman; and the precarious title of Henry tempted him to seek revenge, by overturning that throne which he had at first established. He entered into a correspondence with Owen Glendowr: he gave liberty to the earl of Douglas, and made an alliance with that martial chief: he roused up all his partisans to arms; and such unlimited authority at that time belonged to the great families, that the same men, whom a few years before, he had conducted against Richard, now followed his standard in opposition to Henry. When war was ready to break out, Northumberland was seized with a sudden illness at Berwick; and young Percy, taking the command of the troops, marched towards Shrewsbury, in order to join his forces with those of Glendowr. The king had a small army on foot, with which he had intended to act against the Scots; and knowing the importance of celerity in all civil wars, he instantly hurried down, that he might give battle to the rebels. He approached Percy near Shrewsbury, before that nobleman was joined by Glendowr; and the policy of one leader, and the impatience of the other, made them hasten to a general engagement.

On the 20th of July, 1403, the evening before the battle, while the two armies lay in sight of each other, on the plains of Hartlefield near Shrewsbury, Percy sent a manifesto to Henry, in which he renounced his allegiance, set that prince at defiance, and, in the name of his father and uncle, as well as his own, enumerated all the grievances of which, he pretended, the nation had reason to complain. He upbraided him with the perjury of which he had been guilty, when on landing at Ravenspur, he had sworn upon the gospels, before the earl of Northumberland, that he had no other intention than to recover the duchy of Lancaster, and that he would ever remain a faithful subject to king Richard. He aggravated his guilt in first dethroning, then murdering that prince, and in usurping on the title of the house of Mortimer, to whom, both by lineal succession, and by declarations of parliament, the throne, when vacant by Richard's demise, did of right belong. He complained of his cruel policy in allowing the young earl of Marche, whom he ought to regard as his sovereign, to remain a captive in the hands of his enemies, and in even refusing to all his friends permission to treat of his ransom. He charged him again with perjury in loading the nation with heavy taxes, after having sworn that, without the utmost necessity, he would never levy any impositions upon them. And he reproached him with the arts employed in procuring favourable elections into parliament; arts which he himself had before imputed as a crime to Richard, and which he had made one chief reason of that prince's arraignment and deposition. This manifesto was well calculated to inflame the quarrel between the parties: the bravery of the two leaders promised an obstinate engagement; and the equality of the armies, being each about twelve thousand men, a number which was not unmanageable by the commanders, gave reason to expect a great effusion of blood on both sides, and a very doubtful issue to the combat.

We shall scarcely find any battle in those ages where the shock was more terrible and more constant. Henry exposed his person in the thickest of the fight; his gallant son, whose military atchievements were afterwards so renowned, and who here performed his noviciate in arms, signalized himself on his father's footsteps, and even a wound,

(*q*) Walsingham, p. 366. Vita Ric. Sec. p. 180. Chron. Otterbourne, p. 227. (*r*) Rymer, vol. viii. p. 89.

wound, which he received in the face with an arrow, could not oblige him to quit the field. Percy supported that fame which he had acquired in many a bloody combat; and Douglas, his ancient enemy, and now his friend, still appeared his rival, amidst the horror and confusion of the day. This nobleman performed feats of valour which are almost incredible: he seemed determined that the king of England should that day fall by his arm: he sought him all over the field of battle; and as Henry, either to elude the attacks of the enemy upon his person, or to encourage his own men by the belief of his presence every where, had accoutred several captains in the royal garb, the sword of Douglas rendered this honour fatal to many. But while the armies were contending in this furious manner, the death of Percy, by an unknown hand, decided the victory, and the royalists prevailed. There are said to have fallen that day, on both sides, near two thousand three hundred gentlemen; but the persons of greatest distinction were on the king's; the earl of Stafford, Sir Hugh Shirley, Sir Nicholas Gansel, Sir Hugh Mortimer, Sir John Massey, Sir John Calverly. About six thousand private men perished, of whom two-thirds were of Percy's army. The earls of Worcester and Douglas were taken prisoners: the former was beheaded at Shrewsbury; the latter was treated with the courtesy due to his rank and merit.

The earl of Northumberland, having recovered from his sickness, had levied a fresh army, and was on his march to join his son; but being opposed by the earl of Westmoreland, and hearing of the defeat at Shrewsbury, he dismissed his forces, and came with a small retinue to the king at York. He pretended that his sole intention in arming was to mediate between the parties: Henry thought proper to accept of the apology, and even granted him a pardon for his offence: all the other rebels were treated with equal lenity; and, except the earl of Worcester and Sir Richard Vernon, who were regarded as the chief authors of the insurrection, no person engaged in this dangerous enterprize seems to have perished by the hands of the executioner.

Though Henry had been peculiarly fortunate in the speedy suppression of this dangerous rebellion, his situation was still perilous, and his enemies numerous. Two powerful armies were raising in France, from motives of hostility to his person and government: the first, under the command of the duke of Burgundy, was destined to besiege Calais; and the second, led by the duke of Orleans, was intended for the invasion of Guienne. A body of French troops, too, had actually made a descent on the Isle of Wight; and an army of Bretons had first pillaged Plymouth, and then reduced it to ashes. The Scots were watching for an opportunity to make an incursion on the northern counties; Owen Glendowr was at the head of a resolute army in Wales; the embers of discontent glowed in the bosoms of a large portion of the English; and the royal treasury was so much exhausted, that the king was obliged, even at this perilous conjuncture, to disband his army for want of money. But fortune, which had hitherto smiled on all the undertakings of Henry, still continued to be propitious: the discord and imprudence of his enemies dispelled the clouds that loured over his head, and threatened him with destruction. All the projects of France were marred by the violent animosity which subsisted between the dukes of Burgundy and Orleans; the efforts of Owen Glendowr were confined to the establishment of his authority in Wales, and to the formation of an alliance with France; the Scots suffered themselves to be amused with specious negociations; and the murmurs of the English terminated in the projection of plots ill-planned and worse executed: while Henry replenished his coffers by obtaining considerable supplies from two parliaments, which he summoned to assemble in 1404; the first at Westminster in the month of January; and the last at Coventry, in October.

But Northumberland, though he had been pardoned, knew that he never should be trusted, and that he was too powerful to be cordially forgiven by a prince whose situation gave him such reasonable grounds of jealousy. It was the effect either of Henry's vigilance or good fortune, or of the narrow genius of his enemies, that no proper concert was ever formed among them: they rose in rebellion one after another; and thereby afforded him an opportunity of suppressing singly those insurrections, which, had they been united, might have proved fatal to his authority. The earl of Nottingham, son of the duke of Norfolk, and the archbishop of York, brother to the earl of Wiltshire, whom Henry, then duke of Lancaster, had beheaded at Bristol, though they had remained quiet while Percy was in the field, still harboured in their breast a violent hatred against the enemy of their families; and they determined, in conjunction with the earl of Northumberland, to seek revenge against him. They betook themselves to arms before that powerful nobleman was prepared to join them; and publishing a manifesto, in which they reproached Henry with his usurpation of the crown, and the murder of the late king, they required that the right line should be restored, and all public grievances be redressed. The archbishop encamped on Shipton Moor, near York, with an army of fifteen thousand men, on the 9th of May, 1405. The earl of Westmoreland, whose power lay in the neighbourhood, approached them with an inferior force at Shipton, near York; and, being afraid to hazard an action, he attempted to subdue them by a stratagem, which nothing but the greatest folly and simplicity on their part could have rendered successful. He desired a conference with the archbishop and earl between the armies; he heard their grievances with great patience; he begged them to propose the remedies; he approved of every expedient which they suggested: he granted them all their demands: he also engaged that Henry should give them entire satisfaction; and when he saw them pleased with the facility of his concessions, he observed to them, that since amity was now, in effect, restored between them, it were better on both sides to dismiss their forces, which otherwise would prove an insupportable burden to the country. The archbishop and the earl of Nottingham immediately gave directions to that purpose: their troops disbanded upon the field: but Westmoreland, who had secretly issued contrary orders to *his* army, seized the two rebels without resistance, and carried them to the king, who was advancing with hasty marches to suppress the insurrection. The trial and punishment of an archbishop might have proved a troublesome and dangerous undertaking, had Henry proceeded regularly, and allowed time for an opposition to form itself against that unusual measure: the celerity of the execution alone could here render it safe and prudent. Finding that Sir William Gascoigne, the chief justice, made some scruple of acting on this occasion, he appointed Sir William Fulthorpe for judge; who, without any indictment, trial, or defence, pronounced sentence of death upon the prelate, on the 8th of June; and he was beheaded the same day, with many circumstances of unmanly insult and inhuman cruelty, which he bore with exemplary fortitude, patience, and resignation. This was the first instance in England of a capital punishment inflicted on a bishop; whence the clergy of that rank might learn that their crimes, more than those of laics, were not to pass with impunity. The earl of Nottingham was condemned and executed in the same summary manner: but though many other persons of condition, such as lord Falconberg, Sir Ralph Hastings, Sir John Colville, were engaged in this rebellion, no others seem to have fallen victims to Henry's severity.

The earl of Northumberland, on receiving this intelligence, fled into Scotland, together with lord Bardolf; and the king, without opposition, reduced all the castles and fortresses belonging to these noblemen. He thence turned his arms against Glendowr, over whom his son, the prince of Wales, had obtained some advantages: but that enemy, more troublesome than dangerous, still found means of defending himself in his fastnesses, and of eluding, though not resisting, all the force of England. In a subsequent season, the earl of Northumberland and lord Bardolf, impatient of their exile, entered the north, in hopes of raising the people to arms; but found the country in such a posture as rendered all their attempts unsuccessful. Sir Thomas Rokesby, sheriff of Yorkshire, levied some forces, attacked the invaders at Bramham Moor, near Haselwood, on the 19th of February, 1408, and gained a victory, in which both Northumberland and Bardolf were slain. This prosperous event, joined to the death of Glendowr, which happened soon after, freed Henry from all his domestic enemies; and this prince, who had mounted the throne by such unjustifiable means, and held it by such an exceptionable title, had yet, by his valour, prudence, and address, accustomed the people to the yoke, and had obtained a greater ascendant over his haughty barons than the law alone, not supported by these active qualities, was ever able to confer.

About the same time, fortune gave Henry an advantage over that neighbour who, by his situation, was most enabled

abled to disturb his government. Robert III. king of Scots, was a prince, though of slender capacity, extremely innocent and inoffensive in his conduct: but Scotland, at that time, was still less fitted than England for cherishing, or even enduring, sovereigns of that character. The duke of Albany, Robert's brother, a prince of more abilities, at least of a more boisterous and violent disposition, had assumed the government of the state; and, not satisfied with present authority, he entertained the criminal purpose of extirpating his brother's children, and of acquiring the crown to his own family. He threw in prison David, his eldest nephew, who there perished by hunger: James alone, the younger brother of David, stood between that tyrant and the throne; and king Robert, sensible of his son's danger, embarked him on board a ship, with a view of sending him to France, and entrusting him to the protection of that friendly power. Unfortunately, the vessel was taken by the English; prince James, a boy about nine years of age, was carried to London; and though there subsisted at that time a truce between the kingdoms, Henry refused to restore the young prince to his liberty. Robert, worn out with cares and infirmities, was unable to bear the shock of this last misfortune; and he soon after died, leaving the government in the hands of the duke of Albany. Henry was now more sensible than ever of the importance of the acquisition which he had made: while he retained such a pledge, he was sure of keeping the duke of Albany in dependance; or, if offended, he could easily, by restoring the true heir, take ample revenge upon the usurper. But though the king, by detaining James in the English court, had shewn himself somewhat deficient in generosity, he made ample amends by giving that prince an excellent education, which afterwards qualified him, when he mounted the throne, to reform, in some measure, the rude and barbarous manners of his native country.

The hostile dispositions which of late had prevailed between France and England were restrained, during the greater part of this reign, from appearing in action. The jealousies and civil commotions with which both nations were disturbed kept each of them from taking advantage of the unhappy situation of its neighbour. But as the abilities and good fortune of Henry had sooner been able to compose the English factions, this prince began, in the latter part of his reign, to look abroad, and to foment the animosities between the families of Burgundy and Orleans, by which the government of France was, during that period, so much distracted. He knew that one great source of the national discontent against his predecessor was the inactivity of his reign; and he hoped, by giving a new direction to the restless and unquiet spirits of his people, to prevent their breaking out in domestic wars and disorders. That he might unite policy with force, he first entered into treaty with the duke of Burgundy, and sent that prince a small body of troops, in the year 1411, which supported him against his enemies. Soon after, he hearkened to more advantageous proposals made him by the duke of Orleans, concluded a treaty with him on the 18th of May, 1412, and dispatched a greater body to support that party. But the leaders of the opposite factions having made temporary accommodation, the interests of the English were sacrificed; and this effort of Henry proved, in the issue, entirely vain and fruitless. The declining state of his health, and the shortness of his reign, prevented him from renewing the attempt, which his more fortunate son carried to so great a length against the French monarchy.

Such were the military and foreign transactions of this reign: the civil and parliamentary are somewhat more memorable, and more worthy of our attention. During the two last reigns, the elections of the commons had appeared a circumstance of government not to be neglected; and Richard was even accused of using unwarrantable methods for procuring to his partizans a seat in that house. This practice formed one considerable article of charge against him in his deposition; yet Henry scrupled not to tread in his footsteps, and to encourage the same abuses in elections. Laws were enacted against such undue influence, and even a sheriff was punished for an iniquitous return which he had made (*s*): but laws were commonly, at that time, very ill executed; and the liberties of the people, such as they were, stood on a surer basis than on laws and parliamentary elections. Though the house of commons was little able to withstand the violent currents which perpetually ran between the monarchy and the aristocracy, and though that house might easily be brought, at a particular time, to make the most unwarrantable concessions to either; the general institutions of the state still remained invariable; the interests of the several members continued on the same footing; the sword was in the hands of the subject; and the government, though thrown into temporary disorder, soon settled itself on its ancient foundations.

During the greater part of this reign, the king was obliged to court popularity; and the house of commons, sensible of their own importance, began to assume powers, which had not usually been exercised by their predecessors. In the first year of Henry, they procured a law, that no judge, in concurring with any iniquitous measure, should be excused by pleading the orders of the king, or even the danger of his own life from the menaces of the sovereign (*t*). In the second year, they insisted on maintaining the practice of not granting any supply before they received an answer to their petitions; which was a tacit manner of bargaining with the prince (*u*). In the fifth year, they desired the king to remove from his household four persons who had displeased them, among whom was his own confessor; and Henry, though he told them that he knew of no offence which these men had committed, yet, in order to gratify them, complied with their request (*v*). In the sixth year, they voted the king supplies, but appointed treasurers of their own, to see the money disbursed for the purposes intended, and required them to deliver in their accounts to the house (*w*). In the eighth year, they proposed, for the regulation of the government and household, thirty important articles, which were all agreed to; and they even obliged all the members of council, all the judges, and all the officers of the household, to swear to the observance of them (*x*). The abridger of the records remarks the unusual liberties taken by the speaker and the house during this period (*y*). But the great authority of the commons was but a temporary advantage, arising from the present situation. In a subsequent parliament, when the speaker made his customary application to the throne for liberty of speech, the king, having now overcome all his domestic difficulties, plainly told him, that he would have no novelties introduced, and would enjoy his prerogatives. But on the whole, the limitations of the government seem to have been more sensibly felt, and more carefully maintained by Henry, than by any of his predecessors.

During this reign, when the house of commons were, at any time, brought to make unwary concessions to the crown, they also shewed their freedom by a speedy retraction of them. Henry, though he entertained a perpetual and well-grounded jealousy of the family of Mortimer, allowed not their name to be once mentioned in parliament; and as none of the rebels had ventured to declare the earl of Marche king, he never attempted to procure, what would not have been refused him, an express declaration against the claim of that nobleman; because he knew that such a declaration, in the present circumstances, would have no authority, and would only serve to revive the memory of Mortimer's title in the minds of the people. He proceeded in his purpose after a more artful and covert manner. He procured a settlement of the crown on himself and his heirs-male (*z*), thereby tacitly excluding the females, and transferring the Salic law into the English government. He thought, that though the house of Plantagenet had at first derived their title from a female, this was a remote event, unknown to the generality of the people; and if he could once accustom them to the practice of excluding women, the title of the earl of Marche would gradually be forgotten, and neglected by them. But he was very unfortunate in this attempt. During the long contests with France, the injustice of the Salic law had been so much exclaimed against by the nation, that a contrary principle had taken deep root in the minds of men; and it was now become impossible to eradicate it. The same house of commons, therefore, in a subsequent session, apprehensive that they had overturned the foundations of the English government, and that they had opened the door to more civil wars than might ensue even from the irregular elevation of the house of Lancaster, applied with such earnestness for a new settlement of the crown, that Henry yielded to their request, and agreed to the succession of the princesses of his family (*a*). A certain proof, that nobody was, in his heart, satisfied with the king's title to the crown, or knew on what principle to rest it.

(*s*) Cotton, p. 429. (*t*) Ibid. p. 364. (*u*) Ibid. p. 406. (*v*) Ibid. p. 426. (*w*) Ibid. p. 438. (*x*) Ibid. p. 456, 457. (*y*) Ibid. p. 462. (*z*) Ibid. p. 454. (*a*) Rymer, vol. viii. p. 402.

But though the commons, during this reign, showed a laudable zeal for liberty in their transactions with the crown; their efforts against the church were still more extraordinary, and seemed to anticipate very much the spirit which became so general in a little more than a century afterwards. I know, says Mr. Hume, that the credit of these passages rests entirely on one ancient historian (*b*); but that historian was contemporary, was a clergyman, and it was contrary to the interests of his order to preserve the memory of such transactions, much more to forge precedents, which posterity might, some time, be tempted to imitate. This is a truth so evident, that the most likely way of accounting for the silence of the records on this head, is by supposing, that the authority of some churchmen was so great as to procure a razure, with regard to these circumstances, which the indiscretion of one of that order has happily preserved to us.

In the sixth of Henry, the commons, who had been required to grant supplies, proposed in plain terms to the king, that he should seize all the temporalities of the church, and employ them as a perpetual fund to serve the exigencies of the state. They insisted, that the clergy possessed a third of the lands of the kingdom; that they contributed nothing to the public burdens; and that their riches tended only to disqualify them from performing their ministerial functions with proper zeal and attention. When this address was presented, the archbishop of Canterbury, who then attended the king, objected that the clergy, though they went not in person to the wars, sent their vassals and tenants in all cases of necessity; while, at the same time, they themselves, who staid at home, were employed night and day in offering up their prayers for the happiness and prosperity of the state. The speaker smiled, and answered, without reserve, that he thought the prayers of the church but a very slender supply. The archbishop, however, prevailed in the dispute: the king discouraged the application of the commons; and the lords rejected the bill which the lower house had framed for stripping the church of her revenues (*c*).

The commons were not discouraged by this repulse: In the eleventh year of the king they returned to the charge with more zeal than before: they made a calculation of all the ecclesiastical revenues, which, by their account, amounted to four hundred and eighty-five thousand marks a-year, and contained eighteen thousand four hundred ploughs of land. They proposed to divide this property among fifteen new earls, fifteen hundred knights, six thousand esquires, and a hundred hospitals; besides twenty thousand pounds a-year, which the king might take for his own use: and they insisted, that the clerical functions would be better performed than at present, by fifteen thousand parish priests, paid at the rate of seven marks a-piece of yearly stipend (*d*). This application was accompanied with an address for mitigating the statutes enacted against the Lollards, which shows from what source the address came. The king gave the commons a severe reply; and farther to satisfy the church, and to prove that he was quite in earnest, he ordered a Lollard to be burned before the dissolution of the parliament (*e*).

We have now related almost all the memorable transactions of this reign, which was busy and active; but produced few events that deserve to be transmitted to posterity. The king was so much employed in defending his crown, which he had obtained by unwarrantable means, and possessed by a bad title, that he had little leisure to look abroad, or perform any action which might redound to the honour or advantage of the nation. His health declined some months before his death; he was subject to fits, which bereaved him, for the time, of his senses; and, though he was yet in the flower of his age, his end was visibly approaching. He was attacked by one of these fits while he was at prayers in St. Edward's Chapel at Westminster, and being carried into one of the abbot's apartments, he there expired, in the forty-sixth year of his age, and the thirteenth of his reign, on the 26th of March, 1413.

The great popularity which Henry enjoyed before he attained the crown, and which had so much aided him in the acquisition of it, was entirely lost many years before the end of his reign; and he governed his people more by terror than by affection, more by his own policy than by their sense of duty or allegiance. When men came to reflect, in cool blood, on the crimes which had led him to the throne; the rebellion against his prince; the deposition of a lawful king, guilty sometimes, perhaps, of oppression, but more frequently of indiscretion; the exclusion of the true heir; the murder of his sovereign and near relation; these were such enormities as drew on him the hatred of his subjects, sanctified all the rebellions against him, and made the executions which he found necessary for the maintenance of his authority, appear cruel as well as iniquitous to the people. Yet, without pretending to apologize for these crimes, which must ever be held in detestation, it may be remarked, that he was insensibly led into this blameable conduct by a train of incidents, which few men possess virtue enough to withstand. The injustice with which his predecessor had treated him, in first condemning him to banishment, then despoiling him of his patrimony, made him think of revenge, and of recovering his lost rights; the headlong zeal of the people hurried him into the throne; the care of his own security, as well as his ambition, made him an usurper; and the steps have always been so few between the prisons of princes and their graves, that we need not wonder that Richard's fate was no exception to the general rule. All these considerations make Henry's situation, if he retained any sense of virtue, much to be lamented; and the inquietude with which he possessed his envied greatness, and the remorses by which, it is said, he was continually haunted, render him an object of our pity, even when seated upon the throne. But it must be owned, that his prudence and vigilance and foresight, in maintaining his power, were admirable: his command of temper remarkable: his courage, both military and political, without blemish; and he possessed many qualities which fitted him for his high station, and which rendered his usurpation of it, though pernicious in after-times, rather salutary, during his own reign, to the English nation.

Henry was twice married: by his first wife, Mary de Bohun, daughter and co-heir of Humphrey de Bohun, earl of Hereford, he had four sons, Henry, his successor in the throne, Thomas duke of Clarence, John duke of Bedford, and Humphrey duke of Gloucester; and two daughters, Blanche and Philippa, the former married to the duke of Bavaria, the latter to the king of Denmark. His second wife, Jane, whom he married after he was king, and who was daughter of the king of Navarre, and widow of the duke of Britanny, brought him no issue.

By an act of the fifth of this reign, it is made felony to cut out any person's tongue, or put out his eyes; crimes which, the act says, were very frequent. This savage spirit of revenge denotes a barbarous people; though, perhaps, it was increased by the prevailing factions and civil commotions.

Commerce was very little understood in this reign, as in all the preceding. In particular, a great jealousy prevailed against *merchant strangers*; and many restraints were, by law, imposed upon them; namely, that they should lay out in English manufactures or commodities all the money acquired by the sale of their goods; that they should not buy or sell with one another, and that all their goods should be disposed of three months after importation (*f*). This last clause was found so inconvenient, that it was soon after repealed by parliament.

It appears that the expence of this king's household amounted to the yearly sum of nineteen thousand five hundred pounds, money of that age (*g*).

Guicciardin tells us, that the Flemings, in this century, learned from Italy all the refinements in arts, which they taught the rest of Europe. The progress, however, of the arts was still very slow and backward in England.

CHAP. II.

HENRY V.

THE many jealousies to which Henry IV.'s situation naturally exposed him, had so infected his temper, that he had entertained unreasonable suspicions with regard to the fidelity of his eldest son; and, during the latter years of his life, he had excluded that prince from all share in public business, and was even displeased to see him at the head of armies, where his martial talents, though useful to the support of government, acquired him

(*b*) Walsingham. (*c*) Walsingham, p. 371. Ypod. Neust. p. 563. (*d*) Walsingham, p. 379. Tit. Livius. (*e*) Rymer, vol. viii. p. 627. Otterbourne, p. 267. (*f*) 4 Hen. IV. cap. 15. and 5 Hen. IV. cap. 9. (*g*) Rymer, tom. viii. p. 640.

a renown,



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a renown, which, he thought, might prove dangerous to his own authority. The active spirit of young Henry, restrained from its proper exercise, broke out into extravagances of every kind; and the riot of pleasure, the frolic of debauchery, the outrage of wine, filled the vacancies of a mind, better adapted to the pursuits of ambition and the cares of government. This course of life threw him among companions, whose disorders, if accompanied with spirit and humour, he indulged and seconded; and he was detected in many sallies, which, to severer eyes, appeared totally unworthy of his rank and station. There even remains a tradition, that, when heated with liquor and jollity, he scrupled not to accompany his riotous associates in attacking the passengers on the streets and highways, and despoiling them of their goods; and he found an amusement in the incidents which the terror and regret of these defenceless people produced on such occasions. This extreme of dissoluteness proved equally disagreeable to his father, as that eager application to business which had at first given him occasion of jealousy; and he saw, in his son's behaviour, the same neglect of decency, the same attachment to low company, which had degraded the personal character of Richard, and which, more than all his errors in government, had tended to overturn his throne. But the nation, in general, considered the young prince with more indulgence; and observed so many gleams of generosity, spirit, and magnanimity, breaking continually through the cloud which a wild conduct threw over his character, that they never ceased hoping for his amendment; and they ascribed all the weeds, which shot up in that rich soil, to the want of proper culture and attention in the king and his ministers. There happened an incident which encouraged these agreeable views, and gave much occasion for favourable reflections to all men of sense and candour. A riotous companion of the prince's had been indicted before Sir William Gascoigne, the chief justice, for some disorders; and Henry was not ashamed to appear at the bar with the criminal, in order to give him countenance and protection. Finding that his presence had not overawed the chief justice, he proceeded to insult that magistrate on his tribunal; but Gascoigne, mindful of the character which he then bore, and the majesty of the sovereign and of the laws, which he sustained, ordered the prince to be carried to prison for his rude behaviour. The spectators were agreeably disappointed when they saw the heir of the crown submit peaceably to this sentence, make reparation for his error by acknowledging it, and check his impetuous nature in the midst of its extravagant career (*h*).

But vivacity of spirit, and brilliancy of genius, frequently led their youthful possessor into irregular courses, which the grave and the precise consider as disgraceful. But when these eccentricities of conduct are unaccompanied with deliberate depravity, they neither merit much severity of censure nor preclude the hopes of reformation. The memory of the incident just mentioned and of many others of a like nature, rendered the prospect of the future reign nowise disagreeable to the nation, and increased the joy which the death of so unpopular a prince as the late king naturally occasioned. The first steps taken by the young prince confirmed all those prepossessions entertained in his favour; for, immediately after his coronation, which was performed at Westminster, on the 9th of April, 1413, he called together his former companions, acquainted them with his fixed determination to reform, exhorted them to imitate his example, but strictly inhibited them, till they had given proofs of their sincerity in this particular, from appearing any more in his presence; and he thus dismissed them with liberal presents. The wise ministers of his father, who had checked his riots, found that they had unknowingly been paying the highest court to him; and were received with all the marks of favour and confidence. The chief justice himself, who trembled to approach the royal presence, met with praises instead of reproaches for his past conduct, and was exhorted to persevere in the same rigorous and impartial execution of the laws. The surprise of those who expected an opposite behaviour, augmented their satisfaction; and the character of the young king appeared brighter than if it had never been shaded by any errors.

But Henry was anxious not only to repair his own misconduct, but also to make amends for those iniquities into which policy or the necessity of affairs had betrayed his father. He expressed the deepest sorrow for the fate of the unhappy Richard, did justice to the memory of that unfortunate prince, even performed his funeral obsequies with pomp and solemnity (*i*), and cherished all those who had distinguished themselves by their loyalty and attachment towards him. Instead of continuing the restraints which the jealousy of his father had imposed on the earl of Marche, he received that young nobleman with singular courtesy and favour; and by this magnanimity, so gained on the gentle and unambitious nature of his competitor, that he remained ever after sincerely attached to him, and gave him no disturbance in his future government. The family of Percy was restored to its fortune and honour. The king seemed ambitious to bury all party-distinctions in oblivion: the instruments of the preceding reign, who had been advanced from their blind zeal for the Lancastrian interests, more than from their merits, gave place every where to men of more honourable characters; and he was himself so intent on the strict dispensation of justice, that he received the petitions of the lowest of his subjects, and suffered no grievances to escape redress: virtue indeed seemed now to have an open career, in which it might exert itself: the exhortations, as well as example, of the prince gave it encouragement: all men were unanimous in their attachment to Henry; and the defects of his title were forgotten amidst the personal regard which was universally paid to him.

There remained among the people only one party distinction, which was derived from religious differences, and which, as it is of a peculiar, and commonly a very obstinate nature, the popularity of Henry was not able to overcome. The Lollards were every day increasing in the kingdom, and were become a formed party, which appeared extremely dangerous to the church, and even formidable to the civil authority. The enthusiasm by which these sectaries were generally actuated, the great alterations which they pretended to introduce, the hatred which they expressed against the established hierarchy, gave an alarm to Henry; who, either from a sincere attachment to the ancient religion, or from a dread of unknown consequences which attend all important changes, was determined to execute the laws against such bold innovators. The head of this sect was sir John Oldcastle, lord Cobham, a nobleman who had distinguished himself by his valour and his military talents, and had, on many occasions, acquired the esteem both of the late and of the present king. His high character and his zeal for the new sect pointed him out to Arundel, archbishop of Canterbury, as the proper victim of ecclesiastical severity; whose punishment would strike a terror into the whole party, and teach them that they must expect no mercy under the present administration. He applied to Henry for a permission to indict lord Cobham; but the generous nature of the prince was averse to such sanguinary methods of conversion. He represented to the primate, that reason and conviction were the best expedients for supporting truth; that all gentle means ought first to be tried in order to reclaim men from error; and that he himself would endeavour, by a conversation with Cobham, to reconcile him to the catholic faith. But he found that nobleman obstinate in his opinions, and determined not to sacrifice truths of such infinite moment to his complaisance for sovereigns. Henry's principles of toleration, or rather his love of the practice, could carry him no farther; and he then gave full reins to ecclesiastical severity against the inflexible heresiarch. The primate indicted Cobham; and, with the assistance of his three suffragans, the bishops of London, Winchester, and St. David's, condemned him to the flames for an incorrigible heretic. Cobham, who was confined in the Tower, made his escape before the day appointed for his execution. The bold spirit of the man, provoked by persecution and stimulated by zeal, was urged to attempt the most criminal enterprizes; and his unlimited authority over the new sect proved that he well merited the attention of the civil magistrate. He formed in his retreat very violent designs against his enemies; and dispatching his emissaries to all quarters, appointed a general rendezvous

(*h*) It is reported, that when the king heard of the behaviour of the prince and the chief justice, he exclaimed, "Happy is the sovereign who has a magistrate endued with such firmness of character as to venture on the punishment of an offender of princely rank, and still more happy in having a son who will quietly submit to the enforcement of the laws on his own person!"

(*i*) He ordered the body of Richard to be conveyed from Langley to Westminster, and deposited with great pomp in a tomb which that prince had erected before his deposition. Henry himself attended the renewal of the obsequies.

of the party, in order to seize the person of the king at Eltham, and put their persecutors to the sword (*k*). Henry, who is said to have been apprized of their intention, removed to Westminster on the 6th of January, 1414: Cobham was not discouraged by this disappointment, but changed the place of rendezvous to the field near St. Giles's: the king, having shut the gates of the city, to prevent any reinforcement to the Lollards from that quarter, came into the field in the night-time, seized such of the conspirators as appeared, and laid hold of the several parties who were hastening to the place appointed. It appeared that a few only were in the secret of the conspiracy: the rest implicitly followed their leaders: but upon the trial of the prisoners, says Hume, the treasonable designs of the sect were rendered certain, both from evidence, and from the confession of the criminals themselves (*l*). Some were executed; the greater number pardoned. Cobham himself, who made his escape by flight, was not brought to justice till four years after, when he was hanged as a traitor; and his body was burnt on the gibbet, in execution of the sentence pronounced against him as a heretic. This criminal design, which was perhaps somewhat aggravated by the clergy, brought discredit upon the party, and checked the progress of that sect, which had embraced the speculative doctrines of Wickliffe, and at the same time aspired to a reformation of ecclesiastical abuses.

These two points were the great objects of the Lollards; but the bulk of the nation was not affected in the same degree by both of them. Common sense and obvious reflection had discovered to the people the advantages of a reformation in discipline; but the age was not yet so far advanced as to be seized with the spirit of controversy, or to enter into those doctrines which the Lollards endeavoured to propagate throughout the kingdom. The very notion of heresy alarmed the generality of the people: innovation in fundamental principles was suspicious: curiosity was not, as yet, a sufficient counterpoize to authority; and even many, who were the greatest friends to the reformation of abuses, were anxious to express their detestation of the speculative tenets of the Wickliffites, which, they feared, threw disgrace on so good a cause. This turn of thought appears evidently in the proceedings of the parliament which was summoned immediately after the detection of Cobham's conspiracy. That assembly on the 30th of April, 1414, passed severe laws against the new heretics: they enacted, that whoever was convicted of Lollardy, before the ordinary, besides suffering capital punishment according to the laws formerly established, should also forfeit his lands and goods to the king; and that the chancellor, treasurer, justices of the two benches, sheriffs, justices of the peace, and all the chief magistrates, in every city and borough, should take an oath to use their utmost endeavours for the extirpation of heresy (*m*). Yet this very parliament, when the king demanded supply, renewed the offer formerly pressed upon his father, and entreated him to seize all the ecclesiastical revenues, and to convert them to the use of the crown (*n*). The clergy were alarmed: they could offer the king no bribe which was equivalent: they only agreed to confer on him all the priories alien, which depended on capital abbies in Normandy, and had been bequeathed to these abbies, when that province remained united to England; and Chicheley, now archbishop of Canterbury, endeavoured to divert the blow, by giving occupation to the king, and by persuading him to undertake a war against France, in order to recover his lost rights to that kingdom.

It was the dying injunction of the late king to his son, not to allow the English to remain long in peace, which was apt to breed intestine commotions; but to employ them in foreign expeditions, by which the prince might acquire honour; the nobility, in sharing his dangers, might attach themselves to his person; and all the restless spirits find occupation for their inquietude. The natural disposition of Henry sufficiently inclined him to follow this advice, and the civil disorders of France, which had been prolonged beyond those of England, opened a full career to his ambition.

The death of Charles V. which followed soon after that of Edward III. and the youth of his son, Charles VI. put the two kingdoms for some time in a similar situation; and it was not to be apprehended, that either of them, during a minority, would be able to make much advantage of the weakness of the other. The jealousies also between Charles's three uncles, the dukes of Anjou, Berri, and Burgundy, had distracted the affairs of France rather more than those between the dukes of Lancaster, York, and Gloucester, Richard's three uncles, disordered those of England; and had carried off the attention of the French nation from any vigorous enterprize against foreign states. But in proportion as Charles advanced in years, the factions were composed; his two uncles, the dukes of Anjou and Burgundy, died; and the king himself, assuming the reins of government, discovered symptoms of genius and spirit, which revived the drooping hopes of his country. This promising state of affairs was not of long duration: the unhappy prince fell suddenly into a fit of frenzy, which rendered him incapable of exercising his authority; and though he recovered from this disorder, he was so subject to relapses, that his judgement was gradually but sensibly impaired, and no steady plan of government could be pursued by him. The administration of affairs was disputed between his brother, Louis duke of Orleans, and his cousin-german, John duke of Burgundy: the propinquity to the crown pleaded in favour of the former: the latter, who, in right of his mother, had inherited the county of Flanders, which he annexed to his father's extensive dominions, derived a lustre from his superior power: the people were divided between these contending princes: and the king, now resuming, now dropping his authority, kept the victory undecided, and prevented any regular settlement of the state by the final prevalence of either party.

At length, the dukes of Orleans and Burgundy, seeming to be moved by the cries of the nation and by the interposition of common friends, agreed to bury all past quarrels in oblivion, and to enter into strict amity: they swore before the altar the sincerity of their friendship; the priest administered the sacrament to both of them; they gave to each other every pledge which could be deemed sacred among men: but all this solemn preparation was only a cover for the basest treachery, which was deliberately premeditated by the duke of Burgundy. He procured his rival to be assassinated in the streets of Paris: he endeavoured for some time to conceal the part which he took in the crime: but being detected, he embraced a resolution still more criminal and more dangerous to society, by openly avowing and justifying it (*o*). The parliament itself of Paris, the tribunal of justice, heard the harangues of the duke's advocate in defence of assassination, which he termed tyrannicide; and that assembly, partly influenced by faction, partly overawed by power, pronounced no sentence of condemnation against this detestable doctrine (*p*). The same question was afterwards agitated before the council of Constance; and it was with difficulty that a feeble decision, in favour of the contrary opinion, was procured from these fathers of the church, the ministers of peace and of religion. But the mischievous effects of that tenet, had they been before anywise doubtful, appeared sufficiently from the present incidents. The commission of this crime, which destroyed all trust and security, rendered the war implacable between the French parties, and cut off every means of peace and accommodation. The princes of the blood, combining with the young duke of Orleans and his brothers, made violent war on the duke of Burgundy; and the unhappy king, seized sometimes by one party, sometimes by the other, transferred alternately to each of them the appearance of legal authority. The provinces were laid waste by mutual depredations: assassinations were every where committed from the animosity of the several leaders; or, what was equally terrible, executions were ordered, without any legal or free trial, by pretended courts of judicature. The whole kingdom was distinguished into two parties, the Burgundians and the Armagnacs; so the adherents of the young duke of Orleans were called, from the count of Armagnac, father in law to that prince. The city of Paris, distracted between them, but inclining more to the Burgundians, was a perpetual scene of blood and violence; the king and royal family were often detained

captives

(*k*) The Lollards, however, maintained that no plot was either entered into or thought of among themselves, but declared that the whole was a fabrication of the Romish clergy.

(*l*) Mr. Hume, however, might have recollected that confessions, suited to the views of examinants, are, in general, easily extorted.

(*m*) 2 Hen. V. chap. 7.

(*n*) Hall, fol. 35.

(*o*) La Laboureur, liv. xxvii. chap. 23, 24.

(*p*) La Laboureur, liv. xxvii. chap. 27. Monstrelet, chap. 39.

captives in the hands of the populace; their faithful ministers were butchered or imprisoned before their face; and it was dangerous for any man, amidst these enraged factions, to be distinguished by a strict adherence to the principles of probity and honour.

During this scene of general violence, there rose into some consideration a body of men, which usually makes no figure in public transactions even during the most peaceful times; and that was the university of Paris, whose opinion was sometimes demanded, and more frequently offered, in the multiplied disputes between the parties. The schism, by which the church was at that time divided, and which occasioned frequent controversies in the university, had raised the professors to an unusual degree of importance; and this connection between literature and superstition had bestowed on the former a weight, to which reason and knowledge are not, of themselves, anywise entitled among men. But there was another society whose sentiments were much more decisive at Paris, the fraternity of butchers, who, under the direction of their ringleaders, had declared for the duke of Burgundy, and committed the most violent outrages against the opposite party. To counterbalance their power, the Armagnacs made interest with the fraternity of carpenters; the populace ranged themselves on one side or the other; and the fate of the capital depended on the prevalence of either party.

The advantage which might be made of these confusions, was easily perceived in England; and according to the maxims which usually prevail among nations, it was determined to lay hold of the favourable opportunity. The late king, who was courted by both the French parties, fomented the quarrel, by alternately sending assistance to each; but the present sovereign, impelled by the vigour of youth and the ardour of ambition, determined to push his advantages to a greater length, and to carry violent war into that distracted kingdom. While he was making preparations, however, for this end, he tried to effect his purpose by negociation; and he sent over ambassadors to Paris, in 1415, offering to improve the truce which subsisted between the two nations, into a perpetual peace and alliance; but demanding Catharine, the French king's daughter in marriage, two millions of crowns as her portion, one million six hundred thousand as the arrears of king John's ransom, and the immediate possession and full sovereignty of Normandy, and of all the other provinces which had been ravished from England by the arms of Philip Augustus; together with the superiority of Britanny and Flanders (*q*). Such exorbitant demands show that he was sensible of the present miserable condition of France; and the terms offered by the French court, though much inferior, discover their consciousness of the same melancholy truth. They were willing to give him the princess in marriage, to pay him eight hundred thousand crowns, to resign the entire sovereignty of Guienne, and to annex to that province the country of Perigord, Rovergue, Xaintonge, the Angoumois, and other territories (*r*). As Henry rejected these conditions, and scarcely hoped that his own demands would be complied with, he never intermitted a moment his preparations for war; and having assembled a great fleet and army at Southampton, having invited all the nobility and military men of the kingdom to attend him by the hopes of glory and of conquest, he came to the sea-side, with a purpose of embarking on his expedition.

But while Henry was meditating conquests upon his neighbours, he unexpectedly found himself in danger from a conspiracy at home, which was happily detected in its infancy. The earl of Cambridge, second son of the late duke of York, having espoused the sister of the earl of Marche, had zealously embraced the interests of that family; and had held some conferences with Henry lord Scrope of Masham, treasurer to the king; and sir Thomas Grey of Heton, in Northumberland; about the means of recovering to that nobleman his right to the crown of England. Their design, as confessed by the earl of Cambridge, was to convey the earl of Marche into Wales, and there proclaim him king, in the hope that the Welsh would flock to his standard and support his cause. The conspirators having acknowledged their guilt to the king (*s*), Henry proceeded without delay to their trial and condemnation. The utmost that could be expected of the best king in those ages, was, that he would so far observe the essentials of justice, as not to make an innocent person a victim to his severity: but as to the formalities of law, which are often as material as the essentials themselves, they were sacrificed without scruple to the least interest or convenience. A jury of commoners was summoned: the three conspirators were indicted before them: the constable of Southampton castle swore that they had separately confessed their guilt to him: without other evidence, sir Thomas Grey was condemned and executed: but as the earl of Cambridge and lord Scrope pleaded the privilege of their peerage, Henry thought proper to summon a court of eighteen barons, in which the duke of Clarence presided: the evidence given before the jury was read to them: the prisoners, though one of them was a prince of the blood, were not examined, nor produced in court, nor heard in their own defence; but received sentence of death upon this proof, which was every way irregular and unsatisfactory; and the sentence was soon after executed. The earl of Marche was accused of having given his approbation to the conspiracy, and received a general pardon from the king (*t*). He was probably either innocent of the crime imputed to him, or had made reparation by his early repentance and discovery (*u*).

The successes which the arms of England have, in different ages, obtained over those of France, have been much owing to the favourable situation of the former kingdom. The English, happily seated in an island, could make advantage of every misfortune which attended their neighbours, and were little exposed to the danger of reprisals. They never left their own country but when they were conducted by a king of extraordinary genius, or found their enemy divided by intestine factions, or were supported by a powerful alliance on the continent; and as all these circumstances concurred at present to favour their enterprize, they had reason to expect from it proportionable success. The duke of Burgundy, expelled France by a combination of the princes, had been secretly soliciting the alliance of England (*v*); and Henry knew that this prince, though he scrupled at first to join the inveterate enemy of his country, would willingly, if he saw any probability of success, both assist him with his Flemish subjects, and draw over to the same side all his numerous partizans in France (*w*). Trusting therefore to this circumstance, but without establishing any concert with the duke, (after having appointed his brother, John duke of Bedford, regent of the kingdom,) he put to sea on the 13th of August, and landed near Harfleur, at the head of an army of six thousand men at arms, and twenty-four thousand foot, mostly archers. He immediately began the siege of that place, which was valiantly defended by d'Estouteville, and under him by de Guitri, de Gaucourt, and others of the French nobility: but as the garrison was weak, and the fortifications in bad repair, the governor was at last obliged to capitulate; and he promised to surrender the place if he received no succour before the 18th of September. The day came, and there was no appearance of a French army to relieve him. Henry, taking possession of the town, placed a garrison in it, and expelled all the French inhabitants, with an intention of peopling it anew with English. The French inhabitants were not allowed to carry their property with them; and

(*q*) Rymer. vol. ix. p. 208.

(*r*) Ibid. p. 211. It is reported by some historians (see Hist. Croyl. Cont. p. 500.) that the Dauphin, in derision of Henry's claims and dissolute character, sent him a box of tennis balls, intimating that these implements of play were better adapted to him than the instruments of war. Henry returned for answer, that he would play such balls against the Parisian battlements, as would spread terror and destruction among the dauphin's countrymen. "This story," says Mr. Hume, "is by no means credible; the great offers made by the court of France show that they had already entertained a just idea of Henry's character, as well as of their own situation." Notwithstanding that gentleman's opinion, we observe that it is communicated by a contemporary writer, and that it is corroborated by a ballad of that age, descriptive of Henry's first campaign against the French, it may perhaps be founded in truth.

(*s*) Rymer, vol. ix. p. 300. T. Livii. p. 8. (*t*) Rymer, vol. ix. p. 303.

(*u*) St. Remi, chap. lv. Goodwin, p. 65.

(*v*) Rymer, vol. ix. p. 137, 138.

(*w*) With respect, however, to the claim which Henry resolved to advance to the French crown, it was palpably ill-founded; for, even on the supposition that the pretensions of Edward III. were just, that prince's right had not descended to Henry, but resided at present in Edmund earl of Marche, the legitimate heir of Edward; and the other alternative, grounded on the invalidity of Edward's title, was more completely destructive of Henry's allegations of right. But the latter affected to consider the claims of the earl of Marche as superseded by that parliamentary vote which had placed the late king on the throne of England; and regarding himself as the heir of his great grandfather Edward, determined on the revival of that monarch's claim.

as their wealth had been acquired principally by piracy, the spoil made some compensation to the English for the fatigues of the siege, which, together with the unusual heat of the season, which brought on a dysentery, had so wasted the English army, that Henry could enter on no farther enterprize; indeed it proved fatal to about two thousand persons, and rendered a much greater number incapable of service; so that he was obliged to think of returning to England. He had dismissed his transports, which could not anchor in an open road upon the enemy's coasts: and he lay under the necessity of marching by land to Calais, before he could reach a place of safety. A numerous French army of fourteen thousand men at arms, and forty thousand foot, was by this time assembled in Normandy under the constable d'Albret; a force which, if prudently conducted, was sufficient either to trample down the English in the open field, or to harrass and reduce to nothing their small army, before they could finish so long and difficult a march. Henry, therefore, cautiously offered to sacrifice his conquest of Harfleur for a safe passage to Calais; but his proposal being rejected, he determined to make his way by valour and conduct through all the opposition of the enemy (*x*). That he might not discourage his army by the appearance of flight, or expose them to those hazards which naturally attend precipitate marches, he made slow and deliberate journies (*y*), till he reached the Somme, which he purposed to pass at the ford of Blanchetague, the same place where Edward III. in a like situation, had before escaped from Philip de Valois. But he found the ford rendered impassable by the precaution of the French general, and guarded by a strong body on the opposite bank (*z*); and he was obliged to march higher up the river, in order to seek for a safe passage. He was continually harassed on his march by flying parties of the enemy; saw bodies of troops on the other side ready to oppose every attempt; his provisions were cut off; his soldiers languished with sickness and fatigue; and his affairs seemed to be reduced to a desperate situation: when he was so dexterous or so fortunate as to arrive at a spot between Corbie and Peronne, on the Somme, where, unmolested by the French, his whole army passed over that river (*a*) on the 19th of October.

Henry then bent his march northwards to Calais; but was still exposed to great and imminent danger from the enemy, who had also passed the Somme, and threw themselves in his way, with a purpose of intercepting his retreat. After he had passed the small river of Ternois at Blangi, he was surprized to observe from the heights the whole French army drawn up in the plains of Azincour, and so posted, that it was impossible for him to proceed on his march without coming to an engagement. This was on the 25th of October. Nothing in appearance could be more unequal than the battle, upon which his safety and all his fortunes now depended. The English army was little more than half the number which had disembarked at Harfleur; and they laboured under every discouragement and necessity. The enemy was four times more numerous; was headed by the dauphin and all the princes of the blood; and was plentifully supplied with provisions of every kind. Henry's situation was exactly similar to that of Edward at Cressy, and that of the Black Prince at Poictiers; and the memory of these great events, inspiring the English with courage, made them hope for a like deliverance from their present difficulties. The king likewise observed the same prudent conduct which had been followed by these great commanders: he drew up his army on a narrow ground between two woods, which guarded each flank; and patiently expected in that posture the attack of the enemy (*b*).

Had the French constable been able, either to reason justly upon the present circumstances of the two armies, or to profit by past experience, he had declined a combat, and had waited till necessity, obliging the English to advance, had made them relinquish the advantages of their situation. But the impetuous valour of the nobility, and a vain confidence in superior numbers, brought on this fatal action, which proved the source of infinite calamities to their country. The French archers on horseback, and their men at arms, crowded in their ranks, advanced upon the English archers, who had fixed pallisadoes in their front to break the impression of the enemy, and who safely plyed them, from behind that defence, with a shower of arrows, which nothing could resist (*c*). The clay soil, moistened by some rain which had lately fallen, proved another obstacle to the force of the French cavalry: the wounded men and horses discomposed their ranks: the narrow compass in which they were pent, hindered them from recovering any order: the whole army was a scene of confusion, terror, and dismay: and Henry, perceiving his advantage, ordered the English archers, who were light and unincumbered, to advance upon the enemy, and seize the moment of victory. They fell with their battle-axes upon the French, who, in their present posture, were incapable of flying or of making defence: they hewed them in pieces without resistance (*d*); and being seconded by the men at arms, who also pushed on against the enemy, they covered the field with the killed, wounded, dismounted, and overthrown. After all appearance of opposition was over, the English had leisure to make prisoners, and having advanced with uninterrupted success to the open plain, they there saw the remains of the French rear guard, which still maintained the appearance of a line of battle. At the same time, they heard an alarm from behind: some gentlemen of Picardy, having collected about six hundred peasants, had fallen upon the English baggage, and were doing execution on the unarmed followers of the camp, who fled before them. Henry, seeing the enemy on all sides of him, began to entertain apprehensions from his prisoners: and he thought it necessary to issue general orders for putting them to death: but on discovering the truth, he stopped the slaughter, and was still able to save a great number.

No battle was ever more fatal to France, by the number of princes and nobility slain or taken prisoners. Among the former were the constable himself, the count of Nevers and the duke of Brabant, brothers to the duke of Burgundy, the count of Vaudemont, brother to the duke of Lorraine, the duke of Alençon, the duke of Barre, the count of Marle. The most eminent prisoners were the dukes of Orleans and Bourbon, the counts d'Eu, Vendôme, and Richemont, and the mareschal of Boucicaut. An archbishop of Sens also was slain in this battle. The killed are computed on the whole to have amounted to ten thousand men; and as the slaughter fell chiefly upon the cavalry, it is pretended, that of these eight thousand were gentlemen. Henry was master of fourteen thousand prisoners. The person of chief note, who fell among the English, was the duke of York, who perished fighting by the king's side, and had an end more honourable than his

(*x*) De Laboureur, liv. 35. chap. 6. (*y*) T. Livii, p. 12.
(*z*) St. Remi, chap. 58.
(*a*) Although the acquisition of Harfleur was an object of importance to Henry, yet the great loss he sustained before the place rendered it a dear bought conquest. This loss proceeded not so much from the fatigues of the siege, as from the epidemic disorder which prevailed among his army, as abovementioned, and which reduced it to about fifteen thousand men. In this dilemma he was obliged to think of returning to England; but the mode of accomplishing this, in a manner that could satisfy his own feelings, appearing a matter of difficulty, he summoned a council to deliberate on the subject. The duke of Clarence, Henry's eldest brother, gave his opinion in favour of an immediate embarkation at Harfleur; but Henry rashly refused to adopt it, though it seemed to be the only measure which prudence could justify in his present situation, notwithstanding it might wear the appearance of an ignominious flight; and he declared, that he would rather make his way by land to Calais. The latter mode was accordingly adopted, and every thing prepared for this impolitic and dangerous expedition. In order to rescue Henry from the charge of imprudence in this particular, Mr. Hume has inconsiderately asserted, that, having dismissed his transports, he lay under a necessity of marching to Calais, before he could reach a place of safety. This assertion, however, carries a palpable absurdity on the face of it; for, admitting that the transports had actually departed, it certainly would have been more adviseable, in point of expedition, to send over to England for transports, the distance by sea not exceeding thirty leagues, and wait their arrival, than to have attempted a passage through a tract of country nearly two hundred miles in extent, unprovided with guides, unsupplied with provisions, and pursued and harassed by an army which most historians make amount to nearly ten times the number of his own, (but even that statement appears to have been exaggerated.) No one will surely contend, that there was not a vessel in the port to send over to England; because, subsequent to the adoption of Henry's proposal, the duke of Clarence, with the earl of Marche, and many other noblemen, who had suffered from the disorder which had proved so fatal to the English troops, embarked at Harfleur for England, whither they went for the recovery of their health. Nor will it scarcely be asserted, that Harfleur could be deemed a place of safety, since, with an inferior army, it had sustained a long and vigorous siege; and, after its capture, Henry had been careful to repair all the damages which the fortifications had sustained by the different attacks. This perilous enterprize, therefore, was not the result of necessity, but the consequence of enthusiastic ambition and obstinate temerity.
(*b*) St. Remi, chap. 62.
(*c*) Walsingham, p. 392. T. Livii, p. 19. Le Laboureur, liv. 35. chap. 37. Monstrelet, chap. 147.
(*d*) Walsingham, p. 393. Ypod. Neust. p. 584.

life.


THE
BATTLE
OF
AGINCOURT

life. He was succeeded in his honours and fortune by his nephew, son of the earl of Cambridge, executed in the beginning of the year. All the English who were slain exceeded not forty; though some writers, with greater probability, make the number more considerable.

The three great battles of Cressy, Poictiers, and Azincour, bear a singular resemblance to each other in their most considerable circumstances. In all of them, there appears the same temerity in the English princes, who without any object of moment, merely for the sake of plunder, had ventured so far into the enemies' country as to leave themselves no retreat; and unless saved by the utmost imprudence in the French commanders, were, from their very situation, exposed to inevitable destruction. But allowance being made for this temerity, which, according to the irregular plans of war followed in those ages, seems to have been, in some measure, unavoidable; there appears, in the day of action, the same presence of mind, dexterity, courage, firmness, and precaution, on the part of the English: the same precipitation, confusion, and vain confidence, on the part of the French; and the events were such as might have been expected from such opposite conduct. The immediate consequences too of these three great victories were similar: instead of pushing the French with vigour, and taking advantage of their consternation, the English princes, after their victory, seem rather to have relaxed their efforts, and to have allowed the enemy leisure to recover from his losses. Henry interrupted not his march a moment after the battle of Azincour; he carried his prisoners to Calais, thence to England; he even concluded a truce with the enemy; and it was not till after an interval of two years that any body of English troops appeared in France.

The poverty of all the European princes, and the small resources of their kingdoms, were the cause of these continual interruptions in their hostilities; and though the maxims of war were in general destructive, their military operations were mere incursions, which, without any settled plan, they carried on against each other. The lustre, however, attending the victory of Azincour, procured some supplies from the English parliament, though still unequal to the expences of a campaign. They granted Henry an entire fifteenth of moveables; and they conferred on him, *for life*, the duties of tonnage and poundage, and the subsidies on the exportation of wool and leather. This concession is more considerable than that which had been granted to Richard II. by his last parliament, and which was afterwards, on his deposition, made so great an article of charge against him.

But during this interruption of hostilities from England, France was exposed to all the furies of civil war; and the several parties became every day more enraged against each other. The duke of Burgundy, confident that the French ministers and generals were entirely discredited by the misfortune at Azincour, advanced with a great army to Paris, and attempted to re-instate himself in possession of the government, as well as of the person of the king. But his partizans in that city were overawed by the court, and kept in subjection: the duke despaired of success; and he retired with his forces, which he immediately disbanded in the Low-Countries (*e*). He was soon after invited to make a new attempt, by some violent quarrels which broke out in the royal family. The queen Isabella, daughter of the duke of Bavaria, who had been hitherto an inveterate enemy to the Burgundian faction, had received a great injury from the other party, which the implacable spirit of that princess was never able to forgive. The public necessities obliged the count of Armagnac, created constable of France in the place of d'Albret, to seize the great treasures which Isabella had amassed: and when she expressed her displeasure at this injury, he inspired into the weak mind of the king some jealousies concerning her conduct, and pushed him to seize and put to the torture, and afterwards throw into the Seine, Boisbourdon, her favourite, whom he accused of a commerce of gallantry with that princess. The queen herself was sent to Tours, and confined under a guard (*f*); and, after suffering these multiplied insults, she no longer scrupled to enter into a correspondence with the duke of Burgundy. As her son, the dauphin Charles, a youth of sixteen, was entirely governed by the faction of Armagnac, she extended her animosity to him, and sought his destruction with the most unrelenting hatred. She had soon an opportunity of rendering her unnatural purpose effectual. The duke of Burgundy, in concert with her, entered France at the head of a great army: he made himself master of Amiens, Abbeville, Dourlens, Montreüil, and other towns in Picardy; Senlis, Rheims, Chalons, Troye, and Auxerre, declared themselves of his party (*g*). He got possession of Beaumont, Pontoise, Vernon, Meulant, Montlheri, towns in the neighbourhood of Paris; and carrying farther his progress towards the west, he seized Etampes, Chartres, and other fortresses; and was at last able to deliver the queen, who fled to Troye, and openly declared against those ministers who, she said, detained her husband in captivity (*h*).

Meanwhile the partizans of Burgundy raised a commotion in Paris, which always inclined to that faction. Lile-Adam one of the duke's captains, was received into the city in the night-time, and headed the insurrection of the people, which in a moment became so impetuous that nothing could oppose it. The person of the king was seized: the dauphin made his escape with difficulty: great numbers of the faction of Armagnac were immediately butchered: the count himself, and many persons of note, were thrown into prison: murders were daily committed from private animosity, under pretence of faction: and the populace, not satiated with their fury, and deeming the course of public justice too dilatory, broke into the prisons, and put to death the count of Armagnac, and all the other nobility who were there confined (*i*). In the first three days, besides the count D'Armagnac himself, the chancellor of the kingdom, and six prelates, three thousand five hundred persons were inhumanly murdered. Amidst this scene of desolation, the queen and duke made a triumphal entry into the metropolis; and, not yet satiated with the torrents of blood they had caused to flow, ordered a renewal of the massacre, when about fourteen thousand persons, of which five thousand were women, were sacrificed to their infernal rage.

While France was in such a melancholy state, and so ill prepared to resist a foreign enemy, Henry the Fifth having collected some treasure, and levied an army, landed in Normandy at the head of twenty-five thousand men on the 1st of August, 1717; and met with no considerable opposition from any quarter. He made himself master of Falaise; Evreux and Caen submitted to him; Pont de l'Arche opened its gates; and Henry, having subdued all the lower Normandy, and having received a reinforcement of fifteen thousand men from England (*k*), formed the siege of Roüen, which was defended by a garrison of four thousand men, seconded by the inhabitants, to the number of fifteen thousand (*l*). The cardinal des Ursins here attempted to incline him towards peace, and to moderate his pretensions; but the king replied to him in such terms, as shewed he was fully sensible of all his present advantages: "Do you not see," said he, "that God has led me hither as by the hand? France has no sovereign: I have just pretensions to that kingdom: every thing is here in the utmost confusion: no one thinks of resisting me. Can I have a more sensible proof, that the Being who disposes of empires, has determined to put the crown of France upon my head? (*m*)"

But though Henry had opened his mind to this scheme of ambition, he still continued to negociate with his enemies, and endeavoured to obtain more secure, though less considerable advantages. He made, at the same time, offers of peace to both parties; to the queen and duke of Burgundy on the one hand, who, having possession of the king's person, carried the appearance of legal authority; and to the dauphin on the other, who, being the undoubted heir of the monarchy, was adhered to by every one that payed any regard to the true interests of their country. These two parties also carried on a continual negociation with each other. The terms proposed on all sides were perpetually varying: the events of the war, and the intrigues of the cabinet, intermingled with each other; and the fate of France remained long in this state of uncertainty. After many negociations, Henry offered the queen and the duke of Burgundy to make peace with them, to espouse the princess Catharine, and to accept of all the provinces ceded to Edward III. by the treaty of Bretigni, with the addition of Normandy, which he was to

(*e*) La Laboureur, liv. 35. chap. 10.
(*f*) St. Remi, chap. 74. Monstrelet, chap. 167.
(*g*) St. Remi, chap. 79. (*h*) Ibid. chap. 81. Monstrelet, chap. 178, 179. (*i*) St. Remi, chap. 85, 86. Monstrelet, chap. 118.
(*k*) Walsingham, p. 400. (*l*) St. Remi, chap. 91.
(*m*) Juvenal des Ursins.

receive

receive in full and entire sovereignty. These terms were submitted to in the beginning of 1419. There remained only some circumstances to adjust, in order to the entire completion of the treaty; but in this interval the duke of Burgundy secretly finished his treaty with the dauphin; and these two princes agreed to share the royal authority during king Charles's life-time, and to unite their arms in order to expel the foreign enemies.

This alliance, which seemed to cut off from Henry all hopes of farther success, proved, in the issue, the most favourable event that could have happened for his pretensions. Whether the dauphin and the duke of Burgundy were ever sincere in their mutual engagements, is uncertain; but very fatal effects resulted from their momentary and seeming union. The two princes agreed to an interview, in order to concert the means of rendering effectual their common attack on the English; but how both or either of them could with safety venture upon this conference, it seemed somewhat difficult to contrive. The assassination perpetrated by the duke of Burgundy, and still more, his open avowal of the deed, and defence of the doctrine, tended to dissolve all the bands of civil society; and even men of honour, who detested the example, might deem it just, on a favourable opportunity, to retaliate upon the author. The duke, therefore, who neither dared to give, nor could pretend to expect, any trust, agreed to all the contrivances for mutual security which were proposed by the ministers of the dauphin. The two princes came to Montereau: the duke lodged in the castle: the dauphin in the town, which was divided from the castle by the river Yonne: the bridge between them was chosen for the place of interview: two high rails were drawn across the bridge: the gates on each side were guarded, one by the officers of the dauphin, the other by those of the duke: the princes were to enter into the intermediate space by the opposite gates, accompanied each by ten persons; and, with all these marks of diffidence, to conciliate their mutual friendship. But it appeared that no precautions are sufficient where laws have no place, and where all principles of honour are utterly abandoned. Tannegui de Chatel, and others of the dauphin's retainers, had been zealous partizans of the late duke of Orleans; and they determined to seize the opportunity of revenging on the assassin the murder of that prince: they no sooner entered the rails, than they drew their swords and attacked the duke of Burgundy: his friends were astonished, and thought not of making any defence; and all of them either shared his fate, or were taken prisoners by the retinue of the dauphin (*n*).

The extreme youth of this prince made it doubtful whether he had been admitted into the secret of the conspiracy; but as the deed was committed under his eye, by his most intimate friends, who still retained their connections with him, the blame of the action, which was certainly imprudent, fell entirely upon him. The whole state of affairs was every where changed by this unexpected incident. The city of Paris, passionately devoted to the family of Burgundy, broke out into the highest fury against the dauphin. The court of king Charles entered from interest into the same views; and as all the ministers of that monarch had owed their preferment to the late duke, and foresaw their downfall if the dauphin should recover possession of his father's person, they were concerned to prevent, by any means, the success of his enterprize. The queen, persevering in her unnatural animosity against her son, encreased the general flame, and inspired into the king, as far as he was susceptible of any sentiment, the same prejudices by which she herself had long been actuated. But above all, Philip count of Charolois, now duke of Burgundy, thought himself bound, by every tie of honour and of duty, to revenge the murder of his father, and to prosecute the assassin to the utmost extremity. And in this general transport of rage, every consideration of national and family interest was buried in oblivion by all parties: the subjection to a foreign enemy, the expulsion of the lawful heir, the slavery of the kingdom, appeared but small evils if they led to the gratification of the present passion.

The king of England had, before the death of the duke of Burgundy, profited extremely by the distractions of France, and was daily making a considerable progress in Normandy. He had taken Roüen after an obstinate siege (*o*): he had made himself master of Pontoise and Gisors: he even threatened Paris, and by the terror of his arms had obliged the court to remove to Troye; and in the midst of his successes, he was agreeably surprised to find his enemies, instead of combining against him for their mutual defence, disposed to rush into his arms, and to make him the instrument of their vengeance upon each other. A league was immediately concluded at Arras between him and the duke of Burgundy. This prince, without stipulating any thing for himself, except the prosecution of his father's murder, and the marriage of the duke of Bedford with his sister, was willing to sacrifice the kingdom to Henry's ambition; and he agreed to every demand made by that monarch. In order to finish this astonishing treaty, which was to transfer the crown of France to a stranger, Henry went to Troye, in 1420, accompanied by his brothers, the dukes of Clarence and Gloucester; and was there met by the duke of Burgundy. The imbecility into which Charles had fallen, made him incapable of seeing any thing but through the eyes of those who attended him; as they, on their part, saw every thing through the medium of their passions. The treaty, being already concerted among the parties, was immediately drawn, and signed, and ratified: Henry's will seemed to be a law throughout the whole negociation: nothing was attended to but his advantages.

The principal articles of the treaty were, that Henry should espouse the princess Catharine: that king Charles, during his lifetime, should enjoy the title and dignity of king of France: that Henry should be declared and acknowledged heir of the monarchy, and be entrusted with the present administration of the government: that that kingdom should pass to his heirs general: that France and England should for ever be united under one king; but should still retain their several usages, customs, and privileges: that all the princes, peers, vassals, and communities of France should swear, that they would both adhere to the future succession of Henry, and pay him present obedience as regent: that this prince should unite his arms to those of king Charles and the duke of Burgundy, in order to subdue the adherents of Charles, the pretended dauphin: and that these three princes should make no peace or truce with him but by common consent and agreement (*p*).

Such was the tenour of this celebrated treaty; a treaty which, as nothing but the most violent animosity could dictate it, so nothing but the power of the sword could carry into execution. It is hard to say whether its consequences, had it taken effect, would have proved more pernicious to England or to France. It must have reduced the former kingdom to the rank of a province: it would have entirely disjointed the succession of the latter, and have brought on the destruction of every descendant of the royal family; as the houses of Orleans, Anjou, Alençon, Britanny, Bourbon, and of Burgundy itself, whose titles were preferable to that of the English princes, would, on that account, have been exposed to perpetual jealousy and persecution from the sovereign. There was even a palpable deficiency in Henry's claim, which no art could palliate. For, besides the insuperable objections to which Edward IIId's pretensions were exposed, *he* was not heir to that monarch (*q*).

Though all the considerations relative to Henry's title were overlooked, amidst the hurry of passion by which the courts of France and Burgundy were actuated, they would necessarily revive during times of more tranquillity; and it behoved Henry to push his present advantages, and allow men no leisure for reason or reflection. In a few days after, May 30, 1420, he espoused the princess Catharine: and being willing to subdue the Armagnacs while they were odious to the people, on the third day after his marriage he marched to Sens, which in a few days opened its gates. With the same facility he made himself master of Montereau. The defence of Melun was more obstinate: Barbasan, the governor, held out for the space of four months against the besiegers; and it was famine alone which obliged him to capitulate, on the 18th of November. Henry stipulated to spare the lives of all the garrison, except such as were accomplices in the murder of the duke of Burgundy; and as Barbasan himself was suspected to be of the number, his punishment was demanded by Philip: but the king had the generosity to intercede for him, and to prevent his execution (*r*).

When Henry had obtained possession of Melun, he di-

(*n*) St. Remi, chap. 97. Monstrelet, chap. 211.
(*o*) T. Livii, p. 69. Monstrelet, chap. 201.

(*p*) Rymer, vol. ix. p. 895. St. Remi, chap. 101. Monstrelet, chap. 223. (*q*) See above, p. 205, *note*. (*r*) Holingshed, p. 577.

rected

rected his march to Paris; where his authority, as regent and heir to the throne, had been chearfully acknowledged. He was accompanied by the king and queen of France, the duke of Burgundy, and many persons of the first rank. The two monarchs, made their public entry into the metropolis on the first Sunday in Advent, and the two queens on the following day; when they were received by the citizens with every possible demonstration of joy. On the tenth of December, an assembly of the three estates of the kingdom was held, with great solemnity, in the grand hall of the palace of St. Paul; in which the treaty of Troyes, vainly denominated "The final and perpetual Peace," was publicly ratified, and declared to be a standing and irrevocable law of the realm; and an act was passed, requiring all the subjects, of the kingdom to take the oaths stipulated by that treaty.

The necessity of providing supplies, both of men and money, obliged Henry to go over to England; and he left the duke of Exeter, his uncle, governor of Paris during his absence. The authority which naturally attends success, procured from the English parliament a subsidy of a fifteenth; but, if we may judge by the scantiness of the supply, the nation was nowise sanguine on their king's victories; and in proportion as the prospect of their union with France became nearer, they began to open their eyes, and to see the dangerous consequences with which that event must necessarily be attended. It was fortunate for Henry, that he had other resources besides pecuniary supplies from his native subjects. The provinces which he had already conquered maintained his troops; and the hopes of farther advantages allured to his standard all men of ambitious spirits in England, who desired to signalize themselves by arms. He levied a new army of twenty-four thousand archers and four thousand horsemen, and marched them to Dover, the place of rendezvous. Every thing had remained in tranquillity at Paris under the duke of Exeter; but there had happened, in another quarter of the kingdom, a misfortune which hastened the king's embarkation.

The detention of the young king of Scots in England had hitherto proved advantageous to Henry; and, by keeping the regent in awe, had preserved, during the whole course of the French war, the northern frontier in tranquillity. But when intelligence arrived in Scotland of the progress made by Henry, and the near prospect of his succession to the crown of France, the nation was alarmed, and foresaw their own inevitable ruin, if the subjection of their ally left them to combat alone a victorious enemy, who was already so much superior in power and riches. The regent entered into the same views; and though he declined an open rupture with England, he permitted a body of seven thousand Scots, under the command of the earl of Buchan, his second son, to be transported into France for the service of the dauphin. To render this aid ineffectual, Henry had, in his former expedition, carried over the king of Scots, whom he obliged to send orders to his countrymen to leave the French service; but the Scottish general replied, that he would obey no commands which came from a king in captivity, and that a prince, while in the hands of his enemy, was not entitled to authority. These troops, therefore, continued still to act under the earl of Buchan; and were employed by the dauphin to oppose the progress of the duke of Clarence in Anjou. The two armies encountered at Baugé: the English were defeated: the duke himself was slain by Sir Allan Swinton, a Scotch knight, who commanded a company of men at arms; and the earls of Somerset, Dorset, and Huntingdon, were taken prisoners. This was the first action that turned the tide of success against the English; and the dauphin, that he might both attach the Scotch to his service, and reward the valour and conduct of the earl of Buchan, honoured that nobleman with the office of constable.

But the arrival of the king of England with so considerable an army, was more than sufficient to repair this loss. Henry was received at Paris with great expressions of joy; so obstinate were the prejudices of the people; and he immediately conducted his army to Chartres, which had long been besieged by the dauphin. That prince raised the siege on the approach of the English; and being resolved to decline a battle, he retired with his army. Henry made himself master of Dreux without a blow, on the 20th of August: he laid siege to Meaux at the solicitation of the Parisians, who were greatly incommoded by the garrison of that place. The siege was commenced on the 6th of October, and employed the English arms during the space of eight months: the bastard of Vaurus, governor of Meaux, distinguished himself by an obstinate defence; but was at last obliged to surrender at discretion. The cruelty of this officer was equal to his bravery: he was accustomed to hang, without distinction, all the English and Burgundians who fell into his hands, on a particular tree, called the oak of Vaurus; and Henry, in revenge of his barbarity, ordered him immediately to be hanged on the same tree which he had made the instrument of his inhuman executions (*s*).

This success was followed by the surrender of many other places in the neighbourhood of Paris, which held out for the dauphin: that prince was chased beyond the Loire, and he almost totally abandoned all the northern provinces: he was even pursued into the south by the united arms of the English and Burgundians, and threatened with total destruction. Notwithstanding the bravery and fidelity of his captains, he saw himself unequal to his enemies in the field; and found it necessary to temporize, and to avoid all hazardous actions with a rival, who had gained so much the ascendant over him.

While the king was engaged in these enterprizes he received the pleasing intelligence that his queen was delivered of a son at Windsor, on the 6th of December, 1421. The young prince, who was baptized soon after his birth by the name of Henry, appears to have been universally regarded by the English and French as heir to both monarchies. The queen on her recovery, returned to France, and joined the king in his camp before Meaux; and after the reduction of that place they both repaired to Paris, where they celebrated the festival of Whitsuntide, at the palace of the Louvre, with great magnificence.

The dauphin with the auxiliaries he had received from Scotland and Castile, had by this time collected an army of twenty thousand men, the chief command of which was given to the earl of Buchan, as constable of France. With these troops he obtained possession of La Charité; opened the passage of the Loire; and then formed the siege of Cosne, a town on that river, the garrison of which agreed to surrender, if not relieved by the duke of Burgundy before the 18th of August. The duke apprized of their situation, determined to march to their relief; and sent a message to the king to request a reinforcement. Henry replied, that he would attend him in person, that he might share in the glory of terminating the war by one decisive engagement. With this view he left Paris; but, on his arrival at Senlis, he was seized with a fistula, a malady which the surgeons of that age had not skill enough to cure. He was then put in a litter, and conveyed from Senlis; but the pain increasing, and most dangerous symptoms appearing, he found himself unable to proceed, and therefore resigned the command of his army to his brother, the duke of Bedford, (who had accompanied the queen to France,) and returned by water to Bois de Vincennes.

When the English and Burgundians approached the army of the dauphin, that prince immediately raised the siege of Cosne, not daring to risk a battle, the loss of which must have proved fatal to his interest. The duke of Bedford therefore hastened back to the king, whom he found at the last extremity. He now sent for the earl of Warwick, and some other noblemen, whom he had honoured with his friendship; and he delivered to them, in great tranquillity, his last will with regard to the government of his kingdom and family. He earnestly entreated them to continue, towards his infant son, the same fidelity and attachment which they had always professed to himself during his life-time, and which had been cemented by so many mutual good offices. He expressed his indifference on the approach of death; and though he regretted that he must leave unfinished a work so happily begun, he declared himself confident, that the final acquisition of France would be the effect of their prudence and valour. He left the regency of that kingdom to his elder brother the duke of Bedford; that of England to his younger, the duke of Gloucester; and the care of his son's person to the earl of Warwick. He recommended to all of them a great attention to maintain the friendship of the duke of Burgundy; and advised them never to give liberty to the duke of Orleans and the other French princes taken at Azincour, till his son were of age, and could himself hold the reins of government. He recommended his queen to their care and protection; and conjured them, if the success of their arms should not enable them to place young Henry on the throne of France, never, at least, to make peace with that kingdom, unless the enemy, by the cession of Normandy, and its annexation to the crown of England,

(*s*) Rymer, vol. x. p. 212. T. Livii, p. 92, 93. St. Remi, chap. 116. Monstrelet, chap. 260.

land, made compensation for all the hazard and expence of his enterprize (*t*).

He next applied himself to his devotions, and ordered his chaplain to recite the seven penitential psalms. When that passage of the fifty-first psalm was read, "Build thou the walls of Jerusalem;" he interrupted the chaplain, and declared his serious intention, after he should have fully subdued France, to conduct a crusade against the infidels, and recover possession of the Holy Land (*u*). So ingenious are men in deceiving themselves, that Henry forgot, in those moments, all the blood spilt by his ambition; and received comfort from this late and feeble resolve, which, as the mode of these enterprizes was now past, he certainly would never have carried into execution. He expired on the 31st of August, 1422, in the thirty-fourth year of his age, and the tenth of his reign (*v*).

This prince possessed many eminent virtues; and if we give indulgence to ambition in a monarch, or rank it, as the vulgar are inclined to do, among his virtues, they were unstained by any considerable blemish. His abilities appeared equally in the cabinet and in the field: the boldness of his enterprizes was no less remarkable than his personal valour in conducting them. He had the talent of attaching his friends by affability, and of gaining his enemies by address and clemency. The English, dazzled by the lustre of his character, still more than by that of his victories, were reconciled to the defects in his title: the French almost forgot that he was an enemy; and his care in maintaining justice in his civil administration, and preserving discipline in his armies, made some amends to both nations for the calamities inseparable from those wars in which his short reign was almost entirely occupied. That he could forgive the earl of Marche, who had a better title to the crown than himself, is a sure indication of his magnanimity; and that the earl relied so entirely on his friendship, is no less a proof of his established character for candour and sincerity. There remain in history few instances of such mutual trust; and still fewer where neither party found reason to repent it.

The exterior figure of this great prince, as well as his deportment, was engaging. His stature was somewhat above the middle size; his countenance beautiful; his limbs genteel and slender, but full of vigour; and he excelled in all warlike and manly exercises (*w*). He left, by his queen, Catherine of France, only one son, not full nine months old; whose misfortunes, in the course of his life, surpassed all the glories and successes of his father.

In less than two months after Henry's death, Charles VI. of France, his father-in-law, terminated his unhappy life. He had, for several years, possessed only the appearance of royal authority: yet was this mere appearance of considerable advantage to the English; and divided the duty and affections of the French between them and the dauphin. This prince was proclaimed and crowned king of France at Poictiers, by the name of Charles VII. Rheims, the place where this ceremony is usually performed, was at that time in the hands of his enemies.

Catherine of France, Henry's widow, married, soon after his death, a Welsh gentleman, Sir Owen Tudor, said to be descended from the ancient princes of that country: she bore him two sons, Edmund and Jasper, of whom the eldest was created earl of Richmond; the second earl of Pembroke. The family of Tudor, first raised to distinction by this alliance, mounted afterwards the throne of England.

The first commission of array which we meet with, was issued in this reign (*x*). The military part of the feudal system, which was the most essential circumstance of it, was entirely dissolved; and could no longer serve for the defence of the kingdom. Henry, therefore, when he went to France in 1415, impowered certain commissioners to take, in each county, a review of all the freemen able to bear arms, to divide them into companies, and to keep them in readiness for resisting an enemy. This was the æra when the feudal militia in England gave place to one which was perhaps still less orderly and regular.

We have an authentic and exact account of the ordinary revenue of the crown during this reign; and it amounts only to fifty-five thousand seven hundred and fourteen pounds ten shillings and ten pence a year (*y*). This is nearly the same with the revenue of Henry III. and the kings of England had neither become much richer nor poorer in the course of so many years. The ordinary expence of the government amounted to forty-two thousand five hundred and seven pounds sixteen shillings and ten pence: so that the king had a surplus only of thirteen thousand two hundred and six pounds fourteen shillings for the support of his household; for his wardrobe; for the expence of embassies, and other articles. This sum was nowise sufficient: he was therefore obliged to have frequent recourse to parliamentary supplies, and was thus, even in time of peace, not altogether independent of his people. But wars were attended with a great expence, which neither the prince's ordinary revenue, nor the extraordinary supplies, were able to bear; and the sovereign was always reduced to many miserable shifts, in order to make any tolerable figure in them. He commonly borrowed money from all quarters; he pawned his jewels, and sometimes the crown itself (*z*); he ran in arrears to his army; and he was often obliged, notwithstanding all these expedients, to stop in the midst of his career of victory, and to grant truces to the enemy. Nor will this be wondered at, when the high pay which was given to soldiers, which agreed very ill with this low income, is taken into consideration. All the extraordinary supplies granted by parliament to Henry during the course of his reign were only seven tenths and fifteenths, about two hundred and three thousand pounds (*a*). It is easy to compute how soon this money must be exhausted by armies of twenty-four thousand archers, and six thousand horse; when each archer had six-pence a day (*b*), and each horseman two shillings. The most splendid successes proved commonly fruitless, when supported by so poor a revenue; and the debts and difficulties which the king thereby incurred made him pay dear for his victories. The civil administration likewise, even in time of peace, could never be very regular, where the government was so ill enabled to support itself. Henry, till within a year of his death, owed debts which he had contracted when prince of Wales (*c*). It was in vain that the parliament pretended to restrain him from arbitrary exertions of his prerogative, when he was reduced to such necessities. Though the right of levying purveyance, for instance, had been expressly guarded against by the Great Charter itself, and was frequently complained of by the commons, it was found absolutely impracticable to abolish it; and the parliament at length, submitting to it as a legal prerogative, contented themselves with enacting laws to limit and confine it. The duke of Gloucester, in the reign of Richard II. possessed a revenue of sixty thousand crowns, (about thirty thousand pounds a year of our present money,) as we learn from Froissard (*d*), and was, consequently, richer than the king himself, if all circumstances be duly considered.

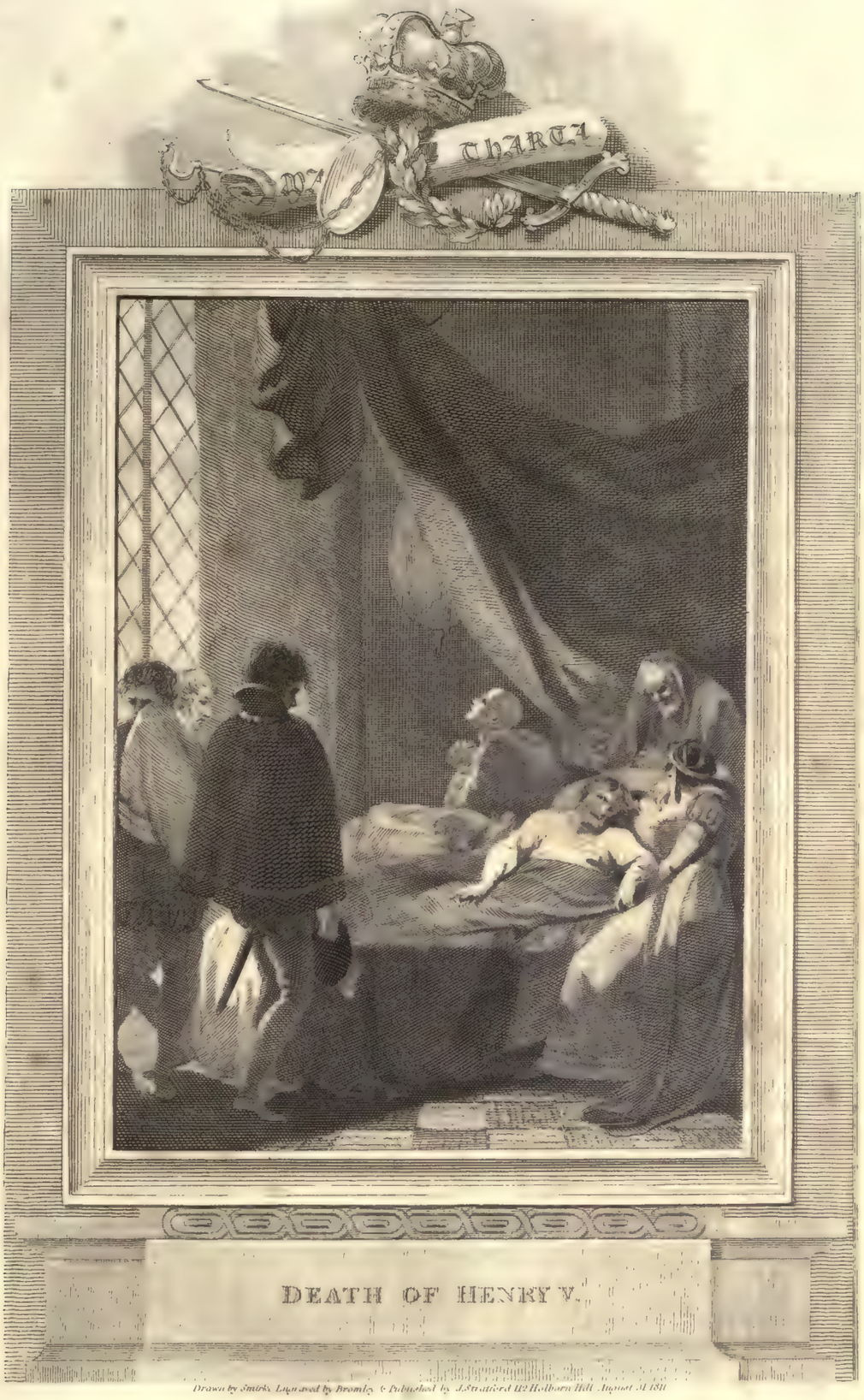
It is remarkable, that the city of Calais alone was an annual expence to the crown of nineteen thousand one hundred and nineteen pounds (*e*); that is, above a third of the common charge of the government in time of peace. This fortress was of no use to the defence of England, and only gave that kingdom an inlet to annoy France. Ireland cost two thousand pounds a year, over and above its own revenue; which was certainly very low. Every thing conspires to give us a very mean idea of the state of Europe in those ages.

From the most early times, till the reign of Edward III. the denomination of money had never been altered: a pound sterling was still a pound troy; that is, about three pounds of our present money. That conqueror was the first that innovated in this important article. In the twentieth of his reign he coined twenty-two shillings from a pound troy; in his twenty-seventh year he coined twenty-five shillings. But Henry V. who was also a conqueror, raised still farther the denomination, and coined thirty shillings from a pound troy (*f*): his revenue, therefore, must have been about one hundred and ten thousand pounds of our present money; and, by the cheapness of

(*t*) Monstrelet, chap. 265. Hall, fol. 80.
(*u*) St. Remi, chap. 118. Monstrelet, chap. 265.
(*v*) His body was conveyed to England, and interred with great pomp, at Westminster, among the ashes of his ancestors.
(*w*) T. Livii, p. 4. (*x*) Rymer, vol. ix. p. 254, 255.
(*y*) Rymer, vol. x. p. 113. (*z*) Ibid, p. 199.
(*a*) Parliamentary History, vol. ii. p. 168.

(*b*) It appears from many passages of Rymer, particularly vol. ix. p. 258. that the king paid twenty marks a year for an archer, which is a good deal above six-pence a day. The price had risen, as is natural, by raising the denomination of money.
(*c*) Rymer, vol. x. p. 114. (*d*) Liv. chap. 86.
(*e*) Rymer, vol. x. p. 113.
(*f*) Fleetwood's Chronicon Preciosum, p. 52.

provisions,



DEATH OF HENRY V.

Drawn by Smirke. Engraved by Bromley. & Published by J. Stratford 112 Holborn Hill August 31 1811



provisions, was equivalent to above three hundred and thirty thousand pounds.

None of the princes of the house of Lancaster ventured to impose taxes without consent of parliament: their doubtful or bad title became so far of advantage to the constitution. The rule was then fixed, and could not safely be broken afterwards, even by more absolute princes.

CHAP. III.

HENRY VI.

IT was during the reigns of the Lancastrian princes, that the authority of parliament seems to have been more confirmed, and the privileges of the people more regarded, than during any former period; and the two preceding kings, though men of great spirit and abilities, abstained from such exertions of prerogative, as even weak princes, whose title was undisputed, were tempted to think they might venture upon with impunity.

On the death of Henry the Fifth, his son Henry, who succeeded him in the throne, was but nine months old. This infant prince was proclaimed king on the first of October, 1422; and a parliament was summoned by the duke of Gloucester, who represented the person of his nephew, to assemble at Westminster in the ensuing month. But the respect which the people bore to the memory of their deceased sovereign, did not prevent them from exerting those rights which were vested in them by the laws of civil society. The prospect of a long minority encouraged still farther the lords and commons to extend their influence; and without paying much regard to the verbal destination of Henry V. they assumed the power of giving a new arrangement to the whole administration. They declined altogether the name of *Regent* with regard to England: they appointed the duke of Bedford *protector* or *guardian* of that kingdom, a title which they supposed to imply less authority: they invested the duke of Gloucester with the same dignity during the absence of his elder brother (*g*); and, in order to limit the power of both these princes, they appointed a council without whose advice and approbation no measure of importance could be determined (*h*). The person and education of the infant prince was committed to Henry Beaufort, bishop of Winchester, his great uncle, and the legitimated son of John of Gaunt, duke of Lancaster; a prelate, who, as his family could never have any pretensions to the crown, might safely, they thought, be intrusted with that important charge (*i*). The two princes, the dukes of Bedford and Gloucester, who seemed injured by this plan of government, yet, being persons of great integrity and honour, acquiesced in any appointment which tended to give security to the public; and as the wars in France appeared to be the object of greatest moment, they avoided every dispute which might throw an obstacle in the way of foreign conquests.

Charles the Sixth, king of France, survived his son-in-law, the king of England, but fifty days; and his death gave rise to a revolution in France which was neither foreseen nor expected. Great numbers of the French, who had from a principle of duty acquiesced in the measures of their sovereign, though greatly displeased at his connection with the English, now deemed themselves released from those ties which had bound them to an obedience repugnant to their sentiments, and transferred their allegiance to the dauphin, whom they justly regarded as their lawful sovereign. The duke of Bedford, aware of this circumstance, adopted every measure which the deepest political knowledge could suggest, in order to avert, if possible, the evil consequences which might arise from it. With this view, soon after the death of Henry, he caused his infant son to be proclaimed king of France, and took upon himself the office of regent. He then convened an assembly at Paris, consisting of the chief nobles of his party, the parliament, the members of the university, the clergy, the magistrates, and principal burgesses, of the city, who all took the oaths of allegiance and fealty to young Henry as king of France; which were likewise exacted from the inhabitants of the different towns which adhered to the English interest.

While the duke of Bedford was taking these necessary precautions in behalf of his nephew, the dauphin, who then resided at the castle of Espailly, near Puy, in Auvergne, caused his friends to proclaim him king; and the ceremony of his coronation was accordingly performed, a few days after, at Poictiers, with all the solemnity which his situation and circumstances would admit of. Thus France had two monarchs at the same time, whose respective claims were insisted on with equal obstinacy, and which now remained to be decided by the sword, the only effectual argument in princely disputes. The situation, however, of the two princes was extremely different; and their strength and power appeared so very unequal, that there was but little reason to expect the contest between them would be of long duration. So that when the state of affairs between the English and French kings was considered with a superficial eye, every advantage seemed to be on the side of the former; and the total expulsion of Charles appeared to be an event which might naturally be expected from the superior power of his competitor. Though Henry was yet in his infacy, the administration was devolved on the duke of Bedford, the most accomplished prince of his age; whose experience, prudence, valour, and generosity, qualified him for high office, and enabled him both to maintain union among his friends, and to gain the confidence of his enemies. The whole power of England was at his command: he was at the head of armies enured to victory: he was seconded by the most renowned generals of the age, the earls of Somerset, Warwick, Salisbury, Suffolk, and Arundel, sir John Talbot, and sir John Fastolfe: and besides Guienne, the ancient inheritance of England, he was master of the capital, and of almost all the northern provinces, which were well enabled to furnish him with supplies both of men and money, and to assist and support his English forces.

But Charles, notwithstanding the present inferiority of his power, possessed some advantages, derived partly from his situation, partly from his personal character, which promised him success, and served, first to control, then to overbalance the superior force and opulence of his enemies. He was the true and undoubted heir of the monarchy: all Frenchmen, who knew the interests, or desired the independence of their country, turned their eyes towards him as its sole resource: the exclusion given him by the imbecility of his father, and the forced or precipitate consent of the states, had plainly no validity: that spirit of faction, which had blinded the people, could not long hold them in so gross a delusion: their national and inveterate hatred against the English, the authors of all their calamities, must soon revive, and inspire them with indignation, at bending their necks under the yoke of that hostile people: great nobles and princes, accustomed to maintain an independence against their native sovereigns, would never endure a subjection to strangers; and though most of the princes of the blood were, since the fatal battle of Azincour, detained prisoners in England, the inhabitants of their demesnes, their friends, their vassals, all declared a zealous attachment to the king, and exerted themselves in resisting the violence of foreign invaders.

Charles himself, though only in his twentieth year, was of a character well calculated to become the object of these benevolent sentiments; and, perhaps, from the favour which naturally attends youth, was the more likely, on account of his tender age, to acquire the good-will of his native subjects. He was a prince of the most friendly and benign disposition, of easy and familiar manners, and of a just and sound, though not a very vigorous understanding. Sincere, generous, affable, he engaged, from affection, the services of his followers, even while his low fortunes might make it their interest to desert him; and the lenity of his temper could pardon in them those sallies of discontent to which princes in his situation are so frequently exposed. The love of pleasure often seduced him into indolence; but, amidst all his irregularities, the goodness of his heart still shone forth; and, by exerting at intervals his courage and activity, he proved, that his general remissness proceeded not from the want either of a just spirit of ambition, or of personal valour.

Though the virtues of this amiable prince lay for some time in obscurity, the duke of Bedford knew that his title alone made him formidable, and that every foreign assistance would be requisite, ere an English regent could hope to complete the conquest of France; an enterprize which, however it might seem to be much advanced, was still exposed to many and great difficulties. The chief circumstance which had procured to the English all their present advantages was, the resentment of the duke of Burgundy against Charles; and as that prince seemed intent

(*g*) Rymer, vol. x. p. 261. Cotton, p. 564. (*h*) Cotton, p. 564. (*i*) Hall, fol. 83. Monstrelet, vol. ii. p. 27.

tent rather on gratifying his passion than consulting his interests, it was the more easy for the regent, by demonstrations of respect and confidence, to retain him in the alliance of England. He bent therefore all his endeavours to that purpose: he gave the duke every proof of friendship and regard: he even offered him the regency of France, which Philip declined; and that he might corroborate national connexions by private ties, he concluded his own marriage with the princess of Burgundy, which had been stipulated by the treaty of Arras.

Being sensible, that next to the alliance of Burgundy, the friendship of the duke of Britanny was of the greatest importance towards forwarding the English conquests; and that, as the provinces of France, already subdued, lay between the dominions of these two princes, he could never hope for any security without preserving his connexions with them; he was very intent on strengthening himself also from that quarter. The duke of Britanny, having received many just reasons of displeasure from the ministers of Charles, had already acceded to the treaty of Troye, and had, with other vassals of the crown, done homage to Henry V. in quality of heir to the kingdom: but as the regent knew, that the duke was much governed by his brother, the count of Richemont, he endeavoured to fix his friendship, by paying court and doing services to this haughty and ambitious prince.

Arthur, count of Richemont, had been taken prisoner at the battle of Azincour, had been treated with great indulgence by the late king, and had even been permitted on his parole to take a journey into Britanny, where the state of affairs required his presence. The death of that victorious monarch happened before Richemont's return; and this prince pretended, that as his word was given personally to Henry V. he was not bound to fulfil it towards his son and successor: a chicane which the regent, as he could not force him to compliance, deemed it prudent to overlook. An interview was settled at Amiens between the dukes of Bedford, Burgundy, and Britanny, at which the count of Richemont was also present (*k*): the alliance was renewed between these princes: and the regent persuaded Philip to give in marriage to Richemont his eldest sister, widow of the deceased dauphin, Louis, the elder brother of Charles. Thus Arthur was connected both with the regent and the duke of Burgundy, and seemed engaged by interest to prosecute the same object, in forwarding the success of the English arms.

While the vigilance of the duke of Bedford was employed in gaining or confirming these allies, whose vicinity rendered them so important, he did not overlook the state of more remote countries. The duke of Albany, regent of Scotland, had died; and his power had devolved on Murdac, his son, a prince of a weak understanding and indolent disposition; who, far from possessing the talents requisite for the government of that fierce people, was not even able to maintain authority in his own family, or restrain the petulance and insolence of his sons. The ardour of the Scots to serve in France, where Charles treated them with great honour and distinction, and where the regent's brother enjoyed the dignity of constable, broke out afresh under this feeble administration: new succours daily came over, and filled the armies of the French king: the earl of Douglas conducted a reinforcement of five thousand men to his assistance: and it was justly to be dreaded that the Scots, by commencing open hostilities in the north, would occasion a diversion still more considerable of the English power, and would ease Charles, in part, of that load by which he was at present so grievously oppressed. The duke of Bedford, therefore, persuaded the English council to form an alliance with James their prisoner; to free that prince from his long captivity; and to connect him with England, by marrying him to a daughter of the earl of Somerset and cousin of the young king (*l*). As the Scottish regent, tired of his present dignity, which he was unable to support, was now become entirely sincere in his applications for James's liberty; the treaty was soon concluded; a ransom of forty thousand pounds was stipulated (*m*); and the king of Scots was restored to the throne of his ancestors, and proved, in his short reign, one of the most illustrious princes that had ever swayed the sceptre of that kingdom. He was murdered in 1437, by his traiterous kinsman the earl of Athole.

(*k*) Hall, fol. 84. Monstrelet, vol. i. p. 4. Stowe, p. 364.
(*l*) Hall, fol. 86. Stowe, p. 364. Grafton, p. 501.
(*m*) Rymer, vol. x. p. 299, 300, 326.

His affections inclined to the side of France; but the English had never reason, during his life-time, to complain of any breach of the neutrality by Scotland.

But the regent was not so much employed in these political negociations as to neglect the operations of war, from which alone he could hope to succeed in expelling the French monarch. Though the chief seat of Charles's power lay in the southern provinces beyond the Loire; his partizans were possessed of some fortresses in the northern, and even in the neighbourhood of Paris; and it behoved the duke of Bedford first to clear these countries from the enemy, before he could think of attempting more distant conquests. The castle of Dorfoy was taken after a siege of six weeks: that of Noyelle and the town of Rüe in Picardy underwent the same fate: Pont sur Seine, Vertus, and Montaign, were subjected by the English arms: and a more considerable advantage was soon after gained by the united forces of England and Burgundy. James Stuart, constable of Scotland, at the head of the Scotch auxiliaries, and the mareschal Severac, with a body of French troops, had, in the month of July, 1423, formed the siege of Crevant in Burgundy: the earls of Salisbury and Suffolk, with the count of Toulongeon, were sent to its relief: a fierce and well-disputed action ensued: the Scots and French were defeated: the constable of Scotland, and the count of Ventadour, were taken prisoners: and above a thousand men, among whom was sir William Hamilton, were left on the field of battle (*n*). The taking of Gaillon upon the Seine, and of la Charité upon the Loire, was the fruit of this victory: and as this latter place opened an entrance into the southern provinces, the acquisition of it appeared on that account of the greater importance to the duke of Bedford, and seemed to promise a successful termination to the war.

To enable Charles to retrieve these losses, which had given the most gloomy aspect to his affairs, the duke of Milan sent him a fresh body of troops; with which, and the remains of his own army, he surprized the Burgundian general Toulongeon, whom he took prisoner, with six hundred of his men. Before the conclusion of the campaign, a strong party of his adherents attacked a body of the English, commanded by sir John de la Pole, brother to the earl of Suffolk, at Granville, in Le Maine; and, after a most obstinate contest, entirely defeated them, having killed fourteen hundred, and taken their general prisoner. This victory revived the drooping hopes of Charles; and the arrival of five thousand men, whom the earl of Buchan at this period brought from Scotland, under the command of Archibald earl of Douglas, one of the most renowned warriors of the age, inspired him with additional confidence. To evince his gratitude for so seasonable an assistance, Charles granted the dukedom of Touraine to Douglas, and conferred the lordship of Aubiney on Darnley.

The more Charles was threatened with an invasion in those provinces which adhered to him, the more necessary it became that he should retain possession of every fortress which he still held within the quarters of the enemy. The duke of Bedford had besieged in person, during the space of three months, in 1424, the town of Yvri in Normandy; and the brave governor, unable to make any longer defence, was obliged to capitulate; and he agreed to surrender the town, if, before the 15th of August, no relief arrived. Charles, informed of these conditions, determined to make an attempt for saving the place. He collected, with some difficulty, an army of fourteen thousand men, of whom one half were Scots; and he sent them thither under the command of the earl of Buchan, constable of France; who was attended by the earl of Douglas, his countryman, the duke de Alençon, the mareschal de la Fayette, the count of Aumale, and the viscount of Narbonne. When the constable arrived within a few leagues of Yvri, he found that he was come too late, and that the place was already surrendered. He immediately turned to the left, and sat down before Verneüil, which the inhabitants, in spite of the garrison, delivered up to him (*o*). Buchan might now have returned in safety, and with the glory of making an acquisition no less important than the place which he was sent to relieve: but hearing of Bedford's approach, he called a council of war, in order to deliberate concerning the conduct which he should hold in

(*n*) Hall, fol. 85. Monstrelet, vol. ii. p. 8. Hollingshead, p. 586. Grafton, p. 500.
(*o*) Monstrelet, vol. ii. p. 14. Grafton, p. 504.

this

this emergency. The wiser part of the council declared for a retreat; and represented, that all the past misfortunes of the French had proceeded from their rashness in giving battle when no necessity obliged them; that this army was the last resource of the king, and the only defence of the few provinces which remained to him; and that every reason invited him to embrace cautious measures, which might leave time for his subjects to return to a sense of their duty, and give leisure for discord to arise among his enemies, who, being united by no common band of interest or motive of alliance, could not long persevere in their animosity against him. All these prudential considerations were overborne by a vain point of honour, not to turn their backs to the enemy; and they resolved to await the arrival of the duke of Bedford.

The numbers were nearly equal in this action; and as the long continuance of war had introduced discipline, which, however, imperfect, sufficed to maintain some appearance of order in such small armies, the battle was fierce, and well disputed, and attended with bloodshed on both sides. The earl of Buchan drew up his forces under the walls of Verneüil, on the 17th of August, and resolved to abide the attack of the enemy: but the impatience of the viscount of Narbonne, who advanced precipitately, and obliged the whole line to follow him in some hurry and confusion, was the cause of the misfortune which ensued. The English archers, fixing their palisadoes before them, according to their usual custom, sent a volley of arrows amidst the thickest of the French army; and though beaten from their ground, and obliged to take shelter among the baggage, they soon rallied, and continued to do great execution upon the enemy. The duke of Bedford, meanwhile, at the head of the men at arms, made impression on the French, broke their ranks, chased them off the field, and rendered the victory entirely complete and decisive (*p*). The earl of Buchan himself perished in the battle, as well as the earl of Douglas and his son, the counts of Aumale, Tonnerre, and Ventadour, with many other considerable nobility. The duke of Alençon, the mareschal de la Fayette, the lords of Gaucour and Mortemar, were taken prisoners. There fell about four thousand of the French, and sixteen hundred of the English; a loss esteemed at that time so unusual on the side of the victors, that the duke of Bedford forbad all rejoicings for his success. Verneüil was surrendered next day, August 28, by capitulation (*q*).

The condition of the king of France now appeared very terrible, and almost desperate. He had lost the flower of his army and the bravest of his nobles in this fatal action: he had no resource either for recruiting or subsisting his troops: he wanted money even for his personal subsistence; and though all parade of a court was banished, it was with difficulty he could keep a table, supplied with the plainest necessaries, for himself and his few followers: every day brought him intelligence of some loss or misfortune: towns which were bravely defended were obliged at last to surrender for want of relief or supply: he saw his partizans entirely chased from all the provinces which lay north of the Loire: and he expected soon to lose, by the united efforts of his enemies, all the territories of which he had hitherto continued master; when an incident happened which saved him on the brink of ruin, and lost the English such an opportunity for completing their conquests as they never afterwards were able to recal.

Jaqueline, countess of Hainault and Holland, and heir of these provinces, had espoused John duke of Brabant, cousin-german to the duke of Burgundy; but, having made this choice from the usual motives of princes, she soon found reason to repent of the unequal alliance. She was a princess of a masculine spirit and uncommon understanding; the duke of Brabant was of a sickly complexion and weak mind: she was in the vigour of her age; he had only reached his fifteenth year: these causes had inspired her with such contempt for her husband, which soon proceeded to antipathy, that she determined to dissolve a marriage, where, it is probable, nothing but the ceremony had as yet intervened. The court of Rome was commonly very open to applications of this nature, when seconded by power and money; but, as the princess foresaw great opposition from her husband's relations, and was impatient to effect her purpose, she made her escapé into England, where she experienced a most hospitable reception. During her residence at the English court, she placed herself under the protection of the duke of Gloucester. That prince, with many noble qualities, had the defect of being governed by an impetuous temper and vehement passions; and he was rashly induced, as well by the charms of the countess herself, as by the prospect of possessing her rich inheritance, to offer himself to her as a husband. Without waiting for a papal dispensation; without endeavouring to reconcile the duke of Burgundy to the measure, he entered into a contract of marriage with Jaqueline, and immediately attempted to put himself in possession of her dominions. Philip was disgusted with so precipitate a conduct: he resented the injury done to the duke of Brabant, his near relation: he dreaded to have the English established on all sides of him: and he foresaw the consequences which must attend the extensive and uncontrolled dominion of that nation, if before the full settlement of their power, they insulted and injured an ally, to whom they had already been so much indebted, and who was still so necessary for supporting them in their farther progress. He encouraged, therefore, the duke of Brabant to make resistance: he engaged many of Jaqueline's subjects to adhere to that prince: he himself marched troops to his support: and as the duke of Gloucester still persevered in his purpose, a sharp war was suddenly kindled in the Low Countries. The quarrel soon became personal as well as political. The English prince wrote to the duke of Burgundy, complaining of the opposition made to his pretensions; and though in the main he employed amicable terms in his letter, he took notice of some falsehoods into which, he said, Philip had been betrayed during the course of these transactions. This unguarded expression was highly resented: the duke of Burgundy insisted that he should retract it; and mutual challenges and defiances passed between them on this occasion (*r*).

The duke of Bedford could easily foresee the bad effects of so ill-timed and imprudent a quarrel. All the succours which he expected from England, and which were so necessary in this critical emergency, were intercepted by his brother, and employed in Holland and Hainault: the forces of the duke of Burgundy, which he also depended on, were diverted by the same wars: and, besides this double loss, he was in imminent danger of alienating, for ever, that confederate, whose friendship was of the utmost importance, and whom the late king had enjoined him, with his dying breath, to gratify by every mark of regard and attachment. He represented all these topics to the duke of Gloucester: he endeavoured to mitigate the resentment of the duke of Burgundy: he interposed with his good offices between these princes: but was not successful in any of his endeavours; and he found that the impetuosity of his brother's temper was still the chief obstacle to all accommodation (*s*). For this reason, instead of pushing the victory gained at Verneüil, he found himself obliged to take a journey into England, and to try, by his counsels and authority, to moderate the measures of the duke of Gloucester.

There had likewise broken out some differences among the English ministry, which had proceeded to great extremities, and which required the regent's presence to compose them (*t*). The bishop of Winchester, to whom the care of the king's person and education had been entrusted, was a prelate of great capacity and experience, but of an intriguing and dangerous character; and, as he aspired to the government of affairs, he had continual disputes with his nephew, the protector; and he gained frequent advantages over the vehement and impolitic temper of that prince. The duke of Bedford employed the authority of parliament, in 1425, to reconcile them; and these rivals were obliged to promise before that assembly, that they would bury all quarrels in oblivion (*u*). Time also seemed to open expedients for composing the difference with the duke of Burgundy. The credit of that prince had procured a bull from the pope; by which not only Jaqueline's contract with the duke of Gloucester was annulled; but it was also declared, that even in case of the duke of Brabant's death, it should never be lawful for her to espouse the English prince. Humphrey despairing of success, married another lady of inferior rank, who had lived some time with him as his mistress (*v*). The duke of Brabant died; and his widow, before she could recover possession of her dominions, was obliged to declare the

(*p*) Hall, fol. 88, 89, 90. Monstrelet, vol. ii. p. 15. Stowe, p. 365. Hollingshed, p. 588.
(*q*) Monstrelet, vol. ii. p. 15. (*r*) Monstrelet, vol. ii. p. 19, 20, 21.
(*s*) Monstrelet, p. 18. (*t*) Stowe, p. 368. Hollingshed, p. 590.
(*u*) Hall, fol. 98, 99. Hollingshed, p. 593, 594. Polydore Virgil, p. 466. Grafton, p. 512, 519. (*v*) Stowe, p. 367.

duke of Burgundy her heir, in case she should die without issue, and to promise never to marry without his consent. But though the affair was thus terminated to the satisfaction of Philip, it left a disagreeable impression on his mind: it excited an extreme jealousy of the English, and opened his eyes to his true interests: and as nothing but his animosity against Charles had engaged him in alliance with them, it counterbalanced that passion by another of the same kind, which in the end became prevalent, and brought him back, by degrees, to his natural connexions with his family and his native country.

About the same time Charles had made an endeavour to detach the dukes of Britanny and Burgundy from the interest of the English; and the duke of Britanny began to withdraw himself from the English alliance. His brother, the count of Richemont, though connected by marriage with the dukes of Burgundy and Bedford, was extremely attached by inclination to the French interest; and he willingly hearkened to all the advances which Charles made him for obtaining his friendship. The staff of constable, vacant by the earl of Buchan's death, was offered him; and, as his martial and ambitious temper aspired to the command of armies, which he had in vain attempted to obtain from the duke of Bedford, he not only accepted that office, but brought over his brother to an alliance with the French monarch. The new constable, having made this one change in his measures, firmly adhered, ever after, to his engagements with France. Though his pride and violence, which would admit of no rival in his master's confidence, and even prompted him to assassinate the other favourites, had so much disgusted Charles, that he once banished him the court, and refused to admit him to his presence, he still acted with vigour for the service of that monarch, and obtained, at last, by his perseverance, the pardon of all past offences.

In this situation the duke of Bedford, on his return, in 1426, found the affairs of France, after passing eight months in England. The duke of Burgundy was much disgusted. The duke of Britanny had entered into engagements with Charles, and had done homage to that prince for his duchy. The French had been allowed to recover from the astonishment into which their frequent disasters had thrown them. An incident likewise had happened, which served extremely to raise their courage. The earl of Warwick had besieged Montargis with a small army of three thousand men, and the place was reduced to extremity, when the bastard of Orleans undertook to throw relief into it. This general, who was natural son to the prince assassinated by the duke of Burgundy, and who was afterwards created count of Dunois, conducted a body of sixteen hundred men to Montargis; and made an attack on the enemy's trenches with so much valour, prudence, and good fortune, that he not only penetrated into the place, but gave a severe blow to the English, and obliged Warwick to raise the siege (*w*). This was the first signal action that raised the fame of Dunois, and opened him the road to those great honours which he afterwards attained.

But the regent, soon after his arrival, revived the reputation of the English arms, by an important enterprize which he atchieved. He secretly brought together, in separate detachments, a considerable army to the frontiers of Britanny; and fell so unexpectedly upon that province, that the duke, unable to make resistance, yielded to all the terms required of him: he renounced the French alliance; he engaged to maintain the treaty of Troye; he acknowledged the duke of Bedford for regent of France; and promised to do homage for his duchy to king Henry (*x*). And the English prince, having thus freed himself from a dangerous enemy who lay behind him, resolved on an undertaking which, if successful, would, he hoped, cast the balance between the two nations, and prepare the way for the final conquest of France.

The city of Orleans was so situated between the provinces which acknowledged the authority of Henry, and those possessed by Charles, that it opened an easy entrance to either; and as the duke of Bedford intended to make a great effort for penetrating into the south of France; it behoved him to begin with this place, which, in the present circumstances, was become the most important in the kingdom. He committed the conduct of the enterprize to the earl of Salisbury, who had newly brought him a reinforcement of six thousand men from England, and who had much distinguished himself, by his abilities, during the course of the present war. Salisbury accordingly passed the Loire; and, after employing the months of August and September, in 1428, in the reduction of Mehun, Jenville, Beaugency, and several other small places which surrounded Orleans on that side, he sat down before that city on the 12th of October (*y*); and as his intentions were thereby known, the French king used every expedient to supply the city with a garrison and provisions, and enable it to maintain a long and obstinate siege. The lord of Gaucour, a brave and experienced captain, was appointed governor: many officers of distinction threw themselves into the place: the troops which they conducted were enured to war, and were determined to make the most obstinate resistance: and even the inhabitants, disciplined by the long continuance of hostilities, were well qualified, in their own defence, to second the efforts of the most veteran forces. The eyes of all Europe were turned towards this scene; where, it was reasonably supposed, the French were to make their last stand for maintaining the independence of their monarchy, and the rights of their sovereign.

The earl of Salisbury at last approached the place with an army, which consisted only of ten thousand men; and not being able, with so small a force, to invest so great a city, that commanded a bridge over the Loire, he stationed himself on the southern side towards Sologne, leaving the other, towards the Beausse, still open to the enemy. He there attacked the castle of Tourelles, which guarded the entrance to the bridge; and, after an obstinate resistance, he carried it; but was himself killed by a cannon ball as he was taking a view of the enemy (*z*), on the 24th of October. The earl of Suffolk succeeded to the command; and being reinforced with great numbers of English and Burgundians, he passed the river with the main body of his army, and invested Orleans on the other side. As it was now the depth of winter, Suffolk, who found it very difficult in that season to throw up intrenchments all around, contented himself, for the present, with erecting redoubts, at different distances, where his men were lodged in safety, and were ready to intercept the supplies which the enemy might throw into the place. Though he had several pieces of artillery in his camp (and this is among the first sieges in Europe where cannon were found to be of importance,) the art of engineering was hitherto so imperfect, that Suffolk trusted more to famine than to force for subduing the city; and he purposed in the spring to render the circumvallation more complete, by drawing intrenchments from one redoubt to another. Numberless feats of valour were performed both by the besiegers and the besieged during the winter: bold sallies were made, and repulsed with equal boldness: convoys were sometimes introduced and often intercepted: the supplies were still unequal to the consumption of the place: and the English seemed daily, though slowly, advancing towards the completion of their enterprize.

But while Suffolk lay in this situation, the French parties ravaged all the country around; and the besiegers, who were obliged to draw their provisions from a distance, were themselves exposed to the dangers of want and famine. Sir John Fastolffe was bringing up a large convoy of every kind of stores, which he escorted with a detachment of two thousand five hundred men; when he was attacked by a body of four thousand French, under the command of the counts of Clermont and Dunois. Fastolffe drew up his troops behind the waggons; but the French generals, afraid of attacking him in that posture, planted a battery of cannon against him, which threw every thing into confusion, and would have insured them the victory, had not the impatience of some Scottish troops, who broke the line of battle, brought on an engagement, in which Fastolffe was victorious. The count of Dunois was wounded; and about five hundred French were left on the field of battle. This action, which was fought on the 12th of February, 1429, was of great importance in the present conjuncture; it was commonly called the battle of *Herrings*; because the convoy brought a great quantity of that kind of provisions, for the use of the English army during the Lent season (*a*).

(*w*) Monstrelet, vol. ii. p. 32, 33. Hollingshed, p. 597.
(*x*) Monstrelet, vol. ii. p. 35, 36.
(*y*) Monstrelet, vol. ii. p. 38, 39. Polyd. Virg. p. 468.
(*z*) Hall, fol. 105. Monstrelet, vol. ii. p. 39. Stowe, p. 369. Hollingshed, p. 599. Grafton, p. 531.

(*a*) Hall, fol. 106. Monstrelet, vol. ii. p. 41, 42. Stowe, p. 369. Hollingshed, p. 600. Polyd. Virg. p. 469. Grafton, p. 532.

Charles seemed now to have but one expedient for saving this city, which had been so long invested. The duke of Orleans, who was still prisonef in England, prevailed on the protector and the council to consent that all his demesnes should be allowed to preserve a neutrality during the war, and should be sequestered, for greater security, into the hands of the duke of Burgundy. This prince, who was much less cordial in the English interests than formerly, went to Paris, and made the proposal to the duke of Bedford; but the regent coldly replied, That he was not of a humour to beat the bushes, while others ran away with the game: an answer which so disgusted the duke that he recalled all the troops of Burgundy that acted in the siege (*b*). The place however was every day more and more closely invested by the English: great scarcity began already to be felt by the garrison and inhabitants: Charles, in despair of collecting an army which should dare to approach the enemy's entrenchments, not only gave the city for lost, but began to entertain a very dismal prospect with regard to the general state of his affairs. He saw that the country, in which he had hitherto, with great difficulty, subsisted, would be laid entirely open to the invasion of a powerful and victorious enemy; and he already entertained thoughts of retiring with the remains of his forces into Languedoc and Dauphiny, and defending himself as long as possible in those remote provinces. But it was fortunate for this good prince, that, as he lay under the dominion of the fair, the women, whom he consulted, had the spirit to support his sinking resolution in this desperate extremity. Mary of Anjou, his queen, a princess of great merit and prudence, vehemently opposed this measure, which, she foresaw, would discourage all his partizans, and serve as a general signal for deserting a prince who seemed himself to despair of success. His mistress too, the fair Agnes Sorel, who lived in entire amity with the queen, seconded all her remonstrances, and threatened that, if he thus pusillanimously threw away the sceptre of France, she would seek in the court of England a fortune more correspondent to her wishes. Love was able to rouse in the breast of Charles that courage which ambition had failed to excite: he resolved to dispute every inch of ground with an imperious enemy; and rather to perish with honour in the midst of his friends, than yield ingloriously to his bad fortune: when relief was unexpectedly brought him by another female of a very different character, who gave rise to one of the most singular revolutions that is to be met with in history.

In the village of Domremi near Vaucouleurs, on the borders of Lorraine, there lived a country girl of twenty-seven years of age, called Joan d'Arc (*c*), who was servant in a small inn, and who in that station had been accustomed to tend the horses of the guests, to ride them without a saddle to the watering place, and to perform other offices, which, in well-frequented inns, commonly fall to the share of the men-servants (*d*). This girl was of an irreproachable life, and had not hitherto been remarked for any singularity; whether that she had met with no occasion to excite her genius, or that the unskilful eyes of those who conversed with her, had not been able to discern her uncommon merit. It is easy to imagine, that the present situation of France was an interesting object even to persons of the lowest rank, and would become the frequent subject of conversation: a young prince expelled his throne by the sedition of native subjects, and by the arms of strangers, could not fail to move the compassion of all his people whose hearts were uncorrupted by faction; and the peculiar character of Charles, so strongly inclined to friendship and the tender passions, naturally rendered him the hero of that sex whose generous minds know no bounds in their affections. The siege of Orleans, the progress of the English before that place, the great distress of the garrison and inhabitants, the importance of saving this city and its brave defenders, had turned thither the public eye; and Joan, inflamed by the general sentiment, was seized with a wild desire of bringing relief to her sovereign in his present distresses. Her unexperienced mind, working day and night on this favourite object, mistook the impulses of passion for heavenly inspirations; and she fancied that she saw visions, and heard voices, exhorting her to re-establish the throne of France, and to expel the foreign invaders. An uncommon intrepidity of temper made her overlook all the dangers which might attend her in such a path; and thinking herself destined by Heaven to this office, she threw aside all that bashfulness and timidity so natural to her sex, her years, and her low station. She went to Vaucouleurs; procured admission to Baudricourt the governor; informed him of her inspirations and intentions; and conjured him not to neglect the voice of God, who spoke through her, but to second those heavenly revelations which impelled her to this glorious enterprize. Baudricourt treated her at first with some neglect; but on her frequent returns to him, and importunate solicitations, he began to remark something extraordinary in the maid, and was inclined, at all hazards, to make so easy an experiment. It is uncertain whether this gentleman had discernment enough to perceive that great use might be made with the vulgar, of so uncommon an engine; or, what is more likely, in that credulous age, was himself a convert to this visionary: but he adopted at last the schemes of Joan; and he gave her some attendants, who conducted her to the French court, which at that time resided at Chinon.

It is the business of history to distinguish between the *miraculous* and the *marvellous;* to reject the first in all narrations merely profane and human; to doubt the second; and when obliged by unquestionable testimony, as in the present case, to admit of something extraordinary, to receive as little of it as is consistent with the known facts and circumstances. It is pretended, that Joan, immediately on her admission, knew the king, though she had never seen his face before, and though he purposely kept himself in the crowd of courtiers, and had laid aside every thing in his dress and apparel which might distinguish him: that she offered him, in the name of the supreme Creator, to raise the siege of Orleans, and conduct him to Rheims to be there crowned and anointed (*e*); and on his expressing doubts of her mission, revealed to him, before some sworn confidants, a secret, which was unknown to all the world beside himself, and which nothing but a heavenly inspiration could have discovered to her: and that she demanded, as the instrument of her future victories, a particular sword, which was kept in the church of St. Catharine of Fierbois, and which, though she had never seen it, she described by all its marks, and by the place in which it had long lain neglected (*f*). This is certain, that all these miraculous stories were spread abroad, in order to captivate the vulgar. The more the king and his ministers were determined to give into the illusion, the more scruples they pretended. An assembly of grave doctors and theologians cautiously examined Joan's mission, and pronounced it undoubted and supernatural. She was sent to the parliament, then residing at Poictiers; and was interrogated before that assembly: the presidents, the counsellors, who came persuaded of her imposture, went away convinced of her inspiration. A ray of hope began to break through that despair in which the minds of all men were before enveloped. Heaven had now declared itself in favour of France, and had laid bare its outstretched arm to take vengeance on her invaders. Few could distinguish between the impulse of inclination and the force of conviction; and none would submit to the trouble of so disagreeable a scrutiny.

After these artificial precautions and preparations had been for some time employed, Joan's requests were at last complied with: she was armed cap-a-pee, mounted on horseback, and shown in that martial habiliment before the whole people. Her dexterity in managing her steed, though acquired in her former occupation, was regarded as a fresh proof of her mission; and she was received with the loudest acclamations by the spectators. Her former occupation was even denied: she was no longer the servant of an inn: she was converted into a shepherdess, an

(*b*) Hall, fol. 106. Monstrelet, vol. ii. p. 42. Stowe, p. 369. Grafton, p. 533.

(*c*) She was the daughter of James d'Arc, a peasant of the same village.

(*d*) Hall, fol. 107. Monstrelet, vol. ii. p. 42. Grafton, p. 534.

(*e*) It is said, that the reception she met with at Chinon was similar to that which she had at first experienced from the governor of Vaucouleurs: it was even debated for some time whether she should be admitted to the presence of Charles. Curiosity, however, prevailed; she procured admission; and thus addressed the king, with an air of confidence which, though it was the natural result of those ideas that were so strongly impressed on her mind, was then regarded as a certain proof that she was inspired from above. "Gentle Dauphin, (said she,) I am called Joan the Maid: the King of heaven hath sent me to your assistance. If you please to grant me troops, by the grace of God, and the force of arms, I will raise the siege of Orleans, and conduct you to be crowned at Rheims, in spite of your numerous foes. This is what the King of heaven hath commanded me to tell you."

(*f*) Hall, fol. 107. Hollingshed, p. 609.

employment

employment much more agreeable to the imagination. To render her still more interesting, near ten years were subtracted from her age; and all the sentiments of love and of chivalry were thus united to those of enthusiasm, in order to inflame the fond fancy of the people with prepossessions in her favour.

When the engine was thus dressed up in full splendour, it was determined to essay its force against the enemy. Joan was sent to Blois, where a large convoy was prepared for the supply of Orleans, and an army of ten thousand men, under the command of St. Severe, assembled to escort it. She ordered all the soldiers to confess themselves before they set out on the enterprize: she banished from the camp all women of bad fame: she displayed in her hands a consecrated banner; where the Supreme Being was represented grasping the globe of earth, and surrounded with flower de luces; and she insisted, in right of her prophetic mission, that the convoy should enter Orleans by the direct road from the side of Beausse: but the count of Dunois, unwilling to submit the rules of the military art to her inspirations, ordered it to approach by the other side of the river, where, he knew, the weakest part of the English army was stationed.

Previous to this attempt, the maid had written to the regent, and to the English generals before Orleans, commanding them, in the name of the omnipotent Creator, by whom she was commissioned, immediately to raise the siege, and to evacuate France; and menacing them with divine vengeance in case of their disobedience. All the English affected to speak with derision of the maid, and of her heavenly commission; and said, that the French king was now indeed reduced to a sorry pass when he had recourse to such ridiculous expedients: but they felt their imagination secretly struck with the vehement persuasion which prevailed in all around them; and they waited with an anxious expectation, not unmixed with horror, for the issue of these extraordinary preparations.

As the convoy approached the river, a sally was made by the garrison, on the 29th of April, on the side of Beausse, to prevent the English general from sending any detachment to the other side: the provisions were peaceably embarked in boats, which the inhabitants of Orleans had sent to receive them; the maid covered with her troops the embarkation: Suffolk did not venture to attack her: and the French general carried back the army in safety to Blois; an alteration of affairs which was already visible to all the world, and which had a proportional effect on the minds of both parties.

The maid entered the city of Orleans arrayed in her military garb, and displaying her consecrated standard; and was received as a celestial deliverer by all the inhabitants. They now believed themselves invincible under her influence; and Dunois himself, perceiving such a mighty alteration both in friends and foes, consented that the next convoy, which was expected in a few days, should enter by the side of Beausse. The convoy approached on the 4th of May; no sign of resistance appeared in the besiegers: the waggons and troops passed without interruption between the redoubts of the English: a dead silence and astonishment reigned among those troops, formerly so elated with victory, and so fierce for the combat.

The earl of Suffolk was in a situation very unusual and extraordinary, and which might well confound a man of the greatest capacity and firmest temper. He saw his troops overawed, and strongly impressed with the idea of a divine influence accompanying the maid. Instead of banishing these vain terrors by hurry, and action, and war, he waited till the soldiers should recover from the panic; and he thereby gave leisure for those prepossessions to sink still deeper into their minds. The military maxims, which are prudent in common cases, deceived him in these unaccountable events. The English felt their courage daunted and overwhelmed; and thence inferred a divine vengeance hanging over them. The French drew the same inference from an inactivity so new and unexpected. Every circumstance was now reversed in the opinions of men, on which all depends: the spirit resulting from a long course of uninterrupted success was on a sudden transferred from the victors to the vanquished.

The maid called aloud, that the garrison should remain no longer on the defensive; and she promised her followers the assistance of Heaven in attacking those redoubts of the enemy which had so long kept them in awe, and which they had never hitherto dared to insult. The generals seconded her ardour: an attack was made on one redoubt, and it proved successful (g): all the English who defended the entrenchments were put to the sword, or taken prisoners: and Sir John Talbot himself, who had drawn together, from the other redoubts, some troops to bring them relief, durst not appear in the open field against so formidable an enemy.

Nothing, after this success, seemed impossible to the maid and her enthusiastic votaries. She urged the generals to attack the main body of the English in their entrenchments: but Dunois, still unwilling to hazard the fate of France by too great temerity, and sensible that the least reverse of fortune would make all the present visions evaporate, and restore every thing to its former condition, checked her vehemence, and proposed to her first to expel the enemy from their forts on the other side of the river, and thus lay the communication with the country entirely open, before she attempted any more hazardous enterprize. Joan was persuaded, and these forts were vigorously assailed. In one attack the French were repulsed; the maid was left almost alone; she was obliged to retreat, and join the runaways; but displaying her sacred standard, and animating them with her countenance, her gestures, her exhortations, she led them back to the charge, and overpowered the English in their entrenchments. In the attack of another fort, she was wounded in the neck with an arrow; she retreated a moment behind the assailants; she pulled out the arrow with her own hands; she had the wound quickly dressed; and she hastened back to head the troops, and to plant her victorious banner on the ramparts of the enemy.

By all these successes, the English were entirely chased from their fortifications on that side. They had lost above six thousand men in these different actions; and what was still more important, their wonted courage and confidence was wholly gone, and had given place to amazement and despair. The maid returned triumphant over the bridge, and was again received as the guardian angel of the city. After performing such miracles, she convinced the most obdurate incredulity of her divine mission: men felt themselves animated as by a superior energy, and thought nothing impossible to that divine hand which so visibly conducted them. It was in vain even for the English generals to oppose with their soldiers the prevailing opinion of supernatural influence: they themselves were probably moved by the same belief: the utmost they dared to advance was, that Joan was not an instrument of God; she was only the implement of the Devil: but as the English had felt, to their sad experience, that the Devil might be allowed sometimes to prevail, they derived not much consolation from the enforcing of this opinion.

It might prove extremely dangerous for Suffolk, with such intimidated troops, to remain any longer in the presence of so courageous and victorious an enemy; he therefore raised the siege, on the 8th of May, and retreated with all the precaution imaginable. The French resolved to push their conquests, and to allow the English no leisure to recover from their consternation. Charles formed a body of six thousand men, and sent them to attack Jergeau, whither Suffolk had retired with a detachment of his army. The siege lasted ten days; and the place was obstinately defended. Joan displayed her wonted intrepidity on the occasion. She descended into the fossee in leading the attack; and she there received a blow on the head with a stone, by which she was confounded and beaten to the ground: but she soon recovered herself; and in the end rendered the assault successful: Suffolk was obliged to yield himself prisoner to a Frenchman called Renaud; but, before he submitted, he asked his adversary, whether he were a gentleman? On receiving a satisfactory answer, he demanded whether he were a knight? Renaud replied, that he had not yet attained that honour. "Then I make you one," replied Suffolk: upon which he gave him the blow with his sword, which dubbed him into that fraternity; and he immediately surrendered himself his prisoner (h).

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(g) Monstrelet, vol. ii. p. 45.

(h) Thus was the first object of Joan's extraordinary mission accomplished—a mission, the divinity of which not the most incredulous of the French could now dare to dispute, and on which the English themselves were divided in opinion: some coincided with the ideas of the French; while others, equally credulous, and more absurd, gravely ascribed it to a compact with the devil. A French writer, of great wisdom, in speaking of this singular occurrence, intimates that Charles by no

The remainder of the English army was commanded by Fastolffe, Scales, and Talbot, who thought of nothing but of making their retreat, as soon as possible, into a place of safety; while the French esteemed the overtaking them equivalent to a victory. So much had the events which passed before Orleans altered every thing between the two nations! The vanguard of the French, under Richemont and Xaintrailles, attacked the rear of the enemy at the village of Patay, on the 18th of June. The battle lasted not a moment: the English were discomfited, and fled: the brave Fastolffe himself shewed the example of flight to his troops; and the order of the garter was taken from him, as a punishment for this instance of cowardice (*i*). Two thousand men were killed in this action, and both Talbot and Scales were taken prisoners.

In the account of all these successes, the French writers, to magnify the wonder, represent the maid (who was now known by the appellation of *the Maid of Orleans*) as not only active in combat, but as performing the office of general; directing the troops, conducting the military operations, and swaying the deliberations in all councils of war. It is certain, that the policy of the French court endeavoured to maintain this appearance with the public: but it is much more probable, that Dunois and the wiser commanders prompted her in all her measures, than that a country girl, without experience or education, could, on a sudden, become expert in a profession which requires more genius and capacity than any other active scene of life. It is sufficient praise that she could distinguish the persons on whose judgement she might rely; that she could seize their hints and suggestions, and, on a sudden, deliver their opinions as her own; and that she could curb, on occasion, that visionary and enthusiastic spirit with which she was actuated, and could temper it with prudence and discretion.

The raising of the siege of Orleans was one part of the maid's promise to Charles: the crowning of him at Rheims was the other: and she now vehemently insisted that he should forthwith set out on that enterprize. A few weeks before, such a proposal would have appeared the most extravagant in the world. Rheims lay in a distant quarter of the kingdom; was then in the hands of a victorious enemy; the whole road which led to it was occupied by their garrisons; and no man could be so sanguine as to imagine that such an attempt could so soon come within the bounds of possibility. But as it was extremely the interest of Charles to maintain the belief of something extraordinary and divine in these events, and to avail himself of the present consternation of the English, he resolved to follow the exhortations of his warlike prophetess, and to lead his army upon this promising adventure. Hitherto he had kept remote from the scene of war: as the safety of the state depended upon his person, he had been persuaded to restrain his military ardour; but observing this prosperous turn of affairs, he now determined to appear at the head of his armies, and to set the example of valour to all his soldiers. And the French nobility saw at once their young sovereign assuming a new and more brilliant character, seconded by fortune and conducted by the hand of Heaven; and they caught fresh zeal to exert themselves in replacing him on the throne of his ancestors.

Charles set out for Rheims at the head of twelve thousand men: he passed by Troye, which opened its gates to him: Chalons imitated the example: Rheims sent him a deputation with its keys, before his approach to it: and he scarcely perceived, as he passed along, that he was marching through an enemy's country. The ceremony of his coronation was here performed (*k*), on the 18th of July, 1429, with the holy oil, which a pigeon had brought to king Clovis from Heaven on the first establishment of the French monarchy: the maid of Orleans stood by his side in complete armour, and displayed her sacred banner, which had so often dissipated and confounded his fiercest enemies; and the people shouted with the most unfeigned joy on viewing such a complication of wonders. After the completion of the ceremony, the maid threw herself at the king's feet, embraced his knees, and with a flood of tears, which pleasure and tenderness extorted from her, she congratulated him on this singular and marvellous event.

Charles, thus crowned and anointed, became more respectable in the eyes of all his subjects, and seemed, in a manner, to receive anew, from a heavenly commission, his title to their allegiance. The inclinations of men swaying their belief, no one doubted of the inspirations and prophetic spirit of the maid: so many incidents, which passed all human comprehension, left little room to question a superior influence; and the real and undoubted facts brought credit to every exaggeration, which could scarcely be rendered more wonderful. Laon, Soissons, Cressy, La Ferté-Milan, Creil, Coulommiers, Chateau-Thierri, Provins, and many other towns and fortresses in that neighbourhood, immediately after Charles's coronation submitted to him on the first summons; and the whole nation was disposed to give him the most zealous testimonies of their duty and attachment.

Nothing can impress us with a higher idea of the wisdom, address, and resolution of the duke of Bedford, than his being able to maintain himself in so perilous a situation, and to preserve some footing in France, after the defection of so many places, and amidst the universal inclination of the rest to imitate that example. This prince seemed present every where by his vigilance and foresight: he employed every resource which fortune had yet left him: he put all the English garrisons in a posture of defence: he kept a watchful eye over every attempt among the French towards an insurrection: he retained the Parisians in obedience, by alternately employing caresses and severity: and knowing that the duke of Burgundy was already wavering in his fidelity, he acted with so much skill and prudence, as to renew, in this dangerous crisis, his alliance with that prince; an alliance of the utmost importance to the credit and support of the English government.

The small supplies which he received from England set the talents of this great man in a still stronger light. The ardour of the English for foreign conquests was now extremely abated by time and reflection: the parliament seems even to have become sensible of the danger which might attend their farther progress: no supply of money could be obtained by the regent during his greatest distresses: and men enlisted slowly under his standard, or soon deserted, by reason of the wonderful accounts which had reached England, of the magic, and sorcery, and diabolical power of the maid of Orleans (*l*). Having completed his treaty with the duke of Burgundy, he left Paris about the middle of July, and repaired to Normandy, in order to raise fresh troops. It happened fortunately, in this emergency, that the bishop of Winchester, now created a cardinal, landed at Calais with a body of five thousand men, which he was conducting into Bohemia, on a crusade against the Hussites. He was persuaded to lend these troops to his nephew during the present difficulties (*m*); and the regent was thereby enabled to take the field, and to oppose the French king, who was advancing with his army to the gates of Paris.

The extraordinary capacity of the duke of Bedford appeared

no means believed in the inspiration of Joan; but merely sought, from political motives, to inculcate the belief of it in the minds of his people and soldiers. "A young maiden," says the author we allude to, "from a conviction that she is inspired, presents herself to her sovereign; who, aware of the impression which her enthusiasm may make on the minds of his troops, resolves to favour the delusion: without trusting any thing to chance, the generals who command appear to obey her; and though not the most trivial expedition be committed to her care, she seems to fix the arrangements of every plan. Her courage, which every art is exerted to maintain, becomes diffused over the whole army; and, by a very natural consequence, entirely changes the face of affairs." This is certainly a just representation of the matter, as far as it relates to the efforts resulting from the employment of Joan; but we cannot subscribe to the opinion that the wisdom of Charles was sufficiently strong to exempt him from the general infection. We are the more inclined to believe that the French monarch was, equally with his friends and enemies, impressed with the conviction that the Maid of Orleans derived her courage and prowess from some supernatural inspiration, as the duke of Bedford (supposed to be one of the most sensible men of the age) entertained the same superstitious idea; though he was more willing to believe that they originated in hell than in heaven. The opinion of that nobleman on the subject may be collected from the following extract of a letter, written by him to the king and council of England, which may be seen in Rymer's Fœdera: "Alle things there prospered for you, til the tyme of the siege of Orleans, taken in hand, God knoweth by what advis. At the whiche tyme, after the adventure fallen to the person of my cousin of Salisbury, whom God assoille, there felle, by the hand of God, as it seemeth, a greate strook upon your peuple that was assembled there in grete nombre, caused in grete parties, as y trowe, of lakke of sadde believe, and of unleveful doubte that they hadde of a disciple and lyme of the fiende, called the Pucelle, (Maid,) that used fals enchauntments and sorcerie. The whiche strooke and discomfiture nought oonly lessed in grete partie the nombre of your peuple there, but as well withdrowe the courage of the remenant in marveilous wyse, and couraiged youre adverse partie and enemys."

(*i*) Monstrelet, vol. ii. p. 46.
(*k*) Ibid. p. 48.
(*l*) Rymer, vol. x. p. 459. 472.
(*m*) Ibid. vol. x. p. 421.

peared also in his military operations. He attempted to restore the courage of his troops by boldly advancing to the face of the enemy; but he chose his posts with so much caution, as always to decline a combat, and to render it impossible for Charles to attack him. He still attended that prince in all his movements; covered his own towns and garrisons; and kept himself in a posture to reap advantage from every imprudence or false step of the enemy. The French army, which consisted mostly of volunteers, who served at their own expence, soon after retired, and was disbanded: Charles went to Bourges, the ordinary place of his residence; but not till he made himself master of Compiegne, Beauvais, Senlis, Sens, Laval, Lagni, St. Denis, and of many places in the neighbourhood of Paris, which the affections of the people had put into his hands.

Charles likewise advanced to Paris, and attempted to take that city by assault; but the Maid of Orleans being dangerously wounded in the attack, his troops were repulsed, and he was obliged to retire into the southern provinces. About this period Charles expressed his gratitude to Joan, by granting a patent of nobility to herself, her father, and her three brothers, and to all their descendants, both male and female; he also changed the name of their family from d'Arc to Du Lys.

The duke of Bedford, having gone to Normandy with a view to recruit his forces, and having expelled the count of Richemont from that province, returned to Paris; and from the great effects produced by the coronation of Charles, was induced to believe that, if young Henry were to undergo the same ceremony, it might be attended with similar advantages. He therefore solicited the protector and council of England to send him over without delay; but the nation was so much exhausted by the war, that six months elapsed before sufficient money could be procured to defray the expences of his journey; and even then the protector was obliged to raise it by pawning the jewels of the crown, and by extorting numerous loans, some of which were so trifling as not to exceed five marks. When every thing was ready, the young king, who, on the 6th of November preceding, had been crowned at Westminster, set out for the continent, and landed at Calais on the 27th of April, 1430, attended by the chief nobility of England. From thence he repaired to Rouen, where he must have resided about nineteen months, as it appears, from the register of the parliament of Paris, that the ceremony of his coronation did not take place till the 17th of December (*n*).

Young Henry had not been long at Rouen, before an incident occured which revived the drooping spirits of the English, and dissolved that charm which of late had detained them in a state of inactivity. The Maid of Orleans, after the coronation of Charles, declared to the count of Dunois, that her wishes were now fully gratified, and that she had no farther desire than to return to her former condition, and to the occupation and course of life which became her sex: but that nobleman, sensible of the great advantages which might still be reaped from her presence in the army, exhorted her to persevere, till, by the final expulsion of the English, she had brought all her prophecies to their full completion. In pursuance of this advice, she threw herself into the town of Compiegne, which was at that time besieged by the duke of Burgundy, assisted by the earls of Arundel and Suffolk; and the garrison, on her appearance, believed themselves thenceforth invincible. But their joy was not of long duration; for the maid, on the 24th of May, the next day after her arrival, headed a sally upon the quarters of John of Luxembourg; she twice drove the enemy from their entrenchments; finding their numbers to increase every moment, she ordered a retreat; when hard pressed by the pursuers, she turned upon them, and made them again recoil; but being here deserted by her friends, and surrounded by the enemy, she was at last, after exerting the utmost valour, taken prisoner by the Bastard of Vendome, who delivered her up to John of Luxembourg, count of Ligny, commander in chief of the Burgundian army. The common opinion was, that the French officers, finding the merit of every victory ascribed to her, had, in envy to her renown, by which they themselves were so much eclipsed, willingly exposed her to this fatal accident.

The envy of her friends, on this occasion, was not a greater proof of her merit than the triumph of her enemies. A complete victory would not have given more joy to the English and their partizans. The duke of Bedford, under the same influence of superstition which had swayed his troops for some time past, ordered the service of *Te Deum*, which has so often been profaned by princes, to be publicly celebrated, on this fortunate event, at Paris. He fancied, that, by the captivity of that extraordinary woman, who had blasted all his successes, he should again recover his ascendant over France; and, to push farther the present advantage, he purchased the captive from John of Luxembourg, for the enormous sum of ten thousand pounds, besides an annuity of three hundred pounds, which he granted to the Bastard of Vendome, to whom she had surrendered; and commenced a prosecution against her, which, whether it proceeded from vengeance or from policy, inflicted a stain on his character which the remembrance of his numerous virtues and accomplishments can never entirely obliterate.

There was no possible reason, why Joan should not be regarded as a prisoner of war, and be entitled to all the courtesy and good usage which civilized nations practise towards enemies on these occasions. She had never, in her military capacity, forfeited, by any act of treachery or cruelty, her claim to that treatment: she was unstained by any civil crime: even the virtues and the very decorums of her sex had ever been rigidly observed by her: and though her appearing in war, and leading armies to battle, may seem an exception, she had thereby performed such signal service to her prince, that she had abundantly compensated for this irregularity; and was, on that very account, the more an object of praise and admiration. It was necessary, therefore, for the duke of Bedford to interest religion some way in the prosecution; and to cover, under that cloak, his dishonourable violation of justice and humanity.

Cauchon bishop of Beauvais, a man wholly devoted to the English interests, presented a petition against Joan, on pretence that she was taken within the bounds of his diocese; and he desired to have her tried by an ecclesiastical court for sorcery, impiety, idolatry, and magic: the university of Paris was so mean as to join in the same request: several prelates, among whom the cardinal of Winchester was the only Englishman, were appointed her judges: they held their court at Rouen, where their first session commenced on the 13th of February, 1431; and where the young king of England then resided: and the maid, clothed in her former military apparel, but loaded with irons, was produced before this tribunal.

She first desired to be eased of her chains: her judges answered, that she had once already attempted an escape, by throwing herself from a tower: she confessed the fact, maintained the justice of her intention, and owned that, if she could, she would still execute that purpose. All her other speeches shewed the same firmness and intrepidity: though harrassed with interrogatories during the course of near four months, she never betrayed any weakness or womanish submission; and no advantage was gained over her. The point, which her judges pushed most vehemently, was her visions and revelations, and intercourse with departed saints; and they asked her, whether she would submit to the church the truth of these inspirations: she replied, that she would submit them to God, the fountain of truth. They then exclaimed, that she was a heretic, and denied the authority of the church. She appealed to the pope: they rejected her appeal.

They asked her, why she put trust in her standard, which had been consecrated by magical incantations: she replied, that she put trust in the Supreme Being alone, whose image was impressed upon it. They demanded, why she carried in her hand that standard at the anointment and coronation of Charles at Rheims: she answered, that the person who had shared the danger, was entitled to share the glory. When accused of going to war, contrary to the decorums of her sex, and of assuming government and command over men; she scrupled not to reply, that her sole purpose was to defeat the English, and to expel them the kingdom. In the issue, she was condemned for all the crimes of which she had been accused, aggravated by heresy; her revelations were declared to be inventions of the devil to delude the people; and she was sentenced to be delivered over to the secular arm.

Joan, so long surrounded by inveterate enemies, who treated her with every mark of contumely; brow-beaten and overawed by men of superior rank, and men invested with the ensigns of a sacred character, which she had been accustomed

(*n*) Rymer, vol. x. p. 432.

accustomed to revere, felt her spirit at last subdued; and those visionary dreams of inspiration, in which she had been buoyed up by the triumphs of success and the applauses of her own party, gave way to the terrors of that punishment to which she was sentenced. She publicly declared herself willing to recant; she acknowledged the illusion of those revelations which the church had rejected; and she promised never more to maintain them. Her sentence was then mitigated: she was condemned to perpetual imprisonment, and to be fed during life on bread and water.

Enough was now done to fulfil all political views, and to convince both the French and the English, that the opinion of divine influence, which had so much encouraged the one and daunted the other, was entirely without foundation. But the barbarous vengeance of Joan's enemies was not satisfied with this victory. Suspecting, that the female dress, which she had now consented to wear, was disagreeable to her, they purposely placed in her apartment a suit of men's apparel; and watched for the effects of that temptation upon her. On the sight of a dress in which she had acquired so much renown, and which, she once believed, she wore by the particular appointment of Heaven, all her former ideas and passions revived; and she ventured in her solitude to clothe herself again in the forbidden garment. Her insidious enemies caught her in that situation: her fault was interpreted to be no less than a relapse into heresy: no recantation would now suffice, and no pardon could be granted her. She was condemned to be burned in the market-place, now the Marché aux Veaux, of Rouen; and the infamous sentence was accordingly executed; her body being reduced to ashes, embracing a cross, and invoking with her dying breath the sacred name of Jesus. This admirable heroine, to whom the more generous superstition of the ancients would have erected altars, was, on pretence of heresy and magic, delivered over alive to the flames, and expiated, by that dreadful punishment, the signal services which she had rendered to her prince and to her native country.

The affairs of the English, far from being advanced by this execution, went every day more and more to decay: the great abilities of the regent were unable to resist the strong inclination which had seized the French, to return under the obedience of their rightful sovereign, and which that act of cruelty was ill fitted to remove. Chartres was surprized by a stratagem of the count of Dunois: a body of the English, under lord Willoughby, was defeated at St. Celerin upon the Sarte (*o*): the fair in the suburbs of Caen, seated in the midst of the English territories, was pillaged by de Lore, a French officer: the duke of Bedford himself was obliged by Dunois to raise the siege of Lagni, in 1432, with some loss of reputation: and all these misfortunes, though light, yet being continued and uninterrupted, brought discredit on the English, and menaced them with an approaching revolution. But the chief detriment which the regent sustained, was by the death of his duchess, Anne of Burgundy, who had hitherto preserved some appearance of friendship between him and her brother, the duke of Burgundy (*p*): and his marriage soon afterwards, with Jaqueline of Luxembourg, was the beginning of a breach between them (*q*). Philip complained, that the regent had never had the civility to inform him of his intentions, and that so sudden a marriage was a slight on his sister's memory. The cardinal of Winchester mediated a reconciliation between these princes, and brought both of them to St. Omer's for that purpose. The duke of Bedford here expected the first visit, both as he was son, brother, and uncle to a king, and because he had already made such advances as to come into the duke of Burgundy's territories, in order to have an interview with him: but Philip, proud of his great power and independent dominions, refused to pay this compliment to the regent: and the two princes, unable to adjust the ceremonial, parted without seeing each other (*r*). A bad prognostic of their cordial intentions to renew past amity!

Nothing could be more repugnant to the interests of the house of Burgundy, than to unite the crowns of France and England on the same head; an event which, had it taken place, would have reduced the duke to the rank of a petty prince, and have rendered his situation entirely dependant and precarious. The title also to the crown of France, which, after the failure of the elder branches, might accrue to the duke or his posterity, had been sacrificed by the treaty of Troye; and strangers and enemies were thereby irrevocably fixed upon the throne. Revenge alone had carried Philip into these impolitic measures; and a point of honour had hitherto induced him to maintain them. But as it is the nature of passion gradually to decay, while the sense of interest maintains a permanent influence and authority; the duke had, for some years, appeared sensibly to relent in his animosity against Charles, and to hearken willingly to the apologies made by that prince for the murder of the late duke of Burgundy. His extreme youth was pleaded in his favour; his incapacity to judge for himself; the ascendant gained over him by his ministers: and his inability to resent a deed, which, without his knowledge, had been perpetrated by those under whose guidance he was then placed. The more to flatter the pride of Philip, the king of France had banished from his court and presence Tanegui de Chatel, and all those who were concerned in that assassination: and had offered to make every other atonement which could be required of him. The distress which Charles had already suffered, had tended to gratify the duke's revenge; the miseries to which France had been so long exposed, had begun to move his compassion; and the cries of all Europe admonished him, that his resentment, which might hitherto be deemed pious, would, if carried farther, be universally condemned as barbarous and unrelenting. While the duke was in this disposition, every disgust which he received from England, made a double impression upon him; the entreaties of the count of Richemont and the duke of Bourbon, who had married his two sisters, had weight; and he finally determined to unite himself to the royal family of France, from which his own was descended. For this purpose a congress was appointed at Arras under the mediation of deputies from the pope and the council of Basle. When the time fixed for the meeting of the congress arrived, the king of France deputed twenty-nine of the first nobles in the kingdom to attend as his ambassadors; among whom were the duke of Burgundy, the duke of Bourbon, and the count of Richemont. The council of England nominated the cardinal of Winchester, the bishops of Norwich and St. David's, the earls of Huntingdon and Suffolk, with twenty-two other commissioners of high rank and eminence both in church and state; to attend on their part. The duke of Burgundy appeared in person, attended by his whole court, and most of his principal nobility. Two cardinals were sent by the pope and the council of Basle, which was then sitting; and there was scarcely a potentate in Europe who did not send deputies to be present at this celebrated congress. The conferences, which were held in the abbey of St. Vaast, opened on the 20th of August, 1435; and began with discussing the proposals of the two crowns, which were so wide of each other as to admit of no hopes of accommodation. France offered to cede Normandy with Guienne, but both of them loaded with the usual homage and vassalage to the crown. As the claims of England upon France were universally unpopular in Europe, the mediators declared the offers of Charles very reasonable; and the cardinal of Winchester, with the other English ambassadors, without giving a particular detail of their demands, immediately left the congress. There remained nothing but to discuss the mutual pretensions of Charles the Seventh and Philip duke of Burgundy. These were easily adjusted: the vassal was in a situation to give law to his superior; and he exacted conditions, which, had it not been for the present necessity, would have been deemed, to the last degree, dishonourable and disadvantageous to the crown of France.

The pope's legate absolved the duke of Burgundy from the various oaths which he had taken to Henry the Fifth and his successor; and Charles consented to gratify both his pride and ambition by the most ample concessions. He engaged to ask pardon of Philip, either in person or by his delegates, for the murder of his father, as a crime to the commission of which he had been induced to consent by the instigation of evil counsellors; to deliver up all the assassins to justice; to found chapels and perpetual masses for the soul of John duke of Burgundy, as well as for those of his attendants who were killed at the same time; to erect a cross on the spot where the murder was committed; and to pay fifty thousand crowns in gold, as a compensation for the jewels of the duke which had been taken from

(*o*) Monstrelet, vol. ii. p. 100.
(*p*) Monstrelet, vol. ii. p. 87.
(*q*) Stowe, p. 373. Grafton, p. 554.
(*r*) Monstrelet, vol. ii. p. 90. Grafton, p. 561.

him

him after his assassination. He agreed to cede to Philip and his heirs, the counties and cities of Boulogne sur Mer, Maçon, St. Jençon, and Auxerre, with all their dependencies; together with that description of imposts, distinguished by the appellation of aids, which were levied on such parts of Maçon, Chalons, Autun, and Langres, as lay within Burgundy. The castles, towns, and districts of Bar sur Seine, Peronne, Roye, and Montdidier, with their appendages; the whole county of Ponthieu, Dourlens, St. Risquier, Crevecour, Arleux, Mortagne, St. Quintin, Corbie, Amiens, and Abbeville, were mortgaged to Philip and his heirs, until four hundred thousand crowns should be paid for their redemption. Philip himself was exempted during the life of Charles, and his vassals from obeying him as their superior lord. The French monarch engaged to succour the duke in case of an attack by the English; and both parties agreed to make no treaty with the enemy without the consent of each other. The duke's vassals and others, who had borne St. Andrew's cross, which was the ensign of Burgundy, were exempted from serving under any other; and a general pardon was granted to all persons, except the assassins before mentioned. Each party renounced every alliance to the prejudice of the other; and, by letters patent, they mutually declared their respective subjects absolved from all ties of allegiance to him who should first violate the present treaty. The princes of the blood in France, and the Burgundian nobles, ratified this agreement under their hands and seals; and it was afterwards confirmed by the council of Basle, which denounced the censures of excommunication and interdict against him who should be guilty of any infringement of the articles. Such were the extravagant terms on which the king of France purchased the friendship and alliance of the duke of Burgundy.

The duke sent a herald to England with a letter, in which he notified the conclusion of the treaty of Arras, and apologised for his departure from that of Troye. The council received the herald with great coldness: they even assigned him his lodging in a shoemaker's house, by way of insult; and the populace were so incensed, that, if the duke of Gloucester had not given him guards, his life had been exposed to danger, when he appeared in the streets. The Flemings, and other subjects of Philip, were insulted, and some of them murdered by the Londoners; and every thing seemed to tend towards a rupture between the two nations (*s*). These violences were not disagreeable to the duke of Burgundy; as they afforded him a pretence for the farther measures which he intended to take against the English, whom he now regarded as implacable and dangerous enemies.

A few days after the duke of Bedford received intelligence of this treaty, so fatal to the interests of England, he died at Roüen on the 14th of September. He was a prince of great abilities, and of many virtues; and whose memory, except for the barbarous execution of the Maid of Orleans, was unsullied by any considerable blemish. Isabella, queen of France, died a little before him, despised by the English, detested by the French, and reduced in her later years to regard, with an unnatural horror, the progress and successes of her own son, in recovering possession of his kingdom. This period was signalized by the death of the earl of Arundel (*t*), a great English general, who, though he commanded three thousand men, was foiled by Xaintrailles at the head of six hundred, and soon after expired of the wounds which he received in the action.

The violent factions, which prevailed between the duke of Gloucester and the cardinal of Winchester, prevented the English from taking the proper measures for repairing these multiplied losses, and threw all their affairs into confusion. The popularity of the duke, and his near relation to the crown, gave him advantages in the contest, which he often lost by his open and unguarded temper, unfit to struggle with the politic and interested spirit of his rival. The balance, meanwhile, of these parties kept every thing in suspense: foreign affairs were much neglected; and though Richard duke of York, son to that earl of Cambridge who was executed in the beginning of the last reign, was appointed successor to the duke of Bedford, in the regency of France, it was seven months before his commission passed the seals; and the English remained so long in an enemy's country, without a proper head or governor.

The new governor, having at length received his commission of regent, landed in Normandy with a considerable body of troops, and on his arrival, he found the capital already lost. The Parisians had always been more attached to the Burgundian than to the English interest; and after the conclusion of the treaty of Arras, their affections, without any farther control, universally led them to return to their allegiance under their native sovereign. The constable Richemont, together with mareschal L'Ile Adam, the same person who had before put Paris into the hands of the duke of Burgundy, was introduced in the night-time by intelligence with the citizens: lord Willoughby, who commanded only a small garrison of fifteen thousand men, was expelled: this nobleman discovered valour and presence of mind on the occasion; but unable to guard so large a place against such multitudes, he retired into the Bastile, and being there invested, he delivered up that fortress, and was contented to stipulate for the safe retreat of his troops into Normandy (*u*).

In the same season, 1436, the duke of Burgundy openly took part against England, and commenced hostilities by the siege of Calais, the only place which now gave the English any sure hold of France, and still rendered them dangerous. As he was beloved among his own subjects, and had acquired the epithet of *Good*, from his popular qualities, he was able to interest all the inhabitants of the Low Countries in the success of this enterprize; and he invested that place with an army of fifty thousand men, which was without experience, discipline, or military spirit (*v*). On the first alarm of this siege, the duke of Gloucester assembled some forces, sent a defiance to Philip, and challenged him to wait the event of a battle, which he promised to give, as soon as the wind would permit him to reach Calais. The warlike genius of the English had at that time rendered them terrible to all the northern parts of Europe; especially to the Flemings, who were more expert in manufactures than in arms; and the duke of Burgundy, being already foiled in some attempts before Calais, and observing the discontent and terror of his own army, thought proper to raise the siege, and to retreat before the arrival of the enemy (*w*).

The English were still, about the middle of 1440, masters of many fine provinces in France; but retained possession, more by the extreme weakness of Charles, than by the strength of their own garrisons, or the force of their armies. Nothing indeed can be more surprising than the feeble efforts made, during the course of several years, by these two potent nations against each other; while the one struggled for independence, and the other aspired to a total conquest of its rival. The general want of industry, commerce, and police, in that age, had rendered all the European nations, and France and England no less than the others, unfit for bearing the burthens of war, when it was prolonged beyond one season; and the continuance of hostilities had, long ere this time, exhausted the force and patience of both kingdoms. Scarcely could the appearance of an army be brought into the field on either side; and all the operations consisted in the surprizal of places, in the rencounter of detached parties, and in incursions upon the open country; which were performed by small bodies, assembled on a sudden from the neighbouring garrisons. In this method of conducting the war, the French king had much the advantage: the affections of the people were entirely on his side; intelligence was early brought him of the state and motions of the enemy; the inhabitants were ready to join in any attempts against the garrisons; and thus ground was continually, though slowly, gained upon the English. The duke of York, who was a prince of abilities, struggled against these difficulties during the course of five years; and being assisted by the valour of lord Talbot, soon after created earl of Shrewsbury, he performed actions which acquired him honour, but merit not the attention of posterity. It would have been well, had this feeble war, in sparing the blood of the people, prevented likewise all other oppressions; and had the fury of men, which reason and justice cannot restrain, thus happily received a check from their impotence and inability. But the French and English, though they exerted such small force, were, however, stretching

(*s*) Monstrelet, vol. ii. p. 120. Hollingshed, p. 612.
(*t*) Monstrelet, vol. ii. p. 105. Hollingshed, p. 610.
(*u*) Monstrelet, vol. ii. p. 127. Grafton, p. 568.
(*v*) Monstrelet, vol. ii. p. 126, 130, 132. Hollingshed, p. 613. Grafton, p. 571.
(*w*) Monstrelet, vol. ii. p. 136. Hollingshed, p. 614.

beyond their resources, which were still smaller; and the troops, destitute of pay, were obliged to subsist by plundering and oppressing the country, both of friends and enemies. The fields in all the north of France, which was the seat of war, were laid waste and left uncultivated (*x*). The cities were gradually depopulated, not by the blood spilt in battle, but by the more destructive pillage of the garrisons (*y*): and both parties, weary of hostilities which decided nothing, seemed at last desirous of peace, and they set on foot negociations for that purpose. But the proposals of France, and the demands of England, were still so wide of each other, that all hope of accommodation immediately vanished. The English ambassadors demanded restitution of all the provinces which had once been annexed to England, together with the final cession of Calais and its district; and required the possession of these extensive territories without the burden of any fealty or homage on the part of their prince: the French offered only part of Guienne, part of Normandy, and Calais, loaded with the usual burdens. It appeared in vain to continue the negociation, while there was so little prospect of agreement. The English were still too haughty to stoop from the vast hopes which they had formerly entertained, and to accept of terms more suitable to the present condition of the two kingdoms.

The duke of York soon after resigned his government to Richard Beauchamp, earl of Warwick, a nobleman of reputation, whom death prevented from long enjoying this dignity. The duke, upon the demise of that nobleman, returned to his charge, and during his administration, a truce was concluded between the king of England and the duke of Burgundy, which had become necessary for the commercial interests of their subjects (*z*). The war with France continued in the same languid and feeble state as before.

The captivity of five princes of the blood, taken prisoners in the battle of Azincour, was a considerable advantage which England long enjoyed over its enemy; but this superiority was now entirely lost. Some of these princes had died; some had been ransomed; and the duke of Orleans, the most powerful among them, was the last that remained in the hands of the English. He offered the sum of fifty-four thousand nobles (*a*) for his liberty; and when this proposal was laid before the council of England, as every question was there an object of faction, the party of the duke of Gloucester, and that of the cardinal of Winchester, were divided in their sentiments with regard to it. The duke reminded the council of the dying advice of the late king, that none of these prisoners should on any account be released, till his son should be of sufficient age to hold, himself, the reins of government. The cardinal insisted on the greatness of the sum offered, which, in reality, was nearly equal to two-thirds of all the extraordinary supplies that the parliament, during the course of seven years, granted for the support of the war. And he added, that the release of this prince was more likely to be advantageous than prejudicial to the English interests; by filling the court of France with faction, and giving a head to those numerous malcontents whom Charles was at present able, with great difficulty, to restrain. The cardinal's party, as usual, prevailed: the duke of Orleans was released, after a melancholy captivity of twenty-five years (*b*): and the duke of Burgundy, as a pledge of his entire reconciliation with the family of Orleans, facilitated to that prince the payment of his ransom. It must be confessed, that the princes and nobility, in those ages, went to war on very disadvantageous terms. If they were taken prisoners, they either remained in captivity during life, or purchased their liberty at the price which the victors were pleased to impose, and which often reduced their families to want and beggary.

The duke of Orleans, on his return to France, was received by the people with such marks of affection, that Charles took umbrage at his popularity; and, far from favouring his endeavours to promote a peace, prepared to pursue the war with more vigour than he had lately exerted. Having placed himself at the head of his troops, accompanied by the dauphin, he opened the campaign in the month of April, by the siege of Creil, a town on the river Orise, which he soon obliged to capitulate. His next attempt was on Pontoise, which he invested about the middle of May, with an army of twelve thousand men. The dauphin, and all the best generals of France, were present at this siege, which was conducted with great vigour, as Charles was extremely anxious to obtain possession of a place so important both from its strength and situation. The defence, however, was sustained with equal vigour and intrepidity; and all the precautions of the besiegers proved inadequate to resist the courageous efforts of the gallant Talbot, who forced their entrenchments, and entered the town with a considerable convoy. The garrison, deriving fresh spirits from this seasonable supply, repelled every attack of the enemy, who continued the siege till the middle of August; when the duke of York, having collected an army of eight thousand men, marched from Roüen towards Pontoise. When he approached the place he sent a herald to Charles, challenging him to battle; but the French monarch replied, that he should never suffer an enemy to regulate his conduct. The two armies were separated by the river Orise; and, as the bridge was guarded by a detachment of a thousand men, Charles set the English at defiance, and continued the siege without dread of molestation. His security, however, proved fallacious; for the duke of York, having found means to transport six hundred men in boats, during the night, to the opposite side, they attacked the guard on the bridge; and, having put them all to the sword, opened a passage for the remainder of the army. Charles was thrown into such consternation by this unexpected assault, that he hastily raised the siege, and retired under the cannon of Poissi. Thither he was followed by the duke of York, who once more challenged him to battle: but, finding Charles determined to avoid an engagement, the regent committed depredations on the neighbouring country; and having recruited the garrison of Pontoise, returned into Normandy. The precipitate retreat of the French from an inferior army gave rise to great murmurs in Paris; and the popular discontents became so loud and prevalent, that Charles deemed it necessary to recover his lost reputation by some signal effort. With this view he returned to Pontoise, wholly unexpected by the English; recommenced the siege; and conducted it with so much vigour, that a practicable breach was soon effected, which Charles was the first to mount. His conduct on this occasion inspired his troops with such courage, that their efforts proved irresistible; the place was taken, five hundred of the garrison were put to the sword, and the rest made prisoners.

During these transactions in France, the most violent confusion prevailed in the council of England. The cardinal of Winchester, not content with thwarting the duke of Gloucester in all his views and projects, finding his popularity daily increased, had secretly determined to operate his destruction. He had introduced spies into his family, from the hope that the continued provocations which the duke received from the council, and the contemptuous behaviour of the young king; whose disposition, being now developed, had proved him to be harmless and inoffensive, of a weak mind, and slender abilities—(a fit puppet for the hand of ambition)—would betray him into some unguarded expressions that might give rise to an accusation of treason; but Gloucester, though warm in temper, and nicely susceptible of insults, was too strongly attached to his sovereign to afford the smallest pretence for attacking him on the score of disloyalty; the cardinal was therefore obliged to change his plan, and to seek, by farther provocations, to obtain some advantages over his enemy. Having received information from one of his emissaries that the duchess of Gloucester (who was the daughter of Reginald lord Cobham) had frequent meetings with a priest, named Roger Bolingbroke, a reputed necromancer, and Margery Gourdimain, of Eye, known by the appellation of The Witch of Eye, who acquired a subsistence by the sale of certain powders, calculated to prevent the alienation of affection, he issued a warrant for the apprehension of those

(*x*) Grafton, p. 562.

(*y*) Fortescue, who soon after this period visited France in the train of prince Henry, speaks of that kingdom, as a desert in comparison of England. See his treatise *De Laudibus Legum Angliæ*. Though we make allowances for the partialities of Fortescue, there must have been some foundation for this account; and these destructive wars are the most likely reason to be assigned for the difference remarked by this author.

(*z*) Grafton, p. 573.

(*a*) Rymer, vol. x. p. 764, 776, 782, 795, 796. This sum was equal to thirty-six thousand pounds sterling of our present money. A subsidy of a tenth and fifteenth was fixed by Edward III. at twenty-nine thousand pounds, which, in the reign of Henry VI. made only fifty-eight thousand pounds of our present money. The parliament granted only one subsidy during the course of seven years, from 1427 to 1444.

(*b*) Grafton, p. 578.

people, as well as of the duchess herself, whom he accused of high treason. The sole attempt that was made to support this malicious accusation, was an assertion that the prisoners had made an image of young Henry in wax, which they melted before a slow fire, from the belief that, by the power of magical incantations, a similar gradual consumption of the king's strength and vigour would take place, and produce a total decay. The duchess underwent an examination by the archbishops of Canterbury and York, assisted by several other prelates, who were not ashamed to prostitute the sacred dignity of their character to such base and treacherous purposes. The accusation being confirmed by these infamous priests, a solemn deputation of the peers, among whom were the earls of Huntingdon, Stafford, Suffolk, and Northumberland, was appointed to try her. It will easily be imagined, that the same dishonourable spirit of persecution which dictated the charge obtained at the trial. No evidence could possibly be adduced in support of an assertion that set common sense at defiance; nor was any required: the judges, all creatures of the cardinal, obeyed his injunctions with implicit precision; and, without the smallest proof, pronounced the duchess guilty, and sentenced her to do penance, three different times, at St. Paul's and two other churches, and then doomed her to perpetual imprisonment. Bolingbroke, who, unfortunately for himself possessed some mathematical knowledge, and was therefore deemed a magician, was executed at Tyburn; and Margery Gourdimain, the female vender of love-powders, was burnt in Smithfield (*c*). The cardinal, however, gained but little by this arbitrary exertion of power; for Gloucester, aware of his designs, was studious to counteract them; and the people, perceiving that the duke was an object of persecution, bestowed on him a greater portion of their esteem.

Since the declension of Gloucester's power in the council, the war with France had been either wholly neglected; or, what was of worse consequence, but feebly pursued. After the reduction of Pontoise, Charles had marched his army into Guienne; and meeting with no opposition, made himself master of the principal places in that province. The duke of York indeed attempted to make a diversion in the northern parts of the kingdom; and lord Talbot, lately created earl of Shrewsbury, landed in Normandy with a reinforcement of troops: but their forces being wholly inadequate to any important enterprize, they were unable to impede the rapid progress of the French.

The duke of Gloucester, in the mean time, justly incensed at the personal injuries he had sustained from the cardinal of Winchester, as well as at the flagitious practices of that prelate, preferred an accusation of high treason against him. The charge consisted of fourteen articles; the most weighty of which set forth, that the said cardinal, in conjunction with John Kemp, archbishop of York, had taken the exclusive possession of the king's person, and assumed to himself the exercise of sovereign authority. By another, these prelates were accused of embezzling immense sums of the public money. Both these accusations were founded in fact; and, as they related to circumstances of public notoriety, might have been easily proved: but the council, blindly devoted to the will of the cardinal, refused to exert themselves; and the king, wholly at his command, rendered the prosecution needless, by granting him a full pardon for all the treasons and crimes he had ever committed—though the cardinal's acceptance of such a pardon certainly amounted to an acknowledgement of his own guilt.

The sentiments of the cardinal of Winchester, some time after, prevailed in a point of great moment. That prelate had always encouraged every proposal of accommodation with France; and had represented the utter impossibility, in the present circumstances, of pushing farther the conquests in that kingdom, and the great difficulty of even maintaining those which were already made. He insisted on the extreme reluctance of the parliament to grant supplies; the disorders in which the English affairs in Normandy were involved; the daily progress made by the French king; and the advantage of stopping his hand by a temporary accommodation, which might leave room for time and accidents to operate in favour of the English. The duke of Gloucester, high-spirited and haughty, and educated in the lofty pretensions which the first successes of his two brothers had rendered familiar to him, could not yet be induced to relinquish all hopes of prevailing over France; much less could he see, with patience, his own opinion thwarted and rejected by the influence of his rival in the English council. But, notwithstanding his opposition, the earl of Suffolk, a nobleman who adhered to the cardinal's party, was dispatched to Tours, in order to negociate with the French ministers. It was found impossible to adjust the terms of a lasting peace; but a truce for twenty-two months was concluded, on the 24th of May, 1444, to last till the first of April, 1446, which left every thing on the present footing between the parties. The numerous disorders under which the French government laboured, and which time alone could remedy, induced Charles to assent to this truce; and the same motives engaged him afterwards to prolong it (*d*) to six years. But Suffolk, not content with executing this object of his commission, proceeded to another business, with which he was charged, either by a private article of his instructions, or (which is more probable) by the secret commands of the cardinal, to procure for young Henry a consort; who, being indebted to him for her elevation, might prove a formidable acquisition to his party.

In proportion as Henry advanced in years, his character became fully known in the court, and was no longer ambiguous to either faction. Of the most harmless, inoffensive, simple manners; but of the most slender capacity; he was fitted, both by the softness of his temper, and the weakness of his understanding, to be perpetually governed by those who surrounded him; and it was easy to foresee that his reign would prove a perpetual minority. As he had now reached the twenty-third year of his age, it was natural to think of choosing him a queen; and each party was ambitious of having him receive one from their hand; since it was probable that this circumstance would decide, for ever, the victory between them. The duke of Gloucester proposed a daughter of the count of Armagnac; but had not credit to effect his purpose. The cardinal and his friends had cast their eye on Margaret of Anjou, daughter of René, count of Anjou, titular king of Sicily, Naples, and Jerusalem,—pompous titles, which he inherited from the count of Anjou, brother of Charles V. who had left these magnificent titles to his posterity, but without any real power or possessions to support them. This princess herself was one of the most accomplished women of her age both in body and mind; and seemed to possess those qualities which would equally qualify her to acquire the ascendant over Henry, and to supply all his defects and weaknesses. Of a masculine, courageous spirit, of an enterprising temper, endowed with solidity as well as vivacity of understanding, she had not been able to conceal these great talents even in the privacy of her father's family; and it was reasonable to expect, that when she should mount the throne, they would break out with still superior lustre. The earl of Suffolk, therefore, in concert with his associates of the English council, made proposals of marriage to Margaret, which were immediately accepted. But this nobleman, besides preoccupying the princess's favour, by being the chief means of her advancement, endeavoured to ingratiate himself with her family, by very extraordinary concessions: though Margaret brought no dowry with her, he ventured, of himself, without any direct authority from the council, but probably with the approbation of the cardinal and the ruling members, to engage, by a secret article, that the province of Maine, which was at that time in the hands of the English, should be ceded to Charles of Anjou, her uncle (*e*), who was prime minister and favourite of the French king, and who had already received from his master the grant of that province as his appanage. The articles of marriage being adjusted, Suffolk returned to England; where the treaty was accordingly ratified. Suffolk obtained first the title of marquis, then that of duke; and even received the thanks of parliament for his services in concluding it.

Matters being thus far prepared, the cardinal prevailed on the weak monarch to confer new honours on some of the most powerful of the nobility. In consequence of which John Holland, earl of Huntingdon, was created duke of Exeter; Humphrey earl of Stafford, duke of Buckingham; and Henry de Beauchamp, earl of Warwick, (son to the late regent of France,) was made duke of Warwick. The earl (now marquis) of Suffolk was sent, with a splendid train of peers and peeresses, to conduct

(*c*) The religious principles of the dark times we are now describing must appear in a very unfavourable point of view, when we see the first dignitaries of the church stand forward as the promoters of such diabolical practices.

(*d*) Rymer, vol. xi. p. 101, 108, 206, 214.
(*e*) Grafton, p. 590.

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the new queen to England, where she landed in April, 1445. On the 22nd of that month the marriage was consummated at Southwick in Hampshire; and, on the 30th of May, the ceremony of her coronation was performed, with great pomp and solemnity, at Westminster Abbey.

The generous duke of Gloucester, though foiled in his endeavours to promote the welfare of this nation, by recommending a more suitable person for the wife of Henry, had attempted to soothe the indignation of Margaret, by going forth to meet her, with five hundred of his followers in livery, as she approached the metropolis, and by shewing her every mark of respect, but her resentment, daily inflamed by the cardinal and his party, became inveterate; and she was soon brought to join in a project for the destruction of that nobleman, who, from the generosity of his heart, and the nobleness of his nature, might have been of the greatest service to her in her exalted station. In order to effect their nefarious purpose, a parliament was summoned to meet,—not at London, which was supposed to be too well affected to the duke, but—at St. Edmundsbury in Suffolk, on the 10th of February, 1447; and the duke of Gloucester, unsuspicious of danger, came to attend it at the appointed time. The assembly was opened with the usual forms, and nothing extraordinary occurred on the first day of the sessions; but, on the second, the duke was arrested by lord Beaumont, the high constable, and committed to prison: his attendants were likewise seized, and secured in different places of confinement. The pretext offered to the public for this violence was, that Gloucester had formed a conspiracy to assassinate the king, and usurp the throne; and it was given out that he would be brought to trial without delay for high-treason. This tale, however, not meeting with that degree of credit which it was expected the authority of those who invented and propagated it would necessarily enforce, the accusers judged it expedient to change their plan, and accordingly resolved on a private assassination, as more certain, and less dangerous, than a public execution. It therefore happened, that a few days after his commitment, the duke of Gloucester was found dead in his bed! and though his body, which had no marks of violence on it, was exposed to the view both of the parliament and the people, no one entertained the smallest doubt that he had fallen a victim to the persecuting spirit and malevolent designs of his enemies. His death happened on the 28th of February, the same month in which the parliament assembled. A similar artifice had formerly been practised in the case of Edward the Second, Richard the Second, and Thomas of Woodstock, duke of Gloucester. Several of the duke's friends and retinue were afterwards tried as accomplices in his supposed treasonable projects; and, to the disgrace of their judges, they were convicted, and sentenced to death. The marquis of Suffolk, who conducted this shameful process, sought to avert the odium he had incurred by this which he supposed an act of popularity. He suffered the convicted persons to be conveyed to the place of execution, to be hanged, and to be cut down, but just as the executioner was proceeding to quarter them, their pardon was produced, and they were recovered to life (*f*). This mode of bestowing mercy (exercised by the Englishmen) was, in this instance, not less cruel than the illegal punishment which rendered the exercise of it necessary. The indecent haste and rapacity with which the queen and her favourites seized on the extensive estates of the duke of Gloucester, and appropriated them to their own use, or bestowed them on their minions, sufficiently explained to the people the motives which had influenced his destruction, and rendered his murderers completely odious (*g*).

The cardinal of Winchester died six weeks after his nephew, whose murder was universally ascribed to him as well as to the duke of Suffolk, and it is said, that in his last moments he experienced the severest pangs of a guilty conscience—pangs which reduce illustrious vice to its proper station, and afford to obscure virtue a glorious, though a painful triumph! the remorse which he suffered could scarcely be expected from a man hardened, during the course of a long life, in falsehood and in politics. What share the queen had in this guilt, is uncertain; her usual activity and spirit made the public conclude, with some reason, that the duke's enemies durst not have ventured on such a deed without her privity. But there happened soon after, an event, of which she and her favourite, the marquis of Suffolk, bore incontestibly the whole odium.

That article of the marriage treaty, by which the province of Maine was to be ceded to Charles of Anjou, the queen's uncle, had probably been hitherto kept secret; and, during the lifetime of the duke of Gloucester, whose popularity was great, it might have been dangerous to venture on the execution of it. But, as the court of France strenuously insisted on its performance, orders were now dispatched, under Henry's hand, to sir Francis Surienne, governor of Mans, commanding him to surrender that place to Charles of Anjou. Surienne, either questioning the authenticity of the order, or regarding his government as his sole fortune, refused compliance; and it became necessary for a French army, under the count of Dunois, to lay siege to the city. The governor made as good and as obstinate a defence as his situation could permit; but, receiving no relief from Edmund duke of Somerset, who was at that time governor of Normandy, he was at last obliged to capitulate, and to surrender not only Mans, but all the other fortresses of that province, which was thus entirely alienated from the crown of England.

The bad effects of this measure stopped not here. Surienne, in 1448, at the head of all his garrisons, amounting to two thousand five hundred men, retired into Normandy, in expectation of being taken into pay, and of being quartered in some towns of that province. But Somerset, who had no means of subsisting such a multitude, and who was probably incensed at Surienne's disobedience, refused to admit him; and this adventurer, not daring to commit depredations on the territories either of the king of France or of England, marched into Britanny, seized the rich commercial town of Fougeres, repaired the fortifications of Pontorson and St. Jacques de Beuvron, and subsisted his troops by the ravages which he exercised on that whole province (*h*). The duke of Britanny, justly enraged at the infraction of a truce, in which, as an ally of France, he had been included, complained of the violence to the king of France, his liege lord: Charles remonstrated with the duke of Somerset; that nobleman replied, that the injury was done without his privity, and that he had no authority over Surienne and his followers (*i*). This answer, as might have been expected, proved unsatisfactory to Charles, who never would admit of the apology. He insisted that these plunderers should be recalled, and that reparation should be made to the duke of Britanny for all the damages which he had sustained: and, in order to render an accommodation absolutely impracticable, he made the estimation of damages amount to no less a sum than one million six hundred thousand crowns. He was sensible of the superiority which the present state of his affairs gave him over England; and he determined to take advantage of it.

No sooner was the truce concluded between the two kingdoms, than Charles employed himself, with great industry and judgement, in repairing those numberless ills to which France, from the continuance of wars both foreign and domestic, had so long been exposed. He restored the course of public justice; he introduced order into the finances; he established discipline in his troops; he repressed faction in his court; he revived the languid state of agriculture and the arts; and, in the course of a few years, he rendered his kingdom flourishing within itself, and formidable to its neighbours. Meanwhile, affairs in England had taken a very different turn. The court was divided into parties, which were enraged against each other: the people were discontented with the government: conquests in France, which were an object more of glory than of interest, were overlooked amidst domes-

(*f*) Fabian, Chron. anno 1447.

(*g*) The duke of Gloucester was an excellent prince, and is said to have received a better education than was usual in his age, to have founded one of the first public libraries in England, and to have been a great patron of learned men. Among other advantages which he reaped from this turn of mind, it tended much to cure him of credulity; of which the following instance is given by Sir Thomas More. There was a man who pretended, that, though he was born blind, he had recovered his sight by touching the shrine at St. Albans. The duke, happening soon after to pass that way, questioned the man, and, seeming to doubt of his sight, asked him the colours of several cloaks, worn by persons of his retinue. The man told them very readily. "You are a knave," cried the prince; "had you been born blind, you could not so soon have learned to distinguish colours;" and immediately ordered him to be set in the stocks as an impostor. Grafton, p. 597.

(*h*) Monstrelet, vol. iii. p. 6.

(*i*) Monstrelet, vol. iii. p. 7. Hollingshed, p. 629.

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tic incidents, which engrossed the attention of all men: the governor of Normandy, ill supplied with money, was obliged to dismiss the greater part of his troops, and to allow the fortifications of the towns and castles to become ruinous: and the nobility and people of that province had, during the late open communication with France, enjoyed frequent opportunities of renewing connexions with their ancient master, and of concerting the means for expelling the English. The occasion, therefore, seemed favourable to Charles for breaking the truce. Normandy was at once invaded by four powerful armies; one commanded by the king himself; a second by the duke of Britanny; a third by the duke of Alençon; and a fourth by the count of Dunois. The places opened their gates almost as soon as the French appeared before them: Verneüil, Nogent sur Seine, Chateau Gaillard, Pont eau de Mer, Gisors, Mante, Vernon, Argentan, Lisieux, Fécamp, Coutances, Belesme, Pont de l'Arche, fell in an instant into the hands of the enemy. The duke of Somerset, so far from having an army which could take the field, and relieve these places, was not able to supply them with the necessary garrisons and provisions. He retired, with the few troops of which he was master, into Roüen; and thought it sufficient, if, till the arrival of succours from England, he could save that capital from the general fate of the province. The garrison of that city consisted but of two thousand men; and Charles, having reduced the greatest part of Normandy in less than four months, advanced, in the beginning of October, 1449, to attack the capital, at the head of a formidable army, fifty thousand strong. The dangerous example of revolt had infected the inhabitants; and they called aloud for a capitulation. Somerset, unable to resist, at once, both the enemies within and from without, retired with his garrison into the palace and castle; which, being places not tenable, he was obliged to surrender: he purchased a retreat to Harfleur by the payment of fifty-six thousand crowns, by engaging to surrender Arques, Tancarville, Moustier Villiers, Lislebonne, Caudebec, Honfleur, and other places in Normandy, and by delivering the gallant Talbot earl of Shrewsbury, and several others, as hostages for the performance of articles (*k*). The governor of Honfleur refused to obey his orders; upon which the earl of Shrewsbury, who was one of the hostages, was detained prisoner; and the English were thus deprived of the only general capable of recovering them from their present distressed situation: it sustained a siege, but was obliged to surrender on the 18th of February, 1450. Harfleur made a better defence under Sir Thomas Curson the governor; but was finally obliged to open its gates to Dunois. Succours at last appeared from England under Sir Thomas Kyriel, and landed at Cherbourgh: but these came very late, amounted only to four thousand men, and were soon after put to rout at Fourmigni by the count of Clermont (*l*). This battle, or rather skirmish, was the only action fought by the English for the defence of their dominions in France, which they had purchased at such an expence of blood and treasure. Somerset, shut up in Caën without any prospect of relief, found it necessary to capitulate: Falaise opened its gates, on condition that the earl of Shrewsbury should be restored to liberty; and Cherbourgh, the last place of Normandy which remained in the hands of the English, being delivered up, on the 12th August, the conquest of that important province was finished in a twelvemonth by Charles, to the great joy of the inhabitants and of his whole kingdom (*m*).

A like rapid success attended the French arms in Guienne; though the inhabitants of that province were, from long custom, better inclined to the English government. Dunois was dispatched thither, and met with no resistance in the field, and very little from the towns. Great improvements had been made, during this age, in the structure and management of artillery, and none in fortification; and the art of defence was by that means more unequal, than either before or since, to the art of attack. After all the small places about Bourdeaux were reduced, that city agreed to submit, if not relieved by a certain time; and as no one in England thought seriously of these distant concerns, no relief appeared; the place surrendered; and Bayonne being taken soon after, on the 25th of August, 1451, this whole province, which had remained united to England since the accession of Henry II. was, after a period of three centuries, finally swallowed up in the French monarchy.

Though no peace or truce was concluded between France and England, the war was, in a manner, at an end. The English, torn in pieces by the civil dissensions which ensued, made but one feeble effort more for the recovery of Guienne: and Charles, occupied at home in regulating the government, and fencing against the intrigues of his factious son, Louis the Dauphin, scarcely ever attempted to invade them in their island, or to retaliate upon them, by availing himself of their intestine confusions.

While the English were sustaining these losses on the continent, the popular discontents, aggravated by domestic oppression, increased to a great height, and threatened destruction to the queen's favourite, who had been lately created duke of Suffolk, and to whom all the national calamities had been hastily imputed. A spirit of revolt appeared in Hampshire, at the commencement of the year 1450; when Adam Molyns, bishop of Chichester, and keeper of the privy seal, who was known to be devoted to the will of Suffolk, was murdered by the populace at Portsmouth; and William Ascouth, bishop of Salisbury, soon after experienced a similar fate. An insurrection in Kent was also carried on by one Thany, a fuller, better known by the appellation of Blue-beard; but the interference of legal authority proving sufficient to quell it, the principal insurgents, with Thany at their head, were seized and hanged at Canterbury.

Although the people of England were never willing to grant the supplies necessary for keeping possession of the conquered provinces in France, they repined extremely at the loss of these boasted acquisitions; and fancied, because a sudden irruption could make conquests, that, without steady counsels, and an uniform expence, it was possible to maintain them. The voluntary cession of Maine to the queen's uncle had made them suspect treachery in the loss of Normandy and Guienne. They still considered Margaret as a French woman and a latent enemy of the kingdom. And when they saw her father and all her relations active in promoting the success of the French, they could not be persuaded that she, who was all powerful in the English council, would very zealously oppose them in their enterprizes.

But the most fatal blow given to the popularity of the crown, and to the interests of the house of Lancaster, was by the assassination of the virtuous duke of Gloucester, whose character, had he been alive, would have intimidated the partizans of the house of York; but whose memory, being extremely cherished by the people, served to throw an odium on all his murderers. By this crime the reigning family suffered a double prejudice: it was deprived of its firmest support; and it was loaded with all the infamy of that imprudent and barbarous assassination.

As the duke of Suffolk was known to have have had an active hand in the crime, he partook deeply of the hatred attending it; and the clamours, which necessarily rose against him, as prime minister, and declared favourite of the queen, were thereby augmented to a tenfold pitch, and became absolutely uncontrollable. The great nobility could ill brook to see a subject exalted above them; much more one who was only great grandson to a merchant, and who was of a birth so much inferior to theirs. The people complained of his arbitrary measures; which were, in some degree, a necessary consequence of the irregular power then possessed by the prince, but which the least disaffection easily magnified into tyranny. The great acquisitions which he daily made were the object of envy; and as they were gained at the expence of the crown, which was itself reduced to poverty, they appeared, on that account, to all indifferent persons, the more exceptionable and invidious.

The revenues of the crown, which had long been disproportioned to its power and dignity, had been extremely dilapidated during the minority of Henry (*n*); both by the rapacity of the courtiers, which the king's uncles could not control, and by the necessary expences of the French war, which had always been very ill supplied by the grants of parliament. The royal demesnes were dissipated; and at the same time the king was loaded with a debt of three hundred and seventy-two thousand pounds, a sum so great, that the parliament could never think of discharging it. This unhappy situation forced the ministers upon many arbitrary measures: the household itself could not be supported without stretching to the utmost the right of purveyance, and rendering it a kind of universal robbery upon the people: the public clamour rose high upon this occasion, and no one had the equity to make allowance for the necessity of the king's situation. Suffolk, once be-

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(*k*) Monstrelet, vol. iii p. 21. Grafton, p. 643. (*l*) Hollingshed, p. 631. (*m*) Grafton, p. 646. (*n*) Cotton, p. 609.

come odious, bore the blame of the whole; and every grievance, in every part of the administration, was universally imputed to his tyranny and injustice.

The parliament assembled on the 28th of January, 1450, when this nobleman, sensible of the public hatred under which he laboured, and foreseeing an attack from the commons, endeavoured to overawe his enemies by boldly presenting himself to the charge, and by insisting upon his own innocence, and even upon his merits, and those of his family, in the public service. He rose in the house of peers; took notice of the clamours propagated against him; and complained, that, after serving the crown in thirty-four campaigns; after living abroad seventeen years without once returning to his native country; after losing a father and three brothers in the wars with France; after being himself a prisoner, and purchasing his liberty by a great ransom; it should yet be suspected, that he had been debauched from his allegiance by that enemy whom he had ever opposed with such zeal and fortitude, and that he had betrayed his prince, who had rewarded his services by the highest honours and greatest offices that it was in his power to confer (*o*). This speech did not answer the purpose intended. The commons, rather provoked at his challenge, attended by their speaker, repaired to the house of lords, opened their charge against him, and sent up to the peers an accusation of high treason, divided into several articles; whereupon he was immediately committed to the Tower. They insisted, that he had persuaded the French king to invade England with an armed force, in order to depose the king, and to place on the throne his own son, John de la Pole, whom he intended to marry to Margaret, the only daughter of the late John duke of Somerset, and to whom, he imagined, he would by that means acquire a title to the crown: that he had contributed to the release of the duke of Orleans, in hopes that that prince would assist king Charles in expelling the English from France, and recovering full possession of his kingdom: that he had afterwards encouraged that monarch to make open war on Normandy and Guienne, and had promoted his conquests by betraying the secrets of England, and obstructing the succours intended to be sent to those provinces: and that he had, without any powers or commission, promised by treaty to cede the province of Maine to Charles of Anjou, and had accordingly ceded it; which proved in the issue the chief cause of the loss of Normandy (*p*).

It is evident, from a review of these articles, that the commons adopted, without inquiry, all the popular clamours against the duke of Suffolk, and charged him with crimes, of which none but the vulgar could seriously believe him guilty. Nothing can be more incredible, than that a nobleman, so little eminent by his birth and character, could think of acquiring the crown to his family, and of deposing Henry by foreign force, and, together with him, Margaret, his patron, a princess of so much spirit and penetration. Suffolk appealed to many noblemen in the house, who knew that he had intended to marry his son to one of the co-heirs of the earl of Warwick, and was disappointed in his views, only by the death of that lady: and he observed, that Margaret of Somerset could bring to her husband no title to the crown; because she herself was not so much as comprehended in the entail settled by act of parliament. It is easy to account for the loss of Normandy and Guienne, from the situation of affairs in the two kingdoms, without supposing any treachery in the English ministers; and it may safely be affirmed, that greater vigour was requisite to defend these provinces from the arms of Charles VII. than to conquer them at first from his predecessor. It could never be the interest of any English minister to betray and abandon such acquisitions; much less of one who was so well established in his master's favour, who enjoyed such high honours and ample possessions in his own country, who had nothing to dread but the effects of popular hatred, and who could never think, without the most extreme reluctance, of becoming a fugitive and exile in a foreign land. The only article which carries any face of probability, is his engagement for the delivery of Maine to the queen's uncle: but Suffolk maintained, with great appearance of truth, that this measure was approved of by several at the council table (*q*); and it seems hard to ascribe to it, as is done by the commons, the subsequent loss of Normandy, and expulsion of the English. Normandy lay open on every side to the invasion of the French: Maine, an inland province, must soon after have fallen without any attack: and as the English possessed in other parts more fortresses than they could garrison or provide for, it seemed no bad policy to contract their force, and to render the defence practicable, by reducing it within a narrower compass.

The commons were probably sensible that this charge of treason against Suffolk would not bear a strict scrutiny; and they therefore, soon after, sent up against him a new charge of misdemeanors, which they also divided into several articles. They affirmed, among other imputations, that he had procured exorbitant grants from the crown, had embezzled the public money, had conferred offices on improper persons, had perverted justice by maintaining iniquitous causes, and had procured pardons for notorious offenders (*r*). The articles are mostly general; but are not improbable: and as Suffolk seems to have been a bad man and a bad minister, it will not be rash in us to think that he was guilty, and that many of these articles could have been proved against him. The court was alarmed at the prosecution of a favourite minister, who lay under such a load of popular prejudices; and an expedient was fallen upon to save him from present ruin. The king summoned all the lords, spiritual and temporal, to meet on the 17th of March, and the king being seated on his throne, the prisoner was produced before them, and asked what he could say in his own defence? He denied the charges, but submitted to the king's mercy: Henry expressed himself not satisfied with regard to the first impeachment for treason; but in consideration of the second, for misdemeanors, he declared, that, by virtue of Suffolk's own submission, not by any judicial authority, he banished him the kingdom during five years. The lords remained silent; but soon after entered a protest, that this sentence should nowise infringe their privileges; and that, if Suffolk had insisted upon his right, and had not voluntarily submitted to the king's commands, he was entitled to a trial by his peers in parliament.

It was easy to see, that these irregular proceedings were meant to favour Suffolk, and that, as he still possessed the queen's confidence, he would, on the first favourable opportunity, be restored to his country, and be reinstated in his former power and credit. But Suffolk, convinced that his life was not safe in England, hastened to obey the sentence; and, on the 3rd of April, embarked at Ipswich for the continent; but he soon found that the rancour of his enemies was too inveterate to suffer him to escape so easily. The vessel in which he sailed was soon overtaken by a ship, called Nicholas of the Tower, employed for the purpose by the duke of Exeter, to whom it belonged, and boarded by the captain, who seized Suffolk, and conducted him to Dover, where his head was struck off with a rusty sword on the side of a cock boat, and his body thrown into the sea (*s*). No inquiry was made after the actors and accomplices in this atrocious deed of violence.

The duke of Somerset succeeded to Suffolk's power in the ministry, and credit with the queen; and as he was the person under whose government the French provinces had been lost, the public, who always judge by the event, soon made him equally the object of their animosity and hatred. The duke of York was absent in Ireland during all these transactions; and however it might be suspected that his partizans had excited and supported the prosecution against Suffolk, no immediate ground of complaint could, on that account, lie against him. But there happened, soon after, an incident which roused the jealousy of the court, and discovered to them the extreme danger to which they were exposed from the pretensions of that popular prince.

The humours of the people, set afloat by the parliamentary impeachment, and by the fall of so great a favourite as Suffolk, broke out in various commotions, which being generally begun without a plan, and pursued without an object, were soon suppressed; but there arose one in Kent, which wore a more serious aspect, and promised to be attended with more dangerous consequences. A man of low condition, one John Cade, a native of Ireland, a man possessed of great art, and of a daring spirit, who had been obliged to fly into France for crimes, observed, on his return to England, the discontents of the people; and he laid on them the foundation of projects which were at first crowned with surprising success. He took the name of John Mortimer; intending, as is supposed, to pass him-

(*o*) Cotton, p. 641. (*p*) Ibid. p. 642. Hall, fol. 157. Hollingshed, p. 631. Grafton, p. 607.

(*q*) Cotton, p. 643. (*r*) Ibid. (*s*) Hall, fol. 158. Hist. Croyland, contin. p. 525. Stowe, p. 388. Grafton, p. 610.

self for a son of that Sir John Mortimer who had been sentenced to death by parliament, and executed, in the beginning of this reign, without any trial or evidence, merely upon an indictment of high treason given in against him (*t*). On the first mention of that popular name, the common people of Kent, to the number of twenty thousand, flocked to Cade's standard, and he excited their zeal by publishing complaints against the numerous abuses in government, and demanding a redress of grievances. Having assembled a sufficient force, he directed his march towards the metropolis; and, on the first of June, 1450, encamped on Blackheath. From thence the insurgents sent two manifestos, addressed to the king and council; one of which was entitled, "The Complaints of the Commons of Kent, and Causes of the Assembly on the Blackheath;" and the other, "The Requests of the Captain of the great Assembly in Kent." These addresses appear to have been penned with great art: they contained the warmest professions of attachment to the person and government of Henry; and only requested that the king would afford them speedy redress as to certain grievances, which they specified; inflict exemplary punishment on those evil counsellors, by whose treachery and misconduct the people had been oppressed at home, and the national honour irreparably tarnished by continental losses; and, finally, that he would receive into his confidence the dukes of York, Exeter, Buckingham, and Norfolk, with other patriotic nobles, whose principles were known to be friendly to the constitution. Independent of the indignity of receiving the dictates of a plebeian, the council were swayed by the more powerful motives of self-preservation to reject the addresses of Cade, as a compliance with them would have occasioned the immediate destruction of many of their own members. Henry therefore determined to attempt the reduction of the insurgents to obedience by force; and an army of fifteen thousand men was forthwith raised for that purpose. On the approach of the troops, Cade and his followers retired to the vicinity of Sevenoaks; and their retreat bearing the appearance of a flight, the king's army returned to London, after a detachment had been sent in pursuit of the fugitives, under the command of Sir Humphrey Stafford, who soon overtook them, when an action ensued, in which Stafford and his brother were slain, and his troops entirely routed. Elated with this success, they returned, on the 29th of June, to their former station on Blackheath, where they were joined by many persons of rank and fortune. They still continued to preserve the same political moderation which had hitherto marked their proceedings; and, having by this means augmented the number of their adherents, and even impressed the soldiers with favourable ideas of their intentions, they reduced the king to the necessity of adopting conciliating measures. The archbishop of Canterbury, and the duke of Buckingham, were accordingly dispatched to confer with Cade, who treated them with becoming respect, though he displayed great firmness, positively refusing to disband his followers till the grievances complained of in his addresses were effectually remedied. On the return of these noblemen, Henry deemed it prudent so far to comply with the requests of the insurgents as to commit lord Say and Seale, the high treasurer, who was most noxious to them, to prison; and, thinking the metropolis no longer a place of safety, since the army was not to be relied on, he retired with his court to the castle of Kenilworth. The day after his departure, Cade entered the city; and seizing lord Say and Seale, together with his son-in-law, Sir James Cromer, sheriff of Kent, immediately caused them to be beheaded, without any form of trial. During some days the insurgents observed the most rigid discipline; but the temptation of acquiring wealth, without labour or difficulty, proved too powerful to be resisted for any length of time. Some opulent houses were plundered; and the pillage would doubtless have become general, but for the spirit of the citizens, who attacked the depredators with great vigour, and driving them from the city, shut the gates upon them. The next morning Cade made an attempt to force an entrance; but, after a bloody conflict, he was obliged to desist; and his followers were so dispirited by this unexpected check, that a well-timed proclamation of pardon, under the great seal, issued by the archbishops of Canterbury and York, who with the chancellor had taken refuge in the Tower, produced a surprizing effect. In a few hours the insurgents were dispersed; and of that army, which had lately appeared so formidable, Cade was almost the only man remaining; when, finding himself thus deserted, he embarked the fruits of his depredations on board a barge that was bound to Rochester, and repaired to the castle of Queenborough; but, being refused admittance, he dismissed the few followers who still adhered to him, and retired for safety to the wilds of Kent. A reward of one thousand marks to whoever should produce him, dead or alive, soon caused the discovery of his retreat: he was found by Alexander Eden, a Kentish gentleman; who, meeting with resistance, put him to death. His body was brought to London, where it was beheaded; his head being placed on London Bridge, and his quarters being sent to different places in Kent. Many of his followers were also capitally punished for their rebellion. Thus ended an insurrection which, under a leader of more consequence, might have produced an important revolution.

Although tranquillity was apparently restored, yet the minds of the people continued in a state of agitation: the same subjects of discontent remained; no change of ministry, no reformation of abuses, no impeachment of evil counsellors, had taken place; and the queen, more intent on projects of revenge than on measures of conciliation, increased the popular discontents, which she greatly heightened by her favours to the duke of Somerset, whom we have before mentioned as succeeding the duke of Suffolk in her esteem and confidence.

A weak prince, seated on the throne of England, had never failed, how gentle soever and innocent, to be infected with faction, discontent, rebellion, and civil commotions; and as the incapacity of Henry appeared every day in a fuller light, these dangerous consequences began, from past experience, to be universally and justly apprehended. Men also of unquiet spirits, no longer employed in foreign wars, whence they were now excluded by the situation of the neighbouring states, were the more likely to excite intestine disorders, and, by their emulation, rivalship, and animosities, to tear the bowels of their native country. But though these causes alone were sufficient to breed confusion, there concurred another circumstance of the most dangerous nature. At this critical conjuncture, a pretender to the crown appeared: the title itself of the weak prince, who enjoyed the name of sovereignty, was disputed; and the English were now to pay the severe, though late, penalty of their turbulence under Richard II. and of their levity in violating, without any necessity or just reason, the lineal succession of their monarchs.

All the males of the house of Mortimer were extinct; but Anne, the sister of the last earl of Marche, having espoused the earl of Cambridge, who was beheaded in the reign of Henry V. had transmitted her latent, but not yet forgotten, claim to her son, Richard duke of York. This prince, thus descended by his mother from Philippa, only daughter of the duke of Clarence, second son of Edward III. stood plainly in the order of succession before the king, who derived his descent from John of Gaunt, duke of Lancaster, third son of that monarch; and that claim could not, in many respects, have fallen into more dangerous hands than those of the duke of York. Richard was a man of valour and abilities, of a prudent conduct and mild dispositions: he had enjoyed an opportunity of displaying these virtues in his government of France: and though recalled from that command by the intrigues and superior interest of the duke of Somerset, he had been sent to suppress a rebellion in Ireland; had succeeded much better in that enterprize than his rival in the defence of Normandy; and had even been able to attach to his person and family the whole Irish nation, whom he was sent to subdue (*u*). In the right of his father, he bore the rank of first prince of the blood; and by this station he gave a lustre to his title derived from the family of Mortimer, which, though of great nobility, was equalled by other families in the kingdom, and had been eclipsed by the royal descent of the house of Lancaster. He possessed an immense fortune from the union of so many successions; those of Cambridge and York on the one hand, with those of Mortimer on the other: which last inheritance had before been augmented by an union of the estates of Clarence and Ulster with the patrimonial possessions of the family of Marche. The alliances too of Richard, by his marrying the daughter of Ralph Nevil earl of Westmoreland, had widely extended his interest among the nobility, and had procured him many connexions in that formidable order.

The family of Nevil was, perhaps, at this time, the most potent, both from their opulent possessions, and from the characters

(*t*) Ibid, p. 364. Cotton. p. 564.

(*u*) Stowe, p. 387.

characters of the men, that has ever appeared in England. For, besides the earl of Westmoreland, and the lords Latimer, Falconbridge, and Abergavenny; the earls of Salisbury and Warwick were of that family, and were of themselves, on many accounts, the greatest noblemen in the kingdom. The earl of Salisbury, brother-in-law to the duke of York, was the eldest son by a second marriage of the earl of Westmoreland; and inherited by his wife, daughter and heir of Montacute earl of Salisbury, killed before Orleans, the possessions and title of that great family. His eldest son Richard, had married Anne, the daughter and heir of Beauchamp earl of Warwick, who died governor of France; and by this alliance he enjoyed the possessions, and had acquired the title, of that other family, one of the most opulent, most ancient, and most illustrious in England. The personal qualities also of these two earls, especially of Warwick, enhanced the splendour of their nobility, and increased their influence over the people. This latter nobleman, commonly known, from the subsequent events, by the appellation of the *King-maker*, had distinguished himself by his gallantry in the field, by the hospitality of his table, by the magnificence, and still more by the generosity of his expence, and by the spirited and bold manner which attended him in all his actions. The undesigning frankness and openness of his character rendered his conquest over men's affections the more certain and infallible: his presents were regarded as sure testimonies of esteem and friendship; and his professions as the overflowings of his genuine sentiments. No less than thirty thousand persons are said to have daily lived at his board in the different manors and castles which he possessed in England: the military men, allured by his munificence and hospitality, as well as by his bravery, were zealously attached to his interests: the people in general bore him an unlimited affection: his numerous retainers were more devoted to his will, than to the prince or to the laws; and he was the greatest, as well as the last, of those mighty barons, who formerly overawed the crown, and rendered the people incapable of any regular system of civil government (*v*).

But the duke of York, besides the family of Nevil, had many other partizans among the great nobility. Courtney earl of Devonshire, descended from a very noble family of that name in France, was attached to his interests: Moubray duke of Norfolk had, from his hereditary hatred to the family of Lancaster, embraced the same party; and the discontents, which universally prevailed among the people, rendered every combination of the great the more dangerous to the established government. The duke of York had been greatly disgusted with the treatment which he had experienced from the queen and her party, who had taken from him the regency of France, and neglected no opportunity to hurt his feelings and mortify his pride; and the recent elevation of his chief rival, the duke of Somerset, to the first place in the ministry, could not fail to increase his disgust. The ministry, conscious that he had just subject for discontent, imagined, that it was the duke of York who had secretly instigated the insurrection under John Cade, in order to try, by that experiment, the dispositions of the people towards his title and family (*w*): and as the event had so far succeeded to his wish, the ruling party had greater reason than ever to apprehend the future consequences of his pretensions. At the same time they heard that he intended to return from Ireland; and fearing that he meant to bring an armed force along with him, they issued orders, in the king's name, for opposing him, and for debarring him entrance into England (*x*). But the duke refuted his enemies by coming attended with no more than his ordinary retinue: the precautions of the ministers served only to shew him their jealousy and malignity against him: he was sensible that his title, by being dangerous to the king, was also become dangerous to himself: he now saw the impossibility of remaining in his present situation, and the necessity of proceeding forward in support of his claim. His partizans, therefore, were instructed to maintain, in all companies, his right by succession, and by the established laws and constitution of the kingdom: these questions became every day more and more the subject of conversation: the minds of men were insensibly sharpened against each other by disputes, before they came to more dangerous extremities: and various topics were pleaded in support of the pretensions of each party.

The partizans of the house of Lancaster maintained, that though the elevation of Henry IV. might at first be deemed somewhat irregular, and could not be justified by any of those principles on which that prince chose to rest his title, it was yet founded on general consent, was a national act, and was derived from the voluntary approbation of a free people, who, being loosened from their allegiance by the tyranny of the preceding government, were moved by gratitude, as well as by a sense of public interest, to entrust the sceptre into the hands of their deliverer: that, even if that establishment were allowed to be at first invalid, it had acquired solidity by time; the only principle which ultimately gives authority to government, and removes those scruples which the irregular steps attending almost all revolutions naturally excite in the minds of the people: that the right of succession was a rule admitted only for general good, and for the maintenance of public order; and could never be pleaded to the overthrow of national tranquillity, and the subversion of regular establishments: that the principles of liberty, no less than the maxims of internal peace, were injured by these pretensions of the house of York; and if so many reiterated acts of the legislature, by which the crown was entailed on the present family, were now invalidated, the English must be considered, not as a free people, who could dispose of their own government, but as a troop of slaves, who were implicitly transmitted by succession from one master to another: that the nation was bound to allegiance under the house of Lancaster by moral, no less than by political duty; and were they to infringe those numerous oaths of fealty which they had sworn to Henry and his predecessors, they would thenceforth be thrown loose from all principles, and it would be found difficult ever after to fix and restrain them; that the duke of York himself had frequently done homage to the king as his lawful sovereign, and had thereby, in the most solemn manner, made an indirect renunciation of those claims with which he now dares to disturb the tranquillity of the public: that, even though the violation of the rights of blood, made on the deposition of Richard, was perhaps rash and imprudent, it was too late to remedy the mischief; the danger of a disputed succession could no longer be obviated; the people, accustomed to a government, which, in the hands of the late king, had been so inglorious, and in that of his predecessor so prudent and salutary, would still ascribe a right to it; by causing multiplied disorders, and by shedding an inundation of blood, the advantage would only be obtained of exchanging one pretender for another; and the house of York itself, if established on the throne, would, on the first opportunity, be exposed to those revolutions which the giddy spirit excited in the people gave so much reason to apprehend: and that though the present king enjoyed not the shining talents which had appeared in his father and grandfather, he might still have a son who should be endowed with them; he is himself eminent for the most harmless and inoffensive manners; and if active princes were dethroned on pretence of tyranny, and indolent ones on the plea of incapacity, there would thenceforth remain, in the constitution, no established rule of obedience to any sovereign.

These strong topics, in favour of the house of Lancaster, were opposed by arguments no less convincing on the side of the house of York. The partizans of this latter family asserted, that the maintenance of order in the succession of princes, far from doing injury to the people, or invalidating their fundamental title to good government, was established only for the purposes of government, and served to prevent those numberless confusions which must ensue, if no rule were followed but the uncertain and disputed views of present convenience and advantage: that the same maxims which ensured public peace, were also salutary to national liberty; the privileges of the people could only be maintained by the observance of laws; and if no account were made of the rights of the sovereign, it could less be expected that any regard would be paid to the property and freedom of the subject: that it was never too late to correct any pernicious precedent; an unjust establishment, the longer it stood, acquired the greater sanction and validity; it could, with more appearance of

(*v*) We are informed by Stowe, that "he was ever had in great favour of the commons of the land, because of the exceeding household which he daily kept in all countries wherever he sojourned or lay; and, when he came to London, he held such an house that six oxen were eaten at breakfast, and every tavern was full of his meat.

(*w*) Cotton, p. 601. Stowe, p. 391. (*x*) Stowe, p. 394.

reason,

reason, be pleaded as an authority for a like injustice; and the maintenance of it, instead of favouring public tranquillity, tended to disjoint every principle by which human society was supported: that usurpers would be happy, if their present possession of power, or their continuance for a few years, could convert them into legal princes; but nothing would be more miserable than the people, if all restraints on violence and ambition were thus removed, and a full scope given to the attempts of every turbulent innovator: that time, indeed, might bestow solidity on a government whose first foundations were the most infirm; but it required both a long course of time to produce this effect, and the total extinction of those claimants, whose title was built on the original principles of the constitution; that the deposition of Richard II. and the advancement of Henry IV. were not deliberate national acts, but the result of the levity and violence of the people, and proceeded from those very defects in human nature, which the establishment of political society, and of an order in succession, was calculated to prevent: that the subsequent entails of the crown were a continuance of the same violence and usurpation; they were not ratified by the legislature, since the consent of the rightful king was still wanting; and the acquiescence, first of the family of Mortimer, then of the family of York, proceeded from present necessity, and implied no renunciation of their pretensions: that the restoration of the true order of succession could not be considered as a change which familiarised the people to revolutions; but as the correction of a former abuse, which had itself encouraged the giddy spirit of innovations, rebellion, and disobedience: and that, as the original title of Lancaster stood only in the person of Henry IV. on present convenience, even this principle, unjustifiable as it was, when not supported by laws, and warranted by the constitution, had now entirely gone over to the other side; nor was there any comparison between a prince utterly unable to sway the sceptre, and blindly governed by corrupt ministers, or by an imperious queen, engaged in foreign and hostile interests; and a prince of mature years, of approved wisdom and experience, a native of England, the lineal heir of the crown, who, by his restoration, would replace every thing on ancient foundations.

So many plausible arguments could be urged on both sides of this interesting question, that the people were extremely divided in their sentiments; and though the noblemen of greatest power and influence seem to have espoused the party of York, the opposite cause had the advantage of being supported by the present laws, and by the immediate possession of royal authority. There were also many great noblemen in the Lancastrian party, who balanced the power of their antagonists, and kept the nation in suspense between them. The earl of Northumberland adhered to the present government: the earl of Westmoreland, in spite of his connections with the duke of York, and with the family of Nevil, of which he was the head, was brought over to the same party; and the whole north of England, the most warlike part of the kingdom, was, by means of these two potent noblemen, warmly engaged in the interests of Lancaster. Edmund Beaufort, duke of Somerset, and his brother Henry, were great supports of that cause; as were also Henry Holland duke of Exeter, Stafford duke of Buckingham, the earl of Shrewsbury, the lords Clifford, Dudley, Scales, Audley, and other noblemen.

While the kingdom was in this situation, it might naturally be expected that so many turbulent barons, possessed of so much independent authority, would immediately have flown to arms, and have decided the quarrel, after their usual manner, by war and battle, under the standards of the contending princes. But there still were many causes which retarded these desperate extremities, and made a long train of faction, intrigue, and cabal, precede the military operations. By the gradual progress of arts in England, as well as in other parts of Europe, the people were now become of some importance; laws were beginning to be respected by them; and it was requisite, by various pretences, previously to reconcile their minds to the overthrow of such an ancient establishment as that of the house of Lancaster, ere their concurrence could reasonably be expected. The duke of York himself, the new claimant, was of a moderate and cautious character, an enemy to violence, and disposed to trust rather to time and policy, than to sanguinary measures, for the success of his pretensions. The very imbecility itself of Henry, tended to keep the factions in suspense, and make them stand long in awe of each other: it rendered the Lancastrian party unable to strike any violent blow against their enemies; it encouraged the Yorkists to hope, that, after banishing the king's ministers, and getting possession of his person, they might gradually undermine his authority, and be able, without the perilous expedient of a civil war, to change the succession by parliamentary and legal authority.

The dispositions which appeared in a parliament assembled on the 6th of November, 1451, soon after the arrival of the duke of York from Ireland, favoured these expectations of his partizans, and both discovered an unusual boldness in the commons, and were a proof of the general discontents which prevailed against the administration. The lower house, without any previous enquiry or examination, without alledging any other ground of complaint than common fame, ventured to present a petition against the duke of Somerset, the duchess of Suffolk, the bishop of Chester, sir John Sutton, lord Dudley, and several others of inferior rank; and they prayed the king to remove them for ever from his person and councils, and to prohibit them from approaching within twelve miles of the court (*y*). This was a violent attack, somewhat arbitrary, and supported but by few precedents, against the ministry; yet the king durst not openly oppose it: he replied, that, except the lords, he would banish all the others from court during a year, unless he should have occasion for their service in suppressing any rebellion. At the same time he rejected a bill which had passed both houses, for attainting the late duke of Suffolk, and which, in several of its clauses, discovered a very general prejudice against the measures of the court.

Encouraged by these symptoms the duke of York, soon after his arrival retired into Wales, by the advice of his friends; and, as the people of that country were firmly attached to the family of Mortimer, he found but little difficulty in raising an army of ten thousand men to support such pretensions as he might think it prudent to advance. While he was collecting these troops, he sent the following petition to the king; possibly in the hope that a refusal to comply with its contents might afford a plausive pretext for his subsequent conduct, the real motives of which he was anxious for the present to conceal.

"Please it, your Highness, tenderly to consider the great grudging and rumour that is universally in this your realm, of that justice is not duly ministered to such as trespass and offend against your laws; and in special of them that (have) been endited of treason, and others being openly noised of the same: wherefore, for great inconvenience that have fallen, and great is like to fall hereafter, in your said realm, which God defend, unless by your Highness provision convenable be made for due reformation and punishment in this behalf. Wherefore I, your humble subject and liege man, Richard duke of York, willing, as affectionately as I can, and desiring surety and prosperity of your royal person, and welfare of this your noble realm, counsel and advertise your Excellence, for the conservation of good tranquillity and peaceable rule among all true subjects, for to ordain and provide that due justice be had against all such that (have) been so endited, or openly so noised; wherein I offer, and will put myself in devout (duty) for to execute your commandments in these premises, such offenders and redress of the said misrulers, to my might and power. And for the hasty execution hereof, like it your Highness to address your letters of privy seal and writs, to your officers and ministers, to do, take, and arrest, all such persons so noised or endited, of what estate, degree, or condition soever they be, and them to commit to your Tower of London, or to other your prisons, and there to abide without bail or mainprize unto the time that they be utterly tried and cleared, after the course of your laws."

The answer to this petition was such as could afford no possible excuse for violent proceedings: it expressed an approbation of the plan proposed by the duke; assured him of the speedy adoption of the measures he had recommended; and informed him, that he should be one of the commissioners for enforcing a due execution of them. The duke of York, however, having raised an army of ten thousand men, resolved it should not remain in a state of inactivity; and, as so specious a display of moderation, in men who had recently evinced a quite different disposition, might very reasonably be suspected of insincerity, he determined to be on his guard, and to prepare

(*y*) Parliamentary History, vol. ii. p. 263.

pare himself either to repel or commence attacks, as necessity should require or policy dictate. With this view he directed his march towards the metropolis in February, 1452, not imagining that the king had a sufficient army on foot to oppose his progress: but in this he was mistaken; for the queen, with that foresight and activity by which all her actions were distinguished, had discovered his intentions by his retreat into Wales, (where he raised his forces,) and had since been busily occupied in levying troops to prevent their completion, though none of the officers who were employed in raising them were informed of their destination. The duke therefore had not proceeded far, before he received intelligence of the king's approach at the head of a superior army. Surprized at the information, he deemed it imprudent to risk an engagement, until he should be better supplied with a pretext for fighting against his sovereign. The assurances of his partizans, (among whom were John Mowbray, duke of Norfolk; Richard Nevil, earl of Salisbury; and his son Thomas Courtney, earl of Devonshire; and Edward Brook, lord Cobham;) had led them to believe that his cause was popular, and would be espoused by the people in general; and that the citizens of London, in particular, were anxious to afford him protection and support. These considerations induced him to change his road, and by forced marches to proceed with all possible expedition to the metropolis, where he accordingly arrived before the king. But here he experienced a severe mortification: the gates of the city were shut against him, and the inhabitants pertinaciously refused him admittance. In this emergency, he was obliged to pass the Thames at Kingston; and proceeding to Burntheath, near Dartford in Kent, there fixed his camp. The king likewise crossed the river at London Bridge, and encamped on Blackheath.

While the two armies lay in this situation, Henry sent two prelates, and as many barons, to the duke of York, to demand the reason of his hostile proceedings: to which the duke replied, that when the duke of Somerset should be confined in order to take his trial, he would immediately disband his army, and proffer his respects to the king as his most humble and loyal subject. The same motives which had induced a compliance with the prayer of his former petition, now led the ministry to adopt a similar conduct with regard to his present request. The duke of Somerset was put under arrest; but, when the duke of York had in consequence thereof disbanded his army, and repaired to the king's tent to pay his respects to Henry, and to repeat those accusations of criminal misconduct which he had already preferred against Somerset, he was greatly surprized to see that minister step from behind the curtain, and assert his innocence. His indignation, however, at the base manner in which he had been betrayed into the hands of his enemies, rose superior to his astonishment; and, in obedience to its dictates, he boldly accused Somerset of high treason: a charge which that minister retorted with equal firmness; maintaining, that the duke's ambition had made him forgetful of the allegiance which he owed to Henry, and led him to aspire to the throne by the deposition of his sovereign. After a short altercation, the duke of York retired; but he had no sooner left the tent than he was arrested, and conducted to London, on the first of March.

This was a rash and imprudent step in the ministry, as it plainly evinced the nature of their inclinations, and at the same time betrayed their inability to gratify them: for, though the duke of Somerset, incited by the powerful motives of hatred and revenge, strenuously exhorted the king to the adoption of violent measures, there were very potent considerations to impel the prosecution of a different system. The duke was extremely popular; and the queen, and her party, who greatly dreaded the resentment of the people, were afraid of exciting their indignation by putting him to death. A report moreover prevailed, that the young earl of Marche was advancing, at the head of a very powerful army, to effect the liberation of his father. The queen now, fearful of the consequences of the advance of the earl's army, and knowing that the duke of York had many friends about Henry's court, resolved to set him at liberty; but, previous to his enlargement, she not only compelled him to renew his oath of allegiance to Henry, but led him to St. Paul's, where he was obliged solemnly to swear upon the cross that he would never, on any pretence, take up arms against the king. He was then permitted to retire to his castle of Wigmore, in the county of Hereford, on the borders of Wales; where he remained some time in great privacy, waiting the arrival of a propitious opportunity to violate an oath which had been extorted from him by force.

While the duke of York lived in this retreat, there happened an incident, which, by encreasing the public discontents, proved favourable to his pretensions. Several Gascon lords, affectionate to the English government, and disgusted at the new dominion of the French, came to London, and offered to return to their allegiance under Henry (z). The earl of Shrewsbury, and his son lord Lisle, with a body of eight thousand men, were sent over to support them. Bourdeaux opened its gates to him: he made himself master of Fronsac, Castillon, and some other places. This last place surrendered on the 23rd of April, 1451. Affairs began to wear a favourable aspect: but, as Charles hastened to resist this dangerous invasion, the fortunes of the English were soon reversed: Shrewsbury, a venerable warrior, above fourscore years of age, fell in battle; his conquests were lost; Bourdeaux was again obliged to submit to the French king (a); and all hopes of recovering the province of Gascony were for ever extinguished.

Though the English might deem themselves happy to be fairly rid of distant dominions which were of no use to them, and which they never could defend against the growing power of France, they expressed great discontent on the occasion; and they threw all the blame on the ministry, who had not been able to effect impossibilities. While they were in this disposition, the queen's delivery of a son, at Westminster, on the 13th of October, 1453, who received the name of Edward, was deemed no joyful incident; and as it removed all hopes of the peaceable succession of the duke of York, who was otherwise, in the right of his father, and, by the laws enacted since the accession of the house of Lancaster, next heir to the crown, it had rather a tendency to inflame the quarrel between the parties. But the duke was incapable of violent counsels; and even when no visible obstacle lay between him and the throne, he was prevented by his own scruples from mounting it. Henry, always unfit to exercise the government, fell at this time into a lingering disorder, which deprived him of his memory, and so far impaired the other faculties of his mind, that it rendered him incapable of maintaining even the appearance of royalty. This latter occurrence proved an unfortunate circumstance to the queen and the ministry; who, deprived of the sanction and support of the sovereign, and held in detestation by the people, began to tremble, not only for their places, but even for their personal safety. To augment their consternation, the duke of York issued from his retreat, and, accompanied by the earls of Salisbury and Warwick, repaired with a numerous retinue to London. The arrival of these noblemen, thus formidably attended, convinced the queen and her ministers that resistance would be vain; and that to allay the present foment, which must otherwise end in a civil war, it would be prudent to grant them a voluntary admission into the council. It will easily be supposed that men, possessed of such extensive power, would not fail to exert it for the ruin of their enemies. Somerset, the chief object of their resentment, was arrested in the queen's presence, and committed to the Tower; and the duke of York was appointed lieutenant of the kingdom, with authority to hold a parliament, which was accordingly assembled on the 14th of February, 1454, by a commission under the great seal, dated the preceding day. When the parliament met, an accusation of high treason was preferred against Somerset, and strenuously supported by the duke of Norfolk, who demanded that commissioners should be appointed to examine the various articles contained in the charge. It does not, however, appear, that his request was complied with, or that the peers themselves entered into the merits of the accusation.

During these transactions, John Kemp, archbishop of Canterbury, and chancellor of the kingdom, having died, (in December, 1453,) the house of lords sent a deputation to the king, then residing at Windsor, to know his pleasure as to the appointment of persons to succeed him in those important offices. The deputies, on their return, reported to the house, on the 25th of March, 1454, "That they had been to wait on the king at Windsor; and, after three successive repairs thither, and earnest solicitations to speak with the king, they could by no means have an answer, or token of answer, being only told the king was sick." Henry's incapacity for discharging the ordinary duties of government being now fully established, the appointment

(z) Hollingshed, p. 610. (a) Polyd. Virg. p. 501. Grafton, p. 623.

pointment of a chief magistrate naturally devolved on the people, from whom his authority could be derived. Their representatives, therefore—the parliament—proceeded to the formation of an act, by which Richard duke of York was appointed to fill that important station, under the title of Protector of the kingdom, but only during the king's pleasure, or until prince Edward should arrive at years of discretion; and this act was confirmed by a commission under the great seal, on the 2nd of April. At the same time the vacant chancellorship was given to the earl of Salisbury. On the 9th of June following, Edward, the infant son of Henry, was created prince of Wales, and, on the 28th of July, the Protector obtained for himself a grant of the government of Calais—hitherto enjoyed by the duke of Somerset—for seven years, with an exclusive power to appoint all his officers.

During his protectorship, the duke of York spared no pains to acquire that popularity which he had found to be so essential to the support of his power: he made a progress into the northern counties; and, by his affability and attention to his inferiors, acquired many friends. His reign, however, was destined to be short, for the king having sufficiently recovered his health, about Christmas, 1454, to resume, or at least to superintend, the management of public affairs, the duke's commission of Protector was of course revoked, and the government returned into its former channel. It was natural that the queen and her party, who had been openly attacked by the Protector, should now exert that power which Providence had once more placed in their hands to counteract the effects of the duke's enmity, and to revoke those grants which he had obtained for himself or others, with the view of confirming his own power. This was certainly a measure which not only policy, but common prudence, required; for, had the duke been permitted to retain any post which could tend to a formidable extension of his influence, their own situation must have been perilous and precarious, and the executive government weak and indecisive. The king was therefore advised to release Somerset; which he did on the 5th of February, 1455; and restored him to that distinguished place which he had ever enjoyed in his confidence. The duke of York was deprived of the government of Calais; which he had caused to be taken from Somerset; and becoming enraged at the loss of his power, he deemed his degradation an insult that could justify the most violent proceedings: he immediately retired from court; and, for the gratification of his revenge and ambition, determined on measures which ultimately involved the nation in all the horrors of a civil war.

The situation of the duke of York was now very different to what it was when he first took up arms. The ministry had then openly avowed their enmity, and had actually commenced hostilities against him; whereas at present his fears for his personal safety could not be very powerful, as he had been suffered for a considerable time to enjoy his repose, nor had the queen and her party ever once attempted to interrupt his tranquillity during his retreat at Wigmore; and his popularity was now sufficiently great to screen him from the effects of their resentment, had they been ever so desirous to exert it. His conduct seems to have been influenced by motives of revenge and ambition; the former of which prompted him to inflict an exemplary punishment on those who had impeded the gratification of the latter; though in the pursuit of it he certainly displayed a mixture of vigour and caution—eager in the search of power, but almost afraid to grasp it when within his reach.

When the duke of York retired from court, he repaired to Wales, and there raised a considerable army, chiefly composed of his friends and vassals; and, being joined by the duke of Norfolk, the earls of Salisbury and Warwick, the lord Cobham, and several other noblemen of his party, he began his march towards the metropolis. As they proceeded, they gave out that their sole motive for taking up arms was to correct the abuses which prevailed in the government, and to exact the punishment of those ministers who had caused and supported them. When they had advanced as far as Royston, they sent a dutiful letter to the king, containing strong professions of zeal and attachment; which letter was, by some means or other kept from the king's sight; and he, having also raised an army, quitted the metropolis on the 21st of May, accompanied by the dukes of Somerset and Buckingham, the earls of Northumberland, Stafford, Dorset, Pembroke, and many other powerful nobles of the Lancastrian party; and, encamping the first night at Walford, proceeded the next morning to the town of St. Alban's, of which they took possession. On the evening of the same day, the duke of York's army encamped at Keyfield, in the vicinity of that place; and, on the morning of the 23rd of May, 1455, the duke of York, having received an insulting answer to a message which he sent to the king, drew up his troops in order of battle, and prepared for the attack. He accordingly assaulted the town in several places; but the vigour of the defence was for some time equal to the impetuosity of the attack. At length, however, the earl of Warwick having forced an entrance into one of the streets, gave admittance to the duke of York; when a fierce and bloody conflict ensued, in which the royalists were defeated. The duke of Somerset, the earl of Northumberland, lord Clifford, and William Cotton, vice-chancellor to Henry, were among the slain. The king himself was wounded; together with the duke of Buckingham and his son, the earl of Stafford, the earl of Dorset, lord Sudly, and many other persons of distinction. The earl of Stafford's wounds proved mortal, and he died a few days after the battle. The number of men killed on the side of the royalists are said to have amounted to five thousand. Hearing that the king was wounded, and had taken refuge in the house of a tanner, the duke of York hastened thither with the earl of Salisbury; and, falling on his knees, made the strongest professions of loyalty, and declared himself ready to obey the commands of his sovereign. The fears of Henry being somewhat dispelled by this pacific declaration, he entreated him to put an immediate stop to the carnage, and to recall his troops from the pursuit: a request which was instantly complied with. The day after the battle he conducted the king to London.

This was the first blood spilt in that fatal quarrel, which was not finished in less than a course of thirty years, which was signalized by twelve pitched battles, which opened a scene of extraordinary fierceness and cruelty, is computed to have cost the lives of eighty princes of the blood, and almost entirely annihilated the ancient nobility of England. The strong attachments which, at that time, men of the same kindred bore to each other, and the vindictive spirit, which was considered as a point of honour, rendered the great families implacable in their resentments, and every moment widened the breach between the parties. Yet affairs did not immediately proceed to the last extremities: the nation was kept some time in suspense: the vigour and spirit of queen Margaret, supporting her small power, still proved a balance to the great authority of Richard, which was checked by his irresolute temper. A parliament, which was assembled on the 9th of July, plainly discovered, by the contrariety of their proceedings, the contrariety of the motives by which they were actuated. They granted the Yorkists a general indemnity; and they restored the protectorship to the duke, who, in accepting it, still persevered in all his former precautions: but at the same time they renewed their oaths of fealty to Henry, and fixed the continuance of the protectorship to the majority of his son Edward, who had been vested with the usual dignities of prince of Wales, duke of Cornwall, and earl of Chester. The only decisive act, passed in this parliament, was a full resumption of all the grants which had been made since the death of Henry V. and which had reduced the crown to great poverty.

It was not found difficult to wrest power from hands so little tenacious as those of the duke of York. Margaret, availing herself of that prince's absence, produced her husband before the house of lords, on the 25th of February, 1456, the day after the parliament had assembled; and, as his state of health permitted him at that time to act his part with some tolerable decency, he declared his intentions of resuming the government, and of putting an end to Richard's authority. This measure being unexpected, was not opposed by the contrary party: the house of lords, who were many of them disgusted with the late act of resumption, assented to Henry's proposal; and the king was declared to be reinstated in sovereign authority. Even the duke of York acquiesced in this irregular act of the peers; and no disturbance ensued. But that prince's claim to the crown was too well known, and the steps which he had taken to promote it, were too evident, even to allow sincere trust and confidence to have place between the parties. The court retired to Coventry, and invited the duke of York and the earls of Salisbury and Warwick to attend the king's person. When they were on the road they received intelligence that designs were formed against



THE YOUNG EARL OF RICHMOND BEFORE HENRY VITH

Engraved by A.Smith from a Drawing by Statire & Published by ...

against their liberties and lives. They immediately separated themselves: Richard withdrew to his castle of Wigmore: Salisbury to Middleham in Yorkshire; and Warwick to his government of Calais, which had been committed to him after the battle of St. Albans, and which, as it gave him the command of the only regular military force maintained by England, was of the utmost importance in the present juncture. Still, men of peaceable dispositions, and among the rest, Henry Bourchier, archbishop of Canterbury, thought it not too late to interpose with their good offices, in order to prevent that effusion of blood with which the kingdom was threatened; and the awe in which each party stood of the other, rendered the mediation for some time successful. It was agreed that all the great leaders on both sides should meet in London, and be solemnly reconciled. The duke of York and his partizans came thither with numerous retinues, and took up their quarters near each other for mutual security. The leaders of the Lancastrian party used the same precaution. Sir Godfrey Bolleyn, the mayor, at the head of five thousand men, kept a strict watch night and day; and was extremely vigilant in maintaining peace between them (*b*). Terms were adjusted, which removed not the ground of difference. This was on the 24th of March, 1458. An outward reconciliation only was procured: and in order to notify this accord to the whole people, a solemn procession to St. Paul's was appointed, where the duke of York led queen Margaret, and a leader of one party marched hand in hand with a leader of the opposite. The less real cordiality prevailed, the more were the exterior demonstrations of amity redoubled. But it was evident, that a contest for a crown could not thus be peaceably accommodated; that each party watched only for an opportunity of subverting the other; and that much blood must yet be spilt, ere the nation could be restored to perfect tranquillity, or enjoy a settled and established government.

Even the smallest accident, without any formed design, was sufficient, in the present disposition of men's minds, to dissolve the seeming harmony between the parties; and had the intentions of the leaders been ever so amicable, they would have found it difficult to restrain the animosity of their followers. One of the king's retinue insulted one of the earl of Warwick's: their companions on both sides took part in the quarrel: a fierce combat ensued: the earl apprehended his life to be aimed at: he fled to his government of Calais; and both parties, in every county of England, openly made preparations for deciding the contest by war and arms.

The earl of Salisbury, marching with a body of five thousand men to join the duke of York, was overtaken, at Blore-heath, on the borders of Staffordshire, by lord Audley, who commanded an army amounting to double that number; and a small rivulet with steep banks ran between the armies. Salisbury here supplied his defect in numbers by stratagem; a refinement, of which there occur few instances in the English civil wars, where a headlong courage, more than military conduct, is commonly to be remarked. He feigned a retreat, and allured Audley to follow him with precipitation; but when the van of the royal army had passed the brook, Salisbury suddenly turned upon them; and partly by the surprize, partly by the division, of the enemies' forces, put this body to rout: the example of flight was followed by the rest of the army; and Salisbury, obtaining a complete victory, reached the general rendezvous of the Yorkists at Ludlow (*c*). This battle was fought on Sunday morning, the 23rd of September, 1459.

The earl of Warwick brought over to this rendezvous a choice body of veterans from Calais, on whom it was thought the fortune of the war would much depend; but this reinforcement occasioned, in the issue, the immediate ruin of the duke of York's party. When the royal army approached, and a general action was every hour expected, Sir Andrew Trollop, who commanded the veterans, deserted to the king in the night-time; and the Yorkists were so dismayed at this instance of treachery, which made every man suspicious of his fellow, that they separated next day without striking a stroke (*d*): the duke fled to Ireland: the earl of Warwick, attended by many of the other leaders, escaped to Calais: where his great popularity among all orders of men, particularly among the military, soon drew to him partizans, and rendered his power very formidable. The friends of the house of York, in England, kept themselves every where in readiness to rise on the first summons from their leaders.

After meeting with some successes at sea, Warwick landed in Kent, with the earl of Salisbury, and the earl of Marche, eldest son of the duke of York; and being met by the primate, by lord Cobham, and other persons of distinction, he marched, amidst the acclamations of the people to London. The city immediately opened its gates to him; and his troops encreasing on every day's march, he soon found himself in a condition to face the royal army, which hastened from Coventry to attack him. The battle was fought at Northampton, on the 10th of July, 1460; and was soon decided against the royalists by the infidelity of lord Grey of Ruthin, who, commanding Henry's van, deserted to the enemy during the heat of action, and spread a consternation through the troops. The duke of Buckingham, the earl of Shrewsbury, the lords Beaumont and Egremont, and Sir William Lucie, were killed in the action or pursuit: the slaughter fell chiefly on the gentry and nobility: the common people were spared by orders of the earls of Warwick and Marche (*e*). Henry himself, that empty shadow of a king, was again taken prisoner: and as the innocence and simplicity of his manners, which bore the appearance of sanctity had procured him the tender regard of the people (*f*), the earl of Warwick and other leaders took care to distinguish themselves by their respectful demeanour towards him.

A parliament was summoned in the king's name, to meet at Westminster, on the 7th of October following; where the duke soon after appeared from Ireland. This prince had never hitherto advanced openly any claim to the crown: he had only complained of ill ministers, and demanded a redress of grievances; and even, in the present crisis, when the parliament was surrounded by his victorious army, he shewed such a regard to law and liberty, as is unusual during the prevalence of a party in any civil dissensions; and was still less to be expected in those violent and licentious times. He advanced towards the throne; and being met by the archbishop of Canterbury, who asked him, whether he had yet paid his respects to the king? he replied, that he knew of none to whom he owed that title. He then stood near the throne (*g*), and addressing himself to the house of peers, he gave them a deduction of his title by descent, mentioned the cruelties by which the house of Lancaster had paved their way to sovereign power, insisted on the calamities which had attended the government of Henry, exhorted them to return into the right path, by doing justice to the lineal successor, and thus pleaded his cause before them as his natural and legal judges (*h*). This cool and moderate manner of demanding a crown, intimidated his friends, and encouraged his enemies: the lords remained in suspense (*i*); and no one ventured to utter a word on the occasion. Richard, who had probably expected that the peers would have invited him to place himself on the throne, was much disappointed at their silence; but desiring them to reflect on what he had proposed to them, he departed the house. The peers took the matter into consideration, with as much tranquillity as if it had been a common subject of debate: they desired the assistance of some considerable members among the commons in their deliberations: they heard, in several successive days, the reasons alleged for the duke of York: they even ventured to propose objections to his claim, founded on former entails of the crown, and on the oaths of fealty sworn to the house of Lancaster (*k*): they also observed, that, as Richard had all along borne the arms of York, not those of Clarence, he could not claim as successor to the latter family; and after receiving answers to these objections, derived from the violence and power by which the house of Lancaster supported their present possession of the crown, they proceeded to give a decision. Their sentence was calculated, as far as possible, to please both parties: they declared the title of the duke of York to be certain and indefeasible; but in consideration that Henry had enjoyed the crown, without dispute or controversy, during the course of thirty-eight

(*b*) Fabian Chron. anno 1458. This author says, that some lords brought nine hundred retainers, some six hundred, none less than four hundred. See also Grafton, p. 633.
(*c*) Hollingshed, p. 649. Grafton, p. 936.

(*d*) Hollingshed, p. 650. Grafton, p. 537.
(*e*) Stowe, p. 409.
(*f*) Hall, fol. 169. Grafton, p. 195.
(*g*) Hollingshed, p. 655.
(*h*) Cotton, p. 665. Grafton, p. 643.
(*i*) Hollingshed, p. 657. Grafton, p. 645.
(*k*) Cotton, p. 666.

years,

years, they determined, that he should continue to possess the title and dignity during the remainder of his life; that the administration of the government, meanwhile, should remain with Richard; that he should be acknowledged the true and lawful heir of the monarchy; that every one should swear to maintain his succession, and it should be treason to attempt his life; and that all former settlements of the crown, in this and the two last reigns, should be abrogated and rescinded (*l*). The duke acquiesced in this decision: Henry himself, being a prisoner, could not oppose it: even if he had enjoyed his liberty, he would not probably have felt any violent reluctance against it; and the act thus passed with the unanimous consent of the whole legislative body. Though the mildness of this compromise is chiefly to be ascribed to the moderation of the duke of York, it is impossible not to observe in those transactions visible marks of a higher regard to law, and of a more fixed authority, enjoyed by parliament, than has appeared in any former period of English history.

It is probable that the duke, without employing either menaces or violence, could have obtained from the commons a settlement more consistent and uniform; but as many, if not all the members of the upper house had received grants, concessions, or dignities, during the last sixty years, when the house of Lancaster was possessed of the government, they were afraid of invalidating their own titles by too sudden and violent an overthrow of that family; and in thus temporising between the parties, they fixed the throne on a basis upon which it could not possibly stand. The duke, apprehending his chief danger to arise from the genius and spirit of queen Margaret, sought a pretence for banishing her the kingdom: he sent her, in the king's name, a summons to come immediately to London; intending, in case of her disobedience, to proceed to extremities against her. But the queen needed not this menace to excite her activity in defending the rights of her family. After the defeat at Northampton, she fled with her infant son to Durham, thence to Scotland; but soon returning, she applied to the northern barons, and employed every motive to procure their assistance. Her affability, insinuation, and address, qualities in which she excelled; her caresses, her promises, wrought a powerful effect on every one who approached her: the admiration of her great qualities was succeeded by compassion towards her helpless condition: the nobility of that quarter, who regarded themselves as the most warlike in the kingdom, were moved by indignation to find the southern barons pretend to dispose of the crown and settle the government; and that they might allure the people to their standard, they promised them the spoils of all the provinces on the other side of the Trent. By these means, the queen had collected an army of twenty thousand men, with a celerity which was neither expected by her friends, nor apprehended by her enemies.

The duke of York, informed of her appearance in the north, hastened thither with a body of five thousand men, to suppress, as he imagined, the beginnings of an insurrection; when, on his arrival at Wakefield, he found himself much outnumbered by the enemy. He threw himself into Sandal castle, which was situated in the neighbourhood; and he was advised by the earl of Salisbury, and other prudent counsellors, to remain in that fortress, till his son, the earl of Marche, who was levying forces in the borders of Wales, could advance to his assistance (*m*). But the duke, though deficient in political courage, possessed personal bravery in an eminent degree; and notwithstanding his wisdom and experience, he thought that he should be for ever disgraced, if, by taking shelter behind walls, he should for a moment resign the victory to a woman. He descended into the plain, on the 24th of December, and offered battle to the enemy, which was instantly accepted. The great inequality of numbers was sufficient alone to decide the victory; but the queen, by sending a detachment, who fell on the back of the duke's army, rendered her advantage still more certain and undisputed. The duke himself was killed in the action; and as his body was found among the slain, the head was cut off by Margaret's orders, and fixed on the gates of York, with a paper crown upon it, in derision of his pretended title. His son, the earl of Rutland, a youth of seventeen, was brought to lord Clifford; and that barbarian, in revenge of his father's death, who had perished in the battle of St. Albans, murdered in cool blood, and with his own hands, this innocent prince, whose exterior figure, as well as other accomplishments, are represented by historians as extremely amiable. The earl of Salisbury was wounded and taken prisoner, and immediately beheaded, with several other persons of distinction, by martial law at Pomfret (*n*). There fell near three thousand Yorkists in this battle: the duke himself was greatly and justly lamented by his own party; a prince who merited a better fate, and whose errors in conduct proceeded entirely from such qualities, as render him the more an object of esteem and affection. He perished in the fiftieth year of his age, and left three sons, Edward, George, and Richard, with three daughters, Anne, Elizabeth, and Margaret.

The queen, after this important victory, divided her army. She sent the smaller division, under Jasper Tudor, earl of Pembroke, uterine brother to the king, against Edward, the new duke of York. She herself marched with the larger division towards London, where the earl of Warwick had been left with the command of the Yorkists. Pembroke was defeated by Edward at Mortimer's Cross in Herefordshire, with the loss of near four thousand men, on the 2nd of February, 1461. His army was dispersed; he himself escaped by flight; but his father, Sir Owen Tudor, was taken prisoner, and immediately beheaded by Edward's orders. This barbarous practice, being once begun, was continued by both parties, from a spirit of revenge, which covered itself under the pretence of retaliation (*o*).

Margaret compensated this defeat by a victory which she obtained over the earl of Warwick. That nobleman, on the approach of the Lancastrians, led out his army, reinforced by a strong body of the Londoners, who were affectionate to his cause; and he gave battle to the queen at St. Albans, on the 17th of February. While the armies were warmly engaged, Lovelace, who commanded a considerable body of the Yorkists, withdrew from the combat; and this treacherous conduct, of which there are many instances in those civil wars, decided the victory in favour of the queen. About two thousand three hundred of the vanquished perished in the battle and pursuit; and the person of the king fell again into the hands of his own party. This weak prince was sure to be almost equally a prisoner whichever faction had the keeping of him; and scarcely any more decorum was observed by one than by the other, in their method of treating him. Lord Bonville, to whose care he had been entrusted by the Yorkists, remained with him after the defeat, on assurances of pardon given him by Henry: but Margaret, regardless of her husband's promise, immediately ordered the head of that nobleman to be struck off by the executioner (*p*). Sir Thomas Kiriel, a brave warrior, who had signalized himself in the French wars, was treated in the same manner.

The queen made no great advantage of this victory: young Edward advanced upon her from the other side; and the earl of Warwick, collecting the remains of his army, and having joined the duke, Edward was soon in a condition of giving her battle with superior forces. She was sensible of her danger, while she lay between the enemy and the city of London; and she found it necessary to retreat with her army to the north (*q*). Edward entered the capital on the 28th of February, 1461, amidst the acclamations of the citizens, and immediately opened a new scene to his party. This prince, in the bloom of youth, remarkable for the beauty of his person, for his bravery, his activity, his affability, and every popular quality, found himself so much possessed of public favour, that, elated with the spirit natural to his age, he resolved no longer to confine himself within those narrow limits which his father had prescribed to himself, and which had been found by experience so prejudical to his cause. He determined to assume the name and dignity of king; to insist openly on his claim; and thenceforth to treat the opposite party as traitors and rebels to his lawful authority. But as a national consent, or the appearance of it, still seemed, notwithstanding his plausible title, requisite to precede this bold measure, and as the assembling of a parliament might occasion too many delays, and be attended with other inconveniencies, he ventured to proceed in a less regular manner, and to put it out of the power of his enemies to throw obstacles in the way of his elevation. His army was ordered to assemble in St. John's Fields, on Sunday, the 2nd of March; great numbers of people surrounded them; an harangue was pronounced to

(*l*) Cotton, p. 666. Grafton, p. 647.
(*m*) Stowe, p. 412. (*n*) Polyd. Virg. p 510.
(*o*) Hollingshed, p 660. Grafton, p. 650.
(*p*) Hollingshed, p. 660. (*q*) Grafton, p. 652.

this

this mixed multitude, setting forth the title of Edward, and inveighing against the tyranny and usurpation of the rival family; and the people were then asked, whether they would have Henry of Lancaster for king? They unanimously exclaimed against the proposal. It was then demanded, whether they would accept of Edward, eldest son of the late duke of York? They expressed their assent by loud and joyful acclamations (*r*). A great number of bishops, lords, magistrates, and other persons of distinction, were next assembled at Baynard's castle, who ratified the popular election; and the new king was on the subsequent day (March 3) proclaimed in London, by the title of Edward IV (*s*).

Thus ended the reign of Henry VI. a monarch who, while in his cradle, had been proclaimed king both of France and England, and who began his life with the most splendid prospects that any prince in Europe had ever enjoyed. The revolution was unhappy for his people, as it was the source of civil wars; but was almost entirely indifferent to Henry himself, who was utterly incapable of exercising his authority, and who, provided he personally met with good usage, was equally easy, as he was equally enslaved in the hands of his enemies and of his friends. His weakness and his disputed title were the chief causes of the public calamities: but whether his queen, and his ministers, were not also guilty of some great abuses of power, it is not easy for us at this distance of time to determine; there remain no proofs on record of any considerable violation of the laws, except in the assassination of the duke of Gloucester, which was a private crime, formed no precedent, and was but too much of a piece with the usual ferocity and cruelty of the times.

The most remarkable law, which passed in this reign, was that for the due election of members of parliament in counties. After the fall of the feudal system, the distinction of tenures was in some measure lost; and every freeholder, as well those who held of mesne lords, as the immediate tenants of the crown, were by degrees admitted to give their votes at elections. This innovation (for such it may probably be esteemed) was indirectly confirmed by a law of Henry IV. (*t*), which gave right to such a multitude of electors as was the occasion of great disorder. In the eighth and tenth of this king, therefore, laws were enacted, limiting the electors to such as possessed forty shillings a year in land, free from all burdens, within the county (*u*). This sum was equivalent to near twenty pounds a year of our present money; and it were to be wished, that the spirit, as well as letter of this law, had been maintained.

The preamble of the statute is remarkable: "Whereas the elections of knights have of late, in many counties of England, been made by outrages and excessive numbers of people, many of them of small substance and value, yet pretending to a right equal to the best knights and esquires; whereby manslaughters, riots, batteries, and divisions among the gentlemen and other people of the same counties, shall very likely rise and be, unless due remedy be provided in this behalf, &c." We may learn from these expressions, what an important matter the election of a member of parliament was now become in England: that assembly was beginning in this period to assume great authority: the commons had it much in their power to enforce the execution of the laws; and if they failed of success in this particular, it proceeded less from any exorbitant power of the crown, than from the licentious spirit of the aristocracy, and perhaps from the rude education of the age, and their own ignorance of the advantages resulting from a regular administration of justice.

When the duke of York, the earls of Salisbury and Warwick, fled the kingdom upon the desertion of their troops, a parliament was summoned at Coventry in 1460, by which they were all attainted. This parliament seems to have been very irregularly constituted, and scarcely deserves the name: insomuch, that an act passed in it, "that all such knights of any county, as were returned by virtue of the king's letters, without any other election, should be valid, and that no sheriff should, for returning them, incur the penalty of the statute of Henry IV (*v*)." All the acts of that parliament were afterwards reversed; "because it was unlawfully summoned, and the knights and barons not duly chosen (*w*)."

The parliaments in this reign, instead of relaxing their vigilance against the usurpations of the court of Rome, endeavoured to enforce the former statutes enacted for that purpose. The commons petitioned, that no foreigner should be capable of any church preferment, and that the patron might be allowed to present anew upon the non-residence of any incumbent (*x*): but the king eluded these petitions. Pope Martin wrote him a severe letter against the Statute of Provisors; which he calls an abominable law, that would infallibly damn every one who observed it (*y*). The cardinal of Winchester was legate; and as he was also a kind of prime minister, and immensely rich from the profits of his clerical dignities, the parliament became jealous lest he should extend the papal power; and they protested, that the cardinal should absent himself in all affairs and councils of the king, whenever the pope or see of Rome was touched upon (*z*).

Permission was given by parliament to export corn when it was at low prices; wheat at six shillings and eight pence a quarter, money of that age; barley at three shillings and four pence (*a*). It appears from these prices, that corn still remained at near half its present value; though other commodities were much cheaper. The inland commerce of corn was also opened in the eighteenth of the king, by allowing any collector of the customs to grant a licence for carrying it from one county to another (*b*). The same year a kind of navigation act was proposed with regard to all places within the Streights; but the king rejected it (*c*).

The first instance of debt contracted upon parliamentary security occurs in this reign (*d*). The commencement of this pernicious practice deserves to be noted; a practice the more likely to become pernicious, the more a nation advances in opulence and credit. The ruinous effects of it are now become but too apparent, and threaten the very existence of the nation (*e*).

In the year 1440 the noble art of printing was invented: It was first practised by John Guttemburgh at Mentz in Germany, and was afterwards brought into England by Laurence Coster, a German workman.

CHAP. IV.

The History of the English Church, from the Accession of Henry IV. in 1399, *till the Advancement of Edward IV. on the Dethronement of Henry VI. in* 1461.

IT is a melancholy task to delineate the ecclesiastical transactions of this period, as they offer nothing to the attention of posterity but a continued series of papal disputes and clerical persecutions. The genial sun of Toleration had not yet diffused its beneficent beams over the realm of England; it had not yet illumined with its rays the minds of those Christian votaries, whose practices were so hostile to the precepts of Christianity, as to bespeak a total ignorance of the doctrine they professed.

Henry the Fourth, conscious that the favour and support of the clergy would be necessary to sanction his usurpation, dispatched the earl of Northumberland to a convocation of the province of Canterbury, assembled in the chapter house of St. Paul's, on the 5th of October, 1399, with a message well calculated to conciliate their esteem. "I am not come," said the earl, "like the commissioners of former kings, to demand your money; but to assure you that my royal master will never exact any money from you, except in cases of the most urgent necessity. I am come earnestly to entreat your prayers for the king and his dominions; to promise that he will protect the clergy in all their privileges and immunities; and afford them assistance, to the utmost of his power, in the *extermination* of *Heretics*." The first of these promises was, however, quickly forgotten, for no monarch ever made such fre-

(*r*) Stowe, p. 415. Hollingshed, p. 661. (*s*) Grafton, p. 653.
(*t*) Statutes at Large, 7 Henry IV. cap. 15.
(*u*) Ibid. 8 Henry VI. cap. 7. 10 Henry VI. cap. 2.
(*v*) Cotton, p. 664. (*w*) Statutes at Large, 39 Henry VI. cap. 1.
(*x*) Cotton, p. 585.
(*y*) Burnet's Collection of Records, vol. i. p. 99.

(*z*) Cotton, p. 593. (*a*) Statutes at Large, 15 Henry VI. cap. 2. 23 Henry VI. cap. 6. (*b*) Cotton, p. 625.
(*c*) Ibid. p. 626. (*d*) Ibid. p. 593. 634. 638.
(*e*) At present (July, 1810,) the national debt amounts to about nine hundred millions, which sum will perhaps never be discharged, notwithstanding the boasted operation of the Sinking Fund.

quent demands of money from the clergy as Henry the Fourth, after he was firmly established on the throne; but unfortunately too punctual in his observance of the last.

Thomas Arundel, who was now restored to the primacy, continued to display, in his persecution of the followers of Wickliffe, that implacable spirit of intolerance and cruelty which had distinguished him during his enjoyment of the archbishopric of York. Countenanced by the king, this bigotted priest, seconded by his clergy, made an application to parliament which assembled at Westminster in the first year of the fifteenth century, beseeching them that they would adopt some effectual measure to restrain the preaching of heretical doctrines, the publication of heretical books, and the teaching of errors and heresies in the schools, which were practised by numerous persons without the licence of a bishop. In consequence of this representation, a law was enacted by parliament, or rather by the king and peers, authorizing the bishops to imprison all persons *suspected* of heresy, and to try them in the Spiritual Court; and, should they prove either obstinate or relapsed heretics, the spiritual judge was directed to call in the sheriff of the county, or the chief magistrate of the town, to be present when the sentence of condemnation was pronounced; and immediately to deliver the person condemned to the secular magistrate, who was to cause him to be burnt to death in some elevated place, in the sight of the people; a sanguinary and tyrannical act, equally disgraceful to the clergy who applied for it, the parliament which passed it, and the monarch who sanctioned it with his consent!

No sooner was this law promulgated, than the primate hastened to put it in force, by bringing William Sautre, rector of St. Osithe's, London, to trial, for heresy, before the convocation of the province of Canterbury, at St. Paul's cathedral. The principal accusations against this minister were, his refusal to worship the Cross, and his denial of the doctrine of Transubstantiation. The unhappy victim, in order to avoid the painful death with which he was threatened, endeavoured to explain away the most offensive part of his opinions. He consented to pay an inferior, vicarious kind of worship, to the Cross, on account of Him who died upon it; but that was not deemed sufficient. He acknowledged the real presence of Christ in the Sacrament; and admitted that, after the words of consecration were pronounced, the bread became the true spiritual Bread of Life. He underwent a long examination on that subject, on the 19th of February, 1401; but, when the primate urged him to profess his belief, "That, after the consecration, the substance of the bread and wine no longer remained, but was converted into the substance of the body and blood of Christ; which were as really and truly in their proper substance and nature in the Sacrament, as they were in the womb of the Virgin Mary, as they hung upon the cross, as they lay in the grave, and as they now resided in heaven!"—he stood aghast; and, after some hesitation declared, "That, whatever might be the consequence, he could neither understand nor believe that doctrine." This declaration induced the primate to pronounce him an obstinate heretic: in consequence of which, he was degraded from all the clerical orders with which he had been invested; and delivered to the mayor and sheriffs of London, with an hypocritical request that they would use him kindly; the literal meaning of which was, that they should inflict on him the penalties of the late abominable law against heretics. He was accordingly burnt in Smithfield; and his name holds a conspicuous place in the annals of English Martyrdom. He is said to have been the first person who suffered death for an adherence to those doctrines which are now maintained by all the Protestant churches (*f*).

The next object of the bigotted primate's persecution was William Thorp, a clergyman of more learning and erudition than was possessed by most of his brethren in that dark age. An avowed advocate for the doctrines of Wickliffe, he had been frequently imprisoned for daring to support them; but had hitherto been fortunate enough to escape the infliction of a severe punishment. He was, however, apprehended in the year 1407, and underwent a long examination on the first of August, of which he wrote a very distinct account; from whence it appears, that he was so much superior to his judges in the arts of disputation, that they were under the necessity of having alternate recourse to threats and promises, in order to extort either a confession or a recantation of his heretical opinions. The immaculate primate, who, it seems, was much addicted to profane swearing, declared, with many oaths, "That he would pursue him and all his sect so closely, that he would not leave one slip in the land."—Another of his judges told him, that if he did not recant, he should be cursed, degraded, burnt, and damned; and a third proposed to wash away his crimes by throwing him into the sea. But these *forcible* arguments did not prove convincive to Mr. Thorpe; nor were they able to shake his fortitude. The primate therefore committed him to a loathsome prison at Saltwood, the horrors of which had overcome the constancy of many other Lollards; and it is most probable he died there, since no farther mention is made of him in history.

On the 19th of January, 1409, the primate held a convention of the prelates and clergy of his province, in which thirteen canons, or constitutions, were enacted for the extirpation of the Lollards, by the infliction of wholesome severities on its propagators and professors. In the preface to these canons, to dispute any of the doctrines, or disobey any of the decrees promulgated by the pope—"who carried the keys of eternal life and death; who was the vicegerent, not of a mere man, but of the true God on earth; and to whom God had committed the government of the kingdom of heaven;"—is declared to be the most horrid of all crimes. This language, it must be confessed, was rather bold, especially at a time when there were two popes, who had been consigning each other to eternal damnation, and who were both declared contumacious heretics by the council of Pisa that same year.

Shortly after the publication of these canons, the bishop of Worcester apprehended Thomas Badby, a taylor, in his diocese; whom, after his trial and conviction, he sent to the primate, with a copy of his sentence. The charges against Badby were similar to those which had been preferred against the rector of St. Osithe; only the taylor was farther accused of having pertinently observed, "That no priest was able to make the body of Christ." The primate assured him, that if he would renounce his errors, "he would gage his soul for him at the day of judgement." But Badby, proving inflexible, was sentenced to be burnt; and was accordingly conducted to Smithfield, on the first of March, 1410, where he was placed in a large tub, surrounded with dry wood, and fastened to a stake with iron chains. Before the fire was kindled, the prince of Wales rode up to the pile, and earnestly intreated him to save himself from a painful death by the renunciation of his heretical doctrines, promising to reward his compliance with a competent annuity for life. He thanked the prince for his offer in the warmest terms of gratitude; but declared that he could not consent to preserve his life by renouncing opinions which he firmly believed to be founded in truth. The fire was then applied to the wood; and the violence of the flames extorting from the wretched sufferer an invocation of mercy, the prince, thinking his constancy was overcome by the pain, again approached him; and, commanding the fire to be quenched, renewed his entreaties; but in vain: Badby persevered in his adherence to the truth; the prince, exasperated at his pertinacity, left him to his fate, and the unhappy man was at length reduced to ashes.

The influence of archbishop Arundel and his brethren enabled them to defeat the schemes proposed by the commons, in the sixth and eleventh years of Henry the Fourth, for the seizure of the estates of the church. In the year 1409, the commons represented to the king, "That if he would please to take away the estates of the bishops, abbots, and priors, which only served to support them in luxury and superfluous pomp, the crown and kingdom would reap essential advantages, as they would enable the king to maintain fifteen earls, fifteen hundred knights, six thousand two hundred esquires, and one hundred hospitals." The king's rapacity would perhaps have induced him to take such a step, had not the instability of his throne deterred him from a measure which would have entailed on him the irreconcileable enmity of a formidable body of men, not yet sufficiently humbled to bear with tameness the loss of their possessions. The petition of the com-

(*f*) The public execution of so respectable a man as Sautre struck terror into the Lollards, and induced many of the disciples of Wickliffe to conceal their sentiments, in order to preserve their lives. Others, less cautious, were apprehended; but, being brought to trial, chose rather to submit to the censure of hypocrisy than the pains of martyrdom: and, though the same opinions secretly prevailed in many parts of the kingdom, some years elapsed before any person could be found sufficiently courageous to maintain them at the risk of personal safety.

mons was therefore rejected; and the peers presented one of an opposite tendency, praying the king to protect the patrimony of the church, and to inflict an exemplary punishment on all such as should strive to convince the people of the legality of taking it away.

Some fruitless efforts were made about this time, by the church of England, in conjunction with other churches, to terminate the schism in the papacy, which had now continued about thirty years. The two rival popes, Benedict XIII. and Gregory XII. were both deposed by the council of Pisa, on the 5th of June, 1407, as manifest schismatics and heretics, who had been guilty of contumacy and perjury; and, on the 19th of the same month, the council raised Peter Philaret, a Greek, to the papacy, who assumed the appellation of Alexander the Fifth, and was acknowledged as pope by the English church. But the elevation of Alexander, far from terminating the schism, only increased the number of disputants; so that, for several years, the church had no less than three infallible heads, and the kingdom of heaven three keepers of its keys, who did not scruple to brand each other with the most opprobrious epithets; which a reverend author has gravely observed, did not afford the worst proof of their *infallibility*. Alexander died on the 3rd of May, 1410; and Balthesar Cosse, a Neapolitan, was appointed to succeed him, and assumed the appellation of John the twenty-third. The new pope, however, was deposed by the council of Constance, in 1415, for heresy, contumacy, perjury, simony, adultery, incest; and a thousand frauds. Benedict the Thirteenth was deposed likewise; and Gregory the Twelfth having resigned, the chair of St. Peter was considered as vacant; and Odon de Colonna, cardinal-deacon of St. George's, was appointed to supply the vacancy, and took the name of Martin the Fifth. But as Benedict refused to submit to the sentence of deposition which had been pronounced against him, and as he had even a successor, named Clement the Seventh, the rancorous disputes between these pretended vicegerents of the God of Peace were not finally decided till 1429, after the schism had continued more than half a century; during which time it had involved the Christian world in confusion, and put all the European states to incredible trouble and expence.

As the doctrines of Wickliffe were more prevalent in the university of Oxford than in any other part of the kingdom, the primate repaired thither with a splendid retinue, in 1411, in order, by his presence, to effect their suppression. But, on his approach to that city, he was met by the chancellor and proctors, who told him that, if he came for the mere gratification of his curiosity, he should experience a reception suitable to his rank; but that, if he came as their visitor, they could not admit him, being exempted by several papal bulls from episcopal visitation. The primate greatly incensed at this repulse, appealed to the king; who, after hearing both parties, pronounced a definitive sentence, on the 9th of February, 1412, against the university. In consequence of this decision, Arundel ordered the university to appoint twelve of its most learned and orthodox members to examine the doctrines of Wickliffe, and to extract from them such opinions as should appear to be founded in heresy or error. Twelve were accordingly chosen, and no less than two hundred and sixty-seven opinions of that description were the fruits of their labours. These being sent to the primate were by him transmitted to the pope, with a *pious* and *christian-like* request, not only to condemn the opinions, but to authorize him to take the body of Wickliffe out of the grave, and put it on a dunghill, that it might be trampled on by all good Christians. The pope, however, being endued with more humanity than the prelate, contented himself with granting the former part of his request, and issued his prohibition to disturb the ashes of Wickliffe.

The death of Henry the Fourth, in 1413, rather tended to increase than diminish the reigning spirit of persecution: the first proof of which was the apprehension and imprisonment of lord Cobham. When that nobleman was strenuously urged by the primate to a recantation of his principles, he made no answer; but, drawing out a paper from his bosom, he read it, as the confession of his faith, and then delivered it to Arundel. The following is a copy of that curious paper, extracted from Wilkins's Councils, which may fairly be supposed to contain the leading sentiments of the most intelligent Lollards, though they are expressed with that caution which the spirit of the times rendered necessary:

"I John Oldcastell, knyght, lord of Cobham, wole, that all Cristeyn men wyte and understond, that I clepe Allmighty God in to wytness, that it hath ben, now ys, and ever, with the help of God, shall ben myn entent, and my wylle, to beleve feythfully and fully all the Sacramentis that evyr God ordeyned to be do in holy churche: and, moreover, for to declare me in these four peyntes. I beleve that the most worschipfull sacrament of the auter is Cristes body in forme of bred, the same body that was born of the blessyd Virgyne our Lady Seint Marye, don on the cross, deed and buryed the thrydde day, ros fro deth to lyf; the wych body is now glorified in hevene. Also, as for the sacrament of penance, I beleve that it is nedfull to every man that shall be saved, to forsake synne, and to due penance for synne bifore doon, wyth trewe confession, very contrition, and duhe satisfaction, as Goddes law lymiteth and techeth, and ellys may not be saved. Whych penance I desir all men to do. And of as Ymages I understonde, that thei be not of beleve, but that thei were ordeyned syth the bileve was zew of Crist be sufferaunce of the churche, to be kalenders to lewd men, to represent and brynge to mynde the passion of our Lord Jhesu Crist, and martirdom and good lyving of other seyntes; and that who so it be that doth the worschipe to dede ymages, that is duhe to God, or putteth seych hope or trust in affeccion in one more than in an other, he doth in that the grete sin of mawmentrie. Also I suppose this fully, that every man in this erthe is a pilgrime towarde blyss, or toward peyne; and that he that knoweth not, ne wole not knowe, ne kepe the hole commandementes of God in lyving here, al be it, that he gos on pylgrimage to all the world, an he dy so, he shall be dampned; and he that knowyth the holy comandementys of God, and kepeth hem hys end, he shall be saved, tho he nevir in hys lyve go on pilgrymage, as men use now, to Cantirbury or to Rome, or to any other place."

The primate, after consultation with the other prelates and divines, told lord Cobham, that several articles of his creed wore a good and catholic appearance; but that it was not sufficiently explicit on either of the four points of the eucharist, confession, images, and pilgrimages. For his instructiou therefore he gave him the following paper, containing the doctrine of the church on these important subjects, which he allowed him two days to consider:

"The fayth and the determination of holy churche touchyng the blissfull sacraments of the autur, is this:—That after the sacramentall wordes ben sayde by a prest in hys masse, the material bred that was bifore is turned into Cristis verray body; and the material wyn that was bifore, is turned into Cristis verray blode; and there laweth in the auter no material brede, ne material wyn, the wych wer ther byfore the seying of the sacramental wordes.—How lyve ye this article?—Crist ordeyned Seint Peter the Apostell to ben his vicarie here in erthe; whos see ys the churche of Rome, ordnying and grauntyng the same power that he ga to Petir shuld succede to all Petirs successours; the wych we callyn now popes of Rome; by whos power in churches particuler special ben ordeyned prelates, as archbyshoppes, byshoppes, curates, and other degrees, to whom Cristen men oughte to obeye after the lawes of the churche of Rome. This is determination of holy churche.—How fele ye this articull?—Holy churche hath determined, that it is needful to a Cristyn man to goo a pilgrymach to holy places, and there specially to worship holy reliqes of seyntes, apostelys, martyrs, confessours, and all seyntes approved be churche of Rome. This is determination of holy churche.—How fele ye this articule?"

Such was the ridiculous doctrine maintained by our bigotted ancestors in the fifteenth century, and to which every one was obliged to subscribe, under the pain of being burnt to ashes. The refusal of lord Cobham to comply with these articles, with his conviction, escape, recapture, and execution (*g*), we have already noticed in the reign of Henry the Fifth.

The primate, whose sanguinary disposition rendered him a disgrace even to the religion he professed, died on the 19th of February, 1415; and was succeeded by Henry Chicheley, bishop of St. David's, who was elected by the monks of Canterbury on the king's recommendation. The pope, however, disannulled the election, as an infringement on his right of nomination: but, being fearful to disoblige

(*g*) Lord Cobham was hung up by an iron chain, in an horizontal posture, and, a fire being kindled under him, he was gradually burnt to death.

disoblige the king at a time when he had powerful enemies to combat in Italy, he again nominated Chicheley to the primacy: who, on receiving his pall, took an oath of canonical obedience, which rendered him more the subject of the pontiff than of his natural sovereign.

The new primate soon shewed himself endued with the same intolerant principles as his predecessor; and, by pursuing the same line of conduct, seemed determined to effect the total extermination of the unfortunate Lollards. Henry the Fifth gave orders to the university of Oxford to draw up a catalogue of those abuses in the church which stood in most need of reformation, that he might lay them before the council of Constance. This catalogue consists of forty-six articles; and though it was composed by ecclesiastics who were doubtless careful not to exaggerate the vices of their fraternity, exhibits a most odious picture of the manners of the clergy in this period, particularly of their avarice and debauchery. The twenty-seventh article contains the following charge: "It is notorious that when a Pagan or Jew, abandoning his former errors, desires to be purified in the holy font of baptism, all his temporal goods are confiscated to the church; which, it is believed, prevents the conversion of many Jews. It would be pious and meritorious in the council to remedy this abuse: for, when Philip baptized the eunuch, he did not seize his chariot, or any other goods which he had with him at his baptism." The thirty-eighth article represents, "That the carnal and debauched lives of the clergy in our days, and their public fornications---which are never punished, except secretly, by a trifling fine---set an evil example before others: it would therefore be a work of holiness, and would greatly contribute to the reformation of the church, if priests of every rank and order, who were public fornicators, were obliged to abstain from the celebration of mass for a limited time."

But the necessary work of reformation was, unfortunately, less attended to than the invidious task of persecution. In the year 1415, one John Claydon, a furrier in London, was burnt in Smithfield for the *enormous crime* of having listened to the reading of heretical books: and in the following year, an inquisition was set on foot by the primate; who compelled three respectable inhabitants in every parish to take a solemn oath, that they would make diligent enquiry if there were any Lollards, or any suspected of favouring that sect, or any who had English books in their houses, or had any thing singular in their way of living, within their parish; and to send an account in writing to the archdeacon, twice every year, of their names, and of every circumstance relating to them. In consequence of this despotic regulation, which established inquisitors, and consequently tyrants, in every village throughout the kingdoms, numerous prosecutions, founded in envy or malevolence, were commenced; and the devoted followers of Wickliffe were exposed to the most cruel insults and oppressions.

In the years 1426 and 1427, Pope Martin the Fifth, who had obtained full possession of the chair of St. Peter, directed various bulls to the primate, to the king, and to the parliament of England, concerning the statute of *Præmunire*, by which the Roman pontiffs were deprived of the power of disposing of English benefices at their pleasure. In these bulls he treated the archbishop with great asperity, bestowing on him the most opprobrious epithets, for having suffered a law, which he termed detestable, execrable, and abominable, to subsist so long. Nor did he display much greater delicacy in his addresses to the king and the parliament; telling them plainly, that he was constituted supreme head over them and the universal church by Christ himself; insinuating that, if they did not repeal that odious statute, they would incur the penalty of damnation; and promising, if they would abolish it, that he would exercise his authority with lenity and moderation. The commons, however, like men for once determined to judge for themselves in this age of bigotry and fanaticism, were neither intimidated by his laughable threats, nor allured by his empty promises: they therefore positively refused to comply with his requests, though strongly urged to it by the primate and other prelates of the kingdom. In the year 1428, this turbulent pontiff published a crusade against the Bohemians who had adopted the opinions of Wickliffe; and he promised the pardon of all their sins, and the happiness of heaven, (noble benediction!) to all such as should *lose* their lives in that *meritorious* expedition: this induced numbers of the English to engage in it, under the conduct of cardinal Beaufort, bishop of Winchester. These troops, however, to the number of about five thousand men, were not employed against the Bohemian Lollards, but were pressed by the duke of Bedford, then regent of France, and employed by him in the war which he was carrying on against Charles the Seventh, king of France.

Martin the Fifth was with great difficulty prevailed upon, or rather compelled, to summon a general council, in compliance with his own promise, and in submission to a decree of the council of Constance; and he appointed Julian, cardinal of St. Angelo, to preside in it in his name: but Martin died on the 20th of February, before the meeting of the council; and was succeeded by Gabriel Condolmicas, a Venetian, who assumed the title of Eugenius the Fourth, and confirmed the nomination of cardinal Julian to preside at the council, which met at Basil on the 19th of July, 1431. In the second session, February 15th, 1432, the council decreed, That a general council, when sitting, was supreme head of the church; to whose censure all persons, the pope himself not excepted, were subject; and that the sovereign pontiff could not dissolve a general council without the consent of its members. The pope, incensed at decrees which infringed on his authority, published a bull of dissolution; at which the members of the council were so much offended, that they threatened to depose him and appoint a successor to the papacy, (where was then the pope's infallibility?) if he did not immediately recall his bull. When affairs were in this confused state, the archbishop of Canterbury called a convocation of the prelates and clergy of his province on the 7th of November, 1433, and proposed the following questions to the representatives of the clergy in the Lower House: "Hath the pope power to dissolve a general council? Hath the council of Basil power to depose pope Eugenius? If that council depose pope Eugenius, and elect another, will you adhere to the former, or to the pope chosen by the council?" After some deliberation, the following answers were returned to these questions: "The pope hath power to dissolve a general council. The council hath not power to depose pope Eugenius. If that council depose pope Eugenius, we will still pay obedience to him as lawful pope."

The principal inducement with the English to embrace the part of the pontiff, in opposition to the council, appears to have been this: in the council of Constance, the members deliberated and voted by nations, so that the English had one entire vote; but, in the council of Basil, the members were divided into four deputations, each of which was composed of persons of different nations; and the English, being few in number, and thus dispersed, were lost, as it were, in the crowd; and their influence in the council was almost annihilated. Of this they sent home grievous complaints; which irritated the English clergy against the council, and made them eager to promote its dissolution.

The Bohemian Lollards having successfully repelled the unprovoked attacks of their fanatical opponents, reduced the council of Basil to the necessity of negociating with them. Their deputies proposed certain points of reformation; on the acceptance of which they promised, in the name of their countrymen, to return to the communion of the church. The negociation being made known to the archbishop of Canterbury, he put the following question to the same convocation which had decided on the pope's authority in the dissolution of general councils.---Whether any concessions, or what concessions, might be made by the council of Basil to the Bohemians, to bring them back to the communion of the church? To this the clergy answered, That if the Bohemians required the administration of the communion to the laity in both kinds; that all priests and deacons should have authority to preach; that temporal offices should not be enjoyed by the clergy; and that all notorious criminals, without distinction, should be punished---which were the four points the Bohemians were most strenuous to carry---they should be denied; and, in a word, that no concessions whatever should be made to such perverse heretics. So determined were the clergy of this period to persist in error and in vice, and so averse were they to every principle of reformation!

Chicheley, the primate, died on the 12th of April, 1443; and was succeeded in the primacy by John Stafford, bishop of Bath, son to the earl of Stafford. Soon after the elevation of this prelate, an application was made by the clergy to the parliament, relative to a violent contest which had arisen between the church and the common lawyers, on

the meaning of a single word in the famous statute of *Præmunire*. In that statute it was enacted, "If any purchase, or pursue, or do to be purchased or pursued, in the court of Rome, or elsewhere, any such transactions, processes, and sentences of excommunications, bulls, instruments or any other things which touch the king, against him, his regality, or realm, &c." they shall incur the penalties mentioned in the statute. By the court of Rome, or *elsewhere*, the clergy pretended to understand the Roman court, whether it was held at Rome or any other place; whereas the lawyers interpreted the passage according to its evident meaning, viz. The court of Rome, or any other court: in consequence of which interpretation whenever any of the spiritual courts presumed to judge a cause that was not strictly within their jurisdiction, the courts at Westminster not only issued prohibitions, but punished the spiritual judges, as in the case of a Præmunire. The two archbishops therefore, with all their suffragans and clergy, presented a petition to parliament, in the year 1447, earnestly requesting an explanation of the word *elsewhere*, in the statute of the sixteenth of Richard the Second, agreeable to their own views. This modest petition contained many bitter complaints against the courts at Westminster, for assuming to themselves the sole right of interpreting acts of parliament; affirming that the spiritual courts were equally entitled, and much better qualified to exercise that privilege. The parliament, however, treated their representations with the contempt they so richly deserved.

Archbishop Stafford died in the year 1452, and was succeeded by John Kemp, archbishop of York, and cardinal of St. Balbina, who enjoyed the primacy only eighteen months; and on his death, Thomas Bourchier, bishop of Ely, and brother to the earl of Essex, was promoted to that important station. This prelate had soon occasion to exercise his archiepiscopal authority; for Reginald Pococke, bishop of Chichester, being accused of maintaining some heretical doctrines, the primate commanded him to appear before him at Lambeth on the 22nd of October, 1457; when, after various examinations, he was prevailed upon, by threats and promises, to subscribe his recantation. The accounts we have, as well of the trial as of the tenets of Pococke, are confused and contradictory; but the opinions which he acknowledged to have held, and which he now recanted, were these---"That we are not bound, by the necessity of faith, to believe that our Lord Jesus Christ, after his death, descended into hell. It is not necessary to salvation to believe in the holy catholic church. It is not necessary to salvation to believe the communion of saints. It is not necessary to salvation to affirm that the body of Christ is materially in the sacrament. The universal church may err in matters which pertain unto faith. It is not necessary to salvation to believe that that which every council doth universally ordain, approve, and determine, should necessarily, for the help of our faith, and the salvation of our souls, be approved and holden of all faithful Christians." Though the renunciation of these opinions saved the life of the prelate who had maintained them, it did not prevent the primate from depriving him of his see, and sentencing him to pass the remainder of his days in confinement.

BOOK VIII.

THE LINE OF YORK.

COMPRIZING THE

REIGNS OF EDWARD IV. EDWARD V. AND RICHARD III.

CHAPTER I.

EDWARD IV.

YOUNG Edward, now in his twentieth year, was of a temper well fitted to make his way through such a scene of war, havoc, and devastation, as must conduct him to the full possession of that crown, which he claimed from hereditary right, but which he had assumed from the tumultuary election alone of his own party. He was bold, active, enterprizing; and his hardness of heart and severity of character rendered him impregnable to all those movements of compassion, which might relax his vigour in the prosecution of the most bloody revenges upon his enemies. The very commencement of his reign gave symptoms of his sanguinary disposition. A tradesman of London, who kept shop at the sign of the Crown, having said that he would make his son heir to the Crown; this harmless pleasantry was interpreted to be spoken in derision of Edward's assumed title; and he was condemned and executed for the offence (*h*). Such an act of tyranny was a proper prelude to the events which ensued. The scaffold, as well as the field, incessantly streamed with the noblest blood of England, spilt in the quarrel between the two contending families, whose animosity was now become implacable. The people, divided in their affections, took different symbols of party: the partizans of the house of Lancaster chose the red rose as their mark of distinction; those of York were denominated from the white; and these civil wars were thus known, over Europe, by the name of the quarrel between the two roses.

The licence, in which queen Margaret had been obliged to indulge her troops, infused great terror and aversion into the city of London, and all the southern parts of the kingdom; and as she there expected an obstinate resistance, she had prudently retired northwards among her own partizans. The same licence, joined to the zeal of faction, soon brought great multitudes to her standard; and she was able, in a few days, to assemble an army, sixty thousand strong, in Yorkshire. The king and the earl of Warwick hastened with an army of fifty thousand men, to check her progress; and when they reached Pomfret they dispatched a body of troops, under the command of lord Fitzwalter, to secure the passage of Ferrybridge over the river Ayre, which lay between them and the enemy. Fitzwalter took possession of the post assigned him; but was not able to maintain it against lord Clifford, who attacked him with superior numbers. The Yorkists were chased back with great slaughter; and lord Fitzwalter himself was slain in the action (*i*). The earl of Warwick, dreading the consequences of this disaster, at a time when a decisive action was every hour expected, immediately ordered his horse to be brought him, which he stabbed before the whole army; and, kissing the hilt of his sword, swore that he was determined to share the fate of the meanest soldier (*k*). And, to shew the greater security, a proclamation was at the same time issued, giving to every one full liberty to retire; but menacing the severest punishment to those who should discover any symptoms of cowardice in the ensuing battle (*l*). Lord Falconbridge was sent to recover the post which had been lost: he passed the river some miles above Ferrybridge; and falling unexpectedly on lord Clifford, revenged the former disaster by the defeat of the party and the death of their leader (*m*).

The hostile armies met at Touton, a village about ten miles south-west of York, on the morning of Palm Sunday, the 29th of March, 1461; and a fierce and bloody battle ensued. While the Yorkists were advancing to the charge, there happened a great fall of snow, which driving full in the faces of their enemies, blinded them; and this advantage was improved by a stratagem of lord Falconbridge. That noblemen ordered some infantry to advance before the line, and, after having sent a volley of flight arrows, as they were called, amidst the enemy, immediately to retire. The Lancastrians, imagining that they were within reach of the opposite army, discharged all their arrows, which thus fell short of the Yorkists (*n*). After

(*h*) Habington in Kennet, p. 431. Grafton, p. 791.
(*i*) W. Wyrcester, p. 489. Hall, fol. 180, Hollingshed, p. 664.
(*k*) Habington, p. 432. (*l*) Hollingshed, p. 664.
(*m*) Hist. Croyl. contin. p. 532. (*n*) Hall, fol. 186.

the quivers of the enemy were emptied, Edward advanced his line, and did execution with impunity on the dismayed Lancastrians: the bow, however, was soon laid aside, and the sword decided the combat, which ended in a total victory on the side of the Yorkists. Edward issued orders to give no quarter (*o*). The routed army was pursued to Tadcaster with great bloodshed and confusion; and above thirty-six thousand men are computed to have fallen in the battle and pursuit on the side of the Lancastrians (*p*). Among these were the earl of Westmoreland, and his brother, sir John Nevil, the earl of Northumberland, the lords Dacres and Welles, and sir Andrew Trollop (*q*). The earl of Devonshire, who was now engaged in Henry's party, was brought a prisoner to Edward; and was, soon after, beheaded by martial law at York. His head was fixed on a pole erected over the gate of that city; and the head of duke Richard, and that of the earl of Salisbury, were taken down, and buried with their bodies. Henry and Margaret had remained at York during the action; but learning the defeat of their army, and being sensible that no place in England could now afford them shelter, they fled with great precipitation into Scotland. They were accompanied by the duke of Exeter, who, though he had married Edward's sister, had taken part with the Lancastrians, and by Henry duke of Somerset, who had commanded the unfortunate battle of Touton, and who was the son of that nobleman killed in the first battle of St. Albans.

Notwithstanding the great animosity which prevailed between the kingdoms, Scotland had never exerted itself with vigour, to take advantage, either of the wars which England carried on with France, or of the civil commotions which arose between the contending families. James I. more laudably employed, in civilizing his subjects, and taming them to the salutary yoke of law and justice, avoided all hostilities with foreign nations; and though he seemed interested to maintain a balance between France and England, he gave no farther assistance to the former kingdom in its greatest distresses, than permitting, and perhaps encouraging, his subjects to enlist in the French service. After the murder of that excellent prince, the minority of his son and successor James II. and the distractions incident to it, retained the Scots in the same state of neutrality; and the superiority, visibly acquired by France, rendered it then unnecessary for her ally to interpose in her defence. But, when the quarrel commenced between the houses of York and Lancaster, and became absolutely incurable, but by the total extinction of one party; James, who had now risen to man's estate, was tempted to seize the opportunity, and he endeavoured to recover those places which the English had formerly conquered from his ancestors. He laid siege to the castle of Roxborough in 1460, and had provided himself with a small train of artillery for that enterprize: but his cannon were so ill framed, that one of them burst as he was firing it, and put an end to his life in the flower of his age. His son and successor, James III. was also a minor on his accession: the usual distractions ensued in the government: the queen-dowager, Anne of Gueldres, aspired to the regency: the family of Douglas opposed her pretensions: and queen Margaret, when she fled into Scotland, found there a people little less divided by faction, than those by whom she had been expelled. Though she pleaded the connexions between the royal family of Scotland and the house of Lancaster, by the young king's grandmother, a daughter of the earl of Somerset; she could engage the Scottish council to go no farther than to express their good wishes in her favour: but, on her offer to deliver to them immediately the important fortress of Berwick, and to contract her son in marriage with a sister of king James, she found a better reception; and the Scots promised the assistance of their arms to reinstate her family upon the throne (*r*). But, as the danger from that quarter seemed not very urgent to Edward, he did not pursue the fugitive king and queen into their retreat; but returned to London, where a parliament was summoned to meet at Westminster on the 6th of July, for settling the government; but owing to the unsettled state of the kingdom the parliament did not assemble till the 4th of November (*s*), when Edward found the good effects of his vigorous measure in assuming the crown, as well as of his victory at Touton, by which he had secured it: the parliament no longer hesitated between the two families, or proposed any of those ambiguous decisions, which could only serve to perpetuate and inflame the animosities of party. They recognized the title of Edward, by hereditary descent, through the family of Mortimer; and declared that he was king by right, from the death of his father, who had also the same lawful title; and that he was in possession of the crown from the day that he assumed the government, tendered to him by the acclamations of the people (*t*). They expressed their abhorrence of the usurpation and intrusion of the house of Lancaster, particularly that of the earl of Derby, otherwise called Henry IV. which, they said, had been attended with every kind of disorder, the murder of the sovereign and the oppression of the subject. They annulled every grant which had passed in those reigns; they reinstated the king in all the possessions which had belonged to the crown at the pretended deposition of Richard II. and though they confirmed judicial deeds, and the decrees of inferior courts, they reversed all attainders passed in any pretended parliament; particularly the attainder of the earl of Cambridge, the king's grandfather; as well as that of the earls of Salisbury and Gloucester, and of lord Lumley, who had been forfeited for adhering to Richard II. (*u*).

Many of these votes were without doubt the result of the usual violence of party: but in more peaceable times they were repelled: and the statutes of the house of Lancaster, being the deeds of an established government, and enacted by princes long possessed of authority, have always been held as valid. The parliament, however, in subverting such deep foundations, had still the pretence of replacing the government on its ancient and natural basis: but, in their subsequent measures, they were more guided by revenge, at least by the views of convenience, than by the maxims of equity and justice. The parliament passed an act of forfeiture and attainder against Henry VI. and queen Margaret, and their infant son, prince Edward: the same act was extended to the dukes of Somerset and Exeter; to the earls of Northumberland, Devonshire, Pembroke, Wilts; to the viscount Beaumont; the lords Roos, Nevil, Clifford, Welles, Dacre, Grey of Rugemont, Hungerford; to Alexander Hedie, Nicholas Latimer, Edmund Montford, John Heron, and many other persons of distinction. They vested the estates of all these attainted persons in the crown; though their sole crime was the adhering to a prince, whom every individual of the parliament had long recognised, and whom the very king himself, who was now seated on the throne, had acknowledged and obeyed as his lawful sovereign.

The necessity of supporting the government established will more fully justify some other acts of violence; though the method of conducting them may still appear exceptionable. John earl of Oxford, and his eldest son Aubrey de Vere, were detected in a correspondence with Margaret, were tried by martial law before the constable, were condemned and executed (*v*) on Tower Hill, in February, 1462. Sir William Tyrrel, sir Thomas Tudenham, and John Montgomery, were convicted in the same arbitrary court, were executed, and their estates forfeited. This introduction of martial law into civil government was a high strain of prerogative; which, were it not for the violence of the times, would probably have appeared exceptionable to a nation so jealous of their liberties as the English were now become. It was impossible but such a great and sudden revolution must leave the roots of discontent and dissatisfaction in the subject, which would require great art, or in lieu of it, great violence, to extirpate them. The latter was more suitable to the genius of the nation in that uncultivated age.

But the new establishment still seemed precarious and uncertain; not only from the domestic discontents of the people, but from the efforts of foreign powers. Louis, the eleventh of the name, had succeeded to his father Charles in 1460; and was led, from the obvious motives of national interest, to feed the flames of civil discord among such dangerous neighbours, by giving support to the weaker party. But the intriguing and politic genius of this prince was here checked by itself: having attempted to subdue the independent spirit of his own vassals, he had excited such an opposition at home, as prevented him

(*o*) Habington, p. 432.
(*p*) Hollingshed, p. 665. Grafton, p. 656. Hist. Croyl. cont. p. 533.
(*q*) Hall, fol. 187. Habington, p. 433.
(*r*) Hall, fol. 137. Habington, p. 434.
(*s*) So great had been the slaughter among the nobles in this destructive contest, that only one duke, four earls, one viscount, and twenty-nine barons, remained to obey the citation. (*t*) Cotton, p. 670.
(*u*) Cotton, p. 672. Statutes at Large, 1 Edw. IV. cap. 1.
(*v*) W. de Wyrcester, p. 492. Hall, fol. 189. Grafton, p. 658. Fabian, fol. 215. Fragm. ad finem T. Sprotti.

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from making all the advantage which the opportunity afforded, of the dissensions among the English.

Margaret, accompanied by the duke of Somerset and a small retinue, sailed for the continent, and sought assistance from her foreign connections. All that she could obtain from Louis was a loan of twenty thousand livres, and a body of forces under Varenne, seneschal of Normandy. With these she embarked for England; and, after a tedious and tempestuous passage, arrived off Tinmouth about the end of 1462; but being prevented from landing there, she again put to sea; and her fleet being overtaken by a storm, many of the ships were stranded near Bamborough Castle, and the vessel in which the queen was with difficulty reached the port of Berwick. The French troops effected a landing in Holy Island, where they were soon attacked by a superior force, and most of them either killed or taken; but their leader, with some other officers made their escape, and joined the queen.

The affairs of Henry were now in a desperate situation: but no disasters could intimidate the heroic spirit of Margaret, who determined to make another effort in order to obtain assistance from the continent. Leaving her husband and son at Edinburgh, she sailed from Kirkcudbright in Galloway, on the 8th of April, 1463; and landing in Britanny, obtained a gift of twelve thousand crowns from the duke of that province. From thence she proceeded to the court of France; and by a promise to Louis to deliver up Calais, should her family by his means be restored to the throne of England, procured a body of two thousand men at arms, with which she arrived safely in Northumberland, in the month of October that year: but the inhabitants of the north, though generally friends to the Lancastrian party, deeming the force insufficient to afford a prospect of success, refused to take up arms; she was therefore compelled, after reducing a few castles, to retire into Scotland, where she passed the winter.

In the ensuing spring she again took the field, having been reinforced by a numerous train of Scotch adventurers. Her first efforts were successful: she reduced the castles of Bamburgh, Dunstanburgh, and Alnwick; and, by her active exertions, dispelled the fears of many who had been hitherto deterred from openly espousing her cause. Edward, alarmed at her progress, sent lord Montacute, or Montague, brother to the earl of Warwick, and warden of the east marches between England and Scotland, to oppose her; and issued a proclamation, commanding every man in England, from the age of sixteen to that of sixty, to be prepared to march at a day's notice. Having collected a powerful army, he set out in person for the north, and reached York towards the end of May: but lord Montague, without waiting for his arrival, had first attacked and defeated a detachment of the Lancastrian army, at Hedgeley Moor, near Wooller, on the 25th of April, commanded by sir Ralph Percy, who was killed in the action. Montague was so encouraged with this success, that, while a numerous reinforcement was on their march to join him by orders from Edward, he yet ventured, with his own troops alone, to attack the Lancastrians at Hexham; and he obtained a complete victory over them, on the 15th of May. The duke of Somerset, the lords Roos and Hungerford, were taken in the pursuit, and immediately beheaded by martial law at Hexham. Summary justice was in like manner executed at Newcastle on sir Humphrey Nevil and several other gentlemen. All those who were spared in the field suffered on the scaffold; and the utter extermination of their adversaries was now become the plain object of the York party; a conduct which the Yorkists seem to have adopted from the preceding practice of the Lancastrians.

The fate of the unfortunate royal family, after this defeat was singular. Margaret, flying with her son into a forest, where she endeavoured to conceal herself, was beset, during the darkness of the night, by robbers, who, either ignorant or regardless of her quality, despoiled her of her rings and jewels, and treated her with the utmost indignity. The partition of this rich booty raised a quarrel among them; and while their attention was thus engaged, she took the opportunity of making her escape with her son, into the thickest of the forest, where she wandered for some time, overspent with hunger and fatigue, and sunk with terror and affliction. While in this wretched condition, she saw a robber approach with his naked sword; and finding that she had no means of escape, she suddenly embraced the resolution of trusting entirely for protection to his faith and generosity. She advanced towards him; and presenting to him the young prince, called out to him, "*Here, my friend, I commit to your care the safety of your king's son.*" The man, whose humanity and generous spirit had been obscured, not entirely lost, by this vicious course of life, was struck with the singularity of the event, was charmed with the confidence reposed in him; and vowed, not only to abstain from all injury against the princess, but to devote himself entirely to her service (*w*). By his means she dwelt some time concealed in the forest, and was at last conducted to the sea-coast, whence she made her escape into Flanders. She passed thence into her father's court, where she lived several years in privacy and retirement. Her husband was not so fortunate or so dexterous in finding the means of escape. Some of his friends took him under their protection, and conveyed him into Lancashire; where he remained concealed during a twelvemonth; but he was at last detected, delivered up to Edward, and thrown into the Tower (*x*). The safety of his person was owing less to the generosity of his enemies, than to the contempt which they had entertained of his courage and his understanding.

The imprisonment of Henry, the expulsion of Margaret, the execution and confiscation of all the most eminent Lancastrians, seemed to give full security to Edward's government; whose title by blood being now recognized by parliament, and universally submitted to by the people, was no longer in danger of being impeached by any antagonist. In this prosperous situation, the king delivered himself up, without control, to those pleasures which his youth, his high fortune, and his natural temper invited him to enjoy; and the cares of royalty were less attended to, than the dissipation of amusement or the allurements of passion. The cruel and unrelenting spirit of Edward, though enured to the ferocity of civil wars, was at the same time extremely devoted to the softer passions, which, without mitigating his severe temper, maintained a great influence over him, and shared his attachment with the pursuits of ambition and the thirst of military glory. During the present interval of peace, he lived in the most familiar and sociable manner with his subjects (*y*), particularly with the Londoners; and the beauty of his person, as well as the gallantry of his address, which, even unassisted by his royal dignity, would have rendered him acceptable to the fair, facilitated all his applications for their favour. This easy and pleasurable course of life augmented every day his popularity among all ranks of men: he was the peculiar favourite of the young and gay of both sexes. The disposition of the English, little addicted to jealousy, kept them from taking umbrage at these liberties: and his indulgence and amusements, while it gratified his inclination, was thus become, without design, a means of supporting and securing his government. But as it is difficult to confine the ruling passion within strict rules of prudence, the amorous temper of Edward led him into a snare, which proved fatal to his repose, and to the stability of his throne.

Jaquelin of Luxembourg, duchess of Bedford, had, after her husband's death, so far sacrificed her ambition to love, that she espoused, in second marriage, Sir Richard Woodeville, a private gentleman, to whom she bore several children; and among the rest, Elizabeth, who was remarkable for the grace and beauty of her person, as well as for other amiable accomplishments. This young lady had married Sir John Gray of Groby, by whom she had children; and her husband being slain in the second battle of St. Albans, fighting on the side of Lancaster, and his estate being for that reason confiscated, his widow retired to live with her father, at his seat of Grafton in Northamptonshire. The king came accidentally to the house after a hunting party, in order to pay a visit to the duchess of Bedford; and as the occasion seemed favourable for obtaining some grace from this gallant monarch, the young widow flung herself at his feet, and with many tears entreated him to take pity on her impoverished and distressed children. The sight of so much beauty in affliction strongly affected the amorous Edward; love stole insensibly into his heart under the guise of compassion; and her sorrow, so becoming a virtuous matron, made his esteem and regard quickly correspond to his affection. He raised her from the ground with assurances of favour; he found his passion increase every moment by the conversation of the amiable object; and he was soon reduced, in his turn, to the posture and style of a supplicant at the feet of Elizabeth. But the lady, either averse to dishonourable love from a sense of duty, or perceiving that the impression

(*w*) Monstrelet, vol. iii. p. 90. (*x*) Hall, fol. 191. Fragm. ad finem Sprotti. (*y*) Polyd. Virg. p. 513. Biondi.

impression which she had made, was so deep as to give her hopes of obtaining the highest elevation, obstinately refused to gratify his passion; and all the endearments, caresses, and importunities of the young and amiable Edward, proved fruitless against her rigid and inflexible virtue. His passion, irritated by opposition, and increased by his veneration for such honourable sentiments, carried him at last beyond all bounds of reason; and he offered to share his throne, as well as his heart, with the woman, whose beauty of person and dignity of character seemed so well to entitle her to both. The marriage was privately celebrated at Grafton (z). The secret was carefully kept for some time: no one suspected, that so libertine a prince could sacrifice so much to a romantic passion: and there were in particular strong reasons, which at that time rendered this step to the highest degree dangerous and imprudent. When Edward thought the stability of his throne sufficiently established, he discovered his marriage; and Elizabeth, on the 29th of September, 1464, was led to the abbey church of Reading, where the court then resided, and declared queen of England.

The king, desirous to secure his throne, as well by the prospect of issue, as by foreign alliances, had, a little before, determined to make application to some neighbouring princess; and he had cast his eye on Bona of Savoy, sister of the queen of France, who, he hoped, would, by her marriage, ensure him the friendship of that power, which was alone both able and inclined to give support and assistance to his rival. To render the negociation more successful, the earl of Warwick had been dispatched to Paris, where the princess then resided; he had demanded Bona in marriage for the king; his proposals had been accepted; the treaty was fully concluded; and nothing remained but the ratification of the terms agreed on, and the bringing over the princess to England (a). But when the secret of Edward's marriage broke out, the haughty earl, deeming himself affronted, both by being employed in this fruitless negociation, and by being kept a stranger to the king's intentions, who had owed every thing to his friendship, immediately returned to England, inflamed with rage and indignation. The influence of passion over so young a man as Edward might have served as an excuse for his imprudent conduct, had he deigned to acknowledge his error, or had pleaded his weakness as an apology: but his faulty shame or pride prevented him from so much as mentioning the matter to Warwick; and that nobleman being discontented, departed from the court.

The king, in the mean time, was employed at home in preparing for the coronation of his consort; in honour of which solemnity he made seven and thirty knights of the Bath, on the 23rd of May, 1465; on the following day, the lord mayor, aldermen, and citizens of London, richly dressed, went forth on horseback, to Shooter's Hill, to meet the queen, whom they conducted to the Tower; from whence she was conveyed in a litter, preceded by the new made knights, to Westminster, where she was crowned, on Sunday the 26th of the same month, by the archbishop of Canterbury. The coronation was succeeded by magnificent tournaments, which had lasted several days.

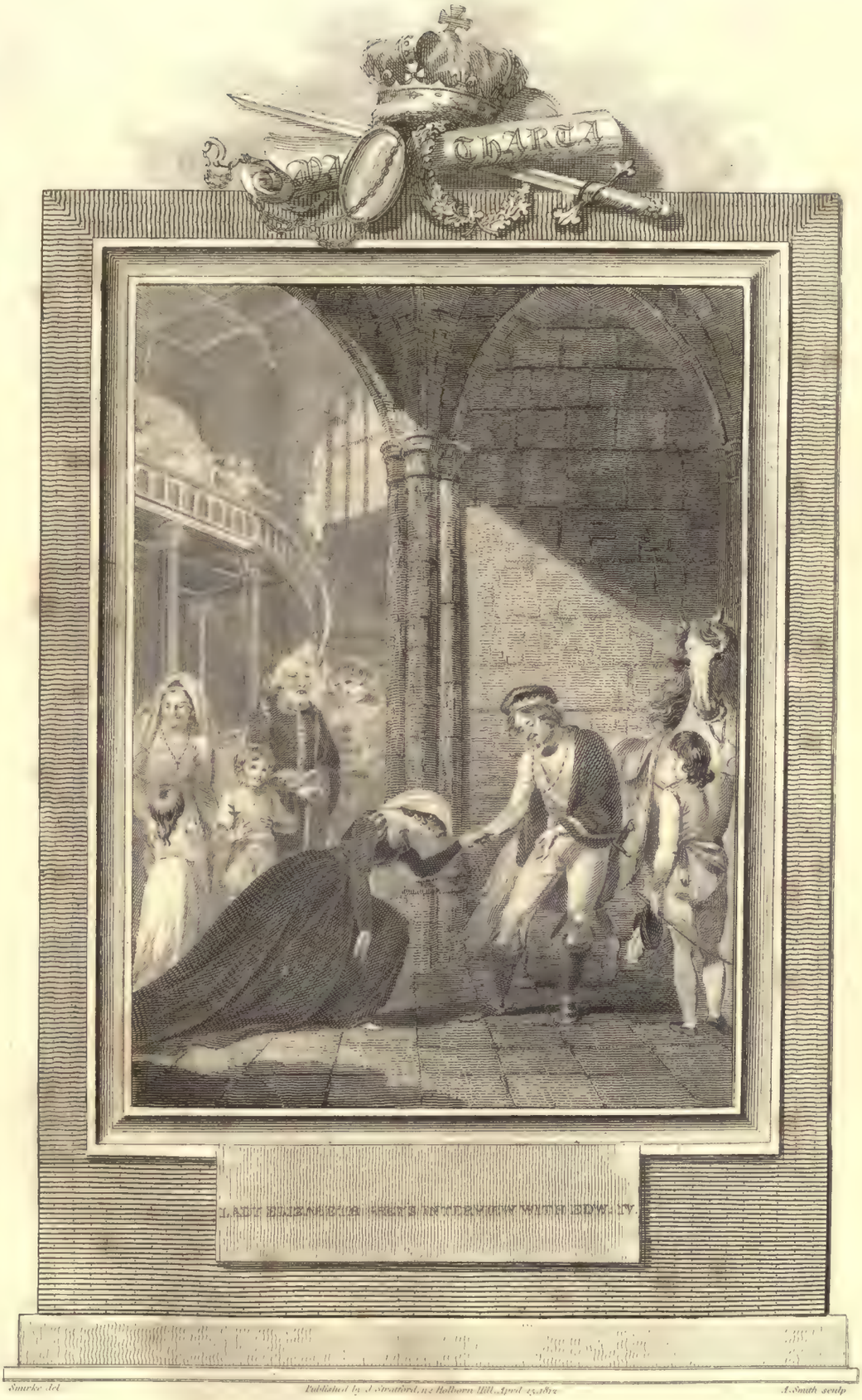
About this period the unfortunate Henry, who had long lain concealed in the counties of Westmoreland and Lancaster, among the friends of his family, was betrayed by a monk to Sir James Harrington, who apprehended him as he sat at dinner in Waddington Hall, and conducted him to London; a service for which Edward rewarded him with the grant of the forfeited estates of Sir Richard Tunstall. The royal captive was met at Islington by the earl of Warwick; who actuated by a spirit of revenge, equally unworthy of his character, and inconsistent with the general tenour of his conduct, is said to have insulted him in his misfortunes, in a manner the most gross and indecent, ordering his feet to be tied to the stirrups, and treating him in other respects with the utmost indignity: a convincing proof that, as yet, the earl had formed no intention of deposing Edward, and restoring his rival to the throne. In this ignominious situation the wretched Henry, who in the days of his prosperity had never been betrayed into so base and unmanly an exertion of power, was conducted through the streets of London, after a proclamation had been made to prohibit any person from shewing him any marks of compassion or respect; a mandate which none but a tyrant could have issued, and none but slaves have regarded! When the procession, which reflected more infamy on those who framed it than on the unhappy object it was meant to degrade, reached Tower Hill, the horse on which Henry rode was led three times round the pillory; and the fallen monarch was then lodged in the Tower, where he was treated with a degree of contempt and cruelty which was doubtless intended to shorten the period of his existence.

The queen, who lost not her influence by marriage, was, as might naturally be expected, solicitous to draw every grace and favour to her own friends and kindred, and to exclude those of the earl, whom she regarded as her mortal enemy. Her father, Sir Richard Woodville, was created earl of Rivers: he was made treasurer in the room of lord Mountjoy (b): he was invested in the office of constable for life; and his son Anthony, Elizabeth's eldest brother, received the survivance of that high dignity (c). The same young nobleman was married to the only daughter of lord Scales, enjoyed the great estate of that family, and had the title of Scales conferred upon him. Catharine, the queen's sister, was married to the young duke of Buckingham, who was a ward of the crown (d): Mary, another of her sisters, espoused William Herbert, created earl of Huntingdon: Ann, a third sister, was given in marriage to the son and heir of Grey lord Ruthyn, created earl of Kent (e). The daughter and heir of the duke of Exeter, who was also the king's niece, was contracted to Sir Thomas Grey, one of the queen's sons by her former husband; and as lord Montague was treating of a marriage between his son and this lady, the preference given to young Grey was deemed an affront to the family of Nevil.

The honours which had been so profusely lavished on the queen's relations, and their almost exclusive enjoyment of the royal confidence, appear at this time to have caused some coolness between them and the powerful family of the Nevils; since, at a magnificent entertainment given, in September, 1465, by George Nevil, chancellor of England, brother to the earl of Warwick, on his promotion from the see of Exeter to that of York, though the duke of Gloucester, brother to Edward, with almost all the nobles and prelates of the kingdom were present, not one of the queen's family appeared. But, although a coolness might subsist, no appearance of an open rupture between Edward and Warwick had yet occurred: nor indeed could that coolness itself have risen to any great height, as the earl, soon after, stood godfather to the princess Elizabeth, of whom the queen was delivered at Westminster on the 11th of February, 1466. Yet, as the family of Woodville advanced in greatness, that of Nevil experienced a diminution of the credit they had hitherto enjoyed, so marked and extensive, as to afford the most reasonable grounds for disgust. The post of chancellor, enjoyed by the archbishop of York, brother to Warwick, was abruptly taken from that prelate on the 8th of June, 1467, and conferred on Robert de Stillington, bishop of Bath and Wells, one of the queen's most zealous partizans. The king, probably stimulated by the relations of his consort, continued to subject the man, to whose exertions he was chiefly indebted for his own elevation, to the most pointed insults, in the vain hope, that such unworthy treatment would urge him to retire from court to the enjoyment of a private station, for which he was by no means adapted, either by birth, habit, or inclination. In this view he obtained an act of parliament which empowered him to resume all the grants he had made, with some few exceptions, since his accession to the throne. Thus the family of Nevil was rendered wholly dependent on his pleasure for the possession of those numerous estates which had been conferred on them as rewards for their important services: and Edward imagined that, by holding this act *in terrorem* over Warwick, he should induce him to bury his disgust in silence and obscurity; or, should the resentment of that nobleman rise superior to his interest, by enforcing its provisions, he might decrease his opulence; and, by the resumption of grants which, according to the computation of Philip de Comines, a writer of great accuracy and undoubted credit, produced, exclusive of his patrimonial estates, an annual revenue of eighty thousand crowns, effect a proportional diminution of his influence and authority. Edward, to shew at once his power and intentions, immediately resumed two manors which he had granted to the

(z) Hall, fol. 193. Fabian, fol. 216. Habington, p. 437. Hollingshed, p. 667. (a) Hall, fol. 193. Grafton, p. 665. Polyd. Virg. p. 513. (b) W. Wyrcester, p. 506. (c) Rymer, vol. xi. p. 581. (d) W. Wyrcester, p. 505. (e) Ibid. p. 506.

archbishop



LADY ELEANOR HOLBEACH'S INTERVIEW WITH EDW.IV.

Smirke del. Published by J. Stratford, 112 Holborn Hill, April 23 1802 A. Smith sculp

archbishop of York, reserving a farther execution of the act for more urgent occasions.

During these transactions, Warwick was absent on an embassy to France; and though when apprized of them, his pride must have suffered considerably, he did not, on his return, evince that spirit of resentment which might naturally have been expected; on the contrary, he suffered his brother, the archbishop of York, to attempt a reconciliation with the queen's relations; for which purpose that prelate had an interview with his father lord Rivers at Nottingham, when an amicable arrangement took place between the rival families. The earl of Warwick, soon after, attended a great council, held at Coventry, in January, 1468; at which he was publicly reconciled to the lords Herbert, Stafford, and Audley, who had married three of the queen's sisters. The king expressed so much pleasure at this circumstance, that he restored to the archbishop of York, by whose means it had been effected, the two manors which he had taken from him the preceding year.

In the mean time, Edward had endeavoured to secure the stability of his throne by foreign alliances. The dark and dangerous, ambition of Louis XI. the more it was known, the greater alarm it excited among his neighbours and vassals; and as it was supported by great abilities, and unrestrained by any principle of faith or humanity, they found no security to themselves but by a jealous combination against him. Philip duke of Burgundy was now dead: his rich and extensive dominions were devolved to Charles his only son, whose martial disposition acquired him the sirname of *Bold*, and whose ambition, more outrageous than that of Louis, but seconded by less power and policy, was regarded with a more favourable eye by the other potentates of Europe. The opposition of interests, and still more, a natural antipathy of character, produced a declared animosity between these bad princes; and Edward was thus secure of the sincere attachment of either of them, for whom he should chuse to declare himself. The duke of Burgundy being descended by his mother, a daughter of Portugal, from John of Gaunt, was naturally inclined to favour the house of Lancaster (*f*): but this consideration was easily overbalanced by political motives; and Charles, perceiving the interests of that house to be extremely decayed in England, sent over his natural brother, commonly called the Bastard of Burgundy, to carry in his name proposals of marriage to Margaret the king's sister. The alliance of Burgundy was more popular among the English than that of France; the commercial interests of the two nations invited the princes to a close union; their common jealousy of Louis was a natural cement between them; and Edward, pleased with strengthening himself by so potent a confederate, soon concluded the alliance, and bestowed his sister upon Charles (*g*). The difficulty, however, of obtaining a dispensation from the pope, arising from the influence of Louis at the court of Rome, retarded the marriage for some months. When that obstacle was removed, and preliminaries arranged, the princess Margaret rode in procession, behind the earl of Warwick, through the streets of London: after which she embarked at Margate on first of July, 1468; arrived in safety at Sluys on the 2nd; and on the 9th, her marriage was celebrated at Dam with great pomp and magnificence. A league which Edward at the same time concluded with the duke of Britanny, seemed both to increase his security, and to open to him the prospect of rivaling his predecessors in those foreign conquests, which, however short-lived and unprofitable, had rendered their reigns so popular and illustrious (*h*).

The mark of distinction which Edward shewed to Warwick, by appointing him to attend the princess, was soon followed by another proof of the confidence which that monarch either reposed, or pretended to repose, in him. Several gentlemen having been apprehended on a charge of maintaining a correspondence with Margaret of Anjou, the king granted a commission for their trial; in which the earl of Warwick, and his brother the earl of Northumberland, were included, with the dukes of Clarence and Gloucester, Edward's own brothers; and the two earls appear to have executed their trust with a zeal that rather tended to justify the confidence of their sovereign than to demonstrate their own attention to the principles of justice and humanity; for great exertions of violence, according to William of Worcester, were employed to procure evidence against the unfortunate culprits, many of whom were condemned and executed on the most vague and inadequate proofs. Though from hence we may infer that Edward had not as yet perceived in Warwick, or his brother, any marks of that disaffection which many circumstances in his conduct were calculated to promote, it is certain the earl was taking such precaution as, in case of a rupture, should render his opposition effectual. For this purpose he contracted an intimacy with George duke of Clarence, who had received the same cause for disgust as himself, in a total exclusion from any active share in the administration, and in the marked preference shewn by his brother to the relations of the queen. Deeply impressed with similar sentiments of animosity against the objects of their common hatred, a strict intercourse and communication of councils speedily ensued between these injured noblemen; and hence arose an union of interests, that was finally cemented by the duke's marriage with Isabella, daughter and co-heiress to the earl, which took place at Calais, on the 11th of July, 1469.

In the mean time, a dangerous insurrection arose in Yorkshire, which by many historians has been hastily imputed to the intrigues of the earl of Warwick; though it is certain that his brother John, earl of Northumberland, exerted the most vigorous efforts to crush it in its infancy. The hospital of St. Leonard's near York had received, from an ancient grant of king Athelstan, a right of levying a thrave of corn upon every plough-land in the county; and as these charitable establishments are liable to abuse, the country people complained that the revenue of the hospital was no longer expended for the relief of the poor, but was secreted by the managers, and employed to their own private purposes. After long repining at the contribution, and their complaints not producing redress, they refused payment: ecclesiastical and civil censures were issued against them: their goods were distrained, and their persons thrown into jail: till, as their ill-humour daily increased, they rose in arms; fell upon the officers of the hospital, whom they put to the sword; and proceeded in a body, fifteen thousand strong, to the gates of York. On their approach, the earl of Northumberland armed his followers, and went forth to meet them; when an action ensued, in which the insurgents were defeated; their leader, Robert Hulderne, commonly called Robin of Redesdale, was taken, and immediately beheaded, by the earl's orders; according to the practice of the times. The rebels, however, still continued in arms; and being soon headed by men of greater distinction, Sir Henry Nevil son of lord Latimer, and Sir John Coniers, they advanced southwards, and began to appear formidable to government. Herbert earl of Pembroke, who had received that title on the forfeiture of Jasper Tudor, was ordered by Edward to march against them at the head of a body of Welshmen; and he was joined by five thousand archers under the command of Stafford earl of Devonshire, who had succeeded in that title to the family of Courtney, which had also been attainted. But a trivial difference about quarters having begotten an animosity between these two noblemen, the earl of Devonshire retired with his archers, and left Pembroke alone to encounter the rebels. The two armies met, on the 26th of July, 1469, at Edgcote, in Northamptonshire, about three miles from Banbury; and Pembroke, having prevailed in a skirmish, and having taken Sir Henry Nevil prisoner, ordered him immediately to be put to death, without any form of process. This execution enraged without terrifying the rebels; they attacked the Welsh army, routed them, put them to the sword without mercy; and having taken Pembroke, and his brother, Sir Richard Herbert, with ten other gentlemen, they took immediate revenge upon them for the death of their leader. The king, imputing this misfortune to the earl of Devonshire, who had deserted Pembroke, ordered him to be executed in a like summary manner. But these speedy executions, or rather open murders, did not stop there: the northern rebels, sending a party to Grafton, took Richard earl Rivers, the queen's father, and his son, Sir John Widville, in the Forest of Dean; men who had become hateful by their near relation to the king, and his partiality towards them; whom they conveyed to Northampton, and they were immediately executed by orders from Sir John Coniers (*i*).

The murder of earl Rivers and his son, who were the chief enemies of Warwick, and the primary source of his

(*f*) Comines, liv. iii. chap. 4. 6.
(*g*) Hall, fol. 169. 197.
(*h*) W. Wyrcester, p. 5. Parliament. Hist. vol. ii. p. 332.
(*i*) Fabian, fol. 217.

discontents, gave rise to reports that it was undertaken by his advice; but, as Edward himself entertained no such suspicion, these reports must have been wholly devoid of foundation. That Edward did not suspect the earl of being privy to the murder of his father-in-law, is evident from a commission, dated August 17, 1469, by which he constituted Warwick chief justiciary of South Wales: he also bestowed on him several other offices of trust and power, which had been held by his favourite, the late earl of Pembroke.

There is no part of English history since the Conquest so obscure, so uncertain, so little authentic, or consistent, as that of the wars between the two Roses: historians differ about many material circumstances; some events of the utmost consequence, in which they almost all agree, are incredible and contradicted by records; and it is remarkable, that this profound darkness falls upon us just on the eve of the restoration of letters, and when the art of printing was already known in Europe. All we can distinguish with certainty through the deep cloud which covers that period, is a scene of horror and bloodshed, savage manners, arbitrary executions, and treacherous, dishonourable conduct in all parties. There is no possibility, for instance, of accounting for the views and intentions of the earl of Warwick at this time. It is agreed that he resided, together with his son-in-law the duke of Clarence, in his government of Calais, during the commencement of this rebellion; and that his brother Montague acted with vigour against the northern rebels. We may thence presume, that the insurrection had not proceeded from the secret counsels and instigation of Warwick; though the murder committed by the rebels on the earl of Rivers, his capital enemy, forms, on the other hand, a presumption against him. He and Clarence came over to England, offered their services to Edward, were received without any suspicion, were entrusted by him in the highest commands (*k*), and still persevered in their fidelity. Soon after, we find the rebels quieted and dispersed by a general pardon granted by Edward from the advice of the earl of Warwick: but why so courageous a prince, if secure of Warwick's fidelity, should have granted a general pardon to men who had been guilty of such violent and personal outrages against him, is not intelligible; nor why that nobleman, if unfaithful, should have endeavoured to appease a rebellion, of which he was able to make such advantages.

Though Edward had afforded Warwick very strong marks of his confidence in the month of August, when circumstances appear to have increased the propriety, or rather the prudence, of adopting a different line of conduct. In the short space of three months, without any intervening occurrence preserved in history, that could operate a change in his sentiments, we find that confidence vanished, and suspicion established in its place: for, on the 16th of November following, the king granted a commission of array to John duke of Suffolk, and Anthony (late lord Scales, now) earl of Rivers, to embody all the men capable of bearing arms in the counties of Norfolk and Suffolk, to be employed against the duke of Clarence and other rebels, who had conspired to effect the liberation of Henry the Sixth. This attack on a prince so nearly allied to Warwick, and in which Warwick himself was doubtless included, was accompanied by another on the brother of that earl. Henry Percy, son and heir to the earl of Northumberland who was slain in the fatal battle of Touton, had from that time been detained a prisoner in the Tower; while his title and estate were conferred on John Nevil, brother to Warwick. Edward is said to have now caused secret intimations to be given to the Percy family, that if they would present a petition for the release of their kinsman, and for the restoration of the estates and honours of his ancestors, it would be attended with success. Petitions were accordingly presented; and young Henry was liberated from confinement, on the 27th of October, and soon after restored to the earldom of Northumberland.

But before the disaffection of Warwick (which this last transaction could not fail to promote) had given rise to any hostile proceedings on his part, and before the commission of array issued by the king had been enforced, another change in the sentiments of Edward, as sudden and unaccountable as the former, appears to have taken place. In consequence of this, John Nevil, who had been recently deprived of the earldom of Northumberland, received the higher title of marquis of Montague; his eldest son, George, was created duke of Bedford, on the 5th of January, 1470; and Edward publicly declared his intention of marrying that young nobleman to his eldest daughter, Elizabeth; who, as he had yet no sons, was presumptive heir to the crown. In short, the reconciliation, at the beginning of this memorable year, at least in appearance, was so cordial and compleat, that Edward granted another commission of array, dated at Waltham Abbey, March the 7th, very different from the former, authorizing the duke of Clarence and the earl of Warwick to collect all the men able to bear arms in the county of Worcester, and to conduct them to the army then raising by the king, to be employed against the rebels.

The rebels here alluded to were commanded by Sir Robert Welles, eldest son of Richard lord Welles, in conjunction with some other gentlemen of Lincolnshire; but the motive which induced them to take up arms is as unaccountable as the other events of this obscure period: their proceedings, however, are better authenticated. The rebel army amounted to thirty thousand men: they first attacked the castle of Sir Robert Burgh, an officer of the king's household, which they speedily demolished; then expelled its owner from the county, and plundered his estate. Lord Welles, the father of Sir Robert, was so far from approving the conduct of his son, that he fled into a sanctuary, in order to secure himself from the king's anger or suspicion. Thither Edward sent to him, with a solemn assurance of safety, if he would write to his son, and direct him to lay down his arms; a request with which that nobleman immediately complied: but Edward, justly doubting the success of this application, assembled his army; and, accompanied by lord Welles, began his march to the north.

Previous, however, to his departure, the king is said to have paid a visit to George Nevil, archbishop of York, at his house of Moor Park; when, as he was about to sit down to supper, one of his attendants, named Ratcliff, gave him private notice that a hundred men at arms were in waiting to secure his person. Alarmed at this intelligence, he immediately left the house, mounted his horse, and rode full speed to Windsor; from whence he advanced against the northern rebels.

It appears that the intelligence thus conveyed to Edward was without foundation, though for what purpose it was formed, unless by the relations of the queen to widen the breach between Warwick and his sovereign, it is difficult to conceive. If that was the intention, it was fully answered; for not only Warwick, and his brother the archbishop, but even the duke of Clarence, who was present at the time, were so much enraged at the king's abrupt departure, which indicated a rooted distrust of their loyalty, and seemed calculated to fix the imputation of perfidy on their conduct, that they immediately dispatched a messenger to Sir Robert Welles, exhorting him not to lay down his arms, and promising him speedy and effectual assistance; and, to enable themselves to put their promise in execution, the duke and earl immediately departed for Warwick to collect their forces.

But the temerity of Sir Robert Welles, who suffered an impulse of passion to overcome his prudence, disconcerted their projects. Edward, when he reached Stamford, having found that Sir Robert Welles paid no attention to the repeated solicitations of his father, who strenuously urged him to return to his allegiance, in violation of a solemn promise, ordered that nobleman to be beheaded. This act of inhumanity inspired the son with such a thirst for revenge, that, without waiting for the reinforcements which Warwick had promised to send him, he attacked the king's army at Stamford, on the 13th of March, 1470, where he was defeated, taken prisoner, and soon after beheaded; together with Sir Thomas Dymoc, and some other leaders of the insurrection.

Meanwhile, Warwick and Clarence advanced into Lancashire, in the hope of being reinforced by Thomas lord Stanley, who had married the earl of Warwick's sister; but Stanley refusing to join them, they were about to march into Yorkshire, to form a junction with the northern insurgents under Sir John Coniers. The king, however, got the start of them, having reached York with his victorious army; from whence he issued a proclamation on the 20th of March, denouncing the severest penalties against all propagators of false reports. Four days after he published a long declaration from the same place, acquainting his subjects with the treasonable designs of which the duke of Clarence and the earl of Warwick had been accused by Sir Robert Welles and the other insurgents in their last moments; and summoning those noblemen to appear before

(*k*) Rymer, vol. xi. p. 647. 649, 650.

fore him on the 28th of the same month, in order to answer the charges which had been preferred against them, on pain of being pronounced rebels and traitors. As they paid no regard to Edward's declaration, another was actually published at Nottingham, on the 31st of the same month, proclaiming them rebels and traitors; offering rewards (*l*) for their apprehension, and prohibiting all persons, under the severest penalties, from affording either them or their adherents any assistance.

Finding the north thus secured, Clarence and Warwick directed their course to Devonshire, whither Edward followed them with great expedition; and from Exeter issued commissions to the earl of Wiltshire, lord Mountjoye, Sir John Fortescue, and others, to array men in Devon and Cornwall; but, before these troops could be collected, the fugitive nobles escaped to Dartmouth, where they embarked for Calais.

The deputy-governor, to whom Warwick had entrusted the command of Calais during his absence, was one Vaucleur, a Gascon, who seeing the earl return in the miserable condition of an exile, refused him admittance; and would not so much as permit the duchess of Clarence to land; though a few days before she had been delivered on ship-board of a son, and was at that time extremely disordered by sickness. With difficulty he would allow a few flaggons of wine to be carried to the ship for the use of the ladies: but as he was a man of sagacity, and well acquainted with the revolutions to which England was subject, he secretly apologized to Warwick for this appearance of infidelity, and represented it as proceeding entirely from personal regard and zeal for his service. He said, that the fortress was ill supplied with provisions; that he could not depend on the attachment of the garrison; that the inhabitants, who lived by the English commerce, would certainly declare for the established government; that the place was at present unable to resist the power of England on the one hand, and that of the duke of Burgundy on the other; and that, by seeming to declare for Edward, he would acquire the confidence of that prince, and still keep it in his power, when it should become safe and prudent, to restore Calais to its ancient master (*m*). It is uncertain whether Warwick was satisfied with this apology, or suspected a double infidelity in Vaucleur (*n*); but he feigned to be entirely convinced by him; and having seized some Flemish vessels which he found lying off Calais, he immediately made sail towards Normandy, and arrived at Harfleur on the 2nd of May. He there found the Bastard of Bourbon, admiral of France, who received him with the utmost friendship and cordiality; and, having provided suitable accommodations for the duchess of Clarence, and the ladies who had attended her, at Valongis, he conducted Warwick and the duke, together with Jasper Tudor, earl of Pembroke, and John de Vere, earl of Oxford, (who had likewise fled from England,) to the court of France, which then resided at Amboise.

The king of France, uneasy at the close conjunction between Edward and the duke of Burgundy, received with the greatest demonstrations of regard the unfortunate Warwick (*o*), with whom he had formerly maintained a secret correspondence, and whom he hoped still to make his instrument in overturning the government of England, and re-establishing the house of Lancaster. No animosity was ever greater than that which had long prevailed between that house and the earl of Warwick. His father had been executed by orders from Margaret: he himself had twice reduced Henry to captivity, had banished the queen, had put to death all their most zealous partizans either in the field or on the scaffold, and had occasioned innumerable ills to that unhappy family. For this reason, believing that such inveterate rancour could never admit of any cordial reconciliation, he had not mentioned Henry's name, when he took arms against Edward; and rather than revive a party which he sincerely hated, he meant to confer the regal dignity on his own son-in-law, the duke of Clarence. But his present distresses and the entreaties of Louis made him hearken to terms of accommodation; and Margaret being sent for from Angers, where she then resided, an agreement was from common interest soon concluded between them. It was stipulated, that Warwick should espouse the cause of Henry, and endeavour to restore him to liberty, and to re-establish him on the throne; that the administration of the government, during the minority of young Edward, Henry's son, should be entrusted conjointly to the earl of Warwick and the duke of Clarence; that prince Edward should marry the lady Anne, second daughter of Warwick; and that the crown, in case of the failure of male issue in that prince, should descend to the duke of Clarence, to the entire exclusion of king Edward and his posterity. Never was confederacy, on all sides, less natural, or more evidently the work of necessity: but Warwick hoped, that all former passions of the Lancastrians might be lost in present political views; and that at worst, the independent power of his family, and the affections of the people, would suffice to give him security, and enable him to exact the full performance of all the conditions agreed on. The marriage of prince Edward with the lady Anne Nevil was immediately celebrated in France.

Edward foresaw that it would be easy to dissolve an alliance composed of such discordant parts. For this purpose he sent over a lady of great sagacity and address, who belonged to the train of the duchess of Clarence, and who, under colour of attending her mistress, was empowered to negociate with the duke, and to renew the connexions of that prince with his own family (*p*). She represented to Clarence, that he had unwarily, to his own ruin, become the instrument of Warwick's vengeance, and had thrown himself entirely in the power of his most inveterate enemies; that the mortal injuries which the one royal family had suffered from the other, were now past all forgiveness, and no imaginary union of interests could ever suffice to obliterate them; that even if the leaders were willing to forget past offences, the animosity of their adherents would prevent a sincere coalition of parties, and would, in spite of all temporary and verbal agreements, preserve an eternal opposition of measures between them; and that a prince who deserted his own kindred, and joined the murderers of his father, left himself single, without friends, without protection, and would not, when misfortunes inevitably fell upon him, be so much as entitled to any pity or regard from the rest of mankind. Clarence was only one and twenty years of age, and seems to have possessed but a slender capacity; yet could he easily see the force of these reasons; and upon the promise of forgiveness from his brother, he secretly engaged, on a favourable opportunity, to desert the earl of Warwick, and abandon the Lancastrian party.

During this negociation, Warwick was secretly carrying on a correspondence of the same nature with his brother the marquis of Montague, who was entirely trusted by Edward; and like motives produced a like resolution in that nobleman. The marquis also, that he might render the projected blow the more deadly and incurable, resolved, on his side, to watch a favourable opportunity for committing *his* perfidy, and still to maintain the appearance of being a zealous adherent to the house of York.

After these mutual snares were thus carefully laid, the decision of the quarrel advanced apace. Louis prepared a fleet to escort the earl of Warwick, and granted him a supply of men and money (*q*). The duke of Burgundy, on the other hand, enraged at that nobleman for his seizure of the Flemish vessels before Calais, and anxious to support the reigning family in England, with whom his own interests were now connected, fitted out a larger fleet, with which he guarded the Channel; and he incessantly warned his brother-in-law of the imminent perils to which he was exposed. But Edward, though always brave and often active, had little foresight or penetration. He was not sensible of his danger: he made no suitable preparations against the earl of Warwick (*r*): he even said, that the duke might spare himself the trouble of guarding the seas, and that he wished for nothing more than to see Warwick set foot on English ground (*s*). A vain confidence in his own prowess, joined to the immoderate love of pleasure, had made him incapable of all sound reason and reflection.

(*l*) The king offered by proclamation a reward of one thousand pounds, or one hundred pounds a year in land, to any that would seize them. Whence we may learn that land was at that time sold for about ten years' purchase. See Rymer, vol. xi. p. 654.

(*m*) Comines, liv. iii. chap. 4. Hall, fol. 205.

(*n*) We think there is little doubt of the treachery of Vaucleur towards the earl of Warwick; because his conduct was so highly approved both by Edward and the duke of Burgundy, that, as we are told by Philip de Comines, the former gave him the government of Calais, and the latter granted him a pension of one thousand crowns a year; on which he took a solemn oath to remain faithful to the king, and to resist every solicitation that could tempt him to swerve from his duty.

(*o*) Polyd. Virg. p. 519. (*p*) Comines, liv. iii. chap. 5. Hall, fol. 207. Hollingshed, p 675. (*q*) Comines, liv. iii. chap. 4. Hall, fol. 207. (*r*) Grafton, p. 687.

(*s*) Comines, liv. iii. chap. 5. Hall, fol. 208.

The event soon happened, of which Edward seemed so desirous. A storm dispersed the Flemish navy, and left the sea open to Warwick (*t*). That nobleman seized the opportunity, and setting sail from Harfleur, landed at Dartmouth, on the 13th of September, with the duke of Clarence, the earls of Oxford and Pembroke, and a small body of troops; with which he directed his march towards the metropolis, distributing a manifesto, commanding all loyal subjects, who were able to bear arms, to repair to his standard, and assist him in deposing the tyrant Edward, and in restoring their lawful sovereign Henry the Sixth.

When Edward received intelligence of Warwick's descent, he was in the north, engaged in suppressing an insurrection which had been raised by lord Fitz-Hugh, brother-in-law to Warwick. The scene which ensues resembles more the fiction of a poem or romance than an event in true history. The prodigious popularity of Warwick (*u*), the zeal of the Lancastrian party, the spirit of discontent with which many were infected, and the general instability of the English nation, occasioned by the late frequent revolutions, drew such multitudes to his standard, that in a very few days his army amounted to sixty thousand men, and was continually increasing. Edward hastened southwards to encounter him; and the two armies approached each other near Nottingham, where a decisive action was every hour expected. The rapidity of Warwick's progress had incapacitated the duke of Clarence from executing *his* plan of treachery; and the marquis of Montague, who was at the head of six thousand men, had here the opportunity of striking the first blow. He communicated the design to his adherents, who promised him their concurrence: they took to arms in the night-time, and hastened with loud acclamations to Edward's quarters: the king was alarmed at the noise, and starting from his bed, heard the cry of war usually employed by the Lancastrian party. Lord Hastings, his chamberlain, informed him of the danger, and urged him to make his escape by speedy flight from an army where he had so many concealed enemies, and where few seemed zealously attached to his service. He had just time to get on horseback, and to hurry, with his brother the duke of Gloucester, the earl of Rivers, and a small retinue to Lynn in Norfolk, where he luckily found some ships ready, on board of which he embarked (*v*), on the 3rd of October. And after this manner the earl of Warwick, in no longer space than eleven days after his first landing, was left entire master of the kingdom.

But Edward's danger did not end with his embarkation. The Easterlings or Hanse-Towns were then at war both with France and England; and some ships of these people, hovering on the English coast, espied the king's vessels, and gave chase to them; nor was it without extreme difficulty that he made his escape into the port of Alcmaer in Holland. He had fled from England with such precipitation, that he had carried nothing of value along with him; and the only reward which he could bestow on the captain of the vessel that brought him over, was a robe lined with sables; promising him an ample recompence if fortune should ever become more propitious to him (*w*).

It is not likely that Edward could be very fond of presenting himself in this lamentable plight before the duke of Burgundy; and that having so suddenly, after his mighty vaunts, lost all footing in his own kingdom, he could be insensible to the ridicule which must attend him in the eyes of that prince. The duke on his part was no less embarrassed how he should receive the dethroned monarch. As he had ever borne a greater affection to the house of Lancaster than to that of York, nothing but political views had engaged him to contract an alliance with the latter; and he foresaw, that probably the revolution in England would now turn this alliance against him, and render the reigning family his implacable and jealous enemy. For this reason, when the first rumour of that event reached him, attended with the circumstance of Edward's death, he seemed rather pleased with the catastrophe; and it was no agreeable disappointment to find, that he must either undergo the burthen of supporting an exiled prince, or the dishonour of abandoning so near a relation. He began already to say that his connexions were with the kingdom of England, not with the king; and it was indifferent to him whether the name of Edward, or that of Henry, were employed in the articles of treaty. These sentiments were continually strengthened by the subsequent events. Vaucleur, the deputy governor of Calais, though he had been confirmed in his command by Edward, and had even received a pension from the duke of Burgundy on account of his fidelity to the crown, no sooner saw his old master Warwick reinstated in authority, than he declared for him, and with great demonstrations of zeal and attachment put the whole garrison in his livery. And the intelligence which the duke received every day from England, seemed to promise an entire and full settlement in the family of Lancaster.

After Edward's retreat, his army submitted to Warwick, who forthwith marched to London, which he entered in triumph on the 5th of October. The day after his arrival the earl released king Henry from his confinement in the Tower, into which he himself had been the chief cause of throwing him, and conducted him to the bishop's palace, where he resided for some days; and then went in procession, accompanied by all the prelates and nobles of his party, to return thanks to God for his restoration.

Elizabeth, Edward's queen, had, during these transactions, privately retired from the Tower, with her infant daughters, and a few faithful adherents, and taken refuge in a sanctuary at Westminster; where she was delivered of a son, named Edward, on the 4th of November.

Henry being seated on the throne, a parliament was summoned, in the name of that prince, to meet at Westminster; and as this assembly could pretend to no liberty, while surrounded by such enraged and insolent victors, governed by such an impetuous spirit as Warwick, their votes were entirely dictated by the ruling faction. The treaty with Margaret was here fully executed: Henry was recognized as lawful king; but his incapacity for government being avowed, the regency was entrusted to Warwick and Clarence till the majority of prince Edward; and in default of that prince's issue, Clarence was declared successor to the crown. The usual business of reversals went on without opposition: every statute made during the reign of Edward was repealed; that prince was declared to be an usurper; he and his adherents were attainted; and in particular Richard duke of Gloucester, his younger brother: all the attainders of the Lancastrians, the dukes of Somerset and Exeter, the earls of Richmond, Pembroke, Oxford, and Ormond, were reversed; and every one was restored who had lost either honours or fortune by his former adherence to the cause of Henry. Among these was Jasper Tudor, earl of Pembroke; who, soon after the prorogation of parliament, repaired to Wales, to visit the county from whence he derived his title. Having there found his nephew Henry, the young earl of Richmond, then in the tenth year of his age, who was detained, as it were, in captivity, (though, according to Hall, he was well and honourably educated by lady Herbert,) the earl brought this young prince to the king; who, as Hollingshed asserts, fixed his eyes stedfastly upon him, and foretold that he should one day mount the throne of England, and terminate the fatal contest between the rival families.

The ruling party were more sparing in their executions than was usual after any revolutions during those violent times. The only victim of distinction was John Tibetot, earl of Worcester. This accomplished person, born in an age and nation where the nobility valued themselves on ignorance as their privilege, and left learning to monks and schoolmasters, for whom indeed the spurious erudition that prevailed was best fitted, had been struck with the first rays of true science, which began to penetrate from the south, and had been zealous, by his exhortation and example, to propagate the love of letters among his unpolished countrymen. It is pretended, that knowledge had not produced on this nobleman himself the effect which so naturally attends it, of humanizing the temper and softening the heart (*x*); and that he had enraged the Lancastrians against him, by the severities which he exercised upon them during the prevalence of his own party. He endeavoured to conceal himself after the flight of Edward; but was caught on the top of a tree in the forest of Weybridge, was conducted to London, tried before the earl of Oxford, condemned, and executed. All the other considerable Yorkists either fled beyond sea, or took shelter in sanctuaries; where the ecclesiastical privileges afforded them protection.

Queen Margaret had not yet appeared in England; but

(*t*) Comines, liv. iii. chap. 5. (*u*) Hall, fol. 205.
(*v*) Comines, liv. iii. chap. 5. Hall, fol. 208.

(*w*) Comines, liv. iii. chap. 5.
(*x*) Hall, fol. 210. Stowe, p. 422.

on receiving intelligence of Warwick's success, was preparing with prince Edward for her journey. All the banished Lancastrians flocked to her; and among the rest, the duke of Somerset, son of the duke beheaded after the battle of Hexham. This nobleman, who had long been regarded as the head of the party, had fled into the Low Countries on the discomfiture of his friends; and as he concealed his name and quality, he had there languished in extreme indigence. Philip de Comines tells us (*y*), that he himself saw him, as well as the duke of Exeter, in a condition no better than that of a common beggar; till being discovered by Philip duke of Burgundy, they had small pensions allotted them, and were living in silence and obscurity, when the success of their party called them from their retreat.

Edward, who since his flight had hitherto resided in Holland, after his sister, the duchess of Burgundy, had in vain solicited her husband to take some decisive steps in his favour, demanded an interview with Charles, which he could not with any delicacy refuse to grant. At this conference, Edward represented that delays must prove extremely prejudicial to his interests, as his friends and adherents in England would gradually forsake his cause; while the power of Warwick, his enemy, would daily receive confirmation and strength: that the duke, therefore, ought either to afford him speedy and effectual assistance, or wholly abandon him to his evil fate. In order to reinforce this remonstrance, he imparted to Charles the engagements which his brother Clarence had contracted with him: he reminded him of the oath by which that prince was bound to assist him, should he ever stand in need of his assistance; and he desired him to consider that, by aiding him in his distress, he would act for the benefit of his own family, which might one day be in want of equal support, and at the same time enjoy the glory of having restored a near relation to his throne. He solemnly promised to unite with him in opposition to France, so soon as he should be re-established in his regal dignity; and observed, that the neutrality which the duke had hitherto observed, could be productive of no possible advantage, nor even prevent Louis and the earl of Warwick from the adoption of measures wholly destructive to his power and repose. This expostulation was not fruitless; the duke of Burgundy, though still afraid to furnish Warwick with a plausible pretext for attacking his dominions, contrived an expedient which enabled him to accommodate the fugitive king without incurring the risk of a rupture with England. He caused four large vessels to be equipped, in the name of some private merchants, at the free port of Ter-veer in Zealand; to which he added fourteen ships secretly hired from the Easterlings. This squadron, accompanied by a sum of money, he delivered to Edward, who immediately set sail for England on the 11th of March, 1471, with an army of fifteen hundred men, partly composed of English fugitives, and partly of Flemish (*z*). No sooner was Charles informed of Edward's departure, than he issued a proclamation inhibiting all his subjects from giving him countenance or assistance (*a*): an artifice which could not deceive the earl of Warwick, but which might serve as a decent pretence, if that nobleman were so disposed, for maintaining friendship with the duke of Burgundy. In the mean time queen Margaret with the dukes of Somerset and Exeter, and many other Lancastrian exiles, were waiting on the coast of France to embark for England and join their friends; but a constant succession of bad weather and contrary winds prevented their embarkation for several months.

Edward, impatient to take revenge on his enemies, and to recover his lost authority, made an attempt to land with his forces on the coast of Norfolk, where he attempted to land in the vicinity of Cromer; but being there repulsed, he sailed northwards, and disembarked at Ravenspur in Yorkshire, on the 14th of March, though not without some opposition. Finding that the new magistrates, who had been appointed by the earl of Warwick, kept the people every where from joining him, he pretended, and even made oath, that he came not to challenge the crown, but only the inheritance of the house of York, which of right belonged to him; and that he did not intend to disturb the peace of the kingdom. To convince the people of the sincerity of this declaration, he wore an ostrich feather, the ensign of prince Edward, in his hat; and commanded his followers to exclaim on their march, "Long live king Henry!" When he approached the city of York, he found the gates shut against him; nor could he obtain admittance till he had taken a solemn oath, in the presence of the mayor and aldermen, that he had no intention to lay claim to the crown---an oath which he renewed at the high altar of the cathedral.

It is probable that the earl of Warwick had received authentic intelligence of the motions and designs of Edward during his residence in Holland; as it appears that, so early as the 21st of December, 1470, a commission was given to his brother, the marquis of Montague, to arm all such as were capable of bearing arms in the five northern counties, for the purpose of repelling an expected invasion in those parts; and on the 28th of the same month, a similar commission was granted, for every other county in the kingdom, to the earl of Warwick, the earl of Oxford, and sir John Scroop. In the succeeding month, (January, 1471,) Warwick was constituted admiral of England; and, in conjunction with the duke of Clarence and earl of Pembroke, received another commission to array the Welsh. But we are not informed what progress these commissioners had made in the collection of troops when Edward landed at Ravenspur.

Edward having refreshed his few troops at York, began his march towards the south, in a situation which afforded but little prospect of success. The marquis of Montague was at Pomfret (Pontefract) with an army of six thousand men, and of course could have impeded his progress with facility; and Clarence and Warwick were on their march to meet him at the head of two powerful armies. Montague, however, to the astonishment of the whole kingdom, would not suffer his forces to move, and permitted Edward to pass without any interruption. No historian has assigned any satisfactory reason for this mysterious conduct, the true motive for which must remain enveloped in the same cloud with many other important events of this obscure period. Conjectures indeed have been offered on the subject; the most public of which is that of Stowe, who supposes that the marquis had received orders from the duke of Clarence not to fight till he should have joined him. Be that as it may, Edward was allowed to continue his march to Nottingham, where he received considerable reinforcements from lord Stanley, sir Thomas Parre, sir James Harrington, sir Thomas Montgomery, and others of the York party. Deeming himself now sufficiently strong to throw off the mask he had hitherto worn, he made known the true object of his enterprize; and, in direct violation of an oath the most solemn, assumed the title of king.

Warwick had assembled an army by this time, with which he marched to Leicester, with an intention of meeting and of giving battle to the enemy; but Edward, by taking the road to Coventry, passed him unmolested, and soon after presented himself before the gates of London. Had he here been refused admittance, he was totally undone: but there were many reasons which inclined the citizens to favour him. His numerous friends, to the amount of about two thousand, issuing from their sanctuaries, were active in his cause; many rich merchants, who had formerly lent him money, saw no other chance for their payment but his restoration; the city-dames, who had been liberal of their favours to him, and who still retained an affection for this young and gallant prince, swayed their husbands and friends in his favour (*b*); and above all the archbishop of York, Warwick's brother, to whom the care of the city was committed, had secretly, from unknown reasons, entered into a correspondence with him; and he facilitated Edward's admission into London, on the 11th of April. The most likely cause which can be assigned for those multiplied infidelities, even in the family of Nevil itself, is the spirit of faction, which, when it becomes inveterate, it is very difficult for any man entirely to shake off. The persons who had long distinguished themselves in the York party, were unable to act with zeal and cordiality for the support of the Lancastrians; and they were inclined, by any prospect of favour or accommodation offered them by Edward, to return to their ancient connexions. However

(*y*) Liv. iii. chap. 4.

(*z*) But although the duke of Burgundy, by appearing to neglect Edward, and by paying court to the established government, had endeavoured to conciliate the friendship of the Lancastrians, he found that he had not succeeded to his wish; and the connexions between the king of France and the earl of Warwick still held him in great anxiety. This nobleman, too hastily regarding Charles as a determined enemy, had sent over to Calais a body of four thousand men, who made inroads into the Low Countries.

(*a*) Comines, liv. iii. chap. 6. (*b*) Comines liv. iii. chap. 7.

this may be, Edward's entrance into London made him master not only of that rich and powerful city, but also of the person of Henry, who, destined to be the perpetual sport of fortune, thus fell again into the hands of his enemies (*c*), and was immediately sent to the Tower.

It appears not that Warwick, during his short administration, which had continued only six months, had been guilty of any unpopular act, or had anywise deserved to lose that general favour with which he had so lately overwhelmed Edward. But this prince, who was formerly on the defensive, was now the aggressor; and having overcome the difficulties which always attend the beginnings of an insurrection, possessed many advantages above his enemy: his partizans were actuated by that zeal and courage which the notion of an attack inspires; his opponents were intimidated for a like reason; every one who had been disappointed in the hopes which he had entertained from Warwick's elevation, either became a cool friend or an open enemy to that nobleman: and each malcontent, from whatever cause, proved an accession to Edward's army. The king, therefore, found himself in a condition to face the earl of Warwick; who, being reinforced by his son-in-law the duke of Clarence, and his brother the marquis of Montague, took post at Barnet, in the neighbourhood of London. The arrival of queen Margaret was every day expected, who would have drawn together all the genuine Lancastrians, and have brought a great accession to Warwick's forces: but this very consideration proved a motive to the earl rather to hurry on a decisive action, than to share the victory with rivals and ancient enemies, who he foresaw would, in case of success, claim the chief merit in the enterprize (*d*). But while his jealousy was all directed towards that side, he overlooked the dangerous infidelity of friends, who lay the nearest to his bosom. His brother Montague, who had lately temporized, seems now to have remained sincerely attached to the interests of his family: but his son-in-law, though bound to him by every tie of honour and gratitude, though he shared the power of the regency, though he had been invested by Warwick in all the honours and patrimony of the house of York, resolved to fulfil the secret engagements which he had formerly taken with his brother, and to support the interests of his own family: he deserted to the king in the night-time, and carried over a body of twelve thousand men along with him (*e*). Warwick was now too far advanced to retreat; and as he rejected with disdain all terms of peace offered by Edward and Clarence, he was obliged to hazard a general engagement. The earl of Warwick encamped at Barnet on the 12th of April; and Edward, having marched from London, encamped in its neighbourhood on the evening of the same day. At the break of day, therefore, on Easterday, April 14, the earl drew up his troops in order of battle, and immediately attacked the king's forces with incredible fury. The battle was long, obstinate, and bloody. The two armies, in imitation of their leaders, displayed uncommon valour: and the victory remained long undecided between them. But an accident threw the balance to the side of the Yorkists. Edward's cognizance was a sun; that of Warwick a star with rays; and the mistiness of the morning rendering it difficult to distinguish them, the earl of Oxford, who fought on the side of the Lancastrians, was by mistake attacked by his friends, and chased off the field of battle (*f*). Warwick, contrary to his more usual practice, engaged that day on foot, resolving to show his army that he meant to share every fortune with them; and he was slain in the thickest of the engagement (*g*): his brother Montague underwent the same fate: and as Edward had issued orders not to give any quarter, a great and undistinguished slaughter was made in the pursuit (*h*). There fell about fifteen hundred on the side of the victors.

The same day on which this decisive battle was fought (*i*), queen Margaret and her son, now about eighteen years of age, and a young prince of great hopes, landed at Weymouth, supported by a small body of French forces. When this princess received intelligence of her husband's captivity, and of the defeat and death of the earl of Warwick, her courage, which had supported her under so many disasterous events, here quite left her; and she immediately foresaw all the dismal consequences of this calamity. At first she took sanctuary in the abbey of Beaulieu (*k*); but being encouraged by the appearance of Tudor earl of Pembroke, and Courtney earl of Devonshire, of the lords Wenloc and St. John, with other men of rank, who exhorted her still to hope for success, she resumed her former spirit, and determined to defend to the utmost the ruins of her fallen fortunes. She advanced through the counties of Devon, Somerset, and Gloucester, increasing her army on each day's march; but was at last overtaken by the rapid and expeditious Edward at Tewkesbury, on the banks of the Severn. The Lancastrians were here totally defeated, on the 4th of May, 1471: the earl of Devonshire and the lord Wenloc were killed in the field: the duke of Somerset, and about twenty other persons of distinction, having taken shelter in a church, were surrounded, dragged out, and immediately beheaded: about three thousand of their side fell in battle; and the army was entirely dispersed.

Queen Margaret and her son were taken prisoners: the former was sent to the Tower, where she suffered a tedious and painful confinement: but the prince was brought to the king, who asked him, after an insulting manner, how he dared to invade his dominions? The young prince, more mindful of his high birth than of his present fortune, replied, that he came thither to claim his just inheritance. The ungenerous Edward, insensible to pity, struck him on the face with his gauntlet; and the dukes of Clarence and Gloucester, lord Hastings, and sir Thomas Grey, taking the blow as a signal for farther violence, hurried the prince into the next apartment, and there dispatched him with their daggers (*l*). King Henry expired in the the Tower a few days after the battle of Tewkesbury; but whether he died a natural or violent death is uncertain. It is certain, however, that Henry's death was sudden; and though he laboured under an ill state of health, this circumstance, joined to the general manners of this age, gave a natural ground of suspicion; which was rather increased than diminished by the exposing of the body to public view. That precaution served only to recal many similar instances in the English history, and to suggest the comparison (*m*).

All the hopes of the house of Lancaster seemed now to be utterly extinguished. Every legitimate prince of that family was dead: almost every great leader of the party had perished in battle or on the scaffold; the earl of Pembroke, who was levying forces in Wales, disbanded his army when he received intelligence of the battle of Tewkesbury; and he fled into Britanny with his nephew, the young earl of Richmond (*n*). Thomas Nevil, commonly called the bastard of Falconbridge, who had levied some forces, and had advanced to London during Edward's absence, was repulsed; his men deserted him; he was taken prisoner, and immediately executed (*o*): and peace being now fully restored to the nation, Edward, who had recently created his infant son prince of Wales, summoned a great council of prelates, peers, and a few knights, which met at Westminster on the 3rd of July; when all

(*c*) Grafton, p. 702. (*d*) Comines, liv. iii. chap. 7.
(*e*) Grafton, p. 700. Comines, liv. iii. chap. 7. Leland's Collect. vol. ii. p. 505.
(*f*) Habington, p. 449. (*g*) Comines, liv. iii. chap. 7.
(*h*) Hall, fol. 218. (*i*) Leland's Collect. vol. ii. p. 505.
(*k*) Hall, fol. 219. Habington, p. 451. Grafton, p. 706. Polyd. Virg. p. 528.
(*l*) Hall, fol. 221. Habington, p. 453. Hollingshed, p. 688. Polyd. Virg. 530.
(*m*) On the 21st of May, 1471, Edward returned to London; and, on the following morning, Henry the Sixth was found dead in his appartments in the Tower. That his death was therefore the effect of violence can scarcely admit of a doubt. Such indeed was the general belief of the times, as appears from the accounts of Philip de Comines, and the author of the Continuation of the Chronicle of Croyland, both of them contemporary writers.—How different to the tyrannical and sanguinary monster Edward was the unfortunate Henry! Though not endued with those splendid talents, and those active qualities of the mind, which are essential to the formation of a great monarch, he was possessed of every virtue which could entitle him to the more enviable character of a good man. Pious and devout; not more rigidly attentive to the external forms of religion than strictly observant of its principles and precepts; warmed with a Christian love for his fellow creatures that resisted the infectious cruelty of the times, and inspired him with sentiments of compassion and charity; in prosperity moderate, in adversity patient. With these endowments he had certainly a much stronger claim to the title of Philosopher than many of his biographers and historians who have stigmatized him for his imbecility.—Henry the Sixth founded the college of Eton; as well as King's College, Cambridge, for the reception of those students who had commenced their learning at Eton.—On the morning that succeeded his death, his body was exposed in the cathedral of St. Paul for public inspection. The day after it was sent, by water, to Chertsey, where it was interred; but it was afterwards removed from thence, by order of Richard the Third, to Windsor, and there buried with great solemnity.
(*n*) Habington, p. 454. Polyd. Virg. p. 531.
(*o*) Hollingshed, p. 689, 690, 693. Hist. Croyl. cont. p. 554.

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THE PRINCE OF WALES BROUGHT BEFORE EDWARD IV.
AFTER THE BATTLE OF TEWKESBURY.

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the members took a solemn oath to maintain the succession of the young prince, who was named after his father. The duke of Gloucester was the second temporal peer who took this oath. Though Edward never relaxed in his rigour to the laity in the smallest degree, the influence of the clergy was such as induced him to adopt a different line of conduct with them; at least with those from whom no danger was to be apprehended. From motives of policy therefore---for to more laudable sources can his actions never be traced---he pardoned several bishops who had taken an active part against him in the late contest. But, to make himself amends for these extraordinary exertions of lenity, he summoned a parliament on the sixth of October, which indulged him in the free use of attainders and confiscations, in the ratification of all his acts, and the recognition of his regal authority.

The tranquillity which succeeded the last active and memorable year suffered a short interruption from the return of the earl of Oxford, one of the few Lancastrians who had escaped from the battle of Tewkesbury, and retired to the continent. Having experienced a cool reception from Louis the Eleventh, in whose court he had sought for refuge, he contrived to assemble a small band of resolute followers, with whom he embarked for England; and landing at St. Michael's Mount in Cornwall, took that fortress by surprize. The king, alarmed at this unexpected invasion, sent a strong detachment of troops to retake the place before Oxford could have been joined by his friends and adherents. The earl, however, defended himself with great bravery for some time; though he was at length obliged to capitulate, on the 15th of February, 1472, on condition that his life should be safe. But he lost his liberty, being imprisoned in the castle of Hammes, in the vicinity of Calais, where he remained no less than twelve years; while his extensive possessions were confiscated; and his countess, sister to the late earl of Warwick, was reduced to the necessity of earning a scanty subsistence by her needle. Edward likewise seized the effects and revenues of George Nevil, archbishop of York, to whom he was in a great measure indebted for his restoration to the throne; and although he had granted him a full pardon, he now sent him into confinement in the castle of Guisnes, under pretence of his having maintained a criminal correspondence with the earl of Oxford.

But all his severities could not exempt him from occasional disquietudes; and though no civil commotion now threatened to shake the stability of his throne, his domestic felicity was interrupted by a violent altercation which occurred between his brothers, the dukes of Gloucester and Clarence. Gloucester had entertained the design of espousing lady Anne Nevil, widow of the late prince of Wales, and one of the co-heiresses of the immense estates of the late earl of Warwick: but Clarence, who had married her eldest sister, from a spirit of rapaciousness that induced him to covet the whole of the succession, was anxious to prevent their union; and for that purpose he concealed the young lady so carefully as to elude the strictest researches for several months. At length, however, she was discovered, by the vigilance of Gloucester, in the dress of a cook maid, and placed in the sanctuary of St. Martin's. The cause of the two brothers was pleaded by themselves, before the king in council, with much warmth and acrimony, though the continuator of the Chronicle of Croyland observes, that the strength and solidity of their arguments excited the admiration of all who heard them. The decision was not less curious than the cause itself; Gloucester was allowed to marry the lady, but only to receive a small share of her portion, Clarence being suffered to retain the greatest part of it, while the mother of these opulent heiresses, from whom these immense riches were chiefly derived, was left in a state of absolute indigence. This dispute gave great uneasiness to Edward, who was also harrassed by perpetual fears of the young earl of Richmond, now resident in Britanny, on whom he knew all the secret friends of the house of Lancaster had cast their eyes. Anxious to have the earl in his power, he sent ambassadors to the duke of Britanny, to require that he would give him up; but that prince refused to commit so flagrant a violation of the laws of hospitality, as to comply with his demand; though he assured Edward that he would watch Richmond so closely that he should never have an opportunity of disturbing his government: in consideration of which promise, the king paid a yearly pension to the duke.

But this prince, who had been so firm, and active, and intrepid, during the course of adversity, was still unable to resist the allurements of a prosperous fortune; and he wholly devoted himself, as before, to pleasure and amusement, after he became entirely master of the kingdom, and had no longer any enemy who could give him any anxiety or alarm. He recovered, however, by this gay and inoffensive course of life, and by his easy familiar manners, that popularity which it is natural to imagine he had lost by the repeated cruelties exercised upon his enemies; and the example also of his jovial festivity served to abate the former acrimony of faction among his subjects, and to restore the social disposition which had been so long interrupted between the opposite parties. All men seemed to be fully satisfied with the present government; and the memory of past calamities served only to impress the people more strongly with a sense of their allegiance, and with the resolution of never incurring any more the hazard of renewing such direful scenes.

But while the king was thus indulging himself in pleasure, he was roused from his lethargy in 1474 by a prospect of foreign conquests, which it is probable his desire of popularity, more than the spirit of ambition, had made him covet. Though he deemed himself little beholden to the duke of Burgundy for the reception which that prince had given him during his exile (*p*), the political interests of their states maintained still a close connexion between them; and they agreed to unite their arms in making a powerful invasion on France. A league was formed, in which Edward stipulated to pass the seas with an army exceeding ten thousand men, and to invade the French territories: Charles promised to join him with all his forces: the king was to challenge the crown of France, and to obtain at least the provinces of Normandy and Guienne: the duke was to acquire Champaign and some other territories, and to free all his dominions from the burthen of homage to the crown of France; and neither party was to make peace without the consent of the other (*q*). They were the more encouraged to hope for success from this league, as the count of St. Pol, constable of France, who was master of St. Quintin, and other towns on the Somme, had secretly promised to join them; and there were also hopes of engaging the duke of Britanny to enter into the confederacy.

The prospect of a French war was always a sure means of making the parliament open their purses, as far as the habits of that age would permit. They voted the king a tenth of rents, or two shillings in the pound; which must have been very inaccurately levied, since it produced only thirty-one thousand four hundred and sixty pounds; and they added to this supply a whole fifteenth, and three quarters of another (*r*): but as the king deemed these sums still unequal to the undertaking, he attempted to levy money by way of *benevolence;* a kind of exaction which, except during the reigns of Henry III. and Richard II. had not been much practised in former times, and which, though the consent of the parties were pretended to be gained, could not be deemed entirely voluntary (*s*). The clauses annexed to the parliamentary grant show sufficiently the spirit of the nation in this respect. The money levied by the fifteenth was not to be put into the king's hands, but to be kept in religious houses; and if the expedition into France should not take place, it was immediately to be refunded to the people. After these grants the parliament was dissolved, which had sitten near two years and a half, and had undergone several prorogations; a practice not very usual at that time in England.

The king passed over to Calais, about Midsummer, 1475, with an army of one thousand five hundred men at arms, and fifteen thousand archers; attended by all the chief nobility of England, who, prognosticating future successes from the past, were eager to appear on this great theatre of honour (*t*). But all their sanguine hopes were damped when they found, on entering the French territories, that neither did the constable open his gates to them, nor the duke of Burgundy bring them the smallest assistance. That prince, transported by his ardent temper, had car-

(*p*) Comines, liv. iii. chap. 7.
(*q*) Rymer, vol. xi. p. 806, 807, 808, &c.
(*r*) Cotton, p. 696, 700. Hist. Croyl. cont. p. 558.
(*s*) Hall, fol. 226. Habington, p. 451. Grafton, p. 719. Fabian, fol. 221.

(*t*) Comines, lib. iv. chap. 5. This author says (chap. 11.) that the king artfully brought over some of the richest of his subjects, who he knew would be soon tired of the war, and would promote all proposals of peace, which he foresaw would be soon necessary.

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ried all his armies to a great distance, and had employed them in wars on the frontiers of Germany, and against the duke of Lorrain; and though he came in person to Edward, and endeavoured to apologize for this breach of treaty, there was no prospect that they would be able this campaign to make a conjunction with the English. This circumstance gave great disgust to the king, and inclined him to hearken to those advances which Louis continually made him for an accommodation.

That monarch, more swayed by political views than by the point of honour, deemed no submissions too mean, which might free him from enemies who had proved so formidable to his predecessors, and who, united to so many other enemies, might still shake the well-established government of France. It appears from Comines, that discipline was at this time very imperfect among the English; and that their civil wars, though long continued, yet being always decided by hasty battles, had still left them ignorant of the improvements which the military arts were beginning to receive upon the continent. But Louis was sensible that the warlike genius of the people would soon render them excellent soldiers, he was far from despising them for their present want of experience; and he employed all his art to detach them from the alliance of Burgundy. When Edward sent him a herald to claim the crown of France, and to carry him a defiance in case of refusal, so far from answering to this bravado in like haughty terms, he replied with great temper, and even made the herald a considerable present (*u*): he took afterwards an opportunity of sending a herald to the English camp; and having given him directions to apply to the lords Stanley and Howard, who he heard were friends to peace, he desired the good offices of these noblemen in promoting an accommodation with their master (*v*). As Edward was now fallen into like dispositions, a truce was concluded on the 29th of August, on terms more advantageous than honourable to Louis. He stipulated to pay Edward immediately seventy-five thousand crowns, on condition that he should withdraw his army from France, and promised to pay fifty thousand crowns a year during their joint lives; it was added, that the dauphin when of age should marry Edward's eldest daughter (*w*). In order to ratify this treaty, the two monarchs agreed to have a personal interview; and for that purpose suitable preparations were made at Pecquigni, near Amiens. A close rail was drawn across a bridge in that place, with no larger intervals than would allow the arm to pass; a precaution against a similar accident to that which befel the duke of Burgundy in his conference with the dauphin at Montereau. Edward and Louis came to the opposite sides; conferred privately together; and having confirmed their friendship, and interchanged many mutual civilities, they soon after parted (*x*).

Louis was anxious not only to gain the king's friendship, but also that of the nation, and of all the considerable persons in the English court. He bestowed pensions, to the amount of sixteen thousand crowns a year, on several of the king's favourites; on lord Hastings two thousand crowns; on lord Howard and others in proportion; and these great ministers were not ashamed thus to receive wages from a foreign prince (*y*). As the two armies, after the conclusion of the truce, remained some time in the neighbourhood of each other, the English were not only admitted freely into Amiens, where Louis resided, but had also their charges defrayed, and had wine and victuals furnished them in every inn, without any payments being demanded. They flocked thither in such multitudes, that once above nine thousand of them were in the town, and they might have made themselves masters of the king's person; but Louis concluding, from their jovial and dissolute manner of living, that they had no bad intentions, was careful not to betray the least sign of fear or jealousy. And when Edward, informed of this disorder, desired him to shut the gates against him, he replied, that he would never agree to exclude the English from the place where he resided; but that Edward, if he pleased, might recal them, and place his own officers at the gates of Amiens to prevent their returning (*z*).

Louis's desire of confirming a mutual amity with England engaged him even to make imprudent advances, which it cost him afterwards some pains to evade. In the conference at Pecquigni, he had said to Edward, that he wished to have a visit from him at Paris; that he would there endeavour to amuse him with the ladies; and that, in case any offences were then committed, he would assign him the cardinal of Bourbon for confessor, who from fellow-feeling would not be over and above severe in the penances which he would enjoin. This hint made deeper impression than Louis intended. Lord Howard, who accompanied him back to Amiens, told him, in confidence, that, if he were so disposed, it would not be impossible to persuade Edward to take a journey with him to Paris, where they might make merry together. Louis pretended at first not to hear the offer; but, on Howard's repeating it, he expressed his concern that his wars with the duke of Burgundy would not permit him to attend his royal guest, and do him the honours he intended. "Edward," said he, privately to Comines, "is a very handsome and a very amorous prince: some lady at Paris may like him as well as he shall do her; and may invite him to return in another manner. It is better that the sea be between us (*a*)."

This treaty did very little honour to either of these monarchs: it discovered the imprudence of Edward, who had taken his measures so ill with his allies, as to be obliged, after such an expensive armament, to return without making any acquisitions adequate to it: it showed the want of dignity in Louis, who, rather than run the hazard of a battle, agreed to subject his kingdom to a tribute, and thus acknowledge the superiority of a neighbouring prince, possessed of less power and territory than himself. But, as Louis made interest the sole test of honour, he thought that all the advantages of the treaty were on his side, and that he had over-reached Edward, by sending him out of France on such easy terms. For this reason he was very solicitous to conceal his triumph; and he strictly enjoined his courtiers never to show the English the least sign of mockery or derision. But he did not himself very carefully observe so prudent a rule: he could not forbear, one day, in the joy of his heart, throwing out some raillery on the easy simplicity of Edward and his council; when he perceived that he was overheard by a Gascon who had settled in England. He was immediately sensible of his indiscretion; sent a message to the gentleman; and offered him such advantages in his own country, as engaged him to remain in France. "It is but just," said he, "that I pay the penalty of my talkativeness (*b*)."

The most honourable part of Louis's treaty with Edward was the stipulation for the liberty of queen Margaret, who, though after the death of her husband and son, she could no longer be formidable to government, was still detained in custody by Edward. Louis paid fifty thousand crowns for her ransom; and that princess, who had been so active on the stage of the world, and who had experienced such a variety of fortune, passed the remainder of her days in tranquillity and privacy, till the year 1482, when she died: an admirable princess, but more illustrious by her undaunted spirit in adversity, than by her moderation in prosperity. She seems neither to have enjoyed the virtues, nor been subject to the weaknesses, of her sex; and was as much tainted with the ferocity as endowed with the courage of that barbarous age in which she lived.

Though Edward had so little reason to be satisfied with the conduct of the duke of Burgundy, he reserved to that prince a power of acceding to the treaty of Pecquigni: but Charles, when the offer was made him, haughtily replied, that he was able to support himself without the assistance of England, and that he would make no peace with Louis till three months after Edward's return into his own country. This prince possessed all the ambition and courage of a conqueror; but being defective in policy and prudence, qualities no less essential, he was unfortunate in all his enterprises, and perished at last in battle against the Swiss (*c*); a people whom he despised, and who, though brave and free, had hitherto been in a manner overlooked in the general system of Europe. This event, which happened in the year 1477, produced a great alteration in the views of all the princes, and was attended with consequences which were felt for many generations. Charles left only one daughter, Mary, by his first wife; and this princess being heir of his opulent and extensive dominions, was courted by all the potentates of Christendom, who contended for the possession of so rich a prize. Louis, the head of her family, might, by a proper appli-

(*u*) Comines, lib. iv. chap. 5. Hall, fol. 227.
(*v*) Comines, liv. iv. chap. 7. (*w*) Rymer, vol. xii. p. 17.
(*x*) Comines, liv. iv. chap. 9. (*y*) Hall, fol. 235.
(*z*) Comines, liv. iv. chap. 9. Hall, fol. 233.
(*a*) Comines, liv. iv. chap. 10. Habington, p. 469.
(*b*) Comines, liv. iii. chap. 10. (*c*) Ibid. liv. v. chap. 8.

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cation, have obtained this match for the dauphin, and have thereby united to the crown of France all the provinces of the Low Countries, together with Burgundy, Artois, and Picardy; which would at once have rendered his kingdom an overmatch for all its neighbours. But a man wholly interested is as rare as one entirely endowed with the opposite quality; and Louis, though impregnable to all the sentiments of generosity and friendship, was, on this occasion, carried from the road of true policy by the passions of animosity and revenge. He had imbibed so deep a hatred to the house of Burgundy, that he rather chose to subdue the princess by arms, than unite her to his family by marriage: he conquered the duchy of Burgundy and that part of Picardy, which had been ceded to Philip the Good by the treaty of Arras: but he thereby forced the states of the Netherlands to bestow their sovereign in marriage on Maximilian of Austria, son of the emperor Frederic, from whom they looked for protection in their present distresses: and by these means France lost the opportunity, which she never could recal, of making that important acquisition of power and territory.

During this interesting crisis, Edward was no less defective in policy, and was no less actuated by private passions, unworthy of a sovereign and a statesman. Jealousy of his brother Clarence had caused him to neglect the advances which were made of marrying that prince, now a widower, to the heiress of Burgundy (*d*); and he sent her proposals of espousing Anthony earl of Rivers, brother to his queen, who still retained an entire ascendant over him. But the match was rejected with disdain (*e*); and Edward, resenting this treatment of his brother-in-law, permitted France to proceed without interruption in her conquests over his defenceless ally. Any pretence sufficed him for abandoning himself entirely to indolence and pleasure, which were now become his ruling passions. The only object which divided his attention, was the improving of the public revenue, which had been dilapidated by the necessities or negligence of his predecessors; and some of his expedients for that purpose, though unknown to us, were deemed, during the time, oppressive to the people (*f*). The detail of private wrongs naturally escapes the notice of history; but an act of tyranny, of which Edward was guilty in his own family, has been taken notice of by all writers, and has met with general and deserved censure.

The duke of Clarence, by all his services in deserting Warwick, had never been able to regain the king's friendship, which he had forfeited by his former confederacy with that nobleman. He was still regarded at court as a man of a dangerous and a fickle character; and the imprudent openness and violence of his temper, though it rendered him much less dangerous, tended greatly to multiply his enemies, and to incense them against him. Among others, he had had the misfortune to give displeasure to the queen herself, as well as to his brother the duke of Gloucester, a prince of the deepest policy, of the most unrelenting ambition, and the least scrupulous in the means which he employed for the attainment of his ends. A combination between these potent adversaries being secretly formed against Clarence, it was determined to begin by attacking his friends; in hopes, that if he patiently endured this injury, his pusillanimity would dishonour him in the eyes of the public; if he made resistance, and expressed resentment, his passion would betray him into measures which might give them advantages against him. The king, hunting one day in the park of Thomas Burdet of Arrow, in Warwickshire, had killed a white buck, which was a great favourite of the owner; and Burdet, vexed at the loss, said, in a passion, that he wished the horns of the deer were in the belly of the person who had advised the king to commit that insult upon him. This natural expression of resentment, which would have been overlooked or forgotten had it fallen from any other person, was rendered criminal and capital in that gentleman, by the friendship in which he had the misfortune to live with the duke of Clarence; he was tried for his life; the judges and jury were found servile enough to condemn him; and he was publicly beheaded at Tyburn for this pretended offence (*g*). About the same time, one John Stacey, an ecclesiastic, much connected with the duke, as well as with Burdet, was exposed to a like iniquitous and barbarous prosecution. This clergyman, being more learned in mathematics and astronomy than was usual in that age, lay under the imputation of necromancy with the ignorant vulgar; and the court laid hold of this popular rumour to effect his destruction. He was brought to his trial for that imaginary crime; many of the greatest peers countenanced the prosecution by their presence; he was condemned, put to the torture, and executed (*h*).

The duke of Clarence was alarmed when he found these acts of tyranny exercised on all around him: he reflected on the fate of the good duke of Gloucester in the last reign, who, after seeing the most infamous pretences employed for the destruction of his nearest connexions, at last fell himself a victim to the vengeance of his enemies. Soon after the executions of Burdet and Stacey, the duke of Clarence went to the council chamber, attended by one Goddard, a celebrated divine, who had assisted the sufferers in their last moments; where he delivered copies of the declarations, both private and public, which those persons had made of their innocency, and then withdrew.

Edward, determined to seize on the first pretext his brother should afford him, however frivolous or contemptible, made this proceeding a ground of criminal accusation against Clarence. He forthwith summoned a council of peers and prelates, to which he invited the mayor and aldermen to attend; and inveighed with extreme virulence against the duke, whose most trifling indiscretions he was studious to magnify into crimes of the deepest dye; and whose last imprudence he represented as an act of high treason. The council, with that base obsequiousness which marked every assembly throughout this tyrannical reign, agreed with Edward that he should be immediately committed to the Tower, from whence he was remanded, on the 16th of January, 1478, to be tried before the House of Peers, the supreme tribunal of the nation (*i*).

The duke was accused of arraigning public justice, by maintaining the innocence of men who had been condemned in courts of judicature; and of inveighing against the iniquity of the king, who had given orders for their prosecution (*k*). Many rash expressions were imputed to him, and some too reflecting on Edward's legitimacy; but he was not accused of any overt act of treason; and even the truth of these speeches may be doubted of, since the liberty of judgement was taken from the court, by the king's appearing personally as his brother's accuser (*l*), and pleading the cause against him. But a sentence of condemnation, even when this extraordinary circumstance had not taken place, was a necessary consequence in those times, of any prosecution by the court or the prevailing party; and the duke of Clarence was condemned, and sentence of death was pronounced on him by Henry duke of Buckingham, who acted in the capacity of High Steward on this memorable occasion. The house of commons were no less slavish and unjust: they both petitioned for the execution of the duke, and afterwards passed a bill of attainder against him (*m*). Clarence was accordingly put to death in the Tower privately, on the 11th of March; but by whom or in what manner, remains a secret. The continuator of the History of Croyland, who was a contemporary writer, and who gives the most ample detail of the different proceedings in this dark and infamous transaction, is wholly silent as to the mode of his execution; which affords a strong presumption that he was ignorant of it. Fabian, who was very young at the time, tells us that he was drowned in a butt of malmesey, by his own desire, Edward having given him the choice of his death; but, in this assertion, it is more than probable, that he was guided by mere popular report. As the duke was fond of that liquor, it is by no means improbable, that his assassins might have purposely propagated such a report, in order, by dressing a tragical fact in a ridiculous habit, to diminish in some

(*d*) Polyd. Virg. Hall, fol. 240. Hollingshed, p. 703. Habington p. 474. Grafton, p. 742. (*e*) Hall, fol. 240.
(*f*) Ibid. 241. Hist. Croyl. contin. p. 559.
(*g*) Habington, p. 475. Hollingshed, p. 703. Sir Thomas More in Kennet, p. 498.
(*h*) Hist. Croyl. cont. p. 561. (*i*) Ibid. p. 562.
(*k*) Stowe, p. 430. (*l*) Hist. Croyl. cont. p. 562.
(*m*) Stowe, p. 430. Hist. Croyl. cont. p. 562. The measures of the parliament, during that age, furnish us with examples of a strange contrast of freedom and servility: they scruple to grant, and sometimes refuse, to the king the smallest supplies, the most necessary for the support of government, even the most necessary for the maintenance of wars, for which the nation, as well as the parliament itself, expressed great fondness: but they never scruple to concur in the most flagrant act of injustice or tyranny, which falls on any individual, however distinguished by birth or merit. These maxims, so ungenerous, so opposite to all principles of good government, so contrary to the practice of present parliaments, are very remarkable in all the transactions of the English history, for more than a century after the period in which we are now engaged.

measure that degree of horror with which the mind must be naturally impressed on the contemplation of a murder attended with such aggravated circumstances. Many of the duke of Clarence's estates were, after his death granted by the king to the earl of Rivers, under the curious pretence that the soul of the deceased would receive more benefit from the grant of his estates to a person he had so greatly injured.

The duke left two children by the elder daughter of the earl of Warwick; a son, created an earl by his grandfather's title, and a daughter, afterwards countess of Salisbury. Both this prince and princess were also unfortunate in their end, and died a violent death; a fate which for many years attended almost all the descendants of the royal blood in England. There prevails a report, that a chief source of the violent prosecution of the duke of Clarence, whose name was George, was a current prophecy, that the king's son should be murdered by one, the initial letter of whose name was G (*n*). It is not impossible but, in those ignorant times, such a silly reason might have some influence: but it is more probable that the whole story is the invention of a subsequent period, and founded on the murder of these children by the duke of Gloucester. Comines remarks, that, at that time, the English never were without some superstitious prophecy or other, by which they accounted for every event.

All the glories of Edward's reign terminated with the civil wars; where his laurels too were extremely sullied with blood, violence, and cruelty. His spirit seems afterwards to have been sunk in indolence and pleasure, or his measures were frustrated by imprudence and the want of foresight. There was no object on which he was more intent than to have all his daughters settled by splendid marriages, though most of these princesses were yet in their infancy, and though the completion of his views, it was obvious, must depend on numberless accidents, which were impossible to be foreseen or prevented. His eldest daughter, Elizabeth, was contracted to the dauphin; his second, Cicely, to the eldest son of James III. king of Scotland; his third, Anne, to Philip only son of Maximilian and the duchess of Burgundy; his fourth, Catharine, to John son and heir to Ferdinand king of Arragon, and Isabella queen of Castile (*o*). None of these projected marriages took place; and the king himself saw, in his life-time, the rupture of the first, that with the dauphin, for which he had always discovered a peculiar fondness. Louis, who paid no regard to treaties or engagements, found his advantage in contracting the dauphin to the princess Margaret daughter of Maximilian; and the king, notwithstanding his indolence, prepared to revenge the indignity. The French monarch, eminent for prudence as well as perfidy, endeavoured to guard against the blow; and by a proper distribution of presents in the court of Scotland, he incited James to make war upon England. This prince, who lived on bad terms with his nobility, and whose force was very unequal to the enterprize, levied an army; but when he was ready to enter England, the barons, conspiring against his favourites, put them to death without trial; and the army presently disbanded. The duke of Gloucester, attended by the duke of Albany, James's brother, who had been banished his country, entered Scotland at the head of an army, took Berwick, and obliged the Scots to accept of a peace, by which they resigned that fortress to Edward. This success emboldened the king to think more seriously of a French war; but while he was making preparations for that enterprize, he was seized with a distemper, of which he expired, on the 9th of April, 1483, in the forty-second year of his age, and the twenty-third of his reign.

In point of external grace and beauty of countenance, Edward the Fourth is said to have equalled all, and excelled most, of the princes which had worn the crown before him: but a course of luxury and intemperance gradually detracted from the elegance of his appearance, by occasioning an ungraceful corpulence. His manners were polished without affectation; his talents of persuasion were irresistible; and he had the art of subduing clamour and discontent by the insinuating affability of his address, and the engaging frankness of his deportment. His understanding was far from being contemptible; and, though he was duped by the artful Louis, whose whole life was employed in artifice and dissimulation, he was not destitute of political sagacity. It has been remarked, however, that he was less qualified to prevent misfortunes by wise precautions, than to remedy them, after they had occurred, by rigorous and decisive conduct. This observation is exemplified in various parts of his reign; and we may perhaps impute the circumstance more to his extravagant love of pleasure, and to the indolence which arose from that source, than to an original want of penetration or judgement. When the near approach of danger called forth his exertions, he was remarkably active; but when years of peace succeeded, he gave way to idleness and debauchery, and, while immured in a sea of pleasure, too easily resigned himself to the guidance of his queen and her favourites.

Edward the Fourth particularly shone in the military department. The many battles that he won against experienced officers, may be considered as ample testimonials of his warlike talents. But his early initiation in the practice of slaughter seems to have inspired him with a tincture of cruelty, of which he never divested himself in the sequel. With much apparent mildness and complacency in social life, he mingled in his public character, a strong propensity to cool bloodshed and inhuman revenge. It is an invalid excuse to assign, that the Lancastrians gave the example of ferocity, in the execution of their prisoners of rank. A practice so brutal did not merit imitation; and Edward's cause was not so destitute of support as to require the deliberate extermination of the chief advocates of the opposite party of men, who had committed no other crime than that of adhering to a family which had filled the throne, with the assent of the parliament and the nation, for above half a century. Besides the numerous executions of the Lancastrians, other proofs occur of this monarch's sanguinary disposition. His treatment of his brother the duke of Clarence and his friends cannot be justified without the suspicion of that partiality which has induced some historians to celebrate the compassionate and merciful character of a prince whose whole reign falsifies the eulogium.

He affected such a zeal for religion, and such a regard for the clergy, that a contemporary monk represents him as "a most severe enemy of heretics, a most affectionate patron of wise and learned ecclesiastics, a most devout venerator of the sacraments of the church, and a sincere penitent for his misdeeds (*p*)." But we may justly question the piety of one who violated without scruple the obligation of oaths, and laboured to cement his throne with the blood of those persons whom his tyrannical suspicions marked out as enemies.

In his earlier years, he was liberal and generous, but he gradually became more sparing of his distributions, and more inclined to amass wealth. To supply his pleasures, and also give scope to his desire of accumulation, he practised various arts of rapacity; but, in point of parliamentary imposts, his reign was not oppressive.

Edward the Fourth had, by Elizabeth, his queen, three sons and seven daughters, viz. Edward, prince of Wales, who succeeded him in the throne, being in the thirteenth year of his age when his father died; Richard, duke of York, then in his ninth year; George, who died in his infancy; Elizabeth, who was contracted to the dauphin of France, and afterwards married Henry the Seventh, king of England; Mary, bethrothed to the king of Denmark, who died before marriage; Cecilia, contracted to James king of Scotland, first married to John viscount Wells, and afterwards to Sir John Kyme; Margaret, who died an infant; Anne, contracted to Philip of Burgundy, and married to Thomas Howard, duke of Norfolk; Bridget, who took the veil, and died in the nunnery at Dartford; and Catharine, married to William Courteney, earl of Devonshire.

His natural children were, Arthur Plantagenet, born of Elizabeth Lucy, and created lord Lisle in the reign of Henry the Eighth; and Elizabeth Plantagenet, married

(*n*) Hall, fol. 239. Hollingshed, p. 703. Grafton, p. 741. Polyd. Virg. p. 537. Sir Thomas More in Kennet, p. 497.

(*o*) Rymer, vol. xi. p. 110.

(*p*) See the Continuation of the History of Croyland; in which work we meet with an account of Edward's extraordinary memory, which enabled him to recollect the person as well as the name of almost every individual with whom he had at any time conversed; and we are also informed that this faculty of retention encouraged him to learn the characters, interests, and circumstances, of most of the nobility and gentry throughout England; a species of knowledge which rendered his discourse very agreeable to the provincials, inclined as they generally are to the discussion of family concerns and connexions.

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to Thomas lord Lumley: another daughter, named Elizabeth, by Catharine, daughter of Sir Robert Clavenger; and Isabel Mylbery, married to a brother of lord Audley.

CHAP. II.

EDWARD V.

THE principal transactions of the reign on which we are about to enter, as well as of that which succeeds it, are involved in such obscurity, as to have given rise to serious doubts on the very existence of events which, till lately, had been received as established facts. The pen of historical scepticism has been employed—with more ingenuity, indeed, than candour—in attacking the characters of authors, whose veracity had been deemed irreproachable; and in representing, as a model of meekness and patience, a prince whose life had always been considered as one continued scene of vicious and tyrannical actions.

The only contemporary historians of these reigns are John Fabian, a merchant of London; and the Continuator of the Chronicle of Croyland, a doctor of the canon law, and one of the king's counsellors. That the facts related by them ought to obtain credit, is not contradicted by authentic records, or at least controverted by presumptive evidence so strong as almost to possess the force of absolute proof, no person, who is not more anxious to confirm doubts than to establish truth, will attempt to deny. The information, however, furnished by these writers, is far from copious: recourse therefore has been had to the testimony of Sir Thomas More, chancellor to Henry the Eighth, from whom the generality of modern historians have derived their intelligence; and though Sir Thomas was only three years old on the accession of Edward the Fifth, he was certainly not so far removed from the period in question as to be unable to acquire a full and compleat knowledge of the transactions he relates with equal precision, candour, and eloquence: while the singular probity of his mind, and the known magnanimity of his conduct, cannot fail to give his evidence a degree of credit which modern sceptics have in vain attempted to diminish. From an attentive consideration of the credit due to these authorities; from a thorough investigation of the objections opposed to them; a close comparison of stated facts with relative circumstances; and, finally, from strict researches into every possible source of information; we have endeavoured to form an impartial history of a reign in which much must inevitably be left to conjecture.

During the later years of Edward IV. the nation having, in a great measure, forgotten the bloody feuds between the two roses, and peaceably acquiescing in the established government, was agitated only by some court-intrigues, which, being restrained by the authority of the king, seemed nowise to endanger the public tranquillity. These intrigues arose from the perpetual rivalship between two parties; one consisting of the queen and her relations, particularly the earl of Rivers her brother, and the marquis of Dorset her son; the other composed of the ancient nobility, who envied the sudden growth and unlimited credit of that aspiring family (*q*). At the head of this latter party was the duke of Buckingham, a man of very noble birth, of ample possessions, of great alliances, of shining parts; who, though he had married the queen's sister, was too haughty to act in subserviency to her inclinations, and aimed rather at maintaining an independent influence and authority. Lord Hastings, the chamberlain, was another leader of the same party; and as this nobleman had, by his bravery and activity, as well as by his approved fidelity, acquired the confidence and favour of his master, he had been able, though with some difficulty, to support himself against the credit of the queen. The lords Howard and Stanley maintained a connexion with these two noblemen, and brought a considerable accession of influence and reputation to their party. All the other barons, who had no particular dependence on the queen, adhered to the same interest; and the people in general, from their natural envy against the prevailing power, bore great favour to the cause of these noblemen.

But Edward knew that, though he himself had been able to overawe those rival factions, many disorders might arise from their contests during the minority of his son; and he therefore took care, in his last illness, to summon together several of the leaders on both sides, and, by composing their ancient quarrels, to provide, as far as possible, for the future tranquillity of the government. After expressing his intentions that his brother the duke of Gloucester, then absent in the north, should be entrusted with the regency, he recommended to them peace and unanimity during the tender years of his son; represented to them the dangers which must attend the continuance of their animosities; and engaged them to embrace each other with all the appearance of the most cordial reconciliation. But this temporary or feigned agreement lasted no longer than the king's life: he had no sooner expired, than the jealousies of the parties broke out afresh: and each of them applied, by separate messages, to the duke of Gloucester, and endeavoured to acquire his favour and friendship.

This prince, during his brother's reign, had endeavoured to live on good terms with both parties; and his high birth, his extensive abilities, and his great services, had enabled him to support himself without falling into a dependance on either. But the new situation of affairs, when the supreme power was devolved upon him, immediately changed his measures; and he secretly determined to preserve no longer that neutrality which he had hitherto maintained. His exorbitant ambition, unrestrained by any principle either of justice or humanity, made him carry his views to the possession of the crown itself; and as this object could not be attained without the ruin of the queen and her family, he fell, without hesitation, into concert with the opposite party. But being sensible, that the most profound dissimulation was requisite for effecting his criminal purposes, he redoubled his professions of zeal and attachment to that princess; and he gained such credit with her, as to influence her conduct in a point, which, as it was of the utmost importance, was violently disputed between the opposite factions.

The young king, at the time of his father's death, resided in the castle of Ludlow, on the borders of Wales; whither he had been sent, that the influence of his presence might overawe the Welch, and restore the tranquillity of that country, which had been disturbed by some late commotions (*r*). His person was committed to the care of his uncle, the earl of Rivers, the most accomplished nobleman in England, who, having united an uncommon taste for literature (*s*) to great abilities in business, and valour in the field, was entitled, by his talents, still more than by nearness of blood, to direct and superintend the education of the young monarch. The queen and her friends, after a consultation on the subject, wrote to the earl of Rivers, that he should levy a body of forces, in order to escort the king to London, to protect him during his coronation, and to keep him from falling into the hands of their enemies. The opposite faction, sensible that Edward was now of an age when great advantages could be made of his name and countenance, and was approaching to the age when he would be legally entitled to exert in person his authority, foresaw, that the tendency of this measure was to perpetuate their subjection under their rivals; and they vehemently opposed a resolution which they represented as the signal for renewing a civil war in the kingdom. Lord Hastings threatened to depart instantly to his government of Calais (*t*): the other nobles seemed resolute to oppose force by force; and as the duke of Gloucester, on pretence of pacifying the quarrel, had declared against all appearance of an armed power, which might be dangerous, and was nowise necessary, the queen, trusting to the sincerity of his friendship, and overawed by so violent an opposition, recalled her orders to her brother, and desired him to bring up no greater retinue than should be necessary to support the state and dignity of the young sovereign (*u*).

The duke of Gloucester, meanwhile, set out from York, attended by a numerous train of the northern gentry. When he reached Northampton, he was joined by the duke of Buckingham, who was also attended by a splendid retinue; and as he heard that the king was hourly expected on that road, he resolved to wait his arrival, under co-

(*q*) Sir Thomas More, p. 481.

(*r*) Young Edward was proclaimed king in London, on the 9th of April, the day of his father's death.

(*s*) This nobleman first introduced the noble art of printing into England. Caxton was recommended by him to the patronage of Edward IV. See Catalogue of Royal and Noble Authors.

(*t*) Hist. Croyl. cont. p. 564, 565.

(*u*) Sir T. More, p. 482.

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lour of conducting him thence in person to London. The earl of Rivers, apprehensive that the place would be too narrow to contain so many attendants, sent his pupil forward by another road to Stony-Stratford; and remained himself in Northampton, in order to concert measures with Gloucester—of whose designs he was not yet aware—for the approaching coronation. He was received with the greatest appearance of cordiality: he passed the evening in an amicable manner with Gloucester and Buckingham: he proceeded on the road with them next day to join the king: but as he was entering Stony-Stratford, he was arrested by orders from the duke of Gloucester, on the first of May (*v*): sir Richard Grey, one of the queen's sons, and uterine brother to Edward, was at the same time put under a guard, together with sir Thomas Vaughan, who possessed a considerable office in the king's household; and all the prisoners were instantly conducted to Pomfret in Yorkshire. At the same time they dismissed all the other attendants of the king; and issued a proclamation, forbidding them to approach the court under pain of death (*w*). Gloucester having secured his prisoners, approached the young prince with the greatest demonstrations of respect; and endeavoured to satisfy him with regard to the violence committed on his uncle and brother: but Edward, much attached to these near relations, by whom he had been tenderly educated, was not so much a master of dissimulation as to conceal his displeasure (*x*).

The queen no sooner received intelligence of her brother's imprisonment, than she became justly alarmed for the safety of her family, and wisely concluding that the man who had dared to proceed *thus far*, would not hesitate to proceed *much farther*; she foresaw that from Gloucester's violence her own ruin, if not that of all her children, was finally determined. She therefore fled into the sanctuary of Westminster, attended by the marquis of Dorset; and she carried thither the five princesses, together with the duke of York (*y*). She trusted, that the ecclesiastical privileges which had formerly given her protection against the fury of the Lancastrian faction, would not now be violated by her brother-in-law, while her son was on the throne; and she resolved to await there the return of better fortune.

When intelligence was brought to London of the violent proceedings of the duke of Gloucester, it gave rise to the utmost confusion. The friends of either party, in great crowds, and some of them armed, had frequent meetings and consultations: the royalists met in Westminster; and the adherents of Gloucester, headed by lord Hastings, in the city; but as the real intentions of those who had possession of the king's person could not be known, no resolutions of a decisive nature were adopted.

The duke of Gloucester, anxious to have the duke of York in his power, proposed to take him by force from the sanctuary at Westminster; and he represented to the privy-council, both the indignity put upon the government by the queen's ill-grounded apprehensions, and the necessity of the young prince's appearance at the ensuing coronation of his brother. It was farther urged, that ecclesiastical privileges were originally intended only to give protection to unhappy men persecuted for their debts or crimes; and were entirely useless to a person who, by reason of his tender age, could not lie under the burden of either, and who, for the same reason, was utterly incapable of claiming security from any sanctuary. But the two archbishops, cardinal Bourchier the primate, and Thomas Rotherham, archbishop of York, protesting against the sacrilege of this measure, it was agreed, that they should first endeavour to bring the queen to compliance by persuasion, before any violence should be employed against her. These prelates were persons of known integrity and honour; and being themselves entirely persuaded of the duke's good intentions, they employed every argument, accompanied with earnest entreaties, exhortations, and assurances, to bring her over to the same opinion. She long continued obstinate, and insisted, that the duke of York, by living in the sanctuary, was not only secure himself, but gave security to the king, whose life no one would dare to attempt, while his successor and avenger remained in safety. But finding that none supported her in these sentiments, and that force, in case of refusal was threatened by the council, she at last complied, and produced her son to the two prelates. She was here on a sudden struck with a kind of presage of his future fate: she tenderly embraced him; she bedewed him with tears; and bidding him an eternal adieu, delivered him, with many expressions of regret and reluctance, into their custody (*z*). The duke of York was therefore immediately conducted to the Tower, and delivered to the Protector. This happened on the 16th of June, 1483, three days after her brother and son had been murdered at Pomfret; and of which cruelty she had been kept entirely ignorant.

The duke of Gloucester, being the nearest male of the royal family capable of exercising the government, seemed entitled, by the customs of the realm, to the office of protector; and the council, not waiting for the consent of parliament, made no scruple of investing him with that high dignity (*a*). The general prejudice entertained by the nobility against the queen and her kindred, occasioned this precipitation and irregularity; and no one foresaw any danger to the succession, much less to the lives of the young princes, from a measure so obvious and so natural. Besides that the duke had hitherto been able to cover, by the most profound dissimulation, his fierce and savage nature; the numerous issue of Edward, together with the two children of Clarence, seemed to be an eternal obstacle to his ambition; and it appeared equally impracticable for him to destroy so many persons possessed of a preferable title, and imprudent to exclude them. But a man who had abandoned all principles of honour and humanity, was soon carried by his predominant passion beyond the reach of fear or precaution; and Gloucester, having so far succeeded in his views, no longer hesitated in removing the other obstructions which lay between him and the throne. The death of the earl of Rivers, and of the other prisoners detained in Pomfret, was first determined; and he easily obtained the consent of the duke of Buckingham, as well as of lord Hastings, to this violent and sanguinary measure. However easy it was in those times, to procure a sentence against the most innocent person, it appeared still more easy to dispatch an enemy, without any trial or form of process; and orders were accordingly issued to sir Richard Ratcliffe, a proper instrument in the hands of this tyrant, to cut off the heads of the prisoners. The protector then assailed the fidelity of Buckingham by all the arguments capable of swaying a vicious mind, which knew no motive of action but interest and ambition. He represented, that the execution of persons so nearly related to the king, whom that prince so openly professed to love, and whose fate he so much resented, would never pass unpunished; and all the actors in that scene were bound in prudence to prevent the effects of his future vengeance: that it would be impossible to keep the queen for ever at a distance from her son, and equally impossible to prevent her from instilling into his tender mind the thoughts of retaliating, by like executions, the sanguinary insults committed on her family: that the only method of obviating these mischiefs was to put the sceptre in the hands of a man of whose friendship the duke might be assured, and whose years and experience taught him to pay respect to merit, and to the rights of ancient nobility: and that the same necessity which had carried them so far in resisting the usurpation of these intruders, must jussify them in attempting farther innovations, and in making, by national consent, a new settlement of the succession. To these reasons he added the offers of great private advantages to the duke of Buckingham; and he easily obtained from him a promise of supporting him in all his enterprizes.

The duke of Gloucester, knowing the importance of gaining lord Hastings, sounded at a distance his sentiments, by means of Catesby, a lawyer, who lived in great intimacy with that nobleman; but found him impregnable in

(*v*) Hist Croyl. cont. p. 564, 565.

(*w*) These are stubborn facts, which the most strenuous of Gloucester's apologists have not ventured to call in question. "And *thus far*," says Mr. Walpole, "he (the duke of Gloucester) acted as most princes would have done in his situation, in a lawless and barbarous age." In other words, he acted like a treacherous and sanguinary tyrant, whom no attention to the laws, no ties of honour, no principles of loyalty, no considerations of justice, could restrain from pursuing the projects of an ambitious mind. He acted like a daring rebel, in violently seizing the person of his sovereign, in imprisoning his relations, and in exercising an act of regal authority. "The barbarism of the age," affords but a pitiful palliation of such flagrant conduct; like state necessity, the tyrant's universal plea to sanction injustice, violence, murder, or oppression, it can only be employed by those who seek to justify tyrannical actions.

(*x*) Sir. T. More, p. 484.

(*y*) Hist. Croyl. Cont. p. 565.

(*z*) Sir T. More, p. 491.

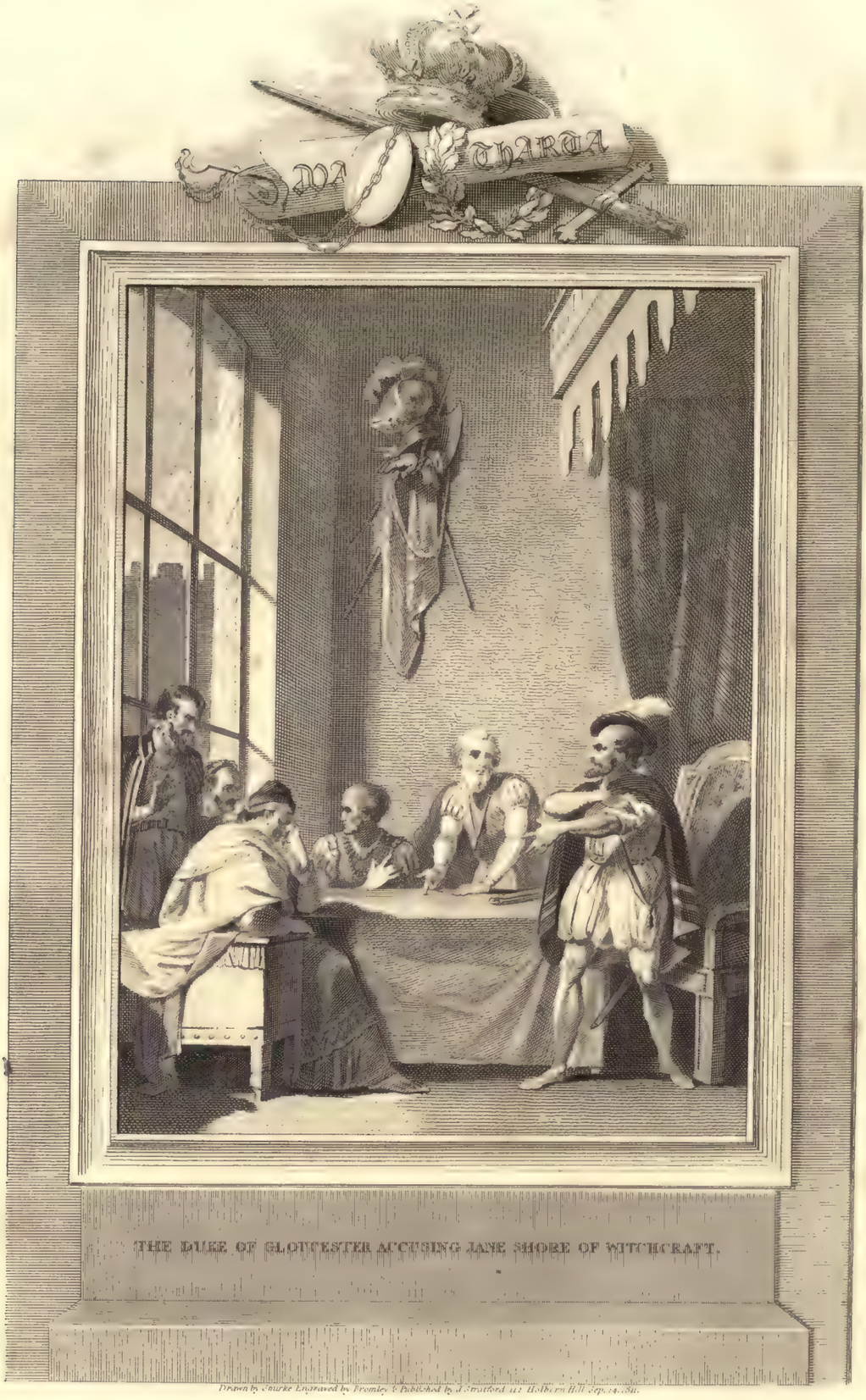
(*a*) Hist. Croyl. Cont. p. 566.



QUEEN MARGARET RESIGNING THE DUKE OF YORK.

Drawn by Smirke. Engraved by Milton & Published by J. Stratford 112 Holborn Hill July 13 1811.





THE DUKE OF GLOUCESTER ACCUSING JANE SHORE OF WITCHCRAFT.

Drawn by Clarke Engraved by Fromley & Published by J. Stratford 112 Holborn Hill Sep.1.1811.

his allegiance and fidelity to the children of Edward, who had ever honoured him with his friendship (*b*). He saw, therefore, that there were no longer any measures to be kept with him; and he determined to ruin utterly the man whom he despaired of engaging to concur in his usurpation. On the very day (June 13,) when Rivers, Grey, and Vaughan were executed, or rather murdered at Pomfret, by the advice of Hastings, the protector summoned a council in the Tower; whither that nobleman, suspecting no design against himself, repaired without hesitation. The duke of Gloucester was capable of committing the most bloody and treacherous murders with the utmost coolness and indifference. On taking his place at the council-table, he appeared in the most jovial humour imaginable. He seemed to indulge himself in familiar conversation with the counsellors, before they should enter on business; and having paid some compliments to Morton bishop of Ely, on the good and early strawberries which he raised in his garden at Holborn, he begged the favour of having a dish of them, which that prelate immediately dispatched a servant to bring to him. The protector then left the council, as if called away by some other business; but soon after returning with a ferocious countenance, he asked them what punishment those deserved that had plotted against his life, who was so nearly related to the king, and was entrusted with the administration of government? Hastings replied, that they merited the punishment of traitors. "These traitors," cried the protector, "are the sorceress, my brother's wife, and Jane Shore his mistress, with others their associates: see to what a condition they have reduced me by their incantations and witchcraft!" Upon which he laid bare his left arm, all shrivelled and decayed. But the counsellors, who knew that this infirmity had attended him from his birth, looked on each other with amazement; and above all lord Hastings, who, as he had since Edward's death engaged in an intrigue with Jane shore, was naturally anxious concerning the issue of these extraordinary proceedings. "Certainly, my lord," said he, "if they be guilty of these crimes they deserve the severest punishment."---"And do you reply to me," exclaimed the protector, "with your ifs and your ands? You are the chief abettor of that witch Shore: you are yourself a traitor: and I swear by St. Paul, that I will not dine before your head be brought me." He then struck the table with his hand; armed men rushed in at the signal; the counsellors were thrown into the utmost consternation; and one of the guards, as if by accident or mistake, aimed a blow with a poll-axe at lord Stanley, who aware of the danger, slunk under the table; and though he saved his life, received a severe wound in the head in the protector's presence. Hastings was seized, was hurried away, and instantly beheaded on a timber-log which lay in the court of the Tower (*c*). Two hours after, a proclamation, well penned and fairly written, was read to the citizens of London, enumerating his offences, and apologising to them, from the suddenness of the discovery, for the sudden execution of that nobleman, who was very popular among them: but the saying of a merchant was much talked of on the occasion, who remarked, 'that the proclamation was certainly drawn by the spirit of prophecy (*d*).

Lord Stanley, the archbishop of York, the bishop of Ely, and other counsellors, were committed prisoners in the different chambers of the Tower: and the protector, in order to carry on the farce of his accusations, ordered the goods of Jane Shore to be seized; and he summoned her to answer before the council for sorcery and witchcraft. But as no proofs which could be received even in that ignorant age were produced against her, he directed her to be tried in the spiritual court for her adulteries and lewdness; and she did penance in a white sheet at St. Paul's, before the whole people (*e*).

These acts of violence, exercised against all the nearest connexions of the late king, prognosticated the severest fate to his defenceless children; and after the murder of Hastings, the protector no longer made a secret of his intentions to usurp the crown. The licentious life of Edward, who was not restrained in his pleasures either by honour or prudence, afforded a pretence for declaring his marriage with the queen invalid, and all his posterity illegitimate. It was asserted, that before espousing the lady Elizabeth Grey, he paid court to the lady Eleanor Talbot, daughter of the earl of Shrewsbury; and being repulsed by the virtue of that lady, he was obliged, ere he could gratify his desires, to consent to a private marriage, without any witnesses, by Stillington bishop of Bath, who afterwards divulged the secret (*f*). It was also maintained, that the act of attainder passed against the duke of Clarence had virtually incapacitated his children from succeeding to the crown; and these two families being set aside, the protector remained the only true and legitimate heir of the house of York. But as it would be difficult, if not impossible, to prove the preceding marriage of the late king and as the rule, which excludes the heirs of an attainted blood from private successions, was never extended to the crown; the protector resolved to make use of another plea still more shameful and scandalous. His partizans were taught to maintain, that both Edward IV. and the duke of Clarence were illegitimate; that the duchess of York had received different lovers into her bed, who were the fathers of these children; and their resemblance to those gallants was a sufficient proof of their spurious birth; and the duke of Gloucester alone, of all her sons, appeared by his features and countenance to be the true offspring of the duke of York. Nothing can be imagined more impudent than this assertion, which threw so foul an imputation on his own mother, a princess of irreproachable virtue, and then alive; yet the place chosen for first promulgating it was the pulpit, before a large congregation, and in the protector's presence. Dr. Ralph Shaw, a popular preacher, and brother to the lord mayor, was appointed to sound the inclinations of the people in a sermon, which he was directed to preach at Paul's Cross, on Sunday, the 22nd of June. Accordingly, on the day agreed upon, he repaired to that place, and took for his text a passage out of the Apocrypha, viz. "Bastard slips shall not prosper." He enlarged on all the topics which could discredit the birth of Edward IV. the duke of Clarence, and of all their children. He then broke out in a panegyric on the duke of Gloucester; and exclaimed, "Behold this excellent prince, the express image of his noble father, the genuine descendant of the house of York; bearing, no less in the virtues of his mind, than in the features of his countenance, the character of the gallant Richard, once your hero and favourite: he alone is entitled to your allegiance: he must deliver you from the dominion of all intruders: he alone can restore the lost glory and honour of the nation." It was previously concerted, that as the doctor should pronounce these words, the duke of Gloucester should make his appearance; and it was expected that the audience would cry out "God save king Richard!" which would immediately have been laid hold of as a popular consent, and interpreted to be the voice of the nation: but by a ridiculous mistake, worthy of the whole scene, the duke did not appear till after this exclamation was already recited by the preacher. The doctor was therefore obliged to repeat this rhetorical figure out of its proper place: the audience, less from the absurd conduct of the discourse, than from their detestation of these proceedings, kept a profound silence; and the protector and his preacher were equally abashed at the ill success of their stratagem.

The duke, however, was too far advanced to recede from his criminal and ambitious purpose. A new expedient was tried to work on the people. The lord mayor, who was entirely in the protector's interests, called an assembly of the citizens on the 24th of June, two days after the above famous sermon had been preached by his bro-

(*b*) Sir T. More, p. 493.
(*c*) Hist. Croyl. cont. p. 566. (*d*) Sir T. More, p. 496.
(*e*) This lady was born of reputable parents in London, was well educated, and married to a substantial citizen; but unhappily, views of interest, more than the maid's inclinations, had been consulted in the match, and her mind, though framed for virtue, had proved unable to resist the allurements of the libidinous Edward, who solicited her favours. But while seduced from her duty by this licentious monarch, she still made herself respectable by her other virtues; and the ascendant which her charms and vivacity long maintained over him, was all employed in acts of beneficence and humanity. She was still forward to oppose calumny, to protect the oppressed, to relieve the indigent; and her good offices, the genuine dictates of her heart, never waited the solicitation of presents, or the hopes of reciprocal services. But she lived not only to feel the bitterness of shame imposed on her by this tyrant, but to experience, in old age and poverty, the ingratitude of those courtiers who had long solicited her friendship, and been protected by her credit. No one, among the great multitude whom she had obliged, had the humanity to bring her consolation or relief: she languished out her life in solitude and indigence; and amidst a court, inured to the most atrocious crimes, the frailties of this woman justified all violations of friendship towards her, and all neglect of former obligations.
(*f*) Hist. Croyl. cont. p. 567. Comines. Sir Thomas More, p. 482.

ther; where the duke of Buckingham, who possessed some talents for eloquence, harangued them on the protector's title to the crown, and displayed those numerous virtues of which he pretended that prince was possessed. He next asked them, whether they would have the duke for king? and then stopped, in expectation of hearing the cry, "God save king Richard!" He was surprised to observe them silent; and turning about to the mayor asked him the reason. The mayor replied, that perhaps they did not understand him. Buckingham then repeated his discourse with some variation; enforced the same topics, asked the same question, and was received with the same silence. "I now see the cause;" said the mayor; "the citizens are not accustomed to be harrangued by any but their recorder; and know not how to answer a person of your grace's quality." The recorder, Fitz-Williams, was then commanded to repeat the substance of the duke's speech; but the man, who was averse to the office, took care, throughout his whole discourse, to have it understood that he spoke nothing of himself, and that he only conveyed to them the sense of the duke of Buckingham. Still the audience kept a profound silence: "This is wonderful obstinacy," cried the duke: "Express your meaning, my friends, one way or other: when we apply to you on this occasion, it is merely from the regard which we bear to you. The lords and commons have sufficient authority, without your consent, to appoint a king: but I require you here to declare, in plain terms, whether or not you will have the duke of Gloucester for your sovereign?" After all these efforts some of the lower class, incited by the protector's and Buckingham's servants, raised a feeble cry, "God save king Richard (*g*)!" The sentiments of the people were now sufficiently declared: the voice of the people was the voice of God; and Buckingham, with the mayor, hastened the next day (June 25) to Baynard's Castle, where the protector then resided, that they might make him a tender of the crown.

When Richard was told that a great multitude was in the court, he refused to appear to them, and pretended to be apprehensive for his personal safety: a circumstance taken notice of by Buckingham, who observed to the citizens that the prince was ignorant of what had passed. At last he was persuaded to step forth, but he still kept at some distance; and he asked the meaning of their intrusion and importunity. Buckingham told him that the nation was resolved to have him for king: the protector declared his purpose of maintaining his loyalty to the present sovereign, and exhorted them to adhere to the same resolution. He was told that the people had determined to have another prince; and if he rejected their unanimous voice, they must look out for one who would be more compliant. This argument was too powerful to be resisted: he was prevailed on to accept of the crown: and he thenceforth acted as legitimate and rightful sovereign.

On the morning of Thursday, the 26th of June, all the nobles and prelates of the protector's party repaired to Baynard Castle; where this hypocritical scene was brought to a conclusion in the following manner, as described in that account of Gloucester's accession to the throne which he sent to the garrison of Calais, to persuade them to take an oath of fealty to him, but which they refused, because they had before taken an oath to Edward the Fifth: "They porrected to him a bill of petition, wherein his sure and true title was evidently shewed and declared. Whereupon the king's highnis,"—so he now called himself—"notably assisted by wel nere al the lords spiritual and temporall of this reyalme, went the same day unto the palais at Westminster; and ther, in such roial honourable apparrel led, within the gret hal ther, toke possession and declared his mind, that the same day he would begin to reyne upon his people; and from thence rode solemnly to the cathedral church of London, and was received ther with procession and gret congratulation and acclamation of al the people in every place."

(*g*) Sir T. More, p. 496.

(*h*) This nobleman had become hateful by his first opposition to Richard's views, and also by his marrying the countess dowager of Richmond, heir of the Somerset family; but, sensible of the necessity of submitting to the present government, he feigned such ardent zeal for Richard's service, that he was received into favour, and even found means to insinuate himself so far into the good graces of that politic and jealous tyrant, as to be entrusted with the most important commands.

(*i*) Fabian informs us, that as soon as Richard accepted the sovereignty, "the prince, or of right king Edward the Fifth, were put under surer kepynge in the Towre, in such wyse that they never came abrode after."

CHAP. III.

RICHARD III.

RICHARD, in his attempts to acquire possession of the throne, had not trusted entirely to the pretended validity of his title, the rank and number of his accomplices, or the favour of the people: he had taken the precaution to bring a formidable body of armed followers with him to London; the duke of Buckingham, his chief supporter, had brought one still greater, and had sent for more forces from Wales; and an army of five thousand men had arrived from the north. These troops being united, constituted, as the historian of Croyland asserts, "a terrible and unheard-of number of armed men." Fabian indeed says, that the rusty armour, and shabby accoutrements of the northern forces excited the mirth and derision of the citizens of London; but Fabian might have known that many a courageous heart beats beneath a tattered garment, while the tinselled robe often serves as a covering to the bosom of cowardice. Certain it is, that the troops of the north were ever distinguished for their valour, which it is not likely could suffer diminution from any defect in their dress; and these being led by that experienced ruffian and murderer, sir Richard Radcliffe, whose ferocious mind was capable of the most sanguinary exertions, were rather to be considered as objects of fear than of ridicule, and were consequently entitled to a due share of the *honour* of this revolution.

Richard was proclaimed king in London on the 27th of June, 1483; and on the same day he delivered the great seal to the bishop of Lincoln, one of the prelates who had contributed to his elevation. Conscious of the influence of a coronation on the minds of the people, he determined to have that ceremony performed as soon as possible; and while the necessary preparations were making, he rewarded such of his adherents as had assisted him in usurping the throne, and bestowed favours on others whose assistance he deemed requisite to support his future government. John lord Howard was created duke of Norfolk; sir Thomas Howard his son, earl of Surrey; lord Lovel, a viscount by the same name; even lord Stanley was set at liberty, and made steward of the household (*h*). At length every thing being prepared, Richard and his consort, Anne Nevil, daughter of the celebrated earl of Warwick, were crowned at Westminster, with the usual formalities, on the 6th of July (*i*).

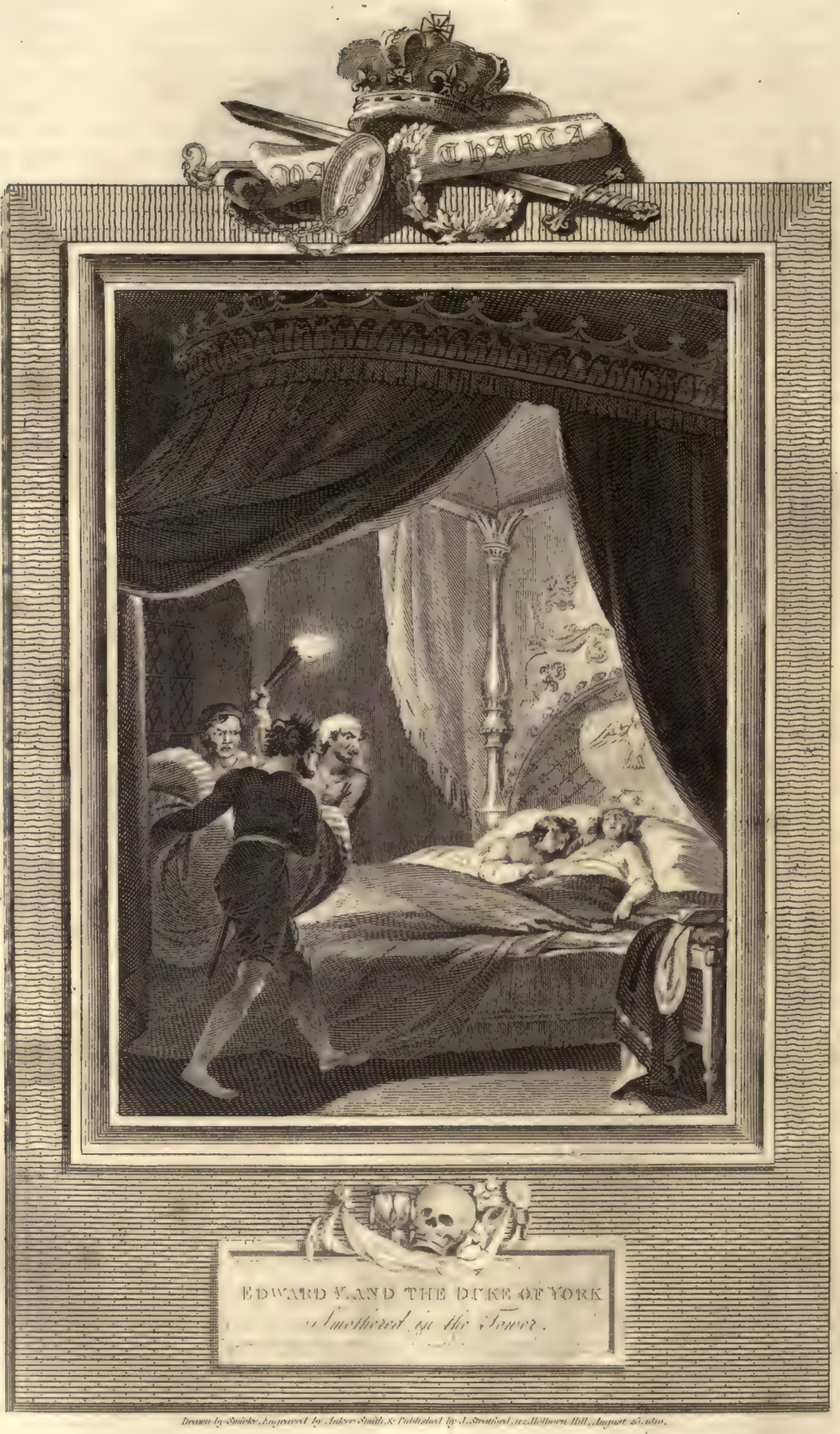
The first act of Richard's government, after his coronation, was to seize the treasures which had been amassed by Edward the Fourth for defraying the expences of his intended expedition to France; and these enabled him to secure the friendship and attachment of many with whom interest was the prevailing principle. He was particularly careful to reward his northern forces, and sent them home contented with his bounty. To those foreign potentates whose friendship he was desirous of cultivating, he sent ambassadors to announce his accession to the throne. His envoy to the duke of Britanny was authorized, as appears from Rymer's Fœdera, "to negociate any business he thought proper, even though it were of such a nature as to require a special mandate;" by which it is evident must be meant, a secret negociation concerning Henry earl of Richmond, whom the tyrant was certainly anxious to get into his power.

The person, however, who, both from the greatness of his services, and the power and splendour of his family, was best entitled to favours under the new government, was the duke of Buckingham (*k*); and Richard seemed determined to spare no pains or bounty in securing him to his interests. The duke of Buckingham laid hold of the present opportunity, and claimed the restitution of that portion of the Hereford estate which had escheated to the crown, as well as that of the great office of constable,

(*k*) Buckingham was descended from a daughter of Thomas of Woodstock duke of Gloucester, uncle to Richard II. and by this pedigree he not only was allied to the royal family, but had claims for dignities as well as estates of a very extensive nature. The duke of Gloucester, and Henry earl of Derby, afterwards Henry IV. had married the two daughters and coheirs of Bohun earl of Hereford, one of the greatest of the ancient barons, whose immense property came thus to be divided into two shares. One was inherited by the family of Buckingham; the other was united to the crown by the house of Lancaster, and, after the attainder of that royal line, was seized as legally devolved to them by the sovereigns of the house of York.

which





EDWARD V. AND THE DUKE OF YORK
Smothered in the Tower.

Drawn by Shirley. Engraved by Baker Smith & Published by J. Stratford, 112 Holborn Hill, August 25. 1810.

which had long continued by inheritance in his ancestors of that family. Richard readily complied with these demands, which were probably the price stipulated to Buckingham for his assistance in promoting the usurpation. That nobleman was invested with the office of constable; he received a grant of the estate of Hereford (*l*); many other dignities and honours were conferred upon him; and the king thought himself sure of preserving the fidelity of a man whose interest seemed so closely connected with his own.

Having adopted these necessary precautions, and placed a guard on the sanctuary at Westminster, to prevent the escape of the queen and her daughters, he commenced a progress through a part of his dominions, accompanied by his consort, his son Edward, and a splendid retinue. He first directed his course to Oxford, where he remained some days; during which time, at a particular request of the members of the university, he released John Morton, bishop of Ely, from his confinement in the Tower, and delivered him into the custody of the duke of Buckingham. At Gloucester, Coventry, and the various places through which he passed, Richard is said to have exerted every art for the acquisition of popularity, and to have been studious to raise expectations of a mild and equitable reign. The duke of Buckingham took leave of the king at Gloucester with every appearance of friendship and harmony, and retired to his castle at Brecknock, whither he had before sent his reverend prisoner the bishop of Ely.

Richard, attached to the city of Gloucester, as the place from whence he derived his former title, and the inhabitants of which had ever remained faithful to the house of York, resided there some time; and from thence he is said to have sent his first orders for the murder of his nephews. Richard sent one of his pages to sir Robert Brackenbury, constable of the Tower, commanding him to assassinate the two young princes, Edward the Fifth and his brother Richard duke of York: but that gentleman, possessing too much honour to participate in the guilt of so atrocious an act, positively refused to obey his orders. The tyrant then sent sir James Tyrrel, master of the horse, from Warwick,—whither the court had by this time proceeded,—with a commission to take upon him the command of the Tower for one night. Tyrrel, chusing three associates, Slater, Dighton, and Forest, came in the night-time to the door of the chamber where the princes were lodged; and sending in the assassins, he bade them execute their commission, while he himself staid without. They found the young princes in bed, and fallen into a profound sleep. After suffocating them with the bolster and pillows, they showed their naked bodies to Tyrrel, who ordered them to be buried at the foot of the stairs, deep in the ground, under a heap of stones (*m*). These circumstances were all confessed by the actors in the following reign; and they were never punished for the crime: probably, because Henry, whose maxims of government were extremely arbitrary, desired to establish it as a principle, that the commands of the reigning sovereign ought to justify every enormity in those who paid obedience to them. But there is one circumstance not so easy to be accounted for: it is pretended that Richard, displeased with the indecent manner of burying his nephews, whom he had caused to be murdered, gave his chaplain orders to dig up the bodies, and to inter them in consecrated ground; and as the man died soon after, the place of their burial remained unknown, and the bodies could never be found by any search which Henry could make for them. Yet in the reign of Charles II. when there was occasion to remove some stones, and to dig in the very spot which was mentioned as the place of their first interment, by More, Bacon, and other ancient authors, the bones of two persons were there found, which by their size exactly corresponded to the age of Edward and his brother: they were concluded with certainty to be the remains of those princes, and were interred under a marble monument, by orders of king Charles (*n*). Perhaps Richard's chaplain had died before he found an opportunity of executing his master's commands; and the bodies being supposed to be already removed, a diligent search was not made for them by Henry in the place where they had been buried (*o*).

Richard having effected his purpose continued his progress to the north, and arrived at York about the end of August; where, for the gratification of his northern friends, who were firmly attached to his interests, he was crowned a second time, on the 8th of September, by archbishop Rotherham; and on the same day he created his son Edward, then in the ninth year of his age, prince of Wales.

But while he was thus seeking to acquire the confidence and affections of his subjects in the north, his absence from the metropolis gave an opportunity to such as were disaffected to his government to form projects for overturning it. No longer awed by the presence of mercenary troops, the inhabitants of Kent, Essex, Sussex, Hampshire, Dorsetshire, Devonshire, Somersetshire, Wiltshire, Berkshire, and, in short, of almost all the southern and western counties, began to express their abhorrence of the late transactions, and to enter into confederacies for the destruction of that usurpation which they had tended to establish. But the enemy which Richard had the most reason to dread, was the duke of Buckingham; who had been the chief instrument of his elevation to the throne, and whose friendship, as we have already shewn, he had been studious to preserve by a profusion of honours and rewards. The motive of this sudden change in Buckingham is not perfectly known: some historians ascribe their first rupture to the king's refusal of making restitution of the Hereford estate; but it is certain, from records, that he passed a grant for that purpose, and that the full demands of Buckingham were satisfied in this particular. Perhaps Richard was soon sensible of the danger which might ensue from conferring such an immense property on a man of so turbulent a disposition, and afterwards raised difficulties about the execution of his own grant: perhaps he refused some other demands of Buckingham, whom he found it impossible to gratify for his past services: perhaps he resolved, according to the usual maxim of politicians, to seize the first opportunity of ruining this powerful subject, who had been the principal instrument of his own elevation; and the discovery of this intention began the first discontent in the duke of Buckingham. However this may be, it is certain that the duke, soon after Richard's accession, began to form a conspiracy against the government; and attempted to overthrow that usurpation which he himself had so zealously contributed to establish.

Never was there in any country, says Hume, an usurpation more flagrant than that of Richard, or more repugnant to every principle of justice and public interest. His claim was entirely founded on impudent allegations, never attempted to be proved, some of them incapable of proof, and all of them implying scandalous reflections on his own family, and on the persons with whom he was the most nearly connected. His title was never acknowledged by any national assembly, scarcely even by the lowest populace to whom he appealed; and it had become prevalent, merely for want of some person of distinction who might stand forth against him, and give a voice to those sentiments of general detestation which arose in every bosom. Were men disposed to pardon these violations of public right, or the sense of private and domestic duty, which is not to be effaced in the most barbarous times, must have begotten an abhorrence against him; and have represented the murder of the young and innocent princes, his nephews, with whose protection he had been entrusted, in

(*l*) Dugdale's Baron. vol. i. p. 168, 169.

(*m*) Sir T. More, p. 501. (*n*) Kennet, p. 551.

(*o*) The bones of these two princes were put into a marble urn, and deposited among the monuments of the royal family, in Henry the Seventh's Chapel, at Westminster; and the following inscription is placed upon their tomb:

"H. S. S. Reliquiæ Edwardi Vti. regis Angliæ, et Richardi ducis Eboracensis. Hos fratres germanos Tubre Londinensi conclusos injectisq; culcitris suffocatos abditè, & inhonestè tumulari jussit patruus Richardus perfidus regni prædo ossa desideratorum, diu & multum quæsita post annos cxc & i. scalarum in ruderibus (scalæ istæ ad sacellum Turris Albæ nuper ducebant) alte depossa indiciis certissimis sunt reperta xvii die Julii, A. D. mdclxxiiii. Carolus II. rex clementissimus, acerbam sortem miseratus, inter avita monumenta, principibus infelicissimus justa persolvit. Anno Dom. 1678, annoq; regni sui 30."

That is:

"Here lie the remains of Edward V. king of England, and of Richard duke of York. These unhappy brothers, who were shut up in the Tower, and there smothered with pillows, by order of their perfidious uncle, Richard, the usurper of the throne, were privately and indecently buried. Their much desired bones, diligently and often sought for, in vain, July 17, 1674, one hundred and ninety-one years after their death, were dug up in the ruins of a stair-case, that formerly led to the chapel of the White Tower, and known by most undoubted tokens. The most compassionate king Charles II. pitying their severe fate, thought fit to order those most unfortunate princes this place amongst the monuments of their forefathers, in the year of our Lord 1678, and the thirtieth of his reign."

the

the most odious colours imaginable. To endure such a bloody usurper seemed to draw disgrace upon the nation, and to be attended with immediate danger to every individual who was distinguished by birth, merit, or services. Such was become the general voice of the people; all parties were united in the same sentiments; and the Lancastrians, so long oppressed, and of late so much discredited, felt their blasted hopes again revive, and anxiously expected the consequences of these extraordinary events. The duke of Buckingham, whose family had been devoted to that interest, and who by his mother, a daughter of Edmund duke of Somerset, was allied to the house of Lancaster, was easily induced to espouse the cause of this party, and to endeavour the restoring of it to its ancient superiority. Morton bishop of Ely, a zealous Lancastrian, whom the king had imprisoned, and had afterwards committed to the custody of Buckingham, encouraged these sentiments; and by his exhortations the duke cast his eye towards the young earl of Richmond, as the only person who could free the nation from the tyranny of the present usurper (*p*).

Henry earl of Richmond was at this time detained in a kind of honourable custody at the court of the duke of Britanny; and his descent, which seemed to give him some pretensions to the crown, had been a great object of jealousy both in the late and in the present reigns. John the first duke of Somerset, who was grandson of John of Gaunt, by a spurious branch, but legitimated by act of parliament, had left only one daughter, Margaret; and his younger brother Edmund had succeeded him in his titles, and in a considerable part of his fortune. Margaret had espoused Edmund earl of Richmond, half-brother of Henry VI. and son of sir Owen Tudor and Catharine of France, relict of Henry V. and she bore him only one son, who received the name of Henry, and who after his father's death inherited the honours and fortune of Richmond. His mother, being a widow, had espoused, in second marriage, sir Henry Stafford, uncle to Buckingham, and after the death of that gentleman had married lord Stanley; but had no children by either of these husbands; and her son Henry was thus, in the event of her death, the sole heir of all her fortunes. But this was not the most considerable advantage which he had reason to expect from her succession: he would represent the elder branch of the house of Somerset; he was the heir to the title of that family to the crown; and though its claim, while any legitimate branch subsisted of the house of Lancaster, had always been much disregarded, the zeal of faction, after the death of Henry VI. and the murder of prince Edward, immediately conferred a weight and consideration upon it.

Edward IV. finding that all the Lancastrians had turned their attention towards the young earl of Richmond as the object of their hopes, thought him also worthy of his attention; and pursued him into his retreat in Britanny, whither his uncle the earl of Pembroke had carried him after the battle of Tewkesbury, so fatal to his party. He applied to Francis II. duke of Britanny, who was his ally, a weak but a good prince; and urged him to deliver up his fugitive, who might be the source of future disturbances in England; but the duke, averse to the dishonourable proposal, would only consent that, for the security of Edward, the young nobleman should be detained in custody; and he received an annual pension from England for the safe-keeping or the subsistence of his prisoner. But towards the end of Edward's reign, when the kingdom was menaced with a war both from France and Scotland, the anxieties of the English court with regard to Henry were much increased; and Edward made a new proposal to the duke, which covered, under the fairest appearances, the most bloody and treacherous intentions. He pretended that he was desirous of gaining his enemy, and of uniting him to his own family by a marriage with his daughter Elizabeth; and he solicited to have him sent over to England, in order to execute a scheme which would redound so much to his advantage. These pretences, seconded as is supposed by bribes to Peter Landais, a corrupt minister, by whom the duke was entirely governed, gained credit with the court of Britanny: Henry was delivered into the hands of the English agents: he was ready to embark: when a suspicion of Edward's real design was suggested to the duke, who recalled his orders, and thus saved the unhappy youth from the imminent danger which hung over him.

These symptoms of continued jealousy in the reigning family of England, both seemed to give some authority to Henry's pretensions, and made him the object of general favour and compassion, on account of the dangers and persecutions to which he was exposed. The universal detestation of Richard's conduct turned still more the attention of the nation towards Henry; and as all the descendants of the house of York were either women or minors, he seemed to be the only person from whom the nation could expect the expulsion of the odious and bloody tyrant. But notwithstanding these circumstances, which were so favourable to him, Buckingham and the bishop of Ely well knew that there would still lie many obstacles in his way to the throne; and that though the nation had been much divided between Henry VI. and the duke of York, while present possession and hereditary right stood in opposition to each other; yet as soon as these titles were united in Edward IV. the bulk of the people had come over to the reigning family; and the Lancastrians had extremely decayed, both in numbers and in authority. It was therefore suggested by Morton, and readily assented to by the duke, that the only means of overturning the present usurpation, was to unite the opposite factions, by contracting a marriage between the earl of Richmond and the princess Elizabeth, eldest daughter of king Edward, and thereby blending together the opposite pretensions of their families, which had so long been the source of public disorders and convulsions. They were sensible that the people were extremely desirous of repose, after so many bloody and destructive commotions; that both Yorkists and Lancastrians, who now lay equally under oppression, would embrace this scheme with ardour; and that the prospect of reconciling the two parties, which was in itself so desirable an end, would, when added to the general hatred against the present government, render their cause absolutely invincible. In consequence of these views the prelate, by means of Reginald Bray, steward to the countess of Richmond, first opened the project of such an union to that lady; and the plan appeared so advantageous for her son, and at the same time so likely to succeed, that it admitted not of the least hesitation. Dr. Lewis, a Welch physician, who had access to the queen-dowager in her sanctuary, carried the proposals to her; and found, that revenge for the murder of her brother and of her three sons, apprehensions for her surviving family, and indignation against her confinement, easily overcame all her prejudices against the house of Lancaster, and procured her approbation of a marriage to which the age and birth, as well as the present situation of the parties, seemed so naturally to invite them. She secretly borrowed a sum of money in the city, sent it over to the earl of Richmond, required his oath to celebrate the marriage as soon as he should arrive in England, advised him to levy as many foreign forces as possible, and promised to join him on his first appearance, with all the friends and partizans of her family.

The plan being thus laid upon the solid basis of good sense and sound policy, it was secretly communicated to the principal persons of both parties in all the counties of England; and a wonderful alacrity appeared in every order of men to forward its success and completion. But it was impossible that so extensive a conspiracy could be conducted in so secret a manner as entirely to escape the jealous and vigilant eye of Richard; and he soon received intelligence that his enemies, headed by the duke of Buckingham, were forming some design against his authority. He immediately put himself in a posture of defence by levying troops in the north; and he summoned the duke to appear at court, in such terms as seemed to promise him a renewal of their former amity. But that nobleman, well acquainted with the barbarity and treachery of Richard, replied only, by taking arms in Wales, and giving the signal to his accomplices for a general insurrection in all parts of England. But at that very time, in October, 1483, there happened to fall such heavy rains, so incessant and continued, as exceeded any known in the memory of man; and the Severn, with the other rivers in that neighbourhood, swelled to a height which rendered them impassable, and prevented Buckingham from marching into the heart of England to join his associates. The Welshmen, partly moved by superstition at this extraordinary event, partly distressed by famine in their camp, fell off from him; and Buckingham, finding himself deserted by his followers, put on a disguise, and took shelter in the house of Bannister, an old servant of his family. But being detected in his retreat, he was brought to the king at Salisbury; and was instantly executed, according to the summary method practised in that age (*q*). The other

(*p*) Hist. Croyl. cont. p. 568.

(*q*) Ibid.

other conspirators, who took arms in four different places, at Exeter, at Salisbury, at Newbury, and at Maidstone, hearing of the duke of Buckingham's misfortunes, despaired of success, and immediately dispersed themselves.

The marquis of Dorset and the bishop of Ely made their escape beyond sea: many others were equally fortunate: several fell into Richard's hands, of whom he made some examples. We are told of one gentleman, William Colingbourne, who suffered under colour of this rebellion, but in reality for a distich of quibbling verses which he had composed against Richard and his ministers (r). The earl of Richmond, in concert with his friends, had set sail from St. Malo's, carrying on board a body of five thousand men, levied in foreign parts; but his fleet being at first driven back by a storm, he appeared not on the coast of England till after the dispersion of all his friends; and he found himself obliged to return to the Court of Britanny.

The king, every where triumphant, and fortified by this unsuccessful attempt to dethrone him, ventured at last to summon a parliament; a measure which his crimes and flagrant usurpation had induced him hitherto to decline. The parliament assembled on the 20th of January, 1484. Though it was natural that the parliament, in a contest of national parties, should always adhere to the victor, he seems to have apprehended, lest his title, founded on no principle, and supported by no party, might be rejected by that assembly. But his enemies being now at his feet, the parliament had no choice left but to recognize his authority, and acknowledge his right to the crown. His only son Edward, then a youth of twelve years of age, was created prince of Wales: the duties of tonnage and poundage were granted to the king for life; and Richard, in order to reconcile the nation to his government, passed some popular laws, particularly one against the late practice of extorting money on pretence of benevolence.

All the other measures of the king tended to the same object. Sensible, that the only circumstance which could give him security, was to gain the confidence of the Yorkists; he paid court to the queen-dowager with such art and address, made such earnest protestations of his sincere good-will and friendship, that this princess, tired of confinement, and despairing of any success from her former projects, ventured to leave her sanctuary, and to put herself and her daughters into the hands of the tyrant. But he soon carried farther his views for the establishment of his throne. He had married Anne the second daughter of the earl of Warwick, and widow of Edward prince of Wales, whom Richard himself had murdered; but this princess having born him but one son, who died about this time, he considered her as an invincible obstacle to the settlement of his fortune, and he was believed to have carried her off by poison; a crime for which the public could not be supposed to have any solid proof, but which the usual tenour of his conduct made it reasonable to suspect. He now thought it in his power to remove the chief perils which threatened his government. The earl of Richmond, he knew, could never be formidable but from his projected marriage with the princess Elizabeth, the true heir of the crown; and he therefore intended, by means of a papal dispensation, to espouse, himself, this princess, and thus to unite in his own family their contending titles. The queen-dowager, eager to recover her lost authority, neither scrupled this alliance, which was very unusual in England, and was regarded as incestuous; nor felt any horror at marrying her daughter to the murderer of her three sons and of her brother: she even joined so far her interests with those of the usurper, that she wrote to all her partizans, and among the rest, to her son the marquis of Dorset, desiring them to withdraw from the earl of Richmond; an injury which the earl could never afterwards forgive: the court of Rome was applied to for a dispensation: Richard thought that he could easily defend himself during the interval, till it arrived; and he had afterwards the agreeable prospect of a full and secure settlement. He flattered himself that the English nation, seeing all danger removed of a disputed succession, would then acquiesce under the dominion of a prince, who was of mature years, of great abilities, and of a genius qualified for government; and that they would forgive him all the crimes which he had committed, in paving his way to the throne.

But the crimes of Richard were so horrid and so shocking to humanity, that the natural sentiments of men, without any political or public views, were sufficient to render his government unstable; and every person of probity and honour was earnest to prevent the sceptre from being any longer polluted by that bloody and faithless hand which held it. All the exiles flocked to the earl of Richmond in Britanny, and exhorted him to hasten his attempt for a new invasion, and to prevent the marriage of the princess Elizabeth, which must prove fatal to all his hopes. The earl, sensible of the urgent necessity, but dreading the treachery of Peter Landais, who had entered into a negociation with Richard for betraying him, was obliged to attend only to his present safety; and he made his escape to the court of France. The ministers of Charles VIII. who had now succeeded to the throne after the death of his father Louis, gave him countenance and protection; and being desirous of raising disturbance to Richard, they secretly encouraged the earl in the levies which he made for the support of his enterprize upon England. John de Vere, the earl of Oxford, whom Richard's suspicions had thrown into confinement, having made his escape, here joined Henry; and inflamed his ardour for the attempt, by the favourable accounts which he brought of the dispositions of the English nation, and their universal hatred of Richard's crimes and usurpation.

The earl of Richmond set sail from Harfleur in Normandy, on the 1st of August, 1485, with a small army of about two thousand men; and after a navigation of six days, he arrived at Milford-haven in Wales, where he landed on the 7th, without opposition. He directed his course to that part of the kingdom, in hopes that the Welsh, who regarded him as their countryman, and who had been already prepossessed in favour of his cause by means of the duke of Buckingham, must join his standard, and enable him to make head against the established government. Richard, who knew not in what quarter he might expect the invader, had taken post at Nottingham, in the centre of the kingdom; and having given commissions to different persons in the several counties, as well in Wales as in England, whom he empowered to oppose his enemy, he purposed in person to fly on the first alarm to the place exposed to danger. Sir Rice ap-Thomas and Sir Walter Herbert were entrusted with his authority in Wales; but the former immediately deserted to Henry; the second made but feeble opposition to him: and the earl, advancing towards Shrewsbury, received every day some reinforcement from his partizans. Sir Gilbert Talbot joined him with all the vassals and retainers of the family of Shrewsbury: Sir Thomas Bouchier and Sir Walter Hungerford brought their friends to share his fortunes; and the appearance of men of distinction in his camp made already his cause wear a favourable aspect.

But the danger to which Richard was chiefly exposed, proceeded not so much from the zeal of his open enemies, as from the infidelity of his pretended friends. Scarcely any nobleman of distinction was sincerely attached to his cause, except the duke of Norfolk; and all those who feigned the most loyalty were only watching for an opportunity to betray and desert him. But the persons of whom he entertained the greatest suspicion, were lord Stanley and his brother Sir William; whose connexions with the family of Richmond, notwithstanding their professions of attachment to his person, were never entirely forgotten or overlooked by him. When he empowered lord Stanley to levy forces, he still retained his eldest son lord Strange, as a pledge for his fidelity; and that nobleman was, on this account, obliged to employ great caution and reserve in his proceedings. He raised a powerful body of his friends and retainers in Cheshire and Lancashire, but without openly declaring himself; and though Henry had received secret assurances of his friendly intentions, the armies on both sides knew not what to infer from his equivocal behaviour. The two rivals at last approached each other at Bosworth near Leicester, on the 22nd of August, 1485; Henry, at the head of six thousand men, Richard with an army of above double the number; and a decisive action was every hour expected between them. Stanley, who commanded above seven thousand men, took care to post himself at Atherstone, not far from the hostile camps; and he made such a disposition as enabled him on occasion to join either party. Richard had too much sagacity not to

(r) The lines were:—
"The Rat, the Cat, and Lovel that Dog,
Rule all England under the Hog."
Alluding to the names of Ratcliffe and Catesby; and to Richard's arms, which were a boar.

discover his intentions from those movements; but he kept the secret from his own men for fear of discouraging them: he took not immediate revenge on Stanley's son, as some of his courtiers advised him; because he hoped that so valuable a pledge would induce the father to prolong still farther his ambiguous conduct: and he hastened to decide by arms the quarrel with his competitor; being certain, that a victory over the earl of Richmond would enable him to take ample revenge on all his enemies, open and concealed.

The van of Richmond's army, consisting of archers, was commanded by the earl of Oxford: Sir Gilbert Talbot led the right wing; Sir John Savage the left: the earl of Richmond himself, accompanied by his uncle the earl of Pembroke, placed himself in the main body. Richard also took post in *his* main body, and entrusted the command of his van to the duke of Norfolk: as his wings were never engaged, we have not learned the names of the several commanders. Soon after the battle began, lord Stanley, whose conduct in this whole affair discovers great precaution and abilities, appeared in the field, and declared for the earl of Richmond. This measure, which was unexpected to the men, though not to their leaders, had a proportional effect on both armies: it inspired unusual courage into Henry's soldiers; it threw Richard's into dismay and confusion. The intrepid tyrant, sensible of his desperate situation, cast his eye around the field, and descrying his rival at no great distance, he drove against him with fury, in hopes that either Henry's death or his own would decide the victory between them. He killed with his own hands Sir William Brandon, standard-bearer to the earl: he dismounted Sir John Cheyney: he was now within reach of Richmond himself, who declined not the combat; when Sir William Stanley, breaking in with his troops, surrounded Richard, who, fighting bravely to the last moment, was overwhelmed by numbers, and perished by a fate too mild and honourable for his multiplied and detestable enormities. His men every where sought for safety by flight.

There fell in this battle about four thousand of the vanquished; and among these the duke of Norfolk, lord Ferrars of Chartley, Sir Richard Ratcliffe, Sir Robert Piercy, and Sir Robert Brackenbury. The loss was inconsiderable on the side of the victors. Sir William Catesby, a great instrument of Richard's crimes, was taken, and soon after beheaded, with some others, at Leicester. The body of Richard was found in the field covered with dead enemies, and all besmeared with blood: it was thrown carelessly across a horse, behind Blanc Sanglier, a pursuivant at arms; was carried to Leicester amidst the shouts of the insulting spectators; and was interred without ceremony in St. Mary's church, belonging to the Gray Friers of that place.

The historians who favour Richard (for even this tyrant has met with partizans among the later writers) maintain, that he was well qualified for government, had he legally obtained it; and that he committed no crimes but such as were necessary to procure him possession of the crown: but this is a poor apology, when it is confessed that he was ready to commit the most horrid crimes which appeared necessary for that purpose; and it is certain, that all his courage and capacity, qualities in which he really seems not to have been deficient, would never have made compensation to the people for the danger of the precedent, and for the contagious example of vice and murder, exalted upon the throne. This prince was of a small stature, hump-backed, and had a harsh disagreeable countenance; so that his body was in every particular no less deformed than his mind.

CHAP. IV.

A brief Recapitulation of the History of the Plantagenets.

HENRY II. the first king of the Anjevin race, who ascended the throne in 1154, was the greatest of all the English monarchs with respect to extent of dominion. Besides the kingdom of England, he possessed in France, the provinces of Guienne, Poictou, Saintonge, Auvergne, Limousin, Perigord, Angoumois, Touraine, Anjou, Maine, Normandy, to which he also joined Bretagne by the marriage of one of his sons with the heiress of that duchy; and, lastly, crowned all with the conquest of Ireland. But with all this grandeur he was constantly unhappy. His contest with Thomas à Becket, the vexatious persecutions from pope Alexander III. the rebellion of his queen and sons, and the unfortunate success of his last war with France, suffered him not to enjoy a moment's repose.

RICHARD I. who succeeded to the throne in 1189, rendered his name famous in the East, by the conquest of the Isle of Cyprus, by the taking of Acre, and by a great victory over the Saracens. But the fame he acquired in the crusades was a dear purchase to Christendom, and particularly to England, by the prodigious quantity of men and money, exported from thence, without the Christians of Palestine reaping any great advantages. Richard himself at his return into Europe underwent the rigours of a long and grievous imprisonment, from which he could not be freed without an exorbitant ransom which quite drained the kingdom of England. In short, after a struggle of several years with Philip Augustus to very little purpose, he unfortunately perished by an arrow at the siege of Chaluz, undertaken from his greedy and avaricious desires of money.

JOHN, who succeeded to the throne in 1199, enjoyed not a moment's happiness during his whole reign. Persecuted by the king of France, then by pope Innocent III. and, lastly, by his own subjects, his reign was nothing but a continual series of misfortunes. He lost first all the provinces possessed by his ancestors in France. After which pope Innocent III. deprived him of his crown, and restored it to him upon shameful and dishonourable conditions. In short, he had the great mortification to see his barons in arms against him, and to die at a time when all England was paying allegiance to a foreign prince, and that prince the pope of Rome.

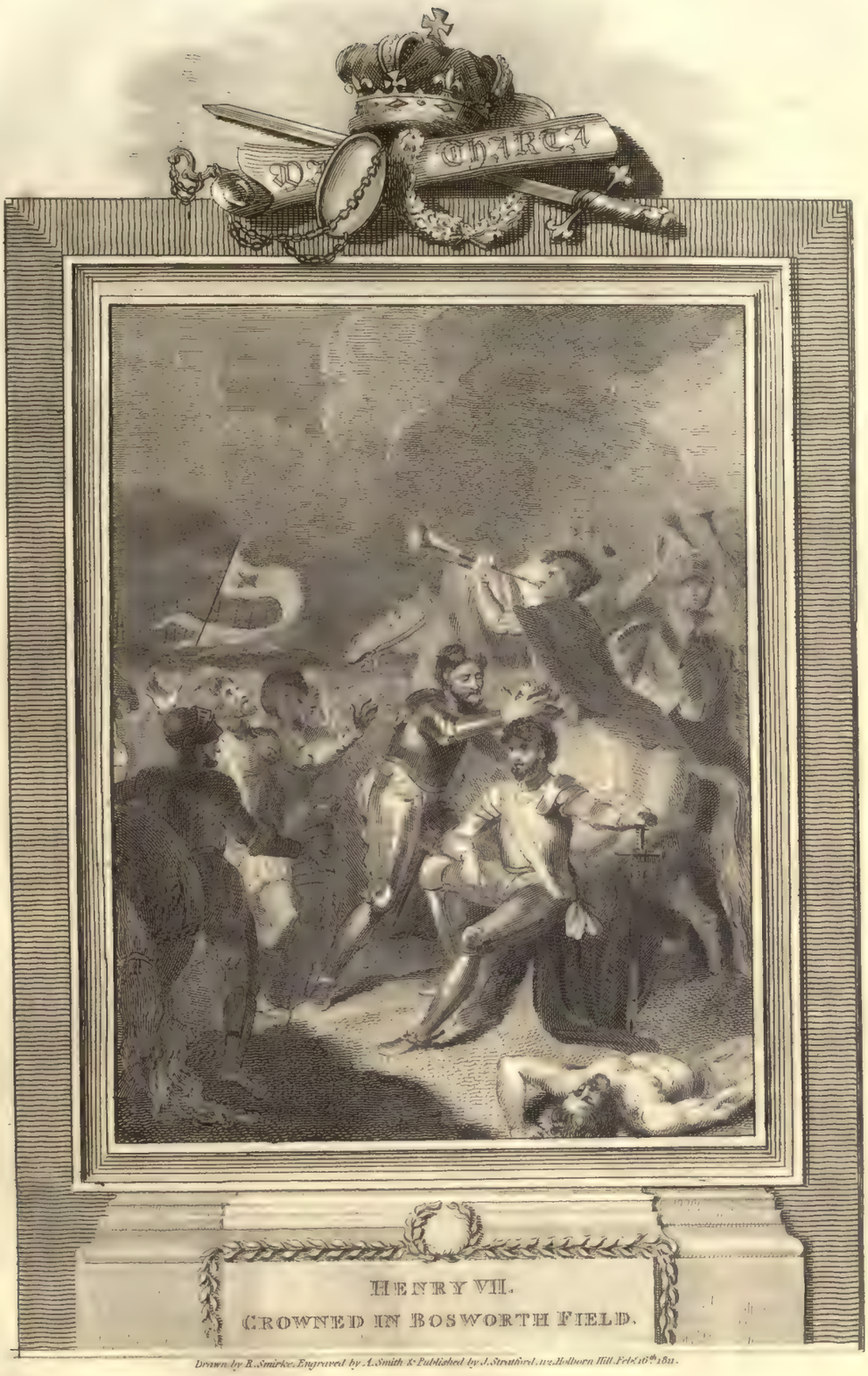
HENRY III. a prince of a very mean spirit, succeeded to the crown in 1216, and lived in a continual state of subjection, though seated on a throne: at one time a slave to his favourites and ministers; and at another time subject to the imperious will of the popes. At length, stripped of all his authority by his own subjects, he remained some time captive to his greatest enemies. And he was entirely indebted to a victory fortunately gained by the prince his son, for his restoration, and the tranquillity he enjoyed for the two last years of his life.

EDWARD I. who succeeded to the throne in 1272, rendered his name famous by the conquest of Scotland: but, after shedding torrents of blood in that unjust quarrel, he had the mortification to lose that acquisition, and to die before he had recovered it, though he made use of every mean in his power to accomplish his object. His conquest of Wales was the most real advantage procured for the kingdom by any king of England.

The reign of EDWARD II. who ascended the throne in 1307, is remarkable only for that prince's ill conduct and misfortunes. He is the first instance of a king of England deposed by authority of parliament. Happy, if the fury of his enemies had stopped there! but, with an unparalleled barbarity, he was made to suffer the most cruel death that could possibly be devised, and which bore no proportion to the indiscretions he had been guilty of.

EDWARD III. who ascended the throne on the murder of his father in 1327, was one of the most illustrious kings of England, as well for his personal qualities as for his victories in France, and the famous treaty of Bretagne, which restored to him, with interest, the provinces king John had suffered to be lost. But his reign, though glorious, was not free from misfortunes. His minority was sullied by the tragical death of his father, Edward II. and of the earl of Kent, his uncle. To punish these horrid outrages he was forced to keep his own mother in prison as long as she lived. Towards the end of his days he had the mortification to see himself stripped of all he had reconquered from France, without hopes of recovery. In a word, he ruined his own reputation, and died at a time when his subjects began to lose their former esteem for him.

Thus far we may easily perceive that the race of the Plantagenets never enjoyed any great share of happiness: but their misfortunes, which were blended with some prosperities, were very inconsiderable in comparison of what that race afterwards underwent. Were a person to take a retrospective view of what happened to the posterity of Edward III. he would perceive nothing but disasters, tragical or untimely deaths, hatred, animosity, revenge, civil wars, unheard of cruelties; and all these among princes sprung from the same stock. The English nation had never beheld so terrible a destruction of her inhabitants, nor had the scaffold been ever dyed with so much noble and royal blood as during the hundred years between the death of Edward the Third and Richard the Third. We shall



HENRY VII.
CROWNED IN BOSWORTH FIELD.

Drawn by R. Smirke. Engraved by A. Smith & Published by J. Strathird. 112 Holborn Hill. Feb.ry 16th 1811.



just mention the several branches of Edward the Third's family, to enumerate their calamities.

EDWARD the Black Prince, one of the most accomplished princes ever born, died in the forty-sixth year of his age, having first buried his eldest son Edward, who was no more than seven years of age.

RICHARD II. his other son, who mounted the throne on the death of his grandfather, in 1377, was deposed, imprisoned, and barbarously murdered.

LIONEL, duke of Clarence, third son of Edward III. died in a foreign country in the flower of his age. He left only one daughter, whose marriage into the house of March was the occasion of all the calamities England was afflicted with for thirty years together.

The posterity of JOHN OF GAUNT, Edward's fourth son, were far from being happy. HENRY IV. the successor of Richard II. ascended the throne in 1399: he passed his whole reign under continual apprehensions of losing a crown which he had acquired by extraordinary and wicked methods, and preserved by the violent death of Richard II. whom he caused to be murdered in prison.

HENRY V. one of the most renowned kings of England, after having made so great a progress in France, as to be declared regent and heir of that kingdom, enjoyed that considerable advantage only two years, or rather, had only a foretaste of what he had so eagerly desired. He died in the flower of his age, leaving a son, nine months old, who afterwards proved very unfit to complete the work his illustrious father had so gloriously begun.

The dukes of Clarence, Bedford, and Gloucester, died all three without issue: Gloucester was long exposed to the fury of his enemies, and, at last, sacrificed to their vengeance.

HENRY VI. son of Henry V. who ascended the throne in 1422, lost all that the king his father had acquired in France. After which he was stripped of his royalty, imprisoned, restored for a short space, and at last murdered by a prince sprung from the same stock with himself.

EDWARD his son, prince of Wales, died after the same manner, and by the same hand.

In surveying the other branches of the House of Lancaster, namely, that of Beaufort-Somerset, we shall scarcely find a single prince who did not lose his life in battle, or on the scaffold.

The House of York, of whom Edmund de Langley, fifth son of Edward III. was head, was still less favoured. Some unfortunate stars seemed to be continually shedding their malignant influences upon that devoted family.

EDWARD duke of York, his eldest son, was slain at the battle of Azincour.

RICHARD earl of Cambridge, lost his head on a scaffold.

RICHARD, third duke of York, and his son Edmund earl of Rutland, perished in the battle of Wakefield.

GEORGE duke of Clarence, was afterwards condemned to die by his brother Edward the Fourth, and was therefore murdered in the Tower.

EDWARD the Fourth, who ascended the throne in 1461, died indeed a natural death, in the forty-second year of his age; but his reign was replete with the most dreadful disorders, occasioned by the civil war between the contending families of York and Lancaster.

His two sons, EDWARD the Fifth, (only eleven years of age,) and his brother RICHARD duke of York, (only nine years of age,) were smothered in their bed, by order of their unnatural uncle.

RICHARD duke of Gloucester, who ascended the throne by the title of Richard the Third, in 1483, and met a better fate than he deserved by being slain at the battle of Bosworth in Leicestershire.

At length, EDWARD earl of Warwick, son of the unfortunate duke of Clarence, and the only surviving male of the House of York, ended his days on the scaffold by the hands of the executioner.

Nothing more remains to complete the account of the disasters which happened to the posterity of Edward the Third, but to take notice, that Thomas of Woodstock, earl of Gloucester, seventh son of that monarch, died a violent death, in prison, at Calais.

With Richard the Third ended the Anjevin race of kings of England, sirnamed Plantagenet; who, since the commencement of the reign of Henry II. the first monarch of that race, in 1154, till the death of Richard the Third in Bosworth Field, in 1485, swayed the English sceptre during the space of three hundred and thirty years. The civil wars between the two contending families of York and Lancaster, for the possession of the diadem, lasted thirty years, and was terminated by the battle of Bosworth, after destroying one hundred thousand Englishmen, and a great number of princes of the contending houses.

Mons. Rapin asks, Were not all the misfortunes which fell on Edward the Third's posterity the effects of the Divine vengeance extended to the fourth generation, for the barbarous murder committed on the person of Edward the Second? At least, says he, it is not difficult to see, in these events, the tragical death of Edward the Second, revenged upon Richard the Second; that of Richard upon Henry the Sixth; that of Henry upon Edward the Fifth; and that of Edward upon Richard the Third.

CHAP. V.

Observations on the Progress of the English towards Civilization.

THUS have we pursued the history of England through a series of many barbarous ages; till we have at last reached the dawn of civility and science, and have the prospect both of greater certainty in our historical narrations, and of being able to present to the reader a spectacle more worthy of his attention. The want of certainty, however, and of circumstances, is not alike to be complained of throughout every period of this long narration: this island possesses many ancient historians of good credit, as well as many historical monuments; and it is rare, that the annals of so uncultivated a people, as were the English as well as the other European nations, after the decline of Roman learning, have been transmitted to posterity so complete, and with so little mixture of falsehood and of fable. This advantage we owe entirely to the clergy of the church of Rome; who, founding their authority on their superior knowledge, preserved the precious literature of antiquity from a total extinction; and under shelter of their numerous privileges and immunities, acquired a security by means of the superstition, which they would in vain have claimed from the justice and humanity of those turbulent and licentious ages. Nor is the spectacle altogether unentertaining and uninstructive which the history of those times presents to us. The view of human manners, in all their variety of appearances, is both profitable and agreeable; and if the aspect in some periods seem horrid and deformed, we may thence learn to cherish with the greater anxiety that science and civility which has so close a connexion with virtue and humanity, and which, as it is a sovereign antidote against superstition, is also the most effectual remedy against vice and disorders of every kind.

The rise, progress, perfection, and decline of art and science, are curious objects of contemplation, and intimately connected with a narration of civil transactions. The events of no particular period can be fully accounted for, but by considering the degrees of advancement which men have reached in those particulars.

Those who cast their eye on the general revolutions of society will find, that, as almost all improvements of the human mind had reached nearly to their state of perfection about the age of Augustus, there was a sensible decline from that point or period; and men thenceforth relapsed gradually into ignorance and barbarism. The unlimited extent of the Roman empire, and the consequent despotism of its monarchs, extinguished all emulation, debased the generous spirits of men, and depressed that noble flame by which all the refined arts must be cherished and enlivened. The military government which soon succeeded, rendered even the lives and properties of men insecure and precarious; and proved destructive to those vulgar and more necessary arts of agriculture, manufactures, and commerce; and, in the end, to the military art and genius itself, by which alone the immense fabric of the empire could be supported. The irruption of the barbarous nations which soon followed, overwhelmed all human knowledge, which was already far in its decline: and men sunk every age deeper into ignorance, stupidity, and superstition; till the light of ancient science and history had very nearly suffered a total extinction in all the European nations.

But there is a point of depression, as well as of exaltation, from which human affairs naturally return in a contrary

trary direction, and beyond which they seldom pass either in their advancement or decline. The period in which the people of Christendom were the lowest sunk in ignorance, and consequently in disorders of every kind, may justly be fixed at the eleventh century, about the age of William the Conqueror: and from that æra, the sun of science beginning to re-ascend, threw out many gleams of light, which preceded the full morning when letters were revived in the fifteenth century. The Danes, and other northern people, who had so long infested all the coasts, and even the inland parts of Europe, by their depredations, having now learned the arts of tillage and agriculture, found a certain subsistence at home, and were no longer tempted to desert their industry, in order to seek a precarious livelihood by rapine and by the plunder of their neighbours. The feudal governments also among the more southern nations were reduced to a kind of system; and though that strange species of civil polity was ill fitted to ensure either liberty or tranquillity, it was preferable to the universal licence and disorder which had every where preceded it. But perhaps there was no event which tended farther to the improvements of the age, than one which has not been much remarked, the accidental finding of a copy of Justinian's Pandects, about the year 1130, in the town of Amalfi in Italy.

The ecclesiastics, who had leisure, and some inclination to study, immediately adopted with zeal this excellent system of jurisprudence, and spread the knowledge of it throughout every part of Europe. Besides the intrinsic merit of the performance, it was recommended to them by its original connexion with the imperial city of Rome, which being the seat of their religion seemed to acquire a new lustre and authority by the diffusion of its laws over the western world. In less than ten years after the discovery of the Pandects, Vacarius, under the protection of Theobald, archbishop of Canterbury, read public lectures of civil law in the university of Oxford; and the clergy every where, by their example as well as exhortation, were the means of diffusing the highest esteem for this new science. That order of men having large possessions to defend, was in a manner necessitated to turn their studies towards the law; and their properties being often endangered by the violence of the princes and barons, it became their interest to enforce the observance of general and equitable rules, from which alone they could receive protection. As they possessed all the knowledge of the age, and were alone acquainted with the habits of thinking, the practice as well as science of the law fell mostly into their hands: and though the close connexion, which, without any necessity, they formed between the canon and civil law, begat a jealousy in the laity of England, and prevented the Roman jurisprudence from becoming the municipal law of the country, as was the case in many states of Europe, a great part of it was secretly transferred into the practice of the courts of justice, and the imitation of their neighbours made the English gradually endeavour to raise their own law from its original state of rudeness and imperfection.

It is easy to see what advantages Europe must have reaped by its inheriting at once from the ancients so complete an art, which was also so necessary for giving security to all other arts, and which, by refining, and still more by bestowing solidity on the judgement, served as a model to farther improvements. The sensible utility of the Roman law, both to public and private interest, recommended the study of it, at a time when the more exalted and speculative sciences carried no charms with them; and thus the last branch of ancient literature which remained uncorrupted, was happily the first transmitted to the modern world: for it is remarkable, that in the decline of Roman learning, when the philosophers were universally infected with superstition and sophistry, and the poets and historians with barbarism, the lawyers, who in other counties are seldom models of science or politeness, were yet able, by the constant study and close imitation of their predecessors, to maintain the same good sense in their decisions and reasonings, and the same purity in their language and expression.

What bestowed an additional merit on the civil law, was the extreme imperfection of that jurisprudence which preceded it among all the European nations, especially among the Saxons or ancient English. The absurdities which prevailed at that time in the administration of justice, may be conceived from authentic monuments which remain of the ancient Saxon laws; where a pecuniary commutation was received for every crime, where stated prices were fixed for men's lives and members, where private revenges were authorized for all injuries, where the use of the ordeal, corsnet, and afterwards of the duel, was the received method of proof, and where the judges were rustic freeholders, assembled of a sudden, and deciding a cause from one debate or altercation of the parties. Such a state of society was very little advanced beyond the rude state of nature: violence universally prevailed, instead of general and equitable maxims: the pretended liberty of the times was only an incapacity of submitting to government: and men, not protected by law in their lives and properties, sought shelter by their personal servitude and attachments under some powerful chieftain, or by voluntary combinations.

The gradual progress of improvement raised the Europeans somewhat above this uncultivated state; and affairs, in this island particularly, took early a turn which was more favourable to justice and to liberty. Civil employments and occupations soon became honourable among the English: the situation of that people rendered not the perpetual attention to wars so necessary as among their neighbours, and all regard was not confined to the military profession: the gentry, and even the nobility, began to deem an acquaintance with the law a necessary part of education: they were less diverted than afterwards from studies of this kind by other sciences; and in the age of Henry VI. as we are told by Fortescue, there were in the inns of court about two thousand students, most of them men of honourable birth, who gave application to this branch of civil knowledge: a circumstance which proves that a considerable progress was already made in the science of government, and which prognosticated a still greater.

One chief advantage which resulted from the introduction and progress of the arts, was the introduction and progress of freedom; and this consequence affected men both in their *personal* and *civil* capacities.

If we consider the ancient state of Europe, we shall find that the far greater part of the society were every where bereaved of their *personal* liberty, and lived entirely at the will of their masters. Every one that was not noble was a slave: the peasants were sold along with the land: the few inhabitants of cities were not in a better condition: even the gentry themselves were subjected to a long train of subordination under the greater barons or chief vassals of the crown; who, though seemingly placed in a high state of splendour, yet, having but a slender protection from law, were exposed to every tempest of the state, and, by the precarious condition in which they lived, paid dearly for the power of oppressing and tyrannizing over their inferiors. The first incident which broke in upon this violent system of government, was the practice begun in Italy, and imitated in France, of erecting communities and corporations, endowed with privileges and a separate municipal government, which gave them protection against the tyranny of the barons, and which the prince himself deemed it prudent to respect (s). The relaxation of the feudal tenures, and an execution somewhat stricter, of the public law, bestowed an independence on vassals which was unknown to their forefathers. And even the peasants themselves, though later than other orders of the state, made their escape from those bonds of villenage or slavery in which they had formerly been retained.

It may appear strange, that the progress of the arts, which seems, among the Greeks and Romans, to have daily increased the number of slaves, should, in later times, have proved so general a source of liberty; but this difference in the events proceeded from a great difference in the circumstances which attended those institutions. The ancient barons, obliged to maintain themselves continually in a military posture, and little emulous of elegance or splendor, employed not their villans as domestic servants, much less as manufacturers; but composed their

(s) There appear early symptoms of the jealousy entertained by the baron against the progress of the arts, as destructive of their licentious power. A law was enacted, 7 Henry IV. chap. 17. prohibiting any one who did not possess twenty shillings a year in land, from binding his sons apprentices to any trade. They found already that the cities began to drain the country of the labourers and husbandmen; and did not foresee how much the increase of commerce would increase the value of their estates. See farther, Cotton, p. 179. The kings, to encourage the boroughs, granted them this privilege, that any villan who had lived a twelvemonth in any corporation, and had been of the guild, should be thenceforth regarded as free.

retinue of freemen, whose military spirit rendered the chieftain formidable to his neighbours, and who were ready to attend him in every warlike enterprize. The villans were entirely occupied in the cultivation of their master's land, and paid their rents either in corn and cattle and other produce of the farm, or in servile offices, which they performed about the baron's family, and upon the farms which he retained in his own possession. In proportion as agriculture improved and money increased, it was found that these services, though extremely burdensome to the villan, were of little advantage to the master; and that the produce of a large estate could be much more conveniently disposed of by the peasants themselves who raised it, than by the landlord or his bailiff, who were formerly accustomed to receive it. A commutation was therefore made of rents for services, and of money-rents for those in kind; and as men in a subsequent age discovered that farms were better cultivated where the farmer enjoyed a security in his possession, the practice of granting leases to the peasant began to prevail, which entirely broke the bonds of servitude, already much relaxed from the former practices. After this manner villenage went gradually into disuse throughout the more civilized parts of Europe: the interest of the master as well as that of the slave concurred in this alteration. The latest laws which we find in England for enforcing or regulating this species of servitude were enacted in the reign of Henry VII. And though the ancient statutes on this subject remain still unrepealed by parliament, it appears that, before the end of Elizabeth, the distinction of villan and freeman was totally, though insensibly, abolished, and that no person remained in the state to whom the former laws could be applied.

Thus *personal* freedom became almost general in Europe; an advantage which paved the way for the increase of *political* or *civil* liberty, and which, even where it was not attended with this salutary effect, served to give the members of the community some of the most considerable advantages of it.

The constitution of the English government, ever since the invasion of this island by the Saxons, may boast of this pre-eminence, that in no age the will of the monarch was ever entirely absolute and uncontrolled: but in other respects the balance of power has extremely shifted among the several orders of the state; and this fabric has experienced the same mutability that has attended all human institutions.

The ancient Saxons, like the other German nations, where each individual was enured to arms, and where the independence of men was secured by a great equality of possessions, seem to have admitted a considerable mixture of democracy into their form of government, and to have been one of the freest nations of which there remains any account in the records of history. After this tribe was settled in England, especially after the dissolution of the Heptarchy, the great extent of the kingdom produced a great inequality in property; and the balance seems to have inclined to the side of aristocracy. The Norman conquest threw more authority into the hands of the sovereign, which however admitted of great controul; though derived less from the general forms of the constitution, which were inaccurate and irregular, than from the independent power enjoyed by each baron in his particular district or province. The establishment of the great charter exalted still higher the aristocracy, imposed regular limits on royal power, and gradually introduced some mixture of democracy into the constitution. But even during this period, from the accession of Edward I. to the death of Richard III. the condition of the commons was nowise eligible; a kind of Polish aristocracy prevailed; and though the kings were limited, the people were as yet far from being free. It required the authority almost absolute of the sovereigns, which took place in the subsequent period, to pull down those disorderly and licentious tyrants, who were equally averse from peace and from freedom, and to establish that regular execution of the laws, which in a following age enabled the people to erect a regular and equitable plan of liberty.

In each of these successive alterations, the only rule of government which is intelligible, or carries any authority with it, is the established practice of the age, and the maxims of administration which are at that time prevalent and universally assented to. Those who, from a pretended respect to antiquity, appeal at every turn to an original plan of the constitution, only cover their turbulent spirit and their private ambition under the appearance of venerable forms; and whatever period they pitch on for their model, they may still be carried back to a more ancient period, where they will find the measures of power entirely different, and where every circumstance, by reason of the greater barbarity of the times, will appear still less worthy of imitation. Above all, a civilized nation, like the English, who have happily established the most perfect and most accurate system of liberty that was ever found compatible with government, ought to be cautious in appealing to the practice of their ancestors, or regarding the maxims of uncultivated ages as certain rules for their present conduct. An acquaintance with the ancient periods of their government is chiefly useful, by instructing them to cherish their present constitution, from a comparison or contrast with the condition of those distant times. And it is also curious, by shewing them the remote and commonly faint and disfigured originals of the most finished and most noble institutions, and by instructing them in the great mixture of accident which commonly concurs with a small ingredient of wisdom and foresight in erecting the complicated fabric of the most perfect government.

CHAP. VI.

Retrospective View of the Progress of Literature, Arts, and Sciences.

IN all countries the destructive tumults of war, and the desolating scenes of civil commotion, must ever prove unfavourable to the advancement of the arts, or the progress of science. When the attention of men is chiefly occupied by considerations of personal safety, the inventive faculties of the mind are necessarily damped, and little inclination is experienced to the pursuit of less important studies. Of this acknowledged truth England exhibits a striking example in the period we have been delineating. Though it immediately preceded the revival of learning, and the foundation of science had been previously laid, an universal darkness appears to have prevailed, almost equal to the obscurity of those early periods when the natives had recently emerged from a state of barbarism.

Independent of this primary cause, there were other material impediments to the progress of science. Fame and emolument constitute the principal motives to study; and at this period learning was held in such little estimation, that, far from leading its professors to the attainment of honours or rewards, it not only rendered them objects of neglect, but frequently of contempt and derision. Even in the church, where literary talents had seldom failed to experience encouragement, they were now unable to meet with preferment. This occasioned the universities of Oxford and Cambridge to make frequent complaints to parliament; in some of which they asserted, that all the most valuable benefices were bestowed, by virtue of papal provisions, on illiterate men and foreigners, by which private patrons were deprived of their rights, and the best scholars in the kingdom were left to pass their days in indigence and obscurity, and were even reduced to the necessity of begging their bread from door to door, with recommendations to the notice of the charitable from the chancellors of the universities in which they studied. Two of these learned mendicants, we are told by Wood, in his History of the University of Oxford, came to the castle of a certain nobleman; who, understanding from their credentials that they were endued with a poetical genius, commanded his servants to conduct them to a well; and, placing one of them in each of the buckets, let them down alternately into the water, till each should have made a couplet of verses on the bucket he occupied. When they had amused the baron and his company for some time with this curious discipline, they were liberated, having first fulfilled the conditions of their release.

The great scarcity, and consequent high price of books, formed another obstruction to the pursuit of learning. Libraries, however small, were, in this period, objects of such magnitude, as only to be procured by kings, princes, prelates, universities, and religious houses; and those of the most powerful potentates were greatly inferior to the modern libraries of private collectors. The royal library of France, collected by three different kings, Charles the Fifth, Sixth, and Seventh, consisted only of nine

hundred volumes, whereas those of many modern gentlemen consist of more than as many thousands. This French royal library was purchased by the duke of Bedford, in the year 1425, for twelve hundred livres, (*i. e.* 52*l.* 10*s.*) Even so late as the year 1471, when Louis the Eleventh borrowed the works of Rhasis, the Arabian physician, from the Faculty of Medicine at Paris, he not only deposited a considerable quantity of plate in pledge, but was obliged to procure a nobleman to join with him as surety in a deed, binding himself, under a great forfeiture, to restore it.

The royal libraries of England were still worse supplied than those of France. Henry the Fifth, who was fond of reading, was frequently reduced to the necessity of borrowing books, which were claimed by owners after his death. The countess of Westmoreland presented a petition to the privy council in 1424, representing, that the late king had borrowed a book from her, containing the Chronicles of Jerusalem, and the Expedition of Godfrey of Boulogne; and praying that an order might be issued, under the great seal, for the restoration of the said book: which order was accordingly granted with great formality. About the same time, John prior of Christ Church, Canterbury, presented a similar petition to the privy council, setting forth, that the late king had borrowed from his priory a volume containing the works of St. Gregory, which he never returned; but that, in his will, he had left directions to restore it; notwithstanding which, the prior of Sheen, in whose possession the book was, refused to give it up. The council, after mature deliberation, commanded a precept, under the privy seal, to be sent to the prior of Sheen, requiring him to restore the book, or to appear before the council, and give the reasons of his refusal (*t*). From these facts it is apparent that students must have been at a great loss for materials to enable them to pursue their studies with advantage.

In treating of the progress of literature in this age, the invention of the typographical art, which was introduced into England in the reign of Edward the Fourth, naturally occurs to our recollection. It is unnecessary to expatiate on the many advantages resulting from the art of printing, as they are obvious and undisputed. It was practised in China long before it appeared in Europe; but the Chinese mode of printing is performed by blocks, on which the letters or characters are carved; which was the mode adopted by the inventors of the art in Europe: but this method was greatly inferior to the practice which afterwards prevailed among the European nations; who soon after its rise got into the way of using moveable types of metal cast for the purpose, which are admirably adapted to the uses for which they were intended. As many individuals are generally inclined to claim the honour of an ingenious and useful invention, doubts have arisen with regard to the person who first discovered this art; but the majority of voices ascribe the merit to Lawrence Coster, keeper of the cathedral of Haerlem in Holland, who, between the years 1430 and 1440, printed several books with moveable wooden types. One of his workmen, it is said, afterwards substituted metal types; and, thus improved, the art was gradually conveyed to the different principal cities of Europe. The honour of communicating this art to the English nation is attributed, on good authority to William Caxton, a citizen of London, who resided many years on the continent as agent to the Mercers' company. He was also employed by Edward the Fourth in negociating a commercial treaty with Philip the Good, duke of Burgundy; and, after the marriage of Edward's sister Margaret to Charles, the duke's successor, he embarked in the occasional service of that princess. Having acquired a sufficient knowledge in the new art, he printed at Cologne, in 1471, a work which he himself had translated from the French, entitled "The Recuyel of the Historyes of Troye;" the first book printed in the English language. In the following year he returned to England, where he set up a printing press within the precincts of Westminster Abbey. In 1474 he gave to the world a book called "The Game of Chess," which is supposed to have been the first book printed in this island. He continued in the exercise of his new profession till his death, and printed many of his own translations, as well as those of earl Rivers. The propagation of this valuable art, though it did not at first greatly increase the number of books, in the course of a few years it diminished the exorbitant price which had before attended the purchase of them; and the diffusion of learning kept pace with the progress of typography.

The little study, however, which prevailed at the period we are now delineating was grossly perverted; for, instead of being directed to objects of utility, it was principally employed in the occult sciences of astrology and alchymy: the latter, which pretended to supply a remedy for all diseases, and to transubstantiate the baser metals into the purest gold and silver, received greater encouragement from government, during a part of the present period, than any art or science whatever. In the reign of Henry

(*t*) Concerning the enormously high price of books in former times, we shall instance a few particulars, and the rather, because the circumstances attending the procuring of them are but little known at the present day.

Galen, in his Commentary on the Third Book of the Epidemics, and on the First Book of the Nature of Man, says, That Ptolomeus Philadelphus gave the Athenians fifteen talents, with exemption from all tribute, and a great convoy of provisions, for the autographs and originals of the tragedies of Æschylus, Sophocles, and Euripides.

But there is no need to go so far back, since we can draw instances from the times about which we are treating in the present chapter. James Picolomini, cardinal of Pavia, having intreated Donatus Acciaiolus to buy him Josephus, had for an excuse, That it was too dear. See p. 114 of the old edition, apud Papiens. "Josephus de quo scribis, cariusculus meo judicio est, hoc præsertim anno quo non multum abundo, itaque ille valeat." That is, "Josephus, concerning which you wrote, is, in my opinion, too dear, especially this year, when money is scarce with me; therefore let that book alone." But that which Acciaiolus wrote back to him afterwards, concerning the great price of some other books, is yet more remarkable. See Papiens. as above. His words are "De tribus voluminibus Plutarchi, in quibus parallela viginti quatuor continentur, titulos sumpsit, ut mones, pretium LXXX aureis esse non potest; ex tractatibus Senecæ, jam epistolas invenimus, pro quibus XVI. aut saltem XV. petuntur aurei." That is, "He has taken out the titles, as you advise me, of the three volumes of Plutarch, in which are contained twenty-four parallels. The price of it cannot be less than eighty crowns of gold, [or rose-nobles, value one hundred and sixty-three shillings and eight-pence sterling apiece.] Of Seneca's Treatises, we have as yet found only the Epistles, for which they ask sixteen, or at least fifteen crowns of gold."

Even kings themselves have not disdained to be employed in negociations for the purchase of books; and the price of a house was scarcely equal to the value of one manuscript; as may be seen in an epistle of Antonius Bononia Becatellus, sirnamed Panorme, to Alphonsus king of Naples and Sicily; which says, "You wrote to me lately from Florence, that the works of Titus Livius are there to be sold, in very handsome books; and that the price of each book is one hundred and twenty crowns of gold. Therefore I intreat your majesty, that you cause to be bought for us Livius, whom we use to call The King of Books, and cause it to be sent hither to us. I shall in the mean time procure the money, which I am to give for the price of the book. One thing I want to know of your prudence, Whether I or Pogius have done best: he, that he might buy a country house near Florence, sold Livius, which he had written in a very fair hand; and I, that I might be able to purchase Livius, have exposed a piece of land to sale. Your goodness and modesty have encouraged me to ask these things with familiarity of you. Farewell and triumph."

Garguin informs us, that he sought out at Paris a book for one of his friends, and says, "I have not to this day found out a Concordance, save one that is very precious, which Paschasius, the bookseller, has told me is to be sold, but the owner of it is abroad; and it may be had for one hundred crowns of gold."

We find also that if a person presented a book, he was considered as having conferred the highest honour and most valuable donation possible. We read these words at the close of an old book composed by William de Guilleville, a monk of Choalis, and entitled, "Le Pelerinage de la Vie Humaine," which ought not to be omitted in this place, especially when we consider the smallness of the value of the book, and the great esteem in which it was held by the donor. "Le Lantimir, senior of Gisors, a native of St. Paingny, being here present, hath given this book to William Tulen, citizen of Gisors, procurator of the Hospital of Paris, there to abide and belong perpetually, without being transported elsewhere, by agreement and composition made with the same procurator, to gain the indulgence, which, by the aid and grace of God, is granted by our holy father the pope, to the hospital, called God's Palace, [Hotel de Dieu,] for a necessary sum contained in (the pope's) bulls, and with an intention through the mercy of God, that he, his wife and children, his father, mother, friends, benefactors, present, dead, and to come; and especially his godfather, the deceased Mr. Nicol Ducar, some time surgeon to king Charles, [of France,] whom God absolve, who left this book, may they communicate and partake of the good pardons, prayers, alms, indulgencies, and orations, made and to be made in the said hospital, and thereto belonging. Written at the said Gisors, anno 1447, on All Souls day in November. Tuleus Lantimir."

Finally, manuscripts, or rather books, were so rare in those days, that they were not sold but by contracts upon as good conditions and securities, as those of a house of twenty thousand livres value. As an instance, we may adduce that which is still kept in the college of Laon in this city (Paris,) cited by Brenil, and made in the presence of two notaries, which states, that "Jeffrey of St. Liger, one of the clergymen booksellers, and so qualified, acknowledges and confesses to have sold, ceded, quitted, and transported; and sells, cedes, quits, and transports upon mortgage of all and sundry his goods, and the custody of his own body, a book entitled "Speculum Historiale in Consuetudines Parisienses," divided and bound up in four volumes, covered with red leather, to a nobleman, Messire Girard of Montague, advocate to the king in parliament, for the sum of forty livres of Paris; whereof the said bookseller holds himself well content and paid."

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the Sixth, many protections were given to the alchymists, as well to secure them from the penalty of an act of parliament passed in the year 1403, as to defend them from the fury of the people, who imagined that they were assisted in their operations by infernal spirits (*u*).

It will be easily conceived, when learning was so little attended to by persons of rank, and by those whose professions should have induced them to cultivate it, that the lower class of people were wholly illiterate. It was not, indeed, till the reign of Henry the Fourth, that villans, farmers, and mechanics, were permitted by law to send their children to school; nor, till long after that time, were they allowed to educate a son for the church without a special licence from their lord.

Nevertheless the discouragement of learning did not hinder the increase of scholastic seminaries: an addition of three colleges was made to each of the universities of Oxford and Cambridge during this period. At Oxford, Lincoln College was founded in 1430 by Richard Flemming, (made bishop of Lincoln in 1420,) for a rector and seven scholars; who were to make controversial divinity their particular study, that they might be enabled to defend the church against the attacks of the Lollards, as well by their writings as by their disputations. The bishop's death occurring soon after the foundation of the college, it was left in a very imperfect state; but the buildings were continued, and several fellowships added by successive benefactors; and at length the whole was completed, about the year 1475, by Thomas Scot, alias Rotherham, bishop of Lincoln.

In 1437, All Souls College was founded by Henry Chicheley, archbishop of Canterbury, for a warden and forty fellows; who were ordered to offer up prayers for the souls of those who had fallen in the French wars, and for those of all the faithful departed, whence it was called *Collegium Omnium Animarum*---The College of All Souls. The primate expended four thousand five hundred and forty-five pounds on the fabric, and procured the settlement of considerable revenues upon it out of the lands of the alien priories, which had been recently dissolved.

The third college founded at Oxford was Magdalen College, so called from its dedication to St. Mary Magdalen. Its founder was William Patten, bishop of Winchester: its members consisted of a president, forty fellows, thirty scholars, four presbyters, eight singing clerks, sixteen choristers, with suitable officers and servants. The foundation was laid in 1458, and the structure was wholly completed in 1479. This college, by the bounty of its founder and other benefactors, soon became one of the richest in Europe.

The three colleges founded at Cambridge, were King's, Queen's, and Catharine Hall. The first, as we have before observed, was founded in the year 1443, by that unfortunate monarch, Henry the Sixth. The original plan of this college must have been truly magnificent, if we may judge from the structure of the chapel, which has been long held in admiration as one of the grandest efforts of the Gothic school. But the misfortunes of its founder prevented the execution of the plan.

The second was founded by Margaret of Anjou, in 1448; but the distressful situation of that princess threatened the destruction of the college in its very infancy: it was, however, preserved by the fostering care of Andrew Ducket, the first president, who enjoyed that station no less than forty years, and who was enabled to support it by numerous benefactions, the effects of his own unwearied solicitations.

Catharine Hall was founded in 1475, by Robert Woodlark, the third provost of King's College. It at first consisted only of one master and three fellows; but the number of its members speedily increased by the rapid augmentation of its revenues.

Public schools were also erected, during this period, in the two universities, for the accommodation of the professors of the different sciences, who had before been accustomed to read their lectures either in convents, or private houses hired for that particular purpose, and at an inconvenient distance from each other. Thomas Hokenorton, abbot of Osney, built a range of stone buildings at Oxford, in 1439, which he divided into schools for the following arts and sciences, viz. Metaphysics, Natural Philosophy, Moral Philosophy, Astronomy, Geometry, Music, Arithmetic, Logic, Rhetoric, and Grammar. These were denominated The New Schools, and were in use till long after the conclusion of the present period. The foundation of the magnificent Divinity School and Library, in the same university, was laid about 1427; but the structure experienced frequent interruptions through want of money. At length, by the liberal donations of several benefactors, particularly of Humphrey duke of Gloucester; cardinal Kemp, archbishop of York; and his nephew, Thomas Kemp, bishop of London; the building was completed in 1480. This fabric was an object of great admiration in those times; and the members of the university speak of it in the most lofty strains, in their letters to their great benefactor, the bishop of London, to be seen in the works of Anthony Wood, the ancient historian of Oxford. They call it "a work worthy of God; as much superior to all the great edifices around it, in magnitude and beauty, as divinity, to the study of which it is dedicated, is superior to all other sciences."

The public schools at Cambridge were commenced about the beginning of this period; but were not entirely completed till the year 1475.

The Arts were not more rapid in their progress than the Sciences during this turbulent period: even agriculture itself was neglected. The wretched rustics, employed in the cultivation of the ground, were not suffered to pursue their humble toils in peace, being continually subject to be called from the plough to the field of battle, either by a royal proclamation, or by the mandates of their own arbitrary lords. So many of the peasantry, that most useful order of men, perished during the destructive feuds between the rival families of York and Lancaster, that there were not sufficient hands remaining to perform the necessary operations of husbandry. To supply this defect, and to remedy, as far as possible, the inconveniences which resulted from it, many laws were enacted to reduce and fix the price of labour, and to compel men to apply themselves to husbandry, by restraining them from the pursuit of other occupations. One of the statutes passed for this purpose sets forth, that noblemen and others were greatly distressed for want of labourers and servants in husbandry; and therefore enacts, "That whoever had been employed at the plough, or cart, or any other husbandry

(*u*) As these royal protections contained the sentiments of the king and his ministers, we insert the following translation of one of them:

"Ancient sages and philosophers the most renowned have taught in their books and writings, under figures and emblems, that many salutary and most excellent medicines may be extracted from wine, precious stones, oils, vegetables, animals, metals, and semi-metals; and particularly a certain most precious medicine, which some philosophers have named the Mother and Queen of Medicines: some, the Inestimable Glory; others, the Quintessence; others, the Philosopher's Stone; and others, the Elizir of Life. The virtue of this medicine is so admirable and efficacious, that it cures all curable diseases with facility, prolongs human life to its utmost term, and miraculously preserves man in health and strength of body, and in the full possession of his memory, and of all the other powers and faculties of his mind. It heals all curable wounds without difficulty; is a sovereign antidote against all poisons; and is capable of procuring to us and our kingdom, other great advantages, such as the transmutation of other metals into real and fine gold and silver.

"We frequently revolve in our minds, by long and serious meditation, how delectable and profitable it would be to us and our dominions, if this precious medicine could be discovered, through God's blessing on the labours of learned men; and also how that few or none, in former times, have attained to the true method of making this most glorious medicine, partly owing to the difficulties attending the operation, but chiefly because the most learned men have been, and still continue to be, discouraged and deterred from the undertaking, by the fear of incurring the penalties of a certain law made in the reign of our grandfather, Henry the Fourth, against alchymists.

"Wherefore it appears right and expedient to us to provide, select, and appoint certain ingenious men, sufficiently skilled in the natural sciences, well inclined and disposed to attempt the discovery of the aforesaid medicine, who fear God, love truth, and hate all deceitful, fallacious, metallic tinctures: and, by our authority and royal prerogative, to make adequate provision for the quiet, safety, and indemnity of these men, that they may not be disturbed or injured in their persons or goods, either during the pursuit of this work, or after the completion of their labours.

"We, therefore, confiding in the fidelity, circumspection, deep learning, and extraordinary skill of these celebrated men, John Fauceby, and John Kirkeby, and John Rayney, elect, assign, nominate, and license, all and each of them, and of our certain knowledge, and by our authority and royal prerogative, we, by these presents, grant to all and each of them, liberty, warrant, power, and authority, to examine, investigate, commence, prosecute, and perfect, the aforesaid medicine, according to their own discretion, and the precepts of ancient sages: as also to transubstantiate other metals into true gold and silver; the above statute, or any other statute, to the contrary, notwithstanding. Farther, we hereby take the said John, John, and John, with all their servants and assistants, under our special tuition and protection."

This curious commission received the confirmation of the parliament on the 31st day of May, 1456.

bandry

bandry work, till he was twelve years of age, should be compelled to continue in that employment during life." It was also farther enacted, "That none who had not lands or rents to the value of twenty shillings a year"---equivalent to ten pounds of our present money---"should be permitted to put any of their sons apprentices to any other trade, but should bring them all up to husbandry." These laws, which so much infringed on natural liberty that nothing but the most urgent necessity could justify them, were enforced by very severe penalties.

But while the ravages of war continued to increase, husbandmen must necessarily have diminished; all laws, therefore, were inadequate to remedy the evil complained of, which at length arose to such a height as to produce a memorable revolution in the annals of agriculture. The prelates, barons, and other great territorial proprietors, were accustomed to keep in their own possession extensive tracts of land immediately contiguous to their castles, which were called their demesne lands, and which were cultivated by their villans, assisted by their hired servants, placed under the direction of their bailiffs. But these great landholders, having frequently led their followers to war, their numbers became gradually lessened, and no hired servants could be obtained but on the most exorbitant terms. This obliged the proprietors to enclose their lands, and convert them into pasture grounds. This practice of enclosing was very generally adopted about the middle of this period, and gave rise to prodigious clamours in those who mistook the effect of depopulation for its cause; for, when we consider that the barons and gentlemen of those times derived greater power, honour, and security, from the number of their followers, than the extent of their possessions, we cannot suppose it possible that they should all have consented, at the same time, to expel their followers from their demesne lands, in order to make room for defenceless flocks and herds, unless they had been urged to it by some irresistible motive. It is evident, from the testimony of various acts of parliament, that the depopulation of the country, and the consequent scarcity of labourers, alone gave birth to this remarkable revolution.

The system of inclosure, however, though founded on necessity, was greatly reprobated. Among the numerous declaimers against it was John Rous, of Warwick, who scarcely deserves to be mentioned as an historian. This eccentric writer calls all such as inclose their lands---Depopulators, destroyers of villages, robbers, tyrants, and basilisks, enemies to God and man; and assures them, that they will incur inevitable damnation. In one of his curious declamations against proprietors of land, he informs us, that one of that description had been actually seen in hell by a certain priest, who was carried thither on the back of a devil, with whom he was intimate. The priest, he observes, was at first rather averse to trust himself on the back of his infernal friend, till the devil gave him his word of honour he would bring him back in safety; which he faithfully performed!

One of the evil consequences of this imperfect state of agriculture was the frequency of dearths which occurred during this period. Grain frequently rose to triple or quadruple its usual price; which, as may be supposed, involved the people in the greatest distress. The common price of a quarter of wheat, at this time, appears to have been from four shillings to four shillings and six pence; which was equivalent to about forty shillings of our present money. But we are told by the Chronicler of Croyland, that in the years 1437 and 1438, wheat rose, in many places, to one pound six shillings and eight pence a quarter, equivalent to thirteen pounds six shillings and eight pence of our present money; and all kinds of grain rose in proportion. In this extremity, the common people were reduced to the necessity of living on the roots of herbs, dried and formed into a kind of bread.

But the great decrease in the value of land affords the strongest proof of the decline of agriculture in this period. In the reign of Edward the Third there are some examples of land having been sold at the rate of twenty-five years' purchase; which, probably, was little more than the average price. But, from the proclamation issued in the reign of Edward the Fourth, offering a reward of either one thousand pounds in money, or one hundred a year in land, it is evident that it had fallen in its value at that time, to ten years purchase. And there is reason to suppose that land was sold even at a lower rate. Sir John Fortescue, advising Edward the Fourth to reward his servants with money rather than with land, says, "It is supposd that to sum of them is givyn one hundred pounds worth land yerely, that would have hold him content with two hundred pounds in money, if they might have had it in hand."

The neglect of agriculture was, however, attended with one advantage: by encreasing the pastures, it augmented the growth of wool, the grand staple commodity of the kingdom; and the English had by this time discovered the superior emolument to be derived from the manufacture of their own wool, both as an article of export and of home consumption. Hence the woollen manufacture commanded a degree of attention that scarcely any other art could obtain: no less than twelve acts of parliament were made, in the short reign of Henry the Fourth, for its regulation and encouragement.

The only new arts that were introduced into England during this period were, besides the art of printing, the arts of spinning, throwing, and weaving silk. Of the art of printing we have spoken in a former part of this chapter. The latter was introduced and practised by a company of women in London, called Silk Women. In consequence of a petition from this female company to parliament in 1455, representing that the Lombards, and other Italians, imported such quantities of silk thread, ribbands, &c. that they were in danger of being reduced to great poverty; an act was passed for prohibiting the importation of any of the articles manufactured by them, which consisted only of laces, ribbands, and such narrow fabrics.

It is a curious and well attested fact, that the art of discharging red-hot balls from cannon was known and practised on the continent in an early part of the fifteenth century, though it does not appear to have been yet adopted in England. Thomas de Elmham, the biographer of Henry the Fifth, a writer of undoubted credit, tells us, that when an English army, under the command of the duke of Gloucester, laid siege to Cherbourg, in the year 1418, the besieged discharged red-hot balls of iron from their cannon into the English camp, in order to burn the huts in which the soldiers slept.

While some of the most useful and necessary arts were suffered to languish, either through necessity or from want of encouragement, it cannot be supposed that those which had the mere gratification of curiosity or pleasure for their object could be cultivated with any degree of ardour. It is, indeed, probable, that the pleasing arts of Sculpture and Painting would have been wholly neglected amidst the bustle of arms, but for a spirit of superstition and vanity, which they equally tended to gratify and promote. The worship of images having been violently condemned by the spirited followers of Wickliffe, the clergy were studious to inculcate its necessity, as well by example as by exhortation. The number of images was consequently increased; and, as they were meant to excite the admiration and devotion of the multitude, it cannot be doubted that the utmost skill was exerted in forming them.

Pictures too were employed in the embellishment of churches, with the same view. Hence sculptors and painters experienced a greater degree of encouragement than any other artists; which the vanity of the great also considerably augmented, by employing them in decorating the tombs of their relations, which were extremely costly and magnificent.

The taste for Poetry appears to have declined after the deaths of Chaucer and Gower, which happened at the commencement of this period; at least, if we may be allowed to judge by the extreme paucity of poetical works which have been deemed worthy of preservation. That there were numbers who amused themselves in the composition of verses in that, as there have been in every age since the art of rhyming was first known, cannot be doubted; but the only persons who have been placed in the lists of poets were, Thomas Occleve, and John Lydgate, a Benedictine monk of Bury. The character of the former is thus delineated by Mr. Warton: "He is a feeble writer, considered as a poet; and his chief merit seems to be, that his writings contributed to propagate and establish those improvements in our language which were now beginning to take place. His works indicate a coldness of genius; and, on the whole, promise no gratification to those who seek for invention and fancy." Lydgate was greatly superior to Occleve; but his merit appears rather to have consisted in the harmony of his numbers, and the beauty of his descriptions, than in strength of genius, or fertility of invention.

Music still continued to be cultivated with unremitting attention;

attention; particularly by the clergy, who were fully conscious of its powers in attuning the soul to devotion. Those itinerant professors indeed, the Scalds and Minstrels, were not held in such high estimation as in the former period; but this declension of credit seems to have been the effect of their own folly, rather than any distaste to the art they professed. The consequence they had enjoyed had not only tended to increase their numbers, but rendered them so extremely proud, avaricious, and insolent, that their company became insupportable; which at length caused them to be regarded in a proper light, and their rewards proportioned to their deserts.

CHAP. VII.

Ecclesiastical History from the Accession of Edward the Fourth in 1461, *till the Death of Richard the Third in* 1485.

THE inclination of Henry the Sixth for the exercises of religion disposed him to treat the clergy with the most obsequious respect: and his successor, Edward the Fourth, soon after his accession to the throne, though from a different motive, was also attentive to their interests, that they might support him against the interests of the efforts of the house of Lancaster. He exerted his prerogative in their favour in a most unwarrantable and illegal manner; by granting them a charter, which rendered them almost independent of the civil government. This prince in the earlier part of his reign granted them a charter, in which, by a despotic assumption of authority, he dispensed with the statute of Præmunire, which no intreaties could ever persuade the parliament to repeal; and he prohibited all civil judges and magistrates from taking cognizance of any treasons, murders, rapes, robberies, thefts, or any other crimes committed by archbishops, bishops, priests, deacons, or any one in holy orders. Nay, if any person apprehended for a crime asserted that he was in orders, though his assertion were notoriously false, the civil magistrate was commanded to deliver him to the bishop, or his official, to determine whether he was, or was not, in orders, which opened a door to the most flagrant abuses (*x*). The consequence of this indiscriminate, illegal, and unprincipled exemption from civil jurisdiction, was such as might naturally have been expected. The primate, in a commission which he granted soon after to his commissary general for enforcing some points of reformation, observed, that many of the clergy, both secular and regular, were ignorant, illiterate blockheads, or rather absolute idiots; and that their profligacy equalled their ignorance; for they neglected their cures by strolling about the country with infamous women, spending the revenues of their benefices in feasting and drinking, in fornication and adultery.

In Edward's reign, an instance occurred of the unwillingness of the clergy to comply with the exorbitant demands of the pope. Pius the Second, having, in 1463, proposed a crusade against the Turks, (who had some years before reduced the city of Constantinople, and subverted the eastern empire,) conjured all the nations of Christendom to contribute their aid for the expulsion of those infidels from Europe. Having demanded of the English clergy a tax of one tenth, he found them indisposed to compliance; and Edward, though he professed himself a friend to the crusade, would not permit the publication of the pope's bull in his dominions. He desired the primate, however, to raise a contribution among the clergy; but they received the proposal with such reluctance, that Thomas Bourchier, the primate, could not, without great importunity, procure the small grant of six pence in the pound.

In the year 1466, Nevil, archbishop of York, summoned a convocation of the clergy of his province, at which several remarkable canons were enacted. By the first of these canons every parish priest is commanded either to preach himself, or cause another to preach for him, to his parishioners, four times a year, and to explain to them in English, without any fantastical subtleties, the Fourteen Articles of Faith—the Ten Precepts of the Decalogue—the Two Precepts of the Gospel—the Seven Works of Mercy---the Seven Mortal Sins---the Seven Principal Virtues---and the Seven Sacraments of Grace. To enable the clergy to perform this task, the convocation subjoined an explanation of the respective articles, which forms a curious system of the catholic theology of the fifteenth century, which may be seen in Wilkins's Councils. In the explanation of the Decalogue, the first commandment is said to be a prohibition of all enchantments, superstitious characters, and such figments. The second is entirely omitted; evidently from the impossibility of reconciling the prevailing custom of worshipping images, with the strong and pointed prohibition it contains against that species of superstitious veneration; and, to complete the number, the tenth is sagaciously divided into two. This, it must be confessed, was taking no trifling liberty with a system of laws which they acknowledged to be of divine authority.

During the reign of Edward, a violent altercation occurred between the secular clergy and the mendicant friers; the latter of whom maintained, that Jesus Christ had been a beggar; and that they, on that account, had the strongest claims to his favour, and were more particularly entitled to the regard and bounty of all true Christians. The seculars, as may be supposed, were extremely vehement, both in their declarations and in their writings, against a doctrine so hostile to their own principles and practice; and, as the pope himself was as much averse to mendicity as the clergy, he issued a bull against the mendicants in 1475, declaring their doctrine to be heretical.

The minds of men were too much occupied with the surprizing revolutions which occurred towards the conclusion of this period, to pay attention to ecclesiastical affairs. The clergy, however, always eager to promote the security or extension of their immunities, found means, by flattering the tyrant Richard the Third, to obtain from him letters patent, dated February the 23rd, 1484, confirming the charter granted by his brother Edward the Fourth, and emancipating them from the jurisdiction of the civil courts. But Richard did not treat the persons of the clergy with much respect, especially when they ventured to dispute his will, or when he suspected that they would be averse to his schemes. We have seen, that, when he was protector, he seized the archbishop of York and the bishop of Ely, for no other reason than because he did not expect that they would promote his designs upon the crown.

The fruitless attempts of Wickliffe and his followers to propagate a spirit of reformation during this dark period, only served to produce a multiplication of errors and superstitious rites. Transubstantiation was now fully established, and formed a principal article in the creed of every orthodox Catholic Christian. The sacramental cup was taken from the laity, but with great caution, and by slow degrees. The clergy were first commanded carefully to instruct the people, "That both the body and blood of our Lord were given at once under the species of bread; nay, the entire living and true Christ: that the wine in the cup was not the sacrament, but mere wine, given them to make them swallow the bread with greater ease." Their next orders were, "To begin to withhold the cup in small obscure churches; and to exhort the people to swallow the bread without chewing, that none of it might stick in their teeth:" a very necessary precaution! So skilful were these unworthy ministers of the Gospel in rendering both the forms and substance of their religious tenets subservient to their own interest, ambition, or caprice! The churches at this time were crowded with images of different saints, to which greater homage is said to have been paid than to the Supreme Being. Processions, indulgences, auricular confessions, and priestly absolution, were now suffered to supersede the essential duties of religion; and frivolous discriminations of sin were adopted, in order to augment the authority of priests and prelates. Nevil, archbishop of York, enumerated thirty-seven kinds of sin, which he said none but the pope or a bishop could pardon. The first and most important of those was Heresy; the second, *Crimen contra naturam, maxime cum brutis;* the last, and, in the estimation of the church, the *least* of the thirty-seven, was the raising a sedition which endangered a city or state. In short, ignorance and superstition appear to have been generally prevalent in this period, though it immediately preceded the revival of learning, and the reformation of religion.

(*x*) Vid. Wilkins, Concil. vol. iii. p. 583.

BOOK IX.

THE FAMILIES OF YORK AND LANCASTER UNITED.

COMPRIZING

THE REIGNS OF HENRY VII. HENRY VIII. EDWARD VI. QUEEN MARY, AND QUEEN ELIZABETH.

CHAPTER I.

HENRY VII.

THE victory which Henry earl of Richmond gained at Bosworth Field was entirely decisive; being attended as well with the total rout and dispersion, on the 22nd of August, 1485, of the royal army of the Yorkists, as with the death of king Richard himself. Joy for this great success suddenly prompted the soldiers in the field of battle to bestow on their victorious general the appellation of King, which he had not hitherto assumed; and the acclamations of "Long live Henry the Seventh!" by a natural and unpremeditated movement, resounded from all quarters. To bestow some appearance of formality on this species of military election, Sir William Stanley brought a crown of ornament which Richard wore in battle, and which had been found among the spoils; and he put it on the head of the victor. Henry himself remained not in suspense; but immediately without hesitation accepted of the magnificent present which was tendered him. He was come to the crisis of his fortune; and being obliged suddenly to determine himself, amidst great difficulties which he must have frequently revolved in his mind, he chose that part which his ambition suggested to him, and to which he seemed to be invited by his present success.

There were many titles on which Henry could found his right to the crown; but no one of them free from great objections, if considered with respect either to justice or to policy.

During some years Henry had been regarded as heir to the house of Lancaster by the party attached to that family; but the title of the house of Lancaster itself was generally thought to be very ill founded. Henry IV. who had first raised it to royal dignity, had never clearly defined the foundation of his claim; and while he plainly invaded the order of succession, he had not acknowledged the election of the people. The parliament, it is true, had often recognized the title of the Lancastrian princes; but these votes had little authority, being considered as instances of complaisance towards a family in possession of present power; and they had accordingly been often reversed during the late prevalence of the house of York. Prudent men also, who had been willing, for the sake of peace, to submit to any established authority, desired not to see the claims of that family revived; claims which must produce many convulsions at present, and which disjointed for the future the whole system of hereditary right. Besides, allowing the title of the house of Lancaster to be legal, Henry himself was not the true heir of that family; and nothing but the obstinacy natural to faction, which never without reluctance will submit to an antagonist, could have engaged the Lancastrians to adopt the earl of Richmond as their head. His mother indeed, Margaret countess of Richmond, was sole daughter and heir of the duke of Somerset, sprung from John of Gaunt, duke of Lancaster; but the descent of the Somerset line was itself illegitimate, and even adulterous. And though the duke of Lancaster had obtained the legitimation of his natural children by a patent from Richard II. confirmed in parliament, it might justly be doubted whether this deed could bestow any title to the crown; since in the patent itself all the privileges conferred by it are fully enumerated, and the succession to the kingdom is expressly excluded (*y*). In all settlements of the crown made during the reigns of the Lancastrian princes, the line of Somerset had been entirely overlooked; and it was not till the failure of the legitimate branch, that men had paid any attention to their claim. And, to add to the general dissatisfaction against Henry's title, his mother, from whom he derived all his right, was still alive; and evidently preceded him in the order of succession.

The title of the house of York, both from the plain reason of the case, and from the late popular government of Edward IV. had universally obtained the preference in the sentiments of the people; and Henry might ingraft his claim on the rights of that family, by his intended marriage with the princess Elizabeth, the heir of it; a marriage which he had solemnly promised to celebrate, and to the expectation of which he had chiefly owed all his past successes. But many reasons dissuaded Henry from adopting this expedient. Were he to receive the crown only in the right of his consort, his power he knew would be very limited; and he must expect rather to enjoy the bare title of king by a sort of courtesy, than possess the real authority which belongs to it. Should the princess die before him without issue, he must descend from the throne, and give place to the next in succession; and even if his bed should be blessed with offspring, it seemed dangerous to expect that filial piety in his children would prevail over the ambition of obtaining present possession of regal power. An act of parliament, indeed, might easily be procured to settle the crown on him during life; but Henry knew how much superior the claim of succession by blood was to the authority of an assembly (*z*), which had always been overborne by violence in the shock of contending titles, and which had ever been more governed by the conjunctures of the times, than by any consideration derived from reason or public interest.

There was yet a third foundation on which Henry might rest his claim, the right of conquest, by his victory over Richard, the present possessor of the crown. But besides that Richard himself was deemed no better than an usurper, the army which fought against him consisted chiefly of Englishmen; and a right of conquest over England could never be established by such a victory. Nothing also would give greater umbrage to the nation than a claim of this nature; which might be construed as an abolition of all their rights and privileges, and the establishment of absolute authority in the sovereign (*a*). William himself, the Norman, though at the head of a powerful and victorious army of foreigners, had at first declined the invidious title of conqueror; and it was not till the full establishment of his authority that he had ventured to advance so violent and destructive a pretension.

But Henry was sensible that there remained another foundation of power somewhat resembling the right of conquest, namely, present possession; and that this title, guarded by vigour and abilities, would be sufficient to secure perpetual possession of the throne. He had before him the example of Henry IV. who, supported by no better pretension, had subdued many insurrections, and had been able to transmit the crown peaceably to his posterity. He could perceive that this claim, which had been perpetuated through three generations of the family of Lancaster, might still have subsisted, notwithstanding the preferable title of the house of York, had not the sceptre devolved into the hands of Henry VI. which were too feeble to sustain it. Instructed by this recent experience, Henry was determined to put himself in possession of regal authority; and to show all opponents that nothing but force of arms, and a successful war, should be able to expel him. His claim as heir to the house of Lancaster he was resolved to advance; and never allowed to be discussed: and he hoped that this right, favoured by the partizans of that family, and seconded by present power, would secure him a perpetual and independent authority.

These views of Henry are not exposed to much blame; because founded on good policy, and even on a species of necessity: but there entered into all his measures and counsels another motive, which admits not of the same apology. The violent contentions which, during so long a period, had been maintained between the rival families, and the many sanguinary revenges which they had alternately taken on each other, had inflamed the opposite factions

(*y*) Rymer, tom. vii. p. 849. Coke's Inst. 4 Inst. part. 1. p. 37. (*z*) Bacon in Kennet's complete History, p. 570. (*a*) Bacon, p. 570.


ELIZABETH
MARY
HENRY VIII
EDWARD VI
H. Corbould delin.
W. Hawkins Sculp.
London, Pub.d by J. Stratford No. 112, Holborn Hill, January 2.d 1813

tions to a pitch of animosity. Henry himself, who had seen most of his near friends and relations perish in battle or by the hands of the executioner, and who had been exposed, in his own person, to many hardships and dangers; had therefore imbibed a violent antipathy to the York party, which neither time nor experience were ever able to efface. Instead of embracing the present opportunity of abolishing these fatal distinctions, of uniting his title with that of his consort, and of bestowing favour indiscriminately on the friends of both families; he carried to the throne all the partialities which belong to the head of a faction, and even the passions which are carefully guarded against by every true politician in that situation. To exalt the Lancastrian party, to depress the adherents of the house of York, were still the favourite objects of his pursuit; and through the whole course of his reign, he never forgot these early prepossessions. Incapable, from his natural temper, of a more enlarged and more benevolent system of policy, he exposed himself to many present inconveniencies, by too anxiously guarding against that future possible event, which might disjoin his title from that of the princess whom he espoused. And while he treated the Yorkists as enemies, he soon rendered them such, and taught them to discuss that right to the crown, which he so carefully kept separate; and to perceive its weakness and invalidity.

To these passions of Henry, as well as to his suspicious politics, we are to ascribe the measures which he embraced two days after the battle of Bosworth. Edward Plantagenet, earl of Warwick, son of the duke of Clarence, was detained in a kind of confinement at Sherif Hutton in Yorkshire, by the jealousy of his uncle Richard; whose title to the throne was inferior to that of the young prince. Warwick had now reason to expect better treatment, as he was no obstacle to the succession either of Henry or Elizabeth; and from a youth of such tender years no danger could reasonably be apprehended. But Sir Robert Willoughby was dispatched by Henry, with orders to take him from Sherif Hutton, to convey him to the Tower, and to detain him in close custody (*b*). The same messenger carried directions that the princess Elizabeth, who had been confined to the same place, should be conducted to London, in order to meet Henry, and there celebrate her nuptials.

Henry himself set out for the capital, and advanced by slow journies. Not to rouse the jealousy of the people, he took care to avoid all appearance of military triumph; and so to restrain the insolence of victory, that every thing about him bore the appearance of an established monarch, making a peaceable progress through his dominions, rather than of a prince who had opened his way to the throne by force of arms. The acclamations of the people were every where loud, and no less sincere and hearty. Besides that a young and victorious prince, on his accession, was naturally the object of popularity, the nation promised themselves great felicity from the new scene which opened before them. During the course of nearly a whole century the kingdom had been laid waste by domestic wars and convulsions; and if at any time the noise of arms had ceased, the sound of faction and discontent still threatened new disorders. Henry, by his marriage with Elizabeth, seemed to ensure a union of the contending titles of the two families; and having prevailed over an universally despised tyrant, who had anew disjointed the succession even of the house of York, and had filled his own family with blood and murder, he was every where attended with the unfeigned favour of the people. Numerous and splendid troops of gentry and nobility attended his progress. The lord mayor and companies of London received him at Shoreditch as he approached the city: the crowds of people and citizens were zealous in their expressions of satisfaction: but Henry, amidst this general effusion of joy, discovered still the stateliness and reserve of his temper, which made him scorn to court popularity: he entered London in a close chariot, and would not gratify the people with a sight of their new sovereign.

The king, however, did not so much neglect the favour of the people as to delay giving them assurances of his marriage with the princess Elizabeth, which he knew the nation so passionately desired. On leaving Britanny, he had artfully dropped some hints, that if he should succeed in his enterprize, and obtain the crown of England, he would espouse Anne, the heir of that duchy; and the report of this engagement had already reached England, and had begotten anxiety in the people, and even in Elizabeth herself. Henry took care to dissipate these apprehensions, by solemnly renewing, before the council and principal nobility, the promise which he had previously given to celebrate his nuptials with the English princess. But though bound by honour, as well as by interest, to complete this alliance, he was resolved to postpone it till the ceremony of his own coronation should be finished, and till his title should be recognized by parliament. Still anxious to support his personal and hereditary right to the throne, he dreaded lest a preceding marriage with the princess should imply a participation of sovereignty in her, and raise doubts of his own title by the house of Lancaster.

In September and October, 1485, there raged in London and other parts of the kingdom, a species of malady unknown to any other age or nation, the sweating sickness, which occasioned the sudden death of great multitudes; though it seemed not to be propagated by any contagious infection, but arose from the general disposition of the air and of the human body. In less than twenty-four hours the patient commonly died or recovered; but when the pestilence had exerted its fury for a few weeks, it was observed, either from alterations in the air, or from a more proper regimen which had been discovered, to be considerably abated (*c*).

Preparations were then made for the ceremony of Henry's coronation. In order to heighten the splendour of that spectacle, he bestowed the rank of knight banneret on twelve persons; and he conferred peerages on three. Jasper Tudor, earl of Pembroke, his uncle, was created duke of Bedford; Thomas lord Stanley, his father-in-law, earl of Derby; and Edward Courteney earl of Devonshire.

Previous to the coronation, it was requisite to create a lord high steward; but, as this office had for some time past been enjoyed only by a prince of the blood, and as there were then none in the kingdom, the king, to prevent the excitation of jealousy among the nobles, caused it to be executed by the following commissioners: the earls of Pembroke, Oxford, and Nottingham; the lords Stanley and Fitz-Walter; Robert Morton, master of the Rolls; Sir Thomas Brian, chief justice of the King's Bench; Sir Humphrey Starkey, chief baron of the Exchequer; and Sir Richard Croft, treasurer of the household.

At the coronation, on the 30th of October, likewise there appeared a new institution, which the king had established for security as well as pomp, a band of fifty archers, who were termed yeomen of the guard. But lest the people should take umbrage at this unusual symptom of jealousy in the prince, as if it implied a personal diffidence of his subjects, he declared the institution to be perpetual. The ceremony of coronation was performed by cardinal Bourchier archbishop of Canterbury.

On the 7th of November following a parliament was assembled at Westminster, and the majority immediately appeared to be the devoted partizans of Henry; all persons of another disposition either declining to stand in those dangerous times, or being obliged to dissemble their principles and inclinations. The Lancastrian party had in every place been successful in the elections; and many had been returned, who during the prevalence of the house of York had been exposed to the rigour of law, and had been condemned by sentence of attainder and outlawry. Their right to take seats in the house, however, being questioned, the case was referred to all the judges, who assembled in the exchequer chamber, in order to deliberate on so delicate a subject. The opinion delivered was prudent, and contained a just temperament between law and expediency (*d*). The judges determined, that the members attainted should forbear taking their seat till an act were passed for the reversal of their attainder. There was no difficulty in obtaining this act; and in it were comprehended a hundred and seven persons of the king's party (*e*). But a scruple was started of a nature still more important. The king himself had been attainted; and his right of succession to the crown might thence be exposed to some doubt; but, so many other glaring defects in his title having been already overlooked, it was not to be supposed that this could be suffered to operate as an impediment to his elevation. As the question was too delicate

(*b*) Bacon, p. 579. Polydore Virgil, p. 565.
(*c*) Polydore Virgil, p. 567.

(*d*) Bacon, p. 581.
(*e*) Rot. Parl. 1 Hen. VII, n. 2, 3, 4—15, 17, 26—65.

and dangerous to admit of *discussion*, the judges, instead of a *sentence*, advanced a *maxim*, viz. "That the crown takes away all defects and stops in blood; and that from the time the king assumed royal authority, the fountain was cleared, and all attainders and corruptions of blood discharged (*f*)." Besides that the case, from its urgent necessity, admitted of no deliberation; the judges probably thought, that no sentence of a court of judicature had authority sufficient to bar the right of succession; that the heir of the crown was commonly exposed to such jealousy as might often occasion stretches of law and justice against him; and that a prince might even be engaged in unjustifiable measures during his predecessor's reign, without meriting on that account to be excluded from the throne, which was his birth-right.

With a parliament so obsequious, the king could not fail of obtaining whatever act of settlement he was pleased to require. He seems only to have entertained some doubt within himself on what claim he should found his pretensions. In his speech to the parliament he mentioned his just title by hereditary right: but lest that title should not be esteemed sufficient, he subjoined his claim by the judgement of God, who had given him victory over his enemies. And again, lest this pretension should be interpreted as assuming a right of conquest, he ensured to his subjects the full enjoyment of their former properties and possessions.

The entail of the crown was certainly drawn according to the sense of the king, and probably in words dictated by him. He made no mention in it of the princess Elizabeth, nor of any branch of her family; but in other respects the act was compiled with sufficient reserve and moderation. He did not insist that it should contain a declaration or recognition of his preceding right; as on the other hand he avoided the appearance of a new law or ordinance. As the state of affairs was at that time, he acted with prudence, and chose a middle course, which, as is generally anavoidable in such cases, was not entirely free from uncertainty and obscurity. It was voted, "That the inheritance of the crown should rest, remain, and abide in the king (*g*);" but whether as rightful heir, or only as present possessor, was not determined. In like manner, Henry was contented that the succession should be secured to the heirs of his body; but he pretended not, in case of their failure, to exclude the house of York, or give the preference to that of Lancaster: he left that great point ambiguous for the present, and trusted that, if it should ever become requisite to determine it, future incidents would open the way for the decision of the matter.

But even after all these precautions the king seemed so little satisfied with his own title, that in the following year he applied to the pope for a confirmation of it; and as the court of Rome gladly embraced all opportunities which the imprudence, weakness, or necessities of princes afforded it to extend its influence, Innocent VIII. the reigning pontiff, readily granted a bull in whatever terms the king was pleased to desire. All Henry's titles, by succession, marriage, parliamentary choice, even conquest, are there enumerated; and to the whole the sanction of religion is added; excommunication is denounced against every one who should either disturb him in the present possession, or the heirs of his body in the future succession of the crown; and from this penalty no criminal, except in the article of death, could be absolved but by the pope himself, or his special commissioners. It is difficult to imagine that the security derived from this bull could be a compensation for the defect which it betrayed in Henry's title, and for the danger of thus inviting the pope to interpose in these concerns.

It was natural, and even laudable in Henry to reverse the attainders which had passed against the partizans of the house of Lancaster; in this he only acted agreeably to the dictates of gratitude and prudence. The revenges which he exercised against the adherents of the York family, to which he was so soon to be allied, cannot be considered in the same light. Yet the parliament, obsequious to his will, obeyed his commands without investigating the principles by which they were influenced. At his instigation, passed an act of attainder against the late king himself, by the title of the duke of Gloucester, against the duke of Norfolk, the earl of Surrey, viscount Lovel, the lords Zouche, and Ferrars of Chartley, Sir Walter and Sir James Harrington, Sir William Berkeley, Sir Humphrey Stafford, Sir William Catesby, and about twenty other gentlemen, who had fought on Richard's side in the battle of Bosworth (*h*).

The king, having gained so many points of consequence from the parliament, thought it not expedient to demand any supply from them, which the profound peace enjoyed by the nation, and the late forfeiture of Richard's adherents, seemed to render somewhat superfluous. The parliament, however, on the 10th of December, conferred on him during life the duty of tonnage and poundage, which had been enjoyed in the same manner by some of his immediate predecessors; and they added, before they broke up, other money bills of a trifling amount. The king, on his part, made returns of grace and favour to his people. He published his royal proclamation, offering pardon to all such as had taken arms, or formed any attempts against him; provided they submitted themselves to mercy by a certain day, and took the usual oath of fealty and allegiance. Upon this proclamation many came out of their sanctuaries, and the minds of the people were every where much quieted. Henry chose to take wholly to himself the merit of an act of grace, so agreeable to the nation; rather than communicate it with the parliament (as was his first intention), by passing a bill to that purpose. But the earl of Surrey, though he had submitted, and delivered himself into the king's hands, was sent prisoner to the Tower and there confined.

During this parliament the king also bestowed favours and honours on some particular persons who were attached to him. Edward Stafford, eldest son of the duke of Buckingham, attainted in the late reign, was restored to the honours of his family, as well as to its fortune, which was very ample. This generosity, so unusual in Henry, was the effect of his gratitude to the memory of Buckingham, who had first concerted the plan of his elevation, and who by his own ruin had made way for that great event. Chandos of Britanny was created earl of Bath, Sir Giles Daubeny lord Daubeny, and Sir Robert Willoughby lord Broke. These were all the titles of nobility conferred by the king during this session of parliament (*i*).

But the ministers whom Henry most trusted and favoured were not chosen from among the nobility, or even from among the laity. John Moreton and Richard Fox, two clergymen, persons of industry, vigilance, and capacity, were the men to whom he chiefly confided his affairs and secret counsels. They had shared with him all his former dangers and distresses; and he now took care that they should participate in his good fortune. They were both called to the privy council; Moreton was restored to the bishopric of Ely, Fox was created bishop of Exeter. The former soon after, upon the death of Bourchier, was raised to the see of Canterbury. The latter was made privy seal; and successively bishop of Bath and Wells, Durham, and Winchester. For Henry, as lord Bacon observes, loved to employ and advance prelates; because, having rich bishoprics to bestow, it was easy for him to reward their services: and it was his maxim to raise them by slow steps, and make them first pass through the inferior sees (*k*). He probably expected, that as they were naturally more dependant on him than the nobility, who during that age enjoyed possessions and jurisdictions dangerous to royal authority; so the prospect of farther elevation would render them still more active in his service, and more obsequious to his commands.

In presenting the bill of tonnage and poundage, on the 18th of January, 1486, the parliament, anxious to preserve the legal undisputed succession to the crown, had petitioned Henry, with demonstrations of the greatest zeal, to espouse the princess Elizabeth; but they covered their true reason under the pretence of their desire to have heirs of his body. He now thought in earnest of satisfying the minds of his people in that particular. His marriage was celebrated at London, and that with greater appearance of universal joy than either his first entry or his coronation. Henry remarked with much displeasure this

(*f*) Bacon, p. 581. (*g*) Ibid, p. 581.

(*h*) How men could be guilty of treason, by supporting the king in possession against the earl of Richmond, who assumed not the title of king, it is not easy to conceive; and nothing but a servile complaisance in the parliament could have engaged them to make this stretch of justice. Nor was it a small mortification to the people in general, to find that the king, prompted either by avarice or resentment, could in the very beginning of his reign so far violate the cordial union which had previously been concerted between the parties, and to the expectation of which he had plainly owed his succession to the throne.

(*i*) Polydore Virgil, p. 506.

(*k*) Bacon, p. 582.

general

general favour borne to the house of York. The suspicions which arose from it not only disturbed his tranquillity during his whole reign; but bred disgust towards his consort herself, and poisoned all his domestic enjoyments. Though virtuous, amiable, and obsequious to the last degree, she never met with a proper return of affection, or even of complaisance from her husband; and the malignant ideas of faction still, in his sullen mind, prevailed over all the sentiments of conjugal tenderness.

The king had been carried along with such a tide of success ever since his arrival in England, that he thought nothing could withstand the fortune and authority which attended him. He now resolved to make a progress into the North, where the friends of the house of York, and even the partizans of Richard, were numerous; in hopes of curing, by his presence and conversation, the prejudices of the malcontents. When he arrived at Nottingham he heard that viscount Lovel, with Sir Humfrey Stafford, and Thomas his brother, had secretly withdrawn themselves from their sanctuary at Colchester: but this news appeared not to him of such importance as to stop his journey; and he proceeded forward to York. He there heard that the Staffords had levied an army, and were marching to besiege the city of Worcester: and that Lovel, at the head of three or four thousand men, was approaching to attack him in York. Henry was not dismayed with this intelligence. His active courage, full of resources, immediately prompted him to find the proper remedy. Though surrounded with enemies in these disaffected counties, he assembled a small body of troops in whom he could confide; and he put them under the command of the duke of Bedford. He joined to them all his own attendants; but he found that this hasty armament was more formidable by their spirit and their zealous attachment to him, than by the arms or military stores with which they were provided. He therefore gave Bedford orders not to approach the enemy; but previously to try every proper expedient to promote their dispersion. Bedford published a general promise of pardon to the rebels; which had a greater effect on their leader than on his followers. Lovel, who had undertaken an enterprize that exceeded his courage and capacity, was so terrified with the fear of desertion among his troops, that he suddenly withdrew himself; and after lurking some time in Lancashire, he made his escape into Flanders, where he was protected by the duchess of Burgundy. His army submitted to the king's clemency; and the other rebels, hearing of this success, raised the siege of Worcester, and dispersed themselves. The Staffords took sanctuary in the church of Colnham, a village near Abingdon; but as it was found that this church had not the privilege of giving protection to rebels, they were taken thence: the elder was executed at Tyburn; the younger, pleading that he had been misled by his brother, obtained a pardon (*l*).

Henry's joy for this success was followed, some time after, by the birth of a prince, (on the 20th of September,) to whom he gave the name of Arthur, in memory of the famous British king of that name, from whom it was pretended the family of Tudor derived its descent.

Though Henry had been able to defeat this hasty rebellion, raised by the relics of Richard's partizans, his government was become in general unpopular: the source of public discontent arose chiefly from his prejudices against the house of York, which was generally beloved by the nation, and which for that reason became every day more the object of his hatred and jealousy. Not only a preference on all occasions, it was observed, was given to the Lancastrians; but many of the opposite party had been exposed to great severity, and had been bereaved of their estates by acts of attainder. A general resumption likewise had passed of all grants made by the princes of the house of York; and though this rigour had been covered under the pretence that the revenue was become insufficient to support the dignity of the crown, and though the grants, during the later years of Henry VI. were resumed by the same law, yet the York party, as they were the principal sufferers by the resumption, thought it chiefly levelled against them. The severity exercised against the earl of Warwick begat compassion for youth and innocence exposed to such oppression; and his confinement in the Tower, the very place where Edward's children had been murdered by their uncle, made the public expect a like catastrophe for him, and led them to make a comparison between Henry and that detested tyrant. And when it was remarked that the queen herself met with harsh treatment, and even after the birth of a son was not admitted to the honour of a public coronation, Henry's prepossessions were then concluded to be fixed and implacable, and men became equally obstinate in their disgust to his government. Nor was the manner and address of the king calculated to cure these prejudices contracted against his administration; but had in every thing a tendency to promote fear, or at best reverence, rather than good-will and affection (*m*). While the high idea entertained of his policy and vigour, retained the nobility and men of character in obedience, the effects of his unpopular government soon appeared, by incidents of an extraordinary nature.

There lived in Oxford one Richard Simon, a priest, who possessed some subtlety, and still more enterprize and temerity. This man had entertained the design of disturbing Henry's government, by raising a pretender to his crown; and for that purpose he cast his eyes on Lambert Simnel, a youth of fifteen years of age, who was the son of a baker, and who, being endowed with understanding above his years, and address above his condition, seemed well fitted to personate a prince of royal extraction. A report had been spread among the people, and received with great avidity, that Richard duke of York, second son of Edward IV. had, by a secret escape, saved himself from the cruelty of his uncle, and lay somewhere concealed in England. Simon, taking advantage of this rumour, had at first instructed his pupil to assume that name, which he found to be so fondly cherished by the public; but hearing afterwards a new report, that Warwick had made his escape from the Tower, and observing that this news was attended with no less general satisfaction, he changed the plan of his imposture, and made Simnel personate that unfortunate prince (*n*). Though the youth was qualified by nature for the part he was instructed to act; yet was it remarked, that he was better informed in circumstances relating to the royal family, particularly in the adventures of the earl of Warwick, than he could be supposed to have learned from one of Simon's condition; and it was thence conjectured, that persons of higher rank, partizans of the house of York, had laid the plan of this conspiracy, and had conveyed proper instructions to the actors. The queen-dowager herself was exposed to suspicion; and it was indeed the general opinion, however unlikely it might seem, that she had secretly given her consent to the imposture: this woman was of a very restless disposition. Finding that, instead of receiving the reward of her services in contributing to Henry's elevation, she herself was fallen into absolute insignificance, her daughter treated with severity, and all her friends brought under subjection, she had conceived the most violent animosity against him, and had resolved to make him feel the effects of her resentment. She knew that the impostor, however successful, might easily at last be set aside; and if a way could be found at his risque to subvert the government, she hoped that a scene might be opened which, though difficult at present exactly to foresee, would gratify her revenge, and be on the whole less irksome to her than that slavery and contempt to which she was now reduced (*o*).

But whatever care Simon might take to convey instruction to his pupil Simnel, he was sensible that the imposture would not bear a close inspection; and he was therefore determined to open the first public scene of it in Ireland. That island, which was zealously attached to the house of York, and bore an affectionate regard to the memory of Clarence, the earl of Warwick's father, who had been their lieutenant, was improvidently allowed by Henry to remain in the same condition in which he found it; and all the counsellors and officers who had been appointed by Richard still retained their authority. No sooner did Simnel present himself to Thomas Fitzgerald, earl of Kildare, the deputy, and claim his protection as the unfortunate Warwick, than that credulous nobleman, not suspecting so bold an imposture, gave attention to him, and began to consult some persons of rank with regard to the proper mode of proceeding in this extraordinary emergency. These he found even more sanguine in their zeal and belief than himself; and in proportion as the story diffused itself among those of lower condition, it became the object of still greater passion and credulity, till the people in Dublin with one consent tendered their allegiance to Simnel, as to the true Plantagenet. Fond of a novelty, which flattered their natural propensity, they overlooked the daughters of Edward IV. who stood before Warwick in the order of succession; they paid the pre-

(*l*) Polydore Virgil, p. 569. (*m*) Bacon, p. 583. (*n*) Polydore Virgil, p. 569, 570. (*o*) Ibid. p. 570.

tended prince attendance as their sovereign, lodged him in the castle of Dublin, crowned him with a diadem taken from a statue of the Virgin, and publicly proclaimed him king, by the appellation of Edward VI. The whole island followed the example of the capital; and not a sword was any where drawn in Henry's quarrel.

Intelligence of these transactions being conveyed to the king, it reduced him to some perplexity. Determined always to face his enemies in person, he yet scrupled at present to leave England, where he suspected the conspiracy was first framed, and where he knew many persons of condition, and the people in general, were much disposed to give it countenance. In order to discover the secret source of the contrivance, and take measures against this open revolt, he held frequent consultations with his ministers and counsellors, and laid plans for a vigorous defence of his authority, and the suppression of his enemies.

The first event which followed these deliberations gave surprize to the public: it was the seizure of the queen-dowager, the forfeiture of all her lands and revenue, and the close confinement of her person in the monastery of Bermondsey. This act of authority was covered with a very slender pretence. It was alledged that, notwithstanding the secret agreement to marry her daughter to Henry, she had yet yielded to the solicitations and menaces of Richard, and had delivered that princess and her sisters into the hands of the tyrant. This crime, which was now become obsolete, and might admit of alleviations, was therefore suspected not to be the real cause of the severity with which she was treated; and men believed that the king, unwilling to accuse so near a relation of a conspiracy against him, had cloaked his vengeance or persecution under colour of an offence known to the whole world (*p*). They were afterwards the more confirmed in this suspicion, when they found that the unfortunate queen, though she survived this disgrace several years, was never treated with any more lenity, but was suffered to pass the remainder of her days in poverty, solitude, and confinement.

The next measure of the king's was of a less exceptionable nature. He ordered that Warwick should be taken from the Tower, be led in procession through the streets of London, be conducted to St. Paul's, and there exposed to the view of the whole people. He even gave directions that some men of rank, attached to the house of York, and best acquainted with the person of this prince, should approach him, and converse with him; and he trusted that these, being convinced of the absurd imposture of Simnel, would put a stop to the credulity of the populace. The expedient had its effect in England; but in Ireland the people still persisted in their revolt, and zealously retorted on the king the reproach of propagating an imposture, and of having deceived the public by shewing a counterfeit Warwick.

Henry had soon reason to apprehend that the design against him was not laid on such slight foundations as the absurdity of the contrivance seemed to indicate. John earl of Lincoln, son of John de la Pole, duke of Suffolk, and of Elizabeth, eldest sister to Edward IV. took part in the conspiracy. This nobleman, who possessed capacity and courage, had entertained very aspiring views; and the ambition of this nobleman was encouraged by the known intentions of his uncle Richard, who had formed a design, in case he himself should die without issue, of declaring Lincoln successor to the crown. The king's jealousy against all eminent persons of the York party, and his rigour towards Warwick, had farther struck Lincoln with apprehensions, and made him resolve to seek for safety in the more dangerous counsels. Having fixed a secret correspondence with sir Thomas Broughton, a man of great interest in Lancashire, he retired to Flanders, where Lovel had arrived a little before him; and he lived during some time in the court of his aunt the duchess of Burgundy, by whom he had been invited to that country.

Margaret, widow of Charles the Bold, duke of Burgundy, not having any children of her own, attached herself, with an entire friendship, to her daughter-in-law, married to Maximilian archduke of Austria: and after the death of that princess, she persevered in her affection to Philip and Margaret her children, and occupied herself in the care of their education and of their persons. By her virtuous conduct and demeanour she had acquired great authority among the Flemings; and lived with much dignity, as well as œconomy, upon that ample dowry which she inherited from her husband. The resentments of this princess were no less warm than her friendships; and that spirit of faction, which it is so difficult for a social and sanguine temper to guard against, had taken strong possession of her heart, and entrenched somewhat on the probity which shone forth in other parts of her character. Hearing of the malignant jealousy entertained by Henry against her family, and his oppression of all its partizans, she was moved with the highest indignation, and she determined to make him repent of that enmity to which so many of her friends, without any reason or necessity, had fallen victims. After consulting with the earl of Lincoln and lord Lovel, she hired a body of two thousand veteran Germans, under the command of Martin Swart, a brave and experienced officer (*q*); and sent them over, together with these two noblemen, to join Simnel in Ireland in the beginning of 1487. The countenance given by persons of such high rank, and the accession of this military force, much raised the courage of the Irish, and made them entertain the resolution of invading England, where they believed the spirit of disaffection as prevalent as it appeared to be in Ireland, and they fully expected to be joined by all the friends of the house of York. The poverty also under which they laboured made it impossible for them to support any longer their new court and army, and inspired them with a strong desire of enriching themselves by plunder and preferment in England.

The king, who was not ignorant of these intentions of his enemies, prepared himself for defence. He ordered troops to be levied in different parts of the kingdom, and put them under the command of the duke of Bedford and the earl of Oxford. He confined the marquis of Dorset in the Tower, who he suspected would resent the injuries suffered by his mother the queen dowager; and to gratify the people by an appearance of devotion, he made a pilgrimage to our lady of Walsingham, famous for miracles! and there offered up prayers for success, and for deliverance from the machinations of his enemies.

Being informed that Simnel landed in May at Foudrey in Lancashire, he drew together his forces, and advanced towards the enemy as far as Coventry. The rebels had entertained hopes that the disaffected counties in the North would rise in their favour; but the people in general, averse to join Irish and German invaders, convinced of Lambert's imposture, and kept in awe by the king's reputation for success and conduct, either remained in tranquillity, or gave assistance to the royal army. The earl of Lincoln, therefore, who commanded the rebels, finding no hopes but in victory, was determined to bring the matter to a speedy decision; and the king, supported by the native courage of his temper, and emboldened by a great accession of volunteers, who had joined him under the earl of Shrewsbury and lord Strange, declined not the combat. The hostile armies met at Stoke, in Nottinghamshire, on the 6th of June; a most obstinate battle was fought, and more valiantly disputed than could have been expected from the inequality of their force. All the leaders of the rebels were resolved to conquer or to perish; and they inspired their troops with a like resolution. The Germans also, being veteran and experienced soldiers, kept the event long doubtful; and even the Irish, though ill armed, and almost defenceless, showed themselves not defective in spirit and bravery. The king's victory was purchased with great loss, but was entirely decisive. Lincoln, Broughton, and Swart, perished in the field of battle, with four thousand of their followers. As Lovel was never heard of afterwards, he was believed to have undergone the same fate. Simnel, with his tutor Simon, was taken prisoner. Simon, being a priest, was not tried at law, and was only committed to close custody: Simnel being too contemptible to be an object either of apprehension or resentment to Henry, was pardoned, and made a scullion in the king's kitchen; whence he was afterwards advanced to the rank of a falconer (*r*), in which capacity he died.

Henry had now leisure to revenge himself on his enemies. He made a progress into the northern parts, where he gave many proofs of his rigorous disposition. A strict enquiry was made after those who had assisted or favoured the rebels. The punishments were not all sanguinary: the king made his revenge subservient to his avarice. Heavy fines were levied upon the delinquents. The proceedings of the courts, and even the courts themselves, were arbitrary. Either the criminals were tried by commissioners appointed for the purpose, or they suffered punishment by a sentence of a court-martial. And, as a rumour

(*p*) Bacon, p. 583. Polydore Virgil, p. 571. (*q*) Ibid. p. 572, 573. (*r*) Bacon, p. 586. Polydore Virgil, p. 574.

rumour had prevailed before the battle of Stoke, that the rebels had gained the victory, that the royal army was cut in pieces, and that the king himself had escaped by flight, Henry was resolved to interpret the belief or propagation of this report as a mark of disaffection; and he punished many for that pretended crime. But such in this age was the situation of the English government, that the royal prerogative, which was but imperfectly restrained during the most peaceable periods, was sure, in tumultuous or even suspicious times, which frequently recurred, to break all bounds of law, and to violate the liberty of the subject.

After the king had gratified his rigour by the punishment of his enemies, he determined to give contentment to the people in a point which, though a mere ceremony, was passionately desired by them. The queen had been married nearly two years, but had not yet been crowned; and this affectation of delay had given great discontent to the public, and had been one principal source of the disaffection which prevailed. The king, instructed by experience, now finished the ceremony of her coronation on the 25th of November; and, to shew a disposition still more gracious, he restored to liberty the marquis of Dorset, who had been able to clear himself of all the suspicions entertained against him by the king or his partizans.

The king acquired great reputation throughout Europe by the vigorous and prosperous conduct of his domestic affairs; but as some incidents about this time (1488) invited him to look abroad, and exert himself in behalf of his allies, it will be necessary, in order to give a just account of his foreign measures, to explain the situation of the neighbouring kingdoms; beginning with Scotland, which lies most contiguous.

The kingdom of Scotland had not yet attained that state which distinguishes a civilized monarchy, and which enables the government, by the force of its laws and institutions alone, without any extraordinary capacity in the sovereign, to maintain itself in order and tranquillity. James III. who now filled the Scottish throne, was a prince of little industry and of a very slender capacity, and was utterly incapable of any vigorous exertion; insomuch that he was obliged to resign the reins of government to his ministers; but, in the selection of his favourites, he had always been so unfortunate, as to incur the displeasure of his subjects, or to involve himself in difficulty or distress. When he bestowed his confidence on any of the principal nobility, he found that they exalted their own family to such a height as was dangerous to the prince, and gave umbrage to the state: when he conferred favour on any person of meaner birth, on whose submission he could more depend, the barons of his kingdom, enraged at the power of an upstart minion, proceeded to the utmost extremities against their sovereign. Had Henry entertained the ambition of conquests, a tempting opportunity now offered of reducing that kingdom to subjection; but as he was probably sensible that a warlike people, though they might be over-run by reason of their domestic divisions, could not be retained in obedience without a regular military force, which was then unknown in England, he rather intended the renewal of the peace with Scotland, and sent an embassy to James for that purpose. But the Scots, who never desired a durable peace with England, and who deemed their security to consist in constantly preserving themselves in a warlike posture, would not agree to more than a seven years truce, which was accordingly concluded (*s*).

The European states on the continent were then hastening fast to the situation in which they have remained, without any material alteration, for nearly three centuries; and began to unite themselves into one extensive system of policy, which comprehended the chief powers of Christendom. Spain, which had hitherto been almost entirely occupied within herself, now became formidable by the union of Arragon and Castile in the persons of Ferdinand and Isabella, who being princes of great capacity, employed their force in enterprizes the most advantageous to their combined monarchy. The conquest of Granada from the Moors was then undertaken, and brought near to a happy conclusion. And in that expedition the military genius of Spain was revived; honour and security were attained; and her princes, no longer kept in awe by a domestic enemy so dangerous, began to enter into all the transactions of Europe, and make a great figure in every war and negociation.

Maximilian king of the Romans, son of the emperor Frederic, had, by his marriage with the heiress of Burgundy, acquired an interest in the Netherlands; and though the death of his consort had weakened his connexions with that country, he still pretended to the government as tutor to his son Philip, and his authority had been acknowledged by Brabant, Holland, and several of the provinces. But as Flanders and Hainault still refused to submit to his regency, and even appointed other tutors to Philip, he had been engaged in long wars against that obstinate people, and never was able thoroughly to subdue their spirit. That he might free himself from the opposition of France, he had concluded a peace with Louis XI. and had given his daughter Margaret, then an infant, in marriage to the dauphin; together with Artois, Franche-Compté, and Charolois, as her dowry. But this alliance had not produced the desired effect. The dauphin succeeded to the crown of France by the appellation of Charles VIII.; but Maximilian still found the mutinies of the Flemings fomented by the intrigues of the court of France.

France, during the two preceding reigns had made a mighty increase in power and greatness; and had not other states of Europe at the same time received an accession of force, it had been impossible to have retained her within her ancient boundaries. Most of the great fiefs, Normandy, Champagne, Anjou, Dauphiny, Guienne, Provence, and Burgundy, had been united to the crown; the English had been expelled from all their conquests; the authority of the prince had been raised to such a height as enabled him to maintain law and order; a considerable military force was kept on foot, and the finances were able to support it. Louis XI. indeed, from whom many of these advantages were derived, was dead, and had left his son in early youth and ill educated, to sustain the weight of the monarchy; but having entrusted the government to his daughter Anne, lady of Beaujeu, a woman of spirit and capacity, the French power suffered no check or decline. On the contrary, this princess formed the great project, which at last she effected, of uniting to the crown Britanny, the last and most independent fief of the monarchy.

Francis II. duke of Britanny, conscious of his own incapacity for government, had resigned himself to the direction of Peter Landais, a man of mean birth, more remarkable for abilities than for virtue or integrity. The nobles of Britanny, displeased with the great advancement of this favourite, had even proceeded to disaffection against their sovereign; and after many tumults and disorders, they at last united among themselves, and in a violent manner seized, tried, and put to death the noxious minister. Dreading the resentment of the prince for this invasion of his authority, many of them retired to France; others, for protection and safety, maintained a secret correspondence with the French ministry, who, observing the great dissensions among the Bretons, thought the opportunity favourable for invading the duchy; and so much the rather, as they could cover their ambition under the specious pretence of providing for domestic security.

Louis duke of Orleans, first prince of the blood, and presumptive heir of the monarchy, had disputed the administration with the lady of Beaujeu; and though his pretensions had been rejected by the states, he still maintained cabals with many of the grandees, and laid schemes for subverting the authority of that princess. Finding his conspiracies detected, he took to arms, and fortified himself in Beaugenci; but as his revolt was precipitate, before his confederates were ready to join him, he had been obliged to submit, and to receive such conditions as the French ministry were pleased to impose upon him. Actuated, however, by his ambition, and even by his fears, he soon retired out of France, and took shelter with the duke of Britanny, who was desirous of strengthening himself against the designs of the lady of Beaujeu, by the friendship and credit of the duke of Orleans. This latter prince also, perceiving the ascendant which he soon acquired over the duke of Britanny, had engaged many of his partizans to join him at that court, and had formed the design of aggrandizing himself by a marriage with Anne, the heiress of that opulent duchy.

The barons of Britanny, who saw all favour engrossed by the duke of Orleans and his train, renewed a stricter correspondence with France, and even invited the French king to make an invasion on their country. Desirous, however, of preserving its independency, they had regulated the number of succours which France was to send them, and had stipulated that no fortified place in Britanny should remain in the possession of that monarchy: a vain precaution, where revolted subjects treat with a power so much

(*s*) Polydore Virgil, p. 575.

much superior! The French invaded Britanny with forces three times more numerous than those which they had promised to the barons; and advancing into the heart of the country, laid siege to Ploermel. To oppose them, the duke raised a numerous but ill-disciplined army, which he put under the command of the duke of Orleans, the count of Dunois, and others of the French nobility. The army, discontented with his choice, and jealous of their confederates, soon disbanded, and left their prince with too small a force to keep the field against his invaders. He retired to Vannes; but being hotly pursued by the French, who had now made themselves masters of Ploermel, he escaped to Nantz; and the enemy, having previously taken and garrisoned Vannes, Dinant, and other places, laid close siege to that city. The barons of Britanny, finding their country menaced with total subjection, began gradually to withdraw from the French army, and to make peace with their sovereign.

The desertion, however, of the Bretons did not discourage the court of France from pursuing her favourite project of reducing Britanny to subjection. The situation of Europe appeared favourable to the execution of this design. Maximilian was indeed engaged in close alliance with the duke of Britanny, and had even opened a treaty for marrying his daughter; but he was on all occasions so indigent, and at that time so disquieted by the mutinies of the Flemings, that little effectual assistance could be expected from him. Ferdinand was entirely occupied in the conquest of Grenada; and it was also known, that if France would resign to him Rousillon and Cerdagne, to which he had pretensions, she should at any time engage him to abandon the interest of Britanny. England alone was enabled by her power, as well as engaged by her interests, to support the independency of that duchy; and the most dangerous opposition was therefore, by Anne of Beaujeu, expected from that quarter. In order to cover her real designs, no sooner was she informed of Henry's success against Simnel and his partizans, than she dispatched ambassadors to the court of London, and made professions of the greatest trust and confidence in the sovereign of England.

The ambassadors, after congratulating Henry on his late victory, and communicating to him, in the most cordial manner, as to an intimate friend, some successes of their master against Maximilian, came in the progress of their discourse to mention the late transactions in Britanny. They told him, that the duke having given protection to French fugitives and rebels, the king had been necessitated, contrary to his intention and inclination, to carry war into that duchy: that the honour of the crown was interested not to suffer a vassal so far to forget his duty to his liege lord; nor was the security of the government less concerned to prevent the consequences of this dangerous temerity: that the fugitives were no mean or obscure persons; but, among others, the duke of Orleans, first prince of the blood, who, finding himself obnoxious to justice for treasonable practices in France, had fled into Britanny; where he still persevered in laying schemes of rebellion against his sovereign: that the war being thus, on the part of the French monarch, entirely defensive, it would immediately cease, when the duke of Britanny, by returning to his duty, should remove the causes of it: that their master was sensible of the obligations which the duke in very critical times had conferred on Henry; but it was known also, that in times still more critical, he or his mercenary counsellors had deserted him, and put his life in the utmost hazard: that his sole refuge in these desperate extremities had been the court of France, which not only protected his person, but supplied him with men and money, with which, aided by his own valour and conduct, he had been enabled to mount the throne of England: that France in this transaction had, from friendship to Henry, acted contrary to what in a narrow view might be esteemed her own interest; since, instead of an odious tyrant, she had contributed to establish on a rival throne a prince endowed with such virtue and abilities: and that as both the justice of the cause, and the obligations conferred on Henry, thus preponderated on the side of France, she reasonably expected that, if the situation of his affairs did not permit him to give her assistance, he would at least preserve a neutrality between the contending parties (*t*).

This discourse of the French ambassadors was plausible; and to give it greater weight, they communicated to Henry, as in confidence, their master's intention, after he should have settled the differences with Britanny, to lead an army into Italy, and make good his pretensions to the kingdom of Naples: a project which they knew would give no umbrage to the court of England. But all these artifices were in vain employed against the penetration of the king. He clearly saw that France had entertained the view of subduing Britanny; but he also perceived, that she would meet with great, and, as he thought, insuperable difficulties in the execution of her project. The native force of that duchy, he knew, had always been considerable, and had often, without any foreign assistance, resisted the power of France; the natural temper of the French nation, he imagined, would make them easily abandon any enterprize which required perseverance; and as the heir of the crown was confederated with the duke of Britanny, the ministers would be still more remiss in prosecuting a scheme which must draw on them his resentment and displeasure. Should even these internal obstructions be removed, Maximilian, whose enmity to France was well known, and who now paid his addresses to the heiress of Britanny, would be able to make a diversion on the side of Flanders; nor could it be expected that France, if she prosecuted such ambitious projects, would be allowed to remain in tranquillity by Ferdinand and Isabella. Above all, he thought the French court could never expect that England, so deeply interested to preserve the independency of Britanny, so able by her power and situation to give effectual and prompt assistance, would permit such an accession of force to her rival. He imagined, therefore, that the ministers of France, convinced of the impracticability of their scheme, would at last embrace pacific views, and would abandon an enterprize so disgustful to all the potentates of Europe.

This reasoning of Henry was solid, and might justly engage him in dilatory and cautious measures: but there entered into his conduct another motive, which was apt to draw him beyond the just bounds, because founded on a ruling passion. His frugality, which by degrees degenerated into avarice, made him averse to all warlike enterprizes and distant expeditions, and engaged him previously to try the expedient of negociation. He dispatched Urswic his almoner, a man of address and abilities, to make offer of his mediation to the contending parties: an offer which he thought, if accepted by France, would soon lead to a composure of all differences; if refused or eluded, would at least discover the perseverance of that court in her ambitious projects. Urswic found the lady of Beaujeu, now duchess of Burgundy, engaged in the siege of Nantz, and had the satisfaction to find that his master's offer of mediation was readily embraced, with many expressions of confidence and moderation. That able princess concluded, that the duke of Orleans, who governed the duke of Britanny, foreseeing that every accommodation must be made at his expence, would use all his interest to have Henry's proposal rejected; and would by that means make an apology for the French measures, and draw on the Bretons the reproach of obstinacy and injustice. The event justified her prudence. When the English ambassador made the same offer to the duke of Britanny, he received for answer, in the name of that prince, that having so long acted the part of protector and guardian to Henry during his youth and adverse fortune, he had expected from a monarch of such virtue, more effectual assistance in his present distresses, than a barren offer of mediation, which suspended not the progress of the French arms: that if Henry's gratitude were not sufficient to engage him in such a measure, his prudence, as king of England, should discover to him the pernicious consequences attending the conquest of Britanny, and its being annexed to the crown of France: that that kingdom, already too powerful, would be enabled, by so great an accession of force, to display, to the ruin of England, that hostile disposition which had always subsisted between those rival nations: that Britanny, so useful an ally, which, by its situation, gave the English an entrance into the heart of France, being joined to that kingdom, would be equally enabled, from its situation, to disturb, either by piracies or naval armaments, the commerce and peace of England: and that, if the duke rejected Henry's mediation, it proceeded neither from an inclination to a war, which he experienced to be ruinous to him, nor from a confidence in his own force, which he knew to be much inferior to that of the enemy; but, on the contrary, from a sense of his present necessities, which must engage the king to act the part of his confederate, rather than that of a mediator.

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(*t*) Bacon, p. 589.

When this answer was reported to the king, he abandoned not the plan which he had formed: he only concluded, that more time was requisite to quell the obstinacy of the Bretons, and make them submit to reason. And when he learned that the people of Britanny, anxious for the duke's safety, had formed a tumultuary army of sixty thousand men, and had obliged the French to raise the siege of Nantz, he fortified himself the more in his opinion, that the court of France would at last be reduced, by multiplied obstacles and difficulties, to abandon the project of reducing Britanny to subjection. He continued therefore his scheme of negociation, and by that means exposed himself to be deceived by the artifices of the French ministry; who, still pretending pacific intentions, sent lord Bernard Daubigny, a Scotchman of quality, to London, and pressed Henry not to be discouraged in offering his mediation to the court of Britanny. The king, on his part, dispatched another embassy, consisting of Urswic, the abbot of Abingdon, and sir Richard Tonstal, who carried new proposals for an amicable treaty. No effectual succours, meanwhile, were provided for the distressed Bretons. Lord Woodwille, brother to the queen dowager, having asked leave to raise underhand a body of volunteers, and to transport them into Britanny, met with a refusal from the king, who was desirous of preserving the appearance of a strict neutrality. That nobleman, however, still persisted in his purpose. He went over to the Isle of Wight, of which he was governor; levied a body of four hundred men; and having at last obtained, as is supposed, the secret permission of Henry, sailed with them to Britanny. This enterprize proved fatal to the leader, and brought small relief to the unhappy duke. The Bretons rashly engaged in a general action with the French at St. Aubin, on the 28th of July, 1488, and met with a total defeat. Woodwille and all the English were put to the sword; together with a body of Bretons, who had been accoutred in the garb of Englishmen, in order to strike a greater terror into the French (*u*). The duke of Orleans, the prince of Orange, and many other persons of rank, were taken prisoners; and the military force of Britanny was totally broken. The death of the duke Francis II. which happened on the 9th of September following, threw affairs into still greater confusion, and seemed to threaten the state with a final subjection to the crown of France.

Though the king did not prepare against these events, so hurtful to the interests of England, with sufficient vigour and precaution, he had not altogether overlooked them. Determined to maintain a pacific conduct, so far as the situation of affairs would permit, he yet knew the warlike temper of his subjects, and observed, that their ancient and inveterate animosity to France was now revived by the prospect of this great accession to her power and grandeur. He resolved therefore to make advantage of this disposition, and draw some supplies from the people, on pretence of giving assistance to the duke of Britanny. He had accordingly summoned a parliament to meet at Westminster, on the 9th of November; which he soon persuaded to grant him a considerable subsidy (*v*). But this supply, though voted by parliament, involved the king in unexpected difficulties. The counties of Durham and York, always discontented with Henry's government, and farther provoked by the late oppressions, under which they had laboured, after the suppression of Simnel's rebellion, resisted the commissioners who were appointed to levy the tax. The commissioners, terrified with this appearance of sedition, made application to the earl of Northumberland, and desired of him advice and assistance in the execution of their office. That nobleman thought the matter of importance enough to consult the king; who, unwilling to yield to the humours of a discontented populace, and foreseeing the pernicious consequence of such a precedent, renewed his orders for strictly levying the imposition. Northumberland summoned together the justices and chief freeholders, and delivered the king's commands in the most imperious terms, which, he thought, would enforce obedience, but which tended only to provoke the people, and make them believe him the adviser of those orders which he delivered to them (*w*). They betook themselves to arms, attacked Northumberland in his house, and put him to death. Having incurred such deep guilt, their mutinous humour then prompted them to declare against the king himself; and being instigated by John à Chamber, a seditious fellow of low birth, they chose sir John Egremont their leader, and prepared themselves for a vigorous resistance. Henry not dismayed with this insurrection which was so precipitate and ill-supported, immediately levied a force, which he put under the command of the earl of Surrey, whom he had freed from confinement, and received into favour. His intention was to send down these troops, in order to check the progress of the rebels; while he himself should follow with a greater body, which would absolutely insure success. But Surrey thought himself strong enough to encounter alone a raw and unarmed multitude; and he succeeded in the attempt. The rebels were dissipated; John à Chamber was taken prisoner, and afterwards executed with some of his accomplices; sir John Egremont fled to the duchess of Burgundy, who gave him protection; and the greater number of the rebels received a pardon.

Henry had probably expected, when he obtained this grant from parliament, that he should be able to terminate the affair of Britanny by negociation, and that he might thereby fill his coffers with the money levied by the imposition. But as the distresses of the Bretons still multiplied, and became every day more urgent; he found himself under the necessity of taking more vigorous measures, in order to support them. On the death of the duke, the French revived some antiquated claims to the dominion of the duchy; and as the duke of Orleans was now captive in France, their former pretence for hostilities could no longer serve as a cover to their ambition. The king resolved, therefore, to engage as auxiliary to Britanny; and to consult the interests as well as desires of his people, by opposing himself to the progress of the Frence power. Besides entering into a league with Maximilian, and another with Ferdinand, which were distant resources, he levied a body of six thousand troops, with an intention of transporting them into Britanny. Still anxious, however, for the repayment of his expences, he concluded a treaty with the young duchess, by which she engaged to deliver into his hands two sea-port towns, there to remain till she should entirely refund the charges of the armament (*x*). Though he engaged for the service of these troops during the space of ten months only, yet was the duchess obliged, by the necessity of her affairs, to submit to such rigid conditions, imposed by an ally so much concerned in interest to protect her. The forces arrived under the command of lord Willoughby de Broke; and made the Bretons, during some time, masters of the field. The French retired into their garrisons; and expected, by dilatory measures, to waste the fire of the English, and disgust them with the enterprize. The scheme was well laid, and met with success. Lord Broke found such discord and confusion in the counsels of Britanny, that no measures could be concerted for any undertaking; no supply obtained; no provisions, carriages, artillery, or military stores procured. The whole court was rent into factions: no one minister had acquired the ascendant; and whatever project was formed by one, was sure to be traversed by another. The English, disconcerted in every enterprize by these animosities and uncertain counsels, returned home after having been in Britanny ten months, the time stipulated for their stay in that country; leaving only a small garrison in those towns which had been consigned to Henry. During their stay in Britanny, they had only contributed still farther to waste the country; and by their departure, they left it entirely at the mercy of the enemy. So feeble was the succour which Henry, in this important conjuncture, afforded his ally, whom the invasion of a foreign enemy, concurring with domestic dissensions, had reduced to the utmost distress.

The great object of the domestic dissensions in Britanny was the disposal of the young duchess in marriage. The mareschal Rieux, favoured by Henry, seconded the suit of the lord d'Albert, who led some forces to her assistance. The chancellor Montauban, observing the aversion of the duchess to this suitor, insisted that a petty prince, such as d'Albert, was unable to support Anne in her present extremities; and he recommended some more powerful alliance, particularly that of Maximilian king of the Romans. This party at last prevailed; the marriage with Maximilian was celebrated by proxy, in 1490; and the duchess thenceforth assumed the title of Queen of the Romans. But this magnificent appellation was all she gained by her marriage. Maximilian, destitute of troops and money, and embarrassed with the continual revolts of the Flemings, could send no succour to his distressed consort; while d'Albert, enraged at the preference given to his rival, deserted her cause, and received the French into Nantz, the most important place in the duchy, both for strength and opulence.

(*u*) Argentré Hist. de Bretagne, lib. xii. (*v*) Polydore Virgil, p. 579, says, that this imposition was a capitation tax; the other historians say it was a tax of two shillings in the pound. (*w*) Bacon, p. 595. (*x*) Du Tillet, Recueil des Traités.

The French court now began to change their scheme with regard to the subjection of Britanny. Charles had formerly been affianced to Margaret daughter of Maximilian; who, though too young for the consummation of her marriage, had been sent to Paris to be educated, and at this time bore the title of Queen of France. Besides the rich dowry which she brought the king, she was, after her brother Philip, then in early youth, heir to all the dominions of the house of Burgundy; and seemed, in many respects, the most proper match that could be chosen for the young monarch. These circumstances had so blinded both Maximilian and Henry, that they never suspected any other intentions in the French court; nor were they able to discover that engagements, seemingly so advantageous, and so solemnly entered into, could be infringed and set aside. But Charles began to perceive that the conquest of Britanny, in opposition to the natives, and to all the great powers of Christendom, would prove a difficult enterprize: and that even if he should over-run the country, and make himself master of the fortresses, it would be impossible for him long to retain possession of them. The marriage alone of the duchess could fully re-annex that fief to the crown; and the present and certain enjoyment of so considerable a territory seemed preferable to the prospect of inheriting the dominions of the house of Burgundy; a prospect which became every day more distant and precarious. Above all, the marriage of Maximilian and Anne appeared destructive to the grandeur, and even security, of the French monarch; while that prince, possessing Flanders on the one hand, and Britanny on the other, might thus, from both quarters, make inroads into the heart of the country. The only remedy for these evils therefore appeared to be the dissolution of the two marriages, which had been celebrated, but not consummated; and the espousal of the duchess of Britanny by the king of France.

It was necessary that this expedient, which had not been foreseen by any court in Europe, and which they were all so much interested to oppose, should be kept a profound secret, and should be discovered to the world only by the full execution of it. The measures of the French ministry in the conduct of this delicate enterprize were wise and political. While they pressed Britanny with all the rigours of war, they secretly gained the count of Dunois, who possessed great authority with the Bretons; and having also engaged in their interests the prince of Orange, cousin-german to the duchess, they gave him his liberty, and sent him into Britanny. These partizans, supported by other emissaries of France, prepared the minds of men for the great revolution projected, and displayed, though still with many precautions, all the advantages of a union with the French monarchy. They represented to the barons of Britanny, that their country, harrassed during so many years with perpetual war, had need of some repose, and of a solid and lasting peace with the only power that was formidable to them: that their alliance with Maximilian was not able to afford them even present protection; and, by closely uniting them to a power which was rival to the greatness of France, fixed them in perpetual enmity with that potent monarchy: that their vicinity exposed them first to the inroads of the enemy; and the happiest event which, in such a situation, could befal them, would be to attain a peace, though by a final subjection to France, and by the loss of that liberty transmitted to them from their ancestors; and that any other expedient, compatible with the honour of the state, and their duty to their sovereign, was preferable to a scene of such disorder, devastation and bloodshed.

These suggestions had influence with the Bretons: but the chief difficulty lay in surmounting the prejudices of the young duchess herself. That princess had imbibed a strong prepossession against the French nation, particularly against Charles, the author of all the calamities which, from her earliest infancy, had befallen her family. She had also fixed her affections on Maximilian; and as she now deemed him her husband, she could not, she thought, without incurring the greatest guilt, and violating the most solemn engagements, contract a marriage with any other person. In order, therefore, to overcome her obstinacy, Charles liberated the duke of Orleans, in 1491, who, though formerly a suitor to the duchess, was now contented to ingratiate himself with the king, by employing in his favour all the interest which he still possessed in Britanny. Mareschal Rieux and chancellor Montauban were reconciled by his mediation; and these rival ministers now concurred with the prince of Orange and the count of Dunois, in pressing the conclusion of a marriage with Charles. By their suggestion, Charles advanced with a powerful army, and invested Rennes, at that time the residence of the duchess; who, assailed on all hands, and finding none to support her in her inflexibility, at last opened the gates of the city, and agreed to espouse the king of France. She was married at Langey in Touraine; conducted to St. Dennis, where she was crowned; thence made her entry into Paris, amidst the joyful acclamations of the people, who regarded this marriage as the most prosperous event that could have befallen the monarchy.

The triumph and success of Charles was the most sensible mortification to the king of the Romans. He had lost a considerable territory, which he thought he had acquired, and an accomplished princess, whom he had espoused; he was affronted in the person of his daughter Margaret, who was sent back to him after she had been treated, during some years, as queen of France; he had reason to reproach himself with his own supine security, in neglecting the consummation of his marriage, which was easily practicable for him, and which would have rendered the tye indissoluble: these considerations threw him into the most violent rage, which he vented in very indecent expressions; and he threatened France with an invasion from the united arms of Austria, Spain, and England.

The king of England had also just reason to reproach himself with misconduct in this important transaction; and though the affair had terminated in a manner which he could not precisely foresee, his negligence in leaving his most useful ally so long exposed to the invasion of superior power, could not but appear, on reflexion, the result of timid caution and narrow politics. As he valued himself on his extensive foresight and profound judgement, the ascendant acquired over him by a raw youth such as Charles, could not but give him the highest displeasure, and prompt him to seek vengeance, after all remedy for his miscarriage was become absolutely impracticable. But he was farther actuated by avarice, a motive still more predominant with him than either pride or revenge; and he sought, even from his present disappointments, the gratification of this ruling passion. On pretence of a French war, he issued a commission, on the 7th of July, for levying a *benevolence* on his people (*u*); a species of taxation which had been abolished by a recent law of Richard III. This violence (for such it really was) fell chiefly on the commercial part of the nation, who were possessed of the ready money. London alone contributed near ten thousand pounds. Archbishop Morton, the chancellor, instructed the commissioners to employ a dilemma, in which every one might be compreliended: if the persons applied to lived frugally, they were told that their parsimony must necessarily have enriched them: if their method of living were splendid and hospitable, they were concluded to be opulent on account of their expences. This device was by some called chancellor Morton's fork, by others his crutch.

So little apprehensive was the king of a parliament on account of his levying this arbitrary imposition, that he soon after summoned that assembly to meet at Westminster, on the 27th of October, and he even expected to enrich himself farther by working on their passions and prejudices. He knew the displeasure which the English had conceived against France on account of the acquisition of Britanny; and he took care to insist on that topic, in the speech which he himself pronounced to the parliament. He told them that France, elated with her late successes, had even proceeded to a contempt of England, and had refused to pay the tribute which Louis XI. had stipulated to Edward IV.: that it became so warlike a nation as the English to be roused by this indignity, and not to limit their pretensions merely to repelling the present injury: that, for his part, he was determined to lay claim to the crown itself of France, and to maintain by force of arms so just a title, transmitted to him by his gallant ancestors: that Crecy, Poictiers, and Agincourt, were sufficient to instruct them in their superiority over the enemy; nor did he despair of adding new names to the glorious catalogue: that a king of France had been a prisoner in London, and a king of England had been crowned at Paris; events which should animate them to an emulation of like glory with that which had been enjoyed by their forefathers: that the domestic dissensions of England had been the sole cause of her losing these foreign dominions; and her present internal union would be the effectual means of recovering

(*u*) Rymer, vol. xii. p. 446. Bacon says that the benevolence was levied with consent of parliament, which is a mistake.

recovering them: that where such lasting honour was in view, and such an important acquisition, it became not brave men to repine at the advance of a little treasure; and that, for his part, he was determined to make the war maintain itself; and hoped, by the invasion of so opulent a kingdom as France, to increase, rather than diminish, the riches of the nation (*x*).

Notwithstanding these magnificent vaunts of the king, all men of penetration concluded, from the personal character of the man, and still more from the situation of affairs, that he had no serious intention of pushing the war to such extremities as he pretended. France was not now in the same condition as when such successful inroads had been made upon her by former kings of England. The great fiefs were united to the crown; the princes of the blood were desirous of tranquillity; the nation abounded with able captains and veteran soldiers; and the general aspect of her affairs seemed rather to threaten her neighbours, than to promise them any considerable advantages against her. The levity and vain-glory of Maximilian were supported by his pompous titles; but were ill seconded by military power, and still less by any revenue proportioned to them. The politic Ferdinand, while he made a show of war, was actually negociating for peace; and, rather than expose himself to any hazard, would accept of very moderate concessions from France. Even England was not free from domestic discontents; and in Scotland, the death of Henry's friend and ally James III. who had been murdered by his rebellious subjects, had made way for the succession of his son James IV. who was devoted to the French interest, and would surely be alarmed at any important progress of the English arms. But all these obvious considerations had no influence on the parliament. Inflamed by the ideas of subduing France, and of enriching themselves by the spoils of that kingdom, they gave into the snare prepared for them, and voted the supply which the king demanded. Two fifteenths were granted him; and the better to enable his vassals and nobility to attend him, an act was passed, empowering them to sell their estates, without paying any fines for alienation.

The nobility were universally seized with a desire of military glory; and having credulously swallowed all the boasts of the king, they dreamed of no less than carrying their triumphant banners to the gates of Paris, and putting the crown of France on the head of their sovereign. Many of them borrowed large sums, or sold off manors, that they might appear in the field with greater splendour, and lead out their followers in more complete order. The king crossed the sea, and arrived at Calais on the 6th of October, 1492, with an army of twenty-five thousand foot and sixteen hundred horse, which he put under the command of the duke of Bedford and the earl of Oxford; but as some inferred, from his opening the campaign in so late a season, that peace would soon be concluded between the crowns, he was desirous of suggesting a contrary inference. "He had come over," he said, "to make an entire conquest of France, which was not the work of one summer. It was therefore of no consequence at what season he began the invasion; especially as he had Calais ready for winter-quarters." As if he had seriously intended to put his boasted threat into execution, he instantly marched into the enemy's country, and laid siege to Bologne; but notwithstanding this appearance of hostility, there had been secret advances made towards peace above three months before; and commissioners had been appointed to treat of the terms. The better to reconcile the minds of men to this unexpected measure, the king's ambassadors arrived in the camp from the Low Countries, and informed him that Maximilian was in no readiness to join him; nor was any assistance to be expected from that quarter. Soon after messengers came from Spain, and brought news of a peace concluded between that kingdom and France, in which Charles had made a cession of the counties of Rousillon and Cerdagne to Ferdinand. Though these articles of intelligence were carefully dispersed throughout the army, the king was still apprehensive lest a sudden peace, after such magnificent promises and high expectations, might expose him to reproach. In order the more effectually to cover the intended measures, he secretly engaged the marquis of Dorset, together with twenty-three other persons of distinction, to present him a petition for agreeing to a treaty with France. The pretence was founded on the late season of the year, the difficulty of supplying the army at Calais during winter, the obstacles which arose in the siege of Bologne, the desertion of those allies whose assistance had been most relied on: events which might, all of them, have been foreseen before the embarkation of the forces.

These preparatory steps being taken, the bishop of Exeter and lord Daubeny, governor of Calais, were sent to confer at Estaples with the mareschal de Cordes, and to put the last hand to the treaty. A few days sufficed for that purpose: the demands of Henry were wholly pecuniary; and the king of France, who deemed the peaceable possession of Britanny an equivalent for any sum, and who was all on fire for his projected expedition into Italy, readily agreed to the proposals made him. He engaged, on the 3rd of November, 1492, to pay Henry seven hundred and forty-five thousand crowns, near four hundred thousand pounds sterling of our present money; partly as a reimbursement of the sums advanced to Britanny, partly as arrears of the pension due to Edward IV. And he farther stipulated a yearly pension to Henry and his heirs of twenty-five thousand crowns. Thus the king as remarked by his historian, "made profit upon his subjects for the war; and upon his enemies for the peace (*y*)." In other words, he defrauded his people of their property, and bartered the honour of the nation for gold. And the people agreed that he had fulfilled his promise, when he said to the parliament that he would make the war maintain itself. Maximilian was, if he pleased, comprehended in Henry's treaty; but he disdained to be in any respect beholden to an ally of whom he thought he had reason to complain: he made a separate peace with France, and obtained restitution of Artois, Franchecompté, and Charolois, which had been ceded as the dowry of his daughter when she was affianced to the king of France.

The peace concluded between England and France was the more likely to continue, because Charles, full of ambition and youthful hopes, bent all his attention to the side of Italy, and soon after undertook the conquest of Naples; an enterprize which Henry regarded with the greater indifference, as Naples lay remote from him, and France had never in any age been successful in that quarter. The king's authority was fully established at home; and every rebellion which had been attempted against him had hitherto tended only to confound his enemies, and consolidate his own power and influence. His reputation for policy and conduct was daily augmenting; his treasures had increased even from the most unfavourable events; the hopes of all pretenders to his throne were cut off, as well by his marriage as by the issue which it had brought him. In this prosperous situation the king had reason to flatter himself with the prospect of durable peace and tranquillity; but his inveterate and indefatigable enemies, whom he had wantonly provoked, raised him an adversary, who long kept him in inquietude, and sometimes even brought him into danger.

The situation of affairs now seemed to promise peace and tranquillity to England: but the duchess of Burgundy, full of resentment for the depression of her family and its partizans, rather irritated than discouraged by the ill success of her past enterprizes, was determined, at least, to disturb that government which she found it so difficult to subvert. By means of her emissaries she propagated a report that her nephew Richard Plantagenet, duke of York, had escaped from the Tower when his elder brother was murdered, and that he still lay somewhere concealed: and finding this rumour, however improbable, to be well received by the people, she had been looking out for some young man proper to personate that unfortunate prince.

There was one Osbec, or Warbec, a renegado Jew of Tournay, who had been carried by some business to London in the reign of Edward IV. and had there a son born to him. Having had opportunities of being known to the king, and obtaining his favour, he prevailed with that prince, whose manners were very affable, to stand godfather to his son, to whom he gave the name of Peter, corrupted, after the Flemish manner, into Peterkin, or Perkin. It was by some believed that Edward, among his amorous adventures, had a secret commerce with Warbec's wife; and people thence accounted for that resemblance which was afterwards remarked between young Perkin and that monarch (*z*). Some years after the birth of this child Warbec returned to Tournay; where Perkin his son did not long remain, but by different accidents was carried from place to place, and his birth and fortunes became thereby unknown, and difficult to be traced by the enquiries of the most diligent scrutinizers. The variety of his adventures had happily favoured the natural versatility and

(*x*) Bacon, p. 601. (*y*) Ibid. p. 605. Pol. Virg. p. 586. (*z*) Bacon, p. 606.

and sagacity of his genius; and he seemed to be a youth perfectly fitted to act any part, or assume any character. In this light he had been represented to the duchess of Burgundy, who, struck with the concurrence of so many circumstances suited to her purpose, desired to be made acquainted with the man on whom she already began to ground her hopes of success. She found him to exceed her most sanguine expectations; so comely did he appear in his person, so graceful in his air, so courtly in his address, so full of docility and good sense in his behaviour and conversation. The lessons necessary to be taught him, in order to his personating the duke of York, were soon learned by a youth of such quick apprehension; but as the season seemed not then favourable for his enterprize, Margaret, in order the better to conceal him, sent him, under the care of lady Brampton, into Portugal, where he remained a year, in a manner sequestered from the prying eyes of European courtiers.

The war, which was then on the point of breaking out between France and England, seemed to afford a proper opportunity for the discovery of this new phænomenon; and Ireland, which still retained its attachments to the house of York, was chosen as the proper place for his first appearance (*a*). He landed at Corke; and assuming the name of Richard Plantagenet, drew to him partizans among that credulous people. He wrote letters to the earls of Desmond and Kildare, inviting them to join his party: he dispersed every where the strange intelligence of his escape from the cruelty of his uncle Richard: and the people, fond of every thing new and wonderful, began to make him the general subject of their discourse, and even the object of their favour. From Ireland the news was speedily conveyed to France; and Charles, prompted by the secret solicitations of the duchess of Burgundy, and the intrigues of one Frion, a secretary of Henry's, who had deserted his service, sent Perkin an invitation to repair to him at Paris. He received him with all the marks of regard due to the duke of York; settled on him a handsome pension, assigned him magnificent lodgings, and in order to provide at once for his dignity and security, gave him a guard for his person, of which lord Congresal accepted the office of captain. The French courtiers readily embraced a fiction which their sovereign thought it his interest to adopt: Perkin, both by his deportment and personal qualities, supported the prepossession which was spread abroad of his royal pedigree; and the whole kingdom was full of the accomplishments, as well as the singular adventures and misfortunes, of the young Plantagenet. Wonders of this nature are commonly augmented at a distance. From France the admiration and credulity diffused themselves into England: Sir George Nevil, Sir John Taylor, and above a hundred other gentlemen, went to Paris, to offer their services to the supposed duke of York, and to share his fortunes; and the impostor had now the appearance of a court attending him, and began to entertain hopes of final success in his undertakings.

Some time after, when peace was concluded between France and England at Estaples, Henry applied to have Perkin put into his hands; but Charles, resolute not to betray a young man, of whatever birth, whom he had invited into his kingdom, would only agree to dismiss him. The pretended Richard then retired to the duchess of Burgundy, and craving her protection and assistance, offered to lay before her all the proofs of that birth to which he laid claim. The princess affected ignorance of his pretensions; even put on the appearance of distrust; and having, as she said, been already deceived by Simnel, she was determined never again to be seduced by any impostor. She desired before all the world to be instructed in his reasons for assuming the name which he bore; seemed to examine every circumstance with the most scrupulous nicety; put many particular questions to him; affected astonishment at his answers; and at last, after long and severe scrutiny, burst out into joy and admiration at his wonderful deliverance, embraced him as her nephew, the true image of Edward, the sole heir of the Plantagenets, and the legitimate successor to the throne of England. In the beginning of 1493, she assigned him an equipage suited to his pretended birth; appointed him a guard of thirty halberdiers; engaged every one to pay court to him; and on all occasions honoured him with the appellation of the "White Rose of England." The Flemings, moved by the authority which Margaret, both from her rank and personal character, enjoyed among them, readily adopted the fiction of Perkin's royal descent. No surmise of his true birth was as yet heard of: little contradiction was made to the prevailing opinion; and the English, from their great communication with the Low Countries, were every day more and more prepossessed in favour of Perkin.

It was not the populace alone of England that gave credit to Perkin's pretensions. Men of the highest birth and quality, disgusted at Henry's government, by which they found the nobility depressed, began to turn their eyes towards the new claimant; and some of them even entered into a correspondence with him. Lord Fitzwalter, Sir Simon Montfort, Sir Thomas Thwaites, betrayed their inclination towards him: Sir William Stanley himself, lord chamberlain, who had been so active in raising Henry to the throne, moved either by blind credulity or a restless ambition, entertained the project of a revolt in favour of his enemy (*b*). Sir Robert Clifford and William Barley were still more open in their measures: they went over to Flanders, were introduced by the duchess of Burgundy to the acquaintance of Perkin, and made him a tender of their services. Clifford wrote back to England, that he knew perfectly the person of Richard duke of York, that this young man was undoubtedly that prince himself, and that no circumstance of his story was exposed to the least difficulty. Such positive intelligence, conveyed by a person of rank and character, was sufficient, with many, to put the matter beyond question, and excited the attention and wonder even of the most indifferent. The whole nation was held in suspense; a regular conspiracy was formed against the king's authority; and a correspondence settled between the malcontents in Flanders and those in England.

The king being informed of all these particulars, agreeably to his character, which was both cautious and resolute, proceeded deliberately, though steadily, in counter-working the projects of his enemies. His first object was to ascertain the death of the real duke of York, and to confirm the opinion that had always prevailed with regard to that event. Five persons had been employed by Richard in the murder of his nephews, or could give evidence with regard to it; Sir James Tyrrel, to whom he had committed the government of the Tower for that purpose for one night only, and who had seen the dead princes; Forrest, Dighton, and Slater, who perpetrated the crime; and the priest who buried the bodies. Tyrrel and Dighton alone were alive, and they agreed in the same story; but as the priest was dead, and as the bodies were supposed to have been removed by Richard's orders, from the place where they were first interred, and could not now be found, it was not in Henry's power to put the fact, so much as he wished, beyond all doubt and controversy. The depositions of these wretches were however published.

He met at first with more difficulty, but was in the end more successful in detecting who this wonderful person was that thus boldly advanced pretensions to his crown. He dispersed his spies all over Flanders and England; he engaged many to pretend that they had embraced Perkin's party; he directed them to insinuate themselves into the confidence of the young man's friends; in proportion as they conveyed intelligence of any conspirator, he bribed his retainers, his domestic servants, nay, sometimes his confessor, and by these means traced up some other confederate; Clifford himself he engaged, by the hope of rewards and pardon, to betray the secrets committed to him; the more trust he gave to any of his spies, the higher resentment did he feign against them; some of them he even caused to be publicly anathematized, in order the better to procure them the confidence of his enemies; and in the issue, the whole plan of the conspiracy was clearly laid before him; and the pedigree, adventures, life, and conversation of the pretended duke of York. This latter part of the story was immediately published for the satisfaction of the nation; but the conspirators he reserved for a slower and surer vengeance."

He remonstrated, in the mean time, with the archduke Philip, on account of the countenance and protection which was afforded in his dominions to so infamous an impostor; contrary to treaties subsisting between the sovereigns, and to the mutual amity which had so long been maintained by the subjects of both states. Margaret had interest enough to get his application rejected; on pretence that Philip had no authority over the demesnes of the duchess dowager. And the king, in resentment of this injury, cut off all commerce with the Low Countries, banished the Flemings, and recalled his own subjects from those provinces. Philip retaliated by like edicts; but Henry

(*a*) Polyd. Virg. p. 589.

(*b*) Bacon, p. 608.

Henry knew, that so mutinous a people as the Flemings would not long bear, in compliance with the humours of their prince, to be deprived of the beneficial branch of commerce which they carried on with England.

Henry, however, had it in his power to inflict more effectual punishment on his domestic enemies; and when his projects were sufficiently matured, he failed not to make them feel the effects of his resentment. Almost in the same instant he arrested lord Fitzwalter, Sir Simon Montfort, and Sir Thomas Thwaites, together with William Daubeney, Robert Ratcliff, Thomas Cressenor, and Thomas Atwood. All these were arraigned, convicted, and condemned for high treason, in adhering and promising aid to Perkin. Montfort, Ratcliff, and Daubeney, were immediately executed: Fitzwalter was sent over to Calais, and detained in custody; but being detected in practising on his keeper for an escape, he soon after underwent the same fate. The rest were pardoned, together with William Worseley, dean of St. Paul's, and some others, who had been accused and examined, but not brought to public trial (*c*).

Greater and more solemn preparations were deemed requisite for the trial of Stanley, lord chamberlain, whose authority in the nation, whose domestic connexions with the king, as well as his former services, seemed to secure him against any accusation or punishment. Sir Robert Clifford was now, 1494, directed to come over privately to England, and to throw himself at the king's feet while he sat in council; craving pardon for past offences, and offering to atone for them by any services which should be required of him. Henry then told him, that the best proof he could give of penitence, and the only service he could now render him, was the full confession of his guilt, and the discovery of all his accomplices, however distinguished by rank or character. Encouraged by this exhortation, Clifford accused Sir William Stanley, then present, as his chief abettor; and offered to lay before the council the full proof of his guilt. Stanley himself could not discover more surprize than was affected by Henry on the occasion. He received the intelligence as absolutely false and incredible; that a man, to whom he was in a great measure beholden for his crown, and even for his life; a man to whom by every honour and favour he had endeavoured to express his gratitude; whose brother, the earl of Derby, was his own father-in-law; to whom he had even committed the trust of his person, by creating him lord chamberlain: that this man, enjoying his full confidence and affection, not actuated by any motive of discontent or apprehension, should engage in a conspiracy against him. Clifford was therefore exhorted to weigh well the consequences of his accusation; but as he persisted in the same positive asseverations, Stanley was committed to custody, and was soon after examined before the council (*d*). He denied not the guilt imputed to him by Clifford; he did not even endeavour to extenuate it; whether he thought that a frank and open confession would serve as an atonement, or trusted to his present connexions and his former services for pardon and security. But princes are apt to regard great services as a ground of jealousy, especially if accompanied with a craving and restless disposition in the person who has performed them. The general discontent also, and mutinous humour of the people, seemed to require some great example of severity. And as Stanley was one of the most opulent subjects in the kingdom, being possessed of above three thousand pounds a-year in land, and forty thousand marks in plate and money, besides other property of great value, the prospect of so rich a forfeiture was deemed no small motive for Henry's proceeding to extremities against him. After six weeks delay, which was interposed in order to shew that the king was restrained by doubts and scruples; the prisoner was brought to his trial, condemned, and beheaded on the 15th of February, 1495. Historians are not agreed with regard to the crime which was proved against him. The general report is, that he should have said in confidence to Clifford, that if he were sure the young man who appeared in Flanders was really son to king Edward, he never would bear arms against him. The sentiment might disgust Henry, as implying a preference of the house of York to that of Lancaster; but could scarcely be the ground, even in those arbitrary times, of a sentence of high treason against Stanley. It is more probable, therefore, as is asserted by some historians, that he had expressly engaged to assist Perkin, and had actually sent him some supply of money.

The fate of Stanley made great impression on the kingdom, and struck all the partizans of Perkin with the deepest dismay. From Clifford's desertion they found that all their secrets were betrayed; and as it appeared that Stanley, while he seemed to live in the greatest confidence with the king, had been continually surrounded by spies, who reported and registered every action in which he was engaged, nay, every word which fell from him, a general distrust took place, and all mutual confidence was destroyed, even among intimate friends and acquaintance. No one knew but that his actions and conversations were registered, and transmitted to the king's council. The jealous and severe temper of the king, together with his great reputation for sagacity and penetration, kept men in awe, and quelled not only the movements of sedition, but the very murmurs of faction. Libels, however, creeped out against Henry's person and administration; and being greedily propagated by every secret art, shewed that there still remained among the people a considerable root of discontent, which wanted only a proper opportunity to discover itself.

But Henry continued more intent on increasing the terrors of his people, than on gaining their affections. Trusting to the great success which attended him in all his enterprizes, he gave every day more and more a loose to his rapacious temper, and employed the arts of perverted law and justice, in order to exact fines and compositions from his people. Sir William Capel, alderman of London, was condemned on some penal statutes to pay the sum of two thousand seven hundred and forty-three pounds, and was obliged to compound for sixteen hundred and fifteen. This was the first noted case of the kind; but it became a precedent, which prepared the way for many others. The management, indeed, of these arts of chicanery, was the great secret of the king's administration. While he depressed the nobility, he exalted and honoured and caressed the lawyers; and by that means both bestowed authority on the laws, and was enabled, whenever he pleased, to pervert them to his own advantage. His government was oppressive; but it was so much the less burdensome, as by his extending royal authority, and curbing the nobles, he became in reality the sole oppressor in his kingdom.

In the summer of this year (1495) Henry, in order to convince the world that the infidelity of Stanley had not diminished his regard for his brother, the earl of Derby; nor his affection for his own mother, the wife of that nobleman; made an excursion to the earl's house at Latham, where he staid three days, and seemed perfectly satisfied with his entertainment. From thence he made a progress through the northern counties. As Perkin now found that the king's authority daily gained ground among the people, and that his own pretensions were becoming obsolete, therefore he resolved to attempt something which might revive the hopes and expectations of his partizans. Having collected a band of outlaws, pirates, robbers, and necessitous persons of all nations, to the number of six hundred men, he put to sea, with a resolution of making a descent in England, and of exciting the common people to arms, since all his correspondence with the nobility was cut off by Henry's vigilance and severity. Having received information that the king had made a progress to the north, he cast anchor on the coast of Kent, and sent some of his retainers ashore, who invited the country people to join him. The gentlemen of Kent assembled some troops to oppose him; but they purposed to do more essential service than by repelling the invasion: they carried the semblance of friendship to Perkin, and invited him to come himself ashore, in order to take the command over them. But the youth, always on his guard, observing that they had more order and regularity in their movements than could be supposed in new levied forces who had taken arms against established authority, refused to entrust himself into their hands; and the Kentish troops, despairing of success in their stratagem, fell upon such of his retainers as were already landed. Besides some whom they slew, they took a hundred and fifty prisoners. These were tried and condemned; and all of them executed by orders from the king, who was resolved to use no lenity towards men of such desperate fortunes (*e*).

This year a parliament was summoned in England, on the 13th of October, and another in Ireland; and some remarkable laws were passed in both countries. The English parliament enacted, that no person who should, by arms or otherwise, assist the king for the time being, should ever afterwards, either by course of law or act of parliament, be attainted for such an instance of obedience. This statute might be exposed to some censure, as favour-

(*c*) Polydore Virgil, p. 592. (*d*) Bacon, p. 611. Polyd. Virg. p. 593. (*e*) Polyd. Virg. p. 595.

able to usurpers; were there any precise rule which always, even during the most factious times, could determine the true successor, and render every one inexcusable who did not submit to him. But as the titles of princes are then the great subject of dispute, and each party pleads topics in its own favour, it seems but equitable to secure those who act in support of public tranquillity, an object at all times of undoubted benefit and importance. But Henry, conscious of his disputed title, promoted this law, in order to secure his partizans against all events; as he had himself observed a contrary practice with regard to Richard's adherents, he had reason to apprehend, that during the violence which usually ensues on public convulsions, his example rather than his law would, in case of a new revolution, be followed by his enemies. And the attempt to bind the legislature itself, by prescribing rules to future parliaments, was contradictory to the plainest principles of political government. This parliament also passed an act, empowering the king to levy, by course of law, all the sums which any person had agreed to pay by way of benevolence: a statute by which that arbitrary method of taxation was indirectly authorized and justified.

The king's authority appeared equally prevalent and uncontrolled in Ireland. Sir Edward Poynings had been sent over to that country, with an intention of quelling the partizans of the house of York, and of reducing the natives to subjection. He was not supported by forces sufficient for that enterprize: the Irish, by flying into their woods, morasses, and mountains, for some time eluded his efforts: but Poynings summoned a parliament at Dublin, where he was more successful. He passed that memorable statute, which still bears his name, and which establishes the authority of the English government in Ireland. By this statute all the former laws of England were made to be of force in Ireland; and no bill could be introduced into the Irish parliament, unless it previously receive the sanction of the council of England. This latter clause seems calculated for ensuring the dominion of the English; but was really granted at the desire of the Irish commons, who intended by that means to secure themselves from the tyranny of their lords, particularly of such lieutenants or deputies as were of Irish birth (*f*).

Towards the conclusion of this year (1495), the king created his son Henry, duke of York. The prince was at the same time made a knight of the Bath; and several noblemen and gentlemen were likewise admitted into that noble order.

While Henry's authority was thus established throughout his dominions, and general tranquillity prevailed, the whole continent was thrown into combustion by the French invasion of Italy, and by the rapid success which attended Charles in that rash and ill-concerted enterprize. The Italians, who had entirely lost the use of arms, and who, in the midst of continual wars, had become every day more unwarlike, were astonished to meet an enemy, that made the field of battle not a pompous tournament, but a scene of blood, and sought, at the hazard of their own lives, the death of their enemy. Their effeminate troops were dispersed every where on the approach of the French army: their best fortified cities opened their gates: kingdoms and states were in an instant overturned: and through the whole length of Italy, which the French penetrated without resistance, they seemed rather to be taking quarters in their own country than to be making conquests over an enemy. The maxims which the Italians during that age followed in negociations, were as ill calculated to support their states as the habits to which they were addicted in war: a treacherous, deceitful, and inconsistent system of politics prevailed; and even those small remains of fidelity and honour, which were preserved in the councils of the other European princes, were ridiculed in Italy as proofs of ignorance and rusticity. Ludovico duke of Milan, who invited the French to invade Naples, had never desired or expected their success; and was the first that felt terror from the prosperous issue of those projects which he himself had concerted. By his intrigues a league was formed among several potentates to oppose the progress of Charles's conquests, and secure their own independency. This league was composed of Ludovico himself, the pope, Maximilian king of the Romans, Ferdinand of Spain, and the republic of Venice. Henry too entered into the confederacy; but was not put to any expence or trouble in consequence of his engagements. The king of France, terrified by so powerful a combination, retired from Naples with the greater part of his army, and returned to France. The forces which he left in his new conquest were, partly by the revolt of the inhabitants, partly by the invasion of the Spaniards, soon after subdued; and the whole kingdom of Naples suddenly returned to its allegiance under Ferdinand, son to Alphonso, who had been suddenly expelled by the irruption of the French. Ferdinand died soon after; and left his uncle Frederic in full possession of the throne.

Perkin having been repulsed from the coast of Kent, retired into Flanders; but as he found it impossible to procure subsistence for himself and his followers, while he remained in tranquillity, he soon after made an attempt upon Ireland, which had always appeared forward to join every invader of Henry's authority. But Poynings had now put the affairs of that island in so good a posture, that Perkin met with little success; and being tired of the savage life which he was obliged to lead while wandering among the wild Irish, he bent his course towards Scotland, and presented himself to James IV. who then sat on the throne of that kingdom. He had been previously recommended to this prince by the king of France, who was disgusted at Henry for entering into the general league against him; and this recommendation was even seconded by Maximilian, who, though one of the confederates, was also displeased with the king on account of his prohibitiug in England all commerce with the Low Countries. The countenance given to Perkin by these princes procured him a favourable reception with the king of Scotland, who assured him, that whatever he were, he never should repent putting himself in his hands (*g*): the insinuating address and plausible behaviour of the youth himself seem to have gained him credit and authority. James, whom years had not yet taught distrust or caution, was seduced to believe the story of Perkin's birth and adventures; and he carried his confidence so far as to give him in marriage the lady Catharine Gordon, daughter of the earl of Huntley, and related to himself: a young lady eminent for her virtue as well as for her beauty and engaging manners.

There subsisted at that time a great jealousy between the courts of England and Scotland; and James was probably the more forward on that account to adopt any fiction which he thought might reduce his enemy to distress or difficulty. He suddenly resolved to make an inroad into England, which he did in the spring of 1496, attended by some of the borderers; and he carried Perkin along with him, in hopes that the appearance of the pretended prince might raise an insurrection in the northern counties. Perkin himself dispersed a manifesto, in which he set forth his own story, and craved the assistance of all his subjects in expelling the usurper, whose tyranny and mal-administration, whose depression of the nobility by the elevation of mean persons, whose oppression of the people by multiplied impositions and vexations, had justly, he said, rendered him odious to all men. But Perkin's pretensions, attended with repeated disappointments, were now become languid in the eyes even of the populace; and the hostile dispositions which subsisted between the kingdoms rendered a prince, supported by the Scots, but an unwelcome present to the English nation. The ravages also committed by the borderers, accustomed to licence and disorder, struck a terror into all men; and made the people prepare rather for repelling the invaders than for joining them. Perkin, that he might support his pretensions to royal birth, feigned great compassion for the misery of his plundered subjects; and publicly remonstrated with his ally against the depredations exercised by the Scottish army (*h*): but James told him, that he doubted his concern was employed only in behalf of an enemy, and that he was anxious to preserve what never should belong to him. That prince now began to perceive that his attempt would be fruitless; and hearing of an army which was on its march to attack him, he thought proper to retreat into his own country.

The king discovered little anxiety to procure reparation or to take vengeance for this insult committed on him by the Scottish nation: his chief concern was to draw advantage from it, by the pretence which it might afford him to levy impositions on his own subjects. Therefore on the 16th of January, 1497, he summoned a parliament, to whom he made bitter complaints against the irruption of the Scots, the absurd imposture countenanced by that nation, the cruel devastations committed in the northern counties, and the multiplied insults thus offered both to the king and kingdom of England. The parliament made the expected return to this discourse, by granting a subsidy

(*f*) Sir John Davies, p. 235. (*g*) Bacon, p. 615. Polydore Virgil, p. 596, 597. (*h*) Polyd. Virg. p. 598.

sidy to the amount of one hundred and twenty thousand pounds, together with two fifteenths. After making this grant, the only cause of their having been assembled, they were dismissed. The vote of parliament for imposing the tax was without much difficulty procured by the authority of Henry; but he found it not so easy to levy the money upon his subjects, as it was to obtain the grant from parliament. The people, who were acquainted with the immense treasures which he had amassed, could ill brook the new impositions raised on every slight occasion; and it is probable that the flaw, which was universally known to be in his title, made his reign the more subject to insurrections and rebellions. When the subsidy began to be levied in Cornwall, the inhabitants, numerous and poor, robust and courageous, murmured against a tax occasioned by a sudden inroad of the Scots, from which they esteemed themselves entirely secure, and which had usually been repelled by the force of the northern counties. Their discontent was farther inflamed by one Michael Joseph, a farrier of Bodmin, a notable prating fellow, who, by thrusting himself forward on every occasion, and being loudest in every complaint against the government, had acquired an authority among those rude people. Thomas Flammoc, a lawyer, who, from a pompous display of professional knowledge, had become the oracle of the neighbourhood, encouraged the sedition, by informing them that the tax, though imposed by parliament, was entirely illegal; that the northern nobility were bound by their tenures to defend the nation against the Scots; and that if these new impositions were tamely submitted to, the avarice of Henry and of his ministers would soon render the burden intolerable to the nation. The Cornish, he said must deliver to the king a petition, seconded by such a force as would give it authority; and, in order to procure the concurrence of the rest of the kingdom, care must be taken, by their orderly deportment, to shew that they had nothing in view but the public good, and the redress of all those grievances with which the nation had been so long burdened. Encouraged by the exhortations of these persons, the multitude flocked together, and armed themselves with axes, bills, bows, and such weapons as country people are usually possessed of. Flammoc and Joseph were chosen their leaders. They soon conducted the Cornishmen through the county of Devon, and reached that of Somerset. At Taunton the rebels killed, in their fury, an officious and eager commissioner of the subsidy, whom they called the provost of Perin. When they reached Wells, they were joined by lord Audley, a nobleman of an ancient family, popular in his deportment, but vain, ambitious, and restless in his temper. He had from the beginning maintained a secret correspondence with the first movers of the insurrection; and was now joyfully received by them as their leader. Proud of the countenance given them by so considerable a nobleman, they continued their march; breathing destruction to the king's ministers and favourites, particularly to Morton, now a cardinal, and sir Reginald Bray, who were deemed the most active instruments in all his oppressions. Notwithstanding their rage against the administration, they carefully followed the directions given them by their leaders; and as they met with no resistance, they committed, during their march, no violence or disorder.

The rebels had been told by Flammoc, that the inhabitants of Kent, as they had ever, during all ages, remained unsubdued, and had even maintained their independence during the Norman conquest, would surely embrace their party, and declare themselves for a cause which was no other than that of public good and general liberty. But the Kentish people had very lately distinguished themselves by repelling Perkin's invasion; and as they had received from the king many gracious acknowledgements for this service, their affections were, by that means, much conciliated to his government. It was easy therefore, for the earl of Kent, lord Abergavenny, and lord Cobham, who possessed great authority in those parts, to retain the people in obedience; and the Cornish rebels, though they pitched their camp near Eltham, at the very gates of London, and invited all the people to join them, got reinforcement from no quarter. There wanted not discontents every where, but no one would take part in so rash and ill-concerted an enterprize; and besides, the situation in which the king's affairs then stood, discouraged even the boldest and most daring.

Henry, in order to oppose the Scots, had already levied an army, which he put under the command of lord Daubeney, who had succeeded Stanley in the office of chamberlain; and as soon as he heard of the Cornish insurrection, he ordered it to march southwards, and suppress the rebels. Not to leave the northern parts defenceless, he dispatched thither the earl of Surrey, who assembled the forces on the borders, and made head against the enemy. Henry found here the concurrence of the three most fatal incidents that can befal a monarchy; a foreign enemy, a domestic rebellion, and a pretender to his crown; but he enjoyed great resources in his army and treasure, and still more in the intrepidity and courage of his own temper. He did not, however, immediately give full scope to his military spirit. On other occasions, he had always hastened to a decision; and it was a usual saying with him, "that he desired but to see his rebels:" but as the Cornish mutineers behaved in an inoffensive manner, and committed no spoil on the country; as they received no accession of force on their march or in their encampment; and as such hasty and popular tumults might be expected to diminish every moment by delay; he protracted the attack; and taking post in London, he assiduously prepared the means of ensuring victory.

Having collected his forces together, he divided them into three bodies, and marched out to assail the enemy. The first body, commanded by the earl of Oxford, and under him by the earls of Essex and Suffolk, were appointed to place themselves behind the hill on which the rebels were encamped: the second and most considerable, Henry put under the command of lord Daubeney, who was ordered to attack the enemy in front, and bring on the action. The third he kept as a body of reserve about his own person, and took post in St. George's Fields; where he secured the city, and could easily, as occasion served, either restore the fight, or finish the victory. To put the enemy off their guard, he spread a report that he was not to attack them till some days after; and the better to confirm them in this opinion, he began not the action till near the evening of the 22nd of June, 1497. Daubeney beat a detachment of the rebels from Deptford bridge; and before the main body could be in order to receive him, he had gained the ascent of the hill, and placed himself in array before them. The enemy were formidable from their numbers, being sixteen thousand strong, and nowise defective in valour; but being tumultuary troops, ill armed, and not provided with cavalry or artillery, they were but an unequal match for the king's forces. Daubeney began the attack with courage, and even with a contempt of the enemy, which had almost proved fatal to him. He rushed into the midst of them, and was taken prisoner; but soon after was released by his own troops. After some resistance the rebels were broken, and put to flight (*i*). Lord Audley, Flammoc, and Joseph, their leaders, were taken, and all three executed. The latter seemed even to exult in his end, and boasted with a preposterous ambition, that he should make a figure in history. The rebels, being surrounded on every side by the king's troops, were almost all made prisoners, and immediately dismissed without farther punishment: whether that Henry was satisfied with the victims who had fallen in the field, and who amounted to near two thousand, or that he pitied the ignorance and simplicity of the multitude, or favoured them on account of their inoffensive behaviour, or was pleased that they had never, during their insurrection, disputed his title, and had shewn no attachment to the house of York, the highest crime, of which, in his opinion, they could have been guilty.

The Scottish king remained not inactive during these commotions in England. He levied a considerable army, and sat down before the castle of Norham in Northumberland; but found that place, by the precaution of Fox bishop of Durham, so well provided both with men and ammunition, that he made little or no progress in the siege. Hearing that the earl of Surrey had collected some forces, and was advancing against him, he retreated into his own country, and left the frontiers exposed to the inroads of the English general, who besieged and took Aiton, a small town and castle lying a few miles beyond Berwick. These unsuccessful or frivolous attempts on both sides prognosticated a speedy end to the war; and Henry, notwithstanding his superior force, was no less desirous than James of terminating the differences between the nations. Not to depart, however, from his dignity, by making the first advances, he employed in this friendly office Peter Hialas, a man of address and learning, who had come to him as ambassador from Ferdinand and Isabella, and who was charged with a commission of negociating the marriage of the infanta Catharine their daughter, with Arthur prince of Wales (*k*).

Hialas

(*i*) Polydore Virgil, p. 601.

(*k*) Ibid. p. 603.

Hialas accordingly took a journey northwards, and offered his mediation between James and Henry, as minister of a prince who was in alliance with both potentates. Commissioners were soon appointed to meet, and confer on terms of accommodation. The first demand of the English was, that Perkin should be put into their hands: James replied, that he himself was no judge of the young man's pretensions, but having received him as a supplicant, and promised him protection, he was determined not to betray a man who had trusted to his good faith and his generosity. The next demand of the English met with no better reception: they required reparation for the ravages committed by the late inroads into England: the Scotch commissioners replied, that the spoils were like water spilt upon the ground, which could never be recovered, and that Henry's subjects were better able to bear the loss, than their masters to repair it. Henry's commissioners next proposed, that the two kings should have an interview at Newcastle, in order to adjust all differences; but James said, that he meant to treat of a peace, not to beg for it. Lest the conferences should break off altogether without effect, a truce was concluded for some months; and James, perceiving that, while Perkin remained in Scotland, he himself never should enjoy a solid peace with Henry, privately desired him to repair to some place of greater security. Hereupon Perkin would have retired to the Low Countries, his usual retreat in all his disappointments, but an insurmountable barrier was raised against him. The Flemish merchants, who severely felt the loss resulting from the interruption of commerce with England, had made such interest in the archduke's council, that commissioners were sent to London, in order to treat of an accommodation. The Flemish court agreed, that all English rebels should be excluded the Low Countries; and in this prohibition the demesnes of the duchess-dowager were expressly comprehended. When this principal article was agreed to, all the other terms were easily adjusted. A treaty of commerce was finished, which was favourable to the Flemings, and to which they long gave the appellation of *Intercursus magnus*, the great treaty. And when the English merchants returned to their usual abode at Antwerp, they were publicly received, as in procession, with joy and festivity.

Perkin was a Fleming by descent, though born in England; and it might therefore be doubted, whether he were included between the two nations: but as he must dismiss all his English retainers if he took shelter in the Low Countries, and as he was sure of a cold reception, if not bad usage, among people who were determined to keep on terms of friendship with the court of England; he thought fit rather to hide himself, during some time, in the wilds and fastnesses of Ireland. Impatient, however, of a retreat, which was both disagreeable and dangerous, he held consultations with his followers, Herne, Skelton, and Astley, three tradesmen who had failed in business: by their advice, he resolved to try the affections of the Cornish, whose mutinous disposition, notwithstanding the king's lenity, still subsisted, after the suppression of their rebellion. He accordingly embarked, with about seventy men, in four small vessels; and, having arrived at Whitsand Bay in the month of September, 1497, he proceeded from thence to Bodmin in Cornwal, where the populace, to the number of three thousand, flocked to his standard; and Perkin, elated with this appearance of success, took on him, for the first time, the appellation of Richard the Fourth, king of England, and published a proclamation, exhorting the people to rise, and effect the deposition of Henry Tudor, who, he said, had usurped the throne to the prejudice of the lawful heir. Not to suffer the expectations of his followers to languish, he presented himself before Exeter; and, by many fair promises, invited that city to join him. Finding that the inhabitants shut their gates against him, he laid siege to the place; but being unprovided with artillery, ammunition, and every thing requisite for the attempt, he made no progress in his undertaking. Messengers were sent to the king, informing him of this insurrection: the citizens of Exeter, meanwhile, were determined to hold out to the last extremity, in expectation of receiving succour from the well-known vigilance of Henry.

When that monarch was informed that Perkin was landed in England, he expressed great joy, and prepared himself with alacrity to attack him, in hopes of being able, at length, to put a period to his pretensions which had so long given him vexation and inquietude. All his courtiers, sensible that their activity on this occasion would be the most acceptable service which they could render the king, displayed their zeal for the enterprize, and forwarded his preparations. The lords Daubeney and Broke, with sir Rice ap Thomas, hastened forward with a small body of troops to the relief of Exeter. The earl of Devonshire, and the most considerable gentlemen in the county of that name, took arms of their own accord, and marched to join the king's generals. The duke of Buckingham put himself at the head of a troop, consisting of young nobility and gentry, who served as volunteers, and who longed for an opportunity of displaying their courage and their loyalty. The king himself prepared to follow with a considerable army; and thus all England seemed united against a pretender who had at first not only engaged their attention, but divided their affections.

Information respecting these preparations was conveyed to Perkin; who immediately raised the siege of Exeter, and retired to Taunton. Though his followers now amounted to the number of near seven thousand, and seemed still resolute to maintain his cause, he himself despaired of success, and secretly withdrew to the sanctuary of Beaulieu in the New Forest. The Cornish rebels submitted to the king's mercy, and found that it was not yet exhausted in their behalf. Except a few persons of desperate fortunes who were executed, and some others who were severely fined, all the rest were dismissed with impunity. Lady Catharine Gordon, wife to Perkin, fell into the hands of the victor, at St. Michael's Mount, and was treated with a generosity which does him honour. He soothed her mind with many marks of regard, placed her in a reputable station about the queen, and assigned her a pension, which she enjoyed even under his successor, till her death.

As Perkin had retired to a sanctuary, Henry was at a loss what course to take with respect to him. This required some consideration. Some counselled him to make the privileges of the church yield to the reasons of state, to take him by violence from the sanctuary, to inflict on him the punishment due to his temerity, and thus at once put an end to an imposture which had long disturbed the government, and which the credulity of the people, and the artifices of malcontents, were still capable of reviving. But the king deemed not the matter of such importance as to merit so violent a remedy. He employed some persons to deal with Perkin, and persuade him, under promise of pardon, to deliver himself into the king's hands (*l*); which being done, the king conducted him, in a species of mock triumph, to London. As Perkin passed along the road, and through the streets of the city, men of all ranks flocked about him, and the populace treated with the highest derision his fallen fortunes. They seemed desirous of revenging themselves, by their insults, for the shame which their former belief of his impostures had thrown upon them. Though the eyes of the nation were generally open with regard to Perkin's real parentage, Henry required of him a confession of his life and adventures; and he ordered the account of the whole to be dispersed, soon after, for the satisfaction of the public. But as his regard to decency made him entirely suppress the share which the duchess of Burgundy had had in contriving and conducting the imposture, the people, who knew that she had been the chief instrument in the whole affair, were inclined, on account of the silence on that head, to pay the less credit to the authenticity of the narrative.

But Perkin, though his life was granted him, was still detained in custody; and keepers were appointed to guard him. Impatient of confinement, he broke from his keepers, and flying to the sanctuary of Sheen, put himself into the hands of the prior of that monastery. The prior had obtained great credit by his character of sanctity; and he prevailed on the king again to grant a pardon to Perkin. But in order to reduce him to still greater contempt, he was set in the stocks at Westminster and Cheapside, and obliged in both places to read aloud to the people the confession which had formerly been published in his name. He was then confined to the Tower, where his habits of restless intrigue and enterprize followed him. He insinuated himself into the intimacy of four servants belonging to sir John Digby, lieutenant of the Tower; and, by their means, opened a correspondence with the earl of Warwick, who was confined in the same prison. This unfortunate prince, who had from his earliest youth been shut up from the commerce of men, and who was ignorant even of the most common affairs of life, had fallen into

(*l*) Polydore Virgil, p. 606.

into a simplicity which made him susceptible of any impression. The continued dread also of the more violent effects of Henry's tyranny, joined to the natural love of liberty, engaged him to embrace a project for his escape, by the murder of the lieutenant; and Perkin offered to conduct the whole enterprize. The conspiracy escaped not the king's vigilance: it was even very generally believed that the scheme had been laid by himself, in order to draw Warwick and Perkin into the snare: but the subsequent execution of two of Digby's servants for the contrivance, seems to clear the king of that imputation, which was indeed founded more on the general idea entertained of his character, than on any positive evidence that could be produced.

Perkin, by this new attempt, after so many enormities, had rendered himself totally unworthy of mercy; and he was accordingly arraigned, condemned, and soon after, on the 23rd of November, 1499, executed at Tyburn, persisting still in the confession of his imposture (*m*). John Walter, mayor of Cork, who had constantly adhered to Perkin's cause in all the vicissitudes of his fortune, was executed with him. It happened about that very time, that one Wilford, a cordwainer's son, encouraged by the surprizing credit given to other impostures, had undertaken to personate the earl of Warwick; and Patrick, an Augustine monk, had even ventured from the pulpit to recommend his cause to the people, who seemed still to retain a propensity to adopt it. This incident served Henry as a pretence for his severity towards that prince; who was accordingly brought to trial, and accused not of contriving his escape, (for as he was committed for no crime, the desire of liberty must have been regarded as natural and innocent,) but of forming designs to disturb the government, and raise an insurrection among the people. Warwick confessed the indictment, was condemned, and the sentence was executed upon him on the 28th of the same month.

This violent act of tyranny, the great blemish of Henry's reign, by which he destroyed the last remaining male of the line of Plantagenet, begat great discontent among the people, who saw an unhappy prince, that had long been denied all the privileges of his high birth, even been cut off from the common benefits of nature, now at last deprived of life itself, merely for attempting to shake off that oppression under which he laboured. In vain did Henry endeavour to alleviate the odium of this guilt, by sharing it with his ally Ferdinand of Arragon, who, he said, had scrupled to give his daughter Catherine in marriage to Arthur, while any male descendant of the house of York remained. Men, on the contrary, felt higher indignation at seeing a young prince sacrificed, not to law and justice, but to the jealous politics of two subtle and crafty tyrants.

But though these discontents festered in the minds of men, they were so checked by Henry's watchful policy and steady severity, that they seemed not to weaken his government; and foreign princes, deeming his throne now entirely secure, paid him rather the greater deference and attention. The archduke Philip, in particular, desired an interview with him; and Henry, who had passed over to Calais, agreed to meet him in St. Peter's church near that city. The archduke, on his approaching the king, made haste to alight, and offered to hold Henry's stirrup; a mark of condescension which that prince would not admit of. He called the king *father, patron, protector*; and, by his whole behaviour, expressed a strong desire of conciliating the friendship of England. The duke of Orleans had succeeded to the crown of France by the appellation of Louis XII. and having carried his arms into Italy, and subdued the duchy of Milan, his progress begat jealousy in Maximilian, Philip's father, as well as in Ferdinand, his father-in-law. By the counsel, therefore, of these monarchs, the young prince endeavoured by every art to acquire the amity of Henry, whom they regarded as the chief counterpoise to the greatness of France. No particular plan, however, of alliance seems to have been concerted between these two princes in their interview: all passed in general professions of affection and regard; at least, in remote projects of a closer union, by the future intermarriages of their children, who were then in a state of infancy.

The pope too, Alexander VI. neglected not the friendship of a monarch whose reputation was so generally spread over Europe. In the beginning of 1500, he sent a nuntio into England, who exhorted the king to take part in the great alliance projected for the recovery of the Holy Land, and to lead in person his forces against the infidels. The general frenzy for crusades was now entirely exhausted in Europe; but it was still thought a necessary piece of decency to pretend zeal for those pious enterprizes. Henry regretted to the nuntio the distance of his situation, which rendered it inconvenient for him to expose his person in defence of the Christian cause. He promised, however, his utmost assistance by aids and contributions; and rather than the pope should go alone to the holy wars, unaccompanied by any monarch, he even promised to overlook all other considerations, and to attend him in person. He only required as a necessary condition, that all differences should previously be adjusted among Christian princes, and that some sea-port towns in Italy should be consigned to him for his retreat and security. It was easy to conclude, that Henry had determined not to intermeddle in any war against the Turks: but as a great name, without any real assistance, is sometimes of service, the knights of Rhodes, who were at that time esteemed the bulwark of Christendom, chose the king protector of their order. As this was a chimerical project which Alexander had no intention to execute, he enjoyed the credit of his pious ardour, without subjecting himself to the smallest expence; and the other potentates of Europe, receiving the proposals of his holiness with indifference, the whole scheme was speedily abandoned.

But the prince whose alliance Henry valued the most, was Ferdinand of Arragon, whose vigorous and steady policy, always attended with success, had rendered him in many respects the most considerable monarch in Europe. There was also a remarkable similarity of character between these two princes: both were full of craft, intrigue, and design; and though a resemblance of this nature be a slender foundation for confidence and amity, where the interests of the parties in the least interfere; such was the situation of Henry and Ferdinand, that no jealousy ever on any occasion arose between them. The king had now the satisfaction of completing a marriage, which had been projected and negociated during the course of seven years, between Arthur prince of Wales, and the Infanta Catherine, fourth daughter of Ferdinand and Isabella: he near sixteen years of age, she eighteen. But this marriage, which was celebrated on the 12th of November, 1501, proved in the issue unprosperous. The young prince a few months after sickened and died, at Ludlow Castle, on the 2nd of April, 1502; and was much regretted by the nation. Henry, desirous to continue his alliance with Spain, and also unwilling to restore Catherine's dowry, which was two hundred thousand ducats, obliged his second son Henry, whom he created prince of Wales, to be contracted to the Infanta. The prince made all the opposition of which a youth of twelve years of age was capable; but as the king's avarice was too powerful to be overcome by argument, and too inveterate to submit to restraint, he persisted in his resolution, the espousals were at length, by means of the pope's dispensation, contracted between the parties: an event which was afterwards attended with the most important consequences.

In the course of the same year another marriage was celebrated, which was also in the next age productive of great events: the marriage of Margaret, the king's elder daughter, with James king of Scotland. This alliance had been negociated during three years, though interrupted by several broils; and Henry hoped, from the completion of it, to remove all source of discord with that neighbouring kingdom, by whose animosity England had so often been infested. When this marriage was deliberated on, in the English council, some objected that England might, by means of that alliance, fall under the dominion of Scotland. "No," replied Henry, "Scotland in that event will only become an accession to England." Amidst these prosperous incidents the king met with a domestic calamity, which made not such impression on him as it merited: his queen died in child-bed at the Tower, on the 11th of February, 1503; and the infant did not long survive her (*n*). This princess was deservedly a favourite of the nation; and the general affection for her increased, on account of the harsh treatment which it was thought she met with from

(*m*) Stowe, Baker, Speed, Biondi, Hollingshed, Bacon. Some late writers, particularly Mr. Carte, have expressed a doubt whether Perkin were an impostor, and have even asserted that he was the true Plantagenet, but it is abundantly evident that they were under a mistake.

(*n*) She was buried at Westminster. *Stowe.*

her consort: and the people were the more confirmed in their opinion of his harsh behaviour, from the little impression which this domestic calamity made on his mind.

The situation of the king's affairs, both at home and abroad, was now in every respect very fortunate. All the efforts of the European princes, both in war and negociation, were turned to the side of Italy; and the various events which there arose made Henry's alliance be courted by every party, yet interested him so little as never to touch him with concern or anxiety. His close connexions with Spain and Scotland ensured his tranquillity; and his continued successes over domestic enemies, owing to the prudence and vigour of his conduct, had reduced the people to entire submission and obedience. Uncontrolled, therefore, by apprehension or opposition of any kind, he gave full scope to his natural propensity; and avarice, which had ever been his ruling passion, being increased by age and encouraged by absolute authority, broke all restraints of shame or justice. He diligently sought out and found two ministers, (Empson and Dudley,) who were perfectly qualified to second his rapacious and tyrannical inclinations, and to prey upon his defenceless people. These instruments of oppression were both lawyers; the first was a person of mean birth, of brutal manners, of an unrelenting temper; the second had been better born, better educated, and better bred, but was equally unjust, severe, and inflexible. By their knowledge in law these men were qualified to pervert the forms of justice to the oppression of the innocent; and the formidable authority of the king supported them in all their iniquitous inclinations and practices.

It was the usual practice of these execrable wretches, at first to observe so far the appearance of law as to give indictments to those whom they intended to oppress: upon which the persons were committed to prison, but never brought to trial; and were at length obliged, in order to recover their liberty, to pay heavy fines and ransoms, which were called mitigations and compositions. By degrees the very appearance of law was neglected: the two ministers sent forth their precepts to attach men, and summon them before themselves and some others, at their private houses, in a court of commission, where, in a summary manner, without trial or jury, arbitrary decrees were issued, both in pleas of the crown, and controversies between private parties. Juries themselves, when summoned, proved but small security to the subject; being browbeaten by these oppressors; nay fined, imprisoned, and punished, if they gave sentence against the inclination of the ministers. The whole system of the feudal law, which still prevailed, was turned into a scheme of oppression. Even the king's wards, after they came of age, were not suffered to enter into possession of their lands without paying exorbitant fines. Men were also harassed with informations of intrusion upon scarcely colourable titles. When an outlawry in a personal action was issued against any man, he was not allowed to purchase his charter of pardon, except on the payment of a great sum; and if he refused the composition required of him, the strict law, which in such cases allows forfeiture of goods, was rigorously insisted on. Nay, without any colour of law, the half of men's lands and rents were seized during two years, as a penalty in case of outlawry. But the chief means of oppression employed by these ministers were the penal statutes, which, without consideration of rank, quality, or services, were rigidly put in execution against all men: spies, informers, and inquisitors, were rewarded and encouraged in every quarter of the kingdom; and no difference was made whether the statute were beneficial or hurtful, recent or obsolete, possible or impossible to be executed. The sole end of the king and his ministers was to amass money, and bring every one under the lash of their authority (*o*).

Through the prevalence of such an arbitrary and iniquitous administration, the English, it may safely be affirmed, were considerable losers by their ancient privileges, which secured them from all taxations, except such as were imposed by their own consent in parliament. Had the king been empowered to levy general taxes at pleasure, he would naturally have abstained from these oppressive expedients, which destroyed all security in private property, and begat an universal diffidence throughout the nation. In vain did the people look for protection from the parliament, which was pretty frequently summoned during this reign. That assembly was so overawed, that at this very time, during the greatest rage of Henry's oppressions, the commons chose Dudley for their speaker, in January, 1504, the very man who was the chief instrument of Henry's iniquities. And though the king was known to be immensely opulent, and had no pretence of wars or expensive enterprizes of any kind, they granted him the subsidy which he demanded. But so insatiable was his avarice, that next year, 1505, he levied a new benevolence, and renewed the arbitrary and oppressive method of taxation. By all these arts of accumulation, joined to a rigid frugality in his expences, he so filled his coffers, that he is said to have possessed in ready money the sum of one million eight hundred thousand pounds: a treasure almost incredible, if we consider the scarcity of money in those times (*p*).

But while Henry was enriching himself by the spoils of his oppressed people, an incident occurred on the continent which engaged his attention, and was even the object of his anxiety and concern. Isabella, queen of Castile, died in November, 1504; and it was foreseen, that by this incident the fortunes of Ferdinand her husband would be materially affected. The king was not only attentive to the fate of his ally, and watchful lest the general system of Europe should be affected by so important an event: he also considered the similarity of his own situation with that of Ferdinand, and regarded the issue of these transactions as a precedent for himself. Joan, the daughter of Ferdinand by Isabella, was married to the archduke Philip, and being in right of her mother heiress of Castile, seemed entitled to dispute with Ferdinand the present possession of that kingdom. Henry knew, that notwithstanding his own pretensions by the house of Lancaster, the greater part of the nation was convinced of the superiority of his wife's title; and he dreaded lest the prince of Wales, who was daily advancing towards manhood, might be tempted by ambition to lay immediate claim to the crown. By his perpetual attention to depress the partizans of the York family, he had more closely united them into one party, and increased their desire of shaking off that yoke under which they had so long laboured, and of taking every advantage which his oppressive government should give his enemies against him. And as he possessed no independent force like Ferdinand, and governed a kingdom more turbulent and unruly, which he himself by his narrow politics had confirmed in factious prejudices; he apprehended that his situation would prove in the issue still more precarious.

Nothing at first could turn out more contrary to the king's wishes than the transactions in Spain. Ferdinand, as well as Henry, had become very unpopular, and from a like cause, his former exactions and impositions; and the states of Castile discovered an evident resolution of preferring the title of Philip and Joan. In order to take advantage of these favourable dispositions, the archduke, now king of Castile, attended by his consort, embarked for Spain during the winter season, (in January 1506;) but meeting with a violent tempest in the channel, was obliged to take shelter in the harbour of Weymouth, on the coast of England. Sir John Trenchard, a gentleman of authority in the county of Dorset, hearing of a fleet upon the coast, had assembled some forces; and being joined by sir John Cary, who was also at the head of an armed body, he came to that town. Finding that Philip, in order to relieve his sickness and fatigue, was already come ashore, he invited him to his house; and immediately dispatched a messenger to inform the court of this important incident. The king sent in all haste the earl of Arundel to compliment Philip on his arrival in England, and to inform him that he intended to pay him a visit in person, and to give him a suitable reception in his dominions. Philip knew that he could not now depart without the king's consent; and therefore, for the sake of dispatch, he resolved to anticipate his visit, and to have an interview with him at Windsor. Henry received him with all the magnificence imaginable, and with all the seeming cordiality; but he resolved, notwithstanding, to draw some advantage from this involuntary visit paid him by his royal guest.

Edmund de la Pole earl of Suffolk, nephew to Ed-

(*o*) Such is the account we gather from Bacon, p. 629, 630. Hollingshed, p. 504. Polyd. Virg. p. 613, 615. and other historians.

(*p*) Silver was, during this reign, at thirty-seven shillings and sixpence a pound, which makes Henry's treasure near three millions of our present money. Besides, many commodities have become six times as dear by the increase of gold and silver in Europe. And what is a circumstance of still greater weight, all other states were then very poor in comparison of what they are at present: these circumstances make Henry's treasure appear very great; and may lead us to conceive the oppressions of his government.

ward

ward IV. and brother to the earl of Lincoln, slain in the battle of Stoke, had some years before killed a man in a sudden fit of passion, and had been obliged to apply to the king for a remission of the crime. The king had granted his request; but being little indulgent to all persons connected with the house of York, he obliged him to appear openly in court and plead his pardon. Suffolk, more resenting the affront than grateful for the favour, had fled into Flanders, and taken shelter with his aunt, the duchess of Burgundy: but being promised forgiveness by the king, he returned to England, and obtained a new pardon. Actuated, however, by the natural inquietude of his temper, and uneasy from debts which he had contracted by his great expence at prince Arthur's wedding, he again made an elopement into Flanders. The king, well acquainted with the general discontent which prevailed against his administration, neglected not this incident, which might become of importance; and he employed his usual artifices to elude the efforts of his enemies. He directed sir Robert Curson, governor of the castle of Hammes, to desert his charge, and to insinuate himself into the confidence of Suffolk, by making him a tender of his services. Upon information secretly conveyed by Curson, the king seized William Courtney, eldest son to the earl of Devonshire, and married to the lady Catherine, sister of the queen; William de la Pole, brother to the earl of Suffolk; sir James Tyrrel, and sir James Windham, with some persons of inferior quality; and he committed them to custody. Lord Abergavenny and sir Thomas Green were also apprehended; but were soon after released from their confinement. William de la Pole was long detained in prison; Courtney was attainted, and though not executed, he recovered not his liberty during the king's lifetime. But Henry's chief severity fell upon sir James Windham and sir James Tyrrel, who were brought to their trial, condemned, and executed: the fate of the latter gave general satisfaction, on account of his participation in the murder of the young princes, sons of Edward IV. Notwithstanding these discoveries and executions, Curson was still able to maintain his credit with the earl of Suffolk: Henry, in order to remove all suspicion, had ordered him to be excommunicated, together with Suffolk himself, for his pretended rebellion. But after that traitor had performed all the services expected from him, he suddenly deserted the earl, and came over to England, where the king received him with unusual marks of favour and confidence. Suffolk, astonished at this instance of perfidy, finding that even the duchess of Burgundy, tired with so many fruitless attempts, had become indifferent to his cause, fled secretly into France, thence into Germany, and returned at last into the Low Countries; where he was protected, though not countenanced, by Philip, then in close alliance with the king.

Henry neglected not the present opportunity of complaining to Philip, his royal guest, of the reception which Suffolk had met with in his dominions. "I really thought," replied the king of Castile, "that your greatness and felicity had set you far above apprehensions from any person of so little consequence: but, to give you satisfaction, I shall banish him my state." "I expect that you will carry your complaisance farther," said the king; "I desire to have Suffolk put into my hands, where alone I can depend upon his submission and obedience." "That measure," said Philip, "will reflect dishonour upon you as well as myself. You will be thought to have treated me as a prisoner." "Then the matter is at an end," replied the king, "for I will take that dishonour upon me; and so your honour is saved (*q*)." The king of Castile, however, found himself under a necessity of complying; but not without having first obtained Henry's promise that he would spare Suffolk's life. That nobleman was invited over to England by Philip; as if the king would grant him a pardon, on the intercession of his friend and ally. Upon his appearance, in March, 1506, he was committed to the Tower; and the king of Castile, having fully satisfied Henry, as well by this concession as by signing a treaty of commerce between England and Castile, which was advantageous to the former kingdom (*r*), was at last permitted to depart, after having been detained three months. He landed in Spain, was joyfully received by the Castilians, and put in possession of the throne. He died in September, 1507; and Joan his widow, falling into deep melancholy, Ferdinand was again enabled to reinstate himself in authority, and to govern till the day of his death the whole Spanish monarchy.

Henry survived these transactions two years; but nothing memorable occurs in the remaining part of his reign, except his affiancing his second daughter, Mary, to the young archduke, Charles, son of Philip of Castile, in December, 1507. He entertained also some intentions of marriage for himself, first with the queen-dowager of Naples, relict of Ferdinand; afterwards with the duchess dowager of Savoy, daughter of Maximilian, and sister of Philip. But the decline of his health put an end to all such thoughts; and he began to cast his eye towards that future existence, which the iniquities and severities of his reign rendered a very dismal prospect to him. To allay the terrors under which he laboured, he endeavoured, by distributing alms, and founding religious houses (*s*), to make atonement for his crimes, and to purchase, by the sacrifice of part of his ill-gotten treasures, a reconciliation with his justly offended Maker. Remorse even seized him, at intervals, for the abuse of his authority by Empson and Dudley; but not sufficient to make him stop the rapacious hand of those oppressors, his avarice still being predominant. Sir William Capel was again fined two thousand pounds, under some frivolous pretence, and was committed to the Tower for daring to murmur against the iniquity. Harris, an alderman of London, was indicted, and died of vexation before his trial came to an issue. Sir Laurence Ailmer, who had been mayor, and his two sheriffs, were condemned in heavy fines, and sent to prison till they made payment. The king gave countenance to all these oppressions; till death, by its nearer approaches, impressed new terrors upon him; and he then ordered, by a general clause in his will, that restitution should be made to all those whom he had injured. He died of a consumption, at his favourite palace of Richmond, on the 22nd of April, 1509, after a reign of twenty-three years and eight months, and in the fifty-second year of his age.

The few virtues, or rather good qualities, possessed by Henry the Seventh, were chiefly constitutional: they consisted of personal courage, mental intrepidity, temperance, and chastity. But his numerous vices were the result of a depraved mind habituated to the constant indulgence of the worst of passions. As a monarch, vindictive and tyrannical; as a politician, deep, subtle, and intriguing; as a man, avaricious and unjust. His capacity, indeed, was excellent, but ever perverted, by the narrowness of his heart, to bad purposes. Continually influenced by motives of interest, he possessed the art of turning every thing to his own advantage; which is not difficult of attainment to a mind wholly unrestrained by any principles of honour or honesty. In conversation he was generally reserved, except when he had some favourite point to carry, and he then knew how to exert both insinuation and address. He is said to have been assiduous in the exercise of religious duties; but, as he daily violated the most essential precepts of religion, that assiduity must rather be considered as a subject for censure than as a theme of commendation. Fortunately, however, the interests of the nation were, in some instances, intimately blended with his own. Thus the dread he experienced of losing his crown from the defects of his title, induced him to repress the exorbitant power of the nobility; while his avarice prompted him to encourage industry and promote trade, that he might augment the national wealth, and create a more ample field for the exertion of his own rapaciousness (*t*).

By his queen, Elizabeth of York, eldest daughter of Edward the Fourth, Henry had four sons: 1. Arthur, born September 20, 1486; died April 2, 1502. 2. Henry, born June 28, 1491, who succeeded him. 3. Edmund, born February 21, 1498; died 1499. 4. Edward, born February, 1500; died young. He had also four daughters: 1. Margaret, born November 29, 1489; married to

(*q*) Bacon, p. 638. (*r*) Rymer, vol. xiii. p. 142.

(*s*) He built the chapel at Westminster which bears his name, and is contiguous to the Abbey, at the expence of fourteen thousand pounds, money of that age. He also built three houses for Franciscans, called Observants, at Richmond, Greenwich, and Newark; and likewise three for conventicles, at Canterbury, Newcastle, and Southampton. He turned the Savoy into an hospital.

(*t*) As a proof of his attention to the smallest profits, we are told by lord Bacon, that he had seen a book of accounts kept by Empson, and subscribed, in almost every leaf, by the king's own hand. Among other articles was the following: "Item, Received of such a one, five marks for a pardon; which, if it do not pass, the money to be repaid, or the party otherwise satisfied." Opposite to the memorandum, the king had written, "Otherwise satisfied."

James

James IV. king of Scotland; in 1503. 2. Elizabeth, born July 2, 1492; died September 14, 1495. 3. Mary, born in 1498; married to Louis XII. king of France. 4. Catharine, born February 2, 1503; died soon after.

CHAP. II.

Miscellaneous Transactions and Laws of the Reign of Henry VII. Observations on the Manners of that Age, the Wages of Labourers, the Household Expences of the Nobility, and the Discovery of North America.

THE power of the kings of England had always been somewhat irregular or discretionary; but was scarcely ever so absolute during any former reign, at least after the establishment of Magna Charta, as during that of Henry the Seventh. Besides the advantages derived from the personal character of the man, full of vigour, industry, and severity, deliberate in all projects, steady in every purpose, and attended with caution as well as good fortune in every enterprize; he came to the throne after long and bloody civil wars, which had destroyed all the great nobility, who alone could resist the encroachments of his authority: the people were tired with discord and intestine convulsions, and willing to submit to usurpations, and even to injuries, rather than plunge themselves anew into like miseries: the fruitless efforts made against him served always, as is usual, to confirm his authority: as he ruled by a faction, and the lesser faction, all those on whom he conferred offices, sensible that they owed every thing to his protection, were willing to support his power, though at the expence of justice and national privileges. These seem the chief causes which at this time bestowed on the crown so considerable an addition of prerogative, and rendered his reign a kind of epoch in the English constitution.

This prince, though he exalted his prerogative above law, is celebrated by his historian for many good laws which he caused to be enacted for the government of his subjects. Several considerable regulations, indeed, are found among the statutes of this reign, both with regard to the police of the kingdom, and its commerce: but the former are generally contrived with much better judgement than the latter. The more simple ideas of order and equity are sufficient to guide a legislator in every thing that regards the internal administration of justice; but the principles of commerce are much more complicated, and require long experience and deep reflection to be well understood in any state. The real consequence of a law or practice is there often contrary to first appearances. No wonder that during the reign of Henry the Seventh these matters were frequently mistaken; and it may safely be affirmed, that even in the age of lord Bacon very imperfect and even erroneous ideas were formed on that subject.

The transactions of Henry the Seventh's reign sufficiently prove the justice of Sir William Blackstone's observation, that both the king and his ministers were more industrious in hunting out prosecutions upon old and forgotten penal laws, in order to extort money from the subject, than in framing any new regulations: for the distinguishing character of this reign was that of amassing treasure into the king's coffers by every means that could be devised; and almost every alteration of the laws, however salutary or prejudicial in their future consequences, had this, and this only, for their great and immediate object.

Early in Henry's reign the authority of the Star Chamber, which was before founded on common law and ancient practice, was in some cases confirmed by act of parliament (*u*): Lord Bacon extols the utility of this court; but men began, even during the age of that historian, to feel that so arbitrary a jurisdiction was incompatible with liberty; and in proportion as the spirit of independence still rose higher in the nation, the aversion to it increased, till it was entirely abolished by act of parliament in the reign of Charles I. a little before the commencement of the civil wars.

Laws were passed by Henry VII. ordaining the king's suit for murder to be carried on within a year and day (*v*). Formerly it did not usually commence till after; and as the friends of the person murdered often in the interval compounded matters with the criminal, the crime frequently passed unpunished. Suits were given to the poor *in forma pauperis*, as it is called: that is, without paying dues for the writs, or any fees to the council (*w*): a good law at all times, especially in that age, when the people laboured under the oppression of the great; but a law difficult to be carried into execution. A law was made against carrying off any woman by force (*x*). The benefit of clergy was abridged (*y*); and the criminal, on the first offence, was ordered to be burned in the hand with a letter, denoting his crime; after which he was punished capitally for any new offence. Sheriffs were no longer allowed to fine any person, without previously summoning him before their court (*z*). It is strange that such a practice should ever have prevailed. Attaint of juries was granted in cases which exceeded forty pounds value (*a*): a law which has an appearance of equity, but which was afterwards found inconvenient. Actions popular were not allowed to be eluded by fraud or covin. If any servant of the king conspired against the life of the steward, treasurer, or comptroller of the king's household, this design, though not followed by any overt act, was made liable to the punishment of felony (*b*). This statute was enacted for the security of archbishop Morton, who found himself exposed to the enmity of great numbers.

There scarcely passed any session during this reign without some statute against engaging retainers, and giving them badges or liveries (*c*); a practice by which they were in a manner inlisted under some great lord, and were kept in readiness to assist him in all wars, insurrections, riots, violences, and even in bearing evidence for him in courts of justice (*d*). This disorder, which had prevailed during many reigns, when the law could give little protection to the subject, was then deeply rooted in England; and it required all the vigilance and rigour of Henry to extirpate it. There is a story of Henry's severity against this abuse, which evidently shews, that he suffered no occasion to escape of making even the laws themselves subservient to his avarice and rapacity. The earl of Oxford, his favourite general, in whom he always placed great and deserved confidence, having splendidly entertained him at his castle of Heningham, was desirous of making a parade of his magnificence at the departure of his royal guest; and ordered all his retainers, with their liveries and badges, to be drawn up in two lines, that their appearance might be the more gallant and splendid. "My lord," said the king, "I have heard much of your hospitality; but the truth far exceeds the report. These handsome gentlemen and yeomen, whom I see on both sides of me, are no doubt your menial servants." The earl smiled, and confessed that his fortune was too narrow for such magnificence. "They are most of them," subjoined he, "my retainers, who are come to do me service at this time, when they know I am honoured with your majesty's presence." The king started a little, and said, "By my faith, my lord, I thank you for your good cheer, but I must not allow my laws to be broken in my sight. My attorney must speak with you." Oxford is said to have paid no less than fifteen thousand marks, as a composition for his offence.

The increase of the arts, more effectually than all the severities of law, put an end to this pernicious practice. The nobility, instead of vying with each other in the number and boldness of their retainers, acquired by degrees a more civilized species of emulation, and endeavoured to excel in the splendour and elegance of their equipage, houses, and tables. The common people, no longer maintained in vicious idleness by their superiors, were obliged to learn some calling or industry, and became useful both to themselves and to others. And it must be acknowledged, in spite of those who declaim so violently against refinement in the arts, or what they are pleased to call luxury, that as much as an industrious tradesman is both a better man, and a better citizen than one of those idle retainers

(*u*) Rot. Parl. 3 H. VII. n. 17. The preamble is remarkable, and shows the state of the nation at that time. "The king, our sovereign lord, remembereth how by our unlawful maintainances, giving of liveries, signs and tokens, retainders by indentures, promises, oaths, writings, and other embraceries of his subjects, untrue demeanings of sheriffs in making pannels, and untrue returns by taking money, by juries, &c. the policy of this nation is most subdued." It must indeed be confessed, that such a state of the country required great discretionary power in the sovereign; nor will the same maxims of government suit such a rude people, that may be proper in a more advanced stage of society.

(*v*) 3. H. 7. cap. 1. (*w*) 11 H. 7. cap. 12. (*x*) 3 H. 7. cap. 2. (*y*) 4. H. 7. cap. 13. (*z*) 11 H. 7. cap. 15. (*a*) Ibid. cap. 24. 19 H. 7. cap. 100. (*b*) 3 H. 7. cap. 13.

(*c*) 3 H. 7. cap. 1 & 12. 11 H. 7. cap. 3. 19 H. 7. cap. 14.

(*d*) 3 H. 7. cap. 12. 11 H. 7. cap. 25.

who

who formerly depended on the great families; so much is the life of a modern nobleman more laudable than that of an ancient baron.

The duke of Northumberland, some years ago, printed a household book of an old earl of that family who lived in the time of Henry the Seventh. Mr. Hume informs us, that he had been favoured with the perusal of it; and it contains many curious particulars, which mark the manners and way of living in that rude, not to say barbarous age; as well as the prices of commodities. I have, says he, extracted a few of them from that piece, which gives a true picture of ancient manners, and is one of the most singular monuments that English antiquity affords us: for we may be confident, however rude the strokes, that no baron's family was on a nobler or more splendid footing. The family consists of one hundred and sixty-six persons, masters and servants: fifty-seven strangers are reckoned upon every day: on the whole two hundred and twenty-three. Two-pence halfpenny are supposed to be the daily expence of each for meat, drink, and firing. This would make a groat of our present money: supposing provisions between three and four times cheaper, it would be equivalent to fourteen pence: no great sum for a nobleman's house-keeping; especially considering, that the chief expence of a family at that time consisted in meat and drink: for the sum allotted by the earl for his whole annual expence is one thousand one hundred and eighteen pounds seventeen shillings and eight pence; meat, drink, and firing cost seven hundred and ninety-six pounds eleven shillings and two pence, more than two-thirds of the whole: in a modern family it is not above a third, p. 157, 158, 159. The whole expence of the earl's family is managed with an exactness that is very rigid, and, if we make no allowance for ancient manners, such as may seem to border on an extreme; insomuch, that the number of pieces which must be cut out of every quarter of beef, mutton, pork, veal, nay stock-fish and salmon, are determined, and must be entered and accounted for by the different clerks appointed for that purpose: if a servant be absent a day, his mess is struck off: if he go on my lord's business, board wages is allowed him, eight pence a day for his journey in winter, five pence in summer: when he stays in any place, two pence a day are allowed him, beside the maintenance of his horse. Somewhat above a quarter of wheat is allowed for every month throughout the year; and the wheat is estimated at five shillings and eight pence a quarter. Two hundred and fifty quarters of malt are allowed, at four shillings a quarter: two hogsheads are to be made of a quarter; which amounts to about a bottle and a third of beer a day to each person, p. 4. and the beer will not be very strong. One hundred and nine fat beeves are to be bought at All-hallow-tide, at thirteen shillings and four pence a-piece: and twenty-four lean beeves to be bought at St. Helens at eight shillings a-piece: these are to be put into the pastures to feed; and are to serve from Midsummer to Michaelmas; which is consequently the only time that the family eats fresh beef: during all the rest of the year they live on salted meat, p. 5. One hundred and sixty gallons of mustard are allowed in a year; which seems indeed requisite for the salt beef, p. 18. Six hundred and forty-seven sheep are allowed, at twenty pence a-piece; and these seem also to be all eat salted, except between Lammas and Michaelmas, p. 5. Only twenty-five hogs are allowed at two shillings a-piece; twenty-eight veals at twenty pence; forty lambs at ten pence or a shilling, p. 7. These seem to be reserved for my lord's table, or that of the upper servants, called the knight's table. The other servants, as they eat salted meat almost through the whole year, and with few or no vegetables, had a very bad and unhealthy diet: so that there cannot be any thing more erroneous than the magnificent ideas formed of *the Roast Beef of Old England.* We must entertain as mean an idea of its cleanliness: only seventy ells of linen at eight pence an ell are annually allowed for this great family: no sheets were used: this linen was made into eight table-cloths for my lord's table; and one table-cloth for the knights, p. 16. This last, I suppose, was washed only once a month. Only forty shillings are allowed for washing throughout the whole year; and most of it seems expended on the linen belonging to the chapel. The drinking, however, was tolerable, namely, ten tuns and two hogsheads of Gascony wine, at the rate of four pounds thirteen shillings and four pence a tun, p. 6. Only ninety-one dozen of candles for the whole year, p. 14. The family rose at six in the morning, dined at ten, and supped at four in the afternoon: the gates were all shut at nine, and no farther ingress or egress permitted, p. 314. 318. My lord and lady have set on their table, for breakfast, at seven o'clock in the morning, a quart of beer; as much wine; two pieces of salt fish, six red-herrings, four white ones, or a dish of sprats. In flesh days half a chyne of mutton, or a chyne of beef boiled, p. 73. 75. Mass is ordered to be said at six o'clock, in order, says the household-book, that all my lord's servants may rise early, p. 170. Only twenty-four fires are allowed, beside the kitchen and hall, and most of these have only a peck of coals a day allowed them, p. 99. After Lady-day no fires permitted in the rooms, except half fires in my lord's and lady's, and lord Piercy's and the nursery, p. 101. It is to be observed that my lord kept house in Yorkshire, where there is certainly much cold weather after Lady-day. Eighty chalders of coals, at four shillings and two pence a chalder, suffices throughout the whole year; and because coal will not burn without wood, says the household book, sixty-four loads of great wood are also allowed, at twelve pence a load, p. 22. This is a proof that grates were not then used. Here is an article. "It is devised that from henceforth no capons to be bought but only for my lord's own mess, and that the said capons shall be bought for two pence a-piece lean, and fed in the poultry; and master chamberlain and the stewards be fed with capons, if there be strangers sitting with them," p. 102. Pigs are to be bought at three pence or a groat a-piece: geese at the same price: chickens at a halfpenny: hens at two pence, and only for the above-mentioned tables. Here is another article. "Item, it is thought good that no plovers be bought at no season but only in Christmas and principal feasts, and my lord to be served therewith, and his board-end, and none other, and to be bought for a penny a-piece, or a penny half-penny at most," p. 103. Woodcocks are to be bought at the same price. Partridges at two pence, p. 104, 105. Pheasants a shilling; peacocks the same, p. 106. My lord keeps only twenty-seven horses in his stable at his own charge: his upper servants have allowance for maintaining their own horses, p. 126. These horses are, six gentle horses as they are called, at hay and hard meat throughout the whole year, four palfreys, three hobbies and nags, three sumpter horses, six horses for those servants to whom my lord furnishes a horse, two sumpter horses more, and three mill horses, two for carrying the corn, and one for grinding it; whence we may infer, that mills, either water or wind mills, were then unknown; at least very rare: besides these, there are seven great trotting horses for the chariot or waggon. He allows a peck of oats a day, besides loaves made of beans, for his principal horses; the oats at twenty pence, the beans at two shillings a quarter. The load of hay is at two shillings and eight pence. When my lord is on a journey he carries thirty-six horsemen along with him; together with bed and other accommodation, p. 157. The inns, it seems, could afford nothing tolerable. My lord passes the year in three country-seats, all in Yorkshire, Wrysel, Leckenfield, and Topclyffe; but he has furniture only for one: he carries every thing along with him, beds, tables, chairs, kitchen utensils, all which we may conclude were so coarse, that they could not be spoiled by the carriage: yet seventeen carts and one waggon suffices for the whole, p. 391. One cart suffices for all his kitchen utensils, cooks, beds, &c. p. 388. One remarkable circumstance is, that he has eleven priests in his house, besides seventeen persons, chanters, musicians, &c. belonging to his chapel: yet he has only two cooks for a family of two hundred and twenty-three persons, p. 325 (e). Their meals were certainly dressed in the slovenly manner of a ship's company. It is amusing to observe the pompous and even royal style assumed by this Tartar chief: he does not give any orders, though only for the right making of mustard, but it is introduced with this preamble, *It seemeth good to us and our council.* If we consider the magnificent and elegant manner in which the Venetian and other Italian noblemen then lived, with the progress made by the Italians in literature and the fine arts, we shall not wonder that they considered the ultramountain nations as barbarous. The Flemish also seem to have much excelled the English and

(e) In another place mention is made of four cooks, p. 388. But I suppose that the two servants called, in p. 325, groom of the larder and child of the scullery, are, in p. 388, comprehended in the number of cooks.

even the French. Yet the earl is sometimes not deficient in generosity: he pays, for instance, an annual pension of a groat a year to my lady of Walsingham, for her interest in Heaven; the same sum to the holy blood at Hales, p. 337. No mention is any where made of plate; but only of the hiring of pewter vessels. The servants seem all to have bought their own clothes from their wages.

The most important law in its consequences which was enacted during the reign of Henry, was that by which the nobility and gentry acquired a power of breaking the ancient entails, and of alienating their estates (*f*). By means of this law, joined to the beginning luxury and refinement of the age, the great fortunes of the barons were gradually dissipated, and the property of the commons increased in England. It is probable that Henry foresaw and intended this consequence; because the constant scheme of his policy consisted in depressing the great, and exalting churchmen, lawyers, and men of new families, who were more dependent on him.

This king's love of money naturally led him to encourage commerce, which increased his customs; but if we may judge by most of the laws enacted during his reign, trade and industry were rather hurt than promoted by the care and attention given to them. Severe laws were made against taking interest for money, which was then denominated usury (*g*). Even the profits of exchange were prohibited as savouring of usury (*h*), which the superstition of the age zealously proscribed. All evasive contracts, by which profits could be made from the loan of money, were also carefully guarded against (*i*). It is needless to observe how unreasonable and iniquitous these laws, how impossible to be executed, and how hurtful to trade, if they could take place. One thing, however, is deserving of commendation, namely, that sometimes, in order to promote commerce, Henry lent to merchants sums of money without interest, when he knew that their stock was not sufficient for those enterprizes which they had in view (*k*).

Laws were made against the exportation of money, plate, or bullion (*l*): a precaution which serves to no other purpose than to make more be exported. But so far was the anxiety on this head carried, that merchants alien, who imported commodities into the kingdom, were obliged to invest in English commodities all the money acquired by their sales, in order to prevent their conveying it away in a clandestine manner (*m*).

It was prohibited to export horses; as if that exportation did not encourage the breed, and render them more plentiful in the kingdom (*n*). In order to promote archery, no bows were to be sold at a higher price than six shillings and four pence (*o*), reducing money to the denomination of our time. The only effect of this regulation must be, either that the people would be supplied with bad bows, or none at all. Prices were also fixed to woollen cloth (*p*), to caps and hats (*q*): and the wages of labourers were regulated by law (*r*). It is evident that these matters ought always to be left free, and be entrusted to the common course of business and commerce. To some it may appear surprizing, that the price of a yard of scarlet cloth should be limited to six and twenty shillings, money of our age; that of a yard of coloured cloth to eighteen; higher prices than these commodities bore a few years ago, though in 1809, under various pretences, they were most astonishingly enhanced; and that the wages of a tradesman, such as a mason, bricklayer, tyler, &c. should be regulated at near ten pence a day; which is not much inferior to the present wages given in some parts of England. Labour and commodities have certainly risen since the discovery of the West Indies; but not so much in every particular as is generally imagined. The greater industry of the present times has increased the number of tradesmen and labourers, so as to keep wages nearer a par than could be expected from the great increase of gold and silver. And the additional art employed in the finer manufactures has even made some of these commodities fall below their former value. Not to mention that merchants and dealers, being contented with less profit than formerly, afford the goods cheaper to their customers. It appears by a statute of this reign (*s*), that goods bought for sixteen pence would sometimes be sold by the merchants for three shillings. The commodities whose price has chiefly risen, are bread, butchers meat, fowl, and fish (especially the latter), which cannot be much augmented in quantity by the increase of art and industry. The profession which then abounded most, and was sometimes embraced by persons of the lowest rank, was the church: by a clause of a statute all clerks or students of the university were forbidden to beg, without a permission from the vice-chancellor (*t*).

One great cause of the low state of industry during the reign of Henry the Seventh was the restraints put upon it; and the parliament, or rather the king (for he was the prime mover in every thing), enlarged a little some of these limitations, but not to the degree that was requisite. A law had been enacted during the reign of Henry IV. (*u*), that no man could bind his son or daughter to an apprenticeship, unless he were possessed of twenty shillings a-year in land; and Henry VII. because the decay of manufactures was complained of in Norwich from the want of hands, exempted that city from the penalties of the law (*v*). Afterwards the whole county of Norfolk obtained a like exemption with regard to some branches of the woollen manufacture (*w*). These absurd limitations proceeded from a desire of promoting husbandry, which, however, is never more effectually encouraged than by the increase of manufactures. For a like reason, the law enacted against enclosures, and for the keeping up of farm-houses (*x*), scarcely deserves the high praises bestowed on it by lord Bacon. If husbandmen understand agriculture, and have a ready vent for their commodities, we need not dread a diminution of the people employed in the country. All methods of supporting populousness, except by the interest of the proprietors, are violent and ineffectual. During a century and a half after this period, there was a frequent renewal of laws and edicts against depopulation; whence we may infer, that none of them were ever executed. The natural course of improvement at last provided a remedy.

One check to industry in England was the erecting of corporations; an abuse which is not yet entirely corrected. A law was enacted, that corporations should not pass any bye-laws without the consent of three of the chief officers of state (*y*). They were prohibited from imposing tolls at their gates (*z*). The cities of Gloucester and Worcester had even imposed tolls on the Severn, which were abolished (*a*).

There is a law of this reign (*b*), containing a preamble, by which it appears, that the company of merchant adventurers in London had, by their own authority, debarred all the other merchants of the kingdom from trading to the great marts in the Low Countries, unless each trader previously paid them the sum of nearly seventy pounds. It is surprizing that such a bye-law (if it deserve the name) could ever be carried into execution, and that the authority of parliament should be requisite to abrogate it.

It was during this king's reign, on the second of August, 1492, a little before sun-set, that Christopher Columbus, a Genoese, set out from Spain on his memorable voyage for the discovery of the western world; and a few years after Vasquez de Gama, a Portugnese, passed the Cape of Good Hope, and opened a new passage to the East Indies. These great events were attended with important consequences to all the nations of Europe, even to such as were not immediately concerned in those naval enterprizes. The enlargement of commerce and navigation increased industry and the arts every where: the nobles dissipated their fortunes in expensive pleasures: men of an inferior rank both acquired a share in the landed property, and created to themselves a considerable property of a new kind, in stock, commodities, art, credit, and correspondence. In some nations the privileges of the commons increased by this increase of property: in most nations the kings, finding arms to be dropped by the barons, who could no longer endure their former rude manner of life, established standing armies, and subdued the liberties of their kingdoms; but in all places the condition of the people, from the depression of the petty tyrants by whom they had formerly been oppressed rather than governed, received

(*f*) 4 H. 7. cap. 24. The practice of breaking entails by means of a fine and recovery was introduced in the reign of Edward the IVth: but it was not, properly speaking, law till the statute of Henry the VIIth; which, by correcting some abuses that attended that practice, gave indirectly a sanction to it.

(*g*) 3 H. 7. cap. 5. (*h*) Ibid. cap. 6. (*i*) 7 H. 7. cap. 8.

(*k*) Polyd. Virg. (*l*) 4 H. 7. cap. 23. (*m*) 3 H. 7. cap. 8.
(*n*) 11 H. 7. cap. 13. (*o*) 3 H. 7. cap. 12. (*p*) 4 H. 7. cap. 8.
(*q*) Ibid. cap. 9. (*r*) 11 H. 7. cap. 22. (*s*) 4 H. 7. cap. 9.
(*t*) 11 H. 7. cap. 22. (*u*) 7 H. 7. cap. 17. (*v*) 11 H. 7. cap. 11.
(*w*) 12 H. 7. cap. 1. (*x*) 4 H. 7. cap. 19. (*y*) 19 H. 7. cap. 7.
(*z*) Ibid. cap. 8. (*a*) Ibid. cap. 18. (*b*) 12 H. 7. cap. 6.

great

great improvement; and they acquired, if not entire liberty, at least the most considerable advantages of it. And as the general course of events thus tended to depress the nobles and exalt the people, Henry VII. who also embraced that system of policy, has acquired more praise than his institutions, strictly speaking, seem of themselves to deserve on account of any profound wisdom attending them.

It was by accident only that the king had not a considerable share in those great naval discoveries by which the present age was so much distinguished. Columbus, after meeting with many repulses from the courts of Portugal and Spain, sent his brother Bartholomew to London, in order to explain his projects to Henry, and crave his protection for the execution of them. The king invited him over to England; but his brother being taken by pirates, was detained in his voyage, and Columbus meanwhile having obtained the countenance of Isabella, was supplied with a small fleet, and happily executed his enterprize. Henry was not discouraged by this disappointment: he fitted out Sebastian Cabot, a Venetian, settled in Bristol; and sent him westward, in 1498, in search of new countries. Cabot discovered the main land of America towards the sixtieth degree of northern latitude: he sailed southward along the coast, and discovered Newfoundland, and other countries; but returned to England without making any conquest or settlement. Elliot, and other merchants in Bristol, made a like attempt in 1502 (*c*).

The king expended fourteen thousand pounds in building one ship, called the *Great Harry* (*d*). She was, properly speaking, the first ship in the English navy. Before this period, when the sovereign stood in need of a fleet, he had no other expedient than that of hiring or pressing ships from the merchants.

In the fifth year of Henry the Seventh's reign it was ordained, that the mayors of London should have conservation of the river Thames, from Staines Bridge to the waters of Yensdale and Medway. In the eighteenth year, Henry, being himself a brother of the Taylor's Company, like several of his predecessors, viz. Richard the Second and Third; Henry the Fourth, Fifth, and Sixth; and Edward the Fourth; besides a great number of the nobility; he gave them the appellation of Merchant Taylors.

CHAP. III.

HENRY VIII.

THE death of Henry VII. had been attended with as open and visible a joy among the people as decency would permit; and the accession and coronation of his son Henry VIII. gave general satisfaction. Instead of a monarch jealous, severe, and avaricious, who, in proportion as he advanced in years, was sinking still deeper in those unpopular vices, a young prince of eighteen had succeeded to the throne, who even in the eyes of men of sense gave promising hopes of his future conduct, much more in those of the people, always enchanted with novelty, youth, and royal dignity. The vigour of his person, accompanied with dexterity in every manly exercise, was farther adorned with a blooming and ruddy countenance, with a lively air, with the appearance of spirit and activity in all his demeanour (*e*). His father, in order to remove him from the knowledge of public business, had hitherto occupied him entirely in the pursuits of literature; and the proficiency which he made gave no bad prognostic of his parts and capacity (*f*). Even the vices of vehemence, ardour, and impatience, to which he was subject, and which afterwards degenerated into tyranny, were considered only as faults incident to unguarded youth, which would be corrected when time had brought him to greater moderation and maturity. And, as the contending titles of York and Lancaster were now at last so fully united in his person, as to exclude the possibility of any farther dispute; men justly expected from a prince, noxious to no party, that impartiality of administration which had long been unknown in this country.

These favourable prepossessions of the public were encouraged by the measures which Henry embraced in the commencement of his reign. His grandmother, the countess of Richmond and Derby, was still alive; and as she was a woman of consummate prudence and virtue, he wisely shewed great deference to her opinion in the establishment of his new council. The members of which were, Warham, archbishop of Canterbury and chancellor; the earl of Shrewsbury, steward; lord Herbert, chamberlain; sir Thomas Lovel, master of the wards and constable of the Tower; sir Edward Poynings, comptroller; sir Henry Marney, afterwards lord Marney; sir Thomas Darcy, afterwards lord Darcy; Thomas Ruthal, doctor of laws; and sir Henry Wyat (*g*). These men had long been accustomed to business under the late king, and were the least unpopular of all the ministers employed by that monarch.

But the chief competitors for favour and authority under the new king were the earl of Surrey, treasurer, and Fox bishop of Winchester, secretary and privy seal. This prelate, who enjoyed great credit during all the former reign, had acquired such habits of caution and frugality as he could not easily lay aside; and he still opposed, by his remonstrances, those schemes of dissipation and expence which the youth and passions of Henry rendered agreeable to him. But Surrey was a more dextrous courtier; and though few had borne a greater share in the frugal politics of the late king, he knew how to conform himself to the humour of his new master; and no one was so forward in promoting that liberality, pleasure, and magnificence, which began to prevail under the young monarch (*h*). By this policy he soon ingratiated himself with Henry; he made advantage, as well as the other courtiers, of the lavish disposition of his master; and he engaged him in such a course of play and idleness as rendered him negligent of affairs, and willing to entrust the government of the state entirely into the hands of his ministers. The great treasures amassed by the late king were gradually dissipated in the giddy expences of his son. One party of pleasure succeeded to another. tilts, tournaments, and carousals, were exhibited with all the magnificence of the age; and, as the present tranquillity of the public permitted the court to indulge itself in every amusement, serious business was but little attended to. Or if the king intermitted the course of his festivity, he chiefly employed himself in an application to music and literature, which were his favourite pursuits, and which were well adapted to his genius. He had made such proficiency in the former art, as even to compose some pieces of church-musid which were sung in his chapel (*i*). He was initiated in the elegant learning of the ancients; and, though he was so unfortunate as to be seduced into a study of the barren controversies of the schools, which were then fashionable, and had chosen Thomas Aquinas for his favourite author, he still discovered a capacity fitted for more useful and entertaining knowledge.

The frank and careless humour of the king, as it led him to dissipate the treasures amassed by his father, rendered him negligent in protecting the instruments whom that prince had employed in his extortions. A proclamation was issued soon after his accession to encourage complaints, and the rage of the people was let loose on all informers, who had so long exercised an unbounded tyranny over the nation (*k*): they were thrown into prison, condemned to the pillory, and most of them lost their lives by the violence of the populace. In consequence of this proclamation, an infinite number of petitions were immediately presented against Empson and Dudley, who were most exposed to public hatred; they were immediately summoned before the council, in order to answer for their conduct, which had rendered them so disagreeable in the eyes of the people. Empson made a shrewd apology for himself, as well as for his associate. He told the council, "that so far from his being justly exposed to censure for his past conduct, his enemies themselves grounded their clamour on actions which seemed rather to merit their reward and approbation: that a strict execution of law was the crime of which he and Dudley were accused; though that law had been established by general consent, and though they acted in obedience to the king, to whom the administration of justice was entrusted by the constitution: that it belonged not to them, who were instruments in the hands of supreme power, to determine what laws were recent or obsolete, expedient or hurtful; since they were all alike valid, so long as they remained unrepealed by the legislature:

(*c*) Rymer, vol. xiii. p. 37. (*d*) Stowe, p. 484.
(*e*) T. Mori Lucubr. p. 182. (*f*) Father Paul, lib. 1.
(*g*) Herbert, Stowe, p. 486. Hollingshed, p. 799.
(*h*) Lord Herbert. (*i*) Ibid.
(*k*) Herbert, Stowe, p. 486. Hollingshed, p. 799. Polyd. Virg. lib. xxviii.

lature: that it was natural for a licentious populace to murmur against the restraints of authority; but all wise states had ever made their glory consist in the just distribution of rewards and punishments, and had annexed the former to the observance and enforcement of the laws, the latter to their violation and infraction: and that a sudden overthrow of all government might be expected, where the judges were committed to the mercy of the criminals, the rulers to that of the subjects (*l*)." Notwithstanding this plausible defence, Empson and Dudley were sent to the Tower; and soon after brought to their trial. The strict execution of laws, however obsolete, could never be imputed to them as a crime in a court of judicature; and it is likely that, even where they had exercised arbitrary power, the king, as they had acted by the secret commands of his father, was not willing that their conduct should undergo too severe a scrutiny. In order, therefore, to gratify the people with the punishment of these despised ministers, crimes very improbable, or indeed absolutely impossible, were charged upon them; namely, that they had entered into a conspiracy against the sovereign, and had intended, on the death of the late king, to have seized by force the administration of the kingdom. The jury were so far moved by popular prejudices, joined to court influence, as to give a verdict against them; which was afterwards confirmed by a bill of attainder in parliament (*m*), and at the earnest desire of the people was executed by warrant from the king (*n*). Thus, in those arbitrary times, justice was equally violated, whether the king sought power and riches, or courted popularity from his subjects.

Henry, while he punished the instruments of past tyranny, had yet such deference to former engagements as to deliberate, immediately after his accession, concerning the celebration of his marriage with the infanta Catherine, to whom he had been affianced during his father's lifetime. Her former marriage with his brother Arthur, and the inequality of their years, were the chief objections urged against his espousing her: but on the other hand, the advantages of her known virtue, modesty, and sweetness of disposition, were insisted on; the affection which she bore to the king; the large dowry to which she was entitled as princess of Wales; the interest of cementing a close alliance with Spain; the necessity of finding some confederate to counterbalance the power of France; the expediency of fulfilling the engagements of the late king: when these considerations were weighed, they determined the council, though contrary to the opinion of the primate, to give Henry their advice for celebrating the marriage, which was accordingly done on the 3d of June. The countess of Richmond, who had concurred in the same sentiments with the council, died soon after the marriage of her grandson, on the 29th of the same month.

Henry's undisputed title, his extensive authority, the popularity of his government, his large treasures, and the tranquillity of his subjects, were circumstances which rendered his domestic administration easy and prosperous. The situation of foreign affairs was no less happy and desirable. Italy continued still, as during the late reign, to be the centre of all the wars and negociations of the European princes; and Henry's alliance was courted by all parties; at the same time that he was not engaged by any immediate interest or necessity to take part with any. Louis XII. of France, after his conquest of Milan, was the only great prince that possessed any territory in Italy; and could he have remained in tranquillity, he was enabled by his situation to prescribe laws to all the Italian princes and republics, and to hold the balance among them. But the desire of making a conquest of Naples, to which he had the same title or pretensions with his predecessor, still engaged him in new enterprizes; and as he foresaw opposition from Ferdinand, who was connected both by treaties and affinity with Frederic of Naples, he endeavoured by the offers of interest, to which the ears of that monarch were ever open, to engage him in an opposite confederacy. He settled with him a plan for the partition of the kingdom of Naples, and the expulsion of Frederic: a plan which the politicians of that age regarded as the most egregious imprudence in the French monarch, and the greatest perfidy in the Spanish. Frederic, supported only by subjects who were either discontented with his government, or indifferent about his fortunes, was unable to resist so powerful a confederacy, and was deprived of his dominions: but he had the satisfaction to see Naples immediately prove the source of contention among his enemies. Ferdinand gave secret orders to his general, Gonsalvo, whom the Spaniards honour with the appellation of the *great captain*, to attack the armies of France, and make himself master of all the dominions of Naples. Gonsalvo prevailed in every enterprize, defeated the French in two pitched battles, and ensured to his prince the entire possession of that kingdom. Louis, unable to procure redress by force of arms, was obliged to enter into a fruitless negociation with Ferdinand for the recovery of his share of the partition, and all Italy during some time was held in suspence between these two powerful monarchs.

There has scarcely been any period when the balance of power was better secured in Europe, and seemed more able to maintain itself without any anxious concern or attention of the princes. Several great monarchies were established; and no one so far surpassed the rest as to give any foundation or even pretence for jealousy. England was united in domestic peace, and by its situation happily secured from the invasion of foreigners. The coalition of the several kingdoms of Spain had formed one powerful monarchy, which Ferdinand administered with arts, fraudulent indeed and deceitful, but full of vigour and ability. Louis XII. a gallant and generous prince, had, by espousing Anne of Britanny, widow to his predecessor, preserved the union with that principality, on which the safety of his kingdom so much depended. Maximilian the emperor, besides the hereditary dominions of the Austrian family, maintained authority in the empire, and, notwithstanding the levity of his character, was able to unite the German princes in any great plan of interest, at least of defence. Charles prince of Castile, grandson to Maximilian and Ferdinand, had already succeeded to the rich dominions of the house of Burgundy; and being as yet in early youth, the government was entrusted to Margaret of Savoy, his aunt, a princess endowed with signal prudence and virtue. The internal force of these several powerful states, by balancing each other, might long have maintained general tranquillity, had not the active and enterprising genius of Julius II. an ambitious pontiff, first excited the flames of war and discord among them. By his intrigues, a league had been formed at Cambray in 1508, between himself, Maximilian, Louis, and Ferdinand; and the object of this great confederacy was to overwhelm, by their united arms, the commonwealth of Venice. Henry, without any motive from interest or passion, allowed his name to be inserted in the confederacy. This oppressive and iniquitous league was but too successful against the republic.

The great force and secure situation of the considerable monarchies prevented any one from aspiring to any conquest of moment; and though this consideration could not maintain general peace, or remedy the natural inquietude of men, it rendered the princes of this age more disposed to desert engagements, and change their alliances, in which they were retained by humour and caprice, rather than by any natural or durable interest. Julius had no sooner humbled the Venetian republic, than he was inspired with a nobler ambition, that of expelling all foreigners from Italy, or, to speak in the style affected by the Italians of that age, the freeing the country entirely from the dominion of barbarians (*o*). He was determined to make the tempest fall first upon Louis; and, in order to pave the way for this great enterprize, he at once sought for a ground of quarrel with the monarch, and courted the alliance of other princes. He declared war against the duke of Ferrara, the confederate of Louis. He solicited the favour of England, by sending Henry on the 10th of April, 1510, a sacred rose, perfumed with musk, and anointed with chrism (*p*). He engaged in his interests Bambridge archbishop of York, and Henry's ambassador at Rome, whom he created a cardinal on the 11th of March, 1511. He drew over Ferdinand to his party, though that

(*l*) Herbert, Hollingshed, p. 804.

(*m*) This parliament met on the 21st January, 1510. A law was there enacted, in order to prevent some abuses which had prevailed during the late reign. The forfeiture upon the penal statutes was reduced to the term of three years. Costs and damages were given against informers upon acquittal of the accused: more severe punishments were enacted against perjury: the false inquisitions procured by Empson and Dudley were declared null and invalid. Traverses were allowed; and the time of tendering them enlarged, 1 H. 8. c. 8. 10, 11, 12.

(*n*) Dudley was tried at London in July, 1509; and Empson was convicted at Northampton in October following; but the sentence was not executed on them till August 17, 1510, when they were both beheaded on Tower Hill.

(*o*) Guicciardini, lib. viii. (*p*) Spelman, Concil, vol. ii. p. 725.

monarch at first made no declaration of his intensions. And what he chiefly valued, he formed a treaty with the Swiss cantons, who, enraged by some neglects put upon them by Louis, accompanied with contumelious expressions, had quitted the alliance of France, and waited for an opportunity of revenging themselves on that nation.

While the French monarch repelled the attacks of his enemies, he thought it also requisite to make an attempt on the pope himself, and to despoil him as much as possible, of that sacred character which chiefly rendered him formidable. He engaged some cardinals, disgusted with the violence of Julius, to desert him; and by their authority, he was determined, in conjunction with Maximilian, who still adhered to his alliance, to call a general council, which might reform the church, and check the exorbitancies of the Roman pontiff. A council was summoned at Pisa, which from the beginning bore a very inauspicious aspect, and promised little success to its adherents. Except a few French bishops, who unwillingly obeyed their king's commands in attending the council, all the other prelates kept aloof from an assembly which they regarded as the offspring of faction, intrigue, and worldly politics. Even Pisa, the place of their residence, showed them signs of contempt; which engaged them to transfer their session to Milan, a city under the dominion of the French monarch. Notwithstanding this advantage, they did not experience much more respectful treatment from the inhabitants of Milan; and found it necessary to make another remove to Lyons (*q*). Louis himself fortified these violent prejudices in favour of papal authority, by the symptoms which he discovered, of regard, deference, and submission to Julius, whom he always spared, even when fortune had thrown into his hands the most inviting opportunities of humbling him. And as it was known, that his consort, who had great influence over him, was extremely disquieted in mind on account of his dissensions with the holy father, all men prognosticated to Julius final success in this unequal contest.

The enterprising pontiff knew his advantages, and availed himself of them with the utmost temerity and insolence. So much had he neglected his sacerdotal character, that he acted in person at the siege of Mirandola, visited the trenches, saw some of his attendants killed by his side, and, like a young soldier, cheerfully bore all the rigours of winter and a severe season, in pursuit of military glory (*r*); yet was he still able to throw, even on his most moderate opponents, the charge of impiety and profaneness. He summoned a council at Lateran: he put Pisa under an interdict, and all the places which gave shelter to the schismatical council: he excommunicated the cardinals and prelates who attended it: he even pointed his spiritual thunder against the princes who adhered to it: he freed their subjects from all oaths of allegiance, and gave their dominions to every one who could take possession of them!

Ferdinand of Arragon, who had acquired the epithet of Catholic, justly regarded the cause of the pope and of religion only as a cover to his ambition and selfish politics: Henry, naturally sincere and sanguine in his temper, and the more so on account of his youth and inexperience, was moved with a hearty desire of protecting the pope from the oppression to which he believed him exposed from the ambitious enterprizes of Louis. Hopes had been given him by Julius, in 1512, that the title of *Most Christian King*, (which had hitherto been annexed to the crown of France, and which was regarded as its most precious ornament,) should, in reward of his services, be transferred to that of England (*s*). Impatient also of acquiring that distinction in Europe to which his power and opulence entitled him, he could not long remain neuter amidst the noise of arms; and the natural enmity of the English against France, as well as their ancient claims upon that kingdom, led Henry to join that alliance, which the pope, Spain, and Venice, had formed against the French monarch. A herald was sent to Paris, to exhort Louis not to wage impious war against the sovereign pontiff; and when he returned without success, another was sent to demand the ancient patrimonial provinces of Anjou, Maine, Guienne, and Normandy. This message was understood to be a declaration of war; and a parliament being summoned on the 14th of February, readily granted supplies for a purpose so much favoured by the English nation (*t*).

Buonaviso, an agent of the pope's at London, had been corrupted by the court of France, and had previously revealed to Louis all the measures which Henry was concerting against him. But this infidelity did the king inconsiderable prejudice, in comparison of the treachery which he experienced from the selfish purposes of the ally on whom he chiefly relied for assistance. Ferdinand, his father-in-law, had so long persevered in a course of crooked politics, that he began even to value himself on his dexterity in fraud and artifice; and he made a boast of those shameful successes. Being told one day, that Louis, a prince of a very different character, had complained of his having once cheated him: "He lies, the drunkard!" said he, "I have cheated him above twenty times." This prince considered his close connexions with Henry only as the means which enabled him the better to take advantage of his want of experience. He advised him not to invade France by the way of Calais, where he himself should not have it in his power to assist him: he exhorted him rather to send forces to Fontarabia, whence he could easily make a conquest of Guienne, a province in which it was imagined the English had still some adherents. Ferdinand promised to assist this conquest by the junction of a Spanish army; and so forward did he seem to promote the interests of his son-in-law, that he even sent vessels to England, in order to transport over the forces which Henry had levied for that purpose. The marquis of Dorset commanded this armament, which consisted of ten thousand men, chiefly infantry; lord Howard, son of the earl of Surrey, lord Broke, lord Ferrars, and many others of the young gentry and nobility, accompanied him in this service. All were on fire to distinguish themselves by military achievements, and to make a conquest of importance for their master. The secret purpose of Ferdinand in this appearance of unexampled generosity, was suspected by nobody; but the following short narrative will discover his deceit and treachery:

The small kingdom of Navarre lies on the frontiers between France and Spain; and as John d'Albert the sovereign was connected by friendship and alliance with Louis, the opportunity seemed favourable to Ferdinand, while the English forces were conjoined with his own, and while all adherents to the council of Pisa lay under the sentence of excommunication, to put himself in possession of these dominions. No sooner, therefore, was Dorset landed in Guipuscoa (*u*), than the Spanish monarch declared his readiness to join him with his forces, to make with united arms an invasion of France, and to form the siege of Bayonne, which opened the way into Guienne (*v*): but he remarked to the English general, how dangerous it might prove to leave behind them the kingdom of Navarre, which, being in close alliance with France, could easily give admittance to the enemy, and cut off all communication between Spain and the combined armies. To provide against so dangerous an event, he required, that John should stipulate a neutrality in the present war; and when that prince expressed his willingness to enter into any engagement for that purpose, he also required, that security should be given for the strict observance of it. John having likewise agreed to this condition, Ferdinand demanded, that he should deliver into his hands six of the most considerable places of his dominions, together with his eldest son as a hostage. These were not terms to be proposed to a sovereign; and as the Spanish monarch expected a refusal, he gave immediate orders to the duke of Alva, his general, to make an invasion on Navarre, and to reduce that kingdom. Alva soon made himself master of all the smaller towns; and being ready to form the siege of Pampeluna, the capital, he summoned the marquis of Dorset to join him with the English army, and concert together all their operations. Dorset now began to suspect, that the interests of his master were very little regarded in all these transactions; and having no orders to invade the kingdom of Navarre, or to make war any where but in France, he refused to take any part in the enterprize. He remained therefore in his quarters at Fontarabia; but so subtle was the contrivance of Ferdinand, that, even while the English army lay in that situation, it was almost equally serviceable to his purpose, as if it had acted in conjunction with his own. It kept the French army in awe, and prevented it from advancing to succour the kingdom of Navarre; so that Alva, having full leisure to conduct the siege, made himself master of Pampeluna, and obliged John to seek for shelter in France. The Spanish general applied again to Dorset, and proposed to conduct

(*q*) Guicciardini, lib. 10. (*r*) Ibid. lib. 9.
(*s*) Guicciardini, lib. 11. Pere Daniel, vol. ii. p. 1893. Herbert. Hollingshed, p. 831. (*t*) Herbert, Hollingshed, p. 811.
(*u*) A province of Spain. (*v*) Herbert, Hollingshed, p. 813.

with united counsels the operations of the *Holy League*, for by that appellation it was called, against Louis; but he still declined forming the siege of Bayonne, and rather insisted on the invasion of the principality of Bearne, a part of the king of Navarre's dominions, which lies on the French side of the Pyrenees, Dorset, justly suspicious of his sinister intentions, represented, that, without new orders from his master, he could not concur in such an undertaking. In order to procure these commands, Ferdinand dispatched Martin de Ampios to London; and persuaded Henry, that, by the refractory and scrupulous humour of the English general, the most favourable opportunities were lost, and that it was necessary he should, on all occasions, act in concert with the Spanish commander, who was best acquainted with the situation of the country, and the reasons of every operation. But before orders to this purpose reached Spain, Dorset had become extremely impatient; and observing that his farther stay served not to promote the main undertaking, and that his army was daily perishing by want and sickness, he demanded shipping from Ferdinand to transport them back into England. Ferdinand, who was bound by treaty to furnish him with this supply, whenever demanded, was at length, after many delays, obliged to yield to his importunity; and Dorset, embarking his troops, prepared himself for the voyage. Meanwhile, the messenger arrived with orders from Henry, that the troops should remain in Spain; but the soldiers were so discontented with the treatment which they had met with, that they mutinied, and obliged their commanders to set sail for England. Henry was much displeased with the ill success of this enterprize; and it was with difficulty that Dorset, by explaining the fraudulent conduct of Ferdinand, was at last able to appease him.

There happened this summer an action at sea, which brought not any more decisive advantage to the English. Sir Thomas Knevet, master of the horse, was sent to the coast of Britanny with a fleet of forty-five sail; and he carried with him sir Charles Brandon, sir John Carew, and many other young courtiers, who longed for an opportunity of displaying their valour. After they had committed some depredations, a French fleet of thirty-nine sail issued from Brest, under the command of Primauget, and began an engagement with the English. Fire seized the ship of Primauget, who, finding his destruction inevitable, bore down upon the vessel of the English admiral, and grappling with her, resolved to make her share his fate. Both fleets stood some time in suspense, as spectators of this dreadful engagement; and all men saw with horror the flames which consumed both vessels, and heard the cries of fury and despair, which came from the miserable combatants. At last, the French vessel blew up; and at the same time destroyed the English (*w*). The rest of the French fleet made their escape into different harbours on the coast of France.

The hostilities which had been commenced by England against France, though it brought no advantage to the former kingdom, were of great prejudice to the latter; and by obliging Louis to withdraw his forces for the defence of his own dominions, lost him that superiority, which his arms, in the beginning of the campaign, had attained in Italy. Gaston de Foix, duke of Nemours, his nephew, a young hero, had been entrusted with the command of the French forces; and in a few months performed such feats of military art and prowess, says Guicciardini, to render illustrious the life of the oldest captain (*x*). His career finished with the great battle of Ravenna, which, after the most obstinate conflict, he gained over the Spanish and papal armies. He perished at the very moment his victory was complete; and with him perished the fortune of the French arms in Italy. The Swiss, who had rendered themselves extremely formidable by their bands of disciplined infantry, invaded the Milanese with a numerous army, and raised up that inconstant people to a revolt against the dominion of France. Genoa followed the example of the duchy of Milan; and thus Louis, in a few weeks, entirely lost his Italian conquests, except some garrisons; and Maximilian Sforza, the son of Ludovico, was reinstated in possession of the last mentioned duchy.

(*w*) Polydore Virgil, lib. 27. Stowe, p. 490. Lanquet's Epitome of Chronicles, fol. 273. (*x*) Guicciard. lib. 10.

(*y*) He was, says Hume, "humane, beneficent, generous, affable; the patron of every art, and friend of every virtue; he had a soul no less capable of forming great designs than his predecessor, but was more gentle, pliant, and artful in employing means for the execution of them. The sole defect, indeed, of his character was too great finesse and artifice; a fault which, both as a priest and Italian, it was difficult for him to avoid."

Julius discovered extreme joy on the discomfiture of the French: and the more so, as he had been beholden for it to the Swiss, a people whose councils, he hoped, he should always be able to influence and govern. The pontiff survived this success a very little time; and in his place was chosen John de Medicis, on the 21st of February, 1513, who took the appellation of Leo X. and proved one of the most illustrious princes that ever sat on the papal throne (*y*). By the negociations of Leo, the emperor Maximilian was detached from the French interest; and Henry, notwithstanding his disappointments in the former campaign, was still encouraged to prosecute his warlike measures against the king of France.

Henry had summoned a new session of parliament on the 4th of November, 1512, and obtained a supply for his enterprize. It was a poll-tax, and imposed different sums, according to the station and riches of the person. A duke paid ten marks, an earl five pounds, a baron four pounds, a knight four marks; every man valued at eight hundred pounds in goods, four marks. An imposition was also granted of two fifteenths and four tenths (*z*). By these supplies, joined to the treasure which had been left by his father, and which was not yet entirely dissipated, he was enabled to levy a great army, and render himself formidable to his enemy. The English are said to have been much encouraged in this enterprize, by the arrival of a vessel in the Thames under the papal banner. It carried presents of wine and hams to the king, and the more eminent courtiers; and such fond devotion was at that time entertained towards the court of Rome, that these trivial presents were every where received with the greatest marks of respect and joy.

In order to prevent all disturbances from Scotland, while Henry's arms should be employed on the continent, Dr. West, dean of Windsor, was dispatched on an embassy to James, the king's brother-in-law; with instructions to accommodate all differences between the kingdoms, as well as to discover the intentions of the court of Scotland (*a*). Some complaints had already been made on both sides. One Barton, a Scotchman, having suffered injuries from the Portuguese, for which he could obtain no redress, had procured letters of marque against that nation; but he had no sooner put to sea, than he was guilty of the grossest abuses, committed depredations upon the English, and much infested the narrow seas (*b*). Lord Howard and sir Edward Howard, admirals, and sons of the earl of Surrey, sailing out against him, fought him in a desperate action, where the pirate was killed; and they brought his ships into the Thames. As Henry refused all satisfaction for this act of justice, some of the borderers, who wanted but a pretence for depredations, entered England under the command of lord Hume, warden of the marches, and committed great ravages on that kingdom. Notwithstanding these mutual grounds of dissatisfaction, matters might easily have been accommodated, had it not been for Henry's intended invasion of France, which roused the jealousy of the Scottish nation (*c*). The ancient league, which subsisted between France and Scotland, was conceived to be the strongest band of connexion; and the Scots universally believed, that were it not for the countenance which they received from this foreign alliance, they had never been able so long to maintain their independence against a people so much superior in arms and warlike atchievements. James was farther incited to take part in the quarrel by the invitations of Anne, queen of France, whose knight he had ever in all tournaments professed himself, and who summoned him, according to the ideas of romantic gallantry prevalent in that age, to take the field in her defence, and prove himself her true and valorous champion. The remonstrances of his consort and of his wisest counsellors were in vain opposed to the martial ardour of this prince. He first sent a squadron of ships to the assistance of France; the only fleet which Scotland seems ever to have possessed. And though he still made professions of maintaining a neutrality, the English ambassador easily perceived, that a war would in the end prove inevitable; and he gave warning of the danger to his master, who sent the earl of Surrey to put the northern parts of the kingdom in a posture of defence,

(*z*) Stowe.

(*a*) Polydore Virgil, lib. 27. (*b*) Stowe, p. 489. Hollingshed, p. 811 (*c*) Buchanan, lib. 13. Drummond in the Life of James IV.

and

and to resist the invasion which was expected from that quarter.

Henry, all on fire for military fame, was little discouraged by this appearance of a diversion from the north; and so much the less, as he flattered himself with the assistance of all the considerable potentates of Europe in his invasion of France. The pope still continued to thunder out his excommunications against Louis, and all the adherents of the schismatical council: the Swiss cantons made professions of violent animosity against France: the ambassadors of Ferdinand and Maximilian had signed with those of Henry a treaty of alliance against that power, and had stipulated the time and place of their intended invasion; and though Ferdinand disavowed his ambassador, and even signed a truce for a twelvemonth with the common enemy; Henry was not yet fully convinced of his selfish and sinister intentions, and still hoped for his concurrence after the expiration of that term. He had now got a minister who complied with all his inclinations, and flattered him in every scheme to which his sanguine and impetuous temper was inclined. This was Thomas Wolsey, dean of Lincoln, and almoner to the king. He surpassed in favour all Henry's ministers, and was fast advancing towards that unrivalled grandeur which he afterwards attained (*d*).

The branch of administration in which Henry most exerted himself, while he gave his entire confidence to Wolsey, was the military, which, as it suited the natural gallantry and bravery of his temper, as well as the ardour of his youth, was the principal object of his attention. Finding that Louis had made great preparations both by sea and land to resist him, he was no less careful to levy a formidable army, and equip a considerable fleet for the invasion of France. The command of the fleet was entrusted to sir Edward Howard; who, after scouring the Channel for some time, presented himself before Brest, where the French navy then lay; and he challenged them to combat. The French admiral, who expected from the Mediterranean a reinforcement of some gallies under the command of Prejeant de Bidoux, kept within the harbour, and saw with patience the English burn and destroy the country in the neighbourhood. At last Prejeant arrived with six gallies, and put into Conquet, a place within a few leagues of Brest; where he secured himself behind some batteries, which he had planted on rocks that lay on each side of him. Howard was, notwithstanding, determined to make an attack upon him; and as he had but two gallies, he took himself the command of one, and gave the other to lord Ferrars. He was followed by some row-barges and some crayers under the command of sir Thomas Cheyney, sir William Sidney, and other officers of distinction. He immediately fastened on Prejeant's ship, and leaped on board of her, attended by one Carroz, a Spanish cavalier, and seventeen Englishmen. The cable, meanwhile, which fastened his ship to that of the enemy, being cut, the admiral was thus left in the hands of the French; and as he still continued the combat with great gallantry, he was pushed overboard by their pikes (*h*). Lord Ferrars, seeing the admiral's galley fall off, followed with the other small vessels; and the whole fleet was so discouraged by the loss of their commander, that they retired from before Brest (*i*). This naval action was fought on the 25th of April, 1513. The French navy came out of harbour; and even ventured to invade the coast of Sussex. They were repulsed, and Prejeant, their commander, lost an eye by the shot of an arrow. Lord Howard, brother to the deceased admiral, succeeded to the command of the English fleet; and little memorable passed at sea during this summer.

Great preparations had been making at land, during the whole winter, for an invasion on France by the way of Calais; but the summer was well advanced before every thing was in sufficient readiness for the intended enterprize. The long peace which the kingdom had enjoyed, had somewhat unfitted the English for military expeditions; and the great change which had lately been introduced in the art of war, had rendered it still more difficult to enure them to the use of weapons now employed in action. The Swiss, and after them the Spaniards, had shown the advantage of a stable infantry, who fought with pike and sword, and were able to repulse even the heavy-armed cavalry, in which the great force of the armies formerly consisted. The practice of fire-arms was become common; though the caliver, which was the weapon now in use, was so inconvenient, and attended with so many disadvantages, that it had not entirely discredited the bow, a weapon in which the English excelled all European nations. A considerable part of the forces, which Henry levied for the invasion of France, consisted of archers; and as soon as affairs were in readiness, the vanguard of the army, amounting to eight thousand men, under the command of the earl of Shrewsbury, sailed over to Calais. Shrewsbury was accompanied by the earl of Derby, the lords Fitzwalter, Hastings, Cobham, and sir Rice ap Thomas, captain of the light horse. Another body of six thousand men soon after followed under the command of of lord Herbert the chamberlain, attended by the earls of Northumberland and Kent, the lords Audley and Delawar,

(*d*) This man, says Hume, was son of a butcher at Ipswich; but having got a learned education, and being endowed with an excellent capacity, he was admitted into the marquis of Dorset's family as tutor to that nobleman's children, and soon gained the friendship and countenance of his patron (*e*). He was recommended to be chaplain to Henry VII. and being employed by that monarch in a secret negociation, which regarded his intended marriage with Margaret of Savoy, Maximilian's daughter, he acquitted himself to the king's satisfaction, and obtained the praise both of diligence and dexterity in his conduct (*f*). That prince, having given him a commission to Maximilian, who at that time resided in Brussels, was surprized in less than three days after, to see Wolsey present himself before him; and supposing that he had protracted his departure, he began to reprove him for the dilatory execution of his orders. Wolsey informed him, that he had just returned from Brussels, and had successfully fulfilled all his majesty's commands. "But on second thoughts," said the king, "I found that somewhat was omitted in your orders; and have sent a messenger after you with fuller instructions." "I met the messenger," replied Wolsey, "on my return: but as I had reflected on that omission, I ventured of myself to execute what, I knew, must be your majesty's intentions." The death of Henry, soon after this incident, retarded the advancement of Wolsey, and prevented his reaping any advantage from the good opinion which that monarch had entertained of him: but thenceforwards he was looked on at court as a rising man; and Fox bishop of Winchester cast his eye upon him as one who might be serviceable to him in his present situation (*g*). This prelate, observing that the earl of Surrey had totally eclipsed him in favour, resolved to introduce Wolsey to the young prince's familiarity, and hoped that he might rival Surrey in his insinuating arts, and yet be contented to act in the cabinet a part subordinate to Fox himself, who had promoted him. In a little time Wolsey gained so much on the king, that he supplanted both Surrey in his favour, and Fox in his trust and confidence. Being admitted to Henry's parties of pleasure, he took the lead in every jovial conversation, and promoted all that frolic and entertainment which he found suitable to the age and inclination of the young monarch. Neither his own years, which were near forty, nor his character of a clergyman, were any restraint upon him, or engaged him to check, by any useless severity, the gaiety, in which Henry, who had small propension to debauchery, passed his careless hours. During the intervals of amusement he introduced business, and insinuated those maxims of conduct which he was desirous his master should adopt. He observed to him, that, while he entrusted his affairs into the hands of his father's counsellors, he had the advantage indeed of employing men of wisdom and experience, but men who owed not their promotion to his favour, and who scarcely thought themselves accountable to him for the exercise of their authority: that by the factions, and cabals, and jealousies, which had long prevailed among them, they more obstructed the advancement of his affairs, than they promoted it by the knowledge which age and practice had conferred upon them: that while he thought proper to pass his time in those pleasures, to which his age and royal fortune invited him, and in those studies, which would in time enable him to sway the sceptre with absolute authority, his best system of government would be to entrust his authority into the hands of some one person, who was the creature of his will, and who would entertain no view but that of promoting his service: and that if this minister had also the same relish for pleasure with himself, and the same taste for science, he could more easily, at intervals, account to him for his whole conduct, and introduce his master gradually into the knowledge of public business; and thus, without tedious constraint or application, initiate him in the science of government. Henry entered into all the views of Wolsey; and finding no one so capable of executing this plan of administration as the person who proposed it, he soon advanced his favourite, from being the companion of his pleasures, to be a member of his council; and from being a member of his council, to be his sole and absolute minister. By this rapid advancement and uncontrolled authority, the character and genius of Wolsey had full opportunity to display itself. Insatiable in his acquisitions, but still more magnificent in his expence: of extensive capacity, but still more unbounded enterprize: ambitious of power, but still more desirous of glory: insinuating, engaging, persuasive; and, by turns, lofty, elevated, commanding: haughty to his equals, but affable to his dependants; oppressive to the people, but liberal to his friends; more generous than grateful; less moved by injuries than by contempt; he was framed to take the ascendant in every intercourse with others, but exerted this superiority of *nature* with such ostentation as exposed him to envy, and made every one willing to recal the original inferiority, or rather meanness of his *fortune*. As the different transactions of Wolsey's life will be interspersed in the following pages of this reign, we shall not anticipate the reader's pleasure by inserting in this place what must of necessity be introduced in other parts.

(*h*) It was a maxim of Howard's, that no admiral was good for any thing, that was not even brave to a degree of madness. As the sea-service requires much less plan and contrivance and capacity than the land, this maxim has great plausibility and appearance of truth: though the fate of Howard himself may serve as a proof, that even there courage ought to be tempered with discretion.

(*i*) Stowe, p. 491. Herbert, Hollingshed, p. 816.

together

(*e*) *Stowe*, p. 997. (*f*) *Cavendish. Fiddes's Life of Wolsey. Stowe.* (*g*) *Antiq. Brit. Eccles.* p. 309. *Polydore Virgil, lib.* 27.

together with Carew, Curson, and other gentlemen. The king himself prepared to follow with the main body and rear of the army; and he appointed the queen regent of the kingdom during his absence. That he might secure her administration from all disturbance, he ordered Edmund de la Pole, earl of Suffolk, to be beheaded in the Tower, on the 30th of April, the nobleman who had been attainted and imprisoned during the late reign. Henry was led to commit this act of violence by the dying commands, as is imagined, of his father, who told him, that he never would be free from danger, while a man of so turbulent a disposition as Suffolk was alive. And as Richard de la Pole, brother of Suffolk, had accepted of a command in the French service, and foolishly attempted to revive the York faction, and to instigate them against the present government, he probably, by that means, drew more suddenly the king's vengeance on this unhappy nobleman. This act of cruelty, which suited the sanguinary policy of his father, was far beneath Henry VIII. and merits reprobation.

At length Henry, attended by the duke of Buckingham, and many others of the nobility, arrived at Calais, on the 30th of June, and entered upon his French expedition, from which he fondly expected so much success and glory (*k*). Of all those allies who had promised to assist the operations of Henry, the Swiss alone fully performed their engagements. Being put in motion by a sum of money sent them by Henry, and incited by their victories obtained in Italy, and by their animosity against France, they were preparing to enter that kingdom with an army of twenty-five thousand men; and no equal force could be opposed to their incursion. Maximilian had received an advance of one hundred and twenty thousand crowns from Henry, and had promised to reinforce the Swiss with eight thousand men; but failed in his engagements. That he might make atonement to the king, he himself appeared in the Low Countries, and joined the English army with some German and Flemish soldiers, who were useful in giving an example of discipline to Henry's new levied forces. Observing the disposition of the English monarch to be more bent on glory than on interest, he inlisted himself in his service, wore the cross of St. George, and received pay, (a hundred crowns a-day,) as one of his subjects and captains. But while he exhibited this extraordinary spectacle, of an emperor of Germany serving under a king of England, he was treated with the highest respect by Henry, and really directed all the operations of the English army.

Some time before the arrival of Henry and Maximilian in the English camp, the earl of Shrewsbury and lord Herbert had formed the siege of Teroüane, a town situated on the frontiers of Picardy; and they began to attack the place with vigour. Teligni and Crequi commanded in the town, and had a garrison not exceeding two thousand men; yet made they such vigorous resistance as protracted the siege a month; and they at last found themselves more in danger from want of provisions and ammunition, than from the assaults of the besiegers. Having conveyed intelligence of their situation to Louis, who had advanced to Amiens with his army, that prince gave orders to throw relief into the place. Fontrailles appeared, on the 16th of August, at the head of eight hundred horsemen, each of whom carried a sack of gunpowder behind him, and two quarters of bacon. With this small force he made a sudden and unexpected irruption into the English camp, and, surmounting all resistance, advanced to the fossée of the town, where each horseman threw down his burden. They immediately returned at the gallop, and were so fortunate as again to break through the English, and to suffer little or no loss (*l*).

The English, however, soon after, had full revenge for the insult. Henry had received intelligence of the approach of the French horse, who had advanced to protect another incursion of Fontrailles; and he commanded some troops to pass the Lis, in order to oppose them. The cavalry of France, though they consisted chiefly of gentlemen who had behaved with great gallantry in many desperate actions in Italy, were, on sight of the enemy, seized with so unaccountable a panic, that they immediately took to flight, and were pursued by the English. The duke of Longueville, who commanded the French, Bussi d'Amboise, Clermont, Imbercourt, the chevalier Bayard, and many other officers of distinction, were made prisoners (*m*). This action, or rather rout, is sometimes called the battle of Guinegâte, from the place where it was fought; but more commonly the *Battle of Spurs*, because the French, that day, made more use of their spurs than of their swords.

After this considerable advantage, the king, who was at the head of an army of above fifty thousand men, might have made incursions to the gates of Paris, and spread confusion and desolation every where. It gave Louis, however, great joy, when he heard that the English, instead of pushing their victory, and attacking the dismayed troops of France, returned to the siege of Teroüane. The governors were obliged, soon after, to capitulate; and Henry found his acquisition of so little moment, though gained at the expence of some blood, and what, in his present circumstances, was more important, of much valuable time, that he immediately demolished the fortifications. The anxieties of the French were again revived with regard to the motions of the English. The Swiss, at the same time, had entered Burgundy with a formidable army, and laid siege to Dijon, which was in no condition to resist them. Ferdinand himself, though he had made a truce with Louis, seemed disposed to lay hold of every advantage which fortune should present to him. Scarcely ever was the French monarchy in greater danger, or less in a condition to defend itself against those powerful armies, which on every side assailed or threatened it. Even many of the inhabitants of Paris, who believed themselves exposed to the rapacity and violence of the enemy, began to dislodge, though they knew not whither to retire for greater security.

But Louis was extricated from his present difficulties by the manifold egregious blunders of his enemies. The Swiss allowed themselves to be seduced into a negociation by Tremouille, governor of Burgundy; and, without making enquiry whether that nobleman had any powers to treat, they accepted of the conditions which he offered them. Tremouille, who knew that he should be disavowed by his master, stipulated whatever they were pleased to demand; and thought himself happy, at the expence of some payments and very large promises, to get rid of so formidable an enemy (*n*). The measures of Henry showed equal ignorance in the art of war with that of the Swiss in negociation. Tournay was a great and rich city, which, though it lay within the frontiers of Flanders, belonged to France, and afforded the troops of that kingdom a passage into the heart of the Netherlands. Maximilian, who was desirous of freeing his grandson from so troublesome a neighbour, advised Henry to lay siege to the place; and the English monarch, not considering that such an acquisition nowise advanced his conquests in France, imprudently followed this interested counsel. The city of Tournay, by its ancient charters, being exempted from the burden of a garrison, the burghers, against the remonstrance of their sovereign, strenuously insisted on maintaining this dangerous privilege; and they engaged, by themselves, to make a vigorous defence against the enemy (*o*). Their courage failed them when matters came to a trial; and, after a few days' siege, the place was surrendered to the English, on the 24th of September. The bishop of Tournay was lately dead; and, as a new bishop was already elected by the chapter, but not installed in his office, the king bestowed the administration of the see on his favourite, Wolsey, and put him in immediate possession of the revenues, which were considerable (*p*). Soon after this Henry thought proper to return to England; and he carried the greater part of his army with him. Success had attended him in every enterprize; and his youthful mind was much elated with this seeming prosperity; but all men of judgement, comparing the advantages of his situation with his progress, his expence with his acquisitions, were convinced that this campaign, so much vaunted, was in reality both ruinous and inglorious to that monarch (*q*).

The success which, during this summer had attended Henry's arms in the North, was much more decisive. The king of Scotland had assembled the whole force of his kingdom; and, having passed the Tweed with a brave, though a tumultuary army of above fifty thousand men, he

(*k*) Polyd. Virg. lib. 27. Belcarius, lib. 14.
(*l*) Hist. de Chev. Bayard, chap. 57. Memoires de Bellai.
(*m*) Memoires de Bellai, liv. 1. Polydore Virgil, liv. 27. Hollingshed, p. 822. Herbert.

(*n*) Memoires du Mareschal de Fleuranges, Bellarius, lib. 14.
(*o*) Memoires de Fleuranges.
(*p*) See Styrpe's Memorials, vol. i. p. 5, 6.
(*q*) Guicciardini.

ravaged

ravaged those parts of Northumberland which lay nearest that river, and he employed himself in taking the castles of Norham, Etal, Werke, Ford, and other places of trifling importance. Lady Ford, being taken prisoner in her castle, was presented to James, and so gained on the affections of the prince, that he wasted in pleasure the critical time which, during the absence of his enemy, he should have employed in pushing his conquests. His troops, lying in a barren country, where they soon consumed all their provisions, began to be pinched with hunger; and, as the authority of the prince was feeble, and military discipline, during that age, extremely relaxed, many of them had deserted from the camp, and retired homewards. Meanwhile the earl of Surrey, having collected a force of twenty-six thousand men, of which five thousand had been sent over from the king's army in France, marched to the defence of the country, and approached the Scots, who lay on some high ground near the Cheviot hills. The river Till ran between the two armies, and prevented an engagement: Surrey, therefore, sent a herald to the Scottish camp, challenging the enemy to descend into the plain of Milfield, which lay towards the south; and there, appointing a day for the combat, to try their valour on equal ground. Receiving no satisfactory answer, he made a feint of marching towards Berwick; as if he intended to enter Scotland, to lay waste the borders, and cut off the provisions of the enemy. The Scottish army, in order to prevent his purpose, put themselves in motion; and having set fire to the huts in which they had quartered, they descended from the hills. Surrey, taking advantage of the smoke, which was blown towards him, and which concealed his movements, passed the Till with his artillery and vanguard at the bridge of Twisel, and sent the rest of his army to seek a ford at another part of the river. An engagement was now become inevitable, and both sides prepared for it with tranquillity and order, on the 9th of September (*r*). The English divided their army into two lines: lord Howard led the main body of the first line, sir Edmund Howard the right wing, sir Marmaduke Constable the left. The earl of Surrey, himself, commanded the main body of the second line, lord Dacres the right wing, sir Edward Stanley the left. The front of the Scots presented three divisions to the enemy: the middle was led by the king himself: the right by the earl of Huntley, assisted by lord Hume: the left by the earls of Lenox and Argyle. A fourth division, under the earl of Bothwel, made a body of reserve. Huntley began the battle; and after a sharp conflict put to flight the left wing of the English, and chased them off the field: but, on returning from the pursuit, he found the whole Scottish army in great disorder. The division under Lenox and Argyle, elated with the success of the other wing, had broken their ranks, and, notwithstanding the remonstrances and entreaties of La Motte, the French ambassador, had rushed headlong upon the enemy. Not only sir Edmund Howard, at the head of his division, received them with great valour; but Dacres, who commanded in the second line, wheeling about during the action, fell upon their rear, and put them to the sword without resistance. The division under James, and that under Bothwel, animated by the valour of their leaders, still made head against the English, and, throwing themselves into a circle, protracted the action, till night separated the combatants. The victory seemed yet undecided, and the numbers that fell on each side were nearly equal, amounting to above five thousand men: but the morning discovered where the advantage lay. The English had lost only persons of small note; but the flower of the Scottish nobility had fallen in battle, and their king himself, after the most diligent enquiry, could no where be found. In searching the field, the English met with a dead body which resembled him, and was arrayed in a similar habit; and they put it in a leaden coffin and sent it to London. During some time it was kept unburied; because James died under sentence of excommunication, on account of his confederacy with France, and his opposition to the holy see (*s*): but, upon Henry's application, who pretended that this prince had, in the instant before his death, discovered signs of repentance, absolution was given him, and his body was interred. The Scots, however, still asserted that it was not James's body which was found on the field of battle, but that of one Elphinston, who had been arrayed in arms resembling their king's, in order to divide the attention of the English, and share the danger with his master. It was believed that James had been seen crossing the Tweed at Kelso; and some imagined that he had been killed by the vassals of lord Hume, whom that nobleman had instigated to commit so enormous a crime. The populace, however, entertained the opinion that he was still alive, and, having secretly gone in pilgrimage to the Holy Land, would soon return and take possession of the throne. This fond conceit was long entertained among the Scots. The king of Scotland and most of his chief nobles being slain in the field of Flouden, (so this battle was called,) an inviting opportunity was offered to Henry of gaining advantages over that kingdom, perhaps of reducing it to subjection. But he discovered, on this occasion, a mind truly great and generous. When the queen of Scotland, Margaret, who was created regent during the infancy of her son, applied for peace, he readily granted it; and took compassion of the helpless condition of his sister and nephew. The earl of Surrey, who had gained him so great a victory, was restored, in 1514, to the title of duke of Norfolk, which had been forfeited by his father for engaging on the side of Richard III. Lord Howard was honoured with the title of earl of Surrey. Sir Charles Brandon, the king's favourite, whom he had before created viscount Lisle, was now raised to the dignity of duke of Suffolk. Wolsey, who was both his favourite and his minister, was created bishop of Lincoln. Lord Herbert obtained the title of earl of Worcester. Sir Edward Stanley that of lord Monteagle.

The peace which was settled with Scotland gave Henry security on that side, and enabled him to prosecute his enterprize against France, yet some other incidents had happened, which more than counterbalanced this fortunate event, and served to open his eyes with regard to the rashness of an undertaking into which his youth had betrayed him. Louis, fully sensible of the dangerous situation to which his kingdom had been reduced during the former campaign, was resolved, by every expedient, to prevent the return of like perils, and to break the confederacy of his enemies. The pope was nowise disposed to push the French to extremity; and, provided they did not return to take possession of Milan, his interests rather led him to preserve the balance among the contending parties. He accepted, therefore, of Louis's offer to renounce the council of Lyons; and he took off the excommunication which his predecessor and himself had fulminated against that king and his dominions. Ferdinand was now fast declining in years; and as he entertained no farther ambition than that of keeping possession of Navarre, which he had subdued by his arms and policy, he readily hearkened to the proposals of Louis for prolonging the truce another year, and even shewed an inclination of forming a more intimate connexion with that monarch. Louis had hinted that he intended to marry his second daughter Renée, either to Charles, prince of Spain, or his brother Ferdinand, both of them grandsons of the Spanish monarch; and he declared his resolution of bestowing on her, as her portion, his claim to the duchy of Milan. Ferdinand gladly embraced these proposals; and engaged the emperor Maximilian in the same views. He also procured the accession of that monarch to a treaty, which opened so inviting a prospect of aggrandising their common grandchildren.

When Henry was informed of Ferdinand's renewal of the truce with Louis, he fell into a violent rage, and loudly complained, that his father-in-law had first, by high promises and professions, engaged him in enmity with France, and afterwards, without giving him the least warning, had now again sacrificed his interests to his own selfish purposes, and had left him exposed alone to all the danger and expence of the war. In proportion to his easy credulity, and his unsuspecting reliance on Ferdinand, was the vehemence with which he exclaimed against the treatment which he met with; and he threatened revenge for this egregious treachery and breach of faith (*t*). But he lost all patience when informed of the other negociation by which Maximilian was also seduced from his alliance, and in which proposals had been agreed to, for the marriage of the prince of Spain with the daughter of France. Charles, during the life-time of the late king, had been affianced to Mary, Henry's younger sister; and, as the prince now approached the age of puberty, the king had expected the immediate completion of the marriage, and

(*r*) Buchanan, lib. 13. Drummond. Herbert. Polydore Virgil, lib. 27. Stowe, p. 493. Paulus Jovius.

(*s*) Buchanan, lib. 13. Herbert.

(*t*) Petrus de Angleria, Epist. 545, 546.

the honourable settlement of a sister, for whom he had entertained a tender affection. Such a complication, therefore, of injuries gave him the highest displeasure, and inspired him with a desire of expressing his disdain towards those who had imposed on his youth and inexperience, and had abused his too great facility.

The duke of Longueville, who had been made prisoner at the battle of Guinegâte, and who was still detained in England, was ready to take advantage of all these dispositions of Henry, in order to procure a peace, and even an alliance, which he knew to be passionately desired by his master. He represented to the king that Anne, queen of France, being lately dead, a door was thereby opened for an affinity which might tend to the advantage of both kingdoms, and which would serve to terminate honourably all the differences between them: that she had left Louis no male children; and as he had ever entertained a strong desire of having heirs to the crown, no marriage seemed more suitable to him than that with the princess of England, whose youth and beauty afforded the most flattering hopes in that particular: that, though the marriage of a princess of sixteen with a king of fifty-three might seem unsuitable, yet the other advantages attending the alliance were more than a sufficient compensation for this inequality: and that Henry, in loosening his connexions with Spain, from which he had never reaped any advantage, would contract a close affinity with Louis, a prince, who, through his whole life, had invariably maintained the character of probity and honour.

As Henry seemed to hearken to this discourse with willing ears, Longueville informed his master of the probability which he discovered of bringing the matter to a happy conclusion; and he received full powers for negociating the treaty. The articles were easily adjusted between the two monarchs. Louis agreed that Tournay should remain in the hands of the English; that Richard de la Pole should be banished to Metz, there to live on a pension assigned him by Louis; that Henry should receive payment of a million of crowns, being the arrears due by treaty to his father and himself; and that the princess Mary should bring four hundred thousand crowns as her portion, and enjoy as large a jointure as any queen of France, even the former, who was heiress of Britanny. The two princes also agreed on the succours with which they should mutually supply each other, in case either of them were attacked by an enemy (*u*). This peace was signed on the 7th of August, 1514.

Pursuant to the declaration of this treaty, Mary was sent to France with a splendid retinue, and Louis met her at Abbeville, where the espousals were celebrated on the 9th of October. He was enchanted with the beauty, grace, and numerous accomplishments of the young princess; and being naturally of an amorous disposition, which his advanced age had not entirely cooled, he was seduced into such a course of gaiety and pleasure, as proved very unsuitable to his declining state of health (*v*). He died on the 1st of January, 1515, in less than three months after the marriage, to the extreme regret of the French nation, who, sensible of his tender concern for their welfare, gave him, with one voice, the honourable appellation of *Father of his people*.

Francis, duke of Angouleme, a youth of one and twenty, who had married Louis's eldest daughter, succeeded him on the throne; and, by his activity, valour, generosity, and other virtues, gave prognostics of a happy and glorious reign. This young monarch had been extremely struck with the charms of the English princess; and, even during his predecessor's life-time, had paid her such assiduous court, as made some of his friends apprehend that he had entertained views of gallantry towards her. But being warned that, by indulging this passion, he might probably exclude himself from the throne, he forbore all farther addresses; and even watched the young dowager with a very careful eye during the first months of her widowhood. Charles Brandon, duke of Suffolk, was, at that time, in the court of France, the most comely personage of his time, and the most accomplished in all the exercises which were then thought to befit a courtier and a soldier. He was Henry's chief favourite; and that monarch had even once entertained thoughts of marrying him to his sister, and had given indulgence to the mutual passion which took place between them. The queen asked Suffolk, whether he had now the courage, without farther reflection, to espouse her? And she told him, that her brother would more easily forgive him for not asking his consent, than for acting contrary to his orders. Suffolk declined not so inviting an offer; and their nuptials were secretly celebrated at Paris. Francis, who was pleased with this marriage, as it prevented Henry from forming any powerful alliance by means of his sister (*w*), interposed his good offices in appeasing him: and even Wolsey, having entertained no jealousy of Suffolk, who was content to participate in the king's pleasures, and had no ambition to engage in public business, was active in reconciling the king to his sister and brother-in-law; and he obtained them permission to return to England.

The numerous enemies whom Wolsey's sudden elevation, his aspiring character, and his haughty deportment had raised him, served only to rivet him faster in Henry's confidence; who valued himself on supporting the choice which he had made, and who was incapable of yielding either to the murmurs of the people, or to the discontents of the great. That artful prelate likewise, well acquainted with the king's imperious temper, concealed from him the absolute ascendant which he had acquired; and while he secretly directed all public councils, he always pretended a blind submission to the will and authority of his master. By entering into the king's pleasures, he preserved his affection; by conducting his business, he gratified his indolence; and by his unlimited complaisance in both capacities he prevented all that jealousy to which his exorbitant acquisitions, and his splendid ostentatious train of life, should naturally have given birth. The archbishopric of York falling vacant by the death of Bambridge, Wolsey was promoted to that see, and resigned the bishopric of Lincoln. Besides enjoying the administration of Tournay, he got possession, on easy leases, of the revenues of Bath, Worcester, and Hereford, bishoprics filled by Italians, who were allowed to reside abroad, and who were glad to compound for this indulgence, by yielding a considerable share of their income. He held *in commendam* the abbey of St. Albans, and many other church preferments. He was even allowed to unite with the see of York, first that of Durham, next that of Winchester; and there seemed to be no end of his acquisitions. His farther advancement in ecclesiastical dignity served him as a pretence for engrossing still more revenues: the pope, observing his great influence over the king, was desirous of engaging him in his interests, and created him a cardinal. No churchman, under colour of exacting respect to religion, ever carried to a greater height the state and dignity of that character. His train consisted of eight hundred servants, of whom many were knights and gentlemen: some even of the nobility put their children into his family as a place of education; and in order to gain them favour with their patron, allowed them to bear offices as his servants. Whoever was distinguished by any art or science paid court to the cardinal; and none paid court in vain. Literature, which was then in its infancy, found in him a generous patron; and both by his public institutions and private bounty, he gave encouragement to every branch of erudition (*x*). Not content with this munificence, which gained him the approbation of the wise, he strove to dazzle the eyes of the populace, by the splendour of his equipage and furniture, the costly embroidery of his liveries, and the lustre of his apparel. He was the first clergyman in England that wore silk and gold, not only on his habit, but also on his saddles and the trappings of his horses (*y*). He caused his cardinal's hat to be borne aloft by a person of rank; and when he came to the king's chapel, would permit it to be laid on no place but the altar. A priest, the tallest and most comely he could find, carried before him a pillar of silver, on whose top was placed a cross: but not satisfied with this parade, to which he thought himself entitled as cardinal, he provided another priest of equal stature and beauty, who marched along, bearing the cross of York, even in the diocese of Canterbury; contrary to the ancient rule and the agreement between the prelates of these rival sees (*z*). The people made merry with the cardinal's ostentation; and said they were now sensible, that one crucifix alone was not sufficient for the expiation of his sins and offences.

Warham, chancellor and archbishop of Canterbury, a man of a moderate temper, averse to all disputes, chose rather to retire from public employment, than maintain an unequal contest with the haughty cardinal. He resigned

(*u*) Du Tillet. (*v*) Brantome Eloge de Louis XII. (*w*) Petrus de Anglerius. Epist. 544. (*x*) Erasm. Epist. lib. 2. epist. 1, lib. 16. epist. 3. (*y*) Polydore Virgil, lib. 27. Stowe, p. 501. Hollingshed, p. 847. (*z*) Polydore Virgil, lib. 27.

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his office of chancellor; and the great seal was immediately delivered to Wolsey. If this new accumulation of dignity increased his enemies, it also served to exalt his personal character, and prove the extent of his capacity. A strict administration of justice took place during his enjoyment of the chancellorship; and no one in that high office ever discovered greater impartiality in his decisions, deeper penetration of judgement, or more enlarged knowledge of law and equity (*a*).

The duke of Norfolk, likewise finding the king's money almost exhausted by projects and pleasures, while his inclination for expence still continued, was glad to resign his office of treasurer, and retire from court. His rival, Fox bishop of Winchester, reaped no advantage from his absence; but partly overcome by years and infirmities, partly disgusted at the ascendant acquired by Wolsey, withdrew himself wholly to the care of his diocese. The duke of Suffolk had also taken offence that the king, by the cardinal's persuasion, had refused to pay a debt which he had contracted during his residence in France; and he thenceforth affected to live in privacy. These incidents left Wolsey to enjoy, without a rival, the whole power and favour of the king; and they put into his hands every kind of authority. In vain did Fox, before his retirement, warn the king "not to suffer the servant to be greater than his master:" Henry replied, that he well knew how to retain all his subjects in obedience; but he continued still an unlimited deference in every thing to the directions and counsels of cardinal Wolsey.

Public tranquillity was now so well established in England, the obedience of the people was entire, the general administration of justice by the cardinal's means (*b*) was so exact, that no domestic occurrence happened considerable enough to disturb the repose of the king and his minister: they might even have dispensed with giving any strict attention to foreign affairs, were it possible for men to enjoy any situation in absolute tranquillity, or abstain from projects and enterprizes, however fruitless and unnecessary.

The will of the late king of Scotland who left his widow regent of the kingdom, and the vote of the convention of states, which confirmed that destination, had expressly limited her authority to the condition of her remaining unmarried (*c*): but notwithstanding this limitation, a few months after her husband's death, she espoused the earl of Angus, of the name of Douglas, a young nobleman of great family and promising hopes. Some of the nobility now proposed the electing of Angus to the regency, and recommended this choice as the most likely means of preserving peace with England: but the jealousy of the great families, and the fear of exalting the Douglasses, begat opposition to the measure. Lord Hume, in particular, the most powerful chieftain in the kingdom, insisted on recalling the duke of Albany, son to a brother of James III. who had been banished into France, and who, having there married, had left posterity that were next heirs to the crown, and the nearest relations to their young sovereign. Albany, though first prince of the blood, had never been in Scotland, was totally unacquainted with the manners of the people, ignorant of their situation, unpractised in their language; yet such was the favour attending the French alliance, and so great the authority of Hume, that this prince was invited to accept the reins of government. Francis, however, careful not to give offence to the king of England, detained Albany some time in France; but at length, sensible how important it was to keep Scotland in his interests, he permitted him to go over and take possession of the regency: he even renewed the ancient league with that kingdom, though it implied such a close connexion as might be thought somewhat to intrench on his alliance with England.

When the regent arrived in Scotland, he made inquiries concerning the state of the country, and character of the people; and he discovered a scene with which he was hitherto but little acquainted. That turbulent kingdom, he perceived, was rather to be considered as a confederacy, and that not a close one, of petty princes, than a regular system of civil polity; and even the king, much more a regent, possessed an authority very uncertain and precarious. Arms more than laws prevailed; and courage, preferably to equity or justice, was the virtue most valued and respected. The nobility, in whom the whole power resided, were so connected by hereditary alliances, or so divided by inveterate enmities, that it was impossible, without employing an armed force, either to punish the most flagrant guilt, or give security to the most entire innocence. Rapine and violence, when exercised on a hostile tribe, instead of making a person odious among his own clan, rather recommended him to their esteem and approbation; and by rendering him useful to the chieftain, entitled him to a preference above his fellows. And though the necessity of mutual support served as a close cement of amity among those of the same kindred, the spirit of revenge against enemies, and the desire of prosecuting the deadly feuds (so they were called) still appeared to be passions the most predominant among the uncultivated people of Scotland.

The persons to whom Albany on his arrival first applied for information with regard to the state of the country, happened to be inveterate enemies of Hume (*d*); and they represented that powerful nobleman as the chief source of public disorders, and the great obstacle to the execution of the laws and the administration of justice. Before the authority of the magistrate could be established, it was necessary, they said, to make an example of this great offender; and by the terror of his punishment, teach all lesser criminals to pay respect to the power of their sovereign. Albany, moved by the artful tales of these persons, was induced to forget Hume's past services, to which he had chiefly been indebted for the regency; and he no longer bore towards him that favourable countenance with which he was wont to receive him. Hume's quick penetration soon perceived the alteration, and was incited, both by regard to his own safety, and from motives of revenge, to take measures in opposition to the regent. He applied himself to Angus and the queen-dowager, and represented to them the danger to which the infant prince was exposed from the ambition of Albany, next heir to the crown, to whom the states had imprudently entrusted the whole authority of government. Margaret by this persuasion formed the design of carrying off the young king, and putting him under the protection of her brother; and when that conspiracy was detected, she herself, attended by Hume and Angus, withdrew into the territories of the king of England, where she was delivered of a daughter not long after her arrival.

Henry, in order to check the authority of Albany and the French party, gave uncouragement to these malcontents, and assured them of his support. Matters being afterwards in appearance accommodated between Hume and the regent, that nobleman returned into his own country; but notwithstanding this seeming reconciliation, mutual suspicions and jealousies still prevailed. He was committed to custody, under the care of the earl of Arran his brother-in-law; and was for some time detained prisoner in his castle. But having persuaded Arran to enter into the conspiracy with him, he was allowed to make his escape; and he openly levied war upon the regent. A new accommodation ensued, not more sincere than the foregoing; and Hume was so imprudent as to entrust himself, together with his brother, into the hands of that prince. They were immediately seized, committed to custody, brought to trial, condemned, and executed (*e*).

Such violent remedies often produce, for some time, a deceitful tranquillity; but as they destroy mutual confidence, and beget the most inveterate animosities, their consequences are commonly fatal, both to the public and to those who have recourse to them. The regent, however, took advantage of the present calm which prevailed; and being invited over by the French king, who was at that time willing to gratify Henry, he went into France; and was engaged to remain there for some years. During the absence of the regent some confusions prevailed in Scotland, and such mutual enmity, rapine, and violence among the great families, that that kingdom was for a long time utterly disabled, both from offending its enemies and assisting its friends. We have carried on the Scottish history some years beyond the present period; that, as that country had little connection with the general system

(*a*) Sir Thomas More. Stowe, p. 504.
(*b*) Erasm. lib. 2. epist. 1. Cavendish. Hall.
(*c*) Buchanan, lib. 14. Drummond. Herbert.
(*d*) Buchanan, lib. 14. Drummond.
(*e*) It is remarkable that no legal crime was proved against these brothers: it was only alledged, that at the battle of Flouden they had not done their duty in supporting the king; and as this backwardness could not, from the course of their past life, be ascribed to cowardice, it was commonly imputed to a more criminal motive. The evidence, however, of guilt produced against them was far from being valid or convincing; and the people, who hated them while living, were much dissatisfied with their execution.

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of Europe, we might be the less interrupted in the narration of those more memorable events which were transacted in the other kingdoms.

It was foreseen, that a young active prince like Francis, and of so martial a disposition, would soon employ the great preparations which his predecessor before his death had made for the conquest of Milan. He had been observed even to weep at the recital of the military exploits of Gaston de Foix; and these tears of emulation were held to be sure presages of his future valour. He renewed the treaty which Louis had made with Henry; and having left every thing secure behind him, he marched his armies towards the south of France; pretending that his sole purpose was to defend his kingdom against the incursions of the Swiss. This formidable people still retained their animosity against France; and having taken Maximilian duke of Milan under his protection, and in reality reduced him to absolute dependance, they were determined, from views both of honour and interest, to defend him against the invader (*f*). They fortified themselves in all those vallies of the Alps through which they thought the French must necessarily pass; and when Francis, with great secresy, industry, and perseverance, made his entrance into Piedmont by another passage, they were not dismayed, but descended into the plain, though unprovided with cavalry, and opposed themselves to the progress of the French arms. At Marignan, near Milan, they fought with Francis one of the most furious and best contested battles that is to be met with in the history of these later ages, on the 13th of September, 1515; and it required all the heroism of this prince to inspire his troops with courage sufficient to resist the desperate assault of those mountaineers. After a most obstinate and bloody action in the evening, night and darkness parted the combatants; but next morning the Swiss renewed the attack with unabated ardour; and it was not till they had lost all their bravest troops that they could be prevailed on to retire. The field was strewed with twenty thousand men who were slain on both sides; and the mareschal Trivulzio, who had been present at eighteen pitched battles, declared, "that every engagement which he had yet seen was only the play of children; but that the action of Marignan was a combat of heroes (*g*)." After this great victory, the conquest of the Milanese was easy and open to the arms of the French.

The success and glory of the French monarch began to excite jealousy in Henry; and his rapid progress, though in so distant a country, was not regarded without apprehensions by the English ministry (*h*). Henry also thought that he had reason to complain of Francis for sending the duke of Albany into Scotland, and undermining the power and credit of his sister the queen dowager (*i*). The repairing of the fortifications of Teroüenne was likewise regarded as a breach of treaty. But that which tended most to alienate the court of England, was the disgust which Wolsey had entertained against the French king.

Henry, on the conquest of Tournay, had refused to admit Lewis Gaillart, the bishop elect, to the possession of the temporalities, because that prelate declined taking the oath of allegiance to his new sovereign; and Wolsey was appointed, as above related, administrator of the bishopric. As the cardinal wished to obtain a free and undisturbed enjoyment of his revenue, he applied to Francis, and desired him to bestow on Gaillart some see of equal value in France, and to obtain his resignation of Tournay. Francis, who still hoped to recover possession of that city, and who feared that the full establishment of Wolsey in the bishopric would prove an obstacle to his purpose, had hitherto neglected to gratify the haughty prelate; and the bishop of Tournay, by applying to the court of Rome, had obtained a bull for his settlement in the see. Wolsey, who expected to be indulged in every request, and who exacted respect from the greatest princes, resented the slight put upon him by Francis; and he pushed his master to seek an occasion of quarrel with that monarch (*k*).

Maximilian the emperor was ready to embrace every overture for a new enterprize; especially if attended with an offer of money, of which he was very greedy, very prodigal, and very indigent. Richard Pace, formerly secretary to cardinal Bambridge, and now secretary of state, was dispatched to the court of Vienna, and had a commission to propose some considerable payments to Maximilian (*l*): he thence made a journey into Switzerland, and by like motives engaged some of the cantons to furnish troops to the emperor. That prince invaded Italy with a considerable army; but being repulsed from before Milan, he retreated with his army into Germany, made peace with France and Venice, ceded Verona to that republic for a sum of money, and thus excluded himself in some measure from all future access into Italy. And Henry found, that after expending five or six hundred thousand ducats in order to gratify his own and the cardinal's humour, he had only weakened his alliance with Francis, without diminishing the power of that potentate.

There were many reasons which engaged the king not to proceed farther at present in his enmity against France; he could hope for assistance from no power in Europe. Ferdinand, his father-in-law, who had often deceived him, was declining through age and infirmities; and a speedy period was looked for to the long and prosperous reign of that great monarch. Charles prince of Spain, sovereign of the Low Countries, desired nothing but peace with Francis, who had it so much in his power, if provoked, to obstruct his peaceable accession to that rich inheritance which was awaiting him. The pope was overawed by the power of France, and Venice was engaged in a close alliance with that monarchy (*m*). Henry, therefore, was constrained to remain in tranquillity during some time; and seemed to give himself no concern with regard to the affairs of the continent. In vain did Maximilian endeavour to allure him into some expence, by offering to make a resignation of the imperial crown in his favour. The artifice was too gross to succeed, even with a prince so little politic as Henry; and Pace, his envoy, who was perfectly well acquainted with the emperor's motives and character, gave him warning that the sole view of that prince, in making him so liberal an offer, was to draw money from him (*n*).

While an universal peace prevailed in Europe, that event occurred which had been so long looked for, and from which such important consequences were expected, viz. the death of Ferdinand the Catholic, which happened in February, 1516 (*o*), and the succession of his grandson Charles to his extensive dominions. The more Charles advanced in power and authority, the more was Francis sensible of the necessity he himself lay under of gaining the confidence and friendship of Henry; and he took at last the only method by which he could obtain success, the paying of court by presents and flattery to the haughty cardinal.

In the year 1518, Bonnivet, admiral of France, was dispatched to the court of London, and he was directed to employ all his insinuation and address, qualities in which he excelled, to procure himself a place in Wolsey's good graces. After the ambassador had succeeded in his purpose, he took an opportunity of declaring his master's regret, that by mistakes and misapprehensions he had been so unfortunate as to lose a friendship which he so much valued as that of his eminence. Wolsey was not deaf to these honourable advances from so great a monarch; and was thenceforth observed to express himself on all occasions in favour of the French alliance. The more to engage him in his interests, Francis entered into such confidence with him, that he asked his advice even in his most secret affairs; and had recourse to him in all difficult emergencies as to an oracle of wisdom and profound policy. The cardinal made no secret to the king of this private correspondence; and Henry was so prepossessed in favour of the great capacity of his minister, that he said, "he verily believed he would govern Francis as well as himself (*p*)." Having prepared the way, the admiral acquainted the cardinal, that his master was desirous to recover Tournay; and Wolsey immediately, without

(*f*) Memoires du Bellai, lib. 1. Guicciardini, lib. 12.

(*g*) Histoire de la Ligue de Cambray.

(*h*) Italy was, during that age, the seat of religion, of literature, and of commerce; and as it possessed alone that lustre which has since been divided among other nations, it attracted the attention of all Europe, and every acquisition which was made there appeared more important than its weight in the balance of power was, strictly speaking, entitled to.

(*i*) Pere Daniel, vol. iii. p. 31. (*k*) Polydore Virgil, lib. 27.

(*l*) Petrus de Angleria, epist. 568. (*m*) Guicciardini, lib. 12.

(*n*) At a parliament held at the commencement of this year, 1515, three remarkable statutes were enacted: the first contained a prohibition to export unmanufactured wool from the kingdom; the second annulled all patents recently obtained, which contradicted the purport of anterior patents not expressly mentioned in the letter; and the third ordained that no member of parliament should absent himself before the end of the session without express leave, on pain of forfeiting his wages.

(*o*) It was on the 18th of this month that Henry's queen, Catharine of Arragon, was delivered of a daughter, who received the name of Mary, and who afterwards ascended the throne.

(*p*) Polydore Virgil, lib. 27.

hesitation,

hesitation, engaged to effect his purpose. He took an opportunity of representing to the king and council, that Tournay lay so remote from Calais, that it would be very difficult, if not impossible, in case of war, to keep the communication open between these two places: that as it was situated on the frontiers of France and the Netherlands, it was exposed to attacks from both these countries, and must necessarily, either by force or famine, fall into the hands of the first assailant: that even in time of peace it could not be preserved without a large garrison, to restrain the numerous and mutinous inhabitants, ever discontented with the English government: and that the possession of Tournay, as it was thus precarious and expensive, so was it entirely useless, and afforded little or no means of annoying, on occasion, the dominions either of Charles or Francis. These reasons were of themselves convincing, and were sure of meeting with no opposition when they came from the mouth of the cardinal. A treaty, therefore, was entered into for the ceding of Tournay to the French (*q*).

The French monarch having succeeded so well in this negociation, began to enlarge his views, and to hope for more considerable advantages, by practising on the vanity and self-conceit of the favourite. He redoubled his flatteries to the cardinal, consulted him more frequently in every doubt or difficulty, called him in each letter *father*, *tutor*, *governor*, and professed the most unbounded deference to his advice and opinion. All these caresses were preparatives to a negociation for the delivery of Calais, in consideration of a sum of money to be paid for it; and if we may credit Polydore Virgil, who bears a particular ill-will to Wolsey, on account of his being dispossessed of his employment, and thrown into prison by that minister, so extraordinary a proposal met with a favourable reception from the cardinal. He ventured not, however, to lay the matter before the council: he was content to sound privately the opinion of other ministers, by dropping hints in conversation, as if he thought Calais a useless burden to the kingdom (*s*): but when he found that all men were strongly rivetted in a contrary persuasion, he thought it dangerous to proceed any farther in his purpose; and as he fell soon after into new connexions with the king of Spain, the great friendship between Francis and him began to suffer a gradual declension.

Wolsey's pride was now farther increased by a great accession of power and dignity. Cardinal Campeggio had been sent as legate into England, in order to procure a tithe from the clergy, for enabling the pope to oppose the progress of the Turks; a danger which was become real, and was formidable to all Christendom, but on which the politics of the court of Rome had built so many interested projects, that it had lost all influence on the minds of men. The clergy refused to comply with Leo's demands: Campeggio was recalled; and the king desired of the pope that Wolsey, who had been joined in this commission, might alone be invested with the legatine power, together with the right of visiting all the clergy and monasteries, and even with suspending all the laws of the church during a twelvemonth (*t*).

Wolsey, having obtained this new dignity, carried the matter much farther than vain pomp and ostentation. He erected an office, which he called the legatine court; and he was now, by means of the pope's commission and the king's favour, invested with all power, both ecclesiastical and civil, no man knew what bounds were to be set to the authority of his new tribunal. He conferred on it a kind of inquisitorial and censorial powers even over the laity, and directed it to inquire into all matters of conscience; into all conduct which had given scandal; into all actions which, though they escaped the law, might appear contrary to good morals. Offence was taken at this commission, which was really unbounded; and the people were the more disgusted, when they perceived that Wolsey, a man who indulged himself in pomp and pleasure, was so severe in repressing the least appearance of licentiousness in others. And, to render this court still more disagreeable, Wolsey made one John Allen judge in it, a person of scandalous life (*u*), whom he himself, as chancellor, had, it is said, condemned for perjury; and as it is pretended, that this man either extorted fines from every one whom he pleased to find guilty, or took bribes to drop prosecutions, men concluded, and with some appearance of reason, that he shared with the cardinal those wages of iniquity. The clergy, and in particular the monks, were exposed to the tyranny of this court; and as the libertinism of their lives often gave a just handle against them, they were obliged to purchase an indemnity, by paying large sums of money to the legate or his judge. Not content with this authority, Wolsey pretended, by virtue of his commission, to assume the jurisdiction of all the bishops' courts; particularly that of judging of wills and testaments; and his decisions in those important points were deemed not a little arbitrary. As if he himself were pope, and as if the pope could absolutely dispose of every ecclesiastical preferment, he presented to whatever priories or benefices he pleased, without regard to the right of election in the monks, or of patronage in the nobility and gentry (*v*).

No one durst to carry the king any complaint against these usurpations of Wolsey, till Warham, archbishop of Canterbury, ventured to inform him of the discontents of his people. Henry professed his ignorance of the whole matter. "A man," said he, "is not so blind any where as in his own house: but do you, father," added he to the primate, "go to Wolsey, and tell him, if any thing be amiss, that he amend it." A reproof of this kind was not likely to be effectual: it only served to augment Wolsey's enmity to Warham: but one London having prosecuted Allen, the legate's judge, in a court of law, and having convicted him of malversation and iniquity, the clamour at last reached the king's ears; and he expressed such displeasure to the cardinal, as made him ever after more cautious in exerting his authority.

While Henry, indulging himself in pleasure and amusement, entrusted the government of his kingdom to this imperious minister, an incident happened abroad, which excited his attention. Maximilian the emperor died on the 12th of January, 1519; a man who, of himself, was indeed of little consequence; but as his death left vacant the first station among Christian princes, it set the passions of men in agitation, and proved a kind of æra in the general system of Europe. The kings of France and Spain immediately declared themselves candidates for the Imperial crown; and employed every expedient of money or intrigue, which promised them success in so great a point of ambition. Henry was also encouraged to advance his pretensions; but his minister, Pace, who was dispatched to the electors, found that he began to solicit too late, and that the votes of all these princes were already pre-engaged either on one side or the other.

Francis and Charles made profession from the beginning of carrying on this rivalship with emulation, but without enmity, and Francis in particular declared, that his brother Charles and he were, fairly and openly, suitors to the same mistress: the more fortunate, added he, will carry her; the other must rest contented (*w*). But every body apprehended, that this extreme moderation, however reasonable, would not be of long duration; and that incidents would certainly occur to sharpen the minds of the candidates against each other. It was Charles who at

(*q*) In order to give to that measure a more graceful appearance, it was agreed, that the dauphin and the princess Mary, both of them infants, should be betrothed, and that this city should be considered as the dowry of the princess. Such kinds of agreement were then common among sovereigns, though it was very rare that the interests and views of the parties continued so steady as to render the intended marriages effectual. But as Henry had been at considerable expence in building a citadel at Tournay, Francis agreed to pay him six hundred thousand crowns at twelve annual payments, and to put into his hands eight hostages, all of them men of quality, for the performance of the article (*r*): and lest the cardinal should think himself neglected in these stipulations, Francis promised him a yearly pension of twelve thousand livres, as an equivalent for his administration of the bishopric of Tournay. *Hume.*

(*s*) Polydore Virgil, lib. 27.

(*t*) Hereupon Wolsey made a new display of that state and parade to which he was so much addicted. On solemn feast-days he was not content without saying mass after the manner of the pope himself: he had not only bishops and abbots to serve him; but he even engaged the first nobility to give him water and towel. He affected a rank superior to what had ever been claimed by any churchman in England. Warham the primate having written him a letter, in which he subscribed himself *your loving brother*, Wolsey complained of his presumption in thus challenging an equality with him. When Warham was told what offence he had given, he made light of the matter, "Know ye not," said he, "that this man is drunk with too much prosperity?"

(*u*) Strype's Memorials, vol. i. p 125.

(*v*) Polydore Virgil, lib. 27. This whole narrative has been copied by all historians from the author here cited: there are many circumstances, however, very suspicious, both because of the obvious partiality of the historian, and because the parliament, when they afterwards examined Wolsey's conduct, could find no proof of any material offence he had ever committed.

(*w*) Balcaria, lib. 16. Guicciardini, lib. 13.

(*r*) *Memoires du Bellai, lib.* 1.

length prevailed, to the great disappointment of the French monarch, who still continued to the last in the belief that the majority of the electoral college was engaged in his favour. And as he was some years superior in age to his rival, and, after his victory at Marignan, and conquest of the Milanese, much superior in renown, he could not suppress his indignation, at being thus, in the face of the world, after long and anxious expectation, disappointed in so important a pretension (*x*).

Henry possessed the felicity of being able, both by the native force of his kingdom and its situation, to hold the balance between these two powers; and had he known how to improve, by policy and prudence, this singular and inestimable advantage, he was really by means of it, a greater potentate than either of those mighty monarchs, who seemed to strive for the dominion of Europe. But this prince was, in his character, heedless, inconsiderate, capricious, impolitic; guided by his passions or his favourite; vain, imperious, haughty; sometimes actuated by friendship for foreign powers, oftener by resentment, seldom by his true interest. And thus, though he exulted in that superiority which his situation in Europe gave him, he never employed it to his own essential and durable advantage, or to that of his subjects.

Francis was well acquainted with Henry's character, and endeavoured to accommodate his conduct to it. He solicited an interview, in 1520, near Calais; in expectation of being able, by familiar conversation, to gain upon his friendship and confidence. Wolsey earnestly seconded this proposal; and hoped, in the presence of both courts, to make parade of his riches, his splendour, and his influence over both monarchs (*y*). And as Henry himself loved show and magnificence, and had entertained a curiosity of being personally acquainted with the French king, he cheerfully adjusted all the preliminaries of this interview. The nobility of both nations vied with each other in pomp and expence: many of them involved themselves in great debts, and were not able, by the penury of their whole lives, to repair the vain splendour of a few days. The duke of Buckingham, who, though very rich, was somewhat addicted to frugality, finding his preparations for this festival amount to immense sums, threw out some expressions of displeasure against the cardinal, whom he believed to be the author of that measure (*z*): an imprudence which was not forgotten by this minister.

When Henry had arrived at Canterbury on his way to Calais, he heard that the emperor had landed at Dover on the 25th of May; and he immediately hastened thither with the queen, in order to give a suitable reception to his royal guest. That great prince, politic though young, being informed of the intended interview between Francis and Henry, was apprehensive of the consequences, and was resolved to take the opportunity, in his passage from Spain to the Low Countries, to make the king still a higher compliment, by paying him a visit in his own dominions. Exclusive of the marks of regard and attachment which he gave to Henry, he strove, by every testimony of friendship, by flattery, protestations, promises, and presents, to gain on the vanity, the avarice, and the ambition of the cardinal. He instilled into this aspiring prelate the hope of ascending the papal throne; and as that was the sole point of elevation beyond his present greatness, it was sure to attract his wishes with the same ardour as if fortune had never yet favoured him with any of her presents. Buoying himself up with the idea of reaching that dignity by the emperor's assistance, he secretly devoted himself to that monarch's interests; and Charles was perhaps the more liberal of his promises, because Leo was a very young man: and it was not likely that, for many years, he should be called upon to fulfil his engagements. Henry easily observed this courtship paid to his minister; but instead of taking umbrage at it, he only made it a subject of vanity; and believed that, as his favour was Wolsey's sole support, the obeisance of such mighty monarchs to his servant, was in reality a more conspicuous homage to his own grandeur.

The day of Charles's departure, May the 30th, Henry went over to Calais with the queen and his whole court; and thence proceeded to Guisnes, a small town near the frontiers. Francis, attended in like manner, came to Ardres, a few miles distant; and the two monarchs met, for the first time, in the fields, at a place situated between these two towns, but still within the English pale: for Francis agreed to pay this compliment to Henry, in consideration of that prince's passing the sea that he might be present at the interview. Wolsey, to whom both kings had entrusted the regulation of the ceremonial, contrived this circumstance, in order to do honour to his master (*a*). The two monarchs, after saluting each other in the most cordial manner, retired into a tent which had been erected on purpose, and they held a secret conference together. Henry here proposed to make some amendments on the articles of their former alliance; and he began to read the treaty, "I Henry king." These were the first words; and he stopped a moment. He subjoined only the words "of England," without adding "France," the usual style of the English monarchs (*b*). Francis remarked this delicacy, and expressed by a smile, his approbation of it.

He soon took an opportunity of paying a compliment to Henry of a more flattering nature. That generous prince, full of honour himself, and incapable of distrusting others, was shocked at all the precautions which were observed, whenever he had an interview with the English monarch: the number of their guards and attendants were carefully reckoned on both sides: every step was scrupulously measured and adjusted: and if the two kings intended to pay a visit to the queens, they departed from their respective quarters at the same instant, which was marked by the firing of a culverin; they passed each other in the middle point between the places; and the moment that Henry entered Ardres, Francis put himself into the hands of the English at Guisnes. In order to break off this tedious ceremonial, which contained so many dishonourable implications, Francis, one day, took with him two gentlemen and a page, and rode directly into Guisnes. The guards were surprised at the presence of the monarch, who called aloud to them, "You are all my prisoners: carry me to your master." Henry was equally astonished at the appearance of Francis; and taking him in his arms, "My brother," said he, "you have here played me the most agreeable trick in the world, and have showed me the full confidence I may place in you: I surrender myself your prisoner from this moment." He took from his neck a collar of pearls worth fifteen thousand angels (*c*); and putting it about Francis's, begged him to wear it for the sake of his prisoner. Francis agreed, but on condition that Henry should wear a bracelet, of which he made him a present, and which was double in value to the collar (*d*). The king went next day to Ardres, without guards or attendants; and confidence being now fully established between the monarchs, they employed the rest of the time entirely in tournaments and festivals.

A defiance had been sent by the two kings to each other's court, and through all the chief cities in Europe,

(*x*) From this competition, as much as from opposition of interests, arose that emulation between those two great monarchs; which, while it kept their whole age in movement, sets them in so remarkable a contrast to each other: both of them were princes endowed with talents and abilities; brave, aspiring, active, warlike; beloved by their servants and subjects, dreaded by their enemies, and respected by all the world: Francis, open, frank, liberal, munificent, carrying these virtues to an excess which prejudiced his affairs: Charles, political, close, artful, frugal; better qualified to obtain success in wars and in negociations, especially the latter. The one the more amiable man; the other the greater monarch. The king, from his oversight and indiscretions, naturally exposed to misfortunes; but qualified by his spirit and magnanimity, to extricate himself from them with honour: the emperor, by his designing interested character, fitted, in his greatest successes, to excite jealousy and opposition even among his allies, and to rouse up a multitude of enemies in the place of one whom he had subdued. And as the personal qualities of these princes counterpoised each other, so did the advantages and disadvantages of their dominions. Fortune alone, without the concurrence of prudence or valour, never reared up, of a sudden, so great a power as that which centered in the emperor Charles. He reaped the succession of Castile, of Arragon, of Austria, of the Netherlands: he inherited the conquest of Naples, of Grenada: election entitled him to the empire: even the bounds of the globe seemed to be enlarged a little before his time, that he might possess the whole treasure, as yet entire and unrifled, of the new world. But though the concurrence of all these advantages formed an empire, greater and more extensive than any known in Europe since that of the Romans, the kingdom of France alone, being close, compact, united, rich, populous, and being interposed between the provinces of the emperor's dominions, was able to make a vigorous opposition to his progress, and maintain the contest against him.

(*y*) Polydore Virgil, lib. 27.

(*z*) Ibid. Herbert. Hollingshed, p. 855.

(*a*) The nobility both of France and England here displayed their magnificence with such emulation and profuse expence, as procured to the place of interview the name of *the field of the cloth of gold.*

(*b*) Memoires de Fleuranges.

(*c*) Here let us observe, that an angel was then estimated at seven shillings, or near twelve of our present money.

(*d*) Memoires de Fleuranges.

importing,

importing, that Henry and Francis, with fourteen aids, would be ready, in the plains of Picardy, to answer all comers that were gentlemen, at tilt, tournament, and barriers. The monarchs, in order to fulfil this challenge, advanced into the field on horseback, Francis surrounded with Henry's guards, and Henry with those of Francis. They were gorgeously apparelled; and were both of them the most comely personages of their age, as well as the most expert in every military exercise. They carried away the prize at all trials in those rough and dangerous pastimes; and several horses and riders were overthrown by their vigour and dexterity. The ladies were the judges in these feats of chivalry, and put an end to the rencounter, whenever they judged it expedient. Henry erected a spacious house of wood and canvas, which had been framed in London; and he there feasted the French monarch. He had placed a motto on this fabric, under the figure of an English archer embroidered on it, "*Cui adhæreo præst*;"—"*He prevails whom I favour* (*e*):" expressing his own situation, as holding in his hands the balance of power among the potentates of Europe. In these entertainments, more than in any serious business, did the two kings pass their time, till their departure from each other on the 24th of June.

Henry paid then a visit to the emperor and Margaret of Savoy, at Gravelines, and engaged them to go along with him to Calais, and pass some days in that fortress. The artful and politic Charles here completed the impression, which he had begun to make on Henry and his favourite, and effaced all the friendship to which the frank and generous nature of Francis had given birth. As the house of Austria began sensibly to take the ascendant over the French monarchy, the interests of England required, that some support should be given to the latter, and, above all, that any important wars should be prevented, which might bestow on either of them a decided superiority over the other. But the jealousy of the English against France has usually prevented a cordial union between these nations: and Charles, sensible of this hereditary animosity, and desirous farther to flatter Henry's vanity, had made him an offer (an offer in which Francis was afterwards obliged to concur,) that he should be entirely arbiter in any dispute or difference that might arise between the monarchs. But the master-piece of Charles's politics was the securing of Wolsey in his interests, by very important services, and still higher promises. He renewed assurances of assisting him in obtaining the papacy; and he put him in present possession of the revenues belonging to the sees of Badajox and Placencia in Castile. The acquisitions of Wolsey were now become so exorbitant, that, joined to the pensions from foreign powers, which Henry allowed him to possess, his revenues were computed nearly equal to those which belonged to the crown itself; and he spent them with a magnificence, or rather an ostentation, which gave general offence to the people, and even lessened his master in the eyes of all foreign nations (*f*).

The violent personal emulation and political jealousy which had taken place between the emperor and the French king soon broke out in hostilities. In 1521 hostilities commenced between the emperor and France; but while these ambitious and warlike princes were acting against each other in almost every part of Europe, they still made professions of the strongest desire of peace; and both of them incessantly carried their complaints to Henry, as to the umpire between them. The king, who pretended to be neutral, engaged them to send their ambassadors to Calais, there to negociate a peace under the mediation of Wolsey and the pope's nuncio. The emperor was well apprised of the partiality of these mediators; and his demands in the conference were so unreasonable, as plainly proved him conscious of the advantage. He required the restitution of Burgundy, a province which many years before had been ceded to France by treaty, and which, if in his possession, would have given him entrance into the heart of that kingdom: and he demanded to be freed from the homage which his ancestors had always done for Flanders and Artois, and which he himself had, by the treaty of Noyon, engaged to renew. On Francis's rejecting these terms, the congress of Calais broke up, and Wolsey, soon after, took a journey to Bruges, where he met with the emperor. He was received with the same state, magnificence, and respect, as if he had been the king of England himself; and he concluded, in his master's name, an offensive alliance with the pope and the emperor against France. He stipulated, that England should next summer invade that kingdom with forty thousand men; and he betrothed to Charles the princess Mary, the king's only child, who had now some prospect of inheriting the crown. This extravagant alliance, which was prejudicial to the interests, and might have proved fatal to the liberty and independence of the kingdom, was the result of the humours and prejudices of the king, and the private views and expectations of Wolsey.

The people saw every day new instances of the uncontrolled authority of this minister. The duke of Buckingham, constable of England, the first nobleman both for family and fortune in the kingdom, had imprudently given disgust to the cardinal; and it was not long before he found reason to repent of his indiscretion. He seems to have been a man full of levity and rash projects; and being infatuated with judicial astrology, he entertained a commerce with one Hopkins, a Carthusian frier, who encouraged him in the notion of his mounting one day the throne of England. He was descended by a female from the duke of Gloucester, youngest son of Edward III.; and though his claim to the crown was thereby very remote, he had been so unguarded as to let fall some expressions, as if he thought himself best intitled, in case the king should die without issue, to possess the royal dignity. He had not even abstained from threats against the king's life, and had provided himself with arms, which he intended to employ, in case a favourable opportunity should offer. He was committed to the Tower on the 16th of April; was afterwards brought to a trial; and the duke of Norfolk, whose son, the earl of Surrey, had married Buckingham's daughter, was created lord steward, in order to preside at this solemn procedure (*g*). The jury consisted of a duke, a marquis, seven earls, and twelve barons; and they gave their verdict against Buckingham, which was carried into execution on the 17th of May. There is no reason to think the sentence unjust (*h*); but as Buckingham's crimes seem to proceed more from indiscretion than deliberate malice, the people, who loved him, expected that the king would grant him a pardon, and imputed their disappointment to the animosity and revenge of the cardinal. The king's own jealousy, however, of all persons allied to the crown, was, notwithstanding his undoubted title, very remarkable during the whole course of his reign; and was alone sufficient to render him implacable against Buckingham. The office of constable, which this nobleman inherited from the Bohuns, earls of Hereford, was forfeited, and was never after revived in England.

During some years, particularly from 1515 to the present times, many parts of Europe had been agitated with those religious controversies which produced the reformation, one of the greatest events in history: but as it was not till this time that the king of England publicly took part in the quarrel, we had no occasion to give any account of its rise and progress. It will now be necessary to explain these theological disputes; or, what is more material, to trace from their origin those abuses which so generally diffused the opinion, that a reformation of the church, or ecclesiastical order, was become highly expedient, if not absolutely necessary. We shall be better enabled to comprehend the subject, if we take the matter a little higher, and reflect a moment on the reasons why there must be an ecclesiastical order and a public establishment of religion in every civilized community. The importance of the present occasion will excuse this short digression.

Most of the arts and professions in a state are of such a nature, that, while they promote the interests of the society, they are also useful or agreeable to some individuals; and in that case, the constant rule of the magistrate, except, perhaps, on the first introduction of any art, is, to leave the profession to itself, and trust its encouragement to those who reap the benefit of it. The artizans, finding their profits to rise by the favour of their customers, increase, as much as possible, their skill and industry; and as matters are not disturbed by any injudicious tampering, the commodity is always sure to be at all times nearly proportioned to the demand.

(*e*) Mezeray. (*f*) Polydore Virgil. Hall.

(*g*) When the sentence was pronounced against the duke of Buckingham, and the high steward mentioned the word Traitor, the unhappy prisoner could no longer contain his indignation: "My lords," cried he to the judges, "I am no traitor; and, for what you have now done against me, take my sincere forgiveness. As for my life, I think it not worth the trouble of a petition. May God forgive you, and pity me."

(*h*) Herbert. Hall. Stowe, 513. Hollingshed, p. 862.

But there are also some callings which, though useful and even necessary in a state, bring no particular advantage or pleasure to any individual; and the supreme power is obliged to alter its conduct with regard to the retainers of those professions. It must give them public encouragement in order to their subsistence; and it must provide against that negligence, to which they will naturally be subject, either by annexing peculiar honours to the profession, by establishing a long subordination of ranks and a strict dependence, or by some other expedient. The persons employed in the finances, armies, fleets, and magistracy, are instances of this order of men.

It may naturally be thought, at first sight, that the ecclesiastics belong to the first class, and that their encouragement, as well as that of lawyers and physicians, may safely be entrusted to the liberality of individuals, who are attached to their doctrines, and who find benefit or consolation from their spiritual ministry and assistance. Their industry and vigilance will, no doubt, be whetted by such an additional motive; and their skill in the profession, as well as their address in governing the minds of the people, must receive daily increase, from their increasing practice, study, and attention.

But if we consider the matter more closely, we shall find, that this interested diligence of the clergy is what every wise legislator will study to prevent; because in every religion, except the true, it is highly pernicious, and it has even a natural tendency to pervert the true, by infusing into it a strong mixture of superstition, folly, and delusion. Each ghostly practitioner, in order to render himself more precious and sacred in the eyes of his retainers, will inspire them with the most violent abhorrence of all other sects, and continually endeavour, by some novelty, to excite the languid devotion of his audience. No regard will be paid to truth, morals, or decency, in the doctrines inculcated. Every tenet will be adopted that best suits the disorderly affections of the human frame. Customers will be drawn to each conventicle by new industry and address, in practising on the passions and credulity of the populace. And in the end, the civil magistrate will find, that he has dearly paid for his pretended frugality, in saving a fixed establishment for the priests; and that in reality the most decent and advantageous composition, which he can make with the spiritual guides, is to bribe their indolence, by assigning stated salaries to their profession, and rendering it superfluous for them to be farther active, than merely to prevent their flock from straying in quest of new pastures. And in this manner ecclesiastical establishments, though commonly they arose at first from religious views, prove in the end advantageous to the political interests of society.

But we may observe, that few ecclesiastical establishments have been fixed upon a worse foundation than that of the church of Rome, or have been attended with circumstances more hurtful to the peace and happiness of mankind. The large revenues, privileges, immunities, and powers of the clergy rendered them formidable to the civil magistrate, and armed with too extensive authority an order of men, who always adhere closely together, and who never want a plausible pretence for their encroachments and usurpations. The higher dignities of the church served, indeed, to the support of gentry and nobility; but by the establishment of monasteries, many of the lowest vulgar were taken from the useful arts, and maintained in those receptacles of sloth and ignorance. The supreme head of the church was a foreign potentate, guided by interests always different from those of the community, sometimes contrary to them. And as the hierarchy was necessarily solicitous to preserve an unity of faith, rites, and ceremonies, all liberty of thought ran a manifest risk of being extinguished; and violent persecutions, or, what was worse, a stupid and abject credulity, took place every where.

To increase these evils, the church, though she possessed large revenues, was not contented with her acquisitions, but retained a power of practising farther on the ignorance of mankind. She even bestowed on each individual priest a power of enriching himself by the voluntary oblations of the faithful, and left him still an urgent motive for diligence and industry in his calling. And thus, that church, though an expensive and burthensome establishment, was liable to many of the inconveniences which belong to an order of priests trusting entirely to their own art and invention for attaining a subsistence.

The advantages attending the Romish hierarchy were but a small compensation for its inconveniences. The ecclesiastical privileges during barbarous times had served as a cheque on the despotism of kings. The union of all the western churches under the supreme pontiff facilitated the intercourse of nations, and tended to bind all the parts of Europe into a close connexion with each other. And the pomp and splendour of worship which belonged to so opulent an establishment, contributed in some respect to the encouragement of the fine arts, and began to diffuse a general elegance of taste, by uniting it with religion.

It will easily be conceived, that though the balance of evil prevailed in the Romish church, this was not the chief reason which produced the reformation. A concurrence of incidents must have contributed to forward that great revolution.

Leo X. by his generous and enterprizing temper, had much exhausted his treasury, and was obliged to employ every invention which might yield money, in order to support his projects, pleasures, and liberalities. The scheme of selling indulgences was suggested to him, as an expedient which had often served in former times to draw money from the Christian world, and make devout people willing contributors to the grandeur and riches of the court of Rome. The church, it was supposed, was possessed of a great stock of merit, as being entitled to all the good works of all the saints, beyond what were employed in their own justification; and even to the merits of Christ himself, which were infinite and unbounded: and from this unexhausted treasury the pope might retail particular portions, and by that traffic acquire money, to be employed in pious purposes, in resisting the infidels or subduing schismatics. When the money came into his exchequer, the greater part of it was usually diverted to other purposes (*i*).

It is commonly believed that Leo, from the penetration of his genius, and his familiarity with ancient literature, was fully acquainted with the ridicule and falsity of the doctrines which, as supreme pontiff, he was obliged by his interest to promote: it is the less wonder, therefore, that he employed for his profit those pious frauds which his predecessors, the most ignorant and credulous, had always, under plausible pretences, made use of for their selfish purposes. He published the sale of a general indulgence in 1517; and as his expences had not only exhausted his usual revenue, but even anticipated the money expected from this extraordinary expedient, the several branches of it were openly given away to particular persons, who were entitled to levy the imposition. The produce, particularly of Saxony and the countries bordering on the Baltic, was assigned to his sister Magdalene, married to Cibo, natural son of Innocent VIII. and she, in order to enhance her profit, had farmed out the revenue to one Arcemboldi, a Genoese, once a merchant, now a bishop, who still retained all the lucrative arts of his former profession (*k*). The Austin friers had usually been employed in Saxony to preach the indulgences, and from this trust had derived both profit and consideration: but Arcemboldi, fearing lest practice might have taught them means to secrete the money (*l*), and expecting no extraordinary success from the ordinary methods of collection, gave this occupation to the Dominicans. These monks, in order to prove themselves worthy of the distinction conferred on them, exaggerated the benefits of indulgences by the most unbounded panegyrics; and advanced doctrines on that head which, though not more ridiculous than those already received, were not as yet entirely familiar to the ears of the people. To add to the scandal, the collectors of this revenue are said to have lived very licentious lives, and to have spent in taverns, gaming-houses, and places still more infamous, the money which devout persons had saved from their usual expences, in order to purchase a remission of their sins (*m*).

All these circumstances might have given offence, but would have been attended with no event of any importance, had there not arisen a man qualified to take advantage of the incident. Martin Luther, an Austin frier, professor in the university of Wittemberg, resenting the affront put upon his order, began to preach against these abuses in the sale of indulgences (*n*); and he proceeded even

(*i*) Father Paul and Sleidan.
(*l*) Father Paul, lib. 1.
(*k*) Father Paul, Sleidan.
(*m*) Father Paul, lib. 1.
(*n*) See the lives of Luther, Calvin, Beza, Oecolampadius, Zuinglius, and other Reformers, in the "Evangelical Biography."

even to decry indulgences themselves; and was thence carried, by the heat of dispute, to question the authority of the pope, from which his adversaries derived their chief arguments against him (*o*). Still as he enlarged his reading, in order to support these tenets, he discovered some new abuse or error in the church of Rome; and finding his opinions gain ground among the people, he promulgated them by writing, discourse, sermon, conference; and daily increased the number of his disciples. All Saxony, all Germany, all Europe, were in a very little time filled with the voice of Luther; and men, roused from that lethargy in which they had so long been slumbering, began to call in question the most ancient and most received opinions of the church of Rome. The elector of Saxony, favourable to Luther's doctrine, protected him from the violence of the papal jurisdiction: the republic of Zurich even reformed their church according to the new model: many sovereigns of the empire, and the Imperial diet itself, showed a favourable disposition towards it: and Luther, a man naturally inflexible and vehement, was become incapable, either from promises of advancement or terrors of severity, to relinquish a sect of which he was himself the founder, and which brought him a glory superior to all others, the glory of dictating the religious faith and principles of multitudes.

The rumour of these innovations soon reached England; and as there still subsisted in that kingdom great remains of the Lollards, whose principles resembled those of Luther, the new doctrines secretly gained many partizans among the laity of all ranks and denominations. But Henry had been educated in a strict attachment to the church of Rome, and he bore a particular prejudice against Luther, who in his writings spoke with contempt of Thomas Aquinas, the king's favourite author: he opposed himself, therefore, to the progress of the Lutheran tenets, by all the influence which his extensive and almost absolute authority conferred upon him: he even undertook to combat them with weapons not usually employed by monarchs, especially those in the flower of their age and force of their passions. He wrote a book in Latin against the principles of Luther; a performance which, if allowance be made for the subject and the age, does no discredit to his capacity. He sent a copy of it to Leo, who received so magnificent a present with great testimony of regard; and conferred on him the title of "*Defender of the Faith*;" an appellation still retained by the kings of England. Luther, who was in the heat of controversy, soon published an answer to Henry; and, without regard to the dignity of his antagonist, treated him with all the acrimony of style to which in the course of his polemics he had so long been accustomed. The king by this ill usage was still more prejudiced against the new doctrines; but the public, who naturally favour the weaker party, were inclined to attribute to Luther the victory in the dispute (*p*). And as the controversy became more illustrious by Henry's entering the lists, it drew still more the attention of mankind; and the Lutheran doctrine daily acquired new converts in every part of Europe; but more particularly in Germany.

The rapid and surprising progress of Lutheranism, may justly in part be ascribed to the late invention of printing, and revival of learning: not that reason bore any considerable share in opening men's eyes with regard to the impostures of the Romish church: for of all branches of literature philosophy had, as yet, and till long afterwards, made the most inconsiderable progress; neither is there any instance that argument has ever been able to free the people from that enormous load of absurdity with which superstition has every where overwhelmed them: not to mention, that the quick advancement of the Lutheran doctrine, and the violence with which it was embraced, prove sufficiently that it owed not its success to reason and reflection. The art of printing and the revival of learning forwarded its progress in another manner. By means of that art the books of Luther and his sectaries were propagated more quickly, and in greater numbers. The minds of men, somewhat awakened from a profound sleep of so many centuries, were prepared for every novelty, and scrupled less to tread in any unusual path which was opened to them. And as copies of the scriptures and other ancient monuments of the Christian faith became more common, men perceived the innovations which were introduced after the first centuries; and though argument and reasoning could not give conviction, an historical fact, well supported, was able to make impression on their understandings. Many of the powers, indeed, assumed by the church of Rome, were very ancient, and were prior to almost every political government established in Europe: but as the ecclesiastics would not agree to possess their privileges as matters of civil right, which time might render valid, but appealed still to a divine origin, men were tempted to look into their primitive charter; and they could, without much difficulty, perceive its defect in truth and authenticity.

In order to bestow on this topic the greater influence, Luther and his followers, not satisfied with opposing the pretended divinity of the Romish church, and displaying the temporal inconveniencies of that establishment, carried matters much farther, and justly treated the religion of their ancestors as abominable, detestable, damnable; foretold by sacred writ itself as the source of all wickedness and pollution. They rightly denominated the pope antichrist, called his communion the scarlet whore, and gave to Rome the appellation of Babylon; expressions which, however applied, were to be found in scripture, and which were better calculated to operate on the multitude than the most solid arguments of a different nature. Excited by contest and persecution on the one hand, by success and applause on the other, many of the reformers carried to the greatest extremity their opposition to the church of Rome; and in contradiction to the multiplied superstitions with which that communion was loaded, they adopted an enthusiastic strain of devotion, which admitted of no observances, rites, or ceremonies, but placed all merit in a mysterious species of faith, inward vision, rapture, and ecstacy. The new sectaries, seized with this spirit, were indefatigable in the propagation of their doctrine, and set at defiance all the anathemas and punishments with which the Roman pontiff endeavoured to overwhelm them.

That the civil power, however, might afford them protection against the ecclesiastical jurisdiction, the Lutherans advanced doctrines favourable in some respect to the temporal authority of sovereigns. They inveighed against the abuses of the court of Rome, with which men were at that time generally discontented; and they exhorted princes to reinstate themselves in those powers of which the encroaching spirit of the ecclesiastics, especially of the sovereign pontiff, had so long bereaved them. They condemned celibacy and monastic vows, and thereby opened the doors of the convents to those who were either tired of the obedience and chastity, or disgusted with the license in which they had hitherto lived. They blamed the excessive riches, the idleness, the libertinism of the clergy; and pointed out their treasures and revenues as lawful spoil to the first invader. And as the ecclesiastics had hitherto conducted a willing and a stupid audience, and were totally unacquainted with controversy, much more with every species of true literature, they were unable to defend themselves against men armed with authorities, quotations, and popular topics, and qualified to triumph in every altercation or debate. Such were the advantages with which the reformers began their attack on the Romish hierarchy; and such were the causes of their rapid and astonishing success.

Leo X. whose oversights and too supine trust in the profound ignorance of the people, had given rise to this sect, but whose sound judgement, moderation, and temper, were well qualified to retard its progress, died in the flower of his age, a little after he received the king's book against Luther, on the 1st of December, 1521; and he was succeeded in the papal chair by Adrian, a Fleming, who had been tutor to the emperor Charles. This man was fitted to gain on the reformers by the integrity, candour, and simplicity of manners which distinguished his character; but so violent were their prejudices against the church, he rather hurt the cause by his imprudent exercise of those virtues. He frankly confessed, that many abominable and detestable practices prevailed in the court of Rome; and by this sincere avowal he gave occasion of much triumph to the Lutherans. This pontiff also, whose penetration was not equal to his good intentions, was seduced to concur in that league which Charles and Henry had formed against France (*q*); and he thereby augmented the scandal occasioned by the practice of so many preceding popes, who still made their spiritual arms subservient to political purposes.

(*o*) Father Paul. Sleidan.

(*p*) Father Paul, lib. 1.

(*q*) Guicciardini, lib. 14.

poses (*r*). The emperor Charles, who knew that Wolsey had received a disappointment in his ambitious hopes by the election of Adrian, and who dreaded the resentment of that haughty minister, was solicitous to repair the breach made in their friendship by this incident. He paid another visit to England; where he landed on the 26th of May, 1522; and besides flattering the vanity of the king and the cardinal, he renewed to Wolsey all the promises which he had made him, of seconding his pretensions to the papal throne. Wolsey, sensible that Adrian's great age and infirmities promised a speedy vacancy, dissembled his resentment, and was willing to hope for a more prosperous issue to the next election. The emperor renewed the treaty made at Bruges, to which some articles were added; and he agreed to indemnify both the king and Wolsey for the revenue which they should lose by a breach with France. The more to ingratiate himself with Henry and the English nation, he gave to Surrey, admiral of England, a commission for being admiral of his dominions; and he himself was installed knight of the garter at London. After a stay of six weeks in England, he embarked at Southampton, and in ten days arrived in Spain, where he soon pacified the tumults which had arisen in his absence (*s*).

In the spring of this year, the king declared war against France; and this measure was founded on so little reason, that he could allege nothing as a ground of quarrel, but Francis's refusal to submit to his arbitration, and his sending Albany into Scotland. This last step had not been taken by the French king, till he was quite assured of Henry's resolution to attack him. Surrey sailed with such forces as were ready, ravaged the coast of Normandy; landed some troops at Cherbourg; and after laying waste part of that country, he sailed to Morlaix, a rich town in Britanny, which he took and plundered. The English merchants had great property in that place, which was no more spared by the soldiers than the goods of the French. Surrey then left the charge of the fleet to the vice-admiral, and sailed to Calais, where he took the command of the English army destined for the invasion of France. This army, when joined by forces from the Low Countries, under the command of the count de Buren, amounted in the whole to eighteen thousand men.

The French had made it a maxim in almost all their wars with the English since the reign of Charles V. never without great necessity to hazard a general engagement; and the duke of Vendôme, who commanded the French army, now embraced this wise policy. He supplied the towns most exposed, especially Boulogne, Montreuil, Teroüenne, Hedin, with strong garrisons and plenty of provisions: he himself took post at Abbeville, with some Swiss and French infantry, and a body of cavalry: the count of Guise encamped under Montreuil with six thousand men. These two bodies were in a situation to join upon occasion; to throw supply into any town that was threatened; and to harass the English in every movement. Surrey, not being provided with magazines, first divided his troops for the convenience of subsisting them; but finding that his quarters were every moment beaten up by the activity of the French generals, he drew together his forces, and laid siege to Hedin. He did not, however, succeed in this enterprize. The garrison made vigorous sallies upon his army; the French forces assaulted him from without; great rains fell; fatigue and bad weather threw the soldiers into dysenteries; and Surrey was obliged to raise the siege, and put his troops into winter-quarters about the end of October. His rear-guard was attacked at Pas, in Artois, and five or six hundred men were cut off; nor could all his efforts make him master of one place within the French frontier.

The allies were more successful in Italy; Lautrec, who commanded the French, lost a great battle at Bicocca near Milan, and was obliged to retire with the remains of his army. This misfortune, which proceeded from Francis's negligence in not supplying Lautrec with money (*t*), was followed by the loss of Genoa. After this battle the castle of Cremona was the sole fortress which remained in the hands of the French in Italy.

Europe was now in such a situation, and so connected by different alliances and interests, that it was almost impossible for war to be kindled in one part, and not diffuse itself throughout the whole: but of all the leagues among kingdoms, the closest was that which had so long subsisted between France and Scotland; and the English, while at war with the former nation, could not hope to remain long unmolested on the northern frontier. No sooner had Albany arrived in Scotland, than he took measures for kindling a war with England; and he summoned the whole force of the kingdom to meet in the fields of Rosline (*u*). He thence conducted the army southwards into Annandale; and prepared to pass the borders at Solway Frith. But many of the nobility were disgusted with the regent's administration; and observing that his connexions with Scotland were feeble in comparison of those which he maintained with France, they murmured that, for the sake of foreign interests, their peace should so often be disturbed, and war during their king's minority be wantonly entered into with a neighbouring nation, so much superior in force and riches. The Gordons, in particular, refused to advance any farther; and Albany, observing a general discontent to prevail, was obliged to conclude a truce with lord Dacres, warden of the English west marches. Soon after he departed for France; and lest the opposite faction should gather force in his absence, he sent thither before him the earl of Angus, husband to the queen-dowager.

The following year, 1523, Henry, that he might take advantage of the regent's absence, marched an army into Scotland under the command of Surrey, who ravaged the Merse and Teviotdale without opposition, and burned the town of Jedburgh. The Scots had neither king nor regent to conduct them; the two Humes had been put to death; Angus was in a manner banished by being sent into France before the departure of the duke of Albany; no nobleman of vigour or authority remained, who was qualified to assume the government; and the English monarch, who knew the distressed situation of the country, determined to push them to extremity, in hopes of engaging them, by the sense of their present weakness, to make a solemn renunciation of the French alliance, and to embrace that of England (*v*). He even gave them hopes of contracting a marriage between the lady Mary, heiress of England, and their young monarch; an expedient which would for ever unite the two kingdoms (*w*); and the queen-dowager, with her whole party, recommended every where the advantages of this alliance, and of a confederacy with Henry. She, together with her party, declared, that the interest of Scotland had too long been sacrificed to those of the French nation, who, whenever they found themselves reduced to difficulties, called for the assistance of their allies; but were ready to abandon them so soon as they found their advantage in making peace with England: that where a small state entered into so close a confederacy with a greater, it must always expect this treatment, as a consequence of the unequal alliance; but there were peculiar circumstances in the situation of the kingdoms which in the present case rendered it inevitable: that France was so distant and so divided from them by sea, that she scarcely could by any means, and never could in time, send succours to the Scots, sufficient to protect them against ravages from the neighbouring kingdom; that nature had in a manner formed an alliance between the two British nations; having inclosed them in the same island; given them the same manners, language, laws, and form of government; and prepared every thing for an intimate union between them: and that if national antipathies were abolished, which would soon be the effect of peace, these two kingdoms, secured by the ocean and by their domestic force, could set at defiance all foreign enemies, and remain for ever safe and unmolested.

The partizans of the French alliance, on the other hand, said, that the very reasons which were urged in favour of a league with England, the vicinity of the kingdom and its superior force, were the real causes why a sincere and durable confederacy could never be formed with that hostile nation: that among neighbouring states occasions of quarrel were frequent; and the more powerful would be sure to seize every frivolous pretence for oppressing the weaker, and reducing it to subjection: that as the near neighbourhood of France and England had kindled a war almost perpetual between them, it was the interest of the

(*r*) We have thought it necessary to give in this place an outline of the circumstances which led to the Reformation; but as such an abstract account of so important an event would not be satisfactory to many of our readers, we shall prosecute the subject more at length in our next Chapter on Ecclesiastical Affairs.

(*s*) Petrus de Angleria, epist. 765.
(*t*) Guicciardini, lib. 14.
(*u*) Buchanan, lib. 14. Drummond, Pitscottie.
(*v*) Buchanan, lib. 14. Herbert.
(*w*) Le Grand, vol. iii. p. 39.

Scots,

Scots, if they wished to maintain their independence, to preserve their league with the former kingdom, which balanced the force of the latter: that if they deserted that old and salutary alliance, on which their importance in Europe chiefly depended, their ancient enemies, stimulated both by interest and by passion, would soon invade them with superior force, and bereave them of all their liberties: or if they delayed the attack, the insidious peace, by making the Scots forget the use of arms, would only prepare the way for a slavery more certain and more irretrievable (*x*).

The arguments employed by the French party, being seconded by the natural prejudices of the people, seemed most prevalent; and when the duke of Albany himself, who had been long detained beyond his appointed time by the danger from the English fleet, at last returned to Scotland, and appeared among them, he was able to throw the balance entirely on that side. By authority of the convention of states he assembled an army, with a view of avenging the ravages committed by the English in the beginning of the campaign; and he led them southwards towards the borders of the two kingdoms: but when they were passing the Tweed at the bridge of Melross, the English party raised again such opposition, that Albany thought proper to retreat. He marched along the banks of the Tweed, keeping that river on his right; and fixed his camp opposite to Werk Castle, which Surrey had lately repaired. He sent some troops to besiege this fortress, who made a breach in it, and stormed some of the outworks: but the regent, hearing of the approach of an English army, and discouraged by the advanced season, thought proper to disband his forces, and retire to Edinburgh. Soon after he went over to France, and never again returned to Scotland. The Scottish nation, agitated by their domestic factions, were not during several years in a condition to give any more disturbance to England; and Henry had full leisure to prosecute his designs on the continent.

We must not pass over the general survey which Henry caused to be made of the whole kingdom, in 1522. The vast sums of money which Henry the Seventh had left were all spent in dissipation; and the revenues of the crown were inadequate to the ordinary charges of government; so that his military enterprizes were entirely to be provided for. With a pecuniary view he ordered accounts to be taken of the numbers of men, their years, profession, stock, revenue (*y*); and expressed great satisfaction on finding the nation so opulent. He then issued privy seals to the most wealthy, demanding loans of particular sums: this act of power, though somewhat irregular and tyrannical, had been formerly practised by kings of England; and the people were now familiarized to it. But Henry this year carried his authority much farther. He published an edict for a general tax upon his subjects, which he still called a loan; and he levied five shillings in the pound upon the clergy, two shillings upon the laity. This pretended loan, as being more regular, was really more dangerous to the liberties of the people; and was a precedent for the king's imposing taxes without consent of parliament.

Wolsey having found that this illegal mode of raising money had excited murmurs of discontent among the people, now advised the king to convoke a parliament; which accordingly met at Black Friers, on the 15th of April, 1523. A convocation of the clergy was also summoned at the same time. Wolsey, who had undertaken the management of the affair, began with the convocation, in hopes that their example would influence the parliament to grant a large supply. He demanded a moiety of the ecclesiastical revenues to be levied in five years, or two shillings in the pound during that time; and though he met with opposition from the bishops of Winchester and Rochester, he reprimanded the refractory members in such severe terms, that his request was at last complied with. The cardinal afterwards, attended by several of the nobility and prelates, came to the house of commons; and in a long and elaborate speech laid before them the public necessities, the danger of an invasion from Scotland, the affronts received from France, the league in which the king was engaged with the pope and the emperor; and he demanded a grant of eight hundred thousand pounds, divided into four yearly payments; a sum computed, from the late survey or valuation, to be equal to four shillings in the pound of one year's revenue, or one shilling in the pound yearly, according to the division proposed (*z*). So large a grant was unusual from the commons; and though the cardinal's demand was seconded by sir Thomas More the speaker, and several other members attached to the court, the house could not be prevailed with to comply (*a*). They only voted two shillings in the pound on all who enjoyed twenty pounds a year and upwards; one shilling on all who possessed between twenty pounds and forty shillings a year; and on the other subjects above sixteen years of age, a groat a-head. This last sum was divided into two yearly payments; the former into four; and was not, therefore, at the utmost above six-pence in the pound. The grant of the commons was but the moiety of the sum demanded; and the cardinal, therefore, much mortified with the disappointment, came again to the house, and desired to reason with such as refused to comply with the king's request. He was told, that it was a rule of the house never to reason but among themselves; and his desire was rejected. The commons, however, somewhat enlarged their former grant, and voted an imposition of three shillings in the pound on all possessed of fifty pounds a-year and upwards (*b*). The king was so dissatisfied with this saving disposition of the commons, that as he had not called a parliament during seven years before, he allowed seven more to elapse before he summoned another: and, on pretence of necessity, he levied in one year, from all who were worth forty pounds, what the parliament had granted him payable in four years (*c*); a new invasion of national privileges. These irregularities were commonly ascribed, though probably not without some prejudice, to the cardinal's counsels, who, trusting to the protection afforded him by his ecclesiastical character, was the less scrupulous in his encroachments on the civil rights of the nation.

The ambitious cardinal received this year a new disappointment in his aspiring views. Pope Adrian the Sixth died; and the cardinal de Medici, renewing his pretensions to the papal dignity, was elected in his place, with the concurrence of the emperor, and assumed the title of Clement the Seventh. Henry, on receiving intelligence of Adrian's death, wrote to the emperor, reminding him of his engagements to second the claims of his minister. Wolsey, too, exerted himself with activity suitable to the importance of the prize for which he contended; and instructed his agents at Rome to spare neither promises nor bribes in order to gain his end: but Charles had either amused him with vain hopes, which he never intended to gratify, or he judged it impolitic to oppose a candidate whose prospect of success was so great as that of Medici; or, perhaps, the cardinals durst not venture to provoke the people of Rome, while their indignation against Adrian's memory was still fresh, by placing another foreigner on the papal throne. Wolsey, after all his expectations and endeavours, had the mortification to see a pope elected of such an age and constitution, that he could derive but little consolation from the hope of surviving him. This second proof fully convinced Wolsey of the emperor's insincerity, and it excited in him all the resentment which a haughty mind experiences on being at once disappointed and deceived; and, though Clement endeavoured to soothe his vindictive nature by granting him a commission to be legate in England during life,

(*x*) Buchanan, lib. 14. (*y*) Herbert. Stowe, p. 514.

(*z*) This survey or valuation, says Mr. Hume, is liable to much suspicion, as fixing the rents a great deal too high; unless the sum comprehend the revenues of all kinds, industry as well as land and money. Notwithstanding that historian's suspicion, we see no reason to doubt it, especially when we think of the income and property taxes of the present day.

(*a*) Herbert. Stowe, p. 518. Parliamentary History. Strype, vol. i. p. 49, 50.

(*b*) The following anecdote of Henry the Eighth is well attested: when that monarch heard that the commons made a great difficulty of granting the supply he demanded, he was so provoked that he sent for Edward Montague, one of the members who had a considerable influence on the house; and he being introduced to his majesty, had the mortification to hear him speak in these terms: "Ho! man! will they not suffer my bill to pass?" And laying his hand on Montague's head, who was then on his knees before him, he further said, "Get my bill passed by to-morrow, or else to-morrow this head of yours shall be off." This cavalier manner of Henry succeeded; for the next day the bill was passed. See Collins's British Peerage, and Grove's Life of Wolsey. We are told by Hall, fol. 38. that cardinal Wolsey endeavoured to terrify the citizens of London into the general loan exacted in 1525, and told them plainly, that "it were better that some should suffer indigence than that the king at this time should lack; and therefore beware and resist not, nor ruffle not in this case, for it may fortune to cost some people their heads." Such was the style employed by the king and his ministers.

(*c*) Speed. Hall. Herbert.

with

with such ample powers as vested in him almost the whole papal jurisdiction in this kingdom, the injury he had received entirely dissolved the tie which had united him to the emperor; and from that moment he meditated revenge. It was necessary, however, to conceal his intention from Henry; and to suspend the execution of it until, by a dexterous improvement of the incidents which might occur, he should be able gradually to alienate the king's affections from Charles. For this reason he was so far from expressing any uneasiness on account of the repulse which he had experienced, that on every occasion, public as well as private, he was eager to express his satisfaction with the promotion of Clement (*d*).

The confederacy against France appeared more formidable than ever on the opening of the campaign (*e*). Adrian, before his death, had renewed the league with Charles and Henry: the Venetians had been induced to desert the French alliance, and to form engagements for securing Francis Sforza, brother to Maximilian, in possession of the Milanese: the Florentines, the dukes of Ferrara and Mantua, and all the powers of Italy, combined in the same measure: the emperor, in person, menaced France with a powerful invasion on the side of Guienne: the forces of England and the Netherlands hovered over Picardy: a numerous body of Germans were preparing to ravage Burgundy: but all these perils from foreign enemies were less threatening than a domestic conspiracy which had been formed, and which was now come to full maturity, against the French monarch.

Charles duke of Bourbon, constable of France, was a prince of great abilities and the most shining merit; and, besides distinguishing himself in many military enterprizes, he was adorned with every accomplishment which became a person of his high station. His virtues, embellished with the graces of youth, had made such impression on Louise of Savoy, Francis's mother, that, without regard to the inequality of their years, she made him proposals of marriage; and, meeting with a repulse, she formed schemes of unrelenting vengeance against him. She was a woman false, deceitful, vindictive, malicious; but, unhappily for France, had, by her capacity, which was considerable, acquired an absolute ascendant over her son. By her instigation Francis put many affronts on the constable, which it was difficult for a gallant spirit to endure; and, at last, he permitted Louise to prosecute a law-suit against him, by which, on the most frivolous pretences, he was deprived of his ample possessions; and inevitable ruin was brought upon him. Bourbon, provoked at the indignities he received, and thinking that, if any injuries could justify a man in rebelling against his prince and country, he must stand acquitted, had entered into a secret correspondence with the emperor and the king of England (*f*). Francis, pertinacious in his purpose of recovering the Milanese, had intended to lead his army in person into Italy; and Bourbon, who feigned sickness, in order to have a pretence for staying behind, purposed, as soon as the king should have passed the Alps, to raise an insurrection among his numerous vassals, by whom he was extremely beloved, and to introduce foreign enemies into the heart of the kingdom. Francis got intimation of his design; but, as he was not expeditious enough in securing so dangerous a foe, the constable made his escape (*g*); and, entering into the emperor's service, employed all the force of his enterprising spirit, and his great talents for war, to the prejudice of his native country.

The king of England, desirous that Francis should undertake his Italian expedition, did not openly threaten Picardy this year with an invasion; and it was not till the 24th of August that the duke of Suffolk, who commanded the English forces, passed over to Calais. He was attended by the lords Montacute, Herbert, Ferrars, Morney, Sandys, Berkeley, Powis, and many other noblemen and gentlemen (*h*). The English army, reinforced by some troops drawn from the garrison of Calais, amounted to about twelve thousand men; and having joined an equal number of Flemings under the count de Burun, they prepared for an invasion of France. The siege of Boulogne was first proposed; but that enterprize appearing difficult, it was thought more advisable to leave this town behind them. The frontier of Picardy was very ill provided with troops; the only defence of that province was the activity of the French officers, who infested the allied army in their march, and threw garrisons, with great expedition, into every town which was threatened by them. After coasting the Somme, and passing Hedin, Montreüil, Dourlens, the English and Flemings presented themselves before Bray, a place of small force, which commanded a bridge over that river. Here they were resolved to pass, and, if possible, to take up winter-quarters in France; but Crequi threw himself into the town, and seemed resolute to defend it. The allies attacked him with vigour and success; and when he retreated over the bridge, they pursued him so hotly, that they allowed him not time to break it down, but passed it along with him, and totally routed his army. They next advanced to Montdidier, which they besieged, and took by capitulation. Meeting with no opposition, they proceeded to the river Oise, within eleven leagues of Paris, and threw that city into great consternation; till the duke of Vendôme hastened with some forces to its relief. The confederates, afraid of being surrounded, and of being reduced to extremities during so advanced a season, thought proper to retreat. Montdidier was abandoned: and the English and Flemings, without effecting any thing, retired into their respective countries.

France defended herself from the other invasions with equal facility and equal good fortune. Twelve thousand Lansquenets broke into Burgundy under the command of the count of Furstenberg. The count of Guise, who defended that frontier, had nothing to oppose to them but some militia, and about nine hundred heavy-armed cavalry. He threw the militia into the garrison-towns; and with his cavalry he kept the field, and so harassed the Germans, that they were glad to make their retreat into Lorraine. Guise attacked them as they passed the Meuse, put them into disorder, and cut off the greater part of their rear.

The emperor made great preparations on the side of Navarre; and though that frontier was well guarded by nature, it seemed now exposed to danger from the powerful invasion which threatened it. Charles besieged Fontarabia, which a few years before had fallen into Francis's hands; and when he had drawn thither Lautrec, the French general, he of a sudden raised the siege, and sat down before Bayonne. Lautrec, aware of that stratagem, made a sudden march, and threw himself into Bayonne, which he defended with such vigour and courage, that the Spaniards were constrained to raise the siege. The emperor would have been totally unfortunate on this side, had he not turned back upon Fontarabia, and, contrary to the advice of all his generals, sitten down in the winter season before that city, well fortified and strongly garrisoned. The cowardice or misconduct of the governor saved him from the shame of a new disappointment. The place was surrendered in a few days; and the emperor, having finished this enterprize, put his troops into winter quarters.

So obstinate was Francis in prosecuting his Italian expedition, that, notwithstanding these numerous invasions with which his kingdom was menaced on every side, he had determined to lead in person a powerful army to the conquest of Milan. The intelligence of Bourbon's conspiracy and escape stopped him at Lyons; and, fearing some insurrection in the kingdom, from the intrigues of a man so powerful and so much beloved, he thought it prudent to remain in France, and to send forward his army under the command of admiral Bonnivet. The duchy of Milan had been purposely left in a condition somewhat defenceless, with a view of alluring Francis to attack it, and thereby facilitating the enterprizes of Bourbon; and no sooner had Bonnivet passed the Tesino, than the army of the league, and even Prosper Colonna, who commanded it, a prudent general, were in the utmost confusion. It is agreed, that if Bonnivet had immediately advanced to Milan, that great city, on which the whole duchy depends, would have opened its gates without resistance; but as he wasted his time in frivolous enterprizes, Colonna had opportunity to reinforce the garrison, and to put the place in a posture of defence. Bonnivet was now obliged to at-

(*d*) In some particulars Wolsey made a good use of this extensive power. He erected two colleges, one at Oxford, another at Ipswich, the place of his nativity: he sought, all over Europe, for learned men to supply the chairs of these colleges: and, in order to bestow endowments on them, he suppressed some smaller monasteries. The execution of this project became less difficult for him, because the Romish church began to perceive that she overabounded in monks, and that she wanted some supply of learning, in order to oppose the inquisitive, or rather disputative humour of the reformers.

(*e*) Guicciardini, lib. 14.
(*f*) Memoires du Bellay, lib. 2.
(*g*) Belcarius, lib. 17.
(*h*) Herbert.

tempt

tempt reducing the city by blockade and famine; and he took possession of all the posts which commanded the passages to it. But the army of the league, meanwhile, was not inactive; and they so straitened and harassed the quarters of the French, that it seemed more likely the latter should themselves perish by famine, than reduce the city to that extremity. Sickness and fatigue and want had wasted them to such a degree, that they were ready to raise the blockade; and their only hopes consisted in a great body of Swiss, which was levied for the service of the French king, and whose arrival was every day expected. But these mountaineers no sooner came within sight of the French camp, than they stopped from a sudden caprice and resentment; and, instead of joining Bonnivet, they sent orders to a great body of their countrymen, who then served under him, immediately to begin their march, and to return home in their company (*i*). After this desertion of the Swiss, Bonnivet had no other choice but that of making his retreat as fast as possible into France.

The French being thus expelled Italy, the pope, the Venetians, the Florentines were satisfied with the advantage obtained over them, and were resolved to prosecute their victory no farther. All these powers, especially Clement, had entertained a violent jealousy of the emperor's ambition; and their suspicions were extremely augmented when they saw him refuse the investiture of Milan, a fief of the empire, to Francis Sforza, whose title he had acknowledged, and whose defence he had embraced (*k*). They all concluded that he intended to put himself in possession of that important duchy, and reduce Italy to subjection: Clement, in particular, actuated by this jealousy, proceeded so far in opposition to the emperor, that he sent orders to his nuncio at London, in 1524, to mediate a reconciliation between France and England. But affairs were not yet fully ripe for this change. Wolsey, disgusted with the emperor, but still more actuated by vain-glory, was determined that he himself should have the renown of bringing about that great alteration; and he engaged the king to reject the pope's mediation. A new treaty was even concluded between Henry and Charles for the invasion of France. Charles stipulated to supply the duke of Bourbon with a powerful army, in order to conquer Provence and Dauphiny: Henry agreed to pay him a hundred thousand crowns for the first month; after which, he might either chuse to continue the same monthly payments, or invade Picardy with a powerful army before the end of July. Bourbon was to possess these provinces with the title of king; but to hold them in fee of Henry, as lawful king of France. The duchy of Burgundy was to be given to Charles: the rest of the kingdom to Henry (*l*).

Francis might now have enjoyed, in safety, the glory of repulsing all his enemies, in every attempt which they had hitherto made for invading his kingdom; but, as he received intelligence that the king of England, discouraged by his former fruitless enterprizes, and disgusted with the emperor, was making no preparations for any attempt on Picardy, his ancient ardour seized him for the conquest of Milan; and, notwithstanding the advanced season, he was immediately determined, contrary to the advice of his wisest counsellors, to lead his army into Italy. He passed the Alps at Mount Cenis, and no sooner appeared in Piedmont than he threw the whole Milanese into consternation. The forces of the emperor and Sforza retired to Lodi on the Adda; and had Francis been so fortunate as to pursue them, they had abandoned that place, and had been totally dispersed (*m*); but his ill fate led him, on the 28th of October, to lay siege to Pavia, a town of considerable strength, well garrisoned, and defended by Leyva, one of the bravest officers in the Spanish service. Every attempt which the French king made to gain this important place proved fruitless. He battered the walls and made breaches; but, by the vigilance of Leyva, new entrenchments were instantly thrown up behind the breaches: he attempted to divert the course of the Tesino, which ran by one side of the city, and defended it; but an inundation of the river destroyed, in one night, all the mounds which the soldiers, during a long time and with infinite labour had been erecting. Fatigue, and the bad season (for it was the depth of winter,) had wasted the French army. The Imperial generals, meanwhile, were not inactive. Pescara and Lannoy, viceroy of Naples, assembled forces from all quarters. Bourbon, having pawned his jewels, went into Germany, and with the money, aided by his personal interest, levied a body of twelve thousand Lansquenets, with which he joined the Imperialists. This whole army advanced to raise the siege of Pavia; and the danger to the French became every day more imminent.

The state of Europe was such, during that age, that partly from want of commerce and industry every where, except in Italy and the Low-Countries, partly from the extensive privileges still possessed by the people in all the great monarchies, and their frugal maxims in granting money, the revenues of the princes were extremely narrow, and even the small armies which they kept on foot could not be regularly paid by them. The Imperial forces commanded by Bourbon, Pescara, and Lannoy, exceeded not twenty thousand men; they were the only body of troops maintained by the emperor (for he had not been able to levy any army for the invasion of France, either on the side of Spain or Flanders). Yet, so poor was that mighty monarch, that he could transmit no money for the payment of this army; and it was chiefly the hopes of sharing the plunder of the French camp which had made them advance, and kept them to their standards. Had Francis raised the siege before their approach, and retired to Milan, they must immediately have disbanded; and he had obtained a complete victory without danger or bloodshed. But it was the character of this monarch to become obstinate in proportion to the difficulties which he encountered; and having once said, that he would take Pavia or perish before it, he was resolved rather to endure the utmost extremities than depart from this resolution.

The Imperial generals, after cannonading the French camp for several days, at last made a general assault, and broke into the intrenchments, on the 24th of February, 1525. Leyva sallied from the town, and increased the confusion among the besiegers. The Swiss infantry, contrary to their usual practice, behaved in a dastardly manner, and deserted their post. Francis's forces were put to rout; and he himself, surrounded by his enemies, after fighting with heroic valour, and killing seven men with his own hand, was at last obliged to surrender himself prisoner. Almost the whole army, full of nobility and brave officers, either perished by the sword, or were drowned in the river. The few who escaped with their lives fell into the hands of the enemy.

The emperor received this news by Pennalosa, who passed through France by means of a safe-conduct, granted him by the captive king. The moderation which Charles displayed on this occasion, had it been sincere, would have done him honour. Instead of rejoicing, he expressed sympathy with Francis's ill fortune, and discovered his sense of those calamities to which the greatest monarchs are exposed (*n*). He refused the city of Madrid permission to make any public expressions of triumph; and said that he reserved all his exultation till he should be able to obtain some victory over the infidels. He sent orders to his frontier garrisons to commit no hostilities upon France. He spoke of concluding, immediately, a peace on reasonable terms. But all this seeming moderation was only hypocrisy, so much the more dangerous as it was profound. And he was wholly occupied in forming schemes how, from this great incident, he might draw the utmost advantage, and gratify that exorbitant ambition by which, in all his actions, he was ever governed.

The same Pennalosa, in passing through France, carried a letter from Francis to his mother, whom he had left regent, and who then resided at Lyons. It was laconic, but expressive, containing only these few words: "*Madame, tout est perdu, hors l'honneur:*" that is, "Madam, all is lost, except our honour." The princess was struck with the greatness of this calamity. She saw the kingdom without a sovereign, without an army, without generals,

(*i*) Guicciardini, lib. 15. Memoires du Bellay, liv. 2.

(*k*) Guicciardini, lib. 15.

(*l*) This chimerical partition immediately failed of execution in the article which was most easily performed: Bourbon refused to acknowledge Henry as king of France. His enterprize, however, against Provence still took place. A numerous army of Imperialists invaded that country, under his command and that of the marquis of Pescara. They laid siege to Marseilles, which, being weakly garrisoned, they expected to reduce in a little time: but the citizens defended themselves with such valour and obstinacy, that Bourbon and Pescara, who heard of the French king's approach with a numerous army, found themselves under a necessity of raising the siege; and they led their forces, weakened, baffled, and disheartened, into Italy.

(*m*) Guicciardini, lib. 15. Du Bellay, liv. 2.

(*n*) Vera Hist. de Carl. V.

nerals, without money; surrounded on every side by implacable and victorious enemies; and her chief resource, in her present distresses, were the hopes she entertained of peace, and even of assistance from the king of England.

Had the king entered into the war against France from any concerted political views, it is evident that the victory of Pavia and the captivity of Francis were the most fortunate incidents that could have befallen him, and the only ones that could render his schemes effectual. While the war was carried on in the former feeble manner, without any decisive advantage, he might have been able to possess himself of some frontier town, or perhaps of a small territory, of which he could not have kept possession without expending much more than its value. By some signal calamity alone, which annihilated the power of France, could he hope to acquire the dominion of considerable provinces, or dismember that great monarchy, so affectionate to its own government and its own sovereigns. But as it is probable that Henry had never before carried his reflections so far, he was startled at this important event, and became sensible of his own danger, as well as that of all Europe, from the loss of a proper counterpoise to the power of Charles. Instead of taking advantage, therefore, of the distressed condition of Francis, he was determined to lend him assistance in his present calamities; and, as the glory of generosity in raising a fallen enemy concurred with his political interest, he hesitated the less in embracing these new measures.

Some disgusts also had previously taken place between Charles and Henry, and still more between Charles and Wolsey; and that powerful minister waited only for a favourable opportunity of revenging the disappointments which he had met with. The behaviour of Charles, immediately after the victory of Pavia, gave him occasion to revive the king's jealousy and suspicions. The emperor so ill supported the appearance of moderation, which he at first assumed, that he had already changed his usual style to Henry; and, instead of writing to him with his own hand, and subscribing himself "your affectionate son and cousin:" he dictated his letters to a secretary, and simply subscribed himself "Charles (*o*)." Wolsey also perceived a diminution in the caresses and professions with which the emperor's letters to him were formerly loaded; and this last imprudence, proceeding from the intoxication of success, was probably more dangerous to Charles's interests than the other.

Henry, though immediately determined to embrace new measures, was careful to save appearances in the change; and he caused rejoicings to be every where made on account of the victory of Pavia and the captivity of Francis. He publicly dismissed a French envoy, whom he had formerly allowed, notwithstanding the war, to reside at London (*p*): but, upon the regent of France's submissive applications to him, he again opened a correspondence with her; and, besides assuring her of his friendship and protection, he exacted a promise that she never would consent to the dismembering of any province from the monarchy for her son's ransom. With the emperor, however, he put on the appearance of vigour and enterprize; and in order to have a pretence for breaking with him, he dispatched Tunstal, bishop of London, to Madrid, with proposals for a powerful invasion of France. He required that Charles should immediately enter Guienne at the head of a great army, in order to put him in possession of that province; and he demanded the payment of large sums of money which that prince had borrowed from him in his last visit at London. He knew that the emperor was in no condition of fulfilling either of these demands; and that he had as little inclination to make him master of such considerable territories upon the frontiers of Spain.

Tunstal, likewise, after his arrival at Madrid, informed his master that Charles, on his part, urged several complaints against England; and, in particular, was displeased with Henry, because last year he had neither continued his monthly payments to Bourbon, nor invaded Picardy, according to his stipulations. Tunstal added, that instead of expressing an intention to espouse Mary when she should be of age, the emperor had hearkened to proposals for marrying his niece Isabella, princess of Portugal; and that he had entered into a separate treaty with Francis, and seemed determined to reap alone all the advantages of the success with which fortune had crowned his arms.

Henry, influenced by these motives, concluded at Moore, on the 30th of August, his alliance with the regent of France, and engaged to procure her son his liberty on reasonable conditions (*q*): the regent also, in another treaty, acknowledged the kingdom Henry's debtor for one million eight hundred thousand crowns, to be discharged in half-yearly payments of fifty thousand crowns: after which Henry was to receive during life, a yearly pension of a hundred thousand. A large present of a hundred thousand crowns was also made to Wolsey for his good offices, but covered under pretence of arrears due on the pension granted him for relinquishing the bishopric of Tournay.

Henry, in the mean time, foreseeing that this treaty with France might involve him in a war with the emperor, was determined to fill his treasury by impositions upon his own subjects; and as the parliament had discovered some reluctance in complying with his demands, he followed, as is believed, the counsel of Wolsey, and resolved to make use of his prerogative alone for that purpose. He issued commissions to all the counties of England for levying four shillings in the pound upon the clergy, three shillings and four-pence upon the laity; and so uncontroulable did he deem his authority, that he took no care to cover, as formerly, this arbitrary exaction, even under the slender pretence of a loan. But he soon found that he had presumed too far on the passive submission of his subjects. The people, displeased with an exaction beyond what was usually levied in those days, and farther disgusted with the illegal method of imposing it, broke out in murmurs, complaints, opposition to the commissioners; and their refractory disposition threatened a general insurrection. Henry had the prudence to stop short in that dangerous path into which he had entered. He sent letters to all the counties, declaring that he meant no force by his last imposition, and that he would take nothing from his subjects but by way of *benevolence*. He flattered himself that his condescension in employing that disguise would satisfy the people, and that no one would dare to render himself noxious to royal authority, by refusing any payment required of him in this manner. But the spirit of opposition, once roused, could not so easily be quieted at pleasure. A lawyer in the city, objecting the statute of Richard III. by which benevolences were for ever abolished, it was replied by the court, "that Richard being an usurper, and his parliament a factious assembly, his statutes could not bind a lawful and *absolute* monarch, who held his crown by hereditary right, and needed not to court the favour of a licentious populace (*r*)." The judges even went so far as to affirm positively, "that the king might exact, by commission, any sum he pleased;" and the privy council gave a ready assent to this decree, which annihilated the most valuable privilege of the people, and rendered all their other privileges precarious. Armed with such formidable authority, of royal prerogative and pretence of law, Wolsey sent for the mayor of London, and desired to know what he was willing to give for the supply of his majesty's necessities. The mayor seemed desirous, before he should declare himself, to consult the common council; but the cardinal required that he and all the aldermen should separately confer with himself about the benevolence; and he eluded by that means the danger of a formed opposition. Matters, however, went not so smoothly in the country. An insurrection was begun in some places; but as the people were not headed by any considerable person, it was easy for the duke of Suffolk, and the earl of Surrey, now duke of Norfolk, by employing persuasion and authority, to induce the ringleaders to lay down their arms, and surrender themselves prisoners. The king, finding it dangerous to punish criminals engaged in so popular a cause, was determined, notwithstanding his violent imperious temper, to grant them a general pardon; and he prudently imputed their guilt, not to their want of loyalty or affection, but to their poverty. The offenders were carried before the star-chamber, where, after a severe charge brought against them by the king's council, the cardinal said, "That, notwithstanding their grievous offence, the king, in consideration of their necessities, had granted them his gracious pardon upon condition that they would find sureties for their future good behaviour." But they replying they had no sureties, the cardinal first, and after him the duke of Norfolk said, that they would be bound for them. Upon which they were dismissed (*s*).

These arbitrary impositions being imputed, though on

(*o*) Guicciardini, lib. 16.
(*p*) Du Bellay, liv. 3. Stowe, p. 221. Baker, p. 273.
(*q*) Du Tillet, Recueil des Traités de Leonard, tom. 2. Herbert.
(*r*) Herbert. Hall.
(*s*) Herbert. Hall. Stowe, p. 525. Hollingshed, p. 891.

what grounds is unknown, to the counsels of the cardinal, increased the general odium under which he laboured; and the clemency of the pardon being ascribed to the king, was considered as an atonement on his part for the illegality of the measure. But Wolsey, supported both by royal and papal authority, proceeded, without scruple, to violate all ecclesiastical privileges, which, during that age, were much more sacred than civil; and, having once prevailed in that unusual attempt of suppressing some monasteries, he kept all the rest in awe, and exercised over them an arbitrary jurisdiction. By his commission as legate, he was impowered to visit them, and reform them, and chastise their irregularities; and he employed his usual agent, Allen, in the exercise of this authority. The religious houses were obliged to compound for their guilt, real or pretended, by paying large sums to the cardinal or his deputy; and this oppression was carried so far that it reached at last the king's ears, which were not commonly open to complaints against his favourite. Wolsey had built a splendid palace at Hampton Court, which he probably intended, as well as that of York Place in Westminster, for his own residence; but fearing the increase of envy on account of this magnificence; and desirous to appease the king, he made him a present of the building, and told him that, from the first, he had erected it for his use.

The absolute authority possessed by the king, rendered his domestic government, both over his people and his ministers, easy and expeditious: the conduct of foreign affairs alone required effort and application; and they were now brought to such a crisis, that it was no longer safe for England to remain entirely neutral. The feigned moderation of the emperor was of short duration; and it was soon obvious to all the world that his great dominions, far from gratifying his ambition, were only regarded as the means of acquiring an empire still more extensive. The terms which he demanded of his prisoner were such as must for ever have annihilated the power of France, and destroyed the balance of Europe. These terms were proposed to Francis soon after the battle of Pavia, while he was detained in Pizzichitone; and as he had hitherto trusted somewhat to the emperor's generosity, the disappointment excited in his breast the most lively indignation. He said that he would rather live and die a prisoner than agree to dismember his kingdom; and that even were he so base as to submit to such conditions, his subjects would never permit him to carry them into execution.

Francis was encouraged to persist in demanding more moderate terms, by the favourable accounts which he heard of Henry's dispositions towards him, and of the alarm which had seized all the chief powers in Italy upon his defeat and captivity. He was uneasy, however, to be so far distant from the emperor, with whom he must treat; and he expressed his desire (which was complied with) to be removed to Madrid, in hopes that a personal interview would operate in his favour, and that Charles, if not influenced by his ministers, might be found possessed of the same frankness of disposition by which he himself was distinguished. He was soon convinced of his mistake: and partly from want of exercise, partly from reflections on his present melancholy situation, he fell into a languishing illness; which begat apprehensions in Charles, lest the death of his captive should bereave him of all those advantages which he purposed to extort from him. He then paid him a visit in the castle of Madrid; and as he approached the bed in which Francis lay, the sick monarch called to him, "You come, sir, to visit your prisoner." "No," replied the emperor, "I come to visit my brother and my friend, who shall soon obtain his liberty." He soothed his afflictions with many speeches of a like nature, which had so good an effect, that the king daily recovered (*t*); and thenceforth employed himself in concerting with the ministers of the emperor the terms of his treaty.

At last the emperor, dreading a general combination against him, was willing to abate somewhat of his rigour; and the treaty of Madrid, which procured the French monarch his liberty, was signed on the 14th of January, 1526; by which it was hoped an end would be finally put to the differences between these two great monarchs. The principal condition was the restoring of Francis's liberty, and the delivery of his two eldest sons as hostages to the emperor for the cession of Burgundy: if any difficulty should afterwards occur in the execution of this last article, from the opposition of the states either of France or of that province, Francis stipulated, that in six weeks time he should return to his prison, and remain there till the full performance of the treaty. There were many other articles in this famous convention, all of them extremely severe upon the captive monarch; and Charles discovered evidently his intention of reducing Italy, as well as France, to subjection and dependence.

Many of Charles's ministers foresaw that Francis, how solemn soever the oaths, promises, and protestations exacted of him, never would execute a treaty so disadvantageous, or rather ruinous and destructive, to himself, his posterity, and his country. By putting Burgundy, they thought, into the emperor's hands, he gave his powerful enemy an entrance into the heart of the kingdom: by sacrificing his allies in Italy, he deprived himself of foreign assistance; and arming his oppressor with the whole force and wealth of that opulent country, rendered him absolutely irresistible. To these great views of interest were added the motives, no less cogent, of passion and resentment; while Francis, a prince who piqued himself on generosity, reflected on the rigour with which he had been treated during his captivity, and the severe terms which had been exacted of him for the recovery of his liberty. It was also foreseen, that the emulation and rivalship which had so long subsisted between these two monarchs, would make him feel the strongest reluctance on yielding the superiority to an antagonist, who by the whole tenor of his conduct, he would be apt to think, had shewn himself so little worthy of that advantage which fortune alone had put into his hands. His ministers, his friends, his subjects, his allies, would be sure with one voice to inculcate on him, that the first object of a prince was the preservation of his people; and that the laws of honour, which with a private man ought to be absolutely supreme, and superior to all interests, were, with a sovereign, subordinate to the great duty of ensuring the safety of his country. Nor could it be imagined that Francis would be so romantic in his principles, as not to hearken to a casuistry which was so plausible in itself, and which so much flattered all the passions by which, either as a prince or a man, he was strongly actuated.

On the 18th of March Francis entered his own dominions, and delivered his two eldest sons as hostages into the hands of the Spaniards. It was one year and twenty-two days after the fatal battle of Pavia. He mounted a Turkish horse, and immediately putting him to the gallop, he waved his hand, and cried aloud several times "I am yet a king." He soon reached Bayonne, where he was joyfully received by the regent and his whole court. He immediately wrote to Henry, acknowledging that to his good offices alone he owed his liberty, and protesting that he should be entirely governed by his counsels in all transactions with the emperor. When the Spanish envoy demanded his ratification of the treaty of Madrid, now that he had fully recovered his liberty, he declined the proposal, under colour that it was previously necessary to assemble the states both of France and of Burgundy, and to obtain their consent. The states of Burgundy soon met; and declaring against the clause which contained an engagement for alienating their province, they expressed their resolution of opposing, even by force of arms, the execution of so ruinous and unjust an article. The Imperial minister then required that Francis, in conformity to the treaty of Madrid, should now return to his prison; but the French monarch, instead of complying, made public the treaty which he had secretly concluded at Cognac, on the 22nd of May, against the ambitious schemes and usurpations of the emperor (*u*).

Pope Clement, the Venetians, and other Italian states, who were deeply interested in these events, had been held in the most anxious suspense with regard to the resolutions which Francis should take after the recovery of his liberty; and the pope, in particular, who suspected that this prince would never execute a treaty so hurtful to his interests, and even destructive of his independency, had very frankly offered him a dispensation from all his oaths and engagements. Francis remained not in suspense, but entered immediately into the confederacy proposed to him. It was stipulated by that king, the pope, the Venetians, the Swiss, the Florentines, and the duke of Milan, among other articles, that they would oblige the emperor to deliver up the two young princes of France, on receiving a reasonable sum of money; and to restore Milan to Sforza, without farther condition or incumbrance. The king of England was invited to accede, not only as a contracting party, but as protector of the *holy league*, as it was

(*t*) Herbert, De Vera, Sandoval.

(*u*) Guicciardini, lib. 17.

was called; and if Naples should be conquered from the emperor, in prosecution of this confederacy, it was agreed that Henry should enjoy a principality in that kingdom, of the yearly revenue of thirty thousand ducats: and that cardinal Wolsey, in consideration of the services which he had rendered to Christendom, should also, in such an event, be put in possession of a revenue of ten thousand ducats.

Francis was desirous that the appearance of this great confederacy should engage the emperor to relax somewhat in the extreme rigour of the treaty of Madrid; and while he entertained these hopes, he was the more remiss in his warlike preparations; nor did he send in due time reinforcement to his allies in Italy. The duke of Bourbon had got possession of the whole Milanese, in the beginning of 1527, of which the emperor intended to grant him the investiture; and having levied a considerable army in Germany, he became formidable to all the Italian potentates; and not the less so because Charles, destitute as usual of money, had not been able to remit any pay to the forces. The general was extremely beloved by his troops; and in order to prevent those mutinies which were ready to break out every moment, and which their affection alone for him had hitherto restrained, he led them to Rome, and promised to enrich them by the plunder of that opulent city. He was himself killed as he was planting a scaling-ladder against the walls, on the 6th of May; but his soldiers, rather enraged than discouraged by his death, mounted to the assault with the utmost valour, and entering the city sword in hand, exercised all those brutalities which may be expected from ferocity excited by resistance, and from insolence which takes place when that resistance is no more. This celebrated city, exposed by her renown alone to so many calamities, never endured in any age, even from the barbarians by whom she was often subdued, such indignities as she was now compelled to suffer. The unrestrained massacre and pillage, which continued for several days, were the least ills to which the unhappy Romans were exposed (*v*). Whatever was respectable in modesty, or sacred in religion, seemed but the more to provoke the insults of the soldiery. Virgins suffered violation in the arms of their parents, and upon those very altars to which they had fled for protection. Aged prelates, after enduring every indignity, and even every torture, were thrown into dungeons, and menaced with the most cruel death, in order to make them reveal their secret treasures, or purchase liberty by exorbitant ransoms. Clement himself, who had trusted for protection to the sacredness of his character, and neglected to make his escape in time, was taken captive, and found that his dignity, which procured him no regard from the Spanish soldiers, did but draw on him the insolent mockery of the German, who being generally attached to the Lutheran principles, were pleased to gratify their animosity by the abasement of the sovereign pontiff.

When intelligence of this great event was conveyed to the emperor, that young prince, habituated to hypocrisy, expressed the most profound sorrow for the success of his arms: he put himself and all his court in mourning: he stopped the rejoicings for the birth of his son Philip; and knowing that every artifice, however gross, is able, when seconded by authority, to impose upon the people, he ordered prayers during several months to be put up in the churches for the pope's liberty; which every one knew could have been effected by a single letter under his own hand.

The concern expressed by Henry and Francis for the calamity of their ally was more sincere. These two monarchs, on the 30th of April, a few days before the sack of Rome, had concluded a treaty at Westminster, in which, besides renewing former alliances, they agreed to send ambassadors to Charles, requiring him to accept of two millions of crowns as the ransom of the French princes, and to repay the money borrowed from Henry; and in case of refusal the ambassadors, attended by heralds, were ordered to denounce war against him. This war it was agreed to prosecute in the Low Countries, with an army of thirty thousand infantry, and fifteen hundred men at arms, two-thirds to be supplied by Francis, the rest by Henry. And in order to strengthen the alliance between the princes, it was stipulated that either Francis, or his son the duke of Orleans, as should afterwards be agreed on, should espouse the princess Mary, Henry's daughter. No sooner did the monarchs receive intelligence of Bourbon's enterprize, than they changed, by a new treaty, on the 29th of May, the scene of the projected war from the Netherlands to Italy; and hearing of the pope's captivity, they were farther stimulated to undertake the war with vigour for restoring him to liberty. Wolsey himself crossed the sea, in order to have an interview with Francis, and to concert measures for that purpose; and he displayed all that grandeur and magnificence with which he was so much intoxicated. He was attended by a train of a thousand horse. The cardinal of Lorraine and the chancellor Alençon met him at Boulogne: Francis himself, besides granting to that haughty prelate the power of giving in every place where he came liberty to all prisoners, made a journey as far as Amiens to meet him, and even advanced some miles from the town, the more to honour his reception. It was here stipulated, that the duke of Orleans should espouse the princess Mary; and as the emperor seemed to be taking some steps towards assembling a general council, the two monarchs agreed not to acknowledge it; but during the interval of the pope's captivity to govern the churches in their respective dominions by their own authority. Wolsey made some attempts to get his legatine power extended over France, and even over Germany; but finding his efforts fruitless, he was obliged, though with great reluctance, to desist from these ambitious enterprizes (*w*).

In order the more strongly to cement the union between these princes, a new treaty was concluded at London, on the 18th of September; in which Henry agreed finally to renounce all claims to the crown of France; claims which might well be deemed chimerical, but which often served as a pretence for exciting the unwary English to wage war upon the French nation. In return for this concession, Francis bound himself and his successors to pay for ever fifty thousand crowns a year to Henry and his successors; and that greater solemnity might be given to this treaty, it was agreed that the parliaments and great nobility of both kingdoms should give their assent to it. The mareschal Montmorency, accompanied by many persons of distinction, and attended by a pompous equipage, was sent over to ratify the treaty; and was received at London with all the parade which suited the solemnity of the occasion. The terror of the emperor's greatness had extinguished the ancient animosity between the nations; and Spain, during more than a century, became, though a more distant power, the chief object of jealousy to the English.

This cordial union between France and England, though it added influence to the joint embassy which they sent to the emperor, was not able to bend that monarch to submit entirely to the conditions insisted on by the allies. He departed indeed from his demand of Burgundy as the ransom of the French princes; but he required, previously to their liberty, that Francis should evacuate Genoa, and all the fortresses held by him in Italy: and he declared his intention of bringing Sforza to a trial, and confiscating the duchy of Milan, on account of his pretended treason. The English and French heralds, therefore, according to agreement, declared war against him, and set him at defiance. Charles answered the English herald with moderation; but to the French, he reproached his master with breach of faith, reminded him of the private conversation which had passed between them at Madrid before their separation, and offered to prove, by single combat, that he had acted dishonourably. Francis retaliated this challenge, by calling Charles a liar; and after demanding security of the field, he offered to maintain his cause by single combat. Many messages passed to and fro between them; but though both princes were undoubtedly brave, the intended duel never took place. The French and Spaniards during that age zealously disputed which of the monarchs incurred the blame of this failure; but all men of moderation every where lamented the power of fortune, that the prince, the more candid, generous, and sincere, should by unhappy incidents have been reduced to so cruel a situation, that nothing but his violation of treaty could preserve his people, and that he must ever after, without being able to make a proper reply, bear to be reproached with breach of promise by a rival, inferior to him both in honour and in virtue. Although this famous challenge between Charles and Francis had no immediate consequence with regard to these monarchs themselves, it produced a considerable alteration on the manners of the age (*x*).

While

(*v*) Guicciardini, lib. 18. Bellay. Stowe, p. 527.
(*w*) Burnet, book 3. col. 12, 13.

(*x*) The practice of challenges and duels, which had been part of the ancient barbarous jurisprudence, which was still preserved on very so-

lemn

While the political state of Europe threatened a general war, and the kings of England and France, particularly the latter, were adopting effectual measures for the release of the captive pope, a new scene was about to be opened, which was to produce endless disturbances, and effect a general change in the European system. Notwithstanding the submissive deference paid to papal authority before the reformation, the marriage of Henry with Catherine of Arragon, his brother Arthur's widow, had not passed without much scruple and difficulty. The prejudices of the people were in general bent against a conjugal union between such near relations; and the late king, though he had betrothed his son when that prince was but twelve years of age, gave evident proofs of his intention to take afterwards a proper opportunity of annulling the contract (*y*). He ordered the young prince, as soon as he came of age, to enter a protestation against the marriage (*z*); and on his death-bed he charged him, as his last injunction, not to finish an alliance so unusual, and exposed to such insuperable objections. After the king's accession some members of the privy council, particularly Warham, the primate, openly declared against the resolution of completing the marriage; and though Henry's youth and dissipation kept him during some time from entertaining any scruples with regard to the measure which he had embraced, there happened incidents sufficient to rouse his attention, and to inform him of the sentiments generally entertained on that subject. The states of Castile had opposed the emperor Charles's espousals with Mary, Henry's daughter; and, among other objections, had insisted on the illegitimate birth of the young princess (*a*). And when the negociations were afterwards opened with France, and mention was made of betrothing her to Francis or the duke of Orleans, the bishop of Tarbe, the French ambassador, revived the same objection (*b*). But though these events naturally raised some doubts in Henry's mind, there concurred other causes, which tended much to increase his remorse, and render his conscience more scrupulous.

The queen was six years older than the king; and the decay of her beauty, together with particular infirmities and diseases, had contributed, notwithstanding her blameless character and deportment, to render her person unacceptable to him. They had now been married eighteen years. Though she had borne him several children, they all died in early infancy, except one daughter (Mary); and he was the more struck with this misfortune, because the curse of being childless is the very threatening contained in the Mosaical law against those who espouse their brother's widow (*c*). The succession too of the crown was a consideration that occurred to every one, whenever the legality of Henry's marriage was called in question; and it was apprehended, that if doubts of Mary's legitimacy concurred with the weakness of her sex, the king of Scots, the next heir, would advance his pretensions, and might involve the kingdom in anarchy and confusion. The evils as yet recent, of civil wars and convulsions, arising from a disputed title, made great impression on the minds of men, and rendered the people universally desirous of any event which might obviate so irreparable a calamity. And the king was thus impelled both by his private passions, and by motives of public interest, to seek the dissolution of his inauspicious, and, as it was esteemed, unlawful marriage with Catherine.

Henry afterwards declared that his scruples arose entirely from private reflection; and that, on consulting his confessor, the bishop of Lincoln, he found the prelate possessed with the same doubts and difficulties. The king himself, being a great casuist and divine, next proceeded to examine the question more carefully by his own learning and study; and having had recourse to Thomas Aquinas, he observed that this celebrated doctor, whose authority was great in the church, and absolute with him, had treated of that very case, and had expressly declared against the lawfulness of such marriages (*d*). The prohibitions, said Thomas, contained in Leviticus, and among the rest that of marrying a brother's widow, are moral, eternal, and founded on a divine sanction; and though the pope may dispense with the rules of the church, the laws of God cannot be set aside by any authority less than that which enacted them. William Warham, the archbishop of Canterbury, was then applied to; and he was required to consult his brethren: all the prelates of England, except Fisher, bishop of Rochester, unanimously declared, under their hand and seal, that they deemed the king's marriage unlawful (*e*). Wolsey also fortified the king's scruples (*f*); partly with a view of promoting a total breach with the emperor, Catherine's nephew; partly desirous of connecting the king more closely with Francis, by marrying him to the duchess of Alençon, sister to that monarch; and perhaps, too, somewhat disgusted with the queen herself, who had reproved him for certain freedoms unbecoming a person of his character and station (*g*). But Henry was carried forward, though perhaps not at first excited, by a motive more forcible than even the suggestions of that powerful favourite.

Among the ladies who had been appointed maids of honour to the queen was Anne Boleyn, who, having had frequent opportunities of being seen by Henry, and of conversing with him, had acquired an entire ascendant over his affections. This young lady, whose grandeur and misfortunes have rendered her so celebrated, was daughter of sir Thomas Boleyn, who had been employed by the king in several embassies, and who was allied to all the principal nobility in the kingdom. His wife, mother to Anne, was daughter of the duke of Norfolk; his own mother was daughter of the earl of Ormond; his grandfather sir Geoffry Boleyn, who had been mayor of London, had espoused one of the daughters and co-heirs of lord Hastings (*h*). Anne herself, though then in very early youth, had been carried over to Paris by the king's sister, when the princess espoused Louis XII. of France; and upon the demise of that monarch, and the return of his dowager into England, this damsel, whose accomplishments, even in her tender years, were always much admired, was retained in the service of Claude queen of France, consort to Francis; and after the death of that princess she passed into the family of the duchess of Alençon, a woman of singular merit. The exact time when she returned to England is not perfectly known; but it was after the king had entertained doubts with regard to the lawfulness of his marriage with Catherine; if the account is to be credited which he himself afterwards gave of that transaction. Henry's scruples had made him break off all conjugal commerce with the queen; but as he still supported an intercourse of civility and friendship with her, he had occasion, in the frequent visits which he paid her, to observe the beauty, the youth, the charms of Anne Boleyn. Finding the accomplishments of her mind no wise inferior to her exterior graces, he even entertained the design of raising her to the throne; and was the more confirmed in this resolution, when he found that her virtue and modesty prevented all hopes of gratifying his passion in any other manner. As every motive, therefore, of inclination and policy, seemed thus to concur in making the king desirous of a divorce from Catherine, and as his prospect of success was inviting, he resolved to make application to Clement, and he sent Knight, his secretary, to Rome for that purpose. That he might not shock the haughty claims of the pontiff, he resolved not to found the application on any general doubts concerning the papal power to permit marriage in the nearer degrees of consanguinity; but only to

lemn occasions, and which was sometimes countenanced by the civil magistrate, began thenceforth to prevail in the most trivial incidents; and men, on any affront or injury, thought themselves entitled, or even required in honour, to take revenge on their enemies, by openly vindicating their right in single combat. These absurd maxims, shed much of the best blood in Christendom during more than two centuries. So powerful, however, is the dominion of fashion, that neither the terror of penal laws, nor reverence for religion, have been able entirely to abolish a practice unknown among the ancients, and totally unjustifiable by any principles of reason. It is somewhat strange, that to this absurd and impious custom (not less frequently employed for the sanction of injury than for the suppression of injustice, and often promoting the sacrifice of real honour at the shrine of chimerical prejudice) the urbanity of modern manners should have been seriously ascribed by men of wisdom and virtue. It would perhaps be difficult to conceive a more severe satire on the times: for surely that people can advance but very frivolous

claims to respect for the refinement which usually results from civilization, and which is a subject of general exultation—more modish indeed than rational—who can only be urged to decency of deportment, and propriety of conduct, by the dastardly influence of fear!

(*y*) Morison's Apomaxis, p. 13.
(*z*) Morison, p. 13. Heylin's Queen Mary, p. 2.
(*a*) Lord Herbert, Fiddes's Life of Wolsey.
(*b*) Rymer, vol. xiv. 192. 203. Heylin, p. 3.
(*c*) "If a man shall take his brother's wife, it is an unclean thing; he hath uncovered his brother's nakedness: they shall be childless."—*Leviticus*, xx. 21.
(*d*) Burnet, Fiddes.
(*e*) Burnet, vol. i. p. 38. Stowe, p. 548.
(*f*) Le Grand, vol. iii. p. 46. 160. 168. Saunders. Heylin, p. 4.
(*g*) Burnet, vol. i. p. 38. Strype, vol. i. p. 88.
(*h*) Camden's Preface to the Life of Elizabeth. Burnet, vol. i. p. 44.

insist on particular grounds of nullity in the bull which Julius had granted for the marriage of Henry and Catherine (*i*). Julius's bull, when examined, afforded abundant matter of this kind; and any tribunal favourable to Henry needed not want a specious colour for gratifying him in his applications for a divorce. It was said in the preamble, that the bull had been granted upon his solicitation; though it was known that at that time he was under twelve years of age: it was also affirmed, as another motive for the bull, that the marriage was requisite, in order to preserve peace between the two crowns; though it appears that there was not then any ground or appearance of quarrel between them. These false premises in Julius's bull seemed to afford Clement a sufficient reason or pretence for annulling it, and granting Henry a dispensation for a second marriage (*k*). But though the pretext for this indulgence had been less plausible, the pope was in such a situation that he had the strongest motives to embrace every opportunity of gratifying the English monarch. He was then a prisoner in the hands of the emperor, and had no hopes of recovering his liberty on any reasonable terms, except by the efforts of the league which Henry had formed with Francis and the Italian powers, in order to oppose the ambition of Charles. When the English secretary, therefore, solicited him in private, he received a very favourable answer; and a dispensation was immediately promised to be granted to his master (*l*). Soon after, the march of a French army into Italy, under the command of Lautrec, obliged the Imperialists to restore Clement to his liberty; and he retired to Orvietto, where the secretary, with sir Gregory Cassali, the king's resident at Rome, renewed their applications to him. They still found him full of high professions of friendship, gratitude, and attachment to the king; but not so prompt in granting his request as they expected. The emperor, who had got intelligence of Henry's application to Rome, had exacted a promise from the pope, to take no steps in the affair before he communicated them to the Imperial ministers; and Clement, embarrassed by this promise, and still more overawed by the emperor's forces in Italy, seemed willing to postpone those concessions desired of him by Henry. Importuned, however, by the English ministers, he at last put into their hands a *commission* to Wolsey, as legate, in conjunction with the archbishop of Canterbury, or any other English prelate, to examine the validity of the king's marriage, and of Julius's dispensation (*m*): he also granted them a provisional *dispensation* for the king's marriage with any other person; and promised to issue a *decretal bull*, annulling the marriage with Catherine. But he represented to them the dangerous consequences which must ensue to him, if these concessions should come to the emperor's knowledge; and he conjured them not to publish those papers, or make any further use of them, till his affairs were in such a situation as to secure his liberty and independence. And his secret advice was, whenever they should find the proper time for opening the scene, that they should prevent all opposition, by proceeding immediately to a conclusion, by declaring the marriage with Catherine invalid, and by Henry's instantly espousing some other person. Nor would it be so difficult, he said, for himself to confirm these proceedings after they were passed, as previously to render them valid by his consent and authority (*n*).

In the beginning of 1528, Henry received the commission and dispensation from his ambassadors, and was informed of the pope's advice; he laid the whole before his ministers, and asked their opinion in so delicate a situation. The English counsellors considered the danger of proceeding in the manner pointed out to them. Should the pope refuse to ratify a deed, which he might justly call precipitate and irregular, and should he disavow the advice which he gave in so clandestine a manner, the king would find his second marriage totally invalidated; the children, which it might bring him, declared illegitimate; and his marriage with Catherine more firmly rivetted than ever (*o*). And Henry's apprehensions of the possibility, or even probability, of such an event were much confirmed when he reflected on the character and situation of the sovereign pontiff; he being then a prisoner.

Clement was a prince of excellent judgement, whenever his timidity, to which he was extremely subject, allowed him to make full use of those talents and that penetration with which he was endowed (*p*). The captivity and other misfortunes which he had undergone, by entering into a league against Charles, had so affected his imagination, that he never afterwards exerted himself with vigour in any public measure; especially if the interest or inclinations of that potentate stood in opposition to him. The Imperial forces were at that time powerful in Italy, and might return to the attack of Rome, which was still defenceless and exposed to the same calamities with which it had already been overwhelmed. And besides these dangers, Clement fancied himself exposed to perils, which threatened still more immediately his person and his dignity.

Charles, being well acquainted with the timid disposition of the pope, threw out perpetual menaces of convening a general council; which he represented as necessary to reform the church, and correct those abuses which the ambition and avarice of the court of Rome had introduced into every branch of ecclesiastical administration. The power of the sovereign pontiff himself, he said, required limitation; his conduct called aloud for amendment; and even his title to the throne which he filled might justly be called in question (*q*). While Charles terrified the pope with these menaces, he allured him by hopes which were no less prevalent over his affections. At the time when the emperor's forces sacked Rome, and reduced Clement to captivity, the Florentines, passionate for their ancient liberty, had taken advantage of his distresses, and revolting against the family of Medicis, had entirely abolished their authority in Florence, and re-established the democracy. The better to protect themselves in their freedom, they had entered into the alliance with France, England, and Venice, against the emperor; and Clement found, that, by this interest, the hands of his confederates were tied from assisting him in the restoration of his family; the event which, of all others, he most passionately desired. The emperor alone, he knew, was able to effect this purpose; and therefore, whatever professions he made of fidelity to his allies, he was always ready to embrace every proposal of a cordial reconciliation with that potentate (*r*).

These views and interests of the pope were well known in England; and as the opposition of the emperor to Henry's divorce was foreseen, as well on account of the honour and interests of Catherine his aunt, as the obvious motive of distressing an enemy, it was esteemed dangerous to take any measure of consequence, in expectation of the subsequent concurrence of a man of Clement's character, whose behaviour contained so great duplicity, and who was at present but little at his own disposal. The safest measure seemed to consist in previously engaging him so far, that he could not afterwards recede, and in making use of his present ambiguity and uncertainty, to extort the most important concessions from him. For this purpose, Stephen Gardiner, the cardinal's secretary, and Edward Fox, the king's almoner, were dispatched to Rome, on the 10th of February, 1528, and were ordered to solicit a commission from the pope, of such a nature as would oblige him to confirm the sentence of the commissioners, whatever it should be, and disable him on any account to recal the commission, or evoke the cause to Rome (*s*).

(*i*) It was a maxim in the court of Rome, that if the pope be surprized into any concession, or grant any indulgence upon false suggestions, the bull may afterwards be annulled; and this pretence had usually been employed wherever one pope had recalled any deed executed by any of his predecessors.

(*k*) Collier, Eccles. Hist. vol. ii. p. 25. from the Cott. Lib. Vitel. p. 9.

(*l*) Burnet, vol. i. p. 47. (*m*) Rymer, vol. xiv. 237.

(*n*) Collier, from Cott. Lib. Vitell. B. 10.

(*o*) Burnet, vol. i. p. 51. (*p*) Father Paul, lib. 1. Guicciardini.

(*q*) It must be observed, that pope had always passed for the natural son of Julian of Medicis, who was of the sovereign family of Florence; and though Leo X. his kinsman had declared him legitimate, upon a pretended promise of marriage between his father and mother, few believed that declaration to be founded on any just reason or authority. The canon law, indeed, had been entirely silent with regard to the promotion of bastards to the papal throne; but what was still dangerous, the people had entertained a violent prepossession that this stain in the birth of any person was incompatible with so holy an office. And in another point, the canon law was express and positive, that no man guilty of simony could attain that dignity. A severe bull of Julius II. had added new sanctions to this law, by declaring, that a simoniacal election could not be rendered valid, even by a posterior consent of the cardinals. But unfortunately Clement had given to Cardinal Colonna a billet, containing promises of advancing that cardinal, in case he himself should attain the papal dignity by his concurrence: and this billet, Colonna, who was in entire dependence on the emperor, threatened every moment to expose to public view. *Father Paul*, lib. i.

(*r*) Father Paul.

(*s*) Lord Herbert. Burnet, vol. i. p. 29. in the collect. Le Grand, vol. iii. p. 28. Strype, vol. i. p. 93. with App. No. 23, 24, &c.

But the same reasons which made the king so desirous of obtaining this concession, confirmed the pope in the resolution of refusing it: he was still determined to keep the door open for an agreement with the emperor; and he made no scruple of sacrificing all other considerations to a point which he deemed the most essential and important to his own security, and to the greatness of his family. He granted, therefore, a new commission, in which cardinal Campeggio was joined to Wolsey, for the trial of the king's marriage; but he could not be prevailed on to insert the clause desired of him. And though he put into Gardiner's hand a letter promising not to recal the present commission, this promise was found, on examination, to be couched in such ambiguous terms as left him still the power of abandoning his word whenever a fit opportunity should offer (*t*).

Campeggio lay under some obligations to the king; but his dependence on the pope was so much greater, that he conformed himself entirely to the views of the latter; and though he received his commission in April, he delayed his departure under so many pretences that it was October before he arrived in England. The first step which he took was to exhort the king to desist from the prosecution of his divorce; but finding that this counsel gave offence, he said, that his intention was also to exhort the queen to take the vows in a convent, and that he thought it his duty previously to attempt an amicable composure of all differences (*u*). The more to pacify the king, he shewed to him, as also to the cardinal, the decretal bull, annulling the former marriage with Catherine; but no intreaties whatever could prevail on him to make any other of the king's council privy to the secret (*v*). In order to atone in some degree for this obstinacy, he expressed to the king and the cardinal, the pope's great desire of satisfying them in every reasonable demand; and in particular, he showed, that their request for suppressing some more monasteries, and converting them into cathedrals and episcopal sees, had obtained the consent of his holiness (*w*).

The ambiguous behaviour of the pope and the legate, kept the court of England in suspense, and determined the king to wait with patience the issue of such uncertain councils. Fortune, meanwhile, seemed to promise him a more sure and expeditious way of extricating himself from his present difficulties. Shortly after, in 1529, Clement was seized with a dangerous illness; and the intrigues for electing his successor began already to take place among the cardinals. Wolsey, in particular, supported by the interest of England and of France, entertained hopes of being seated in the pontifical chair (*x*); and it appears, that if a vacancy had then happened, there was a probability that he would have reached that summit of his ambition. But the pope recovered, though after several relapses; and he returned to the same train of false and deceitful politics, by which he had hitherto amused the court of England. He still flattered Henry with professions of the most cordial attachment, and promised him a sudden and favourable issue to his process: he still continued his secret negociations with the emperor Charles, and persevered in the resolution of sacrificing all his promises, and all the interests of the Romish religion, to the elevation of his family. Campeggio, who was perfectly acquainted with his views and intentions, protracted the decision by the most artful delays; and gave Clement full leisure to adjust all the terms of his treaty with Charles, who was well acquainted with the king's extreme earnestness in this affair, and who was determined that he should obtain success by no other means than by an application to him, and by deserting his alliance with Francis, which had hitherto supported, against the superior force of Spain, the tottering state of the French monarchy. He willingly hearkened, therefore, to the applications of Catherine, his aunt; and promising her his utmost protection, exhorted her never to yield to the malice and persecutions of her enemies. The queen herself, naturally of a firm and resolute temper, was engaged by every motive to persevere in protesting against the injustice to which she thought herself exposed. The imputation of incest, which was thrown upon her marriage with Henry, struck her with the highest indignation: the illegitimacy of her daughter, which seemed a necessary consequence, gave her the most just concern: the reluctance of yielding to a rival, who, she believed, had supplanted her in the king's affections, was a very natural motive. Actuated by these considerations, she ceased not to solicit her nephew's assistance, and earnestly intreated an evocation of the cause to Rome, where alone she thought she could expect justice; and the emperor, in all his negociations with the pope, made the recall of the commission which Campeggio and Wolsey exercised in England a fundamental article (*y*).

In the mean time the two legates opened their court at London, on the 31st of May, 1529, and cited the king and queen to appear before it. They both presented themselves; and the king answered to his name when called: but the queen, instead of answering to hers, rose from her seat, and throwing herself at the king's feet, made a very pathetic harangue, which her virtue, her dignity, and her misfortunes rendered the more affecting. She told him "that she was a stranger in his dominions, without protection, without council, without assistance; exposed to all the injustice which her enemies were pleased to impose upon her: that she had quitted her native country without other resource than her connexions with him and his family, and had expected that, instead of suffering thence any violence or iniquity, she was assured in them of a safeguard against every misfortune: that she had been his wife during twenty years, and would here appeal to himself, whether her affectionate submission to his will had not merited better treatment, than to be thus, after so long a time, thrown from him with so much indignity: that she was conscious—he himself was assured—that her virgin honour was yet unstained, when he received her into his bed, and that her connexions with his brother had been carried no farther than the ceremony of marriage: that their parents, the kings of England and Spain, were esteemed the wisest princes of their time, and had undoubtedly acted by the best advice, when they formed the agreement for that marriage, which was now represented as so criminal and unnatural: and that she acquiesced in their judgement, and would not submit her cause to be tried by a court, whose dependence on her enemies was too visible, ever to allow her any hopes of obtaining from them an equitable or impartial decision (*z*)." Having spoken these words, she rose, and making the king a low reverence, she departed from the court, and never would again appear in it.

After her departure, the king did her the justice to acknowledge, "that she had ever been a dutiful and affectionate wife, and that the whole tenour of her behaviour had been conformable to the strictest rules of probity and honour." He only insisted on his own scruples with regard to the legality of their marriage; and he explained the origin, the progress, and the foundation of those doubts, by which he had been so long and so violently agitated. He acquitted cardinal Wolsey from having any hand in encouraging his scruples; and he craved a sentence of the court agreeable to the justice of his cause.

The legates, after citing the queen anew, declared her "*contumacious*," notwithstanding her appeal to Rome; and then proceeded to the examination of the cause. The first point which came before them was the proof of prince Arthur's consummation of his marriage with Catherine; and it must be confessed, that no stronger arguments could reasonably be expected of such a fact after so long an interval. The age of the prince, who had passed his fifteenth year, the good state of his health, the long time that he had cohabited with his consort, many of his expressions to that very purpose: all these circumstances form a strong presumption in favour of the king's assertion (*a*). Henry himself, after his brother's death, was not allowed for some time to bear the title of prince of Wales, in expectation of her pregnancy: the Spanish ambassador, in order the better to ensure possession of her jointure, had sent over to Spain proofs of the consummation of her marriage (*b*): Julius's bull was founded on the supposition that Arthur had, perhaps, had knowledge of the princess: in the very treaty, fixing Henry's marriage, the consummation of the former marriage with prince Arthur is acknowledged on both sides (*c*). To these presumptive proofs the assertion of Catherine herself is singly opposed---an assertion highly respectable indeed, as well from the place and manner in which it was made, as from the known virtue and integrity of the queen; yet certainly inadequate to counterbalance, in a court of justice.

(*t*) Lord Herbert, p. 221, Burnet, p. 59. (*u*) Herbert, p. 225.
(*v*) Burnet, p. 58. (*w*) Rymer, vol. xiv. p. 270. Strype, vol. i. p. 110, 111. (*x*) Burnet, vol. i. p. 63.

(*y*) Herbert, p. 225. Burnet, vol. i. p. 69.
(*z*) Burnet, vol. i. p. 73. Hall. Stowe, p. 543. (*a*) Herbert.
(*b*) Burnet, vol. ii. p. 35. (*c*) Rymer, vol. xiii. p. 81.

justice, the strong circumstantial evidence produced on the opposite side. We are compelled, however, to acknowledge, after an attentive consideration of the matter, that as the evidence on the part of the king must have been merely presumptive, and as the queen was the only person who could speak with absolute certainty of the fact in question---though evidently interested to disgui e the truth---her assertions have had some weight with us; so that, in conjunction with the powerful motives of her enemies to corrupt and misrepresent, we could almost be induced to give full credit to them.

These particulars were all laid before the court; accompanied with many reasonings concerning the extent of the pope's authority, and against his power of granting a dispensation to marry within the prohibited degrees. Campeggio heard these doctrines with great impatience; and notwithstanding his resolution to protract the cause, he was often tempted to interrupt and silence the king's counsel, when they insisted on such disagreeable topics. The trial was protracted till the 23d of July; and Campeggio chiefly took on him the part of conducting it. Wolsey, though the elder cardinal, permitted him to act as president of the court; because it was thought that a trial managed by an Italian cardinal would carry the appearance of greater candour and impartiality, than if the king's own minister and favourite had presided in it. The business seemed now to be drawing near to a period; and the king was every day in expectation of a sentence in his favour; when, to his great surprize, Campeggio, on a sudden, without any previous warning, and upon very frivolous pretences (*d*), prorogued the court till the first of October. The evocation, which came a few days after from Rome, put an end to all the hopes of success which the king had so long and so anxiously cherished (*e*).

While the trial was carried on before the legates at London, the emperor had, by his ministers, earnestly solicited Clement to evoke the cause; and had employed every topic of hope or terror which could operate either on the ambition or timidity of the pontiff. The English ambassadors, on the other hand, in conjunction with the French, had been no less earnest in their applications, that the legates should be allowed to finish the trial; but though they employed the same engines of promises and menaces, the motives which they could set before the pope were not so urgent or immediate as those which were held up to him by the emperor (*f*). The dread of losing England, and of fortifying the Lutherans by so considerable an accession, made small impression on Clement's mind, in comparison of the anxiety for his personal safety, and the fond desire of restoring the Medicis to their dominion in Florence. As soon, therefore, as he had adjusted all terms with the emperor. He laid hold of the pretence of justice, which required him, as he asserted, to pay regard to the queen's appeal; and suspending the commission of the legates, he adjourned the cause to his own personal judgement at Rome. Campeggio had, before-hand, received private orders delivered by Campana to burn the decretal bull with which he was entrusted.

Wolsey had long foreseen that this measure would be the forerunner of his ruin. Though he had at first desired that the king should rather marry a French princess than Anne Boleyn, he had employed himself with the utmost assiduity and earnestness to bring the affair to a happy issue (*g*): he was not, therefore, to be blamed for the unprosperous event which Clement's partiality had produced. But he had sufficient experience of the extreme ardour and impatience of Henry's temper, who could not bear to be contradicted, and who was wont, without examination or distinction, to make his ministers answerable for the success of those transactions with which they were entrusted. Anne Boleyn also, who was prepossessed against him, had imputed to him the failure of her hopes; and as she was newly returned to court, whence she had been removed from a regard to decency during the trial before the legates, she had naturally acquired an additional influence on Henry, and she served much to fortify his prejudices against the cardinal (*h*). Even the queen and her partizans, judging of Wolsey by the part which he had openly acted, had expressed great animosity against him; and the most opposite factions seemed now to combine in the ruin of this haughty minister. The high opinion itself, which Henry had entertained of the cardinal's capacity, tended to hasten his downfal; while he imputed the bad success of that minister's undertakings, not to ill fortune, or to mistake, but to the malignity or infidelity of his intentions. The blow, however, fell not instantly on his head. The king, who probably could not justify by any good reason his alienation from his ancient favourite, seems to have remained some time in suspense; and he received him, if not with all his former kindness, at least with the appearance of trust and esteem.

But constant experience evinces how rarely a high confidence and affection receives the least diminution, without sinking into absolute indifference, or even running into the opposite extreme; and the king seemed now determined to bring on the ruin of the cardinal with a motion almost as precipitate as he had formerly employed in his elevation. The dukes of Norfolk and Suffolk were sent, on the 18th of October, 1529, to require the great seal from him; and on his scrupling to deliver it (*i*) without a more express warrant, Henry wrote him a letter, upon which it was surrendered, and it was delivered by the king to sir Thomas More, a person who, besides the ornaments of an elegant literature, possessed the highest virtue, probity, and talents.

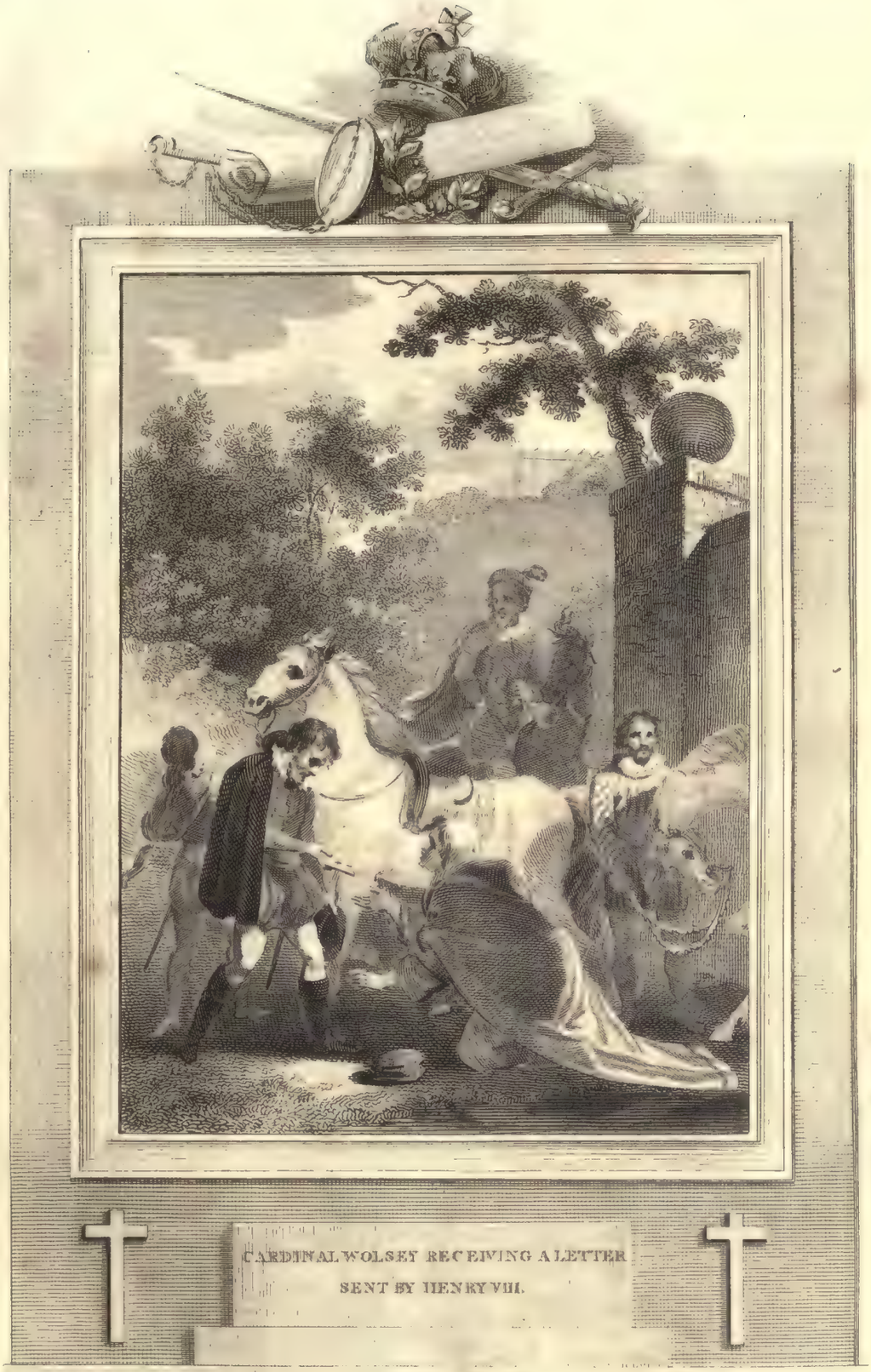
Wolsey was ordered to depart from York Place, a palace which he had built in London, and which, though it really belonged to the see of York, was seized by Henry, and became afterwards the residence of the kings of England, by the title of Whitehall. All his furniture and plate were also seized; the riches and splendour of which befitted rather a royal than a private fortune. The walls of his palace were covered with cloth of gold, or cloth of silver: he had a cupboard of plate of massy gold: there were found a thousand pieces of fine holland belonging to him. The rest of his riches and furniture was in proportion; and his opulence was, probably, no small inducement to this violent persecution against him.

The cardinal was ordered to retire to Esher, a country seat which he possessed near Hampton Court; where he had leisure to meditate on the vicissitudes of fortune, and the ingratitude of mankind, which he experienced in the greatest degree. The world, that had paid him such abject court during his prosperity, now entirely deserted him on this fatal reverse. He himself was much dejected with the change; and from the same turn of mind which had made him be so vainly elated with his grandeur, he felt the stroke of adversity with double rigour (*k*). The smallest appearance of his return to favour threw him into transports of joy unbecoming a man.

The king, either from remorse for his late severity, or from a recollection of past times, seemed willing to suspend the effects of his ill-grounded resentment. He granted him his protection, and left him in possession of the sees of York and Winchester. He even sent him a gracious message accompanied with a ring, as a testimony of his affection. Wolsey, who was on horseback when the messenger met him, immediately alighted; and throwing himself on his knees in the mire, received, in that humble attitude, these marks of his majesty's gracious disposition towards him (*l*). But his enemies, who dreaded his return to court, never ceased acquainting the king with accounts of his several offences; and Anne Boleyn, in particular, contributed her endeavours in conjunction with her uncle, the duke of Norfolk, to exclude him from all hopes of ever being reinstated in his former authority. He dismissed, therefore, his numerous retinue; and as he was a kind and beneficent master, the separation passed not without a plentiful effusion of tears on both sides (*m*). The king's heart, notwithstanding some gleams of kindness, seemed now completely hardened against his old favourite. He ordered him to be indicted in the Star Chamber, where a sentence was passed against him; and, not content with this severity, he abandoned him to all the rigour of the parliament, which now, after a long interval, was again assembled, in the month of November. The house of lords voted a long charge against Wolsey, consisting of forty-four articles; and accompanied it with an application to the king for his punishment, and his removal from all authority. Little opposition was made to this charge in the upper house: no evidence of any part of it was so much as called for; and as it chiefly consists of general accusations, it was scarcely susceptible of any (*n*). The articles were sent down to the house of commons; where

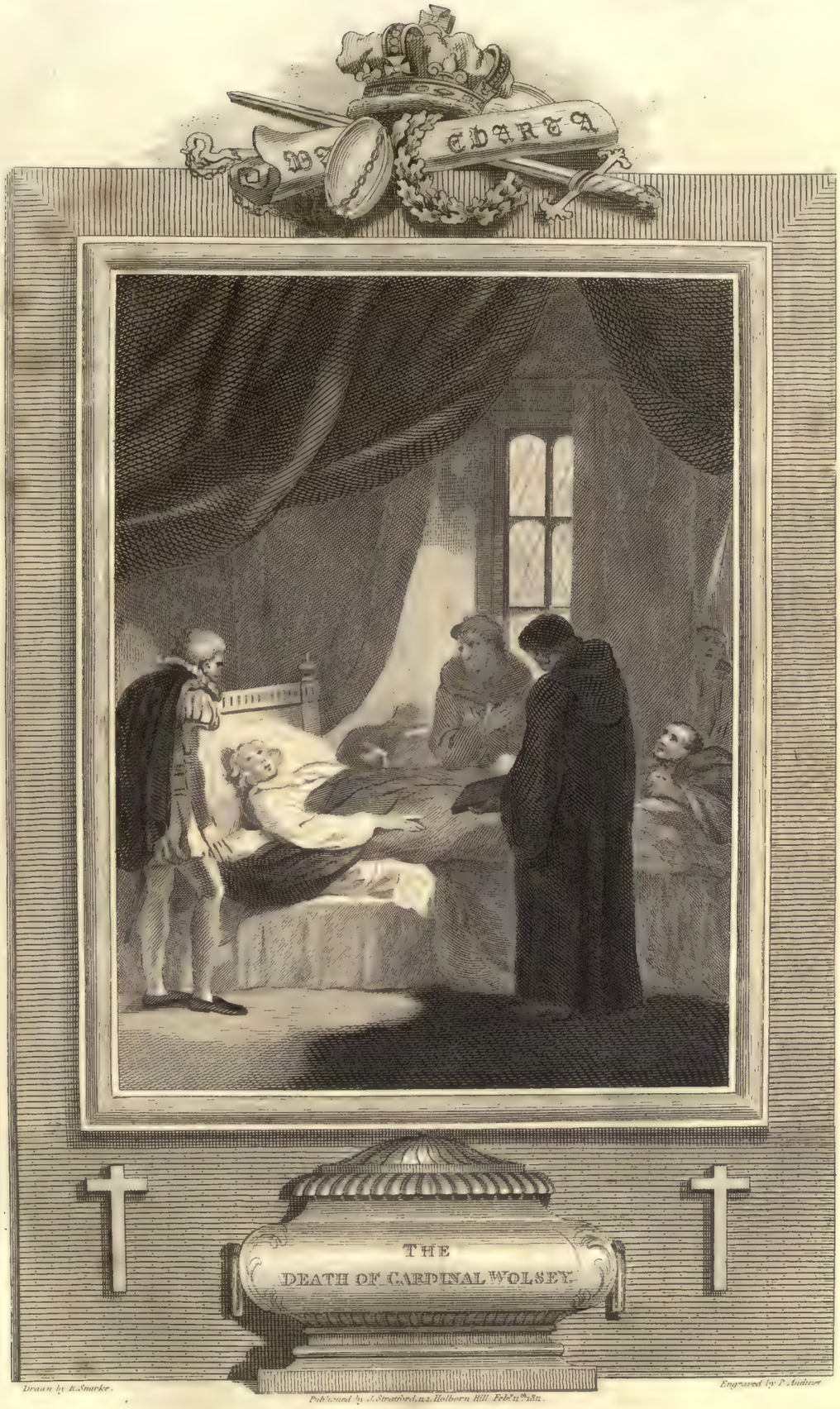
(*d*) Burnet, vol. i. p. 76, 77. (*e*) Herbert, p. 254.
(*f*) Burnet, vol. i. p. 75. (*g*) Collier, vol. ii. p. 45. Burnet, vol. i. p. 33. (*h*) Cavendish, p. 40. (*i*) Ibid. p. 41.

(*k*) Strype, vol. i. p. 114, 115. App. No. 31, &c.
(*l*) Stowe, p. 547. (*m*) Cavendish. Stowe, p. 549.
(*n*) The first article of the charge against the cardinal is his procuring the



CARDINAL WOLSEY RECEIVING A LETTER
SENT BY HENRY VIII.

R. Smirke Delin. Published June 10. 1811 by J. Stratford 112 Holborn Hill. W. Bromley



Drawn by R. Smirke.

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where Thomas Cromwell, formerly a servant of the cardinal's, and who had been raised by him from a very low station, defended his unfortunate patron with such spirit, generosity, and courage, as acquired him great honour, and laid the foundation of that favour which he afterwards enjoyed with Henry.

The cardinal's enemies finding that either his innocence or his caution prevented them from having any just ground of accusing him, had recourse to a very extraordinary expedient. An indictment was laid against him; that, contrary to a statute of Richard II. commonly called the Statute of Provisors, he had procured bulls from Rome, particularly one investing him with the legatine power, which he had exercised with very extensive authority. He confessed the indictment, pleaded ignorance of the statute, and threw himself on the king's mercy. He was, perhaps, within reach of the law; but besides that this statute had become obsolete, nothing could be more rigorous and severe, than to impute to him as a crime what he had openly, during the course of so many years, practised with the consent and approbation of the king, and the acquiescence of the parliament: not to mention what he always asserted (*o*), and what we can scarcely doubt of, that he had obtained the royal licence in the most formal manner, which, had he not been apprehensive of the dangers attending any opposition to Henry's lawless will, he might have pleaded in his own defence before the judges. Sentence, however, was pronounced against him, "That he was out of the king's protection; his lands and goods forfeited; and that his person might be committed to custody." But this prosecution of Wolsey was carried no farther. Henry even granted him a pardon for all offences; restored him part of his plate and furniture; and still continued from time to time to drop expressions of favour and compassion towards him.

The complaints against the usurpations of the ecclesiastics had been very ancient in England, as well as in most other European kingdoms; and as this topic was now become popular every where, it had paved the way for the Lutheran tenets, and reconciled the people in some measure to the frightful idea of heresy and innovation. The commons, finding the occasion favourable, passed several bills restraining the impositions of the clergy; one for the regulating of mortuaries; another against the exactions for the probates of wills (*p*); a third against non-residence and pluralities, and against churchmen's being farmers of land. But what appeared chiefly dangerous to the ecclesiastical order, were the severe invectives thrown out, almost without opposition in the house, against the dissolute lives of the priests, their ambition, their avarice, and their endless encroachments on the laity. Lord Herbert (*q*) has even preserved the speech of a gentleman of Gray's Inn, which is of a singular nature, and contains such topics as we should little expect to meet with during that period. The member insists upon the vast variety of theological opinions which prevailed in different nations and ages; the endless inextricable controversies maintained by the several sects; the impossibility that any man, much less the people, could ever know, or even examine, the tenets and principles of every sect; the necessity of ignorance, and a suspense of judgement with regard to all those objects of dispute: and upon the whole he infers, that the only religion obligatory on mankind is the belief of one supreme Being, the author of nature; and the necessity of good morals, in order to obtain his favour and protection. Such sentiments would be deemed latitudinarian, even in our time, and would not be advanced without some precaution in a public assembly. But though the first broaching of religious controversy might encourage the sceptical turn in a few persons of a studious disposition; the zeal with which men soon after attached themselves to their several parties, served effectually to banish for a long time all such noxious liberties.

The bills for regulating the clergy met with some opposition in the house of lords. Bishop Fisher, in particular, imputed these measures of the commons to their want of faith; and to a settled resolution derived from heretical and Lutheran principles, of robbing the church of her patrimony, and overturning the national religion. The duke of Norfolk reproved the prelate in severe and even somewhat indecent terms. He told him "that the greatest clerks were not always the wisest men." But Fisher replied, "that he did not remember any fools in his time who had proved great clerks." The exceptions taken at the bishop of Rochester's speech stopped not there. The commons, by the mouth of sir Thomas Audley, their speaker, made complaints to the king of the reflections thrown upon them; and the bishop was obliged to put a more favourable construction on the words which had given offence (*r*).

Henry was not displeased that the court of Rome and the clergy should be sensible that they were entirely dependent on him, and that his parliament, if he were willing to second their inclinations, was sufficiently disposed to reduce the power and privileges of the ecclesiastics. The commons gratified the king in another particular of moment, by granting him a discharge of all those debts which he had contracted since the beginning of his reign; and they grounded this bill, which occasioned many complaints, on a pretence of the king's great care of the nation, and of his regularly employing all the money which he had borrowed in the public service. Most of the king's creditors consisted of friends to the cardinal, who had been engaged by their patron to contribute to the supply of Henry's necessities; and the present courtiers were well pleased to take the opportunity of fining them (*s*). Several also approved of an expedient which they hoped would ever after discredit a method of supply so irregular and so unparliamentary.

The domestic transactions of England were at present so interesting to the king, that they chiefly engaged his attention; and he regarded foreign affairs only in subordination to them. He had declared war against the emperor; but the mutual advantages reaped by the commerce between England and the Netherlands, had engaged him to stipulate a neutrality with those provinces; and except by money contributed to the Italian wars, he had in effect exercised no hostility against any of the Imperial dominions. A general peace was this summer (1529) established in Europe. Margaret of Austria, aunt to the emperor, and Louisa of Savoy, mother to Francis, met at Cambray in the month of May; and, being lodged in two adjoining houses, between which a communication was opened, saw each other without ceremony or observation; and held daily conferences, at which no person besides themselves was admitted to be present. These continued till the 5th of August; when the peace of Cambray was concluded, to which the treaty of Madrid served as a basis, the former being intended to mitigate the rigour of the latter. The chief articles were, That the emperor should not, for the present, demand the restitution of Burgundy; reserving, however, in full force, his rights and pretensions to that duchy: that Francis should pay two millions of crowns, as the ransom of his two sons; and, before they were set at liberty, should restore such towns as he held in the Milanese: that he should resign the sovereignty of Flanders, and of Artois: that he should renounce all his pretensions to Naples, Milan, Genoa, and every other place beyond the Alps; and that he should immediately consummate the marriage concluded between him and the emperor's sister, Eleonora.

Henry was on this occasion so generous to his friend and

the legatine power, which, however, as it was certainly done with the king's consent and permission, could be nowise criminal. Many of the other articles also regard the mere exercise of that power. Some articles impute to him as crimes, particular actions which were natural or unavoidable to any man that was prime minister with so unlimited an authority; such as receiving first all letters from the king's ministers abroad, receiving first all visits from foreign ministers, desiring that all applications should be made through him. He was also accused of naming himself with the king, as if he had been his fellow, "the king and I." It is reported, that sometimes he even put his own name before the king's, "*ego et rex meus.*" But this mode of expression is justified by the Latin idiom, and is by far the more elegant way of writing. It is remarkable that his whispering in the king's ear, knowing himself to be affected with venereal distempers, is an article against him. Many of the charges are general, and incapable of proof. Lord Herbert goes so far as to affirm that no man ever fell from so high a station who had so few real crimes objected to him. This opinion is perhaps a little too favourable to the cardinal. Yet the refutation of the articles by Cromwell, and their being rejected by a house of commons, even in this arbitrary reign, is almost a demonstration of Wolsey's innocence. Henry was, no doubt, entirely bent on his destruction, when on his failure by a parliamentary impeachment, he attacked him upon the Statute of Provisors, which afforded him so little just hold on that minister. For that this indictment was subsequent to the attack in parliament, appears by Cavendish's Life of Wolsey, and Stowe, p. 551. and more certainly by the very articles of impeachment themselves. Parliamentary History, vol. iii. p. 42. article 7. Coke's Inst. part 4. fol. 89.

(*o*) Cavendish, p. 72.

(*p*) These exactions were quite arbitrary, and had risen to a great height. A member said in the house, that a thousand marks had been exacted from him on that account. Hall, fol. 188. Strype, vol. i. p. 73.

(*q*) P. 293. (*r*) Parliamentary History, vol. iii. p. 59. Burnet, vol. ii. p. 82. (*s*) Burnet, vol. ii. p. 83.

ally Francis, that he sent him an acquittal of near six hundred thousand crowns which that prince owed him. Francis's Italian confederates were not so well satisfied as the king with the peace of Cambray: they were almost wholly abandoned to the will of the emperor; and seemed to have no means of security left but his equity and moderation. Florence, after a brave resistance, was subdued by the Imperial arms, and finally delivered over to the dominion of the family of Medicis. The Venetians were better treated; they were only obliged to relinquish some acquisitions which they had made on the coast of Naples. The duke of Ferrara was allowed to keep possession of all his dominions. Even Francis Sforza obtained the investiture of the duchy of Milan, together with the emperor's niece, daughter to the king of Denmark, in marriage, and was pardoned for all past offences. The emperor in person passed into Italy with a magnificent train, and received the Imperial crown from the hands of the pope at Bologna. He was but twenty-nine years of age; and having already by his vigour and capacity succeeded in every enterprize, and reduced to captivity the two greatest potentates in Europe, the one spiritual, the other temporal, he attracted the eyes of all Europe; and many prognostications were formed of his growing empire.

But though Charles seemed to be prosperous on every side, and though the conquest of Mexico and Peru now began to prevent that scarcity of money under which he had hitherto laboured, he found himself threatened with difficulties in Germany; and his desire of surmounting them was the chief cause of his granting such moderate conditions to the Italian powers. Sultan Solyman, the greatest and most accomplished prince that ever sat on the Ottoman throne, had almost entirely subdued Hungary, had besieged Vienna, with an army of one hundred and fifty thousand men; and, though repulsed, still menaced the hereditary dominions of the house of Austria with conquest and subjection. The Lutheran princes of the empire, finding that liberty of conscience was denied them, had combined in a league for their own defence at Smalcade; and because they protested against the votes passed in the Imperial diet, they thenceforth received the appellation of *protestants*. Charles had undertaken to reduce them to obedience; and on pretence of securing the purity of religion, he had laid a scheme for aggrandizing his own family, by extending its dominions over all Germany (*t*).

The friendship of Henry was one material circumstance yet wanting to Charles, in order to ensure success in his ambitious enterprizes; and the king was sufficiently apprized, that the concurrence of that prince would at once remove all the difficulties which lay in the way of his divorce; that point which had long been the object of his most earnest wishes. But besides that the interests of his kingdom seemed to require an alliance with France, his haughty spirit could not submit to a friendship imposed on him by constraint; and as he had ever been accustomed to receive courtship, deference, and solicitation from the greatest potentates, he could ill brook that dependence to which this unhappy affair seemed to have reduced him. Amidst the anxieties with which he was agitated, he was often tempted to break off all connexions with the court of Rome; and though he had been educated in a superstitious reverence to papal authority, it is likely that his personal experience of the duplicity and selfish politics of Clement had served much to open his eyes in that particular. He found his prerogative firmly established at home: he observed that his people were in general much disgusted with clerical usurpations, and disposed to reduce the powers and privileges of the ecclesiastical order: he knew that they had cordially taken part with him in his prosecution of the divorce, and highly resented the unworthy treatment which, after so many services and such devoted attachment, he had received from the court of Rome. Anne Boleyn also could not fail to use all her efforts, and employ every insinuation, in order to make him proceed to extremities against the pope; both as it was the readiest way to her attaining royal dignity, and as her education in the court of the duchess of Alençon, a princess inclined to the reformers, had already disposed her to a belief of the new doctrines. But notwithstanding these inducements, Henry had strong motives still to desire a good agreement with the sovereign pontiff. He apprehended the danger of such great innovations: he dreaded the reproach of heresy: he abhorred all connexions with the Lutherans, the chief opponents of the papal power; and having once exerted himself with such applause, as he imagined, in defence of the Romish communion, he was ashamed to retract his former opinions, and betray from passion such a palpable inconsistency. While he was agitated by these contrary motives, an expedient was proposed, which, as it promised a solution of all difficulties, was embraced by him with the greatest joy and satisfaction.

Dr. Thomas Cranmer, fellow of Jesus College in Cambridge, was a man remarkable in that university for his learning, and still more for the candour and disinterestedness of his temper. He happened one evening by accident to be in company with Gardiner, now secretary of state, and Fox, the king's almoner; and as the business of the divorce became the subject of conversation, he observed that the readiest way, either to quiet Henry's conscience, or extort the pope's consent, would be to consult all the universities of Europe with regard to this controverted point: if they agreed to approve of the king's marriage with Catherine, his remorses would naturally cease; if they condemned it, the pope would find it difficult to resist the solicitations of so great a monarch, seconded by the opinion of all the learned men in Christendom (*u*). When the king was informed of the proposal, he was delighted with it; and swore, with more alacrity than delicacy, that Cranmer had got the right sow by the ear: he sent for that divine; entered into conversation with him; conceived a high opinion of his virtue and understanding; engaged him to write in defence of the divorce; and immediately, in prosecution of the scheme proposed, employed his agents to collect the judgements of all the learned men in the several European universities (*v*).

Henry had custom and precedent on his side; the principle by which men are almost wholly governed in their actions and opinions. The marrying of a brother's widow was so unusual, that no other instance of it could be found in any history or record of any Christian nation; and though the popes were accustomed to dispense with more essential precepts of morality, and even permitted marriages within other prohibited degrees, such as those of uncle and niece, the imaginations of men were not yet reconciled to this particular exercise of his authority. Several universities of Europe, therefore, in 1530, without hesitation, as well as without interest or reward (*w*), gave verdict in the king's favour; not only those of France, Paris, Orleans, Bourges, Toulouse, Angiers, which might be supposed to lie under the influence of their prince, ally to Henry; but also those of Italy, Venice, Ferrara, Padua, even Bologna itself, though under the immediate jurisdiction of Clement. Oxford alone (*x*), and Cambridge (*y*), made some difficulty; because these universities, alarmed at the progress of Lutheranism, and dreading a defection from the holy see, scrupled to give their

(*t*) For further particulars of the ecclesiastical affairs, see the following chapter on that subject.

(*u*) Fox, p. 1060, 2d edit. Burnet, vol. i. p. 79. Speed, p. 769. Heylin, p. 5.

(*v*) Had the question of Henry's marriage with Catherine been examined by the principles of sound philosophy, exempt from superstition, it seemed not liable to much difficulty. The natural reason why marriage in certain degrees is prohibited by the civil laws, and condemned by the moral sentiments of all nations, is derived from men's care to preserve purity of manners; while they reflect, that if a commerce of love were authorized between near relations, the frequent opportunities of intimate conversation, especially during early youth, would introduce an universal dissoluteness and corruption. But as the customs of countries vary considerably, and open an intercourse more or less restrained between different families, or between the several members of the same family, we find that the moral precept, varying with its cause, is susceptible, without any inconvenience, of very different latitude in the several ages and nations of the world. The extreme delicacy of the Greeks permitted no communication between persons of different sexes, except where they lived under the same roof; and even the apartments of a step mother and her daughters were almost as much shut up against visits from the husband's sons, as against those from any stranger or more distant relation: hence, in that nation it was lawful for a man to marry not only his niece, but his half-sister by the father: a liberty unknown to the Romans and other nations, where a more open intercourse was authorized between the sexes. Reasoning from this principle it would appear, that the ordinary commerce of life among great princes is so obstructed by ceremony and numerous attendants, that no ill consequence would result among them from marrying a brother's widow; especially if the dispensation of the supreme priest be previously required, in order to justify what may in common cases be condemned, and to hinder the precedent from becoming too common and familiar. And as strong motives of public interest and tranquillity may frequently require such alliances between the foreign families, there is the less reason for extending towards them the full rigour of the rule which has place among individuals.

(*w*) Herbert. Burnet. (*x*) Wood, Hist. and Ant. Ox. lib. i. p. 225.

(*y*) Burnet, vol. i. p. 6.

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sanction to measures whose consequences, they feared, would prove fatal to the ancient religion. Their opinion, however, conformable to that of the other universities of Europe, was at last obtained; and the king, in order to give more weight to all these authorities, engaged his nobility to write a letter to the pope, recommending his cause to the holy father, and threatening him with the most dangerous consequences in case of a denial of justice (*z*). The convocations too, both of Canterbury and York, pronounced the king's marriage invalid, irregular, and contrary to the law of God, with which no human power had authority to dispense (*a*). But Clement, lying still under the influence of the emperor, continued to summon the king to appear, either in person, or by proxy, before his tribunal at Rome; and the king, who knew that he could expect no fair trial there, refused to submit to such a condition, and would not even admit of any citation, which he regarded as a high insult, and a violation of his royal prerogative. The father of Anne Boleyn, created earl of Wiltshire, carried to the pope the king's reasons for not appearing by proxy; and, as the first instance of disrespect from England, refused to kiss his holiness's foot, which he very graciously held out to him for that purpose (*b*).

The extremities to which Henry was driven, both against the pope and the ecclesiastical order, were very disagreeable to cardinal Wolsey; and it has been said, that as Henry foresaw his opposition, he renewed the prosecution against his former favourite; which, however, we see no reason to assent to, when we consider the abject state to which the cardinal was now reduced. After Wolsey had remained some time at Esher, he was allowed to remove to Richmond, a palace which he had received as a present from Henry, in return for Hampton-Court: but the courtiers, dreading still his vicinity to the king, procured an order for him to remove to his see of York. The cardinal well knew that it would be in vain to resist; and therefore took up his residence at Cawood, in Yorkshire, where he rendered himself extremely popular in the neigbourhood by his affability and hospitality (*c*); but he was not allowed to remain long unmolested in this retreat. The earl of Northumberland received orders, without regard to Wolsey's ecclesiastical character, to arrest him for high treason, and to conduct him to London, in order to his trial. The cardinal, partly from the fatigues of his journey, partly from the agitation of his anxious mind, was seized with a disorder which turned into a dysentery; and he was able, with some difficulty, to reach Leicester Abbey. When the abbot and the monks advanced to receive him with much respect and reverence, he told them that he was come to lay his bones among them; and he immediately took to his bed, whence he never rose alive. A little before he expired he addressed himself in the following words to sir William Kingston, constable of the Tower, who had him in custody: "I pray you, have me heartily recommended unto his royal majesty; and beseech him, on my behalf, to call to his remembrance all matters that have passed between us from the beginning, especially with regard to his business with the queen; and then will he know in his conscience whether I have offended him.

"He is a prince of a most royal carriage, and hath a princely heart; and rather than he will miss or want any part of his will he will endanger the one half of his kingdom.

"I do assure you, that I have often kneeled before him, sometimes three hours together, to persuade him from his will and appetite; but could not prevail: Had I but served God as diligently as I have served the king, he would not have given me over in my grey hairs. But this is the just reward that I must receive for my indulgent pains and study, not regarding my service to God, but only to my prince. Therefore let me advise you, if you be one of the privy-council, as by your wisdom you are fit, take care what you put into the king's head: for you can never put it out again (*d*)."

On the 6th of January, 1531, a new session of parliament was held, together with a convocation; and the king here gave strong proofs of his extensive authority, as well as of his intention to turn it to the depression of the clergy. As an ancient statute, now almost obsolete, had been employed to ruin Wolsey, and render his exercise of the legatine power criminal, notwithstanding the king's permission; the same law was now turned against the ecclesiastics. It was pretended that every one who had submitted to the legatine court, that is, the whole church, had violated the statute of provisors; and the attorney-general accordingly brought an indictment against them (*e*). The convocation knew that it would be in vain to oppose reason or equity to the king's arbitrary will, or plead that their ruin would have been the certain consequence of not submitting to Wolsey's commission, which was procured by Henry's consent, and supported by his authority. They chose, therefore, to throw themselves on the mercy of their sovereign; and they agreed to pay one hundred and eighteen thousand eight hundred and forty pounds for a pardon (*f*). A confession was likewise extorted from them, that "the king was the protector and the supreme head of the church and clergy of England;" though some of them had the dexterity to get a clause inserted which invalidated the whole submission, and which ran in these terms, "in so far as is permitted by the law of Christ."

The commons, finding that a pardon was deemed requisite for the clergy, began to be apprehensive for themselves, lest either they should be afterwards brought into trouble on account of their submission to the legatine court, or a supply in like manner be extorted from them in return for their pardon. They therefore petitioned the king to grant a remission to his lay subjects; but they met with a repulse. He told them, that if he ever chose to forgive their offence, it would be from his own goodness, not from their application, lest he should seem to be compelled to it. Some time after, when they despaired of obtaining this concession, he was pleased to issue a pardon to the laity; and the commons expressed great gratitude for that act of clemency (*g*). By this strict execution of the statute of provisors, a great part of the profit, and still more of the power of the court of Rome was cut off; and the connexions between the pope and the English clergy were in some measure dissolved.

The next session found both king and parliament in the same disposition. An act was passed, on the 15th of January, 1532, against levying the annates or first fruits (*h*); being a year's rent of all the bishopries that fell vacant (*i*). This session the commons presented to the king a long complaint against the abuses and oppressions of the ecclesiastical courts; and they were proceeding to enact laws for remedying them, when a difference arose, which put an end to the session before the parliament had finished all their business. It was become a custom for men to make such settlements or trust-deeds of their lands by will, that they defrauded not only the king, but all other lords, of their wards, marriages, and reliefs; and by the same artifice the king was deprived of his premier seisin, and the profits of the livery, which were no inconsiderable branches of his revenue. Henry caused a bill to be drawn to moderate, not remedy altogether, this abuse: he was con-

(*z*) Rymer, vol. xiv. p. 405. Burnet, vol. i. p. 95.
(*a*) Rymer, vol. xiv. p. 454. 472.
(*b*) Burnet, vol. i. p. 94. (*c*) Cavendish. Stowe, p. 554.
(*d*) Thus died cardinal Wolsey, on the 29th of November, 1530, whose character seems to have contained as singular a variety as the fortune to which he was exposed. The obstinacy and violence of the king's temper may alleviate much of the blame which some of his favourite's measures have undergone; and when we consider, that the subsequent part of Henry's reign was much more criminal than that which had been directed by Wolsey's counsels, we shall be inclined to suspect those historians of partiality, who have endeavoured to load the memory of this minister with such violent reproaches. If in foreign politics he sometimes employed his influence over the king for his private purposes rather than for his master's service, which he boasted he had solely at heart; we must remember that he had in view the papal throne; a dignity which, had he attained it, would have enabled him to make Henry a suitable return for all his favours. The cardinal of Amboise, whose memory is respected in France, always made this apology for his own conduct, which was in some respect similar to Wolsey's; and we have reason to think that Henry was well acquainted with the views by which his minister was influenced, and took a pride in promoting them. He much regretted his death, when informed of it; and always spoke favourably of his memory: a proof that humour more than reason, or any discovery of treachery, had occasioned the last persecutions against him.
(*e*) Antiq. Brit. Eccles. p. 325. Burnet, vol. i. p. 106.
(*f*) Hollingshed, p. 923.
(*g*) Hall's Chronicle. Hollingshed, p. 923. Baker, p. 208.
(*h*) Burnet, vol. i. Collect. No. 41. Strype, vol. i. p. 144.
(*i*) This tax was imposed by the court of Rome for granting bulls to the new prelates, and was found to amount to considerable sums. Since the second of Henry VII. no less than one hundred and sixty thousand pounds had been transmitted to Rome on account of this claim; which the parliament, therefore, reduced to five per cent. on all the episcopal benefices. The better to keep the pope in awe, the king was entrusted with a power of regulating these payments, and of confirming or infringing this act at his pleasure: and it was voted, that any censures which should be passed by the court of Rome on account of that law should be entirely disregarded; and that mass should be said, and the sacraments administered, as if no such censures had been issued.

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tented that every man should have the liberty of disposing in this manner of the half of his land; and he told the parliament in plain terms, "If they would not take a reasonable thing when it was offered, he would search out the extremity of the law, and then would not offer them so much again." The lords, as usual, came willingly into his terms; but the commons rejected the bill: a singular instance, where Henry might see that his power and authority, though extensive, had yet some boundaries. The commons, however, found reason to repent of their victory. The king made good his threats; he called together the judges and ablest lawyers, who argued the question in chancery; and it was decided, that a man could not by law bequeath any part of his lands in prejudice of his rightful heir (*k*).

The parliament being again assembled after a short prorogation, on the 10th of April, the king caused two oaths to be read to them, namely, that which the bishops took to the pope, and that to the king, on their installation; and as a contradiction might be suspected between them, while the prelates seemed to swear allegiance to two sovereigns (*l*), the parliament shewed their intention of abolishing the oath to the pope, when their proceedings were suddenly stopped by the breaking out of the plague at Westminster, which occasioned a prorogation (*m*).

After the prorogation, sir Thomas More, the chancellor, perceiving that all the measures of the king and parliament led to a breach with the church of Rome, and to an alteration of religion, with which his principles would not permit him to concur, desired leave to resign the great seal; and he descended from this high station with more joy and alacrity than he had mounted up to it. The austerity of this man's virtue, and the sanctity of his manners, had no wise encroached on the gentleness of his temper, or even diminished that frolic and gaiety to which he was naturally inclined. He sported with all the varieties of fortune into which he was thrown; and neither the pride naturally attending a high station, nor the melancholy incident to poverty and retreat, could ever lay hold of his serene and equal spirit. While his family discovered symptoms of sorrow on laying down the grandeur and magnificence to which they had been accustomed, he drew a subject of mirth from their distresses; and made them ashamed of losing even a moment's cheerfulness on account of such trivial misfortunes (*n*). The king, who had entertained a high opinion of his virtue, received his resignation with some difficulty; and he delivered the great seal soon after to sir Thomas Audley.

During these transactions in England, and these invasions of the papal and ecclesiastical authority, the court of Rome was not without solicitude; and she entertained just apprehensions of losing entirely her authority in England; the kingdom which of all others had long been the most devoted to the holy see, and which had yielded it the most ample revenue. While the Imperial cardinals pushed Clement to proceed to extremities against the king, his more moderate and impartial counsellors represented to him the indignity of his proceedings; that a great monarch, who had signalised himself both by his pen and his sword in the cause of the pope, should be denied a favour which he demanded on such just grounds, and which had scarcely ever before been refused to any person of his rank and station. Notwithstanding these remonstrances, the queen's appeal was received at Rome; the king was cited to appear; and several consistories were held to examine the validity of their marriage. Henry was determined not to send any proxy to plead his cause before this court: he only dispatched sir Edward Kaine and Dr. Bonner, in quality of excusators, so they were called, to carry his apology for not paying that deference to the papal authority. The prerogatives of his crown, he said, must be sacrificed if he allowed appeals from his own kingdom; and as the question regarded conscience, not power or interest, no proxy could supply his place, or convey that satisfaction which the dictates of his own mind alone could confer. In order to support himself in this measure, and add greater security to his intended defection from Rome, he procured an interview with Francis at Boulogne and Calais, on the 11th of October, where he renewed his personal friendship as well as public alliance with that monarch, and concerted all measures for their mutual defence. He even employed arguments, by which he believed he had persuaded Francis to imitate his example, in withdrawing his obedience from the bishop of Rome, and administering ecclesiastical affairs without having farther recourse to that see. And being now fully determined in his own mind, as well as resolute to stand all consequences, he privately celebrated his marriage on the 14th of November, with Anne Boleyn, whom he had previously created marchioness of Pembroke. Rowland Lee, soon after raised to the bishopric of Coventry, officiated at the marriage. The duke of Norfolk, uncle to the new queen, her father, mother, and brother, together with Dr. Cranmer, were present at the ceremony (*o*). Anne became pregnant soon after her marriage; and this event both gave great satisfaction to the king, and was regarded by the people as a strong proof of the queen's former modesty and virtue.

On the 4th of February, 1533, the parliament was again assembled; and Henry, in conjunction with the great council of the nation, proceeded still in those gradual and secure steps by which they loosened their connexions with the see of Rome, and repressed the usurpations of the Roman pontiff. An act was made against all appeals to Rome in causes of matrimony, divorces, wills, and other suits cognizable in ecclesiastical courts; appeals esteemed dishonourable to the kingdom, by subjecting it to a foreign jurisdiction; and found to be very vexatious, by the expence and the delay of justice which necessarily attended them (*p*). The more to show his disregard to the pope, Henry, finding the new queen's pregnancy to advance, on the 12th of April, publicly owned his marriage; and in order to remove all doubts with regard to its lawfulness, he prepared measures for declaring by a formal sentence the invalidity of his marriage with Catherine; a sentence which ought naturally to have preceded his espousing of Anne Boleyn (*q*).

The king, even amidst his scruples and remorses on account of his first marriage, had always treated Catherine with respect and distinction; and he endeavoured, by every soft and persuasive art, to engage her to depart from her appeal to Rome, and her opposition to his divorce. Finding her obstinate in maintaining the justice of her cause, he had totally forborne all visits and intercourse with her; and had desired her to make choice of any one of his palaces in which she should please to reside. She had fixed her abode for some time at Ampthill, near Dunstable; and it was in this latter town that Cranmer, now created archbishop of Canterbury on the death of Warham (*r*), (May 10), was appointed to open his court for

(*k*) Burnet, vol. i. p. 116. Hall. Parliamentary History.

(*l*) Burnet, vol. i. p. 123, 124.

(*m*) It is remarkable that one Temse ventured this session to move, that the house should address the king to take back the queen, and stop the prosecution of his divorce. This motion made the king send for sir Thomas Audley, the speaker; and explain to him the scruples with which his conscience had long been burdened; scruples, he said, which had proceeded from no wanton appetite, which had arisen after the fervours of youth were past, and which were confirmed by the concurring sentiments of all the learned societies in Europe. Except in Spain and Portugal, he added, it was never heard of that any man had espoused two sisters; but he himself had the misfortune, he believed, to be the first Christian man that had ever married his brother's widow. *Herbert. Hall*, fol. 205.

(*n*) We are told by lord Herbert, who represents him as a man of learning, humour, moderation, and integrity, that, having retired to Chelsea, he dismissed his servants; made a present of his fool to the lord mayor; provoked his wife, (whose mind was, probably, much weaker than his own), by some sarcastic jokes, to leave him; and lived with his daughters upon the income of a small estate, not exceeding one hundred pounds per annum, and the interest of an inconsiderable sum of money.

(*o*) Herbert, p. 340, 341. (*p*) 24 Hen. VIII. c. 12.

(*q*) Collier, vol. ii. p. 31. and Records, No. 8.

(*r*) Bishop Burnet has given us an account of the number of bulls requisite for Cranmer's installation. By one bull, directed to the king, he is upon the royal nomination made archbishop of Canterbury. By a second directed to himself, he is also made archbishop. By a third he is absolved from all censures. A fourth is directed to the suffragans, requiring them to receive and acknowledge him as archbishop. A fifth to the dean and chapter, to the same purpose. A sixth to the clergy of Canterbury. A seventh to all the laity in his see. An eighth to all that held lands of it. By a ninth he was ordered to be consecrated, taking the oath that was in the pontifical. By a tenth the pall was sent him. By an eleventh, the archbishop of York and the bishop of London were required to put it on him. These were so many devices to draw fees to offices, which the popes had erected and disposed of for money. It may be worth observing, that Cranmer, before he took the oath to the pope, made a protestation, that he did not intend thereby to restrain himself from any thing that he was bound to, either by his duty to God, the king, or the country; and that he renounced every thing in it that was contrary to any of these. This was the invention of some casuist, and not very compatible with that strict sincerity, and that scrupulous conscience of which Cranmer made profession. *Collier*, vol. ii. in Coll. No. 22. *Burnet*, vol. i. p. 128, 129.

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examining the validity of her marriage. The near neighbourhood of the place was chosen, in order to deprive her of all plea of ignorance; and as she made no answer to the citation, either by herself or proxy, she was declared *contumacious*; and the primate proceeded to the examination of the cause. The evidences of Arthur's consummation of his marriage were anew produced; the opinions of the universities were read, together with the judgement pronounced two years before by the convocations both of Canterbury and York; and after these preliminary steps, Cranmer proceeded to a sentence, and annulled the king's marriage with Catherine as unlawful and invalid. By a subsequent sentence he ratified the marriage with Anne Boleyn, who soon after was publicly crowned queen, with all the pomp and dignity suited to that ceremony (*s*). To complete the king's satisfaction on the conclusion of this intricate and vexatious affair, she was safely delivered, on the 7th of September, 1533, of a daughter, who received the name of Elizabeth, and who afterwards swayed the English sceptre with great renown and felicity. Henry was so much delighted with the birth of this child, that soon after he conferred on her the title of princess of Wales (*t*); a step somewhat irregular, as she could only be presumptive, not apparent heir of the crown. But he had, during his former marriage, thought proper to honour his daughter Mary with that title; and he was determined to bestow on the offspring of his present marriage the same mark of distinction, as well as to exclude the elder princess from all hopes of the succession. His regard for the new queen seemed rather to increase than diminish by his marriage; and all men expected to see the entire ascendant of one who had mounted a throne, from which her birth had set her at so great a distance, and who by a proper mixture of severity and indulgence had long managed so intractable a spirit as that of Henry. In order to efface as much as possible all marks of his first marriage, lord Mountjoy was sent to the unfortunate Catherine, to inform her that she was thenceforth to be treated only as princess dowager of Wales; and all means were employed to make her acquiesce in that determination. But she continued obstinate in maintaining the validity of her marriage; and she would not admit any person to her presence who did not approach her with the accustomed ceremonial. Henry, forgetting his wonted generosity towards her, employed menaces against such of her servants as complied with her commands in this particular; but all his threats were not able to make her relinquish her title and pretensions (*u*).

When intelligence was conveyed to Rome of these transactions, so injurious to the authority and reputation of the holy see, the conclave was in a rage, and all the cardinals of the Imperial faction urged the pope to proceed to a definitive sentence, and to dart his spiritual thunders against Henry. But Clement proceeded no farther than to declare the nullity of Cranmer's sentence, as well as that of Henry's second marriage; threatening him with excommunication, if, before the first of November ensuing, he did not replace every thing in the condition in which it formerly stood (*v*). An event had happened, from which the pontiff expected a more amicable conclusion of the difference, and which hindered him from carrying matters to extremity against the king.

The pope had claims upon the duchy of Ferrara for the sovereignty of Reggio and Modena (*w*); and, having submitted his pretensions to the arbitration of the emperor, he was surprized to find a sentence pronounced against him. Enraged at this disappointment, he hearkened to proposals of amity from Francis; and when that monarch made overtures of marrying Henry, duke of Orleans, his second son, to Catherine de Medici, daughter of Laurence de Medici, cousin to the pope, Clement gladly embraced an alliance, by which his family was so much honoured. An interview was even appointed between the pope and French king at Marseilles, which took place in October; and Francis, as a common friend, there employed his good offices in mediating an accommodation between his new ally and the king of England.

If this connexion of France with the court of Rome had taken place but a few years sooner, there would have been little difficulty in adjusting the quarrel with Henry. The king's request was an ordinary one; and the same plenary power of the pope, which had granted a dispensation for his espousing of Catherine, could easily have annulled the marriage. But in the progress of the quarrel the state of affairs was much changed on both sides. Henry had shaken off much of that reverence which he had early imbibed for the apostolic see; and finding that his subjects of all ranks had taken part with him, and willingly complied with his measures for breaking off foreign dependence, he had begun to relish his spiritual authority, and would scarcely, it was apprehended, be induced to renew his submissions to the Roman pontiff. The pope, on the other hand, now ran a manifest risque of infringing his authority by a compliance with the king; and as a sentence of divorce could no longer be rested on nullities in Julius's bull, but would be construed as an acknowledgement of papal usurpations, it was foreseen that the Lutherans would thence take occasion of triumph, and would persevere more obstinately in their present principles. But notwithstanding these obstacles, Francis did not despair of mediating an agreement. He observed that the king had still some remains of prejudice in favour of the catholic church, and was apprehensive of the consequences which might ensue from too violent innovations. He saw the interest that Clement had in preserving the obedience of England, which was one of the richest jewels in the papal crown. And he hoped that these motives on both sides would facilitate a mutual agreement, and would forward the effects of his good offices.

Francis first prevailed on the pope to promise, that if Henry would send a proxy to Rome, and thereby submit his cause to the holy see, he should appoint commissioners to meet at Cambray, and form the process; and he should immediately afterwards pronounce the sentence of divorce required of him. Du Bellay, bishop of Paris, was next dispatched to London, and obtained a promise from the king, that he would submit his cause to the Roman consistory, provided the cardinals of the Imperial faction were excluded from it. The prelate carried this verbal promise to Rome; and the pope agreed, that if the king would sign a written agreement to the same purpose, his demands should be fully complied with. A day was appointed for the return of the messengers; and all Europe regarded this affair, which had threatened a violent rupture between England and the Romish church, as drawing towards an amicable conclusion (*x*). But the greatest affairs often depend on the most frivolous incidents. The courier who carried the king's written promise was detained beyond the day appointed; news was brought to Rome that a libel had been published in England against the court of Rome, and a farce acted before the king in derision of the pope and cardinals (*y*). Hereupon, the pope and cardinals, on the 23rd of March, 1534, entered into the consistory enflamed with anger; and by a precipitate sentence the marriage of Henry and Catherine was pronounced valid, and Henry declared to be excommunicated if he refused to adhere to it. Two days after the courier arrived; and Clement, who had been hurried from his usual prudence, found, that though he heartily repented of this hasty measure, it would be difficult for him to retract it, or replace affairs on the same footing as before.

We cannot imagine that the pope, had he conducted himself with ever so great moderation and temper, could hope, during the life-time of Henry, to have regained much authority or influence in England. That monarch was of a temper both impetuous and obstinate; and having proceeded so far in throwing off the papal yoke, he never could again have been brought tamely to bend his neck to it. Even at the time when he was negociating a reconciliation with the court of Rome, he either entertained so little hopes of success, or was so indifferent about the event, that he had assembled a parliament, which met on the 15th of January, 1534, and continued to enact laws totally destructive of the papal authority. The people had been prepared by degrees for this great innovation. Each preceding session had retrenched somewhat from the power and profits of the pontiff. Care had been taken, during some years, to teach the nation that a general council was much superior to a pope. But now a bishop preached every Sunday at Paul's cross, in order to inculcate the doctrine, that the pope was entitled to no authority at all beyond the bounds of his own diocese (*z*). The proceedings of the parliament shewed that they had entirely adopted this opinion; and there is reason to believe that the king, after having procured a favourable sentence

(*s*) Heylin, p. 6. (*t*) Burnet, vol. i. p. 134.
(*u*) Herbert, p. 326. Burnet, vol. i. p. 132.
(*v*) Le Grand, vol. iii. p. 566.
(*w*) Burnet, vol. ii. p. 133. Guicciardini.
(*x*) Father Paul, lib. 1. (*y*) Ibid.
(*z*) Burnet, vol. i. p. 144.

from Rome, which would have removed all doubts with regard to his second marriage and the succession, might indeed have lived on terms of civility with the Roman pontiff, but never would have surrendered to him any considerable share of his assumed prerogative. The importance of the laws passed this session, even before intelligence arrived of the violent resolutions taken at Rome, is sufficient to justify this opinion.

All payments made to the apostolic chamber; all provisions, bulls, dispensations, were abolished: monasteries were subjected to the visitation and government of the king alone: the law for punishing heretics was moderated; the ordinary was prohibited from imprisoning or trying any person upon suspicion alone, without presentment by two lawful witnesses; and it was declared, that to speak against the pope's authority was no heresy: bishops were to be appointed by a *congè d'elire* from the crown, or in case of the dean and chapter's refusal, by letters patent; and no recourse was to be had to Rome for palls, bulls, or provisions: Campeggio and Ghinucci, two Italians, were deprived of the bishoprics of Salisbury and Worcester, which they had hitherto enjoyed (*a*): the law which had been formerly made against paying annates, or first fruits, but which had been left in the king's power to suspend or enforce, was finally established: and a submission which was exacted two years before from the clergy, and which had been obtained with great difficulty, received this session the sanction of parliament (*b*). In this submission the clergy acknowledged that convocations ought to be assembled by the king's authority only; they promised to enact no new canons without his consent; and they agreed that he should appoint thirty-two commissioners, in order to examine the old canons, and abrogate such as should be found prejudicial to his royal prerogative (*c*). An appeal was also allowed from the bishop's court to the king in Chancery.

But the most important law passed this session, was that which regulated the succession to the crown: the marriage of the king with Catherine was declared unlawful, void, and of no effect: the primate's sentence, annulling it, was ratified; and the marriage with queen Anne was established and confirmed. The crown was appointed to descend to the issue of this marriage, and failing them to the king's heirs for ever. An oath likewise was enjoined to be taken in favour of this order of succession, under the penalty of imprisonment during the king's pleasure, and forfeiture of goods and chattels. And all slander against the king, queen, or their issue, was subjected to the penalty of misprision of treason. After these compliances the parliament was prorogued; and those acts, so contemptuous towards the pope, and so destructive of his authority, were passed at the very time that Clement pronounced his hasty sentence against the king. Henry's resentment against Catherine, on account of her obstinacy, is supposed to have been the reason why he excluded her daughter from all hopes of succeeding to the crown; contrary to his first intentions when he began the process of divorce, and of dispensation for a second marriage.

We may here observe, that the king found his ecclesiastical subjects as compliant as the laity. The convocation ordered that the act against appeals to Rome, together with the king's appeal from the pope to a general council, should be affixed to the doors of all the churches in the kingdom; and they voted that the bishop of Rome had by the law of God no more jurisdiction in England than any other foreign bishop; and that the authority which he and his predecessors had there exercised was only by usurpation, and by the sufferance of English princes. Four persons alone opposed this vote in the house of commons, and one doubted. It passed unanimously in the house of lords. The bishops went so far in their complaisance, that they took out new commissions from the crown, in which all their spiritual and episcopal authority was expressly affirmed to be derived ultimately from the civil magistrate, and to be entirely dependent on the king's pleasure (*d*).

The oath which related to the succession was generally taken throughout the kingdom. Fisher, bishop of Rochester, and sir Thomas More, were the only persons of note that entertained scruples with regard to its legality. Fisher was disliked on account of some practices into which his credulity, rather than any bad intentions, seems to have betrayed him. But More was the person of greatest reputation in the kingdom for virtue and integrity; and as it was believed that his authority would have influence on the sentiments of others, great pains were taken to convince him of the lawfulness of the oath. He declared that he had no scruple with regard to the succession, and thought that the parliament had full power to settle it: he offered to draw an oath himself, which would ensure his allegiance to the heir appointed; but he refused the oath prescribed by law; because the preamble of that oath asserted the legality of the king's marriage with Anne, and thereby implied that his former marriage with Catherine was unlawful and invalid. Cranmer the primate, and Cromwell, now secretary of state, who highly loved and esteemed More, entreated him to lay aside his scruples; and their friendly importunity seemed to weigh more with him than all the penalties attending his refusal (*e*). He persisted, however, in a mild though firm manner, to maintain his resolution; and the king, irritated against him as well as Fisher, ordered both to be indicted upon the statute, and committed prisoners to the Tower.

The parliament being again assembled, on the 3rd of November, conferred on the king the title of the only supreme head on earth of the church of England; as they had already invested him with all the real power belonging to it. In this memorable act the parliament granted him power, or rather acknowledged his inherent power, "to visit, and repress, redress, reform, order, correct, restrain, or amend all errors, heresies, abuses, offences, contempts, and enormities, which fell under any spiritual authority or jurisdiction (*f*)." They also declared it treason to attempt, imagine, or speak evil against the king, queen, or his heirs, or to endeavour depriving them of their dignities or titles. They gave him a right to all the annates and tithes of benefices, which had formerly been paid to the court of Rome. They granted him a subsidy and a fifteenth. They attainted More and Fisher for misprision of treason. And they completed the union of England and Wales, by giving all the benefit of the English laws to that principality.

Thus the authority of the popes, like all exorbitant power, was ruined by the excess of its acquisitions, and by stretching its pretensions beyond what it was possible for any human principles or prepossessions to sustain. Indulgencies had in former ages tended extremely to enrich the holy see; but being openly abused, they served to excite the first commotions and opposition in Germany. The prerogative of granting dispensations had also contributed much to attach all the sovereign princes and great families in Europe to the papal authority; but meeting with an unlucky concurrence of circumstances, was now the cause why England separated herself from the Romish communion. The acknowledgement of the king's supremacy introduced there a greater simplicity in the government, by uniting the spiritual with the civil power, and preventing disputes about limits, which never could exactly be determined, between the contending jurisdictions. A way was also prepared for checking the exorbitances of superstition, and breaking those shackles by which all human reason, policy, and industry had so long been encumbered. The prince, it may be supposed, being head of the religion, as well as of the temporal jurisdiction of the kingdom, though he might sometimes employ the former as an engine of government, had no interest, like the Roman pontiff, in nourishing its excessive growth; and, except when blinded by his own ignorance or bigotry, would be sure to retain it within tolerable limits, and prevent its abuses. And on the whole, there followed from this revolution many beneficial consequences; though perhaps neither foreseen nor intended by the persons who had the chief hand in conducting it.

While Henry proceeded with so much order and tranquility in changing the national religion, and while his authority seemed entirely secure in England, he was held in some inquietude by the state of affairs in Ireland and in Scotland.

The earl of Kildare was deputy of Ireland, under the duke of Richmond, the king's natural son, who bore the title of lieutenant; and as Kildare was accused of some violences against the family of Ossory, his hereditary enemies, he was summoned to answer for his conduct. He left his authority in the hands of his son, who hearing that his father was thrown into prison, and was in danger of his life, immediately took up arms, and joining himself to O'Neal, O'Carrol, and other Irish nobility, committed many ravages, murdered Allen archbishop of Dublin, and laid siege to that city. Kildare meanwhile died in prison, and his son, persevering in his revolt, made applications to the emperor, who promised him assistance. The king was obliged to send over some forces to Ireland, which so harassed the rebels, that this young nobleman, finding the emperor

(*a*) Le Neve's Fasti Eccles. Angl. (*b*) 25 H. 8. c. 19. (*c*) Collier, vol. ii. p. 69, 70. (*d*) Collier's Eccles. Hist. vol. ii. (*e*) Burnet, vol. i. p. 156. (*f*) 26 H. 8. c. 1.

emperor backward in fulfilling his promises, was reduced to the necessity of surrendering himself prisoner to lord Leonard Gray, the new deputy, brother to the marquis of Dorset. He was carried over to England, together with his five uncles; and after trial and conviction they were all brought to execution; though two of the uncles, in order to save the family, had pretended to join the king's party.

The earl of Angus had acquired the entire ascendant in Scotland; and having got possession of the king's person, then in early youth, he was able, by means of that advantage, and by employing the power of his own family, to retain the reins of government. The queen-dowager, however, his consort, bred him great disturbance. For having separated herself from him, on account of some jealousies and disgusts, and having procured a divorce, she had married another man of quality, of the name of Stuart; and she joined all the discontented nobility who opposed Angus's authority. James himself was dissatisfied with the slavery to which he was reduced; and by secret correspondence he incited first Walter Scot, then the earl of Lenox, to attempt by force of arms the freeing him from the hands of Angus. Both enterprizes failed of success; but James, impatient of restraint, found means at last of escaping to Stirling, where his mother then resided; and having summoned all the nobility to attend him, he overturned the authority of the Douglasses, and obliged Angus and his brother to fly into England, where they were protected by Henry. The king of Scotland, being now arrived at years of majority, took the government into his own hands; and employed himself with great spirit and valour in repressing those feuds, ravages, and disorders, which, though they disturbed the course of public justice, served to support the martial spirit of the Scots, and contributed by that means to maintain national independency. He was desirous of renewing the ancient league with the French nation; but finding Francis in close union with England, and on that account somewhat cold in hearkening to his proposals, he received the more favourably the advances of the emperor, who hoped by means of such an ally to breed disturbance to England. He offered the Scottish king the choice of three princesses, his own near relations, and all of the name of Mary; his sister, the dowager of Hungary, his niece, a daughter of Portugal, or his cousin, the daughter of Henry, whom he pretended to dispose of unknown to her father. James was more inclined to the latter proposal, had it not, upon reflection, been found impracticable; and his natural propensity to France at last prevailed over all other considerations. The alliance with Francis necessarily engaged James to maintain peace with England. But though invited by his uncle Henry to confer with him at Newcastle, and concert common measures for repressing the ecclesiastics in both kingdoms, and shaking off the yoke of Rome, he could not be prevailed on, by entering England, to put himself in the king's power. In order to have a pretext for refusing the conference, he applied to the pope, and obtained a brief, forbidding him to engage in any personal negociations with an enemy of the holy see. From these measures Henry easily concluded, that he could very little depend on the friendship of his nephew. But those events did not take place till some time after the period we are at present treating of.

The ancient and almost uninterrupted opposition of interests between the laity and clergy in England, and between the English clergy and the court of Rome, had sufficiently prepared the nation for a breach with the sovereign pontiff; and men had penetration enough to discover abuses, which were plainly calculated for the temporal advantages of the hierarchy, and which they found destructive of their own. These subjects seemed proportioned to human understanding; and even the people, who felt the power of interest in their own breast, could perceive the purpose of those numerous inventions which the interested spirit of the Roman pontiff had introduced into religion. But when the reformers proceeded thence to dispute concerning the nature of the sacraments, the operations of grace, the terms of acceptance with the Deity, men were thrown into amazement, and were during some time at a loss how to chuse their party. The profound ignorance in which both the clergy and laity formerly lived, and their freedom from theological altercations, had produced a sincere but indolent acquiescence in received opinions; and the multitude were neither attached to them by topics of reasoning, nor by those prejudices and antipathies against opponents, which have ever a more natural and powerful influence over them. As soon, therefore, as a new opinion was advanced, supported by such an authority as to call up their attention, they felt their capacity totally unfitted for such disquisitions; and they perpetually fluctuated between the contending parties. Hence the quick and violent movements by which the people were agitated, even in the most opposite directions: hence their seeming prostitution, in sacrificing to present power the most sacred principles: and hence the rapid progress during some time, and the sudden as well as entire check soon after, of the new doctrines. When men were once settled in their particular sects, and had fortified themselves in a habitual detestation of those who were denominated heretics, they adhered with more obstinacy to the principles of their education; and the limits of the two religions thenceforth remained fixed and unchangeable.

Nothing more forwarded the first progress of the reformers, than the offer which they made, of submitting all religious doctrines to private judgement, and the summons given every one to examine the principles formerly imposed upon him. Though the multitude were totally unqualified for this undertaking, they yet were highly pleased with it. They fancied that they were exercising their judgement, while they opposed to the prejudices of ancient authority more powerful prejudices of another kind. The novelty itself of the doctrines; the pleasure of an imaginary triumph in dispute; the fervent zeal of the reformed preachers; their patience and even alacrity in suffering persecution, death, and torments; a disgust at the restraints of the old religion; an indignation against the tyranny and interested spirit of the ecclesiastics; these motives were prevalent with the people, and by such considerations were men so generally induced during that age to throw off the religion of their ancestors.

But in proportion as the practice of submitting religion to private judgement was acceptable to the people, it appeared in some respects dangerous to the rights of sovereigns, and seemed to destroy that implicit obedience on which the authority of the civil magistrate is chiefly founded. The very precedent, of shaking so ancient and deep-founded an establishment as that of the Romish hierarchy might, it was apprehended, prepare the way for other innovations. The republican spirit which naturally took place among the reformers increased this jealousy. The furious insurrections of the populace, excited by Muntzer and other anabaptists in Germany (*g*), furnished a new pretence for decrying the reformation.

No prince in Europe was possessed of such absolute authority as Henry, not even the pope himself, in his own capital, where he united both the civil and ecclesiastical powers; and there was small likelihood that any doctrine which lay under the imputation of encouraging sedition could ever pretend to his favour and countenance. But besides this political jealousy, there was another reason which inspired Henry with an aversion to the reformers. He had early declared his sentiments against Luther; and having entered the lists in those scholastic quarrels, he had received from his courtiers and theologians infinite applause for his performance. Elated by this imaginary success, he had entertained the most lofty opinion of his own learning; and he received with contempt, any contradiction to his sentiments. Luther also had treated in an indecent manner his royal antagonist; and though he afterwards apologized for his former expressions, he never could efface the hatred which the king had conceived against him and his doctrines.

Henry's ministers and courtiers were of as motley a character as his conduct; and seemed to waver between the ancient and the new religion. The queen, engaged by interest as well as inclination, favoured the cause of the reformers: Cromwell, who was created secretary of state, advancing in the king's confidence, had embraced the same views. Cranmer, archbishop of Canterbury, had secretly adopted the protestant tenets. On the other hand, the duke of Norfolk adhered to the ancient faith; and by his high rank he had great authority in the king's council: Gardiner, bishop of Winchester, was one of the same party. All these ministers disguised their particular opinions.

The king's ambiguous conduct, though it kept the courtiers in awe, served principally to encourage the protestant doctrine among his subjects, and promoted that spirit of innovation with which the age was generally

(*g*) Sleidan, lib 4 and 5.

seized, and which nothing but an entire uniformity, as well as a steady severity in the administration, could be able to repress.

About this time several monks were detected in a conspiracy, which, as it might have proved more dangerous to the king, was on its discovery attended with more fatal consequences to themselves. Elizabeth Barton, of Aldington, in Kent, commonly called the *Holy Maid of Kent*, had been subject to hysterical fits, which threw her body into unusual convulsions; and having produced an equal disorder in her mind, made her utter strange sayings, which, as she was scarcely conscious of them during the time, had soon after entirely escaped her memory. The silly people in the neighbourhood were struck with these appearances, which they imagined to be supernatural; and Richard Masters, vicar of the parish, a designing fellow, founded on them a project from which he hoped to acquire both profit and consideration. He went to archbishop Warham, who was then alive; and having given him an account of Elizabeth's revelations, he so far wrought on that prudent but superstitious prelate, as to receive from him orders to watch her in her trances, and carefully to note down all her future sayings. The regard paid her by a person of so exalted a rank soon rendered her still more the object of attention to the neighbourhood; and Masters easily persuaded them, as well as the maid herself, that her ravings were inspirations of the Holy Ghost. Knavery, as is usual, soon after succeeding to delusion, she learned to counterfeit trances; and she then uttered, in an extraordinary tone, such speeches as were dictated to her by her spiritual director. Masters associated with him Dr. Bocking, a canon of Canterbury; and their design was to raise the credit of an image of the Virgin, which stood in a chapel belonging to Masters, and to draw to it such pilgrims as usually frequented the more famous images and reliques. In prosecution of this design, Elizabeth pretended revelations, which directed her to have recourse to that image for a cure; and being brought before it, in the presence of a great multitude, she fell anew into convulsions; and after distorting her limbs and countenance during a competent time, she affected to have obtained a perfect recovery by the intercession of the Virgin (*h*). This miracle was soon noised abroad; and the two priests, finding the imposture to succeed beyond their own expectations, began to extend their views, and to lay the foundation of more important enterprizes. They taught their penitent to declaim against the new doctrines, which she denominated heresy; against innovations in ecclesiastical government; and against the king's intended divorce from Catherine. She went so far as to assert, that if he prosecuted that design, and married another, he should not be a king a month longer, and should not an hour longer enjoy the favour of the Almighty, but should die the death of a villain. Many monks throughout England, either from folly or roguery, or from faction, which is often a complication of both, entered into the delusion; and one Deering, a frier, wrote a book of the revelations and prophecies of Elizabeth (*i*). Miracles were daily added to increase the wonder; and the pulpit every where resounded with accounts of the sanctity and inspirations of the new prophetess. Messages were carried from her to queen Catherine, by which that princess was exhorted to persist in her opposition to the divorce; the pope's ambassadors gave encouragement to the popular credulity; and even Fisher bishop of Rochester, though a man of sense and learning, was carried away by an opinion so favourable to the party which he had espoused (*k*). The king at last began to think the matter worthy of his attention; and having ordered Elizabeth and her accomplices to be arrested, he brought them before the Star Chamber, where they freely, without being put to the torture, made confession of their guilt. The parliament, in the session held the beginning of this year, passed an act of attainder against some who were engaged in this treasonable imposture (*l*); and Elizabeth herself, Masters, Bocking, Deering, Rich, Risby, Gold, suffered for their crime. The bishop of Rochester, Abel, Addison, Lawrence, and others, were condemned for misprision of treason; because they had not discovered some criminal speeches which they heard from Elizabeth (*m*): and they were thrown into prison. The better to undeceive the multitude, the forgery of many of the prophetess's miracles were detected; and even the scandalous prostitution of her manners was laid open to the public. Those passions which so naturally insinuate themselves amidst the warm intimacies maintained by the devotees of different sexes, had taken place between Elizabeth and her confederates; and it was found, that a door to her dormitory, which was said to have been miraculously opened, in order to give her access to the chapel, for the sake of frequent converse with heaven, had been contrived by Bocking and Masters for purposes of a very different nature.

The detection of this imposture, attended with so many odious circumstances, both hurt the credit of the ecclesiastics, particularly the monks, and instigated the king to take vengeance on them. He suppressed three monasteries of the Observantine friers; and finding that little clamour was excited by this act of power, he was the more encouraged to lay his rapacious hands on the remainder. Meanwhile, he exercised punishment on individuals who were obnoxious to him. The parliament had made it treason to endeavour depriving the king of his dignity or titles; they had lately added to his other titles, that of supreme head of the church: it was inferred, that to deny his supremacy was treason; and many priors and ecclesiastics lost their lives for this new species of guilt. It was certainly a high instance of tyranny to punish the mere delivery of a political opinion, especially one that nowise affected the king's temporal right, as a capital offence, though attended with no overt act; and the parliament in passing this law had overlooked all the principles by which a civilized, much more a free people should be governed: but the violence of changing so suddenly the whole system of government, and making it treason to deny what during many ages it had been heresy to assert, is an event which may appear somewhat extraordinary. Even the stern unrelenting mind of Henry was at first shocked with these sanguinary measures; and he went so far as to change his garb and dress; pretending sorrow for the necessity by which he was pushed to such extremities. Still impelled, however, by his violent temper, and desirous of striking a terror into the whole nation, he proceeded, by making examples of Fisher and More, to consummate his lawless tyranny.

John Fisher, bishop of Rochester, was a prelate eminent for learning and morals, still more than for his ecclesiastical dignities, and for the high favour which he had long enjoyed with the king. When he was thrown into prison on account of his refusing the oath which regarded the succession, and his concealment of Elizabeth Barton's treasonable speeches, he had not only been deprived of all his revenues, but stripped of his very clothes, and without consideration of his extreme age, he was allowed nothing but rags, which scarcely sufficed to cover his nakedness (*n*). In this condition he lay in prison above a twelvemonth; when the pope, willing to recompense the sufferings of so faithful an adherent, created him a cardinal; though Fisher was so indifferent about that dignity, that even if the purple were lying at his feet, he declared that he would not stoop to take it. This promotion of a man, merely for his opposition to royal authority, roused the indignation of the king; and he resolved to make the innocent person feel the effects of his resentment. Fisher was indicted for denying the king's supremacy, was tried, condemned, and beheaded, on the 22nd of June, 1535.

The execution of this prelate was intended as a warning to More, whose compliance, on account of his great authority both abroad and at home, and his high reputation for learning and virtue, was anxiously desired by the king. That prince also bore as great personal affection and regard to More, as his imperious mind, the sport of passions, was susceptible of towards a man who in any particular opposed his violent inclinations. But More could never be prevailed on to acknowledge any opinion so contrary to his principles as that of the king's supremacy; and though Henry exacted that compliance from the whole nation, there was as yet no law obliging any one to take an oath to that purpose. Rich, the solicitor general, was sent to confer with More, then a prisoner, who kept a cautious silence with regard to the supremacy: he was only inveigled to say, that any question with regard to the law which established that prerogative, was a two-edged sword: if a person answer one way, it will confound his soul; if another,

(*h*) Stowe, p. 570. Blanquet's Epitome of Chronicles.
(*i*) Strype, vol. i. p. 181. (*k*) Collier, vol. ii. p. 87.
(*l*) 25 Hen. VIII. c. 12. Burnet, vol. i. p. 149. Hall, fol. 220.
(*m*) Godwin's Annals, p. 52. (*n*) Fuller's Church Hist. book v. p. 203.



Elizabeth Barton, commonly called
THE HOLY MAID OF KENT,
Practicing her Impositions.

Drawn by Smirke, Engraved by Neagle, & Published by J. Stratford, 112, Holborn Hill, Feb.ry 9th 1810.

another, it will destroy his body." No more was wanted to found an indictment of high treason against the prisoner. His silence was called malicious, and made a part of his crime; and these words, which had casually dropped from him, were interpreted as a denial of the supremacy (*o*). Trials were mere formalities during this reign: More underwent the form of a trial; but where the king was the plaintiff, the innocence of the defendant could afford but a feeble chance of escape. A perjured jury gave sentence against More, who had long expected this fate, and who needed no preparation to fortify him against the terrors of death. Not only his constancy, but even his cheerfulness, nay his usual facetiousness, never forsook him; and he made a sacrifice of his life to his integrity, with the same indifference that he maintained in any ordinary occurrence. When he was mounting the scaffold, he said to one, "Friend, help me up, and when I come down again, let me shift for myself." The executioner asking him forgiveness, he granted the request, but told him, "You will never get credit by beheading me, my neck is so short." Then laying his head on the block, he bade the executioner stay till he put aside his beard; "For," said he, "it never committed treason." Nothing was wanting to the glory of this end, except a better cause, more free from weakness and superstition: but as sir Thomas More followed his principles and sense of duty, however misguided, his constancy and integrity are not the less objects of our admiration. He was beheaded, on the 6th of July, 1535, in the fifty-third year of his age.

When the execution of these great men, bishop Fisher and sir Thomas More was reported at Rome, especially that of the former, who was invested with the dignity of cardinal, every one discovered the most violent rage against the king; and numerous libels were published by the wits and orators of Italy, comparing him to Caligula, Nero, Domitian, and all the most unrelenting tyrants of antiquity. Clement VII. had died on the 25th of September, 1534, about six months after he pronounced sentence against the king; and Paul III., of the name of Farnese, had succeeded to the papal throne. This pontiff, who, while cardinal, had always favoured Henry's cause, had hoped that, personal animosities being buried with his predecessor, it might not be impossible to form an agreement with England; and the king himself was so desirous of accommodating matters, that in a negociation which he entered into with Francis a little before this time, he required that that monarch should conciliate a friendship between him and the court of Rome. But Henry was accustomed to prescribe, not to receive terms; and even while he was negociating for peace, his usual violence often carried him to commit offences which rendered the quarrel totally incurable. The execution of Fisher was regarded by Paul as so capital an injury, that he passed censures against the king on the 30th of August, 1535, citing him and all his adherents to appear in Rome within ninety days, in order to answer for their crimes: if they failed, he excommunicated them; deprived the king of his crown; laid the kingdom under an interdict; declared his issue by Anne Boleyn illegitimate; dissolved all leagues which any catholic princes had made with him; gave his kingdom to any invader; commanded the nobility to take arms against him; freed his subjects from all oaths of allegiance; cut off their commerce with foreign states; and declared it lawful for any one to seize them, to make slaves of their persons, and to convert their effects to his own use (*p*). But though these censures were passed, they were not at that time openly denounced: the pope delayed their publication till he should find an agreement with England entirely desperate; and till the emperor, who was at that time hard pressed by the Turks and the protestant princes in Germany, should be in a condition to carry the sentence into execution.

The king knew that he might expect any injury which it should be in Charles's power to inflict; and he therefore made it the chief object of his policy to incapacitate that monarch from wreaking his resentment upon him (*q*). He renewed his friendship with Francis, and opened negociations for marrying his infant daughter, Elizabeth, with the duke of Angoulême, third son of Francis. The two monarchs also made advances to the princes of the Protestant league in Germany, ever jealous of the emperor's ambition: and Henry, besides remitting them some money, sent Fox bishop of Hereford, as Francis did Du Bellay lord of Langley, to treat with them. But during the first fervours of the reformation, an agreement in theological tenets was held, as well as an union of interests, to be essential to a good correspondence among states; and though both Francis and Henry flattered the German princes with hopes of their embracing the confession of Augsburg, it was looked upon as a bad symptom of their sincerity, that they exercised such extreme rigour against all preachers of the reformation in their respective dominions (*r*). Henry carried the feint so far, that, while he thought himself the first theologian in the world, he yet invited over Melancthon, Bucer, Sturmius, Draco, and other German divines, that they might confer with him, and instruct him in the foundation of their tenets. These theologians were now of great importance in the world; and no poet or philosopher, even in ancient Greece, where they were treated with most respect, had ever reached equal applause and admiration. The German princes told the king that they could not spare their divines; and as Henry had no hopes of agreement with such zealous disputants, and knew that in Germany the followers of Luther would not associate with the disciples of Zuinglius, because, though they agreed in every thing else, they differed in some minute particulars with regard to the eucharist, he was the more indifferent on account of this refusal. He could also foresee, that even while the league of Smalcalde did not act in concert with him, they would always be carried by their interests to oppose the emperor; and the hatred between Francis and that monarch was so inveterate, that he deemed himself sure of a sincere ally in one or other of these potentates.

While these negociations were carrying on, an incident happened in England which promised a more amicable conclusion of those disputes, and seemed even to open the way for a reconciliation between Henry and Charles. Queen Catherine was seized with a lingering illness, which at last brought her to her grave: she died at Kimbolton, in the county of Huntingdon, on the 6th of January, 1536, in the fiftieth year of her age. A little before she expired, she wrote a very tender letter to the king; in which she gave him the appellation of "her most dear Lord, King, and Husband." She told him, that as the hour of her death was now approaching, she laid hold of this last opportunity to inculcate on him the importance of his religious duty, and the comparative emptiness of all human grandeur and enjoyment: that though his fondness towards these perishable advantages had thrown her into many calamities, as well as created to himself much trouble, she yet forgave him all past injuries, and hoped that his pardon would be ratified in heaven: and that she had no other request to make, than to recommend to him his daughter, the sole pledge of their loves; and to crave his protection for her maids and servants. She concluded with these words, "I make this vow, that mine eyes desire you above all things (*s*)." The king was touched even to the shedding of tears, by this last tender proof of Catherine's affection; but queen Anne is said to have expressed her joy for the death of her rival (*t*).

The emperor thought that, as the demise of his aunt had removed all foundation of personal animosity between him and Henry, it might not now be impossible to detach him from the alliance of France, and to renew his own confederacy with England, from which he had formerly reaped so much advantage. He sent Henry proposals for a return to ancient amity, upon these conditions (*u*); that he should be reconciled to the see of Rome, that he should assist him in his war with the Turks, and that he should take part with him against Francis, who now threatened the duchy of Milan. The king replied, that he was willing to be on good terms with the emperor, provided that prince would acknowledge that the former breach of friendship came entirely from himself: as to the conditions proposed, the proceedings against the bishop of Rome was so just, and so fully ratified by the parliament of England, that they could not now be revoked; when Christian princes should have settled peace among themselves, he would not fail to exert that vigour which became him, against the enemies of the faith; and after amity with the emperor was once fully restored, he should then, as a common friend both to him and Francis, be ready either to mediate an agreement between them, or to assist the injured party.

Henry became more indifferent to the advances made

(*o*) More's Life of Sir Thomas More. Herbert, p. 393.
(*p*) Sanders, p. 148. (*q*) Herbert, p. 350, 351.
(*r*) Sleidan, lib. 10. (*s*) Herbert, p. 403. (*t*) Burnet, vol. i. p. 192.
(*u*) Du Bellay, lib. v. Herbert. Burnet, vol. iii. in Coll. No. 50.

by the emperor, both on account of his experience of the usual duplicity and insincerity of that monarch, and the intelligence which he received of the present transactions in Europe. Francis Sforza, duke of Milan, had died without issue; and the emperor maintained that the duchy, being a fief of the empire, was devolved to him as head of the Germanic body: not to give umbrage, however, to the states of Italy, he professed his intention of bestowing that principality on some prince who should be hateful to no party, and he even made offer of it to the duke of Angoulême, third son of Francis. The French monarch, who pretended that his own right to Milan was now revived upon Sforza's death, was content to substitute his second son, the duke of Orleans, in his place; and the emperor pretended to close with this proposal. But his sole intention in that liberal concession seemed to be to gain time, till he should put himself in a warlike posture, and be able to carry an invasion into Francis's dominions. The ancient enmity between these princes broke out anew in bravadoes, and in personal insults on each other, ill becoming persons of their rank, and still less suitable to men of such unquestioned bravery. Charles soon after invaded Provence in person, with an army of fifty thousand men; but met with no success. His army perished with sickness, fatigue, famine, and other disasters; and he was obliged to raise the siege of Marseilles, and retire into Italy with the broken remains of his forces. An army of Imperialists, near thirty thousand in number, which invaded France on the side of the Netherlands, and laid siege to Peronne, made no greater progress, but retired upon the approach of a French army. And Henry had thus the satisfaction to find, both that his ally Francis was likely to support himself without foreign assistance, and that his own tranquillity was fully ensured by these violent continental wars.

If any inquietude remained with the English court, it was solely occasioned by the state of affairs in Scotland. James, receiving intelligence of the dangerous situation of his ally Francis, generously levied some forces; and embarking them on board vessels he had hired for that purpose, landed them safely in France. He even went over in person; and making haste to join the camp of the French king, which then lay in Provence, and to partake of his danger, he met that prince at Lyons, who having repulsed the emperor, was now returning to his capital. Recommended by so agreeable and seasonable an instance of friendship, the king of Scots paid his addresses to Magdalen, daughter of the French monarch; and this prince had no other objection to the match than what arose from the infirm state of his daughter's health, which seemed to threaten her with a speedy dissolution. But James having gained the affections of the princess, and obtained her consent, the father would no longer oppose the united desires of his daughter and his friend: they were accordingly married, and soon after set sail for Scotland, where the young queen, as was foreseen, died in a little time after her arrival. Francis, however, was afraid lest his ally Henry, whom he likewise looked on as his friend, and who lived with him on a more cordial footing than is usual among great princes, should be displeased that this close confederacy between France and Scotland was concluded without his participation. He therefore dispatched Pommeraye to London, in order to apologize for this measure; but Henry, with his usual openness and freedom, expressed such displeasure, that he refused even to confer with the ambassador; and Francis was apprehensive of a rupture with a prince who regulated his measures more by humour and passion, than by the rules of political prudence. But the king was so fettered by the opposition in which he was engaged against the pope and the emperor, that he pursued no farther this disgust against Francis; and in the end every thing remained in tranquillity, both on the side of France and of Scotland.

The domestic peace of England seemed to be exposed to more hazard by the innovations in religion; and it may be affirmed, that in this dangerous conjuncture nothing ensured public tranquillity so much as the decisive authority acquired by the king, and his great ascendant over all his subjects. Not only the devotion paid to the crown was profound during that age: the personal respect inspired by Henry was considerable; and even the terrors with which he overawed every one were not attended with any considerable degree of hatred. His frankness, his sincerity, his magnificence, his generosity, were virtues which counterbalanced his violence, cruelty, and impetuosity. And the important rank which his vigour more than his address acquired him in all foreign negociations flattered the vanity of Englishmen, and made them the more willingly endure those domestic hardships to which they were exposed. The king, conscious of his advantages, was now proceeding to the most dangerous exercise of his authority; and after paving the way for that measure by several preparatory expedients, he was determined to suppress the monasteries, and to put himself in possession of their ample revenues.

Cromwell, secretary of state, had been appointed vicar-general, or vicegerent; a new office, by which the king's supremacy, or the absolute uncontrollable power assumed over the church, was delegated to him. He employed Layton, London, Price, Gage, Petre, Bellasis, and others, as commissioners, who carried on every where a rigorous inquiry with regard to the conduct and deportment of all the friers. During times of faction, especially of the religious kind, no equity is to be expected from adversaries; and as it was known that the king's intention in this visitation was to find a pretence for abolishing monasteries, we may naturally conclude, that the reports of the commissioners are very little to be relied on. Friers were encouraged to bring in informations against their brethren; the slightest evidence was credited; and even the calumnies spread abroad by the friends of the reformation were regarded as grounds of proof.

Some few monasteries, terrified with this rigorous inquisition carried on by Cromwell and his commissioners, surrendered their revenues into the king's hands; and the monks received small pensions as the reward of their obsequiousness. Orders were given to dismiss such nuns and friers as were below four and twenty, whose vows were on that account supposed not to be binding. The doors of the convents were opened, even to such as were above that age; and every one recovered his liberty who desired it. But as all these expedients did not fully answer the king's purpose, he had recourse to his usual instrument of power, the parliament; and in order to prepare men for the innovations projected, the report of the visitors was published, and a general horror was endeavoured to be excited in the nation against institutions which to their ancestors had been the objects of the most profound veneration.

The king, though determined utterly to abolish the monastic orders, resolved to proceed gradually; and he gave directions to the parliament, on the 4th of February, 1536, to go no further at present, than to suppress the lesser monasteries, which possessed revenues below two hundred pounds a year (*v*). These were found to be the most corrupted, as lying less under the restraint of shame, and being exposed to less scrutiny (*w*); and it was deemed safest to begin with them, and thereby prepare the way for the greater innovations projected. By this act three hundred and seventy-six monasteries were suppressed, and their revenues, amounting to thirty-two thousand pounds a year, were granted to the king; besides their goods, chattels, and plate, computed at a hundred thousand pounds more (*x*). It does not appear that any opposition was made to this important law: so absolute was Henry's authority! A court, called the court of augmentation of the king's revenue, was erected for the management of these funds; and the people naturally concluded, from this circumstance, that Henry intended to proceed in despoiling the church of her patrimony (*y*).

The act formerly passed, empowering the king to name thirty-two commissioners for framing a body of canon-law, was renewed; but the project was never carried into execution. Henry thought that the present perplexity of that law increased his authority, and kept the clergy in still greater dependence.

Farther progress was made in completing the union of Wales with England: the separate jurisdictions of several great lords or marchers, as they were called, which obstructed the course of justice in Wales, and encouraged robbery and pillaging, were abolished; and the authority

(*v*) 27 Hen. VIII. c. 28. (*w*) Burnet, vol. i. p. 193.

(*x*) It is pretended, see Hollingshed, p. 939, that ten thousand monks were turned out on the dissolution of the lesser monasteries. If so, most of them must have been Mendicants: for the revenue could not have supported near that number. The Mendicants, no doubt, still continued their former profession.

(*y*) 27 Hen. VIII. c. 27.

of the king's courts was extended every where. Some jurisdictions of a like nature in England were also abolished (z) this session.

The commons, sensible that they had gained nothing by opposing the king's will, when he formerly endeavoured to secure the profits of wardships and liveries, were now contented to frame a law (a), such as he dictated to them. It was enacted, That the possession of land shall be adjudged to be in those who have the use of it, not in those to whom it is transferred in trust.

After all these laws were passed, the king dissolved the parliament, on the 14th of April; a parliament memorable not only for the great and important innovations which it introduced, but also for the long time it had sitten, and the frequent prorogations which it had undergone. Henry had found it so obsequious to his will that he did not chuse, during those religious ferments, to hazard a new election; and he continued the same parliament above six years: a practice at that time unusual in England.

About this time Anne Boleyn lost the king's favour; and soon after lost her life by the rage of that furious monarch. Henry had persevered in his love to this lady during six years that his prosecution of the divorce lasted; and the more obstacles he met with to the gratification of his passion, the more determined zeal did he exert in pursuing his purpose. But the affection which had subsisted, and still increased under difficulties, had not long attained secure possession of its object, when it languished from satiety; and the king's heart was apparently estranged from his consort. Anne's enemies soon perceived the fatal change; and they were forward to widen the breach, when they found that they incurred no danger by interposing in those delicate concerns. She had been delivered of a dead son; and Henry's extreme fondness for male issue being thus for the present disappointed, his temper, equally violent and superstitious, was disposed to make the innocent mother answerable for the misfortune (b). But the chief means which Anne's enemies employed to inflame the king against her, was his jealousy.

Anne, though she appears to have been entirely innocent, and even virtuous in her conduct, had a certain gaiety, if not levity of character, which threw her off her guard, and made her less circumspect than her situation required. Her education in France rendered her the more prone to those freedoms; and it was with difficulty she conformed herself to that strict ceremonial practised in the court of England. More vain than haughty, she was pleased to see the influence of her beauty on all around her, and she indulged herself in an easy familiarity with persons who were formerly her equals, and who might then have pretended to her friendship and good graces. Henry's dignity was offended with these popular manners; and though the lover had been entirely blind, the husband possessed but too quick discernment and penetration. Ill instruments interposed, and put a malignant interpretation on the harmless liberties of the queen: the viscountess of Rocheford, in particular, who was married to the queen's brother, but who lived on bad terms with her sister-in-law, insinuated the most cruel suspicions into the king's mind; and as she was a woman of profligate character, she paid no regard either to truth or humanity in those calumnies which she suggested. She pretended that her own husband was engaged in a criminal correspondence with his sister; and, not content with this imputation, she poisoned every action of the queen's, and represented each instance of favour which she conferred on any one as a token of affection. Henry Norris, groom of the stole, Weston and Brereton, gentlemen of the king's chamber, together with Mark Smeton groom of the chamber, were observed to possess much of the queen's friendship; and they served her with a zeal and attachment which, though chiefly derived from gratitude, might not improbably be seasoned with some mixture of tenderness for so amiable a princess. The king's jealousy laid hold of the slightest circumstance, and finding no particular object on which it could fasten, it vented itself equally on every one that came within the verge of its fury.

Had Henry's jealousy been derived from love, though it might on a sudden have proceeded to the most violent extremities, it would have been subject to many remorses and contrarieties; and might at last have suffered only to augment that affection on which it was founded. But it was a more stern jealousy, fostered entirely by pride: his love was transferred to another object. Jane, daughter of sir John Seymour, and maid of honour to the queen, a young lady of singular beauty and merit, had obtained an entire ascendant over him; and he was determined to sacrifice every thing to the gratification of this new appetite. Unlike to most monarchs, who judge lightly of the crime of gallantry, and who deem the young damsels of their court rather honoured than disgraced by their passion, he seldom thought of any other attachment than that of marriage; and in order to attain this end, he underwent more difficulties, and committed greater crimes, than those which he sought to avoid by forming that legal connexion. And having thus entertained the design of raising his new mistress to his bed and throne, he more willingly hearkened to every suggestion which threw any imputation of guilt on the unfortunate Anne Boleyn.

The king's jealousy first appeared openly in a tilting at Greenwich, on the 1st of May, 1536, where the queen happened to drop her handkerchief; an incident probably casual, but interpreted by him as an instance of gallantry to some of her paramours (c). He immediately retired from the place; sent orders to confine her to her chamber; arrested Norris, Brereton, Weston, and Smeton, together with her brother Rocheford; and threw them into prison. The queen, astonished at these instances of his fury, thought that he meant only to try her; but finding him in earnest, she reflected on his obstinate unrelenting spirit, and she prepared herself for that melancholy doom which was awaiting her. Next day she was sent to the Tower; and on her way thither she was informed of her supposed offences, of which she had hitherto been ignorant: she made earnest protestations of her innocence; and when she entered the prison she fell on her knees, and prayed God so to help her, as she was not guilty of the crime imputed to her. Her surprise and confusion threw her into hysterical disorders; and in that situation she thought that the best proof of her innocence was to make an entire confession, and she revealed some indiscretions and levities which her simplicity had equally betrayed her to commit and to avow. She owned that she had once rallied Norris on his delaying his marriage, and had told him that he probably expected her when she should be a widow: she had reproved Weston, she said, for his affection to a kinswoman of hers, and his indifference towards his wife: but he told her that she had mistaken the object of his affection, for it was herself: upon which she defied him (d). She affirmed that Smeton had never been in her chamber but twice, when he played on the harpsichord: but she acknowledged that he had once had the boldness to tell her, that a look sufficed him. The king, instead of being satisfied with the candour and sincerity of her confession, regarded these indiscretions only as preludes to greater and more criminal intimacies.

Notwithstanding the multitudes whom the beneficence of the queen's temper had obliged during her prosperous fortune, no one durst interpose between her and the king's fury; and the person whose advancement every breath had favoured, and every countenance had smiled upon, was now left neglected and abandoned. Even her uncle, the duke of Norfolk, preferring the connections of party to the ties of blood, was become her most dangerous enemy; and all the retainers to the catholic religion hoped that her death would terminate the king's quarrel with Rome, and leave him again to his natural and early bent, which had inclined him to maintain the most intimate union with the apostolic see. Cranmer alone, of all the queen's adherents, still retained his friendship for her; and, as far as the king's impetuosity permitted him, he endeavoured to moderate the violent prejudices entertained against her.

The queen herself wrote Henry a letter from the Tower, full of the most tender expostulations, and of the warmest protestations of innocence (e). This letter had no influence on the unrelenting mind of Henry, who was determined

(z) 27 Hen. VIII. c. 4.
(a) Ibid. c. 10. (b) Burnet, vol. i. p. 196.
(c) Burnet, vol. i. p. 198. (d) Strype, vol. i. p. 281.
(e) This letter contains so much nature, and even elegance, as to deserve to be transmitted to posterity, without any alteration in the expression. It is as follows:

"SIR, your grace's displeasure and my imprisonment are things so strange unto me, as what to write or what to excuse I am altogether ignorant. Whereas you send unto me (willing me to confess a truth, and so obtain your favour) by such an one whom you know to be mine ancient professed enemy. I no sooner received this message by him than I rightly conceived your meaning; and if, as you say, confessing a truth indeed may procure my safety, I shall with all willingness and duty perform your command.

"But

mined to pave the way for his new marriage by the death of Anne Boleyn. Norris, Weston, Brereton, and Smeton, were tried; but no legal evidence was produced against them. The chief proof of their guilt consisted in a hearsay from one lady Wingfield, who was dead. Smeton was prevailed on, by the vain hopes of life, to confess a criminal correspondence with the queen (*f*); but even her enemies expected little advantage from this confession; for they never dared to confront him with her; and he was immediately executed; as were also Brereton and Weston. Norris had been much in the king's favour; and an offer of life was made him, if he would confess his crime, and accuse the queen: but he generously rejected the proposal; and said, "that in his conscience he believed her entirely guiltless: but for his part he could accuse her of nothing, and he would rather die a thousand deaths than calumniate an innocent person."

The queen and her brother, George Boleyn, viscount Rocheford, were tried by a jury of peers, consisting of the duke of Suffolk, the marquis of Exeter, the earl of Arundel, and twenty-three more: their uncle the duke of Norfolk presided as high steward. Upon what proof or pretence the crime of incest was imputed to them is unknown: the chief evidence, it is said, amounted to no more than that Rocheford had been seen to lean on her bed before some company. Part of the charge against her was, that she had affirmed to her minions that the king never had her heart; and had said to each of them apart, that she loved him better than any person whatsoever: "Which was to the slander of the issue begotten between the king and her." By this strained interpretation, her guilt was brought under the statute of the twenty-fifth of this reign; in which it was declared criminal to throw any slander upon the king, queen, or their issue. Such palpable absurdities were at that time admitted; and they were regarded by the peers of England as a sufficient reason for sacrificing an innocent queen to the cruelty of their lecherous and sanguinary tyrant. Though unassisted by counsel, she defended herself with presence of mind; and the spectators could not forbear pronouncing her entirely innocent. Judgement, however, as might naturally be expected, was given by the court, both against the queen and lord Rocheford; and her verdict contained, that she should be burned or beheaded at the king's pleasure. When this dreadful sentence was pronounced, she was not terrified, but lifting up her hands to heaven, said, "O Father! O Creator! thou who art the way, the truth, and the life, thou knowest that I have not deserved this fate." And then turning to the judges, made the most pathetic declarations of her innocence.

Henry, not satisfied with this cruel vengeance, was resolved entirely to annul his marriage with Anne Boleyn, and to declare her issue illegitimate: he recalled to his memory, that a little after her appearance in the English court, some attachment had been acknowledged between her and the earl of Northumberland, then lord Piercy; and he now questioned the nobleman with regard to these engagements. Northumberland took an oath before the two archbishops, that no contract or promise of marriage had ever passed between them: he received the sacrament upon it, before the duke of Norfolk and others of the privy council; and this solemn act he accompanied with the most solemn protestations of veracity (*g*). The queen, however, was shaken by menaces of executing the sentence against her in its greatest rigour, and was prevailed on to confess in court some lawful impediment to her marriage with the king (*h*). The afflicted primate who sat as judge thought himself obliged by this confession to pronounce the marriage null and invalid (*i*).

The queen now prepared for suffering the death to which she was sentenced. She sent her last message to the king, and acknowledged the obligations which she owed him, in thus uniformly continuing his endeavours for her advancement: "From a private gentlewoman, she said, he had first made her a marchioness, then a queen, and now, since he could raise her no higher in this world, he was sending her to be a saint in heaven." She then renewed the protestations of her innocence, and recommended her daughter to his care. Before the lieutenant of the Tower, and all who approached her, she made the like declarations; and continued to behave herself with her usual serenity, and even with cheerfulness. "The executioner," she said to the lieutenant, "is, I hear, very expert; and my neck is very slender:" upon which she grasped it in her hand and smiled. When brought, however, to the scaffold, on the 19th of May, she softened her tone a little with regard to her protestations of innocence, says Mr. Hume; but we do not find that she did so. Her maternal concern for Elizabeth prevailed in these last moments over that indignation which the unjust sentence by which she suffered naturally excited in her. She said that she was come to die, as she was sentenced by the law: She would accuse none, nor say any thing of the ground upon which she was judged. She prayed heartily for the king; called him a most merciful and gentle prince; and acknowledged that he had always been to her a good and gracious sovereign; and if any one should think proper to canvass her cause, she desired him to judge the best (*k*). She was beheaded by the executioner of Calais, who was sent for as more expert than any in England. Her body was negligently thrown into a common chest of elm-tree, made to hold arrows; and was buried in the Tower.

The innocence of this unfortunate queen cannot reasonably be called in question. Henry himself, in the violence of his rage, knew not whom to accuse as her lover; and though he imputed guilt to her brother, and four persons more, he was able to bring proof against none of them. The whole tenour of her conduct forbids us to ascribe to her an abandoned character, such as is implied in the king's accusation: had she been so lost to all prudence and sense of shame, she must have exposed herself to detection, and afforded her enemies some evidence against her. But the king made the most effectual apology for her, by marrying Jane Seymour the very day after her execution (*l*). His impatience to gratify this new passion caused him to forget all regard to decency; and his cruel heart was not softened a moment by the bloody catastrophe of a person who had so long been the object of his most tender affection.

The lady Mary, daughter of Catherine, now thought the death of her step-mother a proper opportunity for reconciling herself to the king, who, besides other causes of disgust, had been offended with her on account of the part which she had taken in her mother's quarrel. Her

"But let not your grace ever imagine that your poor wife will ever be brought to acknowledge a fault where not so much as a thought thereof preceded. And, to speak a truth, never prince had wife more loyal in all duty, and in all true affection, than you have ever found in Anne Boleyn: with which name and place I could willingly have contented myself, if God and your grace's pleasure had been so pleased. Neither did I at any time so far forget myself in my exaltation or received queenship, but that I always looked for such an alteration as I now find; for the ground of my preferment being on no surer foundation than your grace's fancy, the least alteration I knew was fit and sufficient to draw that fancy to some other object. You have chosen me from a low estate to be your queen and companion, far beyond my desert or desire. If then you found me worthy of such honour, good your grace let not any light fancy, or bad counsel of mine enemies, withdraw your princely favour from me; neither let that stain, that unworthy stain, of a disloyal heart towards your good grace, ever cast so foul a blot on your most dutiful wife, and the infant princess your daughter. Try me, good king, but let me have a lawful trial, and let not my sworn enemies sit as my accusers and judges; yea let me receive an open trial, for my truth shall fear no open shame; then shall you see either mine innocence cleared, your suspicion and conscience satisfied, the ignominy and slander of the world stopped, or my guilt openly declared. So that whatsoever God or you may determine of me, your grace may be freed from an open censure; and mine offence being so lawfully proved, your grace is at liberty, both before God and man, not only to execute worthy punishment on me as an unlawful wife, but to follow your affection, already settled on that party for whose sake I am now as I am, whose name I could some good while since have pointed unto, your grace not being ignorant of my suspicion therein.

"But if you have already determined of me, and that not only my death, but an infamous slander, must bring you the enjoying of your desired happiness, then I desire of God that he will pardon your great sin therein, and likewise mine enemies, the instruments thereof, and that he will not call you to a strict account for your unprincely and cruel usage of me, at his general judgement-seat, where both you and myself must shortly appear, and in whose judgement I doubt not (whatsoever the world may think of me) mine innocence shall be openly known and sufficiently cleared.

"My last and only request shall be, that myself may only bear the burden of your grace's displeasure, and that it may not touch the innocent souls of those poor gentlemen who (as I understand) are likewise in strait imprisonment for my sake. If ever I have found favour in your sight, if ever the name of Anne Boleyn hath been pleasing in your ears, then let me obtain this request, and I will so leave to trouble your grace any farther, with mine earnest prayers to the Trinity to have your grace in his good keeping, and to direct you in all your actions. From my doleful prison in the Tower, this sixth of May;

"Your most loyal and ever faithful wife,

"ANNE BOLEYN."

(*f*) Burnet, vol. i. p. 202. (*g*) Herbert, p. 384. (*h*) Heylin, p. 94. (*i*) Henry, in the transports of his fury, did not perceive that his proceedings were totally inconsistent, and that if her marriage were from the beginning invalid, she could not possibly be guilty of adultery.—*Hume.* (*k*) Burnet, vol. i. p. 205. (*l*) Burnet, vol. i. p. 207.

advances

advances were not at first received; and Henry exacted from her some farther proofs of submission and obedience: he required this young princess, then about twenty years of age, to adopt his theological tenets; to acknowledge his supremacy; to renounce the pope; and to own her mother's marriage to be unlawful and incestuous. These points were of hard digestion with the princess; but after some delays, and even refusals, she was at last prevailed on to write a letter to her father (*m*), containing her assent to the articles required of her: upon which she was received into favour. But notwithstanding the return of the king's affection to the issue of his first marriage, he divested not himself of kindness towards the lady Elizabeth; and the new queen, who was blest with a singular sweetness of disposition, discovered strong proofs of attachment towards her.

The trial and conviction of queen Anne, and the subsequent events, made it necessary for the king to summon a new parliament, which was accordingly done on the 8th of June; and he, here, in his speech, made a merit of his infamy to his people, declaring that, notwithstanding the misfortunes attending his two former marriages, he had been induced for their good to venture on a third. The speaker supported the farce by professions of gratitude; and he took thence occasion to praise the king for his wonderful gifts of grace and nature: he compared him, for justice and prudence to Solomon; for strength and fortitude, to Sampson; and for beauty and comeliness, to Absalom. The king very humbly replied, by the mouth of the chancellor, "that he disavowed these praises; since, if he were really possessed of such endowments, they were the gift of Almighty God only." Henry found that the parliament was no less submissive in deeds than complaisant in expressions, and that they would go the same lengths as the former in gratifying even his most lawless passions. His divorce from Anne Boleyn was ratified (*n*); that queen and all her accomplices were attainted; the issue of both his former marriages were declared illegitimate, and it was even made treason to assert the legitimacy of either of them; to throw any slander upon the present king, queen, or their issue, was subjected to the same penalty; the crown was settled on the king's issue by Jane Seymour, or any subsequent wife; and in case he should die without children, he was empowered, by his will or letters patent, to dispose of the crown: an enormous authority, especially when entrusted to a prince so violent and capricious in his humour. Whoever, being required, refused to answer upon oath to any article of this act of settlement, was declared to be guilty of treason; and by this clause a species of political inquisition was established in the kingdom, as well as the accusations of treason, multiplied to an unreasonable degree. The king was also empowered to confer on any one, by his will or letters patent, any castles, honours, liberties, or franchises; words which might have been extended to the dismembering of the kingdom, by the erection of principalities and independent jurisdictions. It was also, by another act, made treason to marry, without the king's consent, any princess related in the first degree to the crown. This act was occasioned by the discovery of a design formed by Thomas Howard, brother of the duke of Norfolk, to espouse the lady Margaret Douglas, niece to the king, by his sister the queen of Scots and the earl of Angus. Howard, as well as the young lady, was committed to the Tower. She recovered her liberty soon after; but he died in confinement. An act of attainder passed against him this session of parliament.

Another accession was likewise gained to the authority of the crown: the king, or any of his successors, was empowered to repeal or annul, by letters patent, whatever act of parliament had been passed before he was four and twenty years of age. Whoever maintained the authority of the bishop of Rome, by word or writ, or endeavoured in any manner to restore it in England, was subjected to the penalty of premunire; that is, his goods were forfeited, and he was put out of the protection of law. And any person who possessed any office, ecclesiastical or civil, or received any grant or charter from the crown, and yet refused to renounce the pope by oath, was declared to be guilty of treason. The renunciation prescribed runs in the style of "So help me God, all saints, and the holy evangelists (*o*)". The pope, hearing of Anne Boleyn's disgrace and death, had hoped that the door was opened to a reconciliation, and had been making some advances to Henry: but this was the reception he met with. Henry was now become indifferent with regard to papal censures; and finding a great increase of authority, as well as of revenue, to accrue from his quarrel with Rome, he was determined to persevere in his present measures. This parliament also, even more than any foregoing, convinced him how much he commanded the respect of his subjects, and what confidence he might repose in them. Though the elections had been made on a sudden, without any preparation or intrigue, the members discovered an unlimited attachment to his person and government (*p*).

The concurrence of the two national assemblies, the parliament and the convocation, served, no doubt, to increase the king's power over the people, and raised him to an authority more absolute than any prince in a simple monarchy, even by means of military force is ever able to attain. But there are certain bounds beyond which the most slavish submission cannot be extended. All the late innovations, particularly the dissolution of the smaller monasteries, and the imminent danger to which all the rest were exposed (*q*), had bred discontent among the people, and had disposed them to revolt. The expelled monks, wandering about the country, excited both the piety and compassion of men; and as the ancient religion took hold of the populace by powerful motives, suited to vulgar capacity, it was able, now that it was brought into apparent hazard, to raise the strongest zeal in its favour (*r*). Discontents had even reached some of the nobility and gentry, whose ancestors had founded the monasteries, and who placed a vanity in those institutions, as well as reaped some benefit from them, by the provisions which they afforded them for their younger children. The more superstitious were interested for the souls of their forefathers, which, they believed, must now lie during many ages in the torments of purgatory, for want of masses to relieve them. It seemed unjust to abolish pious institutions for the faults, real or pretended, of individuals. Even the most moderate and reasonable deemed it somewhat iniquitous, that men who had been invited into a course of life by all the laws, human and divine, which prevailed in their country, should be turned out of their possessions, and so little care be taken of their future subsistence. And when it was observed, that the rapacity and bribery of the commissioners and others, employed in visiting the monasteries, intercepted much of the profits resulting from these confiscations, it tended much to increase the general discontent (*s*).

The people, however, though they continued to murmur, did not break into open sedition till the complaints of the secular clergy concurred with those of the regular. As Cromwell's person was little acceptable to the ecclesiastics; the authority which he exercised being so new, so absolute, so unlimited, inspired them with disgust and terror. He published, in the king's name, without the consent either of parliament or convocation, an ordinance, by which he retrenched many of the ancient holidays; prohibited several superstitions gainful to the clergy, such as pilgrimages, images, reliques; and even ordered the incumbents in the parishes to set apart a considerable portion of their revenue for repairs, and for the support of exhibitioners and the poor of their parish. The secular priests, finding themselves thus reduced to a grievous servitude,

(*m*) Burnet. Strype, vol. i. p. 285.

(*n*) The parliament, in annulling the king's marriage with Anne Boleyn, gives this as a reason, "For that his highness had chosen to wife the excellent and virtuous lady Jane, who for her convenient years, excellent beauty, and pureness of flesh and blood, would be apt, God willing, to conceive issue by his highness."

(*o*) 28 Hen. VIII. c. 10. (*p*) Burnet, vol. i. p. 212.

(*q*) A proposal had formerly been made in the convocation for the abolition of the lesser monasteries; and had been much opposed by bishop Fisher, who was then alive. He told his brethren that this was fairly showing the king the way how he might come at the greater monasteries. "An ax," said he, "which wanted a handle, came upon a time into the wood, and making his moan to the great trees that he wanted a handle, to work withal, and for that cause he was constrained to sit idle; therefore he made it his request to them that they would be pleased to grant him one of their small saplings within the wood to make him a handle; who, mistrusting no guile, granted him one of their smaller trees to make him a handle. But now becoming a complete ax, he fell so to work within the same wood, that in process of time there was neither great nor small trees to be found in the place where the wood stood. And so, my lords, if you grant the king these smaller monasteries, you do but make him a handle, whereby, at his own pleasure, he may cut down all the cedars within your Lebanons." *Dr. Bailie's Life of Bishop Fisher, p.* 108.

(*r*) Strype, vol. i. p. 249. (*s*) Burnet, vol. i. p. 223.

instilled into the people those discontents which they had long harboured in their own bosoms.

The first rising was in Lincolnshire. It was headed by Dr. Mackrel, prior of Barlings, who was disguised like a mean mechanic, and who assumed the name of captain Cobler (*t*). They acknowledged the king to be supreme head of the church of England; but they complained of suppressing the monasteries, of evil counsellors, of persons meanly born raised to dignity, of the danger to which the jewels and plate of their parochial churches were exposed: and they prayed the king to consult the nobility of the realm concerning the redress of these grievances (*u*). Henry was little disposed to entertain apprehensions of danger, especially from a low multitude, whom he despised. He sent forces against the rebels under the command of the duke of Suffolk; and he returned them a very sharp answer to their petition. There were some gentry, whom the populace had constrained to take part with them, and who kept a secret correspondence with Suffolk. They informed him, that resentment against the king's reply was the chief cause which retained the malcontents in arms, and that a milder answer would probably suppress the rebellion. Henry had levied a great force at London, with which he was preparing to march against the rebels; and being so well supported by power, he thought that, without losing his dignity, he might now show them some greater condescension. He sent a new proclamation, requiring them to return to their obedience, with secret assurances of pardon. This expedient had its effect: the populace was dispersed: Mackrel and some of their leaders fell into the king's hands, and were executed: the greater part of the multitude retired peaceably to their usual occupations: a few of the more obstinate fled to the north, where they joined the insurrection that was raised in Yorkshire.

The northern rebels, as they were more numerous, were also on other accounts more formidable than those of Lincolnshire; because the people were there more accustomed to arms, and because of their vicinity to the Scots, who might make advantage of these disorders. One Robert Aske, a gentleman, had taken the command of them, and he possessed the art of governing the populace. Their enterprize they called *The Pilgrimage of Grace:* some priests marched before in the habits of their order, carrying crosses in their hands: in their banners was woven a crucifix, with the representation of a chalice, and of the five wounds of Christ (*v*): they wore on their sleeve an emblem of the five wounds, with the name of Jesus wrought in the middle: they all swore that they had entered into the pilgrimage of grace from no other motive than their love to God, their care of the king's person and issue, their desire of purifying the nobility, of driving base-born persons from about the king, of restoring the church, and of suppressing heresy. Allured by these fair pretences, about forty thousand men from the counties of York, Durham, Lancaster, and those northern provinces, flocked to their standard; and their zeal, no less than their numbers, inspired the court with apprehensions.

The earl of Shrewsbury, moved by an earnest zeal for the king's service, raised forces, though at first without any commission, in order to oppose the rebels. The earl of Cumberland repulsed them from his castle of Skipton: sir Ralph Evers defended Scarborough Castle against them (*w*): Courtney, marquis of Exeter, the king's cousin-german, obeyed orders from court, and levied troops. The earls of Huntingdon, Derby, and Rutland, imitated his example. The rebels, however, prevailed in taking both Hull and York: they had laid siege to Pontefract Castle, into which the archbishop of York and lord Darcy had thrown themselves. It was soon surrendered to them; and the prelate and nobleman, who secretly wished success to the insurrection, seemed to yield to the force imposed on them, and joined the rebels.

The duke of Norfolk was appointed general of the king's forces against the northern rebels; and as he headed the party at court which supported the church of Rome, he was also suspected of bearing some favour to the cause which he was sent to oppose. His prudent conduct, however, seems to acquit him of this imputation. He encamped near Doncaster, together with the earl of Shrewsbury; and as his army was small, scarcely exceeding five thousand men, he made choice of a post where he had a river in front, the ford of which he purposed to defend against the rebels. They had intended to attack him in the morning; but during the night there fell such violent rains as rendered the river utterly impassable; and Norfolk wisely laid hold of the opportunity to enter into treaty with them. In order to open the door for negociation, he sent them a herald; whom Aske, their leader, received with great ceremony; he himself sitting in a chair of state, with the archbishop of York on one hand, and lord Darcy on the other. It was agreed, that two gentlemen should be dispatched to the king with proposals from the rebels; and Henry purposely delayed giving an answer, and allured them with hopes of entire satisfaction, in expectation that necessity would soon obliged them to disperse themselves. Being informed that this artifice had in a great measure succeeded, he required them instantly to lay down their arms, and submit to mercy; promising a pardon to all except six, whom he named, and four, whom he reserved to himself the power of naming. But though the greater part of the rebels had gone home for want of subsistence, they had entered into the most solemn engagements to return to their standards, in case the king's answer should not prove satisfactory. Norfolk, therefore, soon found himself in the same difficulty as before; and he opened again a negociation with the leaders of the multitude. He engaged them to send three hundred persons to Doncaster, with proposals for an accommodation; and he hoped, by intrigue and separate interests, to sow the seeds of dissension among so great a number. Aske himself had intended to be one of the deputies, and he required a hostage for his security: but the king, when consulted, replied, that he knew no gentleman or other whom he esteemed so little as to put him in pledge for such a villain. The demands of the rebels were so exorbitant, that Norfolk rejected them; and they prepared again to decide the contest by arms. They were as formidable as ever, both by their numbers and spirit; and, notwithstanding the small river which lay between them and the royal army, Norfolk had great reason to dread the effects of their fury. But while they were preparing to pass the ford, rain fell a second time in such abundance, as made it impracticable for them to execute their design; and the populace, partly reduced to necessity by want of provisions, partly struck with superstition at being thus again disappointed by the same accident, suddenly dispersed themselves. The duke of Norfolk, who had received powers for that end, forwarded the dispersion by the promise of a general amnesty; and the king ratified this act of clemency. He published, however, on the 9th of December, a manifesto against the rebels, and an answer to their complaints; in which he employed a very lofty style, well suited to his tyrannical disposition. He told them, that they ought no more to pretend giving a judgement with regard to government, than a blind man with regard to colours: "And we," he added, "with our whole council, think it right strange that ye, who be but brutes and inexpert folk, do take upon you to appoint us, who be meet or not for our council."

This pacification did not seem likely to be of long continuance; for Norfolk was ordered to keep his army together, and to march into the northern parts, in order to exact a general submission. Lord Darcy, as well as Aske, was sent for to court; and the former, upon his refusal or delay to appear, was thrown into prison. Every place was full of jealousy and complaints. A new insurrection broke out, in 1537, headed by Musgrave and Tilby; and the rebels besieged Carlisle with eight thousand men. Being repulsed by that city, they were encountered in their retreat by Norfolk, who put them to flight; and having made prisoners of all their officers except Musgrave, who escaped, he instantly put them to death by martial law, to the number of seventy persons. An attempt made by sir Francis Bigot and Halam, to surprize Hull, met with no better success; and several other risings were suppressed by the vigilance of Norfolk. The king, enraged by these multiplied revolts, was determined not to adhere to the general pardon which he had granted; and from a movement of his usual violence, he made the innocent suffer for the guilty. Norfolk, by command from his master, spread the royal banner, and wherever he thought

(*t*) This tumultuary army amounted to above twenty thousand men; but, notwithstanding their number, they showed little disposition of proceeding to extremities against the king, and seemed still overawed by his authority. *Burnet, vol. i. p. 227. Herbert.*

(*u*) Herbert, p. 410.

(*v*) Fox, vol. ii. p. 992.

(*w*) Stowe, p. 574. Baker, p. 285.

proper

proper executed martial law in the punishment of offenders. Besides Aske, the leader of the first insurrection, sir Robert Constable, sir John Bulmer, sir Thomas Piercy, sir Stephen Hamilton, Nicholas Tempest, William Lumley, and many others, were thrown into prison; and most of them were condemned and executed. Lord Hussey was found guilty as an accomplice in the insurrection of Lincolnshire, and was executed at Lincoln. Lord Darcy, though he pleaded compulsion, and appealed for his justification to a long life spent in the service of the crown, was beheaded on Tower Hill. Before his execution, he accused Norfolk of having secretly encouraged the rebels; but Henry, either sensible of that nobleman's services, and convinced of his fidelity, or afraid to offend one of such extensive power and great capacity, rejected the information. Being now satiated with punishing the rebels, he published anew a general pardon, to which he faithfully adhered (*x*); and he erected by patent a court of justice at York, for deciding law-suits in the northern counties: a demand which had been made by the rebels.

Not long after these successes, on the 12th of October, 1537, the queen was delivered of a son, who was baptized by the name of Edward; but the queen died two days after (*y*). A son, however, had so long been ardently wished for by Henry, and was now become so necessary, in order to prevent disputes with regard to the succession, after the acts declaring the two princesses illegitimate, that the king's affliction was drowned in his joy, and he expressed great satisfaction on the occasion. The prince, not six days old, was created prince of Wales, duke of Cornwall, and earl of Chester. Sir Edward Seymour, the queen's brother, formerly made lord Beauchamp, was raised to the dignity of earl of Hertford. Sir William Fitz-Williams, high admiral, was created earl of Southampton; sir William Paulet, lord St. John; sir John Russel, lord Russel.

During these transactions, a new rupture had occurred on the continent, between the emperor and the French monarch, owing to the death of Sforza, duke of Milan, and the subsequent pretensions of Francis to the sovereignty of the vacant duchy. Charles, unprepared for war, continued for some time to amuse the king of France with a negociation; in the course of which he insinuated his willingness to cede the duchy of Milan to his third son, the duke of Angouleme: but when he had made every necessary preparation, he publicly insulted the French ambassador at Rome, in the presence of the pope and cardinals, by uttering the most indecent invectives against their sovereign, which he concluded by challenging Francis to single combat. "But," said Charles, "should he, by declining this method of terminating our differences, render war inevitable, nothing shall divert me from prosecuting it to such extremity, as shall reduce one of us to be the poorest gentleman in his own dominions. Nor do I fear it will be on me this misfortune shall fall; I enter upon action with the fairest prospect of success; the justice of my cause, the union of my subjects, the number and valour of my troops, the experience and fidelity of my generals, all conspire to ensure it. Of all these advantages the king of France is destitute; and, were my resources no more certain, and my hopes of victory no better founded than his, I would instantly throw myself at his feet, and with folded hands, and a rope about my neck, implore his mercy."

Soon after this Charles entered Provence at the head of fifty thousand men; but the prudent measures adopted by Francis, from the advice of the mareschal Montmorency, who was entrusted with the execution of them, defeated all his endeavours. The country being entirely desolated and stripped of all possible means of subsistence, the imperial troops suffered daily diminution from sickness, famine, and fatigue; and after an unsuccessful attempt on Marseilles, and some other efforts equally fruitless, Charles was compelled to retire into Italy with the broken remains of his forces. Another army of imperialists, near thirty thousand strong, which invaded France on the side of the Netherlands, and laid siege to Peronne, made no greater progress, but retreated upon the approach of a French army. At length, his treasury being exhausted, all his designs baffled, and all his efforts repulsed; Charles, after having so arrogantly boasted of victory, was obliged to submit to an inglorious truce for ten years, which was concluded at Nice on the 18th of June, 1538, under the mediation of the pope.

A few days after the signing of the truce, the emperor set sail to Barcelona, but was driven by contrary winds to the island of St. Margaret, on the coast of Provence. When Francis (who happened to be not far distant) heard of this, he considered it as an office of civility to invite him to take shelter in his dominions; and even proposed a personal interview with him at Aigues-Mortes. The emperor, who would not be outdone by his rival in complaisance, instantly repaired thither. So soon as he cast anchor in the road, Francis, without waiting to settle any point of ceremony, but relying implicitly on the emperor's honour for his security, visited him on board his galley; and was received and entertained with the warmest demonstrations of esteem and affection. The next day the emperor repaid the confidence which the king had placed in him: he landed at Aigues-Mortes, with as little precaution, and met with a reception equally cordial. He remained on shore during the night; and, in both visits they vied with each other in expressions of respect and friendship. After twenty years of open hostilities, or of secret enmity, after so many injuries reciprocally inflicted or endured; after having formally given the lye, and challenged one or other to single combat; after the emperor had so publicly inveighed against Francis, as a prince void of honour and integrity; and Francis had accused him of being accessary to the murder of his eldest son---(who died in 1536, and was supposed to have been poisoned by his cup-bearer, the count de Montecuculi; though it is most probable they are right who attribute his death to his having drank too freely of cold water, after over heating himself at tennis)—such an interview appears altogether singular, and even unnatural. But the history of these monarchs, as the learned modern historian of Charles's reign has remarked, abounds with surprizing transitions: from implacable enmity they appeared to pass, in a moment, to the most cordial reconciliation; from suspicion and distrust to perfect confidence: and from practising all the dark arts of an insidious policy, they could assume, on a sudden, the liberal and open manners of two gallant gentlemen.

During the war between the emperor and Francis, an event had occurred, which abated, in some degree, the warmth and cordiality of friendship which had so long subsisted between the latter and the king of England. James the Fifth of Scotland, an enterprizing young prince, having heard of the emperor's intention to invade Provence, was so fond of shewing that he did not yield to any of his ancestors, in the sincerity of his attachment to the French crown, and so eager to distinguish himself by some military exploit, that he levied a body of troops, with an intention of leading them in person to the assistance of the king of France. But, though some unfortunate circumstances prevented him from taking any forces with him, nothing could divert him from going himself. Although he arrived too late to be of any service to the French king, yet Francis was so highly pleased with his zeal, that he could not refuse him his daughter Magdalen, whom he demanded in marriage; and the nuptials were accordingly celebrated in January, 1537.

The years 1537 and 1538 were principally employed in the suppression of the greater monasteries, an account of which will be given in the Ecclesiastical History, in the following chapter.

The English during this age were extremely unhappy, insomuch, that, when they laboured under any grievance, they had not the satisfaction of expecting redress from parliament: on the contrary, they had reason to dread each meeting of that assembly, and were then sure of having tyranny converted into law, and aggravated, perhaps, with some circumstance, which the arbitrary prince and his ministers had not hitherto devised, or did not think proper of themselves to carry into execution. This abject

(*x*) Herbert, p. 428.

(*y*) Thus Rapin, book xv. and Hume, chap. xxxi. who also cites Strype, vol. ii. p. 5. But she was delivered at Hampton Court on the 12th, and died on the 24th of October, according to a Journal that was written by Cecil, which says, that she died in twelve days after Edward's birth; and so it is in the Herald's Office. It is related by some writers, that when the queen was in extreme labour, the physicians finding it to be impracticable to save both her and the child, desired to know the king's pleasure, whether he would have his wife spared or the child; a question which he answered by saying, that he preferred the preservation of the child, as he could easily find other wives. The infant was then extracted by the Cæsarian operation, of the effects of which the mother died. We cannot, however, vouch for the veracity of this story, and we believe it is generally exploded.

servility

servility never appeared more conspicuously than in a new parliament which the king assembled to meet on the 28th of April, 1539, and which, if he had been so pleased, might have been the last that ever sat in England. But Henry found them too useful instruments of dominion ever to entertain thoughts of giving them a total exclusion.

The parliament was opened by the lord chancellor, who informed the house of lords, "That it was his majesty's earnest desire to extirpate from his kingdom all diversity of opinion in matters of religion; and as this undertaking was, he owned, important and arduous, he desired them to chuse a committee from among themselves, who might draw up certain articles of faith, and communicate them afterwards to the parliament." The lords named the vicar-general, Cromwell, now created a peer, the archbishops of Canterbury and York, and the bishops of Durham, Carlisle, Worcester, Bath and Wells, Bangor, and Ely. The house might have seen what an arduous task they had undertaken: so great was the diversity of opinion in this small committee, that it could come to no conclusion. The duke of Norfolk then moved in the house, "That, since there were no hopes of having a report from the committee, the articles of faith, intended to be established, should be reduced to six; and a new committee be appointed to draw an act with regard to them." As this peer was understood to speak the sense of the king, his motion was immediately complied with; and after a short prorogation, the bill of the "*six articles*," or the bloody bill, as the Protestants justly termed it, was introduced, and having passed the two houses, received the royal assent (*z*); by which it was enacted, that they should be burned or hanged, who,

I. By word or writing, denied transubstantiation.

II. Maintained that communion in both kinds was necessary.

III. That it was lawful for priests to marry.

IV. That vows of chastity may be broken.

V. That private masses are unprofitable. Or,

VI. That auricular confession is not necessary to salvation.

The king, in framing this law, laid his oppressive hand on both parties; and even the catholics had reason to complain, that the friars and nuns, though dismissed their convent, should be capriciously restrained to the practice of celibacy (*a*): but as the protestants were chiefly exposed to the severity of the statute, the misery of adversaries, according to the usual maxims of party, was regarded by the adherents to the Catholic faith, as their own prosperity and triumph.

The parliament having by this act resigned all their religious liberties, proceeded to a surrender of their civil; and by one act they made a total subversion of the English constitution. They gave to the king's proclamation the same force as to a statute enacted by parliament; and to render the matter worse, if possible, they framed this law as if it were only declaratory, and were intended to explain the natural extent of royal authority (*b*).

In order to give this statute an appearance of moderation, the parliament enacted, that no proclamation should deprive any person of his lawful possessions, liberties, inheritances, privileges, franchises; nor yet infringe any common law or laudable custom of the realm (*c*). Were it possible to conceive that any act could be more opposite to the spirit of liberty than this law, it would have been another of the same parliament. They passed an act of attainder not only against the marquis of Exeter, the lords Montacute, Darcy, Hussey, and others, who had been legally tried and condemned; but also against some persons of the highest quality, who had never been accused, or examined, or convicted. Henry bore a violent hatred to cardinal Pole, which had extended itself to all his friends and relations; and particularly his mother the countess of Salisbury, who on that account had become extremely noxious to him. She was also accused of having employed her authority with her tenants, to hinder them from reading the new translation of the Bible; of having procured bulls from Rome, which it is said had been seen at Coudray, her country seat; and of having kept a correspondence with her son, the cardinal: but Henry found, either that these offences could not be proved, or that they would not by law be subjected to such severe punishments as he desired to inflict upon her. He resolved, therefore, to proceed in a more summary and more tyrannical manner; and for that purpose he sent Cromwell to ask the judges whether the parliament could attaint a person who was forth-coming, without giving him any trial, or citing him to appear before them? The judges replied, that it was a dangerous question, and that the high court of parliament ought to give the example to inferior courts, of proceeding according to justice: no inferior court could act in that arbitrary manner, and they thought that the parliament never would. Being pressed to give a more explicit answer, they replied, "that if a person were attainted in that manner, the attainder could never afterwards be brought in question, but must remain good in law." Henry learned by this decision, that such a method of proceeding, although contrary to the principles of equity, was yet practicable; and this being all he was desirous of knowing, he resolved to employ it against the countess of Salisbury. Cromwell showed to the house of peers a banner, on which were embroidered the five wounds of Christ, the symbol chosen by the northern rebels; and this banner, he affirmed, was found in the countess's house (*d*). No other proof seems to have been produced in order to ascertain her guilt: the servile parliament, therefore, without farther inquiry, passed a bill of attainder against her; and they involved in the same bill, without any better proof, as far as appears, Gertrude, marchioness of Exeter, sir Adrian Fortescue, and sir Thomas Dingley. These two gentlemen were executed: the marchioness was pardoned, and survived the king; the countess was reprieved.

The only beneficial act passed this session, was that by which the parliament confirmed the surrender of the monasteries; yet even this act contains much falsehood, much tyranny, and were it not that all private rights must submit to public interest, much injustice and iniquity. Every art that could be thought of was used to persuade the abbots to surrender their monasteries; but three abbots in particular, the abbots of Colchester, Reading, and Glastonbury; neither influenced by promises, nor intimidated by threats, had resolutely refused to make a concession which they regarded as destructive to their interests, as well as sacrilegious and criminal in itself; and, in order to punish them for their opposition, and make them an example to others, means had been found to convict them of treason; they had perished by the hands of the executioner, and the revenue of the convents had been forfeited (*e*). Besides, though none of these violences had taken place, the king knew that a surrender made by men who were only tenants for life, would not bear examination; and he was therefore resolved to make all sure by his usual expedient, an act of parliament. In the preamble to this act, the parliament asserts, that all the surrenders made by the abbots had been, "without constraint, of their own accord, and according to due course of common law." And in consequence, the two houses confirm

(*z*) See the following chapter.

(*a*) There is a story, that the duke of Norfolk, meeting, soon after this act was passed, one of his chaplains, who was suspected of favouring the reformation, said to him, "Now, sir, what think you of the law to hinder priests from having wives?" "Yes, my lord," replies the chaplain, "you have done that; but I will answer for it you cannot hinder men's wives from having priests."

(*b*) The preamble contains, that the king had formerly set forth several proclamations which froward persons had wilfully contemned, not considering what a king by his royal power may do; that this license might encourage offenders not only to disobey the laws of Almighty God, but also to dishonour the king's most royal majesty, *who may full ill bear it;* that sudden emergencies often occur, which require speedy remedies, and cannot await the slow assembling and deliberations of parliament; and that, though the king was empowered by his authority derived from God, to consult the public good on these occasions, yet the opposition of refractory subjects might push him to extremity and violence: for these reasons the parliament, that they might remove all occasion of doubt, ascertained by a statute this prerogative of the crown, and enabled his majesty, with the advice of his council, to set forth proclamations enjoining obedience under whatever pains and penalties he should think proper: and these proclamations were to have the force of perpetual laws. 31 Hen. VIII. c. 8.

(*c*) They did not consider that no penalty could be inflicted upon the disobeying of proclamations, without invading some liberty or property of the subject; and that the power of enacting new laws joined to the dispensing power, then exercised by the crown, amounted to a full legislative authority. It is true, the kings of England had always been accustomed from their own authority to issue proclamations, and to exact obedience to them; and this prerogative was, no doubt, a strong symptom of absolute government: but still there was a difference between a power which was exercised on a particular emergence, and which must be justified by the present expedience or necessity; and an authority conferred by a positive statute, which could no longer admit of control or limitation.

(*d*) Rymer, vol. xiv. p. 650. (*e*) 31 Hen. VIII. cap. 10.

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the surrenders, and secure the property of the abbey lands to the king and his successors for ever (*f*). It is remarkable, that all the mitred abbots still sat in the house of peers; and that none of them entered any protests against this injurious statute: indeed, their forbearance is not to be wondered at, when we reflect on the fate of their three brethren abovementioned.

In this session the rank of all the great officers of state was fixed: Cromwell, as vicegerent, had the precedency assigned him above all of them. It was thought singular, that a blacksmith's son, for he was no other, should have place next the royal family; and that a man possessed of no manner of literature should be set at the head of the church.

No sooner indeed was the act of the six articles passed, than the catholics were very vigilant in informing against offenders; and in a short time nearly five hundred persons were thrown into prison. But Cromwell, who had not had interest to prevent that act, was able for the present to elude its execution. Seconded by the duke of Suffolk, and chancellor Audley, as well as by Cranmer, he remonstrated against the cruelty of punishing so many delinquents; and he obtained permission to set them at liberty. The arbitrary disposition and changeable temper of the king gave each party an opportunity of triumphing in its turn. No sooner had Henry passed this law, which seemed to inflict so deep a wound on the Reformers, than he granted a general permission for every one to have the new translation of the Bible in his family: a concession which was regarded by that party as an important acquisition.

As Henry was observed to be much governed by his wives while he retained his fondness for them, the final prevalence of either party seemed much to depend on the choice of the future queen. Immediately after the death of Jane Seymour, the most beloved of all his wives, he began to think of a new marriage. He first cast his eye towards the duchess-dowager of Milan, niece to the emperor; and he made proposals for that alliance. But meeting with difficulties, he was led by his friendship for Francis rather to think of a French princess. He demanded therefore the duchess-dowager of Longueville, daughter of the duke of Guise, a prince of the house of Lorraine; but Francis told him, that the lady was already betrothed to the king of Scotland. The king, however, would not take a refusal: he had set his heart on the match: the information which he had received of the duchess's accomplishments and beauty, had prepossessed him in her favour; and having privately sent over Meautys to examine her person, and get certain intelligence of her conduct, the accounts which that agent brought him served farther to inflame his desires. He learned that she was big made; and he thought her on that account the more proper match for him who was now become somewhat corpulent. The pleasure too of mortifying his nephew, whom he did not love, was a farther incitement to his prosecution of this match; and he insisted that Francis should give him the preference to the king of Scots. But Francis would not offend his friend and ally; and to prevent farther solicitation, he immediately sent the princess to Scotland. Not to shock, however, Henry's humour, Francis made him an offer of Mary of Bourbon, daughter of the duke of Vendôme; but as the king was informed that James IV. king of Scotland had formerly rejected this princess, he would not hear any farther of such a proposal. The French monarch then offered him the choice of the two younger sisters of the queen of Scots; and he assured him that they were nowise inferior either in merit or size to their eldest sister, and that one of them was even superior in beauty. The king was as scrupulous with regard to the person of his wives as if his heart had been really susceptible of the most delicate passion; and he was unwilling to trust any relations, or even pictures, with regard to this important particular. He proposed to Francis, that they should have a conference at Calais, on pretence of business; and that this monarch should bring along with him the two princesses of Guise, together with the finest ladies of quality in France, that he might make his choice from among them. But Francis was shocked at the proposal: he was impressed with too much regard, he said, for the fair sex, to carry ladies of the first quality like geldings to a market there to be chosen or rejected by the humour of the purchaser (*g*). Henry would hearken to none of these niceties, but still insisted on his proposal; which, however, notwithstanding Francis's earnest desire of obliging him, was finally rejected.

After this Henry began to turn his thoughts towards a German alliance: and as the princes of the league of Smalcalde were greatly disgusted with the emperor on account of his persecuting their religion, he hoped, by matching himself into one of their families, to renew a connexion which he regarded as so advantageous to him. Cromwell seconded this intention; and proposed to him Anne of Cleves, whose father, the duke of that name, had great interest among the Lutheran princes, and whose sister, Sibylla, was married to the elector of Saxony, the head of the protestant league. A flattering picture of the princess, by Hans Holbein, the king's painter, determined Henry to apply to her father; and after some negociation, the marriage, notwithstanding the opposition of the elector of Saxony, was concluded; and Anne was brought over to England (*h*). The king, impatient to be satisfied with regard to the person of his bride, went privately to Rochester, and got a sight of her. He found her big indeed, and tall, as he could wish; but utterly destitute both of beauty and grace; very unlike the pictures and representations which he had received: he swore she was a great Flanders mare; and declared that he never could possibly bear her any affection. The matter was worse when he found that she could speak no language but Dutch, of which he was entirely ignorant; nor was bred to music, which he admired; and that the charms of her conversation were not likely to compensate for the homeliness of her person. He returned to Greenwich very melancholy; and much lamented his hard fate to Cromwell, as well as to lord Russel, sir Anthony Brown, and sir Anthony Denny (*i*).

It was the subject of debate among the king's counsellors, whether the marriage could not yet be dissolved, and the princess be sent back to her own country. Henry's situation seemed at that time very critical. After the ten years truce concluded between the emperor and the king of France, a good understanding was thought to have taken place between these rival monarchs; and such marks of union appeared as gave great jealousy to the court of England. The emperor, who knew the generous nature of Francis, even greatly confided in him. An insurrection had been raised in the Low Countries by the inhabitants of Ghent, and seemed to threaten the most dangerous consequences. Charles, who resided at that time in Spain, resolved to go in person to Flanders, in order to appease those disorders; but he found great difficulties in chusing the manner of his passing thither. The road by Italy and Germany was tedious; the voyage through the Channel dangerous, by reason of the English naval power: he asked permission of Francis to pass through his dominions; and he entrusted himself into the hands of a rival whom he had so mortally offended. The French monarch received him at Paris with great magnificence and courtesy; and though prompted both by revenge and interest, as well as by the advice of his mistress and favourites, to make advantage of the present opportunity, he conducted the emperor safely out of his dominions; and would not even speak to him of business during his abode in France, lest his demands should bear the air of violence upon his royal guest.

Henry, being informed of these particulars, now believed that an entire union had taken place between these princes; and that their religious zeal might prompt them to unite their forces against England. An alliance with the German princess therefore seemed more than ever requisite for his interest and safety; and he knew that if he sent back the princess of Cleves, such an affront would be highly resented by her friends and family: so that he resolved, notwithstanding his aversion to her, to complete the marriage; which was celebrated at Greenwich, on the 6th of January, 1540; and he told Cromwell, that since matters had gone so far, he must put his neck into the yoke. Cromwell, who knew how much his own interests were concerned in this affair, was very anxious to learn from the king, next morning after the marriage, whether

(*f*) 31 Hen. VIII. c. 13.—This assertion, every syllable of which it was well known to every member of the parliament, was utterly false.

(*g*) Le Grand, vol. iii. p. 638.

(*h*) Henry was so pleased on this occasion, that he ordered a fleet of fifty sail to go for her, under the command of William Fitz-Williams, earl of Southampton.

(*i*) This gentleman, in order to give him comfort, told him, that his misfortune was common to him with all kings, who could not, like private persons, chuse for themselves; but must receive their wives from the judgement and fancy of others.

he now liked his spouse any better. The king told him that he hated her worse than ever; and that her person was more disgusting on a near approach: he was resolved never to meddle with her; and said that he had strong reasons to suspect her virginity, (a point about which he pretended to be an excellent judge). He continued, however, to be civil to Anne; he even seemed to repose his usual confidence in Cromwell; but though he exerted this command over himself, a discontent lay lurking in his breast, and was ready to burst out whenever an occasion should offer.

A parliament was summoned to meet on the 12th of April, this year; and none of the abbots were allowed a place in the house of peers. The king, by the mouth of the chancellor, complained to the parliament of the great diversity of religions which still prevailed among his subjects: a grievance, he affirmed, which ought the less to be endured because the Scriptures were now published in English, and ought universally to be the standard of belief to all mankind. But he had appointed, he said, some bishops and divines to draw up a list of tenets to which his people were to assent; and he was determined that Christ, the doctrine of Christ, and the truth, should have the victory (*k*). Cromwell, as vicar-general, made also, in the king's name, a speech to the upper house; and the peers in return bestowed great flattery on him, and in particular, said that he was worthy, by his desert, to be vicar-general of the universe. That minister seemed to be no less in his master's good graces: soon after the sitting of the parliament, he received the title of earl of Essex, and was installed knight of the Garter.

There now remained but one religious order in England; the knights of St. John of Jerusalem, or the knights of Malta, as they are commonly called. This order, partly ecclesiastical, partly military, had by their valour done great service to Christendom; and had very much retarded at Jerusalem, Rhodes, and Malta, the rapid progress of the barbarians. During the general surrender of the religious houses in England, they had obstinately refused to yield up their revenues to the king; and Henry, who would endure no society that professed obedience to the pope, was obliged to have recourse to his usual expedient, the parliament, for the dissolution of this order. Their revenues were large, and formed an addition nowise contemptible to the many acquisitions which the king had already made. But his profuse generosity dissipated the plunder of the churches faster than his rapacity could supply; and the parliament was surprized this session to find a demand made upon them of four tenths, and a subsidy of one shilling in the pound during two years: so ill were the public expectations answered, that the crown was never more to require any supply from the people. The commons, though lavish of their liberty, and of the blood of their fellow-subjects, were extremely frugal of their money; and it was not without difficulty so small a grant could be obtained by this absolute and dreaded monarch. The convocation gave the king four shillings in the pound, to be levied in two years (*l*).

Henry's favour to Cromwell, and his acquiescence in the marriage with Anne of Cleves, were both of them deceitful appearances: his aversion to the queen daily increased; and having at last broken all restraint, it prompted him at once to seek the dissolution of a marriage so odious to him, and to involve his minister in ruin, who had been the innocent author of it. In seeking a divorce from Anne of Cleves, the king seemed to have acted without regard to the effects which such a step might have on his projected league with the German princes. The circumstance of Anne having been contracted, some years before, to a son of the duke of Lorraine, was gladly embraced as a pretext for the dissolution of her marriage with Henry.

Various circumstances now concurred to effect the ruin of Cromwell. All the nobility hated a man who, being of such low extraction, had not only soared above them by his station of vicar-general, but had engrossed many of the other considerable offices in the gift of the crown: besides enjoying that commission, which gave him a high and almost absolute authority over the clergy, and even over the laity, he was privy seal, chamberlain, and master of the wards: he had also obtained the order of the garter, a dignity which had ever been conferred only on men of illustrious families, and which in their idea had been profaned by its being communicated to so mean a person. The people were averse to him, as the supposed author of the violence on the monasteries; establishments which were still revered and beloved by many of the commonalty. The catholics regarded him as the concealed enemy of their religion: the protestants, observing his exterior concurrence with all the persecutions exercised against them, were inclined to bear him as little favour; and reproached him with the timidity, if not treachery, of his conduct. And the king, who found that great clamours had on all hands arisen against the administration, was not displeased to throw on Cromwell the load of public hatred; and he hoped by making so easy a sacrifice to regain the affections of his subjects.

There was, however, another cause which set these motives in action, and brought about a revolution in the ministry. The king had now fixed his affection on Catherine Howard, niece to the duke of Norfolk; and being determined to gratify this new passion, he could find no expedient but by procuring a divorce from his present consort, to raise Catherine to his bed and throne. The duke of Norfolk who had long been engaged in enmity with Cromwell, made the same use of her insinuations to ruin this minister, that he had formerly done of Anne Boleyn's against Wolsey: and when all his schemes were prepared, he obtained a commission from the king to arrest Cromwell at the council-table, on an accusation of high treason, and to commit him to the Tower (*m*). Immediately after, a bill of attainder was framed against him; and the house of peers thought proper, without trial, examination, or evidence, to condemn to death a man whom a few days before they had declared worthy to be "vicar-general of the universe (*n*)." The house of commons passed the bill, though not without some opposition. Cromwell was accused of heresy and treason; but the proofs of his treasonable practices are utterly improbable, and even absolutely ridiculous (*o*). It was stated in the act of attainder against the earl, that he had performed many acts of power without the consent or knowledge of the king; that he had frequently been induced, by bribes, to authorize the infringement of the royal proclamations; that he had used traitorous expressions against his majesty; that he had encouraged the growth of heresy, by the dispersion of heterodox publications, by licensing persons who were disaffected to the church to preach their erroneous doctrines, and by releasing many notorious heretics. As he had not the benefit of a trial, his adversaries, perhaps, were not very scrupulous with regard to the truth of the charges which they adduced against him; and, if his defence had been heard, many of the actions imputed to him might have been found to have proceeded from the king's private instructions.

Cromwell endeavoured to soften the king by the most humble supplications; but all this was without effect: it was not the practice of that prince to ruin his ministers and favourites by halves; and though the unhappy prisoner once wrote to him in so moving a strain as even to draw tears from his eyes, he hardened himself against all sensations of pity, and refused his pardon. The conclusion of Cromwell's letter ran in these words: "I, a most woeful prisoner, am ready to submit to death when it shall please God and your majesty; and yet the frail flesh incites me to call to your grace for mercy and pardon of mine offences. Written at the Tower with the heavy heart and trembling hand of your highness's most miserable prisoner, and poor slave, Thomas Cromwell." And a little below, "Most gracious prince, I cry for mercy, mercy, mercy (*p*)." When brought to the place of execution, on the 28th of July, he avoided all earnest protestations of his innocence,

(*k*) The king seems to have expected more effect in ascertaining truth, from this new book of his doctors, than had ensued from the publication of the Scriptures.

(*l*) The pretext for these grants was, the great expence which Henry had undergone for the defence of the realm, in building forts along the sea-coast, and in equipping a navy. As he had at present no ally on the continent in whom he reposed much confidence, he relied only on his domestic strength, and was on that account obliged to be more expensive in his preparations against the danger of an invasion.

(*m*) While Cromwell was in this situation, he was deserted by all his friends except Cranmer, who, in a letter to the king, earnestly interceded for him, representing him as one of the most faithful servants that any prince ever had.

(*n*) We must observe, that Cromwell himself had been a servile instrument of Henry's tyrannical injustice, in procuring attainders against the countess of Salisbury and other persons, who were not admitted to trial; and he was now subjected, in his turn, to the same arbitrary process.

(*o*) Burnet, vol. i. p. 278. (*p*) Burnet, vol. i. p. 281, 282.

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and all complaints against the sentence pronounced upon him (*q*). He knew that Henry would resent on his son those symptoms of opposition to his will, and that his death alone would not terminate that monarch's vengeance (*r*).

The measures for divorcing Henry from Anne of Cleves were carried on at the same time with the bill of attainder against Cromwell. The house of peers, in conjunction with the commons, petitioned the king to allow his marriage to be examined; and orders were immediately given to lay the matter before the convocation. The king pleaded her precontract with the duke of Lorraine as a ground of divorce; and added two reasons more, which may seem a little extraordinary; that when he espoused Anne he had not *inwardly* given his consent, and that he had not thought proper to consummate the marriage. The convocation was satisfied with these reasons, and solemnly annulled the marriage between the king and queen: the parliament ratified the decision of the clergy (*s*); and the princess was soon after made acquainted with the sentence.

Anne was blest with a happy insensibility of temper, even in the points which most nearly affect her sex; and the king's aversion towards her, as well as his prosecution of the divorce, had never given her the least uneasiness. She willingly hearkened to terms of accommodation with him; and when he offered to adopt her as his sister, to give her place next the queen and his own daughter, and to make a settlement of three thousand pounds a year upon her, she accepted of the conditions, and gave her consent to the divorce. She even wrote to her brother (for her father was now dead), that she had been very well used in England, and desired him to live on good terms with the king. The only instance of pride which she betrayed was, that she refused to return to Germany, after the affront which she had received; and she passed the remainder of her days in England.

Anne's moderation, however, was not able to prevent this incident from producing a great coldness between the king and the German princes; but as the political situation of Europe was much altered, Henry was the more indifferent about their resentment. The close intimacy which had taken place between Francis and Charles had subsisted during a very short time: the dissimilarity of their characters soon renewed, with greater violence than ever, their former hatred. While Charles remained at Paris, Francis had been imprudently engaged, by his open temper, and by that satisfaction which a noble mind naturally feels in performing generous actions, to make in confidence some dangerous discoveries to that interested monarch; and having now lost all suspicion of his rival, he hoped that the emperor and he, supporting each other, might neglect every other alliance. He not only communicated to his guest the state of his negociations with sultan Solyman and the Venetians; but also laid open the solicitations which he had received from Henry to enter into a confederacy against him. Charles had no sooner reached his own dominions, than he shewed himself unworthy of the friendly reception he had met with. He absolutely refused to fulfil his promise, and put the duke of Orleans in possession of the duchy of Milan: he informed Solyman and the senate of Venice of the treatment which they had received from their ally; and he took care that Henry should not be ignorant how readily Francis had abandoned him, to whom he owed many and important obligations, and had sacrificed him to a new confederate: he even misrepresented many things which the unsuspecting heart of the French monarch had disclosed to him. If Henry possessed true judgement and generosity, this incident alone had been sufficient to guide him in the choice of his ally. But his haughty and domineering pride caused him immediately to renounce the friendship of Francis, who had so unexpectedly given the preference to the emperor: and as Charles invited him to a renewal of ancient friendship, he willingly accepted of the offer; and thinking himself secure in this alliance, he neglected the amity both of France and the princes of the German empire.

This alliance was extremely agreeable to Henry's catholic subjects; and as it had perhaps contributed, among other reasons, to the ruin of Cromwell, it made them entertain hopes of a final prevalence over their antagonist. The marriage of the king with Catherine Howard, who was cousin-german to Anne Boleyn, which was celebrated on the 8th of August, was also regarded as a favourable incident to their party; and the subsequent events corresponded to their expectations. The king's councils being now directed by Norfolk and Gardiner, a furious persecution commenced against the protestants; and the law of the six articles was executed with rigour. Dr. Barnes, who had been the cause of Lambert's execution, felt in his turn the severity of the persecuting spirit; and, by a bill which passed in parliament, he was, without trial (*t*), condemned to the flames, together with Thomas Gerrard, parson of Honey Lane, and William Jerome, vicar of Stepney. He discussed theological questions even at the stake; and as the dispute between him and the sheriff turned upon the invocation of saints, he said that he doubted whether the saints could pray for us; but if they could, he hoped in half an hour to be praying for the sheriff and all the spectators. He next entreated the sheriff to carry to the king his dying request, which he fondly imagined would have authority with that monarch, who had sent him to the stake. The purport of his request was, that Henry, besides repressing superstitious ceremonies, should be extremely vigilant in preventing fornication and common swearing. While Henry was exerting this violence against the protestants, he spared not the catholics who denied his supremacy; and a foreigner, at that time in England, had reason to say, that Henry acted with great inconsistency, for those who were against the pope were burned, and those who were for him were hanged. The king even displayed in an ostentatious manner this tyrannical impartiality, which reduced both parties to subjection, and infused terror into every breast (*u*).

Although the spirit of the English seemed to be sunk under the despotic power of Henry, there appeared some symptoms of discontent: an inconsiderable rebellion broke out in Yorkshire, headed by sir John Nevil; but it was soon suppressed, and Nevil, with other ringleaders, was executed. The rebels were supposed to have been instigated by the intrigues of cardinal Pole; and the king was instantly determined to make the countess of Salisbury, who already lay under sentence of death, suffer for her son's offences. He ordered her to be carried to execution on the 27th of May, 1541; and this venerable matron maintained still, in these distressful circumstances, the spirit of that long race of monarchs from whom she was descended (*v*). This insurrection engaged Henry to make a progress to the North, in order to quiet the minds of his people,

(*q*) Thomas Cromwell, earl of Essex, suffered decapitation on Tower Hill, with lord Hungerford, who had also been attainted without trial for imputed acts of treason.

(*r*) He was, says Hume, a man of prudence, industry, and abilities; worthy of a better master and of a better fate. Though raised to the summit of power from a low origin, he betrayed no insolence or contempt towards his inferiors; and was careful to remember all the obligations which, during his more humble fortune, he had owed to any one. He had served as a private centinel in the Italian wars; when he received some good offices from a Lucquese merchant, who had entirely forgotten his person, as well as the service which he had rendered him. Cromwell in his grandeur happened at London to cast his eye on his benefactor, now reduced to poverty by misfortunes. He immediately sent for him, reminded him of their ancient friendship, and, by his grateful assistance, reinstated him in his former prosperity and opulence. *Burnet, vol. i. p.* 172.

(*s*) To shew how much Henry sported with law and common sense; how servilely the parliament followed all his caprices; and how much both of them were lost to all sense of shame; an act was passed this session, declaring that a pre-contract should be no ground for annulling a marriage; as if that pretext had not been made use of both in the case of Anne Boleyn and Anne of Cleves. But the king's intention in this law is said to be a design of restoring the princess Elizabeth to her right of legitimacy; and it was his character never to look farther than the present object, without regarding the inconsistency of his conduct. The parliament made it high treason to deny the dissolution of Henry's marriage with Anne of Cleves. *Herbert.*

(*t*) What renders the matter clear that neither Barnes, Gerrard, nor Jerome, had been permitted to defend themselves, is the negative answer of the sheriff to Dr. Barnes, who asked him whether he knew the crime for which he was about to suffer? But Barnes, turning to the stake, replied, This tells me the crime I am supposed to be guilty of; and then prayed for the king and Gardiner, whom he suspected to be the author of his death.

(*u*) Dr. Barnes, Gerrard, and Jerome had been carried to the place of execution on three hurdles; and along with them there was placed on each hurdle a catholic, who was also executed for his religion. These catholics were Abel, Fetherstone, and Powel, who declared that the most grievous part of their punishment was the being coupled to such heretical miscreants as suffered with them.

(*v*) She refused to lay her head on the block, or submit to a sentence where she had received no trial. She told the executioner, that if he would have her head, he must win it the best way he could: and thus, shaking her venerable grey locks, she ran about the scaffold; and the executioner followed her with his ax, aiming many fruitless blows at her neck before he was able to give the fatal stroke. Thus perished the last

of

people, to reconcile them to his government, and to abolish the ancient superstitions, to which those parts were much addicted. He had also another motive for this journey: he proposed to have a conference at York with his nephew the king of Scotland, and, if possible to cement a close and indissoluble union with that kingdom (*w*).

A similar spirit of religious innovation with that which had seized other parts of Europe, had made its way into Scotland, and had begun, before this period, to excite similar jealousies, fears, and persecutions. About the year 1527, Patric Hamilton, a young man of a noble family, having been created abbot of Ferne, was sent abroad for his education; but had fallen into company with some reformers, aed he returned into his own country, very ill disposed towards that church, of which his birth and his merit entitled him to attain the highest dignities. The fervour of youth, and his zeal for novelty, made it impossible for him to conceal his sentiments; and Campbel, prior of the Dominicans, who under colour of friendship and a sympathy in opinion had insinuated himself into his confidence, accused him before cardinal Beaton, archbishop of St. Andrews. Hamilton was invited to St. Andrews, in order to maintain with some of the clergy a dispute concerning the controverted points; and after much reasoning with regard to justification, free-will, original sin, and other topics of that nature, the conference ended with their condemning Hamilton to be burned for his errors. The young man, who had been deaf to the insinuations of ambition, was less likely to be shaken with the fears of death; while he proposed to himself both the glory of bearing testimony to the truth, and the immediate reward attending his martyrdom. The people, who compassionated his youth, his virtue, and his noble birth, were much moved at the constancy of his end; and an incident which soon followed still more confirmed them in their favourable sentiments towards him. He had cited Campbel, who still insulted him at the stake, to answer before the judgement seat of Christ; and as that persecutor, either astonished with these events, or overcome with remorse, or, perhaps, seized casually with a distemper, soon after lost his senses, and fell into a fever, of which he died; the people regarded Hamilton as a prophet as well as a martyr (*x*).

Among the disciples converted by Hamilton, was one frier Forrest, who became a zealous preacher; and who, though he did not openly discover his sentiments, was suspected to lean towards the new opinions. His diocesan, the bishop of Dunkel, enjoined him, when he met with a good epistle or good gospel which favoured the liberties of holy church, to preach on it, and let the rest alone. Forrest replied, that he had read both the Old and the New Testaments, and had not found an ill epistle or ill gospel in any part of them. Such close attachment to the scriptures was regarded in those days as a sure characteristic of heresy; and Forrest was soon after brought to trial, and condemned to the flames (*y*).

At the period of which we are now treating, the clergy were reduced to great difficulties, not only in Scotland, but all over Europe. As the reformers aimed at a total subversion of ancient establishments, which they represented as idolatrous, impious, detestable; the priests, who found both their honours and properties at stake, thought they had a right to resist, by every mean in their power, these dangerous invaders, and that the same simple principles of equity which justified a man in killing a pirate or a robber, would acquit them for the execution of such heretics. A toleration, which, however, was never acceptable to ecclesiastics, might, they said, be admitted in other cases; but seemed an absurdity where fundamentals were shaken, and where the possessions and even the existence of the established clergy were brought in danger. But though the church was thus carried by policy, as well as inclination, to kindle the fires of persecution; they found the success of this remedy very precarious; and observed, that the enthusiastic zeal of the reformers, inflamed by punishment, was apt to prove contagious on the compassionate minds of the spectators. The new doctrine, amidst all the dangers to which it was exposed, secretly spread itself throughout the country; and the minds of men were gradually disposed to a revolution in religion.

The most dangeroue symptom, however, for the clergy in Scotland was, that the nobility, from the example of England, had cast a wistful eye on the revenues of the church, and hoped, if a reformation took place, to enrich themselves by the plunder of the ecclesiastics. Even James himself, who was very poor, and was somewhat inclined to magnificence, particularly in building, had been swayed by similar motives: and began to threaten the clergy with the same fate that had attended them in the neighbouring country of South Britain. Henry also never ceased exhorting his nephew to imitate his example; and being moved both by the pride of making proselytes, and the prospect of security, should Scotland embrace a close union with him, he solicited the king of Scots to meet him at York; and obtained a promise to that purpose. The ecclesiastics were extremely alarmed at this resolution of James, and employed every expedient in order to prevent the execution of it. They represented the danger of innovation; the pernicious consequences of aggrandizing the nobility, already too powerful; the hazard of putting himself into the hands of the English, his hereditary enemies; the dependence on them which must ensue upon his losing the friendship of France, and of all foreign powers. To these considerations they added the prospect of immediate interest, by which they found the king to be much governed: they offered him a present gratuity of fifty thousand pounds; they promised him that the church should always be ready to contribute to his supply; and they pointed out to him the confiscation of heretics, as the means of filling his treasury, and of adding a hundred thousand pounds a-year to the crown revenues (*z*). The insinuations of his new queen, to whom youth, beauty, and address had given a powerful influence over him, seconded all these reasons; and James was at last engaged first to delay his journey, and then to send excuses to the king of England, who had already come to York, in order to be present at the interview (*a*).

This disappointment greatly chagrined Henry, and he vowed vengeance against his nephew. He began to vent his spleen by permitting piracies at sea, and incursions at land; but he received soon after, in his own family, an affront to which he was much more sensible, and which touched him in a point where he had always shewed an extreme delicacy. He had thought himself very happy in his new marriage: the agreeable person and disposition of Catherine had entirely captivated his heart and gained his affections; and he made no secret of his devoted attachment to her. He had even publicly, in his chapel, returned solemn thanks to Heaven for the happiness which the conjugal state afforded him; and he directed the bishop of Lincoln to compose a form of prayer for that purpose. But the queen's conduct very little merited this tenderness: one John Lascelles carried intelligence of some particulars which he had heard of her dissolute life to Cranmer; and told him that his sister, formerly a servant in the family of the old duchess of Norfolk, with whom Catherine was educated, had given him a faithful account of her licentious manners. Derham and Mannoc, both of them servants to the duchess, had been admitted to her bed; and she had even taken little care to conceal her shame from the other servants of the family. The primate, struck with this intelligence, which it was equally dangerous to conceal or to discover, communicated the

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of the line of Plantagenet, which with great glory, but still greater crimes and misfortunes, had governed England for the space of three hundred years. By her father, the duke of Clarence, she was cousin german to Henry's mother. Lord Leonard Grey, a man who had formerly rendered service to the crown, was also beheaded for treason soon after the countess of Salisbury. We know little concerning the grounds of his prosecution.

(*w*) During this progress, the places through which the king passed made their submission to him, making him the following presents: Stamford gave him twenty pounds; Lincoln, forty pounds; Boston, fifty pounds; Lindsey, three hundred pounds; Kesteven, and the church of Lincoln, fifty pounds; the chief persons of Yorkshire, nine hundred pounds; the archbishop of York with three hundred priests, six hundred pounds; the mayors of York, Newcastle, and Hull, one hundred pounds each. And as there had been a trifling insurrection, he, to throw all

miscarriages on Cromwell, and to put his subjects in expectation of better times, issued out a proclamation, That all who had been aggrieved for want of justice, by any of his former ministers, should come to him and his council for redress.

(*x*) Spotswood's Hist. of the Church of Scotland, p. 62.

(*y*) While the priests were deliberating on the place of his execution, a bystander advised them to burn him in a cellar; because the smoke of Mr. Patric Hamilton had infected all those on whom it blew. *Spotswood, p.* 65.

(*z*) Buchanan, lib. xiv. Drummond in Ja. 5. Pitscotie, ibid. Knox.

(*a*) Henry had sent some books, richly ornamented, to his nephew, who, as soon as he saw by the titles that they had a tendency to defend the new doctrines, threw them into the fire, in the presence of the person who brought them: adding, it were better he should destroy them than they him. See Epist. Reginald. Pole, pars 1. p. 172.

matter

matter to the earl of Hertford, and to the chancellor. They agreed that the matter should by no means be buried in silence; and the archbishop himself seemed the most proper person to disclose it to the king. Cranmer, unwilling to speak on so delicate a subject, wrote a narrative of the whole, and conveyed it to Henry, who was infinitely astonished at the intelligence. So confident was he of the fidelity of his consort, that at first he gave no credit to the information; and he said to the privy-seal, to lord Russel, high admiral, sir Anthony Brown, and Wriothesley, that he regarded the whole as a falsehood. Cranmer was now in a very perilous situation; and had not full proof been found, certain and inevitable destruction hung over him. The king's impatience, however, and jealousy, prompted him to search the matter to the bottom: the privy-seal was ordered to examine Lascelles, who persisted in the information he had given; and still appealed to the testimony of his sister. That nobleman next made a journey under pretence of hunting, and went to Sussex, where the woman at that time resided: he found her both constant in her former intelligence, and particular as to the facts; and the whole bore but too much the appearance of probability. Mannoc and Derham, who were arrested at the same time, and examined by the chancellor, made the queen's guilt certain by their confession; and discovered other particulars, which redounded still more to her dishonour. Three maids of the family were admitted into her secrets, and some of them had even passed the night in bed with her and her lovers. All the examinations were laid before the king, who was so deeply affected that he remained a long time speechless, and at last burst into tears. He found, to his surprize, that his great skill in distinguishing a true maid, of which he boasted in the case of Anne of Cleves, had failed him in that of his present consort. The queen, being next questioned, denied her guilt; but when informed that a full discovery was made, she confessed that she had been criminal before marriage; and only insisted that she had never been false to the king's bed. But as there was evidence that one Colepepper had passed the night with her alone since her marriage; and as it appeared that she had taken Derham, her old paramour, into her service, she seemed to deserve little credit in this asseveration; and the king, enraged to the highest degree, was not of a humour to make any difference between these degrees of guilt.

Henry now had recourse to his usual instrument of tyranny, a parliament, which accordingly met on the 6th of January, 1542. The two houses, having received the queen's confession, made an address to the king. They entreated him not to be vexed with this untoward accident, to which all men were subject; but to consider the frailty of human nature, and the mutability of human affairs; and from these views to derive a subject of consolation. They desired leave to pass a bill of attainder against the queen and her accomplices; and they begged him to give his assent to this bill, not in person, which would renew his vexation, and might endanger his health, but by commissioners appointed for that purpose. And as there was a law in force, making it treason to speak ill of the queen, as well as of the king, they craved his royal pardon if any of them should, on the present occasion, have transgressed any part of the statute. Having obtained a gracious answer to these requests, the parliament proceeded to vote a bill of attainder for treason against the queen, and the viscountess of Rocheford, (called in the act *the bawd*,) who had conducted her secret amours; and in this bill Colepepper and Derham were also comprehended. At the same time they passed a bill of attainder for misprision of treason against the old duchess of Norfolk, Catherine's grandmother; her uncle, lord William Howard, and his lady, together with the countess of Bridgewater, and nine persons more; because they knew the queen's vicious course of life before her marriage, and had concealed it (*b*).

Henry, willing to secure himself for the future, as well as his successors, from this fatal accident, engaged the parliament to pass a law somewhat extraordinary. It was enacted, That any one who knew, or vehemently suspected any guilt in the queen, might within twenty days disclose it to the king or council, without incurring the penalty of any former law against defaming the queen; but prohibiting every one at the same time from spreading the matter abroad, or even privately whispering it to others: it was also enacted, That if the king married any woman who had been incontinent, taking her for a true maid, she should be guilty of treason if she did not previously reveal her guilt to him. The people made merry with this singular clause, and said, the king must henceforth look out for a widow; for no reputed maid would ever be persuaded to incur the penalty of the statute (*c*). When the king had given his assent to this act, he signed a warrant for the queen's execution, and she was beheaded, on the 12th of February, on Tower Hill, together with the infamous lady Rocheford. They behaved in a manner suitable to their dissolute life; and as lady Rocheford (*d*) was known to be the chief instrument in bringing Anne Boleyn to her end, she died unpitied; and men were farther confirmed, by the discovery of this woman's guilt, in the favourable sentiments which they had entertained of the unfortunate queen Anne.

In this session, Henry, being of opinion, that a greater splendour of title would flatter the Irish, and promote their more perfect submission, exchanged his style of *lord* of Ireland for that of *king*; and his proclamation for that purpose was communicated to the parliament; but it was not confirmed by statute till some years afterwards. He also gratified some of the chieftains of that island with titles; and the vigour of his administration restored tranquillity to his Hibernian subjects. This session likewise the commons first began the practice of freeing any of their members who were arrested, by a writ issued by the speaker. Formerly it had been usual for them to apply for a writ from chancery to that purpose. This precedent increased the authority of the commons, and had afterwards important consequences.

Henry did not demand any subsidy from this parliament; but found means of enriching his exchequer from another quarter: he took farther steps towards the dissolution of colleges, hospitals, and other foundations of that nature. The courtiers had been practising on the presidents and governors to make a surrender of their revenues to the king; and they had been successful with eight of them. But there was an obstacle to their farther progress: it had been provided, by the local statutes of most of these foundations, that no president or any number of fellows could consent to such a deed, without the unanimous vote of all the fellows; and this vote was not easily obtained. All such statutes were annulled by parliament; and the revenues of these houses were now exposed to the rapacity of the king and his favourites (*e*). The church had been so long their prey, that nobody was surprized at any new inroads made upon her. From the regular, Henry now proceeded to make devastations on the secular clergy. He extorted from many of the bishops a surrender of chapter lands; and by this device he pillaged the sees of Canterbury, York, and London, and enriched his greedy parasites and flatterers with their spoils.

Henry was fully determined to avenge himself on the king of Scots for treating the advances which he had made him with contumely, and would gladly have obtained a supply from parliament, in order to prosecute that enterprize; but as he deemed it imprudent to discover his intentions, that assembly, conformably to their frugal maxims, would not understand the hints that were given them; and the king was disappointed in his expectations. He continued, however, to make preparations for war; and when he thought himself in a condition to invade Scotland, he published a manifesto, by which he endeavoured to justify hostilities. He complained of James's breach of promise, in declining the proposed interview; which appears to have been the real ground of the quarrel (*f*): but in order to give a more specious colouring to the enterprize, he mentioned other injuries; namely, that his nephew had granted protection to some English

(*b*) This was an effect of Henry's usual extravagance, to expect that parents should so far forget the ties of natural affection, and the sentiments of shame and decency, as to reveal to him the most secret disorders of their family. He himself seems to have been sensible of the cruelty of this proceeding: for he pardoned the duchess of Norfolk, and most of the others condemned for misprision of treason.

(*c*) Burnet, vol. i. p. 314.

(*d*) Lady Rocheford certainly deserved her fate for the concern which she had in bringing Anne Boleyn as well as her own husband to the block.

(*e*) It was enacted by this parliament, that there should be trial of treason in any county where the king should appoint by commission. The statutes of treason had been extremely multiplied in this reign; and such an expedient saved trouble and charges in trying that crime.

(*f*) Buchanan, lib. 14. Drummond in James the Fifth.

rebels and fugitives, and had detained some land, of small value, on the frontiers, which Henry pretended belonged to England. He even revived the old claim to the vassalage of Scotland, and summoned James to do homage to him as his liege lord and superior. He employed the duke of Norfolk, whom he called the scourge of the Scots, as commander in chief of his forces; and though James sent the bishop of Aberdeen and sir James Learmont of Darsay to appease his uncle, he would hearken to no terms of accommodation, and even refused to allow the ambassadors to return. While Norfolk was assembling his army at Newcastle, sir Robert Bowes, attended by sir Ralph Sadler, sir Ralph Evers, sir Brian Latoun, and others, made an incursion into Scotland, and advanced towards Jedburgh, with an intention of pillaging and destroying that town. The earl of Angus, and George Douglas his brother, who had been many years banished their country, and had subsisted by Henry's bounty, joined the English army in this incursion; and the forces, commanded by Bowes, were upwards of four thousand men. James had not been negligent in his preparations for defence, and had posted a considerable body, under the command of the earl of Huntley, for the protection of the borders. Lord Hume, at the head of his vassals, was hastening to join Huntley when he met with the English army, which consisted of twenty thousand men; and an action ensued on the 24th of August, 1542. During the engagement the forces under Huntley began to appear; and the English, afraid of being surrounded and overpowered, took to flight, and were pursued by the enemy. Evers, Latoun, and some other persons of distinction, were taken prisoners. A few only of small note fell in the skirmish.

In the mean time the duke of Norfolk began to move from his camp at Newcastle; and being attended by the earls of Shrewsbury, Derby, Cumberland, Surrey, Hertford, Rutland, with many others of the nobility, he advanced to the borders. His forces amounted to above twenty thousand men; and it required the utmost efforts of Scotland to resist so formidable an armament. James had assembled his whole military force at Fala and Sautrey, and was ready to advance, upon receiving intelligence of Norfolk's invading his kingdom. The English passed the Tweed at Berwick, and marched along the banks of the river to Kelso; but hearing that James had collected near thirty thousand men, they repassed the river at that village, and retreated into their own country. The king of Scots, inflamed with a desire of military glory, and of revenge on his invaders, gave the signal for pursuing them, and carrying the war into England: but his nobles opposed this resolution, and refused to attend him in his projected expedition. Enraged at this mutiny, he reproached them with cowardice, and threatened vengeance; but still resolved, with the forces which adhered to him, to make an impression on the enemy. He sent ten thousand men to the western borders, who entered England at Solway Frith; and he himself followed them at a small distance, ready to join them upon occasion. Disgusted, however, at the refractory disposition of his nobles, he sent a message to the army, depriving lord Maxwel, their general, of his commission, and conferring the command on Oliver Sinclair, a private gentleman, who was his favourite. The army was extremely disgusted with this alteration, and was ready to disband; when a small body of English appeared, not exceeding five hundred men, under the command of Dacres and Musgrave. A panic seized the Scots, who immediately took to flight, and were pursued by the enemy (*g*). Few were killed in this rout; for it was no action. Among the prisoners were the earls of Cassilis and Glencairn; the lords Maxwel, Fleming, Somerville, Oliphant, Grey, who were all sent to London, and given in custody to different noblemen. Besides these, there were taken two hundred gentlemen, and eight hundred soldiers, with twenty-four pieces of cannon.

Intelligence of this affair was speedily conveyed to the king of Scots, who was astonished; and being naturally of a melancholic disposition, as well as endowed with a high spirit, he lost all command of his temper on this dismal occasion. Rage against his nobility, who he believed had betrayed him; shame for a defeat by such unequal numbers; regret for the past, fear of the future; all these passions so wrought upon him, that he would admit of no consolation, but abandoned himself wholly to despair. His body was wasted by sympathy with his anxious mind; and even his life began to be thought in danger. He had no issue living; and hearing that his queen was safely delivered, he asked whether she had brought him a male or female child? being told the latter; he turned himself in his bed: "The crown came with a woman," said he, "and it will go with one: many miseries await this poor kingdom: Henry will make it his own either by force of arms or by marriage." A few days after, December 14, he expired, in the flower of his age (*h*); a prince of considerable virtues and talents; well fitted, by his vigilance and personal courage, for repressing those disorders to which his kingdom during that age was so much exposed. He executed justice with impartiality and rigour; but as he supported the commonality and the church against the rapine of the nobility, he escaped not the hatred of that order. The protestants also, whom he opposed, have endeavoured to throw many stains on his memory; but have not been able to fix any considerable imputation upon him (*i*).

On the death of James, Henry projected, in 1543, the scheme of uniting Scotland to his own dominions, by marrying his son Edward to the new queen of that kingdom. He called together the Scottish nobles who were his prisoners (*k*), and proposed to them an expedient, by which he hoped those disorders, so prejudicial to both states, would for the future be prevented. He offered to bestow on them their liberty without ransom; and only required of them engagements to favour the marriage of the prince of Wales with their young mistress. They were prevailed on to give their assent to the proposal, which appeared to them so natural and so advantageous to both kingdoms; and being conducted to Newcastle, they delivered to the duke of Norfolk hostages for their return, in case the intended nuptials were not completed: from that place they proceeded to Scotland, where they found affairs in some confusion.

The Roman pontiff, observing his authority in Scotland to be in danger from the spreading of the doctrines of the Reformation, had bestowed on Beaton, the primate, the dignity of cardinal, in order to confer more influence upon him; and that prelate had long been regarded as prime minister to James (*l*), and as the head of that party which defended the privileges and property of the ecclesiastics of his own church.

James Hamilton, earl of Arran, was next heir to the crown of Scotland by his grandmother, daughter of James III. and on that account seemed best entitled to possess that high office into which the cardinal by his forgery had intruded himself. The prospect also of his succession after a princess, who was in such tender infancy, procured him many partizans; and though his character indicated little spirit, activity, or ambition, a propensity which he had discovered for the new opinions, had attached him to all the zealous promoters of the Reformation. By means of these adherents, joined to the vassals of his own family, he had been able to make opposition to the cardinal's administration; and the suspicion of Beaton's

(*g*) This circumstance happened on the 24th of November.

(*h*) This prince was the father of that unfortunate queen of Scots, Mary, who was afterwards beheaded in England in the reign of queen Elizabeth. She was born only seven days before his death.

(*i*) The persecutions exercised during James's reign are not to be ascribed to his bigotry, a vice of which he seems to have been as free as Francis the First, or the emperor Charles, both of whom, as well as James, shewed, in different periods of their lives, even an inclination to the new doctrines. The extremities to which all these princes were carried, proceeded entirely from the situation of affairs during that age, which rendered it impossible for them to act with greater temper or moderation, after they had embraced the resolution of supporting the ancient establishments. So violent was the propensity of the times towards innovation, that a bare toleration of the new preachers was equivalent to a formed design of changing the national religion.

(*k*) The earl of Cassilis, one of these persons, had been committed to the care of archbishop Cranmer; and he so profited by the instructions of that prelate, that, upon his return home, which was shortly after, he embraced the doctrines of the Reformation.

(*l*) Upon the death of the king, this man, apprehensive of the consequences, both to his party and to himself, endeavoured to keep possession of power; and for that purpose he is accused of executing a deed, which required a high degree of temerity. He forged, it is said, a will for the king, appointing himself, and three noblemen more, regents of the kingdom during the minority of the infant princess (*m*): at least, for historians are not well agreed in the circumstances of the fact, he had read to James a paper of that import, to which that monarch, during the delirium which preceded his death, had given an imperfect assent and approbation (*n*). By virtue of this will Beaton had put himself in possession of the government; and having united his interests with those of the queen-dowager, he obtained the consent of the convention of states, and excluded the pretensions of the earl of Arran.

(*m*) *Sadler's Letters, p.* 161. *Spotswood, p.* 71. *Buchanan, lib.* 15.

(*n*) *John Knox, History of the Reformation.*

forgery,

forgery, with the accession of the noblemen who had been prisoners in England, assisted too by some money sent from London, was able to turn the balance in his favour. The earl of Angus and his brother, having taken the present opportunity of returning into their native country, opposed the cardinal with all the credit of that powerful family; and the majority of the convention had now embraced opposite interests to those which formerly prevailed. Arran was declared governor; the cardinal was committed to custody under the care of lord Seton; and a negociation was commenced with sir Ralph Sadler, the English ambassador, for the marriage of the infant queen with the prince of Wales (*o*). By means of the conditions which were agreed upon, the war between the nations, which had threatened Scotland with such dismal calamities, seemed to be fully composed, and to be changed into perpetual concord and amity. The cardinal-primate, however, prevailed on Seton to restore him to his liberty, and by his intrigues, he confounded all the schemes which were laid by Henry, notwithstanding their appearing to be so well concerted. He assembled the most considerable ecclesiastics; and having represented to them the imminent danger to which their revenues and privileges were exposed, he persuaded them to collect privately from the clergy a large sum of money, by which, if entrusted to his management, he engaged to overturn the schemes of their enemies. Besides the partizans whom he acquired by pecuniary motives, he roused up the zeal of those who were attached to the Catholic worship; and represented the union with England as the sure forerunner of ruin to the church and to the Catholic system. The national antipathy of the Scots to their southern neighbours was also an infallible engine by which the cardinal wrought upon the people; and though the terror of Henry's arms, and their own inability to make resistance, had procured a temporary assent to the alliance and marriage proposed, the settled habits of the nation produced an extreme aversion to those measures. The English ambassador and his retinue received many insults from persons whom the cardinal had instigated to commit those violences, in hopes of bringing on a rupture: but Sadler prudently dissembled the matter; and waited patiently till the day appointed for the delivery of the hostages. He then demanded of the regent the performance of that important article; but received for answer, that his authority was very precarious, that the nation had now taken a different impression, and that it was not in his power to compel any of the nobility to deliver themselves as hostages to the English. Sadler, foreseeing the consequence of this refusal, sent a summons to all those who had been prisoners in England, and required them to fulfil the promise which they had given, of returning into custody. None of them showed so much sentiment of honour as to fulfil their engagements, except Gilbert Kennedy, earl of Cassilis. Henry was so well pleased with the behaviour of this nobleman, that he not only received him graciously, but honoured him with presents, gave him his liberty, and sent him back to Scotland, with his two brothers whom he had left as hostages.

This behaviour of the generality of the Scottish nobles, though it reflected dishonour on the nation, was not disagreeable to cardinal Beaton, who foresaw that these persons would now be deeply interested to maintain their enmity and opposition to England. And as a war was soon expected with that kingdom, he found it necessary immediately to apply to France, and to crave the assistance of that ally during the present distresses of the Scottish nation. Though the French king was sensible of his interest in supporting Scotland, a demand of aid could not have been made on him at a more unseasonable juncture. His pretensions on the duchy of Milan, and his resentment against the emperor Charles, had engaged him in a war with that potentate; and having made great, though fruitless efforts, during the preceding campaign, he was disabled at present from defending his own dominions, much less from granting any succour to the Scots. Matthew Stuart, earl of Lenox, a young nobleman of a great family, was at that time in the French court; and Francis, being informed that he was engaged in ancient and hereditary enmity with the Hamiltons, (the relations of the earl of Arran,) who had murdered his father, sent him over to his native country, as a support to the cardinal and the queen dowager: and he promised that a supply of money, and, if necessary, even military succours, should soon be dispatched after him. On account of these preparations, the earl of Arran assembled his friends, and made an attempt to get the person of the infant queen into his custody; but being repulsed, he accommodated the affair with his enemies, and entrusted that precipus charge to four neutral persons, the heads of potent families, the Grahams, Areskines, Lindseys, and Levingstones. The arrival of Lenox, in the midst of these transactions, served to render the victory of the French party over the English still more indisputable.

The opposition Henry met with in Scotland from the intrigues of the French excited his resentment, and farther confirmed the resolution which he had already taken against France, and of uniting his arms with those of the emperor. He had other grounds of complaint against the French king; which, though not of great importance, yet being recent, were able to overbalance those great injuries which he had formerly received from Charles. Henry pretended that Francis had engaged to imitate his example in separating himself entirely from the see of Rome, and that he had broken his promise in that particular. He was dissatisfied that James his nephew had been allowed to marry, first Magdalene of France, then a princess of the house of Guise; and he considered these alliances as pledges which Francis gave of his intentions to support the Scots against the power of England. He had been informed of some railleries which the French king had thrown out against his conduct with regard to his wives. He was disgusted that Francis, after so many obligations which he owed him, had sacrificed him to the emperor; and, in the confidence of friendship, had rashly revealed his secrets to that subtle and interested monarch. And he complained that regular payments were never made of the sums due to him by France, and of the pension which had been stipulated. Impelled by these motives, he alienated himself from his ancient friend and confederate, and formed a league with the emperor, who earnestly courted his alliance (*p*). That they might have a pretence for enforcing their claims, they sent a message to Francis, requiring him to renounce his alliance with sultan Solyman, and to make reparation for all the evils which Christendom had sustained from that unnatural confederacy. Upon the French king's refusal, war was declared against him by the allies (*q*).

While the treaty with the emperor was negociating, the king summoned a new session of parliament, on the 22nd of January, 1543, in order to obtain supplies for his projected war with France. The parliament granted him a subsidy, to be paid in three years: it was levied in a peculiar manner; but exceeded not three shillings in the pound upon any individual (*r*). The convocation gave the king six shillings in the pound, to be levied in three years. Greater sums were always, even during the establishment of the Catholic religion, exacted from the clergy than from the laity: which made the emperor Charles say, when Henry dissolved the monasteries, and sold their revenues, or bestowed them on his nobility and courtiers, that he had killed the hen which brought him the

(*o*) The following conditions were quickly agreed on; that the queen should remain in Scotland till she should be ten years of age; that she should then be sent to England to be educated; that six Scottish noblemen should immediately be delivered as hostages to Henry; and that the kingdom, notwithstanding its union with England, should still retain its laws and privileges. *Sir Ralph Sadler's Letters.*

(*p*) This league, besides stipulations for mutual defence, contained a plan for invading France; and the two monarchs agreed to enter Francis's dominions with an army, each of twenty-five thousand men; and to require that prince to pay Henry all the sums which he owed him, and to consign Boulogne, Montreuil, Terouenne, and Ardres, as a security for the regular payment of his pension for the future: in case these conditions were rejected, the confederate princes agreed to challenge for Henry the crown of France, or, in default of it, the duchies of Normandy, Aquitaine, and Guienne; for Charles, the duchy of Burgundy, and some other territories. *Rymer, vol. xiv. p. 768. vol. xv. p. 2.*

(*q*) It may be proper to remark, that the partizans of France objected to Charles his alliance with the heretical king of England, as no less noxious than that which Francis had contracted with Solyman; and they observed, that this league was a breach of the solemn promise which he had given to Clement VII. never to make peace or alliance with England.

(*r*) They who were worth in goods twenty shillings and upwards to five pounds, paid four pence of every pound; from five pounds to ten pounds, eight pence; from ten pounds to twenty pounds, sixteen pence; from twenty and upwards, two shillings. Lands, fees, and annuities, from twenty shillings to five pounds, paid eight pence in the pound; from five pounds to ten pounds, sixteen pence; from ten pounds to twenty pounds, two shillings; from twenty pounds and upwards, three shillings.

golden

golden eggs (*s*). The parliament also facilitated the execution of the former law, by which the king's proclamations were made equal to statutes: they appointed that any nine counsellors should form a legal court for punishing all disobedience to proclamations. The total abolition of juries in criminal causes, as well as of all parliaments, seemed, if the king had so pleased, the necessary consequence of this enormous law. He might issue a proclamation, enjoining the execution of any penal statute, and afterwards try the criminals, not for breach of the statute, but for disobedience to his proclamation (*t*).

On the 12th of July, this year, the king married Catherine Par, widow of Nevil lord Latimer; a woman of virtue, and somewhat inclined to the Reformation; but, knowing the danger of contradicting the king in religious matters, she withheld her interference; and even refused to interfere in behalf of three Protestants, who were burned at Windsor, immediately after her marriage, at the solicitation of Gardiner, bishop of Winchester. By this, Henry's sixth marriage, he confirmed what had formerly been foretold in jest, that he would be obliged to espouse a widow. The king's league with the emperor seemed a circumstance no less favourable to the catholic party; and thus matters remained still nearly balanced between the partizans of the two religions.

The advantages gained by this powerful confederacy between Henry and Charles were inconsiderable during the present year. The campaign was opened with a victory gained by the duke of Cleves, Francis's ally, over the forces of the emperor (*u*): Francis in person took the field early; and made himself master, without resistance, of the whole duchy of Luxembourg: he afterwards took Landrecy, and added some fortifications to it. Charles having at last assembled a powerful army, appeared in the Low Countries; and after taking almost every fortress in the duchy of Cleves, he reduced the duke to accept of the terms which he was pleased to prescribe to him. Being then joined by a body of six thousand English, under sir John Wallop, he sat down before Landrecy, and covered the siege with an army of above forty thousand men. Francis advanced at the head of an army not much inferior; as if he intended to give the emperor battle, or oblige him to raise the siege: but while these two rival monarchs were facing each other, and all men were in expectation of some great event, the French king found means of throwing succour into Landrecy, the garrison of which place, consisting of veteran troops, was commanded by De la Lande and Dessè, two officers of reputation; and having thus effected his purpose, he skilfully made a retreat. Charles, finding the season far advanced, despaired of success in his enterprize, and found it necessary to go into winter quarters.

Henry's vanity was flattered by the figure which he made in the great transactions on the continent; but the interests of his kingdom were more deeply concerned in the event of affairs in Scotland. Arran, the governor, was of an indolent and unambitious character, so that, had he not been stimulated by his friends, he never had aspired to any share in the administration; and when he found himself overpowered by the party of the queen-dowager, the cardinal, and the earl of Lenox, he gladly accepted of terms of accommodation. He even gave them a sure pledge of his sincerity, by renouncing the principles of the reformers, and reconciling himself to the Romish communion in the Franciscan church at Stirling. By this weakness he lost his credit with the nation, and rendered the Protestants, who were hitherto the chief support of his power, his inveterate enemies. The cardinal now acquired an entire ascendant in the kingdom: the queen-dowager placed implicit confidence in him: the governor was obliged to yield to him in every pretension: Lenox alone was become an obstacle to his measures, and reduced him to some difficulty.

The enmity which had taken place between the families of Lenox and Arran made the interests of these two noblemen entirely incompatible; and as cardinal Beaton and the French party, in order to engage Lenox the more in their cause, had flattered him with the hopes of succeeding to the crown after the death of their infant sovereign, this rivalship had tended still farther to rouse the animosity of the Hamiltons. Lenox too had been encouraged to aspire to the marriage of the queen-dowager, which would have given him some pretensions to the regency; and as he was become assuming on account of the services which he had rendered the party, the cardinal found that since he must chuse between the friendship of Lenox and that of Arran, the latter nobleman, who was more easily governed, and who was invested with present authority, was in every respect preferable. Lenox, finding that he was not likely to succeed in his pretensions to the queen-dowager, and that Arran, favoured by the cardinal, had acquired the ascendancy, retired to Dunbarton, the governor of which was entirely at his devotion: he entered into a secret correspondence with the English court, and summoned his vassals and partizans to attend him. All those who were inclined to the Protestant religion, or were discontented with the cardinal's administration, now regarded Lenox as the head of their party; and readily made him a tender of their services. In a short time he had collected an army of ten thousand men, and threatened his enemies with immediate destruction. The cardinal had no equal force to oppose to him; but he foresaw that Lenox could not long subsist so great an army, and endeavoured to gain time by opening a negociation with him. He seduced his followers by various artifices; he prevailed on the Douglasses to change party; he represented to the nation the danger of civil wars and commotions; and Lenox, observing the unequal contest in which he was engaged, was at last obliged to lay down his arms, and to accept of an accommodation with the governor and the cardinal. Peace was again restored; but no confidence took place between the parties. Lenox, fortifying his castles, and putting himself in a posture of defence, waited the arrival of English succours, upon whose assistance he relied, and expected to obtain the superiority over his enemies by their co-operation with him.

On the 14th of January, 1544, Henry summoned a new parliament; in which a law was passed, such as he was pleased to dictate, concerning the succession of the crown. After declaring that the prince of Wales or any of the king's male issue, were first and immediate heirs to the crown, the parliament restored the two princesses, Mary and Elizabeth, to their right of succession (*v*). Another act was passed, which declared, that the king's usual style should be "King of England, France, and Ireland, defender of the faith (*w*), and on earth the supreme head of the church of England and Ireland." An act also passed for the remission of the debt which the king had lately contracted by a general loan, levied upon the people. It will easily be believed, that after the former act of this kind, the loan was not entirely voluntary (*x*). But there was a peculiar circumstance attending the present statute, which none but Henry would have thought of; namely, that those who had already gotten payment, either in whole or in part, should refund the money to the exchequer. The oaths which Henry imposed for the security of his ecclesiastical model, were not more reasonable than his other measures. All his subjects, of every denomination, had been obliged to renounce the pope's supremacy; but as the clauses to which they swore had not been deemed entirely satisfactory, another oath was imposed; and it was added, that all those who had taken the former oaths should be understood to have taken the new one (*y*). A strange supposition! to represent men as bound by an oath which they had never taken! The most commend-

(*s*) See Collier, vol. ii. p. 176.

(*t*) It is remarkable that lord Mountjoy—to the disgrace of the nation, but to his own unspeakable honour—was the only nobleman who had sufficient spirit and honesty to enter a protest against this law; and it is equally remarkable, that that protest is the only one entered against any public bill during the whole of this ignominious reign. *Burnet, p. 322.*

(*u*) Memoires du Bellay, lib. 10.

(*v*) This, says Hume, seemed a reasonable piece of justice, and corrected what the king's former violence had thrown into confusion; but it was impossible for Henry to do any thing, how laudable soever, without betraying, in some circumstance, his usual extravagance and caprice: though he opened the way for these two princesses to mount the throne, he would not allow the acts to be reversed which had declared those princesses illegitimate; he made the parliament confer on him a power of still excluding them, if they refused to submit to any conditions which he should be pleased to impose; and he required them to enact, that, in default of his own issue, he might dispose of the crown as he pleased, by will or letters patent. He did not probably foresee, that, in proportion as he degraded the parliament, by rendering it the passive instrument of his variable and violent inclinations, he taught the people to regard all its acts as invalid, and thereby defeated even the purposes which he was so bent to attain.

(*w*) It seemed a palpable inconsistency to retain the title of Defender of the Faith, which the court of Rome had conferred on him, for maintaining its cause against Luther; and yet subjoin his ecclesiastical supremacy in opposition to the claims of that court.

(*x*) 35 Hen. VIII. c. 12. (*y*) 35 Hen. VIII. c. 1.

able law to which the parliament gave their sanction, was that by which they mitigated the law of the six articles, and enacted, that no person should be put to his trial upon an accusation concerning any of the offences comprised in that sanguinary statute, except on the oath of twelve persons, before commissioners authorized for that purpose; and that no person should be arrested or committed to ward for any such offence before he was indicted. And any preacher accused of speaking in his sermon contrary to these articles, was by this law to be indicted within forty days.

The king always experienced the limits of his authority whenever he demanded subsidies, however moderate, from the parliament; and therefore, not to hazard a refusal, he made no mention on the present occasion of a supply: but as his wars both in France and Scotland, as well as his usual prodigality, had involved him in great expences, he had recourse to other methods of filling his exchequer. Notwithstanding the former abolition of his debts, he yet required new loans from his subjects; and he enhanced gold from forty-five shillings to forty-eight shillings an ounce; and silver from three shillings and nine pence to four shillings. His pretence for this innovation was to prevent the money from being exported; as if that expedient could anywise serve the purpose. He even coined some base money, and commanded it to be current by proclamation. He named commissioners for levying a benevolence, and extorted about seventy thousand pounds by this expedient. Read, alderman of London, a man somewhat advanced in years, having refused to contribute, or his contribution not coming up to the expectation of the commissioners, was inrolled as a foot-soldier in the Scottish wars, and was there taken prisoner. Roach, who had been equally refractory, was thrown into prison, and did not obtain his liberty but by paying a large composition. These powers of the prerogative, the compelling of any man to serve in any office, and the imprisoning of any man during pleasure, not to mention the practice of extorting loans, rendered the sovereign in a manner absolute master of the persons and properties of all his subjects.

In the early part of this year the king sent a fleet and an army to invade Scotland. The fleet consisted of near two hundred vessels, and carried on board ten thousand men. John Dudley, lord Lisle, commanded the sea forces; Edward Seymour, earl of Hertford, the land. The troops were disembarked near Leith; and, after dispersing a small body which opposed them, they took that town without resistance, which they sacked and burnt, and then marched to Edinburgh. The gates were soon beaten down, and the English first pillaged, and then set fire to the city. As the regent and cardinal were not prepared to oppose so great a force, they fled to Stirling. The earl of Hertford marched eastward; and being joined by a new body under Evers, warden of the east marches, he laid waste the whole country, burned and destroyed Haddington and Dunbar, and then retreated into England; having lost only forty men in the whole expedition. The earl of Arran collected some forces; but finding that the English were already departed, he turned them against Lenox, who was justly suspected of a correspondence with the enemy. That nobleman, after making some resistance, was obliged to fly into England; where Henry settled a pension on him, and even gave him his niece, lady Margaret Douglas, in marriage. In return, Lenox stipulated conditions by which, had he been able to execute them, he must have reduced his country to total subjection (*z*).

Henry's policy was blamed in this sudden and violent incursion; by which he inflamed the passions of the Scots, without subduing their spirit; and it was commonly asserted, that he did too much if he intended to solicit an alliance, and too little if he meant a conquest (*a*). But the reason of his recalling the troops so soon, was his eagerness to carry on an enterprize which he had projected against France, in which he intended to employ the whole force of his kingdom. He had concerted a plan with the emperor, which threatened the ruin of that monarchy, and must, as a necessary consequence, have involved the ruin of England. These two princes had agreed to invade France with forces, amounting to above a hundred thousand men: Henry engaged to set out from Calais; Charles from the Low Countries: they were not to enter on any siege; but leaving all the frontier towns behind them, to march directly to Paris, where they were to join their forces, and thence to proceed to the entire conquest of the kingdom. At this time Francis could not oppose to these formidable preparations much above forty thousand men.

Henry, having appointed the queen regent during his absence, went over to Calais, on the 24th of July, with thirty thousand men, accompanied by the dukes of Norfolk and Suffolk, Fitzalan earl of Arundel, Vere earl of Oxford, the earl of Surrey, Paulet lord St. John, lord Ferrers of Chartley, lord Mountjoy, lord Grey of Wilton, sir Anthony Brown, sir Francis Bryan, and the most flourishing nobility and gentry of his kingdom. The English army was soon joined by the count de Buren, admiral of Flanders, with ten thousand foot and four thousand horse; and the whole composed an army which nothing on that frontier was able to resist. The chief force of the French armies was drawn to the side of Champagne, in order to oppose the Imperial forces.

The emperor Charles, with an army of near sixty thousand men, had taken the field much earlier than Henry; and, not to lose time, while he waited for the arrival of his confederate, he sat down before Luxembourg, which soon after surrendered to him: he thence proceeded to Commercy, on the Meuse, which he likewise took: Ligny met with the same fate: he next laid siege to St. Disier, on the Marne, which, though a weak place, made a brave resistance, under the count of Sancerre, the governor, and the siege was protracted beyond the expectation of the besiegers.

Charles was employed before this town at the time the English forces were assembled in Picardy. Henry, either tempted by the defenceless condition of the French frontier, or apprehending that the emperor had first broken his engagement, by forming sieges, or perhaps foreseeing at last the dangerous consequences of entirely subduing the French monarchy, instead of marching forward to Paris, sat down before Montreuil and Boulogne. The duke of Norfolk commanded the army before Montreuil: the king himself that before Boulogne. Vervin was governor of the latter place, and under him Philip Corse, a brave old soldier, who encouraged the garrison to defend themselves to the last extremity against the English. He was killed during the course of the siege, on the 14th of September, and the town was immediately surrendered to Henry by the cowardice of Vervin; who was afterwards beheaded for his dishonourable conduct.

During the course of this siege Charles had taken St. Disier; and finding the season much advanced, began to hearken to a treaty of peace with France, since all his schemes for subduing that kingdom were likely to prove abortive. That he might have a pretence for deserting his ally, he sent a messenger to the English camp, requiring Henry immediately to fulfil his engagements, and to meet him with his army before Paris. Henry replied, that he was too far engaged in the siege of Boulogne to raise it with honour, and that the emperor himself had first broken the concert, by besieging St. Disier. This answer served Charles as a sufficient reason for concluding a peace with Francis, at Crepy, on the 18th of September, where no mention was made of the English. He stipulated to give Flanders as a dowry to his daughter, whom he agreed to marry to the duke of Orleans, Francis's second son; and Francis in return withdrew his troops from Piedmont and Savoy, and renounced all claim to Milan, Naples, and other territories in Italy, to which he had pretensions. This peace, so advantageous to Francis, was procured partly by the decisive victory obtained in the beginning of the campaign by the count of Anguyen over the Imperialists, at Cerisolles, in Piedmont, and partly by the emperor's great desire to turn his arms against the protestant princes in Germany. Charles ordered his troops to separate from the English in Picardy; and Henry, finding himself obliged to raise the siege of Montreuil, returned into England about the 30th of the same month. This campaign did not redound much to the honour of the English, though it served the populace as matter of great triumph; but all men of sense concluded that the king had, as in all his former military enterprizes, made, at a great expence, an acquisition which was of no importance.

During the king's absence the war with Scotland was conducted feebly, and with various success. Sir Ralph Evers, now lord Evers, and sir Bryan Latoun, made an inroad into that kingdom; and having laid waste the counties of Tiviotdale, Lauderdale, and the Merse, they proceeded to the abbey of Coldingham, which they took possession of, and fortified. The governor assembled an army

(*z*) Rymer, vol. xv. p. 23. 29.

(*a*) Herbert. Burnet.

army of eight thousand men, in order to dislodge them from this post; but he had no sooner opened his batteries before the place than a sudden panic seized him; he left the army, and fled to Dunbar. He complained of the mutiny of his troops, and pretended apprehensions lest they should deliver him into the hands of the English; but his own unwarlike spirit was generally believed to have been the motive of this dishonourable flight. The Scottish army, upon the departure of their general, fell into confusion; and had not Angus, with a few of his retainers, brought off the cannon, and protected their rear, the English might have gained great advantages over them. Evers, elated with this success, boasted to Henry that he had conquered all Scotland to the Forth; and he claimed a reward for this important service. The duke of Norfolk, who knew with what difficulty such acquisitions would be maintained against a warlike enemy, advised the king to grant him, as his reward, the conquests of which he boasted so highly. The next inroad made by the English shewed the vanity of Evers's hopes. In the beginning of 1545, this general led about five thousand men into Tiviotdale, and was employed in ravaging that country, when intelligence was brought him that some Scottish forces appeared near the abbey of Melross. Angus had roused the governor to more activity; and a proclamation being issued for assembling the troops of the neighbouring counties, a considerable body had repaired thither to oppose the enemy. Norman Lesly, son of the earl of Rothes, had also joined the army with some volunteers from Fife; and he inspired courage into the whole, as well by this accession of force, as by his own personal bravery and intrepidity. In order to bring their troops to the necessity of a steady defence, the Scottish leaders ordered all their cavalry to dismount; and they resolved to wait, on some high grounds near Ancram, the assault of the English. The English, who despised the enemy, thought, when they saw the Scottish horses led off the field, that the whole army was retiring; and they made an attack upon them on the 17th of February. The Scots received them in good order; and being favoured by the advantage of the ground, as well as by the surprize of the English, who expected no resistance, they soon put them to flight and pursued them with considerable slaughter. Evers and Latoun were both killed, and above a thousand men were made prisoners. In order to support the Scots in this war, Francis some time after sent over a body of auxiliaries, to the number of three thousand five hundred men, under the command of Montgomery, lord of Lorges. Reinforced by these succours, the governor assembled an army of fifteen thousand men at Haddington, and marched thence to ravage the east borders of England. He laid all waste wherever he came; and then retired into his own country, and disbanded his army. The earl of Hertford, in revenge, committed ravages on the middle and west marches; and the war on both sides was signalized rather by the ills inflicted on the enemy, than by any considerable advantage gained by either side.

The war likewise between France and England was not distinguished this year by any memorable event. Francis had equipped a fleet of one hundred and sixty large ships, sixty smaller vessels, ten Genoese auxiliaries, and twenty-five gallies; which he placed under the command of admiral Annebant; and having embarked some land forces on board, he sent them to make a descent on the coast of England. They sailed to the Isle of Wight, where they arrived on the 18th of July, 1545, and found the English fleet lying at anchor in the road of St. Helen's. It consisted not of above a hundred sail; and the admiral thought it most advisable to remain in that road, in hopes of drawing the French into the narrow channels and the rocks, with which the French were unacquainted. But the French admiral, being convinced of the danger there would be to follow the English, contented himself for the present, with landing in three places on the island, where he burnt some villages; from whence he steered and made a descent near Brighthelmstone and Newhaven, on the coast of Sussex, where he found the coast so well guarded, that he, without doing much damage, retired; and finding the English fleet, considerably increased, endeavoured to regain his own shore. But after some days, the French fleet being driven back to the coast of England, by a south wind, and put into a little confusion, the English admiral gave them battle for two hours; when they parted without much loss on either side, except the sinking of the Mary Rose, one of the largest of the English ships.

Francis's chief intention in equipping so great a fleet, was to prevent the English from throwing succours into Boulogne, which he resolved to besiege; and for that purpose he ordered a fort to be built, by which he intended to block up the harbour. After a considerable loss of time and money, the fort was found so ill constructed, that he was obliged to abandon it; and though he had assembled on that frontier an army of near forty thousand men, he was not able to effect any considerable enterprize. Henry, in order to defend his possessions in France, had levied fourteen thousand Germans; who having marched to Fleurines, in the bishopric of Liege, found that they could advance no farther. The emperor would not allow them a passage through his dominions: they received intelligence of a superior army on the side of France ready to intercept them: want of occupation and of pay soon produced a mutiny among them; and having seized the English commissaries as a security for arrears, they retreated into their own country.

By reason of his expences in carrying on these two wars, Henry was obliged to summon a new parliament, which met on the 23rd of November; when the commons granted him a subsidy, payable in two years, of two shillings in the pound on land (*b*): the convocation voted him six shillings in the pound. But the parliament, apprehensive lest more demands should be made upon them, endeavoured *conscientiously* to save themselves by a very extraordinary liberality of other people's property: by one vote they bestowed on the king all the revenues of the universities, as well as of the chauntries, free chapels (*c*), and hospitals. Henry was doubtless pleased with this infamous concession, because it increased his power; but he had no intention to rob learning of all her endowments; and he soon took care to inform the universities that he meant not to touch their revenues. Thus these ancient and celebrated establishments owe their existence to the generosity of the king, not to the protection of this servile and prostituted parliament!

The prostitute spirit of the parliament farther appeared in the preamble of a statute (*d*), in which they recognize the king to have always been, by the word of God, supreme head of the church of England; and acknowledge that archbishops, bishops, and other ecclesiastical persons, have no manner of jurisdiction but by his royal mandate: "To him alone," say they, "and such persons as he shall appoint, full power and authority is given from above to hear and determine all manner of causes ecclesiastical, and to correct all manner of heresies, errors, vices, and sins whatsoever." No mention is here made of the concurrence of a convocation, or even of a parliament. His proclamations are, in effect, acknowledged to have not only the force of law, but the authority of revelation; and by his royal power he might regulate the actions of men, control their words, and even direct their inward sentiments and opinions.

On the 24th of December, the king made, in person, a speech to the parliament, on proroguing them; in which, after thanking them for their loving attachment to him, which, he said, equalled what was ever paid by their ancestors to any king of England, he complained of their dissensions, disputes, and animosities in religion. He told them, that the several pulpits were become a kind of batteries against each other; and that one preacher called another heretic and anabaptist, which was retaliated by the opprobrious appellations of papist and hypocrite: that he had permitted his people the use of the scriptures, not in order to furnish them with materials for disputing and railing, but that he might enable them to inform their consciences, and instruct their children and families: that it grieved his heart to find how that precious jewel was prostituted, by being introduced into the conversation of every alehouse and tavern, and employed as a pretence for decrying the spiritual and legal pastors: and that he was sorry to observe that the word of God, while it was the

(*b*) Those who possessed goods or money above five pounds and below ten, were to pay eight pence in the pound: those above ten pounds, a shilling.

(*c*) A chauntry was a little church, chapel, or particular altar in some cathedral church, &c. endowed with lands or other revenues for the maintenance of one or more priests, daily to say mass, or perform divine service, for the use of the founders, or such others as they appointed: free chapels were independent on any church, and endowed for much the same purpose as the former. *Jacob's Law Dictionary.*

(*d*) 37 Hen. VIII. c. 17.

object

object of so much anxious speculation, had very little influence on their practice; and that, though an imaginary knowledge so much abounded, charity was daily going to decay (*e*). Thus we find, that the king, like every hypocrite, could give good advice; but his own example, by encouraging speculation and dispute, was ill fitted to promote that peaceable submission of opinion which he here recommended.

Henry employed the money which had been granted by parliament in military preparations; and he sent over the earl of Hertford and lord Lisle, the admiral, to Calais, with a body of nine thousand men, two-thirds of which consisted of foreigners. Some skirmishes of a trifling nature ensued with the French; and no hopes of any considerable progress could be entertained by either party. Henry, whose animosity against Francis was not violent, had given sufficient vent to his humour by this short war; and finding that from his great increase of corpulence and gradual decay of strength, he could not hope for much longer life, he was desirous of ending a quarrel which might prove dangerous to his kingdom during a minority. Francis likewise, on his part, was not averse to peace with England; because having lately lost his son the duke of Orleans, he revived his ancient claim upon Milan, and foresaw that hostilities were soon likely, on that account, to break out between him and the emperor. Commissioners, therefore, having met at Campe, a small place between Ardres and Guisnes, on the 7th of June, 1546, the articles were soon agreed on, and the peace signed by them (*f*).

The king, now freed from foreign wars, began to turn his thoughts towards the settlement of his domestic affairs; he paid particular attention to the establishment of uniformity in opinion, which he so much desired. Though he allowed an English translation of the Bible, he had hitherto been very careful to keep the mass in Latin; but he was at last prevailed on to permit that the litany, a considerable part of the service, should be celebrated in the vulgar tongue; and, by this innovation, he excited anew the hopes of the reformers, who had been somewhat discouraged by the severe law of the six articles. One petition of the new litany was a prayer to save us "from the tyranny of the bishop of Rome, and from all his detestable enormities." Cranmer employed his credit to draw Henry into farther innovations; and he took advantage of Gardiner's absence, who, together with the bishop of Westminster (*g*), was sent on an embassy to the emperor: but Gardiner having written to the king, that if he carried his opposition against the catholic religion to greater extremities, Charles threatened to break off all commerce with him, the success of Cranmer's projects was for some time retarded. Cranmer lost this year the most sincere and powerful friend that he possessed at court, Charles Brandon duke of Suffolk (*h*): the queen-dowager of France, consort to Suffolk, had died some years before.

Cranmer, when bereft of this support, was greatly exposed to those cabals of the courtiers, which the opposition in party and religion, joined to interested motives, rendered so frequent among Henry's ministers and counsellors. The catholics took hold of the king by his passion for orthodoxy; and they represented to him, that if his laudable zeal for enforcing the truth met with no better success, it was altogether owing to the primate, whose example and encouragement were, in reality, the secret supports of heresy. Henry, seeing the point at which they aimed, feigned a compliance, and desired the council to make inquiry into Cranmer's conduct; promising that, if he were found guilty, he should be committed to prison, and brought to condign punishment. Every body now considered the primate as lost; and his old friends, from interested views, as well as the opposite party, from animosity, began to show him marks of neglect and disregard. He was obliged to stand several hours among the lacqueys at the door of the council-chamber, before he could gain admittance; and when he was at last called in, he was told, that they had determined to send him to the Tower. Cranmer said, that he appealed to the king himself; and finding his appeal disregarded, he produced a ring, which Henry had taken from his own finger and given to the archbishop, as a pledge of favour and protection. The council were confounded; and when they came before the king, he reproved them in the severest terms; and told them that he was as well acquainted with Cranmer's merit, as with their malignity and envy; but he was determined to crush all their cabals, and to teach them by the severest discipline, since gentle methods were ineffectual, a more dutiful concurrence in promoting his service. He turned Gardiner out of his council immediately, struck him out of his will, erased his name from the list of his son Edward's counsellors during his minority. But the duke of Norfolk, who was Cranmer's capital enemy, apologized for their conduct, and said, that their only intention was to set the primate's innocence in a full light, by bringing him to an open trial; and Henry obliged them all to embrace him as a sign of their cordial reconciliation. The mild temper of Cranmer rendered this agreement more sincere on his part, than is usual in such forced compliances.

Notwithstanding Henry's favour for Cranmer rendered all accusations against him abortive, his pride and peevishness, irritated by his declining state of health, impelled him to punish with additional severity all those who presumed to entertain a different opinion from himself, particularly in the point of the real presence. Anne Ascue, a young woman of good birth, great beauty, and uncommon talents, who had great connexions with the chief ladies at court, and with the queen herself, was accused of dogmatising on that delicate article; and Henry, instead of shewing indulgence to the weakness of her sex and age, was but the more provoked that a woman should dare to oppose his theological sentiments. She was prevailed on by Bonner's menaces to make a seeming recantation; but she qualified it with some reserves, which did not satisfy that zealous prelate (*i*). She was therefore sent to prison, and she there employed herself in composing prayers and discourses, by which she fortified her resolution to endure the utmost extremity rather than relinquish her religious principles. She even wrote to the king, and told him, that as to the Lord's supper, she believed as much as Christ himself had said of it, and as much of his divine doctrine as the catholic church had required; but while she could not be brought to acknowledge an assent to the king's explications, this declaration availed her nothing, and was rather regarded as a fresh insult. The chancellor Wriothesley, who had succeeded Audley, and who was much attached to the catholic system, was sent to examine her with regard to her patrons at court, and the great ladies who were in correspondence with her; but she maintained a laudable fidelity to her friends, and would not make any confession to their detriment. She was put to the torture in the most barbarous manner, and continued resolute in preserving secrecy. Some authors (*k*) add an extraordinary circumstance: that the chancellor, who stood by, ordered the lieutenant of the Tower to stretch the rack still farther; but that officer refused compliance: the chancellor menaced him; but met with a fresh refusal: upon which that

(*e*) Hall, fol. 261. Herbert, p. 534.

(*f*) The chief conditions of the peace were, that Henry should retain Boulogne during eight years, or till the former debt due by Francis should be discharged. This debt was settled at two millions of livres, besides a claim of five hundred thousand livres, which was afterwards to be adjusted. Francis took care to comprehend Scotland in the treaty. Thus all that Henry obtained by a war, which cost him above one million three hundred and forty thousand pounds sterling, was a bad and a chargeable security for a debt which was not a third of the value. *See Herbert. Stowe.*

(*g*) Henry the Eighth erected Westminster into a bishopric, and appointed Dr. Thomas Thirlby to the see. The bishopric lasted about nine years; for Thirlby having wasted the patrimony of the see, was removed to Norwich. The abbot was restored by queen Mary, and her foundation being dissolved by queen Elizabeth, she made it a collegiate church of a dean and twelve prebendaries, as it still continues.

(*h*) This nobleman is one instance that Henry was not altogether incapable of a cordial and steady friendship; and Suffolk seems to have been worthy of the favour which, from his earliest youth, he had enjoyed with his master. The king was sitting in council when informed of Suffolk's death; and he took the opportunity both to express his own sorrow for the loss, and to celebrate the merits, of the deceased. He declared, that during the whole course of their friendship, his brother-in-law had never made one attempt to injure an adversary, and had never whispered a word to the disadvantage of any person. "Is there any of you, my lords, who can say as much?" When the king subjoined these words, he looked round in all their faces, and saw that confusion which the consciousness of secret guilt naturally threw upon them. *Coke's Inst. cap. 99.*

(*i*) When she was first examined she was asked by the lord mayor of London, "Whether the priests cannot make the body of Christ?" To which she shrewdly and wittily replied, "I have read that God made man; but that man made God I never yet read."

(*k*) Fox, vol. ii. p. 578. Speed, p. 780. Baker, p. 299. But Burnet questions the truth of this circumstance: Fox, however, transcribes her own paper, where she relates it. I must add, in justice to the king, that he disapproved of Wriothesley's conduct, and commended the lieutenant.

magistrate,

magistrate, who was intoxicated with religious zeal, put his own hand to the rack, and drew it so violently that he almost tore her body asunder. Her constancy still surpassed the barbarity of her persecutors, and they found all their efforts to be baffled. She was then condemned to be burned alive; and being so dislocated by the rack that she could not stand, she was carried to the stake in a chair. Together with her were conducted Nicholas Belenian, a priest, John Lascelles, of the king's household, and John Adams, a taylor, who had been condemned for the same crime to the same punishment. They were all tied to the stake; and in that dreadful situation the chancellor sent to inform them that their pardon was ready drawn and signed, and should instantly be given them, if they would merit it by a recantation. They only regarded this offer as a new ornament to their crown of martyrdom; and they saw with tranquillity the executioner kindle the flames, which consumed them.

Though by the secrecy and fidelity of Anne Ascue the queen escaped from this peril, that princess soon after fell into a new danger, from which she was saved with difficulty. An ulcer had broken out in the king's leg, which, added to his corpulency, and his bad habit of body, began both to threaten his life, and to render him even more than usually peevish and passionate. The queen attended him with the most tender and dutiful care, and endeavoured, by every soothing art and compliance, to allay those gusts of passion to which he was become so subject. His favourite topic of conversation was theology; and Catherine was frequently engaged in the argument; and being secretly inclined to the principles of the reformation, she unwarily betrayed too much of her mind on these occasions. Henry, highly incensed that she should presume to differ from him, complained of her obstinacy to Gardiner, who gladly seized the opportunity to inflame the king's mind. He praised the king's anxious concern for preserving the orthodoxy of his subjects; and represented, that the more elevated the person was who was chastised, and the more near to his person, the greater would be the terror which such an example would strike into every one, and the more glorious would the sacrifice appear to posterity. The chancellor Wriothesley, being consulted, was engaged by religious zeal to second these topics; and Henry, hurried on by his own impetuous temper, and encouraged by his counsellors, even proceeded to order articles of impeachment to be drawn up against his consort. Wriothesley executed his commands with alacrity; and soon after brought the paper to him to be signed; for as it was high treason to throw slander upon the queen, he might otherwise have been questioned for his temerity. By some means this important paper fell into the hands of one of the queen's friends, who immediately carried the intelligence to her. She was sensible of the danger to which she was exposed; but did not despair of being able, by her prudence and address, still to elude the efforts of her enemies. She paid her usual visit to the king, and found him in a more serene disposition than she had reason to expect. He artfully entered on the subject of theology, which was so familiar to him; and seemed to challenge her to an argument. She gently declined the conversation, and remarked, that such profound speculations were ill suited to the natural weakness of her sex. Women, she said, by their first creation, were made subject to men: the male was created after the image of God; the female after the image of the male: it belonged to the husband to chuse principles for his wife; the wife's duty was, in all cases, to adopt implicitly the sentiments of her husband; and as to herself, it was doubly her duty, being blessed with a husband who was qualified, by his judgement and learning, not only to chuse principles for his own family, but for the most wise and knowing of every nation. "Not so! by St. Mary," replied the king; "you are now become a doctor, Kate; and better fitted to give than receive instruction." She replied, with all possible respect and meekness, that she was sensible how little she was entitled to the praises which the king bestowed upon her; that though she usually declined not any conversation, however sublime, when proposed by his majesty, she well knew, that her conceptions could serve to no other purpose than to give him a little momentary amusement; that she found the conversation apt to languish, when not revived by some opposition, and she had ventured sometimes to feign a contrariety of sentiments, in order to give him the pleasure of refuting her; and that she also purposed by this innocent artifice, to engage him in topics whence she had observed by frequent experience that she reaped profit and instruction. "And is it so, sweetheart?" replied the king, "then we are perfect friends again." He embraced her with the greatest affection, and sent her away with assurances of his protection and kindness. Her enemies, who knew nothing of this sudden change in Henry's volatile temper, prepared the next day to convey her to the Tower, pursuant to the king's warrant, which was in their possession. Henry and Catherine were conversing amicably in the garden when the chancellor appeared with forty of the pursuivants. The king spoke to him at some distance from her; and seemed to expostulate with him in terms of the most severe reproach. She even overheard the appellations of *knave*, *fool*, and *beast*, which he liberally bestowed upon that magistrate; and then ordered him to depart his presence: she afterwards interposed to mitigate his anger; when, as if actuated by remorse for the rash step he had taken in ordering a warrant to be made out for her apprehension, he said to her, "Poor soul! you know not how ill entitled this man is to your good offices." Thenceforth the queen, having narrowly escaped so great a danger, was careful not to offend Henry's humour by any contradiction; and Gardiner, whose malice had endeavoured to widen the breach, could never afterwards regain the favour and good opinion of the king (*l*).

Henry's tyrannical disposition burst out soon after to the destruction of the duke of Norfolk and his father, who during this whole reign, and even a part of that of Henry the Seventh, had been regarded as the greatest subjects in the kingdom, and had rendered considerable service to the crown. The duke himself had in his youth acquired reputation by naval enterprizes: he had much contributed to the victory gained over the Scots at Flodden: he had suppressed a dangerous rebellion in the North; and he had always done his part with honour in all the expeditions against France. Fortune seemed to conspire with his own industry, in raising him to the greatest elevation. From the favours heaped on him by the king he had acquired an immense estate: his majesty had successively been married to two of his nieces; and the king's natural son, the duke of Richmond, had married his daughter Mary: besides his descent from the ancient family of the Mowbrays, by which he was allied to the throne, he had espoused a daughter of the duke of Buckingham, who was descended by a female from Edward III.; and as he was believed still to adhere to the catholic religion, he was regarded, both abroad and at home, as the head of that party. But all these circumstances, in proportion as they exalted the duke, provoked the jealousy of Henry; and he foresaw danger, during his son's minority, both to the public tranquillity and to the new ecclesiastical system, from the attempts of so powerful a subject. Indeed nothing tended more to expose Norfolk to the king's displeasure, than the prejudices which Henry had entertained against the earl of Surrey, son of that nobleman.

Surrey was a young man of the most promising hopes, and had distinguished himself by every accomplishment which became a scholar, a courtier, and a soldier. He excelled in all military exercises which were then in request: he encouraged the fine arts by his patronage and example: he had made some successful attempts in poetry; and being smitten with the romantic gallantry of the age, he celebrated the praises of his mistress, by his pen and his lance, in every masque and tournament. His spirit and ambition were equal to his talents and his quality; and he did not always regulate his actions by the caution and reserve which his situation required. He had been left governor of Boulogne when that town was taken by Henry; but though his personal bravery was unquestioned, he had been unfortunate in some rencounters with the French. The king, somewhat displeased with his conduct, had sent over the earl of Hertford to command in his place; and Surrey was so imprudent as to drop some menacing expressions against the ministers, on account of this affront which was put upon him. And as he had refused to marry Hertford's daughter, and even waved every other proposal of marriage, Henry imagined that he had entertained views of espousing the lady Mary; and he was instantly determined to repress, by the most severe expedients, so dangerous an ambition.

Henry, actuated by these prejudices, and perhaps influenced by that old disgust with which the ill conduct of Catherine Howard had inspired him against her whole family, gave private orders to arrest Norfolk and Surrey; and

(*l*) Burnet, vol. i. p. 344. Herbert, p. 500. Speed, p. 780. Fox's Acts and Monuments, vol. ii. p. 58.

and they were on the 12th of December committed to the Tower. Surrey being a commoner, his trial was the more expeditious; and as to proofs, neither parliaments nor juries seem ever to have given the least attention to them in any cause of the crown during the whole reign of this imperious and tyrannical monarch. He was accused of entertaining in his family some Italians who were suspected to be spies; a servant of his had paid a visit to cardinal Pole in Italy, whence he was suspected of holding a correspondence with that prelate; he had quartered the arms of Edward the Confessor on his escutcheon, which made him be suspected of aspiring to the crown, though both he and his ancestors had openly, during the course of many years, maintained that practice, and the heralds had even justified it by their authority. These were the crimes for which a jury, notwithstanding his eloquent and spirited defence, condemned the earl of Surrey, on the 19th of January, 1547, for high treason; and their sentence was executed on him a few days after.

The duke of Norfolk's innocence was still, if possible, more apparent than that of his son; and his services to the crown had been greater. His duchess, with whom he lived on bad terms, and from whom he had been separated four years, had basely carried intelligence to his enemies of all she knew against him: Elizabeth Holland, a mistress of his, had been equally subservient to the designs of the court: yet with all these advantages his accusers discovered no greater crime than his once saying that the king was sickly, and could not hold out long; and the kingdom was likely to fall into disorders, through the diversity of religious opinions. He wrote a pathetic letter to the king, pleading his past services, and protesting his innocence; soon after, he embraced a more proper expedient for appeasing Henry, by making a submission and confession, such as his enemies required; but nothing could mollify the unrelenting temper of the tyrant. He assembled a parliament on the 14th of January, as the surest and most expeditious instrument of his arbitrary disposition, and the house of peers, without examining the prisoner, without trial or evidence, passed a bill of attainder against him, and sent it to the commons. Archbishop Cranmer, though engaged for many years in an opposite party to the duke of Norfolk, and though he had received many and great injuries from him, would have no hand in so unjust a prosecution; and he retired to his seat at Croydon (*m*). The king was now fast approaching towards his dissolution; and fearing lest Norfolk should escape him, he sent a message to the commons, by which he desired them to hasten the bill, on pretence that Norfolk enjoyed the dignity of earl mareschal, and it was necessary to appoint another, who might officiate at the ensuing ceremony of installing his son prince of Wales. The obsequious commons obeyed the directions of the tyrant, though founded on so frivolous a pretence; and the king, having affixed the royal assent to the bill by commissioners, issued orders for the execution of that nobleman on the morning of the 29th of January. But news being carried to the Tower that the king himself had expired the night before the duke was to have been executed, the lieutenant deferred obeying the warrant; and it was not thought advisable by the council to begin a new reign by the death of the greatest nobleman in the kingdom, who had been condemned by a sentence so unjust and arbitrary.

Henry had long been in a declining state of health; but for several days those who were about his person plainly perceived his end approaching. He was become so froward, that no one durst to inform him of his condition; and as some persons during this reign had suffered as traitors for foretelling the king's death (*n*), every one was afraid lest in the transports of his fury he might on this pretence punish capitally the author of such friendly intelligence. At last sir Anthony Denny ventured to disclose to him the fatal secret, and exhorted him to prepare for the fate which was awaiting him. He expressed his resignation; and desired that Cranmer might be sent for: but before the arrival of that prelate the king was speechless, though he still seemed to retain his senses. Cranmer desired him to give some sign of his dying in the faith of Christ: he squeezed the prelate's hand, and immediately expired, after a reign of thirty-seven years and nine months; and in the fifty-sixth year of his age.

The king had made his will near a month before his demise; in which he confirmed the destination of parliament, by leaving the crown first to prince Edward, then to the lady Mary, next to the lady Elizabeth: the two princesses he obliged, under the penalty of forfeiting their title to the crown, not to marry without consent of the council, which he appointed for the government of his minor son. After his own children, he settled the succession on Frances Brandon, marchioness of Dorset, elder daughter of his sister the French queen; then on Eleanor, countess of Cumberland, the second daughter. In passing over the posterity of the queen of Scots, his elder sister, he made use of the power obtained from parliament; but as he subjoined, that after the failure of the French queen's posterity the crown should descend to the next lawful heir, it afterwards became a question, whether these words could be applied to the Scottish line. It was thought that these princes were not the next heirs after the house of Suffolk, but before that house; and that Henry, by expressing himself in this manner, meant entirely to exclude them. The late injuries which he had received from the Scots, had greatly irritated him against that nation; and he maintained to the last that character of violence and caprice, by which his life had been so much distinguished. Another circumstance of his will may suggest the same reflection with regard to the same contrarieties of his temper and conduct: he left money for masses to be said for delivering his soul from purgatory; and though he destroyed all those institutions established by his ancestors and others for the benefit of their souls; and had even left the doctrine of purgatory doubtful in all the articles of faith which he promulgated during his later years; he was yet determined, when the hour of death was approaching, to take care at least of his own future repose, and to adhere to the safer side of the question (*o*).

The character of Henry, as delineated by Hume, we shall here lay before our readers. "It is difficult," says that celebrated historian, "to give a just summary of this prince's qualities: he was so different from himself in different parts of his reign, that, as is well remarked by lord Herbert, his history is his best character and description. The absolute uncontrolled authority which he maintained at home, and the regard which he acquired among foreign nations, are circumstances which entitle him, in some degree, to the appellation of a great prince; while his tyranny and barbarity exclude him from the character of a good one. He possessed, indeed, great vigour of mind, which qualified him for exercising dominion over men, courage, intrepidity, vigilance, inflexibility: and though these qualities lay not always under the guidance of a regular and solid judgement, they were accompanied with good parts and an extensive capacity; and every one dreaded a contest with a man who was known never to yield or to forgive, and who in every controversy was determined either to ruin himself or his antagonist. A catalogue of his vices would comprehend many of the worst qualities incident to human nature: violence, cruelty, profusion, rapacity, injustice, obstinacy, arrogance, bigotry, presumption, caprice: but neither was he subject to all these vices in the most extreme degree, nor was he at intervals altogether destitute of virtues: he was sincere, open, gallant, liberal, and capable at least of a temporary friendship and attachment. In this respect he was unfortunate, that the incidents of his reign served to display his faults in their full light: the treatment which he met with from the court of Rome provoked him to violence; the danger of a revolt from his

(*m*) Burnet, vol. i. p. 348. Fox.

(*n*) Lanquet's Epitome of Chronicles in the year 1547.

(*o*) The executors to Henry's will were archbishop Cranmer; lord chancellor Wriothesley; the earl of Hertford, prince Edward's uncle; lord St. John; lord Russel, viscount Lisle; bishop Tunstal; sir Anthony Brown; sir Edward Montague; justice Bromley; sir Edward North; sir William Paget; sir Anthony Denny; sir William Harbard; sir Edward Wotton; and his brother Dr. Wotton; who were also nominated for the prince his successor's privy council, to be assisted by such other persons, whom he also appointed to be called in, on extraordinary occasions.

Having settled his will, it was ordered to be transcribed and engrossed with all convenient speed, but the advocates for the posterity of his eldest sister Margaret, apprehending they were very badly used therein, deny that it was ever signed by Henry; and though they frequently challenged the opposite party to prove this material fact, they have never yet been able to clear up the point. In the reign of queen Anne some gentlemen were deputed, by persons of the first rank in the kingdom, to go to the chapter house in Westminster Abbey, to search for the original will amongst the records of the Exchequer, and they found one consisting of several sheets of soft paper, tacked together with a braid of green ribband, written in a mean and slovenly character, and pretended to be signed with king Henry's own hand, on the top of the first and the end of the last page; upon comparing the same with his stamp, and his usual hand writing, it agreed with neither, being fairer than ever he could write, and stiff, like a counterfeit hand.

superstitious subjects, seemed to require the most extreme severity. But it must at the same time be acknowledged, that his situation tended to throw an additional lustre on what was great and magnanimous in his character: the emulation between the emperor and the French king rendered his alliance, notwithstanding his impolitic conduct, of great importance in Europe: the extensive powers of his prerogative, and the submissive, not to say slavish disposition of his parliaments, made it the more easy for him to assume and maintain that entire dominion, by which his reign is so much distinguished in the English history.

"It may seem a little extraordinary, that notwithstanding his cruelty, his extortion, his violence, his arbitrary administration, this prince not only acquired the regard of his subjects; but never was the object of their hatred: he seems even in some degree to have possessed to the last their love and affection (*p*). His exterior qualities were advantageous, and fit to captivate the multitude: his magnificence and personal bravery rendered him illustrious in vulgar eyes; and it may be said with truth, that the English in that age were so thoroughly subdued, that like eastern slaves they were inclined to admire those acts of violence and tyranny which were exercised over themselves, and at their own expence.

"With regard to foreign states, Henry appears long to have supported an intercourse of friendship with Francis, more sincere and disinterested than usually takes place between neighbouring princes. Their common jealousy of the emperor Charles, and some resemblance in their characters (though the comparison sets the French monarch in a very superior and advantageous light,) served as the cement of their mutual amity. Francis is said to have been affected with the king's death, and to have expressed much regret for the loss. His own health began to decline; he foretold that he should not long survive his friend (*q*): and he died in about two months after him."

By queen Catherine of Arragon, Henry had two sons, who lived but a short time; and Mary, born February 8, 1515, who afterwards ascended the throne. By Anne Boleyn, he had, 1. Elizabeth, born September 7, 1533, who succeeded her sister Mary in the government of the kingdom; and 1. a son still born, February 29, 1535. By Jane Seymour, he had prince Edward, who was born October 12, 1537, and who succeeded his father by the title of Edward the Sixth. By his three last queens, Anne of Cleves, Catherine Howard, and Catherine Parr, he had no issue. But by Elizabeth, daughter of sir John Blunt, Knt. and widow of sir Gilbert Tailbois, he had a natural son, named Henry Fitzroy, whom he made earl of Nottingham, duke of Richmond, high admiral, lieutenant of Ireland, &c. and who died July 24, 1536, aged seventeen years.

Miscellaneous Transactions and Political Remarks on the Reign of Henry the Eighth.

AS there were several transactions of a miscellaneous nature, which could not properly be brought in during the reign of Henry, we deem it necessary to insert an account of them in this place.

There were ten parliaments summoned by Henry VIII. and twenty-three sessions held. The whole time in which these parliaments sat during this long reign exceeded not three years and a half. It amounted not to a twelvemonth during the first twenty years. The innovations in religion obliged the king afterwards to call these assemblies more frequently; but though these were the most important transactions that ever fell under the cognizance of parliament, their devoted submission to the will of their arbitrary and tyrannical master, added to their earnest desire of soon returning to their country-seats, produced a quick dispatch of the bills, and made the sessions of short duration. All the king's caprices were indeed blindly complied with, and no regard was paid to the safety or liberty of the subject. Besides the violent prosecution of whatever he was pleased to term heresy, the laws of treason were multiplied beyond all former precedent. Even words to the disparagement of the king, queen, or royal issue, were subjected to that penalty; and so little care was taken in framing these rigorous statutes, that they contain obvious contradictions; insomuch that, had they been strictly executed, every man without exception must have fallen under the penalty of treason. By one statute (*r*), for instance, it was declared treason to assert the validity of the king's marriage, either with Catherine of Arragon, or Anne Boleyn: by another (*s*) it was treason to say any thing to the disparagement or slander of the princesses Mary and Elizabeth; and to call them spurious, would no doubt have been construed to their slander. Nor would even a profound silence, with regard to these delicate points, be able to save a person from such penalties. For by the former statute, whoever refused to answer upon oath to any point contained in that act, was subject to the pains of treason. The king, therefore, needed only propose to any one a question with regard to the legality of either of the first marriages: if the person was silent, he was a traitor by law: if he answered, either in the negative or in the affirmative, he was no less a traitor. So monstrous were the inconsistencies which arose from the furious passions of the king, and the slavish submission of his parliaments. It is difficult to say whether these contradictions were owing to Henry's precipitancy, or to a formed design of tyranny.

It may not be improper to recapitulate whatever is memorable in the statutes of this reign, whether with regard to government or commerce: nothing can better show the genius of the age than such a review of the laws.

The abolition of the catholic religion much contributed to the regular execution of justice. While the superstitions of the church of Rome subsisted, there was no possibility of punishing any crime in the clergy: the church would not permit the magistrate to try the offences of her members, and she could not herself inflict any civil penalties upon them. But Henry restrained these pernicious immunities: the privilege of the clergy was abolished for the crimes of petty treason, murder, and felony, to all under the degree of a subdeacon (*t*). But the former superstition not only protected crimes in the clergy; it exempted also the laity from punishment, by affording them shelter in the churches and sanctuaries. The parliament abridged these privileges. It was first declared, that no sanctuaries were allowed in cases of high treason (*u*); next, in those of murder, felony, rapes, burglary, and petty treason (*v*); and it limited them in other particulars (*w*). The farther progress of the reformation removed all distinction between the clergy and other subjects; and also abolished entirely the privileges of sanctuaries. These consequences were implied in the neglect of the canon law.

The only expedient employed to support the military spirit during this age, was the reviving and extending of some old laws enacted for the encouragement of archery, on which the defence of the kingdom was supposed much to depend. Every man was ordered to have a bow (*x*): butts were ordered to be erected in every parish (*y*): and every bowyer was ordered, for each bow of yew which he made, to make two of elm or wich for the service of the common people (*z*). The use of cross-bows and hand-guns was also prohibited (*a*). What rendered the English bowmen more formidable was, that they carried halberts with them, by which they were enabled upon occasion to engage in close fight with the enemy (*b*). Frequent musters or arrays were also made of the people, even during time of peace; and all men of substance were obliged to have a complete suit of armour or harness, as it was called (*c*). The martial spirit of the English, during that age, rendered this precaution, it was thought, sufficient for the defence of the nation; and as the king had then an absolute power of commanding the service of all his subjects, he could instantly, in case of danger, appoint new officers, and levy regiments, and collect an army as numerous as he pleased. When no faction or division prevailed among the people, there was no foreign power that ever thought of invading England. The city of London alone could muster fifteen thousand men (*d*). Discipline, however, was an advantage wanting to those troops; though the garrison of Calais was a nursery of officers; and Tournay first (*e*), Boulogne afterwards, served to increase the number. Every one who served abroad

(*p*) Strype, vol. i. p. 389, (*q*) Le Thou.
(*r*) 28 Hen. VIII. c. 7. (*s*) 34, 35 Hen. VIII. cap. 1.
(*t*) 23 Hen. VIII. c. 1. (*u*) 26 Hen. VIII. c. 13.
(*v*) 32 Hen. VIII. c. 12. (*w*) 22 Hen. VIII. c. 14.
(*x*) 3 Hen. VIII. c. 3. (*y*) Ibid. (*z*) Ibid.

(*a*) 3 Hen. VIII. c. 13. (*b*) Herbert.
(*c*) Hall, fol. 234. Stowe, p. 515. Hollingshed, p. 947.
(*d*) Hall, fol. 235. Hollingshed, p. 547. Stowe, p. 577.
(*e*) Hall, fol. 68.

was

was allowed to alienate his lands without paying any fees (*f*). A general permission was granted to dispose of land by will (*g*). The parliament was so little jealous of its privileges (which indeed were at that time scarcely worth preserving,) that there is an instance of one Strode, who, because he had introduced into the lower house some bill regarding tin, was severely treated by the Stannery courts in Cornwall: heavy fines were imposed on him; and, upon his refusal to pay, he was thrown into a dungeon, loaded with irons, and used in such a manner as brought his life in danger: yet all the notice which the parliament took of this enormity, even in such a paltry court, was to enact, That no man could afterwards be questioned for his conduct in parliament (*h*). This prohibition, however, must be supposed to extend only to the inferior courts: for as to the king, and privy-council, and star-chamber, they were scarcely bound by any law.

There is a bill of tonnage and poundage, which shews what uncertain ideas the parliament had formed both of their own privileges and of the rights of the sovereign (*i*). This duty had been voted to every king since Henry IV. during the term of his own life only: yet Henry VIII. had been allowed to levy it six years without any law; and though there had been four parliaments assembled during that time, no attention had been given either to grant it to him regularly, or restrain him from levying it. At last the parliament resolved to give him that supply; but even in this concession they plainly show themselves at a loss to determine whether they grant it, or whether he has a right of himself to levy it. They say that the imposition was made to endure during the natural life of the late king, and no longer: they yet blame the merchants who had not paid it to the present king: they observe that the law for tonnage and poundage was expired; yet make no scruple to call that imposition the king's due: they affirm, that he had sustained great and manifold losses by those who had defrauded him of it; and to provide a remedy, they vote him that supply during his life-time, and no longer. It is remarkable that, notwithstanding this last clause, all his successors, for more than a century, persevered in the like irregular practice: if a practice may deserve that epithet in which the whole nation acquiesced, and which gave no offence. But when Charles I. attempted to continue in the same course, which had now received the sanction of many generations, so much were the opinions of men altered, that a furious tempest was excited by it; and historians, partial or ignorant, still represent this measure as a most violent and unprecedented enormity in that unhappy prince.

The king was allowed to make laws for Wales without consent of parliament (*k*). It was forgotten, that with regard both to Wales and England, the limitation was abolished by the statute which gave to the royal proclamations the force of laws.

The foreign commerce of England, during this age, was mostly confined to the Netherlands. The inhabitants of the Low Countries bought the English commodities, and distributed them into other parts of Europe. Hence the mutual dependance of those countries on each other; and the great loss sustained by both in case of a rupture. During all the variations of politics, the sovereigns endeavoured to avoid coming to this extremity; and though the king usually bore a greater friendship to Francis, the nation always leaned towards the emperor.

In 1528, hostilities commenced between England and the Low Countries; and the inconvenience was soon felt on both sides. While the Flemings were not allowed to purchase cloth in England, the English merchants could not buy it from the clothiers, and the clothiers were obliged to dismiss their workmen, who began to be tumultuous for want of bread. The cardinal, to appease them, sent for the merchants, and ordered them to buy cloth as usual: they told him, that they could not dispose of it as usual; and, notwithstanding his menaces, he could get no other answer from them (*l*). An agreement was at last made to continue the commerce between the states, even during the war.

It was not till the end of this reign that any sallads, carrots, turnips, or other edible roots were produced in England. The little of these vegetables that was used, was formerly imported from Holland and Flanders (*m*). Queen Catherine, when she wanted a sallad, was obliged to dispatch a messenger thither on purpose. The use of hops, and the planting of them, was introduced from Flanders about the beginning of this reign, or end of the preceding.

Foreign artificers, in general, much surpassed the English in dexterity, industry, and frugality: hence the violent animosity which the latter, on many occasions, expressed against any of the former who were settled in England. They had the assurance to complain, that all their customers went to foreign tradesmen; and, in the year 1517, being moved by the seditious sermons of one Dr. Bele, and the intrigues of Lincoln, a broker, they raised an insurrection. The apprentices, and others of the poorer sort, in London, began by breaking open the prisons, where some persons were confined for insulting foreigners. They next proceeded to the house of Meutas, a Frenchman, much hated by them; where they committed great disorders; killed some of his servants, and plundered his goods. The mayor could not appease them; nor sir Thomas More, late under-sheriff, though much respected in the city. They also threatened cardinal Wolsey with some insult; and he thought it necessary to fortify his house, and put himself on his guard. Tired at last with these disorders, they dispersed themselves; and the earls of Shrewsbury and Surrey seized some of them. A proclamation was issued, that women should not meet together to babble and talk, and that all men should keep their wives in their houses. Next day the duke of Norfolk came into the city, at the head of thirteen hundred armed men, and made inquiry into the tumult. Bele and Lincoln, and several others, were sent to the Tower, and condemned for treason. Lincoln and thirteen more were executed. The other criminals, to the number of four hundred, were brought before the king, with ropes about their necks, fell on their knees, and cried for mercy. Henry knew at that time how to pardon; and dismissed them without farther punishment (*n*).

So great was the number of foreign artizans in the city, that at least fifteen thousand Flemings alone were at one time obliged to leave it, by an order of council, when Henry became jealous of their favour for queen Catherine (*o*). Henry himself confesses, in an edict of the star-chamber, printed among the statutes, that the foreigners starved the natives; and obliged them, from idleness, to have recourse to theft, murder, and other enormities (*p*). He also asserts, that the vast multitude of foreigners raised the price of grain and bread (*q*). And to prevent an increase of the evil, all foreign artificers were prohibited from having above two foreigners in their house, either journeymen or apprentices. A like jealousy arose against the foreign merchants; and, to appease it, a law was enacted, obliging all denizens to pay the duties imposed upon aliens (*r*). The parliament had done better to have encouraged foreign merchants and artizans to come over in greater numbers to England; which might have excited the emulation of the natives, and have improved their skill. The prisoners in the kingdom for debts and crimes are asserted, in an act of parliament, to be sixty thousand persons and above (*s*); which is scarcely credible. Harrison asserts that seventy-two thousand criminals were executed during this reign for theft and robbery, which would amount nearly to two thousand a-year. He adds, that in the latter end of Elizabeth's reign, there were not punished capitally four hundred in a year: it appears that, in all England, there are not at present fifty executed for those crimes. If these facts be just, there has been a great improvement in morals since the reign of Henry VIII. and this improvement has been chiefly owing to the increase of industry and of the arts, which have given maintenance, and, what is almost of equal importance, occupation, to the lower classes.

There is a remarkable clause in a statute passed near the beginning of this reign (*t*), by which we might be induced to believe that England was extremely decayed from the flourishing condition which it had attained in preceding times. It had been enacted in the reign of Edward II. that no magistrate in town or borough, who by his office ought to keep assize, should, during the continuance of his magistracy, sell, either in wholesale or retail, any wine or victuals. This law seemed equitable, in order to prevent fraud or private views in fixing the assize: yet the law is repealed in this reign. The reason assigned is, that "since the making of that statute and ordinance, many,

(*f*) 14 and 15 Hen. VIII. c. 15. (*g*) 34 and 35 Hen. VIII. c. 5.
(*h*) 4 Hen. VIII. c. 8. (*i*) 6 Hen. VIII. c. 14.
(*k*) 34 Hen. VIII. (*l*) Hall, folio 174. (*m*) Anderson, vol. i. p. 338.

(*n*) Stowe, 505. Hollingshed, 840. (*o*) Le Grand, vol. iii. p. 232.
(*p*) 21 Hen. VIII. (*q*) Ibid. (*r*) 22 Hen. VIII. c. 8.
(*s*) 3 Hen. VIII. c. 15. (*t*) 3 Hen. VIII. c. 8.

and the most part of all the cities, boroughs, and towns corporate, within the realm of England, are fallen in ruin and decay, and are not inhabited by merchants, and men of such substance as at the time of making that statute: for at this day, the dwellers and inhabitants of the same cities and boroughs are commonly bakers, vintners, fishmongers, and other victuallers, and there remain few others to bear the offices." Men have such a propensity to exalt past times above the present, that it seems dangerous to credit this reasoning of the parliament, without farther evidence to support it. So different are the views in which the same object appears, that some may be inclined to draw an opposite inference from this fact. A more regular police was established in the reign of Henry VIII. than in any former period, and a stricter administration of justice; an advantage which induced the men of landed property to leave the provincial towns, and to retire into the country. Cardinal Wolsey, in a speech to parliament, represented it as a proof of the increase of riches, that the customs had increased beyond what they were formerly (*u*).

But if there were really a decay of commerce, and industry, and populousness in England, the statutes of this reign, except by abolishing monasteries, and retrenching holidays, circumstances of considerable moment, were not in other respects well calculated to remedy the evil. The fixing of the wages of artificers was attempted (*v*): luxury in apparel was prohibited by repeated statutes (*w*); and probably without effect. The chancellor and other ministers were empowered to fix the price of poultry, cheese, and butter (*x*). A statute was even passed to fix the price of beef, pork, mutton, and veal (*y*). Beef and pork were ordered to be sold at a halfpenny a pound: mutton and veal at a halfpenny half a farthing, money of that age. The preamble of the statute says, that these four species of butcher's meat were the food of the poorer sort (*z*). This act was afterwards repealed (*a*).

The practice of depopulating the country, by abandoning tillage, and throwing the lands into pasturage, still continued (*b*); as appears by the new laws which were, from time to time, enacted against that practice. The king was entitled to half the rents of the land, where any farm houses were allowed to fall to decay (*c*). The unskilful husbandry was probably the cause why the proprietors found no profit in tillage. The number of sheep allowed to be kept in one flock was restrained to two thousand (*d*). Sometimes, says the statute, one proprietor, or farmer, would keep a flock of twenty-four thousand. It is remarkable, that the parliament ascribes the increasing price of mutton to this increase of sheep: because, say they, the commodity being gotten into few hands, the price of it is raised at pleasure (*e*). It is more probable that the effect proceeded from the daily increase of money: for it seems almost impossible that such a commodity could be engrossed.

In the year 1544, it appears that an acre of good land in Cambridgeshire was let at a shilling, or about fifteen pence of our present money (*f*). This is fifteen times cheaper than the usual rent at present. But commodities were not above six times cheaper: a presumption of the bad husbandry in that age.

Some laws were made with regard to beggars and vagrants (*g*); one of the circumstances in government which humanity would most powerfully recommend to a benevolent legislator; which seems, at first sight, the most easily adjusted; and which is yet the most difficult to settle in such a manner as to attain the end without destroying industry. The convents formerly were a support to the poor; but at the same time tended to encourage idleness and beggary.

In 1546, a law was made for fixing the interest of money at ten per cent.; the first legal interest known in England. Formerly, all loans of that nature were regarded as usurious. The preamble of this very law treats the interest of money as illegal and criminal: and the prejudices still remained so strong, that the law permitting interest was repealed in the following reign.

This reign, as well as many of the foregoing, and even subsequent reigns, abounds with monopolizing laws, confining particular manufactures to particular towns, or excluding the open country in general (*h*). There remain still too many traces of similar absurdities. In the subsequent reign, the corporations which had been opened by a former law, and obliged to admit tradesmen of different kinds, were again shut up by act of parliament; and every one was prohibited from exercising any trade who was not of the corporation (*i*).

Henry VIII. as he possessed himself some talent for letters, was an encourager of them in others. He founded Trinity College in Cambridge, and gave it ample endowments. Wolsey founded Christ Church in Oxford, and intended to call it Cardinal College: but upon his fall, which happened before he had entirely finished his scheme, the king seized all the revenues; and this violence, above all the other misfortunes of that minister, is said to have given him the greatest concern (*k*). But Henry afterwards restored the revenues of the college, and only changed the name. The cardinal founded in Oxford the first chair for teaching Greek; and this novelty rent that university into violent factions, which frequently came to blows. The students divided themselves into parties, which bore the names of Greeks and Trojans, and sometimes fought with as great animosity as was formerly exercised by those hostile nations. A new and more correct method of pronouncing Greek being introduced, it also divided the Grecians themselves into parties; and it was remarked that the catholics favoured the former pronunciation, the protestants gave countenance to the new. Gardiner employed the authority of the king and council to suppress innovations in this particular, and to preserve the corrupt sound of the Greek alphabet. So little liberty was then allowed of any kind! The penalties inflicted upon the new pronunciation were no less than whipping, degradation, and expulsion; and the bishop declared, that, rather than permit the liberty of innovating in the pronunciation of the Greek alphabet, it were better that the language itself were totally banished the universities. The introduction of the Greek language into Oxford excited the emulation of Cambridge (*l*). Wolsey intended to have enriched the library of his college at Oxford with copies of all the manuscripts that were in the Vatican (*m*). The countenance given to letters by this king and his ministers contributed to render learning fashionable in England: Erasmus speaks with great satisfaction of the general regard paid by the nobility and gentry to men of knowledge (*n*).

It is needless to be particular in mentioning the writers of this reign, or of the preceding. There is no man of that age who has the least pretension to be ranked among our classics. Sir Thomas More, though he wrote in Latin, seems to come the nearest to the character of a classical author.

(*u*) Hall, folio 110. (*v*) 6 Hen. VIII. c. 3.
(*w*) 1 Hen. VIII. c. 14. 6 Hen. VIII. c. 1. 7 Hen. VIII. c. 7.
(*x*) 25 Hen. VIII. c. 2. (*y*) 24 Hen. VIII. c. 3.
(*z*) The following is a genuine copy of an order of king Henry VIII. for one day's provision for one of the ladies of honour to one of his queens; which, by the date appears to have been Catharine of Arragon:

"Henry the Eighth, &c. &c. &c.

"We woll and commaunde you to allow daily from hensforth unto our right dere and well-belovede the lady Lucy, into her chamber, the dyatt and fare hereafter ensuying.

"First, Every morning at brekefast oon chyne of beyf at our kechyn, oon chete loff, and oon maunchet at our panatrye barr, and a galone of ale at our buttrye barr.

"Item, At dyner a pese of beyf, a stroke of roste, and a reward at our said kechyn, a caste of chete brede at our panatrye barr, and a galone of ale at our buttrye barr.

"Item, At afternoone a maunchet of brede at our panatrye barr, and half a galone of ale at our buttrye barr.

"Item, At supper a messe of porage, a pese of mutton, and a reward at our said kechyn, a cast of chete brede at our panatrye, and a galone of ale at our buttrye.

"Item, At after supper a chete loff, and a maunchet at our panatrye barr, and half a galone of wine at our seller barr.

"Item, Every morning at our woodyard, four tall shyds and two faggotts.

"Item, At our chaundrye barr in winter every night, oon preket, and four syses of wax, with eight candlis white lights, and oon torch.

"Item, At our picher house, six white cupps.

"Item, At every time of our moving, oon hole carte for the carriage of her stuff."

14 Hen. VIII. 10 July, 1522.

(*a*) 33 Hen. VIII. c. 11. (*b*) Strype, vol. i. p. 392.
(*c*) 6 Hen. VIII. c. 5. 7 Hen. VIII. c. 1. (*d*) 25 Hen. VIII. c. 13.
(*e*) 25 Hen. VIII. c. 13. (*f*) Anderson, vol. i. p. 374.
(*g*) 22 Hen. VIII. c. 12. 22 Hen. VIII. c. 5.
(*h*) 21 Hen. VIII. c. 12. 25 Hen. VIII. c. 18. 3 & 4 Edw. VI. c. 20. 5 & 6 Edw. VI. c. 24.
(*i*) 3 & 4 Edw. VI. c. 20. (*k*) Strype, vol. i. p. 117.
(*l*) Wood's Hist. & Antiq. Oxon. lib. i. p. 245.
(*m*) Ibid. 249.
(*n*) Epist. ad Banisium. Also Epist. p. 368.

IN the foregoing history of the reign of king Henry the Eighth, it appears that he came to the throne with very great advantages. Faction was grown weary, and, by the government of his father, Henry the Seventh, was deprived of all means to disturb the public tranquillity, which the nation were strangers to, during the long contests between the two houses of York and Lancaster, now centering in Henry the Eighth.

The earnest desire of the people was that they might be at peace; and for this blessing they were disposed to yield much to the arbitrary proceedings of the king, who had sheathed the sword, and in a reign of twenty years had extended the *prerogatives* of the crown very high against the liberties of the people. Having extended his prerogatives, Henry the Seventh's next step was to fill his coffers by extremely rigorous and oppressive measures. This practice gave the son (Henry VIII.) upon his accession to the throne, an opportunity of gaining upon the affections of the people, by disgracing and punishing those who had been the chief instruments of his father's extortionate proceedings, without diminishing any part of the royal prerogative, and without being under the necessity of demanding any money from his parliament. A masterpiece of policy this! for which the king was indebted to a wise and honest council, who, rightly placing the safety of the king in the affections of his subjects, advised him to throw Empson and Dudley, the most hated, and the most justly hated men of the whole kingdom, out of the sanctuary of the court, and to expose them to that national vengeance, under the weight of which they perished; whose blood atoned for the crimes of his father against a provoked people, which proved so effectual that they gratefully retained the impressions of this favour so long, that they even permitted him, in his turn, to commit the like, or even greater outrages upon their liberties and property.

The young king no sooner found himself in possession of the people's affections, than he gave way entirely to his innate vanity and presumption, which, in the former part of his reign, led him into several inconsistent engagements with neighbouring princes; and, in his latter days, to persecute such of his subjects as were bold enough to profess their belief in any point contradictory to his opinion.

He would often assist the strongest party to oppress the weakest. But this bad conduct is not to be attributed solely to the king. His foible being once discovered by the subtle minister Wolsey, the cardinal's private interest ought to be looked upon as the key to all the extravagant transactions, during his ministry, between England and foreign nations. Having the address to feed his royal master's vanity, he was at liberty to do as he pleased: and while the emperor, the king of France, and the Roman pontiff, fed the cardinal's ambition, there is no wonder that the king was the bubble of every prince with whom, or for whom, he negociated. Thus, it may be said without exaggeration, that the public affairs, for twenty years successively, veered about with the success or the disappointment of the cardinal's private schemes; for so long as he was able to soothe the king's vanity, so long was he able to gain his sanction in the midst of the universal disapprobation of his people. The king was led to acquiesce in the plans of his favourites by his presumption, which inclined him to believe himself infallible in the choice of his ministers; for a prince of such a temper as Henry may be easily persuaded by his minions to disregard the voice of the public, when he is convinced that he cannot be deceived, though the people may; or that it is beneath the dignity of a sovereign to alter his measures, or to withdraw his favours to please the will of his subjects.

This adherence, however, to the views of an ambitious minister too much, and his regard to the sense of his people too little, brought the king into many difficulties. Amongst which, the commons in parliament refusing to grant the king a supply in 1523, without knowing how the money was to be employed, and then proportioning their grants, agreeably to the judgement they formed of the necessity, is not of the least moment. This opposition to the measures of the court increased to such a height, that his majesty was at length obliged to retract, compound, excuse himself, and even to disavow his minister, who had insinuated to him, that he ought to consider the parliament only as an instrument to execute his will: which insinuation produced, in the latter half of Henry's reign, such bitter fruit as this nation never tasted of before nor since.

The next remark upon this reign begins at the divorce of Henry from his queen Catherine of Arragon: from which æra we find the king, who had distinguished himself in the defence of the pope, contemning his authority, and assuming the title of Supreme Head of the Church of England: a king whose whole attention had been employed abroad, applying himself wholly to his domestic affairs: a king, who had hitherto connived at seditions, and had temper enough to pardon insurrections, grown impatient of the least contradiction: a king, who had often yielded to his parliaments, usurping now so highly on their power, as to dictate all their proceedings; insomuch that in the end, we find the voice of the law become little else than the echo of the voice of the sovereign: a king, who had been led, amused, governed by his minister, now driving, overbearing, tyrannizing, and frequently butchering his servants, his wives, his nobility, and his commonalty.

This absolute power which the king at last exercised over the purses, the lives, the liberties, and the consciences of the people, must be placed to the account of corrupt parliaments, over which he had gained an entire influence; to which the divisions in the nation concerning religion did in a great measure contribute. For the party, which opposed all reformation, by a bigoted attachment to the discipline, as well as the doctrine of the church of Rome, furnished him with as many pretences for grasping at power, and for drawing money from his people, as ambition could wish, or profusion require. The other two parties concurred with the king, and unanimously led him to a certain point, namely, to throw off the papal yoke, and to lessen the power of the clergy: but here they separated, and took different courses. One of them strove to carry the reformation forward; while the other as strenuously endeavoured to stop it where it then stood. The king took care to serve himself by all parties, yet kept himself clear from any. By seizing upon the church lands, he was enabled to engage the body of the nation in one common interest against the Romish clergy, by selling a part of them at a low price; and by sometimes seeming to favour those whose principles led them to the Reformation, and at other times exercising his false zeal in persecuting the non-subscribers to his Six Articles of religion, he made each of them by turns entertain the idea that they should succeed in his favour, and thus dread the success of one another. When the motives of contending parties are founded on private ambition and avarice, the danger likely to result to a nation is exceedingly great; but how much greater must it be, when these motives are founded on religion; when the heads and hearts of both sides are heated even to enthusiasm; when this spirit mingles itself with the spirit of faction; so that some through folly, and others through knavery, are ready to sacrifice the public weal to their particular schemes of religion. We cannot help thinking that this was the case with those persons, who at one time gave up to Henry, in a great degree, the legislative authority, and permitted his proclamations, under some trifling restrictions, to be equivalent to acts of parliament: and at another time having loaded him with all the riches of the church without providing for the settled clergy in future times, (an evil severely felt by the established clergy at the present day,) they ascribed to him a kind of infallibility, empowering him, by letters patent under the great seal, to determine articles of faith, which men were to believe fully; and giving him the power to settle the doctrines, and fix on the rites and ceremonies, which they were to observe and practise under the severest penalties.

Such was the wretched state of the nation at the demise of Henry the Eighth; and if his plans had been improved by a successor equal in tyranny to himself, beyond doubt the liberties of the people must have been irretrievably subverted. But Providence, which had permitted these encroachments, for wise and better purposes, directed the course of things for our good, and, in the reign of Edward the Sixth, broke those chains, which an imprudent and factious people had forged for themselves.

CHAP. IV.

Affairs of the Church, and progressive History of the Reformation.

THE Ecclesiastical History of this period requires a particular consideration, and although some circumstances connected with it have been necessarily interwoven with the reign of Henry the Eighth, yet it would have been improper to have done otherwise than reserve our account of the principal events in the origin and progress of the Reformation for a separate chapter; in which we shall treat the subject with perspicuity and conciseness.

We have before observed (*o*), that Leo the Tenth, by his generous and enterprizing temper, had much exhausted his treasury, and was obliged to employ every invention which might yield money, in order to support his projects, pleasures, and liberalities. Among other projects for raising supplies, he had recourse to the sale of indulgences. According to the doctrine of the Romish church, all the good works of the saints, over and above those which were necessary for their own justification, are deposited, together with the infinite merits of Jesus Christ, in one inexhaustible treasury. The keys of this were committed to St. Peter, and to his successors, the popes, who may open it at pleasure; and, by transferring a portion of this superabundant merit to any particular person for a sum of money, may convey to him either the pardon of his own sins, or a release for any one in whom he is interested from the pains of purgatory. Such indulgences were first invented, in the eleventh century, by pope Urban the Second, as a recompence for those who went in person upon the *meritorious* enterprize of conquering the Holy Land from the Infidels. They were afterwards granted to those who hired a soldier for that purpose; and, in process of time, were bestowed, as we are told in Father Paul's History of the Council of Trent, on such as gave money for accomplishing any pious work enjoined by the pope. Julius the Second had bestowed indulgences on all who contributed towards building the church of St. Peter at Rome; and, as Leo was carrying on that magnificent and extensive fabric, his grant was founded on the same pretence.

The right of promulgating these indulgences in Germany, together with a share in the profits arising from the sale of them, was granted to Albert, elector of Metz, and archbishop of Magdeburg; who employed, as his chief agent for retailing them in Saxony, one Tetzel, a Dominican frier, a man of licentious morals, but of an active spirit, and remarkable for his boisterous and popular eloquence. He, assisted by the monks of his order, executed the commission with great zeal and success, but with little discretion or decency; and though, by magnifying excessively the benefit of their indulgences, and by disposing of them at a very low price, they maintained for some time an extensive and lucrative traffic with the credulous multitude, the extravagance of their assertions, as well as the irregularities of their conduct, came at last to give general offence. The princes and the nobles were irritated at seeing their vassals drained of so much wealth, in order to replenish the treasury of an extravagant pontiff: men of piety regretted the delusion of the people; who, being taught to rely for the pardon of their sins on the indulgences which they purchased, did not think it incumbent on them either to abandon their faith, or to practise holiness: even the most unthinking were shocked at the scandalous behaviour of Tetzel and his associates, who often squandered in drunkenness, gaming, and low debauchery, those sums which were piously bestowed in hopes of obtaining eternal happiness; and all men began to wish that some check were given to this commerce, no less detrimental to society than destructive to religion.

It was at this favourable juncture, when the minds of men were thus disposed to listen to his discourses, that Martin Luther first began to question the efficacy of indulgences, and to declaim against the vicious lives and false doctrines of the persons employed in promulgating them (*p*). The terms in which Tetzel and his associates described the benefits of indulgences, and the necessity of purchasing them, are so extravagant as almost to exceed belief. "If any man," said they, "purchases letters of indulgence, his soul may rest secure with respect to its salvation." The souls confined in purgatory, for whose redemption indulgences are purchased, as soon as the money tinkles in the chest, instantly escape from that place of torment, and ascend to heaven; that the efficacy of indulgences was so great, that the most heinous sins, even if one should violate—which is utterly impossible—the Mother of God, would be remitted and expiated by them, and the person be freed both from punishment and guilt; that this was the unspeakable gift of God, in order to reconcile men to himself; that the cross erected by the preachers of indulgences was as efficacious as the cross of Christ itself. "Lo! the heavens are open: if you enter not now, when will you enter? For *twelve pence* you may redeem the soul of your father out of Purgatory; and are you so ungrateful, that you will not rescue your parent from torment? If you had but one coat, you ought to strip yourself instantly, and sell it in order to purchase such benefits! (*q*)"

But to return to Luther (*r*), who was a native of Eisleben, in Saxony; and, though born of poor parents, had received a learned education, during the progress of which he gave many indications of uncommon vigour and acuteness of genius. Being fond of the delights of solitude and devotion, he retired into a convent of Augustine friers; and assumed the habit of that order. He there acquired great reputation, as well for his piety as for his love of knowledge, and his unwearied application to study. He had been taught the scholastic philosophy and theology then in vogue by very able masters; but his sound mind could not rest satisfied with sciences so replete with subtilty, and barren of instruction; he therefore sought for a more solid basis of knowledge and piety in the only pure and inexhaustible source, the Holy Scriptures. Having found a copy of the Bible in the library of his convent, which had long been neglected, he abandoned all other pursuits, and devoted himself to the study of it with such eagerness and assiduity as astonished the monks, who were little accustomed to derive their theological notions from the Word of God. The great progress he made in this uncommon course of study so far increased the reputation of his sanctity and learning, that Frederic, elector of Saxony, having founded an university at Wittemberg, on the Elbe, the place of his residence, Luther was chosen first to teach philosophy, and afterwards theology at that seminary; both which offices he discharged with satisfaction and applause.

While Luther was at the height of his reputation and authority, Tetzel began to publish indulgences in the vicinity of Wittemberg, and to ascribe to them the same imaginary virtues which had, in other places, imposed on the credulity of the people. As Saxony was not more enlightened than the other provinces of Germany, Tetzel experienced prodigious success there. The artifices of

(*o*) See above, p. 360.

(*p*) As the form and nature of these indulgences are at present very little known, or but imperfectly understood, even in many places where the Roman Catholic religion still prevails, we have thought it necessary to insert the following form of absolution used by Tetzel, translated from the first book of the Commentaries of Seckendorf: "May our Lord Jesus Christ have mercy upon thee, and absolve thee by the merits of his most holy passion. And I, by his authority, by that of his blessed Apostles, Peter and Paul, and of the MOST HOLY POPE, granted and committed to me in these parts, do absolve thee, first from all ecclesiastical censures, in whatever manner they have been incurred; and then from all thy sins, transgressions, and excesses, how enormous soever they may be, even from such as are reserved for the cognizance of the Holy See; and, so far as the Keys of the Holy Church extend, I remit to you all punishment which you deserve in Purgatory on their account; and I restore you to the holy sacraments of the church, to the unity of the faithful, and to that innocence and purity which you possessed at baptism; so that when you shall die, the gates of Punishment shall be shut, and the gates of the Paradise of Delight shall be opened; and, if you shall not die at present, this grace shall remain in full force when you are at the point of death. In the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost."—Our inclination would lead us to comment on this form of indulgence granted by the Roman See, but the glaring absurdity, folly, and wickedness, which appear in every line of it are so palpable, that we think the reader's own reflections, on the bare perusal of it, will be sufficient to give him an utter abhorrence of that church, whose ministers shall thus dare to insult their understandings with such futile offers of pardon for all their sins.

(*q*) These extravagant expressions are selected, from many others equally gross and blasphemous, out of Luther's works, in the "Examen Concilii Tridentini, by Chemnitius, who has published several of Tetzel's discourses, which prove that they were neither singular nor exaggerated.

(*r*) A full account of whose life may be seen in the "Evangelical Biography", vol. iii. p. 246, to which we refer the reader; where many particulars in the life of that eminent reformer are enumerated, which our plan would not permit us to insert.

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those who sold, and the simplicity of those who purchased indulgences, excited the deepest concern in the mind of Luther, who had already rejected many of the absurd opinions of Thomas Aquinas and the other schoolmen, on which the doctrine of indulgences was founded; and the Scriptures, which he began to consider as the great standard of theological truth, afforded no countenance to a practice equally subversive of faith and of morals. The warmth and impetuosity of his temper speedily impelled him to reveal such important discoveries, and to revolt at the idea of continuing a silent spectator of the delusion of his countrymen. From the pulpit in the great church of Wittemberg, he inveighed bitterly against the irregularities and vices of the monks who published indulgences: he ventured even to examine the doctrines which they taught, and pointed out to the people the danger of relying for salvation upon any other means than those appointed by God in his Word. The boldness and novelty of these opinions attracted great attention; and, being recommended by the authority of Luther's personal character, and delivered with a popular and persuasive eloquence, they made a deep impression on all who heard him. Encouraged by the favourable reception of his doctrines among the people, he wrote to Albert, elector of Mentz, and archbishop of Magdeburg, to whose jurisdiction that part of Saxony was subject, and remonstrated warmly against the false opinions, as well as wicked lives of the preachers of indulgences; but he found that prelate too deeply interested in their success to correct their abuses. His next attempt was to gain the suffrages of men of learning; for which purpose he published ninety-five theses, containing his sentiments with regard to indulgences. These he proposed, not as points fully established, or of undoubted certainty, but as subjects of enquiry and disputation; fixing a day in which the learned were appointed to discuss their merits, either in person or by writing, and to the whole he subjoined solemn protestations of his high respect for the Apostolic See, and of his implicit submission to its authority. No opponent, however, appeared at the time prefixed: the theses, therefore, spread over Germany with wonderful rapidity; they were read with the utmost eagerness; and every one admired the boldness of the man who had ventured not only to call in question the plenitude of papal power, but to attack the Dominicans, armed with all the terrors of inquisitorial authority.

The monks of St. Augustine, Luther's own order, though no less obsequious to the papal see than the other monastic fraternities, gave no check to the publication of these uncommon opinions. Independent of the respect he commanded, from the energy and justice of his sentiments, Luther had, by his piety and learning, acquired extraordinary authority among his brethren: he had professed the highest regard for the authority of the pope; and as a secret enmity, excited by interest or emulation, subsists among all the monastic orders in the Romish church, the Augustine monks were highly pleased with his invectives against the Dominicans, and hoped to see them exposed to the hatred and scorn of the people. The elector of Saxony, Luther's sovereign, likewise secretly encouraged his opposition to the publication of indulgences, hoping that the dispute among the ecclesiastics themselves might give some check to the exactions of the court of Rome, which the secular clergy had long been endeavouring to thwart.

Many zealous champions, urged by interested motives, came forward in defence of opinions on which the wealth and power of the church were founded, against the attacks of Luther. In opposition to Luther's theses, Tetzel published counter-theses at Francfort on the Oder; Eccius, a celebrated divine of Augsburg, endeavoured to refute his notions; and Prierias, a Dominican frier, master of the sacred palace, and inquisitor-general, wrote against him with all the virulence of a scholastic disputant. But, as bad advocates must hurt even a good cause, it is no wonder that the manner in which these opponents conducted the controversy should prove prejudicial to the interests they meant to promote. Luther attempted to combat indulgences by arguments founded in reason, or derived from the Scriptures; whereas they produced nothing in support of them but the dogmas of schoolmen, the conclusions of the canon law, or the decrees of the popes. The decision of judges so partial and interested was inadequate to operate conviction on the minds of the people, who began to question the authority of those venerable guides, when they found them in direct opposition to the dictates of reason, and the determinations of the divine law.

While these novelties were promulgated by Luther, which interested all Germany, the court of Rome took no alarm. Pope Leo the Tenth, fond of elegant and refined pleasures, and intent on great political schemes, regarded with the utmost indifference the operations of an obscure frier, who in the heart of Germany maintained a scholastic disputation in a barbarous style. Little did he apprehend, or little indeed did Luther himself imagine, that the effect of this quarrel would prove so fatal to the papal see. At length, however, the solicitations of Luther's adversaries, exasperated by the rapid progress of his opinions, rouzed the attention of Leo, and compelled him to resist an attack that now appeared too serious to be treated with contempt. With this view he summoned Luther to appear at Rome, in the month of July, 1518, before the auditor of the chamber, and the same Prierias who had written against him, whom he empowered to examine, and decide on, the merits of his doctrines. The nomination of so partial and prejudiced a judge convinced Luther what sentence he might expect at Rome; he therefore expressed an earnest desire to have his cause tried in Germany, and before a less suspected tribunal. This request being seconded by the professors of the university of Wittemberg, as well as by the elector of Saxony, the pope was at length prevailed on to gratify him so far as to authorize his legate, cardinal Cajetan, a Dominican, eminent for scholastic learning, and passionately devoted to the Roman see, to hear and determine the cause.

Luther, though he had good reason to decline a judge chosen from among his avowed adversaries, did not hesitate about appearing before Cajetan; and, having obtained the emperor's safe conduct, repaired without delay to Augsburg. But he was not less surprized than disappointed, when he found that the cardinal, instead of affording him a patient hearing, and seeking to convince him by the force of reason, had recourse to his authority, and insisted on an immediate and unqualified retraction of his errors. To this peremptory demand Luther replied, with his usual firmness, that he could not, with a safe conscience, renounce opinions which he believed to be true; nor should any consideration ever induce him to do what would be so base in itself, and so offensive to God. At the same time he expressed his willingness to submit the whole controversy to certain universities which he named; and promised to observe a strict silence in future with respect to indulgences, provided a similar restraint were imposed on his adversaries. Cajetan, however, rejected his offers, and still insisted on a simple recantation; to induce which he employed threats, that rendered it prudent for Luther to comply with the earnest solicitations of his friends; and, retiring secretly from Augsburg, to return to his own country. But, previous to his departure, according to a form, of which there had been some examples, he prepared a solemn appeal from the pope, ill-informed at that time concerning his cause, to the pope, when he should have received more ample information on that subject.

The inflexible rigour of Cajetan, on this occasion, gave great offence to Luther's followers in that age, and has since been censured as imprudent by several popish writers: but it was impossible for the legate to adopt any other mode of proceeding; for the judges before whom Luther had been required to appear at Rome were so eager to display their zeal against his errors, that, without waiting for the expiration of the sixty days allowed him in the citation, they had already condemned him as a heretic. The pope too had, in several of his briefs and letters, stigmatized him as a Child of Iniquity, reprobate and incorrigible: nothing less, therefore, than a recantation could save the honour of the church, whose maxim it is never to give up the smallest point it has advanced, and whose preposterous pretensions to infallibility prove an effectual impediment to the retraction of errors.

As every step taken by the court of Rome, particularly the irregular sentence by which he had been so precipitately declared a heretic, convinced Luther that Leo would soon proceed to the most violent measures against him, he had recourse to the only expedient in his power, in order to prevent the effect of the papal censures. He appealed to a general council, which he affirmed to be the representative of the Catholic Church, and superior in power to the pope; who, being (as he said) a fallible man, might

might err, as St. Peter, the most perfect of his predecessors, had erred.

The justice of Luther's apprehensions was speedily verified. A bull, of a date prior to his appeal, was issued by the pope; in which he magnifies the virtue and efficacy of indulgences in terms as extravagant as any of his predecessors had ventured to use in the most dark and superstitious times; and requires all Christians, under the pain of excommunication, to assent to what he delivered as the doctrine of the church, unqualified by the application of such palliatives, or the mention of such concessions, as the juncture evidently called for.

The effect of a bull, enforced by such dreadful penalties, might have proved fatal to the cause of Luther, but for the death of the emperor Maximilian, who was prompted, both by his principles and his interest, to support the authority of the holy see. In consequence of this event, the vicariat of that part of Germany which is governed by the Saxon laws devolved to the elector of Saxony; and, under the shelter of his friendly administration, Luther not only enjoyed tranquillity, but such a degree of protection as encouraged the growth and propagation of his opinions. But though the pope, from political views, suspended any further proceedings against Luther, yet negociations were carried on, in order to bring the controversy to an amicable issue. The manner in which these negociations were conducted having given Luther many opportunities of observing the corruption of the court of Rome; its obstinacy in adhering to established errors; and its indifference about truth, however clearly proposed or strongly proved; he expressed some doubts as to the divine origin of the papal authority. A public disputation was held upon this important question at Leipsic, between Luther and Eccius, in which both parties claimed the victory, and no progress was made towards deciding the point in controversy.

About this time too, a Reformer appeared in Switzerland. This was Zuinglius, who opposed the promulgation of indulgences, at Zurich, with the same zeal and intrepidity as had been exerted by Luther in Saxony. The appearance of such a vigorous auxiliary, and the rapid progress which he made, was at first a matter of great exultation to Luther; while his opponents, on the other hand, triumphed in the decisions of the universities of Cologne and Louvaine, which pronounced his opinions to be erroneous.

Luther's undaunted spirit, which acquired fresh vigour from opposition, induced him to push on his attacks from one doctrine to another, till he began to shake the firmest foundations of the power and riches of the church. The pope therefore listened to the solicitations of those who urged him to issue the severest ecclesiastical censures against such an incorrigible heretic. The college of cardinals was often assembled, in order to prepare the sentence with due deliberation; and the ablest canonists were consulted how it might be expressed with unexceptionable formality. At length, on the 15th of June, 1520, the bull, so fatal to the church of Rome, was issued (*s*). The sentence contained in this bull, which he had for some time expected, did not disconcert or intimidate Luther; who, after renewing his appeal to the general council, published remarks upon the bull of excommunication. Being now persuaded of the injustice and impiety of Leo's proceedings, he boldly declared the pope to be that Man of Sin, or Antichrist, whose appearance is foretold in the New Testament: he declaimed against the pope's tyranny and usurpations with greater violence than ever; he exhorted all Christian princes to shake off such an ignominious yoke; and boasted of his own felicity in being marked out as the object of ecclesiastical indignation, because he had dared to assert the liberty of mankind. Nor were his expressions of contempt for the papal power confined to mere words: Leo having, in execution of the bull, ordered Luther's books to be burned at Rome, he, by way of retaliation, assembled all the professors and students in the university of Wittemberg; and with great pomp, in presence of a vast multitude of spectators, cast the literary labours of the canonists, together with the bull of excommunication, into the flames; and his example was followed in many cities in Germany. The manner in which he justified this action was still more offensive to the catholics than the action itself. Having collected from the canon law some of the most extravagant propositions with regard to the plenitude and omnipotence of the pope's power, as well as the subordination of all secular jurisdiction to his authority, he published these with a commentary, which may be seen in the second volume of his works, pointing out the impiety of such tenets, and their evident tendency to subvert all civil government.

Students now flocked from every province of the empire to Wittemberg; and, under Luther himself, Melancthon, Carlostadius, and other masters then deemed eminent, imbibed opinions which, on their return, they propagated among their countrymen; who listened to them with that fond attention which truth, when accompanied with novelty, naturally commands. Though a perfect stranger to the maxims of human prudence, and incapable, from the impetuosity of his temper, of observing them, Luther was led, by the method in which he made his discoveries, to carry on his operations in a manner which contributed more to their success than if every step he took had been prescribed by the most artful policy. At the time when he set himself to oppose Tetzel, he was far from intending to promote that reformation which he afterwards effected, and would have trembled with horror at the thoughts of what, at last, he gloried in accomplishing. The knowledge of truth was not poured into his mind, all at once, by any special revelation; and his progress was, consequently, gradual. The doctrines of popery are so closely connected, that the exposure of one error naturally led him to the detection of others. In confuting the extravagant tenets concerning indulgences, he was obliged to enquire into the true cause of our justification and acceptance with God: the knowledge of that discovered to him the inutility of Pilgrimages and Penances; the vanity of relying on the Intercession of Saints; the impiety of worshipping them; the abuses of Auricular Confession; and the imaginary existence of Purgatory. The detection of so many errors led him, of course, to consider the character of the clergy who taught them; and their exorbitant wealth, the severe injunction of celibacy, together with the intolerable rigour of monastic vows, appeared to him the grand sources of their corruption. From thence it was but one step to call in question the Divine original of the papal power, which authorized and supported such a system of errors. As the unavoidable result of the whole, he disclaimed the infallibility of the pope, the decisions of schoolmen, or any other human authority; and appealed to the Word of God, as the only standard of theological truth. To this gradual progress Luther owed his success. His hearers were not shocked at first by any proposition too repugnant to their ancient prejudices, or too remote from established opinions. They were conducted, insensibly, from one doctrine to another; and their faith and conviction were thus enabled to keep pace with his discoveries.

Among the principal causes which contributed to facilitate the progress of Luther, the immoral lives of the clergy was not the least conspicuous. The corrupt state of the church prior to the Reformation, is acknowledged by an author who was both a competent judge of the matter, and not over anxious to confess it. "For some years," says cardinal Bellarmine, "before the Lutheran and Calvinistic heresies were published, there was not—as contemporary writers testify—any severity in ecclesiastical judicatories, any discipline with regard to morals, any knowledge of sacred literature, any reverence for divine things. There was scarcely *any religion* remaining." In short, the superior clergy were more addicted to pleasure than inclined to a faithful discharge of their religious duties; while the lower class was rendered odious and contemptible from their gross ignorance and low debauchery. The scandal of these crimes was also greatly increased by the facility with which such as committed them obtained pardon. The court of Rome, always attentive to the means of augmenting its revenues, granted its pardons to such transgressors as were able and willing to purchase them with a sum of money. As the idea of a composition for crimes was then familiar, this strange traffic was so far from shocking mankind, that it soon became general; and, in

(*s*) Forty-one propositions, extracted from the works of Luther, are therein condemned as heretical, scandalous, and offensive to pious ears; all persons are forbidden to read his writings, upon pain of excommunication; such as had any of them in their custody are commanded to commit them to the flames; he himself, if he did not, within sixty days, make a public recantation of his errors, and burn his books, is pronounced an obstinate heretic, is excommunicated, is delivered unto Satan for the destruction of his flesh; and all secular princes are required, under pain of incurring the same censure, to seize his person, that he might be punished as his crimes deserved.

order

order to prevent any imposition in carrying it on, the officers of the Roman Chancery published a book (*t*), containing the precise sum to be exacted for the pardon of every particular sin. A deacon, guilty of murder, was absolved for twenty crowns. A bishop or abbot might assassinate for three hundred livres. If a person took a false oath, he obtained absolution for nine shillings. If a layman murdered a layman, he obtained his pardon for seven shillings and six pence. If a person killed his father, or his mother, or his wife, or his sister, or his kinswoman, if they be of the laity, he received a pardon for ten shillings and six pence! Even such shocking crimes, as modesty obliges us to wave the recital of, which occur seldom in human life, and perhaps exist only in the impure imagination of a casuist, were taxed at a very moderate rate. When mankind had acquired more accurate notions of religion and morality, the conditions on which the court of Rome bestowed its pardons appeared impious, and were considered as one great source of ecclesiastical corruption.

Independent of this important consideration, which made great impression on the minds of men, and favoured the reception of Luther's doctrine, the invention of the art of printing, and the revival of learning, tended greatly to promote the rapidity of the progress of the Reformation. The revival of learning had roused mankind from the lethargy in which it had been sunk for several centuries, and they now began to exercise their reasoning faculties with great boldness upon all subjects. Instead of being startled when the daring hand of Luther had drawn aside the veil which covered established errors, the genius of the age applauded and aided the attempt. The principal promoters of the Reformation were generally men of erudition, and their learning enabled them to carry on the contest, at first, with great superiority; for erudition, industry, accuracy of sentiment, purity of composition, even wit and raillery, were wholly on their side; and these enabled them to triumph with ease over illiterate monks, whose rude arguments, expressed in a perplexed and barbarous style, were found insufficient for the defence of a system, the errors of which all the art and ingenuity of its later and more learned advocates have not been able to palliate.

On the accession of Charles the Fifth to the imperial throne, that prince, compelled to court the alliance of the pope from the hostile preparations of Francis the First, king of France, treated Luther with great severity. He issued an edict, stigmatizing him as an obstinate and excommunicated heretic, and commanding every one to join in attempts to seize his person. But this rigorous decree had no considerable effect; the execution of it being prevented, partly by the emperor's various occupations, and partly by a prudent device of the elector of Saxony, Luther's faithful patron. As Luther, on his return from the diet at Worms, (which he had attended in compliance with the mandate, and under the faith of a safe conduct, of the emperor), was passing near Altenstein, in Thuringia, a number of horsemen, masked, rushed suddenly out of a wood, where the elector had appointed them to lie in wait for him; and, surrounding his company, carried him, after dismissing his attendants, to Wartsburg, a strong castle not far distant. There the elector ordered him to be supplied with every article of necessity and convenience; but carefully concealed the place of his retreat, until the fury of the present storm against him began to abate, upon a change in the political state of affairs in Europe.

During his confinement in this castle, Luther received intelligence of the solemn condemnation of his opinions by the university of Paris, at that time the most respectable of the learned societies in Europe. Henry the Eighth too, being ambitious of acquiring glory of every kind, as well as zealously attached to the Romish church, was highly exasperated against Luther, who had treated Thomas Aquinas, Henry's favourite author, with all the contempt he merited, did not think it sufficient to exert his royal authority in opposing the opinions of the Reformer, but resolved likewise to combat them with scholastic weapons. With this view he published his treatise on the Seven Sacraments, (in answer to Luther's book on the Babylonish Captivity), which was presented to the pope with the greatest formality in full consistory, where the sovereign pontiff spoke of it in such high terms, as if it had been dictated by immediate inspiration; and, as a testimony of the gratitude of the church for his extraordinary zeal, conferred on him the title of *Defender of the Faith*; an appellation which Henry soon forfeited in the opinion of those from whom he derived it, and which is still retained by his successors, though the avowed enemies of those opinions, by contending for which he procured that honourable distinction. Luther, who was not overawed by the authority of the university, nor by the dignity of the monarch, soon published his animadversions on both, no less vehement and severe than he would have used in confuting the meanest antagonist. The king, by his acrimony, became still more incensed against his doctrine; but the public, who naturally favour the weaker party, inclined to ascribe to Luther the victory in the dispute: and, as the controversy was rendered more illustrious, if not more interesting, by the engagement of Henry as a champion in the contest, it attracted in a still greater degree, the attention of mankind; and the Lutheran doctrine daily acquired new partizans in every quarter of Europe.

At this juncture Leo the Tenth died, in the flower of his age, soon after he received the king's book against Luther. Great discord prevailed in the conclave which was held after his death: and all the arts natural to men grown old in intrigue, when contending for a prize so valuable, were exerted. Wolsey's name, notwithstanding the solemn promises of the emperor to favour his pretensions, of which that prelate did not fail to remind him, was scarcely mentioned in the conclave. Julio, cardinal de Medici, Leo's nephew, who was more eminent than any other member of the sacred college for his abilities, wealth, and experience, in the transaction of important affairs, had already secured fifteen voices; a number sufficient, according to the forms of a conclave, to exclude any other candidate, though not to carry its own election. All the old cardinals combined against him, without being united in favour of any other person. While these factions endeavoured to gain, to corrupt, or to weary out each other, Medici and his adherents voted one morning at the scrutiny—which, according to form, was made every day—for cardinal Adrian of Utrecht, who at that time governed Spain in the name of the emperor: this they did merely to protract time. But the adverse party instantly closing with them, to their own astonishment, and that of all Europe, a stranger to Italy, unknown to the persons who gave their suffrages in his favour, and unacquainted with the manners of the people, or the interest of the state, the government of which they thus conferred upon him, was unanimously raised to the papal throne, at a juncture so delicate and critical, as would have demanded all the sagacity and experience of one of the ablest prelates in the sacred college. The cardinals themselves, unable to alledge any reason for this strange choice (on account of which, as they marched in procession from the conclave, they were loaded with the insults and maledictions of the Roman people,) ascribed it to an immediate impulse of the Holy Ghost. It may be imputed with greater certainty to the influence of Don John Manuel, the imperial ambassador, who, by his address and intrigues, facilitated the election of a person devoted to his master's service, from gratitude, from interest, and from inclination.

The religious divisions in Germany excited the attention of the emperor Charles; for he perceived that, in the end, they would prove extremely hurtful to the imperial authority. To remedy this, as far as he could, he had appointed a diet to be held at Spires, on the 15th of March, 1529, in order to take into consideration the state of religion. But the great progress which the doctrines of Luther had made in the empire, the unremitting zeal of that steady Reformer, and the number and power of his converts, rendered the adoption of any violent measure a matter of extreme danger: all, therefore, that the archduke, and the other commissioners appointed by the emperor, demanded of the diet, was to enjoin those states of the empire which had hitherto obeyed the decree issued against Luther at Worms, in 1524, to persevere in the observation of it; and to prohibit the other states from attempting any farther innovation in religion, particularly from abolishing the mass, before the meeting of a general council. After much dispute, a decree to that effect was approved by a majority of voices.

The elector of Saxony, the marquis of Brandenburgh, the landgrave of Hesse, the dukes of Lunenburgh, the prince of Anhalt, together with the deputies of fourteen imperial or free cities, entered a solemn *protest*, on the 19th of April, against this decree, as unjust and impious; and, on that account, they received the appellation of PROTESTANTS, by which they were ever afterwards distinguished. Not satisfied with this declaration of their

(*t*) Entitled "Taxa Cameræ, seu Cancellariæ Apostolicæ," printed by order of the pope, for the use and information of the church.

dissent from the decree of the diet, the Protestants sent ambassadors into Italy, where the emperor then was, to lay their grievances before him: but Charles, being now closely united to the pope, gave them the most discouraging reception; and, urged by Clement to make every possible exertion to extirpate Heretics, whom the interested pontiff declared to be equally dangerous to the civil and ecclesiastical powers, he returned to Germany, (having previously appointed a diet of the empire to be held at Augsburg, on the 12th of March, 1530,) with a determination to adopt the most rigorous measures against the Protestants, in case more lenient methods should prove unsuccessful.

The diet was unusually crowded: but, though religious disputes were destined to be the chief objects of discussion, the presence of the emperor prevented the display of any improper heat, and seems to have inspired all parties with an extraordinary spirit of moderation and love of peace. The elector of Saxony would not permit Luther to accompany him to the diet, lest he should offend Charles, by bringing into his presence a person excommunicated by the pope, and the author of all those dissensions which it now appeared so difficult to compose. At the emperor's desire, all the Protestant princes forbade the divines who accompanied them to preach in public during their residence at Augsburg. For the same reason they employed Melancthon, a man of the greatest learning, as well as of the most pacific and gentle spirit, among the Reformers, to draw up a confession of their faith, expressed in terms as little offensive to the Roman Catholics, as a regard for truth would permit. Melancthon, who seldom suffered the rancour of controversy to envenom his style, even in writings purely polemical, executed a task so agreeable to his natural disposition with great moderation and success. The creed which he composed, known by the name of The Confession of Augsburg, from the place where it was presented, was read publicly in the diet; some popish divines were appointed to examine it; they brought in their animadversions; and a dispute ensued between them and Melancthon, seconded by some of his brethren; but, though Melancthon softened some articles, made concessions with regard to others, and put the least exceptionable sense upon all,—(even the emperor himself laboured, with great earnestness, to reconcile the contending parties,)—so many marks of distinction were now established, and such inseparable barriers placed between the two churches, that all hopes of effecting a coalition seemed entirely thrown aside.

The emperor having in vain tried every method he could devise, either to gain or disunite the Protestant party, at length resolved to pursue some vigorous measures towards asserting the doctrines and authority of the established church. These Campeggio, the papal nuncio, had always recommended as the only proper and effectual mode of proceeding with such obstinate Heretics. In compliance with his opinion and remonstrances, the diet issued a decree, condemning most of the peculiar tenets held by the Protestants; forbidding any person to protect or tolerate such as taught them; enjoining a strict observance of the established rites; and prohibiting any further innovation under severe penalties. All orders of men were required to assist, with their persons and fortunes, in executing this decree; and such as refused to obey it were declared incapable of acting as judges, or of appearing as parties in the Imperial Chamber, the supreme court of judicature in the empire. To all which was subjoined a promise, that an application should be made to the pope, requiring him to call a General Council within six months, in order to terminate all controversies by its sovereign decisions.

The severity of this decree, which they considered as a prelude to the most violent persecution, alarmed the Protestants, and convinced them that the emperor was resolved on their destruction. The dread of those calamities which were ready to fall on the church oppressed the timid spirit of Melancthon; but Luther, who during the meeting of the diet had endeavoured to confirm and animate his party by several treatises which he addressed to them, was neither disconcerted nor discouraged at the prospect of this new danger. He comforted his desponding disciples, and exhorted the princes not to abandon those truths which they had lately asserted with such laudable boldness. His exhortations made a deeper impression upon them, as they were greatly alarmed at that time by the account of a combination among the Popish princes of the empire for the maintenance of the established religion, to which Charles himself had acceded. This convinced them that it was necessary to stand on their guard; and that their own safety, as well as the success of their cause, depended on unanimity. Filled with this dread of the adverse party, and impressed with those sentiments on the line of conduct which it would be proper for themselves to pursue, they assembled at Smalcalde. They there concluded, on the 22nd of December, 1530, a league of mutual defence against all aggressors: by which they formed the Protestant states of the empire into one regular body; and, beginning already to consider themselves as such, they resolved to apply to the kings of France and England, and to implore them to patronize and assist their new confederacy.

After the prorogation of the English parliament which met November 3, 1534, a proclamation was published by the king, for the suppression of title of pope, and for its erasure from all books and writings; and all the prelates renounced obedience to the bishop of Rome, for an absolute breach with whom the nation seemed now to be fully prepared. But though Henry had found it expedient, for the gratification of his passions, to encourage this breach with the sovereign pontiff, he was, nevertheless inimical to the cause and principles of the Reformers. He had early declared his sentiments against Luther (*u*); and, having once entered the field of polemical disputation, and acquired that applause which as a king he could not fail to command, he had become so elated with his imaginary success, and was so blinded by a natural arrogance and obstinacy of temper, that he entertained the most extravagant opinions of his own erudition, and received any contradiction to his sentiments with the most contemptuous impatience. Thus disposed, the severity which he had experienced from the uncourtly pen of Luther had inspired him with sentiments of hatred to the person and doctrines of that Reformer, which a subsequent apology for the vehemence of his expressions was wholly inadequate to efface. The idea of heresy still appeared detestable as well as formidable to Henry; and whilst his resentment against the see of Rome had corrected one considerable part of his early prejudices, he had made it a point of honour never to relinquish the remainder. Separate as he stood from the catholic church, and from the Roman pontiff, the head of it, he still valued himself on maintaining the catholic doctrine, and on guarding by fire and sword the imagined purity of his speculative principles.

In fact, Henry's conduct appeared so extremely ambiguous, that some Englishmen, particularly Tindal, Joye, Constantine, and others, in dread of the king's authority, had fled to Antwerp (*v*), where the great privileges possessed by the Low Country provinces served, during some time, to give them protection. These persons employed themselves in writing English books against the corruptions and superstitions of the church of Rome; against images, reliques, pilgrimages; and they excited the curiosity of men with regard to that question, the most important in theology, the terms of acceptance with the Supreme Being. In conformity with the Lutherans and other Protestants, they asserted the omnipotence of Faith for the purpose of Salvation; and that the most infallible road to perdition (*w*) was a reliance on *good works*; by which terms they understood as well the moral duties as the ceremonial and monastic observances. The defenders of the ancient religion, on the other hand, maintained the efficacy of *good works*; by which they principally meant those superstitious practices which were productive to the church. The books composed by these fugitives, being secretly brought over to England, began to make converts every where; but it was a translation of the Scriptures by Tindal that was esteemed the most dangerous to the established faith. So true it is, that, in a good cause, the simple exhibition of plain truth is infinitely more persuasive than all the studied arguments of rhetorical declaimers. The first edition of this work was found liable to considerable ob-

(*u*) As we have observed above, p. 361.

(*v*) See Burnet, vol. i. p. 159.

(*w*) Sacrilegium est et impietas velle placere Deo per opera et non per solam fidem. *Luther adversus Regem.* Ita vides quam dives sit homo Christianus sive baptizatus, qui etiam volens non potest perdere salutem suam quantiscunque peccatis. Nulla enim peccata possunt eum damnare nisi incredulitas. *Id. de Captivitate Babylonicâ.*

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jections, on the score of inaccuracy; and Tindal, who was poor, and could not afford to lose a great part of the impression, was longing for an opportunity of correcting his errors, of which he had been made sensible. Cuthbert Tonstal, (then bishop of London, from which he was soon after translated to Durham,) a man of great moderation, being desirous to discourage in the gentlest manner these innovations, which he apprehended were pregnant with danger to the church, gave private orders for buying up all the copies that could be found at Antwerp; and he burned them publicly in Cheapside. By this measure he supplied Tindal with money, enabled him to print a new and correct edition of his work, and gave great scandal to the people in thus committing to the flames the Oracles of Truth (*x*).

The disciples of the reformation experienced but little severity during the administration of Wolsey, who, though himself a cardinal, bore so small a regard to the ecclesiastical order, and whose worldly pursuits were so near to his heart, that he was a very unfit person to serve as an instrument of their tyranny: It was even made an article of impeachment against him (*y*), that, by his connivance, he had encouraged the advancement of heresy, and that he had protected and acquitted some notorious offenders. Sir Thomas More, who succeeded Wolsey as chancellor, is at once an object deserving our compassion, and an instance of the usual progress of men's sentiments during that age (*z*). His chancellorship was far from being distinguished by a spirit of equal toleration with that of cardinal Wolsey.

Many were brought into the bishops' courts for offences in themselves trivial, but deemed important in their consequences, from betraying symptoms of hostility to the established faith. Some for teaching their children the Lord's Prayer in their mother tongue; others for reading the New Testament in that language, or for speaking against pilgrimages. To harbour the preachers of the doctrines of the Reformation, to neglect the fasts of the church, to declaim against the vices of the clergy, were judged capital offences. Thomas Bilney, a priest who had been converted to the new doctrine, had been terrified into an abjuration; but was so haunted by remorse that his friends dreaded some fatal effects of his despair. At last his mind seemed to be more relieved; but this appearing calm proceeded only from the resolution which he had taken of expiating his past offence by an open confession of the truth, and dying a martyr to it. He went through Norfolk, teaching the people to beware of idolatry, and of trusting for their salvation either to pilgrimages, or to the cowl of St. Francis, to the prayers of the saints, or to images. He was soon seized, tried in the bishops' court, and condemned as a relapsed heretic; and the writ was sent down to burn him. When brought to the stake, he discovered such patience, fortitude, and devotion, that the spectators were much affected with the horrors of his punishment; and some mendicant friers who were present, fearing that his martyrdom would be imputed to them, and make them lose those alms which they received from the charity of the people, desired him publicly to acquit them of having any hand in his death. He willingly complied; and by this meekness gained the more on the sympathy of the people (*a*). Another person, still more heroic, being brought to the stake for denying the real presence, seemed almost in a transport of joy; and he tenderly embraced the faggots destined to reduce him to ashes, as the means of procuring him eternal rest. In short, the tide turning towards the new doctrine, those severe executions, which, in another disposition of men's minds, would have sufficed to suppress it, now served only to diffuse it the more among the people, and to inspire them with horror against the unrelenting persecutors.

Although Henry neglected not to punish the protestant doctrine, which he deemed heresy, his most formidable enemies he knew, were the zealous adherents to the ancient religion, chiefly the monks, who, having their immediate dependence on the Roman pontiff, apprehended their own ruin to be the certain consequences of abolishing his authority in England. Peyto, a frier, preaching one day before the king, had the assurance to tell him, "That many lying prophets had deceived him; but he, as a true Micaiah, warned him, that the dogs would lick his blood, as they had done Ahab's (*b*)." The king took no notice of the insult, but allowed the preacher to depart in peace. On the next Sunday he employed Dr. Corren to preach before him; who justified the king's proceedings, and gave Peyto the appellations of a rebel, a slanderer, a dog, and a traitor. Elston, another frier of the same house, interrupted the preacher, and told him that he was one of the lying prophets, who sought to establish by adultery the succession of the crown; but that he himself would justify all that Peyto had said. Henry silenced the petulant frier: but showed no other mark of resentment than ordering Peyto and him to be summoned before the council, and to be rebuked for their offence (*c*). He even here bore patiently some new instances of their obstinacy and arrogance: when the earl of Essex, a privy counsellor, told them, that they deserved for their offence to be thrown into the Thames; Elston replied, that the road to heaven lay as near by water as by land (*d*).

In the parliament which met on the 4th of February, 1536, a measure of great importance was agitated. Henry the Eighth had long looked with an eye of avidity on the possessions of the religious orders; and many of his courtiers, prompted by the same spirit of rapacity, wished for a participation of these valuable spoils. Much has been said, by the different writers, of the benefits as well as of the disadvantages attendant on the monastic institutions. On the one hand, they furnished convenient retreats for persons of a pious and contemplative turn of mind; they were long the repositories of the little learning that prevailed; they were useful to the community as seminaries of education; they furnished the solace of hospitality, and dispensed the blessings of charity. On the other hand, the seclusion of such a number of individuals proved no small detriment to the public, by consigning to a life of indolence those who might otherwise have been active and industrious members of the state; the retirement of a monastic life cherished that spirit of superstition, which a more enlarged converse with the world might have corrected; and the dependence of the monks on the popes, who had always encouraged their order, and had favoured them with considerable privileges, diminished their loyalty to their natural sovereign.

When Henry had established his claim to the supremacy of the church of England, the monks being then subjected to his jurisdiction, were alarmed with the fears of losing their ancient rights and privileges. They apprehended, that the abolition of the authority which their papal protector had enjoyed in this country, would speedily be followed by their depression, and perhaps their total ruin. They were acquainted with the inclinations of many of the nobility for reducing their power and circumscribing their possessions; and some of them conceived, that the most effectual way of checking the rapacious eagerness of the king and his courtiers for their spoils, would be to strike a terror into the leaders of the administration by the arts of clamour and sedition. Hence they had warmly opposed Henry's desire of a divorce, supported by the imposture of Elizabeth Barton, the holy maid of Kent (*e*), and openly inveighed against the changes in ecclesiastical affairs enacted by parliament. But the more prudent members of their order, perceiving the inutility of opposing a government which seemed to

(*x*) Hall, fol. 186. Fox, vol. i. p. 138. Burnet, vol. i. p. 159.

(*y*) Articles of Impeachment in Herbert. Burnet.

(*z*) This man, whose elegant genius and familiar acquaintance with the noble spirit of antiquity had given him very enlarged sentiments, and who had in his early years advanced principles which even at present would be deemed somewhat too free, had, in the course of events, been so irritated by polemics, and thrown into such a superstitious attachment to the popish faith, that few inquisitors have been guilty of greater violence in their prosecution of heresy. Though adorned with the gentlest manners as well as the purest integrity, he carried to the utmost height his aversion to heterodoxy; and James Bainham, in particular, a gentleman of the Temple, experienced from him the greatest severity. Bainham, accused of favouring the new opinions, was carried to More's house; and having refused to discover his accomplices, the chancellor ordered him to be whipped in his presence, and afterwards sent him to the Tower, where he himself saw him put to the torture. The unhappy gentleman, overcome by all these severities, abjured his opinions; but, feeling afterwards the deepest compunction for his apostacy, he openly returned to his former tenets, and even courted the crown of martyrdom. He was condemned as an obstinate and relapsed heretic, and was burned in Smithfield. *See Fox's Martyrology; and Burnet*, vol. i. p. 165.

(*a*) See the life of Mr. Bilney, with an account of his conversion from Popery, written by himself, and of his examination, condemnation, and execution, in the Evangelical Biography, vol. i. p. 246. and Burnet's History of the Reformation, vol. i. p. 164.

(*b*) Strype, vol. i. p. 167. (*c*) Collier, vol. ii. p. 86. Burnet, vol. i. p. 151. (*d*) Stowe, p. 562.

(*e*) An account of which has been given before under the reign of Henry VIII. with the detection of the imposture, and the execution of those concerned in it.

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be firmly established, calmly watched the approaching storm, with a resolution of quietly submitting to such measures as they should find themselves unable to prevent.

Orders had been lately issued, by virtue of a particular statute, for a general visitation of the religious houses; and Thomas Cromwell, secretary of state, and master of the rolls, who, since his able defence of cardinal Wolsey, had been gradually rising to power and eminence, had been appointed the king's vicegerent in ecclesiastical affairs. This minister employed a number of commissioners to act under him in the proposed visitation (*f*); and they received from him a long list of instructions, comprehending eighty-six articles, by which their enquiries were to be regulated (*g*). The occupants of some convents in which the traces of vice were more conspicuous than in others, were prevailed on by the visitors to surrender their houses to the king, rather than expose themselves to the disgrace of a public inquisition into their conduct, which would terminate in their expulsion, if not in the exemplary punishment of their misdeeds. Those who thus resigned their houses received from Henry a small pension for life; and, in the other monasteries that were now visited, all persons, whether male or female, who were desirous of quitting the habit, were permitted by the inspectors to renounce their vows, and some of them were gratified with a present at their departure (*h*).

When the parliament was assembled, the result of the visitation was communicated to the two houses; and a bill was brought in for the confirmation of all the late surrenders which had been made of religious houses, and the suppression of the smaller foundations of that kind. In recommendation of this spirited measure, it was stated, that the application of the revenues of these foundations to the service of the state, would be more generally beneficial than the practice of employing them in the maintenance of useless devotees, and in the encouragement of disgraceful indolence; that a diminution of imposts would be the consequence of such a transfer; and that the abuses discovered in the management of these institutions were so scandalous, as to justify the dissolution of them, particularly when the necessary support of the royal dignity, and the demands of national advantage, suggested the expediency of the proposal. The odium which the late discoveries had excited against the monks, the progress of the Lutheran tenets among the members, the general wishes of the laity for the reduction of the ecclesiastical possessions, and the hopes which the nobility and principal commoners had conceived of a share in the spoils of the monasteries, procured the enactment of a statute agreeable to the inclinations of the king, who was content for the present with the acquisition of the smaller monasteries (*i*).

The proceedings of the convocation which met in the year 1536, were of sufficient importance to merit our notice. Cromwell, the vicegerent, communicated to the upper house the king's orders, that the rites and ceremonies of the church should be reformed by the rules of Scripture, as nothing ought to be practised or maintained without the sanction of that paramount authority. Alexander Ales, a Scottish divine, had been brought to the place of meeting by the vicegerent, who desired him to deliver his opinion respecting the sacraments of the church. He therefore addressed the assembly in a long harangue, in which he endeavoured to prove, that only two sacraments, baptism and the eucharist, were instituted by Christ. He was answered by the bishop of London, and other prelates of the Catholic party; and defended by Thomas Cranmer, archbishop of Canterbury, and Edward Fox, bishop of Hereford. After warm debates, the majority of the convocation agreed to certain articles, in which the Reformers prevailed so far as to procure the insertion of some of their doctrines, though their influence could not exclude transubstantiation, auricular confession, the use of images, or prayers to saints. These articles, corrected and revised by Henry, were signed by the principal clergy, and published by the royal authority (*k*). The establishment of a set of doctrines, which neither satisfied the Catholics nor the Protestants, and which, therefore, were not sincerely adopted *in toto* by any individual in the realm, strongly proved the uncommon influence which the king had obtained over the people, even in the most delicate points of religious opinion.

To facilitate the introduction of genuine religion among the people, the king, with the assent of the convocation, had already given orders for a translation of the Scriptures into the English language. This point was strenuously promoted by the Reformers, who represented it as a striking instance of absurdity and injustice to deny the people the use of the Scriptures, which ought to be open to universal inspection, that the public might know the foundation of the doctrines inculcated by their spiritual instructors. They also affirmed, that the studious concealment of the revealed will of the Almighty argued, in the clergy who countenanced it, a consciousness of the great difference between the doctrines which they taught, and the true dictates of Holy Writ.

To these arguments the Catholics replied, that, as questions of theology were, for the most part, too elevated for vulgar comprehension, the publication of the Scriptures in the vernacular tongue would, instead of enlightening the minds of men, lead them into a multiplicity of errors, arising from the weakness of illiterate judgement; that such obscurities and seeming contradictions occurred in the sacred volumes, as required the profound attention of the ablest critics and most erudite divines to explain the mystery; that the multitude would be so distracted with the variety and discordancy of numerous passages, as to be unable to derive any real instruction from scriptural study; and that the measure so warmly supported by the pretended Reformers would tend only to open the floodgates of heresy, and deluge the world with heterogeneous notions, for each of which the authority of Scripture, perverted and misconstrued, would be alleged. These sophistical reasonings, however, lost their effect, and the proposed work was quickly commenced, and completed in about three years, with greater accuracy than had appeared in the version of Tindal, an English Protestant, who had some years before published the Scriptures in his native language, to the great indignation of the bigotted clergy, who had procured a prohibition of the use of his translation in this country.

While the Reformation was thus gaining ground in England, it continued to make a greater progress in Germany, notwithstanding all the efforts of the emperor. The elector of Saxony, and other German princes who had united for the defence of the new religion, had courted the assistance of Henry against the emperor Charles; but he was not inclined to enter into an unnecessary war with that potentate. Indeed his attention was called to the affairs of his own kingdom, which exhibited some alarming appearances of commotion.

Although great abuses prevailed in many of the monasteries, it was the opinion of many, that a reformation of those abuses would have been a more just measure than their total suppression: but the political utility of their suppression, though interested views appear to have prevailed in the minds of the chief promoters of it, counterbalanced its iniquity. The ejected monks did not consider it in any other light than as an act of rapine. They loudly complained of the injustice of a legislature which had so obsequiously gratified the sacrilegious avidity of the king; and they urged the people to rise in the cause of religion, which had suffered in the persons of its professors. They exclaimed against the innovations which had been introduced

(*f*) These were Layton, London, Price, Gage, Petre, Bellasis, and others.

(*g*) If we may give credence to the accounts sent by these officers to the vicegerent, (and there is little reason to suppose the writers guilty of more than occasional exaggeration,) great disorders and enormities prevailed in the monasteries. They asserted that there were whole convents of women abandoned to lewdness: signs of abortion procured, of infants murdered, and of unnatural lusts between persons of the same sex. They mentioned also vast numbers of pious frauds which the monks made use of, to increase the devotion and liberality of the people, whose ignorance and superstition readily fell in with the views of the ecclesiastics.

(*h*) See Lord Herbert's Life of Henry VIII. p. 186.

(*i*) In the preamble of this act it was affirmed, that such religious houses as contained fewer than twelve individuals, had been long disgraced by "vicious and abominable living;" that every attempt made for above two hundred years past to reform the prevailing abuses had been ineffectual; and that, unless the smaller houses should be dissolved, and the religious removed into the greater ones, no reformation could be expected. It was therefore enacted, that all monasteries which had a revenue of two hundred pounds per annum, or less, should be suppressed, for the appropriation of their produce to better uses. By another statute, all the houses thus dissolved, with the lands, churches, and goods belonging to them, were granted to the king and his heirs. For the management of the revenues arising from these acquisitions, a new court was erected, under the name of the court of augmentations. The monasteries which were thus suppressed, as above mentioned, were three hundred and seventy-six in number; and their revenues amounted to thirty-two thousand pounds per annum.

(*k*) Burnet, vol. i. book 3.

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duced into the creed by some of the late articles, representing to the multitude the impiety of abolishing four out of seven sacraments, and prognosticating that those which were retained (baptism, the eucharist, and penance) would soon follow the fate of the rest, to the utter destruction of the faith of the holy church. By these and other insinuations, they endeavoured to kindle the flames of sedition; and they brought over many of the laity to a concurrence in their resentment.

When the king heard of the rising discontents, he re-established thirty-two convents (*l*), (fifteen of men, and seventeen of women), on pretence of the superior regularity of these societies. To appease those provincial gentlemen who had testified an inclination for encouraging the clamours of the monks, he sold some of the estates belonging to the religious houses to them at very easy rates; and, as he imposed on these purchasers an obligation of continuing that hospitality which had so highly recommended the conventual houses to the indigent, he allayed the disaffection of those who had formerly participated of the monastic bounty (*m*). But, though these measures of the court pacified many discontented persons, an insurrection was not prevented. The secular ecclesiastics who were attached to the doctrines of the church of Rome, were disgusted not only at several of the late articles enacted by the convocation, but at a code of instructions which had been since promulgated by Cromwell, in the king's name, without the concurrence either of that assembly or of the parliament. They were also displeased at the promotion of that minister to the office of spiritual vice-gerent. Both parties were disgusted with him, though his encouragement of the reformed religion rendered his authority less invidious to the Protestants, than to the abettors of Popery.

As the secular clergy were thus dissatisfied with the government, it was reasonable to suppose that they would countenance and support the complaints of the ruined monks. The superiors of the greater monasteries likewise fomented the disturbance, which they wished to bring to such a height as to deter the king from the completion of his scheme of seizing the religious foundations. Apprehensive of their encouragement of the intrigues of the mal-contents, Henry sent circular letters to the remaining convents, contradicting the rumour which had been propagated of his intention of dissolving all the monasteries in his realm. This intimation, however, rather increased the jealousy which the abbots had conceived of his views, than removed their fears of suppression. An insurrection therefore broke out in the county of Lincoln, headed by Dr. Mackrel, who appeared as the leader of twenty thousand men; an account of which has been already given in the history of the reign of Henry, to which we refer the reader.

The rebellion just alluded to being suppressed, and negociations being set on foot on the continent, Henry was desirous of cementing an union with the German Protestants; and for that purpose he sent Christopher Mount to a congress which they held at Brunswick; but that minister made no great progress in his negociation. The princes wished to know what were the articles in their confession which Henry disliked; and they sent new ambassadors to him, who had orders both to negociate and to dispute. They endeavoured to convince the king that he was guilty of a mistake in administering the eucharist in one kind only, in allowing private masses, and in requiring the celibacy of the clergy (*n*). Henry would by no means acknowledge any error in these particulars; and was displeased that they should pretend to prescribe rules to so great a monarch and theologian. He found arguments and syllogisms enough to defend his cause; and he dismissed the ambassador without coming to any conclusion. He became jealous also, lest his own subjects should become such theologians as to question his tenets, and therefore used great precaution in publishing that translation of the scripture which was finished this year (*o*).

There was only one particular in which Henry was quite decisive; because he was there impelled by his avarice, or, more properly speaking, his rapacity, the consequence of his profusion: this measure was, as the monks had apprehended, the entire destruction of the monasteries. The present opportunity seemed favourable for that great enterprize, and as some of the abbots were suspected of having encouraged the insurrection in the northern counties, and of corresponding with the rebels, the king's resentment was farther incited by that motive. A new visitation was appointed of all the monasteries in England; and a pretence only being wanted for their suppression, it was easy for a prince, possessed of such unlimited power, and seconding the present humour of a great part of the nation, to find or feign one. The abbots and monks knew the danger to which they were exposed; and having learned, by the example of the lesser monasteries, that nothing could withstand the king's will, they were most of them induced, in expectation of better treatment, to make a voluntary resignation of their houses. Where promises failed of effect, menaces, and even extreme violence, were employed; and as several of the abbots since the breach with Rome had been named by the court with a view to this event, the king's intentions were the more easily effected. Some also, having secretly embraced the doctrine of the reformation, were glad to be freed from their vows; and on the whole, the design was conducted with such success, that in less than two years the king had got possession of all the revenues belonging to the various monasteries.

In several places, particularly in the county of Oxford, great interest was made to preserve some convents of women, who, as they lived in the most irreproachable manner, justly merited, it was thought, that their houses should be saved from the general destruction (*p*). There appeared also great difference between the case of nuns and that of friers; and the one institution might be laudable, while the other was exposed to much blame. The males of all ranks, if endowed with industry, might be of service to the public; and none of them could want employment suited to his station and capacity. But a woman of family who failed of a settlement in the marriage state, an accident to which such persons were more liable than women of lower station, had really no rank which she properly filled; and a convent was a retreat both honourable and agreeable, from the inutility and often want which attended her situation. But the king was determined to abolish monasteries of every denomination; and probably thought that these ancient establishments would be the sooner forgotten, if no remains of them of any kind were allowed to subsist in the kingdom. In order to reconcile the people to this great innovation, stories were propagated of the detestable lives of the friers in many of the convents; and great care was taken to defame those whom the court had determined to ruin (*q*). The reliques also, and other superstitions, which had so long been the object of the people's veneration, were exposed to their ridicule; and the religious spirit, now less bent on exterior observances and sensible objects, was encouraged in this new direction (*r*).

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(*l*) See the Appendix to Burnet's History of the Reformation, vol. i. p. 142, 143.

(*m*) Burnet, vol. i. p. 223, 224.

(*n*) Collier, vol. ii. p. 145. From the Cott. Lib. Cleopatra, E. 5. fol. 173.

(*o*) He would only allow a copy of it to be deposited in some parish churches, where it was fixed by a chain: and he took care to inform the people by proclamation, "That this indulgence was not the effect of his duty, but of his goodness and his liberality to them; who therefore should use it moderately, for the increase of virtue, not of strife: and he ordered that no man should read the Bible aloud, so as to disturb the priest while he sang mass, nor presume to expound doubtful places without advice from the learned." In this measure, as well as in the rest, he halted half way between the Catholics and the Protestants.

(*p*) Burnet, vol. i. p. 328.

(*q*) As specimens of the discoveries made by the visitors, we give the following extracts from a certificate sent by one of them to the vicar-general: "In the nunnery of Grace Dieu, many nuns had been brought to bed.—The Abbey of Dalle. John Staunton, the abbot, was incontinent both with a single and a married woman; and John Braunston with five married women.—Thurgarton, a priory. Here were twelve Sodomites: Thomas Dethick, the prior, was connected with divers women; as were also several of the monks.—Rifford. Here were six Sodomites; three incontinent.—Maiden Bradley. The prior has six sons; and he thanks God he never meddled with married women, but always made choice of maidens, the fairest that could be gotten."—*Strype's Ecclesiastical Memorials, vol. i.*

(*r*) It is needless to be prolix in an enumeration of particulars: Protestant historians mention on this occasion, with great triumph, the sacred repositories of convents; the parings of St. Edmund's toes; some of the coals that roasted St. Laurence; the girdle of the Virgin, shewn in eleven several places; two or three heads of St. Ursula; the felt of St. Thomas of Lancaster, an infallible cure for the head-ach; part of St. Thomas à Becket's shirt, much reverenced by big-bellied women; some reliques, an excellent preventive against rain; others, a remedy to weeds in corn.

There were also discovered, or said to be discovered, in the monasteries, some impostures of a more artificial nature. At Hales in the county of Gloucester there had been shewn, during several ages, the blood

It appears on the whole, that the king at different times suppressed six hundred and forty-five monasteries: of which twenty-eight had abbots that enjoyed a seat in parliament. Ninety colleges were demolished in several counties; two thousand three hundred and seventy-four chantries and free chapels; a hundred and ten hospitals. The whole revenue of these establishments amounted to one hundred and sixty-one thousand one hundred pounds (*s*). It is worthy of observation, that all the lands and possessions and revenue of England had a little before this period been rated at four millions a year; so that the revenues of the monks, even comprehending the lesser monasteries, did not exceed the twentieth part of the national income: a sum vastly inferior to what is commonly apprehended. The lands belonging to the convents were usually let at very low rents; and the farmers, who regarded themselves as a species of proprietors, took always care to renew their leases before they expired (*t*). Great murmurs were every where excited on account of these violences; and men much questioned whether priors and monks, who were only trustees or tenants for life, could, by any deed, however voluntary, transfer to the king the entire property of their estates. In order to reconcile the people to such mighty innovations, they were told that the king would never thenceforth have occasion to levy taxes, but would be able, from the abbey lands alone, to bear, during war as well as peace, the whole charges of government (*u*). While such topics were employed to appease the populace, Henry took an effectual method of interesting the nobility and gentry in the success of his measures (*v*): he either made a gift of the revenues of convents to his favourites and courtiers, or sold them at low prices, or exchanged them for other lands on very disadvantageous terms (*w*). He also settled pensions on the abbots and priors, proportioned to their former revenues or to their merits; and gave each monk a yearly pension of eight marks: he erected six new bishoprics, Westminster, Oxford, Peterborough, Bristol, Chester, and Gloucester; of which five subsist at this day: and by all these means of expence and dissipation the profit which the king reaped by the seizure of church lands fell much short of vulgar opinion. As the ruin of convents had been foreseen some years before it happened, the monks had taken care to secrete most of their stock, furniture, and plate; so that the spoils of the great monasteries bore not in these respects any proportion to those of the lesser.

Exclusive of the lands possessed by the monasteries, the regular clergy enjoyed a considerable part of the benefices of England, and of the tithes annexed to them; and these were also at this time transferred to the crown, and by that means passed into the hands of laymen: an abuse which many zealous churchmen regarded as the most criminal sacrilege. The monks were formerly much at their ease in England, and enjoyed revenues which exceeded the regular and stated expence of the house (*x*).

It is easy to imagine the indignation with which the intelligence of all these acts of violence was received at Rome; and how much the ecclesiastics of that court, who had so long kept the world in subjection by high sounding epithets, and by holy execrations, would now vent their rhetoric against the character and conduct of Henry. The pope was at last incited to publish the bull which had been passed against that monarch; and in a public manner he delivered over his soul to the devil, and his dominions to the first invader. Libels were dispersed, in which he was anew compared to the most furious persecutors in antiquity;

blood of Christ brought from Jerusalem; and it is easy to imagine the veneration with which such a relique was regarded. A miraculous circumstance also attended this miraculous relique; the sacred blood was not visible to any one in mortal sin, even when set before him; and till he had performed good works sufficient for his absolution, it would not deign to discover itself to him. At the dissolution of the monastery the whole contrivance was detected. Two of the monks who were let into the secret had taken the blood of a duck, which they renewed every week: they put it in a phial, one side of which consisted of thin and transparent crystal, the other of thick and opaque. When any rich pilgrim arrived, they were sure to shew him the dark side of the phial, till masses and offerings had expiated his offences; and then finding his money, or patience, or faith, nearly exhausted, they made him happy by turning the phial. *Herbert, p.* 431, 432. *Stowe, p.* 575. To these precious relics may be added, several pieces of the Holy Cross; Christ's coat; the Virgin Mary's *chemise*, and some of her milk.

A miraculous crucifix had been kept at Boxley in Kent, and bore the appellation of the *Rood of Grace*. The lips, and eyes, and head of the image moved on the approach of its votaries. Hilsey, bishop of Rochester, broke the crucifix at St. Paul's Cross, and shewed to the whole people the springs and wheels by which it had been secretly moved. A great wooden idol revered in Wales, called Darvel Gatherin, was also brought to London, and cut in pieces: and, by a cruel refinement in vengeance, it was employed as fuel to burn frier Forest, who was punished for denying the supremacy, and for some pretended heresies.—*Goodwin's Annals. Stowe, p.* 575. *Herbert. Baker, p.* 286. A finger of St. Andrew, covered with a thin plate of silver, had been pawned by a convent for a debt of forty pounds; but as the king's commissioners refused to pay the debt, people made themselves merry with the poor creditor on account of his pledge.

But of all the instruments of ancient superstition no one was so zealously destroyed as the shrine of Thomas à Becket. This saint owed his canonization to the zealous defence which he had made for clerical privileges; and on that account also the monks had extremely encouraged the devotion of pilgrimages towards his tomb; and numberless were the miracles which they pretended his reliques wrought in favour of his devout votaries. They raised his body once a year; and the day on which this ceremony was performed, which was called the day of his translation, was a general holiday: every fiftieth year there was celebrated a jubilee to his honour, which lasted fifteen days: plenary indulgences were then granted to all that visited his tomb; and a hundred thousand pilgrims have been registered at a time in Canterbury. The devotion towards him had quite effaced in that place the adoration of the Deity; nay, even that of the Virgin. At God's altar, for instance, there were offered in one year three pounds two shillings and six pence; at the Virgin's, sixty-three pounds five shillings and six pence; at St. Thomas's, eight hundred and thirty-two pounds twelve shillings and three pence. But next year the disproportion was still greater: there was not a penny offered at God's altar; the Virgin's gained only four pounds one shilling and eight pence; but St. Thomas had got, for his share, nine hundred and fifty-four pounds six shillings and three pence. *Burnet, vol. i. p.* 244. Lewis VII. of France had made a pilgrimage to this miraculous tomb, and had bestowed on the shrine a jewel, esteemed the richest in Christendom. It is evident how noxious to Henry a saint of this character must appear, and how contrary to all his projects for degrading the authority of the court of Rome. He not only pillaged the rich shrine dedicated to St. Thomas: he made the saint himself be cited to appear in court, and be tried and condemned as a traitor: he ordered his name to be struck out of the calendar; the office for his festival to be expunged from all breviaries; his bones to be burned, and the ashes to be thrown in the air. *Burnet. Hume.*

(*s*) Lord Herbert. Camden. Speed.

(*t*) There is a curious passage with regard to the suppression of monasteries to be found in Coke's Institutes, 4th Inst. chap. i. p. 44. It is worth transcribing, as it shews the ideas of the English government, entertained during the reign of Henry VIII. and even in the time of sir Edward Coke, when he wrote his Institutes. It clearly appears that the people had then little notion of being jealous of their liberties, were desirous of making the crown quite independent, and wished only to remove from themselves, as much as possible, the burthens of government. A large standing army, and a fixed revenue, would on these conditions have been regarded as great blessings; and it was owing entirely to the prodigality of Henry, and to his little suspicion that the power of the crown could ever fail, that the English owe all their present liberty. The title of the chapter in Coke is, *Advice concerning new and plausible Projects and Offers in Parliament.* "When any plausible project," says he, "is made in parliament, to draw the lords and commons to assent to any act (especially in matters of weight and importance), if both houses do give upon the matter projected and promised their consent, it shall be most necessary, they being trusted for the commonwealth, to have the matter projected and promised (which moved the houses to consent) to be established in the same act, lest the benefit of the act be taken, and the matter projected and promised never performed, and so the houses of parliament perform not the trust reposed in them, as it fell out (taking one example for many) in the reign of Henry the Eighth: on the king's behalf, the members of both houses were informed in parliament, that no king or kingdom was safe but where the king had three abilities: 1. To live of his own, and able to defend his kingdom upon any sudden invasion or insurrection. 2. To aid his confederates, otherwise they would never assist him. 3. To reward his well-deserving servants. Now the project was, that if the parliament would give unto him all the abbies, priories, friaries, nunneries, and other monasteries, that for ever in time then to come, he would take order that the same should not be converted to private uses; but first, that his exchequer, for the purposes aforesaid, should be enriched; secondly, the kingdom strengthened by a continual maintenance of forty thousand well-trained soldiers, with skilful captains and commanders; thirdly, for the benefit and ease of the subject, who never afterwards (as was projected,) in any time to come, should be charged with subsidies, fifteenths, loans, or other common aids; fourthly, lest the honour of the realm should receive any diminution of honour by the dissolution of the said monasteries, there being twenty-nine lords of parliament of the abbots and priors (that held of the king *per baroniam*, whereof more in the next leaf,) that the king would create a number of nobles, which we omit. The said monasteries were given to the king by authority of divers acts of parliament, but no provision was therein made for the said project, or any part thereof."

(*u*) Coke's 4th Inst. fol. 44. (*v*) Dugdale's Warwickshire, p. 800.

(*w*) Fuller informs us, that he was so profuse in these liberalities, that he is said to have given a woman the whole revenue of a convent, as a reward for making a pudding which happened to gratify his palate.

(*x*) We read of the abbey of Chertsey, in Surrey, which possessed seven hundred and forty-four pounds a year, though it contained only fourteen monks: that of Furnese, in the county of Lincoln, was valued at nine hundred and sixty pounds a year, and contained about thirty. *Burnet, vol. i. p.* 237. In order to dissipate their revenues, and support popularity, the monks lived in a hospitable manner; and besides the poor maintained from their offals, there were many decayed gentlemen, who passed their lives in travelling from convent to convent, and were entirely subsisted at the tables of the friers. By this hospitality, as much as by their own inactivity, did the convents prove nurseries of idleness; but the king, not to give offence by too sudden an innovation, bound the new proprietors of abbey lands to support the ancient hospitality. But this engagement was fulfilled in very few places, and for a very short time.

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and the preference was now given to their side: he had declared war with the dead, whom the pagans themselves respected; was at open hostility with heaven; and had engaged in professed enmity with the whole host of saints and angels. Above all, he was often reproached with his resemblance to the emperor Julian, whom it was said he imitated in his apostacy and learning, though he fell short of him in morals. Henry could distinguish in some of these libels the style and animosity of his kinsman Pole; and he was thence incited to vent his rage by every possible expedient on that famous cardinal.

Reginald de la Pole, or Reginald Pole, was descended from the royal family, being fourth son of the countess of Salisbury, daughter of the duke of Clarence. He gave, in early youth, indications of that fine genius and generous disposition by which during his whole life he was so much distinguished; and Henry, having conceived great friendship for him, intended to raise him to the highest ecclesiastical dignities; and, as a pledge of future favours, he conferred on him the deanery of Exeter (*y*), the better to support him in his education. Pole was carrying on his studies in the university of Paris at the time when the king solicited the suffrages of that learned body in favour of his divorce; but though applied to by the English agent, he declined taking any part in the affair. Henry bore this neglect with more temper than was natural to him; and he appeared unwilling, on that account, to renounce all friendship with a person whose virtues and talents he hoped would prove useful as well as ornamental to his court and kingdom. He allowed him still to possess his deanery, and gave him permission to finish his studies at Padua: he even paid him some court, in order to bring him into his measures; and wrote to him while in that university, desiring him to give his opinion freely with regard to the late measures taken in England for abolishing the papal authority. Pole had now contracted an intimate friendship with all persons eminent for dignity or merit in Italy, Sadolet, Bembo, and other revivers of true taste and learning; and he was moved by these connections, as well as by religious zeal, to forget in some respect the duty which he owed to Henry, his benefactor and his sovereign. He replied, by writing a treatise of *The Unity of the Church*, in which he inveighed against the king's supremacy, his divorce, his second marriage; and he even exhorted the emperor to revenge on him the injury done to the Imperial family, and to the Catholic cause. Henry, though provoked beyond measure at this outrage, dissembled his resentment; and he sent a message to Pole, desiring him to return to England, in order to explain certain passages in his book, which he found somewhat obscure and difficult. Pole was on his guard against this insidious invitation; and was determined to remain in Italy, where he was universally beloved.

The pope and emperor thought themselves obliged to provide for a man of Pole's eminence and dignity, who in support of their cause had sacrificed all his pretensions to fortune in his own country. He was created a cardinal; and though he took not higher orders than those of a deacon, he was sent legate into Flanders about the year 1536 (*z*). Henry was sensible that Pole's chief intention, in chusing that employment, was to foment the mutinous disposition of the English Catholics; and he therefore remonstrated in so vigorous a manner with the queen of Hungary, regent of the Low Countries, that she dismissed the legate, without allowing him to exercise his functions. The enmity which he bore to Pole was now as open as it was violent; and the cardinal on his part kept no farther measures in his intrigues against Henry. He is even suspected of having aspired to the crown, by means of a marriage with the lady Mary; and the king was every day more alarmed by informations which he received of the correspondence maintained in England by that fugitive. Courtney, marquis of Exeter, had entered into a conspiracy with him; sir Edward Nevil, brother to the lord Abergavenny; sir Nicholas Carew, master of horse and knight of the garter; Henry de la Pole, lord Montacute; and sir Geoffrey de la Pole, brothers to the cardinal. These persons were indicted and tried and convicted before lord Audley, who presided in the trial as high steward: they were all executed except sir Geoffrey de la Pole, who was pardoned, in consequence of his having dishonourably betrayed his friends, by carrying to the king secret intelligence of the conspiracy. We know little concerning the justice or iniquity of the sentence pronounced against these men: we only know, that the condemnation of a man who was at that time prosecuted by the court forms no presumption of his guilt; though, as no historian of credit mentions in the present case any complaint occasioned by these trials, we may presume that sufficient evidence was produced against the marquis of Exeter and his associates. Two priests and a seaman were likewise tried for their concern in the treasonable proceedings of the Poles; and being condemned, suffered the punishment of treason in its full rigour (*a*).

Henry was well adapted to rend asunder those bands by which the ancient superstition had fastened itself on the kingdom; and though, after renouncing the pope's supremacy, and suppressing monasteries, most of the political ends of reformation were already attained, few people expected that he would stop at those innovations. The spirit of opposition, it was thought, would carry him to the utmost extremities against the church of Rome, and lead him to declare war against the whole doctrine and worship, as well as discipline, of that hierarchy. He had formerly appealed from the pope to a general council; but now, when a general council was summoned to meet at Mantua, he renounced all submission to it, as summoned by the pope, and lying entirely under subjection to that spiritual usurper. He engaged his clergy to make a declaration to the like purpose; and he had prescribed to them many other deviations from ancient tenets and practices. Cranmer took advantage of every opportunity to carry him on in this course; and while queen Jane lived, who favoured the reformers, he had, by means of her insinuation and address, been successful in his endeavours. After her death, Gardiner, who was returned from his embassy to France, kept the king more in suspense; and, by feigning an unlimited submission to his will, was frequently able to guide him to his own purposes. Fox, bishop of Hereford, had supported Cranmer in his schemes for a more thorough reformation; but his death had made way for the promotion of Bonner, who, though he had hitherto seemed a furious enemy to the court of Rome, was determined to sacrifice every thing to present interest, and had joined the confederacy of Gardiner, and the partizans of the Romish faith. Gardiner himself, it was believed, had secretly entered into measures with the pope, and even with the emperor; and in concert with these powers he endeavoured to preserve, as much as possible, the ancient faith and mode of worship.

Henry was so much governed by passion, that nothing could have retarded his animosity and opposition against Rome, but some other passion which stopped his career, and raised him new objects of animosity. Though he had gradually, since the commencement of his scruples with regard to his first marriage, been changing the tenets of that theological system in which he had been educated, he was no less positive and dogmatical in the few articles which remained to him, than if the whole fabric had continued entire and unshaken. And though he stood alone in his opinion, the flattery of courtiers had so inflamed his tyrannical arrogance, that he thought himself entitled to regulate, by his own particular standard, the religious faith of the whole nation. The point on which he chiefly rested his orthodoxy happened to be the real presence; that very doctrine in which, among the numberless victories of superstition over common sense, her triumph is the most signal and egregious. All departure from this principle he held to be heretical and detestable; and nothing, he thought, would be more honourable for him, than while he broke off all connexions with the Roman pontiff, to maintain in this essential article the purity of the catholic faith.

There was one John Nicholson, called also Lambert (*b*), a schoolmaster in London, who had been questioned and confined for unsound opinions by archbishop Warham; but upon the death of that prelate, and the change of counsels at court, he had been released. Not terrified with the danger which he had incurred, he still continued to promulgate his tenets; and having heard Dr. Taylor, after-

(*y*) Goodwin's Annals. (*z*) Herbert.

(*a*) See Lord Herbert's Henry VIII. and Burnet's History of the Reformation, vol. i. p. 358.—Besides a correspondence with Pole, reproachful expressions against the king were imputed to some of these sufferers. Lord Montacute had been heard to say, that "Cardinal Wolsey would have been an honest man, if he had had an honest master." Sir Edward Nevil was charged with having said, that "the king was a beast, and worse than a beast." One of the priests had prophesied, that, "the king would hang in hell one day, for the plucking down of abbeys."

(*b*) Fox, vol. ii. p. 396.

wards bishop of Lincoln, defend in a sermon the corporal presence, he could not forbear expressing to Taylor his dissent from that doctrine; and he drew up his objections under ten several heads. Taylor communicated the paper to Dr. Barnes, who happened to be a Lutheran, and who maintained, that though the substance of bread and wine remained in the sacrament, yet the real body and blood of Christ were there also, and were in a certain mysterious manner incorporated with the material elements. By the present laws and practice Barnes was no less exposed to the stake than Lambert; yet such was the persecuting rage which prevailed, that he determined to bring this man to condign punishment; because in their common departure from the ancient faith he had dared to go one step farther than himself. He engaged Taylor to accuse Lambert before Cranmer and Latimer, who, whatever their private opinion might be on these points, were obliged to conform themselves to the standard of orthodoxy established by Henry. When Lambert was cited before these prelates, they endeavoured to bend him to a recantation; and they were surprised when, instead of complying, he ventured to appeal to the king.

The king, not displeased with an opportunity where he could at once exert his supremacy, and display his learning, accepted the appeal; and resolved to mix, in a very unfair manner, the magistrate with the disputant. Public notice was given that he intended to enter the lists with the schoolmaster: scaffolds were erected in Westminster-hall for the accommodation of the audience: Henry appeared on his throne, accompanied with all the ensigns of majesty: the prelates were placed on his right hand; the temporal peers on his left: the judges and most eminent lawyers had a place assigned them behind the bishops; the courtiers of greatest distinction behind the peers: and in the midst of this splendid assembly was produced the unhappy Lambert, who was required to defend his opinions against his royal antagonist (*c*).

The bishop of Chichester opened the conference, by saying, "that Lambert, being charged with heretical pravity, had appealed from his bishop to the king; as if he expected more favour from this application, and as if the king could ever be induced to protect a heretic: that though his majesty had thrown off the usurpations of the see of Rome; had disincorporated some idle monks, who lived like drones in a bee-hive; had abolished the idolatrous worship of images; had published the Bible in English, for the instruction of all his subjects; and had made some lesser alterations, which every one must approve of; yet was he determined to maintain the purity of the catholic faith, and to punish with the utmost severity all departure from it: and that he had taken the present opportunity, before so learned and grave an audience, of convincing Lambert of his errors; but if he still continued obstinate in them, he must expect the most condign punishment (*d*)".

After this preamble, which was not very encouraging, the king asked Lambert, with a stern countenance, what his opinion was of Christ's corporal presence in the sacrament of the altar; and when Lambert began his reply with some compliment to his majesty, he rejected the praise with disdain and indignation. He afterwards pressed Lambert with arguments drawn from scripture and the schoolmen: the audience applauded the force of his reasoning and the extent of his erudition: Cranmer seconded his proofs by some new topics: Gardiner entered the lists as a support to Cranmer: Tonstal took up the argument after Gardiner: Stokesley brought fresh aid to Tonstal: six bishops more appeared successively in the field after Stokesley: and the disputation, if it deserves the name, was prolonged for five hours; till Lambert, fatigued, confounded, brow-beaten, and abashed, was at last reduced to silence. The king then, returning to the charge, asked him whether he were convinced? and he proposed, as a concluding argument, this interesting question, Whether he were resolved to live or to die? Lambert, who possessed that courage which consists in obstinacy, replied, that he cast himself wholly on his majesty's clemency: the king told him that he would be no protector of heretics; and therefore if that were his final answer, he must expect to be committed to the flames. Cromwell, as vicegerent, pronounced the sentence against him (*e*).

Lambert, whose vanity had probably incited him the more to persevere on account of the greatness of this public appearance, was not daunted by the terrors of the punishment to which he was condemned. His executioners took care to make the sufferings of a man who had personally opposed the king, as cruel as possible: he was burned at a slow fire; his legs and thighs were consumed to the stumps; and when there appeared no end to his torments, some of the guards, more merciful than the rest, lifted him on their halberts, and threw him into the flames, where he was consumed. While they were employed in this friendly office, he cried aloud several times, "None but Christ, none but Christ;" and these words were in his mouth when he expired (*f*). A prince of magnanimity would have pardoned this man; but Henry very rarely exercised that generous quality.

Some few days before the execution of Lambert, four Dutch anabaptists, three men and a woman, had faggots tied to their backs at Paul's Cross, and were burned in that manner. And a man and a woman of the same sect and country were burned in Smithfield (*g*).

By an act which was passed by the parliament, assembled in 1539, the king's authority, as head of the church was greatly increased, by the infliction of additional severities in cases of religion. Henry had been reprobated as an heretic and an apostate by some of the princes of the continent; and these reflexions he pretended so hurt his feelings, that he resolved to disprove the calumny by evincing his attachment to the chief doctrines of the Romish church. The chancellor having acquainted the peers with his majesty's desire of establishing an unity of religious sentiments, a committee was appointed to examine controverted opinions, and frame such articles as were most consistent with the genuine faith. Violent debates ensued among the members of the committee; insomuch that, after a discussion of ten days, they came to no agreement. The duke of Norfolk, who had been tutored by the king, now proposed six articles for the deliberation of the whole house; and when some days had been employed in the examination of them, the king himself assisting in a debate so congenial with his talents, a bill was prepared, and carried through both houses by the royal influence. It was entitled "An Act for abolishing Diversity of Opinion in certain Articles concerning the Christian Religion." The points which it enforced were these: that, in the sacrament of the altar, after the consecration, no substance of bread and wine remained; but under these forms, the natural body and blood of Christ were present: that the communion, in both kinds, (that is, both in the bread and wine,) was not necessary for salvation to all persons: that priests were prohibited by the law of God from marrying: that vows of chastity ought to be observed; that the use of private masses ought to be continued; and that auricular confession was expedient and necessary. It was enacted, that whoever should speak, preach, or write, against the first article, should be adjudged an heretic, and burned alive, without even the privilege of abjuration; that all who should obstinately persist in opposing the other articles should suffer death as felons, without benefit of clergy; that the mere declaration of an opinion against them should be punished, in the first instance, with imprisonment and forfeiture, and, in the second, with death; that the marriages of priests were null, and that such as should still continue to cohabit with the women whom they had married, should suffer death as felons; that, if they should be guilty of fornication or adultery, they should forfeit their property and be imprisoned on the first conviction, and, on the second, be put to death, the women being punished in the same manner; that all who should

(*c*) Fox, vol. ii. p. 426. (*d*) Goodwin's Annals.

(*e*) Collier, in his Ecclesiastical History, vol. ii. p. 152. has preserved an account which Cromwell gave of this conference, in a letter to sir Thomas Wyat, the king's ambassador in Germany. "The king's majesty," says Cromwell, "for the reverence of the holy sacrament of the altar, did sit openly in his hall, and there presided at the disputation, process and judgement of a miserable heretic sacramentary, who was burned the 20th of November, [1538.] It was a wonder to see how princely, with how excellent gravity and inestimable majesty his highness exercised there the very office of supreme head of the church of England. How benignly his grace essayed to convert the miserable man: how strong and manifest reasons his highness alleged against him. I wish the princes and potentates of Christendom to have had a meet place to have seen it. Undoubtedly they should have much marvelled at his majesty's most high wisdom and judgement, and reputed him no otherwise after the same, than in a manner the mirror and light of all other kings and princes in Christendom." It was by such flatteries that Henry was engaged to make his sentiments the standard to all mankind; and was determined to enforce, by the severest penalties, his *strong* and *manifest* reasons for transubstantiation.

(*f*) Fox's Acts and Monuments, p. 427. Burnet.

(*g*) Stowe, p. 556.

abstain from confession, or from the eucharist, at the accustomed times, should forfeit and be confined on the first proof of neglect, and be put to death for the second. Commissioners were appointed to superintend the execution of this act in the different counties; and the delinquents were to have the benefit of a jury. To make it generally known, and impress it on the minds of the people, it was ordered to be read once a quarter in every church throughout the kingdom (*h*).

Archbishop Cranmer strenuously opposed this infamous act in its progress through the house of peers; and, as the king had a great esteem for that prelate, he did not resent his conduct. The primate had married the niece of Osiander, an eminent German Protestant divine; but, as the act had rendered it capital for him to keep his wife, he dismissed her without hesitation. Latimer and Shaxton, bishops of Worcester and Salisbury, resigned their sees, that they might not be obliged to enforce a statute which they detested. Having ventured to express their objections to some of the articles, they were committed to prison, where they remained for a considerable time. About five hundred persons are said to have been apprehended for an infringement of this act; but the remonstrances of Cranmer and Cromwell procured an order from the king for the release of those noxious individuals, who thus, for a time, escaped the malice of their Popish accusers. It does not appear that this statute was executed with rigour before the ruin of the vicar-general, whose attachment to the reformed doctrines, and whose moderation of character, prompted him to mitigate the severity of his sovereign's zeal (*i*).

It is well known that the clergy have commonly made a concern for their temporal interests go hand in hand with a jealousy for orthodoxy; and both these passions have been regarded by the people, ignorant and superstitious, as proofs of zeal for religion: but the violent and headstrong character of Henry now disjoined these objects. Indeed it is difficult to say whether Henry derived greater satisfaction from the gratification of his rapacity by plundering the church, or from that of his bigotry and arrogance by the persecution of those whom he was pleased to term heretics. Though he engaged the parliament to mitigate the penalties of the Six Articles, so far as regarded the marriage of priests, which was now only subjected to a forfeiture of goods, chattels, and lands, during life; he was still bent on maintaining a rigid purity in speculative principles. He had appointed a commission, consisting of the two archbishops, of Canterbury and York, with the bishops of both provinces, together with a considerable number of doctors of divinity; and by virtue of his ecclesiastical supremacy, he had given them in charge to choose a religion for his people. Before the commissioners had made any progress in this arduous undertaking, the parliament, in 1541, had passed a law, by which they ratified all the tenets which these divines should thereafter establish with the king's consent: and they were not ashamed of declaring that they took their religion upon trust, and had no other rule, in spiritual as well as temporal concerns, than the arbitrary will of their tyrannical master. There is only one clause of the statute which may seem at first sight to savour somewhat of the spirit of liberty: it was enacted, That the ecclesiastical commissioners should establish nothing repugnant to the laws and statutes of the realm. But in reality this proviso was inserted by the king, to serve his own purposes. By introducing a confusion and contradiction into the laws, he became more master of every one's life and property. And as the ancient independence of the church still gave him jealousy, he was well pleased, under cover of such a clause, to promote appeals from the spiritual to the civil courts. It was for a like reason that he would never promulgate a body of canon law; and he encouraged the judges on all occasions to interpose in ecclesiastical causes, wherever they thought the law of royal prerogative concerned.

The king, armed by the authority of parliament, or rather by their acknowledgement of that spiritual supremacy which he believed inherent in him, employed his commissioners to select a system of tenets for the assent and belief of the nation. A small volume was soon after published, called "*The Institution of a Christian Man*," which was received by the convocation, and voted to be the standard of orthodoxy. All the delicate points of Justification, Faith, Free-will, Good Works, and Grace, are there defined, with a leaning towards the opinion of the Reformers: the sacraments, which a few years before were only allowed to be three, were now increased to the number of seven, conformably to the sentiments of the Catholics. The king's caprice and folly is discernible throughout the whole, and the book is in reality to be regarded as his composition; for Henry, while he made his opinion a rule for the nation, would tie his own hands by no canon or authority, not even by any which he himself had formerly established.

The people had occasion, soon after, to see a farther instance of the king's inconstancy. He was not long satisfied with his "Institution of a Christian Man;" and therefore ordered a new book to be composed, called the "*Erudition of a Christian Man*;" and, without asking the assent of the convocation, he published, by his own authority, and that of the parliament, this new model of orthodoxy. It differs from the Institution (*k*); but the king was no less positive in his new creed than he had been in the old; and he required the belief of the nation to veer about at his signal. In both these compositions he was particularly careful to inculcate the doctrine of passive obedience; and he was equally careful to retain the nation in the practice of that doctrine.

While Henry was spreading his own books among the people, he seems to have been extremely perplexed, as were also the clergy, what course to take with the Scriptures. A review had been made by the synod, of the new translation of the Bible; and Gardiner had proposed, that instead of employing English expressions throughout, several Latin words should still be preserved; because they contained, as he pretended, such peculiar energy and significance, that they had no correspondent terms in the vulgar tongue (*l*). Among these were, *ecclesia, pœnitentia, pontifex, contritus, holocausta, sacramentum, elementa, ceremonia, mysterium, presbyter, sacrificium, humilitas, satisfactio, peccatum, gratia, hostia, charitas*, &c. But as this mixture would have appeared extremely barbarous, and was plainly calculated for no other purpose than to retain the people in their ancient ignorance, the proposal was rejected. The knowledge of the people, however, at least their disputative turn, seemed to be an inconvenience still more dangerous; and the king and the parliament, which met on the 22nd of January, 1543, soon after the publication of the Scriptures, retracted the concession which they had formerly made; and prohibited all but gentlemen and merchants from perusing them (*m*). Even that liberty was not granted without an apparent hesitation, and a dread of the consequences: these persons were allowed to read, "*so it be done quietly and with good order*." And the preamble to the act sets forth, "That many seditious and ignorant persons had abused the liberty granted them of reading the Bible, and that great diversity of opinion, animosities, tumults, and schisms, had been occasioned by perverting the sense of the Scriptures." It seemed very difficult to reconcile the king's model for uniformity with the permission of free inquiry.

The mass-book also passed under the king's revisal; and little alteration was as yet made in it: some doubtful or fictitious saints only were struck out; and the name of the pope was erazed. This latter precaution was likewise used with regard to every new book that was printed, or even old book that was sold; the word Pope was carefully omitted or blotted out (*n*); as if that precaution could abolish the term from the language, or as if such a persecution of it did not rather imprint it more strongly in the memory of the people.

The king took care about this time to clear the churches from another abuse which had creeped into them. Plays, interludes, and farces were there often acted in derision of the former superstitions; and the reverence of the multitude for ancient principles and modes of worship was thereby gradually effaced (*o*). We do not hear that the catholics attempted to retaliate, by employing this powerful engine against their adversaries, or endeavoured by like arts to expose that fanatical spirit by which it appears

(*h*) Stat. 31 Hen. VIII. cap. 14.
(*i*) Burnet, vol. i. book 3.
(*k*) Collier, vol. ii. p. 190.
(*l*) Burnet, vol. i. p. 315.
(*m*) 33 Hen. VIII. c. 1. The reading of the Bible, however, could not at that time have much effect in England, where so few persons had learned to read. There were but five hundred copies printed of this first authorized edition of the Bible; a book of which there are now several millions of copies in the kingdom, and which is always reprinting at Oxford, Cambridge, or Edinburgh.
(*n*) Parliamentary History, vol. iii. p. 113.
(*o*) Burnet, vol. i. p. 318.

the reformers were frequently actuated. Perhaps the people were not disposed to relish a jest on that side: perhaps the greater simplicity and the more spiritual abstract worship of the Protestants, gave less hold to ridicule, which is commonly founded on sensible representations. It was, therefore, a very agreeable concession which the king made to the Catholic party, to suppress entirely these religious comedies.

Thus Henry laboured incessantly, by arguments, creeds, and penal statutes, to bring his subjects to a uniformity in their religious sentiments: but as he entered himself with the greatest earnestness into all those scholastic disputes, he encouraged the people, by his example, to apply themselves to the study of theology; and it was in vain afterwards to expect, however present fear might restrain their tongues or pens, that they would cordially agree in any set of tenets prescribed to them by any king, or by any set of men appointed by him.

In the year 1543, it was enacted, (34 and 35 Henry VIII. cap. 1.) that any spiritual person, who preached or taught contrary to the doctrine contained in the king's book, called "The Erudition of a Christian Man," or contrary to any doctrine which he should *thereafter* promulgate, was to be admitted, on the first conviction, to renounce his error: on the second, he was required to carry a faggot; which, if he refused to do, or fell into a third offence, he was to be burned. But the laity, for the third offence, were only to forfeit their goods and chattels, and be liable to perpetual imprisonment. Indictments were to be laid within a year after the offence; and the prisoner was allowed—a wonderful indulgence!—to bring witnesses for his exculpation. These penalties were higher than those which were formerly imposed on those who denied the real presence of Christ in the sacramental elements. It was, however, subjoined in this statute, that the act of the Six Articles was still in force. But in order to render the people still greater slaves to their tyrant, it was enacted, that the king might hereafter, at his pleasure, change this act, or any provision in it. By this clause the king was invested, so far as religion was concerned, with the sole legislative authority in this kingdom; and all his subjects were, under the severest penalties, expressly bound to receive the dictates of his capricious and arrogant temper as law.

CHAP. V.

EDWARD VI.

THIS youthful monarch was the only son of Henry VIII. and his third queen Jane Seymour; and was born at Hampton Court, on the 17th of October, 1537. Being of a delicate and sickly constitution, he was tenderly nursed by women till he was six years old; when he was placed under the care of sir Anthony Cook; Dr. Cox, of Eton, was to teach him politeness, philosophy, and divinity; sir John Cheeke, professor of Greek at Cambridge, was to instruct him in Latin and Greek; and Mr. John Belman, was to teach him French, Spanish, and Italian. His progress in learning was so rapid, having an excellent memory, that at eight years of age he wrote Latin letters to his father; spoke French as fluently as English; and was afterwards even able to converse in Latin, Greek, Spanish, and Italian. At the age of fifteen he had made so great a progress in the arts of logic, music, astronomy, and other liberal sciences, that Cardan, the celebrated Italian philosopher, called him the wonder of his age, and a "miracle of nature."

At the death of his tyrannical father, Edward was only nine years and three months old; at which time great preparations were making to declare him Prince of Wales, Duke of Cornwall, and Count Palatine of Chester. At this juncture he was with his sister the princess Elizabeth, at Hertford, where the deputies and messengers on his father's death, (Edward, earl of Hertford, and sir Anthony Brown,) were sent by the privy council to bring the young king to London. They did not, however, inform him of the nature of their mission till they were arrived at Enfield, in their way to the metropolis, when they mentioned the king's death to him, and paid their homage to him as their sovereign. On the following day, January 31, 1547, they arrived in London, and conducted him to the Tower, where the council in a body received him, and proclaimed him king of England the same day.

We have before mentioned that Henry, by virtue of an act of parliament, had not only settled the succession of the crown on this prince, by will, but that he had also appointed him a privy council. In pursuance of this act these counsellors met on the first of February, and opened the will; when they found, that the king had nominated Thomas Cranmer, archbishop of Canterbury; lord Wriothesley, lord high chancellor; lord St John, master of the household; lord Russel, privy seal; Edward, earl of Hertford, chamberlain; viscount Lisle, lord admiral; Cuthbert Tunstal, bishop of Durham; sir Anthony Brown, master of the horse; sir William Paget, secretary of state; sir Edward North, chancellor of the court of augmentations; sir Edward Montague, lord chief justice of the Common Pleas; judge Bromley, sir Anthony Denny, and sir William Herbert, chief gentlemen of the privy chamber; sir Edward Wotton, treasurer of Calais; and Dr. Wotton, dean of Canterbury and York; to be regents of the kingdom, and governors of his son, till he should attain the age of eighteen years. These with twelve more assistants, who were likewise named in the will, to be called in, as need required, to the privy council, took upon them to settle the form of government during the king's minority; which was no sooner done, than a proposal was made to nominate and constitute one of their body, to be their head and president, with the title of Protector of the King's Realm, and Governor of his Person. How reasonable soever this change seemed to the majority of the council for the dispatch of business, the lord chancellor Wriothesley fearing, as indeed it happened, that the choice would fall on the king's uncle, Edward Seymour, earl of Hertford, who was not his friend, which would absolutely deprive him of that sway in the government, which otherwise he might have expected from his high office, it being next under the archbishop of Canterbury, (a prelate who did not much attend to secular affairs,) opposed this proposal with all his might, as an alteration not warranted by the king's will, and contrary to the meaning of the act of parliament. To this it was answered, that such a necessary promotion of one of their own body would by no means change the form of government then established; for that whoever should be raised over the rest, should be obliged "to do nothing without the consent of the other regents." The choice, as Wriothesley dreaded, fell upon the earl of Hertford, who was accordingly proclaimed Protector of the Realm, and Governor of the King's Person, until he should arrive at the age of eighteen years; and on the 6th of the same month (February), he exercised the first act of his high power and authority, by conferring the dignity of knighthood upon the king himself, in the presence of the lord mayor of London, and many other lords and gentlemen: and the king, rising up under his cloth of state, conferred the same honour on Henry (Burnet say John) Hoblethorn, the lord mayor of London; which also appears to be the first act of sovereignty done by king Edward the Sixth.

The next care of the council was (according to an ancient manuscript) not to take care of their own promotions, but of the funeral of their late king, which was performed with great solemnity at Windsor, where king Henry the Eighth was interred on the 15th of February, in the midst of the choir of that stately church. Two days after the funeral, and previous to the coronation of Edward, the regents and counsellors, received their respective titles, and pensions to support their new dignities, conformable to a promise and plan that had been laid down by the late king just before his departure from this life. Edward Seymour, earl of Hertford, and Protector, was created duke of Somerset; William Parr, earl of Essex, marquis of Northampton; lord Dudley, viscount Lisle, earl of Warwick; lord chancellor Wriothesley, earl of Southampton; Thomas Seymour, brother to the protector, and one of the council, was created lord Sudley; and sir Edward Rich, sir William Willoughby, and sir Edmund Sheffield, also of the council, were advanced to the dignity of barons of the realm. At the same time the protector procured for himself the high offices of lord treasurer and earl marshal, vacant by the attainder of the duke of Norfolk, then under sentence of death; and the office of lord high admiral of England for his brother Thomas. Lord Russel was empowered by patent to exercise the office of lord high steward, on the approaching day of the king's coronation; and Henry Grey, marquis of Dorset, by another patent, was constituted high constable for the services of the same day.

Two days after these promotions were settled, king Edward

ward was conducted from the Tower, (where he had remained,) in great state through the city of London, to his palace at Westminster; where the day following he was crowned king of England, by Thomas Cranmer, archbishop of Canterbury, assisted by other bishops, and all the chief nobility of the realm. Upon this occasion his majesty made forty knights of the Bath, and fifty-five knights of the Garter: and a free pardon was granted and proclaimed throughout all his dominions, for all persons that were guilty of any crimes, except the duke of Norfolk, cardinal Pole, Edward Courtney, eldest son of the marquis of Exeter, (lately beheaded,) Mr. Throgmorton, Mr. Fortescue, and Dr. Richard Pate; who having been bishop of Worcester in his father's reign, had some years before withdrawn to Rome, rather than acknowledge the king's supremacy over the church of England.

The coronation was solemnized with the greatest demonstrations of joy by the people, as well as by the regents and counsellors: but the secret enmity which had taken place between the protector's family, and that of the lord chancellor Wriothesley, in a few days broke out in a violent flame; which soon after ruined the affairs of the latter, and, in the end, proved the ruin of the protector also. The chancellor, who was a restless, obstinate, proud, imperious person, could not bear the least controul of a fellow subject; and from the time of the protector's elevation, he had formed the resolution of making him uneasy in that high station, and determined to oppose all his measures. That he might give himself up entirely to the affairs of the cabinet, he, without any warrant from the king, the lord protector, or other regents, did, on the 18th of February, put the Great Seal to a commission, directed to the master of the rolls, and three masters in Chancery, empowering them to execute the lord chancellor's office in the court of Chancery, in as ample a manner as if he himself were present. This arbitrary act was declared illegal by the judges, who gave it as their opinion, that he had thereby forfeited his place, and was liable to fine and imprisonment at the king's pleasure. This was sufficient for his enemies to get clear of so disagreeable a competitor in power: and when the opinion of the judges was communicated to him in full council, he behaved with so much passion towards the judges, and indecency and haughtiness to the council, regents, and protector, defending his own power, and calling their's and the protectorship in question, that he provoked them to use him with the greater severity. Accordingly he was committed to custody in his own house, and commanded not to stir from thence till further orders. The council then came to this resolution: To deprive him of the chancellorship, and to keep him under arrest, to prevent his attendance in the regency, from which they did not presume to displace him, as he sat there by the same authority by which they themselves acted. The seals were given to sir William Pawlet, lord St. John, till another chancellor should be appointed: and the earl of Southampton was not released from his confinement, till the 29th of June; when he entered into a recognizance of four thousand pounds to pay what fine they should think fit to impose upon him,

How grateful soever the disgrace and removal of this great man was to the protector, it proved a stumbling block to himself: for, believing now he was at full liberty to controul the council of his sovereign, he thought of nothing less than to engross the sole management of affairs into his own power; which first drew upon him the resentment of the nation, and, at last, of the king and regency in general. Being elated with the success of his first attempt against the enemies of his house, he had the address to make use of the late chancellor's objection to the authority of his protectorship, to settle himself the more firmly in it, and to extend his power; for soon after (March 13) he reminded the council, that several persons doubted whether the regents could, by their own authority, name a protector: he further alleged, that a similar thing had been insinuated by the French ambassador; and therefore he desired they would allow him to prepare letters patent, under the great seal, to establish him Protector of the Realm, and Governor of the King. He obtained their leave, as most reasonable in appearance; but the wording of the patent being left to his own management, it is thought that he, contrary to the first conditional clause of doing nothing without the consent of the regents, craftily engaged the king to give him full power to do every thing, as he in his wisdom should think for the honour, good, and prosperity of his person and realm; and to assign him a peculiar council that should have a negative upon all cases debated and passed in the privy council; with a restraining clause for this new council, to act only by the protector's advice and consent: but some are of opinion that this was fairly passed by the regency, through the interest of those, who hoped thereby to promote the great work of reformation, of which the protector declared himself the patron.

While these commotions and revolutions in the regency were settling, they were not so forgetful of the public weal, but we find two new treaties concluded with France: one was to renew ancient alliances between the king of England and Francis I. and the other to explain the articles of the peace which king Henry had lately made with him, relating to the bounds and territories of Boulogne, and the fortifications the two kings were making near that place. Both these treaties were signed at London the 11th of March, but were never ratified by Francis, who died at the close of the same month; nor could his successor, Henry II. who was ruled by the pernicious counsels of the cardinal Lorrain, and his brother the duke of Guise, be ever prevailed upon to confirm the same; who being both zealous champions for the authority of the pope, and his religion, and resolved at all events to prevent Edward's marriage with Mary, queen of Scots, their neice, persuaded their sovereign to recover Boulogne at any rate; to reject the treaties; and even to disown the ambassador sent by Francis to London, to conclude them. However, king Edward, not forgetting the friendship which the deceased Francis had shewn to his father; for whom, notwithstanding he died excommunicated by the pope, he ordered a solemn service to be performed to his honour, in the cathedral church of Notre Dame at Paris, soon after he received the news of his death; returned the compliment by ordering a very magnificent funeral solemnity to be performed at the cathedral of St. Paul, London, in commemoration of Francis, on the 19th of June following.

While the affairs of state were settling under the new government in England, the Reformation, which had been greatly favoured by many of the courtiers, but durst not be openly espoused by any during the life-time of Henry the Eighth, who reformed only some things, and left the most material untouched; and was so tyrannical that he would not so much as suffer his subjects to differ in opinion from him, or, at least, not to shew it; was publicly countenanced by them, as soon as his death was made known; and evening prayers began to be read in English in the king's chapel on Easter Monday, though the laws made in the late reign were still in force; the lord protector and archbishop Cranmer being at the head of the reformers, there could be no doubt of the young king's consent, who had been carefully educated by Dr. Cox in the gospel principles of the Reformation.

In the council, the protector and the archbishop of Canterbury declared in favour of the Reformation, and was powerfully seconded without by Dr. Holgate, archbishop of York; Holbeach, bishop of Lincoln; Goodrick, bishop of Ely; Dr. Ridley, and Dr. Latimer, who was discharged from his confinement. They were opposed in this great work by Wriothesley, earl of Southampton; Tunstal, bishop of Durham; Bonner, bishop of London; Gardiner, bishop of Winchester; and many other bishops and ecclesiastics, or friers, who had been recommended to livings at the dissolution of their respective monasteries in the reign of Henry the Eighth.

But the protector, being sure of the sanction of the king, and the countenance of the majority of the council, and having obtained the power abovementioned, he resolved to improve a conjuncture so favourable to the protestant interest. The first step was to appoint visitors of all the churches in every diocese, which were divided on that occasion into six circuits, with power to abolish certain gross abuses introduced into the divine service, and to take down and destroy all images. This may be said to be the first effectual and sincere step taken in England by the crown, for a thorough reformation. While this commission was making out, the good archbishop Cranmer composed a book of homilies, which was published twice this same year (1547,) and appointed to be read in churches, for the edification of the people, and their instruction in the doctrines of the gospel, instead of the legendary sermons, &c. with which an ignorant and superstitious clergy had before captivated their understandings. All these acts of council, and pious endeavours of the good archbishop

bishop and his associates in the glorious work of the Reformation, had their desired effect.

The protector, who is to be considered the chief actor in all, both civil, ecclesiastical, and military affairs at this period, was the eldest son of sir John Seymour, of Wolf Hall, in Wiltshire, by the daughter of sir Henry Wentworth, of Nettleshed, in Suffolk. He was educated at Oxford, and left the university to accompany the duke of Suffolk in his expedition into France, in 1533, by whom he was knighted November 1, that year; but his further promotion, though he did not want sufficient recommendations to his prince's favour, by his martial achievements, which Henry the Eighth greatly encouraged, were owing to his sister's marriage with that monarch. Immediately after lady Jane Seymour was married to the king, her brother, Edward Seymour was created viscount Beauchamp, being descended from that house in the female line; earl of Hertford, on the 12th of October, 1537; knight of the Garter in 1540; lord great chamberlain for life in 1542; lieutenant general of the north in 1544; and was appointed by king Henry one of the sixteen to govern the kingdom during the minority of his son Edward. Being so highly in favour with Henry, and being uncle to Edward, there is no reason to be astonished at his being appointed protector of the realm, and his being advanced to the dukedom of Somerset, and of his obtaining an enlargement of his power as protector. In August, 1548, he took a commission to be general or commander in chief, in the expedition against Scotland; which he executed so much to the satisfaction of the nation, that nothing seemed to be able to prejudice him in their favour, but the unnatural contests between him and his brother Thomas, lord high admiral of England. The death of this admiral, in March, 1548, drew great censures on the protector. These were industriously circulated to his disadvantage by his enemies in church and state. Wriothesley, earl of Southampton, and Dudley, earl of Warwick, headed a faction against him in 1549: besides, his partiality to the commons provoked the gentry; and his palace in the Strand (called Somerset House,) erected on the ruins of several churches, and other religious buildings, in a time of war and pestilence, disgusted the clergy and the people; who likewise abhorred his consent to the execution of his brother. To which may be added, his adherence to the Reformation, and his enjoying some of the best manors of the bishops, were crimes never to be forgiven by the bigotted clergy of the age in which he lived. His entertaining German and Italian troops, although it was by the consent and with the approbation of the council, was used as an argument to ruin him in the esteem of the nation in general. His arbitrary proceedings in the state drew upon him the hatred of all the privy counsellors, except archbishop Cranmer, sir William Paget, and sir Thomas Smith, secretary of state. So that after the desperate attempt to secure to himself the king's person, whom he removed, first to Hampton Court, then to Windsor, he was forced to submit to the council, who, on the 14th of October, 1549, committed him to the Tower, and in the January following, deprived him of all his offices; confiscated all his goods, and fined him two thousand pounds per annum. He obtained a full pardon on the 16th of February, and managed his affairs so artfully with the king, as to be brought both to the court and the council in the ensuing April: and that a thorough reconciliation might be effected between him and the earl of Warwick, the duke's daughter was married to viscount Lisle, the earl's son, on the 3rd of June, 1550; and the ambition of the earl of Warwick was tempted by the gilded toy of a ducal coronet. He was therefore made duke of Northumberland; yet, so great was his hatred against the duke of Somerset, that he accused him of a design to raise the people, and to kill him (Dudley), the marquis of Northampton, and the earl of Pembroke, in the way to, or at dinner with the lord Paget, in so aggravating a manner, that the king, who did not so easily penetrate into the designing views of the duke of Northumberland as a more subtle courtier would certainly have done, gave up his uncle entirely to their resentment: he was accordingly committed to the Tower in October 1551; was tried on the 1st of December; found guilty of felony, in intending to imprison the duke of Northumberland; and on the 22nd of January, 1552, he was beheaded on Tower Hill. Although it is generally believed that the conspiracy for which he suffered was a mere forgery, he died with great serenity; but his four friends, who were executed for the same offence, protested their innocence with their last breath (*p*).

Henry the Eighth had determined to force the Scots to give their young queen Mary to be consort to his son Edward; and this marriage appearing to be most advantageous to the crown of England, Henry, before his death, had given positive directions to execute this project at all events: therefore the protector, having put the affairs of the Reformation upon a good footing, raised an army, and was ready to march against Scotland, not to conquer the country, but to harrass them so, as to bring the Scots to the terms of union, to which they had before consented in parliament. This army, which consisted of thirty thousand foot, and six thousand horse, beside a large fleet of thirty-five men of war, and thirty vessels with ammunition and provisions, to guard the coast, so alarmed the French ministry, who dreaded the marriage and union of England and Scotland, that when the protector was ready to set out on the expedition, the French ambassador at the court of London desired him to consent to a negociation; to which the protector agreed, provided the Scotch commissioners were empowered to assent to the marriage. In consequence,

(*p*) The character of the duke of Somerset is thus given by a late impartial historian: "He was a person of very great virtues, eminent for his piety, courteous and affable in his greatness, sincere and candid in all his transactions, a patron of the poor and oppressed, but a better general than a counsellor. And though he was not without his faults, yet they were only such as human infirmity exposes most men to when they are advanced to a high station. He had indeed a tincture of vanity, and a fondness for his own notions; and being a man of no extraordinary parts, was too much at the disposal of those, who by flatteries and submissions insinuated themselves into his esteem and confidence. He made likewise too great haste to raise a great estate to be altogether innocent. But to balance these defects, he was never charged with personal vices, nor guilty of falsehood, of perverting public justice, of cruelty, or of oppression."

After this view of the character of the protector, which is far from being unamiable, let us take a retrospective glance at the characters of his two most inveterate enemies, the earl of Southampton and the duke of Northumberland.

Wriothesley, earl of Southampton, was extremely ambitious, very conceited of his own merits, haughty, imperious, arbitrary, superstitious, cruel; and his religious principles, being entirely repugnant to the reformation, his language was always bitter and offensive, hot, and passionate, when the affairs of religion were the subject of debate. It is true he had made his conscience temporize with the innovations during the reign of Henry the Eighth; but his attachment to the superstitions of the church of Rome had been sufficiently evident in the affair of Anne Askew, in his project to ruin queen Catherine Parr, and on many other occasions. Which circumstances were undoubted proofs that the reformers had nothing to expect from him, but continual opposition in religious matters; which made him capable of any attempt to ruin every bar to his project of wresting the government into his own hands, and restoring the ecclesiastical power to the pope and his adherents. The loss of the chancellorship, and other disgraces he met with from the protector's party at the beginning of Edward the Sixth's reign, were never to be pardoned. But his malignant mind was even on the rack to discover methods of the keenest revenge on the duke of Somerset, the supposed author of all his misfortunes; and therefore he no sooner perceived his antagonist decline in his popularity, than he strengthened his power by engaging the earl of Warwick to enter into a plot to cut off the protector, whom this nobleman also looked upon as an obstacle to his own preferment.

The earl of Warwick was John Dudley, son of Edmund Dudley, the notorious evil counsellor to Henry the Seventh, who was put to death in the beginning of the reign of Henry the Eighth, who was pleased, after he had sacrificed the father to the resentment of the people, to dignify this his son John with the title of lord Dudley, and afterwards with that of viscount Lisle. The young favourite improved on this happy revolution of his affairs by a diligent observance of the king's pleasure. He made a considerable figure in those employments at court with which he was entrusted, to the king's satisfaction; and distinguished himself so remarkably by his conduct and bravery in the wars, that he was first made governor of Boulogne, and afterwards admiral of the fleet fitted out against France. He was both a brave soldier and an artful courtier; but of very indifferent morals. He was excessively addicted to his pleasures, and would sometimes run into extravagant debaucheries: nor was he less scrupulous with regard to honour and virtue; for, as his ambition was boundless, he did not stop at the worst means to accomplish his ends; from whence we may infer, that he was not over nice with regard to the affairs of religion. While Henry the Eighth reigned he kept strictly within the bounds prescribed by that prince; and he no sooner saw the majority of king Edward's council for the Reformation, than he declared openly on their side, as the only way to please the king, and to advance his own fortune: but as his scheme to make religion only a mean to raise himself, was easily discovered by the Protestant party, they never put any confidence in him; nor would consent to his promotion to the Chancery, as he expected, upon the disgrace of Wriothesley. Therefore, from this disappointment we may date his disgust to the protector, and his determination to do every thing in his power to effect the ruin of that nobleman, though he had obtained by his means the titles of earl of Warwick and duke of Northumberland; and had even gained his daughter in marriage for his son, viscount Lisle. So implacable is hatred founded on ambition, that neither the ties of gratitude nor affinity are able to reconcile it.

The characters of these men, well considered, may furnish a proper clue to the several revolutions in the ministry during the reign of Edward the Sixth; and were therefore necessary to be inserted in this place.

sequence Tunstal, bishop of Durham, and sir Thomas Bowes, were appointed on the part of England, and met the Scotch commissioners on the 4th of August, 1547; but they having no instructions relating to the marriage, this conference proved ineffectual; and the protector departed in August, and entered Scotland on the 2nd of September, with his army, taking the earl of Warwick with him as lieutenant general. The protector secured his retreat by taking and garrisoning several castles; and having forced his way within sight of the Scottish army, consisting of thirty-six thousand men, and thirty pieces of cannon, expecting him on the field of Pinkey, near Musselburgh, he wrote to the earl of Arran, regent of Scotland, proposing to retire, on condition the Scots would agree that the young queen should be bred up in Scotland till she became of age, and give security that she should not till then be contracted to any foreign power, rather than be the cause of shedding so much innocent blood as must otherwise shortly be the case. The French faction, however, so completely prevailed in the council of Scotland, that this moderate proposal was absolutely rejected; and the Scotch seemed so certain of victory, that they attacked the English, who were advantageously entrenched, with their artillery commanding the plain, and their fleet near enough, on the other side, to fire upon the enemy in flank; which had its desired success: for although the Scots advanced in good order, and fought obstinately, they were so galled from every quarter, that they were entirely routed, leaving fourteen thousand on the field of battle, and fifteen hundred prisoners, (eight hundred of whom were gentlemen), in the hands of the English. By this victory obtained by the English, Scotland was thrown into the utmost confusion. The regent retired to Edinburgh; and, after he had garrisoned the castle, shut himself and the queen up in Stirling, with the remains of his army. The protector marched directly to Leith, and took it; and entered Edinburgh without opposition, and plundered it; while the fleet, under lord Clinton, burnt several sea-port towns in the county of Fife, and all the ships in their harbours. There is no doubt but the duke of Somerset, so great was his success, would have forced the young queen out of the regent's hands, had he not been obliged to hasten his return to London, where his brother Thomas was taking measures against him, having employed but sixteen days in this glorious expedition. He departed for England on the 18th of September; and taking his route through the counties of March and Tiviotdale, he left a garrison in the castle of Hume, and made sir Ralph Palmer governor of Roxburgh, which he ordered to be repaired. The great success of this campaign raised the popularity of the protector; and, on his return to London on the 8th of October, the lord mayor and aldermen went out to meet him in Finsbury Field, now called the Artillery Ground, or Bunhill Field.

In the mean time the reformation also proceeded with great advances; for not any of the bishops, except Gardiner, of Winchester, and Bonner, of London, were hardy enough to obstruct the commission granted to visit the churches; and these prelates were for that offence committed to the Fleet Prison. The princess Mary on this occasion wrote to the protector, signifying her dislike of all the changes which were making in religion. He replied to her in very strong terms, that he did not think himself obliged to conform to her sentiments. Accordingly we find, that from this period, all images and statues were thrown out of the churches: the clergy were permitted to marry; an English Liturgy or Common Prayer was established to be used in public churches; the sacrament of the Lord's Supper ordained to be administered in both kinds; masses for souls departed were forbidden; &c. but these alterations could not be complied with by the superstitious devotees of the Romish church, without several tumults, which at length broke out in rebellion.

When the protector was arrived at London, he found that his brother Thomas had not only caballed with his enemies, but had run great lengths to supplant him in the government of the king. Therefore to account for this opposition between the brothers, so as to be able to lay the blame where it ought to be fixed, it may be necessary to advert to the character of Thomas Seymour, the protector's brother. The lord high admiral was a hot, proud, and haughty person; and being also uncle to the king, he could not bear the distinction made between him and the duke of Somerset, by their royal nephew; thinking himself, by his birth and natural endowments, as worthy as his brother Edward, of having a share in the administration of affairs; but perceiving by the late king's will that he was excluded therefrom, he immediately paid his addresses to the princess Elizabeth, hoping, by that mean, to be able on a future day to get possession even of the throne itself. This project, however, not being likely to succeed, he changed his plan, and married the queen-dowager before her royal consort had been dead a month; which he kept private, till he found means, without the knowledge of his brother the protector, to procure a letter from the king, recommending him to the queen for a husband. The marriage was now openly declared; and from this event may be dated the disagreement between the protector and the lord high admiral, which was never made up; though the protector, who was a person of moderation, did every thing in his power to hinder the quarrel from breaking out. The admiral, who was of a very different disposition, looked upon every promotion of his brother, as a lessening of his own birth and affinity to the crown, and gave way to all the means that passion, envy, and malice, could invent to supplant him. He joined with the discontented nobles, and endeavoured to corrupt the king against the duke. So early as Easter, he gained some of the king's servants to his interest, and they took every opportunity that presented itself to sound his praise in the ears of their royal master. Having succeeded thus far, he engaged him frequently to visit his mother-in-law at his house. He gained the affections of the young king, by furnishing him with money for his privy purse, and for small presents to his domestics, that he might not lie under the necessity of applying to his governor, the duke, for every trifling supply he might stand in need of. The protector soon received intelligence of this plan; and notwithstanding the haughty behaviour of his brother, when the affair was mentioned to him, he suppressed his resentment and hoped to reclaim him. The admiral, however, no sooner heard that his brother was in Scotland, than he renewed his cabals with more boldness: he corrupted almost every person about the king; from whom he obtained a new and more ample patent for the office of lord high admiral, with the addition of two hundred marks per annum to the salary. It was this circumstance that obliged the protector to return from Scotland: but it was now too late; for his presence was not able to interrupt the admiral's plans. Nothing short of the government of the king's person would now serve his turn; and by insinuating to the king, that it was too great a power to place in the hands of any one person, the two offices of protector and governor; and by soothing and caressing the child, (for the young king was nothing more,) with greater complaisance and flattery than had been shewn him by the protector, he obtained a message, under the king's own hand, to the house of commons, desiring them to make the admiral governor of his person. The admiral had the effrontery to propose to carry this message himself; but the council being informed thereof, sent certain lords to dissuade him from so gross a procedure. When these nobles returned with a report that he was confirmed in his resolution to carry it himself, they, on the following day, sent an order for him to appear before them in council. This he positively refused to do; and they threatened to deprive him of all his offices, commit him to the Tower, and to prosecute him upon the statute, which made it death for any person to disturb the government. He was now brought to consider the danger he should run by disobeying the council, and, at least, to pretend a reconciliation with his brother, and submission to the lords of the regency: but notwithstanding this pretended reconciliation, he never ceased privately to incense the king against the protector and his other ministers; which being observed by the spies set over him by the protector, he considered him in the light of a very dangerous enemy.

While the protector was thus employed in the field and the cabinet, archbishop Cranmer, in the name of the king, invited into England the famous Peter Martyr, born at Florence; Ochinus, who was made a canon of Canterbury, with a dispensation of residence; Fagius, who was made Hebrew professor at Cambridge, with a pension of a hundred pounds per annum; Bucer, who was seated in the divinity chair at Oxford, as Peter Martyr was at Cambridge, with a salary of a hundred pounds per annum each.

The chancellorship being vacant ever since the disgrace of Wriothesley, a few days before the meeting of parliament, lord Rich, one of the privy counsellors, was made

chancellor (q). On the 3rd of November, the day before the meeting of parliament, the council ordered the great seal to be affixed to a patent to warrant the protector in parliament to take precedence of all the nobility, and to sit under the cloth of state, on the right hand of the throne, whether the king were present or absent; which created him a great many enemies, and furnished such as were so before, with an argument to accuse him of aspiring too high, and of an intention to destroy the form of government established by Henry the Eighth.

The parliament met on the 4th of November, 1547, and, being totally influenced by the protector, enacted, amongst other things, that the king's proclamations should be of equal authority with acts of parliament; that private masses should be abolished, and the cup should be given to the laity in the communion; confirmed the king's supremacy, gave him all the lands designed for the maintenance of chantries, chapels, and colleges, which were not possessed by Henry the Eighth, and all revenues given for obits, anniversaries, lights in the churches, together with all Guild lands, which any fraternity enjoyed on the same account, provided they should be applied to the maintenance of grammar schools and preachers. This parliament also gave the king power to nominate to the vacant sees by his letters patents; by which they abolished the method of choosing bishops by *congè d'elire*, which they looked upon only as a mockery, because those pretended elections were all made by the direction of the court: it repealed several acts relating to treason, made during the contests between the two contending houses of York and Lancaster; and in the reign of the late king Henry the Eighth. It likewise abrogated all acts that declared that felony since the 23rd of April, of 1 Henry VIII. the acts of 5 Richard II. and 2 Henry V. touching the Lollards; the law of the Six Articles, which served the tyrannical Henry to scourge the people during the latter part of his reign. And it ended December 24, with a general pardon, or Act of Grace, by which Gardiner, the furious catholic bishop, was discharged from the Fleet, none being excepted but such prisoners as were confined in the Tower of London.

The affairs of religion seem at this time to have been the principal object of the care of the regency: for in the beginning of the year 1548, we find several acts of council for completing the reformation from Popery. On the 25th of January, the superstitious blessing of candles on the day of Purification on February 2; the blessing of ashes on the first day of Lent, and of palms on the Sunday next before Easter; all wakes and Plough Monday days were forbidden and ordered to be suppressed. A few days afterwards they approved of the people's zeal in pulling down images, and ordered that they should all be removed from the churches. They also did what laid in their power to abolish auricular confession, that badge of Popish slavery, which kept the deceived multitude in eternal subjection to the tricks and impositions of the priests. But these great points against Popery were not carried without opposition, though confirmed by the king's proclamation in virtue of his supremacy. Gardiner, though so lately released from confinement, once more attempted to obstruct the great work of reformation, by publicly protesting against all changes in religion till the king became of age. This drew upon him the resentment of the administration a second time, who sent him to the Tower; and by that single act of severity against their head, they overawed the whole of the Romish party, who, for the present, at least outwardly, conformed to the Reformation.

Thus the state of religion began to flourish, when the regent of Scotland, expecting to be supported by the French to revenge the damage done last year by the protector, besieged Broughty castle with eight thousand men; which obliged the protector, contrary to his inclination, to continue the war; and to send Francis Talbot, earl of Shrewsbury, against the Scots, with a commission of his lieutenant general, granted by the authority of a new patent, which afterwards drew upon him many evils.

The English, in the mean time, endeavoured to divert the Scots from the siege of Broughty, by returning the compliment with taking the castle of Hadington; which enabled them to cover the most fruitful part of Scotland, and to make excursions to the very gates of their capital, it being no more than twelve miles distant from Edinburgh. Soon after they took Lauder also, and with the utmost expedition, put them into a good posture of defence.

The Scots, finding themselves in danger of being again worsted in the contest, demanded the promised succours from France, which amounted to six thousand, and arrived at the latter end of May; but would not act against the English in an offensive manner, till the young queen was put into their hands, and sent into France; she was carried north about, to avoid the English fleet under admiral Seymour, who made several fruitless descents on the coast; but having missed his ward, he returned home, without doing any material damage to the enemy.

The French, having thus obtained their ends, joined the Scots in the siege of Hadington; who surprized and cut off sir Robert Bowes, and sir Thomas Palmer, sent with thirteen hundred men to relieve the castle; but were themselves forced to raise the siege at the approach of the earl of Shrewsbury, with twenty-two thousand men, most of them Germans, hired from the elector of Saxony and the prince of Hesse. This put it in the power of the earl, not only to relieve the besieged, but to distress the enemy greatly, who were intrenched in an advantageous post. Yet, by what infatuation it could not be conceived, he, having supplied the castle with provisions, retired abruptly into England; which gave the French so much spirits, that they made an inroad into England as far as Newcastle, and meeting with no resistance, returned laden with spoil.

The French general D'Esse, flushed with this success, began to behave with so much imperiousness towards the Scots, that the queen dowager prayed that he might be recalled: but the court of France, though condescending ing to her request in that particular, gave her and the Scots much greater reason of complaint, by forcing upon them Mons. Montluc, bishop of Valence, to be chancellor of Scotland, who was sent over under the protection of a new general.

Thus the summer passed: and on the 24th of November the parliament of England met, after having been prorogued to the 20th of April, then to October the 15th and 25th, and at last to November the 24th, on account of the plague then at London. This parliament distinguished itself by confirming all the orders of council concerning the reformation in religion; and farther, allowed priests to marry; confirmed the new liturgy, which retrenched divers abuses, and gave a favourable turn to the Reformation.

While these things were done in parliament to the satisfaction of the Protestants, the protector had need of all his power to ward off the plots and attempts of his enemies; and to secure the king's person from the violent projects of the admiral his brother; who, finding every other step to the supreme power sufficiently guarded against his projects, had determined to get the king to his house at Holt, in Denbighshire, to displace the protector, and to seize the government into his own hands, with the assistance of ten thousand men already enlisted in several places. This plot being discovered, the council signed a warrant on the 19th of January, 1549, for his commitment to the Tower. Lord Russel, the earl of Southampton, and Mr. Secretary Petre, were commissioned to receive the depositions of the witnesses against him; and these noblemen reported to the council, on the 22nd of February, that the admiral was accused of conspiring the subversion of government; of committing many misdemeanours in the discharge of his office as lord admiral; of protecting, and taking a share with pirates in their robberies; and of refusing justice to those who demanded it, &c. His brother, the protector, now advised him to resign his office, and to retire from court; which, had he complied with would have saved his life; but he positively refused to adhere to his brother's advice, and rejected all counsel for his safety. His accusation was then drawn up in thirty-three articles, and a committee was deputed by the council to examine him; but he refused to answer, and demanded an open trial, and to be brought face to face before his accusers. Yet, although he was a peer of the realm, lord high admiral of England, and uncle to the king, this point of justice was denied him; and a bill of attainder was ordered into the house of lords, where it was read on the 25th and 26th of February, and passed on the 27th. When the bill was sent down to the commons, it met with some opposition till the 4th of March,

(q) He was grandson to Richard Rich, a wealthy merchant, and sheriff of London in 1441. This gentleman had been bred a lawyer, and by his pliant temper, he raised himself to the pinnacle of the law.

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when the king was advised to send a message, signifying his pleasure that they should pass it; when, it being put to the vote, the commons, in a full house of four hundred members, passed the bill, not above twelve voting in the negative. The royal assent being given to this attainder, the lord high admiral Seymour was beheaded on the 20th of the same month, by warrant from the regency, to which the hands of archbishop Cranmer, and of his own brother the protector were set. At the place of execution this unhappy nobleman, who had lived a vicious, profane, and irreligious life, made a very bad end; for, as bishop Latimer says, "he died very dangerously, yrksomelye, and horryblye." Nevertheless, how wicked soever the admiral may be supposed to have been, the protector's enemies made use of his prosecution and death, to raise him more uneasiness and trouble.

The parliament, having passed the bill of attainder abovementioned, granted the king a subsidy of one shilling in the pound for three years; three pence for every ewe, two pence for every wether kept in pastures, three half-pence for every woollen cloth made for sale in England for three years; strangers to pay two shillings. The clergy granted six shillings in the pound payable in the same time. When they had thus provided for the public safety, it was carried into a law, That malt should be three weeks in making, except in June, July, and August, when seventeen days were thought sufficient: that tythes should be paid as they had been within forty years before; and that no person should carry away his corn, &c. before he had set out the tythes, or otherwise agreed for them, upon pain of forfeiting treble the value of them: that an incumbent not paying his tenths due to the king, when demanded, should be deprived of that benefice for which they were due; and that butchers, bakers, &c. conspiring and agreeing not to sell meat, bread, &c. but at certain prices; or workmen refusing to work, except at a certain price or rate, should, for the first offence, forfeit ten pounds, for the second, twenty pounds, and for the third, forty pounds, to be paid within six days, or to suffer imprisonment for twenty days. The parliament was prorogued on the 14th of March, to the 4th of November.

The progress made in the Reformation in England, brought over many foreign Protestants, amongst whom were several German Anabaptists; of which the council receiving intelligence, and having conceived a very bad opinion of them, as well with regard to their religious as to their political principles, from the outrages, murders, and rebellions, committed by their leader John of Leyden, and his followers, in Germany; and from their fantastical and unintelligible mode of conversing about religion, which they turned entirely into allegories; archbishop Cranmer and others were commissioned to search for, examine, and try these people. The commissioners were particularly enjoined to reclaim them if possible; to impose penance on them; and to give them absolution: or if these criminals continued obstinate, to excommunicate and imprison them, and to deliver them over to the secular arm: and in the execution of this charge, they were not bound to observe the ordinary methods of trial; the forms of law were dispensed with; and if any statutes happened to interfere with the powers in the commission, they were over-ruled and abrogated by the council. Some tradesmen in London were brought before these commissioners, and were accused of maintaining, among other opinions, that a man regenerate could not sin, and that, though the outward man might offend, the inward was incapable of all guilt. They were prevailed on to abjure, and were dismissed. On this occasion also, Joan Bocher, commonly called Joan of Kent; who, when brought before those persons to be examined was so pertinacious, that she was pronounced an obstinate heretic, was sentenced to be burned, and was delivered over to the secular arm to be executed. Her doctrine was, "That Christ was not truly incarnate of the Virgin, whose flesh, being the outward man, was sinfully begotten, and born in sin; and consequently, he could take none of it: but the Word, by the consent of the inward man of the Virgin, was made flesh." This act of cruelty was by no means becoming the Christian temper of a Reformed bishop, who condemned the like persecutions by the Papists. The young king, however, though in such tender years, seems to have had more sense than all his counsellors and preceptors; and he long refused to sign the warrant for her execution. Cranmer was employed to persuade him to compliance; and he said that there was a great difference between errors in other points of divinity and those which were in direct contradiction to the Apostles' creed: these latter were impieties against God, which the prince, being God's deputy, ought to repress; in like manner as inferior magistrates were bound to punish offences against the king's person. After a great deal of conversation, Edward, overcome by importunity, at last submitted, though with tears in his eyes; and he told Cranmer, that if any wrong were done, the guilt should lie entirely on his head. The primate then made another effort to reclaim the woman from her errors, but finding her still persist in maintaining her erroneous opinions, he at last gave her over to the executioner, and she was committed to the flames.

Some time after the execution of Joan Bocher, a Dutchman, whose name was Van Paris, was accused of holding and professing the doctrines of Arius, and having obstinately maintained his opinions, he was condemned to the flames. This man suffered with so much satisfaction, that he even hugged and caressed the faggots which were destined to consume him (*r*).

By these rigorous methods of proceeding, the whole nation was speedily brought to a conformity, seeming or real, with the new doctrine and the new liturgy. The lady Mary alone, who was half sister to Edward, and who after his death ascended the throne, continued to adhere to the mass, and refused to admit the established modes of worship. When pressed and menaced on this head, she applied to the emperor; who, using his interest with sir Philip Hobby, the English ambassador, procured her a temporary connivance from the council.

There is no abuse so great in civil society, as not to be attended with a variety of beneficial consequences; and in the beginnings of reformation, the loss of these advantages is always sensibly felt, while the benefit resulting from the change is the slow effect of time, and is seldom perceived by the bulk of a nation. Scarcely any institution can be imagined less favourable in the main to the interests of mankind than that of monks and friers; yet was it followed by many good effects, which having ceased by the suppression of monasteries, were much regretted by the people of England. The monks, always residing in their convents in the centre of their estates, spent their money in the provinces and among their tenants, afforded a ready market for commodities, were a sure resource to the poor and indigent; and though their hospitality and charity gave but too much encouragement to idleness, and hindered the increase of public riches, yet did it provide to many a relief from the extreme pressures of want and necessity. It may also be remarked, that as the friers were limited by the rules of their institution to a certain mode of living, they had not equal motives for extortion with other men; and they were acknowledged to have been in England, as they still are in Roman catholic countries, the best and most indulgent landlords. The abbots and priors were permitted to grant leases at an under-value, and to receive in return a large present from the tenant; in the same manner as is still practised by the bishops and colleges. But when the abbey lands were distributed among the principal nobility and courtiers, they fell under a different management: the rents of farmers were raised, while the tenants found not the same facility in disposing of the produce; the money was often spent in the capital; and the farmers, living at a distance, were exposed to oppression from their new masters, or to the still greater rapacity of the stewards.

The grievances of the common people were at that time heightened by other causes. The arts of manufacture were more advanced in other countries than in England; and even in England these arts had made greater progress than the knowledge of agriculture; a profession which, requires great reflection and experience. A great demand arose for wool both abroad and at home: pasturage was found more profitable than unskilful tillage; whole estates were inclosed: the tenants, regarded as an useless burden, were expelled their habitations: even the cottagers, deprived of the commons on which they formerly fed their cattle, were reduced to misery; and a decay of people, as well as a diminution of the former plenty, was

(*r*) These executions, as might naturally be supposed, disgusted many pious Christians, and gave the Papists cause to retort upon the Reformers the spirit of persecution, for which they themselves had been so much blamed on former occasions.

remarked

remarked in the kingdom. This grievance was now of an old date; and sir Thomas More, alluding to it, observes in his Utopia, that a sheep in England had become a more ravenous animal than a lion or a wolf, and that it frequently devoured whole villages, cities, and provinces.

It must also be remarked, that the profusion of Henry the Eighth had reduced him, notwithstanding his rapacity, to such difficulties, that he had been obliged to remedy a present necessity, by the pernicious expedient of debasing the coin; and the wars in which the protector had been involved, had induced him to carry still further the same abuse. The usual consequences ensued: the good specie was hoarded or exported; base metal was coined at home, or imported from abroad in great abundance; the common people, who received their wages in it, could not purchase commodities at the usual rates; an universal diffidence and stagnation of commerce took place, and loud complaints were heard in every part of England.

The duke of Somerset, lord protector, who loved popularity, and pitied the condition of the people, encouraged these complaints by endeavouring to redress them. He appointed a commission for making inquiry concerning inclosures; and issued a proclamation, ordering all late inclosures to be laid open by a day appointed. The populace, meeting with such countenance from government, began to rise in several places, and to commit disorders, but were quieted by remonstrances and persuasion. In order to give them greater satisfaction, the duke of Somerset appointed new commissioners, whom he sent, with an unlimited power to hear and determine all causes about inclosures, highways, and cottages. This commission was disagreeable to the nobility and gentry, and they stigmatized it as arbitrary and illegal; and the common people, fearing it would be eluded, and being impatient for redress, sought for a remedy by force of arms. The rising began at once in several parts of England, as if an universal conspiracy had been formed by the commonalty. The rebels in Wiltshire were dispersed by sir William Herbert: those in the neighbouring counties, Oxford and Gloucester, by lord Gray of Wilton. Many of the rioters were killed in the field; others were executed by martial law. The commotions in Hampshire, Sussex, Kent, and other counties, were quieted by gentler expedients; but the disorders in Devonshire and Norfolk threatened more dangerous consequences.

The commonalty in Devonshire began with the usual complaints against inclosures and against oppressions from the gentry; but the parish priest of Sampford Courtenay had the address to give their discontent a direction towards religion; and the delicacy of the subject in the present emergency made the insurrection immediately appear formidable. In other counties the gentry had kept closely united with government; but here many of them took part with the populace; among others, Humphry Arundel, governor of St. Michael's Mount. The rioters set up the pope's standard on the 10th of June, 1549, and were brought into the form of a regular army, which amounted to the number of ten thousand. Lord Russel had been sent against them at the head of a small force; but finding himself too weak to encounter them in the field, he kept at a distance, and began to negociate with them; in hopes of eluding their fury by delay, and of dispersing them by the difficulty of their subsisting in a body. They had the boldness to present a list of grievances (s) to Lord Russel, as the ground-work of negociation, which that nobleman immediately sent to the council, who returned a haughty answer; commanding the rebels to disperse, and promising them pardon upon their immediate submission. Enraged at this disappointment, they marched to Exeter, on the 2nd of July; carrying before them crosses, banners, holy water, candlesticks, and other implements of ancient superstition; together with the host, which they covered with a canopy. The citizens of Exeter shut their gates; and the rebels, as they had no cannon, endeavoured to take the place, first by scalade, then by mining, but were repulsed in every attempt. Russel meanwhile lay at Honiton till reinforced by sir William Herbert and lord Gray, with some German horse, and some Italian arquebusiers under Battista Spinola. He then resolved to attempt the relief of Exeter, which was now reduced to extremities. He attacked the rebels on the 6th of August, drove them from all their posts, did great execution upon them both in the action and pursuit, and took many prisoners. Arundel and the other leaders were sent to London, tried and executed. Many of the inferior sort were put to death by martial law: the vicar of St. Thomas, one of the principal incendiaries, was hanged on the top of his own steeple, arrayed in his popish weeds, with his beads at his girdle.

The people of Norfolk rose with more violence, and their insurrection was attended with greater acts of outrage. The populace were at first excited, as in other places, by complaints against inclosures; but finding their numbers amount to twenty thousand, they grew insolent, and proceeded to more exorbitant pretensions. They required the suppression of the gentry, the placing of new counsellors about the king, and the re-establishment of the ancient rites. One Ket, a tanner, had assumed the government over them, and he exercised his authority with the utmost arrogance. Having taken possession of Moushold-hill, near Norwich, he erected his tribunal under an old oak, thence called the oak of reformation; and summoning the gentry to appear before him, he gave such decrees as might be expected from his character and situation. The marquis of Northampton was first ordered against him; but met with a repulse in an action where lord Sheffield was killed. The protector affected popularity, and cared not to appear in person against the rebels: he therefore sent the earl of Warwick at the head of six thousand men, levied for the wars against Scotland; and he thereby afforded his mortal enemy an opportunity of increasing his reputation and character. Warwick having tried some skirmishes with the rebels, at last made a general attack upon them, and put them to flight. Two thousand fell in the action and pursuit: Ket was hanged at Norwich castle; nine of his followers on the boughs of the oak of reformation; and the insurrection was entirely suppressed. Some rebels in Yorkshire, learning the fate of their companions, accepted the offers of pardon, and threw down their arms. The protector soon after published a general act of indemnity.

The protector, whose interest it was to keep the nation in tranquillity, not only discovered great reluctance to proceed with rigour against the rebels, during the time of those insurrections; but so soon as he perceived that the people had laid down their arms and returned to their homes, he was the first that moved the council to proclaim a general pardon; and upon their demur, he took the extraordinary step, by his sole authority, to publish a pardon for all crimes committed before the 21st of August, excepting only a few rebel prisoners. As this act of sovereignty was contrary to the advice of the council, who found they had been consulted only out of mere form, it inflamed their hatred, as well as it did that of the nobility, although he could warrant what he had done by virtue of his patent.

Those who take upon them to defend the protector's lenity towards the rebels, tell us, that he was obliged to try all means to keep peace at home, when the king's dominions were perfidiously attacked by the king of France. The case is this: Henry the Second, king of France, was

(s) The following are the articles which the Devonshire rebels had the audacity to insist on as the basis of negociation; upon the granting of which they promised to lay down their arms:

1. That all the general councils and the ancient canons of the church should be observed.
2. That the act of the six articles should be again in force.
3. That the mass should be in Latin, and the priests alone should receive.
4. That the host should be lifted up and worshipped, and those who refused to do it should suffer as heretics.
5. That the sacrament should only be given to the people at Easter in one kind.
6. That baptism should be administered at any hour, and at all times.
7. That holy bread, holy water, and palms be again used; and images set up, with all the other ancient ceremonies.
8. That the new liturgy should be laid aside, and the old offices, as well as the processions restored.
9. That all preachers before their sermons, and priests in the mass, should pray for the souls in purgatory.
10. That the people should be forbid to read the Bible.
11. That Dr. Moreman and Mr. Crispin should be restored to their livings.
12. That cardinal Pole should be restored, and made of the king's council.
13. That every gentleman might have but one servant for every hundred marks of yearly rent belonging to him.
14. That the half of the abbey lands should be taken from the possessors, and adjudged to two of the chief abbies in every county; and all the church boxes, for seven years, should be given to the said houses, that devout persons might live in them, who should pray for the king and the commonwealth.
15. That for their particular grievances, they should be redressed, as Humphry Arundel and the mayor of Bodmin should inform the king and council.

no sooner settled on his throne than he meditated a design to recover Boulogne by force of arms, which by the treaty entered into by Francis the First, his predecessor, was ceded to king Henry the Eighth for eight years; and was not to be restored then, without the payment of two millions of gold crowns to the king of England. Henry the Second, being informed of the troubles which broke out in England, thought the present a favourable opportunity to endeavour to recover those places which Henry the Eighth had conquered from France. He therefore assembled an army; and falling suddenly upon the Boulonnois, took the castles of Sellaque, Blackness, and Ambleteuse, though well supplied with garrisons, ammunition, and provisions. He endeavoured to surprize Boulenberg, and was repulsed; but the garrison, not thinking the place tenable after the loss of the other fortresses, destroyed the works and retired to Boulogne. The rains, which fell in great abundance during the autumn, and a pestilential distemper which broke out in the French camp, deprived Henry of all hopes of success against Boulogne itself; and he retired to Paris, leaving the command of the army to Gaspar de Coligny, lord of Chatillon, afterwards so well known by the name of admiral Coligny; and he gave him orders to form the siege early in the spring: but the active disposition of the general induced him to make, during the winter, several attempts against the place; yet he proved unsuccessful in every effort. Strozzi, who commanded the French fleet and galleys, endeavoured to make a descent on Jersey and Guernsey; but meeting there with an English fleet, he commenced an action which seems not to have been decisive, since the historians of the two nations differ in their account of the event.

The French war was hardly broke out, when the protector endeavoured to fortify himself with the alliance of the emperor; to which end he sent secretary Paget to Brussels, where Charles then kept his court, in order to assist sir Philip Hobby, the resident ambassador, in this negociation. But that prince had formed a design of extending his dominions by acting the part of champion for the catholic religion; and though extremely desirous of accepting the English alliance against France, his capital enemy, he thought it unsuitable to his other pretensions to enter into strict confederacy with a nation which had broken off all connexions with the church of Rome. He therefore declined the advances of friendship from England; and eluded the applications of the ambassadors (*t*).

The duke of Somerset, despairing of assistance from the emperor, was inclined to conclude a peace with France and Scotland; and besides that he was not in a condition to maintain such ruinous wars, he thought that there no longer remained any object of hostility. The Scots had sent away their queen; and could not, if ever so much inclined, complete the marriage contracted with Edward: and as Henry VIII. had stipulated to restore Boulogne in 1554, it seemed a matter of small moment to anticipate a few years the execution of the treaty. But when he proposed these reasons to the council, he met with strong opposition from his enemies, who seeing him unable to support the war, were determined, for that very reason, to oppose all proposals for a pacification. The factions ran high in the court of England; and matters were drawing to an issue fatal to the authority of the protector.

After Somerset obtained the patent, which invested him with regal authority, he no longer paid attention to the opinion of the other executors and counsellors; and being elated with his high dignity, as well as with his victory at Pinkey, he thought that every one ought in every thing to yield to his sentiments. All those who were not entirely devoted to him were sure to be neglected; whoever opposed his will received marks of anger or contempt; and while he shewed a resolution to govern every thing, his capacity appeared not in any respect proportioned to his ambition. Warwick, more subtle and artful, covered more exorbitant views under fairer appearances; and having associated himself with the earl of Southampton, who had been re-admitted into the council, he formed a strong party, who were determined to free themselves from the slavery imposed on them by the protector. The discontented counsellors found the disposition of the nation favourable to their designs. The nobility and gentry were for the most part displeased with the preference which Somerset seemed to have given to the people; and as they ascribed all the insults to which they had been lately exposed to his procrastination, and to the countenance shown to the multitude, they apprehended a renewal of the insurrections from his present affectation of popularity (*u*). But though Somerset courted the people, the interest which he had formed with them was in no degree answerable to his expectations. The catholic party, who retained influence with the lower ranks, were his avowed enemies; and took advantage of every opportunity to decry his conduct (*v*).

All Somerset's imprudencies were remarked by his enemies, who resolved to take advantage of them. Accordingly, on the 6th of October, lord St. John, president of the council, the earls of Warwick, Southampton, and Arundel, with five members more, met at Ely-house; and assuming to themselves the whole power of the council, began to act independently of the protector, whom they represented as the author of every public grievance and misfortune. They wrote letters to the chief nobility and gentry in England, informing them of the present measures, and requiring their assistance: they sent for the mayor and aldermen of London, and enjoined them to obey their orders, without regard to any contrary orders which they might receive from the duke of Somerset. They laid the same injunctions on the lieutenant of the Tower, who expressed his resolution to comply with them. Next day, Rich, lord chancellor, the marquis of Northampton, the earl of Shrewsbury, sir Thomas Cheney, sir John Gage, sir Ralph Sadler, and chief justice Montague, joined the malcontent counsellors; and every thing bore an unfavourable aspect for the protector's authority. Secretary Petre, whom he had sent to treat with the council, rather chose to remain with them. On the 8th of October, they went in a body to Guildhall in the city of London, where, in the presence of the common council, they declared that they were acting for the good of the king, and had no intention to alter religion; and that their whole view was to take his majesty out of the power of the duke of Somerset, whom they accused of considering nothing but his own private interest. Whereupon the common council declared with one voice their approbation of the new measures, and their resolution of doing all in their power to support them.

Somerset, upon his becoming acquainted with the defection of the counsellors, removed the king from Hampton-court, where he then resided, to Windsor Castle; and, arming his friends and servants, seemed determined to defend himself against all his enemies. But finding that no man of rank, except Cranmer and Paget, adhered to him, that the people did not rise at his summons, that the city and Tower had declared against him, that even his best friends had deserted him, he lost all hopes of success, and began to apply to his enemies for pardon and forgiveness. As soon as this despondency was known, lord Russel, sir John Baker, speaker of the house of commons, and three other counsellors, who had hitherto remained neuters, joined the party of Warwick, on the 9th of October, whom every one now regarded as master. The

(*t*) An exact account is preserved of this negociation in a letter of Hobby's; and it is remarkable that the emperor, in a conversation with the English ministers, asserted that the prerogatives of a king of England were more extensive than those of a king of France. Burnet, who preserves this letter, subjoins, as a parallel instance, that one objection which the Scots made to marrying their queen with Edward was, that all their privileges would be swallowed up by the great prerogative of the kings of England.

(*u*) He had erected a court of requests in his own house for the relief of the people, and he interposed with the judges in their behalf; a measure which might be deemed illegal, if any exertion of prerogative at that time could with certainty deserve that appellation. And this attempt, which was a stretch of power, seemed the more impolitic, because it disgusted the nobles, the surest support of monarchical authority.

(*v*) The attainder and execution of his brother bore an odious aspect: the introduction of foreign troops into the kingdom was represented in invidious colours: the great estate which he had suddenly acquired at the expence of the church and of the crown, rendered him obnoxious; and the palace which he was building in the Strand served, by its magnificence, and still more by other circumstances which attended it, to expose him to the censure of the public. The parish church of St. Mary, with three bishops houses, was pulled down, in order to furnish ground and materials for this structure: not content with that sacrilege, an attempt was made to demolish St. Margaret's, Westminster, and to employ the stones to the same purpose; but the parishioners rose in a tumult, and chased away the protector's tradesmen. He then laid his hands on a chapel in St. Paul's Church Yard, with a cloister and charnel-house belonging to it; and these edifices, together with a church of St. John of Jerusalem, were made use of to raise his palace. What rendered the matter more odious to the people was, that the tombs and other monuments of the dead were defaced; and the bones being carried away, were buried in unconsecrated ground. *Heylin, p. 72, 73. Stowe's Survey of London. Hayward, p. 303.*

council informed the public, by proclamation, of their actions and intentions; they wrote to the princesses Mary and Elizabeth to the same purpose; and they made addresses to the king, in which, after the humblest protestations of duty and submission, they informed him, that they were the council appointed by his father for the government of the kingdom during his minority; that they had chosen the duke of Somerset protector, under the express condition, that he should guide himself by their advice and direction; that he had usurped the whole authority, and had neglected, and even in every thing opposed their counsel; that he had proceeded to that height of presumption as to levy forces against them, and place these forces about his majesty's person: they therefore begged that they might be admitted to his royal presence; that he would be pleased to restore them to his confidence, and that Somerset's servants might be dismissed. Their request was complied with: Somerset capitulated only for gentle treatment, which was promised him. He was, however, sent to the Tower on the 12th, with Mr. secretary Smith, sir Michael Stanhope, sir John Thynn, Edward Wolfe, and William Cecil, some of his friends and partizans.

On the 14th of the same month the duke of Somerset was carried from the Tower before the council, when a paper containing articles of accusation (*w*) was read against him, which the duke of course was not prepared immediately to answer, and therefore he was again sent to the Tower. Scarcely had the duke been re-conducted to the Tower, than the council appointed six lords and four knights to be governors of the king's person; two of whom were ordered to attend him constantly in their course: and the principal administration of the government was tacitly deposited in the hands of the earl of Warwick, without any title that might give him a particular authority.

The catholics were extremely elated with this revolution; and as they had ascribed all the late innovations to Somerset's authority, they hoped that his fall would prepare the way for the return of the ancient religion. But Warwick, who now bore chief sway in the council, was entirely indifferent with regard to all these points of controversy; and finding that the principles of the reformation had sunk deeper into Edward's mind than to be easily eradicated, he was determined to comply with the young prince's inclinations, and not to hazard his new acquired power by any dangerous enterprize. He took care very early to express his intentions of supporting the reformation; and he threw such discouragements on Southampton, who stood at the head of the Romanists, and whom he considered as a dangerous rival, that that high-spirited nobleman retired from the council, and soon after died from vexation and disappointment. The other counsellors, who had concurred in the revolution, received their reward by promotions and new honours. Russel was created earl of Bedford: the marquis of Northampton obtained the office of great chamberlain; and lord Wentworth, besides the office of chamberlain of the household, got two large manors, Stepney and Hackney, which were taken from the see of London. A council of regency was formed, not that which Henry's will had appointed for the government of the kingdom, and which, being founded on an act of parliament, was the only legal one; but one which was composed chiefly of members who had formerly been appointed by Somerset, and who derived their seat from an authority which was now declared usurped and illegal. But such niceties were little understood, and still less regarded, in England during that age.

A session of parliament began to sit on the 4th of November; and as it was the usual maxim of that assembly to acquiesce in every administration which was established, the council dreaded no opposition from that quarter, and had more reason to look for a corroboration of their authority. On the 23rd of December Somerset had been prevailed on to confess on his knees, before the council, all the articles of charge against him; and he imputed these misdemeanors to his own rashness, folly, and indiscretion, not to any malignity of intention. He even subscribed this confession; and the paper was given in to parliament, on the 2nd of January, 1550, when a bill of attainder, with the above confession signed by himself, was read in the house of lords, who, after sending a committee to examine him, and hear him acknowledge it to be genuine, the bill was read a third time and passed; on the 14th of the same month; when they passed a vote, by which they fined him two thousand pounds a year in land, with a forfeiture of all his goods to the king, and the loss of all his offices; and upon giving bond for ten thousand pounds for his good behaviour, he was discharged from the Tower on the 6th of February: ten days after he received his pardon from the king, who remitted his fine, and still thinking him innocent, he gave him a place in his council on the 6th of April following. Lord St. John was created treasurer in his place, and Warwick earl marshal; and, thinking that he was now sufficiently humbled, and that his authority was much lessened by his late tame and abject behaviour, agreed to an alliance between their families, by the marriage of his own son, lord Dudley, with the lady Jane Seymour, daughter of Somerset.

During this session a severe law was passed against riots. It was enacted, That if any, to the number of twelve persons, should meet together for any matter of state, and, being required by a lawful magistrate, should not disperse, it should be treason; and if any broke hedges, or violently pulled up pales about inclosures, without lawful authority, it should be felony: any attempt to kill a privy counsellor was subjected to the same penalty. The bishops had made an application, complaining that they were deprived of all their power by the encroachments of the civil courts, and the present suspension of the canon law; that they could summon no offender before them, punish no vice, or exert the discipline of the church. From this diminution of ecclesiastical authority the clergy pretended, that vice and immorality had greatly increased. The design of some was, to revive the penitentiary rules of the primitive church; but others thought, that such an authority committed to the bishops would prove more oppressive than confession, penance, and all the clerical inventions of the Romish superstition. The parliament empowered the king to appoint thirty-two commissioners to compile a body of canon laws, which were to be valid, though never ratified by parliament. Such implicit trust did they repose in the crown; without reflecting that all their liberties and properties might be affected by these canons (*x*). The king did not live to affix the royal sanction to the new canons. Sir John Sharington, whose crimes and malversations had appeared so egregious at the condemnation of lord Seymour, obtained from parliament a reversal of his attainder (*y*). This man sought favour with the more zealous reformers; and bishop Latimer affirmed, that though formerly he had been a most notorious knave, he was now so penitent that he had become a very honest man.

In the year 1550, soon after Warwick and the council of regency began to exercise their power, they found themselves involved in the same difficulties that had embarrassed the protector. The wars with France and Scotland could not be supported by an exhausted exchequer; seemed dangerous to a divided nation; and were now acknowledged not to have any object which even the greatest and most uninterrupted success could attain. The project of peace entertained by Somerset had served them as a pretence for clamour against his administration; yet, after sending sir Thomas Cheney to the emperor, and making

(*w*) These articles were,

1. That he had not observed the condition on which he had been made protector.

2. That he had treated with ambassadors without notifying it to the council, and disposed of governments and bishoprics by his own authority.

3. That he had held a court of requests at his own house.—Here we may observe, that the intent of this court was to hear poor men's petitions and suits; and upon the hearing of them, he either decided their business, or sent his letters to the Chancery in their favour; which was reckoned to be a stopping of the proceedings of the courts, or influencing the judges.

4. That he had embased the coin.

5. That he had issued out proclamations in the affair of the inclosures, against the mind of the whole council.

6. That he had not taken care to suppress, but had even supported and encouraged the late insurrections.

7. That he had occasioned the loss of the forts in the Boulognnois, by neglecting to furnish them with ammunition and provisions.

8. That he had endeavoured to instill into the king an ill opinion of his counsellors.

9. That he had caused the lords of the council to be proclaimed traitors.

10. That he had put the king in fear, by carrying him so suddenly to Windsor, and thereby cast him into a dangerous disease.

11. That he had disarmed the king's servants, armed his own friends and servants, and did intend to fly to Jersey or Guernsey.

No unprejudiced reader can, we apprehend, peruse these articles of impeachment or accusation against the duke of Somerset, without horror, at the base and treacherous manner in which his enemies brought him to the block.

(*x*) 3 and 4 Edw. VI. c. 2. (*y*) Ibid, c. 13.

again

again a fruitless effort to engage him in the protection of Boulogne, they found themselves obliged to listen to the advances which Henry made them, by the canal of Guidotti, a Florentine merchant. John Russel, earl of Bedford, sir John Mason, Paget, and Petre, were sent over to Boulogne, with full powers to negociate. The French king absolutely refused to pay the two millions of crowns which his predecessor had acknowledged to be due to the crown of England as arrears of pensions; and said that he never would consent to render himself tributary to any prince: but he offered a sum for the immediate restitution of Boulogne; and four hundred thousand crowns were agreed on, March 24, one half to be paid immediately, the other in August following. Six hostages were given for the performance of this article. Scotland was comprehended in the treaty: the English stipulated to restore Lauder and Douglas, and to demolish the fortresses of Roxburgh and Eymouth. Peace being concluded with France, a project was entertained of a close alliance with that kingdom; and Henry willingly embraced a proposal so suitable both to his interests and his inclinations. An agreement some time after was formed for a marriage between Edward and Elizabeth, a daughter of France; and all the articles were, after a little negociation, fully settled: but this project never took effect.

The intention of marrying the king to a daughter of Henry, a violent persecutor of the Protestants, was nowise acceptable to the Reformers in England; but in all other respects the council was steady in promoting the reformation, and in enforcing the laws against the Catholics Several prelates were still biassed to the communion of the church of Rome; and though they made some compliances, in order to save their bishoprics, they retarded, as much as they safely could, the execution of the new laws, and gave countenance to such incumbents as were negligent or refractory. A resolution was therefore taken to seek pretences for depriving those prelates; and the execution of this intention was the more easy, as they had all of them been obliged to take commissions, in which it was declared, that they held their sees during the king's pleasure only. It was thought proper to begin with Gardiner, in order to strike a terror into the rest. The method of proceeding against him was violent. Injunctions had been given him to inculcate, in a sermon, the duty of obedience to a king, even during his minority; and because he had neglected this topic, he had been thrown into prison, and had been there detained during two years, without being accused of any crime, except disobedience to this command. The duke of Somerset, Mr. secretary Petre, and some others of the council, were sent, in order to try his temper, and they endeavoured to find some grounds for depriving him: he professed to them his intention of conforming to the government, of supporting the king's laws, and of officiating by the new liturgy: but this was not the disposition which they expected or desired. A new deputation was therefore sent, who carried him several articles to subscribe. He was required to acknowledge his former misbehaviour, and to confess the justice of his confinement: he was likewise to own, that the king was supreme head of the church; that the power of making and dispensing with holidays was part of the royal prerogative; that the book of common-prayer was a godly and commendable form; that the king was a complete sovereign in his minority; that the law of the six articles was justly repealed; and that the king had full authority to correct and reform what was amiss in ecclesiastical discipline, government, or doctrine. The bishop was willing to set his hand to all the articles except the first: he maintained his conduct to have been inoffensive; and declared that he would not own himself guilty of faults which he had never committed.

The council, perceiving that the artful prelate had proceeded thus far, were determined to prevent his full compliance, by multiplying the difficulties upon him, and sending him new articles to subscribe. A list was therefore selected of such points as they thought would be most disagreeable to him, and they insisted on his submission, and his acknowledgement of past errors. They also demanded a promise, that he would recommend and publish all these articles from the pulpit: but Gardiner determined not to comply with their demands: he still maintained his innocence; desired a fair trial; and refused to subscribe more articles, till he should recover his liberty. For this offence his bishopric was put under sequestration for three months; and as he then appeared no more compliant than before, a commission was appointed to try him. The commissioners were, the primate, the bishops of London, Ely, and Lincoln, secretary Petre, sir James Hales, and some other lawyers. Gardiner objected to the legality of the commission, which was not founded on any statute or precedent; and he appealed from the commissioners to the king. His appeal was not regarded: sentence was pronounced against him: he was deprived of his bishopric of Rochester on the 13th of February, 1550 (*z*), and committed to close custody: his books and papers were seized; he was secluded from all company; and was not allowed either to send or receive any letters or messages.

Gardiner, as well as the other prelates, had agreed to hold his office during the king's pleasure: but the council, unwilling to make use of a concession which had been extorted, chose to employ some forms of justice; but the zeal of the reformers did not stop here. Day, bishop of Chichester, Heathe of Worcester, and Viosey of Exeter, were deprived of their bishoprics, for disobedience. Even Kitchen of Landaff, Capon of Salisbury, and Sampson of Coventry, though they had complied in every thing, yet not being cordial in their obedience, were obliged to seek protection, by sacrificing the most considerable revenues of their see to the courtiers.

An order was likewise issued by the council for purging the library at Westminster of all missals, legends, and other superstitious volumes, and delivering their garniture to sir Anthony Aucher (*a*). Great havoc was likewise made on the libraries at Oxford. Books and manuscripts, by the fury of the zealous commissioners, were destroyed without distinction (*b*). The university were in danger of losing their own revenues; and expected every moment to be swallowed up by the earl of Warwick and his associates.

Notwithstanding every one besides yielded to the authority of the council, the princess Mary never could be brought to compliance; and she still continued to adhere to the mass, and to reject the new liturgy. Her behaviour was during some time connived at; but at last her two chaplains, Mallet and Berkley, were thrown into prison; and remonstrances were made to the princess herself on account of her disobedience. The council wrote her a letter, by which they endeavoured to effect a change in her sentiments, and to persuade her that her religious faith was very ill grounded. They asked her what warrant there was in scripture for prayers in an unknown tongue, the use of images, or offering up the sacrament for the dead; and they desired her to peruse St. Austin, and the other ancient doctors, who would convince her of the errors of the Romish superstition, and prove that it was founded merely on false miracles and lying stories. The princess Mary, however, remained obstinate against all this advice, and declared herself willing to endure death rather than relinquish her religion: she only feared, she said, that she was not worthy to suffer martyrdom in so holy a cause: and as for Protestant books, she thanked God, that as she never had, so she hoped never to read any of them. Dreading farther trouble, she endeavoured to make an escape to her kinsman Charles; but her design was discovered and prevented. The emperor remonstrated in her behalf, and even threatened hostilities, if liberty of conscience were refused her: but though the council, sensible that the kingdom was in no condition to support with honour such a war, was desirous to comply, they found great difficulty to overcome the scruples of the young king. He had been educated in such a violent abhorrence of mass and other popish rites, which he regarded as impious and idolatrous, that he should participate, he thought, in the sin, if he allowed its commission: and when at last the importunity of Cranmer, Ridley, and Poinet, prevailed somewhat over his opposition, he burst into tears; lamenting his sister's obstinacy, and bewailing his own hard fate, that he must suffer her to continue in such an abominable mode of worship.

The great object, at this time, of antipathy among the protestant

(*z*) It was in this year that the city of London, for the sum of one thousand marks, purchased of the king the liberties of Southwark.

(*a*) Many of these books were plaited with gold and silver, and curiously embossed.

(*b*) The volumes of divinity suffered for their rich binding: those of literature were condemned as useless: those of geometry and astronomy were supposed to contain nothing but necromancy.

Protestant sects was Popery. The Protestants regarded the Papists as the common enemy, who threatened every moment to overwhelm the evangelical faith, and destroy its partizans by fire and sword: they had not as yet had leisure to attend to the other minute differences among themselves, which afterwards became the object of furious quarrels and animosities, and threw the whole kingdom into a ferment. Several Lutheran divines who had reputation in those days, Bucer, Peter Martyr, and others, were induced to take shelter in England, from the persecutions which the emperor exercised in Germany; and they received protection and encouragement. John à Lasco, a Polish nobleman, being expelled his country by the rigours of the Catholics, settled during some time at Emden, in East Friezeland, where he became preacher to a congregation of the Reformed. Foreseeing the persecutions which ensued, he removed to England, and brought his congregation along with him. The council, who regarded them as industrious useful people, and desired to invite over others of the same character, not only gave them the church of Augustine Friers for the exercise of their religion, but granted them a charter, by which they were erected into a corporation, consisting of a superintendant and four assisting ministers. This ecclesiastical establishment was quite independent of the church of England, and differed from it in some rites and ceremonies.

These differences among the Protestants were matter of triumph to the Catholics; who insisted, that the moment men departed from the authority of the church, they lost all criterion of truth and falsehood in matters of religion, and must be carried away by every wind of doctrine. The continual variations of every sect of Protestants afforded them the same topic of reasoning. The book of Common Prayer in England underwent a new revisal, and some rites and ceremonies which had given offence were omitted. The speculative doctrines, or the metaphysics of religion, were also reduced to forty-two articles. These were intended to obviate farther divisions and variations; and the compiling of them had been postponed till the establishment of the liturgy, which was justly regarded as a more material object to the people.

The theological zeal of the council, though seemingly fervent, went not so far as to make them neglect their own temporal concerns. They found leisure to attend to the public interest; nay, to the commerce of the nation, which was at that time very little the object of general study or attention. The trade of England had anciently been carried on altogether by foreigners, chiefly the inhabitants of the Hanse-towns, or Easterlings, as they were called; and in order to encourage these merchants to settle in England, they had been erected into a corporation by Henry III. had obtained a patent, were endowed with privileges, and were exempted from several heavy duties paid by other aliens (*c*). The council now thought it expedient to annul the privileges of this corporation, privileges which put them nearly on an equal footing with Englishmen in the duties which they paid; and as such patents were, during that age, granted by the absolute power of the king, men were the less surprized to find them revoked by the same authority. Several remonstrances were made against this innovation by Lubec, Hamburgh, and other Hanse towns; but without effect; for the council persevered in their resolution, and the good resulting from it soon became visible to the nation. The English merchants, by their very situation as natives, had advantages above foreigners in the purchase of cloth, wool, and other commodities; though these advantages had not hitherto been sufficient to rouse their industry, or engage them to become rivals to this opulent company: but when aliens' duty was also imposed upon all foreigners indiscriminately, the English were tempted to enter into commerce; and a spirit of industry began to appear in the kingdom.

About the same time a treaty was made with Gustavus Ericson, king of Sweden, by which it was stipulated, that if he sent bullion into England, he might export English commodities without paying custom; that he should carry bullion to no other prince; that if he sent ozimus, steel, copper, &c. he should pay custom for English commodities as an Englishman; and that if he sent other merchandize, he should have free intercourse, paying custom as a stranger. The bullion sent over by Sweden, though it could not be in great quantity, set the mint to work: good specie was coined; and much of the base metal formerly issued was recalled: a circumstance which tended extremely to the encouragement of commerce.

In April, 1551, England was visited by the sweating sickness: it began at Shrewsbury, and spread towards the north, continuing to make its ravages till the October following. Whoever was seized with it died, or recovered, within ten hours. If he took cold, he was sure to die in three hours; if he slept, within six hours, he died raving; and it raged chiefly amongst young men of robust constitutions. As this disease did not affect foreigners in England, so it spread amongst the English alone residing in foreign parts. This sickness carried off several of the nobility also, amongst whom were the duke of Suffolk and his brother; by which means the title became extinct in the family of the Brandons, which were next in succession to the crown after the two daughters of Henry the Eighth.

The schemes, however, which had been adopted for promoting industry, were likely to prove abortive, by the fear of domestic convulsions, arising from the ambition of Warwick. That nobleman, not contented with the station which he had attained, carried farther his pretensions, and had gained partizans, who were disposed to second him in every enterprize. The last earl of Northumberland died without issue; and as sir Thomas Percy, his brother, had been attainted on account of the share which he had in the Yorkshire insurrection during the late reign, the title was at present extinct, and the estate was vested in the crown. Warwick now procured to himself a grant of those ample possessions, which lay chiefly in the North, the most warlike part of the kingdom; and he was dignified with the title of duke of Northumberland. His friend William Paulet, lord St. John, the treasurer, was created, first, earl of Wiltshire, then marquis of Winchester; and sir William Herbert obtained the title of earl of Pembroke. But the ambition of Northumberland made him regard all increase of possessions and titles, either to himself or his partizans, as steps only to farther acquisitions. Finding that Somerset, though degraded from his dignity, and even lessened in the public opinion by his spiritless conduct, still enjoyed a considerable share of popularity, he determined to ruin the man whom he regarded as the chief obstacle to the attainment of his hopes. The alliance which had been contracted between the families had produced no cordial union, and only enabled Northumberland to compass with more certainty the destruction of his rival. He secretly gained many of the friends and servants of that unhappy nobleman: he sometimes terrified him by the appearance of danger; sometimes provoked him by ill usage. The unguarded Somerset often broke out into menacing expressions against Northumberland: at other times he formed rash projects, which he immediately abandoned: his treacherous confidents carried to his enemy every passionate word which dropped from his mouth: they revealed the schemes which they themselves had first suggested; and Northumberland, thinking that the proper season was now come, began to act in an open manner against him.

In the night of the 16th of October, 1551, the duke of Somerset, lord Grey, David, and John Seymour, Hammond, and Neudigate, two of the duke's servants, sir Ralph Vane, and sir Thomas Palmer, were arrested, and committed to custody in the Tower. Next day the duchess of Somerset, with her favourites Crane and his wife, sir Miles Partridge, sir Michael Stanhope, Bannister, and others, were thrown into prison. Sir Thomas Palmer, who had all along acted as a spy upon Somerset, accused him of having formed a design to raise an insurrection in the north, to attack the gens d'armes on a muster-day, to secure the Tower, and to raise a rebellion in London; but, what was the only probable accusation, he asserted, that Somerset had once laid a project for murdering Northumberland, Northampton, and Pembroke, at a banquet which was to be given them by lord Paget. Crane and his wife confirmed Palmer's testimony with regard to this last design; and it appears that some rash scheme of that nature had really been mentioned; though no regular conspiracy had been

(*c*) So ignorant were the English of commerce, that this company, usually denominated the Merchants of the Still-yard, engrossed, even down to the reign of Edward the Sixth, almost the whole foreign trade of the kingdom; and as they naturally employed the shipping of their own country, the navigation of England was also in a very languishing condition.

been formed, or means prepared for its execution. Hammond confessed that the duke had armed men to guard him one night in his house at Greenwich.

Somerset was brought to his trial before the marquis of Winchester, created high steward. Twenty-seven peers composed the jury, among whom were Northumberland, Pembroke, and Northampton, whom decency should have hindered from acting as judges in the trial of a man that appeared to be their enemy. Somerset was accused of high treason on account of the projected insurrections, and of felony in laying a design to murder privy-counsellors.

Notwithstanding the partiality of Somerset's trial, the proofs against him were so trivially supported, when witnesses were examined by the privy council on the 1st of December; and Somerset's defence was so satisfactory, that the peers gave verdict in his favour: the intention alone of assaulting the privy-counsellors was supported by tolerable evidence; and the jury brought him in guilty of felony. The prisoner himself confessed that he had expressed his intention of murdering Northumberland and the other lords; but had not formed any resolution on that head; and when he received sentence, he asked pardon of those peers for the designs which he had hearkened to against them. The people, by whom Somerset was beloved, hearing the first part of his sentence, by which he was acquitted from treason, expressed their joy by loud acclamations; but their satisfaction was suddenly damped, on finding that he was condemned to death for felony.

Care had been taken by Northumberland's emissaries, to prepossess the young king against his uncle; and lest he should relent, no access was given to any of Somerset's friends, and the prince was kept from reflection by a continued series of occupations and amusements. At last the prisoner was brought to the scaffold on Tower Hill, on the 22nd of January, 1552, amidst great crowds of spectators, who bore him such sincere kindness that they entertained to the last moment the fond hopes of his pardon. Many of them rushed in to dip their handkerchiefs in his blood, which they long preserved as a precious relique; and some of them soon after, when Northumberland met with a similar fate, upbraided him with his cruelty, and displayed to him these symbols of his crime.

Not long after the execution of that nobleman, sir Thomas Arundel, sir Michael Stanhope, sir Miles Patridge, and sir Ralph Vane, all of them Somerset's friends, were brought to their trials, condemned, and executed on the 26th of February: great injustice seems to have been used in their prosecution (*d*). Lord Paget, chancellor of the duchy, was on some pretence tried in the star-chamber, and condemned in a fine of six thousand pounds, with the loss of his office. To mortify him the more, he was degraded from the order of the garter; as unworthy, on account of his mean birth, to share that honour. Lord Rich, chancellor, was also compelled to resign his office, on the discovery of some marks of friendship which he had shewn to Somerset.

On January the 23rd, the day after the execution of Somerset, a session of parliament was held, in which farther advances were made towards the establishment of the reformation. The new liturgy was authorized; and penalties were enacted against all those who absented themselves from public worship (*e*). To use the mass had already been prohibited under severe penalties; and the practice of toleration was at that time equally unknown to all sects and parties. To dissent from the religion of the magistrate, was universally conceived to be as criminal as to question his title, or rebel against his authority.

A law was enacted against usury; that is, against taking any interest for money (*f*). This act was the remains of ancient superstition; but being found extremely iniquitous in itself, as well as prejudicial to commerce, it was afterwards repealed in the twelfth of Elizabeth (*g*).

A bill was introduced by the ministry into the house of lords, renewing those rigorous statutes of treason which had been abrogated in the beginning of this reign; and though the peers, by their high station, stood most exposed to these tempests of state, yet had they so little regard to public security, or even to their own true interest, that they passed the bill with only one dissenting voice (*h*). But the commons rejected it, and prepared a new bill, that passed into a law, (5 and 6 Edward VI. cap. 2.) by which it was enacted, That whoever should call the king or any of his heirs, named in the statute of the 35th of the last reign, heretic, schismatic, tyrant, infidel, or usurper of the crown, should forfeit, for the first offence, their goods and chattels, and be imprisoned during pleasure; for the second, should incur a *præmunire;* for the third should be attainted for treason. But if any should unadvisedly utter such a slander in writing, printing, painting, carving, or graving, he was for the first offence to be held a traitor (*i*). The commons annexed to this bill a clause which was of more importance than the bill itself, that no one should be convicted of any kind of treason unless the crime were proved by the oaths of two witnesses confronted with the prisoner. The lords for some time scrupled to pass this clause, though conformable to the most obvious principles of equity. But the members of that house of commons trusted for protection to their personal interest and power, and neglected the noblest and most permanent security, that of laws.

The house of peers passed a bill, whose object was making a provision for the poor; but the commons, not chusing that a money-bill should begin in the upper house, framed a new act to the same purpose (*k*).

There was another occasion in which the parliament reposed an unusual confidence in the bishops. They empowered them to proceed against such as neglected the Sundays and holidays (*l*). But these were unguarded concessions granted to the church: the general humour of the age rather led men to bereave the ecclesiastics of all power, and even to pillage them of their property: many clergymen about this time were obliged for a subsistence to turn carpenters or taylors, and some kept ale-houses (*m*). The bishops themselves were generally reduced to poverty, and held both their revenues and spiritual office by a very precarious and uncertain tenure.

Tunstal, bishop of Durham, was one of the most eminent prelates of that age, still less for the dignity of his see, than for his own personal merit; his learning, moderation, humanity, and beneficence. He had opposed, by his vote and authority, all innovations in religion; but as soon as they were enacted, he had always submitted, and had conformed to every theological system which had been established. His known probity had made this compliance be ascribed, not to an interested or time-serving spirit, but to a sense of duty, which led him to think, that all private opinion ought to be sacrificed to the great concern of public peace and tranquillity. The general regard paid to his character had protected him from any severe treatment during the administration of Somerset; but when Northumberland gained the ascendant, he was thrown into prison; and as that rapacious nobleman had formed a design of seizing the revenues of the see of Durham, and of acquiring to himself a principality in the northern counties, he was resolved, in order to effect his purpose, to deprive Tunstal of his bishopric. A bill of attainder, therefore, on pretence of misprision of treason, was introduced into the house of peers against the prelate; and it passed with the opposition only of lord Stourton, a zealous Catholic, and of Cranmer, who always bore a cordial and sincere friendship to the bishop of Durham. But when the bill was sent down to the commons, they required that witnesses should be examined, that Tunstal should be allowed to defend himself, and that he should be confronted with his accusers: and when these demands were refused, they rejected the bill. This equity, so unusual in the parliament during that age, was ascribed by

(*d*) It is remarkable that the jury had been compelled, as it were, by keeping them locked up from meat and drink, almost twenty-four hours, to find them guilty.

(*e*) 5 & 6 Edw. VI. c. 1. (*f*) Ibid. c. 20.

(*g*) The common rate of interest, notwithstanding the law, was at this time fourteen per cent.

(*h*) Parliamentary Hist. vol. iii. p. 258. Burnet, vol. ii. p. 190.

(*i*) It may be worthy of remark, that the king and his next heir, the princess Mary, were professedly of different religions; and religions which threw on each other the imputation of heresy, schism, idolatry, profaneness, blasphemy, wickedness, and all the opprobrious epithets that religious zeal has invented. It was almost impossible, therefore, for the people, if they spoke at all on these subjects, not to fall into the crime so severely punished by the statute; and the jealousy of the commons for liberty, though it led them to reject the bill of treasons sent them by the lords, appears not to have been very active, vigilant, or clear-sighted.

(*k*) By this act the churchwardens were empowered to collect charitable contributions; and if any refused to give, or dissuaded others frem that charity, the bishop of the diocese was empowered to proceed against them.

(*l*) 5 & 6 Edw. VI. c. 3. (*m*) Burnet, vol. ii. p. 202.

Northumberland and his partizans, not to any regard for liberty and justice, but to the prevalence of Somerset's faction in a house of commons, which, being chosen during the administration of that nobleman, had been almost entirely filled with his creatures. They were confirmed in this opinion, when they found that a bill, ratifying the attainder of Somerset and his accomplices, was also rejected by the commons, though it had passed the upper house. A resolution was therefore taken to dissolve the parliament on the 15th of April, which had sitten during this whole reign; and soon after to summon a new one, which might be more devoted to Northumberland's interest.

In the year 1552, Heath, bishop of Worcester, and Day, bishop of Chichester, were deprived of their sees for openly opposing the progress of the Reformation. The see of Gloucester was suppressed, and converted into an exempt archdeaconry. Its bishop, Dr. John Hooper, was made bishop of Worcester by a patent, with this clause in it, "*Durante vita naturali, si tam diu se bene gesserit:*" by which bishops could be deprived of their sees at the pleasure of the king.

The queen of Scotland passed this year through England in her way home from France, and was magnificently treated and conducted to her own borders. Being arrived in Scotland, she found means to persuade the earl of Arran to resign the regency into her own hands, and had the address to secure the reins of government to herself, by promising the Reformed the free exercise of their religion in their own houses, to the great disgust of the archbishop of St. Andrew's, who caballed against her.

Northumberland, in order to ensure to himself a house of commons entirely obsequious to his will, ventured on an expedient, which could not have been practised, or even imagined, in an age where there was any idea or comprehension of liberty. He engaged the king to write circular letters to all the sheriffs, in which he enjoined them to inform the freeholders, that they were required to choose men of knowledge and experience for their representatives. After this general exhortation, the king continued in these words: "And yet, nevertheless, our pleasure is, that where our privy-council, or any of them, shall, in our behalf, recommend within their jurisdiction men of learning and wisdom, in such cases their directions shall be regarded and followed, as tending to the same end which we desire; that is, to have this assembly composed of the persons in our realm the best fitted to give advice and good counsel (*n*)." Several letters were sent from the king, recommending members to particular counties, sir Richard Cotton to Hampshire; sir William Fitzwilliams and sir Henry Nevil to Berkshire; sir William Drury and sir Henry Benningfield to Suffolk, &c. But though some counties only received this species of *congè d'elire* from the king; the recommendations from the privy-council and the counsellors, we may fairly presume, would extend to the greater part, if not to the whole of the kingdom.

A new parliament being chosen, it met on the 1st of March, 1553, and, by their proceedings, gave evident proofs of their attachment to the duke of Northumberland. As Tunstal had in the interval, on the 14th of August, in the preceding year, been deprived of his bishopric, by the sentence of lay commissioners appointed to try him, the see of Durham was by act of parliament divided into two bishoprics, which had certain portions of the revenue assigned them. To the new bishopric of Durham two thousand marks a year was allotted, and to that of Newcastle (taken out of Durham) one thousand. The regalities of the see, which included the jurisdiction of a count palatine, were given by the king to Northumberland; nor is it to be doubted but that nobleman had also purposed to make rich plunder of the revenue as was then usual with the courtiers whenever a bishopric became vacant.

The commons gave the ministry another mark of attachment, which was at that time the most sincere of any, the most cordial, and the most difficult to be obtained: they granted a considerable subsidy, with two tenths, and two fifteenths. To render this present the more acceptable, they voted a preamble, containing a long accusation of Somerset, "for involving the king in wars, wasting his treasure, engaging him in much debt, embasing the coin, and giving occasion for a most terrible rebellion (*o*)." This parliament was dissolved on the 31st of March, having sat only one month.

(*n*) Strype's Ecclesiastical Memorials, vol. ii. p. 394.
(*o*) 7 Edward VI. cap. 12.

The debts of the crown were at this time considerable. The king had received from France four hundred thousand crowns on delivering Boulogne; he had reaped profit from the sale of some chantry lands; the churches had been spoiled of all their plate and rich ornaments, which, by a decree of council, had been converted to the king's use: yet such had been the rapacity of the courtiers, that the crown owed about three hundred thousand pounds (*p*); and great dilapidations were at the same time made of the royal demesnes. The young prince showed, among other virtues, a disposition to frugality, which, had he lived, would soon have retrieved these losses; but as his health was declining very fast, the present emptiness of the exchequer was a sensible obstacle to the execution of those projects which the ambition of Northumberland had founded on the prospect of Edward's approaching end.

That nobleman represented to the prince, whom youth and an infirm state of health made susceptible of any impression, that his two sisters, Mary and Elizabeth, had both of them been declared illegitimate by act of parliament: and though Henry the Eighth, by his will, had restored them to a place in the succession, the nation would never submit to see the throne of England filled by a bastard: that they were the king's sisters by the half-blood only; and even if they were legitimate, could not enjoy the crown as his heirs and successors: that the queen of Scots stood excluded by the late king's will; and being an alien, had lost by law all right of inheriting; not to mention, that as she was betrothed to the dauphin, she would by her succession render England, as she had already done Scotland, a province to France: that the certain consequence of his sister Mary's succession, or that of the queen of Scots, was the abolition of the protestant religion, and the repeal of the laws enacted in favour of the reformation, and the re-establishment of the usurpation and idolatry of the church of Rome: that, fortunately for England, the same order of succession which justice required, was also the most conformable to public interest; and there was not on any side any just ground for doubt or deliberation: that when these three princesses were excluded by such solid reasons, the succession devolved on the marchioness of Dorset, elder daughter of the French queen, and the duke of Suffolk: that the next heir of the marchioness was the lady Jane Grey, a lady of the most amiable character, accomplished by the best education, both in literature and religion; and every way worthy of a crown; and that even if her title by blood were doubtful, which there was no just reason to pretend, the king was possessed of the same power that his father enjoyed, and might leave her the crown by letters patent. These reasonings made impression on the young prince; and above all, his zealous attachment to the protestant religion, made him apprehend the consequences, if so bigotted a catholic as his sister Mary should succeed to the throne. And though he bore a tender affection to the lady Elizabeth, who was liable to no such objection, means were found to persuade him that he could not exclude the one sister on account of illegitimacy, without giving also an exclusion to the other.

Northumberland, finding that his arguments were likely to operate on the king, began to prepare the other parts of his scheme. Two sons of the duke of Suffolk having died this season of the sweating sickness, the title was extinct; and Northumberland engaged the king to bestow it on the marquis of Dorset. By means of this favour, and of others which he conferred upon him, he persuaded the new duke of Suffolk and the duchess to give their daughter, the lady Jane, in marriage to his fourth son, the lord Guildford Dudley. In order to fortify himself by farther alliances, he negociated a marriage between the lady Catherine Grey, second daughter of Suffolk, and lord Herbert, eldest son of the earl of Pembroke. He also married his own daughter to lord Hastings, eldest son of the earl of Huntingdon. These marriages were solemnized with great pomp and festivity; and the people, who hated Northumberland, could not forbear expressing their indignation at seeing such public demonstrations of joy during the languishing state of the young prince's health.

Edward had been seized on the 2nd of April, 1552, first with the measles, then with the small-pox; but having perfectly recovered from both these distempers, the nation entertained hopes that they would only serve to

(*p*) Strype's Ecclesiastical Memorials, vol. ii. p. 344.

confirm

confirm his health; and he had afterwards made a progress through some parts of the kingdom. It was suspected that he had there over-heated himself in exercise: he was seized with a cough, which proved obstinate, and gave way neither to regimen nor medicines: several fatal symptoms of a consumption appeared; and though it was hoped, that as the season advanced, his youth and temperance might get the better of the malady, men saw with great concern his bloom and vigour insensibly decay. The general attachment to the young prince, joined to the hatred borne the Dudleys, made it be remarked, that Edward had every moment declined in health from the time that lord Robert Dudley had been put about him in quality of gentleman of the bedchamber.

The languishing state of Edward's health made Northumberland the more intent on the execution of his project. He removed all except his own emissaries from about the king: he himself attended him with the greatest assiduity: he pretended the most anxious concern for his health and welfare; and by all these artifices he prevailed on the young prince to give his final consent to the settlement projected. Sir Edward Montague, chief justice of the common pleas, sir John Baker, and sir Thomas Bromley, two judges, with the attorney and solicitor-general, were summoned to the council; where, after the minutes of the intended deed were read to them, the king required them to draw them up in the form of letters patent. They hesitated to obey; and desired time to consider of it. The more they reflected, the greater danger they found in compliance. The settlement of the crown by Henry VIII. had been made in consequence of an act of parliament; and by another act, passed in the beginning of this reign, it was declared treason in any of the heirs, their aiders or abettors, to attempt on the right of another, or change the order of succession. The judges pleaded these reasons before the council. They urged, that such a patent as was intended would be entirely invalid; that it would subject, not only the judges who drew it, but every counsellor who signed it, to the pains of treason; and that the only proper expedient, both for giving sanction to the new settlement, and freeing its partizans from danger, was to summon a parliament, and to obtain the consent of that assembly. The king said, that he intended afterwards to follow that method, and would call a parliament, in which he purposed to have his settlement ratified; but in the mean time he required the judges, on their allegiance, to draw the patent in the form required. The council told the judges that their refusal would subject all of them to the pains of treason. Northumberland gave to Montague the appellation of traitor; and said, that he would in his shirt fight any man in so just a cause as that of lady Jane's succession. The judges were reduced to great difficulties between the dangers from the law, and those which arose from the violence of present power and authority. The arguments were canvassed in several different meetings between the council and the judges; and no solution could be found of the difficulties. At last Montague proposed an expedient, which satisfied both his brethren and the counsellors. He desired that a special commission should be passed by the king and council, requiring the judges to draw a patent for the new settlement of the crown; and that a pardon should immediately after be granted them for any offence which they might have incurred by their compliance. When the patent was drawn, and brought to the bishop of Ely, then lord chancellor, in order to have the great seal affixed to it, this prelate required that all the judges should previously sign it. Gosnold at first refused; and it was with much difficulty that he was prevailed on, by the violent menaces of Northumberland to comply; but the constancy of sir James Hales, who, though a zealous protestant, preferred justice on this occasion to the prejudices of his party, could not be shaken by any expedient. The chancellor next required, for his greater security, that all the privy counsellors should set their hands to the patent: the intrigues of Northumberland, or the fears of his violence, were so prevalent, that the counsellors complied with this demand. Cranmer alone hesitated some time, but at last yielded to the earnest and pathetic intreaties of the king. Cecil, at that time secretary of state, pretended afterwards that he only signed as witness to the king's subscription. And thus, by the king's letters patent, the two princesses, Mary and Elizabeth; were set aside; and the crown was settled on the heirs of the duchess of Suffolk; for the duchess herself was content to give place to her daughters.

After this settlement was made, with so many inauspicious circumstances, Edward visibly declined every day; small hopes were entertained of his recovery. His physicians were now dismissed by Northumberland's advice, and by an order of council; and he was put into the hands of an ignorant woman, who undertook in a little time to restore him to his former state of health. After the use of her medicines, all the bad symptoms increased to the most violent degree: he felt a difficulty of speech and breathing; his pulse failed, his legs swelled, his colour became livid; many other symptoms appeared of his approaching dissolution; and he expired at Greenwich on the 6th of July, 1553, in the sixteenth year of his age, and the seventh of his reign. He was buried on the 8th of August, in Henry the Seventh's Chapel, at Westminster, near the body of the said king, his grandfather; where a superb monument was erected to his memory.

All the English historians, says Hume, dwell with pleasure on the excellent qualities of this young prince; whom the flattering promises of hope, joined to many real virtues, had made an object of tender affection to the public. He possessed mildness of disposition, application to study and business, a capacity to learn and judge, and an attachment to equity and justice. He seems only to have contracted, from his education, and from the genius of the age in which he lived, too much of a narrow prepossession in matters of religion, which made him incline somewhat to bigotry and persecution: but as the bigotry of Protestants, less governed by priests, lies under more restraints than that of Catholics, the effects of this malignant quality were the less to be apprehended, if a longer life had been granted to young Edward.

This young king was a great patronizer of the arts, as well liberal as mechanical, and he was a friend to merit of every denomination. He encouraged every measure which he considered as likely to redound to the interest or the happiness of his people. He stored his mind with a knowledge of the politics and interests of foreign nations; and he astonished the ambassadors from different states of Europe, by the variety of his knowledge, and the sagacity of his observations. He has indeed been charged with a want of mental vigour; and in support of this idea, they mention the "death of his uncle, the duke of Somerset, a faithful servant of the crown, whom, from a facility in believing the insinuations of his enemies, and from an apparent defect in manly firmness, he gave up to the malice of faction." This, however, we can easily acquit him of, and see no reason to charge him with want of manly firmness in this affair. He came to the throne when he was nine years old, and five years afterwards, when he was only fourteen, he signed the warrant for the duke's execution; but he did not sign it, till nearly eight weeks after that nobleman had been condemned, during which time the duke's enemies kept him constantly amused with different sports and pastimes, paid strict attention to him, and were unremittingly instilling into his mind notions detrimental to the interests of his uncle. Thus it was that they wrought upon his infant mind, and at last persuaded him to sign the fatal warrant. It is not to be wondered that a boy of fourteen should be persuaded by his council; for we surely cannot expect to find in one of so tender an age, the vigour and firmness of a man of forty. Indeed, there is no reason to doubt, had he been continued longer among us, he would have asserted his natural right of seeing with his own eyes, and judging according to his own convictions.

That Edward was a prince of œconomy may be gathered from the following statement of the annual expences, during his reign:

1st year -	£ 49,187	18	0
2nd year - - -	46,902	7	0
3rd year - -	46,100	3	0
4th year - - -	100,578	16	0
5th year - -	62,863	9	0
6th year - - -	65,923	16	0

The parliament which met on the 4th of November, 1547, gave the king all the lands designed for the maintenance of chantries, chapels, and colleges, which were not possessed by Henry the Eighth, and all revenues given for obits, anniversaries, lights in the churches, together with all Guild lands, provided they should be appropriated to the maintenance of grammar schools and preachers. Accordingly king Edward founded and endowed Christ's Hospital, in London, that of St. Thomas, in Southwark; at St. Edmundsbury, in Suffolk; at Spilesby

lesby and Louth, in Lincolnshire; at Chelmsford, in Essex; at Sedburgh, in Yorkshire; at Shrewsbury; at East Retford, in Nottinghamshire; at Birmingham, in Warwickshire; at Morpeth, in Northumberland; and at Macclesfield, Nuneaton, Stourbridge, in Worcestershire; Bath, Bedford, Guildford, Grantham, Thorne, Giggleswick, St. Albans, Southampton, Stratford upon Avon, &c. &c.

CHAP. VI.

MARY.

FEW nations have suffered more from the depravity of their kings, or from the turbulence of their nobility, than the English; for whom the death of Edward the Sixth prepared fresh troubles, paving the way for disorders which rendered the reign of his successor one of the most gloomy in the dark annals of regal turpitude. No regular rules of succession had hitherto been observed; it had been obtained, partly by lineal descent, and partly by the apparent aptitude for government in the person chosen: neither quite hereditary, nor entirely elective, it had made ancestry the pretext of right; while the consent of the people was necessary to support the best-founded claims which birth could bestow. In fact, this species of succession, when conducted with wisdom, is the best that can be conceived; because it is the most conducive to the welfare and felicity of the subject; being equally calculated for the prevention of that aristocracy which is ever the result of governments purely elective; and of that tyranny, which is too often established where hereditary pretensions are never infringed on.

The protestants, as may well be supposed, had now reason to apprehend a series of persecutions from the elevation of so bigotted a person as the princess Mary to the throne: indeed they appear to have been either so fully convinced of the expediency of maintaining the principle of hereditary succession, or they were so apprehensive of the inutility of attempting to overturn a claim which had only the faction of the duke of Northumberland to oppose it, that but few gave their active support to lady Jane Grey, the avowed friend of their religion. After Edward's death, the duke of Northumberland (who was then at the head of the nation) and the duke of Suffolk were sent by the council to Durham House in the Strand, to inform lady Jane of her being appointed by the deceased king to ascend the throne. This young lady therefore received an unwelcome visit from the duke of Northumberland, and the chief noblemen of his party, who, approaching her on their knees, surprized her with a display of humility which she did not expect; for they had not yet communicated to her the appointment which had been made for her to succeed to the sovereignty of the nation. The desire of reigning, which so many of her sex are inclined to cherish, had little sway over her innocent mind; and though the danger of accepting the offer of a crown which the majority of the nation considered as due to another, it is probable that, in her earnest refusal of the royal dignity, she was less influenced by that consideration, than by a real unwillingness to exchange the calm pursuits of literature and science, and the mild joys of domestic retirement, for the splendid cares of royalty, and the toils and anxieties of state. But the importunities of the duke her father-in-law, the remonstrances of her parents, and the persuasions of her husband, for whom she had a strong affection, induced her, though with the greatest reluctance, to recall her refusal, and accept the crown which the late king had bequeathed to her.

The duke of Northumberland endeavoured to conceal the circumstance of the king's death for some time, that he might have an opportunity of getting the princesses Mary and Elizabeth into his power, and of preparing for the peaceable establishment of the lady Jane Grey on the throne. Letters of invitation had been written to those princesses, by the council, previous to the death of Edward, inviting them to repair to the palace, and comfort their afflicted brother; and Mary, who readily accepted the invitation, had reached Hoddesdon, in Hertfordshire, in her way to the metropolis, when she was informed of Edward's death, and of her own danger, from the earl of Arundel, who, though he maintained an appearance of amity with her great enemy the duke of Northumberland, cherished a strong resentment against him for former injuries. This information induced her to turn back, and she travelled with extraordinary rapidity to Kenning Hall, in Norfolk, and thence to Framlingham, in Suffolk, with an intention of retiring, in case of emergency, to the sea-coast, whence she might transport herself to the Netherlands.

On the second day after Edward's decease, the duke of Northumberland sent for the lord mayor, and some of the principal citizens of London; who, repairing to Greenwich, were informed by the council of the loss they had sustained, and of the appointment of lady Jane Grey to the succession. The patent being produced to them, they were inveigled by promises, or compelled by menaces, to take an oath in her favour; and were strictly enjoined to secrecy. Two days afterwards, July 10, 1553, when it was known that Mary had been apprized of the circumstance of his death, the duke conveyed his daughter-in-law to the Tower, where she was presented with the keys of that fortress. On the same day she was proclaimed queen; but such was the unpopularity of her cause, that, amidst a great concourse of people, few acclamations were heard (*q*). The general odium against the author of her elevation, and the consideration of the danger of the precedent, absorbed all religious divisions, and united both Protestants and Catholics in the interests of the princess Mary, the rightful heir.

Jane commenced her reign with confirming the commissions of the lieutenants of the counties, and of other officers of the crown. She then sent dispatches to the English ambassadors at foreign courts, requiring them to notify the death of Edward VI. and her own accession. Before her proclamation, the council had sent intelligence of the king's decease to the emperor Charles, with a request that he would persevere in his friendship with the English nation; to which he signified his assent. Richard Shelley, Esq. was afterwards entrusted with the conveyance of a letter from the new queen to his imperial majesty, professing a desire of amity, and offering a renewal of that mediation which Edward had opened for a peace between Charles and the French king: but Shelley, concluding that the emperor would be greatly displeased at the news of the exclusion of the princess Mary, and that Jane's sovereignty would not be permanent, delayed the execution of his commission.

This ambassador's opinion, respecting the short duration of Jane's regal power, was confirmed by the event. Mary's resolution and activity proved beneficial to her cause. She sent circular letters to the nobility and the corporations of the realm, asserting her right to the crown, not only by the laws of inheritance, but by the will of her father, and commanding them to rise in defence of her crown and person. She dispatched a spirited message to the members of the council, on the very day that Jane was proclaimed, expressing her displeasure at their neglect of notifying to her the death of her brother; intimating that she knew of their consultations and engagements to her prejudice; but that she was willing to pardon all past offences, on condition of their immediate submission to her authority, and of their taking measures for fixing her in the throne to which she was entitled. In answer to which communication, the council wrote to her, declaring, "That she (Mary) could not pretend to the crown, because she was born of an unlawful marriage, dissolved by a legal sentence, confirmed by more than one parliament: that she ought to give over her pretensions, and acknowledge queen Jane for her sovereign, who was now on the throne by virtue of the late king's letters patent: that if she shewed herself obedient, she should find the counsellors all ready to do her any service, consistent with their duty to queen Jane (*r*).

The princess Mary was soon joined by a considerable number

(*q*) During the proclamation, one Gilbert Pot threw out some satirical reflections on the new government; for which he was put in the pillory, and lost both his ears: an instance of severity which was not calculated to allay the hatred which the public bore to the Dudley family. *Vid. Stowe's Annals.*

(*r*) This answer was subscribed by twenty-one counsellors, viz. the archbishop of Canterbury; the lord chancellor; the dukes of Suffolk and Northumberland; the marquisses of Winchester and Northampton; the earls of Arundel, (who gave her intimation of her danger,) Shrewsbury, Huntingdon, Bedford, and Pembroke; the lords Cobham and Darcy; sir Thomas Cheney, sir Robert Cotton, sir William Petre, sir William Cecil, sir John Cheek, sir John Mason, sir Edward North, and sir Robert Bowes. In all probability, the interest and power of these persons would have been sufficient to maintain queen Jane upon the

number of provincials; and among these were many Protestants, who were allured to her service by her hypocritical and deceitful promises of maintaining the present religious establishment. The first noblemen who joined her were the earls of Bath and Sussex; and other persons of rank quickly followed their example.

When the friends of Jane heard of the increasing strength of her rival, they resolved to repel force by force, and determined to send an army against her, under the conduct of the duke of Suffolk; but the appointment of this nobleman to a post of such danger so wrought upon the filial attachment of his daughter, which was heightened by the insinuations of the hypocritical Arundel, that she persuaded the duke of Northumberland to assume the command. The secret friends of Mary endeavoured to promote the departure of the duke, for he kept them in awe by his presence. They were confident that he would not prevail over the adherents of Mary; and it was their intention, during his absence, to take measures for reducing Jane to her primitive condition. It was with great reluctance therefore that he consented to quit the capital. He doubted the fidelity of the citizens to his daughter-in-law, and had strong suspicions of the honour of many of the privy counsellors. But, reflecting that his military experience might be usefully exerted against the partizans of Mary, and that a successful battle would be of signal service to his interests, he prepared for his expedition. Having exacted from the counsellors a solemn promise of adhering to queen Jane, he marched out of London with a body of forces, accompanied with the marquis of Northampton, the earl of Huntingdon, lord Grey, and other noblemen. Instead of advancing against Mary with a celerity which might have intimidated her followers, he loitered at Cambridge, where, as chancellor of the university, he ordered a sermon to be preached by the vice-chancellor in vindication of Jane's title to the crown. As he went along, he remarked the disaffection of the people, which foreboded a fatal issue. "Many," said he to lord Grey, "come out to look at us, but I find not one who cries, *God speed you.*" Proceeding, however, to Newmarket, where a rendezvous had been appointed, he mustered an army of two thousand cavalry and six thousand infantry, and advanced to Bury St. Edmunds; where he found himself too weak to encounter Mary's forces.

Mary's party, in the mean time, increased in numbers and confidence. She was reinforced by the friends and vassals of the Howard family, who were zealous Roman Catholics, and was gratified with intelligence of the declaration of many counties in her favour. She was proclaimed queen at Norwich, and received supplies of men and ammunition from that great city. Six vessels, which had been directed to cruise off the eastern coast, with a view either to intercept her if she should attempt, in a fit of despair, to make her escape by sea, or of preventing the arrival of succours from the Netherlands, were driven by tempestuous weather into Yarmouth, near which sir Henry Jerningham was enlisting men in her name; and the captains, regardless of the interests of Jane, in whose behalf they had engaged to act, transferred their service to Mary. Sir Edward Hastings, who had been directed to raise troops for Jane in Buckinghamshire, had no sooner levied them, than he openly declared for her competitor. Jane instantly sent orders to her friends in that county to reduce sir Edward to her obedience; but, amidst the general inclination of the people towards Mary, no prospect appeared of the execution of those commands.

While the army of Mary received constant reinforcements, that of the duke of Northumberland daily decreased in number, in consequence of the discouragement arising from the popular zeal for the lawful heir. Finding the provincials unwilling to join him, and that his army did not amount to half the number of that of Mary, he returned from Bury to Cambridge, and sent a peremptory message to the council, demanding such a supply of forces as would enable him to cope with the enemy. But this demand did not meet with compliance; for though the duke of Suffolk, who acted as minister to his daughter in the absence of Northumberland, was eager to levy troops for her service, the majority of the counsellors had resolved to abandon her cause. On pretence of superintending the new levies, and of conferring with the French ambassador on the subject of procuring men from Picardy, the earls of Arundel and Pembroke, and other members of the council, obtained permission to quit the Tower. They soon after held a meeting at Baynard's Castle, a house belonging to Pembroke; and here their despair of fixing Jane on the throne, and their disgust to the duke of Northumberland, produced resolutions adverse to the interests of Jane. Arundel harangued the assembly on the duke's inordinate and tyrannical spirit, which, in the event of Jane's establishment, he said, would subject their lives and fortunes to his will. He represented the criminality of the enterprize which the duke had projected, and the guilt in which he had involved the whole council: and he affirmed, that the only method of rescuing the state from his pernicious government, and of atoning for the guilt which he and other counsellors had contracted by supporting the interest of Jane, was by a speedy return to their duty, and recognizing Mary as queen. This was warmly espoused by Pembroke, who put his hand to his sword, and swore he was ready to fight any man that expressed himself of a contrary sentiment. The mayor and aldermen of London were immediately sent for, who discovered great alacrity in obeying the orders they received to proclaim Mary; which was accordingly done at the cross in Cheapside, on the 19th of July. The people expressed their approbation by shouts of applause. Even Suffolk, who commanded in the Tower, finding resistance fruitless, opened the gates, and declared for Mary. The lady Jane, after the vain pageantry of wearing a crown during ten days, returned to a private life with more satisfaction than she felt when the royalty was tendered to her: and the messengers who were sent to Northumberland with orders to lay down his arms, found that he had despaired of success, was deserted by most of his followers, and had already proclaimed the queen at Cambridge, with exterior marks of joy and satisfaction. The people every where, on the queen's approach to London, gave sensible expressions of their loyalty and attachment. And the lady Elizabeth met her at the head of a thousand horse, which that princess had levied in order to support their joint title against the usurper.

The queen gave orders for taking into custody the duke of Northumberland, who fell on his knees to the earl of Arundel that arrested him, and abjectly begged his life. At the same time were committed the earl of Warwick, his eldest son, lord Ambrose and lord Henry Dudley, two of his younger sons, sir Andrew Dudley, his brother, the marquis of Northampton, the earl of Huntingdon, sir Thomas Palmer, and sir John Gates; Dr. Edwin Sandys, vice-chancellor of Cambridge, Dr. Nicholas Ridley, bishop of London, and the chief justices of the King's Bench and Common Pleas. The queen afterwards confined the duke of Suffolk, lady Jane Grey, and lord Guildford Dudley. But Mary, though her natural temper did not incline her to mercy, was desirous, in the beginning of her reign, to acquire popularity by the appearance of clemency; and because the counsellors pleaded constraint as an excuse for their treason, she extended her pardon to most of them. Suffolk himself recovered his liberty; and he owed this indulgence in a great measure to the contempt entertained of his capacity. But the guilt of Northumberland was too great, as well as his ambition and courage too dangerous, to permit him to entertain any reasonable hopes of life. When brought to his trial, he only desired permission to ask two questions of the peers appointed to sit on his jury; whether a man could be guilty of treason that obeyed orders given him by the council under the great seal? and whether those who were involved in the same guilt with himself could sit as his judges? Being told that the great seal of an usurper was no authority, and that persons not lying under any sentence of attainder were still innocent in the eye of the law, and might be admitted on any jury; he acquiesced, and pleaded guilty, and was executed August 22 (*s*). Sir Thomas Palmer and sir John Gates suffered with him; and this was all the blood spilled on account of so dangerous and criminal an enterprize against the rights of the sovereign. Sentence was pronounced against the lady Jane and lord Guildford; but without any present intention of putting it in execution. The youth

the throne of this kingdom, against all the force princess Mary could pretend to bring into the field, had there been a good understanding amongst themselves; but very few of them were real friends to the duke of Northumberland; and, consequently, could not be supposed heartily

engaged to execute his ambitious projects in favour of his own family.

(*s*) At his execution he made profession of the Catholic religion, and told the people that they never would enjoy tranquillity till they returned to the faith of their ancestors.

and innocence of the persons, neither of whom had reached their seventeenth year, pleaded strongly in their favour.

On Mary's first arrival at the Tower, the duke of Norfolk, who had been detained prisoner during all the last reign; Courtney, son of the marquis of Exeter, who, without being charged with any crime, had been subjected to the same punishment ever since his father's attainder; Gardiner, Tunstal, and Bonner, who had been confined for their adhering to the Catholic cause, appeared before her and implored her clemency and protection. They were all restored to liberty, and immediately admitted to her confidence and favour. Norfolk's attainder, notwithstanding that it had passed in parliament, was represented as null and invalid; because, among other informalities, no special matter had been alleged against him, except wearing a coat of arms which he and his ancestors without giving any offence had always made use of, in the face of the court and of the whole nation (*t*). Besides performing all those popular acts, which, though they only affected individuals, were very acceptable to the nation, the queen endeavoured to ingratiate herself with the public, by granting a general pardon, though with some exceptions, and by remitting the subsidy voted to her brother by the last parliament.

Every one rejoiced on account of the succession of the lawful heir, though the gracious demeanour of the sovereign, hindered not the people from being agitated with great anxiety concerning the state of religion; and as the bulk of the nation inclined to the Protestant communion, the apprehensions entertained concerning the principles and prejudices of the new queen were pretty general. The legitimacy of Mary's birth had appeared to be somewhat connected with the papal authority; and that princess, being educated with her mother, had imbibed the strongest attachment to the Catholic faith, and the highest aversion to those new tenets, whence she believed all the misfortunes of her family had originally sprung. The discouragements which she lay under from her father, though at last they brought her to comply with his will, tended still more to increase her disgust to the Reformers; and the vexations which the protector and the council gave her during Edward's reign, had no other effect than to confirm her more strongly in her prejudices. Naturally of a sour and obstinate temper, and irritated by contradiction and misfortunes, she possessed all the qualities fitted to compose a bigot; and her extreme ignorance rendered her utterly incapable of doubt in her own belief, or of indulgence to the opinions of others. The nation, therefore, had great reason to dread not only the abolition, but the persecution of the established religion, from the zeal of Mary; and it was not long ere she discovered her intentions.

Gardiner, Bonner, Tunstal, Day, Heath, and Vesey, were reinstated in their sees, either by a direct act of power, or what is nearly the same, by the sentence of commissioners appointed to review their trial and condemnation. Though the bishopric of Durham had been dissolved by authority of parliament, the queen erected it anew by letters patent, and replaced Tunstal in his regalities as well as his revenue. On pretence of discouraging controversy, but in fact to hinder the advocates for the reformed doctrines from continuing to propagate their tenets, she silenced, by an act of prerogative, all the preachers throughout England, except such as should obtain a particular license; and it was easy to foresee that none but the Catholics would be favoured with this privilege. Holgate, archbishop of York, Coverdale, bishop of Exeter, Ridley of London, and Hooper of Gloucester, were thrown into prison; whither old Latimer also was sent soon after. The zealous bishops and priests were encouraged in their forwardness to revive the mass, though contrary to the present laws. Judge Hales, who had discovered such constancy in defending the queen's title, lost all his merit by an opposition to those illegal practices; and being committed to custody, was treated with such severity, that he fell into frenzy, and killed himself. The men of Suffolk were brow-beaten, because they presumed to plead the promise which the queen, when they enlisted themselves in her service, had given them of maintaining the reformed religion: one in particular was set in the pillory, because he had been too peremptory in recalling to her memory the engagements which she had taken on that occasion. And though the queen still promised, in a public declaration before the council, to tolerate those who differed from her, men foresaw that this engagement, like the former, would prove but a feeble security when set in opposition to religious prejudices: for it evidently appears that she had formed a determined resolution of giving a loose to the spirit of persecution, and of enforcing, in the most rigorous manner, the ancient laws against heresy. Her confessors easily satisfied her conscience with respect to the violation of her repeated promises, which, they affirmed, in the true spirit of their church, ought not to be kept with heretics.

The merits of Cranmer towards the queen during the reign of Henry had been considerable; and he had successfully employed his good offices in mitigating the severe prejudices which that monarch had entertained against her. But the active part which he had borne in promoting her mother's divorce, as well as in conducting the reformation, had made him the object of her hatred; and though Gardiner had been equally forward in soliciting and defending the divorce, he had afterwards made sufficient atonement by his sufferings in defence of the Catholic cause. The primate, therefore, had reason to expect little favour during the present reign; but it was by his own indiscreet zeal that he brought on himself the first violence and persecution (*u*). On the publication of his sentiments concerning the Latin service, Cranmer was thrown into prison, and was tried for the part which he had acted in concurring with the lady Jane, and opposing the queen's accession. Sentence of high treason was pronounced against him; and though his guilt was shared with the whole privy council, and was even less than that of the greater part of them, this sentence, however severe, must be allowed entirely legal. The execution of it, however, did not follow; and Cranmer was reserved for a punishment by far more cruel.

Every one perceived the persecution gathering against the reformers, and Peter Martyr, a zealous foreigner of the Protestant persuasion, desired leave to retire from the kingdom; and while some bigotted catholics moved for his commitment, Gardiner pleaded that he had come over by an invitation from the government, and therefore furnished him with supplies for his journey: but as bigotted zeal still increased, his wife's body, which had been interred at Oxford, was afterwards dug up by public orders, and buried in a dunghill. The bones of Bucer and Fagius, two foreign reformers, were about the same time committed to the flames at Cambridge. John à Lasco was first silenced, then ordered to depart the kingdom with his congregation. The greater part of the foreign protestants followed him; and the nation thereby lost many useful hands for arts and manufactures. Several English Protestants also took shelter in foreign parts; and every thing bore a dismal aspect for the reformers and the reformation.

During this revolution of the court, no protection was expected by Protestants from the parliament, which was summoned to assemble on the 5th of October. A zealous reformer asserts, that great violence and iniquity were used in the elections; but besides that the authority of this writer is inconsiderable, that practice, as the necessities of government seldom required it, had not hitherto been often employed in England. There still remained such numbers devoted by opinion or affection to many principles of the ancient religion, that the authority of the crown was able to give such candidates the preference in most elections; and all those who hesitated to comply with the court religion rather declined taking a seat, which, while it rendered them obnoxious to the queen's displeasure, could afterwards afford them no protection against the violence of prerogative. It soon appeared, therefore, that a majority of the commons would be willing to forward

(*t*) Courtney soon after received the title of earl of Devonshire; and though educated in such close confinement, that he was altogether unacquainted with the world, he soon acquired all the accomplishments of a courtier and a gentleman, and made a considerable figure during the few years which he lived after he recovered his liberty.

(*u*) A report being spread, that Cranmer, in order to pay court to the queen, had promised to officiate in the Latin service, the archbishop, to wipe off this aspersion, published a manifesto in his own defence. Among other expressions, he there said, that as the devil was a liar from the beginning, and the father of lies, he had at this time stirred up his servants to persecute Christ and his true religion: that this infernal spirit now endeavoured to restore the Latin satisfactory masses, a thing of his own invention and device; and in order to effect his purpose, had falsely made use of Cranmer's name and authority: and that the mass is not only without foundation, either in the Scriptures or in the practice of the primitive church, but likewise discovers a plain contradiction to antiquity and the inspired writings, and is besides replete with many horrid blasphemies.

Mary's

Mary's designs; and as the peers were mostly attached to the court, from interest or expectations, little opposition was expected from that quarter (*v*). The first bill passed by this obsequious parliament was of a popular nature, and abolished every species of treason not contained in the statute of Edward III. and every species of felony that did not subsist before the first of Henry VIII (*w*). The parliament next declared the queen to be legitimate, ratified the marriage of Henry with Catherine of Arragon, annulled the divorce pronounced by Cranmer (*x*), whom they greatly blamed on that account. No mention, however, is made of the pope's authority, as any ground of the marriage. All the statutes of king Edward, with regard to religion, were repealed by one vote (*y*). The attainder of the duke of Norfolk was reversed; and this act of justice was more reasonable than the declaring of that attainder invalid without farther authority. Many clauses of the riot act passed in the late reign were revived: a step which eluded in a great measure the popular statute enacted at the first meeting of parliament.

Notwithstanding the compliance of the two houses with the queen's inclinations, they had still a reserve in certain articles; and her choice of a husband in particular was of such importance to the interest of the nation, that they were determined not to submit in that respect to her will and pleasure. There were three marriages, concerning which it was supposed that Mary had deliberated after her accession. The first person proposed to her was Courtney, earl of Devonshire, who being an Englishman nearly allied to the crown, could not fail of being acceptable to the nation; and as he was of an engaging person and address, he had visibly gained on the queen's affections, and hints were dropped him of her favourable disposition towards him. That nobleman, however neglected these overtures; and seemed rather to attach himself to the princess Elizabeth, whose youth and agreeable conversation he preferred to all the power and grandeur of her sister. On this account Mary treated him with great coolness, and the queen declared her animosity against Elizabeth. The ancient quarrel between their mothers had sunk deep into the malignant heart of the queen; and after the declaration made by parliament in favour of Catherine's marriage, she wanted not a pretence for representing the birth of her sister as illegitimate. The attachment of Elizabeth to the reformed religion offended Mary's bigotry; and as the young princess had made some difficulty in disclosing her sentiments, violent menaces had been employed to bring her to compliance. But when the queen found that Elizabeth had obstructed her views in a point which perhaps touched her still more nearly, her resentment, excited by pride, no longer knew any bounds; and the princess was visibly exposed to the greatest danger.

Cardinal Pole, who had never taken priests orders, was another party proposed to the queen; and there appeared many reasons to induce her to make choice of this prelate. The high character of Pole for virtue and humanity; the great regard paid him by the Catholic church, of which he had nearly reached the highest dignity on the death of pope Paul III.; the queen's affection for the countess of Salisbury, his mother, who had once been her governess; the violent animosity to which he had been exposed on account of his attachment to the Romish communion; all these considerations had a powerful influence on Mary. But the cardinal was now in the decline of life; and having contracted habits of study and retirement, he was represented to her as unqualified for the bustle of a court and the hurry of business. The queen, therefore, dropped all thoughts of that alliance: but as she entertained a great regard for Pole's wisdom and virtue, she intended to reap the benefit of his counsel in the administration of her government. She secretly entered into a negociation with Commendone, an agent of cardinal Dandino, legate at Brussels; she sent assurances to the then pope, Julius III. of her earnest desire to reconcile herself and her kingdoms to the holy see; and she desired that Pole might be appointed legate for the performance of that pious office.

These two marriages being rejected, the queen cast her eye towards the emperor's family, from which her mother was descended, and which during her own distresses had always afforded her countenance and protection. Charles V. who a few years before was almost absolute master of Germany, had exercised his power in such an arbitrary manner, that he gave extreme disgust to the nation, who apprehended the total extinction of their liberties from the encroachments of that monarch. Religion had served him as a pretence for his usurpations; and from the same principle he met with that opposition which overthrew his grandeur and eclipsed all his ambitious hopes. Maurice, elector of Saxony, enraged that the landgrave of Hesse, who, by his advice and on his assurances, had put himself into the emperor's hands, should be unjustly detained a prisoner, formed a secret conspiracy among the Protestant princes; and covering his intentions with the most artful disguises, suddenly marched his forces against Charles, and narrowly missed becoming master of his person. The Protestants flew to arms in every quarter; and their insurrection, aided by an invasion from France, reduced the emperor to such difficulties that he was obliged to submit to terms of peace, which insured the independency of Germany. To retrieve his honour he made an attack on France; and laying siege to Mentz with an army of a hundred thousand men, he conducted the enterprize in person, and seemed determined to succeed in an undertaking which had fixed the attention of Europe. But the duke of Guise, who defended Mentz, with a garrison composed of the bravest nobility of France, exerted such vigilance, conduct, and valour, that the siege was protracted to the depth of winter; and the emperor found it dangerous to persevere any longer. He retired with the remains of his army into the Low Countries, much dejected with that reverse of fortune which in his declining years had so fatally overtaken him.

So soon as the emperor Charles heard of the death of Edward, and the accession of his kinswoman Mary to the crown of England, he formed the design of acquiring that kingdom to his family; and hoped by this incident to balance all the losses which he had sustained in Germany. His son Philip was a widower; and though he was only twenty-seven years of age, eleven years younger than the queen, this objection it was thought would be overlooked, and there was no reason to despair of her still having a numerous issue. The emperor's desire of this match was indeed so strong, that he broke off one which he had negociated between his son and a princess of Portugal. He therefore immediately sent an agent to this country, to signify his intentions to Mary, who, pleased with the support of so powerful an alliance, and glad to unite herself more closely with her mother's family, to which she was ever strongly attached, readily embraced the proposal. He practised the arts of insinuation, and even of corruption, to gain over the chief ministers of Mary; and, at his instigation, Norfolk, Arundel, and Paget, gave their advice for the match; and Gardiner, who was become prime minister, and who had been promoted to the office of chancellor, finding how Mary's inclinations lay, seconded the project of the Spanish alliance. At the same time he represented both to her and the emperor, the necessity of stopping all farther innovations in religion, till the completion of the marriage. He observed that the parliament, amidst all their compliances, had discovered evident symptoms of jealousy, and seemed at present determined to grant no farther concessions in favour of the Catholic persuasion: that though they might make a sacrifice to their sovereign of some speculative principles which they did not well comprehend, or of some rites which seemed not of any great moment, they had imbibed such strong prejudices against the pretended usurpations and exactions of the court of Rome, that they would with great difficulty be again brought to submit to its authority: that the danger of resuming the abbey lands would alarm the nobility and gentry, and induce them to encourage the prepossessions which were but too general among the people, against the doctrine and worship of the Catholic church:

(*v*) In opening the parliament, the court shewed a contempt of the laws, by celebrating before the two houses a mass of the Holy Ghost in the Latin tongue, attended with all the ancient rites and ceremonies, though abolished by act of parliament. Taylor, bishop of Lincoln, having refused to kneel at this service, was severely handled, and was violently thrust out of the house. *Fox's Martyrology, vol. iii. p.* 19. The queen, however, still retained the title of supreme head of the church of England; and it was generally pretended, that the intention of the court was only to restore religion to the same condition in which it had been left by Henry; but that the other abuses of popery which were the most grievous to the nation, would never be revived. *Burnet, vol. ii. p.* 252.

(*w*) Mariæ, sess. 1. c. 1. By this repeal, though it was in general popular, the clause of 5 & 6 Edw. VI. c. 11. was lost, which required the confronting of two witnesses, in order to prove any treason.

(*x*) Mariæ, sess. ii. c. 1. (*y*) 1 Mariæ, sess. ii. c. 1.

church: that much pains had been taken to prejudice the nation against the Spanish alliance; and if that point were urged at the same time with farther changes in religion, it would hazard a general revolt and insurrection: that the marriage being once completed, would give authority to the queen's measures, and enable her afterwards to forward the pious work in which she was engaged; and that it was even necessary previously to reconcile the people to the marriage, by rendering the conditions extremely favourable to the English, and such as would seem to ensure to them their independency, and the entire possession of their ancient laws and privileges.

The emperor, who was well acquainted with the prudence and experience of Gardiner, assented to all these reasons; and endeavoured to temper the zeal of Mary, by representing the necessity of proceeding gradually in the great work of converting the nation. Hearing that cardinal Pole, more sincere in his religious opinions, and less guided by the maxims of human policy, after having sent contrary advice to the queen, had set out on his journey to England, where he was to exercise his legatine commission; he thought proper to stop him at Dillinghen, a town on the Danube; and afterwards obtained Mary's consent for this detention. The negociation for the marriage meanwhile proceeded apace; and Mary's intentions of espousing Philip became generally known to the nation. The commons, who hoped that they had gained the queen by the concessions which they had already made, were alarmed to hear that she was resolved to contract a foreign alliance; and, on the 6th of December, they sent a committee to remonstrate in strong terms against that dangerous measure. The queen was displeased at their presumption, and answered, that she held her crown of God, and would trust to his counsel alone on so important an occasion; that she had not yet come to a determination on the subject; but that whenever she did, she would take care to consult the general benefit of her realm, though she herself was principally concerned in the disposal of her own person. And to prevent farther applications of the same kind, she thought proper to dissolve a parliament which she found not willing to comply with all her caprices.

A convocation had been summoned at the same time with the parliament; and the majority here also appeared to be of the court religion. An offer was very frankly made by the Romanists, to dispute concerning the points controverted between the two communions; and as transubstantiation was the article which of all others they deemed the clearest, and founded on the most irresistible arguments, they chose to try their strength by defending it. The Protestants maintained their argument as far as the clamour and noise of their antagonists would permit; and they fondly imagined that they had obtained some advantage, when in the course of the debate they obliged the Catholics to avow that, according to their doctrine, Christ had in his last supper *held* HIMSELF *in his hand, and had swallowed and eaten* HIMSELF (z)! This triumph, however, was confined only to their own party: the Romanists maintained, that *their* champions had clearly the better of the day; that their adversaries were blind and obstinate heretics; that nothing but the most extreme depravity of heart could induce men to contest such self-evident principles; and that the severest punishments were due to their perverse wickedness. So pleased were they with their superiority in this favourite point, that they soon after renewed the dispute at Oxford; and to shew that they feared no force of learning or abilities, where reason was so evidently on their side, they sent thither Cranmer, Latimer, and Ridley, under a guard, to try whether these renowned controversialists could find any appearance of argument to defend their baffled principles. The issue of the debate was very different from what it appeared to be a few years before, in a famous conference held at the same place during the reign of Edward.

On the dissolution of the parliament and convocation, the new laws with regard to religion, though they had been anticipated in most places by the zeal of the Catholics, countenanced by government, were still more openly put in execution, in the beginning of 1554. The mass was every where re-established; and marriage was declared to be incompatible with any spiritual office. It has been asserted by some writers, that three-fourths of the clergy were at this time deprived of their livings, because they refused to subscribe to her creed; though other historians, more accurate, have estimated the number of sufferers to be far short of this proportion. A visitation was appointed, in order to restore more perfectly the mass and the Roman Catholic rites. Among other articles, the commissioners were enjoined to forbid the oath of supremacy to be taken by the clergy on their receiving any benefice (a).

This violent and sudden change of religion inspired the Protestants with great discontent; and even affected indifferent spectators with concern, by the hardships to which so many individuals were on that account exposed. But the Spanish match was a point of more general concern, and diffused universal apprehensions for the liberty and independence of the nation. To obviate all clamour, the articles of marriage were drawn as favourable as possible for the interest and security, and even grandeur of England. It was agreed, that though Philip should have the title of king, the administration should be entirely in the queen; that no foreigner should be capable of enjoying any office in the kingdom; that no innovation should be made in the English laws, customs, and privileges; that Philip should not carry the queen out of the kingdom, unless she should voluntarily signify her request to that effect, nor any of her children, without the consent of the nobility; that sixty thousand pounds a year should be settled as her jointure; that the male issue of this marriage should inherit, together with England, both Burgundy and the Low Countries; that if Don Carlos, Philip's son by his former marriage, should die and his line be extinct, the queen's issue, whether male or female, should inherit Spain, Sicily, Milan, and all the other dominions of Philip; and that if the queen should die without issue, Philip should not claim any share in the government of England or its dependencies. Such was the treaty of marriage signed by count Egmont, on the 15th of January, 1554, and three other ambassadors sent over to England by the emperor.

These articles, when published, gave no satisfaction to the nation: it was universally said that the emperor, in order to get possession of England, would verbally agree to any terms; and the greater advantage there appeared in the conditions which he granted, the more certainly might it be concluded that he had no serious intention of observing them: that the usual fraud and ambition of that monarch might assure the nation of such a conduct; and his son Philip, while he inherited these vices from his father, added to them tyranny, sullenness, pride, and barbarity, more dangerous vices of his own: that England would become a province, and a province to a kingdom which usually exercised the most violent authority over all her dependent dominions: that the Netherlands, Milan, Sicily, Naples, groaned under the burthen of Spanish tyranny; and throughout all the new conquests in America there had been displayed scenes of unrelenting cruelty, hitherto unknown in the history of mankind: that the inquisition was a tribunal invented by that tyrannical nation; and would infallibly, with all their other laws and institutions, be introduced into England: and that the divided sentiments of the people with regard to religion would subject multitudes to this iniquitous tribunal, and would reduce the whole nation to the most abject servitude.

There being now strong grounds to suppose that the persecutions of the Protestants would not terminate in the mere loss of their benefices, but would be carried to the extremities of violence against all those who should refuse to abjure their tenets, a great number of individuals took the opportunity of retiring out of the kingdom, to avoid the flames of superstitious cruelty. The discontents of the people rising to a great height, both on religious and political accounts, they seemed ripe for a rebellion; and had any foreign power given them encouragement, or any great man appeared to head them, the consequences might have proved fatal to the queen's authority. But the king of France, though engaged in hostilities with the emperor, refused to concur in any proposal for an insurrection, lest he should afford Mary a pretence for declaring war against him. And the more prudent part of the nobility thought, that as the evils of the Spanish alliance were only dreaded at a distance, matters were not yet fully prepared for a general revolt. Some persons, however, more turbulent than the rest, believed that it would be safer to prevent than to redress grievances; and they formed a conspiracy

(z) Collier, vol. ii. p. 356. Fox, vol. iii. p. 22.
(a) Collier, vol. ii. p. 364. Fox, vol. iii. p. 38. Heylin, p. 35. Sleidan, lib. 25. It is to be observed, that this oath had been established by the laws of Henry VIII. which were still in force.

to rise in arms, and declare against the queen's marriage with Philip. Sir Thomas Wiat purposed to raise Kent, sir Peter Carew, Devonshire; and they engaged the duke of Suffolk, by the hopes of recovering the crown for the lady Jane, to attempt raising the midland counties. Carew's impatience engaged him to break the concert, and to rise in arms before the day appointed: he was soon suppressed by the earl of Bedford, and constrained to fly into France. On this intelligence Suffolk, dreading an arrest, suddenly left the town, with his brothers, lord Thomas and lord Leonard Gray; and endeavoured to raise the people in the counties of Warwick and Leicester, where his interest lay; but he was so closely pursued by the earl of Huntingdon, at the head of three hundred horse, that he was obliged to disperse his followers, and being discovered in his concealment, he was carried prisoner to London. Wiat was at first more successful in his attempt; and having published a declaration at Maidstone in Kent, against the queen's evil counsellors, and against the Spanish match, without any mention of religion, the people began to flock to his standard. The duke of Norfolk, with sir Henry Jerningham, was sent against him, at the head of the guards and some other troops, reinforced with five hundred Londoners commanded by Bret: and he came within sight of the rebels at Rochester, where they had obtained possession of the castle and fixed their head-quarters. Sir George Harper here pretended to desert from them; but having secretly gained Bret, these two malcontents so wrought on the Londoners, that the whole body deserted to Wiat, and declared that they would not contribute to enslave their native country. Norfolk, dreading the contagion of the example, immediately retreated with his troops, and took shelter in the city.

After this proof of the dispositions of the people, especially of the Londoners, who were mostly Protestants, Wiat was encouraged to proceed. When he had reached Deptford, Mary sent two knights to learn his demands. Elate with confidence, he required that the Tower should be put under his command; that the queen should remain there under his guard; that some changes should be made in the privy council; that four counsellors should be delivered into his hands as hostages; and, in order to ensure the liberty of the nation, that the queen should marry an Englishman. Incensed at the arrogance of Wiat's behaviour, the queen repaired to Guildhall on the first of February, 1554, and demanded the assistance of the corporation against the rebels: whose intentions, she said, were to plunder the city, and make themselves masters of the government. With respect to the match of which they affected to complain, she declared that she had taken no steps in the affair without the advice of her nobility; but that, if the states of the realm should oppose her marriage, she would endeavour to evade the accomplishment of the treaty, rather than give disgust to her faithful subjects. Her harangue had some effect on the minds of the citizens, who began to put themselves in a posture of defence. On the same day, she issued a proclamation, offering pardon to all the insurgents, except sir Thomas Wiat, sir George Harper, and two others, and promising lands to the annual value of one hundred pounds to any person who should apprehend Wiat. She appointed lord Howard of Effingham to superintend the equipment of a military force in the city; and the earl of Pembroke was ordered to march with a detachment against the revolters.

In his march from Rochester, Wiat had increased his army to four thousand men; but, while he loitered his time at Deptford, so many of them deserted his standard, that when he approached Southwark, the number of his followers did not exceed three thousand. He endeavoured to hinder them from committing any depredations; but, notwithstanding all his care and vigilance, some of them entered the house of Gardiner, bishop of Winchester, and destroyed a great part of his library and furniture. Finding that the bridge was well guarded, and secured against him, he called a council of war, in which it was resolved to cross the Thames at Kingston, and proceed to the western extremity of London. When he reached Kingston, he found that the bridge had been broken down, and perceived a small body of forces on the opposite banks, ready to oppose his passage over the river. By bringing his artillery to bear upon them, he quickly dispersed them; and, having repaired the bridge, he passed over with his men, and advanced towards the capital. One of the carriages of his cannon happening to break on the road, he imprudently stopped several hours for its reparation, and thus precluded himself from the opportunity of surprizing the court in the night; which he might with ease have effected. Despairing of success, many of the insurgents now left him; and sir George Harper, actuated by the hope of procuring a pardon, hastened to Whitehall, on the 7th of February, and gave the queen a circumstantial account of the proceedings and intentions of Wiat. The earl of Pembroke was immediately directed to prepare for an engagement; but, when the rebels had advanced to St. James's Park, he forbore to commence a general action, as he thought they might be reduced to submission with less hazard. He therefore contented himself with harassing Wiat's rear, while he was proceeding to Charing Cross. Here a skirmish ensued between the revolters and a body of royalists commanded by sir John Gage, lord chamberlain. Wiat's attack was conducted with such spirit, that he quickly forced his adversaries to retreat, sir John exclaiming, as he fled, that the earl of Pembroke, instead of co-operating with him, was inclined to assist the rebels. Continuing his route towards the city, Wiat reached Ludgate, and demanded admittance, on pretence that the queen had acceded to his requisitions. Lord Howard, who guarded the gate, answered him with reproaches; and this disappointment induced him to retreat, in hopes of joining Vaughan, one of his officers, whom he had detached with two companies to Westminster. His men were now so discouraged, that they rapidly abandoned his declining cause. The cavalry of the earl of Pembroke opposing him at Temple Bar, he maintained, for a short time, an unequal conflict; during which a herald approached him, and exhorted him to yield, rather than expose his comrades to certain destruction; intimating that his only chance of the queen's mercy depended on his immediate submission. Wiat, sensible of the inutility of a longer resistance, surrendered himself prisoner to sir Maurice Berkeley; and his chief confederates were also obliged to yield. The other rebels sought refuge in flight; but many of them fell into the hands of the queen's soldiers. Four hundred persons are said to have suffered for this rebellion (*b*): four hundred more were conducted before the queen with ropes about their necks; and falling on their knees, received a pardon, and were dismissed. Thus, after she had glutted her revenge by the amazing number of persons which had been executed on account of Wiat's rebellion, the queen made an ostentatious display of her clemency, thinking thereby to court popularity.

Wiat was brought to trial, and of course was condemned, and executed on the 11th of April. On the trial of Wiat, the queen, who detested her sister Elizabeth for her attachment to the Protestant religion, and who was jealous of her rising popularity, endeavoured to extort such information from Wiat as might furnish a pretence for proceeding to extremities against her. Being harassed with interrogatories, lured by promises, and assailed with threats, sir Thomas gave some answers which seemed to reflect on the princess and the earl of Devonshire, as if they had encouraged him in his insurrection. But when brought to the scaffold, he solemnly exculpated them both, to the great dissatisfaction of Mary.

The lady Elizabeth, it should be observed, had been, during some time treated with great harshness by her sister; and many studied instances of discouragement and disrespect had been practised against her. She was ordered to take place at court after the countess of Lenox and the duchess of Suffolk, as if she were not legitimate: her friends were discountenanced on every occasion; and while her virtues, which were now become eminent, drew to her the attendance of all the young nobility, and rendered her the favourite of the nation, the malevolence of the queen discovered itself every day by fresh symptoms, and obliged the princess to retire into the country. Mary seized the opportunity of this rebellion; and hoping to involve her sister in some appearance of guilt, sent for her under a strong guard, committed her to the Tower, and ordered her to be strictly examined by the council. But the public declaration made by Wiat rendered it impracticable to employ against her any false evidence which might have offered; and the princess made so good a defence, that the queen found herself under a necessity of releasing her. In order to send her out of the kingdom, a marriage was offered her with the duke of Savoy; and when she declined the proposal, she was committed to

(*b*) Depeches de Noailles, vol. iii. p. 124. Mons. de Noailles was ambassador at Mary's court from the French king.

custody under a strong guard at Wodestoke; The earl of Devonshire, though equally innocent, was confined in Fotheringay Castle.

But this rebellion proved still more fatal to the lady Jane Grey, as well as to her husband lord Guilford Dudley. The duke of Suffolk's guilt was imputed to her; and though the rebels and malcontents seemed chiefly to rest their hopes on the lady Elizabeth and the earl of Devonshire, the queen, incapable of generosity or clemency, determined to remove every person from whom the least danger could be apprehended. Warning was given the lady Jane to prepare for death; a doom which she had long expected, and which the innocence of her life, as well as the misfortunes to which she had been exposed, rendered nowise unwelcome to her. The queen's zeal, under colour of tender mercy to the prisoner's soul, induced her to send Dr. Feckenham, dean of St. Paul's, with directions to aim at her conversion to popery. He harassed her with perpetual disputation; and even a reprieve for three days was granted her, in hopes that she would be persuaded during that time to pay, by a timely conversion, some regard to her eternal welfare. The lady Jane, however, was too fully convinced of the corruptions and absurdities of that religion to suffer herself to be deluded by the sophistry of a Catholic priest; and she answered his arguments, notwithstanding her present melancholy situation, with that acuteness and erudition which commanded his respect. On the night which preceded her death, she was so perfectly calm and collected, that she wrote a letter to her sister in the Greek language; in which, besides sending her a copy of the scriptures in that tongue, she exhorted her to maintain, in every fortune, a like steady perseverance. On the day of her execution, February 12, her husband, lord Guilford, desired permission to see her; but she refused her consent, and informed him by a message, that the tenderness of their parting would overcome the fortitude of both, and would too much unbend their minds from that constancy which their approaching end required of them: their separation, she said, would be only for a moment; and they would soon rejoin each other in a scene where their affections would be for ever united, and where death, disappointment, and misfortunes, could no longer have access to them, and disturb their everlasting happiness.

It had been intended to execute the lady Jane and lord Guilford together on the same scaffold at Tower-hill; but the council, dreading the compassion of the people for their youth, beauty, innocence, and noble birth, changed their orders, and gave directions that she should be beheaded within the verge of the Tower. She saw her husband led to execution; and having given him from the window some token of her remembrance, she waited with tranquillity till her own appointed hour should bring her to a like fate. She even saw his headless body carried back in a cart; and found herself more confirmed by the reports which she heard of the constancy of his end, than shaken by so tender and melancholy a spectacle (*c*). On the scaffold she made a speech to the by-standers; in which the mildness of her disposition led her to take the blame wholly on herself, without uttering one complaint against the severity with which she had been treated. She said that her offence was not the having laid her hand upon the crown, but the not rejecting it with sufficient constancy: that she had less erred through ambition than through reverence to her parents, whom she had been taught to respect and obey: that she willingly received death, as the only satisfaction which she could now make to the injured state; and though her infringement of the laws had been constrained, she would shew, by her voluntary submission to their sentence, that she was desirous to atone for that disobedience into which too much filial piety had betrayed her: that she had justly deserved this punishment for being made the instrument, though the unwilling instrument, of the ambition of others: and that the story of her life, she hoped, might at least be useful, by proving that innocence excuses not great misdeeds, if they tend anywise to the destruction of the commonwealth. After uttering these words, she caused herself to be disrobed by her women; and with a steady serene countenance submitted herself to the hands of the executioner (*d*).

Her father, the duke of Suffolk, was tried, condemned, and executed soon after; and would have met with more compassion, had not his temerity been the cause of his daughter's untimely end. Her uncle, lord Thomas Gray, lost his life for the same crime. A remarkable instance of the queen's arbitrary temper appeared in the case of sir Nicholas Throgmorton, who was tried in Guildhall; but there appearing no satisfactory evidence against him he was enabled, by making an admirable defence, to obtain a verdict of the jury in his favour. The queen was so enraged at the disappointment, that instead of releasing him as the law required, she re-committed him to the Tower, and kept him in close confinement during some time. But her resentment stopped not here: the jury, being summoned before the council, were all sent to prison, and afterwards fined, some of them a thousand pounds, others two thousand a-piece. This violence proved fatal to several; among others, to sir John Throgmorton, brother to sir Nicholas, who was condemned on no better evidence than had formerly been rejected; and the sanguinary queen, disappointed of his brother's blood, gladly sacrificed him to her vengeance. She filled the Tower and other prisons with nobility and gentry, whom their interest with the nation, rather than any appearance of guilt, had made the objects of her suspicion. And finding that she was universally hated, she determined to disable the people from resistance, by ordering general musters, and directing the commissioners to seize their arms, and lay them up in the different fortresses.

Notwithstanding the government laboured under so general an odium, the queen's authority had received such an increase from the suppression of Wiat's rebellion, that the ministry hoped to find a compliant disposition in the new parliament, which was summoned to assemble on the 5th of April. The emperor also, in order to facilitate the same end, had borrowed no less a sum than four hundred thousand crowns, which he had sent over to England, to be distributed in bribes and pensions among the members: a pernicious practice, of which there had not hitherto been any instance in England. And not to give the public any alarm with regard to the church lands, the queen resumed the title of supreme head of the church, which she had dropped three months before. Gardiner, the chancellor, opened the session by a speech; in which he asserted the queen's hereditary title to the crown; maintained her right of chusing a husband for herself; observed how proper a use she had made of that right, by giving the preference to an old ally, descended from the house of Borgundy; and remarked the failure of Henry VIII.'s posterity, of whom there now remained none but the queen and the lady Elizabeth. He added, that in order to obviate the inconveniences which might arise from different pretenders, it was necessary to invest the queen, by law, with a power of disposing of the crown, and of appointing her successor: a power, he said, which was not to be thought unprecedented in England, since it had formerly been conferred on Henry VIII.

Though the parliament was disposed to gratify the queen in all her desires; yet when the liberty and independency of the nation were in such visible danger, they could not by any means be brought to compliance. They knew both the inveterate hatred which she bore to the lady Elizabeth, and her devoted attachment to the house of Austria: they were acquainted with her extreme bigotry, which would lead her to set aside all considerations of justice or national interest to the establishment of the Catholic religion: they remarked that Gardiner had carefully avoided, in his speech, the giving to Elizabeth the appellation of the queen's sister; and they thence concluded that a design was formed of excluding her as ille-

(*c*) Sir John Gage, constable of the Tower, when he led her to execution, desired her to bestow on him some small present, which he might keep as a perpetual memorial of her: she gave him her table-book, on which she had just written three sentences on seeing her husband's dead body; one in Greek, another in Latin, a third in English. The purport of them was, that human justice was against his body, but divine mercy would be favourable to his soul; that if her fault deserved punishment, her youth at least, and her imprudence were worthy of excuse; and that God and posterity, she trusted, would shew her favour.

(*d*) Lady Jane Gray was a young person of an amiable and engaging disposition, and accomplished parts: and being of an equal age with the late king, she had received all her education with him, and seemed even to possess greater facility in acquiring every part of manly and polite literature. She had attained a familiar knowledge of the Roman and Greek languages, besides modern tongues; had passed most of her time in an application to learning; and expressed a great indifference for other occupations and amusements usual with her sex and station. Roger Ascham, tutor to the lady Elizabeth, having one day paid her a visit, found her employed in reading Plato, while the rest of the family were engaged in a party of hunting in the park; and on his admiring the singularity of her choice, she told him that she received more pleasure from that author than others could reap from all their sport and gaiety.

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gitimate: they expected that Mary, if invested with such a power as she required, would make a will in her husband's favour, and thereby render England for ever a province to the Spanish monarchy: and they were the more alarmed with these projects, as they heard that Philip's descent from John of Gaunt, duke of Lancaster, was carefully insisted on, and that he was publicly represented as the true and only heir by right of inheritance.

The parliament, therefore, aware of their danger, were determined to keep at a distance from the precipice which lay before them. They could not avoid ratifying the articles of marriage, which were drawn very favourable for England; but they declined the passing of any such law as the chancellor pointed out to them: they would not so much as declare it treason to imagine or attempt the death of the queen's husband, while she was alive; and a bill introduced for that purpose was laid aside after the first reading (*e*).

A law passed in this parliament for re-erecting the bishopric of Durham, which had been dissolved by the last parliament of Edward the Sixth. The queen had already, by an arbitrary exertion of her power, put Tunstal in possession of that see: but though it was usual at that time for the crown to assume authority which might seem entirely legislative, it was always deemed more safe and satisfactory to procure the sanction of parliament. Bills were introduced for suppressing heterodox opinions contained in books, and for reviving the law of the six articles, together with those against the Lollards, and against heresy and erroneous preaching: but the parliament very properly rejected them all, and none of these laws could pass the two houses: a proof that the parliament had reserves even in their concessions with regard to religion, about which they seem to have been less scrupulous. The queen, therefore, finding that they were less passive than she expected, finished the session by dissolving them on the 5th of May.

Mary's bigotted projects were delayed for some time, by reason of her thoughts being wholly occupied in making preparations for the reception of Don Philip, whose arrival she hourly expected. This princess, who had lived so many years in a very reserved and private manner, without any prospect or hopes of a husband, was so smitten with affection for her young consort, whom she had never seen, that she waited with the utmost impatience for the completion of the marriage; and every obstacle was to her a source of anxiety and discontent. She complained of Philip's delays as affected; and she could not conceal her vexation, that though she brought him a kingdom as her dowry, he treated her with such neglect, that he had never yet favoured her with a single letter. Her fondness was but the more increased by this supercilious treatment; and when she found that her subjects had entertained the greatest aversion for the event to which she directed her fondest wishes, she made the whole English nation the object of her resentment. A squadron under the command of lord Effingham, had been fitted out to convoy Philip from Spain, where he then resided; but the admiral informing her that the discontents ran very high among the seamen, and that it was not safe for Philip to entrust himself in their hands, she gave orders to dismiss them. She then dreaded lest the French fleet, being masters of the sea, might intercept her husband; and every rumour of danger, every blast of wind, threw her into panics and convulsions. Her health, and even her understanding, were visibly hurt by this extreme impatience; and she was struck with a new apprehension lest her person, impaired by time, and blasted by sickness, should prove disagreeable to her future consort. Her glass discovered to her how haggard she was become; and when she remarked the decay of her beauty, she knew not whether she ought more to desire or apprehend the arrival of Philip.

At last came the moment so impatiently expected; and news was brought the queen of Philip's arrival at Southampton (*f*), on the 19th of July. Mary set out immediately to meet him at Winchester, and they were there married by Gardiner, bishop of that see, on the 25th (*g*). A few days after, they proceeded to Westminster; and having made a pompous entry into London, where Philip displayed his wealth with great ostentation, she carried him to Windsor, the palace in which they afterwards resided. The prince's behaviour was ill calculated to remove the prejudices which the English nation had entertained against him. He was distant and reserved in his address; took no notice of the salutes even of the most considerable noblemen; and so entrenched himself in form and ceremony, that he was in a manner inaccessible: but this circumstance rendered him the more acceptable to the queen, who desired to have no company but her husband's, and who was impatient when she met with any interruption to her fondness. The shortest absence gave her vexation; and when he showed civilities to any other woman, she could not conceal her jealousy and resentment.

The queen soon found that her husband's ruling passion was ambition; and that the only method of gratifying him, and securing his affections, was to render him master of England. The interest and liberty of her people were considerations of small moment, in comparison of her obtaining this favourite point. She summoned a new parliament, in hopes of finding them entirely compliant to her will; and that she might acquire the greater authority over them, she imitated the precedent of the former reign, and wrote circular letters, directing a proper choice of members. The zeal of the Catholics, the influence of Spanish gold, the powers of prerogative, the discouragement of the gentry, particularly of the Protestants; all these causes seconding the intrigues of Gardiner, had procured her a house of commons, which was in a great measure to her satisfaction; and it was thought, from the disposition of the nation, that she might now safely omit, on her assembling the parliament, which met on the 12th of November, the title of *supreme head of the church*, though inseparably annexed by law to the crown of England. Cardinal Pole had arrived in Flanders, invested with legatine powers from the pope: in order to prepare the way for his arrival in England, the parliament passed an act reversing his attainder, and restoring his blood; and the queen, dispensing with the old statute of provisors, granted him permission to act as legate. The cardinal came over; and after being introduced to the king and queen, he addressed the two houses of parliament, at Whitehall, in a long oration, thanking them for the reversion of that proscription which had long prevented hs return to his native land, and declaring that the best proof of his gratitude for so great a favour would be to use his efforts for abolishing the schism which had rendered them exiles from the unity of the church and the kingdom of heaven. He trusted that they would permit him to make use of that authority which the vicar of Christ had delegated to him, for bringing them back to the fold, and restoring them to their celestial inheritance. Nothing could exceed the joy which Mary felt when her parliamentary subjects seemed to listen with avidity to the proposal of the new legate; and his speech, being perfectly consonant with her ideas, filled her with such emotion, that she fondly thought, or pretended to think, she felt the embryo stir in her womb.

The cardinal's speech being discussed by the two houses on a subsequent day, a conference ensued between them; the result of which was a determination of being reconciled to the church of Rome. An address was prepared, and presented to the king and queen, stating, that, whereas they had been guilty of a most horrible defection and schism from the apostolic see, they now sincerely repented of it; that they were ready to give demonstration of their penitence, by abrogating all laws which had been enacted to the prejudice of that see; that, as the pollution of their schism had not reached their majesties, they hoped they would

(*e*) The more effectually to cut off Philip's hopes of possessing any authority in England, they passed a law in which they declared, "That her majesty, as their only queen, should solely, and as sole queen, enjoy the crown and sovereignty of her realms, with all the pre-eminences, dignities, and rights thereto belonging, in as large and ample a manner after her marriage as before, without any title or claim accruing to the prince of Spain, either as tenant by courtesy of the realm, or by any other means."

(*f*) We are told by sir William Monson, p. 225, that the admiral of England fired at the Spanish navy, when Philip was on board; because they had not lowered their topsails, as a mark of deference to the English navy in the narrow seas: a very spirited behaviour, and very unlike those times. Philip disembarked at Southampton, and had no sooner set his foot on land, than he drew his sword, and marched forward in a warlike attitude. This behaviour was differently interpreted; some regarding it as an omen of his intention of ruling England by the sword; while others affirmed that it argued a resolution of drawing his sword in defence of the nation.

(*g*) After the nuptial ceremony, their titles were thus proclaimed by the heralds: "Philip and Mary, king and queen of England, France, Naples, Jerusalem, and Ireland; defenders of the faith; princes of Spain and Sicily; archdukes of Austria; dukes of Milan, Burgundy, and Brabant; counts of Hapsburg, Flanders, and Tirol."

would intercede with the legate to grant them absolution, and receive them again into the bosom of the church. The cardinal, after the formality of the royal intercession, absolved the parliament in the name of the pope, and released the kingdom from all spiritual censures. The pope, Julius III. being informed of these transactions, said, "that it was an unexampled instance of his felicity to receive thanks from the English for allowing them to do what he ought to give them thanks for performing.

Here it may be proper to observe, that notwithstanding the extreme zeal of those times for and against popery, the object always uppermost with the nobility and gentry was their money and estates: they were not brought to make these concessions in favour of Rome, till they had received repeated assurances, from the pope as well as the queen, that the plunder which they had made on the ecclesiastics should never be inquired into; and that the abbey and church lands should remain with the present possessors. But not trusting altogether to these promises, the parliament took care in the law itself, by which they repealed the former statutes enacted against the pope's authority, to insert a clause, in which, besides bestowing validity on all marriages celebrated during the schism, and fixing the right of incumbents to their benefices, they gave security to the possessors of church lands, and freed them from all danger of ecclesiastical censures. The convocation also, in order to remove apprehensions on that head, were induced to present a petition to the same purpose; and the legate, in his master's name, ratified all these transactions. It now appeared that, notwithstanding the efforts of the queen and king, the power of the papacy was effectually suppressed in England, and invincible barriers fixed against its re-establishment. For though the jurisdiction of the ecclesiastics was for the present restored, their property, on which their power greatly depended was irretrievably lost, and no hopes remained of recovering it. Even these arbitrary, powerful, and bigotted princes, while the transactions were yet recent, could not regain to the church her possessions so lately ravished from her; and no expedients were left to the clergy for enriching themselves, but those which they had at first practised, and which had required many ages of ignorance, barbarism, and superstition, to produce their effect on mankind. But in order to make some amends to the church by encouraging donations and bequests to that body, the statute of mortmain was suspended for twenty years.

The parliament having secured their own possessions, were more indifferent with regard to religion, or even to the lives of their fellow-citizens: they revived the old sanguinary laws against heretics (*h*), which had been rejected in the former parliament: they also enacted several statutes against seditious words and rumours (*i*); and they made it treason to imagine or attempt the death of Philip during his marriage with the queen (*k*). Each parliament hitherto had been induced to go a step farther than their predecessors; but none of them had entirely lost all regard to national interests. Their hatred against the Spaniards, as well as their suspicion of Philip's pretensions, still prevailed; and though the queen attempted to get her husband declared presumptive heir of the crown, and to have the administration put into his hands, she failed in all her endeavours, and could not even procure the parliament's consent to his coronation. All attempts likewise to obtain subsidies from the commons, in order to support the emperor in his war against France, proved fruitless: the usual animosity and jealousy of the English against that kingdom seemed to have given place for the present to like passions against Spain. Philip, sensible of the prepossessions entertained against him, endeavoured to acquire popularity by procuring the release of several prisoners of distinction; lord Henry Dudley, sir George Harper, sir Nicholas Throgmorton, sir Edmond Warner, sir William St. Lo, sir Nicholas Arnold, Harrington, Tremaine, who had been confined from the suspicions or resentment of the court. But nothing was more agreeable to the nation than his protecting the lady Elizabeth from the spite and malice of the queen, and restoring her to liberty (*l*), The earl of Devonshire also reaped some benefit from Philip's affectation of popularity, and recovered his liberty: but that nobleman, finding himself exposed to suspicion, begged permission to travel; and he soon after died at Padua from poison, as is asserted, given him by the Imperialists (*m*).

Mary was very desirous of having issue; and this made her fondly give credit to any appearance of pregnancy; and fancying herself with child, dispatches were immediately sent to inform foreign courts of the event: orders were issued to give public thanks: great rejoicings were made: the family of the young prince was already settled; for the catholics held themselves assured that the child was to be a male: and Bonner, bishop of London, made public prayers be said, that Heaven would please to render him beautiful, vigorous, and witty. But the nation still remained somewhat incredulous; and men were persuaded that the queen laboured under infirmities which rendered her incapable of having children. Her infant proved only the commencement of a dropsy, which the disordered state of her health had brought upon her. The belief, however, of her pregnancy was upheld with all possible care; and was one artifice by which Philip endeavoured to support his authority in the kingdom. The parliament passed a law, in the beginning of 1555, which, in case of the queen's demise, appointed him protector during the minority; and the king and queen, finding they could obtain no further concessions, came unexpectedly to Westminster and dissolved them (*n*).

The queen and her council now deliberated on the most effectual means of extirpating the Protestant faith. Mary was extremely rejoiced at the revival of the infamous laws for the burning of heretics; and she was inclined to put them in rigorous execution. But all her counsellors did not adopt the same inhumanity of sentiment. Some of them, particularly cardinal Pole, recommended a lenity of treatment towards those who dissented from the Catholic tenets. This great prelate maintained, that pastors ought not to divest themselves of compassion for their straying sheep; that bishops should act as the fathers of the people, and consider those who erred as their distempered children, whose disorders ought to be touched with a gentle hand, not stopped by the death of the patient. It had been found by experience, he said, that the extremities of persecution rather inflamed than cured the disease of heresy; and he was therefore of opinion, that moderate courses were more eligible, not only as affording a better prospect of success, but, as being more consistent with the dictates of Christian philanthrophy. Sufficient time should be allowed to the people to recover from those errors which, having been sanctioned by the heads of the ch rch in the late reign, had made a deep impression on the minds of many; and the best prelude to their recovery would be a reformation of the manners of the clergy. There was little doubt that the ignorance and immorality of the popish ecclesiastics had greatly contributed to the promotion of the protestant cause; and a correction of such defects and abuses as were too prevalent, would tend to restore the credit of the catholic church, and effect the gradual extirpation of the weeds of heterodoxy.

These arguments did not suit the severity of Gardiner's disposition. Though he was less attached than the cardinal to the Romish doctrines, his obsequious complaisance to the queen's bigotry, by giving him hopes of securing a continuance of her regard, induced him to recommend a zealous defence of the Catholic faith, by the capital punishment of its opponents. He affirmed, that lenient medicines would feed, instead of checking, the disease; and that those who wished for the establishment of an unity of doctrine could not take more effectual steps for the attainment of that desirable purpose than the infliction of extreme severities on the nonconformists. It would argue, he said, a disgraceful indifference with regard to religion, to tolerate such opinions as were repugnant to

(*h*) 1 & 2 Phil. & Mar. c. 6. (*i*) Ibid. c. 3, 9. (*k*) Ibid. c. 10.

(*l*) This measure was not the effect of any generosity in Philip, a sentiment of which he was wholly destitute; but of a refined policy, which made him foresee, that if that princess were put to death, the next lawful heir was the queen of Scots, whose succession would for ever annex England to the crown of France.

(*m*) He was the eleventh and last earl of Devonshire of that noble family, one of the most illustrious in Europe.

(*n*) There happened an incident this session which must not be passed over in silence. Several members of the lower house, dissatisfied with the measures of the parliament, but finding themselves unable to prevent them, made a secession, on the 16th of January, 1555, in order to show their disapprobation, and refused any longer to attend the house. For this instance of contumacy they were indicted in the king's bench after the dissolution of parliament: six of them submitted to the mercy of the court, and paid their fines: the rest traversed; and the queen died before the affair was brought to an issue.

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the true faith; and such a conduct would not only encourage those religious divisions, which disturbed the peace of society, but would endanger the souls of great multitudes of people, who, being indulged with a liberty of conscience, might be induced to adopt the pernicious tenets propagated by pretended reformers.

Having heard the different arguments adduced to each, Mary, as all who knew her disposition foresaw, signified her inclination for violent measures; and orders were given for the immediate enforcement of the revived laws against heretics.

The first Protestant whom the ferocious bigots of this reign condemned to the stake, was John Rogers, prebendary of St. Paul's, a man eminent among the Protestants for virtue as well as for learning, and one of their most popular preachers. He was first examined by the council, and then tried by a synod of bishops; and refusing either to acknowledge the supremacy of the pope, to whom the English parliament had now restored that dignity, or to express his belief of the real presence of Christ in the sacrament, he was pronounced a contumacious heretic, degraded from his clerical station, and delivered to the secular arm to be burned. Gardiner's plan was first to attack men of that character whom he hoped terror would bend to submission, and whose example, either of punishment or recantation, would naturally have influence on the multitude: but he found a perseverance and courage in Rogers, which it may seem strange to find in human nature, and of which all ages and all sects do nevertheless furnish many examples. Rogers, beside the care of his own preservation, lay under other powerful temptations to compliance: he had a wife whom he tenderly loved, and ten children; yet such was his serenity after his condemnation, that the jailors, it is said, waked him from a sound sleep when the hour of his execution approached. He had desired to see his wife before he died; but Gardiner told him, that he was a priest, and could not possibly have a wife; thus joining insult to cruelty. A pardon was offered him at the stake, as the price of his recantation; but he peremptorily rejected it, and suffered, with admirable constancy, the horrible death to which his inhuman persecusors had doomed him, being burnt in Smithfield (*o*) on the 4th of February, 1555.

Dr. John Hooper, bishop of Gloucester, had been tried at the same time with Rogers; but was sent to his own diocese to be executed. This circumstance was contrived to strike the greater terror into his flock; but it was a source of consolation to Hooper, who rejoiced in giving testimony by his death to that doctrine which he had formerly preached among them. When he was tied to the stake, a stool was set before him, and the queen's pardon laid upon it, which it was still in his power to merit by a recantation: but he ordered it to be removed; and cheerfully prepared himself for that dreadful punishment to which he was sentenced. He suffered it in its full severity: the wind, which was violent, blew the flame of the reeds from his body; the faggots were green, and did not kindle easily: all his lower parts were consumed before his vitals were attacked: one of his hands dropped off: with the other he continued to beat his breast: he was heard to pray and to exhort the people; till his tongue, swoln with the violence of his agony, could no longer permit him utterance. He was three quarters of an hour in torture, which he bore with inflexible constancy. He was burned at Gloucester on the 9th of February.

Mr. Lawrence Saunders was burned at Coventry on the 8th of February. A pardon was also offered him; but he rejected it, and embraced the stake, saying, "Welcome the cross of Christ! welcome everlasting life!" Mr. Rowland Taylor, parson of Hadley, was punished by fire in that place, surrounded by his ancient friends and parishioners. When tied to the stake, he rehearsed a psalm in English: one of his guards struck him in the mouth, and bade him speak Latin: another, in a rage, gave him a blow on the head with his halbert, which put an end to his torments.

There was one Philpot, archdeacon of Winchester, who was so inflamed with zeal for orthodoxy, that having been engaged in dispute with an Arian, he spit in his adversary's face, to shew the great detestation which he had entertained against that species of heresy. He afterwards wrote a treatise to justify this unmannerly expression of zeal: he said, "that he was led to it in order to relieve the sorrow conceived from such horrid blasphemy, and to signify how unworthy such a miscreant was of being admitted into the society of any Christian." Philpot was a Protestant; and falling now into the hands of people as zealous as himself, but more powerful, he was condemned to the flames, and suffered at Smithfield (*p*).

It is needless to be particular in enumerating all the cruelties practised in England during the course of three years that these persecutions lasted: the savage barbarity on the one hand, and the patient constancy on the other, are so similar in all those martyrdoms, that the narrative, little agreeable in itself, would never be relieved by variety. Human nature appears not, on any occasion, so detestable, and at the same time so absurd, as in these religious persecutions, which sink men below infernal spirits in wickedness, and below the beasts in folly. A few instances only may be worth preserving, in order, if possible, to warn zealous bigots for ever to avoid such odious and such fruitless barbarity.

Dr. Robert Ferrar, bishop of St. David's, was burned at Carmarthen, in his own diocese, on the 30th of March; and his appeal to cardinal Pole was not attended to. He was condemned by Morgan, his successor. Ridley, bishop of London, and Latimer, formerly bishop of Worcester, two prelates celebrated for learning and virtue, perished together in the same flames at Oxford, on the 16th of October, and supported each other's constancy by their mutual exhortations. Latimer, when tied to the stake, called to his companion, "Be of good cheer, brother; we shall this day kindle such a torch in England, as, I trust in God, shall never be extinguished (*q*).

One Hunter, a young man of nineteen, an apprentice, having been seduced by a priest into a dispute, had unwarily denied the real presence. Sensible of his danger, he immediately absconded; but Bonner, laying hold of his father, threatened him with the greatest severities if he did not produce the young man to stand his trial. Hunter hearing of the vexations to which his father was exposed, voluntarily surrendered himself to Bonner, and was condemned to the flames by that barbarous prelate.

Thomas Haukes, when conducted to the stake, agreed with his friends, that if he found the torture tolerable, he would make them a signal to that purpose in the midst of the flames. His zeal for the cause in which he suffered so supported him that he stretched out his arms, the signal agreed on; and in that posture he expired. This example, with many others of like constancy, encouraged multitudes not only to suffer, but even to court and aspire to martyrdom.

Even the tender sex, as they have commonly greater propensity to religion, produced many examples of the most inflexible courage in supporting the profession of it against all the fury of the persecutors. One execution in particular was attended with circumstances which, even at this time, excited astonishment by reason of their unusual barbarity. A woman in Guernsey, being near the time of her labour when brought to the stake, was thrown into such agitation by the torture that her belly burst, and she was delivered in the midst of the flames. One of the guards immediately snatched the infant from the fire, and attempted to save it: but a magistrate who stood by ordered it to be thrown back; being determined, he said, that nothing should survive which sprang from so obstinate and heretical a parent.

The persons condemned to these punishments were not convicted of teaching, or dogmatising, contrary to the established religion: they were seized merely on suspicion; and articles being offered them to subscribe, they were immediately upon their refusal condemned to the

(*o*) Mr. Rogers was brought up at Cambridge, and had been many years chaplain to the English merchants at Antwerp. He returned to England in Edward the Sixth's reign, and was made a prebendary of St. Paul's, and reader of the divinity lecture, then belonging to that cathedral.

(*p*) The crime for which almost all the Protestants were condemned was, their refusal to acknowledge the real presence. Gardiner, who had vainly expected that a few examples would strike a terror into the Reformers, finding the work daily multiply upon him, devolved the invidious office on others, chiefly on Bonner, a man of profligate manners, and of a brutal character, who seemed to rejoice in the torments of the unhappy sufferers. He sometimes whipped the prisoners with his own hands, till he was tired with the violence of the exercise: he tore out the beard of a weaver who refused to relinquish his religion; and that he might give him a specimen of burning, he held his hand to the candle till the sinews and veins shrunk and burst. *Fox*, vol. iii. p. 187.

(*q*) The executioners had been so merciful (for that clemency may more naturally be ascribed to them than to the religious zealots) as to tie bags of gunpowder about these prelates, in order to put a speedy period to their tortures: the explosion immediately killed Latimer, who was in extreme old age; Ridley continued alive duting some time in the midst of the flames.

flames. These instances of barbarity, so unusual in the nation, excited the utmost consternation and horror; the constancy of the martyrs was the object of admiration; and as men have a principle of equity engraven in their minds, which even false religion is not able to obliterate, they were shocked to see persons of probity, of honour, of pious dispositions, exposed to punishments more severe than were inflicted on the greatest ruffians for crimes subversive of civil society. To exterminate the whole Protestant party was known to be impossible; and nothing could appear more iniquitous, than to subject to torture the most conscientious and courageous among them, and allow the cowards and hypocrites to escape. Each martyrdom, therefore, was equivalent to a hundred sermons against popery; and men either avoided such horrid spectacles, or returned from them full of a violent, though secret, indignation against the persecutors. Repeated orders were sent from the council to quicken the diligence of the magistrates in searching out heretics; and in some places the gentry were constrained to countenance by their presence those barbarous executions. These acts of violence tended only to render the Spanish government daily more odious; and Philip, sensible of the hatred which he incurred, endeavoured to remove the reproach from himself by a very gross artifice: he ordered his confessor to deliver in his presence a sermon in favour of toleration; a doctrine somewhat extraordinary in the mouth of a Spanish frier. But the court finding that Bonner, however shameless and savage, would not bear alone the whole infamy, soon threw off the mask; and the unrelenting temper of the queen, as well as of the king, appeared without control. A bold step was even taken towards introducing the inquisition into England. As the bishops' courts, though extremely arbitrary, and not confined by any ordinary forms of law, appeared not to be invested with sufficient power, a commission was appointed, by authority of the queen's prerogative, more effectually to extirpate heresy. Twenty-one persons were named; but any three were armed with the powers of the whole (*r*). Some civil powers were also given the commissioners to punish vagabonds and quarrelsome persons.

To bring the methods of proceeding in England still nearer to the practice of the inquisition, letters were written to lord North, and others, enjoining them, "To put to the torture such obstinate persons as would not confess, and there to order them at their discretion." Secret spies also and informers were employed, according to the practice of that iniquitous tribunal. Instructions were given to the justices of peace, "That they should call secretly before them one or two honest persons within their limits, or more at their discretion, and command them by oath, or otherwise, that they shall secretly learn and search out such persons as shall evil-behave themselves in church, or idly, or shall despise openly by words, the king's or queen's proceedings, or go about to make any commotion, or tell any seditious tales or news. And also that the same persons so to be appointed shall declare to the same justices of peace the ill behaviour of lewd disordered persons, whether it shall be for using unlawful games, and such other light behaviour of such suspected persons: and that the same information shall be given secretly to the justices; and the same justices shall call such accused persons before them, and examine them, without declaring by whom they were accused. And that the same justices shall, upon their examination, punish the offenders, according as their offences shall appear, upon the accusement and examination, by their discretion, either by open punishment or by good abearing." In some respects, this arbitrary and tyrannical edict even exceeded the oppression of the inquisition; by introducing, into every part of government, the same iniquities which that tribunal practises for the extirpation of heresy only. But the court had devised a more expeditious and summary method of supporting orthodoxy than even the inquisition itself. They issued a proclamation against books of heresy, treason, and sedition; and declared, "That whosoever had any of these books, and did not presently burn them, without reading them, or shewing them to any other person, should be esteemed rebels; and without any farther delay be executed by martial law."

We have thrown together almost all the proceedings against heretics, though carried on during a course of three years; that we may be obliged, as little as possible, to return to such shocking violences and barbarities (*s*). This mode of the burning of heretics was esteemed a very natural way of reconciling the kingdom to the Romish communion; and little solicitation was requisite to engage the pope to receive the strayed flock, from which his predecessors had reaped such considerable profit: yet was there a solemn embassy sent to Rome, consisting of sir Anthony Brown, created viscount Montacute, the bishop of Ely, and sir Edward Carne; in order to carry the submissions of England, and beg to be re-admitted into the bosom of the catholic church. Paul IV. after a short interval, now filled the papal chair; the most haughty pontiff that during several ages had been elevated to that dignity. He was offended that Mary still retained among her titles that of queen of Ireland; and he affirmed, that it belonged to him alone, as he saw cause, either to erect new kingdoms, or abolish the old; but to avoid all dispute with the new converts, he thought proper to erect Ireland into a kingdom, which he did on the 7th of June, and he then admitted the title, as if it had been assumed from his concession. This was an usual artifice of the popes, to give allowance to what they could not prevent, and afterwards pretend that princes, while they exercised their own powers, were only acting by authority from the papacy. And though Paul had at first intended to oblige Mary formally to recede from this title before he would bestow it upon her; he found it prudent to proceed in a less haughty manner.

Another point in discussion between the pope and the English ambassadors was not so easily terminated. Paul insisted, "that the property and possessions of the church should be restored to the uttermost farthing: that whatever belonged to God could never by any law be converted to profane uses, and every person who detained such possessions was in a state of eternal damnation: that he would willingly, in consideration of the humble submissions of the English, make them a present of these ecclesiastical revenues; but such a concession exceeded his power, and the people might be certain that so great a profanation of holy things would be a perpetual anathema upon them, and would blast all their future happiness: that if they would truly shew their filial piety, they must restore all the privileges and emoluments of the Romish church, and Peter's pence among the rest; nor could they expect that this apostle would open to them the gates of paradise, while they detained from him his patrimony on earth." These earnest remonstrances being transmitted to England, though they had little influence on the nation, operated powerfully on the queen; who was determined, in order to ease her conscience, to restore all the church lands which were still in the possession of the crown: and the more to display her zeal, she erected anew some convents and monasteries, notwithstanding the poverty of the ex-

(*r*) The commission runs in these terms: "That since many false rumours were published among the subjects, and many heretical opinions were also spread among them, the commissioners were to inquire into those, either by presentments, by witnesses, or any other political way they could devise, and to search after all heresies; the bringers in, the sellers, the readers of all heretical books: they were to examine and punish all misbehaviours or negligences in any church or chapel; and to try all priests that did not preach the sacrament of the altar; all persons that did not hear mass, or come to their parish church to service, that would not go in processions, or did not take holy bread or holy water: and if they found any that did obstinately persist in such heresies, they were to put them into the hands of their ordinaries, to be punished according to the spiritual laws: giving the commissioners full power to proceed as their discretions and consciences should direct them, and to use all such means as they would invent for the searching of the premises; empowering them also to call before them such witnesses as they pleased, and to force them to make oath of such things as might discover what they sought after." *Burnet, vol. ii. coll.* 32.

(*s*) It is indeed unpleasing to dwell on these unnatural and impious proceedings: enough has been said to excite the just detestation of posterity against a queen who could thus let loose the furies of superstition, as well as against the spiritual assassins who gloried in these horrid scenes, and who, on pretence of laws which no humane government could ever enforce, and which they disgraced by their inquisitorial modes of process, sacrificed the most inoffensive and respectable members of the community to their malignity and revenge. It is computed, that in that time two hundred and seventy-seven persons were brought to the stake; besides those who were punished by imprisonment, fines, and confiscations. Among those who suffered by fire were five bishops, twenty-one clergymen, eight lay gentlemen, eighty-four tradesmen, one hundred husbandmen, servants, and labourers, fifty-five women, and four children. This persevering cruelty appears astonishing; yet is it much inferior to what has been practised in other countries. A great author computes, that in the Netherlands alone, from the time that the edict of Charles V. was promulgated against the Reformers, there had been fifty thousand persons hanged, beheaded, buried alive, or burnt, on account of religion; and that in France the number had also been considerable. Yet in both countries, as the same author subjoins, the progress of the new opinions, instead of being checked, was rather forwarded by these persecutions.

chequer,

chequer. When this measure was debated in council, some members objected, "that if such a considerable part of the revenue were dismembered, the dignity of the crown would fall to decay;" but the queen replied, "that she preferred the salvation of her soul to ten such kingdoms as England." These imprudent measures would not probably have taken place so easily, had it not been for the death of the persecuting bishop Gardiner, which happened about this time: the great seal was given to Heathe, archbishop of York; that an ecclesiastic might still be possessed of that high office, and be better enabled by his authority to forward the persecutions against those of the Reformed religion (*t*).

The persecutions which had been carried on, were become very odious to the nation; and the effects of the public discontent appeared in the new parliament summoned to meet at Westminster, on the 21st of October, 1555. A bill was passed, restoring to the church the tenths and first-fruits, and all the impropriations which remained in the hands of the crown; but though this matter directly concerned none but the queen herself, great opposition was made to the bill in the house of commons. An application being made for a subsidy during two years, and for two fifteenths, the latter was refused by the commons; and many members said, that while the crown was thus despoiling itself of its revenue, it was in vain to bestow riches upon it. The parliament rejected a bill for obliging the exiles to return under certain penalties, and another for incapacitating such as were remiss in the prosecution of heresy from being justices of peace. The queen, finding that the commons were not inclinable to gratify her in every arbitrary wish, thought proper to dissolve the parliament on the 9th of December.

The spirit of opposition which began to prevail in parliament was the more likely to be vexatious to Mary, as she was otherwise in a very bad humour on account of her husband's absence, who, tired of her importunate love and jealousy, and finding his authority extremely limited in England, had laid hold of the first opportunity to leave her, and had gone over last summer to the emperor in Flanders. The indifference and neglect of Philip, added to the disappointment in her imagined pregnancy, threw her into a deep state of melancholy; and she gave vent to her spleen, by daily enforcing the persecutions against the Protestants, and even by expressions of rage against all her subjects; by whom she knew herself to be hated, and whose opposition, in refusing an entire compliance with Philip, was the cause, she believed, why he had alienated his affections from her, and afforded her so little of his company. The less return her love met with, the more it increased; and she passed most of her time in solitude, where she gave vent to her passion, either in tears, or in writing fond epistles to Philip, who seldom returned her any answer, and scarcely deigned to pretend any sentiment of love or even of gratitude towards her. The chief part of government to which she attended was the extorting of money from her people, in order to satisfy her husband's demands; and as the parliament had granted her but a scanty supply, she had recourse to expedients very violent and irregular. She levied a loan of sixty thousand pounds upon a thousand persons, of whose compliance, either on account of their riches or their affections to her, she held herself best assured: but that sum not sufficing, she exacted a general loan on every one who possessed twenty pounds a-year. This imposition lay heavy on the gentry, who were obliged many of them to retrench their expences, and dismiss their servants, in order to enable them to comply with her demands: and as these servants, accustomed to idleness, and having no means of subsistence, commonly betook themselves to theft and robbery, the queen published a proclamation, by which she obliged their former masters to take them back to their service. She levied sixty thousand marks on seven thousand yeomen, who had not contributed to the former loan; and she exacted thirty-six thousand pounds more from the merchants. In order to engage some Londoners to comply more willingly with her multiplied extortions, she passed an edict, prohibiting for four months the exporting of any English cloth or kersey to the Netherlands; an expedient which procured a good market for such as had already sent any quantity of cloth thither. Her rapacious disposition engaged her to give endless disturbance and interruption to commerce. The English company settled in Antwerp having refused her a loan of forty thousand pounds, she dissembled her resentment till she found that they had bought and shipped great quantities of cloth for Antwerp fair, which was approaching: she then laid an embargo on the ships, and obliged the merchants to grant her a loan of the forty thousand pounds at first demanded, to engage for the payment of twenty thousand pounds more at a limited time, and to submit to an arbitrary imposition of twenty shillings on each piece. Some time after she was informed, that the Italian merchants had shipped above forty thousand pieces of cloth for the Levant, for which they were to pay her a crown a-piece, the usual imposition: she struck a bargain with the merchant adventurers in London; prohibited the foreigners from making any exportation; and received from the English merchants, in consideration of this iniquitous transaction, the sum of fifty thousand pounds, and an imposition of four crowns on each piece of cloth which they should export. She attempted to borrow great sums abroad; but her credit was so low, that though she offered fourteen per cent. to the city of Antwerp for a loan of thirty thousand pounds, she could not obtain it, till she compelled the city of London to be surety for her. All these arbitrary and violent expedients were employed, while she was in profound peace with all the world, and had visibly no occasion for money but to supply the demands of a husband, who gave attention only to his own convenience, and showed himself entirely indifferent about the interest of his queen or the welfare of the English nation.

Mary's husband, Philip, was now become master of all the wealth of the new world, and of the richest and most extensive dominions in Europe, by the voluntary resignation of his father, the emperor Charles V. who, though still in the vigour of his age, had taken a disgust to the world, and was determined to seek, in the tranquillity of retreat, for that happiness which he had in vain attempted to arrive at amidst the tumults of war, and the restless projects of ambition. He summoned the states of the Low Countries, on the 25th of October, and seating himself on the throne for the last time, explained to his subjects the reasons of his resignation, absolved them from all oaths of allegiance, and, devolving his authority on Philip, told him, that his paternal tenderness made him weep, when he reflected on the burden which he imposed upon him. He inculcated on his son the great and only duty of a prince, *the study of his people's happiness;* and represented how much preferable it was to govern by affection, rather than by fear, the nations subjected to his dominion. The cool reflections of age now discovered to him the emptiness of his former pursuits; and he found that the vain schemes of extending his empire had been the source of endless opposition and disappointment, and kept himself, his neighbours, and his subjects, in perpetual inquietude, and had frustrated the sole end of government, the felicity of the nations committed to his care; an object which meets with less opposition, and which, if steadily pursued, can alone convey a lasting and solid satisfaction.

A few months after, in the beginning of 1556, he resigned to Philip his other dominions; and, embarking on board a fleet, sailed to Spain, and took his journey to St. Just, a monastery in Estremadura, which, being situated in a healthy climate, and amidst the greatest beauties of nature, he had chosen for the place of his retreat. When he arrived at Burgos he found, by the thinness of his court, and the negligent attendance of the Spanish grandees, that he was no longer emperor; and though this observation might convince him still more of the vanity of the world, and make him more heartily despise what he had renounced, he sighed to find that all former adulation and obeisance had been paid to his fortune, not to his person (*u*). He pursued, however, his resolution with inflexible con-

(*t*) The Catholic bigots lamented the decease of their patron Stephen Gardiner; but every friend to humanity rejoiced at the departure of one who had been the chief adviser of religious persecution. The cruelties, however, which he had enforced did not expire with him. Bonner, a depraved wretch, whose character was more brutally savage than that of the defunct chancellor, continued the practice of those inhumanities which have marked the reign of Mary with indelible turpitude; and his chief associates in those detestable proceedings were Baine, Christopherson, and Griffith, bishops of Litchfield, Chichester, and Rochester; Thorndon, suffragan of Dover; and Harpsfield, archdeacon of Canterbury. And Cardinal Pole, the primate after Cranmer was committed to the flames, though he was too humane to be pleased with these barbarities, was too tame and passive to endeavour to prevent them.

(*u*) With better reason was he struck with the ingratitude of his son Philip, who obliged him to wait a long time for the payment of the small pension which he had reserved; and this disappointment in his domestic enjoyments gave him a sensible concern.

stancy; and, shutting himself up in his retreat, he exerted such self-command, that he restrained even his curiosity from any inquiry concerning the transactions of the world, which he had entirely abandoned. He is said, in his retreat, to have discovered a propensity to the new doctrines; and to have frequently dropped hints of this unexpected alteration in his sentiments. Having amused himself with the construction of clocks, of which he collected a great variety; and, having tried a long time to bring them all to strike together, without effect, he broke out into this remarkable expression: "How vain and foolish is it for princes to endeavour to make all their subjects be of one mind in religion, when no art is able to make a few clocks strike together!" He survived his retreat two years (*v*).

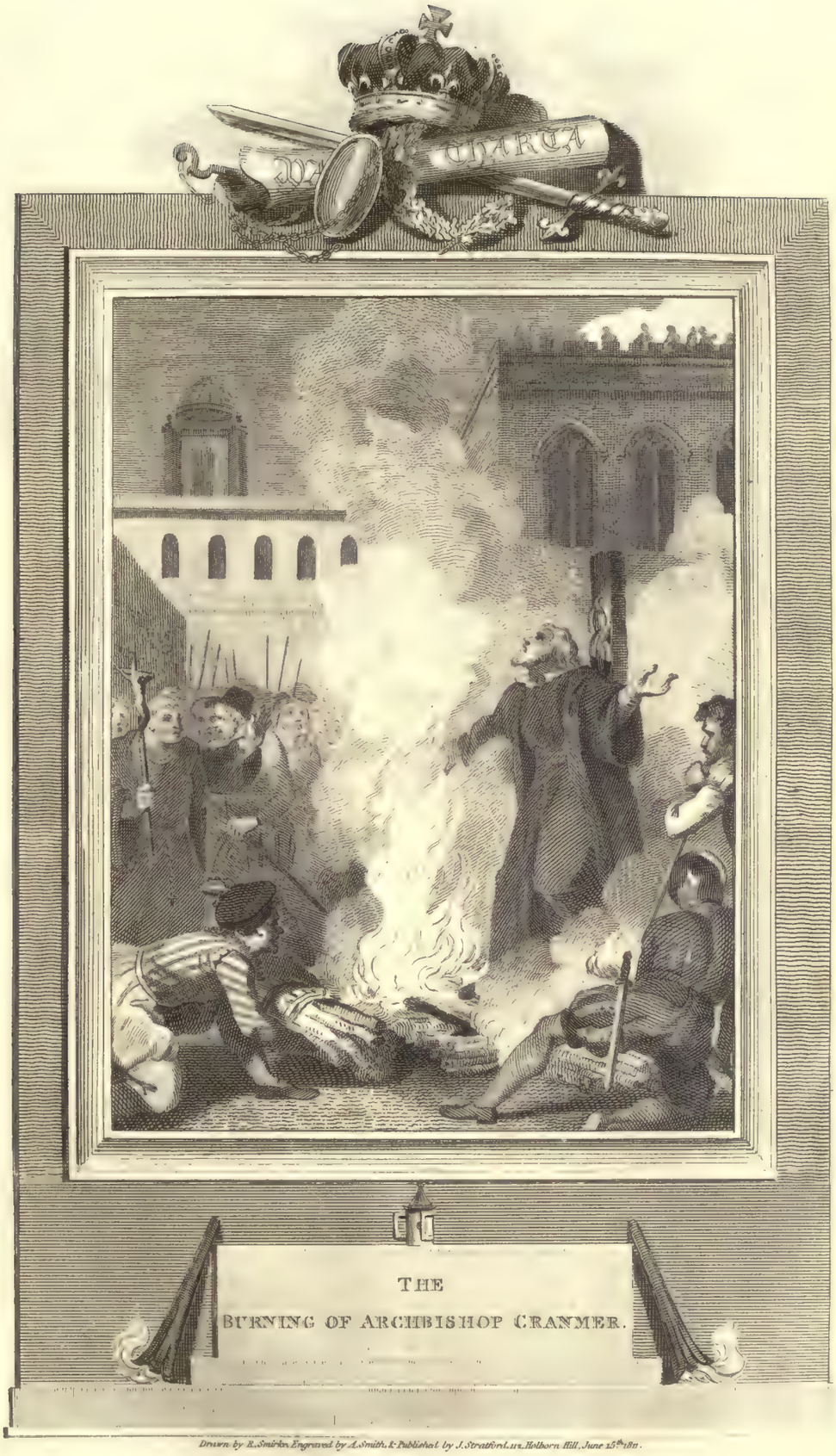
The emperor Charles had very early in the beginning of his reign found the difficulty of governing such distant dominions; and he had made his brother Ferdinand be elected king of the Romans; with a view to his inheriting the Imperial dignity, as well as his German dominions. But having afterwards enlarged his schemes, and formed plans of aggrandizing his family, he regretted that he must dismember such considerable states; and he endeavoured to engage Ferdinand, by the most tempting offers, and most earnest solicitations, to yield up his pretensions in favour of Philip. Finding his attempts fruitless, he had resigned the Imperial crown with his other dignities; and Ferdinand, according to common form, applied to the pope for his coronation. The arrogant pontiff refused the demand; and pretended, that though on the death of an emperor he was obliged to crown the prince elected, yet, in the case of a resignation, the right devolved to the holy see, and it belonged to the pope alone to appoint an emperor. The conduct of Paul was in every thing conformable to these lofty pretensions. He thundered always in the ears of all ambassadors, that he stood in no need of the assistance of any prince; that he was above all the potentates of the earth; that he would not accustom monarchs to pretend to a familiarity or equality with him; that it belonged to him to alter and regulate kingdoms; that he was successor of those who had deposed kings and emperors; and that, rather than submit to any thing below his dignity, he would set fire to the four corners of the world. He went so far, as at table, in the presence of many persons, and even openly, in a public consistory, to say, that he would not admit any kings for his companions; they were all his subjects, and he would hold them under these feet: so saying, he stamped on the ground with his old and infirm limbs: for he was now upwards of fourscore years of age.

Philip, though less warlike than his father, was no less ambitious; and he trusted, that by the intrigues of the cabinet, where he believed his caution and secrecy and prudence gave him the superiority, he should be able to subdue all his enemies, and extend his authority and dominion. For this reason, as well as from the desire of settling his new empire, he wished to maintain peace with France; but when he found, that without sacrificing his honour it was impossible for him to overlook the hostile attempts of Henry, he prepared for war with great alacrity. In order to give himself the more advantage, he was desirous of embarking England in the quarrel; and though the queen was of herself extremely averse to that measure, he hoped that the devoted fondness which, notwithstanding repeated instances of his indifference, she still bore to him, would effectually second his applications. Had the matter indeed depended solely on her, she was incapable of resisting her husband's commands; but she had little weight with her council, still less with her people; and her government, which was every day becoming more odious, seemed unable to maintain itself even during the most profound tranquillity, much more if a war were kindled with France, and, what seemed an inevitable consequence, with Scotland, supported by that powerful kingdom.

This year an act of barbarity was exercised in England, which, added to many other instances of a similar nature, tended to render the government extremely unpopular. Archbishop Cranmer had long been detained prisoner; but the queen now determined to bring him to punishment; and, in order the more fully to gratify her revengeful disposition, she resolved to punish him for heresy, rather than for treason. He was cited by the pope to stand his trial at Rome; and though he was known to be kept in close custody at Oxford, he was, upon his not appearing, condemned as contumacious. Bonner, bishop of London, and Thirleby, of Ely, were sent to Oxford to degrade him, on the 14th of February; and the former executed the melancholy ceremony with all the joy and exultation which suited his savage nature, venting the most bitter railleries and invectives against the prisoner, during the ceremony, while Thirleby melted into tears (*w*). The implacable spirit of the queen, not satisfied with the eternal damnation of Cranmer, which she believed inevitable, and with the execution of that dreadful sentence to which he was condemned, prompted her also to seek the ruin of his honour, and the infamy of his name. Persons were employed to attack him, not in the way of disputation, against which he was sufficiently armed; but by flattery, insinuation, and address; by representing the dignities to which his character still entitled him, if he would merit them by a recantation; by giving hopes of long enjoying those powerful friends whom his beneficent disposition had attached to him during the course of his prosperity. Overcome by the fond love of life, terrified by the prospect of those tortures which awaited him; he allowed, in an unguarded hour, the sentiments of nature to prevail over his resolution, and he agreed to subscribe the doctrines of the papal supremacy, and of the real presence. The court, equally perfidious and cruel, were determined that this recantation should avail him nothing; and they sent orders that he should be required to acknowledge his errors in church before the whole people, and that he should thence be immediately carried to execution. Cranmer was then conducted to St. Mary's church, that he might solemnly renounce his heretical pravity; but whether that he had received a secret intimation of their design, or had repented of his weakness, he surprised the audience by a contrary declaration. He said, that he was well apprised of the obedience which he owed to his sovereign and the laws; but this duty extended no farther than to submit patiently to their commands, and to bear, without resistance, whatever hardships they should impose upon him: that a superior duty, the duty which he owed to his Maker, obliged him to speak truth on all occasions, and not to relinquish, by a base denial, the holy doctrine which the Supreme Being had revealed to mankind: that he renounced the pope as an enemy to Christ, and a promoter of false doctrines; that he professed a complete detestation of the Romish errors: that there was one miscarriage in his life, of which, above all others, he severely repented; the insincere declaration of faith to which he had the weakness to consent, and which the fear of death alone had extorted from him: that he took this opportunity of atoning for his error, by a sincere and open recantation; and was willing to seal, with his blood, that doctrine which he firmly believed to be communicated from Heaven: and that, as his hand had erred, by betraying his heart, it should first be punished, by a severe but just doom, and should first pay the forfeit of its offences. He was thence led to the stake, amidst the insults of the Catholics; and, having now summoned up all the force of his mind, he bore their scorn, as well as the torture of his punishment, with singular fortitude. He stretched out his hand, and, without betraying, either by his countenance or motions, the least sign of weakness, or even of feeling, he held it in the flames till

(*v*) Charles passed his time in a rational manner till about six months previous to his death, when his mind became a prey to the most gloomy superstition. Not content with the severest mortifications, by which he vainly hoped to expiate his sins, he had recourse to an act the most wild and uncommon that the disordered brain of an enthusiast had ever engendered. He resolved to celebrate his own obsequies before his death; and having ordered his tomb to be erected in the chapel of the monastery, his domestics marched thither in funeral procession, with black tapers in their hands; while he himself followed in his shroud. He was laid in his coffin with much solemnity; the service for the dead was chaunted; and Charles joined in the prayers which were offered for the repose of his soul, mingling his tears with those which his attendants shed, as if they had been celebrating a real funeral. The ceremony closed with sprinkling holy water on the coffin in the usual form; and, all the assistants retiring, the doors of the chapel were shut. Then Charles rose out of his coffin, and withdrew to his apartment, full of those awful sentiments which such a singular solemnity was calculated to inspire. But either the fatigue of the ceremony, or the impression which the image of death left on his mind, affected him so much, that the next day he was seized with a fever, which put a period to his life, on the 21st of September, 1558.

(*w*) On this occasion they put on him pontifical robes made of canvas, to render him more ridiculous, and then stripped him of that ludicrous attire piece by piece, according to the bull and ceremonies of degradation sent from Rome, which may be seen in Wilkins's Concilia, vol. iv. fol. 132.



THE

BURNING OF ARCHBISHOP CRANMER.

Drawn by R. Smirke. Engraved by A. Smith. & Published by J. Stratford. 112. Holborn Hill, June 25th 1811.

it was entirely consumed. His thoughts seemed wholly occupied with reflections on his former fault, and he called aloud several times, "*This hand has offended.*" Satisfied with that atonement, he then discovered a serenity in his countenance; and when the fire attacked his body, he seemed to be quite insensible of his outward sufferings, and, by the force of hope and resolution, to have collected his mind altogether within itself, and to repel the fury of the flames (*x*). It is pretended, that, after his body was consumed, his heart was found entire and untouched amidst the ashes; an event which, as it was the emblem of his constancy, was fondly believed by the zealous Protestants.

Some time after Cranmer's death, cardinal Pole, who had now taken priest's orders, was installed in the see of Canterbury; and was thus, by this office, as well as by his commission of legate, placed at the head of the church of England. But though he was averse to all sanguinary methods of converting heretics, and deemed the reformation of the clergy the more effectual, as the more laudable expedient for that purpose; he found his authority too weak to oppose the barbarous and bigoted disposition of the queen and her counsellors. He himself, he knew, had been suspected of Lutheranism; and as Paul, the reigning pontiff, was a furious persecutor, and his personal enemy, he was prompted, by the modesty of his disposition, to reserve his credit for other occasions, in which he had a greater probability of success.

The queen was now anxious to engage the nation in the war which was kindled between France and Spain; and cardinal Pole, with some other counsellors, openly and zealously opposed this measure, in 1557. Besides insisting on the marriage articles, which provided against such an attempt, they represented the violence of the domestic factions in England, and the disordered state of the finances; and they foreboded, that the tendency of all these measures was to reduce the kingdom to a total dependence on Spanish counsels. Philip had come to London in order to urge the queen to the undertaking, and support his partizans; and he told the queen, that if he were not gratified in so reasonable a request, he never more would set foot in England. This declaration extremely heightened her zeal for promoting his interests, and overcoming the inflexibility of her council. After employing other menaces of a more violent nature, she threatened to dismiss all of them, and to appoint counsellors more obsequious; yet could she not procure a vote for declaring war with France.

While the council continued to oppose the queen's wishes, an incident occurred which tended to overcome their reluctance. A military officer, of the name of Stafford, who, with other Englishmen, had retired to France from the oppressive sway of Mary, was seduced, by the artful instigations of some of the emissaries of her court, to attempt a descent in England, where they assured him he would meet with encouragement from the disaffection of the people to the queen and her consort. Stafford being in a state of indigence, was ready for any adventurous scheme; and, in conjunction with other English exiles, and several foreigners, he hired some vessels at Dieppe in Normandy, and set sail for Scarborough in Yorkshire, with a resolution of aiming at the reduction of the castle, which, he had been informed, was weakly garrisoned. He and his companions found means to surprize this fortress, on the 24th of April; but they were unable to maintain it against the attacks of the earl of Westmoreland, who compelled them to surrender. Stafford was conducted prisoner to London; and though the court endeavoured to extort from him a confession of his having been encouraged to his bold attempt by the king of France, he declared that both that prince and the constable de Montmorency, to whom he had communicated his intentions, had refused to give him any assistance. He was beheaded on Tower Hill; three of his accomplices were hanged at Tyburn; and others of his company suffered death in Yorkshire.

The council now gave way to the demands of Mary, who represented it as a matter of no doubt, that Stafford had been instigated to his enterprize by the French king. It was resolved that war should be declared against that monarch without delay; and a proclamation was issued on the 7th of June, in which he was accused of having abetted the traitorous schemes of the late duke of Northumberland, as well as those of sir Thomas Wiat; of having formed a plot to surprize Calais, encouraged Stafford and other conspirators to deprive Mary of her crown, and afforded constant protection to her fugitive subjects. A herald was also dispatched to the court of France, to denounce war in form; a commission which he did not execute without danger; for, by not discovering his office till he had entered the palace, he was considered by the French ministry as guilty, by the law of arms, of a capital offence. The king, however, gave him an audience, and dismissed him with a present. Preparations were now made for an attack on that kingdom.

The revenue of England at that time little exceeded three hundred thousand pounds. Any considerable supplies could scarcely be expected from parliament, considering the present disposition of the nation; and as the war would sensibly diminish that branch arising from the customs, the finances, it was foreseen, would fall short even of the ordinary charges of government; and must still more prove unequal to the expences of war. But though the queen owed great arrears to all her servants, besides the loans extorted from her subjects, these considerations had no influence with her; and, in order to support her warlike preparations, she continued to levy money in the same arbitrary and violent manner which she had formerly practised. She obliged the city of London to supply her with sixty thousand pounds on her husband's entry; she levied before the legal time the second year's subsidy voted by parliament; she issued anew many privy seals, by which she procured loans from her people; and having equipped a fleet, which she could not victual by reason of the dearness of provisions, she seized, by an act of tyranny, all the corn she could find in Suffolk and Norfolk, without paying any price to the owners. By all these expedients, assisted by the power of pressing, she levied an army of ten thousand men, which she sent over to the Low Countries, under the command of the earl of Pembroke. Meanwhile, in order to prevent any disturbance at home, many of the most considerable gentry were thrown into confinement in the Tower; and lest they should be known, the Spanish practice was followed: they either were carried thither in the night-time, or were hoodwinked and muffled by the guards to whose care they were entrusted in their way to that fortress.

The king of Spain had assembled an army which, after the junction of the English, amounted to above sixty thousand men, conducted by Philibert, duke of Savoy, one of the greatest captains of the age. The constable, Montmorency, who commanded the French army, had not half the number to oppose to him. The duke of Savoy, after menacing Mariembourgh and Rocroy, suddenly sat down before St. Quintin; and as the place was weak, and ill provided with a garrison, he expected in a few days to become master of it. But admiral Coligny, governor of the province, thinking his honour interested to save so important a fortress, threw himself into St. Quintin, with some troops of French and Scottish gensdarmerie; and by his exhortations and example animated the soldiers to a vigorous defence. He dispatched a messenger to his uncle Montmorency, on the 10th of August, 1557, desiring a supply of men; and the constable approached the place with his whole army, in order to facilitate the entry of these succours. But the duke of Savoy, falling on the reinforcement, did such execution, that not above five hundred got into the place. He next made an attack on the French army, and put them to total rout, killing four thousand men, and dispersing the remainder. In this unfortunate action many of the principal nobility of France were either slain or taken prisoners: among the latter was the old constable himself, who, fighting valiantly, and resolute to die rather than survive his defeat, was surrounded by the enemy, and thus fell alive into their hands. The whole kingdom of France was thrown into consternation: Paris was attempted to be fortified in a hurry; and had the Spaniards presently marched thither, it could not have

(*x*) Thus perished Thomas Cranmer, archbishop of Canterbury, on the 21st of March, 1556, in the sixty-seventh year of his age, and the twenty-third of his primacy. He was one of the chief instruments of English reformation. He was undoubtedly a man of merit; possessed of learning and capacity, and adorned with candour, sincerity, and beneficence, and all those virtues which were fitted to render him useful and amiable in society. His moral qualities procured him universal respect; and the courage of his martyrdom, though he fell short of the rigid inflexibility observed in many, made him the hero of the Protestant party. The chief blemish of his character seems to have been his giving countenance, by the execution of two persons for heretical opinions, to that practice of religious murder by which he himself suffered.

failed to fall into their hands. But Philip was of a cautious temper; and he determined first to take St. Quintin, in order to secure a communication with his own dominions. A very little time, it was expected, would finish this enterprize; but the bravery of Coligny still prolonged the siege seventeen days, which proved the safety of France. Some troops were levied and assembled. Couriers were sent to recal the duke of Guise and his army from Italy; and the French, having recovered from their first panic, put themselves in a posture of defence. Philip, after taking Ham and Catelet, found the season so far advanced, that he could attempt no other enterprize: he broke up his camp, and retired to winter-quarters.

The vigilant activity of Guise prompted him, in the depth of winter, to plan an enterprize, which France during her greatest successes had generally regarded as impracticable, and had never thought of undertaking. Calais was in that age deemed an impregnable fortress; and as it was known to be the favourite of the English nation, by whom it could easily be succoured, the recovery of that place by France was considered as totally desperate. But Coligny had remarked, that as the town of Calais was surrounded with marshes, which during the winter were impassable, except over a dyke guarded by two castles, St. Agatha and Newnam bridge, the English were of late accustomed, on account of the lowness of their finances, to dismiss a great part of the garrison at the end of autumn, and to recal them in the spring, at which time alone they judged their attendance necessary. On this circumstance he founded the design of making a sudden attack on Calais; he caused the place to be secretly viewed by some engineers; and a plan of the whole enterprize being found among his papers, it served, though he himself was made prisoner on the taking of St. Quintin, to suggest the project of that undertaking, and to direct the measures of the duke of Guise.

Several bodies of troops defiled towards the frontiers on various pretences; and the whole being suddenly assembled, formed an army, with which Guise made an unexpected march towards Calais, in the beginning of 1558. At the same time a great number of French ships, being ordered into the channel, under colour of cruising on the English, composed a fleet which made an attack by sea on the fortifications. The French assaulted St. Agatha with three thousand harquebusiers; and the garrison, though they made a vigorous defence, were soon obliged to abandon the place, and retreat to Newnam bridge. The siege of this latter place was immediately undertaken, and at the same time the fleet battered the risbank, which guarded the entrance of the harbour; and both these castles seemed exposed to imminent danger. The governor, lord Wentworth, finding that the greater part of his weak garrison was inclosed in the castle of Newnam bridge and the risbank, ordered them to capitulate, and join him in Calais, which without their assistance he was unable to defend. The garrison of Newnam bridge was so happy as to effect this purpose; but that of the risbank could not obtain such favourable conditions, and were obliged to surrender at discretion. The duke of Guise, now holding Calais blockaded by sea and land, thought himself secure of succeeding in his enterprize, but in order to prevent all accident, he delayed not a moment the attack of the place. He planted his batteries against the castle, where he made a large breach; and having ordered Andelot, Coligny's brother, to drain the fossée, he commanded an assault, which succeeded; and the French made a lodgement in the castle. On the night following, Wentworth attempted to recover this post; but having lost two hundred men in a furious attack which he made upon it, he found his garrison so weak, that he was obliged to capitulate. Ham and Guisnes fell soon after (*y*).

The Scots finding their ancient allies, the French, thus successful, began to move on the borders of England. Whereupon the English raised loud complaints; and the queen was under the necessity of defending the kingdom against the Scottish invaders in preference to her carrying on a fruitless war against France. After the peace which, in consequence of king Edward's treaty with Henry, took place between Scotland and England, the queen-dowager, on pretence of visiting her daughter and her relations, made a journey to France, and carried along with her the earls of Huntley, Sutherland, Marischal, and many of the principal nobility. Her secret design was, to take measures for engaging the earl of Arran to resign to her the government of the kingdom; and as her brothers, the duke of Guise, the cardinal of Lorraine, and the duke of Aumale, had uncontrolled influence in the court of France, she easily persuaded Henry, and by his authority the Scottish nobles, to enter into her measures. Having also gained Carnegy, of Kinnaird, Panter, bishop of Ross, and Gavin Hamilton, commendator of Kilwinning, three creatures of the governor's, she persuaded him, by their means, to consent to this resignation; and when every thing was thus prepared for her purpose, she took a journey to Scotland, and passed through England in her way thither. Edward received her with great respect and civility; though he could not forbear attempting to renew the old treaty for his marriage with her daughter. When the queen-dowager arrived in Scotland, she found the governor very unwilling to fulfil his engagements; and it was not till after many delays that he could be persuaded to resign his authority. But finding that the majority of the young princess was approaching, and that the queen-dowager had gained the affections of all the principal nobility, he thought it more prudent to submit; and having stipulated that he should be declared next heir to the crown, and should be freed from giving any account of his past administration, he placed her in possession of the power; and from that time, April 12, 1554, she assumed the name of regent. D'Oisel, a Frenchman, celebrated for capacity, had attended her as ambassador from Henry, but in reality to assist her with his counsels in so delicate an undertaking as the administration of Scotland; and this man had formed a scheme for laying a general tax on the kingdom, in order to support a standing military force, which might at once repel the inroads of foreign enemies, and check the turbulence of the Scottish nobles. But though some of the courtiers were gained over to this project, it gave great and general discontent to the nation; and the queen-regent, after ingenuously confessing that it would prove pernicious to the kingdom, had the prudence to desist from it, and to trust entirely for her security to the good-will and affections of her subjects.

When Mary commenced hostilities against France, Henry required the queen-regent to take part in the quarrel; and she summoned a convention of states at Newbottle, and requested them to concur in a declaration of war against England. The Scottish nobles, who were become as jealous of French, as the English were of Spanish influence, refused their assent; and the queen was obliged to have recourse to stratagem, in order to effect her purpose. She ordered d'Oisel to begin some fortifications at Eyemouth, a place which had been dismantled by the last treaty with Edward; and when the garrison of Berwick, as she foresaw, made an inroad to prevent the undertaking, she employed this pretence to inflame the Scottish nation, and to engage them in hostilities against England. The enterprizes, however, of the Scots proceeded no farther than some inroads on the borders: when d'Oisel, of himself, conducted artillery and troops to besiege the castle of Werke, he was recalled, and sharply rebuked by the council.

In order, however, to connect Scotland more closely with France, and to increase the influence of the latter kingdom, it was thought proper by Henry to celebrate the marriage between the young queen and the dauphin; and a deputation was sent by the Scottish parliament to assist at the ceremony, and to settle the terms of the contract.

The close alliance between France and Scotland threatened the repose and security of Mary; and it was foreseen, that though the factions and disorders which

(*y*) Thus the duke of Guise in eight days, during the depth of winter, made himself master of this strong fortress, that had cost Edward III. a siege of eleven months, at the head of a numerous army, which had that very year been victorious in the battle of Cressy. The English had held it above two hundred years; and as it gave them an easy entrance into France, it was regarded as the most important possession belonging to the crown. The joy of the French was extreme, as well as the glory acquired by Guise, who, at the time when all Europe imagined France to be sunk by the unfortunate battle of St. Quintin, had, in opposition to the English, and their allies the Spaniards, acquired possession of a place which no former king of France, even during the distraction of the civil wars between the houses of York and Lancaster, had ever ventured to attempt. The English, on the other hand, bereaved of this valuable fortress, murmured loudly against the improvidence of the queen and her council; who, after engaging in a fruitless war, for the sake of foreign interests, had thus exposed the nation to so severe a disgrace. A treasury exhausted by expences, and burthened with debts; a people divided and dejected; a sovereign negligent of her people's welfare; were circumstances which, notwithstanding the fair offers and promises of Philip, gave them small hopes of recovering Calais.

might

might naturally be expected in the Scottish government, during the absence of the sovereign, would make its power less formidable, that kingdom would at least afford to the French a means of invading England. The queen, therefore, found it necessary, on the 20th of January, to summon a parliament, and to demand of them some supplies to her exhausted exchequer. The commons voted, besides a fifteenth, a subsidy of four shillings in the pound on land, and two shillings and eight pence on goods. The clergy granted eight shillings in the pound, payable, as was also the subsidy of the laity, in four years by equal portions. The parliament also passed an act, confirming all the sales and grants of crown lands, which either were already made by the queen, or should be made during the seven ensuing years. It was easy to foresee, that in Mary's present disposition and situation, this power would be followed by a great alienation of the royal demesnes; and nothing could be more contrary to the principles of good government, than to establish a prince with very extensive authority, yet permit him to be reduced to beggary. This act met with opposition in the house of commons. One Copley expressed his fears lest the queen, under colour of the power there granted, might alter the succession, and alienate the crown from the lawful heir: but his words were thought *irreverent* to her majesty; he was committed to the custody of the serjeant at arms; and though he expressed sorrow for his offence, he was not released till the queen was applied to for his pardon.

The people of England during this whole reign, were under great apprehensions with regard not only to the succession, but the life of the princess Elizabeth. The violent hatred which the queen bore to her broke out on every occasion; and it required all the authority of Philip, as well as her own great prudence, to prevent the fatal effects of it. The princess retired into the country; and knowing that she was surrounded with spies, she passed her time wholly in reading and study, intermeddled in no business, and saw very little company. While she remained in this situation, which prepared her mind for those great actions, by which her life was afterwards so much distinguished; proposals of marriage were made to her by the Swedish ambassador in his master's name. As her first question was, Whether the queen had been informed of these proposals? the ambassador told her, that his master thought, as he was a gentleman, it was his duty first to make his addresses to herself; and having obtained her consent, he would next, as a king, apply to her sister. But the princess would allow him to proceed no farther; and the queen, after thanking her for this instance of duty, desired to know how she stood affected to the Swedish proposals. Elizabeth, though exposed to many present dangers and mortifications, had the magnanimity to reserve herself for better fortune; and she covered her refusal with professions of a passionate attachment to a single life, which, she said, she infinitely preferred before any other. The princess showed like prudence in concealing her sentiments of religion, in complying with the present modes of worship, and in eluding all questions with regard to that delicate subject (z).

The supply granted by parliament enabled the queen to fit out a fleet of a hundred and forty sail, which, being joined by thirty Flemish ships, and carrying six thousand land forces on board, was sent to make an attempt on the coast of Britanny. The fleet was commanded by lord Clinton; the land forces by the earls of Huntingdon and Rutland. But the equipment of the fleet and army was so dilatory, that the French got intelligence of the design, and were prepared to receive them. The English found Brest well guarded; so that an attempt on that place was found to be impracticable; but landing at Conquet, they plundered and burnt the town, with some adjacent villages, and were proceeding to commit greater disorders, when Kersimon, a Breton gentleman, at the head of some militia, fell upon them, put them to rout, and drove them to their ships with considerable loss. But a small squadron of ten English ships had an opportunity of amply revenging this disgrace upon the French. The mareschal de Thermes, governor of Calais, had made an irruption into Flanders, with an army of fourteen thousand men; and having forced a passage over the river Aa, had taken Dunkirk, and Berg St. Winoc, and had advanced as far as Nieuport, but count Egmont coming upon him with superior forces, he was obliged to retreat; and being overtaken by the Spaniards near Gravelines, and finding a battle inevitable, he chose very skilfully his ground for the engagement. He fortified his left wing with great precaution; and posted his right along the river Aa, which he thought gave him full security from that quarter. But the English ships, which were accidentally on the coast, being drawn by the noise of the firing, sailed up the river, and flanking the French, did such execution by their artillery, that they put them to flight; and the Spaniards gained a complete victory.

Meanwhile the principal army of France, under the duke of Guise, and that of Spain, under the duke of Savoy, approached each other on the frontiers of Picardy; and as the two kings had come into their respective camps, attended by the flower of their nobility, men expected that some great and important event would follow from the emulation of these warlike nations. But Philip, though actuated by the ambition, possessed not the enterprizing genius of a conqueror; and he was willing, notwithstanding the superiority of his numbers, and the two great victories which he had gained at St. Quintin and Gravelines, to put a period to the war by treaty. Negociations were entered into for that purpose; and as the terms offered by the two monarchs were somewhat wide of each other, the armies were put into winter-quarters till the princes could come to better agreement. Among other conditions, Henry demanded the restitution of Navarre to its lawful owner; Philip that of Calais and its territory to England: but in the midst of these negociations, news arrived of the death of Mary; and Philip, no longer connected with England, began to relax in firmness on that article.

On the 5th of November the parliament of England re-assembled; and a subsidy was demanded for the defence of the realm against the French and Scots. This demand was not received by the commons with complacency; and some debates arose on the subject: but the queen's death put a stop to their deliberations. Her dejection of spirits accelerated the decay of her constitution. She found herself despised by a husband whom she most passionately loved; but, notwithstanding his want of affection for her, she did not hear, without strong feelings of regret, that he was on the point of repairing to his Spanish dominions, in which event she had no hope of seeing him more. She was conscious of her being an object of general odium among her subjects; and the dread of tumult and insurrection disturbed her repose. She lamented her precipitate embarkation in a war for her husband's interests, which had deprived her, to the extraordinary disgust of her people, of a small though valuable territory, possessed for two centuries by her progenitors. She repined, like a true bigot, at the progress of the Protestant opinions, and dreaded the attempts of her sister for the subversion of the Catholic faith. She was grieved at the depression of her finances, the loss of her credit, and the decline of that flourishing state in which her father had left the kingdom. These causes of uneasiness had a sinister effect on her health; and a very unhealthy autumn increased the distemperature of her frame. A dropsy had for some time harassed her; and this was at length accompanied with a fever, which put a period to her life and reign, on the 17th of November; in the forty-third year of the former, and the sixth of the latter. She was buried in Henry the Seventh's Chapel at Westminster.

An accurate sketch of Mary's portrait, says Dr. Coote, will not tend to the honour of her memory. To panegyrize (in imitation of some Catholic writers) a princess whose character and conduct rendered her an object of detestation rather than of praise, would disgust the humane, and be an insult to the discerning reader.

In exterior attractions, she was remarkably deficient. Her features were harsh, her complexion coarse, and her figure

(z) The common net at that time, says sir Richard Baker, for catching of Protestants, was the doctrine of the real presence; and this net was used to catch the lady Elizabeth: for being asked one time, what she thought of the words of Christ, *This is my body*, whether she thought it the true body of Christ that was in the sacrament? It is said, that after some pausing, she thus answered:

" Christ was the word that spake it,
He took the bread and brake it;
And what the word did make it,
That I believe and take it."

Which, though it may seem but a slight expression, yet hath it more solidness than at first sight appears; at least, it served her turn at that time, to escape the net, which by direct answer she could not have done. *Baker's Chronicle*, p. 320.

figure inelegant. Her address was awkward, and her manner ungraceful. An air of haughty gravity supplied the place of true dignity of demeanour; and feminine softness was lost in imperious pride.

But if her person was unpleasing and even repulsive, her mind was still more disgusting. Her capacity indeed was not so despicable as her conduct would lead us to presume; she had made some progress in literature, and had acquired a competent knowledge of the language of ancient Rome; but her propensity to the superstition of modern Rome deformed all her attainments, vitiated her taste, and corrupted the fruits of genuine culture. Her judgement was too weak to permit her to discern the fallacy of the chief tenets of Popery; and her early prejudices were too strong to be removed by reason or philosophy. Her perverse obstinacy, and her want of enlarged notions, rendered her a bigot to the religion which she had first embraced; and the priests by whom the was misled confirmed her in her superstitious habits. Her bigotry gave strength to the passions by which she was actuated. It increased her pride, inflamed her vindictive spirit, heightened her malice, and stimulated the native violence of her temper. Her arrogant and arbitrary disposition prompted her to the exercise of tyranny and oppression; her constant suspicions operated to the ruin of many respectable individuals, whom she conceived to be able or willing to disturb her government; her bounty to the popish clergy hurried her into a series of illegal exactions; and her cruelty, heated by superstition, and animated by the vain hope of pleasing the God of mercy by human sacrifices, glutted its impious rage with the destruction of the innocent and the virtuous, whose only offence was the exercise of their common sense in renouncing the belief of transubstantiation and other doctrinal absurdities.

Mary did not shine as a politician. She was too narrow in her sentiments, and too confined in her knowledge, to be mistress of the art of government. She neither consulted the interests nor the dignity of the realm; she encouraged not the improvement of commerce and the arts; she depressed the exertions and obstructed the happiness of her subjects. All her political views centered in the gratification of her husband, to whose ambition she was ready to sacrifice the independence of her kingdom, the welfare of her people, and the rights of her family.

The virtues which she possessed were those of temperance, chastity, and regularity of life; but the vices of her composition greatly overbalanced the scanty portion of her merits; and we cannot, without breach of truth, represent her in a more favourable light than that of a despicable sovereign and an odious woman. The records of history abundantly prove, that she was a disgrace to the throne as well as to her sex (*a*).

CHAP. VII.

Miscellaneous Affairs.

There occur few general remarks, besides what have already been made in the course of our history of the reign of Mary, with regard to the general state of the kingdom. The naval power of England was then so inconsiderable, that, fourteen thousand pounds being ordered to be applied to the fleet, both for repairing and victualling it, it was computed that ten thousand pounds a-year would afterwards answer all necessary charges. The arbitrary proceedings of the queen above-mentioned, joined to many monopolies granted by this princess, as well as by her father, checked the growth of commerce; and so much the more, as all other princes in Europe either were not permitted, or did not find it necessary, to proceed in so tyrannical a manner. Acts of parliament, both in the last reign and in the beginning of the present, had laid the same impositions on the merchants of the still-yard as on other aliens: yet the queen, immediately after her marriage, complied with the solicitations of the emperor, and by right of her prerogative suspended those laws (*b*). Nobody in that age pretended to question this exercise of prerogative. The historians are entirely silent with regard to it; and it is only by the collection of public papers that it is handed down to us.

An absurd law had been made in the preceding reign, by which every one was prohibited from making cloth unless he had served an apprenticeship of seven years. The law was repealed in the first year of the queen; and this plain reason given, that it had occasioned the decay of the woollen manufactory, and had ruined several towns (*c*). It is strange that Edward's law should have been revived during the reign of Elizabeth; and still more strange that it should still subsist.

A passage to Archangel had been discovered by the English during the last reign; and a beneficial trade with Muscovy had been established. A solemn embassy was sent by the czar to queen Mary. The ambassadors were shipwrecked on the coast of Scotland; but being hospitably entertained there, they proceeded on the journey, and were received at London with great pomp and solemnity (*d*). This seems to have been the first intercourse which that empire had with any of the western potentates of Europe.

A law was passed in the reign of Mary (*e*), by which the number of horses, arms, and furniture, was fixed, which each person, according to the extent of his property, should be provided with for the defence of the kingdom. A man of a thousand pounds a-year, for instance, was obliged to maintain at his own charge six horses fit for demi-lances, of which three at least to be furnished with sufficient harness, steel saddles, and weapons proper for the demi-lances; and ten horses fit for light horsemen, with furniture and weapons proper for them: he was obliged to have forty corslets furnished; fifty almain revets, or, instead of them, forty coats of plate, corslets or brigandines furnished; forty pikes, thirty long bows, thirty sheafs of arrows, thirty steel caps or skulls, twenty black bills or halberts, twenty harquebuts, and twenty morions or sallets. We may remark, that a man of a thousand marks of stock was rated equal to one of two hundred pounds a-year: a proof that few or none at that time lived on their stock in money, and that great profits were made by the merchants in the course of trade. There is no class above a thousand pounds a-year.

We may form a notion of the little progress made in arts and refinement about this time from one circumstance: a man of no less a rank than the comptroller of Edward VI.'s household paid only thirty shillings a-year of our present money for his house in Channel Row (*f*): yet labour and provisions, and consequently houses, were only about a third of the present price. Erasmus ascribes the frequent plagues in England to the nastiness and dirt and slovenly habits among the people. "The floors," says he, "are commonly of clay, strewed with rushes, under which lies unmolested an ancient collection of beer, grease, fragments, bones, spittle, excrements of dogs and cats, and every thing that is nasty (*g*)."

Hollingshed, who lived in queen Elizabeth's reign, gives a very curious account of the plain, or rather rude way of living of the preceding generation. There scarcely was a chimney to the houses, even in considerable towns: the fire was kindled by the wall, and the smoke sought its way out at the roof, or door, or windows: the houses were nothing but watling plaistered over with clay: the people slept on straw pallets, and had a good round log under their head for a pillow; and almost all the furniture and utensils were of wood.

In this reign we find the first general law with regard to highways, which were appointed to be repaired by parish duty all over England (*h*).

In the reign of Henry the Seventh, several laws were enacted for the promotion of husbandry, by prohibitions against inclosures, and by regulations for keeping up farm houses; but they all proved ineffectual. The practice of depopulating the country, by abandoning tillage, and throwing the lands into pasture, which we have noticed in a former part of our History, still prevailed. By

(*a*) Cardinal Pole had long been sickly, from an intermitting fever; and he died the same day with the queen, about sixteen hours after her. The benign character of this prelate, the modesty and humanity of his deportment, made him be universally beloved; insomuch, that in a nation where the most furious persecution was carried on, and where the most violent religious factions prevailed, entire justice, even by most of the reformers, has been done to his merit. The haughty pontiff, Paul IV. had entertained some prejudices against him: and when England declared war against Henry, the ally of that pope, he seized the opportunity of revenge; and revoking Pole's legatine commission, appointed in his room cardinal Peyto, an observantine frier and confessor to the queen. But Mary would never permit the new legate to act upon the commission; and Paul was afterwards obliged to restore cardinal Pole to his authority.

(*b*) Rymer, vol. xv. p. 364. (*c*) 1 Mar. Parl. 2 cap. 7.
(*d*) Hollingshed, p. 732. Heylin, p. 71.
(*e*) 4 & 5 Phil. & Mar. cap. 2, (*f*) Nicholson's Historical Library.
(*g*) Eras. Epist. 432. (*h*) 2 and 3 Phil. & Mar. cap. 8.

a law

a law of Henry the Eighth, the king was entitled to half the rents of the land, where any farm houses were allowed to fall to decay: the reason of proprietors finding no profit in tillage, at this period, was probably the unskilfulness of husbandmen. The number of sheep allowed to be kept in one flock was restrained to two thousand; and the statute which enforced this regulation assigns as the motive, that one proprietor or farmer would keep a flock of twenty-four thousand. It is remarkable, that the parliament ascribed the increasing price of mutton to this increase of sheep; "because," said they, "the commodity being gotten into few hands, the price of it is raised at pleasure." This, however, might not be the cause; and although it gave opportunities for monopolizing, yet, perhaps, mutton advanced in price from the daily increase of money. A strong presumptive proof of the bad husbandry in that age is, that in the year 1554, an acre of good land was let for a shilling, or about eighteen pence of our present money; which is ten times cheaper than our average rent at present, though commodities were not above four times cheaper.

Notwithstanding the numerous laws for the prevention of such abuses, yet the increased demand for wool, both at home and abroad, increased the profits of pasturage, and caused whole estates to be laid waste by inclosures. The tenants, regarded as an useless burden, were expelled their habitations; even the cottagers, deprived of the commons on which they formerly fed their cattle, were reduced to misery; and a decay of people, as well as the diminution of the former plenty, was remarked in the kingdom.

Poetry continued to be cultivated with diligence, and not wholly without success in this age. John Skelton, who flourished in the reign of Henry the Seventh and Henry the Eighth, is applauded by Erasmus, as a classical scholar; and though the generality of his poems are polluted by obscene wit and low scurrility, yet his Elegiacs demonstrate that, had his taste not been vitiated by his propensity to the ridiculous, he might have shone among the first writers of Latin poetry in England at the general restoration of learning.

But Henry Howard, earl of Surrey, was a poet of a much superior cast. This accomplished nobleman led the way to many improvements in English poetry, by a happy imitation of Petrarch, and other Italian poets who had excelled in the pathos and propriety with which they painted the anxieties of love. His poems were in high reputation among his contemporaries, and continued, for many years, to receive the warmest commendations from various writers; though, in process of time, the greater part of them became antiquated and forgotten.

Another poet of this age was sir Thomas Wiat, the elder; whose poems are more distinguished by good sense, satire, and just observations of life, than by strength of imagination. Like Surrey, he was an imitator of Petrarch; but then his imitation betrayed a servility to which Surrey was a stranger. Sir Thomas Wiat appears in the most pleasing light, when he displays the felicity of retirement, and attacks the follies, vanities, and vices of a court: this he has done with the indignation of a philosopher, and the freedom and pleasantry of Horace.

John Heywood, commonly called the Epigrammatist, lived at this period: his epigrams, which are six hundred in number, display the gross vulgarity of our ancestors, both in writing and conversation. Heywood's best and most laboured performance is "The Spider and the Flie," which is a very long poem in the octavo stanza, and burlesque style; but he has blended the grave and comic passages so intimately together, that it is scarcely possible to tell when he means to be serious, and when to be witty.

Some idea of the literary character and taste of an age may be formed from the nature of its publications. The works printed during this period were extremely numerous; and among these, controversial treatises and devotional writings held a principal place. An astonishing number of law books also issued from the press. The first Abridgement of the Statutes appeared in the reign of Henry the Eighth, and it was speedily followed by other abridgements. Magna Charta was so often reprinted, that it might naturally be supposed the English, at this period, were extremely vigilant in the preservation of their liberties, did not the whole tenour of their conduct falsify the flattering appearance.

The Ecclesiastical History of the reigns of Edward the Sixth and Mary was so interwoven with the civil accounts, that it was deemed unnecessary to separate it.

CHAP. VIII.

ELIZABETH.

THE life of the princess Elizabeth had been exposed to great danger in the reign of her sister Mary, who hated her with such envenomed rancour, as before mentioned, that she was frequently inclined to put her to death, either on pretence of heresy or of treason. But Elizabeth, though sincerely attached to the Protestant faith, guarded against the malice of her Popish enemies by an outward conformity to the Romish mode of worship, and was even prevailed on, by the importunities of cardinal Pole, to profess herself a Catholic. And, to avoid the suspicion of being disaffected to the government of Mary, that she so studiously shunned all connexions with the malcontents, that no imputation of treason or sedition could be fixed upon her. Notwithstanding all her circumspection, Gardiner and the other leaders of the Popish faction might perhaps have succeeded in compassing her destruction, which they aimed at, had not her brother-in-law Philip interposed in her behalf, with a view of preventing the succession of the queen of Scots to the English throne.

Before Mary's decease, Elizabeth had completed the twenty-fifth year of her age; and having passed a great part of her time in study, she had acquired a degree of learning superior to the usual attainments of her sex, and had prepared herself by the cultivation of her mind, as far as she could without actual experience, for the exercise of her political duties. She was resident at the palace at Hatfield, in Hertfordshire, when she received the news of her sister's dissolution; and the nobility flocking to her with alacrity, she there held councils for several successive days, before she set out for her capital.

A parliament had been assembled some days previous to the death of Mary; and when that event was notified to them by Heathe, archbishop of York, who was then chancellor, scarcely a single expression of regret was uttered for the loss of a princess who had possessed, in an eminent degree, the unfortunate talent of incurring universal detestation: on the contrary, both houses immediately resounded with the joyful acclamations of "God save Queen Elizabeth! May her reign prove long and happy!" The people, less actuated by faction, and less influenced by private views, expressed a joy still more general and hearty on her proclamation; and the auspicious commencement of this reign prognosticated that felicity and glory which, during its whole course, so uniformly attended it.

On Elizabeth's coming to London she made her entrance into the Tower; but the contrast between her present situation and that to which she had been reduced some years before, when she was conducted to the same place as a state-criminal, struck her so forcibly, that she fell on her knees, and returned her most grateful thanks to the Supreme Being for his divine interposition in delivering her from the persecution of her enemies: a deliverance, she said, no less miraculous than that which Daniel had received from the den of lions. Those pure sentiments of religion which inspire us with a just sense of gratitude to our Creator, never fail to fill the bosom they inhabit with charity to mankind. With a prudence and magnanimity truly laudable, she buried all offences in oblivion, and received with affability even those who had acted with the greatest malevolence against her. Sir Harry Bennifield himself, to whose custody she had been committed, and who had treated her with unbecoming severity, never experienced, during the whole course of her reign, any effects of her resentment. Yet was not the gracious reception which she gave prostitute and undistinguishing: for though she had courage to forgive, she had sense to discriminate: she therefore made a distinction between those who had only persecuted herself, and such as had persecuted the nation. When the bishops came in a body to make their obeisance to her, she expressed to all of them sentiments of regard, except to Bonner, from whom she turned aside, as from a man polluted with blood, who was a just object of horror to every heart susceptible of humanity.

After arranging her domestic affairs, Elizabeth notified to foreign courts, her sister's death, and her own accession. She sent lord Cobham to the Low Countries, where Philip then resided; and took care to express to that monarch, her gratitude for the protection which he had afforded her, and her earnest desire of persevering in that

friendship which had so happily subsisted between them. But the crafty and politic Philip, who was never known to do an act of apparent generosity without some interested object in view, had long foreseen this event, and still hoped, by means of Elizabeth, to obtain that dominion over England, of which he had failed in espousing Mary, immediately dispatched orders to the duke of Feria, his ambassador at London, to make proposals of marriage to the queen; and he offered to procure from Rome a dispensation for that purpose. But Elizabeth soon came to the resolution of declining the proposal. She knew that the nation had entertained an extreme aversion to the Spanish alliance during her sister's reign; and that one great cause of the popularity which she now enjoyed, was the firm hopes which the people entertained of being completely freed, by her means, from the danger of foreign subjection. She was sensible, that her affinity with Philip would have been exactly similar to that of her father with Catherine of Arragon; and that her marrying with that monarch would be equivalent to a declaration of her own illegitimacy, and consequent incapacity of succeeding to the throne. And, though the power of the Spanish monarchy might still be sufficient, in opposition to all pretenders, to support her title, her spirit disdained such precarious dominion, which, as it would depend solely on the power of another, must be exercised according to his inclinations. But, while these views prevented her from entertaining any thoughts of a marriage with Philip, she gave him an obliging, though evasive, answer; and he still retained such hopes of success, that he sent a messenger to Rome, with orders to solicit the dispensation.

The queen too, on her sister's death, had written to sir Edward Carne, the English ambassador at Rome, requesting him to notify her accession to the pope; but the pride and temerity of Paul the Fourth compelled the young princess to the adoption of other measures than those which her prudence and caution led her to embrace. That haughty pontiff told Carne, that England was a fief of the holy see; and it was great temerity in Elizabeth to have dared to assume, without his participation, the title and authority of queen: that being illegitimate, she could not possibly inherit that kingdom; nor could he annul the sentence pronounced by Clement VII. and Paul III. with regard to Henry's marriage: that were he to proceed with rigour, he should punish this criminal invasion of his rights by rejecting all her applications; but, being willing to treat her with paternal indulgence, he would still keep the door of grace open to her; and that, if she would renounce all pretensions to the crown, and submit entirely to his will, she should experience the utmost lenity compatible with the dignity of the apostolic see. When this answer was reported to Elizabeth, she could not refrain from expressing her astonishment at the insolence of that aged pontiff; and, having recalled her ambassador, she continued with more determined resolution to pursue, unawed by the impotent menaces of an upstart priest, such measures as she deemed more conducive to the welfare and interests of the nation.

The queen, not to alarm the partizans of the catholic religion, had retained eleven of her sister's counsellors (*i*); but, in order to balance their authority, she added eight more, who were known to be inclined to the Protestant communion (*k*). With these counsellors, particularly sir William Cecil, she frequently deliberated concerning the expediency of restoring the Protestant religion, and the means of executing that important enterprize. Cecil told her, "that the greater part of the nation had, ever since her father's reign, inclined to the Reformation; and, though her sister had constrained them to profess the Catholic faith, the cruelties exercised by her ministers had still more alienated their affections from it: that happily the interests of the sovereign here concurred with the inclinations of the people; nor was her title to the crown compatible with the authority of the Roman pontiff: that a sentence, so solemnly pronounced by two popes against her mother's marriage, could not possibly be recalled, without inflicting a mortal wound on the credit of the see of Rome; and even, if she were allowed to retain the crown, it would only be on an uncertain and dependent footing: that this circumstance alone counterbalanced all dangers whatsoever; and these dangers themselves, if narrowly examined, would be found very little formidable: that the curses and execrations of the Romish church, when not seconded by military force, were, in the present age, more an object of ridicule than of terror, and had now as little influence in this world as in the next: that though the bigotry or ambition of Henry or Philip might incline them to execute a sentence of excommunication against her, their interests were so incompatible, that they never could concur in any plan of operations; and the enmity of the one would always ensure to her the friendship of the other: that if they encouraged the discontents of her Catholic subjects, their dominions also abounded with Protestants, and it would be easy to retaliate upon them: that even such of the English as seemed at present zealously attached to the Catholic faith, would, most of them, embrace the religion of their new sovereign; and the nation had of late been so much accustomed to these revolutions, that men had lost all idea of truth and falsehood in such subjects: that the authority of Henry VIII. so highly raised by many concurring circumstances, first inured the people to this submissive deference; and it was the less difficult for succeeding princes to continue the nation in a track to which it had so long been accustomed; and that it would be easy for her, by bestowing on Protestants all preferment in civil offices and the militia, the church and the universities, both to ensure her own authority, and to render her religion entirely predominant.

Elizabeth's education, as well as her interest, led her to favour the Reformation; and she remained not long in suspense with regard to the party which she should embrace. But though determined in her own mind, she prudently resolved to avoid the errors of her sister, and to proceed by gradual and secure steps, and not to encourage the bigots of her own party to make immediately a violent invasion on the established religion. She deemed it requisite, however, to discover such symptoms of her intentions, as might give encouragement to the Protestants, so much depressed by the late sanguinary persecutions. She immediately recalled all the exiles, and gave liberty to the prisoners who were confined on account of religion (*l*).

In pursuance of that prudent system of moderation which she had adopted, Elizabeth proceeded to exert, in favour of the Reformers, some acts of power which were authorized by the extent of royal prerogative during that age. Finding that the Protestant teachers, irritated by persecution, broke out in a furious attack on the Catholic superstition, and that the Romanists replied with no less zeal and acrimony, she published a proclamation, by which she inhibited all preaching without a special license; and though she dispensed with these orders in favour of some preachers of her own sect, she took care that they should be the most calm and moderate of the party. She also suspended the laws so far as to order a great part of the service, the litany, the Lord's prayer, the creed, and the gospels, to be read in English. And, having first published injunctions that all the churches should conform themselves to the practice of her own chapel, she forbade the host to be any more elevated in her presence; an innovation which, however frivolous it may appear, implied the most material consequences.

The declarations of her intentions, concurring with preceding suspicions, made the bishops foresee, with certainty, that a revolution in religion would now take place. They therefore refused to officiate at her coronation (*m*); and it was with some difficulty that Oglethorp, bishop of Carlisle, was at last prevailed on to perform the

(*i*) These were, Heathe, archbishop of York; William Paulet, marquis of Winchester and lord high treasurer; Henry Fitz-Alan, earl of Arundel; Francis Talbot, earl of Shrewsbury; Edward Stanley, earl of Derby; William Herbert, earl of Pembroke; Edmund Fynes, baron of Clinton and lord high admiral; William Lord Howard, of Effingham, lord chamberlain; sir Thomas Cheney, sir William Petre, sir John Mason, sir Richard Sacville, and Dr. Wotton, dean of Canterbury; who were all reputed zealous Catholics: but we may observe, that the queen was not afraid of their compliance with her intended reformation in the church, who had complied with all the changes of religion, backward and forward, since the latter end of king Henry the Eighth's reign; and done it so artfully, as in all those revolutions to be constantly employed.

(*k*) These were, William Parr, marquis of Northampton; Francis Russel, earl of Bedford; sir Thomas Parry, sir Edward Rogers, sir Ambrose Cave, sir Francis Knolles, sir Nicholas Bacon, whom she created lord keeper, and sir William Cecil, secretary of state.

(*l*) We are told of a pleasantry of one Rainsford on this occasion, who said to the queen, that he had a petition to present to her in behalf of some other prisoners called Matthew, Mark, Luke, and John: she readily replied, that it behoved her first to consult the prisoners themselves, and to learn of them whether they desired that liberty which he demanded for them. *Heylin*, p. 103.

(*m*) As the see of Canterbury was vacant by the death of cardinal Pole, the office of performing the ceremony belonged to the archbishop of York; but Heathe was so disgusted at Elizabeth's admitting Protestants into her council, &c. that he refused to officiate at the solemnity.

ceremony.

ceremony. When she was conducted through the streets of London, amidst the joyful acclamations of her subjects, a boy, who personated Truth, was let down from one of the triumphal arches, and presented to her a copy of the Bible; which she received with the most gracious deportment; placed it next her bosom; and declared, that, amidst all the costly testimonies which the city had that day given her of their attachment, this present was by far the most precious and most acceptable. Such were the innocent artifices by which the youthful princess insinuated herself into the affections of her subjects. Open in her address, gracious and affable in all public appearances, she rejoiced in the concourse of her subjects, entered into all their pleasures and amusements; and, without departing from her dignity, which she knew well how to preserve, she acquired a popularity beyond what any of her predecessors or successors ever could attain. Her own sex exulted to see a woman hold the reins of empire with such prudence and fortitude: and while a young princess of twenty-five years of age, who possessed all the graces and insinuation, though not all the beauty of her sex, courted the affections of individuals by her civilities, of the public by her services, her authority, though corroborated by the strictest bands of law and religion, appeared to be derived entirely from the choice and inclination of the people.

A sovereign possessed of such a disposition was not likely to offend her subjects by any useless or violent exertions of power; and Elizabeth, though she threw out such hints as encouraged the Protestants, delayed the change of religion till the meeting of the parliament, which was summoned to assemble on the 25th of January, 1559. The elections had gone entirely against the Catholics, who seem not indeed to have made any great struggle for the superiority (*n*); and the houses met, in a disposition of gratifying the queen in every particular which she could desire of them. They began the session with an unanimous declaration, "that queen Elizabeth was, and ought to be, as well by the word of God, as the common and statute laws of the realm, the lawful, undoubted, and true heir to the crown, lawfully descended from the blood-royal, according to the order of succession settled in the 35th of Henry VIII. (*o*)" This act of recognition was probably dictated by the queen herself and her ministers; and she shewed her magnanimity, as well as moderation, in the terms which she employed on that occasion. She did not follow the example of her sister Mary, in declaring the validity of her mother's marriage, or in expressly repealing the act formerly made against her own legitimacy: she knew that this attempt must be attended with reflections on her father's memory, and on the birth of her deceased sister; and as all the world was sensible, that Henry's divorce from Anne Boleyn was merely the effect of his usual violence and caprice, she scorned to found her title on any act of an assembly which had too much prostituted its authority by its former variable, servile, and iniquitous decisions. Satisfied therefore in the general opinion entertained with regard to this fact, which appeared the more undoubted, the less anxiety she discovered in fortifying it by votes and enquiries; she took possession of the throne, both as her birthright, and as ensured to her by former acts of parliament; and she never appeared anxious to distinguish these titles.

The first bill brought into parliament, with a view of trying their disposition on the head of religion, was that for suppressing the monasteries lately erected, and for restoring the tenths and first-fruits to the queen. This point being gained with much difficulty, a bill was next introduced, annexing the supremacy to the crown; and though the queen was there denominated *governess*, not *head*, of the church, it conveyed the same extensive power, which, under the latter title, had been exercised by her father and brother. All the bishops who were present in the upper house strenuously opposed this law; and by dint of their superior learning over the temporal peers, they had the advantage in the course of the debate; but their advantage extended no farther, for the majority of voices in that house, as well as among the commons, was decidedly against them (*p*). Their proceedings indeed were not only consistent with absolute monarchy; but were entirely suitable to the genius of the act on which they were established; an act that at once gave the crown alone all the power which had formerly been claimed by the popes, but which even these usurping prelates had never been able fully to exercise, without some concurrence of the national clergy.

Whoever refused to take an oath, acknowledging the queen's supremacy, was incapacitated from holding any office; whoever denied the supremacy, or attempted to deprive the queen of that prerogative, forfeited, for the first offence, all his goods and chattels; for the second, was subjected to the penalty of a premunire; but the third offence was declared treason. These punishments, however severe, were less rigorous than those which were formerly, during the reigns of her father and brother, inflicted in similar cases.

A law was passed, confirming all the statutes enacted in king Edward's time with regard to religion (*q*): the nomination of bishops was given to the crown without any election of the chapters: the queen was empowered, on the vacancy of any see, to seize all the temporalities, and to bestow on the bishop-elect an equivalent in the impropriations belonging to the crown. This pretended equivalent was commonly much inferior in value; and thus the queen, amidst all her concern for religion, followed the example of the preceding Reformers, in committing depredations on the ecclesiastical revenues.

The bishops and all incumbents were prohibited from alienating their revenues, and from granting leases longer than twenty-one years or three lives. This law seemed to be intended as a security for the property of the church; but as an exception was left in favour of the crown, great abuses still prevailed. It was usual for the courtiers during this reign to make an agreement with a bishop or incumbent, and to procure a fictitious alienation to the queen, who afterwards transferred the lands to the person agreed on. This method of pillaging the church was not remedied till the beginning of the reign of James I. The present depression of the clergy exposed them to all injuries; and the laity never stopped, till they had reduced the church to such poverty, that her plunder was no longer a compensation for the odium incurred by it.

A solemn and public disputation was held during this session, in presence of Nicholas Bacon, lord keeper, between the divines of the Protestant and those of the Catholic communion. The champions, appointed to defend the religion of the sovereign, were, as in all former instances, completely triumphant; and the popish disputants, being pronounced refractory and obstinate, were even punished by imprisonment. Emboldened by this victory, the Protestants ventured on the last and most important step, and brought into parliament a bill (*r*) for abolishing the mass, and re-establishing the liturgy of king Edward. Penalties were enacted, as well against those who departed from this mode of worship, as against those who absented themselves from the church and the sacraments. And thus in one session, without any violence, tumult, or clamour, was the whole system of religion altered, on the very commencement of a reign, and by the will of a young woman, whose title to the crown was by many thought liable to great objections: an event which, though it may appear surprizing to men in the present age, was every where expected on the first intelligence of Elizabeth's accession.

(*n*) Notwithstanding the bias of the nation towards the Protestant sect, it appears, that some violence was used in these elections: five candidates were nominated by the court to each borough and three to each county; and, by the sheriff's authority, the members were chosen from among these candidates. *See State Papers collected by Edward earl of Clarendon*, p. 92. We must not, however, judge of this violent exertion of power according to our present ideas; but should recollect, that the royal prerogative was, at this time, imperfectly defined; and had, indeed, been long too successfully opposed to those feeble barriers which the laws had raised up against the incroachments of the crown.

(*o*) 1 Elizabeth, cap. 3.

(*p*) By this act the crown, without the concurrence either of the parliament, or even of the convocation, was vested with the whole spiritual power; might repress all heresies, might establish or repeal all canons, might alter every point of discipline, and might ordain or abolish any religious rite or ceremony. 1 Eliz. cap. 1. This last power was anew recognized in the act of uniformity, 1 Eliz. cap. 2. In determining heresy, the sovereign was only limited to such doctrines as had been adjudged heresy, by the authority of the Scripture, by the first four general councils, or by any general council which followed the Scripture as their rule, or to such other doctrines as should hereafter be denominated heresy by the parliament and convocation. In order to exercise this authority, the queen, by a clause of the act, was empowered to name commissioners, either laymen or clergymen, as she should think proper; and on this clause was afterwards founded the court of ecclesiastical commission; which assumed large discretionary, not to say arbitrary powers, totally incompatible with any exact boundaries in the constitution.

(*q*) 1 Eliz. cap. 2.

(*r*) 1 Eliz. cap. 2.

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This session the commons made a sacrifice to the queen, more difficult to obtain than that of any articles of faith: they voted her a subsidy of four shillings in the pound on land, and two shillings and eight pence on moveables, together with two fifteenths. The house in no instance departed from the most respectful deference and complaisance towards the queen. Even the importunate address which they made her on the conclusion of the session, to fix her choice of a husband, could not, they supposed, be very disagreeable to one of her sex and age. The address was couched in the most respectful expressions; yet met with a refusal from the queen (*s*).

On the prorogation of the parliament (*t*), May 8, 1559, the laws enacted with regard to religion were put in execution, and met with little opposition from any quarter. The liturgy was again introduced in the vulgar tongue, and the oath of supremacy was tendered to the clergy. The number of bishops had been reduced to fourteen by a sickly season, which preceded; and all these, except the bishop of Llandaff, having refused compliance, were degraded from their sees: but of the inferior clergy throughout all England, where there are near ten thousand parishes, only eighty rectors and vicars, fifty prebendaries, fifteen heads of colleges, twelve archdeacons, and as many deans, sacrificed their livings to their religious principles. Those in high ecclesiastical stations, being exposed to the eyes of the public, seem chiefly to have placed a point of honour in their perseverance; but on the whole, the Protestants, in the former change introduced by Mary, appear to have been much more rigid and conscientious (*u*).

The rites and ceremonies still preserved in the English liturgy, bearing some resemblance to the ancient service, tended in some measure to reconcile the Catholics to the established religion; and as the queen permitted no other mode of worship, and at the same time struck out every thing that could be offensive to them in the new liturgy, even those who were addicted to the Romish communion made no scruple of attending the established church. Had Elizabeth gratified her own inclinations, the exterior appearance, which is the chief circumstance with the people, would have been still more similar between the new and the ancient form of worship. Her love of state and magnificence, which she affected in every thing, inspired her with an inclination towards the pomp of the Catholic religion; and it was merely in compliance with the prejudices of her party, that she gave up either images or the addresses to saints, or prayers for the dead. Some foreign princes interposed to procure the Romanists the privilege of separate assemblies in particular cities, but the queen would not comply with their request; and she represented the manifest danger of disturbing the national peace by a toleration of different religions.

While the queen and parliament were employed in settling the public religion, the negociations for a peace with France were still conducted, first at the abbey of Cercamp, then at Chateau-Cambresis, between the ministers of France, Spain, and England; and Elizabeth, though equally prudent, was not equally successful in this transaction. Nothing indeed retarded its conclusion but the determined obstinacy of the French commissioners in refusing to restore Calais to the queen; who, on the other hand, declared that she would not listen to a peace, unless the restitution of that important place was agreed on as a preliminary article. Philip employed his utmost efforts to procure the restitution of Calais, both as bound in honour to indemnify England, which, merely on his account, had been drawn into the war, and as engaged in interest to remove France to a distance from his frontiers in the Low Countries.

Though all his own terms with France were settled, he seemed willing to continue the war till she should obtain satisfaction; provided she would stipulate to adhere to the Spanish alliance, and continue hostilities against Henry during the course of six years: but Elizabeth, after consulting with her ministers, wisely rejected this proposal. She was sensible of the low state of her finances; the great debts contracted by her father, brother, and sister; the disorders introduced into every part of the administration; the divisions by which her people were agitated; and she was convinced that nothing but tranquillity during some years could bring the kingdom again into a flourishing condition, or enable her to act with dignity and vigour in her transactions with foreign nations. Well acquainted with the value which Henry justly put upon Calais, and the impossibility, during the present emergency, of recovering it by treaty, she was willing rather to suffer that loss, than submit to such a dependence on Spain, as she must expect to fall into, if she continued pertinaciously in her present demand. So long as Philip entertained hopes of espousing the queen, he continued his efforts, and refused to conclude a peace with Henry; but, by Elizabeth's recent regulations with regard to religion having at length convinced him of the fallacy of his hopes, his zeal began to abate. She ordered, therefore, her ambassadors, lord Effingham, the bishop of Ely, and Dr. Wotton, to conclude the negociation, and to settle a peace with Henry, on any reasonable terms. Henry offered to stipulate a marriage between the eldest daughter of the dauphin, and the eldest son of Elizabeth; and to engage for the restitution of Calais as the dowry of that princess; but as the queen was sensible that this treaty would appear to the world a palpable evasion, she insisted upon more equitable, at least more plausible conditions. It was at last agreed, that Henry should restore Calais at the expiration of eight years; that, in case of failure, he should pay five hundred thousand crowns, and the queen's title to Calais still remain; that he should find the security of seven or eight foreign merchants, not natives of France, for the payment of this sum; that he should deliver five hostages till that security were provided; that if Elizabeth broke the peace with France or Scotland during the interval, she should forfeit all title to Calais; but if Henry made war on Elizabeth, he should be obliged immediately to restore that fortress. It was easy to perceive that these stipulations were nothing but a colourable pretence for abandoning Calais; but they excused the queen on account of the necessity of her affairs; and they even extolled her prudence, in submitting, without farther struggle, to that necessity. A peace with Scotland was a necessary consequence of that with France.

The peace concluded between Philip and Henry was highly advantageous to the former, who recovered all the places which the French generals had taken during the war; and, besides securing very beneficial terms for his allies, acquired to himself the sovereignty of the county of Charolois. This treaty was strengthened by a double marriage: Philip espoused the princess Elizabeth, eldest daughter to the king of France, formerly betrothed to his son, Don Carlos. The duke of Savoy married Margaret, Henry's sister, and obtained a restitution of all his domi-

(*s*) She told the speaker, that, as the application from the house was conceived in general terms, only recommending marriage, without pretending to direct her choice of a husband, she could not take offence at the address, or regard it otherwise than as a new instance of their affectionate attachment to her: that any farther interposition on their part would have ill become either them to make as subjects, or her to bear as an independent princess: that even while she was a private person, and exposed to much danger, she had always declined that engagement, which she regarded as an incumbrance; much more, at present, would she persevere in this sentiment, when the charge of a great kingdom was committed to her, and her life ought to be entirely devoted to promoting the interests of religion and the happiness of her subjects: that as England was her husband, wedded to her by this pledge (and here she shewed her finger with the same gold ring upon it, with which she had solemnly betrothed herself to the kingdom at her inauguration), so all Englishmen were her children; and while she was employed in rearing or governing such a family, she could not deem herself barren, or her life useless and unprofitable: that if she ever entertained thoughts of changing her condition, the care of her subjects' welfare would still be uppermost in her thoughts; but should she live and die a virgin, she doubted not but divine Providence, seconded by their counsels and her own measures, would be able to prevent all dispute with regard to the succession, and secure them a sovereign, who, perhaps better than her own issue, would imitate her example in loving and cherishing her people: and that, for her part, she desired that no higher character or fairer remembrance of her should be transmitted to posterity, than to have this inscription engraved on her tomb-stone, when she should pay the last debt to nature: "Here lies Elizabeth, who lived and died a virgin."

(*t*) It is thought remarkable by Camden, that though this session was the first of the reign, no person was attainted; but, on the contrary, some restored in blood by the parliament: a good symptom of the lenity, at least of the prudence, of the queen's government; and that it should appear remarkable, is a proof of the rigour of preceding reigns.

(*u*) Though the Catholic religion, adapting itself to the senses, and enjoining observances which enter into the common train of life, does at present lay faster hold on the mind than the reformed, which, being chiefly spiritual, resembles more a system of metaphysics; yet was the proportion of zeal, as well as of knowledge, during the first ages after the reformation, much greater on the side of the Protestants. The Catholics continued, ignorantly and supinely, in their ancient belief, or rather their ancient practices: but the Reformers, obliged to dispute on every occasion, and enflamed to a degree of enthusiasm by novelty and persecution, had strongly attached themselves to their tenets; and were ready to sacrifice their fortunes, and even their lives, in support of their principles.

nions of Savoy, Piedmont, and Busse, except a few towns retained by France. And thus general tranquillity seemed to be restored to Europe.

But though peace was concluded between France and England, there soon appeared a ground of quarrel, of the most serious nature, and which was afterwards attended with the most important consequences. The two marriages of Henry VIII. that with Catherine of Arragon, and that with Anne Boleyn, were incompatible with each other; and it seemed impossible, that both of them could be regarded as valid and legal: but still the birth of Elizabeth lay under some disadvantages, to which that of her sister, Mary, was not exposed. Henry's first marriage had obtained the sanction of all the powers, both civil and ecclesiastical, which were then acknowledged in England; and it was natural for Protestants, as well as Catholics, to allow, on account of the sincere intention of the parties, that their issue ought to be regarded as legitimate. But his divorce and second marriage had been concluded in direct opposition to the see of Rome; and though they had been ratified by the authority both of the English parliament and convocation, those who were strongly attached to the Catholic communion, and who reasoned with great strictness, were led to regard them as entirely invalid, and to deny altogether the queen's right of succession (*v*). Elizabeth, alarmed at the danger, conceived a violent jealousy against the queen of Scots; and was determined, as far as possible, to incapacitate Henry from the execution of his project. The sudden death of that monarch, who was killed in a tournament at Paris, while celebrating the espousals of his sister with the duke of Savoy, altered not her views. Being informed that his successor, Francis II. still continued to assume, without reserve, the title of king of England, she began to consider him and his queen as her greatest enemies; and the present situation of affairs in Scotland afforded her a favourable opportunity, not only of revenging the injury, but of providing for her own future safety.

The murder of cardinal Beaton, at St. Andrews, had deprived the Scottish Catholics of a head, whose severity had rendered him extremely formidable to the innovators in religion; and the execution of the laws against heresy began thenceforth to be more remiss. The queen-regent governed the kingdom with prudence and moderation; and as she was not disposed to sacrifice the civil interests of the state to the bigotry or interests of the clergy, she deemed it more expedient to temporize, and to connive at the progress of a doctrine which she had not power to repress. When informed of the death of Edward, and the accession of Mary to the English throne, she entertained hopes, that the Scottish reformers, deprived of the countenance which they received from that powerful kingdom, would lose their ardour with their prospect of success, and would gradually return to the faith of their ancestors: but herein she was disappointed; for many of the English preachers, terrified with the severity of Mary's government, took shelter in Scotland, where they found more protection, and a milder administration, and while they propagated their theological tenets, they filled the whole kingdom with a just horror against the cruelties of the bigoted Catholics, and showed their disciples the fate which they must expect, if ever their adversaries should attain an uncontrolled authority over them.

A hierarchy, moderate in its acquisitions of power and riches, may safely grant a toleration to sectaries; and the more it softens the zeal of innovators by lenity and liberty, the more securely will it possess those advantages which the legal establishments bestow upon it. But where superstition has raised a church to such an exorbitant height as that of Rome, persecution is less the result of bigotry in the priests, than of a temporising policy; and the rigour of law is the only method of repelling the attacks of men, who, besides religious zeal, have so many other motives, derived both from public and private interest, to engage them on the side of innovation. But though such overgrown hierarchies may long support themselves by such violent expedients, the time generally arrives when severities tend only to enrage the new sectaries, and make them break through all bounds of reason and moderation. This crisis was now visibly approaching in Scotland; and those who consider merely the transactions resulting from it, will be inclined to throw the blame equally on both parties; whoever enlarges his view, and reflects on the situations, will remark the necessary progress of human affairs, and the operation of those principles which are inherent in the breasts of mankind in general.

Some heads of the reformers in Scotland, such as the earl of Argyle, his son lord Lorne, the earls of Morton and Glencairne, Erskine of Dun, and others, observing the danger to which they were exposed, and desirous to propagate their principles, entered privately into a bond or association; and called themselves the *Congregation of the Lord*, in contradistinction to the established church, which they denominated the *Congregation of Satan* (*w*). Had the subscribers of this zealous league been temperate in their measures, and content only to demand a toleration of the new opinions; however incompatible their pretensions might have been with the policy of the church of Rome, they would have had the praise of opposing tyrannical laws, enacted to support an establishment prejudicial to civil society: but it is evident that they did not mean to confine themselves within moderate bounds; and their practice immediately discovered the spirit by which they were actuated. Supported by the authority which they thought belonged to them as the congregation of the Lord, they ordained, that prayers in the vulgar tongue (*x*) should be used in all the parish churches of the kingdom; and that preaching, and the interpretation of the scriptures, should be practised in private houses, till God should move the prince to grant public preaching by faithful and true ministers. Such bonds of association are wholly inconsistent with every principle of civil government; and this violent invasion of the established religion was the actual commencement of rebellion.

Before this league was publicly known or avowed, the clergy, alarmed at the progress of the reformation, attempted to recover their lost authority by a violent exercise of power, which tended still farther to augment the zeal and number of their enemies. Hamilton, the primate, seized Walter Mill, a priest of an irreproachable life, who had embraced the new doctrines; and having tried him at St. Andrews, condemned him to the flames for heresy. The cruelty of this impolitic measure excited such general aversion, that it was some time before the bishops could prevail on any one to act the part of a civil judge, and pronounce sentence upon Mill; and even after the time of his execution was fixed, all the shops of St. Andrews being shut, no one would sell a rope to tie him to the stake, and the primate himself was obliged to furnish this implement. The man bore the torture with that cou-

(*v*) The next heir of blood, says Hume, was the queen of Scots, now married to the dauphin; and the great power of that princess, joined to her plausible title, rendered her a formidable rival to Elizabeth. The king of France had secretly been soliciting at Rome a bull of excommunication against the queen; and she had here been beholden to the good offices of Philip, who, from interest more than either friendship or generosity, had negociated in her favour, and had successfully opposed the pretensions of Henry. But the court of France was not discouraged with this repulse: the duke of Guise, and his brothers, thinking that it would much augment their credit if their niece should bring an accession of England, as she had already done of Scotland, to the crown of France, engaged the king not to neglect the claim; and, by their persuasion, he ordered his son and daughter-in-law to assume openly the arms as well as title of England, and to quarter these arms on all their equipages, furniture, and liveries. When the English ambassador complained of this injury, he could obtain nothing but an evasive answer; that as the queen of Scots was descended from the blood royal of England, she was entitled, by the example of many princes, to assume the arms of that kingdom. But besides that this practice had never prevailed without permission being first obtained, and without making a visible difference between the arms, Elizabeth plainly saw, that this pretension had not been advanced during the reign of her sister Mary; and that therefore the king of France intended, on the first opportunity, to dispute her legitimacy, and her title to the crown.

(*w*) The tenour of the bond was as follows: "We perceiving how Satan, in his members, the antichrist of our time, do cruelly rage, seeking to overthrow and to destroy the gospel of Christ and his congregation, ought, according to our bounden duty, to strive, in our Master's cause, even unto the death, being certain of the victory in him. We do therefore promise, before the majesty of God and his congregation, that we, by his grace, shall with all diligence continually apply our whole power, substance, and our very lives, to maintain, set forward, and establish the most blessed word of God and his congregation; and shall labour, by all possible means, to have faithful ministers, truly and purely to minister Christ's gospel and sacraments to his people: we shall maintain them, nourish them, and defend them, the whole congregation of Christ, and every member thereof, by our whole power, and at the hazard of our lives, against Satan, and all wicked power, who may intend tyranny and trouble against the said congregation; unto which holy word and congregation we do join ourselves; and we forsake and renounce the congregation of Satan, with all the superstitious abomination and idolatry thereof; and moreover shall declare ourselves manifestly enemies thereto, by this faithful promise before God, testified to this congregation by our subscriptions. At Edinburgh, the third of December, 1557." *Keith, p.* 66. *Knox, p.* 101.

(*x*) The Reformers used at that time king Edward's liturgy in Scotland. *Forbes, p.* 155.

rage which, though usual on these occasions, always appears supernatural and astonishing to the multitude. The people, to express their abhorrence against the cruelty of the priests, raised a monument of stones on the place of his execution; and as fast as the stones were removed by order of the clergy, they were again supplied from the voluntary zeal of the populace. The impolicy, as well as inutility, of thus punishing a man for pursuing the dictates of his conscience, being now rendered manifest, by the united motives of religion and public applause, this was the last barbarity of the kind which the Catholics had the power to exercise in Scotland.

Some time after, the people discovered their sentiments in such a manner as was sufficient to prognosticate to the priests the fate which awaited them. It was usual on the festival of St. Giles, the tutelar saint of Edinburgh, to carry in procession the image of that saint; but the Protestants, in order to prevent the ceremony, found means, on the eve of the festival, to purloin the statue from the church; and they pleased themselves with anticipating the surprize and disappointment of his votaries. The clergy, however, framed hastily a new image, which, in derision, was called by the people young St. Giles; and they carried it through the streets, attended by all the ecclesiastics in the town and neighbourhood. The multitude abstained from violence so long as the queen-regent continued a spectator, but the moment she retired, they attacked the idol, threw it in the mire, and broke it in pieces. The flight and terror of the priests and friers, who, it was remarked, deserted in his greatest distress the object of their worship, was the source of universal laughter and mockery.

Encouraged by all these appearances, the Congregation proceeded to solicit subscriptions to their league; and the death of Mary of England, with the accession of Elizabeth, which happened about this time, contributed to increase their hopes of ultimate success in their undertaking. They presented a petition to the regent, craving a reformation of the church, and of the wicked, scandalous, and detestable lives of the prelates and ecclesiastics. They framed a petition, which they intended to present to parliament, and in which, after premising that they could not communicate with the damnable idolatry and intolerable abuses of the papistical church, they desired, that the laws against heretics should be executed by the civil magistrate alone, and that the scripture should be the sole rule in judging of heresy. They even petitioned the convocation, and insisted that prayers should be said in the vulgar tongue, and that bishops should be chosen with the consent of the gentry of the diocese, and priests with the consent of the parishioners. The regent prudently temporized between the parties; and was unwilling to proceed to extremities with either of the contenders.

After this concession was obtained, she received instructions from France to proceed with rigour against the reformers, and to restore the royal authority by some signal act of power. The members, surprized at her conduct, reminded her, in another address, of the promise she had given them; but, deaf to their remonstrance, and incensed at their late presumption, she so far forgot the respect which she owed to herself, as to tell them, according to Spotswood, "That the promises of princes should always be rendered subservient to their convenience."— "If," answered they coolly, "you have adopted the resolution of violating the promises which you made to your subjects, we can no longer acknowledge your authority, nor pay you obedience." The firmness of this answer surprized the regent, who immediately checked her indignation; and replied, that she would endeavour to choose the mildest remedy for those evils, which she foresaw would speedily occur. But still she deemed it necessary to repress the progress of the Reformers; and she caused the more eminent of the Protestant teachers to be cited to appear before the council at Stirling; but when their followers were marching thither in great multitudes, in order to protect and countenance them, she entertained apprehensions of an insurrection, and, it is said, dissipated the people by a promise, that nothing should be done to the prejudice of the ministers. Sentence, however, was passed, by which all the ministers were pronounced rebels, on account of their not appearing: a measure which enraged the people, and made them resolve to oppose the regent's authority by force of arms, and to proceed to extremities against the clergy of the established religion.

About this time, John Knox arrived from Geneva, where he had passed some years in banishment, and where he had imbibed, from his commerce with Calvin, the religious opinions of that celebrated reformer. He had been invited back to Scotland by the leaders of the reformation; and mounting the pulpit at Perth, on the 11th of May, he declaimed with vehemence against the idolatry and abominations of the church of Rome, and incited his audience to exert their utmost zeal for its subversion. After this sermon, a priest was so imprudent as to open his repository of images and reliques, and prepare himself to say mass. The audience, exalted to a disposition for any furious enterprize, were as much enraged as if the spectacle had not been quite familiar to them: they attacked the priest with fury, broke the images in pieces, tore the pictures, overthrew the altars, scattered about the sacred vases; and left no implement of idolatrous worship entire or undefaced. They thence proceeded, with additional numbers and greater fury, to the monasteries of the grey and black friers, which they pillaged in an instant: the Carthusians underwent the same fate: and the populace, not content with robbing and expelling the monks, vented their rage on the buildings which had been the receptacles of such abomination; and in a little time nothing but the walls of these edifices were left standing. The inhabitants of Couper, in Fife, soon after imitated the example.

The queen-regent, provoked at these acts of violence, assembled an army, and prepared to chastise the rebels. She had about two thousand French under her command, with a few Scottish troops; and being assisted by such of the nobility as were well affected to her, she pitched her camp within ten miles of Perth. Even the earl of Argyle, and lord James Stuart, prior of St. Andrew's, the queen's natural brother, though deeply engaged with the reformers, attended the regent in this enterprize, either because they blamed the fury of the populace, or hoped, by their own influence and authority, to mediate some agreement between the parties. The Congregation, on the other hand, made preparations for defence; and being joined by the earl of Glencairne from the west, and countenanced by many of the nobility and gentry, they appeared formidable from their numbers, as well as from the zeal by which they were animated. They sent an address to the regent, in which they plainly insinuated, that if they were pursued to extremities by the *cruel beasts* the churchmen, they would have recourse to foreign powers for assistance; and they subscribed themselves her faithful subjects in all things not repugnant to God, assuming, at the same time, the name of the faithful congregation of Christ Jesus. They applied to the nobility attending her, and maintained, that their own past violences were justified by the word of God, which commands the godly to destroy idolatry, and all the monuments of it; and though all civil authority was sacred, yet there was a great difference between the authority and the persons who exercised it; and that it ought to be considered, whether or not those those abominations, called by the pestilent papists Religion, and which they defend by fire and sword, be the true religion of Christ Jesus. They remonstrated with such of the regent's army as had formerly embraced their party, and told them, "That as they were already reputed traitors by God, they should likewise be excommunicated from their society, and from the participation of the sacraments of the church, which God by his mighty power had erected among them; whose ministers have the same authority which Christ granted to his apostles in these words, *Whose sins ye shall forgive shall be forgiven, and whose sins ye shall retain shall be retained.*" We may here see, that these new saints were no less lofty in their pretensions than the ancient hierarchy; and, since they were rivals both in power and in profit, no wonder their enmity was violent and inveterate. They joined to these declarations an address to the established church, and affixed this title to it: "To the generation of antichrist, the pestilent prelates and their *shavelings* (*y*) in Scotland, the Congregation of Christ Jesus within the same sayeth; As ye by tyranny intend not only to destroy our bodies, but also by the same to hold our souls in bondage of the devil, subject to idolatry; so shall we, with all the force and power which God shall grant unto us, execute just vengeance and punishment upon you: yea, we shall begin that same war which God commanded Israel to execute against the Canaanites; that is, contract of peace shall never be made till you desist from your open idolatry and cruel persecution of God's children. And this, in the name of the eternal God, and of his son Christ Jesus, whose verity we profess, and gospel

(*y*) A contemptuous term for a priest.

pel we have preached, and holy sacraments rightly administered, we signify unto you, to be our intent, so far as God will assist us, to withstand your idolatry. Take this for warning, and be not deceived." With these outrageous symptoms, says Hume, who knew his country well, commenced in Scotland that cant, hypocrisy, and fanaticism, which long infested that kingdom, and which, though now mollified by the lenity of the civil power, is still ready to break out on all occasions.

The queen-regent, finding the obstinacy and zeal of the rebels difficult to be subdued, was content to embrace the counsels of Argyle and the prior of St. Andrews, and to agree to an accommodation with them. She was received into Perth, which submitted, on her promise of indemnity for past offences, and her engagement not to leave any French garrison in the place. Complaints immediately arose concerning the infraction of this capitulation. Some of the inhabitants, it was pretended, were molested on account of the late violences; and some companies of Scotch soldiers, supposed to be in French pay, were quartered in the town; which step, though taken on very plausible grounds, was loudly exclaimed against by the Congregation. It is asserted, that the regent, to justify these measures, declared that princes ought not to have their promises too strictly urged upon them; nor was any faith to be kept with heretics: and that for her part, could she find as good a colour, she would willingly bereave all these men of their lives and fortunes. But it is no wise likely that such expressions ever dropped from this prudent and virtuous princess. On the contrary, it appears, that all these violences were disagreeable to her; that she was in this particular over-ruled by the authority of the French counsellors placed about her; and that she often thought, if the management of those affairs had been entrusted wholly to herself, she could easily, without force, have accommodated all differences.

Such is the account given by Mr. Hume, who has attempted to vindicate the conduct of the queen-regent, and to deny the charges that have been exhibited against her; but as his vindication is couched in general terms, and supported on his assertion of her prudence and virtue, we see no reason to admit it in contradiction to the concurring testimonies of Keith, Spotswood, Knox, and Buchanan. On the evidence of Buchanan and Knox, indeed, we place but little reliance. The former, in his account of these and the subsequent transactions during the reign of Mary, has been guilty of the most gross and culpable falsehoods; and the latter, being under the influence of his own peculiar notions, is seldom worthy of implicit credit. But the veracity of Keith and Spotswood cannot reasonably be doubted; and, in this instance, their account is specific and circumstantial. They say, that the regent, having introduced a French garrison into the city of Perth, contrary to the tenour of the treaty, one of the soldiers passing by the house of a citizen, named Patrick Murray, who was known to favour the doctrine of the Reformers, killed his son, a boy of thirteen; but whether through accident or design, is not known. When the regent, however, was informed of it, she coolly replied, that the evil was the greater, as it had fallen on the son instead of the father; but that she knew of no remedy for it. These authors farther assert, that, before three days were expired, many of the leaders of the Congregation were put to death; the principal inhabitants banished; others sentenced to pay heavy fines; the magistrates deposed; new regulations introduced; and four companies of French troops left in Perth, with strict orders to suffer the celebration of no other service than that of the Romish church. This gross infraction of the late treaty induced the earl of Argyle and the lord James, through whose mediation it had been effected, to withdraw themselves from the queen's army, and join the Reformers. The Congregation also, encouraged by this accession of force, renewed at Crail, Anstruther, and other places in Fife, like depredations on the churches and monasteries with those formerly committed at Perth and Couper. The regent, who marched against them with her army, finding their power so much increased, was glad to conclude a truce for a few days, and to pass over with her forces to the Lothians. The reformers besieged and took Perth; proceeded thence to Stirling, where they exercised their usual fury; and finding nothing able to resist them, they bent their march to Edinburgh, the inhabitants of which, as they had already anticipated the zeal of the Congregation against the churches and monasteries, gladly opened their gates to them. The regent, with a few forces which remained with her, took shelter in Dunbar, where she fortified herself, in expectation of a reinforcement from France.

In the meantime the regent employed her partizans in representing to the people the dangerous consequences of this open rebellion; and she endeavoured to convince them, that the lord James, under pretence of religion, had formed the scheme of wresting the sceptre from her hands, and of ascending the throne in her place. By these considerations many were engaged to desert the army of the Congregation; but much more by the want of pay or any means of subsistence; and the regent, observing the malcontents to be much weakened, ventured to march to Edinburgh, with a design of suppressing them. On the interposition of the duke of Chatelrault, who still adhered to her, she agreed to a capitulation, in which she granted them a toleration of their religion, and they engaged to commit no farther depredations on the churches. Soon after they evacuated the city; and, before they left it, they proclaimed the articles of agreement; but they took care to publish only such articles as were favourable to themselves, and they were guilty of an imposture, in adding one to the number, namely, that idolatry should not again be erected in any place where it was at that time suppressed.

It is not probable that an agreement between parties actuated by such inveterate animosity against each other, as were the Catholics and Reformers, could be durable; and both sides endeavoured to strengthen themselves as much as possible, against the ensuing rupture, which appeared inevitable. The regent, having obtained a reinforcement of one thousand men from France, began to fortify Leith, where she was soon after joined by fresh supplies from the continent; and the Congregation seduced to their party the duke of Chatelrault, who had long appeared inclined to join them, and who was at last determined by the arrival of his son, the earl of Arran, from France, where he had escaped many dangers, from the jealousy, as well as bigotry, of Henry and the duke of Guise. More French troops soon after disembarked under the command of La Brosse, who was followed by thn bishop of Amiens, and three doctors of Sorbonne. These last were supplied with store of syllogisms, authorities, citations, scholastic arguments, which they intended to oppose to the Scottish preachers, and which, they justly presumed, would acquire force, and produce conviction, by the influence of the French arms and artillery.

The constable Montmorency had always opposed the marriage of the dauphin with the queen of Scots, and had foretold, that, by forming such close connexions with Scotland, the ancient league would be dissolved; and the natives of that kingdom, jealous of a foreign yoke, would soon become, instead of allies attached by interest and inclination, the most inveterate enemies to the French government. But though the event seemed now to have justified the prudence of that aged minister, it is not improbable, considering the violent counsels by which France was governed, that the insurrection was deemed a favourable event; as affording a pretence for sending over armies, for entirely subduing the country, for attainting the rebels, and for preparing means thence to invade England, and support Mary's title to the crown of that kingdom. The leaders of the Congregation, well acquainted with these views, were not insensible of their danger, and saw that their only safety consisted in the vigour and success of their measures. They were encouraged by the intelligence which had been received of the sudden death of Henry II.; and having passed an act from their own authority, depriving the queen-dowager of the regency, and ordering all the French troops to depart the kingdom, they collected forces to put their edict in execution against them. They again became masters of Edinburgh; but found themselves unable to keep possession of that city for any considerable length of time. Their tumultuary armies, assembled in haste, and supported by no pay, soon separated upon the least disaster, or even any delay of success; and were incapable of resisting such veteran troops as the French, who were also seconded by some of the Scottish nobility, among whom the earl of Bothwel distinguished himself. Hearing that the marquis D'Elbeuf, brother to the regent, was levying an army against them in Germany, they thought themselves justified in applying to England for assistance; and as the sympathy of religion, as well as regard to national liberty, had now counterbalanced the ancient animosity against

that kingdom, this measure was the result of inclination, no less than of interest. Maitland, of Lidington, therefore, and Robert Melvil, were secretly dispatched by the Congregation to sollicit succours from Elizabeth.

The council of Elizabeth did not long deliberate in agreeing to this request, which concurred so well with the views and interests of their mistress. Cecil in particular represented to the queen, "that the union of the crowns of Scotland and France, both of them the hereditary enemies of England, was ever regarded as a pernicious event; and her father, as well as protector Somerset, had employed every expedient, both of war and negociation, to prevent it: that the claim, which Mary advanced to the crown, rendered the present situation of England still more dangerous, and demanded, on the part of the queen, the greatest vigilance and precaution: that the capacity, ambition, and exorbitant views of the family of Guise, who now governed the French counsels, were sufficiently known; and they themselves made no secret of their design to place their niece on the throne of England: that, deeming themselves secure of success, they had already, somewhat imprudently and prematurely, taken off the mask: that they only waited till Scotland should be entirely subdued; and having thus deprived the English of the advantages resulting from their situation and naval power, they prepared means for subverting the queen's authority: that the zealous catholics in England, discontented with the present government, and satisfied in the legality of Mary's title, would bring them considerable reinforcement, and would disturb every measure of defence against that formidable power: that the only expedient for preventing these designs was to seize the present opportunity, and take advantage of a like zeal in the protestants of Scotland; nor could any doubt be entertained with regard to the justice of a measure, founded on such evident necessity, and directed only to the ends of self-preservation: that though a French war, attended with great expence, seemed the necessary consequence of supporting the malcontents of Scotland, that power, if removed to the continent, would be much less formidable; and a small disbursement at present would in the end be found the greatest frugality: and that the domestic dissensions of France, which every day augmented, together with the alliance of Philip, who, notwithstanding his bigotry and hypocrisy, would never permit the entire conquest of England, were sufficient to secure the queen against the dangerous ambition and resentment of the house of Guise."

Cecil added, that the prudent counsels of the constable Montmorency had alone prevented the dreadful consequences of their unjust proceedings; but that the death of Henry the Second, who was accidentally killed at a tournament, having now given a free scope to the temerity of the house of Guise, there was every reason to believe that those ambitious princes, armed with sovereign power, would accelerate the execution of those plans which they had long since formed against this kingdom. "Scotland," said he, "is the place from whence England may be attacked to the greatest advantage; the French have nothing to dread from that quarter, but the government of England may be overturned by a single battle; the queen cannot hesitate a moment in repelling the attacks of an enemy who seeks to open a passage into the very heart of her kingdom; the only step to be pursued, is to march against them while they are yet at a distance, and unprovided with forces sufficient to make a formidable resistance." Cecil concluded by observing that, in a matter of so much importance, every plan should be adopted with wisdom, and executed with prudence, since delays might be attended with the most serious danger.

All the facts advanced in this manifesto were fully substantiated by the letters and dispatches of sir Nicholas Throgmorton, and his emissaries Killigrew and Jones. In fact, the house of Guise had violated the most solemn oaths; and had, in particular, broken the late treaty of peace in many points of importance. This haughty family treated Elizabeth with contempt; they scarcely deigned to consider her as queen of England, or to conceal from her ambassadors their intrigues at the courts of Rome and Madrid, in Germany, and even in Denmark, where they were endeavouring to levy troops, and were solliciting succours against her. Sir Nicholas Throgmorton's correspondence with sir William Cecil; the circumstances he learned through his own vigilance and that of his emissaries; the exact knowledge he acquired of the contents of letters sent by the duke of Guise and his brother, the cardinal of Lorraine, as well to the princes who were in alliance with them, as to neutral powers; all prove what a despicable opinion those princes entertained of the power of Elizabeth.

Elizabeth, overcome by these powerful motives, prepared herself to support, by arms and money, the declining affairs of the Congregation in Scotland. She equipped a fleet, which consisted of thirteen ships of war; and giving the command of it to Winter, she sent it to the Frith of Forth: she appointed the young duke of Norfolk her lieutenant in the northern counties, and she assembled at Berwick an army of eight thousand men under the command of lord Grey, warden of the east and middle marches. Though the court of France offered her to make immediate restitution of Calais, provided she would not interpose in the affairs of Scotland; she resolutely replied, that she never would put an inconsiderable fishing-town in competition with the safety of her dominions; and she still continued her preparations. She concluded a treaty of mutual defence with the Congregation, which was to last during the marriage of the queen of Scots with Francis, and a year after; and she promised never to desist till the French had entirely evacuated Scotland. And having thus taken all proper measures for success, and received from the Scots six hostages for the performance of articles, she ordered her fleet and army to begin their operations.

On the 15th of January, 1560, queen Elizabeth's fleet appeared in the Frith, which so disconcerted the French army, who were at that time ravaging the county of Fife, that they were obliged to make a circuit by Stirling, in order to reach Leith, where they prepared themselves for defence. The English army, reinforced by five thousand Scots, sat down before the place; and after two skirmishes, in the former of which the English had the advantage, in the latter the French, they began to batter the town; and, though repulsed with considerable loss in an ill-conducted assault, they reduced the garrison to great difficulties (z). The French, who found it impossible to subsist for want of provisions, and who saw that the English were continually reinforced by fresh numbers, were obliged to capitulate on the 5th of July: and soon after a treaty was concluded at Edinburgh, by the bishops of Valence and Amiens, and the count de la Rochefoucault de Randan, plenipotentiaries from France; and sir William Cecil, Dr. Wotton, sir Ralph Sadler, and others, whom Elizabeth had sent thither for that purpose (a). In order to hasten the execution of this important treaty, Elizabeth sent ships, by which the French forces were transported into their own country.

Thus did Europe perceive, in the first transaction of this reign, the genius and capacity of the queen and her ministers. She discerned at a distance the danger which threatened her; and instantly took vigorous measures to prevent it. Making all possible advantages of her situation, she proceeded with celerity to a decision; and was not diverted by any offers, negociations, or remonstrances of the court of France. She stopped not till she had brought the matter to a final issue; and had converted that very power, to which her enemies trusted for her destruction, into her firmest support and security. By exacting no improper conditions from the Scottish malcontents, even during their greatest distresses, she established an entire confidence with them; and having cemented the union by all the ties of gratitude, interest, and religion, she now possessed an influence over them

(z) Their distress was augmented by two events; the dispersion by a storm of d'Elbeuf's fleet, which carried a considerable army on board, and the death of the queen-regent, who expired about this time in the castle of Edinburgh.

(a) It was there stipulated, that the French should instantly evacuate Scotland; that the king and queen of France and Scotland should thenceforth abstain from bearing the arms of England, or assuming the title of that kingdom; that farther satisfaction for the injury already done in that particular should be granted Elizabeth; and the commissioners should meet to settle this point, or if they could not agree, that the king of Spain should be umpire between the crowns. Besides these stipulations, which regarded England, some concessions were granted to the Scots; namely, that an amnesty should be published for all past offences; that none but natives should enjoy any office in Scotland; that the states should name twenty-four persons, of whom the queen of Scots should chuse seven, and the states five, and in the hands of these twelve should the whole administration be placed during their queen's absence; and that Mary should neither make peace nor war without consent of the states.

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beyond what remained even with their native sovereign. The regard, which she acquired by this spirited conduct, gave her every where, abroad as well as at home, more authority than had attended her sister, though supported by all the power of the monarch of Spain.

The subsequent measures of the Scottish reformers tended still more to cement their union with England. Being now entirely masters of Scotland, they made no farther ceremony or scruple in fully effecting their purpose. In compliance with the treaty of Edinburgh, though it had not been ratified by the queen, a parliament convention was assembled; and the leaders of the Congregation thought themselves fully entitled, without the sovereign's authority, immediately to summon a parliament. The reformers presented a petition to this assembly; in which, not content with desiring the establishment of their doctrine, they also applied for the punishment of the catholics, whom they called vassals to the Roman harlot; and they asserted, that, among "all the rabble of the clergy," such is their expression, there was not one lawful minister; but that they were, all of them, thieves and murderers; yea, rebels and traitors to civil authority; and therefore unworthy to be suffered in any reformed commonwealth. The parliament seem to have been actuated by the same spirit of rage and persecution. After ratifying a confession of faith agreeable to the new doctrines, they passed a statute against the mass, and not only abolished it in all the churches, but enacted, that whoever, any where, either officiated in it, or was present at it, should be chastised, for the first offence, with confiscation of goods and corporal punishment, at the discretion of the magistrate; for the second, with banishment; and for the third, with death. A law was also voted for abolishing the papal jurisdiction in Scotland: the Presbyterian form of discipline was settled, leaving only at first some shadow of authority to certain ecclesiastics, whom they called Superintendants. The Catholic prelates appeared, in order to complain of great injustice committed on them by the arbitrary invasion of their property, but the parliament took no notice of them; till, at last, these ecclesiastics, tired with fruitless attendance, departed the town. They were then cited to appear; and as none of them obeyed the citation, it was voted by the parliament, that the ecclesiastics were entirely satisfied, and found no reason for complaint.

Sir James Sandilands, prior of St. John, was sent over to France to obtain the ratification of the acts which had been passed; but was very ill received by Mary, who denied the validity of a parliament summoned without the royal consent; and she refused her sanction to those statutes; as was to be expected, because their tendency was to abolish the religion she professed. But the Protestants gave themselves little concern about their queen's refusal. They immediately put the statutes in execution: they abolished the mass; they settled their ministers; they committed every where furious devastations on the monasteries, and even on the churches, which they thought profaned by idolatry; and deeming the property of the clergy lawful prize, they took possession, without ceremony, of by far the greater part of the ecclesiastical revenues. Their new preachers, who had authority sufficient to incite them to war and insurrection, could not restrain their rapacity; and fanaticism concurring with avarice, an incurable wound was given to the papal authority in that country. The Protestant nobility and gentry, united by the consciousness of such unpardonable guilt, alarmed for their new possessions, well acquainted with the imperious character of the house of Guise, saw no safety for themselves but in the protection of England; and they dispatched Morton, Glencairne, and Lidington, to express their sincere gratitude to the queen for her past favours, and represent to her the necessity of continuing them. In order to render the alliance which subsisted between them still more binding, their ambassadors were ordered to propose a marriage between Elizabeth and the earl of Arran, who was nearly allied to the royal family of Scotland, and, after Mary, was presumptive heir to the throne. The queen, however, rejected their proposal; but accompanied her refusal with the most flattering marks of esteem, as well for the earl as for the Scottish nobles, to whom she promised a continuation of friendship and every necessary assistance; exhorting them at the same time, to support the rights of the nation with vigour and effect.

The house of Guise, notwithstanding their former disappointments, had not laid aside the design of contesting Elizabeth's title; and subverting her authority. Francis and Mary, whose counsels were wholly directed by them, refused to ratify the treaty of Edinburgh; and shewed no disposition to give her any satisfaction for that affront, which they had put upon her, by openly assuming the title and arms of England. She was sensible of the danger attending such pretensions; and it was with pleasure she heard of the violent factions which prevailed in the French government, and of the opposition which had arisen against the measures of the duke of Guise. That ambitious prince, supported by his four brothers, the cardinal of Lorraine, the duke of Aumale, the marquis of Elbeuf, and the grand prior, men no less ambitious than himself, had engrossed all the authority of the crown; and as he was possessed of the most splendid and seducing qualities, there appeared no end of his acquisitions and pretensions. The constable, Montmorency, who had long balanced his credit, was deprived of all power: the princes of the blood, the king of Navarre, and his brother, the prince of Condé, were entirely excluded from offices and favour: the queen-mother herself, Catherine de Medicis, found her influence every day declining: and as Francis, a young prince, infirm both in mind and body, was wholly governed by his consort, who knew no law but the pleasure of her uncles, men despaired of ever obtaining freedom from the dominion of that aspiring family. It was the contests of religion which first inspired the French with courage openly to oppose the dangerous influence of this aspiring family.

The theological disputes, first started in the north of Germany, next in Switzerland, countries at that time wholly illiterate, had long since penetrated into France; and as they were assisted by the general discontent against the court and church of Rome, and by the zealous spirit of the age, the proselytes to the new religion were secretly increasing in every province; though its progress had been opposed by Francis the First, and still more rigorously by his son Henry the Second, whose unprincipled bigotry led him to inflict the severest punishments on the most eminent of the party. Indeed a point of honour seemed to have arisen, whether the one sect could exercise, or the other suffer, most barbarity. The death of Henry put some stop to the flames of persecution; and the people, who had admired the constancy of the new preachers, now heard with favour their doctrines and arguments. But the cardinal of Lorraine, as well as his brothers, who were possessed of the legal authority, thought it their interest to support the established religion; and when they revived the execution of the penal statutes, they necessarily drove the malcontent princes and nobles to embrace the protection of the new religion. The king of Navarre, a man of mild dispositions, but of a weak character, and the prince of Condé, who possessed many great qualities, having declared themselves in favour of the Protestants, that sect acquired new force from their countenance; and the admiral, Coligni, with his brother Andelot, no longer scrupled to make open profession of their principles. The integrity of the admiral, whose sincerity in his attachment to the new doctrine could not be doubted, and his great reputation both for valour and conduct, for the arts of peace as well as of war, brought credit to the Reformers; and after a frustrated attempt of the malcontents to seize the king's person at Amboise, of which Elizabeth had probably been apprized (*b*), every place was full of distraction, and matters hastened to an open rupture between the parties. But the house of Guise, though these factions had obliged them to remit their efforts in Scotland, and had been one chief cause of Elizabeth's success, were determined not to relinquish their authority in France, or yield to the violence of their enemies. They found an opportunity of seizing the king of Navarre and the prince of Condé; they threw the former into prison; they obtained a sentence of death against the latter; and they were proceeding to put the sentence into execution, when the sudden death of Francis the Second, (by some supposed to have been poisoned,) saved the noble prisoner, and interrupted the

(*b*) Sir Nicholas Throgmorton, about this time, being extremely unwilling to entrust to letters the great and important secrets that were committed to him, obtained leave, under some pretext, to come over to London.

prosperity of the duke of Guise. The queen-mother, Catharine de Medicis, was appointed regent to her son Charles IX. now in his minority: the king of Navarre was named lieutenant-general of the kingdom: the sentence against Condé was annulled: the constable was recalled to court: and the family of Guise, though they still enjoyed great offices and great power, found a counterpoise to their authority. Indeed it seemed to be the intention of the regent to support her power by occasionally opposing one faction to another, without suffering either to predominate.

Elizabeth was determined to make advantage of these events against the queen of Scots, whom she still regarded as a dangerous rival. She saw herself freed from the perils attending an union of Scotland with France, and from the pretensions of so powerful a prince as Francis; but she considered, at the same time, that the English Catholics, who were numerous, and who were generally prejudiced in favour of Mary's title, would now adhere to that princess with more zealous attachment, when they saw that her succession no longer endangered the liberties of the kingdom, and was rather attended with the advantage of effecting an entire union with Scotland. She gave orders, therefore, in the beginning of 1561, to her ambassador, Throgmorton, a vigilant and able minister, to renew his applications to the queen of Scots, and to require her ratification of the treaty of Edinburgh. But though Mary had desisted, after her husband's death, from bearing the arms and title of queen of England, she still declined gratifying Elizabeth in this important article; and being swayed by the ambitious suggestions of her uncles, she refused to make a resignation of her pretensions in any formal manner.

Meanwhile, the queen-mother of France, who imputed to Mary all the mortifications which she had met with during Francis's life-time, took care to retaliate on her by like injuries; and the queen of Scots, finding herself treated with coolness, and her abode in France disagreeable, began to think of returning to her native country. Her brother, lord James, had been sent to her by the Reformers; but before his departure, they exacted from him a promise that he would prevent the queen, on her return, from countenancing the celebration of the mass, either in public or private. The Catholics had deputed John Lesley, afterwards bishop of Ross; who, arriving before lord James, first saw Mary at Vitry, in Champagne, where she then resided. The artful insinuations of this prelate conveyed to Mary an idea of the detestable character of her brother, whom he represented as a man under the sole guidance of ambition, capable of aspiring even to the crown itself, and disposed to the exertion of every possible means that could lead to the attainment of his object. Lesley warned her, that lord James would advise her by no means to suffer any French troops to accompany her to Scotland, lest their known petulance should urge them to attempt any innovation in religious affairs, which would tend to disturb her repose; but that his real designs, though concealed beneath the specious pretext of affection to his sister, and zeal for her service, only tended to remove from about her person all such as by their presence might raise insurmountable obstacles to his own acquisition of the sovereignty. He farther advised her to detain her brother in France till such time as she should have established peace and good order throughout her dominions; and he concluded by telling her it would be prudent to enter Scotland by the northern provinces, where she would find an army of twenty thousand men ready to conduct her to Edinburgh. Though Mary was not inclined to enter her kingdom, like a conqueror alarmed for the safety of his person, she nevertheless expressed her satisfaction with the zeal of Lesley; and charged him to assure the Scottish nobles of the extreme pleasure with which this mark of their attachment inspired her, and to tell them that she would expedite her departure from France as soon as possible. The very next day lord James arrived at St. Dizier, where he saw his sister and his sovereign. The ties of blood, the winning eloquence of her brother, his insinuating address, and his strong professions of implicit obedience to her will, operated so powerfully in his favour, that all those prejudices which the insinuations of Lesley had tended to excite in her mind were instantly dissipated. Mary having accompanied him to Joinville, there promised, as the reward of his fidelity, to bestow on him the title of earl of Murray; and then dismissed him, laden with presents, to prepare the Scotch for her arrival; and she applied to Elizabeth, by D'Oisel, for a safe-conduct, in case she should be obliged to pass through England: but she received for answer, that, till she had given satisfaction, by ratifying the treaty of Edinburgh, she could expect no favour from a person whom she had so much injured: this denial excited her indignation; and she made no scruple of expressing her sentiments to Throgmorton, when he reiterated his applications to gratify his mistress in a demand which he represented as so reasonable (c). Having cleared the room of her attendants, she said to him, "How weak I may prove, or how far a woman's frailty may transport me, I cannot tell: however, I am resolved not to have so many witnesses of my infirmity as your mistress had at her audience of my ambassador D'Oisel. There is nothing disturbs me so much, as the having asked, with so much importunity, a favour which it was of no consequence for me to obtain. I can, with God's leave, return to my own country without her leave; as I came to France, in spite of all the opposition of her brother, king Edward: neither do I want friends both able and willing to conduct me home, as they have brought me hither; though I was desirous rather to make an experiment of your mistress's friendship, than of the assistance of any other person. I have often heard you say, that a good correspondence between her and myself would conduce much to the security and happiness of both our kingdoms: were she well convinced of this truth, she would hardly have denied me so small a request. But, perhaps, she bears a better inclination to my rebellious subjects than to me, their sovereign, her equal in royal dignity, her near relation, and the undoubted heir of her kingdoms. Besides her friendship, I ask nothing at her hands: I neither trouble her, nor concern myself in the affairs of her state: not that I am ignorant, that there are now in England a great many malcontents, who are no friends to the present establishment. She is pleased to upbraid me as a person little experienced in the world: I freely own it; but age will cure that defect. However, I am already old enough to acquit myself honestly and courteously to my friends and relations, and to encourage no reports of your mistress, which would misbecome a queen and her kinswoman. I would also say, by her leave, that I am a queen as well as she, and not altogether friendless: and, perhaps, I have as great a soul too; so that methinks we should be upon a level in our treatment of each other. As soon as I have consulted the states of my kingdom, I shall be ready to give her a reasonable answer; and I am the more intent on my journey, in order to make the quicker dispatch in this affair. But she, it seems, intends to stop my journey; so that either she will not let me give her satisfaction, or is resolved not to be satisfied; perhaps, on purpose to keep up the disagreement between us. She has often reproached me with my being young; and I must be very young indeed, and as ill-advised, to treat of matters of such great concern and importance without the advice of my parliament. I have not been wanting in all friendly offices to her; but she disbelieves or overlooks them. I could heartily wish, that I were as nearly allied to her in affection as in blood: for that, indeed, would be a most valuable alliance."

This spirited reply, notwithstanding the obliging terms interspersed in it, was but ill fitted to conciliate friendship between these rival princesses, or put a stop to those mutual jealousies which had already taken place. Elizabeth equipped a fleet, on pretence of pursuing pirates,

(c) It was not the ratification of the treaty between France and Scotland which Elizabeth was so eager to obtain, but of that in which her right to the crown of England was acknowledged, and in which Mary resigned all her pretensions to the title and arms of that kingdom. Though the queen had very properly disdained to prove the legitimacy of her birth when threatened with papal censures, and the Spanish arms; yet the English Catholics, it was thought, might conspire with those of Scotland in favour of Mary, and excite troubles which it would be difficult to appease. It was therefore an object of importance to Elizabeth that Mary should ratify this treaty, in which she expressly recognised her right, and promised never to infringe on it. But Mary apprehended that, by consenting to ratify it, her own claims as presumptive heir to the throne, in case of Elizabeth's death, would be lost; since that princess, she thought, might, in imitation of her father, alter the order of succession by an act of parliament. A trifling alteration in the terms of the treaty might indeed have easily reconciled the interests of both; as the queen might have secured the acknowledgement of her own right, and that of her descendants, by requiring Mary to renounce the title and arms of England only during the lives of Elizabeth and her lawful heirs; but the jealousy which subsisted between the two sovereigns prevented the adoption of this accommodating system.

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but probably with an intention of intercepting the queen of Scots in her return homewards. Mary embarked at Calais; and passing the English fleet in a fog, arrived safely at Leith, on the 19th of August, attended by her three uncles, the duke of Aumale, the grand prior, and the marquis of Elbeuf, together with the marquis of Damville, and other French courtiers. This change of abode and situation was very little agreeable to that princess. Besides her natural prepossessions in favour of a country in which she had been educated from her earliest infancy, and where she had borne so high a rank, she could not forbear both regretting the society of that people, so celebrated for their humane disposition, and their respectful attachment to their sovereign, and reflecting on the disparity of the scene which lay before her. It is said that, after she was embarked at Calais, she kept her eyes fixed on the coast of France, and never turned them from that beloved object, till darkness fell, and intercepted it from her view. She then ordered a couch to be spread for her on the deck; and charged the pilot, that if in the morning the land were still in sight, he should awake her, and afford her one parting view of that country, in which all her affections were centered. The weather proved calm, so that the ship made little way in the night-time: and Mary had once more an opportunity of seeing the French coast. She sat up on her couch, and still looking towards the land, often repeated these words: "Farewell France, farewell: I shall never see thee more." The first aspect, however, of things in Scotland was more favourable, if not to her pleasure and happiness, at least to her repose and security, than she had reason to apprehend. No sooner did the French gallies appear off Leith, than people of all ranks, who had long expected their arrival, flocked towards the shore with an earnest impatience to behold and receive their young sovereign. Some were led by duty, some by interest, some by curiosity; and all combined to express their attachment to her, and to insinuate themselves into her confidence, on the commencement of her administration. She had now reached her nineteenth year; and the bloom of her youth and amiable beauty of her person were farther recommended by the affability of her address, the politeness of her manners, and the elegance of her genius. Well accomplished in all the superficial, but engaging graces of a court, she afforded, when better known, still more promising indications of her character; and men prognosticated both humanity from her soft and obliging deportment, and penetration from her taste in all the refined arts of music, eloquence, and poetry. And as the Scots had long been deprived of the presence of their sovereign, whom they once despaired ever more to behold among them, her arrival seemed to give universal satisfaction; and nothing appeared about the court, but symptoms of affection, joy, and festivity.

The first measures which Mary embraced confirmed all the prepossessions entertained in her favour. In compliance with the advice given her in France by D'Oisel and the bishop of Amiens, as well as her uncles, she bestowed her confidence entirely on the leaders of the reformed party, who had the greatest influence over the people, and who, she found, were alone able to support her government. Her brother, lord James, whom she soon after created earl of Murray, obtained the chief authority; and after him Lidington, secretary of state, a man of great sagacity, had a principal share in her confidence. By the vigour of these men's measures she endeavoured to establish order and justice in a country divided by public factions and private feuds; and that fierce, intractable people, unacquainted with laws and obedience, seemed, for a time, to submit peaceably to her gentle and prudent administration.

But there was one circumstance which blasted all these promising appearances, and bereaved Mary of that general favour which her agreeable manners and judicious deportment gave her just reason to expect. She was still a papist; and though she published soon after her arrival, a proclamation, enjoining every one to submit to the established religion, the preachers and their adherents could neither be reconciled to a person polluted with so great an abomination, nor lay aside their jealousies of her future conduct. It was with great difficulty she could obtain permission for saying mass in her own chapel: and had not the people apprehended, that, if she had here met with a refusal, she would instantly have returned to France, the zealots never would have granted her even that indulgence. The cry was, "Shall we suffer that idol to be again erected within the realm?" It was asserted in the pulpit, that one mass was more terrible than ten thousand armed men landed to invade the kingdom; lord Lindesey, and some gentlemen of Fife, exclaimed, "That the idolator should die the death;" such was their expression. One that carried tapers for the ceremony of that worship, was attacked and insulted in the court of the palace. And if lord James, and some popular leaders, had not interposed, the most dangerous uproar was apprehended, from the ungoverned fury of the multitude. Public prayers were offered up in the churches to this purpose: That God would turn the queen's heart, which was obstinate against him and his truth; or if his holy will be otherwise, that he would strengthen the hearts and hands of the elect, stoutly to oppose the rage of all tyrants. Nay, it was openly called in question, whether that princess, being an idolatress, was entitled to any authority, even in civil matters?

The queen was every moment exposed to contemptuous and indignant treatment, which she bore with benignity and patience. Soon after her arrival she dined in the castle of Edinburgh, and it was there contrived, that a boy, six years of age, should be let down from the roof, and should present her with a bible, a psalter, and the keys of the castle. Lest she should be at a loss to understand this insult on her as a papist, all the decorations of the apartment expressed the burning of Korah, Dathan, and Abiram, and other punishments inflicted by God upon idolatry. The town council of Edinburgh had the assurance to arrogate to themselves the power of issuing a proclamation, banishing from their district "all the wicked rabble of antichrist, the pope; such as priests, monks, friers, together with adulterers and fornicators." And because the privy-council suspended the magistrates for their insolence the passionate historians of that age have inferred, that the queen was engaged, by a sympathy of manners, to take adulterers and fornicators under her protection. It appears probable, that the magistrates were afterwards reinstated in their office, and that their proclamation was confirmed.

The assembly of the church framed an address, in which, after telling Mary, that her mass was a bastard service of God, the fountain of all impiety, and the source of every evil which abounded in the realm; they expressed their hopes, that she would, ere this time, have preferred truth to her own pre-conceived opinion, and have renounced her religion, which, they assured her, was nothing but abomination and vanity. They said, that the present abuses of government were so enormous, that, if a speedy remedy were not provided, God would not fail in his anger to strike the head and the tail, the disobedient prince and sinful people. They required, that severe punishment should be inflicted on adulterers and fornicators; and they concluded with demanding for themselves some addition both of power and property.

The ringleader in these insults on majesty was John Knox; who possessed an uncontrolled authority in the church, and even in the civil affairs of the nation. His usual appellation for the queen was Jezebel; and though she endeavoured, by great condescension, to gain his favour, all her efforts proved fruitless. She promised him access to her whenever he demanded it; and she even desired him, if he found her blameable in any thing, to reprehend her freely in private, rather than vilify her in the pulpit before the whole people: but he plainly told her, that he had a public ministry entrusted to him; that if she would come to church, she should there hear the gospel of truth; and that it was not his business to apply to every individual, nor had he leisure for that occupation. His political principles were as full of sedition as his theological were of bigotry. Though he once condescended so far as to tell the queen, that he would submit to her, in the same manner as Paul did to Nero; he remained not long in this dutiful strain. He said to her, that "Samuel feared not to slay Agag, the fat and delicate king of Amalek, whom king Saul had saved: neither spared Elias Jezebel's false prophets, and Baal's priests, though king Ahab was present. Phineas," added he, "was no magistrate; yet feared he not to strike Cosbi and Zimri in the very act of filthy fornication. And so, Madam, your grace may see, that others than chief magistrates may lawfully inflict punishment on such crimes as are condemned by the law of God." Knox had formerly, during the reign of Mary of England, written a book against female succession to the crown: the title of it is, "The first blast of the trumpet against the monstrous regimen of women."

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He was too proud either to recant or to apologize; and his conduct shewed, that he thought neither loyalty nor decency due to the female sex.

The life of Mary was thus filled with bitterness and sorrow. This rustic apostle scruples not, in his history, to inform us, that he once treated her with such severity, that she lost all command of temper, and dissolved in tears before him. The pulpits had become mere scenes of railing against the vices of the court; among which were always noted as the principal, feasting, finery, dancing, balls, and whoredom, their necessary attendant. Some ornaments, which the ladies at that time wore upon their petticoats, excited mightily the indignation of the preachers; and they affirmed, that such vanity would provoke God's vengeance, not only against these foolish women, but against the whole realm.

On account of the severity of these reformers, Mary had reason to regret her leaving France; and soon after her two uncles, the duke of Aumale, and the grand prior, with the other French nobility, took leave of her: the marquis of Elbeuf remained some time longer; but after his departure, she was left to the society of her own subjects; men unacquainted with the pleasures of conversation, ignorant of arts and civility, and corrupted, beyond their usual rusticity, by a dismal fanaticism, which rendered them incapable of all humanity or improvement. Though Mary had made no attempt to restore the ancient religion, her popery was a sufficient crime.

An adventure happened to the marquis of Elbeuf, before his departure, which enabled him to give Mary's friends in France a melancholy idea of her situation. This nobleman, with the earl of Bothwel, and some other young courtiers, had been engaged, after a debauch, to pay a visit to a woman called Alison Craig, who was known to be liberal of her favours; and because they were denied admittance, they broke the windows, thrust open the door, and committed some disorders, in searching for the damsel. The assembly of the church was sitting at that time, and immediately took cognizance of the matter. In conjunction with several of the nobility, they presented an address to the queen, which was introduced with this pompous prelude: "To the queen's majesty, and to her secret and great council, her grace's faithful and obedient subjects, the professors of Christ Jesus's holy evangile, wish the spirit of righteous judgement." The tenor of the petition was, that the fear of God, the duty which they owed her grace, and the terrible threatenings denounced by God against every city or country where horrible crimes were openly committed, compelled them to demand the severe punishment of such as had done what in them lay to kindle the wrath of God against the whole realm: that the iniquity of which they complained, was so heinous and so horrible, that they should esteem themselves accomplices in it, if they had been engaged by worldly fear, or servile complaisance, to pass it over in silence, or bury it in oblivion: that as they owed her grace obedience in the administration of justice, so were they entitled to require of her, in return, the sharp and condign punishment of this enormity, which might draw down the vengeance of God on the whole kingdom: and that they maintained it to be her duty to lay aside all private affections towards the actors in so heinous a crime and so enormous a villany; and they requested her without delay to bring them to a trial, and inflict the severest penalties upon them. The queen received this peremptory address with courtesy; but because she probably thought, that breaking the windows of a brothel merited not such severe reprehension, she only replied, that her uncle was a stranger, and that he was attended by a young company: but she would put such order to him and to all others, that her subjects should henceforth have no reason to complain. Her passing over this incident in so slight a manner was the source of great discontent, and was regarded as a proof of the most profligate manners (*d*).

During the queen's absence, some of the populace of Edinburgh broke into her chapel, and committed outrages; for which two of them were indicted, and it was intended to bring them to a trial; but Knox wrote circular letters to the most considerable zealots of the party, and charged them to appear in town, and protect their brethren. These violent measures for opposing justice were little short of rebellion; and Knox was summoned before the council to answer for his offence. His courage was equal to his insolence; and he scrupled not to tell the queen, that the pestilent papists, who had inflamed her against these holy men, were the sons of the devil; and must therefore obey the directions of their father, who had been a liar and a manslayer from the beginning. Knox, however, notwithstanding his insolent behaviour was acquitted.

We have related the above incidents at greater length than the necessity of our subject may seem to require: but even trivial circumstances, which show the manners of the age, are often more instructive, as well as entertaining, than the great transactions of wars and negociations, which are nearly similar in all periods and in all countries.

The reformed clergy in Scotland had, at that time, a natural reason for their ill-humour; namely, the poverty to which they were reduced. The nobility and gentry had at first laid their hands on all the property of the regular clergy, without making any provision for the friers and nuns, whom they turned out of their possessions. The secular clergy of the Catholic communion, though they lost all ecclesiastical jurisdiction, still held some of the temporalities of their benefices; and either became laymen themselves, and converted them into private property, or made conveyance of them at low prices to the nobility, who thus enriched themselves by the plunder of the church. The new teachers had hitherto subsisted chiefly by the voluntary oblations of the faithful; and in a poor country, divided in religious sentiments, this establishment was regarded as very scanty and precarious. Repeated applications were made for a legal settlement to the preachers; and though almost every thing in the kingdom was governed by their zeal and caprice, it was with difficulty that their request was at last complied with. But the necessities of the crown, the rapacity of the courtiers, and the small affection which Mary bore to the Protestant ecclesiastics, rendered their revenues contemptible as well as uncertain; and the preachers, finding that they could not rival the gentry, or even the middling rank of men, in opulence and plenty, betook themselves to other expedients for supporting their authority. They affected a furious zeal for religion, morose manners, a vulgar and familiar, yet mysterious cant; and though the liberality of subsequent princes put them afterwards on a better footing with regard to revenue, and thereby corrected in some degree those bad habits; it must be confessed, that, while many other advantages attend presbyterian government, these inconveniencies are not easily separated from the genius of that ecclesiastical polity.

Mary, destitute of all force, possessing a narrow revenue, surrounded with a factious nobility, a bigoted people, and insolent ecclesiastics, soon found, that her only expedient for maintaining tranquillity was to preserve a good correspondence with Elizabeth, who, by former services, had acquired great authority over these ranks of men. Soon after her arrival in Scotland, secretary Lidington was sent to London, to pay her compliments to Elizabeth, and express her desire of friendship and good correspondence; and he received a commission from her, as well as from the nobility of Scotland, to demand that Mary should, by act of parliament or by proclamation, be declared successor to the crown. No request could be more unreasonable, or made at a more improper juncture. The queen replied, "that Mary had once discovered her intention not to wait for the succession, but had openly, without ceremony or reserve, assumed the title of queen of England, and had pretended a superior right to her throne and kingdom: that though her ambassadors, and those of her husband, the French king, had signed a treaty, in which they renounced that claim, and promised satisfaction for so great an indignity, she was so intoxicated with this imaginary right, that she had rejected the most earnest solicitations, and even had incurred some danger in crossing the seas, rather than ratify that equitable treaty: that her partizans every where had still the assurance to insist on her title, and had presumed to talk of her own birth as illegitimate: that while affairs were on this footing; while a claim thus openly made, so far from being openly renounced, was only suspended till a more favourable opportunity, it would, in her, be the most egregious imprudence to fortify the hands of a pretender to her crown, by declaring her the successor: that no expedient could be worse imagined for cementing friendship than such a declaration; and kings

(*d*) It is not to be omitted, that Alison Craig, the cause of all the uproar, was known to entertain a commerce with the earl of Arran, who, on account of his great zeal for the reformation, was, without scruple, indulged in that enormity.

were often found to bear no good will to their successors, even though their own children; much more when the connexion was less intimate, and when such cause of disgust and jealousy had already been given, and indeed was still continued, on the part of Mary: that though she was willing, from the amity which she bore her kinswoman, to ascribe her former pretensions to the advice of others, by whose direction she was then governed; her present refusal to relinquish them could proceed only from her own prepossessions, and was a proof that she still harboured some dangerous designs against her: that it was the nature of all men to be disgusted with the present, to entertain flattering views of futurity, to think their services ill rewarded, to expect a better recompence from the successor; and she should esteem herself scarcely half a sovereign over the English, if they saw her declare her heir, and arm her rival with authority against her own repose and safety: that she knew the inconstant nature of the people; she was acquainted with the present divisions in religion; she was not ignorant that the same party which expected greater favour during the reign of Mary, did also imagine that the title of that princess was superior to her own: that for her part, whatever claims were advanced, she was determined to live and die queen of England; and after her death, it was the business of others to examine who had the best pretensions, either by the laws or by the right of blood, to the succession: that she hoped the claim of the queen of Scots would then be found solid; and, considering the injury which she herself had received, it was sufficient indulgence, if she promised, in the mean time, to do nothing which might, in any respect, weaken or invalidate it: and that Mary, if her title were really preferable, a point which, for her own part, she had never enquired into, possessed all advantages above her rivals; who, destitute both of present power, and of all support by friends, would only expose themselves to inevitable ruin, by advancing any weak, or even doubtful, pretensions."

These views of Elizabeth were so prudent and judicious, that there was no likelihood of her ever departing from them: but that she might put the matter to a fuller proof, she offered to explain the words of the treaty of Edinburgh, so as to leave no suspicion of their excluding Mary's right of succession; and in this form she again required her to ratify that treaty. Mary at length agreed to the proposal, and offered to renounce all present pretensions to the crown of England, provided Elizabeth would agree to declare her the successor. But such was the jealous character of this latter princess, that she never would consent to strengthen the interest and authority of any claimant, by fixing the succession; much less would she make this concession in favour of a rival queen, who possessed such plausible pretensions for the present, and who, though she might verbally renounce them, could easily resume her claim on the first opportunity. Mary's proposal, however, bore so specious an appearance of equity and justice, that Elizabeth, sensible that reason would, by superficial thinkers, be deemed to lie entirely on that side, made no more mention of the matter; and, though farther concessions were never made by either princess, they put on the appearance of a cordial reconciliation and friendship with each other.

Elizabeth observed that, even without her interposition, Mary was sufficiently depressed by the mutinous spirit of her own subjects; and, instead of giving Scotland any inquietude or disturbance, she employed herself, more usefully and laudably, in regulating the affairs of her own kingdom, and promoting the happiness of her people. She made some progress in paying those great debts which lay upon the crown; she regulated the coin, which had been much debased by her predecessors; she furnished her arsenals with great quantities of arms from Germany and other places; engaged her nobility and gentry to imitate her example in this particular; introduced into the kingdom the art of making gunpowder and brass cannon; fortified her frontiers on the side of Scotland; made frequent reviews of the militia; encouraged agriculture, by allowing a free exportation of corn; promoted trade and navigation; and so much increased the shipping of her kingdom, both by building vessels of force herself, and suggesting like undertakings to the merchants, that she was styled the restorer of naval glory, and the queen of the northern seas. The natural frugality of her temper, so far from incapacitating her from these great enterprizes, only enabled her to execute them with greater certainty and success; and every one saw in her conduct the happy effects of a vigorous perseverance in judicious and well-concerted plans.

Notwithstanding Elizabeth's public declarations in favour of a single life, few believed that she would persevere for ever in that resolution. The archduke Charles, second son of the emperor, as well as Casimir, son of the elector Palatine, made applications to her; and as this latter prince professed the reformed religion, he entertained the idea of succeeding. Eric, king of Sweden, and Adolphus, duke of Holstein, were encouraged, by the same views, to become suitors: and the earl of Arran, heir to the crown of Scotland, was, by the states of that kingdom, recommended as a suitable marriage. Even some of her own subjects, though they did not openly declare their pretensions, entertained hopes of success. The earl of Arundel, descended from an ancient and noble family, as well as possessed of great riches, flattered himself with this prospect; as did also sir William Pickering, a man much esteemed for his personal merit. But the person most likely to succeed, was a younger son of the late duke of Northumberland, lord Robert Dudley, who had become, in a manner, her declared favourite, and had great influence in all her counsels. The less worthy he appeared of this distinction, the more was his great favour ascribed to some violent affection, which could thus seduce the judgment of his penetrating sovereign; and men long expected that he would obtain the preference above so many princes and monarchs. But the queen gave all these suitors a gentle refusal, which still encouraged their pursuit; and she thought that she should the better attach them to her interests if they were still allowed to entertain hopes of succeeding in their pretensions.

A singular circumstance in the conduct and character of Elizabeth is, that though she determined never to have any heir of her own body, she was not only averse to fix any successor to the crown; but seems also to have resolved, that no one who had pretensions to the succession should ever have any heirs or successors. If the exclusion given by the will of Henry VIII. to the posterity of Margaret, queen of Scotland was allowed to be valid, the right to the crown devolved on the house of Suffolk; and the lady Catherine Grey, younger sister to the lady Jane, was now the heir of that family. This lady had been married to lord Herbert, son of the earl of Pembroke; but, having been divorced from that nobleman, she made a private marriage with the earl of Hertford, son of the protector; and her husband, soon after consummation, travelled into France. In a little time she appeared to be pregnant, which so enraged Elizabeth, that she threw her into the Tower, and summoned Hertford to appear, in order to answer for his conduct. He made no scruple of acknowledging the marriage, which, though concluded without the queen's consent, was suitable to both parties; and for this offence he was also committed to the Tower. Elizabeth's severity stopped not here: she issued a commission to enquire into the matter; and as Hertford could not, within the time limited, prove the nuptials by witnesses, the commerce between him and his consort was declared unlawful, and their posterity illegitimate. They were still detained in custody; but, by bribing their keepers, they found means to have farther intercourse; and another child appeared to be the fruit of their commerce. This was a fresh source of vexation to the queen; who made a fine of fifteen thousand pounds be set on Hertford by the Star-chamber, and ordered his confinement to be thenceforth more rigid and severe. He lay in this condition for nine years, till the death of his wife, by freeing Elizabeth from all fears, procured him his liberty. This shameful exertion of despotic power, repugnant to every principle of justice, and subversive of all laws, both human and divine, betrayed a diabolical malignity in Elizabeth; and sufficiently proved that she was prepared to sacrifice the most important considerations to the gratification of her leading passions—envy and revenge.

About this time, there happened some other events in the royal family, where the queen's conduct was more laudable. Arthur Pole, and his brother, nephews to the late cardinal, and descended from the duke of Clarence, together with Anthony Fortescue, who had married a sister of these gentlemen, and some other persons, were brought to their trial for intending to withdraw into France, with a view of soliciting succours from the duke of Guise, of returning thence into Wales, and of proclaiming Mary queen of England, and Arthur Pole duke of Clarence. They confessed the indictment, but asserted, that they never

never meant to execute these projects during the queen's life-time: they had only deemed such precautions requisite in case of her demise, which some pretenders to judicial astrology had assured them they might with certainly look for before the year expired. They were condemned by the jury; but pardoned by the queen.

After the commencement of the religious wars in France, which rendered that flourishing kingdom, for nearly forty years, a scene of horror and devastation, the great rival powers in Europe were Spain and England; and it was not long before an animosity, first political, then personal, broke out between the sovereigns of these countries. Philip II. of Spain, though he reached not any enlarged views of policy, was endowed with great industry and sagacity, a remarkable caution in his enterprizes, and an unusual foresight in all his measures. But prejudices had on him as pernicious effects as ever passion had on any other monarch; and the spirit of bigotry and tyranny by which he was actuated, with the fraudulent maxims which governed his counsels, excited the most violent agitation among his own people, engaged him in acts of the most enormous cruelty, and threw all Europe into combustion.

After Philip had concluded the peace at Chateau-Cambresis, and had remained some time in the Netherlands, to settle the government of that country, he embarked for Spain. Having met with a violent tempest on his voyage, in which part of his fleet was shipwrecked, and above a thousand men perished, he no sooner arrived in the harbour of Loredo, than he fell on his knees; and, after giving thanks for his deliverance, he vowed that his life, which was thus providentially saved, should thenceforth be entirely devoted to the defence of the Catholic faith, and the extirpation of heresy. His subsequent conduct corresponded to these professions. Finding that the new doctrines had penetrated into Spain, and were openly embraced by great numbers of his subjects, among whom were both priests and nuns, he let loose the rage of persecution against all who professed them, or were suspected of adhering to them; and by his violence he gave new edge, even to the usual cruelty of priests and inquisitors. He confined the archbishop of Toledo, Bartlemi di Caranza y Miranda, on suspicion of favouring the doctrine of the Reformation, founded on certain propositions contained in a catechism which he published; and, but for the interference of the pope, that prelate would have been brought to trial, and probably executed. He threw into prison Constantine Ponce, who had been confessor to his father, the emperor Charles; who had attended him during his retreat; and in whose arms that great monarch had terminated his life: and after this ecclesiastic died in confinement, he still ordered him to be tried and condemned for heresy, and his statue to be committed to the flames. He even deliberated whether he should not exercise like severity against the memory of his father, who was suspected, during his later years, to have indulged a propensity towards the Lutheran principles: in his unrelenting zeal for orthodoxy, he spared neither age, sex, nor condition. He attended the most barbarous executions: he was present, at Valladolid, at an Auto de fè; where, among the condemned Protestants, there was a nobleman of the name of Don Carlos di Sessa, who, when the executioners were conducting him to the stake, called out to the king for mercy; saying, "And canst thou thus, O king! witness the torments of thy subjects? Save us from this cruel death; we do not deserve it!"—"No!" Philip sternly replied; "I would myself carry wood to burn my own son, were he such a wretch as thou!" After which, he beheld the horrid spectacle that ensued with a composure and tranquillity that bespoke the most savage and ferocious heart. He issued rigorous orders for the prosecution of heretics in Spain, Italy, the Indies, and the Low Countries: and, having founded his determined tyranny on maxims of civil policy, as well as on principles of religion, he made it apparent, to all his subjects, that there was no method, except the most entire compliance, or most obstinate resistance, to escape or elude the severity of his vengeance.

During that extreme animosity which prevailed between the adherents of the opposite religions, the civil magistrate, who found it difficult, if not impossible, for the same laws to govern such enraged adversaries, was naturally led, by specious rules of prudence, in embracing one party, to declare war against the other, and to exterminate, by fire and sword, those persons, who, from abhorrence of his religion, had proceeded to an opposition of his power, and to a hatred of his person. If any prince possessed such enlarged views as to foresee that a mutual toleration would in time abate the fury of religious prejudices, he yet met with difficulties in reducing this principle to practice; and might deem the malady too violent to await a remedy which, though certain, must necessarily be slow in its operation. But Philip, though a profound hypocrite, and governed by self-interest, seems also to have been himself actuated by an imperious bigotry. By placing himself at the head of the Catholic party, he converted the zealots of the Romish faith into partizans of Spanish greatness; and by employing the powerful allurement of religion, he seduced, every where, the subjects from that allegiance which they owed to their native sovereign.

The course of events, guiding and concurring with choice, had placed Elizabeth in a situation diametrically opposite; and had raised her to be the glory, the bulwark, and the support of the numerous, though still persecuted, Protestants throughout the continent of Europe. More moderate in her temper than Philip, she found that the principles of her sect required not such extreme severity in her domestic government as was exercised by that monarch; and, having no object but self-preservation, she united her interests in all foreign negociations with those who were every where struggling under oppression, and guarding themselves against ruin and extermination.

During the life-time of Henry II. of France, and of his successor, the force of these principles was somewhat restrained, though not overcome; and the dread of uniting England with the French monarchy, engaged Philip to maintain a good correspondence with Elizabeth. Yet, even during this period, he rejected the garter which she sent him; he refused to ratify the ancient league between the house of Burgundy and England; he furnished ships to transport French forces into Scotland; he endeavoured to intercept the earl of Arran, who was hastening to join the malcontents in that country; and the most sagacious ministers of the queen still regarded his friendship as doubtful and precarious. But no sooner did the death of Francis II. put an end to Philip's apprehensions with regard to Mary's succession, than his animosity against Elizabeth began more openly to appear; and the interests of Spain and those of England were found opposite in every negociation and transaction.

The two great monarchies of the continent, France and Spain, were now possessed of nearly equal force, and were therefore naturally antagonists; and England, from its power and situation, was entitled to support its own dignity, as well as tranquillity, by holding the balance between them. Whatever incident tended too much to depress one of these rival powers, as it left the other without control, might be deemed contrary to the interests of England; yet so much were these great maxims of policy over-ruled by the disputes of theology, that Philip found an advantage in supporting the established government and religion of France; and Elizabeth in protecting the Protestant cause.

Catharine de Medicis, queen-regent of France, when reinstated in authority by the death of her son, Francis, had formed a plan of administration more subtle than judicious; and, balancing the Catholics with the Hugonots, the duke of Guise with the prince of Condé, she endeavoured to render herself necessary to both, and to establish her own dominion on their constrained obedience. But the equal counterpoise of power, which, among foreign nations, is the source of tranquillity, proves always the ground of quarrel between domestic factions. The constable, Montmorency, moved by zeal for the Catholic faith, joined himself to the duke of Guise: the king of Navarre, from the natural inconstancy of his temper, and his jealousy of the superior genius of his brother, embraced the same party: and Catharine, finding herself depressed by this combination, had recourse to Condé and the Hugonots, who were happy in the opportunity of fortifying themselves by her countenance and protection. An edict had been published, granting a toleration to the Protestants; but the interested violence of the duke of Guise broke through this agreement; and the two parties, after the fallacious tranquillity of a moment, renewed their mutual insults and injuries. Condé, Coligni, and D'Andelot, assembled their friends, and flew to arms: Guise and Montmorency got possession of the king's person, and constrained the queen-regent to embrace their party: fourteen armies were levied and put in motion in different parts of France: each province, each city, each family, was

was agitated with intestine rage and animosity. The father was divided against the son; brother against brother; and women themselves, sacrificing the natural softness of their sex, and their humanity as well as their timidity to religious fury, distinguished themselves by acts of ferocity and valour. Wherever the Hugonots prevailed, the images were broken, the altars pillaged, the churches demolished, the monasteries consumed with fire: where success attended the Catholics, they burned the bibles, re-baptized the infants, constrained married persons to pass anew through the nuptial ceremony: and plunder, desolation, and bloodshed attended equally the triumph of both parties. The parliament of Paris itself, the seat of law and justice, instead of employing its authority to compose these fatal quarrels, increased the fury of the populace by publishing an infamous edict, by which it put the sword into the hands of the enraged multitude, and empowered the Catholics every where to massacre the Hugonots: and it was during this period, when men began to emerge from a state of ignorance; and in this nation, renowned for suavity of manners, that the theological rage, which had long been boiling in men's veins, appears to have attained its last stage of virulence and ferocity.

The king of Spain, alarmed at the progress which the Hugonots made in France, and dreading that the contagion would spread into the Low Countries, where he had lately established an iniquitous tribunal, similar to that of the inquisition, entered into a secret alliance with the princes of Guise, and had formed a league for the protection of the Catholic faith, and the total suppression of heresy. He now sent six thousand men, with a supply of money, to reinforce the Catholic party; and the prince of Condé, finding himself unequal to so great a combination, countenanced by the royal authority, was obliged to dispatch the Vidame of Chartres and Briguemaut to London, in order to crave the assistance and protection of Elizabeth. The greater part of the province of Normandy was possessed by the Hugonots: and Condé offered to put Havre de Grace into the hands of the English; on condition that, together with three thousand men for the garrison of that place, the queen should likewise send over three thousand to defend Dieppe and Rouen, and should furnish the prince with a supply of a hundred thousand crowns.

It was well known that Elizabeth, besides the general and essential interest of supporting the Protestants, and opposing the rapid progress of her enemy the duke of Guise, had other motives which engaged her to accept the proposal of the prince of Condé. When she concluded the peace at Chateau-Cambresis, she had good reason to suspect that France never would voluntarily fulfil the article which regarded the restitution of Calais; and many subsequent incidents had tended to confirm this suspicion. Considerable sums of money had been expended on the fortifications; long leases had been granted of the lands; and many inhabitants had been encouraged to build and settle there, by assurances that Calais should never be restored to the English. The queen therefore wisely concluded, that by obtaining possession of Havre, a place which commanded the mouth of the Seine, and was of greater importance than Calais, she should easily constrain the French to execute the treaty, and should have the glory of restoring to the crown that ancient possession, so much the favourite of the nation.

No measure could be more odious in France, than the conclusion of this treaty with Elizabeth. All men were naturally led to compare the conduct of Guise, who had finally expelled the English, and had debarred these dangerous and destructive enemies from all access into France, with the treasonable politics of Condé, who had again granted them an entrance into the heart of the kingdom. But how trivial and insignificant would have appeared even the most dreadful ravages of the hostile English troops, when compared with the bloody massacres of Amboise, Vassy, and Guillac, and with all the horrors which preceded and followed them! The prince of Condé was doubtless culpable for giving an enemy a free entrance into the heart of the kingdom; though impelled by necessity, and a well-founded dread of the artifices of the queen-regent, to the adoption of that dangerous measure: but the duke of Guise, with all the talents of a general, neither possessed the sentiments of a citizen, nor the feelings of a man; and, had success attended the conduct of his illustrious rival, his memory would never have been polluted by the malignant voice of turbulent envy.

In compliance with the treaty, three thousand English immediately took possession of Havre and Dieppe, under the command of sir Edward Poinings; but the latter place was found so little capable of defence, that it was immediately abandoned. The siege of Rouen was already formed by the Catholics, under the command of the king of Navarre and Montmorency; and it was with difficulty that Poinings could throw a small reinforcement into the place. Though these English troops behaved with gallantry, and though the king of Navarre was mortally wounded during the siege, the Catholics still continued the siege of the place, and carrying it at last by assault, put the whole garrison to the sword. The earl of Warwick, eldest son of the late duke of Northumberland, arrived soon after at Havre, with another body of three thousand English, and took on him the command of the place.

It was expected that the French Catholics, flushed with their success at Rouen, would immediately have formed the siege of Havre, which was not as yet in any condition of defence; but the intestine disorders of the kingdom soon diverted their attention to another part of the country. D'Andelot, seconded by the negociations of Elizabeth, had levied a considerable body of troops in Germany; and having arrived at Orleans, the seat of the Hugonots' power, he enabled the prince of Condé and the admiral to take the field, and oppose the progress of their enemies. After threatening Paris during some time, they directed their march towards Normandy, with a view of engaging the English to act in conjunction with them, and of fortifying themselves by the farther assistance which they expected from the zeal and vigour of Elizabeth. The Catholics, commanded by Montmorency, and under him by the duke of Guise, followed close on their rear; and, overtaking them at Dreux, compelled them to give battle. The contest was maintained with great obstinacy on both sides; and the action was distinguished by this singular event, that Condé and Montmorency, the commanders of the opposite armies, fell both of them prisoners into the hands of their enemies. The appearances of victory remained with Guise; but the admiral, whose fate it ever was to be defeated, and still to rise more terrible after his misfortunes, collected the remains of the army; and inspiring every bosom with his own unconquerable courage and constancy, kept them in a body, and subdued some considerable places in Normandy, which had fallen into the hands of the Catholics. Elizabeth, the better to support his cause, sent him a new supply of a hundred thousand crowns; and offered, if he could find merchants to lend him the money, to give her bond for another sum of equal amount.

The queen had emptied the coffers of her exchequer by the expences incurred by assisting the French Hugonots; and, in order to obtain a supply, she was under a necessity of summoning a parliament: an expedient to which she never willingly had recourse. The parliament accordingly met on the 12th of January, 1563 (*e*). The commons, on the opening of the session, by reason of the queen's illness, voted an address to her majesty; in which, after enumerating the dangers attending a broken and doubtful succession, and mentioning the evils which their forefathers had experienced from the contending titles of York and Lancaster, they entreated the queen to put an end to their apprehensions, by choosing some husband, whom they promised, whoever he were, gratefully to receive, and faithfully to serve, honour, and obey: or, if she had entertained any reluctance to the married state, they desired that the lawful successor might be named, at least appointed by act of parliament. They remarked that, during all the reigns which had passed since the conquest, the nation had never before been so unhappy as not to know the person who, in case of the sovereign's death, was legally entitled to fill the vacant throne. And they observed, that the fixed order which took place in inheriting the French monarchy, was one chief source of

(*e*) A little before the meeting of this assembly, the queen had fallen into a dangerous illness, the small-pox; and as her life, during some time, was despaired of, the people became more sensible of their perilous situation, derived from the uncertainty which, in case of her demise, attended the succession of the crown. The partizans of the queen of Scots, and those of the house of Suffolk, already divided the nation into factions; and every one foresaw, that, though it might be possible at present to determine the controversy by law, yet, if the throne were vacant, nothing but the sword would be able to fix a successor.

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the usual tranquillity, as well as of the felicity of that kingdom (*f*).

Among other laws which passed this session, was one which bore the title of "Assurance of the queen's royal power over all the states and subjects within her dominions." By this act, the asserting twice, by writing, word, or deed, the pope's authority, was subjected to the penalties of treason. All persons in holy orders were bound to take the oath of supremacy; as likewise were all who were advanced to any degree, either in the universities, or in common law; as well as all school-masters, officers in court, or members of parliament: and the penalty of their second refusal was declared to be treason. The first offence, in both cases, was punished by banishment and forfeiture. This rigorous statute was not extended to any of the degree of a baron; because it was not supposed that the queen could entertain any doubt with regard to the fidelity of persons possessed of such high dignity; though both example and common sense might have told her, that from them alone was any danger to the state to be apprehended. Lord Montacute made opposition to the bill; and asserted, in favour of the Catholics, that they disputed not, they preached not, they disobeyed not the queen, they caused no trouble, no tumults among the people. It is however probable that some suspicions of their secret conspiracies had made the queen and parliament increase their rigour against them; though it is also more than probable that they were mistaken in the remedy. Lord Montacute's remonstrances proved ineffectual, and the law was passed.

There was another point of discussion in which the parliament, this session, shewed more the goodness of their intention, than the soundness of their judgement. They passed a law against fond and fantastical prophecies, which had been observed to seduce the people into rebellion and disorder: but at the same time they enacted a statute, which was most likely to increase these and such like superstitions: it was levelled against conjurations, enchantments, and witchcraft: crimes which are never so effectually suppressed as by being totally neglected. After the parliament had granted the queen a supply of one subsidy and two fifteenths, the session was finished by a prorogation. The convocation likewise voted the queen a subsidy of six shillings in the pound, payable in three years.

In the interim, the French factions, enflamed to the highest degree of animosity, continued that cruel war, which their intemperate zeal, actuated by the ambition of their leaders, had kindled in the kingdom. The admiral was successful in reducing the towns of Normandy which held out for the king; but he frequently complained, that the numerous garrison of Havre remained totally inactive, and was not employed in any military operation against the common enemy. Elizabeth, in taking possession of that place, had published a manifesto, in which she pretended, that her concern for the interests of the French king had engaged her in that measure, and that her sole intention was to oppose her enemies of the house of Guise, who held their prince in captivity, and employed his power to the destruction of his most worthy and loyal subjects. It was chiefly her desire to preserve appearances, joined to the great frugality of her temper, which made her, at this critical juncture, keep her soldiers in garrison, and restrain them from committing farther hostilities upon the enemy. The duke of Guise, in the mean time, was aiming a mortal blow at the power of the Hugonots, in direct opposition to the advice of his most experienced officers; and had commenced the siege of Orleans, of which D'Andelot was governor, and where the constable was detained prisoner. He had the prospect of speedy success in this undertaking; when he was assassinated by Poltrot, a young gentleman of Angouanois, whose zeal led him to attempt that criminal enterprize. The death of this gallant, but unprincipled nobleman, was a sensible loss to the Catholic party; and though the cardinal of Lorraine, his brother, still supported the interests of his family, the danger of their progress appeared not so imminent either to Elizabeth or to the French Protestants. The union, therefore, between these allies, which had been cemented by their common fears, began thenceforth to be less intimate; and the leaders of the Hugonots were persuaded to hearken to terms of a separate accommodation with Catherine de Medicis. Condé and Montmorency held conferences for settling the peace; and as they were both of them impatient to relieve themselves from captivity, they soon came to an agreement with regard to the conditions. The character of the queen-regent, whose ends were always violent, but who endeavoured, by subtilty and policy, rather than by force, to attain them, led her to embrace any plausible terms; and, in spite of the protestations of admiral Coligny, whose sagacity could easily discover the treachery of the court, the articles of agreement were finally settled between the parties. A toleration, under some restrictions, was again granted to the Protestants; a general amnesty was published; Condé was reinstated in his offices and governments; and after money was advanced for the payment of arrears due to the German troops, they were dismissed the kingdom and sent home.

According to the agreement between Elizabeth and the prince of Condé it had been stipulated, that neither party should conclude peace without the consent of the other; but this article was at present but little regarded by the leaders of the French Protestants. They only comprehended her so far in the treaty, as to obtain a promise, that, on her relinquishing Havre, her charges, and the money which she had advanced them, should be repaid her by the king of France, and that Calais, on the expiration of the term, should be restored to her. But she disdained to accept of these conditions; and thinking the possession of Havre a much better pledge for effecting her purpose, she sent Warwick orders to prepare himself against an attack from the now united power of the French.

The earl of Warwick, who commanded a garrison of six thousand men, besides seven hundred pioneers, had no sooner got possession of Havre, than he employed every means for putting it in a proper posture of defence; and after expelling the French from the town, he encouraged his soldiers to make the most desperate defence against the enemy. The constable Montmorency commanded the French army; the queen-regent herself, and the king, were present in the camp; even the prince of Condé joined the king's forces, and gave countenance to the siege; the admiral and D'Andelot alone, anxious still to

(*f*) This subject, though extremely interesting to the nation, was not agreeable to the queen; and she was sensible that difficulties would attend every decision. A declaration in favour of the queen of Scots would form a settlement perfectly legal; because that princess was commonly allowed to possess the right of blood; and the exclusion given by Henry's will, deriving its weight chiefly from an act of parliament, would lose all authority, whenever the queen and parliament had made a new settlement, and restored the Scottish line to its place in the succession. But she dreaded giving encouragement to the Catholics by this declaration. She was sensible that every heir was, in some degree, a rival; but much more so one who enjoyed a claim for the present possession of the crown, and who had already advanced, in a very open manner, these dangerous pretensions. The power of Mary, both from the favour of the Catholic princes, and her connections with the house of Guise, not to mention the force and situation of Scotland, was well known to her; and she saw no security that this princess, if fortified by a sure prospect of succession, would not revive claims which she could never yet be prevailed on formally to relinquish. On the other hand, the title of the house of Suffolk was supported by the more zealous Protestants only; and it was very doubtful, whether even a parliamentary declaration in its favour would bestow on it such validity as to give satisfaction to the people. The republican part of the constitution had not yet acquired such an ascendant as to control, in any degree, the ideas of hereditary right; and as the legality of Henry's will was still disputed, though founded on the utmost authority which a parliament could confer; no one could be assured that a more recent act would be acknowledged to have greater validity. In the frequent revolutions which had of late taken place, the right of blood had still prevailed over religious prejudices; and the nation had ever shewn itself disposed rather to change its faith than the order of succession. This was sufficiently clear from the successions of Edward the Sixth and Mary, persons of very opposite sentiments. Even many Protestants declared themselves in favour of Mary's claim of inheritance; and nothing would occasion more general disgust, than to see the queen, openly and without reserve, take part against it. The Scottish princess also, finding herself injured in so sensible a point, would thenceforth act as a declared enemy; and, uniting together her foreign and domestic friends, the partizans of her present title and of her eventual succession, would soon bring matters to extremities against the present establishment. The queen, weighing all these inconveniencies, was determined to keep both parties in awe, by maintaining still an ambiguous conduct; and she rather chose that the people should run the hazard of contingent events, than that she should visibly endanger her throne, by employing expedients, which, at best, would not bestow entire security on the nation. She gave, therefore, an evasive answer to the applications of the commons; and when the house, at the end of the session, desired, by the mouth of their speaker, farther satisfaction on that head, she could not be prevailed on to make her reply more explicit. She only told them, contrary to her declarations in the beginning of her reign, that she had fixed no absolute resolution against marriage: and she added, that the difficulties attending the question of the succession were so great, that she would be contented, for the sake of her people, to remain some time longer in this vale of misery; and never should depart life with satisfaction, till she had laid some solid foundation for their future security.

preserve

preserve the friendship of Elizabeth, kept at a distance, and prudently refused to join their ancient enemies in an attack upon their allies.

From the force, and dispositions, and situations of both sides, it was expected that the siege would be attended with some memorable event; yet did France make a much easier acquisition of this important place, than was at first apprehended. The plague creeping in among the English soldiers; and being increased by their fatigue and bad diet (for they were but ill supplied with provisions,) it made such ravages, that sometimes a hundred men died of it in a day, and there remained not at last fifteen hundred in a condition to do duty. The French, meeting with such feeble resistance, carried on their attacks successfully; and having made two breaches, each of them sixty feet wide, they prepared for a general assault, which must have terminated in the slaughter of the whole garrison. Warwick, who had frequently warned the English counsel of the danger, and who had loudly demanded a supply of men and provisions, found himself obliged to capitulate, on the 28th of July, and to content himself with the liberty of withdrawing his garrison. The articles were no sooner signed, than lord Clinton, the admiral, who had been detained by contrary winds, appeared off the harbour with a reinforcement of three thousand men; and found the place surrendered to the enemy. To increase the misfortune, the infected army brought the plague with them into England, where it swept off great multitudes, particularly in the city of London. Above twenty thousand persons there died of it in one year.

Elizabeth, whose usual vigour and foresight had not appeared in this transaction, was now glad to conclude an inglorious war by a disadvantageous peace; and as the queen-regent desired to obtain leisure, in order to prepare measures for the extermination of the Hugonots, she readily hearkened to any reasonable terms of accommodation with England. It was agreed, on the 2nd of April, that the hostages which the French had given for the restitution of Calais, should be restored for two hundred and twenty thousand crowns; and that both sides should retain all their claims and pretensions.

Peace, however, still continued with Scotland; and Mary, whose tranquillity had been recently interrupted by a rebellion of the house of Gordon, (originating in a plot, real or pretended, to assassinate the earl of Murray,) evinced a serious anxiety to establish a solid and permanent friendship with the queen of England. Elizabeth, deeply versed in the arts of dissimulation, embraced with great apparent eagerness Mary's offer of amity, and artfully disguised the inveterate hatred which reigned in her bosom beneath the specious mask of courtesy and esteem. They wrote amicable letters every week to each other; and had adopted, in all appearance, the sentiments as well as style of sisters. Elizabeth punished one Hales, who published a book against Mary's title, in favour of the claims of the house of Suffolk; and, as the lord keeper Bacon was thought to have encouraged Hales in this undertaking, he fell under her displeasure, and it was with some difficulty he was able to give her satisfaction, and recover her favour. The two queens had agreed in the foregoing summer to an interview at York; that they might remove all difficulties with regard to Mary's ratification of the treaty of Edinburgh, and consider of the proper method for settling the succession to the crown of England. Elizabeth appeared so hearty in the cause of meeting Mary, that she gave orders that every preparation might be made for that purpose; she caused all the forms and ceremonies to be observed at York to be written down; and sent a passport for the Scottish queen and a thousand of her attendants. But she had been careful to premise, that her going to the appointed place should depend on the amicable termination of her disputes with France; and, at the time that she prescribed this condition, she had entered into a league with the prince of Condé, and was actually preparing to send troops to the continent. When the day arrived, she sent a message to Mary, to inform her that the extreme attention which the actual state of her affairs required, rendered it impossible for her to leave London: therefore delayed till next year the intended interview. The truth indeed seems to be, that Elizabeth never intended to allow Mary to enter her dominions.

Mary's close connections with the house of Guise, and her devoted attachment to her uncles, by whom she had been early educated and constantly protected, was the ground of just and unsurmountable jealousy to Elizabeth, who regarded them as her mortal and declared enemies, and was well acquainted with their dangerous character and ambitious projects. As sufficient time had now elapsed since the death of Mary's husband, several persons entertained an idea of espousing her; and Mary herself was sensible of the necessity of fixing her choice. Her uncles therefore made an offer of their niece to don Carlos, Philip's son; to the king of Sweden, the king of Navarre, the archduke Charles, the duke of Ferrara, the cardinal of Bourbon, who had only taken deacon's orders, from which he might easily be freed by a dispensation; and they were ready to marry her to any one who could strengthen their interests, or give inquietude and disturbance to Elizabeth. Elizabeth on her part was equally vigilant to prevent the execution of their schemes, and was particularly anxious, lest Mary should form any powerful foreign alliance, which might tempt her to revive her pretensions to the crown, and to invade the kingdom on the side where it was weakest and lay most exposed. As she believed that the marriage with the archduke Charles was the one most likely to take place, she used every expedient to prevent it; and besides remonstrating against it to Mary herself, she endeavoured to draw off the archduke from that pursuit, by giving him some hopes of success in his pretensions to herself, and by inviting him to a renewal of the former treaty of marriage. She always told the queen of Scots, that nothing would satisfy her but her espousing some English or Scottish nobleman, who would remove all grounds of jealousy, and cement the union between the kingdoms; and she offered, on this condition, to have her title examined, and to declare her successor to the crown. After keeping the matter in these general terms during a twelvemonth, she at last named lord Robert Dudley, now created earl of Leicester, as the person on whom she wished Mary would fix her choice, telling her that she looked upon him as a person fully deserving that dignity.

The earl of Leicester was a perfect courtier, supple, insinuating, polite, and attentive. In his address, he was easy and elegant; in his manners, polished and refined; in his conversation, light, airy, and amusing; in his form and countenance, open and engaging; with such an absolute command over his muscles and temper, as to be able to accommodate his gestures and opinions so as to afford pleasure and extort applause from men of the most opposite dispositions and sentiments. He was possessed, in short, of every external accomplishment which could captivate the eye or delude the senses. But, beneath this seducing exterior was concealed a soul, in whose dark circle was concentrated every weakness which can degrade, and almost every vice which can pollute humanity. He was equally destitute of talents and of virtue; unendowed with a single sentiment of honour, probity, or religion. Leicester, however, had acquired an entire ascendency over the sagacious and penetrating mind of Elizabeth, who was so prodigal of her favours and affection towards him, that he was encouraged to aspire to her bed; and, in the full hope of attaining the summit of his ambition, had qualified himself for that dignity, by throwing his wife, the heiress of one Robesart, down a pair of stairs, at Cumnor, near Oxford, and breaking her neck with the fall (*g*). The warm attachment of Elizabeth to a man of this description has by most been deemed extraordinary, and by many unaccountable: but it should be recollected, that Leicester (as Sir Robert Naunton says, in his "Fragmenta Regalia,") "was a very goodly person, and singular well featured, and all his youth well favoured, and of a sweet aspect:" and that the queen, with some few exceptions, "always took personage in the way of her election!"

Randolph and the earl of Bedford were appointed by the queen to settle the preliminaries of Leicester's marriage with Mary. The Scottish princess, as might be supposed, was highly offended at the insult, in asking her hand for a private gentleman, the subject of a sovereign whose equal she was; and particular for Leicester, a man notoriously vicious, and whose father and grandfather had perished on a scaffold. But she concealed her indignation from Randolph; contenting herself with observing that, in the proposed marriage, there was an extreme disproportion of rank; and that she could perceive, in such an alliance, no prospect of advantages sufficiently great to justify the degradation of her dignity. Elizabeth indeed had no intention of sacrificing to Mary the claims she had

(*g*) This we are informed of by Carte, and by Anbrey, in his History of Berkshire.

acquired over the person of Leicester: but as she was desirous that the queen of Scots should continue to live in a state of celibacy, she named a man whom she believed would be rejected; hoping by that means to gain time, and to elude the project of any other alliance. Mary herself, though extremely credulous and unsuspicious, soon perceived the duplicity and insincerity of her conduct; and, as Camden informs us, "suspected that she was deceitfully dealt withall; and that queen Elizabeth propounded this marriage to no other purpose, but to chuse for herself the best of all the suitors; or else to marry with Leicester the more excusably, if she, being an absolute queen, did first consent to the marriage of Leicester."

The proposal, however, was not more agreeable to Leicester than to Mary; and he always ascribed it to the contrivance of secretary Cecil, his avowed enemy, who he thought intended, by that artifice, to make him lose the friendship of the queen of Scotland, from the temerity of his pretensions; and that of Elizabeth, from jealousy of his attachment to another woman. "He therefore," says Camden, "in hopes of enjoying queen Elizabeth, secretly warned Bedford, by private letters, that he should not be eager in the matter."

Elizabeth's purpose of delay being fully answered, she receded from her offers, and withdrew the bait which she had thrown out to her rival. This duplicity of conduct, joined to some appearance of an imperious superiority, assumed by her, had drawn a peevish letter from Mary; and the seemingly amicable correspondence between the two queens was, during some time, interrupted. In order to make up the breach, the queen of Scots dispatched sir James Melvil to London; who has given us in his memoirs a particular account of his negociation.

Melvil was an agreeable courtier, a man of address and conversation; and it was recommended to him by his mistress, that, besides grave reasonings concerning politics and state-affairs, he should introduce more entertaining topics of conversation, suitable to the sprightly character of Elizabeth; and should endeavour by that means to insinuate himself into her confidence. Melvil, having been before introduced to Elizabeth, on his return from Germany, and most favourably received by her, found little difficulty in obeying the commands of his mistress; and he succeeded so well, that he threw the artful Elizabeth entirely off her guard; and made her discover the bottom of her heart, full of those levities and follies and ideas of rivalship, which possess the youngest and most frivolous of her sex. He talked to her of his travels, and forgot not to mention the different dresses of the ladies in different countries, and the particular advantages of each, in setting off the beauties of the shape and person. But as the glaring picture of her vanity will better appear from the pencil of Melvil himself, we shall make such extracts as will place it in the most striking point of view.

"In declaring my observations," says that ambassador, "of the customs of Duchland, Poland, and Italy, the buskins of the women was not forgot, and what countrey weed I thought best becoming gentlewomen. The queen (who was now in her thirty-second year) said she had clothes of every sort; which every day thereafter, so long as I was there, she changed. She asked me which of them became her best? I answered, in my judgement, the Italian dress: which answer, I found, pleased her well; for she delighted (afterwards) to shew her golden-coloured hair, wearing a caul and bonnet, as they do in Italy. Her hair (indeed) was more reddish than yellow, curled in appearance naturally. She desired to know of me what colour of hair was reputed best, and whether my queen's hair or her's was best, and which of them two was fairest (*h*). "I answered," says Melvil, "the fairness of them both was not their worst faults: but she was earnest with me to declare, which of them I judged fairest. I said, she was the fairest queen in England, and mine the fairest queen in Scotland. Yet she appeared earnest. I answered, they were both the fairest ladies in their countries; that her majesty was whiter, but my queen was very lovely. She enquired which of them was of highest stature? I said, My queen. Then, saith she, she is too high; for I myself am neither too high, nor too low. Then she asked what kind of exercises she used? I answered, that, when I received my dispatch, the queen was lately come from a Highland hunting; that when her more serious affairs permitted, she was taken up with reading histories; that sometimes she recreated herself upon the lute and virginals. She asked if she played well? I said, Reasonably, for a queen. That same day, after dinner, my lord of Hunsdean (Hunsdon) drew me up to a quiet gallery, that I might hear some music; and—but, he said, he durst not avow it—where I might hear the queen play upon the virginals. After I had hearkened awhile, I took by the tapestry that hung before the door of the chamber, and, seeing her back was towards the door, I entered within the chamber, and stood a pretty space, hearing her play excellently well. But she left off immediately, as soon as she turned about and saw me. She appeared to be surprized to see me; and came forward, seeming to strike me with her hand; alledging, she used not to play before men, but when she was solitary, to shun melancholy. She asked how I came there? I answered, As I was walking with my lord of Hunsdean, as we past by the chamber door, I heard such a melody as ravished me; whereby I was drawn in ere I knew how: excusing my fault of homeliness, (familiarity,) as being brought up in the court of France, where such freedom was allowed; declaring myself willing to endure what kind of punishment her majesty should be pleased to inflict upon me for so great an offence. Then she sate down upon a low cushion, and I upon my knees by her: but, with her own hand, she gave me a cushion to lay under my knees, which I at first refused; but she compelled me to take it. She then called for my lady Strafford out of the next chamber; for the queen was alone. She inquired whether my queen or she played best? In that, I found myself obliged to give her the praise. Here I took occasion to press earnestly my dispatch. She said, I was weary sooner of her company than she was of mine. I told her majesty, that, though I had no reason of being weary, I knew my mistress her affairs called me home. Yet I was stayed two days longer, that I might see her dance; as I was afterwards informed: which being done, she inquired of me, whether she or my queen danced best? I answered, the queen danced not so high and disposedly as she did."

From this singular display of a restless passion, in the gratification of which even the delicacy of her sex and the dignity of her rank were forgotten, Melvil thought himself justified in assuring his mistress, on his return to Scotland, that she had no reason ever to expect any cordial friendship from Elizabeth; and that all her professions of amity were full of falsehood and dissimulation."

After two years had been spent in evasions and artifices, Mary's subjects and counsellors, and probably herself, began to think it full time that some marriage was concluded; and lord Darnley, son of the earl of Lenox, was the person in whom most men's opinions and wishes centered. He was Mary's cousin-german, by the lady Margaret Douglas, niece to Henry VIII. and daughter of the earl of Angus, by Margaret, queen of Scotland. He had been born and educated in England, where the earl of Lenox had constantly resided, since he had been banished by the prevailing power of the house of Hamilton: and as Darnley was now in his twentieth year, and was a very comely person, tall and delicately shaped, it was hoped that he might soon render himself agreeable to the queen of Scots. He was also by his father a branch of the same family with herself; and would, in espousing her, preserve the royal dignity in the house of Stuart: he was, after her, next heir to the crown of England; and those who pretended to exclude her on account of her being a foreigner, had endeavoured to recommend his title, and give it the preference. It seemed no inconsiderable advantage, that she could, by marrying, unite both their claims; and as he was by birth an Englishman, and could not, by his power or alliances, give any ground of suspicion to Elizabeth, it was hoped that the proposal of this marriage would not be unacceptable to that jealous princess.

Elizabeth was well informed of these intentions: and was secretly not displeased with the projected marriage between Darnley and the queen of Scots. She would

(*h*) Elizabeth thus overshot two of her objects, as an acute and spirited writer has observed, by her eagerness in aiming at three in the same moment. Not waiting for an answer concerning hair in general, she added, instantly, another concerning Mary's hair in particular; and she subjoined a third to both, before either was answered, concerning the beauty of Mary. So much was her vanity on the wing in quest of its food, and so livelily flattering was it, from one expected scene of compliment to another! and she lost all reply from Melvil to her two questions concerning hair, by his naturally replying only to the concluding question concerning beauty.

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rather have wished that Mary had continued for ever in a single life: but finding little probability of rendering this scheme effectual, she was satisfied with a choice, which freed her at once from the dread of a foreign alliance, and from the necessity of parting with Leicester, her favourite. In order to pave the way to Darnley's marriage, she secretly desired Mary to invite Lenox into Scotland, to reverse his attainder, and to restore him to his honours and fortune. And when her request was complied with, she took care, in order to preserve the friendship of the Hamiltons and her other partizans in Scotland, to blame openly this conduct of Mary. Hearing that the negociation for Darnley's marriage advanced apace, she gave that nobleman permission, on his first application, to follow his father into Scotland: but no sooner did she learn that the queen of Scots was taken with his figure and person, and that all measures were fixed for espousing him, than she exclaimed against the marriage; sent sir Nicholas Throgmorton to order Darnley, immediately, upon his allegiance, to return to England; threw the countess of Lenox and her second son into the Tower, in 1564, where they suffered a rigorous confinement; seized all Lenox's English estate; and though it was impossible for her to assign one single reason for her displeasure, she menaced, and protested, and complained, as if she had suffered the most grievous injury (*i*).

Nothing can be more unhappy for a people than to be governed by a sovereign attached to a religion different from the established; and it is scarcely possible that mutual confidence can ever, in such a situation, have place between the prince and his subjects. Mary's conduct had been hitherto, in every respect, unexceptionable, and even laudable; yet had she not made such progress in acquiring popularity, as might have been expected from her gracious deportment and agreeable accomplishments. Suspicions every moment prevailed on account of her attachment to the Catholic faith, and especially to her uncles, the open and avowed promoters of the scheme for exterminating the professors of the Reformed religion throughout all Europe. She still refused to ratify the acts of parliament which had established the Reformation; she made attempts for restoring to the Catholic bishops some part of their civil jurisdiction; and she wrote a letter to the council of Trent, in which, besides professing her attachment to the Catholic faith, she took notice of her title to succeed to the crown of England, and expressed her hopes of being able, in some period, to bring back all her dominions to the bosom of the church. The zealots among the Protestants were not wanting, in their turn, to exercise their virulence against her, which tended still more to alienate her from their faith. A law was enacted, making it capital, on the very first offence, to say mass any where, except in the queen's chapel; and it was with difficulty that even this small indulgence was granted her: the general assembly importuned her afresh to change her religion; and to renounce the blasphemous idolatry of the mass, with the tyranny of the Roman Antichrist; and to embrace the true religion of Christ Jesus. As she answered with temper, that she was not yet convinced of the falsity of her religion or the impiety of the mass; and that her apostacy would lose her the friendship of her allies on the continent; they replied, by assuring her, that their religion was undoubtedly the same which had been revealed by Jesus Christ, which had been preached by the apostles, and which had been embraced by the faithful in the primitive ages; that neither the religion of Turks, Jews, nor Papists, was built on so solid a foundation as theirs; that they alone, of all the various sects of religion spread over the face of the earth, were so happy as to be possessed of the truth; that those who hear, or rather who gaze on the mass, allow sacrilege, pronounce blasphemy, and commit most abominable idolatry; and that the friendship of the King of kings was preferable to all the alliances in the world.

The marriage of the queen of Scots had kindled afresh the zeal of the reformers, because the family of Lenox was believed to adhere to the Catholic faith; and though Darnley, who now bore the name of king Henry, went often to the established church, he could not, by this exterior compliance, gain the confidence and regard of the ecclesiastics. They rather laid hold of the opportunity to insult him to his face; and Knox scrupled not to tell him from the pulpit, "that God, for punishment of the offences and ingratitude of the people, was wont to commit the rule over them to boys and women." The populace of Edinburgh, instigated by such doctrines, began to meet and to associate themselves against the government. But what threatened more immediate danger to Mary's authority, were the discontents which prevailed among some of the principal nobility.

The duke of Chatelrault was displeased with the restoration, and still more with the aggrandizement, of the family of Lenox, his hereditary enemies; and entertained fears lest his own eventual succession to the crown of Scotland should be excluded by his rival, who had formerly advanced some pretensions to it. The earl of Murray found his credit at court diminished by the interest of Lenox and his son; and began to apprehend the revocation of some considerable grants, which he had obtained from Mary's bounty. The earls of Argyle, Rothes, and Glencairne, the lords Boyde and Ochiltry, Kirkaldy of Grange, Pittarow, were instigated by like motives; and as these were the persons who had most zealously promoted the Reformation, they were disgusted to find that the queen's favour was entirely ingrossed by a new cabal, the earls of Bothwel, Athol, Sutherland, and Huntley; men who were esteemed either lukewarm in religious controversy, or inclined to the Catholic party. The malcontent lords, when they found the queen's marriage entirely resolved on, entered into a confederacy for taking arms against their sovereign. They met at Stirling; pretended an anxious concern for the security of religion; framed engagements for mutual defence; and made applications to Elizabeth for assistance and protection (*k*). That princess, after publishing the expressions of her displeasure against the marriage, had secretly ordered her ambassadors Randolph and Throgmorton, to give in her name some promises of support to the malcontents; and had even sent them a supply of ten thousand pounds, to enable them to begin an insurrection.

No sooner was Mary informed of the meeting at Stirling, and the movements of the lords, than she summoned them to appear in court, in order to answer for their conduct; and having levied some forces to execute the laws, she obliged the rebels to leave the low countries, and take shelter in Argyleshire. That she might more effectually cut off their resources, she proceeded with the king to Glasgow, and forced them from their retreat. They appeared at Paisley in the neighbourhood with about a thousand horse; and passing the queen's army, proceeded to Hamilton, thence to Edinburgh, which they entered without resistance. They expected great reinforcements in this place, from the efforts of Knox and the seditious preachers; and they beat their drums, desiring all men to enlist, and to receive wages for the defence of God's glory. But the nation was in no disposition for rebellion: Mary was esteemed and beloved: her marriage was not generally disagreeable to the people: and the interested views of the malcontent lords were so well known, that their pretence of zeal for religion had little influence even on the ignorant populace. The king and queen advanced to Edinburgh at the head of their army: the rebels were obliged to retire into the south; and being pursued by a force which now amounted to eighteen thousand men, they were obliged to take shelter in England.

Elizabeth being disappointed in her expectations, disavowed all connection with the Scottish malcontents, and declared that she had neither given them encouragement nor assistance. She even carried farther her dissimulation and hypocrisy. Murray had come to London, with the abbot of Kilwinning, agent for Chatelrault; and she seduced them, by secret assurances of protection, to declare, before the ambassadors of France and Spain, that she had nowise contributed to their insurrection. No sooner had she extorted this confession from them, than she chased them from her presence, called them unwor-

(*i*) The politics of Elizabeth, though judicious, were usually full of duplicity and artifice; but never more so than in her transactions with the queen of Scots, where there entered so many little passions and narrow jealousies, that she durst not avow to the world the reasons of her conduct, scarcely to her ministers, and scarcely even to herself. But besides a womanish rivalship and envy against the marriage of this princess, she had some motives of interest for feigning a displeasure on the present occasion. It served her as a pretence for refusing to acknowledge Mary's title to the succession of England; a point to which, for good reasons, she was determined never to consent. And it was useful to her for a purpose still more unfriendly and dangerous, for encouraging the discontents and rebellion of the Scottish nobility and ecclesiastics.

(*k*) It appears from Randolph's letters that some offers had been made to that minister, of seizing Lenox and Darnley, and delivering them into queen Elizabeth's hands. Melvil confirms the same story, and says, that the design was acknowledged by the conspirators themselves.

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thy traitors, declared that their detestable rebellion was of bad example to all princes; and assured them, that as she had hitherto given them no encouragement, so should they never thenceforth receive from her any assistance or protection. Throgmorton alone, whose honour was equal to his abilities, could not be prevailed on to conceal the part which he had acted in the enterprize of the Scottish rebels; and being apprised of the usual character of Elizabeth, he obtained an order of council to authorize the engagements which he had been obliged to make with them.

The banished lords, finding themselves so harshly treated by Elizabeth, had recourse to the clemency of their own sovereign; and after some solicitation and some professions of repentance, the duke of Chatelrault obtained his pardon, on condition that he should retire into France. Mary was more implacable against the earl of Murray and the other confederates, on whom she threw the blame of the enterprize; but as their friends continually applied to her, she agreed to give way to her natural temper, which inclined not to severity, and she seemed determined to restore them to favour. In this interval, Rambouillet arrived as ambassador from France, and brought her advice from her uncle, the cardinal of Lorraine, in 1565, to whose opinion she always paid an extreme deference, by no means to pardon these Protestant leaders, who had been engaged in the rebellion.

The two opposite religions, in France, as well as other parts of Europe, were rather irritated than tired with their acts of mutual violence; and the peace granted to the Hugonots, as had been foreseen by the admiral Coligni, was intended only to lull them asleep, and prepare the way for their final and absolute destruction. The queen-regent made a pretence of travelling through the kingdom, in order to visit the provinces, and correct all the abuses arising from the late civil war; and after having held some conferences on the frontiers with the duke of Lorraine and the duke of Savoy, she came to Bayonne, where she was met by her daughter, the queen of Spain, and the duke of Alva. Nothing appeared in the congress of these two splendid courts, but gaiety, festivity, love, and joy; but amidst these smiling appearances were secretly fabricated schemes the most bloody, and the most destructive to the repose of mankind, that had ever been thought of in any age or nation. No less than a total and universal extermination of the Protestants by fire and sword was concerted by Philip and Catherine of Medicis; and Alva, agreeably to his fierce and sanguinary disposition, advised the queen-regent to commence the execution of this project, by the immediate massacre of all the leaders of the Hugonots. But that princess, though equally hardened against every humane sentiment, would not forego this opportunity of displaying her wit and refined politics; and she purposed, rather by treachery and dissimulation, which she called address, to lead the Protestants into the snare, and never to draw the sword till they were totally disabled from resistance. The cardinal of Lorraine, whose character bore a greater affinity to that of Alva, was a chief author of this barbarous association against the Reformers; and having connected hopes of success with the aggrandizement of his niece, the queen of Scots, he took care that her measures should correspond to those violent counsels which were embraced by the other Catholic princes. In consequence of this scheme, he turned her from the road of clemency, which she intended to have followed; and made her resolve on the total ruin of the banished lords. A parliament was summoned at Edinburgh, in 1566, for attainting them; and as their guilt was palpable and avowed, no doubt was entertained but sentence would be pronounced against them. It was by a sudden and violent incident, which, in the issue, brought on the ruin of Mary herself, that they were saved from the rigour of the law.

The matrimonial connexion of the queen of Scots with lord Darnley was so natural, and so inviting in all its circumstances, that it had been precipitately agreed to by that princess and her council; and while she was allured by his youth and beauty, and exterior accomplishments, she had at first overlooked the qualities of his mind, which by no means corresponded to the excellence of his outward figure. Violent, yet variable in his resolutions; insolent, yet credulous and easily governed by flatterers; he was destitute of all gratitude, because he thought no favours equal to his merit; and being addicted to low pleasures, he was equally incapable of all true sentiments of love and tenderness. The queen of Scots, in the first effusions of her fondness, says Hume, had taken a pleasure in exalting him beyond measure: she had granted him the title of king; she had joined his name with her own in all public acts; she intended to have procured him from the parliament a matrimonial crown; but having leisure afterwards to remark his weakness and vices, she began to see the danger of her profuse liberality, and was resolved thenceforth to proceed with more reserve in the trust which she should confer upon him. His resentment against this conduct served but the more to increase her disgust; and the young prince, enraged at her imagined neglects, pointed his vengeance against every one whom he deemed the cause of this change in her measures and behaviour.

There was in the court, one David Rizzio (*l*), who had of late obtained a very extraordinary degree of confidence and favour with the queen of Scots. Rizzio, who had connected his interests with the partizans of the church of Rome, was the declared enemy of the banished lords; and by promoting the prosecution against them, he had exposed himself to the animosity of their friends and retainers. A scheme was also thought to be formed for revoking some exorbitant grants made during the queen's minority; and even the nobility who had become possessed of the ecclesiastical benefices, began to think themselves less secure in the possession of them. The earl of Morton, chancellor, was affected by all these considerations, and still more by a rumour spread abroad, that Mary intended to appoint Rizzio chancellor in his place, and to bestow that dignity on a mean and upstart foreigner, ignorant of the laws and language of the country. So indiscreet had this princess been in her kindness to Rizzio, that even that strange report met with credit, and proved a great means of accelerating the ruin of the favourite. Morton, insinuated himself into Henry's confidence, and employed all his art to inflame the discontent and jealousy of that prince: he even persuaded him, that the only mean of freeing himself from the indignities under which he laboured, was to bring the base stranger to the fate which he had so well merited, and which was so passionately desired by the whole nation. George Douglas, natural brother to the countess of Lenox, concurred in the same advice: and the lords Ruthven and Lindesey, being consulted, offered their assistance in the enterprize; nor was even the earl of Lenox, the king's father, averse to the design. But as these conspirators were well acquainted with Henry's levity, they engaged him to sign a paper, in which he avowed the undertaking, as tending to the glory of God and the advancement of religion, and promised to protect them against every consequence which might ensue upon the assassination of Rizzio. Their measures being concerted, a messenger was dispatched to the banished lords, who

(*l*) David Rizzio was a Piedmontese, of mean birth, son of a teacher of music, himself a musician; and finding it difficult to subsist by his art in his own country, he had followed into Scotland, with the hopes of bettering his fortunes, an ambassador, whom the duke of Savoy sent thither to compliment Mary on her accession, some time after her first arrival. He possessed a good ear and tolerable voice; and as that princess found him useful to complete her band of music, she retained him in her service after the departure of his master. Raulet, her secretary for French dispatches, having, some time after, incurred her displeasure, she promoted Rizzio to that office, which gave him frequent opportunities of approaching her person and insinuating himself into her favour. He was shrewd and sensible, as well as aspiring, much beyond his rank and education; and he made so good use of the access which fortune had procured him, that he was soon regarded as her chief confident, and even minister of the queen. It was likewise remarked, that he speedily acquired a splendid fortune. He was consulted on all occasions; no favours could be obtained but by his intercession; all suitors were obliged to gain him by presents and flattery; and the man, insolent from his new exaltation, as well as rapacious in his acquisitions, soon drew on himself the hatred of the nobility and of the whole kingdom. He had at first employed his credit to promote Darnley's marriage; and a firm friendship seemed to be established between them: but on the subsequent change of the queen's sentiments, it was easy for Henry's friends to persuade him that Rizzio was the real author of her indifference, and even to rouse in his mind jealousies of a more dangerous nature. The favourite was of a disagreeable figure, but was not past his youth; and though the opinion of his criminal correspondence with Mary might seem of itself unreasonable, if not absurd, a suspicious husband could find no other means of accounting for that lavish and imprudent kindness with which she honoured him. The rigid austerity of the ecclesiastics, who could admit of no freedoms, contributed to spread this opinion among the people; and as Rizzio was universally believed to be a pensionary of the pope's, and to be deeply engaged in all schemes against the Protestants, any story to his and Mary's disadvantage, received an easy credit among the zealots of that communion.

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were hovering near the borders; and they were invited by the king to return to their native country.

This design, so atrocious in itself, was rendered still more so by the circumstances which attended its execution. Mary, who was in the sixth month of her pregnancy, was supping in private, on the 9th of March, 1566, and had at table the countess of Argyle, her natural sister, with Rizzio, and others of her servants. The king entered the room by a private passage, and stood at the back of Mary's chair: Lord Ruthven, George Douglas, and other conspirators, being all armed, rushed in after him; and the queen of Scots, terrified with the appearance, demanded of them the reason of this rude intrusion. They told her, that they intended no violence against her person; but meant only to bring that villain, pointing at Rizzio, to his deserved punishment. Rizzio, aware of the danger, ran behind his mistress, and seizing her by the waist, called aloud to her for protection; while she interposed in his behalf, with cries, and menaces, and entreaties. The impatient assassins, regardless of her efforts, rushed upon their prey, and by overturning every thing which stood in their way, increased the horror and confusion of the scene. George Douglas, seizing Henry's dagger, thrust it in the body of Rizzio, who, screaming with fear and agony, was torn from Mary by the other conspirators, and pushed into the antichamber, where he was dispatched with fifty-six wounds. The unhappy princess, informed of his fate, immediately dried her tears, and said, she would weep no more, she would now think of revenge.

The assassins, apprehensive of Mary's resentment, detained her prisoner in the palace; and the king dismissed all who seemed willing to attempt her rescue, by telling them, that nothing was done without his orders, and that he would be careful of the queen's safety. Murray and the banished lords appeared two days after; and Mary, whose anger was now engrossed by injuries more recent and violent, was willingly reconciled to them; and she even received her brother with tenderness and affection. They obtained an acquittal from parliament, and were reinstated in their honours and fortunes. The accomplices also in Rizzio's murder applied to her for a pardon; but she artfully delayed compliance, and told them, that so long as she was detained in custody, and was surrounded by guards, any deed, which she should sign, would have no validity. Meanwhile, she had gained the confidence of her husband, by her persuasion and caresses; and no sooner were the guards withdrawn, than she engaged him to escape with her in the night-time, and take shelter in Dunbar. Many of her subjects here offered her their services; and Mary, having collected an army, of about eight thousand men, which the conspirators had no power to resist, advanced to Edinburgh, and obliged them to fly into England, where they lived in great poverty and distress. They made applications however to the earl of Bothwel, a new favourite of Mary's; and that nobleman, desirous of strengthening his party by the accession of their interest, was able to pacify her resentment; and soon after procured them liberty to return into their own country.

But Mary was implacable against her husband alone, whose person was before disagreeable to her, and who, by his violation of every tie of gratitude and duty, had now drawn on him her highest resentment. She engaged him to disown all connections with the assassins, to deny any concurrence in their crime, even to publish a proclamation containing a falsehood so notorious to the whole world; and having thus made him expose himself to universal contempt, and rendered it impracticable for him ever to acquire the confidence of any party, she threw him off with disdain and indignation. As if she had been making an escape from him, she suddenly withdrew to Alloa, a seat of the earl of Marre's; and when Henry followed her thither, she suddenly returned to Edinburgh; and gave him every where the strongest proofs of displeasure, and even of antipathy. She encouraged her courtiers in their neglect of him; and she was pleased, that his mean equipage and small train of attendants should draw on him the contempt of the very populace. He was permitted, however, to have apartments in the castle of Edinburgh, which Mary had chosen for the place of her delivery. She there brought forth a son, on the 19th of June; and immediately dispatched sir James Melvil to carry intelligence of the event to Elizabeth. Melvil tells us, that this princess, the evening of his arrival in London, had given a ball to her court at Greenwich, and was displaying all that spirit and alacrity, which usually attended her on these occasions; but when news arrived of the prince of Scotland's birth, all her joy was damped: she sunk into melancholy; she reclined her head upon her arm; and complained to some of her attendants, that the queen of Scots was mother of a fair son, while she herself was but a barren stock. Next day, however, at the reception of the ambassador, she resumed her former dissimulation, put on a joyful countenance, gave Melvil thanks for the haste he had made in conveying to her the agreeable intelligence, and expressed the utmost cordiality and friendship to her sister. Some time after, she dispatched the earl of Bedford, with her kinsman George Cary, son of lord Hunsdon, in order to officiate at the baptism of the young prince; and she sent by them some magnificent presents to Mary.

The birth of a son gave additional zeal to Mary's partizans in England; and even men of the most opposite parties began to call loudly for the settlement of the succession. This was manifest in a new session of parliament, which met on the 30th of September after six prorogations. The house of peers, which had hitherto forborne to touch on this delicate point, here took the lead; and the house of commons soon after imitated the zeal of the lords. Molineux opened the matter in the lower house, and proposed that the question of the succession and that of supply should go hand in hand; as if it were intended to constrain the queen, by *constitutional* means, to a compliance with the request of her parliament. The courtiers endeavoured to elude the debate: sir Ralph Sadler told the house, that he had heard the queen positively affirm, that, for the good of her people, she was determined to marry. Secretary Cecil and sir Francis Knollys gave their testimony to the same effect; as did also sir Ambrose Cave, chancellor of the duchy, and sir Edward Rogers, comptroller of the household. But few of the members, however, gave any credit to this intelligence; and it was considered merely as an artifice, by which she endeavoured to retract that positive declaration, which she had made in the beginning of her reign, "that she meant to live and die a virgin." The ministers, therefore, gained no other advantage than that of engaging the house, for the sake of decency, to join the question of the queen's marriage with that of a settlement of the crown; and the commons were proceeding with great earnestness in the debate, and had even appointed a committee to confer with the lords, when express orders were brought them from Elizabeth to proceed no farther in the matter. Cecil told them, that she pledged to the house the word of a queen for her sincerity in her intentions to marry; that the appointment of a successor would be attended with great danger to her person; that she herself had had experience, during the reign of her sister, how much court was usually paid to the next heir, and what dangerous sacrifices men were commonly disposed to make of their present duty to their future prospects; and that she was therefore determined to delay, till a more proper opportunity, the decision of that important question. The house was not satisfied with these reasons, and still less with the command, prohibiting them all debate on the subject. Paul Wentworth, a spirited member, went so far as to question whether such a prohibition were not an infringement of the liberties and privileges of the house. Some, particularly Bell and Monson, two eminent lawyers, and one Dutton; men whose names deserve to be recorded with that of Wentworth, for their attempts to defend the house from the attacks of despotism, even ventured to violate that profound respect which had hitherto been reserved to the queen. They maintained, as we learn from Camden, "That kings are bound to design a successor; that the love of the subjects is the strongest, yea, the impregnable fort of princes, and their only prop and pillar. But this love," said they, "princes cannot get, unless they provide that it may goe well with their subjects, not onely whilest they live themselves, but after their death also; and this can by no means be effected, unless there be a successor certainly known. That the queen, by not designing a successor, doth both provoke the wrath of God, and alienate the hearts of her people: but, that she may have God favourable towards her, and her people most loving and fast tied unto her, and that she may set up monuments for herself in men's minds which shall never decay, let her design a successor. If not, she may be reckoned of, not as a nurse, not as a mother, of her country; but as a *step-mother*, nay, as a *parricide*, of her country, which had rather that England, which now breathed with her breath, should expire together with her than survive her. That not princes but cowards, and such

as are hated of their own people, and timorous women, have ever stood in fear of their successours; and the dangers of a designed successour are not to be feared of that prince which is fortified with the love of his people." This Camden calls "*twitting* the authority of the queen's majesty too much;" but we trust that, whenever an attempt shall be made to extend authority, whether sovereign or subordinate, beyond its constitutional bounds, it will meet with an opposition, equally bold, manly, and spirited. The queen, hearing of these debates, sent for the speaker, and after reiterating her former prohibition, she bade him inform the house, that if any member remained still unsatisfied, he might appear before the privy council, and there assign his reasons. As the members evinced a disposition, notwithstanding these peremptory orders, still to proceed upon the question, Elizabeth thought proper, by a message, to revoke them, and to allow the house liberty of debate. They were so mollified by this condescension, that they thenceforth conducted the matter with more calmness; and even voted her a supply, to be levied at three payments, of a subsidy and a fifteenth, without annexing any condition to it. On the 2nd of January, 1567, the queen dissolved the parliament, and told them, that their proceedings had contained much dissimulation and artifice; that, under the plausible pretences of marriage and succession, many of them covered very malevolent intentions towards her; but that she reaped this advantage from their attempts, that she could distinguish her friends from her enemies. "But do you think," added she, "that I am unmindful of your future security, or will be negligent in settling the succession? This is the chief object of my concern; as I know myself to be liable to mortality. Or do you apprehend, that I meant to encroach on your liberties? No: it was never my meaning; I only intended to stop you before you approached the precipice. All things have their time; and though you may be blessed with a sovereign more wise or more learned than I, yet I assure you, that no one will ever rule over you, who shall be more careful of your safety. And therefore, henceforward, whether I live to see the like assembly or no, or whoever holds the reins of government, let me warn you to beware of provoking your sovereign's patience, so far as you have done mine. But I shall now conclude, that, notwithstanding the disgusts I have received (for I mean not to part with you in anger), the greater part of you may assure themselves that they go home in their prince's good graces."

Elizabeth had received the subsidy without any condition; but as it was believed, that the commons had given her that gratuity with a view of engaging her to yield to their requests, she thought proper, on her refusal to settle the succession, voluntarily to remit the third payment; and she said, "that money in her subjects' purses was as good to her as in her own exchequer."

Though Elizabeth was able to elude, for the present, the applications of parliament, the friends of the queen of Scots daily multiplied in England; and besides the Catholics, many of whom kept a treasonable correspondence with her, and were ready to rise at her command; Elizabeth's court itself was full of her partizans. The duke of Norfolk, the earls of Leicester, Pembroke, Bedford, Northumberland, sir Nicholas Throgmorton, and many of the considerable men in England, except Cecil, seemed convinced of the necessity of declaring her the successor. None but the more zealous Protestants adhered either to the countess of Hertford, or to her aunt, Eleanor, countess of Cumberland; and as the marriage of the former seemed liable to some objections, and had been declared invalid, (though by a daring exertion of tyranny,) men were alarmed, even on that side, with the prospect of new disputes concerning the succession. Mary's behaviour also, so moderate towards the Protestants, and so gracious towards all men, had procured her universal respect; and the public was willing to ascribe any imprudences, into which she had fallen, to her youth and inexperience. All these flattering prospects were blasted by subsequent incidents; where her egregious indiscretions, or her atrocious crimes, threw her from the height of her prosperity, and involved her in infamy and in ruin.

The earl of Bothwel was a nobleman of high birth, extensive influence, and considerable property in Scotland; and though not distinguished by any talents either of a civil or military nature, he had made a figure in that party, which opposed the greatness of the earl of Murray, and the more rigid reformers. But he was a man of profligate manners; had involved his opulent fortune in great debts; and even reduced himself to beggary by his profuse expences; and seemed to have no resource but in desperate counsels and enterprizes. He had been accused more than once of an attempt to assassinate Murray; and though the frequency of these accusations on all sides diminish somewhat the credit due to any particular imputation, they prove sufficiently the prevalence of that detestable practice in Scotland, and may in that view serve to render such rumours the more credible. This man had of late acquired the favour and entire confidence of Mary; and all her measures were directed by his advice and authority. Reports were spread of more particular intimacies between them; and these reports gained ground from the continuance or rather increase of her hatred towards her husband. That young prince was reduced to such a state of desperation, by the neglects which he underwent from his queen and the courtiers, that he had once resolved to fly secretly into France or Spain, and had even provided a vessel for that purpose. Some of the most considerable nobility, on the other hand, observing her rooted aversion to him, had proposed some expedients for a divorce; and though Mary is said to have spoken honourably on the occasion, and to have embraced the proposal no farther than it should be found consistent with her own honour and her son's legitimacy, men were inclined to believe, that the difficulty of finding proper means for effecting that purpose, was the real cause of laying aside all farther thoughts of it. So far were the suspicions against her carried, that when Henry, discouraged with the continual proofs of her hatred, left the court and retired to Glasgow, an illness of an extraordinary nature, with which he was seized immediately on his arrival in that place, was universally ascribed by her enemies to a dose of poison, which, it was pretended, she had administered to him (*m*).

The queen, however, took a journey to Glasgow on purpose to visit him during his sickness; and it is said, that she behaved towards him with great tenderness, that she had brought him along with her, and that she appeared thenceforth determined to live with him on a footing more suitable to the connections between them. Henry, naturally uxorious, and not distrusting this sudden reconciliation, put himself implicitly into her hands, and attended her to Edinburgh. She lived in the palace of Holy-rood-house; but as the situation of the place was low, and the noise and bustle of a court might disturb him in his present infirm state of health, these reasons were assigned for fitting up an apartment for him in a solitary house, at some distance, called the Kirk of Field. Mary here gave him marks of kindness and attachment; she conversed cordially with him; and she lay some nights in a room below his; but on the ninth of February, she told him, that she would pass that night in the palace, because the marriage of one of her servants was there to be celebrated in her presence. About two o'clock in the morning of the 10th of February, 1567, the whole town was much alarmed at hearing a great noise; and was still more astonished, when it was discovered that the noise came from the king's house, which was blown up by gun-powder; that his dead body was found at some distance in a neighbouring field; and that no marks either of fire, contusion, or violence appeared upon it (*n*).

No doubt could be entertained but Henry was murdered; and general conjecture soon pointed towards the earl of Bothwel as the author of the crime. But as his favour with Mary was visible, and his power great, no one ventured to declare openly his sentiments; and all men remained in silence and mute astonishment. Voices, however, were heard in the streets, during the darkness of the night,

(*m*) Although the idea of Darnley's being poisoned has been since combated by various historians; yet from all the subsequent events, as well as from the characters of Murray and Bothwel, Morton and Lidington, and the known prevalence of the dreadful practice of poisoning at this period in Scotland, there can be little reason to doubt that the king was actually poisoned; and that the conspirators had corrupted some of his domestics to take this method of destroying him. Whatever was the cause, the effects were violent, and had nearly proved fatal: he was racked with intolerable pains; he was covered with pustules of a black and putrid nature; and his life was in the most imminent danger. He, however, recovered from the violence of the disease.

(*n*) It was imagined that Henry had been strangled before the house was blown up. But this supposition is contradicted by the confession of the criminals; and there is no necessity to admit it in order to account for the condition of his body. There are many instances that men's lives have been saved who had been blown up in ships. Had Henry fallen on water he had not probably been killed. *Hume.*





night, proclaiming Bothwel, and even Mary herself, to be murderers of the king; bills were secretly affixed on the walls to the same purpose; offers were made, that, upon giving proper securities, his guilt should be openly proved. But after one proclamation from the court, offering a reward and indemnity to any one that would discover the author of that villainy, greater vigilance was employed in searching out the spreaders of the libels and reports against Bothwel and the queen, than in tracing the contrivers of the king's assassination, or detecting the regicides.

The news of the murder of Darnley reaching the earl of Lenox, who lived at a distance from court, in poverty and contempt, roused the indignation of that nobleman, who, enraged at the destruction of his son, wrote to the queen, imploring speedy justice against the assassins; among whom he named the earl of Bothwel, sir James Balfour, and Gilbert Balfour his brother, David Chalmers, and four others of the queen's household; all of them persons who had been mentioned in the bills affixed to the walls at Edinburgh. Mary took his demand of speedy justice in a very literal sense; and allowing only fifteen days for the examination of this important affair, she sent a citation to Lenox, requiring him to appear in court, and prove his charge against Bothwel. This nobleman, meanwhile, and all the other persons accused by Lenox, enjoyed their full liberty; Bothwel himself was continually surrounded with armed men; took his place in council; lived during some time in the house with Mary; and seemed to possess all his wonted confidence and familiarity with her. Even the castle of Edinburgh, a place of great consequence in this critical time, was entrusted to him, and under him, to his creature, sir James Balfour, who had himself been publicly charged as an accomplice in the king's murder. Lenox, who had come as far as Stirling, with a view of appearing at the trial, was informed of all these circumstances; and reflecting on the small train which attended him, he began to entertain very just apprehensions from the power, insolence, and temerity of his enemy. He wrote to Mary, desiring that the day of trial might be prorogued; and conjured her, by all the regard which she bore to her own honour, to employ more leisure and deliberation in determining a question of such extreme moment. No regard was paid to his application: the jury was enclosed, of which the earl of Caithness was chancellor; and though Lenox, foreseeing this precipitation, had ordered Robert Cuningham, one of his retinue, to appear in court, and protest, in his name, against the acquittal of the criminal, the jury proceeded to a verdict. The verdict was such as it behoved them to give, where neither accuser nor witness appeared; and Bothwel was absolved from the king's murder, on the 12th of April (*o*). The jury, however, apprehensive that their verdict would give great scandal, and perhaps expose them afterwards to some danger, entered a protest, in which they represented the necessity of their proceedings (*p*).

Two days after this extraordinary transaction, a parliament was held; and though the verdict in favour of Bothwel was attended with such circumstances as strongly confirmed, rather than diminished, the general opinion of his guilt, he was the person chosen to carry the royal sceptre on the first meeting of the national assembly. In this parliament, a rigorous act was made against those who set up defamatory bills; but no notice was taken of the king's murder. The favour which Mary openly bore to Bothwel, kept every one in awe; and the effects of this terror appeared more plainly in another transaction, which ensued immediately upon the dissolution of the parliament. A bond or association was framed; in which the subscribers, after relating the acquittal of Bothwel by a legal trial, and mentioning his offer to prove his innocence by single combat, oblige themselves, in case any person should afterwards impute to him the king's murder, to defend him with their whole power against such calumniators. After this promise, which implied no great assurance in Bothwel of his own innocence, the subscribers mentioned the necessity of their queen's marriage, in order to support the government; and, on the 19th of the same month, they recommended Bothwel to her as a husband. This paper was subscribed by all the considerable nobility there present. In a country divided by violent factions, such a concurrence in favour of one nobleman, nowise distinguished above the rest, except by his flagitious conduct, could never have been obtained, had not every one been certain, at least firmly persuaded, that Mary was fully determined on this measure (*q*). Nor would such a motive have sufficed to influence men, commonly so stubborn and intractable, had they not been taken by surprize, been ignorant of each other's sentiments, and overawed by the present power of the court, and by the apprehensions of farther violence, from persons so little governed by any principles of honour and humanity. Even with all these circumstances, the subscription to this paper may justly be regarded as a reproach to the nation.

The subsequent measures of Bothwel were equally precipitate, audacious, and base. Mary having gone to Stirling to pay a visit to her son, Bothwel assembled a body of eight hundred horse, on pretence of pursuing some robbers on the borders, and having waylaid her on her return, he seized her person near Edinburgh, on the 24th of April, and carried her to Dunbar, with an avowed design of forcing her to yield to his purpose. Sir James Melvil, one of her retinue, was carried along with her, and says not, that he saw any signs of reluctance or constraint: he was even informed, as he tells us, by Bothwel's officers, that the whole transaction was managed in concert with her. A woman, indeed, of that spirit and resolution, which is acknowledged to belong to Mary, does not usually, on these occasions, give such marks of opposition to *real* violence, as can appear anywise doubtful or ambiguous. Some of the nobility, however, in order to put matters to farther trial, sent her a private message; in which they told her, that if, in reality, she lay under force, they would use all their efforts to rescue her. Her answer was, "that she had indeed been carried to Dunbar by violence, but ever since her arrival had been so well treated, that she willingly remained with Bothwel." No one gave himself thenceforth any concern to relieve her from a captivity, which was believed to proceed entirely from her own connivance and approbation.

This unusual conduct was at first ascribed to Mary's sense of the infamy attending her purposed marriage; and her desire of finding some colour to gloss over the irregularity of her conduct. But a pardon, was given to Bothwel, a few days after, which made the public carry their conjectures somewhat farther. In this deed, Bothwel received a pardon for the violence committed on the queen's person; and for *all other crimes:* a clause, by which the murder of the king was indirectly forgiven. The rape was then conjectured to have been only a contrivance, in order to afford a pretence for indirectly remitting a crime, of which it would have appeared scandalous to make openly any mention.

There still, however, remained one difficulty, which it was not easy to foresee how the queen and Bothwel, determined as they were to execute their shameful purpose, could find expedients to overcome. The man who had procured the subscription of the nobility, recommending him as a husband to the queen, and who had acted this seeming violence on her person, in order to force her consent, had been married two years before to another woman; to a woman of merit, of a noble family, sister to the earl of Huntley. A suit was therefore commenced for a divorce between Bothwel and his wife; and this suit was opened at the same instant in two different, or rather opposite

(*o*) Immediately after his acquittal, the earl of Bothwel, vain of his good fortune, disposed to make a shew of his prowess, or influenced by the maxims of chivalry, set up in a conspicuous place a writing, subscribed by himself, challenging to single combat any person of equal rank with himself, who should dare to affirm that he was guilty of the king's murder. To this challenge an answer was published; in which the defiance was accepted, upon the condition that security should be given for a fair and equal conflict: but no name being subscribed to this paper, it was not understood to correspond with the law of arms. No step therefore was taken to the celebration of this duel; and Bothwel had the honour of atchieving a feat which has been compared, not improperly, to the bravado of a champion at a coronation.

(*p*) It is remarkable, that on this occasion, the indictment was laid against Bothwel for committing the crime on the *ninth* of February, not the *tenth*, the real day on which Henry was assassinated. The interpretation generally put upon this error, too gross, it was thought, to have proceeded from mistake, was, that the secret council, by whom Mary was governed, not trusting entirely to precipitation, violence, and authority, had provided this plea, by which they ensured, at all adventures, a plausible pretence for acquitting Bothwel.

(*q*) Mary herself confessed, in her instructions to the ambassadors whom she sent to France, that Bothwel persuaded all the noblemen that their application in favour of his marriage was agreeable to her. Murray afterwards produced to queen Elizabeth's commissioners, a paper signed by Mary, by which she permitted them to make this application to her. This permission was a sufficient declaration of her intentions, and was esteemed equivalent to a command. They even asserted, that the house in which they met was surrounded with armed men.

posite courts; in the court of the archbishop of St. Andrews, which was Popish, and governed itself by the canon law; and in the new consistorial or commissariot court, which was Protestant, and was regulated by the principles of the reformed teachers. The plea, advanced in each court, was so calculated as to suit the principles which there prevailed: in the archbishop's court, the pretence of consanguinity was employed, because Bothwel was related to his wife in the fourth degree; in the commissariot court, the accusation of adultery was made use of against him. The parties too, who applied for the divorce, were different in the different courts: Bothwel was the person who sued in the former; his wife in the latter. And the suit in both courts was opened, pleaded, examined, and decided with the utmost precipitation; and a sentence of divorce was pronounced in four days.

The divorce being obtained, it was thought proper that Mary should be conducted to Edinburgh, and appear before the courts of judicature, and acknowledge herself restored to freedom. This was contrived with a view to obviate all doubts concerning the validity of her marriage. Orders were then given to publish in the church the banns between the queen and the duke of Orkney; (for that was the title which Bothwel now bore;) and Craig, a minister of Edinburgh, was applied to for that purpose, who positively refused to comply with their request (*r*).

Notwithstanding the remonstrances of Craig and others, the marriage was, on the 15th of May, solemnized by the bishop of Orkney, a Protestant, who was afterwards deposed by the church for this scandalous compliance. Few of the nobility appeared at the ceremony: they had, most of them, either from shame or fear, retired to their own houses. The French ambassador, Le Croc, an aged gentleman of honour and character, could not be prevailed on, though a dependent of the house of Guise, to countenance the marriage by his presence. Elizabeth remonstrated, by friendly letters and messages, against this matrimonial connection: the court of France made like opposition; but Mary, though on all other occasions she was extremely obsequious to the advice of her relations in that country, was here determined to pay no regard to their opinion. Thus did Mary confirm the idea which was entertained by the people respecting her concurring in the murder of her husband; and thus did she draw upon herself and the kingdom the odium of Europe (*s*).

Soon after the marriage, Bothwel, with the queen's consent, as asserted, made some attempts to get the young prince into his power. But this step excited the most serious attention; and the principal nobility, even many of those who had formerly been constrained to sign the application in favour of Bothwel's marriage, met at Stirling, and formed an association for protecting the prince, and punishing the king's murderers. The earl of Athol himself, a known Catholic, was the first author of this conspiracy: the earls of Argyle, Morton, Marre, Glencairne, the lords Boyd, Lindesey, Hume, Semple, Kirkaldy of Grange, Tulibardine, and secretary Liddington, entered zealously into it. The earl of Murray, foreseeing such turbulent times, and being desirous to keep free of these dangerous factions, had, some time before, desired and obtained Mary's permission to retire into France.

Lord Hume was first in arms; and, leading a body of eight hundred horse, suddenly environed the queen of Scots and Bothwel, in the castle of Borthwic. They, however, found means to make their escape to Dunbar; while the confederate lords were assembling their troops at Edinburgh, and taking measures to effect their purpose. Bothwel upon hearing that the associated lords were fallen into distress, imprudently took the field on the 15th of June, and advanced towards them. The armies met at Carberry Hill, about six miles from Edinburgh; and Mary

(*r*) This clergyman, not content with having refused compliance, publicly in his sermons condemned the marriage; and exhorted all who had access to the queen, to give her their advice against so scandalous an alliance. Being called before the council, to answer for the liberty he took, he showed a courage, which might cover all the nobles with shame, on account of their tameness and servility. He said, that, by the rules of the church, the earl of Bothwel, being convicted of adultery, could not be permitted to marry; that the divorce between him and his former wife was plainly procured by collusion, as appeared by the precipitation of the sentence, and the sudden conclusion of his marriage with the queen; and that all suspicions which prevailed, with regard to the king's murder, and the queen's concurrence in the former rape, would thence receive undoubted confirmation. He therefore exhorted Bothwel, who was present, no longer to persevere in his present criminal enterprizes; and turning his discourse to the other counsellors, he charged them to employ all their influence with the queen, in order to divert her from a measure which would load her with eternal infamy and dishonour. Not satisfied even with this admonition, he took the first opportunity of informing the public from the pulpit, of the whole transaction, and expressed to them his fears, that, notwithstanding all remonstrances, their sovereign was still obstinately bent on her fatal purpose. "For himself," he said, "he had already discharged his conscience, and yet again would take heaven and earth to witness, that he abhorred and detested that marriage, as scandalous and hateful in the sight of mankind: but since the Great, as he perceived, either by their flattery or silence, gave countenance to the measure, he besought the Faithful to pray fervently to the Almighty, that a resolution, taken contrary to all law, reason, and good conscience, might, by the divine blessing, be turned to the comfort and benefit of the church and kingdom." These speeches gave great offence to the court; and Craig was again summoned before the council, to answer for his temerity in thus passing the bounds of his commission. But he told them, that the bounds of his commission were the word of God, good laws, and natural reason; and were the queen's marriage tried by any of these standards, it would appear infamous and dishonourable, and would be esteemed so by the whole world. The council were so overawed by this heroic behaviour in a private clergyman, that they dismissed him without farther censure or punishment. Spotswood, p. 203. Anderson, vol. ii. p. 280.

(*s*) The Scots, who resided abroad, met with such reproaches, that they durst nowhere appear in public; and they earnestly exhorted their countrymen at home to free them from the public hatred, by bringing to punishment the authors of such atrocious crimes. This intelligence, with a little reflection, roused men from their lethargy; and the rumours which, from the beginning, had been spread against Mary, as if she had been privy to the king's murder, seemed now to have received a strong confirmation and authority. It was every where said, that even though no particular and direct proofs had as yet been pronounced of the queen's guilt, the whole tenour of her late conduct was sufficient, not only to beget suspicion, but to produce conviction against her: that her sudden resolution of being reconciled to her husband, whom before she had long hated; her bringing him to court, from which she had banished him by neglect and rigorous behaviour; her fitting up separate apartments for him: were all circumstances which, when compared with the subsequent events, bore an unfavourable aspect for her: that the least which, after the king's murder, might have been expected in her situation, was a more than usual caution in her measures, and an extreme anxiety to punish the real assassins, in order to free herself from suspicion and reproach: that no woman, who had any regard to her character, would allow a man, publicly accused of her husband's murder, so much as to approach her presence, far less give him a share in her counsels, and endow him with favour and authority: that an acquittal, merely in the absence of accusers, was not well calculated to satisfy the public; especially if that absence proceeded from a designed precipitation of the sentence, and from the terror which her known friendship for the criminal had infused into every one: that the very mention of her marriage to such a person, in such circumstances, was horrible; and the contrivances of extorting a consent from the nobility, and of concerting a rape, were gross artifices, more proper to discover her guilt than prove her innocence: that where a woman thus shews a consciousness of merited reproach, and, instead of correcting, provides only thin glosses to cover, her exceptionable conduct, she betrays a neglect of fame, which must either be the effect or the cause of the most shameless enormities: that to espouse a man, who had, a few days before, been so scandalously divorced from his wife; who, to say the least, was believed to have, a few months before, assassinated her husband, was so contrary to the plainest rules of behaviour, that no pretence of indiscretion or imprudence could account for such a conduct: that a woman, who, so soon after her husband's death, though not attended with any extraordinary circumstances, contracts a marriage, which might in itself be the most blameless, cannot escape severe censure; but one who overlooks for her pleasure, so many other weighty considerations, was equally capable, in gratifying her appetites, to neglect every regard to honour and to humanity: that Mary was not ignorant of the prevailing opinion of the public with regard to her own guilt, and of the inferences which would every where be drawn from her conduct; and therefore, if she still continued to pursue measures which gave such just offence, she ratified, by her actions, as much as she could by the most formal confession, all the surmises and imputations of her enemies: that a prince was here murdered in the face of the world; Bothwel alone was suspected and accused; if he were innocent, nothing could absolve him, either in Mary's eyes or those of the public, but the detection and conviction of the assassin; yet no inquiry was made to that purpose, though a parliament had been assembled; the sovereign and wife was here plainly silent from guilt, the people from terror: that the only circumstance which opposed all these presumptions, or rather proofs, was the benignity and goodness of her preceding behaviour, which seemed to remove her from all suspicions of such atrocious inhumanity; but that the characters of men were extremely variable, and persons guilty of the worst actions were not always of the worst and most criminal disposition: that a woman who, in a critical and dangerous moment, had sacrificed her honour to a man of abandoned principle, might thenceforth be led blindfold by him to the commission of the most enormous crimes, and was in reality no longer at her own disposal: and that, though one supposition was still left to alleviate her blame, namely, that Bothwel, presuming on her affection towards him, had of himself committed the crime, and had never communicated it to her, yet such a sudden and passionate love to a man, whom she had long known, could not easily be accounted for, without supposing some degree of preceding guilt; and as it appeared that she was not afterwards restrained, either by shame or prudence, from incurring the highest reproach and danger, it was not likely that a sense of duty or humanity would have a more powerful influence over her.

Such are the observations of Hume, who seems to have considered these nefarious transactions in their proper colours, notwithstanding the panegyrical glosses of Mary's favourers.

soon became sensible that her own troops disapproved of her cause, and were averse to spill their blood in the quarrel. After some bravadoes of Bothwel, where he discovered very little courage, she saw no resource but that of holding a conference with Kirkaldy of Grange, and of putting herself, upon some general promises, into the hands of the confederates. She was conducted to Edinburgh, amidst the insults of the populace; who reproached her with her crimes; and even held before her eyes, which way soever she turned, a banner, on which were painted the murder of her husband, and the distress of her infant son. Mary, overwhelmed with her calamities, had recourse to tears and lamentations. Bothwel, during her conference with Grange, fled unattended to Dunbar; and fitting out a few small ships, set sail for the Orkneys, where he subsisted during some time by piracy. He was pursued thither by Grange, and his ship was taken, with several of his servants, who afterwards discovered all the circumstances of the king's murder, and were punished for the crime. Bothwel himself escaped in a boat, and found means to get a passage to Denmark, where he was thrown into prison, lost his senses, and died miserably about ten years after.

Mary, now in the hands of an enraged faction, met with such treatment as a sovereign may naturally expect from subjects who have their future security to provide for, as well as their present animosity to gratify. It is pretended, that she behaved with a spirit very little suitable to her condition, and avowed her inviolable attachment to Bothwel. The malcontents, for their own safety, thought themselves obliged to proceed with rigour against her; and they sent her next day under a guard to the castle of Lochleven, situated in a lake of that name. The mistress of the house was mother to the earl of Murray; and as she pretended to have been lawfully married to the late king of Scots, she naturally bore an animosity to Mary, and treated her with the utmost severity and harshness.

Elizabeth was made acquainted with all these incidents, and seemed touched with compassion towards the unfortunate queen; and all her fears and jealousies being now laid asleep, by the consideration of that ruin and infamy in which Mary's conduct had involved her, she began to reflect on the instability of human affairs, the precarious state of royal grandeur, the danger of encouraging rebellious subjects; and she resolved to employ her authority for alleviating the calamities of her unhappy kinswoman. She sent sir Nicholas Throgmorton ambassador to Scotland, in order to remonstrate both with Mary and the associated lords; and she gave him instructions, which, though mixed with some lofty pretensions, were full of that good sense which was so natural to her, and of that generosity which the present conjuncture had called forth. She empowered him to declare in her name to Mary, "that the late conduct of that princess, so enormous and in every respect so unjustifiable, had given her the highest offence; and though she felt the movements of pity towards her, she had once determined never to interpose in her affairs, either by advice or assistance, but to abandon her entirely, as a person whose condition was totally desperate, and honour irretrievable: that she was well assured that other foreign princes, Mary's near relations, had embraced the same resolution; but, for her part, the late events had touched her heart with more tender sympathy, and had made her adopt measures more favourable to the liberty and interests of the unhappy queen: that she was determined not to see her oppressed by her rebellious subjects, but would employ all her good offices, and even her power, to redeem her from captivity, and place her in such a condition as would at once be compatible with her dignity, and the safety of her subjects: that she conjured her to lay aside all thoughts of revenge, except against the murderers of her husband; and as she herself was his near relation, she was better entitled than the subjects of Mary to interpose her authority on that head, and she therefore besought that princess, if she had any regard to her own honour and safety, not to oppose so just and reasonable a demand: that after those two points were provided for, her own liberty, and the punishment of her husband's assassins, the safety of her infant son was next to be considered; and there seemed no expedient more proper for that purpose, than sending him to be educated in England: and that, besides the security which would attend his removal from a scene of faction and convulsions, there were many other beneficial consequences, which it was easy to foresee as the result of his education in that country."

Throgmorton's remonstrances with the associated lords, were conformable to the sentiments which Elizabeth entertained in Mary's favour. She empowered him to tell them, "that, whatever blame she might throw on Mary's conduct, any opposition to their sovereign was totally unjustifiable, and incompatible with all order and good government: that it belonged not to them to reform, much less to punish, the mal-administration of their prince; and the only arms which subjects could in any case lawfully employ against the supreme authority, were entreaties, counsels, and representations: that if these expedients failed, they were next to appeal by their prayers to Heaven; and to wait with patience till the Almighty, in whose hands are the hearts of princes, should be pleased to turn them to justice and to mercy: that she inculcated not this doctrine, because she herself was interested in its observance; but because it was universally received in all well-governed states, and was essential to the preservation of civil society: that she required them to restore their queen to liberty; and promised, in that case, to concur with them in all proper expedients for regulating the government, for punishing the king's murderers, and for guarding the life and liberty of the infant prince: and that if the services, which she had lately rendered the Scottish nation, in protecting them from foreign usurpation, were duly considered by them, they would repose confidence in her good offices, and would esteem themselves blame-worthy in having hitherto made no application to her."

Elizabeth, besides these remonstrances, sent, by Throgmorton, some articles of accommodation, which he was to propose to both parties, as expedients for the settlement of public affairs; and though these articles contained some important restraints on the sovereign power, they were in the main calculated for Mary's advantage, and were sufficiently indulgent to her. The associated lords, who determined to proceed with greater severity, were apprehensive of Elizabeth's partiality; and being sensible that Mary would take courage from the protection of that powerful princess, they thought proper, after several affected delays, to refuse the English ambassador all access to her. There were four different schemes proposed in Scotland, for the treatment of the captive queen (*t*). Throgmorton, as might naturally be supposed, supported the mildest of the four proposals; but though he promised his mistress's guarantee for the performance of articles, he threatened the ruling party with immediate vengeance in case of refusal, and warned them not to draw on themselves, by their violence, the public reproach, which now lay upon their queen; he found that, excepting secretary Lidington, he had not the good fortune to convince any of the leaders. All counsels seemed to tend towards the more severe expedients; and the preachers, in particular, drawing their examples from the maxims of the Old Testament, inflamed the minds of the people against their unhappy sovereign.

There arose several who pretended to have an interest in the regency of the young prince after the intended deposition of Mary. The earl of Lenox claimed that authority as grandfather to the prince: the duke of Chatelrault, who was absent in France, had pretensions as next heir to the crown: but the greatest number of the associated lords inclined to the earl of Murray, in whose capacity they had entire confidence, and who possessed the good-will of the preachers and more zealous Reformers. All measures being therefore concerted, three instruments were sent to Mary, by the hands of lord Lindesey and sir Robert Melvil; by one of which she was to resign the crown in favour of her son, by another to appoint Murray regent, by the third to name a council, which should administer the government till his arrival in Scotland. The queen of Scots, seeing no prospect of relief, lying under apprehensions for her life, and believing that no deed which she executed during her captivity could be valid, was prevailed on, after a plentiful effusion of tears, to sign

(*t*) One, that she should be restored to her authority under very strict limitations: the second, that she should be obliged to resign her crown to the prince, be banished the kingdom, and be confined either to France or England; with assurances from the sovereign, in whose dominions she should reside, that she should make no attempts to the disturbance of the established government: the third, that she should be publicly tried for her crimes, of which her enemies pretended to have undoubted proof, and be sentenced to perpetual imprisonment: the fourth is still more severe, and required, that, after her trial and condemnation, capital punishment should be inflicted upon her.

sign these three instruments; and she took not the trouble of inspecting any one of them. In consequence of this forced resignation, the young prince was proclaimed king, by the name of James VI. He was crowned at Stirling, on the 29th of July, and the earl of Morton took in his name the coronation oath; in which a promise to extirpate heresy was not forgotten. Some republican pretensions in favour of the people's power were countenanced in this ceremony; and a coin was soon after struck, on which the famous saying of Trajan was inscribed, "*Pro me; si merear, in me:*" that is, "For me; if I deserve it, against me." Throgmorton had orders from his mistress not to assist at the coronation of the king of Scots.

The council of regency had not long occasion to exercise their authority. The earl of Murray soon after arrived from France, and took possession of his high office. He paid a visit to the captive queen; and treated her in so severe a manner, that she entirely alienated her affection from him. Murray proceeded afterwards to break, in a more public manner, all terms of decency with her. He summoned a parliament on the 15th of December; and that assembly, after voting that she was undoubtedly an accomplice in her husband's murder, condemned her to imprisonment, ratified her demission of the crown, and acknowledged her son for king, and Murray for regent. The regent, a man of vigour and abilities, employed himself successfully in reducing the kingdom. He bribed sir James Balfour to surrender the castle of Edinburgh: he constrained the garrison of Dunbar to open their gates; and he demolished that fortress.

Although every thing seemed to bear a favourable aspect to the new government, and all men seemed to acquiesce in Murray's authority; a violent revolution, however necessary, can never be effected without great discontents; and it was not likely that, in a country where the government, in its most settled state, possessed a very disjointed authority, a new establishment should meet with no interruption or disturbance. Few considerable men of the nation appeared willing to support Mary, so long as Bothwel was present; but the removal of that noxious nobleman had altered the sentiments of many. The duke of Chatelrault, being disappointed of the regency, bore no good-will to Murray; and the same sentiments were embraced by all his numerous retainers: several of the nobility, finding that others had taken the lead among the associators, formed a faction apart, and opposed the prevailing power: and besides their being moved by some remains of duty and affection towards Mary, the malcontent lords, observing every thing carried to extremity against her, were naturally led to embrace her cause, and shelter themselves under her authority. All who retained any propensity to the Catholic religion, were induced to join this party; and even many who detested Mary's crimes, were now inclined to compassionate her present situation. Animated by all these motives, some of the principal nobility, now adherents to the queen of Scots, met at Hamilton, and concerted measures for supporting the cause of that princess.

While these things were carrying on, Mary employed herself in concerting measures for effecting her escape; and she engaged, by her charms and caresses, a young gentleman, George Douglas, brother to the laird of Lochleven, to assist in that enterprize. She even went so far as to give hopes of espousing her, after her marriage with Bothwel should be dissolved on the plea of force; and she proposed this expedient to the regent, who rejected it. Douglas, however, persevered in his endeavours to free her from captivity; and having all opportunities of access to the house, he was at last successful in the undertaking. He conveyed her in disguise into a small boat, on the 2d of May, 1568, and himself rowed her ashore. She hastened to Hamilton; and the news of her arrival in that place being immediately spread abroad, many of the nobility flocked to her with their forces. A bond of association for her defence was signed by the earls of Argyle, Huntley, Eglington, Crawford, Cassilis, Rothes, Montrose, Sutherland, Errol, nine bishops, and nine barons, besides many of the most considerable gentry. And in a few days an army, to the number of six thousand men, was assembled under her standard.

No sooner was Elizabeth informed of Mary's escape, than she discovered her resolution of persevering in the same friendly measures which she had hitherto pursued; and with that view she proposed to the court of France an expedient, which, though less violent, would have been no less effectual for her service: she desired that France and England should by concert cut off all commerce with the Scots, till they should do justice to their injured sovereign. She now dispatched Leighton into Scotland to offer both her good offices, and the assistance of her forces, to Mary; but as she apprehended the entrance of French troops into the kingdom, she desired that the controversy between the queen of Scots and her subjects might by that princess be referred entirely to her arbitration, and that no foreign succours should be introduced into Scotland.

But Elizabeth had not leisure to exert her efforts in favour of Mary. The regent assembled forces; and, notwithstanding his army was inferior in number to that of the queen of Scots, he took the field against her on the 15th of the same month. A battle was fought at Langside near Glasgow, which was entirely decisive in favour of the regent; and though Murray, after his victory, stopped the bloodshed, yet was the action followed by a total dispersion of the queen's party. That unhappy princess fled southwards from the field of battle with great precipitation, and came, with a few attendants to the borders of England. Here she deliberated concerning her next measures, which would probably prove so important to her future happiness or misery: she found it impossible to remain in her own kingdom; she had an aversion, in her present condition, to return into France, the scene of her former splendour; and she was not provided with a vessel, which could safely convey her thither: the generous behaviour of Elizabeth made her hope for protection, and assistance, from that quarter; and therefore she embraced the resolution of taking shelter in England. She embarked on board a fishing-boat in Galloway, and landed the same day at Workington in Cumberland, about thirty miles from Carlisle; whence she immediately dispatched a messenger to London; notifying her arrival, desiring leave to visit Elizabeth, and craving her protection, in consequence of former professions of friendship made her by that princess.

Elizabeth was now obliged to make some decisive resolution with regard to her treatment of the queen of Scots; and as she had hitherto, contrary to the opinion of Cecil, attended more to the motives of generosity than of policy, she was engaged by that minister to weigh afresh all the considerations which occurred in this critical conjuncture. He represented, "that the party which had dethroned Mary, and had at present assumed the government of Scotland, was always attached to the English alliance, and was engaged by all the motives of religion and interest, to persevere in their connection with Elizabeth: that though Murray and his friends might complain of some unkind usage during their banishment in England, they would easily forget these grounds of quarrel, when they reflected that Elizabeth was the only ally on whom they could safely depend, and that their own queen, by her attachment to the Catholic faith, and by her other connections, excluded them entirely from the friendship of France, and even from that of Spain: that Mary, on the other hand, even before her violent breach with her Protestant subjects, was secretly governed by the counsels of the house of Guise; much more would she implicitly comply with their views, when, by her own ill conduct, the power of that family and of the zealous Catholics was become her sole resource and security: that her pretensions to the English crown would render her a dangerous instrument in their hands; and, were she once able to suppress the Protestants in her own kingdom, she would unite the Scottish and English Catholics, with those of all foreign states, in a confederacy against the religion and government of England: that it behoved Elizabeth, therefore, to proceed with caution in the design of restoring her rival to the throne; and to take care, both that this enterprize, if undertaken, should be effected by English forces alone, and that full securities should beforehand be provided for the Reformers and the reformation in Scotland: that above all, it was necessary to guard carefully the person of that princess; lest, finding this unexpected reserve in the English friendship, she should suddenly take the resolution of flying into France, and should attempt, by foreign force, to recover possession of her authority: that if she were once abroad, in the hands of Catholics, the attack on England would appear to her as easy as that on Scotland; and the only method of recovering her native kingdom, would be to acquire that crown, to which she should deem herself equally intitled: that a neutrality in such interesting situations, though it might

be





MARY QUEEN OF SCOTS ARRESTED.

Drawn by Brown. Engraved by W.J.S.Miller. Published by J.Scratford. No 11 St Albans Hill London. Oct 1. 1811.

be pretended, could never, without the most extreme danger, be upheld by the queen; and the detention of Mary was equally requisite, whether the power of England were to be employed in her favour, or against her: that nothing, indeed, was more becoming a great prince than generosity; yet the suggestions of this noble principle could never be consulted in such delicate circumstances as those in which the queen was at present placed; where her own safety and the interests of her people were intimately concerned in every resolution which she embraced: that Mary's imprudence had been so great, perhaps her crimes so enormous, that the insurrection of subjects, after such provocation, could no longer be regarded as a precedent against other princes: that it was first necessary for Elizabeth to ascertain, in a regular and satisfactory manner, the extent of Mary's guilt, and thence to determine the degree of protection which she ought to afford her against her discontented subjects: that as no glory could surpass that of defending oppressed innocence, it was equally infamous to patronize vice and murder on the throne; and the contagion of such dishonour would extend itself to all who countenanced or supported it: and that, if the crimes of the Scottish princess should, on inquiry, appear as great and certain as was affirmed and believed, every measure against her, which policy should dictate, would thence be justified; or if she should be found innocent, every enterprize, which friendship should inspire, would be acknowledged laudable and glorious."

Elizabeth now resolved to proceed in a seemingly generous, but really cautious, manner with Mary; and she immediately sent orders to lady Scrope, sister to the duke of Norfolk, who lived in the neighbourhood, to attend on that princess. Soon after, she dispatched to her lord Scrope himself, warden of the marches, and sir Francis Knolles, vice-chamberlain. They found Mary already lodged in the castle of Carlisle; and, after expressing the queen's sympathy with her in her late misfortunes, they told her, that her request of being allowed to visit their sovereign, and of being admitted to her presence, could not at present be complied with: till she had cleared herself of her husband's murder, of which she was so strongly accused, Elizabeth could not, without dishonour, show her any countenance, or appear indifferent to the assassination of so near a kinsman. This unexpected check threw Mary into tears; and the necessity of her situation extorted from her a declaration, that she would willingly justify herself to her sister from all imputations, and would submit her cause to the arbitration of so good a friend. Two days after she sent lord Herries to London with a letter to that purport.

This concession, which Mary could scarcely avoid without an acknowledgement of guilt, was the point expected and desired by Elizabeth: she immediately dispatched Midlemore to the regent of Scotland; requiring him both to desist from the farther prosecution of the queen's party, and send some persons to London to justify his conduct with regard to her. Murray might justly be startled at receiving a message so violent and imperious; but as his domestic enemies were numerous and powerful, and England was the sole ally which he could expect among foreign nations, he was resolved rather to digest the affront, than provoke Elizabeth by a refusal; and he declared, that he would himself take a journey to England, attended by other commissioners; and would willingly submit the determination of his cause to Elizabeth.

Lord Herries now perceived, that his mistress had advanced too far in her concessions: he endeavoured to maintain, that Mary could not, without diminution of her royal dignity, submit to a contest with her rebellious subjects before a foreign prince; and he required either present aid from England, or liberty for his queen to pass over into France. The queen of Scots herself discovered no less aversion to the trial proposed; and it required all the artifice and prudence of Elizabeth to make her persevere in the agreement to which she at first consented. But allured by the plausible professions of Elizabeth, she agreed to vindicate herself by her own commissioners before commissioners appointed by the queen of England.

During the above transactions lord Scrope and sir Francis Knolles, who resided with Mary at Carlisle, had leisure to study her character, and make report of it to Elizabeth. Unbroken by her misfortunes, resolute in her purpose, she aspired to nothing but victory; and was determined to undergo any difficulty, and to try every fortune, rather than abandon her cause, or yield the superiority to her enemies. She declared her fixed purpose to require aid of her friends all over Europe, and even to have recourse to infidels and barbarians, rather than fail of vengeance against her persecutors. But the court of England, under pretence of guarding her, had already, in effect, detained her prisoner, and were determined to watch her with greater vigilance on account of these declarations. As Carlisle, by its situation on the borders, afforded her great opportunities of contriving her escape, they removed her to Bolton, a seat of lord Scrope's in Yorkshire; and the issue of the controversy between her and the Scottish nation was regarded as a subject more momentous to Elizabeth's security and interests, than it had hitherto been apprehended.

In the beginning of October commissioners were appointed by the English court for the examination of this great cause. They were the duke of Norfolk, the earl of Sussex, and sir Ralph Sadler; and York was named as the place of conference. Lesley, bishop of Ross, the lords Herries, Levingstone, and Boyde, with three persons more, appeared as commissioners from the queen of Scots. The earl of Murray, regent, the earl of Morton, the bishop of Orkney, lord Lindesey, and the abbot of Dunfermling, were appointed commissioners from the king and kingdom of Scotland. Secretary Lidington, George Buchanan, the famous poet and historian, with some others, were named as their assistants (*u*). Mary's commissioners, before they gave in their complaints against her enemies in Scotland, entered a protest, that their appearance in the cause should nowise affect the independence of her crown, or be construed as a mark of subordination to England: the English commissioners received this protest, but with a reserve to the claim of England. The complaint of that princess was next read, and contained a detail of the injuries which she had suffered since her marriage with Bothwel: that her subjects had taken arms against her, on pretence of freeing her from captivity; that when she put herself into their hands, they had committed her to close custody in Lochleven; had placed her son, an infant, on her throne; had again taken arms against her after her deliverance from prison; had rejected all proposals for accommodation; had given battle to her troops; and had obliged her, for the safety of her person, to take shelter in England. The earl of Murray, in answer to this complaint, gave a summary account of the late transactions: the earl of Bothwel, the known murderer of the late king, had, a little after committing that crime, seized the person of the queen, and led her to Dunbar; that he acquired such influence over her as to gain her consent to marry him; and he had accordingly procured a divorce from his former wife, and had pretended to celebrate his nuptials with the queen; that the scandal of this transaction, the dishonour which it brought on the nation, the danger to which the infant prince was exposed from the attempts of that audacious man, had obliged the nobility to take arms, and oppose his criminal enterprizes; that after Mary, in order to save him, had thrown herself into their hands, she still discovered such attachment to him, that they found it necessary, for their own and the public safety, to confine her person till Bothwel and the other murderers of her husband could be tried and punished for their crimes; and that, during this confinement, she had voluntarily, without compulsion or violence, resigned her crown to her only son, and had appointed the earl of Murray regent during the minority. The queen's answer to this

(*u*) It was a great circumstance in Elizabeth's glory, that she was thus chosen umpire between the factions of a neighbouring kingdom, which had, during many centuries, entertained the most violent jealousy and animosity against England; and her felicity was equally rare, in having the fortunes and fame of so dangerous a rival, who had long given her the greatest inquietude, now entirely at her disposal. Some circumstances of her late conduct had discovered a bias towards the side of Mary: her prevailing interests led her to favour the enemies of that princess: the professions of impartiality which she made, were open and frequent; and she had so far succeeded, that each side accused her commissioners of partiality towards their adversaries. She herself appears, by the instructions given them, to have fixed no plan for the decision; but she knew that the advantages which she should reap, must be great, whatever issue the cause might take. If Mary's crimes could be ascertained by undoubted proof, she could for ever blast the reputation of that princess, and might justifiably detain her for ever a prisoner in England: if the evidence fell short of conviction, it was intended to restore her to the throne, but with such strict limitations as would leave Elizabeth perpetual arbiter of all differences between the parties in Scotland, and render her in effect absolute mistress of the kingdom. *Hume.*

apology was obvious: that she did not know, and never could suspect, that Bothwel, who had been acquitted by a jury, and recommended to her by all the nobility for her husband, was the murderer of the king; that she ever was, and still continues, desirous that if he be guilty he may be brought to condign punishment; that her resignation of the crown was extorted from her by the well-grounded fears of her life, and even by direct menaces of violence; and that Throgmorton, the English ambassador, as well as others of her friends, had advised her to sign that paper, as the only means of saving herself from the last extremity, and had assured her that a consent, given under these circumstances, could never have any validity or force.

It is observable in this conference, that Murray did not bring forward against the queen any thing which might seem to impress the nation with an idea of her guilt. He was afraid, should she ever be restored, either by the power of Elizabeth, or the assistance of her other friends, he and his party must be exposed to her severe and implacable vengeance. He resolved, therefore, not to venture rashly on a measure which it would be impossible for him ever to recal; and he privately paid a visit to Norfolk and the other English commissioners, confessed his scruples, laid before them the evidence of the queen's guilt, and desired to have some security for Elizabeth's protection, in case that evidence should, upon examination, appear satisfactory. Norfolk was not secretly displeased with the regent's scruples. He had ever been a partizan of the queen of Scots: secretary Lidington, who began also to incline to that party, had engaged to embrace farther views in her favour, and even to think of espousing her: and though that duke confessed, that the proofs against Mary seemed to him unquestionable, he encouraged Murray in his resolution, not to produce them publicly in the conferences before the English commissioners. Norfolk, however, was obliged to transmit to court the queries proposed by the regent (*v*). And Elizabeth thereupon began to think that they pointed towards a conclusion more decisive and more advantageous than she had hitherto apprehended; she determined to bring the matter into full light. Under pretext that the distance from her person retarded the proceedings of her commissioners, she ordered them to come to London, and there continue the conferences. On their appearance, she joined in commission with them some of the most considerable of her council; sir Nicholas Bacon, lord keeper, the earls of Arundel and Leicester, lord Clinton, admiral, and sir William Cecil, secretary. The queen of Scots, who knew nothing of these secret motives, and who expected that fear or decency would still restrain Murray from proceeding to any violent accusation against her, expressed an entire satisfaction in this adjournment; and declared that the affair, being under the immediate inspection of Elizabeth, was now in the hands where she most desired to rest it. The conferences were accordingly continued at Hampton Court; and Mary's commissioners made no scruple to be present at them.

The queen, meanwhile, gave a satisfactory answer to all Murray's demands, and declared, that though she wished and hoped, from the present inquiry, to be entirely convinced of Mary's innocence, yet if the event should prove contrary, and if that princess should appear guilty of her husband's murder, she should, for her own part, deem her ever after unworthy of a throne. The regent, encouraged by this declaration, opened more fully his charge against the unfortunate queen; and proceeded to accuse her of participation in the assassination of the king. The earl of Lenox likewise appeared before the English commissioners; and imploring vengeance for the murder of his son, accused Mary as an accomplice with Bothwel in that enormous crime.

When this charge was so unexpectedly given in, and copies of it were transmitted to the bishop of Ross, lord Herreis, and the other commissioners of Mary, they absolutely refused to return an answer (*w*). The commissioners of the queen of Scots imagined by their refusal to answer the charge preferred by Murray, that there could be no farther proceedings in the conference; but though this silence might be interpreted as a presumption against her, it did not fully answer the purpose of those English ministers who were enemies to that princess. They still desired to have in their hands the proofs of her guilt; and in order to draw them with decency from the regent, a judicious artifice was employed by Elizabeth. Murray was called before the English commissioners; and reproved by them, in the queen's name, for the atrocious imputations which he had the temerity to throw upon his sovereign: but they told them, that Elizabeth desired to know what Murray and the other commissioners could say in their own justification. Murray, thus urged, made no difficulty in producing the proofs of his charge against the queen of Scots; and among the rest, some love-letters and sonnets of her's to Bothwel, written all in her own hand, and two other papers, one written in her own hand, another subscribed by her, and written by the earl of Huntley; each of which contained a promise of marriage with Bothwel, made before the pretended trial and acquittal of that nobleman (*x*). These papers contained incontestable proofs of Mary's criminal correspondence with Bothwel, of her consent to the king's murder, and of her concurrence in the violence which Bothwel pretended to commit upon her. Murray fortified this evidence, by some testimonies of correspondent facts; and added, some time after, the dying confession of one Hubert, a servant of Bothwel's, who had been executed for the king's murder, and who directly charged the queen with her being accessary to that criminal transaction.

Mary's commissioners had used every expedient to prevent the appearance of the casket just mentioned, which contained papers so much to the dishonour of their mistress. As soon as Murray opened his charge, they endeavoured to turn the conferences from an inquiry into a negociation; and though informed by the English commissioners that nothing could be more dishonourable for Mary, than to enter into a treaty with such undutiful subjects, before she had justified herself from those enormous imputations which had been thrown upon her, they still insisted that Elizabeth should settle terms of accommodation between Mary and her enemies in Scotland. They maintained that, till their mistress had given in her answer to Murray's charge, his proofs could neither be called for nor produced: and finding that the English commissioners were still determined to proceed in the method which had been projected, they finally broke off the conferences, and would not make the least reply (*y*).

Elizabeth, to convince the world of the equity of her proceedings, ordered her privy-council to be assembled; and, that she might render the matter more solemn and

(*v*) These queries consisted of four particulars: Whether the English commissioners had authority from their sovereign to pronounce sentence against Mary, in case her guilt should be fully proved before them? Whether they would promise to exercise that authority, and proceed to an actual sentence? Whether the queen of Scots, if she were found guilty, should be delivered into the hands of the regent, or, at least, be so secured in England, that she never should be able to disturb the tranquillity of Scotland? and, Whether Elizabeth would also, in that case, promise to acknowledge the young king, and protect the regent in his authority?

(*w*) These persons grounded their silence on very extraordinary reasons. They had orders, they said, from their mistress, if any thing were advanced that might touch her honour, not to make any defence, as she was a sovereign princess, and could not be subject to any tribunal; and they required that she should previously be admitted to Elizabeth's presence, to whom, and to whom alone, she was determined to justify her innocence. They forgot that the conferences were at first begun, and were still continued, with no other view than to clear her from the accusations of her enemies; that Elizabeth had constantly pretended to enter into them only as her friend, by her own consent and approbation, not as assuming any jurisdiction over her; that this princess had, from the beginning, refused to admit her to her presence, till she should vindicate herself from the crimes imputed to her; that she had therefore discovered no new signs of partiality by her perseverance in that resolution; and that though she had granted an audience to the earl of Murray and his colleagues, she had previously conferred the same honour on Mary's commissioners; and her conduct was so far entirely equal to both parties.

(*x*) All these important papers had been kept by Bothwel in a silver box or casket, which had been given him by Mary, and which had belonged to her first husband, Francis; and though the princess had enjoined him to burn the letters as soon as he had read them, he had thought proper carefully to preserve them as pledges of her fidelity, and had committed them to the custody of sir James Balfour, deputy-governor of the castle of Edinburgh. When that fortress was besieged by the associated lords, Bothwel sent a servant to receive the casket from the hands of the deputy-governor. Balfour delivered it to the messenger; but as he had at that time received some disgust from Bothwel, and was secretly negociating an agreement with the ruling party, he took care, by conveying private intelligence to the earl of Morton, to make the papers be intercepted by him.

(*y*) These papers, at least translations of them, have been since published. The objections made to their authenticity are, in general, of small force: but were they ever so specious, they cannot now be hearkened to; since Mary, at the time when the truth could have been fully cleared, did, in effect, ratify the evidence against her, by recoiling from the inquiry at the very critical moment, and refusing to give an answer to the accusation.

authentic,

authentic, she summoned, along with them, the earls of Northumberland, Westmoreland, Shrewsbury, Worcester, Huntingdon, and Warwick. All the proceedings of the English commissioners were read to them: the evidences produced by Murray were perused: a great number of letters, written by Mary to Elizabeth, were laid before them, and the hand-writing compared with that of the letters delivered in by the regent: the refusal of the queen of Scots' commissioners to make any reply, was related: and on the whole, Elizabeth told them, that as she had from the first thought it improper that Mary, after such horrid crimes had been imputed to her, should be admitted to her presence before she had, in some measure, cleared herself from the charge; so now, when her guilt was confirmed by so many evidences, and all answer refused, she must, for her part, persevere more steadily in that resolution. Elizabeth next called in the queen of Scots' commissioners, and, after observing that she deemed it more decent for their mistress to continue the conferences, than to require the liberty of justifying herself in person, she told them, that Mary might either send her reply by a person whom she trusted, or deliver it herself to some English nobleman, whom Elizabeth should appoint to wait upon her: but as to her resolution of making no reply at all, she must regard it as the strongest confession of guilt; nor could they ever be deemed her friends who advised her to that method of proceeding. These topics she enforced still more strongly in a letter which she wrote to Mary herself.

The queen of Scots, to keep herself the better in countenance, ordered her commissioners to accuse the earl of Murray and his associates as the murderers of the king: but this accusation being looked upon merely as a matter of recrimination, and being unsupported by any proof, was of course disregarded (z). She also desired to have copies of the papers given in by the regent; but as she still persisted in her resolution to make no reply before the English commissioners, this demand, as might naturally be expected, was finally refused her.

As Mary had thus put an end to the conferences, the regent expressed a desire to return into Scotland; and he complained, that his enemies had taken advantage of his absence, and had thrown the government into confusion. Elizabeth therefore dismissed him; and granted him a loan of five thousand pounds to bear the charges of his journey. During the conferences at York, the duke of Chatelrault arrived at London, in passing from France; and as the queen knew that he was engaged in Mary's party, and had plausible pretensions to the regency of the king of Scots, she detained him till after Murray's departure. But notwithstanding these marks of favour, and some other assistance which she secretly gave this latter nobleman, she still declined acknowledging the young king, or treating with Murray as regent of Scotland.

Elizabeth now gave orders for removing the queen of Scots from Bolton, a place surrounded with Catholics, to Tutbury in Staffordshire, where she was put under the custody of the earl of Shrewsbury. Elizabeth entertained hopes that this princess, discouraged by her misfortunes, and confounded by the late transactions, would be glad to secure a safe retreat from all the tempests with which she had been agitated; and she promised to bury every thing in oblivion, provided Mary would agree, either voluntarily to resign her crown, or to associate her son with her in the government; and the administration to remain, during his minority, in the hands of the earl of Murray. But Mary refused all treaty upon such terms, and declared that her last words should be those of a queen of Scotland. Besides many other reasons, she said, which fixed her in that resolution, she knew that if, in the present emergency, she made such concessions, her submission would be deemed an acknowledgment of guilt.

Mary, however, still insisted upon this alternative; either that Elizabeth should assist her in recovering her authority, or should give her liberty to retire into France, and make trial of the friendship of other princes. But this liberty was refused; and Elizabeth thought it necessary to detain her still a captive. Necessity, it was conjectured, would, to the prudent, justify her detention: her past misconduct would apologize for it to the equitable: and though it might have been foreseen, that compassion for Mary's situation, joined to her intrigues and insinuating behaviour, would, while she remained in the English territories, excite the zeal of her friends, especially of the Catholics; these inconveniencies were deemed much inferior to those which attended any other expedient. Elizabeth trusted also to her own address for eluding those difficulties: she purposed to avoid breaking absolutely with the queen of Scots, to keep her always in hopes of an accommodation, to negociate perpetually with her, and still to throw the blame of not coming to any conclusion, either on unforeseen accidents, or on the obstinacy and perverseness of others.

By some perhaps it may be thought that we have dwelt too long on the affairs of the queen of Scots; but we have chosen to give our observations in this form, that we might not interrupt our narrative of the events in Scotland, which form so material a part of the transactions of the present reign. Having therefore given every attention to those important matters, we must now turn our thoughts to the affairs of England. The term fixed by the treaty of Chateau-Cambresis for the restitution of Calais, expired in 1567; and Elizabeth, after making her demand at the gates of that city, sent sir Thomas Smith to Paris; and that minister, in conjunction with sir Henry Norris, her resident ambassador, enforced her pretensions. Conferences were held on that head, without coming to any conclusion satisfactory to the English. The chancellor, De l'Hôpital, told the English ambassadors, "that though France, by an article of the treaty, was obliged to restore Calais on the expiration of eight years, there was another article of the same treaty, which now deprived Elizabeth of any right that could accrue to her by that engagement: that it was agreed, if the English should, during the interval, commit hostilities upon France, they should instantly forfeit all claim to Calais; and the taking possession of Havre and Dieppe, with whatever pretences that measure might be covered, was a plain violation of the peace between the nations: that though these places were not entered by force, but put into Elizabeth's hands by the governors, these governors were rebels; and a correspondence with such traitors was the most flagrant injury that could be committed on any sovereign: that in the treaty which ensued upon the expulsion of the English from Normandy, the French ministers had absolutely refused to make any mention of Calais, and had thereby declared their intention to take advantage of the title which had accrued to the crown of France: and that though a general clause had been inserted, implying a reservation of all claims; this concession could not avail the English, who at that time possessed no just claim to Calais, and had previously forfeited all right to that fortress." The queen was by no means surprized at hearing these allegations; and as she knew that the French court intended not from the first to make restitution, much less after they could justify their refusal by such plausible reasons, she thought it better for the present to acquiesce in the loss, than to pursue a doubtful title by a war both dangerous and expensive, as well as unseasonable.

Elizabeth entered afresh into negociations for espousing the archduke Charles; and she seems, at this time, to have had no great motive of policy, which might induce her to make this fallacious offer: but as she was very rigorous in the terms insisted on, and would not agree that the archduke, if he espoused her, should enjoy any power or title in England, and even refused him the exercise of his religion, the treaty came to nothing; and that prince, despairing of success in his addresses, married the daughter of Albert, duke of Bavaria.

This year, 1568, a new translation of the Bible was

(z) Unless we take this angry accusation, advanced by Mary, to be an argument of Murray's guilt, there remains not the least presumption which should lead us to suspect him to have been any wise an accomplice in the king's murder. The queen never pretended to give any proof of the charge; and her commissioners affirmed at the time, that they themselves knew of none, though they were ready to maintain its truth by their mistress's orders, and would produce such proof as she should send them. It is remarkable that, at that time, it was impossible for either her or them to produce any proof; because the conferences before the English commissioners were previously broken off.

Murray could have no motive to commit that crime. The king, indeed, bore him some ill-will; but the king himself was become so despicable, both from his own ill-conduct and the queen's aversion to him, that he could neither do good nor harm to any body. To judge by the event in any case is always absurd, especially in the present. The king's murder, indeed, procured Murray the regency; but much more Mary's ill-conduct and imprudence, which he could not possibly foresee, and which never would have happened had she been entirely innocent.

published by authority; which was denominated "The Bishop's Bible." A new edition of this work was put forth about forty years ago.

Among the several churches of Europe which shook off the yoke of papal authority, no one proceeded with so much moderation as the Church of England; which was partly to be ascribed to the interposition of the civil magistrate, and partly to the gradual and slow steps by which the Reformation was conducted in that kingdom. Rage and animosity against the Catholic religion was as little indulged as could be supposed in such a revolution of the affairs of the church: the fabric of the secular hierarchy was maintained entire; the ancient liturgy was preserved, so far as was thought consistent with the new principles: many ceremonies were retained: the splendour of the Romish worship, though removed, had at least given place to order and decency: the distinctive habits of the clergy, according to their different ranks, were continued: no innovation was admitted, merely from spite and opposition to former usage: and the new religion had preserved itself in that happy medium which wise men have always sought, and which the people have so seldom been able to maintain.

But though such was the spirit of the Reformation in that country, many of the English reformers endeavoured to push matters to extremities against the Church of Rome, and entertained the most violent antipathy to all former practices. Among these, Hooper, who afterwards suffered for his religion with such extraordinary constancy, was chiefly distinguished. This man was appointed, during the reign of Edward, to the see of Gloucester, and made no scruple of accepting the episcopal office; but he refused to be consecrated in the episcopal habit, the cymarre and rochette, which had formerly, he said, been abused to superstition, and which were thereby rendered unbecoming a true christian; and he embraced the resolution, rather to refuse the bishopric than clothe himself in those hated garments; but it was deemed requisite that, for the sake of the example, he should not escape so easily. He was first confined to Cranmer's house, then thrown into prison, till he should consent to be a bishop on the terms proposed: he was plied with conferences, and reprimands, and arguments: Bucer and Peter Martyr, and the most celebrated foreign reformers, were consulted on this important question: and a compromise, with great difficulty, was at last made, that Hooper should not be obliged to wear commonly the hated robes, but should agree to be consecrated in them, and to use them during cathedral service: a condescension not a little extraordinary in a man of so inflexible a spirit as this reformer.

The same objection which had arisen with regard to the episcopal habit, had been moved against the raiment of the inferior clergy; and the surplice, in particular, with the tippet and corner cap, was a great object of abhorrence to many of the popular preachers. Every compliance, they said, with the postures, habits, and ceremonies of the church of Rome, was a symbolising with Antichrist. And this spirit was carried so far by some reformers, that, in a national remonstrance made afterwards by the church of Scotland against these habits, it was asked, "What has Christ Jesus to do with Belial? What has darkness to do with light? If surplices, corner caps, and tippets have been badges of idolaters in the very act of their idolatry; why should the preacher of Christian liberty, and the open rebuker of all superstition, partake with the dregs of the Romish beast? Yea, who is there that ought not rather to be afraid of taking in his hand, or on his forehead, the print and mark of that odious beast?" But this application, however reasonable, was rejected by the English church.

There was only one instance in which the spirit of contradiction to the Romanists took place universally in England: the altar was removed from the wall, was placed in the middle of the church, and was thenceforth denominated the communion-table.

These disputes, which had been started during the reign of Edward, were carried abroad by the Protestants who fled from the persecutions of Mary; and as the zeal of these men had received an increase from the furious cruelty of their enemies, they were generally inclined to carry their opposition to the utmost extremity against the practices of the church of Rome. Their communication with Calvin and the other reformers, who followed the discipline and worship of Geneva, confirmed them in this reluctance; and though some of the refugees, particularly those who were established at Frankfort, still adhered to king Edward's liturgy, the prevailing spirit carried these confessors to seek a still farther reformation. On the accession of Elizabeth, they returned to their native country; and being regarded with general veneration, on account of their zeal and past sufferings, they ventured to insist on the establishment of their projected model; nor did they want countenance from many considerable persons in the queen's council. But the princess herself, so far from being willing to despoil religion of the few ornaments and ceremonies which remained in it, was rather inclined to bring the public worship still nearer to the Romish ritual (a); and she thought that the reformation had already gone too far in shaking off those forms and observances, which, without distracting men of more refined apprehensions, tend, in a very innocent manner, to allure, and amuse, and engage the vulgar. She took care to have a law for uniformity strictly enacted: she was empowered by the parliament to add any new ceremonies which she thought proper: and though she was sparing in the exercise of this prerogative, she continued rigid in exacting an observance of the established laws, and in punishing all nonconformity. The zealots, therefore, who harboured a secret antipathy to the episcopal order, and to the whole liturgy, were obliged, in a great measure, to conceal these sentiments, which would have been regarded as highly audacious and criminal; and they confined their avowed objections to the surplice, the confirmation of children, the sign of the cross in baptism, the ring in marriage, kneeling at the sacrament, and bowing at the name of Jesus. These controversies had already excited such ferment among the people, that in some places they refused to frequent the churches where the habits and ceremonies were used; would not salute the conforming clergy; and proceeded so far as to revile them in the streets, to spit in their faces, and to use them with all manner of contumely. And while the sovereign authority checked these excesses, the flame was confined, not extinguished; and burning fiercer from confinement, it burst out in the succeeding reigns, to the total destruction of the church and monarchy.

There was, however, another set of opinions adopted by the Puritans, which rendered them in a peculiar manner the object of Elizabeth's aversion. The same boldness of spirit, which accompanied them in their addresses to the Divinity, appeared in their political speculations; and the principles of civil liberty, which, during some reigns, had been little avowed in the nation, and which were totally incompatible with the present exorbitant prerogative, had been strongly adopted by this new sect. Scarcely any sovereign before Elizabeth, and none after her, carried higher, both in speculation and practice, the authority of the crown; and the Puritans could not recommend themselves worse to her favour, than by inculcating the doctrine of resisting or restraining princes. From all these motives, the queen neglected no opportunity of depressing those zealous innovators; and while they were secretly countenanced by some of her most favoured ministers, Cecil, Leicester, Knolles, Bedford, Walsingham, she never was, to the end of her life, reconciled to their principles and practices.

We have thought proper to insert in this place an account of the rise and genius of the Puritans; because Camden marks the present year, as the period when they began to make themselves considerable in England.

The year 1569 was marked by conspiracies and insurrections. The duke of Norfolk was the only peer that enjoyed the highest title of nobility; and as there were at present no princes of the blood, the splendour of his family, the opulence of his fortune, and the extent of his influence, had rendered him without comparison the first subject in England. The qualities of his mind corres-

(a) When Nowel, one of her chaplains, had spoken less reverently in a sermon, preached before her, of the sign of the cross, she called aloud to him from her closet window, commanding him to retire from that ungodly digression, and to return unto his text. And, on the other side, when one of her divines had preached a sermon in defence of the real presence, she openly gave him thanks for his pains and piety.—*Heylin*, p. 124. She would have absolutely forbidden the marriage of the clergy, if Cecil had not interposed. *Strype's Life of Parker*, p. 107, 108, 109. She was an enemy to sermons; and usually said, that she thought two or three preachers were sufficient for a whole county. It was probably for these reasons that one Doring told her to her face from the pulpit, that she was like an untamed heifer, that would not be ruled by God's people, but obstructed his discipline. See *Life of Hooker*, prefixed to his works.

ponded

ponded to his high station: he was beneficent, affable, generous, and had acquired the affections of the people; he was prudent, moderate, obsequious, and possessed, without giving her any jealousy, the good graces of his sovereign. His grandfather and father had long been regarded as the leaders of the Catholics; and this hereditary attachment, joined to the alliance of blood, had procured him the friendship of the most considerable men of that persuasion; but as he had been educated among the reformers, he was sincerely devoted to their principles, and maintained that strict decorum and regularity of life, by which the Protestants were at that time distinguished; he thereby enjoyed the rare felicity of being popular even with the most opposite factions. The height of his prosperity alone was the source of his misfortunes, and engaged him in attempts, from which his virtue and prudence would naturally have kept him for ever at a distance.

Norfolk was at this time a widower; and being of a suitable age, his marriage with the queen of Scots had appeared so natural, that it had occurred to several of his friends and those of that princess: but the first person, who, after secretary Lidington, opened the scheme to the duke, is said to have been the earl of Murray, before his departure for Scotland. That nobleman set before Norfolk both the advantage of composing the dissensions in Scotland by an alliance, which would be so generally acceptable, and the prospect of reaping the succession of England; and, in order to bind Norfolk's interest the faster with Mary's, he proposed that the duke's daughter should also espouse the young king of Scotland. The previously obtaining of Elizabeth's consent, was regarded, both by Murray and Norfolk, as a circumstance essential to the success of their project; and all terms being adjusted between them, Murray took care, by means of sir Robert Melvil, to have the design communicated to the queen of Scots. This princess replied, that the vexations which she had met with in her two last marriages, had made her more inclined to lead a single life; but she was determined to sacrifice her own inclinations to the public welfare: and therefore, as soon as she should be legally divorced from Bothwel, she would be determined by the opinion of her nobility and people in the choice of another husband.

There can be no doubt of Murray's insincerity in this proposal. He had two motives to engage him to dissimulation. He knew the danger which he must run in his return through the north of England, from the power of the earls of Northumberland and Westmoreland, Mary's partizans in that country; and he dreaded an insurrection in Scotland from the duke of Chatelrault, and the earls of Argyle and Huntley, whom she had appointed her lieutenants during her absence. By these feigned appearances of friendship, he both engaged Norfolk to write in his favour to the northern noblemen; and he persuaded the queen of Scots to give her lieutenants permission, and even advice, to conclude a cessation of hostilities with the regent's party.

Though the duke of Norfolk had agreed that Elizabeth's consent should be obtained before the completion of his marriage, he had reason to apprehend that he never should prevail with her voluntarily to make that concession. He knew her unrelenting jealousy against her heir and rival; he was acquainted with her former reluctance to all proposals of marriage with the queen of Scots; he foresaw that this princess's espousing a person of his power and character and interest, would give the greatest umbrage; and as it would then become necessary to reinstate her in possession of her throne on some tolerable terms, and even to endeavour the re-establishing of her character, he dreaded lest Elizabeth, whose politics had now taken a different turn, would never agree to such indulgent conditions. He therefore attempted previously to gain the approbation of several of the most considerable nobility; and he was successful with the earls of Pembroke, Arundel, Derby, Bedford, Shrewsbury, Southampton, Northumberland, Westmoreland, Sussex. Lord Lumley and sir Nicholas Throgmorton cordially embraced the proposal: even the earl of Leicester, Elizabeth's declared favourite, who had formerly been proposed as a husband to Mary, seemed to enter zealously into Norfolk's interests.

The secretary of state, sir William Cecil, was the most vigilant, active, and prudent minister ever known in England; and as he was governed by no views but the interests of his sovereign, which he had inflexibly pursued, his authority over her became every day more predominant. Ever cool himself, and uninfluenced by prejudice or affection, he checked those sallies of passion, to which she was subject; and if he failed of persuading her in the first movement, his perseverance, remonstrances, and arguments, were sure at last to recommend themselves to her discernment. The more credit he gained with his mistress, the more was he exposed to the envy of her other counsellors; and as he had been supposed to adopt the interests of the house of Suffolk, whose claim seemed to carry with it no danger to the present establishment, his enemies, in opposition to him, were naturally led to attach themselves to the queen of Scots. Elizabeth saw, without uneasiness, this emulation among her courtiers, which served to augment her own authority; and though she supported Cecil, whenever matters came to extremities, and dissipated every conspiracy against him, particularly one laid about this time for having him thrown into the Tower on some pretence or other, she never gave him such unlimited confidence as might enable him entirely to crush his adversaries.

The duke of Norfolk, sensible of the difficulty which he must meet with in controlling Cecil's counsels, durst not open to her his intentions of marrying the queen of Scots; but proceeded in the plan of increasing his interest in the kingdom, and engaging more of the nobility to take part in his measures. A letter was written to Mary by the earl of Leicester, and signed by several persons of the first rank in the kingdom, recommending Norfolk for her husband, and stipulating conditions for the advantage of both kingdoms (*b*). When Mary returned a favourable answer to this application, Norfolk employed himself with ardour in the execution of his project; and besides securing the interests of many of the considerable gentry and nobility who resided at court, he wrote letters to such as lived at their country seats, and possessed the greatest authority in the several counties. The kings of France and Spain, who interested themselves extremely in Mary's cause, were secretly consulted, and expressed their approbation of these measures. And though Elizabeth's consent was always supposed as a previous condition to the finishing of this alliance, it was apparently Norfolk's intention, when he proceeded such lengths without consulting her, to render his party so strong, that it should no longer be in her power to refuse it.

So extensive a conspiracy as this could not entirely escape the queen's vigilance nor that of Cecil. She dropped several intimations to the duke, by which he might learn, that she was acquainted with his designs; and she frequently warned him "to beware on what pillow he reposed his head:" but he had not the prudence or the courage to open his full intentions to her. Certain intelligence of this combination was given her first by Leicester, then by Murray (*c*), who, if ever he was sincere in promoting Norfolk's marriage, which is much to be doubted, had at least intended, for his own safety and that of his party, that Elizabeth should, in reality as well as in appearance, be completely arbiter of the conditions, and should not have her consent extorted by any confederacy of her own subjects. This information gave great alarm to the court of England; and the more so, as those intrigues were attended with other circumstances, of which, it is probable, Elizabeth was not unacquainted.

Among the nobility and gentry, that seemed to enter into Norfolk's views, there were many, who were zealously attached to the Catholic religion, who had no other design than that of restoring Mary to her liberty, and who would gladly, by a combination with foreign powers, or even at the expence of a civil war, have placed her on the throne of England. The earls of Northumberland and Westmoreland, who possessed great power in the north, were leaders of this party; and the former nobleman made offer to the queen of Scots, by Leonard Dacres, brother to lord

(*b*) Particularly, that she should give sufficient surety to Elizabeth, and the heirs of her body, for the free enjoyment of the crown of England; that a perpetual league, offensive and defensive, should be made between their realms and subjects; that the Protestant religion should be established by law in Scotland; and that she should grant an amnesty to her rebels in that kingdom.

(*c*) It appears by Haynes, p. 521. 525. that Elizabeth had heard rumours of Norfolk's dealing with Murray; and charged the latter to inform her of the whole truth, which he accordingly did. See also the earl of Murray's letter produced on Norfolk's trial.

Dacres,

Dacres, that he would free her from confinement, and convey her to her own country, or any other place to which she should think proper to retire. Sir Thomas and sir Edward Stanley, sons of the earl of Derby, sir Thomas Gerrard, Rolstone, and other gentlemen, whose interest lay in the neighbourhood of the place where Mary resided, concurred in the same views: and required that, in order to facilitate the execution of the scheme, a diversion should, in the mean time, be made from the side of Flanders, under the duke of Alva, who was governor of the Netherlands for the king of Spain, and a zealous Catholic. The duke of Norfolk discouraged, and even in appearance suppressed, these conspiracies; both because his duty to Elizabeth would not permit him to think of effecting his purpose by rebellion, and because he foresaw that, if the queen of Scots came into the possession of these men, they would rather chuse for her husband the king of Spain, or some foreign prince, who had power, as well as inclination, to re-establish the Catholic religion.

The duke of Norfolk, in order to repress the surmises spread against him, spoke contemptuously to Elizabeth of the Scottish alliance; affirmed that his estate in England was more valuable than the revenue of a kingdom wasted by civil wars and factions; and declared that, when he amused himself in his own tennis-court at Norwich amidst his friends and vassals, he deemed himself at least a petty prince, and was fully satisfied with his condition. Perceiving that he did not convince her by these asseverations, and that he was looked on with a jealous eye by the ministers, he retired to his country-seat without taking leave. He soon after repented of this measure, and was returning to court, with a view of using every expedient to regain the queen's good graces; but he was met at St. Albans by Fitz-Garret, lieutenant of the band of pensioners, by whom he was conveyed to Burnham, three miles from Windsor, where the court then resided. He was shortly after committed to the Tower, under the custody of sir Henry Nevil. Lesley, bishop of Ross, the queen of Scots' ambassador, was examined, and confronted with Norfolk before the council. The earl of Pembroke was confined in his own house. Arundel, Lumley, and Throgmorton were taken into custody. Mary herself was removed to Coventry; all access to her was, during some time, more strictly prohibited; and viscount Hereford was joined to the earls of Shrewsbury and Huntingdon, in the office of guarding her.

The earls of Northumberland and Westmoreland, aware of the suspicions entertained against them, by a jealous and vigilant court, held several meetings with their partizans, to consider of the expediency of prosecuting or abandoning their schemes in behalf of Mary. The earl of Sussex, president of the north, demanded of those two noblemen an account of their views; and, as they were not prepared for the insurrection which they meditated, they made strong protestations of loyalty and submission to Elizabeth. On fresh reports of their machinations, the queen commanded them to repair to her court at Windsor, that they might vindicate themselves from the aspersions which had been thrown upon their character. Conscious of the danger of putting themselves into the power of a princess, who had lately imprisoned the first peer of the realm for not having disclosed to her his intention of espousing the Scottish queen, they resolved to take arms without delay, and trust to the sword for their safety. They had prepared measures for a rebellion; had communicated their design to Mary and her ministers; had entered into a correspondence with the duke of Alva, governor of the Low Countries; had obtained his promise of a reinforcement of troops, and of a supply of arms and ammunition; and had prevailed on him to send over to London Chiapino Vitelli, one of his most famous captains, on pretence of adjusting some differences with the queen; but in reality with a view of putting him at the head of the northern rebels. The summons, sent to the two earls, precipitated the rising before they were fully prepared; and Northumberland remained in suspence between opposite dangers, when he was informed that some of his enemies were actually on the way with a commission to arrest him. He took horse instantly, and hastened to the seat of his associate the earl of Westmoreland, whom he found surrounded with his friends and vassals, and deliberating with regard to the measures which he should follow in the present emergence. The two earls now determined to begin the insurrection without delay; and the great credit of these noblemen, with that zeal for the Catholic religion, which still prevailed in the neighbourhood, soon drew together multitudes of the common people. They published a manifesto, in which they declared, that they intended to attempt nothing against the queen, to whom they avowed unshaken allegiance; and that their sole aim was to re-establish the religion of their ancestors, to bring about the reformation of disorders and abuses, to adjust the succession to the crown, to remove evil counsellors, and to restore the duke of Norfolk and other faithful peers to their liberty and to the queen's favour. The numbers of the malcontents amounted to four thousand foot and sixteen hundred horse; and they expected the concurrence of all the Catholics in England.

The queen was not negligent in her own defence; and she had beforehand, from her prudent and wise conduct, acquired the general good-will of her people, the best security of a sovereign; insomuch that even the Catholics in most counties expressed an affection for her service; and the duke of Norfolk himself, though he had lost her favour, and lay in confinement, was not wanting, as far as his situation permitted, to promote the levies among his friends and retainers. Sussex, attended by the earls of Rutland, the lords of Hunsdon, Evers, and Willoughby of Parham, marched against the rebels at the head of seven thousand men, and found them already advanced to the city of Durham, of which they had taken possession. They entered the cathedral, tore the books used in the Protestant service, erected a crucifix, and ordered the public celebration of mass. But they retired before Sussex to Hexham; and hearing that the earl of Warwick and lord Clinton were advancing against them with a greater body, they found no other resource than to disperse themselves without striking a blow. The common people retired to their houses: the leaders fled into Scotland. Northumberland was found loitering in that country, and was confined by Murray in the castle of Lochleven. Westmoreland received shelter from the chieftains of the Kers and Scots, partizans of Mary; and persuaded them to make an inroad into England, with a view of exciting a quarrel between the two kingdoms. After they had committed great ravages, they retreated to their own country. This sudden and precipitate rebellion was followed soon after by another still more imprudent, raised by Leonard Dacres, which Lord Hunsdon, at the head of the garrison of Berwick, was able, without any other assistance, to quell. Great severity was exercised against such as had taken part in these rash enterprizes. Above a hundred of them were executed by martial law at Durham and Hartlepool, by order of the earl of Sussex; and sir George Bowes, marshal of the army, put to death a much greater number, in the same summary way. Sixty-six petty constables were hanged; and it is said that not less than eight hundred persons, on the whole, suffered by the hands of the executioner for this rebellion. The earl of Westmoreland escaped into the Netherlands, where he subsisted on a small pension assigned to him by the Spanish monarch. The queen was so well pleased with Norfolk's behaviour, that she released him from the Tower; allowed him to live, though under some show of confinement, in his own house; and only exacted a promise from him not to proceed any farther in his negociations with the queen of Scots.

Elizabeth now found that the detention of Mary was attended with all the ill consequences which she had foreseen when she first embraced that measure. This latter princess, recovering, by means of her misfortunes and her own natural good sense, from that delirium into which she seems to have been thrown during her attachment to Bothwel, had behaved with such modesty, and judgement, and even dignity, that every one who approached her was charmed with her demeanour; and her friends denied the reality of all those crimes which had been imputed to her. Compassion for her situation, and the necessity of procuring her liberty, proved an incitement among all her partizans to be active in promoting her cause; and as her deliverance from captivity, it was thought, could nowise be effected but by attempts dangerous to the established government, Elizabeth had reason to expect little tranquillity so long as the Scottish queen remained a prisoner in her hands. She still flattered Mary with hopes of her protection, maintained an ambiguous conduct between that queen and her enemies in Scotland, negociated perpetually concerning the terms of her restoration, made constant professions of friendship

to

to her; and by these artifices endeavoured both to hinder her from making any desperate efforts for her deliverance, and to satisfy the French and Spanish ambassadors, who never intermitted their solicitations, sometimes accompanied with menaces, in her behalf. This deceit was received with the same deceit by the queen of Scots: professions of confidence were returned by professions equally insincere; and while an appearance of friendship was maintained on both sides, the animosity and jealousy, which had long prevailed between them, became every day more inveterate and incurable. These two princesses, in address, capacity, activity, and spirit, were nearly a match for each other; but unhappily, Mary, besides her present forlorn condition, was always inferior in personal conduct and discretion, as well as in power, to her illustrious rival.

Elizabeth and Mary wrote at the same time letters to the regent. The queen of Scots desired, that her marriage with Bothwel might be examined, and a divorce be legally pronounced between them. The queen of England entered into a negociation with Murray for the surrender of her unfortunate prisoner into his hands; and she gave him the choice of three conditions; that Mary should be restored to her dignity on certain terms; that she should be associated with her son, and the administration remain in the regent's hands, till the young prince should come to years of discretion; or that she should be allowed to live at liberty as a private person in Scotland, and have an honourable settlement made in her favour. Murray summoned a convention of states, in order to deliberate on these proposals of the two queens: no answer was made by them to Mary's letter, on pretence that she had there employed the style of a sovereign, addressing herself to her subjects; but in reality, because they saw that her request was calculated to prepare the way for a marriage with Norfolk, or some powerful prince, who could support her cause, and restore her to the throne. They replied to Elizabeth, that the two former conditions were so derogatory to the royal authority of their prince, that they could not so much as deliberate concerning them: the third alone could be the subject of treaty. It was evident that Elizabeth, in proposing conditions so unequal in their importance, invited the Scots to a refusal of those which were most advantageous to Mary; and as it was difficult, if not impossible, to adjust all the terms of the third, so as to render it secure and eligible to all parties, it was concluded that she was not sincere in any of them.

It was pretended, that Murray had entered into a private negociation with Elizabeth to get Mary delivered into his hands; and as Elizabeth found the detention of her in England so dangerous, it is probable that she would have been pleased, on any honourable or safe terms, to rid herself of a prisoner who gave her so much inquietude. But all these projects vanished by the sudden death of the regent, who was assassinated, in revenge of a private injury, at Linlithgow, by James Hamilton, of Bothwellhaugh, on the 23rd of January, 1570. Murray was a person of considerable vigour, abilities, and constancy; but though he was not unsuccessful, during his regency, in composing the dissensions in Scotland, his talents shone out more eminently in the beginning than in the end of his life. His manners were rough and austere; and he possessed not that perfect integrity, which frequently accompanies, and can alone atone for, that unamiable character.

On the death of Murray, Scotland relapsed into anarchy. Mary's party, being now inspired with the hopes of her re-establishment, assembled together, and made themselves masters of Edinburgh. The castle, commanded by Kirkaldy of Grange, seemed to favour her cause; and as many of the principal nobility had embraced that party, it became probable, though the people were in general averse to her, that her authority might again acquire the ascendant. To check its progress, Elizabeth dispatched Sussex with an army to the North, under colour of chastizing the ravages committed by the borderers. He entered Scotland, and laid waste the lands of the Kers and Scots, seized the castle of Hume, and committed hostilities on all Mary's partizans, who, he said, had offended his mistress by harbouring the English rebels. The English armies were afterwards recalled by agreement with the queen of Scots, who promised, in return, that no French troops should be introduced into Scotland, and that the English rebels should be delivered up to the queen by her partizans.

But though the queen, covering herself with the pretence of revenging her own quarrel, so far contributed to support the party of the young king of Scots, she was cautious not to declare openly against Mary: and she even sent a request, which was equivalent to a command, to the enemies of that princess, not to elect, during some time, a regent in the place of Murray. Lenox, the king's grandfather, was therefore chosen temporary governor, under the title of Lieutenant. Hearing afterwards that Mary's partizans, instead of delivering up Westmoreland, and the other fugitives, as they had promised, had allowed them to escape into Flanders; she permitted the king's party to give Lenox the title of Regent, and she sent Randolph, as her resident in Scotland, to maintain a correspondence with him. But notwithstanding this step, taken in favour of Mary's enemies, she never laid aside her ambiguous conduct, or quitted the appearance of amity to that princess. Being importuned by the bishop of Ross, and her other agents, as well as by foreign ambassadors, she twice procured a suspension of arms between the Scottish factions, and by that means stopped the hands of the regent, who was likely to obtain advantages over the opposite party. Thus by seeming contrarieties she kept alive the factions in Scotland, increased their mutual hatred of each other, and rendered the whole country a scene of devastation and misery. She had not the most distant idea of conquering the kingdom, and consequently no interest or design to instigate the parties against each other; but this consequence was an accidental effect of her cautious politics, by which she was engaged, as far as possible, to keep on good terms with the queen of Scots, and never to violate the appearances of friendship with her, at least those of neutrality.

While Elizabeth was thus interposing in the affairs of Scotland, she was disturbed by a fresh insurrection in those parts of her dominions which bordered on that kingdom. Leonard Dacres, though he had offered his service to the queen in the late revolt, was not sincere in his professions of loyalty: for when he had raised a corps of borderers under the appearance of an intention of opposing the rebels, he allured to his standard many of the fugitive vassals of the two malcontent earls, and declared himself a friend to the queen of Scots. Lord Hunsdon, governor of Berwick, being ordered to march against Dacres, met him in Cumberland, and a sharp conflict ensued on the 20th of February, in which four hundred of the insurgents were slain. Their chief fled into Scotland, whence he escaped to the continent.

Lord Hunsdon was greatly averse to the severities of martial law, the late exercise of which had occasioned much clamour in the north, so that he interceded with the queen for a general pardon to the accomplices of Dacres; and she granted it, with the exception of some individuals whom she found most deserving of punishment. The same nobleman accompanied the earl of Sussex in an expedition into Scotland on the 17th of April, undertaken with a view of striking terror into Mary's partizans. While Sussex invaded North Britain on the eastern side, lord Scrope made an incursion into the western marches; and the horrors of devastation were diffused through the low-lands. Under pretext of retaliating the late ravages committed by the lairds of Buccleugh and Ferniherst, the English made an indiscriminate havock among the possessions of those who were disaffected to the authority of the young king. They burned a considerable number of villages, ravaged many estates, and demolished many forts. Having returned to Berwick, Sussex detached sir William Drury towards Edinburgh, for the ostensible purpose of seizing the English rebels who had taken refuge in Scotland; but the real view was to promote the appointment of such a substitute for the deceased regent as Elizabeth should be inclined to approve. At Boldingham, Drury received six hostages from the leaders of the king's party, for their subserviency to the will of Elizabeth; the earl of Lenox accompanied the English army. The king of France had promised, on the death of Murray, to send succours for promoting the restoration of Mary; but the troubles of his own realm, and the deceitful negociations by which Elizabeth amused him, precluded that relief which Mary expected from his interposition. The friends of the queen of Scots fled before the confederates, who, to augment the terror which they had already inspired, committed furious ravages on the estates of the duke of Chatelrault and other members of the Hamilton family. The consequence was, that the states of Scotland, soon after, admitted

mitted the earl of Lenox to be governor of the realm, as mentioned above.

The better to amuse Mary with the prospect of restoration to her throne, secretary Cecil and sir Walter Mildmay were sent to her with proposals from Elizabeth. The terms were somewhat rigorous, such as a captive queen might expect from a jealous rival; and as they were greatly in Elizabeth's favour, they thereby bore the greater appearance of sincerity on the part of the English court. It was required that the queen of Scots, besides renouncing all title to the crown of England during the lifetime of Elizabeth, should make a perpetual league, offensive and defensive, between the kingdoms; that she should marry no Englishman without Elizabeth's consent, nor any other person without the consent of the states of Scotland: that compensation should be made for the late ravages committed in England, by the late inroad of the Scots; that justice should be executed on the murderers of lord Darnley, as well as on those who destroyed the earl of Murray; that the young prince should be sent into England, to be educated there; and that six hostages, all of them noblemen, should be delivered to the queen of England, with the castle of Hume, and some other fortresses, for the security of performance. Such were the conditions upon which Elizabeth promised to contribute her endeavours towards the restoration of the deposed Mary; the necessity of whose affairs obliged her to consent to them; and the kings of France and Spain, as well as the pope, when consulted by her upon the business, approved of her conduct; chiefly on account of the civil wars, by which all Europe was at that time agitated, and which incapacitated the Catholic princes from giving her any assistance.

Elizabeth's commissioners likewise proposed to Mary a plan of accommodation with her subjects in Scotland; and after some reasoning between the parties on that head, it was agreed that the queen should require the earl of Lenox, the regent, to send commissioners, in order to treat of conditions under her mediation. The partizans of Mary boasted, that all terms were fully settled with the court of England, and that the Scottish rebels would soon be constrained to submit to the authority of their sovereign: but Elizabeth took especial care that these rumours should meet with no credit, and that the king's party should not be discouraged, nor sink too low in their demands. The secretary Cecil wrote to inform the regent, that all the queen of England's proposals, so far from being fixed and irrevocable, were to be discussed afresh in the conference; and desired him to send commissioners who should be constant in the king's cause, and cautious not to make concessions which might be prejudicial to their party. Sussex also, in his letters, dropped hints to the same purpose; and Elizabeth herself said to the abbot of Dunfermling, whom Lenox had sent to the court of England, that she would not insist on Mary's restoration, provided the Scots could make the justice of their cause appear to her satisfaction; and that, even if their reasons should fall short of full conviction, she would take effectual care to provide for their future security.

The Scottish parliament, which met on the first of March, 1571, appointed the earl of Morton, commendator of Dunfermling, and sir James Macgill, together with the abbot of Dunfermling, to manage the treaty, but they came to no conclusion. These commissioners presented memorials, containing reasons for the deposition of their queen; and seconded their arguments with examples drawn from the Scottish history, with the authority of laws, and with the sentiments of many famous divines. The lofty ideas which Elizabeth had entertained, of the absolute, indefeasible right of sovereigns made her be shocked with these republican topics; and she told the Scottish commissioners, that she was by no means satisfied with their reasons for justifying the conduct of their countrymen; and that they might therefore, without attempting any apology, proceed to open the conditions which they required for their security. They replied, that their commission did not empower them to treat of any terms which might infringe the title and sovereignty of their young king, but they would gladly hear whatever proposals should be made them by her majesty. The conditions recommended by the queen were not disadvantageous to Mary; but as the commissioners still insisted, that they were not authorised to treat in any manner concerning the restoration of that princess, the conferences were necessarily broken off and Elizabeth dismissed the Scottish commissioners with injunctions that they should return, after having procured more ample powers from their parliament. The bishop of Ross openly complained to the English council, that they had abused his mistress by fair promises and professions; and Mary herself was no longer at a loss to judge of Elizabeth's insincerity. By reason of these disappointments, matters came still nearer to extremities between the two princesses; and the queen of Scots, finding all her hopes eluded, was more strongly incited to make, at all hazards, every possible attempt for her liberty and security.

The rage of intestine animosity now broke forth in continual skirmishes, of which the earl of Lenox, the regent, felt the fatal effects. A party of his enemies having attempted to surprize him at Stirling, a rencontre ensued, in which, though his friends prevailed, he was slain (*d*). He was succeeded in his high office by the earl of Marre, who, of all the nobles of the young king's party, possessed the greatest share of integrity and patriotism (*e*).

An incident also happened about this time, which tended to widen the breach between Mary and Elizabeth, and to increase the vigilance and jealousy of the latter princess. Pope Pius V. who had succeeded Paul, after having endeavoured in vain to conciliate by gentle means the friendship of Elizabeth, whom his predecessor's violence had irritated, issued, in 1570, a bull of excommunication against her, deprived her of all title to the crown, as an heretic and usurper, and absolved her subjects from their oaths of allegiance. It seems probable, that this attack on the queen's authority was made in concert with Mary, who intended by that means to forward the northern rebellion; a measure which was at that time in agitation. John Felton affixed this bull to the gates of the bishop of London's palace; and scorning either to fly or to deny the fact, wishing for the high honour of suffering in the cause of Popery, he was seized and condemned, and executed.

On the 2nd of April, a new parliament, after five years' interval, was assembled at Westminster; and as the queen, by the rage of the pope against her, was become still more the head of the ruling party, it might be expected, as was the case, both from this incident and from her own prudent and vigorous conduct, that her authority over the two houses would be absolutely uncontrollable. We shall be somewhat particular in relating the transactions of this session, because they shew, as well the extent of the royal power during that age, as the character of Elizabeth, and the genius of her government. It will be curious also to observe the faint dawn of the spirit of liberty among the English, the jealousy with which that spirit was repressed by the sovereign, the imperious conduct which was maintained in opposition to it, and the ease with which it was subdued by this arbitrary princess.

The lord keeper Bacon, after the speaker of the commons was elected, told the parliament, in the queen's name, that she enjoined them not to meddle with any matters of state: such was his expression; by which he probably meant, the questions of the queen's marriage and the succesion, about which they had before given her some uneasiness: for as to the other great points of government, alliances, peace and war, or foreign negociations; no parliament in that age ever presumed to take them under consideration, or question, in these particulars, the conduct of their sovereign, or of his ministers.

In the former parliament, the Protestant dissenters, then called Puritans, had introduced seven bills for a farther reformation in religion; but they had not been able to prevail in any one of them. The queen, displeased at the freedom of speech adopted by the puritanical members, and alarmed at the spirit of inquiry which they endeavoured to propagate among their parliamentary associates, resolved to check their presumption. This house of commons had sitten a very few days only, when Stricland, a member, revived one of the bills, that for the amendment of the liturgy. The chief objection, which he mentioned, was the sign of the cross in baptism. Another member added, the kneeling at the sacrament; and remarked that, if a posture of humiliation were requisite in that act of devotion, it were better that the communicants

(*d*) He was a man of weak intellects and strong passions; and his administration was extremely violent. *Coote.*

(*e*) See Camden's Annals of Queen Elizabeth; Lesley's Negociations; and Crawford's Memoirs.

should throw themselves prostrate on the ground, in order to keep at the widest distance from former superstition (*f*).

The courtiers did not forget to insist on the topics which they knew were agreeable to Elizabeth. The treasurer of the household, though he allowed that any heresy might be repressed by parliament, yet he affirmed, that it belonged to the queen alone, as head of the church, to regulate every question of ceremony in worship. The comptroller seconded this argument; insisted on the extent of the queen's prerogative; and said that the house might, from former examples, have taken warning not to meddle with such matters. One Pistor opposed these remonstrances of the courtiers. He was scandalised, he said, that affairs of such infinite consequence (namely, kneeling and making the sign of the cross) should be passed over so lightly. These questions, he added, concern the salvation of souls, and interest every one more deeply than the monarchy of the whole world. This cause he shewed to be the cause of God; the rest were all but terrene, yea trifles in comparison, call them ever so great: subsidies, crowns, kingdoms, he knew not what weight they had when laid in the balance with subjects of such unspeakable importance. But though the zeal of this member seems to have been generally approved of, the house, overawed by the prerogative, voted upon the question, that a petition should be presented to her majesty, for her licence to proceed farther in this bill; and, in the mean time, that they should stop all debate or reasoning concerning it.

Matters would probably have rested here, had not the queen been so highly offended with Stricland's presumption, in moving the bill for the reformation of the liturgy, that she summoned him before the council, and prohibited him thenceforth from appearing in the house of commons. This act of power was too violent even for the submissive parliament to endure. Carleton took notice of the matter; complained that the liberties of the house were invaded; observed that Stricland was not a private man, but represented a multitude; and moved, that he might be sent for, and, if he were guilty of any offence, might answer for it at the bar of the house, which he insinuated to be the only competent tribunal. Yelverton enforced the principles of liberty with still greater boldness. He said, that the precedent was dangerous: and though in this happy time of lenity, among so many good and honourable personages as were at present invested with authority, nothing of extremity or injury was to be apprehended; yet the times might alter; what now is permitted, might hereafter be construed as duty; and might be enforced even on the ground of the present permission. He added, that all matters not treasonable, or which implied not *too much* derogation of the imperial crown, might, without offence, be introduced into parliament; where every question that concerned the community must be considered, and where even the right of the crown itself must finally be determined. He remarked, that men sat not in that house in their private capacities, but as elected by their country; and though it was proper that the prince should retain his prerogative, yet was that prerogative limited by law: as the sovereign could not of himself make laws, neither could he break them, merely from his own authority.

These principles were popular, and noble, and generous; but the open assertion of them was, at this time, somewhat new in England: and the courtiers were more warranted by present practice, when they advanced a contrary doctrine. The treasurer warned the house to be cautious in their proceedings; neither to venture farther than their assured warrant might extend, nor hazard their good opinion with her majesty in any doubtful cause. The member, he said, whose attendance they required, was not restrained on account of any liberty of speech, but for his exhibiting a bill in the house against the prerogative of the queen; a temerity which was not to be tolerated. And he concluded with observing, that even speeches, made in that house, had been questioned and examined by the sovereign. Cleere, another member, remarked, that the sovereign's prerogative is not so much as disputable, and that the safety of the queen is the safety of the subject. He added, that, in questions of divinity, every man was for his instruction to repair to his ordinary; and he seems to insinuate, that the bishops themselves, for their instruction, must repair to the queen. Fleetwood observed, that in his memory, he knew a man, who, in the fifth of the present queen, had been called to account for a speech in the house. But lest this example should be deemed too recent, he would inform them, from the parliament rolls, that, in the reign of Henry V. a bishop was committed to prison by the king's command, on account of his freedom of speech; and the parliament presumed not to go farther than to be humble suitors for him: in the subsequent reign the speaker himself was committed, with another member; and the house found no other remedy than a like submissive application. He advised the house to have recourse to the same expedient; and not to presume either to send for their member, or demand him as of right. During this speech, those members of the privy-council who sat in the house whispered together; upon which the speaker moved, that the house should make stay of all farther proceedings; a motion which was immediately complied with. The queen, finding that the experiment which she had made was likely to excite a great ferment, saved her honour by this silence of the house; and lest the question might be resumed, she sent next day to Stricland her permission to give his attendance in parliament.

Notwithstanding the rebuke which the parliament had received from the throne, the zeal of the commons still engaged them to continue the discussion of the other bills which regarded religion; but they were interrupted by a still more arbitrary proceeding of the queen, in which the lords condescended to be her instruments. This house sent a message to the commons, desiring that a committee might attend them. In consequence of which some members were appointed for that purpose; and the upper house acquainted them, that the queen's majesty being informed of the articles of reformation which they had canvassed, approved of them, intended to publish them, and to make the bishops execute them, by virtue of her royal authority, as supreme head of the church of England; but that she would not permit them to be treated of in parliament. The house, though they did not entirely stop proceedings on account of this injunction, seem not to have been offended at such haughty treatment; and in the issue all the bills came to nothing.

A motion made by Robert Bell, a Puritan, against an exclusive patent granted to a company of merchants in Bristol, gave also occasion to several remarkable incidents. The queen, some days after the motion was made, sent orders by the mouth of the speaker, commanding the house to spend little time in motions, and to avoid long speeches. All the members understood that she had been offended, because a matter had been moved which seemed to touch her prerogative. Fleetwood observed, that the queen had a prerogative of granting patents; that to question the validity of any patent was to invade the royal prerogative; that all foreign trade was entirely subjected to the pleasure of the sovereign; that even the statute which gave liberty of commerce, admitted of all prohibitions from the crown; and that the prince, when he granted an exclusive patent, only employed the power vested in him, and prohibited all others from dealing in any particular branch of commerce. He quoted the clerk of the parliament's book, to prove that no man might speak in parliament of the statute of wills, unless the king first gave licence; because the royal prerogative in the wards was thereby touched. He shewed likewise the statutes of Edward I. Edward III. and Henry IV. with a saving of the prerogative. And in Edward VI.'s time, the protector was applied to for his allowance to mention matters of prerogative.

Sir Humphrey Gilbert, the gallant and renowned sea-adventurer, carried these topics still farther. He endeavoured to prove the motion made by Bell to be a vain device, and perilous to be treated of; since it tended to the derogation of the prerogative imperial, which whoever should attempt so much as in fancy, could not, he said, be otherwise accounted than an open enemy. For what difference is there between saying that the queen is not to use the privilege of the crown, and saying that she is not queen? And though experience has shewn so much clemency in her majesty, as might, perhaps, make subjects forget their duty; it is not good to sport or venture too much

(*f*) Religion was a point, of which Elizabeth was, if possible, still more jealous than of matters of state. She pretended that, in quality of supreme head or governor of the church, she was fully empowered, by her prerogative alone, to decide all questions which might arise with regard to doctrine, discipline, or worship; and she never would allow her parliaments so much as to take these points into consideration.

much with princes (*g*). He desired them to beware, lest, if they meddled farther with these matters, the queen might look to her own power; and finding herself able to suppress their challenged liberty, and to exert an arbitrary authority, might imitate the example of Louis XI. of France, who, as he termed it, delivered the crown from wardship.

The speeches of the court party on this occasion gave great disgust to the favourers of the liberty of animadverting upon the prerogatives of the crown; and they were told, that sir Humphrey mistook the meaning of the house, and of the member who made the motion: they never had any other purpose, than to represent their grievances, in due and seemly form, unto her majesty. But in a subsequent debate, Peter Wentworth, a man of a superior free spirit, called sir Humphrey Gilbert's speech an insult on the house; and asserted that he had a disposition to flatter and fawn on the prince; he compared him to the cameleon, which can change itself into all colours, except white; and recommended to the house a due care of liberty of speech, and of the privileges of parliament. It appears, however, that the motion against the exclusive patent had no effect. Bell, the member who first introduced it, was sent for by the council, and was severely reprimanded for his temerity. He returned to the house with such an amazed countenance, that all the members, well informed of the reason, were struck with terror; and during some time no one ventured to speak of any matter of importance, for fear of giving offence to the queen and the council. Even after the fears of the commons were somewhat abated, the members spoke with extreme precaution; and by employing most of their discourse in preambles and apologies, they shewed their conscious terror of the rod which hung over them. Wherever any delicate point was touched, though ever so gently; nay, seemed to be approached, though at ever so great a distance, the whisper ran about the house, "The queen will be offended; the council will be extremely displeased:" and by these surmises men were warned of the danger to which they exposed themselves. It is remarkable, that the patent, which the queen defended with such imperious violence, was contrived for the profit of four courtiers, and was attended with the utter ruin of seven or eight thousand of her industrious subjects (*h*).

Thus every thing which passed the two houses was extremely respectful and submissive; notwithstanding which the queen thought it incumbent on her, at the conclusion of the session, on the 29th of May, to check, and that with great severity, those feeble efforts of liberty, which had appeared in the motions and speeches of some of the members of the lower house. The lord keeper told the commons, in her majesty's name, that, though the majority of the house of commons had shewn themselves in their proceedings discreet and dutiful, yet a few of them had discovered a contrary character, and had justly merited the reproach of audacious, arrogant, and presumptuous: contrary to their duty both as subjects and parliament men, nay, contrary to the express injunctions given them from the throne at the beginning of the session, injunctions which it might well become them to have better attended to, they had presumed to call in question her majesty's grants and prerogatives. But her majesty warns them, that, since they thus wilfully forget themselves, they are otherwise to be admonished: some other species of correction must be found for them; since neither the commands of her majesty, nor the example of their wiser brethren, can reclaim their folly, by which they are thus led to meddle with what by no means belongs to them, and what lies beyond the compass of their understanding to comprehend (*i*).

The Puritans, however, in one particular, evinced a zeal which was more agreeable to the inclinations of Elizabeth than their desire of religious innovation or of political liberty. We allude to their animosity against the queen of Scotland, whom they detested for her attachment to the Romish superstition. But, though Elizabeth was not displeased at their rancour against her rival, she was at present unwilling to give encouragement to a motion which was made in this session, importing that Mary, if she should in any respect infringe the laws of England, should be subjected to the same judicature to which the wife of an English peer was amenable. She considered this proposal as premature; and her influence procured the rejection of it.

Among the laws enacted this session were the following: It was declared treason, during the life-time of the queen, to affirm, that she was not the lawful sovereign, or that any other possessed a preferable title, or that she was a heretic, schismatic, or infidel, or that the laws and statutes cannot limit and determine the right of the crown and the successor thereof: to maintain in writing or printing, that any person, except the *natural issue* (*k*) of her body, is or ought to be the queen's heir or successor, subjected the person, and all his abettors, for the first offence, to imprisonment during a year, and to the forfeiture of half their goods: the second offence subjected them to the penalty of a premunire. It was also enacted, that whosoever by bulls should publish absolutions or other receipts of the pope, or should, by means of them, reconcile any man to the church of Rome, such offenders, as well as those who were so reconciled, should be guilty of high treason. The penalty of a premunire was imposed on every one who imported any *Agnus Dei*, crucifix, or such other implement of superstition, consecrated by the pope. The former laws against usury were enforced by a new statute. A supply of one subsidy and two fifteenths was granted by parliament. The queen, as she was determined to yield to them none of her power, was very cautious in asking them for any supply. She endeavoured by a rigid frugality to make her ordinary revenues suffice for the necessities of the crown, but if she found these insufficient, she procured money by the granting of patents, monopolies, or by some such ruinous expedient.

We shall now resume our account of the civil wars in

(*g*) He reminded them of the fable of the hare, who, upon the proclamation, that all horned beasts should depart the court, immediately fled, lest his ears should be construed to be horns; and by this apologue he seems to insinuate, that even those who heard or permitted such dangerous speeches, would not themselves be entirely free from danger.

(*h*) Sir Simon D'Ewes, p. 242.

(*i*) In all these transactions appears clearly the opinion which Elizabeth had entertained of the duty and authority of parliaments. They were not to canvass any matters of state; still less were they to meddle with the church. Questions of either kind were, in the queen's estimation, far above their reach, and were appropriated to the prince alone, or to those councils and ministers with whom he was pleased to entrust them. What then was the office of parliaments? They might give directions for the due tanning of leather, or milling of cloth; for the preservation of pheasants and partridges; for the reparation of bridges and highways; for the punishment of vagabonds or common beggars. Regulations concerning the police of the country came properly under their inspection; and the laws of this kind which they prescribed had, if not a greater, yet a more durable authority, than those which were derived solely from the proclamations of the sovereign. Precedents or reports could fix a rule for decisions in private property, or the punishment of crimes; but no alteration or innovation in the municipal law could proceed from any other source than the parliament; nor would the courts of justice be induced to change their established practice by an order of council. But the most acceptable part of parliamentary proceedings was the granting of subsidies; the attainting and punishing of the nobility who had become disagreeable in the eyes of the sovereign, or any minister of state after his fall; the countenancing of such great efforts of power, as might be deemed somewhat exceptionable, when they proceeded entirely from the reigning prince. The redress of grievances was sometimes promised to the people; but seldom could have place, while it was an established rule, that the prerogatives of the crown must not be abridged, or so much as questioned and examined in parliament. Even though monopolies and exclusive companies had already reached an enormous height, and were every day increasing, to the destruction of all liberty, and extinction of all industry; it was criminal in a member to propose, in the most dutiful and regular manner, a parliamentary application against any of them. These maxims of government were not kept secret by Elizabeth, or smoothed over by any fair appearances or plausible pretences. They were openly avowed in her speeches and messages to parliament; and were accompanied with all the haughtiness, nay sometimes bitterness, of expression, which the meanest servant could look for from his offended master. Yet, says Hume, notwithstanding this conduct, Elizabeth continued to be the most popular sovereign that ever swayed the sceptre of England; because the maxims of her reign were conformable to the principles of the times, and to the opinion generally entertained with regard to the constitution. The continued encroachments of popular assemblies on Elizabeth's successors have so changed our ideas in these matters, that the passages above mentioned appear to us extremely curious, and even at first surprising; but they were so little remarked during the time, that neither Camden, though a contemporary writer, nor any other historian, has taken any notice of them. So absolute, indeed, was the authority of the crown, that the precious spark of liberty had been kindled, and was preserved, by the Puritans alone; and it was to this sect that the English owe the whole freedom of their constitution. Actuated by that zeal and courage which they have been remarkable for, they hazarded the utmost indignation of their sovereign; and employing all their industry to be elected into parliament, a matter not difficult while a seat was rather regarded as a burthen than an advantage, they first acquired a majority in that assembly, and then obtained an ascendant over the church and monarchy.

(*k*) We may here observe, that the usual phrase of *lawful issue*, which the parliament thought indecent towards the queen, as if she could be supposed to have any other, was changed into that of *natural issue*. But this alteration was the source of pleasantry during the time; and some suspected a deeper design, as if Leicester intended, in case of the queen's demise, to produce some bastard of his own, and affirm that he was her offspring. *Camden*, p. 436.

France.

France. The league formed at Bayonne in 1566 for the extermination of the Protestants, had not been concluded so secretly but intelligence of it had reached Condé, Coligni, and the other leaders of the Hugonots; and finding that the measures of the court agreed with their suspicions, they determined to prevent the cruel perfidy of their enemies, and to strike a blow before the Catholics were aware of the danger. The Hugonots, though dispersed over the whole kingdom, formed a kind of separate empire; and being closely united, as well by their religion as by the dangers to which they were perpetually exposed, they obeyed, with entire submission, the orders of their leaders, who were ready on every signal to have recourse to arms. The king and queen mother were living in great security at Monceaux, in Brie, where they found themselves surrounded by Protestant troops, which had secretly marched thither from all quarters; and had not a body of Swiss come speedily to their relief, and conducted them to Paris, they must have fallen, without resistance, into the hands of the malcontents. A battle was afterwards fought in the plains of St. Dennis; where, though the old constable Montmorency, the general of the Catholics, was killed combating bravely at the head of his troops, the Hugonots were finally defeated. Condé, collecting his broken forces, and receiving a strong reinforcement from the German Protestants, appeared again in the field; and laying siege to Chartres, a place of great importance, obliged the court to agree to a new accommodation. Notwithstanding this seeming reconciliation between the parties, so great was the zeal of the Catholics to exterminate the Hugonots, that a plan was laid for seizing the person of the prince and admiral; who narrowly escaped to Rochelle, and summoned their partizans to their assistance. The civil wars were renewed with greater fury than ever, and the parties became still more exasperated against each other. The young duke of Anjou, brother to the king, commanded the forces of the Catholics; and fought, in 1569, a battle at Jarnac with the Hugonots, where the prince of Condé was killed, and his army defeated. This discomfiture with the loss of so great a leader, reduced not the Hugonots to despair. The admiral still supported the cause; and having placed at the head of the Protestants the prince of Navarre, then sixteen years of age, and the young prince of Condé, he encouraged the party rather to perish bravely in the field, than ignominiously by the hands of the executioner. He collected such numbers, so determined to endure every extremity, that he was enabled to make head against the duke of Anjou; and being strengthened by a new reinforcement of Germans, he obliged that prince to retreat and to divide his forces.

Coligni then laid siege to Poictiers; and as the eyes of all France were fixed on this enterprize, the duke of Guise, emulous of the renown which his father had acquired by the defence of Metz, threw himself into the place, and so animated the garrison by his valour and conduct, that the admiral was obliged to raise the siege. Such was the commencement of that unrivalled fame and grandeur afterwards attained by this duke of Guise. The attachment which all the Catholics had borne to his father was immediately transferred to the son; and men pleased themselves in comparing all the great and shining qualities which seemed in a manner hereditary in that family.

Queen Elizabeth, who kept her attention fixed on the civil commotions of France, was not pleased with this new rise of her enemies the Guises; and being anxious for the fate of the Protestants, whose interests were connected with her own, she was engaged, notwithstanding her aversion from all rebellion, and from all opposition to the will of the sovereign, to give them secretly some assistance. Besides employing her authority with the German princes, she lent money to the queen of Navarre, and received some jewels as pledges for the loan. She even permitted Henry Champernon to levy, and transport over into France, a regiment of a hundred gentlemen volunteers; among whom Walter Raleigh, then a young man, began to distinguish himself in that great school of military valour. The admiral, constrained by the impatience of his troops, and by the difficulty of subsisting them, fought with the duke of Anjou the battle of Moncontour in Poictou, where he was wounded and defeated. The court of France, notwithstanding their frequent experience of the obstinacy of the Hugonots, and the vigour of Coligni, flattered themselves that the force of the rebels was at last finally annihilated; and neglected farther preparations against a foe, who, they thought, could never more become dangerous. They were surprized to hear that this leader had appeared, without dismay, in another quarter of the kingdom; had encouraged the young princes, whom he governed, to like constancy; had assembled an army; had taken the field; and was even strong enough to threaten Paris. The public finances, diminished by the continued disorders of the kingdom, and wasted by so many fruitless military enterprizes, could no longer bear the charge of a new armament; and the king, notwithstanding his extreme animosity against the Hugonots, was obliged, in 1570, to conclude an accommodation with them, to grant them a pardon for all past offences, and to renew the edicts for liberty of conscience.

Though a pacification was seemingly concluded, the mind of Charles was not reconciled to his rebellious subjects; and this accommodation, like all the foregoing, was only a snare, by which the perfidious court had projected to destroy at once, without danger, all its formidable enemies. As the two young princes, the admiral, and the other leaders of the Hugonots, instructed by past experience, discovered an extreme distrust of the king's intentions, and kept themselves in security at a distance, all possible artifices were employed to remove their apprehensions, and to convince them of the sincerity of the new counsels which seemed to be embraced. The terms of the peace were religiously observed to them; the toleration was strictly maintained; all attempts made by the Catholics to infringe it were punished with severity; offices, and favours, and honours, were bestowed on the principal nobility among the Protestants; and the king and council every where declared, that, tired of civil disorders, and convinced of the impossibility of forcing men's consciences, they were thenceforth determined to allow every one the free exercise of his religion.

Among the other artifices employed to lull the Protestants into fatal security, Charles affected to enter into close connection with Elizabeth; and as it seemed not the interest of France to forward the union of the two kingdoms of Great Britain, that princess the more easily flattered herself that the French monarch would prefer her friendship to that of the queen of Scots. The better to deceive her, proposals of marriage were made by Catherine de Medicis with her son Henry, duke of Anjou. The queen immediately founded on this offer the project of deceiving the court of France; and being intent on that artifice, she laid herself the more open to be deceived. Negociations were entered into with regard to the marriage; terms of the contract were proposed; difficulties started and removed; and the two courts, equally insincere, though not equally culpable, seemed to approach every day nearer to each other in their demands and concessions. The great obstacle seemed to lie in adjusting the difference of religion; because Elizabeth, who recommended toleration to Charles, was determined not to grant it in her own dominions, not even to her husband; and the duke of Anjou seemed unwilling to submit, for the sake of interest, to the dishonour of an apostacy.

The artful politics of Elizabeth never triumphed so much in any contrivances as in those which were conjoined with her coquetry; and as her character in this particular was generally known, the court of France thought that they might, without danger of forming any final conclusion, venture the farther in their concessions and offers to her.

The affairs of the Netherlands likewise excited Elizabeth's attention. The inhabitants of the Low Countries were thrown into the greatest disorders on account of the diversity of opinions which prevailed in religious matters. The emperor Charles, who proposed to augment his authority, under pretence of defending the Catholic faith, adopted the principle that innovation in religion, and rebellion go hand in hand; and notwithstanding the limited prerogative which he possessed in the Netherlands, he published the most arbitrary, severe, and tyrannical edicts against the Protestants; and he took care that the execution of them should be no less violent and sanguinary. He was neither cruel nor bigoted in his natural disposition; yet an historian, celebrated for moderation and caution, has computed, that in the several persecutions promoted by that monarch, no less than a hundred thousand persons perished by the hands of the executioner (*l*). But these severe remedies, were so far from answering the purposes

(*l*) Grotii Annal. lib. i. Father Paul, another great authority, computes in a passage above cited, that fifty thousand persons were put to death in the Low Countries alone.

intended, that they rather served to augment the numbers as well as zeal of the Reformers; and the magistrates of the several towns, seeing no end of those barbarous executions, felt their humanity rebel against their principles, and declined any farther persecution of the Protestants.

When Philip succeeded to his father's dominions, the Flemings were justly alarmed with new apprehensions; lest their prince, observing the lenity of the magistrates, should take the execution of the edicts from their hands, and establish the inquisition in the Low Countries, accompanied with all the iniquities and barbarities which attended it in Spain. The severe and unrelenting character of the man, his attachment to Spanish manners, and the inflexible bigotry of his principles, increased their terror: and when he departed the Netherlands, with an intention never to return, the disgust of the inhabitants was greatly augmented, and their dread of those tyrannical orders which their sovereign, surrounded with Spanish ministers, would issue from his cabinet at Madrid. He left the duchess of Parma, governess of the Low Countries; but reserved to himself the supreme direction of its affairs. The Flemings found, that the name alone of regent remained with the duchess; that cardinal Granville possessed the king's confidence; that attempts were every day made on their liberties; that a resolution was taken never more to assemble the states; that new bishoprics were arbitrarily erected, in order to enforce the execution of the persecuting edicts; and that, on the whole, they must expect to be reduced to the condition of a province under the Spanish monarchy. The discontents of the nobility gave countenance to the complaints of the gentry, which encouraged the mutiny of the populace; and all orders of men shewed a strong disposition to revolt. Associations were formed, tumultuary petitions presented, names of distinction assumed, badges of party displayed; and the current of the people, impelled by religious zeal and irritated by feeble resistance, rose to such a height, that in several towns, particularly in Antwerp, they made an open invasion on the established worship, pillaged the churches and monasteries, broke the images, and committed the most outrageous disorders.

The wiser part of the nobility, particularly the prince of Orange, and the counts Egmont and Hoorn, were alarmed at these excesses, to which their own discontents had at first given countenance; and seconding the wisdom of the governess, they suppressed the dangerous insurrections, punished the ringleaders, and reduced all the provinces to a state of order and submission. But Philip was not contented with the re-establishment of his former authority, and therefore determined to lay hold of the late popular disorders, as a pretence for entirely abolishing the privileges of the low country provinces; and for ruling them thenceforth with a military and arbitrary authority. In the execution of this tyrannical measure, he employed Ferdinand of Toledo, duke of Alva, a proper instrument in the hands of such a sanguinary monster; who instructed him to conceive no measures between prince and subject, but those of rigid command and implicit obedience. This general, in 1568, conducted from Italy to the Low Countries a powerful body of veteran Spaniards; and his avowed animosity to the Flemings, with his known character, struck the whole people with terror and consternation. We cannot with propriety relate at length all those violences which Alva's natural barbarity, steeled by reflection, and aggravated by insolence, exercised on those flourishing provinces. It may suffice to say, that all their privileges, the gift of so many princes, and the inheritance of so many ages, were openly and expressly abolished by edict; arbitrary and sanguinary tribunals were erected; the counts Egmont and Hoorn, in spite of their great merits and past services, were brought to the scaffold; multitudes of all ranks were thrown into confinement, and thence were delivered over to the executioner; and notwithstanding the peaceable submission of all men, nothing was heard of but confiscation, imprisonment, exile, torture, and death.

Elizabeth was equally displeased to see the progress of that scheme, laid for the extermination of the Protestants, and to observe the erection of so great a military power, in a state situated so near to her own country. She gave protection to all the Flemish exiles who took shelter in her dominions; and as many of these were the most industrious inhabitants of the Netherlands, and had rendered that country celebrated for its arts, she reaped the advantage of introducing into England some useful manufactures, which were formerly unknown in that kingdom (*m*).

Elizabeth's enemies, in order to revenge themselves for her insults, had naturally recourse to one policy, the supporting of the cause and pretensions of the queen of Scots, and Alva, whose measures were ever violent, soon opened a secret intercourse with that princess. The duke of Alva flattered Mary with the prospect of being restored to liberty and to her throne; and by the direction of his Catholic majesty, he employed emissaries to foment the disaffection of the English Papists, to the sway of Elizabeth, and persuade them to attempt the rescue of the imprisoned queen. The pope, by the medium of Ridolphi, (an Italian merchant who had long resided in London,) promoted the same cause, and even offered his purse for the encouragement of Mary's friends. This foreigner, who was a man of address and intrigue, had been confined by Elizabeth for his promotion of Mary's projected union with the duke of Norfolk; but having been soon restored to liberty, he had an opportunity of renewing his correspondence with that princess. Her steady friend, the bishop of Ross, acted in concert with Ridolphi; and the offers of the pope and the king of Spain being communicated to her English partizans, a conspiracy was formed for her relief. This man, zealous for the Catholic faith, had formed a scheme, in concert with the Spanish ambassador, for subverting the government, by a foreign invasion and a domestic insurrection; and when he communicated his project, by letter, to Mary, he found that, as she was now fully convinced of Elizabeth's artifices, and despaired of ever recovering her authority, or even her liberty, by pacific measures, she willingly gave her concurrence. The great number of discontented Catholics were the chief source of their hopes on the side of England; but in order to inspire life and courage into the malcontents, it was requisite that some great nobleman should put himself at their head; and no one appeared to Ridolphi, and to the bishop of Ross, who entered into all their intrigues, so proper, both on account of his power and his popularity, as the duke of Norfolk.

This nobleman, when released from confinement in the Tower, had given his solemn promise, that he would never resume his intercourse with the queen of Scots; but finding that he had lost, and, as he feared, beyond recovery, the confidence and favour of Elizabeth, and being still, in some degree, restrained from his liberty, he was tempted to violate his faith, and to open afresh his correspondence with the captive princess, at the instigation of Ridolphi and the bishop of Ross. A promise of marriage was renewed between them; the duke engaged to enter into all her interests; and as his remorses gradually diminished in the course of these transactions, he was pushed to give his consent to enterprizes still more criminal. Ridolphi's plan was, that the duke of Alva should, on some other pretence, assemble a great quantity of shipping in the Low Countries; should transport a body of six thousand foot, and four thousand horse, into England; should land them at Harwich, where the duke of Norfolk was to join them with all his friends; should thence march directly

(*m*) Foreseeing that the violent government of Alva could not long subsist without exciting some commotion, Elizabeth ventured to commit an insult upon him, which she would have been cautious not to hazard against a more established authority. Some Genoese merchants had engaged, by contract with Philip, to transport into Flanders the sum of four hundred thousand crowns; and the vessels, on which this money was embarked, had been attacked in the Channel by some privateers equipped by the French Hugonots, and had taken shelter in Plymouth and Southampton. The commanders of the ships pretended that the money belonged to the king of Spain; but the queen, finding, upon inquiry, that it was the property of Genoese merchants, took possession of it as a loan; and by that means deprived the duke of Alva of this resource in the time of his greatest necessity. Alva, in revenge, seized all the English merchants in the Low Countries, threw them into prison, and confiscated their effects. The queen retaliated by a like violence on the Flemish and Spanish merchants; and gave all the English liberty to make reprisals on the subjects of Philip. These differences were afterwards accommodated by treaty, and mutual reparations were made to the merchants: but nothing could repair the loss which so well-timed a blow inflicted on the Spanish government in the Low Countries. Alva, in want of money, and dreading the immediate mutiny of his troops, to whom great arrears were due, imposed by his arbitrary will the most ruinous taxes on the people. He not only required the hundredth penny, and the twentieth of all immoveable goods; but he likewise demanded the tenth of all moveable goods on every sale; an absurd tyranny, which would not only have destroyed all arts and commerce, but even have restrained the common intercourse of life. The people refused compliance; the duke had recourse to his usual expedient of the gibbet; and thus matters came still nearer the last extremities between the Flemings and the Spaniards.

to London, and oblige the queen to submit to whatever terms the conspirators should please to impose upon her. Norfolk expressed his assent to this plan; and three letters, in consequence of it, were written in his name by Ridolphi, one to the duke of Alva, another to the pope, and a third to the king of Spain; but the duke, apprehensive of the danger, refused to sign them. He only sent to the Spanish ambassador a servant and confident, named Barker, as well to notify his concurrence in the plan, as to vouch for the authenticity of these letters; and Ridolphi having obtained a letter of credence from the ambassador, proceeded on his journey to Brussels and to Rome. The duke of Alva and the pope embraced the scheme with alacrity: Ridolphi informed Norfolk of their intentions: and every thing seemed to concur in forwarding the undertaking.

Notwithstanding his consent to these criminal enterprizes, Norfolk had never entirely forgotten his duty to his sovereign, his country, and his religion; and though he was to have headed an invasion and an insurrection, he vainly flattered himself, that the innocency of his intentions would justify the violence of his measures, and that, as he aimed at nothing but the liberty of the queen of Scots, and the obtaining of Elizabeth's consent to his marriage, he could not justly reproach himself as a rebel and a traitor. It is certain, however, that, considering the queen's vigour and spirit, the scheme, if successful, must finally have ended in dethroning her; and her authority was here exposed to the utmost danger.

The conspiracy had hitherto escaped the vigilance of Elizabeth, and that of secretary Cecil, now lord Burleigh. It was from another attempt of Norfolk's, that they first obtained a hint, which, being diligently traced, led at last to a full discovery. Mary had intended to send a sum of money to lord Herries, and her partizans in Scotland; and Norfolk undertook to have it delivered to Bannister, a servant of his, at that time in the north, who was to find some expedient for conveying it to lord Herries. He entrusted the money to a servant who was not in the secret, and told him, that the bag contained a sum of money in silver, which he was to deliver to Bannister with a letter: but the servant conjecturing, from the weight and size of the bag, that it was full of gold, carried the letter to lord Burleigh; who immediately ordered Bannister, Barker, and Hickford, the duke's secretary, to be put under arrest, and to undergo a severe examination. Torture made them confess the whole truth; and as Hickford, though ordered to burn all papers, had carefully kept them concealed under the mats of the duke's chamber, and under the tiles of the house, full evidence now appeared against his master. Norfolk himself, who was entirely ignorant of the discoveries made by his servants, was brought before the council; and though exhorted to atone for his guilt by a full confession, he persisted in denying every crime with which he was charged. The queen always declared, that, if he had given her this proof of his sincere repentance, she would have pardoned all his former offences; but finding him obstinate, she committed him to the Tower, and ordered him to be brought to his trial. The bishop of Ross had, on some suspicion, been committed to custody before the discovery of Norfolk's guilt; and every expedient was employed to make him reveal his share in the conspiracy. He at first insisted on his privilege; but he was told, that, as his mistress was no longer a sovereign, he would not be regarded as an ambassador, and that, even if that character were allowed, it did not warrant him in conspiring against the sovereign at whose court he resided. As he still refused to answer interrogatories, he was informed of the confession made by Norfolk's servants; after which he no longer scrupled to make a full discovery; and his evidence put the guilt of that nobleman beyond all doubt. Being brought to trial before his peers, the duke of Norfolk was arraigned on the following heads: it was alledged against him, that, in the eleventh year of Elizabeth, he had conspired against her crown and life, and had requested the aid of foreign arms for the accomplishment of his traitorous purposes; that though he knew that Mary, late queen of Scotland, had assumed the title of queen of England, he had formed the intention of espousing her without consulting his lawful sovereign, and had lent her a considerable sum of money, contrary to a promise given under his hand; that, when the earls of Northumberland and Westmoreland, and other rebels, had been driven into Scotland, he had afforded them pecuniary aid; that in the queen's thirteenth year, he had, by letters, solicited the pope, the king of Spain, and the duke of Alva, to send over auxiliary forces for the rescue of Mary, and the re-establishment of Popery in England; and that he had assisted lord Herries, and other Scots who were enemies to Elizabeth. A jury of twenty-five peers unanimously passed sentence upon him on the 12th of January, 1572. The trial was quite regular, even according to the strict rules observed at present in these matters; except that the witnesses gave not their evidence in court, and were not confronted with the prisoner: a laudable practice, which was not at that time observed in trials for high treason.

Notwithstanding the enormity of the crime, the queen hesitated concerning Norfolk's being brought to the block. Twice she signed a warrant for his execution, and twice she revoked the fatal sentence; and though her ministers and counsellors pushed her to rigour, she still appeared irresolute and undetermined. After four months hesitation, a parliament was assembled on the 8th of May; and the commons addressed her, in strong terms, for the execution of the duke; a sanction which, when added to the greatness and certainty of his guilt, would, she thought, justify, in the eyes of all mankind, her severity against that nobleman. Norfolk's execution therefore took place on the 2nd of June. He died with calmness and constancy; and though he cleared himself of any disloyal intentions against the queen's authority, he acknowledged the justice of the sentence by which he suffered. That we may relate together affairs of a similar nature, we shall mention, that the earl of Northumberland, being delivered up to the queen by the regent of Scotland, was also, a few months after, brought to the scaffold for his rebellion.

The queen of Scots was doubtless the cause of all these disturbances; but as she was a sovereign princess, and might reasonably, from the harsh treatment which she had met with, think herself entitled to use any expedient for her relief, Elizabeth did not chuse, as yet, to form any resolution of proceeding to extremities against her. She only sent lord Delawar, sir Ralph Sadler, sir Thomas Bromley, and Dr. Wilson, to expostulate with her, and to demand satisfaction for all those parts of her conduct which, from the beginning of her life, had given displeasure to Elizabeth: her assuming the arms of England, refusing to ratify the treaty of Edinburgh, intending to marry Norfolk without the queen's consent, concurring in the northern rebellion, practising with Ridolphi to engage the king of Spain in an invasion of England, procuring the pope's bull of excommunication, and allowing her friends abroad to give her the title of queen of England. Mary attempted to justify herself from the several articles of the charge, either by denying the facts imputed to her, or by throwing the blame on others.

But the queen was by no means satisfied with her apology; and the parliament was so enraged against her, that the commons made a direct application to "proceed against Mary in the highest degree of treason, and touch her as well in life, as in title and dignity." They employed some topics derived from practice and reason, and the laws of nations; but the chief stress was laid on passages and examples from the Old Testament. Matters were here carried farther than Elizabeth intended; and that princess satisfied with shewing Mary the disposition of the nation, sent to the house her express commands not to deal any farther at present in the affair of the Scottish queen. Nothing could be a stronger proof, that the puritanical interest prevailed in the house, than the intemperate use of authorities derived from scripture, especially from the Old Testament; and the queen was so little a lover of that sect, that she was not likely to make any concession merely in deference to their solicitation. She shewed, this session, her disapprobation of their schemes in another remarkable instance. The commons had passed two bills for regulating ecclesiastical ceremonies; but Elizabeth sent them a like imperious message with her former ones; and by the terror of her prerogative, she stopped all farther proceeding in those matters.

Although Elizabeth would not carry matters to such extremities against Mary, as were recommended by the parliament, she was alarmed at the great interest and the restless spirit of that princess, as well as at her close connection with the king of Spain; and she thought it necessary both to encrease the rigour and strictness of her confinement, and to follow maxims different from those which she

she had hitherto pursued in her management of Scotland. That kingdom remained still in a state of anarchy. The castle of Edinburgh, commanded by Kirkaldy of Grange, had declared for Mary; and the lords of that party, encouraged by his countenance, had taken possession of the capital, and carried on a vigorous war against the earl of Lenox, the regent. By a sudden and unexpected inroad, they seized that nobleman at Stirling; but finding that his friends, sallying from the castle, were likely to rescue him, they instantly put him to death. The earl of Marre was chosen regent in his room, as above mentioned; and found the same difficulties in the government of that divided country. He was therefore glad to accept of the mediation offered by the French and English ambassadors; and to conclude on equal terms a truce with the queen's party. He was a man of a free and generous spirit, and scorned to submit to any dependence on England; and for this reason Elizabeth, who had then formed intimate connections with France, yielded with less reluctance to the solicitations of that court, still maintained the appearance of neutrality between the parties, and allowed matters to remain on a balance in Scotland. But affairs soon after took a new turn: Marre died of melancholy, with which the distracted state of the country affected him: Morton was chosen regent; and as this nobleman had secretly taken all his measures with Elizabeth, who no longer relied on the friendship of the French court, she resolved to exert herself more effectually for the support of the party which she had always favoured. She sent sir Henry Killegrew ambassador to Scotland, who found Mary's partizans so discouraged by the discovery and punishment of Norfolk's conspiracy, that they were glad to submit to the king's authority, and accept of an indemnity for all past offences. The duke of Chatelrault and the earl of Huntley, with the most considerable of Mary's friends, laid down their arms on these conditions. The garrison alone of the castle of Edinburgh continued refractory. Kirkaldy's fortunes, by a concurrence of various circumstances were become desperate; and he flattered himself with the hopes of receiving assistance from the kings of France and Spain, who encouraged his obstinacy, in the view of being able, from that quarter, to give disturbance to England. Elizabeth was alarmed with the danger; she no more apprehended making an entire breach with the queen of Scots, who, she found, would not any longer be amused by her artifices; she had an implicit reliance on Morton; and she perceived, that, by the submission of all the considerable nobility, the pacification of Scotland would be an easy, as well as a most important undertaking. She ordered, therefore, sir William Drury, governor of Berwick, to march with some troops and artillery to Edinburgh, and to besiege the castle. The garrison surrendered at discretion: Kirkaldy was delivered into the hands of his countrymen, by whom he was tried, condemned, and executed: secretary Lidington, who had taken part with him, died soon after a voluntary death, as is supposed; and Scotland, submitting entirely to the regent, gave not, during a long time, any farther uneasiness to Elizabeth.

The affairs of France, however, were not so agreeable to the queen's interests and inclinations. The fallacious pacifications, which had been so often made with the Hugonots, gave them reason to suspect the present intensions of the court; and, after all the other leaders of that party were deceived into a dangerous credulity, the sagacious admiral still remained doubtful and uncertain. But his suspicions were at last overcome, partly by the profound dissimulation of Charles, partly by his own earnest desire to end the miseries of France, and return again to the performance of his duty towards his prince and country; and as Charles was young, was of a passionate, hasty temper, and addicted to pleasure, deep perfidy seemed either remote from his character, or almost impossible, to be uniformly supported by him. Moved by these considerations, the admiral, the queen of Navarre, and all the Hugonots, began to repose themselves in full security, and gave credit to the treacherous caresses and professions of the French court. Elizabeth herself, notwithstanding her penetration, entertained not the least distrust of Charles's sincerity; and being pleased to find her enemies of the house of Guise removed from all authority, and to observe an animosity every day growing between the French and Spanish monarchs, she concluded a defensive league with the former on the 11th of April, and regarded this alliance as an invincible barrier to her throne. So artfully did the French court deceive her ambassador Walsingham, that he sent her over, by every courier, the most satisfactory accounts of the honour, and plain-dealing, and fidelity of that perfidious prince.

The better to blind the jealous Hugonots, and draw their leaders into the snare prepared for them, Charles offered his sister, Margaret, in marriage to the prince of Navarre; and the admiral, with all the considerable nobility of his party, had come to Paris, in order to assist at the celebration of these nuptials, which, it was hoped, would finally, if not compose the differences, at least appease the sanguinary animosity of the two religions. The queen of Navarre was poisoned by orders from the court; the admiral was dangerously wounded by an assassin: yet Charles, redoubling his dissimulation, was still able to retain the Hugonots in their security; till, on the evening of St. Bartholomew, August 24, a few days after the marriage, the signal was given for a general massacre of those religionists, and the king himself in person, led the way to these assassinations (*n*).

Charles, in order to cover his barbarous perfidy towards the Hugonots, pretended that they had entered into a conspiracy to seize his person, which had been suddenly detected; and that he had been necessitated, for his own defence, to proceed to this severity against them. He sent orders to Fenelon, his ambassador in England, to ask an audience, and to give Elizabeth this account of the late transaction (*o*); and although he detested the transaction, he was obliged to obey his orders, and make use of the apology which had been prescribed to him. He met with that reception from all the courtiers, which, he knew, the conduct of his master had so well merited. Nothing could be more aweful and affecting than the solemnity of his audience. A melancholy sorrow sat on every face: silence, as in the dead of night, reigned through all the chambers of the royal apartments: the courtiers and ladies, clad in deep mourning, were ranged on each side, and allowed him to pass, without affording him one salute or favourable look; till he was admitted to the queen herself. That princess received him with a different countenance; she heard his apology, without discovering any visible symptom of indignation, and then told him, "that though, on the first rumour of this dreadful intelligence, she had been astonished that so many brave men and loyal subjects, who rested secure on the faith of their sovereign, should have been suddenly butchered in so barbarous a manner; she had hitherto suspended her judgement, till farther and more certain information should be brought her: that the account which he had given, even if founded on no mistake or bad information, though it might alleviate, would by no means remove the blame of the king's counsellors, or justify the strange irregularity of their proceedings: that the same force which, without resistance, had massacred so many defenceless men, could easily have secured their persons, and have reserved them for trial, and for punishment by a legal sentence, which would have distinguished the innocent from the guilty: that the admiral, in particular, being dangerously wounded, and environed by the guards of the king, on whose protection

(*n*) The hatred long entertained by the Parisians against the Protestants, made them second, without any preparation, the fury of the court; and persons of every condition, age, and sex, suspected of any propensity to that religion, were involved in an undistinguished ruin. The admiral, his son-in-law Teligni, Soubize, Rochefoucault, Pardaillon, Piles, Lavardin, men who, during the late wars, had signalized themselves by the most heroic actions, were miserably butchered without resistance; the streets of Paris flowed with blood; and the people, more enraged than satiated with their cruelty, as if repining that death had saved the victims from farther insult, exercised on their dead bodies all the rage of the most licentious brutality. This scene of butchery was continued for seven days. About five hundred gentlemen and men of rank perished in this massacre, and near ten thousand of inferior condition. Orders were instantly dispatched to all the provinces for a like general execution of the Protestants; and in Rouen, Lyons, and many other cities, the people emulated the fury of the capital; and the number of murdered Hugonots, in the other parts of the kingdom, amounted to upwards of thirty thousand. Even the murder of the king of Navarre, and prince of Condè, had been proposed by the duke of Guise; but Charles, softened by the amiable manners of the king of Navarre, and hoping that these young princes might easily be converted to the Catholic faith, determined to spare their lives, though he obliged them to purchase their safety by a seeming change of their religion. As a farther proof of the zeal of the royal family for the extirpation of heresy, the queen mother, Catherine de Medicis, beheld from her windows the reiterated acts of butchery with detestable joy and exultation.

(*o*) That minister, a man of probity, adhorred the treachery and cruelty of his court; and even scrupled not to declare, that he was now ashamed to bear the name of Frenchman.

he seemed entirely to rely, had no means of escape, and might surely, before his death, have been convicted of the crimes imputed to him: that it was more worthy of a sovereign to reserve in his own hands the sword of justice, than to commit it to bloody murderers, who, being the declared and mortal enemies of the persons accused, employed it without mercy and without distinction: that if these sentiments were just, even supposing the conspiracy of the Protestants to be real, how much more so, if that crime was a calumny of their enemies, invented for their destruction? That if, upon inquiry, the innocence of these unhappy victims should afterwards appear, it was the king's duty to turn his vengeance on their defamers, who had thus cruelly abused his confidence, had murdered so many of his brave subjects, and had done what in them lay to cover him with everlasting dishonour: and that, for her part, she should form her judgement of his intentions by his subsequent conduct; and in the mean time should act as desired by the ambassador, and rather pity than blame his master for the extremities to which he had been carried."

Elizabeth was now fully sensible of the dangerous situation in which she stood. In the massacre of Paris, she saw the result of that general conspiracy, formed for the extermination of those who professed the Protestant religion; and she knew that she herself, as the head and protectress of the Protestants, was exposed to the utmost fury and resentment of the bigotted Catholics. The violence and cruelty of the Spaniards in the Low Countries was another branch of the same conspiracy; and as Charles and Philip, two princes nearly allied in perfidy and barbarity as well as in bigotry, had now laid aside their pretended quarrel, and had avowed the most entire friendship, she had reason, as soon as they had appeased their domestic commotions, to dread the effects of their united counsels. The duke of Guise also, and his family, whom Charles, in order to deceive the admiral, had hitherto kept at a distance, had now acquired an open and complete ascendant in the court of France; and she was sensible that these princes, from personal as well as political reasons, were her declared and inveterate enemies. The queen of Scots, their near relation and close confederate, was the pretender to her throne; and though detained in custody, was actuated by a restless spirit, and, besides her foreign allies, possessed numerous and zealous partizans in the heart of the kingdom. For these reasons, Elizabeth did not chuse to reject all commerce with the French monarch, but still thought it necessary to listen to the professions of friendship which he made her. She allowed even the negociations to be renewed for her marriage with the duke of Alençon, Charles's third brother: those with Henry duke of Anjou had already been broken off. She sent the earl of Worcester to assist in her name at the baptism of a young princess, born to Charles; but before she agreed to give him this last mark of condescension, she thought it becoming her dignity, to renew her expressions of blame, and even of detestation, against the cruelties exercised on his Protestant subjects. Elizabeth, in the mean time, expecting some premeditated blow to be attempted against her, prepared for that attack which there was reason to apprehend from the combined power and violence of the Romanists: she fortified Portsmouth, put her fleet in order, exercised her militia, cultivated popularity with her subjects, acted with vigour for the farther reduction of Scotland under obedience to the young king, and renewed her alliance with the German princes, who were no less alarmed than herself at these treacherous and sanguinary measures, so universally embraced by the bigotted partizans of the church of Rome.

Although Elizabeth cautiously avoided coming to extremities with Charles, the greatest security that she possessed against his violence was derived from the difficulties which the obstinate resistance of the Hugonots still created to him. Such of that sect as lived near the frontiers, immediately, on the first news of the massacres, fled into England, Germany, or Switzerland; where they excited the compassion and indignation of the Protestants, and prepared themselves, with encreased forces and redoubled zeal, to return into France, and avenge the treacherous slaughter of their brethren. Those who lived in the middle of the kingdom, took shelter in the nearest garrisons occupied by the Hugonots; and finding, that they could repose no faith in capitulations, and expect no clemency, were determined to defend themselves to the last extremity. The sect, which Charles had hoped at one blow to exterminate, had now an army of eighteen thousand men on foot, and possessed, in 1573, in different parts of the kingdom, above a hundred cities, castles, or fortresses; nor could that prince deem himself secure from the invasion threatened him by all the other Protestants in Europe. The nobility and gentry of England were roused to such a pitch of resentment, that they offered to levy an army of twenty-two thousand foot and four thousand horse, to transport them into France, and to maintain them six months at their own charge: but Elizabeth, who acted with extreme caution, and who feared to inflame farther the quarrel between the two religions by these dangerous crusades, refused her consent, and moderated the zeal of her subjects. The German princes, less political or more secure from the resentment of France, forwarded the levies made by the Protestants; and the young prince of Condé, having escaped from court, put himself at the head of these forces, and prepared to invade the kingdom. The duke of Alençon, the king of Navarre, the family of Montmorenci, and many considerable men even among the Catholics, displeased, either on a private or public account, with the rigorous and base measures of the court, favoured the progress of the Hugonots; and every thing relapsed into confusion. The king, instead of repenting his violent counsels, which had brought matters to such extremities, called aloud for new violences; nor could even the mortal distemper under which he laboured, moderate the rage and animosity by which he was actuated. He died without male issue, on the 30th of May, 1574, at the age of twenty-five years (*p*).

Henry, duke of Anjou, who had, some time before, been elected king of Poland, no sooner heard of his brother's death, than he hastened to take possession of the throne of France: and found the kingdom not only involved in the greatest present disorders, but exposed to infirmities, for which it was extremely difficult to provide any suitable remedy. The people were divided into two theological factions, furious from their zeal, and mutually enraged from the injuries which they had committed or suffered; and as all faith had been violated and moderation banished, it seemed impracticable to find any terms of composition between them. Each party had devoted itself to leaders, whose commands had more authority than the will of the sovereign; and even the Catholics, to whom the king was attached, were entirely conducted by the counsels of Guise, and his family.

Henry, observing the low condition of the crown, had laid a scheme for restoring his own authority, by acting as umpire between the parties, by moderating their differences, and by reducing both to a dependence upon himself; but instead of acquiring a superiority over each faction, he lost the confidence of both, and taught the partizans of each to adhere still more closely to their particular leaders, whom they found more cordial and sincere in the cause which they espoused. The Hugonots were strengthened, in 1576, by the accession of a German army under the prince of Condé, and prince Casimir; but much more by the credit and personal virtues of the king of Navarre, who, having fled from court, had placed himself at the head of that formidable party. Henry, in prosecution of his plan, entered into a composition with them; and being desirous of preserving a balance between the sects, he granted them peace on the most advantageous conditions (*q*).

On account of this peace, the artful duke of Guise, took an occasion of reducing his party into a more regular body; and laid the first foundations of the famous LEAGUE, which, without paying any regard to the royal authority, aimed at the entire suppression of the Hugonots; and Henry, in order to divert the force of the league from himself, and even to elude its efforts against the Hugonots, declared himself the head of that confederacy, and took the field as leader of the Romanists, in 1577. But his dilatory and feeble measures betrayed his reluctance to the undertaking; and after some unsuccessful at-

(*p*) He was a prince, whose character, containing that unusual mixture of dissimulation and ferocity, of quick resentment and unrelenting vengeance, executed the greatest mischiefs, and threatened still worse, both to his native country and to all the states of Europe.

(*q*) This was the fifth general peace made with the Hugonots; but though it was no more sincere on the part of the court than any of the former, it gave the highest disgust to the Catholics; and afforded the duke of Guise the desired pretence of declaiming against the measures and maxims, and conduct of the king.

tempts, he concluded a new peace, which, though less favourable than the former to the Protestants, gave no contentment to the Catholics. Mutual diffidence still prevailed between the parties; the king's moderation was suspicious to both; each faction continued to fortify itself against that breach, which, they foresaw, must speedily ensue; theological controversy daily whetted the animosity of the sects; and every private injury became the ground of a public quarrel.

The king, hoping by his artifice and subtlety, to allure the nation into a love of pleasure and repose, was himself caught in the snare; and, sinking into a dissolute indolence, wholly lost the esteem and the affections of his people, in 1578. The public burdens, encreased by his profuse liberality, and felt more heavy on a disordered kingdom, became a strong ground of complaint; and the uncontrolled animosity of parties, joined to the multiplicity of taxes, rendered peace more calamitous than any open state of foreign or even domestic warfare. The artifices of the king were too refined to succeed, and too frequent to be concealed; for, in 1579, the plain, direct, and avowed conduct of the duke of Guise on one side, and that of the king of Navarre on the other, drew by degrees the generality of the nation to devote themselves without reserve to one or the other of those great leaders.

The civil commotions of France were of too general importance to be overlooked by the other potentates of Europe; and Elizabeth's foresight and vigilance led her to take secretly some part in them. Besides employing on all occasions her good offices in favour of the Hugonots, she had expended no inconsiderable sums in levying that army of Germans which the prince of Condé and prince Casimir conducted into France; and notwithstanding her negociations with the court, and her professions of amity, she always considered her own interests as connected with the prosperity of the French Protestants and the depression of the house of Guise. Philip, on the other hand, had declared himself protector of the league; had entered into the closest correspondence with the duke of Guise; and had employed all his authority in supporting the credit of that sanguinary leader.

Similar political views to those which engaged Elizabeth to support the Hugonots, would have led her to assist the distressed Protestants in the Low Countries; but the mighty power of Philip, the tranquillity of his other dominions, and the great force which he maintained in these mutinous provinces, kept her in awe, and obliged her, notwithstanding the temptations and provocations which she received, to preserve some terms of amity with that monarch. The Spanish ambassador represented to her, that many of the Flemish exiles, who infested the seas, and preyed on his master's subjects, were received into the harbours of England, and were there allowed to dispose of their prizes. By these remonstrances the queen found herself under a necessity of denying them all entrance into her dominions: but this measure proved in the issue extremely prejudicial to the interests of Philip. These desperate exiles, finding no longer any possibility of subsistence, were forced to attempt the most perilous enterprizes; and they made an assault on the Brille, a sea-port town in Holland, where they met with success, and, after a short resistance, became masters of the place. The duke of Alva was alarmed at the danger; and, stopping those bloody executions which he was making on the defenceless Flemings, he hastened with his army to extinguish the flame, which, falling on materials so well prepared for combustion, seemed to menace a general conflagration. His fears soon appeared to be well grounded; for the people in the neighbourhood of the Brille, enraged by that complication of cruelty, oppression, insolence, usurpation, and persecution, under which they and all their countrymen groaned, flew to arms; and in a few days almost the whole province of Holland and that of Zealand had revolted from the Spaniards, and had openly declared against the tyranny of the duke of Alva.

William, prince of Orange, descended from a sovereign family of great lustre and antiquity in Germany, inheriting the possessions of a sovereign family in France, had fixed his residence in the Low Countries; and was universally regarded as the greatest subject that lived in those provinces. He had opposed the progress of the Spanish usurpations; and when Alva conducted his army into the Netherlands, and assumed the government, this prince, wisely fled from the danger which threatened him, and retired to his paternal estate and dominions in Germany. He was cited to appear before Alva's tribunal, was condemned in absence, was declared a rebel, and his ample possessions in the Low Countries were confiscated. In revenge, he had levied an army of Protestants in the empire, and had made some attempts to restore the Flemings to liberty; but was still repulsed with loss by the vigilance and military conduct of Alva, and by the great bravery, as well as discipline, of those veteran Spaniards who served under that intrepid warrior.

The revolt of Holland and Zealand, provinces which the prince of Orange had formerly commanded, and where he was much beloved, called him afresh from his retreat; and he added conduct, no less than spirit, to that obstinate resistance which was here made to the Spanish dominion. By uniting the revolted cities in a league, he laid the foundation of that illustrious commonwealth, whose arms and policy afterwards, till it was united with the French empire under Bonaparte, made so signal a figure in every transaction of Europe. He inflamed the inhabitants by every motive which religious zeal, resentment, or love of freedom could inspire. From this spirit proceeded the desperate defence of Harlem; a defence which nothing but the most consuming famine could overcome, and which the Spaniards revenged by the execution of more than two thousand of the inhabitants. This extreme severity, instead of striking the Hollanders with terror, animated them by despair; and the vigorous resistance made at Alcmaer, where Alva was finally repulsed, showed them that their insolent enemies were not invincible. The duke, finding at last the pernicious effects of his violent councils, solicited to be recalled: Medina-celi, who was appointed his successor, refused to accept the government: Zuniga de Requesens, commendator of Castile, was sent from Italy to replace Alva; and this tyrant departed from the Netherlands in 1574; leaving his name in execration to the inhabitants, and boasting in his turn, that, during the course of five years, he had delivered above eighteen thousand of these rebellious heretics into the hands of the executioner.

In the siege of Leyden, undertaken by the Spaniards, the Dutch opened the dykes and sluices, in order to drive them from the enterprize; and the very peasants were active in ruining their fields by an inundation, rather than fall again under the tyranny of the Spanish court. But notwithstanding this repulse, Requesens still pursued the war; and the contest seemed too unequal between so mighty a monarchy, and two small provinces, however fortified by nature, and however defended by the desperate resolution of the inhabitants. The prince of Orange, therefore, in 1575, sued for foreign succour, and made applications to Elizabeth, who seemed naturally interested in their defence; and as she had justly entertained great jealousy of Philip, and governed her kingdom in perfect tranquillity, hopes were entertained, that her policy, her ambition, or her generosity, would engage her to support them under their present calamities. They sent therefore a solemn embassy to London, consisting of St. Aldegonde, Douza, Nivelle, Buys, and Melsen; and after employing the most humble supplications to the queen, they offered her the possession and sovereignty of their provinces, if she would exert her power in their defence. Elizabeth, however, did not seem willing to take the government of those provinces into her hands; and told the ambassadors that she would endeavour to mediate an agreement for them, on the most reasonable terms that could be obtained. She sent accordingly sir Henry Cobham to Philip; and represented to him the danger which he would incur of losing entirely the Low Countries, if France could obtain the least interval from her intestine disorders, and find leisure to offer her protection to those mutinous and discontented provinces. Philip seemed to take this remonstrance in good part; but no accord ensued, and war in the Netherlands continued with its former violence and rage.

It was an accident that delivered the Hollanders from their present desperate situation. Requesens, the governor, dying suddenly, the Spanish troops, discontented for want of pay, and licentious for want of a proper authority to command them, broke into a furious mutiny, and threw every thing into confusion. They sacked and pillaged the cities of Maestricht and Antwerp, and executed great slaughter on the inhabitants: they threatened the other cities with a like fate: and all the provinces, excepting Luxembourg, united for mutual defence against their violence, and called in the prince of Orange and the Hollanders,

Hollanders, as their protectors. A treaty, commonly called the Pacification of Ghent, was formed by common agreement; and the removal of foreign troops, with the restoration of their ancient liberties, was the object which the provinces mutually stipulated to pursue. Don John of Austria, natural brother to Philip, being appointed governor, found, on his arrival at Luxembourg, that the States had so fortified themselves, and that the Spanish troops were so divided by their situation, that there was no possibility of resistance; and he agreed to the terms required of him. The Spaniards evacuated the country; and these provinces seemed at last to breathe a little from their calamities.

But it was not easy to settle entire peace, while the thirst of revenge and dominion governed the king of Spain, and while the Flemings were so strongly agitated with resentment of past, and fear of future, injuries. The ambition of Don John, a natural son of Charles V. (commonly called Don John of Austria,) engaged him to inflame the quarrel; and as he found the States determined to impose very strict limitations on his authority, he broke all articles, seized Namur, and procured the recal of the Spanish army from Italy. Don John looked beyond the conquest of the revolted provinces, had intended to espouse the queen of Scots, and to acquire in her right the dominion of the British kingdoms. Elizabeth seeing now, from the union of all the provinces, a fair prospect of their making a vigorous defence against Spain, no longer scrupled to embrace the protection of their liberties, which seemed so intimately connected with her own safety. After sending them a sum of money, about twenty thousand pounds, for the immediate pay of their troops, she concluded a treaty with them; in which she stipulated to assist them with five thousand foot and a thousand horse, at the charge of the Flemings; and to lend them a hundred thousand pounds, on receiving the bonds of some of the most considerable towns of the Netherlands, for her repayment within the year. It was farther agreed, that the commander of the English army should be admitted into the council of the States; and nothing be determined concerning war or peace, without previously informing the queen or him of it; that they should enter into no league without her consent; that if any discord arose among themselves, it should be referred to her arbitration; and that if any prince, on any pretext, should attempt hostilities against her, they should send to her assistance an army equal to that which she had employed in their defence. This alliance was signed on the 7th of January, 1578.

The queen represented to the king of Spain, by her ambassador, Thomas Wilkes, that hitherto she had religiously acted the part of a good neighbour and ally; had refused the sovereignty of Holland and Zealand, when offered her; had advised the prince of Orange to submit to the king; and had even accompanied her counsel with menaces, in case of his refusal. She persevered, she said, in the same friendly intentions; and, as a proof of it, would venture to interpose with her advice for the composure of the present differences: let Don John be recalled; let some other prince more popular be substituted in his room; let the Spanish armies be withdrawn; let the Flemings be restored to their ancient liberties and privileges: and if, after these concessions, they were still obstinate not to return to their duty, she promised to join her arms with those of his Catholic majesty, and force them to compliance. Philip dissembled his resentment against the queen; and still continued to supply Don John with money and troops. That prince, though once repulsed at Rimenant by the valour of the English under Norris, and though opposed, as well by the army of the States as by prince Casimir, who had conducted to the Low Countries a great body of Germans, paid by the queen, gained a great advantage over the Flemings at Gembloux; but was cut off in the midst of his prosperity by poison, given him secretly, as was suspected, by orders from Philip, who dreaded his ambition. The prince of Parma succeeded to the command; who, uniting valour and clemency, negociation and military exploits, made great progress against the revolted Flemings, and advanced the progress of the Spaniards by his arts, as well as by his arms.

During these years, while Europe was almost every where in agitation, England enjoyed a profound tranquillity; owing chiefly to the prudence and vigour of the queen's administration, and to the wise precautions which she employed in all her measures. By supporting the Protestants in Scotland, she had twice given them the superiority over their antagonists, had closely connected their interests with her own, and had procured herself entire security from that quarter, whence the most dangerous invasions could be made upon her. She saw in France her enemies, the Guises, counterbalanced by the Hugonots, her zealous partizans. The bigotry of Philip gave her just ground of anxiety; but the same bigotry had happily excited the most obstinate opposition among his own subjects, and had created him enemies, whom his arms and policy seemed unable to subdue. The queen of Scots, her antagonist and rival, and the pretender to her throne, was a prisoner in her hands; and by her impatience and high spirit had been engaged in practices, which afforded the queen a pretence for rendering her confinement more rigorous, and for cutting off her communication with her partizans in England.

Religion was the capital point, on which depended all the political transactions of that age; and the queen's conduct in this particular, making allowance for the prevailing prejudices of the times, could scarcely be accused of severity or imprudence. She established no inquisition into men's bosoms: she imposed no oath of supremacy, except on those who received trust or emolument from the public: and though the exercise of every religion but the established was prohibited by statute, the violation of this law, by saying mass, and receiving the sacrament in private houses, was, in many instances, connived at; while, on the other hand, the Catholics, in the beginning of her reign, shewed little reluctance against going to church, or frequenting the ordinary duties of public worship. The pope, sensible that this practice would by degrees reconcile all his partizans to the reformed religion, hastened the publication of the bull, which excommunicated the queen, and freed her subjects from their oaths of allegiance; but the Romanists, if their condition were compared with that of the Nonconformists in other countries, and with their own maxims where they domineered, could not justly complain of violence or persecution. The queen appeared rather more anxious to keep a strict hand over the Puritans; who, though their pretensions were not so dangerous to her authority, seemed to be actuated by a different motive, and to retain claims, of which, both in civil and ecclesiastical matters, it was, as yet, difficult to discern the full scope and intention. Some secret attempts of that sect to establish a separate congregation and discipline had been carefully repressed in the beginning of this reign; and when any of the established clergy discovered a tendency to their principles, by omitting the legal habits or ceremonies, the queen had shewn a determined resolution to punish them by fines and deprivation; though her orders to that purpose had been frequently eluded, by the secret protection which they received from some of her most considerable courtiers.

That which chiefly tended to gain Elizabeth the good will of her subjects, was her frugality, which led her not to amass treasures, but only to prevent impositions upon her people. By means of her rigid œconomy, she paid all the debts which she found on the crown, with their full interest; though some of them had been contracted even during the reign of her father. Some loans, which she had exacted at the commencement of her reign, she punctually repaid; a practice somewhat unusual in that age: and she established her credit on so firm a footing, that no sovereign in Europe could more readily command any sum, which the public exigencies might at any time require. During this tranquil government, England furnishes few materials for history; and except the small part which Elizabeth took in foreign transactions, there scarcely passed any occurrence which requires a particular detail.

The most memorable event at this period was a session of parliament, held on the 8th of February, 1576; where debates were started, which may appear somewhat curious and singular. Peter Wentworth, member for Iregony in Cornwall, a Puritan, who had signalized himself in former parliaments by his free and undaunted spirit, opened this session with an harangue, which drew on him the indignation of the house, and gave great offence to the queen and the ministers (*r*).

The

(*r*) As Mr. Wentworth's speech seems to contain a rude sketch of those principles of liberty which gained afterwards the ascendant in England, it may not be improper to give, in a few words, the substance of it. He premised, "that the very name of liberty is sweet; but the thing

The commons expressed great displeasure at the unusual liberty taken by this speaker: they sequestered Wentworth from the house, and committed him prisoner to the serjeant at arms. They even ordered him to be examined by a committee, consisting of all those members who were also members of the privy-council; and a report to be next day made to the house. This committee met in the star-chamber, and, wearing the aspect of that arbitrary court, summoned Wentworth to appear before them and answer for his conduct. But though the commons had discovered so little delicacy or precaution, in thus confounding their own authority with that of the star-chamber; Wentworth better understood the principles of liberty, and refused to give them any account of his conduct in parliament, till he were satisfied that they acted, not as members of the privy-council, but as a committee of the house. He justified his liberty of speech, by pleading the rigour and hardship of the queen's messages; and, notwithstanding that the committee shewed him, by instances in other reigns, that the practice of sending such messages was not unprecedented, he would not agree to express any sorrow or repentance. The issue of the affair was, that, after a month's confinement, the queen sent to the commons, informing them, that, from her special grace and favour, she had restored him to his liberty, and to his place in the house. By this seeming lenity, she indirectly retained the power which she had assumed, of imprisoning the members, and obliging them to answer before her for their conduct in parliament. And sir Walter Mildmay endeavoured to make the house sensible of her majesty's goodness, in so gently remitting the indignation which she might justly conceive at the temerity of their member: but he informed them, that they had not the liberty of speaking what and of whom they pleased; and that indiscreet freedoms used in that house had, both in the present and foregoing ages, met with a proper chastisement. He warned them, therefore, not to abuse farther the queen's clemency; lest she be constrained, contrary to her inclination, to turn an unsuccessful lenity into a necessary severity.

The behaviour of the two houses was, in every other respect, equally tame and submissive. The commons granted the queen an aid of one subsidy and two fifteenths.

Although Elizabeth enjoyed during the whole of her reign a great share of security, yet she never relaxed in her vigilance and attention; but, in 1580, the scene began to be more overcast, and dangers gradually multiplied on her from several quarters.

The earl of Morton had hitherto retained Scotland in strict alliance with the queen, and had also restored domestic tranquillity to that kingdom: but the restless nobility began afresh to break into factions: the people were disgusted with some instances of Morton's avarice; and the clergy, who complained of farther encroachments on their narrow revenue, joined and encreased the discontent of the other orders. The regent was sensible of his dangerous situation; and, having dropped some peevish expressions, as if he were willing or desirous to resign, the noblemen of the opposite party, favourites of the young king, laid hold of this concession, and required that demission which he seemed so frankly to offer them. James was at this time but eleven years of age; yet Morton, having secured himself, as he imagined, by a general pardon, resigned his authority into the hands of the king, who pretended to conduct, in his own name, the administration of the kingdom. The regent retired from the government; and seemed to employ himself in the care of his domestic affairs; but, either tired with this tranquillity, or thinking it time to throw off dissimulation, he came again to court; acquired an ascendant in the council; and though he resumed not the title of regent, governed with the same authority as before. The opposite party, after holding separate conventions, took to arms, on pretence of delivering their prince from captivity, and restoring him to the free exercise of his government. It could not be imagined that queen Elizabeth would remain at rest during these transactions: she therefore interposed by her ambassador, sir Robert Bowes, and mediated an agreement between the factious parties: Morton kept possession of the government; but his enemies were numerous and vigilant, and his authority seemed to become every day more unstable.

The count d'Aubigney, of the house of Lenox, cousin-german to the king's father, had been born and educated in France; and he appeared to the duke of Guise a proper instrument for detaching James from the English interest, and connecting him with his mother and her relations. He appeared at Stirling in 1580, where James resided, and acquired the affections of the young monarch. Joining his interests with those of James Stuart of the house of Ochiltree, a man of profligate manners, who had acquired the king's favour, he employed himself in instilling into the tender mind of the prince new sentiments of politics and government. He represented to him the injustice which had been done to Mary in her deposition, and made him entertain thoughts either of resigning the crown into her hands, or of associating her with him in the administration. Elizabeth, alarmed at the danger which might ensue from the prevalence of this interest in Scotland, sent sir Robert Bowes again to Stirling; and accusing d'Aubigney, now created earl of Lenox, of an attachment to the French, warned James against entertaining such suspicious and dangerous connexions. The king excused himself, by sir Alexander Hume his ambassador; and Lenox, finding that the queen had openly declared against him, was farther confirmed in his intention of overturning the English interest, and particularly of ruining Morton, who was regarded as the head of it. That nobleman was arrested in council, accused as an accomplice in the late king's murder, committed to prison, brought to trial, and condemned to suffer as a traitor (*s*). Sir Thomas Randolph was sent by the queen to intercede in favour of Morton; and that ambassador, not content with discharging this duty of his function, engaged, by his persuasion, the earls of Argyle, Montrose, Angus, Marre, and Glencairne, to enter into a confederacy for protecting, even by force of arms, the life of the prisoner. The more to overawe that nobleman's enemies, Elizabeth ordered forces to be assembled on the borders of England; but this expedient served only to hasten his sentence and execution, which happened on the 2nd of June, 1581.

In order to be revenged on Elizabeth for assisting his rebels in the Low Countries, the king of Spain sent, under the name of the pope, a body of seven hundred Spaniards.

thing itself is precious beyond the most inestimable treasure: and that it behoved them to be careful, lest, contenting themselves with the sweetness of the name, they forego the substance, and abandon what of all earthly possessions was of the highest value to the kingdom. He observed, that freedom of speech in that house, a privilege so useful both to sovereign and subject, had been formerly infringed in many essential articles, and was at present exposed to the most imminent danger: that it was usual, when any subject of importance was handled, especially if it regarded religion, to surmize, that these topics were disagreeable to the queen, and that the farther proceeding in them would draw down her indignation upon their temerity: that Solomon had justly affirmed the king's displeasure to be a messenger of death; and it was no wonder if men, even though urged by motives of conscience and duty, should be inclined to stop short, when they found themselves exposed to so severe a penalty: that, by the employing of this argument, the house was incapacitated from serving their country, and even from serving the queen herself; whose ears, besieged by pernicious flatterers, were thereby rendered inaccessible to the most salutary truths: that it was a mockery to call an assembly a parliament, yet deny it that privilege, which was so essential to its being, and without which it must degenerate into an abject school of servility and dissimulation: that, as the parliament was the great guardian of the laws, they ought to have liberty to discharge their trust, and to maintain that authority whence even kings themselves derive their being: that a king was constituted such by law, and though he was not dependent on man, yet was he subordinate to God and the law, and was obliged to make their prescriptions, not his own will, the rule of his conduct: that even his commission, as God's vicegerent, enforced this obligation; since he was thereby invested with authority to execute on earth the will of God, which is nothing but law and justice: that though these surmizes of displeasing the queen by their proceedings, had impeached, in a very essential point, all freedom of speech, a privilege granted them by a special law; yet was there a more express and more dangerous invasion made on their liberties, by frequent messages from the throne: that it had become a practice, when the house was entering on any question, either ecclesiastical or civil, to bring an order from the queen, inhibiting them absolutely from treating of such matters, and debaring them from all farther discussion of these momentous articles: that the prelates, emboldened by her royal protection, had assumed a decisive power in all questions of religion, and required that every one should implicity submit his faith to their arbitrary determinations: that the love which he bore his sovereign, forbade him to be silent under such abuses, or to sacrifice, on this important occasion, his duty to servile flattery and complaisance: and that as no earthly creature was exempt from fault, so neither was the queen herself; but, in imposing this servitude on her faithful commons, had committed a great, and even dangerous, fault against herself and the whole commonwealth." *D'Ewes*, p. 236, 237, &c.

(*s*) On his trial, he confessed that Bothwel had communicated to him the design, had pleaded Mary's consent, and had desired his concurrence; but he denied that he himself had ever expressed any approbation of the crime; and, in excuse for his concealing it, he alleged the danger of revealing the secret, either to Henry, who had neither resolution nor constancy, or to Mary, who appeared to be an accomplice in the murder.

Spaniards and Italians into Ireland; where the inhabitants, always turbulent, and discontented with the English government, were now more alienated by religious prejudices, and were ready to join every invader.

Henry the Second had acquired the reputation of being the conqueror of Ireland; but the reduction of that island was incomplete till the reign of Elizabeth. Many of the native chieftains long refused that full submission which the English princes wished to obtain; and the impolitic distinction made by the latter between the new colonists and the ancient possessors of the country, increased that animosity which naturally arose in the minds of an irritable people from the hostile aggression of their neighbours. The turbulent spirit of the Irish, thus stimulated, had produced frequent revolts, which, however, the English governors, by activity and vigour, had constantly suppressed. Henry the Eighth, by conferring titles of honour on some of their chiefs, by erecting the lordship of Ireland into a kingdom, and by establishing some prudent regulations, had left that island in a state of tranquillity at his death. In the reigns of his successors Edward the Sixth and Mary, that tranquillity was little disturbed; but after the accession of Elizabeth, whose title was disputed by the partizans of the court of Rome, fresh commotions arose.

The posterity of the old Irish were, for the most part, so attached to the Catholic doctrines, that they refused to adopt the tenets of the Reformers, which the descendants of the English colonists readily embraced. As the bigotry of the former produced a disaffection to a Protestant queen, the king of Spain, and other enemies of Elizabeth, endeavoured to inflame them into rebellion; and the British friends of the queen of Scots carried on intrigues with the same view. Petty insurrections broke out, and were soon crushed; but, when Fitz-Maurice, an enterprizing Hibernian Papist, landed in the district of Kerry with a body of Spaniards, and commenced the erection of a fort, the English were alarmed with the prospect of a more formidable revolt. He expected to be joined by his kinsman the earl of Desmond; but this nobleman was unwilling to enter prematurely into the dangerous projects of rebellion. The vessels which had brought the invaders were captured by the English; and sir John Perrot was sent with a squadron to guard the coast, and prevent the future debarkation of foreign troops. Fitz-Maurice being slain in a skirmish, one of the brothers of the earl of Desmond assumed the command; and two companies of English soldiers were quickly intercepted and put to the sword by the new leader. Though the Spaniards had been joined by many of the natives, the exertions of the government prevented the revolt from becoming general; and sir William Drury, the lord deputy, marched against the enemy with the hopes of gaining a decisive advantage: but an indisposition which soon after put an end to his life, obliged him to resign the conduct of the expedition to the president of Connaught, who had the good fortune to defeat the insurgents. Notwithstanding this check, Desmond was encouraged by the illness of the lord deputy, and by the prospect of a powerful concurrence against the English, that he thought proper to sue for pardon, which, however, he did not obtain. Many of the Spaniards had fallen into the hands of the English, by whom they had been put to death: but Philip sent a fresh supply of Catholic warriors, in 1580, amounting to seven hundred men, as above mentioned, who landed in Ireland without opposition, and fortified themselves on the coast of Kerry. Here they were besieged by lord Grey, the new deputy, who, after having baffled their numerous sallies, compelled them to surrender at discretion on the fifth day of the siege. The English forces being few in number, it was deemed expedient for their safety to put all the foreigners to the sword, except the officers, and to hang the Irish prisoners as rebels. These vigorous, though inhuman, proceedings intimidated the remaining revolters into submission; and peace was restored throughout the province of Munster. An insurrection afterwards broke out in Leinster, which was speedily suppressed; and a conspiracy was formed against the life of the lord deputy, the execution of which was prevented by a seasonable discovery.

When the English ambassador made complaints of this invasion, he was answered by like complaints of the piracies committed by Francis Drake, a bold seaman, who had assaulted the Spaniards in the place where they deemed themselves most secure, in the New World. This man, sprung from mean parents in the county of Devon, having acquired considerable riches by depredations made in the isthmus of Panama, and having there gotten a sight of the Pacific Ocean, was so stimulated by ambition and avarice, that he scrupled not to employ his whole fortune in a new adventure through those seas, so much unknown at that time to all the European nations. By means of sir Christopher Hatton, then vice-chamberlain, a great favourite of Elizabeth, he obtained her consent and approbation; and he set sail from Plymouth in December, 1577, with four ships and a pinnace, on board of which were one hundred and sixty-four able sailors. He passed into the South Sea by the Straits of Magelhaens, and attacking the Spaniards, who expected no enemy in those quarters, he took many rich prizes, and prepared to return with the booty which he had acquired. Apprehensive of being intercepted by the enemy, if he took the same way homewards, by which he had reached the Pacific Ocean, he attempted to find a passage by the north of California; and failing in that enterprize, he set sail for the East Indies, and returned safely, by the Cape of Good Hope, to Plymouth, on the 3rd of November, 1580 (*t*).

When Philip's ambassador, Mendoza, exclaimed against Drake's piracies, she told him, that the Spaniards, by arrogating a right to the whole New World, and excluding thence all other European nations, who should sail thither, even with a view of exercising the most lawful commerce, naturally tempted others to make a violent irruption into those countries. To pacify, however, the Catholic monarch, she caused part of the booty to be restored to Pedro Sebura, a Spaniard, who pretended to be agent for the merchants whom Drake had spoiled. Having learned afterwards, that Philip had seized the money, and had employed part of it against herself in Ireland, part of it in the pay of the prince of Parma's troops, she determined to make no more restitutions.

On the 16th of January, 1581, a parliament was assembled, which, besides granting her a supply of one subsidy and two fifteenths, enacted some statutes for the security of her government, chiefly against the attempts of the Catholics. Whoever, in any way, attempted to convert any one to the church of Rome, or was himself reconciled to that church, was declared to be guilty of treason; to say mass was subjected to the penalty of a year's imprisonment, and a fine of two hundred marks; the being present was punishable by a year's imprisonment and a fine of one hundred marks: a fine of twenty pounds a month was imposed on every one who continued, during that time, absent from church (*u*). To utter slanderous or seditious

(*t*) Sir Francis Drake was the first Englishman who sailed round the globe; and the first commander in chief: for Magelhaens, whose ship executed the same adventure, died in his passage. His name became celebrated on account of so bold and fortunate an attempt; but many, apprehending the resentment of the Spaniards, endeavoured to persuade the queen, that it would be more prudent to disavow the enterprize, to punish Drake, and to restore the treasure. But Elizabeth, who admired valour, and was allured by the prospect of sharing in the booty, determined to countenance that gallant sailor: she conferred on him the honour of knighthood, and accepted of a banquet from him at Deptford, on board the ship which had atchieved so memorable a voyage.

(*u*) The queen and parliament were engaged to pass these severe laws against the Catholics, by some late discoveries of the treasonable practices of their priests. When the ancient worship was suppressed, and the reformation introduced into the universities, the king of Spain reflected, that, as some species of literature was necessary for supporting these doctrines and controversies, the Romish communion must decay in England, if no means were found to give erudition to the ecclesiastics; and for this reason, he founded a seminary at Douay, where the Catholics sent their children, chiefly such as were intended for the priesthood, in order to receive the rudiments of their education. The cardinal of Lorraine imitated this example, by erecting a like seminary in his diocese of Rheims; and though Rome was somewhat distant, the pope would not neglect to adorn, by a foundation of the same nature, that capital of orthodoxy. These seminaries, founded with so hostile an intention, sent over every year a colony of priests, who maintained the Catholic superstition in its full height of bigotry; and being educated with a view to the crown of martyrdom, were not deterred, either by danger or fatigue, from maintaining and propagating their principles. They infused into all their votaries an extreme hatred against the queen; whom they treated as an usurper, a schismatic, a heretic, a persecutor of the orthodox, and one solemnly and publicly anathematised by the holy father. Sedition, rebellion, sometimes assassination, were the expedients by which they intended to effect their purposes against her; and the severe restraint, not to say persecution, under which the Catholics laboured, made them the more willingly receive, from their ghostly fathers such violent doctrines.

These seminaries were all of them under the direction of the Jesuits, a new order of regular priests erected in Europe, when the court of Rome perceived, that the lazy monks and beggarly friars, who sufficed in

seditious words against the queen was punishable, for the first offence, with the pillory and loss of ears; the second offence was declared felony: the writing or printing of such words was felony even on the first offence. This session the Puritans prevailed so far as to have farther applications made for reformation in religion. And Paul Wentworth, brother to the member of that name who had distinguished himself in the preceding session, moved, That the commons, from their own authority, should appoint a general fast and prayers: a motion, to which the house unwarily assented. For this presumption, they were severely reprimanded by a message from the queen, as encroaching on the royal prerogative and supremacy; and they were obliged to submit, and ask pardon.

The duke of Alençon, now created duke of Anjou, had never entirely dropped his pretensions to Elizabeth. In order to forward his suit, he employed his brother's ambassador, and sent over Simier, an agent of his own. This artful man soon remarking the queen's humour, amused her with gay discourse, and instead of serious political reasonings, which, he found, only awakened her ambition, and hurt his master's interests, he introduced every moment all the topics of passion and of gallantry. The pleasure which she found in his company, soon produced a familiarity between them; and, amidst the greatest hurry of business, her most confidential ministers had not such ready access to her, as had Simier, who, on pretence of negociation, entertained her with accounts of the tender attachment borne her by the duke of Anjou. The earl of Leicester, who had never before been alarmed with any courtship paid her, and who always trusted, that her love of dominion would prevail over her inclination to marriage, began to apprehend, that she was at last caught in her own snare, and that the artful encouragement which she had given to this young suitor had unawares engaged her affections. To render Simier odious, he availed himself of the credulity of the times, and spread reports, that that minister had gained an ascendant over the queen, not by any natural principles of her constitution, but by incantations and love potions. Simier, in revenge, endeavoured to discredit Leicester with the queen; by revealing to her a secret, which none of her courtiers dared to disclose, that this nobleman was secretly, without her consent, married to the widow of the earl of Essex; an action which the queen interpreted either to proceed from want of respect to her, or as a violation of their mutual attachment; and she was so provoked, that she threatened to send him to the Tower. The quarrel went so far between Leicester and the French agent, that the former was suspected of having employed one Tudor, a bravo, to take away the life of his enemy; and the queen, by proclamation, took Simier under her immediate protection. One day, while Elizabeth was rowed in her barge on the Thames, attended by Simier, and some of her courtiers, a shot was fired which wounded one of the bargemen; but it appearing that the piece had been discharged by accident, the queen gave the person his liberty. So far was she from entertaining any suspicion against her people, that she was often heard to say, "That she would lend credit to nothing against them, which parents would not believe of their own children."

The duke of Anjou, encouraged by the accounts sent him of the queen's prepossessions in his favour, paid her secretly a visit at Greenwich; and after some conference with her, the purport of which is not known, he departed. It appeared that, though his figure was not advantageous, he had lost no ground by being personally known to her; and soon after, she commanded Burleigh, now treasurer, Sussex, Leicester, Bedford, Lincoln, Hatton, and secretary Walsingham, to concert with the French ambassadors the terms of the intended contract of marriage. Henry had sent over on this occasion a splendid embassy, consisting of Francis de Bourbon, prince dauphin, and many considerable noblemen; and as the queen had in a manner the power of prescribing what terms she pleased, the articles were soon settled with the English commissioners (*v*). Lest the English should take offence at the articles, the queen, as a proof of her remaining uncertainty, added a clause, that she was not bound to complete the marriage, till farther particulars, which were not specified, should be agreed on between the parties, and till the king of France be certified of this agreement. The queen, therefore, sent over Walsingham, as ambassador to France, in order to form closer connexions with Henry, and enter into a league offensive and defensive against the increasing power and dangerous usurpations of the court of Spain. Henry with reluctance submitted to hold conferences on that subject; but no sooner had Walsingham begun to settle the terms of alliance, than he was informed that the queen, foreseeing hostility with Spain to be the result of this confederacy, had declared "that she would prefer the marriage with the war, before the war without the marriage." The French court, pleased with this change of resolution, broke off the conferences concerning the league, and opened a negociation for the marriage. Matters, however, had not long proceeded in this train before the queen again declared for the league in preference to the marriage, and ordered Walsingham to renew the conferences for that purpose. Before he had leisure to bring this point to maturity, he was interrupted by a new change of resolution; and not only the court of France, but Walsingham himself, Burleigh, and all the wisest ministers of Elizabeth, were so embarrassed, that they became doubtful where this contest between inclination and reason, love and ambition, would at last terminate.

In the course of this negociation, Elizabeth, that the duke of Anjou might be enabled to open the campaign in Flanders, sent him a present of a hundred thousand crowns; by which, joined to his own demesnes, and the assistance of his brother and the queen-dowager, he levied an army, and took the field against the prince of Parma. He was successful in raising the siege of Cambray; and being chosen by the States governor of the Netherlands, he put his army into winter quarters, and came over to England, in order to prosecute his suit to the queen. From the reception he met with he expected entire success, and entertained hopes that Elizabeth had surmounted all her scruples, and was at length determined to make choice of him for her husband (*w*). But notwithstanding Elizabeth's attachment to the duke of Anjou, several noblemen and gentlemen endeavoured to dissuade her from a matrimonial connexion with the son of the perfidious Catherine

in times of ignorance, were no longer able to defend the ramparts of the church, assailed on every side, and that the inquisitive spirit of the age required a society more active and more learned, to oppose its dangerous progress. These men, as they stood foremost in the contest against the Protestants, drew on them the extreme animosity of that whole sect; and by assuming a superiority over the other more numerous and more ancient orders of their own communion, were even exposed to the envy of their brethren. So that it is no wonder, if the blame, to which their principles and conduct might be exposed, has, in many instances, been much exaggerated.

The jesuits, as devoted servants to the court of Rome, exalted the prerogative of the sovereign pontiff above all earthly power; and, by maintaining his authority of deposing kings, set no bounds either to his spiritual or temporal jurisdiction. This doctrine became so prevalent among the zealous Catholics in England, that the excommunication fulminated against Elizabeth excited many scruples of a singular kind, to which it behoved the holy father to provide a remedy. The bull of Pius, in absolving the subjects from their oaths of allegiance, commanded them to resist the queen's usurpation; and many Romanists were apprehensive, that, by this clause, they were obliged in conscience, even though no favourable opportunity offered, to rebel against her, and that no dangers or difficulties could free them from this indispensable duty. But Parsons and Campion, two jesuits, were sent over with a mitigation and explanation of the doctrine; and they taught their disciples, that though the bull was for ever binding on Elizabeth and her partizans, it did not oblige the Catholics to obedience, except when the sovereign pontiff should think proper, by a new summons, to require it. Campion was afterwards detected in treasonable practices; and being put to the rack, and confessing his guilt, he was publicly executed.

(*v*) It was agreed by the commissioners, that the marriage should be celebrated within six weeks after the ratification of the articles; that the duke and his retinue should have the exercise of their religion; that after the marriage he should bear the title of King, but the administration remain solely in the queen; that their children, male or female, should succeed to the crown of England; that if there be two males, the elder, in case of Henry's death without issue, should be king of France, the younger of England; that if there be but one male, and he succeed to the crown of France, he should be obliged to reside in England eight months every two years; that the laws and customs of England should be preserved inviolate; and that no foreigner should be promoted by the duke to any office in England.

(*w*) In the midst of the pomp which attended the anniversary of her coronation, on the 17th of November, she was seen, after long and intimate discourse with him, to take a ring from her own finger, and to put it upon his; and all the spectators concluded, that in this ceremony she had given him a promise of marriage, and was even desirous of signifying her intentions to all the world. St. Aldegonde, ambassador from the States, dispatched immediately a letter to his masters, informing them of this great event; and the inhabitants of Antwerp, who as well as the other Flemings regarded the queen as a kind of tutelar divinity, testified their joy by bonfires and the discharge of their great ordnance. A Puritan of Lincoln's Inn had written a passionate book, which he intitled, "The Gulph in which England will be swallowed by the French "Marriage." He was apprehended and prosecuted by order of the queen, and was condemned to lose his right hand as a libeller. Such was the constancy and loyalty of the man, that immediately after the sentence was executed, he took off his hat with his other hand, and waving it over his head, cried, "God save the queen!"

de Medicis, brother to the cruel and perfidious Charles, and who had himself inbrued his hands in the blood of the innocent and defenceless Protestants of France. They represented to her, that the Catholics were her mortal enemies, and believed either that she had originally usurped the crown, or was now lawfully deposed by the pope's bull of excommunication; and they declared, that nothing had ever so much elevated their hopes as the prospect of her marriage with the duke of Anjou: that her chief security at present against the efforts of so numerous, rich, and united a faction, was, that they possessed no head who could conduct their dangerous enterprizes; and she herself was rashly supplying that defect, by giving an interest in the kingdom to a prince whose education had zealously attached him to that communion: that though he was a stranger to the blood royal of England, the dispositions of men were now such that they preferred the religious to the civil connexions; and were more influenced by sympathy in theological opinions, than by the principles of legal and hereditary government: that the duke himself had discovered a very restless and turbulent spirit; and having often violated his loyalty to his elder brother and his sovereign, there remained no hopes that he would passively submit to a woman whom he might in quality of husband think himself entitled to command: that the French nation, so populous, so much abounding in soldiers, so full of nobility who were devoted to arms, and for some time accustomed to serve for plunder, would supply him with partizans dangerous to a people unwarlike and defenceless like the generality of her subjects: that the plain and honourable path which she had followed, of cultivating the affections of her people, had hitherto rendered her reign secure and happy; and however her enemies might seem to multiply upon her, the same invincible rampart was still able to protect and defend her: that so long as the throne of France was filled by Henry or his posterity, it was in vain to hope that the ties of blood would ensure the amity of that kingdom, preferably to the maxims of policy or the prejudices of religious education; and if ever the crown devolved on the duke of Anjou, the conjunction of France and England would prove a burden rather than a protection to the latter kingdom: that the example of her sister Mary was sufficient to instruct her in the danger of such connexions; and to prove that the affection and confidence of the English could never be maintained where they had such reason to apprehend that their interests would every moment be sacrificed to those of a foreign and hostile nation: that notwithstanding these great inconveniences, discovered by past experience, the house of Burgundy, it must be confessed, was more popular in the nation than the family of France; and what was a principal matter, and of the greatest importance, Philip was of the same communion with Mary, and was connected with her by this great band of interest and affection: and that however the queen might remain childless, even though old age should grow upon her, the singular felicity and glory of her reign would preserve her from contempt; the affections of her subjects, and those of all the Protestants in Europe, would defend her from danger; and her own prudence, without any other air or assistance, would baffle all the efforts of her most malignant enemies.

The remonstrances of her countrymen so far prevailed over the inclinations of Elizabeth, that, having sent for the duke of Anjou, she had a long conference with him in private, where she was supposed to have made him apologies for breaking her former engagements. He expressed great disgust on his leaving her; threw away the ring which she had given him; and uttered many curses on the changeableness of women, particularly of islanders. Soon after, in 1582, he went over to his government of the Netherlands; lost the confidence of the States by a rash and violent attempt on their liberties; was expelled that country; retired into France; and there died. Thus did the queen, by timely reflection, save herself from the innumerable mischiefs which would inevitably have attended so imprudent a marriage: and the distracted state of the French monarchy prevented her from feeling any effects of that resentment which she had reason to apprehend from the affront so wantonly put upon that royal family.

Elizabeth's anxiety arising from the attempts of the English Catholics never ceased during the whole course of her reign; but the variety of revolutions which happened in all the neighbouring kingdoms, were the source sometimes of her hopes, sometimes of her apprehensions.

This year (1582) the affairs of Scotland strongly engaged her attention. The influence which the earl of Lenox, and James Stuart, who now assumed the title of earl of Arran, had acquired over the young king, was but a slender foundation of authority; while the generality of the nobles and all the preachers were so much discontented with their administration. The assembly of the church appointed a solemn fast; of which one of the avowed reasons was the danger to which the king was exposed from the company of wicked persons: and on that day the pulpits resounded with declamations against Lenox, Arran, and all the present counsellors. When the minds of the people were sufficiently prepared by these lectures, a conspiracy of the nobility was formed, probably with the concurrence of Elizabeth, for seizing the person of James at Ruthven, a seat of the earl of Gowry's; and the design being kept a secret, succeeded without any opposition, on the 23rd of August. The leaders in this enterprize were, the earl of Gowry himself, the earl of Marre, the lords Lindesey and Boyd, the masters of Glamis and Oliphant, the abbots of Dunfermline, Paisley, and Cambuskenneth. The king wept when he found himself detained a prisoner; but the master of Glamis said, "No matter for his tears: better that boys weep than bearded men:" an expression which James could never afterwards forgive. But notwithstanding his resentment, he found it necessary to submit to the present necessity. He pretended an entire acquiescence in the conduct of the associators; acknowledged the detention of his person to be acceptable service; and agreed to summon both an assembly of the church and a convention of estates, in order to ratify that enterprize.

The assembly, though they had previously determined that the king should never intermeddle in ecclesiastical matters, made no scruple of taking civil affairs under their cognizance, and of deciding on this occasion, that the attempt of the conspirators was acceptable to all that feared God, or intended the preservation of the king's person, and the prosperity of the realm. They even enjoined all the clergy to recommend these sentiments from the pulpit; and they threatened with ecclesiastical censures every person who should oppose the authority of the confederated lords. The convention being composed chiefly of these lords themselves, added their sanction to these proceedings. Arran was confined a prisoner in his own house: Lenox, though he had a power to resist, yet rather than raise a civil war, or be the cause of bloodshed, chose to retire into France, where he soon after died (*x*). The king sent for his family, restored his son to his paternal honours and estate, took care to establish the fortunes of all his other children; and never forgot the early friendship which he had borne their father.

This revolution being known in England, the queen sent sir Henry Cary and sir Robert Bowes to James, in order to congratulate him on his deliverance from the pernicious counsels of Lenox and Arran; to exhort him not to resent the seeming violence committed on him by the confederated lords; and to procure from him permission for the return of the earl of Angus, who ever since Morton's fall had lived in England. They easily prevailed in procuring the recal of Angus; and as James suspected that Elizabeth had not been entirely unacquainted with the project of his captivity, he thought proper before the English ambassadors to dissemble his resentment against the authors of it. Soon after, in 1583, La Mothe-Fenelon, and Menneville, appeared as ambassadors from France: their errand was to inquire concerning the situation of the king, make professions of their master's friendship, confirm the ancient league with France, and procure an accommodation between James and the queen of Scots. This last proposal gave great umbrage to the clergy; and the assembly voted the settling of terms between the mother and son to be a most wicked undertaking. The pulpits resounded with declamations against the French ambassadors; particularly Fenelon, whom they called the messenger of the bloody murderer, meaning the duke of Guise: and as that minister, being knight of the Holy Ghost, wore a white cross on his shoulder, they commonly denominated it in contempt the badge of Antichrist. The king endeavoured, though in vain, to repress these insolent

(*x*) He persevered to the last in the Protestant religion, to which James had converted him, but which the Scottish clergy could never be persuaded that he had sincerely embraced.

reflections;

reflections; but in order to make the ambassadors some compensation, he desired the magistrates of Edinburgh to give them a splendid dinner before their departure. To put a stop to this entertainment, the clergy appointed a public fast to be celebrated on that day; and finding that their orders were not regarded, they employed their sermons in thundering anathemas on the magistrates, who, by the king's direction, had put this mark of respect on the ambassadors. They even pursued them afterwards with the censures of the church; and it was with difficulty they were prevented from issuing the sentence of excommunication against them, on account of their submission to royal, preferably to clerical, authority.

But what increased their alarm with regard to an accommodation between James and Mary was, that the English ambassadors appeared to concur with the French in this proposal; and the clergy even believed the sincerity of the professions made by the former. The queen of Scots had often made overtures to Elizabeth, which had been entirely neglected; but hearing of James's detention, she wrote a letter in a more pathetic and more spirited strain than usual; craving the assistance of that princess both for her own and her son's liberty. She said, that the account of the prince's captivity had excited her most tender concern; and the experience which she herself, during so many years, had of the extreme infelicity attending that situation, had made her the more apprehensive lest a like fate should pursue her unhappy offspring: that the long train of injustice which she had undergone, the calumnies to which she had been exposed, were so grievous, that, finding no place for right or truth among men, she was reduced to make her last appeal to Heaven, the only competent tribunal between princes of equal jurisdiction, degree, and dignity: that after her rebellious subjects, secretly instigated by Elizabeth's ministers, had expelled her the throne, had confined her in prison, had pursued her with arms, she had voluntarily thrown herself under the protection of England; fatally allured by those reiterated professions of amity which had been made her, and by her confidence in the generosity of a friend, an ally, and a kinswoman: that, not content with excluding her from her presence, with supporting the usurpers of her throne, with contributing to the destruction of her faithful subjects, Elizabeth had reduced her to a worse captivity than that from which she had escaped, and had made her this cruel return for the unlimited confidence which she had reposed in her: that though her resentment of such severe usage had never carried her farther than to use some disappointed efforts for her deliverance, unhappy for herself, and fatal to others, she found the rigours of confinement daily multiplied upon her; and at length carried to such a height that it surpassed the bounds of all human patience any longer to endure them: that she was cut off from all communication, not only with the rest of mankind, but with her only son; and her maternal fondness, which was now more enlivened by their unhappy sympathy in situation, and was her sole remaining attachment to this world, deprived even of that melancholy solace which letters or messages could give: that the bitterness of her sorrows, still more than her close confinement, had preyed upon her health, and had added the insufferable weight of bodily infirmity to all those other calamities under which she laboured: that while the daily experience of her maladies opened to her the comfortable prospect of an approaching deliverance into a region where pain and sorrow are no more, her enemies envied her that last consolation; and having secluded her from every joy on earth, had done what in them lay to debar her from all hopes in her future and eternal existence: that the exercise of her religion was refused her; the use of those sacred rites in which she had been educated; the commerce with those holy ministers whom Heaven had appointed to receive the acknowledgement of our transgressions, and to seal our penitence by a solemn readmission into heavenly favour and forgiveness: that it was in vain to complain of the rigours of persecution exercised in other kingdoms, when a queen and an innocent woman was excluded from an indulgence which never yet, in the most barbarous countries, had been denied to the meanest and most detestable malefactor: that could she ever be induced to descend from that royal dignity in which Providence had placed her, or depart from her appeal to Heaven, there was only one other tribunal to which she would appeal from all her enemies; to the justice and humanity of Elizabeth's own breast, and to that lenity which, uninfluenced by malignant counsel, she would naturally be induced to exercise towards her: and that she finally entreated her to resume her natural disposition, and to reflect on the support as well as comfort, which she might receive from her son and herself, if, joining the obligations of gratitude to the ties of blood, she would deign to raise them from their present melancholy situation, and reinstate them in that liberty and authority to which they were entitled.

Elizabeth, however, was engaged to obstruct Mary's restoration, chiefly because she foresaw an unhappy alternative attending that event; and Mary herself, sensible of the difficulties which would attend her restoration to the throne of Scotland, became more humble in her wishes, and proposed, that she should be associated with her son in the title to the crown of her own country, but that the administration should remain solely in him. She was even content to live in England in a private station, and under a kind of restraint; but with an allowance of more liberty, both for exercise and company, than she had hitherto enjoyed since the first discovery of her intrigues with the duke of Norfolk. But Elizabeth, fearful lest such a loose method of guarding her would facilitate her escape into France or Spain, or at least would encourage and increase her partizans, and enable her to conduct those intrigues to which she had already discovered a strong propensity, was secretly determined to deny her requests; and though she feigned to assent to them, she well knew how to disappoint the expectations of the unhappy princess. While Lenox maintained his authority in Scotland, she never gave any reply to all the applications made to her by the Scottish queen: at present, when her own creatures had acquired possession of the government, she was resolved to throw the odium of refusal upon them; and pretending that nothing farther was required to a perfect accommodation than the concurrence of the council of state in Scotland, she ordered her ambassador, sir Robert Bowes, to open the negociation for Mary's liberty, and her association with her son in the title to the crown. Though she seemed to make this concession to Mary, she refused her the liberty of sending any ambassador of her own; and that princess could easily conjecture from this circumstance what would be the result of the pretended negociation. The privy council of Scotland, instigated by the clergy, rejected all treaty; and James, who was now a captive in their hands, affirmed, that he had never agreed to an association with his mother, and that the matter had never gone farther than some loose proposals for that purpose. Thus by artfully conducting the matter, Elizabeth baffled the intrigues of the two French envoys, and reduced Mary to the horrors of despair. The Gowry faction resolutely opposed every proposition for the relief of the imprisoned queen; and an end was put to the negociation.

The Scottish affairs remained not long in their present situation. James, impatient of restraint, made his escape from his keepers; and, flying to St. Andrew's, summoned his friends and partizans to attend him. The earls of Argyle, Marshal, Montrose, and Rothes, hastened to pay their duty to their sovereign; and the opposite party found themselves unable to resist so powerful a combination. They were offered a pardon upon their submission, and an acknowledgement of their fault in seizing the king's person, and restraining him from his liberty. Some of them accepted of the terms: the greater number, particularly Angus, Hamilton, Marre, Glamis, left the country, and took shelter in Ireland or England, where they were protected by Elizabeth. The earl of Arran was recalled to court; and the malcontents, who could not brook the authority of Lenox, a man of virtue and moderation, found that by their resistance they had thrown all power into the hands of a person whose counsels were as violent as his manners were profligate.

Elizabeth, highly offended, wrote a letter to James; in which she quoted a moral sentence from Isocrates, and indirectly reproached him with inconstancy, and a breach of his engagements. James, in his reply, justified his measures; and retaliated by turning two passages of Isocrates against *her*. She next sent sir Francis Walsingham, one of the ablest politicians of her court, on an embassy to him; and her chief purpose in employing that aged minister in an errand where so little business was to be transacted, was to learn from a man of so much penetration and experience, the real character of James, and to aim at the removal of the earl of Arran from the administration. James, although he was young in years, possessed good parts, but they were not accompanied with that vigour and industry which his station required; and as he excelled in general discourse and conversation, Walsingham entertained

tained a higher idea of his talents than he was afterwards found, when real business was transacted, to have fully merited. James expressed his desire of cultivating a good understanding with the queen of England; but Walsingham could not prevail on him to submit to her imperious dictates. The account which he gave his mistress of the young prince induced her to treat James thenceforth with more regard than she had hitherto been inclined to pay him.

The king of Scots persevering in his present views, summoned a parliament in 1584; where it was enacted, "that no clergyman should presume in his sermons to utter false, untrue, or scandalous speeches against the king, the council, or the public measures, or to meddle in an improper manner with the affairs of his majesty and the states." The clergy, finding that the pulpit would be no longer a sanctuary for them, were extremely offended: they said that the king was become popish in his heart; and they gave their adversaries the epithets of gross libertines, belly gods, and infamous persons. The violent conduct of the earl of Arran soon brought over the popularity to their side. The earl of Gowry, though pardoned for the late attempt, was committed to prison, was tried on some new accusations, condemned and executed. Many innocent persons suffered from the tyranny of this favourite; and the banished lords, being assisted by Elizabeth, now found the time favourable for the recovery of their estates and authority. After they had been foiled in one attempt upon Stirling, they prevailed in another; and being admitted to the king's presence, were pardoned and restored to his favour.

The earl of Arran was degraded from authority; deprived of that estate and title which he had usurped; and the whole country seemed to be composed to tranquillity. Elizabeth, after opposing, during some time, the credit of the favourite, had found it more expedient before his fall to compound all differences with him by means of Davison, a minister whom she sent to Scotland; but having more confidence in the lords whom she had helped to restore, she was pleased with this alteration of affairs; and maintained a good correspondence with the new court and ministry of James.

These revolutions in Scotland would have been regarded as of little importance to the repose and security of Elizabeth, had her own subjects been entirely united, and had not the zeal of the Catholics, excited by constraint more than by perfection, daily threatened her with some dangerous insurrection. Elizabeth still continued to hold out to Mary a prospect of liberty; but the unfortunate princess was convinced that all hopes of meeting with voluntary relief from her rancorous persecutor were fallacious and nugatory. She was therefore obliged to depend solely on the efforts of her friends; but the vigilance of Elizabeth's administration disconcerted all the schemes that were formed for her deliverance by the malcontents. To discover the sentiments of individuals, Burleigh, Leicester, and Walsingham, practised such artifices as an honourable government would have disdained. Letters were forged in the name of Mary, or of some of the English refugees, and privately sent to the habitations of Catholics; spies were employed in all parts to watch and report the conversation of suspected persons; and great encouragement was given to those officious men who were ready to accuse and calumniate their neighbours; and though the sagacity of these two great ministers helped them to distinguish the true from the false intelligence, many calumnies were, no doubt, hearkened to, and all the subjects, particularly the Papists, kept in the utmost anxiety and ingratitude. In consequence of intelligence thus procured, Henry Percy, earl of Northumberland, brother to the rebellious peer who had been betrayed by the earl Morton and beheaded some years before at York, was considered as a disaffected subject, and imprisoned in the Tower; Philip Howard, earl of Arundel, son of the late unfortunate duke of Norfolk, fell under suspicion, and was confined in his own house, and his wife was taken into custody; another son of the duke, as well as a brother, underwent repeated examinations; and several other persons were apprehended on suspicion of being friendly to the queen of Scots. Francis Throgmorton, a private gentleman of Cheshire, was committed to custody, on account of a letter which he had written to Mary, and which was intercepted. Thomas lord Paget and Charles Arundel, who had been engaged with him in treasonable designs, immediately withdrew, and made a precipitate retreat to France, where they publicly inveighed against the jealous severity of the English government. Among the papers of Throgmorton were found lists of the ports most convenient for a descent, and of the principal Catholics throughout England. He at first disavowed these papers, and said they had been forged by his enemies; but the application of violent torture induced him to confess that a plan for an invasion and insurrection had been laid; and though, on his trial, he was desirous of retracting this confession, and imputing it to the fear of torture, he was found guilty. Prompted by the hopes of mercy, he afterwards re-asserted what he had lately denied; but, at the place of execution, he renewed his disavowal of the pretended conspiracy, and protested against the injustice of putting an innocent person to death. But notwithstanding this final declaration, there is no doubt of his having been guilty of seditious intrigues. Mendoza the Spanish ambassador, having promoted this conspiracy, was ordered to depart the kingdom; and Wade was sent into Spain, to excuse his dismission, and to desire the king to send another ambassador in his place: but Philip would not so much as admit the English ambassador to his presence. Creighton, a Scottish jesuit, coming over on board a vessel which was seized, tore some papers, with an intention of throwing them into the sea; but the wind blowing them back upon the ship, they were pieced together, and discovered some dangerous secrets; particularly that designs were formed in behalf of Mary by the pope, the king of Spain, and the duke of Guise.

Many of these conspiracies were, with great appearance of reason, imputed to the intrigues of the queen of Scots; and as her name was employed in all of them, the council thought that they could not use too many precautions against the danger of her claims, and the restless activity of her temper. A letter from her to sir Francis Englefield was intercepted, in which she recommends the speedy execution of the *great plot*. She was therefore removed from under the care of the earl of Shrewsbury, who, though vigilant and faithful in that trust, had also been indulgent to his prisoner, particularly with regard to air and exercise; and she was committed to the custody of sir Amias Paulet and sir Drue Drury; men of honour, but inflexible in their care and attention. An association was also set on foot by the earl of Leicester and other courtiers; and as Elizabeth was beloved by the whole nation, except the more zealous Catholics, men of all ranks willingly flocked to the subscription of it. The purport of this association was to defend the queen, to revenge her death or any injury committed against her, and to exclude from the throne all claimants, what title soever they might possess, by whose suggestion or for whose behoof any violence should be offered to her majesty. The queen of Scots was sensible that this association was levelled against her; and to remove all suspicion from herself, she also desired leave to subscribe it.

Mary now, to avert the calamity which she expected this association was calculated to bring upon her, proposed to Elizabeth such terms as her friends thought could not fail to be acceptable. She promised, in return for the grant of liberty, to enter into the most intimate union with her royal relative; to cancel the remembrance of every injury she had received; to acknowledge Elizabeth as the lawful sovereign of England; to make no attempts, either directly or indirectly, against the queen; to consider the bull pronounced against her by pope Pius the Fifth as invalid; to join the association which had been formed for her defence; to make no alterations in Scotland; to attach the king her son to the English interests; to continue in England some time as a hostage, and, on her departure, to deliver unexceptional persons as sureties for her adherence to her engagements; and to prevail on the king of France and the princes of the house of Guise to guarantee this convention.

When these propositions were communicated to Elizabeth, she pretended to feel great satisfaction; but a real desire of granting relief to the distressed queen was a sensation which she never felt. Her ministers remonstrated against her shewing humanity to a princess who had long wished to dethrone her, who had constantly encouraged the spirit of sedition and treason among the English, and whose ardent resentments, and bigoted attachment to popery, gave reason to expect that if she obtained her liberty she would attempt the destruction of Elizabeth, and the extirpation of the reformed faith from the island of Britain. These suggestions being perfectly concordant

with the secret views of Elizabeth, produced the rejection of every proposal offered by the unfortunate Mary.

That she might the more discourage malcontents, Elizabeth summoned a new parliament on the 23rd of November, 1584; and met with that dutiful attachment which she expected. The association for the defence of the queen was confirmed by parliament; and a clause was added to the act, by which the queen was empowered to name commissioners for the trial of any pretender to the crown who should attempt or imagine any invasion, insurrection, or assassination against her: upon condemnation, pronounced by these commissioners, the guilty person was excluded from all claim to the succession, and was farther punishable as her majesty should direct. And for greater security, a council of regency, in case of the queen's violent death, was appointed to govern the kingdom, to settle the succession, and to take vengeance for that act of treason. The public readily foresaw that the death of the imprisoned queen would soon follow the promulgation of this act; and the unprecedented injustice of trying an independent sovereign before a tribunal composed of subjects of another nation, appeared in a strong point of view to those who entered dispassionately into the merits of the case.

A severe law was also enacted against jesuits and popish priests. It was ordained that they should depart the kingdom within forty days; that those who should remain beyond that time, or should afterwards return, should be guilty of treason; that those who harboured or encouraged them should be guilty of felony; that those who were educated in popish seminaries, if they returned not in six months after notice given, and submitted not themselves to the queen, before a bishop or two justices, should be guilty of treason; and that if any, so submitting themselves, should within ten years approach the court, or come within ten miles of it, their submission should be void. By this law the exercise of the Catholic religion, which had formerly been prohibited under lighter penalties, and which was in many instances connived at, was totally suppressed. In the subsequent part of the queen's reign, the law was sometimes executed by the capital punishment of priests; and though the partizans of that princess asserted that they were punished for their treason, not their religion, the apology must only be understood in this sense, that the law was enacted on account of the treasonable views and attempts of the sect, not that every individual who suffered the penalty of the law was convicted of treason (*y*). The Catholics, therefore, might now with justice complain of a violent persecution; which we may safely affirm, in spite of the rigid and bigoted maxims of that age, not to be the best method of converting them, or of reconciling them to the established government and religion.

The parliament, besides arming the queen with these powers, granted her a supply of one subsidy and two fifteenths. The only circumstance in which their proceedings were disagreeable to her, was an application made by the commons for a farther reformation in ecclesiastical matters. Yet even in this attempt, which affected her as well as them in a delicate point, they discovered how much they were overawed by her authority. The majority of the house were Puritans, or inclined to that sect (*z*); but the severe reprimands which they had already in former sessions met with from the throne, deterred them from introducing any bill concerning religion. They were content therefore to proceed by way of petition, and that not addressed to her majesty, which would have given offence, but to the house of lords (*a*), or rather the bishops, who had a seat in that house, and from whom alone they were willing to receive all advances towards reformation.

During this session of parliament a conspiracy was discovered, which much increased the animosity against the Catholics, and still farther widened the breach between the religious parties. William Parry, a Catholic gentleman, had received the queen's pardon for a crime, by which he was exposed to capital punishment; and, having obtained permission to travel, he retired to Milan, and made open profession of his religion, which he had concealed while he remained in England. He was here persuaded by Palmio, a jesuit, that he could not perform a

(*y*) Some even of those who defend the queen's measures allow, that in ten years fifty priests were executed, and fifty-five banished. Camden, p. 649.

(*z*) Besides the petition after mentioned, another proof of the prevalency of the Puritans among the commons was their passing a bill for the reverent observance of Sunday, and the depriving the people of those amusements which they were accustomed to take on that day. D'Ewes, p. 335. It was a strong symptom of a contrary spirit in the upper house, that they proposed to add Wednesday to the fast days, and to prohibit entirely the eating of flesh on that day. D'Ewes, p. 373.

(*a*) The commons desired, in their petition, that no bishop should exercise his function of ordination but with the consent and concurrence of six presbyters: but this demand, as it really introduced a change of ecclesiastical government, was rejected by the prelates. They desired that no clergyman should be instituted into any benefice, without previous notice being given to the parish, that they might examine whether there lay any objection to his life or doctrine: an attempt towards a popular model, which naturally met with the same fate. In another article of the petition, they prayed that the bishops should not insist upon every ceremony, or deprive incumbents for omitting part of the service. They complained of abuses which prevailed in pronouncing the sentence of excommunication, and they entreated the reverend fathers to think of some law for the remedy of these abuses. But the most material article which the commons touched upon in their petition, was the court of ecclesiastical commission, and the oath *ex officio*, as it was called, exacted by that court. This is a subject of such importance as to merit some explanation. "The first primate after the queen's accession was Parker; a man rigid in exacting conformity to the established worship, and in punishing, by fine or deprivation, all the puritanical clergymen who attempted to innovate any thing in the habits, ceremonies, or liturgy of the church. He died in 1575, and was succeeded by Grindal, who, as he himself was inclined to the new sect, was with great difficulty brought to execute the laws against them, or to punish the nonconforming clergy. He declined obeying the queen's orders for the suppression of *prophesyings*, or the assemblies of the zealots in private houses, which she apprehended had become so many academies of fanaticism; and for this offence she had, by an order of the Star Chamber, sequestered him from his archiepiscopal function, and confined him to his own house. Upon his death, which happened in 1583, she determined not to fall in the same error in her next choice; and she named Whitgift, a zealous churchman, who had already signalised his pen in controversy, and who, having in vain attempted to convince the Puritans by argument, was now resolved to open their eyes by power, and by the execution of penal statutes. He informed the queen that all the spiritual authority lodged in the prelates was insignificant without the sanction of the crown; and as there was no ecclesiastical commission at that time in force, he engaged her to issue a new one; more arbitrary than any of the former, and conveying more unlimited authority. She appointed forty-four commissioners, twelve of whom were ecclesiastics; three commissioners made a quorum; the jurisdiction of the court extended over the whole kingdom, and over all orders of men; and every circumstance of its authority, and all its methods of proceeding, were contrary to the clearest principles of law and natural equity. The commissioners were empowered to visit and reform all errors, heresies, schisms, in a word to regulate all opinions, as well as to punish all breach of uniformity in the exercise of public worship. They were directed to make inquiry, not only by the legal methods of juries and witnesses, but by all other means and ways which they could devise; that is, by the rack, by torture, by inquisition, by imprisonment. Where they found reason to suspect any person, they might administer to him an oath, called *ex officio*, by which he was bound to answer all questions, and might thereby be obliged to accuse himself or his most intimate friend. The fines which they levied were discretionary, and often occasioned the total ruin of the offender, contrary to the established laws of the kingdom. The imprisonment to which they condemned any delinquent was limited by no rule but their own pleasure. They assumed a power of imposing on the clergy what new articles of subscription, and consequently of faith, they thought proper. Though all other spiritual courts were subject, since the reformation, to inhibitions from the supreme courts of law, the ecclesiastical commissioners were exempted from that legal jurisdiction, and were liable to no control. And the more to enlarge their authority, they were empowered to punish all incests, adulteries, fornications; all outrages, misbehaviours, and disorders in marriage: and the punishments which they might inflict, were according to their wisdom, conscience, and discretion. In a word, this court was a real *inquisition;* attended with all the iniquities, as well as cruelties, inseparable from that tribunal. And as the jurisdiction of the ecclesiastical court was destructive of all law, so its erection was deemed by many a mere usurpation of this imperious princess; and had no other foundation than a clause of a statute, restoring the supremacy to the crown, and empowering the sovereign to appoint commissioners for exercising that prerogative. But prerogative in general, especially the supremacy, was supposed in that age to involve powers which no law, precedent, or reason could limit or determine.

"But though the commons, in their humble petition to the prelates, had touched so gently and submissively on the ecclesiastical grievances, the queen, in a speech from the throne at the end of the session, could not forbear taking notice of their presumption, and reproving them for those murmurs which, for fear of offending her, they had pronounced so low as not directly to reach her royal ears. After giving them some general thanks for their attachment to her, and making professions of affection to her subjects, she told them, that whoever found fault with the church threw a slander upon her, since she was appointed *by God* supreme ruler over it, and no heresies or schisms could prevail in the kingdom but by her permission and negligence: that some abuses must necessarily have place in every thing; but she warned the prelates to be watchful; for if she found them careless of their charge, she was fully determined to depose them: that she was commonly supposed to have employed herself in many studies, particularly philosophical (by which I suppose she meant theological,) and she would confess that few, whose leisure had not allowed them to make profession of science, had read or reflected more: that as she could discern the presumption of many, in curiously canvassing the scriptures, and starting innovations, she would no longer endure this licentiousness; but meant to guide her people by God's rule, in the just mean between the corruptions of Rome and the errors of modern sectaries: and that as the Romanists were the inveterate enemies of her person, so the other innovators were dangerous to all kingly government; and, under colour of preaching the word of God, presumed to exercise their private judgement, and to censure the actions of the prince." *Hume.*

more

more meritorious action than to take away the life of his sovereign and his benefactress; the nuncio Campeggio, when consulted, approved of this pious undertaking; and Parry, though agitated with doubts, came to Paris, with an intention of passing over to England, and executing his bloody purpose. He was here encouraged in the design by Thomas Morgan, a gentleman of great credit in the party; and though Watts and some other Catholic priests told him that the enterprize was criminal and impious, he preferred the authority of Raggazzoni, the nuncio at Paris, and determined to persist in his resolution. He here wrote a letter to the pope, which was conveyed to cardinal Como; he communicated his intention to the holy father; and craved his absolution and paternal benediction. He received an answer from the cardinal, by which he found that his purpose was highly applauded; and he came over to England with a full design of carrying it into execution. But this bigotted assassin resolved, before he came to extremities, to try every other expedient for alleviating the persecutions under which the Catholics at that time laboured. He found means of being introduced to the queen; assured her that many conspiracies were formed against her; and exhorted her, as she tendered her life, to give the Romanists more indulgence in the exercise of their religion; but, lest he should be tempted by the opportunity to assassinate her, he always came to court unprovided with every offensive weapon. He even found means to be elected member of parliament for Queenborough; and having made a vehement harangue against the severe laws enacted this last session, was committed to custody for his freedom, and sequestered from the house. His failure in these attempts confirmed him the more in his former resolution; and he communicated his intentions to Nevil, who entered zealously into the design, and was determined to have a share in the merits of its execution. A book newly published by Dr. Allen, afterwards created a cardinal, served farther to efface all their scruples with regard to the murder of an heretical prince; and, having agreed to shoot the queen while she should be taking the air on horseback, they resolved, if they could not make their escape, to sacrifice their lives, in fulfilling a duty so agreeable, as they imagined, to the will of God and to true religion. While they were watching an opportunity for the execution of their purpose, the earl of Westmoreland died in exile; and as Edmund Nevil was next heir to that family, he began to entertain hopes, that by doing some acceptable service to the queen, he might recover the estate and honours which had been forfeited by the rebellion of the last earl. He betrayed the whole conspiracy to the ministers; and Parry, being thrown into prison, made a full confession of his guilt, both to them and to the jury who tried him. The letter from cardinal Como, being produced in court, put Parry's narrative beyond all question; and that criminal, having received sentence of death, suffered the punishment which the law appointed for his treasonable conspiracy (*b*).

Thus we perceive, that the bigoted spirit of the Catholic religion prompted its devotees even to the commission of assassination, for the purpose of doing God service in the extirpation of heretics! One Somerville, a gentleman of the county of Warwick, somewhat disordered in his understanding, had heard so much of the merit attending the assassination of heretics, that he came to London with the sole view of murdering the queen; but having betrayed his design by some extravagances, he was thrown into prison, and there perished by a voluntary death. About the same time Baltazar Gerard, a Burgundian, undertook and executed the same design against the prince of Orange, who perished at Delft, by the hands of that desperate assassin, whose resolution was worthy of a better cause; for he sacrificed his own life, in order to destroy the famous restorer and protector of religious liberty. The Flemings, who regarded that prince as their father, were filled with great sorrow, as well when they considered the miserable end of so brave a patriot, as their own forlorn condition from the loss of so powerful and prudent a leader, and from the rapid progress of the Spanish arms. The prince of Parma now made gread advances upon the Flemings, had reduced several of the provinces to obedience, and had laid close siege to Antwerp, the richest and most populous city of the Netherlands, whose subjection, it was foreseen, would give a mortal blow to the already declining affairs of the revolted provinces. The only hopes which remained to them arose from the prospect of foreign succour. Being well acquainted with the cautious and frugal maxims of Elizabeth, they expected better success from France; and, in the view of engaging Henry to embrace their defence, they tendered him the sovereignty of their provinces in 1585. The revisal, however, of the distractions of that monarchy obliged the king to reject so advantageous an offer. The duke of Anjou's death, which he thought would have tended to restore public tranquillity, by delivering him from the intrigues of that prince, plunged him into the deepest distress; and the king of Navarre, a professed Hugonot, being next heir to the crown, the duke of Guise took thence occasion to revive the Catholic league, and to urge Henry, by the most violent expedients, to seek the exclusion of that brave and virtuous prince. Henry himself, though a zealous Catholic, yet, because he declined complying with their precipitate measures, became an object of aversion to the league; and as his zeal, in practising all the superstitious observances of the Romish church, was accompanied with a very licentious conduct in private life; the Catholic faction, in contradiction to universal experience, embraced thence the pretext of representing his devotion as mere deceit and hypocrisy. Finding his authority to decline, he was compelled to declare war against the Hugonots, and to put arms into the hands of the league, whom, both on account of their dangerous pretensions at home, and their close alliance of Philip of Spain, he secretly regarded as his most dangerous enemies. Constrained by the same policy, he dreaded the danger of associating himself with the revolted Protestants in the Low Countries, and was obliged to renounce that inviting opportunity of revengeing himself for all the hostile intrigues and enterprizes of Philip.

The States, reduced to this extremity, sent over a solemn embassy to London, and made a fresh offer to the queen, of acknowledgeing her for their sovereign, on condition of obtaining her protection and assistance. Elizabeth's wisest counsellors were divided in opinion with regard to the line of conduct which she should adopt in this critical and important emergence. Some advised her to reject the offer of the States, and represented the imminent danger, as well as injustice, attending the acceptance of their proposal. They said, that the suppression of rebellious subjects was the common cause of all sovereigns, and any encouragement given to the revolt of the Flemings, might prove the example of a like pernicious licence to the English: that though princes were bound by the laws of the Supreme Being not to oppress their subjects, the people never were entitled to forget all duty to their sovereign, or transfer, from every fancy or disgust, or even from the justest ground of complaint, their obedience to any other master: that the queen, in the succours hitherto afforded the Flemings, had considered them as labouring under oppression, not as entitled to freedom; and had intended only to admonish Philip not to persevere in his tyranny, without any view of ravishing from him those provinces which he enjoyed by hereditary right from his ancestors: that her situation in Ireland, and even in England, would afford that powerful monarch sufficient opportunity of retaliating upon her; and she must thenceforth expect that, instead of secretly fomenting faction, he would openly employ his whole force in the protection and defence of the Catholics: that the pope would undoubtedly unite his spiritual arms to the temporal ones of Spain: and that the queen would soon repent her making so precarious an acquisition in foreign countries, by exposing her own dominions to the most imminent danger.

But Elizabeth's other counsellors maintained a contrary

(*b*) This year (1584) the earl of Northumberland, brother to the earl beheaded some years before, had been engaged in a conspiracy with lord Paget, for the deliverance of the queen of Scots. He was thrown into the Tower; and being conscious that his guilt could be proved upon him, at least that sentence would infallibly be pronounced against him, he freed himself from farther prosecution by a voluntary death. He shot himself in the breast with a pistol. About the same time the earl of Arundel, son of the unfortunate duke of Norfolk, having entered into some exceptionable measures, and reflecting on the unhappy fate which had attended his family, endeavoured to depart secretly beyond sea, but was discovered and thrown into the Tower. In 1587 this nobleman was brought to his trial for high treason; chiefly because he dropped some expressions of affection to the Spaniards, and had said that he would have masses said for the success of the Armada. His peers found him guilty of treason; and this severe sentence was not executed; but Arundel never recovered his liberty. He died a prisoner in 1595. He carried his religious austerities so far, that they were believed the immediate cause of his death.

opinion;

opinion; the substance of which was, that the queen had not, even from the beginning of her reign, but certainly had not at present, the choice whether she would embrace friendship or hostility with Philip: that by the whole tenor of that prince's conduct it appeared, that his sole aims were, the extending of his empire, and the entire subjection of the Protestants, under the specious pretence of maintaining the Catholic faith: that the provocations which she had already given him, joined to his general scheme of policy, would for ever render him her implacable enemy; and as soon as he had subdued his revolted subjects, he would undoubtedly fall, with the whole force of his united empire, on her defenceless state: that the only question was, whether she would maintain a war abroad, and supported by allies, or wait till the subjection of all the confederates of England should give her enemies leisure to begin their hostilities in the bowels of the kingdom: that the revolted provinces, though in a declining condition, possessed still considerable force; and by the assistance of England, by the advantages of their situation, and by their inveterate antipathy to Philip, might still be enabled to maintain the contest against the Spanish monarchy: that their maritime power, united to the queen's, would give her entire security on the side from which alone she could be assaulted, and would even enable her to make inroads on Philip's dominions, both in Europe and the Indies: that a war which was necessary could never be unjust; and self-defence was concerned, as well in preventing certain dangers at a distance, as in repelling any immediate invasion: and that, since hostility with Spain was the unavoidable consequence of the present interests and situations of the two monarchies, it were better to compensate that danger and loss by the acquisition of such important provinces to the English empire.

From the consideration of these opposite counsels, the queen, apprehensive of the consequences attending each extreme, was inclined to steer a middle course; and though such conduct is seldom prudent, she was not, in this resolution, guided by any prejudice or mistaken affection. She was determined not to permit, without opposition, the total subjection of the revolted provinces, whose interests she deemed so closely connected with her own: but foreseeing that the acceptance of their sovereignty would oblige her to employ her whole force in their defence, she immediately rejected this offer, and concluded a league with the States on the following conditions: "That she should send over an army to their assistance, of five thousand infantry and a thousand horse, and provide for the support of this army during the war; that the general, and two others whom she should appoint, should be admitted into the council of the States; that neither party should make peace without the consent of the other; that her expences should be refunded by the States after the conclusion of the war; and that the towns of Flushing and the Brille, with the castle of Rammekins, should, in the mean time, be consigned into her hands by way of security; that an equal number of vessels of war should be equipped by each of the contracting parties; and that the combined fleets should be put under the command of the admiral of England."

The queen was well aware that this measure would engage her in open hostilities with Philip; yet was she not terrified with the view of the present greatness of that monarch. The continent of Spain was at that time rich and populous; and the late addition of Portugal had annexed an opulent kingdom to the Spanish dominions, had made him master of many settlements in the East-Indies, and of the whole commerce of those regions, and had much increased his naval power, in which he was before principally deficient. All the princes of Italy, even the pope and the court of Rome, were reduced to a kind of subjection under him, and seemed to possess their sovereignty on terms somewhat precarious. The Austrian branch in Germany, with their dependent principalities, was closely connected with the Spanish monarch, and was ready to supply him with troops for every enterprize. All the treasures of the West Indies were in his possession; and the present scarcity of the precious metals in every country of Europe, rendered the influence of his riches the more forcible and extensive. The Netherlands seemed on the point of relapsing into servitude; and small hopes were entertained of their withstanding the numerous and veteran armies, which he employed against them. Even France, which was desirous to counterbalance the Austrian greatness, had lost all her force from intestine commotions; and as the Catholics, the ruling party, were closely connected with him, he rather expected from them an augmentation than a diminution of his power. Upon the whole, such prepossessions were every where entertained concerning the force of the Spanish monarchy, that the king of Sweden, when he heard that Elizabeth had openly embraced the defence of the revolted Flemings, scrupled not to say, that she had now taken the diadem from her own head, and had adventured it upon the doubtful chance of war. Yet this princess was rather cautious than enterprizing in her natural temper; but when she saw an evident necessity, she braved danger with magnanimity; and trusting to her own consummate wisdom, and to the affections, however divided, of her people, she prepared herself to resist and even to assault the whole force of the Catholic monarch.

For the justification of her conduct in making this close alliance with the provinces which had revolted from the Spanish yoke, Elizabeth published a manifesto, in which she stated, that the treaties which had been successively concluded, not only between the princes of the house of Burgundy and the English sovereigns, but between the principal commercial towns of her realm and the Netherlands, imposed on her an obligation of exerting her efforts for the preservation of the privileges of the States; that the multiplied oppressions which they had suffered from the Spanish government called for her interposition to relieve them from that misery and servitude which would prevent them from enjoying the benefit of their established intimacy with the English; that her refusal of the sovereignty which they had offered her proved her to be uninfluenced by the thirst of dominion and the views of ambition; that she aimed only at the deliverance of her Belgic neighbours from the calamities of war and of tyranny, partly out of regard to subsisting treaties, and partly from a desire of obstructing Philip's intentions of rendering them the instruments of his enmity against her; and that, though the provocations which she had received from that monarch justified her in commencing open hostilities against him, she was more inclined to a reasonable accommodation with him, than to a risque of the uncertain events of war.

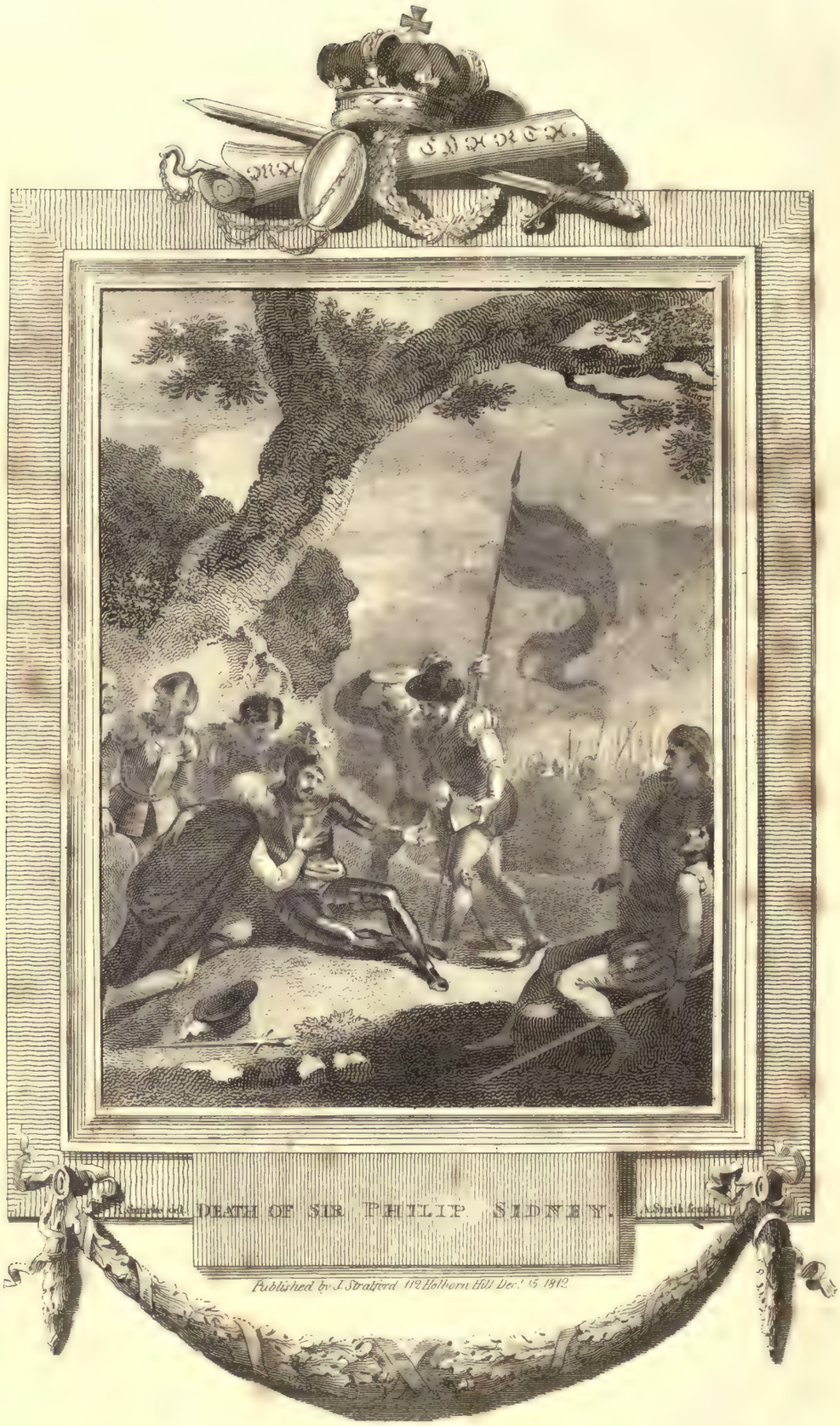
The earl of Leicester was sent over to Holland, at the head of the English auxiliary forces. He carried with him a splendid retinue; being accompanied by the young earl of Essex, his son-in-law, the lords Audley and North, sir William Russel, sir Thomas Shirley, sir Arthur Basset, sir Walter Waller, sir Gervase Clifton, and a select troop of five hundred gentlemen. On his arrival at Flushing, he was received by his nephew sir Philip Sidney, the governor; and every town through which he passed expressed their joy by acclamations and triumphal arches, as if his presence and the queen's protection had brought them the most certain deliverance. The States, desirous of engaging Elizabeth still farther in their defence, and knowing the interest which Leicester possessed with her, conferred on him the title of governor and captain-general of the United Provinces, appointed a guard to attend him, and treated him in some respects as their sovereign (c). But this step had a contrary effect to what they expected. The queen was displeased with this artifice of the States, and the ambition of Leicester. She severely reprimanded both; and it was with some difficulty, that after many humble submissions they were able to appease her.

America was at this time regarded as the chief source of Philip's power, as well as the most defenceless part of his dominions; and Elizabeth, perceiving that an open breach with that monarch was unavoidable, resolved not to leave him unmolested in that quarter. The success of the Spaniards and Portuguese in both the East and West Indies had excited a spirit of emulation in England; and as the progress of commerce, still more that of colonies,

(c) This nobleman, whom the weak partiality of his mistress had long distinguished above all her courtiers, did not possess that courage, talent, wisdom, or integrity, necessary for the proper exercise of his new employment. He was neither a gallant soldier nor an expert commander; his political knowledge was very imperfect, and his moral character was despicable. He was arrogant, obstinate, and rapacious; faithless, vindictive, and inhuman; and as he was the only bad choice which Elizabeth had made for any considerable employment, men naturally believed that she had here been influenced by an affection still more partial than that of mere friendship. Such was the individual whom the wisest princess of the age commissioned to rescue a new republic from the ruin with which it was threatened by a prince of such extraordinary power and resources as Philip.

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DEATH OF SIR PHILIP SIDNEY.
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is slow and gradual, it was happy that a war in this critical period had opened a more flattering prospect to the ambition of the English, and had tempted them, by the view of sudden and exorbitant profit, to engage in naval enterprizes. A fleet of twenty sail was equipped to attack the Spaniards in the West Indies: two thousand three hundred volunteers, besides seamen, engaged on board of it; sir Francis Drake was appointed admiral; Christopher Carlisle commander of the land forces. They took St. Jago, near Cape Verde, by surprize, in January, 1586; and found in it plenty of provisions, but no riches. They then sailed to Hispaniola; and easily making themselves master of St. Domingo by assault, obliged the inhabitants to ransom their houses by a sum of money. Carthagena fell next into their hands after some resistance, and was treated in the same manner. They burned St. Anthony and St. Helens, two towns on the coast of Florida. Then sailing along the coast of Virginia, they found the small remains of a colony which had been planted there by sir Walter Raleigh, and which had fallen greatly to decay. This was the first attempt of the English to form such settlements; and though they have since surpassed all European nations, both in the situation of their colonies and in the noble principles of liberty and industry, on which they are founded, they had here been so unsuccessful, that the miserable planters abandoned their settlements, and prevailed on Drake to carry them with him to England. He returned with so much riches (which were estimated at sixty thousand pounds sterling, exclusive of artillery and military stores,) as encouraged the volunteers, and with such accounts of the Spanish weakness in those countries, as served extremely to inflame the spirits of the nation to future enterprizes. The great mortality which the climate had produced in his fleet was, as is usual, but a feeble restraint on the avidity and sanguine hopes of young adventurers. It is thought that Drake's fleet first introduced the use of tobacco into England.

The enterprizes of Leicester were much less successful than those of Drake. He gained indeed at first some advantage in an action against the Spaniards; and as the Spanish troops had invested Grave, the earl detached count Hohenlohe and sir John Norris to the relief of the place; these officers found means to introduce such succours into it, as would have enabled the besieged to make a long and vigorous defence, if the pusilanimity of the governor, Van Hemert, had not prompted him to a premature capitulation, after a very feeble resistance; and being tried by a court martial for his conduct, he suffered a capital punishment from their sentence. The prince of Parma next undertook the siege of Venlo on the Maese, which was surrendered to him after a brave resistance. The fate of Nuys was more dismal; being taken by assault while the garrison was treating of a capitulation. Rhimberg, which was garrisoned by twelve hundred English, under the command of colonel Morgan, was afterwards besieged by the Spaniards; and Leicester, thinking himself too weak to attempt raising the siege, endeavoured to draw off the prince of Parma by forming another enterprize. He first attacked Doesburg, which he succeeded in taking: he then sat down before Zutphen, which the Spanish general thought so important a fortress that he hastened to its relief. He made the marquis of Guesto advance with a convoy, which he intended to throw into the place. They were favoured by a fog; but falling by accident on a body of English cavalry, a furious action ensued, in which the Spaniards were worsted, and the marquis of Gonzaga, an Italian nobleman of great reputation and family, was slain. The pursuit was stopped by the advance of the prince of Parma (who had raised the siege of Rhinberg) with the main body of the Spanish army; and the English cavalry, on their return from the field, found their advantage more than compensated by the loss of sir Philip Sidney, who, being mortally wounded in the action, was carried off by the soldiers, and soon after died (*d*).

The earl of Leicester, being unable to prevent the Spaniards from relieving Zutphen, though he made himself master of several of their forts in the neighbourhood, left garrisons in the nearest towns to block it up during the winter, and retired to the Hague, where the discontent of the States evinced itself in complaints of his conduct. Thus we perceive that the English, though a long peace had deprived them of all experience, were strongly possessed of military genius; and the advantages gained by the prince of Parma were not attributed to the superior bravery and discipline of the Spaniards, but solely to the want of military abilities in Leicester. At the end of the campaign the States applied to Leicester for a redress of all their grievances. But he answered their expostulations with plausible professions of his attention to their interests; and without giving them any farther satisfaction, departed, at the commencement of winter, for England.

The queen, while she provoked so powerful an enemy as the king of Spain, was not forgetful to secure herself on the side of Scotland; and she endeavoured both to cultivate the friendship and alliance of her kinsman, James, and to remove all grounds of quarrel between them. An attempt which she had made some time before was not well calculated to gain the confidence of that prince. She had dispatched Edward Wotton as her ambassador to Scotland; but though she gave him private instructions with regard to her affairs, she informed James, that when she had any political business to discuss with him, she would employ another minister; that this man was not fitted for serious negociations; and that her chief purpose in sending him, was to entertain the king with witty and facetious conversation, and to partake without reserve of his pleasures and amusements (*e*). He was admitted into all the pleasures of the king; made himself master of his secrets; and had so much the more authority with him in political transactions, as he did not seem to pay the least attention to these matters. The Scottish ministers, who observed the growing interest of this man, endeavoured to acquire his friendship; and sacrificed to his intrigues the most essential interests of their master. Elizabeth's usual jealousies with regard to her heirs began now to be levelled against James; and as that prince had attained the years proper for marriage, she was apprehensive lest, by being strengthened with children and alliances, he should acquire greater interest and authority with her English subjects. She directed Wotton to form a secret concert with some Scottish noblemen, and to procure their promise that James, during three years, should not on any account be permitted to marry. In consequence of this view, they endeavoured to embroil him with the king of Denmark, who had sent ambassadors to Scotland on pretence of demanding restitution of the Orkneys, but really with a view of opening a proposal of marriage between James and his daughter. Wotton is said to have employed his intrigues to purposes still more dangerous. He formed, it is pretended, a conspiracy with some malcontents, to seize the person of the king, and to deliver him into the hands of Elizabeth, who would probably have denied all concurrence in the design, but would have been sure to retain him in perpetual thraldom, if not captivity. The conspiracy was detected, and Wotton retired hastily from Scotland, without taking leave of the king.

As James's situation obliged him to dissemble his resentment of this traitorous attempt, and his natural temper inclined him soon to forgive and forget it, the queen found no difficulty in renewing the negociations for a strict alliance between Scotland and England; and the more effectually to gain the prince's friendship, she granted him a pension equivalent to his claim on the inheritance of his grandmother, the countess of Lenox, lately deceased.

(*d*) Sir Philip Sidney is described by the writers of that age as the most perfect model of an accomplished gentleman that could be formed even by the wanton imagination of poetry or fiction. Virtuous conduct, polite conversation, heroic valour, and elegant erudition, all concurred to render him the ornament and delight of the English court; and as the credit which he possessed with the queen and the earl of Leicester, was wholly employed in the encouragement of genius and literature, his praises have been transmitted with advantage to posterity. No person was so low as not to become an object of his humanity. After this last action, while he was lying on the field mangled with wounds, a bottle of water was brought him to relieve his thirst; but observing a soldier near him in a like miserable condition, he said, "*This man's necessity is still greater than mine*;" and resigned to him the bottle of water. The king of Scots, struck with admiration of Sidney's virtue, celebrated his memory in a copy of Latin verses, which he composed on the death of that young hero.

(*e*) Wotton was master of profound dissimulation, and knew how to cover, under the appearance of a careless gaiety, the deepest designs and most dangerous artifices. When but a youth of twenty, he had been employed by his uncle, Dr. Wotton, ambassador in France during the reign of Mary, to ensnare the constable, Montmorency; and had not his purpose been frustrated by pure accident, his cunning had prevailed over all the caution and experience of that aged minister. It is no wonder that, after years had improved him in all the arts of deceit, he should gain an ascendant over a young prince of so open and unguarded a temper as James; especially when the queen's recommendation prepared the way for his reception.

ceased. A league was formed between Elizabeth and James, for the mutual defence of their dominions, and of their religion, now menaced by the open combination of all the Catholic powers of Europe. It was stipulated, that if Elizabeth were invaded, James should aid her with a body of two thousand horse and five thousand infantry; that Elizabeth, in a like case, should send to his assistance three thousand horse and six thousand infantry; that the charges of these armies should be defrayed by the prince who demanded assistance; that if the invasion should be made upon England, within sixty miles of the frontiers of Scotland, this latter kingdom should march its whole force to the assistance of the former; and that the present league should supersede all former alliances of either state with any foreign kingdom, so far as religion was concerned.

By this league James secured himself against all attempts from abroad, opened a way for acquiring the confidence and affections of the English, and might entertain some prospect of domestic tranquillity, which, while he lived on bad terms with Elizabeth, he could never expect long to enjoy. Besides the turbulent disposition and inveterate feuds of the nobility, ancient maladies of the Scottish government, the spirit of fanaticism had introduced a new and dangerous disorder. The insolence of some of the preachers, who triumphed in their dominion over the populace, had at this time reached an extreme height; and they carried their arrogance so far, not only against the king, but against the whole civil power, as to excommunicate the archbishop of St. Andrews, because he had been active in parliament for promoting a law which restrained their seditious sermons: nor could that prelate save himself by any expedient from this terrible sentence, but by renouncing all pretensions to ecclesiastical authority. One Gibson said in the pulpit, that captain James Stuart (meaning the late earl of Arran) and his wife Jezebel had been deemed the chief persecutors of the church; but it was now seen that the king himself was the great offender: and for this crime the preacher denounced against him the curse which fell on Jeroboam, that he should die childless, and be the last of his race (*f*).

The dangers which arose from the character, principles, and pretensions of the queen of Scots, had very early engaged Elizabeth to consult, in her treatment of that unfortunate princess, the dictates of jealousy and politics, rather than of friendship or generosity: resentment of this usage had pushed Mary into enterprizes which had nearly threatened the repose and authority of Elizabeth: the rigour and restraint, thence redoubled upon the captive queen, still impelled her to attempt greater extremities; and while her impatience of confinement, her revenge (*g*), and her high spirit, concurred with religious zeal, and the suggestions of desperate bigots, she was at last engaged in designs which afforded her enemies, who watched the opportunity, a pretence or reason for effecting her final destruction.

The English seminary for the education of popish priests at Rheims had wrought themselves up to a high pitch of rage and animosity against Elizabeth. Intoxicated with admiration of the divine power and infallibility of the pope, they revered his bull, by which he excommunicated and deposed the queen; and some of them even asserted, that that performance had been immediately dictated by the Holy Ghost. The assassination of heretical sovereigns, and of that princess in particular, was represented as so far from being criminal, that it was the most meritorious of all enterprizes; and they taught that whoever perished in such pious attempts, enjoyed without dispute the glorious and never-fading crown of martyrdom; and they declared that it would ensure the perpetrator a plenary remission of his sins, and the crown of eternal glory in the regions of the blessed. By such doctrines they instigated John Savage, a man of desperate courage, who had served some years in the Low Countries under the prince of Parma, to attempt the life of Elizabeth; and this assassin having made a vow to persevere in his design, was sent over to England, and recommended to the confidence of the more zealous Catholics.

About the same time, John Ballard, another priest of the same seminary, had returned to Paris from his mission in England and Scotland; and as he had observed a spirit of mutiny and rebellion to be prevalent among the Catholic devotees in these countries, he had founded on that disposition, the project of dethroning Elizabeth, and of restoring by force of arms the exercise of the ancient religion. The situation of affairs abroad seemed favourable to this project: the pope, the Spaniard, the duke of Guise, concurring in interests, had formed a resolution to make some attempt against England: and Mendoza, the Spanish ambassador at Paris, strongly encouraged Ballard to hope for succours from these princes. Charles Paget alone, a zealous Catholic, and a devoted partizan and principal agent of the queen of Scots, being well acquainted with the prudence, vigour, and general popularity of Elizabeth, always maintained that so long as that princess was permitted to live, it was in vain to expect any success from an enterprize upon England; he therefore said, that the first step ought to be the assassination of that princess. Ballard, persuaded of this truth, saw more clearly the necessity of executing the design formed at Rheims: he came over to England in the disguise of a soldier, and assumed the name of captain Fortescue; and he bent his endeavours to effect at once the project of an assassination, an insurrection, and an invasion.

The first person to whom he addressed himself was Anthony Babington, of Dethic, in the county of Derby (*h*). Being zealously devoted to the communion of the church of Rome, he had secretly made a journey to Paris some time before; and had fallen into intimacy with Thomas Morgan, a bigoted fugitive from England, and with the bishop of Glasgow, Mary's ambassador at the court of

(*f*) The secretary, Thirlstone, perceiving the king so much molested with the refractory disposition of the clergy, advised him to leave them to their own courses: for that in a short time they would become so intolerable, that the people would rise against them, and drive them out of the country. "True," replied the king: "If I purposed to undo the church and religion, your counsel were good: but my intention is to maintain both; therefore cannot I suffer the clergy to follow such a conduct, as will in the end bring religion into contempt and derision."—*Spotswood*, p. 348.

(*g*) Mary's extreme animosity against Elizabeth may easily be conceived, and it broke out about this time in an incident which may appear curious. While the former queen was kept in custody by the earl of Shrewsbury, she lived during a long time in great intimacy with the countess; but that lady entertaining a jealousy of an amour between her and the earl, their friendship was converted into enmity; and Mary took a method of revenge, which at once gratified her spite against the countess and that against Elizabeth. She wrote to the queen, informing her of all the malicious and scandalous stories which, she said, the countess of Shrewsbury had reported of her: that Elizabeth had given a promise of marriage to a certain person, whom she afterwards often admitted to her bed: that she had been equally indulgent to Simier the French agent, and to the duke of Anjou: that Hatton was also one of her paramours, who was even disgusted with her excessive love and fondness: that though she was, on other occasions, avaricious to the last degree, as well as ungrateful, and kind to very few, she spared no expence in gratifying her amorous passions: that notwithstanding her licentious amours, she was not made like other women; and all those who courted her marriage would in the end be disappointed: that she was so conceited of her beauty, as to swallow the most extravagant flattery from her courtiers, who could not, on these occasions, forbear even sneering at her for her folly: that it was usual for them to tell her, that the lustre of her beauty dazzled them like that of the sun, and they could not behold it with a fixed eye: she added, that the countess had said, that Mary's best policy would be to engage her son to make love to the queen; nor was there any danger that such a proposal would be taken for mockery; so ridiculous was the opinion which she had entertained of her own charms. She pretended that the countess had represented her as no less odious in her temper than profligate in her manners, and absurd in her vanity: that she had so beaten a young woman of the name of Scudamore as to break that lady's finger; and in order to cover over the matter, it was pretended that the accident had proceeded from the fall of a candlestick: that she had cut another across the hand with a knife, who had been so unfortunate as to offend her. Mary added, that the countess had informed her, that Elizabeth had suborned Rolstone to pretend friendship to her, in order to debauch her, and thereby throw infamy on her rival. See *Murden's State Papers*, p. 558. This imprudent and malicious letter was written a very little before the detection of Mary's conspiracy; and contributed, no doubt, to render the proceedings against her the more rigorous. How far all these imputations against Elizabeth can be credited, may perhaps appear doubtful: but her extreme fondness for Leicester, Hatton, and Essex, not to mention Mountjoy and others, with the curious passages between her and admiral Seymour, contained in Haynes, render her chastity very much to be suspected. Her self-conceit with regard to beauty, we know from other undoubted authority to have been extravagant. Even when she was a very old woman, she allowed her courtiers to flatter her with regard to her *excellent beauties*.—*Birch*, vol. ii. p. 442, 443. Her passionate temper may also be proved from many lively instances; and it was not unusual with her to beat her maids of honour. See the *Sydney Papers*, vol. ii. p. 38. The blow she gave to Essex before the privy council is another instance. There remains in the Museum a letter of the earl of Huntingdon's, in which he complains grievously of the queen's pinching his wife very sorely, on account of some quarrel between them. Had this princess been born in a private station, she would not have been very amiable: but her absolute authority, at the same time that it gave an uncontrolling swing to her violent passions, enabled her to compensate her infirmities by many great and signal virtues.

(*h*) This young gentleman was of a good family, possessed a plentiful fortune, had discovered an excellent capacity, and was accomplished in literature beyond most of his years or station.

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France. By continually extolling the amiable accomplishments and heroical virtues of that princess, they impelled the sanguine and unguarded mind of young Babington to make some attempt for her service; and they employed every principle of ambition, gallantry, and religious zeal, to give him a contempt of those dangers which attended any enterprize against the vigilant government of Elizabeth. Finding this man well disposed for their purpose, they sent him back to England, and secretly, unknown to himself, recommended him to the queen of Scots, as a person worth engaging in her service. She wrote him a letter full of friendship and confidence; and Babington thought that these advances now bound him in honour to devote himself entirely to the service of that unfortunate princess. During some time, he had found means of conveying to her all her foreign correspondence; but after she was placed under the custody of sir Amias Paulet, and reduced to a more rigorous confinement, he experienced so much difficulty and danger in rendering her this service, that he had desisted from every attempt of that nature.

When Ballard began to open the intentions of the Catholics to Babington, he found his zeal suspended, not extinguished: his former ardour revived on the mention of any enterprize which seemed to promise success in the cause of Mary and of the Catholic faith: but with respect to the invasion, he expressed an opinion similar to that of Paget, and represented the folly of all attempts which, during the life-time of Elizabeth, could be formed against the established religion and government of England. Ballard, encouraged by this hint, proceeded to discover to him the design undertaken by Savage; informing him that Savage had bound himself by a vow to the execution of the desired murder; and was well pleased to observe that, instead of being shocked with the project, Babington only thought it not secure enough, when entrusted to one single hand, and proposed to join five others with Savage in this desperate and villainous enterprize. In prosecution of these views, Babington employed himself in increasing the number of his associates; and he secretly drew into the conspiracy Edward, brother to the lord Windsor, who readily promised his concurrence, and many Catholic gentlemen who were discontented with the present government. Barnwel, of a noble family in Ireland, Charnoc, a gentleman of Lancashire, and Abingdon, whose father had been cofferer to the household, readily undertook the assassination of the queen. Charles Tilney, the heir of an ancient family, and Tichbourne of Southampton, when the design was proposed to them, expressed some scruples, which were removed by the arguments of Babington and Ballard. Savage alone refused during some time to share the glory of the enterprize with any others; he challenged the whole to himself; and it was with some difficulty he was induced to depart from this preposterous resolution.

The deliverance of the queen of Scots at the very same instant when Elizabeth should be assassinated, was requisite for effecting the purpose of the conspirators; and Babington undertook, with a party of a hundred horse, to attack her guards while she should be taking the air on horseback. In this enterprize he engaged Edward Windsor, brother to the lord of that name, Thomas Salisbury, Robert Gage, John Travers, John Jones, and Henry Donne; most of them men of family and interest. The conspirators much wanted, but could not find, any nobleman of note whom they might place at the head of their association, but they trusted that the great events of the queen's death and Mary's deliverance, would rouse all the zealous Catholics to arms; and that foreign forces, taking advantage of the general confusion, would easily fix the queen of Scots on the throne of England, and re-establish the ancient religion.

These desperate projects, however, had not escaped the vigilance of Elizabeth's council, particularly of sir Francis Walsingham, secretary of state, who was an able, artful, and vigilant minister. He had engaged Maud, a Catholic priest, whom he retained in pay, to attend Ballard in his journey to France, and act as a spy upon his actions; by this means he got a hint of the designs entertained by the fugitives. Polly, another of his spies, had insinuated himself among the conspirators in England; he procured admission to the private meetings of Babington, Savage, and others; and though not entirely trusted, had obtained some insight into their dangerous secrets. Sir Francis was thus gratified with an opportunity of discerning the progress of the plot, and of crushing it before the measures were perfectly ripe for execution. But the bottom of the conspiracy was never fully known till Gilbert Gifford, a seminary priest, came over, and made a tender of his services to Walsingham. By his means the discovery became of the utmost importance, and involved the fate of Mary as well as of those zealous partizans of that princess.

Babington and his associates, having laid such a plan as they thought promised infallible success, were impatient to communicate the design to the queen of Scots, and to obtain her approbation and concurrence. For this service they employed Gifford, who immediately applied to Walsingham, that the interest of that minister might forward his secret correspondence with Mary. Walsingham proposed the matter to Paulet, and desired him to connive at Gifford's corrupting one of his servants: but Paulet, averse to the introducing of such a pernicious precedent into his family, desired that they would rather think of some other expedient. Gifford found a brewer who supplied the family with ale; and bribed him to convey letters to the captive queen. The letters, by Paulet's connivance, were thrust through a chink in the wall; and answers were returned by the same conveyance.

Ballard and Babington were at first diffident of Gifford's fidelity; and to make trial of him, they gave him only blank papers made up like letters: but finding by the answers that these had been faithfully delivered, they laid aside all further scruple, and conveyed by his hands the most criminal and dangerous parts of their conspiracy. Babington informed Mary of the design laid for a foreign invasion, the plan of an insurrection at home, the scheme for her deliverance, and the conspiracy for assassinating the usurper, by six noble gentlemen, as he termed them, all of them his private friends; who, from the zeal which they bore to the Catholic cause, and her majesty's service, would undertake the *tragical execution*. Mary replied, "that she approved highly of the design; that the gentlemen might expect all the rewards which it should ever be in her power to confer; and that the death of Elizabeth was a necessary circumstance, before any attempts were made, either for her own deliverance or an insurrection." These letters, with others to Mendoza, Charles Paget, the archbishop of Glasgow, and sir Francis Inglefield, were carried by Gifford to secretary Walsingham; were decyphered by the art of Philips, his clerk, and copies taken of them. Walsingham employed another artifice in order to obtain full insight into the plot: he subjoined to a letter of Mary's a postscript in the same cypher; in which he made her desire Babington to inform her of the names of the conspirators. The indiscretion of Babington furnished Walsingham with still another means of detection as well as of defence. That gentleman had caused a picture to be drawn, where he himself was represented standing amidst the six assassins; and a motto was subjoined, expressing that their common perils were the band of their confederacy. A copy of this picture was brought to Elizabeth, that she might know the assassins, and guard herself against their approach to her person.

Meanwhile, Babington, anxious to insure and hasten the foreign succours, resolved to dispatch Ballard into France; and he procured for him, under a feigned name, a licence to travel. In order to remove from himself all suspicion, he applied to Walsingham, pretended great zeal for the queen's service, offered to go abroad, and professed his intentions of employing the confidence which he had gained among the Catholics, to the detection and disappointment of their conspiracies. Walsingham commended his loyal purposes; and promising his own counsel and assistance in the execution of them, still fed him with hopes, and maintained a close correspondence with him. A warrant was, in the mean time, issued for the apprehension of Ballard; and this incident, joined to the consciousness of guilt, begat in all the conspirators the utmost anxiety. Some advised that they should immediately make their escape: others proposed that Savage and Charnock should without delay execute their purpose against Elizabeth; and Babington, in prosecution of this scheme, furnished Savage with money, that he might buy good cloaths, and thereby have more easy access to the queen's person. Next day they began to apprehend that they had taken the alarm too hastily; and Babington, having renewed his correspondence with Walsingham, was persuaded by that subtle minister, that the seizure of Ballard had proceeded entirely from the usual diligence of informers in the detection of popish and seminary priests.

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He then importuned Walsingham for a licence to travel, as well as for the release of Ballard, who, he said, might be useful to him in his attempts for the discovery of sinister machinations against Elizabeth. The wary secretary made fair promises, and even persuaded Babington to take a temporary residence in his house, that they might have more frequent conferences together, on the subject of his intended voyage, before his departure for France: but observing that he was watched and guarded, he made his escape, and gave the alarm to the other conspirators. They all took to flight, covered themselves with different disguises, and lay concealed in woods or barns; but were soon discovered, and thrown into prison. In their examinations they contradicted each other; and the leaders, uninfluenced by the fear of torture, or by the hope of mercy, made a full confession of their guilt. Babington, Savage, Ballard, and four others, were hanged, in September, 1586, cut down alive, drawn, and quartered; but the seven remaining criminals were suffered to hang till they expired. The first seven acknowledged the crime on their trial; the rest were convicted by evidence.

The traitorous and sanguinary intentions of these conspirators excited such horror among the loyal subjects of Elizabeth, that their fate was little lamented, though some of them were distinguished by such qualities and accomplishments as would, if undebased by a barbarous superstition, have entitled them to the esteem of mankind. The emissaries of the ministry studiously represented the Scottish queen as the encourager of the plot which had been so fortunately discovered, and took advantage of the public clamour against Babington and his comrades, to propagate among the multitude a zealous desire of the execution of the queen of Scots. Stimulated by the fervour of loyalty, more than by the suggestions of humanity, the people adopted the vindictive passions of their sovereign, and loudly called for the accomplishment of the grand purpose for which the solemn association in defence of Elizabeth, or rather against Mary, had been formed.

Pleased with the obsequious disposition which the nation at this time exhibited, Elizabeth prepared for the final gratification of her policy and revenge. From her elevated notions of the majesty of independent sovereigns, she must have been conscious of a want of right to exercise any authority or jurisdiction over a princess, who, though deposed by a rebellious faction, and detained a prisoner in the country to which she had fled for refuge, was still a rightful queen. Notwithstanding the influence which this consideration ought to have had over her mind, she resolved to treat her captive as a subject, and to proceed against her by the laws of a kingdom in which she had received no other protection than that of a prison. She had never forgiven Mary's assumption of the English arms and title; a claim which had constantly filled her with as strong apprehensions of dethronement as the most notorious usurper could ever have entertained, though she knew that her title was supported by valid grounds, acknowledged by the whole body of her subjects, except a very small proportion, and confirmed by the strong ties of public affection. In her violent jealousy of a competitor, she resembled her grandfather Henry the Seventh; and to the terrors arising from this source we may refer the foundation of that rancour which she cherished against Mary. The rivalry of personal accomplishments contributed to the increase of the animosity which she bore to that princess; and the desire of rendering the Scottish nation subservient to her nod, prompted her not only to take every step that could prevent Mary from enjoying her throne in peace, but to deprive her, after she had entered England, of all prospect of re-establishment. From the injuries which she had heaped on her rival, she was aware that a lively resentment must have arisen in the breast of the persecuted queen, and that her Catholic friends, indignant at her sufferings, would be more zealous in her service, and more eager to attempt her rescue. These reflections gave additional force to Elizabeth's fears of revolt, and stimulated her malignity to the adoption of the most decisive measures for securing herself from the intrigues of Mary and her partizans. The effusion of her prisoner's blood appeared to her to be the most effectual for that purpose, though she might have provided for her tranquillity in a more humane and honourable manner, by a friendly and generous treatment of Mary, and by an equitable accommodation of all differences between them, than by the continued exercise of merciless power, evinced in the infliction of a long and severe imprisonment, or by the final subjection of her nearest relative to the horrors of a violent and ignominious death. In urging Elizabeth to the ultimate stroke of vengeance, her attachment to the Protestant faith, strengthened by the remonstrances of her ministers, who covered, under the alarms of Popery, their fears of the personal danger that might result to them from Mary's succession, may have had some influence, though a less forcible one than that which arose from her intemperate passions.

The lesser conspirators being dispatched, measures were now taken for the trial and conviction of the queen of Scots, on whose account, and with whose concurrence these attempts had been made against the life of Elizabeth, and the tranquillity of the kingdom. Some of the queen's counsellors were averse to this proceedure; and thought that the close confinement of a woman who was become very sickly, and who would probably put a speedy termination to their anxiety by her natural death, might give sufficient security to the government, without attempting a measure of which there scarcely remains any example in history. Leicester advised that Mary should be secretly taken off by poison, and he sent a divine to convince Walsingham of the lawfulness of that action: but Walsingham declared his abhorrence of this infamous proposition; and still insisted, in conjunction with the majority of the counsellors, for the open trial of the queen of Scots, on the charge of having violated that statute which, about two years before, had been enacted in confirmation of the confederacy for the defence of Elizabeth. The situation of England, and of the English ministers, had, indeed, been hitherto not a little dangerous. No successor of the crown was declared; but the heir of blood, to whom the people in general were likely to adhere, was, by education, an enemy to the national religion; was, from multiplied provocations, an enemy to the ministers and principal nobility; and their personal safety, as well as the security of the public, seemed to depend alone on the queen's life, who was now somewhat advanced in years. No wonder, therefore, that Elizabeth's counsellors, knowing themselves to be so noxious to the queen of Scots, endeavoured to push every measure to extremities against her; and were even more anxious than the queen herself, to prevent her from ever ascending the throne of England.

Though all England was acquainted with the detection of Babington's conspiracy, every avenue to the queen of Scots had been so strictly guarded, that she remained in utter ignorance of the matter; and it was a great surprize to her, when sir Thomas Gorges, by Elizabeth's orders, informed her, that all her accomplices were discovered and arrested. He chose the time for giving her this intelligence when she was mounted on horseback to go a hunting; and she was not permitted to return to her former place of abode, but was conducted from one gentleman's house to another, till she was lodged in Fotheringay castle, in the county of Northampton, which it was determined to make the last stage of her trial and sufferings. Her two secretaries, Nau, a Frenchman, and Curle, a Scot, were immediately arrested, and committed to the care of different keepers, that they might have no communication with each other. All Mary's papers were seized, and sent up to the council: about sixty different keys to cyphers were discovered: there were also found many letters from persons beyond sea, and several too from English noblemen, containing expressions of respect and attachment (i). The queen took no notice of this latter discovery; but the persons themselves, knowing their correspondence to be detected, thought that they had no other means of making atonement for their imprudence, than by declaring themselves thenceforth the most inveterate enemies of the queen of Scots.

It was now resolved to try Mary, not by the common statute of treasons, but by the act which had passed the former year, with the view to this very event; and the queen, in terms of that act, appointed a commission, consisting of forty-one peers and privy-counsellors, and five of the judges of her courts, whom she empowered to examine into the guilt of Mary, who was styled in the

(i) Sir Amias Paulet (who, when Mary was removed from the custody of the earl of Shrewsbury, had been associated with sir Drue Drury in the charge of guarding her,) took possession of all her money, under the obligation of returning it, if she should be declared innocent.

commission, "the daughter and heiress of James V. late king of Scots, commonly called queen of Scots and dowager of France." The commissioners came to Fotheringay castle, and sent to her sir Walter Mildmay, sir Amias Paulet, and Edward Barker, who delivered her a letter from Elizabeth, on the 12th of October, expressing her displeasure and indignation at the criminal machinations of Mary; intimating that a due regard to her own safety, and to the tranquillity of her realm, had compelled her to institute a public inquiry into her conduct, and requiring her to submit to a trial before those commissioners who were authorized to take cognizance of her crimes, according to the laws of England, under the protection of which she had so long lived. This arrogant epistle surprized, but did not disconcert the Scottish queen, who, with an air of dignified composure, observed to her visitants, "That it seemed strange to her, that the queen should command her, as a subject, to submit to a trial and examination before subjects: that she was an absolute independent princess, and would yield to nothing which might derogate either from her royal majesty, from the state of sovereign princes, or from the dignity and rank of her son: that, however oppressed by misfortunes, she was not yet so much broken in spirit as her enemies flattered themselves; nor would she, on any account, be accessary to her own degradation and dishonour: that she was ignorant of the laws and statutes of England; was utterly destitute of council; and could not conceive who were entitled to be called her peers, or could legally sit as judges on her trial: that though she had lived in England for many years, she had lived in captivity; and not having received the protection of the laws, she could not, merely by her involuntary residence in the country, be supposed to have subjected herself to their jurisdiction: that, notwithstanding the superiority of her rank, she was willing to give an account of her conduct before an English parliament; but could not view these commissioners in any other light than as men appointed to justify, by some colour of legal proceeding, her condemnation and execution: and that she warned them to look to their conscience and their character, in trying an innocent person; and to reflect, that these transactions would somewhere be subject to revisal, and that the theatre of the whole world was much wider than the kingdom of England."

In return, the commissioners (*k*) sent a new deputation, informing her that her plea, either from her royal dignity, or from her imprisonment, could not be admitted; and that they were empowered to proceed to her trial, even though she should refuse to answer before them. Burleigh the treasurer, and Bromley the chancellor, employed much reasoning to make her submit; but the person whose arguments had the chief influence was sir Christopher Hatton, vice-chamberlain. His speech was to this effect: "You are accused, madam," said he, "but not condemned, of having conspired the destruction of our lady and queen anointed. You say you are a queen: but in such a crime as this, and such a situation as yours, the royal dignity itself, neither by the civil or canon law, nor by the law of nature or of nations, is exempt from judgement. If you be innocent, you wrong your reputation in avoiding a trial. We have been present at your protestations of innocence: but queen Elizabeth thinks otherwise; and is heartily sorry for the appearances which lie against you. To examine, therefore, your cause, she has appointed commissioners; honourable persons, prudent and upright men, who are ready to hear you with equity, and even with favour, and will rejoice if you can clear yourself of the imputations which have been thrown upon you. Believe me, madam, the queen herself will rejoice, who affirmed to me at my departure, that nothing which ever befel her had given her so much uneasiness, as that you should be suspected of a concurrence in these criminal enterprizes. Laying aside, therefore, the fruitless claim of privilege from your royal dignity, which can now avail you nothing, trust to the better defence of your innocence, make it appear in open trial, and leave not upon your memory that stain of infamy which must attend your obstinate silence on this occasion."

By this artful speech Mary was persuaded to answer before the court; and thereby gave an appearance of legal procedure to the trial, and prevented those difficulties which the commissioners must have fallen into, had she persevered in maintaining so specious a plea as that of her sovereign and independent character. Her conduct in this particular must be regarded as the more imprudent; because formerly, when Elizabeth's commissioners pretended not to exercise any jurisdiction over her, and only entered into her cause by her own consent and approbation, she declined justifying herself, when her honour, which ought to have been dearer to her than life, seemed absolutely to require it.

On her first appearance before the commissioners, who met in the hall of Fotheringay castle on the 14th of October, Mary, either sensible of her imprudence, or still unwilling to degrade herself by submitting to a trial, renewed her protestation against the authority of her judges: the chancellor answered her by pleading the supreme authority of the English laws over every one who resided in England: and the commissioners accommodated matters, by ordering both her protestation and his answer to be recorded.

The lawyers of the crown then opened the charge against the queen of Scots. They proved, by intercepted letters, that she had allowed cardinal Allen and others to treat her as queen of England; and that she had kept a correspondence with lord Paget and Charles Paget, in view of engaging the Spaniards to invade the kingdom. Mary seemed not anxious to clear herself from either of these imputations. She only said, that she could not hinder others from using what style they pleased in writing to her; and that she might lawfully try every expedient for the recovery of her liberty.

An intercepted letter of her's to Mendoza was next produced; in which she promised to transfer to Philip her right to the kingdom of England, if her son should refuse to be converted to the Catholic faith, an event, she there said, of which there was no expectation while he remained in the hands of his Scottish subjects (*l*). Even this part of the charge she took no pains to deny, or rather she seemed to acknowledge it. She said, that she had no kingdoms to dispose of; yet was it lawful for her to give at her pleasure what was her own, and she was not accountable to any for her actions. She added, that she had formerly rejected that proposal from Spain; but now, since all her hopes in England were gone, she was fully determined not to refuse foreign assistance. There was also produced evidence to prove, that Allen and Parsons were at that very time negociating by her orders at Rome the conditions of transferring the English crown to the king of Spain, and of disinheriting her heretical son (*m*).

It is remarkable, that Mary's prejudices against her son were at this time carried so far, that she had even entered into a conspiracy against him, had appointed lord Claud Hamilton regent of Scotland, and had instigated her adherents to seize James's person, and to deliver him into the hands of the pope, or the king of Spain; whence he was never to be delivered, but on condition of his becoming Catholic (*n*).

The

(*k*) The commissioners appointed for the trial of Mary were, John Whitgift, archbishop of Canterbury; sir Thomas Bromley, lord chancellor; William Cecil, baron Burleigh, lord treasurer; the marquis of Winchester; the earls of Oxford, Shrewsbury, Kent, Derby, Worcester, Rutland, Warwick, Pembroke, Leicester, and Lincoln; the viscount Montacute; the barons Howard, Hunsdon, Abergavenny, Zouch, Morley, Cobham, Stafford, Grey of Wilton, Lumley, Stourton, Sandes, Wentworth, Mordaunt, St. John of Bletnesho, Buckhurst, Compton, and Cheyne; sir Francis Knolles, sir James Croft, sir Christopher Hatton, sir Francis Walsingham, William Davison, sir Ralph Sadler, sir Walter Mildmay, sir Amias Paulet, and John Wolley, privy counsellors; the judges Wray, Anderson, Manwood, Gawdy, and Periam.

(*l*) State Trials, vol. i. p. 138.

(*m*) This evidence was that of Curle, her secretary, whom she allowed to be a very honest man; and who, as well as Nau, had given proofs of his integrity, by keeping so long such important secrets, from the discovery of which he could have reaped the greatest profit. Mary, after all, thought that she had so little reason to complain of Curle's evidence, that she took care to have him paid a considerable sum by her will, which she wrote the day before her death. Neither did she forget Nau, though less satisfied in other respects with his conduct.

(*n*) The detail of this conspiracy is to be found in a letter of the queen of Scots to Charles Paget, her great confident. This letter is dated May 20, 1586, and is contained in Dr. Forbes's manuscript collections. It is a copy attested by Curle, Mary's secretary, and indorsed by lord Burleigh. What proves its authenticity beyond question is, that we find in Murden's collection, p. 516, that Mary actually wrote a letter on that day to Charles Paget; and farther, she mentions in the manuscript letter, a letter of Charles Paget's of the 10th of April: now we find by Morden, p. 506, that Charles Paget did actually write her a letter of that date.

This violence of spirit is very consistent with Mary's character. Her maternal affection was too weak to oppose the gratification of her passions, particularly her pride, her ambition, and her bigotry. Her son, having

The only part of the charge which Mary positively denied, was her concurrence in the design of assassinating Elizabeth. But in order to prove the accusation, there were produced the following evidence: copies taken in secretary Walsingham's office of the intercepted letters between her and Babington, in which her approbation of the murder was clearly expressed; the evidence of her two secretaries, Nau and Curle, who had confessed both that she received these letters from Babington, and that they had written the answers by her order; the confession of Babington, that he had written the letters and received the answers (*o*), and the confession of Ballard and Savage, that Babington had shewed them these letters of Mary written in the cypher, which had been settled between them.

It is evident, that this complication of evidence, though every circumstance corroborates the general conclusion, resolves itself finally into the testimony of the two secretaries, who alone were certainly acquainted with their mistress's concurrence in Babington's conspiracy, but who knew themselves exposed to all the rigours of imprisonment, torture, and death, if they refused to give any evidence which might be required of them. In the case of an ordinary criminal, this proof, with all its disadvantages, would be esteemed legal, and even satisfactory, if not opposed by some other circumstances which shake the credit of the witnesses: but on the present trial, where the absolute power of the prosecutor concurred with such important interests, and such a violent inclination to have the princess condemned; the testimony of two witnesses, even though men of character, ought to be supported by strong probabilities, in order to remove all suspicion of tyranny and injustice. The proof against Mary, it must be confessed, is not destitute of this advantage; and it is difficult, if not impossible, to account for Babington's receiving an answer, written in her name, and in the cypher concerted between them, without allowing that the matter had been communicated to that princess. Such is the light in which this matter appears, even after time has discovered every thing which could guide our judgement with regard to it: no wonder, therefore, that the queen of Scots, unassisted by counsel, and confounded by so extraordinary a trial, found herself incapable of making a satisfactory defence before the commissioners. Her reply consisted chiefly in her own denial: whatever force may be in that denial was much weakened, by her positively affirming, that she never had had any correspondence of any kind with Babington; a fact, however, of which there remains not the least question (*p*). She asserted, "that as Nau and Curle had taken an oath of secrecy and fidelity to her, their evidence against her ought not to be credited." She confessed, however, "that Nau had been in the service of her uncle, the cardinal of Lorraine, and had been recommended to her by the king of France, as a man in whom she might safely confide." She also acknowledged Curle to be "a very honest man, but simple, and easily imposed on by Nau. If these two men had received any letters, or had written any answers, without her knowledge, the imputation, she said, could never lie on her. And she was the more inclined, she added, to entertain this suspicion against them, because Nau had, in other instances, been guilty of a like temerity, and had ventured to transact business in her name, without communicating the matter to her."

The sole circumstance of her defence, which to us may appear to have some force, was her requiring that Nau and Curle should be confronted with her, and her affirming, that they never would to her face persist in their evidence. But that demand, however equitable, was not allowed. Perhaps these secretaries were not at Fotheringay castle during the time of the trial, and could not therefore, upon Mary's demand, be produced before the commissioners (*q*).

There passed two incidents in this trial which may be worth observing. A letter between Mary and Babington was read, in which mention was made of the earl of Arundel and his brothers. On hearing their names, she broke into a sigh; "Alas," said she, "what has the noble house of the Howards suffered for my sake?" She affirmed, with regard to the same letter, that it was easy to forge the hand-writing and cypher of another; she was afraid that this was too familiar a practice with Walsingham, who, she also heard, had frequently practised both against her life and her son's. Walsingham, who was one of the commissioners, rose up. He protested, that in his private capacity he had never acted any thing against the queen of Scots: in his public capacity, he owned, that his concern for his sovereign's safety had made him very diligent in searching out, by every expedient, all designs against her sacred person or authority. For attaining that end, he would not only make use of the assistance of Ballard or any other conspirator; he would also reward them for betraying their companions. But if he had tampered in any manner unbefitting his character and office, why did none of the late criminals, either at their trial or execution, accuse him of such practices? Mary endeavoured to pacify him, by saying that she spoke from information; and she begged him to give thenceforth no more credit to such as slandered her, than she should to such as accused him.

Having finished the trial, the commissioners adjourned from Fotheringay castle, and met in the Star Chamber at Westminster on the 25th of October; where, after taking the oaths of Mary's two secretaries, Nau and Curle, who voluntarily, without hope or reward, vouched the authenticity of those letters before produced, they pronounced sentence of death upon the queen of Scots, and confirmed by their seals and subscriptions. The same day, a declaration was published by the commissioners and the judges, "that the sentence did nowise derogate from the title and honour of James king of Scotland; but that he was in the same place, degree, and right, as if the sentence had never been pronounced."

Elizabeth had now brought affairs with Mary to that situation which she had long desired; and had found a plausible reason for executing vengeance on a competitor, whom from the commencement of her reign she had equally dreaded and hated. But she was restrained from instantly gratifying her resentment, by several important considerations. She foresaw the invidious colours, in which this example of uncommon jurisdiction would be represented by the numerous partizans of Mary, and the reproach to which she herself might be exposed with all foreign princes, perhaps with all posterity. The rights of hospitality, of kindred, and of royal majesty, seemed, in one single instance, to be all violated; and this sacrifice of generosity to interest, of clemency to revenge, might appear equally unbecoming a sovereign and a woman. Elizabeth, therefore, who was an adept in the arts of hypocrisy, pretended the utmost reluctance to proceed to the execution of the sentence pronounced against her

made some fruitless attempts to associate her with him in the title, and having found the scheme impracticable, on account of the prejudices of his Protestant subjects, at last desisted from that design, and entered into an alliance with England, without comprehending his mother. She was in such a rage at this undutiful behaviour, as she imagined it, that she wrote to queen Elizabeth, that she no longer cared what became of herself or her son in the world; the greatest satisfaction she could have before her death was, to see him and all his adherents become a signal example of tyranny, ingratitude, and impiety, and undergo the vengeance of God for their wickedness. She cared not, after taking this revenge, what became of her body: the quickest death would then be most agreeable to her. And she assured her that, if he persevered, she would disown him for her son, and would give him her malediction, would disinherit him, as well of his present possessions as of all he could expect by her; abandoning him not only to her subjects to treat him as they had done her, but to all strangers to subdue and conquer him.

James himself said to Courcelles, the French ambassador, that he had seen a letter under her own hand, in which she threatened to disinherit him, and said that he might betake him to the lordship of Darnley; for that was all he had by his father. Courcelles' Letter. There is in Jebb, vol. ii. p. 573, a letter of her's, where she throws out the same menace against him.

This scheme of seizing the king of Scots, and delivering him into the hands of the pope or the king of Spain, was proposed by Morgan to Mary. See Murden, p. 525. Mr. Hume observes, that a mother must be very violent to whom one would dare to make such a proposal: but it seems she assented to it. Was not such a woman, he asks, very capable of murdering her husband, who had so grievously offended her?

(*o*) State Trials, vol. i. p. 113.

(*p*) The volume of State Papers collected by Murden proves beyond controversy, that Mary was long in close correspondence with Babington, p. 513, 516, 532, 533. She entertained a like correspondence with Ballard, Morgan, and Charles Paget, and laid a scheme with them for an insurrection, and for the invasion of England by Spain, p. 528, 531. The same papers shew, that there had been a discontinuance of Babington's correspondence, agreeably to Camden's narration. See State Papers, p. 513, where Morgan recommends it to Mary to renew her correspondence with Babington. These circumstances prove, that no weight can be laid on Mary's denial of guilt, and that her correspondence with Babington contained particulars which could not be avowed.

(*q*) Queen Elizabeth was willing to have allowed Curle and Nau to be produced in the trial, and writes to that purpose to Burleigh and Walsingham, in her letter of the 7th of October, in Forbes's MS. collections. She only says, that she thinks it needless, though she was willing to agree to it. The not confronting of the witnesses was too frequently practised in the age of Elizabeth,

kinswoman; affected the most tender sympathy with her prisoner; displayed all her scruples and difficulties; rejected the solicitation of her courtiers and ministers; and affirmed, "that were she not moved by the deepest concern for her people's safety, she would not hesitate a moment in pardoning all the injuries which she herself had received from the queen of Scots."

The queen summoned a new parliament to meet on the 29th of October; and both houses entered with zeal into her views, whose animosity against Mary they knew to be implacable. Moved by an affectation of delicacy, she forbore to open the assembly in person, but appointed for that purpose three commissioners, Bromley the chancellor, Burleigh the treasurer, and the earl of Derby. The reason assigned for this measure was, that the queen, foreseeing that the late sentence against the queen of Scots would be canvassed in parliament, found her tenderness and delicacy so much hurt by that melancholy incident, that she had not the courage to be present while it was under deliberation, but withdrew her eyes from what she could not behold without the utmost reluctance and uneasiness. She was also willing, that by this unusual precaution the people should see the danger to which her person was hourly exposed; and should thence be more strongly incited to take vengeance on the criminal, whose restless intrigues and bloody conspiracies had so long exposed her to the most imminent perils.

The obsequious parliament answered the queen's expectations; and it is remarkable, that the Puritans, who were Elizabeth's only parliamentary opponents, were warm advocates for the utmost severity against the royal victim for whose blood she had so long thirsted. Impelled by servility, by bigotry, and by fear, the lords and commons, with an unanimity which reflects disgrace on their temper, their spirit, their justice, and their humanity, confirmed the sentence which had been pronounced against the queen of Scots by the delegates; and an application was voted to obtain Elizabeth's consent to its publication and execution. In the petition which they presented on this occasion, they mentioned the "dangerous and execrable practices" by which Mary had assailed the life of their sovereign, the tranquillity of the state, and the present happy establishment of the true religion; adverted to the protection which the "princely magnanimity" of Elizabeth had afforded to the Scottish queen from the dangers to which she was exposed from the resentment of her own subjects; reprobated the ingratitude, malice, and barbarity shewn by the latter in conspiring with those abandoned villains who had engaged to assassinate her protectress; declaring that the sentence pronounced against her was, in every respect, "most honourable, just, and lawful;" expressed their firm persuasion, that all the traiterous plots which had, for many years past, been directed against the queen and realm of England, owed their origin to the arts of Mary and her confederates; affirmed, that if that princess should not be brought to justice for her "detestable offences and execrable treasons," the life of Elizabeth would be perpetually insecure, as conspiracies against her would be more frequent, secret, and dangerous; that the only possible means of providing for her own safety would be the execution of the sentence against Mary; and concluded with signifying their opinion, that her neglect of inflicting that doom which the offender deserved, "might procure the heavy displeasure and punishment of Almighty God," and would bring her subjects into utter despair of the continuance of the true religion among them, of the preservation of her life, of their own security, and the good estate of the realm.

To this address Elizabeth gave an answer ambiguous, embarrassed; full of real artifice and seeming irresolution She mentioned the extreme danger to which her life was continually exposed; she declared her willingness to die, did she not foresee the great calamities which would thence fall upon the nation; she made professions of the greatest tenderness to her people; she displayed the clemency of her temper, and expressed her extreme reluctance to execute the sentence against a person of her own sex, of the same dignity, and so nearly allied to her in blood; she affirmed, that the late law, by which that princess was tried, so far from being made to ensnare her, was only intended to give her warning beforehand, not to engage in such attempts as might expose her to the penalties with which she was thus openly menaced; and she begged them to think once again, whether it were possible to find any expedient, besides the death of the queen of Scots, for securing the public tranquillity. The parliament, in obedience to her commands, took the affair again under consideration; but being acquainted with the secret wishes of their sovereign, they could find no other possible expedient. They reiterated their solicitations, and intreaties, and arguments: they even remonstrated, that mercy to the queen of Scots was cruelty to them, her subjects and children: and they affirmed, that it were injustice to deny execution of the law to any individual; much more to the whole body of the people, now unanimously and earnestly suing for this pledge of her parental care and tenderness. This second address set the pretended doubts and scruples of Elizabeth again in agitation: she complained of her own unfortunate situation; expressed her uneasiness from their importunity; renewed the professions of affection to her people; and dismissed the committee of parliament in an uncertainty, what, after all this deliberation, might be her final resolution.

But although the queen affected reluctance to execute the sentence against Mary, she complied with the request of parliament in publishing it by proclamation on the 6th of December; and this act seemed to be attended with the unanimous and hearty rejoicings of the people. Lord Buckhurst, and Beale, clerk of the council, were sent to the queen of Scots, to notify to her the sentence which had been pronounced against her, with its ratification by parliament, and with the earnest applications made for its execution by that assembly, who thought that their religion could never, while she was alive, attain a full settlement and security. Mary was not in the least dismayed at this intelligence: on the contrary, she joyfully laid hold of the last circumstance mentioned to her; and insisted, that since her death was demanded by the Protestants for the establishment of their faith, she was really a martyr to her religion, and was entitled to all the merits attending that glorious character. She added, that the English had often embrued their hands in the blood of their own sovereigns: no wonder they exercised cruelty against her, who derived her descent from those monarchs. Paulet and Drury, her keepers, received orders to take down her canopy of state, and to serve her no longer with the respect due to sovereign princes. He told her that she was now to be considered as a dead person; and incapable of any dignity. This harsh treatment produced not in her any seeming emotion. She replied, that she received her royal character from the hands of the Almighty, and that as no earthly power was ever able to bereave her of it, she would resign it to him alone with her soul; that she neither acknowledged the queen as her superior, nor her heretical ministers and senators as her judges; and that, in spite of their malignity, she would die a queen.

The queen of Scots wrote her last letter to Elizabeth on the 19th of December; full of dignity, without departing from that spirit of meekness and of charity which appeared suitable to this concluding scene of her unfortunate life. She preferred no petition for averting the fatal sentence: on the contrary, she expressed her gratitude to Heaven for thus bringing to a speedy period her sad and lamentable pilgrimage. She requested some favours of Elizabeth, and entreated her that she might be beholden for them to her own goodness alone, without making applications to those ministers who had discovered such an extreme malignity against her person and her religion. She desired, that after her enemies should be satiated with her innocent blood, her body, which it was determined should never enjoy rest while her soul was united to it, might be consigned to her servants, and be conveyed by them into France, there to repose in a Catholic land, with the sacred reliques of her mother. In Scotland, she said, the sepulchres of her ancestors were violated, and the churches either demolished or profaned; and in England, where she might be interred among the ancient kings, her own and Elizabeth's progenitors, she could entertain no hopes of being accompanied to the grave with those rites and ceremonies which her religion required. She requested that no one might have the power of inflicting a private death upon her, without Elizabeth's knowledge; but that the execution should be public, and attended by the members of her household, who might bear testimony of her perseverance in the faith to her last moments, and of her submission to the will of Heaven. She begged that these servants might afterwards be allowed to depart in peace whithersoever they pleased, and that they might enjoy those legacies which

which she purposed to bequeath them. She conjured her to grant these favours in the name of Jesus Christ; by their near kindred; by the soul and memory of Henry VII. the common ancestor of both; and by the royal dignity, of which they equally participated. And she declared her forgiveness of all who had testified any enmity against her, and esteemed herself happy in being called out of the world before the arrival of those miseries which threatened this island, in consequence of the neglect of true religion and virtue. Elizabeth made no answer to this letter; being unwilling to give Mary a refusal in her present situation, and foreseeing inconveniences from granting some of her requests.

While the queen of Scots thus prepared herself to meet her fate, great efforts were made by foreign powers with Elizabeth, to prevent the execution of the sentence pronounced against her. Besides employing L'Aubespine, the French resident at London, a creature of the house of Guise, Henry sent over Pompone de Believre, as his ambassador extraordinary, with a professed intention of interceding for the life of Mary. The duke of Guise and the leagues at that time threatened very nearly the king's authority; and Elizabeth knew, that though that monarch might, from decency and policy, think himself obliged to interpose publicly in behalf of the queen of Scots, he could not secretly be displeased with the death of a princess, on whose fortune and elevation his mortal enemies had always founded so many daring and ambitious projects. It has even been asserted, that Believre had orders, after making public and vehement remonstrances against the execution of Mary, to exhort privately the queen, in his master's name, not to defer an act of justice, so necessary for their common safety (*r*). But whether the French king's intercession were sincere or not, it had no weight with the queen; and she still persisted in her former resolution.

The interposition of the young king of Scots, though not able to change Elizabeth's determination, seemed, on every account, to merit more regard. As soon as James heard of the trial and condemnation of his mother, his filial piety was aroused, his humanity was shocked, his pride was wounded; and he sent sir William Keith, a gentleman of his bed-chamber, to London; and wrote a letter to the queen, in which he remonstrated in very severe terms against the indignity of the procedure. He said, "that he was astonished to hear of the presumption of English noblemen and counsellors, who had dared to sit in judgement and pass sentence upon a queen of Scotland, descended from the blood-royal of England; but he was still more astonished to hear, that thoughts were seriously entertained of putting that sentence in execution: that he entreated Elizabeth to reflect on the dishonour which she would draw on her name by embruing her hands in the blood of her near kinswoman, a person of the same royal dignity, and of the same sex with herself: that in this unparalleled attempt she offered an affront to all diadems, and even to her own, and by reducing sovereigns to a level with other men, taught the people to neglect all duty towards those whom Providence had appointed to rule over them: that for his part, he must deem the injury an insult so enormous, as to be incapable of all atonement; nor was it possible for him thenceforward to remain in any terms of correspondence or alliance with a person who, without any pretence of legal authority, had deliberately inflicted an ignominious death upon his parent: and that even if the sentiments of nature and duty did not inspire him with this purpose of vengeance, his honour required it of him; nor could he ever acquit himself in the eyes of the world, if he did not use every effort and endure every hazard to revenge so great an indignity.

Soon after, James sent Patrick master of Gray, and sir Robert Melvil to enforce the remonstrances of Keith; and to employ with the queen every expedient of argument and menaces. Elizabeth was at first offended with the sharpness of these applications; and she replied in a like strain to the Scottish ambassadors. When she afterwards reflected that this earnestness was no more than what duty required of James, she was pacified; but still retained the resolution of executing the sentence against Mary. It is believed, that the master of Gray, gained by the enemies of that princess, secretly gave his advice not to spare her, assuring the queen that she had no reasons to dread the exertions of a prince so spiritless and unwarlike as James, who might easily be awed into acquiescence and submission.

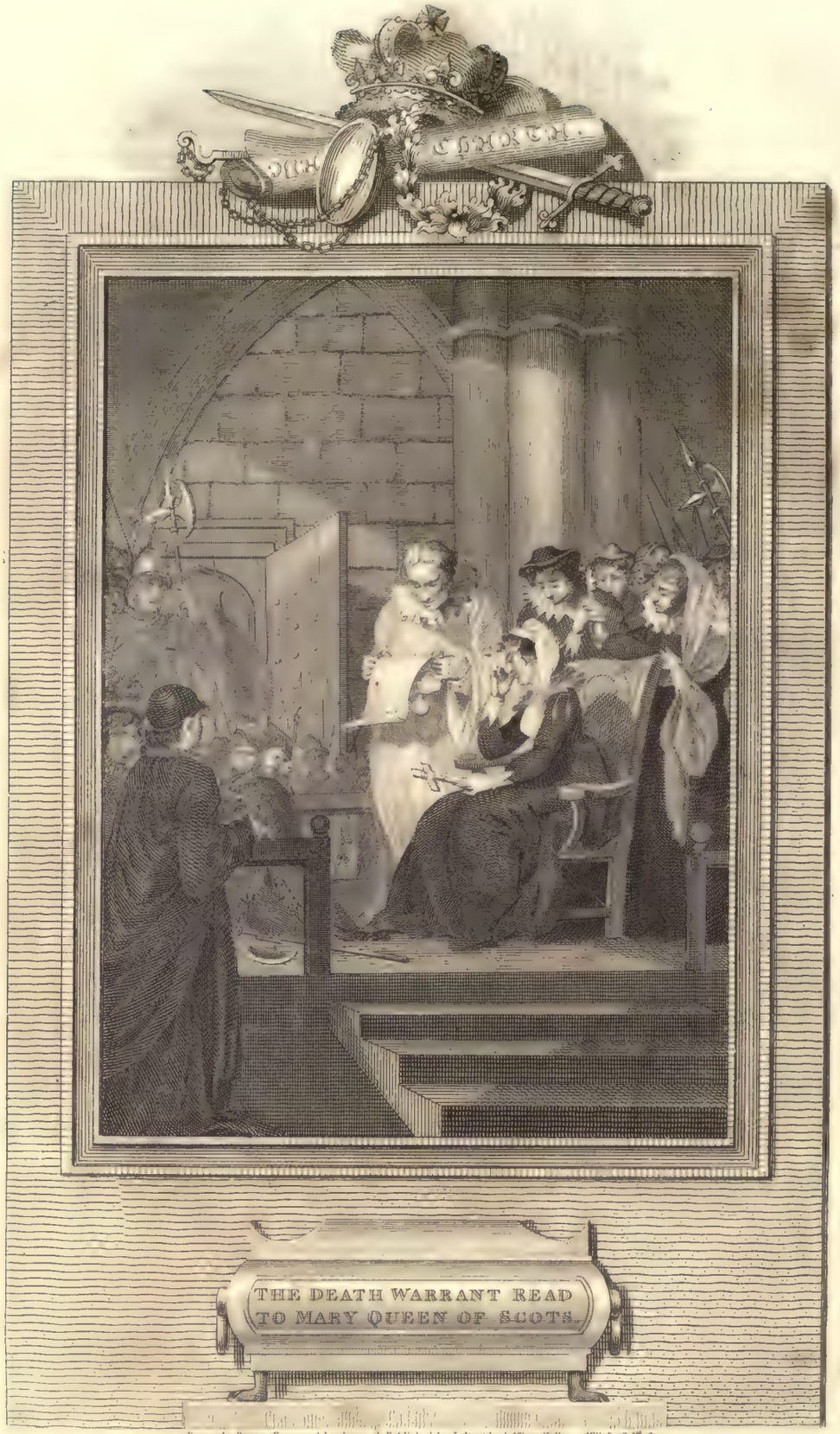
Elizabeth also, from many considerations, was induced to pay small attention to the applications of James, and to disregard all the efforts which he could employ in behalf of his mother. She was well acquainted with his character and interests, the factions which prevailed among his people, and the inveterate hatred which the zealous Protestants, particularly the preachers, bore to the queen of Scots. The present incidents set these dispositions of the clergy in full light. James, observing the fixed purpose of Elizabeth, ordered prayers to be offered up for Mary in all the churches; and knowing the captious humour of the ecclesiastics, he took care that the form of the petition should be most cautious, as well as humane and charitable: "That it might please God to illuminate Mary with the light of his truth, and save her from the apparent danger with which she was threatened." But, excepting the king's own chaplains, and one clergyman more, all the preachers refused to pollute their churches by prayers for a Papist, and would not so much as prefer a petition for her conversion (*s*).

We may here observe, with Hume, that Elizabeth, when solicited, either by James or by foreign princes, to pardon the queen of Scots, seemed always determined to execute the sentence against her: but when her ministers urged her to interpose no more delays, her scruples and her hesitation returned; her humanity could not allow her to embrace such violent and sanguinary measures; and she was touched with compassion for the misfortunes, and with respect for the dignity of the unhappy prisoner. The courtiers, sensible that they could do nothing more acceptable to her than to employ persuasion on this head, failed not to enforce every motive for the punishment of Mary, and to combat all the objections urged against this act of justice. They said that the treatment of that princess in England had been, on her first reception, such as sound reason and policy required; and if she had been governed by principles of equity, she would not have refused willingly to acquiesce in it: that the obvious inconveniences either of allowing her to retire into France, or of restoring her by force to her throne, in opposition to the Reformers and the English party in Scotland, had obliged the queen to detain her in England till time should offer some opportunity of serving her, without danger to the kingdom or to the Protestant religion: that her usage there had been such as became her rank; her own servants in considerable numbers had been permitted to attend her; exercise had been allowed her for health, and all access of company for amusement; and these indulgences would in time have been carried farther, if by her subsequent conduct she had appeared worthy of them: that after she had instigated the rebellion of Northumberland, the conspiracy of Norfolk, the bull of excommunication of Pope Pius, an invasion from Flanders; after she had seduced the queen's friends, and incited every enemy, foreign and domestic, against her; it became necessary to treat her as a most dangerous rival, and to render her confinement more strict and rigorous: that the queen, notwithstanding these repeated provocations, had, in her favour, rejected the importunity of her parliaments, and the advice of her sagest ministers; and was still, in hopes of

(*r*) We have, however, no satisfactory reason for entertaining such an opinion. It is probable that Henry was not sincerely disposed to hinder the completion of Elizabeth's vengeance; but that a prince to whom Mary had given no cause of offence should actually urge her oppressor to the cruelty and injustice of shedding her blood, is not to be believed without strong evidence.

(*s*) James, unwilling or unable to punish this disobedience, and desirous of giving the preachers an opportunity of amending their fault, appointed a new day when prayers should be said for his mother; and that he might at least secure himself from any insult in his own presence, he desired the archbishop of St. Andrew's to officiate before him. In order to disappoint this purpose, the clergy instigated one Couper, a young man who had not yet received holy orders, to take possession of the pulpit early in the morning, and to exclude the prelate. When the king came to church, and saw the pulpit occupied by Couper, he called to him from his seat, and told him, "that the place was destined for another; yet since he was there, if he would obey the charge given, and remember the queen in his prayers, he might proceed to divine service." The preacher replied, "that he would do as the Spirit of God should direct him." This answer sufficiently instructed James in his purpose; and he commanded him to leave the pulpit. As Couper seemed not disposed to obey, the captain of the guard went to pull him from his place; upon which the young man cried aloud, "That this day would be a witness against the king in the great day of the Lord;" and he denounced a woe upon the inhabitants of Edinburgh for permitting him to be treated in that manner. The audience at first appeared desirous to take part with him; but the sermon of the prelate brought them over to a more dutiful and more humane disposition.

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THE DEATH WARRANT READ
TO MARY QUEEN OF SCOTS.

Drawn by Brown. Engraved by Cornet & Published by J. Stratford, N.º112, Holborn Hill, Dec.ª 23.ª 1820.

her amendment, determined to delay coming to the last extremities against her: that Mary, even in this forlorn condition, retained so high and unconquerable a spirit, that she acted as competitor to the crown, and allowed her partizans every where, and in their very letters, addressed to herself, to treat her as queen of England: that she had carried her animosity so far as to encourage, in repeated instances, the atrocious design of assassinating the queen; and this crime was unquestionably proved upon her by her own letters, by the evidence of her secretaries, and by the dying confession of her accomplices: that she was but a titular queen, and at present possessed no where any right of sovereignty; much less in England, where the moment she set foot in the kingdom, she voluntarily became subject to the laws, and to Elizabeth, the only true sovereign: that even allowing her to be still the queen's equal in rank and dignity, self-defence was permitted by a law of nature, which could never be abrogated; and every one, still more a queen, had sufficient jurisdiction over an enemy, who by open violence, and still more, who by secret treachery threatened the utmost danger against her life: that the general combination of the Catholics to exterminate the Protestants was no longer a secret; and as the sole resource of the latter persecuted sect lay in Elizabeth, so the chief hope which the former entertained of final success, consisted in the person and in the title of the queen of Scots: that this very circumstance brought matters to extremity between these princesses; and rendering the life of one the death of the other, pointed out to Elizabeth the path, which either regard to self-preservation, or to the happiness of her people, should direct her to pursue: and that necessity, more powerful than policy, thus demanded of the queen that resolution which equity would authorize, and which duty prescribed.

When Elizabeth thought, that as many importunities had been used, and as much delay interposed as decency required, she at last determined to carry the sentence into execution: but even in this final resolution she could not proceed without displaying a new scene of duplicity and artifice. In order to alarm the vulgar, and that popular zeal might not give way to tenderness and compassion, rumours were previously dispersed that the Spanish fleet was arrived in Milford Haven; that the Scots had made an irruption into England; that the duke of Guise was landed in Sussex with a strong army; that the queen of Scots was escaped from prison, had raised an army, and placed herself at the head of it; that the northern counties had begun an insurrection; that there was a new conspiracy on foot to assassinate the queen, and set the city of London on fire; nay, that the queen was actually assassinated. An attempt of this nature was even imputed to L'Aubespine, the French ambassador; and that minister was obliged to leave the kingdom. The queen, affecting to be in terror and perplexity, was observed to sit much alone, pensive and silent; and sometimes to mutter to herself half-sentences, importing the difficulty and distress to which she was reduced. She at last called William Davison, a man of parts, but easy to be imposed on, and who had lately been made secretary, and she ordered him privately to draw a warrant for the execution of the queen of Scots; which, she afterwards said, she intended to keep by her, in case any attempt should be made for the deliverance of that princess. She signed the warrant; and then commanded Davison to carry it to the chancellor, in order to have the great seal appended to it. Next day she sent Killigrew to Davison, enjoining him to forbear, some time, executing her former orders; and when Davison came and told her that the warrant had already passed the great seal, she seemed to be in great agitation, and blamed him for his precipitation. Wishing to draw Davison into a snare, that she might have a pretence for imputing Mary's execution to him, she neither ordered him to issue the warrant, nor to withhold it. Davison, being in a perplexity, acquainted the privy council with this whole transaction; and as Burleigh, Hatton, and other experienced courtiers, penetrated her schemes against Davison, they resolved to gratify her wish, endeavoured to persuade him to send off Beale with the warrant: if the queen should be displeased, they promised to justify his conduct, and to take on themselves the whole blame of this measure (*t*). The secretary, not sufficiently aware of their intention, complied with the advice; and the warrant was dispatched to the earls of Shrewsbury and Kent, and some others, ordering them to see the sentence executed upon the queen of Scots.

The two noblemen came to Fotheringay castle on the 7th of February, 1587, and being introduced to Mary by sir Amias Paulet and sir Drue Drury, they informed her of their commission, and desired her to prepare for death next morning at eight o'clock. She seemed no wise terrified, though somewhat surprized, with the intelligence; and when Beale, who accompanied them, read over the warrant, she said, with a cheerful, and even a smiling countenance, that she did not think the queen, her sister, would have consented to her death, or have executed the sentence against a person, not subject to the laws and jurisdiction of England. "But such is her will," said she, "death, which puts an end to all my miseries, shall be to me most welcome; nor can I esteem that soul worthy the felicities of heaven, which cannot support the body under the horrors of the last passage to these blissful mansions (*u*)." She then requested the two noblemen, that they would permit some of her servants, particularly her confessor, to attend her: but they told her, that compliance with this last demand was contrary to their conscience (*v*), and that Dr. Fletcher, dean of Peterborough, a man of great learning, should be present to instruct her in the principles of true religion. Her refusal to have any conference with this divine inflamed the zeal of the earl of Kent; and he, giving vent to an indecent and ill-timed burst of passion, exclaimed, "Your life will be the death of our religion; but your death will be its life." Mention being made of Babington, she constantly denied his conspiracy to have been at all known to her; and the revenge of her wrongs she resigned into the hands of the Almighty.

When the earls had left her, she ordered supper to be hastened, that she might have the more leisure after it, to finish the few affairs which remained to her in this world, and to prepare for her passage to another. It was necessary for her, she said, to take some sustenance, lest a failure of her bodily strength should depress her spirits on the morrow, and lest her behaviour should thereby betray a weakness unworthy of herself. She supped sparingly, as her manner usually was; and her wonted cheerfulness did not even desert her on this occasion. She comforted her servants under the affliction which overwhelmed them, and which was too violent for them to conceal it from her. Turning to Burgoin, her physician, she asked him, Whether he did not remark the great and invincible force of truth? "They pretend," said she, "that I must die because I conspired against the queen's life: but the earl of Kent avowed, that there was no other cause of my death, than the apprehensions, which, if I should live, they entertain for their religion. My constancy in the faith is my real crime: the rest is only a colour invented by interested and designing men." Towards the end of supper, she called in all her servants, and drank to them: they pledged her, in order, on their knees; and craved her pardon for any past neglect of their duty: she deigned, in return, to ask their pardon for her offences towards them; and a plentiful effusion of tears attended this last solemn farewel, and exchange of mutual forgiveness.

Mary's care of her servants was the sole remaining affair which employed her concern. She perused her will, in which she had provided for them by legacies: she ordered the inventory of her goods, clothes, and jewels to be brought her; and she wrote down the names of those to whom she bequeathed each particular: to some she distributed money with her own hands; and she adapted the recompence to their different degrees of rank and merit. She wrote letters of recommendation for her servants to the French king, and to her cousin the duke of Guise, whom she made the chief executor of her testament. At her wonted time she went to bed; slept some hours; and then rising, spent the rest of the night in prayer. Having foreseen the difficulty of exercising the rights of her religion, she had had the precaution to obtain a consecrated host from the hands of pope Pius; and she had reserved the use of it for this last period of her life. By this expedient she supplied, as much as she could, the want of a

(*t*) It appears by some letters published by Strype, vol. iii. book ii. c. 1. that Elizabeth had not expressly communicated her intention to any of her ministers, not even to Burleigh: they were such experienced courtiers, that they knew they could not gratify her more than by serving her without waiting till she desired them.

(*u*) Camden, p. 534. Jebb, vol. ii. p. 301. MS. in the Advocates' Library, p. 2. from the Cott. Lib. Cal. c. 9.

(*v*) Jebb, vol. ii. p. 302.

priest and confessor, which was refused her. Towards the morning she dressed herself in a rich habit of silk and velvet, the only one which she had reserved to herself. She told her maids, that she would willingly have left them this dress rather than the plain garb which she wore the day before; but it was necessary for her to appear at the ensuing solemnity in a decent habit.

While she was thus engaged, Thomas Andrews, high sheriff of the county, entered the room, and informed her that the hour was come, and that he must attend her to the place of execution. She replied, "I am ready;" and bidding adieu to her servants, she leaned on two of sir Amias Paulet's guards, because of an infirmity in her limbs; and she followed the sheriff with a serene and composed countenance. In passing through a hall adjoining to her chamber, she was met by the earls of Shrewsbury and Kent, sir Amias Paulet, sir Drue Drury, and many other gentlemen of distinction. Here she also saw sir Andrew Melvil, the steward of her household, who flung himself on his knees before her; and wringing his hands, cried aloud, "Ah, Madam! unhappy me! what man was ever before the messenger of such heavy tidings as I must carry, when I shall return to my native country, and shall report that I saw my gracious queen and mistress beheaded in England?" His tears prevented farther speech; and Mary too felt herself moved more from sympathy than affliction. "Cease, my good servant," said she, "cease to lament: thou hast cause rather to rejoice than to mourn: for now shalt thou see the troubles of Mary Stuart receive their long-expected period and completion. Know," continued she, "good servant, that all the world at best is vanity, and subject still to more sorrow than a whole ocean of tears is able to bewail. Hitherto I have found thee faithful, and though thou be in religion a Protestant, and I am a Catholic, yet, seeing there is but one Christ, I charge thee, as thou respectest him, to bear this last message from me, that I die a true woman to my religion, and unalterable in my affections to Scotland and to France. Heaven forgive them that have long desired my end, and have thirsted for my blood as the hart panteth after the water brooks." "O God," added she, "thou art the Author of truth, and truth itself, thou knowest the inmost recesses of my heart: thou knowest that I was ever desirous to preserve an entire union between Scotland and England, and to obviate the source of all these fatal discords. But recommend me, Melvil, to my son, and tell him, that notwithstanding all my distresses, I have done nothing prejudicial to the state and kingdom of Scotland." After these words, reclining herself, with weeping eyes, and face bedewed with tears, she kissed him. "And so," said she, "good Melvil, farewel: once again, farewel, good Melvil; and grant the assistance of thy prayers for thy queen and mistress."

She next turned to the noblemen who attended her, and made a petition in behalf of her servants, that they might be well treated, be allowed to enjoy the presents which she had bestowed upon them, and be sent safely into their own country. Having received a favourable answer, she preferred another request, that they might be permitted to attend her at her death: in order, said she, that their eyes may behold, and their hearts bear witness, how patiently their queen and mistress can submit to her execution, and how constantly she perseveres in her attachment to her religion. The earl of Kent was rather unwilling to grant the request, and told her, that they would be apt by their speeches and cries to disturb both herself and the spectators: he was also apprehensive lest they should practise some superstition not meet for him to suffer; such as dipping their handkerchiefs in her blood: for that was the instance which he made use of. "My lord," said the queen of Scots, "I will give my word (although it be but dead) that they shall not incur any blame in any of the actions which you have named. But alas! poor souls! it would be a great consolation to them to bid their mistress farewel. And I hope," added she, "that your mistress being a maiden queen, would vouchsafe in regard of womanhood, that I should have some of my own people about me at my death. I know that her majesty hath not given you any such strict command, but that you might grant me a request of far greater courtesy, even though I were a woman of inferior rank to that which I bear." Finding that the earl of Kent persisted still in his refusal, her mind, which had fortified itself against the terrors of death, was affected by this indignity, for which she was not prepared. "I am cousin to your queen," cried she, "and descended from the blood-royal of Henry VII. I am a dowager of France, and an anointed queen of Scotland." The commissioners, perceiving how invidious their obstinacy would appear, conferred a little together, and agreed that she might carry a few of her servants along with her. She made choice of four men and two maid-servants for that purpose.

She then passed into another hall, where was erected the scaffold, covered with black; and she saw with an undismayed countenance, the executioners, and all the preparations for her death. The room was crowded with spectators; and no one was so steeled against all sentiments of humanity, as not to be moved when he reflected on her royal dignity, considered the surprising train of her misfortunes, beheld her mild but inflexible constancy, recalled her amiable accomplishments, or surveyed her beauties, which, though faded by years, and yet more by her afflictions, still discovered themselves in this fatal moment. Here the warrant for her execution was read to her; and during this ceremony she was silent, but shewed in her behaviour an indifference and unconcern, as if the business had not regarded her. Before the executioners performed their office, the dean of Peterborough stepped forth; and though the queen frequently told him that he needed not concern himself about her, that she was settled in the ancient Catholic and Roman religion, and that she meant to lay down her life in defence of that faith; he still thought it his duty to persist in his lectures and exhortations, and to endeavour her conversion. The terms which he employed were, under colour of pious instructions, cruel insults on her unfortunate situation; and besides their own absurdity, may be regarded as the most mortifying indignities to which she had ever yet been exposed. He told her that the queen of England had on this occasion shewn a tender care of her; and notwithstanding the punishment justly to be inflicted on her for her manifold trespasses, was determined to use every expedient for saving her soul from that destruction with which it was so nearly threatened: that she was now standing upon the brink of eternity, and had no other means of escaping endless perdition, than by repenting her former wickedness, by justifying the sentence pronounced against her, by acknowledging the queen's favours, and by exerting a true and lively faith in Christ Jesus: that the scriptures were the only rule of doctrine, the merits of Christ the only means of salvation; and if she trusted in the inventions or devices of men, she must expect in an instant to fall into utter darkness, into a place where shall be weeping, howling, and gnashing of teeth: that the hand of death was upon her, the axe was laid to the root of the tree, the throne of the great Judge of heaven was erected, the book of her life was spread wide, and the particular sentence and judgement was ready to be pronounced upon her: and that it was now, during this important moment, in her choice, either to rise to the resurrection of life, and hear that joyful salutation, *Come, ye blessed of my Father;* or to share the resurrection of condemnation, replete with sorrow and anguish; and to suffer that dreadful denunciation, *Go, ye cursed, into everlasting fire.*

During this discourse Mary could not sometimes forbear betraying her impatience, by interrupting the preacher; and the dean, finding that she had profited nothing by his lecture, at last bade her change her opinion, repent her of her former wickedness, and settle her faith upon this ground, that only in Christ Jesus could she hope to be saved. She answered, again and again, with great earnestness: "Trouble not yourself any more about the matter: for I was born in the Roman Catholic religion; I have experienced its comforts during my life, in the trying seasons of sickness, calamity, and sorrow; and in this religion I am resolved to die." Even the two earls perceived, that it was fruitless to harass her any farther with theological disputes; and they ordered the dean to desist from his exhortations, and to pray for her conversion. During the dean's prayer, she employed herself in private devotion from the office of the Virgin; and after he had finished, she pronounced aloud some petitions in English for the afflicted church, for an end of her own troubles, for her son, and for queen Elizabeth; and prayed God, that that princess might long prosper, and be employed in his service. Carrying now her crucifix to her lips, she pressed it devoutly to them; and then eagerly looking upon it, she exclaimed, "O Christ! thou wert extended on the cross to save mankind when they were lost. Pardon my transgressions,

gressions, and stretch out thy arms to receive me in mercy." The earl of Kent observing that in her devotions she made frequent use of the crucifix, could not forbear reproving her for her attachment to that popish trumpery as he termed it; and he exhorted her to have Christ in her heart, not in her hand. She replied with presence of mind, that it was difficult to hold such an object in her hand without feeling her heart touched with some compunction.

She now began, with the aid of her two women, to disrobe herself; and the executioner also lent his hand to assist them. She smiled, and said, that she was not accustomed to undress herself before so large an assembly, nor to be served by such valets. Her servants seeing her in this condition, ready to lay her head upon the block, burst into tears and lamentations: she turned about to them; put her finger upon her lips, as a sign of imposing silence upon them; and having given them her blessing, desired them to pray for her. One of her maids, whom she had appointed for that purpose, covered her eyes with a handkerchief; she kneeled down, without any sign of fear or trepidation before the block, and said, "In thee, O Lord, do I trust; let me never be confounded!" She then covered her eyes with a linen handkerchief, in which the eucharist had been enclosed; and stretching forth her body, and fitting her neck for the fatal stroke, she called out, "Into thy hands, O God! I commit my spirit." Her head was then severed from her body at two strokes by the executioner. He instantly held it up to the spectators, streaming with blood, and agitated with the convulsions of death: the dean of Peterborough alone exclaimed, "So perish all queen Elizabeth's enemies!" The earl of Kent alone replied, "Amen!" The attention of all the other spectators was fixed on the melancholy scene before them; and zeal and flattery alike gave place to present pity and admiration of the expiring princess (*w*).

Thus perished, in the forty-sixth year of her age, and nineteenth of her captivity in England, Mary Stuart, queen of Scots, a woman of great accomplishments both of body and mind, natural as well as acquired; but unfortunate in her life, and during one period very unhappy in her conduct. The beauties of her person, and graces of her air, combined to make her the most amiable of women; and the charms of her address and conversation aided the impression which her lovely figure made on the hearts of all beholders. Ambitious and active in her temper, yet inclined to cheerfulness and society; of a lofty spirit, constant, and even vehement, in her purpose, yet polite, and gentle, and affable in her demeanour; she seemed to partake only so much of the male virtues as to render her estimable, without relinquishing those soft graces which compose the proper ornament of her sex. In order to form a just idea of her character, we must set aside one part of her conduct, while she abandoned herself to the guidance of a profligate man; and must consider these faults, whether we admit them to be imprudences or crimes, as the result of an inexplicable, though not uncommon, inconstancy in the human mind, of the frailty of our nature, of the violence of passion, and of the influence which situations, and sometimes momentary incidents, have on persons whose principles are not thoroughly confirmed by experience and reflection. Enraged by the ungrateful conduct of her husband, seduced by the treacherous counsels of one in whom she reposed confidence, transported by the violence of her own temper, which never lay sufficiently under the guidance of discretion, she was betrayed into actions which may with some difficulty be accounted for, but which admit of no apology, nor even of alleviation. An enumeration of her qualities might carry the appearance of a panegyric; an account of her conduct must in some parts wear the aspect of severe satire and invective. Her numerous misfortunes, the solitude of her long and tedious captivity, and the persecutions to which she had been exposed on account of her religion, had wrought her up to a degree of bigotry during her later years; and such were the prevalent spirit and principles of the age, that it is the less wonder if her zeal, her resentment, and her interest uniting, induced her to give consent to a design which conspirators, actuated only by the first of these motives, had formed against the life of Elizabeth.

When Mary's execution was made known to Elizabeth, she affected the utmost surprize and indignation. Her countenance changed; her speech faultered; and for a long time her sorrow was so deep that she could not express it, but stood fixed like a statue in silence and mute astonishment. After her grief was able to find vent, it burst out into loud wailings and lamentations; she put herself in deep mourning for this deplorable event; and she was seen perpetually bathed in tears, and surrounded only by her maids and women. None of her ministers or counsellors dared to approach her; or if any had such temerity, she chased them from her with the most violent expressions of rage and resentment: they had all of them been guilty of an unpardonable crime, in putting to death her dear sister and kinswoman, contrary to her fixed purpose, of which they were sufficiently apprized and acquainted.

No sooner was her sorrow so much abated as to leave room for reflection, than she wrote a letter of apology to the king of Scots, and sent it by sir Robert Cary, son of lord Hunsdon. But James refused to admit sir Robert Cary within his frontiers, though he afterwards consented that Elizabeth's epistle should be received, as well as a memorial written by Cary, which tended to exculpate the queen, and to throw the blame of Mary's execution on secretary Davison, whom, he said, the queen intended to punish severely for his presumption. Elizabeth, in her letter, told him, "that she wished he knew, but not felt, the unutterable grief which she experienced, on account of that lamentable accident, which without her knowledge, much less concurrence, had happened in England: that as her pen trembled when she attempted to write it, she found herself obliged to commit the relation of it to the messenger, her kinsman; who would likewise inform his majesty of every circumstance attending this dismal and unlooked-for misfortune: that she appealed to the supreme Judge of heaven and earth for her innocence; and was also so happy, amidst her other afflictions, as to find that many persons in her court could bear witness to her veracity in this protestation: that she abhorred dissimulation; deemed nothing more worthy of a prince than a sincere and open conduct; and could never surely be esteemed so base and poor-spirited as that, if she had really given orders for this fatal execution, she could on any consideration be induced to deny them: that, though sensible of the justice of the sentence pronounced against the unhappy prisoner, she determined from clemency, never to carry it into execution; and could not but resent the temerity of those who on this occasion had disappointed her intention: and that as no one loved him more dearly than herself, or bore a more anxious concern for his welfare; she hoped that he would consider every one as his enemy who endeavoured, on account of the present incident, to excite any animosity between them."

Elizabeth, that she might the better appease James, committed Davison to prison, and ordered him to be tried in the Star Chamber for his misdemeanour. The secretary was confounded; and being sensible of the danger which must attend his entering into a contest with the queen, he expressed penitence for his error, and submitted very patiently to be railed at by those very counsellors whose persuasion had induced him to incur the guilt, and who had promised to countenance and protect him, and even to take the responsibility of the transaction upon themselves. He was condemned to imprisonment during the queen's pleasure, and to pay a fine of ten thousand pounds. He remained a long time in custody; and the fine, though it reduced him to beggary, was rigorously exacted from him. All the favour which he could obtain from the queen, was sending him small supplies from time to time to keep him from perishing in necessity. He privately wrote an apology to his friend Walsingham, which contains many curious particulars. The French and Scotch ambassadors, he said, had been remonstrating with the queen in Mary's behalf; and immediately after their departure she commanded him, of her own accord, to deliver her the warrant for the execution of that princess. She signed it readily, and ordered it to be sealed with the great seal of England. She appeared in such good humour on the occasion, that she said to him in a jocular manner, "Go tell all this to Walsingham, who is now sick: though I fear he will die of sorrow when he hears of it." She added, that

(*w*) See Jebb, Strype, Camden, and Hume.—The body of Mary, in the August following was interred in the cathedral of Peterborough, with royal splendour: and her son James, after he had ascended the throne of England, commanded it to be removed to Westminster Abbey; where a magnificent tomb was erected to her memory in the south aisle of Henry the Seventh's chapel.

though

though she had so long delayed the execution, lest she should seem to be actuated by malice or cruelty, she was all along sensible of the necessity of it. In the same conversation she blamed sir Drue Drury and sir Amias Paulet, that they had not before eased her of this trouble; and she expressed her desire that Walsingham would bring them to compliance in that particular. She was so bent on this purpose, that some time after she asked Davison, Whether any letter had come from Paulet with regard to the service expected of him? Davison shewed her Paulet's letter; in which that gentleman positively refused to act any thing inconsistent with the principles of honour and justice. The queen fell into a passion; and accused Paulet as well as Drury of perjury; because, having taken the oath of association, in which they had bound themselves to avenge her wrongs, they had yet refused to lend their hand on this occasion. "But others," she said, "will be found less scrupulous (*x*)." Davison adds, that nothing but the consent and exhortations of the whole council could have engaged him to send off the warrant: he was well aware of his danger; and remembered that the queen, after having ordered the execution of the duke of Norfolk, had endeavoured, in a like manner, to throw the whole blame and odium of that action upon lord Burleigh (*y*).

Elizabeth's dissimulation was so gross that it could deceive nobody who was not previously resolved to be blinded; but as James's concern for his mother was certainly more sincere and cordial, he discovered the highest resentment, and refused to admit Cary into his presence. He recalled his ambassadors from England; and seemed to breathe nothing but war and vengeance. The states of Scotland being assembled, took part in his anger; and professed that they were ready to spend their lives and fortunes in revenge of his mother's death, and in defence of his title to the crown of England. Many of his nobility instigated him to take arms: lord Sinclair, when the courtiers appeared in deep mourning, presented himself to the king in complete armour, which, he said, was the proper mourning for the queen. The Catholics took the opportunity of exhorting James to make an alliance with the king of Spain, to lay immediate claim to the crown of England, and to prevent the ruin which, from his mother's example, he might conclude would certainly, if Elizabeth's power prevailed, overwhelm his person and his kingdom. The queen was sensible of the danger attending these counsels; and after allowing James some interval to vent his grief and anger, she employed her emissaries to pacify him, and to set before him every motive of hope or fear which might induce him to live in amity with her.

Walsingham wrote to lord Thirlstone, James's secretary, a letter to the same effect. He said, That he was much surprized to hear of the violent resolutions taken in Scotland, and of the passion discovered by a prince of so much judgement and temper as James: that a war, founded merely on the principle of revenge, and that too on account of an act of justice which necessity had extorted, would for ever be exposed to censure, and could not be excused by any principles of equity or reason: that if these views were deemed less momentous among princes, policy and interest ought certainly to be attended to; and these motives did still more evidently oppose all thoughts of a rupture with Elizabeth, and all revival of exploded claims to the English throne: that the inequality between the two kingdoms deprived James of any hopes of success, if he trusted merely to the force of his own state, and had no recourse to foreign powers for assistance: that the objections attending the introduction of succours from a more potent monarch appeared so evident from all the transactions of history, that they could not escape a person of the king's extensive knowledge; but there were, in the present case, several peculiar circumstances, which ought for ever to deter him from having recourse to so dangerous an expedient: that the French monarch, the ancient ally of Scotland, might willingly use the assistance of that kingdom against England; but would be displeased to see the union of these two kingdoms in the person of James; a union which would ever after exclude him from practising that policy formerly so useful to the French, and so pernicious to the Scottish nation: that Henry, besides, infested with faction and domestic war, was not in a condition of supporting distant allies; much less would he expose himself to any hazard or expence, in order to aggrandise a near kinsman of the house of Guise, the most determined enemies of his repose and authority: that the extensive power and exorbitant ambition of the Spanish monarch rendered him a still more dangerous ally to Scotland; and as he evidently aspired to an universal monarchy in the west, and had in particular advanced some claims to England, as if he were descended from the house of Lancaster, he was at the same time the common enemy of all princes who wished to maintain their independence; and the immediate rival and competitor of the king of Scots: that the queen, by her own naval power and her alliance with the Hollanders, would probably intercept all succours which might be sent to James from abroad, and be enabled to decide the controversy in this island, with the superior forces of her own kingdom, opposed to those of Scotland: that if the king revived his mother's pretensions to the crown of England, he must also embrace her religion, by which alone they could be justified; and must thereby undergo the infamy of abandoning those principles in which he had been strictly educated, and to which he had hitherto religiously adhered: that as he would, by such an apostacy, totally alienate all the Protestants in Scotland and England, he could never gain the confidence of the Catholics, who would still entertain reasonable doubts of his sincerity: that by advancing a present

(*x*) Although some authors have endeavoured to vindicate Elizabeth from the charge of wishing Mary to be put to death in a private manner, the following letters will set the matter in a clear light, and prove that she gave hints to that effect; and Mr. secretary Walsingham would never have written to sir Amias Paulet, recommending that measure, if it had not been agreeable to his mistress's instructions:

"After our hearty commendations, we find, by speech lately uttered by her majesty, that she doth note in you both a lack of that care and zeal for her service that she looketh for at your hands; in that you have not, in all this time, (of yourselves, without other provocation,) found out some way to shorten the life of that queen, considering the great peril she is hourly subject to so long as the said queen shall live. Wherein, besides a kind of lack of love towards her, she noteth greatly that you have not that care of your own particular safeties, or rather of the preservation of religion, and the public good and prosperity of your country, that reason and policy commandeth; especially having so good a warrant and ground for the satisfaction of your consciences towards God, and the discharge of your credit and reputation towards the world, as the oath of association, which you both have so solemnly taken and vowed; especially, the matter wherewith she standeth charged being clearly and manifestly proved against her. And therefore she taketh it most unkindly that men, professing that love towards her that you do, should in a kind of sort, for lack of the discharge of your duty, cast the burden upon her; knowing, as you do, her indisposition to shed blood, especially of one of that sex and quality, and so near to her in blood, as the said queen is. These respects, we find, do greatly trouble her majesty; who, we assure you, hath sundry times protested that, if the regard of the prayer of her good subjects and faithful servants did not more move her than her own peril, she would never be drawn to assent to the shedding of her blood. We thought it very meet to acquaint you with these speeches, lately passed from her majesty; referring the same to your good judgement. And so we commit you to the protection of the Almighty.

At London, FRA. WALSINGHAM.
1 *Feb.* 1587. WILLIAM DAVISON."

"*To the Right Honourable sir Amias Paulet, Knt. one of her Majesty's Most Honourable Privy Council.*"

Sir Amias Paulet and sir Drue Drury, on the receipt of this letter were so much hurt, that, though they were the slaves of religious prejudices, they felt an elevation of mind which reflected the greatest disgrace upon their sovereign. Considering themselves as grossly insulted by the proposal made to them, Paulet returned the following answer:

"SIR,

"Your letter of yesterday coming to my hands this present day at five in the afternoon, I would not fail, according to your direction, to return my answer with all possible speed; which I shall deliver unto you with great grief and bitterness of mind, in that I am so unhappy to have liven to see this unhappy day, in which I am required, by direction of my most gracious sovereign, to do an act which God and the law forbiddeth. My goods, livings, and life, are at her majesty's disposition; and I am ready to lose them this next morrow, if it shall so please her; acknowledging that I hold them as of her mere and most gracious favour, and do not desire to enjoy them but with her Highness's good liking. But God forbid that I should make so foul a shipwreck of my conscience, or leave so great a blot to my poor posterity, to shed blood without law and warrant; trusting that her majesty of her accustomed clemency, and the rather by your good mediation, will take this my dutiful answer in good part, as proceeding from one who will never be inferior to any Christian subject living in duty, honour, love, and obedience, towards his sovereign. And thus I commit you to the mercy of the Almighty.

"Your most assured poor friend,

"*From Fotheringay,* "A. PAULET."
2d of February, 1587.

"Your letters coming in the plural number, seem to be meant to sir Drue Drury as well as myself; and yet, because he is not named in them, neither the letter directed unto him, he forbeareth to make any particular answer, but subscribeth in heart to my opinion.

"D. DRURY."

(*y*) Camden, p. 538. Strype, vol. iii. p. 375, 376. MS. in the Advocates Library, A. 3. 28. p. 17 from the Cott. Lib. Calig. c. 9. Biogr. Brit. p. 1625. 1627.



LORD SINCLAIR ADVISING KING JAMES TO REVENGE
THE EXECUTION OF MARY QUEEN OF SCOTS.

Drawn by M. Brown. Engraved by E. Mullinet. Published by J. Stockdale 41 Holborn Hill Jan.3rd 1810.



claim to the crown, he forfeited the certain prospect of his succession, and revived that national animosity which the late peace and alliance between the kingdoms had happily extinguished: that the whole gentry and nobility of England had openly declared themselves for the execution of the queen of Scots; and if James shewed such violent resentment against that act of justice, they would be obliged, for their own security, to prevent for ever so implacable a prince from ruling in England: and that, however some persons might represent his honour as engaged to seek vengeance for the present offence, the true honour of a prince consisted in wisdom and moderation and justice, not in following the dictates of blind passion, or in pursuing revenge at the expence of every motive and interest. These considerations, joined to the peaceable temper of the young prince, prevailed over his ideas of resentment; and he fell gradually into a good correspondence with the court of England. It is probable, that the queen's chief object in her dissimulation with regard to the execution of Mary, was, that she might thereby afford James a decent pretence for renewing his amity with her, on which their mutual interest so much appeared to depend.

But while Elizabeth thus ensured tranquillity from the attempts of her nearest neighbour, she was not unmindful of more distant dangers. Hearing that Philip, on account of the death of Mary, though he seemed to dissemble on the occasion, was secretly preparing a large naval force to attack her; she sent sir Francis Drake with a fleet to intercept his supplies, to pillage his coast, and to destroy his shipping. Drake carried out four capital ships of the queen's, and twenty-six of different sizes, with which the London merchants, instigated by the hopes of sharing in the plunder, had supplied him. Having learned from two Dutch ships, which he met with in his passage, that a Spanish fleet, richly laden, was lying at Cadiz, ready to set sail for Lisbon, the rendezvous of the intended Armada, he bent his course to the former harbour, and made a bold and fortunate attack on the enemy. He obliged six gallies, which made head against him, to take shelter under the forts; he burned about a hundred vessels, laden with ammunition and naval stores; and he destroyed a great ship belonging to the marquis of Santa Croce. Thence he set sail for Cape St. Vincent, and took by assault the castle situated on that promontory, with three other fortresses. He next insulted Lisbon; and, finding that the merchants, who had engaged in the expedition solely in expectation of profit, were discontented at these military enterprizes, he set sail for the Terceras, with an intention of lying in wait for a rich carrack which was expected in those parts. He was so fortunate as to meet with his prize; and by this short expedition, in which the public bore so small a share, the adventurers were encouraged to attempt farther enterprizes. The English seamen learned to despise the great unwieldy ships of the enemy; the naval preparations of Spain were destroyed; the intended expedition against England was retarded a twelvemonth; and the queen thereby had leisure to take more secure measures against that formidable invasion which seemed to threaten her with dethronement, and to make this country a province of Spain.

The parliament, meeting on the 15th of February, 1587, in pursuance of their former adjournment, a motion was made in the commons to present an address of thanks to her majesty, for having put the queen of Scots to death; but this did not pass, because it would have fixed an imputation on Elizabeth, which she so eagerly sought to avoid. A petition, with a directory, or book of discipline, from the Puritans, being presented to the house, and seconded by four members, the queen sent for the book, and committed those members to the Tower, for having presumed to meddle in church matters, in contempt of her repeated inhibition. A motion was afterwards made to petition her for their release; but it was over-ruled, and they continued in confinement till the dissolution of parliament. This despotic exertion of severity did not hinder the servile commons from granting a subsidy; and, afterwards, a benevolence for supporting the war in the Netherlands. She also experienced a similar indulgence from the lords and clergy assembled in convocation.

This year Thomas Cavendish, a gentleman of Devonshire, who had dissipated a good estate by living at court, being resolved to repair his fortune at the expence of the Spaniards, fitted out three ships at Plymouth; one of a hundred and twenty tons, another of sixty, and a third of forty; and with these small vessels he ventured into the South Sea, and committed great depredations on the Spaniards. He took nineteen vessels, some of which were richly laden; and returning by the Cape of Good Hope, he came to London, and entered the river Thames in a kind of triumph. His mariners and soldiers were clothed in silk, his sails were of damask, his top-sail cloth of gold; and his prizes were esteemed the richest that had ever been brought into England.

During this campaign, the land enterprizes of the English were not very advantageous or honourable to the nation. The important place of Deventer was intrusted by Leicester to William Stanley, with a garrison of twelve hundred English; and this gentleman, being a Catholic, was alarmed at the discovery of Babington's conspiracy, and became apprehensive lest every one of his religion should thenceforth be treated with distrust in England. He entered into a correspondence with the Spaniards, betrayed the city to them for a sum of money, and engaged the whole garrison to desert with him to the Spanish service. Roland York, who commanded a fort near Zutphen, imitated his example; and the Hollanders, formerly disgusted with Leicester, and suspicious of the English, preferred loud complaints against the improvidence, if not the treachery, of his administration. Shortly after he himself arrived in the Low Countries; but his conduct was by no means calculated to give them satisfaction, or to remove the suspicions which they had entertained against him. The prince of Parma having besieged Sluys, Leicester attempted to relieve the place, first by sea, then by land; but failed in both enterprizes; and as he ascribed his bad success to the ill behaviour of the Hollanders, they were equally free in reflections upon his conduct. The breach between them became wider every day: they slighted his authority, opposed his measures, and neglected his counsels; while he endeavoured, by an imperious behaviour and by violence, to recover that influence which he had lost by his imprudent and ill-concerted measures. He was even suspected by the Dutch of a design to usurp upon their liberties; and the jealousy entertained against him began to extend even towards the queen herself. That princess had made some advances towards a peace with Spain: a congress had been opened at Bourbourg, a village near Graveline: and though the two courts, especially that of Spain, had no other intention than to amuse each of them its enemy by negociation, and mutually relax the preparations for defence or attack, the Dutch, who were determined on no terms to return under the Spanish yoke, became apprehensive lest their liberty should be sacrificed to the political interests of England. But Elizabeth, who knew the importance of her alliance with the States during the present critical situation of affairs, was resolved to give them entire satisfaction, by recalling Leicester, and ordering him to resign his government: yet lord Buckhurst, whom she had sent into Holland to enquire into the validity of those complaints which had been exhibited against her favourite, having given her such an account of his embassy as justice and probity required, incurred her immediate displeasure, and was even confined for some time, as if he had been the culprit, and the profligate Leicester a model of honesty.

After the departure of Leicester, Maurice, son of the late prince of Orange, a youth of twenty years of age, was elected by the States governor in his place; and Peregrine, lord Willoughby was appointed by the queen commander of the English forces. The measures of these two generals were much embarrassed by the malignity of Leicester, who had left a faction behind him, and who still attempted, by means of his emissaries, to disturb all the operations of the States. As soon as Elizabeth received intelligence of these disorders, she took care to redress them; and she obliged all the partizans of England to fall into unanimity with prince Maurice. But though her good sense so far prevailed over her partiality to Leicester, she never could be made fully sensible of his vices and incapacity; and the submissions which he made her restored him to her wonted favour.

But the earl of Leicester was not the only favourite which Elizabeth had: sir Christopher Hatton stood forth as his rival; and, about this time, received some signal marks of her partiality. "Being young," says Camden, "and of a comely tallness of body, and amiable countenance, he got into such favour with the queen, that she took him into her band of fifty gentlemen pensioners; and afterwards, for his modest sweetness of conditions,

unto the number of her gentlemen of her privy chamber; made him captain of her guard, vice-chamberlain, and one of her privy council; and, lastly, made him lord chancellor," though he had never followed the profession of the law, on the decease of sir Thomas Bromley. Lady Shrewsbury mentions some particulars relative to the great degree of favour which this courtier enjoyed, which certainly were not calculated to preserve "the unspotted purity" of our "*virgin* queen." It is, however, but justice to observe, that sir Christopher Hatton by no means disgraced the high station to which he had been so unexpectedly elevated: his good natural capacity supplied the place of experience and study; and his decisions were not found deficient either in point of equity or judgement. His enemies had contributed to this promotion, in hopes that his absence from court, while he attended the business of chancery, would gradually estrange the queen from him, and give them an opportunity of undermining him in her favour.

In 1588, the intrigues and cabals of the court were silenced by the accounts which were brought from all quarters, of the vast preparations made by the Spaniards for the invasion of England, and for the entire conquest of that kingdom. Philip, though he had not yet declared war, on account of the hostilities which Elizabeth every where committed upon him, had long harboured a secret and violent desire of revenge against her. His ambition, and the hopes of extending his empire, were much encouraged by the prosperous state of his affairs at that time; by the conquest of Portugal, the acquisition of the East Indian commerce and settlements, and the yearly importation of vast treasures from America. The point on which he rested his highest glory, the perpetual object of his policy, was to support what he esteemed orthodoxy, and exterminate the enemies of the Catholic church; and as the power and credit of Elizabeth were the chief bulwarks of the Protestants, he hoped, if he could subdue that princess, to acquire the eternal renown of re-uniting the whole Christian world within the pale of his own church. Above all, his indignation against his revolted subjects in the Netherlands instigated him to attack the English, who had encouraged that insurrection, and who, by their vicinity, were so well enabled to support the Hollanders, that he could never hope to reduce these rebels while the power of that kingdom remained entire and unbroken. To subdue England seemed to him a necessary preparative to the re-establishment of his authority in the Netherlands; and notwithstanding appearances, the former was in itself, as a more important, so a more easy undertaking than the latter. That kingdom lay nearer Spain than the Low Countries, and was more exposed to invasions from that quarter; after an enemy had once obtained entrance, the difficulty seemed to be over, as it was neither fortified by art or nature; a long peace had deprived it of all military discipline and experience; and the Catholics, of which great numbers still remained in the land, would be ready, it was imagined, to join any invader who should free them from those persecutions under which they laboured, and should revenge the death of the queen of Scots, on whom they had fixed all their hopes of emancipation from the shackles of the Protestants. The fate of England must be decided in one battle at sea, and another at land; and what comparison between the English and Spaniards, either in point of naval force, or in the numbers, reputation, and veteran bravery of their armies? Besides the acquisition of so great a kingdom, success against England ensured the immediate subjection of the Hollanders, who, attacked on every hand, and deprived of all support, must yield their stubborn necks to that yoke which they had so long resisted. Happily this conquest, as it was of the utmost importance to the grandeur of the Spanish monarch, would not at present be opposed by the jealousy of other powers, naturally so much interested to prevent the success of the enterprize. A truce was lately concluded with the Turks; the Empire was in the hands of a friend and near ally; and France, the perpetual rival of Spain, was so torn with intestine commotions, that she had no leisure to pay attention to her foreign interests. This favourable opportunity, therefore, which might never again present itself, must be seized; and one bold effort made for acquiring that ascendant in Europe, to which the present greatness and prosperity of the Spaniards seemed so fully to entitle them.

These hopes and motives engaged Philip, notwithstanding his temper, to undertake this hazardous enterprize; and though the prince, now created by the pope duke of Parma, when consulted, opposed the attempt, at least represented the necessity of previously getting possession of some sea-port town in the Netherlands, which might afford a retreat to the Spanish navy, it was determined by the bigoted monarch to proceed immediately to the execution of this daring and ambitious project. During some time he had been secretly making preparations; and so soon as the resolution was fully taken, every part of his vast empire resounded with the noise of armaments, and all his ministers, generals and admirals, were employed in forwarding the design. The marquis of Santa Croce, a sea-officer of great reputation and experience was appointed to command the fleet; and by his counsels were the naval equipments conducted. In all the ports of Sicily, Naples, Spain, and Portugal, artizans were employed in building vessels of uncommon magnitude and force; naval stores were brought at a great expence; provisions amassed; armies levied and quartered in the maritime towns of Spain; and plans laid for fitting out such a fleet and embarkation as had never before had its equal in Europe. The military preparations in Flanders were no less formidable. Troops from all quarters were every moment assembling, to reinforce the duke of Parma. Capizuchi and Pinelli conducted forces from Italy: the marquis of Borgant, a prince of the house of Austria, levied troops in Germany: the Walloon and Burgundian regiments were completed or augmented: the Spanish infantry was supplied with recruits; and an army of thirty-four thousand men was assembled in the Netherlands, and kept in readiness to be transported into England. The duke of Parma employed all the carpenters whom he could procure, either in Flanders or in Lower Germany, and the coasts of the Baltic; and he built at Dunkirk, and Nieuport, but especially at Antwerp, a great number of boats and flat-bottomed vessels, for the transporting of his infantry and cavalry. The most renowned nobility and princes of Italy and Spain were ambitious of sharing in the honour of this great enterprize. Don Amadæus of Savoy, don John of Medicis, Vespasian Gonzaga, duke of Sabionetta, and the duke of Pastrana, hastened to join the army under the duke of Parma. About two thousand volunteers in Spain, many of them men of family, had enlisted in the service. No doubts indeed were entertained, but such vast preparations, conducted by officers of such consummate skill, must finally be successful. And the Spaniards, ostentatious of their power, and elated with vain hopes, had already denominated their navy the INVINCIBLE ARMADA.

Intelligence of these extraordinary preparations soon reached the court of London; and notwithstanding the secrecy of the Spanish council, and their pretending to employ this force in the Indies, it was properly concluded, that they meant to make some effort against England. The queen had foreseen the invasion; and finding that she must now contend for her crown with the whole force of Spain, she made preparations for resistance; nor was she dismayed with that power by which all Europe apprehended she must of necessity be overwhelmed. Her force indeed seemed very unequal to resist so powerful an enemy. All the sailors in England amounted at that time, according to Monson, to about fourteen thousand men. The size of the English shipping was in general so small, that except a few of the queen's ships of war, there were not four vessels belonging to the merchants which exceeded four hundred tons. The royal navy consisted only of twenty-eight sail, many of which were of small size; none of them exceeded the bulk of our largest frigates, and most of them deserved rather the name of pinnaces than of ships. The only advantage of the English fleet consisted in the dexterity and courage of the seamen, who, being accustomed to sail in tempestuous seas, and expose themselves to all dangers, as much exceeded in this particular the Spanish mariners, as their vessels were inferior in size and force to those of that nation. All the commercial towns of England were required to furnish ships for reinforcing this small navy; and they discovered on the present occasion great alacrity in defending their liberty and religion against those imminent perils with which they were threatened. The citizens of London, in order to shew their zeal in the common cause, instead of fifteen vessels, which they were commanded to equip, voluntarily fitted out double the number. The nobility and gentry hired, and armed, and manned, forty-three ships at their own charge; and all the loans of money which the queen demanded were frankly granted by the persons applied




ELIZABETH IN THE CAMP AT TILBURY.
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plied to. Lord Howard of Effingham, a man of courage and capacity, was admiral, and took on him the command of the navy: Drake, Hawkins, and Frobisher, the most celebrated seamen in Europe, served under him. The principal fleet was stationed at Plymouth. A smaller squadron, consisting of forty vessels, English and Flemish, was commanded by lord Seymour, second son of protector Somerset; and lay off Dunkirk, in order to intercept the duke of Parma.

The land forces of England, compared to those of Spain, possessed contrary qualities to its naval power: they were more numerous than the enemy, but much inferior in discipline, reputation, and experience. An army of twenty thousand men was disposed in different bodies along the south coast; and orders were given them, if they could not prevent the landing of the Spaniards, to retire backwards, to waste the country around, and to wait for reinforcements from the neighbouring counties, before they approached the enemy. A body of twenty-two thousand foot, and a thousand horse, under the command of the earl of Leicester, was stationed at Tilbury, in order to defend the capital. The principal army consisted of thirty-four thousand foot, and two thousand horse, and was commanded by lord Hunsdon. These forces were reserved for guarding the queen's person, and were appointed to march whithersoever the enemy should appear. The fate of England, if all the Spanish armies should be able to land, seemed to depend on the issue of a single battle; and men of reflexion entertained the most dismal apprehensions, when they considered the force of fifty thousand veteran Spaniards, commanded by experienced officers, under the duke of Parma, the most consummate general of the age; and compared this formidable armament with the military power, which England, not enervated by peace, but long disused to war, could raise to oppose it.

At this trying conjuncture, the chief support of the kingdom seemed to consist in the vigour and prudence of the queen's conduct; who, undismayed by the present dangers, issued all her orders with tranquillity, raised the drooping spirits of her people, animated them to a steady resistance, and employed every resource which either her domestic situation or her foreign alliances could afford her, to avert the evil effects of the threatened attack. She sent sir Robert Sidney into Scotland; and exhorted the king to remain attached to her, and to consider the danger which at present menaced his sovereignty no less than her own, from the ambition of the Spanish tyrant (z): the ambassador found James, whose eagerness to possess the crown of England, if he should survive the queen, appears to have prevailed at all times over the suggestions of honour or the feelings of nature, well disposed to cultivate a union with Elizabeth, and that prince even kept himself prepared to march with the whole force of his kingdom to the assistance of the queen. Her authority with the king of Denmark, and the tie of their common religion, engaged this monarch, upon her application, to seize a squadron of ships which Philip had bought or hired in the Danish harbours: the Hanse Towns, though not at that time on good terms with Elizabeth, were induced by the same motives to retard so long the equipment of some vessels in their ports, that they became useless to the purpose of invading England. All the Protestants throughout Europe regarded this enterprize as the critical event, which was to decide for ever the fate of their religion; and though unable, by reason of their distance, to join their force to that of Elizabeth, they kept their eyes fixed on her conduct and fortune, and beheld with anxiety, mixed with admiration, the intrepid countenance with which she encountered that louring storm which threatened every moment to burst over her head.

The queen also was sensible that, next to the general popularity which she enjoyed, and the confidence which her subjects reposed in her prudent government, the firmest support of her throne consisted in the general zeal of the people for the Protestant religion, and the inveterate hatred which they had imbibed against the principles of the church of Rome. She took care, on the present occasion, to revive in the nation this attachment to their own sect, and this abhorrence of the opposite. The English were reminded of their former danger from the tyranny of Spain: all the barbarities exercised by Mary against the Protestants, were ascribed to the counsels of that bigoted and imperious nation: the bloody massacres in the Indies, the unrelenting executions in the Low Countries, the horrid cruelties and iniquities of the inquisition, were submitted to the contemplation of the English Protestants. A list and description was published and pictures dispersed, of the several instruments of torture with which, it was pretended, the Spanish Armada was loaded: and every artifice, as well as reason, was employed to animate the people to a vigorous defence of their religion, their laws, and their liberties.

But while the queen, in this critical situation of her affairs, roused the animosity of the nation against Popery, she treated the partizans of that communion with moderation, and conciliated their affections by the lenity which was exercised towards them. Though she knew that Sixtus Quintus, the reigning pontiff, who was famous for his capacity and his tyranny, had fulminated a new bull of excommunication against her, had deposed her, had absolved her subjects from their oaths of allegiance, had published a crusade against England, and had granted plenary indulgences to every one engaged in the present invasion; she would not believe that all her Catholic subjects could be so blinded, as to sacrifice to bigotry their duty to their sovereign, and the liberty and independence of their native country. She rejected all violent counsels, by which she was urged to seek pretences for dispatching the leaders of that party: she would not even confine any considerable number of them: and the Catholics, sensible of this good usage, generally expressed great zeal for the public service. Some gentlemen of that sect, conscious that they could not justly expect any trust or authority, entered themselves as volunteers in the fleet or army: some equipped ships at their own charge, and gave the command of them to Protestants: others were active in animating their tenants, and vassals, and neighbours, to the defence of their country: and every rank of men, burying for the present all party distinctions, and considerations of inferior import, seemed to prepare themselves with order as well as with vigour to resist the violence of the hostile banditti who sought to invade their island and enslave their persons.

The more to excite the martial spirit of the nation, the queen appeared on horseback in the camp which had been formed at Tilbury; and riding through the lines, discovered a chearful and animated countenance, and delivered the following speech, peculiarly calculated to increase the martial spirit of her troops, in a tone of voice that tended to heighten its effect: "My loving people, we have been persuaded by some, that are careful of our safety, to take heed how we commit ourselves to armed multitudes, for fear of treachery; but assure you, I do not desire to live to distrust my faithful and loving people. Let tyrants fear: I have always so behaved myself, that, under God, I have placed my chiefest strength and safeguard in the loyal hearts and good-will of my subjects. And therefore I am come amongst you at this time, not as for my recreation or sport, but being resolved, in the midst and heat of the battle, to live or die amongst you all; to lay down, for my God, and for my kingdom, and for my people, my honour and my blood, even in the dust. I know I have but the body of a weak and feeble woman; but I have the heart of a king, and of a king of England too: and think foul scorn, that Parma, or Spain, or any prince of Europe, should dare to invade the borders of my realms. To which, rather than my dishonour shall grow by me, I myself will be your general, judge, and rewarder of every one of your virtues in the field. I know already, by your forwardness, that you have deserved rewards and crowns; and we do assure you, on the word of a prince, they shall be duly paid you. In the mean time, my lieutenant-general shall be in my stead; than whom never prince commanded a more noble and worthy subject: not doubting, by your obedience to my general, by your concord in the camp, and your valour in the field, we shall shortly have a famous victory over those enemies of my God, of my kingdom, and of my people."

By this spirited and judicious conduct she revived the tenderness and admiration of the soldiery: an attachment to her person became a kind of enthusiasm among them: and they asked one another, Whether it were possible that Englishmen could abandon this glorious cause, could display less fortitude than appeared in the female sex, or could

(z) It is said that Elizabeth made him some promises which she never fulfilled, to give him a dukedom in England, with suitable lands and revenue, to settle five thousand pounds a year on him, and pay him a guard, for the safety of his person. From a MS. of lord Royston's.

could ever by any dangers be induced to relinquish the defence of their heroic princess?

But notwithstanding their mighty preparations, Philip and Elizabeth endeavoured to amuse each other with a negociation, in order to gain time for the more effectual accomplishment of their respective plans. The duke of Parma met the English envoys in Flanders; and the conferences were opened at Bourboweg; but a truce proposed by the latter was rejected; and, as every article submitted to discussion was illusory, no plan of accommodation, of course, could take place. The conferences, however, were employed till the approach of the Spanish Armada; when the English commissioners were dismissed, with a safe conduct, to Calais.

The grand Spanish Armada was ready in the beginning of May, 1588, but the moment it was preparing to sail, the marquis of Santa Croce, the admiral, was seized with a fever, of which he soon after died. The vice-admiral, the duke of Paliano, by a strange concurrence of accidents, at the very same time suffered the same fate; and the king appointed, as commander of the fleet, the duke of Medina Sidonia, a nobleman of great family, but totally unexperienced in action, and entirely unacquainted with maritime affairs. Alcarede was appointed vice-admiral. This misfortune, besides the loss of so great an officer as Santa Croce, retarded the sailing of the Armada, and gave the English more time for their preparations to oppose them. At last, the Spanish fleet, full of hopes and alacrity, set sail from Lisbon, on the 29th of May; but next day met with a violent tempest, which scattered the ships, sunk some of the smallest, and forced the rest to take shelter in the Groine, where they waited till they could be refitted.

When news of this event was carried to England, the queen concluded that the design of an invasion would be deferred till the following season; and being always ready to lay hold on every pretence for saving money, she made Walsingham write to the admiral, directing him to lay up some of the larger ships, and to discharge the seamen: but lord Effingham, who was not so sanguine in his hopes, used the freedom to disobey these orders; and he begged leave to retain all the ships in service, though it should be at his own expence. Taking advantage of a north wind, he sailed towards the coast of Spain, with an intention of attacking the enemy in their harbours; but the wind changing to the south, he became apprehensive lest they might have set sail, and by passing him at sea, invade England, now exposed by the absence of the fleet. He returned, therefore, with the utmost expedition to Plymouth, and lay at anchor in that harbour. In the mean time, all the damages of the Armada had been repaired; and the Spaniards with fresh hopes set out again to sea, in prosecution of their enterprize (*a*). It is probable that the Spanish fleet passed him in a fog; for the very day after his return to port, they were seen off the coast of Cornwall.

The king of Spain's intention was, that the Armada should sail to the coast opposite to Dunkirk and Nieuport; and, having chased away all English or Flemish vessels, which might obstruct the passage (for it was never supposed they could make opposition,) should join themselves with the duke of Parma, should thence make sail to the Thames, and having landed the whole Spanish army, thus complete at one blow the entire conquest of England. In prosecution of this scheme, Philip gave orders to the duke of Medina, that in passing along the Channel, he should sail as near the coast of France as he could with safety; that he should by this policy avoid meeting with the English fleet; and, keeping in view the main enterprize, should neglect all smaller successes, which might prove an obstacle, or even interpose a delay, to the acquisition of a kingdom. After the Armada was under sail, they took a fisherman, who informed them that the English admiral had been lately at sea, had heard of the tempest which scattered the Armada, had retired back into Plymouth, and no longer expecting an invasion this season, had laid up his ships, and discharged most of the seamen. From this false intelligence the duke of Medina conceived the great facility of attacking and destroying the English ships in harbour; and he was tempted by the prospect of an advantage so important to break his orders, and make sail directly for Plymouth: a resolution to which England was indebted for her safety. The Lizard was the first land made by the Armada, about sun-set on the 19th of July; and as the Spaniards took it for the Ram-head near Plymouth, they bore out to sea with an intention of returning next day, and commencing an attack on the English navy. They were descried by Fleming, a Scottish pirate, who was roving in those seas, and who immediately set sail to inform the English admiral of their approach: another fortunate event which contributed extremely to the safety of the fleet. Effingham had just time to get out of port, when he saw the Spanish Armada coming full sail towards him, disposed in the form of a crescent, and stretching the distance of seven miles from the extremity of one division to that of the other.

The writers of that age raise their style by a pompous description of this appearance of the fleet; the most magnificent that had ever been seen upon the ocean, infusing equal terror and admiration into the minds of all beholders. The lofty masts, the swelling sails, and the towering prows of the Spanish galleons, seem impossible to be justly painted, but by assuming the diction of poetry; and an eloquent historian of Italy, in imitation of Camden, has asserted, that the Armada, though the ships bore every sail, yet advanced with a slow motion; as if the ocean groaned with supporting, and the winds were tired with impelling, so enormous a weight. The truth, however, is, that the largest of the Spanish vessels would scarcely pass for third rates in the present navy of England; yet were they so ill framed, or so ill governed, that they were quite unwieldly, and could not sail upon a wind, nor tack on occasion, nor be managed in stormy weather by the seamen. Neither the mechanics of ship-building, nor the experience of mariners, had attained so great perfection as could serve for the security and government of such bulky vessels; and the English, who had already had experience how unserviceable they commonly were, beheld without dismay their tremendous appearance.

Effingham gave orders not to come to close fight with the Spaniards; where the size of the ships, he suspected, and the numbers of the soldiers, would be a disadvantage to the English; besides, he was greatly inferior in the number of his ships, men, and guns, as well as in weight of metal: he therefore determined to cannonade them at a distance, and to wait the opportunity which winds, currents, or various accidents, must afford him, of intercepting some scattered vessels of the enemy. Nor was it long before the event answered his expectations. A great ship of Biscay, on board of which was a considerable part of the Spanish money, was supposed to have been set on fire by the gunner, who was a Dutchman, and who had committed this act in consequence of some ill treatment he had experienced; and while all hands were employed in extinguishing the flames, she fell behind the rest of the Armada: the great galleon of Andalusia was detained by the springing of her mast; and both these vessels were taken, after some resistance, by sir Francis Drake. As the Armada advanced up the Channel, the English hung upon its rear, and still infested it with skirmishes and constant canonading. Each trial of skill abated the confidence of the Spaniards, and added courage to the English; and the latter soon found, that even in close fight the size of the Spanish ships was no advantage to them. Their bulk exposed them the more to the fire of the enemy; while their cannon, placed too high, shot over the heads of the English. The alarm having now reached the coast of England, the nobility and gentry hastened out with their vessels from every harbour, and reinforced the admiral. The earls of Oxford, Northumberland, and Cumberland, sir Thomas Cecil, sir Robert Cecil, sir Walter Raleigh, sir Thomas Vavasor, sir Thomas Gerrard, sir Charles Blount, with many others, distinguished themselves by this generous and disinterested service of their country. The English fleet, after the conjunction of those ships, amounted to a hundred and forty sail.

The Armada had now reached Calais, and cast anchor before that place; in expectation that the duke of Parma, who had received intelligence of their approach, would put to sea and join his forces to theirs. The English admiral practised here a successful stratagem upon the Spaniards. He took eight of his smaller ships, and filling them with combustibles, sent them one after another into the midst of the enemy. The Spaniards fancied that

(*a*) The fleet consisted of a hundred and thirty vessels, of which near a hundred were galleons, and were of greater size than any ever before used in Europe. It carried on board nineteen thousand two hundred and ninety-five soldiers, eight thousand four hundred and fifty-six mariners, two thousand and eighty eight galley-slaves, and two thousand six hundred and thirty great pieces of brass ordnance. It was victualled for six months; and was attended by twenty lesser ships, called caravals, and ten salves with six oars a-piece.

they were fireships of the same contrivance with a famous vessel which had lately done so much execution in the Scheldt near Antwerp; and they immediately cut their cables, and took to flight with the greatest disorder and precipitation. The English fell upon them next morning while in confusion; and besides doing great damage to other ships, they took or destroyed about twelve of the enemy.

It was now become apparent, that the intention for which these mighty preparations were made by the Spaniards, was entirely frustrated. The vessels provided by the duke of Parma were made for transporting soldiers, not for fighting; and that general, when urged to leave the harbour, positively refused to expose his flourishing army to such apparent hazard; while the English not only were able to keep the sea, but seemed even to triumph over their enemy. The Spanish admiral found, in many rencounters, that while he lost so considerable a part of his own navy, he had destroyed only one small vessel of the English; and he foresaw, that by continuing so unequal a combat, he must draw inevitable destruction on all the remainder. He prepared therefore to return homewards; but as the wind was contrary to his passage through the Channel, he resolved to sail northwards, and making the tour of the island, reach the Spanish harbours by the ocean. The English fleet followed him during some time; and had not their ammunition fallen short, by the negligence of the offices in supplying them, they had obliged the whole Armada to surrender at discretion. The duke of Medina had once taken that resolution; but was diverted from it by the advice of his confessor. This conclusion of the enterprize would have been more glorious to the English; but the event proved almost equally fatal to the Spaniards. A violent tempest overtook the Armada after it passed the Orkneys: the ships had already lost their anchors and were obliged to keep to sea: the mariners, unaccustomed to such hardships, and not able to govern such unwieldly vessels, yielded to the fury of the storm, and allowed their ships to drive either on the western isles of Scotland, or on the coast of Ireland, where they were miserably wrecked. Not one half of the navy returned to Spain; and the seamen as well as soldiers who remained, were so overcome with hardships and fatigue, and so dispirited by their discomfiture, that they filled all Spain with accounts of the desperate valour of the English, and of the tempestuous violence of that ocean which encompasses their islands.

Such was the miserable and dishonourable conclusion of an enterprize which had been preparing for three years, and which had exhausted the revenue and force of Spain, and which had long filled all Europe with anxiety or expectation. Philip, who was a slave to his ambition, but had an entire command over his countenance, no sooner heard of the mortifying event which blasted all his hopes, than he fell on his knees, and rendering thanks for that gracious dispensation of Providence, expressed his joy that the calamity was no greater. There is great reason, however, to doubt the truth of their accounts; particularly as Copley, an English refugee at the court of Madrid, expressly assures us, in his Memoirs, that Philip, who was at mass when he received the intelligence, evinced the greatest agitation; and immediately swore, upon the altar, that all his power and wealth should be employed to inflict vengeance upon England, and that he would either conquer that kingdom or lose his own. The duke of Medina was ordered not to appear at court; and, but for the interposition of his beautiful wife, it is probable he would have experienced a much severer punishment. All Spain was in tears; and there was scarcely a single family of distinction in the kingdom but had to deplore the loss of a husband, a parent, a child, or a relation. The Spanish priests, who had so often blest this holy crusade, and foretold its infallible success, were somewhat at a loss to account for the victory gained over the Catholic monarch by excommunicated heretics and an execrable usurper: but they at last discovered, that all the calamities of the Spaniards had proceeded from their allowing the infidel Moors to live among them.

On the 4th of September, soon after the dispersion of the Spanish Armada, died the earl of Leicester, the queen's great, but unworthy favourite. Her affection for him continued to the last. He had discovered no conduct in any of his military enterprizes, and was even suspected of cowardice; yet she entrusted him with the command of her armies during the danger of the Spanish invasion; a partiality which might have proved fatal to her, had the duke of Parma been able to land his troops in England. She had even ordered a commission to be drawn for him, constituting him her lieutenant in the kingdoms of England and Ireland; but Burleigh and Hatton represented to her the danger of entrusting such unlimited authority in the hands of any subject, and prevented the execution of that design. No wonder that a conduct so unlike the usual jealousy of Elizabeth, gave reason to suspect that her partiality was founded on some other passion than friendship. But Elizabeth seemed to carry her affection to Leicester no farther than the grave: she ordered his goods to be disposed of at a public sale, in order to reimburse herself of some debt which he owed her; and her usual attention to money was observed to prevail over her regard to the memory of the deceased. This earl was a great hypocrite, a pretender to the strictest religion, an encourager of the Puritans, and a founder of hospitals.

On the 4th of February, 1589, the queen summoned a new parliament; and received from them a supply of two subsidies and four fifteenths, payable in four years. This is the first instance that subsidies were doubled in one supply; and so unusual a concession was probably obtained from the joy of the late success, and from the general sense of the queen's necessities. Some members objected to this heavy charge, on account of the great burthen of loans which had lately been imposed upon the nation.

Elizabeth, suspecting that this house of commons, like all the foregoing, would be governed by the Puritans, resolved to obviate their enterprizes, by renewing, at the beginning of the session, her usual injunction, that the parliament should not on any account presume to treat of ecclesiastical affairs. Notwithstanding this strict inhibition, the zeal of one Damport moved him to present a bill to the commons for remedying spiritual grievances, and for restraining the tyranny of the ecclesiastical commission, which were certainly great: but when Mr. secretary Woley reminded the house of her majesty's commands, no one durst second the motion; the bill was not so much as read; and the speaker returned it to Damport without taking the least notice of it. Some members, notwithstanding the general submission, were even committed to custody on account of this attempt.

But the imperious conduct of Elizabeth appeared still more clearly in another parliamentary transaction. The right of purveyance was an ancient prerogative, by which the officers of the crown could at pleasure take provisions for the household from all the neighbouring counties, and could make use of the carts and carriages of the farmers; and the price of these commodities and services was fixed and stated. The payment of the money was often distant and uncertain; and the rates, being fixed before the discovery of the West-Indies, were much inferior to the present market price; so that purveyance, besides the slavery of it, was always regarded as a great burthen, and being arbitrary and casual, was liable to great abuses. We may fairly presume, that the hungry courtiers of Elizabeth, supported by her unlimited power, would be sure to render this prerogative very oppressive to the people; and the commons had last session found it necessary to pass a bill for regulating these exactions: but the bill was lost in the house of peers. The continuance of the abuses begat a new attempt for redress; and the same bill was now revived, and again sent up to the house of peers, together with a bill for some new regulations in the court of exchequer. Soon after the commons received a message from the upper house, desiring them to appoint a committee for a conference. At this conference, the peers informed them, that the queen, by a message delivered by lord Burleigh, had expressed her displeasure, that the commons should presume to touch on her prerogative. If there were any abuses, she said, either in imposing purveyance, or in the practice of the court of exchequer, her majesty was both able and willing to provide due reformation; but would not permit the parliament to intermeddle in these matters. The commons, alarmed at this intelligence, appointed another committee to attend the queen, and endeavoured to satisfy her of their humble and dutiful intentions. Elizabeth gave a gracious reception to the committee; she expressed her great *inestimable loving care* towards her loving subjects; which, she said, was greater than of her own self, or even than any of them could have of themselves. She told them, that she had already given orders for an inquiry into the abuses attending purveyance, but the dangers of the

Spanish invasion had retarded the progress of the design; that she had as much skill, will, and power to rule her household as any subjects whatsoever to govern theirs, and needed as little the assistance of her neighbours; that the exchequer was her chamber, consequently more near to her than even her household, and therefore the less proper for them to intermeddle with; and that she would of herself, with advice of her council and the judges, redress every grievance in these matters, but would not permit the commons, by laws moved without her privity, to bereave her of the honour attending these regulations. The issue of this matter was the same that attended all contests between Elizabeth and her parliaments. She seems even to have been more imperious in this particular than her predecessors; at least the more remote ones: for they often permitted the abuses of purveyance (*b*) to be redressed by law. Edward III. a very arbitrary prince, allowed ten several statutes to be enacted for that purpose.

In so great awe did the commons stand of every courtier, as well as of the crown, that they durst use no freedom of speech which they thought would give the least offence to any of them. Sir Edward Hobby shewed in the house his extreme grief, that by some great personage, not a member of the house, he had been sharply rebuked for speeches delivered in parliament: he craved the favour of the house, and desired that some of the members might inform the great personage of his true meaning and intention in these speeches. The commons, to obviate these inconveniencies, passed a vote that no one should reveal the secrets of the house. An act was passed this session, enforcing the former statute, which imposed twenty pounds a month on every one absent from public worship: but the penalty was restricted to two-thirds of the income of the recusant. 29 Eliz. cap. 6.

The destruction of the Spanish Armada had begotten in the English nation a kind of enthusiastic passion for enterprizes against Spain; and nothing seemed now impossible to be achieved by the valour and fortune of the English. Don Antonio, prior of Crato, a natural son of the royal family of Portugal, trusting to the aversion of his countrymen against the Castilians, had advanced a claim to the crown; and flying first to France, thence to England, had been encouraged both by Henry and Elizabeth in his pretensions. A design was in consequence formed by the people, not by the court of England, to conquer the kingdom for don Antonio: sir Francis Drake and sir John Norris were the leaders in this romantic enterprize: near twenty thousand volunteers enlisted themselves in the service: and ships were hired, as well as arms provided, at the charge of the adventurers. The queen's frugality kept her from contributing more than sixty thousand pounds to the expence; and she only allowed six of her ships of war to attend the expedition. There was more spirit and bravery, than foresight or prudence, in the conduct of this undertaking; for the small stock of the adventurers did not enable them to purchase either provisions or ammunition sufficient for such an enterprize: they even wanted vessels to stow the numerous volunteers who crowded to them; and they therefore made bold to seize by force some ships of the Hanse Towns, which they met with at sea: an expedient which set them somewhat more at ease in point of room for their men, but remedied not the deficiency of their provisions. Had they sailed directly to Portugal, it is supposed, that the good-will of the people, joined to the defenceless state of the country, might have ensured them of success: but hearing that great preparations were making at the Groine for the invasion of England, they were induced to go thither and destroy this new armament of Spain. They broke into the harbour, burned some ships of war, particularly one commanded by Recalde, vice-admiral of Spain; they defeated an army of four or five thousand men, which was assembled to oppose them; they assaulted the Groine, and took the lower town, which they pillaged; and they would have taken the higher, though well fortified, had they not found their ammunition and provisions beginning to fail them. The young earl of Essex, a nobleman of promising hopes, fired with the thirst of military glory, had secretly, unknown to the queen, stolen from England, here joined the adventurers; and it was then agreed by common consent to make sail for Portugal, the main object of their expedition.

The English landed at Paniche, a sea-port town twelve leagues from Lisbon; and Norris led the army to that capital, while Drake undertook to sail up the river, and attack the city with united forces. By this time the court of Spain had prepared against the invasion; and forces were thrown into Lisbon; the Portuguese were disarmed; all suspected persons were taken into custody; and thus none of the inhabitants durst declare in favour of the invaders, however well disposed towards the pretensions of Don Antonio. The English army, however, made themselves masters of the suburbs, which abounded with riches of all kinds; but as they desired to conciliate the affections of the Portuguese, and were more intent on honour than profit, they observed a strict discipline, and abstained from plunder. In the mean time they found their ammunition and provisions much exhausted; they had not a single cannon to make a breach in the walls; the admiral had not even been able to pass some fortresses which guarded the river; there was no appearance of an insur-

(*b*) We may judge of the extent and importance of these abuses by a speech of Bacon's against purveyors, delivered in the first session of the first parliament of the subsequent reign, by which also we may learn, that Elizabeth had given no redress to the grievances complained of. "First," says he, "they take in kind what they ought not to take; secondly, they take in quantity a far greater proportion than cometh to your majesty's use; thirdly, they take in an unlawful manner, in a manner, I say, directly and expressly prohibited by the several laws. For the first, I am a little to alter their name; for instead of takers they become taxers: instead of taking provisions for your majesty's service, they tax your people *ad redimendam vexationem;* imposing upon them and extorting from them divers sums of money, sometimes in gross, sometimes in the nature of stipends annually paid, *ne noceant*, to be freed and eased of their oppression. Again, they take trees, which by law they cannot do; timber trees, which are the beauty, countenance, and shelter of men's houses; that men have long spared from their own purse and profit; that men esteem for their use and delight, above ten times their value; that are a loss which men cannot repair or recover. These do they take, to the defacing and spoiling of your subjects mansions and dwellings, except they may be compounded with to their own appetites. And if a gentleman be too hard for them while he is at home, they will watch their time when there is but a bailiff or a servant remaining, and put the axe to the root of the tree, ere ever the master can stop it. Again, they use a strange and most unjust exaction in causing the subjects to pay poundage of their own debts, due from your majesty unto them: so as a poor man, when he has had his hay, or his wood, or his poultry (which perchance he was full loath to part with, and had for the provision of his own family, and not to put to sale) taken from him, and that not a just price, but under the value, and cometh to receive his money, he shall have after the rate of twelve pence in the pound abated for poundage of his due payment upon so hard conditions. Nay, farther, they are grown to that extremity (as is affirmed, though it be scarce credible, save that in such persons all things are credible,) that they will take double poundage, once when the debenture is made, and again the second time, when the money is paid. For the second point, most gracious sovereign, touching the quantity which they take far above that which is answered to your majesty's use; it is affirmed unto me by divers gentlemen of good report, as a matter which I may safely vouch unto your majesty, that there is no pound profit which redoundeth unto your majesty in this course, but induceth and begetteth three pound damage upon your subjects, beside the discontentment. And to the end they may make their spoil more securely, what do they? Whereas divers statutes do strictly provide, that whatsoever they take shall be registered and attested, to the end that by making a collation of that which is taken from the country and that which is answered above, their deceits might appear, they, to the end to obscure their deceits, utterly omit the observation of this, which the law prescribeth. And therefore to descend, if it may please your majesty, to the third sort of abuse, which is of the unlawful manner of their taking, whereof this question is a branch; it is so manifold, as it rather asketh an enumeration of some of the particulars than a prosecution of all. For their price, by law they ought to take as they can agree with the subject; by abuse, they take at an imposed and enforced price: by law they ought to make but one apprizement by neighbours in the country; by abuse, they make a second apprizement at the court gate, and when the subjects cattle come up many miles, lean and out of plight by reason of their travel, then they prize them anew at an abated price: by law, they ought to take between sun and sun; by abuse, they take by twilight and in the night-time, a time well chosen for malefactors; by law they ought not to take in the highways, (a place by her majesty's high prerogative protected, and by statute by special words excepted;) by abuse, they take in the highways: by law, they ought to shew their commission, &c. A number of other particulars there are, &c." Bacon's Works, vol. iv. p. 305, 306.

Such were the abuses which Elizabeth would neither permit her parliaments to meddle with, nor redress herself. It will, however, be readily admitted, that this slight prerogative alone, which has passed almost unobserved amidst other branches of so much greater importance, was sufficient to extinguish all regular liberty. For what elector, or member of parliament, or even juryman, durst oppose the will of the court, while he lay under the lash of such an arbitrary prerogative? For a farther account of the grievous and incredible oppressions of purveyors, see the Journals of the House of Commons, vol. i. p. 190. There is a story of a carter which may be worth mentioning on this occasion. "A carter had three times been at Windsor with his cart to carry away, upon summons of a remove, some part of the stuff of her majesty's wardrobe; and when he had repaired thither once, twice, and the third time, and that they of the wardrobe had told him the third time that the remove held not, the carter, clapping his hand on his thigh, said, *Now I see that the queen is a woman as well as my wife?* Which words being overheard by her majesty, who then stood at the window, she said, *What a villain is this?* and so sent him three angels to stop his mouth." Birch's Memoirs, vol. i. p. 155.

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rection in their favour; sickness, from fatigue, hunger, and intemperance in wine and fruits, had seized the army: so that it was found necessary to make all possible haste to re-embark. They were not pursued by the enemy; and finding at the mouth of the river, sixty ships laden with naval stores, they seized them as lawful prize; though they belonged to the Hanse Towns, a neutral power. They sailed thence to Vigo, which they took and burned; and having ravaged the country around, they set sail and arrived in England. Above half of these gallant adventurers perished by sickness, famine, fatigue, and the sword; and England reaped more honour than profit from this extraordinary enterprize. It is computed that eleven hundred gentlemen embarked on board the fleet, and that only three hundred and fifty survived those multiplied disasters.

When these ships were on their voyage homewards, they met with the earl of Cumberland, who was outward bound, with a fleet of seven sail, all equipped at his own charge, except one ship of war which the queen had lent him. That nobleman supplied sir Francis Drake with some provisions; a generosity which saved the lives of many of Drake's men, but for which the others afterwards suffered severely. Cumberland sailed towards the Terceras, and took several prizes from the enemy; but the richest, valued at a hundred thousand pounds, perished in her return, with all her cargo, near St. Michael's Mount in Cornwal. Many of these adventurers were killed in a rash attempt at the Terceras; a great mortality seized the rest: and it was with difficulty that the few hands which remained were able to work the ships back to England.

The advantages gained over the Spaniards, and the spirit thence infused into the English, gave Elizabeth great security during the rest of her reign, yet she could not forbear keeping an anxious eye on Scotland, whose situation rendered its revolutions always of importance to her. It might have been expected, that this high spirited princess, who knew so well to brave danger, would not have retained that malignant jealousy towards her heir, with which, during the life-time of Mary, she had been so much agitated. James had indeed succeeded to all the claims of his mother; but he had not succeeded to the favour of the Catholics, which could alone render these claims dangerous: and as the queen was now advanced in years, and enjoyed an unlimited authority over her subjects, it was not likely that the king of Scots, who was of an indolent unambitious temper, would give her the least disturbance in her possession of the throne. Yet these circumstances could not remove her fearful suspicions: indeed so far from satisfying the nation by a settlement of the succession, or a declaration of James's title, she was as anxious to hinder every incident which might in any measure raise his credit, or procure him the regard of the English, as if he had been her immediate rival and competitor. Most of his ministers and favourites were her pensioners; and as she was desirous to prevent him from marrying and having children, she obliged him to throw obstacles in the way of every alliance, even the most reasonable, which could be offered him; and during some years she succeeded in this malignant policy. He had fixed on the elder daughter of the king of Denmark, who being a remote prince and not powerful, could give her no umbrage; yet did she so artfully cross this negociation, that the Danish monarch, impatient of delay, married his daughter to the duke of Brunswick. James then renewed his suit to the younger princess; and still found obstacles from the intrigues of Elizabeth, who, merely with a view of interposing delay, proposed to him the sister of the king of Navarre, a princess much older than himself, and entirely destitute of fortune. The young king, besides the desire of securing himself by the prospect of issue, from those traiterous attempts, too frequent among his subjects, had been so watched by the rigid austerity of the ecclesiastics, that he had another inducement to marry, which is not so usual with monarchs. His impatience therefore broke through all the politics of Elizabeth: the articles of marriage were settled: the ceremony was performed by proxy: and the princess embarked for Scotland; but was driven by a storm into a port of Norway (c). Although James was a great believer in sorcery, to which these storms were attributed, yet he was not deterred from taking a voyage in order to conduct his bride home: he arrived in Norway; carried the queen thence to Copenhagen; and having passed the winter in that city, he brought her next spring to Scotland, where they were joyfully received by the people. The clergy alone, who never neglected an opportunity of vexing their prince, made opposition to the queen's coronation, on account of the ceremony of anointing her, which they alleged was either a Jewish or a Popish rite; and therefore utterly antichristian and unlawful. But James was as much bent on the ceremony as they were averse to it; and after much controversy and many intrigues, his authority, which had not often happened, at last prevailed over the opposition of the dissatisfied ecclesiastics.

At length, in the beginning of 1590, after a state of great anxiety and many difficulties, Elizabeth had reached a situation where, though her affairs still required attention, and found ample employment for her active spirit, she was removed from all danger of any immediate revolution, and might regard the efforts of her enemies with some degree of confidence and security. Her successful and prudent administration had gained her, together with the admiration of foreigners, the affections of her own subjects; and after the death of the queen of Scots, even the Catholics, however discontented, pretended not to dispute her title, or adhere to any other person as her competitor. James, curbed by his factious nobility and ecclesiastics, possessed in his own country very little authority; and was solicitous to remain on good terms with Elizabeth and the English nation, in hopes that time, aided by his patient tranquillity, would secure him that rich succession to which by birth he was entitled. The Hollanders, though over-matched in their contest with Spain, still made an obstinate resistance; and such was their unconquerable antipathy to their old masters, and such the prudent conduct of young Maurice, their governor, that the subduing of that small territory, if at all possible, must be the work of years, and the result of many and great successes. Philip, who, in his powerful effort against England, had been transported by resentment and ambition beyond his usual cautious maxims, was now disabled, and still more discouraged, from adventuring again on such hazardous enterprizes. The situation also of affairs in France began principally to employ his attention; but notwithstanding all his artifice, and force, and expence, the events in that kingdom proved every day more adverse to his expectations, and more favourable to the friends and confederates of England.

The violence of the league having constrained Henry to declare war against the Hugonots, these religionists seemed exposed to the utmost danger; and Elizabeth, sensible of the intimate connexion between her own interests and those of the French Protestants, had supported the king of Navarre by her negociations in Germany, and by large sums of money, which she remitted for levying forces in that country. This great prince, not discouraged by the superiority of his enemies, took the field; and in 1587 gained at Coutras, a complete victory over the army of the French king; but as his allies, the Germans, were at the same time discomfited by the army of the league under the duke of Guise, his situation, notwithstanding his victory, seemed still as desperate as ever. The chief advantage which he reaped by this diversity of success, arose from the dissensions which by that means took place among his enemies. The inhabitants of Paris, as it were intoxicated with admiration of Guise, and strongly prejudiced against their king, whose intentions had become suspicious to them, took to arms, and obliged Henry to fly for his safety to a distant part of his kingdom. That prince, dissembling his resentment, entered into a negociation with the league; and having conferred many high offices on Guise and his partizans, summoned an assembly of the states at Blois, on pretence of finding expedients to support the intended war against the Hugonots. The various scenes of perfidy and cruelty, which had been exhibited in France, had justly begotten a mutual diffidence among all parties; yet the duke of Guise, trusting more to the timidity than to the honour of the king, rashly put himself into the hands of that monarch, and expected, by the ascendant of his own genius, to make him submit to all his exorbitant pretensions. Henry, though of an easy disposition, not steady to his resolutions, or even to his promises, wanted neither courage nor ca-

(c) This tempest, and some others which happened near the same time, were universally believed in Scotland and Denmark to have proceeded from a combination of the Scottish and Danish witches; and the dying confession of the criminals was supposed to put the accusation beyond all controversy.

pacity; and finding all his subtilties eluded by the vigour of Guise, and even his throne exposed to the most imminent danger, he embraced more violent counsels than were natural to him, and ordered that prince and his brother, the cardinal of Guise, to be assassinated in his palace.

This cruel execution, which the necessity of it alone could excuse, had nearly proved fatal to the French monarch, and seemed at first to plunge him into greater dangers than those which he sought to avoid by taking vengeance on his enemy. The partizans of the league were inflamed with the utmost rage against him: the populace every where, particularly in his capital, renounced allegiance to him: the ecclesiastics and the preachers filled all places with execrations against his name; and the most powerful cities, and most opulent provinces, appeared to combine in a resolution, either of renouncing monarchy, or of changing their monarch. Henry, finding slender resources among his Catholic subjects, was constrained to enter into a confederacy with the Hugonots and the king of Navarre: he therefore enlisted large bodies of Swiss infantry and German cavalry: and being still supported by his chief nobility, he assembled by all these means an army of near forty thousand men, and advanced to the gates of Paris, ready to crush the league, and subdue all his enemies. The desperate resolution of one man diverted the course of these great events. Jaques Clement, a Dominican frier, inflamed by that infernal spirit of bigotry which distinguishes this century, and a great part of the following, beyond all ages of the world, embraced the resolution of sacrificing his own life, in order to save the holy mother church from the persecutions of an heretical tyrant; and being admitted, under some pretext, to the king's presence, he gave that prince a mortal wound, and was immediately put to death by the courtiers, who hastily revenged the murder of their sovereign. This memorable incident happened on the first of August, 1589.

The king of Navarre was the next heir to the crown, and he assumed the government by the title of Henry IV. but succeeded to much greater difficulties than those which surrounded his predecessor Henry III. The prejudices entertained against his religion made a great part of the nobility immediately desert him; and it was only by his promise of hearkening to conferences and instruction, that he could engage any of the Catholics to adhere to his undoubted title. The league, governed by the duke of Mayenne, brother to Guise, gathered new vigour; and the king of Spain entertained views, either of dismembering the French monarchy, or of annexing the whole to his own dominions. In these distressful circumstances Henry addressed himself to Elizabeth, and found her well disposed to contribute to his assistance, and to oppose the progress of the Catholic league, and of Philip, her inveterate and dangerous enemies. To prevent the desertion of the Swiss and German auxiliaries, she made him a present of twenty-two thousand pounds; a greater sum than, as he declared, he had ever seen before; and she sent him a reinforcement of four thousand men, under lord Willoughby, an officer of great reputation, who joined the French at Dieppe, in Normandy, in 1590. Strengthened by these supplies, Henry marched immediately to Paris; and having taken the suburbs sword in hand, he abandoned them to his soldiers, by whom they were pillaged. He employed this body of English in many other enterprizes; and still found reason to praise their courage and fidelity. The time of service at length being elapsed, he dismissed them with many high commendations. Sir William Drury, sir Thomas Baskerville, and sir John Boroughs acquired reputation this campaign, and revived in France the ancient fame of English valour.

The army, which Henry next campaign led into the field, was greatly inferior to that of the league; but as it was composed of the chief nobility of France, he feared not to encounter his enemies in a pitched battle at Yvrée, and he gained a complete victory over them. This success enabled him to blockade Paris, and he reduced that capital to the last extremity of famine; when the duke of Parma, in consequence of orders from Philip, marched to the relief of the league, and obliged Henry to raise the blockade. Having performed this important service, he retreated to the Low Countries; and, by his consummate skill in the art of war, performed these long marches in the face of the enemy, without affording the French monarch that opportunity which he sought, of giving him battle, or so much as once putting his army in disorder. The only loss which he sustained was in the Low Countries; where prince Maurice took advantage of his absence, and recovered some places which the duke of Parma had formerly conquered from the States (*d*).

The situation of Henry's affairs, in the beginning of 1591, though promising, was not so well advanced or established as to make the queen discontinue her succours, and she was still more confirmed in the resolution of supporting him by some advantages gained by the king of Spain. The duke of Mercœur, governor of Britanny, a prince of the house of Lorraine, had declared for the league; and finding himself hard pressed by Henry's forces, he had been obliged, in order to secure himself, to introduce some Spanish troops into the sea-port towns of that province. Elizabeth took alarm at this circumstance; and apprehended, that the Spaniards, besides infesting the English commerce by privateers, might employ these harbours as the seat of their naval preparations, and might more easily from that vicinity, than from Spain or Portugal, project an invasion of England. She therefore concluded a new treaty with Henry, in which she engaged to send over three thousand men, to be employed in the reduction of Britanny, and she stipulated that her charges should, in a twelvemonth, or as soon as the enemy was expelled, be refunded her. The English forces were commanded by sir John Norris, and under him by his brother Henry, and by Anthony Shirley. Sir Roger Williams was at the head of a small body which garrisoned Dieppe; and a squadron of ships, under the command of sir Henry Palmer, lay upon the coast of France, and intercepted all the vessels belonging to the Spaniards or the leaguers.

But as the operations of war can be little regulated beforehand by any treaty or agreement; and as Henry found it necessary to lay aside the projected enterprize against Britanny, he persuaded the English commanders to join his army, and to take a share in the hostilities which he carried into Picardy. Notwithstanding the disgust which Elizabeth received from this disappointment, he laid before her a plan for expelling the leaguers from Normandy, and persuaded her to send over a new body of four thousand men to assist him in that enterprize. The earl of Essex was appointed general of these forces; a young nobleman, who, by many exterior accomplishments, and still more real merit, was daily advancing in favour with Elizabeth, and seemed to occupy that place in her affections which Leicester, now deceased, had so long enjoyed. Essex, impatient for military fame, was extremely uneasy to lie some time at Dieppe unemployed; and had not the orders which he received from his mistress been so positive, he would gladly have accepted of Henry's invitation, and have marched to join the French army at that time in Champagne. This plan of operations was also proposed to Elizabeth by the French ambassador; but she rejected it with great displeasure; and threatened immediately to recal her troops, if Henry should persevere any longer in his present practice, of breaking all concert with her, and attending to nothing but his own interests. Urged by these motives, not long after the arrival of the earl of Essex, the French king led his army into Normandy, and laid siege to Roüen, which he reduced to great difficulties. But the league, unable of themselves to take the field against him, had again recourse to the duke of Parma, who received orders to march to their relief. He executed this enterprize with his usual abilities and success; and, for the present, frustrated all the projects of Henry and Elizabeth. This princess, who kept still in view the interests of her own kingdom in all her foreign transactions, was impatient under these disappointments, blamed Henry for his negligence in the execution of treaties, and complained that the English forces were thrust foremost in every hazardous undertaking. It is probable, however,

(*d*) This year, 1590, the nation suffered a great loss, by the death of sir Francis Walsingham, secretary of state; a man equally celebrated for his abilities and his integrity. He had passed through many employments, had been frugal in his expence, yet died so poor, that his family was obliged to give him a private burial. He left only one daughter, first married to sir Philip Sidney, then to the earl of Essex, favourite of queen Elizabeth, and lastly to the earl of Clanricarde of Ireland. The same year died Thomas Randolph, who had been employed by the queen in several embassies to Scotland; as did also the earl of Warwick, elder brother to Leicester.

that their own ardent courage, and their desire of distinguishing themselves in so celebrated a theatre of war, were the causes why they so often enjoyed this perilous honour.

Notwithstanding the indifferent success of former expeditions, the queen was sensible how necessary it was to support Henry against the league and the Spaniards; she therefore formed a new treaty with him, in which they agreed never to make peace with Philip but by common consent; she promised to send him a new supply of four thousand men; and he stipulated to repay her charges in a twelvemonth, to employ these forces, joined to a body of French troops, in an expedition against Britanny, and to consign into her hands a sea-port town of that province, for a retreat to the English. Henry knew the impossibility of executing some of these articles, and the imprudence of fulfilling others; but finding them rigidly insisted on by Elizabeth, he accepted of the succours she offered, and trusted that he might easily, on some pretence, be able to excuse his failure in executing his part of the treaty. This campaign was the least successful of all those which he had yet carried on against the league.

While these military operations were carrying on in France, Elizabeth employed her naval power against Philip, and endeavoured by every possible means to intercept his West Indian treasure, the source of that greatness which had rendered him so formidable to all his neighbours. She sent a squadron of seven ships, under the command of lord Thomas Howard for this service; but the king of Spain, informed of her purpose, fitted out a great force of fifty-five sail, and dispatched them to escort the Indian fleet. They fell in with the English squadron; and, by the courageous obstinacy of sir Richard Grenville, the vice-admiral, who refused to make his escape by flight, they took one vessel, the first English ship of war that had yet fallen into the hands of the Spaniards (*e*). The rest of the squadron returned safely into England; frustrated of their expectations, but solacing themselves with the idea that their attempt had not been altogether fruitless in doing mischief to the enemy. The Indian fleet had been so long detained in the Havanna from the fear of the English naval power, that they were obliged at last to set sail in an improper season, and most of them perished by shipwreck before they reached the Spanish harbours. The earl of Cumberland made a like unsuccessful enterprize against the Spanish trade. He carried out one ship of the queen's, and seven others equipped at his own expence; but the prizes which he made did not compensate the charges.

The spirit of these expensive and hazardous adventures was very prevalent in England. Sir Walter Raleigh, who had enjoyed great favour with Elizabeth, finding his interest begin to decline, determined to recover her good graces by some important undertaking; and as his reputation was high among his countrymen, he persuaded great numbers to engage with him as volunteers in an attempt on the West Indies, in 1592. The fleet was detained so long in the Channel by contrary winds, that the season was lost: Raleigh was recalled by the queen: sir Martin Frobisher succeeded to the command, and made a privateering voyage against the Spaniards. He took one rich carrack near the island of Flores, and destroyed another. About the same time Thomas White, a Londoner, took two Spanish ships, which, besides fourteen hundred chests of quicksilver, contained above two millions of bulls for indulgences (*f*).

Although this war did great damage to Spain, it was attended with considerable expence to England; and Elizabeth's ministers computed, that since the commencement of it, she had spent in Flanders and France, and on her naval expeditions, above one million two hundred thousand pounds; a charge which, notwithstanding her extreme frugality, was too burdensome for her narrow revenues to support. She summoned therefore a parliament, in February, 1593, in order to obtain a supply: but she either thought her authority so established that she needed to make them no concessions in return, or she rated her power and prerogative above money: for there never was any parliament whom she treated in a more haughty manner, whom she made more sensible of their own weakness, or whose privileges she more openly violated. When the speaker, sir Edward Coke, made the three usual requests, of freedom from arrests, of access to her person, and of liberty of speech, she replied to him by the mouth of Puckering, lord keeper, that liberty of speech was granted to the commons, but they must know what liberty they were entitled to; not a liberty for every one to speak what he listeth, or what cometh in his brain to utter; their privilege extended no farther than a liberty of Aye or No; that she enjoined the speaker, if he perceived any idle heads so negligent of their own safety as to attempt reforming the church, or innovating in the commonwealth, that he should refuse the bills exhibited for that purpose, till they were examined by such as were fitter to consider of these things, and could better judge of them: that she would not impeach the freedom of their persons; but they must beware lest, under colour of this privilege, they imagined that any neglect of their duty could be covered or protected: and that she would not refuse them access to her person, provided it were upon urgent and weighty causes, and at times convenient, and when she might have leisure from other important affairs of the realm.

But notwithstanding the menacing and contemptuous air of this speech, the intrepid and indefatigable Peter Wentworth, not discouraged by his former ill success, ventured to transgress the imperial orders of Elizabeth. He presented to the lord keeper a petition, in which he desired the upper house to join with the lower in a supplication to her majesty for entailing the succession of the crown; and he declared that he had a bill ready prepared for that purpose. This method of proceeding was sufficiently respectful and cautious; but the subject was always extremely disagreeable to the queen, and what she had expressly prohibited any one from meddling with: she therefore sent Wentworth immediately to the Tower; committed sir Thomas Bromley, who had seconded him, to the Fleet prison, together with Stevens and Welsh, two members to whom sir Thomas had communicated his intention. About a fortnight after, a motion was made in the house, to petition the queen for the release of these members; but it was answered by all the privy-counsellors there present, that her majesty had committed them for causes best known to herself, and that to press her on that head would only tend to the prejudice of the gentlemen whom they meant to serve: she would release them whenever she thought proper, and would be better pleased to do it of her own proper motion, than from their suggestion. So great was the queen's power, or so servile the house, that the members readily acquiesced in this reasoning.

Such an arbitrary act, at the commencement of the session, might well repress all farther attempts for freedom: but the religious zeal of the Puritans was not so easily restrained; and it inspired a courage which no human motive was able to surmount. Morrice, chancellor of the duchy of Lancaster, and attorney of the court of wards, made a motion for redressing the abuses in the bishops' courts, but above all, in the high commission court; where subscriptions, he said, were exacted to articles at the pleasure of the prelates; where oaths were imposed, obliging persons to answer to all questions without distinction, even though they should tend to their own

(*e*) This action of sir Richard Grenville is so singular as to merit a more particular relation. He was engaged alone with the whole Spanish fleet of fifty-three sail, which had ten thousand men on board; and from the time the fight began, which was about three in the afternoon, to the break of day next morning, he repulsed the enemy fifteen times, though they continually shifted their vessels, and boarded with fresh men. In the beginning of the action he himself received a wound; but he continued doing his duty above deck till eleven at night, when receiving a fresh wound, he was carried down to be dressed. During this operation he received a shot in the head, and the surgeon was killed by his side. The English began now to want powder; all their small arms were broken or become useless: of this number, which were but a hundred and three at first, forty were killed, and almost all the rest wounded; their masts were beat overboard, their tackle cut in pieces, and nothing but a hulk left, unable to move one way or other. In this situation sir Richard proposed to the ship's company, to trust to the mercy of God, not to that of the Spaniards, and to destroy the ship with themselves, rather than yield to the enemy. The master gunner, and many of the seamen, agreed to this desperate resolution; but others opposed it, and obliged Grenville to surrender himself prisoner. He died a few days after; and his last words were: "Here die I, Richard Grenville, with a joyful and quiet mind; for that I have ended my life as a true soldier ought to do, fighting for his country, queen, religion, and honour: my soul willingly departing from this body, leaving behind the lasting fame of having behaved as every valiant soldier is in his duty bound to do." The Spaniards lost in this sharp, though unequal action, four ships, and about a thousand men. And Grenville's vessel perished soon after with two hundred Spaniards on board of her. See *Hacluyt's Voyages, vol. ii. part 2. p. 169. Camden, p. 565.*

(*f*) This commodity was useless to the English, but it had cost the king of Spain three hundred thousand florins, and would have been sold by him in the Indies for five millions.

crimination; and where every one who refused entire satisfaction to the commissioners was imprisoned, without relief or remedy. This motion was seconded by some members; but the ministers and privy-counsellors opposed it, and foretold the consequences which ensued. The queen sent for the speaker, and after requiring him to deliver to her Morrice's bill, she told him that it was in her power to call parliaments, in her power to dissolve them, in her power to give assent or dissent to any determination which they should form: that her purpose in summoning this parliament was twofold, to have laws enacted for the farther enforcement of uniformity in religion, and to provide for the defence of the nation against the exorbitant power of the Spanish monarch: that these two points ought, therefore, to be the object of their deliberations: she had enjoined them already by the mouth of the lord keeper, to meddle neither with matters of state nor religion; and she wondered how any one could be so assuming as to attempt a subject so expressly contrary to her prohibition: that she was highly offended with this presumption; and took the present opportunity to reiterate the commands given by the keeper, and to require that no bill, regarding either state affairs, or reformation in causes ecclesiastical, be exhibited in the house: and that, in particular, she charged the speaker upon his allegiance, if any such bills were offered, absolutely to refuse them a reading, and not so much as permit them to be debated by the members. This command from the queen was submitted to without farther question. Morrice was seized in the house itself by a serjeant at arms, discharged from his office of chancellor of the duchy, incapacitated from any practice in his profession as a common lawyer, and kept some years prisoner in Tilbury castle.

The queen having thus expressly pointed out both what the house should and should not do, the commons were as obsequious to the one as to the other of her injunctions. They passed an act intitled, "*An act to retain her majesty's subjects in their due obedience.*" This was a law expressly made against recusants, and was indeed such a law as was suited to the severe character of Elizabeth, and to the persecuting spirit of the age. It was meant, as the preamble declares, to obviate such inconveniences and perils as might grow from the wicked practices of seditious sectaries and disloyal persons: for these two species of criminals were always, at that time confounded together, as equally dangerous to the peace of society. It was enacted, that any person above sixteen years of age, who obstinately refused during the space of a month to attend public worship, should be committed to prison; that if after being condemned for this offence, he persist three months in his refusal, he must abjure the realm; and that if he either refuse this condition, or return after banishment, he should suffer capitally as a felon without benefit of clergy (*g*). This law bore equally hard upon the Puritans and upon the Catholics; and, had it not been imposed by the queen's authority, was certainly in that respect, much contrary to the private sentiments and inclinations of the majority of the members of the house of commons. Very little opposition, however, appears there to have been openly made to it (*h*).

The expences of the war with Spain, as before mentioned, having reduced the queen to great difficulties, the grant of subsidies seems to have been the most important business of this parliament; and it was a signal proof of the high spirit of Elizabeth that, while conscious of a present dependence on the commons, she opened the session with the most haughty treatment of them, and covered her weakness under such a lofty appearance of superiority. The commons, however, notwithstanding the queen's haughty and imperious behaviour, readily voted two subsidies and four fifteenths; but this sum not appearing sufficient to the court, an unusual expedient was fallen upon to induce them to make an enlargement in their concessions. The peers informed the commons in a conference, that they could not give their assent to the supply voted, thinking it too small for the queen's occasions: they therefore proposed a grant of three subsidies and six fifteenths; and desired a farther conference in order to persuade the commons to agree to this measure. But this measure gave offence to the commons, who had acquired the privilege of beginning bills of subsidy, insomuch, that on account of this procedure of the lords, they at first absolutely rejected the proposal; but being afraid, on reflection, that they had by this refusal given offence to their superiors, they both agreed to the conference, and afterwards voted the additional subsidy.

The queen, notwithstanding this unusual concession of the commons, ended the session with a speech, containing some reprimands to them, and full of the same high pretensions which she had assumed at the opening of the parliament. She took notice, by the mouth of the lord keeper, that certain members spent more time than was necessary; by indulging themselves in harangues and reasonings: and she expressed her displeasure on account of their not paying due reverence to privy-counsellors, "who," she told them, "were not to be accounted as common knights and burgesses of the house, who are counsellors but during the parliament: whereas the others are standing counsellors, and for their wisdom and great service are called to the council of the state." The queen also, in her own person, made the parliament a spirited harangue; in which she spoke of the justice and moderation of her government, expressed the small ambition she had ever entertained of making conquests, displayed the just grounds of her quarrel with the king of Spain, and discovered how little she apprehended the power of that monarch, even though he should make a greater effort against her than that of his invincible Armada. "But I am informed," added she, "that when he attempted this last invasion, some upon the sea coast forsook their towns, fled up higher into the country, and left all naked and exposed to his entrance: but I swear unto you, by God, if I knew those persons, or may know of any that shall do so hereafter, I will make them feel what it is to be so fearful in so urgent a cause." By this menace, she probably gave the people to understand, that she would execute martial law upon such cowards: for there was no statute by which a man could be punished for changing his place of abode.

The king of France, though he had hitherto made war on the league with great bravery and reputation, though he had this campaign gained considerable advantages over them, and though he was assisted by a considerable body of English under Norris, who carried hostilities into the heart of Britanny, was become sensible that he never could by force of arms alone render himself master of his kingdom. The nearer he seemed by his military successes to approach to a full possession of the throne, the more discontent and jealousy arose among those of the Catholic persuasion who adhered to him; and a party was formed in his own court to elect some Catholic monarch of the royal blood, if Henry should any longer refuse to satisfy them by declaring his conversion to the church of Rome. This prince was far from being a bigot to his sect; and as the Hugonots, who formed the bravest and most faithful part of his army, were determined zealots, he apprehended, that if he had at that time abjured their faith, they would instantly have abandoned him to the pretensions and usurpations of the Catholics. The more bigoted Catholics, he knew, particularly those of the league, had entertained an unsurmountable prejudice against his person, and diffidence of his sincerity, so that even his abjuration would not reconcile them to his title; and he must either expect to be entirely excluded from the throne, or be admitted to it on such terms as would leave him little more than the shadow of royalty. In this delicate situation he had resolved to temporize; to retain the Hugonots by continuing in the profession of their religion; to gain the moderate Catholics by giving them hopes of his conversion; to attach both to his person by conduct and success; and he hoped either that the animosity arising from war against the league, would make them drop gradually the question of religion, or that he might in time, after some victories over his enemies and some conferences with divines, make finally, with more decency and dignity, that abjuration, which must have appeared at first mean as well as suspicious to both parties.

Taking into consideration all the circumstances which agitated his kingdom, and which seemed likely to exclude him from the throne, if the Catholic party should prevail, (and they were by far the most numerous in his dominions,) he at length determined to renounce the Protestant religion, and was solemnly received by the French prelates into the bosom of the church.

Elizabeth, who was herself attached to the Protestants,

(*g*) 35 Eliz. cap. 1.

(*h*) After enacting this statute, the clergy, in order to remove the odium from themselves, often took care that recusants should be tried by the civil judges at the assizes, rather than by the ecclesiastical commissioners. *Strype's Ann. vol.* iv. *p.* 264.

chiefly

chiefly by her interests and the circumstances of her birth, and who seems to have entertained some propensity during her whole life to the Catholic superstition, at least to the ceremonies of that church, pretended to be extremely displeased with this abjuration of Henry; and she wrote him an angry letter, reproaching him with this interested change of his religion. Sensible, however, that the league and the king of Spain were still their common enemies, she hearkened to his apologies; continued her succours both of men and money; and formed a new treaty, in which they mutually stipulated never to make peace but by common consent.

The intrigues of the Spanish court were not confined to France and England. By means of the never-failing pretence of religion, joined to the influence of money, Philip excited new disorders in Scotland, and gave fresh alarms to Elizabeth. George Ker, brother to lord Newbottle, had been taken, while he was passing secretly into Spain; and papers were found about him, by which a dangerous conspiracy of some Catholic noblemen with Philip was discovered. The earls of Angus, Errol, and Huntley, the heads of three potent families, had entered into a confederacy with the Spanish monarch; and had stipulated to raise all their forces; to join them to a body of Spanish troops, which Philip promised to send into Scotland; and after re-establishing the Catholic religion in that kingdom, to march with their united power in order to effect the same purpose in England. Graham of Fintry, who had also entered in this conspiracy, was taken, arraigned, and executed. Elizabeth sent lord Borough ambassador into Scotland, and exhorted the king to exercise the same severity on the three earls, to confiscate their estates, and by annexing them to the crown, both increase his own demesnes, and set an example to all his subjects of the dangers attending treason and rebellion. In this dilemma James applied to his neighbour Elizabeth for assistance; but so far was she from giving him any aid, that she rather contributed to increase his inquietude, by countenancing the turbulent disposition of the earl of Bothwel, a nobleman descended from a natural son of James V. Bothwel more than once attempted to render himself master of the king's person; and being expelled the kingdom for these traitorous enterprizes, he took shelter in England, was secretly protected by the queen, and lurked near the borders, where his power lay, with a view of still committing some new violence. He succeeded at last in an attempt on the king; and, by the mediation of the English ambassador, imposed dishonourable terms upon that prince: but James, by the authority of the convention of states, annulled this agreement as extorted by violence; again expelled Bothwel; and obliged him to take shelter in England. Elizabeth pretended ignorance of the place of his retreat, and never executed the treaties, by which she was bound to deliver up all the rebels and fugitives to the king of Scotland. During these disorders, increased by the refractory disposition of the ecclesiastics, the prosecution of the Catholic earls remained in suspense; but at length the parliament passed an act of attainder against them, in 1594, and the king prepared himself to execute it by force of arms. The noblemen, though they obtained a victory over the earl of Argyle, who acted by the king's commission, found themselves hard pressed by James himself, and agreed on certain terms to leave the kingdom. Bothwel, being detected in a confederacy with them, forfeited the favour of Elizabeth; and was obliged to take shelter first in France, then in Italy, where he died some years after in great poverty.

The queen's established authority secured her from all such attempts as James was exposed to from the mutinous disposition of his subjects; and her enemies found no other means of giving her domestic disturbance than by such traitorous and perfidious machinations as ended in their own disgrace, and in the ruin of their criminal instruments. Roderigo Lopez, a Jew, domestic physician to the queen, being imprisoned on suspicion, confessed that he had received a bribe to poison her from the count de Fuentes and Ibarra, who had succeeded the duke of Parma, lately deceased, in the government of the Netherlands. For the murder of the queen they were to have received fifty thousand ducats from the king of Spain; but Roderigo Lopez maintained, that he had no other intention than to cheat Philip of his money, and never meant to fulfil his engagement. He was, however, executed at Tyburn for the conspiracy; and the queen complained to Philip of these dishonourable attempts of his ministers, but could obtain no satisfaction. York and Williams, two English traitors, were afterwards executed for a conspiracy with Ibarra, equally atrocious.

Instead of avenging herself, by retaliating in a like manner, Elizabeth sought a more honourable vengeance, by supporting the king of France, and assisting him in finally breaking the force of the league, which, after the conversion of that monarch, went daily to decay, and was threatened with speedy ruin and dissolution. Norris commanded the English forces in Britanny, and assisted at the taking of Morlaix, Quimpercorentin, and Brest, towns garrisoned by Spanish forces. In every action, the English, though they had so long enjoyed domestic peace, discovered a strong military disposition; and the queen, though herself a heroine, found more frequent occasion to reprove her generals for encouraging their temerity, than for countenancing their fear or caution: sir Martin Frobisher, her brave admiral, perished with many others before Brest. Morlaix had been promised to the English for a place of retreat; but the duke d'Aumont, the French general, eluded this promise, by making it to be inserted in the capitulation, that none but Catholics should be admitted into that city.

In 1595, the French king, who had long carried on hostilities with Philip, was at last provoked, by the taking of Chatelet and Dourlens, and the attack of Cambray, to declare war against that monarch. Elizabeth being threatened with a new invasion in England, and with an insurrection in Ireland, recalled most of her forces, and sent Norris, who commanded her forces in Britanny, to take the lead of those in Ireland. Finding also, that the French league was almost dissolved, and that the most considerable leaders had made an accommodation with their prince, she thought that he could well support himself by his own force and valour; and she began to be more sparing in his cause of the blood and treasure of her subjects.

Elizabeth had become disgusted by some transactions of the States of Holland, joined to the remonstrances of her minister Burleigh, made her also inclined to diminish her charges on that side; and she even demanded, in 1596, by her ambassador, sir Thomas Bodley, to be reimbursed all the money which she had expended in supporting them. The States, besides alleging the conditions of the treaty, by which they were not bound to repay her till the conclusion of a peace, pleaded the poverty and distress they were then in, the great superiority of the Spaniards, and the difficulty in supporting the war; much more in being able to discharge such considerable sums as they owed to Elizabeth. After much negociation, a new treaty was formed; by which the States engaged to free the queen immediately from the charge of the English auxiliaries, computed at forty thousand pounds a-year; to pay her annually twenty thousand pounds for some years; to assist her with a certain number of ships; and to conclude no peace or treaty without her consent. They also bound themselves, on concluding a peace with Spain, to pay her annually the sum of a hundred thousand pounds for four years; but on this condition, that the payment should be in lieu of all demands, and that they should be supplied, though at their own charge, with a body of four thousand auxiliaries from England.

Elizabeth, however, retained in her hands the cautionary towns, which were a great check on the rising power of the States; and she committed the important trust of Flushing to sir Francis Vere, a brave officer, who had distinguished himself by his valour in the Low Countries. She gave him the preference to Essex, who expected so honourable a command; and though this nobleman was daily rising both in reputation with the people, and in favour with herself, the queen thought proper on this occasion to give him a refusal. Sir Thomas Baskerville was sent over to France at the head of two thousand English, with which Elizabeth, by a new treaty concluded with Henry, engaged to supply that prince. Some stipulations for mutual assistance were formed by the treaty; and all former engagements were renewed. This body of English were maintained at the expence of the French king; yet did Henry esteem the supply of considerable advantage, on account of the great reputation acquired by the English in so many fortunate enterprizes undertaken against the common enemy. In the great battle of Tournholt, gained in 1597, by prince Maurice, the English auxiliaries under sir Francis Vere and sir Robert Sydney had acquired great honour; and the success of that day was universally ascribed to their valour.

Though

Though Elizabeth, at a considerable expence of blood and treasure, made war against Philip in France and the Low Countries, the most severe blows which she gave him were by those naval expeditions which either she or her subjects scarcely ever intermitted during one season. In 1594, Richard Hawkins, son of sir John, the famous navigator, procured the queen's commission, and sailed with three ships to the South Sea by the Straits of Magelhaens; but his voyage proved unfortunate, and he himself was taken prisoner on the coast of Chili. James Lancaster was supplied the same year with three ships and a pinnace by the merchants of London; and was more fortunate in his adventure. He took thirty-nine ships of the enemy; but not content with this success, he made an attack on Fernambouc in Brazil, where he knew great treasures were at that time laid up. As he approached the shore he saw it lined with great numbers of the enemy; but not being daunted at this appearance, he placed the stoutest of his men in boats, and ordered them to row with such violence on the landing place as to split them in pieces. By this bold action he both deprived his men of all resource but in victory, and so terrified the enemy, that they fled, after a short resistance; and he returned home with the treasure which he had so bravely acquired. In 1595, sir Walter Raleigh, who had forfeited the queen's friendship by an intrigue with a maid of honour, and who had been thrown into prison for this misdemeanor, no sooner recovered his liberty, than he was pushed by his active and enterprizing genius to attempt some great action. The success of the first Spanish adventurers against Mexico and Peru had begotten an extreme avidity in Europe; and a prepossession universally took place, that in the inland parts of South America, called Guiana, a country as yet undiscovered, there were mines and treasures far exceeding any which Cortes or Pizzaro had met with. Raleigh, whose turn of mind was somewhat romantic and extravagant, undertook at his own charge the discovery of this wonderful country. Having taken the small town of St. Joseph in the isle of Trinidado, where he found no riches, he left his ship, and sailed up the river Oroonoko in pinnaces, but without meeting any thing to answer his expectations. On his return, he published an account of the country, full of the grossest and most palpable falsehoods that were ever attempted to be imposed on the credulity of mankind.

The same year, sir Francis Drake and sir John Hawkins undertook a more important expedition against the Spanish settlements in America; and they carried with them six ships of the queen's, and twenty more which either were fitted out at their own expence, or were furnished by private adventurers. Sir Thomas Baskerville was appointed commander of the land forces, which they carried on board. Their first design was to attempt Porto Rico, where, they knew, a rich carrack was at that time stationed; but as they had not preserved the requisite secrecy, a pinnace, having strayed from the fleet, was taken by the Spaniards, and betrayed the intentions of the English. Preparations were made in that island for their reception; and the English fleet, notwithstanding the brave assault which they made on the enemy, was repulsed with loss. Sir John Hawkins soon after died; and sir Francis Drake pursued his voyage to Nombre di Dios, on the isthmus of Darien; where, having landed his men, he attempted to pass forward to Panama, with a view of plundering that place, or, if he found such a scheme practicable, of keeping and fortifying it. But he met not with the same success which had attended his first enterprizes in those parts. The Spaniards, taught by experience, had every where fortified the passes, and had stationed troops in the woods, who so infested the English by continual alarms and skirmishes, that they were obliged to return, without being able to effect any thing of consequence. Drake himself, from the intemperance of the climate, the fatigues of his journey, and the vexation of his disappointment, was seized with a distemper, of which he soon after died. Sir Thomas Baskerville took the command of the fleet, which was in a weak condition; and after having fought a battle near Cuba with a Spanish fleet, of which the event was not decisive, he returned to England. The Spaniards suffered some loss from this expedition; but the English reaped no profit.

The bad success of this enterprize in the West Indies made the English rather attempt the Spanish dominions in Europe, where, they heard, Philip was making great preparations for a new invasion of England. A powerful fleet was equipped at Portsmouth, which consisted of a hundred and seventy vessels, seventeen of which were capital ships of war; the rest tenders and small vessels: twenty-four ships, according to Carte, were added by the Hollanders. In this fleet there were computed to be embarked six thousand three hundred and sixty soldiers, a thousand volunteers, and six thousand seven hundred and seventy-two seamen, beside the Dutch. The land forces were commanded by the earl of Essex: the navy by lord Effingham, high admiral. Both these commanders had expended great sums of their own in the armament: for such was the spirit of Elizabeth's reign. Lord Thomas Howard, sir Walter Raleigh, sir Francis Vere, sir George Carew, and sir Coniers Clifford had each of them the command of a ship in this expedition, and were appointed council to the general and admiral.

The fleet set sail on the first of June, 1596; and meeting with a fair wind, bent its course to Cadiz, at which place, by sealed orders delivered to all the captains, the general rendezvous was appointed. They sent before them some armed tenders, which intercepted every ship that could carry intelligence to the enemy; and they themselves were so fortunate when they came near Cadiz, as to take an Irish vessel, by which they learned, that that port was full of merchant ships of great value, and that the Spaniards, having no dread of an attack, lived in perfect security. This intelligence much encouraged the English fleet, and gave them the prospect of a fortunate issue to the expedition.

After a fruitless attempt to land at St. Sebastian's on the western side of the island of Cadiz; it was, upon deliberation, resolved by the council of war to attack the ships and gallies in the bay. Essex strenuously recommended the adoption of this plan; and when he found the resolution adopted, he threw his hat into the sea, and gave symptoms of the most extravagant joy. But he was highly displeased, when Effingham informed him, that the queen, anxious for his safety, and dreading the effects of his youthful ardour, had secretly given orders that he should not be permitted to command the van in the attack. That duty was performed by sir Walter Raleigh and lord Thomas Howard; but Essex no sooner came within reach of the enemy than he forgot the promise which the admiral had exacted from him, to keep in the midst of the fleet; he broke through and pressed forward into the thickest of the fire. The Spaniards were soon obliged to slip anchor and retreat farther into the bay, where they ran many of their ships aground. Essex then landed his men at the fort of Puntal; and immediately marched to the attack of Cadiz, which the English soon carried sword in hand. The generosity of Essex, not inferior to his valour, made him stop the slaughter, and treat his prisoners with the greatest humanity, and even affability and kindness. The English made rich plunder in the city; but missed a much richer by the resolution which the duke of Medina, the Spanish admiral, took of setting fire to the ships, in order to prevent their falling into the hands of the enemy. The loss of the Spaniards in this enterprize was computed to amount to twenty millions of ducats; besides the indignity which they suffered from the sacking of one of their chief cities, and the destruction in their harbour of a fleet of such force and value.

Essex regarded this success as a step to future atchievements: he insisted on keeping possession of Cadiz; and undertook with four hundred men and three months provisions, to defend the place till succours should arrive from England: but the admiral strenuously rejected his advice; and all the other seamen and soldiers were satisfied with the honour they had acquired; and were impatient to return home in order to secure their plunder. Every other proposal of Essex to annoy the enemy met with a like reception; his scheme for intercepting the carracks at the Azores, for assaulting the Groine, for taking St. Andero, and St. Sebastian: and the English, finding it so difficult to drag this impatient warrior from the enemy, at last left him on the Spanish coast, attended by a very few ships. The admiral, on his return to England, was created earl of Nottingham; and his promotion gave great disgust to Essex (i).

(i) In the preamble of the patent it was said, that the new dignity was conferred on him on account of his good services in taking Cadiz, and destroying the Spanish ships; a merit which Essex pretended to belong solely to himself; and he offered to maintain this plea by single combat against the earl of Nottingham, or his sons, or any of his kindred.

The atchievements in the subsequent year proved not so fortunate; but as the Indian fleet very narrowly escaped the English, Philip had still reason to see the great hazard and disadvantages of that war in which he was engaged, and the superiority which the English, by their naval power and their situation, had acquired over him. The queen having received intelligence that the Spaniards, though their fleets were so much shattered and destroyed by the expedition to Cadiz, were preparing a squadron at Ferrol and the Groine, and were marching troops thither with a view of making a descent in Ireland, was resolved to prevent their expedition, and to destroy the shipping in those harbours. She prepared a large fleet of a hundred and twenty sail, of which seventeen were her own ships, forty-three were smaller vessels, and the rest tenders and victuallers: she embarked on board this fleet five thousand new-levied soldiers, and added a thousand veteran troops, whom sir Francis Vere brought from the Netherlands. The earl of Essex, commander in chief both of the land and sea forces, was at the head of one squadron: lord Thomas Howard was appointed vice-admiral of another: sir Walter Raleigh of the third: lord Mountjoy commanded the land-forces under Essex: Vere was appointed marshal: sir George Carew lieutenant of the ordnance, and sir Christopher Blount first colonel. The earls of Rutland and Southampton, the lords Grey, Cromwell, and Rich, with several other persons of distinction, embarked as volunteers. On this occasion Essex declared his resolution either to destroy the new Armada which threatened England, or to perish in the attempt.

This fleet set sail from Plymouth on the 9th of July, 1597; but were no sooner out of harbour than they met with a furious storm, which shattered and dispersed them; they were therefore obliged to return to port, where they were detained till the 17th of August; and before they could be refitted Essex found that their provisions were so far spent, or damaged by the sea-water, that it would not be safe to carry so numerous an army along with him. He dismissed therefore all the new recruits, and resolved to take only the thousand veterans under Vere; and laying aside all thoughts of attacking Ferrol or the Groine, he confined the object of his expedition to the intercepting of the Indian fleet; which had at first been considered only as a secondary enterprize which he was to attempt.

The Indian fleet in that age, by reason of the imperfection of navigation, had a stated course as well as season, both in their going out from, and in their return to Europe; and there were certain islands at which, as at fixed stages, they always touched, and where they took in water and provisions. The Azores being one of these places where about this time the fleet was expected, Essex bent his course thither; and informed Raleigh, that, on his arrival, he intended to attack Fayal, one of these islands. By some accident the squadrons were separated; and Raleigh arriving first before Fayal, thought it more prudent, after waiting some time for the general, to begin the attack alone, lest the inhabitants should by farther delay have leisure to make preparations for their defence (*k*). Although Essex was highly offended with Raleigh, he was soon appeased, and both received him into favour, and restored the other officers to their commands. This incident, however, though the quarrel was seemingly accommodated, laid the first foundation of that violent animosity which afterwards took place between these two gallant commanders.

Essex made next a disposition proper for intercepting the Indian galleons; and sir William Monson, whose station was the most remote of the fleet, having fallen in with them, made the signals which had been agreed on. That able officer, in his Memoirs, ascribes Essex's failure, when he was so near attaining so great an advantage, to his want of experience in seamanship; and the account which he gives of the errors committed by that nobleman, appears very reasonable as well as candid. The Spanish fleet, finding that the enemy was upon them, made all the sail possible to the Terceras, and got into the safe and well-fortified harbour of Angra, before the English fleet could overtake them: three ships only were intercepted, but they were so rich as to repay all the charges of the expedition.

The causes of the miscarriage in this expedition were much canvassed in England, upon the return of the fleet; and though the courtiers took part differently, as they affected either Essex or Raleigh, the people in general, who bore an extreme regard to the gallantry, spirit, and generosity of the former, were inclined to justify every circumstance of his conduct. The queen, who loved the one as much as she esteemed the other, maintained a kind of neutrality, and endeavoured to share her favours with an impartial hand between the parties. Sir Robert Cecil, second son of lord Burleigh, was a courtier of promising hopes, much connected with Raleigh; she made him secretary of state, preferably to sir Thomas Bodley, whom Essex recommended to that office. However, that she might not give offence to Essex, she promoted him to the dignity of earl marshal of England; an office which had been vacant since the death of the earl of Shrewsbury. Essex might perceive from this conduct, that she never intended to give him the entire ascendant over his rivals, and might thence learn the necessity of moderation and caution. But his temper was too high for submission; his behaviour too open and candid to practise the arts of a court; and his free sallies, while they rendered him but more amiable in the eyes of good judges, gave his enemies many advantages against him.

There was, however, a striking difference in the conduct of Elizabeth to her two favourites. To Leicester she had been accustomed to grant whatever he could require, while she frequently refused to comply with the most reasonable requests of Essex. But the motives of such conduct may be easily explained: the former she knew too timid to attempt any thing to her prejudice; and that, notwithstanding his ambition, he was neither capable of conceiving, nor of executing, projects hostile to the welfare of the state. She knew also, that had he been viciously inclined, his want of influence would have rendered his schemes ineffectual: equally hated and despised by the English, and by foreigners, no man would have degraded himself so far as to become the instrument of his aggrandizement. The case was far different with Essex; his lofty and impetuous temper would neither submit to menace nor contempt; loyal, generous, frank, and sincere, he was beloved by the people, esteemed by his equals, and feared by his enemies. His natural understanding, improved by study, and a taste for literature, rendered him still more dangerous in the eyes of a princess, whose mind was ever open to suspicion; she deemed it imprudent to suffer a man of this disposition to acquire too great an influence; and she often made him experience mortifications which he did not deserve, in order to check his pride, and to prevent him from aspiring to a still higher title than that of favourite. Perhaps too, her conduct might be actuated by another motive; she might have experienced in Essex a degree of coolness that ill-suited the warmth of her constitution; though the natural consequence of the difference of their ages, and of her favourite's affection for a young and beautiful wife.

The Spanish war, though successful, had exhausted the queen's exchequer, so that on the 24th of October, 1597, she assembled a parliament; where Yelverton, a lawyer, was chosen speaker of the house of commons (*l*). Elizabeth took care, by the mouth of sir Thomas Egerton, lord

(*k*) He succeeded in the enterprize; but Essex, jealous of Raleigh, expressed great displeasure at his conduct, and construed it as an intention of robbing the general of the glory which attended that action: he cashiered therefore Sydney, Bret, Berry, and others, who had concurred in the attempt; and would have proceeded to inflict the same punishment on Raleigh himself, had not lord Thomas Howard interposed with his good offices, and persuaded Raleigh, though high-spirited, to make submissions to the general.

(*l*) It is usual for the speaker to disqualify himself for the office, but the reasons employed by this speaker are so singular, that they may be worth transcribing. "My estate," said he, "is nothing correspondent for the maintenance of this dignity; for my father dying, left me a younger brother, and nothing to me but my bare annuity. Then growing to man's estate, and some small practice of the law, I took a wife, by whom I have had many children; the keeping of us all being a great impoverishing to my estate, and the daily living of us all nothing but my daily industry. Neither from my person nor my nature doth this choice arise: for he that supplieth this place ought to be a man big and comely, stately and well-spoken, his voice great, his carriage majestical, his nature haughty, and his purse plentiful and heavy: but contrarily the stature of my body is small, myself not so well-spoken, my voice low, my carriage lawyer-like, and of the common fashion, my nature soft and bashful, my purse thin, light, and never yet plentiful. If Demosthenes, being so learned and eloquent as he was, one whom none surpassed, trembled to speak before Phocion at Athens; how much more shall I, being unlearned and unskilful to supply the place of dignity, charge and trouble, to speak before so many Phocions as here be? Yea, which is the greatest, before the unspeakable majesty and sacred personage of our dread sovereign: the terror of whose countenance would appal and abash even the stoutest hearts; yea, whose very name will pull down the greatest courage. For how mightily do the estate and name of a prince reject the haughtiest stomach even of their greatest subjects!" D'Ewes, p. 459.

keeper, to inform this assembly of the necessity of a supply. She said, "That the wars formerly waged in Europe had commonly been conducted by the parties without farther view than to gain a few towns, or at most a province, from each other; but the object of the present hostilities, on the part of Spain, was no other than utterly to bereave England of her religion, her liberty, and her independence: that these blessings, however, she herself had hitherto been able to preserve, in spite of the devil, the pope, and the Spanish tyrant, and all the mischievous designs of all her enemies: that in this contest she had disbursed a sum triple to all the parliamentary supplies granted her; and, besides expending her ordinary revenues, had been obliged to sell many of the crown lands and that she could not doubt but her subjects, in a cause where their own honour and interest were so deeply concerned, would willingly contribute to such moderate taxations as should be found necessary for the common defence." The parliament granted her three subsidies and six fifteenths; the same supply which had been given four years before, but which had then appeared so unusual, that they had voted it should never afterwards be regarded as a precedent.

The commons, this session, ventured to engage in two controversies about forms with the house of peers; a prelude to those just encroachments which, as they assumed more courage, they afterwards made upon the prerogatives of the crown. They complained, that the lords failed in civility to them by receiving their messages sitting with their hats on; and that the keeper returned an answer in the same negligent posture: but the upper house proved to their full satisfaction, that they were not entitled by custom and the usage of parliament to any more respect. Some amendments had been made by the lords to a bill sent up by the commons; and these amendments were written on parchment, and returned with the bill to the commons. The lower house took umbrage at the novelty: they pretended that these amendments ought to have been written on paper, not on parchment; and they complained of this innovation to the peers. The peers replied, that they expected not such a frivolous objection from the gravity of the house; and that it was not material whether the amendments were written on parchment or on paper, nor whether the paper were white, black, or brown. The commons were offended at this reply, which seemed to contain a mockery of them; and they complained of it, though without obtaining any satisfaction.

An application was also made this session, by way of petition, to the queen from the lower house, against monopolies; an abuse which had arisen to an enormous height, and they received a gracious, though a general answer; for which they returned their thankful acknowledgments. But not to give them too much encouragement in such applications she told them, in the speech which she delivered at their dissolution. "That with regard to these patents, she hoped that her dutiful and loving subjects would not take away her prerogative, which is the chief flower in her garden, and the principal and head pearl in her crown and diadem; but that they would rather leave these matters to her disposal." The commons also took notice of some transactions in the court of high commission; but not till they had previously obtained permission from her majesty to that purpose.

Elizabeth had reason to foresee that parliamentary supplies would now become more necessary to her than ever; and that the principal burden of the war with Spain would thenceforth lie upon England. Henry had received an overture for peace with Philip; but before he would proceed to a negociation he gave intelligence of it to his allies, the queen and the States; that if possible a general pacification might be made by common agreement.

These two powers sent ambassadors to France in the beginning of 1598, in order to remonstrate against peace; the queen, sir Robert Cecil, and Henry Herbert; the States, Justin Nassau, and John Barnevelt. Henry said to these ministers, That his early education had been amidst war and danger, and he had passed the whole course of his life either in arms or in military preparations: that after the proofs which he had given of his alacrity in the field, no one could doubt but he would willingly, for his part, have continued in a course of life to which he was now habituated, till the common enemy were reduced to such a condition as no longer to give umbrage either to him or to his allies: that no private interests of his own, not even those of his people, nothing but the most invincible necessity, could ever induce him to think of a separate peace with Philip, or make him embrace measures not entirely conformable to the wishes of all his confederates: that his kingdom, torn with the convulsions and civil wars of nearly half a century, required some interval of repose, ere it could reach a condition in which it might sustain itself, much more support its allies: that after the minds of his subjects were composed to tranquillity, and accustomed to obedience, after his finances were brought into order, and after agriculture and the arts were restored, France, instead of being a burden, as at present, to her confederates, would be able to lend them effectual succour, and amply to repay them all the assistance which she had received during her calamities: and that, if the ambition of Spain would not at present grant them such terms as they should think reasonable, he hoped that in a little time he should attain such a situation as would enable him to mediate more effectually, and with more decisive authority, in their behalf.

From the behaviour and speeches of Henry, the ambassadors were sensible of his sincerity; and they therefore remonstrated with the less vehemence against the measures which they saw Henry was determined to pursue. The States knew that that monarch was interested never to permit their final ruin; and having private assurances that he would still, notwithstanding the peace, give them assistance both of men and money, they were well pleased to remain on terms of amity with him. His greatest concern was to give satisfaction to Elizabeth for this breach of treaty; but as Spain refused to treat with the Dutch as a free state, and Elizabeth would not negociate without her ally, Henry was obliged to conclude at Vervins a separate peace, by which he recovered possession of all the places seized by Spain during the course of the civil wars, and procured to himself leisure to pursue the domestic settlement of his kingdom. His capacity for the arts of peace was not inferior to his military talents; and, in a little time, by his frugality, order, and wise government, he raised France from the desolation and misery in which she was involved, to a more flourishing condition than she had ever before enjoyed.

Elizabeth was now advised by some of her counsellors to embrace pacific measures; and they set before her the advantages of tranquillity, security and frugality, as more considerable than any success which could attend the greatest victories. But this high-spirited princess, though at first adverse to war, seemed now to be elated with her various victories, and was unwilling to stop the course of her prosperous fortune. She considered that she had now entire security against any dangerous invasion; and that the war must thenceforth be conducted by sudden enterprizes and naval expeditions, in which she possessed an undoubted superiority: that the weak condition of Philip in the Indies, opened to her the view of the most durable advantages; and the yearly return of his treasure by sea afforded a continual prospect of important, though more temporary successes: that, after his peace with France, if she should consent to an accommodation, Philip would be able to turn his whole force against the revolted provinces of the Netherlands, which, though they had surprisingly increased their power by commerce and good government, were still unable, if not supported by their confederates, to maintain war against so potent a monarch: and that, as her defence of that commonwealth was the original ground of the quarrel, it was unsafe as well as dishonourable to abandon its cause, till she had placed it in a state of greater security.

These reasons were frequently inculcated on her by the earl of Essex, whose passion for glory, as well as his military talents, made him earnestly desire the continuance of war, from which he expected to reap so much advantage and distinction as a warrior. The rivalship between this nobleman and lord Burleigh made each of them insist the more strenuously on his own counsel; but as Essex's person was agreeable to the queen, as well as his advice conformable to her inclinations, the favourite seemed daily to acquire an ascendant over the minister. Essex indeed spoke to the *heart*, while Burleigh only appealed to the head. Had Essex been endowed with caution and self-command equal to his shining qualities, he would have so riveted himself in the queen's confidence, that none of his enemies had ever been able to impeach his credit; but his lofty spirit could ill submit to that implicit

implicit deference which the queen's arbitrary temper required, and which she had ever been accustomed to receive from all her subjects. Being once engaged in a dispute with her about the choice of a governor for Ireland, (he recommending sir George Carew, in opposition to sir George Knolles, whom the queen preferred,) he was so heated in the argument, that he entirely forgot the rules both of duty and civility; and turned his back upon her in a contemptuous manner. Her anger, naturally prompt and violent, rose at this provocation; and she instantly gave him a box on the ear; adding a passionate expression suited to his impertinence. Instead of recollecting himself, and making the submissions due to her sex and station, he clapped his hand to his sword, and swore that he would not bear such usage, were it from Henry VIII. himself; and immediately withdrew from court in a transport of passion. Egerton the chancellor, who loved Essex, exhorted him to repair his indiscretion, by proper acknowledgements; and entreated him not to give that triumph to his enemies, that affliction to his friends, which must ensue from his supporting a contest with his sovereign, and deserting the service of his country; but Essex was deeply stung with the dishonour which he had received; and seemed to think, that an insult which might be pardoned in a woman, was become a mortal affront when it came from his sovereign. "If the vilest of all indignities," said he, "is done me, does religion enforce me to sue for pardon? Doth God require it? Is it impiety not to do it? Why? Cannot princes err? Cannot subjects receive wrong? Is an earthly power infinite? Pardon me, my lord, I can never subscribe to these principles. Let Solomon's fool laugh when he is stricken; let those that mean to make their profit of princes, shew no sense of princes' injuries: let *them* acknowledge an infinite absoluteness on earth, that do not believe an absolute infiniteness in heaven:" (alluding probably to the character and conduct of sir Walter Raleigh, who lay under the reproach of impiety:) "As for me," continued he, "I have received wrong, I feel it: my cause is good, I know it; and whatsoever happens, all the powers on earth can never exert more strength and constancy in oppressing, than I can shew in suffering every thing that can or shall be imposed upon me. Your lordship, in the beginning of your letter, makes me a player, and yourself a looker on: and me a player of my own game, so you may see more than I: but give me leave to tell you, that since you do but see, and I do suffer, I must of necessity feel more than you."

Notwithstanding this spirited letter, which Essex had wrote and shewn to his friends; and they were so imprudent as to disperse copies of it; yet the queen's partiality for him was so prevalent, that she reinstated him in his former favour; and her kindness to him appeared rather to have acquired new force from this short interval of anger and resentment. The death of Burleigh, his antagonist, which happened on the 14th of August, seemed to ensure him constant possession of the queen's confidence; and nothing indeed but his own indiscretion could thenceforth have shaken his well-established credit (*m*). None of her other inclinations or affections could ever overcome her confidence in so useful a counsellor; and as he had had the generosity or good sense to pay assiduous court to her during her sister's reign, when it was dangerous to appear her friend, she thought herself bound in gratitude, when she mounted the throne, to persevere in her attachments to him. He seems not to have possessed any shining talents of address, eloquence, or imagination; and was chiefly distinguished by solidity of understanding, probity of manners, and indefatigable application in business: virtues which, if they do not always enable a man to attain high stations, do certainly qualify him best for filling them. Of all the queen's ministers he alone left a considerable fortune to his posterity; a fortune not acquired by rapine or oppression, but gained by the regular profits of his offices, and preserved by frugality.

The last public act of lord Burleigh was the concluding of a new treaty with the Dutch; who, after being in some measure deserted by the king of France, were glad to preserve the queen's alliance by submitting to any terms which she pleased to require of them. The debt which they owed her was now settled at eight hundred thousand pounds: of this sum they agreed to pay, during the war, thirty thousand pounds a year; and these payments were to continue till four hundred thousand pounds of the debt should be liquidated. They engaged also, during the time that England should continue the war with Spain, to pay the garrisons of the cautionary towns. They stipulated, that if Spain should invade England, or the Isle of Wight or Jersey, or Scilly, they should assist her with a body of five thousand foot, and five hundred horse; and that in case she undertook any naval armament against Spain, they should join an equal number of ships to her's. By this treaty the queen was eased of an annual charge of a hundred and twenty thousand pounds.

Shortly after the death of Burleigh, intelligence was brought to England, that Philip the Second, Elizabeth's greatest enemy, after languishing under many infirmities, expired in an advanced age at Madrid. This haughty prince, desirous of an accommodation with his revolted subjects in the Netherlands, but disdaining to make in his own name the concessions necessary for that purpose, had transferred to his daughter, married to archduke Albert, the title to the Low Country provinces; but as it was not expected that this princess could have posterity, and as the reversion on failure of her issue was still reserved to the crown of Spain, the States considered this deed only as the change of a name, and persisted with equal obstinacy in their resistance to the Spanish arms. The other powers also of Europe made no distinction between the courts of Brussels and Madrid; and the secret opposition of France, as well as the avowed efforts of England, operated against the progress of Albert, as it had done against that of Philip.

Notwithstanding the dominion of the English over Ireland had appeared to be established above four centuries, it may safely be affirmed, that their authority had hitherto been little more than nominal. The Irish princes and nobles, divided among themselves, readily paid the exterior marks of obeisance to a power which they were not able to resist; but as no durable force was ever kept on foot to retain them in their duty, they relapsed still into their former state of independence. Most of the English institutions by which that island was governed, were to the last degree absurd, and such as no state before had ever thought of, for preserving dominion over its conquered provinces.

The English nation, highly inflamed by the project of subduing France, (a project whose success was the most improbable, and would to them have proved the most pernicious,) neglected all other enterprizes, to which their situation so strongly invited them, and which in time would have brought them an accession of riches, grandeur, and security. The small army which the English maintained in Ireland, were never supplied regularly with pay; and as no money could be levied on the island, which possessed none, they gave their soldiers the privilege of free quarter upon the natives. Rapine and insolence added to the hatred which prevailed between the conquerors and the conquered: want of security among the Irish introducing despair, nourished still more the sloth natural to that uncultivated people.

But the English carried farther their ill-judged tyranny. Instead of inviting the Irish to adopt the more civilized customs of their conquerors, they refused, though earnestly solicited, to communicate to them the privilege of their laws, and even marked them out as aliens and enemies. Thrown out of the protection of justice, the natives could find no security but in force; and flying the neighbourhood of cities, which they could not approach with safety, they sheltered themselves in their bogs and forests from the insolence of their tyrannical and inhuman masters. Being treated like wild beasts, they became such; and joining the ardour of revenge to their yet untamed barbarity, they grew every day more intractable and dangerous.

As the English princes deemed the conquest of the dispersed Irish to be more the object of time and patience than the source of military glory, they willingly delegated that office to private adventurers, who, enlisting soldiers at their own charge, reduced provinces of that island, which they converted to their own profit. Separate jurisdictions and principalities were established by these lordly

conquerors:

(*m*) Lord Burleigh died in an advanced age; and by a rare fortune was equally regretted by his sovereign and the people. He had risen gradually from small beginnings, by the mere force of merit; and though his authority was never entirely absolute or uncontrolled with the queen, he was still, during the course of near forty years, regarded as her principal minister.

conquerors: the power of peace and war was assumed: military law was exercised over the Irish, whom they subdued; and by degrees over the English, by whose assistance they conquered: and, after their authority had once taken root, deeming the English institutions less favourable to barbarous dominion, they degenerated into mere Irish, and abandoned the garb, language, manners and laws of their mother country.

By this imprudent conduct of England, the natives of Ireland remained still in that abject condition, into which the northern and western parts of Europe were sunk, before they received civility and slavery from the refined policy and bravery of Rome. Even at the end of the sixteenth century, when every Christian nation was cultivating with ardour the civil arts of life, that island, lying in a temperate climate, enjoying a fertile soil, accessible in its situation, possessed of innumerable harbours, was still, notwithstanding these advantages, inhabited by a people whose customs and manners approached nearer those of savages than of any other class of people.

But as the rudeness and ignorance of the Irish were extreme, they were sunk below the reach of that curiosity and desire of novelty, by which every other people in Europe had been seized at the beginning of that century, and which had engaged them in innovations and religious disputes, with which they were still so violently agitated. The ancient superstition, the practices and observances of their fathers, mingled and polluted with many wild opinions, still maintained an unshaken empire over them; and the example alone of the English was sufficient to render the reformation odious to the prejudiced and discontented Irish. The old opposition of manners, laws, and interest, was now inflamed by religious antipathy; and the subduing and civilizing of that country seemed to become every day more difficult and more impracticable.

The animosity against the English was carried so far by the Irish, that, in an insurrection raised by two sons of the earl of Clanricarde, they put to the sword all the inhabitants of the town of Athenry, though Irish; because they began to conform themselves to English customs, and had embraced a more civilized form of life than had been hitherto practised by their ancestors.

The usual revenue of Ireland amounted only to six thousand pounds a year: the queen, though with much repining, commonly added twenty thousand more, which she remitted from England: and with this small revenue a body of a thousand men was supported, which on extraordinary emergencies was augmented to two thousand. This small force, as might naturally be expected, tended rather to provoke the Irish than to subdue their animosity. The insurrections of the Irish therefore became more formidable; for they were now provided with officers and soldiers, with discipline and arms.

In 1560, Shan O'Neale, or the great O'Neale, as the Irish called him, because head of that potent clan, raised a rebellion in Ulster; but after some skirmishes he was received into favour upon his submission, and his promise of a more dutiful behaviour for the future. This impunity tempted him to undertake a new insurrection in 1567; but being pushed by sir Henry Sidney, lord deputy, he retreated into Clandeboy, and rather than submit to the English, he put himself into the hands of some Scottish islanders who commonly infested those parts by their incursions. The Scots, who retained a quarrel against him on account of former injuries, violated the laws of hospitality, and murdered him at a festival to which they had invited him (*n*).

The earl of Desmond, in 1569, gave sir Henry Sidney (one of the wisest and most active governors that Ireland had enjoyed for several reigns) great disturbance, from the hereditary animosity which subsisted between that nobleman and the earl of Ormond, descended from the only family established in Ireland, that had steadily maintained its loyalty to the English crown. The earl of Thomond, in 1570, attempted a rebellion in Connaught, but was obliged to fly into France before his designs were ripe for execution. Stukely, another fugitive, found such credit with the pope, Gregory the XIIIth, that he flattered that pontiff with the prospect of making his nephew, Buon Compagno, king of Ireland; and as if this project had already taken effect, he accepted the title of marquis of Leinster from the new sovereign. He went next into Spain; and after having received great encouragement and rewards from Philip, who intended to employ him as an instrument in disturbing Elizabeth, he was found to possess too little interest for executing the high promises which he had made to the Spanish monarch. He retired into Portugal; and following the fortunes of don Sebastian, he perished with that gallant prince in his bold but unfortunate expedition against the Moors.

After some interval, lord Gray succeeded to the government of Ireland; and in 1579 suppressed a new rebellion of the earl of Desmond, though supported by a body of Spaniards and Italians. The rebellion of the Rourks followed a few years after; occasioned by the strict and equitable administration of sir Richard Bingham, governor of Connaught, who endeavoured to repress the tyranny of the chieftains over their vassals. The queen, finding that Ireland had become extremely burthensome to her, tried several expedients for reducing it to a state of greater order and submission. She encouraged the earl of Essex, father to that nobleman who was afterwards her favourite, to attempt the subduing and planting of Clandeboy, Ferny, and other territories, part of some late forfeitures: but that enterprize proved unfortunate; and Essex died of a distemper occasioned, as is supposed, by the vexation which he had conceived from his disappointments. An university was founded in Dublin with a view of introducing arts and science into that kingdom, and civilizing the uncultivated manners of the natives: but the most unhappy expedient employed in the government of Ireland was that made use of in 1585 by sir John Perrot, at that time lord deputy: he put arms into the hands of the Irish inhabitants of Ulster, in order to enable them, without the assistance of the government, to repress the incursions of the Scottish islanders, by which that province was much infested. At the same time, the invitations of Philip, joined to their zeal for the Catholic system, engaged many of the gentry to serve in the Low Country wars: by which means Ireland became provided with officers and soldiers, with discipline and arms, became formidable to the English, and was thenceforth able to maintain a more regular war against her ancient arbitrary rulers.

Hugh O'Neale, nephew to Shan O'Neale, a perfidious and cruel tyrant, had been raised by the queen to the dignity of earl of Tyrone; but having murdered his cousin, son of that rebel, and being acknowledged head of his clan, he preferred the pride of barbarous licence and dominion to the pleasures of opulence and tranquillity, so that he fomented all those disorders by which he hoped to weaken or overturn the English government. He was noted for the vices of perfidy and cruelty; and was also eminent for courage, a virtue which their disorderly course of life requires, and which notwithstanding, being less supported by the principle of honour, is commonly more precarious among them, than among a civilized people. Tyrone, actuated by this spirit, secretly fomented the discontents of the Maguires, O'Donnels, O'Rourks, Macmahons, and other rebels; yet, trusting to the influence of his deceitful oaths and professions, he put himself into the hands of sir William Russel, who, in the year 1594, was sent over deputy to Ireland. Contrary to the advice and protestation of sir Henry Bagnal, marshal of the army, he was dismissed; and returning to his own country, he embraced the resolution of raising an open rebellion, and of relying no longer on the lenity or inexperience of the English government. He entered into a correspondence with Spain: he procured thence a supply of arms and ammunition: and having united all the Irish chieftains in a dependence upon himself, he began to be regarded as a formidable enemy.

The native Irish were so poor, that their country afforded few other commodities than cattle and oatmeal, which were easily concealed or driven away on the approach of the enemy; and as Elizabeth was averse to the expence requisite for supporting her armies, the English found much difficulty in pushing their advantages, and in pursuing the rebels into the bogs, woods, and other fast-

(*n*) Shan O'Neale was a man equally noted for his pride, his violence, his debaucheries, and his hatred to the English nation. He is said to have put some of his followers to death because they endeavoured to introduce the use of bread after the English fashion. Though so violent an enemy to luxury, he was extremely addicted to riot; and was accustomed after his intemperance had thrown him into a fever, to plunge his body into mire, that he might allay the flame which he had raised by his former excesses. Such was the life led by this haughty barbarian, who scorned the title of the earl of Tyrone, which Elizabeth intended to have restored to him, and who assumed the rank and appellation of king of Ulster. He used also to say, that though the queen was his sovereign lady, he never made peace with her but at her seeking.

nesses, to which they retreated. From these motives sir John Norris, who commanded the English army, willingly hearkened to any proposals of truce or accommodation made him by Tyrone; and after the war was spun out by these artifices for some years, that gallant Englishman, finding that he had been deceived by treacherous promises, and that he had performed nothing worthy of his ancient reputation, was seized with a languishing distemper, and died of vexation. Sir Henry Bagnal, who succeeded him in the command, was still more unfortunate. When he was advancing to relieve the fort of Black-water, besieged by the rebels, he was surrounded in disadvantageous ground; his soldiers, discouraged by part of their powder's accidentally taking fire, were put to flight; and though the pursuit was stopped by Montacute, who commanded the English horse, fifteen hundred men, together with the general himself, were left dead upon the field (*o*).

The Irish rebellion having rose to an astonishing height, the English council was resolved to adopt more vigorous measures; and the queen cast her eye on Charles Blount (*p*), lord Mountjoy, as a man endowed with talents equal to the undertaking. But the young earl of Essex, ambitious of glory, and desirous of obtaining this government for himself, opposed the choice of Mountjoy; and represented the necessity of appointing for that important employment some person more experienced in military affairs than this nobleman, more practised in business, and of higher quality and reputation. By this description he was understood to mean himself; and no sooner was his desire known, than his enemies, even more zealously than his friends, conspired to gratify his wishes. Many of his friends thought that he never ought to consent, except for a short time, to accept of any employment which must remove him from court, and prevent him from cultivating that personal inclination which the queen so visibly bore him. His enemies hoped, that if by his absence she had once leisure to forget the charms of his person and conversation, his impatient and lofty demeanor would soon disgust a princess who usually exacted such profound submission and implicit obedience from all her servants. But Essex was incapable of entering into such cautious views; and even Elizabeth, who was extremely desirous of subduing the Irish rebels, and who was much prepossessed in favour of Essex's genius, readily agreed to appoint him governor of Ireland, by the title of lord lieutenant (*q*); and to ensure him of success, she levied an army of sixteen thousand foot and thirteen hundred horse, which she afterwards augmented to twenty thousand foot and two thousand horse: a force which, it was apprehended, would be able in one campaign to effect an entire conquest of Ireland. Nor did Essex's enemies, the earl of Nottingham, sir Robert Cecil, sir Walter Raleigh, and lord Cobham, throw any obstacles in the way of these preparations; but hoped that the higher the queen's expectations of success were raised, the more difficult it would be for the event to correspond to them. With a similar view, they rather seconded than opposed those exalted encomiums, which Essex's numerous and sanguine friends dispersed, of his high genius, of his elegant endowments, his heroic courage, his unbounded generosity, and his noble birth; nor were they displeased to observe that passionate fondness which the people every where expressed for this nobleman. These artful politicians had studied his character; and finding that his open and undaunted spirit, if taught temper and reserve from opposition, must become invincible, they resolved rather to give full breath to those sails which were already too much expanded, and to push him upon dangers of which he seemed to make such small account. And the better to make advantage of his indiscretions, spies were set upon all his actions and even expressions; and his vehement spirit, which, while he was in the midst of the court and environed by his rivals, was unacquainted with disguise, could not fail, after he thought himself surrounded by none but friends, to give a pretence for malignant suspicions and constructions.

Essex left London in March, 1599, attended with the acclamations of the populace; and what did him more honour, accompanied by a numerous train of nobility and gentry. The first act of authority which he exercised after his arrival in Ireland, was an indiscretion, but of the generous kind; and in both these respects suitable to his character. This was the appointment of his intimate, the earl of Southampton, to be general of the horse; a nobleman who had incurred the queen's displeasure, by secretly marrying without her consent, and whom she had therefore enjoined Essex not to employ in any command under him. She no sooner heard of this instance of disobedience than she reprimanded him, and ordered him to recal his commission to Southampton. But Essex, who had imagined that some reasons which he opposed to her first injunctions had satisfied her, had the imprudence to remonstrate against these second orders; and it was not till she reiterated her commands, that he could be prevailed on to displace his friend.

Essex, on his landing at Dublin, deliberated with the Irish council concerning the proper methods of carrying on the war against the rebels; and here he was guilty of a capital error, which was the ruin of his enterprize. He had always while in England blamed the conduct of former commanders, who artfully protracted the war, who harassed their troops in small enterprizes, and who, by agreeing to truces and temporary pacifications with the rebels, had given them leisure to recruit their broken forces. In conformity to these views, he had always insisted upon leading his forces immediately into Ulster against Tyrone, the chief enemy; and his instructions had been drawn agreeably to these his declared resolutions. But the Irish counsellors persuaded him that the season was too early for such an undertaking, and that as the morasses in which the northern Irish usually sheltered themselves, would not as yet be passable to the English forces, it would be better to employ the present time in an expedition into Munster. But doubtless their secret reason for this advice was, that many of them possessed estates in that province, and were desirous to have the enemy dislodged from their neighbourhood: yet the same selfish spirit which had induced them to give this counsel, made them soon after disown it, when they found the bad consequences with which it was attended.

All the rebels of Munster being obliged by Essex either to submit or to fly into the neighbouring provinces, the Irish, from the greatness of the queen's preparations, had concluded that she intended to reduce them to total subjection, or even to effect their extermination, they considered their defence as a common cause; and the English forces were no sooner withdrawn, than the inhabitants of Munster relapsed into rebellion, and renewed their confederacy with their other countrymen. The English army, meanwhile, by the fatigue of long and tedious marches, and by the influence of the climate, was become sickly; and on its return to Dublin, the 16th of June, was surprisingly diminished in number. The courage of the soldiers was even much abated; for though they had prevailed in some trifling enterprizes against lord Cahir and others; yet had they sometimes met with more resistance than they expected from the Irish, whom they affected to despise; and as they were raw and unexperienced troops, a considerable body of them had been put to flight at the Glins, by an inferior number of the rebels. Essex was so enraged at this misbehaviour, that he cashiered all the officers, and decimated the private men. But though by this act of severity he intimidated the soldiers, he increased their aversion to the service. The Irish in the mean time had fortified the most important posts in the province of Ulster, and were strengthened by a considerable body of their countrymen.

Elizabeth was extremely disgusted when she heard that so considerable a part of the season was consumed in these frivolous expeditions; and was still more surprised that Essex persevered in the same practice which he had so much condemned in others, and which he knew to be so contrary to her purpose and intention. The queen's council had persuaded her, that the reduction of the rebels was an object of the greatest facility; and this opinion had indeed been supported by Essex himself, who had listened only to the dictates of courage, and the suggestions of enthusiasm. The queen reprimanded him with great severity: and in his answer to her letter, he confessed, that

(*o*) This victory, so unusual to the Irish, roused their courage, supplied them with arms and ammunition, and raised the reputation of Tyrone, who assumed the character of the deliverer of his country, and patron of Irish liberty.

(*p*) Sir Robert Naunton emphatically styles him, another *child of her favour*.

(*q*) The more to encourage him in his undertaking, she granted him by his patent more extensive authority than had ever before been conferred on any lieutenant; the power of carrying on or finishing the war as he pleased, of pardoning the rebels, and of filling all the most considerable employments in the kingdom.

though, previous to his departure, he had encouraged a vain hope of reducing a people with whose strength and whose spirit he was wholly unacquainted, he was now convinced that the undertaking was more difficult than he had conceived it to be, from the reports of many who pretended to be well acquainted with the nature of the country and the inclinations of the natives. That nobleman, in order to give his troops leisure to recruit from their sickness and fatigue, left the main army in quarters, and marched with a small body of fifteen hundred men into the county of Ophelie against the O'Connors and O'Mores, whom he forced to a submission: but, on his return to Dublin, he found the army so much diminished, that he wrote to the English council an account of its condition, and informed them, that if he did not immediately receive a reinforcement of two thousand men, it would be impossible for him this season to attempt any thing against Tyrone. That there might be no pretence for farther inactivity, the queen immediately sent over the number demanded; and Essex began at last to assemble his forces for the expedition into Ulster. The army was so averse to this enterprize, and so terrified with the reputation of Tyrone, that many of them counterfeited sickness, many of them deserted; and Essex found, that after leaving the necessary garrisons, he could scarcely lead four thousand men against the rebels. He marched, however, with this small army; but was soon sensible, that in so advanced a season it would be impossible for him to effect any thing of importance against an enemy who, though superior in number, was determined to avoid every decisive action. Essex, despairing to surmount the numerous obstacles that occurred to the accomplishment of his project, convinced of the resentment of his sovereign, and probably aware of the treachery of his secret enemies, was induced to accept a conference proposed by a message sent him by Tyrone; and a place near the two camps was appointed for that purpose. The generals met without any of their attendants, and a river ran between them, into which Tyrone entered to the depth of his saddle; but Essex stood on the opposite bank. After half an hour's conference, where Tyrone behaved with great submission to the lord lieutenant, a cessation of arms was concluded till the first of May, renewable from six weeks to six weeks; but which might be broken off by either party upon a fortnight's warning. Essex also received from Tyrone proposals for a peace, in which that rebel had inserted many unreasonable and exorbitant conditions; and there appeared afterwards some reason to suspect that he had here commenced a very unjustifiable correspondence with the enemy.

So unexpected an issue of an enterprize, the greatest and most expensive that Elizabeth had ever undertaken, provoked her extremely against Essex; since on the success of the expedition she had founded the most sanguine hopes. He wrote several letters to the queen and council, complaining of his enemies, lamenting that their calumnies should be believed against him. The queen, however, took care to inform him of her dissatisfaction; and commanded him to remain in Ireland till farther orders.

Essex soon heard of Elizabeth's anger, and of the promotion of his principal enemy, sir Robert Cecil, to the office of master of the wards, an office to which he himself aspired; and dreading that, if he remained any longer absent, the queen would be totally alienated from him, he hastily embraced a resolution which, he knew, had once succeeded with the earl of Leicester, the former favourite of Elizabeth. Leicester, being informed while in the Low Countries that his mistress was extremely displeased with his conduct, disobeyed her orders by coming over to England; and having pacified her by his presence, by his apologies, and by his flattery and insinuation, disappointed all the expectations of his enemies. Essex, therefore, weighing more the similarity of circumstances than the difference of character between himself and Leicester, immediately set out for England; and making speedy journies, he arrived at court before any one was in the least apprised of his intentions. Though besmeared with dirt and sweat, he hastened up stairs to the presence chamber, thence to the privy chamber; nor stopped till he was in the queen's bed-chamber, who was newly risen, and was sitting with her hair about her face. He immediately threw himself on his knees, kissed her hand, and entreated her to listen to the benevolent suggestions of her own mind, rather than to the malicious insinuations of his enemies. He then proceeded to justify his conduct in Ireland; and particularly mentioned the disaffection of the army as alone sufficient to authorize the conclusion of a truce, which he had purposely left at her option to revoke or confirm. The joy and surprize of Elizabeth at the unexpected sight of the man she loved, joined to his submissive but impassioned discourse, made a lively impression on her senses. Though her reason urged her to elude, her heart checked the reprehensions ere they reached her lips, and converted them into expressions of kindness. The meeting was tender and affectionate, and Essex retired content with his reception. He was even heard to express great satisfaction, and to thank God that though he had suffered much trouble and many storms abroad, he found a sweet calm at home.

But this placability of Elizabeth was merely the result of her surprize, and of the momentary satisfaction which she felt on the sudden and unexpected appearance of her favourite: after he had departed, and she had leisure for recollection, all his faults recurred to her mind; and she thought it necessary, by some severe discipline, to subdue that haughty imperious spirit, who, presuming on her partiality, had pretended to domineer in her counsels, to engross all her favour, and to act, in the most important affairs, without regard to her orders and instructions. When Essex waited on her in the afternoon, he found her extremely altered in her carriage towards him; her mind had been poisoned against him by his enemies; and she ordered him to be confined to his chamber; to be twice examined by the council; and though his answers were calm and submissive, she committed him to the custody of lord keeper Egerton, and held him sequestered from all company, even from that of his countess, nor was so much as the intercourse of letters permitted between them. Essex dropped many expressions of humiliation and sorrow, none of resentment: he professed an entire submission to the queen's will; declared his intention of retiring into the country, and of leading thenceforth a private life, remote from courts and business; but though he affected to be so entirely cured of his aspiring ambition, the vexation of this disappointment, and of the triumph gained by his enemies, preyed upon his spirits, and he fell into a distemper which endangered his life (r).

In the beginning of 1600, Essex being allowed the company of his countess, and having entertained more promising hopes of his future fortunes, was so much restored in his health, as to be thought past danger. A belief was instilled into Elizabeth, that his distemper had been entirely counterfeit, in order to move her compassion. So changeable was the queen in her temper now she was in an advanced age of life, that she relapsed into her former rigour against him. He wrote her a letter, and sent her a rich present on New-Year's day; as was usual with the courtiers at that time: she read the letter, but rejected the present. After some interval, however, of severity, she allowed him to retire to his own house: and though he remained still under custody, and was sequestered from all company, he was so grateful for this mark of lenity, that he sent her a letter of thanks on the occasion. "This farther degree of goodness," said he, "doth sound in my ears as if your majesty spake these words, *Die not, Essex; for though I punish thine offence, and humble thee for thy good, yet will I one day be served again by thee.* My prostrate soul makes this answer: *I hope for that blessed day.* And in expectation of it, all my afflictions of body and mind are humbly, patiently, and cheerfully borne by me." The countess of

(r) The queen had always declared to all the world, and even to the earl himself, that the purpose of her severity was to correct, not to ruin him; and when she heard of his sickness, she was not a little alarmed with his situation. She ordered eight physicians of the best reputation and experience to attend and consult on his case; and being informed that the issue was much to be apprehended, she sent Dr. James to him with some broth, and desired that physician to deliver him a message, which she probably deemed of still greater virtue than all the medicines they might be able to give him. She directed the doctor to inform him, that if she thought such a step consistent with her honour, she would herself pay him a visit. The bystanders, who carefully observed her countenance, remarked that in pronouncing these words, her eyes were suffused with tears. When the symptoms of the queen's returning affection towards Essex were known, they gave great alarm to the faction which had declared their opposition to him. Sir Walter Raleigh, in particular, the most violent as well as the most ambitious of his enemies, was so affected with the appearance of this sudden revolution, that he was seized with sickness in his turn; and the queen was obliged to apply the same salve to his wound, and to send him a favourable message, expressing her desire of his recovery. The medicine which the queen administered to these aspiring rivals was successful with both.

Essex, daughter of sir Francis Walsingham, possessed, as well as her husband, a refined taste in literature; and the chief consolation which Essex enjoyed during this period of anxiety and expectation, consisted in her company, and in reading with her those instructive and entertaining authors, which even during the time of his greatest prosperity he had never entirely neglected.

There were, however, several incidents which kept alive the queen's anger against Essex. Every account which she received from Ireland, convinced her more and more of his misconduct in that government, and of the insignificant purposes to which he had employed so much force and treasure. Tyrone, so far from being quelled, had thought proper, in less than three months, to break the truce; and joining with O'Donnel, and other rebels, had over-run almost the whole kingdom. He boasted that he was certain of receiving a supply of men, money, and arms from Spain: he pretended to be champion of the Catholic religion; and he openly exulted in the present of a phœnix plume, which the pope, Clement VIII. in order to encourage him in the prosecution of so good a cause, had consecrated, and had conferred upon him. The queen, that she might check his progress, returned to her former intention of appointing Mountjoy lord-deputy; and though that nobleman, who was an intimate friend of Essex, and desired his return to the government of Ireland, did at first very earnestly excuse himself, on account of ill health, she compelled him to accept of the employment. Mountjoy found the island in a most desperate condition; but he had not the same enemies to encounter with Essex; the troops were neither inspired with terror, nor inclined to mutiny; his officers were not the instruments of intrigue, nor his soldiers the objects of corruption. He therefore immediately advanced against Tyrone in Ulster. He penetrated into the heart of that country, the chief seat of the rebels: he fortified Derry and Mount-Norris, in order to bridle the Irish: he chased them from the field, and obliged them to take shelter in the woods and morasses: he employed, with equal success, sir George Carew in Munster; and by these promising enterprizes, he gave new life to the queen's authority in that island.

As the comparison of Mountjoy's administration with that of Essex contributed to alienate Elizabeth from her favourite, she received additional disgust from the partiality of the people, who, prepossessed with an extravagant idea of Essex's merit, complained of the injustice done him by his removal from court, and by his confinement. Libels were secretly dispersed against Cecil and Raleigh, and all his enemies; and his popularity, which was always great, seemed rather to be increased than diminished by his misfortunes. Elizabeth, in order to justify her conduct with regard to him, had often expressed her intentions of having him tried in the Star Chamber for his offences; but her tenderness for him prevailed at last over her severity; and she was contented to have him only examined by the privy-council. The attorney-general, Coke, opened the cause against him, and treated him with the cruelty and insolence which that great lawyer usually exercised against the unfortunate. He displayed in the strongest colours, all the faults committed by Essex in his administration of Ireland: his making Southampton general of the horse, contrary to the queen's injunctions; his deserting the enterprize against Tyrone, and marching to Leinster and Munster; his conferring knighthood on too many persons; his secret conference with Tyrone; and his sudden return from Ireland, in contempt of her majesty's commands. He also exaggerated the indignity of the conditions which Tyrone had been allowed to propose; odious and abominable conditions, said he; a public toleration of an idolatrous religion, pardon for himself and every traitor in Ireland, and full restitution of lands and possessions to all of them. The solicitor-general, Fleming, insisted upon the wretched situation in which the earl had left that kingdom; and Francis (*s*), son of sir Nicholas Bacon, who had been lord-keeper in the beginning of the present reign, closed the charge with displaying the undutiful expressions contained in some letters written by the earl.

When Essex came to plead in his own defence, he renounced, with great submission and humility, all pretensions to an apology; and declared his resolution never, on this or any other occasion, to have any contest with his sovereign. He said, that, having severed himself from the world, and abjured all sentiments of ambition, he had no scruple to confess every failing or error, into which his youth, folly, or manifold infirmities might have betrayed him; that his inward sorrow for his offences against her majesty was so profound, that it exceeded all his outward crosses and afflictions, nor had he any scruple of submitting to a public confession of whatever she had been pleased to impute to him; that in his acknowledgements he retained only one reserve, which he never would relinquish but with his life, the assertion of a loyal and unpolluted heart, of an unfeigned affection, of an earnest desire ever to perform to her majesty the best service which his poor abilities would permit; and that if this sentiment were allowed by the council, he willingly acquiesced in any condemnation or sentence which they could pronounce against him. This submission was uttered with so much eloquence, and in so pathetic a manner, that it drew tears from many of the audience. All the privy-counsellors, in giving their judgement, made no scruple of doing the earl justice with regard to the loyalty of his intentions. Even Cecil, whom he believed his capital enemy, treated him with regard and humanity. And the sentence pronounced by the lord-keeper Egerton (to which the council assented) was in these words: "If this cause," said he, "had been heard in the Star-Chamber, my sentence must have been for as great a fine as ever was set upon any man's head in that court, together with perpetual confinement in that prison which belongeth to a man of his quality, the Tower. But since we are now in another place, and in a course of favour, my censure is, that the earl of Essex is not to execute the office of a counsellor, nor that of earl marshal of England, nor of master of the ordnance; and to return to his own house, there to continue a prisoner till it shall please her majesty to release this and all the rest of his sentence." The earl of Cumberland made a slight opposition to this sentence; and said, that if he thought it would stand he would have required a little more time to deliberate; that he deemed it too severe; and that any commander in chief might easily incur a like penalty. "But however," added he, "in confidence of her majesty's mercy, I agree with the rest." The earl of Worcester delivered his opinion in a couple of Latin verses; importing, "that where the Gods are offended, even misfortunes ought to be imputed as crimes, and that accident is no excuse for transgressions against the Divinity."

It was indeed generally expected that Essex would soon be reinstated in his former credit; and it was thought, as is usual in reconcilements founded on inclination, that he would acquire an additional ascendant over the queen, and after all his disgraces would again appear more a favourite than ever. They were confirmed in this hope when they saw that, though he was still prohibited from appearing at court, he was continued in his office of master of the horse, and was restored to his liberty, and that all his friends had access to him. Essex himself seemed determined to persevere in that conduct which had hitherto been so successful, and which the queen, by all this discipline, had endeavoured to render habitual to him: he wrote to her, that he kissed her majesty's hands, and the rod with which she had corrected him; but that he could never recover his wonted cheerfulness, till she deigned to

(*s*) Bacon, so much distinguished afterwards by his high offices, and still more by his profound genius for the sciences, was nearly allied to the Cecil family, being nephew to lord Burleigh, and cousin-german to the secretary: but notwithstanding his extraordinary talents, he had met with so little protection from his powerful relations, that he had not yet obtained any preferment in the law, which was his profession. But Essex, who could distinguish merit, and who passionately loved it, had entered into an intimate friendship with Bacon; had zealously attempted, though without success, to procure him the office of solicitor-general; and in order to comfort his friend under the disappointment, had conferred on him a present of land to the value of eighteen hundred pounds. The public could ill excuse Bacon's appearance before the council, against so munificent a benefactor; though he acted in obedience to the queen's commands. The queen herself, surprized at the part he had taken in this affair, asked him, what had become of his ancient friendship? Her safety, and the welfare of the state, were the motives he urged in excuse for his ill-timed zeal; but no one was a dupe to his affectation of patriotism, and his sentiments were justly appreciated. But Elizabeth was so well pleased with his behaviour, that she imposed on him a new task, of drawing a narrative of that day's proceedings, in order to satisfy the public of the justice and lenity of her conduct.—Bacon, who wanted firmness of character more than humanity, gave to the whole transaction the most favourable turn for Essex; and, in particular, painted out, in elaborate expression, the dutiful submission which that nobleman discovered in the defence that he made for his conduct. When he read the paper to her, she smiled at that passage, and observed to Bacon, that old love, she saw, could not easily be forgotten. He replied, that he hoped she meant that of herself,

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admit him to that presence, which had ever been the chief source of his happiness and enjoyment: and that he had now resolved to make amends for his past errors, to retire into a country solitude, and say with Nebuchadnezzar, "Let my dwelling be with the beasts of the field; let me eat grass as an ox, and be wet with the dew of heaven; till it shall please the queen to restore me to my understanding." The queen was much pleased with these sentiments, and replied, that she heartily wished his actions might correspond with his expressions; that he had tried her patience a long time, and it was but fitting she should now make some experiment of his submission; that her father would never have pardoned so much obstinacy; but that, if the furnace of affliction produced such good effects, she should ever after have the better opinion of her chemistry.

The earl of Essex possessed a monopoly of sweet wines; and as his patent was near expiring, he patiently expected that the queen would renew it, and he considered this event as the critical circumstance of his life, which would determine whether he could ever hope to be reinstated in credit and authority. But Elizabeth, though gracious in her deportment, was of a temper somewhat haughty and severe; and being continually surrounded with Essex's enemies, means were found to persuade her, that his lofty spirit was not yet sufficiently subdued, and that he must undergo this farther trial, before he could again be safely received into favour. She therefore denied his request; and even added, in a contemptuous style, that an ungovernable beast must be stinted in his provender.

The rigorous conduct of the queen was now pushed one step too far, proved the final ruin of this young nobleman, and was the source of infinite sorrow and vexation to the queen herself. Essex, who had with great difficulty so long subdued his proud spirit, and whose patience was now exhausted, imagining that the queen was entirely inexorable, burst at once all restraints of submission and of prudence, and determined to seek relief, by proceeding to the utmost extremities against his enemies. Even during his greatest favour he had ever been accustomed to carry matters with a high hand towards his sovereign; and as this practice gratified his own temper, and was sometimes successful, he had imprudently imagined that it was the only proper method of managing her. But being now reduced to despair, he threw off all appearance of duty and respect. Disdaining the sober counsels of his friends, he listened to the interested advice of certain persons, who led him to expect, from the assistance of the giddy multitude, that revenge upon his enemies in the council which he thought was denied him from the throne. Intoxicated with the public favour, which he already possessed, he practised again every art of popularity; and endeavoured to increase the general good-will by a hospitable manner of life, little suited to his situation and circumstances. His former employments had given him great connexions with men of the military profession; and he now entertained a friendship with all desperate adventurers, whose attachment he hoped might, in his present views, prove serviceable to him. He secretly courted the confidence of the Catholics; but his chief trust lay in the Puritans, whom he openly caressed, and whose manners he seemed to have entirely adopted. He engaged the most celebrated preachers of that sect to resort to Essex-house; he had daily prayers and sermons in his family; and he invited many of the zealots in London to attend those pious exercises (t).

But the greatest imprudence of this nobleman proceeded from the openness of his temper, by which he was ill qualified to succeed in such difficult and dangerous enterprizes. He indulged himself in great liberties of speech, and was even heard to say of the queen, that she was now grown an old woman, and was become as crooked in her mind as in her body. Some court ladies, whose favours Essex had formerly neglected, carried her these stories, and incensed her to a high degree against him. Elizabeth was ever remarkably jealous on this head; and though she was now approaching to her seventieth year, she allowed her courtiers, and even foreign ambassadors, to compliment her upon her beauty; nor had all her good sense been able to cure her of this preposterous vanity.

There was also an expedient employed by Essex, which, if possible, was more provoking to the queen than his sarcastic observations on her age and deformity; and that was, his secret applications to the king of Scots, her heir and successor. That prince had this year very narrowly escaped a dangerous, though ill-formed, conspiracy of the earl of Gowry; and even his deliverance was attended with this disagreeable circumstance, that the obstinate ecclesiastics persisted, in spite of the most incontestible evidence, to maintain to his face, that there had been no such conspiracy. James, harassed with his turbulent and factious subjects, cast a wistful eye to the succession of England; and, in proportion as the queen advanced in years, his desire increased of mounting that throne, on which, besides acquiring a great addition of power and splendour, he hoped to govern a people so much more tractable and submissive. He negociated with all the courts of Europe, in order to ensure himself friends and partizans: he even neglected not the court of Rome and that of Spain; and though he engaged himself in no positive promise, he flattered the Catholics with hopes that, in the event of his succession, they might expect some more liberty than they were at present indulged with. Elizabeth was the only sovereign in Europe to whom he never dared to mention his right of succession: he knew that, though her advanced age might now invite her to think of fixing an heir to the crown, she never could bear the prospect of her own death without horror, and was determined still to retain him, and all other competitors, in an entire dependence upon her.

The earl of Essex was descended by the female line from the royal family; and some of his sanguine partizans had been so imprudent as to mention his name among those of other pretenders to the crown; but the earl took care, by means of Henry Lee, whom he secretly sent into Scotland, to assure James, that Elizabeth was inclined to favour the succession of the Infanta of Spain, whose pretended right had been asserted in a recent publication; but that he was himself so far from entertaining such ambitious views, that he was determined to use every expedient for extorting an immediate declaration in favour of James's right of succession. James willingly hearkened to this proposal; but did not approve of the violent methods which Essex intended to employ. Essex had imprudently communicated his scheme to lord Mountjoy, deputy of Ireland; and as no man ever commanded more the cordial affection and attachment of his friends, he had even engaged a person of that virtue and prudence to entertain thoughts of bringing over his army into England, and of forcing the queen to declare the king of Scots her successor. And such was Essex's impatient ardour, that, though James declined this dangerous expedient, he still endeavoured to persuade Mountjoy not to desist from the project; but the deputy, who thought that such violence, though it might be justifiable, when supported by a sovereign prince, next heir to the crown, would be rash and criminal, if attempted by subjects, absolutely refused his concurrence. The correspondence, however, between Essex and the court of Scotland was still conducted with great secrecy and cordiality; and that nobleman, besides conciliating the favour of James, represented all his own adversaries as enemies to that prince's succession, and as men entirely devoted to the interests of Spain, and partizans of the chimerical title of the Infanta.

The archduke Albert and the Infanta had made some advances to the queen for peace; and Boulogne, as a neutral town, was chosen for the place of conference. Sir Henry Nevil, the English resident in France, Herbert, Edmondes, and Beale, were sent thither as ambassadors from England; and negociated with Zuniga, Carillo, Richardot, and Verheiken, ministers of Spain, and the archduke, on the 26th of May, 1600; but the conferences were soon broken off by disputes with regard to the ceremonial. Among the European states England had ever been allowed the precedency above Castile, Arragon, Portugal, and the other kingdoms of which the Spanish monarchy was composed; and Elizabeth insisted, that this ancient right was not lost on account of the junction of these states, and that that monarchy in its present situation, though it surpassed the English in extent as well as in power, could not be compared with it in point of antiquity,

(t) Such was the disposition now beginning to prevail among the English, that, instead of feasting and public spectacles, the methods anciently practised to gain the populace, nothing so effectually ingratiated an ambitious leader with the public, as these fanatical entertainments. And as the puritanical preachers frequently inculcated in their sermons the doctrine of resistance to the civil magistrate, they prepared the minds of their hearers for those seditious projects which Essex was secretly meditating.

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the only durable and regular foundation of precedency among kingdoms as well as noble families. That she might shew, however, a pacific disposition, she was content to yield to an equality; but the Spanish ministers, as their nation had always disputed precedency even with France, to which England yielded, would proceed no farther in the conference, till their superiority of rank were unequivocally acknowledged. During the preparations for this abortive negociation the earl of Nottingham, the admiral, lord Buckhurst, treasurer, and secretary Cecil, had discovered their inclination to peace; but as the English nation, flushed with success, and sanguine in their hopes of plunder and conquest, were generally averse to that measure; so that it was easy for a person so popular as Essex to infuse into the multitude an opinion, that these ministers had sacrificed the interests of their country to Spain, and would even make no scruple of receiving a sovereign from that hostile nation.

Not content, however, with these arts for decrying his adversaries, Essex proceeded, in 1601, to concert more violent methods of ruining them. In these measures he was chiefly instigated by Henry Cuffe, his secretary, a man of a bold and arrogant spirit, who had acquired a great ascendant over his patron. A select council of malcontents was formed, who commonly met at Drury-house, and were composed of sir Charles Davers, to whom the house belonged, the earl of Southampton, sir Ferdinando Gorges, sir Christopher Blount, sir John Davies, and John Littleton; and Essex, who boasted that he had a hundred and twenty barons, knights, and gentlemen of note at his devotion, and who trusted still more to his authority with the populace, communicated to his associates those secret designs with which his confidence in so powerful a party had inspired him. The result of the confederacy was, to take up arms; its object to compel the queen to banish all the secret or avowed enemies of Essex from the council, the court, and the kingdom. By some it was proposed to begin with attacking the palace; while others were of opinion, that the Tower should be first secured. The first enterprize being preferred, a method was concerted for executing it. It was agreed that sir Christopher Blount, with a choice detachment, should possess himself of the palace gates; that Davies should seize the hall; Davers the guard-chamber and presence-chamber; and that Essex should rush in from the Meuse, attended by a body of his partizans; should entreat the queen, with all demonstrations of humility, to remove his enemies; should oblige her to assemble a parliament; and should with common consent settle a new plan for the regulation of the government.

During these deliberations, many reasons of suspicion were carried to the queen; and she sent Robert Sackville, son of the treasurer, to Essex-house on the 7th of February, 1601, on pretence of a visit, but in reality with a view of discovering whether there were in that place any unusual concourse of people, or any extraordinary preparations which might threaten an insurrection. Soon after secretary Herbert took Essex a summons to attend the council, which met at the treasurer's house; and while he was musing on this circumstance, and comparing it with the late unexpected visit from Sackville, a private note was conveyed to him, by which he was warned to provide for his own safety. He now concluded that all his plans of conspiracy were discovered, or at least suspected; and that the easiest punishment which he had reason to apprehend, was a new and more severe confinement; he therefore excused himself to the council on pretence of an indisposition; and he immediately dispatched messages to his more intimate confederates, requesting their advice and assistance in the present critical situation of his affairs. They deliberated, whether they should abandon all their projects, and fly the kingdom; or instantly seize the palace with the force which they could assemble; or rely upon the affections of the citizens, who were generally known to have a great attachment to the earl. Essex declared against the first expedient, and professed himself determined to undergo any fate rather than submit to live the life of a fugitive. To seize the palace seemed impracticable, without more preparations; especially as the queen seemed now aware of their projects, and, as they heard, had used the precaution of doubling her ordinary guards. There remained, therefore, no expedient but that of betaking themselves to the city; and, while the prudence and feasibility of this resolution was under debate, a person arrived, probably employed by his enemies, as if he had received a commission for the purpose, gave them assurance of the affections of the Londoners, and affirmed, that they might securely rest any project on that foundation, since they were determined to give him assistance against all opponents. This intelligence was confirmed by others, who assured him, that Smith, the sheriff, would raise a thousand men for his service. The popularity of Essex had chiefly buoyed him up in all his vain undertakings; and he fondly imagined, that with no other assistance than the good-will of the multitude, he might overturn Elizabeth's government, confirmed by time, revered for wisdom, supported by vigour, and concurring with the general sentiments of the nation. The wild project of raising the city was immediately resolved on; the execution of it was delayed till next day; and emissaries were dispatched to all Essex's friends, informing them that Cobham and Raleigh had laid schemes against his life, and entreating their presence and assistance.

Next day (February 8,) there appeared at Essex-house the earls of Southampton and Rutland, the lords Sandys and Monteagle, with about three hundred gentlemen of birth and fortune; and Essex informed them of the danger to which he pretended the machinations of his enemies exposed him. To some he said, that he would throw himself at the queen's feet, and crave her justice and protection: to others, he boasted of his interest in the city, and affirmed, that whatever might happen, this resource could never fail him. The queen was informed of these designs; by means of intelligence conveyed, as is supposed, to Raleigh, by sir Ferdinando Gorges; and, having ordered the magistrates of London to keep the citizens in readiness, she sent Egerton, lord keeper, to Essex-house, with the earl of Worcester, sir William Knollys, controller, and Popham, chief justice, in order to learn the cause of these unusual commotions. They were with difficulty admitted through a wicket; but all their servants were excluded except the purse-bearer. After some altercation, in which they charged Essex's retainers, upon their allegiance, to lay down their arms, and were menaced in their turn by the angry multitude who surrounded them, the earl, who found that matters were past recal, resolved to leave them prisoners in his house, and to proceed to the execution of his former project. He sallied forth with about two hundred attendants, armed only with walking swords; and in his passage to the city, was joined by the earl of Bedford and lord Cromwel. He cried aloud, "*For the queen! for the queen! a plot is laid for my life;*" and then proceeded to the house of Smith the sheriff, on whose aid he had great reliance. The citizens flocked about him in amazement; but though he told them that England was sold to the Infanta, and exhorted them to arm instantly, otherwise they could not do him any service, no one shewed a disposition to join him. The sheriff, on the earl's approach to his house, stole out at the back door, and made the best of his way to the mayor. Essex, meanwhile, observing the coldness of the citizens, and hearing that he was proclaimed a traitor by the earl of Cumberland and lord Burleigh, began to despair of success, and thought of retreating to his own house. He found the streets in his passage barricadoed and guarded by the citizens under the command of sir John Levison. In his attempt to force his way, Tracy, a young gentleman to whom he bore great friendship, was killed with two or three of the Londoners; and the earl himself, attended by a few of his partizans, retired towards the river, and taking boat, arrived at Essex-house. He there found that Gorges, whom he had sent before to capitulate with the lord keeper and the other counsellors, had given all of them their liberty, and had gone to court with them. He was now reduced to despair; and appeared determined, in prosecution of lord Sandys's advice, to defend himself to the last extremity, and rather to perish, like a brave man, with his sword in his hand, than basely by the hands of the executioner: but after some parley, and after demanding in vain, first hostages, then conditions, from the besiegers, he surrendered at discretion; requesting only civil treatment, and a fair and impartial hearing.

Essex and Southampton were immediately conveyed to the archbishop's palace at Lambeth, where they passed the night, and the next morning were conducted to the Tower. The rest of the conspirators were confined in different places. The ministers were very studious to keep alive the apprehensions of the queen; and artfully prolonged her fears till the trial of the earl of Essex was over. In the city, and at the palace, the guards were

ordered to be doubled; and the public, as well as the sovereign, were taught to believe that the danger was not yet passed. An officer of the name of Lea, was apprehended for having said to sir Robert Crofts, "Might not seven or eight honest fellows, as we are, throw ourselves at her majesty's feet, and represent the injury that is done to so many brave gentlemen, who may one day do her good service?" This insinuation being reported by Crofts, was interpreted into a design of releasing Essex from confinement. Lea was thrown into prison, and executed at Tyburn, with an indecent and unjust precipitation, that precluded the possibility of legal investigation or juridical proof. He died with intrepidity; and, in his last moments, loudly protested his innocence: and swore, that he had neither uttered any speech, nor conceived any project, repugnant to his duty and allegiance. Neither indeed can it be supposed that this person was guilty of any crime, except that of being one of the friends of the earl of Essex; therefore the enemies of that nobleman thought fit to cause him to be accused and—not tried but—executed, that they might work the more effectually on the mind of Elizabeth, to compass the destruction of her favourite. Osborne, who relates this anecdote, farther says, that another man was executed at Smithfield, only for having written to his father, to inform him of the imprisonment of Essex and his associates. Thus we perceive that the enemies of Essex kept not back, even from the commission of murder, to accomplish their villainous ends.

On the 19th of February, the queen gave orders for the trial of the most considerable of the criminals. The earls of Essex and Southampton were arraigned before a jury of twenty-five peers, where lord Buckhurst acted as high steward. The guilt of the prisoners was too apparent to admit of any doubt; and, besides the insurrection known to every body, the treasonable conferences at Drury-house were proved by undoubted evidence. Sir Ferdinando Gorges was produced in court: the confessions of the earl of Rutland, of the lords Cromwel, Sandys, and Monteagle, of Davers, Blount, and Davies, were only read to the peers, according to the practice of that age. The confessions of Essex's partizans being read to him, he listened to them with calmness and attention; and, in his defence, comforted himself with general declarations of his innocence, and the purity of his intentions. From the former actions of his life, and the bent of his disposition, it is indeed probable that he never seriously meant to endanger the life or abridge the authority of his sovereign; but had been actuated solely by a mad desire of inflicting unlawful vengeance on his enemies, who had been studious to ruin his fortune, and to destroy his reputation. Still, however, his conduct was unjustifiable; and the sentence of death that was pronounced on him, was warranted by law and sanctioned by justice (*u*). When sentence was pronounced, Essex spoke like a man who expected nothing but death: but he added, that he should be sorry if he were represented to the queen as a person that despised her clemency; though he should not, he believed, make any cringing submissions to obtain it. Southampton's behaviour was more mild and submissive: he entreated the good offices of the peers in so modest and becoming a manner as excited compassion in every beholder.

Though the earl of Essex behaved nobly on the present occasion, leaving the task of reproach to the admonitions of conscience and the stings of remorse, yet did Cecil, by this one act, affix an indelible stigma upon his name, transmitting to posterity a memorable example of an unnatural connection between splendour of talents and baseness of mind. After Essex had passed some days in the solitude and reflections of a prison, his proud heart was at last subdued, not by the fear of death, but by the sentiments of religion; a principle which he had before attempted to make the instrument of his ambition, but which now took a more firm hold of his mind, and prevailed over every other motive and consideration. His spiritual directors persuaded him, that he never could obtain the pardon of Heaven unless he made a full confession of his disloyalty; and he gave in to the council an account of all his criminal designs, as well as of his correspondence with the king of Scots. He spared not even his most intimate friends, such as lord Mountjoy, whom he had engaged in these conspiracies; and he sought to pacify his present remorse by making such atonements as, in any other period of his life, he would have deemed more blameable than those attempts themselves which were the objects of his penitence. Sir Harry Nevil, in particular, a man of merit, he accused of a correspondence with the conspirators; though it appears that this gentleman had never assented to the proposals made him, and was no farther criminal than in not revealing the earl's treason; an office to which every man of honour naturally bears the strongest reluctance. Nevil was thrown into prison, and underwent a severe persecution: but, as the queen found Mountjoy an able and successful commander, she continued him in his government, and sacrificed her resentment to the public service.

Elizabeth affected extremely the praise of clemency; and in every great example which she had made during her reign, she had always appeared full of reluctance and hesitation: but the present situation of Essex called forth all her tender affections, and kept her in the most real agitation and irresolution. She felt a perpetual combat between resentment and inclination, pride and compassion, the care of her own safety and concern for her favourite; and her situation, during this interval, was perhaps more an object of pity than that to which Essex himself was reduced. She signed the warrant for his execution: she countermanded it; she again resolved on his death; she felt a new return of tenderness. Essex's enemies told her, that he himself desired to die, and had assured her, that she could never be in safety while he lived: it is likely that this proof of penitence and of concern for her would produce a contrary effect to what they intended, and would revive all the fond affection which she had so long indulged towards the unhappy prisoner. But what chiefly hardened her heart against him was his supposed obstinacy in never making, as she hourly expected, any application to her for mercy; and she finally, in a transport of rage, pronounced his final doom, and signed that warrant which was to terminate a life more dear to her than her own. He discovered at his death symptoms rather of penitence and piety than of fear; and willingly acknowledged the justice of the sentence by which he suffered. The execution, on the 25th of February, was private in the Tower, agreeably to his own request. He was apprehensive, he said, lest the favour and compassion of the people would too much raise his heart in those moments, when humiliation under the afflicting hand of Heaven was the only proper sentiment which he could indulge. And the queen, no doubt, thought that prudence required the removing of so melancholy a spectacle from the public eye (*v*).

The earl of Essex was but thirty-four years of age, when his rashness, imprudence, and violence, brought him to this untimely end. We must here, as in many other instances, lament the inconstancy of human nature, that a person endowed with so many noble virtues, generosity, sincerity, friendship, valour, eloquence, and industry, should, in the latter period of his life, have given reins to his ungovernable passions, and involved not only himself but many of his friends in utter ruin. The queen's tendernes and passion for him, as it was the cause of those premature honours which he attained, seems, on the whole, the chief circumstance which brought on his unhappy fate. Confident of her partiality towards him, as well as of his own merit, he treated her with a haughtiness which neither her love nor her dignity could bear; and as her amorous inclinations, in so advanced an age, would naturally make her appear ridiculous, if not odious, in his eyes, he was engaged by an imprudent openness, of which he made profession, to discover too easily those sentiments to her.

(*u*) The most remarkable circumstance in Essex's trial was Bacon's appearance against him. He was none of the crown lawyers; so was not obliged by his office to assist at this trial: yet did he not scruple in order to obtain the queen's favour, to be active in bereaving of life his friend and patron, whose generosity he had often experienced. He compared Essex's conduct, in pretending to fear the attempts of his adversaries, to that of Pisistratus the Athenian, who cut and wounded his own body; and making the people believe that his enemies had committed the violence, obtained a guard for his person, by whose assistance he afterwards subdued the liberties of his country.

(*v*) Sir Walter Raleigh, who went to the Tower on purpose, and who beheld Essex's execution from a window, increased much by this action the general hatred under which he already laboured: it was thought that his sole intention was to feast his eyes with the death of an enemy; and no apology which he could make for so ungenerous a conduct, could be accepted by the public. The cruelty and animosity with which he urged on Essex's fate, even when Cecil relented, were still regarded as the principles of this unmanly behaviour.

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The many reconciliations and returns of affection, of which he had still made advantage, induced him to venture on new provocations, till he pushed her beyond all bounds of patience; and he forgot, that though the sentiments of the woman were ever strong in her, those of the sovereign had still, in the end, appeared predominant.

Some of Essex's associates, Cuffe, Davers, Blount, Meric, and Davies, were tried and condemned, and all of these, except Davies, were executed. The queen pardoned the rest; being persuaded that they were drawn in merely from their friendship to that nobleman, and their care of his safety; and were ignorant of the more criminal part of his intentions. Southampton's life was saved with great difficulty; but he was detained in prison till the accession of James the First.

The king of Scots, apprehensive lest his correspondence with Essex might have been discovered, and have given offence to Elizabeth, sent the earl of Marre and lord Kinloss as ambassadors to England, in order to congratulate the queen on her escape from the late insurrection and conspiracy. They were also ordered to make secret inquiry whether any measures had been taken by her for excluding him from the succession, as well as to discover the inclinations of the chief nobility and counsellors, in case of the queen's demise. They found the dispositions of men as favourable as they could wish; and they even entered into a correspondence with secretary Cecil, whose influence, after the fall of Essex, was now unlimited, and who was resolved, by this policy, to acquire in time the confidence of the successor. He therefore assured the ambassadors that their sovereign might make himself easy with regard to the succession. He knew how jealous Elizabeth ever was of her authority, and he therefore carefully concealed from her his attachment to James: but he afterwards asserted, that nothing could be more advantageous to her than this correspondence; because the king of Scots, secure of mounting the throne by his undoubted title, aided by those connections with the English ministry, was the less likely to give any disturbance to the present sovereign. He also persuaded that prince to remain in quiet, and patiently to expect that time should open to him the inheritance of the crown, without pushing his friends on desperate enterprizes, which would totally incapacitate them from serving him. James's equity, as well as his natural facility of disposition, easily inclined him to embrace that resolution; and in this manner the minds of the English were silently but universally disposed to admit, without opposition, the succession of the Scottish line: the death of Essex, by putting an end to faction, had been rather favourable than prejudicial to that great event.

Henry the Fourth of France, who was little prepossessed in favour of James, and who, for obvious reasons, was averse to the union of England and Scotland, ordered his ambassador to insinuate to Cecil his willingness to concur in any measure for disappointing the hopes of the Scottish monarch; but as Cecil shewed an entire disapprobation of such schemes, the court of France took no farther steps in that matter; and thus, the only foreign power which could give any considerable disturbance to James's succession, was induced to acquiesce in it. Henry made a journey in the summer of 1601 to Calais, that he might fortify the frontiers of his kingdom; and the queen hearing of his intentions went to Dover, in hopes of having a personal interview with a monarch, whom, of all others, she most loved and most respected. The king of France, who felt the same sentiments towards her, would gladly have accepted of the proposal; but as many difficulties occurred, it appeared necessary to lay aside, by common consent, the project of an interview. Elizabeth, however, wrote successively two letters to Henry, one by Edmondes, another by sir Robert Sydney; in which she expressed a desire of conferring, about a business of importance, with some minister in whom that prince reposed entire confidence. The marquis of Rosni, afterwards created duke of Sully, the king's favourite and prime minister, came to Dover in disguise; and the Memoirs of that able statesman contain a full account of his conference with Elizabeth. The queen received the marquis of Rosni with every mark of respect. She held a long conference with him on the situation of affairs in Europe; on which she expatiated with such clearness, such promptitude, and discernment, that Rosni remained lost in astonishment. He was now convinced, that she herself was the source whence the energy of her government was derived; and he plainly perceived, that she had a perfect knowledge of the political interests of the different European powers, of their respective strength, their situation, and resources; from whence, and from deep experience, she was enabled to judge of their means of attack and defence. Rosni was equally surprized to find, that though she had never conferred with Henry on the interests of Europe, they had both entertained the same ideas, and laid the same plan. They had both conceived the design of forming a new political system, and of establishing a balance of power, in order to check the aggrandizement of the house of Austria. This was only to be effected by giving birth to new states, whose wealth and power might be founded on the ruins of that which they meant to humble. Elizabeth proposed to unite the forces of France with those of England, for the purpose of establishing, on a solid foundation, the independence of the Seventeen Provinces of the Netherlands; but, in humbling the house of Austria, she meant that both these powers should proportion their desires to their circumstances, and not seek to extend their own influence so far as to excite the jealousy of the neighbouring princes; that in despoiling Spain of the Low Countries, they should not think of securing to themselves any part of a territory, the possession of which, by encreasing their power, might render them just objects of apprehension to the other potentates of Europe. "For," said she, "if the king, my brother, should display a wish to become proprietor, or only liege-lord of the United Provinces, I do not conceal from you, that I should conceive a well-founded jealousy of him: on the other hand, I should not be offended were he to entertain the same fears with regard to me." The chief object of her conference with Rosni, and of the grand project she had conceived, was to restore Germany to the same state of liberty it had formerly enjoyed, as to the election of its emperors, and the nomination of the king of the Romans; to render the United Provinces independent on Spain, and to form them into a powerful republic, by the annexation, if necessary, of some of the dismembered provinces of Germany; to make the same arrangements in Switzerland, by adding to it certain frontier counties, particularly Franche Compté, and Alsace; and, finally, to reduce all religions to those which appeared the most generally adopted in Europe, viz. the Catholic, the Lutheran, and the Calvinistic.

Henry the Fourth had conceived the same plan, but had never communicated his thoughts on the subject to any other person than Rosni. That nobleman hearing the queen develope this project with equal eloquence and sagacity, did not hesitate to explain to her the ideas of his sovereign, and to profess his own admiration of herself. But as she had frankly opened all her plans to him, he thought it necessary, in return, to explain, without reserve, the state of the French finances, and the impossibility of Henry's engaging, at that time, in such extensive schemes, which would require such vast supplies of men and money. He acknowledged, that his sovereign was endeavouring to collect all the necessary forces for that purpose, but that a delay of some years was indispensably requisite; the house of Austria being too powerful to fall beneath the efforts of a league into which France could not enter, and too rich not to overturn the feeble endeavour which that kingdom could make at the present period, though supported by England and the United Provinces. He observed, that it would be useless and imprudent to carry on a war merely defensive, against an enemy thus powerful; and that, during the delay necessary for restoring to their proper strength the military and naval forces of France, her finances, her government, and commerce, they might endeavour to engage in the league such of the sovereign princes of Germany as were most exposed to the tyranny of Spain. Rosni concluded by telling the queen, that Henry would be greatly pleased, if the reasons he had urged met with her approbation; and if he might be permitted to hope that, from their alliance, a source of mutual advantage and immortal honour might be derived. Elizabeth perfectly agreed with the friend of her ally on the necessity of delay; and the accomplishment of their plan was accordingly deferred till the necessary preparations could be made; but her successor on the throne had a mind that was incapable of conceiving or adopting a project thus extensive; and, when Henry was putting it in execution, he was arrested by the hand of death. The marquis of Rosni departed, filled with just admiration at the solidity of Elizabeth's judgement,

judgement, and the greatness of her mind; and he owns, that she was entirely worthy of that high reputation which she enjoyed in Europe.

The queen's magnanimity in forming such extensive projects was the more remarkable, as, besides her having fallen so far into the decline of life, the affairs of Ireland, though conducted with abilities and success, were still in disorder, and made a great diversion of her forces. The expence, incurred by this war, lay heavy upon her narrow revenues; and her ministers, taking advantage of her disposition to frugality, proposed to her an expedient of saving, which, though she at first disapproved of it, she was at last induced to embrace. It was represented to her, by lord Buckhurst, that the great sums of money remitted to Ireland for the pay of the English forces, came, by the necessary course of circulation, into the hands of the rebels, and enabled them to buy abroad all necessary supplies of arms and ammunition, which, from the extreme poverty of that kingdom, and its want of every useful commodity, they could not otherwise find means to purchase. It was therefore recommended to her, that she should pay her forces in base money; and it was asserted, that, besides the great saving to the revenue, this species of coin could never be exported with advantage, and would not pass in any foreign market. Some of her counsellors, however, who seemed to possess more wisdom, maintained, that if the pay of the soldiers were raised in proportion, the Irish rebels would necessarily reap the same benefit from the base money, which would always be taken at a rate suitable to its value; if the pay were not raised, there would be danger of a mutiny among the troops, who, whatever names might be affixed to the pieces of metal, would soon find from experience, that they were defrauded in their income. But Elizabeth, though she justly valued herself on fixing the standard of the English coin, (which had been greatly debased by her predecessors,) and had innovated very little in that delicate article, was seduced by the specious arguments employed by the treasurer on this occasion; and she coined a great quantity of base money, which he made use of in the pay of her soldiers in Ireland.

Lord Mountjoy, the deputy, was a man of abilities; and foreseeing the danger of mutiny among the troops, he led them instantly into the field, and resolved, by means of strict discipline, and by keeping them employed against the enemy, to obviate those inconveniences which were justly to be apprehended. He made military roads, and built a fortress at Moghery; he drove the Mac-Genises out of Lecade; he harassed Tyrone in Ulster with inroads and lesser expeditions; and by destroying every where, and during all seasons, the provisions of the Irish, he reduced them to perish by famine in the woods and morasses, to which they were obliged to retreat. At the same time, sir Henry Docwray, who commanded another body of forces, took the castle of Derry, and put garrisons into Newton and Ainogh; and having seized the monastery of Donnegal near Balishannon, he threw troops into it, and defended it against the assaults of O'Donnel, and a numerous body of Irish soldiery. Nor was sir George Carew idle in the province of Munster. He seized the titular earl of Desmond, and sent him over, with Florence Macarty, another chieftain, prisoner to England. He arrested many suspected persons, and took hostages from others. Having likewise got a reinforcement of two thousand men from England, he threw himself into Corke, which he supplied with arms and provisions; and put every thing in a condition for resisting the Spanish invasion, which was daily expected to take place. The deputy, informed of the danger to which the southern provinces were exposed, left the prosecution of the war against Tyrone, who was reduced to great extremities; and marched with his army into Munster.

At last the Spaniards, under don John d'Aquila, arrived at Kinsale, on the 23rd of September; and sir Richard Piercy, who commanded in the town with a small garrison of a hundred and fifty men, found himself obliged to abandon it on their appearance. These invaders amounted to four thousand men, and the Irish discovered a strong propensity to join them, in order to free themselves from the English government, with which they were extremely discontented (*w*). The Irish also bore a great favour to the Spaniards, having entertained the opinion that they themselves were descended from that nation; and their attachment to the Catholic religion proved a new cause of affection to the invaders. D'Aquila assumed the title of general *in the holy war for the preservation of the faith* in Ireland; and he endeavoured to persuade the people that Elizabeth was, by several bulls of the pope, deprived of her crown; that her subjects were absolved from their oaths of allegiance; and that the Spaniards were come to deliver the Irish from the dominion of the devil. Mountjoy found it necessary to act with vigour, in order to prevent a total insurrection of the Irish; and having collected his forces, he formed the siege of Kinsale by land; while sir Richard Levison, with a small squadron, blockaded it by sea. He had no sooner begun his operations, than he heard of the arrival of another body of two thousand Spaniards under the command of Alphonso Ocampo, who had taken possession of Baltimore and Barehaven; and he was obliged to detach sir George Carew to oppose their progress. Tyrone, meanwhile, with Randal, Mac-Surley, Tirel baron of Kelly, and other chieftains of the Irish, had joined Ocampo with all their forces, and were marching to the relief of Kinsale. The deputy, informed of their design by intercepted letters, made preparations to receive them; and being reinforced by Levison with six hundred marines, he posted his troops on an advantageous ground, which lay on the passage of the enemy, leaving some cavalry to prevent a sally from d'Aquila and the Spanish garrison. When Tyrone, with a detachment of Irish and Spaniards, approached, he was surprized to find the English so well posted, and ranged in good order; and he immediately sounded a retreat: but the deputy gave orders to pursue him; and having thrown these advanced troops into disorder, he followed them to the main body, whom he also attacked, and put to flight, with the slaughter of twelve hundred men. Ocampo was taken prssoner: Tyrone fled into Ulster; O'Donnel made his escape into Spain; and d'Aquila, finding himself reduced to the greatest difficulties, was obliged to capitulate upon such terms as the deputy prescribed to him: he surrendered Kinsale and Baltimore, and agreed to evacuate the kingdom. This great blow, joined to other successes, gained by Wilmot, governor of Kerry, and by Roger and Gavin Harvey, threw the rebels into dismay, and gave a prospect of the final reduction of Ireland.

The Irish war, though successful, was extremely burthensome on the queen's revenue; and besides the supplies granted by parliament, which were indeed very small, but which they ever regarded as mighty concessions, she had been obliged, notwithstanding her great frugality, to employ other expedients, such as selling the royal demesnes and crown jewels, and exacting loans from the people; in order to support this cause, so essential to the honour and interests of England. The necessity of her affairs obliged her again to summon a parliament, which met on the 27th of October, 1601; and it here appeared that, since the death of Essex she had lost much of her popularity; and when she appeared in public, she was no longer received with those acclamations of joy which were wont to assail her ears. But although these marks of indifference gave her great uneasiness, she did not seem disposed to court the favour of her subjects by unusual indulgences; on the contrary, at the present meeting of parliament, she displayed the same jealousy of her prerogative, the same despotic disposition, which she had ever evinced on similar occasions.

The active reign of Elizabeth had enabled many persons to distinguish themselves in civil and military employments; and the queen, who was not able, from her revenue, to give them any rewards proportioned to their services, had made use of an expedient which had been employed by her predecessors, but which had never been carried to such an extreme as under her administration. She granted her servants and courtiers patents for monopolies; and these patents they sold to others, who were thereby enabled to raise commodities to what price they pleased, and who put invincible restraints upon all commerce, industry, and emulation in the arts (*x*). These monopolists were so exhorbitant in their demands, that in some places they raised

(*w*) One chief ground of their complaint was the introduction of trials by jury; an institution abhorred by that people, though nothing contributes more to the support of that equity and liberty, for which the English laws are so justly celebrated.

(*x*) It is astonishing to consider the number and importance of those commodities which were thus assigned over to patentees. Currants, salt, iron, powder, cards, calf skins, felts, pouldavies, ox-shin-bones, train-oil, lists of cloth, pot-ashes, anniseeds, vinegar, sea-coals, steel, aquavitæ, brushes, pots, bottles, saltpetre, lead, accidences, oil, calamine-stone, oil of blubber, glasses, paper, starch, tin, sulphur, new drapery,

raised the price of salt from sixteen-pence a bushel, to fourteen or fifteen shillings. Such high profits naturally begat intruders upon their commerce; and in order to secure themselves against encroachments, the patentees were armed with high and arbitrary powers from the council, by which they were enabled to oppress the people at pleasure, and to exact money from such as they thought proper to accuse of interfering with their patent (*y*). And while all domestic intercourse was thus restrained, lest any scope should remain for industry, almost every species of foreign commerce was confined to exclusive companies, who bought and sold at any price that they themselves thought proper to offer or exact.

These grievances, the most intolerable for the present, and the most pernicious in their consequences that ever were known in any age, or under any government, had been mentioned in the last parliament, and a petition had even been presented to the queen complaining of the patents; but she still persisted in defending her monopolists against her people. A bill was now introduced into the lower house, abolishing all these monopolies; and as the former application had been unsuccessful, a law was insisted on as the only certain expedient for correcting these abuses. The courtiers, on the other hand, maintained that this matter regarded the prerogative, and that the commons could never hope for success if they did not make application, in the most humble and respectful manner, to the queen's goodness and beneficence. The topics which were advanced in the house, and which came equally from the courtiers and the country gentlemen, and were admitted by both, will appear the most extraordinary to such as are prepossessed with an idea of the privileges enjoyed by the people during that age, and of the liberty possessed under the administration of Elizabeth. It was asserted that the queen inherited both an enlarging and a restraining power; by her prerogative she might set at liberty what was restrained by statute or otherwise, and by her prerogative she might restrain what was otherwise at liberty. That the royal prerogative was not to be canvassed nor disputed nor examined; and did not even admit of any limitation: that absolute princes, such as the sovereigns of England, were a species of divinity: that it was in vain to attempt tying the queen's hands by laws or statutes; since, by means of her dispensing power, she could loosen herself at pleasure: and that even if a clause should be annexed to a statute, excluding her dispensing power, she could first dispense with that clause, and then with the statute. After all these warm debates, more worthy of a Turkish divan than of an English house of commons, according to our present idea of this assembly, the queen, who perceived how odious monopolies had become, and what heats were likely to arise, sent for the speaker, and desired him to acquaint the house, that she would immediately cancel the most grievous and oppressive of these patents.

The house was struck with astonishment, and admiration, and gratitude, at this extraordinary instance of the queen's goodness and condescension. A member said, with tears in his eyes, that if a sentence of everlasting happiness had been pronounced in his favour, he could not have felt more joy than that with which he was at present overwhelmed. Another observed, that this message from the sacred person of the queen was a kind of gospel or glad tidings, and ought to be received as such, and be written in the tablets of their hearts. And it was farther remarked, that in the same manner as the Deity would not give his glory to another, so the queen herself was the only agent in their present prosperity and happiness. The house voted, That the speaker, with a committee, should ask permission to wait on her majesty, and return thanks to her for her gracious concessions to her people.

When the speaker, with the other members, was introduced to the queen, they all flung themselves on their knees; and remained in that posture a considerable time, till she thought proper to express her desire that they should rise (*z*). The speaker displayed the gratitude of the commons; because her sacred ears were ever open to hear them, and her blessed hands were stretched out to relieve them! They acknowledged, he said, in all duty and thankfulness, that before they called, her *preventing grace* and *all-deserving goodness* watched over them for their good; more ready to give than they could desire, much less deserve. He remarked, that the attribute which was most proper to God, to perform all he promiseth, appertained also to her; and that she was all truth, all constancy, and all goodness. And he concluded with these expressions, "Neither do we present our thanks in words or any outward sign, which can be no sufficient retribution for so great goodness; but in all duty and thankfulness, prostrate at your feet, we present our most loyal and thankful hearts, even the last drop of blood in our hearts, and the last spirit of breath in our nostrils, to be poured out, to be breathed up for your safety." The queen heard very patiently this speech, so fraught with fulsome and gross adulation, in which she was flattered in phrases appropriated to the Supreme Being; and she returned an answer full of such expressions of tenderness towards her people, as ought to have appeared equally fulsome after the late instances of rigour which she had employed, and from which nothing but necessity had caused her to depart. Thus was this critical affair happily terminated; but how must the perusal of this speech make every Englishman of the present day blush for his ancestors; who belied the spirit, while they betrayed the liberties of their country; and by their extreme servility degraded their very nature.

The commons, in gratitude, granted her a supply quite unprecedented, of four subsidies and eight fifteenths; and they were so dutiful as to vote this supply before they received any satisfaction in the business of monopolies, which they justly considered as of the utmost importance to the interest and happiness of the nation. Had they attempted to extort that concession by keeping the supply in suspense, so haughty was the queen's disposition, that this appearance of constraint and jealousy had been sufficient to have produced a denial of all their requests, and to have forced her into some acts of authority still more violent and arbitrary.

The remaining events of this reign are neither numerous nor important. The queen, finding that the Spaniards had involved her in so much trouble, by fomenting and assisting the Irish rebellion, resolved to give them employment at home; and, in 1602, she fitted out a squadron of nine ships, under sir Richard Levison, admiral, and sir William Monson, vice-admiral, whom she sent on an expedition to the coast of Spain. The admiral, with part of the squadron, met the galleons loaded with treasure; but was not strong enough to attack them. The vice-admiral also fell in with some rich ships; but they escaped for a like reason: and these two brave officers, that their expedition might not prove intirely fruitless, resolved to attack the harbour of Coimbra in Portugal; where they received intelligence, a very rich carrack had taken shelter. The harbour was guarded by a castle: there were eleven gallies stationed in it: and the militia of the country, to the number, as was believed, of twenty thousand men, appeared in arms on the shore: yet, notwithstanding these obstacles, and others derived from the winds and tides, the English squadron broke into the harbour, dismounted the guns of the castle, sunk, or burnt, or put to flight, the gallies, and obliged the carrack to surrender. They brought her home to England, and she was valued at a million of ducats: a sensible loss to the Spaniards; and a supply still more important to Elizabeth.

The affairs of Ireland, after the defeat of Tyrone and the expulsion of the Spaniards, hastened to a settlement. Lord Mountjoy divided his army into small parties, and harassed the rebels on every side: he built Charlemont, and many other small forts, which were impregnable to the Irish, and guarded all the important passes of the

drapery, dried pilchards, transportation of iron ordnance, of beer, of horn, of leather, importation of Spanish wool, of Irish yarn: these are but a part of the commodities which had been appropriated to monopolists. When this list was read in the house, a member cried, *Is not bread in the number? Bread!* said every one with astonishment: *Yes, I assure you,* replies he, *if affairs go on at this rate, we shall have bread reduced to a monopoly before next parliament.*

(*y*) The patentees of saltpetre having the power of entering into every house, and of committing what havoc they pleased in stables, cellars, or wherever they suspected salt-petre might be gathered; commonly extorted money from those who desired to free themselves from this damage or trouble.

(*z*) We learn from Hentzner's Travels, that no one spoke to queen Elizabeth without kneeling; though now and then she raised some with waving her hand. Nay, wherever she turned her eye, every one fell on his knees. Her successor first allowed his courtiers to omit this ceremony; and as he exerted not the power, so he relinquished the appearance of despotism. Even when queen Elizabeth was absent, those who covered her table, though persons of quality, neither approached it nor retired from it without kneeling, and that often three times.

country: the activity of sir Henry Docwray and sir Arthur Chichester permitted no repose or security to the rebels: and many of the chieftains, after skulking, during some time, in woods and morasses, submitted to mercy, and received such conditions, as the deputy was pleased to impose upon them. Tyrone himself made application, in 1603, by Arthur Mac-Baron, his brother, to be received upon terms; but Mountjoy would not admit him except he made an absolute surrender of his life and fortunes to the queen's mercy. He appeared before the deputy at Millefont, in a habit and posture suitable to his present fortune; and after acknowledging his offence in the most humble terms, he was committed to custody by Mountjoy, who intended to bring him over captive into England, to be disposed of at the queen's pleasure.

But Elizabeth was now incapable of receiving any satisfaction from this fortunate event: she had fallen into a profound melancholy; which all the advantages of her high fortune, all the glories of her prosperous reign, were unable in any degree to alleviate or assuage. Some ascribed this depression of mind to her repentance of granting a pardon to Tyrone, whom she had always resolved to bring to condign punishment for his treasons, but who had made such interest with the ministers, as to extort remission from her. Others, with more likelihood, accounted for her dejection by a discovery which she had made of the correspondence maintained in her court with her successor the king of Scots, and by the neglect to which, on account of her old age and infirmities, she imagined herself to be exposed. But there is another cause assigned for her melancholy, which has long been rejected by historians as romantic, but which late discoveries have fully confirmed (*a*): some incidents happened which revived her tenderness for Essex, and filled her with the deepest sorrow for the consent which she had, in a transport of rage, vexation, and disappointment, unwarily given to his execution.

The earl of Essex, after his return from the fortunate expedition against Cadiz, observing the increase of the queen's fond attachment towards him, took occasion to regret, that the necessity of her service required him often to be absent from her person, and exposed him to all those ill offices, which his enemies, more assiduous in their attendance, could employ against him. She was moved with this tender jealousy; and making him the present of a ring, desired him to keep that pledge of her affection, and assured him, that into whatever disgrace he should fall, whatever prejudices she might be induced to entertain against him, yet, if he sent her that ring, she would immediately upon the sight of it recal her former tenderness, would afford him a patient hearing, and would lend a favourable ear to his apology. Essex, notwithstanding all his misfortunes, reserved this precious gift to the last extremity; but after his trial and condemnation, he resolved to try the experiment, and he committed the ring to the countess of Nottingham, whom he desired to deliver it to the queen. The countess was prevailed on by her husband, the mortal enemy of Essex, not to execute the commission; and Elizabeth, who still expected that her favourite would make this last appeal to her tenderness, and who ascribed the neglect of it to his invincible obstinacy, was, after much delay and many internal combats, pushed by resentment and policy to sign the warrant for his execution. The countess of Nottingham falling into sickness, and affected with the near approach of death, was seized with remorse for her conduct; and having obtained a visit from the queen, she craved her pardon, and revealed to her the fatal secret. The queen, astonished with this incident, burst into a furious passion: she shook the dying countess in her bed; and crying to her, *That God might pardon her, but she never could*, she broke from her, and thenceforth resigned herself over to the deepest and most incurable melancholy. She rejected all consolation: she even refused food and sustenance: and throwing herself on the floor, she remained sullen and immoveable, feeding her thoughts on her afflictions, and declaring life and existence an insufferable burthen to her. Few words she uttered; and they were all expressive of some inward grief, which she cared not to reveal: but sighs and groans were the chief vent which she gave to her despondency, and which, though they discovered her sorrows, were never able to ease or assuage them. Ten days and nights she lay upon the carpet, leaning on cushions which her maids brought her; and her physicians could not persuade her to allow herself to be put to bed, much less to make trial of any remedies which they prescribed to her. Her anxious mind at last had so long preyed on her frail body, that her end was visibly approaching; and the council, being assembled, sent the keeper, admiral, and secretary, to know her will with regard to her successor. She answered with a faint voice, that, as she had held a regal sceptre, she desired no other than a royal successor. Cecil requesting her to explain herself more particularly, she subjoined, that she would have a king to succeed her; and who should that be but her nearest kinsman, the king of Scots? Being then advised by the archbishop of Canterbury to fix her thoughts upon God, she replied, that she did so, nor did her mind in the least wander from him. Her voice soon after left her; her senses failed; she fell into a lethargic slumber, which continued some hours; and she expired gently, without farther struggle or convulsion, on the 24th of March, 1603, in the seventieth year of her age, and forty-fifth of her reign (*b*).

"So dark a cloud," says Hume, "overcast the evening of that day, which had shone out with a mighty lustre in the eyes of all Europe. There are few great personages in history who have been more exposed to the calumny of enemies, and the adulation of friends, than queen Elizabeth; and yet there scarcely is any whose reputation has been more certainly determined by the unanimous consent of posterity. The unusual length of her administration, and the strong features of her character, were able to overcome all prejudices; and obliging her detractors to abate much of their invectives, and her admirers somewhat of their panegyrics, have at last, in spite of political factions, and, what is more, of religious animosities, produced a uniform judgement with regard to her conduct. Her vigour, her constancy, her magnanimity, her penetration, vigilance, address, are allowed to merit the highest praises, and appear not to have been surpassed by any person that ever filled a throne: a conduct less rigorous, less imperious, more sincere, more indulgent to her people, would have been requisite to form a perfect character. By the force of her mind, she controlled all her more active and stronger qualities, and prevented them from running into excesses: her heroism was exempt from temerity, her frugality from avarice, her friendship from partiality, her active temper from turbulency and vain ambition: she guarded not herself with equal care or equal success from lesser infirmities; the rivalship of beauty, the desire of admiration, the jealousy of love, and the sallies of anger.

"Her singular talents for government were founded equally on her temper and on her capacity. Endowed with a great command over herself, she soon obtained an uncontrolled ascendant over her people; and while she merited all their esteem by her real virtues, she also engaged their affections by her pretended ones. Few sovereigns of England succeeded to the throne in more difficult circumstances; and none ever conducted the government with such uniform success and felicity. Though unacquainted with the practice of toleration, the true secret for managing religious factions, she preserved her people, by her superior prudence, from those confusions in which theological controversy had involved all the neighbouring nations:

(*a*) See the proofs of this remarkable fact collected in Birch's Negociations, p. 206. And Memoirs, vol. ii. p. 481, 505, 506, &c.

(*b*) Her dying moments are thus described by Robert Cary, earl of Monmouth, in his Memoirs of his own Life:

"When I came to court," says that nobleman, who had just arrived from Scotland, "I found the queen ill-disposed, and shee kept her inner lodging: yet shee, hearing of my arrivall, sent for mee. I found her in one of her withdrawing chambers, *sitting low upon her cushions*. Shee called mee to her. I kist her hand; and told her it was my chiefest happinesse to see her in safety and in health, which I wished might long continue. Shee took mee by the hand and wrung it hard, and said, "No, Robin, I am not well." And then discoursed with me of her indisposition, and that her heart had been sad and heavy for ten or twelve days; and in her discourse she fetched not so few as forty or fifty great sighes. I was grieved at the first to see her in this plight; for, *in all my life-time before, I never knew her fetch a sigh, but when the queen of Scottes was beheaded. Then*, upon my knowledge, she shed *many* teares and sighes. I used the best words I could, to persuade her from this melancholy humour; but I found by her, it was too deep rooted in her heart, and hardly to be removed. This was upon a Saturday night. From the next day, forwards, shee grew worse and worse. *Shee remained upon her cushions four dayes and nights, at the least.* All about her could not persuade her to take any sustenance, or go to bed. The queene grew worse and worse, *because she would be so*, none about her being able to persuade her to go to bed. My lord admirall was sent for: what by faire meanes, what by force, he got her to bed. There was no hope of recovery, *because she refused all remedies*. On Wednesday, the 23rd of March, she grew speechless."

nations: and though her enemies were the most powerful princes of Europe, the most active, the most enterprising, the least scrupulous, she was able, by her vigour, to make deep impressions on their states: her own greatness meanwhile remained untouched and unimpaired.

"The wise ministers and brave warriors who flourished under her reign, share the praise of her success; but instead of lessening the applause due to her, they make a great addition to it. They owed all of them their advancement to her choice; they were supported by her constancy; and with all their abilities they were never able to acquire any undue ascendant over her. In her family, in her court, in her kingdom, she remained equally mistress: the force of the tender passions was great over her, but the force of her mind was still superior; and the combat which her victory visibly cost her, serves only to display the firmness of her resolution, and the loftiness of her ambitious sentiments.

"The fame of this princess, though it has surmounted the prejudices both of faction and bigotry, yet lies still exposed to another prejudice, which is more durable because more natural, and which, according to the different views in which we survey her, is capable either of exalting beyond measure, or diminishing the lustre of her character. This prejudice is founded on the consideration of her sex. When we contemplate her as a woman, we are apt to be struck with the highest admiration of her great qualities and extensive capacity; but we are also apt to require some more softness of disposition, some greater lenity of temper, some of those amiable weaknesses by which her sex is distinguished. But the true method of estimating her merit, is to lay aside all these considerations, and consider her merely as a rational being placed in authority, and entrusted with the government of mankind. We may find it difficult to reconcile our fancy to her as a wife or a mistress; but her qualities as a sovereign, though with some considerable exceptions, are the object of undisputed applause and approbation."

Such is the character of queen Elizabeth given by Mr. Hume, an author whose shining talents and historical knowledge were certainly of the first class; but he has only presented us with a part of the true character of this princess. However to stem the torrent of popular opinion—of opinion confirmed and consecrated by the long prescription of upwards of two centuries—to contradict the sentiments and confute the assertions of writers of different parties, high in literary fame and moral celebrity; to counteract the misguided efforts of the virtuous, and the dark machinations of the designing; to crush with indignant force, the vile spirit of adulation, and hold up to public contempt the grovelling arts of servility; is a task neither pleasant to undertake, nor easy to accomplish. But it is peculiarly the province of the historian to secure the triumph of truth over prejudice: it is his duty to stand forth the intrepid champion of virtue; to display his resolution in rescuing from unmerited obloquy calumniated innocence, and in exposing to just indignation illustrious vice. Taught, from our infancy, to respect the memory of Elizabeth, and to consider her reign as an epoch of freedom and of glory, we found it painful to dispel the flattering errors of youth, the grateful illusions of inexperience; and it was with considerable difficulty we could divest ourselves of the idea of

"the golden days of good queen Bess:"

yet when writers of knowledge profound, of integrity incorruptible, of reputation unpolluted and unimpeached, undertook, from the best of motives, to expose the fallacy of those opinions we had long been accustomed, in common with the generality of the nation, to cherish, conviction flashed on our mind, and extorted a compleat, though reluctant, acquiescence in the validity of their proofs, and the justice of their remarks.

For a masculine vigour of mind, indeed, Elizabeth was eminently distinguished. Bold, enterprizing, inquisitive, and resolute, her penetration was active and acute, her judgement solid, her comprehension vast. Firm and undaunted in the hour of danger, her projects were conceived with spirit, and executed with energy. Had her extensive endowments been under the influence and regulation of virtue, they might have been productive of infinite glory to herself, and of vast felicity to her people; but, unhappily, they were too often rendered subservient to the dark purposes of vice. In her professions, she evinced an anxiety to promote the welfare of her subjects, but in her actions she frequently betrayed a disposition to oppress them: while she consulted their tranquillity, she invaded their liberties. She was careful to enforce a due administration of justice, except when ambition, malice, or revenge, induced her to violate its dictates, and pervert its course. Her policy was successfully exerted for the preservation of peace in her own dominions; though generally dark, insidious, and illiberal, it sought to promote its object at the expence of her neighbours. From the dissensions which she contributed to excite among the continental powers, did Elizabeth principally seek to derive the safety of her kingdom. She was a strenuous defender of the Protestant faith it is true; but there is every reason to believe, that it proceeded rather from interested motives than from a principle of piety; for she frequently betrayed a marked predilection for the forms and tenets of the Roman Catholic church.

To the representatives of the people in parliament Elizabeth conducted herself with a degree of pride, insolence, and tyranny, that has seldom been equalled, and never exceeded. Even in controversies where the respective rights of the sovereign and the subject had been less accurately defined, where the prerogatives of the former had scarcely been questioned, and where no Charter of Liberties had been granted to the latter, a nation's rights had never been invaded by more violent exertions of power, by a more daring display of imperious despotism.

Where the gratification of her passions was concerned she was extremely prodigal; but, in other respects, even where interest called for liberality, she was remarkably parsimonious. In her conduct to Mary, (though we do not entertain the opinion that the Scottish queen was the immaculate creature some would represent her to be,) she certainly betrayed the malignity of a mind cankered by jealousy, and corrupted by a criminal indulgence to its own vicious propensities. Her deep hypocrisy, her habits of swearing, her gusts of anger, her pride, petulance, and cruelty; all excite our detestation. She was egregiously vain; and such was the ardour of her lust, that she became a prostitute in spite of nature. The long list of her paramours proclaims her "as great a latitudinarian in her practices of lewdness, as she was in her principles of dishonour:" and, to use the language of an author, at once nervous, elegant, profound, "Even when palsied with age, she was yet burning with unquenchable desires; and, vain of her haggard and cadaverous form, sought to allure her many lovers." Such was Elizabeth, who wished to have it engraven on her tomb, "Here lieth Elizabeth, who reigned a virgin, and died a virgin."

CHAP. IX.

On the Government of England—Revenues—Commerce—Naval Force—Military Force—Manufactures—Manners and Hospitality—Learning.

Government of England.

IN all countries different people have entertained different notions with respect to government, and among the English there are some authors who have distinguished themselves by their adhering to principles of liberty and a popular government, and who have long indulged their prejudices against the succeeding race of princes, by bestowing unbounded panegyrics on the virtue and wisdom of Elizabeth; but some of them have been so extremely ignorant of the transactions of this reign, as to extol her for a quality which, of all others, she was least possessed of; viz. a tender regard for the constitution, and a concern for the liberties and privileges of her people. But as it is scarcely possible for the prepossessions of party to throw a veil much longer over facts so palpable and undeniable, there is danger lest the public should run into the opposite extreme, and should entertain an aversion to the memory of a princess who exercised the royal authority in a manner so contrary to all the ideas which we at present entertain of a legal constitution. Elizabeth supported the prerogatives transmitted to her by her predecessors: she might indeed have been somewhat more tenacious of the royal prerogative than some of her predecessors had been: she believed that her subjects were entitled to no more liberty than their ancestors had enjoyed: she found that they entirely acquiesced in her arbitrary mode of ad-

ministration: and it was not natural for her to find fault with a form of government by which she herself was invested with such unlimited authority. In the particular exertions of power the question ought never to be forgotten, *What is best?* But in the general distribution of power among the several members of a constitution, there can seldom be admitted any other question than *What is established?* Few examples occur of princes who have willingly resigned their power: none of those who have, without struggle and reluctance, allowed it to be extorted from them. If any other rule than established practice be followed, factions and dissensions must multiply without end; and though many constitutions, and none more than the British, have been improved even by violent innovations, the praise bestowed on those patriots to whom the nation has been indebted for its privileges, ought to be given with some reserve, and surely without the least rancour against those who adhered to the ancient constitution (*c*).

In order to be well acquainted with the ancient constitution of England, there is not a period of our history which deserves more to be studied than the reign of Elizabeth. The prerogatives of this princess were scarcely ever disputed, and she therefore employed them without scruple: her imperious temper, a circumstance in which she went far beyond any of her successors, rendered her exertions of power violent and frequent, and discovered the full extent of her authority: the great popularity which she enjoyed, proves that she did not infringe any *established* liberties of the people, though she exacted every privilege of the crown with a very high hand: there remains evidence sufficient to ascertain the most noted acts of her administration: and though that evidence must be drawn from a source very different from that of the ordinary historians, it becomes only the more authentic on that account, and serves as a stronger proof that her particular exertions of power were conceived to be nothing but the ordinary course of administration, since they were not thought remarkable enough to be recorded even by contemporary writers. If there was any difference in this particular, the people in former reigns seem rather to have been more submissive than even during the age of Elizabeth (*d*). It may here be proper to recount some of the ancient prerogatives of the crown, and lay open the sources of that great power which the English monarchs formerly enjoyed.

One of the most ancient and most established instruments of arbitrary power in this country was the court of Star-chamber, which possessed an unlimited discretionary authority of fining, imprisoning, and inflicting corporal punishment, and whose jurisdiction extended to all sorts of offences, contempts, and disorders, that lay not within reach of the common law. The members of this court consisted of the privy council and the judges; men who, all of them, enjoyed their offices during the pleasure of the sovereign: and when the prince himself was present, he was the sole judge, and all the others could only interpose with their advice and counsel. There needed but this one court in any government to put an end to all regular, legal, and exact plans of liberty: for who would have the boldness to set himself in opposition to the crown and ministry, or who would come forward and aspire to the character of being a patron of freedom, while exposed to so arbitrary a jurisdiction? We much question whether any of the monarchies in Europe, however absolute the authority of their rulers, or tyrannical their edicts, contain at present so illegal and despotic a tribunal.

The court of High Commission was another jurisdiction still more terrible; both because the crime of heresy, of which it took cognizance, was more undefinable than any civil offence, and because its methods of inquisition, and of administering oaths, were more contrary to all the most simple ideas of justice and equity. The fines and imprisonments imposed by this court were frequent: the deprivations and suspensions of the clergy for non-conformity were also numerous, and comprehended at one time the third of all the ecclesiastics of England (*e*). The queen, in a letter to the archbishop of Canterbury, said expressly, that she was resolved, "That no man should be suffered to decline, either on the left or on the right hand, from the drawn line limited by authority, and by her laws and injunctions (*f*)."

But Martial Law went beyond even these two courts in a prompt, arbitrary, and violent method of decision.—Whenever there was any insurrection or public disorder, the crown employed martial law; and it was during that time, exercised not only over the soldiers, but over the whole people: any one might be punished as a rebel, or an aider and abettor of rebellion, whom the provost-martial, or lieutenant of a county, or their deputies, pleased to suspect. Lord Bacon says, that the trial at common law, granted to the earl of Essex and his fellow conspirators, was a favour; for that the case would have borne and required the severity of martial law (*g*). There have been instances of its being employed by queen Mary in defence of what she termed orthodoxy. There remains a letter of queen Elizabeth's to the earl of Sussex, after the suppression of the northern rebellion, in which she sharply reproves him because she had not heard of his having executed any criminals by martial law (*h*); though it is probable that nearly eight hundred persons suffered, one way or other, on account of that slight insurrection. But the kings of England did not always limit the exercise of this law to times of civil war and disorder. In 1552, when there was no rebellion or insurrection, king Edward granted a commission of martial law; and empowered the commissioners to execute it, *as should be thought by their discretions most necessary* (*i*). Queen Elizabeth too was not sparing in the use of this law. In 1573, one Peter Burchet, a Puritan, being persuaded that it was meritorious to kill such as opposed the truth of the gospel, ran into the street, and wounded Hawkins, the famous sea-captain, whom he took for Hatton, the queen's favourite. The queen was so incensed, that she ordered him to be punished instantly by martial law; but, upon the remonstrance of some prudent counsellors, who told her that this law was usually confined to turbulent times, she recalled her order, and delivered over Burchet to the common law (*k*). But she continued not always so reserved in exerting this authority. There remains a proclamation of her's in which she orders martial law to be used against all such as import bulls, or even forbidden books and pamphlets, from abroad (*l*); and prohibits the questioning of the lieutenants, or their deputies, for their arbitrary punishment of such offenders, *any law or statute to the contrary in anywise notwithstanding*. We have another act of her's still more extraordinary. The streets of London were much infested with idle vagabonds and riotous persons: the lord mayor had endeavoured to repress this disorder: the Star-chamber had exerted its authority, and inflicted punishment on these rioters: but the queen, finding those remedies ineffectual, revived martial law, and gave sir Thomas Wilford a commission of provost-martial: "Granting him authority, and commanding him, upon signification given by the justices of peace in London, or the neighbouring counties, of such offenders worthy to be speedily executed by martial law, to attach and take the same persons, and in the presence of the said justices, according to justice of martial law, to execute them upon the gallows or gibbet openly, or near to such place where the said rebellious and incorrigible offenders shall be found to have committed the said great offences (*m*)." The patent of high constable, granted to earl Rivers by Edward IV. proves the nature of the office. The powers are unlimited, perpetual, and remain in force during peace as well as during war and rebellion. The parliament in Edward VIth's reign acknowledged the jurisdiction of the constable and martial's court to be part of the law of the land (*n*).

The Star-chamber and High Commission, and Court-martial,

(*c*) By the ancient constitution, is here meant that which prevailed before the settlement of our present plan of liberty. There was a more ancient constitution, where, though the people had perhaps less liberty than under the Tudors, yet the king had also less authority: the power of the barons was a great check upon him, and exercised with great tyranny over them. But there was still a more ancient constitution, viz. that before the signing of the charters, when neither the people nor the barons had any regular privileges; and the power of the government, during the reign of an able prince, was almost wholly in the king.—The English constitution, like all others, has been in a state of continual fluctuation.

(*d*) In a memorial of the state of the realm, drawn by secretary Cecil, in 1569, there is this passage: "Then followeth the decay of obedience in civil polity, which being compared with the fearfulness and reverence of all inferior estates to their superiors in times past, will astonish any wise and considerate person, to behold the desperation of reformation." *Haynes*, p. 586. 588.

(*e*) Neal, vol. i. p. 479. (*f*) Murden, p. 183.

(*g*) Bacon, vol. iv. p. 510.

(*h*) MS. of lord Royston's, from the Paper Office.

(*i*) Strype's Eccles. Memoires, vol. ii. p. 373. 458, 9.

(*k*) Camden, p. 446. Strype, vol. ii. p. 288.

(*l*) Strype, vol. iii. p. 570.

(*m*) Rymer, vol. xvi. p. 279. (*n*) Edw. VI. cap. 20. See sir John Davis's Question concerning Impositions, p. 9.

martial, though arbitrary jurisdictions, had still some pretence of a trial, at least of a sentence; but there was a grievous punishment very generally inflicted in that age, without any other authority than the warrant of a secretary of state, or of the privy-council (*o*); and that was, imprisonment in any jail, and during any time that the ministers should think proper. In suspicious times, all the jails were full of prisoners of state; and these unhappy victims of public jealousy were sometimes thrown into dungeons, and loaded with irons, and treated in the most cruel manner, without their being able to obtain any remedy from law.

This practice was an indirect way of employing torture; but the rack itself, though not admitted in the ordinary execution of justice (*p*), was frequently used, upon any suspicion, by authority of a warrant, from a secretary of state or the privy-council. Even the council in the marches of Wales was empowered, by their very commission, to make use of torture whenever they thought proper (*q*). There cannot be a stronger proof how lightly the rack was employed, than the following story told by lord Bacon. We shall give it in his own words: "The queen was mightily incensed against Haywarde, on account of a book he dedicated to lord Essex, being a story of the first year of Henry IV. thinking it a seditious prelude to put into the people's heads boldness and faction (*r*): she said, she had an opinion that there was treason in it, and asked me, If I could not find any places in it, that might be drawn within the case of treason? Whereto I answered, For treason, sure I found none; but for felony very many: and when her majesty hastily asked me, Wherein? I told her, the author had committed very apparent theft: for he had taken most of the sentences of Cornelius Tacitus, and translated them into English, and put them into his text. And another time when the queen could not be persuaded that it was his writing whose name was to it, but that it had some more mischievous author, and said, with great indignation, that she would have him racked to produce his author; I replied, Nay, madam, he is a doctor, never rack his person, but rack his style: let him have pen, ink, and paper, and help of books, and be enjoined to continue the story where it breaketh off, and I will undertake, by collating the styles, to judge whether he were the author or no (*s*)." Thus, had it not been for Bacon's humanity, or rather his wit, this author, a man of letters, had been put to the rack for a most innocent performance. His real offence was, his dedicating a book to that munificent patron of the learned, the earl of Essex, at a time when this nobleman lay under her majesty's displeasure.

The queen's menace, of trying and punishing Haywarde for treason, could easily have been executed, let his book have been ever so innocent. While so many terrors hung over the people, no jury would have dared to have acquitted a man, when the court was resolved to have him condemned. The practice also of not confronting witnesses with the prisoner, gave the crown lawyers all imaginable advantage against him. And, indeed, there scarcely occurs an instance during all these reigns, that the sovereign or the ministers were ever disappointed in the issue of a prosecution. Timid juries, and judges who held their offices during pleasure, never failed to second all the views of the crown, however arbitrary or unjust. And as the practice was anciently common, of fining, imprisoning, or otherwise punishing the jurors, merely at the discretion of the court, for finding a verdict contrary to the direction of these dependent judges; it is obvious, that juries were then no manner of security to the liberty of the subject, but were only the servants of the court.

The power of pressing, both for sea and land service, and obliging any person to accept of any office, however mean or unfit for him, was another prerogative totally incompatible with freedom. Osborne gives the following account of Elizabeth's method of employing this prerogative. "In case she found any likely to interrupt her occasions," says he, "she did seasonably prevent him by a chargeable employment abroad, or putting him upon some service at home, which she knew least grateful to the people: contrary to a false maxim, since practised with far worse success, by such princes as thought it better husbandry to buy off enemies than reward friends (*t*)." Osborne reproaches the two immediate successors of Elizabeth with this practice; but it proceeded partly from the difficulty of their situation. The power of pressing, as may naturally be imagined, was often abused, in other respects, by men of inferior rank; and officers often exacted money for freeing persons from the service (*u*).

The government of England, during the age of Elizabeth, however different in other particulars, bore, in this respect, some resemblance of that of Turkey at present: the sovereign possessed every power except that of imposing taxes: and in both countries this limitation, unsupported by other privileges, was prejudicial to the people. In Turkey, it obliges the sultan to permit the extortion of the bashas and governors of provinces, from whom he afterwards takes presents or forfeitures: in England, it engaged the queen to erect monopolies, and grant patents for exclusive trade: an invention so pernicious, that, had she gone on during a track of years at her own rate, England, the seat of riches, and arts, and commerce, would have contained at present as little industry as Morocco, or the coast of Barbary.

We may farther observe, that this valuable privilege, valuable only because it proved afterwards the means by which the parliament extorted all their other privileges, was very much encroached on in an indirect manner during the reign of Elizabeth, as well as of her predecessors. She often exacted loans from her people; an arbitrary and unequal kind of imposition, which individuals felt severely: for though the money had been regularly repaid, which was seldom the case (*v*), it lay in the prince's hands without interest, which was a sensible loss to the persons from whom the money was borrowed (*w*).

There remains a proposal made by lord Burleigh for levying a general loan on the people, equivalent to a subsidy (*x*); a scheme which would have laid the burthen more equally, but which was, in different words, a taxation imposed without consent of parliament. It is remarkable, that the scheme thus proposed without any visible necessity by that wise minister, is the very same which Henry VIII. executed, and which Charles I., enraged by ill usage from his parliament, and reduced to the greatest difficulties, put afterwards in practice, to the great discontent of the nation.

The demand of benevolence was another invention of that age for taxing the people. This practice was so little conceived to be irregular, that the commons in 1585 offered the queen a benevolence; which she very generously refused, as having no occasion at that time for money (*y*). Queen Mary also, by an order of council, increased the customs in some branches; and her sister Elizabeth imitated the example (*z*). There was a species of ship money imposed at the time of the Spanish invasion: the several ports were required to equip a certain number of vessels at their own charge; and such was the alacrity of the people for the public defence, that some of the ports, particularly London, sent double the number demanded of them (*a*). When any levies were made for Ireland, France, or the Low Countries, the queen obliged the counties to levy the soldiers, to arm and clothe them, and carry them to the sea-ports at their own charge. New-year's gifts were at that time expected from the nobility, and from the more considerable gentry (*b*); and they generally amounted to a considerable sum.

Purveyance and pre-emption were also methods of taxation, unequal, arbitrary, and oppressive. The whole kingdom sensibly felt the burthen of those impositions; and it was regarded as a great privilege conferred on Oxford and Cambridge, to prohibit the purveyors from taking any commodities within five miles of these universities. The queen victualled her navy by means of this prerogative, during the first years of her reign (*c*).

Wardship was the most regular and legal of all these impositions by prerogative: yet was it a great badge of

(*o*) In 1588, the lord mayor committed several citizens to prison, because they refused to pay the loan demanded of them. *Murden*, p. 632.
(*p*) Harrison, book ii. chap. xi. (*q*) Haynes, p. 196. See farther la Boderie, vol. i. p. 211. (*r*) To our apprehension, Haywarde's book seems rather to have a contrary tendency. For he has there preserved the famous speech of the bishop of Carlisle, which contains, in the most express terms, the doctrine of passive obedience. But queen Elizabeth was very difficult to please on this head.
(*s*) Cabala, p. 81. (*t*) Page, 392. (*u*) Murden, p. 181.
(*v*) Bacon, vol. iv. p. 362. (*w*) In the second of Richard II. it was enacted, That in loans, which the king shall require of his subjects upon letters of privy seal, such as have *reasonable* excuse of not lending, may there be received without further summons, travel, or grief. See Cotton's Abridgement, p. 170. By this law the king's prerogative of exacting loans was ratified; and what ought to be deemed a *reasonable* excuse, was still left in his own breast to determine.
(*x*) Haynes, p. 518, 519. (*y*) D'Ewes, p. 494.
(*z*) Bacon, vol. iv. p 362. (*a*) Monson, p. 267.
(*b*) Strype's Memoirs, vol. i. p. 137.
(*c*) Camden, p. 388.

slavery, and oppressive to all the considerable families. When an estate devolved to a female, the sovereign obliged her to marry any one he pleased: whether the heir were male or female, the crown seized and enjoyed the whole profit of the estate during the minority. The giving of a rich wardship was a very common method of rewarding a courtier or favourite.

The inventions were endless which arbitrary power might employ for the extorting of money, while the people imagined that their property was secured by the crown's being debarred from imposing taxes. Strype has preserved a speech of lord Burleigh to the queen and council, in which are contained some particulars not a little extraordinary (*d*). Burleigh proposed that she should erect a court for the correction of all abuses, and should confer on the commissioners a general inquisitorial power over the whole kingdom. He set before her the example of her wise grandfather, Henry VII. who, by such methods, extremely augmented his revenue; and he recommended that this new court should proceed, "as well by the direction and ordinary course of the laws, as by virtue of her majesty's supreme regiment and *absolute power, from whence law proceeded*." In a word, he expected from this institution greater accession to the royal treasure than Henry VIII. derived from the abolition of the abbies, and all the forfeitures of ecclesiastical revenues. This project of lord Burleigh does not appear to need any comment. A form of government must be very arbitrary indeed, where a wise and good minister could make such a proposal to the sovereign.

Embargoes on merchandise was another engine of arbitrary power, by which the English princes were enabled to extort money from the people. Instances are to be found in the reign of Mary. Elizabeth, before her coronation, issued an order to the custom-house, prohibiting the sale of all crimson silks which should be imported, till the court were first supplied (*e*). She expected, no doubt, that the merchants would let her have a good penny-worth while they lay under this restraint.

The parliament pretended to the right of enacting laws, as well as of granting subsidies; but this privilege was, during that age, still more insignificant than the other. Queen Elizabeth expressly prohibited them from meddling either with state matters or ecclesiastical causes; and she openly sent the members to prison who dared to transgress her imperial edicts in these particulars. There passed few sessions of parliament during her reign where there occur not instances of this arbitrary conduct; several of which have been noticed in our account of that princess's reign.

But the legislative power of the parliament was a mere fallacy; while the sovereign was universally acknowledged to possess a dispensing power, by which all the laws could be invalidated, and rendered of no effect. The exercise of this power was also an indirect method practised for erecting monopolies. Where the statutes laid any branch of manufacture under restrictions, the sovereign, by exempting one person from the laws, gave him in effect the monopoly of that commodity (*f*). Indeed there was no grievance at that time more universally complained of than the frequent dispensing with the penal laws (*g*).

The crown, however, possessed in reality the full legislative power by means of proclamations, which might affect any matter even of the greatest importance, and which the Star-chamber took care to see more rigorously executed than the laws themselves. The motives for these proclamations were sometimes frivolous and even ridiculous. Queen Elizabeth had taken offence at the smell of woad; and she issued an edict prohibiting any one from cultivating that useful plant (*h*). She was also pleased to take offence at the long swords and high ruffs then in fashion: she sent about her officers to break every man's sword, and clip every man's ruff, which was beyond a certain dimension (*i*). This practice resembles the method employed by the Czar Peter the Great, to make his subjects change their garb.

The queen's prohibition of the *prophesyings*, or the assemblies instituted for what was called fanatical prayers and conferences, was founded on a different principle; but shews still the unlimited extent of her prerogative. Any number of persons could not meet together in order to read the Scriptures, and confer about religion, though in ever so orthodox a manner, without her permission.

There were many other branches of prerogative incompatible with an exact or regular enjoyment of liberty. None of the nobility could marry without permission from the sovereign. The queen detained the earl of Southampton long in prison, because he privately married the earl of Essex's cousin (*k*). No man could travel without the consent of the prince. Sir William Evers underwent a severe persecution because he had presumed to pay a private visit to the king of Scots (*l*). The sovereign even assumed a supreme and uncontrolled authority over all foreign trade; and neither allowed any person to enter or depart the kingdom, nor any commodity to be imported or exported without his consent (*m*).

The parliament, in the thirteenth of the queen, praised her for not imitating the practice usual among her predecessors, of stopping the course of justice by particular warrants (*n*). There could not possibly be a greater abuse, nor a stronger mark of arbitrary power; and the queen in refraining from it was very laudable. But she was by no means constant in this reserve. There remain in the public records some warrants of her's for exempting particular persons from all lawsuits and prosecutions (*o*); and these warrants, she says, she grants from her royal prerogative, which she will not allow to be disputed.

It was usual in queen Elizabeth's reign, and probably in all the preceding reigns, for noblemen or privy-counsellors to commit to prison any one who had happened to displease them, by suing for his just debts; and the unhappy person, though he gained his cause in the courts of justice, was commonly obliged to relinquish his property in order to obtain his liberty. Some, likewise, who had been delivered from prison by the judges, were again committed to custody in secret places, without any possibility of obtaining relief; and even the officers and serjeants of the courts of law were punished for executing the writs in favour of these persons. Nay, it was usual to send for people by pursuivants, a kind of harpies, who then attended the orders of the council and high commission; and they were brought up to London, and constrained by imprisonment, not only to withdraw their lawful suits, but also to pay the pursuivants great sums of money. The judges, in the 34th of the queen, complained to her majesty of the frequency of this practice. It is probable that so egregious a tyranny was carried no farther down than the reign of Elizabeth; since the parliament, who presented the petition of right, found no later instances of it (*p*). And even these very judges of Elizabeth who thus protect the people against the tyranny of the great, expressly allow, that a person committed by special command of the queen is not bailable.

It is easy to imagine that in such a government, no justice could by course of law be obtained of the sovereign, unless he were willing to allow it. In the naval expedition undertaken by Raleigh and Frobisher against the Spaniards in the year 1592, a very rich carrack was taken, worth two hundred thousand pounds. The queen's share in the adventure was only a tenth; but as the prize was so great, and exceeded so much the expectation of all the adventurers, she was determined not to rest contented with her share. Raleigh humbly and earnestly begged her to accept of a hundred thousand pounds in lieu of all demands, or rather extortions; and says, that the present which the proprietors were willing to make her, of eighty thousand pounds, was the greatest that ever prince received from a subject (*q*).

But it is no wonder the queen in her administration should pay so little regard to liberty; while the parliament itself in enacting laws was entirely negligent of it. The persecuting statutes which they passed against Papists and Puritans are extremely contrary to the genius of freedom; and by exposing such multitudes to the tyranny of priests and bigots, accustomed the people to the most disgraceful subjection. Their conferring an unlimited supremacy on the queen, or, what is worse, acknowledging her inherent right to it, was another proof of their voluntary servitude and submissive disposition.

The law of the 23d of her reign, making seditious words against the queen capital, is also a very arbitrary

(*d*) Annals, vol. iv. p. 234, & seq. (*e*) Strype, vol. i. p. 27.
(*f*) Rymer, tom. xv. p. 756. D'Ewes, p. 645. (*g*) Murden, p. 325. (*h*) Townsend's Journals, p. 250. Stow's Annals.
(*i*) Townsend's Journals, p. 250. Stow's Annals. Strype, vol. ii. p. 603. (*k*) Birch's Memoirs, vol. ii. p. 422. (*l*) Ibid. p. 511.
(*m*) Sir John Davis's Question concerning Impositions, passim.
(*n*) D'Ewes, p. 141. (*o*) Rymer, tom. xv. p. 652. 708. 777.
(*p*) Rushworth, vol. i. p. 511. Franklyn's Annals, p. 250, 251.
(*q*) Strype, vol. iv. p. 128, 129.

statute; and a use no less tyrannical was sometimes made of it. The case of Udal, a puritanical clergyman of great abilities, seems singular even in those arbitrary times. This gentleman had published a book called a "Demonstration of Discipline," in which he inveighed against the government of bishops; and though he had carefully endeavoured to conceal his name, he was thrown into prison upon suspicion, and brought to a trial for this offence. It was pretended, that the bishops were part of the queen's political body; and to speak against them was really to attack her majesty, and was therefore felony by the statute. This was not the only iniquity to which Udal was exposed. The judges would not allow the jury to determine any thing but the fact, whether Udal had written the book or not, without examining his intention or the import of the words. In order to prove the fact, the crown lawyers did not produce a single witness to the court: they only read the testimony of two persons absent, one of whom said, that Udal had told him he was the author; another, that a friend of Udal's had said so. They would not allow Udal to produce any exculpatory evidence; which they said was never to be permitted against the crown (*r*). And they tendered him an oath, by which he was required to depose, that he was not the author of the book; and his refusal to make that deposition was employed as the strongest proof of his guilt. It is almost needless to add, that notwithstanding these multiplied iniquities, a verdict of death was given by the jury against Udal: for, as the queen was extremely bent upon his prosecution, it was impossible he could escape (*s*). He died in prison before the execution of the sentence.

The case of Penry was, if possible, still harder. This man was a zealous Puritan, or rather a Brownist, a small sect which afterwards increased, and received the name of Independents. He had written against the hierarchy several tracts, such as "Martin Marprelate," "*Theses Martinianæ*," and other compositions, full of low scurrility and petulant satire. After concealing himself for some years, he was seized; and, as the statute against seditious words required that the criminal should be tried within a year after committing the offence, he could not be indicted for his printed books. He was therefore tried for some papers found in his pocket, as if he had thereby scattered sedition (*t*). It was also imputed to him, by the lord keeper, Puckering, that in some of these papers "he had not only acknowledged her majesty's royal power to *establish* laws, ecclesiastical and civil; but had avoided the *usual* terms of *making, enacting, decreeing, and ordaining laws*: which imply," says the lord keeper, "a most absolute authority (*u*)." Penry, for these offences, was condemned and executed.

Thus we have seen, that the *most absolute* authority of the sovereign, to make use of the lord keeper's expression, was established on above twenty branches of prerogative; which are now abolished, and which were, every one of them, totally incompatible with the liberty of the subject. But what ensured more effectually the slavery of the people, than even these branches of prerogative, was the established principles of the times, which attributed to the prince such an unlimited and indefeazable power as was supposed to be the origin of all law, and could be circumscribed by none. The homilies published for the use of the clergy, and which they were enjoined to read every Sunday in all the churches, inculcate every where a blind and unlimited passive obedience to the prince, which, on no account, and under no pretence, it is ever lawful for subjects in the smallest article to depart from or infringe. Much noise has been made because some court chaplains during the succeeding reigns were permitted to preach such doctrines; but there is a great difference between these sermons and discourses published by authority, avowed by the prince and council, and promulgated to the whole nation (*v*). So thoroughly were these principles imbibed by the people, during the reigns of Elizabeth and her predecessors, that opposition to them was regarded as the most flagrant sedition, and was not even rewarded by that public praise and approbation which can alone support men under such dangers and difficulties as attend the resistance of tyrannical authority (*w*). It was only during the next generation that the noble principles of liberty took root, and spreading themselves under the shelter of puritanical doctrines, became fashionable among the people.

It is worth remarking, that the advantage usually ascribed to absolute monarchy, a greater regularity of police, and a more strict execution of the laws, did not attend the former English government, though in many respects it fell under that denomination. A demonstration of this truth is contained in a judicious paper which is preserved by Strype (*x*), and which was written by an eminent justice of peace of Somersetshire, in the year 1596, near the end of the queen's reign; when the authority of that princess may be supposed to be fully corroborated by time, and her maxims of government improved by long practice. This paper contains an account of the disorders which then prevailed in the county of Somerset. The author says, that forty persons had there been executed in a year for robberies, thefts, and other felonies; thirty-five burnt in the hand, thirty-seven whipped; one hundred and eighty-three discharged: that those who were discharged were the most wicked and desperate persons, who never could come to any good, because they would not work, and none would take them into service: that, notwithstanding this great number of indictments, the fifth part of the felonies committed in the county were not brought to a trial; the greater number escaped censure, either from the superior cunning of the felons, the remissness of the magistrates, or the foolish lenity of the people: that the rapines committed by the infinite number of wicked, wandering, idle people, were intolerable to the poor countrymen, and obliged them to keep a perpetual watch over the sheep-folds, their pastures, their woods, and their corn-fields: that the other counties of England were in no better condition than Somersetshire; and many of them were even in a worse: that there were at least three or four hundred able-bodied vagabonds in every county, who lived by theft and rapine; and who sometimes met in troops to the number of sixty, and committed spoil on the inhabitants: that if all the felons of this kind were assembled, they would be able, if reduced to good subjection, to give the greatest enemy her majesty has a *strong battle*: and that the magistrates themselves were intimidated from executing the laws upon them; and there were instances of justices of peace who, after giving sentence against rogues, had interposed to stop the execution of their own sentence, on account of the danger which hung over them from the confederates of these felons.

In the year 1575, the queen complained in parliament of the bad execution of the laws; and threatened, that if the magistrates were not for the future more vigilant, she would entrust authority to indigent and needy persons, who would find an interest in a more exact administration of justice (*y*). It appears that she was as good as her word; for in the year 1601, there were great complaints made in parliament of the rapine of justices of peace; and a member said, that this magistrate was an animal who for half a dozen of chickens would dispense with a dozen of penal statutes (*z*.) But bad as these times confessedly were, it would seem from a comparison with the reign of Henry the Eighth, that they were visibly improved; unless indeed we suppose, that during the latter period, fewer criminals were suffered to escape, than during the reign of Elizabeth. In Henry's reign, about two thousand malefactors were executed yearly; whereas the number of executions in the reign of Elizabeth was reduced to less than four hundred. It is not easy to account for this relaxation of government and neglect of police during a reign of so much vigour as that of Elizabeth. The small revenue of the crown is the most likely cause that can be assigned. The queen had it not in her power to interest a great number in assisting her to execute the laws.

(*r*) It was never fully established that the prisoner could legally produce evidence against the crown, till after the Revolution. See Blackstone's Commentaries, vol. iv. p. 352. (*s*) State Trials, vol. i. p. 144. Strype, vol. iv. p. 21. Id. Life of Whitgift, p. 343.

(*t*) Strype's Life of Whitgift, book iv. chap. 11. Neal, vol. i. p. 564.

(*u*) Strype's Annals, vol. iv. p. 177. (*x*) Gifford, a clergyman, was suspended in the year 1584, for preaching up a limited obedience to the civil magistrate. Neal, vol. i. p. 435.

(*w*) It is remarkable, that in all the historical plays of Shakespeare, where the manners and characters, and even the transactions of the several reigns are so exactly copied, there is scarcely any mention of *civil Liberty*, which some pretended historians have imagined to be the object of all the ancient quarrels, insurrections, and civil wars. In the elaborate panegyric of England, contained in the tragedy of Richard II. and the detail of its advantages, not a word of its civil constitution, as anywise different from, or superior to, that of other European kingdoms: an omission which cannot be supposed in any English author that wrote since the Restoration, at least since the Revolution.

(*x*) Annals, vol. iv. p. 290.

(*y*) D'Ewes, p. 234. (*z*) Id. p. 661—664.

On

On the whole, the English have no reason, from the example of their ancestors, to be in love with the picture of absolute monarchy; or to prefer the unlimited authority of the prince and his unbounded prerogatives to that noble liberty, that sweet equality, and that happy security by which they are at present distinguished above all nations in the universe. The utmost that can be said in favour of the government of that age (and perhaps it may be said with truth) is, that the power of the prince, though really unlimited, was exercised after the European manner, and entered not into every part of the administration; that the instances of a high exerted prerogative were not so frequent as to render property sensibly insecure, or reduce the people to a total servitude; that the freedom from faction, and quickness of execution, and the promptitude of those measures, which could be taken for offence or defence, made some compensation for the want of a legal and determinate liberty; that as the prince commanded no mercenary army, there was a tacit check on him, which maintained the government in that medium to which the people had been accustomed; and that this situation of England, though seemingly it approached nearer, was in reality more remote from a despotic and eastern monarchy than the present government of that kingdom, where the people, though guarded by multiplied laws, are totally naked, defenceless, and disarmed; and besides, are not secured by any middle power, or independent powerful nobility, interposed between them and the monarch.

Revenues.

The ordinary revenue of the crown, during the period we have been delineating, has never been ascertained with precision. Queen Elizabeth's œconomy was remarkable; and in some instances seemed to border on avarice. The smallest expence, if it could possibly be spared, appeared considerable in her eyes; and even the charge of an express during the most delicate transactions was not below her notice (*a*). She was also attentive to every profit, and embraced opportunities of gain which may appear somewhat extraordinary. She kept, for instance, the see of Ely vacant nineteen years, in order to retain the revenue (*b*); and it was usual with her, when she promoted a bishop, to take the opportunity of pillaging the see of some of its manors (*c*). But that in reality there was little or no avarice in the queen's temper, appears from this circumstance, that she never amassed any treasure; and even refused subsidies from the parliament when she had no present occasion for them. Yet we must not conclude, from this circumstance, that her œconomy proceeded from a tender concern for her people: she loaded them with monopolies and exclusive patents, which are much more oppressive than the most heavy taxes levied in an equal and regular manner. The real source of her frugal conduct was derived from her desire of independency, and her care to preserve her dignity, which would have been endangered had she reduced herself to the necessity of having frequent recourse to parliamentary supplies. In consequence of this motive, the queen, though engaged in successful and perhaps necessary wars, thought it more prudent to make a continual dilapidation of the royal demesnes (*d*), than demand the most moderate supplies from the commons. As she lived unmarried, and had no posterity, she was content to serve her present turn, though at the expence of her successors; who, by reason of this policy, joined to other circumstances, found themselves on a sudden reduced to the most extreme indigence.

The splendor of a court was, during this age, a great part of the public charge; and as Elizabeth was a single woman, and expensive in no kind of magnificence, except clothes, this circumstance enabled her to perform great things by her narrow revenue. She is said to have paid four millions of debt, left on the crown by her father, brother and sister; an incredible sum for that age (*e*). The States, at the time of her death, owed her about eight hundred thousand pounds: and the king of France four hundred and fifty thousand (*f*). Though that prince was extremely frugal, and after the peace of Vervins was continually amassing treasure, the queen never could, by the most pressing importunities, prevail on him to make payment of those sums which she had so generously advanced him during his greatest distresses. One payment of twenty thousand crowns, and another of fifty thousand, were all she could obtain by the strongest representations she could make of the difficulties to which the rebellion in Ireland had reduced her (*g*). The queen expended on the wars with Spain, between the years 1589 and 1593, the sum of one million three hundred thousand pounds, besides the pittance of a double subsidy, amounting to two hundred and eighty thousand pounds, granted her by parliament (*h*). In the year 1599 she spent six hundred thousand pounds in six months on the service of Ireland (*i*). Sir Robert Cecil affirmed, that in ten years Ireland cost her three millions four hundred thousand pounds (*k*). She gave the earl of Essex a present of thirty thousand pounds upon his departure for the government of that kingdom (*l*). Lord Burleigh computed, that the value of the gifts conferred on that favourite, amounted to three hundred thousand pounds; a sum which, though probably exaggerated, is a proof of her strong affection towards him! It was a common saying during this reign; *The queen pays bountifully, though she rewards sparingly* (*m*).

It is difficult to compute exactly the queen's ordinary revenue, but it certainly fell much sort of five hundred thousand pounds a year (*n*). In the year 1590 she raised the customs from fourteen thousand pounds a-year to fifty thousand, and obliged sir Thomas Smith, who had farmed them, to refund some of his former profit (*o*). This improvement of the revenue was owing to the suggestions of one Caermarthen; and was opposed by Burleigh, Leicester, and Walsingham: but the queen's perseverance overcame all their opposition. The great undertakings which she executed with so narrow a revenue, and with such small supplies from her people, prove the mighty effects of wisdom and œconomy. She received from the parliament, during the course of her whole reign, only twenty subsidies and thirty-nine fifteenths. We cannot pretend to determine exactly the amount of these supplies; because the value of a subsidy was continually falling; and in the end of her reign it amounted only to eighty thousand pounds (*p*). If we suppose that the supplies granted to Elizabeth during a reign of forty-five years amounted to three millions, we shall not probably be much wide of the truth (*q*). This sum makes only sixty-six thousand six hundred and sixty-six pounds a-year; and it is surprising, that while the queen's demands were so moderate, and her expences so well regulated, she should ever have found any difficulty in obtaining a supply from parliament, or be reduced to make sale of the crown-lands. But such was the extreme parsimony of the parliaments during that period. They valued nothing in comparison of their money. The members had no connexion with the court; and the very idea which they conceived of the trust committed to them was, to reduce the demands of the crown, and to grant as few supplies as possible. The crown, on the other hand, conceived the parliament in no other light than as a means of supply. Queen Elizabeth made a merit to her people

(*a*) Birch's Negot. p. 21. (*b*) Strype, vol. iv. p. 351.

(*c*) Ibid. p. 215. There is a curious letter of the queen's, written to a bishop of Ely, and preserved in the register of that see. It is in these words: "*Proud prelate, I understand you are backward in complying with your agreement: but I would have you know, that I who made you what you are can unmake you; and if you do not forthwith fulfil your engagement, by God I will immediately unfrock you. Yours, as you demean yourself,* Elizabeth." The bishop, it seems, had promised to exchange some part of the land belonging to the see for a pretended equivalent, and did so, but it was in consequence of the above letter. Annual Register, 1761, p. 15.

(*d*) Rymer, tom. xvi. p. 141. D'Ewes, p. 151, 457, 525, 629. Bacon, vol. iv. p. 363.

(*e*) D'Ewes, p. 473. We cannot easily reconcile this account of the public debts with that given by Strype, Eccles. Mem. vol. ii. p. 344. that in the year 1553, the crown owed but three hundred thousand pounds. This last sum appears a great deal more likely; for the whole revenue of queen Elizabeth would not in ten years have paid four millions.

(*f*) Winwood, vol. i. p. 29, 54. (*g*) Ibid. vol. i. p. 117, 395.

(*h*) D'Ewes, p. 483. (*i*) Camden, p. 167.

(*k*) Appendix to the earl of Essex's apology.

(*l*) Birch's Memoirs, vol. ii. (*m*) Nanton's Regalia, ch. i.

(*n*) Franklyn in his Annals, p. 9. says, that the profit of the kingdom, besides wards and the duchy of Lancaster (which amounted to about one hundred and twenty thousand pounds,) was one hundred and eighty-eight thousand one hundred and ninety-seven pounds: the crown lands seem to be comprehended in this computation.

(*o*) Camden, p. 558. This account of Camden is difficult or impossible to be reconciled to the state of the customs in the beginning of the subsequent reign, as they appear in the Journals of the Commons.

(*p*) D'Ewes, p. 630.

(*q*) Lord Salisbury computed these supplies only at two millions eight hundred thousand pounds. Journ. 17th Feb. 1609. King James was certainly mistaken when he estimated the queen's annual supplies at one hundred and thirty-seven thousand pounds. Franklyn, p. 44.

of

of seldom summoning parliaments (*r*). No redress of grievances was expected from these assemblies: they were supposed to meet for no other purpose than to impose taxes.

Before the reign of Elizabeth, the English princes had usually recourse to the city of Antwerp for voluntary loans; and their credit was so low, that besides paying the high interest of ten or twelve per cent. they were obliged to make the city of London join in the security. Sir Thomas Gresham, that great and enterprizing merchant, one of the chief ornaments of this reign, engaged the company of merchant-adventurers to grant a loan to the queen; and as the money was regularly repaid, her credit by degrees established itself in the city, and she shook off this dependence on foreigners (*s*).

In the year 1559, however, the queen employed Gresham to borrow for her two hundred thousand pounds at Antwerp, in order to enable her to reform the coin, which was at that time extremely debased (*t*). She was so impolitic as to make, herself, an innovation in the coin; by dividing a pound of silver into sixty-two shillings, instead of sixty, the former standard. This is the last time that the coin has been tampered with in England.

On the Commerce.

Queen Elizabeth, sensible how much the defence of her kingdom depended on its naval power, was desirous to encourage commerce and navigation; but as her monopolies tended to extinguish all domestic industry, which is much more valuable than foreign trade, and is the foundation of it, the general train of her conduct was ill calculated to serve the purpose at which she aimed, much less to promote the riches of her people. The exclusive companies also were an immediate check on foreign trade. Yet, notwithstanding these discouragements, the spirit of the age was strongly bent on naval enterprizes; and besides the military expeditions against the Spaniards, many attempts were made for new discoveries, and many new branches of foreign commerce were opened by the English. Sir Martin Frobisher undertook three fruitless voyages to discover the north-west passage: Davis, not discouraged by this ill success, made a new attempt, when he discovered the straits which pass by his name. In the year 1600, the queen granted the first patent to the East-India company: the stock of that company was seventy-two thousand pounds; and they fitted out four ships under the command of James Lancaster, for this new branch of trade. The adventure was successful; and the ships returning with a rich cargo, encouraged the company to continue the commerce.

The communication with Muscovy had been opened in queen Mary's time by the discovery of the passage to Archangel: but the commerce to that country did not begin to be carried on to a great extent till about the year 1569. The queen obtained from the czar (*u*) an exclusive patent to the English for the whole trade of Muscovy (*v*); and she entered into a personal as well as national alliance with him.

The English, encouraged by the privileges which they had obtained from the czar of Muscovy, ventured farther into those countries than any Europeans had formerly done. They transported their goods along the river Dwina in boats made of one entire tree, which they towed and rowed up the stream as far as Wologda. Thence they carried their commodities seven days journey by land to Yeraslau, and then down the Volga to Astracan. At Astracan they built ships, crossed the Caspian Sea, and distributed their manufactures into Persia. But this bold attempt met with such discouragements, that it was never renewed (*w*).

After the death of John Basilides, his son Theodore revoked the patent which the English enjoyed for a monopoly of the Russian trade: when the queen remonstrated against this innovation, he told her ministers, that princes must carry an indifferent hand, as well between their subjects as between foreigners; and not convert trade, which by the laws of nations ought to be common to all, into a monopoly for the private gain of a few (*x*). So much juster notions of commerce were entertained by this barbarian than appear in the conduct of the renowned queen Elizabeth! Theodore, however, continued some privileges to the English, on account of their being the discoverers of the communication between Europe and his country.

The trade to Turkey commenced about the year 1583; and that commerce was immediately confined to a company by queen Elizabeth. Before that time, the grand signior had always conceived England to be a dependent province of France (*y*); but having heard of the queen's power and reputation, he gave a good reception to the English, and even granted them larger privileges than he had given to the French.

The merchants of the Hanse-towns complained, in the beginning of Elizabeth's reign, of the treatment which they had received in the reigns of Edward and Mary. She prudently replied, that as she would not innovate any thing, she would still protect them in the immunities and privileges of which she found them possessed. This answer not contenting them, their commerce was soon after suspended for a time, to the great advantage of the English merchants, who tried what they could themselves effect for promoting their commerce. They took the whole trade into their own hands; and their returns proving successful, they divided themselves into staplers and merchant adventurers; the former residing constantly at one place, the latter trying their fortunes in other towns and states abroad with cloth and other manufactures. This success so enraged the Hanse-towns, that they tried all the methods which a discontented people could devise, to draw upon the English merchants the ill opinion of other nations and states. They prevailed so far as to obtain an imperial edict, by which the English were prohibited all commerce in the empire: the queen, by way of retaliation, retained sixty of their ships, which had been seized in the river Tagus with contraband goods of the Spaniards. These ships the queen intended to have restored, as desiring to have compromised all differences with those trading cities; but when she was informed that a general assembly was held at Lubec, in order to concert measures for distressing the English trade, she caused the ships and cargoes to be confiscated: only two of them were released to carry home the news, and to inform these states that she had the greatest contempt imaginable for all their proceedings (*z*).

Naval Force of England.

Henry VIII. in order to fit out a navy, was obliged to hire ships from Hamburgh, Lubec, Dantzic, Genoa, and Venice: but Elizabeth, very early in her reign, put affairs upon a better footing; both by building some ships of her own, and by encouraging the merchants to build large trading vessels, which on occasion were converted into ships of war (*a*). In the year 1582, the seamen in England were found to be fourteen thousand two hundred and ninety-five men (*b*); the number of vessels twelve hundred and thirty-two; of which there were only two hundred and seventeen above eighty tons. Monson pretends, that though navigation decayed in the first years of James I. by the practice of the merchants, who carried on their trade in foreign bottoms (*c*), yet before the year 1640, this number of seamen was tripled in England (*d*).

The navy which the queen left at her decease appears considerable, when we reflect only on the number of vessels, which were forty-two: but when we consider that none of these ships carried above forty guns; that four only came up to that number; that there were but two ships of a thousand tons; and twenty-three below five hundred, some of fifty, and some even of twenty tons; and that the whole number of guns belonging to the fleet was seven hundred and seventy-four (*e*); we must entertain a contemptible idea of the English navy, compared to the force which it has now attained. In the year 1588, there were not above five vessels fitted out by the noblemen and sea-ports which exceeded two hundred tons (*f*).

(*r*) Strype, vol. iv. p. 124.
(*s*) Stowe's Survey of London, book i. p. 286.
(*t*) MS. of lord Royston's from the Paper-office, p. 295.
(*u*) This czar was named John Basilides, a furious tyrant, who, continually suspecting the revolt of his subjects, stipulated to have a safe retreat and protection in England. In order the better to ensure this resource, he purposed to marry an English woman; and the queen intended to have sent him lady Anne Hastings, daughter of the earl of Huntingdon: but when the lady was informed of the barbarous manners of the country, she wisely declined purchasing an empire at the expence of her ease and safety.
(*v*) Camden, p. 403.
(*w*) Ibid. p. 418.
(*x*) Ibid. p. 493.
(*y*) Birch's Memoirs, vol. i. p. 36.
(*z*) Lives of the Admirals, vol. i. p. 470.
(*a*) Camden, p. 388.
(*b*) Monson, p. 256.
(*c*) Ibid. p. 300.
(*d*) Ibid. p. 210, 256.
(*e*) Monson, p. 196. The English navy at present carries about fourteen thousand guns.
(*f*) Monson, p. 300.

Military Force of England.

In the year 1599, an alarm was given of an invasion by the Spaniards; and the queen equipped a fleet and levied an army in a fortnight to oppose them. Nothing gave foreigners a higher idea of the power of England than this sudden armament. In the year 1575, all the militia in the kingdom were computed at a hundred and eighty-two thousand nine hundred and twenty-nine (*g*). A distribution was made in the year 1595 of a hundred and forty thousand men, besides those which Wales could supply (*h*). These armies were formidable by their numbers; but their discipline and experience were not proportionate. Small bodies from Dunkirk and Nieuport frequently ran over and plundered the east coast: so unfit was the militia, as it was then constituted, for the defence of the kingdom. The lord lieutenants were first appointed to the counties in this reign.

Mr. Murden (*i*) has published from the Salisbury Collections a paper which contains the military force of the nation at the time of the Spanish Armada, and which is somewhat different from the account given by our ordinary historians. It makes all the able-bodied men of the kingdom amount to a hundred and eleven thousand five hundred and thirteen; those armed, to eighty thousand eight hundred and seventy-five; of whom forty-four thousand seven hundred and twenty-seven were trained. It must be supposed that these able-bodied men consisted of such only as were registered, otherwise the small number is not to be accounted for. Yet sir Edward Coke (*k*) said in the house of commons, that he was employed about the same time, together with Popham, chief justice, to take a survey of all the people of England, and that they found them to be nine hundred thousand of all sorts. This number, by the ordinary rules of computation, supposes that there were above two hundred thousand men able to bear arms. Yet even this number is surprisingly small. Can we suppose that the kingdom is six or seven times more populous at present? And that Murden's was the real number of men, excluding Catholics and children and infirm persons?

Harrison says, that in the musters taken in the years 1574 and 1575, the men fit for service amounted to one million one hundred and seventy-two thousand six hundred and seventy-four; yet was it believed that a full third was omitted. Such uncertainty and contradiction are there in all these accounts. Notwithstanding the greatness of this number, the same author complains much of the decay of populousness: a vulgar complaint in all places and all ages. Guicciardini makes the inhabitants of England in this reign amount to two millions.

Whatever opinion we may form of the comparative populousness of England in different periods, it must be allowed that, abstracting from the national debt, there is a prodigious increase of power in that, more perhaps than in any other European state since the beginning of the last century. It would be no paradox to affirm, that Ireland alone could at present exert a greater force than all the three kingdoms were capable of at the death of queen Elizabeth. And we might go farther, and assert, that one good county in England is able to make, at least to support, a greater effort that the whole kingdom was capable of in the reign of Harry V.; when the maintenance of a garrison in a small town like Calais formed more than a third of the ordinary national expence. Such are the effects of liberty, industry, and good government!

State of the English Manufactures.

The state of the English manufactures was in the time of Elizabeth very low; and foreign wares of almost all kinds had the preference (*l*). About the year 1590, there were in London four persons only rated in the subsidy-books so high as four hundred pounds (*m*). This computation is not indeed to be deemed an exact estimate of their wealth. In 1567 there were found to be four thousand eight hundred and fifty-one strangers of all nations in London: of whom three thousand eight hundred and thirty-eight were Flemings, and only fifty-eight Scots (*n*). The persecutions in France and the Low Countries drove afterwards a great number of foreigners into England; and the commerce as well as manufactures of that kingdom was very much improved by them (*o*). At this period sir Thomas Gresham built, at his own charge, the magnificent fabric of the Exchange for the reception of the merchants: the queen visited it, and gave it the appellation of the Royal Exchange.

By a lucky accident in language, which has a great effect on men's ideas, the invidious word usury, which formerly meant the taking of any interest for money, came now to express only the taking of exorbitant and illegal interest. An act passed in 1571 violently condemns all usury; but permits ten per cent. interest to be paid. Henry IV. of France reduced interest to six and a half per cent.: an indication of the great advance of France above England in commerce.

Dr. Howel says (*p*), that queen Elizabeth in the third of her reign was presented with a pair of black silk knit stockings by her silkwoman, and never wore cloth hose any more. The author of The present State of England says, that about 1577, pocket watches were first brought into England from Germany. They are thought to have been invented at Nuremberg. About 1580, the use of coaches was introduced by the earl of Arundel (*q*). Before that time, the queen, on public occasions, rode behind her chamberlain.

Camden says, that in 1581 Randolph, so much employed by the queen in foreign embassies, possessed the office of post-master-general of England. It appears, therefore, that posts were then established; though, from Charles I's regulations in 1635, it would seem that few post-houses were erected before that time.

In a remonstrance of the Hanse Towns to the diet of the empire in 1582, it is affirmed that England exported annually about two hundred thousand pieces of cloth (*r*). This number seems to be much exaggerated.

In the fifth of this reign was enacted the first law for the relief of the poor.

A judicious author of that age confirms the vulgar observation, that the kingdom was depopulating from the increase of inclosures and decay of tillage; and he ascribes the reason very justly to the restraints put upon the exportation of corn; while full liberty was allowed to export all the produce of pasturage, such as wool, hides, leather, tallow, &c. These prohibitions of exportation were derived from the prerogative, and were very injudicious. The queen, once, on the commencement of her reign, had tried a contrary practice, and with good success. From the same author we learn, that the complaints renewed in our time, were then very common, concerning the high prices of every thing (*s*). There seems indeed, to have been two periods in which prices rose remarkably in England, namely, that in queen Elizabeth's reign, when they are computed to have doubled, and that in the present age. Between the two, there seems to have been a stagnation. It would appear that industry, during that intermediate period, increased as fast as gold and silver, and kept commodities nearly at a par with money.

There were two attempts made in this reign to settle colonies in America; one by sir Humphrey Gilbert in Newfoundland, another by sir Walter Raleigh in Virginia: but neither of these projects proved successful. All those noble settlements were made in the following reigns. The current specie of the kingdom in the end of this reign is computed at four millions (*t*).

The earl of Leicester desired sir Francis Walsingham, then ambassador in France, to provide him with a riding master in that country, to whom he promises a hundred pounds a-year, besides maintaining himself and servant and a couple of horses. "I know," adds the earl, "that such a man as I want may receive higher wages in France: but let him consider, that a shilling in England goes as far as two shillings in France (*u*)." It is known that every thing is much changed since that time.

(*g*) Lives of the Admirals, vol. i. p. 432.
(*h*) Strype, vol. iv. p. 221.
(*i*) P. 608.
(*k*) Journ. 25 April, 1621.
(*l*) D'Ewes, p. 505.
(*m*) Ibid. p. 497.
(*n*) Haynes, p. 461, 462.
(*o*) Stowe, p. 668.
(*p*) History of the World, vol. ii. p. 222.
(*q*) Anderson, vol. i. p. 421.
(*r*) Ibid. vol. i. p. 424.
(*s*) A compendious or brief examination of certain ordinary complaints of divers of our countrymen. The author says, that in twenty or thirty years before 1581, commodities had in general risen fifty per cent.; some more. Cannot you, neighbour, remember, says he, that within these thirty years, I could in this town buy the best pig or goose I could lay my hands on for four pence, which now costeth twelve-pence, a good capon for three-pence, or four-pence, a chicken for a penny, a hen for two-pence? p. 35. Yet the price of ordinary labour was then eight-pence a day, p. 31.
(*t*) Lives of the Admirals, vol. i. p. 475.
(*u*) Digges's Compleat Ambassador.

Manners and Hospitality.

The nobility in this age still supported, in some degree, the ancient magnificence in their hospitality, and in the numbers of their retainers; and the queen found it prudent to retrench, by proclamation, their expences in this last particular (*v*). The expence of hospitality she somewhat encouraged by the frequent visits she paid her nobility, and the sumptuous feasts which she received from them (*w*). The earl of Leicester gave her an entertainment in Kenilworth castle, which was extraordinary for expence and magnificence. Among other particulars we are told, that three hundred and sixty-five hogsheads of beer were drank at it (*x*). The earl had fortified this castle at great expence; and it contained arms for ten thousand men (*y*). The earl of Derby had a family consisting of two hundred and forty servants (*z*). Stowe remarks it as a singular proof of beneficence in this nobleman, that he was contented with his rent from his tenants, and exacted not any extraordinary services from them: a proof that the great power of the sovereign (what was almost unavoidable) had very generally countenanced the nobility in tyrannising over the people. Burleigh, though he was frugal, and had no paternal estate, kept a family consisting of a hundred servants (*a*). He had a standing table for gentlemen, and two other tables for persons of meaner condition, which were always served alike, whether he were in town or in the country. About his person he had people of great distinction, insomuch that he could reckon up twenty gentlemen retainers, who had each a thousand pounds a-year; and as many among his ordinary servants, who were worth from a thousand pounds to three, five, ten, and twenty thousand pounds (*b*). It is to be remarked, that though the revenues of the crown were at that time very small, the ministers and courtiers sometimes found means, by employing the boundless prerogative, to acquire greater fortunes than it is possible for them at present to amass, from their larger salaries, and more limited authority.

Burleigh entertained the queen twelve several times in his country house; where she remained three, four, or five weeks at a time. Each visit cost him two or three thousand pounds (*c*). The quantity of silver plate possessed by this nobleman is surprising: no less than fourteen or fifteen thousand pounds weight (*d*); which besides the fashion would be above forty-two thousand pounds sterling in value. Yet Burleigh left only four thousand pounds a-year in land, and eleven thousand pounds in money; and as land was then commonly sold at ten years purchase, his plate was nearly equal to all the rest of his fortune. It appears that little value was then put upon the fashion of the plate, which probably was but rude; the weight was chiefly considered (*e*).

But, though there were preserved great remains of the ancient customs, the nobility were by degrees acquiring a taste for elegant luxury; and many edifices in particular were built by them, neat, large, and sumptuous, to the great ornament of the kingdom, says Camden (*f*); but to the no less decay of the glorious hospitality of the nation. It is, however, more reasonable to think, that this new turn of expence promoted arts and industry; while the ancient hospitality was the source of vice, disorder, sedition, and idleness (*g*).

Among the other species of luxury, that of apparel began much to increase during this age; and the queen thought proper to restrain it by proclamation (*h*). Her example was very little conformable to her edicts. As no woman was ever more conceited of her beauty, or more desirous of making impression on the hearts of beholders, no one ever went to a greater extravagance in apparel, or studied more the variety and richness of her dresses. She appeared almost every day in a different habit; and tried all the several modes by which she hoped to render herself agreeable. She was also so fond of her clothes, that she never could part with any of them; and at her death she had in her wardrobe all the different habits, to the number of three thousand, which she had ever worn in her lifetime (*i*).

The retrenchment of the ancient hospitality, and the diminution of retainers, were favourable to the prerogative of the sovereign; and by disabling the great noblemen from resistance, promoted the execution of the laws, and extended the authority of the courts of justice. There were many peculiar causes in the situation and character of Henry VII. which augmented the authority of the crown: most of these causes concurred in succeeding princes; together with the factions in religion, and the acquisition of the supremacy, a most important article of prerogative: but the manners of the age were a general cause which operated during this whole period, and which continually tended to diminish the riches, and still more more the influence of the aristocracy, anciently so formidable to the crown. The habits of luxury dissipated the immense fortunes of the aucient barons; and as the new methods of expence gave subsistence to mechanics and merchants, who lived in an independent manner on the fruits of their own industry, a nobleman, instead of that unlimited ascendant which he was wont to assume over those who were maintained at his board, or subsisted by salaries conferred on them, retained only that moderate influence which customers have over tradesmen, and which can never be dangerous to civil government. The landed proprietors also, having a greater demand for money than for men, endeavoured to turn their lands to the best account with regard to profit; and either inclosing their fields, or joining many small farms into a few large ones, dismissed those useless hands which formerly were always at their call in every attempt to subvert the government, or oppose a neighbouring baron. By all these means the cities increased; the middle rank of men began to be rich and powerful; the prince, who in effect was the same with the law, was implicitly obeyed; and though the farther progress of the same causes begat a new plan of liberty, founded on the privileges of the commons, yet in the interval between the fall of the nobles and the rise of this order, the sovereign took advantage of the present situation, and assumed an authority almost absolute.

Whatever may be commonly imagined, from the authority of lord Bacon, and from that of Harrington, and later authors, the laws of Henry VII. contributed very little towards the great revolution which happened about this period in the English constitution. The practice of breaking entails by a fine and recovery had been introduced in the preceding reigns; and this prince only gave indirectly a legal sanction to the practice, by reforming some abuses which attended it. But the settled authority which he acquired to the crown, enabled the sovereign to encroach on the separate jurisdictions of the barons, and produced a more general and regular execution of the laws. The counties palatine underwent the same fate as

(*v*) Strype, vol. iii. Appendix, p. 54.

(*w*) Harrison, after enumerating the queen's palaces, adds: "but what shall I need to take upon me to repeat all, and tell what houses the queen's majesty hath? Sith all is hers; and when it pleaseth her in the summer season to recreate herself abroad, and view the estate of the country, and hear the complaints of her poor commons injured by her unjust officers or their substitutes, every nobleman's house is her palace, where she continueth during pleasure, and till she return again to some of her own, in which she remaineth so long as she pleaseth." Book ii. chap. xv. Surely one may say of such a guest what Cicero says to Atticus on occasion of a visit paid him by Cæsar: Hospes tamen non is cui diceres, amabo te, eòdem ad me cum revertère, Lib. xiii. Ep. 52. If she relieved the people from oppressions (to whom it seems the law could give no relief,) her visits were a great oppression on the nobility.

(*x*) Biogr. Brit. vol. iii. p. 1791. (*y*) Strype, vol. iii. p. 394.

(*z*) Stowe, p. 674. (*a*) Strype, vol. iii. p. 129. Appen.

(*b*) Life of Burleigh published by Collins. (*c*) Ibid. p. 40.

(*d*) Ibid. p. 44. The author hints, that this quantity of plate was considered only as small in a man of Burleigh's rank. His words are, *his plate was not above fourteen or fifteen thousand pounds:* that he means pounds weight is evident. For, by Burleigh's will, which is annexed to his life, that nobleman gives away in legacies, to friends and relations, near four thousand pounds weight, which would have been above twelve thousand pounds sterling in value. The remainder he orders to be divided into two equal portions; the half to his eldest son and heir; the other half to be divided equally among his second son and three daughters. Were we therefore to understand the whole value of his plate to be only fourteen or fifteen thousand pounds sterling, he left not a tenth of it to the heir of his family.

(*e*) This appears from Burleigh's will: he specifies only the number of ounces to be given to each legatee, and appoints a goldsmith to see it weighed out to them, without making any distinction of the pieces.

(*f*) Page 452.

(*g*) Harrison says, "the greatest part of our building in the cities and good towns of England consisteth only of timber, cast over with thick clay to keep out the wind. Certes, this rude kind of building made the Spaniards in queen Mary's days to wonder; but chiefly when they saw that large diet was used in many of these so homely cottages, insomuch that one of no small reputation amongst them said, after this manner; these English, quoth he, have their houses made of sticks and dirt, but they fare commonly so well as the king. Whereby it appeareth that he liked better of our good fare in such coarse cabins, than of their own thin diet in their princely habitations and palaces. The clay with which our houses are commonly impanelled is either white, red, or blue." Book ii. chap. xii. The author adds, that the new houses of the nobility are commonly of brick or stone, and that glass windows were beginning to be used in England.

(*h*) Camden, p. 452. (*i*) Carte, vol. iii. p. 702. from Beaumont's Dispatches.

the feudal powers; and by a statute of Henry VIII. (*k*), the jurisdiction of these counties was annexed to the crown, and all writs were ordained to run in the king's name. But the change of manners was the chief cause of the secret revolution of government, and subverted the power of the barons. There appear still in this reign some remains of the ancient slavery of the boors and peasants (*l*), but none afterwards.

State of Learning and the Polite Arts.

Learning, on its revival, was held in high estimation by the English princes and nobles; and as it was not yet prostituted by being too common, even the great deemed it an object of ambition to attain a character for literature. The four successive sovereigns, Henry, Edward, Mary, and Elizabeth, may on one account or other be admitted into the class of authors. Queen Catherine Parr translated a book: lady Jane Gray, considering her age, and her sex, and her station, may be regarded as a prodigy of literature. Sir Thomas Smith was raised from being professor in Cambridge, first to be ambassador to France, then secretary of state. The dispatches of those times, and among others those of Burleigh himself, are frequently interlarded with quotations from the Greek and Latin classics. Even the ladies of the court valued themselves on knowledge: lady Burleigh, lady Bacon, and their two sisters, were mistresses of the ancient as well as modern languages; and placed more pride in their erudition than in their rank and quality.

Queen Elizabeth herself wrote and translated several books; and she was familiarly acquainted with the Greek as well as Latin tongue (*m*). It is pretended that she made an extemporary reply in Greek to the university of Cambridge, who had addressed her in that language. It is certain, that she answered in Latin without premeditation, and in a very spirited manner, to the Polish ambassador, who had been wanting in respect to her. When she had finished, she turned about to her courtiers, and said, "God's death, my lords," (for she was much addicted to swearing) "I have been forced this day to scour up my old Latin that hath long lain rusting (*n*)." Elizabeth, even after she was queen, did not entirely drop the ambition of appearing as an author; and, next to her desire of ambition for beauty, this seems to have been the chief object of her vanity. She translated Boethius of the Consolation of Philosophy; in order, as she pretended, to allay her grief for Henry IV.'s change of religion. She translated a part of the works of Isocrates; one of the tragedies of Euripides; a dialogue of Xenophon, between Hiero and the poet Simonides; the Bellum Jugurthinum of Salust; Plutarch's treatise on Curiosity; and a considerable part of Horace's Art of Poetry. There is also, among Hatton's manuscripts in the Bodleian Library at Oxford, a long translation from the Hercules Œtæus of Seneca, by the same royal author; which, however, as we are told by the learned and ingenious Mr. Warton, has no other recommendation but its having had the queen for its author.

Natural history was not cultivated at this period, with the assiduity to which it was entitled. That discerning spirit, which is awake to every the minutest productions in the vegetable and animal kingdoms, was but in its infancy. The precious metals, indeed, were sought after with eagerness; but this was the result of avarice, not of philosophy. From the reign of Elizabeth, however, we must date the true æra of botanical science in England. The earliest writer among us that displayed learning and judgement in the knowledge of plants, was Dr. William Turner, a Protestant physician and divine, who was raised to the deanry of Wells by Edward the Sixth, fled beyond sea in the time of queen Mary's persecution, and was restored to his former dignity by Elizabeth. His researches were not confined only to plants, but extended to other branches of natural history; for he was the author of treatises on birds, fishes and mineral waters; but it is as a botanist that he was chiefly distinguished. His banishment, on account of his religious principles, proved favourable to his medical and botanical studies; for, at Bologna, he had the opportunity of attending the lectures of Lucas Ghinas, who was the first person that erected a separate professional chair for the science of botany. The work which has secured Dr. Turner's reputation to posterity, and entitles him to the character of an original writer, is his History of Plants, which has gone through several editions. His observations on the virtues of the plants are chiefly taken from the ancients; though he has, in various instances, differed in opinion from those writers on their peculiar qualities. He has the merit of taking no doubtful plant upon trust, but appears to have examined them with all the precision which it was then possible to exercise. His acquaintance with English plants, to many of which he first gave names, was much beyond what could have been expected in the age in which he lived; to which, as well as to the little assistance which he could derive from his contemporaries, a proper regard must be paid in forming a judgement of his merit as a botanist. Upon the whole Dr. Turner appears to have exerted uncommon diligence and great erudition.

Contemporary with Turner was Dr. William Bulleyn, who published a book, entitled, "The Bulwark of Defence; or, a Book of Simples," being a herbal in the form of a dialogue. Dr. Bulleyn's specific knowledge of botany, however, seems to have been but slender. His chief praise arises from his zeal for the promotion of the useful art of gardening, the general culture of the land, and the commercial interests of the kingdom.

Dr. Thomas Penny, whose name has almost sunk into total obscurity, deserves to be mentioned, as a man of great attainments in the natural history; more particularly in the botany, of his time. Knowledge of this kind was eagerly sought for by him in foreign parts; and he collected many plants in Switzerland, and from the confines of France. Nor were his acquirements in natural history confined merely to plants; for he was one of the first Englishmen who paid any attention to the study of insects. It appears from his letters to Camerarius, that his acquaintance with entomology was extensive, due allowance being made for the period in which he flourished.

Henry Lyte, a gentleman of family and fortune, was the next after Turner who published an English herbal; and, though he does not rank among original writers in botany, his work, which was professedly a translation from a French version of the Dutch Herbal of Dodoens, seems to have been well received; but Lyte's chief merit consisted in transplanting foreign stores into his own country.

Matthias de Lobel, a foreigner who settled in England, contributed largely to the improvement of English botany. The earliest of his publications was the "Stirpium Adversaria;" in the execution of which work he is thought to have exhibited the first sketch, rude as it is, of a natural method of arrangement. This, however, extends no farther than in arranging the plants in large tribes, families, or orders, according to the external appearances or habit of the whole plant or flower, without establishing any definitions or characters. This botanist, in his excursions over various parts of England, discovered many vegetables before unnoticed, and added a number of species to the grasses. There were several other botanists who distinguished themselves during this period, particularly John Gerard, of whom a full account may be seen in Dr. Pulteney's Historical Sketches of the Progress of Botany in England.

Medicine likewise, which is so nearly allied to natural history, assumed, about this period, a more scientific form, and produced a number of medical men whose names are worthy of being transmitted to posterity. Richard Caldewall, who settled in London, became president of the College of Physicians, and is justly entitled to the grateful remembrance of his brethren, for having endowed, in conjunction with lord Lumley, a chirurgical and anatomical lecture in the college. It was in the course of the lectures derived from this institution, that the true doctrine of the circulation of the blood was first made public by Dr. Harvey.

Thomas Mowfet, a medical man, was a writer of great celebrity, and appears to have been one of the earliest introducers

(*k*) 27 Hen. VIII. c. 24. (*l*) Rymer, tom. xv. p. 731.

(*m*) The following are the words of Roger Ascham, the queen's preceptor. "It is your shame (I speak to you all, you young gentlemen of England,) that one maid should go beyond ye all in excellency of learning, and knowledge of divers tongues. Point out six of the best given gentlemen of this court, and all they together show not so much good will, spend not so much time, bestow not so many hours daily, orderly, and constantly, for the increase of learning and knowledge as doth the queen's majesty herself. Yea, I believe that, besides her perfect readiness in Latin, Italian, French, and Spanish, she readeth here now at Windsor more Greek every day, than some prebendary of this church doth Latin in a whole week.—Amongst all the benefits which God hath blessed me withal, next the knowledge of Christ's true religion, I count this the greatest, that it pleased God to call me to be one poor minister in setting forward these excellent gifts of learning," &c. p. 242.

(*n*) Speed.

introducers of chemical medicines in England. His tract, "De Jure et Præstantia Chemicorum Medicamentorum," is an acute apology for the chemical sect in medicine, which then began to prevail in Germany and other countries, though not without violent opposition from the friends of the old school. The work is in the form of a dialogue between a Chemist and a Galenist; the latter of whom suffers himself to be fully convinced of the validity of his opponent's arguments. Five epistles, on the subject of medicine, were likewise published by Mowfet; one of which contains many just and pertinent remarks on the impropriety of unconditional submission to the authority of great names or leaders of a sect. In the first epistle, travelling into foreign parts for the acquisition of medical knowledge is strongly recommended, and its good effects are exhibited in a striking point of view. Another of Mowfet's works, which treats of the Prognostics of Hippocrates, affords an additional proof of that author's profound erudition; at the same time that it shews, that his admiration of Paracelsus did not lead him into that folly and extravagance which were evinced by too many of the chemical sect. His last medical performance, on the Improvement of Health, is curious and entertaining; both on account of the numerous anecdotes and observations quoted from the ancients, and the information it conveys respecting the country at the time in which he wrote.

William Butler was in his time the most popular and celebrated practitioner of physic in the kingdom, though he did not acquire his popularity and celebrity by seeking (like Linacre and Caius) to render himself conspicuous by a display of his critical, polite, or philosophical knowledge; but rather, like our modern empirics, by a bold singularity of practice; though he likewise seems to have possessed a kind of natural sagacity in forming a judgement of diseases. He is said to have been the first who used chemical preparations in England.

John Kaye, or Caius, was highly distinguished for his medical knowledge during this period. He studied physic at Padua, under Johannes Baptista Montanus, the most eminent medical professor of his time; and, while he resided in this city, he had apartments in the same house with the celebrated anatomist Andreas Vesalius, whose ardour in anatomical pursuits he was studious to emulate. On his return to England he was incorporated Doctor of Physic at Cambridge, and practised at Shrewsbury and Norwich, where he acquired such reputation that he was soon called to London, where he was successively physician to Edward the Sixth, and the queens Mary and Elizabeth. He was president of the College of Physicians for seven years, during which time he displayed great zeal in promoting the dignity and interests of that respectable society. To the university of Cambridge, where he had received the first principles of his education, he was a signal benefactor. Gonville Hall, of which he had been a member, was by him erected into a college, which still bears the name of Caius College. Dr. Kaye always expressed the most profound veneration for Galen, whose voluminous writings he appears to have read with great care and attention: with this predilection, many new experiments or discoveries are not to be expected in his publications. His first work, "De Medendi Methodo," has but little to recommend it; but the next of his medical performances is indisputably original, and the subject of it forms a curious article in the annals of medicine. This was his account of the "Sweating Sickness;" or, as he himself named it, the "Ephemerica Britannica." But though this treatise be highly valuable, as well from the ample narrative it gives of a distemper so singular in its nature, as from the many judicious practical remarks which it contains; yet it is far from being a perfect piece of medical writing. Its principal defect, indeed, and a defect which constitutes a serious object of regret, is the neglect of the author to throw a sufficient light on the first rise of the disease. Dr. Kaye's knowledge was not merely confined to his profession; for he was distinguished, though not in an equal degree, as a critic, a linguist, an antiquary, and a naturalist. In the latter character, indeed, he was highly respectable: he was the correspondent and intimate friend of the celebrated Gesner; and drew up for his use "Short Histories of certain rare Animals and Plants," which were inserted in Gesner's works, and afterwards published separately, with corrections and enlargements. At the request also of the same great naturalist, Kaye wrote a "Treatise on British Dogs," in a method so judicious, as to ensure the commendations of Mr. Pennant, who has copied it, entire, in his "British Zoology."

The knowledge of surgery, as well as of medicine, received considerable improvement during the reign of Elizabeth. George Baker, surgeon in ordinary to that princess, published several works in the line of his profession. John Banister, though a physician, distinguished himself chiefly by chirurgical compositions. He enjoyed considerable reputation, and some of his formulæ are remarkable for their elegance and simplicity: they are all indeed less compound than those of foreign practitioners. John Halse is called "a famous man," by William Clowes; who was, however, himself more truly famous. Indeed Clowes appears to have been one of the most eminent surgeons of the period in which he lived; and he was not only a very skilful practitioner, but an improver of the art, especially in his principal work, which treats of burns from gunpowder, and gun-shot wounds, and those made with other military weapons. His learning and judgement was evinced in the number and aptness of his quotations. His style his clear, and tolerably correct: he speaks with great respect of his brethren, and candidly acknowledges any instructions he received from them. On the other hand, he exerts a just degree of severity on empirical pretenders; many of whom, he laments, were permitted to practise on board her majesty's ships, to the great detriment of the service.

This æra produced several lawyers of eminence, whose writings proved a considerable addition to the stock of legal knowledge. The chief of these were Edmund Plowden, sir James Dyer, sir Edmund Anderson, and sir John Popham. The reports of Plowden and Dyer still maintain a certain degree of reputation, and are not without their use in the present course of legal studies. Dyer presided over the court of Common Pleas, with distinguished abilities and integrity, for the long space of four and twenty years. Sir Edward Coke speaks highly of the works of these lawyers: to the commentaries of Plowden he assigns the commendatory epithets, "exquisite and elaborate;" while the observations of Dyer he represents as "summary and fruitful." Judge Jenkins, too, in the preface to his "Centuries," mentions them both as great men, whose learned publications have tended to illustrate our law. The other law-writers worthy of notice, are William Fleetwood, Recorder of London; Thomas Owen, a Judge of the Common Pleas, who wrote a book of reports; and William Fulbeck, who published a direction or preparation to the study of the law, a parallel or conference of the civil, the canon, and the common law.

The science of mathematics also appears to have been studied with considerable ardour during this period. One of the most distinguished mathematicians of the age was John Dee, who might have attained to an uncommon degree of celebrity, had he confined himself simply to mathematical attainments; but unfortunately, the strength of his talents rather led him to encourage than repress the credulity of the times. Thinking nothing beyond his comprehension, he wandered in the labyrinths of judicial astrology, became a bold alchymist, and even suffered his judgement to be led astray by the ridiculous delusions of necromancy.

Thomas Digges, though not endowed with such splendid abilities as Dee, was nevertheless a more useful mathematician, as the object of his studies was the instruction of soldiers, and the improvement of military discipline. To these points his attention was naturally directed by his situation, for he was muster-master general of the forces which the queen sent to the Netherlands. He was the author of an arithmetical military treatise, and a geometrical work entitled "Stratiotocos," compendiously teaching the science of numbers, and so much of the rules and equations algebraical as are requisite for the profession of a soldier. He also published some works that were purely mathematical; among others, a "Perfect Description of the Celestial Orbs, according to the most ancient doctrine of the Pythagoreans."

Thomas Harriott was also a most skilful mathematician. He was the inventor of so many useful and excellent improvements in algebraical calculations, that his name is still holden in high esteem by the professors of that abstruse science. Descartes borrowed his inventions, but had not the candour to acknowledge the obligation; Dr. Wallis, however, has detected the fraud, and done justice to Harriot's discoveries.

John Blagrave was an able geometrician of this period.

The science of mathematics was by him applied to practical purposes; and the end he proposed to himself was to promote the extension of this kind of knowledge, which had hitherto been confined to a few of his countrymen. With this view he laboured to show the general utility of such pursuits; and, to convince his readers that, far from being considered as mere objects of amusement or speculation, they were indispensably necessary for providing the conveniences of common life. His views were certainly commendable; though his success, as might have naturally been expected, was far from great.

It cannot be supposed that poetry could be neglected in an age which could boast of a Shakespeare and a Spenser; yet did the votaries of the Muses labour under many inconveniences, not only from the want of proper patronage and encouragement, but from the puritanical spirit of the times, which tended to check the efforts of genius and the progress of taste. Of our English Sophocles, so much has already been said by his numerous biographers and commentators, that nothing remains to awaken or gratify curiosity; so that it is sufficient for the historian merely to notice the period at which he flourished. Of Spenser, too, it is well known, that after the death of his gallant patron, sir Philip Sidney, who was himself a poet, he was suffered to linger out the greater part of his life in penury and want.

In the reign of Mary, a small poem, in the spirit and stanza of Sternhold, had been printed under the following title: "The Vngodlinesse of The Hethnicke Goddes; or, The Downfall of Diana of the Ephesians, by J. D. an Exile for the Word, late a Minister in London, M D L I V." Mr. Warton supposes it was printed at Geneva, and imported into England with other books of the same tendency, and which were afterwards suppressed by a proclamation. The writer, whose arguments are as weak as his poetry, attempts to prove, that the customary mode of training youths in the Roman poets, encouraged idolatry and Pagan superstition. This was a topic much laboured by the Puritans. Prynne, in that chapter of his "Histriomastix," where he exposes "the obscenity, ribaldry, amorousnesse, Heathenishnesse, and prophanesse of most play-bookes, Arcadias, and fained histories, that are now so much in admiration;" acquaints us, that the infallible leaders of the Puritan persuasion in the reign of queen Elizabeth, among which are two bishops, have solemnly prohibited all Christians "to pen, to print, to sell, to read, or schoolmasters and others to teach, any amorous wanton play-bookes, histories, or heathen authors; especially Ovid's wanton Epistles and bookes of Love, Catullus, Tibullus, Propertius, Martial, the Comedies of Plautus, Terence, and such amorous bookes, savouring either of Pagan gods, of Ethnicke rites and ceremonies, of scurrility, amorousnesse, and prophanesse." But the classics were at length condemned by a much higher authority. In the year 1582, one Christopher Ocland, a schoolmaster of Cheltenham, published two poems, in Latin hexameters; one entitled "Anglorum Prælia," the other "Elizabetha." To these poems, which are written in a low style of Latin versification, is prefixed an edict from the lords of the privy-council, signed, among others, by Cowper, bishop of Lincoln; lord Warwick; lord Leicester; sir Francis Knolles; sir Christopher Hatton; and sir Francis Walsingham; and directed to the queen's ecclesiastical commissioners, containing the following passage. "Forasmuche as the subject or matter of this booke is such as is worthie to be read of all men; and especially in common schooles, where diuers Heathen poets are ordinarily read and taught, from which the youth of the realm doth rather receive infection in manners than aduancement in uertue in place of some of which poets, we thinke this booke fit to be read and taught in the grammar-schooles. We have therefore thought, as well for the encouraging the said Ocklande, and others that are learned, to bestowe their trauell and studies to so good purposes, as also for the benefit of the youth, and the removing of such luscious poets as are commonly read and taught in the saide grammar-schools—the matter of this booke being heroicall and of good instruction—to praye and require you, upon the sight hereof, as by our special order, to write your letters vnto al the bishops throughout this realme, requiring them to give commaundement, that in all the grammar and free-schooles within their seuerall diocesses, the said booke de "Anglorum Prælia," and peaceable government of her majestie, (the "Elizabetha") may be, in place of some of the heathen poets, receyued, and publiquely read and taught by the scholemasters." With such abundant circumspection and solemnity did these profound and pious politicians (not suspecting that they were acting in opposition to their own principles and intentions) exert their endeavours to bring back barbarism, and to obstruct the progress of truth and good sense (*o*).

The first poem which appeared in the reign of Elizabeth, was the play of Gordobuc, written by Thomas Sackville, lord Buckhurst; with the assistance, it is said, of Thomas Norton, who was also an associate with Sternhold and Hopkins in the metrical version of David's Psalms. This piece is chiefly curious, from its being, perhaps, the first specimen in our language of an heroic tale, written in blank verse, divided into acts and scenes, and cloathed in all the formalities of a regular tragedy. It was first exhibited in the great hall of the Inner Temple by the students of that society, a part of the entertainment of a grand Christmas; and afterward before queen Elizabeth at Whitehall, on the eighteenth day of January, 1561.

Soon after the appearance of this tragedy, the Jocasto of Euripides was translated by George Gascoigne and Francis Kinwelmersh, both students of Gray's Inn; and acted in the refectory of that society in 1566. Seneca's ten tragedies were also translated during this period, at different times, and by different poets. These were all printed together, in 1581, under the title, "Seneca His Tenne Tragedies, Translated into English. *Mercurii nutrices horæ* Imprinted at London, in Fleet Streete, *neare* unto Saincte Dunston's Church, by Thomas Marche, 1581.

As scholars began to direct their attention to our vernacular poetry, many more of the ancient poets now appeared in English verse. Before the conclusion of the sixteenth century, Homer, Virgil, Horace, Ovid's Metamorphosis, by Arthur Golding, kept its ground till Sandye's English Ovid appeared in 1632. This author finished an English translation of Philip Mornay's Treatise in French on the Truth of Christianity, which had been begun by sir Philip Sydney, and was published in 1587. He enlarged our knowledge of the treatises of antiquity, by publishing English translations of Justin's History in 1564; of Cæsar's Commentaries in 1565; of Seneca's Benefits in 1577; and of the Geography of Pomponius Mela, and the Poly-history of Solinus, in 1587 and 1590. He has left versions of many modern Latin writers, which then had their use, and suited the condition, and opinions of the times; and which are now forgotten by the introduction of better books, and the general change of the system of learning.

The Art of Poetry, Epistles, and Satires of Horace, were translated by Thomas Drant in 1567. The following passage in the translator's address to the reader is too curious not to be transcribed, as it is a picture of the popular learning, and a ridicule of the idle narratives, of the reign of queen Elizabeth. "But I feare me a number do so thincke of thys booke, as I was aunswered by a prynter not long agone. Though, sayth he, Sir, your booke be wyse and ful of learnyng yet peradventure it wyl not be saleable: signifying indeede, that flim-flames, and gue-gaws, be they never so sleight and slender, are sooner rapte-vp thenne are those which be lettered and clarkly makings. And no doubt the cavse that bookes of learnynge seeme so hard is, because such and so greate a scull of amarouse pamphlets have so preoccupyed the eyes and cares of men, that a multytude beleve ther is none other style or phrase ells worthe gramercy. No bookes so ryse or so frindly red, as be these bookes.—But if the settying out of the wanton tricks of a payre of lovers, as for example, let theym be cauled sir Chaunticleare and dame Partilote, to tell howe their firste combination of love begun, howe their eyes floted, and howe they anchered, their beames mingled one with the others bewtye. Then, of their perplexed thoughts, their throwes, their fancyes, their dryrie driftes, now interrupted, now vnperfyted, their love days, their sugred words, and their sugred ioyes. Afterwards howe enuyous fortune, through this chop or that chaunce, turned their bless to bale, seuerynge two such bewtiful faces and dewtiful hearts. Last, at the partynge, to ad to an oration or twane, interchangeably had betwixt the two wobegone persons, the one thicke powdered with manly passionat pangs, the other watered with womanish teares. Then to shryne them up to god Cupid, and make martirres of them both, and therewyth an ende of the matter."

It would greatly exceed the purposes of general history to

(*o*) Warton's History of English Poetry, Sect. 36, p. 314, 315, 316.

to notice all the poets and translators of this period, which is commonly called the Golden Age of English Poetry: we shall therefore only add a few remarks on the genius of the poetry of that age, chiefly taken from the very ingenious author, to whose labours, in this department of our history, we have already been greatly indebted.

Among the great features which strike us in the poetry of this period, are the predominancy of fable, of fiction, and of fancy; and a predilection for interesting adventures and pathetic events. The cause of this characteristical distinction may be chiefly referred to the following principles, sometimes blended, and sometimes operating singly. The revival and vernacular versions of the classics, the importation and translation of Italian novels; the visionary reveries or refinements of false philosophy; a degree of superstition sufficient for the purposes of poetry; the adoption of the machineries of romance; and the frequency and improvements of allegoric exhibition in the popular spectacles.

The perusal of the Italian tales gave rise to innumerable plays and poems, which would not otherwise have existed, and turned the thoughts of our writers to new inventions of the same kind. Before these books became common, affecting situations, the combination of incident, and the pathos of catastrophe, were almost unknown. Distress, especially that arising from the conflicts of the tender passion, had not yet been shown in its most interesting forms. It was hence our poets, particularly the dramatic, borrowed ideas of a legitimate plot, and the complication of facts necessary to constitute a story either of the comic or tragic species. In proportion as knowledge encreased, genius had wanted subject and materials. These pieces usurped the place of legends and chronicles; and although the old historical songs of the minstrels contained much bold adventure, heroic enterprize, and strong touches of rude delineation; yet they failed in that multiplication and disposition of circumstances, and in that description of characters and events approaching nearer to truth and reality, which were demanded by a more discerning and curious age. Even the rugged features of the original Gothic romance were softened by this sort of reading; and the Italian pastoral, yet with some mixture of the kind of incidents described in the Ethiopic History of Heliodorus, now newly translated, was engrafted on the feudal manners in Sydney's Arcadia.

But the Reformation had not yet destroyed every delusion, nor disinchanted all the strong holds of superstition. A few dim characters were yet legible in the mouldering creed of tradition. Every goblin of ignorance did not vanish at the first glimmerings of the morning of science. Reason suffered a few demons still to linger, which she chose to retain in her service under the guidance of poetry. Men believed, or were willing to believe, that spirits were yet hovering around, who brought with them *airs from heaven, or blasts from hell*, that the ghost was duely released from his prison of torment at the sound of the curfue; and that fairies imprinted mysterious circles on the turf by moonlight. Much of this credulity was even consecrated by the name of science and profound speculation. Prospero had not yet broken and buried his staff, nor drowned his book deeper than did ever plummet sound. It was now that the alchymist, and the judicial astrologer, conducted his occult operations by the potent intercourse of some preternatural being, who came obsequious to his call, and was bound to accomplish his severest service under certain conditions, and for a limited duration of time. It was actually one of the pretended feats of these fantastic philosophers, to evoke the queen of the fairies in the solitude of a gloomy grove, who, preceded by a sudden rustling of the leaves, appeared in robes of transcendent lustre (*p*). The Shakespeare of a more instructed and polished age—says Warton—would not have given us a magician darkening the sun at noon, the sabbath of the witches, and the cauldron of incantation.

Undoubtedly most of these notions were credited and entertained in a much higher degree in the preceding periods: but the arts of composition had not then made a sufficient progress, nor would the poets of these periods have managed them with so much address and judgement. We were now arrived at that point, when the national credulity, chastened by reason, had produced a sort of civil superstition, and left a set of traditions, fanciful enough for poetic decoration, and yet not too violent and chimerical for common sense.

In the mean time, the Gothic romance, although somewhat shaken by the classical fictions and by the Tales of Boccaccio and Bandello, still maintained its ground; and the daring machineries of giants, dragons, and enchanted castles, borrowed from the magic storehouse of Boiardo, Ariosto, and Tasso, began to be employed by the epic muse. Indeed, the Gothic and Pagan fictions were now frequently blended and incorporated. The Lady of the Lake floated in the suite of Neptune, before queen Elizabeth at Kenilworth; Ariel assumes the resemblance of a sea-nymph; and Hecate, by an easy association, conducted the rites of the wierd sisters in Macbeth.

Allegory had been derived from the religious dramas into our civil spectacles. The masques and pageantries of the age of Elizabeth were not only furnished by the heathen divinities, but often by the virtues and vices impersonated, significantly decorated, accurately distinguished by their proper types, and represented by living actors. The ancient symbolical shews of this sort began now to lose their old barbarism and a mixture of religion, and to assume a degree of political elegance and precision.

It must be observed, that only a few critical treatises, and but one Art of Poetry, were now written. Sentiments and images were not absolutely determined by the canons of composition: nor was genius awed by the consciousness of a future and final arrangement at the tribunal of taste. A certain dignity of inattention to niceties was now visible in our writers. Without consulting too closely a criterion of correctness, every man indulged his own capriciousness and invention. The poet's appeal was chiefly to his own voluntary feelings, his own immediate and peculiar mode of conception: and this freedom of thought was often expressed in an undisguised frankness of diction; a circumstance that greatly contributed to give the flowing modulation which marked the measures of the poets of this period, and which soon degenerated into the opposite extreme of dissonance and asperity. Selection and discrimination were often overlooked. Shakespeare wandered in pursuit of universal nature. The glancings of his eye are from heaven to earth, from earth to heaven. We behold him breaking the barriers of imaginary method. In the same scene he descends from his meridian of the noblest tragic sublimity, to puns and quibbles, to the meanest merriments of a plebeian farce.

No satires, properly so called, were written till towards the conclusion of this period, and then but a few pictures drawn at large of the vice of the times, did not suit readers who loved to wander in the regions of artificial manners. The Muse, like the people, was too solemn and reserved, too ceremonious and pedantic, to stoop to common life. Satire is the poetry of a nation highly polished.

The importance of the female character was not yet acknowledged, nor were women admitted into the general commerce of society. The effect of that intercourse had not imparted a comic air to poetry, nor softened the severer tone of our versification with the levities of gallantry, and the familiarities of compliment; sometimes perhaps operating on serious subjects, and imperceptibly spreading themselves in the general habits of style and thought.

All or most of these circumstances contributed to give a descriptive, a picturesque, and a figurative cast to the poetical language. This effect appears even in the prose compositions of the present period. In the subsequent age, prose became the language of poetry.

In the mean time, general knowledge was encreasing with a wide diffusion and a hasty rapidity. Books began to be multiplied, and a variety of the most useful and rational topics had been discussed in our own language; yet the advances of science had not been very great. On the whole, we were now arrived at that period which was propitious to the operations of original and true poetry, when the coyness of fancy was not always proof against the approaches of reason; when genius was rather directed than governed by judgement; and when taste and learning had so far only disciplined imagination, as to suffer its excesses to pass without censure or controul, for the sake of the beauties to which they were allied.

CHAP. X.

Ecclesiastical Affairs.

AS on the accession of Mary to the throne, all the ecclesiastical measures which had been adopted in the preceding reign, were reversed; so were all her own proceedings

(*p*) Lilly's Life, p. 151.

ceedings, with regard to religion, annulled by her sister Elizabeth, who assumed the supremacy, abolished the mass, and re-established the liturgy of king Edward the Sixth. Those English divines, who had fled from the persecutions of queen Mary, now returned. These divines, having adopted, in some measure, the doctrines promulgated by Calvin and other Reformers, approximated nearer to primitive Christianity than any other sect: it is therefore no wonder that they held in utter abhorrence all the ceremonies of the church of Rome, especially as they considered that the pageantry and shew generally attendant upon them were in nowise authorized by the Scriptures, but were solely the inventions of men.

But to be more particular: the church of Scotland acknowledges as its founder, John Knox, the disciple of Calvin; and, accordingly, from its first reformation, it adopted the doctrine, rite, and form of ecclesiastical government, established at Geneva. These it has always adhered to with the utmost uniformity, and maintained with the greatest jealousy and zeal; so that even in the seventeenth century the designs of those, who attempted to introduce certain changes into its discipline and worship, were publicly opposed by the force of arms (*q*).

A quite different constitution of things is observable in the church of England, which could never be brought to an entire compliance with the ecclesiastical laws of Geneva, and which retained, but for a short time, even those which it adopted. It is well known, that the greatest part of those English, who first threw off the yoke of Rome, seemed much more inclined to the sentiments of Luther concerning the eucharist, the form of public worship, and ecclesiastical government, than to those of the Swiss churches. But the scene changed after the death of Henry VIII. when by the industrious zeal of Calvin, and his disciples, more especially Peter Martyr, the cause of Lutheranism lost ground considerably; and the universities, schools, and churches, became the oracles of Calvanism, which also acquired new votaries among the people from day to day. Hence it happened, that when it was proposed under the reign of Edward VI. to give a fixed and stable form to the doctrine and discipline of the church, Geneva was acknowledged as a sister-church; and the theological system, there established by Calvin, was adopted, and rendered the public rule of faith in England. This, however, was done without any change of the form of episcopal government, which had already taken place, and was entirely different from that of Geneva; nor was this step attended with any alteration of several religious rites and ceremonies, which were looked upon as superstitious by the greatest part of the Reformed. This difference however, between the two churches, though it appeared at first of little consequence, and, in the judgement even of Calvin, was esteemed an object of toleration and indulgence, was nevertheless, in after ages, a source of many calamities and dissensions, that were highly detrimental both to the civil and ecclesiastical constitution of Great Britain.

The reign of these unhappy dissensions, which it has not as yet been possible entirely to heal, must be sought for in the conduct of those persecuted fugitives, who to save their lives, their families, and their fortunes, from the bloody rage and inhuman tyranny of queen Mary, left the places of their nativity in the year 1554, and took refuge in Germany (*r*). Of these fugitive congregations some performed divine worship with the rites that had been authorised by Edward VI.; while others preferred the Swiss method of worship as more commendable on account of its purity and simplicity. The former were called Conformists, on account of their compliance with the ecclesiastical laws enacted by the prince just mentioned; and the denominations of Non-conformists and Puritans were given to the latter, from their insisting upon a form of worship more exempt from superstition, and of a more pure kind, than the liturgy of Edward seemed to them to be. These denominations became permanent marks of distinction, which still continue to denote those different religious communities which divide the British nation. The controversy, concerning the ceremonial part of divine worship, that had divided the exiles abroad, changed scenes, and was removed with them to England, when the auspicious succession of queen Elizabeth to the throne permitted them to return to their native country. The hopes of enjoying liberty, and of promoting each their respective systems, increased their contests instead of diminishing them; and the breach widened to such a degree, that the most sagacious and provident observers of things seemed to despair of seeing it healed. The wise queen in her design to accomplish the reformation of the church, was fully resolved not to confine herself to the model, exhibited by the Protestants of Geneva, and their adherents, the Puritans; and therefore, she recommended to the attention and imitation of the doctors, that were employed in this weighty and important matter, the practice and institutions of the primitive ages (*s*). When her plan was put in execution, and the face of the church was changed and reformed by new rules of discipline, and purer forms of public worship, the famous Act of Uniformity was issued forth, by which all her subjects were commanded to observe these rules, and to submit to the reformation of the church on the footing on which it was now placed by the queen, as its supreme, visible head upon earth. The Puritans refused their assent to these proceedings; pleaded the dictates of their consciences in behalf of this refusal; and complained heavily, that the gross superstitions of popery, which they had looked upon as abrogated and abolished, were now revived, and even imposed by authority. They were not, indeed, all equally exasperated against the new constitution of the church; nor did they in effect carry their opposition to equal degrees of excess. The more violent demanded the total abrogation of all that had been done towards the establishment of a national religion, and required nothing less than that the church of England should be exactly moddled after that of Geneva. The milder and more moderate Puritans were much more equitable in their demands, and only designed liberty of conscience, with the privilege of celebrating divine worship in their own way. The queen did not judge it proper to grant to either the objects of their requests, but rather intent upon the suppression of this troublesome sect (as she was pleased to call it) permitted its enemies to employ for that purpose all the resources of artifice, and all the severity of the laws. Thus was that form of religion established in Britain, which separated the English equally from the church of Rome on the one hand, and from the other churches which had renounced popery, on the other; but which, at the same time laid a perpetual foundation for dissension and feuds in that otherwise happy and prosperous nation (*t*).

The incidents that gave rise to these unhappy divisions, which were productive of so many and such dreadful cala-

(*q*) This alludes to the attempts under the reign of Charles the Second, to introduce episcopacy into Scotland.

(*r*) We cannot help mentioning the uncharitableness of the Lutherans, upon this occasion, who hated these unhappy exiles, because they were Sacramentarians, (for so the Lutherans called those who denied Christ's bodily presence in the Eucharist,) and expelled from their cities such of the English Protestants, as repaired to them, as a refuge from Popish superstition and persecution. Such as sought for shelter in France, Geneva, and those parts of Switzerland and Germany, where the Reformation had taken place, and where Lutheranism was not professed, were received with great humanity, and allowed places of public worship. But it was at Frankfort that the exiles were most numerous; and there began the contest and division which gave rise to that separation from the church of England which continues to this day. It is, however, a piece of justice due to the memory of the excellent Melancthon, to observe, that he warmly condemned this uncharitable treatment, and more especially the indecent reproaches which the Lutherans cast upon the English Martyrs who had sealed the reformation with their blood, calling them the Devil's Martyrs. Melancthon indeed was so humane and liberal in his sentiments, that his name was rendered precious to the lovers of piety, probity, and moderation; while the zealots of his own church have treated his memory with obloquy, and composed dissertations "de Indifferentismo Melancthonis," i. e. concerning the indifference of Melancthon.

(*s*) This ambiguous expression of the *primitive ages* seems to insinuate that queen Elizabeth had formed a pure, rational, and evangelical plan of religious discipline and worship. It is, however, certain, that, instead of being willing to strip religion of the ridiculous ceremonies which remained in it, she was rather inclined to bring the public worship still nearer the Romish ritual, and had a great propensity to several usages in the Church of Rome, which were justly looked upon as superstitious. She thanked publicly one of her chaplains, who had preached in defence of the real presence; she was fond of images, and retained some in her private chapel; and would undoubtedly have forbidden the marriage of the clergy, if Cecil, her secretary, had not interposed. Having appointed a committee of divines to review Edward the Sixth's Liturgy, she gave them an order to strike out all offensive passages against the pope, and to make people easy about the corporeal presence of Christ in the sacrament.

(*t*) No writer has treated this part of the Ecclesiastical History of Britain in a more ample and elegant manner than Daniel Neale, in his History of the Puritans, or Protestant Non-conformists, in four volumes octavo. See also, for an account of the religious history of these times, Strype's Lives of the archbishops of Canterbury under queen Elizabeth, viz. Parker, Grindal, and Whitgift.

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mities, was a matter of very small moment, and which did not seem to affect, in any way, the interests of true religion and virtue. The chief leaders among the Puritans entertained a strong aversion to the vestments worn by the English clergy in the celebration of divine worship. As these habits had been made use of in the times of popery, and seemed to renew the impressions that had been made upon the people by the Romish priests, they appeared to the Puritans in no other light, than as the ensigns of Antichrist. The spirit of opposition, being once set on foot, proceeded, in its remonstrances, to matters of superior moment. The form of ecclesiastical government, established in England, was one of the first and main grievances of which the Puritans complained. They looked upon this form as quite different from that which had been instituted by Christ, the great law-giver of the church; and, in conformity with the sentiments of Calvin, mentioned, that, by the divine law, all the ministers of the gospel were absolutely equal in point of rank and authority. They did not indeed think it unlawful that a person, distinguished by the title of a bishop, or superintendent, should preside in the assembly of the clergy, for the sake of maintaining order and decency in their method of proceeding, but they thought it incongruous and absurd, that the persons invested with this character should be ranked, as the bishops had hitherto been, among the nobility of the kingdom, employed in civil and political affairs, and distinguished so eminently by their worldly opulence and power. This controversy was not carried on, however, with excessive animosity and zeal, as long as the English bishops pretended to derive their dignity and authority from no other source than the laws of their country, and pleaded a right, purely human, to the rank they held in church and state. But the flame broke out with redoubled fury in the year 1588, when Bancroft, afterwards archbishop of Canterbury, ventured to assert that the order of bishops was superior to the body of presbyters, not in consequence of any human institution, but by the express appointment of God himself (*u*). This doctrine was readily adopted by many, and the consequences that seemed naturally to flow from it in favour of episcopal ordination, happened in effect, and gave new fuel to the flame of controversy. For they who embraced the sentiments of Bancroft, considered all ministers of the gospel, who had not received ordination from a bishop, as irregularly invested with the sacred character; and also maintained, that the clergy, in those countries where there were no bishops, were destitute of the gifts and qualifications that were necessary to the exercise of the pastoral office, and were to be looked upon as inferior to the Roman Catholic priests.

All these things exasperated the Puritans, whose complaints, however, were not confined to the objects already mentioned. There were many circumstances that entered into their plan of reformation. They had a singular antipathy against cathedral churches, and demanded the abolition of the archdeacons, deans, canons, and other officials, that are supported by their lands and revenues. They disapproved of the pompous manner of worship that is generally observed in these churches, and looked, particularly, upon instrumental music, as improperly employed in the service of God. The severity of their zeal was also very great; for they were of opinion, that, not open profligates, but even persons whose piety was dubious, deserved to be excluded from the communion of the church (*v*); and they endeavoured to justify the rigour of this decision, by observing that the church, being the congregation of the faithful, nothing was more incumbent on its ministers and rulers, than to watch against its being defiled by the presence of persons destitute of true faith and piety. They found, moreover, much subject of affliction and complaint in the rites and ceremonies that were imposed by the order of the queen, and the authority of the council; among these were the festivals or holidays that were celebrated in honour of the saints, the use of the sign of the cross more especially in the sacrament of baptism, the nominating godfathers and godmothers as sureties for the education of children whose parents were still living (*w*), and the doctrine relating to the validity of lay-baptism (*x*). They disliked the reading of the apocryphal books in the church; and, with respect to set forms of prayer, although they did not go so far as to insist upon their being entirely abolished, yet they pleaded for a right to every minister, of modifying, correcting, and using them in such a manner, as might tend most to the advancement of true piety, and of addressing the Deity in such terms as were suggested by their inward feelings, instead of those that were dictated by others. In a word, they were of opinion, that the government and discipline of the church of England ought to have been modeled after the ecclesiastical laws and institutions of Geneva, and that no indulgence was to be shewn to those ceremonies or practices, which bore the smallest resemblance of the discipline or worship of the church of Rome.

These sentiments, considered in themselves, seemed neither susceptible of a satisfactory defence, nor of a compleat refutation. Their solidity or falsehood depended upon the principles from whence they were derived; and no regular controversy could be carried on upon these matters, until the contending parties adopted some common and evident principles, by which they might corroborate their respective systems. It is only by an examination of these, that it can be known on what side truth lies, and what degree of utility and importance can be attributed to a contest of this nature. The principles laid down by the queen's commissioners on the one hand, and the Puritans on the other, were indeed very different.

For in the first place, The former maintained, that the right of reformation, that is, the privilege of removing the corruptions and of correcting the errors, that may have been introduced into the doctrine, discipline, or worship of the church is lodged in the sovereign, or civil magistrate alone; while the latter denied, that the power of the magistrate extended so far, and maintained, that it was rather the business of the clergy to restore religion to its native dignity and lustre. This was the opinion of Calvin.

Secondly, The queen's commissioners maintained, that the rule of proceeding, in reforming the doctrine or discipline of the church, was not to be derived from the sacred writings alone, but also from the writings and decisions of the fathers in the primitive ages. The Puritans, on the contrary, affirmed, that the inspired word of God being the pure and only fountain of wisdom and truth, it was from thence alone that the rules and directions were to be drawn, which were to guide the measures of those, who undertook to purify the faith, or to rectify the discipline and worship of the church; and that the ecclesiastical institutions of the early ages, as also the writings of the ancient doctors, were absolutely destitute of all sort of authority.

Thirdly, the queen's commissioners ventured to assert, that the church of Rome was a true church, though corrupt and erroneous in many points of doctrine and government; that the Roman pontiff, though chargeable with temerity and arrogance in assuming to himself the title and jurisdiction of head of the whole church, was, nevertheless,

(*u*) See Strype's Life and Acts of John Whitgift, archbishop of Canterbury, p. 121. The first English Reformers admitted but two orders of church officers to be of divine appointment, viz. bishops and deacons, a presbyter and a bishop, according to them, being but two names for the same office; but Dr. Bancroft, in a sermon preached at Paul's Cross, in Cheapside, January 12, 1588, maintained, that the bishops of England were a distinct order from priests, and had a superiority over them *jure divino*.

(*v*) The Puritans justified themselves in relation to this point, in a letter addressed, from their prison, to queen Elizabeth, in 1592, by observing, that their sentiments concerning the persons subject to excommunication, and also concerning the effects and extent of that act of church discipline, were conformable to those of all the Reformed churches, and to the doctrine and practice of the church of England in particular. They declared more especially, that, according to their sense of things, the censure of excommunication deprived only of spiritual privileges and comforts, without taking away either liberty, goods, lands, government private or public, or any other civil or earthly commodity of this life; and thus they distinguished themselves from those furious and fanatical anabaptists, who had committed such disorders in Germany, and some of whom were now making a noise in England.

(*w*) Other rites and customs displeasing to the Puritans were kneeling at the sacrament of the Lord's supper, bowing at the name of Jesus, giving the ring in marriage, the prohibition of marriage during certain times of the year, and the licensing it for money, as also the confirmation of children by the episcopal imposition of hands.

(*x*) The Roman Catholics, who look upon the external rite of baptism as absolutely necessary to salvation, allow, consequently, of its being performed by a layman, or a midwife, where a clergyman is not at hand, nay (if such a ridiculous thing may be mentioned) by a surgeon, where a still birth is apprehended. The church of England, though it teacheth in general, that none ought to baptize, but men dedicated to the service of God, yet doth not esteem null, baptism performed by laics or women, because it makes a difference between what is essential to a sacrament, and what is requisite in the regular way of using it. The Puritans, that they might neither prescribe nor even connive at a practice that seemed to be founded on the absolute necessity of infant baptism, would allow that sacred rite to be performed by the clergy alone.

to be esteemed a true and lawful bishop; and, consequently, that the ministers ordained by him, were qualified for performing the pastoral duties. This was a point, which the English bishops thought it absolutely necessary to maintain, since they could not otherwise claim the honour of deriving their dignities, in an uninterrupted line of succession, from the apostles. But the Puritans entertained very different notions of this matter; they considered the Romish hierarchy as a system of political and spiritual tyranny; that had justly forfeited the title and privileges of a true church; they looked upon its pontiff as Antichrist, and its discipline as vain, superstitious, idolatrous, and diametrically opposite to the injunctions of the Gospel; and in consequence of this they renounced its communion, and regarded all approaches to its discipline and worship as highly dangerous to the cause of true religion.

Fourthly, The court commissioners considered as the best and most perfect form of ecclesiastical government, that which took place during the first four or five centuries; they even preferred it to that which had been instituted by the apostles, because, as they alledged, our Saviour and his apostles had accommodated the form, mentioned in Scripture, to the feeble and infant state of the church, and left it to the wisdom and discretion of future ages to modify it in such a manner as might be suitable to the triumphant progress of Christianity, the grandeur of a national establishment, and also to the ends of civil policy. The Puritans asserted, in opposition to this, that the rules of church government were clearly laid down in the Holy Scriptures, the only standard of spiritual discipline (*y*); and that the Apostles, in establishing the first Christian church on the Aristocratical plan that was then observed in the Jewish Sanhedrim, designed it as an unchangeable model, to be followed in all times and in all places.

Lastly, The court of reformers were of opinion, that things indifferent, which are neither commanded nor forbidden by the authority of Scripture, such as the external rites of public worship, the kind of vestments that are to be used by the clergy, religious festivals, and the like, might be ordered, determined, and rendered a matter of obligation by the authority of the civil magistrate; and that, in such a case, the violation of his commands would be no less criminal, than an act of rebellion against the laws of the state. The Puritans alledged, in answer to this assertion, that it was an indecent prostitution of power to impose as necessary and indispensable, those things which Christ had left in the class of matters indifferent; since this was a manifest incroachment upon that liberty, with which the Divine Saviour had made us free. To this they added, that such rites and ceremonies, as had been abused to idolatrous purposes, and had a manifest tendency to revive the impressions of superstition and popery in the minds of men could by no means be considered as indifferent, but deserved to be rejected without hesitation, as impious and profane. Such, in their estimation, were the religious ceremonies of ancient times, whose abrogation was refused by the queen and her council (*z*).

This contest between the commissioners of the court, and their opponents, who desired a more compleat reformation than had yet taken place, would have been much more dangerous in its consequences, had that party, that was distinguished by the general denomination of Puritan, been united in their sentiments, views, and measures. But the case was quite otherwise. For this large body, composed of persons of different ranks, characters, opinions, and intentions, and, unanimous in nothing but their antipathy against the forms of doctrine and discipline that were established by law, was, all of a sudden, divided into a variety of sects; of which some spread abroad the delusions of enthusiasm, which had turned their own brains; while others displayed their folly in inventing new and whimsical plans of church-government. The most famous of all these sects was that which was formed, about the year 1581, by Robert Brown, an insinuating man, but very unsettled and inconsistent in his views and notions of things. This innovator did not differ, in point of doctrine, either from the church of England or from the rest of the Puritans; but he had formed new and singular notions concerning the nature of the church, and the rules of ecclesiastical government. He was for dividing the whole body of the faithful into separate societies or congregations, not larger than those which were formed by the Apostles in the infancy of Christianity; and maintained, that such a number of persons, as could be contained in an ordinary place of worship, ought to be considered as a church, and enjoy all the rights and privileges that are competent to an ecclesiastical community. These small societies he pronounced independent, *jure divino*, and entirely exempt from the jurisdiction of the bishops, in whose hands the court placed the reins of spiritual government; and also from that of synods, which the Puritans regarded as the supreme visible sources of ecclesiastical authority. He also maintained, that the power of governing each congregation, and providing for its welfare, resided in the people; and that each member had an equal share in this direction, and an equal right to order matters for the good of the whole society (*a*). Hence all points both of doctrine and discipline were submitted to the discussion of the whole congregation, and whatever was supported by a majority of votes passed into a law. It was the congregation also that elected certain of the brethren to the office of pastors, to perform the duties of public instruction, and the several branches of divine worship reserving, however, to themselves the power of dismissing these ministers, and reducing them to the condition of private members, whenever they should think such a change conducive to the spiritual advantage of the community. For these pastors were not esteemed superior, either in sanctity or rank, to the rest of their brethren, nor distinguished from them by any other circumstance than the liberty of preaching and praying, which they derived from the free will and consent of the congregation. It is, besides to be observed, that their right of preaching was, by no means, of an exclusive nature, or peculiar to them alone; since any member that thought proper to exhort or instruct the brethren, was indulged in the liberty of prophesying to the whole assembly. Accordingly, when the ordinary teacher or pastor has finished his discourse, all the other brethren were permitted to communicate in public their sentiments and illustrations upon any useful or edifying subjects on which they supposed they could throw new light. In a word, Brown aimed at nothing less than modelling the form of the church after that infant community, that was founded by the apostles, without once considering the important change both in the religious and civil state of the world since that time, the influence that these changes must necessarily have upon all ecclesiastical establishments, and the particular circumstances of the Christian church in consequence of its former corruptions and its late reformation. And, if his notions were crude and in some measure chimerical, the zeal with which he and his associates maintained and propagated them was intemperate and extravagant in the highest degree. For he affirmed, that all communion was to be broken off with those religious societies, that were founded upon a different plan from his, and treated, more especially, the church of England, as a spurious church, whose ministers were unlawfully ordained, whose discipline was popish and antichristian, and whose sacraments and institutions were destitute of all efficacy and virtue. The sect of this innovator, not being able to endure the severe treatment which their opposition to the established forms of religious government and worship had drawn

(*y*) By this they meant at least, that nothing should be imposed as necessary, but what was exactly contained in the Holy Scriptures, or deduced from them by necessary consequence. They maintained still farther, that supposing it proved, that all things neeessary to the good government of the church could not be deduced from Holy Scripture, yet, that the discretionary power of supplying this defect was not vested in the civil magistrate, but in the spiritual officers of the church.

(*z*) Mr. Neal, in his History of the Puritans, adds a sixth article, not of debate, but of union, "Both parties (says he) agreed too well in asserting the necessity of an uniformity of public worship, and of calling in the sword of the magistrate for the support and defence of their several principles, which they made an ill use of in their turns, as they could grasp the power into their hands. The standard of uniformity, according to the bishops, was the queen's supremacy, and the laws of the land; according to the Puritans, the decrees of provincial and national synods, allowed and enforced by the civil magistrate: but neither party were for admitting that liberty of conscience, and freedom of profession, which is every man's right as far as is consistent with the peace of the government under which he lives.

(*a*) It is farther to be observed, that, according to this system, one church was not entitled to exercise jurisdiction over another; but each might give the other counsel or admonition, if they walked in a disorderly manner, or abandoned the capital truths of religion; and if the offending church did not receive the admonition, the others were to withdraw, and publicly disown them as a church of Christ. On the other hand, the powers of their church officers were confined within the narrow limits of their own society. The pastors of a church might not administer the sacrament of baptism or the Lord's supper to any but those of his own communion.

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upon them from an administration that was not distinguished by its mildness and indulgence, retired into the Netherlands, and founded churches at Middleburg in Zealand, and at Amsterdam and Leyden, in the province of Holland; but their establishments were neither solid nor durable (*b*). Their founder returned into England, and, having renounced his principles of separation, took orders in the established church and obtained a benefice (*c*). The Puritan exiles, whom he thus abandoned, disagreed among themselves, divided into parties, and their affairs declined from day to day (*d*). This engaged the wiser part of them to mitigate the severity of their founder's plan, and to soften the rigour of his uncharitable decisions: and hence arose the community of the Independents, or Congregational Brethren, which still subsists, and are exceedingly numerous.

It has always been a question, much debated among Protestants, and more especially in England and Holland, where it excited great commotions and the power of deciding in religious matters properly belong? This controversy has been determined in favour of those, who maintain, that the power of deciding, in matters of religious doctrine, discipline, and government, is by the appointment of Christ himself, vested in the church, and therefore ought by no means to be entrusted with, or exercised by, the civil magistrate; while, at the same time, they grant, that it is the business of the latter to assist the church with his protection and advice, to convoke and preside in its synods and councils, to take care that the clergy do not attempt to carry on any thing that may be prejudicial to the interests of the state, and, by his authority, to confirm the validity and secure the execution of the ecclesiastical laws enacted by the church under his inspection. It is true, that from the time of Henry VIII. the kings of England consider themselves as supreme heads of the church, and that in relation to its spiritual, as well as its temporal concerns; and it is plain enough, that, on the strength of this important title, both Henry VIII. and his son Edward assumed an extensive authority and jurisdiction in the church, and looked upon their spiritual power, as equal to that which had been unworthily enjoyed by the Roman pontiff. But queen Elizabeth receded considerably from these high pretensions, and diminished the spiritual power of her successors, by declaring that the jurisdiction of the kings of England extended only to the ministers of religion, and not to religion itself; to the rulers of the church, and not to the church itself; or, in other words, that the persons of the clergy were alone subject to their civil authority. Accordingly, we see that the constitution of the church of England resembles perfectly that of the state, and that there is a striking analogy between the civil and ecclesiastical government established in that country. The clergy, consisting of the upper and lower houses of convocation, are immediately assembled by the archbishop of Canterbury, in consequence of an order from the sovereign, and propose in these meetings, by common consent, such measures as seem necessary to the well-being of the church; these measures are laid before the king and parliament, and derive from their approbation and authority the force of laws. But it must be acknowledged, that this matter has given occasion to much altercation and debate; nor has it been found easy to fix the extent of the jurisdiction and prerogative of these great bodies in a manner conformable to their respective pretensions, since the king and his council explain them in one way, and the clergy, more especially those who are zealous for the spiritual supremacy and independency of the church, understand them in another. The truth of the matter is plainly this, that the ecclesiastical polity in England has never acquired a stable and consistent form, nor been reduced to clear and certain principles. It has rather been carried on and administered by ancient custom and precedent, than defined and fixed by any regular system of laws and institutions.

If it was not an easy matter to determine in what hands the power of deciding affairs of a religious nature was to be lodged, it was no less difficult to fix the form of ecclesiastical government in which this power was to be administered. Many vehement disputes were kindled on this subject, which neither the lapse of time, nor the efforts of human wisdom, have been able to bring to an amicable issue. The dissensions, occasioned by these different schemes of ecclesiastical polity, were every way adapted to produce a violent schism in the church; and that so much the more, as each of the contending parties pretended to derive their respective plan from the injunctions of Christ and the practices of his disciples. And, in effect, it divided the English nation into two parties, who, during a long time, treated each other with great animosity and bitterness, and whose feuds, on many occasions, proved detrimental to the civil interests and prosperity of the nation. This schism, however, which did such mischief in England, was, by the prudence and piety of a few great and excellent divines, confined to that country, and prevented from either becoming universal, or interrupting the fraternal union that prevailed between the church of England and the Reformed churches abroad. The worthy men, that thus set bounds to the influence of these unhappy divisions, found great opposition made, by the suggestions of bigotry, to their charitable purpose. To maintain, however, the bonds of union between the episcopal church of England and the Presbyterian churches in foreign countries, they laid down the following maxim, which, though it be not universally adopted, tends nevertheless to the preservation of external concord among the Reformed, viz. "That Jesus Christ has left upon record no express injunctions with respect to the external form of government that is to be observed in his church; and, consequently, that every nation hath a right to establish such a form, as seemeth conducive to the interests, and suitable to the peculiar state, circumstances, and exigencies of the community, provided, that such an establishment be in no respect prejudicial to truth, or favourable to the revival of superstition (*e*)."

The Reformed church, from its very infancy, produced a great number of expositors of scripture, whose learned and excellent commentaries deserve a memorable place in the history of theological science. The exposition that Zuingle has given of the greatest part of the book of the New Testament is far from being destitute of merit (*f*). He was succeeded by Bullinger, Oecolampadius, and Musculus, and also by others, who, though inferior to these great men in erudition and genius, deserve nevertheless a certain degree of approbation and esteem. But the two divines who shone with a superior and unrivalled lustre in this learned list of sacred expositors, were John Calvin and Theodore Beza. The former composed an excellent commentary on almost all the books of Holy Writ; and the latter published a Latin Version of the New Testament, enriched with theological and critical observations, which has passed through many editions, and enjoys, at this day, a considerable part of the reputation and applause, with which it was crowned at its first appearance. It must be acknowledged to the honour of the greatest part of these commentators, that, wisely neglecting those allegorical significations and mystical meanings that the irregular fancies of former expositors had attributed to the terms of Holy Writ, they employed their whole diligence and industry in investigating the literal sense, the full energy of the words of scripture, in order to find out the true intention of the sacred writer. It must, however, be observed on the other hand, that some of these interpreters, and more especially Calvin, have been sharply censured for applying to the temporal state and circumstances of the Jews, several prophecies, that point to the Messiah and to the Christian dispensation in the most evident and palpable manner, and thus removing some of the most striking arguments in favour of the divinity of the Gospel.

(*b*) The British churches at Amsterdam and Middleburg were afterwards incorporated with the national Dutch church, and their pastors were members of the Dutch synod; by which means Brownism or Independency in those churches was done away. The church at Leyden, where Robinson had established a congregation of Independents, about the year 1595, was dispersed; and it is remarkable, that a part of this church went to North America, and laid the foundation of the colony of New England, where at present the Independents are by far the greater part of the inhabitants.

(*c*) Brown, in his new preferment, forgot not only the rigour of his principles, but also the gravity of his former morals; for he led a very idle and dissolute life. See Neal's History of the Puritans, vol. i. p. 376.

(*d*) Neal's History of the Puritans, vol. i. chap. vi.—Hoornbeckii Sumana Controvers. lib. x. p. 738.—Fuller's Ecclesiastical History of Britain, book x. p. 168.

(*e*) This was the general opinion of the British divines that lived in the earliest period of the Reformation, and was first abandoned by archbishop Whitgift. See Neal's History of the Puritans, vol. iii. p. 140.

(*f*) It was not only on the books of the New Testament that Zuingle employed his very learned and excellent labours. He expounded the book of Genesis, together with the twenty-four first chapters of Exodus, and gave new versions of the Book of Psalms, and of the prophecies of Isaiah and Jeremiah.

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The Reformed doctors of this century generally concluded their treatises of didactic theology with a delineation of the moral duties that are prescribed in the Gospel. This method was observed by Calvin, and was followed, out of respect for his example, by almost all the divines of his communion, who looked upon him as their model and their guide. This eminent man, towards the conclusion of his Institutes, speaks of the power of the magistrate, and ends of civil government; and in the last chapter gives the portraiture of the life and manners of a true Christian, but in a much more concise manner than the copiousness, dignity, and importance of the subject seemed to require. The progress of morality among the Reformed, was obstructed by the very same means that retarded its improvement among the Lutherans. It was neglected amidst the tumult of controversy; and while every pen was drawn to maintain certain systems of doctrine, few were employed in cultivating or promoting that noblest of all sciences, which has virtue, life, and manners for its objects.

This master-science, which Calvin and his associates had left in a crude and imperfect state, was first reduced into some kind of form, and explained with a certain degree of accuracy and precision, by William Perkins (*g*), an English divine, as the Reformed doctors universally allow. He was seconded in this laudable undertaking by Telingius, a native of Holland, whose writings were composed in the Dutch language. It was by a worthy and pious spirit of emulation, excited by the example of these two doctors, that William Ames, a native of Scotland and professor of divinity at Franeker (*h*), was engaged to compose a compleat Body of Christian Morality. These writers were succeeded by others, who still threw farther light on this important science.

It is very remarkable that those very doctors who animadverted with the greatest severity upon all those who dared to differ or dissent from any part of their theological system, thought proper, nevertheless, to behave with the greatest circumspection, and the most pacific spirit of mildness, in the amazingly long controversy that was carried on with such animosity between the Puritans on the one hand, and the abettors of episcopacy in England on the other. For if, on the one side, they could not but stand well affected to the Puritans, who were stedfast defenders of the discipline and sentiments of the Helvetic church; so, on the contrary, they were intimately connected with the episcopal doctors by the bonds of Christian communion and fraternal love. In this critical situation, their whole thoughts appear to have been turned towards reconciliation and peace; and they exhorted their brethren, the Puritans, to put on a spirit of meekness and forbearance towards the episcopal church, and not to break the bonds of charity and communion with its rulers or its members. Such indeed was the gentle spirit of the doctors in Switzerland towards the members of the church of England, notwithstanding the severe treatment the greatest part of the Reformed had received from that church, which constantly insisted on the divine origin of its government and discipline, though it must be allowed by every thinking person in the least acquainted with ecclesiastical history, that many of the ceremonies and forms made use of in the national church received their origin from the church of Rome, so that they scarcely allowed the other Reformed communities the privileges, or even the denomination, of a true church. This moderation of the Helvetic doctors was certainly the dictate of prudence. They did not think it expedient to contend with a generous and flourishing people, nor to incur the displeasure of a mighty queen, whose authority seemed to extend not only to her own dominions, but even to the United Provinces, which were situated in her neighbourhood, and were, in some measure, under her protection. Nor did the apprehensions of a general schism in the Reformed church contribute a little to render them meek, moderate, and pacific. It is one thing to punish and excommunicate a handful of weak and unsupported individuals, who attempt to disturb the tranquillity of the state by the introduction of opinions which, though neither highly absurd nor of dangerous consequence, have yet what may be termed the demerit of novelty; and another to irritate, or promote divisions in a flourishing church, which, though weakened more or less by intestine feuds, is yet both powerful and respectable in a high degree. Besides, the dispute between the church of England and the other Reformed churches did not, as yet, turn upon points of doctrine, but only on the rites of external worship and the form of ecclesiastical government. It is, however, to be observed, that, in process of time, nay, soon after the period now under consideration, certain religious doctrines were introduced into the debate between the two churches, that contributed much to widen the breach, and to cast the prospect of reconciliation at a distance.

All the Protestant divines of the Reformed church, whether Puritans or others, seemed indeed, hitherto, of one mind about the doctrines of faith. But, towards the latter end of queen Elizabeth's reign, there arose a party, which were first for softening, and then for overthrowing, the received opinions concerning Predestination, Perseverance, Free-will, Effectual Grace, and the extent of Christ's Redemption. The clergy of the episcopal church began to lean towards the notions concerning these intricate points, which Arminius propagated some time after this; while, on the other hand, the Puritans adhered rigorously to the system of Calvin. Several episcopal doctors remained attached to the same system, and all these abettors of Calvinism, whether episcopal or presbyterian, were called Doctrinal Puritans.

(*g*) Mr. William Perkins was born at Marston in Warwickshire, in the first year of queen Elizabeth, and educated in Christ's College, Cambridge, of which he was fellow. He was one of the famous practical writers and preachers of his age. His puritanical and non-conforming principles exposed him to the cognizance of the High Commission Court; but his peaceable behaviour and eminent reputation in the learned world, procured him an exemption from the persecutions that fell upon his brethren. His works, which were printed in three volumes folio, afford abundant proofs of his piety and industry, especially when it is considered that he died in the forty-fourth year of his age.

(*h*) Dr. William Ames was educated at Cambridge, under Mr. William Perkins; he fled from the persecution of archbishop Bancroft, and was invited by the states of Friesland to the divinity chair in the university of Franeker, which he filled with great reputation during the space of twelve years, after which he removed to Rotterdam, at the invitation of an English church there, and became their pastor. He was at the synod of Dort, and informed king James's ambassador at the Hague, from time to time, of the debates of that assembly. Besides his controversial writings against the Arminians, he published the following: "Medulla Theologiæ;" "Manuductio Logica;" "Cases of Conscience;" "Analysis on the Book of Psalms;" "Notes on the first and second Epistles of Peter," &c. These productions have great merit, considering the times in which they were written.

END OF THE FIRST VOLUME.





W. Hawkins Sc

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BOOK IX.

THE UNION OF THE TWO CROWNS OF ENGLAND AND SCOTLAND,

CONTAINING

THE REIGNS OF JAMES I. CHARLES I. (THE COMMONWEALTH,) CHARLES II. JAMES II. AND WILLIAM III.

CHAPTER I.

JAMES I.

IT is remarkable that no country ever enjoyed greater tranquillity in her transmitting of a crown from father to son than England did when it passed from the family of Tudor to that of Stuart. During the whole reign of Elizabeth, men had been anxiously employed in persuading her to declare her successor; and when old age made the prospect of her death more immediate, there appeared none but James Stuart, king of Scots, who could advance any just claim or pretension to the throne. He was great-grandson of Margaret, eldest daughter of Henry VII.; and, on the failure of the male line, his hereditary right remained unquestionable. If the religion of Mary queen of Scots, and the other prejudices contracted against her, had formed any considerable obstacle to her succession; these objections, being entirely personal, had no place with regard to her son. Men also considered, that though the title, derived from blood, had been frequently violated since the Norman conquest, such licences had proceeded more from force or intrigue, than from any deliberate maxims of government. The lineal heir had still in the end prevailed; and both his exclusion and restoration had been commonly attended with such convulsions as were sufficient to warn all prudent men not lightly to give way to such irregularities. If the will of Henry VIII. authorized by act of parliament, had tacitly excluded the Scottish line; the tyranny and caprices of that monarch had been so signal, that a settlement of this nature, unsupported by any just reason, had no authority with the generality of the people. Queen Elizabeth too, with her dying breath, had recognized the title of her kinsman James; and the whole nation seemed to dispose themselves with joy and pleasure for his reception. It is, however, certain, that it was to the nomination of Elizabeth that he owed his peaceable ascent to the throne. This princess, by a long reign of forty-four years, and many favourable concurring circumstances, had gained an entire ascendency over the hearts and opinions of her subjects, notwithstanding that, during the course of her government, she had exerted very arbitrary principles of sovereignty; to which she was enabled, by the yet cherished notion of royal prerogative, and the continuation of the same religious factions which had supported a like exertion in the reign of her father Henry VIII. and her sister Mary. Though born and educated amidst a foreign and hostile people, it was hoped that he would embrace the maxims of an English monarch; and some people thought they foresaw greater advantages resulting from an union with Scotland, than disadvantages from submitting to a prince of that nation. The alacrity with which the English looked toward the successor, had appeared so evident to Elizabeth, that, concurring with other causes, it affected her with the deepest melancholy; and that princess, whose penetration and experience had given her the greatest insight into human affairs, had not yet sufficiently weighed the ingratitude of courtiers and levity of the people.

As victory abroad, and tranquillity at home, had generally attended this princess, she left the nation in such flourishing circumstances, that her successor possessed every advantage, except that of comparison with her illustrious name, when he mounted the throne of England. Six hours after Elizabeth's decease, James was proclaimed as king. The people were impatient to behold their new sovereign, and their sovereign was no less eager to take possession of his new dignity. The king's journey from Edinburgh to London immediately followed the joyful news of his accession (*a*). This circumstance afforded to the inquisitive some circumstances of comparison, which even the natural partiality in favour of their new sovereign could not interpret to his advantage. As he passed along, all ranks of men flocked about him, from every quarter, allured by idleness, interest, or curiosity. Great were the rejoicings, and loud the acclamations which resounded from all sides; and every one could remember how the affability and popular manners of their queen displayed themselves amidst such concourse and exultation of her subjects. But James, though sociable and familiar with his friends and courtiers, hated the bustle of a mixed multitude; and though extremely fond of flattery, yet was he still fonder of tranquillity and ease. He issued therefore a proclamation, forbidding this resort of people, on pretence of the scarcity of provisions, and other inconveniences, which, he said, would necessarily attend it. This ignorance, however, of the laws of England, and the high idea he had conceived of his present power by the arbitrary proceedings of his predecessors, made him, upon his arrival at Newark, guilty of the absurd violence of hanging a thief without form or trial. His severity was soon after exercised on Valentine Thomas, of whom he had complained to Elizabeth that he had calumniated his conduct. This unfortunate man was in prison on this account, at the time of James's accession; who immediately brought him to a trial, and obtained a verdict against him, on pretence of a conspiracy against Elizabeth and some of her council.

(*a*) The following is a curious passage in a letter which James wrote from Edinburgh to the lord mayor, aldermen, and common-council of London, on hearing that he had been proclaimed king. "Do all whatsoever things you shall find necessary or expedient for the good government of the said city in execution of justice, as you have been used to do in our dearest sister's time, till our pleasure be known unto you to the contrary." *MSS. in Br. Museum*, fol. 7021. no. 23.

He

He was not, however, insensible to the great flow of affection which appeared in his new subjects; and he seems to have been in haste to make them some return of kindness and good offices. To this motive, probably, we are to ascribe that profusion of titles, which was observed in the beginning of his reign; when, in six weeks time (from April 6 to May 20) after his entrance into the kingdom, he is computed to have bestowed knighthood on no less than two hundred and thirty-seven persons. If Elizabeth's frugality of honours, as well as of money, had formerly been repined at, it began now to be valued and esteemed; and every one was sensible that the king, by his lavish and premature conferring of favours, had failed of obliging the persons on whom he bestowed them. Titles of all kinds became so common, that they were scarcely marks of distinction; and being distributed, without choice or deliberation, to persons unknown to the prince, were regarded more as the proofs of an easy disposition, than of any fixed friendship or esteem (*b*).

We may presume, that the English would have thrown less blame on the king's facility in bestowing favours, had these been confined entirely to their own nation, and had not been shared out, in too unequal proportions, to his Scottish subjects. James, who, through his whole reign, was more guided by temper and inclination than by the rules of political prudence, had brought with him great numbers of his Scottish courtiers; whose impatience and importunity were apt, in many particulars, to impose on the easy nature of their master, and to extort favours, of which, it is natural to imagine, his English subjects would loudly complain. The duke of Lenox, the earl of Marre, lord Hume, lord Kinloss, sir George Hume, secretary Elphinstone, were immediately added to the English privy council. Sir George Hume, whom he created earl of Dunbar, was his declared favourite as long as that nobleman lived. Hay, some time after, was created viscount Doncaster, then earl of Carlisle, and got an immense fortune from the crown; all of which he spent in a splendid and courtly manner. Ramsey obtained the title of earl of Holderness; and many others, being raised on a sudden to the highest elevation, increased, by their insolence, that envy, which naturally attended them, as strangers and ancient enemies.

Yet it must be owned, that James left almost all the chief offices in the hands of Elizabeth's ministers, and trusted the conduct of political concerns, both foreign and domestic, to his English subjects. Among these, secretary Cecil, whom he created successively lord Effingdon, viscount Cranborne, and earl of Salisbury, was always regarded as his prime minister and chief counsellor. Though the capacity and penetration of this minister were sufficiently known, his favour with the king created surprize on the accession of that monarch. Cecil was naturally odious to James on account of his father's hatred to Mary, and his own opposition to James's partizan, the earl of Essex, who had recently been executed: but the secret correspondence into which he had entered with James during the latter years of Elizabeth's life, and which had sensibly contributed to the easy reception of that prince in England, laid the foundation of Cecil's credit; and while all his former associates, sir Walter Raleigh (*c*), lord Grey, lord Cobham, were discountenanced on account of their animosity against Essex, as well as for other reasons, this minister was continued in employment, and treated with the greatest confidence and regard.

The capacity of James and his ministers in negociation was immediately put to trial, on the appearance of ambassadors from almost all the princes and states of Europe, in order to congratulate him on his accession, and to form with him new treaties and alliances. Beside ministers from Venice, Denmark, the Palatinate; Henry Frederic of Nassau, assisted by Barnevelt the pensionary of Holland, was ambassador from the States of the United Provinces. Aremberg was sent by Archduke Albert; and Taxis was expected in a little time from Spain. But he who most excited the attention of the public, both on account of his own merit and that of his master, was the marquis of Rosni, afterwards duke of Sully (*d*), prime minister and favourite of Henry IV. of France.

When the dominions of the house of Austria devolved on Philip II. all Europe was struck with terror, lest the power of a family, which had been raised by fortune, should now be carried to an immeasurable height, by the wisdom and conduct of this monarch. But never were apprehensions found in the event to be more groundless. Slow without prudence, ambitious without enterprize, false without deceiving any body, and refined without any true judgement; such was the character of Philip, and such the character which, during his life-time, and after his death, he impressed on the Spanish councils. Revolted or depopulated provinces, discontented or indolent inhabitants, were the spectacles which those dominions, lying in every climate of the globe, presented to Philip III. a weak prince, and to the duke of Lerma, a minister weak and odious. But though military discipline, which still remained, was what alone gave some appearance of life and vigour to that languishing body; yet so great was the terror produced by former power and ambition, that the reduction of the house of Austria was the object of men's vows throughout all the states of Christendom. It was not perceived, that the French empire, now united in domestic peace, and governed by the most heroic and most amiable prince that adorns modern history, was become, of itself, a sufficient counterpoise to the Spanish greatness. Perhaps, that prince himself did not perceive it, when he proposed, by his minister Rosni, a league with James, in conjunction with Venice, the United Provinces, and the northern crowns; in order to attack the Austrian dominions on every side, and depress the exorbitant power of that ambitious family. But the genius of the English monarch was not equal to such vast enterprizes. The love of peace was one of his ruling passions; and it was his peculiar felicity, that the conjunctures of the times rendered the same object which was agreeable to him, in the highest degree advantageous to his people.

The French ambassador, therefore, departed from these extensive views, and concerted with James the means of providing for the safety of the United Provinces: nor was this object altogether without its difficulties. The king, before his accession, had entertained scruples with regard to the revolt of the Low Countries; and he had, on many occasions, gone so far as to give to the Dutch the appellation of rebels: but having conversed more fully with English ministers and courtiers, he found their attachment to that republic so strong, and their opinion of common interest so established, that he was obliged to sacrifice to politics his idea of justice; a quality which, even when erroneous, is respectable as well as rare in a monarch. He therefore agreed with Rosni to support secretly the states-general, in concert with the king of France; lest their weakness and despair should oblige them to submit to their old master, the king of Spain. The articles of the treaty were few and simple. It was stipulated, that the two kings should allow the Dutch to levy forces in their respective dominions; and should underhand remit to that republic the sum of one million four hundred thousand livres a year for the pay of these forces: that the whole sum should be advanced by the king of France; but that the third of it should be deducted from the debt due by him to queen Elizabeth. And if the Spaniard attacked either of the princes, they agreed to assist each other; Henry with a force of ten thousand men, James with that of six.

During this great tranquillity, both foreign and domestic, with which the nation was blessed, nothing could be more surprising than the discovery of a conspiracy to subvert the government, and to fix on the throne Arabella Stuart, the king's consin-german by the family of Lenox, and descended equally from Henry VII. Every thing remains still mysterious in this conspiracy; and history can give us no clue to unravel it. Watson and Clarke, two Catholic priests, were accused of the plot; lord Grey, a Puritan; lord Cobham, a thoughtless man, of no fixed principle; and sir Walter Raleigh, suspected to be of that philosophical sect, who were then extremely rare in England, and who have since received the appellation of *Free-thinkers:* together with these, Mr. George Broke, brother to lord Cobham, sir Griffin Markham, Mr. Copeley, sir Edward Parham. What cement could unite men of such discordant principles in so dangerous a combination; what

(*b*) A pasquinade was affixed to St. Paul's, in which an art was promised to be taught, very necessary to assist frail memories in retaining the names of the new nobility.

(*c*) Who had been a leader in all the intrigues in which Cecil had been engaged, excepting the last; that of his correspondence with the king of Scots.

(*d*) It appears from the Memoirs of Duc de Sully, that both the kings of France and Spain distributed large sums among James's ministers and courtiers, to bribe them to their respective interests.

end they proposed, or what means proportioned to an undertaking of this nature, has never yet been explained, and cannot easily be imagined. As Raleigh, Grey, and Cobham were commonly believed, after the queen's death, to have opposed proclaiming the king, till conditions should be made with him; they were upon that account extremely hateful to the court and ministry; and people were apt, at first, to suspect, that the plot was merely a contrivance of secretary Cecil, to get rid of his old confederates, now become his inveterate enemies. And though no one could find any marks of a concerted enterprize, it appeared that men of furious and ambitious spirits, meeting frequently together, and believing all the world discontented like themselves, had entertained very criminal projects, and had even entered, some of them at least, into a correspondence with Aremberg, the Flemish ambassador, in order to give disturbance to the new settlement.

The two priests and Broke were executed, the former on the 29th of November, the latter on the 5th of December: Cobham, Grey, and Markham, were pardoned on the 9th of December, after they had laid their heads upon the block. Raleigh too was reprieved, not pardoned; and he remained in confinement many years afterwards.

It appears from Sully's Memoirs, that Raleigh secretly offered his services to the French ambassador; and it had been presumed, that meeting with a repulse from that quarter, he had recourse, for the same unwarrantable purposes, to the Flemish minister: but it must be confessed, that, on his trial, there appeared no proof of this transaction, nor indeed any circumstance which could justify his condemnation. It has been asserted that he was accused by Cobham alone, in a sudden fit of passion, upon hearing that Raleigh, when examined, had pointed out some circumstances, by which Cobham's guilt might be known and ascertained (*e*). Upon such evidence was sir Walter Raleigh, contrary to all law and equity, found guilty by the jury. His name was at this time extremely odious in England; and every man was pleased to give sentence against the capital enemy of Essex, the favourite of the people.

Sir Edward Coke, the famous lawyer, then attorney-general, managed the cause for the crown, and threw out on Raleigh such gross abuse, as may be deemed a great reflection, not only on his own memory, but even, in some degree, on the manners of the age. Traitor, monster, viper, and spider of hell, are the terms which he employs against one of the most illustrious men of the kingdom, who was under trial for life and fortune, and who defended himself with great temper, eloquence, and courage.

The next occupation of the king, in the beginning of 1604, was entirely according to his heart's desire. But of all the qualities which marked the character of James, there was none more contemptible than a pedantic disposition, which he had attained from a narrow, though laborious, education. Some school-learning he had, the fruits of that unwearied application which is often united to mean parts; of that learning he was ridiculously vain: his vanity too was greatly heightened by the flattery which he had met with from the minions of the English court; and he was eager for an opportunity of displaying his fancied erudition to the whole nation.

Though the severities of Elizabeth towards the Catholics had much weakened that party, whose genius was opposite to the prevailing spirit of the nation; like severities had not operated so powerfully on the Puritans, who were encouraged by that spirit, that no less than seven hundred and fifty clergymen of that party signed a petition to the king on his accession to the throne for a reformation of sundry articles of religion; and many more seemed willing to adhere to it. They all hoped that James, having received his education in Scotland, and having sometimes professed an attachment to the church established there, would at least abate the rigour of the laws enacted in support of the ceremonies, and against Puritans; if he did not shew more particular grace and encouragement to that sect; but the king's disposition had taken strongly a contrary bias. He greatly disliked the puritanical clergy; for he had remarked in their Scottish brethren a violent turn towards republicanism and a zealous attachment to civil liberty; principles nearly allied to that religious system which they professed. He found, that they were so far from being fearful in disputation, or in discourse, that they boldly maintained their tenets against all opponents, and even supposed that they used greater freedoms with him than they ought to have done. Though he had often met with resistance and faction and obstinacy in the Scottish nobility, he retained no ill will to that order; or rather shewed them favour and kindness in England, beyond what reason and sound policy could well justify: but the ascendant which the presbyterian clergy had assumed over him, was what his monarchical pride could never thoroughly digest (*f*).

He dreaded likewise the popularity which attended this order of men in both kingdoms; for they were esteemed by all their followers as men of sanctity and virtue. Strongly inclined himself to mirth and wine and sports of all kinds, he apprehended their censure for his manner of life. And, being thus averse, from temper, as well as policy, to the sect of Puritans, he was resolved, if possible, to prevent its farther growth in England.

Though justly sensible, that no part of civil administration required greater care or nicer judgement than the conduct of religious parties; James had not perceived, that, in the same proportion as this practical knowledge of theology is requisite, the speculative refinements in it are mean and even dangerous in a monarch. By entering zealously into frivolous disputes, James gave them an air of importance and dignity which they could not otherwise have acquired; and being himself enlisted in the quarrel, he could no longer have recourse to contempt and ridicule, which by some are esteemed the only proper method of appeasing it. The church of England had not yet abandoned the doctrines of grace and predestination: the Puritans had not yet separated themselves from the church, nor openly renounced episcopacy. Though the spirit of the parties was considerably different, the only appearing subjects of dispute were concerning the cross in baptism, the ring in marriage, the use of the surplice, and bowing at the name of Jesus. These were the mighty questions which were solemnly agitated in the conference at Hampton-court, on the 4th of January, 1604, between some bishops and dignified clergymen on the one hand, and some leaders of the puritanical party on the other.

James, however, gave the Puritans hopes of an impartial debate, though he mortally hated all the reformers for the restraints they had laid upon him in his Scotch government; restraints which were altogether incompatible with that fond idea he had entertained of monarchical power. In this debate James was to preside as judge; but from judge he turned principal disputant, silencing all opposition by his authority and loquacity. The Puritans therefore, with great justice, complained of a partial and unfair management of the dispute; the king, from the beginning of the conference, shewed the strongest propensity to the established church, and frequently inculcated a maxim, which should be received with great limitations: "No Bishop, No King." The bishops, in their turn, were very liberal of their praises towards the royal disputant; the lord chancellor Egerton cried out, "He had often heard that the royalty and priesthood were united, but never saw it verified till now." And Whitgift, archbishop of Canterbury, said, that, "undoubtedly his majesty spake by the special assistance of God's Spirit." A few alterations in the liturgy, however, were agreed to, and both parties separated with mutual dissatisfaction.

It had frequently been the practice of the Puritans to form certain assemblies, which they called prophesyings;

(*e*) Lord Cobham had been betrayed into an accusation of Raleigh; but, on a fit of sickness, he wrote the following letter to him: "Seeing myself so near my end, for the discharge of my conscience, and freeing myself from your blood, which else will cry vengeance against me, I protest upon my salvation I never practised with Spain by your procurement. God so comfort me in this my affliction, as you are a true subject for any thing I know. I will say as Pilate, *Purus sum à sanguine hujus*. So God have mercy on my soul as I know no treason by you."—This letter was produced in court by Raleigh: but his enemies brought a written evidence, contradictory to the sense of this letter, signed by lord Cobham. Raleigh desired his accuser might be brought face to face; this was denied, his defence over-ruled, and the jury, after a quarter of an hour's consultation, brought him in guilty. Cobham afterwards declared, that his name to that letter on which Raleigh was condemned, was fraudulently obtained. *State Trials*, vol. i. p. 183. *Sir Anthony Welden's Court of King James*, 1651, p. 36. *Guthrie*, vol. iii. p. 629.

(*f*) James ventured to say in his Basilicon Doron, published while he was in Scotland: "I protest before the great God, and since I am here as upon my Testament, it is no place for me to lie in, that ye shall never find with any Highland or Borderer Thieves, greater ingratitude and more lies and vile perjuries, than with these fanatic spirits: and suffer not the principal of them to brook your land." *King James's Works*, p. 161.

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Yet it must be owned, that James left almost all the chief offices in the hands of Elizabeth's ministers, and trusted the conduct of political concerns, both foreign and domestic, to his English subjects. Among these, secretary Cecil, whom he created successively lord Effingdon, viscount Cranborne, and earl of Salisbury, was always regarded as his prime minister and chief counsellor. Though the capacity and penetration of this minister were sufficiently known, his favour with the king created surprize on the accession of that monarch. Cecil was naturally odious to James on account of his father's hatred to Mary, and his own opposition to James's partizan, the earl of Essex, who had recently been executed: but the secret correspondence into which he had entered with James during the latter years of Elizabeth's life, and which had sensibly contributed to the easy reception of that prince in England, laid the foundation of Cecil's credit; and while all his former associates, sir Walter Raleigh (*c*), lord Grey, lord Cobham, were discountenanced on account of their animosity against Essex, as well as for other reasons, this minister was continued in employment, and treated with the greatest confidence and regard.

The capacity of James and his ministers in negociation was immediately put to trial, on the appearance of ambassadors from almost all the princes and states of Europe, in order to congratulate him on his accession, and to form with him new treaties and alliances. Beside ministers from Venice, Denmark, the Palatinate; Henry Frederic of Nassau, assisted by Barnevelt the pensionary of Holland, was ambassador from the States of the United Provinces. Aremberg was sent by Archduke Albert; and Taxis was expected in a little time from Spain. But he who most excited the attention of the public, both on account of his own merit and that of his master, was the marquis of Rosni, afterwards duke of Sully (*d*), prime minister and favourite of Henry IV. of France.

When the dominions of the house of Austria devolved on Philip II. all Europe was struck with terror, lest the power of a family, which had been raised by fortune, should now be carried to an immeasurable height, by the wisdom and conduct of this monarch. But never were apprehensions found in the event to be more groundless. Slow without prudence, ambitious without enterprize, false without deceiving any body, and refined without any true judgement; such was the character of Philip, and such the character which, during his life-time, and after his death, he impressed on the Spanish councils. Revolted or depopulated provinces, discontented or indolent inhabitants, were the spectacles which those dominions, lying in every climate of the globe, presented to Philip III. a weak prince, and to the duke of Lerma, a minister weak and odious. But though military discipline, which still remained, was what alone gave some appearance of life and vigour to that languishing body; yet so great was the terror produced by former power and ambition, that the reduction of the house of Austria was the object of men's vows throughout all the states of Christendom. It was not perceived, that the French empire, now united in domestic peace, and governed by the most heroic and most amiable prince that adorns modern history, was become, of itself, a sufficient counterpoise to the Spanish greatness. Perhaps, that prince himself did not perceive it, when he proposed, by his minister Rosni, a league with James, in conjunction with Venice, the United Provinces, and the northern crowns; in order to attack the Austrian dominions on every side, and depress the exorbitant power of that ambitious family. But the genius of the English monarch was not equal to such vast enterprizes. The love of peace was one of his ruling passions; and it was his peculiar felicity, that the conjunctures of the times rendered the same object which was agreeable to him, in the highest degree advantageous to his people.

The French ambassador, therefore, departed from these extensive views, and concerted with James the means of providing for the safety of the United Provinces: nor was this object altogether without its difficulties. The king, before his accession, had entertained scruples with regard to the revolt of the Low Countries; and he had, on many occasions, gone so far as to give to the Dutch the appellation of rebels: but having conversed more fully with English ministers and courtiers, he found their attachment to that republic so strong, and their opinion of common interest so established, that he was obliged to sacrifice to politics his idea of justice; a quality which, even when erroneous, is respectable as well as rare in a monarch. He therefore agreed with Rosni to support secretly the states-general, in concert with the king of France; lest their weakness and despair should oblige them to submit to their old master, the king of Spain. The articles of the treaty were few and simple. It was stipulated, that the two kings should allow the Dutch to levy forces in their respective dominions; and should underhand remit to that republic the sum of one million four hundred thousand livres a year for the pay of these forces: that the whole sum should be advanced by the king of France; but that the third of it should be deducted from the debt due by him to queen Elizabeth. And if the Spaniard attacked either of the princes, they agreed to assist each other; Henry with a force of ten thousand men, James with that of six.

During this great tranquillity, both foreign and domestic, with which the nation was blessed, nothing could be more surprising than the discovery of a conspiracy to subvert the government, and to fix on the throne Arabella Stuart, the king's cousin-german by the family of Lenox, and descended equally from Henry VII. Every thing remains still mysterious in this conspiracy; and history can give us no clue to unravel it. Watson and Clarke, two Catholic priests, were accused of the plot; lord Grey, a Puritan; lord Cobham, a thoughtless man, of no fixed principle; and sir Walter Raleigh, suspected to be of that philosophical sect, who were then extremely rare in England, and who have since received the appellation of *Free-thinkers:* together with these, Mr. George Broke, brother to lord Cobham, sir Griffin Markham, Mr. Copeley, sir Edward Parham. What cement could unite men of such discordant principles in so dangerous a combination; what

(*b*) A pasquinade was affixed to St. Paul's, in which an art was promised to be taught, very necessary to assist frail memories in retaining the names of the new nobility.

(*c*) Who had been a leader in all the intrigues in which Cecil had been engaged, excepting the last; that of his correspondence with the king of Scots.

(*d*) It appears from the Memoirs of Duc de Sully, that both the kings of France and Spain distributed large sums among James's ministers and courtiers, to bribe them to their respective interests.

end they proposed, or what means proportioned to an undertaking of this nature, has never yet been explained, and cannot easily be imagined. As Raleigh, Grey, and Cobham were commonly believed, after the queen's death, to have opposed proclaiming the king, till conditions should be made with him; they were upon that account extremely hateful to the court and ministry; and people were apt, at first, to suspect, that the plot was merely a contrivance of secretary Cecil, to get rid of his old confederates, now become his inveterate enemies. And though no one could find any marks of a concerted enterprize, it appeared that men of furious and ambitious spirits, meeting frequently together, and believing all the world discontented like themselves, had entertained very criminal projects, and had even entered, some of them at least, into a correspondence with Aremberg, the Flemish ambassador, in order to give disturbance to the new settlement.

The two priests and Broke were executed, the former on the 29th of November, the latter on the 5th of December: Cobham, Grey, and Markham, were pardoned on the 9th of December, after they had laid their heads upon the block. Raleigh too was reprieved, not pardoned; and he remained in confinement many years afterwards.

It appears from Sully's Memoirs, that Raleigh secretly offered his services to the French ambassador; and it had been presumed, that meeting with a repulse from that quarter, he had recourse, for the same unwarrantable purposes, to the Flemish minister: but it must be confessed, that, on his trial, there appeared no proof of this transaction, nor indeed any circumstance which could justify his condemnation. It has been asserted that he was accused by Cobham alone, in a sudden fit of passion, upon hearing that Raleigh, when examined, had pointed out some circumstances, by which Cobham's guilt might be known and ascertained (*e*). Upon such evidence was sir Walter Raleigh, contrary to all law and equity, found guilty by the jury. His name was at this time extremely odious in England; and every man was pleased to give sentence against the capital enemy of Essex, the favourite of the people.

Sir Edward Coke, the famous lawyer, then attorney-general, managed the cause for the crown, and threw out on Raleigh such gross abuse, as may be deemed a great reflection, not only on his own memory, but even, in some degree, on the manners of the age. Traitor, monster, viper, and spider of hell, are the terms which he employs against one of the most illustrious men of the kingdom, who was under trial for life and fortune, and who defended himself with great temper, eloquence, and courage.

The next occupation of the king, in the beginning of 1604, was entirely according to his heart's desire. But of all the qualities which marked the character of James, there was none more contemptible than a pedantic disposition, which he had attained from a narrow, though laborious, education. Some school-learning he had, the fruits of that unwearied application which is often united to mean parts; of that learning he was ridiculously vain: his vanity too was greatly heightened by the flattery which he had met with from the minions of the English court; and he was eager for an opportunity of displaying his fancied erudition to the whole nation.

Though the severities of Elizabeth towards the Catholics had much weakened that party, whose genius was opposite to the prevailing spirit of the nation; like severities had not operated so powerfully on the Puritans, who were encouraged by that spirit, that no less than seven hundred and fifty clergymen of that party signed a petition to the king on his accession to the throne for a reformation of sundry articles of religion; and many more seemed willing to adhere to it. They all hoped that James, having received his education in Scotland, and having sometimes professed an attachment to the church established there, would at least abate the rigour of the laws enacted in support of the ceremonies, and against Puritans; if he did not shew more particular grace and encouragement to that sect; but the king's disposition had taken strongly a contrary bias. He greatly disliked the puritanical clergy; for he had remarked in their Scottish brethren a violent turn towards republicanism and a zealous attachment to civil liberty; principles nearly allied to that religious system which they professed. He found, that they were so far from being fearful in disputation, or in discourse, that they boldly maintained their tenets against all opponents, and even supposed that they used greater freedoms with him than they ought to have done. Though he had often met with resistance and faction and obstinacy in the Scottish nobility, he retained no ill will to that order; or rather shewed them favour and kindness in England, beyond what reason and sound policy could well justify: but the ascendant which the presbyterian clergy had assumed over him, was what his monarchical pride could never thoroughly digest (*f*).

He dreaded likewise the popularity which attended this order of men in both kingdoms; for they were esteemed by all their followers as men of sanctity and virtue. Strongly inclined himself to mirth and wine and sports of all kinds, he apprehended their censure for his manner of life. And, being thus averse, from temper, as well as policy, to the sect of Puritans, he was resolved, if possible, to prevent its farther growth in England.

Though justly sensible, that no part of civil administration required greater care or nicer judgement than the conduct of religious parties; James had not perceived, that, in the same proportion as this practical knowledge of theology is requisite, the speculative refinements in it are mean and even dangerous in a monarch. By entering zealously into frivolous disputes, James gave them an air of importance and dignity which they could not otherwise have acquired; and being himself enlisted in the quarrel, he could no longer have recourse to contempt and ridicule, which by some are esteemed the only proper method of appeasing it. The church of England had not yet abandoned the doctrines of grace and predestination: the Puritans had not yet separated themselves from the church, nor openly renounced episcopacy. Though the spirit of the parties was considerably different, the only appearing subjects of dispute were concerning the cross in baptism, the ring in marriage, the use of the surplice, and bowing at the name of Jesus. These were the mighty questions which were solemnly agitated in the conference at Hampton-court, on the 4th of January, 1604, between some bishops and dignified clergymen on the one hand, and some leaders of the puritanical party on the other.

James, however, gave the Puritans hopes of an impartial debate, though he mortally hated all the reformers for the restraints they had laid upon him in his Scotch government; restraints which were altogether incompatible with that fond idea he had entertained of monarchical power. In this debate James was to preside as judge; but from judge he turned principal disputant, silencing all opposition by his authority and loquacity. The Puritans therefore, with great justice, complained of a partial and unfair management of the dispute; the king, from the beginning of the conference, shewed the strongest propensity to the established church, and frequently inculcated a maxim, which should be received with great limitations: "No Bishop, No King." The bishops, in their turn, were very liberal of their praises towards the royal disputant; the lord chancellor Egerton cried out, "He had often heard that the royalty and priesthood were united, but never saw it verified till now." And Whitgift, archbishop of Canterbury, said, that, "undoubtedly his majesty spake by the special assistance of God's Spirit." A few alterations in the liturgy, however, were agreed to, and both parties separated with mutual dissatisfaction.

It had frequently been the practice of the Puritans to form certain assemblies, which they called prophesyings;

(*e*) Lord Cobham had been betrayed into an accusation of Raleigh; but, on a fit of sickness, he wrote the following letter to him: "Seeing myself so near my end, for the discharge of my conscience, and freeing myself from your blood, which else will cry vengeance against me, I protest upon my salvation I never practised with Spain by your procurement. God so comfort me in this my affliction, as you are a true subject for any thing I know. I will say as Pilate, *Purus sum à sanguine hujus*. So God have mercy on my soul as I know no treason by you."—This letter was produced in court by Raleigh: but his enemies brought a written evidence, contradictory to the sense of this letter, signed by lord Cobham. Raleigh desired his accuser might be brought face to face; this was denied, his defence over-ruled, and the jury, after a quarter of an hour's consultation, brought him in guilty. Cobham afterwards declared, that his name to that letter on which Raleigh was condemned, was fraudulently obtained. *State Trials*, vol. i. p. 183. *Sir Anthony Welden's Court of King James*, 1651, p. 30. *Guthrie*, vol. iii. p. 629.

(*f*) James ventured to say in his Basilicon Doron, published while he was in Scotland: "I protest before the great God, and since I am here as upon my Testament, it is no place for me to lie in, that ye shall never find with any Highland or Borderer Thieves, greater ingratitude and more lies and vile perjuries, than with these fanatic spirits: and suffer not the principal of them to brook your land." *King James's Works*, p. 161.

where they displayed their zeal in prayers and exhortations, by which means they acquired great boldness and method in speaking, as might be expected from the mutual emulation which arose in those trials of religious eloquence. Such societies had been suppressed by Elizabeth; and the ministers in this conference moved the king for their revival. But James closed his many arguments with these powerful ones: "If you aim at a Scottish presbytery, it agrees as well with monarchy as God and the devil. There Jack and Tom and Will and Dick shall meet and censure me and my council. Therefore I reiterate my former speech: *Le Roi s'avisera.* Stay, I pray, for one seven years before you demand; and then, if you find me grow pursie and fat, I may perchance hearken unto you. For that government will keep me in breath, and give me work enough." Such were the political considerations which determined the king in his choice among religious parties (*g*).

Two proclamations followed this important decision of the new monarch; one commanding all jesuits and priests that had orders from any foreign power to depart the kingdom; the other enjoining the Puritans to conform to the established church. In the spirit of the one, James plainly evinced that his sole objection to the popish tenets was their not allowing his supremacy: he intimated in it that he would have a regard for the tender consciences of those that could not comply with the church. That against the Puritans banished all hopes of a like indulgence (*h*).

James now tasted of all the enjoyments he most affected; surrounded with flatterers, he snuffed up continually the incense of his own praise (*i*). With the reputation of business he indulged his passion for idleness. He affected to decide, by his judgement, all affairs both civil and religious; yet devoted his whole time to amusement. His days were spent in hunting or idle composition; his evenings in all the variety of entertainments which the ingenuity of the queen his wife could procure him. Of the Scotch gentry, those that followed the court, or were attached to the hierarchy, imitated much the levity and freedom of French manners: on the contrary, those who were attached to puritanism affected severity and reserve. The present fortune and favour of James gave many of the first an opportunity of indulging their taste in a more expensive manner than the narrowness of their former circumstances would admit (*k*). This humour coincided exactly with that of their prince.

Among the number of proclamations that were continually issued from royal authority, there was one which ordained an annual festival in remembrance of the king's deliverance from the famous Gowry conspiracy; which we have mentioned under the reign of Elizabeth. This was a compliment which the Scotch presbytery had denied him, under the mortifying pretence of not confiding enough in his veracity to be certain of its reality.

The time for the expected meeting of the parliament now approached. A proclamation which came out with the writs was remarkable for the fairness of its aspect, and the perniciousness of its tendency: prohibitions which interfered with the subjects' right of electing, were veiled with an appearance of candour which shaded their consequences from the eyes of the ignorant (*l*).

On the nineteenth of March, the great council of the nation met. James was determined to shine in the double capacity of king and orator, and addressed the assembly in a copious harangue. After having thrown out many hints concerning the sufficient right he had attained from his title; he expressed his satisfaction for the cordial reception he had received from his subjects, on his first entry into his new kingdom. "Shall I ever, said he, nay, can I ever be able, or rather so unable, in memory, as to forget your unexpected readiness and alacrity, your ever memorable resolution, and your most wonderfull conjunction and harmony of your hearts, in declaring and embracing me as your undoubted and lawfull king and governour? or shall it ever be blotted out of my mind, how at my first entry into this kingdom, the people of all sorts rid and ran, nay rather flew to meet me: their eyes flaming nothing but sparkles of affection; their mouths and tongues uttering nothing but sounds of joy; their hands, feet, and all the rest of their members, in their gestures discovering a passionate longing and earnestness to meet and embrace their new sovereign." He then expatiated on the manifold blessings England had received in his person, which would make their measure of happiness full, if the two nations were united in one kingdom. "He was the husband, he said, and the whole island his lawful wife; and he hoped no one was so unreasonable as to think that a Christian king under the Gospel should be a polygamist, and husband two wives." He opened to them his opinion and intentional conduct towards the Papists and Dissenters. "He acknowledged the Roman Catholic to be the mother church, though defiled by some impuritys. He did not wish the doun throwing of the temple, but that it might be purged and cleansed from corruption; he had not, like Rehoboam, increased their burdens, but lightened them, as much as time, occasion, or law, could permit; and was even then considering how some overtures might be proposed to the present parliament, to lighten the burden of laws against them. He would be content, for his part, to meet them half way, so that all novelties might be renounced on both sides. As to the sects of Puritans and Novellists, being impatient of superiority, they were unsufferable in any well-governed commonwealth; his course towards them he remitted to his proclamation made on that subject."

This speech, which was tediously prolix, did not gain the applause, nor produce the satisfaction which James expected; or rather it dissatisfied every body. The Roman Catholics were not content with his distinctions, though he had hinted that his only objection to their faith was the single tenet of allegiance to the pope. The Puritans, a then numerous sect in England, were exasperated at his branding them as a pestilent set of people destructive to the common-weal. The Protestants in general disliked his favourable declarations to the Papists, and the whole nation was offended at the hints he threw out towards an union with Scotland.

After a recognition of the king's title, the first motion of the commons was for the redress of grievances. The following ones, as the most notorious, were enumerated by sir Robert Wroth: the wardships of men's children a burthen and servitude to the subjects of this kingdom: the general abuse and grievance of purveyors and cart-takers: particular and private patents, commonly called monopolies (*m*): dispensations in penal statutes: transportations of ordnance (*n*): abuses of the exchequer.

In a conference (*o*) with the lords on a project to petition

(*g*) James began the conference at Hampton Court by exclaiming against the Scotch church. "Blessed be God's gracious goodness, said he, who hath brought me into the promised land; where religion is purely professed; where I sit amongst grave, reverend, and learned men; not as before elsewhere, a king without state, without honour, without order, where beardless boys would brave us to our face." There were no small reasons for James's zeal for the English hierarchy. Many of the prelates complimented him with unlimited power; while the dissenters hampered him with the doctrines of law and conscience. After he had answered the objections urged by the presbyterian ministers with the same logic as may be found in the specimens already mentioned, he added, "If this be all your party hath to say, I will make them conform themselves, or else I will *harrie* them out of the land, or else do worse, only hang them, that's all."

(*h*) The Puritans about this time suffered so severe a persecution, that they were driven to offer a petition for relief to the king whilst he was taking the diversion of hunting. James was something startled at this unexpected intrusion, and very graciously directed them to depute ten of their members to declare their grievances to the council. These deputies no sooner made their appearance before the council, than they were sent to jail; and sir Francis Hastings, sir Edward Mongue, and sir Valentine Knightly, under whose protection they had thus acted, were turned out of the lieutenancy of the county and the commission of the peace. *Winwood's Memorials*, 1725, vol. ii. p. 36, 48.

(*i*) He was extolled as the Solomon of the age, and was the first king of England flattered with the absurd title of Sacred Majesty.

(*k*) The first disgust which James gave his English subjects, was the profusion of favours that he bestowed on his Scotch followers.

(*l*) The meeting of this parliament had been long delayed on account of the plague, which had broken out in London, and raged with so much violence that upwards of thirty thousand persons are computed to have died of it in a year; though the city contained at that time little more than one hundred and fifty thousand inhabitants.

(*m*) On the subject of monopolies, it was ordered by the lower house, "That those which find just cause of grievance should bring in their complaints in writing, to the end they might be understood and considered of by the committees; and a law framed thereupon according to the cause."

(*n*) This article, which brought in the crown an income of three thousand pounds a year, had been often represented by the commons, during the administration of Elizabeth, as a great grievance to the nation, by supplying their enemies the Spaniards with these tremendous arms on easy terms.

(*o*) In this conference was flung out an extraordinary argument for this time; "That a people may be without a king, a king cannot be without a people." *Journals of the House of Commons*, vol. i. p. 156.

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the king for leave to take into consideration a recompence to be given in exchange for wardships (*p*), the lords heartily joined in the cause, and recommended to them to comprize in the petition, purveyorship, licence of alienation, respite of homage, and other burthens, which stretched prerogative had made intolerable.

In former periods of the English government, the house of commons was of so small weight in the balance of the constitution, that little attention had been given, either by the crown, the people, or the house itself, to the choice and continuance of the members. It had been usual, after parliaments were prolonged beyond one session, for the chancellor to exert a discretionary authority of issuing new writs to supply the place of any members whom he judged incapable of attending, either on account of their employment, their sickness, or other impediment. This practice gave that minister, and consequently the prince, an unlimited power of modelling at pleasure the representatives of the nation; yet so little jealousy had it created, that the commons, of themselves, without any court influence or intrigue, and contrary to some former votes of their own, confirmed it in the twenty-third of Elizabeth (*q*). At that time, though some members, whose places had been supplied on account of sickness, having now recovered their health, appeared in the house, and claimed their seat; such was the authority of the chancellor, that, merely out of respect to him, his sentence was adhered to, and the new members were continued in their places. Here a most dangerous prerogative was conferred on the crown: but to shew the genius of that age, or rather the channels in which power then ran, the crown put very little value on this authority; insomuch that two days afterwards, the chancellor, of himself, resigned it back to the commons, and gave them power to judge of a particular vacancy in their house. And when the question concerning the chancellor's new writs was again brought on the carpet towards the end of the session, the commons were so little alarmed at the precedent, that, though they readmitted some old members, whose seats had been vacated on account of slight indispositions, yet they confirmed the chancellor's sentence, in instances where the distemper appeared to have been dangerous and incurable (*r*). Nor did they proceed any farther in vindication of their privileges, than to vote, "that during the sitting of parliament, there do not, at any time, any writ go out for chusing or returning any member without the warrant of the house." In Elizabeth' reign we may remark, and the reigns preceding, sessions of parliament were not usually the twelfth part so long as the vacations; and during the latter, the chancellor's power, if he pleased to exert it, was confirmed, at least left, by this vote, as unlimited and unrestrained as ever.

In a subsequent parliament, the absolute authority of the queen was exerted in a manner still more open; and began for the first time to give alarm to the commons. New writs having been issued by the chancellor when there was no vacancy, and a controversy arising upon that incident, the queen sent a message to the house, informing them, that it were impertinent for them to deal in such matters. These questions, she said, belonged only to the chancellor; and she had appointed him to confer with the judges, in order to settle all disputes with regard to elections. The commons had the courage, a few days after, to vote, "That it was a most perilous precedent, where two knights of a county were duly elected, if any new writ should issue out for a second election, without order of the house itself; that the discussing and adjudging of this and such like differences belonged only to the house; and that there should be no message sent to the lord chancellor, not so much as to inquire what he had done in the matter, because it was conceived to be a matter derogatory to the power and privilege of the house." This is the most considerable, and almost only instance, of parliamentary liberty, which occurs during the reign of that princess.

Outlaws, whether on account of debts or crimes, had been declared by the judges (*s*) incapable of enjoying a seat in the house, where they must themselves be lawgivers; but this opinion of the judges had been frequently over-ruled. I find, however, in the case of Vaughan (*t*), who was questioned for an outlawry, that, having proved all his debts to have been contracted by suretiship, and to have been, most of them, honestly compounded, he was allowed, on account of these favourable circumstances, to keep his seat; which plainly supposes that, otherwise, it would have been vacated, on account of the outlawry (*u*).

When James summoned this parliament, he issued a proclamation (*v*); in which, among many general advices, he strictly enjoins the people not to chuse any outlaw for their representative. And he adds; "If any person take upon him the place of knight, citizen, or burgess, not being duly elected, according to the laws and statutes in that behalf provided, and according to the purport, effect, and true meaning of this our proclamation, then every person so offending to be fined or imprisoned for the same." A proclamation here was plainly put on the same footing with a law, and that in so delicate a point as the right of elections: most alarming circumstances, had there not been reason to believe that this measure, being entered into so early in the king's reign, proceeded more from precipitation and mistake, than from any serious design of invading the privileges of parliament.

Sir Francis Goodwin was chosen member for the county of Bucks; and his return, as usual, was made into chancery. The chancellor, pronouncing him an outlaw, vacated his seat, and issued writs for a new election. Sir John Fortescue, an old servant of the crown and favourite with the ministry, was chosen in his place. But the first act of the house was, to reverse the chancellor's sentence, and restore sir Francis to his seat. At the king's suggestion, the lords desired a conference on the subject; but were absolutely refused by the commons, as the question entirely regarded their own privileges. This occasioned expostulations between the king and the commons. The king said, "He was loath to alter his tune, and that he should now change it into matter of grief by way of contestation. He did sample it to the murmurs of the children of Israel. He did not attribute the cause of his grief to any purpose in the house to offend him, but only to a mistaking of the law. He had no purpose to impeach their privileges; but since they derived all matters of privilege from him, and by his grant, he expected that they should not be turned against him. That there were no precedents did suit this case fully: precedents in the times of minors, of tyrants, of women, of simple kings, not to be credited, because for some private ends. That by the law, the house of commons ought not to meddle with returns, being all made into the chancery, and to be corrected or reformed by that court alone (*w*)."

The debates of the commons on this subject were spirited. It was said by one member, that there was just fear of some great abuse in the late election: that the king had been misinformed: that he had too many misinformers: that now the case of sir John Fortescue and sir Francis Goodwin was become the case of the whole kingdom: that old lawyers forget, and commonly interpret the law according to the time: that by such a course the free election of the country was taken away, and none would from henceforth be chosen but such as should please the king and council. "Let us therefore, adds he, with fortitude, understanding, and sincerity, seek to maintain our privilege, which cannot be taken or construed any contempt in us; but merely a maintenance of our common right; that right which our ancestors have left us, and is just and fit for us to transmit to posterity." "We should taint ourselves with three great blemishes, said another member, if we should alter our judgement; levity, cruelty, and cowardice. No court can reform their own judgement. Every act that passeth this house is an act of parliament. Shall justice float up and down? shall he be a member to-day, and shall we tear him off to-morrow? Let sir Francis Goodwin stand as he is. Duty and courage

(*p*) The Commons appealed to the laws of nature and reason for the equitableness of their demand in respect to wardships. "It is but a restitution, said they, of the original right of all men by the laws of God and nature; which is, that children should be brought up by their parents and next of kin, and by them to be directed in their marriage." Journals of the Commons, vol. i. p. 227.

(*q*) Journ. January 19, 1580.

(*r*) Journ. March 18, 1589. See farther D'Ewes, p. 430.

(*s*) 39 H. vi. (*t*) Journ. Feb. 8, 1580.

(*u*) In a subsequent parliament, that of the 35th of the queen, the commons, after great debate, expressly voted, that a person outlawed might be elected. D'Ewes, p. 518. But as the matter had been much contested, the king might think the vote of the house no law, and might esteem his own decision of more weight than theirs. We may also suppose that he was not acquainted with this vote. Queen Elizabeth, in her speech to her last parliament, complained of their admitting outlaws, and represents that conduct of the house as a great abuse.

(*v*) Jan. 11, 1604. Rymer, tom. xvi. p. 561.

(*w*) Journals of the Commons, vol. i. p. 158.

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may stand together: let not the house be inveigled by suggestion; this may be called a *quo warranto* to seize all our liberties." "A chancellor," added another member, "by this course, may call a parliament, consisting of what persons he pleases. Any suggestion, by any person, may be the cause of sending a new writ. It is come to this plain question, Whether the chancery or parliament ought to have authority?"

Notwithstanding this watchful spirit of liberty, which now appeared in the commons, their deference for majesty was so great, that they appointed a committee to confer with the judges before the king and council. There the question of law began to appear, in James's eyes, a little more doubtful than he had hitherto imagined it; and in order to extricate himself with some appearance of honour, he proposed that both Goodwin and Fortescue should be set aside, and a fresh writ be issued, by warrant of the house, for a new election. Goodwin gave his consent, and the commons embraced the expedient (*x*); but in such a manner, that they secured for the future the free possession of their seats, and the right which they claimed, of judging solely in their own elections and returns.

A power like this, so essential to the exercise of all their other powers, themselves so essential to public liberty, cannot fairly be deemed an encroachment in the commons; but must be regarded as an inherent privilege, happily rescued from that ambiguity which the negligence of some former parliaments had thrown upon it.

About this period, the minds of men throughout Europe, especially in England, seem to have undergone a general, but insensible revolution. Though letters had been revived in the preceding age, they were chiefly cultivated by those of sedentary professions; nor had they, till now, begun to spread themselves, in any degree, among men of the world. Arts, both mechanical and liberal, were every day receiving great improvements. Navigation had extended itself over the whole globe. Travelling was rendered secure, and more agreeable than it had been in former times; and the general system of politics in Europe was become more enlarged and comprehensive.

In consequence of this universal fermentation, the ideas of men enlarged themselves on every side; and the several constituent parts of the Gothic governments, which seem to have lain long inactive, began, every where, to operate and encroach on each other. On the continent, where the necessity of discipline had begotten standing armies, the princes commonly established an unlimited authority, and overpowered, by force or intrigue, the liberties of the people. In England, the love of freedom, which, unless checked, flourishes extremely in all liberal nations, acquired new force, and was regulated by more enlarged views, suitably to that cultivated understanding, which became, every day, more common among men of birth and education. A familiar acquaintance with the precious remains of antiquity excited, in every generous breast, a passion for a limited constitution, and begat an emulation of those manly virtues, which the Greek and Roman authors, by such animating examples, as well as pathetic expressions, recommend to our most serious consideration. The severe though popular government of Elizabeth had confined this rising spirit within very narrow bounds; but when a new and a foreign family succeeded to the throne, and a prince less dreaded and less beloved, symptoms immediately appeared of a more free and independent genius in the nation.

Happily this prince possessed neither sufficient capacity to perceive the alteration, nor sufficient art and vigour to check it in its early advances. Jealous of regal, because conscious of little personal authority, he had established within his own mind a speculative system of absolute government, which few of his subjects, he believed, and none but traitors and rebels, would make any scruple to admit. On whichever side he cast his eye, every thing concurred to encourage his prejudices. When he compared himself with the other hereditary sovereigns of Europe, he imagined, that as he bore the same rank, he was entitled to equal prerogatives; not considering the innovations lately introduced by them, and the military force by which their authority was supported. In England, that power, almost unlimited, which had been exercised for above a century, especially during the late reign, he ascribed solely to royal birth and title; not to the prudence and spirit of the monarchs, nor to the circumstances of the times. Even the opposition which he had struggled with in Scotland encouraged him still farther in his favourite notions; while he there saw, that the same resistance which opposed regal authority, violated all law and order, and made way either for the ravages of a barbarous nobility, or for the more intolerable insolence of seditious preachers. In his own person, therefore, he thought all legal power to be centered, by an hereditary and a divine right; and this opinion might have proved dangerous, if not fatal, to liberty, had not the firmness of the persuasion, and its seeming evidence, induced him to trust solely to his right, without making the smallest provision, either of force or politics, in order to support it.

Such were the opposite dispositions of parliament and prince, at the commencement of the Scottish line; dispositions just beginning to exist and to appear in the parliament, but thoroughly established and openly avowed on the part of the prince.

The spirit and judgement of the house of commons appeared, not only in defence of their own privileges, but also in their endeavour, though, at this time, in vain, to free trade from those shackles, which the high exerted prerogative, and even, in this respect, the ill-judged tyranny of Elizabeth, had imposed upon it.

James had already, of his own accord, called in and annulled all the numerous patents for monopolies which had been granted by his predecessor, and which extremely fettered every species of domestic industry: but the exclusive companies still remained; another species of monopoly, by which almost all foreign trade, except that to France, was brought into the hands of a few rapacious engrossers, and all prospect of future improvement in commerce was for ever sacrificed to a little temporary advantage of the sovereign. These companies, though arbitrarily elected, had carried their privileges so far, that almost all the commerce of England was centered in London; and it appears, that the customs of that port amounted to one hundred and ten thousand pounds a-year, while those of all the kingdom beside yielded only seventeen thousand (*y*). Nay, the whole trade of London was confined to about two hundred citizens (*z*), who were easily enabled, by combining among themselves, to fix whatever price they pleased both to the exports and imports of the nation. The committee appointed to examine this enormous grievance, one of the greatest which we read of in English history, insist on it as a fact well known and avowed, however contrary to present received opinion, that shipping and seamen had sensibly decayed during all the preceding reign (*a*). And though nothing be more common than complaints of the decay of trade, even during the most flourishing periods; yet is this a consequence which might naturally result from such arbitrary establishments, at a time when the commerce of all the other nations of Europe, except that of Scotland, enjoyed full liberty and indulgence.

While the commons were thus attempting to give liberty to the trading part of the nation, they also endeavoured to free the landed property from the burthen of wardships (*b*), and to remove those remains of the feudal tenures, under which the nation still laboured. A just regard was shewn to the crown in the conduct of this affair; nor was the remedy sought for, considered as a matter of right, but merely of grace and favour. The profit which the king reaped, both from wards and from respite of homage, was estimated; and it was intended to compound for these prerogatives by a secure and independent revenue. But after some debates in the house, and some conferences

(*x*) Notwithstanding the contest appeared to end favourably, many of the spirited members were offended at the concession of giving up those who had been elected by the people. The committee who managed the affair was severely reproached for exceeding their authority in giving a consent without having consulted the house; and a motion was made that it might be done by warrant, and therein inserted, "by the request of the king." Sir Francis Bacon, one of the committee, gave the report of the conference in the following strain: "The king said he would be president himself. This attendance renewed the remembrance of the last, when we departed with such admiration. It was the voice of God in man; the good Spirit of God in the mouth of man. We might say, as was said to Solomon, We are glad, O king! that we give account to you, because you discern what is spoken. How to report his majesty's speech he knew not; the eloquence of a king was inimitable." Journals of the House of Commons, vol. i. p. 168.

(*y*) Journ. 21 May, 1604. (*z*) Id. ibid.

(*a*) A remonstrance from the Trinity-house, in 1602, says, that in a little above twelve years, after 1588, the shipping and number of seamen in England decayed about a third. Anglesey's Happy future State of England, p. 128. from sir Julius Cæsar's Collections. See Journ. 21 May, 1604.

(*b*) Journ. 1 June, 1604.

with the lords, the affair was found to contain more difficulties than could easily, at that time, be surmounted; and it was not then brought to any conclusion.

The same fate attended an attempt of a like nature, to free the nation from the burthen of purveyance. This prerogative had been much abused by the purveyors (*c*); and the commons shewed some intention to offer the king fifty thousand pounds a-year for the abolition of it.

But the most important affair that was brought before the parliament, where the commons shewed a great spirit of independence, was the union of the two kingdoms. This was zealously, and even impatiently urged by the king (*d*). He regarded it as the peculiar felicity of his reign, that he had terminated the bloody animosities of these hostile nations, and had reduced the whole island under one government; enjoying tranquillity within itself, and security from all foreign invasions. He hoped that, while his subjects of both kingdoms reflected on past disasters, besides regarding his person as infinitely precious, they would entertain the strongest desire of securing themselves against the return of like calamities, by a thorough union of laws, parliaments, and privileges. He considered not, that this very reflection operated, as yet, in a contrary manner on men's minds, and kept alive that mutual hatred between the nations, which had been carried to the greatest extremities, and required time to allay it. The more urgent the king appeared in promoting this measure, the more backward was the English parliament in concurring with him; while they ascribed his excessive zeal to that partiality in favour of his ancient subjects, of which they thought, that, on other occasions, they had reason to complain. James indeed was so impatiently set on the union, that he had already assumed the title of king of Great Britain; issued out a proclamation to make Scotch coin current in England; quartered St. Andrew's cross with St. George's; and, to give a general idea of its peaceable advantages, the iron doors of the frontier towns were converted into plough-shares. The parliament took this scheme into consideration, rather out of compliment, and to humour the king, than with any design to bring it into execution. James drew up many projects with his own hand: he alternately complained of and cajoled the parliament (*e*); but their complaisance for the king carried them no farther than to appoint forty-four English to meet with thirty-one Scottish commissioners, in order to deliberate concerning the terms of an union; but without any power of making advances towards the establishment of it (*f*).

The same spirit of independence appeared in the house of commons, when the question of supply was brought before them, by some members attached to the court. In vain was it urged, that, though the king received a supply which had been voted to Elizabeth, and which had not been collected before her death; yet he found it burthened with a debt contracted by the queen, equal to the full amount of it: that peace was not yet thoroughly concluded with Spain, and that Ireland was still expensive to him: that on his journey from Scotland amidst such a concourse of people, and on that of the queen and royal family, he had expended considerable sums: and that as the courtiers had looked for greater liberalities from the prince on his accession, and had imposed on his generous nature; so the prince, in his turn, would expect, at the beginning, some mark of duty and attachment from his people, and some consideration of his necessities. No impression was made on the house of commons by these topics; and the majority appeared fully determined to refuse all supply. The commons also refused a bill, sent down to them by the lords, for entailing the crown lands for ever on the king's heirs and successors (*g*). The dissipation, made by Elizabeth, had probably taught James the necessity of this law, and the advantage gained by the people made the commons think proper to refuse it.

In order to cover a disappointment with regard to supply, which might bear a bad construction, both at home and abroad, James sent a message to the house (*h*), in which he told them, that he desired no supply; and he was very forward in refusing what he perfectly knew they never intended to grant. Indeed it appears that the commons had been foiled in all their intentions for public utility, and were therefore justly determined that the people should not be robbed to feed the avarice and luxury of courtiers. Soon after, on the 7th of July, the king prorogued the parliament, but not without discovering, in his speech, visible marks of dissatisfaction. Having so early in his reign given great offence to the Puritans, he now saw reason to make public complaint of the restless and encroaching spirit of the puritanical party, and of the malevolence with which they endeavoured to inspire the commons. Nor were his complaints without foundation, or the Puritans without interest; since the commons, now finding themselves free from the arbitrary government of Elizabeth, made application for a conference with the lords, and presented a petition to the king; the purport of both which was, to procure, in favour of the Puritans, a relaxation of the ecclesiastical laws. The use of the surplice, and of the cross in baptism, is there chiefly complained of.

The commons had nobly assserted their privileges in several instances, during this session. The delivery of sir Thomas Shirley, one of their members, who had been committed to the Fleet, was demanded and obtained; and the warden punished for contempt of the house, in refusing to release his prisoner. In this case a vote had been carried by a majority of seventeen, for six of the members to be sent by the house with the serjeant and mace to require the delivery; but they were deterred from the resolution by a representation of the speaker, that the members who entered the prison in that manner would be by law subject to an action. Sir Herbert Crofts, one of the members, coming up with others to hear the king's speech, was insulted by a yeoman of the guards, who shut the door against him, saying, "Goodman burgess you come not here." The commons resented the insult as an affront upon the whole house; and their anger was with difficulty appeased by the yeoman's asking pardon for his fault, and receiving on his knees a reprimand from the speaker.

An act for the due execution of the statutes against jesuits, seminary priests, recusants, &c. met with an absurd opposition from a hot-headed member of the upper house, the lord viscount Montague. He inveighed against the whole state of the established religion, and attempted to prove the antiquity of the Roman catholic faith, and the novelty of the church of England. The lords thought fit to commit him prisoner to the Fleet; in which place he remained till he had given satisfaction by confessing his fault.

(*c*) Journ. 30 April, 1604.

(*d*) Journ. 21 April, 1 May, 1604. Parliamentary History, vol. v. p. 91.

(*e*) The following is a letter from the king to the parliament on the occasion of the union. "Ye see with quhat cleerness and sinceritie I have behaved myself in this earande, even throuch all the progresse thairof, thoch I will not saye, too littel regairdit by you, but I maye justlie saye, not so uillinglie embraced by you, as the uorthiness of the maitter doth uell deserve. I proteste to God, the fruits thairof uill chieflie tende to youre owen uell prosperitie and increase of strenth and greatness: Nothing can staye you from harkening unto it, but jalousie and distruste, ather of me the propounder, or of the maitter by me propounditt: If of me, then doe ye both me and yourselfis an infinite uronge, my conscience bearing me recorde, that I ever deserved the contrarie at your handis; but if youre distruste be of the maitter itself, then distruste ye nothing but your owin uisdomes or honesties: For as I have gevin over urangling upon uordis with you, so crave I no conclusion to be taken at this tyme heirin, but only a comission, that it maye be disputed, considderid upon, and reported unto you; and then will ye be youre owin cookes, to dresse it as ye liste: so that (as I have alreaddie said) since the conclusion thairof can never be without youre owin asseintis; if ye be trew to youreselfis, no man can deceave you in it; lett not youreselfis thairfore be transported with the curiositie of a few giddie headis; for it is in you nou to make the choice, ather by yielding to the providence of God, and embracing that quhiche he hath castin in youre mouthis, to procure the prosperitie and increase of greatnes to me and myne, you and youres; and by the awaye-taking of that partition-uall, quhiche allreaddie, by Godde's providence, in my bloode is rent asunder, to establishe my throne and youre boddie politike, in a perpetuall and floorishing peace; or ellis contemning Godde's benefites so freelie ofred unto us, to spitte and blaspheme in his face, by praeferring uarre to peace, trouble to quyetnes, hatred to love, ueakness to greatnes, and division to union; to sowe the seidis of discorde to all our posterities; to dishonoure youre king; to make both me and you a proverbe of reproche in the mouthis of all straingeris and all ennemies to this nation, and envyers of my greatnes; and oure next laboure to be, to take up new guarisons for the bordouris, and to make new fortifications thaire. *Sed meliora spero.* I hoape that God, in this choice and free uill of youris, uill not suffer you, with olde Adame, to choose the worste, and so to procure the defacing of this earthlie paradise; but by the contrarie, that he shall inspyre you so, as, with the seconde Adame, ye shall produce peace; and so beutifie this oure earthlie kingdome heerwith, as it may represente, and be an arles pennie unto us, of that æternal peace in that spirituall kingdome, quhiche is prepared for the perpetuall residence of all his chosen children." *Vid.* Journals of the House of Commons, vol. i. p. 193, *& seq.*

(*f*) Journ. 7 June, 1604. Kennet, p. 673.

(*g*) Parliamentary History, vol. v. p. 108.

(*h*) Journ. 26 June, 1604.

Complaint was brought into the house of lords by the commons against John Thornborough, bishop of Bristol, (who was afterwards translated to Worcester,) for having written a book in favour of the Union. The lords agreed that the bishop should make a public acknowledgment that he had committed an offence; and the bishop submitting to the determination of the house, the affair was accommodated.

Richard Bancroft had succeeded John Whitgift in the archbishopric of Canterbury, but was so zealous a persecutor of those who had embraced the doctrines of the Puritans, that many families of those professors were under a necessity of leaving their country and seeking an asylum in foreign countries: he endeavoured to persuade the king to take upon himself the power of redressing the grievances of the clergy without consulting the parliament; but James was advised not to take so dangerous a step. Bancroft presented the king with twenty-five articles, commonly called "Articuli Cleri," and petitioned the king to grant prohibitions upon them.

The peace with Spain was finally concluded this year, and was signed by the Spanish ministers at London, on the 18th of August. In the conferences, previous to this treaty, the nations were found to have so few claims on each other, that, except on account of the support given by England to the Low Country provinces, the war might appear to have been continued more on account of personal animosity between Philip and Elizabeth, than any contrariety of political interests between their subjects. Some articles in the treaty, which seemed prejudicial to the Dutch commonwealth, were never executed by the king; and as the Spaniards made no complaints on that head, it appeared that, by secret agreement, the king had expressly reserved the power of sending assistance to the Hollanders. The constable of Castile came into England to ratify the peace; and, on the part of England, the earl of Hertford was sent into the Low Countries for the same purpose, and the earl of Nottingham, high admiral, into Spain (*i*).

Though England, by means of her naval force, was perfectly secure, during the latter years of the Spanish war, James shewed an impatience to put an end to hostilities; and soon after his accession, before any terms of peace were concerted, or even proposed, by Spain, he recalled all the letters of marque (*k*) which had been granted by queen Elizabeth. Archduke Albert had made some advances of a like nature, which invited the king to take this friendly step. But what is remarkable; in James's proclamation for that purpose, he plainly supposes, that, as he had himself, while king of Scotland, always lived in amity with Spain, peace was attached to his person, and that merely by his accession to the crown of England, without any articles of treaty or agreement, he had ended the war between the kingdoms (*l*). This ignorance of the law of nations may appear surprizing in a prince, who was thirty-six years of age, and who had reigned from his infancy; did we not consider, that a king of Scotland, who lives in close friendship with England, has few transactions to manage with foreign princes, and has little opportunity of acquiring experience. Unhappily for James, his timidity, his prejudices, his indolence, his love of amusement, particularly of hunting, to which he was much addicted, ever prevented him from making any progress in the knowledge or practice of foreign politics, and in a little time diminished that regard which all the neighbouring nations had paid to England during the reign of his predecessor Elizabeth (*m*).

James and his parliament at the close of the session had parted in mutual dissatisfaction with each other. On the one hand, the parliament by the act of recognition of James's title had in a manner disavowed his pretension of holding the crown of England solely by hereditary right. The house of commons had made many attempts towards the redress of grievances; grievances which James looked on as very necessary parts of his prerogative. They had proceeded very slowly and coldly on his favourite plan of an union. They had, though in opposition to royal authority, vigorously exerted their privileges; and finally had shewn an intention to deny a demanded subsidy. On the other hand, James had displayed a strong inclination to encroach on the most essential rights of the commons; had urged with the greatest earnestness the unpopular plan of the union; had declared an aversion to comply with their reasonable demands; had lavished his money on his favourites and dependents; and by this early disregard to œconomy, had foreboded the necessities to which he was likely to be often reduced; necessities which could not be supplied without recourse to excessive taxes, by which the subject would be greatly oppressed.

We are now to relate one of the most memorable events that history has conveyed to posterity, which contains at once a singular proof both of the strength and weakness of the human mind; its widest departure from morals, and most steady attachment to religious prejudices. This is the *Gunpowder treason;* a fact as certain as it appears incredible.

The partizans of the church of Rome had expected great favour and indulgence from James on his accession to the throne, both as he was descended from Mary, whose life they believed to have been sacrificed to their cause, and as he himself, in his early youth, was imagined to have shewn some partiality towards them, which nothing, they thought, but interest and necessity had since restrained. It is pretended, that he had even entered into positive engagements to tolerate their religion, as soon as he should ascend the throne of England; whether their credulity had interpreted in this sense some obliging expressions of the king, or that he had employed such an artifice, in order to render them favourable to his title (*n*). They soon, however, discovered their mistake; and were at once surprized and enraged to find James, on all occasions, express his intention of strictly executing the laws enacted against them, and of persevering in all the rigorous measures of Elizabeth. Some of the Spanish partizans laid great stress upon a pretended conveyance of the crown of Britain by Mary queen of Scots to the catholic king. All the discontented Papists, who had been banished England, were supported in the Netherlands by that monarch; and great sums were remitted to England, for the purpose of carrying on plots against the government. Catesby, a gentleman of good parts and of an ancient family, first thought of a most extraordinary method of revenge; and he opened his intention to Piercy, a descendent of the illustrious house of Northumberland. In one of their conversations with regard to the distressed condition of the Catholics, Piercy having broken into a sally of passion, and mentioned assassinating the king, Catesby took the opportunity of revealing to him a nobler and more extensive plan of

(*i*) This embassy, like all others in this reign, was gaudy and pompous. Sixty noblemen and gentlemen of the first rank accompanied the ambassador, besides the others, who with their attendants composed a train of six hundred and fifty persons. The ceremony of taking leave of the king is a strong picture of the manners of this age of parade. James being at Greenwich, the ambassador with his retinue, all richly dressed, waited on him there. In the ambassador's train were six trumpeters, clad in orange-coloured damask; six footmen in orange tawny velvet, alike suited; six pages clad also in orange tawny velvet, with cloaks of the same colour; thirty with cloaks of black velvet; fourscore yeomen apparelled with cloaths of orange cloth, guarded with silver and blue silk lace. *Guthrie*, vol. iii. p. 644. *Stow*, p. 859. Stone, the fool, was whipt at Bridewell for saying that there were sixty fools gone to Spain, besides the lord admiral and his two sons.

(*k*) 23d of June, 1603.

(*l*) See proclamations during the first seven years of K. James. Winwood, vol. ii. p. 65.

(*m*) Sir Charles Cornwallis, the king's resident in Spain, writes thus concerning the treaty of peace to secretary Cecil, 2d June, 1605.

"I find here by many arguments that this peace came opportunely for this kingdom; and is admired of all Europe, yea of this kingdom itself, how it was possible, with so advantageous conditions to them, and so little profitable to our realm, it could be effected. The duke of Anera discoursing with one of great privacy and trust with him, after that he had heard that the peace was in such form concluded, said in plain terms, That the king and counsellors of England had not their senses, when in such sort they agreed upon it; and some Spaniards have lately reported, that the king of Spain's money purchased this quiet, otherwise peace with so good conditions would never have been obtained.

"By those collections that I have made, and relations of others well practised in this state, I find that England never lost such an opportunity of winning honour and wealth unto it, as by relinquishing the war with Spain. The king and kingdom were reduced to such estate, as they could not, in all likelihood, have endured the space of two years more: his own treasury was exhausted; his rents and customs subsigned for the most part for the payment of the money borrowed; his nobility poor and much indebted; his merchants wasted; his people of the country in all extremity of necessity; his devices of gaining by the increase of the valuation of money, and other such of that nature, all played over; his credit in borrowing, by means of the uncertainty of his estate during the war with England, much decayed; the subjects of his many distracted dominions held in obedience by force and fear, not by love and duty, and therefore rather a care and burthen than a relief and strength to him; himself very young, and in that regard with his people in no great veneration, and the less for suffering himself to be wholly governed by a man generally hated by his own country; his strength at sea not able to secure his ports at home, much less his Indies, or his treasury homewards." *Winwood's Memorials*, vol. ii. p. 75, & seq.

(*n*) State Trials, vol. ii. p. 201, 202, 203. Winwood, vol. ii. p. 49.

treason,

treason, which not only included a sure execution of vengeance, but afforded some hopes of restoring the Catholic religion in England. "In vain," said he, "would you put an end to the king's life: he has children, who would succeed both to his crown and to his maxims of government. In vain would you extinguish the whole royal family: the nobility, the gentry, the parliament, are all infected with the same heresy, and could raise to the throne another prince and another family, who, besides their hatred to our religion, would be animated with revenge for the tragical death of their predecessors. To serve any good purpose, we must destroy, at one blow, the king, the royal family, the lords, the commons; and bury all our enemies in one common ruin. Happily, they are all assembled on the first meeting of the parliament; and afford us the opportunity of glorious and useful vengeance. Great preparations will not be requisite. A few of us, combining, may run a mine below the hall, in which they meet; and choosing the very moment when the king harangues both houses, consign over to destruction these determined foes to all piety and religion. Meanwhile, we ourselves standing aloof, safe and unsuspected, shall triumph in being the instruments of divine wrath, and shall behold with pleasure those sacrilegious walls, in which were passed the edicts for proscribing our church and butchering her children, tossed into a thousand fragments; while their impious inhabitants, meditating, perhaps, still new persecutions against us, pass from flames above to flames below, there for ever to endure the torments due to their offences (*o*)."

Piercy was greatly delighted with this project of Catesby; and they agreed to communicate the matter to a few more, and among the rest to Thomas Winter, whom they sent over to Flanders, in quest of Guido Fawkes, an officer in the Spanish service, with whose zeal and courage they were all thoroughly acquainted. When they inlisted any new conspirator, in order to bind him to secrecy, they always, together with an oath, employed the Communion, the most sacred rite of their religion (*p*). And it is remarkable, that no one of these pious devotees ever entertained the least compunction with regard to the cruel massacre, which they projected, of whatever was great and eminent in the nation. Some of them only were startled by the reflection, that of necessity many Catholics must be present; as spectators or attendants on the king, or as having seats in the house of peers: but Tesmond, a Jesuit, and Garnet, superior of that order in England, removed these scruples, and shewed them that the interests of religion required that the innocent should here be sacrificed with the guilty.

All this passed in the spring and summer of the year 1604; when the conspirators also hired a house in Piercy's name, adjoining to that in which the parliament was to assemble. Towards the end of that year they began their operations. That they might be less interrupted, and give less suspicion to the neighbourhood, they carried in store of provisions with them, and never desisted from their labour. Obstinate in their purpose, and confirmed by passion, by principle, and by mutual exhortation, they little feared death in comparison of a disappointment; and having provided arms, together with the instruments of their labour, they resolved there to perish in case of a discovery. Their perseverance advanced the work; and they soon pierced the wall, though three yards in thickness; but on approaching the other side, they were somewhat startled at hearing a noise, which they knew not how to account for. Upon enquiry, they found, that it came from the vault below the house of lords; that a magazine of coals had been kept there; and that, as the coals were selling off, the vault would be let to the highest bidder. The opportunity was immediately seized; the place hired by Piercy, in 1605, as a lodgement for fuel; thirty-six barrels of powder lodged in it; the whole covered up with faggots and billets; the doors of the cellar boldly flung open; and every body admitted, as if it contained nothing dangerous.

Confident of success, they now began to look forward, and to plan the remaining part of their project. The king, the queen, prince Henry, were all expected to be present at the opening of parliament. The duke, by reason of his tender age, would be absent; and it was resolved, that Piercy should seize him, or assassinate him. The princess Elizabeth, a child likewise, was kept at lord Harrington's house at Warwickshire; and sir Everard Digby, Ambrose Rookwood, John Grant, being let into the conspiracy, engaged to assemble their friends on pretence of a hunting match, and seizing that princess, immediately to proclaim her queen. So transported were they with rage against their adversaries, and so charmed with the prospect of revenge, that they forgot all care of their own safety; and trusting to the general confusion, which must result from so unexpected a blow, they foresaw not, that the fury of the people, now unrestrained by any authority, must have turned against them, and would probably have satiated itself, by an universal massacre of the Catholics.

The day, so long wished for, (November 5, 1605,) now approached, on which the parliament was appointed to assemble. The dreadful secret, though communicated to above twenty persons, had been religiously kept, during the space of nearly a year and a half. No remorse, no pity, no fear of punishment, no hope of reward, had, as yet, induced any one conspirator, either to abandon the enterprize, or make a discovery of it. The holy fury had extinguished in their breasts every other motive; and it was an indiscretion at last, proceeding chiefly from these very bigoted prejudices and partialities, which saved the nation.

On the 26th of October, ten days before the meeting of parliament, lord Monteagle, a Catholic, son to lord Morley, (who had been a great sufferer in the reign of Elizabeth for his affection to popery,) received the following letter, which had been delivered to his servant by an unknown hand. "My Lord, Out of the love I bear to some of your friends, I have a care of your preservation. Therefore I would advise you, as you tender your life, to devise some excuse to shift off your attendance at this parliament. For God and man have concurred to punish the wickedness of this time. And think not slightly of this advertisement; but retire yourself into your country, where you may expect the event in safety. For, though there be no appearance of any stir, yet, I say, they will receive a terrible blow this parliament, and yet they shall not see who hurts them. This counsel is not to be contemned, because it may do you good, and can do you no harm: for the danger is past, so soon as you have burned the letter. And I hope God will give you the grace to make good use of it, unto whose holy protection I commend you."

Monteagle knew not what to make of this letter; and though inclined to think it a foolish attempt to frighten and ridicule him, he judged it safest to carry it to lord Salisbury, secretary of state. Though Salisbury either did or pretended to pay little attention to it, he thought proper to lay it before the king, who came to town in a few days after from Royston (*q*). To the king it appeared not so light a matter; and from the serious earnest style of the letter, he conjectured, that it implied something dangerous and important. A *terrible blow*, and yet *the authors concealed*; a danger so *sudden*, and yet so *great*; these circumstances seemed all to denote some contrivance by gunpowder; and it was thought advisable to inspect all the vaults below the houses of parliament. This care belonged to the earl of Suffolk, lord chamberlain; who purposely delayed the search, till the day before the meeting of parliament. He remarked those great piles of wood and faggots, which lay in the vault under the upper house; and he cast his eye upon Fawkes, who stood in a dark corner, and passed himself for Piercy's servant. That daring and determined courage, which so much distinguished this conspirator, even among those heroes in villany, was fully painted in his countenance, and was not passed unnoticed by the chamberlain. Such a quantity also of fuel, for the use of one who lived so little in town as Piercy, appeared a little extraordinary; and upon comparing all circumstances, it was resolved that a more thorough inspection should be made. About midnight, sir Thomas Knevet, a justice of the peace, was sent with proper attendants; and before the door of the vault finding Fawkes, who had just finished all his preparations, he immediately

(*o*) History of the Gunpowder Treason.

(*p*) State Trials, vol. i. p. 190, 198, 210.

(*q*) While the king was at Royston, he devoted himself so intirely to hunting, that he forbade his ministers to disturb his pleasures with any business; saying, "His hunting was necessary to the state; it was good for his health, and his health was necessary to the state." These huntings were great nuisances; they are taken notice of as such in a letter from Matthew Hutton, archbishop of York, to viscount Cranbourn. "I could wish," writes this prelate, "that there was less wasting of the treasure of the realm, and more moderation of the lawful exercise of hunting; both that poor men's corn may be less spoiled, and other his majesty's subjects more spared." *Winwood's Memorials*, vol. ii. p. 40.

immediately seized him, and turning over the faggots, discovered the powder. The matches and every thing proper for setting fire to the train were taken in Fawkes's pocket; who finding his guilt now apparent, and seeing no refuge but in boldness and despair, expressed the utmost regret, that he had lost the opportunity of firing the powder at once, and of sweetening his own death by that of his enemies. Before the council, he displayed the same intrepid firmness, mixed even with scorn and disdain; refusing to discover his accomplices, and shewing no concern but for the failure of the enterprize. This obstinacy lasted two or three days: but being confined to the Tower, left to reflect on his guilt and danger, and the rack being just shown to him; his courage, fatigued with so long an effort, and unsupported by hope or society, at last failed him; and he made a full discovery of all the conspirators.

Catesby, Piercy, and the other criminals, who were in London, though they had heard of the alarm taken at a letter sent to Monteagle; though they had heard of the chamberlain's search; yet were resolved to persist to the utmost, and never abandon their hopes of success. But at last, hearing that Fawkes was arrested, they hurried down to Warwickshire; where sir Everard Digby, thinking himself assured that success had attended his confederates, was already in arms, in order to seize the princess Elizabeth. She had escaped into Coventry; and they were obliged to put themselves on their defence against the country, who were raised from all quarters, and armed, by the sheriff. The conspirators, with all their attendants, never exceeded the number of eighty persons; and being surrounded on every side, could no longer entertain hopes, either of prevailing or escaping. Having therefore confessed themselves, and received absolution, they boldly prepared for death, and resolved to sell their lives as dear as possible to the assailants. But even this they were unable to do; for some of their powder took fire, and prevented them from making their wished-for defence (*r*). The people rushed in upon them. Piercy and Catesby were killed by one shot, and Robert Wright was also slain. Sir Everard Digby, Guido Fawkes, Robert and Thomas Winter, John Grant, Ambrose Rookwood, Robert Keys, Thomas Bates, esquires, and Garnet, the superior of the jesuits, being taken prisoners, were tried, confessed their guilt, and suffered by the hands of the executioner. Notwithstanding this horrid crime, the bigoted Catholics were so devoted to Garnet, that they fancied miracles to be wrought by his blood; and in Spain he was regarded as a martyr. Francis Tresham was likewise convicted, but died in prison of a stranguary.

Neither had the desperate fortune of the conspirators urged them to this enterprize, nor had the former profligacy of their lives prepared them for so great a crime. Before that audacious attempt, their conduct seems, in general, to be liable to no reproach. Catesby's character had entitled him to such regard, that Rookwood and Digby were seduced by their implicit trust in his judgement; and they declared, that, from the motive alone of friendship to him, they were ready, on any occasion, to have sacrificed their lives (*s*). Digby himself was as highly esteemed and beloved as any man in England; and he had been particularly honoured with the good opinion of queen Elizabeth (*t*). It was bigoted zeal alone, the most absurd of prejudices masked with reason, the most criminal of passions covered with the appearance of duty, which seduced them into measures, that were fatal to themselves, and had so nearly proved fatal to their country (*u*).

The lords Mordaunt and Stourton, two Catholics, were fined, the former ten thousand pounds, the latter six thousand, by the star-chamber; because their absence from parliament had begotten a suspicion of their being acquainted with the conspiracy. The earl of Northumberland was fined thirty thousand pounds, and was detained several years prisoner in the Tower; because, not to mention other grounds of suspicion, he had admitted Piercy into the number of gentlemen pensioners, without his taking the requisite oaths. Lord Monteagle was rewarded with an estate of two hundred pounds per annum, and a pension of five hundred pounds.

The parliament met on the 9th of November. James's speech on the occasion of the plot is perhaps as remarkable as the occasion itself, the whole of it being, according to the genius of the orator, uncommonly prolix. We shall only give the most striking passages. "And now I must crave a little pardon of you (that since kings are, in the word of God itself, called gods, as being his vicegerents on earth, and so adorned and furnished with some sparkles of divinity) to compare some of the works of God, the great king, towards the whole and general world, to some of his works towards me and this little world of my dominions." He then draws a comparison between the destruction of the world by water, the salvation of Noah, the destruction of the world by fire, and the salvation of the faithful, with his own dangers and escapes in the Gowrie and gun-powder conspiracies. He distinguishes the general sorts of death which mankind may suffer. "For by three different sorts in general may mankind be put to death. The first, by other men and reasonable creatures, which is least cruel; for then both defence of men against men may be expected, and likewise who knows what pity God may stir up in the hearts of the actors at the very instant, besides the many ways and means whereby men may escape in such a present fury. And the second way, more cruel than that is, by animal and unreasonable creatures; for as they have less pity than men, so it is a greater horror, and more unnatural for men to deal with them; but yet with them both resistance may avail, and also some pity may be had, as was in the lions, in whose den Daniel was thrown, or that thankful lion that had the Roman slave in his mercy. But the third, the most cruel and unmerciful of all, is the destruction by insensible and inanimate things; and amongst them all the most cruel are the two elements of water and fire, and of those two the fire is the most merciless. When the letter was shewed to me by my secretary, wherein a general obscure advertisement was given of some dangerous blow at this time, I did upon the instant interpret and apprehend some dark phrases therein, contrary to the ordinary grammar construction of them; and (in another sort than I am sure any divine or lawyer in any university would have taken them) to be meant by this horrible form of blowing us all up by powder; and thereupon ordered that search to be made, whereby the matter was discovered, and the man apprehended. It resteth now that I should inform you what is to be done hereafter upon the occasion of this horrible accident. As for your parts, that are my faithful and loving subjects of all degrees, I know that your hearts are so burnt up with zeal in this errand, and your tongues so ready to utter your dutiful affection, and your hands and feet so bent to concur in the execution thereof (for which, as I need not to spur you, so can I not but praise you for the same) as it may very well be possible, that the zeal of your hearts may make some of you in your speeches rashly to blame such as may be innocent of the attempt." He then excuses the Papists in general, and says, "That many Papists laying their only trust upon Christ and his merits, at their last breath, may and oftentimes are saved; detesting in that point, and thinking the cruelty of the Puritans worthy of fire, that will admit no salvation to the Papists." He charges them "not to think that any foreign princes had a hand in the plot, but to speak and think of them reverently."

In the conclusion of the king's long speech are instructions to the parliament concerning the nature of their office; "that they are not to be too busy in proposing new laws, but to consult on those which are proposed by the king; that they should be cautious of proposing novelties, but most of all not to propose any bitter or seditious laws (*v*)."

After the chancellor had prorogued the parliament till Tuesday, 21st January, 1606, the king rose again, and gave his reasons for nominating that day for the next meeting.

(*r*) State Trials, vol. i. p. 199. Discourse of the Manner, &c. p. 69, 70.
(*s*) State Trials, vol. i. p 201. (*t*) Athen. Ox. vol. ii. fol. 254.
(*u*) Digby after his condemnation, said in a letter to his wife: "Now for my intention, let me tell you, that if I had thought there had been the least sin in the plot, I would not have been of it for all the world; and no other cause drew me, to hazard my fortune and life, but zeal to God's religion." He expresses his surprize to hear that any Catholics had condemned it. *Digby's Papers, published by Secretary Coventry.*
(*v*) James makes a kind of apology for not having before this performed the office of a tutor to the parliament. "It could not," said he, "be possible for me, at my first entry here, before experience had taught it me, to be able to understand the particular mysteries of this state. Yet now that I have reigned almost three years amongst you, and have been careful to observe those things that belong to the office of a king; albeit that time be but a short time for experience in others, yet in a king may it be thought a reasonable long time, especially in me, who, although I be but in a manner a new king here, yet have been long acquainted with the office of a king in such another kingdom, as doth nearest of all others agree with the laws and customs of this state."



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ing. "Since it pleased God," said he, "to deliver me upon one day of the week, which was Tuesday, and likewise on one day of the month, which was the fifth, thereby to teach me, that as it was the same devil that persecuted me, so it was the same God that still mightily delivered me; I thought it therefore not amiss that the one and twentieth day of January, which falls to be upon Tuesday, should be the day of this meeting of next sessions of parliament."

The king's speech, as might be expected, was much applauded by the courtiers, who pretended to discover greatness of soul in the expressions of moderation towards the papists; but the people in general were of a different opinion; they considered it as the proofs of an incurable tenderness to the Roman Catholics, and looked with horror and resentment on the uncharitable condemnation of the Puritans to fire, for an opinion which had no relation to the state. It does not, however, appear that either of these assigned motives were the real ones that actuated James in this declaration: he was at this time cajoled by the court of Spain with the hopes of a family alliance, attended with these flattering conditions: That he was to be made the arbiter of all the religious differences in Europe; that a large part of Flanders, and a yearly pension of a million of ducats, were to be the portion of the infanta; and that a reddition of such towns as he should demand were to be the security. He, on his side, was to assist Spain against the States General. Hence proceeded the cautious handling of the papists; hence the charge to the commons to think and speak reverently of foreign princes: and hence proceeded many proclamations to prevent the public from suspecting that the conspirators had been promised assistance from such powers. Nor were these all the steps that James took to reconcile the Spaniards to his conduct. Many Roman Catholics, who had taken up arms in Warwickshire in defence of the conspirators, were left unprosecuted, and an excuse sent to Spain for the fine and imprisonment of the earl of Northumberland (*w*).

The animosity of the generality of James's English subjects against popery, even before this provocation, had risen to a great pitch; and it had perhaps been more prudent in James, to have conformed himself to it. His theological learning, confirmed by disputation, had fixed his judgement in the Protestant faith; yet was his heart a little biassed by the allurements of the Catholic system, and he had been well pleased, if the making of some advances could have effected an union with that church. He strove to abate the acrimony of his own subjects against the religion of their fathers: he became himself the object of their diffidence and aversion. Whatever measures he embraced; in Scotland to introduce prelacy, in England to enforce the authority of the established church, and support its rites and ceremonies, were interpreted as so many steps towards popery; and were represented by the Puritans as symptoms of idolatry and superstition. Ignorant of the consequences, or unwilling to sacrifice to politics his inclination, which he called his conscience, he persevered in the same measures, and gave trust and preferment, almost indifferently, to his Catholic and Protestant subjects. And finding his person, as well as his title, less noxious to the church of Rome, than those of Elizabeth, he gradually abated the rigour of those laws, which had been enacted against that church, and which were so acceptable to his bigoted subjects. But the effects of these dispositions on both sides became not very sensible till towards the conclusion of his reign.

On the re-meeting of the parliament, the heinousness of the late conspiracy was the first consideration that engaged the attention of both houses. Some of the commons proposed that the prisoners might be tried before the king and parliament, others were for bringing in a bill to enact a more rigorous punishment than the law ordained. Both these motions were dropped, and the proceedings against them took their due course. The result of their resentment was an act which ordained an annual thanksgiving on the fifth of November; and two severe ones against the body of papists, entitled, "An act for discovering and repressing popish recusants;" and "an act to prevent dangers which may grow by popish recusants." These statutes are yet in force.

The business of a supply brought on the demand for redress of grievances. The king, who heard that the commons were deliberating on the subject of ecclesiastical abuses, was determined to be before-hand with them, and a message was delivered to the lords by the archbishop of Canterbury concerning the abuses of excommunication, with this proviso: "Though his majesty doth desire that the said jurisdiction ecclesiastic may be maintained and upholden in all respects as it is fit." A message from the commons desired a conference on these articles: the silencing of ministers, the multiplicity of ecclesiastical commissions, the manner of citations, and the point of excommunication. But the lords did not answer the message till some time after, when the commons were informed that they had appointed a committee for the conference. The royal prerogative had been so zealously maintained in the upper house, in a debate whether they should agree or not to the desired conference, that the king sent his thanks to all the lords in general for their regard to his power. The business of the conference was now proceeded on. The bishops were of the committee for the lords, and the affair was determined according to the sense of the king's message.

This point being gained, new difficulties arose. The nuisance of purveyorship (*x*), and the iniquity of the officers, were so strongly represented by the commons, that the ministry were confounded, and said that they would join in chasing out purveyors; but intreated an immediate supply to the king's necessities (*y*). A bill for three subsidies and six fifteenths, payable in four years, went on heavily in the lower house; for the redress of grievances was thought necessary to precede so large a grant (*z*). These were enumerated, and the amount was so vast, that James said peevishly, "They had sent an O yes through the nation to find them." In the heat of the debate, an alarm of the king's being murdered at Oking threw the whole town in confusion. The citizens were put under arms, and preparations made for a siege. The affrighted members sent message after message to the council, to know the truth of the various reports; in a little time they became less strong, then doubtful, and in some hours James sent word that he intended being in London that day. Whilst the minds of men were yet agitated by the double surprize, whilst the tide of affection ran yet high on account of the supposed accident, the courtiers pushed the supply so strongly and so warmly, that notwithstanding all that the clear-sighted members could do, they carried the motion. The next day, when time and reflection had abated their over-heated loyalty, the outwitted party began to consider of the largeness of the sums they had granted; and some of the members moved that it should not pass till the heavy grievances of the nation which they complained of were redressed. This, however, was overruled by the courtiers, and the bill was sent up to the house of lords, where it met with a quick and easy assent. Nor did the gratification which James enjoyed from the report terminate here. He was received at Hyde-park by the speaker and four members of the house of commons; the city paid him the same compliment; whilst the easy vulgar were unbounded in their extasies. The union was again brought before the houses, and a bill passed as ineffectual as the former.

The commons were in so little temper for such a compliance, that the country-party in the house had drawn up a list of the grievances of church and state, and briskly presented it, while the bill of supply was passing the lords.

(*w*) James likewise, to favour the Catholics, gave leave to Arundel of Wardour to raise a regiment of fifteen hundred English, and to the earl of Hume to raise another of a thousand Scots for the service of the archduke. *Guthrie*, vol. iii. p. 646.

(*x*) These men, by the licence of their office, which was to purvey for the king's household, pressed into their service all kinds of wheel-carriages and vehicles, in times of the greatest business, and by such means extorted money for respites. Two acts to redress this grievance passed the house of commons, but were rejected by the lords.

(*y*) Sir Thomas Ridgeway was one of the most zealous members in this business. After having expatiated on the blessings the island enjoyed under the present government, he enumerated the charges the king had sustained since his accession to the throne; and added, that the commonwealth was obliged to lighten the burden; for, as Moses said, How can he alone bear their strifes and incumbrances? *Parl. Hist.* vol. v. p. 147.

James at this time maintained, at a great charge, an ambassador or resident in almost every court in Europe; his domestic expences ran high; some of the masks that the queen gave cost three thousand pounds. James had scattered his favours with a childish profusion; and the commons plainly saw, in the enumerating the causes of his necessity, that these causes might have been avoided. Mr. Holt observed, that a subsidy was a public contribution, not to be applied to private uses, bounties, expences, ceremonies, and the like. *Winwood's Memorials*, vol. ii. p. 41.

(*z*) Sir Francis Bacon said in the house, that this grant would amount to about four hundred thousand pounds. Journals of the Commons, May 20, 1606.

The oppression which the subject suffered from purveyorship was again argued in the house, with proposals for taking away the arbitrary power of the board of green-cloth. This drew a message from the king, in which he assured them of a reformation in this article, and that the subject should not be brought before the green-cloth, but before the justice-seat. One Parker preached a sermon at St. Paul's, wherein he abused the house of commons in the grossest terms for irregular proceedings: he was protected by the king, under a promise of correction. This affair would have gone farther, if the parliament had not been prorogued suddenly, on the 27th of May, till the 18th of November following.

The friendly disposition of the English towards the Low Country Provinces occasioned such a coolness in the behaviour of the Spanish monarch, that James had reason to apprehend that he should enjoy little reality from the great offers of that court. Either through indolence, or from want of courage, he was so far from executing his part of the conditions, *viz.* an assistance against the states, that he did not attempt to hinder his subjects from enlisting under their banners. The Spaniard, despairing to rouse the inactivity of his English ally, and resenting the aid that the United Provinces received from his subjects, affected to treat James with the utmost contempt. Sir Charles Cornwallis, the English resident at the Spanish court, was told that James had so entirely lost the hearts of his subjects, that he had no influence over them, and therefore his friendship was of little consequence. Several conspirators who had been engaged in the gunpowder plot, now under the protection of the king of Spain, were refused to be given up, and the English merchants were persecuted by the inquisition, on pretence of retaliation for the sufferings of the papists in England (*a*). Notwithstanding these insults he did not forbid all hopes of alliance; and James still flattering himself with that fantastical delusion, winked at oppressions, which a more active monarch would have endeavoured to put an end to.

The nation appeared now to be in perfect tranquillity; the dazzling glitter of the court, whilst it set reflection at a distance, confounded the sense of evil with the allurement of pleasure; and private grievances were forgot in the enjoyment of public amusements. James, wantoning in the most lavish prodigality, would have experienced the full measure of happiness, had he effected his darling plan of an union. This event he looked on as one of the most important advantages of his accession; and an epocha which would strongly mark the lustre of his reign: nor did he ever suspect that his ingenuity and eloquence would be baffled in one of the most rational schemes he had ever projected, or that plebeian powers could withstand kingly force and kingly wisdom; besides, the late generosity of the commons had taught him, that if that formidable assembly was difficult of conviction, they were liable to be over-reached by the low cunning of court-politics. The next sessions he hoped would bring the affair to a favourable issue; and on the 18th of November, the day to which the parliament had been prorogued, he made a speech to that effect (*b*). Sir Francis Bacon employed all his powers of eloquence to the same purpose; and, in order to soften the members, some trifling concessions were made on a few of the least important articles in the list of grievances offered the last sessions: but neither could the keenness of the monarch, (whose discourse, says Hume, both for good reasoning and eloquent composition, approaches very near that of a man, who was undoubtedly, at that time, one of the greatest geniuses in Europe,) the favour of his concessions, nor the eloquence of his servant, Sir Francis Bacon, prevail over the determined resolution of the members of the commons; nor were the lords extremely forward to shew that devotion which had generally been proof against the arguments of public good. National animosity and personal jealousy now so far prevailed, that after many fruitless messages, and as fruitless conferences, the only point determined was an act for the utter abolition of all memory of hostilities between the two nations; and for repressing the occasion of discord for the time to come (*c*). James, impatient at these delays which his favourite scheme met with in the parliament, called together the two houses at Whitehall (*d*), where he laboured hard to convince them of the utility of the union, and the error of their proceedings; he mentioned a proclamation which he had made in consequence of the opinion of the judges, to naturalize those Scotch subjects born after his accession, and he charged them not to disgrace either his proclamation or his judges; who, when the parliament was done, had authority to try their lands and lives: lastly, he warned them to think of his power, and not to tempt his patience. But the king had offended the people by some precipitate steps which he had taken a little after his accession to the throne, in order to promote his favourite project; and these, it may be observed, did more injury than service to his plan: from his own authority he had assumed the title of king of Great Britain; and had quartered the arms of Scotland with those of England, in all coins, flags, and ensigns. The important consequences, however, which must attend an incorporation of the two nations, as it appeared to the lords and commons, more than balanced the king's rhetoric, and deterred them from attempting it at a time when his partiality, and the pretensions of the Scotch, forbade all hopes of its being done on advantageous, or even equitable terms.

The mortification which the disappointment occasioned to James was considerable; the conviction of his own abilities, and the flattery he had met with on his accession, caused him to look on every attempt to be within the reach of his kingly powers. He had indeed gone farther in this than his prerogative could secure; and its proving abortive would make even his subjects in Scotland look upon his influence in England with contempt. He had mixed entreaty with threats, and had condescended to beg the parliament to save him the disgrace of being frustrated: his

(*a*) Sir Charles Cornwallis, James's resident in Spain, was at this time treated with insolence and inhumanity. See the following letter from him on this subject to the lords of the privy council.

"May it please your Lordships, *Madrid*, 9 *April*, 1607, O. S.

"Upon the sixth of this present I received your lordship's of the third of the last month, together with a letter from his majesty to the king here, in relief of Adrian Thibault. Yesterday I had a message from the king, that this morning about nine of the clock I should have access unto him: I observed that hour, but was not observed with; for I stayed till after twelve of the clock, in a little base form, such as I think there are few in the king my master's skullery, which are not furnished with much better, unaccompanied and unattended (as ambassadors are in England) but left to walk alone, or take my seat in the form, when weariness should enforce me. Yet much favoured had I been if the poor form had been left me; but one of the king's chamber, either out of want of courtesy and respect, or of wit and good will, caused my form to be taken away, and carried into the next chamber; so as then, for the space of one whole hour, I was enforced to hold me to my walk; which had been much less grievous unto me if either the place had been more spacious, or myself as able (as accustomably I am) to have endured it: but having through distemper, and much grief in my spleen, not slept above two hours in two nights before, which, had not his majesty's service drawn me out, would rather have moved me to have kept my bed, than give so long attendance upon a bare pavement in the court, together with so long fasting, I became exceeding faint, and grieved not a little at so unrespective an usage." *Winwood's Memorials*, vol. ii. p. 299.

(*b*) In this speech James admonishes the parliament to be upon their good behaviour: he tells them, that as individuals they are subject to the power of their sovereign; warns them, that their office is not perpetual, and compares the dissolution of a parliament to the death of kings, who, after the expiration of their reigns with their lives, must give an account of their actions. "Beware, adds he, that ye be not like Icarus the son of Dædalus, that soared so near the sun with his wings of wax, that his wax melted, and his wings failed, and down he fell; and therefore I conclude with Neptune in Virgil, *Sed motos præstat componere fluctus.* I wish ye would know me, and observe me; and if any plebeian tribunes should incur any offence, or commit any such errors, that ye would correct them for it, and judge yourselves, as St. Paul saith, that ye be not judged; and that the whole body receive not a wound for one ill member thereof." After having assailed the parliament with many importunities concerning the union, he told them, that he desired no more than what he had power of himself to accomplish without them. Journals of the House of Commons, vol. i. p. 314, *et seq.*

(*c*) The commons thought fit to gratify the king by imprisoning one of their members, Sir Christopher Pigott, and dismissing him from the house, for having inveighed with great intemperateness against the Scotch in a debate on the subject of the union.

(*d*) In the speech the king made on this occasion, he gives a remarkable detail of the extent of his authority in the Scotch government; it is in answer to an objection made by the opposition on the different privileges claimed by the Scotch and English subjects. "The Scots, says he, in their pretence to a preserving their own fundamental laws, only mean those laws by which confusion is avoided, and their king's succession and monarchy maintained; not the common law as you do, for the Scots have no law but that which is *jus regis.*" He boasts that he governs Scotland with his pen; that he does more by a clerk of the council than others do by the sword; that no man there dares to speak dishonourably of England, as the English have done of Scotland, for the authority of the chancellor would interrupt him. To an objection that had been started, that the king of Scotland had not a negative voice, but must pass the laws agreed on by the lords and commons, he assures them, that the form of the Scotch parliament is so little inclined to popularity that all bills to be exhibited on a sessions must be approved by the king before they can be propounded to the parliament. *Parliam. Hist.* vol. v. p. 199, *& seq.*

resentment

resentment carried him so far as to make him conceive a contempt and aversion for these assemblies, which continued to the end of his reign; nor were the parliamentary assemblies more favourable in their opinion of majesty: James's mean misrepresentations, his verbal assurances, his impotent menaces, and barren arguments, while they exposed the shallowness of the modern Solomon, unveiled prerogative itself. The commons now with curious eyes looked on a divinity which they had been taught to worship blindly. On canvassing its pretensions, they found them not only destructive to the constitution, but irreconcileable to every rational principle; and that the laws were weak barriers to its unlimited force. Among the many bitter things which had been said during the late contest, the inconvenience of his residing in England was so often hinted at, that James actually offered the parliament to spend his years alternately in Scotland and England, or to remove his court to York. The commons intended to desire him in an address not to listen to reports, but learn the sense of the house from the speaker; the king was apprized of their intention, and pacified them by a message importing, "That he was extremely tender of their privileges, and that every member might speak freely, though with modesty and discretion." Not being able to attain the ends for which he summoned the parliament to meet, on the fourth of July he prorogued them to the sixteenth of November. A petition was presented to the commons this session on the hardships inflicted on the English merchants by the Spaniards (*e*); in consequence of which the lower house sent a message to the lords, desiring a conference with them, in order to their presenting a joint petition to the king on the subject. But the ministry took it amiss, that the parliament should be petitioned on a subject within the particular province of the king and council; and the lords took some time to deliberate on this message, because, they said, the matter was weighty and rare; accordingly, after they had deliberated upon it, to shew that they were not guided by court influence, they agreed to the conference, though they refused to concur with the commons in proceeding upon it.

Except the unwillingness of the parliament with regard to the union, and an attempt on the king's ecclesiastical jurisdiction (*f*), most of their measures, during this session, were sufficiently respectful; though they still discover a vigilant spirit, and a careful attention towards national liberty. The votes also of the commons show, that the house contained a mixture of Puritans, who had acquired great authority among them (*g*), and who, together with religious prejudices, were continually suggesting ideas more suitable to a popular than a monarchical form of government. The natural appetite for rule made the commons lend a willing ear to every doctrine which tended to augment their own power and influence.

In 1607, a petition was moved in the lower house for a more rigorous execution of the laws against popish recusants, and an abatement towards protestant clergymen, who, on principles of conscience, scrupled to observe the ceremonies. Both these points were equally unacceptable to James; and he sent orders to the house to proceed no farther in that matter. The commons were inclined, at first, to consider these orders as a breach of privilege: but they were brought to compliance, when told that this measure of the king was supported by many precedents during the reign of Elizabeth (*h*).

The house of commons began now to feel themselves of such importance, that on the motion of sir Edwin Sandys, a member of great authority, they entered, for the first time, an order for the regular keeping of their journals (*i*). When all business was finished, the king prorogued the parliament.

About this time there was an insurrection of the country people in Northamptonshire, headed by one Reynolds, a man of low condition. They went about destroying inclosures; but carefully avoided committing any other outrage. This insurrection was easily suppressed on the 4th of July, and though great lenity was used towards the rioters, yet some of the ringleaders were punished. The chief cause of that commotion seems to have been far from trivial. The practice still continued in England, of disusing tillage, and throwing the land into inclosures for the sake of pasture. By this means the kingdom was depopulated, at least prevented from increasing so much in people as might have been expected from the daily increase of industry and commerce.

The year 1608 presents us with nothing worth recording: but the year 1609 is remarkable for the prevailing influence of liberty. The republic of Holland, animated with its virtue, from small beginnings, had become the astonishment of mankind; and now, having vanquished her tyrannical master in almost every quarter of the globe, she obliged him to yield his arbitrary pretensions, and declare her independent. In the spring, after a long negociation, was concluded, by a truce of twelve years, that war, which for near half a century had been carried on with such fury between Spain and the States of the United Provinces. Never contest seemed, at first, more unequal; never contest was finished with more honour to the weaker party. On the side of Spain were numbers, riches, authority, discipline: on the side of the revolted provinces were found the attachment to liberty and the enthusiasm of religion. By her naval enterprizes the republic maintained her armies; and joining peaceful industry to military valour, she was enabled, by her own force, to support herself, and gradually rely less on those neighbouring princes, who, from jealousy to Spain, were at first prompted to encourage her revolt. Long had the pride of that monarchy prevailed over her interest, and hindered her from hearkening to any terms of accommodation with her rebellious subjects. But finding all intercourse cut off between her provinces by the maritime force of the States, she at last agreed to treat with them as a free people, and solemnly to renounce all claim and pretension to their sovereignty.

The acknowledgement of their independency being gained, the treaty was easily brought to a conclusion, on the 30th of March, under the joint mediation and guarantee of France and England. All exterior appearances of honour were paid equally to both crowns: but very different were the sentiments which the States, as well as all Europe, entertained of the princes who wore them. Frugality and vigour, the chief circumstances which procure regard among foreign nations, shone out as conspicuously in Henry as they were deficient in James (*k*). Cecil, now earl of Salisbury, who managed the part that James acted, was on one side shackled by his master's extreme fear of incurring the necessity of making war, his coldness to the Dutch, whom he had before termed rebels, his cautiousness of displeasing Spain: and, on the other side, by the warm inclination of the English subjects towards the states. His conduct, influenced by these contrarieties,

(*e*) Many petitions of this sort had been before presented to the king without effect. These hardships are mentioned in several letters from sir Charles Cornwallis, the resident in Spain, to the earl of Salisbury. "If some better course, writes he in one of these letters, be not instantly taken, I see no reason why his majesty should suffer his subjects to continue their traffic hither, so much to their loss and peril. Occasion to call to new question will arise out of the cruelty of Don Luys Fyrardo to the merchants taken in the Indies; since in the articles there is contained no special prohibition. And sure I am, that his majesty will not think it for his honour to give so much way to the Spanish pride as to consent to deprive his subjects to trade thither. I make no doubt but his majesty will not only require satisfaction for the lives of his subjects, there slain by Fyrardo, but for the liberty and restitution of goods to those that remain in their gallies and other prisons. Upon this will arise the question (and may be raised and now warranted with safety) of a trade thither by our merchants, till some further conclusion be had between the two kings. That themselves shall send any fleet to disturb them, either this year or the next (if the Hollanders continue the course they have begun) I see little or no possibility; if they here want their treasure from thence, they are neither able to maintain their wars abroad, nor themselves at home. If their people there want their necessaries from hence, necessity will enforce them to cast themselves into any arms that will supply them by trading with them. To write all I would about this subject would exceed all proportion of a letter: to be short, their estates, were they now well set upon, is irrevocable; this peace being an impediment to the greatest advantage and means to enrich our king and realm that in any age hath ever been offered." *Winwood's Memorials;* vol. ii. p. 235, *& seq.*

To the merchants' petition on the occasion of the wrongs they had received from the Spaniards, were subjoined just causes and reasons for enabling by law the subjects of England, by way of letters of mart, to recover the damages they had received from this people. These reasons are founded upon the iniquitous proceedings of the Spanish courts of confiscation, where the same person was commonly both judge and party, and the English were frequently put to the torture to make discovery. They take notice likewise, that it was a common practice with the Spaniards to join themselves with the Maltese, who were not then in friendship with England, and thereby entrap the English, and that under pretence of the pope's prohibiting all commerce with infidels, the most valuable branches of their Levant and Turky trade had been ruined.—*Guthrie,* vol. iii. p. 664.

(*f*) Journ. 2 December, 5 March, 1606. 25, 26 June, 1607.
(*g*) Journ. 26 February, 4, 7 March, 1606. 2 May, 17 June, 1607.
(*h*) Journ. 16, 17 June, 1607. (*i*) Journ. 3 July, 1607.
(*k*) The plan of accommodation which James recommended may be found in Winwood, vol. ii. p. 429, 430.

was so lukewarm, that the fear and jealousy of the Dutch was much inflamed by the management practised with Spain, and Spain resented the protection which the Dutch, during the course of the mediation, was promised from England; who did not, however, so vigorously assist them as might have been expected, yet to its perseverance in not abandoning them may be attributed the terms they got from Spain, and the being acknowledged as a sovereign state by all other potentates (*l*).

The behaviour of the king of France, however, was neither generous nor consistent. In the beginning of the treaty his offers to the States were high and warm (*m*); but the fear of incurring the whole defence of his allies, with some proposals made to him by the court of Spain (*n*), caused him to grow cold towards the conclusion of it.

The little concern which James took in foreign affairs, renders the domestic occurrences, particularly those of parliament, the most interesting of his reign. A new session was held on the 9th of February, 1610; the king was full of hopes of receiving supply; the commons were elated with the idea of circumscribing his prerogative. The earl of Salisbury, now created treasurer on the death of the earl of Dorset, laid open the king's necessities, first to the peers, then to a committee of the lower house. He insisted on the unavoidable expence incurred, in supporting the navy, and in suppressing a late insurrection in Ireland: he mentioned three numerous courts which the king was obliged to maintain, for himself, for the queen, and for the prince of Wales: he observed, that queen Elizabeth, though a single woman, had received very large supplies in the years preceding her death, which alone were expensive to her: and he remarked, that, during her reign, she had alienated many of the crown lands; an expedient which, though it supplied her present necessities, without laying burdens on her people, extremely multiplied the necessities of her successor. From all these causes he thought it nowise strange, that the king's income should fall short so great a sum as eighty-one thousand pounds of his stated and regular expence; without mentioning contingencies, which ought always to be esteemed a fourth of the yearly charges. And as the crown was now necessarily burdened with a great and urgent debt of three hundred thousand pounds, he thence inferred the absolute necessity of an immediate and large supply from the people. Among other things he said, "That supplying his wants was a mark of esteem which could not be denied to a king, who was not only the wisest of kings, but the very image of an angel." To all these reasons, which James likewise urged in a speech addressed to both houses, the commons remained inexorable. But, not to shock the king with an absolute refusal, they granted him one subsidy and one fifteenth; which would scarcely amount to a hundred thousand pounds. And James received the mortification of discovering, in vain, all his wants, and of begging aid of subjects which had no reasonable indulgence or consideration for him.

Among the many causes of disgust and quarrel which now daily and unavoidably multiplied between the king and the parliament, this article of money is to be regarded as none of the least important. After the discovery and conquest of the West-Indies, gold and silver became every day more plentiful in England, as well as in the rest of Europe; and the price of all commodities and provisions rose to a height beyond what had been known since the declension of the Roman empire. As the revenue of the crown rose not in proportion (*o*), the prince was insensibly reduced to poverty amidst the general riches of his subjects, and required additional funds, in order to support the same magnificence and force which had been maintained by former monarchs. But, while money thus flowed into England, we may observe, that, at the same time, and probably from that very cause, arts and industry of all kinds received a mighty increase; and elegance in every enjoyment of life became better known, and more cultivated among all ranks of people. The king's servants, both civil and military, his courtiers, his ministers, demanded more ample supplies from the impoverished prince, and were not contented with the same simplicity of living, which had satisfied their ancestors. The prince himself began to regard an increase of pomp and splendour as requisite to support the dignity of his character, and to preserve the same superiority above his subjects, which his predecessors had enjoyed. Some equality too, and proportion to the other sovereigns of Europe, it was natural for him to desire; and as they had universally enlarged their revenue, and multiplied their taxes, the king of England deemed it reasonable, that his subjects, who were generally as rich as theirs, should bear with patience some additional burdens and impositions. But unhappily for the king, those very riches, with the knowledge of the age, bred opposite sentiments in his subjects; and begetting a spirit of freedom and independence, disposed them to pay little regard either to the entreaties or menaces of their sovereign. While the barons possessed their former immense property and extensive jurisdictions, they were apt, at every disgust, to endanger the monarch, and throw the whole government into confusion: but this confusion often, in its turn, proved favourable to the monarch, and made the nation again submit to him, in order to re-establish justice and tranquillity. After the power of alienations, as well as the increase of commerce, had thrown the balance of property into the hands of the commons, the situation of affairs, and the dispositions of men's minds, became susceptible of a more regular plan of liberty; and the laws were not supported singly by the authority of the sovereign. And though in that interval, after the decline of the peers, and before the people had yet experienced their force, the princes assumed an exorbitant power, and had almost annihilated the constitution under the weight of their prerogative; but so soon as the commons recovered from their lethargy, they seem to have been astonished at the danger, and were resolved to secure liberty by firmer barriers than their ancestors had hitherto provided for its preservation.

Had James possessed much frugality, he might have warded off this crisis somewhat longer; and waiting for a favourable opportunity to increase and fix his revenue, might have secured the extensive authority transmitted to him. On the other hand, had the commons been inclined to act with more generosity and kindness towards their prince, they might probably have turned his necessities to good account, and have bribed him to depart from the more dangerous articles of his prerogative. But he was a foreigner, and ignorant of the arts of popularity; they were soured by religious prejudices, and tenacious of their money: and, in this situation, it is no wonder, that, during this whole reign, we scarcely find an interval of mutual confidence and friendship between the prince and the parliament.

The king, by his prerogative alone, had some years before altered the rates of the customs, and had established higher impositions on several kinds of merchandize. This exercise of power will naturally, to us, appear arbitrary and illegal; yet, according to the principles and practices of that time, it might admit of some apology. The duties of tonnage and poundage were at first granted to the crown, by a vote of parliament, and for a limited time; and as the grant frequently expired and was renewed, there could not then arise any doubt concerning the origin of the king's right to levy these duties; and this imposition, like all others, was plainly derived from the voluntary consent of the people. But as Henry V. and all the

(*l*) King James concluded a separate treaty with the States, by which he engaged to furnish twenty armed vessels, from three hundred to six hundred tons, to be employed against any power whatsoever who should disturb the intended peace with Spain, in case it should take place. The expence of these auxiliaries was to be repaid within five years after the war was finished. The States General bound themselves to assist James with the same number of ships, of the like force, four thousand foot and three hundred cavalry. The same terms was stipulated for their repayment. The treaty was to be perpetual; neither party was to make peace with the aggressor, without the consent of the other. This league was not to be prejudicial to the defensive one made between the States and the king of France. *Rymer*, vol. xvi. p. 668.

(*m*) He signed a defensive league with the States: by this treaty he was to furnish the States with ten thousand men, to be paid by him as long as they should need them; and if a greater assistance was necessary, he was to furnish it; the expence of the additional assistance was to be repaid him by the States upon the conclusion of the war. The States obliged themselves, in case Henry was attacked, to furnish him with five thousand men, either by land or sea, as he should require, or more if there was occasion; the expence of the additionals being defrayed as above. *Guthrie*, 1751, vol. iii. p. 607.

(*n*) This was the renewal of an offer of double marriages between the courts of France and Spain, with the giving up to France the right of sovereignty over the Low Countries. On this negociation, Henry abated much of his zeal for the preservation, or at least for the honour of the States. He insinuated, that it would be convenient to accept of a long truce, without the stipulation of a direct acknowledgement from Spain of independency.

(*o*) Besides the great alienation of the crown lands, the fee-farm rents never increased, and the other lands were let on long leases, and at a great undervalue, little or nothing above the old rent.

succeeding

succeeding sovereigns had the revenue conferred on them for life, the prince, so long in possession of these duties, began gradually to consider them as his own proper right and inheritance, and regarded the vote of parliament as a mere formality, which rather expressed the acquiescence of the people in his prerogative, than bestowed any new gift or revenue upon him.

The parliament, when it first granted poundage to the crown, had fixed no particular rates: the imposition was given as a shilling a pound, or five *per cent.* on all commodities: it was left to the king himself, and the privy council, aided by the advice of such merchants as they should think proper to consult, to fix the value of goods, and thereby the rates of the customs; and as that value had been settled before the discovery of the West-Indies, it was become inferior to the prices which almost all commodities bore in every market in Europe; and consequently the customs on many goods, though supposed to be five *per cent.* was in reality greatly inferior. The king, therefore, was led to think that rates which were now plainly false, ought to be corrected; that a valuation of commodities, fixed by one act of the privy council, might be amended by another; that if his right to poundage were inherent in the crown, he should also possess, of himself, the right of correcting its inequalities; if this duty were granted by the people, he should at least support the spirit of the law, by fixing a new and a juster valuation of all commodities. But besides this reasoning, which seems plausible, the king was supported in that act of power by direct precedents, some in the reign of Mary, some in the beginning of Elizabeth (*p*). That less umbrage might be taken, he was moderate in the new rates which he established: the customs, during his whole reign, rose from one hundred and twenty-seven thousand pounds a-year to one hundred and ninety thousand; though, besides the increase of the rates, there was a sensible increase of commerce and industry during that period: every commodity, besides, which might serve to the subsistence of the people, or might be considered as a material of manufactures, was exempted from the new impositions of of James (*q*): but all this caution could not prevent the complaints of the commons. A spirit of liberty had now taken possession of the house: the leading members, men of an independent genius, and large views, began to regulate their opinions, more by the future consequences which they foresaw, than by the former precedents which were set before them; and they less aspired at maintaining the ancient constitution, than at establishing a new one, and a freer, and a better. In their remonstrances to the king on this occasion, they observed it to be a general opinion, "That the reasons of that practice might be extended much farther, even to the utter ruin of the ancient liberty of the kingdom, and the subjects' right of property in their lands and goods (*r*). Though expressly forbidden by the king to touch his prerogative, they passed a bill abolishing these impositions; which was however rejected by the house of lords.

In another address to the king, they objected to the practice of borrowing upon privy seals, and desired, that the subjects should not be forced to lend money to his majesty, nor give a reason for their refusal. Some murmurs likewise were thrown out in the house against a new monopoly of the licence of wines (*s*). It must be confessed, that forced loans and monopolies were established on many and ancient as well as recent precedents; though in complete opposition to all the principles of a free government.

The commons also discovered some discontent against the king's proclamations. James told them, "That though he well knew, by the constitution and policy of the kingdom, that proclamations were not of equal force with laws; yet he thought it a duty incumbent on him, and a power inseparably annexed to the crown, to restrain and prevent such mischiefs and inconveniences as he saw growing on the state, against which no certain law was extant, and which might tend to the great detriment of the subject, if there should be no remedy provided till the meeting of a parliament. And this prerogative, he adds, our progenitors have, in all times, used and enjoyed (*t*)." The intervals between the sessions, we may observe, were frequently so long, as to render it necessary for a prince to interpose by his prerogative. The legality of this exertion was established by practice; and was even acknowledged by lawyers, who made, however, this difference between laws and proclamations, that the authority of the former was perpetual, that of the latter expired with the sovereign who emitted them (*u*). But what the authority could be, which bound the subject, yet was different from the authority of laws, and inferior to it, seems inexplicable by any maxims of reason or politics: and in this instance, as in many others, it is easy to see how inaccurate the English constitution was, before the parliament was enabled, by continued acquisitions or incroachments, to establish it on fixed principles of liberty.

Upon the settlement of the reformation, that extensive branch of power, which regards ecclesiastical matters, being then without an owner, seemed to belong to the first occupant; and Henry VIII. failed not immediately to seize it, and to exert it even to the utmost degree of tyranny. The possession of it was continued with Edward; and recovered by Elizabeth; and that ambitious princess was so remarkably jealous of this flower of her crown, that she severely reprimanded the parliament, if ever they presumed to intermeddle in matters concerning religion; and they were so overawed by her authority, as to submit, and to ask pardon on these occasions. But James's parliaments were much less obsequious than were those of Henry or Elizabeth. They ventured to lift up their eyes, and to consider this prerogative. They there saw a large province of government, possessed by the king alone, and scarcely ever communicated with the parliament. They were sensible that this province admitted not of any exact boundary or circumspection. They had felt that the Roman pontiff, in former ages, under pretence of religion, was gradually making advances to usurp the whole civil power. They dreaded still more dangerous consequences from the claims of their own sovereign, who resided among them, and who, in many other respects, possessed such unlimited authority. They therefore deemed it absolutely necessary to circumscribe this branch of prerogative; and accordingly, in the preceding session, they passed a bill against the establishment of any ecclesiastical canons without consent of parliament (*v*). But the house of lords, as is usual, defended the barriers of the throne, and rejected the bill.

In this session, the commons, after passing anew the same bill, made remonstrances against the proceedings of the *high commission court*. It required no great penetration to see the extreme danger to liberty, arising in a regal government, from such large discretionary powers as were exercised by that court. But James refused compliance with the application of the commons. He was sensible, no doubt, that, besides the diminution of his authority, many inconveniences must necessarily result from the abolishing of all discretionary power in every magistrate; and that the laws, were they ever so carefully framed and digested, could not possibly provide against every contingency; much less, where they had not, as yet, attained a sufficient degree of accuracy and refinement.

But the principal business which occupied the commons during this session, was the abolition of wardships and purveyance; prerogatives which had been more or less touched on, every session, during the whole reign of James. In this affair, the commons employed the proper means, which might entitle them to success: they offered the king a settled revenue, as an equivalent for the powers which he should part with; and the king was willing to hearken to terms. After much dispute, he agreed to give up these prerogatives for two hundred thousand pounds a-year, which they agreed to confer upon him (*w*). And nothing

(*p*) Journ. 18th April, 5th and 10th May, 1614, &c. 20th February, 1625. See also sir John Davis's question concerning Impositions, p. 127, 128.

(*q*) Sir John Davis's question concerning Impositions.

(*r*) Journ. 23d May, 1610. (*s*) Parliament. Hist. vol. v. p. 241.

(*t*) Parliament. Hist. vol. v. p. 250. (*u*) Journ. 12th May, 1624.

(*v*) Journ. 2d, 11th December; 5th March, 1606.

(*w*) We learn from Winwood's Memorials, vol. ii. p. 193. the reason assigned for this particular sum. "From thence my lord treasurer came to the price; and here he said, that the king would no more rise and fall like a merchant. That he would not have a flower of his crown (meaning the court of wards) so much tossed; that it was too dainty to be so handled: and then he said, that he must deliver the very countenance and character of the king's mind out of his own hand-writing; which, before he read, he said he would acquaint us with a pleasant conceit of his majesty. As concerning the number of ninescore thousand pounds, which was our number, he could not affect, because nine was the number of the poets, who were always beggars, though they served so many muses; and eleven was the number of the apostles, when the traitor, Judas, was away; and therefore might best be affected by his majesty:

nothing remained, towards closing the bargain, but that the commons should determine the funds by which this sum should be levied. This session was too far advanced to bring so difficult a matter to a full conclusion; and though the parliament met again, towards the end of the year, and resumed the question, they were never able to terminate an affair, upon which they seemed so intent. The journals of that session are lost; and, as the historians of this reign are very negligent in relating parliamentary affairs, of whose importance they were not sufficiently apprised, we know not exactly the reason of this failure. It only appears, that the king was extremely dissatisfied with the conduct of the parliament, and soon after dissolved it. This was his first parliament, and it sat nearly seven years.

Amidst all these attacks, some more, some less violent, on royal prerogative, the king displayed all his high notions of monarchy and the authority of princes. Even in a speech to the parliament, where he begged for supply, and where he should naturally have used every art to ingratiate himself with that assembly, he expressed himself in these terms: "I conclude, then, the point touching the power of kings, with this axiom of divinity, that, as to dispute *what God may do*, is blasphemy, but *what God wills*, that divines may lawfully and do ordinarily dispute and discuss; so it is sedition in subjects to dispute what a king may do in the height of his power. But just kings will ever be willing to declare what they will do, if they will not incur the curse of God. I will not be content, that my power be disputed upon; but I shall ever be willing to make the reason appear of my doings, and rule my actions according to my laws." Notwithstanding the great extend of prerogative in that age, these expressions would probably give some offence. But we may observe, that, as the king's despotism was more speculative than practical, so the independency of the commons was, at this time, the reverse; and though strongly supported by their present situation, as well as disposition, was too new and recent to be as yet founded on systematical principles and opinions.

This year was distinguished by a memorable event, which gave great alarm and concern in England; the murder of the French monarch by the poinard of the fanatical Ravaillac, on the 3rd of May. With his death, the glory of the French monarchy suffered an eclipse for some years; and as that kingdom fell under an administration weak and bigotted, factious and disorderly, the Austrian greatness began anew to appear formidable to Europe. In England, the antipathy to the Catholics revived a little upon this tragical event; and some of the laws, which had formerly been enacted, in order to keep these religionists in awe, began now to be executed with greater rigour and severity.

Though James's timidity and indolence fixed him, during most of his reign, in a very prudent inattention to foreign affairs, there happened in 1611, an event in Europe of such consequence as to rouse him from his lethargy, and summon up all his zeal and enterprize. A professor of divinity, named Conradus Vorstius, the disciple of Arminius, was called from a German to a Dutch university, that of Leyden; he differed from his Britannic majesty in some nice questions concerning the intimate essence and secret decrees of God, he was considered as a dangerous rival in scholastic fame, and was, at last, obliged to yield to the legions of that royal doctor, whose syllogisms he might have refuted or eluded. James was so inflamed at the heresy (*x*), that after having commented on the most offensive passages in the book published by Vorstius, he put an express injunction to the States to discharge and punish that blasphemous monster, as he called him. The States, however, paid so little regard to the opinion of James, or to his commands, that Vorstius was acquitted with honour, and continued in his professorship. This drew from Winwood, James's ambassador at the Hague, a threatening protest, which, however, after his purpose was answered, James afterwards disclaimed. If vigour was wanting in other incidents of James's reign, here he behaved even with haughtiness and insolence; and the States were obliged, after several remonstrances, to deprive Vorstius of his chair, and to banish him their dominions. The king carried no farther his animosity against that professor; though he had very charitably hinted to the States, "That, as to the burning of Vorstius for his blasphemies and atheism, he left them to their own Christian wisdom; but surely never heretic better deserved the flames." It is to be remarked, that, at this period, all over Europe, except in Holland alone, the practice of burning heretics still prevailed, even in Protestant countries; and instances were not wanting in England during the reign of James (*y*).

To consider James in a more advantageous light, we must take a view of him as the legislator of Ireland; and most of the institutions, which he had framed for civilizing that kingdom, being finished about this period, it may not here be improper to give some account of them. He frequently boasts of the management of Ireland as his master-piece; and it will appear, upon inquiry, that his vanity in this particular, was not altogether without foundation.

After the subjection of Ireland by Elizabeth, the more difficult task still remained; to civilize the inhabitants, to reconcile them to laws and industry, and to render their subjection durable and useful to the crown of England. James proceeded in this work by a steady, regular, and well-concerted plan; and in the space of nine years, according to sir John Davis (*z*), he made greater advances towards the reformation of that kingdom, than had been made in the four hundred and forty years which had elapsed since the conquest was first attempted. It was previously necessary to abolish the Irish customs, which supplied the place of laws, and which were calculated to keep that people for ever in a state of barbarism and disorder.

By the *Brehon* law or custom, every crime, however enormous, was punished, not with death, but by a fine or pecuniary mulct, which was levied upon the criminal. Even murder itself was atoned for in this manner; and each man, according to his rank, had a different rate or value affixed to him, which if any one were willing to pay, he needed not fear assassinating his enemy. This rate was called his *eric*. When sir William Fitzwilliams, being lord deputy, told Maguire, that he was to send a sheriff into Fermannah, which, a little before, had been made a county, and subjected to the English law; "Your sheriff, said Maguire, shall be welcome to me: but let me know, beforehand, his eric, or the price of his head, that, if my people cut it off, I may levy the money upon the county." As for oppression, extortion, and other trespasses, so little were they regarded, that no penalty was affixed to them, and no redress for such offences could ever be obtained.

The customs of *Gavelkinde* and *Tanistry* were attended with the same absurdity in the distribution of property. The land, by the custom of Gavelkinde, was divided among all the males of the sept or family, both bastard and legitimate: and, after partition made, if any of the sept died, his portion was not shared out among his sons; but the chieftain, at his discretion, made a new partition of all the lands belonging to that sept, and gave every one his share. As no man, by reason of this custom, enjoyed the fixed property of any land; to build, to plant, to enclose, to cultivate, to improve, would have been so much lost labour.

The chieftains and the tanists, though drawn from the principal families were not hereditary, but were established by election, or, more properly speaking, by force and violence. Their authority was almost absolute; and, notwithstanding that certain lands were assigned to the office, its chief profit resulted from exactions, dues, assessments, for which there was no fixed law, and which were levied at pleasure. Hence arose that common bye-word among the Irish, "That they dwelt westward of the law, which

majesty: but there was a mean number, which might accord us both; and *that was ten:* which, says my lord treasurer, is a sacred number; for so many were God's commandments, which tend to virtue and edification." If the commons really voted twenty thousand pounds a-year more, on account of this *pleasant conceit* of the king and the treasurer, it was certainly the best paid wit, for its goodness, that ever was in the world.

(*x*) James's quarrel with Vorstius was a personal one: he took offence at the ironical manner in which he is treated in a work of this author's. Barneveldt, the republican, patronized Vorstius, and prince Maurice opposed him: this circumstance perhaps encreased the monarch's warmth. Salisbury expatiates on his master's zeal in these terms: "Almighty God (writes he) doth know the zeal which stirreth the king against that man (Vorstius) so kindles in him upon every accident of discourse, as we have all reason to bless God in making us subjects to a king, that, without mixture of glory or private design, taketh so much to heart the injury that is done to the Blessed Trinity." *Winwood*, vol. iii. p. 316.

(*y*) Edward Wightman and Bartholomew Legate were actually burnt in England by James's warrant, after having been convicted of erroneous doctrine, and canonically condemned by Neal bishop of Coventry, and king bishop of London. One of these unhappy people was a lunatic at the time of his condemnation.

(*z*) Attorney-general of Ireland in the reign of James I.

dwelt

dwelt beyond the river of the Barrow:" meaning the country where the English inhabited, and which extended not beyond the compass of twenty miles, lying in the neighbourhood of Dublin.

After having abolished the Irish customs, and substituted English law in their place; James took all the natives under his protection, and in 1612 declared them free citizens, after which he proceeded to govern them by a regular administration, military as well as civil. A small army was maintained, its discipline inspected, and its pay transmitted from England, in order to keep the soldiers from preying upon the country, as had been usual in former reigns. When sir Cahir O'Doghartie, an enterprizing youth, raised an insurrection, and massacred the garrisons of several forts, a reinforcement was sent over, O'Doghartie was slain, and the flames of that rebellion were immediately extinguished. Some of his adherents were executed as traitors, and vast confiscations resulted from the enterprize.

All minds being first quieted by a general indemnity; circuits were established, justice administered, oppression banished, and crimes and disorders of every kind severely punished. As the Irish had been universally engaged in the rebellion against Elizabeth, a resignation of all the rights, which had been formerly granted them to separate jurisdictions, was rigorously exacted; and no authority, but that of the king and the law, was permitted throughout the kingdom.

A resignation of all private estates was even required; and when they were restored, the proprietors received them under such conditions as might prevent, for the future, all tyranny and oppression over the common people. The value of the dues, which the nobles usually claimed from their vassals, was estimated at a fixed sum, and all farther exactions prohibited under severe penalties.

A considerable part of the province of Ulster having now devolved to the crown, in consequence of the treasonable conduct of the proprietors, James resolved to allot the lands to such of his subjects as would undertake, on certain conditions, the formation of a regular settlement. That no person might receive a larger portion than he could conveniently plant, the greatest share was fixed at two thousand acres. The undertakers (as they were called) were respectively required to build a strong castle, if they engaged for the largest shares; or a substantial house for a middle share; or, for the smallest portion, a *bawn* or fortified court. Their tenants were directed to build houses near the castle or principal mansion, for the purposes of mutual protection. The king consented to furnish them, *gratis*, for the first two years, with as much timber as would be requisite; and, for their further encouragement, he permitted them, for the space of five years, to import into Ireland, from any part of Great Britain, materials for building and husbandry, cattle, and all kinds of provision, without the payment of customs; and also to export, for seven years, on the same easy terms, such commodities as the lands now distributed should produce. These proposals occasioned numerous applications from the enterprizing inhabitants of Great Britain; and the Irish being allowed to join in the scheme, the shares were quickly appropriated. The citizens of London engaged with alacrity in the colonial project. A party of them entered into a society, which was incorporated under the title of "The Governor and Assistants of the new Plantation of Ulster." Under their auspices the town of Derry was rebuilt; and it received, from its new founders, the appellation of London-Derry. Well built towns began to appear in different parts of Ulster; agriculture and manufactures soon flourished in seats of indolence and barbarism; the spirit of commerce was introduced; and, by the institution of free schools, the advantages of education were disseminated. The success of the Ulster plantation encouraged the king to establish colonies in the province of Leinster; and, from his laudable attention to the affairs of Ireland, that kingdom, instead of being a burden, became a valuable appendage to the crown of Great Britain.

Such were the arts, by which James introduced humanity and justice among a people, who had ever been buried in the most profound barbarism.

A laudable act of justice was, about this time, executed in England upon lord Sanquhir, a Scottish nobleman, who had been guilty of the base assassination of Turner, a fencing-master. The English nation, who were generally dissatisfied with the Scots, were enraged at this crime, equally mean and atrocious; but James appeased them, by preferring the severity of law to the intercession of the friends and family of the criminal.

The sudden death of Henry, prince of Wales, on the 6th of November, 1612, diffused an universal grief throughout the nation. Though youth and royal birth, both of them strong allurements, prepossess men mightily in favour of the early age of princes; it is with peculiar fondness that historians mention Henry: and, in every respect, his merit seems to have been extraordinary. He had not reached his eighteenth year, and already possessed more dignity in his behaviour, and commanded more respect, than his father, with all his age, learning, and experience. Neither his high fortune, nor his youth, had seduced him into any irregular pleasures: business and ambition seem to have been his sole passion. His inclinations, as well as exercises, were martial. The French ambassador taking leave of him, and asking his commands for France, found him employed in the exercise of the pike; "Tell your king, said he, in what occupation you left me engaged (*a*)." He had conceived great affection and esteem for the brave sir Walter Raleigh. It was his saying, "Sure no king but my father would keep such a bird in a cage (*b*)." He seems indeed to have nourished too violent a contempt for the king on account of his pedantry and pusillanimity; and by that means was pleased with the restless and martial spirit of the English nation. Had he lived, he had probably promoted the glory, perhaps not the felicity, of his people. The unhappy prepossession, which men commonly entertain in favour of ambition, courage, enterprize, and other warlike virtues, engages generous natures, who always love fame, into such pursuits as destroy their own peace, and that of the rest of mankind. Several reports were propagated concerning the manner of his death; and it was even hinted that Henry had been carried off by poison; but the physicians, on opening his body, found no symptoms to confirm such an opinion. The bold and criminal malignity of men's tongues and pens spared not even the king on the occasion. Indeed the prince was of so forward a character, that he was supposed to have become disagreeable to his father. But James's character seems rather to have failed in the extreme of facility and humanity, than in that of cruelty and violence, with respect to his own family. His indulgence to Henry was great, and perhaps imprudent, by giving him a large and independent settlement, even in so early youth. The people were undoubtedly inclined to favour him from his avowed contrariety to his father, who at present had incurred a great degree of popular odium.

The marriage of the princess Elizabeth, with Frederic, elector palatine, was finished some time after the death of the prince, and served to dissipate the grief which affected James on that melancholy event. But this marriage, though celebrated with great joy and festivity (*c*), proved, itself, an unhappy event to the king, as well as to his son-in-law, and had ill consequences on the reputation and fortunes of both. The elector, trusting to so great an alliance, engaged in enterprizes beyond his strength: and the king, not being able to support him in his distress, lost entirely, in the end of his life, what remained of the affections and esteem of his own subjects.

The recent fate of Arabella Stewart was a very contrary one to that of her kinswoman Elizabeth. James, to whom she was cousin-germain, had seized on her possessions, and reduced her to a pension. The unhappy maiden, tired of this dependent state, and urged by youthful inclination, entered into an intrigue with Seymour, grandson to the earl of Hertford, whom, notwithstanding several reprimands from the higher powers, she privately married. Both the delinquents were seized on, but they made their escape, one on board of a French bark, the other on board of a Newcastle collier. The unhappy Arabella was re-taken, and conveyed to the Tower. The fatigue she had undergone, the severity of her treatment, and the keenness of her disappointment, had so fatal an effect upon her tender constitution, that she immediately

(*a*) The French monarch had given particular orders to his ministers to cultivate the prince's friendship; who must soon, said he, have chief authority in England, where the king and queen are held in so little estimation. See *Dep. de la Boderie*, vol. i. p. 402, 415. vol. ii. p. 16, 349.

(*b*) Coke's Detection, p. 37.

(*c*) The expence of the nuptials amounted to fifty thousand pounds. The princess's portion was forty thousand pounds, to be paid in two years; her jointure was ten thousand pounds per annum. and her pin-money one thousand five hundred pounds. *Rymer*, vol. xvi. p. 733.

mediately lost her senses, and soon after her life. Her husband did not venture to return to his country till after her death. The jealousy which the nearness of Arabella's consanguinity occasioned to the crown, was the undoubted, nay the avowed, cause of her melancholy fate (*d*).

Except during sessions of parliament, the history of this reign may more properly be called the history of the court than that of the nation. An interesting object had, for some years, engaged the attention of the court: it was a favourite, and one beloved by James with so profuse and unlimited an affection, as left no room for any rival or competitor. About the close of the year 1609, Robert Carr, a youth of twenty years of age, and of a good family in Scotland, arrived in London, after having passed some time in his travels. All his natural accomplishments consisted in good looks: all his acquired abilities, in an easy air and graceful demeanour. He had letters of recommendation to his countryman lord Hay; and that nobleman no sooner cast his eye upon him, than he discovered talents sufficient to entitle him immediately to make a great figure in the government. That nobleman, apprized of the king's passion for youth and beauty, and exterior appearance, studied how matters might be so managed that this new object should make the strongest impression upon the monarch. Without mentioning him at court, he assigned him the office, at a match at tilting, of presenting to the king his buckler and device; and hoped that he would attract the attention of the monarch. Fortune proved favourable to his design, by an incident which bore at first a contrary aspect. When Carr was advancing to execute his office, his unruly horse started and threw him; by which accident his leg was broke in the king's presence. James approached him with pity and concern: love and affection arose on the sight of his beauty and tender years; and the prince ordered him immediately to be lodged in the palace, and to be carefully attended by his own physicians. He himself, after the tilting, paid him a visit in his chamber, and frequently returned during the course of his confinement. The ignorance and simplicity of the boy finished the conquest, begun by his exterior graces and accomplishments. Other princes have been fond of chusing their favourites from among the lower ranks of their subjects, and have reposed themselves on them with the more unreserved confidence and affection, because the object has been beholden to their bounty for every honour and acquisition: James was desirous that his favourite should also derive from him all his sense, experience, and knowledge. Highly conceited of his own wisdom, he pleased himself with the fancy, that this raw youth, by his lessons and instructions, would, in a little time, be equal to his most sagacious ministers, and be initiated into all the profound mysteries of government, on which he set so high a value. And as this kind of creation was more perfectly his own work than any other, he seems to have indulged an unlimited fondness for his minion, beyond even that which he bore to his own children. Shortly after his recovery he knighted him, made him a gentleman of the bed-chamber, created him viscount Rochester, gave him the garter, brought him into the privy council, and though, at first, without assigning him any particular office, bestowed on him the supreme direction of all his business and political concerns. Agreeable to this rapid advancement in confidence and honour, were the riches heaped upon the needy favourite; and while Salisbury and all the wisest ministers could scarcely find expedients sufficient to keep in motion the overburthened machine of government, James, with unsparing hand, loaded with treasures this insignificant and useless pageant (*e*).

The favourite was not, however at first, so intoxicated with advancement, as not to be sensible of his own ignorance and inexperience. He had recourse to the assistance and advice of a friend; and he was more fortunate in his choice, than is usual with such pampered minions. In sir Thomas Overbury he met with a judicious and sincere counsellor, who, building all hopes of his own preferment on that of the young favourite, endeavoured to instil into him the principles of prudence and discretion. By zealously serving every body, Carr was taught to abate the envy which might attend his sudden elevation: by shewing a preference for the English, he learned to escape the prejudices which prevailed against his country; and so long as he was content to be ruled by Overbury's friendly counsels, he enjoyed, what is rare, the highest favour of the prince, without being despised by the people.

To complete the measure of courtly happiness, nought was wanting but a kind mistress; and, where high fortune concurred with all the graces of youth and beauty, this circumstance could not be difficult to attain. But it was here that the favourite met with that rock on which all his fortunes were wrecked, and which plunged him for ever into an abyss of infamy, guilt, and misery.

No sooner had James mounted the throne of England, than he remembered his friendship for the unfortunate families of Howard and Devereux (*f*), who had suffered for their attachment to the cause of Mary and to his own. Having restored young Essex to his blood and dignity, and conferred the titles of Suffolk and Northampton on two brothers of the house of Norfolk, he sought the farther pleasure of uniting these families by the marriage of the earl of Essex with lady Frances Howard, daughter of the earl of Suffolk. She was only thirteen, he fourteen years of age; and it was thought proper, till both should attain the age of puberty, that he should go abroad and pass some time in his travels. He returned into England after an absence of four years, and was pleased to find his countess in the full lustre of beauty, and possessed of the love and admiration of the whole court. But, when the earl approached, and claimed the privileges of a husband, he met with nothing but symptoms of aversion and disgust, and a flat refusal of any farther familiarities. He applied to her parents, who constrained her to attend him into the country, and to partake of his bed; nothing, however, could overcome her rigid sullenness and obstinacy; and she still rose from his side, without having shared the nuptial pleasures. Disgusted with reiterated denials, he at last gave over the pursuit, and separating himself from her, thenceforth abandoned her conduct to her own will and discretion.

Such coldness and aversion in lady Essex, arose not without an attachment to another object. The favourite had opened his addresses, and had been too successful in making impression on the tender heart of the young countess. She imagined that, so long as she refused the embraces of Essex, she never could be deemed his wife, and that a separation and divorce might still open the way for a new marriage with her beloved Rochester (*g*). Though their passion was so violent, and their opportunities of intercourse so frequent, that they had already indulged themselves in all the gratifications of love, they still lamented their unhappy fate, while the union between them was not entire and indissoluble. And the lover, as well as his mistress, was impatient, till their mutual ardour should be crowned by marriage.

This momentous affair could not be concluded without consulting Overbury, with whom Rochester was accustomed to share all his secrets. While that faithful friend had considered his patron's attachment to the countess of Essex merely as an affair of gallantry, he had favoured its progress; and it was partly owing to the ingenious and passionate letters which he dictated, that Rochester had met with such success in his addresses. Like an experienced courtier, he entertained the idea, that a conquest of this nature would throw a lustre on the young favourite, and would tend still farther to endear him to James, who was charmed to hear of the amours of his court, and listened with attention to every tale of gallantry. But great was Overbury's alarm, when Rochester mentioned his de-

(*d*) On the first news of the flight of this unhappy pair, letters had been dispatched to the king and queen of France, and to the archduke, requiring them to deliver them up, if they should land on their territories. The countess of Shrewsbury, who had given her assistance towards the match, was confined in the Tower; and the earl her husband to his own house. Sir Francis Bacon displayed his genius in aggravating the supposed crimes of all that were concerned in this trivial matter.

(*e*) It is said, that the king found his pupil so slenderly educated, as to be ignorant even of the lowest rudiments of the Latin tongue; and that the monarch, laying aside the sceptre, took the birch into his royal hand, and instructed him in the principles of grammar. During the intervals of this noble occupation, affairs of state would be introduced; and the stripling, by the ascendant which he had acquired, was now enabled to repay in political, what he had received in grammatical, instruction. Such scenes and such incidents are the more ridiculous, though the less odious, as the passion of James seems not to have contained in it any thing criminal or flagitious. History charges herself willingly with a relation of the great crimes, and still more with that of the great virtues of mankind; but she appears to fall from her dignity, when necessitated to dwell on such frivolous events and ignoble personages. *Hume.*

(*f*) The duke of Norfolk and the earl of Essex.

(*g*) State Trials, vol. i. p 228.

sign

sign of marrying the countess; and he used every method to dissuade his friend from an attempt fraught with so much folly and wickedness. He represented how invidious, how difficult an enterprize to procure her a divorce from her husband: how dangerous, how shameful, to take into his own bed a profligate woman, who, being married to a young nobleman of the first rank, had not scrupled to prostitute her character, and to bestow favours on the object of a capricious and momentary passion. And, in the zeal of friendship, he went so far as to threaten Rochester, that he would separate himself for ever from him, if he could so far forget his honour and his interest as to prosecute the marriage he intended with the countess of Essex (*h*).

Notwithstanding this wise counsel of Overbury, Rochester had the weakness to reveal this conversation to the countess; and when her rage and fury broke out against Overbury, he had also the weakness to enter into her vindictive projects, and to swear vengeance against his friend, for the utmost instance, which he could receive, of his faithful friendship. Some contrivance was necessary for the execution of their purpose. Rochester addressed himself to the king; and after complaining, that his own indulgence to Overbury had begotten in him a degree of arrogance, which was extremely disagreeable, he procured a commission for his embassy to Russia; which he represented as a retreat for his friend, both profitable and honourable. When consulted by Overbury, he earnestly dissuaded him from accepting this offer, and took on himself the office of satisfying the king, if he should be in any measure displeased with the refusal (*i*). To the king again he aggravated the insolence of Overbury's conduct, and obtained a warrant for committing him to the Tower, on the 21st of April, which James intended as a slight punishment for his disobedience. The lieutenant of the Tower was a creature of Rochester's, and had lately been put into the office for this very purpose: he confined Overbury so strictly, that the unhappy prisoner was debarred the sight even of his nearest relations; and no communication of any kind was allowed with him, during near six months which he lived in prison.

This obstacle being removed, the lovers pursued their purpose; and the king himself, forgetting the dignity of his character, and his friendship for the family of Essex, entered zealously into the project of procuring the countess a divorce from her husband. Essex also embraced the opportunity of separating himself from a bad woman, by whom he was despised; and he was willing to favour their success by any honourable expedient. The pretence for a divorce was his incapacity to fulfil the conjugal duties; and he confessed, that, with regard to the countess, he was conscious of such an infirmity, though he was not sensible of it with regard to any other woman. In her place too, it is said a young virgin was substituted under a mask, to undergo a legal inspection by a jury of matrons. After such a trial, seconded by court-influence, and supported by the ridiculous opinion of fascination or witchcraft, the sentence of divorce was pronounced between the earl of Essex and his countess (*k*). And, to crown the scene, the king, solicitous lest the lady should lose any rank by her new marriage, bestowed on his favourite the title of earl of Somerset.

Notwithstanding this success, the countess of Somerset was not satisfied, till she should farther satiate her revenge on Overbury; and she engaged her husband, as well as her uncle, the earl of Northampton, in the atrocious design of taking him off secretly by poison. Fruitless attempts were reiterated by weak poisons; but, at last, they gave him one, on the 16th of September, so sudden and violent, that the symptoms were apparent to every one who approached him (*l*). His interment was hurried on with the greatest precipitation; and, though a strong suspicion immediately prevailed in the minds of the public, the full proof of the crime was not brought to light till some years after.

The fatal catastrophe of Overbury increased the suspicion, that the prince of Wales had been carried off by a similar potion, given him by Somerset. Men considered not, that the contrary inference was much juster. If Somerset was so great a novice in this detestable art, that, during the course of five months, a man who was his prisoner, and attended by none but his emissaries, could not be dispatched but in so bungling a manner; how could it be imagined that a young prince, living in his own court, surrounded by his own friends and domestics, could be exposed to Somerset's attempts, and be taken off by so subtle a poison, if such a one exist, as could elude the skill of the most experienced physicians?

The earl of Salisbury, the ablest minister that James ever possessed, died May 14, 1612; and was succeeded by the earl of Suffolk, a man of mean capacity. And it was now his task to supply, from an exhausted treasury, the profusion of James and of his young favourite. Indeed so great was James's affection for this young man, that he said openly in his council, That he took more delight in Rochester's company than in any man's living.

The difficulty of raising money still increasing, a project which had been formed by Salisbury was now carried into execution (*m*). An hereditary rank, which should take place after a baron's youngest son, and dignified by the title of Baronet, was purchased from the crown, at the price of a thousand pounds (*n*). An inferior order to them, with the title of Knights of Nova Scotia, at the price of three hundred pounds. The dignities of baron, viscount, and earl, were fixed respectively at ten, fifteen, and twenty thousand pounds. The star-chamber also took every pretext to condemn to excessive fines, for the king's use, those that were cited before them. Privy seals were circulated to the amount of two hundred thousand pounds: benevolences were exacted to the amount of fifty-two thousand pounds; and some monopolies of no great value were erected. But all these expedients proved insufficient to supply the king's necessities, even though he began to enter into some schemes for retrenching his expences. The absurd custom of duelling (*o*) had been imported in the reign of James into this country from France; there it had taken its rise and growth, under Henry the Fourth: he had in some respect been the occasion of the ignominious fate of the lord Sanquhir, by asking him, with an air that was construed by the unhappy nobleman significant, "Whether the fencing-master (whom he afterwards on this hint murdered, and who had put out his eye in a fencing-bout) was yet alive?"

Four able men were at this time at the head of the law: sir Edward Coke, sir Henry Hobart, sir Francis Bacon, and sir Henry Yelverton. This last had distinguished himself very eminently in an opposition to the large grant that was given to the crown in the third session of parliament. Sir Francis Bacon, on his entering into the office of solicitor-general, protected Priest and Wright, two duellists; he made a speech in the star-chamber on the occasion, that was much admired; but the objects were of too mean condition to strike an important example. These were not the only flagrant disorders that had crept into the commonwealth: the excessive love of pleasure that possessed the court infected all ranks of men; every night produced masks, in which people of fortune engaged; idleness, expence, and pleasure, took place of industry, frugality, simplicity, and learning. Nor was the evil partially extended: spacious buildings were erected for exhibiting theatrical performances (*p*) to the multitude; and these shews, that carry in them a poison subversive of the virtues on which the welfare of large societies is founded, became the idols of the people.

(*h*) State Trials, vol. i. p. 235, 236, 252.
(*i*) Ibid. p. 236, 237, &c. (*k*) Ibid. p. 223, 224, &c.
(*l*) Ibid. p. 233, 234, &c.

(*m*) A commission was given to sir Julius Cæsar, sir Thomas Parry, sir Francis Bacon, baron Sotherton, sir George Cary, sir George Moore, sir Walter Cope, and others, to devise and project the best means to get money. *Winwood*, vol. iii. p. 385, *& seq.*

At this time James made offer of a large parcel of plate, pawned to queen Elizabeth by the States General, in 1587, and belonging to the house of Burgundy, to be redeemed; threatening, that if it was not he would melt it down. *Winwood.*

(*n*) Each knight was to maintain thirty foot soldiers in Ireland for three years, at the rate of eight-pence a-day, and to pay the wages of one year, upon the passing the patent. The whole sum that was raised upon these baronets was one thousand and ninety-five pounds, as a composition for their maintaining the soldiers in Ulster. *Baker's Chronicle*, 1679, p. 416. *Guthrie*, vol. iii. p. 704.

(*o*) Many duels were fought between the individuals of the Scotch and English nations. One of the Scotch court domestics had offered a gross affront to a bencher at Gray's Inn. Another had beaten Philip Herbert, younger brother to the earl of Pembroke, who was rewarded with a peerage for his pusillanimity in not resenting the affront.

(*p*) These were destructive to the religious sentiments, as well as the morals of the vulgar. A statute was enacted in the third year of James's reign, for the preventing and avoiding of the great abuse of the holy name of God in stage-plays, interludes, may-games, shews, and such-like. *Vide Statutes at Large.*

The filial piety of James, which had lain long dormant, now for the first time exerted itself to action. The body of Mary, queen of Scots, was removed at his expence from Peterborough to Westminster, and a tomb with many pompous inscriptions erected.

Among the regulations enacted this year in the councils of Scotland, the following one carries with it too much of the disposition and turn of thinking of the monarch to be omitted. The counsellors, to keep their persons and places in great respect were commanded to ride in the streets, either with foot-clothes or in coaches, but never to be seen on foot.

The court, notwithstanding the large sums it had exacted on various pretences, was at length driven into the necessity of parliamentary resources. A public lottery, the first of its kind in England, afforded a small delay; but the invention of the ministry being drained as empty as the exchequer, a parliament was called for the fifth of April, 1614. It was reported, that several persons, attached to the king, had entered into a confederacy; and having laid a regular plan for the new elections, had distributed their interest all over England, and had undertaken to secure a majority for the court. So ignorant were the commons, that they knew not this incident to be the first infallible symptom of any regular or established liberty. Had they been contented to follow the maxims of their predecessors, who, as the earl of Salisbury said to the last parliament, never, but thrice in six hundred years, refused a supply (*q*); they needed not dread that the crown should ever interest itself in their elections. Formerly, the kings even insisted, that none of their household should be elected members; and though the charter was afterwards declared void, Henry VI. from his great favour to the city of York, conferred a peculiar privilege on its citizens, that they should be exempted from this trouble (*r*). It is well known, that, in ancient times, a seat in the house being considered as a burthen, attended neither with honour nor profit, it was requisite for the counties and boroughs to pay fees to their representatives. About this time a seat began to be regarded as an honour, and the country gentlemen contended for it; though the practice of levying wages for the parliament men was not altogether discontinued. It was not till long after, when liberty was thoroughly established, and popular assemblies entered into every branch of public business, that the members began to join profit to honour, and the crown found it necessary to distribute among them all the considerable offices of the kingdom.

It was from the asssurances of his ministers that James assented to make trial of a new parliament, and assumed so much as to demand contribution without bargain; and to declare he would rather lose his life, than the honours and flowers of his crown (*s*). The first business that the parliament entered on was the settlement of the succession on the issue of Elizabeth, in default of the male line (*t*). After this both houses were summoned into the royal presence at the Banqueting-house, Whitehall; where the monarch, after some excuses and protestations upon the abuses of the government, earnestly recommended to them concord with the crown, and unanimity in the granting a supply (*u*). Notwithstanding the cautious endeavours of the ministry, it quickly appeared that the members were not of the proper stamp to serve the court purposes. The opposition carried a motion against the attorney-general's serving as a member of the house of commons (*v*). The courtiers exhausted their arguments for a speedy supply; but it was determined that a redress of grievances should precede it. Committees were appointed for preparing lists of all the national complaints. The indulgence to the papists, and severe treatment of the non-conformists, were vehemently complained of. A bill was prepared for preventing taxes and impositions on merchants, and the debate on it proceeded with great warmth (*w*). Certain patentees for monopolies were ordered to surrender their patents. Sir Thomas Parry, one of the creatures of the court, who had been the most busy in managing elections, was expelled the house (*x*). This was followed by an order for the officers of peace for London and Middlesex to bring in the letters they had received in favour of popish recusants.

In a renewed debate concerning impositions, sir Henry Wootton, who had been employed as ambassador to Venice, and Winwood, the present secretary of state, attempted to prove, that all hereditary princes had a right to impose taxes, though elective ones had not; and instanced the princes of Germany and Italy, with the kings of France and Spain; particularly Henry the Fourth's raising fourteen millions eight hundred thousand pounds, by an imposition on salt only. These absurd comparisons between princes, whose powers and prerogatives were different, according to the different limitations of their respective governments, were ridiculed by the house. Sir Roger Owen advanced, "That the imposition laid by the French king was an usurpation, and contrary to the fundamental laws of France; that the dukedoms of Florence and Milan were mere tyrannies." Sir Thomas Roe, "That if the kings of Spain had such a power, they had received it from the cortes, or parliaments." Sir Edwyn Sandys observed, "That the courtiers' arguments made against themselves, since the French king had raised so immense a sum on his subjects from such an assumed power; that the kings of France, and the rest of the imposing princes, do also make laws, which in a short time will bring all things to a tyrannical course and confusion, both to prince and people: witness the death of the last great imposing prince." In answer to the distinction between an elective and an hereditary prince, he maintained, "That all kings were originally elected, except such as came in by the sword; whom, for that reason, it was lawful to expel by the sword, whenever the people had the power to do it (*y*)."

(*q*) Journ. 17 Feb. 1609. It appears, however, that Salisbury was somewhat mistaken in this fact: and if the kings were not oftener refused supply by the parliament, it was only because they would not often expose themselves to the hazard of being refused: but it is certain that English parliaments did anciently carry their frugality to an extreme, and seldom could be prevailed upon to give the necessary support to government.

(*r*) Coke's Institutes, part 4. chap. i. of Charters of Exemption.

(*s*) The following, which is the exordium to the speech he made at the opening of the sessions, is in too peculiar a stile to be omitted:—"It is the sayeing of the wyseste king that evere was, that the harte of kings weare inscrutable; but in the last parliament, I muste calle to your remembrance the comparrisone I used, whearin I presented myselfe unto you as a mirrore, whearin you mighte cleerlye see the integretye of my purpos for our lengtheninge that parliamente for the generall good and benefyte of the commonwelthe; but as I then sayd of the nature of a mirrore, that it mighte be deffyled by the eyes of the beholderes, so did some of the lowere house looke upon me with polluted eyes, and, as I may saye, deffyled my mirrore. I canne say no more nowe than I did then, but to offere you the same mirrore, to looke to, protestyng, as I shall answere it to Almyghty God, that my integretye is like the whitness of my roabe, my purety like the mettle of golde in my crown, my firmness and clearness, like the presious stones I weare, and my affectyones naturalle, like the redness of my harte." *Parliam. Hist.* vol. v. p. 273.

(*t*) This settlement, which was in consequence of a demand of the king, and the recognition-bill in the beginning of his reign, are two of the remarkable instances which shew that the hereditary succession to the crown of England is not absolute; and that such a monarchical claim is founded on the neglect of asserting the right of assent, and not on any clearly proved principles in the constitution.

(*u*) The arguments he made use of for this purpose were as follow: "That as the laste parliamente begane with trouble and contenshone, and ended so, so this maye begine with alacritye and love, and conclude so lykewise; whaer safty shall be abroade, and love at home, and all aspersiones and rumores of discontente between me and my people shall be taken awaye, and wee maye synge togethere, *Ecce! quam bonum & jucundum.* And when you shall retwrne to your contraye, you shall have prayses, and be approoved in the choyse made of you, that you have given contente to your king." *Parliam. Hist.* vol. v. p. 285.

(*v*) In the debates on this subject, sir Roger Owen shewed, That no attorney-general was ever chosen; nor, anciently, any privy counsellor; nor any that took livery of the king. The precedent he quoted for this was in the seventh year of Richard II. when a knight bannaret was rejected on this account. It was resolved on the question, that the attorney-general should remain in the house for this parliament, but that he should never serve for the future. James had condescended to solicit the house that the attorney-general might keep his seat this parliament.

(*w*) In a question whether the king had a right of imposing taxes, it was unanimously carried in the negative; notwithstanding the corruption of the judges had given it against the people.

(*x*) Warm arguments were urged against this business of undertaking. Sir Roger Owen asserted, that it was one of the articles for deposing Richard the Second.

The king had sent to desire that sir Thomas's punishment might be left to him, with a promise that it should be more severe than the commons themselves would inflict. This request was not granted.

(*y*) Sir Edwyn Sandys had expressed his resentment of this usurpation with great vigour and spirit, when the subject of impositions was first argued in the house. "Some other princes, he said, had imposed, but never claimed, any right; now, the king had claimed it in open parliament: they upon four or five; this king upon so many hundreds: they but for a few months, and, at the prayer of the commons in parliament, put down; here made perpetual by letters patent. That this liberty of imposing trenches on the foundation of all our interests, maketh us bondmen, giveth us no propriety; the king may by the same reasons make laws without parliaments, *Journals of Parliament*, vol. i. p. 472.

It appears by the Journals, that James, after obtaining the judgement of the Exchequer, had published certain settled arbitrary rates and imposts upon goods, for himself and his heirs for ever. The commons said, that this was strange, because no proclamation bound longer than the king's life; that the judgement in the Exchequer was erroneous and unconstitutional; and that the matter was above all judgement, but that of parliament. *Journals*, vol. i. p. 481, *& seq.*

A demand

A demand was made for a conference with the lords (z) concerning a remonstrance against the king's imposing taxes without the consent of parliament; and the commons displayed an admirable skill, aptness, and judgement, in drawing up the heads on which they intended to proceed. The lords shewed themselves extremely jealous of so spirited an exertion, and refused their consent to a conference. This brought on a complaint against Richard Neile (a), bishop of Lincoln, who, in an advice to the lords not to agree with the request of the commons, had affirmed, the matter on which the conference was desired struck not only at the branch, but at the root of the prerogative; that it was contrary to the oaths of allegiance to confer on it; and that he doubted not but there would proceed some undutiful and seditious speeches from the committees of that house, which it would be unfit for them to hear. Many expostulations passed between the two houses on this subject (b): the commons refused to proceed on any business till they had received full satisfaction, which occasioned an angry message from the king, threatening to dissolve them if they did not proceed on the business of supply (c). Papers of arbitrary projects to govern without parliaments were every night flung about the streets. But these threats did not deter the commons from keeping firm to their resolution. The king finding that it was impossible to obtain a supply, without remitting some of his high pretensions; and fearing for his creatures, should the parliament continue to sit, dissolved them on the seventh of June, before even one statute was enacted.

In this parliament the opposition had fallen very violently upon the new-created titles, on the lottery, on the admission of papists to offices and honours, and on the many proposals which had been made to marry the king's son to a popish princess. Neither did the increasing growth of luxury, which had been propagated by the example of the court, escape the censure of the patriot members: a bill against gold, silver, gilding, &c. was brought into the house, and received with approbation. It was pleaded that this sumptuary law was consonant to the ordinances of God and nature; that vain expence in apparel, and other kinds of shew, was the cause of the want of hospitality: and to convince the house of the enormous height to which this despicable vice had arose in that centre of extravagance and folly, the court, an example was mentioned of a great courtier having expended eighteen pounds a-year upon shoestrings. James was so injudicious as to wreak his vengeance on the leading members: and several of them were thrown into prison: Thomas Wentworth, afterwards earl of Strafford, was one of these sufferers (d). A benevolence was demanded in a very arbitrary manner; but it met with such a firm spirit of opposition from all ranks of men, that it answered very indifferently the purposes of the court.

The king of Denmark paid his brother-in-law another visit, and dissipation continued strongly to prevail. Whilst this monarch was in England, a court cabal began to threaten the fortune of the favourite Somerset; a man who differed in no respect from the common herd, excepting in the degree of his vices, which had attained an astonishing height from the pampering of a luxurious court. A viciousness which had no balance from sense, experience, or judgement, drove him into excesses that at length afforded his enemies a full opportunity to effect his ruin.

The favourite had hitherto escaped the inquiry of justice; but he had not escaped that still voice which can make itself be heard amidst all the hurry and flattery of a court, and astonishes the criminal with a just representation of his most secret enormities. Conscious of the murder of his friend, sir Thomas Overbury, Somerset received small consolation from the enjoyments of love, or the indulgence of his sovereign. The graces of his youth gradually disappeared, the gaiety of his manners was obscured, his polite behaviour was changed into sullenness; and the king, whose affections had been engaged by these superficial accomplishments, began to estrange himself from a man who no longer contributed to his amusement. The sagacious courtiers observed the first symptoms of this disgust: Somerset's enemies seized the opportunity, and offered a new minion to the king. George Villiers, a youth of one-and-twenty, younger brother of a good family, returned at this time, in the beginning of 1615, from his travels, and was remarked for the advantages of a handsome person, genteel air, and fashionable apparel. At a comedy he was purposely placed in James's sight, and immediately engaged the attention, and, in the same instant, the affections of that monarch. Ashamed of his sudden attachment, the king endeavoured, but in vain, to conceal the partiality which he felt for the handsome stranger; and he employed all his profound politics to fix him in his service, without seeming to desire it. He declared his resolution not to confer any office on him, unless entreated by the queen; and pretended, that it should only be in complaisance to her choice he would agree to admit him near his person. The queen was immediately applied to; but she, well knowing the extravagant height to which the king carried these attachments, refused, at first, to lend her countenance to this new passion. It was not till entreated by Abbot, archbishop of Canterbury, a decent prelate, and one much prejudiced against Somerset, that she would condescend to oblige her husband, by asking this favour of him (e). And the king, thinking now that all appearances were fully saved, no longer constrained his affection, but immediately bestowed the office of cupbearer on young Villiers.

The whole court was thrown into parties between the two favourites; while some endeavoured to advance the rising fortunes of Villiers, others deemed it safer to adhere to the established credit of Somerset. The king himself, divided between inclination and decorum, increased the doubt and ambiguity of the courtiers; and the stern jealousy of the old favourite, who refused every advance of friendship from his rival, begat perpetual quarrels between their several partizans. But the discovery of Somerset's guilt in the murder of Overbury, at last decided the controversy, and exposed him to the ruin and infamy which he so justly merited.

An apothecary's apprentice, who had been employed in

(z) Sir Roger Owen, who was appointed to open the conference, was directed to make the following observation: That the king, in answer to the last petition of the commons on this head, had referred them to the law of the land, and yet in the mean time proceeded to multiply impositions. *Journ. House of Com.* vol. i. p. 481.

(a) The following is an anecdote that will serve to illustrate the character of this prelate: Neile, bishop of Lincoln, and Andrews, bishop of Winchester, being at dinner with the king in public, James in this situation had the imprudence to propose aloud this question, "Whether he might not take his subjects' money, without consent of parliament?" The sycophant Neile replied, "God forbid you should not, for you are the breath of our nostrils." Andrews declined answering, and said, He was not skilled in parliamentary cases. On the king's urging him, he replied pleasantly, "I think your majesty has an undoubted right to my brother Neile's money, for he offers it." *Life of Andrews, Bishop of Winchester.*

(b) In the debates of the lower house, it was proposed to pass a bill to seize his bishopric for seven years towards a supply. Many members testified their concern that the king should be beset with such parasites; Mr. Alford was for carrying their complaint to the king; sir Jerome Horsey said, That they had had continual interruption all this parliament; that this bone amongst the rest was thrown in by a devil, if a bishop might be a devil; he wished a select committee might be nominated to consider of an immediate message to the king. Sir Edwyn Sandys justly observed, that to go immediately to the king, would wrong the liberties of the upper house. The commons were determined by the judicious arguments urged by this member. It was ordered, on the question, that there should be a cessation of all business, but proceedings on the bishop of Lincoln, till an answer should come from the lords concerning that matter. The next day the house received an admonitory letter from the king to desist from their resolution. They were on the point of coming to some severe resolution against informers, when sir Thomas Lake, one of the secretaries of state, discovered that the king had been shewn the order by the speaker, who received a severe reprimand from the house, for his unparliamentary proceeding. The anger of the commons against this offending prelate was heightened by James's meddling in the matter; and, though they received a softening proposal from the lords, they adhered to their resolution of obliging the bishop to answer at the bar of the house of commons. *Journals*, vol. i. p. 496, *& seq.*

(c) On an enquiry into the king's necessities it was found, that he was already one million two hundred thousand pounds in debt, and that upwards of eighty-five thousand pounds went yearly in pensions.

(d) This member had expressed his disapprobation of the measures of the court, in a manner improper and intemperate: he applied the two following verses from the prophet Daniel to the late king of France and the king of England: "Then shall stand up in his estate a raiser of taxes in the glory of the kingdom; but within a few days he shall be destroyed, neither in anger nor in battle. And in his estate shall stand up a vile person, to whom they shall not give the honour of the kingdom, but he shall come in peaceably and obtain the kingdom by flatteries." *Journals*, vol. i. p. 493.

(e) The reason of her unwillingness exhibits a remarkable trait in James's character. "My lord," said she to the archbishop, "you and the rest of you know not what to do; I know your master better than you all; for if this young man be once brought in, the first person that he will plague must be you that labour for him; yea, I shall have my part also; the king will teach him to despise and hardly intreat us all, that he may seem to be beholden to none but himself." James affected sagacity and design in his most trifling concerns, and insisted on the ceremony of the queen's recommending, that he might have to say, upon a complaint of the ill behaviour of his favourite, "It was long of yourself, for you were the party that commended him to me."

making

making up the poisons, having retired to Flushing, began to talk very freely of the whole secret; and the affair at last came to the ears of Trumbal, the king's envoy in the Low Countries. By this means, sir Ralph Winwood, secretary of state, was informed, and he immediately carried the intelligence to James.

Somerset now perceived, notwithstanding his master's profound dissimulation, that his favour began to wain. He knew the inveteracy of his enemies, and was conscious of the advantages his crimes had given them. Tortured with the fears of guilt, and the precariousness of his situation, he solicited for a pardon, which he obtained in the fullest form. It was drawn up by sir Robert Cotton, who copied the manner of a pardon granted by Henry the Eighth to Wolsey, with the following questionable clause: "That the king, out of his mere motion and especial favour, did pardon all and all manner of treasons, misprision of treasons, murders, felonies, and outrages whatsoever, by the said Robert, earl of Somerset, committed, or to be hereafter committed." This pardon, though signed by the king, was impeded from passing the offices, by the enemies of Somerset. James by this time had received strong intimations of the guilty secret, but still acted the part of dissimulation, and retired with his quondam favourite to Theobalds in Hertfordshire; either with design to avoid appearing in the prosecution, or to fly from the clamorous rumours of murder. From thence he went to Royston, where he continued to treat Somerset with all the appearances of friendship; and at the same time ordered sir Edward Coke, lord chief justice, and sir Francis Bacon, the attorney-general, to take upon themselves his prosecution. A warrant was actually served on him whilst James, who had an unseemly way of lolling his arms about his favourite's neck, was indulging himself in that posture. Somerset exclaimed against the outrage of arresting him in the king's presence; but James could not be prevailed on to remit it; and feigning an entire ignorance of the affair, cried, "Nay, man, if Coke sends for me I must go;" then, after the most affectionate farewel, as soon as he was carried off, he exclaimed, "Go, and the deel go with thee, for I will neere see thy face more." He told the lord chief justice, that Somerset and his wife had made him a pimp, to carry on their bawdry and murder; and therefore commanded him to examine the affair with strict scrutiny, and to spare no man whatsoever; adding, "God's curse be upon you and yours if you spare any of them, and God's curse be upon me and mine if I pardon any of them." Sir Jervis Ellis, lieutenant of the Tower, Franklin, the apothecary, and other delinquents, were apprehended.

Whatever was the nature of the secret, James's intimacy with Somerset had certainly produced an intercourse which gave him some uneasiness. The letters that sir Francis Bacon wrote on the occasion of the prosecution proved that the criminal was, from this circumstance, formidable enough to require management. "He approves of a charm to be infused into Somerset's ear, but wishes it was more enlarged, and that the utmost favours should be continued, on condition of his prudent demeanors." Somerset continued so assured in his behaviour, that thoughts were entertained of restoring him altogether to favour. Bacon, in another letter, dissuades the king from such an impolitic conduct, and advises certain hopes to be given to the criminal two or three days before the trial; "But all these hopes, continues he, of favour and mercy, are to be understood with this limitation; if he does not, by his contemptuous and insolent carriage at the bar, make himself uncapable and unworthy of them." "That danger, returned James, is well to be foreseen, lest he, upon the one part, commit unpardonable errors, and I, on the other part, seem to punish him in the spirit of revenge."

After these precautions had been used, and the criminal at length convinced that his life depended upon his prudent behaviour, the two principals were brought to their trial (*f*). The countess pleaded guilty (*g*), and Somerset made a languid defence. They both received sentence of death, and continued some years in prison; but had afterwards a pardon, and enjoyed a pension of four thousand pounds per annum. In one of the letters which Somerset wrote to James after he was remanded to the Tower, there is this obscure paragraph: "I will say no farther, neither in that which your majesty doubted my aptness to fall into, for my cause nor my confidence is not in that distress as to use that means of intercession." They retired upon their pension, and languished out old age in infamy and obscurity. The union of this guilty couple, which had been accomplished by the violation of the most sacred laws of society, became their severest punishment; for their guilty loves were turned into the most deadly hatred; and they passed many years together in the same house, without any intercourse or correspondence with each other.

These following instruments of the murder, sir Jervis Ellis, lieutenant of the Tower (*h*), Mrs. Turner (*i*), Weston, who had been appointed keeper to Overbury, and Franklin, the apothecary, were convicted and executed. Sir Thomas Monson, a creature of Somerset's, was accused as a party, and brought to his trial, but for private reasons was remanded to prison (*k*). The earl of Northampton, uncle to the countess, had been privy to all the circumstances of the murder, but died a little while after the perpetration of it (*l*).

The disgrace, fall, and ruin of Somerset, and his banishment from court, removed all obstruction to the rising fortune of Villiers, who rose at once to the full height of fa-

(*f*) Sir Anthony Welden relates an anecdote he had from sir George More, lieutenant of the Tower. When he (More) came to tell Somerset he must prepare for his trial on the morrow, he refused to appear, and said, "The king durst not bring him to it." On More's informing the king of these expressions, he burst into tears, and intreated him to use his utmost skill, and sooth the prisoner by whatever means into temper and submission. The same author relates, that More, when Somerset was brought to his trial, placed a servant on each side of him, with a cloak on their arms, giving a peremptory order, If Somerset did any way fly out on the king, that they should instantly hoodwink him with that cloak, take him by force from the bar, and carry him off.

One of the precautions which Bacon had recommended to James was, to be careful to chuse a steward of judgement, that might be able to moderate the evidence, and cut off digressions; "For I may interrupt, adds he, but I cannot silence."

On the day of trial, when Somerset was on the point of speaking for himself, the lord high steward gave him the following caution: "My lord of Somerset, said he, hath behaved himself modestly in the hearing; and only this (before you speak for yourself) by way of advice I will say unto you, in giving you two examples: your wife, that yesterday confessed the fact; and there is great hopes of the king's mercy, if you now mar not that which she made. On the contrary, Byron, who, when the king of France used all the means he possibly could to bring him to the acknowledgement of his offence; which if he had done, there was no question to be made of the king's grace. And I think there never was, nor is, a more gracious and merciful king than our master. But Byron still persisting in the denial of the fact, you know his end." *Cabala*, p. 34. *State Trials*, vol. i. p. 258.

(*g*) At her arraignment appeared several letters that had passed between her and her agents; the purpose of which was the expected success of some magical courses which these people had undertaken, and this weak woman had depended on, for the ends of debilitating her husband, and rendering her lover constant in his affection; several wax and brazen images moulded for these purposes were likewise exposed. *State Trials*, vol. i.

(*h*) Sir William Wade was removed from the lieutenancy of the Tower immediately before Overbury's confinement, and this instrument of Somerset's villainy substituted in his place.

(*i*) It may be worthy of remark, that Coke, in the trial of Mrs. Turner, told her that she was guilty of the seven deadly sins; she was a whore, a bawd, a sorcerer, a witch, a papist, a felon, and a murderer. And what may more surprise us, Bacon, then attorney-general, took care to observe, that poisoning was a popish trick. Such were the bigoted prejudices which prevailed: poisoning was not, of itself, sufficiently odious, if it were not represented as a branch of popery. Stowe tells us, that when the king came to Newcastle, on his first entry into England, he gave liberty to all the prisoners, except those who were confined for treason, murder, and *papistry*.

(*k*) Sir Anthony Weldon tells us the following story on the subject of this remand. The king being at the game of maw, said, "To-morrow comes Tom Monson to his trial." "Yea, said the king's card-hold; where if he does not play his master-prize, your majesty shall never trust me." This so run in the king's mind, continues the author, as the next game he said he was sleepy, and would play out that set next night. The gentleman departed to his lodging; but he was no sooner gone but the king sent for him: what communication they had I know not (yet it may be can more easily guess than any other) but it is most certain, next under God, that gentleman saved his life; for the king sent a post presently to London, to let the lord chief justice know he would see Monson's examination and confession, to see if it were worthy to touch his life for so small a matter. Monson was too wise to set any thing but fair in his confession; what he would have stab'd with should have been *(viva voce)* at his arraignment. *Weldon*, p. 103, *& seq.*

(*l*) The following is the copy of a letter from the earl of Northampton to sir Jervis Ellis, lieutenant of the Tower:

"Worthy Mr. Lieutenant, let me intreat you to call Lidcote and three or four of his friends, if so many come, to view the body, if they have not already done it; and so soon as it is viewed, without staying the coming of a messenger from the court, in any case see it interred in the body of the chapel within the Tower, instantly.

"If they have viewed, then bury it by and by; for it is time, considering the humours of that damned crew, that only desire means to move pity and raise scandals. Let no man's instance move you to make stay in any case; and bring me these letters when I next see you.

"Fail not a jot herein, as you love your friends; nor after Lidcote and his friends have viewed stay one minute, but let the priest be ready; and if Lidcote be not there send for him speedily, pretending that the body will not tarry.

"In post haste at twelve." *Winwood*, vol. iii. p. 482.

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vour, of honours, and of riches. Had James's passion been governed by common rules of prudence, the office of cup-bearer would have attached Villiers to his person, and might well have contented one of his age and family; nor would any one, who was not cynically austere, have much censured the singularity of the king's choice in his friends and favourites. But such advancement was far inferior to the fortune which he intended for his minion. James, from his want of money, had hitherto been deprived of the pleasure of enriching this minion; but the spoils of Somerset afforded him that satisfaction. These spoils amounted to the sum of two hundred thousand pounds, and an estate of nineteen thousand a year; an immense wealth, if estimated by the value of money in those days. The unrivalled Villiers now shone forth in all the gaudy plumage of royal favour. James found in the disposition of the young man an unbounded levity, and a ductile licentiousness, which promised as glorious a harvest as vice and folly would desire. In the course of a few years, he created him viscount Villiers, earl, marquis, and duke of Buckingham, knight of the garter, master of the horse, chief justice in eyre, warden of the cinque ports, master of the king's bench office, steward of Westminster, constable of Windsor, and lord high admiral of England. His mother obtained the title of countess of Buckingham: his brother was created viscount Purbeck; and a numerous train of needy relations were all pushed up into credit and authority. And thus the fond prince, while he meant to play the tutor to his favourite, and to train him up in the rules of prudence and politics, took an infallible method, by loading him with premature and exorbitant honours, to render him, for ever, rash, precipitate, and insolent.

In the midst, however, of James's pleasure he met with some crosses which thwarted him. Lord chief justice Coke, from some transactions that had happened during Somerset's trial, was extremely displeased with the court: this displeasure gave rise to an integrity which had never yet appeared in his political conduct. He formed a strong party among the lawyers, and attacked the usurpations of the crown upon all occasions. Part of the prerogative concerning commendams to livings was now disputed in the Common Pleas; the judges were against the crown, and had even the spirit to disregard a command from the king to stop proceedings. The command was delivered in a letter from the attorney-general, sir Francis Bacon. The judges pronounced the command to be contrary to law; and as such they were not to obey, but proceed to judgement as bound by their oath. This roused James from his retreat at Royston; he sent a haughty reprimand to the judges, in which he highly asserted his prerogative, and treated their oath merely as a form devised by his predecessors, which, he said, could never be meant as a weapon to wound the royal power. The judges were ordered to attend the star-chamber, and James displayed his arbitrary pretensions in a species of reasoning peculiar to himself. Coke maintained the justness of the refusal by the authority of two acts of parliament; and when Bacon officiously took up the cause of majesty, he excepted against such an interference, as of an opposite nature to the office of attorney-general, whose business it was to plead before the judges, not against them. The judges, however, had not the courage longer to resist; and, to the great dissatisfaction of the chief justice, meanly submitted the case to the judgement of the privy council, who, as a matter of course, determined it for the prerogative. An answer of Coke's in this debate is worthy of record. On James's raising his voice, and asking the judges in a peremptory manner, "Whether if in a case depending before them, he conceived it to concern him in profit or power, and thereupon required to consult with them, and a stay of proceedings, whether they ought not to stay them accordingly?" all but the lord chief justice assented to the demanded obligation; but he with dignity replied, "That when such a case happened, he would do that which was fit for a judge to do."

Bacon, the greatest preferment-seeker of the age, to the abuse of his excellent talents, had sought aggrandisement by the most contemptible means. Ever the tool of authority, from the creature of Somerset he had become the creature of Villiers; blind and insensible to the superiority of true dignity, he eagerly pursued, in the most disgraceful manner (*m*), that deceitful image of it which attracts the vulgar. From Villiers he had now the promise of succeeding the chancellor, who was in a visible decline. In a letter to James, full of the most servile adulation, he begged this place, and asserted it was the interest of the king to give it him. He objected to Coke's popularity, and said, "That such men were no sure mounters for his majesty's saddle; to Hobart, because he was no statesman; and if he and Coke were placed at both ends of the council-board, the prerogative would be cramped between the two lawyers, who would generally agree in exalting law above power. For myself, says he, I can only present your majesty with *gloria in obsequio*; when a direction is once given, it shall be pursued and performed, and your majesty only troubled with the true care of a king, to think in chief what you would have done, not how."

In a rupture between the judges and the chancellor, the jurisdiction of whose court was already extended to the detriment of the law, the chancellor was prosecuted for having incurred a premunire (*n*) in entertaining a cause that had been adjudged in the court of Common Pleas. The prosecution was supported by Coke and the judges (*o*). James was glad of an opportunity to weaken the authority of the courts of common law. On the searching of precedents there were found many examples of proceedings in Chancery after judgement in these courts: on this authority, James summoned the parties into the star-chamber, where, according to custom, he harangued with his usual flights of the power of kings, and obedience of subjects. "Kings, he said, sat in the throne of God, and from thence all judgement is derived." He compared the power of judgement in Christian kings to that of Moses, to whom all profound questions were left. He determined from thence that there is a conjunction between God and the king upward, and the king and the judges downward. "Encroach not, said he, upon the prerogative; deal not in difficult questions. That which concerns the mystery of the king's power is not lawful to be disputed, for that is to wade into the weakness of princes, and to take away the mystical reverence that belongs to those who sit on the throne of God. It was an odious and inept speech to say that a premunire lay against the court of Chancery; I mean not that the Chancery should exceed its limits, but the king only is to correct it, and none else." He commanded that no man hereafter should presume to shew a premunire against the court of Chancery. Then in the most hyperbolical strains he praised the star-chamber, and afterwards addressed himself to the whole auditory, and advised them "Not to presume to meddle with things against the king's prerogative or honour; for if they did the judges will punish them; and in case the judges do not, he must punish both them and the judges. Plead not, continued he, upon puritanical strains, that make all things popular, but keep you within the ancient limits (*p*)."

Sir Edward Coke was the sufferer from this triumph of James, to whom he was personally odious. He was prosecuted with the utmost rancour on the following heads: first, for having concealed a statute due to the crown of twelve thousand pounds from the lord chancellor Hatton, whose widow he had married; secondly, for having expressed himself upon the bench as if the common law was in danger of being overthrown, with insinuations as if the king was its enemy; thirdly, for having behaved disrespectfully to the king in the case of commendams, and

(*m*) In a letter to James he draws a lively picture of his servility. "How honestly ready I have been, most gracious sovereign (writes he) to do your majesty humble service to the best of my power, in the commission of union, and this last parliament for the bill of subsidy, both body and preamble, in the bill of attainders, in the matter of purveyance, in the ecclesiastical petitions, in the grievances, and the like; as I was ever careful, not without good success, sometimes to put forward that which was good, sometimes to keep back that which was worse." *Cabala.*

(*n*) On the statute of Henry IV. that the judgement given in the king's court shall not be examined in chancery, parliament, or elsewhere, until it be undone by attaint or error.

(*o*) Some time before this rupture, James, in a conversation with the lord chief justice Coke and the lord chancellor, had charged them to refer all disputes to his private decision. *Letters from and to Sir Dudley Carleton*, 1758, p. 45.

(*p*) Bacon's advice to the king, in the business of the premunire, is one of the innumerable instances that this contemptible time-server has given of the servility and corruptness of his heart. "This great and public affront, says he, not only to the reverend and well-deserving person of your chancellor (at a time when he was thought to lie on dying, which was barbarous) but to your high court of Chancery, which is the court of your absolute power, may not (in my opinion) pass lightly, nor end only in some formal atonement; but use is to be made thereof for the settling your authority, and strengthening your prerogative, according to the true rules of monarchy." *Cabala*, p. 32.

injuriously to the lord chancellor in the affair of the præmunire. Though the lord chief justice could not be legally convicted on any of these articles, yet, by the sentence of the star-chamber, he was brought upon his knees, deprived of his office (*q*), and ordered to retire to a private life, there to review his law-works, to some passages of which James had made objections.

There were many circumstances in Coke's behaviour, that had concurred to draw upon him this unjust treatment. He was not only hateful to James from the opposition he had raised to the usurpations of the crown; he had even ventured to offend the favourite Villiers. Sir Nicholas Tufton had a patent place in the green-wax office in the King's Bench, which Villiers wanted to fill with one of his creatures. He obtained the surrender of the place from Sir Nicholas by the bribe of a peerage; but met with an obstacle in Coke, who refused to admit a clerk of Villiers's nomination.

The recent triumph of the prerogative over law delighted the courtiers with the prospect of an established tyranny: what could be more promising to the enemies of civil liberty than the increasing jurisdiction of the Chancery, and the confirmed usurpation of the star-chamber!

An occasion for an extraordinary expence and pageantry offered this year, in the creation of a prince of Wales. A profusion of titles followed this ceremony. Villiers obtained that of viscount, and at the end of the year was made earl of Buckingham. The great bar to that excess of pomp and pleasure the court delighted to revel in, was the poverty of the exchequer; a malady to which the unmeaning prodigality of James continually subjected it. Necessity reduced the ministry to adopt a measure which was considered in this country as disgraceful, and which held the monarch up to the contempt and derision of the continental powers.

When queen Elizabeth advanced money for the support of the infant republic of Holland, besides the view of securing herself against the power and ambition of Spain, she still reserved the prospect of reimbursement; and she got consigned into her hands the three important fortresses of Flushing, the Brille, and Rammekins, as pledges for the money due to her. Indulgent to the necessitous condition of the States, she agreed that the debt should bear no interest; and she stipulated, that if ever England should make a separate peace with Spain, she should pay the troops which garrisoned those fortresses (*r*).

After the truce was concluded between Spain and the United Provinces, the States made an agreement with the king, that the debt, which then amounted to eight hundred thousand pounds, should be discharged by yearly payments of forty thousand pounds; and as five years had elapsed, the debt was now reduced to six hundred thousand pounds; and in fifteen years more, if the truce were renewed, it would be finally extinguished (*s*). But of this sum, twenty-six thousand pounds a-year were expended on the pay of garrisons: the remainder alone accrued to the king; and the States, weighing these circumstances, thought, that they made James a very advantageous offer when they expressed their willingness, on the surrender of the cautionary towns, to pay him immediately two hundred and fifty thousand pounds, and to incorporate the English garrisons in their army. It occurred also to the king, that even the payment of forty thousand pounds a-year was precarious, and depended on the accident that the truce should be renewed between Spain and the republic: if war broke out, the maintenance of the garrisons lay upon England alone; a burthen very useless and too heavy for the slender revenues of the English nation: that even during the truce, the Dutch, straitened by other expences, were far from being regular in their payments; and the garrisons were at present in danger of mutinying for want of subsistence: that the annual sum of fourteen thousand pounds, the whole saving on the Dutch payments, amounted, in fifteen years, to no more than two hundred and ten thousand pounds; whereas two hundred and fifty thousand pounds were offered immediately, a larger sum, and if money be computed at ten per cent. the current interest at that period, more than double the sum to which England was entitled (*t*): that if James waited till the whole debt were discharged, the troops, which composed the garrisons, remained a burthen upon him, and could not be broken, without receiving some consideration for their past services: that the cautionary towns were only a temporary restraint upon the Hollanders; and in the present emergency, the conjunction of interest between England and the republic was so intimate as to render all other ties superfluous; and no reasonable measures for mutual support would be wanting from the Dutch, even though freed from the dependence of these garrisons: that the exchequer of the republic was at present very low, insomuch that they found difficulty, now that the aids of France were withdrawn, to maintain themselves in that posture of defence which was requisite during the truce with Spain: and that the Spaniards were perpetually insisting with the king on the restitution of these towns, as belonging to their crown; and no cordial alliance could ever be made with that nation, while they remained in the hands of the English. These reasons, together with his urgent wants, induced the king to accept of sir Noel Caron's offer (*u*); and he evacuated the cautionary towns on the 6th of June, 1606, which held the States in a degree of subjection, and which an ambitious and enterprizing prince would have regarded as his most valuable possessions. This is the date of the full liberty of the Dutch commonwealth.

When the crown of England devolved on James, it might have been foreseen by the Scottish nation, that the independence of their kingdom, the object for which their ancestors had shed so much blood, would now be lost; and that, if both states persevered in maintaining separate laws and parliaments, the weaker would more sensibly feel the subjection, than if it had been totally subdued by force of arms. But these views did not generally occur. The glory of having given a sovereign to their powerful enemy, the advantages of present peace and tranquillity, the riches acquired from the munificence of their master; these considerations secured their dutiful obedience to a prince, who daily gave such sensible proofs of his friendship and partiality towards them. Never had the authority of any king, who resided among them, been so firmly established as was that of James, even when absent; and as the administration had been hitherto conducted with great order and tranquillity, there had happened no occurrence to draw thither our attention. But in May 1617, the king was resolved to pay a visit to his native country, in order to renew his ancient friendships and connections, and to introduce that change of ecclesiastical discipline and government, on which he was extremely intent (*v*).

When the Scottish nation was first seized with that zeal for reformation, which, though it caused such disturbance during the time, has proved so salutary in the consequences; the preachers, assuming a character little inferior to the prophetic or apostolical, disdained all subjection to the spiritual rulers of the church, by whom their innovations were punished and opposed. The revenues of the dignified clergy, no longer considered as sacred, were either appropriated by the present possessors, or seized by the more powerful barons; and what remained, after mighty dilapidations, was, by act of parliament, annexed to the crown. The prelates however, and abbots, maintained their temporal jurisdictions and their seats in parliament; and though laymen were sometimes endowed with ecclesiastical titles, the church, notwithstanding its frequent protestations to the contrary, was still supposed to be represented by those spiritual lords, in the states of the kingdom. After many struggles the king, even before his accession to the throne of England, (in 1598,) had acquired sufficient influence over the Scottish clergy, to extort from them an acknowledgement of the parliamentary jurisdiction of bishops; though attended with many precautions, in order to secure themselves against the spiritual encroachments of that order. When king of England,

(*q*) On Coke's being thus deprived of his office, Bacon, with whom he had been long at variance, wrote him an abusive railing epistle, with the following exordium; "That he supposed this to be the time of his affliction, and therefore he took the seasonable advantage to shew him his imperfections." The whole of this letter is written in a stile of fulsome cant that does as little credit to the genius of the author, as the malice which is in it does to the qualities of his heart. *Cabala*, p. 88, & *seq.*

(*r*) Rymer, tom. xvi. p. 341. Winwood, vol. ii. p. 351.

(*s*) Sir Dudley Carleton's Letters, p. 27, 28.

(*t*) An annuity of fourteen thousand pounds during fifteen years, money being at ten per cent. is worth on computation only one hundred and six thousand five hundred pounds, whereas the king received two hundred and fifty thousand. Yet the bargain was good for the Dutch, as well as the king, because they were both of them freed from the maintenance of useless garrisons.

(*u*) Sir Noel Caron was ambassador from the States of Holland to the court of England.

(*v*) The three chief points of this kind, which James proposed to accomplish by his journey to Scotland, were, the enlarging of episcopal authority, the establishing of a few ceremonies in public worship, and the fixing of a superiority in the civil above the ecclesiastical jurisdiction.

he engaged them, (in 1606,) though still with great reluctance on their part, to advance a step farther, and to receive the bishops as perpetual presidents or moderators in their ecclesiastical synods; reiterating their protestations against all spiritual jurisdiction of the prelates, and all controlling power over the presbyters. And by such gradual innovations, the king flattered himself, that he should quietly introduce episcopal authority: but as his final scope was fully seen from the beginning, every new advance gave fresh occasion of discontent, and aggravated the abhorrence entertained against the prelacy.

What rendered the king's aim more apparent were, the endeavours which he used to introduce into Scotland some of the ceremonies of the church of England: the rest, it was easily foreseen, would soon follow. The fire of devotion, excited by novelty, and inflamed by opposition, had so possessed the minds of the Scottish reformers, that all rites and ornaments, and even order of worship, were disdainfully rejected as useless burthens. A mode of worship was established, the most naked and most simple imaginable; one that borrowed nothing from the senses; but reposed itself entirely on the contemplation of that divine essence, which discovers itself to the understanding only. Notwithstanding this James endeavoured to infuse a small tincture of ceremony into the national worship, and to introduce such rites as might, in some degree, according to his own apprehension, occupy the mind, and please the senses, without departing too far from that simplicity, by which the reformation was distinguished. The finer arts too, though still rude in these northern kingdoms, were employed to adorn the churches; and the king's chapel, in which an organ was erected, and some pictures and statues displayed, was proposed as a model to the rest of the nation. But music was grating to the prejudiced ears of the Scottish clergy; sculpture and painting appeared instruments of idolatry; the surplice was a rag of popery; and every motion or gesture, prescribed by the liturgy, was a step towards that spiritual Babylon, so much the object of their horror and aversion. Every thing was deemed impious, but their own comments on the Scriptures.

It will not be necessary to give a particular account of the ceremonies which the king was so intent to establish. It suffices here to remark, that the rites introduced by James regarded the kneeling at the sacrament, private communion, private baptism, confirmation of children, and the observance of Christmas and other festivals. The acts, establishing these ceremonies, were afterwards known by the name of the articles of Perth, from the place where they were ratified by the assembly.

A conformity of discipline and worship between the churches of England and Scotland, which was James's aim, he never could hope to establish, but by first procuring an acknowledgement of hisown authority in all spiritual causes; and nothing could be more contrary to the practice as well as principles of the presbyterian clergy. The ecclesiastical courts possessed the power of pronouncing excommunication; and that sentence, besides the spiritual consequences supposed to follow from it, was attended with immediate effects of the most important nature. The person excommunicated was shunned by every one as profane and impious; and his whole estate, during his life-time, and all his moveables, for ever, were forfeited to the crown. Nor were the previous steps, requisite before pronouncing this sentence, formal or regular, in proportion to the weight of it. Without accuser, without summons, without trial, any ecclesiastical court, however inferior, sometimes pretended, in a summary manner, to denounce excommunication, for any cause, and against any person, even though he lived not within the bounds of their jurisdiction. And by this means, the whole tyranny of the inquisition, though without its order, was introduced into the kingdom.

The clergy, however, were not content with the unlimited jurisdiction which they exercised in ecclesiastical matters: they assumed a censorial power over every part of administration; and, in all their sermons, and even prayers, mingling politics with religion, they inculcated the most seditious and most turbulent principles. Black, minister of St. Andrews, went so far, in a sermon which he preached in 1596, as to pronounce all kings the devil's children; he gave the queen of England the appellation of Atheist; he said, that the treachery of the king's heart was now fully discovered; and in his prayers for the queen he used these words; "We must pray for her for the fashion's sake, but we have no cause: she will never do us any good." When summoned before the privy council, he refused to answer to a civil court for any thing delivered from the pulpit, even though the crime of which he was accused, was of a civil nature. The church adopted his cause. They raised a sedition in Edinburgh in December, 1596. The king, during some time, was in the hands of the enraged populace; and it was not without courage, as well as dexterity, that he was able to extricate himself. A few days after, a minister, preaching in the principal church of that capital, said, that the king was possessed with a devil; and, that one devil being expelled, seven worse had entered in his place. To which he added, that the subjects might lawfully rise, and take the sword out of his hand (*w*).

By the stretches of power usurped by the ecclesiastics, and by the apparent patient conduct of James, the church began to lose ground, even before the king's accession to the throne of England: but no sooner had that event taken place, than he made the Scottish clergy sensible, that he was become the sovereign of a great kingdom, which he governed with great authority. Though formerly he would have thought himself happy to have made a fair partition with them of the civil and ecclesiastical authority, he was now resolved to exert a supreme jurisdiction in church as well as in state, and to put an end to their seditious practices. An assembly had been summoned at Aberdeen, in July, 1604; but, on account of his journey to London, he prorogued it to the year following. Some of the clergy, however, disavowing his ecclesiastical supremacy, met at the time first appointed, notwithstanding his prohibition. He threw them into prison. Such of them as submitted, and acknowledged their error, were pardoned. The rest were brought to their trial. They were condemned for high treason. The king gave them their lives; but banished them the kingdom. Six of them suffered this penalty.

The general assembly was afterwards induced, June 6, 1610, to acknowledge the king's authority in summoning ecclesiastical courts, and to submit to the jurisdiction and visitation of the bishops. Even their favourite sentence of excommunication was declared invalid, unless confirmed by the ordinary. The king recommended to the inferior courts the members whom they should elect to this assembly; and every thing was conducted in it with little appearance of choice and liberty.

By his own prerogative likewise, which he seems to have stretched on this occasion, the king had erected a court of high commission, on the 15th of February, in imitation of that which was established in England. The bishops and a few of the clergy, who had been summoned, willingly acknowledged this court; and it proceeded immediately upon business, as if its authority had been grounded on the full consent of the whole legislature. But James reserved the final blow for the 18th of June, when he should himself pay a visit to Scotland. He proposed to the parliament, which was then assembled, that they should enact, that, "whatever his majesty should determine in the external government of the church, with the consent of the archbishops, bishops, and a competent number of the ministry, should have the force of law." What number should be deemed competent was not determined: and their nomination was left entirely to the king: so that his ecclesiastical authority, had this bill passed, would have been established in its full extent.

The ministers assembled and drew up a petition against the innovations which the king wanted to introduce, and put him in mind of the letter, in which he assured them, that his intended journey to Scotland was not to produce any alteration in the civil or ecclesiastical government of the kingdom. The protestation concludes thus: "These and many other reasons have moved us, in all reverence, by this our humble supplication, to entreat your highness and honourable estates, not to suffer the afore-named article, or any other prejudicial to our former liberties, to pass at this time, to the grief of this poor church; that the universal hope of thousands in this land, who rejoiced at your majesty's happy arrival, be not turned into mourning; wherein, as we are earnest supplicants to God to incline your majesty's heart this way, as the most expedient for the honour of God, and weal of your subjects, so, if we shall be frustrated of this our reasonable desire, then do we in all humility (with that dutiful acknowledgement of

(*w*) Scarcely, even during the darkest night of papal superstition, are there found such instances of priestly encroachments, as the annals of Scotland present to us during that period.

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our loyalty to your majesty as becometh) protest, for ourselves and all our brethren who shall adhere to this protestation, that as we are free of the same, so must we be forced rather to incur the censure of your majesty's law, than to admit or obtemper any imposition that shall not flow from the church orderly convened, others having power from the same." This petition and protestation was subscribed but by one minister, in the name of the brethren and supplicants, but in a separate paper each minister that was present at this assembly signed his name as a testimony of his concurrence. One Hewit, who from his preferment had a seat in the parliament-house, was the person pitched on to present the petition to the king. The archbishop of St. Andrew's, a zealous prelate having heard of what was going forward, attempted in the king's anti-chamber to snatch the paper out of Hewit's hands. James was made acquainted with this transaction, and came into the anti-chamber, and enquired into the particulars of the bustle: the archbishop answered, "That a number of ministers having framed a protestation against the article of his majesty's prerogative, had given it to the man whom he had made abbot to present, and that he had undertaken to do the same, for which he was taking him to task, it being an undutiful part, without signifying the matter to his ordinary, to take such a business in hand." On this representation of the matter, the poor priest, frighted with the terrible looks of the king and the archbishop, fell upon his knees, and with a visible confusion said, "That he supposed the protestation would not have offended his majesty, and that he had promised to present the same in parliament; but now that it appeared to him otherwise, he would no more meddle therewith." The king, seeing by the two papers that a number had avowed this petition, suspected that the innovating article would be protested against in full parliament, and commanded the register to erase it as a thing unnecessary, it giving no addition to his prerogative.

He afterwards called together an assembly of the clergy, on whom he wanted to impose these four articles: that the eucharist should be received kneeling; that a private administration of it should not be denied to sick persons; that Christmas, Easter, Ascension-day, and Whit-Sunday, should be kept as holy-days; and that confirmation should be solemnized by the bishops' blessing. James to this assembly put on a very magisterial air, and asked them, why they had disputed admitting that power which had been acknowledged by the lords of the articles. "It is a power innate, said he, and a special prerogative, which we, that are Christian kings, have, to order and dispose of external things in the policy of the church; and, Sirs, for your approving or disapproving, I will never regard it, unless you bring me a reason which I cannot answer." The ministers very prudently waved this difficult task, and submitted the king's demands to the opinion of the general assembly; and James found that they all must be subject to an after-judgement. Symson, the minister who drew up and signed the protestation against the article that had met with the assent of the lords, was committed to prison; and Catherwood, who carried circular letters to the ministers to encourage them to adhere to it, was banished. The four articles of innovation which James would have imposed upon the clergy were rejected in the general assembly, that met immediately on his departure, but were adopted the year after.

Through every step of this affair, in the parliament as well as in all the general assemblies, the nation betrayed the utmost reluctance to all these innovations; and nothing but James's importunity and authority had extorted a seeming consent, which was belied by the inward sentiments of all ranks of people. Even the few, over whom religious prejudices were not prevalent, thought national honour sacrificed by a servile imitation of the modes of worship practised in England. And every prudent man agreed in condemning the measures of the king, who, by an ill-timed zeal for insignificant ceremonies, had betrayed, though, in an opposite manner, equal narrowness of mind with the persons whom he treated with such contempt. It was judged, that, had not these dangerous humours been irritated by opposition; had they been allowed peaceably to evaporate; they would at last have subsided within the limits of law and civil authority. And that, as all fanatical religions naturally circumscribe to very narrow bounds the numbers and riches of the ecclesiastics; no sooner is their first fire spent, than they lose their credit over the people, and leave them under the natural and beneficent influence of their civil and moral obligations.

At the same time that James shocked in so violent a manner the religious principles of his Scottish subjects, he acted in opposition to those of his English. He had observed, in his progress through England, that a Judaical observance of the Sunday, chiefly by means of the Puritans, was every day gaining ground throughout the kingdom, and that the people, under colour of religion, were, contrary to former practice, debarred such sports and recreations as heretofore they were known to have indulged. The king imagined, that the people were become gloomy, and that it would be easy to infuse into their minds a greater degree of cheerfulness. With this view, he issued a proclamation to allow and encourage, after divine service, all kinds of lawful games and exercises; and, by his authority, he endeavoured to give sanction to a practice which his subjects regarded as the utmost instance of profaneness and impiety (*x*).

An event now offers, which, with all its variety of circumstances, exposes to the reader a subject for contempt, aversion, pity, and applause. At the time when sir Walter Raleigh was first confined in the Tower, his haughty temper had rendered him the most unpopular man in England; and his condemnation was chiefly owing to that public odium under which he laboured. During the fifteen years imprisonment which he suffered, the sentiments of the nation were much changed with regard to him. Men had leisure to reflect on the hardship, not to say injustice, of his sentence; they pitied his active and enterprising spirit, which languished in the rigours of confinement; they were struck with the extensive genius of the man, who, being educated amidst naval and military enterprizes, had surpassed, in the pursuits of literature, even those of the most recluse and sedentary lives; and they admired his unbroken magnanimity, which, at his age, and under his circumstances, could engage him to undertake and execute so great a work as his History of the World. But, great as were his abilities, great as were their improvements, he had not yet attained to that exquisite judgement that distinguishes what is truly desireable from what is vulgarly esteemed so; unsatisfied with ease, unsatisfied with fame, he still affected courts and their disgraceful dependencies. Though used with a barbarous indignity by his sovereign, he seized on every opportunity to offer his services. Much useful and ingenious advice he had given on many occasions, particularly in regard to forming the mind of prince Henry; a sickness of the queen's too procured him the means of ingratiating himself, by undertaking the restoration of her health, from the power of medicines of his own composing, the result of an unlimited knowledge. These little arts, and the general applause of the nation, forced from James a mitigation of his unjust treatment: the enjoyment of his lands was restored to him, and some indulgencies as to liberty. The considerable estate of Sherbourn had been secured to his family by a former conveyance which Raleigh had made to his son: the omission of a word in the deed of conveyance made a flaw in young Raleigh's title; this flaw reverted the forfeited lands to the crown; the rapacious Somerset was informed of it, and begged it for himself. Raleigh's wife petitioned James on the occasion: the answer that he returned was, "I mun ha the lands, I mun ha the lands for Carr (*y*)."

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(*x*) Franklyn, p. 31. To shew how rigid the English, chiefly the Puritans, were become in this particular, a bill was introduced into the house of commons, in the 18th of the king, for the more strict observance of the Sunday, which they called the Sabbath. One Shepherd opposed this bill, objected to the appellation of Sabbath as puritanical, defended dancing by the example of David, and seems even to have justified sports on that day. For this profaneness he was expelled the house, by the suggestion of Mr. Pym. The house of lords opposed so far this puritanical spirit of the commons, that they proposed, that the appellation of *Sabbath* should be changed into that of the *Lord's Day*. Journ. 15, 16 Feb. 1620. 28 May, 1621. In Shepherd's sentence, his offence is said by the house to be great, exorbitant, unparalleled.

(*y*) On this occasion Somerset was addressed in the following pathetic strain by sir Walter Raleigh: "And for you, Sir, seeing your fair day is but in the dawn, mine drawn to the setting, your own virtues and the king's grace assuring of many fortunes, and much honour; I beseech you, begin not your first building upon the ruins of the innocent, and let not mine and their sorrows attend your first plantation. I have ever been bound to your nation, as well for many other graces as for the true report of my trial to the king's majesty; against whom had I been malignant, the hearing of my cause would not have changed enemies into friends, malice into compassion, and the minds of the greatest number then present into the commiseration of mine estate. It is not the nature of foul treason to beget such fair passions; neither could it agree with the

The late coolness between the courts of England and Spain had produced an opportunity for Raleigh, who now enjoyed full liberty, to offer a project that promised a recruit to his broken fortunes; and flattered the insatiable avarice of James. He had formerly made a voyage to Guiana, on the coast of America, and, from his experience and knowledge of the country, had entertained a belief that its bowels contained inexhaustible riches. He had actually marked particular parts of the territory, in which he fancied were mines of gold. The plan of an expedition that promised mountains of wealth, sufficient not only to enrich all the adventurers, but to afford immense treasures to the nation, was received with eagerness by the avaricious James, though at the same time he assured Sarmiento, the Spanish ambassador, that Raleigh should be bound up by his commission from all hostilities towards the subjects of Spain, and that if any were committed he should be delivered up to the resentment of his catholic majesty. Such was the honour of James! The commission was made out on the 26th of August, 1617. It contained no caution against attacking the Spaniards, and it would have been absurd to suppose that the design could be accomplished without meeting with an opposition that would necessitate the commander of the expedition to the infringement of such a restraint. The king, though strongly solicited, refused to grant him a pardon, which seemed a natural consequence, when he was entrusted with power and command: but James declared himself still diffident of Raleigh's intentions; and he meant, he said, to reserve the former sentence as a check upon his future behaviour.

When the courage and avarice of the Spaniards and Portuguese had discovered so many new worlds, they were resolved to shew themselves superior to the barbarous heathens whom they invaded, not only in arts and arms, but also in the justice of the quarrel: they applied to Alexander VI. who then filled the papal chair; and he generously bestowed on the Spaniards the whole western, and on the Portuguese the whole eastern part of the globe. The more scrupulous Protestants, who acknowledged not the authority of the Roman pontiff, established the first discovery as the foundation of *their* title; and if a pirate or sea-adventurer of their nation had but erected a stick or stone on the coast, as a memorial of his taking possession, they concluded the whole continent to belong to them, and thought themselves intitled to expel or exterminate, as usurpers, the ancient possessors and inhabitants. It was in this manner that sir Walter Raleigh, about twenty-three years before, had acquired to the crown of England a claim to the continent of Guiana, a region as large as the half of Europe; and though he had immediately left the coast, yet he pretended that the English title to the whole remained certain and indefeazable. But it had happened in the mean time, that the Spaniards, not knowing, or not acknowledging this imaginary claim, had taken possession of a part of Guiana, had formed a settlement on the river Oroonoko, had built a little town, called St. Thomas, and were there working some mines of small value.

Raleigh set sail on the 14th of August, 1618. His fleet consisted of fourteen ships, all fitted out by private persons (*z*). After a tedious voyage the adventurers reached the coast of Guiana; after having experienced the distresses of storms, sickness, and want of water. New obstacles now opposed the acquisition of the golden fleece: the river Oroonoko was found too shallow for the large ships to sail up; a division of the force was therefore unavoidable; the smaller vessels, with a detachment of three hundred men, were sent in quest of the mine, whilst the chief commander, Raleigh, staid behind with five of the large ones, to receive, in case of an attack, the Spanish galleons, which were daily expected. The detachment was commanded by his son, and the pilotage was entrusted to his old friend captain Keymis, who had some knowledge of the coast. On their landing, at the appointed place, they were briskly fired upon by the soldiers of St. Thomas, a garrisoned town newly built by the Spaniards; they repulsed the enemy, took, plundered, and burnt their town; but not without the loss of many of their men, and their captain, the young Raleigh. Among the plunder were found papers that contained the whole of Raleigh's scheme: they had been sent to Spain by Sarmiento, to whom James had had the weakness to communicate it. The knowledge of this particular so enraged the soldiers, that, refusing to be conducted farther by Keymis, they returned to the place where lay their commander, without having attempted the discovery of any mine. Raleigh, before the arrival of his forces, had heard the news of his accumulated misfortunes; misfortunes no less severe than, the death of his son, the discomfiture of his hopes, and the danger of his life from the violence committed on the Spanish town. In vain did Keymis attempt an excuse for the fatal misadventure: Raleigh's chagrin was too great to allow any: Keymis acknowledged that he was within two hours march of the place where the mine was situated; yet refused, on the most absurd pretences, to take any effectual step towards finding it. Sensible to reproach, and dreading punishment for his behaviour, Keymis, in despair, retired to his cabin, and put an end to his own life. This encreased the perplexity of the unhappy adventurer, who lost in Keymis an evidence to justify the integrity of his conduct.

The small acquisitions, gained by the sack of St. Thomas, discouraged Raleigh's companions from entering into any other views; though there were many circumstances in the treaty and late transactions between the nations, which might invite them to engage in such a piratical war against the Spaniards. When England made peace with Spain, the example of Henry IV. was imitated, who, at the treaty of Vervins, finding a difficulty in adjusting all questions with regard to the Indian trade, had agreed to pass over that article in total silence. The Spaniards having, all along, published severe edicts against the intercourse of any European nation with their colonies, interpreted this silence in their own favour, and considered it as a tacit acquiescence of England, in the established laws of Spain. The English, on the contrary, pretended that, as they had never been excluded by any treaty from commerce with any part of the king of Spain's dominions, it was still as lawful for them to trade with his settlements in either Indies, as with his European territories. In consequence of this ambiguity, many adventurers from England sailed to the Spanish Indies, and met with severe punishment when caught; as they, on the other hand, often stole, and, when superior in power, forced a trade with the inhabitants, and resisted, nay sometimes plundered, the Spanish governors. Violences of this nature, which had been carried to a great height on both sides, it was agreed to bury in total oblivion; because of the difficulty which was found in remedying them, upon any fixed principles.

A mutiny amongst the crew succeeded the affair at St. Thomas: some were for returning to England, some against it. The unfortunate Raleigh was of the former opinion; and combating the other, prevailed so far as to bring his remaining force home. James was soon made acquainted with all the circumstances of the miscarriage; and the artful Sarmiento did not fail to work upon his disappointment by representing, in lively colours, a war between the two nations, and an eternal breach of the marriage-contract. Inflamed and frightened by these insinuations, James issued out a proclamation declaring an abhorrence of what had been done, and condemned the cause unheard. Notwithstanding the proclamation, Raleigh landed at Plymouth; and, after having surrendered himself, wrote a pathetic letter to James, in which he stated the case in a clear and just light (*a*). But James was not to be moved by considerations of justice or compassion; the fear

the duty and love of faithful subjects (especially of your nation) to bewail his overthrow that had conspired against their most natural and liberal lord. I therefore trust, that you will not be the first that shall kill us outright, cut down the tree with the fruit, and undergo the curse of them that enter the fields of the fatherless; which, if it please you to know the truth, is far less in value than in fame: but that so worthy a gentleman as yourself will rather bind us to you (being six gentlemen, not base in birth and alliance) which have interest therein; and myself, with my uttermost thankfulness, will remain ready to obey your commandments." *Cabala*, p. 356.

James had been at length prevailed on to give to sir Walter Raleigh's wife and son eight thousand pounds for his estate of Sherbourn. This eight thousand pounds he calls in his declaration a competent satisfaction for all sir Walter Raleigh's estates. *Raleigh's Life by Dr. Birch*, p. 64.

(*z*) In this venture sir Walter Raleigh hazarded the wrecks of his broken fortune, besides an estate which his wife had complaisantly given up to him for this purpose. *Raleigh's Life by Dr. Birch*, p. 72.

(*a*) The following is Raleigh's letter to James on this occasion:

"May it please your most excellent majesty;

"If in my journey outward-bound I had my men murdered at the island, and yet spared to take revenge; if I did discharge some Spa-

fear of a rupture with Spain was his only actuating principle; and that power thought it of the utmost consequence to get so material a point adjudged in its favour.

The death of Raleigh was to be the cement of friendship between the two courts: how to compass it with the appearance of legality was the only remaining question. It is thought that Sarmiento was the person who instigated the cutting him off upon his former sentence, although the kind of understanding which James possessed might have furnished him with such an invention. Raleigh had actually, before he set out on his expedition, an offer of the procurement of a pardon for the sum of fifteen hundred pounds; but sir Francis Bacon (*b*) had dissuaded him from this salutary measure, by repeated assurances that the power given him by his commission would be construed, in the eye of the law, a sufficient one. His present situation grew so interesting and menacing, that he at length gave way to the repeated instances of his friends, and attempted his escape: but his heart failing him, even after he had got into the boat that was to convey him to a bark secured for the purpose, he re-surrendered himself. Then, after a conviction that his fate was already determined, in a fit of despair he applied to one Manourie, a quack, to assist him in a second attempt: in order to effect it, Manourie gave him drugs that flung out upon the whole surface of his body innumerable blotches and boils; and Raleigh, to forward the success of the plan, condescended to many unmanly meannesses. They so far prevailed, that, on account of his apparent ill state of health, he was suffered to repair to his own house; but Manourie betrayed the secret to Stukely, his inveterate keeper, who, though a near relation, had been sent down to Plymouth by the court for the double purpose of inveigling him to land, and to guard him afterwards. Stukely, in consequence of private orders, seemed to encourage the design, and received a considerable sum from Raleigh to forward it. The French ambassador also offered him the protection of his master, and a vessel to carry him to France; these transactions were suffered by Stukely, and betrayed: the treacherous dissimulation was carried so far, that he accompanied Raleigh into a boat, which was immediately beset by the officers of the court. Stukely had the hardened assurance to own the deceit, and carried his kinsman a prisoner to the Tower (*c*). The business of the council was to render Raleigh's transactions odious to the people; they particularly enlarged on the intention of making an escape to France. The declaration James published on this head begins thus: "That kings are not bound to give account of their actions to any but to God; however, he declares, that he is willing to represent his proceedings in this case to the world. It then urges several charges against sir Walter Raleigh; among others, that the mine of Guiana was a mere fiction; that Raleigh's original and only design was to plunder the Spanish settlements, and to surprize their fleets; that he had formed a cruel purpose to leave the land-soldiers on shore at Guiana; that, after the defeat of his designs, he had no intention to return home, but to go to the East Indies, or to settle at Newfoundland; that, after his arrival in England, he contrived several stratagems to escape. The king affirms in this declaration, that he, in his own princely judgement, gave no belief to sir Walter's assertions, that he had seen and tried the gold ore of the mine of Guiana, as being persuaded that in nature there were no such mines of gold entire, or that the Spaniards, so industrious in the chace of treasure, would not have neglected it so long (*d*)." Raleigh composed an unanswerable apology for his conduct, but was reduced to beg, though in vain, the intercession of the favourite. On the 28th of October, and in the sixty-sixth year of his age, he was taken out of his bed, though in a fit of an ague, and brought to the King's-Bench. He attempted to make a defence, by explaining the justness of his conduct in the expedition to Guiana; but was interrupted by the court, who told him, that the matter of the voyage had nothing to do in the present case, and that treason could not be pardoned by implication. He then addressed the court in very pathetic terms for a respite of execution for a few days, that he might settle his private affairs, and vindicate his reputation. This, however, his examiners could not allow; for an order was produced, ready signed by James, though at that time at Theobald's in Hertfordshire, for his execution the next morning. Barbarous as was this transaction of the king, it had no effect on the present composed mind of Raleigh. His manly philosophical deportment, during the interval of his sentence and execution, was admirable; nor less so was his behaviour on the scaffold: he denied, with an aweful appeal to God, the heavy charges (*e*) that had been laid against him; then fitting himself with composure for the

nish barks taken, without spoil; if I did forbear all parts of the Spanish Indies, wherein I might have taken twenty of their towns on the sea-coasts, and did only follow the enterprize I undertook for Guiana, where, without any directions from me, a Spanish village was burnt, which was new set up within three miles of the mine; by your majesty's favour, I find no reason why the Spanish ambassador should complain of me.

"If it were lawful for the Spaniards to murder twenty-six Englishmen, tying them back to back, and then cutting their throats, when they had treated with them a whole month, and come to them on the land without so much as one sword; and it may not be lawful for your majesty's subjects, being charged first by them, to repel force by force; we may justly say, O miserable English!

"If Parker and Mecham took Campechie and other places in Honduras, seated in the heart of the Spanish Indies, burnt towns, and killed the Spaniards, and had nothing said to them at their return; and myself, who forbore to look into the Indies, because I would not offend, must be accused; I may as justly say, O miserable Raleigh!

"If I have spent my poor estate, lost my son, suffered by sickness, and otherways a world of hardships; if I have resisted, with manifest hazard of my life, the robberies and spoils with which my companions would have made me rich; if, when I was poor, I could have made myself rich; if, when I had gotten my liberty (which all men and nature itself do much prize) I voluntarily lost it; if, when I was sure of my life, I rendered it again; if I might elsewhere have sold my ship and goods, and put five or six thousand pounds in my purse, and yet brought her into England; I beseech your majesty to believe, that all this I have done, because it should not be said that your majesty had given liberty and trust to a man whose end was but the recovery of his liberty, and who had betrayed your majesty's trust.

"My mutineers told me, that if I returned for England I should be undone; but I believed in your majesty's goodness more than in all their arguments. Sure I am the first, that being free and able to enrich myself, yet hath embraced poverty and peril; and as sure I am that my example shall make me the last. But your majesty's wisdom and goodness I have made my judges; who have ever been, and shall ever be,

"Your majesty's most humble vassal,

"WALTER RALEIGH."

(*b*) Bacon in a letter to James urges the taking him off upon his former sentence for treason, as the only judicial way of proceeding against him. *Original Letters, &c. by Dr. Birch*, p. 182, 183.

(*c*) This infamous wretch was taken in the fact of clipping the very coin he had received as a reward for his perfidiousness. He was condemned to be hanged for the offence, and was driven to the straight of selling to his shirt to purchase a pardon. He withdrew himself from the odium of mankind to the island of Lundy in the Severn, where he died mad, in less than two years after sir Walter Raleigh's execution. *Sir Walter Raleigh's Life by Dr. Birch*, p. 67.

(*d*) This is an extraordinary acknowledgement of James's: the allowing a subject to go out on a design which he strongly suspected to be an illegal one, and when the penalty of the crime was to be loss of life. But though James affirms that he gave no credit to the reality of the mines, yet, in his commission, he takes care to secure to himself a full fifth of all the gold that should be found in them.

(*e*) That Raleigh was innocent of many of the invidious calumnies with which he is loaded by the king's declaration, is, we think, a matter of small doubt.

First, there are the protestations of a dying man, strengthened by asseverations not likely to be used for the purposes of deceit, in so tremenduous a situation.

Secondly, arguments to be drawn from the nature of the thing.

1st. If sir Walter Raleigh had no other view in the expedition but to enrich himself by piracy, and that the prime object had been the plunder of the Spanish town lately built on the coast of Guiana, it is improbable that the attainment of that end would have thrown him and his friend into so terrible a consternation, as to induce the one to destroy himself, and the other to prepare for flight; which intention of flight is one of the facts alledged against him in the king's declaration.

2dly. The plunder of a single town was too contemptible an object for the hazard and danger of so long a voyage. If there were more places to plunder on the same coast, and that plunder was the end, why not attempt any other? it may be alledged that the town was thought to contain vast riches, that little was found there, and that the despair arose from this disappointment. But what could induce a supposition of such riches? not the industry of the Spaniards; it must be the persuasion of mines possessed by them, and to be discovered by the adventurers. The design of Raleigh could not be a general plunder and acknowledged piracy, for he was never taxed with making any propositions of such a tendency; and indeed it would have been a very absurd chimera to have supposed that the gentlemen of fortune and family which he had under his command would have left their country and home enjoyments for ever, to follow an idle adventurer in the constant pursuit of a precarious gain, to be attained with innumerable hardships, difficulties, and dangers. Could there have been any criminal circumstance proved against him, why not put his life on that issue? why cut him off upon his former sentence? That he had no certain knowledge where lay the mine, is not to be doubted; that he knew of the town lately built by the Spaniards is clear from his instructions to Keymis; but that the only proposed end of so expensive a preparation, and so tedious a voyage, was the plunder of a few Spanish towns on the coast of Guiana, is very improbable.

Raleigh was a dupe to his own over-heated imagination, and overreached in the whole affair by the low cunning of James. His disposition for adventures had always been expensive to him: during the reign of Elizabeth the discovery of Virginia had cost him forty thousand pounds.

the axe, on feeling the edge of which he said, "It is a sharp remedy, but a sure one for all ills." He then laid his head upon the block, and received the fatal blow, on the 29th of October, with an indifference that left strong impressions of veneration on the beholders.

The favourable opinion the whole nation, and even James himself, had of the man he had so meanly and unjustly sacrificed, is to be seen in some paragraphs of a letter which Buckingham wrote to Cottington, James's agent at the court of Spain. "His majesty, saith Buckingham, hath given them so many testimonies of his sincere intentions towards them, which he daily continueth, as now of late by the causing sir Walter Raleigh to be put to death, chiefly for the giving them satisfaction. His majesty hath strained upon the affections of his people, and especially concerning sir Walter Raleigh. Further, you may let them know how able a man sir Walter Raleigh was to have done his majesty service, if he should have been pleased to employ him; yet, to give them content, he hath not spared him, when by preserving him he might have given great satisfaction to his subjects, and had at command, upon all occasions, as useful a man as served any prince in Christendom (*f*)."

Raleigh was the younger brother of a good family, and distinguished himself both in the sea and land services. His artful address insinuated him early into the favour of Elizabeth, and he maintained it to her death, in opposition to the frequent prevalency of a contrary faction. On the fair opportunity which the accession of the Stuarts offered, some articles were by him intimated to restrain the prerogative: Cecil, to make his court effectually, and crush the man whose superior talents were the object of his envy and his fear, frustrated the attempt, and discovered it to James. Hence sprung the primary motive of that hatred which at length brought this respectable genius to a premature fate. On his trial for treason, Cecil, though of the same faction, and an avowed friend, appeared with the invidious malice of an inveterate enemy. The sentence of death then passed upon him (in 1603) was extorted with an apparent violation of those laws that guard the lives of the subjects (*g*). Coke, the attorney-general, protesting, that if circumstances alone were not valid in the case of treason, the crown could not stand one year on the king's head.

Raleigh, at different times of his life, tasted both of the hatred and esteem of the public. He was extremely odious to the people at the time of his trial, on the supposition of his having been one of the principal promoters of the death of Essex: his after-sufferings, his philosophical deportment, his literary merits, and unjust execution, turned the tide of envy to respect, love, and compassion. The character of sir Walter Raleigh merited neither of these extremes: his apprehension was quick, his parts subtle; he had an indefatigable industry, and a great command of temper; but his judgement was clouded with partial views of self-interest, and the servile prejudices of the times; though guiltless of any atrocious crimes, yet his morals had taken a deep tint from the vices of the court; his shining qualities dazzle the judgement and extort a complacency for his foibles; but his virtues were not of the stamp to merit genuine applause.

The death of Raleigh heightened that distaste which the public had long conceived for James: to execute a man of merit upon a sentence originally illegal; a sentence whose rigour had been already felt in the loss of a large fortune, and a fifteen years' imprisonment; a sentence which had been understood to have been pardoned by the trust and command lately conferred, was looked on as an instance of the utmost cruelty and injustice. To do this upon the motives of gratifying the Spaniards, in a point on which they had small pretensions, was an instance of the utmost meanness; and this to forward an alliance which the whole nation detested, excited an indignation and contempt which nothing but the imbecility of the times prevented from rising to a height that would have shook the firmest foundation of that divine right which can commit folly, crimes, and injustice with impunity.

In the same proportion as was James's disregard to the good of the nation, arose his attachment to worthless individuals. Buckingham now enjoyed his favour to a height of extreme dotage: in his person centered every kind of honour in which a subject could be gratified; on his caprice depended the preferment of the ablest men in the three kingdoms; and to his inexperience, levity, and ignorance, were confided the whole direction of the affairs of government.

Suffolk, the only remaining weed of Somerset's planting, was now removed for a new growth. His well-known rapaciousness gave a just handle for his impeachment; Coke, who personally hated him, had the management of

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pounds. He had also sent out several ships to the territory of Guiana for information concerning that country and the supposed mines. These circumstances, which shew the vanity of his pursuits, are evidences to prove the integrity of his designs in this last fatal attempt. The only clew to reconcile the many contradictions that a variety of circumstances throw upon this affair, is, to suppose that Raleigh had a real confidence of finding mines on that coast, and depended on their treasures as an excuse for the hostilities committed in their attainment; and that James sent him out with a halter about his neck, to be, either the means of filling his coffers, or the expiatory sacrifice for the resentment which the attempt might draw from Spain.

The strongest circumstance that appears against Raleigh's having a confidence in the discovery of a mine, is an accusation of his not having taken sufficient implements for the purpose of mining. But is it certain that this accusation is grounded upon fact? or, if it was, might it not proceed from neglect, or any other reason than the ascribed one? would a man of Raleigh's ingenuity, going out with an intention to deceive, have suffered such an argument to be produced against him? His being entirely silent on the sentence of treason, on which he actually suffered, strengthens the evidence of his strong asseverations on the article of the mine; for had he been determined to clear himself, and load his enemies, by daring perjuries in so tremenduous a situation, why make any distinctions? why not attempt to clear himself by the same means of all the aspersions that were not undeniably proved against him?

The king's declaration on the subject of Raleigh's execution is drawn up in so poor a manner that it evidently exposes the falseness of its assertions; whereas the unfortunate Keymis put an end to his life, from despair occasioned by the cold reception he met with from sir Walter Raleigh. The declaration says, "It was much observed, that after that unfortunate return of Keymis, notwithstanding sir Walter Raleigh did publicly give out that he would question him for failing to prosecute the mine, he had him at dinner and supper, and used him as familiarly and as kindly as before."

One of the allegations in this declaration is, "That sir Walter Raleigh's conscious guilt made him apprehend that he should, on his coming to London, be again imprisoned in the Tower." Immediately after this we meet with a contradictory assertion: "That his countenance was much altered when he suspected this fate from the reading Stukely's commission from the privy-council; that the door being half open, Manourie saw this alteration from the stair-head (Raleigh being alone in his chamber); that he stamped with his feet, and pulled himself by the hair, swearing in these words, "God's wounds! is it possible my fortune should return upon me thus again?"

James attempts to prove that there was no deceit used to trepan sir Walter Raleigh into custody; but Stukely, in an apology he made for his conduct, avers, that in using craft he did but perform the commission he had from the court.

In the king's declaration is a minute description of Raleigh's sham illness, and the shifts this great man was enforced to practise in his endeavours to save his life. A prince here exults over an unfortunate subject, caught in the trap which he had laid for him, and cruelly triumphs in the accidental weaknesses of a man, whom he had reduced into one of those interesting situations that are the severest trials of human fortitude.

The following is the reason the king gives for taking him off upon his former sentence. "And because he could not by law be judicially called in question, for that his former attainder of treason is the highest and last work of the law (whereby he was *civiliter mortuus*) his majesty was enforced (except attainder should become privileges for all subsequent offences) to resolve to have him executed upon his former attainder."

The pitiful evasion of this excuse is easily seen through, since, if the king had been willing to have put his life upon the judgement of his country, he might have given him a pardon on his former condemnation, and afterwards tried him on the accusation of piracy; but James did not choose to trust the affair to this issue. Circumstances were entirely changed since the time that Raleigh was tried for treason, and this period of James's reign. Raleigh's cause was at present a popular one, and James had now lost that influence which was attained by the novelty of his person and government; an influence, which, in the case of Raleigh, occasioned one of the most iniquitous sentences that stand on the records of this country. *His Majesty's Reasons for his proceedings against sir Walter Raleigh, in Somers's third Collection of Tracts*, 1751, p. 196, *& seq. Sir Lewis Stukely's apology, entitled, The Humble Petition and Information of Sir Lewis Stukely, &c.* ibid. p. 215, *& seq.*

(*f*) James, as Buckingham here asserts, sacrificed to the unreasonable demands of Spain one of his best and most useful subjects. But the king of Spain, notwithstanding the repeated solicitations of James's ambassador, refused to deliver up to judgement every English criminal that had taken refuge in Spain.

(*g*) Sir John Hawles, solicitor-general to king William, writes thus on the circumstances of sir Walter Raleigh's trial:

"I would know by what law is the deposition of a person, who might be brought face to face to the prisoner, read as evidence; I would know by what law it is forbidden, that the accuser should be brought face to face to the accused; I would know by what law Brook's deposition of what the lord Cobham told him of Raleigh was evidence against Raleigh; I would know by what law the story Dyer told of what an unknown man said to him at Lisbon of Don Raleigh was evidence against Raleigh; I would know by what statute the statutes of the twenty-fifth of Edward the Third and fifth of Edward the Sixth are repealed.

it. He had been re-taken into favour on a mean application to the minion, whose countenance he had courted by the sacrifice of his daughter, a great beauty with a large fortune, to his brother, sir John Villiers. This match had been proposed to Coke before his disgrace, and rejected with marks of contempt; he afterwards entreated submissively the alliance, and offered an acquiescence to any terms of settlement that the party should approve. Bacon, who had now attained the chancellorship (*h*), was another of Suffolk's severe antagonists. Coke conducted the impeachment with an ability and acrimony peculiar to himself: Suffolk was accused and convicted of mal-administration in his office. His sentence was confinement in prison during the king's pleasure, and a fine of thirty thousand pounds. The loss of the treasurer's staff preceded it.

James had entertained an opinion, which was peculiar to himself, and which had been adopted by none of his predecessors, that any alliance, below that of a great king, was unworthy of a prince of Wales; and he never would allow any princess but a daughter of France or Spain to be mentioned as a match for his son. This instance of pride, which really implies meanness, as if he could receive honour from any alliance, was so well known, that Spain had founded on it the hopes of governing, in the most important transactions, this monarch, so little celebrated for politics or prudence. During the life of Henry, the king of Spain had dropped some hints of bestowing on that prince his eldest daughter, whom he afterwards disposed of in marriage to the young king of France, Lewis XIII. At that time the views of the Spaniards were to engage James into a neutrality respecting the succession of Cleves, which was disputed between the protestant and popish line: but the bait did not then take; and James, in consequence of his alliance with the Dutch, and with Henry IV. of France, marched, in 1610, four thousand men under the command of sir Edward Cecil, who joined these two powers, and put the marquis of Brandenburgh and the palatine of Newbourg in possession of that duchy.

Sarmiento, now gratified with the title of count Gondomar, was the Spanish ambassador in England; a man whose flattery was the more artful, because covered with the appearance of frankness and sincerity; whose politics were the more dangerous, because disguised under the mask of mirth and pleasantry. He now made offer of the second daughter of Spain to prince Charles; and, that he might render the temptation irresistible to the necessitous monarch, he gave hopes of an immense fortune, which would attend the princess. The court of Spain, though determined to contract no alliance with a heretic, entered into negociations with James, which they artfully protracted, and, amidst every disappointment, they still redoubled his hopes of success. Five leading articles were at length agreed on between the two monarchs, viz. "I. That the pope's dispensation be first obtained by the mere act of the king of Spain. II. That the children of this marriage be not constrained in matters of religion, nor their title prejudiced, in case they prove Catholics. III. That the infanta's family, being strangers, may be Catholics, and shall have a decent place appointed for divine service, according to the use of the church of Rome, and the ecclesiastic and religious persons may wear their proper habits. IV. That the marriage shall be celebrated in Spain by a procurator, according to the instructions of the council of Trent; and after the infanta's arrival in England such a solemnization shall be used as shall make the marriage valid according to the laws of that kingdom. V. That she shall have a competent number of chaplains, and a confessor, being strangers; one whereof shall have power to govern the family in religious matters." By the formation of these articles it is easy to discover that the Spanish monarch thought they could never be acceded to; but such was the infatuation of James, that through fear of interrupting the treaty by any exceptions, it is probable he would have agreed to any thing, however absurd, that the Spanish court might propose.

In that great revolution of manners which happened during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, the only nations who had the honourable, though often melancholy advantage, of making an effort for their expiring privileges, were such as, together with the principles of civil liberty, were animated with a zeal for religious parties and opinions. Besides the irresistible force of standing armies, the European princes possessed this advantage, that they were descended from the ancient royal families; that they continued the same appellations of magistrates, the same appearance of civil government; and restraining themselves by all the forms of legal administration, could insensibly impose the yoke on their unguarded subjects. Even the German nations, who formerly broke the Roman chains, and restored liberty to mankind, now lost their own liberty, and saw with grief the absolute authority of their princes firmly established among them. In their circumstances, nothing but a pious zeal could have made them entertain hopes of preserving any longer those privileges which their ancestors, through so many ages, had transmitted to them.

As the house of Austria, throughout all her extensive

(*h*) Villiers, at the time he obtained the seals for Bacon, sent him a message by a gentleman to the following purport:

"That he knew him to be a man of parts, and, as the times were, fit to serve his master in the keeper's place; but he also knew him of a base ungrateful disposition, and an arrant knave, apt in his prosperity to ruin any that had raised him in his adversity. Yet, for all this, knowing how fit an instrument he might be for his master, he had obtained the seals for him; but with this assurance, should he ever requite him as he had done some others, to whom he had been more bound, he would cast him down as much below scorn, as he had now raised him high above any honour he could have expected."

This charge refers to Bacon's ungrateful treatment of his first patron, the earl of Essex. This nobleman had applied with all the warmth of friendship to Elizabeth for the place of solicitor-general for Bacon: on meeting with a refusal, he made up the disappointment out of his own private fortune, and bestowed upon him the gift of Twickenham-park, which was afterwards sold at an under price for the value of eighteen hundred pounds.

When Essex fell under the displeasure of the court, Bacon, who was one of the queen's counsel, managed a charge against him before an assembly of counsellors, judges, and peers, concerning a book that had been lately dedicated to him. It was an history of the first year of king Henry the Fourth, and being wrote with freedom, Elizabeth wanted to have some of the passages brought into the case of treason.

On Essex's attainder, Bacon was again employed against his generous patron; and, after his unhappy fate, the same Bacon, by the queen's command, drew up and published a declaration, setting forth the crimes and misdemeanors of the said earl. A behaviour so unjustifiably scandalous drew upon Bacon a general detestation, which was not extinguished during his whole life, nor can his memory be exempt from it, whilst any generous qualities remain in the human species. *Weldon. Mallet's Life of Bacon. Bacon's Apology.*

Weldon gives the following account of Bacon's absurd conduct after he had obtained the seals, viz.

"Now was Bacon invested in his office, and, within ten days after, the king goes to Scotland. Bacon instantly begins to believe himself king; lies in the king's lodgings, gives audience in the great banqueting-house, makes all other counsellors attend his motions, with the same state the king used to come out to give audience to ambassadors; when any other counsellor sat with him about the king's affairs, would, if they sat near him, bid them know their distance; upon which secretary Winwood arose, went away, and would never sit more (under his encroached state), but instantly dispatched one to the king to desire him to make haste back, for even his very seat was already usurped. In this posture he lived until he heard the king was returning, and began to believe that the play was almost at an end, he might personate a king's part no longer; and therefore did again re-invest himself with his old rags of baseness, which were so tattered and poor at the king's coming to Windsor. He attended two days at Buckingham's chamber, being not admitted to any better place than the room where trencher-scrapers and lacquies attended; there sitting upon an old wooden chest, with his purse and seal lying by him on that chest. After two days he had admittance: at first entrance he fell down flat on his face at the duke's foot, kissing it, vowing never to rise till he had his pardon; then was he again reconciled, and since that time so very a slave to the duke, and all that family, that he durst not deny the command of the meanest of the kindred, nor oppose any thing." *Weldon*, p. 120, *& seq.*

If this tale is told with exaggerations, it must be allowed that it has a foundation in reality. Bacon had certainly disobliged Winwood, James, and Buckingham, during the king's residence in Scotland. Through motives of jealousy he had violently opposed the match between Coke's daughter and sir John Villiers. He had gone so far in his opposition as to threaten Winwood with a premunire for granting a warrant to search for the lady, who had been secreted by her mother to prevent the match, and had ventured to write a letter to James, in which he represented the intended union as a thing that might prove detrimental to himself and favourite. James returned a very angry epistle, and Bacon began to find himself in a precarious situation. He was informed by sir Henry Yelverton, that Buckingham had openly said, "He repented the having raised him so high; that the ingratitude with which he had behaved to the earls of Essex and Somerset was an inveterate custom in him:"

That it was common in every courtier's mouth, that his greatness should be abated; and, as his tongue had been a razor to some, it would be retaliated on him:

That there was laid up many petitions against him to his majesty:

That Buckingham had said, "That he would not secretly bite; but whosoever had any interest, or tasted of the opposition to his brother's marriage, he would openly oppose them to their faces, and they should discern what favour he had by the power he would use."

Bacon wrote many submissive letters to the king and favourite, without receiving any assurances of forgiveness. One of the letters he wrote to the king on this occasion ends in the following strain:

"And so expecting that the sun, which, when it went from us, left us cold weather, and now it is returned towards us, hath brought with it a blessed harvest, will, when it cometh to us, dispel and disperse all mists and mistakings." *Original Letters by Dr. Birch*, p. 139, *& seq. Cabala*, p. 57.

dominions,

dominions, had ever made religion the pretext for her usurpations, she now met with resistance from a like principle; and the Catholic religion, as usual, had ranged itself on the side of monarchy; the Protestant, on that of liberty. The states of Bohemia, having taken arms against the emperor Matthias, continued their revolt against his successor Ferdinand, and claimed the observance of all the edicts enacted in favour of the Protestant faith, together with the restoration of their ancient laws and constitution. The neighbouring principalities, Silesia, Moravia, Lusatia, Austria, even the kingdom of Hungary, took part in the quarrel; and throughout all these populous and martial provinces, the spirit of discord and civil war had universally diffused itself, and spread the flames of desolation.

Ferdinand II. who possessed more vigour and greater abilities, though not more lenity and moderation, than are usual with the Austrian princes, strongly armed himself for the recovery of his authority; and, besides employing the assistance of his subjects, who professed the Catholic religion, he engaged on his side a powerful alliance of the neighbouring potentates. All the Catholic princes of the empire had embraced his defence; even Saxony, the most powerful of the Protestant: Poland had declared itself in his favour; and, above all, the Spanish monarch, deeming his own interest closely connected with that of the younger branch of his family, prepared powerful succours from Italy, and from the Low Countries; and likewise advanced large sums for the support of Ferdinand and the Catholic faith.

The states of Bohemia, alarmed at these mighty preparations, began also to solicit foreign assistance; and, together with that support which they obtained from the evangelical union in Germany, they endeavoured to establish connexions with greater princes. They cast their eyes on Frederic, elector palatine. They considered, that besides commanding no despicable force of his own, he was son-in-law to the king of England, and nephew to prince Maurice, whose authority was become almost absolute in the United Provinces. They hoped that these princes, moved by the connexions of blood, as well as by the tie of their common religion, would interest themselves in all the fortunes of Frederic, and would promote his greatness. They therefore made him a tender of their crown, which they considered as elective; and the young palatine, stimulated by ambition, without consulting either James or Maurice, whose opposition he foresaw, immediately accepted the offer, and marched all his forces into Bohemia, in support of his new subjects.

The news of these events soon reached England, and the whole kingdom was eager to engage in the quarrel. Scarcely was the ardour greater, with which all the states of Europe, in former ages, flew to rescue the Holy Land from the dominion of infidels. The nation was, as yet, sincerely attached to the blood of their monarchs, and they considered their connexion with the palatine, who had married a daughter of England, as very close and intimate. And when they heard of Catholics carrying on wars and persecutions against Protestants, they thought their own interest concerned, and regarded their neutrality as a base desertion of the cause of God, and of his holy religion. In such a quarrel, they would gladly have marched to the opposite extremity of Europe, have plunged themselves into a chaos of German politics, and have expended all the blood and treasure of the nation, by maintaining a contest with the whole house of Austria, at the very time, and in the very place, in which it was the most powerful.

But James, besides that his temper was unfit for such vast undertakings, was restrained by another motive, which had an amazing influence over him: he refused to patronize the revolt of subjects against their sovereign. From the very first he denied to his son-in-law the title of king of Bohemia: he forbade him to be prayed for in the churches under that appellation: and though he owned that he had by no means examined the pretensions, privileges, and constitution of the revolted states, so exalted was his idea of the rights of kings, that he concluded subjects must ever be in the wrong, when they stood in opposition to those who had acquired or assumed that majestic title (*i*). Thus, even in measures founded on true politics, James intermixed so many narrow prejudices, as diminished his authority, and exposed him to the imputation of weakness and error.

In the mean time affairs every where hastened to a crisis. Ferdinand levied a great force, under the command of the duke of Bavaria and the count of Bucquoy; and advanced upon his enemy in Bohemia. In 1620, Spinola collected a veteran army of thirty thousand men in the Low Countries. When Edmonds, the king's resident at Brussels, made remonstrances to the archduke Albert, he was answered, that the orders for this armament had been transmitted to Spinola from Madrid, and that he alone knew the secret destination of it. Spinola again told the minister, that his orders were still sealed; but, if Edmonds would accompany him in his march to Coblentz, he would there open them, and give him full satisfaction. It was more easy to see his intentions, than to prevent their success. Almost at one time, it was known in England that Frederic, being defeated in the great and decisive battle of Prague, had fled with his family into Holland, and that Spinola had invaded the Palatinate, and, meeting with no resistance, except from some princes of the union, and from one English regiment of two thousand four hundred men, commanded by the brave sir Horace Vere, had, in a little time, reduced the greater part of that principality. Complaints now ran high against James's neutrality and inactive disposition. The happiness and tranquillity of their own country became distasteful to the English, when they reflected on the grievances and distresses of their Protestant brethren in Germany.

James, however, flattered himself that, after he had formed an intimate connexion with the Spanish monarch, by means of his son's marriage, the restitution of the Palatinate might be procured, from the motive alone of friendship and personal attachment. But this weak monarch was not sensible that the Spanish match was itself attended with such difficulties, that all his art of negociation would not be able to surmount them; much less, that this match could in good policy be depended on, as the means of procuring such extraordinary advantages. His unwarlike disposition, increased by age, riveted him still faster in his errors, and determined him to seek the restoration of his son-in-law, by remonstrances and entreaties, by arguments and embassies, rather than by assisting him in the struggle to support his cause. And the same defect of courage which held him in awe of foreign nations, made him likewise afraid of shocking the prejudices of his own subjects, and kept him from openly avowing the measures which he was determined to pursue. Or, perhaps, he hoped to turn these prejudices to account; and, by their means, engage his people to furnish him with supplies, of which their excessive frugality had hitherto made them so sparing and reserved.

Anne of Denmark, James's queen, did not live to see the entire ruin of her daughter's fortune. Her death happened in the beginning of the year 1619, in the forty-fifth year of her age. She was a woman of a vain, haughty, and violent temper (*k*). The court amusements took their bias from these qualities; they were pompous and gaudy, without any degree of taste or propriety (*l*). The direction

(*i*) George Abbot, archbishop of Canterbury, was at this time detained by illness from attending the privy council; he therefore wrote to Mr. secretary Naunton, that it was his opinion that the elector should accept the crown, and England openly support him; but James rejected the reasons which the archbishop urged to support his opinion, as favouring too much the pretensions to liberty in subjects.

(*k*) At the time of her daughter's marriage with the Palsgrave she had been flattered from the king of Spain with hopes that she might have him for a son-in-law. This put her into so ill a disposition for the Protestant match, that she descended to such childish expressions of resentment as to call her daughter in derision Good-wife Palsgrave.

Spotswood gives us the following account of the violence of this princess's temper:

"Prince Henry was assigned to the care of the earl of Mar: on the queen's intended journey to London she went to his house, and demanded her son, that he might accompany her. This demand being denied by the family of the earl of Mar, she became so incensed, that it occasioned her a fever, and that fever a miscarriage. The king being advertized of her sickness, sent the duke of Lenox with a warrant to receive the prince, and deliver him to the queen. Notwithstanding this indulgence, she wrote a letter to the king, full of passion, requiring a public reparation by the punishment of the earl of Mar and his servants. The king sent her word, that she should do wisely to forget the grudges she carried to the earl of Mar, and thank God for the peaceable possession they had obtained of the kingdom of England, which, next under God, he ascribed to the last negociation of the earl of Mar in England. When this message was delivered to the queen she replied, in great wrath, that she rather would have wished never to see England, than be in any sort beholden to the earl of Mar." *Spotswood*, p. 477.

(*l*) The two following authentic letters are examples of the vulgar style that prevailed in this princess, and consequently infected the whole court:

Queen Anne to king James.

"I am glad that our brother's horse (*m*) does please you, and that my dog Stennie (*n*) does well; for I did command him that he should make

(*m*) *The king of Denmark.*

(*n*) *Viscount Villiers.*

tion of the revels were the bounds of Anne's empire. It was perhaps from the little influence she had over her husband, that she escaped the odium that fell on all those that transacted the public affairs.

This year, 1619, a very arbitrary act of sovereignty was exercised on the earl of Ormond. He was thrown into prison for refusing to stand the king's arbitration concerning a disputed estate between him and the lord Dingwell. The king had adjudged it in favour of his antagonist. This lord Dingwell was sir Richard Preston, an old companion and favourite of James. He obliged the late earl of Ormond to marry his daughter to him, and created Preston, on this occasion, baron Dingwell in Scotland. On the death of this earl, the title descended to his nephew, sir Walter Butler, on whom the estate was entailed; the lord Dingwell disputed this right on the pretension of his wife's succeeding as general heir, and obtained possession by an unjust exertion of the power of the crown, notwithstanding that Ormond's title to the estate was corroborated by the will of the deceased earl. Ormond was not the only individual that suffered from illegal acts of power in this reign. Whitelock, a lawyer, and sir Robert Mansell, the vice-admiral, were both committed to prison; one for giving his opinion in a case which was supposed to touch the king's prerogative, and the other for asking it. The opinion was not given in public, but as a private intimation to a friend.

Edmund Peachum, who was taken up for writing some offensive passages in a sermon, was racked several times in prison, that a confession of treasonable purposes might be extorted from him by the force of pain. The strength of his resolution rendering this method ineffectual, the question was, how to convict him on the circumstances of those passages. James drew up with his own hand a state of the question. In this performance he employed all the powers of his logic to enlarge the boundaries of high treason to the present case. The sermon had never been made public, either by preaching or printing. In Peachum's case Bacon, who then held the place of attorney-general, by the command of the king extorted by the force of importunity the several opinions of the judges. Sir Edward Coke affirmed, "That such an auricular taking of opinions was not according to the custom of the realm; that it was new and dangerous." Bacon's artifices and importunities at length prevailed: he wrote word to James that he was not wholly out of hope, that my lord Coke would comply when he had in some dark manner put him in doubt that he should be left alone.

James attempted to turn to his own pecuniary advantage the zeal which the people expressed for the reinstating of the Palsgrave's fortune. On the almost entire loss of the palatinate a benevolence was demanded, as an aid towards its recovery. Whether the people looked upon this as an excuse only to extort money from them; whether they were disgusted at its being demanded at a time too late to expect any fruits from such an assistance; or whether they were unwilling to encourage the examples of these illegal methods of raising money, the king got little from his subjects by this stratagem (*p*). He soon after called a parliament, forming great hopes from the general disposition towards a German war.

In this parliament, which met on the 16th of June, 1621, there appeared, at first, nothing but duty and submission on the part of the commons; and they seemed determined to sacrifice every thing, in order to maintain a good correspondence with their prince. They would allow no mention to be made of the new customs or impositions, which had been so eagerly disputed in the former parliament: the imprisonment of the members of that parliament was here, by some, complained of; but, by the authority of some leading members, that grievance was buried in oblivion: and, being informed that the king had remitted several considerable sums to the palatine, the commons, without a negative, voted him two subsidies; and that too, at the very beginning of the session, contrary to the maxims frequently adopted by their predecessors.

Afterwards, they proceeded, but in a very temperate manner, to the examination of grievances. They found, that patents had been granted to sir Giles Mompesson and sir Francis Michel, for licensing inns and ale-houses; that great sums of money had been exacted, under pretext of these licences; and that such inn-keepers as presumed to continue their business, without satisfying the rapacity of the patentees, had been severely punished by fine, imprisonment, and vexatious prosecutions.

The same persons had also procured a patent, which they shared with sir Edward Villiers, brother to Buckingham, for the sole making of gold and silver thread and lace, and had obtained very extraordinary powers for preventing any rivalship in these manufactures. They were armed with authority to search for all goods, which might interfere with their patent; and even to punish, at their own will and discretion, the makers, importers, and venders of such commodities. Many had grievously suffered by this exorbitant jurisdiction; and the lace which had been manufactured by the patentees was universally found to be adulterated, and to be composed more of copper than of the precious metals.

These grievances the commons represented to the king; and they met with a very gracious and very cordial reception. He seemed even thankful for the information given him; and declared himself ashamed, that such abuses, unknowingly to him, had creeped into his administration. "I assure you," said he, "had I before heard these things complained of, I would have done the office of a just king, and out of parliament have punished them, as severely, and peradventure more, than you now intend to do." A sentence was passed for the punishment of Michel and Mompesson. It was executed on the former. The latter broke prison and escaped. Villiers was, at that time, sent purposely on a foreign employment; and his guilt being less enormous, or less apparent, than that of the others, he was the more easily protected by the credit of his brother Buckingham (*q*).

Encouraged by this success, the commons carried their scrutiny, and still with a respectful hand, into other abuses of importance. The great seal was, at that time, in the hands of the celebrated Bacon, now distinguished by the title of viscount St. Albans. In order to supply his prodigality, Bacon had taken bribes, by the title of presents, and that in a very open manner, from suitors in chancery (*r*). Complaints at last reached the house of commons, and the members sent up an impeachment against him to the peers. The encouragement which James had been prevailed on to give towards the discovery of the iniquitous practices of the times, was too great to make an honourable retreat. Buckingham and the chancellor could not both be preserved without the dissolution of the parliament, and such a step must have tacitly condemned both the monarch and the minister, whose reputations could no otherwise be preserved but by the sacrifice of their corrupt instruments. James was extremely anxious to clear himself from any imputation of blame, insomuch that during the course of the enquiries, he went to the house of lords, and made use of the strongest terms to profess his innocence (*s*), and desire of justice on the delinquents. Thus

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your ear hang like a sow's lug, and when he comes home I will treat him better than any other dog."

Queen Anne to viscount Villiers.

"You do well in tugging the sow's (*o*) ear, and I thank you for it, and would have you do so still, upon condition that you continue a watchful dog to him, and be always true to him." *MSS. British Museum*, folio 6986.

(*p*) James at this time demanded a benevolence from his Scotch subjects, but every rank of people excused themselves from compliance. *Spotswood*, p. 541.

(*q*) Yelverton, the attorney-general, was accused by the commons for drawing the patents for these monopolies, and for supporting them. He apologised for himself, that he was forced by Buckingham, and that he supposed it to be the king's pleasure. The lords were so offended at these articles of defence, though necessary to the attorney-general, that they fined him ten thousand pounds to the king, five thousand to the duke. The fines, however, were afterwards remitted. *Franklyn*, p. 55. *Rushworth*, vol. i. p. 31, 32, &c.

(*r*) In the complaint which the commons brought up against the lord chancellor, Dr. Field, bishop of Llandaff, was accused of brokage in a bribe intended for the chancellor. *Parliam. Hist.* vol. v. p. 351, *& seq.*

(*s*) The houses had been told, that he had done nothing in these cases without having referred the same to several judges for the point of law, and to divers lords for the point of commodity. These were the lord chancellor, three of the judges, and serjeant Finch.

In the speeches he made on this occasion he said, "That if the enormities complained of had been laid before him, he would have punished the delinquents as severely out of parliament, and peradventure more than the parliament intended to punish them." He told the house, "That he believed their body had bribed his son to do good offices for them." And added, "The like I may say of one that sits there—Buckingham: he hath been so ready upon all occasions to do good offices both for the house in general, and every member thereof in particular."

James, amongst others of these kind of cajolements, praised much the intention of a bill against informers. "Such a bill, said he, will be the greatest ease, both to me and all those that are near about me at court, that may be; for I remember that since the beginning of this parliament Buckingham hath told me, he never found such quiet and rest as in this time

(*o*) *King James.*

Thus encouraged, the lords proceeded with zeal. An accusation of four-and-twenty articles of bribery, was brought into the house of commons against the chancellor. This unfortunate tool of government was even obliged to abandon his defence. The king would not hazard his appearing to plead his cause. An ample confession of the whole charge, with some trifling extenuations, was signed by him, with an humble petition for a favourable sentence (*t*). Thus ignominious was the fall of the famous Bacon, despicable in all the active part of life; and only glorious in the contemplative. Him the rays of knowledge served but to embellish, not enlighten; and philosophy itself was degraded by a conjunction with a person of his temper of mind (*u*). He did not survive, above five years, this public disgrace. We are told that he often lamented that ambition and false glory had diverted him from spending his whole time in the manner worthy of his extensive genius; but there is too much reason to believe from his conduct, that these sentiments arose from the weight of his mortifications, and not from the conviction of his judgement. He preferred many servile applications to James, and flattered him so far, as to represent his grandfather, Henry the Seventh (*v*), in an amiable light. This management obtained the pardon of his whole sentence, which was, a fine of forty thousand pounds, imprisonment in the Tower during the king's pleasure, to be for ever incapable of any office or place, or employment in the commonwealth, and never to sit again in parliament, or come within the verge of the court. Besides the favour of a pardon, the king conferred on him a nominal pension of eighteen hundred pounds a-year; but through the deficiency of its payment he languished out the remainder of his life in indigent circumstances (*w*). It is needless for an historian to describe the strength or extent of his genius; his precious bequests to posterity paint them stronger than can any other pen.

John Williams, D. D. dean of Westminster, and afterwards bishop of Lincoln, received the advantage of the counsel that was so fatal to Bacon: Buckingham, having no other creature in whose understanding and compliance he could so thoroughly confide, deposited the seals in his hands, with the title of lord keeper instead of lord chancellor; this office so nominated being held at the king's pleasure (*x*). The delinquents of an inferior order met with a punishment no less severe than Bacon's. Sir Giles Mompesson was degraded from the order of knighthood, ordained to stand perpetually in the degree of a person out-lawed, his testimony to be received in no court, to be excepted out of all pardons hereafter to be granted, to be imprisoned during life, not to approach within twelve miles of the courts of the king and prince, nor of the king's high courts usually holden at Westminster, his lands for life to be forfeited to the king, to undergo fine and ransom at ten thousand pounds, to be disabled to hold any office in the commonwealth, and, lastly, to be ever held an infamous person (*y*). Sir Francis Mitchel, a necessitous justice of the peace, was found to be concerned in some of the oppressive patents: his sentence was degradation, imprisonment during the king's pleasure, a fine of one thousand pounds, and to be disabled from holding any office under the king or commonwealth (*z*).

Sir Henry Yelverton, who was at this time a prisoner in the Tower, in consequence of a sentence of the star-chamber, for having enlarged a charter given to the city of London beyond the king's warrant, was accused in this business of illegal grants. He had obtained the office of attorney-general by the means of Somerset; his adherence to his patron had naturally rendered him odious in the eyes of Buckingham, who had actually occasioned the prosecution against him, and had assumed so insolent a carriage, even on his first favour from James, as to make use of this scoffing expression, "That he would make Yelverton the poorest attorney in England." From a continuation of the same animosity, James was incited to propose to the lords to give up his prisoner to the rigour of their judgement. Yelverton was brought to their bar, and pleaded his own cause, though not to the clearing of his own character, yet much to the disreputation of James and his favourite; he shewed the necessity he lay under either of losing his bread, or of obeying all their illegal injunctions (*a*). James was

time of parliament, from projectors and informers, who, at other times, miserably vexed him at all hours." He told the Lords, "That he acknowledged their house to be the supreme court of justice, in which he was ever present by representation; that he could not give them a greater assurance nor better pledge of his purpose, than by the honour he had done them of placing his only son among them."

(*t*) One of the articles of this charge is to this effect: the vintners in London refused to give above a certain price for wine; the merchants complained to the council; the king made a reference to the chancellor; the chancellor ordered the vintners to give the price demanded, and imprisoned two or three of the most obstinate, till they complied. For his pains he received a present of one thousand pounds. *Bacon's Submission. State Trials*, 2d edit. vol. i. p. 364.

"It may seem to us remarkable, says an ingenious writer, that Bacon was not accused for arbitrary proceedings, but for corruption."

(*u*) During the time he had the seals, he received a number of letters from Buckingham in favour of different people who had causes depending in chancery. There is great reason to believe that every one of these mandates were implicitly obeyed by the obedient chancellor. These letters are in a late collection published by Dr. Birch.

(*v*) James idolized the character of this monarch, and affected in several instances to resemble him. It was at his desire that Bacon undertook to write the history of that monarch.

(*w*) It appears from Letters, &c. published by Dr. Birch, that James made a kind of promise that Bacon's fortune should not be affected by his disgrace. This promise was so ill kept, that, in a letter of Bacon's to the king (in the same collection,) he complains, that the pension of eighteen hundred a-year, which he had enjoyed during his prosperity, was stopt, and that there was eight hundred pounds in arrears due upon it. Among the many petitions he preferred to Buckingham for a subsistence, he descended to ask the provostship of Eaton school, and was denied. York-house and his manor of Gorhambury were sold to pay his debts, and himself reduced to take up with a lodging in Gray's Inn, which he inhabited whilst he was a practical lawyer.

(*x*) This important alteration, with the giving of the seals to a churchman, not bred in the knowledge of the laws, and the doctrine of whose profession taught him implicit obedience to the throne, fully demonstrate an intention in James to subject the civil jurisdiction to royal caprice. All the precedents of bestowing this place to other than a lawyer happened in times when the common law of England was neither so full nor so well established as it was at this period.

(*y*) Though sir Edward Coke had quoted many precedents to prove that the lower house had in itself the power of punishment, and that judicial, yet the commons for the present waved this pretension, and yielded the point of sentence to the lords. Moreover, it had been ordered, that whatsoever should be delivered by sir Edward Coke should be concealed, upon pain of censure, till the conference with that house was past.

The lords had requested that those members who were the accusers of sir Giles Mompesson should be put upon oath. A long debate ensued upon this demand, in which many strong arguments were urged by sir Edward Coke, Mr. Glanville, Mr. Noy, and others, that it would be against the honour of the house to yield this point to the lords. An apprehension lest a dispute at this critical time should frustrate the desired condemnation, determined the result to be a compliance with the request of the upper house. Mr. Noy moved it should be entered, "It was so ordered by the motion of the parties themselves that were to be sworn, with a protestation hereupon on the message, and for that the cause is of an extraordinary nature, and that they cannot judge of it there, as we here, because we had sir Giles Mompesson present, they have not."

(*z*) The manner of his degradation was as follows: "He was brought by the sheriffs of London to Westminster Hall; then followed the commissioners for the office of earl marshal; sir Francis Mitchel was brought before these, and his sentence read by a pursuivant; his spurs was hacked in pieces by the servants of the commissioners, and thrown away; his silver sword was taken from his side, broke over his head, and flung away; then he was pronounced no longer to be a knight, but a knave." See *Camden's Annals*. This person was imprisoned in the gaol at Finsbury Fields, in the same chamber that he had provided for others; the place of his imprisonment was part of his sentence.

(*a*) "My most noble lords, said he, knowing that my lord of Bucking was ever at his majesty's hand, ready, upon every occasion, to hew me down, out of the honest fear of a servant, not to offend so gracious a master as his majesty hath ever been to me, I did commit them, viz. the silk-men.

"As to the patent of inns, I cannot but herein bemoan my unhappyness, that in the last cause labouring by all means to advance the profit of his majesty, and in this, with the sight almost of my own ruin, to preserve his majesty's honour and the quiet of the people, I am yet drawn in question, as if I had equally dishonoured his majesty in both.

"When sir Giles saw I would not be moved to offend his majesty by his directions, I received a message from Mr. Emerson, sent me by sir Giles, that I would run myself upon the rocks, and that I should not hold my place long, if I did thus withstand the patent of inns, or to that effect. Soon after came sir Giles himself, and like a herald at arms told me, That he had this message to acquaint me with from my lord of Buckingham, that I should not hold my place a month if I did not conform myself in a better manner to the patent of inns, for my lord had obtained it by favour, and would maintain it by his power.

"How could I but startle at this passage? I saw here was a great assuming of power to himself, to place or displace an officer at his pleasure: I saw myself cast upon two main rocks, either treacherously to forsake the standing his majesty had set me on, or else to endanger myself by a bye-blow, and to hazard my fortune.

"I humbly beseech your lordships to think, that nature will struggle, when she sees her place and means of living thus assaulted; for now it was come to this, Whether I would obey his majesty or my lord, if sir Giles spoke true: yet I resolved on this to be as stubborn as Mordecai, not to stoop, or pass those gracious bounds his majesty has prescribed to me.

"Soon after I found the message, in part, made good; for all the profits, almost, of my place were diverted from me, and turned into an unusual channel, to one of my lord's worthies, that I retained little more than the name of an attorney: it was so fatal and so penal, that it became almost the loss of a suit to come to me; my place was but as the seat of winds and tempests.

was so offended at this unexpected attack, that he reprobated the lords for having questioned Yelverton on points foreign to the direct accusation, and demanded satisfaction for the slander thrown by Yelverton upon himself and favourite (*b*). The lords implicitly obeyed the intention of the king's command; and Yelverton, for the truths he had dared to utter, was fined ten thousand marks to the king, confined to the Tower during his majesty's pleasure, to make a submission and acknowledgement of his fault at the bar, in the king's presence or in his absence, at the king's pleasure; he was fined five thousand marks to the marquis of Buckingham, and to make submission. This judgement being given, Buckingham, either out of compunction or ostentation, remitted the five thousand marks, for which he received Yelverton's thanks in the house. The lords agreed to move the king to mitigate the large fine, and the prince of Wales, who was present (*c*), offered to undertake that office. Thus far the king and both houses went on with the utmost unanimity, or at least with the appearance of it; but the king now began to grow extremely jealous of those sharers in his authority, and looked upon the sacrifices he had already made as sufficient to deserve an ample reward.

The commons, though they were willing to seize on every opportunity to render even minute services to their country, yet regarded the concessions that had been made by his majesty as trifling in comparison to the corrupt measures that still existed, and that looked with a threatening aspect on the interest and laws of their country, and the religion they were devoted to. To an address they had made the king, not to suffer a large parcel of ordnance that lay yet on the key to be transported to Spain, they received no further satisfaction, than that the king was assured from his brother monarch that these arms were not to be used against the Palatinate.

The speech which was uttered from the throne at the beginning of the session left the discerning part of the nation no room to hope, that the king had dropped the unpopular and mischievous treaty which he had entered upon with the court of Spain; but rather confirmed them in the assurance that his blindness and obstinacy were proof both against the arguments of reason, and the stronger pleadings of natural affection. Considerations like these made them espouse the cause of the palatine-family with a zeal that descended to a captious minuteness. One Edward Lloyd, a Papist, in talking of the king and queen of Bohemia, had made use of the scoffing terms of good-man and good-wife Palsgrave. Trifling as was this charge, and weakly supported, Lloyd was brought into trouble, and the whole house debated on the subject with great virulence, in which there was a strife among the members who should propose the severest punishment. At length, after vehement altercations, it was resolved, that Lloyd should be thrown into a dungeon, be three times placed on the pillory, ride through London, with his face to the tail of the horse, holding the tail in his hand, and a paper in his hat denoting his offence, and that he should be fined one thousand pounds.

The lords were highly offended at this encroachment, as they termed it, of the commons, and the king, who was much displeased with these enlarged pretensions, sent an interposing message, in which he thanked the commons for the concern they had expressed for his family, but desired them to stay proceedings till they had answered these queries. Whether the power of their house extended to examine and punish those who were not members of it? Whether a party denying, as Lloyd did, ought to be censured without an accusation upon oath? The commons made some attempts to get over these objections. It was urged, that the two houses having been formerly in one, and separating only for conveniency, the house of commons retained all the power of the house of lords. Others were for making this case a precedent. But, after many conferences between the two houses, the commons dropped their claim, and the judgement was referred to the lords, who added to the severe sentence of the commons, whipping, branding, and perpetual imprisonment (*d*). Thus did an indiscreet zeal hurry on the patrons of liberty to an infringement of its sacred laws, by a judgement no less arbitrary than severe. On the conclusion of this affair, the following protestation was drawn up in the name of both houses: "That the proceedings passed in the house of commons against Edward Lloyd be not at any time hereafter drawn or used as a precedent to the enlarging or diminishing of the lawful rights or privileges of either house; but that the rights and privileges of both houses shall remain in the self-same plight as before."

The harmony which had till now appeared to subsist between the three states, was entirely dissolved. James was so disgusted with the high claims of the commons that he could no longer suffer their sitting: the intention of an adjournment was mentioned in the house by secretary Calvert. The commons looked on it to be an expedient to evade passing the bills then depending before them for the redress of grievances, and were so inflamed by the apprehension, that they disputed the king's privilege of adjourning the parliament, and invited the lords to join in a petition against it; the lords acted in their usual manner, and refused to join with them; the king thanked the lords for having refused to concur in the insolent carriage of the commons, and added, "That if they thought it necessary, he would gratify them with a farther sitting for eight or ten days, but he would not now yield to the request of the lower house." The lords obtained this delay to be lengthened to a fortnight longer, but the commons refused the offer, as the time was too short to complete their business, and continued to draw up petitions of grievances (*e*). They were presented to the king by Abbot, archbishop of Canterbury, who performed his part with the spirit of true patriotism. James received these petitions with such distaste that the commons found they had no time to lose, and in all haste drew up a declaration that testified their willingness, upon proper signification of the king's pleasure in parliament, to give all necessary assistance towards the recovery of the Palatinate. The king's commission for an adjournment now came down to the house; the popular members opposed reading it; but the obedient speaker (*f*) pronounced, according to the commission, the house to be adjourned till the fourteenth of November (*g*).

The lesser nobility were greatly offended at the multitude of lately-created Scotch and Irish earls and viscounts, to whose titular distinction they were obliged to yield precedency, though they were not peers of England. Thirty-three noblemen preferred a petition to the king, in which they desired to be excused from yielding this point in the common ceremonies of society. During the recess of parliament a cajoling proclamation declared, that the abuses

"Howbeit, I dare say, if my lord of Buckingham had read the articles exhibited in this place against Hugh Despenser; and had known the danger of placing and displacing officers about a king, he would not have pursued me with such bitterness. But, my opposing his lordship in the patent of inns, in the patent of alehouses, in the Irish customs, and in sir Robert Naunton's deputation of his place in the court of wards, have been my overthrow. For these I suffer at this day in my estate and fortune (not meaning to say as I take it, but as I know, for my opposition to his lordship) above twenty thousand pounds." *Parliam. Hist.* vol. v. p. 436, *&c seq.*

(*b*) After Yelverton's first examination, James wanted to take the cognizance of the cause himself. The lords disputed this point, and James gave it up, but with many cautions of the following sort, That the lords knowing they enjoyed their honours from him, and under him, he doubted not but they would be tender of his honour. *Parliam. Hist.* vol. v. p. 431. *&c seq.*

(*c*) The prince of Wales, by the special appointment of the king, had been present during all the transactions of this session. Under the guise of a compliment he was placed in this house to over-awe the popular lords.

(*d*) This Lloyd, thus ignominiously treated, was a man of education, and possessed of a good estate, a lawyer, and a justice of peace in the county of Salop. Immediately after this severe sentence was passed upon him, a bill went through both houses for exempting the gentry of this realm from the servile punishment of whipping.

(*e*) One of these grievances was the transportation of ordnance. Sir Thomas Roe had told the house, that an hundred guns laying yet on the keys were to be sent to Portugal, and there to be mounted on twelve ships, which were to be employed against the English in the East Indies. The commons immediately deputed a select body to move the king to stay the ordnance. To this petition he returned answer, "That he had assurances from the king of Spain, that they should only be converted against pirates; that he had lately made a new promise, but would, for the time to come, pass a bill to restrain any more transportation."

(*f*) Serjeant Richardson was speaker. He had received a censure from the house for his irregular behaviour in leaving the chair when the conduct of any of the state-officers was called in question, or mentioned in a manner that was disagreeable to the court. *Guthrie*, p. 754.

(*g*) Immediately preceding the adjournment of the two houses, the offence which Dr. Feild, the bishop of Llandaff, had committed, was examined in the house of lords. He was found guilty of a designed breakage in bribery. Neile, bishop of Durham, moved, "That since there was nothing proved against Dr. Feild but an intent, that the consideration of it should be referred to the archbishop of Canterbury, and he to give the bishop an admonition in the convocation-house." The lords agreed to this motion, and sent a message to the lower house concerning the nature of the misdemeanor which had been proved against Dr. Feild. *Parliam. Hist.* vol. v. p 450, *&c seq.*

complained

complained of should be redressed by regal authority, that the assistance of parliament was not necessary to reform them, and that they would have been reformed before if they had been known. Lastly, the subjects were assured, that both the king's ears, and those of his privy-council, would be open to their modest and just complaints. Another followed this, which forbid the conversing upon state affairs, and threatened severe penalties both against the concealers and utterers of these speeches.

The parliament, after a second adjournment, re-assembled on the eighth of February. Lord Digby, who had been travelling all over Germany, to persuade the emperor and his partizans to give up the advantages they had gained by their late victories, gave the parliament a full account of his fruitless negociations, so that there remained no covering to hide the folly of James's conduct, or the gross impositions to which his fond credulity had subjected him. Stung by these informations, the commons drew up a petition and remonstrance that expressed their sense of his trifling management, set forth the causes of the increasing hopes of the popish party, the fears and apprehensions of the Protestants, and pointed out the remedies for these growing evils. The commons, in this remonstrance, freely represented all James's unpopular management with Papists, both at home and abroad, offered their advice that a war should be immediately declared and entered upon, and the king's son married to a Protestant princess.

It would be difficult to describe James's extreme indignation on hearing the subject of this remonstrance; all the tender points of prerogative, of which he was so highly tenacious, were here sensibly affected; and a formal attack upon an alliance that was the ultimate object of his hopes and inclinations. Inflamed by such provocations, he assumed a courage foreign to his nature, and ventured to abuse the commons in this fiery letter to the speaker. "We have heard by divers reports, to our great grief, that our distance from the houses of parliament, caused by our indisposition (*h*) of health, hath emboldened some fiery and popular spirits of some of the house of commons, to argue and debate publicly matters far above their reach and capacity, tending to our high dishonour, and breach of prerogative-royal. These are therefore to command you to make known, in our name, unto the house, that none therein shall presume henceforth to meddle with any thing concerning our government, or deep matters of state; and namely, not to deal with our dearest son's match with the daughter of Spain, nor to touch the honour of that king, or any other our friends and confederates; and also not to meddle with any man's particulars, which have their due motion in our courts of justice. And whereas we hear they have sent a message to sir Edwin Sandys, to know the reason of his late restraint, you shall in our name resolve them, that it was not for any misdemeanor of his in parliament, but to put them out of doubt of any question of that nature that may arise among them hereafter; you shall resolve them in our name, that we think ourselves very free and able to punish any man's misdemeanours in parliament, as well during their sitting as after, which we mean not to spare hereafter upon any occasion of any man's insolent behaviour there, that shall be ministered unto us; and if they have already touched any of these points which we have here forbidden, in any petition of theirs which is to be sent unto us, it is our pleasure that you shall tell them, that except they reform it, before it comes to our hands, we will not deign the hearing or answering it."

This letter, as might be expected from the temper of the commons, was received and answered with that calmness and steadiness as sufficiently expressed the knowledge they entertained of their own strength and dignity, and the contemptible light in which they viewed their antagonist. They sent back for their former remonstrance, but returned it with another that vindicated their just pretensions, and expressed a sorrow for James's mis-interpretations. To these James returned a copious answer (*i*), in which the indignant monarch denounced war against all the claims of the commons, and exposed his own illegal view of government. "The difference is no greater," says he, "in your pretending to advise us on our exposing our reasons for demanding a supply, than if a merchant, that we had great need to borrow money from him for raising an army, that thereupon it would follow that we were bound to pursue his advice in the direction of the war, and all things depending thereupon." The whole of this answer breathes the same spirit of despotism, as may be found in this example. It finishes in the following extraordinary manner: "And though we cannot allow of your stile in mentioning your ancient and undoubted right and inheritance, but could rather have wished that ye had said, that your privileges were derived from the grace and permission of our ancestors and us (for most of them grow from precedents, which shews rather a toleration than inheritance) yet we are pleased to give you our royal assurance, that as long as you contain yourselves within the limits of your duty we will be as careful to maintain and preserve your lawful liberties and privileges as any of our predecessors were, nay, as to preserve our own royal prerogative; so as your house shall only have need to beware to trench upon the prerogatives of the crown, which would enforce us, or any just king, to retrench them of their privileges that would pare his prerogative and flowers of his crown." Williams advised that the harshness of this answer should be mitigated, with a letter from the king to the two houses; and James, finding that the commons were determined not to enter on business, followed the advice in some measure, and wrote again to the speaker and secretary Calvert, offering to oblige the commons with the grant of a request they had made for a general pardon; this second letter still insisting that the liberty of the houses was derived from the favour of the king. The commons, however, before they were dissolved, entered this protestation in vindication of their parliamentary rights, on the 18th of December:

"The commons now assembled in parliament, justly occasioned thereunto concerning sundry liberties, franchises, and privileges of parliament, amongst others here mentioned, do make this protestation following:

"That the liberties, franchises, privileges, and jurisdictions of parliament, are the ancient and undoubted birth-right and inheritance of the subjects of England, and that the arduous and urgent affairs concerning the king, state, and defence of the realm, and of the church of England, and the maintenance and making laws, and redress of grievances which daily happen within this realm, are proper subjects and matter of council or debate in parliament, and that in the handling and proceeding of these businesses every member of the house of parliament hath, and of right ought to have freedom of speech, to propound, treat, and bring to conclusion the same; and that the commons in parliament have like liberty to treat of these matters in such order as in their judgement shall seem fittest; and that every member of the said house hath like freedom from all impeachment, imprisonment, and molestation, other than by sentence of the house itself, for or concerning any speaking, reasoning, or declaring, any

(*h*) The king was now at Newmarket, on pretence of sickness. *Wilson.*

(*i*) Among other curious passages in this answer are the following ones, on the subjects of religion, the king of Spain, and the prince's match:

"But because we conceive that ye couple this war of the palatinate with the cause of religion, we must a little unfold your eyes herein: The beginning of this miserable war, which hath set all Christendom on fire, was not for religion, but only caused by our son-in-law's hasty and harsh resolution, following entirely counsel, to take to himself the crown of Bohemia; and that this is true, himself wrote letters unto us at that time, desiring us to give assurance both to the king and state of Venice, that the accepting of the crown of Bohemia had no reference to the cause of religion, but only by reason of his right of election, as he called it: and we would be sorry that such aspersion should come upon our religion as to make it a ground pretended for disturbing of kings, and usurping their crowns; and we would be loth that our people here should be taught that strange doctrine: no, let us not so far wrong the jesuits as to rob them of their chief policies and practices in that very point. And whereas ye exhort your speaking upon the king of Spain's sacred person of our intentions by you expressed in that point, and yet affirm, that it is without any touch to his honour, we cannot wonder enough that ye are so forgetful both of your words and wits: for in your former petition ye plainly affirm, that he affects the temporal monarchy of the whole earth, than which taxe can be no more malice uttered against any great king, to make all other princes and potentates both envy and hate him; but if ye list, it may easily be tried whether that speech touched him in honour or not, if ye shall ask him the question, Whether he means to assume to himself that title or not: for every king can best judge of his own honour. We omit the particular ejaculations of some four-mouthed orators in your own house against the honour of that king's crown and estate. And touching your excuse of not determining any thing concerning the match of our dearest son, but only to tell your opinion, and lay it down at our feet; first, we desire to know how you could have presumed to determine in that point, without committing of high treason; and next, you cannot deny but your talking of his match after that manner was a direct breach of our commandment and declaration out of our own mouth, where we plainly professed, that we were in treaty of his match with Spain, and wished you to have that confidence in our religion and wisdom, that we would so manage it as our religion should receive no prejudice by it." *Parliam. Hist.* vol. i. p. 1075, & seq.

matter or matters touching the parliament or parliament-business; and that if any of the said members be complained of and questioned for any thing done or said in parliament, the same is to be shewed to the king, by the advice and assent of all the commons assembled in parliament, before the king give credence to any private information (*k*)."

The king, informed of the increasing heats and jealousies in the house, hurried to town, from Newmarket; and immediately upon his arrival sent for the Journals of the House of Commons; after which he struck out, with his own hand, before the council, the above protestation, and ordered his reasons to be inserted in the council book. He was doubly displeased, he said, with the protestation of the lower house, on account of the manner of framing it, as well as of the matter which it contained. After which he dissolved the parliament by proclamation, in which he set forth, "That he was constrained to this act by the undutiful behaviour of the lower house (*l*)." This premature end of the parliament lost all the bills then depending for the good of the subject (*m*).

Sir John Bennet, a judge of the prerogative-court at Canterbury, who had been impeached by the commons for bribery and corruption, and bound to appearance for the large sum of nineteen thousand pounds, by this means escaped the punishment his misdemeanours deserved.

Amongst the many motions that were made this session, one of Buckingham's related to an academy for the bringing up of the nobility and gentry of this kingdom. Though this was introduced in the very midst of the enquiries concerning bribery and corruption, the house approved of the motion, and adjourned itself that the matter might be discussed. Another material point took up much time, and occasioned a long debate, at the same important crisis; viz. How to give equality of precedence to the two universities, in the subsidy-bill granted by the laity. On a debate in the committee of the upper house on the customs and privileges of the peers, the opinion of two judges who were appointed to attend the committee was asked; they refused to give an opinion, because the matter proposed touched the king's prerogative: this refusal was very displeasing to the lords; they ordered that both the judges should attend the house to answer for their conduct. A bill passed both houses for confirming an hospital endowed by Thomas Sutton, with a large estate of eight thousand pounds per annum, besides thirteen thousand pounds paid to the earl of Suffolk for the charter-house, and ten thousand pounds laid out on the building. This foundation was for eighty decayed gentlemen and forty boys. It retains the name of the Charter House to the present time (*n*).

Mr. Shepperd, a young member of parliament, had given so great an offence by opposing, in an intemperate manner, a bill for the better observing the Lord's-day, that he was expelled the house.

The king having now, by his rupture with the commons, with so rash and indiscreet a hand, torn off that sacred veil which had hitherto covered the English constitution, and which threw an obscurity upon it so advantageous to royal prerogative, every man began to indulge himself in political reasonings and inquiries; and the same factions which commenced in parliament were propagated throughout the nation. In vain did James, by reiterated proclamations, forbid the discoursing of state affairs. Such proclamations, if they had any effect, served rather to inflame the curiosity of the public; and, in every company or society, the late transactions became the subject of argument and debate.

All history, said the partizans of the court, as well as the history of England, justify the king's position with regard to the origin of popular privileges; and that, as monarchy is the most simple form of government, it must first have occurred to rude and uninstructed mankind. The other complicated and artificial additions, were, said they, the successive invention of sovereigns and legislators; or, if they were obtruded on the prince by seditious subjects, their origin must appear still more precarious and unfavourable. In England, the authority of the king appears totally absolute and sovereign; nor does the real spirit of the constitution, as it has ever discovered itself in practice, fall much short of these appearances. The parliament is created by his will; by his will it is dissolved. It is his will alone, though at the desire of both houses, which gives authority to laws. To all foreign nations, the majesty of the monarch seems to merit sole attention and regard. And no subject, who has exposed himself to royal indignation, can hope to live with safety in the kingdom; nor can he even leave it, according to law, without the consent of his master. If a magistrate, environed with such power and splendour, should consider his authority as sacred, and regard himself as the anointed of heaven, his pretensions may bear a very favourable construction. Subjects are not raised above that quality, though assembled in parliament. The same humble respect and deference is still due to their prince. Though he indulges them in the privilege of laying before him their domestic grievances, with which they are supposed to be best acquainted, this warrants not their bold intrusion into every province of government. And, to all judicious examiners, it must appear, "That the lines of duty are as much transgressed by a more independent and less respectful exercise of acknowledged powers, as by the usurpation of such as are new and unusual."

Such was the mode of reasoning employed by those who favoured the system of the uncontrolable authority of the kingly office in England; but the lovers of liberty, throughout the nation, reasoned after a different manner. It is in vain, said they, that the king traces up the English government to its first origin, in order to represent the privileges of parliament as dependent and precarious: prescription, and the practice of so many ages, must, long ere this time, have given a sanction to these assemblies, even though they had been derived from an origin no more dignified than that which he assigns them. If the written records of the English nation, as asserted, represent parliaments to have arisen from the consent of monarchs, the principles of human nature, when we trace government a step higher, must show us that monarchs themselves owe all their authority to the voluntary submission of the people. But in fact, no age can be shown, when the English government was altogether an unmixed monarchy: and, if the privileges of the nation have, at any period, been overpowered by violent irruptions of foreign force or domestic usurpation; the generous spirit of the people has ever seized the first opportunity of re-establishing the ancient government and constitution. Though in the style of the laws, and in the usual forms of administration, royal authority may be represented as sacred and supreme; whatever is essential to the exercise of sovereign and legislative power, must still be regarded as equally divine and inviolable. Or, if any distinction be made in this respect, the preference is surely due to those national councils, by whose interposition the exorbitancies of tyrannical power are restrained, and that sacred liberty is preserved, which heroic spirits, in all ages, have deemed more precious than life itself. It is sufficient to say, that if the king founds his authority on arbitrary and dangerous principles, it is requisite to watch him with the same care, and to oppose him with the same vigour, as if he had indulged himself in all the excesses of cruelty and tyranny.

Amidst these disputes, the wise and moderate in the nation endeavoured to preserve, as much as possible, an

(*k*) The following spirited arguments had been urged in the house for the drawing up this declaration:

Mr. Carew. Our inheritance not matter of grace nor toleration; this of that importance to us, that if we should yield our liberty to be but matter of grace, these walls that have known the holding them these many years would blush. Magna Charta, above thirty times confirmed, confirmeth all our liberties; this, but the confirmation of the common law.

Sir Ed. Coke. The law of England is the subject's best birth-right, because it defendeth all he hath. Magna Charta is nominated *Charta Libertatis*, because it maketh free men; our privileges *in summo gradu*, our privileges here are the mother and nurse of all good laws—the censure of great men—the reforming of grievances.

Mr. Glanville. The king is to have the honour of a request for enjoying our privileges, but hath not the power of a refusal. *Journ. of the Commons* vol. i. p. 665, *& seq.*

(*l*) One of the charges against the commons in this proclamation is for speaking disrespectfully of foreign princes.

"Howbeit, we are all well satisfied of the good inclination of most part of our house of commons, testified by their ready assent to the speedy payment of a subsidy newly to be granted; yet, upon this occasion, some particular members of that house took such inordinate liberty, not only to treat of our high prerogatives, and of sundry things, that, without our special direction, were no fit subjects to be treated of in parliament; but also, to speak with less respect of foreign princes our allies, than was fit for any subject to do of any anointed king, though in enmity and hostility with us." *Parliam. Hist.* vol. v. p. 521.

(*m*) The only acts that passed this session were three entire subsidies granted by the spirituality, and two entire subsidies granted by the temporality. *Vid. Statutes at Large.*

(*n*) For a particular description of the Charter House, see Hughson's History of London, vol. i. p. 30. iii. 559, *& seq.*

equitable

equitable neutrality between the opposite parties; and the more they reflected on the course of public affairs, the greater difficulty they found in fixing just sentiments with regard to them. On the one hand, they regarded the very rise of parties as a happy prognostic of the establishment of liberty; nor could they ever expect to enjoy, in a mixed government, so invaluable a blessing, without suffering that inconvenience, which, in such governments, has ever attended it. But when they considered, on the other hand, the necessary aims and pursuits of both parties, they were struck with apprehension of the consequences, and could discover no feasible plan of accommodation between them. From long practice, the crown was now possessed of so exorbitant a prerogative, that it was not sufficient for liberty to remain on the defensive, or endeavour to secure the little ground which was left her: it was become necessary to carry on an offensive war, and to circumscribe, within more narrow, as well as more exact bounds, the authority of the sovereign. Upon such provocation, it could not but happen that the prince, however just and moderate, would endeavour to repress his opponents; and, as he stood upon the very brink of arbitrary power, it was to be feared that he would, hastily and unknowingly, pass those limits, which were not precisely marked by the constitution. The turbulent government of England, ever fluctuating between privilege and prerogative, would afford a variety of precedents, which might be pleaded on both sides. In such delicate questions, the people must be divided: the arms of the state were still in their hands: a civil war must ensue; a civil war, where no party or both parties would justly bear the blame, and where the good and virtuous would scarcely know what vows to form; were it not that liberty, so necessary to the perfection of human society, would be sufficient to bias their affections towards the side of its defenders.

The present distressed state of the Protestants throughout all Christendom, excited a great degree of fearful apprehension, from the abrupt dissolution of the last parliament. In Germany the conquests of the Catholics were marked with the most bloody acts of cruelty and tyranny. The executions which were daily practised amongst the wretched Bohemians, with the distresses of the unfortunate Palatine, deterred their ecclesiastical brethren from attempting any opposition to the formidable designs of the house of Austria. The Protestants in France were in as hopeless a situation: these had been promised assistance from James, and basely deserted; they were now overwhelmed by the united parties of the Catholics with the queen-mother and her son at their head. All their strong towns were at this time besieged or taken. The Catholic cause began even to revive in England; its votaries not only aspired to a toleration, but to an enjoyment of equal privileges with the established church. These were not the dreams of sanguine zealots, but founded on rational hopes drawn from the approaching union of the court of England with the house of Austria. The well-grounded fears and resentment which this state of affairs excited in the minds of British subjects, had been legally expressed by their representatives in parliament; but the insolent and violent carriage it occasioned in their sovereign left them no room to hope that his fatal prejudices would admit of cure. To the dangerous system he had adopted, and steadily adhered to, might be attributed, though from a remote influence, that ruin which threatened all the reformed, and the oppression to which many of them were at present subjected.

Emancipated from the restraint of parliament, James was now at full liberty to pursue his plan of negociation, and settle the affairs of Europe, by the importance of his character, and the splendour of his embassies. But that they had as yet produced little effect in favour of the forsaken king of Bohemia, a letter wrote at this time, from the emperor to Don Balthazar de Zuniga, will shew. The emperor magnifies his own victories, and the distressed state of the Calvinists, with their chief the elector Palatine: "Whom if, by an impious kind of commiseration (writes he) I shall restore, and nourish in my bosom, as a trodden half-living snake, what can I expect less than a deadly sting from him, who, in regard of his guilt, can never be faithful, but will always gape for an occasion to free himself from his fears; and the genius of whose sect will make him an enemy, or an unsound friend, to the house of Austria."

Several members of parliament, who had shewn themselves the most forward in the cause of religion and liberty, were committed to prison. Sir Edward Coke, whose generous temper could not long endure the servility of a court-dependence, was unhappily one of this number. The measure he suffered of unjust persecution was made up to him by an increase of reputation; indeed his abilities never before shone in a light so conspicuously admirable. The drudging lawyer, animated by the brightness of his cause, improved into the persuasive orator; his talents were at this time so remarkable, that it is alledged, the succeeding patriots made his harangues their models of elocution. Such was the malice of offended royalty, and such the infamy of its tools, that two wretches, named Lepton and Goldsmith, were instigated by Bacon, the late chancellor, to charge Coke with eleven articles of misbehaviour as a judge and a lawyer. These facts were judged by the house to be false and frivolous, nor could they be proved in the star-chamber, where Coke was persecuted with the greatest acrimony. His papers were seized after the dissolution of the parliament, himself denied the satisfaction of conversing with his wife or children, and the talk of the courtiers was that his life might be affected (*o*). Sir Robert Philips, Pym, Selden, and Mallory, were of the number of committed members. Sir Dudley Diggs, sir Thomas Carew, sir Nathaniel Rich, sir James Perrot, joined in commission with others, were sent on frivolous errands into Ireland; sir Peter Hayman and others into the Palatinate. The court at this time assumed the power of employing any man, even without his consent, in any brance of public business. The earls of Oxford and Southampton, sir Edward Hawlly, sir George Leeds, sir Christopher Nevil, and Sutcliff, dean of Exeter, were taken into custody for writing with freedom against the Spanish match. The public was deprived of the services of sir John Saville, a zealous opponent of the court, and knight of the shire for the county of York, by a different method: he was made comptroller of the household, a privy counsellor, and afterwards a baron. This event is memorable, as being the first instance of the practice of buying off individuals, who opposed the measures of the court, which, in the hands of succeeding monarchs, has silently and surely effected what James and his son in vain attempted by clamour and violence. However irregular this practice, it will be regarded by political reasoners, as one of the most early and most infallible symptoms of a regular established liberty.

On the decease of Philip the Third, king of Spain, which happened in the year 1621, lord Digby was sent to the court of Philip the Fourth to renew and conclude the treaty of marriage between the infanta his sister and the prince of Wales. It was at this time in so little forwardness that letters passed between Philip and Olivares, his prime minister, which utterly disclaimed such an intention. That of Philip's is so pertinent and concise that I shall give the whole: "The king my father declared at his death, that his intent never was to marry my sister, the infanta Donna Maria, with the prince of Wales, which your uncle Don Balthazar understood, and so treated this match ever with intention to delay it. Notwithstanding it is now so far advanced, that, considering all the averseness unto it of the infanta, it is time to divert the treaty, which I would have you find out, and I will make good whatsoever it be. But in all other things procure the satisfaction of the king of Great Britain, who hath deserved much, and it shall content me, so as it be not in the match."

Olivares, in his answer to this letter, acknowledges that the ministers who treated of the match never intended to effect it, but, by enlarging the treaties, to make use of the friendship of the king of Great Britain in the affairs of Germany and Flanders. He proposes a double marriage with the emperor's eldest daughter to the prince of Wales, and the second daughter to the elector palatine's son, as a means to satisfy James, and compose the differences in Germany. Things being in this state, it is no wonder that Digby did not meet with that magnificent reception which an ambassador, coming on so friendly, and so seemingly approved an errand, might have expected. He was suffered to stay two or three days at a poor village near the

(*o*) The council debating about the general pardon that was to have passed the last parliament, had considered about the ways of excluding sir Edward Coke from that benefit, either by preferring a bill against him before the publication of the pardon, or by exempting him by name. *Parliam. Hist.* vol. v. p. 525.

court,

court, without having any civilities paid him, or even necessaries provided for his accommodation.

When lord Digby had desired a cessation of hostilities, he was referred to the duke of Bavaria, who commanded the Austrian armies; and the duke told him, that it was entirely superfluous to form any treaty for that purpose. "Hostilities are already ceased, said he; and I doubt not but I shall be able to prevent their revival, by keeping firm possession of the Palatinate, till a final agreement shall be concluded between the contending parties." Notwithstanding this insult, James endeavoured to resume with the emperor a treaty of accommodation; and a kind of negociation was opened at Brussels, under the authority of the archduchess, whom the emperor had pretended to have vested with sufficient powers to treat with James concerning the terms of his son-in-law's re-establishment. The terms offered by James were, "That the king of Bohemia should, for himself and his son, renounce all pretence of right and claim to that crown: that he should from henceforth yield all constant due devotion to the imperial majesty, as did other obedient princes electors of the empire: that he should crave pardon on his knees of the imperial majesty: that he should not hereafter, any manner of way, demean himself unfittingly towards the imperial majesty, nor disturb his kingdoms or countries: that he should, upon reasonable terms, reconcile himself to other princes and states of the empire; and that he should do whatever like thing should be judged reasonable and necessary." Sir Richard Weston, a professed Papist, was entrusted with the management of this business, as being more agreeable to the party. Moreover, to gain entirely the favour of the archduchess, James (a Protestant king, of Calvinistical principles, and ruling a Protestant nation,) suffered four thousand men to be raised in England to serve against the Protestants in the Netherlands!

When the commissioners began to treat on the intended negociation, it was objected, that James's ambassador could not produce sufficient powers from the king of Bohemia, and the archduchess was still to be directed by the court of Vienna; and the whole business being only a specious pretext to impose further on the credulity of the king of Great Britain.

While this farce was acting at Brussels, the king of Bohemia, who had entertained no idea of success on the result of James's measures, left the Hague, and joined count Mansfeldt's army in Alsatia. Christian, duke of Brunswick, and the marquis of Baden Dourlach, each at the head of a strong force, declared themselves champions for the Protestant cause; and the duke of Brunswick was possessed of the administratorship of Halderstadt, which he would have been in danger of losing, if the Austrian arms had made further progress in Germany. The ray of hope which now dawned upon Frederic's fortune was soon obscured: prince Baden was defeated by the prince of Anhalt before he could join his allies; and count Tilly, general to the duke of Bavaria, forced Mansfeldt to retreat, and the duke of Brunswick to come to an engagement, in which he cut off all his infantry; the duke fled with his cavalry to Mansfeldt. These accumulated misfortunes induced Frederic to obey James's reiterated injunctions of returning to Holland, there to wait the success of his negociations. The first news that this unfortunate prince heard after the retreat was that Tilly had taken Heidleberg (*p*) by storm, and besieged Manheim, two towns in the Lower Palatinate. James had prematurely boasted that his son-in-law held that country under his protection. It should be observed, that after the duke of Brunswick and the prince of Baden had been defeated, count Mansfeldt, though much inferior in force to his enemies, still maintained the war; but with no equal supplies of money either from the palatine or the king of England. It was therefore chiefly by pillage and free quarters in the palatinate, that he subsisted his army.

While affairs were in this desperate situation, the treaty still lingered at Brussels, it having been on purpose protracted till Tilly, who no longer met with opposition, had taken both Heidleberg and Manheim. James was entirely satisfied with the Spanish monarch for having, at his desire, sent an order for Manheim to be spared, till a truce could be concluded. It is to be remarked, that this interposition did not preserve Manheim, the order not having been sent till after it had surrendered. Notwithstanding this circumstance, James continued to repose such confidence in the candour and integrity of the Austrian family, that he put Frankendale, the only remaining town of the palatine's dominions, in the hands of the archduchess, to be re-surrendered at the expiration of a truce of eighteen months. One of the articles of the truce was, that the elector should renounce all connections with the duke of Brunswick and count Mansfeldt. James persuaded his son-in-law to disarm, under colour of duty and submission to the emperor: and accordingly count Mansfeldt was dismissed from the palatine's service; and that famous general withdrew his army into the Low Countries, and there received a commission from the states of the United Provinces.

Before the conclusion of the treaty, the emperor had transferred the dignity of the elector palatine to the duke of Bavaria (*q*), in January, 1623, dismembered both the Palatinates, by giving part of the inferior to the elector of Mentz, and part of the superior to the duke of Newburgh. The elector of Saxony, and several princes, opposed this act, as contrary to the fundamental laws of the empire, which admit not of the disposing of an electorate without the consent of every member of the electoral college. Whilst even Frederic's enemies murmured at the arbitrary severities practised against him, James (*r*) was so little affected by them, that Gondemar wrote word to Spain, that he had lulled the king of England so fast asleep that he hoped neither the cries of his daughter nor her children, nor the repeated solicitations of his subjects in their behalf, should be able to awaken him (*s*).

Incongruous as were James's measures to obvious politics, both himself and cabinet plumed themselves much upon them; and, in order to take proper advantages of the lately-concluded truce, and to obtain a confirmation of the marriage before its expiration, the king of Spain was gratified with an order to release all the popish recusants, which had been imprisoned according to the dictates of the law. On a general offence taken at this unlimited indulgence, the lord-keeper Williams wrote a letter to the justices, to vindicate the king's conduct. "As the sun (said he) in the firmament appears to us no bigger than a platter, and the stars are but as so many nails in the pommel of a saddle, because of the enlargement and disproportion between our eye and the object, so is there such an unmeasurable distance between the deep resolution of a prince, and the shallow apprehensions of common and ordinary people." He then declares that the king was at that time a most zealous intercessor for some ease and refreshment to all the Protestants in Europe, which were unreasonable, if he did now execute the rigour of the laws against Roman Catholics. "But to conclude, said he, from the favour done to the English Papists, that the king favours the Romish religion is a composition of folly and malice, little deserved by a gracious prince, who, by word, writing, exercise of religion, and acts of parliament, hath shewed himself so resolved a Protestant."

About this time the following orders were given to restrain popular preachers: "That no preacher, of what title or denomination soever, from henceforth should presume, in any auditory within this kingdom, to declare, limit, or bound out, by way of positive doctrine, the power, prerogative, and jurisdiction of sovereigns, or otherwise meddle with matters of state, and the differences between princes and the people, than as they are instructed and precedented in the homilies of obedience: that no preacher, of what title or denomination soever, shall presume, causelessly or without invitation from the text, to fall into bitter invectives and indecent railing speeches against the persons of either Papists or Puritans."

Whether James began to despair of success from his pacific measures; or whether, more probably, he depend-

(*p*) The famous library at Heidleberg was sent from thence to Rome.

(*q*) This was at the diet of Ratisbon. The Spanish ambassador seemingly opposed this transfer; all Europe regarded it as a collusion between the king of Spain and the emperor: Carleton, the English resident at the Hague, represented it in this light to Buckingham.

(*r*) In one of the emperor's declarations against the elector and his adherents, he urged, that the revolt of the Bohemians had not even met with the approbation of the king of Great Britain. *Rushworth.*

(*s*) To shew how little account was made of James's negociations abroad, there is a pleasantry mentioned by most of the historians, which, for that reason, shall have place here. In a farce, acted at Brussels, a courier was introduced carrying the doleful news that the Palatinate would soon be wrested from the house of Austria; so powerful were the succours, which, from all quarters, were hastening to the relief of the despoiled elector: the king of Denmark had agreed to contribute to his assistance a hundred thousand pickled herrings, the Dutch a hundred thousand butter-boxes, and the king of England a hundred thousand ambassadors. On other occasions, he was painted with a scabbard, but without a sword; or with a sword, which nobody could draw, though several were pulling at it.

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ed on the credulity of his subjects for the draining of their purses, he demanded at this time a voluntary contribution for the recovery of the Palatinate by the force of arms. Letters were written to the high sheriffs and justices of the peace, to return the names of the contributors, that notice might be taken of those that refused.

Whilst the people of England were thus amused with high language, letters of complaint were continually sent from the king and his minister to the court of Spain. They represented James's strong attachment to the Austrian family, notwithstanding the opposition he met with from the public spirit of the people, and the discouragement he had received from the collusion between their imperial and Catholic majesties, to bubble and abuse him. They complained that, upon the faith of assurances received from Gondemar, the prisons were emptied of popish recusants, and filled with Puritans, and the opposers of the match. They set forth James's merit with the house of Austria, in persuading his son-in-law to throw himself upon the mercy of the emperor; and that, according to that persuasion, count Mansfeldt and the duke of Brunswick had received their dismission; that himself, by the incitements of Spain, had disagreed with France; yet, notwithstanding these graces and concessions, even while he was receiving the strongest assurances of favour to his son-in-law from Madrid and Brussels, Heidelberg had been sacked, and Manheim taken, though garrisoned by English troops.

No motive less considerable than the treaty in agitation could have excited James to confess himself the dupe to the king of Spain. This was not the only mortification which at this time assailed him: he began to apprehend that the purposed delays to which the conclusion of the treaty was subjected by its first article might be drawn on to infinity; stimulated by this fear, he sent Gage as an agent to Rome to sollicit from the pope proper authorities for completing the marriage. This step served but to expose James's extreme anxiety for the alliance, and produced these additions to the already-stipulated articles: "That the Roman Catholics should be allowed a public church in London, besides the infanta's private chapel: that the minister of that church should be a bishop: that the popish ecclesiastics should be subject to the laws of their own superiors only: that the children of the marriage should be educated by the mother, and that some further proposals should be agreed to for the benefit of popery. To these exorbitant demands James returned this answer: "That he was willing to allow the infanta a public chapel, or rather a church, in which a bishop might officiate. To the second article he objected, That there was no example of such an exemption for ecclesiastics, even in popish states. To the third article, that the children should be left, for a limited time, to be fixed by the king of Spain, under the tuition of their mother. To the further indulgencies for popery he said (*t*), That the articles of religion agreed upon between him and the late king of Spain were accounted so satisfactory, in the judgement of the most learned clergy in Spain, that they declared their opinion, that, upon the offer of such conditions, the pope ought not to withhold the dispensation." This answer was sent to Madrid, that it might not publicly appear that the king treated with the court of Rome. The professions of Spain now grew stronger: Olivares declared, that if the emperor should refuse to restore Heidelberg, or to condescend to such accommodation as should be adjudged reasonable, the king of Great Britain should be infallibly assisted with the arms of his Catholic majesty for restoring the Palatinate. The letters that lord Digby, now made earl of Bristol, wrote, were full of assurances of success.

Whilst this contract took up the whole attention of the court of England, the town of Bergen-op-zoom, which had been besieged by Spinola, since the expiration of the truce between Holland and Spain, was relieved by the duke of Brunswick and count Mansfeldt, who had joined prince Maurice, after their dismission from the king of Bohemia's service.

On the reception of James's favourable answer, in the beginning of 1623, the alliance of the Stuart family with the house of Austria began, even at Madrid, to wear a serious aspect. The king of Spain and his ministers, who had hitherto made use of the treaty as a lure to induce the British monarch to connive at their practices in Germany, found the bait had been swallowed too eagerly to be easily disgorged: the articles of religion, which had been thrown in as plausible impediments, by the unexpected concessions of James, brought the affair to a crisis that could not end in a rupture of the treaty, without reflecting an equal share of infamy on the deceiver and deceived. An epistolary correspondence had been actually begun between James and the pope, who would have thought himself ill-treated if his authority had been used as a pretext to serve the purposes of Spain, who was at present entangled in her own snares. Compunctions of honour operated on the Spanish counsels; or, what is more probable, they began to flatter themselves, that the conversion of Great Britain would be produced by this alliance, and the infanta numbered with the divinities in the popish legends. Some or all of these motives influenced at present so strongly the measures of Philip and his ministry, that the arrival of the dispensation, which was expected from Rome in March or April, was to be followed in four days by a solemnization of the nuptials. The articles of the portion and jointure were already settled. The earl of Bristol wrote word, for he was now fully convinced of the sincerity of the court of Spain, that he should soon bring into England the most accomplished princess in the world, with a portion of two millions of pieces of eight (*u*). This minister's prospects on the merit of having concluded this desired business, and the interest he had with a family which was on the eve of having an important influence on the court of England, excited in the breast of Buckingham sensations of jealousy; which, with the natural vanity of his disposition, fired him with a desire to introduce himself to the court of Spain. The sole possession of James's favour, who was at present old, and in the decline of life, was no longer the ultimate object of his views.

Ever since the fall of Somerset, Buckingham had governed, with an uncontrolled sway, both the court and nation; and could James's eyes have been opened, he had now full opportunity of observing how unfit his favourite was for the high station to which he was raised. Some accomplishments of a courtier he possessed: of every talent of a minister he was utterly destitute. Headstrong in his passions, and incapable equally of prudence and of dissimulation: sincere from violence rather than from candour; expensive from profusion more than generosity: a warm friend, a furious enemy; but without any choice or discernment in either: with these qualities he had early and quickly mounted to the highest rank; and partook at once of the insolence which attends a fortune newly acquired, and the impetuosity which belongs to persons born in high stations, and unacquainted with opposition.

Among those who had experienced the arrogance of this overgrown favourite, the prince of Wales himself had not been entirely spared; and a great coldness, if not an enmity, had, for that reason, taken place between them. Buckingham, desirous of an opportunity, which might connect him with the prince, and overcome his aversion, and at the same time envious of the great credit acquired by Bristol in the Spanish negociation, bethought himself of an expedient, by which he might at once gratify both these inclinations. He represented to Charles, that persons of his exalted station were peculiarly unfortunate in their marriage, the chief circumstance in life; and commonly received into their arms a bride, unknown to them, to whom they were unknown; not endeared by sympathy, not obliged by service; wooed by treaties alone, by negociations, by political interest: that however accomplished the Infanta, she must still consider herself as a melancholy victim of state, and could not but think with aversion of that day, when she was to enter the bed of a stranger; and, passing into a foreign country and a new family, bid adieu for ever to her father's house and to her native land: that it was in the prince's power to soften all these rigours, and lay such an obligation on her, as would attach the most indifferent temper, as would warm the coldest affections: that his journey to Madrid would be an unexpected gallantry, which would equal all the fictions of Spanish romance, and suiting the amorous and enterprizing cha-

(*t*) Rushworth observes, that it appeared here that Spain had concealed from the pope some articles that James had already yielded to. *Rushworth*, vol. i. p. 66.

(*u*) That is, about six hundred thousand pounds sterling; a sum four times greater than Spain had ever before given with any princess, and almost equal to all the money which the parliament, during the whole course of this reign, had hitherto granted to the king.

racter of that nation, must immediately introduce him to the princess under the agreeable character of a devoted lover and daring adventurer: that the negociations with regard to the Palatinate, which had hitherto languished in the hands of ministers, would quickly be terminated by so illustrious an agent, seconded by the mediation and intreaties of the grateful Infanta: that Spanish generosity, moved by that unexampled trust and confidence, would make concessions beyond what could be expected from political views and considerations: and that he would quickly return to the king with the glory of having re-established the unhappy palatine, by the same enterprize which procured him the affections and the person of the Spanish princess.

The expedition having been agreed on between the two parties, on the first favourable opportunity, when James was a little elevated by his liquor, and a previous conversation on the expected arrival of the infanta, an assent to their design was so importunately begged by the prince, and seconded by Buckingham, with arguments adapted to the king's inclination, that the easy monarch was at length prevailed on to give his assent. The argument urged on the occasion was, that this piece of gallantry would be followed by the immediate restoration of the Palatinate, as a part of the payment of that vast obligation which the prince would lay on the infanta by such an unusual compliment. When the king's promise had been thus obtained, together with his declaration that he would keep their purpose an inviolable secret, he was further urged for an assent, that they might put their design in immediate execution, without other attendants than two servants, who should be kept in total ignorance till the moment of their departure.

On the first hour of solitude, James revolved in his mind the past consultation: innumerable difficulties presented themselves to his affrighted imagination; his disorder was so great when the prince and Buckingham returned to him for the dispatch, that he fell into a passion of tears, cried out he was undone, and that they would break his heart if they persisted in their resolution. Then, with unusual earnestness, he set before them the evils which must attend the rash enterprize; that besides the inevitable hazard to which the prince's person would be exposed, it must occasion the entire loss of the peoples' affection to himself, and the ruin of the almost-completed match; that on the prince's arrival at Madrid the articles of the treaty would be laid aside, and new matter proposed which had not yet been mentioned, and could never be consented to by him. This and much more he said to the same purpose, conjuring them with sighs, and an increase of tears, that they would no more press him on a thing contrary to his understanding and interest. The suppliant monarch received no answer to the weighty reasons he had insisted on: the prince put him in mind of the promise he had made the day before; which, he added, was so sacred that he hoped he would not violate it; that if he did he would never more think of marriage. Buckingham treated him with the utmost insolence; told him, that his word would never be again believed after his retracting so soon what he had solemnly promised; that he plainly discerned it proceeded from another breach of his word, in communicating with some rascal, who had furnished him with those pitiful reasons, but he doubted not that he should know hereafter who his counsellor had been; that his receding from his promise would be such a disobligation to the prince, that undoubtedly he would never forget it, or forgive the man that had been the cause of it. The importunity of the prince, and the roughness of Buckingham, entirely prevailed over the facile disposition of James, who after having disclaimed, with many oaths, the having communicated the matter to any person living, gave them, a second time, a full leave to follow their inclination. It was agreed, that they should set out in two days, and that sir Francis Cottington, the prince's secretary, and Endymion Porter, one of his gentlemen of the bed-chamber, should attend them (*v*). James, thinking it proper that the intention should be immediately communicated to them, that all things necessary to the journey might be prepared, sent for sir Francis Cottington, who was at that time in the anti-chamber.

On Sir Francis's appearance, he previously cautioned him concerning the trust he was about to repose in him; telling him it was an affair of the highest importance, which he requested him not, upon his life, to disclose to any man whatever. He then said, "Cottington, here is baby Charles, and Stenie, (which ridiculous appellations he usually gave to the prince and Buckingham,) has a mind to ride post to Spain, to fetch home the infanta; they will have but two more in their company, and have chosen you for one: what think you of the journey?" Cottington, who was a prudent man, and had resided some years in Spain as the king's agent, was struck with all the objections to such an enterprize, and replied, "He could not think well of it, for he believed it would render fruitless all that had hitherto been done in the match." He then went on, representing the same obvious reasons that had already occurred to the king. On Cottington's discourse the king, throwing himself upon a bed, in another passion of sighs, tears, and lamentations, exclaimed, "I told you this before; I am undone! I am undone! and shall lose baby Charles!" Anger and rage appeared in the countenances of the prince and Buckingham: the latter of whom, in the violence of his passion, reproached Cottington with the utmost bitterness; and told him, "That on being asked by the king which was the best way to make the journey, he had had the presumption to give his advice in matters of state, and against his master, without being called to it, which he should repent as long as he lived." These threatenings put the king into a new agony; who cried out, "Nay, by God, Stenie, you are very much to blame to use him so; he answered me directly to the question I asked him, and very honestly and wisely, and yet you know he said no more than I told you before he was called in." It now appeared plainly that the design came originally from Buckingham. James was obliged to yield to his impetuosity, and Cottington had directions given him for the journey.

To the great regret of the dejected king, the prince, with his adviser, his two attendants, and sir Richard Graham, master of horse to Buckingham, set out from London on the 27th of February, 1623; they passed through France in disguise, undiscovered, and reached Madrid in the space of eleven days (*w*). They had been guilty of the

(*v*) Cottington had been one of Cornwallis's clerks when he was James's resident in Spain, and Endymion Porter had been a menial servant to Buckingham's brother, from thence preferred to his service, and afterwards to be gentleman of the bed-chamber to the prince. *Wilson*, p. 225.

(*w*) James, who had now recovered from his despondency, wrote the following curious letter to his son and favourite, eighteen days after their departure from England:

"My sweete boys, I wryte this now this sevint letre unto you upon the seventeenth of Mairche, sent in my shippe calld the Adventure, to my two boys adventurers, qwhom God ever blesse; and now to begin with him, *à jove principium*, I have sent you, my babie, two of your chaplains fittest for this puspose, Mawe and Wren, together with all stuffe and ornaments fitte for the service of God; I have fully instructed thaime, so as all thaire behaviour and service shall, I hoape, prove decent and agreable to the puritie of the primitive church, and yet as neare the Romane forme as can lawfully be done, for itt hath ever been my way to goe with the church of Rome, *usque ad aras*. All the particulars hereof I remitte to the relation of youre before-named chaplens, I send you also youre roabes of the order, qwhiche you must not forgette to weare upon Saint George's day, and dine together in thaime, if they can come in time, qwhiche I pray God thaye maye, for itt will be a goodlie sight for the Spaniardis to see my two boys dyne in thaime. I send you also the jewells I promeised, both some of myne and such of youres, I meane bothe of you as are worthie the sending, for my babie's presenting his mistresse. I send him an old double crosse of Lorraine, not so riche as awncient, and yet not contemptible for the valew; a goodlie looking-glasse, with my picture in itt, to be hung att her girdle, qwhiche you must tell her ye have caused itt so to be enchawnted by airt magike, as whensoever shee shall be pleased to looke in itt she shall see the fairest ladie that either her brother or youre father's dominions can afforde; ye shall presente her with two faire long diamonts, set lyke an anker, and a faire pendante dyamont hanging att thaime; ye shall give her a goodly roape of pearles; ye shall give her a carquant or coller, threttein great ballas rubeis, and threttein knotes or cinques of pearles; and ye shall give her a head-dressing of two and twenty great peare pearles; and ye shall give her three goodlie peare pendant dyamonts, qwhairof the biggest to be worne at a needle on the middest of her foreheade, and one in everie eare. And for my babie's owin wearing ye have two goode jewells of your owin, youre rounde broache of dyamonts, and your tryangle dyamont, with the great rounde pearle; and I send you for youre wearing the three brethren that ye know full well, but newlie sette, and the mirroure of Frawnce, the fellow of the Portugal dyamont, qwhich I wolde wishe you to weare alone in your hatte, with a little blacke feather; ye have also good dyamont buttons of youre owin to be sett to a doublette or jerkin; as for youre I it may serve for a present to a don. As for thee, my sweete gosseppe, I send thee a faire table-dyamonde, qwhich I wolde once have gevin thee before if thou wolde have taken itt, for wearing on thy hatte, or qwhaire thou plaisis; and if my babie will spaire thee the two long dyamonts in forme of an anker, with the pendant dyamont, itt were fitt for an admirall to weare, and he hath enough better jewells for his mistresse; thou hes of thyne owin thy goode olde jewell, thy three pindars dyamonts, thy picture-case I gave Kate, and the great dyamont-chaine I gave her, qwho wolde have sent thee the least prinne she hadde, if I had not stayed her; if my babie will not spaire the anker from his mistresse, he may well lend thee his rounde broache to weare, and yet he shall haye jewells to weare in his hatte for three great dayes. And now for the form of my babie's presenting of his jewells to his mistresse, I leave that to himselfe, with Stennie's advice, and my lord of Bristolt's,

the indiscretion of venturing as spectators at a court-ball at Paris, where Charles had a view of the princess Henrietta, whom he afterwards espoused, and who was at that time in the bloom of youth and beauty. Equally strong was the astonishment, mortification, and confusion of the earl of Bristol, when he saw the travellers alight at his house: nothing, in his opinion, but a demon in the form of the prince of Wales, could have prevented the successful termination of an affair that had cost so much time, pains, and vexation. It was alledged against him by Buckingham, that, on finding the prince's errand was not to turn Papist, as he at first suspected it was, he advised him with earnestness to that step. Nor is this fact improbable, since, in the present circumstances, the minister might rationally conclude, that a contrary resolution would be followed by the rupture of the treaty, and, with it, the disappointment of his future prospects.

When the arrival of the royal visitor was formally made known to the Spanish monarch, the attention of himself and council was totally employed in devising on the occasion a reception as romantically exalted as the occasion itself; nor could the most heated fancy of their own romantic writers describe more pompous ceremonies, or more bombast expressions of respect, than were here practised to delight the imagination of their enamoured guest: the prisons in Spain were thrown open; the sumptuary laws suspended; the privy counsellors waited on him in a body to inform him, that they had express orders to obey him as exactly as the king himself. Nor was he suffered long to languish for the sight of his mistress, who was carried abroad to visit a monastery, that the lover might be gratified with a distant view of her; the Spanish ideas of decency being so strict, as not to allow of any farther intercourse till the arrival of the dispensation. His introduction into the palace was performed with the same parade that attends the kings of Spain at their coronation; Philip took the left hand of him on every occasion, except in the apartments assigned to Charles, for there, he said, the prince was at home; he was constantly served by the grandees and tituladoes; Philip presented him with a golden key, which opened all the royal apartments, that he might, without any introduction, have access to him at all hours; the queen sent him divers presents of rich apparel, perfumes, and other rarities of the country; he was entertained with a variety of shews and triumphs, where, like a successful knight, he often obtained the prize in the presence of his mistress; at a dinner in St. Jerome's monastery several of the chief officers of the crown waited upon him bareheaded: even Olivares himself, though a grandee of Spain, who has the right of being covered before his own king, would not put his hat on in the prince's presence. Wilson asserts that this servile custom was introduced into Spain by Philip the Second, who carried it from England, where he had been thus attended (*x*).

The point of honour was carried so far by the Spaniards, that no attempt was made, on account of the advantage they had acquired, by having the prince in their possession, of imposing any harder conditions of treaty: their pious zeal only promped them, on one occasion, to desire more concessions in the religious articles; but upon the opposition of the earl of Bristol, accompanied with some reproaches, they immediately desisted. There was one article, however, in which the king promised, that the children should be educated by the princess, till they were ten years of age. This condition could not be insisted on, but with a view of seasoning their minds with Catholic principles, and though so tender an age seemed a sufficient security against theological prejudices, yet the same reason which made the pope insert that article, should have induced the king to reject it.

Whilst this pompous scene was acting at Madrid, the dispensation lingered at Rome. The prime minister Olivares, on his first congratulations to the prince, told him, "That the match would be concluded instantly; that now the kings of Spain and England should divide the world between them, for that he did not question but he came to change his religion." The artful Gondemar, who was at this time at Madrid, did not fail to act his part of the farce, by telling the prince one day, in a jocular manner, "That he had strange news to tell him, which was, that himself, though an Englishman in his heart, had been made that morning a privy counsellor." This was followed by a compliment from Philip, that he had conferred that honour on Gondemar that his highness might be informed of all their resolutions.

Charles at this time received a very civil letter from pope Gregory the Fifteenth: it expresses an assured belief that the prince was come to Spain for the purpose of being received into the bosom of the papal church. As the prince's answer to this letter has been represented by a very ingenious author in the light of a decent compliment, to which there could be no substantial objections, we shall give it at full length (*y*).

"Most holy father,

"We have received your letter with no less thankfulness and respect than is due to the singular good-will and godly affection wherewith we know it was written. It was most acceptable to us, that the never-enough-renowned examples of our ancestors were proposed to us by your holiness for our inspection and imitation; who, though they often hazarded their lives and fortunes, to propagate the Christian faith, yet did they never more chearfully display the banners of Christ crucified, against his most bitter enemies, than we will endeavour to the utmost, that the peace and union which so long triumphed may be reduced into the Christian world, after a kind of elimination or exile. For since the malice of the father of discords hath sowed such unhappy divisions amongst those who profess the Christian religion, we account this most necessary, thereby to promote with better success the glory of God, and Christ our Saviour. Nor shall we esteem it less honour to tread in their footsteps, and to have been their rivals and imitators in holy undertakings, than to have been descended of them; and we are very much encouraged to this, as well by the known inclination of our lord and father, and his ardent desire to lend a hand to so pious a work, as by the anguish that gnaws his royal breast when he considers what cruel destructions, what deplorable calamities arise out of the dissentions of Christian princes. Your holiness's conjecture of our desire to contract an alliance and marriage with a Catholic family and princess, is agreeable both to your wisdom and charity; for we would never desire so vehemently to be joined in a strict and indissoluble bond with any mortal whatsoever, whose religion we hated. Therefore your holiness may be assured, that we are, and always will be, of that moderation as to abstain from such actions as may testify our hatred against the Roman Catholic religion; we will rather embrace all occasions, whereby, through a gentle and fair procedure, all sinister suspicions may be taken away: that as we all confess one individual Trinity, and one Christ crucified, we may unanimously grow up into one faith; which that we may compass, we little value all labour and watchings, yea, the very hazard of our lives. It remains that we render thanks to your holiness for your letter, which we esteem as a singular present, and wish your holiness all prosperity and eternal happiness (*z*)". Dated at Madrid, 20 Junii, 1623.

Whilst the prince's passion was tantalized by daily expectations of the dispensation, it at length arrived from Rome,

Bristolt's, onlie I would not have thaime presented all att once, but att the more sundrie times the better, and I would have the rarest and richest kept hinmoste. I have also sent four other crosses of meaner valew, with a great pointed dyamont in a ring, qwhich will save charges in presents to dons, according to their qualities; but I will send with the fleete dyvers other jewells for presents for saving of chairges, qwhairof we have soe muche neede; for till my babie's comming away thaire will be no neede of giving of presents to any but to her. Thus you see how as long as I want the sweete comforte of my boyes conversation, I ame forced, yea, and delytes, to converse with thaime by long letres. God blesse you both, my sweete boyes, and sende you, after a successful journey, a joyefull and happie returne in the armis of your deare dade.

JAMES R.

"From Newmarket, on Saint Patrick's-daye, qwho of olde was to well patronized in the country ye are in."

MSS. in the Brit. Museum, n. 6011, p. 21, *& seq.*

(*x*) The Duc de Sully, in his Memoirs, testifies the having been much surprized at beholding the ceremony of serving the king of England, at the time of dinner, on the knee.

(*y*) Rushworth, vol. i. p. 78, *& seq.*

(*z*) To make the comment upon this answer more easy, it must be known that the pope, in his letter, exhorts the prince to follow his ancestors in obedience to the see of Rome. "It was most acceptable to us, returns the prince, that the never-enough-renowned examples of our ancestors were proposed to us by your holiness for our inspection and imitation." The pope proposes no medium, he insists upon a return of obedience to the papal hierarchy: "Yet did they never, says the prince, more chearfully display the banners of Christ crucified, against his most bitter enemies, than we will endeavour to the utmost to restore peace and union to the church." The pope supposes that the prince prosecutes the intended marriage with a design to re-unite himself to the church of Rome: the prince returns answer, "That the pope's conjecture is according to charity and wisdom, for he would never desire to be joined in marriage with

Rome, tacked to additional articles in point of religion: but as these were esteemed of great importance, he thought proper to refer them to his father, and sir Francis Cottington was accordingly sent to England on this errand. James was so delighted with the account which Cottington gave of his son's treatment at the court of Spain, that he broke out into frantic expressions of joy, and was heard several times to say, "Now all the devils in hell cannot hinder the match." On his asking his council whether it would be convenient to grant a toleration for Papists, he received a letter from Abbot, archbishop of Canterbury, which strongly represented to him how incongruous such a measure was to all his past professions, and how dangerous the attempt to abrogate the laws of the land by his own power, might prove to the welfare of himself and family. This spirited interposition was made by the worthy prelate whilst he lay under disgrace for having killed a park-keeper in an attempt to shoot a deer. His mortification for this unlucky accident had been so great as to petition the king for leave to retire to an alms-house at Guildford, which he had built for the maintenance of the poor. The lord keeper Williams had informed Buckingham, that, by the common law yet in force, the archbishop was made irregular, *ipso facto*, and therefore suspended from all ecclesiastical functions, until restored by his superior, who was the king's majesty; to this he added, "That though it was against the king's nature to add affliction to the afflicted, yet to leave a man of blood primate and patriarch of all his churches, sounded very harsh in the old councils and canons, and the Papists would not spare to censure it (*a*). It is very much to James's credit that this advice was rejected, and the archbishop continued in his ecclesiastical dignity.

Sir Francis Cottington was shortly sent back to Spain with the additional articles signed by the king and council, viz.—"That the infanta should take with her her family, and that these shall be nominated by the Catholic king, and afterwards supplied by him: that the election of her priests shall belong to the infanta: that the servants of the family of the lady infanta shall not be obliged to take the oath of allegiance to the king of Great Britain, provided there be any clause contrary to their consciences, and the Roman Catholic religion: that the laws which are, or shall be, against religion, shall not take hold of the said servants, and only the superior ecclesiastic may proceed against ecclesiastical persons, as hath been accustomed by Catholics. And if any secular judge shall apprehend any ecclesiastical person for any offence, he shall forthwith cause him to be delivered to the superior ecclesiastic, who shall proceed against him according to the canon-law: that the nurses who shall give suck to the children of the lady infanta shall be chosen by the lady infanta." To these additional articles, with those already mentioned, the king and privy council swore. Moreover, the king agreed to these private ones, viz. "That particular laws now enacted against Roman Catholics, and even general laws, under which all the subjects are comprized, if they are repugnant to the Roman Catholic religion, shall not at any time hereafter, by any means or chance whatsoever, directly or indirectly, be commanded to be put in execution against the said Roman Catholics; and we will cause that our council shall take the same oath, as far as it pertains to them: that no attempt shall be made with the most renowned lady infanta, Donna Maria, about any thing which shall be repugnant to the Roman Catholic religion, or those things which shall be contained in the treaty of matrimony: that we and the prince of Wales will interpose our authority, and will do as much as in us lie, that the parliament shall ratify the articles capitulated between the most renowned kings in favour of the Roman Catholics by reason of this marriage, and that the said parliament shall revoke and abrogate the particular laws made against Roman Catholics, as likewise the general laws under which all are equally comprehended, if they are repugnant to the Roman Catholic religion; and we will not hereafter consent that the said parliament shall ever at any time enact or write any other new laws against Roman Catholics."

The privy-counsellor's oath was this: "I, A. B. do swear that I will truly and fully observe, as much as belongeth to me, all and every of the articles which are contained in the treaty of marriage between the most gracious Charles prince of Wales, and the most gracious lady Donna Maria, infanta of Spain. Likewise I swear, that I will neither commit to execution, or cause to be executed, either by myself or by any inferior officer serving under, any law made against any Roman Catholic whatsoever, nor will execute any punishment inflicted by those laws, but in all things that belong to me will faithfully observe his majesty's word given in that behalf."

When Cottington carried the ratification to Spain, the prince of Wales engaged on the part of his father, that all the agreed-to particulars should take place in three years, or sooner if possible; that he would intercede that the ten years of the education under the infanta should, according to the desire of the pope, be prorogued to twelve. To this was added an obligation, that, as often as the infanta should require, the prince would give ear to divines or others whom she would please to employ, in matter of the Roman Catholic religion; and for further caution in point of the free exercise of the said religion, the prince engaged, on the word of a king, that the things promised should take effect, and be put in execution, as well in the kingdoms of Scotland and Ireland, as of England.

The belief of a powerful protection to the Catholics in England was at this time so well established, that a titular bishop of Calcedon came privately to London to exercise an episcopal jurisdiction over them. Bonfires and other public rejoicings were made on the success of the treaty; the infanta was stiled princess of Wales; a chapel was building for her at St. James's; a fleet was prepared to convey her to England; and amongst the servile, the curious, and the ignorant, three numerous classes of men, which are the constant flatterers and followers of the humours of the times, her picture was every where to be seen. At this time several noblemen left England to pay their court at Madrid.

In the good humour into which the present situation of affairs had put James, the favourite was not forgotten: a patent for the title of duke was sent to him by Cottington, that he might be upon a footing with the best grandee in Spain. But whilst the self-flattered monarch was enjoying in prospect the accomplishment of his desires, new doubts arose in the council at Madrid. As much or more had been yielded to, it was said, than could have been reasonably expected; but, had the British king and his son power to effect what they had so readily granted? would it not be prudent to make this trial by delaying the solemnization of the nuptials till the full performance of the concessions? On the result of this debate the bishop of Segovia frankly told Buckingham, "That the articles James had assented to in favour of the Roman Catholics, amounted to a toleration; that he had heard something of the estate of England, that the king could not grant a toleration without a rebellion, and he easily believed it, because that the king of Spain was not able in his dominions to effect the like enterprize without incurring the like danger: he therefore concluded, that if the infanta was sent into England before these alterations were established, she might be treated with a rebellion." Gundamore, who had given information to the Spanish council of the measure of influence James had in England, closed in with the bishop of Segovia, and said, "That he did not think it fitting to part with the infanta before the articles were perfectly put in execution."

This new objection, when communicated to James, threw him again into a fit of despair: his promises had been made in secret, and not to be performed but by degrees, and after the marriage, when the power of Spain was united to the power of the crown of England; he was now pressed to expose them to the public, by an abrupt execution, whilst the treaty was yet unconcluded, and, by such a prelude, to fill the minds of his already discontented subjects with dreadful apprehensions of its issue.

To give Spain, however, every possible satisfaction on a subject of so great importance, a full declaration of his intentions was drawn up, and signed by secretary Conway, and several privy counsellors. This fully confirmed the

with any one whose religion he hated." It is very apparent, from the whole tenour of the answer, that at this time the love-sick prince was too much rivetted in the desire of the match to let any obstacles in point of religion interpose between him and possession.

(*a*) Williams, who was at this time indulged with the bishopric of Lincoln, refused to be consecrated by the unfortunate prelate. It may be questioned whether this objection arose from a conscience delicate in trifles, or from a desire to please his patron Buckingham, to whom Abbot was very disagreeable. Laud, who, by the means of that favourite, was at this time appointed bishop of St. David's, had the same scruples.

tenour of all the articles, both public and private; and that it should be lawful for the Spanish ambassadors to assign a discreet person to employ such sufficient lawyers as should be thought fit to take care of the strength, validity, and security of the said articles; and "that his majesty's attorney should have charge to receive and admit the said lawyers to the sight and judgement of the said draughts, and, in any doubts, to give them satisfaction, or to use such legal, necessary, and pertinent words and phrases as he the attorney-general should propound for the security of the Roman Catholics, and sure making of the said grants; and that his majesty's will and pleasure was, that a legal and authentic pardon should be passed under the great seal, wherein should be freely pardoned all the penalties to which the Roman Catholics were liable for matters of conscience, and in which they had been proceeded against, or might be; that a course should be taken that the pardon should not be costly; and that it should be lawful to put as many as was possible in one pardon."

The Spanish ambassadors, not being satisfied with these assurances, the lord-keeper and other commissioners were directed to draw up a pardon of all offences past, with a dispensation for those to come, to be granted to all Roman Catholics obnoxious to any laws against recusants, and then to issue forth two general commands under the great seal of England; the one to all judges and justices of the peace, and the other to all bishops, chancellors, and commissaries, not to execute any statute against them. The pardon was passed full and ample; but Williams, the lord-keeper, represented so strongly the danger of a general discontent and insurrection, should it take place immediately, by the means of so peremptory a prohibition to the judges and bishops, and the greater probability of success were the king's favours enlarged by degrees, that the ambassadors at length consented that the matter should rest till the arrival of the infanta.

To all the important concessions that had been already made by James, this additional clause in the pope's dispensation was still insisted on: "That whereas there were certain articles consented unto by the king of England in favour of the Roman Catholics in his dominions, a security should be given for the performance of those concessions." To this demand James answered, "That he could give no other security than his own and the prince's oath, exemplified under the great seal of England." But this not proving satisfactory, James suffered the mortification of being told, "That his own and the prince's oath was not a sufficient security, unless some sovereign Catholic prince would stand engaged for its performance." Affairs remaining thus embarrassed, the king of Spain proffered to engage himself by oath for a performance of the articles, if, on a consultation with his ghostly fathers, it was determined that he might do it with a safe conscience. A junto of divines were called to a formal consideration; and they at length concluded in the affirmative, and asserted, that in case the king of England should fail to execute what was stipulated, the king of Spain should vindicate his oath by the sword. Thus did his Catholic majesty obtain a kind of right to head a large party in England, which were to appeal to him for redress of grievances in all cases.

The vast acquisitions which had been lately made by the house of Austria, and the prospect of its increase of power by a conjunction with the reigning family on the throne of Great Britain, raised apprehensions in the court of France that occasioned an entire alteration of their late measures. From persecuting their Protestant subjects to the brink of destruction, they condescended to a re-union, on the terms of their possessing all the privileges in point of religion which they had before enjoyed. The state of the mal-contents in Germany was daily more hopeless; and the restoration of the Palatinates had not been mentioned in the late transactions between James and the court of Spain.

In vain had he sacrificed both reputation and interest to the chimerical project of an union with the house of Austria; further obstacles still retarded the accomplishment of his most sanguine wishes. At this particular crisis, when the affair was apparently concluded to the satisfaction of all parties, the death of Gregory the Fifteenth afforded the Spaniards an excuse for delaying the nuptials till the assent of cardinal Barberini, the new pope, who assumed the appellation of Urban the Eighth, had been obtained. The Spanish ministry pretended, that, as the dispensation still lay in the nuncio's hands, and a contract had not been formed upon it, it was by the late pope's death suspended, and a ratification from the new one was become absolutely necessary. This unseasonable objection undoubtedly proceeded from the zeal of the courts of Rome and Spain to complete the prince's conversion before he left Madrid.

The immediate act of the new pope was to begin a correspondence with the king of England and his son: he informs the latter, that the first letters which he received after he was preferred to the apostle's chair, were those sent out of Spain from him the prince to Gregory the Fifteenth, his predecessor, of famous memory: "We lifted up our hands to Heaven," continues he, and gave thanks to the Father of Mercies, when, in the very entry of our reign, a British prince began to perform this kind of obeisance to the pope of Rome."

Charles's patience, as might naturally be expected, began to be exhausted, by the vexatious delays which had successively arisen between him and the possession of his mistress. The Spaniards in effect had, by an over-niceness and too refined a policy, rather starved than cherished his passion; instead of having indulged him with those tender interviews and little favours that swell the expectations, raise the desires, and increase the passion of the sanguine lover, he had been treated with a reserve that amounted to an affected indifference; entertaining his mistress had been no otherwise allowed than in the most formal manner, before a circle of ceremonious spectators. Thus restrained, his passion had been vented in distant glances, which met with a return so cold that it damped the hopes of a mutual inclination. His long stay at Madrid had produced occasions which gave rise to a reciprocal disgust between the favourite Buckingham and the Spanish ministry: that formal people regarded with aversion the manners of the English sycophant—a mixture of Gallic licentiousness and British roughness. The distasteful familiarity that subsisted between him and his master gave great offence to the exalted notions which that ceremonious nation entertained of royalty, and was as incongruous to the equally exalted pretensions of James and his son, as to the romantic conceits of the Spaniards. A contemptible buffoonry was not the most material offence in Buckingham's carriage; his behaviour was lascivious, and his whole conduct compounded of oppositions to Spanish gravity and Spanish delicacy.

From these causes had arose so reciprocal an animosity between the parties, that it produced at several times high and warm altercations. Olivares, in a junto of ministers, had reproached Buckingham with having flattered them with the hopes, that the prince would renounce the Protestant faith; Buckingham told him he *lied*; the indignant Spaniard resented the affront with spirit, and gave the favourite to understand, that it was the importance of the treaty in agitation that prevented him from insisting on the proper satisfaction for so gross an injury. These and other subjects of disgust alienated Buckingham's affections from the Spanish match. The earl of Bristol, ambassador from James to the court of Spain, whose conduct had been, for the whole series of his negociation, subservient to the view of completing this alliance, was as much approved by the nobility of Spain as Buckingham's was disliked. They shewed so strong a disapprobation of the treaty's having been taken out of the hands of the former, and transferred to the latter, that they testified a doubt of the sufficiency of his power, as it had not been confirmed by the council of England. The high spirit of Buckingham, who, from the commencement of James's absurd affection to him, had never met with the like opposition, was enraged to a degree of resentment that would alone have instigated him to break off the impending treaty. His political reasons were not immaterial ones: there was at this time a large party in the court of England, that, from motives of jealousy, in opposition to his influence, supported the earl of Bristol; Buckingham indeed was now become so noxious to the whole court of Spain, that they declared they would rather bury the infanta than trust her in his hands; his patron James had been rather disobliged by his insolent carriage on the debate of the prince's journey to Madrid. The surest object he had to depend on was his present interest with Charles, and that might be rendered very precarious by the union between him and the infanta, who, it was to be supposed, would have a powerful influence over his young and amorous mind.

Such being the situation of affairs, the catastrophe that immediately followed is not a very surprizing one. Buckingham now employed his whole powers to instil into the

prince an aversion for what had till this time been the object of his passionate desire. The present obstinacy of the Spanish ministry, who not only refused to accomplish the marriage till the ratification of the dispensation, but also to deliver up the infanta till the spring, concurred so efficaciously with Buckingham's endeavours, that Charles was persuaded to think that the Spaniards had no sincere inclination to an union with the crown of England, and that himself and his father had been the dupes to a treaty, the completion of which would involve them in inextricable difficulties. These, and other the like insinuations, wrought him up to such a height of resentment, that he listened with eagerness to the project of an abrupt departure, and began to entertain doubts of not being able to effect it. In this despondency he wrote word to his father, "That he must now look upon his sister and her children, never thinking more of him, and forgetting that he had such a son." Buckingham also plied him with letters at the same time, to this effect: "That he had at length discovered the king of Spain's insincerity; that not only he had no inclination to cause the Palatinate to be restored, but also was far from having the least thought of accomplishing the marriage; and that the prince was in danger of being retained in Spain all his life." These and other advices of the same sort put the poor old king into such a fright that he wrote positive orders to Buckingham to bring away the prince if possible; at the same time he sent a fleet of ships to St. Andero in Biscay to escort them home (*b*). This order was obeyed with alacrity: on pretence of preparing the English navy for the prince's reception, Buckingham departed hastily. He took no ceremonious farewel of the court; but told Olivares bluntly, "That he was obliged to the king, queen, and infanta, in an eternal tie of gratitude; that he would be an everlasting servant to them, and endeavour to do the best offices for concluding the match, and strengthening the amity between the two crowns; but as for himself, he had so far disobliged him, that he could not, without flattery, make the least profession of friendship to him." The departure of the prince was extremely solemn, and the parade of his farewel equal to that which attended his reception. Exalted were the reciprocal compliments: Philip declared, "That the prince had laid him under an everlasting obligation, by placing so high a degree of confidence in him as to trust his person in his hands, a thing unusual with princes." Charles magnified the favours he had received, and added, "That he could not sufficiently express the high degree of estimation they had begot for the worth of the giver." So great appears to have been the respect which Philip bore to Charles, that he even erected a pillar on the spot where they took leave of each other, as a monument of mutual friendship and regard.

Very different from these protestations were the impressions which Buckingham had lately made on his easy ductile mind. It was observed that the first words that he spoke after he was embarked were, "That it was a great weakness and folly in the Spaniards, after they had used him so ill, to grant him a free departure." Before he left the court of Madrid, a procuration to the king of Spain and Don Carlos his brother, to make the espousal in his name, was left in the hands of the earl of Bristol; it had in it a general clause inserted, that it should not be revoked. This proxy, by the particular direction of the prince, was to expire at Christmas, and was not to be delivered into the king of Spain's hands till ten days after the arrival of the dispensation. Immediately on the prince's joining Buckingham, a positive order was sent to Bristol not to deliver it till security was given him that the infanta, after the espousal had taken place, should not betake herself to a monastery, and to inform the prince what security was offered, that he might himself be judge whether it was proper to accept it. At the same time a defeazance of the proxy, in case the dispensation came clogged with any new demands, was sent privately to one Clark, to be produced on a critical occasion; so fearful was this once-ardent lover lest the marriage should be solemnized before he could gain time to persuade his father to reject it.

Charles and his present favourite were no sooner arrived in England than they fully demonstrated to James their present distaste and aversion to an union with Spain; and this unfortunate monarch was a second time obliged to yield to the obstinacy of his son and the intemperate pursuits of his domineering servant. An express was sent to Bristol, to inform him, that a clear restitution of the Palatinate was expected with the solemnization of the nuptials, and a command that he should procure from the king of Spain a punctual answer what course he would take for the restitution of the Palatinate and Electorate; and in case the emperor or duke of Bavaria should oppose any part of the restitution, what assurances of content he would give in that point; to this a direction was added, that the betrothing of the infanta should be on one of the days in Christmas.

This express threw the earl of Bristol into the utmost perplexity: the obstacles which the prince had thrown in his way were in a manner got over; he had attained a full security for the infanta's not taking the veil, and intended, by the support of his public warrant under the great seal of England, to wave the private order, and deliver the proxy on the arrival of the dispensation. James's command could not be so well parried, and the minister's present prospects began to wear a cloudy aspect; he and Buckingham had been at open variance during their mutual abode at Madrid, and the prince was infinitely disobliged by a management that altogether opposed his present inclinations. The rise of fortune he now possessed had been totally owing to the having conducted the treaty to a conclusive period. His interest with James, solely founded on the merit of his negociation, increased in proportion to its fancied success: from this circumstance, during its process, he had been created baron Digby, then earl of Bristol. The increasing good will of his master, and the advantage he had promised himself from the favour of the Catholic king and his ministry, obtained from an obsequious adherence to the manners and interests of the court of Spain, were now lost by this successful counter-act of his antagonist Buckingham, whom he had entertained hopes of overtopping by means of the infanta's power in the court of England. Desperate as were the present circumstances, he did not entirely abandon the hopes of concluding the marriage. Having obtained from Philip a written promise that the Palatinate should be restored, he wrote an answer to James, in which he informed him, "That the dispensation was hourly expected at the court of Madrid, and that letters from the duke of Pastrava certified that the pope had clearly passed it." He then expostulated with him on the direction of having the marriage solemnized on one of the Christmas holidays; assured himself that it was given on want of due information that the powers would be then expired; and adds, that, with the concurrence of sir Walter Aston, he should deliver the said powers when demanded, and pass on to the nominating of a prefixed day for the *depossorio's*, if he received no orders to the contrary. "I have of purpose," continues he, "dispatched the post with this letter, to the end I may receive your majesty's directions in this particular with all possible speed; which I hope shall be to proceed directly to the marriage, according to the capitulations, and so to order all things for the princess's journey in the spring. And for the Palatinate, your majesty may be confident there shall be diligence used in procuring a good and speedy resolution."

These were not the only endeavours practised by the earl of Bristol to restore this business. Letters had been sent to the prince of Wales, shewing, that though the point of portion was a material one, yet, when the Spanish junto found it, by the papers of the late king, to be no less than two millions of pieces of eight, they resolved to make it good, notwithstanding they alleged that this sum was four times as much as ever was given in money with any daughter of Spain. To these were added arguments from the infanta's rank and personal merits. Moreover, sir Walter Aston, a minister who had been joined by the prince in commission with Bristol for a check upon his forwardness, laboured to reconcile Buckingham to the match,

(*b*) One of James's letters on the occasion of these desponding messages:

"My sweet boys,

"Your letter by Cottington hath struck me dead; I fear it shall much shorten my days. Alas! I now repent me sore that ever I suffered you to go away: I care for match nor nothing, so I may once have you in my arms again; God grant it! God grant it! God grant it! amen, amen, amen. I protest ye shall be as heartily welcome as if ye had done all things ye went for, so that I may once have you in my arms again. And so God bless you both, my only sweet son, only best sweet servant, and let me hear from you quickly, with all speed, as you love my life. And so God send you a happy joyful meeting in the arms of

Your dear dad.

"From Greenwich, June 14, 1623."

MSS. in Brit. Museum, n. 6987, fol. 52.

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by insinuating, that if it proceeded, he (Buckingham) would have the honour of it; and the infanta being duly informed, must acknowledge him to be the person to whom she was obliged (*c*). These attempts were all unsuccessful; the prince and Buckingham were determined against the match, and Bristol was commanded to follow the new instructions; namely, not to deliver the powers till he obtained from the king of Spain a direct engagement for the restitution of the Palatinate and the electoral dignity.

Notwithstanding these proceedings, James had not as yet been prevailed on to disclaim entirely the match, and still flattered himself that he could accommodate the present difference by treaties. With this view he sent a renewal of the powers for a larger time, and tendered these following propositions to his son-in-law, the titular king of Bohemia: To accommodate his broken fortunes by a full submission to the emperor, and an acceptation of the return of the Palatinate to his son, and the administration to himself, with the electoral dignity, after the death of the duke of Bavaria, on the conditions of an union between that son and a daughter of the emperor: the Palsgrave not to have the tuition of his said son, but to give up that charge to the infanta, when she should be princess of Wales. To this disgraceful proposal Frederick returned a very spirited answer: he rejected the humiliating terms advised him by James; shewed that they were only offered by his enemies, with a design to render his cause more desperate, by making him abject in the eyes of the Protestant princes, who were at this time disposed to succour him; he then set forth the fraudulent conduct of the emperor and his allies, with the many gross impositions he had been already obliged to submit to. In describing the present politic state of Germany and Great Britain, he shewed, though in modest terms, that if spirited measures had been pursued by the court of England, James had been in a situation of giving law to the house of Austria, instead of receiving it in so disgraceful a manner; and insisted that Germany would again exert itself, if encouraged by a warlike motion from the king of England.

The enterprizes recommended to James in this answer were strongly seconded by the adversaries of the Spanish match, at this time headed by the prince and Buckingham. This latter had an offer of an union between his son and a daughter of the Palsgrave, on condition of his obtaining a vigorous assistance from England towards the recovery of the Palatinate.

When the ratification of the dispensation arrived at Madrid (*d*), bonfires were made throughout all Spain; guns were fired, and other demonstrations of public rejoicings exhibited; the infanta took upon her the title of princess of England; her family was settled; and the beginning of March appointed for her journey; the behaviour of the English ambassadors to her was the same as used by courtiers to their sovereign; from the prince's departure she had applied herself to the learning the English language, and had begun the letters of compliment which were to be sent to her husband and father-in-law on the day of her espousals; presents were prepared for their acceptance; the ninth of December was appointed for the marriage-day; all the grandees were invited to the wedding; a gallery leading from the court to the church was erected a quarter of a mile in length, covered with tapestry, to conduct the bride elect, in open view, and with most magnificent solemnity, to the ceremony. Bristol had provided costly equipages, when the whole business was instantly defeated on the opening his farther instructions from England which were, to procure an entire surrender of the Palatinate and Electorate, before he advanced towards finishing the contract (*e*). To this oddly-timed demand the king of Spain gave answer, "That neither the Palatinates nor the Electorate were in his power to dispose of; but if a treaty was set on foot, and the emperor and the duke of Bavaria would not come to terms of conformity, he would join arms with England to recover them, and was willing to give any security for a due performance." These answers not proving satisfactory, the earl of Bristol was recalled, and the infanta laid down the title of princess of England. Thus ended a treaty in which had been expended in embassies, in the prince's journey, and in presents given at the court of Madrid, as much money as was the destined portion of the infanta, which being in pieces of eight, amounted to the sum of six hundred thousand pounds, as we have before observed.

On Bristol's announcing his orders of revocation, he received from Olivares, in the name of Philip, large proffers of mediation in the court of England, and that his majesty, for the example of his own subjects, and for encouragement to all such as should serve their princes with the like loyalty, had sent him a blank, on which he might set down his own conditions in point of title or fortune. Bristol, not thinking it proper to accept these offers, illustrated his refusal with an answer in which he magnified his own disinterestedness, his fidelity to his master, and his entire confidence in his justice.

To the influence that Buckingham maintained over the weak mind of his prince have most authors attributed the abrupt dissolution of the Spanish treaty. But to the power, not the persuasion, of the favourite, may be more justly ascribed this whimsical and unexpected event. It was neither inclination nor conviction that prevailed on James to disclaim the offered conclusion of that which had been the object of his earnest pursuit for a series of fifteen years; his affections were over-ruled by the impetuous opposition of Buckingham, whose present interest with this prince, and the concurrence of the majority of the nation, detached from him every other support than a precarious assistance from Spain. In this disposition of affairs, the timid monarch, with a painful compliance, submitted to measures that overthrew his hopes in the very crisis of their accomplishment. Nor did the wanton insolence of his pampered servant stop at this point; his private piques must be revenged on Spain, and his pacific master enter as a party in his quarrel; he who, through the course of a long reign, had with a fearful anxiety maintained an uninterrupted peace, must sound to arms, and declare war with a family to whose courted friendship he had before sacrificed every consideration.

As not only the entire rupture of the treaty, but a war with Spain had been agreed on between Charles and Buckingham, Bristol had been recalled, and Henry Rich, earl of Holland, sent into France with proposals of marriage between the prince of Wales, and the princess Henrietta, third daughter to Henry the Fourth. James, on the occasion of the destined war, was obliged to have recourse to the demand of a benevolence from the subject: the measures whereby it was exorted were most injurious. On the refusal of Barnes, a citizen of London, orders were sent from the treasurer, that he must immediately prepare to carry by the post a dispatch into Ireland. The citizen was obliged to compound the matter; and this example deterred every one afterwards from refusing the sum required (*f*).

Buckingham's impetuosity rose to such a height, as, first, to propose the selling the crown lands for the expence of the war, and then to consult with Dr. John Preston, head of the Puritan party, on the seizing the dean and chapter lands for the use of the crown. He was dissuaded from these undertakings by the lord-keeper Williams (*g*), nor could he persuade James to countenance them. A select council was appointed to examine into

(*c*) Buckingham sent a threatening letter to Aston for these offices: he tells him, "That the king had been advised to revoke his commission; that his disgrace will immediately happen, if he does not remove displeasure, by a conduct entirely conformable to the sense of the instructions he received from the prince." *Cabala*, fol. ed. 1673, p. 127, *& seq.*

(*d*) The ambassador that waited on Charles with congratulatory compliments from the king of Spain, on his safe return to England, had been ordered to make known to the princes of Flanders, Germany, and Italy, how near the marriage was to a conclusion. The Polish ambassador at Madrid, whose errand was to solicit a match between the infanta and his master, returned home on the arrival of the dispensation.

(*e*) This command was confirmed by the dispatches of four several messengers, who arrived at Madrid close at each other's heels.

(*f*) This is a glaring instance of that gross and pernicious abuse to which every degree of confidence in government is liable.

(*g*) The manner in which Buckingham was put off from this attempt is as follows: he acknowledged in a conversation with Williams, that for the success of his plan he depended on the disposition of the popular leaders of the Commons'-house, and particularly on sir Edward Coke. Williams managed the contest in such a manner, that Buckingham owned he had been entirely mistaken in the opinion he had formed of the principles of the leading commoners, and desisted from his project. Hacket, who tells us this story, adds that Williams, the day preceding this conference, had waited two hours in the duke's anti-chamber, whilst he was shut up with Preston, without having gained admittance. This usage of Williams shews that it was no uncommon behaviour in Buckingham to subject the lord-keeper with the great seal of England to the mortification of a servile attendance, and gives some authority to Welden's account of the treatment Bacon met with from the same quarter. *Bishop Hacket's Life of Williams*, oct. ed. 1715, p 79, *& seq.*

the present situation of affairs with Spain, and into the conduct of that court. This council was very refractory to the impetuous inclinations of Buckingham, who, depending on his present popularity, and the fervour of the people towards a war with the house of Austria, forced the king into the calling of a parliament, that he might appeal from his opposers to that powerful court.

The situation of James, says Rapin, at this time was pitiable: since the return of the prince and the duke he not only ceased to rule, but was obliged to concur in measures that he detested: he was surrounded with people in whom he could put no confidence; his domestics were all of them, either through interest or fear, the creatures of Buckingham; most of them owed their places to this favourite, and the present union that subsisted between him and the prince, strengthened the resentment of former obligations with the hopes of new ones. James's distress was heightened by a paper privately conveyed to him from the marquis Inoiosa, the Spanish ambassador, specifying, "That a conspiracy had been formed by the prince and duke to confine him (the king) to one of his country-houses, and usurp themselves the government." The duke's late conduct was alledged as a leading circumstance to the treachery: according to an intimation in the letter, the ambassador's secretary was admitted to a private discourse. Neither did the written or verbal intelligence occasion the desired alteration in James's conduct: he was observed to grow melancholy, and affected for some time to speak to his son and favourite in a mysterious broken language. At length, on a party with the prince to Windsor, he ordered Buckingham, on a trivial pretence, to remain behind. Buckingham, who looked upon this as a token of uncommon displeasure, besought the king to acquaint him with the cause of this disgrace. The king, with tears in his eyes, returned answer, "That himself was the unhappiest man alive, to be forsaken of those that were most dear to him." By the advice of Williams, Buckingham followed to Windsor, in which place he found means to work so efficaciously on his master's weaknesses, as to effect a seeming, if not a real reconciliation (*h*).

There had subsisted some time before this a great coolness between Williams and Buckingham: the former had conceived hopes of supplanting his patron, and with this view had united himself to the Spanish faction; but finding, from the timidity and weakness of James's conduct, that the favourite would in the end be victorious, he chimed in with his measures, and not only informed him of every particular circumstance in the late combination carried on by the Spanish ambassador, but drew up a refutation of the whole charge alledged by that minister against him.

The parliament met on the twelfth of February, 1623. The king's speech to this assembly was an echo of the new-adopted sentiments of the favourite, and its contents a direct contradiction to his former doctrines on the like and every other occasion. "The properties and causes of calling a parliament, says he, are to confer with the king and give him advice in matters of the greatest weight and importance." He then tells them, "That the present purport of their meeting is to give him their counsel in the most interesting matter that ever could concern a king; that though he had been upon a treaty with Spain for many years, the situation of his affairs continued doubtful till he sent the prince to Madrid, with the man he most trusted—Buckingham; that on their return he found himself as far disappointed of his end, as if he had been waked out of a dream." He is content that his secretaries, on the information of his son and Buckingham, shall relate unto them all the circumstances of the Spanish management, and what he is likely to obtain, and that when they have heard all, *super totam materiam*, he shall intreat their good and sound advice. "One particular, says he, I must remember you of, because it hath been much talked of in the country, that I should be slack in my care of religion: my lords and gentlemen all, I pray you judge me charitably, as you would be judged; for I never made public or private treaty, but I always had a direct reservation for the public weal and the cause of religion, for the glory of God and the good of my subjects; I only thought good sometimes to wink and connive at the execution of some penal laws, and not to go on so rigorously as at other times, but not to dispense with any or to forbid or alter any that concern religion, I never promised or yielded; I never did think it with my heart, nor spoke it with my mouth. My lords and gentlemen, adds he, it is not enough, although you are never so willing to give me your advice; for to plant will not serve the turn, if I, like a good gardener, as well as plant do not weed away from the roots, and remove the obstacles that hinder your so-good advice, of which the whole weed and manifest hindrance that can be is your jealousy of me; free me from that, and for my actions I dare avow them before God and his angels; but jealousy hath a deep sting; take away that, and nothing can do me harm: you are my wife, and jealousy is subject to a wife, therefore remove it, and be not jealous of me. For matters of privilege, liberties, and customs, be not over curious; I am your own kindly king, ye never shall find me curious in these things: therefore do what you ought, and no more than your lawful liberties and privileges will permit, and you shall never see me curious to the contrary; I had rather maintain your liberties than alter them in any thing; shew a trust in me, and go on honestly as ye ought to do, like good and faithful subjects; and what you have warrant for go on with, and I will not be curious, unless you give me too much cause. The next thing is, to beware that you take not in hand the maintaining of idle questions among you, which spoil good business: remember, beware of genealogies and curious questions, as St. Paul speaks; and do you keep to the ground and gravity of the great business for which I called you; and next, for all other things that are for the great and good governing of this kingdom. Let not any stir you up to law-questions, debates, quirks, tricks, and jerks, but continue yourselves in that honest modesty whereby you may have my prayers to God for you, and procure the love of me, and a happy end to this parliament. God judge me, I speak as a Christian prince; never man in a dry and sandy desart, where no water is, did thirst more in hot weather for drink, that I do now for a happy conclusion of this parliament. I now hope, after tne miscarriage of the last, that this may prove happy; I am neither curious nor captious enough to prevent it. Eschew all occasions of curious questions, which may hinder you in this great cause for which I have called you, and remember that spending of time is spoiling of business. And I hope in God, and that by a faith in God, that by your actions this parliament I shall clearly see your hearts, and that you are the true representative body of my subjects; for you know in your conscience, that of all the kings that ever were, I dare say, never was king better beloved by his subjects than I am: therefore, be you true glasses and mirrors of their faces; and be sure you yield the true reflections and representations as you ought to do. And this doing, I hope you shall not only find the blessing of God, but also by these actions procure the thanks and love of the whole people, for being such true and faithful glasses. Lastly, you shall never find me desire any thing of you but what shall tend to the common good and weal of the kingdom."

Sir Thomas Crew was chosen speaker to this parliament: he was one of the members who distinguished themselves in the last, and one of those, that, on its dissolution, was sent over on a frivolous errand to Ireland. His speech to the throne was decent and popular; he testified a desire that all the good bills brought in last parliament against monopolies, informers, and concealers, might pass in this; that the good laws for religion might be confirmed; and that the jesuits and seminary priests, by the execution of those good laws, might, like a generation of locusts, with an east wind, be blown over the sea. He expatiated on the excellency of the common law of England; on the advantages of the king's wants being supplied in a legal manner by parliament, rather than by other courses; on the good effects of concord; and called the transactions of the last assembly parliament-nullities. The lord-keeper Williams answered this speech in a manner that shewed it had been little relished by the king and ministry: he vindicated the management used to the Roman Catholics, and the late demanded benevolence; took occasion to extol Buckingham on the subject of the navy, but reprimand-

(*h*) A letter which bears date after the period of this quarrel, either shews that the reconciliation was real, or that James was a consummate master in the low art of dissembling. In this letter James, after having given Buckingham directions concerning his wife, in expressions fulsomely gross and familiar, adds, "If thou be with me by four in the afternoon, it will be good time; and prepare thee to be a guard to me from keeping my heart unbroken from business, before my going to the progress. And thus God send me a happy and a joyful meeting with my sweet Stenny this evening. Sweet-heart, when thou risest keep thee from importunities of people that trouble thy mind, that at meeting I may see thy white teeth shine upon me." *MSS. in British Museum*, n. 6987.

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ed the speaker "for calling to remembrance the abortives of the late parliament."

The subject on which the king had demanded parliamentary advice was entered upon with great eagerness by both houses, and Buckingham was called upon to lay before them a compleat account of the whole of his negociation in Spain: this he did in a very artful manner. The general particulars of his narrative were much the same as have been given before in this history. To these were added many circumstances favourable to his own conduct, and blackening to that of the earl of Bristol; some were exaggerated; others softened, as they tended to these purposes. Though these circumstances were afterwards strongly refuted by the accused minister, they were at this time affirmed by the prince, who was called upon by Buckingham to vouch for their authenticity.

The Spanish ambassadors were so irritated at the reproaches thrown upon his Catholic majesty in the course of Buckingham's narration, that they publicly complained of the insult, with an assertion, that if a subject of their master's had spoken in the like disrespectful terms of the king of England, he would not have escaped with impunity. This appeal was looked upon by both houses as an insolent attack on their privileges, and an address was immediately sent up to the king, declaring the duke free from the aspersions thrown upon him by the said ambassadors; that he had delivered nothing in his narration but what he was led unto by the matter itself, wherein he was so far from transgressing, that he deserved thanks and honour.

The present popular conduct of the favourite, and the colourings he had thrown upon his negociations at the court of Madrid, gained him so much real or seeming good-will of the patriot members, that he was stiled in the house of commons the Saviour of the nation. An address was sent up to the throne from both houses, signifying, "That the treaties could not be longer continued, either with the honour of his majesty, the safety of his people, the welfare of his children, or the security of his ancient allies and confederates." James gave the parliament to understand, "That if they obliged him to enter into a war, the whole burthen of it must fall upon the people, his own estate being not sufficient to defray the ordinary expences of government." This representation was answered by a declaration of the lords and commons, in which the king was assured, "That on the dissolution of the treaties they would be ready to assist him in a parliamentary manner, both with their persons and abilities." James now thought of making his advantage of the present cordiality that subsisted between him and his subjects, and at once demanded the enormous sum of five subsidies and ten fifteenths for the war; and one subsidy and two fifteenths yearly till he had cleared himself of his debts; or if they would make it six subsidies and twelve fifteenths for the war, he would drop the last demand. To this was affixed a condition that the money granted for the war should be put into the hands of commissioners appointed by parliament (*i*).

But the commons were not so intoxicated with their zeal for a rupture with Spain, or so satisfied with the plausible terms of the supply, as to abate aught of their carefulness in parting with the money of the subject. They entered into a long debate on the demand: sir Edward Coke, in a speech upon the occasion, produced a calculation of the whole which such a grant would amount to; he estimated it at nine hundred thousand pounds, a larger sum, he said, than all England could raise with any conveniency. The resolution of the debate was an offer of three subsidies and three fifteenths, as the first fruits of their good will (*k*), with a promise of a further assistance, if, in the course of the war, it should become necessary. James's affairs were at present too much embarrassed to make a retreat. He accepted of the three subsidies and the three fifteenths, on the same terms he had offered for six; and a messenger was dispatched to Madrid with his resolution to break off further correspondence with that court (*l*).

The commons, who had by this time intimations of the new treaty of marriage that was carrying on at the court of France, drew up a severe petition against the Papists, and voted that a return should be made to their house of all the names of popish recusants throughout England, who were in offices of profit, trust, or power (*m*). Buckingham, who feared that if James was made desperate he might break through his trammels and dissolve the parliament, prevailed on the popular leaders in both houses to moderate it before it was sent up to the throne (*n*).

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(*i*) The insincerity, however, of the king's intention towards the parliament in this business, in which he promised to be guided wholly by their advice, may be seen in a letter Buckingham wrote to him on the occasion of his fluctuating conduct.

"Dear dad and gossip,

"Having more business than it was fit to speak to you within a letter, I was once resolved to have waited on you myself, but presently came to me the news of the Spanish ambassador's going to you, which hath diverted my resolution at this time; because I will not encrease that in you which I have always found too much, and that I will not let the ambassadors think you are distrusted, though this gives enough and too much to your people. I have, to ease your labour, writ some things to Aran, by whom I likewise expect an answer; only I will trouble yourself with this, that I beseech you to send me your plain and resolute answer, whether if your people resolve to give you a royal assistance, to the sum of six subsidies and * * * fifteenths, with a promise in case of necessity to assist you afterwards with their lives and fortunes, whether then you will not accept it, and their counsel to break the match, with the other treaties; and whether or no, to bring them to this, I may not assure some of them underhand (because it is feared when your turns are served you will not call them together again, to reform abuses and grievances, and the making of laws for the good government of the country) that you will be so far from that, that you will rather win them, desiring nothing more than their love and happiness, wherein your own is included. Sir, I beseech you think seriously of this, and resolve once constantly to run one way; for as long as you waver between the Spaniard and your own subjects, to make your advantages of both, you are sure to do it with neither. I should for my own contentment, though I am sure I do you some service here, and would be able, if you would do openly and heartily with me, do you more, and wait on you oftener; but that you go in two ways, and myself in one, it occasions so much disputes, that till you be once resolved, I think it of more comfort and ease to you, and safer for me, that I bide away; for to be of your opinion would be flattery, and not to speak humbly my own would be treachery: therefore I will at this time, with all the industry of my mind, serve you here, and pray for the good success of that, and the lengthening your days, with all the affections of his soul that will live and die in love with you,

Your majesty's most humble slave and dog,

Guthrie, p. 804. Stenny."

(*k*) Four entire subsidies were granted by the clergy.

(*l*) When this was publicly known, the city of London testified their approbation by bonfires, ringing of bells, and other demonstrations of joy. *Rushworth.*

(*m*) On the report of this petition, James dispatched the following letter to secretary Conway:

"I doubt not but you have heard what a stinging petition against the Papists the lower house hath sent to the higher house this day, that they may jointly present it to me. You know my firm resolution not to make this a war of religion; and seeing I would be loth to be coney-catched by my people, I pray you stay the post that is going into Spain, till I meet with my son, who will be here to-morrow morning. Do it upon pretext of some more letters you are to send by him. And if he should be gone, hasten after him to stay him, upon some such pretext; and let none living know of this as ye love me; and before two in the afternoon to-morrow you shall, without fail, hear from me. Farewell. April 3, 1624." *Rushworth*, vol. i. p. 140, *& seq.*

(*n*) To bring the commons to this moderation, the prince affected an intire similarity of sentiment; and professed, under the bond of an oath, "That whensoever it should please God to bestow upon him any lady that was popish, she should have no farther liberty but for her own family, and no advantage to the recusants at home." The following is the petition which was presented to the king:

"May it please your most excellent majesty,

"It having pleased your majesty, upon our humble suit and advice, to dissolve both the treaties, to our great joy and comfort, we, your majesty's most faithful and loyal subjects the lords and commons assembled in parliament, do in all humbleness offer to your sacred majesty these two petitions following.

"First, that, for the more safety of your realms, and better keeping of your subjects in their due obedience, and other important reasons of state, your majesty will be pleased, by some such course as your majesty shall think fit, to give present order, that all the laws be put in due execution that have been made and do stand in force against Jesuits and seminary priests, and all others that have taken orders by authority derived from the see of Rome, and generally against all popish recusants; and as for disarming them, that it may be according to the laws, and according to former acts and directions of state in the like case; and yet that it may appear to all the world the favour and clemency your majesty useth towards all your subjects, of what condition soever; and to the intent the Jesuits and priests now in the realm may not pretend to be surprized that a speedy and certain day may be prefixed by your majesty's proclamation, before which day they shall depart out of your realm, and all other your highness's dominions; and neither they, nor any other, to return or come hither again, upon the severest penalties of the laws now in force against them; and that all your majesty's subjects may be thereby also admonished not to receive, entertain, comfort, or conceal, any of them, upon the penalties and forfeitures which by the laws may be imposed upon them.

"Secondly, seeing we are thus happily delivered from that danger which these treaties now dissolved, and that use which your ill-affected subjects made thereof, would certainly have drawn upon us, and yet cannot but foresee and fear lest the like may hereafter happen, which will inevitably bring such perils into your majesty's kingdoms, we are most humble suitors to your gracious majesty, to secure the hearts of your good subjects by the engagement of your royal word unto them, that, upon no occasion of marriage or treaty, or other requisite in that behalf, from any foreign prince or state whatsoever, you will take away or slacken the execution of your laws against Jesuits, priests, and popish recusants.

"To which our humble petitions, proceeding from our most loyal and

These are the king's protestations in his answer to this petition: "For my part, I protest before God that my heart hath bled when I have heard of the increase of popery; God is my judge that it hath been such a great grief to me, that it hath been as thorns in my eyes and pricks in my sides; and, my lords and gentlemen, you shall be my confessors, that if I knew one way better than another to hinder the growth of popery, I would take it: for knowing what I do, and being persuaded what I am, I could not be an honest man and do otherwise." To this James added, "That he would not only grant the substance of what was desired in the petition, but add something more of his own; that he would take order for the shameful disorder of the resorting of his subjects to all foreign ambassadors, and consider of a method to reform the education of children born of popish parents."

Every circumstance of the peoples' grievances, either in point of foreign trade or domestic impositions, were at this time, with unrestrained liberty, canvassed in the lower house. A private pique entertained by the prince and the favourite against Lionel Cranfield, earl of Middlesex, the present lord-treasurer, induced them to encourage inquiries, to which he was the destined victim. In a conference between the two houses, sir Edward Coke laid open a charge against him for bribery and various misdemeanors in the execution of his offices. At this conference he claimed for the commons the right of being the inquisitors-general of the grievances of the kingdom, and shewed that they were so appointed by the wisdom of the state for three several causes: "I. Because they have best notice from all parts thereof: II. Because it is not the nobility, but the weakest commons, that go to the wall: III. As in a natural body not the disease, but the neglect of cure, killeth, so the long delay of grievances; and this would happen if they were not found out by the commons."

After a tedious trial the accused was found guilty of malversation in the several offices of, master of the wardrobe, master of the court of wards, and treasurer. The following sentence was passed against him by the lords: "That he should be deprived of all the offices which he held in the kingdom: that he should be fined fifty thousand pounds for the king's use (*o*): that he should be incapacitated from holding any office, place, or employment, in the state or commonwealth: that he should be imprisoned in the Tower of London during the king's pleasure: that he should never sit more in parliament; and, that he should never come within the verge of the court (*p*).

The earl of Middlesex had been brought up to trade; he had received most of his education in the custom-house, and was from thence introduced to Somerset as a man of a projecting head, and who, from an acquired knowledge in the customs, might be serviceable towards the forming and executing of plans to encrease the king's revenue. He made himself so useful to Buckingham, that he was by that favourite promoted to the highest offices, at length married to one of his kinswomen, and obtained the titles of baron Cranfield and earl of Middlesex; he had rendered himself very agreeable to James by a seeming assiduity in his service; and this circumstance, with the affluence of his fortune, made him throw off that humble carriage to his patron which was exacted from all his creatures. He incurred likewise the displeasure of Buckingham by refusing some demands of money, during the prince's residence in Spain; the favourite therefore vowed revenge, and employed all his credit among the commons to procure an impeachment of the treasurer. The king was extremely dissatisfied with this measure, and prophesied to the prince and duke, that they would live to have their fill of parliamentary prosecutions. Hence arose the animosity which produced his disgrace. The prosecution was an invidious one, and the charge brought against him not very material: but the commons were actuated with a laudable zeal of rendering exemplary, and sacrificing to justice, those harpies in office who prey upon the vitals of the commonwealth.

It was not without grounds that Cranfield flattered himself with a powerful protection from his master: James had the inclination, but not the ability, to serve him; he not only lamented his fate, but endeavoured to form a party in his favour, and gave directions to Williams to make interest among the members to this purpose. These efforts were fruitless (*q*); as fruitless were his expostulations to his son and to his insolent minion on the madness of their present conduct.

A charge was now sent up by the commons against Samuel Harsnet, bishop of Norwich; it contained sundry articles of divers extortions and superstitious ceremonies practised by himself, and exacted from others, in the government of his diocese. The lords excused themselves from entering on this affair, and referred the examination of it to the high-commission court, with a promise to give judgement after they had heard their report. Harsnet had preached a sermon at Whitehall that gave great offence to the commons, from the scripture-text, "Give unto Cæsar the things that are Cæsar's." He insisted that goods and money were Cæsar's (the king's), and therefore could not righteously be denied him. James appeased the anger of the commons by telling both houses, "That the bishop failed in not adding, that goods were Cæsar's according to the laws and customs of the land" (*r*).

The commons, on hearing that the king intended to put an end to the sessions in three or four days, sent a message to the lords to the following effect: "That the difficulties attending the subsidy-bill had prevented their finishing many matters of weight then depending, for which reason they entreated their lordships to join in a petition to his majesty for a longer term." The prince of Wales, who was present when the message was delivered, undertook to move the king to grant the request. By means of this intercession, James was prevailed on to prolong the session from Saturday the 22nd of May, to Saturday the 29th, on condition that neither of the houses would entertain any new matter. A list of all the popish recusants in offices of profit, trust, or power, with a petition affixed to it, was sent up from the commons to the lords, with an invitation to join with them in a representation on that subject to the king (*s*). The lords excused themselves from the ungracious task by alledging it as a kind of judgement and condemnation of the party before the hearing the defence; which, they added, would affect their reputation as a court of judicature. Before the end of the session the lords came to these laudable resolutions concerning the extent of their privileges in the freedom of their servants and followers from arrest; viz. "That this freedom should continue but twenty days before and after every session; that all the lords for the future be very careful in this point, and remember the ground of this privilege, which was only in regard that they should not be distracted by the trouble of their servants from attending the serious affairs of the nation; that therefore they will not pervert that privilege to the public injustice of the kingdom, which was given them chiefly that the whole realm might, in this high court, draw the clear light of justice from them, in which case every one ought rather to keep far within than any way exceed their due limits; that hereafter before any person be sent for in this kind the lord whom he serves shall, either by himself or by message, certify the house, upon his honour, that the per-

dutiful affections towards your majesty, our care of our country's good, and our own confident persuasion that these will much advance the glory of Almighty God, the everlasting honour of your majesty, the safety of your kingdoms, and the encouragement of all your good subjects, we do most humbly beseech your majesty to vouchsafe a gracious answer." *Parliam. Hist.* vol. vi. p. 128, *& seq.*

(*o*) This fine was afterwards remitted by the prince, when he mounted the throne.

(*p*) On the first complaint that was made against the earl of Middlesex in the lower house, he offered to justify himself by his counsel: this created a jealousy in the lords, that it might trench deep into their privileges, for a member of their house to answer an accusation in the house of commons. On the lord-treasurer's request they waved this formality? but an order was made, "That hereafter no member of the lords'-house should, without licence, answer any complaint in the house of commons, either in person or by his counsel." *Parliam. Hist.* vol. vi. p. 133.

(*q*) The regard to justice influenced some against him, and the awe of the prince and duke, others; so that Williams could obtain but one vote in his favour.

(*r*) This certain path to preferment, the bishop's flattering doctrine, conducted him at length to the possession of the see of York.

(*s*) In this list were sixty known or suspected Papists, and twenty-nine whose wives, children, and servants, were Papists. The petition affixed to it ends thus: "Now, in consideration of the great countenance hereby given to popery, the great grief and offence to all your best-affected, true, and loving subjects, the apparent danger of the whole kingdom, by putting the power of arms into such hands as, by former acts of your majesty's council, are adjudged persons justly to be suspected, and themselves fit to be disarmed: your said loyal and faithful subjects do most humbly beseech your majesty graciously to vouchsafe that the said lords and gentlemen above-named, for these important reasons, and for the greater safety of your majesty, and of your realm and dominion, may be removed from all your majesty's commissions of great charge and trust, commissions of lieutenancy, oyer and terminer, and of the peace, and from all offices and other places of trust." *Parliam. Hist.* vol. vi. p. 322, *& seq.*

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son arrested is within the limits of the privileges before expressed: and for the particulars, they must be left to the judgement of the house, as the case shall come in question; wherein the house wants no means, as well by oath as without, to find out the true nature of the servant's quality in his lord's service; thereupon if it be adjudged by the house contrary to the true intent, any member whatsoever must not think it strange if, in such a case, both himself suffer reproof, as the house shall think fit, and his servant receive no benefit from the privilege, but pay the fees; because the justice of the kingdom must be preferred before any personal respect, and none to be spared that shall offend after so fair a warning." The lords seemed now to resent the severe precedent against the members of their house, in the case of the late treasurer. After having heard the report of their committee concerning judicature, they ordained, "That in all cases of moment the defendant should have copies of all depositions, both *pro and contra*, after the publication, a convenient time before hearing, to prepare themselves; and that on demand they should have learned counsel to assist them in their defence (*t*). Likewise that it should be considered on the next meeting at what time and for what causes a member of that house should be brought to the bar." On the 29th of May, 1624, the parliament was prorogued to the 2nd of November following. The commons had made ready to pass the royal assent all the depending bills, and for this one time they parted with the king in seeming good humour.

James's condescension in permitting the parliament to be their own treasurers turned out to be a piece of gross king-craft: on accepting the subsidies he made the following declaration: "I desire you to understand, said he, that I must have a faithful secret council of war, that must not be ordered by a multitude, for so my designs may be discovered before-hand. One penny of this money shall not be bestowed but in sight of your committees: but whether I shall send two thousand or ten thousand, whether by sea or by land, East or West, by diversion or otherwise, by invasion upon the Bavarian or the emperor, you must leave that to your king." Thus, though the parliament had appointed their receivers, and their council of war, yet, as these commissioners were to answer all money-draughts made upon them by the crown, the power was nothing more than nominal, and a device of Buckingham's to cajole the commons into a liberal grant.

The jealousy which the lords conceived lest the lower house should get an increase of privileges by this joint power, and the want of precedent for the drawing up such a bill, made it a work of time and difficulty, notwithstanding the judges had given it as their opinion, "that there was nothing in this act which could impeach or blemish the privileges of the higher house, or add to those of the lower, save in the case in question." The lords entered a protestation, "that no word, matter, or thing, in this act, should be construed hereafter to make any alteration in the jurisdiction, power, privilege, or authority, of either house." So active was this aristocratical assembly, in all these points of partial privilege.

The states of the United Provinces were, at this time, governed by Maurice; and that aspiring prince, sensible that his credit would languish during peace, had, on the expiration of the twelve years' truce, renewed the war with the Spanish monarchy. His great capacity in the military art would have compensated the inferiority of his forces, had not the Spanish armies been commanded by Spinola, a general equally renowned for conduct, and more celebrated for enterprize and activity. In such a situation, nothing could be more welcome to the republic than the prospect of a rupture between James and the Catholic king; and they flattered themselves, as well from the natural union of interests between them and England, as from the influence of the present conjuncture, that powerful succours would soon march to their relief. It might reasonably have been expected, that, as religious zeal had made the recovery of the Palatinate appear a point of such vast importance in England; the same effect must have been produced in France, by the force merely of political views and considerations. While that principality remained in the hands of the house of Austria, the French dominions were surrounded on all sides by the possessions of that ambitious family, and might be invaded by superior forces from every quarter. It concerned the king of France, therefore, to prevent the peaceable establishment of the emperor in his new conquests; and both by the situation and greater power of his state, he was much better enabled than James to give succour to the distressed palatine. But though these views escaped not Louis, nor cardinal Richlieu, who now began to acquire an ascendant in the French court; that minister was determined to pave the way for his enterprizes by first subduing the Hugonots, and thence to proceed, by mature counsels, to humble the house of Austria.

The proposal of a marriage between the prince of Wales and the princess Henrietta, had been received by the French court with evident marks of extreme satisfaction. Their natural jealousy of the house of Austria was at this time much augmented by some late attempts of Philip upon the boundaries of France (*u*), and the additional strength which this formidable neighbour was on the point of attaining, by an union with a naval power, gave them the most alarming apprehensions. Besides these considerations, which engaged the French monarch to wish the dissolution of the late treaty between the crowns of Spain and England, an alliance with the latter was much to be coveted by himself: his Protestant subjects could never be totally extirpated, if properly supported by their brethren in England, and the offered union with the Stuart family would probably deprive them of such an assistance. This being the opinion and disposition of the French ministry, it is no wonder that James's ambassador met with the most cordial reception: amongst many high compliments, Louis told him, "That he had rather have the prince of England for his brother-in-law than any man in the world; that in the terms of this desired union he should not be directed by the pope, but agree to such as did consist with reason."

Spain at this time had not given up all thoughts of renewing the interrupted treaty. A juncture thus favourable might have enabled James, with any degree of penetration, to have concluded the alliance on safe and honourable terms; but his vehemence was so apparent that the French court altered their tone, and told his ambassador, the earl of Holland, to whom the earl of Carlisle was at this time joined in commission, "That the same favourable articles for the Roman Catholics were expected as had been before yielded to Spain." No interruption of the negociation followed these new and high demands. They were immediately complied with by the ambassadors, with these only exceptions: That a toleration should not be granted in the public articles, nor a church in London allowed to the Roman Catholics. To balance this, the children were to be brought up under the care and inspection of the princess Henrietta till the age of thirteen; and three private articles were agreed to: that the Catholics, both ecclesiastic and temporal, imprisoned since the last proclamation which followed the breach with Spain, should be all set at liberty: that the English Catholics should be no more searched after, nor molested for their religion: that the goods of the Catholics, as well ecclesiastic as temporal, that were seized on since the afore-mentioned proclamation, should be restored to them.

Equally high were the demands of France in regard to the temporal articles of jointure and fortune (*v*), and equally abject were the concessions of James.

The whole negociation on the side of Louis was conducted by the artful minister cardinal Richlieu, who about this time was introduced into the French councils through the

(*t*) These indulgencies had been denied in the case of the earl of Middlesex.

(*u*) This was the Valteline, which country had been seized upon by Spain.

(*v*) Henrietta's jointure was to be sixty thousand crowns a-year. If she was left a widow without children, her whole portion, which was eight hundred thousand crowns, was to be returned to her, to be disposed of as she pleased, she still enjoying her dower; in case of children, two-thirds were to be restored, the other third to remain to the children; the two-thirds restored to the mother to revert to them in case she died unmarried, or without children by a second marriage; in the case of children by a second marriage, these children of the second bed to divide the two-thirds with those of the first; in the case of her dying before the prince, without issue, half of the portion was to be paid back to the king of France; that the king of Great Britain should present her on her marriage fifty thousand crowns' worth of jewels, which jewels were to be her own property; her jointure to be assigned her in lands, castles, and houses, one whereof to be made fit for her to reside in, and furnished suitably to a princess of her quality; that she should have the free disposal of the offices and benefices of the said lands, part of which lands were to have the title of duchy or earldom; that she should have liberty, whether she had children or not, to return to France with her household goods, jewels, diamonds, and portion, as specified in the articles above; and in this case the king of England to conduct her to Calais at his charge. *Somers's Third Collection of Tracts*, 1751, vol. i. p. 262, *& seq.*

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interest of the queen-mother. By his advice the archbishop of Ambrun was sent as a secret agent to intercede for the Catholics, but in effect to sound James's inclination towards the popish faith. This prelate gained from certain partizans of the church of Rome, who were upon a footing of familiarity with James, such useful intelligence that he soon found means to attain the highest degree of favour and confidence: conferences grew frequent between them. One of these having turned upon a full toleration to the Catholics in England, and on the desire which James had of living in a strict union with the king of France, the archbishop acquitted himself so well, that the king, giving him a squeeze by the hand, told him, "That he perceived he was the man sent to him from God, to whom he might open freely his mind." After this, he went upon the chimerical project with which he had long been infected, for the uniting all Christians to one form of worship (*w*); and on an intention he had of calling an assembly of divines, both foreign and English, to be held at Boulogne or Dover, to the end of settling proper means to carry his project into execution. With this he put into the archbishop's hands a memorial on the subject, that being thus provided, he might begin the negociation with the pope and the king of France, whilst himself undertook to deal with the king of Denmark and the Protestant princes of Germany.

Ambrun's narrative appears to be of the same nature as the impertinent schemes and conceited opinions of James. He seems to have regarded religion in no other light than as a proper instrument to effect passive obedience in subjects: for this reason he treated the material points of faith that distinguish the Roman Catholic and reformed religions as mere school-questions, too insignificant to make a schism in the church, the best suited for the arbitrary purposes of princes, except in the one tenet of superior allegiance to the pope. This doctrine he ardently wished to instil into the minds of all sovereigns, and to form a kind of fraternal league, in which they should oblige the pope to give up this claim, and yield each other mutual assistance in quelling the rebellious opinions of their subjects (*x*). It was with a view of such support from the Austrian family that he had pushed on that alliance with all its disgraceful dangerous conditions. James was at this time actuated by the same expectations in the present treaty with France, and assumed so much upon them as to permit the archbishop of Ambrun to administer public confirmation in the French ambassador's house to all that should apply: the number was so great that the magistrates of London complained of it; the king owned that it was done by his permission. This was immediately after the strong declaration he had made to the parliament against such a practice! He was indeed at this time so exalted with an expectation of brotherly friendship from the king of France, that he told the lords of the council, with a kind of transport, that Louis was so much his friend as to offer to assist him in person if ever he should desire him: "Truly, adds he, he has gained so much upon me by this kindness, that in any thing that shall concern him I will employ not only my peoples' lives, but my own; and whatsoever of his subjects shall rise against him, either Catholics or others, shall find me a party for him."

The English ambassadors who were now negociating the treaty of marriage in France, had orders to propose to that court a league against the house of Austria: Louis's ministers listened to this proposal; but at the same time, like wise politicians, told the ambassadors, "That the league and marriage were two distinct things, that could not be negociated together; but that after the conclusion of the marriage they would treat of the league."

The aid granted to the king the last parliament was computed to be considerable enough to send five-and-twenty thousand men into the Palatinate: six thousand, under the command of the earls of Oxford, Southampton, Essex, and the lord Willoughby, were immediately embarked for Holland to join the army of the states. Though the united corps of Dutch and English made a considerable army, yet the prince of Orange could not prevent the town of Breda from falling into the hands of Spinola. During the siege of Breda, many of the English died by sickness: this was the fate of the gallant earl of Oxford, who was one of the volunteers that opposed the Spanish forces in the Palatinate. Other troops were levied to be under the command of Mansfeldt, who with these was to open a passage into the Palatinate: according to this resolution Mansfeldt came into England, and Louis was pressed farther on the subject of the league, or at the least to grant a free passage to the English troops through his dominions. Evasive answers were taken as certain promises, and Mansfeldt set out at the head of twelve thousand men, to make his passage through France into Germany. Preparatory to this march a demand was made of the city of Frankendale to the infanta Isabella, who, according to the treaty at London, was to deliver it up on the 26th of October. At the same time was demanded a free passage through the German territory for the troops that were to be sent to garrison it. The infanta answered, "That she would freely surrender the town on the day appointed to such as should produce a power from the king of England; that she would grant a passage through her own and the king of Spain's dominions, according to the words of the treaty; but to procure a passage for the British troops through the empire, she declared was not in her power, nor was she obliged to do it." To compleat this farce, on the 26th of October, the day on which Frankendale was to be re-delivered, Spinola with his troops marched out of the town, and finding none of James's forces ready to take possession, he instantly re-entered, pulled down the arms of the king of England, and set up those of the king of Spain. The twelve thousand men under the command of Mansfeldt were embarked for the French coast in the month of December, the very depth of winter. When they arrived at Calais, no orders had yet arrived for their admission, therefore they were not suffered to land; after much time was spent in messages backward and forward between them and the court, the king of France positively asserting he had never promised to grant them a passage, they were forced to sail to Zealand (*y*), where they met with the same difficulty as they had just experienced at Calais; for here also it had been neglected to concert proper measures for their disembarkation. The Zealanders likewise excused themselves from receiving such a number of unexpected guests, on the pretence of a deficiency of provisions. During a tedious negociation, in which messengers were sent to the Hague and afterwards to London, a pestilential distemper crept in among the English forces, who had been so long cooped up in narrow vessels. Above two-thirds of the army died while on board; and of the few that escaped the sickness some deserted and some enlisted themselves among their countrymen in the service of the States.

Thus, in the beginning of 1625, ended this ill-concerted and fruitless expedition; and thus was exemplified the utility of James's proviso, that the conduct and direction of the war must be left to the king. This refusal of receiving his troops was the second barbarous insult which he had received from the Dutch republic. In the islands of Molucca, Banda, and Amboyna, from whence the Portuguese and Spaniards had been driven by the States, the English, according to treaty, concluded in 1619, between England and the United Provinces, were to enjoy one-third part of the trade, and the Dutch the other two-thirds; of the English factories settled in those parts, a few families lived at Amboyna under the protection of a Dutch establishment; according to the nature of rivalship, an ill correspondence soon subsisted between the two people: a plot was trumped up against the English, in February, 1623, as if they had formed a design to destroy the Dutch settlement, and to seize their fort of Amboyna; all of them were seized, examined, and put to a variety of tortures that exceeded every diabolical invention of the kind that had been before known: those that purchased relief by confession retracted it with their dying breath; the greater part retained their fortitude, and expired under their tortures; a few that survived these cruelties were

(*w*) Cornwallis gives us the account of a long conversation he had with the duke of Lerma on this subject of a general uniformity in the mode of Christian worship. *Winwood's Memorials*, vol. ii. p. 461, *& seq.*

(*x*) He openly professed the following reason for abandoning the Palsgrave's cause: that there is an implicit tie among kings which obligeth them, though there be no other interest or particular engagement, to stick to and right one another upon an insurrection of subjects; therefore he had more reason to be against the Bohemians than to adhere to them, in the deposition of their sovereign prince. *Howel's Familiar Letters.*

(*y*) The prince of Wales and the duke of Buckingham, who were at present the sole managers of the affairs of state, looked upon the assistance of France as a thing to be depended upon, Louis being in a manner bound by the ties of friendship and interest. A dispute then subsisting between him and the king of Spain concerning the Valteline, the view of these shallow politicians was not comprehensive enough to take in the bigoted prepossessions that actuated this monarch, the arbitrary designs of his minister, or the variety of capricious principles which influence the measures of a court.

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sent out of the island to other English plantations. Thus the whole factory was destroyed, and the Dutch remained sole masters of the spice trade (*z*).

This dreadful catastrophe happened at the time when James had given up all hopes of the Spanish alliance, and when he was pushed on by the violent measures of his favourite to a rupture with that state. This being his situation, the friendship of the Dutch was too valuable to be hazarded by an ill-timed resentment; he was obliged to accept of their excuses, and to put up with this flagrant breach of faith, without exacting any kind of atonement. However, about thirty years afterwards, in 1654, Oliver Cromwell made the Dutch pay three hundred thousand pounds upon account of that massacre. Humiliating as were these accumulated disgraces, the domestic ones sustained by James at this time he much more impatiently resented: such was the tyranny exercised over him by Buckingham, that, on the earl of Bristol's arrival, he was constrained to send a command to him, to confine himself to his own house. According to repeated solicitations of the accused, commissioners were appointed to examine into the nature of his offence: after a minute interrogation they declared, that they could find nothing blameable in his conduct. Notwithstanding this, his confinement was continued, and himself given to understand by Buckingham, "That he was much mistaken if he imagined that his answers were satisfactory to the king, the prince, or to him (the duke); that his only way of regaining favour was to make the confession he had sent him." James exclaimed against such a treatment, and told Buckingham, "It was an horrible tyranny to make an innocent man declare himself guilty." Notwithstanding this, he could not obtain leave to admit him to his presence, as the offered terms had been refused, though he had solemnly promised such a permission.

The king seems to have resigned himself to the present necessity with an intention of breaking from his thraldom on the first favourable opportunity. He was sensible that the authority which his insolent minion maintained over him was entirely owing to circumstances arising from the familiarity that had subsisted between them, and from a temporary popularity, unsupported by character, by principle, or by capacity; an occasion would undoubtedly offer to throw him off, when he was again become the object of public odium; in this attempt he was certain of having assistance from men whose abilities were infinitely superior to those of his ungrateful servant, men by whom Buckingham was detested, partly from motives of envy, but mostly from the insolence of his carriage: of these none were more inveterate than the lord-keeper Williams, who had been long upon ill terms with his patron, on his attempt to undermine him in James's favour, and his opposition to him in council on the rupture with Spain. He had lately endeavoured to eradicate from his mind unfavourable impressions, by the most abject submission and affected zeal for his service; these endeavours had been fruitless, and Buckingham had shewn him such a strong testimony of his ill will, as to have preferred accusations against him in the house of commons the last session; but the complaints were thought too frivolous and too ill-grounded to bear an impeachment. In this situation Williams's safety was incompatible with Buckingham's power, who had likewise a dangerous enemy in the earl of Bristol, on account of the strong evidence he could produce of his absurd conduct at Madrid, and his gross impositions on the nation by a false detail to the parliament of the transactions at the court of Spain (*a*). Such a concurrence of circumstances could not fail to crush him at some period; of this he was very sensible, when the unexpected death of the king at once dispelled his fears, and fixed his tottering situation.

About the middle of March, 1625, James was seized with a tertian ague, which terminating in a fever, put an end to his life at Theobald's, on the 27th of the same month, after a reign over England of twenty-two years and a few days, and in the fifty-ninth year of his age. During the course of his illness he was so closely beset by Buckingham and his family, that the rest of the courtiers were not permitted to see him till he was in the last agonies. Without the knowledge of his physicians they applied a plaister to his side, and gave him a potion whose operation was followed by the fever, which terminated his days. These circumstances, added to the criticalness of his decease, gave rise to suspicions of the darkest nature. The duke was afterwards impeached by the commons, not for poisoning the king, but for daring to apply remedies without the advice of his physicians; but the prosecution was timely put an end to by the authority of Charles, and the affair consigned to an eternal uncertainty.

James was of a middle stature, of a fair complexion, and a soft skin; his person plump but not corpulent, his eyes large and rolling, his beard thin, his tongue too big for his mouth, his countenance disagreeable, his air awkward, and his gait remarkably ungraceful, from a weakness in his knees that hindered him from walking without assistance; he was tolerably temperate in his diet, but drank of little else than rich and strong wines.

The character of James, from the variety of grotesque qualities which compose it, is not easily to be delineated: the virtues he possessed were so loaded with a greater proportion of their neighbouring vices, that they exhibit no lights to set off the dark shades; his principles of generosity were tainted by such a childish profusion that they left him without means of paying his just obligations, and subjected him to the necessity of attempting irregular, illegal, and unjust methods of acquiring money. His friendship (*b*), not to give it the name of vice, was directed by so puerile a fancy, and so absurd a caprice, that the objects of it were ever contemptible, and its consequence attended with such an unmerited profusion of favours, that it was perhaps the most exceptionable quality of any he possessed. His distinctions were formed on principles of selfishness; he valued no person for any endowments that could not be made subservient to his pleasures or his interest, and thus he rarely advanced a man of real worth to preferment (*c*). His familar conversation, both in writing and in speaking, was stuffed with vulgar and indecent phrases. Though proud and arrogant in his temper, and full of the importance of his station, he descended to buffoonery, and suffered his favourites to address him in the most disrespectful terms of gross familiarity (*d*). Himself affected a sententious wit, but rose no higher in these attempts than to quaint, and often hackneyed conceits. His education had been a more learned one than is commonly bestowed on princes; this, from the conceit it gave him, turned out a very disadvantageous circumstance, by contracting his opinions to his own narrow views. His pretences to a consummate knowledge in divinity, politics, and the art of governing, exposed him to a high degree of ridicule, not only in this country, but on the continent; his conduct shewing him more than commonly deficient in all these points. His romantic notions of the natural rights of princes caused him publicly to avow pretensions that impressed on the minds of the people an incurable jea-

(*z*) It is very probable that the late behaviour of the Zealanders arose from the fear of admitting so large a body of English troops, lest they might have fallen upon some method of revenging the massacre at Amboyna. James had been upon ill terms with the Dutch for some time; in the year 1609 he issued a proclamation for preventing the promiscuous fishing of strangers on the British coast: the Dutch refused to comply with this proclamation, and defended their fishing vessels with a naval force. These spirited republicans had entertained a strong jealousy on the intended connection between the English and the Spanish courts: they resented the neglect James had shewn to the Protestant cause, in the base desertion of his son-in-law, the elected king of Bohemia. This, with the contempt they had for his person and government, occasioned them to commit continual infringements in the treaty that subsisted between them and the state of England: they molested the English in their East-India trade, and in Greenland, where the citizens of London had eighteen ships employed in the whale-fishery; these crews were surprized and murdered by the Dutch, on pretence that they had an exclusive privilege of fishing on that coast. *Guthrie. Carleton's Letters.*

(*a*) While Buckingham was giving to the house an account of the transactions in Spain, he frequently turned round to the prince, who was present, and asked him whether what he was relating was not true; to which the prince did not fail to answer, "Yes, it is true," or to that effect.

(*b*) All his letters to his favourite Villiers are written in a style fulsomely familiar, many of them indecent, with very unusual expressions of love and fondness.

(*c*) His want of gratitude to the memory of his preceptor Buchanan, who had taken great pains to form his tender mind to virtue, and to teach him true policy and magnanimity, is one instance of his disregard to worth.

(*d*) The following familiar epistle is from Buckingham to king James: "Were it not that you might think me an incroacher upon your goodness, I should make a proposition for you to stay ten days at Theobalds, by which doing you might have the company of your sweet son, without whom we should neither play at cards, goffe, nor sit up for does at Huntingdon; whereas, if you stay at Theobalds but these ten days, you might have to wait on you not only a sound son, but a servant within and without as clean as a shilling. But if these reasons were not, I pray your sowship how can you spend these ten days better in any other place." *MSS. in British Museum*, fol. 6987, n. 106.

The reader is referred to Letters published by sir David Dalrymple, 1762, p. 26. for another of the same sort, but much more grossly familiar.

lousy; this, with an affectation of a profound skill in the art of dissimulation, or of king-craft, as he termed it, rendered him the object of fear and distrust; when at the same time he was himself the only dupe to an impertinent and useless hypocrisy. If the laws and constitution of England received no prejudice from his government, it was owing to his want of ability to effect a change suitable to the purpose of an arbitrary sway. Stained with these vices, and sullied with these weaknesses, if he is ever exempt from the hatred of mankind, the exemption must probably arise from motives which border on contempt!

Despicable as he appears through the whole period of his Britannic government, his behaviour when king of Scotland was in many points unexceptionable; but, intoxicated with the power he received over a people whose privileges were but feebly established, and who had been long subjected to civil and ecclesiastical tyranny, he at once flung off that moderation which had hid his deformities from the common eye.

It is alledged that the corruption he met with in the court of England, and the time-serving genius of the English noblemen, were the great means that drew him aside from his circumspect conduct. Among the most forward of this worthless tribe was Cecil, afterwards earl of Salisbury (*e*), who told him on his coming to the crown, "That he should find his English subjects like asses, on whom he might lay any burden, and should need neither bit nor bridle but their asses' ears."

CHAP. II.

Observations on the Civil Government of England during this Period—Ecclesiastical Government—Manners—Finances—Navy—Commerce—Manufactures—Colonies—Agriculture---Learning and Arts.

IT may not be improper, at this period, to make a pause; and to take a survey of the state of the kingdom, with regard to its government, manners, finances, arms, trade, learning. Where a just notion is not formed of these particulars, history can be but little instructive, and will often be totally unintelligible.

CIVIL GOVERNMENT OF ENGLAND.

To enable the reader to form just and proper notions concerning the interesting transactions which brighten the following period of English history, it may not be out of place to enter into a detail of the state of the kingdom in regard to government at the accession of the Scottish line. It must be owned that in many respects it was extremely arbitrary, and that the liberties of the subject were neither accurately defined, nor apparently defended. The ecclesiastical faction that broke out in this kingdom during the administration of the Tudors had enabled that family to make pernicious encroachments on the legal rights of the subjects, stipulated by Magna Charta; time had given strength to these usurpations, and opposition in the people to the will of the sovereign was unauthorized by examples of modern date. The universal simplicity of manners that subsisted during the early periods of the English history, and continued till the latter end of the sixteenth century, rendered the wiles of power less intricate; but at the same time it occasioned in the people an aptness to put a dangerous confidence in their princes. Thus, when the violence of Henry VIII. had wrested the ecclesiastical jurisdiction over this country from the Roman pontiff, the people readily submitted to the king's being vested with that large addition of prerogative; and regal authority attained without difficulty the supreme power in all affairs relative to the government of the church, and the conscience of the subject.

We may therefore safely pronounce, that the English government, at the accession of the Scottish line, was much more arbitrary than it is at present. Without mentioning other particulars, the courts alone of high commission and star-chamber were sufficient to lay the whole kingdom at the mercy of the prince.

The court of high commission had been erected by Elizabeth, in consequence of an act of parliament, passed in the beginning of her reign: by this act, it was thought proper, during the great revolution of religion, to arm the sovereign with full powers, in order to discourage and suppress opposition. All appeals from the inferior ecclesiastical courts were carried before the high commission; and, of consequence, the whole life and doctrine of the clergy lay directly under its inspection. Every breach of the act of uniformity, every refusal of the ceremonies, was cognizable in this court; and during the reign of Elizabeth, had been punished by deprivation, by fine, confiscation, and imprisonment. James contented himself with the gentler penalty of deprivation; nor was that punishment inflicted with rigour on every offender. Archbishop Spotswood tells us, that he was informed by Bancroft, archbishop of Canterbury, several years after the king's accession, that not above forty-five clergymen had then been deprived. All the Catholics too were liable to be punished by this court, if they exercised any act of their religion, or sent abroad their children or other relations, to receive that education which they could not procure for them in their own country. Popish priests were thrown into prison, and might be delivered over to the law, which punished them with death; though that severity had been sparingly exercised even by Elizabeth herself, and never almost by James. In a word, that liberty of conscience, which we so highly and so justly value at present, was totally suppressed; and no exercise of any religion, but the established, was permitted throughout the kingdom. Any word or writing, which tended towards heresy or schism, was punishable by the high commissioners or any three of them: they alone were judges what expressions had that tendency: these inquisitions were not limited to proceed by legal information, but upon rumour, suspicion, or according to their discretion: they administered an oath, by which the party cited before them, was bound to answer any question which should be propounded to him, even though it might tend to his own crimination: whoever refused

(*e*) In a speech which James made to the parliament in 1620, he excuses himself for his former conduct in that assembly, and says, that he was led by the counsellors of the late queen.

The servile tools that James had raised to the highest preferments in the state bestowed the same tribute of absurd flattery to his memory that they had fed him with during his life. The following is the fulsome character drawn of him by Williams, in a sermon that he preached at his funeral:

"I dare presume to say, you never read in your lives of two kings more fully paralleled amongst themselves, and better distinguished from all other kings than king James and king Solomon. King Solomon is said to be *unigenitus coram matre sua*, the only son of his mother, so was king James; Solomon was of a complection white and ruddy, so was king James; Solomon was an infant king, *puer parvulus*, a little child, so was king James a king at the age of thirteen months; Solomon began his reign in the life of his predecessor, so, by the force and compulsion of that state, did our late sovereign king James; Solomon was twice crowned and anointed a king, so was king James; Solomon's minority was rough, through the quarrels of the former sovereign, so was that of king James; Solomon was learned above all the princes of the East, so was king James above all the princes in the universal world; Solomon was a writer in prose and verse, so, in a very pure and exquisite manner, was our sweet sovereign king James; Solomon was the greatest patron we ever read of to church and church-men, and yet no greater (let the house of Aaron now confess) than king James; Solomon was honoured with ambassadors from all the kings of the earth, and so you know was king James; Solomon was a main improver of his home-commodities, as you may see in his trading with Hiram, and God knows it was the daily study of king James; Solomon was a great maintainer of shipping and navigation, a most proper attribute to king James; Solomon beautified very much his capital city with buildings and waterworks, so did king James; lastly, before any hostile act we read of in history, king Solomon died in peace, when he had lived about sixty years, and so you know did king James; and as for his words and eloquence you know it well enough,—it was rare and excellent in the highest degree—Solomon, speaking of his own faculty in this kind, divides it into two several heads, a ready invention, and an easy discharge and expression of the same,—God hath granted me to speak as I would, and to conceive as it is meet for the things spoken of,—and this was eminent in our late sovereign: his invention was as quick as his first thoughts, and his words as ready as his invention; he would first wind up the whole substance of his discourse into one solid and massy conception, and then spread it and dilate it to what compass he pleased, "*Profluenti & quæ principem deceret eloquentia*," (as Tacitus said of Augustus) in a flowing and a princely kind of elocution; those speeches of his in the parliament, star-chamber, council-table, and other public audiences of the state (of which, as of Tully's orations, "*Ea semper optima quæ maxima*," the longest still was held the best) do prove him to be the most powerful speaker that ever swayed the sceptre of this kingdom; in his style you may observe the Ecclesiastes, in his figures the Cantieles, in his sentences the Proverbs, and in his whole discourse *reliquum verborum Solomonis*, all the rest that was admirable in the eloquence of Solomon; how powerfully did he charge the prince with the care of religion and justice, the two pillars (as he termed them) of his future throne? how did he recommend unto his love the nobility, the clergy, and the commonalty in general? how did he thrust, as it were, into his inward bosom, his bishops, his judges, his near servants, and (*f*) disciple of his whom he so loved in particular? and concluded with that heavenly advice to his son concerning that great act of his future marriage, to marry like himself, and marry where he would; but if he did marry the daughter of that king, he should marry her person, but not her religion."

(*f*) *Duke of Buckingham.*

fused

fused this oath, though he pleaded ever so justly, that he might thereby be brought to accuse himself or his dearest friend, was punishable by imprisonment; and, in short, an inquisitorial tribunal, with all its terrors and iniquities, was erected in the kingdom. Full discretionary powers were bestowed with regard to the inquiry, trial, sentence, and penalty inflicted; excepting only that corporal punishments were restrained by that patent of the prince, which erected the court, not by the act of parliament, which empowered him. By reason of the uncertain limits which separate ecclesiastical from civil causes, all accusations of adultery and incest were tried by the court of high commission; and every complaint of wives against their husbands was there examined and discussed (*g*). On like pretences, every cause which regarded conscience, that is, every cause, could have been brought under their jurisdiction.

But there was a sufficient reason, why the king would not be solicitous to stretch the jurisdiction of this court: the star-chamber possessed the same authority in civil matters; and its methods of proceeding were equally arbitrary and unlimited. The origin of this court was derived from remote antiquity (*h*); though it is pretended, that its power had first been carried to the greatest height by Henry VII. In all times, however, it is confessed, it enjoyed authority; and at no time was its authority circumscribed, or method of proceeding directed, by any law or statute.

We have had already, or shall have sufficient occasion, during the course of this history, to mention the dispensing power, the power of imprisonment, of exacting loans (*i*) and benevolence, of pressing (*k*) and quartering soldiers, of altering the customs, of erecting monopolies. These branches of power, if not directly opposite to the principles of all free government, must, at least, be acknowledged dangerous to freedom in a monarchical constitution, where an eternal jealousy must be preserved against the sovereign, and no discretionary powers must ever be entrusted to him, by which the property or personal liberty of any subject can be affected. The kings of England, however, had almost constantly exercised these powers; and if, on any occasion, the prince had been obliged to submit to laws enacted against them, he had ever, in practice, eluded these laws, and returned to the same arbitrary administration. During almost three centuries before the accession of James, the regal authority, in all these particulars, had never once been called in question.

We may also observe, that the principles in general which prevailed during that age, were so favourable to monarchy, that they bestowed on it an authority almost absolute and unlimited, sacred and indefeasible.

The meetings of parliament were so precarious; their sessions so short, compared to the vacations; that, when men's eyes were turned upwards in search of sovereign power, the prince alone was apt to strike them as the only permanent magistrate, invested with the whole majesty and authority of the state. The great complaisance too of parliaments during so long a period, had extremely degraded and obscured those assemblies; and as all instances of opposition to prerogative must have been drawn from a remote age, they were unknown to a great many, and had the less authority even with those who were acquainted with them. These examples, besides, of liberty had commonly in ancient times been accompanied with such circumstances of violence, convulsion, civil war, and disorder, that they presented but a disagreeable idea to the inquisitive part of the people, and afforded small inducement to renew such dismal scenes. By a great many, therefore, monarchy, simple and unmixed, was conceived to be the government of England; and those popular assemblies were supposed to form only the ornament of the fabric, without being in any degree essential to its being and existence. The prerogative of the crown was represented by lawyers as something real and durable; like those eternal essences of the schools which no time or force could alter. The sanction of religion was by divines called in aid; and the Monarch of Heaven was supposed to be interested in supporting the authority of his earthly vicegerent. And though it is pretended that these doctrines were more openly inculcated and more strenuously insisted on during the reign of the Stuarts, they were not then invented, though they were carried to a great length; they were, however, thought by the court to be more necessary at that period, by reason of the opposite doctrines which began to be promulgated by the puritanical party.

In consequence of these exalted ideas of kingly authority, the prerogative, besides the articles of jurisdiction founded on precedent, was by many supposed to possess an inexhaustible fund of latent powers, which might be exerted on any emergence. In every government, necessity, when real, supersedes all laws and levels all limitations: but in the English government, convenience alone was conceived to authorize any extraordinary act of regal power, and to render it obligatory on the people. Hence the strict obedience required to proclamations, during all periods of the English history; and if James has incurred blame on account of his edicts, it is only because he too frequently issued them at a time when they began to be less regarded, not because he first assumed that exercise of authority. Of his maxims in a parallel case, the following is a pretty remarkable instance.

Queen Elizabeth had appointed commissioners for the inspection of prisons, and had bestowed on them full discretionary powers to adjust all differences between prisoners and their creditors, to compound debts, and to give liberty to such debtors as they found honest, and insolvent. From the uncertain and undefined nature of the English constitution, doubts sprang up in many, that this commission was contrary to law; and it was represented in that light to James. He forbore therefore renewing the commission till the fifteenth year of his reign; when complaints rose so high, with regard to the abuses practised in prisons, that he thought himself obliged to overcome his scruples, and to appoint new commissioners invested with the same discretionary powers which Elizabeth had formerly conferred (*l*).

Upon the whole, we must conceive that monarchy, on the accession of the house of Stuart, was possessed of a very extensive authority: an authority, in the judgement of all, not exactly limited; in the judgement of some, not limitable. But, at the same time, this authority was founded merely on the opinion of the people, influenced by ancient precedent and example. It was not supported either by money or by force of arms. And, for this reason, we need not wonder that the princes of that line were so extremely jealous of their prerogative; being sensible that, when those claims were ravished from them, they possessed no influence by which they could maintain their dignity, or support the laws. By the changes which have since been introduced, the liberty and independence of individuals has been rendered much more full, entire, and secure; that of the public more uncertain and precarious. And it seems a necessary, though perhaps a melancholy truth, that in every government, the magistrate must either possess a large revenue and a military force, or enjoy some discretionary powers, in order to execute the laws and support his own authority.

Passive obedience to princes, that notion which, through the darker ages of the world, had been efficaciously inculcated into the minds of the subject, began to be treated with a scepticism that produced an entire revolution in the opinions of the intelligent. Elizabeth saw and felt this change; and had life and empire continued, she would undoubtedly have sustained the mortification of beholding an entire alteration in the conduct of the commons, who had hitherto servilely complied with her imperious will. The short-sighted James was unable to account for the inconsistence he found between the theoretical and practical government of England; whilst the servility of the nobles confirmed him in the idea that he was actually in possession of a despotic power, the determined opposition of the commons prevented him from bringing that idea to reality; a small degree of accuracy would perhaps have reconciled the seeming contradiction. Even in that early

(*g*) Rymer, tom. xvii. p. 200.

(*h*) Rushworth, vol. ii. p. 473. In Chambers's case it was the unanimous opinion of the court of King's Bench, that the court of star-chamber was not derived from the statute of Henry VII. but was a court many years before, and one of the most high and honourable courts of justice. See Coke's Rep. term. Mich. 5 Car. I. See further Camden's Brit. vol. i. Introd. p. 254. edit. Gibson.

(*i*) During several centuries, no reign had passed without some forced loans from the subject.

(*k*) We find a very extraordinary act of power exercised by James: on the erecting a new wall at his palace at Theobalds in Hertfordshire, a commission was given to a certain number of domestics to press into his service as many workmen as should be sufficient to complete the work in a short time, and to seize by force bricks, carts, tools, and every necessary material. *Rymer's Fœdera.*

(*l*) Rymer, tom. xviii. p. 117. 594.

period

period it might have been discerned that noble principles had taken deep root in the minds of the English people, that the progress of more enlightened reason would bring these to perfection, and the harvest of such fruit would infallibly produce an important change in the manner and constitution of government.

ECCLESIASTICAL GOVERNMENT.

We have had occasion to remark in so many instances, the bigotry which prevailed in that age, that we can look for no toleration among the different sects. Two Arians, under the title of heretics, were punished by fire during this period; and no one reign since the reformation had been free from like barbarities. Stowe says, that these Arians were offered their pardon at the stake, if they would merit it by a recantation. A madman who called himself the Holy Ghost was, without any indulgence for his frenzy, condemned to the same punishment. Twenty pounds a month could by law be levied on every one who frequented not the established worship. This rigorous law, however, had one indulgent clause, that the fines exacted should not exceed two-thirds of the yearly income of the person. It had been usual for Elizabeth to allow those penalties to run on for several years; and to levy them all at once, to the utter ruin of such Catholics as had incurred her displeasure. James was more humane in this, as in every other respect. The Puritans formed a sect which secretly lurked in the church, but pretended not to any separate worship or discipline. An attempt of that kind would have been universally regarded as the most unpardonable enormity. They maintained, that they themselves were the only pure church; that their principles and practices ought to be established by law; and that no others ought to be tolerated. So far indeed was James from granting a toleration to this sect, that such of the clergy as refused to comply with the legal ceremonies, were deprived of their livings, and sometimes in Elizabeth's reign were otherwise punished. Lord Bacon contended, that uniformity in religion was absolutely necessary to the support of government, and that no toleration could with safety be given to sectaries (*m*); therefore the Puritans were rather harshly treated. Nothing but the imputation of idolatry, which was thrown on the Catholic religion, could justify, in the eyes of many, the schism made by the Hugonots and other Protestants who lived in popish countries.

In all former ages, not wholly excepting even those of Greece and Rome, religious sects and heresies and schisms, had been esteemed dangerous if not pernicious to civil government, and were regarded as the source of faction, and private combination, and opposition to the laws (*n*). The magistrate, therefore, applied himself directly to the cure of this evil as of every other; and naturally attempted by penal statutes to suppress those separate communities, and punish the obstinate innovators. But it was found by fatal experience, and after spilling an ocean of blood in those theological quarrels, that the evil was of a peculiar nature, and was both enflamed by violent remedies, and diffused itself more rapidly throughout the whole society. Hence, though late, arose the salutary practice of toleration.

The liberty of the press was incompatible with such maxims and such principles of government as then prevailed, and was therefore quite unknown in that age. Besides employing the two terrible courts of star-chamber and high commission, whose powers were unlimited, queen Elizabeth exerted her authority by restraints upon the press. She passed a decree in her court of star-chamber, that is, by her own will and pleasure, forbidding any book to be printed in any place but in London, Oxford, and Cambridge (*o*): and another, in which she prohibited, under severe penalties, the publishing of any book or pamphlet "against the form or meaning of any restraint or ordinance, contained, or to be contained, in any statute or laws of this realm, or in any injunction made or set forth by her majesty or her privy-council, or against the true sense or meaning of any letters patent, commissions or prohibitions under the great seal of England (*p*)." James extended the same penalties to the importing of such books from abroad (*q*). And to render these edicts more effectual, he afterwards inhibited the printing of any book without a licence from the archbishop of Canterbury, the archbishop of York, the bishop of London, or the vice-chancellor of one of the universities, or of some person appointed by them (*r*).

In tracing the coherence among the systems of modern theology, we may observe, that the doctrine of absolute decrees has ever been intimately connected with the principles of Calvin; as that doctrine affords the highest subject of joy, triumph, and security to those who are of the number of the elect. All the first Reformers adopted these principles; and the Jansenists in France have ever embraced them. As the Lutheran establishments were subjected to episcopal jurisdiction, their enthusiastic genius gradually decayed. The king, though at this time his Calvinistic education had rivetted him in the doctrine of absolute decrees, yet, being a zealous partizan of episcopacy, was insensibly engaged, towards the end of his reign, to favour the theological tenets of Arminius. Even in so great a doctor, the genius of the religion prevailed over its speculative tenets; and with him the whole clergy gradually dropped the more rigid principles of absolute reprobation and unconditional decrees: some noise was at first made about these innovations; but being drowned in the fury of factions and civil wars which ensued, the scholastic arguments made an insignificant figure amidst those violent disputes about civil and ecclesiastical power with which the nation was agitated. And at the restoration, the church, though she still retained her old subscriptions and articles of faith, was found to have totally changed her speculative doctrines, and to have embraced tenets more suitable to the genius of her discipline and worship, without its being possible to assign the precise period in which the alteration was produced.

It may be worth observing, that James, from his great desire to promote controversial divinity, erected a college at Chelsea for the entertainment of twenty persons, who should be entirely employed in refuting the Papists and Puritans (*s*). It is rather singular that a Calvinist should establish a college, to maintain persons who were to be employed in endeavouring to overturn those principles which he wished it to be understood he professed himself: if so changeable and weak a person as James could have any fixed principles at all. All the efforts of Bacon could not procure an establishment for the cultivation of natural philosophy: even to this day, no society has been instituted for the polishing and fixing of our language. The only encouragement which the sovereign in England has ever given to any thing that has the appearance of science, was this short-lived establishment of James; an institution quite superfluous, considering the propension which at that time so universally prevailed in the nation for polemical theology.

The manners of the nation were agreeable to the monarchical government which prevailed; and contained not that strange mixture which at present distinguishes England from all other countries. Such violent extremes were then unknown of industry and debauchery, frugality and profusion, civility and rusticity, fanaticism and scepticism. Candour, sincerity, modesty, are the only qualities which the English of that age possessed in common with the present.

High pride of family then prevailed; and it was by a dignity and stateliness of behaviour, that the gentry and nobility distinguished themselves from the common people. Great riches, acquired by commerce, were more rare, and had not as yet been able to confound all ranks of men, and render money the chief foundation of distinction. Much ceremony took place in the common intercourse of life, and little familiarity was indulged by the great. The advantages which result from opulence are so solid and real, that those who are possessed of them need not dread the near approaches of their inferiors. The distinctions of birth and title, being more empty and imaginary, soon vanish upon familiar access and acquaintance.

The expences of the great consisted in pomp and show, and a numerous retinue, rather than in convenience and true pleasure. The earl of Nottingham, in his embassy to Spain, was attended by five hundred persons: the earl of Hertford, in that to Brussels, carried three hundred gentlemen along with him. Lord Bacon has remarked, that the English nobility in his time maintained a larger retinue of servants than the nobility of any other nation, except, perhaps, the Polanders (*t*).

(*m*) See his essay *De Unitate Ecclesiæ*.
(*n*) See Cicero de Legibus. (*o*) 28th of Elizabeth. See State Trials. Sir Robert Knightly, vol. ii. edit. 1st,
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(*p*) Rymer, tom. xvii. p. 522. (*q*) Id. ibid. (*r*) Ibid. p. 616.
(*s*) Kennet, p. 685. Camden's Brit. vol. i. p. 370. Gibson's edit.
(*t*) Essays De profer. fin. imp.

Civil

Civil honours, which now hold the first place, were at that time subordinate to the military. The young gentry and nobility were fond of distinguishing themselves by arms. The fury of duels too prevailed more than at any time before or since (*u*). This was the turn that the romantic chivalry for which the nation was formerly so renowned, had lately taken.

Liberty of commerce between the sexes was indulged; but without any licentiousness of manners. The court was very little an exception to this observation. James had rather entertained an aversion and contempt for the females; nor were those young courtiers, of whom he was so fond, able to break through the established manners of the nation.

The first sedan chair seen in England was in this reign, and was used by the duke of Buckingham; to the great indignation of the people, who exclaimed, that he was employing his fellow creatures to do the service of beasts.

The country life prevails at present in England beyond any cultivated nation of Europe; but it was then much more generally embraced by all the gentry. The increase of arts, pleasures, and social commerce, was just beginning to produce an inclination for the softer and more civilized life of the city. James discouraged as much as possible this alteration of manners. "He was wont to be very earnest," as lord Bacon tells us, "with the country gentlemen to go from London to their country seats. And sometimes he would say thus to them: Gentlemen, at London, you are like ships in a sea, which show like nothing; but in your country villages you are like ships in a river, which look like great things (*v*)."

He was not content with reproof and exhortation. As queen Elizabeth had perceived with regret the increase of London, and had restrained all new buildings by proclamation; James, who found that these edicts were not exactly obeyed, frequently renewed them; though a strict execution seems still to have been wanting. He also issued reiterated proclamations in imitation of his predecessor; containing severe menaces against the gentry who lived in town (*w*). The short-sighted James could not perceive that this policy is contrary to that which has ever been practised by all princes who studied the increase of their authority. To allure the nobility to court; to engage them in expensive pleasures or employments which dissipate their fortune; to increase their subjection to ministers by attendance; to weaken their authority in the provinces by absence: these have been the common arts of arbitrary governments. But James, besides that he had certainly laid no plan for extending his power, had no money to support a splendid court, or bestow on a numerous retinue of gentry and nobility. He thought too, that by their living together, they became more sensible of their own strength, and were apt to indulge too curious researches into matters of government. To remedy the present evil, he was desirous of dispersing them into their country-seats; where, he hoped, they would bear a more submissive reverence to his authority, and receive less support from each other. But the contrary effect soon followed. The riches amassed during their residence at home rendered them independent. The influence acquired by hospitality made them formidable. They would not be led by the court: they could not be driven: and thus the system of the English government received a total and sudden alteration in the course of less than forty years.

The first rise of commerce and the arts had contributed, in the preceding reigns, to scatter those immense fortunes of the barons which rendered them so formidable both to king and people. The farther progress of these advantages began during this reign to ruin the small proprietors of land; and, by both events, the gentry, or that rank which composed the house of commons, enlarged their power and authority. The early improvements in luxury were seized by the greater nobles, whose fortunes, placing them above frugality, or even calculation, were soon dissipated in expensive pleasures. These improvements reached at last all men of property; and those of slender fortunes, who at that time were often men of family, imitating those of a rank immediately above them, reduced themselves to poverty. Their lands, coming to sale, swelled the estates of those who possessed riches sufficient for the fashionable expences; but who were not exempted from some care and attention to their domestic œconomy.

The gentry also of that age were engaged in no expence, except that of country hospitality. No taxes were levied, no wars waged, no attendance at court expected, no bribery or profusion required at elections (*x*). Could human nature ever reach happiness, the condition of the English gentry under so mild and benign a prince, might merit that appellation.

Finances.

The amount of the king's revenue, as it stood in 1617, is thus stated (*y*): of crown lands eighty thousand pounds a-year; by customs and new impositions, near one hundred and ninety thousand; by wards and other various branches of revenue, beside purveyance, one hundred and eighty thousand. The whole amounting to four hundred and fifty thousand. The king's ordinary disbursements, by the same account, are said to exceed this sum thirty-six thousand pounds (*z*). All the extraordinary sums which James had raised by subsidies, loans, sale of lands, sale of the title of baronet, money paid by the States, and by the king of France, benevolences, &c. were in the whole about two millions two hundred thousand pounds: of which the sale of lands afforded seven hundred and seventy-five thousand pounds. The extraordinary disbursements of the king amounted to two millions; beside above four hundred thousand pounds given in presents. Upon the whole, a sufficient reason appears, partly from necessary expences, partly for want of œconomy, why the king, even early in his reign, was deeply involved in debt, and found great difficulty to support the government.

Farmers, not commissioners, levied the customs. It seems, indeed, requisite, that the former method should always be tried before the latter, though a preferable one. When men's own interest is concerned, they fall upon a hundred expedients to prevent frauds in the merchants; and these the public may afterwards imitate in establishing proper rules for its officers.

The customs were supposed to amount to five *per cent.* of the value, and were levied upon exports as well as imports. Nay, the imposition upon exports, by James's additions, is said to amount in some few instances to twenty-five *per cent.* This practice, so hurtful to industry, prevails still in France, Spain, and most countries of Europe. The customs in 1604 yielded one hundred and twenty-seven thousand pounds a-year (*a*): they rose to one hundred and ninety thousand towards the end of the reign.

Interest, during this reign, was at ten *per cent.* till 1624, when it was reduced to eight, by an act of parliament. This high interest is an indication of the great profits and small progress of commerce.

The extraordinary supplies granted by parliament during this whole reign amounted not to more than six hundred and thirty thousand pounds; which, divided among twenty-one years, makes thirty thousand pounds a-year. We do not include those supplies, amounting to three hundred thousand pounds, which were given to the king by his last parliament. These were paid in to their own commissioners; and the expences of the Spanish war were much more than sufficient to exhaust them. The distressed family of the palatine was a great burthen on James, during part of his reign. The king, it is pretended, possessed not frugality proportioned to the extreme narrowness of his revenue. Splendid equipages, however, he did not affect, nor costly furniture, nor a luxurious table, nor prodigal mistresses. His buildings too were not sumptuous; though the banqueting-house must not be forgotten, as a monument which does honour to his reign. Hunting was his chief amusement, the cheapest pleasure in which a king can indulge himself. His expences were the effects of liberality, rather than of luxury.

It is said, that one day, while he was standing amidst some of his courtiers, a porter passed by loaded with money, which he was carrying to the treasury. The king observed, that Rich, afterwards earl of Holland, one of

(*u*) Franklyn, p. 5. See also Lord Herbert's Memoirs.
(*v*) Apophthegms. (*w*) Rymer, tom. xvii. p. 632.
(*x*) Men seem then to have been ambitious of representing the counties, but careless of the boroughs. A seat in the house was in itself of small importance: but the former became a point of honour among the gentlemen. Journ. 10 Feb. 1620. Towns, which had formerly neglected their right of sending members, now began to claim it. Journ. 26 Feb. 1623.
(*y*) An abstract or brief declaration of his majesty's revenue, with the assignations and defalcations upon the same.
(*z*) The excess was formerly greater, as appears by Salisbury's Account. See chap. 2. (*a*) Journ. 21 May, 1604.

his handsome agreeable favourites, whispered something to one standing near him. Upon inquiry, he found that Rich had said, "How happy would that money make me!" Without hesitation James bestowed it all upon him though it amounted to three thousand pounds. He added, "You think yourself very happy in obtaining so large a sum; but I am more happy in having an opportunity of obliging a worthy man, whom I love." The generosity of James was more the result of a benign humour or light fancy, than of reason or judgement. The objects of it were such as could render themselves agreeable to him in his loose hours; not such as were endowed with great merit, or who possessed talents or popularity which could strengthen his interest with the public.

The same advantage, we may remark, over the people, which the crown formerly reaped from that interval between the fall of the peers and the rise of the commons, was now possessed by the people against the crown, during the continuance of a like interval. The sovereign had already lost that independent revenue by which he could subsist without regular supplies from parliament; and he had not yet acquired the means of influencing those assemblies. The effects of this situation, which commenced with the accession of the house of Stuart, soon rose to a great height, and were more or less propagated throughout all the reigns of that unhappy family.

Subsidies and fifteenths are frequently mentioned by historians; but neither the amount of these taxes nor the method of levying them have been well explained. It appears, that the fifteenths formerly corresponded to the name, and were that proportionable part of the moveables (*b*). But a valuation having been made in the reign of Edward III., that valuation was always adhered to, and each town paid unalterably a particular sum, which the inhabitants themselves assessed upon their fellow-citizens. The same tax in corporate towns was called a tenth; because, there it was at first a tenth of the moveables. The whole amount of a tenth and a fifteenth throughout the kingdom, or a fifteenth as it is often more concisely called, was about twenty-nine thousand pounds (*c*). The amount of a subsidy was not invariable, like that of a fifteenth. In the eighth of Elizabeth a subsidy amounted to one hundred and twenty thousand pounds: in the fortieth it was not above seventy-eight thousand (*d*). It afterwards fell to seventy thousand; and was continually decreasing (*e*). The reason is easily collected from the method of levying it. We may learn from the subsidy bills (*f*), that one subsidy was given for four shillings in the pound on land, and two shillings and eight-pence on moveables throughout the counties; a considerable tax, had it been strictly levied. But this was only the ancient state of a subsidy. During the reign of James, there was not paid the twentieth part of that sum. The tax was so far personal that a man paid only in the county where he lived, though he should possess estates in other counties; and the assessors formed a loose estimation of his property, and rated him accordingly. To preserve, however, some rule in the estimation, it seems to have been the practice to keep an eye to former assessments, and to rate every man according as his ancestors, or men of such an estimated property were accustomed to pay. This was a sufficient reason why subsidies could not increase, notwithstanding the great increase of money and rise of rents. But there was an evident reason why they continually decreased. The favour, as is natural to suppose, ran always against the crown; especially during the latter end of Elizabeth, when subsidies became numerous and frequent, and the sums levied were considerable, compared to former supplies. The assessors, though accustomed to have an eye to ancient estimations, were not bound to observe any such rule; but might rate anew any person according to his present income. When rents fell, or part of an estate was sold off, the proprietor was sure to represent these losses, and obtain a diminution of his subsidy; but where rents rose, or new lands were purchased, he kept his own secret, and paid no more than formerly. The advantage, therefore, of every change was taken against the crown; and the crown could obtain the advantage of none. And to make the matter worse, the alterations which happened in property during this age were in general unfavourable to the crown. The small proprietors, or twenty pound men, went continually to decay; and when their estates were swallowed up by a greater, the new purchaser increased not his subsidy. So loose indeed is the whole method of rating subsidies, that the wonder was not how the tax should continually diminish; but how it yielded any revenue at all. It became at last so unequal and uncertain, that the parliament was obliged to change it into a land tax.

The price of corn during this reign, and that of the other necessaries of life, was rather higher than at present, considering the difference of the valuation of money. By a proclamation of James, establishing public magazines, whenever wheat fell below thirty-two shillings a quarter, rye below eighteen, barley below sixteen, the commissioners were empowered to purchase corn for the magazines (*g*). These prices then are to be regarded as low. At present (March 1811,) the price of wheat is a hundred shillings a quarter, rye forty shillings, barley thirty-six. The usual bread of the poor was at this time made of barley (*h*). The best wool, during the greater part of James's reign, was at thirty-three shillings a tod (*i*). At present it is not above two-thirds of that value; though it is to be presumed, that our exports in woollen goods are somewhat increased. The finer manufactures too, by the progress of arts and industry, have rather diminished in price, notwithstanding the great increase of money. In Shakespeare, the hostess tells Falstaff, that the shirts she bought him were holland at eight shillings a-yard; a high price at this day, even supposing, what is not probable, that the best holland at that time was equal in goodness to the best that can now be purchased. In like manner, a yard of velvet, about the middle of Elizabeth's reign, was valued at two-and-twenty shillings. It appears from Dr. Birch's life of prince Henry (*k*), that that prince, by contract with his butcher, paid near a groat a-pound throughout the year for all the beef and mutton used in his family (*l*). Besides, we must consider, that the general turn of that age, which no laws could prevent, was the converting of arable land into pasture. We have a regulation of the market with regard to poultry and some other articles very early in Charles I.'s reign (*m*); and the prices are high. A turkey-cock four shillings and sixpence, a turkey hen three shillings, a pheasant cock six, a pheasant hen five, a partridge one shilling, a goose two, a capon two and sixpence, a pullet one and sixpence, a rabbit eight pence, a dozen of pigeons six shillings (*n*). We must consider, that London at present is more than three times more populous than it was at that time: a circumstance which much increases the price of poultry, and of every thing that cannot conveniently be brought from a distance: not to mention that these regulations by authority are always calculated to diminish, never to increase the market-prices. The contractors for victualling the navy were allowed by government eight pence a day for the diet of each man when in harbour, seven pence halfpenny when at sea (*o*). The chief difference in expence between that age and the commencement of the present king's reign, consists in the imaginary wants of men, which have since extremely multiplied (*p*).

Arms.

The public was entirely free from the danger and expence of a standing army. While James was vaunting his divine vicegerency, and boasting of his high prerogative, he possessed not so much as a single regiment of guards to maintain his extensive claims: a sufficient proof that he sincerely believed his pretensions to be well grounded, and a strong presumption that they were at least built on what were then deemed plausible arguments. The militia of England, amounting to one hundred and sixty thousand men (*q*), was the sole defence of the kingdom. It is pretended that they were kept in good order during this

(*b*) Coke's Inst. book iv. chap. i. of fifteenths, quinzis.
(*c*) Id. subsidies temporary. (*d*) Journ. 11 July 1610.
(*e*) Coke's Inst. book iv. chap. i. subsidies temporary.
(*f*) See Statutes at Large. (*g*) Rymer, tom. xvii. p. 526. To the same purpose, see also 21 Jac. vi. cap. 28.
(*h*) Rymer, tom. xx. p. 15. (*i*) See a compendium or dialogue inserted in the Memoirs of Wool, chap. 23. (*k*) P. 449.
(*l*) At present (March 1811) the price of beef is ten pence halfpenny per pound, wholesale; that of the best mutton, ten pence three farthings.

(*m*) Rymer, tom. xix. p. 511.
(*n*) We may judge of the great grievance of purveyance by this circumstance, that the purveyors often gave but sixpence for a dozen of pigeons, and two pence for a fowl. Journ. 25 May, 1626.
(*o*) Rymer, tom. xvii. p. 441, *& seq.*
(*p*) For, during the present reign (that of George the Third) the various articles of life have taken so extraordinary a rise, that the journeymen of the several trades and professions have been several times under the necessity of raising their wages. (*q*) Journ. 1 March, 1623.

reign.

reign (*r*). The city of London procured officers who had served abroad, and who taught the trained bands their exercises in Artillery Garden; a practice which had been discontinued since 1588. All the counties of England, in emulation of the capital, were fond of showing a well-ordered and well-appointed militia. It appeared that the natural propensity of men towards military shows and exercises will go far, with a little attention in the sovereign, towards exciting and supporting this spirit in any nation. The very boys at this time, in mimickry of their elders, inlisted themselves voluntarily into companies, elected officers, and practised the discipline, of which models were every day exposed to their view (*s*). Sir Edward Harwood, in a memorial composed at the beginning of the subsequent reign, says, that England was so unprovided with horses fit for war, that two thousand men could not possibly be mounted throughout the whole kingdom (*t*). At present the breed of horses is so much improved, that almost all those which are employed either in the plough, waggon, or coach, might me made fit for that purpose.

The disorders of Ireland obliged James to keep up some forces there, and put him to great expence. The common pay of a private man in the infantry was eight pence a-day, a lieutenant two shillings, an ensign eighteen pence (*u*). The armies in Europe were not near so numerous during that age; and the private men, we may observe, were drawn from a better rank than at present, and approaching nearer to that of the officers.

In the year 1583 there was a general review made of all the men in England capable of bearing arms; and these were found to amount to one million one hundred and seventy two thousand men, according to Raleigh (*v*). It is impossible to warrant the exactness of this computation; or, rather, we may fairly presume it to be somewhat inaccurate. But if it approached near the truth, England has probably, since that time, increased in populousness. The growth of London, in riches and beauty, as well as in numbers of inhabitants, has been prodigious. From 1600 it doubled every forty years (*w*); and consequently, in 1680, it contained four times as many inhabitants as at the beginning of the century. It has ever been the centre of all the trade in the kingdom; and almost the only town that affords society and amusement. The affection which the English bear to a country life makes the provincial towns be little frequented by the gentry. Nothing but the allurements of the capital, which is favoured by the residence of the king, and by being the seat of government, and of all the courts of justice, can prevail over their passion for their rural villas.

London at this time was almost entirely built of wood, and in every respect was certainly a very ugly city. The earl of Arundel first introduced the general practice of brick buildings (*x*).

The navy of England was esteemed formidable in Elizabeth's time, yet it consisted only of thirty-three ships, besides pinnaces (*y*): and the largest of these would not equal our fourth-rates at present. Raleigh advises never to build a ship of war above six hundred tons (*z*). James was not negligent of the navy. In five years preceding 1623, he built ten new ships, and expended fifty thousand pounds a-year on the fleet, beside the value of thirty-six thousand pounds in timber, which he annually gave from the royal forests (*a*). The largest ship that had ever come from the English docks was built during this reign. She was only one thousand four hundred tons, and carried sixty-four guns (*b*). The merchant ships, in cases of necessity, were instantly converted into ships of war. The king affirmed to the parliament, that the navy had never before been in so good a condition (*c*).

Commerce.

Every session of parliament during this reign, we meet with grievous lamentations concerning the decay of trade, and the growth of popery. The king himself was deceived by these popular complaints, and was at a loss to account for the total want of money, which he heard so much exaggerated (*d*). It may, however, be affirmed, that during no preceding period of English history, was there a more sensible increase than during the reign of this monarch, of all the advantages which distinguish a flourishing people. Not only the peace which he maintained (whether through pusillanimity or a pacific disposition) was favourable to industry and commerce: and trade being yet in its infancy, all additions to it must have been the more evident to every eye, which was not blinded by melancholy prejudices.

By an account (*e*) which seems judicious and accurate, it appears that all the seamen employed in the merchant service amounted to ten thousand men, which does not amount to the fifth part of their present number, in time of peace; but unhappily the long continuance of the present struggle with France, (1811) has had a very dreadful effect on our foreign trade. Sir Thomas Overbury says, that the Dutch possessed three times more shipping than the English, but that their ships were of inferior burden to the latter (*f*). Sir William Monson computed the English naval power to be little or nothing inferior to the Dutch (*g*), which is surely an exaggeration. The Dutch at this time traded to England with six hundred ships; England to Holland with sixty only (*h*).

Manufactures.

A catalogue of the manufactures, for which the English were then eminent, would appear very contemptible, in comparison of those which flourish among them at present. Almost all the more elaborate and curious arts were only cultivated abroad, particularly in Italy, Holland, and the Netherlands. Ship-building, and the founding of iron cannon, were the sole in which the English excelled. They seem, indeed, to have possessed alone the secret of the latter; and great complaints were made every parliament against the exportation of English ordnance.

Nine tenths of the commerce of the kingdom consisted in woollen goods (*i*). Wool, however, was allowed to be exported, till the nineteenth of the king. Its exportation was then forbidden by proclamation, though that edict was never strictly executed. Most of the cloth was exported raw, and was dyed and dressed by the Dutch; who gained, it is pretended, seven hundred thousand pounds a year by this manufacture (*k*). A proclamation issued by the king against exporting cloth in that condition, had succeeded so ill during one year, by the refusal of the Dutch to buy the dressed cloth, that great murmurs arose against it; and this measure was retracted by the king, and complained of by the nation, as if it had been the most impolitic in the world. It seems indeed to have been premature.

In so little credit was the fine English cloth even in England, that the king was obliged to seek expedients by which he might engage the people of fashion to wear it (*l*). The manufacture of fine linen was at this time totally unknown in the kingdom (*m*).

The company of merchant-adventurers, by the patent which had been granted them, possessed the sole commerce of woollen goods, though the staple commodity of the kingdom. An attempt was made during the reign of Elizabeth to lay open this important trade, which had been attended with bad consequences for a time, by a conspiracy of the merchant-adventurers, not to make any purchases of cloth; and the queen immediately restored them their patent.

It was the groundless fear of a similar accident that enslaved the nation to those exclusive companies, which confined so much every branch of commerce and industry. The parliament, however, annulled, in the third of the king, the patent of the Spanish company; and the trade to Spain, which was at first very insignificant, soon be-

(*r*) Stowe. See also sir Walter Raleigh of the Prerogatives of Parliament, and Johnstoni Hist. lib. xviii. (*s*) Stowe.

(*t*) In the Harleyan Miscellany, vol. iv. p. 255.

(*u*) Rymer, tom. xvi. p. 717.

(*v*) Of the invention of shipping. This number is much superior to that contained in Murden, and that delivered by sir Edward Coke to the house of commons; and is more likely. (*w*) Sir William Petty.

(*x*) Sir Edward Walker's Political Discourses, p. 270.

(*y*) Coke's Inst. book iv. ch. i. Consultation in parliament for the navy.

(*z*) By Raleigh's account, in his discourse of the first invention of shipping, the fleet, in the twenty-fourth of the queen, consisted only of thirteen ships, and was augmented afterwards eleven. He probably reckoned some to be pinnaces, which Coke called ships.

(*a*) Journ. 11 March, 1623. Sir William Monson makes the number amount only to nine new ships, p. 253. (*b*) Stowe.

(*c*) Parl. Hist. vol. vi. p. 94. (*d*) Rymer, tom. xvii. p. 413.

(*e*) The trade's increase, in the Harleyan Misc. vol. iii.

(*f*) Remarks on his Travels, Harl. Misc. vol. ii. p. 349.

(*g*) Naval Tracts, p. 329, 350. (*h*) Raleigh's Observations.

(*i*) Journ. 26th May, 1621.

(*k*) Journ. 20 May, 1614. Raleigh, in his observations, computes the loss at four hundred thousand pounds to the nation. There are about eighty thousand undressed cloths, says he, exported yearly. He computes, besides, that about one hundred thousand pounds a-year had been lost by kersies; not to mention other articles. The account of two hundred thousand cloths a-year exported in Elizabeth's reign, seems to be exaggerated.

(*l*) Rymer, tom. xvii. p. 415. (*m*) Id. Ibid.

came

came the most considerable in the kingdom. It is strange that they were not thence encouraged to abolish all the other companies, and that they went no farther than obliging them to enlarge their bottom, and to facilitate the admission of new adventurers.

A board of trade was erected by the king in 1622 (*n*). One of the reasons assigned in the commission, is to remedy the low price of wool, which begat complaints of the decay of the woollen manufactory. It is more probable, however, that this fall of prices proceeded from the increase of wool. The king likewise recommends it to the commissioners to inquire and examine, whether a greater freedom of trade, and an exemption from the restraint of exclusive companies, would not be beneficial. Men were then fettered by their own prejudices; and the king was justly afraid of embracing a bold measure, whose consequences might be uncertain. The digesting of a navigation act, of a like nature with the famous one executed afterwards by the republican parliament, is likewise recommended to the commissioners. The arbitrary powers then commonly assumed by the privy council, appear evidently through the whole tenour of the commission.

The silk manufacture had no footing in England: but, by James's direction, mulberry-trees were planted, and silk-worms introduced (*o*). The climate seems unfavourable to the success of this project. The planting of hops increased much in England during this reign.

Greenland is thought to have been discovered about this period; and the whale fishery was carried on with success: but the industry of the Dutch, in spite of all opposition, soon deprived the English of this source of riches. A company was erected for the discovery of the north-west passage; and many fruitless attempts were made for that purpose.

The passage to the East-Indies had been opened to the English during the reign of Elizabeth; but the trade to those parts was not entirely established till this reign, when the East-India company received a new patent, enlarged their stock to one million five hundred thousand pounds (*p*), and fitted out several ships on these adventures. In 1609 they built a vessel of twelve hundred tons, the largest merchant ship that England had ever known. She was unfortunate, and perished by shipwreck. In 1611, a large ship of the company, assisted by a pinnace, maintained five several engagements with a squadron of Portuguese, and gained a complete victory over forces much superior. During the following years the Dutch company was guilty of great injuries towards the English, in expelling many of their factors, and destroying their settlements: but these violences were resented with a proper spirit by the court of England. A naval force was equipped under the earl of Oxford (*q*), and lay in wait for the return of the Dutch East-India fleet. By reason of cross winds, Oxford failed of his purpose, and the Dutch escaped. Some time after, one rich ship was taken by vice-admiral Merwin; and it was stipulated by the Dutch to pay seventy thousand pounds to the English company, in consideration of the losses which that company had sustained (*r*). But neither this stipulation, nor the fear of reprisals, nor the sense of that friendship which subsisted between England and the States, could restrain the avidity of the Dutch company, or render them equitable in their proceedings towards their allies. Impatient to have the sole possession of the spice trade, which the English then shared with them, they assumed a jurisdiction over a factory of the latter in the island of Amboyna, in 1623; and on absurd pretences, seized all the factors, with their families, and put them to death with the most inhuman tortures; an account of which we have given before.

The exports of England from Christmas 1612 to Christmas 1613 are computed at two million four hundred and eighty-seven thousand four hundred and thirty-five pounds: the imports at two million one hundred and forty-one thousand one hundred and fifty-one: so that the balance in favour of England was three hundred and forty-six thousand two hundred and eighty-four (*s*). But in 1622 the exports were two million three hundred and twenty thousand four hundred and thirty-six pounds; the imports two million six hundred and nineteen thousand three hundred and fifteen; which makes a balance of two hundred and ninety-eight thousand eight hundred and seventy-nine pounds against England (*t*). The coinage of England from 1599 to 1619 amounted to four million seven hundred and seventy-nine thousand three hundred and fourteen pounds thirteen shillings and four pence (*u*): a proof that the balance in the main was considerably in favour of the kingdom. As the annual imports and exports together rose to near five millions, and the customs never yielded so much as two hundred thousand pounds a-year, of which tonnage made a part, it appears that the new rates affixed by James did not, on the whole, amount to one shilling in the pound, and consequently were still inferior to the intention of the original grant of parliament. The East-India company usually carried out a third of their cargo in commodities (*v*). The trade to Turkey was one of the most gainful to the nation (*w*). It appears that copper half-pence and farthings began to be coined in this reign (*x*). Tradesmen had commonly carried on their retail business chiefly by means of leaden tokens. The small silver penny was soon lost, and at this time was no where to be found.

(*n*) Rymer, tom. xvii. p. 410.
(*o*) Stowe.
(*p*) Journ. 26th Nov. 1621.
(*q*) In 1622.
(*r*) Johnstoni Hist. lib. 19.
(*s*) Misselden's Circle of Commerce, p. 121.
(*t*) Id. ibid.

Colonies.

What chiefly renders the reign of James memorable, is the commencement of the English colonies in America; colonies established on the noblest footing that has been known in any age or nation. The Spaniards, being the first discoverers of the new world, immediately took possession of the precious mines which they found there; and, by the allurement of great riches, they were tempted to depopulate their own country, as well as that which they conquered; and added the vice of sloth to those of avidity and barbarity, which had attended their adventurers in those renowned enterprizes. That fine coast was entirely neglected, which reaches from St. Augustin to Cape Breton, and which lies in all the temperate climates, is watered by noble rivers, and offers a fertile soil, but nothing more, to the industrious planter. Peopled gradually from England by the necessitous and indigent, who at home increased neither wealth nor populousness, the colonies which were planted along that tract, promoted the navigation, and encouraged the industry, of their mother-country. The spirit of independency, which was reviving in England, here shone forth in its full lustre, and received new accession from the aspiring character of those who, being discontented with the established church and monarchy, had sought for freedom amidst those savage deserts.

Queen Elizabeth had done little more than given a name to the continent of Virginia; and after her planting one feeble colony, which quickly decayed, that country was entirely abandoned. But when peace put an end to the military enterprizes against Spain, and left ambitious spirits no hopes of making any longer such rapid advances towards honour and fortune, the nation began to second the pacific intentions of its monarch, and to seek a surer, though slower expedient, for acquiring riches and glory. In 1606, Newport carried over a colony, and began a settlement; which the company erected by patent for that purpose in London and Bristol, took care to supply with yearly recruits of provisions, utensils, and new inhabitants. About 1609, Argal discovered a more direct and shorter passage to Virginia, and left the tract of the ancient navigators, who had first directed their course southwards to the tropic, sailed westward by means of the trade-winds, and then turned northward, till they reached the English settlements. The same year, five hundred persons under sir Thomas Gates and sir George Somers were embarked for Virginia. Somers's ship meeting with a tempest, was driven into the Bermudas, and laid the foundation of a settlement in those islands. Lord Delawar afterwards undertook the government of the English colonies: but notwithstanding all his care, seconded by supplies from James, and by money raised from the first lottery ever known in the kingdom, such difficulties attended the settlement of these countries, that in 1614 there were not alive more than four hundred men, of all that had been sent thither. After supplying themselves with provisions more immediately necessary for the support of life, the new planters began the cultivating of tobacco; and James, notwithstanding his antipathy to that drug, which he affirmed to

(*u*) Happy future State of England, p. 78.
(*v*) Munn's Discourse on the East-India Trade.
(*w*) Id. p. 17.
(*x*) Anderson, vol. i. p. 447.

be

be pernicious to men's morals as well as their health (*y*), gave them permission to enter it in England; and he inhibited by proclamation all importation of it from Spain (*z*). By degrees, new colonies were established in that continent, and gave new names to the places where they settled, leaving that of Virginia to the province first planted. The island of Barbadoes was also planted in this reign.

Many reasoners, during that age, raised numberless objections to the planting of those remote colonies; and foretold that, after draining their mother-country of inhabitants, they would soon shake off her yoke, and erect an independent government in America. England, however, maintained the sovereignty of the North American provinces till 1775, when a war took place between the mother-country and the colonies; the result of which was, that the Americans were declared independent in 1782.

AGRICULTURE.

Agriculture was anciently very imperfect in England. The sudden transitions so often mentioned by historians, from the lowest to the highest price of grain, and the prodigious inequality of its value in different years, are sufficient proofs that the produce depended entirely on the seasons, and that art had as yet done nothing to fence against the injuries of the heavens. During this reign considerable improvements were made, as in most arts, so in this, the most beneficial of any. A numerous catalogue might be formed of books and pamphlets treating of husbandry, which were written about this time. The nation, however, was still dependent on foreigners for daily bread; and though its exportation of grain sometimes forms a considerable branch of its commerce, notwithstanding its probable increase of people, there was in that period a regular importation from the Baltic, as well as from France; and if it ever stopped, the bad consequences were sensibly felt by the nation. Sir Walter Raleigh in his observations computes, that two millions went out at one time for corn. It was not till the fifth of Elizabeth, that the exportation of corn had been allowed in England; and Camden observes, that agriculture from that moment received new life and vigour.

The endeavours of James, or, more properly speaking, those of the nation, for promoting trade, were attended with greater success than those for the encouragement of learning. Though the age was by no means destitute of eminent writers, a very bad taste in general prevailed during that period; and the monarch himself was not a little infected with it, as appears from several extracts given in the foregoing history of his reign.

LEARNING AND ARTS.

On the origin of letters among the Greeks, the genius of poets and orators, as might naturally be expected, was distinguished by an amiable simplicity, which, whatever rudeness may sometimes attend it, is so fitted to express the genuine movements of nature and passion, that the compositions possessed of it must ever appear valuable to the discerning part of mankind. The glaring figures of discourse, the pointed antithesis, the unnatural conceit, the jingle of words; such false ornaments were not employed by early writers; not because they were rejected, but because they scarcely ever occurred to them. An easy, unforced strain of sentiment runs through their compositions; though at the same time we may observe, that amidst the most elegant simplicity of thought and expression, one is sometimes surprized to meet with a poor conceit, which had presented itself unsought for, and which the author had not acquired critical observation enough to condemn (*a*). A bad taste seizes with avidity these frivolous beauties, and even perhaps a good taste, ere surfeited by them: they multiply every day more and more in the fashionable compositions: nature and good sense are neglected: laboured ornaments studied and admired: and a total degeneracy of style and language prepares the way for barbarism and ignorance. Hence the Asiatic manner was found to depart so much from the simple purity of Athens: hence that tinsel eloquence which is observable in many of the Roman writers, from which Cicero himself is not wholly exempted, and which so much prevails in Ovid, Seneca, Lucan, Martial, and the Plinys.

On the revival of letters, when the judgement of the public is yet raw and unformed, this false glitter catches the eye, and leaves no room, either in eloquence or poetry, for the durable beauties of solid sense and lively passion. The reigning genius is then diametrically opposite to that which prevails on the first origin of arts. The Italian writers, it is evident, even the most celebrated, have not reached the proper simplicity of thought and composition; and in Petrarch, Tasso, Guarini, frivolous witticisms and forced conceits are but too predominant. The period during which letters were cultivated in Italy, was so short as scarcely to allow leisure for correcting this adulterated relish.

The more early French writers are liable to the same reproach. Voiture, Balzac, even Corneille, have too much affected those ambitious ornaments, of which the Italians in general, and the least pure of the ancients, supplied them with so many models. And it was not till late, that observation and reflection gave rise to a more natural turn of thought and composition among that elegant people.

A like character may be extended to the first English writers; such as flourished during the reigns of Elizabeth and James, and even till long afterwards. Learning, on its revival in this island, was attired in the same unnatural garb which it wore at the time of its decay among the Greeks and Romans. And, what may be regarded as a misfortune, the English writers were possessed of great genius before they were endowed with any degree of taste, and by that means gave a kind of sanction to those forced turns and sentiments which they so much affected. Their distorted conceptions and expressions are attended with such vigour of mind, that we admire the imagination which produced them, as much as we blame the want of judgement which gave them admittance. To enter into an exact criticism of the writers of that age would exceed our present purpose. A short character of the most eminent, delivered with the same freedom which history exercises over kings and ministers, may not be improper. The national prepossessions, which prevail, will perhaps render the former liberty not the least perilous for an author.

If Shakespear be considered as a MAN, born in a rude age, and educated in the lowest manner, without any instruction, either from the world or from books, he may be regarded as a prodigy: if represented as a POET, capable of furnishing a proper entertainment to a refined or intelligent audience, we must abate somewhat of this eulogy. In his compositions, we regret, that many irregularities, and even absurdities, should so frequently disfigure the animated and passionate scenes intermixed with them; and at the same time, we perhaps admire the more those beauties, on account of their being surrounded with such deformities. A striking peculiarity of sentiment, adapted to a single character, he frequently hits, as it were by inspiration; but a reasonable propriety of thought does not appear to have been at any time upheld. Nervous and picturesque expressions as well as descriptions abound in him; but it is in vain we look either for purity or simplicity of diction. His total ignorance of all theatrical art and conduct, however material a defect; yet, as it affects the spectator, rather than the reader, we can more easily excuse, than that want of taste which often prevails in his productions, and which gives way only by intervals to the irradiations of genius. A great and fertile genius he certainly possessed, and one enriched equally with a tragic and comic vein; but he ought to be cited as a proof, how dangerous it is to rely on these advantages alone for attaining an excellence in the finer arts (*b*). He died in 1616, aged fifty-three years.

JOHNSON possessed all the learning which was wanting to Shakespear, and wanted all the genius of which the other was possessed. Both of them were equally deficient in taste and elegance, in harmony and correctness. A servile copyist of the ancients, Johnson translated into bad English the beautiful passages of the Greek and Roman authors, without accommodating them to the manners of his age and country. His merit has been totally eclipsed by that of Shakespear, whose rude genius pre-

(*y*) Rymer, tom. xvii. p. 621. (*z*) Id. tom. xviii. p. 621. 633.

(*a*) The name of Polynices, one of Oedipus's sons, means in the original *much quarrelling*. In the altercations between the two brothers, in Æschylus, Sophocles, and Euripides, this conceit is employed; and it is remarkable, that so poor a conundrum could not be rejected by any of those three poets, so justly celebrated for their taste and simplicity. What could Shakespear have done worse? Terence has his *inseptio est amentium, non amantium*. Many similar instances will occur to the learned. It is well known, that Aristotle treats very seriously of puns, divides them into several classes, and recommends the use of them to orators.

(*b*) *Invenire etiam barbari solent, disponere et onare non nisi eruditus.* PLIN.

vailed over the rude art of his contemporary. The English theatre has ever since taken a strong tincture of Shakespear's spirit and character; and thence it has proceeded, that the nation has undergone from all its neighbours, the reproach of barbarism, from which its valuable productions in some other parts of learning would otherwise have exempted it. Johnson had a pension of a hundred marks from the king, which Charles afterwards augmented to a hundred pounds. He died in 1637, aged sixty-three.

FAIRFAX has translated Tasso with an elegance and ease, and at the same time with an exactness, which for that age are surprising. Each line in the original is faithfully rendered by a correspondent line in the translation. Harrington's translation of Ariosto is not likewise without its merit. It is to be regretted that these poets should have imitated the Italians in their stanza, which has a prolixity and uniformity in it that displeases in long performances. They had otherwise, as well as Spenser, who went before them, contributed much to the polishing and refining of English versification.

In DONNE's satires, when carefully inspected, there appear some flashes of wit and ingenuity; but these are totally suffocated and buried by the hardest and most uncouth expression that is any where to be met with.

If the poetry of the English was so rude and imperfect during that age, we may reasonably expect that their prose would be liable to still greater objections. Though the latter appears the more easy, as it is the more natural method of composition; it has ever in practice been found the more rare and difficult; and there scarcely is an instance in any language, that it has reached a degree of perfection, before the refinement of poetical numbers and expression. English prose, during the reign of James, was written with little regard to the rules of grammar, and with a total disregard to the elegance and harmony of the period. Stuffed with Latin sentences and quotations, it likewise imitated those inversions which, however forcible and graceful in the ancient languages, are entirely contrary to the idiom of the English. We may indeed venture to affirm, that whatever uncouth phrases and expressions occur in old books, they were chiefly owing to the unformed taste of the author; and that the language spoken in the courts of Elizabeth and James was very little different from that which we meet with at present in good company. Of this opinion the little scraps of speeches which are found in the parliamentary journals, and which carry an air so opposite to the laboured orations, seem to be a sufficient proof; and there want not productions of that age which, being written by men who were not authors by profession, retain a very natural manner, and may give us some idea of the language which prevailed among men of the world. We shall particularly mention sir John Davis's Discovery, Throgmorton's, Essex's, and Nevil's letters. In a more early period, Cavendish's life of cardinal Wolsey, the pieces that remain of bishop Gardiner, and Anne Boleyn's letter to the king, differ little or nothing from the language of the present day.

The great glory of literature in this island during the reign of James, was lord Bacon. Most of his performances were composed in Latin; though he possessed neither the elegance of that, nor of his native tongue. If we consider the variety of talents displayed by this man; as a public speaker, a man of business, a wit, a courtier, a companion, an author, a philosopher; he is justly the object of great admiration. If we consider him merely as an author and philosopher, the light in which we view him at present, though very estimable, he was yet inferior to his contemporary Galilæo, perhaps even to Kepler. Bacon pointed out at a distance the road to true philosophy: Galilæo both pointed it out to others, and made himself considerable advances in it. The Englishman was ignorant of geometry: the Florentine revived that science, excelled in it, and was the first that applied it, together with experiment, to natural philosophy. The former rejected, with the most positive disdain, the system of Copernicus: the latter fortified it with new proofs, derived both from reason and the senses. Bacon's style is stiff and rigid: his wit, though often brilliant, is also often unnatural and far-fetched; and he seems to be the original of those pointed similies and long-spun allegories which so much distinguish the English authors: Galilæo is a lively and agreeable, though somewhat a prolix writer. But Italy, not united in any single government, and perhaps satiated with that literary glory which it has possessed both in ancient and modern times, has too much neglected the renown which it has acquired by giving birth to so great a man. That national spirit which prevails among the English, and which forms their great happiness, is the cause why they bestow on all their eminent writers, and on Bacon among the rest, such praises and acclamations as may often appear partial and excessive. He died in 1626, in the sixty-sixth year of his age.

If the reader of Raleigh's history can have the patience to wade through the Jewish and Rabbinical learning which compose the half of the volume, he will find, when he comes to the Greek and Roman story, that his pains are not unrewarded. Raleigh is the best model of that ancient style which some writers would affect to revive at present. He was beheaded in 1618, aged sixty-six years.

CAMDEN's history of queen Elizabeth may be esteemed good composition, both for style and matter. It is written with simplicity of expression, very rare in that age, and with a regard to truth. It would not perhaps be too much to affirm, that it is among the best historical productions which have yet been composed by any Englishman. It is well known that the English have not much excelled in that kind of literature. He died in 1623, aged seventy-three years.

We shall mention the king himself at the end of these English writers; because that is *his* place, when considered as an author. It may safely be affirmed, that the mediocrity of James's talents in literature, joined to the great change in national taste, is one cause of that contempt under which his memory labours. It is remarkable how different from ours were the sentiments of the ancients with regard to learning. Of the first twenty Roman emperors, counting from Cæsar to Severus, above the half were authors; and though few of them seem to have been eminent in that profession, it is always remarked to their praise, that by their example they encouraged literature. Not to mention Germanicus, and his daughter Agrippina, persons so nearly allied to the throne, the greater part of the classic writers, whose works remain, were men of the highest quality. As every human advantage is attended with inconveniences, the change of men's ideas in this particular may probably be ascribed to the invention of printing; which has rendered books so common, that even men of slender fortunes can have access to them.

That James was but a middling writer may be allowed: that he was a contemptible one, can by no means be admitted. Whoever will read his Basilicon Doron, particularly the two last books, the true law of free monarchies, his answer to cardinal Perron, and almost all his speeches and messages to parliament, will confess him to have possessed some share of genius. If he wrote concerning witches and apparitions; who in that age did not admit the reality of these fictitious beings?

Such a superiority do the pursuits of literature possess above every other occupation, that even he who attains but a mediocrity in them, merits the pre-eminence above those that excel the most in the common and vulgar professions. The speaker of the house of commons is usually an eminent lawyer; yet the harangue of his majesty will always be found much superior to that of the speaker, in every parliament during this reign.

Every science, as well as polite literature, must be considered as being yet in its infancy. Scholastic learning and polemical divinity retarded the growth of all true knowledge. Sir Henry Saville, in the preamble of that deed by which he annexed a salary to the mathematical and astronomical professors in Oxford, says, that geometry was almost totally abandoned and unknown in England (*c*). The best learning of that age was the study of the ancients. Casaubon, eminent for this species of knowledge, was invited over from France by James, and encouraged by a pension of three hundred pounds a-year, as well as by church preferments (*d*). The famous Antotonio di Dominis, archbishop of Spalatro, no despicable philosopher, came likewise into England, and afforded great triumph to the nation, by their gaining so considerable a proselyte from the Papists. But the mortification followed soon after: the archbishop, though advanced to some ecclesiastical preferments (*e*), received not encouragement sufficient to satisfy his ambition: he therefore returned to Italy, where he afterwards died in confinement.

(*c*) Rymer, tom. xvii. p. 217. (*d*) Ibid. p. 709. (*e*) Ibid. p. 95.

CHAP. III.

CHARLES I.

NO sooner had death closed the eyes of James the First, than his son Charles, invested with the reins of government, began his career with an impetuosity that left unregarded the forms of filial piety, or that decent shew of sorrow commonly practised on the joyful occasion of succession. He ascended the throne on the 27th of March, 1625; and he shewed an extreme impatience to assemble the great council of the nation; indeed he would gladly, for the sake of dispatch, have called together the same parliament which had sitten under his father, and which lay at that time under prorogation. But being told that this measure would appear unusual, he issued writs for summoning a new parliament on the 7th of May; and it was not without regret that the arrival of the princess Henrietta, whom he had espoused by proxy (*f*), obliged him to delay, by repeated prorogations, their meeting till the 18th of June, when they assembled at Westminster for the dispatch of business. This young prince, unexperienced and impolitic, regarded as sincere all the praises and caresses with which he had been loaded, while active in procuring the rupture with the house of Austria. Beside labouring under great necessities, he hastened with alacrity to a period when he might receive the most undoubted testimony of the attachment of his subjects.

In his speech on this occasion Charles told the commons, "that he was brought up at the feet of Gamaliel; and therefore there was no doubt but he would be a keeper and maintainer of the true religion." He represented to the parliament the necessity he thought he lay under to grant a large supply for carrying on the war in Germany. This was further urged by the lord-keeper Williams, who pointed out that the king's principal reason for calling the parliament was to remind them of the great engagements for the recovery of the Palatinate which had been imposed on his majesty by the late king his father, and by themselves, who broke off the treaties with Spain; to let them understand that the succeeding treaties and alliances, the armies sent into the Low Countries, the repairing of forts, and the fortifying of Ireland, did all meet in one centre, the Palatinate; and that the subsidies granted in the last parliament for these purposes were already spent, with as much more of the king's own revenue. Though the commons dwelt upon the grievances, which were yet unredressed, and demanded an account of the last money granted by parliament for the recovery of the Palatinate, yet the danger of keeping long together, (by reason of the plague which then raged, and which carried off more inhabitants than that which happened in the year 1603, at the accession of James,) and an unwillingness to give a total denial to the request of their young king, determined them to grant two subsidies, which amounted to one hundred and twelve thousand pounds. They then petitioned a recess from parliament, on account of the sickliness of the season: therefore they were adjourned, to meet on the first of August at Oxford.

It is evident from the smallness of their supply at a period so peculiarly interesting, that the commons had already entertained a strong jealousy of the present government, or that they perceived the same errors in Charles, that had given rise to the numerous grievances of the last reign; and they apprehended that the bad qualities of the son might be more active than the like vices were in the disposition of the father. No change had appeared in the administration since the death of James: Charles had the same favourite, the same council, the same ministers, and all the offices of the kingdom continued in the hands of Buckingham's creatures, whose favour with the late monarch had been little in comparison to what he enjoyed with the present. Charles, at his accession to the crown, found his coffers empty, a large debt upon his revenue, with the additional burthen of an expensive war. Notwithstanding these circumstances, he entertained the idea of subduing that spirit of liberty which had already formed a strong party in the nation, and of settling on firm foundations a more unlimited authority than had been practised by any of his predecessors.—Money was necessary for such an undertaking: this he imagined could be easily obtained from the commons, by the pretence of so popular a cause as the Palatine-war. But he had to deal with an assembly composed of individuals, aptly chosen for the important charge of defending the rights of humanity. It was with astonishment and indignation that they heard their king call upon them for the performance of engagements, the conditions of which had been notoriously violated by himself and father. It was well understood, that the commons of England had no national antipathy to Spain; tyranny, and its supporter popery, were the objects they engaged themselves to oppose; for this reason they had joined with the favourite in breaking the connections with that court. They now found that the zeal of Charles and Buckingham sprung from a particular pique towards Spain; that they had contracted an alliance with a court equally noxious, and from which more was to be apprehended on account of its vicinity; that the public appearance of priests in their vestments, and the dispensation of penal laws against recusants, realized the evils which they only apprehended from the Spanish match (*g*). Nor was it without a disdainful resentment that the commons found their understandings insulted by an unexperienced king, and a contemptible minister. The mean collusion practised by the crown in the last parliament, to obtain an extraordinary supply, and the bad management of its first military attempt, convinced the house that the ministry were not to be entrusted with so important a business as war; and the speech of the lord-keeper, which represented that not only the subsidies were already spent, but the revenue in debt, contributed to confirm them in this opinion.

But at the very time when Charles was pleading necessity to the commons, he was launching out into profuse expences: his ambassadors, Carlisle and Holland, were maintained at a great charge, to vie with the magnificence of the French; and the parade with which the queen was conducted home by Buckingham, suited rather the circumstances of an Eastern monarch, than those of a limited king.

The moderation the commons shewed this session, in circumstances thus provoking and interesting, is a remarkable instance of that policy, temper, and sagacity, with which the councils of this assembly were directed. But before their re-meeting at Oxford an incident had happened which would have rendered this moderation a base desertion of the particular interest of their country, and the more general cause of liberty and religion. The French ministry had cajoled James into a promise to furnish Louis with one ship of war and seven armed merchant-ships, to be employed against the Genoese. Buckingham, who was at this time warmly attached to the court of France, prevailed on Charles to lend these ships to be used at the siege of Rochelle, where they were to be filled with French soldiers and mariners, to be commanded by the duke de Montmorency (*h*). No sooner was this intention known than the whole crew were inflamed (*i*). Vice-admiral Pennington, who had received particular orders from the favourite, would not apprehend them as mutineers; notwithstanding repeated menaces and promises from the French, he refused to deliver up the ships, and sailed back to the Downs. The Rochellers were alarmed, and sent over agents to solicit their detention; but Charles, taking the whole affair upon himself, sent express orders to Pennington to deliver up his own ship, and all the merchant-ships, with their furniture, to the French king's ministers. Authority alone was not sufficient to engage the commanders in an action so repugnant to conscience and honour; Buckingham had recourse to art and deceit: a rumour was spread that peace had been concluded between the French king and his Protestant subjects. On the discovery of the fraud, the captains of the merchant-ships maintained that the king had no right to dispose of their property, and prepared to sail away; but Pennington, who could no longer plead a misunder-

(*f*) This espousal was made before James's obsequies were performed. The duke of Chevreuse was proxy for Charles. He was of the house of Guise, and of kin to Charles.

(*g*) A chapel at Somerset-house had been built for queen Henrietta and her family, with conveniences thereunto adjoining for capuchin-friers, who were therein placed, and had permission to walk abroad in their religious habits. *Rushworth*, vol. i. p. 171.

(*h*) Rushworth, vol. i. p. 174, *& seq.* Whitelock, fol. ed. 1682, p. 2.

(*i*) That race of men, who are at present both careless and ignorant in matters of religion, were at that time only ignorant. They drew up a remonstrance to Pennington their commander; and signing all their names in a circle, lest he should discover the ringleaders, they laid it under his prayer-book. Pennington declared he would rather be hanged in England for disobedience of orders, than fight against his brother Protestants in France.

standing

standing of his orders, fired to bring them to (*k*). The brave sir Ferdinando Gorges broke through, and returned to England. The remaining ships were delivered to the French; all the officers and sailors, notwithstanding great offers were made them, immediately deserted; not an individual amongst a crew of that licentious class of men, one gunner excepted, was found dissolute enough to serve against their distressed brethren the French Hugonots. He was afterwards killed in charging a cannon before Rochelle: this just and opportune incident, though a frivolous one, gave satisfaction to the whole nation. This transaction entirely dissipated that fond popularity which every monarch obtains from the common people in the beginning of his government.

On the first of August, according to the appointed time of their adjournment, the parliament met at Oxford. The commons renewed their complaints against the illegal screening of recusants. Sir Edward Giles produced a list of six priests, for whom, he said, he had seen a pardon, bearing date July the twelfth, the very day after his majesty had, as well by his own mouth as by the lord-keeper's, vouchsafed to return them such an answer to a petition for the suppressing of popery, as gave them assurance for his performance thereof. This complaint, in a conference (*l*) between the two houses, was answered by Williams; who affirmed, that he had received the pardon long before its date, but that he had deferred sealing it, in hopes that on the departure of the ambassadors, it might have been stopped; but that he having received a second command, sealed it at the next general seal. Williams likewise added, "That he wished a petition might be presented to the king to stay the like pardons hereafter." Charles, seeing that the commons were engaged on the inexhaustible topic of grievances, without shewing any inclination to enter into the only business for which they had been summoned, sent for them to the great hall at Christ Church, where he again insisted on their engagements to give their utmost assistance towards the carrying on the war with vigour. Lord Conway and sir John Cook, the two secretaries, enlarged upon this subject; withal acquainting the houses of the past and present state of continental affairs, with the money the crown had already expended on the war; that the charges of an army had appeared in parliament to be seven hundred thousand pounds a-year; besides Ireland was to be fortified; the forts here repaired, and the navy reinstated. Then the lord-treasurer (*m*) added, that the late king, when he died, was indebted to the city of London one hundred and twenty thousand pounds besides interest; for Denmark and the Palatinate one hundred and fifty thousand pounds, for his wardrobe forty thousand pounds; that these debts lay upon his present majesty, who is indebted unto London seventy thousand pounds, that he hath laid out for his navy, and for count Mansfeldt forty thousand pounds, for mourning and funeral expences forty-two thousand pounds, for expences concerning the queen forty thousand pounds, and the navy would require to set it forth in the equipage that was requisite for the great design his majesty had in hand three hundred thousand pounds (*n*). When the house proceeded to take into consideration the king's speech, and the subsequent accounts, the officers of the crown alone moved for a supply; the rest of the assembly fell into high debates. Sir S. Weston moved to enquire into the cause of the supply desired, and the enemy against whom the preparations were destined; that the estates of the Papists who contributed to the enemy might be specially respected to supply the king. Sir Francis Seymour moved for a select committee to draw a petition to the king, comprehending the heads of those things which the house should think proper to inform him in. Sir Edward Coke urged, that the necessities of the crown came by improvidence; that there was a leak in the government, of which leak such as these were the causes: frauds in the customs, treaty about the Spanish match, new-invented offices with large fees, old unprofitable offices which the king might justly take away with the love of his people and his own honour, the presidentship of York and Wales, multiplicity of offices in one man, new tables kept in the king's household, made the leakage the greater, voluntary annuities and pensions, which ought to be stopped till the king was out of debt, and able to pay; lastly, that all unnecessary charges, costly diet, apparel, building, &c. increased the leakage; that understanding officers should be employed in the king's house to reduce it to its ancient form; that the great offices for the defence of the kingdom should be put into the hands of able men, that have experience, such as admiralty-places, and others.

Sir Nathaniel Rich said, "That they ought not to refuse to give; but before they gave to represent their wants to the king: first, for religion, to have his majesty's answer in full parliament, and then enrolled: next, to know the enemy against whom war was to be made; the necessity of an advised council for governing the great affairs of the kingdom; the necessity of looking into the king's revenue; to have his majesty's answer concerning impositions on wines: and though the time was not now fit for the decision of all these points, yet a select committee to be appointed to set down the heads of them, and then to have the king's answer to them in parliament. The doing of this, added he, is no capitulation with his majesty, but an ordinary parliamentary course, as in 22 Edward III. and without it the commonwealth can neither supply the king, nor subsist."

In this debate sir Robert Cotton made a long speech, in which he quoted the examples of past times to shew that want of œconomy in the crown had ever met with a severe censure from the parliament, and that those ministers who had helped to waste the public treasure had never escaped with impunity: "I am glad, concluded he, that we have neither just cause, nor undutiful dispositions, to appoint the king a council to redress those errors in parliament, as in the 42 Edward III. &c. &c. We only in loyal duty offer up our humble desires, that since his majesty hath, with advised judgement, elected wise, religious, and worthy servants, to attend him in his high employment, he will be pleased to advise with them together a way of remedy for those disasters in state brought on by long security and happy peace, and not to be led by young and single counsel."

Sir George More pressed for a committee; alleged that they were all bound in duty not to graft subsidy upon subsidy in one parliament. Sir George Goring moved that the duke of Buckingham might be of the committee to give satisfaction on any aspersions that might be cast upon him. Others argued against granting any supply before grievances were redressed; that the ordinary revenue ought to defray the ordinary expence of the crown; that the king ought to contribute to help the Palatinate's cause with his own estate; that the time of year was too far spent for the fleet to go out to service; that enquiry ought to be made whether the duke broke not the match with Spain out of spleen and malice to the condé Olivares, whether he made not the match with France upon harder terms, and whether the ships employed against Rochelle were not maintained with the subsidies given for the Palatinate (*o*)? that an enquiry be made to know by what counsels the present designs are begun, where the fleet is to go? and sir Robert Mansel (*p*) to give his opinion of the intended expedition. Many reflections past upon the miscarriages of the duke in his several offices (*q*). The resolutions of the house were, that religion should have the first place in their debates, next the kingdom's safety, and then supplies. In consequence of this resolution a long petition was sent up, setting forth the dangerous state of religion, and the remedies for the increasing evil. Charles gave a gracious answer to every clause of the petition, with large promises that all the grievances complained of should be redressed; and Buckingham, who imagined that the heat of opposition would be allayed by this condescension, made a long and florid speech, in which he represented the present state of the war, and answered the several objections which had been flung out by the commons. The lord-treasurer (*r*) then produced a paper in which he had set down the conditions of the king's estate;

(*k*) In a letter from secretary Conway he was commanded to use all forcible means to compel them, even to sinking.

(*l*) On this conference the commons ordered, "That, as the speaker and the whole house went up, if the lords kept bare, to do the same; if they covered, then the speaker and the rest to do the same." *Parliam. Hist.* vol. vi. p. 373.

(*m*) This was lord Ley, some time before lord chief justice of the King's Bench.

(*n*) Journals of Commons, vol. i. p. 810, *& seq.*

(*o*) Some of these severe hints are only to be found in Rushworth; but there is no doubt of their having been made use of in parliament, as they are all noticed in the duke of Buckingham's long speech.

(*p*) Sir Robert Mansel was a sea-commander of reputation, and had been employed with success in the naval expeditions in James's time.

(*q*) It was complained that pirates infested the seas, and that the protection of commerce was neglected.

(*r*) To the objection that the eight ships lent to the French king were paid with the subsidy-money, and employed against the Rochellers, he answered

estate; 1. his debts, 2. the estate the king now stands in, 3. how it will be for the future.

"His debts to the city of London, and some gentlemen, borrowed upon privy seals and lords bonds, were one hundred and twenty thousand pounds, to the wardrobe forty thousand pounds, to the king of Denmark seventy-five thousand pounds and the interest; arrears for pensions a large sum; to his household a large sum. The anticipations made by the late king before they were due came to fifty thousand pounds. His engagements were for the pay of six thousand foot in the Low Countries; of ten thousand foot under count Mansfeldt; and for the rigging, victualling, and providing the navy, not the like in the memory of this time. Concerning the estate of the king, as it now stands, his father's debts, anticipations, and engagements laid ill upon him; his own debts, as prince, came to seventy thousand pounds at the least. The king's estate, for the future, as in charges of continuance, consisted of ten articles: 1. of debts unpaid, and interest; 2. old anticipations, of fifty thousand pounds; 3. anticipations of new, two hundred thousand pounds taken up by himself; 4. to the king of Denmark thirty thousand pounds; 5. to count Mansfeldt twenty thousand pounds; 6. to the Dutch eight thousand pounds; 7. to Ireland two thousand six hundred pounds; 8. the queen's allowance and diet thirty-seven thousand pounds; 9. to the king and queen of Bohemia twenty thousand pounds *per annum*; 10. preparations for the defence of the realm, and seconding the navy."

After reading this account the lord-treasurer asserted, that certain sums were omitted because they were not yet calculated; that no total was cast up, because he had no auditor: he promised that himself or his subordinate officers should be ready to give satisfaction to all or any of the particulars. This minute detail demonstrated to the commons the folly of a Spanish war at this juncture; and, by exposing the extreme necessities of the crown, pointed out the favourable opportunity of limiting the exorbitant power it had assumed, by constitutional methods. They had shewn great satisfaction at the king's answer to their petition on religious grievances; yet, in the essential matter of supply, they were so little swayed by empty promises, that though Charles condescended to ask two-fifteenths, the value of forty thousand pounds, the commons peremptorily refused to set so bad a precedent as to give twice in one session of parliament. Sir Robert Philips said, that the arguments for giving were honour, necessity, and safety, not honourable actions grounded upon sound counsels; that necessity had been the continual argument for supply in all parliaments. Sir Francis Seymour said, it was strange that the commons should be called together only for a supply of forty thousand pounds; it shewed the king's necessities; that one hundred and forty thousand pounds had been raised by places of honour sold, places of justice were sold, and serjeant places sold. Sir Thomas Wentworth said, he feared the passing of this precedent for so small a sum was to take advantage of it for a greater hereafter. Mr. Rolle argued, that if the necessity of money was so great, now was the time to press for a redress of grievances. Sir Edward Coke quoted precedents of punishment inflicted on evil counsellors; said, it was *malum consilium* to press more subsidies, when two had been already given; and added, that he would rather give one thousand out of his own estate, than to grant any subsidy now.

On the day after this debate, the house went upon a complaint against Sir Francis Stewart, an admiral, for suffering a pirate to take an English ship before his face; that to some merchants, who had desired him to go out and chace the pirate, he answered, his commission was not to go on the French coast, where he conceived the pirate lay; that in conclusion, though he was offered great sums of money, or half the goods in the ship, he still refused to go. On this report sir Francis Seymour said, that the lord-admiral Buckingham had the care of these things, therefore the default must needs be in him and his agents, and moved for a committee to consider of the causes thereof, and where the default lay. Mr. Lister mentioned the wrongs done to the English trade by Dunkirkers; and therefore moved, that the committee to be appointed, might in a general way consider of this, and the safety of all the sea ports. This being agreed to, a committee of the whole house was appointed to take these matters into consideration, and they to have power to name a sub-committee.

The nation was but little accustomed at that time to the burden of taxes, and had never opened their purses in any degree for supporting their sovereign. Even Elizabeth, notwithstanding her vigour and frugality, and the necessary wars in which she was engaged, had reason to complain of the commons in this particular; nor could the authority of that princess, which was otherwise almost absolute, ever extort from them the requisite supplies. The sinking likewise of the value of subsidies was a loss to the king; but the parliament would not augment their number in the same proportion.

The puritanical party, though disguised, had a great authority over the kingdom; and many of the leaders among the commons had secretly embraced the tenets of that sect. All these were disgusted with the court, both by the prevalence of the principles of civil liberty essential to their party; and on account of the restraint under which they were held by the established hierarchy. In order to fortify himself against the resentment of James, Buckingham had affected popularity, and entered into the cabals of the Puritans; but being secure of the confidence of Charles, he had since abandoned this party; and was therefore the more exposed to their hatred and resentment. Though the religious schemes of many of the Puritans appeared of little moment, we are not thence to imagine that they were pursued by none but persons of weak understandings. Some men of the greatest parts and most extensive knowledge that the nation at this time produced, could not enjoy any peace of mind, because obliged to hear prayers offered up to the Divinity by a priest covered with a white linen vestment.

To these and other causes we must yet add another of considerable moment. The house of commons, we may observe, was almost entirely governed by a set of men of the most uncommon capacity and the largest views: men who were now formed into a regular party, and united, as well by fixed aims and projects, as by the hardships which some of them had undergone in prosecution of them. Among these, we may mention the names of sir Edward Coke, sir Edwin Sandys, sir Robert Philips, sir Francis Seymour, sir Dudley Digges, sir John Elliot, sir Thomas Wentworth, Mr. Selden, and Mr. Pym. Animated with a warm regard to liberty, these generous patriots saw with regret an unbounded power exercised by the crown, and were resolved to seize the opportunity which the king's necessities offered them, of reducing the prerogative within more reasonable compass. Though their ancestors had blindly given way to practices and precedents favourable to kingly power, and had been able, notwithstanding, to preserve some small remains of liberty; it would be impossible, they thought, when all these pretensions were methodized and prosecuted by the increasing knowledge of the age, to maintain any shadow of popular government, in opposition to such unlimited authority in the sovereign. It was necessary to fix a choice: either to abandon entirely the privileges of the people, or to secure them by firmer and more precise barriers than the constitution had hitherto provided for them. In this dilemma, men of such aspiring geniuses and such independent fortunes could not long deliberate: they boldly embraced the side of freedom, and resolved to grant no supplies to their necessitous prince without extorting concessions in favour of civil liberty. The end, they esteemed beneficent and noble: the means, regular and constitutional. To grant or refuse supplies was the undoubted privilege of the commons. And as all human governments, particularly those of a mixed frame, are in continual fluctuation, it was as natural in their opinion, and allowable, for popular assemblies to take advantage of favourable incidents, in order to secure the subject; as for monarchs, in order to extend their own authority. With pleasure they beheld the king involved in a foreign war, which rendered him every day more dependent on the parliament; while at the same time the situation of the kingdom, even without any military preparations, gave it sufficient security against all invasion from foreigners.

However natural all these sentiments might appear to the country-party, it is not to be supposed that Charles

answered, "That those eight ships were maintained at the charge of the French king;" and added, "It is not always fit for kings to give account of their councils;—judge the thing by the event." This answer, which owns that both courts were in the secret that the ships were to serve against Rochelle, greatly inflamed the resentment the commons had conceived against the ministry.

would entertain the same ideas. Strongly prejudiced in favour of the duke, whom he had heard so highly extolled in parliament, he could not conjecture the cause of so sudden an alteration in their opinions. And when the war which they themselves had so earnestly solicited, was at last commenced, the immediate desertion of their sovereign could not but seem very unaccountable. Even though no farther motive had been suspected, the refusal of supply in such circumstances would naturally to him appear cruel and deceitful: but when he perceived that this measure proceeded from an intention of incroaching on his authority, he failed not to regard these claims as highly criminal and traitorous. Those lofty ideas of monarchical power which were very commonly adopted during that age, and to which the ambiguous nature of the English constitution gave so plausible an appearance, were firmly riveted in Charles: and, however moderate his temper, the natural and unavoidable prepossessions of self-love, joined to the late uniform precedents in favour of prerogative, had made him regard his political tenets as certain and uncontroverted. Taught to consider even the ancient laws and constitution more as lines to direct his conduct, than barriers to withstand his power; a conspiracy to erect new ramparts in order to straiten his authority appeared but one degree removed from open sedition and rebellion.

The extreme rage against popery was a sure characteristic of puritanism. The house of commons discovered other infallible symptoms of the prevalence of that party. They petitioned the king for replacing such able clergy as had been silenced for want of conformity to the ceremonies. They also erected laws for the strict observance of Sunday.

Charles, understanding at length by the arguments and resolutions adopted by the house, that is, was determined not to grant him any fresh supply without an effectual reformation in the government, he with a rash impetuosity dissolved the parliament, adding thereby to the distaste of the people, who were before strongly disgusted with his unpopular management. The commons, who had been made acquainted with the intentions of the court, formed themselves into a grand committee, and before they would suffer the king's messenger to be introduced, drew up a protestation of their honest alacrity to do their utmost endeavour to discover and reform the abuses of the state, and in like sort to afford all necessary supply to the just occasions and designs of the crown.

A prosecution against one Montague, a court chaplain, had been pursued by the commons this parliament with some eagerness. The business appeared of a trifling nature, but it carried with it some important consequences that sufficiently justify the warmth with which it was pursued. Montague had published a book tending to Arminianism; for which he had been rewarded by court-preferment, notwithstanding the parliament, in the latter end of James's reign, had questioned his conduct, and afterwards referred it to the archbishop of Canterbury, from whom he had received an admonition. Montague, who now found himself powerfully protected, published another book, filled with the same doctrines, and entitled, "An Appeal to Cæsar." For this contempt of the former censure of the house he was re-questioned, and ordered to give bail of two thousand pounds for his appearance at the next session. Charles interfered, and pleaded an exemption for Montague, as being his chaplain in ordinary, and therefore asserted that the house had no right to molest him. This gave vigour to the fire already kindled, which would have terminated in an impeachment, if the business had not been diverted by the prosecution of a more glaring and more pernicious offender.

Though the Arminian tenets had in them no natural relation to high-church or monarchical principles (*s*), yet being repugnant to neither, the same political end, viz. screening themselves under the protection of party, which had forced them to an union with the republicans of Holland, connected them closely to the abettors of arbitrary power in England; and they became the warmest partizans for tyrannical principles in church and state. As such, they were always treated with animosity by the adverse faction, and the pretensions of Charles to exempt the individuals in his service from the national jurisdiction, turned the particular case of Montague to a dispute of importance. The bishops had also interfered in this cause, representing it as an affair that the king alone, by his delegates, had a right to judge of, and that matters of differences in the church ought only to be determined by the king and the bishops (*t*). The only circumstance that carries the appearance of an unjustifiable exertion in the commons in these prosecutions, is the tyrannical restraint they seemed desirous to lay on literature. But it must be considered that the freedom of the press, necessary to the existence of liberty, was a privilege unknown in this age; and whilst the crown possessed the power of suppressing the publication of every argument that clashed with its pretensions, the commons endeavoured to attain the same means of circumscribing the venomous doctrine broached by its creatures and dependants.

Before the dissolution of the parliament, the plague had already infected the city of Oxford, and there was great murmuring that the court should bring them together in so sickly a season, when its avowed design was only to extort money from the subject. The commons had expressed great sense of their danger at the session at Westminster, and it was remarked in the house, that the bell was tolling every minute that they were speaking. Strong as were these apprehensions, the patriot members kept their ground, and with exemplary resolution gave so constant an attendance that their antagonists could never obtain the advantages of an undefended cause, or a scattered party.

To supply the want of parliamentary aids, Charles issued privy-seals, on the 12th of August, for borrowing money from his subjects. The advantage reaped by this expedient was a small compensation for the disgust which it occasioned: by means, however, of that supply, and by other expedients, he was enabled to equip his fleet about the beginning of October. It consisted of eighty vessels great and small; and carried on board an army of ten thousand men. Sir Edward Cecil, lately created viscount Wimbleton, was intrusted with the command. He sailed immediately for Cadiz, and found the bay full of Spanish ships of great value. He either neglected to attack these ships, or attempted it preposterously. The army was landed and a fort taken: but the undisciplined soldiers, finding store of wine, could not be restrained from the utmost excesses. Farther stay appearing fruitless, they were reimbarked; and the fleet put to sea with an intention of intercepting the Spanish galleons. But the plague having seized the seamen and soldiers (*u*), they were obliged to abandon all hopes of this prize, and they returned to England in November. Loud complaints were made against the court for intrusting so important a command to a man like Cecil, whom, though he possessed great experience, the people, judging by the event, esteemed of slender capacity.

Charles, having failed of so rich a prize, was obliged again to have recourse to a parliament, which he summoned to meet in the beginning of 1626. Though the ill success of his enterprizes diminished his authority, and showed every day more plainly the imprudence of the Spanish war; though the increase of his necessities rendered him more dependent, and more exposed to the encroachments of the commons; he was resolved to try once more that regular and constitutional expedient for supply. Perhaps too, a little political art, which at that time he practised, was much trusted to. He had named four popular leaders, sheriffs of counties; sir Edward Coke, sir Robert Philips, sir Thomas Wentworth, and sir Francis Seymour; and, though the question had been formerly much contested (*v*), he thought that he had by that means incapacitated them from being elected members. But his

(*s*) These propositions contain the substance of the Arminian doctrine:
I. God does not in an arbitrary manner predestinate any person to be saved or damned.
II. Christ died for all men, that is, all the partakers of the benefit of Christ's passion, who sincerely performed the gospel terms of faith and repentance.
III. How necessary soever grace may be towards our doing good actions, yet it is not irresistible; that is, we are still free agents, consequently the faithful may finally fall away, or depart from a state of grace.

(*t*) George Mountaigne, bishop of London; Richard Neile, bishop of Durham; Launcelot Andrews, bishop of Winchester; John Buckeridge, bishop of Rochester; and William Laud, bishop of St. David's; in a letter to the duke of Buckingham, recommended Montague's book; and said, that his majesty would do most graciously to prohibit all parties from speaking or writing against it. *MSS. in Br. Museum*, n. 7000.

(*u*) The contagion had been spread by the imprudence of the commander, who obliged every ship, not infected, to take a certain number of sick for sound men.

(*v*) It is always an express clause in the writ of summons, that no sheriff shall be chosen; but the contrary practice had often prevailed. D'Ewes, p. 38. Yet still great doubts were entertained on this head. See Journ. 9 April, 1614.

intention

intention being so evident, rather put the commons more upon their guard. Enough of patriots still remained to keep up the ill humour of the house; and men needed but little rhetoric to recommend to them practices which increased their own importance and consideration. The weakness of the court also could not more evidently appear than by its being reduced to use so ineffectual an expedient, in order to obtain an influence over the commons.

The views of the last parliament were immediately adopted; as if the same men had been every where elected, and no time had intervened since their meeting. When on the 6th of February the king laid before the house his necessities, and requested a supply, they immediately voted him three subsidies and three fifteenths; and though they afterwards added one subsidy more, the sum was little proportioned to the urgency of the occasion, and ill fitted to promote those views of success and glory for which the young prince in his first enterprize so ardently wished. But this circumstance was not the most disagreeable one. The supply was only voted by the commons. The passing of that vote into a law was reserved till the end of the session (*w*). A condition was thereby made, in a very undisguised manner, with their sovereign. Under colour of redressing grievances they were to proceed in regulating and controlling every part of government which displeased them: and if the king either curtailed them in this undertaking, or refused compliance with their demands, he must not expect any supply from the commons. Great dissatisfaction was expressed by Charles at this treatment; which he deemed harsh and undutiful (*x*). But his necessities obliged him to submit.

The duke of Buckingham, formerly hateful to the public, became every day more unpopular, by the symptoms which appeared both of his want of temper and prudence, and of the uncontrolled ascendency which he had acquired over his master (*y*). Two violent attacks he was obliged this session to sustain; one from the earl of Bristol, another from the house of commons.

So long as James lived, Bristol, secure of the concealed favour of that monarch, had expressed all duty and obedience; in expectation that an opportunity would offer of re-instating himself in his former credit and authority. Even after Charles's accession, he despaired not. He submitted to the king's commands of remaining at his country-seat, and of absenting himself from parliament. Many trials he made to regain the good opinion of his master; but finding them all fruitless, and observing Charles to be entirely governed by his favourite Buckingham, his implacable enemy, he resolved no longer to keep any measures with the court. A new spirit, he perceived, and a new power, was arising in the nation; and to these he was determined for the future to trust for his security and protection.

When the parliament was summoned, Charles, by a stretch of prerogative, had given orders that no writ, as is customary, should be sent to Bristol. That nobleman applied to the house of lords by petition; and craved their good offices with the king for obtaining what was his due as a peer of the realm. His writ was sent him, but accompanied with a letter from the lord-keeper, sir Thomas Coventry, commanding him in the king's name to absent himself from parliament. This letter Bristol conveyed to the lords, and asked advice how to proceed in so delicate a situation. The king's prohibition was withdrawn, and Bristol took his seat. Provoked at these repeated instances of vigour, which the court denominated contumacy, Charles ordered his attorney-general to enter an accusation of high treason against him. By way of recrimination, Bristol accused Buckingham of high treason. Both the earl's defence of himself and accusation of the duke remain; and, together with some original letters still extant, contain the fullest and most authentic account of all the negociations with the house of Austria. From the whole, the great imprudence of the duke evidently appears, and the sway of his ungovernable passions.

The house, after having voted upon some queries of Dr. Turner's, "that common fame was a sufficient ground of accusation by the commons," proceeded to frame regular articles against Buckingham. They accused him of having united many offices in his person; of having bought two of them; of neglecting to guard the seas, insomuch that many merchant-ships had fallen into the hands of the enemy; of delivering ships to the French king in order to serve against the Hugonots; of being employed in the sale of honours and offices; of accepting extensive grants from the crown; of procuring many titles of honour for his kindred; and of administering physic to the late king without acquainting his physicians. A material charge against him was, that he had extorted a sum of ten thousand pounds from the East-India company, and that he had confiscated some goods belonging to French merchants, on pretence of their being the property of Spanish. The impeachment never came to a full determination; so that it is difficult for us to give a decisive opinion with regard to these articles.

It is remarkable that the commons never adopted Bristol's accusation, or impeached the duke for his conduct in the Spanish treaty, the most blameable circumstance in his whole life. He had reason to believe the Spaniards sincere in their professions; yet, in order to gratify his private passions, he had hurried his master and his country into a war pernicious to the interests of both. But so riveted throughout the nation were the prejudices with regard to Spanish deceit and falsehood, that very few of the commons seem as yet to have been convinced that they had been seduced by Buckingham's narrative.

While the commons were warmly engaged against Buckingham, the king seemed desirous of embracing every opportunity by which he could express a contempt and disregard for them. No one was at that time sufficiently sensible of the great weight which the commons bore in the balance of the constitution. The history of England had never hitherto afforded one instance where any great movement or revolution had proceeded from the lower house; and as their rank, both considered in a body and as individuals, was but the second in the kingdom, nothing less than fatal experience could engage the English princes to pay a due regard to the inclinations of that formidable assembly.

About this time died the earl of Suffolk, chancellor of the university of Cambridge, and Buckingham, though lying under impeachment, was, by means of court-interest, chosen in his place. The commons resented and loudly complained of this affront; and the more to enrage them, the king himself wrote a letter to the university, extolling the duke, and giving them thanks for his election.

The lord keeper, in the king's name, expressly commanded the house not to meddle with his minister and servant, Buckingham; and ordered them to finish, in a few days, the bill which they had begun for the subsidies, and to make some addition to them; otherwise they must not expect to sit any longer. And though these harsh commands were endeavoured to be explained and mollified, a few days after, by a speech of Buckingham's, they failed not to leave a disagreeable impression behind them.

Besides a more stately style, which Charles in general affected to this parliament than to the last, he went so far in a message, as to threaten the commons, that if they did not furnish him with supplies, he should be obliged to try new counsels. This language was sufficiently clear; yet, lest any ambiguity should remain, sir Dudley Carleton, vice-chamberlain, took care to explain it. "I pray you consider," said he, "what these new counsels are or may be. I fear to declare those that I conceive. In all Christian kingdoms, you know that parliaments were in use anciently, by which those kingdoms were governed in a most flourishing manner; until the monarchs began to know their own strength, and seeing the turbulent spirit of their parliaments, at length they by little and little began to stand on their prerogatives, and at last overthrew the parliaments, throughout Christendom, except here only with us.——Let us be careful then to preserve the king's good opinion of parliaments, which bringeth such happiness to this nation, and makes us envied of all others, while there is this sweetness between his majesty and the commons; lest we lose the repute of a free people by our turbulency in parliament." These imprudent suggestions rather gave warning than struck terror. A precarious liberty, the commons thought, which was to be preserved by unlimited complaisance, was no liberty at all: and it was necessary, while yet in their power, to secure the constitution by

(*w*) Journ. 27 March, 1626.
(*x*) Parliamentary History, vol. vi. p. 449. Rushworth, vol. i. p. 224.
(*y*) His credit with the king had given him such influence, that he had no less than twenty proxies granted him this parliament by so many peers; which occasioned a vote, that no peers should have above two proxies. The earl of Leicester in 1585 had once ten proxies. D'Ewes, p. 314.

such invincible barriers, that no king or minister should ever, for the future, dare to speak such a language to any parliament, or even entertain such a project against them.

Two members of the house, sir Dudley Digges and sir John Elliott, who had been employed as managers of the impeachment against the duke of Buckingham, were thrown into prison. The commons immediately declared, that they would proceed no farther upon business, till they had satisfaction in their privileges. Charles alleged, as the reason for his adopting this measure, certain seditious expressions, which, he said, had, in their accusation of the duke, dropped from these members. Upon inquiry it appeared that no such expressions had been used. The members were released, and the king reaped no other benefit from this attempt than to exasperate the house still farther, and to show some degree of precipitancy and indiscretion.

Moved by this example, the house of peers were roused from their inactivity; and claimed liberty for the earl of Arundel, who had been lately confined in the Tower. After many fruitless evasions, the king, though somewhat ungracefully, was obliged to comply: and in this incident it sufficiently appeared, that the lords, how little so ever inclined to popular courses, were not wanting in a just sense of their own dignity.

The ill humour of the commons, thus wantonly irritated by the court, and finding no gratification in the legal impeachment of Buckingham, sought other objects on which it might exert itself. The never-failing cry of popery here served them instead. They again claimed the execution of the penal laws against Catholics; and they presented to the king a list of persons entrusted with offices, who were either convicted or suspected recusants (*z*). In this particular, they had, perhaps, some reason to blame the king's conduct. He had promised to the last house of commons a redress of this religious grievance; but he was apt, in imitation of his father, to imagine that the parliament, when they failed of supplying his necessities, had, on their part, freed him from the obligation of a strict performance. A new odium, was likewise attempted to be thrown upon Buckingham. His mother, who had great influence over him, was a professed Catholic; his wife was not free from suspicion; and the indulgence given to Catholics was of course supposed to proceed entirely from his credit and authority.

It is remarkable, that persecution was here chiefly pushed on by laymen; and that the church was willing to have granted more liberty than would be allowed by the commons. The reconciling doctrines likewise of Montague failed not anew to meet with severe censures from that zealous assembly (*a*).

The next attack made by the commons, had it prevailed, would have proved decisive. They were preparing a remonstrance against the levying of tonnage and poundage without consent of parliament. This article, together with the new impositions laid on merchandize by James, constituted nearly half of the crown revenues; and by depriving the king of these resources, they would have reduced him to total subjection and dependence. While they retained such a pledge, besides the supply already promised, they were sure that nothing could be refused them. Though after canvassing the matter nearly three months, they found themselves incapable of fixing any legal crime upon the duke, they regarded him as an unable and perhaps a dangerous minister; and they presented a petition for removing him from his majesty's person and councils.

The king was alarmed at the yoke which he saw prepared for him. Buckingham's sole guilt, he thought, was the being his friend and favourite. All the other complaints against him he looked upon as mere pretences.—He therefore determined immediately to dissolve the parliament. When this resolution was known, the house of peers, whose compliant behaviour intitled them to some authority with him, endeavoured to interpose; and they petitioned him, that he would allow the parliament to sit some time longer. "Not a moment longer," cried the king hastily; and he soon after ended the session by a dissolution.

As this measure was foreseen, the commons finished and dispersed their remonstrance, which they intended as a justification of their conduct to the people. The king, likewise, on his part, published a declaration, on the 15th of June, in which he gave the reasons of his disagreement with the parliament, and of their sudden dissolution, before they had time to conclude any one act. These papers furnished the partizans on both sides with ample matter of apology or of recrimination. But all impartial men judged "That the commons, though they had not as yet violated any law, yet, by their unpliableness and independence, were insensibly changing, perhaps improving, the spirit and genius, while they preserved the forms of the constitution: and that the king was acting altogether without any plan; running on in a road surrounded on all sides with the most dangerous precipices, and concerting no proper measures, either for submitting to the obstinacy of the commons, or for subduing it."

After a breach with the parliament, which seemed so difficult to repair, the only rational council which Charles could pursue, was, immediately to conclude a peace with Spain, and to render himself, as far as possible, independent of his people, who discovered so little inclination to support him, or rather who seem to have formed a determined resolution to abridge his authority. Nothing could be more easy in the execution than this measure, nor more agreeable to his own and to national interest. But, besides the treaties and engagements which he had entered into with Holland and Denmark, the king's thoughts were at this time averse to pacific counsels. There are some circumstances in Charles's character, seemingly incompatible, which attended him during the whole course of his reign, and were in part the cause of his misfortunes: he was extremely obstinate in his purposes; but the means of attaining them he readily received from his ministers and favourites, though not always fortunate in his choice. The violent, impetuous Buckingham, inflamed with a desire of revenge for injuries which himself had committed, and animated with a love of glory which he had not talents to merit, had at this time, notwithstanding his profuse licentious life, acquired an invincible ascendant over the king.

The *new counsels*, which Charles had mentioned to the parliament, were now to be tried, in order to supply his necessities. Had he possessed any military force, on which he could rely, it is not improbable, that he had at once taken off the mask, and governed without any regard to parliamentary privileges: so high an idea had he received of kingly prerogative, and so contemptible a notion of the rights of those popular assemblies, from which he thought he had met with such ill usage. But his army was new levied, ill paid, and worse disciplined; no-wise superior to the militia, who were much more numerous, and who were in a great measure under the influence of the country gentlemen. It behoved him, therefore, to proceed cautiously, and to cover his designs under the pretence of ancient precedents, which, considering the great authority commonly enjoyed by his predecessors, could not be wanting to him.

A commission was openly granted, to the archbishop of York and others, to compound with the Catholics, and agree for dispensing with the penal laws enacted against them. By this expedient, the king both filled his coffers, and gratified his inclination of giving indulgence to these religionists: but he could not have employed any branch of prerogative, which would have been more disagreeable, or would have appeared more exceptionable, to his Protestant subjects.

From the nobility he desired assistance; from the city he required a loan of one hundred thousand pounds. The former contributed slowly: but the latter, covering themselves under many pretences and excuses, gave him at last a determined refusal.

In order to equip a fleet, a distribution, by order of council (*b*), was made to all the maritime towns; and each of them was required, with the assistance of the adjacent counties, to arm so many vessels as were appointed them. The city of London was rated at twenty ships. This is the first appearance in Charles's reign, of ship-money; a taxation which had once been imposed by Elizabeth, but which afterwards, when carried some steps farther by Charles, created such violent discontents.

Of some loans were required: to others the way of benevolence was proposed: methods supported by precedent, but always invidious, even in times more submissive

(*z*) Franklyn, p. 195. Rushworth.

(*a*) Rushworth, vol. i. p. 209.

(*b*) The privy council was now composed of the servile dependents on Buckingham, who persuaded the king that he might continue to take duties upon goods and merchandize, in the same manner as had been levied in the late reigns.

and

and compliant. In the most absolute governments such expedients would be regarded as irregular and unequal (*c*).

These counsels for supply were conducted with some moderation; till news arrived that a great battle was fought on the 25th of August, between the king of Denmark and count Tilly, the Imperial general; in which the former was totally defeated, with the loss of six thousand men. Money now, more than ever, became necessary, in order to repair so great a breach in the alliance, and to support a prince who was so nearly allied to Charles, and who had been engaged in the war chiefly by the intrigues, solicitations, and promises of the English monarch. After some deliberation, an act of council was passed, importing, that as the urgency of affairs admitted not the way of parliament, the most speedy, equal, and convenient method of supply was by a GENERAL LOAN from the subject, according as every man was assessed in the rolls of the last subsidy. That precise sum was required which each would have paid, had the vote of four subsidies passed into a law; but care was taken to inform the people, that the sums exacted were not to be called subsidies, but loans. Had any doubt remained, whether forced loans, however authorized by precedent, and even by statute, were a violation of liberty, and must, by necessary consequence, render all parliaments superfluous; this was the proper expedient for opening the eyes of the whole nation. The example of Henry VIII. who had once, in his arbitrary reign, practised a like method of levying a regular supply, was generally deemed a very insufficient authority. The commissioners appointed to levy these loans, among other articles of secret instructions, were enjoined, "That they treat apart with every one of those that are to lend, and not in the presence or hearing of any other, unless they see cause to the contrary; and if any shall refuse to lend, and shall make delays and excuses, that they examine such persons upon oath whether they have been dealt withal to refuse to lend, or make an excuse for not lending? who hath dealt so with them? and what speeches he or they have used tending to that purpose? and that they shall also charge every such person, in his majesty's name, upon his allegiance, not to disclose to any other what his answer was. That they endeavour to discover whether any, publicly or underhand, be workers or persuaders of others to dissent from this course, or hinder the good disposition of others; and that, as much as they may, they hinder all discourse about it; and certify to the privy council in writing the names, qualities, and dwelling places of all such refractory persons, with all speed, and especially if they shall discover any combination or confederacy against these proceedings." So violent an inquisitorial power, so impracticable an attempt at secrecy, were the objects of indignation, and even, in some degree, of ridicule.

But that the people might learn to kiss the rod of power with devotion, and, becoming slaves by principle, reverence the yoke, priests were instructed to teach speculative despotism, and graft on religious affections systems of civil tyranny. The following passages are in two sermons that Manwaring, a court chaplain, preached before Charles: "That the king is not bound to observe the laws of the realm concerning the subjects' rights and liberties; but that his royal will and command in imposing loans and taxes, without common consent in parliament, doth oblige the subjects' conscience, upon pain of eternal damnation: that those who refused to pay the required loan offended against the law of God, and the king's supreme authority, and became guilty of impiety, disloyalty, and rebellion: that the authority of parliament is not necessary for the raising of aids and subsidies; and that the slow proceedings of such great assemblies are not fitted for the supply of the state's urgent necessities, but would rather produce sundry impediments to the just designs of princes." At the same time Sibthorpe, an officious time-serving ecclesiastic, published a sermon he had preached at Northampton, entitled, "Apostolic Obedience." It breathes a higher strain than those of Manwaring; viz. "That the prince, who is the head, makes his court and council; it is his duty to direct and make laws; he doth whatsoever pleases him, and who may say unto him, What dost thou? If princes command any thing which subjects may not perform, because it is against the laws of God, or of nature, or IMPOSSIBLE, yet subjects are bound to undergo the punishment, without either resistance, or railing, or reviling, and so to yield a passive obedience where they cannot exhibit an active one; and I know no other case, said the preacher, but one of those three wherein a subject may excuse himself with passive obedience; in all others he is bound to active obedience." These sermons were, by the court, industriously spread over the kingdom. Passive obedience was recommended in its full extent, the whole authority of the state was represented as belonging to the king alone, and all limitations of law and a constitution were rejected as seditious and impious. So openly was this doctrine espoused by the court, that archbishop Abbot, a popular and virtuous prelate, was, because he refused to licence Sibthorpe's sermon, suspended from the exercise of his office, banished from his jurisdiction, and confined to one of his country seats in Kent. Abbot's principles of liberty, and his opposition to Buckingham, had always rendered him very ungracious at court, and had acquired him the character of a Puritan. For this party made the privileges of the nation as much a part of their creed, as the church party did the prerogatives of the crown; and nothing tended farther to recommend among the people the whole system and all the principles of that sect. The king soon found, by fatal experience, that this engine of religion, which with so little necessity was introduced into politics, falling under more fortunate management, was played with the most terrible success against him.

While the king, instigated by anger and necessity, employed the whole extent of his prerogative, the spirit of the people was far from being subdued. Throughout England, many refused these loans; some were even active in encouraging their neighbours to insist upon their common rights and privileges. By warrant of the council these were thrown into prison. Most of them with patience submitted to confinement, or applied by petition to the king, who commonly released them. Five gentlemen alone, sir Thomas Darnel, sir John Corbet, sir Walter Earl, sir John Heveningham, and sir Edmond Hambden, had spirit enough, at their own hazard and expence, to defend the public liberties, and to demand releasement, not as a favour from the court, but as their due, by the laws of their country. No particular cause was assigned for their commitment. The special command alone of the king and council was pleaded; and it was asserted, that, by law, this was not sufficient reason for refusing bail or releasement to the prisoners. This question, whether a subject could be confined by the special command of the king, without assigning the cause, was brought to a solemn trial before the king's bench, in November; and the whole kingdom was attentive to the issue of a cause, which was of much greater consequence than the event of many battles. The council for the prisoners were Noy, Selden, Bramston, and Colthorp.

By the debates on this subject it appeared, beyond controversy, to the nation, that their ancestors had been so jealous of personal liberty, as to secure it against arbitrary power in the crown, by six (*d*) several statutes, and by an article (*e*) of the GREAT CHARTER itself, the most sacred foundation of the laws and constitution. But the kings of England, who had not been able to prevent the enacting of these laws, had sufficient authority, when the tide of liberty was spent, to obstruct their regular execution; and they deemed it superfluous to attempt the formal repeal of statutes which they found so many expedients and pretences to elude. In turbulent and seditious times, by the genius of the old constitution, the prince, of himself, was accustomed to assume every branch of prerogative, which he thought necessary for the preservation of public peace and his own authority. Expediency at other times would cover itself under the appearance of necessity; and, in proportion as precedents multiplied, the will alone of the sovereign was sufficient to supply the place of expediency, of which he constituted himself the sole judge. Though rebellious subjects had frequently, in the open field, resisted the king's authority; no person had been found so bold, while confined and at mercy, as to

(*c*) Among other expedients practised by the ministry to raise money, the crown lands were granted to be holden in fee-farm; a measure ruinous to the future interests of the sovereign. But this consideration had no weight with Charles; he had projected schemes to destroy the right of *meum* and *tuum* throughout the land, and to subject the whole property of the subjects to the disposal of the crown.

(*d*) 25 Edw. III. cap. 4. 28 Edw. III. cap. 3. 37 Edw. III. cap. 18. 38 Edw. III. cap. 9. 42 Edw. III. cap. 3. 1 Richard II. cap. 12.

(*e*) Which is, "No free man shall be seized, or imprisoned, or disseised, or outlawed, or any way destroyed, nor will we try him, or pass sentence upon him, except by the legal judgement of his peers, or by the law of the land."

set himself in opposition to regal power, and to claim the protection of the constitution against the will of the sovereign. It was not till this age, when the spirit of liberty was universally diffused, when the principles of government were nearly reduced to a system, when the tempers of men, more civilized, seemed less to require those violent exertions of prerogative, that the five gentlemen above mentioned, by a noble effort, ventured, in this national cause, to bring the question to a final determination. And the king was astonished to observe, that a power, exercised by his predecessors, almost without interruption, was found, upon trial, to be directly opposite to the clearest laws, and supported by few undoubted precedents in courts of judicature. These had scarcely, in any instance, refused bail upon commitments by special command of the king; because the persons committed had seldom or never dared to demand it, at least to insist on their demand.

Sir Randolf Carew, chief justice, had been displaced, as unfit for the purposes of the court: sir Nicholas Hyde, esteemed more obsequious, had obtained that high office, in the beginning of 1627: yet the judges, by the king's direction, went no farther than to remand the gentlemen to prison, and refuse the bail which was offered. Heathe, the attorney-general, insisted, that the court, in imitation of the judges in the 34th of Elizabeth, should enter a general judgement, that no bail could be granted, upon a commitment by the king or council. But the judges wisely declined complying. The nation, they saw, was already to the last degree exasperated. In the present disposition of men's minds, universal complaints prevailed, as if the kingdom were reduced to slavery. And the most invidious prerogative of the crown, it was said, that of imprisoning the subject, is here openly and solemnly, and in numerous instances, exercised for the most invidious purpose; in order to extort loans, or rather subsidies, without consent of parliament.

But this was not the only hardship of which the nation then thought they had reason to complain. The army, which had made the fruitless expedition to Cadiz, was dispersed throughout the kingdom; and money was levied upon the counties for the payment of their quarters. The soldiers were billeted upon private houses, contrary to custom, which required that, in all ordinary cases, they should be quartered in inns and public houses. Those who had refused or delayed the loan, were sure to be loaded with a great number of these dangerous and disorderly guests. Many too, of low condition, who had shown a refractory disposition, were pressed into the service, and inlisted in the fleet or army. Sir Peter Hayman, for the same reason, was dispatched on an errand to the Palatinate. Glanville, an eminent lawyer, had been obliged, during the former interval of parliament, to accept of an office in the navy, which obliged him to go on the expedition to Cadiz, to the great detriment of his fortune.

The soldiers, ill paid and undisciplined, committed many crimes and outrages, such as robberies, rapes, and even murders, which much increased the public discontents. To prevent these disorders, martial law was exercised upon the soldiers. By a contradiction, which is natural when the people are exasperated, the outrages of the army were complained of; the remedy was thought still more intolerable. Though the expediency of martial law, had formerly been deemed, of itself, a sufficient ground for establishing it; men, now become more jealous of liberty, and more refined reasoners in questions of government, regarded as illegal and arbitrary, every exercise of authority which was not supported by express statute or uninterrupted precedent.

It may safely be affirmed, that, except a few courtiers or ecclesiastics, the whole nation were displeased with this high exertion of prerogative, and this new spirit of administration. Though ancient precedents were pleaded in favour of the king's measures; a considerable difference, upon comparison, was observed between the cases. Acts of power, however irregular, might casually, and at intervals, be exercised by a prince, for the sake of dispatch or expediency; and yet liberty still subsist in some tolerable degree under his administration. But where all these were reduced into a system, were exerted without interruption, were studiously sought for, in order to supply the place of laws, and subdue the refractory spirit of the nation, it was necessary to find some speedy remedy, or finally to abandon all hopes of preserving the freedom of the constitution. Nor did moderate men esteem the provocation which the king had received sufficient to warrant these violent measures. The commons, as yet, had by no means invaded his authority: they had only exercised, as best pleased them, their own privileges. Was he justifiable, because from one house of parliament he had met with unkind treatment, to make in revenge an invasion on the rights and liberties of the whole nation?

Great was the surprize of all men at this time, when Charles, baffled in every attempt against the Austrian dominions, embroiled with his own subjects, unsupplied with any treasure but what he extorted by the most invidious and most dangerous measures; as if the half of Europe, now his enemy, were not sufficient for the exercise of military prowess; wantonly, in 1627, attacked France, the other great kingdom in his neighbourhood, and engaged at once in war against these two powers, whose interests were hitherto deemed so incompatible, that they could never, it was thought, agree either in the same friendships or enmities. All authentic memoirs, both foreign and domestic, ascribe to Buckingham's counsels this war with France, and represent him as actuated by motives the most despicable, which would appear incredible, were we not acquainted with the violence and temerity of his character.

The three great monarchies of Europe were at this time ruled by young princes, Philip, Louis, and Charles, who were nearly of the same age, and who had resigned the government of themselves, and of their kingdoms, to their creatures and ministers, Olivarez, Richelieu, and Buckingham. The people, whom the moderate temper or narrow genius of their princes would have allowed to remain for ever in tranquillity, were strongly agitated by the emulation and jealousy of the ministers. Above all, the towering spirit of Richelieu, incapable of rest, promised an active age, and gave indications of great revolutions throughout all Europe.

Cardinal Richelieu had no sooner gotten possession of the reins of government, than he formed three mighty projects; to subdue the turbulent spirits of the great, to reduce the rebellious Hugonots, and to curb the encroaching power of the house of Austria. Undaunted and implacable, prudent and active, he braved all the opposition of the French princes and nobles in the prosecution of his plans; he discovered and dissipated all their secret cabals and conspiracies. His sovereign he held in subjection, while he exalted the throne. The people, while they lost their liberties, acquired, by means of his administration, learning, order, discipline, and renown. That confused and inaccurate genius of government, of which France partook in common with other European kingdoms, he changed into a simple monarchy; at the very time when the incapacity of Buckingham encouraged the free spirit of the commons to establish in England a regular system of liberty. However unequal the comparison between these ministers, Buckingham had entertained a mighty jealousy against Richelieu; a jealousy not founded on rivalship of power and politics, but of love and gallantry; in which the duke was as much superior to the cardinal, as he was inferior in every other respect.

At the time when Charles married by proxy the princess Henrietta, the duke of Buckingham had been sent to France, in order to grace the nuptials, and conduct the new queen into England. The eyes of the French court were directed by curiosity towards that man, who had enjoyed the unlimited favour of two successive monarchs, and who, from a private station, had mounted in the earliest youth to the absolute government of three kingdoms. The beauty of his person, the gracefulness of his air, the splendour of his equipage, his fine taste in dress, festivals, and carousals, corresponded to the prepossessions entertained in his favour: the affability of his behaviour, the gaiety of his manners, the magnificence of his expence, increased still farther the general admiration which was paid him. All business being already concerted, the time was entirely spent in mirth and entertainments; and, during those splendid scenes among that gay people; the duke found himself in a situation where he was perfectly qualified to excel. But his great success at Paris proved as fatal as his former failure at Madrid. Encouraged by the smiles of the court, he dared to carry his ambitious addresses even to the queen herself; but the progress of his diabolical intentions during his abode at Paris, was disappointed by the vigilant Richelieu. Having advanced as far as Boulogne with Henrietta Maria, he left her under a slight

slight pretence, and returned to Amiens, and paying a visit to the queen, was dismissed with a reproof which he thought savoured more of kindness than of anger.

Some time after, thinking to carry on his amorous designs on the French queen, the duke was making preparations for a new embassy to Paris; but a message was sent him from Louis, informing him, that he must not think of such a journey. In a romantic passion he swore, "That he would see the French queen, in spite of all the power of France;" and, from that moment, he determined to engage England in a war with that kingdom.

He first took advantage of some quarrels excited by the queen of England's attendants; and he persuaded Charles to dismiss at once all her French servants, contrary to the articles of the marriage treaty. He encouraged the English ships of war and privateers to seize vessels belonging to French merchants; and these he forthwith condemned as prizes, by a sentence of the court of admiralty. But finding that all these injuries produced only remonstrances and embassies, or at most reprisals, on the part of France, he resolved to second the intrigues of the duke of Soubize, and to undertake at once a military expedition against that kingdom.

Soubize, who, with his brother the duke of Rohan, was at the head of the Hugonot party, was at that time in London, and strongly solicited Charles to embrace the protection of these distressed religionists. He represented, that after the inhabitants of Rochelle had been repressed by the combined squadrons of England and Holland, after peace was concluded with the French king under Charles's mediation, the ambitious cardinal was still meditating the destruction of the Hugonots; that preparations were silently making in every province of France for the suppression of their religion; that forts were erected in order to bridle Rochelle, the most considerable bulwark of the Protestants; that the reformed in France cast their eyes on Charles as the head of their faith, and considered him as a prince engaged by interest, as well as inclination, to support them; that, so long as their party subsisted, Charles might rely on their attachment as much as that of his own subjects; but if their liberties were once ravished from them, the power of France, freed from this impediment, would soon become formidable to England, and to all the neighbouring nations.

Though Charles probably bore but small favour to the Hugonots, who so much resembled the Puritans in discipline and worship, in religion and politics, he acquiesced in the plan, but not without the solicitations of Buckingham. A fleet of a hundred sail, and an army of seven thousand men, were fitted out for the invasion of France, and both of them entrusted to the command of the duke of Buckingham, who was altogether unacquainted both with land and sea service. The fleet set sail on the 27th of June, 1627, for Rochelle; but so ill-concerted were Buckingham's measures, that the inhabitants of that city shut their gates, and refused to admit allies, of whose coming they were not previously informed. All his military operations showed equal incapacity and inexperience. Instead of attacking Oleron, a fertile island and defenceless, he bent his course to the isle of Rhé, on the 9th of July, which was well garrisoned and fortified: having landed his men, though with some loss, he followed not the blow, but allowed Thyras, the French governor, five days respite; during which St. Martin was victualled and provided for a siege. He left behind him the small fort of Prie, which could at first have made no manner of resistance: though resolved to starve St. Martin, he guarded the sea negligently, and allowed provisions and ammunition to be thrown into it: despairing to reduce it by famine, he attacked it without having made any breach, and rashly threw away the lives of the soldiers: he received a reinforcement from Ireland of sixteen hundred men, and five hundred Rochellers. Having found that a French army had stolen over in small divisions, and had landed at Prie, the fort which he had at first overlooked, he began to think of a retreat; but made it so unskilfully on the 28th of October, that it was equivalent to a total rout: he was the last of the army that embarked; and he returned to England, having lost two-thirds of his land forces; totally discredited both as an admiral and a general; and bringing no praise with him, but the vulgar one of courage and personal bravery.

The duke of Rohan, who had taken arms as soon as Buckingham appeared upon the coast, discovered the dangerous spirit of the sect, without being able to do any mischief: the inhabitants of Rochelle, who had at last been induced to join the English, hastened the vengeance of their master, exhausted their provisions in supplying their allies, and were threatened with an immediate siege. Thus ended the duke of Buckingham's expedition against France. This disgraceful disaster brought a heavy additional load of public odium on the already universally detested minister: but he was received by his fond master with as great acknowledgement for supposed services as if he had brought home the trophies of an important victory (*f*).

There was now great reason to apprehend some disorder or insurrection from the discontents which prevailed among the people in England. Their liberties they believed were ravished from them; illegal taxes extorted; their commerce, which had met with a severe check from the Spanish, was totally annihilated by the French war; those military honours transmitted to them from their ancestors, had received a grievous stain, by two unsuccessful and ill-conducted expeditions; scarcely an illustrious family but mourned, from the last of them, the loss of a son or brother; greater calamities were dreaded from the war with these powerful monarchies, concurring with the internal disorders under which the nation laboured. And these ills were ascribed, not to the refractory disposition of the two former parliaments, as the king's party would have had it believed, but solely to Charles's obstinacy, in adhering to the counsels of Buckingham; a man nowise intitled, by his birth, age, services, or merit, to that unlimited confidence reposed in him. To be sacrificed to the interest, policy, and ambition of the great, is frequently the lot of the common people; but to be the victim of the frivolous gallantry of a favourite, and of his boyish caprices, was an object of peculiar indignation.

In this situation, it may be imagined, the king and the duke dreaded above all things the assembling of a parliament: but so little foresight had they possessed in their enterprizing schemes, that they found themselves under an absolute necessity of embracing that expedient. The money levied, or rather extorted, under colour of prerogative, had come in very slowly, and had left such ill-humour in the nation, that it appeared dangerous to renew the experiment. The absolute necessity of supply, it was hoped, would engage the commons to forget the injuries they had received; and, having experienced the ill effects of former obstinacy, they would probably assemble with a resolution of making some reasonable compliances. The more to soften them, it was concerted, by sir Robert Cotton's advice, that Buckingham should be the first person that proposed in council the calling of a new parliament. Having laid in this stock of merit, he expected that all his former misdemeanours would be overlooked and forgiven; and that, instead of a tyrant and oppressor, he should be regarded as the first patriot in the nation. Writs were accordingly issued on the 29th of January, 1628 for a parliament to assemble on the 17th of March (*g*).

The views, however, of the popular leaders were much more judicious and profound. When the commons assembled, they appeared to be men of the same inde-

(*f*) On the instant that Buckingham's arrival was made known to Charles, he sent him consolatory letters on the occasion of his disgrace, conjuring him, by the sacred ties of friendship, not to make the disaster irrecoverable, by afflicting himself for the faults of others. During the progress of his operations at the isle of Rhe, Charles had sent him many compliments on the report of his military exploits. *MSS. in Br. Museum*, n. 6988. fol. 3.

(*g*) Previous to the meeting of this parliament, warrants were sent to all parts to release the prisoners who had been confined on account of the loan. The number of them, all people of fashion or fortune, amounted to seventy-three. These, gentlemen of tried resolution, were many of them chosen members of the ensuing parliament; the people fixing their hopes of redress on patriots whose sufferings for the public cause had given flattering assurances of an incorruptible integrity. Besides this order for a general release, the court thought proper to send writs of summons to the disgraced peers. Abbot, Arundel, Bristol, and the bishop of Lincoln, were all permitted, according to their right, to attend in parliament. Among the gentlemen who were released from prison by the orders of the court were, sir John Strangeways, sir Thomas Grantham, sir William Armyn, sir William Massam, sir William Wilmore, sir Erasmus Draiton, sir Edward Aiscough, sir Nathaniel Bernardiston, sir Robert Poyntz, sir Beachum St. John, sir Oliver Luke, sir Maurice Berkley, sir Thomas Wentworth, sir John Wray, sir W. Constable, sir John Hotham, sir John Pickering, sir Fra. Barrington, sir William Chauncey, sir Walter Earl, sir Thomas Darnel, sir Harbottle Grimston, sir John Corbet, sir John Elliot, sir John Hevingham, knights; W. Anderson, Terringham Norwood, John Trigonwell, Thomas Godfrey, Richard Knightly, Thomas Nicholas, John Hampden, George Ratcliff, John Dutton, Henry Poll, Nath. Conwell, Robert Hatly, Tho. Elmes, John Stevens, W. Coriton, George Catesby, esquires; Thomas Wood, John Wilkinson, W. Allan, Thomas Holyhead, gentlemen. Thirty-three, Londoners. *Rushworth*, vol. i. p. 473.

pendent

pendent spirit with their predecessors, and possessed of such riches, that their property was computed to surpass three times that of the house of peers; they were deputed by boroughs and counties, enflamed all of them by the late violations of liberty; many of the members themselves had been cast into prison, and had suffered by the measures of the court; yet, notwithstanding these circumstances, which might prompt them to embrace violent resolutions, they entered upon business with perfect temper and decorum. They considered, that the king, disgusted at these popular assemblies, and little prepossessed in favour of their privileges, wanted but a fair pretence for breaking with them, and would seize the first opportunity offered by any incident, or any undutiful behaviour of the members (*h*). He fairly told them in his first speech that, "if they should not do their duties, in contributing to the necessities of the state, he must, in discharge of his conscience, use other means which God had put into his hands, in order to save that which the follies of some particular men may otherwise put in danger. Take not this for a threatening," added the king, "for I scorn to threaten any but my equals; but as an admonition from him who, by nature and duty, has most care of your preservation and prosperity." The lord keeper, by the king's direction, subjoined, "This way of parliamentary supplies, as his majesty told you, he hath chosen, not as the only way, but as the fittest; not because he is destitute of others, but because it is most agreeable to the goodness of his own most gracious disposition, and to the desire and weal of his people. If this be deferred, necessity and the sword of the enemy make way for the others. Remember his majesty's admonition; I say, remember it." From these avowed maxims, the commons plainly perceived, that, if the least handle were afforded, the king would immediately dissolve them, and would thenceforth deem himself justified for violating, in a manner still more open, all the ancient forms of the constitution. No remedy could then be looked for, but from insurrections and civil war, of which the issue would be extremely uncertain, and which must, in all events, prove calamitous to the nation. To correct the late disorders in the administration required some new laws, which would, no doubt, appear harsh to a prince so enamoured of his prerogative; and it was requisite to temper, by the decency and moderation of their debates, the rigour which must necessarily attend their determinations. Nothing can give us a higher idea of the capacity of those men who now guided the commons, and of the great authority which they had acquired, than the forming and executing of so judicious and so difficult a plan of operations.

The decency, however, which the popular leaders had prescribed to themselves, and recommended to others, hindered them not from making the most vehement complaints against the grievances under which the nation had lately laboured. We shall give a few extracts from the principal speeches on this occasion, that the reader, in the present day, may see how ardently the members of the house of commons panted for liberty in the time of Charles in opposition to the prerogatives of the crown. Sir Francis Seymour said, "This is the great council of the kingdom, and here with certainty, if not here only, his majesty may see, as in a true glass, the state of the kingdom. We are called hither by his writs, in order to give him faithful counsel; such as may stand with his honour; and this we must do without flattery. We are also sent hither by the people, in order to deliver their just grievances: and this we must do without fear. Let us not act like Cambyses's judges, who, when their approbation was demanded by the prince to some illegal measure, said, that, Though there was a written law, the Persian kings might follow their own will and pleasure. This was base flattery, fitter for our reproof than our imitation; and as fear, so flattery, taketh away the judgement. For my part, I shall shun both; and speak my mind with as much duty as any man to his majesty, without neglecting the public. But how can we express our affections, while we retain our fears; or speak of giving, till we know whether we have any thing to give? For, if his majesty may be persuaded to take what he will, what need we give? That this hath been done, appeareth by the billeting of soldiers, a thing nowise advantageous to the king's service, and a burden to the commonwealth: by the imprisonment of gentlemen for refusing the loan, who, if they had done the contrary for fear, had been as blameable as the projectors of that oppressive measure. To countenance these proceedings, hath it not been preached in the pulpit, or rather prated, that All we have is the king's by divine right? But when preachers forsake their own calling, and turn ignorant statesmen; we see how willing they are to exchange a good conscience for a bishopric. He, I must confess, is no good subject, who would not, willingly and cheerfully, lay down his life, when that sacrifice may promote the interests of his sovereign, and the good of the commonwealth. But he is not a good subject, he is a slave, who will allow his goods to be taken from him against his will, and his liberty against the laws of the kingdom. By opposing these practices, we shall but tread in the steps of our forefathers, who still preferred the public before their private interest, nay, before their very lives. It will in us be a wrong done to ourselves, to our posterities, to our consciences, if we forego this claim and pretension (*i*)."

"I read of a custom," said sir Robert Philips, "among the old Romans, that, once every year, they held a solemn festival in which their slaves had liberty, without exception, to speak what they pleased, in order to ease their afflicted minds; and, on the conclusion of the festival, the slaves severally returned to their former servitudes.

"This institution may, with some distinction, well set forth our present state and condition. After the revolution of some time, and the grievous sufferance of many violent oppressions, we have now, at last, as those slaves, obtained, for a day, some liberty of speech: but shall not, I trust, be hereafter slaves: for we are born free. Yet, what new illegal burdens our estates and persons have groaned under, my heart yearns to think of, my tongue faulters to utter.—The grievances, by which we are oppressed, I draw under two heads; acts of power against law, and the judgements of lawyers against our liberty." Having mentioned three illegal judgements passed within his memory; that by which the Scots, born after James's accession, were admitted to all the privileges of English subjects; that by which the new impositions had been warranted; and the late one, by which arbitrary imprisonments were authorised; he thus proceeded: "I can live, although another, who has no right, be put to live along with me; nay, I can live, although burdened with excises and impositions, beyond what at present I labour under: but to have my liberty, which is the soul of my life, ravished from me by power; to have my person pent up in a jail, without relief by law, and to be so adjudged,——O, improvident ancestors! O, unwise forefathers! to be so curious in providing for the quiet possession of our lands, and the liberties of parliament; and, at the same time, to neglect our personal liberty, and let us lie in prison, and that during pleasure, without redress or remedy! If this be law, why do we talk of liberties? Why trouble ourselves with disputes about a constitution, franchises, property of goods, and the like? What may any man call his own, if not the liberty of his person? I am weary of treading these ways; and therefore conclude to have a select committee, in order to frame a petition to his majesty for redress of these grievances. And this petition being read, examined, and approved, may be delivered to the king; of whose gracious answer we have no cause to doubt, our desires being so reasonable, our intentions so loyal, and the manner so dutiful. Neither need we fear, that this is the critical parliament, as has been insinuated; or that this is the way to distraction: but assure ourselves of a happy issue. Then shall the king, as he calls us his great council, find us his true council, and own us his good council (*k*)."

The same topics were enforced by sir Thomas Wentworth. After mentioning projectors and ill ministers of state, "These," said he, "have introduced a privy-council,

(*h*) Just before the meeting of this parliament, a society of Jesuits were taken at Clerkenwell. Among their papers was found a letter written to their father-rector at Brussels. The substance of this letter is the hopes that the body entertained on the present situation of affairs in England. The foundation of their hopes was in the Arminians, who affected mutation; that the Catholics encouraged them in their schemes of making the king independent, and freeing him of his ward, the parliament; that they had shewed the means how to settle the excise; that it was to be done by a mercenary army of Germans: "In farming the excise, says this letter, the country is most likely to rise; if the mercenary army subjugate the country, then the soldiers and projectors shall be paid out of the confiscations; if the country be too hard for the soldiers, then they must consequently mutiny; which is equally advantageous to us. Our superlative design is to work the Protestants, as well as the Catholics, to welcome a conqueror." *Rushworth. Ephemeris Parliamentaria.*

(*i*) Franklyn, p. 243. Rushworth, vol. i. p. 499.

(*k*) Franklyn, p. 245. Parl. Hist. vol. viii. p. 363. Rushworth, vol. i. p. 502.

ravishing,

ravishing, at once, the spheres of all ancient government; destroying all liberty; imprisoning us without bail or bond. They have taken from us——What shall I say? Indeed, what have they left us? By tearing up the roots of all property, they have taken from us every means of supplying the king, and of ingratiating ourselves by voluntary proofs of our duty and attachment towards him. To the making whole of these breaches, I shall apply myself; and, to all these diseases, shall propound a remedy. By one and the same thing, have the king and the people been hurt, and by the same must they be cured. We must vindicate—What? New things? No: our ancient, lawful and vital liberties; by reinforcing the laws enacted by our ancestors; by setting such a stamp upon them, that no licentious spirit shall dare henceforth to invade them. And shall we think this a way to break a parliament? No: Our desires are modest and just. I speak both for the interest of the king and the people. If we enjoy not these rights, it will be impossible for us to relieve him. Let us never, therefore, doubt, of a favourable reception from his goodness."

"Will any give a subsidy," said sir Edward Coke (*l*), "if they are to be taxed after parliament at pleasure? The king cannot lawfully tax any by way of loans: I differ from them who would have this of loan go amongst other grievances, for I would have it go alone. I will begin with a noble record; it chears me to think of it; 26 Ed. III. it is worthy to be writ in letters of gold: '*Loans against the will of the subject are against reason and the franchises of the land; and they desire restitution.*' What a word is that franchise? the lord may tax his villan, high and low, but it is against the franchises of the land for freemen to be taxed, but by their consent in parliament.

Charles, finding that by threats he could neither terrify the commons into submission, nor provoke them into indecorum of speech, thought fit, on the 25th of March, 1628, to send them a conciliatory message by secretary Cook, "That he esteemed the grievances of the house his own, and stood not on precedence in point of honour; he therefore desired that the same committee which was appointed for grievances might, at the same time, take in hand the following propositions: to furnish with men and victuals thirty ships to guard the narrow seas, and along the coast; to set out twenty other ships for the relief of the town of Rochelle, and for the preservation of the Elbe, the Sound, and the Baltic Sea; to pay and supply twenty-six thousand horse and foot for foreign service; to supply the forts of the office of ordnance, and the stores of the navy; to build twenty ships yearly for the increase of the navy; to repair the forts within the land; to pay the arrears of the office of ordnance, the victuallers office, and the treasurer of the navy; to pay the arrears due for the freight of divers merchant-ships employed in his majesty's service; and to provide a magazine for victuals for land and sea service."

On the receipt of this message the house resolved themselves into a committee, to take into consideration the liberty of the subject in his person and property, and the supply of the king's necessities. On the subject of liberty of person, Mr. Creskeld, a young lawyer, made a long, eloquent, and learned speech: he proved that the common law of England guarded both the persons and property of the subject from the prerogative of the crown. With the utmost accuracy and precision he stated both the rights of the king and the subject, and shewed how illegally the judges had acted in remanding the gentlemen to prison who were confined on account of refusing the loan, and had brought their Habeas Corpus (*m*). It was resolved on the question, that no freeman ought to be committed, detained in prison, or otherwise restrained, by the command of the king, privy council, or any other, without some legal cause of the commitment, detainer, or restraint, be expressed; that the writ of Habeas Corpus may not be denied, but ought to be granted to every man that is committed, detained in prison, or otherwise restrained, though it be by the command of the king, privy council, or any other; that if a free man be committed or detained in prison, or otherwise restrained, no legal cause of such commitment, detainer, or restraint, being expressed, if he is returned upon an Habeas Corpus, that he ought to be delivered or bailed; that the ancient and undoubted rights of every free man are, that he hath a full and absolute property in his goods and estate, and that no tallage, (impost,) loan, benevolence, or other like charge, ought to be commanded or levied by the king, or any of his ministers, without common consent of parliament.

This produced a conference between the lords and commons: the conference was managed by, sir Dudley Digges, sir Edward Coke, Mr. Selden, and Mr. Littleton. The assistants were, sir Benjamin Rudyard, Mr. Pym, Mr. Rolles, Mr. Hackwell, Mr. Herbert, Mr. Whiteby, sir Robert Philips, and Mr. Charles Jones, all of them being men of spirit and learning, the cause was pleaded with great ability. It was clearly proved that the resolutions of the commons were authorized by Magna Charta, six several statutes, and the common law of the land (*n*).

Whilst the commons were taking these measures to defend

(*l*) Two counties, Buckinghamshire and Suffolk, had returned sir Edward Coke as one of their members to serve in this parliament. *Journals of the Commons*, vol. i. p. 876.

(*m*) The Saxon institutions, on which the common law of England is grounded, were so tender of personal liberty, that it was not till 23 Ed. III. the eleventh king from the Conquest, that a statute was enacted to attack the bodies of men for debt. *Mr. Creskeld's Speech. Parliam. Hist.* vol. vii. p. 379.

(*n*) The introduction was allotted to sir Dudley Digges: he shewed that the institutions of the Saxons were the fundamental laws of the constitution; that it was an undoubted part of the common law of England, that the subject had a true property in his goods and possessions; that this birth-right had been invaded by pressures more grievous, because they had been pursued by imprisonment, contrary to the franchise of the land; and that the late judgement in the court of King's Bench had rendered the laws and statutes of the realm of no avail towards obtaining redress for these oppressions.

Mr. Littleton, who was appointed to justify the declarations of the house of commons, began with introducing the twenty-ninth article of Magna Charta; "*Nullus liber homo capiatur, vel imprisonetur, aut disesietur, de libero tenemento suo, vel libertatibus, vel liberis consuetudinibus suis, aut ut lagetur, aut exuletur, aut aliquo modo destruatur, nec super eum ibimus, nec super eum mittimus, nisi per legale judicium parium suorum, vel per legem terræ.*" He shewed that there was a corruption crept into this copy, and that the original words were, *nec eum in carcerem mittimus.* The words, *legem terræ*, he alleged, must of necessity be understood to be, By due process of law, and not, The law of the land, which would comprehend villans; that these words were so explained in the fourth article of a statute made 25 Ed. III. in which reign was the first invasion of this personal liberty; that the words were yet more direct to the point in a statute made in the twenty-eighth year of this monarch; that in the thirty-sixth year of his reign he gave an answer to a petition, in the form that made it an act of parliament, That no arrest by special command should be made, contrary to the statutes; that a petition of parliament, in the same year of his reign, explain the words, *legem terræ*, in the same manner; whereas it is contained in the Grand Charter, and other statutes, That none be taken or imprisoned by special command, without indictment or other due process to be made by the law; yet oftentimes it hath been, and still is, that many are hindered, taken, and imprisoned, without indictment or other process made by the law upon them. Besides these, Mr. Littleton quoted two statutes made against informers in the king's reign, the words of them sufficiently explaining the captious expression of *legem terræ* in Magna Charta. He then finished with confuting a false comment which had been made by the court-lawyers on a statute termed the Statute of Westminster, enacted in 3 Ed. I.

Matters of record and judicial precedents were committed to Mr. Selden, with the remedy of the Habeas Corpus. He began with illustrating this article, and shewed that precedents ought not to be relied on but when they agreed with the express law; he next produced twelve precedents to the point, that persons committed without a legal cause expressed, ought to be delivered upon bail; and lastly offered other kind of precedents, which were solemn resolutions of judges; things not of record, but yet remaining in authentic copies.

Sir Edward Coke demonstrated, that the acts of parliament and precedents produced were but so many affirmations of the common law, and that there was no good reason of state against the shewing cause of imprisonment. He began by proving, that if free men of England might be imprisoned at the will and pleasure of the king, then were they in worse state than bondmen and villans. He then entered upon a very deep discussion of the principles of the constitution in point of personal liberty, and concluded by shewing that no virtuous operation of government could be effected by leaving to subjects that jewel which not only distinguishes free men from slaves, but the living from the dead.

It was agreed by the attorney-general, that the seven statutes urged by the commons were yet in force; and that they did extend most properly to the king; but he said that some of them were in general words, and therefore concluded nothing, but were to be expounded by precedents; and others that were more particular were applied to the suggestions of subjects, and not to the king's command simply of itself.

To this Mr. Littleton replied, that the statutes were as direct as could be; and that though some of them speak of suggestions of subjects, yet others do not; and those that do are as effectual, for that they are in equal reason, a commitment by command of the king being of as great force, when it moveth by a suggestion from a subject, as when the king takes notice of the cause himself. To one of the twelve precedents which had been quoted by Mr. Selden, Mr. Attorney-general objected, that the lords of the council sent letters to the court of King's Bench to bail the prisoners. To this Mr. Selden, with great spirit, replied, that that letter was of no moment, being only a direction to the chief justice, and no matter of record, nor any way concerning the judges: and besides, either the prisoner was bailable by law or not bailable; if bailable by the law, then he was to be bailed without any such letter; if not bailable by the law, then plainly the judges could not have bailed them upon the letter without breach of oath, which is, that they are to do justice according to the law, without having respect to any command whatsoever:

fend civil liberty, they did not neglect the popular subject of religious grievances: a petition against recusants was presented by both houses on the 31st of March. Promises sat so easy upon Charles, that he not only gave his word to perform every article of the petition, but added, that the mildness he had hitherto used had been upon hope that foreign princes might thereby be induced to use moderation towards their subjects of the reformed religion; but not finding that good effect which was expected, he resolved, unless he should very speedily see better fruits, to add a farther degree of severity than that which in the petition was desired. As Charles's conduct was directly opposite to the many promises he had made on this head, there is perhaps no public transaction through his whole reign that throws more contempt on his character than these petitions and answers, nor a more sufficient justification of the commons for their not placing any confidence in his strongest asseverations.

Designation to foreign employments was not forgotten among the grievances under debate: sir Peter Hayman shewed his case; that, on refusing to lend on a privy-seal, he was sent by the lords of the council, at his own expence, to attend on an ambassador into the Palatinate. On this head sir Edward Coke gave it as his opinion, "That a subject, not being a servant of the crown, was not liable to forced service:" and even in the other case, where a servant refused such a command, he shewed, by two several statutes, "That the king could only seize the offices, fees, and lands, he held in consequence of his services, but no commitment could legally ensue."

The power which the crown had lately usurped of inflicting domestic confinement was canvassed in the following manner: Mr. Selden said, "That he could find no traces in former times of confinement to a man's own house, or elsewhere, by way of punishment, except in case of the Jews, who were sometimes confined to the Old Jewry; that a domestic prison was a confinement only for madmen." Sir Thomas Hobby observed, "That he was employed by Elizabeth in the year 1588; that though at that time it was found necessary to confine recusants in strong places, yet it was judged so illegal, that, after the defeat of the Spanish armada, the parliament petitioned the queen to warrant the confinement."

With this business of grievances the commons, according to promise, went on that of supply; they rejected the propositions, as too vast and too complicated, but voted five subsidies for the necessities of the state. The satisfaction Charles felt from this act of the commons drew this speech from him: "He liked parliaments at first; yet since, he knew not how, he was grown to a distaste of them; but was now where he was before, for he loved them, and shall rejoice to meet his people again (*o*)." Mr. Secretary Cooke related to the house this speech, and a congratulatory one made on the same occasion to Charles at the council-board, by the duke of Buckingham. Though these congratulations were couched in very popular terms, yet several members took offence that Buckingham should be mentioned in that house in so important a manner.

This was not the only vain attempt that was made to restore Buckingham to the good graces of the commons: they had been assured from secretary Cooke that he had first moved and persuaded the king to assemble a parliament (*p*).

The commons having thus gratified Charles with a vote of five subsidies, they were wholly engrossed in preparing an instrument to explain more fully those parts of Magna Charta, and the six several statutes, which had been so notoriously violated by the late oppressive acts of the ministry. This they called a PETITION OF RIGHT, it containing those privileges which had been already stipulated to the subject.

The house was frequently interrupted in this weighty business by the importunity of Charles; who, though he had given them assurances that he approved of the uniting the grievances with the supply, continued to press them to expedite the latter business. On the 12th of April, secretary Cooke delivered the following message: "That his majesty had long since expected the fruit of that which was so happily begun; but finding a stop beyond expectation, nay, beyond example, after so good a beginning, he commanded that, without any farther or unnecessary delay, the house should proceed in his business; for however he had been willing that his own affairs and theirs should concur and proceed together, yet his meaning was not that one should give interruption to the other, nor the time to be spun out on any pretence to hinder that resolution upon

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so that such a letter, in any case, was, for point of law, no weight against what the record of the court shewed.

To four precedents which the courtiers had brought against the resolutions of the commons Mr. Selden objected, that, by the constant course of the court of King's Bench, whosoever came by Habeas Corpus, or other writ, into that court, could not be bailed before they were first committed to the marshal of that court; that these were thus committed appeared by the entry; and that this plainly shewed that the court of King's Bench in every of them resolved, that the prisoners so committed were bailable, otherwise they had been remanded, not committed to the marshal of the King's Bench.

According to the direction of the house, Mr. Selden, in this conference, produced the draught of a judgement in the case lately adjudged in the court of King's Bench: "This case is famous, said he, and well known to your lordships, therefore I need no further mention it; and as yet, indeed, there is no judgement entered upon the roll, but there is room for any kind of judgement to be entered. But, my lords, there is a form of judgement, a most unusual one, such an one as never was in any such case before used; for indeed there was never before any case so adjudged; and this drawn up by a chief clerk of that court, by direction of Mr. Attorney-general, as the house was informed by the clerk; in which the reason of the judgement, and the remanding of these gentlemen, is expressed in such sort as if it should be declared upon record for ever, that the law was, that no man could be enlarged from imprisonment that stood committed by any such absolute command. Now, my lords, added Mr. Selden, because this draught, if it were entered in the roll, as it was prepared for no other purpose, would be a great declaration contrary to the many acts of parliament already cited, contrary to all precedents of former times, and to all reason of law, to the utter subversion of the chiefest liberty and right belonging to every free man of the kingdom; and for that especially also it supposeth that divers ancient records had been looked into by the court in like cases, by which records their judgements were directed; whereas, in truth, there is not one record at all extant, that, with any colour, warrants the judgement; therefore the house of commons thought fit also that I should, with the rest that has been said, shew this draught to your lordships." Mr. Selden concluded his discourse by reading out of a book of lord chief justice Anderson's hand-writing, the resolution of all the judges of England upon commitments by absolute command; which report, was in favour of the resolutions of the commons.

"We, her majesty's justices of both benches, and barons of the exchequer, desire your lordships that by some good means some order may be taken that her highness's subjects may not be committed, or detained in prison, by commandment of any nobleman or counsellor, against the laws of the realm; either else to help us to have access to her majesty, to the end to become suitors to her for the same: for divers have been imprisoned for suing ordinary actions and suits at the common law, until they have been constrained to leave the same against their wills, and put the same to order, albeit judgement and execution have been had therein, to their great losses and griefs; for the aid of which persons her majesty's writs have sundry times been directed to sundry persons having the custody of such persons unlawfully imprisoned, upon which writs no good or lawful cause of imprisonment hath been returned or certified; whereupon, according to the laws, they have been discharged of their imprisonment: some of which persons, so delivered, have been again committed to prison in secret places, and not to any common or ordinary prison, or lawful officer or sheriff, or other, lawfully authorized to have or keep a jail; so that, upon complaint made for their delivery, the queen's courts cannot tell to whom to direct her majesty's writs; and by this means justice cannot be done. And moreover, divers officers and serjeants of London have been many times committed to prison, for lawful executing of her majesty's writs, sued forth of her majesty's courts at Westminster; and thereby her majesty's subjects and officers are so terrified that they dare not sue or execute her majesty's laws, her writs, and commandments. Divers others have been sent for by pursuivants, and brought to London from their dwellings, and, by unlawful imprisonment, have been constrained not only to withdraw their lawful suits, but have also been compelled to pay the pursuivants so bringing such persons great sums of money. All which, upon complaint, the judges are bound, by office and oath, to relieve and help, by and according to her majesty's laws. And where it pleaseth your lordships to will divers of us to let down in what cases a prisoner sent to custody by her majesty, or her council, are to be detained in prison, and not to be delivered by her majesty's court or judges, we think, that if any person be committed by her majesty's command from her person, or by order from the council-board; and if any one or two of her council commit one for high treason, such persons so in the cases before committed, may not be delivered by any of her courts, without due trial by the law, and judgement of acquittal had. Nevertheless, the judges may award the queen's writ to bring the bodies of such prisoners before them; and if, upon return thereof, the causes of their commitment be certified to the judges, as it ought to be, then the judges in the case before ought not to deliver him, but to remand the prisoner to the place from whence he came, which cannot conveniently be done unless notice of the cause in general, or else in special, be known to the keeper or gaoler that shall have the custody of such prisoner."

This report does great honour to these judges, who, though at this period entirely dependent on the crown, were the only protectors of the civil rights of the nation.

It is to be observed that the king's council could not bring one clear precedent that any prisoner had been denied bail on the return of their Habeas Corpus, when the cause of the imprisonment had not been expressed in the writ; not but the civil rights of the nation had been continually infringed in the arbitrary imprisonment of its subjects, but few of these unhappy sufferers had courage enough to claim the protection of the laws, in opposition to the tyrannical will of the sovereign.

(*o*) Charles was in such a hurry to get this vote of five subsidies passed into a bill, that he sent to desire the commons not to make any recess the Easter-holidays. This was unpleasing to the house, lest it should affect their power of adjourning themselves when they pleased: sir Edward Coke moved to have it entered, that it was done *ex regatu regis*. *Parliam. Hist.* vol. vii. p. 436.

(*p*) This was according to sir Robert Cotton's advice.

which

which the common cause of this kingdom, and even of all Christendom, did so much depend. He bids them therefore take heed that they force him not, by unnecessary and tedious delays, to make an unpleasing end of that which was so well begun."

After sir John Cooke had given the house to understand that they were not to take this message as a threatening to dissolve the parliament, he farther added, "I must with some grief tell you, that notice is taken as if this house pressed not only upon the abuses of power but upon power itself; this toucheth the king, and us, who are supported by that power." The house was so offended at this assertion, that sir John was moved to explain what he meant by the word Power; which, he said, was by them opposed. This he refused, saying, "I cannot descend to particulars, or go from that which his majesty gave me warrant or power to deliver."

On the debate on the king's message it was agreed to nominate a committee to proceed on grievances. Certain instructions were given to the speaker in answer to the message delivered by sir John Cooke; and a petition (*q*) was sent up to the throne, representing the illegality of billeting soldiers, and the enormities occasioned by that oppressive measure: this was to be the prelude to the Petition of Right. On the 14th of April the judges attended in the house of Lords, to give an account of the reasons of their judgement in the case of the gentlemen who had been imprisoned without an express cause shewn. Sir Nicholas Hyde endeavoured to excuse himself and brethren from this task, by representing it as a thing they ought not to do without warrant from the king. The popular members, being irritated at this refusal, the lord Say answered, "If the judges will not declare themselves, we must take into consideration the point of our privilege." The duke of Buckingham having undertaken to compose this difference, sent a message to the king for leave that the judges might obey the injunctions of the house. An answer having been returned in the affirmative, the judges proceeded to give the demanded satisfaction. The authorities which these corrupt expounders of the law quoted to justify their proceedings were so unsatisfactory that, if there had been any thing wanting to the triumph of the commons, it would have been completed by the lameness of that which was urged in vindication of the questioned judgement.

Although the courtiers were thus foiled, they did not altogether give up the point: the matter was again argued between the two houses, by the attorney-general and the king's council on one side, and a select committee of the house of commons on the other. Though prolixity ought to be avoided by an historian, yet, on the present occasion, we must transgress this general rule, that the reader may form a just idea of those accurate sentiments of liberty, personal and political, which fell from the illustrious personages that argued on the side of their country.

The attorney-general came fraught with authorities to combat the good sense, reason, and learning, of his antagonists. He objected to the construction which the committee had made of the words, *per legem terræ;* and said, "that it cannot be imagined of the king that he will at any time, or in any case, do injustice to his subjects. It is a maxim in our law, that the king can do no wrong; therefore the king can give no land by disseisin; he can give no advowson by usurpation; and this is so far from being a defect or impotency in the king, that it is held for a point of his prerogative. The reason is, as the king is supreme governor of his people, so he is *pater patriæ*, therefore he cannot want the affection of a father towards his children."

Serjeant Ashley seconded what the attorney-general had advanced, that kings could imprison their subjects at their pleasure, without shewing the cause. "Divine truth informs us, said he, that kings have their power from God, and are representative gods; the psalmist calling them the children of the Most High, which is in a more especial manner understood of kings than of other men; for all the sons of Adam are by creation the children of God, and all the sons of Abraham are, by re-creation or regeneration, the children of the Most High: but it is said of kings, they are the children of the Most High in respect of the power that is committed to them, who hath also furnished them with ornaments and arms fit for the exercising that power, and given them sceptres and crowns; sceptres to institute, and swords to execute laws; and crowns, as ensigns of that power and dignity with which they are invested: shall we, then, conceive that our king hath so far transmitted the power of his sword to inferior magistrates that he hath not reserved so much supreme power as to commit an offender to prison."

In answer to what had been advanced on the king's side by the attorney-general and the serjeant, Mr. Littleton observed, "that they had never restrained the process of the law to writs original; but by the words, process of the law, they understood the whole proceedings of the law, and so took in the constables, and all those inferior officers, who, notwithstanding, are never used without a cause.—And, continued he, for what that gentleman (serjeant Ashley) objects, that the house of commons think they have gained their cause, because the king's counsel have yielded the statutes to be in force; alas! we do not labour for victory, but truth; convince our understandings by better reasons, and the cause shall be yours."

Sir Edward Coke said, "The common law hath so admeasured the king's prerogative, as he cannot prejudice any man in his inheritance: law doth privilege noblemen in arrests; this new doctrine, like the little god Terminus, yields to none; nay, the judges themselves, when they should sit on the bench, must be walking towards the Tower."

Mr. Glanville said, "We allow the king a liberty to confer grace; but not, without cause, to inflict punishment; and indeed he cannot do injury, for if he commanded to do a man wrong, the command is void in law, and the actor becomes the wrong doer."

Sir Edward Coke concluded with this speech: "My lords, your noble ancestors, whose places you hold, were parties to Magna Charta, so called for weight and substance; and you, my lords the bishops, are commanded to thunder out your anathemas against all infringers of it; and all the worthy judges that deserved their places have ever held Magna Charta in great estimation. Now as justice hath a sword, so it hath a balance: put together, my noble lords, in one balance, seven acts of parliament, records, precedents, reasons, all that we have spoken, and that statute of 18 Edward III. whereto there has been no answer; and, in God's name, put into the other balance, what Mr. Attorney hath said, his wit, learning, and great endowments of nature; and if he be weightier, let him have it; if not, then conclude with us. You are involved in the same danger with us, and therefore we desire you, in the name of the commons of England, represented in us, that we may have cause to give God and the king thanks for your justice in complying with us."

The Attorney-general summed up the arguments, and Mr. Noy rejoined, "That it was agreed on both sides, that the king might commit for a cause, not without. But Mr. Attorney had said, he was not bound to express a cause; to which it was replied, that the judges are to judge between him and his people, therefore, no cause no judgement; and consequently the king ought not to commit for any time, no, not an hour, without expressing the cause."

In a committee of the house of lords on this conference, on a motion of the earl of Warwick, a spirited popular peer, serjeant Ashley was taken into custody for the unconstitutional doctrine he had advanced in behalf of the crown (*r*). This noble lord displayed a strong and lively talent of reasoning in support of what had been advanced by the commons. "I will observe something out of the law, said he, wherein this liberty of the subjects' person is founded, and something out of the precedents which have been alledged. As to Magna Charta, and the rest, concerning these points, they are acknowledged by all to be now in force; that they were made to secure the subject from wrongful imprisonment; and that they concern

(*q*) According to the instructions which the commons had given, the speaker alledged, in his preamble to the petition, that the preserving those fundamental liberties which concern the freedom of person, and property of goods and lands, were an essential means to establish the true glory of a monarch, for rich and free subjects were best able to do service, either in peace or war; that this had been the cause of the happy and famous victories of the English, beyond other kingdoms of larger territories and greater numbers of people. *Parliam. Hist.* vol. vii. p. 445. Charles was much displeased with the petition, and still more with this preamble.

(*r*) On a petition, expressing his sorrow for the displeasure he had given, and desiring to make such recognition as the lords should enjoin him, he was admitted to make his submission, and ask forgiveness for his fault; this he did upon his knees, and was then discharged from custody. *Parliam. Hist.* vol. viii. p. 68. *&c seq.*

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the king as much or rather more than the subject, Well then, besides Magna Charta, and those six other acts of parliament, in the very point, we know that Magna Charta itself hath been at least thirty times confirmed, so now at this time we have thirty-six or thirty-seven acts of parliament to confirm this liberty, although it was made a matter of derision the other day in this house. The law of Magna Charta is, that no free man shall be imprisoned but by lawful judgement of his peers, or the law of the land."

The conclusion of the debates of this house was, that a commitment by the king or his council is good in point of authority; and, if the cause of the commitment was just, then it was good in point of matter; but that these two concessions were no way to prejudice the king's authority, nor yet the propositions of the house of commons.

The supply, though voted, was not, as yet passed into a law; and the commons resolved to employ the interval, in providing some barriers to their rights and liberties so lately violated. They knew that their own vote, declaring the illegality of the former measures, had not, of itself, sufficient authority to secure the constitution against future invasion. The commons pretended not to any unusual powers or privileges: they aimed only at securing those which had been transmitted them from their ancestors; and their law they resolved to call a PETITION OF RIGHT; as implying that it contained a corroboration or explanation of the ancient constitution, not any infringement of royal prerogative, or acquisition of new liberties.

While the committee was employed in framing the petition of right, the favourers of each party, both in parliament and throughout the nation, were engaged in disputes about this bill, which, in all likelihood, was to form a memorable æra in the English government. That the statutes, said the partizans of the commons, which secure English liberty, are not become obsolete, appears hence, that the English have ever been free, and have ever been governed by law and a limited constitution. Privileges in particular, which are founded on the GREAT CHARTER, must always remain in force, because derived from a source of never-failing authority. They established it as a maxim, "That even a statute, which should be enacted in contradiction to any article of that charter, cannot have force or validity." But with regard to that important article which secures personal liberty; so far from attempting, at any time, any legal infringement of it, they have corroborated it by six statutes, and put it out of all doubt and controversy. Abuses can never come in the place of rules; nor can any rights or legal powers be derived from injury and injustice.

Although the house of lords was by no means insensible to the reasons urged in favour of the pretensions of the commons, they deemed the arguments pleaded in favour of the crown still more cogent and convincing. That assembly seems, during this whole period, to have acted, in the main, a reasonable and a moderate part; and if their bias inclined a little too much, as is natural, to the side of monarchy, they were far from entertaining any design of sacrificing to arbitrary will the liberties and privileges of the nation. Being, however, apprehensive that the commons might go too far in their projected petition, the peers proposed a plan of one more moderate, which they recommended to the consideration of the other house; and archbishop Abbot was employed by the lords to recommend, in a conference, their plan of a petition to the house of commons. The prelate, as was, no doubt, foreseen from his known principles, was not very urgent in his applications; and the lower house was fully convinced that the general declarations recommended by the lords signified nothing, and that they left their liberties in a worse condition than they were before. They proceeded, therefore, with great zeal, in framing the model of a petition, which should contain expressions more precise, and more favourable to public freedom.

The king easily perceived the consequence of these proceedings. Though he had offered, at the beginning of the session, to give his consent to any law for the security of the rights and liberties of the people; he had not expected that such inroads would be made on his prerogative. In order, therefore, to divert the commons from their intention, he sent a message, wherein he acknowledged past errors, and promised that, hereafter, there should be no just cause of complaint. And he added, "That the affairs of the kingdom press him so, that he could not continue the session above a week or two longer: and if the house be not ready, by that time, to do what is fit for themselves, it shall be their own fault." On a subsequent occasion, he asked them, "Why demand explanations, if you doubt not the performance of the statutes, according to their true meaning? Explanations will hazard an encroachment upon the prerogative. And it may well be said, What need a new law to confirm an old, if you repose confidence in the declarations which his majesty made to both houses?" The truth is, the great charter and the old statutes were sufficiently clear in favour of personal liberty: but as all kings of England had, in cases of necessity or expediency, been accustomed to elude them; and as Charles, in a number of instances, had lately violated them; the commons judged it requisite to enact a new law, which might not be eluded or violated, by any interpretation, construction, or contrary precedent.—Charles's predecessors had generally enjoyed too much discretionary power; and by his recent abuse of it, the whole nation had reason to see the necessity of entirely retrenching it.

The king, however, persevered in his endeavours to elude the petition. He sent a letter to the house of lords, in which he made this particular declaration, "That neither he nor his privy-council shall or will, at any time hereafter, commit or command to prison, or otherwise restrain, any man for not lending money, or for any other cause, which in his conscience he thought not to concern the public good, and the safety of king and people." And he farther declared, "That he never would be guilty of so base an action as to pretend any cause, of whose truth he was not fully satisfied." But this promise, though enforced to the commons by the recommendation of the upper house, made no greater impression than all the former messages.

Among the other evasions of the king, we may reckon the proposal of the house of peers, to subjoin, to the intended petition of right, the following clause: "We humbly present this petition to your majesty, not only with a care of preserving our own liberties, but with due regard to leave entire that *sovereign power*, with which your majesty is entrusted for the protection, safety, and happiness of your people." It is difficult to imagine that the lords could be so totally blind to consequences as not to perceive the weighty objections to this clause; or that the popular lords would have suffered it easily to pass, if they had not been certain of its fate in the lower house. It was rejected there with a warmth equal to the importance of the question. "In my opinion," said sir Edward Coke, "this clause weakens Magna Charta, and all the statutes; for they are absolute, without any saving of *sovereign power*: and should we now add it, it will weaken the foundation of law, and then the building must fall. Take we heed what we yield unto: *Magna Charta is such a fellow that he will have no sovereign.*"

These obstacles, therefore, being surmounted, the petition of right passed the commons, and was sent to the upper house (*s*). The peers, who were probably well pleased in secret that all their solicitations had been eluded by

(*s*) The Petition of Right is of so great importance to the liberty of the subject, that we shall make no apology for inserting it by way of note.

"Humbly shew, That whereas it is declared and enacted, by a statute made in the time of the reign of king Edward I. commonly called *Statutum de tallagio non concedendo*, that no tallage or aid shall be laid or levied by the king or his heirs, in this realm, without the good will and assent of the archbishops, bishops, earls, barons, knights, burgesses, and other freemen of the commonalty of this realm; and by authority of parliament, holden in the five and twentieth year of the reign of king Edward III. it is declared and enacted, that from thenceforth no person shall be compelled to make any loans to the king against his will, because such loans were against reason, and the franchise of the land; and by other laws of this realm it is provided, that none should be charged by any charge or imposition called a Benevolence, nor by suchlike charge; by which the statutes before-mentioned, and other the good laws and statutes of this realm, your subjects have inherited this freedom, that they should not be compelled to contribute to any tax, tallage, aid, or other like charge, not set by common consent of parliament.

"II. Yet, nevertheless, of late divers commissions, directed to sundry commissioners in several counties, with instructions, have issued; by means whereof your people have been in divers places assembled, and required to lend certain sums of money unto your majesty; and many of them, upon their refusal so to do, have had an oath administered unto them, not warrantable by the laws or statutes of this realm, and have been constrained to become bound to make appearance and give attendance before your privy council, and in other places; and others of them have been therefore imprisoned, confined, and sundry other ways molested and disquieted: and divers other charges have been laid and levied upon your people in several counties, by lord-lieutenants, deputy-lieutenants,

by the commons, quickly passed the petition without any material alteration; and nothing but the royal assent was wanting to give it the force of a law. The king accordingly came to the house of peers; sent for the commons; and, being seated in his chair of state, the petition was read to him. Great was now the astonishment of all men, when, instead of the usual concise and clear form, by which a bill is either confirmed or rejected, Charles said, in answer to the petition, "The king willeth, that right be done according to the laws and customs of the realm, and that the statutes be put into execution; that his subjects may have no cause to complain of any wrong or oppression, contrary to their just rights and liberties, to the preservation whereof he holds himself in conscience as much obliged as of his own prerogative (*t*)."

It is surprizing that Charles, who had seen so many instances of the jealousy of the commons, who had himself so much roused that jealousy by his frequent evasive messages during this session, could imagine that they would rest satisfied with an answer so vague and indeterminate. It was evident, that the unusual form alone of the answer must excite their attention; that the disappointment must inflame their anger; and that therefore it was necessary, as the petition seemed to bear hard on royal prerogative, to come early to some fixed resolution, either gracefully to comply with it, or courageously to reject it.

It happened as might have been foreseen. The commons returned in very ill humour. Usually, when in that disposition, their zeal for religion, and their enmity against the unfortunate Catholics, ran extremely high. But they had already, in the beginning of the session, presented their petition of religion, and had received a satisfactory answer; though they expected that the execution of the laws against papists would, for the future, be no more exact and rigid, than they had hitherto found it. To give vent to their present indignation, they fell with their utmost force [illegible]n Dr. Manwaring.

There is [illegible]othing which tends more to excuse, if not to justify, the extreme rigour of the commons towards Charles, than his open encouragement and avowal of such general principles as were altogether incompatible with a limited government. Manwaring had preached a sermon, which the commons found, upon enquiry, to be printed by special command of the king; and, when this sermon was looked into, it contained doctrines subversive of all civil liberty, as we have before observed; and for the doctrines which it contained the commons impeached the preacher. The sentence, pronounced upon him by the peers, was, that he should be imprisoned during the pleasure of the house, be fined a thousand pounds to the king, make submission and acknowledgement of his offence, be suspended during three years from the exercise of his ministry, be incapable for ever of holding any ecclesiastical dignity or secular office, that his book be called in and burnt, and that the printing thereof hereafter be inhibited upon a great penalty.

It may be worthy of notice, that no sooner was the session ended, than this man, so justly noxious to both houses, received a pardon, and was promoted to a living of considerable value. Some years after, he was raised to the see of St. Asaph. If the republican spirit of the commons increased the monarchical spirit of the court; this latter, carried to so high a pitch, tended still farther to augment the former. And thus extremes were every where affected, and the just medium was gradually deserted by all men.

From Manwaring, the house of commons proceeded to censure the conduct of Buckingham, whose name hitherto they had cautiously forborn to mention. In vain did the king send them a message, in which he told them, that the session was drawing near to a conclusion; and desired, that they would not enter upon new business, nor cast any aspersions on his government and ministry. Though the court endeavoured to explain and soften this message by a subsequent message; as Charles was apt hastily to correct any precipitate step which he had taken; it served rather to inflame than to appease the commons: as if the method of their proceedings had here been prescribed to them. It was foreseen, that a great tempest was ready to burst on the duke; and in order to divert it, the king thought proper, upon a joint application of the lords and commons, to endeavour giving them satisfaction with regard to the petition of right. He came therefore to the house of peers, and pronouncing the usual form of words, "*Soit droit fait comme il est desiré:*" that is, "*Let it be law as is desired,*" gave full sanction and authority to the petition. The acclamations with which the house resounded, and the universal joy diffused over the nation, showed how much this petition had been the object of all men's vows and expectations.

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tenants, commissioners for musters, justices of peace, and others, by command or direction from your majesty, or your privy council, against the laws and free customs of this realm.

"III. And whereas also by the statute called *The Great Charter of the Liberties of England,* it is declared and enacted, That no freeman may be taken or imprisoned, or be disseised of his freeholds or liberties, or his free customs, or be out-lawed or exiled, or in any manner destroyed, but by the lawful judgement of his peers, or by the law of the land.

"IV. And in the eight and twentieth year of the reign of king Edward III. it was declared and enacted, by authority of parliament, that no man of what estate or condition that he be, should be put out of his lands or tenements, nor taken, nor imprisoned, nor disherited, nor put to death, without being brought to answer by due process of law.

"V. Nevertheless, against the tenour of the said statutes, and other the good laws and statutes of your realm to that end provided, divers of your subjects have of late been imprisoned without any cause shewed; and when, for their deliverance, they were brought before justices, by your majesty's writs of Habeas Corpus, there to undergo and receive as the court should order, and their keepers commanded to certify the cause of their detainer, no cause was certified, but that they were detained by your majesty's special command, signified by the lords of your privy council; and yet were returned back to several prisons, without being charged with any thing to which they might make answer by due process of law.

"VI. And whereas of late great companies of soldiers and mariners have been dispersed into divers counties of the realm, and the inhabitants, against their wills, have been compelled to receive them into their houses, and there to suffer them to sojourn, against the laws and customs of this realm, and to the great grievance and vexation of your people.

"VII. And whereas also by authority of parliament, in the five and twentieth year of the reign of king Edward III. it is declared and enacted, That no man should be forejudged of life or limb against the form of the Great Charter, and law of the land; and by the said Great Charter, and other the laws and statutes of this your realm, no man ought to be adjudged to death but by the laws established in this your realm, either by the customs of the same realm, or by acts of parliament: and whereas no offender of what kind soever is exempted from the proceedings to be used, and punishments to be inflicted by the laws and statutes of this your realm: nevertheless, of late divers commissions, under your majesty's great seal, have issued forth, by which certain persons have been assigned and appointed commissioners, with power and authority to proceed within the land, according to the justice of martial law, against such soldiers and mariners, or other dissolute persons joining with them, as should commit any murder, robbery, felony, mutiny, or other outrage or misdemeanour whatsoever; and by such summary course and order as is agreeable to martial law, and as is used in armies in time of war, to proceed to the trial and condemnation of such offenders, and then to cause to be executed and put to death, according to the law martial.

"VIII. By pretext whereof some of your majesty's subjects have been, by some of the said commissioners, put to death; when and where, if by the law and statutes of the land they had deserved death, by the same laws and statutes also they might, and by no other ought, to have been adjudged and executed.

"IX. And also sundry grievous offenders, by colour thereof claiming an exemption, have escaped the punishments due to them by the laws and statutes of this your realm, by reason that divers of your officers and ministers of justice have unjustly refused or forborn to proceed against such offenders according to the same laws and statutes, upon pretence that the said offenders were punishable only by martial law, and by authority of such commissions as aforesaid; which commissions, and all other of like nature, are wholly and directly contrary to the said laws and statutes of this your realm.

"X. They do therefore humbly pray your most excellent majesty, That no man hereafter be compelled to make or yield any gift, loan, benevolence, tax, or such-like charge, without common consent, by act of parliament; and that none be called to make answer, or take such oath, or to give attendance, or to be confined, or otherwise molested or disquieted concerning the same, or for the refusal thereof; and that no freeman, in any such manner as is before mentioned, be imprisoned or detained; and that your majesty would be pleased to remove the said soldiers and mariners, that your people may not be so burdened in time to come; and that the foresaid commissions for proceeding by martial law may be revoked and annulled: and that hereafter no commissions of like nature may issue forth to any person or persons whatsoever, to be executed as aforesaid, lest by colour of them, any of your majesty's subjects be destroyed, or put to death, contrary to the laws and franchises of the land.

"XI. All which they most humbly pray of your most excellent majesty, as their rights and liberties, according to the laws and statutes of this realm: and that your majesty would also vouchsafe to declare, That the awards, doings, and proceedings, to the prejudice of your people, in any of the premises, shall not be drawn hereafter into consequence or example: and that your majesty would be also graciously pleased, for the future comfort and safety of your people, to declare your royal will and pleasure, that in the things aforesaid all your officers and ministers shall serve you according to the laws and statutes of this realm, as they tender the honour of your majesty, and the prosperity of this kingdom." *Statutes at Large,* 17 *Car. cap.* 14.

This Petition of Right was drawn up by sir Edward Coke.

(*t*) When it was generally known that the Petition of Right had been passed in the proper form, the city of London resounded with the rejoicings of all ranks of people. Bonfires and the ringing of bells proclaimed the applause of the public. See Sanderson's Life of Charles I. p. 113.

We may justly affirm, without fear of exaggeration, that the king's assent to the petition of right produced such a change in the government, as was almost equivalent to a revolution; and by circumscribing, in so many articles, the royal prerogative, gave additional security to the liberties of the subject. Yet were the commons far from being satisfied with this important concession. Their ill humour had been so much irritated by the king's frequent evasions and delays, that it could not be presently appeased by a bare assent, which he allowed to be so reluctantly extorted from him. Perhaps too, the popular leaders saw the opportunity favourable; and turning against the king those very weapons with which he had furnished them, resolved to pursue the victory. The bill, however, for five subsidies, which had been formerly voted, immediately passed the house, because the granting of that supply was, in a manner, tacitly contracted for, upon the royal assent to the petition; and had faith been here violated, no farther confidence could have subsisted between king and parliament. Having made this concession, the commons continued to carry their scrutiny into every part of government. In most particulars their industry was laudable; but in some it may be liable to censure.

A little after writs were issued for summoning this parliament, a commission had been granted to sir Thomas Coventry, lord keeper, the earl of Marlborough, treasurer, the earl of Manchester, president of the council, the earl of Worcester, privy-seal, the duke of Buckingham, high admiral, and all the considerable officers of the crown; in the whole, thirty-three. By this commission, which, from the number of persons named in it, could be no secret, the commissioners were empowered to meet and to concert among themselves the methods of levying money by impositions, or otherwise; "Where form and circumstance," as expressed in the commission, "must be dispensed with, rather than the substance be lost or hazarded." In other words, this was a scheme for finding expedients, which might raise the prerogative to the greatest height, and render parliaments entirely useless. The commons applied for cancelling the commission; and were, no doubt, desirous that all the world should conclude the king's principles to be extremely arbitrary, and should observe what little regard he was disposed to pay to the liberties and privileges of his people.

A commission had likewise been granted, and some money remitted, in order to raise a thousand German horse, and transport them into England. These were supposed to be levied, in order to support the projected impositions or excises; though the number seems insufficient for such a purpose. The house took notice of this design in severe terms: and no measure, surely, could be projected more generally odious to the whole nation.

Shortly after the commons resumed their censure of Buckingham's conduct and behaviour, against whom they were implacable. They agreed to present a remonstrance to the king, in which they recapitulated all the national grievances and misfortunes, and omitted no circumstance which could render the whole administration despicable in the eyes of the people. The compositions with the Catholics, they said, amounted to no less than a toleration, which was hateful to God, full of dishonour and disprofit to his majesty, and of extreme scandal and grief to his good people: they took notice of the violations of liberty above mentioned, against which the petition of right seems to have provided a sufficient remedy: they mentioned the decay of trade, the unsuccessful expeditions to Cadiz and the isle of Rhé, the encouragement given to Arminians, the commission for transporting German horse, that for levying illegal impositions; and all these grievances they ascribed solely to the ill conduct of the duke of Buckingham. This remonstrance was, perhaps, not the less provoking to Charles, because, joined to the extreme acrimony of the subject, there were preserved in it, as in most of the remonstrances of that age, an affected civility and submission in the language.

It was not without good grounds that the commons assumed so high a tone. Though they had already granted the king the supply of five subsidies, they still retained a pledge in their hands, which they thought ensured them success in all their applications. Tonnage and poundage had not yet been granted by parliament; and the commons had, this session, concealed their intention of invading that branch of revenue, till the royal assent had been obtained to the petition of right, which they justly deemed of great importance. They then openly asserted, that the levying of tonnage and poundage without consent of parliament, was a palpable violation of the ancient liberties of the people, and an open infringement of the petition of right, so lately granted. The king, in order to prevent the finishing and presenting of this remonstrance, came suddenly to the parliament on the 26th of June, and ended this session by a prorogation.

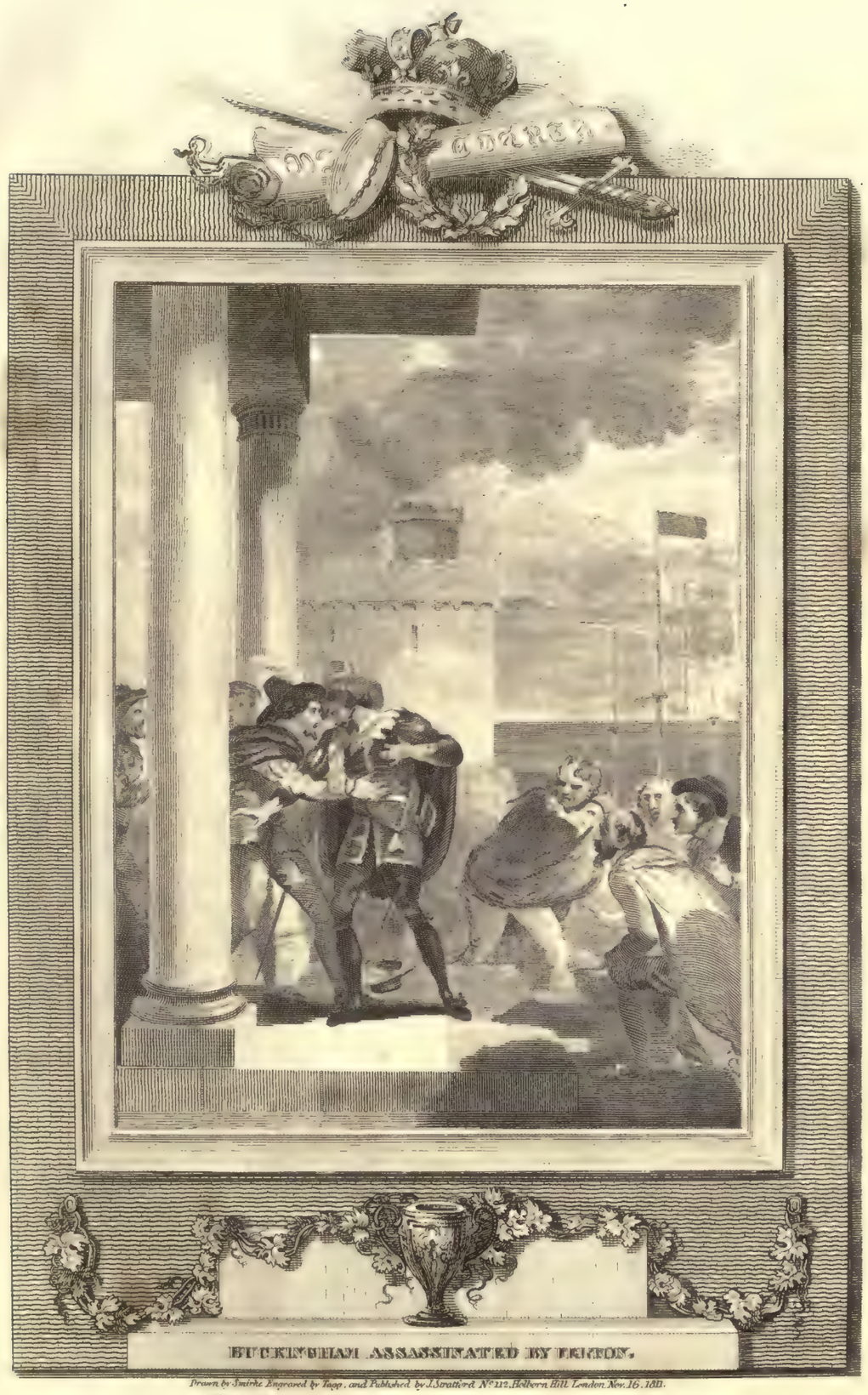
Being freed for some time from the embarrassment of this assembly, Charles began to look towards foreign wars, where all his efforts were equally as unsuccessful, as in his domestic government. The earl of Denbigh, brother-in-law to Buckingham, was dispatched to the relief of Rochelle, which was at this time closely besieged by land, and threatened with a blockade by sea: but he returned without effecting any thing; and having declined to attack the enemy's fleet, he brought on the English arms the imputation either of cowardice or ill-conduct. In order to repair this dishonour, the duke went to Portsmouth, where he had prepared a considerable fleet and army, on which all the subsidies given by parliament had been expended. This supply had very much disappointed the king's expectations. The same spirit which prevailed in the house of commons, had diffused itself over the nation; and the commissioners appointed for making the assessments, had connived at all frauds, which might diminish the supply, and reduce the crown to still greater necessities. This national discontent, communicated to a desperate enthusiast, soon broke out in an event, which may be considered as remarkable.

There was one Felton, of a good family, but of an ardent, melancholic temper, who had served under the duke in the station of lieutenant. His captain being killed in the isle of Rhé, Felton had applied for the company; and when disappointed, he threw up his commission, and retired in discontent from the army. This fanatic perceived that the nation resounded with complaints against the duke; and he met with the remonstrance of the commons, in which his enemy was represented as the sole cause of every national grievance, and as the great enemy of the public. Religious fanaticism farther inflamed these vindictive reflections; and he fancied that he should do heaven acceptable service, if, at one blow, he dispatched this dangerous foe to religion and his country. Full of these dark views he secretly arrived at Portsmouth, at the same time with the duke, and watched an opportunity of effecting his sanguinary purpose.

Buckingham had been engaged in conversation with the duke of Soubize and other French gentlemen on the 23rd of August; and a difference of sentiment having arisen, the dispute, though conducted with temper and decency, had produced some vehement gesticulations and very lively exertions of voice. The conversation being finished, the duke drew towards the door; and in that passage, turning himself to speak to sir Thomas Fryer, a colonel in the army, he was, on the sudden, over sir Thomas's shoulder, struck upon the breast with a knife. Without uttering other words than "The villain has killed me;" in the same moment pulling out the knife, he breathed his last.

No man had seen the fatal blow, nor the person who gave it; but in the conclusion, every one made his own conjecture; and all agreed that the murder had been committed by the French gentleman, whose angry tone of voice had been heard, while their words had not been understood by the bystanders. But near the door there was found a hat, in the inside of which was sewed a paper, containing four or five lines of that remonstrance of the commons, which declared Buckingham an enemy to the kingdom; and under these lines was a short ejaculation. It was easily concluded that this hat belonged to the assassin: yet the difficulty still remained, "Who that person should be?" For the writing discovered not the name; and whoever he was, it was natural to believe that he had already fled far enough not to be found without a hat.

In this hurry, a man without a hat was seen walking very composedly before the door. One crying out, "Here is the fellow who killed the duke;" every body ran to ask, "Which is he?" The man very sedately answered, "I am he." The more furious immediately rushed upon him with drawn swords: others, more deliberate, defended and protected him: he himself, with open arms, calmly and cheerfully exposed his breast to the swords of the most enraged; being willing to fall a sudden sacrifice to their anger, rather than be reserved for that public justice which, he knew, would inevitably be executed upon him. He was now known to be that Felton who had served in the army.



BUCKINGHAM ASSASSINATED BY LEGION.

Drawn by Smirke Engraved by Tapp, and Published by J. Stratford N°112, Holborn Hill London Nov. 16, 1810.

Being carried into a private room, it was thought proper so far to dissemble as to tell him, that Buckingham was only grievously wounded, but not without hopes of recovery. Felton smiled, and told them, that the duke, he knew full well, had received a blow which had terminated all their hopes. When asked, at whose instigation he had performed that horrid deed? he replied, that they needed not to trouble themselves in that inquiry; that no man living had credit enough with him to have disposed him to such an action; that he had not even entrusted his purpose to any one; that the resolution proceeded only from himself, and the impulse of his own conscience; and that his motives would appear, if his hat were found: for that, believing he should perish in the attempt, he had there taken care to explain them.

When the king, who was within four miles of Portsmouth, was informed of this assassination, he received the news in public with an unmoved and undisturbed countenance; and the courtiers, who studied his looks, concluded, that secretly he was not displeased to be rid of a minister so generally odious to the nation. But Charles was still as much as ever, attached to his favourite; and, during his whole life, he retained an affection for Buckingham's friends, and a prejudice against his enemies. He urged too, that Felton should be put to the torture, in order to extort from him a discovery of his accomplices: but the judges declared, that though that practice had formerly been very usual, it was altogether illegal.

Laud, who had been lately promoted to the bishopric of London, suggested a suspicion that the Puritans were at the bottom of the mischief, and threatened the delinquent with the rack. Felton told them, that if that was to be his case, he did not know whom he might name in the extremity of torture; and if what he should then say was to go for truth, he could not tell whether his lordship the bishop of London, or which of the lords at the council-board, he might accuse; for torture would draw unexpected things from him. By a resolution of the king and council, the judges were consulted on this question, whether Felton might legally be put to the torture? The judges determined in the negative; and the king graciously declared, that since it could not be done by law, he would not, in this point, use his prerogative. On the 27th of November, Felton was brought to his trial. The unhappy enthusiast felt so exquisite a remorse for the crime he had committed, that on the court's passing sentence of death upon him, he offered that hand to be cut off which did the fact. Though the court disclaimed this request, as not within the compass of the law, and out of their power to grant, Charles sent to the judges to intimate his desire that Felton's hand might be cut off before the execution of the sentence of death. The judges returned answer, That the king's will could not be complied with; for in all murders the judgement was the same, unless when the statute of the 25th of Edward the Third altered the nature of the offence.

The distress of Rochelle had in the mean time risen to the utmost extremity. That vast genius of Richelieu, which made him form the greatest enterprizes, led him to attempt their execution by means equally great and extraordinary. In order to deprive Rochelle of all succour, he had projected the throwing across the harbour a mole of a mile's extent in that boisterous ocean; and having executed his project, he now held the town closely blockaded on all sides. The inhabitants, though pressed with the greatest rigours of famine, still refused to submit; being supported, partly by the lectures of their zealous preachers, partly by the daily hopes of relief from England. After Buckingham's death, the command of the fleet and army was conferred on the earl of Lindesey; who, arriving before Rochelle, made some attempts to break through the mole, and force his way into the harbour: but by the delays of the English, that work was now fully finished and fortified; and the Rochellers, finding their last hopes to fail them, were reduced to surrender at discretion, on the 18th of October, even in sight of the English admiral. Of twenty-two thousand persons shut up in the city, four thousand alone survived the fatigues and famine which they had undergone. The living not being in number sufficient, or in a condition to bury the dead, vermin and birds of prey fed on the exposed carcasses. The dying are said to have carried their own coffins into the church-yards, and there to have laid down and breathed their last. Rats, dogs, cats, mice, human flesh, and other distasteful food, had been the only provision on which these martyrs to the cause of religion and liberty had for some time fed. The few inhabitants that survived appeared like the skeletons of men (*u*). The persecution of the reformed churches was so violent, after the reduction of this fortress, that they were again obliged to implore aid of Charles: this they did in these terms; "That what they wrote was with their tears and their blood." This emphatical expression had no effect upon the English monarch, and the Hugonots were left to their fate. The unhappy situation of the Rochellers, and the miserable state of the reformed churches, could not fail exciting in the English a fresh disgust at the conduct of the ministry: this was inflamed by many other causes of complaint.

Since the last session of parliament, several wine-merchants had been committed to the Fleet prison for refusing to submit to an imposition of twenty shillings on the ton; and Charles declared in full council, that it was his absolute will and pleasure that a new duty of two shillings and two pence the hundred on currants should be added to the old one of three shillings and four pence. Richard Chambers a merchant, was committed to the Marshalsea prison for saying, "That greater impositions were required of the merchants in England than in any other place, and that they were more screwed up than the Turk." These words not having been expressed in the return of the writ, it was judged insufficient, and the warden of the prison directed to mend it: but the prisoner was advised by the court to submit to the lords of the council, and petition them for his enlargement. Before this time and his second return, Mr. Jermyn, the counsel for the prisoner, moved that he might be dismissed or bailed, as it appeared by the return he was not committed for treason, and that the return did not shew what the words were whereto he might give answer. The king's attorney desired that he might have time to consider of the return, and be informed of the words, and that in the interim the prisoner to attend the council-table, and petition. The prisoner stood upon the justice of the law, and the inheritance of the subject. On his importunity the court commanded him to be bailed (*v*); but withal told him, that he was indebted to the clemency of the court, it being in their power to draw an indictment against him, if they would, for contemptuous words. The judges, on account of the bailing of Chambers, were sent to attend the lord keeper, the lord treasurer, the lord privy-seal, and the chancellor of the duchy of Lancaster. The lord keeper declared to them, that the enlargement of Chambers was without due regard had to the privy-council, they not having been previously made acquainted with it. The judges excused themselves by saying, that the lord chief-justice had acquainted the lord keeper in private, before they had proceeded to bail the party; and moreover added, that what they had done in that affair was according to law, justice, and conscience. On this they were told, that it was necessary for the preservation of the state, that the power and dignity of the council-table should be preserved, and that it could not be done without a correspondency from the courts of justice. The attorney-general exhibited an information in the Exchequer against Samuel Vassal, a merchant of London, for refusing to pay the new duty of five shillings and six-pence on every hundred weight of currants (*w*). To this information Vassal pleaded the statute of Magna Charta, and the statute *de tallagio non concedendo;* and that this duty was imposed without assent of parliament. The barons of the Exchequer refused to hear Vassal's council argue for him; and

(*u*) Guiton, the mayor of Rochelle, who had made so obstinate a defence, going in his formalities to receive the conquerors, was told by Richelieu, that he must dismiss his halberdiers, for the king would be sole master and mayor of Rochelle. He answered, with a spirit truly noble, "If I had known you would not have kept your word with me, the burghers should have defended themselves to the last man, and I would then have buried myself under the ruins of the town." *Larrey*, vol. I. p. 207.

(*v*) On a recognizance of four hundred pounds: four securities were bound in a recognizance of a hundred pounds each. *Rushworth*, vol. i. p. 640.

(*w*) The information set forth, that king James did, by his letters patent, command the taking the said impositions; that his majesty that now is, by his letters patent dated the 26th of June, 2 Caroli, did, by the advice of his privy-council, declare his will and pleasure to be, that subsidies, customs, and impost, should be levied in such manner as they were in the time of king James, until it might receive a settling by parliament; that the said Samuel Vassal, before the 1st day of October, 4 Car. did bring into the port of London four thousand six hundred and thirty-eight hundred weight of currants, for which he refused to pay duty. *Rushworth*, vol. i. p. 641.

said

said that the king was in possession, and they would keep him in it (*x*). On this they sent Vassal to prison, and gave judgement for the king. The goods of one Rolles, a merchant, and a member of parliament, were likewise seized, and the same judgement given against him in the Exchequer. Those groveling instruments of oppression, the officers of the customs, who, in proportion to the baseness of their education, are insolent in office, said, with unprecedented impudence, "If all the parliaments were in you we would take your goods." Divers merchandizes belonging to the before-mentioned Richard Chambers, having been seized in the same manner, he sued forth a writ of replevin to regain possession: the barons of the Exchequer sent an injunction under the seal of their court, commanding the sheriff not to execute the writ, or any the like writs of replevin that should be afterwards sued forth for the delivery of any goods in the like nature detained; and declared in court that such goods were not repleviable by law. On this the sheriffs of London refused to execute the writ of replevin. Chambers, finding it impossible to obtain justice, offered to give security for the payment of the duties that were demanded. The court refused to take his security, and directed the officers of the customs to detain double the value of the sums which had been by them demanded, and to restore the residue. To these acts of violence committed against the London merchants, the court gave another cause of disgust, by levying an oppressive fine on the occasion of a riot, in which one Lamb, a supposed conjuror (*y*), and a creature of the duke of Buckingham, was killed.

The failure of the expedition to Rochelle, in which the English nation, from religious sympathy, so much interested themselves, could not but diminish the king's authority in the parliament during the approaching session. On the 20th of January, 1629, the parliament again met; when the commons found many other causes of complaint. Buckingham's conduct and character had afforded a sufficient reason for discontent against public measures: but after his death, there wanted not new reasons and new pretences for general dissatisfaction. Manwaring's pardon and promotion were taken notice of: Sibthorpe and Cosins, two clergymen, who, for like reasons, were no less hateful to the commons, had met with like favour from the king: Montague, who had been censured with moderation towards the Catholics, had been created bishop of Chichester. They found, likewise, upon inquiry, that all the copies of the petition of right, which were dispersed, had, by the king's orders, annexed to them the first answer, which had given so little satisfaction to the commons. An expedient by which Charles endeavoured to persuade the people that he had not in the least receded from his former claims and pretensions, particularly with regard to the levying of tonnage and poundage. Selden also complained in the house, that one Savage, contrary to the petition of right, had been punished with the loss of his ears, by a discretionary or arbitrary sentence of the star-chamber. But the great article on which the house of commons broke with the king, and which finally created in Charles a disgust to all parliaments, was their claim with regard to tonnage and poundage. On this occasion, therefore, it is necessary to give an account of the controversy.

The duty of tonnage and poundage, in more ancient times, had been commonly a temporary grant of parliament; but it had been conferred on Henry V. and all the succeeding princes, during life, in order to enable them to maintain a naval force for the defence of the kingdom. The necessity of levying this duty had been so apparent, that each king had ever claimed it from the moment of his accession; and the first parliament of each reign had usually, by vote, conferred on the prince the power of levying it. The parliament did not grant the duty of tonnage and poundage to Henry VIII. till the sixth year of his reign: yet this prince, who had not then raised his power to its greatest height, continued, during the whole time, to levy the imposition. During the short interval which passed between Charles's accession and his first parliament, he had followed the example of his predecessors; the house of commons, instead of granting this supply during the king's life-time, as it had been enjoyed by his immediate predecessors, voted it only for a year; and, after that should be elapsed, reserved to themselves the power of renewing or refusing it. Charles, however, continued still to levy this duty by his own authority; but in the succeeding parliament the commons took some steps towards declaring it illegal to levy tonnage and poundage without consent of parliament; yet the haughty disposition of Charles would not permit him to comply with their requests; and the abrupt dissolution of that parliament put an end, for the time, to their farther discussions on the subject. The following interval between the second and third parliament, was distinguished by so many exertions of prerogative, that men had little leisure to attend to the affair of tonnage and poundage, where the abuse of power in the crown might seem to be of a very disputable nature. But after the commons, during the precedent session, had remedied all these grievances by means of their petition of right, which they deemed so necessary; they afterwards proceeded to take the matter into consideration, and they showed an intention of exacting in return for the grant of this revenue, large compliances on the part of the crown. The sudden prorogation prevented them from bringing their pretensions to a full conclusion.

When Charles opened this session, he foresaw that the same controversy would arise; and therefore took care, very early, among many mild and reconciling expressions, to inform the commons, "That he had not taken these duties as appertaining to his hereditary prerogative; but that it ever was, and still is, his meaning to enjoy them as a gift of his people: and that, if he had hitherto levied tonnage and poundage, he pretended to justify himself only by the necessity of so doing, not by any right which he assumed. This concession, however, did not satisfy the commons; and they insisted, as a necessary preliminary, that the king should desist from levying these duties; after which, they were to take it into consideration, how far they would restore him to the possession of a revenue, of which he had divested himself. Charles did not think fit to relinquish the levying of these duties; and the commons openly declared, that they had at present many important matters to consult upon, chiefly with regard to religion; and if compliance were refused, no supply must be expected from them.

Charles was now involved in an inextricable labyrinth. By his own concessions, by the general principles of the English government, and by the form of every bill which had granted this duty, tonnage and poundage was derived entirely from the free gift of the people; and, consequently, might be withdrawn at their pleasure. If unreasonable in their refusal, they still refused nothing but what was their own. If public necessity required this supply, it might be thought also to require the king's compliance with those conditions which were the price of obtaining it. Though the motive for granting it had been the enabling of the king to guard the seas; it did not follow, that because he guarded the seas, he was therefore entitled to this revenue, without farther formality, since the people had still reserved to themselves the right of judging how far that service merited such a supply. But Charles, notwithstanding his declaration, was far from assenting to this conclusion in its full extent. The plain consequence, he saw, of all these refinements and inferences, was, that he must become a magistrate of a very different nature from his immediate predecessors, and must fall into a total dependence on subjects over whom former kings had exercised an authority almost unlimited. Entangled in a chain of consequences which he could not easily break, he was inclined to go higher, and rather deny the first principle, than admit of conclusions which to him appeared so unreasonable. Willing to preserve the harmony of the constitution, as exercised by his predecessors, he had intended to comply, as far as he easily could, with the ancient forms of the administration: but when these forms appeared to him to have no other tendency than to disturb that harmony, and to introduce a new constitution, he concluded, that the privileges of the people must give place to royal prerogative. From the rank of a monarch, to be degraded into what he thought a slave of his subjects, seemed, of all indignities the greatest; and nothing, in

(*x*) Vassal's goods had been seized and lodged in the custom-house.

(*y*) This Lamb was notorious for an ill fame. As he was coming from the playhouse one evening, the rabble gathered thick about him, and reviled him with the appellation of witch, devil, and the duke's conjuror. He took sanctuary at a vintner's, who, fearing that his house would be pulled down by the violence of the tumult, thrust him out; whereupon the mob, seeing that the city-guard were coming to his rescue, fell upon him, and bruised him in such a manner that he died the same night. The city of London endeavoured to find out the most active persons in this riot, but the aggressors were so faithful to each other that no witness appeared against any individual. The court, who looked upon this action as an insult on the favourite, fined the city six thousand pounds. *Complete Hist.* vol. iii. p. 45. *Rushworth*, vol. i. p. 618.

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his judgement, could exceed the humiliation attending such a state, but the meanness of tamely submitting to it, without making some efforts to preserve the authority transmitted to him by former kings.

Though these were the king's reflections and resolutions before the parliament assembled, he did not immediately break with them, upon their delay in voting him this supply. He thought that he could better justify any strong measure which he might afterwards be obliged to take, if he allowed them to carry to the utmost extremities their attacks upon his government and prerogative. He contented himself, for the present, with soliciting the house by messages and speeches. But the commons, instead of hearkening to his solicitations, proceeded to carry their scrutiny into his management of religion, which was the only grievance to which, in their opinion, they had not as yet, by their petition of right, applied a sufficient remedy.

It was not possible that this century, so fertile in religious sects and disputes, could escape the controversy concerning fatalism and free-will, which, being strongly interwoven both with philosophy and theology, had, in all ages, thrown every school and every church into such inextricable doubt and perplexity. The first Reformers in England, as in other European countries, had embraced the tenets of Predestination and absolute decrees, and had composed, upon that system, all the articles of their religious creed. But these principles having met with opposition from Arminius and his sectaries, the controversy was soon brought into this island, and began here to diffuse itself. The Arminians, finding more encouragement from the superstitious spirit of the church than from the Puritans, gradually incorporated themselves with the former; and some of that sect, by the indulgence of James and Charles, had attained the highest preferments in the hierarchy. But their success with the public had not been altogether answerable to that which they met with in the church and the court. Throughout the nation, they still lay under the reproach of innovation and heresy. The commons now levelled against them their formidable censures, and made them the objects of daily invective and declamation. Their protectors were stigmatized; their tenets canvassed; their views represented as dangerous and pernicious.

Amidst that complication of disputes in which men were then involved, we may observe, that the appellation *Puritan* stood for three parties, which, though commonly united, were yet actuated by very different views and motives. There were the political Puritans, who maintained the highest principles of civil liberty; the Puritans in discipline, who were averse to the ceremonies and episcopal government of the church; and the doctrinal Puritans, who rigidly defended the system of the first Reformers. In opposition to all these, stood the court party, the hierarchy, and the Arminians; only with this distinction, that the latter sect, being introduced a few years before, did not, as yet, comprehend all those who were favourable to the church and to monarchy. But, as the controversies on the subject daily grew warmer, men united themselves more intimately with their friends, and separated themselves wider from their antagonists; and the distinction gradually became uniform and regular.

This house of commons, which was much governed by the puritanical party, thought that they could not better serve their cause than by branding and punishing the Arminian sect, which, introducing an innovation in the church, were the least favoured and least powerful of all their antagonists. From this measure it was easily foreseen, that, besides gratifying the animosity of the doctrinal Puritans, both the Puritans in discipline, and those in politics, would reap considerable advantages. Laud, Neile, Montague, and other bishops, who were the chief supporters of episcopal government, and the most zealous partizans of the discipline and ceremonies of the church, were all supposed to be tainted with Arminianism. The same men and their disciples were the strenuous preachers of passive obedience, and of entire submission to princes; and if these could once be censured, and be expelled the church and court, it was concluded, that the hierarchy would receive a mortal blow, the ceremonies be less rigidly insisted on, and the king deprived of his most faithful friends, be obliged to abate those high claims of prerogative, on which at present he insisted.

But Charles was strongly determined to oppose them. Neither the dissipation incident to youth, nor the pleasures attending a high fortune, had been able to prevent him from embracing a sincere attachment to religion; which, though remote from popery, had a tincture of superstition in it; and, being averse to the doctrines of the Puritans, was represented by them as tending towards the abominations of antichrist. Laud also had unfortunately acquired a great ascendant over him: and as all those prelates, noxious to the commons, were regarded as his chief friends and most favourite courtiers, he was resolved not to disarm and dishonour himself, by abandoning them to the resentment of his enemies. Being totally unprovided with military force, and finding a refractory independent spirit to prevail among the people; the most solid basis of his authority, he thought, consisted in the support which he received from the hierarchy.

In the debates of the commons, which are transmitted to us, it is easy to discern so early some sparks of that enthusiastic fire, which afterwards set the whole nation in combustion. Mr. Rouse in a speech made use of the following allusion: "If a man meet a dog alone," said he, "the dog is fearful, though ever so fierce by nature: but if the dog have his master with him, he will set upon that man from whom he fled before. This shows, that lower natures, being backed by higher, increase in courage and strength; and certainly man, being backed with Omnipotency, is a kind of omnipotent creature. All things are possible to him that believes; and where all things are possible, there is a kind of omnipotency. Wherefore, let it be the unanimous consent and resolution of us all to make a vow and covenant henceforth to hold fast our God and our religion; and then shall we henceforth expect, with certainty, happiness in this world."

Oliver Cromwell, at that time a young man, a member of the house, shewed how active the bishop of Winchester had been in the favour that had been shewed to Manwaring, and that he countenanced ministers who preached flat popery.

The inquiries and debates concerning tonnage and poundage went hand in hand with these theological or metaphysical controversies. The officers of the custom-house were summoned before the commons, to give an account by what authority they had seized the goods of merchants who had refused to pay these duties: the barons of the exchequer were questioned concerning their decrees on that head. One of the sheriffs of London (Acton) was committed to the Tower for supporting the officers of the custom-house, and for insolent behaviour. The goods of Rolles, a merchant, and member of the house, being seized for his refusal to pay the duties, complaints were made of this violence, as if it were a breach of privilege: Charles supported his officers in all these measures; and the quarrel grew every day higher between him and the commons. Mention was made in the house of impeaching sir Richard Weston, the treasurer; and the king began to entertain thoughts of finishing the session by a dissolution.

Sir John Elliot framed a remonstrance against levying tonnage and poundage without consent of parliament, and offered it to the clerk to read. It was refused. He read it himself. The question being then called for, the speaker, sir John Finch, said, "That he had a command from the king to adjourn, and to put no question." Upon which he rose and left the chair. The whole house was in an uproar. The speaker was pushed back into the chair, and forcibly held in it by Hollis (son to the earl of Clare) and Valentine; till the following short remonstrance was framed, and passed by the house:

"First, Whosoever shall bring in innovation in religion, or by favour seek to extend or introduce Popery and Arminianism, or other opinions disagreeing from the true and orthodox church, shall be reputed a capital enemy to this kingdom and commonwealth. Secondly, Whosoever shall counsel or advise the taking and levying of the subsidies of tonnage and poundage, not being granted by parliament, or shall be an actor or instrument therein, shall be likewise reputed an innovator in the government, and a capital enemy to this kingdom and commonwealth. Thirdly, If any merchant, or other person whatsoever, shall voluntarily yield or pay the said subsidies of tonnage and poundage, not being granted by parliament, he shall likewise be reputed a betrayer of the liberty of England, and an enemy to the same." After the passing of these protestations, the house rose (z).

The king having heard that the commons had continued to sit, notwithstanding his command for the adjournment, sent a messenger for the serjeant with his mace: the house detained the serjeant, locked the door, and deposited the key in the hands of one of their members. Not only this messenger, but Maxwell, the usher of the black rod, having been

(z) On the close of every one of these protestations the house gave a loud applause. *Saunderson*, p. 131. *Parl. Hist.* vol. viii. p. 332.

been denied entrance, Charles was extremely angered, and directed the captain of the pensioners and guards to force the door. The mischief that this intended violence might have occasioned, was prevented by the sudden rising of the house, on the 3rd of March, which was adjourned to the tenth of the same month. In the intermediate space, Denzil Hollis, esq; sir Miles Hobart, sir John Elliot, sir Peter Hayman, John Selden, William Coriton, Walter Long, William Stroude, and Benjamin Valentine, esqs; were ordered to appear before the cooncil. Mr. Hollis, sir John Elliot, Mr. Coriton, and Mr. Valentine, attended; but refusing to answer out of parliament, they were committed close prisoners to the Tower. Warrants were at the same time issued for apprehending the rest, and for sealing up their studies (*a*).

On the tenth of March, the king came to the house of lords, where, without the ceremony of calling the commons to the bar, he dissolved the parliament (*b*). In the speech he made on this occasion, he called the party in the opposition vipers; bestowed great praises on his own adherents, and particularly on the house of lords, whom he commended for a dutiful demeanour. Indeed, the behaviour of this body had been so pacific and inoffensive, that in the whole course of this session, during the spirited exertions of the commons, their proceedings had been wholly confined to the framing a petition, concerning the old grievances of precedency to Scotch and Irish titles. This, they alledged, tended not only to the disservice and prejudice of his majesty, but his realms. Charles sent a civil denial to the petition; and these important pretensions continued yet undetermined (*c*).

Amongst the animated measures of the lower house that dignify the proceedings of this session, the warm debates which the commons had entered into on those innovations in the doctrines and forms of religion which had been introduced by Laud, Neile, Manwaring, and other bigoted priests, has been severely censured by sensible and candid writers. Had this circumstance been examined with that accuracy which the importance of it demands, these active patriots, who, to serve the best purposes, metamorphosed themselves into mere gownmen, would not only have been justified from acting on the narrow principles of religious bigotry, but would, from this exertion of their theological talents, appear possessed of an essential qualification necessary to form able legislators. Superstition, that weakness inseparable from the mind of man, has, from the first period of time, been the quality the most fatally instrumental in degrading his nature to an abject, yet willing dependence, on the creature of his own rank; and overturning divine and moral law, has fixed an acknowledged inferiority where God has marked equality. Every established form of worship has, for these reasons, been subordinate to the purposes of policy; and the engine religion been used with never-failing success to enslave the many to the few, and to fix on the firm basis of conscience, tyrannies irreconcileable to the wisdom of God, the dignity of human nature, and the welfare of mankind. Modes of faith powerfully operate on every government; and the ecclesiastical constitution of a country has an irresistible influence on the political. We must consider, therefore, these illustrious patriots as combating errors, which, however trivial they may appear on a slight view, yet carried with them alarming consequences to liberty. The essential points of faith in Arminianism or Puritanism had in them nothing repugnant to the freedom of the English constitution; but the followers of the former were studiously bent to exalt the power of churchmen, and were wedded to those forms and ceremonies that degrade the pure spirit of religion into an idolatrous worship of the objects of sense; and convert that contemplation of the Creator, which elevates, refines, and enlarges the human mind, into an implicit subjection to the interested opinions of men. In these respects, the innovations which the Arminians were daily making in the religious worship, was a proper object of parliamentary enquiry; and the discipline of the church was in its consequences too important to be trusted to the direction of a prince who had, like Charles, evidently manifested an inclination to exalt the sovereignty, not only beyond the spirit, but the forms of the constitution. In the first progress of the reformation, those monarchies that had adopted the speculative doctrine of the reformed churches, retained a great deal of that pomp of worship essential to the Popish superstition, and agreeable to the pampered senses of princes: neither had they relinquished subordination, nor that ecclesiastical servitude, that resignation of private judgement, which is so favourable to civil tyranny. This was the state of church-government in England after the Reformation had taken place; and it strengthened the tyranny of the crown, by flinging into the scale of regal power that absolute and unlimited jurisdiction which had been wrested from the bishop of Rome.

Those refugees who had taken shelter in the Low Countries from the persecution of Mary, brought with them, on their return to England at the accession of Elizabeth, more enlarged and independent notions than were agreeable to the views of this arbitrary princess; and she made use of that confidence the Protestants placed in her, and their fears of popery, to erect anew the court of High Commission. In the thirty-fifth year of her reign, she so entirely mastered a pusillanimous parliament, as to get an act passed, that all persons above the age of sixteen, who were absent from church a month, or who by word or writing declared their sentiments against the established religion, should be imprisoned till they made an open declaration of their conformity. This if they refused during three months, they were to abjure the realm; and if they either refused such abjurations, or staid in England beyond the time limited, they were to suffer as felons, without benefit of clergy. Thus she involved the Romanists and Dissenters under the title of Recusants.

The natural good sense of the people of England, strengthened by an increase of knowledge, could not long languish under this diabolical tyranny, without seeking a remedy from the powers of the constitution: and in James's first parliament, the lower house passed a bill against the establishment of any ecclesiastical canons without consent of lords and commons. The higher house, more open to James's cajolements, rejected the bill. Notwithstanding this discouragement, the active vigilant spirit of the commons exerted itself during the reign of this prince in such a vigorous opposition to the spiritual jurisdiction of the crown, that this exertion, with the mild conduct of archbishop Abbot, and several other rational and amiable prelates, enabled men openly to assert the natural right of exercising their reason. The literary disputes this occasioned brought over great numbers to the cause of freedom. Charles and his priesthood endeavour-

(*a*) The following are the interrogatories and answers that passed on this occasion at the council-board:

Mr. Hollis was asked, why he, contrary to his former use, did that morning that the tumult was in the lower house of parliament, place himself above divers of the privy-counsellors by the chair? He answered, that he at some other times as well as then seated himself in that place; and as for his sitting above the privy-counsellors, he took it to be his due in any place whatsoever, unless at the council-board; that he came into the house with zeal to do his majesty service; yet finding his majesty was now offended with him, he humbly desired, that he might rather be the subject of his mercy than his power. You mean rather of his majesty's mercy than his justice, answered the lord-treasurer. I say, of his majesty's power, replied Mr. Hollis.

Sir John Elliot was questioned, whether he had not spoken such and such words in the lower house of parliament? and shewed unto the said house such and such a paper? He answered, that whatsoever was said or done by him in that place, and at that time, was performed by him as a public man, and a member of that house; that he was, and always would be, ready to give an account of his sayings and doings in that place, whensoever he should be called unto it by that house; where, as he took it, he was only to be questioned.

Sir Miles Hobart being interrogated concerning his demeanour in the lower house of parliament, and for shutting the door? answered, that he desired to know by what warrant he was examined to give an account in that place of his actions in parliament, being a member. He believed it was a course without a precedent. That no council nor commission could take notice of any thing done in parliament, but a parliament itself. Nevertheless, he would not stick to confess, that it was he that shut the door that day, and when he had locked the door, he put the key in his pocket; and he did it because the house demanded it.

Sir Peter Hayman was asked, why he reproved the speaker so sharply? He answered, because he was the speaker, and so the servant of the house, and one that ought to have applied himself to the command of the house; he did it with the more freedom and detestation, because he was his countryman; but yet should have done it to any other man, that in the same kind should have deserved it as he did. On being farther demanded, what he would have done himself on being speaker, and commanded by the king to deliver such a message? he answered, he would have thrown himself at his majesty's feet, and having given his majesty to understand that, in respect of his office, he was the most improper and unfit person of any to deliver such a message; he would have most humbly supplicated his majesty to have elected some other to have performed that part. *Parl. Hist.* vol. viii. p. 354, *& seq.*

The parliament was not dissolved when these members were committed to the Tower. *Rushworth.*

(*b*) No acts passed this session. A bill to enlarge the liberty of hearing the word of God was among those that went through the lower house.

(*c*) Parl. Hist. vol. viii. p. 250, *& seq.* Journals of Lords.

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ed to restrain the subjects in that liberty they had exercised during the reign of James, and demanded a rigid conformity to ceremonies which had been long laid aside, and which were at this time peculiarly noxious to the religious opinions of the greatest part of the nation.

It was to these pretences that the commons in this session opposed themselves with the joint force of reason and eloquence; and shewed that the ecclesiastical authority Charles claimed, the use of which he had already given a disagreeable specimen of, had been all granted by parliament; that it must be subordinate to the power that created it, and the abuse of it liable to be corrected, and farther limited, by the after-resolutions of that assembly. The contempt which the abettors of tyranny affected to shew for the house of commons, had irritated this illustrious assembly, in several instances, into an undue exertion of their authority. They censured Lewis, Witherington, and one Burgess, a priest, for trifling verbal offences.

Sir John Eppesly, a member of the commons, desired leave to answer a complaint against him in the higher house. Mr. Selden objected, that such a concession would affect the privilege of the commons; that until the 18th of king James there had never been such a precedent (*d*). The chancellor of the duchy and secretary Cook, though two consummate courtiers, seconded Mr. Selden's motion. Secretary Cook said, "I am as careful to maintain a good correspondency with the lords as any man; but connivancy in this kind may overthrow the fundamental rights and privileges of the house: let it therefore be seriously considered of; for this not only concerneth the right of this house, but the liberty of the whole commonwealth." The result of this debate was, that sir John Eppesly should not have leave to answer.

The commons took into consideration a petition against lord Lambert, a member of their house; who being a colonel, had imposed four-pence on every soldier towards his officers' charges. The petitioner refusing to pay, was first set in the stocks, and after, by the lord Lambert, committed to a public prison. Amongst the number of complaints that were brought before the commons this session, one was preferred against the lord-deputy of Ireland and others, for appropriating the estate of the petitioner to their own uses (*e*).

The violence used to the house of commons, and the commitment of the members during the sitting of parliament, were outrages resulting from the determinations taken previous to its meeting, by the interested individuals that composed the cabinet and privy-councils. Of this noxious tribe, Laud, Neile, and Weston, the treasurer, had most to dread from the ensuing session. Laud, in his Diary, tells us, that the parliament broken up March 10th laboured his ruin. Weston was particularly marked by sir John Elliot as the object of an intended prosecution. The court-parasites every where declaimed against the house of commons, as an assembly of pragmatical, factious demagogues; and the noble sentiments of liberty, which had animated their proceedings, were not at this time so generally diffused as to affect the public with a consternation equal to their imminent danger, in being exposed to the unrestrained power of a projecting, wicked ministry. It is affirmed, that the courtiers at first were successful in their endeavours, to make the common people believe, that the commons were the aggressors, after the king had passed the Petition of Right. Notwithstanding this discouragement, together with the loss of sir Edward Coke, through disability from age and infirmities, and sir Thomas Wentworth, through the means of bribery, the opposition kept firm. They were composed of the greatest men England ever produced; well-founded in their principles; possessed of almost all the polite learning that was in the nation; intrepid in their conduct, from a conviction of the goodness of their cause; united in their counsels, from the sincerity of their intentions; and not to be diverted by any difficulties from pursuing the laudable end they aimed at.

Some people of the lower sort, warm in the interest of the party, a few days after the dissolution of parliament, threw two papers into the dean of St. Paul's yard; one against Laud, to this effect: "Laud, look to thyself; be assured thy life is sought, as thou art the fountain of all wickedness. Repent of thy monstrous sins before thou be taken out of the world; and assure thyself, neither God nor the world can endure so vile a counsellor or whisperer to live." The other, against the treasurer Weston, was to the same purport.

Charles attempted to vindicate to the public his violent conduct in a declaration, setting forth his reasons for dissolving the parliament. They were full of assertions of his upright intentions, without reconciling one of his measures to the principles of the constitution, or the Petition of Right; replete with abusive accusations of the patriotic party in the lower house; whilst the matter of the accusations shews, that the grievances of the nation could no otherwise be redressed than by the spirited exertion which it condemns. He acknowledges, that tonnage and poundage was ever enjoyed by the authority of parliament, and yet it was agreeable to his kingly honour to take it without that authority. The commons were charged with not obeying the adjournment immediately, and the king's power in that point supposed to be incontestable (*f*). There is no mention of the immediate cause of their non-compliance; which was, a manifest breach of the freedom of parliament, in the speaker's refusing, by the king's express command, to put the question. The declaration finishes with an assurance of good government; but that to depend on the king, and not in the strength, vigour, and goodness of the laws, to oppose a bad one. If Charles's most inveterate enemy had penned an acrimonious libel on his administration, it could not more fully have served the purpose of sowing the seeds of discontent, jealousy, and resentment, than this impolitic endeavour to reconcile the minds of the people to his pretensions.

The commons not having been called up, on the dissolution of the parliament, a proclamation was issued to give notice to the lords spiritual and temporal, knights, citizens, burgesses, and others concerned in the parliament, that they might depart about their needful affairs, without attending any longer in London. The declaration setting forth the reasons for dissolving the parliament had an effect so different from its intended purpose, that the people murmured highly for another; and said, if there was not one presently called, all things would be unsettled, and out of order. On this a proclamation was issued for suppressing such discourses; that it was presumption in any

(*d*) The case that Mr. Selden refers to is the trial of sir Giles Mompesson, a member of the house of commons.

(*e*) The following black transaction will serve as a specimen of the kind of barbarity and injustice practised at this time in the kingdom of Ireland. Sir Richard Graham, an officer in the army, got possession of part of the lands of Phelim Mac Pheagh Byrne, lord of the Byrne's territory. On commissioners having been appointed by James to examine into this affair, Graham put a stop to their proceedings by undertaking to prove, that the crown was entitled to the lands; and a commission was easily obtained, that empowered him, and others in his interest, to enquire into the said pretended title. Sir William Parsons got the lord-deputy's warrant to put him in possession of part of the lands, and sued Bryan, the son of Phelim, in the Exchequer for those of which he still retained the possession. Bryan maintaining his right, he and his brother, on the information of suborned witnesses, were, on March 13, 1623, committed close prisoners to Dublin-castle. One of these having refused to be an evidence, was cruelly tortured till he consented to accuse the two brothers. On the information of these witnesses, two bills were preferred against them. Two several grand-juries, not finding the bills, were prosecuted in the Star-chamber, and fined. On king Charles's sending an order to the lord-deputy to pass the lands to Phelim and his son, a new prosecution was set on foot. The two brothers were committed close prisoners to the Castle of Dublin, loaded with irons, without any diet from the crown, or leave for any friend to visit and relieve them. The whole family was involved in one common accusation of keeping company with, and relieving Marrogh Baccogh Kevenah, who had been engaged in a rebellion. Eight men, who had incurred the penalty of the law, were the witnesses. A grand-jury, consisting of men interested in the prosecution, was impanelled to try Phelim and his family. They found the bill; yet other witnesses were necessary to the trial of the parties: to obtain these very illegal powers were exerted. People were tried and condemned by martial law, at a time when the courts of justice were sitting: some of these were executed, and publicly declared, that they came to that fate because they could not accuse Phelim and his sons. The friends of the persecuted gentlemen made application in their behalf to the king and council in England: the chief of these friends who thus interposed was sir Francis Annesly, afterwards lord Mountnorris. And this is the ground of the imputation laid upon him by Clarendon, of being an enemy to the deputies of Ireland. A commission was directed to the lord-primate of Ireland, the lord-chancellor, the archbishop of Dublin, the lord-chief-justice, and sir Arthur Savage, who taking the depositions of a great number of witnesses, the truth of the above-mentioned circumstances fully appeared. This restored the gentlemen to their liberty, but not to their estates; a considerable part whereof had been, during their imprisonment, passed to sir William Parsons, by a patent dated the 4 August, 4 Car. *Carte's Hist. of the Life of James, Duke of Ormond*, fol. 1736. p. 27, *& seq.*

(*f*) The power of adjourning, though it had not been formerly disputed, was a point of privilege that the commons had by no means given up to the crown: their right had been asserted by several of the popular members, and never contradicted by a resolution of the house. That great oracle, sir Edward Coke, affirmed, that the king prorogued, but the house adjourned itself.

to prescribe any time to his majesty for parliaments, the calling, continuing, and dissolving them, being always in the king's own power; that his majesty will be more inclinable to meet his parliament again, when his people shall see more clearly into his intentions and actions; when such as have bred this interruption shall receive their condign punishment, and those who are mis-led by them, and such ill reports as are raised upon this occasion, shall come to a better understanding of his majesty and themselves (*g*).

Charles was now determined to govern entirely by his council, and to raise money by his prerogative. To justify his proceedings against the imprisoned and absconded members, the judges were assembled on the 25th of April, 1629, and certain resolutions extorted from them, calculated not only to justify the proceedings of the ministry, but to awe any future parliament from disputing the will of the court. Judge Whitelock, notwithstanding that he gave his assent with the rest of his brethren, said, if Laud went on to get previous determinations to justify all his arbitrary measures, he would kindle a flame in the nation. Chambers, for the words he had spoken at the council-board, that the merchants in England were more screwed up than in Turkey, was fined in the Star-chamber two thousand pounds, and to acknowledge his offences at the council-board, the Star-chamber bar, and the Exchange. Notwithstanding his plea that these words were only spoken in the presence of the privy-council, and not abroad to stir up discord amongst the people, and with no other view than to introduce his just complaints against the inferior officers, the fine was thought very moderate by this court: some of the members voted it to be three thousand pounds; of this number was bishop Laud. When the draught of the submission was read to Chambers, he thus subscribed it: "All the abovesaid contents and submissions, I Richard Chambers, do utterly abhor and detest, as most unjust and false; and never till death will acknowledge any part thereof (*h*)." Chambers put in a plea in the court of Exchequer against paying the fine; that the said fine was imposed by the king and the council, and not by a legal judgement of his peers, nor by the laws of the land, nor according to the manner of his offence, nor saving his merchandize, &c. To this plea he annexed a petition to the lord chief baron, and the other barons, humbly desiring the filing the plea, with other reasons, in the manner of a motion at the bar, because council would not move, plead, nor set hand to it. On the representation of Mr. Attorney, that this plea was frivolous, insufficient, and derogatory to the honour and jurisdiction of the Star-chamber, the court over-ruled it, and the petitioner was imprisoned six years for not submitting to the sentence of the court.

On Easter-Term Mr. Stroud and Mr. Long, two of the imprisoned members, brought their Habeas Corpus to be admitted to bail. The judges, intimidated by a warrant the king had sent under his own hand for their detention, remanded them; but before the next term they sent a letter to the king, in which they represented, that by their oaths they were to bail the prisoners; but thought fit, before they did it, or published their opinions therein, to inform his majesty thereof, and humbly to advise him, as had been done by his noble progenitors in the like case, to send a direction to his justices of the bench to bail the prisoners. Charles told the judges, that he was dissatisfied with the contents of their letter, and ordered them to take no step in bailing the prisoners till they had advised with the judges of the other benches. During this delay, the prisoners were removed into other prisons; the king sending a letter to the judges to acquaint them, that the removal was occasioned by their insolent carriage at the bar of the Star-chamber, and at the bar of the King's-Bench.

It was not till Michaelmas-Term following, that Charles was brought to consent that the prisoners should be bailed, provided they gave security for their good behaviour. This was a point of law in favour of the crown, which Mr. Selden, with a spirit truly magnanimous, refused to assent to; since giving bail for good behaviour was a punishment, and implied an offence, that yet remained to be tried and proved (*i*). The rest of the prisoners, animated by Mr. Selden's example, determined to defend this constitutional point, at the expence of their personal liberties. On their refusal to find bail for their good behaviour, they were remanded to the Tower, and an information lodged against them in the King's-Bench for sedition and contempt; and against Mr. Long, for that he, being chosen sheriff of the county of Wilts, and by his oath to keep within his county, unless he had the king's licence to the contrary, yet he did come to parliament, and serve as a member there, and in the time of parliament resided out of his county (*k*). All the parties under prosecution excepted to the jurisdiction of the court. This exception in the case of Long was treated as a derogation of the jurisdiction of the court: he was sentenced to be committed to the Tower, there to remain during the king's pleasure, to pay a fine of two thousand marks to the king's use, and to make humble submission and acknowledgement of his offence, both in the court of Star-chamber and to the king, before his enlargement.

To the other exceptions against the jurisdiction of the court, notwithstanding that the council for the prisoners had proved, that there never was a precedent of such offences having been punished in that court, where any plea was put in, the judges agreed, that the court had jurisdiction, though the offences were committed in parliament; and that the members imprisoned ought to answer. They still refusing to plead before the court, the following judgement was given against them upon a *Nihil Dicit*: "That every of the defendants shall be imprisoned during the king's pleasure. Sir John Elliot to be imprisoned in the Tower of London, and the other defendants in other prisons. That none of them shall be delivered out of prison, until he give security in this court for his good behaviour, and have made submission and acknowledgement of his offence. Sir John Elliot, inasmuch as we think him the greatest offender and ring-leader, shall pay to the king a fine of two thousand pounds; Mr. Hollis a fine of two thousand marks; and Mr. Valentine, because he is of less ability than the rest, shall pay a fine of five hundred pounds."

The imprisonment of these illustrious sufferers was long, their treatment under confinement rigorous and cruel: they were denied the use of pen and ink, and, even in their sicknesses, all communication with their wives and families. Under these oppressions died sir John Elliot. It is the peculiar duty of history to do justice to injured and aspersed virtue. The merits of sir John Elliot demand a particular attention, as the first martyr to the cause of liberty. In his public life, he always appeared as an independent agent for the people, a faithful trustee of that sacred charge committed to a representative by his constituents, an intrepid assertor of the privileges of parliament, and a zealous defender of the liberty of the subject; determined in his opposition to the unconstitutional pretensions of the crown, and the arrogant and dangerous encroachments of favourites and ministers. By this steady, manly conduct, he gained so much of the esteem and confidence of the public, that from 1618 to 1628 he was always elected a knight of his county, or a burgess for some borough therein, to serve in all parliaments. He possessed a bold, spirited, and nervous elocution, a lively imagination, and ready wit (*l*). He was a more forward

(*g*) The courtiers were so emboldened by the king's openly avowing an intention to call no parliaments till the people were rendered submissive to his will, that one Atkinson having sued a servant of the king, the earl of Montgomery, the lord-chamberlain, committed him for having done it without his leave. Atkinson was delivered on his Habeas Corpus; and that very day Montgomery again committed him, in contempt of the court. Hyde denied to grant a warrant for another Habeas Corpus, but it was obtained from the rest of the judges. Before its return, Atkinson was discharged from prison. *Whitlock*, p. 13.

(*h*) The substance of the submission was as follows: That Richard Chambers having been convened before the lords and others of his majesty's most honourable privy council board, did then and there, in insolent, contemptuous, and seditious manner, falsely and maliciously say and affirm, &c. *Rushworth*, vol. i. p. 672.

(*i*) The judges, to prevail with the prisoners to assent to this illegal demand, assured them, that one bail should suffice, and all should be written on one piece of parchment. They were every one so resolute in their denial, that when Asbly, the king's serjeant, offered his own bail for Mr. Hollis, who had married his daughter and heiress, the court was obliged to reject it, because Mr. Hollis refused to be bound in the obligation. *Baker's Chronicle*, p. 445. *Rushworth*, vol. i. p. 687.

(*k*) It is said, that when Mr. Long's council pleaded ancient records to exempt members of parliament from the jurisdiction of that court in matters concerning the parliament, that bishop Horsnet replied, "Don't trouble us with moth-eaten precedents; we sit here not to be guided by precedents, but to make them."

(*l*) There is in the British Museum a very valuable MSS. numb. 2228. entitled, "The Monarchy of Man, a treatise philosophical and moral, composed by Sir John Elliot," whilst a prisoner in the Tower. The same spirit of liberty, the same just notions of government, animated the writer as animated the orator. After asserting, from Theodosius and other authorities, that kings are subject to laws, he observes, "It is their majesty, their honour, their exaltation, so to be: the reason is, that the law is the ground of all authority; all authority and rule dependent on the law."

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leader of opposition than any of his contemporaries, and the most daring champion for the public cause.

There now opens to us a new scene. Charles, disgusted with parliaments, resolved not to call any more, as we have before said, till he should see greater indications of a compliant disposition in the nation. Having lost his great favourite, Buckingham, he became, in some measure, his own minister; the general tenour of his administration therefore wanted much of being entirely legal, and perhaps more of being entirely prudent.

We shall endeavour to exhibit a just idea of the events which followed for some years; so far as they regard foreign affairs, the state of the court, and the government of the nation. The incidents are neither numerous nor illustrious; but the knowledge of them is necessary for understanding the subsequent transactions, which occasioned so great a change of affairs, particularly in this country.

Charles, destitute of all supply, was reduced to the necessity of embracing a measure, which ought to have been the result of reason and sound policy: he made peace with the two crowns against which he had hitherto waged a war, entered into without necessity, and conducted without glory. Notwithstanding the distracted and helpless condition of England, no attempt was made either by France or Spain, to invade their enemy; nor did they entertain any farther project, than to defend themselves against the feeble and ill-concerted expeditions of that kingdom. Pleased that the jealousies and quarrels between king and parliament had disarmed so formidable a power, they avoided any enterprize which might rouse either the terror or anger of the English, and dispose them to domestic union and submission. The endeavours to regain the good-will of the nation were carried so far by the king of Spain, that he released and sent home all the English prisoners taken in the expedition against Cadiz. The example was imitated by France, after the retreat of the English from the isle of Rhé. When princes were in such dispositions, and had so few pretensions on each other, it could not be difficult to conclude a peace. The treaty was first signed with France, on the 14th of April, 1629; but he neglected the distressed Hugonots, and they were abandoned to the will of their sovereign. Peace was afterwards concluded with Spain (on the 5th of November, 1630;) and no conditions were made in favour of the Palatine, except that Spain promised in general to use their good offices for his restoration. The influence of these two wars on domestic affairs, and on the dispositions of king and people, was of the utmost consequence; but no alteration was made by them on the foreign interests of the kingdom.

Europe was now divided between the rival families of Bourbon and Austria, whose opposite interests, and still more their mutual jealousies, secured the tranquillity of this island. Their forces were so nearly equipoised, that no apprehensions were entertained of any event which could suddenly disturb the balance of power between them. The Spanish monarch, deemed the most powerful, lay at the greatest distance; and the English, by that means, possessed the advantage of being engaged by political motives into a more intimate union and confederacy with France. The dispersed situation of the Spanish dominions rendered the naval power of England formidable to them, and kept that empire in continual apprehension. France, more vigorous and more compact, was every day rising in policy and discipline; and reached, at last, an equality of power with the house of Austria: but her progress, slow and gradual, left it still in the power of England, by a timely interposition, to check her superiority. And thus Charles, could he have avoided all dissensions with his own subjects, was in a situation to make himself be courted and respected by every power in Europe; and, what has scarcely ever since been attained by the princes of this island, he could either be active with dignity, or neutral with security.

A neutrality between the rival powers of France and Austria was embraced by the king; and, during the rest of his reign, he seems to have little regarded foreign affairs, except so far as he was engaged by honour, and by friendship for his sister and the Palatine, to endeavour the procuring of some relief for that unhappy family. He joined his good offices to those of France, and mediated a peace between the kings of Sweden (*m*) and Poland, in hopes of engaging the former to embrace the protection of the oppressed Protestants in the empire. To encourage and assist Gustavus in his projected invasion of Germany, Charles agreed to furnish him with six thousand men; but, that he might preserve the appearance of neutrality, he made use of the marquis of Hamilton's name. That nobleman entered into an engagement with Gustavus; and enlisting these troops in England and Scotland at Charles's expence, he landed them in the Elbe. The decisive battle of Leipsic was fought soon after; where the conduct of count Tilly and the valour of the Imperialists was overcome by the superior conduct of Gustavus and the valour of the Swedes. What remained of this hero's life was one continued series of victory. Military nations were not now engaged against an undisciplined and unwarlike people; nor heroes set in opposition to cowards. The veteran troops of Ferdinand, conducted by the most celebrated generals, of the age, were foiled in every encounter, and all Germany was over-run in an instant by the victorious Swede. But by this extraordinary and unexpected success of his ally, Charles failed of the purpose for which he framed the alliance. Gustavus, elated by prosperity, began to form more extensive plans of ambition; and in freeing Germany from the yoke of Ferdinand, he intended to reduce it to subjection under his own. He refused to restore the Palatine to his principality, except on conditions which would have kept him in total dependence. And thus the negociation was protracted; till the battle of Lutzen, where the Swedish monarch perished in the midst of a complete victory which he obtained over his enemies. We have carried on these transactions a few years beyond the present period, that we might not be obliged to return to them; nor be henceforth interrupted in our account of Charles's court and kingdoms.

After the death of Buckingham, who had somewhat alienated Charles from the queen, she is to be considered as his chief friend and favourite. That rustic contempt of the fair sex, which James affected, and which, banishing them from his court, made it resemble more a fair or an exchange, than the seat of a great prince, was very wide of the disposition of this monarch. But though full of complaisance to the whole sex, Charles reserved all his passion for his consort, to whom he attached himself with unshaken fidelity and confidence. By her sense and spirit, as well as by her beauty, she justified the fondness of her husband; though it is allowed, that, being somewhat of a passionate temper, she precipitated him into hasty and imprudent measures. Her religion, likewise, to which she was much addicted, must be regarded as a great misfortune; since it augmented the jealousy which prevailed against the court, and engaged her to procure for the Catholics some indulgences which were generally distasteful to the nation.

In the former situation of the English government, when the sovereign was in a great measure independent of his subjects, the king chose his ministers either from personal favour, or from an opinion of their abilities, without any regard to their parliamentary interest or talents. It has since been the maxim of princes, wherever popular leaders encroach too much on royal authority, to confer offices on them; in expectation that they will afterwards become more careful not to diminish that power which has become their own. These politics were now embraced by Charles; a sure proof that a secret revolution had happened in the constitution, and had necessitated the prince to adopt new maxims of government. But the views of the king were at this time so repugnant to those of the Puritans, that the leaders, whom he gained, lost from that moment all interest with their party, and were even pursued as traitors with implacable resentment. This was the case with sir Thomas Wentworth, whom the king created first a baron, then a viscount, and afterwards earl of Strafford; made him president of the council of York, and deputy of Ireland; and regarded him as his chief minister and counsellor. Sir Dudley Digges was about the same time created master of the rolls: Noy, attorney-general: Littleton, solicitor-general. All these had likewise been parliamentary leaders; and were men eminent in their profession.

In all ecclesiastical affairs, and even in many civil, Laud, bishop of London, had great influence over the king. Bishop Laud was the person who acquired so great

(*m*) This was the famed Gustavus, whose heroic genius, seconded by the wisest policy, made him in a little time the most distinguished monarch of the age, and rendered his country, formerly unknown and neglected, of great weight in the balance of Europe.

an ascendant over Charles, and who led him into a conduct which proved so fatal to himself and to his kingdoms.

The temper of the nation was now very different from what it was formerly; the ceremonies of the church were deemed relics of popish superstition; and it was with difficulty that these ceremonies could be retained in divine service: yet was this the time which Laud chose for the introduction of new ceremonies and observances. Besides that these were sure to displease as innovations, there lay, in the opinion of the public, another very forcible objection against them. Laud, and the other prelates who embraced his measures, were generally well instructed in sacred antiquity, and had adopted many of those religious sentiments which prevailed during the fourth and fifth centuries; when the Christian church, as is well known, was already sunk into those superstitions which were afterwards continued and augmented by the policy of the Roman pontiffs. The revival, therefore, of the ideas and practices of that age, could not fail of giving the English faith and liturgy some resemblance to the Catholic superstition, which the kingdom in general, and the Puritans in particular, held in the greatest horror and detestation. Men also were apt to think, that, without some secret purpose, such insignificant observances would not be imposed with such unrelenting zeal on the refractory nation; and that Laud's scheme was to lead back the English by gradual steps to the religion of the church of Rome; in which perhaps they were not mistaken; for Laud and his brethren bore a much greater kindness to the mother-church, as it was called, than to the sectaries and presbyterians, and frequently recommended her as a true Christian church; an appellation which they refused, or at least scrupled to give to the others. So openly were these tenets espoused, that not only the Puritans believed the church of England to be relapsing fast into Romish superstition, but the court of Rome itself entertained hopes of regaining its authority in this island; and, in order to forward Laud's supposed good intentions, an offer was twice made him in private, of a cardinal's hat, which he declined accepting. His answer was, as he says himself, "That something dwelt within him, which would not suffer his compliance, till Rome were other than it is."

A court lady, daughter of the earl of Devonshire, having turned Catholic, was asked by Laud the reasons of her conversion "'Tis chiefly," said she, "because I hate to travel in a crowd." The meaning of this expression being demanded, she replied, "I perceive your grace and many others are making haste to Rome; and therefore, in order to prevent my being crowded, I have gone before you." It must be confessed, that though Laud deserved not the strict appellation of papist, the genius of his religion was, though in a less degree, the same with that of the Romish: the same profound respect was exacted to the sacerdotal character, the same submission required to the creeds and decrees of synods and councils, the same pomp and ceremony was affected in worship, and the same superstitious regard to days, postures, meats, and vestments. No wonder, therefore, that this prelate was, every where, among the Puritans, regarded with horror, as the fore-runner of antichrist.

As a specimen of the new ceremonies, to which Laud sacrificed his own quiet and that of the nation, it may not be amiss to relate those which he was accused of employing in the consecration of the church of St. Katherine Cree, which had been newly built by the parishioners, and for some time profanely made use of for religious offices, without the ceremony of a new consecration. This coming to the pious prelate's ears, he suspended it from all divine service till he had performed this office, which he did with much solemnity, to the surprize of an infinite number of spectators, who were ignorant of the necessity of such a ceremony. The communion table was removed from the middle of the area, where it had hitherto stood in all the churches, except in cathedrals: it was placed in the east end, and denominated an altar. It is difficult to imagine how violent the zeal of this man was to introduce these kind of innovations. In administering the sacrament, kneeling at the altar, and using copes were rigorously insisted on; the crucifix resumed its consequence; and the churches were ornamented with pictures that were to be found in the mass books.

On the bishop's approach to the west door of the church, several loud voices, previously prepared, cried, "Open, open, ye everlasting doors, that the king of glory may come in!" Immediately the doors of the church flew open, and the bishop entered. Falling upon his knees, with eyes elevated, and arms expanded, he uttered these words: "This place is holy; the ground is holy: in the name of the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, I pronounce it holy." Going towards the chancel, he several times took up from the floor some of the dust, and threw it in the air. When he approached, with his attendants, near to the communion-table, he bowed frequently towards it; and on their return, they went round the church in procession, repeating as they marched along, the hundredth psalm, then the nineteenth psalm; and then said a form of prayer, which concluded with these words: "We consecrate this church, and separate it unto thee as holy ground, not to be profaned any more to common uses." After this, the bishop, standing near the communion-table, solemnly pronounced many imprecations upon such as should afterwards pollute that holy place by musters of soldiers, or keeping in it profane law courts, or carrying burdens through it. On the conclusion of every curse he bowed towards the east, and cried, "Let all the people say, Amen." The imprecations being all so piously finished, there were poured out a number of blessings upon such as had any hand in framing and building that sacred and beautiful edifice, and on such as had given, or should hereafter give to it, any chalices, plate, ornaments, or utensils. At every benediction, he in like manner bowed towards the east, and cried, "Let all the people say, Amen." The sermon followed: after which, the bishop consecrated and administered the sacrament in the following manner: as he approached the communion-table, he made many lowly reverences; and coming up to that part of the table where the bread and wine were placed, he bowed seven times. After the reading of many prayers, he approached the sacramental elements, and gently lifted up the corner of the napkin in which the bread was laid. When he beheld the bread, he suddenly let fall the napkin, flew back a step or two, bowed three several times towards the bread; then he drew nigh again, opened the napkin, and bowed as before. Next he laid his hand on the cup, which had a cover upon it, and was filled with wine. He let go the cup, fell back, and bowed thrice towards it. He approached again; and lifting up the cover, peeped into the cup. Seeing the wine, he let fall the cover, started back, and bowed as before. Then he received the sacrament, and administered it to others. And many prayers being said, the solemnity of the consecration ended. The walls and floor and roof of the fabric were then supposed to be sufficiently holy (*n*).

It is not easy to imagine the discontents excited by this innovation of bishop Laud, and the suspicions which it gave rise to. The kneeling at the altar, and the using of copes, a species of embroidered vestment, in administering the sacrament, were also known to be great objects of scandal, because they were practices of the church of Rome; but the opposition rather increased than abated the zeal of the prelate for the introduction of these habits and ceremonies.

All kinds of ornament, especially pictures, were necessary for supporting that mechanical appearance of devotion, which was proposed to be raised by this shew of solemnity: but as these had been so much employed by the church of Rome, and had given rise to so much superstition, or what the Puritans judiciously called idolatry; it was impossible to introduce them into English churches, without exciting general murmurs and complaints. But Laud, possessed of present authority, persisted in his purpose, and made several attempts towards acquiring these ostentatious ornaments. Some of the pictures introduced by him were also found, upon enquiry, to be the very same that might be met with in the mass-book. The crucifix too, that eternal consolation of all pious Catholics, and terror to all sound Protestants, was not forgotten on this occasion.

Sherfield, the recorder of Salisbury, was prosecuted in the Star-chamber for having, in the windows of St. Edmund's church in that city, destroyed, by an order of the vestry, some panes of painted glass that represented the creation. To the information lodged against him in this court, he argued, that the church was a lay-fee, exempted from

(*n*) The same kind of farce was acted at the church of St. Giles's in the Fields; and Laud after this consecrated two newly built churches; the one at Hammersmith, and the other at Stanmore Magna in the county of Middlesex, with divers chapels, obliging the several parishes to pay fees to himself and officers for performing those ceremonies. *Heylin's Life of Laud, p.* 212.

from the jurisdiction of the bishop of the diocese; and that the parishioners had lawful power, without special licence from the bishop, to take down the glass of the window, and repair it with white glass. He farther pleaded, that the window was not fair and costly, as the information set forth, but of very rude work; that it was of four lights only, and not any of the fair windows in the church. He denied the riotous breaking of the window: he took a few small quarries of it down, in a quiet and peaceable manner; that it was not a true history of the creation, but a false description of the same, wretchedly executed; that the painter, to express God the Father, had painted the forms and pictures of divers little old men, seeming barefooted, and cloathed in long blue coats; that he held it ungodly, and altogether unlawful, to frame any image or similitude of God the Father, Creator of heaven and earth, and the first person in the Holy Trinity; that this his belief was the doctrine of the church of England, established by act of parliament in 13 Eliz.; that according to an act of parliament, 1 of this queen's reign, injunctions were published, whereby all that had cure of souls were commanded to instruct their parishioners to destroy pictures and monuments of idolatry and superstition, that no memory thereof might remain in walls, glass windows, or elsewhere; that it was to be enquired of in the visitations whether all images, pictures, paintings, and other monuments of idolatry, were removed; and that these injunctions being grounded on the statute of the 1 Eliz. were yet in force. Notwithstanding this plea, the court pronounced sentence, That Mr. Sherfield should be fined five hundred pounds, and removed from his office; that he should repair to the lord bishop of his diocese, and make acknowledgement of his offence and contempt, before such persons as the bishop should call unto him; and that he should be bound to his good behaviour.

Bishop Laud, who was very vigilant in this prosecution, made a long speech, in which he endeavoured to prove, that the custom of setting up images was not only inoffensive but laudable. "God the Father, in the prophet Daniel, was called the Ancient of Days; and images had been used in the earliest times of the church. However that might be, the act which Mr. Sherfield had committed was highly criminal, because done in contempt, or at least in neglect, of the authority of the church. If it had been the idol of Jupiter, and the people had professed divine worship to it, it would have been criminal in Mr. Sherfield to deface it, without lawful authority, as could be proved from scripture." Laud complained, that there had been many insolencies committed in that church: a bishop's bones had been taken up, and all to bury a tanner's wife. Mr. Sherfield had been guilty of breaking a consecrated thing: it pleased God to give him a fall upon the place; yet these things had not wrought him to confession that he had done amiss. Laud finished his harangue with prophesying, that the time would come in this kingdom when all those who despised the church would be brought low.—Neile, archbishop of York, made an elogium on the use of images and the crucifix; he reprimanded the defendants for asserting, that the authority queen Elizabeth had to reform, and set forth her injunctions, were given her by parliament: the statute of the first of Elizabeth, he said, was but an act declaratory, not to be taken as if the queen, without it, had no power to meddle with the things of the church. He that said, "*Per me reges regnant*," that is, "By me kings reign," giveth this authority to the king.

Lord Cottington gave a severe sentence against Sherfield, as did the lord Arundel, who alledged, that it was not unlawful to express God the Father by representation. The earl of Dorset said, that in the text of Daniel was meant God from eternity, and not God to be pictured like an old man, creating the world with a pair of compasses. He and all the temporal members, who differed from the prelates in this sentence, made many professions of their veneration for the power of the church; that Sherfield was highly criminal in not paying due respect to its authority, and ought to make acknowledgement to the bishop (*o*).

Smart, prebend of Durham, having complained to the commons in the year 1628, that Dr. Cosens had introduced in that cathedral several popish innovations, he was, after the dissolution of the parliament, successively brought into the High-commission courts at Durham, Lambeth, and York, deprived of all his ecclesiastical livings, imprisoned several years, and his preferment given to others.

Not only such of the clergy as neglected to observe every ceremony dictated by the superstitious prelate, were suspended and deprived by the High-commission court: oaths were, by many of the bishops, imposed on the churchwardens; and they were sworn to inform against any one who acted contrary to the ecclesiastical canons. This measure gave much offence; as too nearly resembling the practice of the Romish inquisition.

To shew the great alienation from the churches reformed after the presbyterian model, Laud advised, that the discipline and worship of the church should be imposed on the English regiments and trading companies abroad. All foreigners of the Dutch and Walloon congregations were commanded to attend the established church; and indulgence was granted to none after the children of the first denizens. Scudamore too, the king's ambassador at Paris, had orders to withdraw himself from the communion of the Hugonots. Men of sense, who reflected on these measures, openly blamed it, not only because it gave offence in England, but because in foreign countries it lost the crown the advantage of being considered as the head and support of the reformation.

On pretence of pacifying disputes, orders were issued from the council, forbidding, on both sides, all preaching and printing with regard to the controverted points of predestination and free-will. But it was complained of, and probably with reason, that the impartiality was altogether confined to the orders, and that the execution of them was only meant against the Calvinists; the Arminians being cherished by Laud and the high church party.

In return for Charles's indulgence towards the church, Laud and his followers took care to magnify, on every occasion, the regal authority, and to treat with the utmost detestation, all puritanical pretensions to a free and independent constitution. But while these prelates were so liberal in raising the crown at the expence of public liberty, they made no scruple of encroaching themselves on the royal rights the most incontestible, in order to exalt the hierarchy, and procure to their own order dominion and independence. All the doctrines which the Romish church had borrowed from some of the fathers, and which freed the spiritual from subordination to the civil power, were now adopted by the church of England, and interwoven with her political and religious tenets. A divine and apostolical charter was insisted on, preferably to a legal and parliamentary one. The sacerdotal character was magnified as sacred and indefeazable: all right to spiritual authority, or even to private judgement in spiritual subjects, was refused to profane laymen: ecclesiastical courts were held by the bishops in their own name, without any notice taken of the king's authority: and Charles, though extremely jealous of every claim in popular assemblies, seemed rather to encourage than repress those encroachments of his clergy. He had felt many inconveniences from the independent spirit of parliaments, and attached himself entirely to those who professed a devoted obedience to his crown and person; but he did not perceive, that the ecclesiastical power which he now exalted, as it did not admit of any precise boundary, might in the end become more dangerous to public peace, and no less fatal to royal authority than the other.

So early as the coronation of Charles, Laud was the person that introduced a novelty, which, though overlooked by the king, made a deep impression on many of the bye-standers. After the usual ceremonies these words were recited to the king: "Stand and hold fast, from henceforth, the place to which you have been heir by the succession of your forefathers, being now delivered to you by the authority of Almighty God, and by the hands of us and all the bishops and servants of God. And, as you see the clergy to come nearer the altar than others, so remember that, in all places convenient, you give them greater honour; that the Mediator of God and man may establish you on the kingly throne, to be a mediator betwixt the clergy and the laity; and that you may reign for ever with Jesus Christ, the King of kings, and Lord of lords."

The principles which exalted prerogative were not entertained by the king merely as soft and agreeable to his royal ears: they were also put in practice during the time that he ruled without parliaments. He wanted money for the support of government, though in some cases he was frugal; and he levied it, either by the revival of obsolete laws, or by violations, some more open, some more disguised, of the privileges of the nation. He gave way to some severities in the star-chamber and high-commission courts, in order to support the present mode of administration, and repress the rising spirit of liberty throughout the

(*o*) State Trials, vol. i. p. 377, *& seq.*

the kingdom. Under these two heads may be reduced all the remarkable transactions of this reign, during some years: for, in peaceable and prosperous times, where a neutrality in foreign affairs is observed, scarcely any thing is remarkable, but what is, in some degree, blamed or blameable. And, lest the hope of relief or protection from parliament might encourage opposition, Charles issued a proclamation, in which he declared, "That whereas, for several ill ends, the calling again of a parliament is divulged; though his majesty has shown, by frequent meetings with his people, his love to the use of parliaments: yet the late abuse having, for the present, driven him unwillingly out of that course; he will account it presumption for any one to prescribe to him any time for the calling of that assembly." This was generally construed as a declaration, that, during this reign, no more parliaments were intended to be summoned. And every measure of the king's confirmed a suspicion, so disagreeable to the generality of the people.

Tonnage and poundage continued to be levied by the royal authority alone. The former additional impositions were still exacted. Even new impositions were laid on several kinds of merchandize.

The custom-house officers received orders from the council to enter into any house, warehouse, or cellar; to search any trunk or chest; and to break any bulk whatever, in default of the payment of customs.

In order to exercise the militia, and to keep them in good order, each county, by an edict of the council, was assessed in a certain sum, for maintaining a muster-master, appointed for that service.

Compositions were openly made with recusants, and the popish religion became a regular part of the revenue.

A commission was granted for compounding with such as were possessed of crown-lands upon defective titles; and, on this pretence, some money was exacted from the people.

There was a law of Edward II. *(Statutum de Militibus,)* That whoever was possessed of twenty pounds a-year in land, should be obliged, when summoned, to appear and to receive the order of knighthood. Twenty pounds, at that time, partly by the change of denomination, partly by that in the value of money, were equivalent perhaps to two hundred and fifty at the present time; and Charles thought of the expedient of compounding with those persons, that he might enrich his coffers. Commissioners were therefore appointed for fixing the rates of composition; and instructions were given to these commissioners not to accept of a less sum than would have been due by the party, upon a tax of three subsidies and a half. Nothing proves more plainly how ill-disposed the people were to the measures of the crown, than to observe, that they loudly complained of this expedient, which, they asserted, was founded on an obsolete law.

Mr. Bernard, lecturer of St. Sepulchre's, London, preached a sermon at St. Mary's in Cambridge, in which were some passages against the introducing of Pelagian errors, and Romish superstitions, into the church of England. On his refusing to make a public recantation, according to a form, which was purposely penned for him, he was fined in the high-commission court one thousand pounds, suspended from his ministry, condemned in costs of suit, and committed to prison, where he died: the consequence of his imprisonment, it is said, shortened his life. One Workman, lecturer in the liberty of Gloucester, was, for the offence of preaching against images, suspended from his office, excommunicated, ordered to make recantation of his error and scandalous doctrine, condemned in costs of suit, and imprisoned. The corporation of Gloucester, approving much of this man for his diligent performing the duties of his function, had, on account of his great family, granted him an annuity of twenty pounds *per annum* under their common seal. For this act of generosity, Laud summoned the mayor, and other of the aldermen, before the council-table, as delinquents. The deed was cancelled, and two of the defendants fined ten pounds a-piece, though their council alledged, that the grant ought first to have been proved illegal, and the whole corporation, whose act it was, made parties to the suit. The unfortunate Mr. Workman, thus deprived of his annuity, having, after some months imprisonment, obtained his liberty, taught children in private: Laud forbid him to follow this occupation. He then practised physic for the support of his family; but the merciless Laud prohibiting him this resource, the distressed man sunk under his poverty and affliction, and in a short time died.

These excesses, when compared with the enormity which follows, were but moderate abuses of that absolute sovereignty which Charles had assumed, and delegated to Laud. Alexander Leighton, a doctor of divinity, a Scotchman, and a zealous Puritan, by the desire of some of the party, had written and published a book, called, "Zion's Plea against Prelacy." It contained some warm invectives against the prelates, and the conduct of those in power. Soon after the publication of the work, without an information upon oath, or legal proof (*p*) who was the author, Leighton, as he was coming from church, was arrested by two high-commission pursuivants. They dragged him to the house of Laud, where he was kept till seven in the evening, without food. Laud returning home at this time in great pomp and state, with Corbet bishop of Oxford, Leighton demanded to be heard. The haughty Laud did not deign to see him, but sent him to Newgate: he was put in irons, and confined in a wretched place, where, notwithstanding that the weather was cold, and the snow and rain beat in, there was no convenience to make a fire. From Tuesday-night to Thursday-noon, he was unsupplied with food; and in this infernal dwelling was kept fifteen weeks, without any friend, not even his wife, being suffered to come near him. His own house was in the mean time rifled by the officers of the high-commission court; his wife and child treated by these ruffians with great barbarity; himself denied a copy of the commitment; and the sheriffs of London, refused to bail him, on his wife's petition. At the end of the fifteen weeks, he was served with a subpœna. Heath, the attorney-general, on an assurance that he should come off well, extorted a confession from him, that he was the author of the book. An information by Heath being lodged in the star-chamber, he confessed the writing of the book, but with no such ill intention as the information suggested. He pleaded, that his aim was to remonstrate against certain grievances in church and state, under which the people suffered, to the end that the parliament might take them into consideration, and give such redress as might be for the honour of the king, the quiet of the people, and the peace of the church. This answer not being admitted as satisfactory, the following cruel sentence, by the unanimous consent of all the members of this tyrannical court, was pronounced against him, though sick and absent; "That he should pay a fine of ten thousand pounds to his majesty's use; and in respect that the defendant had heretofore entered into the ministry, and the court of star-chamber did not use to inflict any corporal or ignominious punishment upon any person so long as they continued in orders, the court referred him to the high-commission, there to be degraded of his ministry; that done, for farther punishment, and example to others, the delinquent to be brought into the pillory at Westminster (the court sitting,) and there whipped; after his whipping, to be set in the pillory for some convenient space; to have one of his ears cut off, his nose slit, and to be branded in the face with S. S. for a *sower of sedition*; then to be carried to the prison of the Fleet; and at some other convenient time afterwards to be carried into the pillory at Cheapside upon a market-day, to be there likewise whipped, then set in the pillory, have his other ear cut off, and then be carried back to the prison of the Fleet, there to remain during life, unless his majesty be graciously pleased to enlarge him (*q*)." This sentence was given at the end of Trinity-term. It was not till Michaelmas-term following, after the degradation, that it was put in execution. The evening before the intended day of suffering, Leighton escaped out of prison. He was apprehended in Bedfordshire, and brought again to the Fleet (*r*). November the sixteenth, part of his sentence was executed in this manner: in the New-Palace-Yard at Westminster, in term-time, he was severely whipped, then put in the pillory, where he had one of his

(*p*) The book was printed beyond sea.

(*q*) When this sentence was pronounced, bishop Laud pulled off his cap, and gave God thanks for it.

(*r*) Laud, the superintendant of all the cruelties committed at this period, made on this incident the following memorial: "Leighton was degraded at the High-commission, Tuesday the ninth of November. That night Leighton broke out of the Fleet. The warden says, he got, or was helped, over the wall; and moreover professed, he knew not this till Wednesday-noon: he told it not me till Thursday night. He was taken again in Bedfordshire, and brought back to the Fleet within a fortnight." *Laud's Diary by Prynne*, p. 16.

ears

ears cut off, one side of his nose slit, branded on one cheek with a red-hot iron with the letters S. S. and afterwards carried back again prisoner to the Fleet, to be kept in close custody. On that day sevennight, his sores upon his back, ears, nose, and face, not being cured, he was whipped again at the pillory in Cheapside, and there had the remainder of his sentence executed upon him, by cutting off the other ear, slitting the other side of the nose, and branding the other cheek. Dr. Leighton, in his own account of this horrid execution, adds, that the hangman was made half drunk, and enjoined to perform his office with ferocity; that he stood, after receiving the punishment of the lash, almost two hours in the pillory, exposed to frost and snow, and then suffered the rest; that being with these miseries disabled from walking, he was denied the benefit of a coach, and carried back to prison by water, to the farther endangering his life. Elphinston and Anderson, two of his friends and countrymen, who helped to procure his escape, were fined in the star-chamber five hundred pounds a-piece, and committed to the Fleet during the king's pleasure (*s*).

That the clergy might have a magnificent fabric for public worship, subscriptions were set on foot, in 1631, for repairing St. Paul's cathedral; and the king, by his countenance and example, encouraged this undertaking. By order of the privy-council, St. Gregory's church was removed, at the great charge of the inhabitants, as an impediment to the project of extending and beautifying the cathedral. Several houses and shops likewise were pulled down, and the proprietors were obliged to accept such compensation as the commissioners appointed by authority judged adequate.

A stamp duty was imposed on cards: a new tax, which, of itself, might be liable to no objection: but which appeared of dangerous consequence, when considered as arbitrary and illegal.

Monopolies were revived; an oppressive method of levying money, being unlimited, as well as destructive of industry. The last parliament of James, which abolished monopolies, had left an equitable exception in favour of new inventions; and on pretence of these, and of erecting new companies and corporations, was this grievance now renewed. The manufacture of soap was given to a company, who paid ten thousand pounds in advance, and eight pounds per ton, for their patent. Leather, salt, wine, sea coals, pins, starch, and many other commodities, even down to linen rags, were likewise put under restrictions.

The council of York had been the first erected, after a rebellion, by a patent from Henry VIII. without any authority of parliament; and this exercise of power, like many others, was indulged to that arbitrary monarch. This council had long acted chiefly as a criminal court; but, besides some innovations introduced by James, Charles thought proper, some time after Wentworth was made president, to extend its powers, and to give it a large civil jurisdiction, and that in some respects discretionary. The consequence of this measure, was the putting of all the northern counties out of the protection of ordinary law, and subjecting them to an authority extremely arbitrary. Some irregular acts of that council were, in 1632, complained of.

The court of star-chamber extended its authority; and it was matter of complaint in 1633, that it encroached upon the jurisdiction of the other courts; imposing heavy fines and inflicting severe punishment, beyond the usual course of justice. Sir David Foulis was fined five thousand pounds, chiefly because he had dissuaded a friend from compounding with the commissioners of knighthood.

Prynne, a barrister of Lincoln's-Inn, had written an enormous quarto of a thousand pages, which he called "Histrio-Mastyx." Its professed purpose was to decry stage-plays, comedies, interludes, music, dancing; but the author took occasion to declaim against hunting, public festivals, Christmas-keeping, bonfires and maypoles. His zeal against all these levities, he says, was first moved by observing, that plays sold better than the choicest sermons, and that they were frequently printed on finer paper than the Bible itself. Besides, that the players were often Papists, and desperately wicked; the play-houses, he affirms, are Satan's chapels, the play-hunters little better than incarnate devils; and so many steps in a dance, so many paces to hell. The chief crime of Nero he represents to have been, his frequenting and acting of plays; and those, who nobly conspired his death, were principally moved to it, as he affirms, by their indignation at that enormity. The rest of his thousand pages are of a like strain. He had obtained a licence from archbishop Abbot's chaplain; yet was he indicted in the star-chamber as a libeller. It was thought somewhat hard, that general invectives against plays should be interpreted into satires against the king and queen, merely because they frequented these amusements, and because the queen sometimes acted a part in pastorals and interludes, which were represented at court. The author, it must be owned, had, in plainer terms, blamed the hierarchy, the ceremonies, the innovations in religious worship, and the new superstitions, introduced by Laud (*t*); and this probably was the reason why his sentence was so severe. He was condemned to be put from the bar; to stand on the pillory in two places, Westminster and Cheapside; to lose both his ears, one in each place; to pay a fine of five thousand pounds to the king; and to be imprisoned during life.

Charles likewise renewed his father's edict for allowing sports and recreations on Sunday to such as attended public worship; and he ordered his proclamation for that purpose to be publicly read by the clergy after divine service. Those who were puritanically affected refused obedience, and were punished by suspension or deprivation. The differences between the sects were before sufficiently great; nor was it necessary to widen them farther by these inventions. Some encouragement and protection, which the king and the bishops gave to wakes, church-ales, bride-ales, and other cheerful festivals of the common people, were the objects of like scandal to the Puritans.

On the 12th of June, this year, Charles made a journey to Scotland, attended by the court, in order to hold a parliament there, and to pass through the ceremony of his coronation. The nobility and gentry of both kingdoms rivalled each other, in expressing all duty and respect to the king, and in showing mutual friendship and regard to each other. No one could have suspected, from exterior appearances, that such dreadful scenes were approaching.

One of the king's chief designs in this parliament, was, besides obtaining some supply, to procure authority for ordering the habits of clergymen. The act did not pass without opposition and difficulty. The dreadful surplice was before men's eyes; and they apprehended, with some reason, that, under sanction of this law, it would soon be introduced among them. Though the king believed that his prerogative entitled him to a power, in general, of directing whatever belonged to the exterior government of the church, this was deemed a matter of too great importance to be ordered without the sanction of a particular statute.

Immediately after the king's return to England, he heard of archbishop Abbot's death: and, without delay, he conferred that dignity on his favourite, Laud; who, by this accession of authority, was now enabled to maintain ecclesiastical discipline with greater rigour, and to aggravate the general discontent of the nation. Laud obtained the bishopric of London for his friend Juxton; and, about a

(*s*) We have been the more particular in our account of this barbarous exertion of power, because almost every other historian, either from tenderness to the character of the government, or from motives of abhorrence to the nature of the offence given by the wretched sufferer, has passed it over in a very slight manner. It must be owned, that Leighton, fired by an ungovernable zeal, and provoked by the mischievous conduct of the people in power, had made a bold attack on the ecclesiastical constitution as maintained by Charles, and had been severe in his reflections on the queen, who, from the influence she had now gained over her husband, was generally regarded as the principal cause of his unpopular government. Notwithstanding all that may be said against the conduct of this unfortunate enthusiast, his offence was by no means adequate to his punishment; his treatment and prosecution notoriously inhuman and illegal; the judgement passed against him was by an arbitrary court, whose jurisdiction was unconstitutional, in a manner created by the crown, and cherished as a never-failing engine of despotism. The tyranny it at present exerted outwent every example of former ages: it was the ready minister of vengeance to all that opposed the weak and wicked designs of a bigoted, arbitrary monarch; and entirely influenced in its conduct by the persecuting furious spirit of an arrogant usurping priest, who was pursuing with the utmost violence the plan of an absolute, independent, ecclesiastical government. The sentence it had lately passed against the unhappy Leighton was directly contrary to the humane spirit of the British laws; and the single instance of such an execrable barbarity would have put to shame the government of the most diabolical tyrant that ever disgraced the annals of history.

(*t*) The music in the churches, he affirmed not to be the noise of men, but a bleating of brute beasts; choristers bellow the tenor, as it were oxen; bark a counterpart, as it were a kennel of dogs; roar out a treble, as it were a sort of bulls; and grunt out a base, as it were a number of hogs; Christmas, as it is kept, is the devil's Christmas.

year after the death of sir Richard Weston, created earl of Portland, had interest enough to engage the king to make that prelate high treasurer (*u*).

In 1634, ship-money was introduced. The first writs of this kind had been directed to sea-port towns only: but ship-money was at this time levied on the whole kingdom; and each county was rated at a particular sum, which was afterwards assessed upon individuals. The amount of the whole tax was little more than two hundred thousand pounds: it was levied upon the people with equality: the money was entirely expended on the navy, to the great honour and advantage of the kingdom: as England had no military force, while all the other powers of Europe were strongly armed, a fleet seemed necessary for her security: and it was obvious that a navy must be built and equipped at leisure, during peace; nor could it possibly be fitted out on a sudden emergency, when the danger became urgent: yet all these considerations could not reconcile the people to the imposition. It was entirely arbitrary; and men thought it an unequal recompense for their liberties, which, they apprehended, were thus sacrificed to the obtaining it.

England was extremely unhappy in its present situation, for the king had entertained a very different idea of the nature of the constitution, from that which now prevailed so generally among his subjects. He did not regard national privileges as so sacred and inviolable, that nothing but the most extreme necessity could justify an infringement of them. He considered himself as the supreme magistrate, to whose care Heaven, by his birth-right, had committed his people, whose duty it was to provide for their security and happiness, and who was vested with ample discretionary powers for that salutary purpose. If the observance of ancient laws and customs were consistent with the present convenience of government, he thought himself obliged to comply with that rule; as the easiest, the safest, and what procured the most prompt and willing obedience. But when a change of circumstances required a new plan of administration, national privileges, he thought, must yield to supreme power; nor could any order of the state oppose any right to the will of the sovereign, directed to the good of the public. That these principles of government were derived from the uniform tenour of the English laws, it would be the height of folly to affirm; but public liberty, so precarious under this exorbitant prerogative, not only rendered opposition excusable, but even laudable in the people.

Some laws had been enacted, during the reign of Henry VII (*v*). against depopulation, or the converting of arable lands into pasture. By a decree of the star-chamber, sir Anthony Roper was fined four thousand pounds for an offence of that nature. This severe sentence was intended to terrify others into composition; and above thirty thousand pounds were levied by that expedient. Like compositions, or in default of them, heavy fines, were exacted for incroachments on the king's forests; whose bounds, by decrees deemed arbitrary, were extended much beyond what was usual. The bounds of one forest, that of Rockingham, were increased from six miles to sixty. The same refractory humour which made the people refuse to the king voluntary supplies, disposed them with the strongest reason to murmur against these irregular methods of taxation. The earl of Salisbury, under pretence of having encroached on the forest, was fined twenty thousand pounds, the earl of Westmoreland nineteen thousand pounds, sir Christopher Hatton twelve thousand pounds, sir Lewis Watson four thousand pounds, lord Newport three thousand pounds, sir Robert Bannister three thousand pounds, with many others.

Morley was fined ten thousand pounds for reviling, challenging, and striking, in the court of White Hall, sir George Theobald, one of the king's servants. Laud gave his vote that this censure should be twenty thousand pounds.

(*u*) Juxton was a person of great integrity, mildness, and humanity, and endued with a good understanding. Yet did this last promotion give general offence. His birth and character were deemed too obscure for a man raised to one of the highest offices of the crown. And the clergy, it was thought, were already too much elated by former instances of the king's attachment to them, and needed not this farther encouragement to assume dominion over the laity. The Puritans, likewise, were much dissatisfied with Juxton, notwithstanding his eminent virtues, because he was a lover of profane field sports, and hunting.

(*v*) These very laws had been repealed in the 21st of James I. yet to answer the arbitrary inclination of the court, they were now acted upon, as if they had been actually in force.

Allison had reported, that the archbishop of York had incurred the king's displeasure, by asking a limited toleration for the Catholics, and an allowance to build some churches for the exercise of their religion. For this slander against the archbishop, he was condemned in the star-chamber to be fined one thousand pounds, to be committed to prison, to be bound to his good behaviour during life, to be whipped, and to be set on the pillory at Westminster, and at York, Ipswich, and Yarmouth. Robins, who had been an accomplice in the guilt, was condemned by a sentence equally severe (*w*).

Sir Richard Granvile had thought himself ill-used by the earl of Suffolk in a law-suit; and he was accused before the star-chamber of having said of that nobleman, that he was a base lord. The evidence against him was somewhat lame; yet, for this slight offence, insufficiently proved, he was condemned to pay a fine of eight thousand pounds; one half to the earl, the other to the king.

Sir George Markham, following a chase where lord Darcy's huntsman was exercising his hounds, kept closer to the dogs than was thought proper by the huntsman, who, besides other rudeness, gave him foul language, which sir George returned with a stroke of his whip. The fellow threatened to complain to his master: the knight replied, If his master should justify such insolence, he would serve him in the same manner, or words to that effect. Sir George was summoned before the star-chamber, and fined ten thousand pounds. So fine a thing was it in those days to be a lord!——A natural reflection of lord Lansdown's, in relating this incident.

One Maud was fined five thousand pounds, for saying, that he heard the king went to mass with the queen. Pickering, for saying the king was a Papist in his heart, was deeply fined, set in the pillory in two several places, and lost both his ears.

Sir Richard Wiseman, for some offences, nearly similar to that of sir Richard Granvile against the lord keeper, was deeply fined, both to the king and to that lord, was set in the pillory, and degraded from the rank of a baronet.

One Bennet was fined one thousand pounds to the king, and one thousand pounds to the earl of Marlborough, for saying, that the said earl had dealt basely with him, in not paying him thirty pounds which was due upon bond.

The arbitrary court, on every pretext, condemned to excessive fines for the king's use all those that were cited before them. The printers of a new edition of the book of Common Prayer suffered a large pecuniary mulct for leaving out one letter.

In 1635 Charles issued proclamations forbidding the landed gentlemen and the nobility to live idly in London, and ordering them to retire to their country-seats. For disobedience to this edict many were indicted by the attorney-general, and were fined in the star-chamber. This occasioned discontents; and the sentences were complained of as illegal.

Ray, having exported fullers-earth, contrary to the king's proclamation, was, besides the pillory, condemned in the star-chamber to a fine of two thousand pounds. Like fines were levied on Terry, Eman, and others, for disobeying a proclamation which forbad the exportation of gold. In order to account for the subsequent convulsions, even these incidents are not to be overlooked, as frivolous or contemptible. Such severities were afterwards magnified into the greatest enormities.

There remains a proclamation of this year, prohibiting hackney-coaches from standing in the street. We are told, that there were not above twenty coaches of that kind in London. There are, at present, upwards of one thousand.

The effects of ship-money began now to appear. A formidable fleet of sixty sail, the greatest that England had ever known, was equipped in 1636, under the earl of Northumberland, who had orders to attack the herring-busses of the Dutch, which fished in what were called the British

(*w*) There are other instances of the high respect paid to the nobility and to the great in that age; when the powers of monarchy, though disputed, still maintained themselves in their pristine vigour. Clarendon tells us a pleasant incident to this purpose: a waterman belonging to a man of quality, having a squabble with a citizen about his fare, showed his badge, the crest of his master, which happened to be a swan; and thence insisted on better treatment from the citizen. But the other replied carelessly, that he did not trouble his head about that goose. For this offence he was summoned before the marshal's court; was fined, as having opprobriously defamed the nobleman's crest, by calling the swan a goose; and was in effect reduced to beggary.

seas. The Dutch were content to pay thirty thousand florins for a license. They openly denied, however, the claim of dominion in the seas beyond the friths, bays, and shores; and it may be questioned, whether the laws of nations warrant any farther pretensions.

This year the king sent a squadron against Salee; and, with the assistance of the emperor of Morocco, destroyed that receptacle of pirates, by whom the English commerce, and even the English coasts had long been infested.

In 1637, Burton, a divine, and Bastwick, a physician, and Prynne, the same lawyer who had already been so cruelly handled in the Star-chamber, provoked anew the furious Laud, by several publications against the *jus divinum* of bishops. These books contained some disagreeable truths, but were written in a fanatic and diffusive style. Dr. Bastwick, for publishing a work entitled, "*Flagellum Pontificis & Episcoporum Latialium*," had his house ransacked by a pursuivant, all his books and papers carried off, himself accused in the High-commission court, there fined one thousand pounds, excommunicated, debarred from the practice of physic, his books ordered to be burnt, and his body imprisoned till he should make recantation. Whilst under confinement, he wrote another book, taxing the proceedings of the High-commission court. Mr. Burton had not only published several books offensive to the hierarchy, but had preached a sermon on the fifth of November, in which he pointed out many innovations in the forms of the English worship (*x*). Prynne, though in prison, had again employed his pen on the same subject. These men Laud brought into the star-chamber (*y*). The delinquents finding that the terrors of the court had made their counsel shy, they petitioned that they might sign their answers themselves (*z*). This request being denied, they put in a cross-bill against the prelates, charging them with innovating upon the prerogative-royal; and set forth the substance of their answers. The court of star-chamber refused to receive the cross-bill against the bishops (*a*). Mr. Burton got Mr. Holt, a counsellor, to draw and sign his answer. Finch told Holt, that he deserved to have his gown pulled over his ears for drawing it (*b*). All the answer was expunged, excepting the plea of Not Guilty. Burton refused to be examined, unless his answer was admitted; the court therefore ordered the matter of the information to be taken against him *pro confesso*, rejected the answers of his co-defendants because they could not get lawyers to sign them in proper time, and proceeded to pass sentence. The three prisoners were condemned to lose their ears in the palace-yard of Westminster; to be fined five thousand pounds a-piece to the king's use; to perpetual imprisonment in three remote places of the kingdom, namely, the castles of Carnarvon, Cornwall, and Lancaster (*c*). Finch added to Mr. Prynne's censure, that he should be branded in each cheek with S. L. for a seditious libeller. To this the whole court agreed. Laud made a long speech to excuse himself and brother-prelates from the charge of introducing innovations; he asserted, that the king was the person principally abused by the adverse party; that zeal without knowledge was a dangerous quality, (though himself maintained an enthusiastic attachment to all the trifling ceremonies he had with such indiscreet rigour exacted;) he railed with the utmost gall and bitterness against the unhappy prisoners, whilst he magnified his own religious patience in bearing injuries; lastly, he inveighed against the book supposed to have been published by the bishop of Lincoln, and said, that the author had abused both himself and his readers; and ended his speech with giving the court thanks for their censure on the three prisoners (*d*).

The cruel sentence passed on Prynne, Burton, and Bastwick, was yet more cruelly executed: the hangman performed his bloody office with an approved barbarity. Burton's ears were taken off so close, that a considerable branch of the temporal artery was wounded, and the blood streamed down the scaffold. Prynne's were hacked barbarously; he lost a large piece of his cheek with the remainder of his ears, and the executioner applied the burning iron twice to the branding of one cheek. The patient behaviour of the sufferers heightened the pity and roused the detestation of the people: they crouded with impatience round the scaffold, and every wound given by the executioner produced an universal groan and lamentation. The three heroes of this tragic scene harangued the populace in their turns: Prynne told them, that rather than have his cause a leading cause to deprive the subjects of their liberty, he had exposed his person to be a leading example to bear that ignominious punishment; he proved to them the illegality of the sentence passed on himself and fellow-sufferers; that there was no law in the realm that authorised such tyranny, the statute of queen Mary limiting the punishment of a libeller, even of the king or queen, to a fine of one hundred pounds, and one month's imprisonment, no corporal punishment, unless the delinquent refuses to pay the fine; in the statute of Elizabeth, the penalty was heightened to a fine of two hundred pounds, and three months imprisonment, but no censure to be passed unless it was fully proved by two witnesses, who were to produce a certificate of their good demeanour, for the credit of the report, or else the crime to be confessed by the libeller. The popularity these three men had gained by their sufferings was so formidable to Laud, that he procured an order for removing them from the destined places of their confinement to Guernsey, Jersey, and Scilly (*e*), with special directions that they should be conveyed privately, and no one to come near them during their passage; they were forbid to have any but canonical books; restrained the use of pen, ink, and paper, and all communication whatsoever. The wives of Bastwick and Burton were not permitted to set their feet on the islands where their husbands were confined (*f*).

The next victims to Laud's insatiable rage were John Lilbourne

(*x*) The following are some of the innovations with which he taxed the prelates, in a book entitled, "News from Ipswich:" That divine service on the fast-days was enjoined to be without sermons; that Wednesdays were appointed for fasts-day, on purpose to suppress the lectures which were read on those days; the changing the word "*in*" for "*at* the name of Jesus every knee shall bow." *State Trials*, vol. i. p. 466, *& seq.*

(*y*) A large number of Burton's parishioners having sent a petition to the king to intreat for his pardon and liberty, the two people that carried it were committed to prison. *Strafford's Letters*, vol. ii. p. 57.

(*z*) Prynne pleaded, that it was impossible for him to put in an answer at the time appointed by the court: for that in order to disable him in the prosecution of his cause, his friends were restrained from him; he was prohibited access to his counsel; debarred the use of pen, ink, and paper; and moreover, his servant, who should solicit his business, and help to copy and engross his answer, was by Laud's direction detained a close prisoner in a messenger's hands. On the receipt of this petition, counsel was ordered to repair to Mr. Prynne; but when his answer was drawn up, it yet remained unsigned, for that his counsel Holt was forbid to put his name to it. Moreover, Gardiner, a clerk belonging to the Tower, for writing the petition, was by a warrant from the archbishop apprehended by a pursuivant, and kept a prisoner fourteen days. *Prynne against Prelates*, 4to ed. 1641, p. 29, *& seq.*

(*a*) It was committed to the judges to give their opinions, whether the three complainants might not be tried in the King's-Bench for their lives for sedition? But the judges resolved that they could not, because the bill was tendered in a legal way, and might not in point of law be refused; the king's courts of justice being open indifferently to all his subjects to sue and be sued. *Prynne against Prelates*, p. 20.

(*b*) Mr. St. John, of Lincoln's-Inn, upon suspicion that he was concerned in drawing Burton's answer, had his study searched, and all his papers carried off. *Strafford's Letters*, vol. ii. p. 85.

(*c*) The prisoners attempted to speak for themselves, but were commanded silence. Prynne endeavoured to expostulate on his case, that it was not in his power to compel his counsel to sign his answer, when they refused. The following dialogue, which passed in the star-chamber, is another curious specimen of the behaviour of the officers of law and state in this reign: the first time that Finch fixed his eyes on Prynne he said, "I thought Mr. Prynne had had no ears; but it seems he has ears, and something else." Mr. Prynne said, "My lords, there is never a one of your honours but would be sorry to have your ears as mine are." "In good faith, said the lord-keeper, he is somewhat saucy." "I hope your honours will not be offended, replied Mr. Prynne: Pray God give you ears to hear." On this trial the bishops declared in open court, that they held their jurisdiction from God only. *State Trials*, vol. i. p. 461. *Whitelock*, p. 22.

(*d*) This speech of Laud's pleased Charles so much that he ordered it to be printed and published. The archbishop prefixed to it a flattering dedication to the king, in which he asserts, that blasphemy against God, and slandering the footsteps of his anointed, were joined together: "For he that blasphemes God will never stick at the slander of his prince; and he that gives himself the liberty to slander his prince will quickly ascend the next highest, and blaspheme God." He magnified the royal clemency in bringing the offenders to a court of mercy as well as justice: and insinuated, that the times demanded greater severity than had been hitherto exercised. *Laud's Remains*, vol. ii. p. 63, *& seq. State Trials.*

(*e*) Prynne to the castle of Mont-Orgueil in the isle of Jersey; Burton to Castle-Cornet in the road of Guernsey; and Bastwick to St. Mary's Castle in the isle of Scilly. During this their rigorous confinement, they had no allowance of diet from the crown, but were kept by the charitable contributions of their friends.

(*f*) Laud's malice against these men carried him to such an absurd length, that some few individuals of the town of Chester having visited Prynne in his way to Carnarvon, they were prosecuted by the high-commission; their houses broke open and ransacked by pursuivants; fined large sums of money; and to make public acknowledgement of their crimes in the cathedral-church and in the town-hall of Chester. All the lecturers and preachers in the city were enjoined, in their lectures and sermons, to make public expression of their hearty detestation of the offences for which the three offenders were censured. This order was so well

Lilbourne and John Wharton, accused in the star-chamber for publishing forbidden books. These men refusing to take an oath to answer interrogatories, and pleading that no Englishman was bound by law to accuse himself, they were condemned to be whipped, pillored, and imprisoned. While execution was performed on Lilbourne, he harangued the populace, and declaimed against the tyranny of bishops. The star-chamber ordered him to be gagged, and added to his former punishment, the lying in irons, and confinement in that part of the Fleet where the basest and meanest sort of prisoners used to be put.

Neither women, lunatics, nor fools, escaped the fury of the archbishop's revenge and bigotry. On some disagreeable news coming to court, Archibald Armstrong, the king's jester, seeing the prelate pass by, called out, "Whaws feule now:" For this offence the harmless buffoon, who by his office had the privilege of passing jokes with impunity, was ordered, by a sentence of the council, to have his coat pulled over his head, and to be dismissed the king's service. The lady Davies, a woman disordered in her senses, for having prophesied Laud's death was prosecuted in the high-commission court. And the lady Purbeck, sir Edward Coke's daughter, on the suspicion of having an intrigue with sir Robert Howard, and for some words spoken against Laud, was condemned to do penance bare-foot, was committed to the Gatehouse, and for the space of several years persecuted so hotly by that prelate, that she was obliged to conceal herself in different parts of the dominions, and at length made her escape in men's cloaths, and fled to France, where yet she did not find repose from the malice of her enemies. Sir Robert Howard, who had been once rescued by the parliament from an arbitrary seizure, was now, without any regular proceeding passed against him, committed to prison, and there ordered to lie till he should produce the person of the absconded female. He was at length released on his giving a bond of one thousand pounds that he would never see the lady Purbeck again. The poor woman's persecution did not cease here: an express messenger with a privy-seal was sent after her, to summon her into England, under pain of being farther proceeded against.

One Bowyer, who was half mad, for having spread a report of Laud, that he was under censure for correspondency with the pope, was committed to close confinement to Bridewell during life; fined three thousand pounds; to be set in the pillory at Westminster and Cheapside, with a paper acknowledging his offence; to be branded in the forehead with the letters L and R, and to have his ears nailed to the pillory at Reading.

Among the violations of the Petition of Right, there was at this time a complaint made, that sir Robert Berkley had refused bail or release upon their Habeas Corpus to Jennings, Pargiter, and Danvers, three men who had been committed by the king and council. Berkley had denied writs of Habeas Corpus to several individuals who had demanded them; and when they had been granted, he constantly remanded the prisoners, though they were by law clearly bailable.

The enormous, yet increasing height of monarchical tyranny which raged at this time in England, together with the small prospect of redress the times promised, occasioned numbers of the natives to sell their estates, and to ship themselves off for America, there to enjoy a liberty which they looked upon as lost to the inhabitants of Great Britain (*g*). But those avowed destroyers of all the rights of humanity, the bosom-friends and ministers of Charles, unwilling that their fellow-citizens should any where possess the blessings of freedom, prevailed with their master to issue out a proclamation, debarring the adventurers access to those uncultivated shores. Eight ships lying in the Thames, and ready to sail, were staid by an order of the council (*h*). Embarked in these were sir Arthur Hazelrig, John Hampden, and Oliver Cromwell, three men of spirit, who resolved for ever to abandon a country where the laws had lost their power to protect, and fly to the other extremity of the globe, there to endure a painful solitude in wild desarts, rather than submit to a government that degraded their species beneath the condition of beasts! The king had afterwards leisure to repent this exercise of his authority.

Certain persons had erected themselves into a society for buying in of impropriations, and transferring them to the church; and great sums of money had been bequeathed to the society for these purposes. But it was soon observed, that the only use which they made of their funds, was, to establish lecturers in all the considerable churches; men who, without being subjected to episcopal authority, employed themselves entirely in preaching and spreading the doctrines of puritanism. Laud took care by a decree, which was passed in the court of exchequer, and which was much complained of, to abolish this society, and to stop their progress. It was, however, still observed, that throughout England the lecturers were all of them puritanically affected; and from them the clergymen, who contented themselves with reading prayers and homilies to the people, commonly received the appellation of *dumb dogs*.

The bishop of Norwich, by rigorously insisting on uniformity, had banished many industrious tradesmen from that city, and chased them into Holland. The Dutch began to be more intent on commerce than on orthodoxy; and thought that the knowledge of useful arts and obedience to the laws formed a good citizen; though attended with errors in subjects where it is not allowable for human nature to expect any positive truth or certainty.

Williams, bishop of Lincoln, a man of spirit and learning, a popular prelate, who had been lord keeper, was fined ten thousand pounds by the star-chamber, committed to the Tower during the king's pleasure, and suspended from his office. This severe sentence was founded on frivolous pretences, and was more ascribed to Laud's vengeance, than to any guilt of the bishop. Laud, however, had owed his first promotion to the good offices of that prelate with king James. But so implacable was the haughty primate, that he raised up a new prosecution against Williams, on the strangest pretence imaginable. In order to levy the fine above mentioned, some officers had been sent to seize all the furniture and books of his episcopal palace of Lincoln; and in rummaging the house, they found in a corner some neglected letters, which had been thrown by as useless. These letters were written by one Osbaldistone, a schoolmaster, and were directed to Williams. Mention was there made of *a little great man*; and in another passage, the same person was denominated *a little urchin*. By inferences and constructions, these epithets were applied to Laud; and on no better foundation was Williams tried afresh, as having received scandalous letters, and not discovering that private correspondence. For this offence another fine of eight thousand pounds was levied on him: Osbaldistone was likewise brought to trial, and condemned to pay a fine of five thousand pounds, and to have his ears nailed to the pillory before his own school. He saved himself by flight; and left a note in his study, wherein he said, "That he was gone beyond Canterbury."

These prosecutions of Williams seem to have been the most iniquitous measure pursued by the court during the time that the use of parliaments was suspended. Williams had been indebted for all his fortune to the favour of James; but having quarrelled, first with Buckingham, then with Laud, joined himself to the country party; and with great firmness and vigour opposed all the measures of the king. Some writers relate, that, before sentence was pronounced against him, Williams was offered a pardon upon his submission, which he refused to make. The court was apt to think, that so refractory a spirit must by any expedient be broken and subdued.

In a former trial, which Williams underwent (for these were not the first,) there was mentioned, in court, a story, which, as it discovers the genius of parties, may be worth

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well obeyed by some, that the churches for many days resounded with the most bitter invectives. This did not satisfy Laud: he descended to so mean an instance of malice as to persecute a painter in Chester who had drawn several pictures of Prynne. All the said pictures were, by a warrant from the high-commission, ordered to be spoiled and defaced, and the frames to be publicly burnt. Prynne's servant, whom Laud had detained a prisoner, having been in vain attempted by promises and threats, and constantly refusing to accuse his master, was articled against in the high-commission court; and for his refusal to take an *ex officio* oath before the sight of the articles, the articles were taken against him *pro confesso*. He was fined one thousand pounds to the king, condemned to pay costs of suit, though there was no prosecutor assigned, excommunicated, committed close prisoner to the Counter, and afterwards sent down to Wesbeck-Castle. *Prynne against Prelates*, 4to. *passim*.

(*g*) In the year 1635, the lord Say and Seal, and the lord Brook, sent one Fenwick to prepare a retreat for them and their friends on the continent of America. In consequence of this commission, a small town was built, and called by their joint names, Saybrook. *Walpole's Catalogue of Royal and Noble Authors*, ed. 1759, vol. i. p. 206.

(*h*) A warrant was likewise given to the lord-admiral to remand back those ministers who had already left England without the approbation of Laud, archbishop of Canterbury, or Juxton, bishop of London.

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relating. Sir John Lambe, urging him to prosecute the Puritans, the prelate asked, what sort of people these same Puritans were? Sir John replied, "That to the world they seemed to be such as would not swear, whore, or be drunk; but they would lie, cozen, and deceive: that they would frequently hear two sermons a-day, and repeat them too, and that sometimes they would fast all day long."

In 1632, the treasurer, Portland, had insisted with the vintners, that they should submit to a tax of a penny a quart upon all the wine which they retailed. But they rejected the demand. In order to punish them, a decree, suddenly, without much inquiry or examination, passed in the star-chamber, prohibiting them to sell or dress victuals in their houses. Two years after, they were questioned for the breach of this decree; and in order to avoid punishment, they agreed to lend the king six thousand pounds. Being threatened, during the subsequent years, with fines and prosecutions, they at last compounded the matter, and submitted to pay half of that duty which was at first demanded of them. It required little foresight to perceive that the king's right of thus issuing proclamations must, if prosecuted, inevitably invest him with a power of taxation.

Here is another instance of that rigorous subjection in which all men were held by Laud. Some young gentlemen of Lincoln's-inn, heated by their cups, having drunk confusion to the archbishop, were at his instigation cited before the star-chamber. They applied to the earl of Dorset for protection. "Who bears witness against you?" said Dorset. "One of the drawers," they said. "Where did he stand, when you were supposed to drink this health?" subjoined the earl. "He was at the door," they replied, "going out of the room." "Tush!" cried he, "the drawer was mistaken: you drank confusion to the archbishop of Canterbury's enemies; and the fellow was gone before you pronounced the last word." This hint supplied the young gentlemen with a new method of defence: and being advised by Dorset to behave with great humility and submission to the primate; the modesty of their carriage, the ingenuity of their apology, with the patronage of that noble lord, saved them from any severer punishment than a reproof and admonition.

This year, John Hampden acquired, by his spirit and courage, universal popularity throughout the nation, and has merited great renown with posterity, for the bold stand which he made in defence of the laws and liberties of his country. After the imposing of ship-money, Charles, in order to discourage all opposition, had proposed this question to the judges; "Whether, in a case of necessity, for the defence of the kingdom, he might not impose this taxation; and whether he were not sole judge of the necessity?" These guardians of law and liberty replied, with great complaisance, "That in a case of necessity he might impose that taxation, and that he was sole judge of the necessity." Hampden had been rated at twenty shillings for an estate which he possessed in the county of Buckingham: yet notwithstanding this declared opinion of the judges, notwithstanding the great power, and sometimes rigorous maxims of the crown, notwithstanding the small prospect of relief from parliament; he resolved, rather than tamely submit to so illegal an imposition, to stand a legal prosecution, and expose himself to all the indignation of the court. The case was argued during twelve days, in the exchequer chamber, before all the judges of England; and the nation regarded, with the utmost anxiety, every circumstance of this celebrated trial. The event was easily foreseen: but the principles, and reasonings, and behaviour of the parties engaged in the trial, were much canvassed and inquired into; and nothing could equal the favour paid to the one side, except the hatred which attended the other.

It was urged by Hampden's counsel, and by his partizans in the nation, that the plea of necessity was in vain introduced into a trial of law; since it was the nature of necessity to abolish all law, and, by irresistible violence, to dissolve all the weaker and more artificial ties of human society. Not only the prince, in cases of extreme distress, is exempted from the ordinary rules of administration: all orders of men are then levelled; and any individual may consult the public safety by any expedient which his situation enables him to employ. But to produce so violent an effect, and so hazardous to every community, an ordinary danger or difficulty is not sufficient; much less, a necessity which is merely fictitious and pretended. Where the peril is urgent and extreme, it will be palpable to every member of the society; and though all ancient rules of government are in that case abrogated, men will readily, of themselves, submit to that irregular authority, which is exerted for their preservation. But what is there in common between such suppositions, and the present condition of the nation? England enjoys a profound peace with all her neighbours: and what is more, all her neighbours are engaged in furious and bloody wars among themselves, and by their mutual enmities farther ensure her tranquillity. The very writs themselves, which are issued for the levying of ship-money, contradict the supposition of necessity, and pretend only that the seas are infested with pirates; a slight and temporary inconvenience, which may well await a legal supply from parliament. The writs likewise allow several months for equipping the ships; which proves a very calm and deliberate species of necessity, and one that admits of delay much beyond the forty days requisite for summoning that assembly. It is strange too, that an extreme necessity which is always apparent, and usually comes to a sudden crisis, should now have continued, without interruption, for near four years, and should have remained, during so long a time, invisible to the whole kingdom. And as to the pretension, that the king is sole judge of the necessity; what is this but to subject all the privileges of the nation to his arbitrary will and pleasure? To expect that the public will be convinced by such reasoning, must aggravate the general indignation; by adding, to violence against men's persons and their property, so cruel a mockery of their understanding.

In vain are precedents of ancient writs produced: these writs, when examined, are only found to require the seaports, sometimes at their own charge, sometimes at the charge of the counties, to send their ships for the defence of the nation. Even the prerogative, which empowered the crown to issue such writs, is abolished, and its exercise almost entirely discontinued, from the time of Edward III. (*i*); and all the authority which remained, or was afterwards exercised, was, to press ships into the public service, to be paid for by the public. How wide are these precedents from a power of obliging the people, at their own charge, to build new ships, to victual and pay them, for the public; nay, to furnish money to the crown for that purpose! What security either against the farther extension of this claim, or against diverting to other purposes the public money, so levied? The plea of necessity would warrant any other taxation as well as that of ship-money: wherever any difficulty shall occur, the administration, instead of endeavouring to elude or overcome it by gentle and prudent measures, will instantly represent it as a reason for infringing all ancient laws and institutions: and if such maxims and such practices prevail, what has become of national liberty? What authority is left to the great charter, to the statutes, and to that very petition of right, which, in the present reign, had been so solemnly enacted by the concurrence of the whole legislature?

The defenceless condition of the kingdom while unprovided with a navy; the inability of the king, from his established revenues, with the utmost care and frugality, to equip and maintain one; the impossibility of obtaining, on reasonable terms, any voluntary supply from parliament: all these are reasons of state, not topics of law. If these reasons appear to the king so urgent as to dispense with the legal rules of government; let him enforce his edicts by his court of star-chamber, the proper instrument of irregular and absolute power; not prostitute the character of his judges by a decree which is not, and cannot possibly be legal. By this means the boundaries at least will be kept more distinct between ordinary law and extraordinary exertions of prerogative; and men will know, that the national constitution is only suspended during a present and difficult emergence, but has not undergone a total and fundamental alteration.

Notwithstanding the just reasons set forth in the arguments of Hampden's counsel, the prejudiced judges, four (*k*) excepted, gave sentence in favour of the crown. Hampden, however, obtained by the trial the end for which he had so generously sacrificed his safety and his quiet: the people were roused from their lethargy, and became sensible of the danger to which their liberties were exposed. These national questions were canvassed in every company; and the more they were examined, the more evidently did it appear to many, that the liberty

(*i*) State Trials, vol. v. p. 245. 255.

(*k*) See State Trials: Article Ship money, which contains the speeches of four judges in favour of Hampden.

of the subject was totally subverted, and that an unusual and arbitrary authority was exercised over the kingdom. Slavish principles, they said, concur with illegal practices; ecclesiastical tyranny gives aid to civil usurpation; iniquitous taxes are supported by arbitrary punishments; and all the privileges of the nation, transmitted through so many ages, secured by so many laws, and purchased by the blood of so many heroes and patriots, now lie prostrate at the feet of the monarch. What though public peace and national industry increased the commerce and opulence of the kingdom? This advantage was temporary, and due alone, not to any encouragement given by the crown, but to the spirit of the English, the remains of their ancient freedom. What though the personal character of the king, amidst all his misguided counsels, might merit indulgence, or even praise? He was but one man; and the privileges of the people, the inheritance of millions, were too valuable to be sacrificed to his prejudices and mistakes. Such, or more severe, were the sentiments promoted by a great party in the nation: no excuse on the king's part, or alleviation, how reasonable soever, could be hearkened to or admitted: and to redress these grievances, a parliament was impatiently longed for; or any other incident, however calamitous, that might secure the people against those oppressions which they laboured under, or the greater ills which they apprehended from the combined encroachments of church and state.

The grievances under which the English laboured, when considered in themselves, without regard to the constitution, scarcely deserve the name; but when the constitution is thought of, they were either burdensome on the people's properties, or shocking to the natural humanity of mankind. The imposition of ship-money, independent of the consequences, was, by some, supposed to be a great and evident advantage to the public; but it was justly apprehended, that such precedents, if patiently submitted to, would end in a total disuse of parliaments, and in the establishment of arbitrary authority. The laws, disarmed of their wonted power to protect, lay prostrate at the foot of the throne, to be trampled upon with impunity: nor was the condition of any individual in the kingdom great enough to secure him from the lash of royal and ecclesiastical prerogative. Notwithstanding a servitude thus miserable and ignominious, the patriotic party found it impossible to rouse the heavy multitude to action, or engage them to resist the growing evil. The patient herd waited their redress from parliament, though there was not at that time a prospect that the king would ever call another. It seemed probable, therefore, that affairs might long have continued on the same footing in England, had it not been for the neighbourhood of Scotland; a country less disposed to submission and obedience. It was thence the commotions first arose; and it is therefore proper to give an account of the state of affairs in that kingdom.

Though the pacific government of James, and the authority which he had acquired, had allayed in some measure the feuds among the great families, and appeared to have established law and order throughout the kingdom; the Scottish nobility were still possessed of the chief power and influence over the people. Their property was extensive; their hereditary jurisdictions and the feudal tenures increased their authority; and the attachment of the gentry to the heads of families established a kind of voluntary servitude under the chieftains. Besides that long absence had much loosened the king's connexions with the nobility, who resided chiefly at their country-seats; they were in general at this time much disgusted with the court. Charles was extremely attached to the ecclesiastics; and as it is natural for men to persuade themselves that their interest coincides with their inclination, he had established it as a fixed maxim of policy, to increase the power and authority of that order. The prelates, he thought, established regularity and discipline among the clergy; the clergy inculcated obedience and loyalty among the people; and as that rank of men had no separate authority, and no dependence but on the crown; the royal power, it would seem, might with the greater safety be entrusted in their hands. Many of the prelates, therefore, were raised to the chief dignities of the state (*l*). The advantages, possessed by the church, and which the bishops did not always enjoy with suitable modesty, disgusted the nobility, who, deeming themselves superior in rank and quality to this new order of men, were displeased to find themselves inferior in power and influence. Interest joined itself to ambition, and begat a jealousy, lest the episcopal sees, which, at the reformation, had been pillaged by the nobles, should again be enriched at the expence of that order. By a particular law, the impropriations had already been ravished from the great men: salaries had been assigned to the impoverished clergy from the tithes of each parish; and what remained, the proprietor of the land was empowered to purchase at a low valuation. The king likewise had declared for a general resumption of all crown-lands alienated by his predecessors; and this project also excited jealousy and discontent.

Notwithstanding the pretensions of tender regard which Charles would have persuaded the people he bore to the whole church, he had been able, in Scotland, to acquire only the affection of the superior rank among the clergy. The ministers in general equalled, if not exceeded the nobility, in their prejudices against the court, against the prelates, and against episcopal authority. Though the establishment of the hierarchy might seem advantageous to the inferior clergy, both as it erected dignities to which all of them might aspire, and as it bestowed a lustre on the whole body, and allured men of family into it; these views had no influence on the Scottish ecclesiastics. In the present disposition of men's minds, there was another circumstance, which drew consideration, and counterbalanced power and riches; and that was, the fervour of piety, and the rhetoric of religious lectures and discourses. Checked by the prelates in the license of preaching, the clergy regarded episcopal jurisdiction both as a tyranny and an usurpation, and maintained a parity among ecclesiastics to be a divine privilege, which no human law could alter or infringe. The jurisdiction of presbyteries, synods, and other democratical courts, was, in a manner, abolished by the bishops; and the general assembly itself had not been summoned for several years. A new oath was arbitrarily imposed on intrants, by which they swore to observe the articles of Perth, and submit to the liturgy and canons; and the whole system of church government, during a course of thirty years, had been changed by means of the innovations introduced by James and Charles.

The people, under the influence of the nobility and clergy, could not fail to partake of the discontents which prevailed among these two orders; and where real grounds of complaint were wanting, they greedily laid hold of imaginary ones. The same horror against popery, with which the English Puritans were possessed, was observable among the populace in Scotland; and among these, as being more uncultivated and uncivilized, seemed rather to be inflamed into a higher degree of ferocity. The genius of religion, which prevailed in the court and among the prelates, was of an opposite nature; and having some affinity to the Romish worship, led them to mollify, as much as possible, the severe prejudices, and to speak of the Catholics in more charitable language, and with more reconciling expressions. From this foundation, a panic fear of popery was easily raised; and every new ceremony or ornament, introduced into divine service, was part of that great mystery of iniquity, which, from the encouragement of the king and the bishops, was to overspread the nation. The innovations which James had made were considered as preparatives to this grand design; and the alterations attempted by Charles were represented as a full and decisive declaration of his intentions. Through the whole of this reign, nothing had more fatal influence, in both kingdoms, than this apprehension, which with so much industry was embraced by all ranks and degrees of men.

Amidst these dangerous complaints and terrors of religious innovation, the civil and ecclesiastical liberties of the nation were imagined, and with every appearance of reason, not to be altogether free from invasion.

The establishment of the high-commission by James, without any authority of law, seemed a considerable encroachment of the crown, and erected the most dangerous and arbitrary of all courts, by a method equally dangerous, arbitrary, and tyrannical. All the steps towards the settlement of episcopacy had indeed been taken with consent

(*l*) Spotswood, archbishop of St. Andrews, was created chancellor: nine of the bishops were privy-counsellors: the bishop of Ross aspired to the office of treasurer: some of the prelates possessed places in the exchequer; and it was even endeavoured to revive the first institution of the college of justice, and to share equally between the clergy and laity the whole judicial authority. *Guthrie's Memoirs*, p. 14. *Burnet's Mem.* p. 29, 30.

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of parliament: the articles of Perth were confirmed in 1621: in 1633, the king had obtained a general ratification of every ecclesiastical establishment; but these laws had less authority with the nation, as they were known to have passed contrary to the sentiments even of those who voted for them, and were extorted by the authority of the sovereign.

There prevailed, however, among the greater part of the nation a principle, of the most important nature, and which, if admitted, destroyed entirely the validity of all such statutes. The ecclesiastical authority was supposed totally independent of the civil; and, consequently, no act of parliament, nothing but the consent of the church itself, was represented as sufficient ground for the introduction of any change in religious worship or discipline. And though James had obtained the vote of assemblies for receiving episcopacy and his new rites, it must be confessed, that such irregularities had prevailed in constituting these ecclesiastical courts, and such violence in conducting them, that there were strong grounds for denying the authority of all their acts. Charles, sensible that an extorted consent, attended with such invidious circumstances, would rather be prejudicial to his measures, had laid aside the use of assemblies, and was resolved, in conjunction with the bishops, to govern the church by an authority, to which he thought himself fully entitled, and which he pretended to believe was inherent in the crown.

The king's great aim was to complete the work which his father had begun; to establish discipline upon a regular system of canons, to introduce a liturgy into public worship, and to render the ecclesiastical government of all his kingdoms regular and uniform. Some views of policy might move him to this undertaking; but his chief motives were supposed to be derived from very different principles.

The canons for establishing ecclesiastical jurisdiction were promulgated in 1635; and were received by the nation with great inward apprehension and discontent. Every body was displeased at seeing the royal authority exalted by them, and represented as absolute and uncontrollable. They saw these speculative principles reduced to practice, and a whole body of ecclesiastical laws established without any previous consent either of church or state. They dreaded lest, by a parity of reason, like arbitrary authority, from like pretences and principles, would be assumed in civil matters: they remarked, that the delicate boundaries which separate church and state, were already passed, and many civil ordinances established by the canons, under colour of ecclesiastical institutions; and they derided the negligence with which these edicts had been compiled, when they found that the new liturgy or service-book was every where, under severe penalties, enjoined by them, though it had not yet been composed or published. It was, however, soon expected; and in the reception of it, many were apprehensive that the chief difficulty would consist.

The liturgy, which the king, from his own authority, imposed on Scotland, was copied from that of England; but lest a servile imitation might shock the pride of his ancient kingdom, a few alterations, in order to save appearances, were made in it; and in that shape it was transmitted to the bishops at Edinburgh. But the Scots had universally entertained a notion, that, though riches and worldly glory had been shared out to them with a sparing hand, they could boast of spiritual treasures more abundant and more genuine than were enjoyed by any nation under heaven. Even their southern neighbours, they thought, though separated from Rome, still retained a great tincture of the primitive pollution; and their liturgy was represented as a species of mass, though with some less shew and embroidery. Great prejudices, therefore, were entertained against it, even considered in itself; much more when regarded as a preparative, which was soon to introduce into Scotland all the abominations of popery. And as the alterations which distinguished the new liturgy from the English, seemed to approach nearer to the doctrine of the real presence; this circumstance was deemed an undoubted confirmation of every suspicion with which the people were possessed (*m*).

Easter-day was, by proclamation, appointed for the first reading of the service in Edinburgh: but in order to judge more completely of men's dispositions, the council delayed the matter till the 23d of July; and they gave notice, the Sunday before, of their intention to commence the use of the new liturgy. As no considerable symptoms of discontent appeared, they thought that they might safely proceed in their purpose; and accordingly, in the cathedral church of St. Giles, the dean of Edinburgh, arrayed in his surplice, began the service; the bishop himself and many of the privy-council being present. But no sooner had the dean opened the book, than a multitude of people, clapping their hands, and crying out, "A pope! a pope! antichrist! stone him!" raised such a tumult, that it was impossible to proceed with the service. The bishop, mounting the pulpit, in order to appease the populace, had a stool thrown at him: the council was insulted; and it was with difficulty that the magistrates were able, partly by authority, partly by force, to expel the refractory, and to shut the doors against them. The tumult, however, still continued without: stones were thrown at the doors and windows; and when the service was ended, the bishop was attacked in his way home, and narrowly escaped from the hands of the enraged multitude. In the afternoon, the privy-seal, because he carried the bishop in his coach, was so pelted with stones, and hooted at with execrations, and pressed upon by the populace, that, if his servants, with drawn swords, had not kept them off, the bishop's life had been exposed to the utmost danger.

Though it was strongly suspected, that the low populace, who alone appeared, had been instigated by some of higher condition, yet no proof of it could be produced; and every one seemed displeased with the licentiousness of the giddy multitude. It was not thought safe, however, to hazard a new insult by any fresh attempt to read the liturgy; and the people appeared, for the time, to be appeased and satisfied. But it being known that the king still persevered in his intentions of imposing that mode of worship, men fortified themselves still farther in their prejudices against it; and great multitudes resorted to Edinburgh, in order to oppose the introduction of so hated a novelty. It was not long before they broke out in the most violent disorder. The bishop of Galloway was attacked in the streets, and chased into the chamber where the privy council was sitting, on the 18th of October. The council itself was besieged and violently attacked: the town-council met with a similar fate; and nothing could have saved the lives of all of them, but their application to some popular lords, who protected them, and dispersed the multitude. In this sedition, the actors were of some better condition than the former; though nobody of rank seemed, as yet, to countenance them.

But the people in general began to unite and to encourage each other, in opposition to the religious innovations introduced into the kingdom. Petitions to the council were signed and presented by persons of the highest quality: the women took part, and, as was usual, with violence: the clergy, every-where, loudly declaimed against popery and the liturgy, which they represented as intended to introduce the superstition of the church of Rome: the pulpits resounded with vehement invectives against antichrist; and the populace, who first opposed the service, was often compared to Balaam's ass, an animal, in itself, stupid and senseless, but whose mouth had been opened by the Lord, to the admiration of the whole world. In short, symptoms appeared, on all hands, of the most dangerous insurrection and disorder.

The primate, a man of wisdom and prudence, who was all along averse to the introduction of the liturgy, represented to the king the state of the nation. The earl of Traquaire, the treasurer, set out for London, in order to lay the matter more fully before him: every circumstance, whether the condition of England or of Scotland were considered, should have engaged him to desist from so hazardous an attempt. Yet was Charles inflexible. In his whole conduct of this affair, there appeared no marks of good sense.

To this violent combination, Charles had nothing to oppose but a proclamation; which he issued on the 19th of

(*m*) One of the alterations was in the consecrating prayer. "Sanctify by thy word and spirit these creatures of bread and wine, that they may be to us the body and blood of thy beloved Son." One of the reasons which Charles, in a dedication, gave for these alterations, was, that the Roman party might not upbraid us with any material difference in our liturgy. Mad. Motteville, a domestic of Ann of Austria, in her Memoirs of that Princess's Life, says, That Charles put the service-book into his queen's hand, telling her, he would have her peruse it, that she might see how near they came to the faith. Guthrie, an historian observes, that Laud had a view to farther refinements in the English liturgy, in compiling a new one for Scotland, which had in it, both in the doctrinal and exterior part, more of popery than that which was at this time observed in England. *May's History of the Parliament of England*, fol. ed. 1647, p. 31, *& seq.* *Fuller's Church Hist.* book xi. p. 160. *Guthrie's General Hist. of England*, vol. iii. p. 935.

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February, 1638; and in which he pardoned all past offences, and exhorted the people to be more obedient for the future, and to submit peaceably to the use of the new liturgy. This proclamation was instantly encountered with a public protestation, presented by the earl of Hume and lord Lindesey. This was the first time that men of quality had appeared in any act of opposition. But this proved a crisis. The insurrection, which had been advancing by a gradual and slow progress, now blazed up at once (*n*). No disorder, however, attended it. On the contrary, a new order immediately took place. Four tables, as they were called, were formed in Edinburgh. One consisted of nobility, another of gentry, a third of ministers, a fourth of burgesses. The table of gentry was divided into many subordinate tables, according to their different counties. In the hands of the four tables, the whole authority of the kingdom was placed. Orders were issued by them, and every where obeyed, with the utmost regularity. And among the first acts of their government was the production of the COVENANT (*o*).

The king began to apprehend the consequences of this covenant, and in June following, he sent the marquis of Hamilton, as commissioner, with authority to treat with the covenanters. He required the covenant to be renounced and recalled; and he thought, that on his part he had made very satisfactory concessions, when he offered to suspend the canons and the liturgy, till, in a fair and legal way, they could be received; and so to model the high-commission, that it should no longer give offence to his subjects. Such general declarations could not well give content to any, much less to those who carried so much higher their pretensions. The covenanters found themselves seconded by the zeal of the whole nation. Above sixty thousand people were assembled in a tumultuous manner in Edinburgh and the neighbourhood: Charles possessed no regular forces in either of his kingdoms: and the discontents in England, though secret, was believed so violent, that the king, it was thought, would find it very difficult to employ in such a cause the power of that kingdom. The more, therefore, the popular leaders in Scotland considered their situation, the less apprehension did they entertain of royal power, and the more rigourously did they insist on entire satisfaction. In answer to Hamilton's demand of renouncing the covenant, they told him, that they would sooner renounce their baptism. The clergy even invited the commissioner himself to subscribe it, by informing him, "With what peace and comfort it had filled the hearts of all God's people; what resolutions and beginnings of reformation of manners were sensibly perceived in all parts of the nation, above any measure they had ever before found or could have expected; how great glory the Lord had received thereby; and what confidence they had that God would make Scotland a blessed kingdom (*p*)."

Hamilton returned to London: made another fruitless journey, with new concessions, to Edinburgh: returned again to London; and was immediately sent back with still more satisfactory concessions. The king appeared now willing to abolish the canons, the liturgy, and the high-commission court altogether. He feigned even a resolution to limit extremely the power of the bishops, and seemed content if on any terms he could retain that order in the church of Scotland. And to ensure all these offers, he gave Hamilton authority to summon first an assembly, then a parliament, where every national grievance might be redressed and remedied. These successive concessions of the king, which yet came very short of the rising demands of the malcontents, discovered his own weakness, encouraged their boldness, and gave no satisfaction. The offer, however, of an assembly and a parliament, in which they expected to be entirely masters, was willingly embraced by the covenanters.

Charles, perceiving what advantage his enemies had reaped from their covenant, resolved to have a covenant on his side; and therefore ordered one to be drawn up for that purpose. It consisted of the same violent renunciation of popery before mentioned; which, though the king did not approve of it, he thought it safest to adopt, in order to remove all the suspicions entertained against him. As the covenanters, in their bond of mutual defence against all opposition, had been careful not to except the king; Charles had formed a bond, which was annexed to this renunciation, and which expressed the duty and loyalty of the subscribers to his majesty. But the covenanters, perceiving that this new covenant was only meant to weaken and divide them, received it with the utmost scorn and detestation. And without delay they proceeded to model the future assembly, from which such great atchievements were expected.

The genius of that religion which prevailed in Scotland, and which every day was secretly gaining ground in England, was far from inculcating deference and submission to the ecclesiastics, merely as such. The clergy of Scotland, though such tumult was excited about religious worship and discipline, were both poor and in small numbers; nor are they in general to be considered as the ringleaders of the sedition, which was raised on their account. On the contrary, the laity, apprehending from several instances which occurred, a spirit of moderation in that order, resolved to take the lead entirely in the assembly, which was summoned, and to hurry on the ecclesiastics by the same zeal with which they were themselves actuated.

It had been usual, before the establishment of prelacy, for each presbytery to send to the assembly, besides two or three ministers, one lay-commissioner (*q*); and as all the boroughs and universities sent likewise commissioners, the lay-members in that ecclesiastical court nearly equalled the ecclesiastics. Not only this institution, which James, apprehensive of zeal in the laity, had abolished, was now revived by the covenanters: they also introduced an innovation which served still farther to reduce the clergy to subjection. By an edict of the tables, whose authority was supreme, an elder from each parish was ordered to attend the presbytery, and to give his vote in the choice both of the commissioners and ministers who should be deputed to the assembly. As it is not usual for the ministers who are put in the list of candidates, to claim a vote, all the elections by that means fell into the hands of the laity; and to every commissioner, four or five lay-assessors were chosen, who, though they could have no vote, might yet interpose with their advice and authority in the assembly.

The assembly met at Glasgow on the 21st of November; and, besides a great concourse of people, all the nobility and gentry of any family or interest were present, either as members, assessors, or spectators; and it was apparent, that the resolutions taken by the covenanters, could here meet with no manner of opposition. A firm determination had been entered into, of utterly abolishing episcopacy; and as a preparative to it, there was laid before the presbytery of Edinburgh, and solemnly read in all the churches of the kingdom, an accusation against the bishops, as guilty, all of them, of heresy, simony, bribery, perjury, cheating, incest, adultery, fornication, common swearing, drunkenness, gaming, breach of the sabbath, and every other crime that had occurred to the accusers. The bishops sent a protest, declining the authority of the assembly; the commissioner too protested against that court, as illegally constituted and elected; and, in his majesty's name, dissolved it. This measure was foreseen, and little regarded. The court still continued to sit, and to finish their business. All the acts of assembly, since the accession of James to the crown of England in 1605, were, upon pretty reasonable grounds, declared null and invalid. The acts of parliament which affected ecclesiastical affairs were supposed, on that very account, to have no manner of authority. And thus episcopacy (*r*), the high commission, the articles of Perth, the canons, and the liturgy, were abolished and declared unlawful; and the whole fabric, which James and Charles, in a long course of years, had been rearing with so much care and policy, fell at once to the ground. The

(*n*) In the mean time the dissatisfied in Scotland had not been idle; for two large ships came into their ports laden with arms and ammunition.

(*o*) This famous covenant consisted first of a renunciation of popery, formerly signed by James in his youth. There followed a bond of union, by which the subscribers obliged themselves to resist religious innovations, and to defend each other against all opposition whatsoever. The people, without distinction of rank or condition, of age or sex, flocked to the subscription of this covenant; few, in their judgement, disapproved of it; and still fewer openly condemned it. The king's ministers and counsellors themselves were, most of them, seized by the general contagion. And none but rebels to God, and traitors to their country, it was thought, would withdraw themselves from so salutary and so pious a combination.

(*p*) Rushworth, vol. ii. p. 751.

(*q*) A presbytery in Scotland is an inferior ecclesiastical court, the same that was afterwards called a Classis in England, and is composed of the clergy of the neighbouring parishes to the number commonly of between twelve and twenty.

(*r*) All the bishops were deposed and excommunicated, except four, who never having approved of the conduct of their brethren, acknowledged the authority of the assembly, and submitted to return to the rank and calling of ordinary presbyters.

covenant likewise was ordered to be signed by every one, under pain of excommunication.

The independency of the ecclesiastical upon the civil power was the old presbyterian principle, which had been zealously adopted at the reformation, and which, though James and Charles had obliged the church publicly to disclaim it, had secretly been adhered to by all ranks of people. It was commonly asked, whether Christ or the king were superior? and as the answer seemed obvious, it was inferred that the assembly, being Christ's council, was superior in all spiritual matters to the parliament, which was only the king's. But as the covenanters were sensible that their transactions would not be assented to by the king; it became necessary to maintain their religious tenets by military force, and not to trust entirely to supernatural assistance, of which, however, they held themselves well assured. They cast their eyes on all sides, abroad and at home, whence they could expect any effectual assistance.

After France and Holland had entered into a league against Spain, and framed a treaty of partition, by which they were to conquer and to divide between them the Low Country provinces, England was invited, in 1639, to preserve a neutrality between the contending parties, while the French and Dutch should attack the maritime towns of Flanders. But the king replied to d'Estrades the French ambassador, who opened the proposal, that he had a squadron ready, and would cross the seas, if necessary, with an army of fifteen thousand men, in order to prevent these projected conquests. This answer irritated cardinal Richelieu; and in revenge, that politic and enterprising minister carefully fomented the first commotions in Scotland, and secretly supplied the covenanters with money and arms, in order to encourage them in their opposition against their sovereign.

But the chief resource of the Scottish malcontents was in themselves, and in their own vigour and abilities. No regular established commonwealth could take juster measures, or execute them with greater promptitude, than did this assembly. The whole kingdom was in a manner engaged; and the men of greatest abilities soon acquired the ascendant, which their family interest enabled them to maintain. Hamilton had given sir Thomas Hope, the king's advocate, orders to follow him to Glasgow, and prepare himself to defend episcopacy, and prove it to be according to the laws of Scotland: but though sir Thomas was a servant of the crown, he was an honest man, and loved the liberties of his country; he therefore answered, that it was against his conscience so to do; that he judged episcopacy to be contrary to the word of God, and to the laws of the church and kingdom. The lord Lorn, whose father, the earl of Argyle, a Roman Catholic, being lately dead, was now at full liberty to declare his principles, avowed the cause of the malcontents, and assisted in the business of the assembly. Argyle's example was followed by that of the lord Areskyn, eldest son to the earl of Marr, and three more of less note, who desired to be admitted to receive the covenant. The earls of Rothes, Cassils, Montrose, Lothian, the lords Lindesey, Loudon, Yester, Balmerino, distinguished themselves in that party.

The transactions of the Glasgow assembly caused both sides to pull off the mask, and openly prepare to defend by arms their several pretensions. The beginning of the year 1639 was spent in vigorous preparations against the Scots. Charles summoned all the English nobility to meet him at York, on the first of April following. In this he affected the ancient manner; but in this, as well as all other acts of administration, he was very defective in point of law: for the possessors of certain crown-lands lying in Northern counties were the only people obliged to furnish troops for the Northern borders. This was not the only unpopular method taken to support the destined war: the Papists shewed great zeal against the covenanters; and the queen, desirous of ingratiating her party of Recusants yet more into her husband's favour, wrote circular letters to the whole body, requiring them to contribute largely toward's the king's necessities. Her chief agent was sir Kenelm Digby, whose father had been executed for the Popish plot. A kind of emulation appeared between the Papists and the English clergy, who had been stimulated by Laud, to out-do each other in contributions towards the war against the Scots (*s*). This circumstance helped to cool the zeal of the rest of the English subjects, who called it "the bishops war," and in ridicule termed Charles "the archbishop of Canterbury's knight."

On the fame of these proceedings in England, the Scots seized on the castles of Edinburgh and Dumbarton, and on the arms and ammunition they found in the king's magazines; they made levies, formed an army, and appointed Alexander Leslie their general, an experienced officer, who had served with great reputation under the king of Sweden. The care of the coast adjacent to Ireland was committed to the earl of Argyle (*t*); and Aberdeen, the university of which had declared for the king, to the earl of Montross. They fortified Leith, the sea-port of Edinburgh: as this was a place of great consequence, the works were carried on with rapidity; not only the inferior sort, and those who assisted for pay, performed the drudgery of manual labour, but nobles, gentry, women of all ranks, laid aside the effeminacy of their manners, and emulating Grecian virtue, intermingled with the low herd, and carried on their shoulders the materials requisite for completing the fortifications. The covenant was sworn to by almost all the Scots in foreign parts, and the officers who had acquired reputation in Germany, under Gustavus, repaired home to assist their country in her present necessity.

The most active agent against this brave and determined people was the deputy of Ireland, a man who had entirely devoted himself to the worst designs of the court, and had run lengths that no English subject had ever yet done without paying the forfeit of his life. He was, from these circumstances, as much personally engaged in the quarrel as Charles himself. Not only the maintaining that station in the government, to the precarious enjoyment of which he had sacrificed his honour, the liberties of his country, and the liberties of his posterity, but even the security of his life, depended on the power of his master. He was so great a dupe to his own vicious affections, and had so little knowledge of the disposition of the English people towards the government, and their real sentiments on the important occasion of the intended war with Scotland, that he fancied the jealousy which had hitherto existed between the two nations, and which had flamed out violently on the partiality James had shewed to some of his Scotch subjects, would have made the English, notwithstanding all the insults and provocations they had received from the Stuart family, notwithstanding the subjected state of their once-free constitution, and the deprivation of all their privileges and immunities, assist their king in his pretensions on Scotland; and for the sake of distressing a people who had never done them any injury, exalt their real enemies, fix the yoke on their own necks, and become equal slaves with the people they assisted to conquer. Deceived by these idle notions, he gave the king the most violent counsel, indeed such as his circumstances would not permit him to practise; viz. the answering the demands of the covenanters with a true monarchical imperiousness—attacking the persons of the presbyters, and holding them in close imprisonment; but above all, not to submit to any essential concessions: "For should, argued he, these rude spirits carry it thus from the king's honour to their own churlish will, it would have a most fearful operation upon England; therefore God Almighty guide his majesty's counsels and strengthen his courage, for if he master not them, and this affair so much tending to the tranquillity of his kingdoms, to the honour of Almighty God, I shall be to seek for any probable judgement what is next like to befal us."

Whilst Wentworth thus advised the king to maintain to the utmost his assumed prerogatives, he was not wanting in his efforts to second these pretensions with a competent force. By the means of the standing army, he had made himself absolute master over Ireland, and had drawn down a body of men towards the sea-coast opposite to

(*s*) The civilians also contributed their share. Laud had procured some privileges from the king in behalf of this body: that half of the masters in Chancery should be always civil lawyers, and that they should serve as masters of Request.

(*t*) The earl of Antrim, a weak, bragging man, who had married the duchess-dowager of Buckingham, pretended a title to part of the earl of Argyle's estate. Charles had the imprudence, before this nobleman had declared himself, to promise Antrim assistance in a scheme of invading Argyle's territories in Scotland. This served no other purpose than to give Argyle the alarm, and furnish him with a vindication, if he had wanted one, for the part he acted; since Antrim, though a grandson of Tyrone, and one of the heads of the popish party in Ireland, was, from the poverty of his circumstances, and the weakness of his abilities, unable to fulfil any part of his engagements. *Strafford's Letters*, vol. ii. p. 325.

Scotland, which prevented a junction between the covenanters in that country and the Scotch Presbyterians settled in Ireland. By the terrors of the same army, he imposed an arbitrary oath on that people; viz. "That they would maintain the king's power and authority, never take arms against it, nor protest against any of the royal commands, but submit themselves with all due obedience; that they would not enter any covenant, oath, or bond, without his majesty's sovereign and regal authority; and that they renounced and abjured all covenants, oaths, and bonds whatsoever, contrary to what they had in that oath sworn, promised, and professed.

The king approved highly of this act of power, and imposed the same oath on the Scots residing in England: but he found the Scots a more refractory body, for many submitted to imprisonment rather than comply with so illegal an injunction. Not only those who did not conform to the worship which had been newly established in Ireland were imprisoned, but the churchwardens were persecuted for not impeaching their fellow-parishioners (*u*). A well-appointed regiment of five hundred men was sent from that country to garrison the town of Carlisle. He had provided three hundred men for the relief of the castle of Dumbarton, furnished the magazines with arms and ammunition for eleven thousand men, and by the vast increase of the king's revenue was enabled to transmit thirty thousand pounds in money, with large quantities of provisions for victualling the frontier towns. Besides this, a thousand troops were raised in Ireland, and transported over to join the king's troops in the north. The lords-lieutenants of the several counties received orders for levying forces; the trained bands were mustered; and the officers who had gained experience in foreign service were ordered home. By these methods an army was raised, consisting of six thousand horse and twenty thousand foot, besides a squadron of ships with five thousand men on board, under the command of the marquis of Hamilton, who was to land in the Frith of Edinburgh, and endeavour to join the marquis of Huntley, a noted Papist, and a great partisan of the royal cause, to whom, with other noblemen, commissions had been sent impowering them to raise men for the king; whilst the fleet, under the command of the earl of Northumberland, was to stop the trade of the Scots, and make a diversion for guarding the coast. The earl of Arundel, a man thought to be very inveterate against the Scots, and suspected of popery, was for these reasons, notwithstanding his total ignorance of military affairs, appointed general of the army. The generalship of the horse was taken from the earl of Essex, to his great discontent, and, through the interest of the queen, given to the earl of Holland. Essex was made lieutenant-general of the army (*v*). Notwithstanding the necessary preparations which had been made by the covenanters to defend their liberty, yet they still kept up appearances, and sent a letter to the king with an account of the transactions of the assembly, accompanying it with a petition written in very submissive terms, nevertheless justifying their proceedings; the legality of which, they said, would appear in the ensuing parliament. At the same time they complained, that their enemies, with an intention to ruin them, had spread reports that they designed to invade England.

The king published two declarations, containing a full narrative of the rise and progress of the tumults in the north; but as they contained high encomiums of the discipline introduced into the church of England, with severe censures on the deformity of the Scotch worship, assertions against the covenanters, with a justification of the royal conduct, but without bringing any proof that it was conformable to the laws of Scotland, they could only convince those who, like Charles, were bigoted to Laud's new model of church-discipline, and who believed, with their prince, that infallibility was attached to sovereignty. At the end of the declaration (*w*), the king endeavours to convince his English subjects, that the intentions of the covenanters are, under the specious pretext of redressing religious grievances, to invade England, and enrich themselves with the spoils of the inhabitants of South Britain.

The Scots, on their side, dispersed in England a great number of papers, in which they set forth their grievances, and the king's intentions; disavowed having any purpose to molest the English; and intimated, that it concerned them, no less than themselves, to withstand the arbitrary power that Charles was grasping at in England as well as in Scotland. On the 27th of March, the king set out to join his troops at York, in which place he revoked sundry monopolies, licences, and commissions, granted by his letters-patent (*x*). This was intended as a popular act, but it was followed by another that was quite the reverse; the imposing on all the chief officers in the army, and the nobles assembled in the camp, by way of test, an oath professing loyalty and obedience to the king, and disclaiming and renouncing the having any intelligence, or holding any correspondence with the rebels. This oath was taken by all the Scots and others in the king's train, excepting the lord Say and the lord Brook, who had the spirit to refuse it, as an unconstitutional exaction: on this refusal they were confined to their houses (*y*).

The Scots sent addresses to the king at York, in which they desired to be admitted to his presence, and lay their grievances at his feet. They obeyed a proclamation published in Scotland to forbid them to approach within ten miles of the borders of England; and by this judicious behaviour, congruous to their professions, they convinced the English that the quarrel was entirely the king's, and that they were called out, not to defend their own property, as the courtiers endeavoured to make them believe, but to assist a wicked administration in the most unjustifiable designs, against a people to whom they were in a manner united by the parity of circumstances, and similarity of grievances. If Charles had already claimed a superiority over the laws of England, how fatally might he make those pretensions good when he had reduced Scotland to

(*u*) Archibald Adair, a Scotchman, bishop of Killala, for having refused to prefer one Corbet, a Scotch parson, who had written a libel against his countrymen the covenanters, and for having dropped some sentiments in favour of that party, was by Wentworth's directions brought by a pursuivant before the high-commission court at Dublin, and sentenced to be fined, imprisoned, and deprived. He was succeeded by John Maxwell, one of the most hot-headed of the Scotch bishops. *Carte's Life of Ormond*, vol. i. p. 95, *& seq.*

(*v*) Notwithstanding the enormous sums of money which the king had by various means extorted from his people, yet such was his dissipation, that he had at this time no provision of money to support a war: this appears by the following passage in a letter of the earl of Northumberland's to the deputy of Ireland. "The martial preparations here have made a great noise; but I assure your lordship, we are in as ill a posture to invade others as we were a twelvemonth since. The discontents at home do rather increase than lessen. The king's coffers were never emptier than they are at this time; and to us that have the honour to be near about him, no way is yet known how he will find means either to maintain or begin a war, without the help of his people." Northumberland, in a letter to his brother-in-law the earl of Leicester, says, that such was the poverty of the court, that no servant of the king's, of what condition soever, could get either wages or pension paid. *Strafford's Letters*, vol. ii. p. 207. *Sydney's State Papers*, vol. ii. p. 636.

(*w*) One of the paragraphs in what is called the lesser declaration is so true a picture of Charles's sentiments concerning the sacredness of his office, that it is worth inserting. "They have treacherously, (said he,) induced many of our people to swear to a bond against us; which bond and covenant, or rather conspiracy of theirs, could not be with God, because against us, the Lord's anointed over them. But it was and is a bond and covenant pretended to be with God, that they may with the better countenance do the works of the Devil, such as all treasons and rebellions are."

(*x*) This act, intended to conciliate the minds of the exasperated people, was a very injudicious piece of politics, since it gave the public a taste of the advantages they received from the distressed situation of their king; and convinced them of the utility of keeping him in a state of dependence on their good-will, since it was only on occasions that he wanted the assistance of his subjects to maintain his power, that he could be brought to do them justice. The following are some of the monopolies and commissions that were called in, noted here because they have not been yet mentioned in this history. A commission touching scriveners and brokers. A commission for compounding with offenders touching tobacco. A commission for compounding with offenders for transporting of butter. A commission for compounding with offenders in the importing and using logwood. A commission to compound with sheriffs, and such as have been sheriffs, for selling their under-sheriffs places. A commission for compounding for destruction of woods in iron-works. A commission for concealments and encroachments within twenty miles of London. A licence to transport sheep-skins and lamb-skins. A commission to take men bound to dress no venison, pheasants, or partridges, in inns, alehouses, &c. A commission touching the use of wine-casks. A commission for licensing of brewers. A licence for the sole transporting of lamperns. A grant for weighing hay and straw in London and Westminster, and three miles compass. An office of register to the commission for bankrupts in divers counties of the realm. An office or grant for gauging of red-herrings. An office or grant for sealing bone-lace. A grant of privilege touching kelp or sea-weed. An office or grant of factory for Scottish merchants. An office or grant for the searching and sealing of foreign hops. An office or grant for the sealing of buttons. All grants of fines, penalties, and forfeitures, before judgement granted, mentioned to be granted, by letters-patent, privy-seals, signets, sign-manual, or otherwise. The several grants of incorporation made unto hatband-makers, lutestring-makers, spectacle-makers, comb-makers, tobacco-pipe-makers, butchers, and horners. *Rushworth*, vol. iii. p. 915, *& seq.*

(*y*) The examples of the lord Say and the lord Brook occasioned other lords, who had taken the oath, to make a protestation of what sense they took it in. This protestation was so offensive to the court, that the oath was not offered afterwards. *Strafford's Letters*, vol. ii. p. 351.

a conquered province, when he could pour forth armies of disciplined slaves to feed on the pastures of those who should venture to oppose him in the rest of his dominions? It was in this view, and in these circumstances only, that the Scots were to be dreaded by their southern neighbours. On the contrary, whilst they maintained a free and independent spirit, their generous example and assistance might encourage England to pursue the glorious track, and recover, by the way of arms, her lost laws and liberties. Thus argued the chief officers in the English army.

Charles, who was sanguine in all things that concerned his authority, imagined that the Scots obeyed him through fear, and detached the earl of Holland, with three thousand foot and a thousand horse, to march into Scotland by the way of Kelso; the earl of Essex had been sent before to take possession of Berwick. Lesley advanced, at the head of four or five thousand men, to meet Holland: favoured by his situation, he drew up his forces in a manner that made them appear double their real number, and Holland received intelligence that there were yet twenty-four thousand behind. On this he dispatched orders to stop the march of his foot; and returning back, spread through the whole camp the alarm of the enemies great force. On the retreat of Holland, the Scots, instead of advancing, drew back, and sent letters to each of the English generals, assuring them, that they had not the least idea of entering into a war against England, their only intent being to defend their rights and liberties till they might have access to his majesty to expose their complaints to him. Soon after this, the Scots sent the earl of Dumfermling with a petition to the king, entreating him to appoint commissioners to negociate a peace. This was seconded by the voluntary advice of almost all the nobility which surrounded the camp; and Charles was in a manner obliged, contrary to those schemes of conquest he had projected, to enter into a treaty with the Scots, and countermand the orders he had sent to Hamilton to do what mischief he could to the rebels (*z*): Hamilton has been much condemned by the violent royalists and prelates for the moderate part he acted in the execution of his orders against the Scots. This nobleman, though Charles's minion, and fattened with the oppressions of the people (*a*), yet had not arrived to the profligate selfishness of a Wentworth. He could not look without horror on the prospect of his country conquered by Charles, and taking the law from a triumvirate (*b*), with whose arbitrary principles he was thoroughly acquainted. Full of these apprehensions, he was far from being in a hurry to perform the violent commands of his master, and always represented the state of the covenanters in a very formidable light, but particularly when sent down with a force that, many authors are of opinion, might have brought the mal-contents to any terms of submission; it was from these representations that he received commands not to act on the offensive, but to amuse the covenanters with the prospect of a treaty, till Scotland should be invaded by the king's army (*c*); and it was at the time that Holland had received orders to attack the Scots, that he was commanded to commence hostilities. He obeyed so punctually the king's directions to keep on the defensive, that the commission of lieutenancy he sent to the zealous Huntley was so full of these cautions, that Huntley parleyed with the enemy, and was sent prisoner to the castle of Edinburgh for refusing to sign the covenant.

Besides the compunctions which a man of any degree of virtue must have in Hamilton's affecting circumstances, an interesting occasion excited his humane feelings. The covenanters, after the example of the Romans in the same exigencies, sent Hamilton's mother to try her influence over her son: she was a pious woman, and a warm covenanter, and no doubt made use of those strong arguments the subject would admit, to make him forbear from any hostile attempts on his country. Whatever might be his resolutions on entering the Frith, like Coriolanus he could not resist the united solicitations of two parents, nor break through that double tie of filial duty with which he was bound both to his country and the fair negociator. Thus circumstanced, he received, no doubt with infinite pleasure, Charles's orders to repair to Berwick, and assist with his advice in the intended treaty. He obeyed this command with such alacrity, that the earl of Airly, and Aboyne, (Huntley's son,) who had taken up arms in the north, were sacrificed by his abrupt departure.

The king insisted, previous to entering on the negociation, that the proclamation, which the covenanters would not suffer to be read at Edinburgh, should be published at the head of the Scottish army: on this punctilio being complied with, commissioners were named for the treaty. On the king's side were the earls of Arundel, Essex, Holland, Salisbury, Berkshire, and secretary Cook; on that of the Scots, the earls of Rothes, Dumfermling, and and Lowdon, sir William Douglas, the sheriff of Teviotdale, and two ministers, Johnson and Henderson. When the commissioners had met in the earl of Arundel's tent, and were on the point of entering on the treaty, they were surprized with the sudden appearance of the king, who addressing himself to the Scotch deputies, told them, that understanding they gave out they could not be heard, he was come to hear them in person. This proceeding shocked the commissioners; they concluded that the treaty was never intended by the king to be a fair one, since himself, the sovereign of both people, and a principal party concerned, over-awed by his presence the freedom of debate. The earl of Rothes evaded entering into particulars, and said in general, that all they desired was to be secured in their religion and liberties. The earl of Lowdon, younger than Rothes, and full of ardour, was entering into an harangue; but he was interrupted by Charles in the following strain: "Sir, I will not admit of any of your excuses for your by-past actions; but if you come to sue for grace, set down your desires particularly in writing, and you shall receive your answer." On this, the Scotch deputies set down the following demands, with constitutional reasons and grounds for them: "That the acts of the late assembly at Glasgow should be ratified in the ensuing parliament; that all matters ecclesiastical should be determined by the assemblies of the kirk, and matters civil by parliament; that his majesty's ships, and forces by land, be recalled; that all persons, ships, and goods, arrested, be restored; and that all excommunicated persons, incendiaries, and informers against the kingdom, who had caused these commotions for their own private ends, might be given up, to suffer their deserved censure and punishment."

These demands threw the king into the utmost perplexity: he had gone too far to retreat without offending the English, who seemed desirous that the Scots should be satisfied in all their reasonable desires. The demands they had made he did not chuse to grant, yet he could not deny but they were agreeable to the principles of their constitution. After Charles had published the horrible rebellion of the Scots, after having levied a powerful army and fitted out a fleet to defend England against their attack, these reputed rebels, these barbarous robbers and invaders, in a pacific manner fling themselves at his feet, and implore leave to enjoy their civil and religious rights (*d*), and that those incendiaries who had endeavoured to set two neighbour-kingdoms, united under one sovereign, at variance, might be tried by the laws of their country, and receive the punishment they deserved. The reasonableness of these requests could not be disputed; were they peremptorily refused, it would fully convince the public how grossly they had been abused by Charles's representation, and that the Scots had more reason for their opposition than he chose to allow. Perplexed with these difficulties, he concluded a sudden pacification, without other than general stipulations: that the king should withdraw his fleet and army; the Scots dismiss their forces; the king's forts be restored to him; that there should be no meetings among his subjects but such as were warranted by parliament; and that a general assembly and parliament should be immediately summoned to compose all differences.

The king's answers to the demands of the Scots were

(*z*) He wrote to Hamilton, that he must now keep upon the defensive, for he was clearly and fully satisfied in his own judgement that what passed in the gallery betwixt them had been too much verified on this occasion; *viz.* That the nobility and gentry of England would never incline to invade Scotland, and thereby begin an offensive war. *Nalson*, vol. i. p. 231.

(*a*) Many of the oppressive commissions, monopolies, and licences, had been granted to him.

(*b*) The king, Laud, and Wentworth.

(*c*) After Hamilton had entered the Frith, he received a proclamation from Charles, offering pardon to the rebels who should lay down their arms, with orders to persecute all with fire and sword who should refuse. By Hamilton's representations, these orders were countermanded, and directions given to keep on the defensive till the king should invade Scotland with his army. *Memoirs of the Duke of Hamilton*, p. 123.

(*d*) In the course of the negociation, the Scots told the king, that if he would give them leave to enjoy their religion and their laws, they would, at their own expence, transport their army to assist in the recovery of the Palatinate—a memorable circumstance, unnoticed by the generality of historians. *Sydney's State Papers*, vol. ii. p. 602.

very

very ambiguous, and both sides appeared eager to get out of their present situation, and avoid coming to extremities. It cannot be supposed that the Scots would have been content with general stipulations, had they not found the king, contrary to their expectation, accompanied with an army of twenty-two thousand men. They had imagined that the general discontent of the English nation would have rendered it impossible for him to bring any considerable force against them: to their great astonishment they found themselves deceived (*e*); and moreover, their trade was entirely stopped by the king's fleet. In these circumstances the Scotch deputies thought it expedient to accept of terms, expressed in a manner that would bear interpretation for them, when a proper opportunity offered to discuss the point. The king, though his army was infinitely superior so that of the Scots, was not without suspicions that they might betray him; if not, it was a doubtful point whether they would venture their lives in his quarrel; and the loss of a battle might be the loss of his three kingdoms. He therefore did not hesitate to promise, that the Scots should enjoy their religion and liberties according to the ancient laws of that kingdom, determining to construe these terms in a sense that should do no injury to his pretensions. The deputies being returned to their camp, their principals were greatly disappointed to find that in the stipulations no mention was made of the abolition of episcopacy, nor acknowledgement of the Glasgow-assembly. The deputies therefore drew up a paper containing certain qualifications, which they asserted ought to have the force of positive stipulations.

The Scots, on the encouragement they had met with in their intercourse with the English noblemen, entered a public protestation, that they did not intend to vacate any of the proceedings of the late general assembly at Glasgow, by which prelacy was abolished, and the bishops excommunicated; and declared, that the acts of the approaching session of the college of justice should be null, because it was appointed without a legal notice, to their great prejudice. Charles's pride was hurt by not having been able to chastise the Scots, or to have reduced them to submissive acknowledgements; and soon repented having concluded on terms he thought much too honourable for rebels. These resentments, on his return to London, were much inflamed by the queen and Laud: the queen upbraided him with cowardice for having lost the opportunity of crushing rebellion in its bud, and, by an example of vengeance on the Scots, deterred others from attempting to oppose royal authority. Laud was quite furious in his rage, and stigmatized all those who had any hand in the pacification. The army was disbanded with marks of displeasure; Arundel, Salisbury, and Pembroke, were treated with coolness; Holland, though supported by the queen, could hardly maintain a footing in the court; and Essex, who had obeyed every direction that had been given him with the utmost punctuality, and whose behaviour in this business is commended by the courtiers, was notwithstanding discharged in the crowd, without ceremony or any ordinary civility paid him; and some time after refused the command of the forest of Needwood, a suit which he had made with earnestness, because the forest was contiguous to his estate.

Secretary Cook, that old drudge of the court, and tool of every administration, was made the sacrifice to appease the queen's anger and the king's chagrin: though near fourscore years of age, he was turned out of his office, on pretence that he inserted something in the treaty which he ought not to have done. This disgrace put on the old man was much against Wentworth's inclination, whose creature Cook had ever professed himself: moreover, the deputy was farther mortified by sir Henry Vane's being appointed to the secretary's office, a man whom he utterly detested, whose advancement he had stopped for some time, and for whom the queen and the marquis of Hamilton exerted all their interest.

Charles next vented his displeasure on the paper published by the Scots, alledged to be the grounds and substance of the treaty: it was ordered to be burnt, and a proclamation was issued, commanding all persons who had any copies to deliver them to the justices of peace (*f*). This gave general alarm to the Scots, and though the king had disbanded his troops without reserve, they took such precautions in dismissing their forces as made it easy to draw them together again, and continued the authority to their tables, alledging it was necessary they should act till all danger was past.

From the first signing the pacification, Charles had expressed uneasiness concerning what might be agitated in the approaching general assembly and parliament in Scotland. To gain over some of the heads of the popular party, he summoned fourteen of the covenanting lords to attend him at Berwick, to consult on the affairs of their country: The Scots apprehended treachery, and would not permit above three of their chiefs to obey the mandate; these were Montrose, Lowdon, and Lothian. The two last resisted all the temptations they met with in this interview; but Montrose, a young and giddy nobleman, of no fixed principles, was immediately gained over by the affected smiles of a court, and soon convinced his party that he was not a man in whom they could place any confidence.

During the interval of peace an incident happened which equally alarmed the subjects of England and Scotland (*g*). Cardinal Richelieu had concerted measures with the prince of Orange to make a vigorous attack on the dominions of the king of Spain. The Dutch, with a French subsidy, were enabled to fit out a large fleet to go against Antwerp, whilst France undertook to besiege St. Omers. The court of Spain having intelligence of the intentions of these powers, fitted out a squadron consisting of fifty ships, with twelve thousand foot on board, which was to join another squadron lying at Dunkirk. The vigilant Richelieu gave advice of this armament to the prince of Orange, who received intelligence from a spy, chief clerk to the government at Brussels, that the Spanish general, Antonio Doguendo, was instructed to put himself under the protection of the English fleet, and to land his men on the coast of Flanders. In the straits between Dover and Calais, the Spanish fleet was met by Van Tromp, the Dutch admiral, who, with a very inferior force, engaged them, and forced them into the Downs. The prince of Orange seized the opportunity of revenging the insults his country had lately received from Charles: he sent the Dutch admiral, Van Tromp, a strong reinforcement, with orders to pursue and fight the enemy, though sheltered under the protection of England. Van Tromp signified to the English admiral, that if he took part with the Spaniards his orders were to fight both fleets. In vain did the Spaniards demand the assistance they had sought from their professed friend the king of England. Charles's fleet, notwithstanding the heavy tax he had exacted on the pretence of shipping, was in very bad order, nor could he be certain of the obedience of the sailors, who, with the rest of his subjects, were impressed with a notion that the Spaniards were come to assist him in his schemes of government, and to subdue all opposition to the tyranny of priesthood. The Spanish fleet was ill provided, and though consisting of sixty-seven ships, was much inferior in number to the Dutch, whose mighty force was no less than an hundred large vessels. In these distressing circumstances, Charles endeavoured to maintain the appearance of impartiality, and sent orders to sir John Pennington, who lay in the Downs with thirty-four men of war, to join that fleet which should be first attacked. At the same time, he advised the Spaniards to slip away with the first fair wind, for he could not be answerable for the success of an engagement if they were attacked by the Dutch. Charles's scheme was frustrated by Van Tromp, who began the attack on pretence that the Spaniards had violated their privilege of protection by killing a seaman on board his own barge. This circumstance furnished Pennington with an excuse to keep the desired neutrality. The Spaniards, who had found means to run over twelve of their ships to Dunkirk, were hemmed in on all sides by the Dutch, who forced them to run twenty-three vessels a-shore, seven of which were destroyed; of the rest of the fleet, sixteen ships were taken, two burnt, and fourteen lost near Bullogne and Calais; the remaining number of twenty-three, forced a-shore, after having been deserted by the Spaniards, were manned by the English, and delivered to their owners. In this complete victory, the Dutch lost but

(*e*) It was generally believed in England, that the nobility would have refused to attend the king in his expedition against the Scots. *Sydney's State Papers*, vol. ii. p. 591.

(*f*) Guthrie the historian observes, that Charles was so little cured of his execrable notions of government by the difficulties he had met with from the Scots, that he minuted this order in the council-book by the name of an Act of State, a term introduced by him, and which implied, that it ought to have the force of an act of parliament. *Guthrie*, vol. iii. p. 968.

(*g*) Vid. Lettres d'Estrade, ed. Lond. 1744, tome i. p. 12, & seq.

ten ships; and thus the naval armament of Spain, to the great joy of the English subjects, who had conceived an inexpressible terror at their first appearance, met with an irrecoverable blow, though sheltered in a manner in the very arms of their secret ally the king of England (*h*). Charles complained loudly of this insult, and made use of it as an argument to exact with redoubled severity the tax of ship-money.

The marquis of Hamilton, who found that Charles did not intend to be sincere in his dealings with the Scots, and that he was determined against the total abolition of episcopacy, the only concession that could content the covenanters, declined acting again as high-commissioner. On his refusal, the earl of Traquaire was invested with that office. Traquaire's instructions were minutely drawn up; among other articles were the following concerning bishops: "For the better facilitating our other services, and the more peaceable and plausible progress in all businesses recommended to you, we allow you, at any time you shall find most convenient after opening the assembly, to declare, that notwithstanding our own inclination, or any other considerations, we are contented, for our people's full satisfaction, to remit episcopacy and the estates of bishops to the freedom of that assembly; but so as no respect be had to the determination of the point in the last assembly. But in giving way to the abolishing episcopacy, be careful that it may be done without the appearing of any warrant from the bishops; and if any offer to appear for them, you are to enquire for their warrant, and carry the dispute so as the conclusion seem not to be made in prejudice of episcopacy as unlawful, but only in satisfaction to the people, for settling the present disorders, and such other reasons of state; but herein you must be careful that our intentions appear not to any."

On the perusal of these articles, an unobserving reader would imagine, that Charles intended to leave off trifling, and answer to the full expectations and wishes of his Scotch subjects. This was far from his intention. The appearance of a concession, contrary to the dictates of his conscience, and his principles of government, was a meer subterfuge, and never intended but to deceive. At the same time that these instructions were given to Traquaire, a letter was sent to the bishops, with directions to give in to the commissioner a protestation against the assembly and parliament, not to be read or argued in the assembly: "But, says the letter, to be represented to us by our commissioner, which we promise to take so into consideration as becometh a prince sensible of his own interest and honour, joined with the equity of your desires. And you may rest secure, that though perhaps we may give way for the present to that which will be prejudicial both to the church and our own government, yet we shall not leave thinking in time how to remedy both: we do hereby assure you, that it shall be still one of our chiefest studies how to rectify and establish the government of that church aright, and to repair your losses, which we desire you to rest satisfied with."

Thus did Charles imagine, that a protestation from the bishops would affect both the conclusions of the assembly and parliament; for as bishops, in his opinion, had a right which they could never be deprived of but by their own consent, so the determinations of a parliament, from which they were forcibly excluded, would of course be invalid; and thus, when a proper opportunity presented, its acts might be declared vacate, though they obtained the royal assent (*i*).

The Scots, however, had very good intelligence of all the schemes plotted at court; and though after the pacification they quitted the form of an army, yet they kept together in bodies, and retained all their officers in pay; they carried on their fortifications, and bought up large quantities of arms in foreign states. Thus prepared, when the synod met, they declared all those assemblies null which had been condemned in the last meeting, and passed an act, which was ratified by the commissioner, with a promise that he would ratify the same in parliament, imputing the troubles of the kingdom to the following causes: the liturgy, the canons, consecration, ordination, the five articles of Perth, the change of church-government into episcopacy, the introduction of ecclesiastics into civil offices, and the interruption of general assemblies. The covenant was commanded to be subscribed, with a new explanation, and another assembly was appointed to meet at Aberdeen, in the month of July in the following year (*k*). On the new explanation of the covenant, it was taken by the commissioner and the rest of the council (*l*). Though the explanation was favourable to the royal authority, and was a great point gained, as matters then stood, yet Traquaire incurred the resentment of his master for a compliance which shocked both his pride and principles (*m*).

The conduct of the parliament was no less animated than that of the general assembly. The covenanting party shone forth in the meridian of their glory; and such was the influence of the spirit of liberty, that these northern chiefs, the inhabitants of an hitherto uncivilized country, had conducted their opposition to tyranny with a regularity and judgement that would have graced the councils of an established commonwealth. And when by wise and vigorous measures they had extorted from their unwilling sovereign a parliament, to settle the civil and religious rights of the nation, they exerted talents that rivalled the reputation of Grecian legislators. The scheme of the party was to rectify and fix the constitution of Scotland, till now inconsistent, precarious, and unsettled; and this sagacious parliament, composed of the chief members of the opposition, seem in their purposed model to have in view some of the purest and firmest fundamentals in the system of the English monarchy. The first attempt was to abolish the lords of the articles, and thus reinstate the parliament in that authority which had, by means of this institution, been engrossed by the crown. They presented to the high-commissioner an act, declaring, that nothing done, or to be done, in parliament, should be valid, except the form of electing articles heretofore observed were altered, and every estate allowed to chuse their own articles (*n*). The act of the general assembly concerning episcopacy was ratified; and on the commissioners demanding, that the third estate should be represented by fourteen lay-abbots of the king's chusing, it was rejected with spirit; and a vote passed, that the third estate should be completed by small barons, to be elected by the commonalty.

The next business the parliament undertook was to abridge the power of the crown in the point of coin, a privilege which rendered property precarious and dependent on the monarch. To secure the subject from this grievance, they passed an act ordaining, that the coin should not be meddled with but by advice in parliament. The king having made two Englishmen governors of the castles of Edinburgh and Dumbarton, the Scots took the alarm, and, that they might not be bridled with foreign garrisons, presented an act, ordaining, that no strangers should be intrusted with the keeping any castles, nor other person put in them, but by advice of the estates. The next act ordained, that no patent of honour should be granted to any stranger, but such as had a competency of land-rent in Scotland: this was very important to the security of the country, since,

(*h*) Northumberland writes to the earl of Leicester, that his majesty's designs were a little to be wondered at, that he should endanger the receiving an affront, and expose his ships to much hazard, rather than command both the Spanish and Holland fleets out of the Downs. *Sydney's State Papers*, vol. ii. p. 612.

(*i*) It was the earl of Traquaire that suggested this to the king. *Memoirs of the Duke of Hamilton*, p. 149.

(*k*) During the sitting of this assembly, the bishops of Dunkeld and the Orkneys abjured episcopacy, as having no foundation in the word of God, and which had had pernicious consequences in many parts of Christendom, and particularly in Scotland. *Monteth*, p. 59, *& seq.*

(*l*) Explanation of the covenant. "We do swear not only our mutual concurrence and assistance for the cause of religion, and to the utmost of our power, with our means and lives, to stand to the defence of our dread sovereign and his authority in the preservation and defence of the said religion, liberties, and laws of this kirk and kingdom, but also in every cause which may concern his majesty's honour, we shall, according to the laws of this kingdom, and duty of good subjects, concur with our friends and followers, in quiet manner or in arms, as we shall be required of his majesty's council, or any having his authority." The following clause was prefixed to the names of the subscribers: "We subscribe this covenant according to the explanation it hath received from the general assembly; that is, as declaring the five articles of Perth, the government of the church by bishops, and the bestowing of civil places on churchmen, to be unlawful in this church." Traquaire avowed, that he signed the covenant as a subject, not as his majesty's high-commissioner. *Nalson*, vol. i. p. 253. *Rapin*, vol. x. p. 387. *Monteth*, p. 50.

(*m*) Part of Traquaire's instructions were, to have an especial care that the bond should be the same as was in James's time, and that he gave no assent to the farther interpretation of it than what might stand with the king's intentions, well known to him.

(*n*) They for this time gave way to the commissioners, chusing eight noblemen in the place of the bishops; but they voted it should be no example for the future. *Whitelock*, p. 29, *& seq.*

without this restriction, Charles might have filled the parliament with Englishmen, the creatures of his court. The sixth act ordained, that no commission of justiciary or lieutenancy should be granted but for a limited time. And the seventh protested against the precedency of the lord-treasurer and lord-privy-seal, because not warranted by law (*o*). There were other salutary acts passed of the same nature; such as settling the book of rates by advice of parliament; limiting the power of the exchequer; demanding that the council should be censurable by parliament; an act touching proxies and ward-lands, with a supplication that the authors of the book called, "The Large Declaration," in which the Scots had been grossly abused, should be delivered up to the justice of the kingdom (*p*). Charles receiving intelligence of these proceedings, ordered his commissioner to prorogue the parliament till the second of June, 1640; and if he met with opposition, to declare that the members who should continue to sit were guilty of high-treason (*q*).

The parliament drew up a declaration, setting forth the irregularity of these proceedings; that the commissioners had infringed their privileges in many articles, and that the prorogation of the parliament, without their own consent, was contrary to the usage of the kingdom; and that though they were willing to break up, to give the king a proof of their obedience, yet they thought it necessary to leave a committee of each estate to present a remonstrance to his majesty, and attend his gracious answer.

The earls of Dumfermling and Lothian were sent to present this to the king, and to demand the royal assent to the acts that had passed this parliament. The king refused to give the deputies audience, on pretence that they came without a warrant from his commissioner. When the earl of Traquaire arrived, he was ordered to report to the English council what had passed in Scotland since the pacification. The council, without being acquainted with the constitution of the kingdom, the legality of the passed transactions, the rationality of the claims, precipitately declared, that it was absolutely necessary to reduce the Scots to their duty by the force of arms (*r*). The committee at Edinburgh at length obtained leave to send deputies to justify the conduct of the parliament. These refused to plead before a committee of the council, and alledged that they were sent to the king and not to the council of England, who had no jurisdiction over the Scots. The king at length vouchsafed to give them a personal audience, in the presence of the appointed committee. The earl of Lowdon was the mouth of the deputation: he vindicated all that had been done in Scotland, and insisted, in a decent though determined manner, on the confirmation of the constitutional points, Charles pretended to believe, that the deputies were come to treat with him about concessions: he first asked him, how he could be sure they were sent by the people they pretended to represent? and then what power they had to give him satisfaction? The deputies, after shewing their authorities, answered, if what they had to propose was agreeable to law, they were convinced his majesty would be satisfied. Who is to be judge of that, said the king? The law, returned the deputies, is so clear, that there is no need of a judge. Charles, after trifling in this manner, declared, that the deputies were not invested with proper authority to treat about an accommodation; that their application was undutiful; and that enough had been done already to give the Scots satisfaction (*s*).

Determined on war, the king published a declaration to vindicate his own conduct and accuse the Scots. In this he endeavoured to stir up the resentment of the English against them, on the objection made to the intrusting of important charges in the hands of strangers; and attempted to shew that all their demands were not only illegal but absurd. Traquaire, who was hated by the prelates on a suspicion that he had betrayed them, and who had incurred the king's resentment for the moderation with which he had behaved in the character of his commissioner, found that he could no otherwise stand his ground but by humouring the inclination of the court for a war, and inveighing with great animosity against his countrymen. He represented, that they were not to be satisfied; that the circumstance of the king's strength in Scotland was such, that if a better concerted invasion were set on foot, Ruthwen, the governor of the castle of Edinburgh, would soon teach them their duty (*t*). To furnish the king with a pretext for hostile resolutions, he put into his hands a letter he had picked up, written by seven of the covenanting lords to the king of France, desiring his protection and assistance. This letter (*u*), on the pacification, had been reserved, and never sent.

To the astonishment of the English court, now, for the first time, was discovered the real source from whence the Scots had obtained their assistance of men and money. Charles had attributed it to the Dutch, or to the party of Calvinists spread over Europe: he never apprehended that the reformed, whom he, a Protestant prince, had treated with the utmost rigour, at the same time that he was courting the triple crown at Rome, could receive encouragement from a prelate of the Romish church; and so much was he impressed with his father's notion of a sympathetic amity among sovereigns, that he imagined brother-monarchs bound by every tie moral and political to assist each other against rebellious subjects. It was the part he had always acted, when he followed the impulse of his own inclinations in the quarrel between the king of France and the Protestants of that kingdom. The false light in which he viewed these things, rendered him obnoxious to the revengeful spirit of the cardinal Richelieu.

To secure the success of the scheme which Richelieu, with the states, had formed on the Austrian Netherlands, it was necessary at least to obtain a neutrality from the king of England. To bring about this business, d'Estrade was sent by the cardinal to the English court, with instructions to offer the king his own terms. Richelieu gave

(*o*) The parliament were so jealous of being treacherously dealt with, that they desired leave to appoint some of their members to sit by the clerk, and see that the votes were rightly taken. *Rushworth*, vol. iii. p. 1010.

(*p*) It was penned by Balcanqual dean of Durham. *Memoirs of the Duke of Hamilton*, p. 116.

(*q*) The following directions, which the king wrote to Traquaire on the business of the parliament, furnish a fresh proof of the insincerity of his intentions in regard to the Scots. "As we have formerly written to you, we cannot consent to the rescinding any acts of parliament made in favour of episcopacy; nor do we conceive that our refusal to abolish those acts is contradictory to what we have consented to, or to what we were obliged to. There is less danger in discovering any future intentions of ours, or at the best letting them guess at the same, than if we should permit the rescinding those acts of parliament which our father with so much expence of time and industry established, and which may hereafter be of great use to us. And though it should perhaps cast all loose (as you express) yet we take God to witness, we have permitted them to do many things in this assembly, for establishing of peace, contrary to our judgement. And if, on this point, a rupture happen, we cannot help it; the fault is on their part, which one day they will smart for. We likewise wrote formerly to you, that we thought it not fit at this time that the power of the lords of articles should be refined, and that you are to avoid the same, and to be sure not to consent thereunto." *Memoirs of the Duke of Hamilton*, p. 158, *& seq.*

(*r*) The earl of Morton said, that the king had given the Scots leave to petition in parliament for redress, there was not sufficient ground for war till their reasons were heard. On this the earl of Strafford peremptorily asserted, that there was ground enough for war. *Nalson*, vol. ii. p. 82.

(*s*) Laud, who was one of the members of the committee, entered into a dispute with the deputies, and alledged, that the king was not obliged to ratify the conclusions of the assembly; the deputies affirmed that he was. In the course of this dispute Laud grew warm, and said, that the clergy of England in their convocation-house did not assume such authority as the general assembly of Scotland. To this the deputies answered, that the comparison would not hold; for the convocation-house, which did only consist of prelates, and a part of the clergy, was of a different nature from their general assemblies, where his majesty or his commissioner sat, and where the whole congregations and parishes of the kingdom were represented by their commissioners from presbyteries, so that what was done by them was done by the whole church and kingdom. At this Laud exclaimed, with great heat, "That the convocation-house in England was as eminent a judicature as the general assembly in Scotland; that the clergy and himself had been a long time members of the parliament; and that neither the English nor any reformed church had lay-elders as the Scotch had in their assemblies, and he would lose his life before they should have them. *Rushworth*, vol. iii. p. 998, *& seq.*

(*t*) A little time after this, a great part of the walls of Edinburgh-castle, mounted with cannon, fell down of themselves, and the covenanters prevented their being rebuilt.

(*u*) It was at follows:

"Sir, your majesty being the refuge and sanctuary of afflicted princes and states, we have found it necessary to send this gentleman, Mr. Colvill, to represent unto your majesty the candour and ingenuity, as well of our actions and proceedings, as of our intentions; which we desire to be engraved and written to the whole world, with a beam of the sun, as well as to your majesty. We therefore most humbly beseech you, Sir, to give faith and credit to him, and to all that he shall say on our part touching us and our affairs, being most assured, Sir, of an assistance equal to your wonted clemency, heretofore and so often shewed to this nation; which will not yield the glory to any other whatsoever to be eternally, Sir, your majesty's most humble, most obedient, and most affectionate servants, Rothes, Montrose, Lesley, Marr, Montgomery, Lowdon, Forrester."

Bishop Burnet says, that this letter was proposed and dictated by the earl of Montrose; that when it was brought to the earl of Lauderdale to sign, he objected that it was written in false French; and that on this objection it was laid aside for some time. *Burnet's History of His Own Times*, vol. i. p. 30.

d'Estrade particular directions to make his first applications to Henrietta, to endeavour to remove the prejudice she had taken against him, and to make professions on his part of a desire to serve her, and to destroy by his actions the ill offices that had been done him by madame de Chevreuse. Henrietta received the cardinal's civilities with all the haughtiness that could be expected from her inexperience, pride, and passionate temper: she not only silenced d'Estrade on his offering to enter on a vindication of Richelieu's conduct, but told him, that she wanted nothing of that minister, and was determined never to have any friendship for him. The answer that Charles made to the proposal of the ambassador was as impolitic as was that of the queen: on d'Estrade's assuring him, that if he would comply on the subject of the desired neutrality, the cardinal would prevail with the French king to send him assistance against such of his subjects as might have rebellious views, he answered, that he had no occasion of foreign aid to reduce his subjects; and should be so far from observing a neutrality, that he was determined to have a fleet in the Downs with fifteen thousand troops on board, ready to land in Flanders in case of need. Richelieu received the intelligence of the manner in which his offers and civilities had been refused with that indignant spirit of revenge which might have been expected from a man conscious of his power, abilities, and consequence.

This happened at the beginning of the breaking out of the commotions in Scotland. D'Estrade received immediate orders to withdraw into Holland, to persuade the prince of Orange to attack Antwerp, with intelligence that Richelieu would send his almoner, a Scotchman, to Edinburgh, to encourage the Scots in their undertakings against Charles, and to promise them the assistance of the king of France. "It is proper and advantageous, (wrote he in his dispatches to d'Estrade,) to discover the sentiments of the king and queen of England: if they had had the address to conceal them, they would have perplexed us greatly. But before the end of the twelvemonth they shall repent their having refused the offers which you made them from his majesty. You could not have spoken better, nor could you have better answered the king of England on my account: he shall soon know that I am not despicable."

On the discovery of the letter, Colvil and the earl of Lowdon were sent to the Tower. Lowdon vindicated himself on the following plea: that the letter was written before the pacification, and for that reason was buried in oblivion. He offered to be tried by his peers in Scotland, from which place, he said, he came on his majesty's warrant, and ought to be returned back again a freeman. It is reported, that Charles was much inclined to deprive him of his life; but was dissuaded from this violent measure by the marquis of Hamilton, who was sensible of the mischief the king would bring on himself by such a procedure (*v*). The enraged party at court, being determined at all hazards to reduce the Scots to obedience, began to take measures, in the beginning of 1640, to raise a numerous army: the counties were taxed for their quotas, and ship-money, with the arrears due, was exacted with the utmost rigour. All this being insufficient to supply the exigencies of a war, Wentworth, lately created earl of Strafford, who had been sent for over on this pressing occasion, together with Laud and Hamilton, encouraged by an opinion that a general aversion and indignation against the Scots, raged through the whole kingdom; and depending much on the circumstance of the intercepted letter, advised the king to recede from his determined plan, and once again try the old constitutional expedient of a parliament.

When this resolution was told to the council, they gave an universal voice of approbation: but Strafford, whom conscious guilt rendered susceptible of doubts and jealousy, and whose fate was wound up with that of his master's, was determined, if possible, to render him capable of making his own terms, and subscribed twenty thousand pounds as a free loan; the duke of Richmond, a young nobleman, gave the same subscription. The example influenced many other great officers in church and state (*w*), and the king found himself in a condition to proceed with his armament without waiting for a subsidy. Presuming on this unexpected supply, he determined to shew the parliament they were not convened out of necessity, and that he thought himself on a footing to treat them in his usual style. Ship-money was continued to be levied, although the grand-jury of Northamptonshire had the spirit to present it as illegal (*x*). An unmitigated rigour was used in the ecclesiastical courts (*y*). On the death of Coventry (*z*), which happened about this time, Finch was preferred to the great seal, and created baron of Fordich. He began the exercise of his office with calling the judges together, and giving them a charge to promote, in their circuits, the ready payment of ship-money; and had the imprudence to declare, on a demurrer put in to a bill then before him, which had the authority of an order of the lords of the council, "That whilst he was keeper, no man should be so saucy as to dispute those orders, but that the wisdom of that board should be always ground enough for him to make a decree in Chancery."

The parliament was summoned to meet on the thirteenth of April, 1640. The pleasure this news gave to the lovers of liberty baffles all description: "What, cried they in their mutual congratulations, are our tyrants at length unexpectedly drove into the necessity of calling a parliament, after their use has been so long and so successfully laid aside? and this when our hopes are grown languid; at a time when the remembrance of that august assembly, when the veneration its conduct so justly acquired, is grown faint on the minds of the vulgar." The exultation of the public began to shew itself on several occasions: the presentment of the Northamptonshire jury against the illegality of ship-money; the spirited exertion of one Bagshaw, a lawyer, reader of the Middle-Temple, who argued against the lawfulness of the seat and jurisdiction of bishops in parliament (*a*).

Previous to the meeting of the English parliament, Strafford was sent over into Ireland with the title of lord-lieutenant, and the ornament of a blue ribbon, to gain from that easy credulous people a sum of money sufficient to execute the designs which had been concerted between him and his master. A parliament was accordingly called in that kingdom, which answered so well the hopes of the ministry, that they immediately granted four subsidies,

(*v*) The following is the story told by Burnet, from a paper written by Dr. White Kennet, bishop of Peterborough. Charles, in a fit of passion, sent a warrant to sir William Balfour, lieutenant of the Tower, to execute the prisoner Lowdon for high-treason. Balfour, at the desire of Lowdon, consulted with the marquis of Hamilton on what was to be done in the present exigence. Balfour and Hamilton went immediately to the king, whom they found in bed: Balfour fell on his knees, and used many arguments to persuade the king to suspend the execution of a warrant which could not be legally proceeded on. The king said, the warrant was his, and it should be obeyed. On this the marquis of Hamilton entered the chamber, and told the king, that if he was so determined, himself would ride post for Scotland, and tell his countrymen, that he had no hand in it. The king was so struck with this peremptory declaration that he tore the warrant. *Appendix to the Enquiry into Glamorgan's Transactions*, p. 15.

Before the conclusion of the year 1639, the prince-palatine, who having raised a small army in Holland, was beat by Hatzfield, one of the emperor's generals, in Westphalia, made another visit to his uncle the king of England, to solicit a supply. Charles was not in a condition to grant the request, and sent the young prince incognito through France to the allied army, which had promised, on his appearance, to acknowledge him general in the room of duke Barnard Saxe-Weymar lately deceased: he was discovered at Lyons, and, by an order from the court of France, confined as a prisoner.

(*w*) Whitelock says, that the judges and officers of the courts of justice ecclesiastical and civil were assessed by the council according to the quality and profit of their places.

(*x*) Sir Christopher Yelverton, high-sheriff of Northamptonshire, having sent to the council a copy of this presentment, was sharply reprimanded, and ordered to do his office on pain of exemplary punishment. *Rapin*, vol. x. p. 398, *& seq.*

(*y*) Some tenants of the church of Durham having combined together, and raised money to carry on a prosecution against the dean and chapter for raising their fines exorbitantly, contrary to a decree of the court at York in the time of Elizabeth, they were called before the council, and Grey and Smith, two men who had been the most busy in this affair, were, by a motion of Laud's, committed to the Gate-house. Laud said, that the dean and chapter would do well to proceed against the prosecutors in the star-chamber, and never renew the leases to them or their children; he was confident it was a practice against the church, and that there was a farther design in the business. *Rushworth*, vol. iii. p. 1051, *& seq.*

(*z*) Coventry died with the following document in his mouth, or rather request to the king: that he would take all distates from the parliament with patience, and not end it with an unkind dissolution.

(*a*) He argued on the statute of 25 Edw. III. and divided his matter into several parts, alloting a case for every day in which he was appointed to read. His arguments being reported to Laud, he was commanded not to proceed. He applied to Finch the lord-keeper, who sent him to Laud, telling him, it was good law, but he could not proceed without a licence. Laud told him, he had fallen on an unfit subject in an unseasonable time, which would stick by him as long as he lived. He was again commanded silence, on which he went out of town. Forty or fifty gentlemen of the inns of court, to do him honour, and shew their approbation of his intention to instruct his audience, attended him on horseback. *Whitelock*, p. 31, *& seq.*

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expressed a violent zeal for the cause, drew up a declaration containing an acknowledgement of favours and benefits enjoyed under his majesty's happy and gracious government, with a promise for a farther supply to the utmost of their abilities if the king's occasions should require it. This was not only entered into the English council-causes, and copies dispersed abroad, but mentioned at the end of the king's declaration against the Scots, with an intimation that the subjects of England would do well to follow so good an example.

April the thirteenth, the parliament met. Eager expectation took possession of almost every English breast; nor were the Scots less free from this turbulent affection, seeing that their success or ruin entirely depended on the resolutions of this assembly. After a short preface from the king, the lord-keeper Finch made a long speech to both houses; this performance out-did his usual bombast: he began with highly extolling his master's condescension in calling a parliament. "His majesty's kingly resolutions, said he, are seated in the ark of his sacred breast; and it were a presumption of too high a nature for any Uzziah, uncalled, to touch it: yet his majesty is pleased to lay by the shining beams of majesty, as Phœbus did to Phaëton, that the distance between sovereignty and subjection should not bar you of that filial freedom of access to his person and counsels; only let us beware how, with the son of Clymene, we aim not at the guiding the chariot, as if that were the only testimony of fatherly affection. But let us ever remember, that though the king sometimes lays by the beams and rays of majesty, he never lays by majesty itself." After this introduction, Finch expatiated on the king's goodness in easing the parliament of the trouble of giving advice concerning the business of the nation, and the having for twelve years taken that burden on himself. He then proceeded to invectives against the Scots, who, he said, designed to introduce an army of foreigners into their country, so that there was an absolute necessity to make preparations for the defence of England. He gave an account of the zeal the Irish parliament had given for the king's service, expressed himself in a high-flown panegyric on the king and his government, on the queen, and the rest of the royal family: he introduced the old topic of tonnage and poundage, which he said the king would gradiously accept as a gift from the parliament; and ended with an exhortation to the commons to grant a liberal supply. After this harangue, Charles produced the letter which had been sent by the covenanters to the French king, and informed the house, that he had sent the lord Lowdon and Mr. Colvil prisoners to the Tower (*b*). Finch had told both houses, that in the dispute between the king and the Scots, his majesty would not admit any one to interpose an office of mediation.

The commons chose serjeant Glanville for their speaker (*c*), a man of some abilities, and at this time not very displeasing to any party in either house. In his speech to the throne he expatiated on the excellence of monarchy royal and hereditary, and bestowed great encomiums on the king's government, on his piety, and his other personal virtues. After this incense, he entered on the subject of the prerogative, which, he said, could do no hurt, provided it admitted the temperament of law and justice. He explained what he called the highest prerogative, "The king can do no wrong." Every unjust command, said he, is made void by this privilege; and therefore, though the king in his person be innocent, the actors of those abuses stand liable and exposed to strict examination and just censure. He then insinuated the necessity of enacting plain statutes, that the subject might be enabled to understand what is expected of him, and what he may call his own. "Were we never so valiant, concluded he, never so wealthy, if love and unity be not amongst us, what good will our wealth do to ourselves or to your majesty? He that commands a heart in love, he and he only commands assuredly the purse to pay, and the hands to fight."

The commons, according to the custom of several parliaments, previous to their entering on matters of importance, conferred with the lords concerning the petitioning the king for a fast, with the usual business of settling elections, and determining matters of privilege (*d*). The first days of the sessions were spent in reading petitions poured in by several counties in England against ship-money, projects, monopolies, the transactions of the star-chamber, the high-commission court, and other grievances. The king, who imagined that the commons would be in a flame on the subject of a letter that was wrote to the French king (*e*), sent them a message by secretary Windebank, enlarging on the affronts and indignities the Scots had, by such an appeal to a foreign prince, put on their sovereign. The commons were at this time so taken up with their own grievances, that they took no notice of what had fallen from secretary Windebank. The debate on the national oppressions was opened by Harbottle Grimstone, member for Essex: "The business that had been recommended to their consideration by his majesty, he said, was a weighty business, and very worthy the advisement of that great council; but there was a case at home of as great a consequence, and so much the more dangerous, because it was home-bred, and ran in the very veins of the body politic: that case was the violation of Magna Charta; itself but a renovation and restitution of the ancient laws of the kingdom; a charter which had been confirmed above thirty times, and in his present majesty's reign more than confirmed by an act declaratory, invested with the title of Petition of Right. What expositions, added he, contrary to that law of right, have some men given, to the undermining the liberty of the subject, with new-invented, subtle distinctions? assuming to themselves a power to make void the laws of the kingdom. The commonwealth had been massacred, all property and liberty shaken, the church distracted, the gospel and professors of it persecuted, and the whole nation over-run with swarms of projecting canker-worms and caterpillars, the worst of all the Egyptian plagues. As the case stands, I conceive there are two points very considerable in it: the first, what hath been done any way to impeach the liberties of the subject, contrary to the Petition of Right; the second, who have been the authors and causers of it."

The next who spoke after Mr. Grimstone was sir Benjamin Rudyard. He lamented the heavy grievances the nation had sustained in the intermission of parliaments; he asserted, that if parliaments were gone all was gone; and pathetically recommended to the house, to ingratiate themselves by their carriage, that the race of parliaments might not be rooted out. The last member that spoke in this important debate was Mr. Pym, a man in the prime of his age, but old in the service of parliaments; much celebrated for his abilities, but yet of greater weight with his party from the steady uncorrupted uniformity of his conduct in the important office of a senator; to the reputation he had acquired in this particular was united a life moral and pious, a religion totally free of the prevailing corruptions of the times: this procured him the respect of all the good and moderate men in the kingdom, and from his reputed knowledge in theology, the house had ever appointed him the manager of all the business which concerned religion. This excellent patriot, in a discourse which held above two hours, but in which there was no word without its weight, enumerated all the oppression of the times. Pym never harangued in vain: the house came to a resolution, and ordered that the records and proceedings in the Star-chamber and King's-Bench, concerning several members of the house in the last parliament, should be sent for immediately; that a select committee be appointed to meet to report their opinion to the house touching the violation of the privilege of parliament, the last day of the last parliaments; that the records, enrollments, judgements, and proceedings in the exchequer, and all courts whatsoever, concerning ship-money, should be sent for.

On the question concerning the behaviour of the speaker,

(*b*) Finch endeavoured to aggravate this imputed crime by insisting much on the trifling circumstance of the superscription of the letter; a style, he said, never written by any Frenchman but to their king. However, the superscription was denied by the parties concerned, who asserted, that it was added, with a view of blackening them, after their enemies had gotten possession of the letter. *Parl. Hist.* vol. viii. p. 406.

(*c*) The person who brought the speaker-elect the message to attend the king in the upper house was of no better condition than a quarter-waiter: the necessary ceremony on this occasion was neglected last parliament, and noticed by that assembly as an affront to the house. Glanville commanded the waiter to tell Maxwell, the gentleman-usher of the house of lords, that it was his duty to have come and brought the message himself. *Journals of the Commons*, vol. ii. p. 3.

(*d*) It was this session determined, that every member should have privilege for sixteen days before the beginning, and sixteen after the ending, of parliament. *Journals of the Commons*, vol. ii. p. 10.

(*e*) The lords had been so complaisant as to vote, that the lord Lowdon should be detained a prisoner in the Tower till farther evidence should appear in this affair. *Whitelock*, p. 32.

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the house resolved, that the speaker's refusing to put the question, after a verbal command from his majesty, signified by the speaker to the house, to adjourn, and no adjournment made by the house, is a breach of the privileges of the house. Though the commons had sat but a few days, yet as they had taken little notice of the business recommended to them by the lord-keeper, Charles grew impatient, and ordered both houses to attend him at Whitehall. Finch, the person whom they had just censured as the violator of their liberties, by the king's directions, acquainted them, that the army was now upon its march; that it cost an hundred thousand pounds a month; and that without an immediate supply the honour of their prince and nation would be lost. He attempted to palliate the tax of ship-money, as necessary to maintain the reputation of the British flag, and made a ridiculous distinction on the objection that tonnage and poundage were used to be given for the maintenance of a fleet at sea. "It was never intended, he said, but for ordinary preservation of the sea, not for extraordinary." He next set before the commons the example of the two last Irish parliaments, and boasted what great advantages they had gained by their dutiful behaviour. To crown the whole of this extraordinary harangue, he told the houses, that his majesty could not this year forbear to levy ship-money, but expected their concurrence in the raising it for the future. He concluded with magnificent promises, in the king's name, to give them satisfaction in point of security for their liberties, provided they would first satisfy him in the matter of supply.

The commons reserved the consideration of this speech to the next day, when Edmund Waller, a young man of a good estate and promising parts, in a very sensible manner answered the arguments that had been urged by the keeper, and that in a strain of eloquence which procured him the attention and applause of the whole assembly. The purport of his speech was to persuade the house to insist on the redress of grievances before they gave a supply: this, he said, was the custom of all parliaments, and now particularly requisite; he acknowledged that his majesty's occasions for money were evident, for the calling of a parliament was an effect which no light cause could have produced; he censured the conduct of the clergy in a very shrewd manner: "I am sorry these men, said he, take no more care to gain our belief of those things which they tell us for our soul's health, while we know them so manifestly in the wrong in that which concerns the liberties and privileges of the subjects of England: but they gain their preferment, and then it is no matter though they neither believe themselves, or are believed by others. Yet since they are so ready to let loose the conscience of the king, we ought the more carefully to provide for our protection against this pulpit-law, by reinforcing the municipal laws of the kingdom. It is worthy the observing how new this opinion, or rather this way of rising, is, even among themselves. Mr. Hooker, who was no refractory man (as they term it) thinks, that the first government was arbitrary, till it was found that to live by one man's will became all men's misery; and if we look farther, our histories will tell us that the prelates of this kingdom have often been mediators between the king and his subjects, to pray redress of their grievances. Then they had love and reverence from the people."

Mr. Waller's motion, that the redress of grievances should precede the supply, was assented to by the house, and it was ordered that the lords should be consulted on this subject. Matter was prepared for the conference, and the grievances divided into three classes, according to the order Mr. Pym had used in his speech: first, concerning innovations in matters of religion; secondly, property of goods; thirdly, liberties and privileges of parliament (*f*). Charles, hearing what was going forward in the lower house, went to the lords in a great rage; told them, that the commons had put the cart before the horse; that instead of performing his occasions, they had held consultations of innovations in religion, property of goods, and privileges of parliament; that as for religion, his heart and conscience was the religion now established in the church of England (*g*); that if the house of commons would but trust him, he would make good what he promised by the lord-keeper (*h*). "I conjure your lordships, added he, consider your own honour, and the preposterous course of the commons; and desire that your lordships will not join with them, but leave them to themselves. I desire you to be careful in this point; else, if the supply come not in time, I will not say what mischief may and must follow.

The lords, confiding on the large promises made by the king, or overcome by his importunity, or depending on the superior virtue and vigour of the house of commons, determined to put the task of a refusal on them: they voted, that the supply should have precedency, and be resolved upon before any other matter whatsoever; and that there should be a conference with the house of commons, in order to dispose them thereto (*i*). The king sent to thank the lords for this resolution, and to assure them, that nothing was more agreeable to him than to have a good understanding with their lordships. Their advice on this subject was no sooner reported to the commons, than that temper, or rather lukewarmness, which had hitherto appeared to have infected their counsels, entirely vanished; they grew warm, and with unanimous consent voted it to be so high a breach of privilege, that they could not proceed upon any other matter until they had first received satisfaction from the upper house.

The next day Mr. Pym, in the name of the commons, gave the lords to understand, that it was not their province to meddle with the matter of supply till it should be moved to them by the commons; that if they had taken any notice of orders in their house concerning religion, property, and privileges, that these were to precede a supply, that then they would freely join with the commons in those things; but, for the future, they desired them to take no notice of what should be debated in their house till themselves should declare it to their lordships (*k*). The lords seemed at first determined to resent the free expostulations of the commons, but at length became sensible of their error, and acknowledged the privileges of the commons in this point, withal intreating them not to let their difference be an occasion of wasting time; but that they would proceed in their own way on the weighty affairs of the kingdom. The manner in which this acknowledgement was made being not full enough, or in other particulars not pleasing to the commons, they were preparing a protestation to be sent up to the house of peers, and to be entered in their own Journal, when they received, on the 2nd of May, by sir Henry Vane, secretary of state, and treasurer of the household, a message from the king, importing, that he had by divers ways acquainted the house with his urgent necessity for supply, and had hitherto received no answer; he did again desire them to give him a present answer concerning this business. After a long debate on this message, the house came to no other resolution than that the debate should be resumed on Monday in the next week, and desired that his majesty might be acquainted with their determination. On the day appointed for farther debate, they received another message, to the following purport: That his majesty, the better to facilitate their resolutions, thought fit to let them know, that of his grace and favour he was pleased, upon their granting twelve subsidies, to be presently passed, and to be paid in three years, with a proviso that it should not determine the sessions, not only for the present to forbear the farther levying of ship-money, but would also give way to the utter abolishing it by any course that themselves should like best; and for their grievances, his majesty would, according to his royal promise, give them as much time as could be now, and the next Michaelmas: he expected a present and positive answer, upon which he might rely, his affairs being in such a condition as could endure no longer delay. Many members observed,

(*f*) Mr. Pym was appointed for the first class, and to make the introduction to the whole business: Mr. St. John for the second; and Mr. Holbourne for the third. *Parl. Hist.* vol. viii. p. 456.

(*g*) The fopperies of Laud's religion, which Charles had established in the church, was one of the prime grievances that the commons complained of.

(*h*) By what may be gathered from the hints which fell from the king and the lord-keeper, the graces Charles was to grant to his people, after the obtaining a supply, were, that if the commons would grant him the tax of ship-money, with tonnage and poundage, he would accept them as a gift, and not raise them by virtue of prerogative.

(*i*) One Edward Bradshaw, for selling false protections, was by the lords committed to the Fleet, sentenced to stand in the pillory at two places, fined one hundred pounds, and sent to the house of correction till he found sureties for his good behaviour; as he was a gentleman born, they remitted the punishment of whipping. *MS. Journal of the Lords*, vol. i.

(*k*) In this dispute the commons insisted, that the money-bills, after they had passed their house, and were consented to by the lords, ought to be re-delivered, and by their speaker presented to the king, as their free gift and donation. *Parl. Hist.* vol. viii. p. 462.

that to purchase the release of the imposition of ship-money would be acknowledging a right in the crown to exact; they wished that matter might be examined and declared void, and then what they presented to the king would appear a gift, not a recompence. Every other member in the house but those who were supported by the court, excepted against the largeness of the demanded sum.

The assembly being greatly agitated by these two objections, they adjourned the debate till next day, when Mr. Hampden, whose patriotic exertions in the case of ship-money, had obtained him an almost-universal popularity, observing the temper of the house, put a question that would meet with both the objections that had been made to the king's message: Whether the house would consent to the proposition made by the king, as it was contained in the message? Hampden's question was called for by many; when serjeant Glanville the speaker, who at this time had some dependence on the courtiers, earnestly pressed the house to comply with the king's request. He endeavoured to prevail with those who thought the proportion too large, by specifying the small sum which he himself should pay towards this tax out of a large estate which he possessed. In the warmth of this discourse he used some severe expressions against ship-money; which, notwithstanding the zeal he had shewed for gratifying the king, shook his interest at court. Glanville's speech having made some impression on the house, Mr. Hyde, a lawyer, who was afterwards created earl of Clarendon, and who at this time was eagerly looking towards preferment, being intimate with Laud, and a favourite of that prelate on account of his high-church-principles, objected to the question put by Hampden, as a captious one, and proposed that it might be only put, "Whether they should give the king a supply or not?" If that was carried in the affirmative, another question might be put on the proportion and the manner. Whilst the house was divided between the different questions proposed by Mr. Hyde and Mr. Hampden, some calling for one, some for the other, sir Henry Vane stood up, and said, "He could assure the house, that the putting and carrying Mr. Hyde's question could be of no use, for that he had authority to tell them that the king would accept of nothing that was not in the proportion and manner contained in his message." Upon this the house arose. The king being told, that if they came together again, they would not only endeavour to abolish ship-money, and other illegal branches of the revenue, but declare a disapprobation of the intended war against the Scots, hastily determined to dissolve them: this he did the next morning (*l*).

After many gracious expressions to the lords on the complaisant part they had acted this sessions, he told them, "That the commons had insisted much on grievances; that there might be some, but he could confidently affirm that there were not by many degrees so many as the public voice did make; that out of parliament he should be as ready, if not more willing, to hear any just grievance, as in parliament. There is one thing, added he, much spoken of; I mean as to matters of religion; concerning which, albeit, I expressed myself fully the last day in this place: Yet I think it fit again to tell you, that as I am concerned, so I shall be most careful to preserve that purity of religion, which, I thank God, is so well established in the church of England; and that as well out of as in parliament, I will end as I have begun, in giving your lordships thanks for the care you have of my honour and affairs, desiring you to go on, and assist me in the maintaining of my government, and the liberties of my people, that they now so much startle at: for, my lords, no king in the world shall be more careful to maintain the property of their goods, the liberties of their persons, and the true religion, than I shall be."

It must be owned, that this speech carries with it strong marks of that obstinacy of opinion which is so glaring in the character of Charles, at the same time that it fully shews that false light in which he viewed all the illegal measures he had pursued; a delusion which must ever have prevented him from correcting the errors of his government. He was certainly sincere when he declared himself ready to redress any just grievances out of parliament; because he did not reckon impositions, or the enlarged power of the arbitrary courts, under the denomination of just grievances. He spoke with truth when he said he should be careful to preserve the purity of the church of England; for he thought that consisted in the power and grandeur of prelates, and those innovations which had with such severity been imposed by Laud. It was in this view of things that he so often promised, by the lord-keeper, that if the commons would grant him a supply he would not be deaf to their reasonable demands; but certainly those reasonable demands would have been reduced to such a trifling, equivocal class of grievances, that the ministry might have parted with them on much easier terms than a supply sufficient to reduce the Northern dominions to the desired state of slavery. It would have been the utmost folly in the commons to have put out of their hands the only weapon with which they were armed to defend themselves and constitution against the venom of those arbitrary principles which had visibly taken deep root in the king and his council.

The heads of the popular party being sensible that all was at stake, and having perhaps entered into deep communication with the Scotch covenanters, like men who had every thing to lose, were anxious for the success of the event, though the odds were visibly in their favour. It is also reasonable to believe, that they exerted all their abilities to bring on conclusions that would disappoint the hopes of their enemies; and that they rejoiced in the dissolution of an assembly which did not appear properly affected with the present situation of affairs, or properly warmed against the spoilers of public liberty (*m*). But can it be imagined, that an English house of commons, who all this reign, and the greatest part of the preceding one, had so vigorously defended their own peculiar privileges, and the liberties of their country, had so magnanimously and resolutely withstood both the threats and entreaties of the court, and strenuously maintained that constitutional maxim, No redress of grievances, no money; can it be imagined, that, after they had declared their liberties violated in the most essential point, by the transactions immediately preceding the dissolution of the last parliament, and by the succeeding imprisonment of their members, after an almost twelve years intermission of parliaments, at a period when designs were manifestly formed for the entire suppressing the liberties of the nation; can it be imagined, that they would be so basely degenerate from the virtue of preceding assemblies, as to become dupes to the very men who had been the most criminally instrumental in altering the nature of the government, and rivet their own fetters by imposing chains on the Scots?

The temper with which the counsels of this parliament had been conducted, is no well-grounded assurance of its flexibility in this point, since other parliaments that have begun with great moderation have ended with rigour. The king, on being assured that the commons were on the point of granting him a supply, immediately repented a measure which he had been hurried into by the fury of the queen and archbishop Laud, as well as by the intemperateness of his own disposition, and the artful insinuations of those of his attendants (*n*) who wished well to the popular cause.

Charles attempted to apologize, in a declaration to the public, for this fourth premature dissolution: as usual, he laid the blame of what had happened on a few seditious persons in the lower house of parliament, which assembly, he said, he had called together hoping that time and experience had made his loving subjects sensible of the distemper the whole kingdom was like to be put into by the ill-governed actions of those men. The declaration ends with an invitation to the subjects who had any just cause of grievances to address themselves by humble petitions to his sacred majesty, who would give such fitting redress

(*l*) Such was the king's fear that the commons would proceed to some spirited declaration, that he sent for the speaker in the morning before the house met, and would not suffer him to go out of his sight till after he had dissolved them.

(*m*) Clarendon relates, that within an hour after the dissolution of the parliament, he met Mr. St. John, that eminent lawyer who had pleaded so ably for Mr. Hampden in the case of ship-money; that though Mr. St. John had naturally a cloudy aspect, he then wore a most chearful one, and perceiving that Mr. Hyde was melancholy, he asked what troubled him? Hyde replied, the same that troubled him, he believed, troubled most good men; that in such a time of confusion, so wise a parliament, which alone could have found remedy for it, was so unseasonably dismissed. Mr. St. John answered with some warmth, that all was well; that things must be worse before they could be better; that parliament could never have done what was necessary to be done. *Clar. Hist.* vol. i. p. 110, *& seq.*

(*n*) It is said that Hamilton, who about this time obtained the release of Lowden, out of tender regard to his country, promoted the dissolution of the parliament.

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that his people should have just cause to acknowledge that no persons or assemblies could more prevail with his majesty than the piety and justice of his own royal nature, and the tender affection he did and ever should bear to all his people.

The very day after the dissolution of the parliament, the houses and persons of the lords Warwick and Brook were searched for papers. Henry Bellassis, knight of the shire for the county of York (*o*), and sir John Hotham, were called before the council, and not making satisfactory answers to interrogations concerning passages in the late parliament, were committed to the Fleet. John Carew, Esquire, was sent close prisoner to the Tower, for refusing to deliver up the papers that came into his hands, whilst chairman for the committee of religion, and thus screening from discovery the names of subscribers to petitions which complained of innovations in religion, and the proceedings of the High-commission court (*p*).

Contrary to the almost unvaried custom of the ecclesiastical assemblies, which ever broke up with the parliament, the convocation continued to sit: they not only exerted a very dangerous independency by granting, without the sanction of parliament, a benevolence to the king of four shillings in the pound for six years; made canons approving the new ceremonies of placing the communion-table, and bowing towards the East; and framed an oath to be imposed on the clergy and graduates of the university; by which they were to swear they approved the doctrine and discipline of the church of England, and that they would maintain its government by archbishops, bishops, deans, chaplains, &c. This oath, which was designed to make the ecclesiastics of England as much independent of the legislative power as the Scotch covenant, so much condemned by Laud, had made their church, was confirmed and approved by Charles, but met with insurmountable opposition from every other quarter. It was looked on with abhorrence by some, because in their consciences they did not approve of the present doctrine or discipline of the church; by others, because they esteemed such an imposition, not ratified by consent of parliament, illegal; and an oath which contained an *et cætera* in the middle of it was ridiculed by every one. On the prolongation of this ecclesiastical assembly, the king declared in council, that he had granted such a commission for the remedying all just grievances, according to his gracious speech at the dissolution of the last parliament. All the canons ordained by this convocation were confirmed by letters-patent under the great seal of England, with a command that they should be read by the ministers in the time of divine service; and that all who had ecclesiastical jurisdiction should take special care that the said canons were in all points duly observed, not sparing to execute the penalties in them severally mentioned, on all wilful transgressors. The disgusts which the people had taken at the continued succession of oppressive acts of power, obviously contrary to the dictates, as well as the spirit of the constitution, were now come to maturity, and symptoms began to appear which threatened violent convulsions in the body politic. A large number of apprentices, with others of the lower sort, beset the archbishop's house at Lambeth, and one of them, only because there happened to be a drum in company, was taken and tried for treason, and, on the statute of 25 Edward III. condemned, and accordingly hanged, drawn, and quartered, and his limbs set on London Bridge. Notwithstanding this severe example, the king was obliged to appoint both horse and foot to secure the passages about Lambeth, and guard the convocation, with a double guard to preserve them from the fury of the populace. A body of two thousand people entered St. Paul's cathedral, where the High-commission court sat, and pulled down the benches, crying, "No High-commission! no bishop!"

Ship-money was every where disputed; the sheriffs were not only threatened by the council, but the attorney-general was required to send for the sheriffs of the counties of London, Middlesex, York, Berks, Surrey, Leicester, Essex, and Northampton, to examine them, and to proceed against them, as he should see cause, for their contempt in so important a service. The court and city entered into close cabals. The king had his private juntos, of which sir Henry Vane, notwithstanding Clarendon's assertion that he was at this time suspected of treachery, was always one (*q*); and the heads of the discontented party had their meetings and councils with the agents of the covenanters. The king was now obliged to have recourse to his regal power to supply his urgent necessities; the money the convocation had granted him, amounted to an hundred and twenty thousand pounds (*r*): but this, with the money the king had raised from his other friends and dependents, amounting to three hundred thousand pounds, not being sufficient to defray the expence of the great preparations that were making against the Scots, he attempted to force the city of London into a loan of two hundred thousand pounds; but the rising spirit of liberty repelled the attack, and the king was obliged to content himself with the pitiful, yet dangerous, revenge of imprisoning three aldermen for refusing to collect the names of those who were able to contribute towards the demanded sum; and prosecuting in the Star-chamber the lord mayor and aldermen, for not distraining citizens who had not paid ship-money (*s*). The bullion in the Tower was seized, and forty thousand pounds forcibly borrowed from the merchants to redeem the rest. All the pepper was bought of the East-India company upon trust, and sold again at a great discount for ready money. The resolution of debasing the coin, by mixing two or three hundred thousand pounds of copper money with a fourth part silver, was with difficulty diverted by a strenuous discourse of sir Thomas Rowe, in which he represented the many inconveniencies and fatal consequences that might follow. Coat and conduct-money was again exacted (*t*), and the city of London was ordered to furnish it for four thousand men. Knighthood-money was set on foot, with the commission of array, and those who held lands *in capite* of the king, were summoned to send men, horses, and arms.

These various exactions occasioned a representation from the deputy lieutenants, that the gentry did not know which service personally to apply themselves to; that which the commission of array required, namely, the putting the trained bands in a readiness to march, or the other according to escuage, and tenures in knight-service; and how the money should be raised for the charge of the said bands and forces, when required to march. The council solved these difficulties by the following directions: That the service imposed upon the trained bands, and other forces, were to be performed by every man in his own person; for the attendance on his majesty, required by the other proclamations, according to the tenures in knights service, it might be done by deputy, or else by way of composition; and for the difficulty how to provide for the charge of the forces, when they should march, they were to serve at their own expence (*u*). If the noblemen and gentry shewed a kind of timid resistance to oppressions that were every day multiplying, the brave and spirited commonalty continued to exhibit symptoms of a more formidable disposition. Continual mutinies arose among the soldiers; they openly

(*o*) The same whom Wentworth had formerly prosecuted for not making him a bow.

(*p*) He was committed without any cause being expressed in the warrant. *Coke*, vol. i. p. 327.

(*q*) As a farther proof that a confidence was at this time placed in sir Henry Vane, Charles, having a suspicion that his secret counsels were betrayed, issued out a ridiculous commission to sir Henry Vane, and other his chief counsellors, to examine and enquire, by deposition of witnesses upon oath, who were the people that revealed the king's secrets. *Guthrie*, vol. iii. p. 981. *Nalson*, vol. i. p. 344.

(*r*) Northumberland writes to the earl of Leicester, that notwithstanding the unhappy breach of parliament, the king designed to levy an army of thirty thousand foot and three thousand horse: "But," adds he, "I cannot learn by what means we are certain to get one shilling to pay the expence. It grieves my soul to be engaged in such counsels." It is worth observing, that such was the dissipation of the English court, that at the time when Charles was in great straits, when preparations were making for a war against the Scots, the king and queen began to practise a mask: Northumberland writes to the countess of Leicester, "I assure you their majesties are not less busy now than you have formerly seen them at such exercises;" and in another place, "The king is daily so employed about the mask, that till that is over we shall think of nothing else." Fourteen hundred pounds was appointed for the charge of one of these entertainments. *Sydney's State Papers*, vol. ii. p. 531, 621, 629.

(*s*) An order was at this time issued to take the sword from the lord-mayor. *Memoirs of Edmund Ludlow*, ed. 1721, p. 4.

(*t*) The payment of it was almost every where refused; and innumerable warrants were sent from the council to commit refractory persons, and constables and lower officers who had neglected to make returns. *Rushworth*, vol. iii. p. 1202, *& seq.*

(*u*) These warlike preparations were required to be so entirely at the expence of the subject, that they were obliged to buy all their gunpowder at an excessive rate of the king: he had long monopolized the sale of this commodity.

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avowed distaste to the cause for which they were to fight, ran from their colours, and laid violent hands on several of their commanders, whom they suspected to be papists (*v*). Such was the general appearance of affairs in England.

While the king and council were thus employed, the Scots had been active in reforming the abuses of church and state, and making preparations to defend their pretensions (*w*). Their parliament having been prorogued till the second of June, on that day they assembled. The king sent down an order for a second prorogation; but there being a deficiency of form in the commission by which it was to be executed, the parliament took advantage of the omission and finished their business: after passing several salutary acts, they entered into a bond for adhering to them, and prosecuting the incendiaries of the kingdom. They raised a more numerous body of troops than they were able to bring into the field the last year, and exacted a tenth penny throughout the land; large sums were borrowed upon trust, and the Scotch women, imitating the Roman matrons on a like memorable occasion, gave up their jewels and ornaments to supply the necessity of their country. The Scotch army, though more numerous, was sooner ready than the king's: they besieged and took Edinburgh Castle, and then marched towards the borders of England, under the command of general Lesley.

The army that Charles had raised to oppose them consisted of twenty thousand foot and two thousand horse. All the generals which had served in the last campaign were laid aside, because they were not in friendship enough with Strafford to enter into all his counsels. The earl of Northumberland, a great favourite both of Strafford and Laud, was appointed general. Strafford, after having raised eight thousand men in Ireland, which he left to the care of the earl of Ormond, came over from that country to command as lieutenant general; and the lord Conway, a great debauchee, whose character as a soldier had suffered in the expedition to the isle of Rhé, was, from being devoted to the court, and talking to Laud of church matters in his own style, appointed general of the horse.

Among the other advantages of the Petition of Right, it had abolished court martials, and the lawyers, who now began to think the day of reckoning might be near, had declared, that martial law could not be exercised till the Scots had invaded England. The generals, notwithstanding this, had executed a mutineer, and applied for a pardon to the crown. On this occasion Conway advised, that the king should grant a commission for the execution of martial law, on his own authority; and if any lawyer was so imprudent as to discover the secret of its illegality to the soldiers, it would be necessary to refute him, and hang the lawyer himself by the sentence of a court martial: "For," said he, "the soldier may bring the country to reason on their disobedience in regard to ship-money, but who shall compel the soldier?"

Northumberland was so much distasted at the being called forth to act the most conspicuous part in a business which no good man in the kingdom relished, that he made use of a slight indisposition to declare himself totally unfit to perform the offices of his function (*x*); and Strafford, though really in an ill state of health, but too much interested to be inactive, exercised the supreme command in his stead, but still with the title of lieutenant general; not caring to assume that of general, because of the extreme envy and popular odium that attended him.

The Scots, notwithstanding their warlike equipage, continued to preserve the utmost decorum of language and manner. On their entry into England, they dispersed two large remonstrances: in these they set forth, in a strong manner, the nature of their provocations. They had not only for many years patiently suffered, they said, the tyranny and insolence of prelates, and their continual opposition to the truth and power of religion, but also the violation of all their liberties, and almost the total subversion of their religion; that when gross popery was obtruded upon them in the book of canons and common prayer, their petition to the king on this head was utterly rejected, and they forbid to insist under the pain of treason; that when nothing less than a total subversion of all their liberties would satisfy the pride and malice of their enemies, and when the king was marching towards them with a great army, rather than fall in seeming disobedience to their sovereign, or give the smallest distaste to their brethren in England, they complied so far with his majesty's pleasure, that, notwithstanding the determinations of their lawful assembly, they were contented that a new free assembly and parliament should be appointed, where all things concerning their religion and liberties might again be considered and established: but when, according to the articles of pacification, matters ecclesiastical were determined in the assembly, according to the constitution of the church, and his majesty's high commissioner had promised to ratify them in parliament, the parliament convened for perfecting the work was prorogued, contrary to the laws and customs of the kingdom; war was determined against them at the council table of England, without hearing what their commisssioners had to say in their defence; the petition of their parliament was rejected; their commissioners restrained; one of their noblemen imprisoned; garrisons of strangers set over them, who had exercised cruelty even against women and children; their ships and goods taken and sunk (*y*); the owners stripped naked (*z*), and more cruelly used by the subjects of their own king than by Turks and infidels; great armies prepared against them, with a terrible commission to subdue and destroy them, their religion, liberty, and laws.

These evils and provocations, they said, proceeded from the archbishop of Canterbury, the lieutenant of Ireland, with the Hispaniolised papists, a too powerful faction in England, who had driven them to the necessity of this invasion, to stir up the English against them, that they might with their own swords extirpate their religion, and be made the authors of the slavery of both nations: the pursuing these incendiaries, and demanding justice against them of the king and parliament of England, was not coming against England, as their enemies would insinuate: that there could be no just cause of a national grievance, seeing the kingdom of England, convened in parliament, had refused to contribute to any supply against them; and this when the parliament of Ireland had offered their persons and estates for that purpose; when all plots and policies were set to work; when public declarations by authority were made; when they were proclaimed traitors and rebels at every parish church (*a*): yet, so wise, so grave, so just was that high court of parliament, that no threatenings nor fears, no promises nor hopes, no finesse nor cunningly devised suggestion, could move them to grant any subsidy for a war against their brethren; but rather, by their speeches, grievances, and complaints, as much as in them was, did justify the cause which they defended. This recent favour did so bind their hearts, that if their power was never so great, they should judge themselves the most unworthy of men, and could look for no less than vengeance from the righteous God, if they should act against a nation so represented to them in that honourable meeting. In this their thankful acknowledgement, they desired the city of London might have their own large share for the noble professions they had given of their constant affection for religion, and the peace of both kingdoms, notwithstanding the continual assaults of the misleaders of the king against them, always render-

(*v*) In the orders of the privy-council concerning these, are complaints that the deputy lieutenants, and others to whom that business appertained, were so backward in assisting the officers in punishing and reducing the mal-contents, and in the raising of hue-and-cries for the apprehending those who ran away, that they seemed to foment, rather than endeavour to suppress, these mutinies. *Rushworth*, vol. iii. p. 1191.

(*w*) So powerfully did the spirit of order and unanimity reign among this people during their struggles for liberty, that though neither council nor sessions, nor any other regular court of judicature sat, and though their meetings were very numerous, yet they had not been disturbed either with tumult, riot, or excess of any kind. *Scots Declaration*, *Nalson*, vol. i. p. 521.

(*x*) Whilst affairs carried a different appearance, he attached himself to Strafford and Laud, and had the art to insinuate himself so much into their good graces as to make them the means of obtaining what he desired of the king. Nevertheless, he had a dislike to both his benefactors: he writes slightingly of Strafford; and of Laud he says, "That for a man to think well of the reformed religion was enough to make that prelate his enemy." When the popular party began to grow formidable, he withdrew himself from the state cabal, and engaged with the opposite faction. *Sydney's State Papers*, vol. ii. p. 623.

(*y*) Their ships were arrested in the ports of England and Ireland. In their remonstrance they say, that they forbore to make reprisals on the ships and goods of their dear brethren in England. *Monteth's Hist. of the Troubles of Great Britain*, p. 55.

(*z*) The garrison of the castle of Edinburgh committed acts of hostility upon the city and its inhabitants. *Id. ibid.*

(*a*) The king published a proclamation, which declared the Scots and their adherents rebels; and a prayer was published, and ordered to be read in all churches, for the king's success in his expedition against the rebels of Scotland. *Whitlock*, p. 33.

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ing them seditious in his ears. This was followed by a solemn oath, that the Scots intended no enmity or rapine, and that they would take no men's goods, or engage themselves in blood, unless they were forced to it; that they would not take from their friends and brethren, but for their own money and just payment. The soul of wisdom taught, that both nations must stand or fall together; that the devices of the enemy were for the oppressing of both: they come among them very sensible of their past sufferings and present dangers, both in religion and liberties, and most willing to do them all the good they could, for the help they had given them at their Reformation, in freeing them from the French: that in return they did expect, from the sense of their intolerable distress which forced them from their own country, that the English would join and concur with them in noble ways to obtain their just desires; and when their means were spent, would, upon a sufficient security of payment, provide what was necessary for the entertainment of their army.

These remonstrances ended with an assurance that the Scots would demand nothing of the king, but the settling and securing of the true religion and liberties of their country, according to the constitutions and acts of the late assemblies and parliament, and what a just prince owed, by the laws of God and nature, to his grieved subjects; that their abode in England should be no longer than their just grievances might be heard and redressed by the English parliament, and sufficient assurance given them for the legal trial and punishment of the authors of evil to the two nations, and for the settling the religion and liberties of both in peace against the machinations of Romish contrivance, acted by their degenerate countrymen; that their return should be with expedition, peace, and order; that if the Lord should bless their endeavours, and their intentions were not crossed by the opposition of the English, the fruits would be sweet, and the effects good to both nations and their posterity, and to the reformed churches abroad; Scotland would be reformed, as at the beginning; the Reformation in England, long prayed and pleaded for by the godly, would be according to their wishes and desires, perfected in doctrine, worship, and discipline; papists, prelates, and all the members of the antichristian hierarchy, with their idolatry, superstition, and human inventions, packed off, and the names of Sects and Separatists would no more be mentioned.

If, when the last English parliament was summoned, there remained in the majority of the nation a tenderness towards the power of their monarch, and the dignity of the prelates, that disposition no longer existed: the dissolution of a parliament, which, during the twelve years remission of those assemblies, had been so impatiently expected, and so much depended on for the redress of grievances; the innumerable oppressions which had been crouded into the short space between that dissolution and the invasion of the Scots; with the exorbitances of the convocation; wrought so powerfully on the minds of men, that the threatenings these remonstrances breathed out against prelates were pleasing to the generality of the English; and the sharp expressions against the form and discipline of their church, gave few but the court faction disgust. The whole of these declarations tended so much to gather the affections of men in their present state of discontent, that the Scots were expected with impatience, and every accident that retarded their march gave pain to the public. The counties of Northumberland and the bishopric of Durham, who lay immediately exposed to the invasion, absolutely refused to lend money to pay troops, or to furnish horses to mount the musketeers; and the trained bands would not stir without pay.

Conway, at the head of a thousand horse and five hundred foot, advanced to reconnoitre the enemy, but was driven back to Newcastle. In a council of war held at this place, it was determined to fortify the river Tyne at Newburn. Conway, who could not draw together above five thousand foot and two hundred horse, when he viewed the intrenchments judged it impossible to guard this pass, and prepared to retreat yet farther back, when he received a letter from the earl of Strafford, who, with the king, was at this time arrived at York (*b*). Strafford reproached Conway for not having skirmished with the enemy during their march, spoke with great contempt of the Scotch army, and conjured the general to redeem his honour by some notable action, and to give the enemy battle upon their passing the river. On this peremptory advice Conway altered his resolution, and prepared his troops to dispute the passage.

The Scots framed their behaviour to their professions: they caressed every Englishman that came into their camp; and Lesley, in a very civil message, demanded liberty to pass the river with his countrymen, that they might present their petitions to the king: on a refusal, he prepared to force the passage. The English soldiers, far from shewing any alacrity to engage the enemy, began to murmur at the hardness of their duty; and it was with the utmost difficulty that their officers could persuade them to stand the first onset. On a few of their fellows being slain by the artillery of the Scots, the whole army fled to Durham, leaving the most obstinate of their officers to be killed or taken by the enemy. The Scots took possession of the town of Newcastle, with the king's magazines of powder, ammunition, and provision. They feasted with the mayor, drank the king's health, and entertained the inhabitants with three sermons, preached by their own divines.

Strafford, whose weak state of health had hitherto prevented his entering into action, found the beaten army at Durham: he behaved with such injudicious haughtiness on the first entering into his charge, that he soon became the only enemy the army desired to overcome. They openly vindicated their conduct at the fight of Newburn; and said, that no man could wish success in the war against the Scots, without wishing England to be, by the like illegal power, enslaved: in this manner did even the common soldiers judge of the important question. The prudent conduct of the Scots supported and increased that good opinion which was every where entertained of them: far from shewing elation at their victory, they deplored the necessity of being obliged to shed the blood of their English brethren, and treated the prisoners they had taken with such extraordinary expressions of love and civility, that they made converts of all their captives; whose reports did them infinite service. Strafford being thoroughly acquainted with the disposition of the army, found it necessary to bring them back to Yorkshire; himself and the king, who was advanced as far as North-Allerton, retired to York. In a short time, the king received a petition from his Scotch subjects, craving the redress of their grievances, and that he would, by the advice of the English parliament, re-settle the public tranquillity of the island.

Nothing could be better calculated to please the public than this well-timed application. The necessity of the king's affairs not only subjected him to the mortification of receiving the petition and the advice of those he termed rebels, but to send them a civil answer: he required the petitioners to express the particulars of their desires, he having been always ready to redress the grievances of his subjects. The Scots immediately returned answer, "That the sum of their desires was, that his majesty would be graciously pleased to command that the last acts of parliament might be published in his name, with the estates of parliament; that the castle of Edinburgh be furnished and used for the defence of the subjects; that their countrymen in his majesty's dominions of England and Ireland, be freed from censure for subscribing the covenant, and be no more pressed with oaths and subscriptions unwarrantable by law; that the common incendiaries, who had been the authors of the combustions, might receive their just censure; that their ships and goods, with all the damage thereof, might be restored; that the wrongs, losses, and charge, which they had sustained, might be repaid; that the declaration made against them as traitors might be recalled; that, by the advice and counsel of the state of England, his majesty might be pleased to remove the garrisons from the borders, and all impediments which stopped free trade, and, with the advice of the said parliament, condescend to all particulars that might establish a permanent and well-grounded peace, for the enjoying their religion and liberties."

The king received these proposals with all the indignant rage which could be expected from a man of his disposition and strong prejudices; but the consequences of his imprudent administration began to press him now on all sides: his exchequer was empty; his revenue anticipated; every expedient for supply tried to the utmost; his army undisciplined and disaffected; himself surrounded by people that shewed disgust at all his measures; his friend Hamilton, and his tool Finch, unable to administer

(*b*) See Strafford's Letters, vol. ii. p. 413.

any comfort, were solely engrossed in the care of their own preservation, the ingratiating themselves with those who were able to protect them on the day of reckoning, when they should account for their past crimes to a parliament, who promised to be more formidable than any one that ever had sat in England (*c*).

Strafford, whose situation was too desperate to admit of management, advised fighting; but Charles perceived such disapprobation to this counsel in all the rest of the military officers who attended him, that he was again obliged to submit to the humiliating circumstance of entering into another treaty with his Scotch subjects. Before he assented to this mortifying condescension, he tried the affection of the Yorkshire gentlemen, and Strafford attempted to animate them against the Scots, telling them, with his usual warmth, "that they were bound, out of their allegiance, to attend his majesty in this service; that it was little less than high treason; and they were no better than beasts if they refused." This petulant harrangue increased that resentment which his tyrannical government of this country had raised against him: instead of making the provision that was required of them, they proposed petitions of advice to call a parliament (*d*), that the present differences might be composed, and a happy peace settled between the two nations.

In this extremity of affairs, the king had recourse to an antiquated custom, which had never been practised since the time of Edward IV. of calling all the peers by writs under the great seal, to attend him at York. The complaisant behaviour of the house of lords the last parliament had undoubtedly filled him with hopes, that the peers would present him with a sum of money, or be so rash to raise subsidies by their own authority. This expedient caused such a general alarm, that petitions poured in for the redress of grievances; against the bringing in Irish troops into the kingdom (*e*); for a treaty with the Scots; and summoning a parliament. The first petition presented to the king on this subject was signed by the peers Bedford, Essex, Hartford, Warwick, Bristol, Mulgrave, Say and Seal, Howard, Bolingbroke, Mandeville, Brook, Paget (*f*). The second petition came from the city of London (*g*), to whom the Scots had very judiciously sent a complaisant and affectionate letter, inviting them to continue the Newcastle trade, and assuring them of a perfect security. Such being the loud, the universal cry of the nation, Charles, to prevent the clamorous petitions that were preparing in all quarters, at the first meeting of the great council of peers he told that assembly, he was resolved to call a parliament; weakly adding, that the queen had advised him to it. Thus he avowed to the public what had been long suspected, and much murmured at, that he suffered his wife to have an influence over his most important counsels.

The first thing determined on by the peers was, that the king ought to enter into an immediate treaty with the Scots. They named sixteen of their own members for this commission, all of them popular men (*h*), the king having received the mortifying advice, that he must not appoint any that were disagreeable to the Scots, for fear of frustrating the good effects intended by the treaty. Charles added six assistants to the sixteen peers; the earls of Traquaire, Morton, Lanerk, secretary Vane, sir Lewis Steward, and sir John Borroughs; men who he said were either versed in the laws of Scotland, or had been acquainted with the former stages in this business. The commissioners were recommended to make the articles of pacification for last year the grounds of their treaty; but not to yield to any of the new demands of the Scots. York was the town the king destined for the meeting, that matters might be expedited by a quick communication; but it was changed to Rippon, on the Scots declaring that they could not trust their commissioners in a place where the lord lieutenant Strafford ruled, against whom, as a chief incendiary, they intended to insist, who had declared them traitors in Ireland before the king had done it in England, who desired the breaking up of the treaty, whose commission was to destroy them, and who had in his army a great many papists, who dreaded the pacification as productive of their ruin and dissolution; that there were many ungodly persons about the king, who waited the occasion of expressing their malice and revenge against the whole nation. They objected also to the earl of Traquaire assisting at the treaty, because he was another of the grand incendiaries of whom they complained. This difficulty was solved by a declaration, that the assistants were not authorized to treat with the commissioners of Scotland, or to have any voice or vote in the debating or concluding of any thing.

Matters being thus settled, the Scots sent commissioners (*i*) to the place appointed for the treaty. They excused their not being of numbers or quality equal to those they were to treat with, because of the absence of their nobility from the army, and that themselves were but a small committee from the parliament. After many friendly conferences, it was agreed on, as preliminaries, that the Scots should be allowed for their maintenance eight hundred and fifty pounds a-day, a contribution they had laid on the counties of Northumberland and the bishopric of Durham, besides what they had plundered from their declared enemies the papists and prelates: this maintenance was on condition that the Scots would content themselves with that sum, and neither molest papists, prelates, nor their adherents; free trade and commerce was to be restored between the two nations; the victuals and other necessaries to supply the army were to be free of custom; no victuals, arms, or ammunition, was to be imported into Newcastle; and there was to be a cessation of arms, according to the particulars to be agreed upon. The commissioners for the treaty had the address to continue the debates so long upon these preliminaries, that it was the 26th of October before the conditions of the truce were determined: it was therefore impossible to discuss the articles that were to be the subject of the treaty before the 3rd of November, the day appointed by the writs for the meeting of the parliament. The king was very desirous to have both armies disbanded; but this the Scots would not agree to, nor to another proposal which had been made of diminishing the number of both armies: he was so earnestly pressed by his own commissioners to remove the treaty from Rippon to London, that he was obliged to comply with this, as well as to the cessation of arms, by which the Scots were assured of the maintenance they had demanded; and the river Tees was made the boundaries of both parties. To supply the large sum that was necessary to support two large armies, and to preserve the northern counties from farther depredation, a loan of two hundred thousand pounds was borrowed of the city of London: this money was willingly advanced by the citizens, the lords of the great council of York having made it their request, with a promise that all the peers in the kingdom should be bound for the payment.

On the first meeting of the commissioners of both parties,

(*c*) Hamilton was so instrumental in bringing the king to assent readily to pacific measures, that the popular party, both of English and Scots, became from this period much reconciled to him.

(*d*) Previous to this, they had presented a petition against the billeting of soldiers, complaining of the enormous charge they had been put to in the last year's expedition, and representing, they could not draw together the trained bands without fourteen days pay from his majesty. Strafford refused to present that petition in which they advised the king to call a parliament. *Rushworth*, vol. iii. p. 1214, *& seq.* 1230. *Rapin*, vol. x. p. 448. *Smollett's Hist.* vol. vii. p. 167.

(*e*) The Irish army, consisting of ten thousand foot and fifteen hundred horse, were to have invaded the Western part of Scotland, whilst the Scots were attacked in the South by the English army. Ten thousand men, under the command of the lord Herbert, were to be sent into the North of Scotland, and a fleet of ships into the Frith. The plan of the war was not ill-concerted, and could it have been fully executed, it might have been attended with a fatal success: but the instant that Strafford turned his back upon Ireland, the parliament of that kingdom, encouraged by the example of the English house of commons, began to make objections to the new manner of levying subsidies, and threw such interruptions in the way of the officers of the crown, that the Irish army was not ready to march at the appointed time. The diligence of the Scots, and the backwardness of the English, prevented the execution of the rest of the plan. Strafford was to have returned to Ireland to take the command of that army, had not the earl of Northumberland's pretended illness disconcerted the affairs in England. *Guthrie's General Hist. Carte's Life of Ormond.*

(*f*) The lord Wharton asserted, that himself and the lord Howard, for delivering this petition, or a petition of the like nature, were put under arrest; and Strafford moved, that they should be shot for sedition. *Burnet's Hist. of His Own Times*, vol. i. p. 29.

(*g*) The privy-council, hearing that the city was about to petition against grievances, and for a parliament, sent them a long letter, in which they endeavoured to persuade them, that it was a very improper time to send such a petition, when his majesty was engaged in person for the defence of the city; and that the demanding at such a time redress, which they might be sure to gain from his majesty's grace and goodness, would be a just censure upon them in future times. *Rushworth*, vol. iii. p. 1262.

(*h*) These were, the earls of Bedford, Hertford, Essex, Salisbury, Warwick, Bristol, Holland, Berkshire, viscount Mandeville, lords Wharton, Paget, Brook, Pawlet, Howard, Saville, Dunsmore.

(*i*) The earl of Dumfermling, lord Lowdon, sir Patrick Hepburn, sir William Douglas, John Smith, Alexander Wedderburn, Alexander Henderson, Archibald Johnston.

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ties, the English were accosted by the Scots with a very unpromising reserve and coldness. The surprize with which they were struck on this behaviour was farther encreased on the earl of Rothes upbraiding viscount Mandeville for not having shewed themselves more early in the support of the cause: Mandeville appearing astonished at this charge, Rothes pulled out of his pocket a letter signed by the earls of Bedford, Essex, Brook, and Warwick, with the lords Mandeville, Saville, Say and Seal; in which they, in general terms, promised an hearty concurrence with the Scotch covenanters, on their entering with an army into England. The six lords whose handwriting had been counterfeited concurred in so solemn an assurance that the whole was a forgery, that they at length satisfied the Scots (*k*). The deceit was afterwards found out to be a contrivance of the lord Saville: the Scots had written to their agents in London, to get some solid assurance of assistance from their friends in England, on which they might more certainly depend, than on general promises; the lord Lowdon transmitted this request to the lord Saville; Saville sent his secretary to the six lords above-mentioned, who every one of them promised their good offices on every opportune occasion that presented itself, but refused to sign any compact: Saville framed a letter on these good intentions, and signed it with their forged names. He afterwards wrote another letter in his own name to Lowdon, in which he earnestly exhorted him to persuade his countrymen to enter England with their army; gave him many encouragements, which had some foundation, and, to make the prospect more flattering, many false pieces of intelligence; gave very judicious advice concerning the conduct of the Scots after their entry into England, which they seem to have followed exactly (*l*).

The discovery that the fore-mentioned letter was an imposture cleared up all matters of difference among the commissioners. The Scots highly caressed the English lords, to whom they protested what they had urged in their declaration, that they had no other design than to concur with the English parliament; to bind the prerogative within due limits; to circumscribe the high claims of the clergy; to chastise the insolence of the Papists; and to settle on a firm establishment the constitution of the two kingdoms, on free and equitable principles. To these protestations of themselves, sufficiently persuasive, the Scots added other endearments: they brought with them, and delivered up, two officers of quality, Wilmot and O'Neal, taken at the fight at Newburn; they had treated them with great politeness, and had been at pains to give them high ideas of their courage, resolution, discipline, good intention, and the justness of their cause. Wilmot and O'Neal were, from some private injuries they had sustained, among the number of Strafford's enemies; and their reports of what they had seen and heard in the Scotch camp added to those prepossessions the English had conceived in their favour, and increased the popular odium against the hated Strafford; who, when almost every mouth poured forth imprecations against him, had shewed, in a most improper manner, his courage and zeal against the covenanters, by sending a party of horse to attack them in their quarters at Durham, whilst matters were settling concerning the cessation, by the commissioners at Rippon (*m*).

Lesley complained loudly of this hostility, saying he had himself forborn to make any such attempt, out of respect to the treaty. The English commissioners resented it as an affront to them; and when it was known that the officer who conducted the enterprize was a Roman Catholic, it raised such an outcry that the king was obliged to send his positive commands to the general not to give any more such orders. Before the cessation of arms, and whilst things remained in an uncertain state, the Scots discovered, through the means of their friends about the court, that they were betrayed by the earl of Montrose, who kept up a secret correspondence with Charles; one of his letters was sent to Lesley. Montrose, on being taxed with holding intelligence with the enemy, openly avowed the fact, and asked, who was the man would assert the king was an enemy? This boldness silenced the greater part of his accusers; but the more valiant and more judicious Lesley gave it as his opinion, that he ought to be tried and executed by a court-martial (*n*). Charles's situation was so desperate, that he could make no advantage of Montrose's treachery; he was obliged to ratify all that his commissioners had concluded on (*o*), and prepare for his journey to London, there to meet a parliament, and to endeavour to satisfy the importunate demands of two enraged nations, whom he had provoked with a variety of injuries, and with whose power he was at this time in no capacity to contend.

These were not all the difficulties that agitated him at this time: himself and his beloved counsellor Laud were alarmed at the pretended discovery of a plot among the Papists, which threatened both their lives. It was communicated to sir William Boswell, Charles's resident at the Hague, by Andreas ab Habernfield, a domestic of the queen of Bohemia, who pretended to have it from a Papist converted to the Protestant faith, and let into the secret on account of his supposed orthodoxy. The story imported, that the pope and cardinal Richelieu were deeply concerned in fomenting the troubles of Charles; and that measures had been taken by Con and Rossetti, two nuncios from Rome, for poisoning both the king and the archbishop. This was supported by a detail of cabals, meetings, and characters, among the Popish faction, of which it was affirmed the queen, the earl and the countess of Arundel, were patrons and directors. Laud was the only person in England to whom this plot, under the promise of an inviolable secrecy, was discovered. He communicated it to Charles, with the same cautions; and Charles chose to suppress the matter, rather than quarrel with his good friends the Papists, who in this time of necessity had advanced him large sums of money. It is likely he did not give much credit to the tale, since nothing could be more improbable than that conspiracies should arise from that quarter. The affair, perhaps, had no foundation, but in the imagination of the queen of Bohemia, who might have trumped up this story from public report and secret intelligence, attempting, by the alarming tale, to set Charles against a faction who had ever shewed themselves her inveterate enemies.

The causes of disgust which, for above thirty years, had daily been multiplying in England, were now come to full maturity, and threatened the kingdom with some great revolution or convulsion. The uncertain and undefined limits of prerogative and privilege had been eagerly disputed during that whole period; and in every controversy between the prince and people, the question, however doubtful, had always been decided by each party in favour of its own pretensions. Too lightly, perhaps, moved by the appearance of necessity, the king had even assumed powers incompatible with the principles of limited government, and had rendered it impossible for his most zealous partizans to justify his conduct, except by topics so unpopular, that they were more fitted, in the present disposition of men's minds, to inflame, than appease, the general discontent. Those great supports of public authority, law and religion, had likewise, by the unbounded compliance of judges and prelates, lost much of their influence over the people; or rather had in a great measure gone over to the side of faction, and authorised the spirit of opposition and rebellion. The nobility, also, whom

(*k*) Oldmixon's History of the Stuarts, p. 141, *& seq.*

(*l*) Saville, who had taken all this pains to strengthen the popular party in England by a conjunction with the discontented Scots, was a determined courtier, and a man who had no private principle of honesty, nor a disinterested one in regard to the public: his sole inducement to act this dangerous part was an invincible hatred he bore to Strafford, who had overtopped him in regard to court favour, and who had thwarted him on many occasions: the only way to ruin his rival effectually was to bring in his potent enemies the Scots. Thus the public is sometimes benefited by the vices as well as the virtues of particulars, and receives important advantages from the irregular affections of the worst members of society.

(*m*) Notwithstanding the treaty in hand, he advised the king yet to fight the Scots, and committed this outrage to shew how easily they might be drove out of the kingdom. He defeated several parties, and took some of the Scotch officers prisoners.

(*n*) An act had passed in a committee of the Scotch parliament, that none should, under pain of death, write any letters to the court, but such as were seen and approved by at least three of the committee. *Memoirs of the Duke of Hamilton*, p. 179.

(*o*) The council of peers with an unanimous voice determined, that it was necessary to ratify what had been concluded on, and proceed in the intended treaty with the Scots: even Strafford, overcome by the general voice, declared, that it was not possible to keep the counties of Cumberland and Westmoreland from the Scottish power; that Newcastle was not to be gotten out of their hands this winter, if the king had an army on foot of an hundred thousand men; that the boundaries of Yorkshire were not to be defended; and the king's army could not be trusted. *Rushworth*, vol. iii. p. 1308, *& seq.*

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the king had no means of retaining by offices and preferments suitable to their rank, had been seized with the general discontent, and unwarily threw themselves into the scale which already began too much to preponderate. Sensible of some incroachments which had been made by royal authority, men entertained no jealousy of the commons, whose enterprizes for the acquisition of power had been covered with the appearance of public good, and had hitherto gone no farther than some disappointed efforts and endeavours. The progress of the Scottish malcontents reduced the crown to an entire dependence for supply: their union with the popular party in England brought great accession of authority to the latter: the near prospect of success roused all latent murmurs and pretensions which had hitherto been held in such violent constraint: and the torrent of general inclination and opinion ran so strongly against the court, that the king was in no situation to refuse any reasonable demands of the popular leaders, either for defining or limiting the powers of his prerogative.

The triumph, however, of the malcontents over the church was not yet so immediate or certain. Though the political and religious Puritans mutually lent assistance to each other, there were many who joined the former, yet declined all connexion with the latter. The hierarchy had been established in England ever since the Reformation; the Romish church, in all ages, had carefully maintained that form of ecclesiastical government; and though parity may seem at first to have had place among Christian pastors, the period during which it prevailed was so short, that few undisputed traces of it remained in history. The bishops and their more zealous partizans inferred thence the divine indefeasable right of prelacy: others regarded that institution as venerable and useful: and if some chose to adopt the new rites and discipline of the Puritans, the reverence to antiquity retained many in their attachment to the liturgy and government of the church. It behoved, therefore, the zealous innovators in parliament to proceed with caution and reserve. By promoting all measures which reduced the powers of the crown, they hoped to disarm the king, whom they regarded as the determined patron of the hierarchy. By declaiming against the encroachments and tyranny of the prelates, they endeavoured to carry the nation, from a hatred of their persons, to an opposition against their office and character. And when men were inlisted in party, it would not be difficult, they thought, to lead them by degrees into many measures, for which they formerly entertained the greatest aversion. Though the new sectaries composed not, at first, the majority of the nation, they were inflamed with extreme zeal for their opinions.

When the nation, therefore, was so generally discontented, and little suspicion was entertained of any design to subvert the church and monarchy; no wonder that almost all elections ran in favour of those who, by their pretensions to piety and patriotism, had encouraged the national prejudices. It is a usual compliment to regard the king's inclination in the choice of a speaker; and Charles had intended to advance sir Thomas Gardiner, recorder of London, to that important trust: but so little interest did the crown at that time possess in the nation, that Gardiner was disappointed of his election, not only in London, but in every other place where it was attempted; and the king was obliged to make the choice of speaker fall on Mr. Lenthal, a lawyer of some character, but not sufficiently qualified for so high and difficult an office (*p*).

The eager expectations of men with regard to a parliament, summoned at so critical a juncture, and during such general discontents; a parliament which, from the situation of public affairs, could not be abruptly dissolved, and which was to execute every thing left unfinished by former parliaments; these motives, so important and interesting, engaged the attendance of all the members; and the house of commons was never observed to be, from the beginning, so full and numerous, as it was on the day of their meeting, November 3, 1640 (*q*). Without any interval, therefore, they entered upon business, and, by unanimous consent, they immediately struck a blow which may in a manner be regarded as decisive.

The earl of Strafford was considered as chief minister, both on account of the credit which he possessed with his master, and of his own great and uncommon vigour and capacity. By a concurrence of accidents, this man laboured under the severe hatred of all the three nations which composed the British monarchy. The Scots, whose authority now ran extremely high, looked on him, with justice, as the capital enemy of their country, and one whose counsels and influence they had most reason to apprehend. He had engaged the parliament of Ireland to advance large subsidies, in order to support a war against them: he had levied an army of ten thousand men, with which he had menaced all their western coast: he had obliged the Scots, who lived under his government, to renounce the covenant, their national idol: he had, in Ireland, proclaimed the Scottish covenanters rebels and traitors, even before the king had issued any such declaration against them in England; and he had ever dissuaded his master against the late treaty and suspension of arms, which he regarded as dangerous and dishonourable. So avowed and violent were the Scots in their resentment of all these measures, that they had refused to send commissioners to treat at York, as was at first proposed; because, they said, the lieutenant of Ireland, their capital enemy, being general of the king's forces, had there the chief command and authority.

Strafford, first as deputy, then as lord-lieutenant, had governed Ireland during eight years with very little popularity. In a nation so averse to the English government and religion, his very virtues were sufficient to draw on him the public hatred. His manners too were haughty, rigid, and severe. His authority and influence, during the time of his government, had been unlimited; but no sooner did adversity seize him, than the concealed aversion of the nation blazed up at once, and the Irish parliament used every expedient to aggravate the charge against him. The universal discontent which prevailed in England against the court, was all pointed towards the earl of Strafford; because he was the minister of state whom the king most favoured and trusted. His extraction was honourable, his paternal fortune considerable; yet envy attended his sudden and great elevation; and his former associates in popular counsels, finding that he owed his advancement to the desertion of their cause, represented him as the great apostate of the commonwealth, whom it behoved them to sacrifice as a victim to public justice.

Strafford, sensible of the load of popular prejudices under which he laboured, would gladly have declined attendance in parliament; and he begged the king's permission to withdraw himself to his government of Ireland, at least to remain at the head of the army in Yorkshire; where many opportunities, he hoped, would offer, by reason of his distance, to elude the attacks of his enemies. But Charles, who had entire confidence in the earl's capacity, thought that his counsels would be extremely useful during the critical session which approached. And when Strafford still insisted on the danger of his appearing amidst so many enraged enemies, the king, little apprehensive that his own authority was so suddenly to expire, promised him protection, and assured him, that not a hair of his head should be touched by the parliament.

No sooner was Strafford's arrival known, than a concerted attack was made upon him in the house of commons, on the 11th of November. Pym, in a long discourse, enumerated all the grievances under which the nation laboured; and, from a complication of such oppressions, inferred, that a deliberate plan had been formed of changing entirely the frame of government, and subverting the ancient laws and liberties of the kingdom. Could any thing, he said, increase our indignation against so enormous and criminal a project, it would be to find, that, during the reign of the best of princes, the constitution had been endangered by the worst of ministers, and that the virtues of the king had been seduced by wicked and pernicious counsel. We must inquire, added he, from what fountain these waters of bitterness flow; and though doubtless many evil counsellors will be found to have contributed their endeavours, yet is there one who challenges the infamous pre-eminence, and who, by his courage, enterprize, and capacity, is entitled to the first place among these betrayers of their country. He is the earl of Strafford, lieutenant of Ireland, and president of the council of York, who in both places, and in all other provinces where he has been entrusted with authority, has raised ample monuments of tyranny, and will appear from a survey of his actions to be the chief promoter of every arbitrary counsel. Some instances of imperious expressions, as well as actions, were given by Pym; who afterwards entered into a more personal attack of that minister, and endeavoured to expose his whole character and manners.

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(*p*) Clarendon, vol. i. 169.

(*q*) This was afterwards called The Long Parliament.

The austere genius of Strafford, occupied in the pursuits of ambition, had not rendered his breast altogether inaccessible to the tender passions, or secured him from the dominion of the fair; and in that sullen age, when the irregularities of pleasure were more reproachful than the most odious crimes, these weaknesses were thought worthy of being mentioned, together with his treasons, before so great an assembly. And, upon the whole, the orator concluded, that it belonged to the house to provide a remedy proportionable to the disease, and to prevent the farther mischiefs justly to be apprehended from the influence which this man had acquired over the measures and counsels of their sovereign (*r*).

Sir John Clotworthy, an Irish gentleman, sir John Hotham, of Yorkshire, and many others, entered into the same topics; and, after several hours spent in inveighing against this notorious criminal, when the doors were locked in order to prevent all discovery of their purpose; it was moved that Strafford should immediately be impeached of high treason. This motion was received with universal approbation; nor was there, in all the debate, one person that offered to stop the torrent by any testimony in favour of the earl's conduct. Lord Falkland alone, though known to be his enemy, modestly desired the house to consider, whether it would not better suit the gravity of their proceedings, first to digest by a committee many of those particulars which had been mentioned, before they sent up an accusation against him. It was ingeniously answered by Pym, that such a delay might probably blast all their hopes, and put it out of their power to proceed any farther in the prosecution: that when Strafford should learn, that so many of his enormities were discovered, his conscience would dictate his condemnation; and so great was his power and credit, he would immediately procure the dissolution of the parliament, or attempt some other desperate measure for his own preservation: that the commons were only accusers, not judges; and it was the province of the peers to determine, whether such a complication of enormous crimes, in one person, did not amount to the highest crime known by the law. Without farther debate, the impeachment was voted: Pym was chosen to carry it up to the lords: almost every member of the house accompanied him on so agreeable an errand.

Strafford was at this time in the house of peers: it is conjectured, that he had an intention this day to accuse the lord Say and others, members of both houses, who were thought to have held a correspondence with the Scots. He found the lords in a debate concerning the Scotch treaty, that took them up a considerable time; and whilst he was waiting for an opportunity to address them, Mr. Pym appeared at the bar, and, in the name of all the commons of England, impeached him of high-treason, and desired that he might be sequestered from all councils, and be put into safe custody. No sooner was Mr. Pym retired, than the lords, with almost one voice, called upon Strafford to withdraw. He having obtained leave to be heard, endeavoured to influence the lords, by representing to them, that it would be of bad consequence to their privileges and birth-right, if, upon such a general charge, they should suffer a peer of the realm to be committed to custody, and deprived of his seat in parliament. Potent as these reasons must appear to an aristocratical assembly, yet on this occasion they had not the intended effect: the lords, with very little debate, resolved he should be committed to the usher of the black rod, to remain under his care till the commons should bring in a particular charge. Upon his knees, at the bar of the house, was this determination pronounced to him. The lord-keeper having performed this office, Strafford was taken away by the usher; and Mr. Pym was called in, and informed, that the lords had complied with the desire of the commons.

Liberty had now began her triumphant course; her, inveterate enemy was, on the first attack, subdued. The arrogant Strafford, who the year before entered the upper house with the parade of a conqueror, and whilst he related the wonders of his Irish administration, was received by the lords with applause for the supposed wisdom of his conduct, and who this very day had entered that assembly with imperious thoughts, and disdainful sentiments against the commons, was in an instant, by the enemies he despised, reduced as a criminal to receive on his knees the sentence of imprisonment. The commons sent over to Ireland for sir George Radcliffe and sir Robert King, to appear as witnesses against Strafford; but on being informed, that Radcliffe had been the tool which Strafford had made use of to execute all his infamous purposes, they likewise impeached him of high treason (*s*), and secured his person. Mr. Pym, with his usual accuracy, in a conference with the lords on this subject, made this distinction on the nature of the corruption which had influenced these ministers: "In the crimes committed by the earl, said he, there is haughtiness and fierceness; in those of sir George Radcliffe more of baseness; having resigned and subjected himself to be acted upon by the corrupt will of another. The earl of Strafford hath not been bred in the study of the law, and having stronger lusts and passions to incite, and less knowledge to restrain, might more easily be transported from the rule; but sir George Radcliffe, in his natural temper and disposition being more moderate, and by his education and profession better acquainted with the grounds and directions of the law, was carried into his offences by a more immediate concurrence of will, and a more corrupt suppression of his reason and judgement."

The proceedings of the house of commons were equally quick in regard to other criminals: they had examined two messengers, Newton and Gray, and the keepers of the prisons about London, on the very day of Strafford's impeachment; and secretary Windebank was ordered to answer for the many interruptions he had given to the processes against priests and Papists. This delinquent, who had been formerly Laud's creature, and promoted to the office of secretary by that prelate, had so entirely devoted himself to the queen, that he became, if not a Papist himself, a profest patron of that sect: he not only protected priests in his house, but terrified the messengers by threats from molesting them. One of the articles in his impeachment mentioned seventy-four letters of grace to Recusants, signed by his own hand: another was, sixty-four priests discharged from the Gate-house, twenty-nine of the number by his verbal order. Windebank was in the house when these warrants of discharge were produced; whilst the matter was debated, he was ordered to withdraw, and finding that the proofs would be very strong against him, he retired to his own house, and fled the kingdom the next morning. From Calais he wrote a letter to the earl of Pembroke, wherein, according to the custom of other offending ministers, he vindicated himself on the unconstitutional plea of having committed offences in obedience to his master's commands (*t*).

The public did not long languish for a parliamentary prosecution against the object of their extreme hatred. The prelate Laud, that declared zealot for tyranny and persecution, could not long escape in the strict scrutiny that was now making concerning grievances: after a long debate on the new-made canons, it was resolved, that they did not bind either the clergy or the laity of the land; that the said canons and constitutions contained in them matters contrary to the king's prerogative, to the fundamental laws and statutes of the realm, the rights of parliament, the property and liberty of the subject; and were matters tending to sedition, and of dangerous consequence: it was resolved also, *nullo contradicente*, that the contribution granted to the king by the clergy in the several convocations holden at London and York in 1640, were contrary to the laws, and ought not to bind. In the debate previous to these resolutions, sir Edward Deering, one of the members for Kent, a man who possessed volubility of speech, and who had taken some pains to attain a knowledge of the nature and grounds of those pretensions of the prelates that were now become the subject of dispute, made a long harangue, in which he exposed all the palpable objections that lay against the convocation or synod, as they termed themselves. He called it a conventional, synodical assembly of commissioners, a threefold chimera, a monster to the law of the land, and a Cerberus to the religion. He entered into a deep dis-

(*r*) Clarendon, vol. i. p. 172.

(*s*) He had been already impeached of high-treason by the Irish commons house. Audley Mervin, who carried up his impeachment to the Irish Peers, told them, that his treasons had transcended so much all former ones, that they seemed to be but petty-larcenies in respect of his. In this speech of Mervin he complains, that the clause relating to Strafford was fraudulently inserted. *Rushworth*, vol. iv. p. 214.

(*t*) Windebank had obtained a discharge from the king of all penalties that he might incur from his conduct in regard to Recusants. He got safe out of the kingdom by a mandate, signed by the king, to suffer him to pass without molestation. His papers were secured from search by Cottington: among those that came to light were found notes relative to an union with the church of Rome. *Prynne's Introduction to the Trial of Laud*, p. 124, 131, 146.

cussion on synods, and alledged, that from the time of the apostles they were ecclesiastical councils, chosen by the free voice of clergy and laity; that even the Roman Catholics acknowledged, that the church could not be represented if the laity were excluded; for the acts of national synods being binding to the whole nation, it could not justly be so if the laity had no share in the consultation, or choice in the consulters.

Mr. Nathaniel Fiennes, son to the lord Say, a young man of good parts and great reading, made a long speech on the enormities that were in the canons. In the first, he said, the convocation had assumed a parliamentary power in a very high degree: they had not only defined what the power of the king was, what the liberty of the subject, but had forbid persons to speak in any other way than according to their definition. He asserted, from the authority of their own text, the sacred scriptures, that all magistracy was the ordinance of man: "But these divines, continued he, have an aim in teaching that kings are an ordinance of God; for then they must receive the manner of their government from the prescript of God's word; and consequently, if there is no text in either of the Testaments, that kings may not make laws, nor lay impositions without parliaments, they may do it out of parliament. In the second canon they have also assumed to themselves a parliamentary power, to appoint holidays contrary to the express words of the statute. In the canon against sectaries there is an especial proviso, that it should not derogate from any statute or law made against them; as if their canons had power to disannul an act of parliament. In the fourth canon, against Socinianism, they determine an heresy not determined by law; a point expressly reserved to a parliamentary determination: in this canon, for the most trifling offences, such as bringing a book over from beyond sea which differs from the discipline of the church of England, men are to be excommunicated *ipso facto*, and lie under the same penalty as if they had maintained an opinion contrary to the most material point of faith. In the sixth canon they have undertaken to impose new oaths on the subject, a power of an higher nature than to make a law; for a law binds no longer than till another law is made, or whilst the person resides in the land; whereas an oath binds for a man's life." Mr. Fiennes proved, that those canons which had the most favourable appearance carried in them a great degree of malignancy, and moved that the house would proceed to condemnation.

The committee appointed to prepare the votes concerning these matters, had particular directions to consider how far the archbishop of Canterbury had been an actor in these proceedings; and farther to examine what part he had acted in the great design of the subversion of the laws and religion of the realm; and to prepare and draw up a charge against him, and such others as should appear offenders in these particulars. This was the prelude to Laud's impeachment: complaints poured in on all sides; he was accused by the Scotch commissioners of being the prime cause of those innovations in their religion which had occasioned the present commotions; letters were produced that had passed between him and the Scotch bishops: these proved, that he had for some years directed the ecclesiastical affairs of that kingdom; and, by the force of menaces and promises, had maintained a high degree of authority over the episcopal order. On the report of their committee, the house of commons did not hesitate to accuse him to the upper house of the crime of treason. Mr. Hollis was appointed to carry up the message, and the lords immediately committed him to the custody of their usher.

On this accusation, Laud desired leave to speak: he entered into a protestation of his innocency, and had the imprudence to say, that "there was not a member of the house of commons who believed in his heart he was a traitor." For this unguarded expression he was sharply reprehended by the earl of Essex. He desired to be proceeded with in the ancient parliamentary way, but was checked by the lord Say for pretending to dictate to the house. He begged leave to recant what he had said, but was refused: and thus this arrogant churchman, who had for many years directed almost every court of justice in the kingdom, was in a moment reduced to the condition of a criminal, and denied those indulgencies and civilities which a less detested person of his age and rank would have found in such mortifying circumstances (*u*). Many bitter speeches had been made against him in the lower house: sir Edward Deering declared, he had exercised a supreme ecclesiastical power in the three kingdoms; and mentioned some particulars concerning his arbitrary proceedings; that he pleaded fair for a partriarchate; but if there must be such a governor, a pope at Rome would do less hurt than a partriarch at Lambeth. Mr. Grimstone said, "that he was the sty of all pestilential filth; that it was him that had infected the state and government of the commonwealth; he was the author of all the miseries it now groaned under; he had brought in the earl of Strafford (*v*); given the secretaryship to Windebank; and promoted Montague, Manwaring, and all those prelates who were suspected of popery; there was scarcely any grievance or complaint in which he was not mentioned; like a busy angry wasp, his sting was in every thing; he was the corrupt fountain that had vitiated all the streams; till that was purged, clear channels could not be expected." Laud petitioned the upper house for liberty to take the air; this favour was granted, with a proviso that he should do it in the company of his keeper, and not be suffered to speak to any body out of his presence.

The instruments of this prelate's tyranny did not escape the avenging arm of justice, who had now set up her standard in both houses of parliament. Matthew Wren, bishop of Ely, and Pierce, bishop of Bath and Wells, were informed against for many high crimes and misdemeanors; such as practising and efforcing superstition and idolatry, and persecuting those who did not submit to these corruptions. At the desire of the commons, they were ordered by the lords to give bail for ten thousand pounds to stand the judgement of parliament. Every member of the late convocation was condemned to large fines; and numbers of ecclesiastical delinquents were severely punished by imprisonment, or otherwise, for being guilty in their several cases of persecution and idolatry (*w*).

The attack on the clergy did not stop at the punishment of the individuals of the order: a bill passed the lower house for disabling bishops, or any clergyman, from being privy-counsellors, or in the commission of the peace, or to have judicial power in the star-chamber, or in any civil court. Mortifications of all sorts overwhelmed that body, who had been for some time the church triumphant. The name of the spiritual lords was left out in acts of parliament, and the law ran in the name of the king, lords, and commons. On the day appointed for a solemn fast and humiliation, the whole order of temporal peers, contrary to former practice, in going to church took place of the spiritual (*x*). Carlisle and Morton, two moderate bishops, were appointed to preach; and whilst the second service was reading at the communion-table, it was interrupted by the sudden singing of a psalm. Marshal and Burgess, two clergymen who had been stigmatized with the epithet of puritanical, preached seven hours before the commons; and, as a requisite preliminary to their receiving the sacrament, the communion-table was removed from the east-end of St. Margaret's to the middle of the area (*y*). This was a prelude to the following order: "That commissioners be sent into all counties for the defacing, demolishing, and quite taking away, all images or tables turned altar-wise, crucifixes, superstitious pictures, monuments, and relics of idolatry, out of all churches and chapels." A committee which was appointed by the commons to take cognizance of the offences of ecclesiastics, and usually denominated the committee of scandalous ministers, received daily accounts of such follies and enormities committed

(*u*) The lords fined him five hundred pounds for the imprisonment of sir Thomas Howard. Sir John Lamb and sir Henry Martin were fined two hundred and fifty pounds a-piece for the same cause. *Franklyn's Annals*, p. 881.

(*v*) Strafford was brought in by the earl of Portland, and immediately patronized and promoted by Laud. *Lloyd's Worthies*, p. 22.

(*w*) The severity of justice was sharpened from the resentment of that cruel usage which non-conformists had met with in this reign. One Dr. Layfield pleaded, that he had privilege as a member of the convocation-house; but the commons resolved that he should be sent for as a delinquent, notwithstanding his plea. *Rushworth*, vol. iv. p. 59.

(*x*) Diurnal Occurrences, ed. 1641, p. 4.

(*y*) Williams dean of Westminster told the committee of the commons who came to him on this business, that he would readily obey the commons, and do the like on the request of any parishioner in his diocese.

The lord-mayor, and the justices of peace for Middlesex and Westminster, received orders from the commons, that the statutes concerning the Lord's-Day should be put in execution. *Rushworth*, vol. iv. p. 53, 223.

mitted by that body, that the resentment of the house was continually supplied with new fuel (*z*).

The present temper of the commons encouraged the public to hope an entire release from the spiritual tyranny they had so long endured. The citizens of London, to the number of fifteen thousand, subscribed a petition against the hierarchy and government of the church of England. To the petition was annexed twenty-eight articles, containing objections to the episcopal office: those objections were founded on the unlawfulness of the order, the vices of those who composed it, and the abuses with which it had been exercised. This petition was presented to the house by alderman Pennington, and was followed by three more of the same kind; one from Gloucester, one from the inhabitants of the county of Kent, and another subscribed by seven hundred ministers. These petitions were very warmly attacked by lord Digby, and with much learning defended by Mr. Fiennes: the house had the complaisance to order, that they should be committed, and in convenient time debated (*a*).

Histherto the king seemed to have resigned himself to the sudden fate which had so unexpectedly fallen upon him—In one moment of time reduced, from governing with an absolute sway, to be the most insignificant and the most impotent part of the legislative power: but roused by the danger which now threatened his beloved episcopacy, he sent for the two houses to Whitehall, and told them, that he intended to reform all innovations in church and state, and to reduce matters of religion and government to what they were in the purest times of queen Elizabeth; but that some men, encouraged by the sitting of this parliament, more maliciously than ignorantly, put no difference between reformation and alteration of government: hence it came that divine service was irreverently interrupted, petitions were tumultuously given, and much of his revenue detained and disputed. "Now, added he, I put great difference betwixt reformation and alteration of government: though I am for the first, I cannot give way to the latter. I will not say that bishops may not have over-stretched their power, or encroached upon the temporal, which, if you find, correct and reform the abuse according to the wisdom of former times; and so far I am with you: nay farther, if upon serious debate you shall shew me that bishops have some temporal authority inconvenient to the state, and not so necessary to the church for the support of episcopacy, I shall not be unwilling to persuade them to lay it down (*b*). Yet by this you must understand, that I cannot consent to the taking away of their voice in parliament, which they have anciently enjoyed under so many of my predecessors, even before the conquest, and ever since, and which I conceive I am bound to maintain, as one of the fundamental institutions of this kingdom."

Neither house of parliament took any notice of the king's speech: they joined in a remonstrance which shewed how many priests had been discharged within a few years; that the pope had a nuncio or agent at Rome resident in the city of London; that the Papists as publicly resorted to hear mass at the queen's palace as others did to attend their parish-churches. For these reasons, they insisted on the necessity of the laws being put into execution against Jesuits and seminary priests; and that one Goodman, a priest, should be left to the justice of the law. To this the king thought fit to return answer, that he would provide against Jesuits and priests, by setting forth, with all speed, a proclamation commanding them to depart the kingdom, under pain of being proceeded against according to law; that as to Rossetti, he had no commission as a nuncio, but to entertain a personal correspondence between the pope and the queen: he would persuade her to remove him, since the misunderstanding of his condition gave offence; that he would take care to restrain his subjects from resorting to mass at Denmark House, St. James's, and the chapels of ambassadors; for Goodman the priest, he had reprieved him, because, as neither queen Elizabeth nor his father avowed that any priests were executed merely for religion, it might be of bad consequence to his subjects and the Protestants abroad; but he remitted that particular case to both houses. The commons sent an order to all the justices of the peace of Westminster, London, and Middlesex, and all the counties in England and Wales, enjoining them to command the churchwardens, and other officers, to present the names of the several Recusants within their parishes, that they might be proceeded against according to law, notwithstanding any institution or restraint.

The circular letters written by the queen, by sir Kenelm Digby, Mr. Mountague, and the body of Papists in London, were laid before the commons; and Digby, Mountague, sir John Winter, and sir Basil Brook, were strictly examined concerning the disposal of the monies raised, and the authority which Con and Rossetti had from the pope. The queen sent a letter to the commons, informing them, that it was she who wrote effectually to the king to persuade him to call a parliament; that since she has been willing to do all good offices between the king and the people, she would remove Rossetti in convenient time; and for the resort complained of, would be careful not to exceed that which was convenient and necessary for her religion. She farther observed, that the parliament was not satisfied with the manner of raising money at her entreaty from the Catholics; that she was moved thereunto by her dear and tender regard to the king: if it was illegal, she was ignorant of the law, but promised hereafter not to do any thing that did not stand with the established laws of the realm. No other answer was returned to the queen's letter, but that the commons gave her majesty thanks for her gracious expressions.

Some time after, the king shewed to the upper house a letter he had received from Goodman the priest; wherein he desired to be executed rather than live the subject of discontent between the king and people. The letter probably had the effect for which it was written, and excited feelings of compassion in the parliament: the commons dropt the pursuit, and we hear nothing of Goodman's execution. The prosecution of other kind of criminals took up, at this time, the attention of the house. The commons having secured the two notorious offenders, Strafford and Laud, mortified the church, and put the ecclesiastical affairs of the kingdom in some train of reformation: they took into consideration the general heads of their civil grievances; they cancelled all the patents which had been granted for monopolies, as contrary to express statutes; declared every one concerned in them delinquents; and expelled all their members who were monopolists or projectors. On the grievance of monopolists, sir John Colepeper, member for Kent, made to the house the following ludicrous representation: "The monopolists and polers of the people, said he, like the frogs of Egypt, have gotten possession of our dwellings; we have scarce a room free for them; they sup in our cup, they dip in our dish, they sit by our fire; we find them in the dye-fat, wash-bowl, and powdering-tub; they share with the butler in his box; they have marked and sealed us from head to foot. Mr. Speaker, they will not bate us a pin; we may not buy our own cloaths without their brokage: these are the leeches that have sucked the commonwealth so hard that it is almost become hectical. Some of them have a vizard to hide the brand made by that good law in the last parliament of king James; they shelter themselves under the name of a corporation."

To shew the privy counsellors what the commons thought of their past conduct and pretensions, Mr. Neville, a member of parliament, was committed to the Tower for reporting to the council what had been spoken in the house. Sir William Saville was sent for as a delinquent on the same account. A committee was appointed to take into consideration the breaches of parliamentary privilege, both in the last parliament, and that of the third of this reign, and especially the proceedings against Mr. Hollis, sir John Elliot, &c. to consider what reparations were fit to be granted to the parties grieved, and of some course to prevent the like hereafter. On the question, it was resolved, *nullo contradicente*, that the charge imposed upon

(*z*) A complaint was made against a minister for saying, that Puritans were damned rogues because they refused the oath; he hoped they would hang in Hell; and wished himself in Hell to be their hangman; and taught in his pulpit, that every one ought to learn to dance, for those who could not dance would be damned. Another complaint was exhibited, that in a certain parish in the West country two days were spent in the dedication of an altar-cushion and pulpit-cloth. *Diurnal Occurrences*, p. 32, *& seq.*

(*a*) See Smollett's Complete History, vol. vii. p. 176. Diurnal Occurrences, p. 33. Rushworth, vol. iv. p. 170, *& seq.*

(*b*) Rapin observes, that the king seemed to banter the commons in saying, that if they would shew him the bishops had any temporal authority inconvenient to the state, he should not be unwilling to desire them to lay it down; as if the parliament ought to have expected, from the pure condescension of the bishops, the reformation of an authority prejudicial to the state: a maxim directly contrary to the principles they then acted on. *Rapin*, vol. xi. p. 80, *& seq.*

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the subject for the providing and furnishing of ships, commonly called ship-money, was against the law of the realm, and the subjects' right of property, contrary to former resolutions of parliament, and to the Petition of Right; that the extra-judicial opinions of the judges were contrary to the said laws and resolutions, and likewise all the writs commonly called ship-writs; and the judgement in the exchequer in Mr. Hampden's case, both in matter and substance. A committee was appointed to go to the several judges, to enquire of them, in what manner, and by whom, they were solicited or threatened to give any opinion or judgement concerning ship-money (*c*).

Thus, in a few weeks, this house of commons, not opposed, or rather seconded by the peers, had produced such a revolution in the government, that the two most powerful and most favoured ministers of the king were thrown into the Tower, and daily expected to be tried for their life: two other ministers had, by flight alone, saved themselves from a like fate: all the king's servants saw that no protection could be given them by their master: a new jurisdiction was erected in the nation; and before that tribunal all those trembled, who had before exulted most in their credit and authority. What rendered the power of the commons more formidable was, the extreme prudence with which it was conducted. Not content with the authority which they had acquired by attacking these great ministers, they were resolved to render the most considerable bodies of the nation obnoxious to them. Though the idol of the people, they determined to fortify themselves likewise with terrors, and to overawe those who might still be inclined to support the falling ruins of monarchy.

During the late military operations, several powers had been exercised by the lieutenants and deputy-lieutenants of counties: and these powers, though necessary for the defence of the nation, and even warranted by all former precedent, yet not being authorised by statute, were now voted to be illegal; and the persons who assumed them, declared delinquents. In consequence of that determination, many of the nobility and prime gentry of the nation, while only exerting, as they thought, the legal powers of magistracy, unexpectedly found themselves involved in the crime of delinquency. And the commons reaped this multiplied advantage by their vote: they disarmed the crown; they established the maxims of rigid law and liberty, and spread the terror of their own authority.

The writs for ship-money had been directed to the sheriffs, who were required, and even obliged under severe penalties, to assess the sums upon individuals, and to levy them by their authority: yet were all the sheriffs and all those who had been employed in that illegal service, voted, by a very rigorous sentence, to be delinquents. The king, by the maxims of law, could do no wrong: his ministers and servants, of whatever degree, in case of any violation of the constitution, were alone culpable.

All the farmers and officers of the customs, who had been employed during so many years in levying tonnage and poundage, and the new impositions, were likewise declared criminals, and were afterwards glad to compound for a pardon by paying a fine of one hundred and fifty thousand pounds.

Every discretionary or arbitrary sentence of the star-chamber and high commission courts, which, from their very constitution, were arbitrary, underwent a severe scrutiny: and all those who had concurred in such sentences, were voted to be liable to the penalties of law. There was not any minister of the king or member of the council, but found himself exposed by this decision.

The commons next sent up an accusation against sir John Brampstone, lord chief justice of the King's-Bench, sir Humphrey Davenport, justice Berkeley, and justice Crawley. The lords enforced them to enter into recognizance of ten thousand pounds a-piece to appear and answer before the parliament: at the same time they ordered, that judge Berkeley, for taking insufficient bail, should pay a debt of five hundred pounds, with interest, which was owing to a citizen by lord Wentworth. This infamous judge, having been found more guilty than his brethren, was, on a stricter examination of his conduct, impeached of high-treason, and, to the exaltation of liberty and justice, and the confusion of evil ministers, by order of the peers, taken off his tribunal in the court of King's-Bench, and carried to prison. Lord Falkland distinguished himself by a very warm speech against the judges.

The sanction of the lords and commons, as well as that of the king, was declared necessary for the confirmation of ecclesiastical canons. That decision, which abolished all legislative power except that of parliament, was requisite for completing the new plan of liberty, and rendering it quite uniform and systematical. Almost all the bench of bishops, and the most considerable of the inferior clergy, who had voted in the late convocation, found themselves exposed by these new principles to the imputation of delinquency.

The most unpopular of all Charles's measures, and the least justifiable, was the revival of monopolies, so solemnly abolished, after reiterated endeavours, by a recent act of parliament. Sensible of this unhappy measure, the king had of himself recalled, during the time of his first expedition against Scotland, many of these oppressive patents; and the rest were now annulled by authority of parliament, and every one who was concerned in them declared delinquents. The commons carried so far their detestation of this odious measure, that they assumed a power which had formerly been seldom practised, and they expelled all their members who were monopolists or projectors.

The whole sovereign power being thus in a manner transferred to the commons, and the government, without any seeming violence or disorder, being changed in a moment from a monarchy almost absolute, to a pure democracy; the popular leaders seemed willing for some time to suspend their active vigour, and to consolidate their authority, ere they proceeded to any violent exercise of it. Every day produced some new harangue on past grievances. The detestation of former usurpations, was farther enlivened: the jealousy of liberty roused; and agreeably to the spirit of free government, no less indignation was excited, by the view of a violated constitution, than by the ravages of the most enormous tyranny.

This was the time, says Hume, when genius and capacity of all kinds, freed from the restraint of authority, and nourished by unbounded hopes and projects, began to exert themselves, and be distinguished by the public. Then was the celebrated sagacity of Pym matured, not chilled by his advanced age and long experience: then was displayed the mighty ambition of Hampden, taught disguise, not moderation, from former constraint; supported by courage, conducted by prudence, embellished by modesty: then too were known the dark, ardent, and dangerous character of St. John; the impetuous spirit of Hollis, violent and sincere, open and entire in his enmities and in his friendships; the enthusiastic genius of young Vane, who appeared to be extravagant in the ends which he pursued, though sagacious and profound in the means which he employed.

So little apology would be received for past measures, so contagious the general spirit of discontent, that even men of the most moderate tempers, and the most attached to the church and monarchy, exerted themselves with the utmost vigour in the redress of grievances, and in prosecuting the authors of them. The lively and animated sir Kenelm Digby displayed his eloquence on this occasion, the firm and undaunted Capel, the modest and candid Palmer. In this list too of patriot royalists are found the names of Hyde and Falkland. Though in their ultimate views and intentions, these men differed widely from the former; in their present actions and discourses, an entire concurrence and unanimity was observed.

By the daily harangues against illegal usurpations, not only the house of commons inflamed themselves with the highest animosity against the court: the nation caught new fire from the popular leaders, and seemed now to have made the first discovery of the many supposed disorders in the government. The metropolis especially, being the seat of parliament, was highly animated with the spirit of mutiny and disaffection. Tumults were daily raised; seditious assemblies encouraged; and every man neglecting his own business was wholly intent on the defence of liberty and religion. By stronger contagion, the popular affections were communicated from breast to breast, in this place of general rendezvous and society.

The harangues of members, now first published and

(*c*) A committee was also appointed to draw up a charge against the lord Finch, and the rest of the judges in this business; to enquire also of the several denials of Habeas Corpus and prohibitions, their extra-judicial proceedings and opinions concerning ecclesiastical jurisdiction, and the court of Admiralty, their denial of legal and ordinary proceedings in cases of justice, and binding of the whole kingdom in one man's particular case. *Rushworth*, vol. iv. p. 89, *& seq.*

dispersed,

dispersed, kept alive the discontents against the king's administration. The pulpits, delivered over to puritanical preachers and lecturers, whom the commons settled in all the considerable churches, resounded with outcries against grievances, and were active in zealous expressions for liberty. Vengeance was fully taken for the long silence and constraint, in which, by the authority of Laud and the high commission, these preachers had been retained. The press, freed from all fear or reserve, swarmed with productions which disseminated the love of liberty, and which enjoined the people to assert their rights against the arbitrary power of the crown.

The sentence which had been executed against Prynne, Bastwic, and Burton, now suffered a revisal from parliament. These men, far from being tamed by the rigorous punishments which they had undergone, showed still a disposition of repeating their satirical reflections against the ministry; and the ministers were afraid lest new satires should issue from their prisons, and still farther inflame the prevailing discontents. By an order, therefore, of council, they had been carried to remote prisons; Bastwic to Scilly, Prynne to Jersey, Burton to Guernsey; all access to them was denied; and the use of books, and of pen, ink, and paper, was refused them (*d*). The sentence for these additional punishments was immediately reversed by the commons: even the first sentence, upon examination, was declared illegal: and the judges who passed it were ordered to make reparation to the sufferers. When the prisoners landed in England, they were received and entertained with the highest demonstrations of affection, were attended by a mighty confluence of people of all ranks, their charges were borne with great magnificence, and liberal presents bestowed on them. On their approach to any town, all the inhabitants crowded to receive them, and welcomed their reception with shouts and acclamations. Their train still increased, as they drew nigh to London. Some miles from the city, the zealots of their party met them in great multitudes, and attended their triumphant entrance: boughs were carried in procession; the roads were strewed with flowers; and amidst the highest exultations of joy, were intermingled loud and virulent invectives against the prelates, who had so cruelly persecuted such godly personages. Lilburne, Leighton, and every one that had been punished for seditious libels during the preceding administration, now recovered their liberty, and were decreed damages from the judges and ministers of justice.

Not only the present disposition of the nation ensured impunity to all libellers: a new method of framing and dispersing libels was invented by the leaders of popular discontent. Petitions to parliament were drawn, craving redress against particular grievances; and when a sufficient number of subscriptions were procured, the petitions were presented to the commons, and immediately published. These petitions became secret bonds of association among the subscribers, and seemed to give undoubted sanction and authority to the complaints which they contained. Indeed so many grievances were offered, both by the members, and by petitions without-doors, that the house was divided into above forty committees, charged, each of them, with the examination of some particular violation of law and liberty, which had been complained of (*e*).

From the reports of their committees, the house daily passed votes, which mortified and astonished the court, and inflamed and animated the nation. Ship-money was declared illegal and arbitrary; the sentence against Hampden cancelled; the court of York abolished; compositions for knighthood stigmatized; the enlargement of the forests condemned; patents for monopolies annulled; and every late measure of administration treated with reproach and obloquy. To-day, a sentence of the star-chamber was exclaimed against: to-morrow, a decree of the high-commission. Every act of council was represented as arbitrary and tyrannical; and the general inference was still inculcated, that a formed design had been laid to subvert the laws and constitution of the kingdom.

From necessity, the king remained entirely passive during the whole of these operations. The few servants, who continued faithful to him, were seized with astonishment at the rapid progress made by the commons in power and popularity, and were glad to compound for their impunity. The torrent rising to so dreadful and unexpected a height, despair seized all those, who from interest or habit were most attached to monarchy. And as for those who maintained their duty to the king, they seemed by their concurrence to swell that inundation which began already to deluge every thing. "You have taken the whole machine of government in pieces," said Charles in a discourse to the parliament; "a practice frequent with skilful artists, when they desire to clear the wheels from any rust which may have grown upon them. The engine," continued he, "may again be restored to its former use and motions, provided it be put up entire; so as not a pin of it be wanting." But this was far from the intention of the commons. The machine they thought, with great reason, was incumbered with many wheels and springs, which retarded and crossed its operations, and destroyed its utility. In order to maintain that high authority which they had acquired, the commons, besides confounding and overawing their opponents, judged it requisite to inspire courage into their friends and adherents; particularly into the Scots, and the religious Puritans, to whose assistance and good offices they were already so much beholden.

So soon as the Scots were masters of the northern counties, they laid aside their first professions, of paying for every thing; and in order to prevent the destructive expedient of plunder and free quarters, the country consented to give them a regular contribution of eight hundred and fifty pounds a-day, in full of their subsistence. The parliament, that they might relieve the northern counties from so grievous a burden, agreed to remit pay to the Scottish, as well as to the English army; and because subsidies would be levied too slowly for so urgent an occasion, money was borrowed from the citizens upon the security of particular members. Two subsidies were at first voted; and as the intention of this supply was to indemnify the members, who, by their private, had supported public credit, this pretence was immediately laid hold of, and the money was ordered to be paid, not into the treasury, but to commissioners appointed by parliament: a practice which, as it diminished the authority of the crown, was willingly embraced, and was afterwards continued by the commons, with regard to every branch of revenue which they granted to the king. The invasion of the Scots had evidently been the cause of assembling the parliament: the presence of their army reduced the king to that total subjection in which he was now held: the commons, for this reason, openly professed their intention of retaining these invaders, till all their own enemies should be suppressed, and all their purposes effected. "We cannot yet spare the Scots," said Strode in the house; "the sons of Zeruiah are still too strong for us:" an allusion to a passage of scripture, according to the mode of that age. Eighty thousand pounds a month were requisite for the subsistence of the two armies; a sum much greater than the subject had ever been accustomed, in any former period, to pay to the public. And though several subsidies, together with a poll-tax, were from time to time voted to answer the charge; the commons still took care to be in debt, in order to render the continuance of the session the more necessary.

The Scots being such useful allies to the malcontents in England, were courted with the utmost complaisance. The king having, in his first speech, called them rebels, observed that he had given great offence to the parliament; and he was immediately obliged to soften, and even retract the expression. The Scottish commissioners, of whom the most considerable were the earl of Rothes and lord Loudon, found every advantage in conducting their treaty; yet made no haste in bringing it to an issue. They were lodged in the city, and kept an intimate correspondence, as well with the magistrates, who were extremely disaffected, as with the popular leaders in both houses (*f*).

The most effectual expedient for paying court to the

(*d*) This we have noticed in a preceding part, but it was necessary here to recapitulate it, that the thread of the discourse might not be broken.

(*e*) Besides the general committees of religion, trade, privileges, laws, many subdivisions of these were framed, and a strict scrutiny was every where carried on.

(*f*) St. Antholin's church was assigned them for their devotions; and their chaplains, here, began openly to practise the Presbyterian form of worship, which, except in foreign languages, had never hitherto been allowed any indulgence or toleration. So violent was the general propensity towards this religion, that multitudes of all ranks crowded to the church. Those, who were so happy as to find access early in the morning, kept their places the whole day: those, who were excluded, clung to the doors or windows, in hopes of catching, at least, some distant murmur or broken phrases of the discourses. All the eloquence of parliament, now well refined from pedantry, animated with the spirit of liberty, and employed in the most important interests, was not attended to with such insatiable avidity, as were these lectures.

Scots was to promote the Presbyterian discipline and worship throughout England, and to this circumstance the popular leaders among the commons, as well as their more devoted partizans, were, of themselves, sufficiently inclined. The Puritanical party, whose progress, though secret, had hitherto been gradual in the kingdom, taking advantage of the present disorders, began openly to profess their tenets, and to make attacks on the established religion. The prevalence of that sect in the parliament discovered itself, from the beginning, by insensible but decisive symptoms. The name of the spiritual lords was commonly left out in acts of parliament; and the laws ran in the name of king, lords, and commons. The clerk of the upper house, in reading bills, turned his back on the bench of bishops; nor was this mark of insolence ever taken notice of.

Notwithstanding the favourable disposition of the people, the leaders in the house resolved to proceed with caution. They introduced a bill for prohibiting all clergymen the exercise of any civil office. As a consequence, the bishops were to be deprived of their seats in the house of peers. But when this bill was presented to the peers, it was rejected by a great majority. But, to shew how little they were discouraged, the Puritans immediately brought in another bill for the total abolition of episcopacy; though they thought proper to let that bill sleep at present, in expectation of a more favourable opportunity of reviving it. Among other acts of regal executive power, which the commons were every day assuming, they issued orders for demolishing all images, altars, and crucifixes (*g*).

The bishop of Ely and other clergymen were attacked on account of innovations. Cozens, who had long been disagreeable to them, was exposed to new censures (*h*). He was likewise accused of having said, "The king has no more authority in ecclesiastical matters, than the boy who rubs my horse's heels." The expression was violent: but it is certain, that all those high churchmen, who were so industrious in reducing the laity to submission, were equally desirous of exempting the mitre from all subjection to the crown.

A committee was elected by the lower house, as a court of inquisition upon the clergy, and was commonly denominated the committee of *scandalous ministers*. The politicians among the commons were apprised of the great importance of the pulpit for guiding the people; the bigots were enraged against the prelatical clergy; and both of them knew that no established government could be overthrown by strictly observing the principles of justice, equity, or clemency. The proceedings, therefore, of this committee, which continued for several years, were rather arbitrary, and made great havoc both on the church and the universities. They began with harassing, imprisoning, and molesting the clergy; and ended with sequestrating and ejecting them.

It may be worth observing, that all historians, who lived near that age, or what perhaps is more decisive, all authors, who have casually made mention of those public transactions, still represent the civil disorders and convulsions as proceeding from religious controversy, and consider the political disputes about power and liberty as entirely subordinate to the other. It is true, had the king been able to support government, and at the same time to abstain from all invasion of national privileges, it seems not probable that the Puritans ever could have acquired such authority as to overturn the whole constitution: yet so entire was the subjection into which Charles was now fallen, that, had not the wound been poisoned by the infusion of theological hatred, it must have admitted of an easy remedy. Disuse of parliaments, imprisonments, and prosecution of members, ship-money, an arbitrary administration; these were loudly complained of: but the grievances which tended chiefly to inflame the parliament and nation, especially the latter, were the surplice, the rails placed about the altar, the bows exacted on approaching it, the liturgy, the breach of the sabbath, embroidered copes, lawn sleeves, the use of the ring in marriage, and of the cross in baptism. On account of these, were the popular leaders content to throw the government into such violent convulsions; and, it must be acknowledged, that the disorders in Scotland entirely, and those in England mostly, proceeded from this origin.

Some persons, partial to the patriots of this age, have ventured to put them in balance with the most illustrious characters of antiquity; and mentioned the names of Pym, Hampden, Vane, as a just parallel to those of Cato, Brutus, Cassius. Profound capacity, indeed, undaunted courage, extensive enterprize; in these particulars perhaps the Roman do not much surpass the English worthies.

The laws, as they then stood, protected the church, but exposed the Catholics to the rage of the Puritans; and these unhappy religionists, so hateful to the prevailing sect, could not hope to remain long unmolested. The voluntary contribution which they had made, in order to assist the king in his war against the Scottish covenanters, was inquired into, and represented as the greatest enormity. By an address from the commons, all officers of that religion were removed from the army, and application was made to the king for seizing two-thirds of the lands of recusants; a proportion to which, by law, he was entitled, but which he had always allowed them to possess upon easy compositions. The execution of the severe and sanguinary laws against priests was insisted on; and one Goodman, a Jesuit, who was found in prison, was condemned to a capital punishment. Charles, however, agreeably to his usual principles, scrupled to sign the warrant for his execution; and the commons expressed great resentment on the occasion (*i*).

Hayward, a justice of peace, having been wounded, when employed in the exercise of his office, by one James, a Catholic madman, this enormity was ascribed to the popery, not to the phrenzy, of the assassin; and great alarms seized the nation and parliament. An universal conspiracy of the Papists was supposed to have taken place; and every man, for some days, imagined that he had a sword at his throat. Though some persons of family and distinction were still attached to the Catholic superstition, it is certain that the numbers of that sect did not amount to the thirtieth part of the nation: and the frequent panics to which men, during this period, were so subject on account of the Catholics, were less the effects of fear, than of extreme rage and aversion entertained against them.

The queen-mother of France, having been forced into banishment by some court-intrigues, had retired into England; and expected shelter, amidst her present distresses, in the dominions of her daughter and son-in-law. But though she behaved in the most inoffensive manner, she was insulted by the populace on account of her religion; and was even threatened with worse treatment. The earl of Holland, lieutenant of Middlesex, had ordered a hundred musqueteers to guard her; but finding that they had imbibed the same prejudices with the rest of their countrymen, and were unwillingly employed in such a service, he laid the case before the house of peers; for the king's authority was now entirely annihilated. He represented, among other things, the indignity of the action, that so great a princess, mother to the king of France, and to the queens of Spain and England, should be affronted by the multitude. The peers thought proper to communicate the matter to the commons, whose authority over the people was absolute. The commons agreed to the necessity of protecting the queen-mother; but at the same time prayed, that she might be desired to depart the kingdom: "For the quieting those jealousies in the hearts of his majesty's well-affected subjects, occasioned by some ill instruments about that queen's person, by the flowing of priests and Papists to her house, and by the use and practice of the idolatry of the mass, and exercise of other superstitious services of the Romish church, to the great scandal of true religion."

Charles, in the former part of his reign, had endeavoured to overcome the intractable and encroaching spirit

(*g*) The zealous sir Robert Harley, to whom the execution of these orders was committed, removed all crosses even out of streets and markets; and, from his abhorrence of that superstitious figure, it is said, that he would not any-where allow one piece of wood or stone to lie over another at right angles.

(*h*) This clergyman, who was dean of Peterborough, was extremely zealous for ecclesiastical ceremonies; and so far was he from permitting the communicants to break the sacramental bread with their fingers, a privilege on which the Puritans strenuously insisted, he would not so much as allow it to be cut with an ordinary household instrument. A consecrated knife must perform that sacred office, and must never afterwards be profaned by any vulgar service.

(*i*) There remains a singular petition of Goodman, begging to be hanged, rather than prove a source of contention between the king and his people. He escaped with his life; but it seems more probable that he was overlooked amidst affairs of greater consequence, than that such unrelenting hatred would soften by any consideration of his courage and generosity.

of the commons, by a perseverance in his own measures, and by maintaining, at their utmost height, and even perhaps stretching beyond former precedent, the rights of his prerogative. Finding, by experience, how unsuccessful those measures had proved, and observing the low condition to which he was now reduced, he resolved to alter his whole conduct, and to regain the confidence of his people, by pliableness, by concessions, and by a total conformity to their inclinations and prejudices. It may safely be averred, that this new extreme into which the king, for want of proper counsel or support, was fallen, became no less dangerous to the constitution, and pernicious to public peace, than the other, in which he had so long and so unfortunately persevered.

The pretensions with regard to tonnage and poundage were revived, and with certain assurance of success by the commons. The levying of these duties, as formerly, without consent of parliament, and even increasing them at pleasure, was such an incongruity in a free constitution, where the people, by their fundamental privileges, cannot be taxed but by their own consent, as could no longer be endured by the jealous patrons of liberty. In the preamble therefore to the bill, by which the commons granted these duties to the king, they took care, in the strongest and most positive terms, to assert their own right of bestowing this gift, and to divest the crown of all independent title of assuming it. And that they might increase, or rather finally fix, the entire dependence and subjection of the king, they voted these duties only for two months; and afterwards, from time to time, renewed their grant for very short periods (*k*). Charles, in order to show that he entertained no intention ever again to separate himself from his parliament, passed this important bill without any scruple or hesitation.

With regard to the bill for triennial parliaments, he made a little difficulty. By an old statute, passed during the reign of Edward III. it had been enacted, that parliaments should be held once every year, or more frequently, if necessary: but as no provision had been made in case of failure, and no precise method pointed out for execution; this statute had been considered merely as a general declaration, and was dispensed with at pleasure. The defect was supplied by those vigilant patriots who now assumed the reins of government. It was enacted, that if the chancellor, who was first bound under severe penalties, failed to issue writs by the third of September in every third year, any twelve or more of the peers should be impowered to exert this authority: in default of the peers, that the sheriffs, mayors, bailiffs, &c. should summon the voters; and in their default, that the voters themselves should meet and proceed to the election of members, in the same manner as if writs had been regularly issued from the crown. Nor could the parliament, after it was assembled, be adjourned, prorogued, or dissolved, without their own consent, during the space of fifty days. By this bill, some of the noblest and most valuable prerogatives of the crown were retrenched; but at the same time nothing could be more necessary than such a statute, for completing a regular plan of law and liberty. A great reluctance to assemble parliaments must be expected in the king; where these assemblies, as of late, establish it as a maxim to carry their scrutiny into every part of government. During long intermissions of parliament, grievances and abuses, as was found by recent experience, would naturally creep in; and it would even become necessary for the king and council to exert a great discretionary authority, and by acts of state to supply, in every emergence, the legislative power, whose meeting was so uncertain and precarious. Charles, finding that nothing less would satisfy his parliament and people, at last gave his assent to this bill, which produced so great an innovation in the constitution. Solemn thanks were presented him by both houses. Great rejoicings were expressed both in the city and throughout the nation; and mighty professions were every where made of gratitude and mutual returns of supply and confidence.

The king thought, that what concessions were made to the public were of little consequence, if no gratifications were bestowed on individuals, who had acquired the direction of public counsels and determinations. A change of ministers as well as of measures was therefore resolved on. In one day several new privy-counsellors were sworn; the earls of Hertford, Bedford, Essex, Bristol; the lords Say, Saville, Kimbolton: within a few days after was admitted the earl of Warwick. All these noblemen were of the popular party; and some of them afterwards, when matters were pushed to extremities by the commons, proved the greatest support of monarchy.

Juxon, bishop of London, who had never desired the treasurer's staff, now earnestly solicited for leave to resign it, and retire to the care of that turbulent diocese committed to him (*l*). The king gave his consent; and it was intended that the earl of Bedford, a popular man of great authority as well as wisdom and moderation, should succeed him: but that nobleman, unfortunately both for king and people, died about this time. By some promotions, place was made for St. John, who was created solicitor-general. Hollis was to be made secretary of state, in the room of Windebank, who had fled: Pym, chancellor of the exchequer, in the room of lord Cottington, who had resigned: lord Say, master of the wards, in the room of the same nobleman: the earl of Essex, governor; and Hampden, tutor to the prince.

But that which retarded the execution of those projected changes was, the difficulty of satisfying all those who, from their activity and authority in parliament, had pretensions for offices, and who still had it in their power to embarrass and distress the public measures. Their associates too in popularity, whom the king intended to distinguish by his favour, were unwilling to undergo the reproach of having driven a separate bargain, and of sacrificing to their own ambitious views, the cause of the nation. And as they were sensible that they must owe their preferment entirely to their weight and consideration in parliament, they were most of them resolved still to adhere to that assembly, and both to promote its authority, and to preserve their own credit in it. On all occasions, they had no other advice to give the king, than to allow himself to be directed by his great council, or, in other words, to resign himself passively to their guidance and government. And Charles found, that, instead of acquiring friends by the honours and offices which he should bestow, he should only arm his enemies with more power to hurt him (*m*). The end on which the king was most intent in changing his ministers was, to save the life of the earl of Strafford, and to mollify, by these indulgences, the rage of his most furious prosecutors. But all the new counsellors and intended ministers plainly saw, that, if he escaped their vengeance, he would return into favour and authority; and they regarded his death as the only security which they could have, both for the establishment of their present power, and for success in their future enterprizes. His impeachment, therefore, was pushed on with vigour; and after long and solemn preparations was brought to a final issue.

Strafford's impeachment had been all this time preparing, and was, in the beginning of 1641, carried up to the house of lords: it consisted of twenty-eight articles, and regarded his conduct as president of the council of York, as governor of Ireland, as counsellor and commander in England. The articles in regard to Ireland related to arbitrary acts of jurisdiction, governing by martial law, billeting soldiers, enforcing obedience to arbitrary decrees by military power, deciding causes before the council which ought to have been decided in the courts of law (*n*), issuing proclamations, and punishing their infraction,

(*k*) It was an instruction given by the house to the committee which framed one of these bills, to take care that the rates upon exportation may be as light as possible; and upon importation, as heavy as trade will bear: a proof that the nature of commerce began now to be understood. Journ. 1 June, 1641.

(*l*) It should be observed, that Juxon was a creature of Laud, who had seconded all the arbitrary motions of his patron, both in the Star-chamber and High-commission court; and that by this measure his sole aim was to screen himself from particular censure.

(*m*) Some time in the beginning of the year 1640, the States-General had sent a splendid embassy to Charles, to propose such a league as should be found conducive to the interest of both nations. At the same time the young prince of Orange demanded the princess Mary in marriage. Charles readily agreed to propositions so favourably presented to ingratiate himself with his people: he had the complaisance to impart at this time the proposal to the house of peers, and ask their advice on it. The peers testified their full approbation, and the marriage was concluded, to the general satisfaction of the public. The princess at this time was not above twelve years of age. This was the commencement of the connections with the family of Orange; which were afterwards attended with the most important consequences, both to the kingdom and to the house of Stuart.

(*n*) Among other cases of this sort, he was charged with having caused an order of the council to be entered against the lady Hibbots, by

tion, enforcing arbitrary oaths (*o*), setting arbitrary impositions upon merchandize, granting exclusive licences for importing pipe-staves, making monopolies of tobacco and other commodities, and exercising cruelties on those who disputed these points. He was charged with obtaining from the king, that no complaint of injustice done in Ireland should be received in England, unless the party had first made their application to him; and that, to prevent any molestation in his tyrannical course, he put out a proclamation, forbidding any to depart the realm without licence from himself (*p*): he was charged with raising to his own use an hundred thousand pounds a-year by such acts of oppression (*q*). He was charged with giving power to the bishop of Downe and Conner, by a general warrant under his own hand, to attach and arrest the bodies of all such of the meaner sort, who, after citation, should either refuse to appear, or appearing should omit to fulfil, or undergo the decrees given against them (*r*). He was accused of restoring many popish religious houses, of raising an army of papists, whom he paid punctually, and admitted to exercise their religion, whilst the protestant soldiers were unpaid. These were the substance of the articles that related to Ireland.

The various crimes that he was charged with as president of the council of York, and counsellor, were, That he, being made president of the king's council in the northern parts, had put into execution instructions against law, which never had been practised by other presidents, exercised an exorbitant and illegal power over his majesty's subjects in those parts, and fined and imprisoned many to their ruin; and that he might exercise this unjust power with the greater licence, did procure farther directions, by which he was invested with a more oppressive and unlawful authority than any of his predecessors. He was accused of saying publicly at the assizes held for the county of York, that the king's little finger should be heavier than the loins of the law (*s*). The twentieth and twenty-first, second, third, fourth, fifth, and sixth articles of his impeachment related to his conduct in the capacity of counsellor: that he had irritated the king against the Scots, advised him to an offensive war, and against an accommodation; that he had told the king, if the parliament did not answer his expectation, he would serve him in another way. He was accused of raising an army in Ireland of eight thousand foot and one thousand horse; of publicly declaring in England, that his majesty should try first the parliament here, and if that did not supply him according to his occasions, he might use his prerogative as he pleased, to levy what he needed; he should be acquitted both by God and man if he supplied himself, though against the will of his subjects: that he had advised the king to dissolve the last parliament, and told him, that having tried the affections of his people, he was absolved from all rule of government, and might do what power would admit; that he had an army in Ireland that he might employ to reduce this kingdom to obedience. He was also accused of advising the rigorous mode of levying of ship money; of telling the aldermen of London, that they deserved to be put to fine and ransom, and that no good would be done with them till an example was made of them, and that they were laid up by the heels, and some of them hanged. The twenty-sixth article directly charges him with having counselled the king to seize the bullion and the money in the Mint (*t*), and to debase the coin, by mixing it with brass; and that on the officers of the Mint expressing their detestation of the scheme, and giving him reasons against debasing the current coin, he told them, that the French king was accustomed to send commissaries of horse with commission to examine men's property, that they might know what to levy on them; and that he turned to the lord Cottington, and said, it was a point worthy his lordship's consideration.

The crimes charged against him as a commander in the English army were, the levying by force, in the late northern expedition, eight pence (*u*) a-day from each of the inhabitants of the county of York that were possessed of property; with having lost Newcastle by neglect; and with being the cause of the defeat of the English at Newburn, by peremptorily commanding the lord Conway to fight the Scots, though Conway had represented them to be much superior to the troops under his command (*v*). The commons had applied to the king, that he would allow their committee to examine privy counsellors with regard to opinions delivered at the board: this the king was persuaded to assent to, lest the denial should occasion very black suspicions (*w*), but the concession had an effect he did not foresee: it struck an awe on the licentious debates of that board, where every member, without fear of enquiry and punishment, used freely to propose illegal and treasonable expedients for the supporting the arbitrary measures of the crown.

Strafford having, with his power, lost his influence over the parliament of Ireland, that assembly now exerted a freedom of debate, and a vigour of action, which they had never practised: each house sent over into England a committee to assist in the prosecution of their governor; put a stop to the manner of levying subsidies, which had been forced upon them by Strafford (*x*); and carried up impeachments against sir Richard Bolton, their present chancellor, sir Gerard Lowther, their chief justice and Bramhall, bishop of Derry, all of them the creatures of the lieutenant's promoting, and the tools of his tyranny (*y*).

Westminster Hall was chosen by the parliament as the place where Strafford should be tried: scaffolds were erected, where both houses sat; the lords as judges, and the commons as accusers (*z*). The earl of Arundel, in the

by which she was obliged to relinquish an estate which was conveyed to sir Robert Meredith for the use of Strafford. On the lady's hesitating to perform the order, Strafford said, 'If you do not perform it by such a day, I will send you to the castle, and there you shall lie a month, at the end of which you shall be brought to the board, and have five hundred pounds laid on your head; at another month's end a thousand more, and you shall go back to the castle again; and after that, a third month's imprisonment, and your fine increased. Your estate, I know, is very great, and if it were ten times bigger I will make it crack."—*Rushworth*, vol. viii. p. 221, 227.

(*o*) The oath imposed on the Scots was ushered in with a specious introduction of a petition from some of the individuals of that nation, that they might, by such a testimony of their allegiance, purge themselves from the imputation of disaffection, which they might otherwise incur from the treasonable conduct of their countrymen the covenanters.—The procuring such a petition Strafford proposed at the Irish council-table; and the men of fortune of the Scotch nation were sent for immediately to Dublin. On Strafford's telling them, that it was expected they should do something to vindicate themselves from any aspersions that might be flung on them, the bishops of Downe and Rapho proposed the petitioning that they might join in an oath. Sir James Montgomery making some objections to the slavish conclusions in the oath, Strafford answered, "Sir James, you may petition, or not, as you will; but if you do not, or who doth not, shall do worse." The bishop of Rapho drew the oath, and the bishop of Downe complained that it was too cold and mean. *Rushworth*, vol. viii.

(*p*) The committees from the Irish parliament could not obtain leave to come over to England, till, by the desire of the English parliament, the restraint which Strafford had laid on the inhabitants of that kingdom was taken off, and a free communication opened between the two nations. *Rushworth*, vol. viii. p. 409.

(*q*) After Strafford was impeached, the Irish house of commons seized the books and accounts of the farmers of tobacco, of which the earl of Strafford was chief, discharged their officers and collectors, ordered the keepers of their magazines to give a detail of the debts owing, and confiscated the whole, to the lord Strafford's damage above eighty thousand pounds. *Carte's Life of Ormond*, vol. i. p. 127.

(*r*) This commission was executed with the additional cruelty of wounding, beating, and imprisonment. *Rushworth*, vol. viii. p. 238.

(*s*) It was on the occasion of his laying a command on sir David Fowlis to repair a bridge: sir David told him, he could not do it by law. On this Strafford replied, "Sir, some are all for law and lawyers; but you shall know that the king's little finger is heavier than the loins of the law." *Rushworth*, vol. viii. p. 712.

(*t*) On seizing the money in the Mint, Strafford said, that the merchants ought to bear the damage; though they thought it a strange business here, yet beyond sea it was not thought so; if they speeded amiss they might thank themselves; they were more ready to help the rebels than to give his majesty his due: fourteen thousand pounds they owed for ship money. *Rushworth*, vol. viii.

(*u*) This tax was raised by military force. Warrants were given out for paying it, on pain of death. Strafford pretended, that he acted in this affair with the consent of the council of peers: the truth of this assertion those lords denied by a solemn protestation in parliament. *Rushworth*, vol. viii. p. 37, *& seq.* 616.

(*v*) Not one individual of the Irish clergy had spirit enough to exhibit a complaint against him for the arbitrary manner in which he enforced the English canons on their church: so that black part of his conduct was not in his charge.

(*w*) The lords had given leave, that the members of their house should be examined upon oath.

(*x*) This tax, according to the manner of levying it, dictated by Strafford, was so heavy, that the earl of Cork in one year paid thirty-six hundred pounds for his own share. The Irish commons house having made an order for the manner of levying subsidies in future, Charles, in imitation of the behaviour of king James to the English parliament, commanded the order to be torn out of their Journals. *Carte's Life of Ormond*, vol. i. p. 100, 107.

(*y*) All the articles of grievances debated in the parliament of Ireland were opposed by the whole bench of bishops there. The bishop of Meath moved, that as all the lords spiritual were against the grievances, the naming them in their order might be spared. *Carte's Life of Ormond*, vol. i. p. 121.

(*z*) The commons sat bare-headed, whilst the lords were covered. This

the absence of the lord keeper Littleton, who was indisposed (*a*), was appointed high steward to preside in the court (*b*). The commons objected to the bishops having a voice in the judgement given on Strafford, because they were forbidden by an old canon to assist in any trial of life. This canon had never yet been adhered to; but, on the present occasion, they did not think fit to irritate farther the anger of the commons, nor venture the rage of the public, by openly supporting Strafford; of themselves they thought proper to withdraw; and thus his lordship lost an advantage, which might have put some stop to the proceedings against his life. The commons also voted, that the new created peers ought to have no voice at this trial, because the accusation being agreed to whilst they were commoners, their consent to it was implied with that of the commons of England; and that they would be in the double capacity of judge and accuser. This was a very wise precaution, many commoners having been made peers on purpose to favour Strafford. The majority of this number assented to the determination of the commons; but sir Francis Seymour, a quondam patriot, who had gotten a title on this occasion, with some others, kept their seats, and the matter was no farther debated (*c*).

Westminster-Hall was crouded with spectators; a close gallery was prepared for the king and queen, who attended during the whole trial, which lasted eighteen days. The managers for the commons were, lord Digby, sir Walter Earle, John Pym, John Hampden, Oliver St. John, Jeoffrey Palmer, John Maynard, John Glyn, Esqs. They supported the impeachment by a variety of particular instances of an exorbitant exertion of arbitrary power. The first day was spent in reading the impeachment; on the second day Mr. Pym opened the pleadings. "Strafford boasts," said he, "that he was a means of calling a parliament: my lords, parliaments without parliamentary liberties are but a fair and plausible way into bondage. Sir Pierce Crosby, for speaking against a bill in the commons' house, was sequestered from the council-table, and committed to prison. Sir John Clotworthy was threatened that he should lose a lease he had. Mr. Barnwell and two other gentlemen were threatened they should have troops of horses put upon them for speaking in the house. Proxies by dozens were given. My lords, parliaments, coming in with these circumstances, they be grievances, mischiefs, and miseries; no works of thanks and honour. He says, he has executed his commission with moderation. When you find so many men imprisoned, some adjudged to death, some executed without law; when you find so many public rapines on the state; soldiers sent to make good his decrees; so many whippings in defence of monopolies; so many jurors fined for not giving verdicts of his side; men of quality disgraced, set in the pillory, and wearing papers; can you think there was moderation? If you compare his courses with other parts of the world, he will be found beyond all in tyranny and harshness; but if you compare them with his mind and disposition, perhaps there was moderation: the habit of cruelty in himself, no doubt, is more perfect than any act of cruelty he hath committed. If this be his moderation, I may truly say that is verified in him, 'The mercies of the wicked are cruel.' For his honourable way of increasing the king's revenue; if monopolies, if vexation of the subject, be honourable ways, we shall leave that to your lordships to judge. Most of his increases have been made upon monopolies. It is true, there is another way of bargaining; but it hath been mixed with rapine, rigour, and injustice: men have been driven to resign their estates. Is this a just way of improving a king's revenue? That I shall submit to your lordships (*d*)."

In Strafford's charge, as delivered by the managers, it appeared, that in all his employments he had exercised very arbitrary acts of power, and his whole conduct since he had been invested with authority had been highly insolent. Even in Ireland, the government of which had been ever tyrannical, he had outgone former governors, and had been guilty of many unprecedented acts of power.

His answer is hardly plausible, though drawn up with art: he could not deny the illegality of his actions, nor efface an air of insolence that ran through all his proceedings. Nothing can be more puerile than his defence on the main article, that of having advised the king to proceed in the way of arms; and, if he was denied money by parliament, to raise it by other means. Notwithstanding the atrociousness of the facts charged against him, and proved by a number of able testimonies, and by the whole tenor of his conduct and conversation; notwithstanding the frivolousness of his defence, a certain blandishment of behaviour which he assumed on this occasion; a certain air of importance misconstrued into dignity; a certain speciousness of manner, mistaken for decency and humility; these, with the particular circumstances of his situation, reduced in an instant from the summit of power and splendor, to plead as a criminal at the bar of a court of justice, produced sentiments in his favour from the weak part of the audience: the women, in particular, not comprehending, or being inattentive to, the solidity of the arguments urged by the commons, and being deaf to the eloquence and ability of the managers, attended with pity and partiality to the unhappy prisoner. Besides the favourable sentiments which he had the art to excite in his spectators, through the whole course of his pleadings, he endeavoured to prejudice his judges in his favour: his expressions were full of veneration for the body of peers, and he insinuated that their privileges were interested in his fate. Mr. Glyn noticed this management, and told the lords, that though the prisoner had magnified the peers of the realm almost to idolatry; yet when he was in his kingdom in Ireland, and had power over them, he shewed the respect he had to the peers of the kingdom, judging some to death, committing others to prison, and seizing their estates.

The members of the house of commons had unquestionably proved an intention in the earl of Strafford to subvert the fundamental laws of the kingdom: this is not within the description of treason in the statute of 25 Edward III. They proceeded against him on a salvo of that act, which provides, that the king and parliament have power of determining what is treason, and what not. They therefore voted, that the facts proved upon him were of a treasonable nature.

On the 13th of April, 1641, he was called to the bar, and commanded by the lords to sum up his evidence: this he did in a long speech, the argumentative part of which is certainly very weak; and his endeavour to extenuate his crimes very impotent. His arbitrary, extrajudicial acts, he called an over-exercising of a jurisdiction. It was not high treason in a judge to enlarge his jurisdiction. "But, my lords," said he, "if all these had been done without any manner of authority, it had not been a subversion, but rather a diversion of the law; so long as I keep the rule of the law, and do the same thing that another man does in a more legal way, I mean in a more warrantable place, I say, my doing of the same thing in an improper place, is not a subversion, but a diversion of the law (*e*). If you will bring in the Thames about Lambeth, to come in again below the bridge, the river is the same, though the course be diverted to another place: so the fundamental law is the same, though the course be

This the commons condescended to for the following reason: because they sat as a committee only of the commons' house, whilst the lords represented their whole house. The commons declared, they might come as a house if they pleased. They resolved, "That if the earl of Strafford had liberty given him to speak in his defence, before the managers appointed to manage the evidence entered into the management of it, they should forbear to proceed till they had farther orders from the house." *Rushworth*, vol. viii. p. 40.

(*a*) On Finch's flight, he was promoted to the seals, and created a baron.

(*b*) The earl of Lindsey was high-constable.

(*c*) The lords resolved, that no use should be made of proxies on Strafford's trial. It was determined, that council should not be admitted him as to matters of fact, but only as to matters of law. The lords reserved to themselves the liberty of judging what were matters of fact, and what matters of law; and the commons declared, that no proceedings in this case should be a precedent to their prejudice.

(*d*) Mr. Maynard, in his pleadings against Strafford, asserted, that treason against the person of the prince fell short of the treasons he had committed: one prince might be succeeded by another; but when law and justice were taken from the throne, and will placed in their stead, there was no hope of remedy. Mr. Stroud said, that to incite a prince to tyrannical acts was a greater offence than to kill him: he might die otherwise with a fair reputation. *Rushworth*, vol. viii.

Strafford was totally ignorant of the transactions which had passed in Ireland when the Irish remonstrance was produced at his trial, and that it appeared that the house of commons there had voted him guilty of high treason. He exclaimed, in the bitterness of his disappointment, that there was a conspiracy to take away his life. He was reprehended for this by the managers, and obliged to ask pardon on his knees. Besides those complaints of the Irish set forth in Strafford's impeachment, the lords, by a committee of their house, complained to the king, that they were obliged, on their absence from parliament, to leave their proxies with the officers of state. *Guthrie. Carte's Life of Ormond.*

(*e*) To divert a legal and just proceeding into an arbitrary one, Mr. Glyn observed, was not only turning but corrupting the clear and crystal streams of legal justice to muddy waters of bitterness and death.

diverted to another place. I say, the fundamental law is the same, only it is carried in another pipe."

The conclusion of Strafford's speech, in which he used every argument to repel the principal positions on which the bill depending in the house of commons was founded, has been so much extolled for its style and weight of reason, that the author of a history of these times might be accused of partiality in omitting it: "Where has this species of guilt been so long concealed, said he? where has this fire been so long buried, during so many centuries, that no smoke should appear till it burst out at once to consume me and my children? Better it were to live under no law at all, and, by the maxims of cautious prudence, to conform ourselves the best we can to the arbitrary will of a master; than fancy we have a law on which we can rely, and find at last that this law shall inflict a punishment precedent to the promulgation, and try us by maxims unheard-of till the very moment of prosecution. If I sail on the Thames, and split my vessel on an anchor, in case there be no buoy to give warning, the party shall pay me damages: but if the anchor is marked out, then is the striking on it at my own peril. Where is the mark set upon this crime? where is the token by which I should discover it? It has lain concealed under water, and no human prudence, no human innocence can save me from the destruction with which I am here threatened. It is now full two hundred and forty years since treasons were defined; and so long has it been since any man was touched to this extent, upon this crime, before myself. We have lived, my lords, happily to ourselves at home; we have lived gloriously abroad to the world: let us be content with what our fathers have left us; let not our ambition carry us to be more learned than they were in those killing and destructive arts. Great wisdom it will be in your lordships, and just providence for yourselves, for your posterities, for the whole kingdom, to cast from you into the fire these bloody and mysterious volumes of arbitrary and constructive treasons, as the primitive Christians did their books of curious arts, and betake yourselves to the plain letter of the statute, which tells you where the crime is, and points out to you the path by which you may avoid it. Let us not, to our own destruction, awake these sleeping lions, by rattling up a company of old records, which have lain for so many ages by the wall, forgotten and neglected. To all my afflictions add not this, my lords (the most severe of any) that I, for my other sins, not for my treasons, be the means of introducing a precedent so pernicious to the laws and liberties of my country. However these gentlemen at the bar say they speak for the commonwealth; and they believe so; yet, under favour, in this particular it is I who speak for the commonwealth: precedents like those endeavoured to be established against me, must draw along such inconveniencies and miseries, that in a few years the kingdom will be in the condition expressed in a statute of Henry IV. and no man shall know by what rule to govern his words and actions. Impose not, my lords, difficulties insurmountable upon ministers of state, nor disable them from serving with chearfulness their king and country. If you examine them, and under such severe penalties, by every grain, by every little weight, the scrutiny will be intolerable; the public affairs of the kingdom must be left waste, and no wise man, who has any honour or fortune to lose, will ever engage himself in such dreadful, such unknown perils. My lords, I have now troubled your lordships a great deal longer than I should have done, were it not for the interest of these pledges, which a saint in heaven has left me. I should be loth——" (Here Strafford pointed to his children, and his tears stopped his speech.) "What I forfeit for myself is nothing; but I confess, that my indiscretion should forfeit for them, it wounds me very deeply. You will be pleased to pardon my infirmity: something I should have said; but I see I shall not be able, and therefore I shall leave it. And now, my lords, I thank God I have been, by his good blessing, sufficiently instructed in the extreme vanity of all temporary enjoyments, compared to the importance of our eternal duration. And so, my lords, even so with all humility, and with all tranquillity of mind, I submit clearly and freely to your judgements; and whether that righteous doom shall be life or death, I shall repose myself, full of gratitude and confidence, in the arms of the great Author of my existence."

The earl of Strafford's situation is indeed very pathetically expressed in this conclusion of his speech; but certainly it is very deficient in point of argument; since it is apparent that a precedent of so great a criminal being condemned by the whole power of the legislature, could not, in its consequences, be so dangerous to the public, or the liberty of individuals, as the example of crimes of so atrocious a nature, and so destructive to the commonwealth, being committed with impunity. An honest and a wise man would never fear the severest scrutiny; and the weak and the wicked being deterred from accepting public offices, or, if they did accept them, being kept within just bounds by the terrors of an after enquiry and punishment, must be of infinite service to the well-governing the affairs of the kingdom.

Mr. Pym, in language manly and pathetic, breathing sentiments that nothing but the spirit of liberty could inspire, closed the pleadings of the commons. He affirmed, that it had been clearly proved that the earl of Strafford had endeavoured by his words, actions, and counsels, to subvert the fundamental laws of England and Ireland, and to introduce an arbitrary and tyrannical government. He then proceeded to shew the heinousness of the offence. In the course of his speech Mr. Pym observed, that the greatness of a king did not consist in domineering over his subjects at home, but to incline and dispose the affairs of other states and nations for the good of mankind, and the peculiar advantage of his own people; that this kind of greatness had been impaired by the late mischievous counsels. Strafford's crimes, continued the orator, were contrary to the covenant between the king and his people, confirmed by oath on both sides. He observed, that justice Thorpe was put to death for bribery, because in committing that injustice he had broken the king's oath, that solemn obligation which is the security to the whole kingdom. Strafford's offence was contrary to the end of government, which was, to prevent oppressions, to restrain the violence of great men, to open the passages of justice with indifferency to all. The end of government was, that virtue should be cherished, vice suppressed; but where arbitrary power was set up, a way was open for the advancement and encouragement of evil: such men as were apt for the exercise and maintenance of that power were only capable of preferment, whilst honest men, who would not be instruments of unjust and illegal commands, were not only not passable for employment, but subject to jealousy and danger. The end of government was, that all accidents and designs, all counsels and events, should be improved to the public good; but arbitrary power was apt to dispose all for maintenance of itself.

With respect to the absurdity of Strafford's excuses, Mr. Pym observed, that it was true, liberty belonged to counsellors; but then those matters which were good and beneficial to the commonwealth were the proper subjects of counsels; not treasons, such as the subversion of its laws, and the violation of its liberties: they could not be justifiable by any circumstance or occasion. Strafford being a counsellor made his fault more heinous, as being committed against a greater trust, and in a way of much mischief and danger. Part of Strafford's apology was, that his counsels were well intended: "Sometimes good and evil, continued Mr. Pym, truth and falsehood, can hardly be distinguished; matters hurtful and dangerous may be accompanied with such circumstances as may make them appear useful and convenient: in such cases good intentions will justify evil counsels, but when the matters propounded are evil in their nature, such as those wherewith the earl of Strafford is charged, to break public faith, and subvert laws and government, they can never be justified by any intentions, how good soever pretended. Mr. Pym concluded his harangue with observing, that the forfeitures inflicted for treason were, by the law of England, of life, honour, and estate, and all that could be forfeited; that nothing could be more equal than that Strafford should perish by the justice of that law he would have subverted. "Neither, says he, will this be a new way of blood; there are marks enough to trace this law to the very original of the kingdom; and if it hath not been put in execution, as he alledgeth for this two hundred and forty years, it was not for want of law, but that all that period hath not bred a man bold enough to commit such crimes as these; which is a circumstance that aggravates his offence, not makes him less liable to punishment."

The matters of fact being closed, Strafford demanded to be heard by his counsel on matters of law. The commons opposed this, because they had, from the first, intended to proceed by bill of attainder after closing the evidence

evidence of facts. The lords were extremely unwilling to give up the privilege of being the sole judges of Strafford's guilt or innocence: they declared their resolution of hearing his counsel on the point of law; and Gardiner, the recorder of London, Lee, Lightfoot, and Lane, attorney to the prince of Wales, were the men appointed for this business. Lane's argument was an attempt to prove that the statute of 25 Edward III. was a declarative law, and so not to be interpreted as of consequence, equity, or construction, but by the express letter only; and that an act had passed in the sixth of Henry IV. which ordained, that the salvo should be holden repealed in all times to come, and nothing to be esteemed treason, but what was contained in the statute 25 Edward III. The commons thought it below their dignity to offer any answer to Lane's argument; but told the lords, they would depute one of their members to satisfy them on the legality of their proceedings. They passed votes, that it was sufficiently proved, that Strafford had endeavoured to subvert the ancient and fundamental laws of these realms of England and Ireland, and to introduce an arbitrary and tyrannical government against law, and that these endeavours were high-treason.

A paper was produced in the house, of notes taken by sir Henry Vane of a debate in council after the dissolution of the last parliament; the title of which was, "No danger of a war with Scotland, if offensive, not defensive." The notes were as follows:

"*King Charles.* How can we undertake offensive war, if we have no money?

Lord Strafford. Borrow of the city one hundred thousand pounds. Go on vigorously to levy ship-money. Your majesty having tried the affections of your people, is absolved and loosed from all rules of government, and to do what power will admit. Your majesty having tried all ways, and being refused, shall be acquitted before God and man; and you have an army in Ireland that you may employ to reduce this kingdom to obedience; for I am confident the Scots cannot hold out five months.

Archbishop Laud. You have tried all ways, and have always been refused; it is now lawful to take it by force.

Lord Cottington. Levies abroad there may be made for the defence of the kingdom. The lower house are weary of the king and church. All ways shall be just to raise money by, in this inevitable necessity, and are to be used, being lawful.

Archbishop Laud. For an offensive, not defensive war.

Lord Strafford. The town is full of lords: put the commission of array on foot; and if any of them offer to stir we will make them smart."

The above paper was such a corroborating evidence to what the privy-counsellors had already deposed on this debate, that a bill of attainder of the earl of Strafford passed the house, without any greater opposition than that of fifty-nine dissenting votes.

Mr. St. John was deputed by the commons to satisfy the lords on the legality of their proceeding by bill of attainder. His discourse was very prolix, and contained a vast display of law and learning. He told the lords, that the commons had found Strafford guilty of treason within the statute of 25 Edw. III. by levying war, upon the matter of the fifteenth article of their charge (*f*). They found him guilty of treason by assessing and laying soldiers (*g*) on the subjects of Ireland, within the Irish statute of 18 Hen. VI. (*h*) and lastly, they found him guilty of treason by the common law, in endeavouring to subvert the fundamental laws and government of the realms of England and Ireland, and instead thereof to introduce a tyrannical government against law. The principal stress of Mr. St. John's argument was, that Strafford was guilty of treason by the common law of the land, and that the statute of 1 Henry IV. was only to regulate the common courts of justice, not to limit the power of parliaments. There seems to be a great deal of reason in what he urged on this point. There have been precedents since that time of men being convicted at common law, and impeached and attainted by parliament, for treasons not specified in the statute of 25 Edw. III. Sir John Mortimer, after 1 Hen. IV. The duke of Suffolk in Henry VI.'s time, for making an improper peace with France; and Empson and Dudley, in Henry VIII.'s time, convicted at common law of high-treason, for subverting the laws of the land. The statute of 25 Edw. III. seems to have been framed with the laudable intention of protecting the subject against the violence of kings and ministers, and therefore has with great care enumerated treasons that related to the king, but meddles not with original ones, for which Strafford was impeached; concerning treasons against the nation, such as diminishing its power, its glory, or its interest in the way of trade: concerning treasons against the constitution and laws of the land it is entirely silent, and leaves their punishment to the discretion of the legislative power. If these treasons were as well defined as those which relate merely to the person of the king, it certainly would be advantageous to liberty; but a toleration of them is totally inconsistent with the safety of the constitution. St. John, however, did not strictly confine his arguments to points of law; for his warmth betrayed him into the indiscretion of advancing positions which have been much cavilled it: That were the testimony against Strafford not strictly what the law required, yet, in this way of bill, private satisfaction to each man's conscience was sufficient; that the earl had no title to plead law, because he had endeavoured to destroy the law. "It is true, added he, we give law to hares and deers, for they are beasts of chace; but it was never accounted cruel nor unfair to destroy foxes and wolves wherever they can be found, for they are beasts of prey."

Although it was highly imprudent to use such arguments as these in a discourse that should have been merely confined to matter of law, yet certainly there was some appearance of reason in what St. John advanced: a full conviction of crimes may be obtained from a complication of facts and circumstances, the nature of which, as in the present case, cannot admit of two witnesses to every article; but every article and circumstance may so corroborate the charge, as to amount to a more convincing proof than what is required by the forms of law: these forms ought never to be dispensed with in any accusation of a private nature; yet the man who would hesitate to prosecute or condemn a criminal, who it was rationally proved had, like Strafford, been guilty of atrocious acts of oppression, and made bold attempts to enslave his country, must be very lukewarm in the cause of public justice, and have very confined sentiments in regard to liberty. The arbitrary principles which it was apparent were diffused through all his government, made him a more noxious minister than a million of unjust acts which had been clear of this appearance. Arbitrary principles destroy liberty: the evil is universal and perpetual. Acts of mere injustice are temporary evils, and affect but individuals. Strafford preferred a petition to the lords, that he might be heard again in point of law, to make a defence against the bill of attainder. This the lords, out of respect to the lower house, thought fit to deny.

Charles, who had been flattered that the commons, in their proceedings against Strafford, would find a firm opposition from the peers, was so greatly alarmed at this piece of complaisance, that he went immediately to the upper house, and calling up the commons to the bar, made a speech to both houses to the following effect: "That he was convinced Strafford had been guilty of such misdemeanours, that he was not fit to serve him or the commonwealth in any place of trust; no not so much as to be a

(*f*) Mr. St. John shewed, that the law made a distinction between subject's levying of war against subject on matters of a private nature, and the levying of war to enforce arbitrary power, and alter the laws, statutes, and government of the realm.

(*g*) This was inflicted by way of punishment for disobedience to the deputy's orders. The soldiers that were thus assessed on the subject killed their cattle, and consumed their provision at their pleasure. This burthen the subject was to sustain till they conformed in all things to the deputy's pleasure.

(*h*) Concerning this article Strafford pleaded, that by the statutes of 8 Edw. IV. and 10 Hen. VII. the English statutes were brought into Ireland, and consequently the Irish statute of 18 Hen. VI. was rendered invalid by the 1 Hen. IV. which says, that in no time to come treason shall be adjudged otherwise than is ordained by the statute 25 Edw. III. This objection was little efficacious, because an act of parliament, enacted at the same time of that of 10 Hen. VII. declares, that all the Irish statutes excepting two, whereof the Irish statute 18 Hen. VI. was none, should still be in force. To an objection Strafford made, that he could not be tried in England for offending against the Irish laws, Mr. St. John brought examples to prove that several deputies had been tried in England for offences committed in Ireland; that the common law, the expositor of statutes, was the same in both countries; and that writs of error in pleas of the crown, as well as in civil causes, had been brought even in the inferior courts of Westminster, upon judgement given in the courts of Ireland; and that writs of error lie in the parliament of England on erroneous judgement given in the Irish parliament; and that acts of parliament made in Ireland have been confirmed by the parliaments of England; and that there had been statutes made in England which concerned the lives of the Irish subjects. *Rushworth*, vol. viii.

high-

high-constable. He had been present at the hearing of his trial from one end to the other, and could not in conscience condemn him of high-treason. He hoped they knew what a tender thing conscience was; he would do great matters to satisfy his people; but that no fear nor respect should ever make him go against his conscience."

This premature declaration set the commons in a flame. At their return to their house, they debated on the subject with extreme warmth, in which it was said, that his majesty had in his speech plainly asserted, that an attempt to subvert the fundamental laws of the kingdom, and introduce an arbitrary government, was not treason; that if the king might take notice of what bills were passing in either house of parliament, and declare his opinion before they came before him in a parliamentary course, it was to fore-judge their counsels, which would hinder them from applying remedies to the commonwealth suitable to the diseases it laboured under. On these arguments the house voted, that this act of the king's was the most unparalleled breach of privilege that had ever happened (*i*). The bill of attainder met with so great an opposition amongst the peers, that the commons would have found it a difficult matter to succeed in this important point, had they not been assisted by several favourable occurrences arising from the king's imprudence. The facility with which the parliament had hitherto obtained what they demanded of the king had been owing to his extreme desire to get rid of so troublesome a set of counsellors: he every day expected that they would disband both armies; and, according to what they had artfully flung out in several speeches, settle on the crown an ample revenue on an independent footing. In this situation he flattered himself, that he should be able to get rid of those fetters which his forced concessions had imposed on the monarchy. But finding, contrary to his hopes, that the commons, distrusting his sincerity, were determined, notwithstanding the expence, to detain their Scotch friends till they had perfected a reformation on a solid constitutional basis, he became inflamed with anger and impatience, and attempted a very criminal expedient to free himself from a situation which his pride could no longer endure. The two armies remained still in the northern parts, and were supplied from time to time with money from the parliament.

On one particular occasion that the Scots had made very pressing demands, ten thousand pounds were sent to them out of fifty thousand which had been designed for the English army. The English army, without attending to circumstances, or comprehending the difficulties the commons lay under, shewed symptoms of displeasure. Commissary Wilmot, a member of the lower house, told the speaker, that if the Scots could get money for sending a piece of paper, he did not doubt but the English officers would fall upon the same expedient. This circumstance coming to the king's ears, he endeavoured to turn the accident to his advantage, and attach the army to himself. In all his conversation with the general officers, he lamented the partiality of the parliament to the Scots, and promised if the English officers would be faithful to him, he would pawn his jewels to feed them and their soldiers. The earl of Northumberland and other principal officers being in London, the army was commanded by sir Jacob Ashley, a creature of the king's, and one whom Strafford had preferred to his service.

The queen, who had more than female propensity to intrigue, entered with greater violence than judgement into the extreme of the king's proposition, and formed a scheme for bringing the army up to London, to surprise the Tower, overawe the parliament, and fortify Portsmouth. Two poets, sir John Suckling and William Davenant, with a Mr. Jermyn, were her confidants and counsellors. The scheme was communicated to the son of lord Goring, an officer of a debauched and profligate character. The earl of Newcastle was to be general, Goring was to be lieutenant-general, and the king and prince of Wales, with one thousand horse, were to join the troops in Nottinghamshire. Piercy, brother to the earl of Northumberland, Wilmot, Ashburnham, Pollard, Berkeley, and O'Neal, had communicated with the king on a design to engage the army in his favour; and, according to directions, had drawn up a petition, which he promised to get subscribed by the officers of the army, against the lessening the power of bishops, against the disbanding the Irish army till the Scots were disbanded, and for settling the king's revenue; promising their assistance for the accomplishing these points (*k*). To this petition the king had the imprudence to sign C. R. as a token of his approbation.

Bold and dangerous as was the design, yet it did not match the violence of the queen's temper, nor entirely satisfy the king. Piercy, the principal agent between the king and these officers, was pressed by the king to admit Goring and Jermyn into their cabal; and this, notwithstanding Piercy represented that the things these men aimed at were beyond what the army could be brought to undertake, it was at length resolved, that the two sets of conspirators should meet to determine on a general plan of action, under an oath of secrecy not to communicate any thing that should pass among them. The army, very much to their honour, had the good sense to reject some proposals that were made to them from this cabal; and Goring, having quarreled with the party, discovered the whole plot to the leaders of the parliament.

Mr. Pym communicated the intelligence to the house. There were informations given, he said, of desperate designs, both at home and abroad, against the parliament and the peace of the nation. There was an endeavour to disaffect the army, and bring them to over-awe the parliament; there was a design upon the Tower, and attempts for the earl of Strafford to escape; that these combinations at home had a correspondency with practices abroad: the French were drawing down their forces to the sea-side; there was cause to fear their intent was upon Portsmouth; divers persons of eminency about the queen were deeply engaged in these plots. Both houses were so affected with the prospect of their danger, that a protestation, declaring that the subscribers would unite to defend their religion and liberties, was taken by almost every member of the commons house (*l*), and by all the lords, except Southampton and Roberts, who refused it on pretence that there was no law that enjoined it. A few days afterwards, by an order of the commons, the protestation was published, with an explanation that the doctrine of the church, specified in it to be defended, was only meant so far as it was opposite to popery and popish innovations; not to extend to the maintaining any form of worship, discipline, government, rites, or ceremonies of the church of England. The protestation, with this explanation, was recommended by the lower house to be taken by the whole nation.

The commons were by no means deficient in the necessary measures to defeat the designs of their enemies: they sent cloaths and provisions to the army, with a letter promising the speedy payment of their arrears. Lord Mandeville, sir Philip Stapleton, and sir John Clotworthy, were sent to Portsmouth to inspect the garrison, and, if they saw cause, to secure the governor: fifteen barrels of gunpowder, going that way, were stopped. Orders given that the forces in Wiltshire and Hampshire be drawn towards Portsmouth, and the forces in Kent and Sussex towards Dover. All the sea-ports were shut up, and Strafford made close prisoner. The commons declared, that whosoever should give counsel or assistance to bring any foreign force into the kingdom, unless by command of his majesty, with consent of both houses of parliament, should be adjudged as public enemies to the king and kingdom. The queen having declared her intentions to go to Portsmouth, was addressed by both houses to lay aside her journey.

On the first intimation of a discovery, Piercy concealed himself, and Jermyn fled the kingdom. Proclamations were issued for apprehending the conspirators. Goring delivered his evidence before the house; and Piercy wrote

(*i*) Strafford either being sensible of the bad effects which the king's interfering might have on his fate, or disgusted with the expressions he threw out concerning his conduct, was so much hurt with this step, that he wrote a letter to the king, signifying his wishes that he had left him to the justice of the lords.

(*k*) Clarendon pretends to give the true petition which was presented to the king; but Rapin has shewed, that this petition inserted in the History of the Civil Wars could not be the real one, because it mentions facts which happened after the time the plot was discovered. *Rapin*, vol. xi. p. 134.

(*l*) The preamble to the protestation relates, that the members of the commons' house finding the church in danger from the late bold practices of the adherents to the see of Rome, and that there had been and were endeavours, even during the sitting of parliament, to subvert the fundamental laws of England and Ireland, and to introduce an arbitrary government; that through the unhappy breach of parliaments the subjects had been vexed with divers oppressions, superstition brought into the church, multitudes driven out of his majesty's dominions, a popish army levied in Ireland, and two armies maintained in the bowels of the kingdom, to the consumption of the treasure of the realm; and finding that endeavours have been used to incline the English army to support by force wicked counsels, have, &c. *Rushworth*, vol. iv. p. 241.

a letter

a letter to the earl of Northumberland, confessing all the particulars (*m*): they both agreed in their testimonies with regard to the oath of secrecy, which circumstance was denied by Pollard, Ashburnham, and Wilmot. One captain Billingsley being examined upon oath, confessed that sir John Suckling had offered him promotion; that having notice to attend at the privy lodgings at Whitehall, he there received orders to get an hundred men to serve in the Tower under him, being threatened withal, that if he failed he should answer it with his life. Sir William Balfour, lieutenant of the Tower, deposed, that he had orders to receive captain Billingsley with an hundred men, into the Tower: that at the same time the earl of Strafford informed him of his intended escape; told him, that without his concurrence it could not be done; that if he would consent he would make him present payment of twenty-two thousand pounds, besides a good marriage for his son (*n*): that he, the lieutenant, replied, he was so far from concurring therein, that he was not to be farther moved in such a thing.

An address was presented from the parliament for disarming Papists (*o*), and removing them from court (*p*), and for disbanding the Irish army. Charles answered, that he would take care that there should be no just cause of scandal as to Papists; but he met with difficulties in disbanding the Irish army; that it would become the parliament to begin with disbanding the two armies in England. This answer, as might naturally be expected, exasperated both houses. Tumults daily increased. The frightened citizens were every day alarmed with the account of fresh conspiracies. In Lancashire great multitudes of Papists were gathered together: they held secret meetings, and appointed fasts for the success of some great event; and the priests had the imprudence to declare, that the parliament would soon be dissolved, for the English army was to march up to the assistance of the king, and that they would be joined by French forces. Intelligence was given of provision of arms making beyond sea. Sir Philip Cartwright, governor of Guernsey, wrote word, that he heard the French had a design on that island, or on some part of England. From letters that were stopped going to and coming from France, it appeared, that the earl of Strafford was expected there, and that the cardinal had been solicited to interrupt the proceedings of the parliament (*q*).

Twenty thousand inhabitants of London, of good rank and quality, presented a petition to both houses, that they would determine the fate of Strafford; it complained of grievances unredressed; and that the incendiaries of the kingdom, and other notorious offenders, were left unpunished. The names of the fifty-nine commoners who voted against the bill of attainder, were pasted up under the title of Straffordians, and betrayers of their country. The Spanish ambassador, whose house was a notorious receptacle of Papists, was insulted by the mob. The queen-mother, who remained still in England, was so terrified with the curses and imprecations of the people, that she desired to have a guard: no soldiers could be found who would undertake the employment. This being represented to the house, they agreed, that her person should be protected by a guard, but at the same time desired she might be moved to leave the kingdom, for the quieting of people's jealousies, occasioned by ill instruments about her person, and the flocking of priests and Papists to her house (*r*). The bill of attainder not having yet passed the lords, the people vociferously cried for justice, crouded round that house, and when any one of that body, who were thought not to favour the bill, appeared, they were surrounded by the populace, who professed that they would be governed and disposed by the honourable house of commons, and defend their privileges according to their late protestation. At length, when the dependants on the crown were frightened from their attendance by the rage of the people, the bill of attainder passed, with nineteen dissenting votes, on the 7th of May, the house being composed of forty-five members.

The passing this bill was not the only advantage the popular party gained by the terror and resentment of the public on the discovery of the late plot. All the money for the payment of the armies, and the gratifying the Scots, had been raised in the city of London; some part of it on the credit of particular persons who were members of the lower house. These creditors began now to consider on the desperateness of their situation, if the parliament should be suddenly dissolved before an act passed for their indemnification. The commissaries of the money negociation said, there was no hope of borrowing more money on the slender security of parliament, since it had been found out, by the late discovery of a plot, that there was no good meaning towards that assembly. To obviate these difficulties it was agreed, that a bill should be prepared, that this parliament should not be adjourned, prorogued, or dissolved, but by act of parliament. It was urged, that this expedient was the only way to calm the fears of the people, and satisfy them that the king's intentions were gracious; that for this reason he could never deny his assent. The motion was received with universal approbation: a short bill was prepared, and passed the house with little opposition; the lords proposed an alteration, that the time should be limited, and not be left indefinite; but the commons remaining firm to their own bill, the lords gave up the point, and passed it without any alteration.

While these affairs were carrying on, the king's situation was truly pitiable: the imprudence into which he had been betrayed had raised a ferment through the kingdom, which threatened a dangerous commotion; nor could he, in the present exigencies, find any resource, or security for his personal safety, than that of submitting to the will of the people. The judges, on being consulted, declared the bill was legal, and that the earl was guilty of treason. The privy-council, without one of the body venturing to interpose a contrary opinion, told him, that there was no other way to preserve himself and posterity than by passing the bill of attainder against Strafford: the queen became an importunate solicitor for his death. She was driven to this by her fears, and the artful insinuations of some of her confidants, particularly the earl of Holland, who flattered her with hopes that on the death of Strafford, and Laud, her authority over the king would be yet more absolute, and she might, by interposing her influence towards the obtaining what was so ardently desired by the public, gain some interest with the popular party. The king, in his anxiety of mind, put the case of conscience to several bishops; they applied themselves to remove his scruples: amongst these was Williams, who, notwithstanding his former discouragements and ill usage, cringed

(*m*) The king called God to witness, that he never knew of any design to bring the army up to London. This circumstance carries a strong mark of Charles's character. It appears by this deposition, says Rapin, that such a design was proposed in the assembly of officers, but not approved; so the king could affirm he knew of no such resolution, because, in effect, it was never resolved, though he was not ignorant of its having been proposed.

(*n*) He was offered a daughter of Strafford's for a match with his son. The lord Cottington, constable of the Tower, had mounted artillery on its walls; but on a representation of the commons, the artillery was dismounted, Cottington's command cancelled, and the care of the Tower wholly consigned to Balfour.

(*o*) In the English army there was a troop called Reformadoes. This troop, we apprehend, consisted of men who had renounced popery. The house of commons, however, were jealous of them, and ordered the lord general to disband them. By the same authority, all the officers and common soldiers who were Papists were turned out of the army.

(*p*) The parliament complained, that the proclamation which had issued out on a former petition against Papists was very fallacious and unsatisfactory; that they still obtained letters of grace to protect them; and that a complaint had been made before the judges in the King's-Bench; that there were above six thousand Recusants in one parish. In the heighth of that popular odium which the party of Recusants had incurred, one James, a Papist, assaulted and stabbed with a knife Heywood, a justice of peace, for having prepared a list of Recusants to be presented to the house of commons. This act of violence helped to inflame and alarm the nation to that degree, that Clarendon looks upon it as one of the incidents that hurried on the fate of Strafford.

(*q*) The following are passages of a curious letter written from Father Philips, the queen's confessor, to Wat Mountague, a Papist in France. "The good king and queen are left very naked: the Puritans, if they durst, would pull the good queen in pieces. Can the good king of France suffer a daughter of France, his sister, and her children, to be thus affronted? Can the wise cardinal suffer England and Scotland to unite, and not be able to discern that in the end it is like they will join together, and turn heads against France. A stirring, active ambassador might do good here. I have sent you a copy of the king's speech on Saturday last, at which time he discharged his conscience concerning the earl of Strafford, and was advised to make that speech by the earl of Bristol and lord Saville." *Rushworth*, vol. iv. p. 257.

Father Philips proceeds to give an account of tumults which happened at this time: "The king is much dejected, adds he, the lords much affrighted, which made the citizens and the house of commons shew their heads. Some have braved little less than to dethrone his majesty, who, if he had but an ordinary spirit, might easily suppress and quash these people." *Rushworth*, vol. viii. p. 751.

Clarendon accuses the lord Say of having, with a treacherous design, advised the king to make a speech in favour of Strafford. Father Philips is at this time a better authority for what related to the secrets of the court.

(*r*) Sir John Holland, in a speech he made concerning grievances, complained, that foreigners and strangers were entertained at the excessive charge of the crown. *Parl. Hist.* vol. ix. p. 75.

and fawned to Charles (*s*) and his party, and on these merits was promoted to the archbishopric of York. Williams stated the case to him in the following manner: "Whether, as his majesty refers his own judgement to his judges, in whose person they act in the courts of law, and it lies on them if an innocent man suffer, his majesty may not satisfy his conscience in the present matter; that since competent judges in law have awarded, that they find guilt of treason in the earl, that he may suffer that judgement to stand, though in his private mind he is not satisfied that the lord Strafford is criminous." Charles's scruples, however, were invincible; and he was at length brought to pass the act, though he thought in doing it he committed an unpardonable crime.

It is said, that what led to the determination of the king, was a letter which he received from Strafford, in which he intreated him to put an end to his unfortunate, however innocent, life; and quiet the tumultuous people by granting them that request for which they were so importunate. "My consent, said the writer, will more acquit you to God than all the world can do; beside, to a willing man, there is no injury (*t*). And as, by God's grace, I forgive all the world with a calmness and meekness of infinite contentment to my dislodging soul, so, Sir, to you I can resign the life of this world with all imaginable chearfulness." It is said that this letter was the dictates of despair, and that Strafford had certain intelligence that he should be deprived of his life in the Tower, if the king refused to pass the bill. It is probable, that he wrote the letter with an intention to excite the king to make an effort to save him. It is certain, he shewed signs of disappointment and surprize when he was informed by secretary Carleton, that the king had granted a commission to four lords to pass the bill of attainder. It was with some difficulty that he could believe the fatal tidings; but on being assured of its certainty, he rose up from his chair with marks of astonishment and horror, lifted up his eyes to Heaven, laid his hand on his breast, and exclaimed, "Put not your trust in princes, nor in the sons of men, for in them there is no salvation."

The commissioners appointed to pass the bill of attainder were at the same time empowered to give the royal assent to the bill for the continuance of the parliament. Charles, tortured with the pangs of shame and remorse for the yielding to Strafford's doom, passed this bill without attending to its importance. One fruitless effort was made by the king to save his unfortunate minister: he sent a letter to the lords, desiring that he might fulfil the natural course of his life in a close and perpetual imprisonment, but concludes, "if no less than his life can satisfy my people, I must say *fiat justicia*;" that is, "let justice be done." To this was added a postscript: "If he must die, it were charity to reprieve him till Saturday (*u*)." This letter of intercession, though delivered by the prince of Wales, did not alter the present determination of the lords: they deputed twelve of their house to satisfy the king, that even a delay of Strafford's execution would endanger his own and family's safety. Charles yielded to the necessity of the juncture, and told the lords, that he did not mean to save Strafford to his people's discontent. The 12th of May was appointed for the execution, and Strafford, being sensible that all endeavours to postpone it would be ineffectual, presented a petition to the peers, praying for their intercession with the king in behalf of his children, and prepared himself for death.

In these moments of terror, he wanted that consolation which supports innocence when oppressed by the stroke of power; he wanted that foretaste of glory, which accompanies great characters, when suffering in the cause of virtue; he wanted the compassion of mankind, which commonly attends the distressed. Deprived of these succours, he found in superstition, that cordial to the weak and wicked, ample resources on this tremendous occasion. Strafford, in the course of his administration, had been a great promoter of what was called the cause of God; *viz.* the interest of the church: many of his oppressions in his Irish government were committed with a view to enrich churchmen, and exalt the power of the hierarchy. This was regarded by Laud as the most orthodox of Christian virtues. Although Strafford had directed his conduct in this point to the sole view of promoting his interest with this prelate, yet he flattered himself he had attained great merit in having been a promoter of the glory of the church; and, as his oppressions on this head were part of his accusation, he esteemed himself a kind of martyr to the cause of God. The day before his execution he had earnestly sollicited an interview with Laud; on being denied, he sent him a message, that he desired his prayers that night, and his blessing on the morning.

In passing from his apartment to Tower Hill, he stopped under Laud's windows, and entreated the assistance of his prayers in those aweful moments which were approaching. A very tender scene passed between these fellow-sufferers, who had been associates in power: the aged prelate, dissolved in tears, pronounced, with a broken voice, a blessing on his departing friend and convert; then, over-pressed with the tide of sorrow, sunk down in the arms of his attendants. Strafford, with a determined countenance, marched on to meet his fate: archbishop Usher, primate of Ireland, attended him on the scaffold. On seeing his brother sir George Wentworth weeping, he told him not to lament, but rejoice in his innocence and approaching happiness; that no thoughts of envy, no dreams of treason, jealousies, or cares for the king or state, or for himself, would interrupt that easy sleep. He then kneeled down, and, in a solemn manner, made a protestation, that as far as he could understand he was not guilty of the crime laid to his charge, nor ever had intention to prejudice the king, the state, the laws, or the religion of the kingdom. He desired leave to make a speech to the people: in this speech he asserted, that he was very far from being against parliaments, and did always think parliaments to be the happy constitution of the king and kingdom, and the best means under God to make the king and his people happy. He professed, that he was an obedient son of the church of England, and wished prosperity and happiness might ever attend her. He sent a charge to his son to prove a faithful subject to the king, and to beware of meddling with church-livings, for that would prove a canker to him in his estate; and advised him to be a servant to his country, as a justice of peace in his own country, not aiming at higher preferments. Having bid a last adieu to his brother, and the friends who attended him, and sent a blessing to his absent relations, he added, "I have now nigh done; one stroke will make my wife a widow, my dear children fatherless, deprive my poor servants of their indulgent master, and separate me from my affectionate brother and all my friends: but let God be to you and them all in all." On preparing himself for the block, he said, "I thank God I am no way afraid of death, nor am daunted with any terrors, but do as chearfully lay down my head at this time, as ever I did when going to repose." The executioner performed his fatal office with one blow (*v*).

Thus, by the stroke of justice and the voice of his country, in the forty-ninth year of his age, died Thomas viscount Wentworth, earl of Strafford. This nobleman was one of the heroes of the monarchical party, and most historians agree that he was a great man; but none of them have taken pains to delineate his character, or tell us what were the eminent qualities of his head or heart, which constitute that greatness. It has been alledged, that Strafford was a great statesman, a character of the highest estimation in its just sense: but in that exalted appella-

(*s*) Besides the prosecutions already mentioned, Laud had entered another against this prelate, in order to degrade him. Williams appealed to a parliament; but the difficulties of the ministry increasing, the affair was dropped. Williams had lain above three years and a half in the Tower when this parliament met: he in vain petitioned the king for his liberty, and his writ as a peer to sit in parliament. The house of lords, sixteen days after their meeting, sent an order to the lieutenant of the Tower to deliver him, and he was conducted by their usher to the house. Williams had drawn up a history of his sufferings, with an intention to present it to the parliament; but he no sooner was in a capacity to perform servile offices for the crown, than he opposed all the popular motions in a manner which at length drew some civilities from the king, who sent to confer with him concerning his affairs, directed all orders filed against him to be erased, and promoted him to the see of York. *Hacket's Life of Williams*, fol. & oct. ed.

(*t*) The king had sent a letter to Strafford during his confinement, in which he assured him, upon the word of a king, that he should not suffer in life, honour, or fortune. *Strafford's Letter*, vol. ii. p. 416.

(*u*) Burnet says, that he was told by Hollis himself, whose sister Strafford had married, that he drew up a petition for Strafford, and a speech for the king to make to both houses in his favour; that the queen not only prevented the king going to the parliament, and changed the speech into a message, but prevailed with him to add the postscript, "If he must die, it were charity to reprieve him till Saturday." *Burnet's History of His Own Times*, vol. i. p. 82.

(*v*) A few weeks after the earl of Strafford's execution, the parliament remitted to his children the more severe consequences of his sentence: and the first parliament after the restoration of Charles the Second, reversed the bill of attainder.

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tion, nothing more is meant by the vulgar, than being a proficient in the narrow circle of ministerial artifice, the abilities of a Scapin to cheat the credulous and unwary! A knowledge in the extensive science of politics, the different constitutions of different societies, the just interests of nations, and the operative effect which political institutions have on the public weal, when united to a head and a heart capable of employing it to the real service of mankind, constitute the character of a great statesman. In the latter sense Strafford will be found extremely deficient; in the other he must be allowed to excel. His talents were of that inferior kind, which are always found united to a base mind: the badness of his judgement had so corrupted his heart, that at the time when he was engaged in the defence of the liberty of his country, he does not seem to have been actuated by any just, honest, or liberal principle. He was too ignorant of the nature of the constitution, and the laws of England, to form a right judgement of the state of the question between the king and his people; and entered into the quarrel with a factious view to oppose particular persons to whom he had an inveterate enmity, and to make himself of consequence enough to be noticed by the ministry. His patriotism dissolved on the first beam of court favour; he was intoxicated on the first taste of power, and became a more bold and zealous instrument of tyranny than any minister this country ever produced. He was of a revengeful, insolent disposition; but his supreme vice was an insatiable ambition, directed to false and unlawful objects. Among his weaknesses we may reckon his vanity: this was the source from whence flowed his crimes, and this the prime cause of his misfortunes. No instance can give us a juster idea to what a height he possessed this folly, than his persecution of many people for not complying with those servile ceremonies which he imagined due to his authority. His revival of several foppish formalities of state, during his command in Ireland, is another example of the same kind. In all his letters to the king, and his patron Laud, he assumed to himself great merit and importance; whilst he degraded the services of every other man, excepting those of his own creatures. His behaviour was insolent to his fellow-subjects, and abject to his prince. He was continually stimulating him to acts of tyranny, by representing, in phrases bombast, the sublimity of his power, and that it was necessary to curb the insolent opposition of his subjects, by severe and vigorous measures. Laud he constantly courted, because he knew the absolute power this prelate had obtained over the king. Such was the man whom the world has loaded with applause. His talents as an orator have been much admired: the conclusion of his defence is infinitely preferable to any other of his productions of this kind. In his general style of writing and speaking there is an insolence, a petulance, a quaintness, which mark the genius and disposition of the man, and which ran through the whole tenor of his conduct. The criminality and arrogance of his behaviour rendered him so dangerous and noxious, that no less than three kingdoms engaged with warmth in his prosecution; and the sentence of death passed upon him appeared to give general satisfaction.

Charles now expected, as a return for this instance of compliance with the will of the parliament, that they would show him some indulgence, and fall into that unanimity, to which, at the expence of his own power, and of his friend's life, he so earnestly courted them: but in this he was disappointed; for the attempt to engage the army against them served with many as a confirmation of their idea that he wanted cordiality. It was natural for the king to seek some resource, while all the world seemed to desert him, or combine against him; and this probably was the utmost of that embryo-scheme which was formed with regard to the army. But the popular leaders still insisted, that a desperate plot was laid to bring up the forces immediately, and offer violence to the parliament. By means, however, of these suspicions, was the same implacable spirit still kept alive; and the commons proceeded to carry their inroads with great vigour into the king's now defenceless prerogative (*w*).

The two ruling passions of this parliament were, zeal for liberty, and an aversion to the church; and to both of these nothing could appear more exceptionable than the court of high commission, whose institution rendered it entirely arbitrary, and assigned to it the defence of the ecclesiastical establishment. The star-chamber also was a court which exerted high discretionary powers; and had no precise rule or limit, either with regard to the causes which came under its jurisdiction, or the decisions which it formed. A bill unanimously passed the houses to abolish these two courts; and in them, to annihilate the principal and most dangerous articles of the king's prerogative. By the same bill, the jurisdiction of the council was regulated, and its authority abridged (*x*). Charles hesitated before he gave his assent. But finding that he had gone too far to retreat, and that he possessed no resource in case of a rupture, he at last affixed the royal sanction to this excellent bill. But to show the parliament that he was sufficiently apprized of the importance of his grant, he observed to them, that this statute altered in a great measure the fundamental laws, ecclesiastical and civil, which many of his predecessors had established (*y*).

By removing the star-chamber, the king's power of binding the people by his proclamations was indirectly abolished; and that important branch of prerogative, the strong symbol of arbitrary power, and unintelligible in a limited constitution, being at last removed, left the system of government more consistent and uniform. The star-chamber alone was accustomed to punish infractions of the king's edicts: but as no courts of judicature now remained, except those in Westminster Hall, which take cognizance only of common and statute law, the king may thenceforth issue proclamations, but no man is bound to obey them. It must, however, be confessed, that the experiment here made by the parliament, was not a little rash and adventurous. No government at that time appeared in the world, nor is perhaps to be found in the records of any history, which subsisted without the mixture of some arbitrary authority, committed to some magistrate; and it might reasonably, before-hand, appear doubtful, whether human society could ever reach that state of perfection, as to support itself with no other control than the general and rigid maxims of law and equity. But the parliament justly thought, that the king was too eminent a magistrate to be trusted with discretionary power, which he might so easily turn to the destruction of liberty. And in the event it has hitherto been found, that, though some sensible inconveniences arise from the maxim of adhering strictly to law, yet the advantages overbalance them, and should render the English grateful to the memory of their ancestors, who, after repeated contests, at last established that noble though dangerous principle. At the request of the parliament, Charles, instead of the patents during pleasure, gave all the judges patents during their good behaviour: a circumstance of the greatest moment towards securing their independency, and barring the entrance of arbitrary power into the ordinary courts of judicature.

The marshal's court, which took cognizance of offensive words, and was not thought sufficiently limited by law, was also, for that reason, abolished. The stannary courts, which exercised jurisdiction over the miners, being liable to a like objection, underwent a similar fate. The abolition of the council of the north and the council of Wales followed from the same principles. The authority of the clerk of the market, who had a general inspection over the weights and measures throughout the kingdom, was transferred to the mayors, sheriffs, and ordinary magistrates.

In short, if we take a survey of the transactions of this memorable parliament, during the first period of its operations, we shall find that, excepting Strafford's attainder, which many consider as a complication of justice and iniquity, their merits in other respects so much outweigh their mistakes, so as to entitle them to praise from all lovers of liberty. Not only were former abuses remedied, and grievances redressed: great provision, for the future, was made by law against the return of like complaints. And if the means, by which they obtained such advantages, savour often of artifice, sometimes of violence; it is to be considered, that revolutions of government cannot be effected by mere force of argument and reasoning; and that factions being once excited, men can neither so firmly regulate the tempers of others, nor their own, as to ensure themselves against all exorbitances.

The parliament now came to a pause. The king had promised his Scottish subjects, that he would this summer

(*w*) Clarendon, vol. i. p. 266. (*x*) Idem, ibid. p. 282, 284. Whitlocke, p. 47. Rushworth, vol. iii. p. 1383, 1384.

(*y*) Rushworth, vol. v. p. 307.

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pay them a visit, in order to settle their government; and though the English parliament was extremely importunate with him, that he should lay aside that journey; they could not prevail with him so much as to delay it. The king therefore set out on the 8th of August on his journey to Scotland. As he must necessarily in his passage have gone through the troops of both nations, the commons seem to have entertained great jealousy on that account, and to have now hurried on, as much as they formerly delayed, the disbanding of the armies. The arrears therefore of the Scots were fully paid them; and those of the English in part. The Scots returned home, and the English were separated into their several counties, and dismissed.

The parliament then, on the 9th of September, adjourned to the 20th of October; and a committee of both houses, a thing unprecedented, was appointed to sit during the recess, with very ample powers. Pym was elected chairman of the committee of the lower house. Farther attempts were made by the parliament, while it sat, and even by the commons alone, for assuming sovereign executive powers, and publishing their ordinances instead of laws. The committee too, on their part, was ready to imitate the example.

A small committee of both houses was appointed to attend the king into Scotland, that they might have an opportunity, as was pretended, of seeing that the articles of pacification were executed; but the fact seems to be that they were intended as spies upon him, and with a view to extend still farther the ideas of parliamentary authority, as well as to eclipse the majesty of the king (z).

Endeavours were used, before Charles's departure, to have a protector of the kingdom appointed, with a power to pass laws without having recourse to the king. So little regard did the parliament now pay to royal authority, or to the established constitution of the kingdom.

The Scots, who began these fatal commotions, thought that they had finished a very perilous undertaking, much to their profit and reputation. Besides the large pay voted them for lying in good quarters during a twelvemonth, the English parliament had conferred on them a present of three hundred thousand pounds for their brotherly assistance. In the articles of pacification, they were declared to have ever been good subjects; and their military expeditions were approved of, as enterprizes calculated and intended for his majesty's honour and advantage. To carry farther the triumph over their sovereign, these terms, so ignominious to him, were ordered, by a vote of parliament, to be read in all churches, upon a day of thanksgiving, appointed for the national pacification: all their claims for the restriction of prerogative were agreed to be ratified: and what they more valued than all these advantages; they had a near prospect of spreading the presbyterian discipline in England and Ireland. Never did refined Athens so exult in diffusing the sciences and liberal arts over a savage world; never did generous Rome so please herself in the view of law and order established by her victorious arms; as the Scots now rejoiced, in communicating zeal and theological fervour to the neighbouring nations.

Charles, despoiled in England of a considerable part of his authority, and dreading still farther encroachments upon him, arrived in Scotland, on the 14th of August, with an intention, says Hume, of abdicating almost entirely the small share of power which there remained to him, and of giving full satisfaction, if possible, to his restless subjects in that kingdom.

The lords of articles were an ancient institution in the Scottish parliament. They were constituted after this manner. The temporal lords chose eight bishops: the bishops elected eight temporal lords: these sixteen named eight commissioners of counties, and eight burgesses: and without the previous consent of the thirty-two, who were denominated lords of articles, no motion could be made in parliament. As the bishops were entirely devoted to the court, it is evident that all the lords of articles, by necessary consequence, depended on the king's nomination; and the prince, besides one negative after the bills had passed through parliament, possessed indirectly another before their introduction; a prerogative of much greater consequence than the former. The bench of bishops being now abolished, the parliament laid hold of the opportunity, and totally set aside the lords of articles: and till this important point was obtained, the nation, properly speaking, could not be said to enjoy any regular freedom.

Notwithstanding this institution, the royal authority was always deemed much lower in Scotland than in England. Bacon represents it as one advantage to be expected from the union, that the too extensive prerogative of England would be abridged by the example of Scotland, and the too narrow prerogative of Scotland be enlarged from the imitation of England. The English were, at that time, a civilized people, and obedient to the laws: but among the Scots, it was of little consequence how the laws were framed, or by whom voted, while the aristocracy had it so much in their power to prevent their regular execution.

The peers and commons formed only one house in the Scottish parliament: and as it had been the practice of James, continued by Charles, to grace English gentlemen with Scottish titles, all the determinations of parliament, it was to be feared, would in time depend upon the prince, by means of these votes of foreigners, who had no interest or property in the nation. It was therefore a law deserving approbation, that no man should be created a Scotch peer, who possessed not ten thousand marks (above six hundred pounds) of annual rent in the kingdom.

A law for triennial parliaments was likewise passed; and it was ordained, that the last act of every parliament should be to appoint the time and place for holding the parliament next ensuing. The king was deprived of that power, formerly exercised, of issuing proclamations, which enjoined obedience, under the penalty of treason: a prerogative which invested him with the whole legislative authority, even in matters of the highest importance.

But the most fatal blow given to royal authority, and what in a manner dethroned the prince, was the article, that no member of the privy council, in whose hands, during the king's absence, the whole administration lay, no officer of state, none of the judges, should be appointed but by advice and approbation of parliament. Charles even agreed to deprive of their seats, four judges who had adhered to his interests; and their place was supplied by others more agreeable to the ruling party. Several of the covenanters were also sworn of the privy council. And all the ministers of state, counsellors, and judges, were, by law, to hold their places during life or good behaviour.

The king, while in Scotland, conformed himself entirely to the established church; and assisted with great appearing gravity, at the long prayers and longer sermons which the presbyterians were accustomed to use. He bestowed pensions and preferments on Henderson, Gillespy, and other popular preachers; and practised every seeming art to soften, if not to gain, his greatest enemies. The earl of Argyle was created a marquis, lord Loudon an earl, Lesley was dignified with the title of earl of Leven. His friends, he was obliged, for the present, to neglect and overlook: some of them were disgusted; and his enemies were not reconciled; but ascribed all his caresses and favours to artifice and necessity; in which, perhaps, they were not far from the truth.

Argyle, Lanert, and Hamilton, being seized with an apprehension that the earl of Crawfurd and others meant to assassinate them, left the parliament suddenly, and retired into the country. They had very good reasons for their apprehensions; for Montrose had the villainy to suggest to the king, that it would be for his interest to procure the murder of Argyle and the two brothers; and even offered himself to undertake the execution of the scheme. But upon invitation and assurances, returned in a few days. This event was commonly denominated the *incident*. But though the incident had no effect in Scotland, it was attended with serious consequences in England. The English parliament, which assembled on the 20th of October, being willing to awaken the people's tenderness by exciting their fears, immediately took the alarm; as if the malignants, (for by that appellation they called the king's party,) had laid a plot at once to murder them and all the godly in both kingdoms. They applied, therefore, to Essex, whom the king had left general in the south of England; and he ordered a guard to attend them.

But while the king was employed in pacifying the commotions in Scotland, and was preparing to return to England, in order, as he pretended, to apply himself to the same salutary work in that kingdom; he received intelligence of a dangerous rebellion broken out in Ireland, with

(z) The earl of Bedford, lord Howard, sir Philip Stapleton, sir William Armyne, Fiennes, and Hampden, were the persons chosen.

circumstances of the utmost horror, bloodshed, and devastation. On every side this unfortunate prince was pursued with murmurs, discontent, faction, and civil wars; and the fire from all quarters, even by the most independent accidents, at once blazed up about him.

To secure the dominion of Ireland to the British crown, those lands which had been forfeited by rebellion, and others fraudulently and forcibly obtained from the inhabitants, were conferred on British planters, who, allured by gain, had gone over in large colonies to settle in that country. The old Irish held their property by a whimsical tenure, called Tanistry. Individuals had no hereditary right: a whole sept, or clan, had a title to a whole territory; these used to chuse the chieftain (*a*), who took upon him the title of king, or lord: he, thus elected, had the seignory of all the lands within his territory, with a power to make an arbitrary distribution to his vassals (*b*), who were all tenants in villanage, and were neither qualified to be sworn on juries, or to perform any public service. The chieftain himself held the seignory but for life (*c*), and each new lord had the power to make a new distribution according to his pleasure. Thus, neither the descendants of the chieftains or vassals had a right to particular lands; but, as the lord was always chosen out of the principal branches of the sept, the immediate descendants of the old chieftains fancied they had a right to these seignories, and fondly imagined, if they could throw off their dependance on the state of England, matters would be adjusted to their satisfaction. As, from the uncertainty of the estates of the old Irish, they neglected to build, or improve their lands, and were in a manner disunited from the government, by an immediate and absolute dependance on their chiefs, who governed them in an arbitrary manner, inflicting on them what punishments they pleased. In the reign of James and Charles it was the particular care of the lieutenants and governors of that country to obtain surrenders, and re-grant them on English tenures (*d*). Sir Arthur Chichester, lieutenant of Ireland in king James's time, coming into his government with the advantage of a subdued rebellion, went great lengths towards the entire destruction of the Irish lordships. The customs of Tanistry and the Brehon law (*e*) were in all their branches abolished; he offered the protection of the English laws to all the natives; sent judges into every county of Ireland; appointed sheriffs; prohibited the chieftains from tyrannizing over their tenants; and directed these, if they met with oppression, to complain to the ministers of justice. Steps were daily taken by the government to secure the property, as well as protect the persons, of these barbarians; yet such was their ignorance, that they disdained these offers, and envied the possessions of the British, whom they looked on as robbers and invaders; notwithstanding that the instructions they had received in tillage, buildings, manufactures, and other civilized arts, was a large return for their uncultivated lands. It was not only those who aspired to seignories that kept up a spirit of discontent among the wild Irish, but the priests, who, though, during the reigns of James and Charles, they had been indulged with a connivance amounting to a toleration (*f*), yet, as they were deprived of their ecclesiastical revenues, they took effectual means to communicate their displeasure, and prevent any cordial reconciliation between the old and new inhabitants. The successive administrations of Chichester, Grandison, and Falkland, though attended with some circumstances arbitrary and unjust, had been upon the whole very advantageous to the native Irish, and the favourable inclination of the Stuart family to the principles of the Roman Catholic faith had occasioned them uncommon indulgences in the article of religion; yet such was the power, and such the intriguing spirit of the priests, that in the short space between the years 1603 and 1615, three different conspiracies were raised against the English government (*g*).

When the earl of Strafford was entrusted with the administration of the affairs of Ireland, he, for the better accomplishment of his purpose to establish a tyranny, endeavoured to make a balance in parliament between the Protestants and Papists, that both parties, intent on thwarting each other, and thus diverted from the objects of their mutual interest, might become an easy prey. By his means the recusants were not only possessed of an equal share of the legislative power, but were treated with more mildness and distinction than the dissenters. Notwithstanding these advantages, so obvious grew his diabolical purpose, so tyrannical were the means he was necessitated to use, such was the provoking insolence of the man, that these very Papists on whom he seemed to have conferred obligations, these very Papists whom he judged the most proper to be trusted with arms to scourge the Scots for their endeavours to maintain their liberty, these very Papists for whose ease and emolument he had so heavily taxed the Protestants (*h*), joined in the prosecution against him, and became the chief instruments of his being brought to the block. The difficulties with which the king, by his ill conduct, was entangled, proved as advantageous to Irish as to British liberty. The English house of commons, by the good correspondence they maintained with the Irish committee, who were all of them papists, shewed, that they looked on that privilege to be the common right of men of all persuasions, and that they took a brotherly concern in the interest of that conquered country. By means of this encouragement and protection, the Irish obtained advantages beyond their most sanguine hopes: the list of grievances their committee had brought over were considered by the king and his privy-council, now composed of those popular noblemen, Manchester, Essex, Warwick, Say, and other members of respectable characters: by their influence, the Irish obtained a favourable answer to almost all their demands (*i*). These were but the first-fruits of what might be expected from

(*a*) These elections were generally obtained by force and violence.

(*b*) He might make new distributions as often as he pleased; nor were these tenants in villanage more secure in the possession of their goods and chattels, or even of their wives, than of their lands; these being all liable to be taken away at the pleasure of the lord. *Carte's Life of Ormond*, vol. i. p. 13.

(*c*) The estates that were held by the chieftains were annexed to the seignory, and did not descend by inheritance. *Carte's Life of Ormond*, vol. i. p. 13.

(*d*) The civilizing or governing of Ireland was so little attended to by the predecessors of the Stuart family, that all intercourse between the natives and the English was by law forbidden, lest the English should degenerate into Irish manners. On subdued rebellions the Irish were re-granted their lands on their own barbarous tenures; and that country having been chiefly conquered by private adventurers of the English nation, these were permitted to establish separate jurisdictions and principalities.

(*e*) By the Brehon law, no crime, however enormous, was punished by death. Murder itself was atoned for by a pecuniary mulct, and each man, according to his rank, had a different rate affixed to him. *Hume's Hist. of James I.*

(*f*) Papists were not only in a manner tolerated, but many of them were admitted to lucrative employments in the state and army, were indulged with the more substantial advantages of purchasing and inheriting lands, of sitting as jurors on the determination of life and property, of voting for representatives in parliament, and even having seats in both houses themselves. They practised at the bar, they were promoted in the law, they obtained peerages, and almost every indulgence in common with the Protestant subject. Clarendon gives the following testimony of the indulgence with which they were treated. "It cannot be denied, that the whole nation enjoyed an undisturbed exercise of their religion. Even in Dublin, where the seat of the king's chief governor was, they went as publicly and uninterruptedly to their devotions as he went to his. The bishops, priests, and all degrees and orders of secular and regular clergy, were known to exercise their functions among them; and though there were some laws against them still in force, yet they were so rebated by the clemency of the king, that no man could say he had suffered prejudice or disturbance in or for his religion." To such a degree did royal indulgence extend to the Irish Papists, that the fifth of November was forbidden to be celebrated in that country, lest it should give them offence. *Borlace's Hist. of the Irish Insurrection*, p. 17. *Temple's Hist. of the Irish Rebellion*, p. 24. *Fiction Unmasked*, a tract published in 1752, p. 45. *Clarendon's Vindication of the Duke of Ormond*, 8vo. ed. 1756, p. 8. *& seq.*

(*g*) In the year 1626, on the accession of Charles to the throne, pope Urban VIII. sent a bull directed to the catholic subjects of Great Britain, exhorting them rather to lose their lives than to take that noxious and unlawful oath of allegiance, by which the sacred sceptre of the universal church might be plucked out of the hands of the vicars of God. *Fiction Unmasked*, p. 46.

(*h*) A round tax used to be gathered from the Papists, as a penalty for their not attending the public service of the established church. This Strafford more than made up to the king, by screwing up the subsidies to an exorbitant sum.

(*i*) Subsidies were to be assessed with moderation and equality; a free regress out of Ireland was granted; the rates of customs on goods were to be settled at five *per cent.*; the duty on French wines to be referred to the parliament; the extra-judicial proceedings of the council-board and castle-chamber were to be prohibited for the present, and a future regulation made, according to what was done in England; all monopolies were to be cancelled; the high-commission court suspended; gunpowder was to be sold by the subject in Ireland, at the same rate it was sold in England; the restraint on hawking and hunting was to be forborne; the votes of the privy-counsellors to be free; the regulation of fees in the civil and ecclesiastical courts, and those of the custom house officers, were to be determined by parliament: wool was to be transported into England without licence; wearing apparel and horses, for the use of private persons, were to be brought in and out custom-free;

from the favourable disposition of public affairs, and the hearty concurrence of the English reformers in not only redressing all grievances, but in laying a firm establishment for an exalted system of liberty.

When the earl of Strafford was summoned to fight against the Scots, he left the government of Ireland, with the title of deputy, to his creature Wandesford, the master of the rolls. Wandesford, observing that the current ran strong against his patron, prorogued the parliament, and attempted to stop their committee from repairing to England; but, on the interposition of the English house of commons, was commanded to give way. On the prosecution of Strafford, Wandesford died of fear and vexation. Sir William Parsons, master of the wards, and sir John Borlasse, master of the ordnance, men at this time very agreeable to the Irish committee, were invested with the government (*k*), under the title of lords justices: they were united to the prevailing party in the English parliament, and strongly abetted the popular interest in Ireland. They admitted the abatement of the subsidy from forty thousand pounds to twelve thousand; prohibited the handling of civil causes at the council board; expedited the drawing of the bills obtained by the Irish committee; and gave every encouragement to the parliament in the work of legal reformation. The house of commons in Ireland seem to have imbibed from the English a spirit utterly unknown to their rude and servile ancestors: they put twenty-four queries to the judges concerning the state of law in Ireland; but the judges not caring to condemn themselves, and render their past conduct subject to impeachment, gave unsatisfactory answers: this produced twenty-one spirited declarations.

The university at Dublin did not escape these diligent inquisitions into grievances. Strafford, who had left the stain of imperious will in every department of government, innovated the settled regulations of the university of Dublin: Laud, for this purpose, was chosen chancellor: he drew up a body of statutes on the same arbitrary plan as he had done those of Oxford. The Irish house of commons appointed a select committee to examine the charters of the college, and statutes in force: they excepted against many of them, passed a vote in condemnation of the government of the university, authorised a committee to propose out of the old statutes a new draught, and forbid the provost and fellows to make any elections, or to grant any leases until they had authority from parliament.

Thus was the state of liberty in Ireland attended with those additional blessings, plenty, peace, and security. Trade and manufactures flourished; taxes and contributions were now in a manner unknown to the happy subjects. Nature, admitting the improvements of art, adorned the fertile soil with a new face of beauty; whilst the enjoyment of these benefits was heightened by the conscious pleasure that law had rendered them permanent.

the tenures of fairs and markets were to be determined upon a special verdict by the judges of the King's Bench; the assessing and billeting of soldiers to be restrained according to law; *quo warranto's* not to be sued but upon just causes, otherwise reparation to be made by the king's officers to the party aggrieved; the power of provosts marshal to be limited, and exercised only upon proclaimed rebels, or to bring in offenders to be answerable to the law; the proceedings of the court of Wards and Castle-chamber to be regulated according to the course of the Star-chamber and court of Wards in England. An act of parliament was to pass, to limit the title of the clergy to forty years; all parties, who had been constrained by Strafford to give up impropriated tythes and lands to the church, were to commence suits for the recovery of their rights, without any interposition of authority. By the advice of the privy council, all the graces, the establishment of which had been heretofore promised, but shamefully eluded by Strafford, were to be confirmed by parliament: in these were concluded the limiting the title of the crown to sixty years, and for securing the estates of the inhabitants of Connaught, and the counties of Clare, Limerick, and Tipperary; consequently the intended plantation was to be discharged, and by bill to be declared void. Votes of peers in parliament were restrained to those possessed of a certain portion of lands in Ireland; a baron two hundred a-year, a viscount four hundred, and an earl six hundred; this body of men were likewise to be indulged with an act, enforcing some trifling yet pleasing regulations for ranking in parliament. *Carte's Life of Ormond*, vol. i. p. 140, *& seq.*

(*k*) The king would have appointed Ormond, another creature of Strafford's, and especially recommended by him, to the office of deputy; but the Irish committee would not give way to it, nor to the appointment of lord Dillon, who had engrafted himself by marriage into the Wentworth family with the earl of Strafford's sister, and had been active in some of the late illegal proceedings. *Carte's Life of Ormond*, p. 116. *Borlace*, p. 6.

(*l*) Such was the advantage that the native Irish found from English commerce and cohabitation, that many of the Irish chieftains turned their Irish tenants out of their lands, and took in English; who not only improved their farms, but were able to give better rents; on the other hand, the English, because they could be served at a cheaper rate, employed the Irish. *Temple's History of the Irish Rebellion*, ed. 1746, p. 24, *& seq.*

The old and new inhabitants, Protestants and Papists, were equal partakers of these advantages (*l*), and linked together in the strong tie of interest. Nor was this the only balsam to heal ancient animosities; the yet more powerful influence of social converse, alliance, inter-marriage, and consanguinity, had operated for the course of many years. Such was the seeming harmony which reigned in this country between papist and protestant, that it gave no umbrage to the latter that the former now enjoyed the privilege of practising at the bar as lawyers, acting in the capacity of sheriffs, and other magistracies, without taking the oath of supremacy; and that priests were as open in the exercise of their religion as the Protestant clergy: nor did the English parliament shew at this juncture any distaste at these immunities.

This was but a short-lived calm, a fatal state of fond security, by which the working heads of ambitious priests were able to introduce more diabolical mischiefs than perverted religion, in the most depraved state of man, had ever yet effected. Roger More, a man of indigent fortune, yet swollen with fanciful ideas of greatness derived from family descent, and Owen O'Neal, a colonel in the Spanish service, were the men who first formed a project to expel the English, and assert the independence of Ireland (*m*). The plan was proposed to lord Macguire and sir Phelim O'Neale, two other dissolute adventurers, then to all the Irish chieftains, who readily embraced the proposal, on receiving intelligence, from Toole O'Connolly, a priest, that Owen O'Neal would be with them with his regiment of Irish Papists fifteen days after the rising. They were likewise assured by More, that the Irish of the pale (*n*), or the old English, being all of them Papists, would join their brethren; that the Irish officers in the Spanish service had promised assistance; the pope would supply money; cardinal Richelieu had given assurance of a powerful aid (*o*); and the Spanish ambassador had declared, that they should not fail of succours from Spain (*p*). It was resolved, that the castle of Dublin should be seized (*q*) by Macguire, Macmahon (*r*), More, Plunket, Paul O'Neal, an active priest, and others; whilst, on the same day, the rest of the adventurers undertook to seize the castles and forts of the several provinces. On the 22nd of October, the day preceding that assigned for the enterprize (*s*), the city of Dublin was full of conspirators. The lords justices had received some dark and general hints that schemes of importance were transacting among the Irish; but such was that apparent harmony and union of interest between the Protestants and Papists, that the intelligence was totally disregarded. One O'Conolly, an Irishman and a Protestant, was trusted with the secret: at almost the very period of its intended execution, he discovered it to the justices: the justices fled for safety to the castle, reinforced the guards, and gave the alarm to the town. Macguire and Macmahon were taken. The discovery of a general insurrection and massacre was extorted from these criminals,

(*m*) In the year 1639, Strafford had the intimation of a plot that was intended against the Protestants in Ireland; but not finding it ripe for execution, and not caring at that critical time to raise any apprehensions of a body of men he intended to arm, he gave the messenger who brought him the information a reward, and charged him to conceal the matter, and never again appear in that capacity. During the time that Strafford was in Ireland, his chief comrade was sir Toby Mathews, one of the most turbulent of the English Jesuits. *The Plot or Progress of the Irish Rebellion*, a pamphlet printed in 1644. *Carte's Life of Ormond*, p. 155.

(*n*) What is called the English Pale is a large circuit of land possessed by the English at the time of the first conquest of Ireland, and, till the period now treated of, inhabited by them. *Temple's History of the Irish Rebellion*, 4to. ed. 1724, p. 33.

(*o*) Cardinal Richelieu had formerly promised Tyrone to assist him in an enterprize on Ireland, as soon as the wars in Italy were over. *Macguire's Evidence. Nalson*, vol. i. p. 549.

(*p*) The Spanish ambassador told colonel Bourn, an Irishman, that if the Irish Papists would take advantage of the times, and rise, their messengers for supply would be received in Spain under canopies of gold. *Macguire's Evidence. Nalson*, vol. i. p. 548.

(*q*) The execution of such a design would have been easy: there were no fortifications about the city and suburbs; the lords justices, out of a due regard to the privileges of the inhabitants, had taken care not to quarter any soldiers in the town, though it contained fifteen Papists to one Protestant. Thus the guarding of the castle was consigned to the care of eight warders, old and weak men, and forty halberdiers. *Carte's Life of Ormond*, vol. i. p. 168, *& seq.*

(*r*) Macmahon was grandson to the earl of Tyrone

(*s*) The commencement of this revolt was fixed to the winter season, when it would be difficult to transport troops from England.

minals (*t*), but too late to prevent the execution. Sir Phelim O'Neal, and the rest of the infernal gang, were barbarously punctual to the villainies they had promised to perform. The persons, houses, cattle, and goods of the English were seized; an universal massacre ensued (*u*); nor age, nor sex, nor infancy were spared; all conditions were involved in the general ruin. In vain did the unhappy victim appeal to the sacred ties of humanity, hospitality, family connection, and all the tender obligations of social commerce; companions, friends, relations, not only denied protection, but dealt with their own hands the fatal blow. In vain did the pious son plead for his devoted parent; himself was doomed to suffer a more premature mortality. In vain did the tender mother attempt to soften the obdurate heart of the assassin, in behalf of her helpless children; she was reserved to behold them cruelly butchered, and then to undergo a like fate. The weeping wife, lamenting over the mangled carcase of her husband, experienced a death no less horrid than that which she deplored. This scene of blood received yet a deeper stain from the wanton exercise of more execrable cruelty than had ever yet occurred to the warm and fertile imagination of Eastern barbarians. Women, whose feeble minds received a yet stronger impression of religious frenzy (*v*), were more ferocious than the men; and children, excited by the example and exhortation of their parents, stained their innocent age with the blackest deeds of human butchery (*w*). The persons of the English were not the only victims to the general rage: their commodious houses and magnificent buildings were either consumed with fire, or laid level with the ground. Their cattle, though now part of the possession of their murderers, because they had belonged to abhorred heretics, were either killed outright (*x*), or covered with wounds, turned loose into woods and desarts, there to abide a lingering painful end (*y*). This amazing unexpected scene of horror was yet heightened by the bitter revilings, imprecations, threats, and insults, which every where resounded in the ears of the astonished English. Their sighs, groans, shrieks, cries, and bitter lamentations, were answered with "Spare neither man, woman, nor child; the English are meat for dogs; there shall not be one drop of English blood left within the kingdom." Nor did there want the most barbarous insults and exultation, on beholding those expressions of agonizing pain which a variety of torments extorted. This was the scene which Ulster produced.

In the other provinces, where they professed humanity, they committed many acts of blood and cruelty, and not only expelled the English their houses, despoiled them of their goods, wasted their lands, but stripped them naked, and turned them out to the severities of a very sharp season. Among the multitudes that experienced this treatment, the greater number, through feebleness of age, or sex, or constitution, sunk under the rigour of cold and hunger; many of those who reached Dublin died of the diseases they had contracted, notwithstanding great care and application were used to recover them; others, of keen sensations, reflecting on the horror of their fate, from a state of plenty reduced to all the miseries of poverty, with the additional loss of parents, husbands, wives, and children, abandoning themselves to despair, refused all resource but death, the only relief that could be found for such multiplied calamities (*z*). Nor was the exercise of rapine and blood confined to the lower class of rebels; men of rank not only practised these enormities, but stimulated the brutal inclinations of their followers (*a*). The opportunity they

(*t*) Whilst Macmahon was examining, he drew on the walls those representations which presented themselves to his fancy concerning the tortures he supposed then inflicting on the Protestants. With the most hardened impudence, he told the justices, that all the Papists in the kingdom were engaged in the plot; that what was to be done in other parts of the kingdom was so far advanced, that it was impossible for the wit of man to prevent it: it was true they had him in their power, and might use him as they pleased, but he was sure he should be revenged. *Borlace's Hist. of the Irish Insurrection*, ed. 1680, p. 20, *& seq.*

(*u*) Carte says that the Irish were at first busy in plunder; that the massacre did not begin till the second week of the insurrection, when the rebels had secured to themselves the entire counties of Tyrone, Monaghan, Longford, Leytrim, Fermanagh, Cavan, Donnegal, and Derry. On their seizing the persons and goods of the English, they would tell them, "We only take your goods now, but worse will follow." *Carte*, vol. i. p. 175, *& seq. Report of the Examinations taken before Commissioners appointed by the King's Authority.*

(*v*) Slaughtering the English was represented by the priests as the most meritorious of religious acts: they exhorted the people, with tears in their eyes, to rid the world of these declared enemies to the Catholic faith and piety. The murdering of Protestants, they said, would be a good preservative against the pains of purgatory; nor would they administer the sacrament, but on condition that neither man, woman, nor child, should be spared. Many of the rebels would say, after bragging of the number of barbarous murders they had committed, that they knew if they should die, their souls would go immediately to Heaven. Nay, so much did they plume themselves on the merit of these exploits, that an abbot was heard to say, he would not appeal to the mercy, but to the justice of God, for good success to the undertakings of the papists in Ireland. *The Siege of Drogheda in Ireland. Appendix to the Siege of Drogheda. Depositions in Temple's History of the Irish Rebellion.*

(*w*) Though the faithful page of history must hand down to posterity, with a minute exactness, the villanies as well as the virtues of mankind, yet, as a particular detail of the sufferings inflicted on the poor defenceless, innocent Protestants, is a representation too shocking to be dwelt on by a delicate humane mind, I think it necessary to give the reader an item, that the following note will impress on his imagination images of the most horrid kind. Some thousands of English were burnt in their houses, others were stripped naked, and, in hundreds in a drove, pricked forwards with swords and spikes to river sides, and from thence pushed headlong into the stream; some were manacled and thrown into dungeons, and there left to perish at leisure; others were mangled, and left to languish in the highways; some were happy enough to suffer the milder death of hanging; other more unfortunate wretches were buried alive—this was the fate of a poor little infant, who, whilst he was putting in the grave, cried out to his dead parent, "Mammy, mammy, save me!" yet could not his innocent cry pierce the heart of the hardened wretch from whom he received his fate; some were mangled and hung upon tenter-hooks; some, with ropes round their necks, were dragged through woods, bogs, and ditches, till they died; some were hanged up by the arms, and then cut and slashed, to see how many wounds an Englishman could endure; some were ripped up, and their entrails left hanging about their heels. These kinds of cruelties were exercised on children of all ages, and many women with child suffered the same fate. Children were forced to carry their sick and aged parents to the place of slaughter; there were of these barbarians some so ingenious in their cruelty, as to tempt their prisoners, with the hopes of preserving their lives, to imbrue their hands in the blood of their relations. Children were, in this manner, impelled to be the executioners of their parents, wives of their husbands, mothers of their children; and then, when they were thus rendered accomplices in guilt, they were deprived of that life they endeavoured to purchase at so horrid a price. Children were boiled to death in cauldrons; some wretches were flayed alive; others were stoned to death; others had their eyes plucked out, their ears, nose, cheeks, and hands cut off, and thus rendered spectacles to satiate the malice of their enemies; some were buried up to the chin, and there left to perish by degrees. One Protestant minister was put into a cask lined with iron spikes, and then rolled up and down till he was dead. Parents were roasted to death before their children, and children before their parents. When any one, on the brink of mortality, desired leave to say a short prayer, the bigoted barbarians would exult over the fearful wretch, and tell him, that the agonies to be inflicted were but the beginning of infinite and eternal torments. When any of these victims, by the dread of suffering, were drawn to profess the articles of popery, they would tell them, they were in a good faith, that they would prevent their falling from it and returning to heresy; and on this would cut their throats. If any escaped the murdering hands of these human fiends, they were hunted, baited, and worried to death by their dogs. Nor could the miserable condition of these wretches' excruciating pangs, their anguish of mind, their agony of despair, assuage that lust of cruelty which precept, bigotry, national prejudice, and the contagion of example, had kindled in the depraved nature of their brutal enemies. In the last stroke of death they expressed their malice with the following valediction, "Thy soul to the devil;" and, at the hazard of a contagion, obstinately refused burial to their mangled bodies.—The number of those who died of the inhumanities suffered from the Irish papists, are not thoroughly ascertained: according to the computation of the rebels, they had slain one hundred and fifty-four thousand in the province of Ulster only.—*Milton's Eiconaclastes. The Siege of Drogheda in Ireland. Appendix to the Siege of Drogheda. Report of the Examinations taken before Commissioners appointed by the King's Authority. Remonstrance from Ireland.*

(*x*) If they turned any of these poor beasts to use, they cut their legs and flesh off when alive, and then kept them three or four days in exquisite torment. Carte says, that many thousands of these animals, whom rapine had made their own, and which were necessary for their sustenance, they destroyed in these senseless expressions of rage. *Temple's Hist. of the Irish Rebellion*, 8vo. ed. p. 197. *Carte's Life of Ormond*, vol. i. p. 177.

(*y*) The wickedness of these acts was improved by a perfidious breach of the laws of hospitality; the Irish lodging themselves the night before and feasting at the expence of those they intended to murder the next day. Charlemont, a considerable fort, was surprized in this manner by sir Phelim O'Neal: he sent to sir Tobias Caulfield, the governor, that he would visit him: sir Tobias, according to the hospitable custom of the Irish, feasted him and all his train; towards the evening the unsuspecting landlord and his whole house were seized, and almost all murdered, a few making their escape. *Borlace's Hist.* p. 13, *& seq. Carte's Life of Ormond*, p. 172, *& seq.*

(*z*) Such numbers of refugees died in the city of Dublin, that the church-yards in the town not being sufficient to contain them, two large pieces of new ground were taken in, and set apart for this particular use. *Temple*, 8vo ed. p. 94, *& seq.*

(*a*) It is pretended, that the barbarities committed by the Irish sprung from the impious policy of Ever Macmahon, titular bishop of Downe, and sir Phelim O'Neal, who finding himself successful beyond his most sanguine wishes, and having gathered together, in the space of a week, thirty thousand followers, had the foolish presumption to set himself up as king of Ulster. He, being a weak man, had no other plan of keeping his adherents attached to him, but by making them partakers in his

they found to glut their malice has been imputed to a default in the conduct of the unhappy sufferers; who, instead of deserting their habitations, and assembling together for mutual defence, relied on the protection offered them by their supposed friends, their landlords, tenants, and neighbours, of the Irish families (*b*), who, on the faith of the most solemn engagements, got possession of their goods, and then either murdered them themselves, or delivered them up to other destroyers. If, by a courage assumed from despair, any families stood on their defence, they were disarmed by promises of safety given under hand and seal, with the severest execrations; but, on their surrender, they experienced from the hands of the perfidious villains the same fate which had been imposed on their countrymen. In this manner was the English colony exterminated in Ulster.

The Scots, from their numbers being more feared by the rebels, they affected at first to spare (*c*), on the consideration that they were not foreigners, but, in their original, of the common stock with the Irish (*d*). This policy did not take its intended effect; the Scots rose, to the number of five thousand, and made some head against the rebels; but these encreasing daily in strength, the Scots were in their turn attacked, murdered, obliged to take shelter in their native country, or fly to places of security, and thus leave their lands, to be despoiled by the enemy (*e*).

The saving of Dublin having preserved a place of refuge to the English, it received within its gates multitudes of those wretched supplicants; and there not being at this time above three thousand troops in the whole kingdom (*f*), some of the most vigorous of these fugitives, with others, in all to the number of four thousand, were immediately enlisted; and bodies of the army, which were not surrounded by the rebels, were summoned to defend the town. There were in the castle at this time fifteen hundred barrels of gunpowder, match and bullet proportionable, arms for ten thousand men, and thirty-five pieces of artillery. This military store, provided by Strafford to arm Irish Papists in support of tyranny, providentially turned out the means to preserve the cause of Freedom, and the Protestant interest in Ireland. Such a plenitude of liberty, and so full a possession of property, did the inhabitants of this country enjoy, at the very time when this insurrection broke out, that there was very little or no money in the royal treasury. This was remedied by the care of the officers of state, who representing to the people their necessities, the castle was soon victualled with provisions to maintain the army for many months. Commissions were sent by the justices for the raising the Scots in the Northern parts. Sir Charles Coote, a zealous Protestant, was made governor of the city of Dublin, and the castle was put under the care of sir Francis Willoughby, an old-experienced soldier. Six hundred men were sent to the relief of Drogheda, a place of importance, then besieged by the Irish: the design being betrayed by the English of the Pale (*g*), who wished well to the rebellion, though they had not yet declared themselves, the convoy, which consisted of new-raised and unexperienced men, were suddenly attacked by the enemy, and defeated. This victory helped to supply the rebels with arms; and that reputation which attends success encreased the number of their followers to so formidable an extent, that the justices laid aside all thoughts of acting offensively, and applied their whole attention to the providing for the security of the capital.

When the news of this rebellion reached the parliament of England (*h*), it was immediately resolved in the lower house, that a conference be desired of the lords on the following articles: that fifty thousand pounds be borrowed of the city of London (*i*); that a committee of both houses be appointed to consider of the affairs of Ireland; and that this committee may have power to open all packets going to and coming from that kingdom. It was farther resolved, that Owen O'Conolly who discovered the treason, should have a gift of five hundred pounds, and two hundred a-year pension; that the custody of the Isle of Wight should be sequestered in other hands (*k*); that the persons of Papists of quality be secured, and that such English Papists having within one year last past removed themselves to Ireland, not having an ancient estate or habitation there, be commanded by proclamation to return, and, if not obeyed, some course be taken by act of parliament for confiscation of their estates; that the lords be desired to join concerning the dissolution of the capuchins, and the speedy sending them away; that the ambassadors may be sent to to deliver up such priests of the king's subjects as are lodged in their houses; that a list be brought in of the queen's priests, and other her servants; that a proclamation be issued commanding all strangers who are not of the Protestant religion to deliver in tickets of their names, and an account of their stay, otherwise to depart the kingdom; that all innkeepers, and others who entertain lodgers, be commanded to give in tickets of the names of all such lodgers in their houses to the lord-mayor and aldermen of London, or to the next justice of the peace in Middlesex. The house of commons farther ordered, that the oaths of allegiance and supremacy should be tendered to the Irish, and such other suspected recusants as were students at the inns of court; and that such

his horrid villainies, and dipping them so deep in blood and acts of cruelty, that, despairing of pardon from the English government, they should find themselves obliged from necessity to adhere to his fortunes. His scheme so far succeeded as to produce the following reflection in these ruffians: "Now, argued they, we have, without injury, without any king of provocation, assaulted the English in this cruel manner, they who have nourished us in their families as their own children, and have made no difference between their countrymen and us, now that we have requited them such bitter evil for good, they will never trust us hereafter, and we must either destroy them entirely, or be destroyed by them." *Temple*, 8vo. ed. p. 166. *Carte*, vol. i. p. 176.

(*b*) They were in some manner obliged to repose this kind of confidence in the Irish, from the circumstance of their not being provided with arms to defend themselves. The impious policy of Strafford had in a manner disarmed the subjects; they were forbid to sell, or keep in their houses, either powder or arms, save only what was allowed from the king's store-house at Dublin. Powder they were obliged to buy of the king for two shillings a pound, and were not allowed to have above five pounds by them at a time.

(*c*) A proclamation was issued out, that no Scotchman, on pain of death, should be molested in body, goods, or land. *Carte's Life of Ormond*, vol. i. p. 178.

(*d*) On the presumption of treaties still subsisting between the old Irish and the Scotch Highlanders, the Irish fancied the Scotch so much their friends, that even when forces landed from that country to assist the English government, they fondly believed that they came in the character of friends; and on this event released some of their Scotch prisoners, with an injunction that they should act with these forces. *Appendix to the History of the Siege of Drogheda.*

(*e*) To take off the odium which the principles of Popery have incurred, from various crimes of perfidy and cruelty having been perpetrated by that sect, the friends and followers of the Romish faith have endeavoured to deceive the credulous, the ignorant, and the idle, into an opinion that circumstances have been greatly aggravated in relation to the bloody facts which, at various times, have been charged on Papists. The Irish insurrection, a fact which, with all its circumstances of horror, has been handed down to posterity with the concurrent evidence of its contemporary writers, and on the most authentic authorities, has, on various occasions, been attempted, by all the arts of sophistry, to be softened, and the Irish massacrists have met with their advocates: but it is only modern times has produced one bold enough to exculpate them entirely from guilt. Such is the design of a performance, entitled "The Trial of the Roman Catholics," and published in 1764; but surely not with the approbation of that body. We would hope, in this enlightened civilized age and country, that the Papists themselves, abhorring the atrocious deeds of their deluded ancestors, would, from principles of justice, humanity, and a spirit of proper resentment, rejoice to see them handed down to posterity with all the marks of infamy they so well deserve. Notwithstanding our wish to indulge a favourable opinion of the present Roman Catholics, we cannot help thinking, that it would be highly prejudicial to the interests of the Protestants, if the Irish Catholics were indulged in their favourite system of *Emancipation*, which they have been endeavouring to obtain for some years past. Should they once gain their desires, we see no reason to doubt but similar atrocities against heretics would be excited by the priests of that persuasion, which holds it meritorious in the eyes of Heaven to exterminate a race of men who are averse to the absurd articles of their creed.

(*f*) The standing army in Ireland was usually two thousand men. Charles, to support the tyranny of Strafford's administration, had raised them to five thousand; but the parliament of England, nor chusing to trust him with more of those dangerous implements than they deemed necessary to preserve the English government in Ireland, obliged him to reduce them to fourteen troops of horse, amounting to nine hundred and forty-three, and forty-one companies, making two thousand two hundred and ninety-seven foot; a much inferior force than this having in James's time kept the peace of that country.

(*g*) One of lord Gormonstone's grooms, by command from his master, went to Slaine, where the rebel army was lodged, and called them out of their beds to encounter the English forces. *Temple*, 4to ed. p. 136. *Borlace*, p. 37, *& seq.*

(*h*) The commons first received the news of the Irish rebellion, from several of the chief officers of state, members of the house of peers, and lords of the privy-council. After these had desired leave of admittance in the usual form, the house ordered chairs to be set for them: they entered the house uncovered, nor did they attempt to put on their hats till after themselves and the commons were seated; after which both the commons and the lords remained covered. *Rushworth*, vol. iv. p. 398.

(*i*) The city of London was to have eight *per cent.* for the loan, and the security of an act of parliament. *Rushworth*, vol. iv. p. 411.

(*k*) The earl of Portland, a suspected Papist, had at this time the government of the Isle of Wight.

Irishmen

Irishmen as endeavoured to pass into Ireland without notice should be stopped, examined, and the oath of allegiance tendered to them; that no Irishman should pass out of any of the parts of this kingdom to return to Ireland without special licence from the committee of both houses for Irish affairs, or the lords of the privy-council, or the lord-lieutenant of Ireland; that no arms, ammunition, nor powder, should be transported without such a licence; and that, on the lord-lieutenant's certifying to the justices of Ireland the names of suspected persons, and the grounds of the suspicion, the said justices and the rest of the council should enter into examination of the parties, and should have power to commit them to prison till the truth was discovered; that the servants belonging to the king, queen, prince, or any of the king's children, should, according to law, take the oaths of supremacy and allegiance. The earl of Leicester (*l*), who had been lately appointed lord-lieutenant of Ireland, was directed to write to the justices to encourage them in their duty towards the defence of that kingdom, with assurances of a speedy assistance. These were the resolutions which passed in the parliament of England on the first item of the Irish insurrection (*m*).

When Charles received intelligence of the rebellion, he immediately communicated it to the Scots, who dispatched a small body of men to support their own colony in Ulster, and appointed a committee to treat with the English parliament on the terms in which they should engage farther in the Irish war. Unfortunately for the king, the zeal that he shewed in this business was entirely prevented from having its intended effect by the declaration of the rebels, who called themselves the Queen's Army, and not only gave out that they had their party both in England and Scotland, that their reason for taking up arms was to vindicate royal prerogative invaded by a puritanical parliament, that they had authority from the king and queen, but even shewed a commission under the great seal of Scotland, in which they were directed to seize on the forts and strong places in Ireland, and arrest the goods, estates, and persons, of the English Protestants to the king's use, lest, as the commission expressed, the Protestant party should carry things as violently against him in that kingdom as they did in England (*n*). It is easily to be imagined, that a rebellion attended with such enormous circumstances, declared to have been undertaken by the king's authority, with the concurrence of, and under promise of assistance from, the whole body of Papists, operated with great power on the Protestants, rousing all that latent terror and aversion which the past conduct of this sect had impressed on their minds. It was natural for the people to look on the authority and power of the parliament to be their only safeguard from the terror of popish plots and conspiracies; it was natural for them to determine that a rebellion, so grateful as this was supposed to be to the prevailing faction at court, would not be suppressed by a war conducted by that faction, and that the parliament was the only power to whom, with safety to the cause of religion and liberty, it could be committed. Such being the affections and such the opinion of the public, on an expression falling from the king, that he committed the care of Ireland to the English parliament (*o*), that assembly, affecting to interpret it in an unlimited sense, assumed the entire management of the war (*p*), and at once disarmed the crown of that part of the executive power which, on this occasion, had been universally apprehended.

Fresh intelligence coming from Ireland of the exceeding spreading of that rebellion, with the cruelties in which it was every where signalized, the house of commons came to the following resolutions: That two hundred thousand pounds be forthwith raised for the present occasions of Ireland: that a convenient number of ships be supplied for guarding its coasts: that six thousand horse and two thousand foot be raised for a present expedition into Ireland: that magazines of victuals be forthwith provided at West-Chester, to be sent over to Dublin as the occasion of that kingdom shall require: that the magazines of arms, &c. now in Carlisle, shall be forthwith sent over (*q*): that the earl of Newport, master of the ordnance, shall have power to send his commands, and issue forth warrants for the bringing up the magazine of arms and ammunition, remaining now in Kingston upon Hull, unto the Tower of London, for the securing the kingdom: that directions shall be given for the drawing a bill for the pressing of men for the Irish service.

The king, having, at the expence of many of his prerogatives, endeavoured to gain at least a neutrality from the Scots, in the contest likely to ensue between him and his English subjects, put an end to their parliament; and taking a kind farewel of his countrymen returned to London. His entrance into this city was on the twenty-fifth of November. By the indefatigable pains and intrigues of sir Richard Gurnay, the lord-mayor, a bigoted royalist, he was received and feasted with great ostentation of public joy; nor was there wanting any kind of expence, parade, and pageantry, to render the compliment perfectly agreeable.

Charles was so elevated on these demonstrations of affection, which he looked on to be general and sincere, that he at once re-assumed his former haughty conduct; and the first step he took after his return was to dismiss the guard which the parliament had appointed for their security (*r*). Sir William Balfour, who had been faithful to the trust reposed in him by parliament, was deprived of his

(*l*) This earl of Leicester was grandson of sir Henry Sidney, who, at different times, had been eleven years governor of Ireland.

(*m*) Before any of those circumstances of horror which attended it were known; the lords justices' letter, being dated two days after the rebellion commenced, speaks only of a common insurrection, and a design to surprize the castle of Dublin. *Nalson*, vol. ii. p. 514, *& seq.*

(*n*) The Irish committee returned to Ireland the same month the king went to Scotland. There had been many and frequent conferences between them and the king and queen, but particularly with the latter; whom they flattered with hopes that they could easily seize into their hands the government of Ireland, and then they would assist the king to chastise the hot spirits of Westminster. In these conferences the plot of the insurrection is supposed to have been formed. On the return of the Irish committee, they left lord Dillon behind them, who was sent by the queen into Scotland. At this time, it is said, the king was prevailed on to permit the commission to be signed with the broad seal of this kingdom, that deposit not being yet settled in the hands of a proper officer, but entrusted with the king's confidants; sometimes with the marquis of Hamilton, sometimes with Endymion Porter, the king's domestic, and sometimes with one John Hamilton, a fiery prelatist.

(*o*) The parliament gave instructions to their committee to inform the king, that they looked upon the conspiracy in Ireland to be the effect of the same counsels which had so long distracted England and Scotland; that if persons of such aims should continue in credit and authority, the great aids which they would be forced to draw from the people for subduing the rebellion would be employed for the fomenting it, and encouraging the like attempts in England; that if his majesty would not condescend to their petition of employing such councils and ministry as should be approved of by parliament, they should be obliged, in discharge of their trust, to resolve upon some way of defending Ireland, as should concur to the securing themselves from the mischievous councils and designs which had lately been, and still were, in practice and agitation against them. The English parliament paid all that deference to the authority of the parliament of Scotland which they expected should be paid to them: they advised the king, that one regiment, consisting of a thousand men, should be immediately transported into the northern parts of Ireland; but this was to be done by the council and authority of his parliament in Scotland, to be provided in a manner, and commanded, as should seem best to their great wisdom and experience. *Rushworth*, vol. iv. p. 423, *& seq.*

(*p*) As the rebels, by an unprecedented piece of indiscretion, had thought fit to plead the king's commission for the enormities they had committed, he was obliged passively to submit to what undoubtedly he thought an usurpation; lest opposition should render him suspected of favouring the progress of the rebellion.

Clarendon, as is elsewhere shewn, laments the inconveniences both the king and the rebels incurred from this piece of indiscretion, in a very remarkable manner, and says, "That report raised by the Irish Catholics, of the king's being a party in the insurrection, obliged him to commit the whole management of the war to his two houses of parliament; who, if any thing was proposed of over-much rigour, if the king made any scruple or pause in giving his consent to the same, they straight declared, they were obstructed in sending relief to Ireland; and published some particular relations of the lamentable and inhuman massacre made there by the Irish, which were confirmed by multitudes of miserable undone people who landed from thence in several places of England, who reported the rebels' discourses of executing all by the king's directions; so that indeed it was not in his power to deny what they thought fit to say was necessary for the good work." *Clarendon's Vindication of Ormond*, p. 16, *& seq.*

(*q*) Letters arrived from Ireland, dated the twenty-fifth of November, in which the justices gave thanks to the parliament for their care in sending over provisions and money. The same letters intimated, that the rebellion grew every day more general; that the rebels were come within four miles of Dublin; that they acknowledged the king for their sovereign; and, by the mouth of lord Dillon, viscount Costilough, had sent in some high demands concerning the repeal of the penal laws against Recusants, and farther immunities respecting the Irish. *Rushworth*, vol. iv.

(*r*) On the parliament's expostulating with the king on this dismission he sent them word, that it was his royal pleasure the guard should be dissolved; his presence would protect them; he knew they had no cause to fear; but he was so tender of their safety, that, to secure them not only from real but imaginary dangers, he would command the earl of Dorset to appoint some of the trained-bands, for a few days only, to wait on both houses. The house of commons passed an order, That the guards the king appointed should be dismissed, and that the constable of Westminster should appoint a strong and sufficient watch in their stead. They gave the following reasons for their fears; viz. The numbers of suspicious disorderly persons, especially Irish, lurking about London;

his office of lieutenant of the Tower; and one Lunsford, a soldier of fortune, of a profligate character, put in his place (*s*). The seals were taken from sir Henry Vane (*t*); and a proclamation was issued for obedience to the laws for establishing the true religion in England (*u*). Falkland, Culpepper, Hyde, Capel, and other distinguished members of the lower house, who had hitherto concealed their change of sentiments with great industry, made no scruple to avow their apostacy from the popular cause; and not only declaimed against the proceedings of its leaders, but sided with the court in every question. The house of lords had lately been very refractory: they had given the commons no satisfaction on the exclusion-bill, nor yet in their demand for sequestering the sixteen impeached bishops; and had made some objections to the bill for pressing soldiers for the Irish service (*v*).

These circumstances irritated, but did not intimidate, the leaders of the opposition. They knew the strength of their popularity, and were determined to make an appeal to the people. A remonstrance was accordingly drawn up: it contained the state of the kingdom, and the grievances it had suffered from the ill government of the king, and from a malignant and pernicious design of subverting the fundamental laws and principles of government, which had taken place from the beginning of his reign: it represented the advantage the people had received from the operations of this parliament: it complained of the bad counsels which the king still followed: of the cabals and wicked intrigues of Papists, and other malignants: that these cabals and evil counsels had been productive of the Irish rebellion; and that England would have been the prologue to this tragedy, had not former designs been discovered and prevented: that the malignant party which had been at first suppressed by the vigour and authority of this parliament, were now reviving, to the distraction of public affairs, and to the obstruction of those good designs which the commons had in view for the advantage of the commonwealth. The commons justify themselves from those aspersions which the malignant party had flung on their proceedings; shew that there is no hopes of establishing things on a right footing, whilst bishops and recusant lords were so prevalent in the upper house; and conclude the remonstrance with a detail of the courses they thought necessary to be pursued for perfecting the work of reformation, and removing all impediments to the happiness and peace of the kingdom.

Among these are some farther restraints upon Papists, "Seeing their religion, says the remonstrance, has such principles as do necessarily tend to the destruction and extirpation of all Protestants." That the king should employ such counsellors and ministers as the parliament could confide in; that counsellors of state should be sworn to observe the laws which concern the subject in his liberty; that good courses be taken to perfect the union of the two kingdoms of England and Scotland, and to labour, by offices of friendship, to unite all the foreign churches to Great Britain, that, by a mutual concurrence to the same common end, the good of the whole body of the Protestant profession be secured. In this remonstrance the commons declare, that their intention is not to set up an independency in matters of religion: they profess, that they intend to reduce that pomp and power which the prelates had assumed, contrary to the word of God and the laws of the land; that they intend to unburthen consciences of superstitious ceremonies, suppress innovations, and take away the monuments of idolatry: they own that the king is to be entrusted with the ecclesiastical law, as well as with the temporal, but then he is to regulate the discipline of the church of England by such rule of order as is established by parliament; to effect this establishment, they profess, that they desire the assistance of a general synod of the most pious and learned divines, both of this island and of foreign parts. The court faction, and those inclining to that side, were at this time so strong, even in the lower house, that it was not without great difficulty that this remonstrance passed. The leaders of the popular interest looked on it as the touchstone of the strength of each party, and spared neither argument, entreaty, nor artful management, to procure success. It was at length obtained, with great difficulty, the debate lasting from nine in the morning till twelve at night, and the question only carried by a majority of a hundred and fifty-nine, against a hundred and forty-eight (*w*).

The question for the printing it, put by Mr. Hampden, was

London; the plot in Scotland against the lives of three members of parliament, spoken of here before it happened there, with an intimation that the like was intended against divers members of both houses here; the former plot against the English parliament; the conspiracy and massacre in Ireland, conducted with such secrecy, that, but for the providential discovery at Dublin, it had been executed in one day throughout the kingdom, and some of the chief conspirators have confessed that the like was intended in England and Scotland; several advices from abroad of designs against religion, and the parliaments of Scotland and England; the secret meetings, consultations, and devotions of Papists, for the success of some great design in hand; from divers examinations taken of their dangerous speeches, they did conceive there was just cause to apprehend some wicked and mischievous practice to interrupt the peaceable proceedings of parliament still in hand; but rather than admit of so dangerous a precedent as to have a guard appointed them under the command of any person themselves should not choose, they would run any hazard: but they left it to his majesty to consider, whether it will not be fit to suffer his high court of parliament to enjoy that privilege of providing for their own safety, which was never denied inferior courts.

Some little time before the king's return from Scotland, one Beale, a taylor, informed the house of commons, that, walking in the fields, he had overheard certain persons discoursing of a dangerous conspiracy; that one hundred and eight ruffians were hired to murder one hundred and eight of the Puritan members of both houses of parliament; and that when the city of London should be in an uproar on this assassination, which was appointed to be perpetrated on the 18th of November, there were to be risings of Papists in six several parts of the land, viz. in Warwickshire, Worcestershire, Lancashire, and two other places, which he remembers not; that he had heard one Philips, Mr. Sheldon (a Papist), and two priests, father Jones and father Andrews, mentioned as being concerned in the plot. This information being sent to the lords, orders were issued for seizing the persons of Jones and Andrews, and other seminary priests and Jesuits; that Mr. Sheldon and his son should be taken into safe custody; and that the deputy-lieutenants of Worcester, &c. have a charge to secure the said counties. An ordinance passed both houses for putting the kingdom immediately into a posture of defence, and that the earl of Essex should command the trained-bands on the South side, and the earl of Holland on the North side, the Trent. The commons desired the lords to join with them in the nominating particular men of trust to take care of the militia, and that the persons of Recusants should be secured: it was some time before the lords agreed to this article, and then with some restrictions, that it should only take place on those who were the most active and exceptionable of that body. The commons passed an order, That all Papists should leave the town, under pain of being proceeded against according to law: the same directions were sent to the mayor of Berwick. Lord Strange, the lord-lieutenant of Lancashire, confirmed the suspicions of the public by writing word, that there was great need to look after Lancashire. It is not to be supposed, but that the popular party in both houses made a politic use of these rumours, and that their fears were not so strong as they pretended; but that the parliament was totally void of suspicions, is, we think, as improbable. The votes which passed on these occasions were pretty unanimous; and when the apprehensions of men are alarmed with real dangers, every slight appearance has its effect. *Nalson*, vol. ii. p. 646, & *seq.* 654, 688.

(*s*) He was a person of great licence, and only known by some desperate acts, for which he had formerly been imprisoned, and, having made his escape, fled the kingdom. One of these desperate acts was an attempt to murder sir Thomas Pelham. On being challenged for an affront he had given to one captain Buller, he refused to give him the satisfaction he demanded, but sent him word he would cut his throat. *Clarendon's History*, vol. i. p. 262. *Nalson*, vol. ii. p. 774.

(*t*) The king had before deprived him of the office of treasurer of the household, and conferred it on lord Saville. Saville had been promised the presidentship of the North, if that commission had not been declared illegal. *Clarendon*, vol. i. p. 255.

(*u*) By the True Religion was meant all those ceremonies which the commons had by ordinance forbidden, and a conformity to the present form of divine worship, though it was repugnant to the consciences of the greater number of the people, and had been acknowledged to need alteration, by a committee of bishops and other divines, who had been appointed by the house of lords to consider on the matter. *Nalson*, vol. ii. p. 765.

(*v*) Differences had gone so far between the two houses, that, in a conference on the fore-mentioned subjects, the lords were given to understand, that if they would not consent to the passing the bill the commons had already sent up, and some others necessary for the safety and preservation of the kingdom, that the commons (being the representative body of the whole kingdom, and their lordships being but as particular persons, and coming to parliament in a particular capacity) might join with those lords who were sensible of the public danger, and represent the same unto his majesty.

(*w*) This remonstrance was looked on by the opposers of the court to be absolutely necessary to their farther curtailing the power of the crown; and the farther curtailing the power of the crown they looked on as essential to the preservation of those privileges the public had already obtained. Indeed, this circumstance was so obvious to common reason, that the party did not expect to meet with the difficulty they found in gaining their point. On the remonstrance being called for late in the day, lord Falkland, at this time a zealous courtier, moved, that it should be entered on the next morning. Oliver Cromwell, as staunch in court opposition, asked, "Why he would have it put off? for it would be quickly determined." "Sure, answered Falkland, it will take up some debate." To this Cromwell replied, "That he believed it would be a sorry one." The next day, when the debate was over, Cromwell told Falkland, "That he would take his word another time. If, added he, the remonstrance had been rejected, I would immediately have sold all I have; and I know there are many more honest men of the same resolution." Sir Edward Deering, a man of a vain and variable disposition, had been first flattered by the puritanical party

was in all probability gained by the impetuosity of Mr. Hyde, who, contrary to the customs and order of the house, desired leave to protest against it. Mr. Hyde's example excited Jeffery Palmer and others to exclaim, in a tumultuous manner, "They did protest." This not only put a stop to all quiet and free debate, but might have occasioned bloodshed, had not Mr. Hampden put an end to the dispute by proposing to adjourn till two o'clock the next afternoon. On the re-meeting, Mr. Pym represented the disorders of the preceding day, the house having been nearly engaged in blood, the consequence, as he alleged, of Mr. Hyde's transgression. The rhetoric of a Pym was not necessary to convince the house that much mischief would result from such a precedent, if permitted to go unpunished. Mr. Palmer was committed to the Tower; and the house being incensed at the growing insolence of the declared partizans of the court, the question for printing the remonstrance passed with little opposition. It was strongly attacked by the king's party, as a signal that the commons intended farther encroachments on royal prerogative, and that nothing less than a total abolition of monarchical power would satisfy that aspiring body. These insinuations had little effect on the minds of the people, or were more than balanced by a review of the king's illegal violent administration. That apparent combination of prelatical, papistical, and monarchical interest, which had made such bold attempts to destroy every principle of liberty which yet remained in the constitution, had entered into so many conspiracies against the authority of parliament, and now dealt forth unparalleled destruction in Ireland, were, to the public, objects of a much more terrible nature than the apprehensions of idle selfish courtiers, and bigoted formalists. They remembered with what perfidy, with what violation of every thing that was sacred, the Petition of Right had been invaded, and were determined, even at the hazard of impairing a government from which themselves and their ancestors had received nothing but injuries, to secure their new-acquired privileges from future attacks of the crown.

The remonstrance of the commons was presented to the king with a petition which openly insinuated his concurrence in the Irish rebellion, complained of those bad counsels which had occasioned such variety of mischiefs, and demanded, as a security from farther evils, that bishops, who had long acted as corrupt instruments of despotism and popery, should be deprived of their votes in parliament, the immoderate power they had usurped over the clergy abridged, and that every office of command should be alone trusted to persons on whom the parliament could confide. The king's answer to this petition was in vague and general terms: after blaming the commons for publishing it, contrary to his express intimation, and censuring their declaration as an unparliamentary proceeding, he tells them, that he does not know what they mean by a wicked and malignant party prevalent in the government; he had ever concurred with all the just desires of his people to preserve the peace and safety of the kingdom from the designs of the popish party (*x*). Though the remonstrance did not accuse the king of being a papist in his heart, yet he takes a great deal of pains to clear himself on this particular, and insinuates, that, since he is convinced of the purity of the Protestant religion, it is not possible he should encourage the Popish faith (*y*). He asserts, that the right of the bishops of voting in parliament is grounded on the fundamental law of the kingdom; that the power of the clergy is well moderated by the taking away the high-commission court; he is contented to call a national synod to examine such ceremonies as give just offence; but as for corruption in religion, which they had objected, he is persuaded that there cannot be found on earth that church which professed the true religion with more purity of doctrine than the church of England. After a high panegyric on the beauty of its discipline and excellency of its doctrine, he declares, he will, to the end of his life, maintain it in its glory, not only against all invasions of Popery, but also from the irreverence of those many schismatics and separatists wherewith the kingdom abounded. To that part of the petition of the commons concerning counsellors, the king asserts, that it is his undoubted prerogative to call those to his secret counsels, to public employments, and his particular services, as he should think fit; and tells them, that he has never elected any to these offices but what had given good testimonies of their abilities and integrity. The answer to the remonstrance was as vague as this answer to the petition, as little calculated to give satisfaction to the commons on the articles of their demands, and as totally deficient in point of justifying the king's conduct. It finishes with a promise to observe and maintain the established laws; but in the same general terms which the king had before frequently used, and to which he had always given what sense he thought proper.

During these disputes between the king and the house of commons, the affairs of Ireland grew every day more desperate. The succour which the Scots had offered for the subduing this rebellion had not, on prudential reasons, been immediately accepted by the English house of commons: they had received intelligence from their committee in that kingdom, that if they agreed to the providing for an effectual number of men to be raised in Scotland, the king would have insisted on the commanding them himself; a circumstance of the most dangerous kind. This apprehension being removed on the return of the king, the commons voted, that ten thousand Scots should be sent into Ireland, on condition that they would be commanded by the government of England settled in Ireland. It was resolved, that ten thousand foot and two thousand horse should be raised in England for the same service. It was some time before this resolution was carried into practice, the house of lords having refused their assent to a preamble in the bill for pressing of men for the particular service of Ireland, declaratory of the subjects' privileges; viz. "That the king had in no case, excepting that of invasion from a foreign power, authority to press men into his service." This assertion abolished that noxious prerogative which the crown had assumed of obliging men to perform any task of pretended public service which should be imposed on them; a prerogative which, in this reign, had been used as a punishment to refractory members of parliament, and to all ranks of men who had refused to comply with the king's illegal commands, to the great detriment of their fortune and health. Notwithstanding that such a limitation of regal authority was necessary to the security and free enjoyment of person, time, and property, yet the peers, who had shewn lately some symptoms of distrust and jealousy, were very obstinate on this article; besides the whole bench of bishops, who were always a dead weight on the side of prerogative, the greater number of temporal lords began to apprehend that that noble spirit of liberty which flamed in the lower house, and from thence diffused itself through the whole nation, might in its consequences affect their particular privileges; and, as the nature, use, and operations of government began to be pretty generally understood, that the commons would, in their researches on this subject, discover this important truth, "That invidious distinctions and privileges are so far from being instrumental to the authority of laws, or the order, regularity, and decency of society, that they must necessarily act contrary to these purposes." To the baseness of a selfish consideration did the nobility sacrifice the principles of reason, justice, and honour; and all, except a few, who, sailing with the full tide of popular favour, were transported beyond the current of their natural affection, inclined to take shelter under the tyranny of the crown, from the dreaded invasion of democracy. Nor did the bleeding persecuted state of the Irish Protestants, nor the insolent pretensions of the Papists, who demanded a full toleration of their religion in Ireland, prevail with them to pass the pressing acts for raising land and sea forces. In vain did the commons protest, that the loss of Ireland must be imputed to the lords; the lords continued inflexible: and the commons, finding that no arguments could prevail, ordered their committee on the Irish affairs to meet no more. This disagreement occasioned a fatal pause in the military preparations. It was at length composed by the interposition of the king; who, apprehending that the lords would give way to the extreme urgency of the occasion, came to the

party in parliament into being an active agent against episcopacy, on some disgust, was now shrunk back into his original orthodoxy in civil and religious politics, and made two violent speeches against the remonstrance. *Clarendon's History*, vol. i. p. 246, *& seq.* *Nalson*, vol. ii. p. 664, *& seq.*

(*x*) On this assertion of the king, Rapin justly observes, that it was true he had never rejected the petitions presented to him on this occasion; but then it was no less true, that his promises in this respect had never been executed. *Rapin*, vol. xi. p. 261.

(*y*) Notwithstanding, as Rapin observes, his conduct had shewn that this consequence did not necessarily follow. *Rapin*, vol. xi. p. 267.

house,

house, and taking notice of the bill then depending, offered to pass it with a *salvo jure* for the king and people; at the same time testifying his displeasure at those who began a dispute which, he said, concerned his ancient and undoubted prerogative. This unconstitutional measure acted like magic on the counsels of the upper house: the popular lords did not fail to enlarge themselves on the subject; the assembly, prejudiced as it was, took fire at so manifest a violation of their rights, and voted, that their privileges were broken by the king's taking notice of the bill whilst in agitation, by his propounding a provisional clause before it was presented to him, and by his expressing his displeasure against persons for matters moved in parliament. The same votes passing with the commons, both houses united in a declaration vindicatory of their privileges; at the same time petitioning the king, that he would declare the authors of the misinformation and evil counsel, that they might be brought to punishment. The king excused himself from having been guilty of any designed breach of privilege, but utterly refused the naming any person who had given him information or counsel on the subject.

Notwithstanding the harmony which seemed to subsist between the two houses, the public affairs continued yet in an unsettled state. The pressing act had not yet passed the upper house; the important business of Ireland consequently stood still. Nothing was determined in the grand point of ecclesiastical policy; bishops, the supposed obstacles to both civil and religious reformation, yet maintained their seats in parliament. The public were continually harrassed and alarmed with the fears of popish plots and conspiracies. Lunsford was yet, in spite of the endeavours of the lower house, continued in the command of the Tower; and, upon some examinations which passed at this time, the commons voted, "That there was sufficient evidence to believe there had been a second attempt to bring up the army against the parliament, and an intention to make the Scotch army stand neuter." On this examination, Daniel O'Neal being voted guilty of high treason (*z*), was impeached by the commons, and committed to prison by the lords. Sir John Berkeley, sir Hugh Pollard, Ashburnham, and Wilmot, were voted guilty of misprision of treason (*a*). A fast was at this time resolved on (*b*). It was ordered, that a declaration should be drawn for clearing his majesty's honour from false reports cast upon him by the rebels in Ireland; and a provision to be made that there may be no conclusion of that war to the prejudice of this kingdom. Fresh addresses were made to the king for putting the laws against papists in execution; conferences were held on the subject of securing their persons; and it was proposed by the commons, that a stop should be put to the toleration of so dangerous a superstition. In the midst of that indignation which at this time was excited against these sectaries, the king solicited the consent of parliament in reprieving seven priests, who had been convicted and condemned by due course of law. Both houses being exasperated with a letter they had just received from Ireland, containing a particular account of the cruelties which had been committed in that kingdom, and were still carrying on, by the authority and influence of priests, joined in a petition to the king, that he would suffer the criminals to be executed: with this request the king did not think fit to comply; but offered to banish them, if the parliament would give their consent, which was accordingly done.

Every thing which could excite passion, and fix attention, actually subsisted at this critical juncture. The fears of men were alarmed, their expectations raised, and the pulse of the public beat high for a full enjoyment of liberty: the mechanic neglected his art, the apprentice his employment; shops were left empty; and even the women, laying aside their domestic cares, engaged with the men in political intrigues: a rage for reformation seized the whole community. Such being the disposition of the public, the popular leaders had recourse to the spirit without doors, to get the better of the opposition they found within. Several common-council-men, and others of good repute in the city, in a petition which set forth their fears on the occasion of colonel Lunsford's having the command of the Tower, entreated the commons to take such means as should secure the city and kingdom against farther mischiefs. The commons conferred with the lords; the lords refusing to join in an address for the removal of Lunsford, the commons, after voting that they held colonel Lunsford unfit to be lieutenant of the Tower of London, as he was a person in whom the commons of England could not confide, set forth a declaration, protesting their innocence of the mischiefs likely to ensue; and asserting, that the malignant party were not only encouraged by the success of the rebels in Ireland, but likewise by the interruptions which the public business received in the house of peers, occasioned by the number of bishops and papists, notoriously disaffected to the public good, who had voices in that assembly. This declaration being read in the upper house, it was moved and carried, that the debates on it should be adjourned. On this the popular lords, to the number of twenty-one, entered their protest; and the commons ordered the earl of Newport, the then supposed constable of the Tower, to reside in the place, and take on himself its custody and guard. The earl of Newport sent them word, that the king had discharged him from that trust. This made the public discontent rise so high, that the lord mayor informed the king, that there would be a general rising in the city, to attempt the Tower. On this the keys were taken from Lunsford, and given to sir John Byron, a man almost as disagreeable to the public as his predecessor.

When the commons deputed their committee to treat with the city concerning a loan of money for the Irish wars, they were told, with a just freedom, that the privilege of parliament was a great hindrance to their trade. The citizens farther delivered their opinion: that popish lords, and other suspected persons of quality, ought to be secured; and that the bishops maintaining their seats in parliament was an impediment to the progress of those good laws and motions which had been sent up by the commons to the peers. To prevent the destructive plots of the papists and their adherents, the petitioners prayed, that considerable forces might be sent into Ireland; this kingdom put into a posture of defence; that the commons would be a means to obtain the concurrence of the king and lords, in the punishment of delinquents, the redressing the grievances of church and commonwealth; and that they would take into particular consideration the abuses crept into the ancient government of the city. To the better effecting of this, that popish lords, and bishops, should be removed out of the house of peers, as had been desired by the representative body of the city, when fifty thousand pounds were freely lent to raise forces for Ireland.

This petition was in its nature too pleasing to the prevailing party in the house of commons not to meet with encouragement. An assembly having met together in Southwark, on a business of the same kind, they were disturbed by a meddling officious constable of the high-church faction; a riot ensued, but, on a writ being directed to the sheriff, to proceed against the parties, the leading men in the house of commons declared, that the matter affected their privileges, the constable having interrupted a set of well affected men, who had met together to address that assembly. On this an order passed, that the under sheriff should be enjoined not to suffer proceedings to be made upon any inquisition that might concern persons who were met together to subscribe a petition to be preferred to that house.

Whilst the partizans of liberty were thus uniting their forces, and making vigorous efforts to remove the obstacles which impeded their designs, Charles, who had been hitherto unable to divert the popular current which had run so strongly for his enemies, was making impotent attempts to obstruct its course. He not only gave private orders to Lunsford and others to withstand the mob in their tumultuous clamours against bishops and popish lords, but, affecting fears for his own person, retained a guard of dis-

(*z*) On the examination of Daniel O'Neal before the lords, he pleaded the act of oblivion. His plea was not allowed; and a resolution passed on this occasion, "That it belonged to the house of peers to interpret acts of parliament, in time of parliament, in any cause which should be brought before them." *Nalson*, vol. ii. p. 625.

(*a*) It was resolved by the commons, that Mr. Jermyn, Mr. Piercy, and sir John Suckling, should be impeached of high treason. *Id.* p. 754.

(*b*) William Marshal and Edmund Calamy, two favourite ministers, having, by the desire of the commons, preached on this occasion, they were each of them presented with a piece of plate worth twenty pounds. Days were appointed for gathering collections towards the relief of those English who had been stripped and spoiled by the Irish rebels: to these contributions sir John Packer gave one hundred pounds. Some time after this it was ordained, by the desire of both houses, that a monthly fast should be observed during the troubles of Ireland. *Nalson*, vol. ii. p. 660, 775, 795.

banded

banded officers, who waited to be employed in the Irish war, and were ready to engage in any mischievous design which should be proposed. These desperadoes were entertained and fed with great pomp at Whitehall. The gentlemen of the inns of court were likewise tampered with, and some of them offered their assistance to defend the persons of the king and queen: of this idle crew there were that went so far as to say, "Let us not suffer these fellows at Westminster to domineer thus, but bring up our tenants to pull them out." The mob was not only insulted with contemptuous words, such as "round-headed dogs (*c*)," but swords were drawn, and many of them wounded (*d*). The gentleman-usher of the house of lords, having, by the command of that assembly, ordered the concourse of people to disperse, was told, that they were willing to go; but that colonel Lunsford and others were laying in wait for them in Westminster Hall, and that many of their fellows, in their way home, had been wounded by his soldiers. The lords appointed a committee to examine what warrant had been given to the soldiers to come to the parliament house? what notice had been given to any others to come to Westminster in multitudes? and who gave the occasion that swords were drawn and blows given in Westminster Hall? On an inquisition which the house of commons made on this business, they were informed by one of their own members, that, on his questioning a guard of soldiers, which he found in the way, he was told that they were set there by the command of the lord archbishop of York. Mr. Hollis was sent up to the lords to complain of the outrages which had been committed on the persons of the king's subjects; and, that this might be a free parliament, to desire them, according to their own proposition, to join with the house of commons in a petition to his majesty, that the parliament might have a guard, and such a one as should be approved by the two houses, to be commanded by the earl of Essex. The lords not then thinking fit to agree with the repeated requests of the commons, they directed, that the justices of the peace of the city of Westminster should take care that good watches, sufficiently armed, should be set in such convenient places as should be necessary for their safeguard; and that halberts should be provided for the service of the house. They farther declared, that it should be lawful for every member to bring his own servant to attend at the door, armed with such weapons as they should think fit. The king was addressed on this subject in the name of the lower house: this address set forth, that there had been several attempts heretofore to bring destruction on their whole body at once; that a malignant party, bitterly envenomed against them, was daily gathering strength and confidence, and was now come to such a height as to give boldness to some not only to imbrue their hands in the blood of the subjects at the very doors of the parliament, and at the king's own gates, but had thrown out insolent and menacing speeches against the parliament itself; so that they conceived they could not, with the safety of their persons, on which the peace of the whole kingdom depended, sit any longer unarmed and without a guard. The king's party having been the aggressors in the fore-mentioned fray, the commons regarded it as a levying war on his subjects; and it afforded them a pretence for protecting the mob (*e*). The king set forth a proclamation against tumultuous meetings; but some citizens having been committed on the occasion of riots, they were, by the express orders of the lower house, set at liberty (*f*); and David Hyde, a reformed officer, who called out, "he would cut the throats of those round-headed dogs that bawled against bishops," was secured by the citizens, and brought before the house of commons, who committed him to prison, and cashiered him from all employment in Ireland.

The lords, alarmed at the pretensions, and dreading the vigour, of the commons, kept firm to their resolution of defending the bishops in their privilege of voting in parliament, when an unexpected accident subdued that obstinacy which had withstood the general voice of the people, and the repeated endeavours of the commons. Williams, the present archbishop of York, in his way to the house of lords fell in with a body of apprentices, who had just delivered in a petition for the laws to be put in execution against priests and Jesuits; that the papists, and other dangerous persons, might be secured; and for the removal of prelates and popish lords (*g*). He observing one particular youth who was louder than the rest in his clamours against bishops, had the imprudence to lay hands on him: this produced a contest; the youth was rescued by his fellows, and the bishop's robes were torn in the scuffle. Hereupon Williams summoned all his fellow prelates who were in town, and proposed to them to join in a protestation, to be addressed to the king and the house of peers. This proposal being agreed to, he immediately prepared a paper, which set forth, "That though the bishops had an undoubted right to sit and vote in parliament, and ought to be protected by the king in this privilege, yet in going thither they had been menaced and assaulted by the multitude, to the danger of their lives, and could find no redress, upon sundry complaints made to both houses on these particulars; that as they could no longer with safety attend their duty in the house, they did protest against all laws, votes, and resolutions, as null and void, which should pass during the time of their forced and violent absence." This paper was directed to the king, with an humble desire that he would send it to the lords, and command that it should be entered in the Journals of the House. The archbishop hurried to Whitehall for the royal approbation: Charles, too precipitate in his determinations, entered into the politics of the bishops: "The house of peers could do nothing in their absence; this would affect the resolutions of the lower house; this would put an effectual stop to the progress of the intended reformation; the house of peers might espouse the cause of bishops with a warmth that might occasion such a disagreement as should oblige the commons to give up their pretensions in this point; or it might introduce a favourable opportunity to bring about a dissolution." Thus sanguine were the king's hopes on every plausible expedient that was proposed to him. The paper was immediately delivered into the hands of the lord keeper Littleton, on the 27th of December, with an injunction that he should present it to the house as soon as it met. Littleton, who was a state Puritan by principle, though a courtier in practice, was desirous to perfect a reconciliation with the prevailing party in the house of commons; and finding that great use might be made of this protestation, he did not offer an objection, but, observing the strict letter of the command, read it openly in the house of lords, not without making some comments on it very much to the disadvantage of the protesting party. The assembly of peers was at this time not only purged of the company of bishops, but the popish lords were likewise frightened away by the rage of the people. This protestation, therefore, to the confusion and disappointment of the king and the prelates, acted diametrically opposite to their expectations: the popular lords, in a transport of joy, cried out, that the hand of God now appeared in bringing that to pass which they could never otherwise have effected. The house unanimously agreed to desire an immediate conference with the commons; the protestation was read by the keeper, and delivered to them with this advice, That he had received it from the king's own hand, with a command to present it to the house of peers: he told them, in the name of that assembly, that the protestation containing

(*c*) Dugdale says, that the German reformers cut their hair round, in contradiction to the conformists, who were vain and costly in their attire, and wore a great quantity of hair: the reformers in England took example from their German brethren. The queen, who had a great deal of levity in her conduct and manner, observing Samuel Barnardiston (one of the ringleaders of the non-conforming sect) marching at the head of a body of apprentices, cried out, "see what a handsome young round-head is there;" the appellation was affected by her whole party, and was publicly used by Hyde. The king's guard of bravoes were in return called Cavaliers. These terms were afterwards used to distinguish the two parties. *Dugdale*, p. 8. *Rapin*, vol. xi. p. 294. *Clarendon's Hist.* vol. i. p. 267.

(*d*) The news that Lunsford and others of the gang had drawn their swords upon the people being carried into the city, great multitudes of that body ran down to Westminster, with staves and other weapons. This occasioning a more than ordinary uproar, the assiduous lord-mayor ordered the gates to be shut, and put the trained bands in arms; whilst the king, on his part, commanded the militia of London and Westminster to assemble by turns, and guard his person. *Rapin*, vol. xi. p. 294.

(*e*) These mobs are not to be considered as composed only of the lowest order of citizens. In a fray occasioned by the archbishop of York's detaining some rioters who had got into the abbey, several citizens were hurt by stones thrown from the leads; and one sir Richard Wiseman died of the wounds he received. *Rushworth*, vol. iv. p. 465.

(*f*) They were committed by the sheriffs of London and Middlesex, on the statute of the thirteenth of Henry IV. The lords had given express orders to the sheriffs to put this statute in execution. *Nalson*, vol. ii. p. 792.

(*g*) The apprentices assert in their petition, that they are engaged by the late protestation to defend the king's rights, the liberties of parliament, and the subjects in general, against papists and popish innovations; such as archbishops, bishops, and their dependents, appear to be. This is the first time that this use had been made of the protestation. *Rushworth*, vol. iv. p. 462.

matters of dangerous consequence, extending to the deep trenching upon the fundamental privileges and being of parliaments, they thought fit to communicate it to the commons, as a thing of great and general concernment. On the report of this conference, it was resolved in the lower house, that the twelve bishops who had signed the paper should be accused of high-treason, for endeavouring to subvert the fundamental laws and being of parliaments. Mr. Glyn was sent up on this errand: he desired, in the name of the commons, that the bishops might be put in safe custody. The lords complied with the request; the parties were brought to the bar as delinquents (*h*), and then committed to the Tower (*i*); not an individual in either house having ventured to speak a word in their vindication: one person only said, that "he did not believe them guilty of high-treason, but they were stark mad, and ought to be sent to Bedlam (*k*)."

A few days after, in the beginning of 1642, the king fell into another indiscretion, much more fatal: an indiscretion, to which all the ensuing disorders and civil wars ought immediately and directly to be ascribed. This was the impeachment of lord Kimbolton and the five members.

When the commons employed, in their remonstrance, language so strong and energetic, they had not been actuated entirely by passion: their views were more solid and profound. They considered, that, in a violent attempt, such as an invasion of the ancient constitution, the more leisure was afforded the people to reflect, the less would they be inclined to second that rash and dangerous enterprize; that the peers would certainly refuse their concurrence, nor were there any hopes of prevailing on them, but by instigating the populace to tumult and disorder; that the employing of such means for so obvious an end, would, at long-run, lose them all their popularity, and turn the tide of favour to the contrary party; and that, if the king only remained in tranquillity, and cautiously eluded the first violence of the tempest, he would, in the end, certainly prevail, and be able at least to preserve the ancient laws and constitution. They were therefore resolved, if possible, to excite him to some violent passion; in hopes that he would commit indiscretions, of which they might make advantage.

It was not long before they succeeded beyond their most sanguine expectations. Charles was enraged to find that all his seeming concessions but increased their demands; that the people were instigated, by his chicanery, to sedition and tumults; that the blackest crimes were alledged against him, and even the Irish massacre ascribed to his counsels and machinations, (of which there appeared plausible reason to charge him,) and that a method of address was adopted not only unsuitable towards so great a prince, but which no private gentleman could hear without resentment. When he considered the increasing demands of the commons, he was apt to ascribe them, in a great measure, to his own indolence and facility. The queen and the ladies of the court farther stimulated his passion, and represented, that, if he exerted the vigour, and displayed the majesty of a monarch, the daring usurpations of his subjects, as they called them, would shrink before him. Lord Digby, a creature of the court, and hurried on by precipitate passions, suggested like counsels; and Charles, who was ever disposed to hasty resolutions, gave way to the fatal importunity of his friends and servants.

On the 3rd of January, 1642, Herbert, the attorney general appeared in the house of peers, and, in his majesty's name, entered an accusation of high treason against lord Kimbolton and five commoners, Denzil Hollis, sir Arthur Hazlerig, Hampden, Pym, and Strode. The articles were, That they had traiterously endeavoured to subvert the fundamental laws and government of the kingdom, to deprive the king of his regal power, and to impose on his subjects an arbitrary and tyrannical authority; that they had endeavoured, by many foul aspersions on his majesty and his government, to alienate the affections of his people, and make him odious to them; that they had attempted to draw his late army to disobedience of his royal commands, and to side with them in their traiterous designs; that they had invited and encouraged a foreign power to invade the kingdom; that they had aimed at subverting the rights and very being of parliament; that, in order to complete their traiterous designs, they had endeavoured, as far as in them lay, by force and terror, to compel the parliament to join with them, and, to that end, had actually raised and countenanced tumults against the king and parliament; and that they had traiterously conspired to levy, and actually had levied, war against the king.

The whole world stood amazed at this important accusation, so suddenly entered upon, without concert, deliberation, or reflection. Some of these articles of accusation, men said, to judge by appearance, seem to be common between the impeached members and the parliament; nor did these persons appear any farther active in the enterprizes of which they were accused, than so far as they concurred with the majority in their votes and speeches. Though proofs might, perhaps, be produced, of their privately inviting the Scots to invade England; how could such an attempt be considered as treason, after the act of oblivion which had passed, and after that both houses, with the king's concurrence, had voted that nation three hundred thousand pounds for their brotherly assistance! While the house of peers are scarcely able to maintain their independency, or to reject the bills sent them by the commons; will they ever be permitted by the populace, supposing them inclined, to pass a sentence, which must totally subdue the lower house, and put an end to their ambitious undertakings? These five members, at least Pym, Hampden, and Hollis, are the very heads of the popular party; and if these be taken off, what fate must be expected by their followers, who are many of them accomplices in the same treason? The punishment of leaders is ever the last triumph over a broken and routed party; but surely was never before attempted, in opposition to a faction, during the full tide of its power and success.

But men had not leisure to wonder at the indiscretion of this measure: their astonishment was excited by new attempts, still more precipitate and imprudent. A serjeant at arms, in the king's name, demanded of the house the five members; and was sent back without any positive answer. Messengers were employed to search for them and arrest them. Their trunks, chambers, and studies, were sealed and locked. The house voted all these acts of violence to be breaches of privilege, and commanded every one to defend the liberty of the members. The king, irritated by all this opposition, resolved next day to go in person to the house, with an intention to seize in their presence, the persons whom he had accused.

This resolution was discovered to the countess of Carlisle, sister to Northumberland, a lady of spirit, wit, and intrigue. She privately sent intelligence to the five members; and they had time to withdraw, a moment before the king entered. He was accompanied by his ordinary retinue to the number of above two hundred, armed as usual, some with halberts, some with walking swords. The king left them at the door, and he himself advanced alone through the hall; while all the members rose to receive him. The speaker withdrew from his chair, and the king took possession of it. The speech which he made was as follows: "Gentlemen, I am sorry for this occasion of coming to you. Yesterday, I sent a serjeant at arms, to demand some, who, by my order, were accused of high treason. Instead of obedience, I received a message. I must here declare to you, that, though no king that ever was in England could be more careful of your privileges than I shall be, yet in cases of treason no person has privilege. Therefore, am I come to tell you, that I must have these men wheresoever I can find them. Well, since I see all the birds are flown, I do expect that you will send them to me as soon as they return. But I assure you, on

(*h*) Archbishop of York, bishops of Durham, Coventry and Litchfield, Norwich, St. Asaph, Bath and Wells, Hereford, Oxford, Ely, Gloucester, Peterborough, and Landaff. The commons having obtained this point, dropped their first prosecution against the thirteen bishops. On this impeachment of the bishops, Mr. Rouse made a speech to the house to persuade them to interpose their authority to prevent the consecration of three of the bishops newly appointed: two of them had undergone that ceremony, and were already invested in their office. Hall, bishop of Norwich, had, at the instigation of Laud, written a treatise to vindicate the *jus divinum* of bishops. Though this absurd doctrine is strongly inculcated in this work, yet it was done with too much moderation for the archbishop, who corrected it and improved it with his own hand, before he suffered it to be published. *Parl. Hist.* vol. x. p. 146, *& seq.*

(*i*) The two archbishops, Laud and Williams, having ever been of the same principles, and having only differed as their several interests thwarted each other, those interests being now reconciled by the similarity of their situations, became perfect friends, each of them expressing contrition for that mutual animosity which had contributed to the overthrow of a superstition calculated to support the prelates in power, pomp, and luxury.

(*k*) The disgrace of the bishops was celebrated with bonfires, and all sorts of public rejoicings.

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the word of a king, I never did intend any force, but shall proceed against them in a fair and legal way: for I never meant any other. And now since I see I cannot do what I came for, I think this is no unfit occasion to repeat what I have said formerly, that whatever I have done in favour and to the good of my subjects, I do intend to maintain it."

When the king was looking around for the accused members, he asked the speaker, who stood below, whether any of these persons were in the house? The speaker, falling on his knee, prudently replied: "I have, Sir, neither eyes to see, nor tongue to speak in this place, but as the house is pleased to direct me, whose servant I am. And I humbly ask pardon, that I cannot give any other answer to what your majesty is pleased to demand of me."

The commons were in the utmost disorder; and, when the king was departing, some members cried aloud, so as he might hear them, "*Privilege! privilege!*" And the house immediately adjourned till next day.

That evening, the accused members, to show the greater apprehension, removed into the city, which was their fortress. The citizens were the whole night in arms. Some people, who were appointed for that purpose, or perhaps actuated by their own terrors, ran from gate to gate, crying out, that the cavaliers were coming to burn the city, and that the king himself was at their head.

The next morning Charles sent to the mayor, and ordered him to call a common-council immediately. About ten o'clock, he himself, attended only by three or four lords, went to Guildhall. He told the common-council, that he was sorry to hear of the apprehensions entertained of him; that he was come to them without any guard, in order to show how much he relied on their affections; and that he had accused certain men of high-treason, against whom he would proceed in a legal way, and therefore presumed that they would not meet with protection in the city. After many other expressions of a similar cajoling nature, he told one of the sheriffs, who of the two was thought the least inclined to his service, that he would dine with him. He departed the hall without receiving the applause which he expected. In passing through the streets, he heard the cry, "Privilege of parliament! privilege of parliament?" resounding from all quarters. One of the populace drew nigh to his coach, and called out with a loud voice, "To your tents, O Israel!" the words employed by the mutinous Israelites, when they abandoned Rehoboam, their rash and ill-counselled sovereign.

When the house of commons met, they affected the greatest dismay; and adjourning themselves for some days, ordered a committee to sit in merchant-taylors hall in the city. The committee made an exact inquiry into all circumstances attending the king's entry into the house: every passionate speech, every menacing gesture of any, even the meanest of his attendants, was recorded. An intention of offering violence to the parliament, of seizing the accused members in the very house, and of murdering all who should make resistance, was inferred, and that perhaps with justice, since he came attended by two hundred men in arms. And that unparalleled breach of privilege was still ascribed to the counsel of Papists and their adherents. This expression, which then recurred every moment in speeches and memorials, begat at that time the deepest and most real consternation throughout the kingdom.

A letter was intercepted, and communicated to the committee, who laid great stress upon it. One Catholic there congratulates another on the accusation of the members; and represents that incident as a branch of the same pious contrivance, which had excited the Irish insurrection, and by which the profane heretics would soon be exterminated in England.

The house again met; and after confirming the votes of their committee, instantly adjourned, as if exposed to the most imminent perils from the violence of their enemies. This practice they continued for some time. When the people were wrought up to a sufficient degree of rage and terror, through the king's imprudence, it was thought proper, that the accused members should, with a triumphant and military procession, take their seats in the house. The river was covered with boats, and other vessels, laden with small pieces of ordnance, and prepared for fight. Skippon, whom the parliament had appointed major-general of the city-militia, conducted the members to Westminster Hall; and when the populace, by land and by water, passed Whitehall, they still asked with insulting shouts, "What has become of the king and his cavaliers? and whither are they fled?"

The king, in his turn, becoming apprehensive of danger from the enraged multitude, had retired to Hampton Court, deserted by all the world, and overwhelmed with grief, shame, and remorse, for the fatal measures into which he had precipitated himself. His distressed situation he could no longer ascribe to the rigours of destiny, or the malignity of enemies: his own precipitancy and indiscretion must bear the blame of whatever disasters should henceforth befal him. The most faithful of his adherents, between sorrow and indignation, were confounded with reflections on what had happened, and what was likely to follow. Seeing every prospect blasted, the parliament triumphant, the discontented populace inflamed to a degree of fury, they utterly despaired of success in a cause to whose ruin friends and enemies seemed equally to conspire.

The prudence of the king, in his conduct of this affair, nobody pretended to justify. The legality of his proceedings met with many apologies from his partizans; but they were generally offered to unwilling ears. No maxim of law, it was said, is more established or more universally allowed, than that privilege of parliament extends not to treason, felony, or breach of peace; nor has either house, during former ages, ever pretended in any of those cases to interpose in behalf of its members. Though some inconvenience should result from the observance of this maxim; that would not be sufficient, without other authority, to abolish a principle established by uninterrupted precedent, and founded on the tacit consent of the whole legislature. But what are the inconveniences so much dreaded? The king, on pretence of treason, may seize any members of the opposite faction, and, for a time, gain to his partizans the majority of voices. But if he seize only a few; will he not lose more friends by such a gross artifice than he confines enemies? If he seize a great number; is not this expedient force, open and barefaced? And what remedy at all times against such force, but to oppose to it a force which is superior? Even allowing that the king intended to employ violence, not authority, for seizing the members; though at that time, and ever afterwards, he positively asserted the contrary; yet will his conduct admit of excuse. That the hall, where the parliament assembles, is an inviolable sanctuary, was never yet pretended. And if the commons complain of the affront offered them, by an attempt to arrest their members in their very presence; the blame must lie entirely on themselves, who had formerly refused compliance with the king's message, when he peaceably demanded these members. The sovereign is the great executor of the laws; and his presence was here legally employed, both in order to prevent opposition, and to protect the house against those insults which their disobedience had so well merited.

Such was the reasoning of the courtiers; but Charles knew to how little purpose he should urge these reasons against the present fury of the commons. He proposed, therefore, by a message, that they would agree upon a legal method, by which he might carry on his prosecution against the members, lest farther misunderstandings happen with regard to privilege. They desired him to lay the grounds of accusation before the house; and said that they must first judge whether it were proper to give up their members to a trial. The king then informed them, that he would wave for the present all prosecution: by successive messages, he afterwards offered a pardon to the members; offered to concur in any law that should acquit or secure them; offered any reparation to the house for the breach of privilege, of which, he acknowledged, they had reason to complain. It cannot be supposed, from the tyrannical disposition of Charles, that he would have made these concessions if he had not known that he had been guilty of a fault. They were resolved to accept of no satisfaction, unless he would discover his advisers in that illegal measure: a condition to which, they knew, that, without rendering himself for ever vile and contemptible, he could not possibly submit. Meanwhile, they continued to inveigh against the violation of parliamentary privileges, and, by their violent outcries, to inflame the whole nation. The secret reason of their displeasure, however obvious, they carefully concealed. In the king's accusation of the members, they plainly saw his judgement of the late parliamentary proceedings; and every adherent of

of the popular party dreaded the same fate, should royal authority be re-established according to his ideas. By the most unhappy conduct, Charles, while he extremely augmented in his opponents the will, had also increased the ability of hurting him.

To shew how greatly the people were displeased at the manner in which Charles had acted, petitions were sent from most parts of the kingdom. A petition from the county of Buckingham was presented to the house by six thousand subscribers, who promised to live and die in defence of the privileges of parliament. The city of London, the county of Essex, those of Hertford, Surrey, Berks, imitated the example. A petition from the apprentices was graciously received. Nay, one was presented from the porters; whose numbers amounted, as they said, to fifteen thousand. The address of that great body contained the same articles with all the others; the privileges of parliament, the danger of religion, the rebellion of Ireland, the decay of trade. The porters farther desired, that justice might be done upon offenders, as the atrociousness of their crimes had deserved. And they added, "That if such remedies were any longer suspended, they should be forced to extremities not fit to be named, and make good the saying, "That necessity has no law."

Another petition was presented by several poor people, in the name of many thousands more; in which the petitioners proposed as a remedy for the public miseries, "That those noble worthies of the house of peers, who concur with the happy votes of the commons, may separate themselves from the rest, and sit and vote as one entire body." The commons gave thanks for this petition.

The very women imitated the example of the men. A brewer's wife, followed by many thousands of her sex, brought a petition to the house; in which the petitioners expressed their terror of the Papists and prelates, and their dread of like massacres, rapes, and outrages, with those which had been committed upon their sex in Ireland. They had been necessitated, they said, to imitate the example of the women of Tekoah: and they claimed equal right with the men, of declaring, by petition, their sense of the public cause; because Christ had purchased them at as dear a rate, and in the free enjoyment of Christ consists equally the happiness of both sexes. Pym came to the door of the house; and having told the female zealots, that their petition was thankfully accepted, and was presented in a seasonable time, he begged that their prayers for the success of the commons might follow their petition.

In the mean time, not only all petitions, which favoured the church or monarchy, from whatever hand they came, were discouraged; but the petitioners were sent for, imprisoned, and prosecuted as delinquents; and this unequal conduct was openly avowed and justified. Whoever desire a change, it was said, must express their sentiments; for how, otherwise, shall they be known? But those who favour the established government in church or state, should not petition; because they already enjoy what they wish for.

The king had possessed a great party in the lower house, as appeared in the vote for the remonstrance; and this party, had every new cause of disgust been carefully avoided, would soon have become the majority; from the odium attending the violent measures embraced by the popular leaders. A great majority he always possessed in the house of peers, even after the bishops were put in confinement; and this majority could not have been overcome, but by outrages which, in the end, would have drawn disgrace and ruin on those who incited them. By the present fury of the people, as by an inundation, were all these obstacles swept away, and every rampart of royal authority laid level with the ground. The victory was pursued with impetuosity by the sagacious commons, who knew the importance of a favourable moment in all popular commotions. The terror of their authority they extended over the whole nation; and all opposition, and even all blame vented in private conversation, were treated as the most atrocious crimes by these severe inquisitors. Scarcely was it permitted to find fault with the conduct of any particular member, if he made a figure in the house; and reflections thrown out on Pym, were at this time treated as breaches of privilege. The populace without doors were ready to execute, from the least hint, the will of their leaders; nor was it safe for any member to approach either house, who pretended to control or oppose the general torrent. After so undisguised a manner was this affair conducted, that Hollis, in a speech to the peers, desired to know the names of such members as should vote contrary to the sentiments of the commons: and Pym said in the lower house, that the people must not be restrained in the expressions of their just desires.

By the flight, or terror, or despondency of the king's party, an undisputed majority remained every where to their opponents; and the bills sent up by the commons, which had hitherto stopped with the peers, now passed, and were presented for the royal assent. These were, the pressing bill with its preamble, and the bill against the votes of the bishops in parliament. The king's authority was at that time reduced to the lowest ebb. The queen too, being secretly threatened with an impeachment, and finding no resource in her husband's protection, was preparing to retire into Holland. The rage of the people was, on account of her religion, as well as on account of her intriguing disposition, universally levelled against her. The commons, in their fury against priests of the Roman Catholic persuasion, had seized her very confessor; nor would they release him upon her repeated applications; because it was averred he had been a party in instigating the massacres in Ireland. Even a visit of the prince to his mother had been openly complained of, and remonstrances against it had been presented to her. Apprehensive of attacks still more violent, she was desirous of facilitating her escape; and she prevailed with the king to pass these bills, in hopes of appeasing for a time the rage of the multitude.

These concessions, however important, the king immediately found to have no other effect, than had all the preceding ones: they were made the foundation of demands still more exorbitant; for the commons believed that he could now refuse them nothing. And they regarded the least moment of relaxation, in their invasion of royal authority, as highly impolitic, during the uninterrupted torrent of their successes. The moment the commons were informed of these last acquisitions they opened some intercepted letters written to her by lord Digby: they carried up an impeachment against Herbert, attorney-general, for obeying the king's commands in accusing their members. And they prosecuted with fresh vigour, their plan of the militia, on which they rested all future hopes of an uncontrolled authority.

The commons were sensible that monarchical government, which, during so many ages, had been established in England, would soon regain some degree of its former dignity, after the present tempest was overblown; nor would all the new-invented limitations be able totally to suppress an authority, to which the nation had hitherto been accustomed. The sword alone, to which all human ordinances must submit, could guard their acquired power, and fully ensure to them personal safety against the rising indignation of the king. A large magazine of arms had been placed in the town of Hull, and the commons dispatched thither sir John Hotham, a gentleman of considerable fortune in the neighbourhood, and of an ancient family, whom they made governor. They sent orders to Goring, governor of Portsmouth, to obey no commands but such as he should receive from the parliament. They obliged the king to displace Lunsford, whom he had appointed governor of the Tower, and solicited him to displace sir John Biron, whom he had put in his place, and afterwards requested him to bestow that command on sir John Conyers, in whom alone, they said, they could repose confidence. After making a fruitless attempt, in which the peers refused their concurrence, to give public warning, that the people should put themselves in a posture of defence against the enterprizes of Papists and other ill-affected persons, they now resolved, by a bold and decisive stroke, to seize at once the whole power of the sword, and to confer it entirely on their own partizans.

The severe votes passed in the beginning of this parliament against lieutenants and their deputies, had totally disarmed the crown, and had not left in any magistrate military authority sufficient for the defence and security of the nation. To remedy this inconvenience now appeared necessary. A bill was introduced and passed the two houses, which restored to lieutenants and deputies the same powers of which the votes of the commons had bereaved them; but at the same time the names of all the lieutenants were inserted in the bill; and these consisted entirely of men in whom the parliament could confide. And for their conduct, they were accountable, by the express terms of the bill, not to the king, but to the parliament.

The policy pursued by the commons, and which had hitherto succeeded to admiration, was to astonish the king by

by the boldness of their enterprizes, and to make him sensible in what little estimation they held both his person and his dignity. To a bill so destructive of royal authority, they prefixed the following preamble: "Whereas there has been of late a most dangerous and desperate design upon the house of commons, which we have just cause to believe an effect of the bloody counsels of Papists and other ill-affected persons, who have already raised a rebellion in the kingdom of Ireland. And whereas, by reason of many discoveries, we cannot but fear they will proceed, not only to stir up the like rebellions and insurrections in this kingdom of England; but also to back them with forces from abroad, &c."

Charles, having determined upon rigorous measures, did not absolutely refuse, but delayed to sanction the bill. When the demand for his giving the royal assent was made, he was at Dover, attending the queen and the princess of Orange, in their embarkation. He replied, that he had not now leisure to consider a matter of so great importance, and must therefore respite his answer till his return. The parliament dispatched another message to him, on the 22nd of February, with solicitations still more importunate. They expressed their great grief on account of his majesty's answer to their just and necessary petition. They represented, that any delay, during dangers and distractions so great and pressing, was not less unsatisfactory and destructive than an absolute denial. They insisted, that it was their duty to see put in execution a measure so necessary for public safety. And they affirmed, on the 28th, that the people, in many counties, had applied to them for that purpose, and, in some places, were, of themselves, and by their own authority, providing against those urgent dangers with which they were threatened.

Even after this insolence, the king durst not venture upon a flat denial. Besides excepting to the preamble, which threw such dishonour upon him, and protesting the innocence of his intentions when he entered the house of commons; he only desired that the military authority, if it were defective, should first be conferred upon the crown; and he promised to bestow commissions, but such as should be revocable at pleasure, on the same persons whom the parliament had named in the bill. By a former message he had expressed his wishes, that they would lay before him, in one view, all the concessions which they deemed requisite for the settlement of the nation. They answered, that they were exposed to perils so dreadful and imminent, that they had not leisure for such a work. The expedient proposed by the king seemed a plausible remedy during this emergence; but yet it maintained the prerogatives of the crown entire and unbroken.

But the intentions of the commons were wide of this purpose, and their panics could be cured by one remedy alone. They replied, that the dangers and distempers of the nation were such as could endure no longer delay; and, unless the king speedily complied with their demands, they should be constrained, for the safety of prince and people, to dispose of the militia by the authority of both houses, and were resolved to do it accordingly. They asserted, that those parts of the kingdom which had, from their own authority, put themselves in a posture of defence during these prevailing fears and jealousies, had acted suitably to the declarations and directions of both houses, and conformably to the laws of the kingdom. And while they thus menaced the king with their power, they invited him to fix his residence at London, where they knew he would be entirely at their mercy.

"I am so much amazed at this message," said the king in his reply, "that I know not what to answer. You speak of jealousies and fears! lay your hands on your hearts, and ask yourselves, whether I may not likewise be disturbed with fears and jealousies: and if so, I assure you that this message has nothing lessened them. As to the militia, I thought so much of it before I gave that answer, and am so much assured that the answer is agreeable to what in justice or reason you can ask, or I in honour grant, that I shall not alter it in any point. For my residence near you, I wish it might be safe and honourable, and that I had no cause to absent myself from Whitehall: ask yourselves whether I have not. What would you have? Have I violated your laws? Have I denied to pass any bill for the ease and security of my subjects? I do not ask what you have done for me. Have any of my people been transported with fears and apprehensions? I offer as free and general a pardon as yourselves can devise. All this considered, there is a judgement of Heaven upon this nation if these distractions continue.

"God so deal with me and mine as all my thoughts and intentions are upright for the maintenance of the true Protestant profession, and for the observance and preservation of the laws; and I hope God will bless and assist those laws for my preservation."

No sooner did the commons despair of obtaining the king's consent to their bill, than they voted, that those who advised his majesty's answer were enemies to the state, and mischievous projectors against the safety of the nation; that this denial is of such dangerous consequence, that if his majesty persist in it, it will hazard the peace and tranquillity of all his kingdoms, unless some speedy remedy be applied by the wisdom and authority of both houses; and that such of the subjects as have put themselves in a posture of defence against the common danger, have done nothing but what is justifiable, and approved by the house.

Lest the people might be averse to the seconding of all the plan of the parliament, they were plied anew with rumours of danger, with the terrors of invasion, with the dread of the English and Irish Papists; and the most unaccountable panics were spread throughout the nation. Lord Digby having entered Kingston in a coach and six, attended by a few livery servants, the intelligence was conveyed to London; and it was immediately voted, that he had appeared in a hostile manner, to the terror and affright of his majesty's subjects, and levied war against the king and kingdom. Petitions from all quarters loudly demanded of the parliament to put the nation in a posture of defence; and the county of Stafford, in particular, expressed such dread of an insurrection among the Papists, that every man, they said, was constrained to stand upon his guard, not even daring to go to church unarmed.

Charles now resolved to remove farther from London; and accordingly, taking the prince of Wales and the duke of York along with him, he arrived, by slow journies, at York, which he determined for some time to make the place of his residence. The distant parts of the kingdom, being removed from that furious vortex of new principles and opinions which had transported the capital, still retained some regard for the church and monarchy; and the king here found marks of attachment beyond what he had before expected. Some of the nobility and gentry, the partizans of the court, either personally, or by messages and letters, expressed their duty towards him; and exhorted him to save himself and them from that ignominious slavery with which they were threatened.

Charles, finding himself supported by some of the nobility, began to speak in a firmer tone, and to retort the accusations of the commons with a vigour which he had not before exerted. Notwithstanding their remonstrances, he still persisted in refusing their bill; and they proceeded to frame an ordinance, in which, by the authority of the two houses, without the king's consent, they named lieutenants for all the counties, and conferred on them the command of the whole military force, of all the guards, garrisons, and forts of the kingdom. He issued proclamations against this manifest usurpation: and, as he professed a resolution strictly to observe the law himself, so was he determined, he said, to oblige every other person to pay it a like obedience. The name of the king was so essential to all laws, and so familiar in all acts of executive authority, that the parliament was afraid, had they totally omitted it, that the innovation would be too sensible to the people. In all commands, therefore, which they conferred, they bound the persons to obey the orders of his majesty, signified by both houses of parliament. And, making a distinction between the office and the person of the king; those very forces which they employed against him, they levied in his name, and by his authority.

It is remarkable how much the topics of argument were now reversed between the parties. The king, while he acknowledged his former error, of employing a plea of necessity, in order to infringe the laws and constitution, warned the parliament not to imitate an example on which they threw such violent blame; and the parliament, while they clothed their personal fears or ambition under the appearance of national and imminent danger, made unknowingly an apology for the most exceptionable part of the king's conduct. That the liberties of the people were no longer exposed to any peril from royal authority, so narrowly circumscribed, so exactly defined, so much unsupported by revenue and by military power, might be

maintained upon very plausible topics: but that the danger was not of that kind, which dissolves all law, and levels all limitations, seems apparent from the simplest view of these transactions. So obvious indeed was the king's present inability to invade the constitution, that the fears and jealousies which operated on the people, and pushed them so furiously to arms, were undoubtedly not of a civil, but of a religious nature. The imaginations of men were agitated with a continual dread of popery, with a horror against prelacy, with an antipathy to ceremonies and the liturgy, and with a violent affection for whatever was most opposite to these objects of aversion. The religious spirit of the people being now let loose, confounded all regard to ease, safety, interest; and dissolved every moral and civil obligation.

Each of the parties seemed now willing to throw on its antagonist the odium of commencing a civil war; but both of them prepared for an event which they deemed inevitable. To gain the people's favour and good opinion, was the chief point on both sides. Never was there a people less corrupted by vice, and more actuated by principle, than the English during that period; never were there individuals who possessed more capacity, more courage, more public spirit, more disinterested zeal. The infusion of one ingredient, in too large a proportion, had corrupted all these noble principles, and converted them into the most virulent poison. To determine his choice in the approaching contests, every man hearkened with avidity to the reasons proposed on both sides. The war of the pen preceded that of the sword, and daily sharpened the humours of the opposite parties. Besides private adventurers without number, the king and parliament themselves carried on the controversy, by messages, remonstrances, and declarations; where the nation was really the party to whom all arguments were addressed.

To clear up the principles of the constitution, to mark the boundaries of the powers entrusted by law to the several members, to show what great improvements the whole political system had received from the king's late concessions, to demonstrate his confidence in his people, and his reliance on their affections, to point out the ungrateful returns which had been made him, and the enormous encroachments, insults, and indignities, to which he had been exposed; these were the topics which were insisted on in the king's declarations and remonstrances.

Though these writings were of consequence, and operated powerfully on the minds of some men to favour Charles, it was evident that they would not be decisive, and that keener weapons must determine the controversy. To the ordinance of the parliament concerning the militia, the king opposed his commissions of array. The counties obeyed the one or the other, according as they stood affected. And in many counties, where the people were divided, mobbish combats and skirmishes ensued. The parliament, on this occasion, voted, "That when the lords and commons in parliament, which is the supreme court of judicature, shall declare what the law of the land is, to have this not only questioned, but contradicted, is a high breach of their privileges." This was a plain assuming of the whole legislative authority, and exerting it in the most material article, the government of the militia. Upon the same principles, they pretended, by a verbal criticism on the tense of a Latin verb, to ravish from the king his negative voice in the legislature (*l*).

The magazine of Hull contained the arms of all the forces levied against the Scots; and sir John Hotham, the governor, though he had accepted of a commission from the parliament, was not thought so much disaffected to the church and monarchy. Charles, therefore, entertained hopes, that, if he presented himself at Hull before the commencement of hostilities, Hotham, overawed by his presence, would admit him with his retinue; after which he might easily render himself master of the place. But the governor was on his guard. He shut the gates, and refused to receive the king, who desired leave to enter with twenty persons only. Charles immediately proclaimed him traitor, and complained to the parliament of his disobedience. The parliament avowed and justified the action (*m*).

The county of York levied a guard for the king of six hundred men. The two houses, though they had already levied a guard for themselves; had attempted to seize all the military power, all the navy, and all the forts of the kingdom; and had openly employed their authority in every kind of warlike preparations; yet immediately voted, "That the king, seduced by wicked counsel, intended to make war against his parliament, who, in all their consultations and actions, had proposed no other end, but the care of his kingdoms, and the performance of all duty and loyalty to his person; that this attempt was a breach of the trust reposed in him by his people, contrary to his oath, and tending to a dissolution of the government; and that whoever should assist him in such a war, were traitors by the fundamental laws of the kingdom (*n*)."

The armies, which had been every-where raised on pretence of the service in Ireland, were henceforth more openly inlisted by the parliament for their own purposes, and the command of them was given to the earl of Essex. In London no less than four thousand men inlisted in one day. And the parliament voted a declaration, which they required every member to subscribe, that they would live and die with their general.

On the 10th of June, they issued orders for bringing in loans of money and plate, in order to maintain forces which should defend the king and both houses of parliament: for this style they still preserved. Within ten days, vast quantities of plate were brought to their treasurers. Scarcely were there men enough to receive it, or room sufficient to stow it; and many, with regret, were obliged to carry back their offerings, and wait till the treasurers could find leisure to receive them. Such zeal animated the pious partizans of the parliament, especially in the city! The women gave up all the plate and ornaments of their houses, and even their silver thimbles and bodkins, in order to support the *good cause* against the malignants.

In the mean time the splendour of the nobility, with which the king was environed, much eclipsed the appearance at Westminster. Lord-keeper Littleton, after sending the great seal before him, had fled to York. Above forty peers of the first rank attended the king; while the house of lords seldom consisted of more than sixteen members. Many members of the lower house also absented themselves from counsels which they deemed so full of danger. The commons sent up an impeachment against nine peers, for deserting their duty in parliament. Their own members also, who should return to them, they voted not to admit, till satisfied concerning the reason of their absence.

Charles made a declaration to the peers who attended him, that he expected from them no obedience to any commands which were not warranted by the laws of the land. The peers answered this declaration by a protest, in which they declared their resolution to obey no commands but such as were warranted by that authority. By these deliberate engagements, so worthy of an English prince and English nobility, had they been sincere, they meant to confound the furious and tumultuary resolutions taken by the parliament.

The queen, disposing of the crown-jewels in Holland, had been enabled to purchase a cargo of arms and ammunition. Part of these, after escaping many perils, arrived safely to the king. His preparations were not near so forward as those of the parliament; but the urgent necessity of his situation no longer admitted of delay. He now prepared himself for defence.

That the king might despair of all composition, the parliament sent him the conditions on which they were willing to come to an agreement. Their demands, contained in nineteen propositions, amounted to a total abolition of monarchical authority. They required, that no man should remain in the council, who was not agreeable to parliament; that no deed of the king's should have validity, unless it passed the council, and was attested under their hand; that all the officers of state and principal judges should be chosen with consent of parliament, and enjoy their offices for life; that none of the royal family should marry without consent of parliament or council; that the laws should be executed against Catholics; that the votes of popish lords should be excluded; that the reformation of the liturgy and church-government should have place,

(*l*) The king, by his coronation oath, promises that he would maintain the laws and customs which the people had chosen, *quas vulgus elegerit*: The parliament pretended that *elegerit* meant *shall chuse*; and consequently, that the king had no right to refuse any bills which should be presented him. See *Rushworth*, vol. v. p. 380.

(*m*) Whitlocke, p. 55. Rushworth, vol. v. p. 565, &c. May, book ii. p. 51. (*n*) Whitlocke, p. 57. Rushworth, vol. v. p. 717. Dugdale, p. 93. May, book ii. p. 54.

according

according to the advice of parliament; that the ordinance, with regard to the militia, be submitted to; that the justice of parliament pass upon all delinquents; that a general pardon be granted, with such exceptions as should be advised by parliament; that the forts and castles be disposed of by consent of parliament; and that no peer be made but with consent of both houses (*o*).

"Should I grant these demands," said the king in reply, "I may be waited on bareheaded; I may have my hand kissed; the title of majesty may be continued to me; and The King's Authority, signified by both houses, may still be the style of your commands; I may have swords and maces carried before me, and please myself with the sight of a crown and sceptre, though even these twigs would not long flourish, when the stock upon which they grew was dead: but as to true and real power, I should remain but the outside, but the picture, but the sign of a king (*p*)." War on any terms was esteemed, by the king and all his counsellors, preferable to so ignominious a peace. Charles accordingly resolved to support his authority by arms. "His towns," he said, "were taken from him, his ships, his arms, his money; but there still remained to him a good cause, and the hearts of his loyal subjects, which, with God's blessing, he doubted not, would recover all the rest." Collecting therefore some forces, he advanced southwards; and at Nottingham he erected his royal standard, the open signal of discord and civil war throughout the kingdom (*q*).

When two names, so sacred in the English constitution as those of KING and PARLIAMENT, were placed in opposition; we need not wonder that the people were divided in their choice, and were agitated with the most violent animosities and factions. Many of the nobility and more considerable gentry, dreading a total confusion of rank from the fury of the populace, enlisted themselves in defence of the monarch, from whom they received, and to whom they communicated, their lustre. Animated with the spirit of royalty, derived from their ancestors, they adhered to the ancient principles of the constitution, and valued themselves on exerting the maxims, as well as inheriting the possessions, of the old English families. And while they passed their time mostly at their country-seats, they were surprized to hear of opinions prevailing, with which they had ever been unacquainted, and which implied not a limitation, but an abolition almost total, of monarchical authority.

The city of London, on the other hand, and most of the great corporations, took part with the parliament, and adopted with zeal those democratical principles on which the pretensions of that assembly were founded. The government of cities, which even under absolute monarchies is commonly republican, inclined them to this party: the small hereditary influence, which can be retained over the industrious inhabitants of towns; the natural independence of citizens; and the force of popular currents over those more numerous associations of mankind; all these causes gave, there, authority to the principles of liberty which were propagated throughout the nation. Many families too, which had lately been enriched by commerce, saw with indignation, that, notwithstanding their opulence, they could not raise themselves to a level with the gentry: they therefore adhered to a power, by whose success they hoped to acquire rank and consideration. And the new splendour and glory of the Dutch commonwealth, whose liberty so happily supported industry, and where all men had equal rights, made the commercial part of the nation desire to see a like form of government established in this country.

The genius of the two religions, so closely at this time interwoven with politics, corresponded exactly to these divisions. The church government of the Presbyterian religion was republican, and suited to the genius of the populace: the established church had an air of greater show and ornament, and by its approximation in many instances to the church of Rome, bore an affinity to the kingly and aristocratical parts of the constitution. The devotees of Presbytery became of course zealous partizans of the parliament (*r*): the friends of the episcopal church valued themselves on defending the rights of monarchy. Some men also there were of liberal education who, being either careless or ignorant of those disputes bandied about by the clergy of both sides, aspired to nothing but an easy enjoyment of life, amidst the jovial entertainment and social intercourse of their companions. Many of these flocked to the kings's standard, where they breathed a freer air, and were exempted from that austerity which reigned among the parliamentary party.

Never was a quarrel more unequal than seemed at first that between the contending parties: almost every advantage lay against the royal cause. The king's revenue had been seized, from the beginning by the parliament, who issued out to him, from time to time, small sums for his present subsistence; and so soon as he withdrew to York, (as might have been expected,) they stopped all payments. London and all the sea-ports, except Newcastle, being in their hands, the customs yielded them a certain and considerable supply of money; and all contributions, loans, and impositions, were more easily raised from the cities which possessed the ready money, and where men lived under their inspection, than they could be levied by the king in those open countries, which after some time declared for him.

The seamen naturally followed the disposition of the sea-ports to which they belonged: and the earl of Northumberland, lord admiral, having embraced the side of the parliament, had appointed, at their desire, the earl of Warwick to be his lieutenant, who at once established his authority in the fleet, and kept the entire dominion of the sea in the hands of that assembly. All the magazines of arms and ammunition were from the first seized by the parliament; and their fleet intercepted the greater part of those which were sent by the queen from Holland. The king was obliged, in order to arm his followers, to borrow the weapons of the train-bands, under promise of restoring them so soon as peace should be settled in the kingdom.

The veneration for parliaments was at this time extreme throughout the nation. The custom of reviling those assemblies for corruption, as it had no pretence, so was it unknown, during all former ages. Few or no instances of their encroaching ambition had hitherto been observed: the reason of which was, because the sovereigns had hitherto acted rather arbitrarily, and compelled them to pass laws, which, in more favourable times, they would have refused. Witness the behaviour of Henry VIII. Elizabeth, James I. and even Charles himself. Men now considered the house of commons in no other light than as the representatives of the nation, whose interest was the same with that of the public, who were the eternal guardians of law and liberty, and whom no motive, but the necessary defence of the people, could ever engage in an opposition to the nation. The torrent, therefore, of general affection ran to the parliament. What is the great advantage of popularity, the privilege of affixing epithets, fell of course to that party. The king's adherents were the *Wicked* and the *Malignant*: their adversaries were the *Godly* and the *Well-affected* (*s*). And as the force of the cities was more united than that of the country, and at once gave shelter and protection to the parliamentary party, who could easily suppress the royalists in their neighbourhood, almost the whole kingdom, at the commencement of the war, seemed to be in the hands of the parliament.

What alone gave the king some compensation for all the advantages possessed by his adversaries, was the nature and qualities of his adherents. More bravery and activity were hoped for, from the generous spirit of the nobles and gentry, than from the disposition of the multitude. And as the men of estates, at their own expence, levied and armed their tenants, besides an attachment to their masters, greater force and courage were to be expected in these rustic troops, than in the vicious and enervated populace of cities.

The neighbouring states of Europe, being engaged in violent wars, little interested themselves in these civil commotions; and this island enjoyed the singular advantage (for such it surely was) of fighting out its own quarrels without the interposition of foreigners. France, from policy, had fomented the first disorders in Scotland; had sent over arms to the Irish rebels; and continued to give countenance to the English parliament: Spain, from bi-

(*o*) Rushworth, vol. v. p. 728. May, book ii. p. 54.
(*p*) Rushworth, vol. v. p. 728. Warwick, p. 189.
(*q*) By acting in this manner the king declared war against the parliament, not the parliament against the king.
(*r*) To the Presbyterians must be added the Independents, who being republicans, in the strict sense of the word, in their religious principles, were, of course, republicans in their political notions.
(*s*) Such is Mr. Hume's observation: but that historian forgot that the king's party first ridiculed the puritanical members of the lower house with the appellation of *Round-heads*.

gotry,

gotry, furnished the Irish with some supplies of money and arms. The prince of Orange, closely allied to the crown, encouraged English officers, who served in the Low Countries, to enlist in the king's army: the Scottish officers, who had been formed in Germany, and in the late commotions, chiefly took part with the parliament.

The parliament entertained the most complete contempt for the king's party; and many believed that he never would attempt resistance, but must soon yield to the pretensions of the two houses. Even after the king's standard was erected, men could not be brought to apprehend the danger of a civil war; nor was it imagined that he would have the imprudence to enrage his implacable enemies, and render his own condition more desperate, by opposing a force which was superior to his own. The low condition in which he appeared at Nottingham confirmed all these hopes. His artillery, though far from numerous, had been left at York, for want of horses to transport it. Besides the trained bands of the county, raised by sir John Digby, the sheriff, he had not gotten together above three hundred infantry. His cavalry, in which consisted his chief strength, exceeded not eight hundred, and were very ill provided with arms. The forces of the parliament lay at Northampton, within a few days march of him; and consisted of above six thousand men, well armed and well appointed. Had these troops advanced upon him, they must soon have dissipated the small force which he had assembled. By pursuing him in his retreat, they had so discredited his cause, and discouraged his adherents, as to have for ever prevented his collecting an army able to make head against them. But the earl of Essex, the parliamentary general, had not yet received any orders from his masters. What rendered them so backward, after such precipitate steps as they had before taken, is not easily explained; unless it be, that they imagined the king would of his own accord disband his soldiers, and make peace with them; or else, that the royalists, sensible of their feeble condition, and convinced of their slender resources, would disperse of themselves, and leave their adversaries a victory, so much the more complete and secure, as it would be gained without the appearance of force, and without the effusion of blood. Perhaps too, when it became necessary to make the concluding step, their scruples and apprehensions, though not sufficient to overcome their resolutions, were able to retard the execution of them.

Sir Jacob Astley, whom the king had appointed major-general of his intended army, told him, that he could not give him assurance but he might be taken out of his bed, if the rebels should make a brisk attempt to that purpose. All the king's attendants were full of well-grounded apprehensions. Some of the lords having desired that a message might be sent to the parliament, with overtures to a treaty, Charles, who well knew that an accommodation, in his present condition, meant nothing but a total submission, hastily broke up the council, lest this proposal should be farther insisted on. But next day, the earl of Southampton, whom no one could suspect of base or timid sentiments, having offered the same advice in council, it was hearkened to with more coolness and deliberation. He urged, that though such a step would probably increase the insolence of the parliament, this was so far from being an objection, that such dispositions must necessarily turn to the advantage of the royal cause: that if they refused to treat, which was more probable, the very sound of peace was so popular, that nothing could more disgust the nation than such haughty severity: that if they admitted of a treaty, their proposals, considering their present situation, would be so exorbitant, as to open the eyes of their most partial adherents, and turn the general favour to the king's party: and that, at worst, time might be gained by this expedient, and a delay of the imminent danger with which the king was at present threatened.

Charles, on assembling the council, had declared against all advances towards an accommodation; and had said, that, having now nothing left him but his honour, this last possession he was resolved steadily to preserve, and rather to perish than yield any farther to the pretensions of his enemies. But, by the unanimous desire of the counsellors, he was prevailed on to embrace Southampton's advice. That nobleman, therefore, with sir John Colepeper and sir William Uvedale, was dispatched to London, with offers of a treaty. The manner in which they were received gave little hopes of success. Southampton was not allowed by the peers to take his seat; but was ordered to deliver his message to the usher, and immediately to depart the city: the commons showed little better disposition towards Colepeper and Uvedale. Both houses replied, that they could admit of no treaty with the king, till he took down his standard, and recalled his proclamations, in which the parliament supposed themselves to be declared traitors. The king, by a second message, denied any such intention against the two houses; but offered to recal these proclamations, provided the parliament agreed to recal theirs, in which his adherents were declared traitors. They desired him, in return, to dismiss his forces, to reside with his parliament, and to give up delinquents to justice. Both parties flattered themselves, that, by these messages and replies, they had gained the ends which they proposed. The king believed that the people were made sufficiently sensible of the parliament's aversion to peace: the parliament intended, by this vigour in their resolutions, to support the vigour of their military operations.

The courage of the parliament was increased, besides their great superiority of force, by two recent events, which had happened in their favour. Goring was governor of Portsmouth, the best fortified town in the kingdom, and, by its situation, of great importance. This man seemed to have rendered himself an implacable enemy to the king, by betraying, probably magnifying, the secret cabals of the army; and the parliament thought that his fidelity to them might, on that account, be entirely depended on. But the same levity of mind still attended him, and the same disregard to engagements and professions. He took underhand his measures with the court, and declared against the parliament. But, though he had been sufficiently supplied with money, and long before knew his danger, so small was his foresight, that he had left the place entirely destitute of provisions, and in a few days he was obliged to surrender to the parliamentary forces.

The marquis of Hertford was a nobleman of the greatest quality and character in the kingdom, and, equally with the king, descended, by a female, from Henry VII. During the reign of James, he had attempted, without having obtained the consent of that monarch, to marry Arabella Stuart, a lady nearly related to the crown; and, upon discovery of his intentions, had been obliged, for some time, to fly the kingdom. Ever after, he was looked on with an evil eye at court, from which, in a great measure, he withdrew; and living in an independent manner, he addicted himself entirely to literary occupations and amusements. In proportion as the king declined in popularity, Hertford's character flourished with the people; and when this parliament assembled, no nobleman possessed more general favour and authority. By his sagacity, he soon perceived, that the commons, not content with correcting the abuses of government, were carried, by the natural current of power and popularity, into the opposite extreme, and were committing violations, no less dangerous than the former, upon the English constitution. Immediately he devoted himself to the support of the king's falling authority, and was prevailed with to be governor to the young prince, and reside at court, to which, in the eyes of all men, he gave, by his presence, a new lustre and authority. So high was his character for mildness and humanity, that he still preserved, by means of these popular virtues, the public favour; and notwithstanding his habits of ease and study, he now exerted himself in raising an army for the king; and being named general of the western counties, where his interest chiefly lay, he began to assemble forces in Somersetshire. By the assistance of lord Seymour, lord Paulet, John Digby, son of the earl of Bristol, sir Francis Hawley, and others, he had drawn together some appearance of an army; when the parliament, apprehensive of the danger, sent the earl of Bedford with a considerable force against him. On his approach, Hertford was obliged to retire into Sherborne castle; and, finding that place untenable, he passed over into Wales, leaving sir Ralph Hopton, sir John Berkeley, Digby, and other officers, with their horse, consisting of about a hundred and twenty, to march into Cornwall, in hopes of finding that county better prepared for their reception.

All the dispersed bodies of the parliamentary army were now ordered to march to Northampton; and the earl of Essex, who had joined them, found the whole amount to fifteen thousand men. The king, though his camp had been gradually reinforced from all quarters, was sensible that

that he had no army which could cope with so formidable a force; and he thought it prudent, by slow marches, to retire to Derby, thence to Shrewsbury, in order to countenance the levies which his friends were making in those parts. At Wellington, a day's march from Shrewsbury, he made a rendezvous of all his forces, and caused his military orders to be read at the head of every regiment. That he might bind himself by reciprocal ties, he solemnly made the following declaration before his whole army:

"I do promise, in the presence of Almighty God, and as I hope for his blessing and protection, that I will, to the utmost of my power, defend and maintain the true reformed Protestant religion, established in the church of England, and, by the grace of God, in the same will live and die.

"I desire that the laws may ever be the measure of my government, and that the liberty and property of the subject may be preserved by them with the same care as my own just rights. And if it please God, by his blessing on this army, raised for my necessary defence, to preserve me from the present rebellion, I do solemnly and faithfully promise, in the sight of God, to maintain the just privileges and freedom of parliament, and to govern, to the utmost of my power, by the known statutes and customs of the kingdom, and particularly to observe inviolably the laws to which I have given my consent this parliament. Meanwhile, if this emergence, and the great necessity to which I am driven, beget any violation of law, I hope it shall be imputed by God and man to the authors of this war; not to me, who have so earnestly laboured to preserve the peace of the kingdom.

"When I willingly fail in these particulars, I shall expect no aid or relief from man, nor any protection from above: but in this resolution I hope for the cheerful assistance of all good men, and am confident of the blessing of Heaven."

Though the concurrence of the church increased the king's adherents, it may safely be affirmed, that the high monarchical doctrines, so much inculcated by the clergy, had never done him any real service. The bulk of that generous train of nobility and gentry who now attended the king in his distresses, breathed the spirit of liberty, as well as of loyalty; and in the hopes alone of his submitting to a legal and limited government, were they willing, in his defence, to sacrifice their lives and fortunes.

While the king's army lay at Shrewsbury, and he was employing himself in collecting money, which he received, though in no great quantities, by voluntary contributions, and by the plate of the universities, which was sent him, the news arrived of an action, the first which had happened in these wars, and where he was successful.

On the appearance of commotions in England, the princes Rupert and Maurice, sons of the unfortunate Palatine, had offered their services to the king; and the former, at that time, commanded a body of horse, which had been sent to Worcester, in order to watch the motions of Essex, who was marching towards that city. No sooner had the prince arrived, than he saw some cavalry of the enemy approaching the gates. Without delay, he briskly attacked them, as they were defiling from a lane, and forming themselves. Colonel Sandys, who led them, and who fought with valour, being mortally wounded, fell from his horse. The whole party was routed, and pursued above a mile; but the prince, hearing of Essex's approach, returned to the main body. This rencounter raised the reputation of the royalists, and acquired to prince Rupert the character of promptitude and courage; qualities which he eminently displayed during the whole course of the war.

The king, on mustering his army, found it amount to ten thousand men. The earl of Lindesey, who in his youth had sought experience of military service in the Low Countries, was general: Prince Rupert commanded the horse: sir Jacob Astley, the foot: sir Arthur Aston, the dragoons: sir John Heydon, the artillery. Lord Bernard Stuart was at the head of a troop of guards (*t*). Their servants, under the command of sir William Killigrew, made another troop, and always marched with their masters.

With this army the king left Shrewsbury, on the 12th of October, resolving to give battle as soon as possible to the army of the parliament, which, he heard was continually augmenting by supplies from London. In order to bring on an action, he directed his march towards the capital, which, he knew, the enemy would not abandon to him. Essex had now received his instructions. The import of them was, to present a most humble petition to the king, and to rescue him and the royal family from those desperate malignants, who had seized their persons. Two days after the departure of the royalists from Shrewsbury, he left Worcester. Though it be commonly easy in civil wars to get intelligence, the armies were within six miles of each other, ere either of the generals was acquainted with the approach of his enemy (*u*).

The royal army lay near Banbury: that of the parliament at Keinton, in the county of Warwick. Prince Rupert sent intelligence of the enemy's approach, on the 23rd of the same month. Though the day was far advanced, the king resolved upon the attack: Essex drew up his men to receive him. Sir Faithful Fortescue, who had levied a troop for the Irish wars, had been obliged to serve in the parliamentary army, and was now posted on the left wing, commanded by Ramsay, a Scotchman. No sooner did the king's army approach, than Fortescue, ordering his troop to discharge their pistols in the ground, put himself under the command of prince Rupert. Partly from this incident, partly from the furious shock made upon them by the prince; that whole wing of cavalry immediately fled, and were pursued for two miles. The right wing of the parliament's army had no better success. Chased from their ground by Wilmot and sir Arthur Aston, they also took to flight. The king's body of reserve, commanded by sir John Biron, judging, like raw soldiers, that all was over, and impatient to have some share in the action, heedlessly followed the chase, which their left wing had precipitately led them. Sir William Balfour, who commanded Essex's reserve, perceived the advantage: he wheeled about upon the king's infantry, now quite unfurnished of horse; and he made great havoc among them. Lindesey, the general, was mortally wounded, and taken prisoner. His son, endeavouring his rescue, fell likewise into the enemy's hands. Sir Edmund Verney, who carried the king's standard, was killed, and the standard taken; but it was afterwards recovered. In this situation, prince Rupert, on his return, found affairs. Every thing bore the appearance of a defeat, instead of a victory, with which he had hastily flattered himself. Some advised the king to leave the field; but he rejected their advice. The two armies faced each other for some time, and neither of them retained courage sufficient for a new attack. All night they lay under arms; and the next morning they found themselves in sight of each other. General, as well as soldier, on both sides, seemed averse to renew the battle. Essex first drew off, and retired to Warwick. The king returned to his former quarters. Five thousand men are said to have been found dead on the field of battle; and the loss of the two armies, as far as can be judged by the opposite accounts, was nearly equal. Such was the event of this first battle, fought at Keinton, or Edge-hill.

Some of Essex's horse, who had been driven off the field in the beginning of the action, flying to a great distance, carried news of a total defeat, and struck a mighty terror into the city and parliament. After a few days, a more just account arrived; and then the parliament pretended to a complete victory. The king also, on his part, was not wanting to display his advantages; though, except the taking of Banbury, a few days after, he had few marks of victory to boast of. He continued his march, and took possession of Oxford, the only town in his dominions which was altogether at his devotion.

After the royal army was recruited and refreshed, as the weather still continued favourable, it was again put in motion. A party of horse approached to Reading, of which Martin was appointed governor by the parliament. Both governor and garrison were seized with a panic, and fled with precipitation to London. The king, fondly supposing that every thing would now yield before him, advanced with his whole army to Reading. The parliament, who, instead of their expectations, that Charles would never be able to collect an army, had now the prospect of a civil war, bloody, and of uncertain event, were farther alarmed at the near approach of the royal army, while their own forces lay at a distance. They voted an address for a treaty. The king's nearer approach to Colebrook quickened their advances for peace. Northumberland and

(*t*) The estates and revenue of this single troop, according to lord Clarendon's computation, were at least equal to those of all the members who, at the commencement of war, voted in both houses.

(*u*) Shrewsbury and Worcester, the places from which they set out, are not above twenty miles distant; yet had the two armies marched ten days in this mutual ignorance.

Pembroke, with three commoners, presented the address of both houses; in which they besought his majesty to appoint some convenient place where he might reside, till committees could attend him with proposals. The king named Windsor, and desired that their garrison might be removed, and his own troops admitted into that castle.

Essex, in the mean time advancing by hasty marches, had arrived at London. But neither the presence of his army, nor the precarious hopes of a treaty, retarded the king's approaches. Charles attacked at Brentford, two regiments quartered there, on the 30th of November, and after a sharp action beat them from that village, and took about five hundred prisoners. The parliament had sent orders to forbear all hostilities, and had expected the same from the king; though no stipulations to that purpose had been mentioned by their commissioners. Loud complaints were raised against this attack, as if it had been the most apparent perfidy, and breach of treaty. Inflamed with resentment, as well as anxious for its own safety, the city marched its trained bands in excellent order, and joined the army under Essex (*v*). After both armies had faced each other for some time, Charles drew off and retired to Reading, thence to Oxford.

While the principal armies on both sides were kept in inaction by the winter season, the king and parliament were employed in real preparations for war, and in seeming advances towards peace. By means of contributions or assessments, levied by the horse, Charles maintained his cavalry: by loans and voluntary presents, sent him from various parts of the kingdom, he supported his infantry; but the supplies were still very unequal to the necessities under which he laboured. The parliament had much greater resources for money; and had, by consequence, every military preparation in much greater order and abundance (*w*).

In the beginning of 1643, the king and parliament sent reciprocally their demands; and a treaty commenced, but without any cessation of hostilities, as had at first been proposed. The earl of Northumberland, and four members of the lower house, came to Oxford as commissioners. In this treaty the king perpetually insisted on the re-establishment of the crown in its legal powers, and on the restoration of his constitutional prerogative: the parliament still required new concessions, and a farther abridgement of regal authority, as a more effectual remedy to their fears and jealousies. Finding the king supported by more forces, and a greater party than they had ever looked for, they seemingly abated somewhat of those extravagant conditions which they had formerly claimed; but their demands were still too high for an equal treaty. Besides other articles, to which a complete victory alone could entitle them, they required the king in express terms utterly to abolish episcopacy; a demand which, before they had only insinuated: and they required, that all other ecclesiastical controversies should be determined by their assembly of divines. They insisted, that he should submit to the punishment of his most faithful adherents. And they desired him to acquiesce in their settlement of the militia, and to confer on their adherents the entire power of the sword. In answer to the king's proposal, that his magazines, towns, forts, and ships, should be restored to him, the parliament required, that they should be put into such hands as they could confide in: the nineteen propositions, which they formerly sent to the king, shewed their inclination to abolish monarchy: they only asked at present, the power of doing it. The conferences went no farther than the first demand on each side. The parliament, finding that there was no likelihood of coming to any agreement, suddenly recalled their commissioners.

A military enterprize which they had concerted early in the spring, was immediately undertaken. Reading, the king's garrison which lay nearest to London, was esteemed a place of considerable strength, in that age, when the art of attacking towns was not well understood in Europe, and was totally unknown in England. The earl of Essex sat down before this place with an army of eighteen thousand men, on the 15th of April, and carried on the siege by regular approaches. Sir Arthur Aston, the governor, being wounded, colonel Fielding succeeded to the command. In a little time the town was found to be no longer in a condition of defence; and though the king approached, with an intention of obliging Essex to raise the siege, the disposition of the parliamentary army was so strong, as to render the design impracticable. Fielding, therefore, was contented to yield the town, on the 27th of April, on condition that he should bring off the garrison with the honours of war, and deliver up deserters (*x*).

Essex's army had been fully supplied with all necessaries from London: even many superfluities and luxuries were sent them by the care of the citizens: yet the hardships, which they suffered from the siege, during so early a season, had weakened them to such a degree, that they were no longer fit for any new enterprize. And the two armies, for some time, encamped in the neighbourhood of each other, without attempting, on either side, any action of moment.

Besides the military operations between the principal armies, which lay in the centre of England, each county, each town, each family almost, was divided within itself; and the most violent convulsions shook the whole kingdom. Throughout the winter, continual efforts had every where been made by each party to surmount its antagonist; and the English, roused from the lethargy of peace, with eager, though unskilful hands, employed against their fellow citizens their long-neglected weapons. The furious zeal for liberty and presbyterian discipline, which had hitherto run uncontrolled throughout the nation, now at last excited an equal ardour for monarchy and episcopacy; when the intention of abolishing these ancient modes of goverment was openly avowed by the parliament. Conventions for neutrality, though in several counties they had been entered into, and confirmed by the most solemn oaths, yet, being voted illegal by the two houses, were immediately broken: and the fire of discord was spread into every quarter. The altercation of discourse, the controversies of the pen, but, above all, the declamations of the pulpit, indisposed the minds of men towards each other, and propagated the rage of party zeal. Fierce, however, and inflamed as were the dispositions of the English, by a war both civil and religious, that great destroyer of humanity, all the events of this period are less distinguished by atrocious deeds either of treachery or cruelty, than were ever any intestine discords, which had so long a continuance: a circumstance which will be found to reflect great praise on the national character of that people, now so unhappily roused to arms.

In the north, lord Fairfax commanded for the parliament, the earl of Newcastle for the king. The latter nobleman began those associations which were afterwards so much practised in other parts of the kingdom. He united in a league for the king the counties of Northumberland, Cumberland, Westmoreland, and the bishopric of Durham, and engaged, some time after, other counties in the same association. Finding that Fairfax, assisted by Hotham and the garrison of Hull, was making progress in the southern parts of Yorkshire; he advanced with a body of four thousand men, and took possession of York. At Tadcaster, he attacked the forces of the parliament, and dislodged them; but his victory was not decisive. In other rencounters he obtained some inconsiderable advantages. But the chief benefit which resulted from his enterprizes was, the establishing of the king's authority in all the northern provinces.

In another part of the kingdom, lord Broke was killed by a shot, while he was taking possession of Litchfield for the parliament (*y*). After a short combat, near Stafford, between the earl of Northampton and sir John Gell, the former, who commanded the king's forces, was killed while he fought with great valour; and his forces, dis-

(*v*) The parliamentary army now amounted to above twenty-four thousand men, and was much superior to that of the king.

(*w*) Besides an imposition levied in London, amounting to the five-and-twentieth part of every one's substance, they established on that city a weekly assessment of ten thousand pounds, and another of twenty-three thousand five hundred and eighteen, on the rest of the kingdom. And as their authority was at present established in most counties, they levied these taxes with regularity; though they amounted to sums much greater than the nation had formerly paid to the public.

(*x*) This last article was thought so ignominious and so prejudicial to the king's interests, that the governor was tried by a council of war, and condemned to lose his life, for consenting to it. His sentence was afterwards remitted by the king.

(*y*) He had taken possession of Litchfield, and was viewing from a window St. Chad's cathedral, in which a party of the royalists had fortified themselves. He was cased in complete armour, but was shot through the eye by a random ball. Lord Broke was a zealous Puritan, and had formerly said, that he hoped to see with his eyes the ruin of all the cathedrals of England. It was a superstitious remark of the royalists that he was killed on St. Chad's day, by a shot from St. Chad's cathedral, which pierced that very eye by which he hoped to see the ruin of all cathedrals. *Dugdale*, p. 118. *Clarendon*, &c.

couraged

couraged by his death, retreated into the town of Stafford.

Sir William Waller began to distinguish himself among the generals of the parliament. Active and indefatigable in his operations, rapid and enterprizing; he was fitted by his genius to the nature of the war; which, being managed by raw troops, conducted by unexperienced commanders, afforded success to every bold and sudden undertaking. After taking Winchester and Chichester, he advanced towards Gloucester, which was in a manner blockaded by lord Herbert, who had levied considerable forces in Wales for the royal party. While he attacked the Welsh on one side, a sally from Gloucester made impression on the other. Herbert was defeated; five hundred of his men killed on the spot; a thousand taken prisoners; and he himself escaped with some difficulty to Oxford. Hereford, esteemed a strong town, defended by a considerable garrison, was surrendered to Waller, by colonel Price, the governor. Tewkesbury underwent the same fate. Worcester refused him admittance; and Waller, without placing any garrisons in his new conquests, retired to Gloucester, and he thence joined the army under the earl of Essex.

But the most memorable actions of valour, during this winter season, were performed in the west. When sir Ralph Hopton, with his small troop, retired into Cornwall before the earl of Bedford, that nobleman, despising so inconsiderable a force, abandoned the pursuit, and committed the care of suppressing the royal party to the sheriffs of the county. But the affections of Cornwall were much inclined to the king's service. While sir Richard Buller and sir Alexander Carew lay at Launceston, and employed themselves in executing the parliament's ordinance for the militia, a meeting of the county was assembled at Truro; and after Hopton produced his commission from the earl of Hertford, the king's general, it was agreed to execute the laws, and to expel these invaders of the county. The train-bands were accordingly levied, Launceston taken, and all Cornwall reduced to peace and to obedience under the king.

It had been usual for the royal party, on the commencement of these disorders, to claim, on all occasions, the strict execution of the laws, which they knew were favourable to them; and the parliament, rather than have recourse to the plea of necessity, and avow the transgression of any statute, had also been accustomed to warp the laws, and by forced constructions to interpret them in their own favour. But though the king was naturally the gainer by such a method of conducting war, and it was by favour of law that the train-bands were raised in Cornwall; it appeared that those maxims were now prejudicial to the royal party. These troops could not legally, without their own consent, be carried out of the county; and consequently, it was impossible to push into Devonshire the advantage which they had obtained. The Cornish royalists, therefore, bethought themselves of levying a force, which might be more serviceable. Sir Bevil Granville, sir Ralph Hopton, sir Nicholas Slanning, Arundel, and Trevannion, undertook, at their own charges, to raise an army for the king; and their great interest in Cornwall soon enabled them to effect their purpose. The parliament, alarmed at this appearance of the royalists, gave a commission to Ruthven, a Scotchman, governor of Plymouth, to march with all the forces of Dorset, Somerset, and Devon, and make an entire conquest of Cornwall. The earl of Stamford followed him at some distance, with a considerable supply. Ruthven, having entered Cornwall by bridges thrown over the Tamar, hastened to an action; lest Stamford should join him, and obtain the honour of that victory which he looked for with assurance. The royalists, in like manner, were impatient to bring the affair to a decision before Ruthven's army should receive so considerable a reinforcement. The battle was fought on Bradoc Down; and the king's forces, though inferior in number, gave a total defeat to their enemies. Ruthven, with a few broken troops, fled to Saltash; and when that town was taken, he escaped, with some difficulty, and almost alone, into Plymouth. Stamford retired, and distributed his forces into Plymouth and Exeter.

Notwithstanding these advantages, the extreme want both of money and ammunition, under which the Cornish royalists laboured, obliged them to enter into a convention of neutrality with the parliamentary party in Devonshire; and this neutrality held all the winter season. In the spring it was broken by the authority of the two houses; and war recommenced with great appearance of disadvantage to the king's party. Stamford, having assembled a strong body of near seven thousand men, well supplied with money, provisions, and ammunition, advanced upon the royalists, who were not half his number, and were oppressed by every kind of necessity. Despair, joined to the natural gallantry of these troops, commanded by the prime gentry of the county, made them resolve, by one vigorous effort, to overcome all these advantages. Stamford being encamped on the top of a high hill near Stratton, they attacked him in four divisions, at five in the morning on the 16th of May, having lain all night under arms. One division was commanded by lord Mohun and sir Ralph Hopton, another by sir Bevil Granville and sir John Berkeley, a third by Slanning and Trevannion, a fourth by Basset and Godolphin. In this manner the action began; the king's forces pressing with vigour those four ways up the hill, and their enemies obstinately defending themselves. The fight continued with doubtful success, till word was brought to the chief officers of the Cornish, that their ammunition was spent to less than four barrels of powder. This defect, which they concealed from the soldiers, they resolved to supply by their valour. They agreed to advance without firing till they should reach the top of the hill, and could be on equal ground with the enemy. The courage of the officers was so well seconded by the soldiers, that the royalists began on all sides to gain ground. Major-general Chidley, who commanded the parliamentary army (for Stamford kept at a distance,) failed not in his duty; and when he saw his men recoil, he himself advanced with a good stand of pikes, and piercing into the thickest of the enemy, was at last overpowered by numbers, and taken prisoner. His army, upon this disaster, gave ground apace; insomuch, that the four parties of the royalists, growing nearer and nearer as they ascended, at length met together upon the plain at the top; where they embraced with great joy, and signalized their victory with loud shouts and mutual congratulations.

After this success, the attention both of the king and the parliament was turned towards the west, as to a very important scene of action. The king sent thither the marquis of Hertford and prince Maurice with a reinforcement of cavalry; who, having joined the Cornish army, soon over-ran the county of Devon; and advancing into that of Somerset, began to reduce it to obedience. On the other hand, the parliament, having supplied sir William Waller, in whom they much trusted, with a complete army, dispatched him westwards, in order to check the progress of the royalists. After some skirmishes, the two armies met at Lansdown, near Bath, and fought a pitched battle, on the 5th of July, with great loss on both sides, but without any decisive event. The gallant Granville was there killed; and Hopton, by the blowing up of some powder was dangerously hurt. The royalists next attempted to march eastwards, and to join their forces to the king's at Oxford: but Waller hung on their rear, and infested their march till they reached the Devizes. Reinforced by additional troops, which flocked to him from all quarters; he so much surpassed the royalists in number, that they durst no longer continue their march, or expose themselves to the hazard of an action. It was resolved, that Hertford and prince Maurice should proceed with the cavalry; and having procured a reinforcement from the king, should hasten back to the relief of their friends. Waller was so confident of taking this body of infantry now abandoned by the horse, that he wrote to the parliament, that their work was done, and that by the next post he would inform them of the number and quality of the prisoners. But the king, even before Hertford's arrival, hearing of the great difficulties to which his western army was reduced, had prepared a considerable body of cavalry, which he immediately dispatched to their succour under the command of lord Wilmot. Waller drew up on Roundway-down, about two miles from the Devizes; and advancing with his cavalry to fight Wilmot, and prevent his conjunction with the Cornish infantry, was received with equal valour by the royalists. After a sharp action he was totally routed, and flying with a few horse, escaped to Bristol. Wilmot, seizing the enemy's cannon, and having joined his friends, whom he came to relieve, attacked Waller's infantry with redoubled courage, drove them off the field, and routed and dispersed the whole army. This action was fought on the 13th of July.

This important victory following so quick after many other successes, struck great dismay into the parliament, and

and gave an alarm to their principal army commanded by Essex. Waller exclaimed loudly against that general, for allowing Wilmot to pass him, and proceed without any interruption to the succour of the distressed infantry at the Devizes. But Essex finding that his army fell continually to decay after the siege of Reading, was resolved to remain upon the defensive; and the weakness of the king, and his want of military stores, had also restrained the activity of the royal army. No action had happened in that part of England, except one skirmish, which of itself was of no great consequence, and was rendered memorable by the death alone of the famous Hampden.

Colonel Urrey, a Scotchman, who served in the parliamentary army, having received some disgust, came to Oxford, and offered his services to the king. In order to prove the sincerity of his conversion, he informed prince Rupert of the loose disposition of the enemy's quarters, and exhorted him to form some attempt upon them. The prince, who was entirely fitted for that kind of service, falling suddenly upon the dispersed bodies of Essex's army, routed two regiments of cavalry and one of infantry, and carried his ravages within two miles of the general's quarters. The alarm being given, every one mounted on horseback, in order to pursue the prince, to recover the prisoners, and to repair the disgrace which the army had sustained. Among the rest, Hampden, who had a regiment of infantry that lay at a distance, joined the horse as a volunteer; and overtaking the royalists on Chalgrave field, entered into the thickest of the battle. By the bravery and activity of Rupert, the king's troops were brought off, and a great booty, together with two hundred prisoners, was conveyed to Oxford. But what most pleased the royalists was, the expectation that some disaster had happened to Hampden, their capital and much dreaded enemy. One of the prisoners taken in the action said, that he was confident Mr. Hampden was hurt: for he saw him, contrary to his usual custom, ride off the field, before the action was finished; his head hanging down, and his hands leaning upon his horse's neck. Next day, the news arrived, that he was shot in the shoulder with a brace of bullets, and the bone broken. Some days after, he died, in exquisite pain, of his wound (z); nor could his whole party, had their army met with a total overthrow, have been thrown into greater consternation.

Essex, discouraged by this event, dismayed by the total rout of Waller, was farther informed, that the queen, who landed in Burlington Bay, had arrived at Oxford, and had brought from the north a reinforcement of three thousand foot and fifteen hundred horse. Dislodging from Thame and Aylesbury, where he had hitherto lain, he thought proper to retreat nearer to London, and he shewed to his friends his broken and disheartened forces, which a few months before he had led into the field in so flourishing a condition. The king, freed from this enemy, sent his army westward under prince Rupert; and, by their conjunction with the Cornish troops, a formidable force, for numbers as well as reputation and valour, was composed. That an enterprize, correspondent to men's expectations, might be undertaken, the prince resolved to lay siege to Bristol, the second town for riches and greatness in the kingdom. Nathaniel Fiennes, son of lord Say, he himself, as well as his father, a great parliamentary leader, was governor, and commanded a garrison of two thousand five hundred foot, and two regiments, one of horse, another of dragoons. The fortifications not being complete or regular, it was resolved by prince Rupert to storm the city; and next morning, with little other provisions suitable to such a work, besides the courage of the troops, the assault began. The Cornish, in three divisions, attacked the west side, with a resolution which nothing could control; but though the middle division had already mounted the wall, so great was the disadvantage of the ground, and so brave the defence of the garrison, that in the end the assailants were repulsed with considerable loss both of officers and soldiers. On the prince's side, the assault was conducted with equal courage, and almost with equal loss, but with better success. One party, led by lord Grandison, was indeed beaten off, and the commander himself mortally wounded: another, conducted by colonel Bellasis, met with a like fate; but Washington, with a less party, finding a place in the curtain weaker than the rest, broke in, and quickly made room for the horse to follow. By this irruption, however, nothing but the suburbs was yet gained: the entrance into the town was still more difficult; and by the loss already sustained, as well as by the prospect of farther danger, every one was extremely discouraged: when, to the great joy of the army, the city beat a parley. The garrison was allowed to march out with their arms and baggage, leaving their cannon, ammunition, and colours, on the 25th of July. For this instance of cowardice, Fiennes was afterwards tried by a court-martial, and condemned to lose his head; but the sentence was remitted by the general.

Great complaints were made of violences exercised on the garrison, contrary to the capitulation. An apology was made by the royalists, as if these were a retaliation for some violences committed on their friends at the surrender of Reading. And under pretence of like retaliations, but really from the extreme animosity of the parties, were such irregularities continued during the whole course of the war.

The loss sustained by the royalists, in the assault of Bristol, was considerable. Five hundred excellent soldiers perished. Among those of condition were Grandison, Slanning, Trevannion, and Moyle: Bellasis, Ashley, and sir John Owen, were wounded: yet was the success, upon the whole, so considerable as mightily raised the courage of the one party, and depressed that of the other. The king, to show that he was not intoxicated with good fortune, nor aspired to a total victory over the parliament, published a manifesto; in which he renewed the protestation, formerly taken, with great solemnity, at the head of his army, and expressed his firm intentton of making peace upon the re-establishment of the constitution. Having joined the camp at Bristol, and sent prince Maurice with a detachment into Devonshire, he deliberated how to employ the remaining forces in an enterprize of moment. Some proposed, and seemingly with reason, to march directly to London; where every thing was in confusion, where the army of the parliament was baffled, weakened, and dismayed, and where, it was hoped, either by an insurrection of the citizens, by victory, or by treaty, a speedy end might be put to the civil disorders. But this undertaking, by reason of the great number and force of the London militia, was thought by many to be attended with considerable difficulties. Gloucester, lying within twenty miles, presented an easier, yet a very important conquest. It was the only remaining garrison possessed by the parliament in those parts. Could that city be reduced, the king held the whole course of the Severn under his command; the rich and malcontent counties of the west, having lost all protection from their friends, might be forced to pay high contributions, as an atonement for their disaffection; an open communication could be preserved between Wales and these new conquests; and half of the kingdom, being entirely freed from the enemy, and thus united into one firm body, might be employed in re-establishing the king's authority throughout the remainder. These were the reasons for embracing that resolution; fatal, as it was ever esteemed, to the royal party.

The governor of Gloucester was one Massey, a soldier of fortune, who, before he engaged with the parliament, had offered his service to the king; and as he was free from the fumes of enthusiasm, by which most of the officers on that side were intoxicated, he would lend an ear, it was presumed, to proposals for accommodation. But Massey was resolute to preserve an entire fidelity to his masters; and though no enthusiast himself, he well knew how to employ to advantage that enthusiastic spirit so prevalent in his city and garrison. The summons to surrender, on the 10th of August, allowed two hours for an answer; but before that time expired, there appeared before the king two citizens, with lean, pale, sharp, and dismal visages: faces, so strange and uncouth, according to lord Clarendon; figures, so habited and accoutred, as at once moved the most severe countenance to mirth, and the most cheerful heart to sadness: it seemed impossible, that such messengers could bring less than a defiance. The men, without any circumstance of duty or good manners, in a pert, shrill, and undismayed accent, said, that they

(z) Many were the virtues and talents of this eminent personage; and his valour, during the war, had shone out with a lustre equal to that of the other accomplishments by which he had ever been distinguished. Affability in conversation; temper, art, and eloquence in debate; penetration and discernment in counsel; industry, vigilance, and enterprize in action; all these praises are unanimously ascribed to him by historians of the most opposite parties. His virtue too and integrity, in all the duties of private life, are allowed to have been beyond exception.

they brought an answer from the godly city of Gloucester: and extremely ready were they, according to the historian, to give insolent and seditious replies to any question; as if their business were chiefly, by provoking the king, to make him violate his own safe-conduct. The answer from the city was in these words: "We, the inhabitants, magistrates, officers and soldiers, within the garrison of Gloucester, unto his majesty's gracious message, return this humble answer: That we do keep this city, according to our oaths and allegiance, to and for the use of his majesty, and of his royal posterity: and do accordingly conceive ourselves wholly bound to obey the commands of his majesty signified by both houses of parliament: and are resolved, by God's help, to keep this city accordingly." After these preliminaries, the siege was resolutely undertaken by the army, and as resolutely sustained by the citizens and garrison.

When intelligence of the siege of Gloucester arrived in London, the consternation among the inhabitants was as great as if the enemy were already at their gates. The rapid progress of the royalists threatened the parliament with immediate subjection: the factions and discontents, among themselves, in the city, and throughout the neighbouring counties, prognosticated some dangerous division or insurrection. Those parliamentary leaders, it must be owned, who had introduced such mighty innovations into the English constitution, and who had projected so much greater, had not engaged in an enterprize which exceeded their courage and capacity. Great vigour, from the beginning, as well as wisdom, they had displayed in all their counsels; and a furious, headstrong body, broken loose from the restraint of law, had hitherto been retained in subjection under their authority, and firmly united by zeal and passion, as by the most legal and established government. A small committee, on whom the two houses devolved their power, had directed all their military operations, and had preserved a secrecy in deliberation, and a promptitude in execution, beyond what the king, notwithstanding the advantages possessed by a single leader, had ever been able to attain. As they were sensible that no jealousy was by their partizans entertained against them, so they acted with greater lenity than it was expected they would have done. Some excesses, however, were committed; but those committed by the republicans were not more atrocious than were those committed by the king's party. Whoever incurred the displeasure of the parliament, or was exposed to their suspicions, was committed to prison, and prosecuted under the notion of delinquency: after all the old jails were full, some new ones were erected; and even the ships were crowded with the royalists, both gentry and clergy: they imposed taxes by an ordinance of the two houses: they voted a commission for sequestrations; and they seized, wherever they had power, the revenues of the king's party (*a*): and knowing that themselves, and all their adherents, were, by resisting the prince, exposed to the penalties of laws, they resolved, as was natural, by a severe administration, to overcome these terrors, and to retain the people in obedience, by penalties of a more immediate execution. In the beginning of this summer, a combination, formed against them in London, had obliged them to exert the plenitude of their authority.

Edmund Waller, the first refiner of the English versification, was a member of the lower house; a man of considerable fortune, and not more distinguished by his poetical genius than by his parliamentary talents, and by the politeness and elegance of his manners. As full of keen satire and invective in his eloquence, as of tenderness and panegyric in his poetry, he caught the attention of his hearers, and exerted the utmost boldness in blaming those violent counsels, by which the commons were governed. Finding all opposition within doors to be fruitless, he endeavoured to form a party without, which might oblige the parliament to accept of reasonable conditions, and restore peace to the nation. The charms of his conversation, joined to his character of courage and integrity, had procured him the entire confidence of Northumberland, Conway, and every eminent person of either sex, who resided in London. They opened their breast to him without reserve, and expressed their disapprobation of the furious measures pursued by the commons, and their wishes that some expedient could be found for stopping so impetuous a career. Tomkins, Waller's brother-in-law, and Chaloner, the intimate friend of Tomkins, had entertained like sentiments: and as the connexions of these two gentlemen lay chiefly in the city, they informed Waller, that the same abhorrence of war prevailed there, among all men of reason and moderation. Upon reflection it seemed not impracticable, that a combination might be formed between the lords and citizens; and, by mutual concert, the illegal taxes be refused, which the parliament, without the royal assent, imposed on the people. While this affair was in agitation, and lists were making of such as they conceived to be well-affected to their design, a servant of Tomkins, who had overheard their discourse, immediately carried intelligence to Pym. Waller, Tomkins, and Chaloner were seized, and tried by a court-martial. They were all three condemned, and the two latter executed on gibbets erected before their own doors. A covenant, as a test, was taken on the 6th of June, by the lords and commons, and imposed on their army, and on all who lived within their quarters. Besides resolving to amend and reform their lives, the covenanters there vow, that they will never lay down their arms so long as the Papists, now in open war against the parliament, shall, by force of arms, be protected from justice; they express their abhorrence of the late conspiracy; and promise to assist to the utmost the forces raised by both houses, against the forces levied by the king.

Waller, as soon as imprisoned, sensible of the great danger into which he had fallen, was so seized with the dread of death, that all his former spirit deserted him; and he confessed whatever he knew, without sparing his most intimate friends, without regard to the confidence reposed in him, without distinguishing between the negligence of familiar conversation and the schemes of a regular conspiracy. With the most profound dissimulation, he counterfeited such remorse of conscience, that his execution was put off, out of mere christian compassion, till he might recover the use of his understanding. He invited visits from the ruling clergy of all sects; and while he expressed his own penitence, he received their devout exhortations with humility and reverence, as conveying clearer conviction and information than in his life he had ever before attained. Presents too, of which, as well as flattery, these holy men were not insensible, were distributed among them; as a small retribution for their prayers and ghostly counsel. And by all these artifices, more than from any regard to the beauty of his genius, of which small account would be made, he prevailed so far as to have his life spared, and a fine of ten thousand pounds accepted in lieu of it.

The severity exercised against the conspiracy, or rather project, of Waller, increased the authority of the parliament, and seemed to ensure them against like attempts for the future. But by the progress of the king's arms, the defeat of sir William Waller, the taking of Bristol, the siege of Gloucester, a cry for peace was renewed, and with more violence than ever. Crowds of women, with a petition for that purpose, flocked about the house, and were so clamorous and importunate, that orders were given for dispersing them; and some of the females were killed in the fray. Bedford, Holland, and Conway, had deserted the parliament, and had gone to Oxford; Clare and Lovelace had followed them. Northumberland had retired to his country-seat: Essex himself shewed extreme dissatisfaction, and exhorted the parliament to make peace. The upper house sent down terms of accommodation, more moderate than had hitherto been insisted on. It even passed by a majority among the commons, that these proposals should be transmitted to the king. The zealots took the alarm. A petition against peace was framed in the city, and presented by Pennington, the mayor. Multitudes attended him, and renewed all the former menaces against the moderate party. The pulpits thundered, and rumours were spread of twenty thousand Irish, who had landed, and were to cut the throat of every Protestant. The majority was again turned to the other side; and all thoughts of pacification being dropped, every preparation was made for resistance, and for the immediate relief of Gloucester, on which the parliament was sensible all their hopes of success in the war so much depended.

Massey, resolute to make a vigorous defence, and having under his command a city and garrison ambitious of the crown of martyrdom, had hitherto maintained the siege

(*a*) The king afterwards copied from this example; but, as the far greater part of the nobility and landed gentry were his friends, he reaped much less profit from this measure.

with courage and abilities, and had much retarded the advances of the king's army. By continual sallies, he infested them in their trenches, and gained many advantages over them: by disputing every inch of ground, he repressed the vigour and alacrity of their courage, elated by former successes. His garrison, however, was reduced to the last extremity; and he failed not, from time to time, to inform the parliament, that, unless speedily relieved, he should be necessitated, from the extreme want of provisions and ammunition, to open his gates to the enemy.

The parliament, in order to repair their broken condition, and put themselves in a posture of defence, now exerted to the utmost their power and authority. They voted, that an army should be levied under sir William Waller, whom, notwithstanding his misfortunes, they loaded with extraordinary caresses. Having associated in their cause the counties of Hertford, Essex, Cambridge, Norfolk, Suffolk, Lincoln, and Huntingdon, they gave the earl of Manchester a commission to be general of the association, and appointed an army to be levied under his command. But, above all, they were intent that Essex's army, on which their whole fortune depended, should be put in a condition of marching against the king. And they engaged to send four regiments of its militia to the relief of Gloucester. All shops, meanwhile, were ordered to be shut; and every man expected, with the utmost anxiety, the event of that important enterprize.

Essex, carrying with him a well-appointed army of fourteen thousand men, took the road of Bedford and Leicester; and, though inferior in cavalry, yet, by the mere force of conduct and discipline, he passed over those open champaign countries, and defended himself from the enemy's horse, who advanced to meet him, and who infested him during his whole march. As he approached to Gloucester, the king was obliged to raise the siege, and open the way for Essex to enter that city. The necessities of the garrison were extreme. One barrel of powder was their whole stock of ammunition remaining; and their other provisions were in the same proportion. Essex had brought with him military stores; and the neighbouring country abundantly supplied him with victuals of every kind. The inhabitants had carefully concealed all provisions from the king's army, and, pretending to be quite exhausted, had reserved their stores for that cause which they so much favoured.

The chief difficulty, however, still remained. Essex dreaded a battle with the king's army, on account of its great superiority in cavalry; and he resolved to return, if possible, without running that hazard. He lay five days at Tewkesbury, which was his first stage after leaving Gloucester; and he feigned, by some preparations, to point towards Worcester. By a forced march during the night, he reached Cirencester, and obtained the double advantage of passing unmolested an open country, and of surprising a convoy of provisions which lay in that town. Without delay, he proceeded towards London; but when he reached Newbury, he was surprized to find, that the king, by hasty marches, had arrived before him, and was already possessed of the place.

An action was now unavoidable; and Essex, on the 20th of September, prepared for it with presence of mind, and not without military conduct. On both sides, the battle was fought with desperate valour and a steady bravery. Essex's horse were several times broken by the king's, but his infantry maintained themselves in firm array; and, besides giving a continued fire, they presented an invincible rampart of pikes against the furious shocks of prince Rupert, and those gallant troops of gentry, of which the royal cavalry was chiefly composed. The militia of London especially, though utterly unacquainted with action, though drawn but a few days before from their ordinary occupations, yet having learned all military exercises, and being animated with unconquerable zeal for the cause in which they were engaged, equalled, on this occasion, what could be expected from the most veteran forces. While the armies were engaged with the utmost ardour, night put an end to the action, and left the victory undecided. Next morning, Essex proceeded on his march; and though his rear was once put in some disorder by an incursion of the king's horse, he reached London in safety, and received applause for his conduct and success in the whole enterprize. The king followed him on his march; and having taken possession of Reading, after the earl left it, he there established a garrison; and straitened, by that means, London, and the quarters of the enemy.

In the battle of Newbury, on the part of the king, besides the earls of Sunderland and Carnarvon, two noblemen of promising hopes, was unfortunately slain, Lucius Cary, viscount Falkland, secretary of state. Before assembling the present parliament, this man, devoted to the pursuits of learning, and to the society of all the polite and elegant, had enjoyed himself in very pleasure, which a fine genius, a generous disposition, and an opulent fortune could afford. Called into public life, he stood foremost in all attacks on the high prerogatives of the crown; and displayed that masculine eloquence, and undaunted love of liberty, which, from his intimate acquaintance with the sublime spirits of antiquity, he had imbibed. When civil convulsions proceeded to extremities, and it became requisite for him to chuse his side; he tempered the ardour of his zeal, and embraced the defence of those limited powers which remained to monarchy, and which he deemed necessary for the support of the English constitution. Still anxious, however, for his country, he seems to have dreaded the too prosperous success of his own party as much as of the enemy; and, among his intimate friends, often after a deep silence and frequent sighs, he would, with a sad accent, reiterate the word, *Peace*. In excuse for the too free exposing of his person, which seemed unsuitable in a secretary of state, he alledged, that it became him to be more active than other men in all hazardous enterprizes, lest his impatience for peace might bear the imputation of cowardice. From the commencement of the war, his natural cheerfulness and vivacity became clouded; and even his usual attention to dress, required by his birth and station, gave way to a negligence which was easily observable. On the morning of the battle in which he fell, he had shown some care of adorning his person; and gave for a reason, that the enemy should not find his body in any slovenly, indecent situation. "I am weary," subjoined he, "of the times, and foresee much misery to my country; but believe, that I shall be out of it ere night." This excellent person was but thirty-four years of age when a period was thus put to his life.

The loss sustained on both sides in the battle of Newbury, and the advanced season, obliged the armies to retire into winter-quarters.

During this summer, the great interest and popularity of the earl, now created marquis of Newcastle, had raised a considerable force for the king in the north; and great hopes of success were entertained from that quarter. There appeared, however, in opposition to him, two men, on whom the event of the war finally depended, and who began about this time to be remarked for their valour and military conduct. These were sir Thomas Fairfax, son of the lord of that name, and Oliver Cromwell. The former gained a considerable advantage at Wakefield, on the 21st of May, over a detachment of royalists, and took general Goring prisoner: the latter obtained a victory at Gainsborough, on the 31st of July, over a party commanded by the gallant Cavendish, who perished in the action. But both these defeats of the royalists were more than sufficiently compensated by the total rout of lord Fairfax at Atherton Moor, on the 30th of June, and the dispersion of his army. After this victory, Newcastle, with an army of fifteen thousand men, sat down before Hull. Hotham was no longer governor of this place. That gentleman and his son, partly from a jealousy entertained of lord Fairfax, partly repenting of their engagements against the king, had entered into a correspondence with Newcastle, and had expressed an intention of delivering Hull into his hands. But their conspiracy being detected, they were arrested and sent prisoners to London; where, without any regard to their former services, they fell, both of them, victims to the severity of the parliament.

Newcastle, having carried on the attack of Hull for some time, was beat off by a sally of the garrison, on the 12th of October, and suffered so much, that he thought proper to raise the siege. About the same time, Manchester, who advanced from the eastern associated counties, having joined Cromwell and young Fairfax, obtained a considerable victory over the royalists at Horn Castle; where the two officers last mentioned gained renown by their conduct and gallantry. And though fortune had thus balanced her favours, the king's party still remained much superior in those parts of England; and had it not been for the garrison of Hull, which kept Yorkshire in awe, a conjunction of the northern forces with the army in the south might have been made, and had probably enabled the king, instead of entering on the enterprize of Glou-

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cester, to march directly to London, and put an end to the war.

While the military enterprizes were carried on with vigour in England, and the event became every day more doubtful, both parties cast their eye towards the neighbouring kingdoms, and sought assistance for the finishing of that undertaking, in which their own forces experienced such furious opposition. The parliament had recourse to Scotland; the king to Ireland.

When the Scottish covenanters obtained that end, for which they so earnestly contended, the establishment of Presbyterian discipline in their own country, they were not satisfied, but indulged still an ardent passion for propagating that mode of religion in the neighbouring kingdoms. Having flattered themselves, in the fervour of their zeal, that, by supernatural assistances, they should be enabled to carry their triumphant covenant to the gates of Rome itself, it behoved them first to render it prevalent in England, which already showed so great a disposition to receive it. Even in the articles of pacification, they expressed a desire of uniformity in worship with England; and the king, employing general expressions, had approved of this inclination, as pious and laudable. No sooner was there an appearance of a rupture, than the English parliament, in order to allure that nation into a close confederacy, openly declared their wishes of ecclesiastical reformation, and of imitating the example of their northern brethren. When war was actually commenced, the same artifices were used; and the Scots beheld, with the utmost impatience, a scene of action, of which they could not deem themselves indifferent spectators. Should the king, they said, be able, by force of arms, to prevail over the parliament of England, and reestablish his authority in that powerful kingdom, he will undoubtedly retract all those concessions, which, with so many circumstances of violence and indignity, the Scots had extorted from him. Besides a sense of his own interest, and a regard to royal power, which had been entirely annihilated in this country; his very passion for prelacy and for religious ceremonies, must lead him to invade a church which he has ever been taught to regard as antichristian and unlawful. Let us but consider who the persons are that compose the factions now so furiously engaged in arms. Does not the parliament consist of those very men who have ever opposed all war with Scotland, who have punished the authors of our oppressions, who have obtained us the redress of every grievance, and who, with many honourable expressions, have conferred on us an ample reward for our brotherly assistance? And is not the court full of Papists, prelates, malignants; all of them zealous enemies to our religious model, and resolute to sacrifice their lives for their idolatrous establishments? Not to mention our own necessary security; can we better express our gratitude to heaven for that pure light with which we are, above all nations, so eminently distinguished, than by conveying the same divine knowledge to our unhappy neighbours, who are wading through a sea of blood in order to attain it? These were, in Scotland, the topics of every conversation: with these doctrines the pulpits resounded; and the famous curse of Meroz, that curse so solemnly denounced and reiterated against neutrality and moderation, was echoed from all quarters (*b*).

The parliament of England had ever invited the Scots, from the commencement of the civil dissensions, to interpose their mediation, which, they knew, would be so little favourable to the king: and the king, for that very reason, had constantly endeavoured to decline it. Early this spring, the earl of Loudon, the chancellor, with other commissioners, and attended by Henderson, a popular preacher, was sent to the king at Oxford, and renewed the offer of mediation; but with the same success as before. The commissioners were also empowered to press the king on the article of religion, and to recommend to him the Scottish model of ecclesiastic worship and discipline. This was touching Charles in a very tender point: his honour, his conscience, as well as his interest, he believed to be intimately concerned in supporting prelacy and the liturgy. He begged the commissioners, therefore, to remain satisfied with the concessions which he had made to Scotland; and having modelled their own church according to their own principles, to leave their neighbours in the like liberty, and not to intermeddle with affairs of which they could not be supposed competent judges.

The divines of Oxford, secure, as they imagined, of a victory, by means of their authorities from church history, their quotations from the fathers, and their spiritual arguments, desired a conference with Henderson, and undertook, by dint of reasoning, to convert that great apostle of the north: but Henderson, who had ever regarded as impious, the least doubt with regard to his own principles, and who knew of a much better way to reduce opponents than by employing any theological topics, absolutely refused all disputation or controversy. The English divines went away full of admiration at the blind assurance and bigoted prejudices of the man: he, on his part, was moved with equal wonder at their obstinate attachment to such palpable errors and delusions.

By the concessions which the king had granted to Scotland, it became necessary for him to summon a parliament once in three years; and in June of the subsequent year, was fixed the period for the meeting of that assembly. Before that time elapsed, Charles flattered himself that he should be able, by some decisive advantage, to reduce the English parliament to submission, and might then expect, with security, the meeting of a Scottish parliament. Though earnestly solicited by Loudon to summon that great council of the nation, he absolutely refused to give authority to men who had already excited such dangerous commotions, and who showed still the same disposition to resist and invade his authority. The commissioners, therefore, not being able to prevail in any of their demands, desired the king's passport for London, where they purposed to confer with the English parliament; and being likewise denied this request, they returned with extreme dissatisfaction to the capital of Scotland.

The office of conservators of the peace was newly erected in Scotland, in order to maintain the confederacy between the two kingdoms; and these, instigated by the clergy, were resolved, since they could not obtain the king's consent, to summon, in his name, but by their own authority, a convention of states; and to bereave their sovereign of this article, the only one which remained of his prerogative. Under colour of providing for national peace, endangered by the neighbourhood of English armies, was a convention called; an assembly, which, though it meets with less solemnity, has the same authority as a parliament, in raising money and levying forces. Hamilton, and his brother the earl of Lanerc, who had been sent into Scotland in order to oppose these measures, yielded to the torrent. The general assembly of the church met at the same time with the convention; and, exercising an authority almost absolute over the whole civil power, made every political consideration yield to their theological zeal.

The English parliament was, at that time, fallen into great distress, by the progress of the royal arms; and they gladly sent commissioners to Edinburgh, with ample powers to treat of a nearer union and confederacy with the Scottish nation. The persons employed were the earl of Rutland, sir William Armyne, sir Henry Vane the younger, Thomas Hatcher, and Henry Darley, attended by Marshal and Nye, two clergymen of signal authority. In this negociation, the man chiefly trusted was Vane, who, in eloquence, address, and capacity, was not surpassed by any one, even during that age, so famous for active talents. By his persuasion was framed at Edinburgh, that SOLEMN LEAGUE AND COVENANT, which effaced all former protestations and vows taken in both kingdoms, and long maintained its credit and authority (*c*).

In the English parliament there remained some members, who, though they had been induced, either by private ambition, or by zeal for civil liberty, to concur with

(*b*) "Curse ye Meroz, said the angel of the Lord; curse ye bitterly the inhabitants thereof: because they came not to the help of the Lord, to the help of the Lord against the mighty." Judges, chap. v. 23.

(*c*) In this covenant, the subscribers, besides engaging mutually to defend each other against all opponents, bound themselves to endeavour, without respect of persons, the extirpation of popery and prelacy, superstition, heresy, schism, and profaneness; to maintain the rights and privileges of parliaments, together with the king's authority; and to discover and bring to justice all incendiaries and malignants. The subscribers of the covenant vowed also to preserve the reformed religion established in the church of Scotland; but no declaration more explicit was made with regard to England and Ireland, than that these kingdoms should be reformed, according to the word of God, and the example of the purest churches. The Scottish zealots, when prelacy was abjured, deemed this expression quite free from ambiguity, and regarded their own model as the only one which corresponded, in any degree, to such a description; but that able politician, sir Henry Vane, had other views; and while he employed his great talents in over-reaching the Presbyterians, he devoted himself to the maintenance of systems which were by high churchmen supposed to be more absurd and dangerous.

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the majority, still retained an attachment to the hierarchy, and to the ancient modes of worship. But, in the present danger which threatened their cause, all scruples were laid aside; and the covenant, by whose means alone they could expect to obtain so considerable a reinforcement as the accession of the Scottish nation, was received without opposition, on the 17th of September. The parliament, therefore, having first subscribed it themselves, ordered it to be received by all who lived under their authority.

Great were the rejoicings among the Scots, that they should be the happy instruments of extending their mode of religion, and dissipating that profound darkness in which the neighbouring nations were involved. The general assembly applauded this glorious imitation of the piety displayed by their ancestors, who, they said, in three different applications, during the reign of Elizabeth, had endeavoured to engage the English, by persuasion, to lay aside the use of the surplice, tippet, and corner cap. The convention ordered every one to swear to this covenant, under the penalty of confiscation; beside what farther punishment it should please the ensuing parliament to inflict on the refusers, as enemies to God, to the king, and to the kingdom. And being determined that the sword should carry conviction to all refractory minds, they prepared themselves, with great vigilance and activity, for their military enterprizes. By means of a hundred thousand pounds, which they received from England, and by their favourable disposition towards the cause, the Scots soon completed their levies. And, having added, to their other forces, the troops which they had recalled from Ireland, they were ready, about the end of the year, to enter England, under the command of their old general, the earl of Leven, with an army of above twenty thousand men.

Charles, foreseeing this tempest which was gathering upon him, endeavoured to secure himself by every expedient; and he cast his eye towards Ireland, in hopes that this kingdom, from which his cause had already received so much prejudice, might at length contribute somewhat towards his protection and security.

After the commencement of the Irish insurrection, the English parliament, though they undertook the suppression of it, had ever been too much engaged, either in military projects, or expeditions at home, to take any effectual step towards finishing that enterprize. They had entered, indeed, into a contract with the Scots, for sending over an army of ten thousand men into Ireland; and, in order to engage that nation in this undertaking, beside giving a promise of pay, they agreed to put Carickfergus into their hands, and to invest their general with an authority quite independent of the English government. These troops, so long as they were allowed to remain, were useful, by diverting the force of the Irish rebels, and protecting in the north the small remnants of the British planters. But, except this contract with the Scottish nation, all the other measures of the parliament either were hitherto absolutely insignificant, or tended rather to the prejudice of the Protestant cause in Ireland. By continuing their violent persecution, and still more violent menaces against priests and papists, they confirmed the Irish Catholics in their rebellion, and cut off all hopes of indulgence and toleration. By disposing beforehand of all the Irish forfeitures to subscribers or adventurers, they rendered all men of property desperate, and seemed to threaten a total extirpation of the natives (*d*). And while they thus infused zeal and animosity into the enemy, no measure was pursued which could tend to support or encourage the Protestants, now reduced to the last extremities.

So great is the ascendant which, from a long course of successes, the English has acquired over the Irish nation, that though the latter, when they receive military discipline among foreigners, are not surpassed by any troops, they had never, in their own country, been able to make any vigorous effort for the defence or recovery of their liberties. In many rencounters, the English, under lord More, sir William St. Leger, sir Frederic Hamilton, and others, had, though under great disadvantages of situation and numbers, put the Irish to rout, and returned in triumph to Dublin. The rebels raised the siege of Tredah, after an obstinate defence made by the garrison. Ormond had obtained two complete victories at Kilrush and Ross; and had brought relief to all the forts, which were besieged or blockaded in different parts of the kingdom. But notwithstanding these successes, even the most common necessaries of life were wanting to the victorious armies. The Irish, in their wild rage against the British planters, had laid waste the whole kingdom, and were themselves totally unfit, from their habitual sloth and ignorance, to raise any convenience of human life. During the course of six months no supplies had come from England, except the fourth part of one small vessel's lading. Dublin, to save itself from famine, had been obliged to send the greater part of its inhabitants to England. The army had little ammunition, scarcely exceeding forty barrels of gunpowder; not even shoes or clothes; and for want of food the soldiers had been obliged to eat their own horses. And though the distress of the Irish was not much inferior; besides that they were more hardened against such extremities, it was but a melancholy reflection, that the two nations, while they continued their furious animosities, should make desolate that fertile island, which might serve to the subsistence and happiness of both.

The justices and council of Ireland had been engaged, chiefly by the interest and authority of Ormond, to fall into an entire dependence on the king. Parsons, Temple, Loftus, and Meredith, who favoured the opposite party, had been removed; and Charles had supplied their place by others better affected to his service. A committee of the English house of commons, which had been sent over to Ireland, in order to conduct the affairs of that kingdom, had been excluded the council, in obedience to orders transmitted from the king. And these were reasons sufficient, besides the great difficulties, under which they themselves laboured, why the parliament was unwilling to send supplies to an army, which, though engaged in a cause much favoured by them, was commanded by their declared enemies. They even intercepted some small succours sent thither by the king.

The king, as he had neither money, arms, ammunition, nor provisions to spare from his own urgent wants, resolved to embrace an expedient, which might at once relieve the necessities of the Irish Protestants, and contribute to the advancement of his affairs in England. A truce with the rebels, he thought, would enable his subjects in Ireland to provide for their own support, and would procure him the assistance of the army against the English parliament. But as a treaty with a people, so odious for their barbarities, and still more for their religion, might be represented in invidious colours, and renew all those calumnies with which he had been loaded; it was necessary to proceed with caution in conducting that measure. A remonstrance from the army was made to the Irish council, representing their necessities, and craving permission to leave the kingdom: and if that were refused, "We must have recourse," they said, "to that first and primary law, with which God has endowed all men; we mean the law of nature, which teaches every creature to preserve itself." Memorials both to the king and to the parliament were transmitted by the justices and council, in which their wants and dangers are strongly set forth; and though the general expressions in these memorials might perhaps be suspected of exaggeration, yet from the particular facts mentioned, from the confession of the English parliament itself; and from the very nature of things, it is apparent that the Irish Protestants were reduced to great extremities; and it became prudent in the king, if not absolutely necessary, to embrace some expedient, which might secure them, for a time, from the ruin and misery with which they were threatened.

Accordingly, on the 7th of September, the king gave orders to Ormond and the justices to conclude, for a year, a cessation of arms with the council of Kilkenny, by whom the Irish were governed, and to leave both sides in possession of their present advantages. The parliament, whose business it was to find fault with every measure adopted by the opposite party, and who would not lose so fair an opportunity of reproaching the king with his favour to the Irish papists, exclaimed loudly against this cessation. Among other reasons, they insisted upon the divine vengeance, which England might justly dread, for tolerating antichristian idolatry, on pretence of civil contracts and political agreements.

After the cessation, there was little necessity, as well as no means, of subsisting the army in Ireland. The king ordered Ormond, who was entirely devoted to him, to send over considerable bodies of it to England. Most of them

(*d*) A thousand acres in Ulster were given to every one that subscribed two hundred pounds, in Connaught to the subscribers of three hundred and fifty, in Munster for four hundred and fifty, in Leinster for six hundred.

them continued in his service: but a small part having imbibed in Ireland a strong animosity against the Catholics, and hearing the king's party universally reproached with popery, soon after deserted to the parliament.

Some Irish Catholics came over with these troops, and joined the royal army, where they continued the same cruelties and disorders to which they had been accustomed. The parliament voted, that no quarter, in any action, should ever be given them: but prince Rupert, taking advantage of this parliamentary vote, committed dreadful slaughter, in several instances, upon the parliamentary forces, whenever he gained success against them, under the specious pretext of making reprisals.

During the course of the war, the king had obtained several advantages over the parliament, so that, at the beginning of 1644, he had raised himself from that low condition into which he had at first fallen, to be nearly upon an equal footing with his adversaries. Yorkshire, and all the northern counties, were reduced by the marquis of Newcastle; and, excepting Hull, the parliament was master of no garrison in these quarters. In the west, Plymouth alone, (with two small fishing towns, Poole and Lyme,) having been in vain besieged by prince Maurice, resisted the king's authority: and had it not been for the disappointment in the enterprize of Gloucester, the royal garrisons had reached, without interruption, from one end of the kingdom to the other; and had occupied a greater extent of ground than those of the parliament. Many of the royalists now flattered themselves, that the same vigorous spirit, which had raised them to their present condition, would still favour their progress, and obtain them a final victory over their enemies: but those who judged with more wisdom, observed that, besides the accession of the whole Scottish nation to the side of the parliament, the very principle on which the royal successes had been founded was every day acquired, more and more, by the republicans. The king's troops, full of gentry and nobility, had exercised a valour superior to their enemies, and had been successful in many rencounters: but, in proportion as the whole nation became warlike, by the continuance of civil discords, this advantage was more equally shared; and superior numbers, it was expected, must at length obtain the victory. The king's troops also ill paid, and destitute of every necessary, could not possibly be retained in equal discipline with the parliamentary forces, to whom all supplies were furnished from unexhausted stores and treasures. The severity of manners, so much practised by the Puritans, assisted their military institutions; and the rigid inflexibility of character by which they were distinguished, enabled the parliamentary chiefs to restrain their soldiers within stricter rules and more exact order. And while the king's officers indulged themselves even in greater licences than those to which, during times of peace, they had been accustomed, they were apt, both to neglect their military duty, and to set a pernicious example of disorder to the soldiers under their command. The dissolute manners, therefore, of the king's forces, prompted them to the commission of various excesses, which at length began to cause disgust among the people.

At the commencement of the civil war, all Englishmen, who served abroad, were invited over, and treated with extraordinary respect. Most of them were descended from good families, and did not examine into the nature of the dispute between the king and the parliament, therefore they inlisted under the royal standard. But it is observable that, though the military profession requires great genius, and long experience, in the principal commanders, all its subordinate duties may be discharged by ordinary talents, and from superficial practice. Citizens and country gentlemen soon became excellent officers; and the generals of greatest fame and capacity happened, all of them, to spring up on the side of the parliament. The courtiers and great nobility, in the other party, checked the growth of any extraordinary genius among the subordinate officers; and every man there, as in a regular established government, was confined to the station in which his birth had placed him.

The king, that he might make preparations, during winter, for the ensuing campaign, summoned to Oxford all the members of either house, who adhered to his interests; and endeavoured to avail himself of the name of parliament, so passionately cherished by the English nation. They met at Oxford, in January, 1644. The house of peers, as might have been expected, was pretty full; but the house of commons consisted of about one hundred and forty; which amounted not to above half of the house of commons which sat at Westminster.

So extremely light had government hitherto lain upon the people, that the very name of *excise* was unknown to them; and, among other evils arising from these domestic wars, was the introduction of that impost into England. The parliament at Westminter having voted an excise on beer, wine, and other commodities; those at Oxford imitated the example, and conferred that revenue on the king. And, in order to enable him the better to recruit his army, they granted him the sum of one hundred thousand pounds, to be levied by way of loan upon the subject. The king circulated privy seals, counter-signed by the speakers of both houses, requiring the loan of particular sums from such persons as lived within his quarters.—Neither party had as yet got above the pedantry of reproaching their antagonists with these illegal measures (*e*).

The king, that he might abate the universal veneration paid to the name of parliament, issued a declaration, in which he pretended to set forth all the tumults by which himself and his partizans in both houses had been driven from London; and thence inferred, that the assembly at Westminster was no longer a free parliament, and, till its liberty were restored, was entitled to no authority. As this declaration was an obstacle to all treaty, some contrivance seemed requisite, in order to elude it.

As it had been intimated to the king, that there was no probability that the two houses at Westminster would ever treat with the members which should meet at Oxford, and that he might expect great advantages from their refusal, a letter (*f*), signed by the prince of Wales, the duke of York, forty-three lords, and a hundred and eighteen proscribed members of the house of commons, was sent to the earl of Essex, purporting, That it was their earnest desire some persons should be appointed, on either part, to treat of such a peace as might redeem their country from the brink of ruin. The earl of Essex, by the directions of the committee of state, returned the following answer: That he could not communicate the letter he had received to the assembly of parliament, because it was neither addressed to them, nor were they acknowledged in it. To carry on the farce concerted between the king and his council, a second letter was sent to the earl of Essex, desiring a safe-conduct to Westminster for two messengers, designed to be sent by the king concerning a treaty of peace. As there was the same studied affectation to avoid mentioning the parliament in this second letter as in the first, the answer returned was, That, when a safe-conduct for the king's messengers should be demanded of the two houses, the earl of Essex would shew his willingness to farther any way which might produce a good understanding between his majesty and his faithful and only council the parliament.

This refusal produced from the king a message directed to the lords and commons sitting at Westminster: but as he took care, in his offers to treat of peace, to signify that his conduct in this particular was directed by the lords and commons assembled at Oxford, and, according to a pre-

(*e*) The Westminster parliament passed likewise a whimsical ordinance, enjoining all the inhabitants of London and the bills of mortality, to retrench (for three months) a meal a week; and to subscribe the value of it for the support of the public cause.

(*f*) Lord Clarendon tells us, that the king, on being advised to the expedient of calling the members to Oxford, was at first in some apprehension that such a conflux of persons, who would look to enjoy the privilege of parliament in their debates, might, instead of doing him service, do many things contrary to it; and exceedingly apprehended, that they would immediately enter upon some treaty of peace which would have no effect, yet, whilst it was in suspence, would hinder his preparations for the war: "And though nobody," says lord Clarendon, "more desired peace than the king, yet he had no mind that a multitude should be consulted upon the conditions of it." The same author asserts, That the following arguments obviated the king's objection; viz. that the persons who had the duty to obey his majesty's summons could be none but such as had already absented themselves from Westminster, and, having thereby incurred the resentment of those who remained there, would not bring ill and troublesome humours with them to disturb that service which could only preserve them; but, on the contrary, would unite and conspire together to make the king superior to his and their enemies: and as to the advancing any propositions to peace (which there could be no doubt but they would be inclined to, nor would it be fit for his majesty to oppose), there could be no inconvenience, since their appearing in it would but draw reproach from those at Westminster, who would never give them any answer, nor look upon them under any notion but as private persons and deserters of the parliament, without any qualification to treat or to be treated with; which would provoke those at Oxford, and by degrees stir up more animosities between them. *Clar. Hist.* vol. ii. p. 318.

vious assertion in his proclamation of summons, insinuated that the two houses sitting at Westminster were not a legal convention, the parliament refused all treaty upon such terms:—"They would never own, they said, the members who had deserted them. Moreover, they thought themselves bound to let his majesty know, that as their continuance as a parliament was settled by law, they were resolved with their lives and fortunes to maintain their just rights and power; and did beseech him to be assured, that his royal and hearty concurrence would be the most effectual and ready means to procure a firm and lasting peace, and of begetting a right understanding between his majesty and his people; without which his most earnest professions, and their most real intentions, concerning the same, must necessarily be frustrated: and in case, added they, your majesty's three kingdoms should by reason thereof remain in this sad and bleeding condition, tending to their ruin, your majesty cannot be the last nor the least sufferer."

The assembly at Oxford, exulting in what they termed their repeated solicitations for peace, published two long declarations: one contained the history of the beforementioned proceedings; and the other, with many acrimonious aspersions on the conduct of the parliament, tended to prove it no free convention. Both these performances are so frivolous and quibbling, so filled with contradictions, and so like those which had been already set forth on the subject, that it was easy to perceive from what particular quarter they came. The parliament also, on their side, published a manifesto, wherein they shewed, from the style of the letters written to the earl of Essex, from expressions in the king's late message, and especially from an intercepted letter of the lord Digby, that, under the specious colour of proposing peace, a snare had been laid to engage them tacitly to disavow their power and authority. On the first meeting of the Oxford assembly, they passed some angry votes against the Scots; and, on the refusal of the two houses at Westminster to treat, they likewise voted, That all those lords and commons yet remaining at Westminster, who had consented to the raising of forces under the command of the earl of Essex, or to the making and using a new great seal, (for the parliament at Westminster had some time before thought fit to cause a new great seal to be made), or had been abetting, aiding, and assisting to the invasion of the Scots, were guilty of treason.

But notwithstanding the zeal which this assembly had manifested for the king's service, the harmony and confidence which appeared between them was far from real: the king had in vain importuned them to assume to themselves solely the name of the parliament of England, or to declare the assembly at Westminster an illegal convention; and though he had again and again recommended to them an entire trust and confidence in him, as a better expedient for the peace and preservation of the kingdom than fears and jealousies, yet they discovered so much of the latter of these affections, as to petition him to reprint the protestation he had made at the head of his army at Wellington, with his declarations concerning his resolutions to maintain and defend the true reformed Protestant religion; that he would again promise to call a national synod, to establish the government and peace of the church, to whom should be recommended a care for the ease of tender consciences; that he would again promise to keep inviolable the laws of the land; that he would declare the sincerity of his royal heart concerning his intention to consult frequently with parliament; that he would promise to consent to an act to secure the subject from loans, taxes, and other impositions, which had been submitted to as exigencies of war and necessity; and that he would retain his pious endeavours to procure the peace of the kingdom, nor suffer them to be removed by any advantages, or prosperous success. It is manifest from the conduct of this assembly, that though they had exerted their utmost endeavours to support the royal cause, yet, in their own judgement, it was at the peril of the liberties of the constitution, whose security they sacrificed to private interest, passion, and prejudice. Having finished the business for which they were summoned, they were prorogued, on the 14th of April, 1644, to the ensuing month of October, after having sat near three months.

Amongst the fruitless attempts to procure a peace, which should reinstate the king in the possession of his prerogatives, the count of Harcourt was sent, with the title of ambassador extraordinary, to England. After some conferences had passed between him and the king, he signified in writing to the earl of Northumberland, that, having proposed to his majesty, from the king and queen-regent of France, the making a peace with his subjects, he found him disposed to enter into negociation; and that if both houses would let him (the count of Harcourt) know the cause which had obliged them to have recourse to arms, he would gladly interpose to pacify differences, by expedients the most conformable to the ancient laws, customs, and ordinances of this realm which could be proposed on all parts. To this impertinent interposition the parliament condescendingly answered, That the lords and commons assembled in the parliament of England would always with due respect acknowledge such good affections as from the king his master, or the queen his mistress, should be at any time expressed to the king and realm of England; that they desired nothing more than such a peace as might as well procure honour and happiness to the king, as the preservation of the true reformed religion, the privileges of parliament, and the liberty of the subject; and when the prince D'Harcourt should, from and in the name of the king his master, propose any thing to the lords and commons assembled in the parliament of England, they would do thereupon that which should be fit, and which should justify their proceedings to all the world. The count not caring to own the two houses for a parliament, no credentials were produced; and thus ended this frivolous business.

This winter the famous Pym died; a man as much hated by one party, as he was respected by the other. At London, he was considered as the victim to national liberty, who had abridged his life by incessant labours for the interests of his country: at Oxford he was believed (such is the force of prejudice) to have been struck with an uncommon disease, and to have been consumed with vermin; as a mark of divine vengeance, for his multiplied crimes and treasons. He had been so little studious of improving his private fortune in the civil wars, that the parliament thought themselves obliged, from gratitude, to pay the debts which he had contracted. Mr. Pym was interred in Westminster Abbey, to which place his body was carried by six members of the lower house, and attended by most of the lords and commons sitting at Westminster (*g*).

We now return to the military operations, which, during the winter, were carried on with vigour in several places, notwithstanding the severity of the season.

The forces brought from Ireland were landed at Mostyn, in North Wales; and being put under the command of lord Biron, they besieged and took the castles of Hawarden, Beeston, Acton, and Deddington House. No place in Cheshire or the neighbourhood now adhered to the parliament, except Nantwich: and to this town Biron laid siege during the depth of winter. Sir Thomas Fairfax, alarmed at so considerable a progress of the royalists, assembled an army of four thousand men in Yorkshire, and having joined sir William Brereton, was approaching to the camp of the enemy. Biron and his soldiers, elated with successes obtained in Ireland, had entertained the most profound contempt for the parliamentay forces; a disposition which, if confined to the army, may be regarded as a good presage of victory; but if it extend to the general, is the most probable forerunner of a defeat. Fairfax suddenly attacked the camp of the royalists, on the 25th of January, 1644. The swelling of the river by a thaw divided one part of the army from the other. That part exposed to Fairfax, being beaten from their post, retired into the church of Acton, and were all (to the number of fifteen hundred men, besides officers) taken prisoners: the other retreated with precipitation. And thus was dissipated, or rendered useless, that body of forces which had been drawn from Ireland; and the parliamentary party revived in the north-west counties of England.

The invasion from Scotland was attended with consequences of much greater importance. The Scots, having summoned in vain the town of Newcastle, which was fortified by the vigilance of sir Thomas Glenham, passed the Tyne, on the 22nd of February; and faced the marquis

(*g*) The house of commons passed an order, That a monument should be prepared for him at the expence of the commonwealth; that he should be interred in Westminster Abbey, without any charge for breaking open the ground; and that the speaker, with the whole house, should accompany his body to interment. *Journals of the Commons.*

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of Newcastle, who lay at Durham with an army of fourteen thousand men. After some military operations, in which that nobleman reduced the enemy to difficulties for forage and provisions, he received intelligence of a great disaster which had befallen his forces in Yorkshire. Colonel Bellasis, whom he had left with a considerable body of troops, was totally routed at Selby by sir Thomas Fairfax, on the 11th of April, who had returned from Cheshire with his victorious forces. Afraid of being inclosed between two armies, Newcastle retreated; and Leven having joined lord Fairfax, they sat down before York, to which the army of the loyalists had retired. But as the parliamentary and Scottish forces were not numerous enough to invest so large a town, divided by a river, they contented themselves with incommoding it by a loose blockade; and affairs remained, for some time, in suspense between these opposite armies.

During this winter and spring, other parts of the kingdom had also been infested with war. Sir Ralph Hopetoun, now made a peer, having assembled an army of fourteen thousand men, endeavoured to break into Sussex, Kent, and the southern association; but sir William Waller fell upon him at Cherington, between Farnham and Winchester, and gave him a defeat, of considerable importance, on the 29th of March. In another quarter, siege being laid to Newark, by the parliamentary forces, prince Rupert prepared himself for relieving a town of such consequence, which alone preserved the communication open between the king's southern and northern quarters. Prince Rupert, by his activity and celerity, broke through the enemy, relieved the town, and gained considerable advantage over that army of the parliament, on the 21st of March.

But though fortune seemed to have divided her favours between the parties, the king found himself, in the main, a considerable loser by this winter campaign; and he prognosticated a still worse event from the ensuing summer. The preparations of the parliament were great, and exceeded the slender resources of which he was possessed. In the eastern association, they levied fourteen thousand men, under the earl of Manchester, seconded by Oliver Cromwell. An army of ten thousand men, under Essex, another of nearly the same force under Waller, was assembled in the neighbourhood of London. The former was destined to oppose the king: the latter was appointed to march into the west, where prince Maurice, with a small army which went continually to decay, was spending his time in vain before Lyme, an inconsiderable town upon the sea coast. The utmost efforts of the king could not raise above ten thousand men at Oxford; and on their sword chiefly, during the campaign, were these to depend for subsistence.

The queen, terrified with the dangers which every way environed her, and afraid of being enclosed in Oxford, in the middle of the kingdom, fled to Exeter, where she hoped to be delivered unmolested of the child with which she was now pregnant, and whence she had the means of an easy escape into France, if pressed by the forces of the parliament. She knew the implacable hatred which that assembly, on account of her religion and her credit with the king, had all along borne her. Last summer the commons had sent up to the peers an impeachment of high treason against her; because she had assisted her husband with arms and ammunition, which she had bought in Holland.

The earl of Manchester, having taken Lincoln, had united his army to that of Leven and Fairfax; and York was now closely besieged by their combined forces. That town, though vigorously defended by Newcastle, was reduced to extremity; and the parliamentary generals, after enduring great losses and fatigues, flattered themselves that all their labours would at last be crowned by this important conquest. On a sudden, they were alarmed by the approach of prince Rupert; who having vigorously exerted himself in Lancashire and Cheshire, had collected a considerable army; and, joining sir Charles Lucas, who commanded Newcastle's horse, hastened to the relief of York, with an army of twenty thousand men. The Scottish and parliamentary generals raised the siege, and, drawing up on Marston Moor, purposed to give battle to the royalists. Prince Rupert approached the town by another quarter, and, interposing the river Ouse between him and the enemy, safely joined his forces to those of Newcastle. The marquis endeavoured to persuade the prince, that, having so successfully effected his purpose, he ought to be content with the present advantages, and leave the enemy, now much diminished by their losses, and discouraged by their ill success, to dissolve by those mutual dissensions which had begun to take place among them. The prince, whose martial disposition was not sufficiently tempered with prudence, nor softened by complaisance, pretending positive orders from the king, without deigning to consult with Newcastle, immediately issued orders, for battle, and led out an army to Marston Moor, on the 2nd of July. This action was obstinately disputed between the most numerous armies that were engaged during the course of these wars; nor were the forces on each side much different in number. Fifty thousand British troops were led to mutual slaughter; and the victory seemed long undecided between them. Prince Rupert, who commanded the right wing of the royalists, was opposed to Cromwell, who conducted the choice troops of the parliament, enured to danger under that determined leader, animated by zeal, and confirmed by the most rigid discipline. After a short combat, the cavalry of the royalists gave way; and such of the infantry as stood next them were likewise borne down, and put to flight. Newcastle's regiment alone, resolute to conquer or to perish, obstinately kept their ground, and maintained by their dead bodies, the same order in which they had at first been ranged. In the other wing, sir Thomas Fairfax and colonel Lambert, with some troops, broke through the royalists; and, transported by the ardour of pursuit, soon reached their victorious friends, engaged also in pursuit of the enemy. But after that tempest was past, Lucas, who commanded the royalists in this wing, restoring order to his broken forces, made a furious attack on the parliamentary cavalry, threw them into disorder, pushed them upon their own infantry, and put that whole wing to rout. When ready to seize on their carriages and baggage, he perceived Cromwell, who was now returned from pursuit of the other wing. Both sides were not a little surprized to find that they must again renew the combat for that victory which each of them thought they had already obtained. The front of the battle was now exactly counterchanged; and each army occupied the ground which had been possessed by the enemy at the beginning of the day. This second battle was equally furious and desperate with the first: but after the utmost efforts of courage by both parties, victory wholly turned to the side of the parliament. In this engagement four thousand royalists were slain, and fifteen hundred taken prisoners, with the whole train of artillery. The parliament lost three hundred men; many of their officers were wounded, but few of them mortally. Amongst the latter were Charles Fairfax, brother to sir Thomas, who died in three or four days of the wounds he received; and major Fairfax, a more distant relation, some time after.

This event was in itself a mighty blow to the king; but proved more fatal in its consequences; for the succeeding frantic conduct of the two generals, Rupert and Newcastle, completed the ruin of his fortunes. The marquis of Newcastle became entirely lost to the royal cause.—Equally vain and intemperate, and equally disappointed in their ambitious hopes, the very morning after the battle the following sullen messages passed between them: The prince sent the marquis word, That he was determined to march away immediately with his army towards the king; the marquis returned for answer, That he was determined to retire from his command, and, without loss of time, to leave the kingdom. These intentions were with the same precipitation executed as formed.

The marquis of Newcastle, the ornament of the court and of his order, had been engaged, contrary to the natural bent of his disposition, into these military operations, merely by a high sense of honour, and a personal regard to his master. The dangers of war were disregarded by his valour; but its fatigues were oppressive to his natural indolence. Munificent and generous in his expence; polite and elegant in his taste; courteous and humane in his behaviour; he brought a great accession of friends and of credit to the party which he embraced. But amidst all the hurry of action, his inclinations were secretly drawn to the soft arts of peace, in which he took delight; and the charms of poetry, music, and conversation, often stole him from his rougher occupations. When prince Rupert, contrary to his advice, resolved on this battle, and issued all orders, without communicating his intentions to him; he took the field, but, he said, merely as a volunteer; and, except by his personal courage, which shone out with lustre,

lustre, he had no share in the action. Enraged to find that all his successful labours were rendered abortive by one act of fatal temerity, terrified with the prospect of renewing his pains and fatigue, he resolved no longer to maintain the few resources which remained to a desperate cause, and thought that the same regard to honour, which had at first called him to arms, now required him to abandon a party, where he met with such unworthy treatment. Next morning early he went to Scarborough, where himself, his brother, his two sons, King (his lieutenant-general), five other noblemen, with Bramhall, bishop of Londonderry, and two commoners, embarked in a small vessel for Hamburgh. During the ensuing years, till the restoration, he lived abroad in great necessity, and saw, with indifference, his opulent fortune sequestered by those who assumed the government of England. He disdained, by submission or composition, to show obeisance to their authority; and the least favourable censors of his merit allowed, that the fidelity and services of a whole life had sufficiently atoned for one rash action into which his passion had betrayed him.

Prince Rupert drew off the remains of his army, and retired into Lancashire. Glenham was obliged to surrender York on the 16th of July; and he marched out his garrison with all the honours of war. Lord Fairfax, remaining in the city, established his government in that whole county, and sent a thousand horse into Lancashire, to join with the parliamentary forces in that quarter, and attend the motions of prince Rupert: the Scottish army marched northwards, in order to join the earl of Calendar, who was advancing with ten thousand additional forces; and to reduce the town of Newcastle, which they took by storm; a circumstance of great importance to the city of London, whose inhabitants had been much distressed by the deprivation of fire fuel with which they had been supplied from that town (*h*). The earl of Manchester, with Cromwell, to whom the fame of this great victory was chiefly ascribed, and who was wounded in the action, returned to the eastern association, in order to recruit his army.

While these events passed in the north, the king's affairs in the south were conducted with more success and greater abilities. Ruthven, a Scotchman, who had been created earl of Brentford, acted, under the king, as general.

The parliament soon completed their two armies commanded by Essex and Waller. The great zeal of the city facilitated this undertaking. Many speeches were made to the citizens by the parliamentary leaders, in order to excite their ardour. Hollis, in particular, exhorted them not to spare, on this important occasion, either their purses, their persons, or their prayers; and, in general, it must be confessed, they were sufficiently liberal in all these contributions. The two generals had orders to march with their combined armies towards Oxford; and, if the king retired into that city, to lay siege to it, and by one enterprize put a period to the war. The king, leaving a numerous garrison in Oxford, passed with dexterity, on the 3rd of June, between the two armies, which had taken Abingdon, and had inclosed him on both sides. He marched towards Worcester; and Waller received orders from Essex to follow him and watch his motions; while himself marched into the west in quest of prince Maurice. Waller had approached within two miles of the royal camp, and was only separated from it by the Severn, when he received intelligence that the king was advanced to Bewdley, and had directed his course towards Shrewsbury. In order to prevent him, Waller immediately dislodged, and hastened by quick marches to that town; while the king, suddenly returning upon his own footsteps, reached Oxford; and having reinforced his army from that garrison, now in his turn marched out in quest of Waller. The two armies faced each other at Cropredy Bridge near Banbury in Oxfordshire on the 29th of June; but the Charwell ran between them. Next day the king decamped, and marched towards Daventry. Waller ordered a considerable detachment to pass the bridge, with an intention of falling on the rear of the royalists. He was repulsed, routed, and pursued with considerable loss. Disheartened with this blow, his army decayed and melted away by desertion; and the king thought he might safely leave it, and march westward against Essex. That general, having obliged prince Maurice to raise the siege of Lyme, having taken Weymouth and Taunton, advanced still in his conquests, and met with no equal opposition. The king followed him, and having reinforced his army from all quarters, appeared in the field with an army superior to that of the parliament. Essex, retreating into Cornwal, informed the parliament of his danger, and desired them to send an army, which might fall on the king's rear. General Middleton received a commission to execute that service; but came too late. Essex's army, cooped up in a narrow corner at Lestwithiel, deprived of all forage and provisions, and seeing no prospect of succour, was reduced to the last extremity. The king pressed them on one side; prince Maurice on another; sir Richard Granville on a third. Essex, Robarts, and some of the principal officers, escaped in a boat to Plymouth: Balfour with his horse passed the king's out-posts, in a thick mist, and got safely to the garrison of his own party. The foot under Skippon were obliged to surrender their arms, artillery, baggage, ammunition, on the first of September; and being conducted to the parliament's quarters, were dismissed. By this advantage, which was much boasted of, the king, besides the honour of the enterprize, obtained what he stood extremely in need of: the parliament, having preserved the men, lost what they could easily repair.

No sooner did this intelligence reach London, than the committee of the two kingdoms voted thanks to Essex for his fidelity, courage, and conduct; and this method of proceeding, no less politic than magnanimous, was preserved by the parliament throughout the whole course of the war. Equally indulgent to their friends and rigorous to their enemies, they employed, with success, these two powerful engines of reward and punishment, in confirmation of their authority.

That the king might have less reason to exult in the advantages which he had obtained in the west, the parliament opposed to him very numerous forces. Having armed afresh Essex's subdued, but not disheartened troops, they ordered Manchester and Cromwell to march with their recruited forces from the eastern association; and joining their armies to those of Waller and Middleton, as well as of Essex, offer battle to the king. Charles chose his post at Newbury, where the parliamentary armies, under the earl of Manchester, attacked him with great vigour on the 27th of October; and that town was a second time the scene of the bloody animosities of the English. Essex's soldiers, exhorting one another to repair their broken honour, and revenge the disgrace of Lestwithiel, made an impetuous assault on the royalists; and having recovered some of their cannon, lost in Cornwal, could not forbear embracing them with tears of joy. Though the king's troops defended themselves with valour, they were overpowered by numbers; and the night coming seasonably to their relief, prevented a total overthrow. Charles, leaving his baggage and cannon in Dennington Castle, near Newbury, retreated to Wallingford, and thence to Oxford. There prince Rupert and the earl of Northampton joined him, with considerable bodies of cavalry. Strengthened by this reinforcement, he ventured to advance towards the enemy, now employed before Dennington Castle. Essex, detained by sickness, had not joined the army since his misfortune in Cornwal. Manchester, who commanded, though his forces were much superior to those of the king, declined an engagement, and rejected Cromwell's advice, who earnestly pressed him not to neglect so favourable an opportunity of finishing the war. The king's army, by bringing off their cannon from Dennington Castle, in the face of the enemy, seemed to have sufficiently repaired the honour which they had lost at Newbury; and Charles, having the satisfaction to excite, between Manchester and Cromwell, equal animosities with those which formerly took place between Essex and Waller, distributed his army into winter quarters.

Those contests among the parliamentary generals, which had disturbed their military operations, were renewed in London during the winter season; and each being supported by his own faction, their mutual reproaches and accusations agitated the whole city and parliament. There had long prevailed, in that party, a secret distinction, which, though the dread of the king's power had hitherto suppressed it, yet, in proportion as the hopes of success became nearer and more immediate, began to discover itself, with high contest and animosity. The INDEPENDENTS, who had, at first, taken shelter and concealed themselves under the wings of the PRESBYTERIANS, now evidently appeared a distinct party, and betrayed very different views

(*h*) On this occasion the parliament passed an ordinance for the cutting and drying turf on the lands near London, for fuel for the citizens. *Whitlocke.*

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and pretensions. We must here endeavour to explain the genius of this party, and of its leaders, who henceforth occupy the scene of action.

During those times it was impossible to set bounds to these holy fervours, or confine what was directed towards an infinite and a supernatural object. Every man endeavoured to distinguish himself beyond his fellows, and to arrive at a higher pitch of holiness and perfection. In proportion to its degree of zeal, each sect became dangerous and destructive; and as the Independents went a note higher than the Presbyterians, they could less be restrained within any bounds of temper and moderation. From this distinction, as from a first principle, were derived, by a necessary consequence, all the other differences of these two sects.

The Independents rejected all ecclesiastical establishments, and would admit of no spiritual courts, no government among pastors, no interposition of the magistrate in religious concerns, no fixed encouragement annexed to any system of doctrines or opinions. According to their principles, each congregation, united voluntarily and by spiritual ties, composed, within itself, a separate church, and exercised a jurisdiction over its own pastor and its own members. The election alone of the congregation was sufficient to bestow the sacerdotal character; and as all essential distinction was denied between the laity and the clergy, no ceremony, no institution, no vocation, but that of a call from a particular congregation, no imposition of hands was supposed requisite to convey a right to holy orders. The Presbyterians were led to reject the authority of prelates, to throw off the restraint of liturgies, to retrench ceremonies, to limit the riches and authority of the priestly office: the Independents, exalted to a higher pitch, abolished ecclesiastical government, disdained creeds and systems, neglected every ceremony, and confounded all ranks and orders. The soldier, the merchant, the mechanic, indulging the fervours of zeal, and guided by the illapses of the Spirit, resigned himself to an inward and superior direction, and was consecrated, in a manner, by an immediate intercourse and communication with Heaven.

The Catholics, pretending to an infallible guide, had justified, upon that principle, their doctrine and practice of persecution: the presbyterians, imagining that such clear and certain tenets, as they themselves adopted, could be rejected only from a criminal and pertinacious obstinacy, had hitherto gratified, to the full, their zeal, in a like doctrine and practice: the independents, from the extremity of the same zeal, were led into the milder principles of toleration. Their mind, set afloat in the wide sea of inspiration, could confine itself within no certain limits; and the same variations, in which an enthusiast indulged himself, he was apt, by a natural train of thinking, to permit in others. Of all christian sects this was the first, which, during its prosperity, as well as its adversity, always adopted the principle of toleration.

Popery and prelacy alone, whose genius seemed to tend towards superstition, were treated by the Independents with rigour. The doctrine of predestination was deemed by them essential to all religion. In these opinions, the whole sectaries, amidst all other differences, unanimously concurred.

The political system of the Independents kept pace with their religious. Not content with confining to very narrow limits, the power of the crown, and reducing the king to the rank of first magistrate, which was the project of the Presbyterians; this sect, more ardent in the pursuit of liberty, aspired to a total abolition of the monarchy, and even of the aristocracy; and projected an entire equality of rank and order, in a republic, quite free and independent. In consequence of this scheme, they were declared enemies to all proposals for peace, except on such terms as, they knew, it was impossible to obtain; and they adhered to that maxim, which is, in the main, prudent and political, that whoever draws the sword against his sovereign, should throw away the scabbard. By terrifying others with the fear of vengeance from the offended prince, they had engaged great numbers into the opposition against peace, than had adopted their other principles with regard to government and religion. And the great success, which had already attended the arms of the parliament, and the greater, which was soon expected, confirmed them still further in ther views.

Sir Harry Vane, Oliver Cromwell, Nathanael Fiennes, and Oliver St. John, the solicitor-general, were regarded as the leaders of the Independents. The earl of Essex, disgusted with a war, of which he began to foresee the pernicious consequences, adhered to the Presbyterians, and promoted every reasonable plan of accommodation. The earl of Northumberland, fond of his rank and dignity, regarded with horror a scheme, which, if it took place, would confound himself and his family with the lowest in the kingdom. The earls of Warwick, and Denbigh, sir Philip Stapleton, sir William Waller, Hollis, Massay, Whitlocke, Mainard, Glyn, had embraced the same sentiments. In the parliament, a considerable majority, and a much greater in the nation, were attached to the Presbyterian party; and it was only by cunning and deceit at first, and afterwards by military violence, that the Independents could entertain any hopes of success.

The earl of Manchester, provoked at the impeachment which the king had lodged against him, had long forwarded the war with alacrity; but, being a man of humanity and good principles, the view of public calamities, and the prospect of a total subversion of government, began to moderate his ardour, and inclined him to promote peace on any safe or honourable terms. He was even suspected, in the field, not to have pushed to the utmost against the king, the advantages obtained by the arms of the parliament; and Cromwell, in the public debates, revived the accusation, that this nobleman had wilfully neglected at Dennington Castle a favourable opportunity of finishing the war by a total defeat of the royalists. "I showed him evidently," said Cromwell, "how this success might be obtained; and only desired leave, with my own brigade of horse, to charge the king's army in their retreat; leaving it in the earl's choice, if he thought proper, to remain neuter with the rest of his forces: but, notwithstanding my importunity, he positively refused his consent; and gave no other reason but that, if we met with a defeat, there was an end of our pretensions: we should all be rebels and traitors, and be executed and forfeited by law."

Manchester, by way of recrimination, informed the parliament, that, at another time, Cromwell having proposed some scheme, to which it seemed improbable the parliament would agree, he insisted and said, "My lord, if you will stick firm to honest men, you shall find yourself at the head of an army, which shall give law both to king and parliament. This discourse," continued Manchester, "made the greater impression on me, because I knew the lieutenant-general to be a man of very deep designs; and he has even ventured to tell me, that it never would be well with England till I were Mr. Montague, and there were ne'er a lord or peer in the kingdom." So full was Cromwell of these republican projects, that, notwithstanding his habits of profound dissimulation, he could not so carefully guard his expressions, but that sometimes his favourite notions would escape him.

These violent dissensions brought matters to extremity, and pushed the Independents to the execution of their designs. The present generals, they thought, were more desirous of protracting than finishing the war; and having entertained a scheme for preserving still some balance in the constitution, they were afraid of entirely subduing the king, and reducing him to a condition where he should not be entitled to ask any concessions. A new model alone of the army could bring complete victory to the parliament, and free the nation from those calamities under which it laboured. But how to effect this project was the difficulty. The authority, as well as merits, of Essex was very great with the parliament. Not only he had served them all along with the most exact and scrupulous honour: it was, in some measure, owing to his popularity, that they had ever been enabled to levy an army, or make head against the royal cause. Manchester, Warwick, and the other commanders, had likewise great credit with the public; nor were there any hopes of prevailing over them, but by laying the plan of an oblique and artificial attack, which would conceal the real purpose of their antagonists. The Scots and Scottish commissioners, jealous of the progress of the Independents, were a new obstacle; which, without the utmost art and subtlety, it would be difficult to surmount. The methods by which this intrigue was conducted are so singular, and show so fully the genius of the age, that we shall extract a detail of them from lord Clarendon.

A fast, on the last Wednesday of every month, had been ordered by the parliament at the beginning of these commotions; and their preachers, on that day, were careful to keep alive the popular prejudices entertained against the king, against prelacy, and against popery. The king, that he might combat the parliament with their own weapons,

appointed likewise a monthly fast, when the people should be instructed in the duties of loyalty and of submission to the higher powers; and he chose the second Friday of every month for the devotion of the royalists. It was now proposed and carried in parliament, by the Independents, that a new and more solemn fast should be voted; when they should implore the divine assistance for extricating them from those perplexities in which they were at present involved. On that day, the preachers, after many political prayers, took care to treat of the reigning divisions in the parliament, and ascribed them entirely to the selfish ends pursued by the members. In the hands of those members, they said, are lodged all the considerable commands of the army, all the lucrative offices in the civil administration; and while the nation is falling every day into poverty, and groans under an insupportable load of taxes, these men multiply possession on possession, and will, in a little time, be masters of all the wealth of the kingdom. That such persons, who fatten on the calamities of their country, will ever embrace any effectual measure for bringing them to a period, or ensuring final success to the war, cannot reasonably be expected. Lingering expedients alone will be pursued; and operations in the field concurring, in the same pernicious end, with deliberations in the cabinet, civil commotions will for ever be perpetuated in the nation. After exaggerating these disorders, the ministers returned to their prayers; and besought the Lord, that he would take his own work into his own hand; and if the instruments, whom he had hitherto employed, were not worthy to bring to a conclusion so glorious a design, that he would inspire others more fit, who might perfect what was begun, and by establishing true religion, put a speedy period to the public miseries.

On the day subsequent to these devout animadversions, when the parliament met, a new spirit appeared in the looks of many. Sir Henry Vane told the commons, that if ever God appeared to them, it was in the ordinances of yesterday: that, as he was credibly informed by many, who had been present in different congregations, the same lamentations and discourses, which the godly preachers had made before them, had been heard in other churches: that so remarkable a concurrence could proceed only from the immediate operation of the Holy Spirit: that he therefore intreated them, in vindication of their own honour, in consideration of their duty to God and their country, to lay aside all private ends, and renounce every office attended with profit or advantage: that the absence of so many members, occupied in different employments, had rendered the house extremely thin, and diminished the authority of their determinations: and that he could not forbear, for his own part, accusing himself as one who enjoyed a gainful office, that of treasurer of the navy; and though he was possessed of it before the civil commotions, and owed it not to the favour of the parliament, yet was he ready to resign it, and to sacrifice, to the welfare of his country, every consideration of private interest and advantage.

Cromwell next commended the preachers for having dealt with them plainly and impartially, and told them of their errors, of which they were so unwilling to be informed. Though they dwelt on many things, he said, on which he had never before reflected; yet, upon revolving them, he could not but confess, that, till there were a perfect reformation in these particulars, nothing which they undertook could possibly prosper. The parliament, no doubt, continued he, had done wisely on the commencement of the war, in engaging several of its members in the most dangerous parts of it, and thereby satisfying the nation, that they intended to share all hazards with the meanest of the people. But affairs are now changed. During the progress of military operations, there have arisen, in the parliamentary armies, many excellent officers, who are qualified for higher commands than they are now possessed of. And though it becomes not men, engaged in such a cause, to put trust in the arm of flesh, yet he could assure them, that their troops contained generals fit to command in any enterprize in Christendom. The army indeed, he was sorry to say it, did not correspond, by its discipline, to the merit of the officers; nor were there any hopes, till the present vices and disorders, which prevail among the soldiers, were repressed by a new model, that their forces would ever be attended with signal success in any undertaking.

In opposition to this reasoning of the Independents, many of the Presbyterians shewed the inconvenience and danger of the projected alteration. Whitlocke, in particular, a man of honour, who loved his country, though in every change of government he always adhered to the ruling power, said, that besides the ingratitude of discarding, and that by fraud and artifice, so many noble persons, to whom the parliament had hitherto owed its chief support; they would find it extremely difficult to supply the place of men, now formed by experience to command and authority: that the rank alone, possessed by such as were members of either house, prevented envy, retained the army in obedience, and gave weight to military orders: that greater confidence might safely be reposed in men of family and fortune, than in mere adventurers, who would be apt to entertain separate views from those which were embraced by the persons who employed them: that no maxim of policy was more undisputed, than the necessity of preserving an inseparable connexion between the civil and military powers, and of retaining the latter in strict subordination to the former: that the Greeks and Romans, the wisest and most passionate lovers of liberty, had ever entrusted to their senators the command of armies, and had maintained an unconquerable jealousy of all mercenary forces: and that such men alone, whose interests were involved in those of the public, and who possessed a vote in the civil deliberations, would sufficiently respect the authority of parliament, and never could be tempted to turn the sword against those by whom it was committed to them.

Notwithstanding these reasonings, a committee was chosen to frame what was called the "*Self-denying ordinance*," by which the members of both houses were excluded from all civil and military employments, except a few offices which were specified. This ordinance was the subject of great debate, and, for a long time, rent the parliament and city into factions. But, at last, by the prevalence of envy with some; with others of false modesty; with a great many, of the republican and independent views; it passed the house of commons, and was sent to the upper house. The peers, though the scheme was, in part, levelled against their order, yet possessed so little authority, that they durst not persevere in opposing the resolution of the commons; and they thought it better policy, by an unlimited compliance, to ward off that ruin which they saw approaching. The ordinance, therefore, having passed both houses, Essex, Warwick, Manchester, Denbigh, Waller, Brereton, and many others, resigned their commands, and received the thanks of parliament for their good services. A pension of ten thousand pounds a year was settled on Essex.

It was agreed, in the beginning of 1645, to recruit the army to twenty-two thousand men; and sir Thomas Fairfax was appointed general. It is remarkable that his commission did not run, like that of Essex, in the name of the king and parliament, but in that of the parliament alone: and the article concerning the safety of the king's person was omitted. So much had animosities encreased between the parties. Cromwell, being a member of the lower house, should have been discarded with the others; but this impartiality would have disappointed all the views of those who had introduced the self-denying ordinance. He was saved by a subtilty, and by that political craft, in which he was so eminent. At the time when the other officers resigned their commissions, care was taken that he should be sent with a body of horse, to relieve Taunton, besieged by the royalists. His absence being remarked, orders were dispatched for his immediate attendance in parliament; and the new general was directed to employ some other officer in that service. A ready compliance was feigned; and the very day was named, on which, it was averred, he would take his place in the house. But Fairfax, having appointed a rendezvous of the army, wrote to the parliament, and desired leave to retain, for some days, lieutenant-general Cromwell, whose advice, he said, would be useful, in supplying the place of those officers who had resigned. Shortly after, he begged, with much earnestness, that they would allow Cromwell to serve that campaign. And thus the Independents, though the minority, prevailed over the Presbyterians, and bestowed the whole military authority, in appearance, upon Fairfax; in reality, upon Cromwell.

Fairfax was a person equally eminent for courage and for humanity; and though strongly infected with prejudices, or principles derived from religious and party zeal, he seems never, in the course of his public conduct, to have been diverted, by private interest or ambition, from adhering strictly to these principles. Sincere in his professions;

fessions; disinterested in his views; open in his conduct; he had formed one of the most shining characters of the age; had not the extreme narrowness of his genius, in every thing but in war, and his embarrassed and confused elocution on every occasion but when he gave orders, diminished the lustre of his merit, and rendered the part which he acted, even when vested with the supreme command, but secondary and subordinate.

Cromwell, by whose sagacity and insinuation Fairfax was entirely governed, is one of the most eminent and most singular personages that occurs in history: the strokes of his character are as open and strongly marked, as the schemes of his conduct were, during the time, dark and impenetrable. His extensive capacity enabled him to form the most enlarged projects: his enterprising genius was not dismayed with the boldest and most dangerous. Carried, by his natural temper, to magnanimity, to grandeur, and to an imperious and domineering policy; he yet knew, when necessary, to employ the most profound dissimulation, the most oblique and refined artifice, the semblance of the greatest moderation and simplicity. A friend to justice, though his public conduct was one continued violation of it; devoted to religion, though he perpetually employed it as the instrument of his ambition; he was engaged in crimes from the prospect of sovereign power, a temptation which is, in general, irresistible to human nature. And by using well that authority which he had attained, he has lessened, if not overpowered, our detestation of his enormities, by our admiration of his success and of his genius.

During this important transaction of the self-denying ordinance, the negociations for peace were likewise carried on, though with small hopes of success. The king having sent two messages, one from Evesham, on the 4th of July, 1644, another from Tavistock, on the 8th of September following, desiring a treaty, the parliament dispatched commissioners to Oxford, with proposals as high as if they had obtained a complete victory. The advantages gained during the campaign, and the great distresses of the royalists, had much elevated their hopes; and they were resolved to repose no trust in men inflamed with the highest animosity against them, and who, were they possessed of power, were fully authorized by law to punish all their opponents as rebels and traitors.

The king, when he considered the proposals and the disposition of the parliament, could not expect any accommodation, and had no prospect but of war, or of total submission and subjection: yet, in order to satisfy his own party, who were impatient for peace, he agreed to send the duke of Richmond and earl of Southampton, with an answer to the proposals of the parliament, and at the same time to desire a treaty upon their mutual demands and pretensions. It now became necessary for him to retract his former declaration, that the two houses at Westminster were not a free parliament; and accordingly he was induced, though with great reluctance, to give them, in his answer, the appellation of the parliament of England. But it appeared afterwards, by a letter which he wrote to the queen, and of which a copy was taken at Naseby, that he secretly entered an explanatory protest in his council-book; and he pretended that, though he had *called* them the parliament, he had not thereby *acknowledged* them for such (*i*). This subtlety sufficiently marks the character of Charles, and justly loads him with the imputation of insincerity.

The time of place and treaty being settled, sixteen commissioners from the king met at Uxbridge, with twelve authorised by the parliament, attended by the Scottish commissioners. It was agreed, that the Scottish and parliamentary commissioners should give in their demands, with regard to three important articles, *religion*, the *militia*, and *Ireland*; and that these should be successively discussed in conference with the king's commissioners. It was soon found impracticable to come to any agreement with regard to any of these articles.

In the summer 1643, while the negociations were carried on with Scotland, the parliament had summoned an assembly at Westminster, consisting of one hundred and twenty-one divines and thirty laymen, celebrated in their party for piety and learning. By their advice, alterations were made in the thirty-nine articles, or in the metaphysical doctrines of the church; and, what was of greater importance, the liturgy was entirely abolished, and, in its stead, a new directory for worship was established; by which, suitably to the spirit of the Puritans, the utmost liberty, both in praying and preaching, was indulged to the public teachers. By the solemn league and covenant, episcopacy was abjured, as destructive of all true piety; and a national engagement, attended with every circumstance that could render a promise sacred and obligatory, was entered into with the Scots, never to suffer its re-admission. All these measures shewed little spirit of accommodation in the parliament; and the king's commissioners were not surprised to find the establishment of presbytery and the directory positively demanded, together with the subscription of the covenant, both by the king and kingdom.

Had Charles been of a disposition to neglect all theological controversy, he yet had been obliged, in good policy, to adhere to episcopal jurisdiction, not only because it was favourable to monarchy, but because all his adherents were devoted to it; and to abandon them, in what they regarded as so important an article, was for ever to relinquish their friendship and assistance. But Charles had never attained such enlarged principles. He deemed bishops essential to the very being of a christian church; and he thought himself bound, by more sacred ties than those of policy, or even of honour, to the support of that order. His concessions, therefore, on this head, he judged sufficient, when he agreed that an indulgence should be given to tender consciences with regard to ceremonies; that the bishops should exercise no act of jurisdiction or ordination, without the consent and counsel of such presbyters as should be chosen by the clergy of each diocese; that they should reside constantly in their diocese, and be bound to preach every Sunday; that pluralities be abolished; that abuses in ecclesiastical courts be redressed; and that a hundred thousand pounds be levied on the bishops' estates and the chapter lands, for payment of debts contracted by the parliament. These concessions, though considerable, gave no satisfaction to the parliamentary commissioners; and, without abating any thing of their rigour on this head, they proceeded to their demands with regard to the militia.

The king's partizans had hitherto maintained, that the fears and jealousies of the parliament, after the securities given to public liberty, were either feigned or groundless; and that no human institution could be better poised and adjusted, than was now the government of England. By the abolition of the star-chamber and court of high commission, the prerogative, they said, has lost all that coërcive power by which it had formerly suppressed or endangered liberty: by the establishment of trennial parliaments, it can have no leisure to acquire new powers, or guard itself, for any considerable length of time, from the inspection of that vigilant assembly: by the slender revenue of the crown, no king can ever attain such influence as to procure a repeal of these salutary statutes: and while the prince commands no military force, he will in vain, by violence, attempt an infringement of laws, so clearly defined, and so passionately cherished.

This kind of reasoning was, however, more plausible than just, and it was replied by the opposite party, If the power of the militia be entrusted to the king, it would not now be difficult for him to abuse that authority. By the rage of intestine discord, his partizans are inflamed into an extreme hatred against their antagonists; and have contracted, no doubt, some prejudices against popular privileges, which, in their apprehension, have been the source of so much disorder. Were the arms of state, therefore, put entirely into such hands, what public security, it may be demanded, can be given to liberty, or what private security to those who, in opposition to the letter of the law, have so generously ventured their lives in its defence? In compliance with this apprehension, Charles offered, that the arms of the state should be entrusted, during three years, to twenty commissioners, who should be named, either by common agreement between him and the parliament, or one half by him, the other by the parliament. And after the expiration of that term, he insisted that his constitutional authority over the militia should again return to him.

The parliamentary commissioners at first demanded, that the power of the sword should for ever be entrusted to such persons

(*i*) His words are: "As for my calling those at London a parliament, I shall refer thee to Digby for particular satisfaction; this in general: if there had been but two besides myself, of my opinion, I had not done it; and the argument that prevailed with me was, that the calling did no ways acknowledge them to be a parliament; upon which condition and construction I did it, and no otherwise, and accordingly it is registered in the council books, with the council's unanimous approbation." *The King's Cabinet opened. Rushworth*, vol. iv. p. 943.

persons as the parliament alone should appoint: but, afterwards, they relaxed so far as to require that authority only for seven years; after which it was not to return to the king, but to be settled by bill, or by common agreement between him and his parliament. The king's commissioners asked, Whether jealousies and fears were all on one side, and whether the prince had not as great reason to entertain apprehensions for his authority, as they for their liberty? The truth is, after the commencement of war, it was very difficult, if not impossible, to find security for both parties. Amidst such violent animosities, power alone could ensure safety; and the power of one side was necessarily attended with danger to the other.

With regard to Ireland, there were no greater hopes of agreement between the parties. The parliament demanded, that the truce with the rebels should be declared null; that the management of the war should be given over entirely to the parliament, and that, after the conquest of Ireland, the nomination of the lord lieutenant and of the judges, should likewise remain in their hands.

What rendered an accommodation more desperate was, that the demands on these three heads were acknowledged, by the parliamentary commissioners, to be nothing but preliminaries. After all these were granted, it would be necessary to proceed to the discussion of those other demands which had been transmitted to the king at Oxford. The king was required to attaint and except from a general pardon, forty of the most considerable of his English subjects, and nineteen of his Scottish, together with all popish recusants in both kingdoms who had borne arms for him. It was insisted, that forty-eight more, with all the members who had sitten in either house at Oxford, all lawyers and divines who had embraced the king's party, should be rendered incapable of any office, be forbidden the exercise of their profession, be prohibited from coming within the verge of the court, and forfeit the third of their estates to the parliament. It was required, that whoever had borne arms for the king, should forfeit the tenth of their estates, or if that did not suffice, the sixth, for the payment of public debts. As if royal authority were not sufficiently annihilated by such terms, it was demanded, that the court of wards should be abolished; that all the considerable officers of the crown, and all the judges, should be appointed by parliament; and that the right of peace and war should not be exercised without the consent of that assembly. The Presbyterians, it must be confessed, after insisting on such conditions, differed only in words from the Independents, who required the establishment of a pure republic. When the debates had been carried on to no purpose during twenty days among the commissioners, they separated, and returned; those of the king, to Oxford, those of the parliament, to London.

A little before the commencement of this fruitless negociation, called the Treaty of Uxbridge, a deed was executed by the parliament, which proved their determined resolution to yield nothing, but to proceed in the same manner with which they had at first entered on their enterprizes. Archbishop Laud, the most favourite minister of the king, was brought to the scaffold.

From the time that Laud had been committed, the house of commons, engaged in business of greater moment, had found no leisure to finish his impeachment; and he had patiently endured an imprisonment of more than three years without being brought to trial; yet had he so far continued his non-compliance with the parliament as obstinately to refuse, at first their recommendation, and then their peremptory orders, to collate one Mr. Corbet to the living of Chartham in Kent: this stubborn conduct brought upon him the severe ordinance, for the suspension of his archiepiscopal jurisdiction, and the seizing his temporalities into the hands of the parliament (*k*). Notwithstanding the repeated cry of the populace to bring this great offender to justice, his trial had been of necessity thus long retarded, from the scantiness of the evidence to prove the charge which had been brought against him: proceedings on this business had met with some interruption from the death of Mr. Pym; but were afterwards prosecuted with great vigour, animosity, and bitterness by Prynne, a member in this parliament, and the same lawyer who had been persecuted with such tyranny and cruelty by Laud, in the triumphant days when that prelate governed the church. He now experienced, from this exasperated sufferer, the same rigour which he had in such full measure meted out to others, the same barbarous insults from the tools of power, and the same unjust seizing of papers, not only to prove those facts with which he already stood accused, but to frame others, and to deprive him of the necessary materials for his defence (*l*). Ten additional articles, by means of the fore-mentioned evidence, were sent up by the commons to the lords, on the 24th of October, 1643. The charge, when reduced, consisted of three general heads; viz. a traitorous endeavour to subvert the fundamental laws of the realm, and to introduce arbitrary and tyrannical government; a traitorous endeavour to subvert God's true religion by law established, and instead thereof to set up popish superstition and idolatry; an endeavour to subvert the rights of parliament, and the ancient course of parliamentary proceedings. This, according to the precedent which this parliament had made in the year 1640, was urged as a charge of accumulated treason; but the crimes of Laud and those which had been proved against the earl of Strafford differed widely: Strafford had in his own person, in many instances, infringed the constitutional liberty of the subject; it had been proved that he had pressed the king to enlarge his commissions, both as president of the court of York and deputy of Ireland, beyond their legal bounds: the acts of tyranny which had been perpetrated by Laud were the iniquitous decrees of courts, in which he only had a single voice; courts which the power of parliament had abolished, without passing any censure on the individuals who had composed them. "How can that be treason in me, urged this unhappy prelate, which is not made so much as a misdemeanour in any of my fellow commissioners (*m*)?" The earl of Strafford, to humour a vicious ambition, had acted contrary to his better judgement and declared notions: Laud, a superstitious churchman, who had studied little else than canon law, and the doating opinions of the fathers, was entirely ignorant of the utility, equity, and beauty of civil and religious liberty; was himself imposed on before he endeavoured to impose on others; and became a zealous instrument of tyranny even for conscience sake. The earl of Strafford had enriched both himself and his master with plunder extorted from the subject: no act of rapacity was alledged against Laud; it was notorious that he had spent his whole income in what he ignorantly thought was the service of the public. In the bill of attainder which had passed against the earl of Strafford, there is expressly declared a treason within the statute of the 25th of Edward III. But no such article was pretended to lie against the archbishop. To those measures which had been inductive to the Scotch commotions, and to the breach of the pacification made with that nation, he had pleaded the act of oblivion; and that plea had been generously granted him by the two houses. To that part of his charge which relates to an endeavour to subvert God's true religion by law established, and instead thereof to set up popish superstition and idolatry, he was particularly strong in his defence, and the allegations to support the charge were particularly vague and trifling. The truth is, those superstitious ceremonies which he with so much blind zeal had attempted to revive, and which were so justly ridiculed and abhorred by the more enlightened Protestants, were the discipline of the first reformers in this country, and had the sanction both of the civil and ecclesiastical power: reformation had begun in England at the wrong end; it was first adopted and modelled by government, instead of being forced upon government by the general sense of the people; and thus, to farther the ambitious views of the monarch, and to gratify the pride of the prelacy, a great part of the mystery of popery was retained in the doctrine, and a great part of the puppet-

(*k*) The king was so careless and improvident of the archbishop's safety, as to prompt and urge him to this impolitic and dangerous stubbornness, by sending him, first, an order to give Chartham to one Mr. Reading, or, if otherwise commanded by the parliament, then to let it lapse to the crown; and afterwards sent him a general order, requiring, that as often as any benefice, or other spiritual promotion, in his gift, should fall void, that he should dispose of it to only such as his majesty should name to him; or, if any command lay otherwise upon him from either or both the houses of parliament, he should then let them fall into lapse. These unfriendly injunctions were obeyed by Laud, till the ordinance mentioned in the text passed. *The History of the Troubles and Trial of Laud*, p. 200, 203.

(*l*) Laud tells us, That of twenty-one bundles of writing which he had prepared for his defence, and which Mr. Prynne took from him, he could never get above three back again. *Laud's Trial*, p. 205, 211.

(*m*) The commons urged, That the most iniquitous of these sentences were procured by the archbishop's undue influence: but this fact, if true, could never be proved; and, could it have been proved, it equally aggravated the crimes of the other individuals who composed these courts.

shews of the papists in the discipline, of the church of England (*n*). Though the genius of reformation had so far prevailed, that, before the promotion of Laud to the archiepiscopal see of Canterbury, many superstitious ceremonies observed by the first reformers, and others directed by law, had in practice been laid aside, yet they had not been abolished by any act of legislation; nor in all the long list of supposed innovations charged against him was there one to be found which was not warranted by precedent, or by the instructions set forth by the politic Elizabeth and her obsequious parliament. To as little purpose did the commons endeavour to prove the delinquent guilty of setting up a power in the church independent of the regal (*o*): the king, who regarded the success of Laud's projects as necessary to the success of his own schemes for despotism, had freely lent him all his power, which in ecclesiastical matters was great; and Laud had cautiously taken no step towards the settlement of the discipline of the church, unwarranted by royal authority (*p*).

On serjeant Wild, Brown, Maynard, Nicholas, and Hill, all members of the house of commons, and lawyers, was imposed the invidious task of managing the charge against him; whilst his especial enemy, Prynne, was employed to provide and prompt the evidence (*q*). Like true lawyers, they played their parts in baiting the unhappy prisoner with the most acrimonious and insulting language; like true lawyers, they took all the unfair advantages which their offices and other opportunities procured them; and like true lawyers, they put a forced and unwarrantable construction on all the facts which they cited against him. The behaviour of the prisoner through the whole of his tedious trial, for it lasted twenty days (*r*), did great honour to his temper; and his answer, which was both rhetorical and argumentative, proclaimed his abilities. On the 2nd of November he was called before the commons, to hear read a summary of his charge; on the 11th he spoke several hours in his defence at the bar of that house; and on the same day the commons passed an ordinance which decreed him to suffer death, as in cases of treason, with but one dissenting voice (*s*): on the 16th it was sent up to the lords, where the business slept till the 17th of December, when the lords, having been quickened by a message from the commons, and the importunity of some of their own members, with a kind of threat that the multitude would force them to do justice (*t*), proceeded to the consideration of every particular of the charge; and, on the 24th of the same month, acquainted the commons, That they had found the archbishop guilty as to matters of fact, but that they desired farther satisfaction in point of law, whether the said matters were treason. This produced a conference between the two houses, in which were urged, by the commons, similar arguments to those which had been used in the earl of Strafford's case; and, in two days after the fore-mentioned conference, the lords passed the desired ordinance (*u*). Laud produced a pardon from the king under the great seal; but this being held insufficient, for two reasons (first, because it had passed before the conviction of the delinquent, and, secondly, because no bar could be valid against the judgement of both houses), he was sentenced, by an order of parliament, to suffer death, on the 10th of January, 1644-5, without other favour than to have one of his chaplains attend him, in the company of two divines of the commons' appointing, and to have his sentence altered from hanging and quartering into beheading.

From the time the news reached him of the lords having passed the bill of attainder, he prepared himself to die with exemplary piety and courage, and maintained the same magnanimity of conduct through all the horrors of his fate. The whole tendency of a long speech, or rather sermon, which he made on the scaffold, was to vindicate the king and himself from the intention of introducing popery into the established religion, and to persuade the people to resubject themselves to the ancient discipline of the church. In this very performance, which was executed with great art of composition, and likewise in his remarks on the charge which the Scots brought against him, he plainly shews that his adversity had not altered his opinions, nor corrected any one of his most mischievous prejudices; and that, had accident re-established him in his former plenitude of power, he would have run, to the end of his days, the same persecuting course for which he now suffered (*v*). Laud was a native of Berkshire, the offspring of parents who were clothiers by trade; was born at the town of Reading in 1573, and received his first education at a free-school of that place. At the age of seventeen he entered scholar of St. John's College, Oxford; and, in due process of time, took the degrees of bachelor, master of arts, bachelor of divinity, and doctor of divinity, and was elected president of St. John's College. His zeal, which appeared very early in life, occasioned him to be very offensive to a considerable party in the university: he maintained the necessity of baptism; that there could be no true church without diocesan bishops; and was questioned by the vice-chancellor, Dr. Airay, for having preached a sermon which contained sundry scandalous and popish passages. This conduct, which rendered him noxious to the zealous Protestants, brought him into equal favour with the high church party: Richard Neile, bishop of Rochester, took him under his especial protection, made him his chaplain, bestowed on him the rectory of Cuckstone in Kent, and introduced him to the court. He was some time prevented from rising by the indefatigable pains of Abbot, the then archbishop of Canterbury, who was well acquainted with the turbulency of his character, and disapproved his divinity: but, when the influence of this good prelate was on the decline; when James grew intoxicated with the prospect of a Spanish alliance; when he repented him of the doctrine he had so warmly maintained against Vorstius; when he began to take the Arminians and Papists into his bosom, and discard his old fellow sectarists the Calvinists; when innovations were intended to be introduced into the Scotch worship; Laud, who had by this time wormed himself into great favour with the duke of Buckingham, was promoted, as an useful instrument to help the carrying on of the new

(*n*) It is observable, that the most noxious of those ceremonies which Laud so childishly insisted on, were established at the restoration, and have been ever since regularly practised in the church; and that many of his most offensive measures have been adopted by the revolution ministers, such as the nominating clergymen to be justices of the peace, with restraints laid on marriage.

(*o*) The strongest evidence produced against Laud was relative to the third head of his charge; viz. an endeavour to subvert the rights of parliament, and the ancient course of parliamentary proceedings. These were, an answer to the remonstrance of the commons, made the 17th of June, 1628; with a paper concerning a declaration of the king, set forth on the 28th of January, 1628, found in his study in his handwriting, and endorsed by him. The delinquent, by the following observation, in a manner acknowledges the force of this evidence: "In this diligent and curious search, for Mr. Prynne's malice made it, they found some papers concerning parliaments; no other, I praise God for it, than such as with indifferent construction might I hope well pass, especially considering what occasion led me, and what command was upon me; and as I have been told by able and experienced men, they would have been nothing had they been found in any but this troublesome and distracted time about the rights of parliament, as it is said: howsoever, I was most unfortunate they should be now found; and I had not left them a being, but that I verily thought I had destroyed them long since."

It appears in this trial, and by the printed votes of this parliament, that the oath given to king James differed in two very material passages from those which had been taken by his predecessors: one was an addition, namely, "agreeable to the king's prerogative;" the other an omission, namely, "laws which the people shall choose." *Laud's Trial*, p. 319, 355.

(*p*) Well as Charles loved, and highly as he venerated, the church, he idolized yet more his own power; and it is plain, by his instructions to his secretary Nicholas on the Uxbridge treaty, and many other circumstances of his life, that his great attachment to the prelacy, and his schemes for enlarging their property and dominion, had principally their rise from the adulation they paid him, and the persuasion that this body of men would use their influence over the consciences of his subjects, and all the power he gave them, to infuse and support the doctrine of passive obedience to the crown.

(*q*) If we may believe Laud's account of his trial, Mr. Prynne kept a school of instruction for the witnesses, who were an hundred and fifty in number, and tampered with them in a very shameful manner. *Laud's Trial*, p. 219.

(*r*) The trial began on the 12th of March, 1643, and was not finished till the 29th of June, 1644. Laud complains, that he was often summoned to appear before the lords, and then sent back again unheard, to the needlessly exposing him to the scorns and revilings of the people, and to an expence which he could ill bear, for he never appeared but it cost him six or seven pounds a day. The archbishop's estate and goods had been sequestered; and it was not till towards the end of his trial, and after repeated solicitations, that the commons allowed him two hundred pounds to support his necessary expences.

(*s*) Notwithstanding this unanimity, Laud tells us, That when he came to the house, the day the bill passed, many members complimented him on the answer he had given, in a high strain of commendation.—*Laud's Trial*, p. 441.

(*t*) A petition against delinquents, and particularly against Laud and the bishop of Ely, was carried up to the lords.

(*u*) There were but fourteen lords in the house when Laud was voted guilty as to matter of fact, and but seven signed the bill of attainder.

(*v*) Something of the following nature dropped from Laud in the defence he made in the lords' house; viz. That the true religion had suffered rather from the relaxation of the church discipline than from severity.

measures of the court. As chaplain to James, he attended him in his last journey to Scotland; was soon after promoted to the bishopric of St. David; and, from the first period of Charles's administration to the assembling of the second parliament of 1640, had the entire direction of the ecclesiastical government of the country; and, after the death of Buckingham, was one of the king's prime advisers in all matters of state. The provoking arrogance of his conduct, and the tyranny with which he exerted this plenitude of power, has been already set forth: it is sufficient to say, that the principles of religion on which he uniformly acted were as noxious to the peace of society as were the principles of the papists; the same want of charity, the same exercise of cruelty, the same arrogance of dominion, were common to both. Utterly unacquainted with the simplicity, charity, and meekness of the Gospel, his character was void of humility and forgiveness; nor had he other rule to judge of men's deservings, but as they were more or less attached to the power of the church (*w*). His Diary, which was exposed by his enemies to the public censure (*x*), shews him to have been a supple fawning courtier, and that his superstitions were as contemptible as those which belong to the weakest of women. Upon the whole, his character serves as an eminent example to shew, that extensive learning and abilities are not incompatible with a narrow judgement; and that, in all the catalogue of human frailties, there are none which more corrupt the heart, or deprave the understanding, than the follies of religion.

The rank he held in the church and state, during the government of Charles, had occasioned his prejudices to be exceedingly offensive to the public, and his misdemeanours were gross and many; but still they were more the errors of his judgement than of his will; and for this reason, as the justice of the country had been something satisfied by the death of the criminal Strafford, it would have done honour to the parliament to have left this aged prelate (*y*) the example of their mercy, rather than to have made him the monument of their vengeance. Perpetual imprisonment, with no more than a decent maintenance, and the deprivation of his archiepiscopal function (which of course followed the abolishment of that kind of church-government) would have taken away his abilities of doing farther mischief; and the present prosperous state of the parliament's affairs rendered his death a circumstance of no importance to the public welfare (*z*). It is plain that he fell a sacrifice to the intolerant principles of the Presbyterians (*a*), a sect who breathed as fiery a spirit of persecution as himself (*b*). It is farther to be observed of this prelate, that he is the only individual of that high office in the church of England who ever suffered death by the hands of an executioner; though the turbulent ambition of his order have frequently disturbed the peace of society.

On the same day that the lords concurred with the commons in the attainder of the archbishop, they passed an ordinance that the Common-Prayer should be lain aside, and for the establishing a directory of worship which had been framed by the assembly of divines, and confirmed by the votes of both houses (*c*).

On the execution of one Howard, a captain, whom the parliament had hanged for deserting with nineteen troopers to the king, prince Maurice, in revenge, inflicted the same punishment on a sea officer of the name of Turpin, who was a common prisoner of war (*d*). This, and such kind of violences committed by the royalists, produced a parliamentary ordinance, appointing a special commission for the execution of martial law, with severe instructions in matters relative to desertion (*e*). No other revenge was taken for the murder of fourteen innocent clothiers, hanged at Woodhouse in Wiltshire, by the direction of prince Rupert, than the execution of eight Irish prisoners, in conformity to an ordinance forbidding quarter to be given to these troops, and which had been occasioned by the cruelties and disorders they had every where committed.

The king had by this time repented him of the ill policy of withdrawing his own party from the two houses at Westminster, and a great number of these deserters from time to time returned to the capital; which being observed by the leaders of the party in opposition, the parliament were petitioned by the common-council not to receive any of their members who had deserted them, without their giving satisfaction for their fidelity in time to come; and an ordinance, according to a former vote on this business, declared, That such peers as had deserted, or should desert the parliament, should not be admitted without the consent of both houses; and that whatsoever member of the house of commons who had so offended, or should so offend hereafter, and adhere to those who were levying war against the parliament, were and should be absolutely disabled from sitting in the house of commons.

Among the number of those, who, in this triumphant state of the parliament's affairs, either were, or affected to be, partizans to the cause of liberty, was the prince Elector-Palatine, who at this time very unexpectedly arrived in England. He was at first regarded as a spy for his uncle, and treated with great coolness by the parliament, who intimated to him, that his residence in England would neither be advantageous to his own nor the public affairs. The prince received this reprimand with humility;

(*w*) In the Cambridge edition of the Bible, 1629, a period when Laud was in full power, the explanatory title to the hundred and forty-ninth psalm is altered from, "To praise the Lord for his victory and conquests that he giveth his saints against all men's power," to "The praise given to God for that power he has given to the church to rule the consciences of men." This innovation is pursued in all the editions from 1629 to 1743.

(*x*) This Diary was found by Mr. Prynne in his search into the archbishop's papers, and published by him during his trial. The archbishop makes the following observation on this incident: "According to the order of the lords, says he, I made the recapitulation of my whole cause in matters of greatest moment; but so soon as I came to the bar of their house, I saw every member present with a new thin book, in folio, in a blue coat: I heard that morning, that Mr. Prynne had printed my Diary, and published it to the world to disgrace me. Some notes of his own are made upon it: the first and the last are two desperate untruths; besides some others. This was the book then in the lords' hands; and, I assure myself, that time picked for it, that the sight of it might damp me, and disenable me to speak. I confess I was a little troubled at it; but, after I had gathered up myself, and looked up to God, I went on to the business of the day." In the epistle dedicatory, to the right honourable lords and commons, prefixed to this work, the author has the vanity to say, That a former publication of his had given a deadly blow to the prelatical party. *Laud's Trial*, p. 411, *& seq. A Breviate of the Life of Laud, published by Prynne.*

(*y*) Laud was in his seventy-second year when he suffered death.—His literary works were, several Speeches; several Sermons; Conference between him and John Fisher; Answer to the Exceptions of A. C. printed with the Conference; Memorables of King James; Answer to the Remonstrance made by the House of Commons in June, 1628; Various Letters; Marginal Notes on Rome's Master-Piece, published by Prynne; Diary of his Life; a Manual of Private Devotions; a Summary of Devotions; *Variæ Epistolæ ad Clariss. Ger. Jo. Vossium*, printed in a book entitled, *Gerardi Johan. Vossii & Clarorum Virorum ad eum Epistolæ*, Lond. 1690; History of his Troubles and Trial; Annual Accounts of his Province, presented to the king in the beginning of every year; a Speech, or Funeral Sermon, spoken by him on the scaffold on Tower-Hill immediately before his execution. *Wood's Athenæ Oxonienses*, vol. ii. p. 63, *& seq.*

(*z*) "In this instance (says a writer of great note, speaking of Laud's sentence and execution) the public might see, that popular assemblies, as by their very number they are in a great measure exempt from the restraint of shame, so, when they also overleap the bounds of law, they naturally break out into acts of the most atrocious tyranny and injustice." If this observation is to be taken as particular to popular assemblies, as indeed it can be no otherwise construed, is it not a partial representation? Are not the annals of our own, and those of every other society, stained with innumerable instances of the most atrocious of these kind of murders, committed even on deserving men, when regal sovereigns had power to overleap the bounds, or strain the letter of the law? Was the life and property of the subjects of this country ever secure, till the system of government established at the Revolution had made many necessary limitations to regal power? The unjust and cruel judgements which have passed upon individuals in those societies, where the supreme power has been established in popular assemblies, are not to be mentioned in comparison with those which have passed in all monarchical states, where the regal power was not restrained by very considerable limitations. *Hume's History of Charles I. Quarto Edition*, p. 393.

(*a*) Ludlow is of opinion, that Laud's sentence was passed to encourage and please the Scots, who at this time began to be very troublesome to the party who had called in their assistance.

(*b*) This intolerant spirit is fully shewn in their denying delinquents the comforts of their religious persuasion, under the agonies of a sentence of death: of three clergymen whom Laud petitioned might assist him in his preparations for his exit, there was but one allowed him, and this under the restraint of the inspection of two ministers appointed by parliament. No individual in these melancholy circumstances obtained more favour from the two houses, and some of them not so much.

(*c*) This directory gives general rules for worship, for pastoral function, and the observation of the Sunday.

(*d*) Prince Maurice was of the same imperious disposition as his brother prince Rupert; and was sent with the chief command into the West, in the department of the marquis of Hertford, because, as lord Clarendon says, the king thought he should sooner reduce his people by the power of his army than by the persuasions of his counsel, and therefore preferred the roughness of the one's nature to the lenity and condescension of the other. The recompence the marquis of Hertford was promised for the deprivation of his command was, to be made a gentleman of the king's bed chamber, and groom of his stole. *Clar. Hist.* vol. ii. p. 240.

(*e*) The two Hothams and sir Alexander Carew were tried and condemned by this court.

and

and gave such satisfactory reasons for his conduct (*f*), that he procured from the parliament a pension of eight thousand pounds a year, to be raised out of the estates of delinquents, and was lodged in an apartment at Whitehall, fitted up on purpose for his reception. He was severely reprimanded by the king for coming into the country without acquainting him with his motives; but yet continued his submissive behaviour to the parliament, and by their permission sat in the assembly of divines (*g*).

The earls of Holland, Bedford, Conway, and Clare, though they had endeavoured to atone for past offences by attending on the king, and serving in his army at the siege of Gloucester, met from the court with a treatment so supercilious, cold, and reserved, that they were provoked to fling themselves upon the mercy of the parliament, and returned again to the capital. After a slight confinement, and being debarred admission to this assembly, they were restored to their former privileges. The earl of Northumberland, who had retired to his house at Petworth, with an intention, as it was thought, to make peace with the king, was deterred from the execution of this project by the reception his friends had met with. The earl of Holland, with a view to recover his former favour with the party, on his examination declared, and afterwards published in a manifesto, many things to the disadvantage of the king's reputation; viz. That the cessation made with the Irish rebels, the great favour papists were in with the king, and the evil measures projected and carried on at Oxford (*h*), had obliged him, in point of conscience, to withdraw a second time from the court. Among the number of penitents who implored the forgiveness and protection of parliament, was sir Edward Deering, a man of a warm intemperate disposition, and greatly conceited of his abilities, which were by no means insignificant: he was a great zealot for episcopacy; but disliking popery more than presbytery, or not meeting with so much countenance from royalty as he expected, he was one of the first who took the advantage of the declaration of both kingdoms for receiving penitents into favour, and alledged the following reasons for his abandoning the court; viz. The fear of being compelled to attend the anti-parliament at Oxford; that the language of clergymen and others of the royal party was, that the king would be forced to make his way to his capital by conquest; that he could never reconcile the cessation in Ireland to the vows made in England; and a conviction of the danger which hung over this country from the prevalence of a popish faction (*i*). The disgusts taken at the conduct of the court, and the growing prosperity of the parliament's affairs, occasioned them a daily accession of proselytes: among these were the earl of Kingston, the young earl of Caernarvon (*k*), whose father had lost his life in the royal cause (*l*), and many more noblemen and others of distinction.

While the king's affairs declined in England, some events happened in Scotland, which seemed to promise him a more prosperous issue. Before the commencement of these civil disorders, the earl of Montrose, a young nobleman, returning from his travels, had been introduced to the king, and had made an offer of his services; but by the insinuations of the marquis, afterwards duke of Hamilton, who possessed much of Charles's confidence, he had not been received with that distinction to which he thought himself entitled. Disgusted with this treatment, he had forwarded all the measures of the covenanters; and, agreeably to the natural ardour of his genius, had employed himself, during the first Scottish insurrection, with great zeal, as well as success, in levying and conducting their armies. Being commissioned by the *Tables* to wait upon the king, while the royal army lay at Berwick, he was so gained by the civilities and caresses of that monarch, that he thenceforth devoted himself entirely, though secretly, to his service, and entered into a close correspondence with him. In the second insurrection, a great military command was entrusted to him by the covenanters; and he was the first that passed the Tweed, at the head of their troops, in the invasion of England. He found means, however, soon after to convey a letter to the king: and by the infidelity of some about that prince, (Hamilton, as was suspected,) a copy of this letter was sent to Leven, the Scottish general. Being accused of treachery, and a correspondence with the enemy, Montrose openly avowed the letter, and asked the generals, if they dared to call their sovereign an enemy: and by this behaviour, he escaped the danger of an immediate prosecution. As he was now fully known to be of the royal party, he no longer concealed his principles, and endeavoured to draw those who had entertained like sentiments, into a bond of association for the king's service. Though thrown into prison for this enterprize (*m*), and detained some time, he was not discouraged; but still continued to infuse spirit into the distressed royalists. Among other persons of distinction, who united themselves to him, was lord Napier of Merchiston, son of the famous inventor of the logarithms, the person to whom the title of GREAT MAN is more justly due, than to any other whom his country ever produced.

There was in Scotland another party, who, professing equal attachment to the king's service, pretended only to differ with Montrose about the means of attaining the same end; and of that party, duke Hamilton was the leader. This nobleman had cause to be extremely devoted to his majesty, not only by reason of the connexion of blood, which united him to the royal family, but on account of the great confidence and favour with which he had ever been honoured by his master. Being accused by lord Rae, not without some appearance of probability, of a conspiracy against the king, Charles was so far from harbouring suspicion against him, that, the very first time Hamilton came to court, he received him into his bed-chamber, and passed alone the night with him. But such was the duke's unhappy fate or conduct, that he escaped not the imputation of treachery to his friend and sovereign; and though he at last sacrificed his life in the king's service, his integrity and sincerity have not been thought by historians entirely free from blemish. Perhaps (and this is the more probable opinion) the subtilties of his conduct and his temporising maxims, though accompanied with good intentions, have been the chief cause of a suspicion, which has never yet been either fully proved or wholly refuted. As much as the bold spirit of Montrose prompted him to enterprizing measures, as much was the cautious temper of Hamilton inclined to such as were moderate and dilatory. While the former foretold that the Scottish covenanters were secretly forming an union with the English parliament, and inculcated the necessity of preventing them by some vigorous undertaking; the latter still insisted, that every such attempt would precipitate them into measures, to which, otherwise, they were not, perhaps, inclined. After the Scottish convention was summoned without the king's authority, the former exclaimed, that their intentions were now visible, and that, if some unexpected blow were not struck, to dissipate them, they would arm the whole nation against the king; the latter maintained the possibility of outvoting the disaffected party, and securing, by peaceful means, the allegiance of the kingdom. Unhappily for the royal cause, Hamilton's representations met with more credit from the king and queen, than those of Montrose; and the covenanters were allowed, without interruption, to proceed in all their hostile measures. Montrose then hastened to Oxford; where his invectives against Hamilton's treachery, concurring with the general prepossession, and supported by the unfortunate event of his counsels, were entertained with universal approbation. Influenced by the clamour of his party, Charles, as soon as Hamilton appeared, sent him prisoner to Pendennis Castle in Cornwal. His brother, Lanerk, who was also put under confinement, made his escape, and flew into Scotland.

The king's ears were now open to Montrose's counsels,

(*f*) The following were the motives and reasons which he gave the parliament for his arrival: That his professions and behaviour might erase those jealousies which the conduct of his brothers had drawn upon him; and that the enmity he had incurred for his affections to the parliament, and their cause, would render his abode in foreign parts unpleasing and unhappy to him. *Parl. Hist.* vol. xiii. p. 279, *& seq.*

(*g*) Several lay-members, who were of the two houses, had liberty to debate and give their vote in every matter determined in this assembly: of this number were Mr. Selden and Mr. Whitelock. *Rushworth.*

(*h*) Something of the same nature was asserted by the other lords.

(*i*) Sir Edward Deering died at his house in Kent, in a few months after his return to the obedience of parliament, and in a week after he had published a treatise, entitled, "The proper Sacrifice against the Doctrine of Transubstantiation." *Rushworth*, vol. v. p. 384.

(*k*) This nobleman's father had retired from his command in the West, because the licentiousness which prevailed among the royal troops, and the authority of prince Maurice, prevented him from performing the agreement he had made with the towns of Dorchester and Weymouth. *Clar. Hist.* vol. ii. p. 270.

(*l*) He was killed at the battle of Newbury. *Clar. Hist.* vol. ii. p. 69.

(*m*) It is not improper to take notice of a mistake committed by Clarendon, much to the disadvantage of this gallant nobleman; that he offered the king, when his majesty was in Scotland, to assassinate Argyle. All the time the king was in Scotland, Montrose was confined to prison. *Rushworth*, vol. vi. p. 980.

who proposed none but the boldest and most daring, agreeably to the desperate state of the royal cause in Scotland. Though the whole nation was subjected by the covenanters, though great armies were kept on foot by them, and every place guarded by a vigilant administration; he undertook, by his own credit, and that of a few friends who remained to the king, to raise such commotions, as would soon oblige the malcontents to recal those forces, who had so sensibly thrown the balance in favour of the parliament. Not discouraged with the defeat at Marston Moor, which rendered it impossible for him to draw any succour from England; he was content to stipulate with the earl of Antrim, a nobleman of Ireland, for some supply of men from that country. And changing his disguises, and passing through many dangers, he arrived in Scotland; where he lay concealed in the borders of the Highlands, and secretly prepared the minds of his partizans for attempting some great undertaking.

No sooner were the Irish landed, though not exceeding eleven hundred foot, very ill armed, than Montrose declared himself, and entered upon that scene of action which has rendered his name so celebrated. About eight hundred of the men of Athol flocked to his standard. Five hundred men more, who had been levied by the covenanters, were persuaded to embrace the royal cause; and with this combined force, he hastened to attack lord Elcho, who lay at Perth with an army of six thousand men, assembled upon the first news of the Irish invasion. Montrose, inferior in number, unprovided with horse, ill supplied with arms and ammunition, had nothing to depend on, but the courage, which, by his own example, and the rapidity of his enterprizes, he should inspire into his raw soldiers. Having received the fire of the enemy, which was answered chiefly by a volley of stones, he rushed amidst them with his sword drawn, threw them into confusion, pushed his advantage, and obtained a complete victory, with the slaughter of two thousand of the covenanters, on the first of September, 1644.

This victory, though it augmented the renown of Montrose, increased not his power or numbers. The far greater part of the kingdom was extremely attached to the covenant; and such as bore an affection to the royal cause, were terrified by the established authority of the opposite party. Dreading the superior power of Argyle, who, having joined his vassals to a force levied by the public, was approaching with a considerable army, Montrose hastened northwards, in order to rouse again the marquis of Huntley and the Gordons, who, having before hastily taken arms, had been instantly suppressed by the covenanters. He was joined on his march by the earl of Airly, with his two younger sons, sir Thomas and sir David Ogilvy: the eldest was, at that time, a prisoner with the enemy. He attacked at Aberdeen lord Burley, who commanded a force of two thousand five hundred men. After a sharp combat, he put the enemy to flight, and in the pursuit did great execution upon them, on the eleventh of the same month.

But by this second advantage he obtained not the end which he expected. The envious nature of Huntley, jealous of Montrose's glory, rendered him averse to join an army, where he himself must be so much eclipsed by the superior merit of the general. Argyle, reinforced by the earl of Lothian, was behind him with a great army: the militia of the northern counties, Murray, Ross, Caithness, to the number of five thousand men, opposed him in front, and guarded the banks of the Spey, a deep and rapid river. In order to elude these numerous armies, he turned aside into the hills, and saved his weak, but active troops, in Badenoch. After some marches and countermarches, Argyle came up with him at Faivy Castle, and after some skirmishes, in which he was worsted, he allowed Montrose to escape him. By quick marches, through these rugged mountains, that general freed himself from the superior forces of the covenanters.

Such was the situation of Montrose, that very good or very ill fortune was equally destructive to him, and diminished his army. After every victory, his soldiers, greedy of spoil, but deeming the smallest acquisition to be unexhausted riches, deserted in great numbers, and went home to secure the treasures which they had acquired. Tired too, and spent with hasty and long marches, in the depth of winter, through snowy mountains unprovided with every necessary, they fell off, and left their general almost alone with the Irish, who having no place to which they could retire, still adhered to him in every fortune. With these, and some reinforcements of the Atholmen, and Macdonalds whom he had recalled, Montrose fell suddenly upon Argyle's country, and let loose upon it all the rage of war; carrying off the cattle, burning the houses, and putting the inhabitants to the sword. This severity, by which Montrose sullied his victories, was the result of a private animosity against the chieftain, more than of zeal for the public cause. Argyle, collecting three thousand men, marched in quest of the enemy, who had retired with their plunder; and he lay at Innerlochy, supposing himself still at a considerable distance from them. The earl of Seaforth, at the head of the garrison of Inverness, who were veteran soldiers, joined to five thousand new-levied troops of the northern counties, pressed the royalists on the other side, and threatened them with inevitable destruction. By a quick and unexpected march, Montrose hastened to Innerlochy, and presented himself in order of battle before the surprized, but not affrighted, covenanters. Argyle alone, seized with a panic, deserted his army, who still maintained their ground, and gave battle to the royalists. After a vigorous resistance, they were defeated, and pursued with great slaughter, on the 2nd of February, 1645. And the power of the Campbells (that is Argyle's name) being thus broken; the Highlanders, who were in general well affected to the royal cause, began to join Montrose's camp in great numbers. Seaforth's army dispersed of itself, at the very terror of his name. And lord Gordon, eldest son of Huntley, having escaped from his uncle Argyle, who had hitherto detained him, now joined Montrose with no contemptible number of his followers, attended by his brother the earl of Aboine.

The council at Edinburgh, greatly alarmed at Montrose's progress, began to think of a more regular plan of defence, against an enemy, whose repeated victories had rendered him formidable. They sent for Baillie, an officer of reputation from England; and joining him in command with Urrey, who had again enlisted himself among the king's enemies, they sent him to the field, with a considerable army, against the royalists. Montrose, with a detachment of eight hundred men, had attacked Dundee, a town extremely zealous for the covenant; and having carried it by assault, had delivered it up to be plundered by his soldiers, when Baillie and Urrey, with their whole force, were unexpectedly upon him. His conduct and presence of mind, in this emergency, appeared conspicuous. Instantly he called off his soldiers from plunder, put them in order, secured his retreat by the most skilful measures; and having marched sixty miles in the face of an enemy much superior, without stopping, or allowing his soldiers the least sleep or refreshment, he at last secured himself in the mountains.

Baillie and Urrey then divided their troops, in order the better to conduct the war against an enemy, who surprized them, as much by the rapidity of his marches, as by the boldness of his enterprizes. Urrey, at the head of four thousand men, met him at Alderne, near Inverness; and, encouraged by the superiority of numbers, attacked him in the post which he had chosen. Montrose, having placed his right wing in strong ground, drew the best of his forces to the other, and left no main body between them; a defect which he artfully concealed, by showing a few men through the trees and bushes, with which that ground was covered. That Urrey might have no leisure to perceive the stratagem, he instantly led his left wing to the charge; and, making a furious impression upon the covenanters, drove them off the field, and gained a complete victory. In this battle, the valour of young Napier shone with signal lustre.

Baillie now advanced, in order to revenge Urrey's discomfiture; but, at Alford, he met with a like fate, on the 2nd of July. Montrose, weak in cavalry, here lined his troops of horse with infantry; and after putting the enemy's horse to rout, fell with united force upon their foot, who were entirely cut in pieces, though with the loss of the gallant lord Gordon on the part of the royalists. Having thus prevailed in so many battles, he summoned together all his friends and partizans, and prepared himself for marching into the southern provinces, in order to put a final period to the power of the covenanters, and dissipate the parliament, which, with great pomp and solemnity, they had summoned to meet at St. Johnstone's.

While the fire was thus kindled in the north, it blazed out with no less fury in the south: the parliamentary and royal armies, as soon as the season would permit, prepared to take the field, in hopes of bringing their important quarrel to a quick decision. The passing of the self-deny-

ing ordinance had been protracted by so many debates and intrigues, that the spring was far advanced before it received the sanction of both houses; and it was thought dangerous by many to introduce, so near the time of action, such great innovations into the army. Had not the punctilious principles of Essex engaged him, amidst all the disgusts which he received, to pay implicit obedience to the parliament; this alteration had not been effected without some fatal accident: since, notwithstanding his prompt resignation of the command, a mutiny was generally apprehended. Fairfax, or more properly speaking, Cromwell, under his name, introduced, at last, the *new model* into the army, and threw the troops into a different shape. From the same men, new regiments and new companies were formed, different officers appointed, and the whole military force put into such hands, as the Independents could rely on. Besides members of parliament who were excluded, many officers, unwilling to serve under the new generals, threw up their commissions; and unwarily facilitated the project of putting the army entirely into the hands of that party.

Though the discipline of the former parliamentary army was not contemptible, a more exact plan was introduced, and rigorously executed, by these new commanders. Valour indeed was very generally diffused over the one party as well as the other: discipline also was attained by the forces of the parliament; but the perfection of the military art, in concerting the general plans of action, and the operations of the field, seems still, on both sides, to have been, in a great measure, wanting.

Never surely was a more singular army assembled than that which was now set on foot by the parliament. To the greater number of the regiments, chaplains were not appointed: the officers assumed the spiritual duty, and united it with their military functions. During the intervals of action, they occupied themselves in sermons, prayers, exhortations; and the same emulation, there, attended them, which, in the field, is so necessary to support the honour of that profession. Wherever they were quartered, they excluded the minister from his pulpit; and, usurping his place, conveyed their sentiments to the audience, with all the authority, which followed their power, their valour, and their military exploits, united to their appearing zeal and fervour. The private soldiers, possessing the same spirit, employed their vacant hours in prayer, in perusing the Holy Scriptures, in ghostly conferences, where they compared the progress of their souls in grace, and mutually stimulated each other to farther advances in the great work of their salvation. When they were marched to battle, the whole field resounded, as well with psalms and spiritual songs adapted to the occasion, as with instruments of military music; and every man endeavoured to drown the sense of present danger, in the prospect of that crown of glory which was set before him. In so holy a cause, wounds were esteemed meritorious; death, martyrdom, and the hurry and dangers of action, instead of banishing their pious visions, rather served to impress their minds more strongly with them.

The royalists were desirous of throwing a ridicule on these pious exercises of the parliamentary armies, without being sensible how much reason they had to apprehend its dangerous consequences. The forces assembled by the king at Oxford, in the west, and in other places, were equal, if not superior, in number, to their adversaries; but actuated by a very different spirit. The licence, which had been introduced by want of pay, had risen to a great height among them, and rendered them more formidable to their friends than to their enemies. Prince Rupert, negligent of the people, fond of the soldiery, had indulged the troops in unwarrantable liberties: Wilmot, a man of dissolute manners, had promoted the same spirit of disorder; and the licentious Goring, Gerrard, sir Richard Granville, now carried it to a great pitch of enormity. In the west especially, where Goring commanded, universal spoil and havoc were committed, and the whole country was laid waste by the rapine of the army. All distinction of parties being in a manner dropped, the most devoted friends of the church and monarchy wished there for such success to the parliamentary forces, as might put an end to these oppressions. The country people, despoiled of their substance, flocked together in several places, armed with clubs and staves; and though they professed an enmity to the soldiers of both parties, their hatred was in most places levelled chiefly against the royalists, from whom they had met with the worst treatment. Many thousands of these umultuary peasants were assembled in different parts of England; who destroyed all such straggling soldiers as they met with, and much infested the armies.

The disposition of the forces on both sides was as follows: part of the Scottish army was employed in taking Pomfret, and other towns in Yorkshire; part of it besieged Carlisle, valiantly defended by sir Thomas Glenham. Chester, where Biron commanded, had long been blockaded by sir William Brereton; and was reduced to great difficulties. The king, being joined by the princes Rupert and Maurice, lay at Oxford, with a considerable army, about fifteen thousand men. Fairfax and Cromwell were posted at Windsor, with the new-modelled army, about twenty-two thousand men. Taunton, in the county of Somerset, defended by Blake, suffered a long siege from sir Richard Granville, who commanded an army of about eight thousand men; and though the defence had been obstinate, the garrison was now reduced to the last extremity. Goring commanded, in the west, an army of nearly the same number.

On opening the campaign, the king formed the project of relieving Chester; Fairfax, that of relieving Taunton. The king was first in motion. When he advanced to Draiton in Shropshire, Biron met him, and brought intelligence, that his approach had raised the siege, and that the parliamentary army had withdrawn. Fairfax, having reached Salisbury in his road westward, received orders from the committee of both kingdoms, appointed for the management of the war, to return and lay siege to Oxford, now exposed by the king's absence. He obeyed, after sending colonel Weldon to the west, with a detachment of four thousand men. On Weldon's approach, Granville, who imagined that Fairfax with his whole army was upon him, raised the siege, and allowed this pertinacious town, now half taken and half burned, to receive relief: but the royalists, being reinforced with three thousand horse under Goring, again advanced to Taunton, and shut up Weldon, with his small army, in that ruinous place.

The king, having effected his purpose with regard to Chester, returned southwards; and, in his way, sat down before Leicester, a garrison of the parliament's. Having made a breach in the wall, he stormed the town on all sides; and, after a furious assault, the soldiers entered sword in hand, and committed all those disorders to which their natural violence, especially when inflamed by resistance, is so much addicted. A great booty was taken and distributed among them: fifteen hundred prisoners fell into the king's hands. This success, which struck a great terror into the parliamentary party, determined Fairfax to leave Oxford, which he was beginning to approach; and he marched towards the king, with an intention of offering him battle. The king was advancing towards Oxford, in order to raise the siege, which, he apprehended, was now begun; and both armies, ere they were aware, had advanced within six miles of each other. A council of war was called by the king, in order to deliberate concerning the measures which he should now pursue. On the one hand, it seemed more prudent to delay the combat; because Gerrard, who lay in Wales with three thousand men, might be enabled, in a little time, to join the army; and Goring, it was hoped, would soon be master of Taunton; and having put the west in full security, would then unite his forces to those of the king, and give him an incontestible superiority over the parliamentarians. On the other hand, prince Rupert, whose ardour still pushed him on to battle, excited the impatient humour of the nobility and gentry, of which the army was full; and urged the many difficulties under which the royalists laboured, and from which nothing but a victory could relieve them: the resolution was taken to give battle to Fairfax; and the royal army immediately advanced against that general.

At Naseby was fought, with forces nearly equal, this decisive and well-disputed action, between the king and parliament. The main body of the royalists was commanded by the king himself: the right wing by prince Rupert; the left by sir Marmaduke Langdale. Fairfax, seconded by Skippon, placed himself in the main body of the opposite army: Cromwell in the right wing: Ireton, Cromwell's son-in-law, in the left. The charge was begun, with his usual celerity and usual success, by prince Rupert. Though Ireton made stout resistance, and even after he was run through the thigh with a pike, still maintained the combat, till he was taken prisoner; yet was that whole wing broken, and pursued with precipitate fury by Rupert: he was even so inconsiderate as to lose time in summoning and attacking the artillery of the enemy, which had been left with a good guard of infantry. The king led on his main

main body, and displayed, in this action, all the conduct of a prudent general, and all the valour of an experienced soldier. Fairfax and Skippon encountered him, and well supported that reputation which they had acquired. Skippon, being dangerously wounded, was desired by Fairfax to leave the field; but declared that he would remain there as long as one man maintained his ground. The infantry of the parliament was broken, and pressed upon by the king; till Fairfax, with great presence of mind, brought up the reserve, and renewed the combat. Meanwhile Cromwell, having led on his troops to the attack of Langdale, overbore the force of the royalists, and by his prudence improved the advantage he had gained. Having pursued the enemy about a quarter of a mile, and detached some troops to prevent their rallying; he turned back upon the king's infantry, and threw them into the utmost confusion. One regiment alone preserved its order unbroken, though twice desperately assailed by Fairfax: and that general, excited by so steady a resistance, ordered Doyley, the captain of his life-guard, to give them a third charge in front, while he himself attacked them in rear. The regiment was broken. Fairfax, with his own hands, killed an ensign, and, having seized the colours, gave them to a soldier to keep for him. The soldier afterwards boasting that he had won this trophy, was reproved by Doyley, who had seen the action; "Let him retain that honour, said Fairfax, I have to-day acquired enough beside."

Prince Rupert, sensible too late of his error, left the fruitless attack on the enemy's artillery, and joined the king, whose infantry was now totally discomfited. Charles exhorted this body of cavalry not to despair, and cried aloud to them, "one charge more, and we recover the day." But the disadvantages under which they laboured, were too evident; and they could by no means be induced to renew the conflict. Charles was obliged to quit the field, and leave the victory to the enemy. The slain, on the side of the parliament, exceeded those on the side of the king: they lost a thousand men; he not above eight hundred. But Fairfax made five hundred officers prisoners, and four thousand private men; took all the king's artillery and ammunition; and totally dissipated his infantry: so that scarcely any victory could be more complete than that which he obtained (*n*).

After the battle, the king retreated with that body of horse which remained entire, first to Hereford, then to Abergavenny; and remained some time in Wales, with the hope of raising a body of infantry in those harassed and exhausted quarters. Fairfax, having first retaken Leicester, on the 17th of June, which was surrendered upon articles, began to deliberate concerning his future enterprizes. A letter was brought him written by Goring to the king, and unfortunately entrusted to a spy of Fairfax's. Goring there informed the king, that in three weeks he hoped to be master of Taunton; after which he would join his majesty with all the forces in the west; and entreated him, in the mean while, to avoid coming to any general action. This letter, which, had it been safely delivered, might have prevented the battle of Naseby, served now to direct the operations of Fairfax. After leaving a body of three thousand men to Pointz and Rossiter, with orders to attend the king's motions, he marched immediately to the west, with a view of saving Taunton, and suppressing the only considerable force which now remained to the royalists.

In the beginning of the campaign, Charles, apprehensive of the event, had sent the prince of Wales, then fifteen years of age, to the west, with the title of general, and had given orders, if he were pressed by the enemy, that he should make his escape into a foreign country, and save one part of the royal family from the violence of the parliament. Prince Rupert had thrown himself into Bristol, with an intention of defending that city. Goring commanded the army before Taunton.

On Fairfax's approach, the siege of Taunton was raised, on the 20th of July; and the royalists retired to Lamport, an open town in the county of Somerset. Fairfax attacked them in that post, beat them from it, killed about three hundred men, and took one thousand four hundred prisoners. After this advantage, he sat down before Bridgewater, a town esteemed strong and of great consequence in that county. When he had entered the outer town by storm, Windham the governor, who had retired into the inner, immediately capitulated, and delivered up the place to Fairfax. The garrison, to the number of two thousand six hundred men, were made prisoners of war, on the 23rd of the same month.

Fairfax, having next taken Bath and Sherborne, resolved to lay siege to Bristol, and made great preparations for an enterprize, which, from the strength of the garrison, and the reputation of prince Rupert, the governor, was deemed of the last importance. No sooner had the parliamentary forces entered the lines by storm, than the prince capitulated, on the 11th of September, and surrendered the city to Fairfax (*o*). Charles, who was forming schemes, and collecting forces, for the relief of Bristol, was astonished at so unexpected an event. Full of indignation, he instantly recalled all prince Rupert's commissions, and sent him a pass to go beyond sea.

The king's affairs now went fast to ruin in all quarters. The Scots, having made themselves masters of Carlisle, on the 28th of June, after an obstinate siege, marched southwards, and laid siege to Hereford; but were obliged to raise it on the king's approach: and this was the last glimpse of success which attended his arms. Having marched to the relief of Chester, which was again besieged by the parliamentary forces under colonel Jones, Pointz attacked his rear, and forced him to give battle, on the 24th of September. While the fight was continued with great obstinacy, and victory seemed to incline to the royalists, Jones fell upon them on the other side, and put them to rout, with the loss of six hundred slain, and one thousand prisoners. The king, with the remains of his broken army, fled to Newark, and thence escaped to Oxford, where he shut himself up the remainder of the winter.

The news which the king now received from every quarter were no less fatal than those events which passed where himself was present. Fairfax and Cromwell, after the surrender of Bristol, having divided their forces, the former marched westwards, in order to complete the conquest of Devonshire and Cornwall; the latter attacked the king's garrisons which lay to the east of Bristol. The Devizes were surrendered to Cromwell; Berkeley Castle was taken by storm; Winchester capitulated; Basing-house was entered sword in hand: and all these middle counties of England were, in a little time, reduced to obedience under the parliament.

The same rapid and uninterrupted success attended Fairfax. The parliamentary forces, elated by their victories, met with no equal opposition from troops, dismayed by repeated defeats, and corrupted by licentious manners. After beating up the quarters of the royalists at Bovey-Tracy, Fairfax sat down before Dartmouth, on the 18th of January, 1646, and in a few days entered it by storm. Poudram Castle being taken by him, and Exeter blockaded on all sides; Hopton, a man of merit, who now commanded the royalists, having advanced to the relief of that town with an army of eight thousand men, met with the parliamentary army at Torrington; where he was defeated on the 19th of February, all his foot dispersed, and himself, with his horse, obliged to retire into Cornwall. Fairfax followed him; and having inclosed the royalists at Truro, he forced the whole army, consisting of five thousand men, chiefly cavalry, to surrender upon terms (*p*). Thus Fairfax, after taking Exeter, which completed the conquest of the west, marched, with his victorious army, to the centre of the kingdom, and fixed his camp at Newbury. The prince of Wales, in pursuance of the king's orders, retired to Scilly, thence to Jersey; whence he went to Paris; where he joined the queen, who had fled thither from Exeter, at the time the earl of Essex conducted the parliamentary army to the west.

In the other parts of England, Hereford was taken by surprize: Chester surrendered: lord Digby, who had attempted, with one thousand two hundred horse, to break into Scotland and join Montrose, was defeated at Sherburn, in Yorkshire, by colonel Doyley; his whole force was dispersed; and himself was obliged to fly, first to the Isle of Man, thence to Ireland. News also arrived that Montrose

himself,

(*n*) Among other spoils was seized the king's cabinet, with the copies of his letters to the queen, which the parliament afterwards ordered to be published.

(*o*) A few days before, he had written a letter to the king, in which he undertook to defend the castle for four months, if no mutiny obliged him to surrender it.

(*p*) The soldiers, delivering up their horses and arms, were allowed to disband, and received twenty shillings a-piece, to carry them to their respective abodes. Such of the officers as desired it, had passes to retire beyond sea: the others, having promised never more to bear arms, paid compositions to the parliament, and procured their pardon.

himself, ter some more successes, was at last routed; and this oly remaining hope of the royal party finally extinguishd.

WhenMontrose descended into the southern counties, the covenanters, assembling their whole force, met him with a numerous army, and gave him battle, but without success,at Kilsyth, on the 15th of August, 1645. This was the most complete victory that Montrose ever obtained. Th royalists put to the sword six thousand of their enemie, and left the covenanters no remains of any army in Scotlan. The whole kingdom was shaken with these repeatedsuccesses of Montrose; and many noblemen, who secretl favoured the royal cause, now declared openly for it, wha they saw a force able to support them. The marquis o Douglas, the earls of Annandale and Hartfield, the lois Fleming, Seton, Maderty, Carnegy, with many others flocked to the royal standard. Edinburgh opened its gats, and gave liberty to all the prisoners there detained by the covenanters. Among the rest was lord Ogilvy son of Airly, whose family had greatly contributed to thevictory gained at Kilsyth.

Davd Lesly was detached from the army in England, and marched to the relief of his distressed party in Scotland. Montrose advanced still farther to the south, in hopesof rousing to arms the earls of Hume, Traquaire, and Roxborough, who had promised to join him; and of obtaiing from England some supply of cavalry, in which he ws deficient. By the negligence of his scouts, Lesly, at Philip-haugh in the Forest, surprized his army, much diminished in numbers, from the desertion of the Highlanders, who had retired to the hills, according to custom, in order to secure their plunder. After a sharp conflict, where Montrose exerted great valour, his forces were routed by Lesly's cavalry, on the 13th of September, 1645; and himself was obliged to fly with his broken forces into the mountains; where he again prepared himself for new battles and new enterprizes (*q*).

After all these repeated disasters, which every where befel the royal party, there remained only one body of troops, on which fortune could exercise her rigour. Lord Astley, with a small army of three thousand men, chiefly cavalry, marching to Oxford, in order to join the king, was met at Stowe by colonel Morgan, and entirely defeated on the 22nd of March, 1646; himself being taken prisoner. "You have done your work," said Astley to the parliamentary officers; "and may now go to play, unless you chuse to fall out among yourselves."

The condition of the king, during this whole winter, was to the last degree disastrous and melancholy. Perhaps in no period of his life was he more justly the object of compassion. His vigour of mind, which, though it sometimes failed him in acting, never deserted him in his sufferings, was what alone supported him; and he was determined, as he wrote to lord Digby, if he could not live as a king, to die like a gentleman; nor should any of his friends, he said, ever have reason to blush for the prince whom they had so unfortunately served. The murmurs of discontented officers, on the one hand, harrassed their unhappy sovereign; while they over-rated those services and sufferings which, they now saw, must for ever go unrewarded. The affectionate duty, on the other hand, of his more generous friends, wrung his heart with a new sorrow; when he reflected that such disinterested attachment would so soon be exposed to the rigour of his implacable enemies. Repeated attempts, which he made for a peaceable and equitable accommodation with the parliament, served to no purpose but to convince them, that the victory was entirely in their hands. They replied not to several of his messages, in which he desired a passport for commissioners. At last, after reproaching him with the blood spilt during the war, they told him, that they were preparing bills for him; and his passing them would be the best pledge of his inclination towards peace: in other words, he must yield at discretion. He desired a personal treaty, and offered to come to London, upon receiving a safe-conduct for himself and his attendants: they absolutely refused him admittance, and issued orders for the guarding of his person, in case he should attempt to visit them. A new incident, which happened in Ireland, served to inflame the peoples' minds, and to increase those calumnies with which his enemies had so much loaded him, and which he ever regarded as the most grievous part of his misfortunes.

After the cessation with the Irish rebels, the king was desirous of concluding a final peace with them, and obtaining their assistance in England: and he gave authority to Ormond, lord lieutenant, to promise them an abrogation of all the penal laws enacted against Catholics; together with the suspension of Poyning's statute, with regard to some particular bills, which should be agreed on. Lord Herbert, created earl of Glamorgan, having occasion for his private affairs to go to Ireland, the king considered, that this nobleman, being a Catholic, and allied to the best Irish families, might be of service: he also foresaw, that farther concessions with regard to religion might probably be demanded by the Irish; and that, as these concessions, however necessary, would give great scandal to the Protestant zealots in his three kingdoms, it would be requisite both to conceal them during some time, and to preserve Ormond's character, by giving private orders to Glamorgan to conclude and sign these articles. But as he had a better opinion of Glamorgan's zeal and affection for his service, than of his capacity, he enjoined him to communicate all his measures to Ormond; and though the final conclusion of the treaty must be executed only in Glamorgan's own name, he was required to be directed, in the steps towards it, by the opinion of the lord lieutenant. Glamorgan, bigoted to his religion, and passionate for the king's service, but guided in these pursuits by no manner of judgement or discretion, secretly, without any communication with Ormond, concluded a peace with the council of Kilkenny, and agreed, in the king's name, that the Irish should enjoy all the churches of which they had ever been in possession since the commencement of their insurrection; on condition that they should assist the king in England with a body of ten thousand men. This transaction was discovered by accident. The titular archbishop of Tuam being killed by a sally of the garrison of Sligo, the articles of the treaty were found among his baggage, and were immediately published, and copies of them sent over to the English parliament. The lord lieutenant and lord Digby, foreseeing the clamour which would be raised against the king, committed Glamorgan to prison, charged him with treason for his temerity, and maintained, that he had acted altogether without authority from his master. The English parliament neglected not so favourable an opportunity of reviving the old clamour with regard to the king's favour of popery, and accused him of delivering over, in a manner, the whole kingdom of Ireland to that detested sect. The king told them, "That the earl of Glamorgan having made an offer to raise forces in the kingdom of Ireland, and to conduct them into England for his majesty's service, had a commission to that purpose, and to that purpose only, and that he had no commission at all to treat of any thing else, without the privity and direction of the lord lieutenant, much less to capitulate any thing concerning religion, or any property belonging either to church or laity." This declaration gave no satisfaction to the parliament.

Having lost all hope of prevailing over the parliament, either by arms or by treaty, the only resource which remained to the king was derived from the intestine dissensions, which ran high among his enemies. Presbyterians and Independents, even before their victory was fully completed, fell into contests about the division of the spoil; and their religious as well as civil disputes agitated the whole kingdom.

Though the parliament had early abolished episcopal authority, it had not, during so long a time, substituted any other spiritual government in its place; and their committees of religion had hitherto assumed the whole ecclesiastical jurisdiction: but they now established, by an ordinance, the Presbyterian model in all its forms of *congregational*, *classical*, *provincial*, and *national* assemblies. All the inhabitants of each parish were ordered to meet and chuse elders, on whom, together with the minister, was bestowed the direction of spiritual concerns within the congregation. A number of neighbouring parishes, commonly between twelve and twenty, formed a classis; and

(*q*) The covenanters used the victory with rigour. Their prisoners, sir Robert Spotiswood, secretary of state, and son to the late primate, sir Philip Nisbet, sir William Rollo, colonel Nathaniel Gordon, Andrew Guthry, son of the bishop of Murray, William Murray, son of the earl of Tullibardine, were condemned and executed. The crime imputed to the secretary was his delivering to Montrose the king's commission to be captain general of Scotland. Lord Ogilvy, who was again taken prisoner, would have undergone the same fate, had not his sister found means to procure his escape, by changing clothes with him. For this instance of courage and dexterity, she met with harsh usage. The clergy solicited the parliament, that more royalists might be executed; but could not obtain their request.

the court, which governed this division, was composed of all the ministers, together with two, three, or four elders chosen from each parish. The provincial assembly retained an inspection over several neighbouring classes, and was composed entirely of clergymen: the national assembly was constituted in the same manner; and its authority extended over the whole kingdom.

But though the Presbyterians, by the establishment of parity among the ecclesiastics, were so far gratified, they were denied satisfaction in several other points, on which they were extremely intent. The assembly of divines had voted presbytery to be of divine right: the parliament refused their assent to that decision. Selden, Whitlocke, and other political reasoners, assisted by the Independents, had prevailed in this important deliberation. They thought, that, had these religionists been able to get their charter recognised, the presbyters would soon become more dangerous to the magistrate than had ever been the prelatical clergy. These latter, while they claimed to themselves a divine right, admitted of a like origin to civil authority: the former, challenging to their own order a celestial pedigree, derived the legislative power from a source no more dignified than the voluntary association of the people.

Under colour of keeping the sacraments from profanation, the clergy of all Christian sects had assumed, what they call the power of the keys, or the right of fulminating excommunication. The example of Scotland was a sufficient lesson for the parliament to use precaution in guarding against so severe a tyranny. They determined, by a general ordinance, all the cases in which excommunication could be used. They allowed of appeals to parliament from all ecclesiastical courts; and appointed commissioners in every province to judge of such cases as fell not within their general ordinance. So much civil authority, intermixed with the ecclesiastical, gave disgust to the zealous religionists.

But nothing was attended with more universal scandal than the propensity of many in the parliament towards a toleration of the Protestant sectaries. The Presbyterians exclaimed, that this indulgence made the church of Christ resemble Noah's ark, and rendered it a receptacle for all unclean beasts. They insisted, that the least of Christ's truths was superior to all political considerations. They maintained the eternal obligation imposed by the covenant to extirpate heresy and schism; and menaced all their opponents with the same rigid persecution, under which themselves had groaned, when held in subjection by the episcopal church. So great prudence and reserve, in such material points, does great honour to the parliament; and proves that, notwithstanding the prevalency of religious bigotry, there were many members who had more enlarged views, and paid regard to the civil interests of society.

While these disputes were canvassed by theologians, who engaged in their spiritual contests every order of the state, the king, though he entertained hopes of reaping advantage from those divisions, was much at a loss which side it would be most for his interest to comply with. The Presbyterians were, by their principles, the least averse to regal authority; but were rigidly bent on the extirpation of prelacy: the Independents were resolute to lay the foundation of a republican government; but as they pretended not to erect themselves into a national church, it might be hoped, that, if gratified with a toleration, they would admit the re-establishment of the hierarchy. So great attachment had the king to episcopal jurisdiction, that he was ever inclined to put it in balance even with his own power and office as a king.

But whatever advantage he might hope to reap from the divisions in the parliamentary party, he was apprehensive, lest it should come too late to save him from the destruction with which he was instantly threatened. Fairfax was approaching with a powerful and victorious army, and was taking the proper measures for laying siege to Oxford, which must infallibly fall into his hands. To be taken captive, and led in triumph by his insolent enemies, was what Charles abhorred; and every insult, if not violence, was to be dreaded, from that soldiery, who hated his person and despised his dignity. In this extremity, he embraced a measure which, in any other situation, might lie under the imputation of imprudence and indiscretion.

Montreville, the French minister, interested for the king more by the natural sentiments of humanity, than any instructions from his court, which seemed rather to favour the parliament, had solicited the Scottish generals and commissioners, to give protection to their distressed sovereign; and having received many general profesions and promises, he had always transmitted these, perhaps with some exaggeration, to the king. From his sugestions, Charles began to entertain thoughts of leaving Oxford, and flying to the Scottish army, which at that time lay before Newark. He considered, that the Scottis nation had been fully gratified in all their demands; and having already, in their own country, annihilated both episcopacy and regal authority, had no farther concessions to exact from him. In all disputes which had passed about settling the terms of peace, the Scots, he heard, had still adhered to the milder side, and had endeavoured to soften the rigour of the English parliament. Great disgusts also, on other accounts, had taken place between the nation; and the Scots found that, in proportion as their assistance became less necessary, less value was put upon them. The progress of the Independents gave them great alarm; and they were scandalized to hear their beloved covenant spoken of, every day, with less regard and reverence. The refusal of a divine right to presbytery, and the infriging of ecclesiastical discipline from political considerations, were, to them, the subject of much offence; and the king hoped, that, in their present disposition, the sight of their native prince, flying to them in his distress, would rouse every spark of generosity in their bosom, and procure him their favour and protection.

That he might the better conceal his intentions, orders were given at every gate in Oxford, for allowing three persons to pass; and in the night the king, accompanied by none but Dr. Hudson and Mr. Ashburnham, went out at that gate which leads to London. He rode before a portmanteau, and called himself Ashburnham's servant. He passed through Henley, St. Albans, and came so near to London as Harrow on the Hill. He once entertained thoughts of entering into that city, and of throwing himself on the mercy of the parliament. But at last, after passing through many cross roads, he arrived at the Scottish camp before Newark. The parliament, hearing of his escape from Oxford, issued rigorous orders, and threatened with instant death whoever should harbour or conceal him.

The Scottish generals and commissioners affected great surprize on the appearance of the king: and though they paid him all the exterior respect due to his dignity, they instantly set a guard upon him, under colour of protection, and made him in reality a prisoner. They informed the English parliament of this unexpected incident, and assured them that they had entered into no private treaty with the king. They applied to him for orders to Bellasis, governor of Newark, to surrender that town, now reduced to extremity; and the orders were instantly obeyed.—Hearing that the parliament laid claim to the entire disposal of the king's person, and that the English army was making some motions towards them, they thought proper to retire northwards, and to fix their camp at Newcastle.

This measure was very grateful to the king; and he began to entertain hopes of protection from the Scots. He was extremely attentive to the behaviour of their preachers, on whom all depended. It was the mode of that age to make the pulpit the scene of news; and on every great event, the whole scripture was ransacked by the clergy for passages applicable to the present occasion. The first minister who preached before the king, chose these words for his text: "And behold all the men of Israel came to the king, and said unto him, Why have our brethren, the men of Judah, stolen thee away, and have brought the king and his household, and all David's men with him, over Jordan? And all the men of Judah answered the men of Israel, Because the king is near of kin to us; wherefore then be ye angry for this matter? Have we eaten at all of the king's cost? or hath he given us any gift? And the men of Israel answered the men of Judah, and said, We have ten parts in the king, and we have also more right in David than ye: Why then did ye despise us, that our advice should not be first had in bringing back our king? And the words of the men of Judah were fiercer than the words of the men of Israel (*r*)." But the king soon found, that the happiness chiefly of the allusion had tempted the preacher to select this text, and that the covenanting zealots were nowise pacified towards him. Another preacher, after reproaching him to his face with his misgovernment, ordered this psalm to be sung;

"Why dost thou, tyrant, boast thyself
Thy wicked deeds to praise?"

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(*r*) 2 Sam. xix. 41, 42, 43.

The king stood up, and called for that psalm which begins with these words,

"Have mercy, Lord, on me, I pray;
For men would me devour:"

The good-natured audience, in pity to fallen majesty, showed, for once, greater deference to the king than to the minister, and sung the psalm which the former had called for.

Charles had very little reason to be pleased with his situation. He not only found himself a prisoner, very strictly guarded: all his friends were kept at a distance; and no intercourse, either by letters or conversation, was allowed him with any one on whom he could depend, or who was suspected of any attachment towards him. The Scottish generals would enter into no confidence with him; and still treated him with distant ceremony and feigned respect. And every proposal, which they made him, tended farther to his abasement.

They required him to issue orders to Oxford, and all his other garrisons, commanding their surrender to the parliament; and the king, sensible that their resistance was to very little purpose, willingly complied. The terms given to most of them were honourable; and Fairfax, as far as it lay in his power, was very exact in observing them. Far from allowing violence, he would not even permit insults or triumph over the unfortunate royalists; and by his generous humanity, so cruel a civil war was ended, in appearance very calmly, between the parties.

Ormond having received like orders, delivered Dublin, and other forts, into the hands of the parliamentary officers. Montrose, also, after having experienced still more variety of good and bad fortune, threw down his arms, and retired out of the kingdom.

The marquis of Worcester, a man past eighty-four, was the last in England that submitted to the authority of the parliament. He defended Raglan Castle to extremity; and opened not its gates till the middle of August. Four years, a few days excepted, were now elapsed, since the king first erected his standard at Nottingham. So long had the British nations, by civil and religious quarrels, been occupied in shedding their own blood, and laying waste their native country.

The parliament and the Scots laid their proposals before the king. They were such as a captive entirely at mercy, could expect from the most inexorable victor: yet were they little worse than what were insisted on before the battle of Naseby. The power of the sword, instead of ten, which the king now offered, was demanded for twenty years, together with a right to levy whatever money the parliament should think proper for the support of their armies. The other conditions were, in the main, the same with those which had formerly been offered to the king.

Charles said, that proposals, which introduced such important innovations in the constitution, demanded time for deliberation: the commissioners replied, that he must give his answer in ten days. He desired to reason about the meaning and import of some terms: they informed him that they had no power of debate; and peremptorily required his consent or refusal. He requested a personal treaty with the parliament: they threatened, that, if he delayed compliance, the parliament would, by their own authority, settle the nation.

What the parliament was most intent upon, was not their treaty with the king, to whom they paid little regard; but that with the Scots. Two important points remained to be settled with that nation; their delivery of the king, and the estimation of their arrears.

The Scots might pretend, that, as Charles was king of Scotland as well as of England, they were entitled to an equal vote in the disposal of his person; and that, in such a case, where the titles are equal, and the subject indivisible, the preference was due to the present possessor. The English maintained, that the king, being in England, was comprehended within the jurisdiction of that kingdom, and could not be disposed of by any foreign nation.

As the Scots concurred with the English, in imposing such severe conditions on the king, that, notwithstanding his unfortunate situation, he still refused to accept of them, it is certain that they did not desire his freedom; nor could they ever intend to join lenity and rigour together in so inconsistent a manner. Before the settlement of terms, the administration must be possessed entirely by the parliaments of both kingdoms; and how incompatible that scheme with the liberty of the king, is easily imagined. The Scottish commissioners, therefore, resolved to prolong the dispute, and to keep the king as a pledge for those arrears which they claimed from England, and which they were not likely, in the present disposition of that nation, to obtain by any other expedient. The sum, by their account, amounted to near two millions: for they had received little regular pay since they had entered England. And though the contributions which they had levied, as well as the price of their living at free quarters, must be deducted; yet still the sum which they insisted on was very considerable. After many discussions, it was, at last, agreed, that, in lieu of all demands, they should accept of four hundred thousand pounds, one half to be paid instantly, another in two subsequent payments.

Great pains were taken by the Scots (and the English complied with their pretended delicacy) to make this estimation and payment of arrears appear a quite different transaction from that for the delivery of the king's person: but common sense requires, that they should be regarded as one and the same. Thus the Scottish nation underwent the reproach of selling their king, and betraying their prince for money. But they maintained, that this money was, on account of former services, undoubtedly their due; that in their present situation, no other measure, without the utmost indiscretion, or even their apparent ruin, could be embraced; and that, though they delivered their king into the hands of his open enemies, they were themselves as much his open enemies as those to whom they surrendered him, and their common hatred against him had long united the two parties in strict alliance with each other.

The infamy of this bargain had such an influence on the Scottish parliament, that they once voted, that the king should be protected, and his liberty insisted on. But the general assembly interposed, and pronounced, that, as he had refused to take the covenant, which was pressed on him, it became not the godly to concern themselves about his fortunes. After this declaration it behoved the parliament to retract their vote.

Intelligence concerning the final resolution of the Scottish nation to surrender him, was brought to the king; and he happened at that very time, to be playing at chess. Such command of temper did he possess, that he continued his game without interruption; and none of the by-standers could perceive, that the letter which he perused, had brought him news of any consequence. The English commissioners, who, some days after, came to take him under their custody, were admitted to kiss his hands; and he received them with the same grace and cheerfulness, as if they had travelled on no other errand than to pay court to him. The old earl of Pembroke in particular, who was one of them, he congratulated on his strength and vigour, that he was still able, during such a season, to perform so long a journey in company with so many young people.

The king, being delivered over by the Scots to the English commissioners, on the 30th of January, 1647, was conducted, under a guard to Holdenby (*s*), in Northamptonshire. On his journey, the whole country flocked to behold him, moved partly by curiosity, partly by compassion and affection. If any still retained rancour against him, in his present condition, they passed in silence; while his well-wishers, more generous than prudent, accompanied his march with tears, with acclamations, and with prayers for his safety. That ancient superstition likewise, of desiring the king's touch in scrophulous distempers, seemed to acquire fresh credit among the people, from the general tenderness which began to prevail for this unhappy monarch.

At the latter end of the summer 1646, whilst the king remained in the Scotch army at Newcastle, died the parliament's discarded general, Robert Devereux, earl of Essex. By the republicans, to whose views and intentions he was a determined enemy, his death was regarded as an auspicious omen: by the royalists, whose cause, when in the meridian of his power and popularity, he never heartily hated, and whose cause, on the disgusts he had received

(*s*) After the king had put himself in possession of the Scots, he sent a message to the parliament, proposing to repair to London; in order, he said, to the clearing up of his doubts. On this message, after some altercation between the lords and commons, whether the place of his majesty's residence should be Newmarket in Cambridgeshire, or Holdenby in Northamptonshire, it was resolved, according to the sense of the commons, in favour of the latter.

from the prevalent faction, he began to love (*t*), his death was regretted as a particular and important loss (*u*): whilst by the Presbyterians, the nobility, and the greater part of the gentry, it was lamented as a decisive stroke of adverse fortune. To possess the spoils of an enemy, to seat themselves on the throne of tyranny, without any design to reform the oppressive principles of the constitution, was the only end for which this faction had entered into hostilities with the king; an end which might have been completely obtained, had the war been brought to a conclusion within the first three years of its period: but this event, which would have put all things in the power of the faction, was postponed by the crafty yet mistaken policy of those whom they had entrusted with the military command. In the foremost rank of these was the earl of Essex, who, to avoid an entire conquest over the king, had well nigh ruined the cause of liberty and the commonwealth, had made a trade of war, and sported with the blood of his countrymen, till the lingering contention gave power and numbers to a party, whose views of reformation were as opposite to the interests and designs of the Presbyterians, as was the established power of the monarchy and the prelacy.

The opportunities with which Essex was favoured, had his dull ambition been quickened by spirit and tempered with judgement, had raised him to the highest pinnacle of his most aspiring wishes: in his person had concentered the reputation of Fairfax and the influence of Cromwell; in his power it would have been to have preserved at least the forms of monarchy with the privileges of the nobility, and to have established Presbytery. These were the purposes of the faction, and to these ends both the senate and the army would have concurred, had the king been reduced low enough to accept the conditions; but the mean jealousy which Essex had entertained of the popular interest, a too anxious care of preserving his importance and the importance of his order, occasioned the loss of both; and the parliament, at the end of a four years continued war, after having thrown away repeated opportunities of conquest, after having more than once found themselves on the brink of destruction, after having in vain lavished away the almost exhausted treasure of their partizans, were rather in a situation to receive than to impose conditions. The king was in possession of the greater part of the garrisons of the kingdom, and, according to his own opinion, stood a fair chance for complete victory. It was now no longer the season for dallying: the principle of safety was superior to other considerations; the passion of fear for some time got the better of bigotry and the love of power; and the new modelling the army was a measure of necessity, to which all parties readily submitted. The superiority the republicans gained by the alteration is already apparent; whilst the earl of Essex, instead of reaping the glory of putting an end to the war to the satisfaction of that party by whom he was entrusted with the supreme command, was totally discarded from the service of the public, and constrained to give place to the rising fortunes of a more active rival.

It is observed by his contemporary the earl of Clarendon, that Essex was rather driven into opposition by the repeated ill usage he had received from the court (*v*), than by any particular affection for the freedom of the constitution; and this opinion appears to be well grounded by the activity the earl shewed against the Scots in their first invasion. It is obvious, that had the other chief officers employed in this expedition acted with the same sincerity and zeal, the Scots would have been reduced to the tamest submission, and the king's tyranny fully established over both nations: nor was it any backwardness in Essex, but the most preposterous folly in the court, that he who had the character of being the most experienced soldier of the age, that he who had executed with the utmost punctuality his former trust, was not put at the head of the second expedition against the Scots, and thus rendered the instrument of destruction of the liberties of both countries (*w*). It is more than probable, that the after-patriotism of his character was determined by this mortifying neglect, with the being haughtily refused a favour he had solicited (*x*). We find him among the list of those who petitioned the king to call a parliament to settle the disputes in question; and as the popular party left no pains nor flattery unpractised to gain him entirely to their interest, he became of consequence enough to be among those whom the king, in his state of humiliation, endeavoured to corrupt by the lucre of office. The earl of Essex, with other popular lords, was sworn of the king's privy-council in the year 1640; and in 1641 the chamberlain's staff was taken from the earl of Pembroke, with whom the king was highly displeased, and conferred on the earl of Essex. In this capacity, Clarendon says, he would have forsaken his party and attended the king to Hampton Court, had he not been assured by the earl of Holland that there was a design laid to assassinate him. The angry measure which by the queen's influence was executed of depriving him of his office, with the insults which on his domestic misfortunes were flung on him by the court (*y*), rivetted his resentment; and this, with an ambition which he had early imbibed, of shining in a military capacity, induced him to accept of the parliament the honour of heading the army they had raised against popish and prelatical influence. Essex had now passed the Rubicon, and was declared a traitor in form (*z*); and though he appears to have had a sufficient knowledge of the implacability of the faction he opposed, and the ruin which would ensue to himself and his party if overcome by the king, yet, from the motives already specified, notwithstanding all the encouragement the parliament gave him, he could never be brought to act otherwise than upon

(*t*) After the vote for new modelling the army had passed both houses, we find the name of Essex in all protests against popular resolutions.—*Parl. Hist.*

(*u*) "The Presbyterian party, says Clarendon, finding themselves superior in the two houses, would without doubt have attempted to new model the army, if it had not pleased God to have taken away the earl of Essex, who died in a time when he might have been able to have undone much of the mischief he had formerly wrought, to which he had great inclinations; and had indignation enough for the indignities himself had received from the ungrateful parliament, and wonderful apprehension and detestation of the ruin he saw likely to befal both king and kingdom; and it is very probable, considering the present temper of the city at that time, and of the two houses, he might, if he had lived, have given some check to the fury which prevailed. But, continues this superstitious writer, God would not suffer a man, who, out of the pride and vanity of his nature, rather than the wickedness of his heart, had been made an instrument of so much mischief, to have any share in so glorious a work." *Clar. Hist.* vol. iii. p. 32, *& seq.*

(*v*) James had shewn himself a warm partizan against Essex, in a domestic concern of the most tender and delicate nature; and on finding his name among the list of petitioners against Irish peerages, expressed against him a particular and petulant resentment. "Into the royal presence (says Wilson, his domestic servant,) the earl of Essex came but seldom, perceiving that he was not very agreeable to the king; which was attributed to the roughness of his deportment, and his affecting the manner and garb of a soldier." By all accounts, Essex met with the same discouraging treatment from the son as he had received from the father: sir Philip Warwick says, That he was a man much disobliged at court; that the court was not artificial enough to make that right use of him which his interest amongst the soldiers, and his plain blunt English nature, might have been formed into by a seeming consequence. Clarendon says, He had no ambition of title, of office, or preferment, but only to be kindly looked upon and kindly spoken to, and quietly to enjoy his own fortune. *Wilson's History of Great Britain*, p. 736. *Warwick's Memoirs of Charles the First*, p. 130. *Clarendon's History of the Rebellion.*

(*w*) Essex, with a part of the army, had orders to advance to Berwick; and in his march thither he met with several Scotch noblemen, who pretending to be well affected to the king, informed him of the great strength of their countrymen, of their march towards England, and of the hazard he must run in attacking them with so inconsiderable a force. The earl heard them, quickened his march, took possession of Berwick, found the Scots had in reality hardly any forces, and if the king had sent him proper orders, says one of his biographers, he would have marched on to Edinburgh, and reduced that people to their duty. "The Scots, upon the approach of the king's army, says the same writer, addressed themselves to the king's generals, and especially to the earl of Essex, with great humility: the other two received their applications kindly enough; but Essex behaved with becoming dignity, sent their letters to the king, and when his majesty was prevailed upon to listen to an accommodation, refused to have any concern in it, or so much as to receive the visits of the Scotch commissioners, till the pacification was signed. When there was no farther occasion for his service, he was dismissed rather with coldness than civility, and in the second expedition against the Scots was not offered any command." *Biographia Britannica.*

(*x*) On the wardenship of Needwood Forest, which was close to the earl of Essex's house at Chartley, becoming void by the death of the lord Aston, the earl solicited the post, "and was refused it, says Clarendon, in such a manner, that he could not avoid taking it as an affront."

(*y*) Anthony Wood hints this in vol. ii. p. 94, of his History of Oxford Writers; and, in p. 93, exclaims, "Happy had it been, in all probability not less for king Charles than this earl, had either his ladies found fewer or he more friends at court!" Clarendon says, That the wavering politics of Essex became fixed on its being repeated to him what the king and queen had formerly said of him, and by fresh intelligence procured from York of what the king then thought of him. *Clar. Hist.* vol. i. p. 372.

(*z*) The king not only declared Essex a traitor, but refused to receive the parliament's first application for peace, because delivered by his hand.

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the defensive; and, by playing often into the hands of the enemy, had very nearly lost the whole. In the absurd and mischievous conduct of Essex is discoverable the venom which lies in political distinctions; that an individual thus invidiously adorned is more or less, according to the strength of his selfish affections, detached from the true interests of society; and that virtues of humanity never rise high enough to combat the temptations of aristocratic privilege.

According to the vulgar sense of honour, the earl of Essex is by all parties in that article allowed to be very punctilious. He had a serious turn of mind; and the little encouragement he received from the court, with the taste he had imbibed for martial exercises, occasioned him to avoid that circle of dissipated folly, and to devote his time to military employment, and studious retirement.—He served one campaign in the Palatine, and four in the Dutch service; attended lord Wimbledon in the character of vice-admiral, in the unsuccessful expedition to Cadiz, in 1625; and was appointed to the same command in the fleet which Charles fitted out against the Dutch, in 1635. On the return from these expeditions, he immediately repaired to his seat of Chartley Castle, in Staffordshire, or to the country retirements of one or other of his nearest friends and relations; where, in the rural recreations of hunting and hawking, the exhibition of masks and plays, with the more philosophical exercises of reading and learned conversation, he divided his time till the meeting of parliament, in 1640, called him to an active scene of public business.

The earl of Essex was born in 1592; received his education at the school of Eton and the university of Oxford; at the age of fourteen he was sent to travel for his farther improvement; and returned, at the end of four years, with the reputation of being one of the most accomplished noblemen of his time. In his early youth he was contracted to the lady Frances Howard; but this match being dissolved by divorce, he afterwards wedded Mrs. Elizabeth Paulet, daughter to sir William Paulet, a natural son of the marquis of Winchester: equally unhappy in this as in his first marriage, he had again recourse to the expedient of divorce (*a*), to get rid of the second yoke he had unadvisedly submitted to; and from this period laid aside all thoughts of a matrimonial state. He left no surviving issue; and died of a sudden and violent illness, which he had contracted from having over heated himself in a stag chace, on the 14th of September, 1646 (*b*). The Presbyterian faction, whose interest in the two houses was yet powerful and prevalent, paid on this occasion the highest honours to their leader: the lords and commons, with a great number of military officers and gentlemen of distinction, accompanied him to the grave; and his funeral was, at the charge of the public, celebrated with the highest magnificence and expence.

The dominion of the parliament was of short duration. No sooner had they subdued their sovereign, than their own servants rose against them, and tumbled them from their slippery throne. The sacred boundaries of the laws being once violated, nothing remained to confine the wild projects of zeal and ambition. And every successive revolution became a precedent for that which followed it. In proportion as the terror of the king's power diminished, the division between the Independents and Presbyterians became every day more apparent; and the neuters found it at last requisite to seek shelter in one or the other faction. Many new writs were issued for elections, in the room of members who had died, or were disqualified by adhering to the king; yet still the Presbyterians retained the superiority among the commons; and all the peers, except lord Say, were esteemed of that party. The Independents, to whom the inferior sectaries adhered, predominated in the army; and the troops of the new model were universally infected with the same spirit. To their assistance did the Independent party among the commons chiefly trust, in their projects for acquiring the ascendant over their antagonists.

Shortly after the retreat of the Scots, the Presbyterians, seeing every thing reduced to obedience, began to talk of diminishing the army; and, on pretence of easing the public burdens, they levelled a deadly blow at the opposite faction. They purposed to embark a strong detachment, under Skippon and Massey, for the service of Ireland: they openly declared their intention of making a great reduction of the remainder (*c*). It was even apprehended, that another new model of the army was projected, in order to regain to the Presbyterians that superiority which they had so imprudently lost by the former.

The army had little inclination to the service of Ireland; a country barbarous, uncultivated, and laid waste by massacres and civil commotions: they had less inclination to disband, and to renounce that pay, which, having earned it through fatigues and dangers, they now purposed to enjoy in ease and tranquillity. These motives of interest acquired additional influence, and became more dangerous to the parliament, from the religious spirit by which the army was universally actuated. Among the generality of men, educated in regular, civilized societies, the sentiments of shame, duty, honour, have considerable authority, and serve to counterbalance and direct the motives derived from private advantage: but, by the predominancy of enthusiasm among the parliamentary forces, these salutary principles lost their credit, and were regarded as mere human inventions, yea moral institutions, fitter for heathens than for christians. The saint, resigned over to superior guidance, was at full liberty to gratify all his appetites, under the appearance of pious zeal. And, besides the strange corruptions engendered by this spirit, it eluded and loosened all the ties of morality, and gave entire scope, and even sanction, to the selfishness and ambition which naturally adhere to the human mind.

The military confessors were farther encouraged in disobedience to superiors, by that spiritual pride to which a mistaken piety is so subject. They were not, they said, mere janizaries; mercenary troops inlisted for hire, and to be disposed of at the will of their paymasters. Religion and liberty were the motives which had excited them to arms; and they had a superior right to see those blessings, which they had purchased with their blood, ensured to future generations. By the same title that the Presbyterians, in contradistinction to the royalists, had appropriated to themselves the epithet of *godly*, or the *well-affected*, the Independents did now, in contradistinction to the Presbyterians, assume this magnificent appellation, and arrogate all the ascendant which naturally belongs to it.

Hearing of parties in the house of commons, and being informed that the minority were friends to the army, the majority enemies; the troops interested themselves in that dangerous distinction, and were eager to give the superiority to their partizans. Whatever hardships they underwent, though perhaps derived from inevitable necessity, were ascribed to a settled design of oppressing them, and resented as an effect of the animosity and malice of their adversaries.

Notwithstanding the great revenue, which accrued from taxes, assessments, sequestrations, and compositions, considerable arrears were due to the army; and many of the private men, as well as officers, had near a twelvemonth's pay still owing to them. The army suspected, that this deficiency was purposely contrived in order to oblige them to live at free quarters; and by rendering them odious to the country, serve as a pretence for disbanding them. When they saw such members as were employed in committees and civil offices, accumulate fortunes, they accused them of rapine and plunder. And, as no plan was pointed out by the commons for the payment of arrears, the soldiers dreaded, that, after they should be disbanded or embarked for Ireland, their enemies, who predominated in the two houses, would entirely defraud them of their right, and oppress them with impunity.

On this pretence did the first commotions begin in the army. A petition, addressed to Fairfax the general, was handed about; craving an indemnity, and that ratified by the king, for any illegal actions, of which, during the course of the war, the soldiers might have been guilty; together with satisfaction in arrears, freedom from pressing, relief of widows and maimed soldiers, and pay till disbanded. The commons, aware of what combustible materials the army was composed, were alarmed at this intelligence. Such a combination, they knew, if not checked in its first appearance, must be attended with dangerous consequences, and soon exalt the military above the civil authority. Besides summoning some officers to answer for

(*a*) This second divorce was obtained on the plea of adultery by his wife.

(*b*) After he had lain down his commission, he retired in great discontent to a seat of his in Kent, called Eltham House; and refused with scorn the compliment the parliament paid him, in voting him to be made a duke. *Wood's Athenæ Oxonienses*, vol. ii. p. 94.

(*c*) Fourteen thousand men were only intended to be kept up; six thousand horse, six thousand foot, and two thousand dragoons. *Bates*, this

this attempt, they voted, on the 30th of March, that the petition tended to introduce mutiny, to put conditions upon the parliament, and to obstruct the relief of Ireland; and they threatened to proceed against the promoters of it, as enemies to the state, and disturbers of the public peace. This declaration produced fatal effects. The soldiers lamented, that they were deprived of the privileges of Englishmen; that they were not allowed so much as to represent their grievances; that, while petitions from Essex and other places were openly encouraged against the army, their mouths were stopped; and that they, who were the authors of liberty to the nation, were reduced, by a faction in parliament, to the most grievous servitude.

In this disposition was the army found by Warwick, Dacres, Massey, and other commissioners, who were sent to make them proposals for entering into the service of Ireland. Instead of inlisting, the generality objected to the terms; demanded an indemnity; were clamorous for their arrears: and, though they expressed no dissatisfaction against Skippon, who was appointed commander, they discovered much stronger inclination to serve under Fairfax and Cromwell. Some officers, who were of the presbyterian party, having entered into engagements for this service, could prevail on very few of the soldiers to inlist under them. And, as these officers lay all under the grievous reproach of deserting the army, and betraying the interests of their companions, the rest were more fully confirmed in that confederacy.

To petition and remonstrate being the most cautious method of conducting a confederacy, an application to parliament was signed by near two hundred officers; in which they made their apology with a very imperious air, asserted their right of petitioning, and complained of that imputation thrown upon them by the former declaration of the lower house. The private men likewise of some regiments sent a letter to Skippon; in which, together with insisting on the same topics, they lament, that designs were formed against them and many of the godly party in the kingdom; and declare, that they could not engage for Ireland, till they were satisfied in their expectations, and had their just desires granted. The army, in a word, felt their power, and resolved to be masters.

The parliament too resolved, if possible, to preserve their dominion; but being destitute of power, and not retaining much authority, it was not easy for them to employ any expedient which could contribute to their purpose. The expedient which they now made use of, was the worst imaginable. They sent Skippon, Cromwell, Ireton, and Fleetwood, to the head-quarters at Saffron Waldon in Essex; and empowered them, on the 7th of May, to make offers to the army, and inquire into the cause of its *distempers*. These very generals, at least the three last, were secretly the authors of all the discontents; and failed not to foment those disorders, which they pretended to appease. By their suggestion, a measure was embraced, which, at once, brought matters to extremity, and rendered the mutiny incurable.

In opposition to the parliament at Westminster, a military parliament was formed. Together with a council of the principal officers, which was appointed after the model of the house of peers; a more free representative of the army was composed, by the election of two private men or inferior officers, under the title of agitators, from each troop or company. By this means, both the general humour of that time was gratified, and an easy method contrived for conducting and propagating the sedition of the army.

This court, when assembled, having first declared that they found no *distempers* in the army, but many *grievances*, under which it laboured, immediately voted the offers of the parliament unsatisfactory. Eight weeks' pay alone, they said, was promised; a small part of fifty-six weeks, which they claimed as their due: no visible security was given for the remainder; and having been declared public enemies by the commons, they might hereafter be prosecuted as such, unless the declaration were recalled. Before matters came to this height, Cromwell hastened to London, on pretence of laying before the parliament the rising discontents of the forces.

The parliament made one vigorous effort more, to try the force of their authority: they voted that all the troops, which did not engage for Ireland, should instantly be disbanded in their quarters. At the same time, the council of the army ordered a general rendezvous of all the regiments, in order to provide for their common interests. And while they thus prepared themselves for opposition to the parliament, they struck a blow, which at once decided the victory in their favour.

A party of fifty horse appeared at Holdenby, on the 3rd of June, conducted by Joyce, a cornet in colonel Whaley's regiment. The attending officers asked his name and business. He told his name, and said his business was to speak with the king. "From whom?" said the officers. "From myself," replied Joyce. Hereupon the officers smiled, but he told them it was no laughing matter; and on their advising him to withdraw his men, and in the morning he should speak with the commissioners, he told them, "That he did not come there to be advised by them, nor had he any business with the commissioners; that his errand was to the king, and speak with him he must and would presently." The commanding officers of the king's guard directed their men, who were three times the number of Joyce's party, to stand to their arms, and be ready to fire when ordered; but instead of preparing for resistance, they opened the gates to their fellow soldiers, shook them by the hands, and bid them welcome. Joyce then went into the king's presence, armed with pistols, and told him, that he must immediately go along with him. "Whither?" said the king. "To the army;" replied Joyce. "By what warrant?" asked the king. Joyce pointed to the soldiers, whom he brought along with him. "Your warrant," said Charles smiling, "is writ in fair characters, legible without spelling." The parliamentary commissioners came into the room: they asked Joyce, whether he had any orders from the parliament? he said, "No:" from the general? "No:" by what authority he came? he made the same reply as to the king: "They would write," they said, "to the parliament to know their pleasure." "You may do so," replied Joyce; "but in the mean time the king must immediately go with me." Resistance was vain. The king, after protracting the time as long as he could, went into his coach; and was safely conducted to the army, who were hastening to their rendezvous at Triplo-Heath, near Cambridge. The parliament, informed of this event by their commissioners, were thrown into the utmost consternation.

Fairfax himself was no less surprized at the king's arrival. That bold measure, executed by Joyce, had never been communicated to the general. The orders were entirely verbal; and nobody avowed them. And while every one affected astonishment at the enterprize, Cromwell, by whose council it had been directed, arrived from London, and put an end to their deliberations.

Cromwell had conducted himself in the parliament with such profound dissimulation, that he had long deceived the members. At every intelligence of disorders in the army, he was moved to the highest pitch of grief and of anger. He wept bitterly: he lamented the misfortunes of his country: he advised every violent measure for suppressing the mutiny; and by these precipitate counsels, at once seemed to evince his own sincerity, and inflamed those discontents, of which he intended to make advantage. He obtested heaven and earth, that his devoted attachment to the parliament had rendered him so odious in the army, that his life, while among them, was in the utmost danger; and he had very narrowly escaped a conspiracy formed to assassinate him. But information being brought, that the most active officers and agitators were entirely his creatures, the parliamentary leaders secretly resolved, that, next day, when he should come to the house, an accusation should be entered against him, and he should be sent to the Tower. Cromwell, who in the conduct of his desperate enterprizes frequently approached to the very brink of destruction, knew how to make the requisite turn with proper dexterity and boldness. Being informed of this design, he hastened to the camp; where he was rceeived with acclamations, and was instantly invested with the supreme command, both of general and army.

Fairfax, having neither talents himself for cabal, nor penetration to discover the cabals of others, had given his entire confidence to Cromwell; who, by the best coloured pretences, and by the appearance of an open sincerity and a scrupulous conscience, imposed on the easy nature of this brave and virtuous man. The council of officers and the agitators were moved altogether by Cromwell's direction, and conveyed his will to the whole army. By his artful conduct, he had now attained a situation, where he could cover his enterprizes from public view; and seeming either to obey the commands of his superior officer, or yield to the movements of the soldiers, could secretly pave

the way for his future greatness. While the disorders of the army were yet in their infancy, he kept at a distance; lest his counterfeit aversion might throw a damp upon them, or his secret encouragement beget suspicion in the parliament. As soon as they came to maturity, he openly joined the troops; and in the critical moment, struck that important blow of seizing the king's person, and depriving the parliament of any resource of an accommodation with him. Though one vizor fell off, another still remained, to cover his natural countenance. Where delay was requisite, he could employ the most indefatigable patience: where celerity was necessary, he flew to a decision. And by thus uniting in his person the most opposite talents, he was enabled to combine the most contrary interests in a subserviency to the purposes he secretly intended.

The parliament, though at present defenceless, was possessed of many resources; and time might enable them to resist that violence with which they were threatened. Without farther deliberation, therefore, Cromwell advanced the army upon them, and arrived in a few days at St. Albans, within twenty miles of the capital.

Nothing could be more popular than this hostility which the army commenced against the parliament. As much as that assembly was once the idol of the nation, as much was it now become the object of general hatred and aversion. The self-denying ordinance had no longer been put in execution, than till Essex, Manchester, Waller, and the other officers of that party, had resigned their commission: immediately after, it was laid aside by tacit consent; and the members, sharing all offices of profit and power among them, proceeded with impunity in exercising acts of oppression on the helpless nation. Though the necessity of their situation might serve as an apology for many of their measures, the people, not accustomed to such a species of government, were not disposed to make the requisite allowances.

The severities exercised against the episcopal clergy, naturally affected the royalists in a sensible manner. By the most moderate computation (*d*), it appears, that above one half of the established clergy had been turned out of their livings, for adhering to the civil and religious principles in which they had been educated; and for their attachment to those laws under whose countenance they had at first embraced that profession. To renounce episcopacy and the liturgy, and to subscribe the covenant, were the only terms which could save them from so rigorous a fate; and if the least mark of affection to the king had ever escaped their lips, even this hard choice was not permitted. But what excited the most general complaint was, the unlimited rule of the country-committees. During the war, the discretionary power of these courts was excused, from the plea of necessity: but the nation was reduced to despair, when it saw neither end put to their duration, nor bounds to their authority. These could sequester, fine, imprison, and corporally punish, without law or remedy. They interposed in questions of private property. Under colour of malignancy, they exercised vengeance against their private enemies.

The parliament, conscious of their decay in popularity, seeing a formidable armed force advance upon them, were reduced to despair, and found all their resources much inferior to the present necessity. London still retained a strong attachment to Presbyterianism; and its militia, which was numerous, and had acquired reputation in wars, had by a late ordinance been put into hands in whom the parliament could entirely confide. This militia was now called out, and ordered to guard the lines, which had been drawn round the city, in order to secure it against the king. A body of horse was ordered to be instantly levied. Many officers, who had been cashiered by the new model of the army, offered their service to the parliament. An army of five thousand men lay in the north under the command of general Pointz, who was of the Presbyterian faction; but these were too distant to be employed in so urgent a necessity. The forces destined for Ireland were quartered in the west; and, though deemed faithful to the parliament, they also lay at a distance. Many inland garrisons were commanded by officers of the same party; but their troops, being so much dispersed, could at present be of no manner of service. The Scots were faithful friends, and zealous for presbytery and the covenant; but a long time was required, ere they could collect their forces, and march to the assistance of the parliament.

In this situation, it was thought more prudent to submit, and by compliance to stop the fury of the enraged army. The declaration, by which the military petitioners had been voted public enemies, was recalled and erased from the journal-book. This was the first symptom which the parliament gave of submission; and the army, hoping, by terror, to effect their purposes, stopped at St. Albans, and entered into negociation with their masters.

Here commenced the encroachments of the military upon the civil authority. The army, in their usurpations on the parliament, copied exactly the model which the parliament itself had set them, in their recent usurpations on the crown. Every day they rose in their demands. If one claim was granted, they had another ready, still more exorbitant; and seemed determined never to be satisfied. At first they pretended only to petition for what concerned themselves as soldiers: next, they must have a vindication of their character; then it was necessary, that their enemies be punished: at last they claimed a right of modelling the whole government, and settling the nation. They preserved, in words, all deference and respect to the parliament; but, in reality, insulted them and tyraanized over them. That assembly they pretended not to accuse: it was only evil counsellors who had seduced and betrayed it. They proceeded so far, on the 16th of June, as to name eleven members, whom, in general terms, they charged with high treason, as enemies to the army and evil counsellors to the parliament. Their names were, Denzil Hollis, sir Philip Stapleton, sir William Lewis, sir John Clotworthy, sir William Waller, sir John Maynard, major-general Massey, Glyn the recorder, colonel Walter Long, colonel Edward Harley, and Anthony Nicholas, Esq. These were the very leaders of the Presbyterian party. They insisted that these members should be sequestered from parliament, and thrown into prison. The commons replied, that they could not, upon a general charge, proceed so far. The army observed to them, that the cases of Strafford and Laud were direct precedents for that purpose. At last, the eleven members themselves, not to give occasion for discord, begged leave to retire from the house; and the army, for the present, seemed satisfied with this mark of submission. Pretending that the parliament intended to levy war upon them, and to involve the nation again in blood and confusion, they required, that all new levies should be stopped. The parliament complied with this demand.

There being no signs of resistance, the army removed, at the desire of the parliament, to a greater distance from London, and fixed their head-quarters at Reading. They carried the king along with them in all their marches. That prince now found himself in a better situation than at Holdenby, and had attained some greater degree of freedom, as well as of consideration, with both parties. All his friends had access to his presence: his correspondence with the queen was not interrupted: his chaplains were restored to him, and he was allowed the use of the liturgy: his children were once allowed to visit him, and they passed a few days at Caversham, where he then resided. He had not seen the duke of Gloucester, his youngest son, and the princess Elizabeth, since he left London, at the commencement of the civil disorders; nor the duke of York, since he went to the Scottish army before Newark. Such an instance of indulgence in the army was extremely grateful to him. Cromwell, who was witness to the meeting of the royal family, confessed, that he never had been present at so tender a scene; and he extremely applauded the benignity which displayed itself in the whole disposition and behaviour of Charles.

That artful politician, as well as the leaders of all parties, paid court to the king; and fortune seemed again to smile upon him. The parliament, afraid of his forming some accommodation with the army, addressed him in a more respectful style than formerly; and invited him to reside at Richmond, and contribute his assistance to the settlement of the nation. The chief officers treated him with regard, and spake on all occasions of restoring him to his just powers and prerogatives. In the public declarations of the army, the settlement of his revenue and authority was insisted on. The royalists, every where, entertained

(*d*) See John Walker's Attempt towards recovering an Account of the Numbers and Sufferings of the Clergy. The parliament pretended to leave the sequestered clergy a fifth of their revenue; but this author makes it sufficiently appear, that this provision, small as it is, was never regularly paid to the ejected clergy.

hopes of the restoration of monarchy; and the favour which they universally bore to the army, contributed to discourage the parliament, and to forward their submission.

The king began to feel of what consequence he was. The more the national confusions increased, the more was he confident that all parties would, at length, have recourse to his lawful authority as the only remedy for the public disorders. "You cannot be without me," said he, "on several occasions: You cannot settle the nation but by my assistance." From the present scene of confusion, all men, he hoped, would be brought to reflect on that ancient government, under which they and their ancestors had so long enjoyed what he called happiness and tranquillity.

Charles, however, in his expectations to hold the balance between the opposite parties, entertained more hopes of accommodation with the army than with the parliament. The parliament pretended to annihilate his authority: they had confined his person. In both these particulars the army showed more indulgence. He had a free intercourse with his friends. And in the proposals, which the council of officers sent for the settlement of the nation, they insisted neither on the abolition of episcopacy, nor of the punishment of the royalists; the two points to which the king had the most extreme reluctance: and they demanded, that a period should be put to the present parliament; the event for which he most ardently panted. His conjunction too seemed more natural with the generals, than with the parliament, who had so long assumed the sovereignty of the state, and declared their resolution still to continue masters. By gratifying a few persons with titles and preferments, he thought to draw over the whole military power, and reinstate himself in his civil authority. To Ireton he offered the lieutenancy of Ireland: to Cromwell, the garter, the title of earl of Essex, and the command of the army. Negociations to this purpose were secretly conducted. Cromwell pretended to hearken to them; and was pleased to keep the door open for an accommodation, if the course of events should, at any time, render it necessary. And the king indulged hopes that he would embrace a measure which, by all the motives of duty, interest, and safety, seemed to be recommended to him.

While Cromwell allured the king by these expectations, he continued his scheme of reducing the parliament to subjection, and depriving them of the means of resistance. To gratify the army, the parliament invested Fairfax with the title of general in chief of all the forces in England and Ireland; and entrusted the whole military authority to a person who, though well inclined to their service, was no longer at his own disposal. They voted that the troops which, in obedience to them, had inlisted for Ireland, and deserted the rebellious army, should be disbanded, or, in other words, be punished for their fidelity. The forces in the north, under Pointz, had already mutinied against their general, and had entered into an association with that body of the army which was so successfully employed in exalting the military above the civil authority.

That no resource might remain to the parliament, it was demanded, that the militia of London should be changed, the Presbyterian commissioners displaced, and the command restored to those who, during the course of the war, had constantly exercised it. The parliament even complied with so violent a demand, and passed a vote in obedience to the army. Thus they purposed to temporize under their present difficulties, and hoped to find a more favourable opportunity for recovering their authority and influence: but the impatience of the city lost them all the advantage of their cautious measures. A petition against the alteration of the militia was carried to Westminster, on the 20th of July, attended by the apprentices and seditious multitude, who besieged the door of the house of commons; and by their clamour, noise, and violence, obliged them to reverse that vote, which had passed so lately. When gratified in this pretension, they immediately dispersed, and left the parliament at liberty.

No sooner was intelligence of this tumult conveyed to Reading, than the army was put in motion. The two houses being under restraint, they were resolved, they said, to vindicate, against the seditious citizens, the invaded privileges of parliament, and restore that assembly to its just freedom of debate and counsel. In their way to London, they were drawn up on Hounslow Heath; a formidable body of twenty thousand men, and determined, without regard to laws or liberty, to pursue whatever measures their generals should dictate. Here the most favourable event happened, to quicken and encourage their advance. The speakers of the two houses, Manchester and Lenthal, attended by nineteen peers (*e*), and about one hundred commoners, having secretly retired from the city, presented themselves with their maces, and all the ensigns of their dignity; and complaining of the violence put upon them, applied to the army for defence and protection. They were received with shouts and acclamations: respect was paid to them as to the parliament of England; and the army being provided with so plausible a pretence, which, in all public transactions, is of great consequence, advanced to chastize the rebellious city, and to reinstate the violated parliament. Neither Lenthal nor Manchester were esteemed Independents; and such a step in them was unexpected. But they probably foresaw, that the army must, in the end, prevail; and were willing to pay court in time to that authority, which began to predominate in the nation.

The parliament, forced from their temporising measures, and obliged to resign, at once, or combat for their liberty and power, prepared themselves with vigour for defence, and determined to resist the violence of the army. The two houses immediately chose new speakers, lord Hunsdon, and Henry Pelham: they renewed their former orders for enlisting troops: they appointed Massey to be commander: they ordered the trained bands to man the lines: and the whole city was in a ferment, and resounded with military preparations.

When any intelligence arrived, that the army stopped or retreated, the shout of "One and all," ran with alacrity, from street to street, among the citizens: when news came of their advancing, the cry of "Treat and capitulate," was no less loud and vehement. The terror of an universal pillage, and even massacre, had seized the citizens.

As the army approached, Rainsborough, being sent by the general over the river, presented himself before Southwark, and was gladly received by some soldiers, who were quartered there for its defence, and who were resolved not to separate their interests from those of the army. It behoved then the parliament to submit. The army marched in triumph through the city; but preserved the greatest order, decency, and appearance of humility. They conducted to Westminster the two speakers, who took their seats as if nothing had happened. The eleven impeached members, being accused as authors of the tumult, were expelled; and most of them retired beyond sea: seven peers (*f*) were impeached: sir John Gayre (the lord mayor), Thomas Cullam (alderman), one of the sheriffs, with James Bunce, John Langham, and Thomas Adams, (aldermen,) were committed to the Tower on accusation of high treason: several citizens and officers of the militia committed to prison: every deed of the parliament annulled, from the day of the tumult till the return of the speakers: the lines about the city levelled: the militia restored to the Independents: regiments quartered in Whitehall and the Meuse: and the parliament being reduced to a regular formed servitude, a day was appointed of solemn thanksgiving for the restoration of its liberty.

The situation of the king, during this contest between the civil and the military powers, had been very flattering to his hopes: from the first seizure of his person by the army he had been treated with great civility and respect; he was indulged with the company of his children, friends, and attendants; and allowed the celebration of divine service after the manner of the church of England (*g*). The army, in all their addresses to the parliament, had recommended moderation in their dealings to the cavalier faction; and, when the liberties and privileges of the subject were firmly established, a due regard to the king's pretensions. The consequence of this conduct, whether sin-

(*e*) Namely, the earls of Northumberland, Kent, Rutland, Salisbury, Warwick, Denbigh, Mulgrave, and Stamford; the viscounts Hereford and Say and Seal; the lords Delawar, Dacres, North, Grey, Roberts, Maynard, Howard, Herbert, and Bruce.

(*f*) Namely, the earls of Suffolk, Middlesex, and Lincoln, with the lords Willoughby of Parham, Hunsdon, Maynard, and Berkeley. These peers, on the commons not prosecuting their impeachment with any particular charge, were soon after their commitment released. They were again impeached by the commons, but permitted by the upper house to give security for their appearance. The upper house, on the discharge of these lords from their confinement, passed a declaration, That no peer should hereafter be under restraint upon a general charge.

(*g*) It may be observed, that the parliament had denied the king's repeated requests for the liberty of these indulgences.

cere or artificial, was fortunate: it prevented the dreaded coalition between the Scotch and English Presbyterians with the royalists, whom these favourable appearances had so elevated, that sir John Berkeley, with Mr. John Ashburnham, was dispatched from the queen to promote a firm union between the king and the army. These agents, on their arrival, found both the general officers and agitators to appearance well disposed to an agreement with the king, on terms of safety to the commonwealth; proposals were actually drawn up by commissary-general Ireton, to be propounded to the parliament, in which the interests of the Presbyterian, Independent, and even the royal party, were in some measure comprised (*h*).

This favourable return of unexpected fortune was again lost to the king, by that duplicity of conduct from which he never varied, and those deep-laid schemes of which he was himself the only dupe. The Scotch commissioners (who had sent up several remonstrances in the name of their countrymen to the parliament, for a speedy agreement with the king, on the grounds of the national league and covenant, in which they had expressed great fears for the safety of the king's person, and used many severe expressions against the army) were permitted among others to pay their respects to the royal prisoner. In these interviews there were some advances made for a junction between the Scotch Presbyterians and the English cavaliers; and the grounds of a treaty were actually commenced for another Scotch invasion. The parliament of England had, during their contest with the army, sent a very civil message to the king; wherein they had pressed him so far to countenance their cause as to acknowledge himself under a disagreeable restraint with the army. Thus courted from every quarter, Charles, in his captive state, regarded himself as the umpire of all differences; and, endeavouring to keep on terms with all, he, doubtless, intended to fall in with those who would sacrifice the most to the interest of his prerogatives. To the army he declared a willingness both to abide with them, and a satisfaction that he was delivered from the restraints the parliament had lain on him: to the parliament he sent word, That he had been carried from Holdenby against his will, and that they were not to give any credit to what he should write whilst under confinement: and to the Scotch commissioners he promised almost every thing they could ask, provided they would commence a new war in his favour.

Full of such airy projects, and elevated with weak-grounded hopes, the king, when proposals were sent to him by the army, and his concurrence, says Berkeley, most humbly and earnestly desired, talked to the committee who brought them not only haughtily, but with asperity: "He would have nobody suffer for his sake; he had repented him of nothing so much as the signing the bill against the lord Strafford; he would have the church established according to law:" and when it was replied by the committee, that it was enough for them to have waved the point, and they hoped for his majesty, since he had waved the government itself in Scotland, he answered, "He hoped God had forgiven him that sin." To a discourse and manner thus unpleasant and ill-timed, the king would often repeat, "You cannot be without me, you will fall to ruin if I sustain you not (*i*)." The whole company, with wonder on each countenance, stared on one another, on hearing the king talk after this manner. Sir John Berkeley having in vain attempted to attract his notice, stepped up to him, and whispered him in the ear, That he spoke as if he had some secret strength and power; "which, added sir John, if your majesty hath concealed from me, I wish you had concealed it from these men too." This admonition occasioned the king to recollect himself so far as to endeavour, when too late, to soften his former discourse; for colonel Rainsborough, who rather disliked the proposed agreement with the king, slipped away before the conference was over, and acquainted his fellow-associates with the harsh treatment their committee had received. Sir John Berkeley afterwards obtained a meeting with the superior officers; but on his pressing them to declare what the king had to trust to, should he grant the proposals, they gave him no farther satisfaction than "They would offer them to the parliament;" and on his question, "If the parliament refused them, what would they do then?" they bluntly replied, "They would not tell." The plot which was at this time carrying on in the city, to bring the king in with freedom, safety, and honour, and the promises of the Scots, was that imaginary strength on which the king had assumed those airs of superiority in his treaty with the army's committee; and the reason on which he had absolutely insisted, contrary to the earnest desire of his present keepers, on the removing to Richmond, according to the invitation of both houses (*k*).

When the metropolis was in a manner in the power of the army, through the success they had met with in Southwark, the king received advice, from some of the officers who were in his interest, to write a letter to the general, signifying his reliance on the counsels of the army, and his disapprobation of the tumultuous behaviour of the citizens: but the matter being under four different debates before the king would come to a resolution, the commissioners from London, with the full submission of the city, reached Sion House, the seat of the general's quarters, before the arrival of the king's letter; which coming out of time, and with an ill grace, did not help to reinstate him in the good opinion or affection of the army. The Presbyterians, who still maintained a majority in the lower house, and the lords, who were almost all of the Presbyterian interest, encouraged by the Scotch commissioners, who continually urged the necessity of a speedy coalition with the king, sent him, with an addition for an act to be passed for abolishing archbishops and bishops, the sale of their lands, and some few alterations in the matter of fines and compositions of delinquents, the same propositions formerly sent to Newcastle; but the king, highly dissatisfied that there was no abatement in their demands, refused the articles, and desired a personal treaty with the parliament, on the proposals of the army, which had been now presented in form to both houses (*l*). Ireton, Cromwell, and their partizans in the house, pressed with earnestness the

(*h*) Sir John Berkeley tells us, "That he was not only permitted to view these proposals, but even to alter two of the articles in the most material points; and that when he would have altered a third, the matter of which was the excluding only seven persons, who were not named, from pardon, and not admitting the cavalier faction to sit in the next parliament, he was only gently rebuked by Ireton, who answered, There must be preserved some difference between the state of the conqueror and the conquered, and that he should be afraid of a parliament wherein the king's party should have a major voice."

(*i*) Sir John Berkeley, in his Memoirs, says, That on the king's manifesting to him (Berkeley) a great dislike of the army's propositions, he told him, that he should suspect their integrity if they had demanded less favourable terms: it was not likely that men who had through great difficulties and dangers acquired such advantages, should ever sit down with less than was contained in their proposals; and that there never was a crown so near lost so cheaply recovered. This, and other rational discourse of the same kind, had no effect on the king, who insisted, that the army could not subsist without him, and that he did not doubt he should see them very shortly glad to condescend farther. *Berkeley's Memoirs*, p. 30.

(*k*) The king was so peremptorily resolved on accepting the parliament's invitation, that he repeatedly asserted, he would endeavour to make it the last action of that man's life, who should go about to hinder him; but when he had prepared all things for his journey, the parliament yielded up the point to the army, and sent him a message requesting him to remain in the quarters of the camp.

(*l*) The proposals of the army:

First, That there should be biennial parliaments, each of which to sit fourteen days, afterwards to be adjournable and dissolvable by the king: the king, upon advice of the council of state, between the intervals of biennial parliaments, upon extraordinary occasions to call an extraordinary parliament, provided its sitting disturb not the course of biennial elections: biennial parliaments to appoint committees during their intervals, for such purposes as are by the proposals referred to such committees: That a better rule of proportion may be observed in elections, all counties to be represented in the number of their members competent to their charges: That effectual provision be made for freedom of elections: That there be a liberty of entering dissents in the house of commons; with provision that no member be censurable for aught said or voted in that house, further than to exclusion from that trust: That the judicial power or final judgement of lords and commons be cleared and determined; and that no person so adjudged be pardonable by the king without their consent: That the right and liberty of the commons of England, as to a due exemption from any proceedings against them by the house of peers without the concurrence of the commons, be cleared and vindicated: That grand jurymen be chosen in an equal way by the divisions of counties, and not remain at the discretion of an under-sheriff: That the militia, and the power of raising money for the maintenance of what force is deemed sufficient by the two houses, be in the power of the two houses for the space of ten years: None who have been in hostilities against the parliament to be, without the consent of parliament, capable of bearing office in the kingdom, or of a seat in parliament, for the space of five years: The commanders both of the land and sea forces to be now appointed: That a council of state be now appointed, the individuals of which to hold their offices *si bene se gesserint*, for a term of time to be now settled, not exceeding seven years; this council of state to superintend and direct the powers of the land and sea militia, to consult on all foreign negociations, provided the making of peace and war with foreign states be not without the advice and consent of parliament: That there be a sufficient establishment now provided, to last till two months after the meeting of the first biennial parliament, for the salary of forces both in England and Ireland: That for the

the king's desire for a personal treaty; but without effect. The republicans, who had hitherto regarded them in their interest, began to suspect they had made a private bargain with the king; and joining with the Presbyterians, carried the question clearly against them. The majority of the army, who were greatly exasperated at the manner in which the king had treated their proposals, were equally dissatisfied with the carriage of their leaders: they murmured in private against them as betrayers of the cause, and in council the agitators complained of the king's being suffered to hold continual cabals with malignants, who flocked about him; asserted, "That on his having rejected their proposals, they were no farther engaged to him; that having now the power devolved to them by the decision of the sword, to which all parties had appealed, it behoved them to consult their own safety and the public good; and being convinced, from the experience of all times, that monarchy was inconsistent with the prosperity of the nation, they would use their endeavours to reduce the government of England to the form of a commonwealth."

These high proceedings of the army alarmed Fairfax; Ireton also disliked their pushing forward to the goal of Freedom by other than his direction; and Cromwell (the most corrupt and selfish being that ever disgraced an human form, who had actually made very shameful and dangerous advances to the king (*m*), and who expected to make a good bargain for himself of the implicit faith the army had had of his integrity and inclinations to theirs and the public weal) was like a madman, when he found himself thus on the brink of being disappointed of his interested views. A general rendezvous, where it was hoped the majority of the army would yet adhere to the proposals which had been made to the king, was determined on in a council of war. On the day appointed for this meeting, those who were simply honest to the principles of equal and general freedom, who called themselves Commonwealth's men, but who were in derision stiled Levellers (*n*), appeared with distinguishing marks in their hats (*o*). Cromwell, who had had good intelligence of the cabal, attended by several officers whom he had preferred, and who on this account were become his creatures (*p*), rode up to one of the regiments thus signalized, and in a peremptory manner required them to throw aside these symbols. On being refused obedience, he caused several of the ringleaders to be seized by the soldiers with whom he was accompanied, held in the field a council of war, by the authority of which one of these mutineers was immediately shot dead, and the rest committed to close confinement. This act of resolution was so unexpected, that it appalled the discontented troops, who were totally unprepared for the event; they yielded a ready obedience to his commands; and the army being thus dispersed in their quarters, without coming to any resolution contradictory to the judgement of their chiefs, Cromwell went to give an account of his exploits to the parliament, from whom he received the highest encomiums.

The discontent of the army in general had arisen to such a height against the king, and against those whom they fancied were in compact with him, that it had obliged Cromwell and others to forbear their former intimacies with his two counsellors and confidants, sir John Berkeley and Mr. Ashburnham. The studied manner in which they endeavoured to avoid their conversation, with frequent intimations from all quarters, even from Cromwell himself, that the army had ill designs, and that it was not in his (Cromwell's) power to undertake for the king's security whilst among them, and in particular that he was now abridged of the liberty he had been suffered to enjoy (*q*), occasioned this unfortunate prince to conclude that his life was in danger, and to meditate the means for an immediate escape. The place of refuge at first thought on was London, and that the king should make an unexpected appearance in the house of lords; but to this it was objected, that the army, being masters of the city and parliament, would undoubtedly seize him there, and, should any blood be shed in his defence, he would be accused of being the author of a new war. To the safe counsel of securing his person by leaving the kingdom, the king himself objected. After these and several other proposals had been made and objected to, it was at length determined between the king and Mr. Ashburnham, in whose judgement he chiefly confided, that lieutenant-colonel Hammond, an officer of repute in the army and a great friend of Cromwell, should be the man on whose generosity he should fling himself for protection. Having secured a relay of horses, Charles, in consequence of this resolution, in the company of Berkeley, Ashburnham, and Leg, stole away from the camp in the evening of the 11th of November; and after meeting with many difficulties in passing through Windsor Forest, in a dark stormy night, he arrived the next day at Tichfield, a house of the earl of Southampton. From this place Berkeley and Ashburnham were dispatched to the Isle of Wight, to notify to Hammond (the governor) the king's intention. The unexpected intelligence had such an effect upon Hammond, that he turned pale, and fell into a fit of trembling, which

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the space of ten years the great officers of state be nominated by the two houses, or their committees; after that time, they to nominate three, out of which number the king to appoint one: No peers made since the 21st day of May, 1642, or to be hereafter made, to sit or vote in parliament without the consent of both houses: A confirmation of the ordinances for indemnity, and all declarations and other proceedings against the parliament, or those who have acted by their authority, to be recalled and cancelled: An act for invalidating grants, &c. under the old great seal from the time of its conveyance from the parliament, and validating the grants, &c. by the new one: The treaties between England and Scotland to be confirmed: The ordinance for taking away the Court of Wards and Liveries to be confirmed: The cessation with Ireland to be declared void, and the prosecution of the war to be in the lords and commons: The coercive power, authority, and jurisdiction of bishops and ecclesiastical courts to be taken away: The repeal of all acts or clauses of acts, enjoining the use of the Common-Prayer, imposing penalties on the neglect of it, the neglect of attending divine service in churches, or for meeting elsewhere for prayer, and other religious duties: The covenant not to be enforced on any: That these things proposed being established, his majesty's person, his queen, and royal issue, be restored to a condition of safety, honour, and freedom, without diminution to their personal rights, or farther limitation to the exercise of the regal power, than according to the particulars foregoing.

The next article in these propositions fixes the number of excepted persons for the English to five, and determines the rate of compositions; the next is for a general pardon; the next, that the liberty of the subject to petition be cleared and vindicated; the others are for the abolishing those arbitrary powers produced by the war, the taking off the excise on the necessaries of life, the abolishing monopolies, the oppressions and encroachments of forest-law, to rectify the inequality of rates, that the stipend of ministers should be settled other than by tithes, for reforming the course of law in matters of right, concerning prisoners for debt, the exacting evidence from near relations in criminal cases, the imposing oaths, the righting and satisfying the kingdom in point of account, provision for payment of arrears to the soldiery, and the public debts and damages of the kingdom.

(*m*) The garter, with the title of earl of Essex, and his son to be of the prince of Wales's bed-chamber, were to be the reward of Cromwell's services. Ireton, Cromwell's son-in-law, was at the same time offered the lieutenancy of Ireland.

(*n*) This is an hackneyed term of reproach, flung out on all occasions by the adversary against the partizans of liberty; both with a view to throw ridicule on their systems, as visionary and impracticable, and to engage the selfish affections of men in the cause of arbitrary and unequal dominion. The levelling plan, according to the insinuations of these scoffers, never was, nor never can be adopted by men who have accurate notions of a state of nature, or who are well informed in the science of government and the laws of society; for though the justice and wisdom of God has given equal and impartial privileges to the species in general, yet the difference which exists in the judgement, understanding, sagacity, genius, and industry of individuals, creates superiority and inferiority of character, and produces a state of dependence from man to man. To preserve that natural subordination established by God himself, and to keep that accumulation of property and influence which the different qualities of men occasion, from producing tyranny, and infringing the general rights of the species, lies the whole art of true and just policy. All political distinctions which are personal, however wisely and impartially distributed, are mischievous in their nature, because they give weight instead of ballance to the preponderating scale: but hereditary privileges are the mere establishments of selfishness, and attended with the most destructive consequences; since, necessarily counteracting the laws of Providence, the vicious and the foolish bear rule over the wise and the virtuous, the system of nature is not regulated but overturned, and those are preposterously placed at the head of society, whose qualities often entitle them to no other than the most inferior station in it.

(*o*) These were papers, on which were the following motto, "England's liberty and the soldier's rights."

(*p*) "Lieutenant-general Cromwell, says Ludlow, not contenting himself with his part in an equal government, puffed up by his successes to an expectation of greater things, and having driven a bargain with the grandees of the house, either to comply with the king, or to settle things in a factious way without him, procured a party to stand by him in seizing some of those who appeared at the rendezvous in opposition to his designs: for though, when an agreement with the king was carried on by other hands, he could countenance the army in opposition to the parliament, yet now the bargain for sale of the people's liberties being carried on by himself, he opposed those who laboured to obstruct it, pretending his so doing to be only in order to keep the army in subjection to the parliament, who being very desirous to have this spirit suppressed by any means, not only approved what he had done, but gave him the thanks of the house for it; whereunto, though singly, I, adds Ludlow, gave as loud a *No* as I could, being fully convinced that he had acted in this manner for no other end but to advance his own passion and power into the room of right and reason." *Ludlow*, p. 86.

(*q*) According to Ashburnham's account, the king, at least six days before he attempted to escape, was confined within the limits of his house and garden.

continued for an hour, exclaiming at times, "Oh, gentlemen, you have undone me, in bringing the king into the island, if at least you have brought him; and if you have not, I pray let him not come; for what between my duty to him, and gratitude for this fresh obligation of confidence, and the discharge of my trust to the army, I shall be confounded." Berkeley had sense enough to regard this consternation of Hammond as no good presage, and would have receded from the purpose; but, after much conversation, in which both agents endeavoured, though in vain, to bring Hammond to a more particular and explicit declaration than the following, "That he did believe the king relied on him as a person of honour and honesty, and therefore he did engage himself to perform whatever could be expected from a person so qualified." Ashburnham yet persisting in the resolution of trusting him, assented to a proposition he had made of carrying him to Titchfield to the king. The king was thunderstruck when he heard from Ashburnham, that his agents, instead of bringing from Hammond a particular promise of protection, as he had required, had brought the governor himself; he struck his hand upon his breast, and said, "Oh, you have undone me; I am now made fast from stirring!" After some conversation of the same kind between the king and Ashburnham, in which the latter used many passionate lamentations for his precipitate step, and the king determined that it was too late to take other measure than what was now forced upon him, Hammond was introduced; and after a repetition to the king of the same general assurances which had been given to his agents, the whole company went forward from Titchfield to the Isle of Wight (*r*).

When the news of the king's flight reached the capital, the parliament passed an ordinance, declaring loss of life and confiscation of goods to any who should harbour or conceal his person, without revealing it to the two houses. The dwellings of those who had been the most notorious in the late riots, and the most zealous in their proceedings against the army, were searched. Orders were sent to shut all the ports in the kingdom; and a proclamation was issued for banishing from London, or within the distance of twenty miles, all persons who had borne arms for the king. The arrival of letters from colonel Hammond determined, on the subject of the king's flight, the hopes and the fears of all parties. It was voted, That the place of his confinement in the Isle of Wight should be Carisbrook Castle, and all malignants not only to be restrained from coming into his presence, but from remaining in the island.

Charles, when he retired from the camp, intended in some place of security to carry on the two opposite treaties he had entered into, the one with his Scotch subjects, and the other with sir Thomas Fairfax and the general officers of his army. In pursuance of this plan, the Scotch commissioners were summoned to repair to his presence; and letters (in which was expressed an entire confidence in their friendship) were sent by sir John Berkeley to Fairfax, to Cromwell, and to Ireton. Hammond, whose treatment of his prisoner had been humane and courteous, accompanied Charles's dispatches with others of his own to Ireton and Cromwell, in which he used many arguments and entreaties to persuade them to a speedy junction with the king. In the way to the camp, Berkeley received intelligence that the army was not yet come to any resolution respecting the king, and that something had been dropped by the agitators concerning bringing him to a trial. When he arrived at the general's quarters, and had delivered his compliments and letters, he had the mortification to be told by Fairfax, with a severe stern look, in a full assembly of officers, "That the army was the parliament's army, and therefore they could say nothing to the king's motion for peace, but must refer those matters to their principals, to whom they would send his majesty's letters." Berkeley looked round for comfort on the countenances of his old acquaintances, Cromwell and Ireton, who not only regarded him coldly, but treated with disdain the letters he had delivered to them from Hammond.

Full of the most melancholy apprehensions, Berkeley retired to his lodgings; and at twelve o'clock at night, in an unsuspected place, he had a meeting with Watson, the scout-master-general, who informed him, "That the army had now come to a resolution to bring the king to a trial: that though the officers had appeared superior at the general rendezvous, they were obliged to submit to the sense of the mutineers; for that two-thirds of the army were so resolutely bent against an agreement with the king, that they had declared, they would leave nothing unessayed to bring the whole body to their sense; and if all failed they would make a division, and join with any who would assist in the destruction of their opposers: that Cromwell, on a full information that this was the sense of the majority, had lain aside his former opposition; had acknowledged, that the glories of the world had so dazzled his eyes that he could not see clearly the great works the Lord was doing; had declared his resolution to humble himself, and desire the prayers of the saints, that God would be pleased to forgive him his self-seeking; had sent messages of comfort to those imprisoned for the late mutiny, desiring them to be of good cheer, for no harm should befal them, since it had pleased God to open his eyes: and that with these arts, and the assistance of Hugh Peters (a famous Independent minister), he had made a full peace with the party he had offended." Though to this intelligence Watson had added the two following propositions, made by Ireton, on the incident of Berkeley's arrival at the camp, first, "That he should be sent prisoner to London," and secondly, "That none should speak with him on pain of death;" yet this trusty servant, leaving no means unessayed which might possibly assist his master, sent a messenger to Cromwell to inform him, "That he had particular letters and instructions to him;" but received for answer, "That Cromwell durst not venture to see him; and that though he would serve his majesty as long as he could do it without his own ruin, yet he desired that it might not be expected he should perish for his sake."

The danger of the king was now apparent, and Berkeley lost no time in acquainting him of his danger; and joined to his intelligence an earnest supplication, that he would lay aside all schemes but that for an immediate escape: yet Charles, not apprehending the peril so great as represented, determined to wait the consequences of his present machinations; and resuming his correspondence with the two houses, renewed his offers for a personal treaty, and accompanied them with proposals for a peace (*s*). Notwithstanding the king's former denial, the parliament, before his removal from the army, had voted to address him once more on the subject of peace. The propositions drawn up on this occasion were now resumed; and, on a motion of the lords, it was resolved to admit the king to a personal treaty, on condition of his giving his assent to four preliminary articles, to be passed into acts: the first concerned securing to the parliament full power over the militia for the space of twenty years, with a right of resuming the same authority whenever they should declare the safety of the kingdom required it; by the second, the king was required to recall all his declarations and proclamations against the parliament, and acknowledge them to have taken arms for their just and necessary defence; by the third, he was to annul all the acts, and void all the patents of peerage, which had passed the great seal since it had been conveyed from London by Lyttleton the chancellor; and by the fourth, he was to give the two houses power to adjourn when they thought fit.

The resolution of parliament to renew the offer of agreement with the king, was disagreeable to the majority of the republicans; both because it disappointed their schemes for a more equal government, and through a well-grounded fear, that were Charles restored to any part of monarchical power, he would by the means of that part not only recover the remainder, but be enabled to gratify his own faction, and revenge himself of the rest. For very different reasons this intended application was opposed by the Scotch commissioners; who, in a large remonstrance protested against the four preliminary bills,

(*r*) Hammond had had the precaution to carry Basket, the governor of Cowes Castle with him, and to order a file of musketeers to follow.

(*s*) The king in these proposals refused to give up episcopacy, or grant his consent to an alienation of church lands; because it could not be denied, he said, it was a sin of the highest sacrilege. He offered to restrain the power of bishops; to give up the militia during his own reign; to pay the arrears of the army; to give to the parliament the nomination of the great officers of state; to take away, for a valuable consideration, the court of Wards and Liveries; to pass an act of oblivion; and to give his two houses satisfaction as to Ireland. As the king's intention in this message was only to procure leave to come to London, that he might conveniently consult measures with and unite parties in his cause, he wrote word to the earl of Lanerk, that his conduct in this particular, though it might be misinterpreted, and so disliked by the Scotch commissioners, was to procure a personal treaty; that he thought it necessary to tell him, he might assure his fellow-commissioners, that change of place had not altered his mind from what it was when he saw him last. *Burnet's Memoirs*, p. 325.

and insisted upon a personal treaty. Altercation on each side ensued; but both houses adhering to their resolution, the committee they had appointed to wait on the king was accompanied with the Scotch commissioners, who delivered to his majesty a public declaration or protestation, on behalf of the kingdom of Scotland, against the propositions of the parliament. They were so successful in the insinuations and promises they made in private, that the ill-fated Charles returned a refusal to the offers of the parliament; and thus rejected the last chance which remained to him for the security and safety of his person.

Sir John Berkeley had cautioned the king, that an absolute negative would produce so strict a confinement of his person as to render his intended escape impracticable. To this observation Charles assented; yet depended on the success of the shallow expedient of delivering his answer sealed up to the parliament's commissioners. The commissioners sternly and absolutely refused to receive the king's answer sealed; in consequence it was opened: when the contents were known, the commissioners abruptly departed; and Hammond, who till this period had indulged the king in the full liberty of going out of and into the castle, and of riding about the island at his pleasure, who had admitted of the repair of his friends and partizans to see him, had been so successful in his expostulations to the parliament as to procure him the attendance of his own servants, now perceiving he had closed with the Scots, in opposition to the interests of England and the security of the Independents, doubled the guards round the castle, barred the gates, sent away Ashburnham, Berkeley, Leg, and the rest of his servants from the island, and thus prevented him from every possible means of an escape.

The receipt of the king's denial put both houses in a flame: the republicans took the opportunity to advance those opinions which had hitherto only transpired in their private councils and conversations. Sir Thomas Wroth, with the following whimsical expression, "That Bedlam was appointed for madmen, and Tophet for kings," moved, "that the person of Charles should be secured in some inland castle, with strong guards; that articles of impeachment should be drawn up against him; and that he should be set aside, and the kingdom settled without him: neither, added the passionate member, do I care what form of government you set up, so it be not by kings and devils." Commissary Ireton asserted, that the king by denying the four bills, had denied safety and protection to his people: subjection to a sovereign, he observed, was but a return for protection to the people; and that being denied by the king, subjection ought to be withheld, and the kingdom settled without him; it was now expected, after so long waiting, that parliament should shew its resolution, and not desert those valiant men who had engaged for them beyond all possibility of a retreat, and who would never forsake the parliament unless the parliament forsook them. Cromwell, who spoke last in the debate, after declaiming some time on the valour, good affections, and godliness of the army, said, "That it was now expected the parliament should govern and defend the kingdom by their own power and resolution, and not teach the people any longer to expect safety and protection from a man whose heart God had hardened: those men, continued he, who have defended you from so many dangers, with the expence of their blood, will defend you herein with fidelity and courage, against all opposition. Teach them not, by neglecting your own and the kingdom's safety, to think themselves betrayed and left to the rage and malice of an irreconcilable enemy, whom they have subdued for your sake, and therefore are likely to find his future government of them insupportable, and fuller of revenge than justice, lest despair (and here Cromwell laid his hand on his sword) indicate to them to seek their safety by some other means than adhering to you, who will not stick to yourselves; and how destructive such a resolution will be to you all, I tremble to think on."

On the question being called for, it passed in the affirmative, by one hundred and forty-one voices against ninety-two, "That the lords and commons do declare, that they will make no farther addresses or application to the king." This was on the 15th of January, 1648. The three following resolutions passed without a division: "That no application or addresses be made to the king by any person whatsoever, without the leave of both houses; and that the person or persons who shall make breach of this order, shall incur the penalty of high-treason: That the two houses do declare, that they will receive no messages from the king; and do enjoin that no person whatsoever do presume to receive or bring any message from the king to either or both houses of parliament: That the members of both houses of the committees of both kingdoms have power to sit and act alone (as formerly the committees of both kingdoms had) for the safety of the kingdom." The lords passed, with little hesitation, these resolutions; and the commons farther voted, "That colonel Hammond and sir William Constable, (who had been joined with Hammond in the office of guarding the king,) be required to remove from their attendance on the king's person all such as they shall judge improper to be trusted; and that it be referred to the committee of the revenue what persons are fit and necessary to attend on the king, and which way the expences of his entertainment may be conveniently retrenched." At the same time an ordinance passed for taking away all the first-fruits and tenths payable to the crown, with the discharging the arrears due on that score: and the parliament, to refresh the memory of the public on the provocations and reasons which had excited and urged them to these severities, published a declaration, in which were narrated all the errors and tyranny of the king's administration; his conspiracy against the Protestant cause; the war he had made on his people, since the spirit of liberty had raised a successful opposition to his pretensions; his obstinately rejecting the several propositions for peace which had been at different times offered to him, with the perfidious use he had made of treaties; his last refusal of giving a necessary security to his people; and every criminal transaction he had been supposed or known to be engaged in, from the death of his father to the present time.

Whilst matters in parliament were proceeding to such extremities against the king, he found means, notwithstanding his close confinement, to carry on a variety of negociations for the overwhelming on all sides the Independents, when they least expected it (*t*). The Scots, with whom he had concluded a treaty (*u*), were with all possible diligence to raise an army, to assist the king's friends in the recovery of his rights; the most violent of the Presbyterians had promised their countenance and support; the cavaliers were to keep themselves in readiness to rise on the first favourable opportunity; assurances were given of large succours from abroad; and a correspondence was carried on with the lord Inchiquin, in consequence of whose undertaking the marquis of Ormond, was to return into Ireland, and put himself at the head of the cavalier and Popish factions; the latter of which, being displeased with the ruinous and tyrannical proceedings of the nuncio, had now promised to put themselves under his command.

The vote of No more Addresses had to appearance cured those jealousies, which had so long subsisted between the civil and the military powers. The same views and interests seemed to unite in a close junction the parliament with the army, who presented to both houses a declaration, in which they avowed their resolution to adhere to them in their proceedings against the king, and in the settling and securing the kingdom without him. The army were sincere in these their professions; but the parliament, the majority of whom were Presbyterians, dissembled their sentiments till a fit opportunity offered to avenge themselves of a party whose principles they hated, and with

(*t*) It was the knowledge that the king was carrying on intrigues opposite to the interests of the army, the Independents, and his own protestations, which raised the resentment of the soldiery against him, and which excited them, before his removal, to insist on the dismission of malignants from attendance on his person; and the forbearance of that indulgence which had been shewn him, in permitting the resort of all parties to his presence. To Cromwell, who procured intelligence from those who were admitted to the nearest confidence, every particular of these transactions was known, and the circumstance of the king's intriguing with his declared enemies the Scots, occasioned him, among other prevalent reasons, to lay aside the thoughts of rising by court favour.

(*u*) Which Clarendon tells us, he was induced to sign by the same vicious logic which tainted all his councils; viz. that it was not to be observed farther than it served the present turn; for when the armies which were to be raised for the king in England had joined with the Scots, they would not have power to exact these particulars, for every body would then be obliged to submit to what his majesty should think fit to be done. The same author shrewdly observes on the treaty, That it contained so many monstrous concessions, that, except the whole kingdom of England had been imprisoned with the king in Carisbrook Castle, it could not be imagined it could ever have been performed. The king prevailed with the Scotch commissioners to give way to his inserting in the treaty a declaration, That by the clause of confirming Presbyterian government he was not obliged to desire the settling it, nor to present any bills to that effect. *Clar. Hist.* vol. iii. p. 78, *& seq.*

whose

whose measures they had unwillingly co-operated. Whilst the public seemed willing to forfeit the reward of their toils, and return to their old state of bondage, rather than endure the expence of supporting the military establishment any longer, the parliament heightened that impatience, by withstanding the necessary supplies; and notwithstanding the repeated remonstrances made by the soldiers, on the necessity they were laid under to grieve and enrage the country, by living on free-quarter; notwithstanding all the assurances given them on this subject by the two houses; notwithstanding all the ordinances passed both for their constant support, and payment of their arrears; the public treasure was diverted to other purposes, and the army left to shift for themselves. When murmurs and preparations from all quarters threatened new commotions, the parliament insisted on decreasing the military force, by disbanding supernumeraries; a command which was complied with by sir Thomas Fairfax, but with this caution, that the supernumeraries disbanded on this occasion were, the most of them, those who belonged to the old army, and whose officers were in the interest of the adverse faction. Whilst the parliament was thus secretly conspiring against the only body who were inclined or able to preserve their authority, combinations, which visibly tended to the restoring the royal authority, were forming in every part of the three kingdoms.

Secure as was the present situation of the Scots, their commissioners found on their return a large party, who were willing to endanger their present happy establishment, and to embark a second time in all the uncertainties of war, for the restoration of that power they had so largely contributed to destroy. The faction now formed in favour of the king, of whom the duke of Hamilton (who had obtained his liberty on the surrender of Pendennis Castle to the English parliament) was chief, caballed so successfully as to procure, notwithstanding the opposition of the marquis of Argyle, a parliament to be summoned. To this assembly all the shallow arguments diffused through the tedious remonstrances of the Scotch commissioners to the parliament of England, were urged as grounds for entering into the king's quarrel; viz. That he was kept by an army of sectaries in constraint and subjection; that every thing was carried in England as these sectaries pleased; that, contrary to the tenour of the covenant between the two nations, the English parliament had refused to consult with the Scotch commissioners, about the propositions sent to the king for peace; that they had in reality deposed the king, by stripping him of all his prerogatives, and by voting no more addresses to him; that they had hindered the Scots from having access to his person, though he was as much king of Scotland as king of England; and that Scotland ought to resent this affront, as a manifest breach of their rights, and the covenant between the two kingdoms. The parliament were likewise assured by their commissioners, that no sooner would Scotch troops enter England than all the English, except the army, would join them; and thus the government, being restored to freedom, would again unite with Scotland, and the covenant be punctually observed. These arguments had such a weight with the parliament, that a committee of twenty-four members was empowered to provide for the safety of the kingdom. This committee, who were almost all of the faction, and of whom the duke of Hamilton was president, on examining the state of the kingdom, found it to be so desperate as to necessitate the raising an army of forty thousand men, and the calling over the forces who were engaged against the Irish Papists under Monroe.

The faction, notwithstanding they had carried matters thus triumphantly in parliament, found an opposition in the kingdom, which though it did not prevent, yet it so far retarded their motions, as to preserve the country from that ruin in which their destructive projects, had they succeeded, must necessarily have involved it. The unnatural conjunction of episcopalians with Presbyterians, liberty-men and cavaliers, was regarded with horror by all those who had a just value for their present security, or had any regard for civil or religious principle. Eighteen lords and forty other members of parliament entered their protest against the determinations of the committee; the commissioners of the general assembly remonstrated strongly against the intended armament, as designed for the destruction of the covenant, which it pretended to defend; and a committee of the English parliament, who had been sent down on the first rumours of what was going forward in Scotland, played their part so well in fomenting the divisions of the country, that the levy of forces went on slowly and with great difficulty.

Whilst the king's friends in Scotland were making all possible dispatch in their preparations for the invasion of England, his party in this country, impatient at the delay, raised in every part of the kingdom tumults, conspiracies, and insurrections. Langhorn, Power, and Powell, three Presbyterian officers, who commanded bodies of troops in Wales, encouraged by the promise of a considerable supply of money and ammunition from the queen, gathered together a large company of mutinous disbanded soldiers, and declared for the king. In the north, sir Marmaduke Langdale and sir Philip Musgrave seized on the towns of Berwick and Carlisle; and, to confound the hopes, and dismay the courage of the Independents, a part of the fleet, instigated by their late commander, Batten, whom the Independents had displaced, and put Rainsborough (a man of great repute with that party) in his room, set their new admiral on shore, and sailing over to Holland, submitted first to the command of the duke of York, who had escaped from St. James's, and then to the prince of Wales, who came from Paris for that purpose. In Kent, by the persuasion of Roger Lestrange (*v*), an idle party put themselves under the command of one Hales, who were afterwards joined by the cavaliers under the earl of Norwich, father to lord Goring. Lord Capel, sir Charles Lucas, sir George Lisle, excited commotions in Essex; and the earl of Holland, who had ever changed sides according to the probability of success, collected forces in Surrey. Encouraged by these appearances, some men of profligate manners of the lower rank, flocked together in the metropolis, and other capital towns; and when, contrary to the laws, they repaired to their sports and drunken recreations on the Lord's day, they set upon the magistrates who would have put a stop to their licentious revels, and repeatedly exclaiming, "For God and king Charles," broke into such outrageous tumults, that, in London, sir Thomas Fairfax himself was obliged to make head against them.

Whilst the army was every where engaged in a vigorous defence of themselves and country, and the lower house was well thinned of the Independent members, who were employed in their military occupations, the Presbyterians in parliament, seizing on the favourable opportunity, reassumed their old project of establishing their tyranny by a junction with the crown. The city had petitioned for the restoration of their authority over the city militia; that their imprisoned magistrates and fellow-citizens might be set at liberty; and for a personal treaty with the king. These requests of the city were no sooner made than granted. By the same influence, orders which had been given Skippon to raise levies, for the preservation of the public peace, were countermanded; the eleven impeached members were recalled; the votes of non-addresses were repealed; and the commons in a declaration protested, That they would not alter the fundamental government of the kingdom by king, lords, and commons; that they were resolved to preserve and maintain the solemn league and covenant between the two kingdoms of England and Scotland; and that they would be ready to join the Scots in the propositions agreed upon between the two kingdoms, and presented to his majesty at Hampton Court. In consequence of these resolutions, five peers and ten commoners were sent as commissioners to Newport, in the Isle of Wight, to renew the treaty with the king, who was freed from the close restraint he had been under for some months, and, with a very few exceptions, allowed to summons and advise on this important transaction with his old friends and counsellors. But the royalists could not conceal the malignancy of their intentions, and the parliament, apprehensive of their own danger, should the avowed intentions of the royalists take place, shrunk from their former forwardness; and the city kept themselves quiet, nor engaged with any of the insurgents (*w*), who, not having observed concert in their several insurrections, were in a short time, with little difficulty, subdued. The

(*v*) Lestrange, in the first civil war, had been apprehended for a design to betray Lynn in Norfolk to the king, and had with difficulty escaped a sentence of death.

(*w*) After the royalists had plainly manifested their hopes and intentions, a petition was presented to the parliament by the citizens, wherein they expressed their dislike to the insurrections which had been raised, and desired the parliament to adhere to their vow and covenant, the constant tenour of their former declarations, and not to recede from their first and just principles, viz. The safety of themselves and those who adhered to them, the reformation and preservation of religion, and the maintenance and defence of laws and liberties. *Parl. Hist.* vol. xvii. p. 297.

revolted

revolted troops in Wales, having been attacked and defeated by colonel Horton, threw themselves into Pembroke Castle, where they were closely besieged and taken by Cromwell: Langdale and Musgrave, in the north, were opposed with success by Lambert: at Kingston the earl of Holland was defeated and taken prisoner by sir Michael Livesey (*x*): at Maidstone lord Fairfax (*y*) routed the Kentish men; and pursuing the broken troops, forced them and the Essex insurgents to shut themselves up in the town of Colchester; to which place, as his troops were very inferior in number to the enemy, he laid a formal siege. To humour the sailors, the earl of Warwick was replaced in his old command; a new fleet was manned; and the prince of Wales, after a fruitless attempt upon Yarmouth, and lying some time in the river Thames, braving the city of London, and taking several of their rich merchant ships, was obliged to retire to Holland. To this coast he was pursued by the earl of Warwick, whose fidelity he had in vain attempted; and the States having intimated that they should not think themselves obliged to defend his ships, were they demanded by the English parliament, he gave up his naval command to prince Rupert (*z*), who sailed with the fleet to Ireland.

During these numerous transactions, the duke of Hamilton, in favour of the king, entered England with an army of twenty thousand men (*a*): but such mistrust had the cavaliers incurred from their imprudence, that he durst not unite his forces with those under the command of sir Marmaduke Langdale (*b*). Lambert, who had received particular orders from Cromwell not to engage with the Scots till he came up, retiring before these invaders, joined the lieutenant-general. When the junction had taken place, the army under Cromwell did not amount to more than eight thousand men; but as this valiant commander had entertained, in an high degree, both contempt and aversion for the Scots, he hurried to the place of action as to a scene of certain victory. The cavaliers under Langdale, who lay detached from the Scotch army, were attacked by Lambert, and, making a stout resistance, were many of them cut off; the rest were pursued into the Scotch quarters. The Scots, who lay dispersed in a negligent manner, were an easy prey: without making any considerable defence, they were almost all taken prisoners, and the general, being pursued to Utoxeter, surrendered himself to colonel Waight, who had lately gained a victory over some forces which had been raised in the shires of Huntingdon and Cambridge. Cromwell, to complete his work, marched without loss of time into Scotland, where, being joined by Argyle and the Kirk faction, he procured the surrender of Berwick and Carlisle, which the Scots on their entering England had taken possession of, obliged Lanerk and Monroe to lay down their arms, and subjected the whole party to the power of their adversaries. The royalists shut up in Colchester, in hopes that they should be relieved by a victorious army of Scots, had undergone almost the utmost extremities of famine; and, on account of this obstinacy, they were required by sir Thomas Fairfax to surrender at mercy. The officers would have persuaded the common soldiers to attempt the breaking through, or to sell their lives a dear purchase: but these men, to whom Fairfax had promised pardon, not only refused to act, but threatened to open the gates to the enemy if their commanders did not surrender. The terms insisted on by Fairfax were in this necessity submitted to; and the humane general, though he had been provoked by many irritating circumstances in the conduct of the besieged, only selected the two chief commanders, sir Charles Lucas and sir George Lisle, both of them implacable malignants, as a sacrifice to military justice (*c*).

Though the vote to renew addresses to the king had passed the lower house on the 24th of May, yet, by the arts of the Independents, it was the 28th of July before the conditions of the treaty were settled, and the 18th of September before it commenced: a delay which had given the army time so entirely to subdue the king's partizans, that Cromwell had defeated the duke of Hamilton, and Fairfax had reduced Colchester, before conferences began. Circumstances thus critical, it was imagined, would have induced the king to suspend the exercise of argument, and to have joined the parliament on any terms. It was with a view to accelerate a business, on the dispatch of which the fate of the party and the king's life depended, that the commissioners absolutely refused to permit his train of counsellors to be present, or to enter into reasoning with any but himself. This prudent caution was without effect; every minute article of the offered conditions was canvassed, and the argument for two whole months as pertinaciously sustained by the king, as if the matter on which consequences so tremendous depended had been a warfare of wit, and mere trial of skill: here the *jus divinum* of episcopacy was smartly attacked by the parliamentary theologians, and, with the same arguments as are constantly used by the divines on that side the question, obstinately defended by the king; who, on the point of religion, would not gratify the parliament with the alienation of church-lands, or with a farther establishment of the present church government than its continuation for three years (*d*). The utter extirpation of episcopacy, and the setting up their own idol in its stead, was the superior consideration for which, it is plain, the Presbyterians had entered into the hazard of war: this was the chief cause of their quarrel with their old associates, the Independents; and the not being fully gratified on this article by the king, was, in their eyes, losing the best fruits of their success. In vain did Charles assent to the recalling his proclamations and declarations against the parliament, and to the acknowledging they had taken arms in their own defence; that they should retain, during the term of twenty years, the whole power of the militia, with a right of resuming it afterwards, when they should declare it necessary for the public safety; that all the great offices, during twenty years, should be filled by parliament; that all the acts under their great seal should be valid, and those under his own annulled; that the entire government of Ireland, and the conduct of the war there, should be in both houses; that the power of the Wards should be given up, in lieu of one hundred thousand pounds a-year; and that no peers should be hereafter created by him, without consent of lords and commons. The parliament's commissioners, with earnestness and even tears, assured the king, that all his concessions would be useless, unless he gave up the point of episcopacy: he absolutely refused farther yielding on this article, and the parliament voted his concessions unsatisfactory.

Forty days had been assigned by the parliament for the continuation of the treaty (*e*); in the hope of conquering the king's obstinacy, it had been at three different times prolonged, and had already lasted near two months, when the army, who were now collected together, after their victorious campaign, took an effectual measure to prevent any farther proceedings. A remonstrance, the result of a council of war which had been called at Windsor by lord Fairfax, was presented in the name of the whole army,

(*x*) When the earl of Holland had engaged the duke of Buckingham, and his brother lord Francis Villiers. On account of the tender age of the duke of Buckingham, the parliament generously offered him an indemnification, on condition of his surrendering himself, and engaging never again to take up arms against them: the duke refused the favour, and made his escape to Holland. His brother, who had braved the soldiers, and had refused to surrender, was killed on the field of battle. *Parl. Hist.* vol. xvii. p. 333.

(*y*) Sir Thomas Fairfax had, by the death of his father, attained to the title of lord Fairfax.

(*z*) On the surrender of Oxford, the princes Rupert and Maurice were included by the general in the benefit of its capitulation; but were afterwards commanded by the commons to leave the kingdom. *Parl. Hist.* vol. xiii. p. 473.

(*a*) Lesley, cajoled with the title of lord Newark, had resigned his pretensions to the duke of Hamilton.

(*b*) The strong remonstrances of the church, and the influence of the marquis of Argyle, had obliged the Scotch parliament to pass an order, that those who had not taken, or did refuse to take the covenant, should not be received into their army, nor joined with on their entrance into England

(*c*) This unusual severity, says Hume, to which Fairfax was instigated by Ireton, was loudly exclaimed against by all the prisoners. Lord Capel, fearless of danger, reproached Ireton with it; and challenged him, as they were all engaged in the same honourable cause, to exercise the same impartial vengeance on all of them. Lucas was first shot, and he himself gave orders to fire, with the same alacrity as if he had commanded a platoon of his own soldiers. Lisle instantly ran and kissed the dead body, then cheerfully presented himself to a like fate. Thinking that the soldiers, destined for his execution, stood at too great a distance, he called to them to come nearer: one of them replied, "I'll warrant you, Sir, we'll hit you." He answered, smiling, "Friends, I have been nearer you when you have missed me." They fired, and he fell. Thus perished these two brave officers.

(*d*) The king assented, on the article of religion, to the taking away archbishops, chancellors, commissaries, and all other subordinate ecclesiastical officers; to confirm the present form of government for the term of three years, and to suspend the exercise of episcopal government, and the power of ordination in bishops, till the king and the two houses could agree concerning the point of church-government.

(*e*) Sundays and feast-days were excepted out of the forty days allotted to the treaty. *Parl. Hist.* vol. xviii. p. 85.

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to the commons (*f*), whilst in the midst of an ardent debate on the business of peace; and was accompanied with a letter from the general, who recommended it as a matter of the highest importance, both to the army and the whole kingdom. It demanded justice on the king for the evils he had brought on a people, whom, by the laws of religion, morality, and nations, he was bound to protect. It argued, that as in the late quarrel both sides had appealed to God for judgement, *that* righteous judgement had given it against the king. It accused the parliament of vice and weakness in their counsels; and that their unsettled conduct, in repealing their just determinations, had filled the wicked with vain hopes, and distracted the giddy multitude, to the renewing scenes of blood, and to the raising dangers to the army and kingdom, which nothing but the invincible courage of the former could have overcome. It exposed the insidious conduct of the enemies to the public weal, the credulousness of the commons in being led into their snares, the eagerness of the lords to forward mischievous counsels, and their backwardness in closing with measures calculated for the defence of the kingdom. It argued, that breach of trust in a governor, or attempting by force to enlarge a limited power, did effectually dissolve subjects from every bond of covenant and peace; and that the crimes the king had acted against his people were the greatest treason against the highest law among men. It shewed, that the king's hardness of heart, in never acknowledging his offences, rendered him an unfit object for pity, mercy, and pardon. It asked, What fruits could be hoped for from a re-union of such contrarieties as principles or affections of liberty with principles of tyranny, principles of public interest with principles of prerogative and particular interest, principles of zeal and the power of godliness with principles of formality and superstition? It challenged the parliament to shew one instance when the re-admitting a prince, whom his people had opposed and subdued, to the regal office, state, and revenue, with the least shadow of power, ever proved safe, either to the public interest in contest, or to the persons engaged in contest. It shewed, that whilst the king and his party openly complained of his want of freedom in the transaction of a treaty, they laid grounds for rescinding, with a plausible colour of reason, every concession the parliament in that condition had extorted from him; that though, since the king had been worsted by the parliament, he had been necessitated to have recourse to peace, yet, with the credulous people, he would come in with the reputation of having long graciously sought it; that he would come in with the reputation of having granted, for peace-sake, all that the parliament (who, it would be said, were unwilling to have peace) had rigidly stood on.

The Independents, from all quarters and in all departments, encouraged by the multiplied successes of the army, had preceded this remonstrance with numerous petitions of the like nature and tendency (*g*); and the different bodies of the army had addressed their general officers on the same subject. As the parliament (with a view to unite all parties in defence of the present government, against the Independents) had forborne to give answer to these petitions, or to the remonstrances of the army, Hammond, who had refused obedience in the article of delivering up the king, was commanded to attend the general at the head-quarters (*h*); colonel Ewer was sent down, with orders to keep the king in strict custody; and, in a few days afterwards, he was conveyed to the garrison of Hurst Castle, in the neighbourhood of the island.

The Presbyterians were intoxicated with rage on the intelligence of these violent transactions; and, assuming courage from despair, set aside in parliament the remonstrance of the army, without deigning to answer it; voted the seizing of the king's person to be without the consent of parliament; sent a message to the general, to know by what authority that enterprize was executed; and issued orders that the army should not approach the capital. The army, in return, published a declaration, in which they charged the parliament with a treacherous and corrupt neglect of, and apostacy from, the public trust, reposed in them; and the general, after writing to the city, that, for the prevention of all violence, they should advance him forty thousand pounds, marched several regiments to London, and quartered them in Whitehall, the Meuse, St. James's, Durham House, Covent Garden, and Palace Yard. The parliament, though surrounded by the army, and destitute of all means of defence, attempted to close with the king; and, in contradiction to their former votes that his concessions were not satisfactory, voted that they were a foundation for the houses to proceed on in the settlement of the kingdom. Additional regiments were now arrived, and filled the suburbs of London. The general by his own authority, set forth a proclamation, requiring all delinquents who remained in the town, on pretence of finishing the business of their compositions, to depart to the distance of ten miles for a month, on pain of being proceeded against as prisoners of war; and as the citizens had not paid in the money demanded of them, he sent three regiments into the city, took out of Weavers Hall the sum of twenty thousand pounds, and assigned the reimbursement upon the arrears due to the army.

The next day after the vote passed to proceed on the concessions of the king in the settlement of the kingdom, the commons found their house blockaded by two regiments of horse, commanded by colonel Pride. Colonel Pride, directed by the lord Grey of Groby, seized in the passage forty of the most noxious members of the Presbyterian party, and sent them under confinement to the Court of Wards. The commons still proved refractory, and instead of proceeding on the business recommended to them by the army, demanded the restoration of their members. By way of answer to this demand, colonel Whaley and colonel Axtel, at the bar of the house, presented, in the name of the general and his council of officers, a paper, in which was proposed, that the impeached members and major-general Browne (who, it was believed, had had a hand in calling in the Scots) should be secured and brought to justice; and that the ninety-one members who refused to vote against the Scottish engagement, and all who voted for the recalling the four votes of Non-addresses, who voted for a treaty, and who concurred in the votes that the king's concessions were a ground for a settlement, should be immediately suspended the house. Several of the members against whom these proposals were pointed, moved, That the officers who presented them should be declared traitors, and the army itself impeached of high treason. These motions of a few desperate madmen passed unregarded by the house; and a committee was again sent to the general, to expostulate with him concerning the secluded members: but the general refused to give any answer till he had received the resolutions of the house on the proposals he had sent them. As the commons still withheld the demanded satisfaction, the same rough expedient was repeated; and, the very day after the first force was committed, the ninety-one members in question were, with equal violence, secluded the house.

Cromwell, who, on his return from Scotland, had lain siege to Pontefract Castle, in Yorkshire, to chastise in person the garrison, both for the perfidy they had acted in getting possession of the place, and for a base murder they had committed on the valiant Rainsborough (*i*), on intelligence of what was doing and designed by the army,

(*f*) It was presented by colonel Ewer, attended by several officers.

(*g*) In these petitions it was demanded, that kings, queens, princes, dukes, earls, lords, and all persons alike, should be liable to the law of the land. The designing to subject them to equal judgement, was a great offence to the aristocratic party: it was on such grounds only that the Independents were termed Levellers; since, in the same petitions in which they make these demands, they insist on the security of property. In these petitions, the commons had been desired to declare themselves the supreme authority of the nation. *Rushworth*, vol. vii. p. 1257. *Parl. Hist.* vol. xvii. p. 451, *& seq.*

(*h*) Colonel Hammond, persisting in the resolution to observe strictly the orders of the parliament in the disposal of the king, was kept under confinement at the head-quarters, till the army had secured his person.

(*i*) A party of forty horse sallied out of Pontefract Castle, and passing with the guards for friends, three of them entered the town of Doncaster, where, under pretence of bringing letters from lieutenant-general Cromwell, they were directed to colonel Rainsborough's lodgings. On the same pretence, they, unmolested, went up to the apartment where he slept; and the colonel, who expected that very morning the dispatches they pretended to have brought, opened his door to them, when the assassins assaulted and killed him, and afterwards escaped without any alarm given.

Colonel Morrice, the governor of Pontefract Castle, and those who had an immediate hand in the murder of colonel Rainsborough, being excepted persons, made their escape before the garrison surrendered; but Morrice, a profligate individual, who had formerly borne arms for the parliament, who was turned out of their army on account of the licentiousness of his manners, and who had gotten possession of the castle for the king by an infamous act of treachery against a trusting friend, with one cornet Blackbourne, who had had a hand in the fore-mentioned murder, were, in the year 1649, taken at Lancaster, and afterwards arraigned for treason before baron Thorpe and judge Puleston; by whom, for the crime of levying war against the kingdom, and other foul matters proved against them, they were condemned to die.

left this task to Lambert, the major-general; and hastening to that busy scene of action, the capital, took his seat in the house, on the day immediately succeeding the second force; an incident which in derision was commonly called Pride's purge. Cromwell received the hearty thanks of the commons (*k*), who reversed their former vote, and again declared the king's concessions unsatisfactory, determined that no member who had been absent when this vote passed should be received till he subscribed it, and repealed every vote which had been made in favour of the king and his party, declaring it high-treason for any person to make application on his behalf to either house: they also repealed the vote for restoring the impeached members. Sir William Waller, sir John Clotworthy, Massey, Brown, Copley, and others of the Presbyterian faction, were, by orders of the general and his council of war, committed to prison; yet the Presbyterians retained spirit enough to publish, in the name of the secluded members, a narrative of the violence put upon them, with a protestation that all acts from that time transacted by the commons were legally void (*l*). The commons declared this publication to be false, scandalous, and seditious, tending to the destruction of the visible and fundamental government of the kingdom, and resolved that all persons who had had any hand in framing or publishing it should be incapable to bear office, or to sit as members of either house. The lords, who, before this turn of affairs, had been very forward in pressing for a personal treaty with the king, and for a conjunction with the Scots, and had been a great means to accelerate the last treaty in the isle of Wight, were now as forward to approve and confirm the opposite measures of the army. They assented to all which had been transacted in the lower house; and both houses passed an ordinance, that no person who had been delinquents, or had assisted the king against the parliament in the first or second civil war, or had been aiding in bringing in the Scotch army, or had subscribed to the treasonable engagement in 1647, or had abetted the late tumults within the cities of London and Westminster, or the adjacent counties, should be elected, or give their voice for the electing the lord mayor or other officers. To the committee charged with the care of this ordinance it was recommended, to consider of taking away the oaths of allegiance and supremacy, enforced upon the subject before they could be made free of the city.

During these transactions, the council of officers were engaged in considering a scheme of government, called "The Agreement of the People." It contained, with many additions, the substance of those demands which, in the name of the army, had been presented to the house by colonel Ewer. It was the darling plan of the soldiery: for this they had threatened to divide from their officers; and for this, when it crossed his private views, the agitators, by the influence of Cromwell, had suffered.

Petitions now daily poured in from the garrisons and other parts, for speedy and effectual justice on all delinquents. Even the county of Somerset, which had distinguished itself for its attachment to the king, presented a petition desiring that justice might be done on the chief delinquents. The county of Norfolk, yet more explicit, requested that justice should be done on the king. Pursuant to the demands of these petitions, and the repeated requests of the army, the commons appointed a committee of thirty-eight to draw up a charge against the king. On their report, a vote passed, declaring it treason in a king to levy war against his parliament; and a special commission was appointed, on the 2nd of January, 1648-9, to try the delinquent monarch on these grounds. The declarative vote and ordinance for the king's trial, were rejected by the lords without a negative voice; but, on the fond hope that by an evasive conduct they should obstruct the career of proceedings, they forbore to send down their determinations to the commons, and adjourned for ten days. The commons, jealous of their intentions, ordered their journals to be examined; when, on finding the ordinance utterly rejected, they voted, That all members of the house of commons, and others appointed by order of that house, or any ordinance wherein the lords are joined, are impowered to sit and execute in the said several committees of themselves, notwithstanding the house of peers refuse to join with them; and the names of six lords who had been appointed of the special commission were left out. Nor was this all the resentment the commons expressed at the non-compliance of the lords in this capital point, nor of the high and uncontroulable capacity in which they acted as the elected representatives of the people. By the following votes they abolished the negative voice of king and lords, and established a principle, which though plausible, has ever been obstinately denied by authority: "Resolved, That the people, under God, are the origin of all just power. Resolved, That the commons of England assembled in parliament, being chosen by and representing the people, have the supreme authority of the nation. Resolved, That whatever is enacted and declared law by the commons of England assembled in parliament hath the force of law, and all the people are included therein, although the consent and concurrence of the king and house of peers be not had thereunto."

During the preparative measures to bring the king to a trial, he, by direction of the army, was removed from Hurst Castle to Windsor: by the same authority every symbol of royalty was withdrawn, and it was commanded that he should be served by his attendants without ceremony. Even in this alarming situation, he was little apprehensive of his approaching fate; still retained the opinion of his importance; never suffered himself to believe it possible, that his enemies would venture to proceed to a public trial and execution; and in his conversation was so imprudent as to declare, before his guards, that he expected deliverance by a foreign power.

From the 2nd of January to the 19th of the same month the terms of the important trial had been adjusting. The special commission was composed of the prime officers of the army, several members of the lower house, and several citizens of London: it consisted of one hundred and thirty-three persons (*m*), and was nominated "the High Court of Justice." Bradshaw, a lawyer of note, was by his fellow commissioners elected president; Coke was appointed solicitor for the people; Dorislaus Steele and Ask, assistants to the court; Westminster Hall was fitted up for their sitting; and the ceremony with which the whole transaction was conducted, corresponded in pomp and dignity to the singular, the great occasion: a sovereign prince brought before the tribunal of his own subjects, and tried by their delegates for his misgovernment and breach of trust. Dendy, the serjeant at arms to the house of commons, by beat of drum and sound of trumpet, had, in the Palace Yard, at the Old Exchange, and in Cheapside, proclaimed to the people the time when the commissioners of the high court of justice commenced their sitting; and that all those who had any thing to say against the king would be heard.

On the 20th of January, the commissioners proceeded in state from the Painted Chamber to Westminster Hall. Colonel Humphry carried the sword before the president, serjeant Dendy the mace, and twenty gentlemen (commanded by colonel Fox) attended as his guard of partizans. The royal prisoner, who, for the purpose of his trial, had been removed from Windsor to St. James's, was by a strong guard of musketeers conveyed by water to Westminster Hall. A chair of crimson velvet was prepared for him within the bar, and thirty officers and gentlemen waited with halberts behind it. The solicitor of the commons, in his charge against the king, represented, "That Charles Stuart, being admitted king of England, and entrusted with a limited power, had, with the wicked design to erect an unlimited and tyrannical government,

(*k*) The commons had returned their thanks to lord Fairfax, and had passed an ordinance for settling on him and his heirs lands to the value of four thousand pounds a year. A letter of thanks had been sent to Cromwell, whilst in Scotland, for his good services in that kingdom. *Parl. Hist.*

(*l*) Amongst the secluded members was the famous Prynne, who had signalized himself for his sufferings and acrimonious opposition to the power of prelates. He now published a virulently penned protestation, in his own name, against the proceedings of the army. Prynne had made a speech in the house, to persuade them the king's concessions were sufficient grounds for a treaty: it contains a complete narrative of all the transactions between the king, the houses, and the army, from the beginning of the parliament; it takes up above one hundred and forty octavo pages, and kept the house so long together, that the debates on the question, Whether the king's concessions were a ground, &c. lasted from Monday morning till nine o'clock on Tuesday morning. Prynne afterwards, on being questioned concerning a pamphlet he had written against the proceedings of the house, denied its authority, and was taken into custody; but not being thought of sufficient consequence to violate, on his particular, the freedom of the subject, was granted the benefit of the Habeas Corpus.

(*m*) Though there were one hundred nominated to the high commission, there was not above fifty odd who had courage enough to engage personally in the daring office.

traitorously



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traitorously and maliciously levied war against the people and their representatives: That, on the behalf of the people, he did, for this treasonable breach of trust, impeach him as a tyrant, a traitor, a murderer, and a public and implacable enemy to the commonwealth."

On the conclusion of the charge, the king demanded by what authority he was brought before that court (*n*)? He told the commissioners to "remember he was their king, their lawful king, and to beware of the sins with which they were going to stain themselves and the land." He was answered by the president, "that he was tried in the name and authority of the parliament assembled, and the good people of England." Charles objected, "That both king and house of lords were necessary to constitute a parliament: He had a trust, he said, committed to him by God, by old and lawful descent; and he would not betray it to answer to a new and unlawful authority: he again bade the commissioners remember he was their hereditary sovereign; and that the whole authority of the state, when free and united, was not entitled to try him, who derived his dignity from the supreme majesty of heaven: that, admitting those extravagant principles which place the origin of power in the people, the court could plead no authority delegated by the people, unless the consent of every individual, down to the meanest, the most ignorant peasant, had been previously asked and obtained (*o*): there was no jurisdiction on earth could try a king: the authority of obedience to kings was clearly warranted and strictly commanded both in the Old and New Testaments: this, if denied, he was ready instantly to prove; "Where the word of a king was there was power, and who might say unto him, what dost thou?" He owned, he said, he was entrusted; a sacred trust had been committed to him by God, the liberties of his people, which he would not betray by recognizing a power founded on violence and usurpation: he had taken arms, and frequently exposed his life, in defence of public liberty, in defence of the constitution, in defence of the fundamental laws of the kingdom, and was now willing to seal with his blood those precious rights for which he had so long in vain contended." To the king's assertion, that he had taken up arms to defend the liberty of the constitution, and that he now pleaded for the rights and freedom of all his subjects, the president returned, "How great a friend, Sir, you have been to the laws and liberties of the people, let all England and the world judge: your actions have sufficiently declared it, and your meaning has been written in bloody characters throughout the kingdom." The court was reminded by the prisoner, "that the laws of England determined the king could do no wrong; however, he was able, he said, by the most satisfactory reasons, to justify his conduct; but must forego the apology of his innocence, lest, by ratifying an authority no better founded than that of robbers and pirates, he should be justly branded as the betrayer, instead of applauded as the martyr, of the constitution."

Three several days the king was produced before the court, and as often urged to answer to his charge. The fourth, on his constantly persisting to decline its jurisdiction, the commissioners, after having examined witnesses (*p*), by whom it was proved that the king had appeared in arms against his people, proceeded to pronounce sentence against him. Before the passing sentence, Charles earnestly desired to be admitted to a conference with the two houses: he had something to propose, he said, which he was sure would be for the welfare of the kingdom and the liberty of the subject. It was supposed that he intended to offer to resign the crown to his son; and some of the commissioners pressed that he might be heard. This was not the opinion of the majority; and the commissioners returning from the court of Wards, where they had adjourned to consult on the king's proposal, acquainted the prisoner, that his request was considered as a delay of justice. The president passed sentence of death, by severing the head from the body, on the 27th of January, and all the members of the court stood up in token of approbation (*q*).

In every sovereign prince of Europe was now awakened a sense of horror and indignation; whilst political reasons, of a different nature, inclined them to endeavour to prevent the change of government in England. The French court authorized their ambassador to interpose for favour to the king; and the Dutch employed very earnest intercessions for the preservation of his life. All solicitations, however, were in vain. The Scots likewise exclaimed and protested against the violence, but without producing any good effect; the prince wrote an ineffectual letter to the army, and the queen to the parliament. Three days only were allowed the king between his sentence and his execution (*r*). This interval he passed in reading and devotion; and preserved, from the time when his intended fate was known to him, to his last moment, a perfect tranquillity and composure; nor can his bitterest enemies deny that in his conduct, under the dreadful apprehension of a violent death were united the magnanimity of heroism and the patience of martyrdom.

All his family that remained in England were allowed access to him. It consisted only of the princess Elizabeth and the duke of Gloucester; for the duke of York had made his escape. Gloucester was little more than an infant: the princess, notwithstanding her tender years, shewed an advanced judgement; and the calamities of her family had made a deep impression upon her. After many pious consolations and advices, the king gave her in charge to tell the queen, that, during the whole course of his life, he had never once, even in thought, failed in his fidelity towards her; and that his conjugal tenderness and his life should have an equal duration. To the young

(*n*) Ludlow says, That the king interrupted the clerk whilst he was reading, and exclaimed, "I am not entrusted by my people; they are mine inheritance." *Ludlow*, p. 107.

(*o*) This argument is mere sophistry; since the sense of the people, in their collective capacity, never can come to any determined conclusive point, unless the sense of the majority is binding to the whole.

(*p*) One of these witnesses gave an evidence of the king's want of sincerity in his last treaty with the parliament, at Newport, in the Isle of Wight. The witness, Henry Goode, deposed, That having access to and discourse with the king at Newport, he told him, that, since his majesty had justified the parliament's taking up arms, he did not question but the Presbyterian party would stick close to him; that to this the king had replied, he would have all his old friends know, that, though for the present he was contented to give the parliament leave to call their own war what they pleased, yet he neither did then, nor should decline the justice of his own cause. Moreover, upon the deponent's saying his majesty's business was much retarded through want of commissions, the king made answer, That being upon a treaty, he would not dishonour himself; but if the deponent would go over to the prince his son, who had full authority from him, he or any for him should receive whatever commissions they should desire. *Rushworth*, vol. vii. p. 1413.

(*q*) The following is a copy of the warrant for the execution of king Charles I.

"At the High Court of Justice for the Tryinge and Indytinge of Charles Steuart, Kinge of England, January xxix th, Anno Dom. 1648.

"Whereas Charles Steuart, kinge of England, is, and standeth convicted, attaynted, and condemned of high treason, and other high crymes; and sentence uppon Saturday last was pronounced against him by this court, to be putt to death by the severinge of his head from his body: of which sentence, execution yet remayneth to be done: These are therefore to will and require yow to see the said sentence executed in the open streete before Whitehall, uppon the morrowe, being the thirtieth day of this instante moneth of January, betweene the hours of tenn in the morninge, and five in the afternoone of the same day, with full effect. And for soe doing, this shall be your sufficient warrant. And these are to require all officers, and souldiers, and other the good people of this nation of England, to be assistinge unto you in this service.

To col. Francis Hacker, col. Huncks, and lieut. col. Phayre, and to every of them. Given under our hands and seales.

Jo. Bradshawe,	Ri. Deane,	Tho. Horton,
Tho. Grey,	Robert Tichburne,	J. Jones,
O Cromwell,	H. Edwards,	John Denne,
Edw. Whalley,	Daniel Blagrave,	Gilbt. Millington,
M. Livesey,	Owen Rowe,	G. Fleetwood,
John Okey,	Willm. Perfoy,	J. Alured,
J. Danvers,	Ad. Scrope,	Robt. Lilburne,
Jo. Bouchier,	James Temple,	Will. Say,
H. Ireton,	Garland,	Anth. Stapley,
Tho. Mauleverer,	Edm. Ludlowe,	Gre. Norton,
Har. Waller,	Henry Marten,	Tho. Challoner,
John Blackiston,	Vinct. Potter,	Tho. Wogan,
J. Hutchinson,	Wm. Constable,	John Venn,
Willi. Goffe,	Rich. Ingoldesby,	Gregory Clement,
Tho. Pride,	Will. Cawley,	Jo. Downes,
Pe. Temple,	Jo. Barkead,	Tho. Wayte,
T. Harrison,	Isaa. Ewer,	Tho. Scot,
J. Hewson,	John Dixwell,	John Carew,
Hen. Smyth,	Valentine Wauton,	Miles Corbet."
Per. Pelham,	Symon Mayne,	

(*r*) Clement Walker, a petulant writer of the Presbyterian party, in his History of Independency, has propagated the following calumny on the parliament and army: That they lodged the king in an apartment at Whitehall, so near the destined place of execution, that his retirement and even rest were disturbed with the noise of the workmen employed in framing the scaffold; whereas, in fact, the king remained at St. James's till the very morning of his execution, January 30, 1649, when he walked across the Park, and from thence was carried in a coach to Whitehall.

duke

duke too, he could not forbear giving some advice, in order to season his mind with early principles of loyalty and obedience towards his brother, who was so soon to be his sovereign. Holding him on his knee, he said, "Now they will cut off thy father's head." At these words the child looked very stedfastly upon him. "Mark, child! what I say: They will cut off my head! and perhaps make thee a king: but mark what I say, thou must not be a king, as long as thy brothers Charles and James are alive. They will cut off thy brothers' heads, when they can catch them! And thy head too they will cut off at last! Therefore, I charge thee, do not be made a king by them!" The duke, sighing, replied, "I will be torn in pieces first!" So determined an answer, from one of such tender years, filled the king's eyes with tears of joy and admiration.

The scaffold for the king's execution was erected before the palace at Whitehall; care was taken that it should be sufficiently surrounded with soldiers, to prevent disorder or interruption; and the king, finding himself shut out from the hearing of the people, addressed a speech to colonel Tomlinson, the commander of the guard, in which he attempted to justify his innocence in the war he had levied, termed it defensive, accused the parliament of having first enlisted forces, and averred that he had no other object in his military operations than to preserve entire that authority which had been transmitted to him by his ancestors; insisted on a perfect innocence towards his people; observed, that the unjust sentence now inflicted on him was an equitable return for that which he had suffered to be inflicted on Strafford; forgave his enemies; and exhorted the people to return to the paths of obedience, and submit to the government of their lawful sovereign, his son and successor. Bishop Juxon, whose attendance the king had very particularly and earnestly desired, remembered his master, that the people would expect him to make some declaration on the point of religion: on this the king very earnestly protested, that he had ever lived, and now died in the religion of the church of England. Whilst he was preparing for execution, the bishop assisted him in his devotions; and said to him, "There is, Sir, but one stage more, which, though turbulent and troublesome, is yet a very short one. Consider, it will soon carry you a great way; it will carry you from earth to heaven; and there you shall find, to your great joy, the prize to which you hasten, a crown of glory."—"I go," replied the king, "from a corruptible to an incorruptible crown, where no disturbance can have place." Then laying his head upon the block, the executioner (whose face was concealed in a vizor) severed it with one stroke from the body (*s*): an assistant (in the like disguise) held it up to the spectators, streaming with blood, and, after the usual manner observed in similar executions, cried aloud, "This is the head of a traitor."

Thus

(*s*) It has long been a matter of uncertainy who was the person that actually struck off Charles's head on the scaffold, but the following note will perhaps set this matter in a clear light, seeing there could be no inducement to cause the person who made the declaration to make it known, if he had not been actually the executioner:

"George II. on his return to London, after the battle of Dettingen, could with difficulty bear the sight of lord Stair. He could not forgive his lordship's reproaching him for the danger which threatened the English army, in case the king had obstinately persisted in leaving it in the camp which it occupied, and where it would have been compleatly defeated, if the duke de Grammont by his rashness had not saved it. Lord Stair, as proud as he was skilful in war, having soon perceived the king's dislike, and being little disposed to bear the shame of a formal disgrace, was on the point of returning to his estate in Scotland, when he received the following letter:

"My Lord,

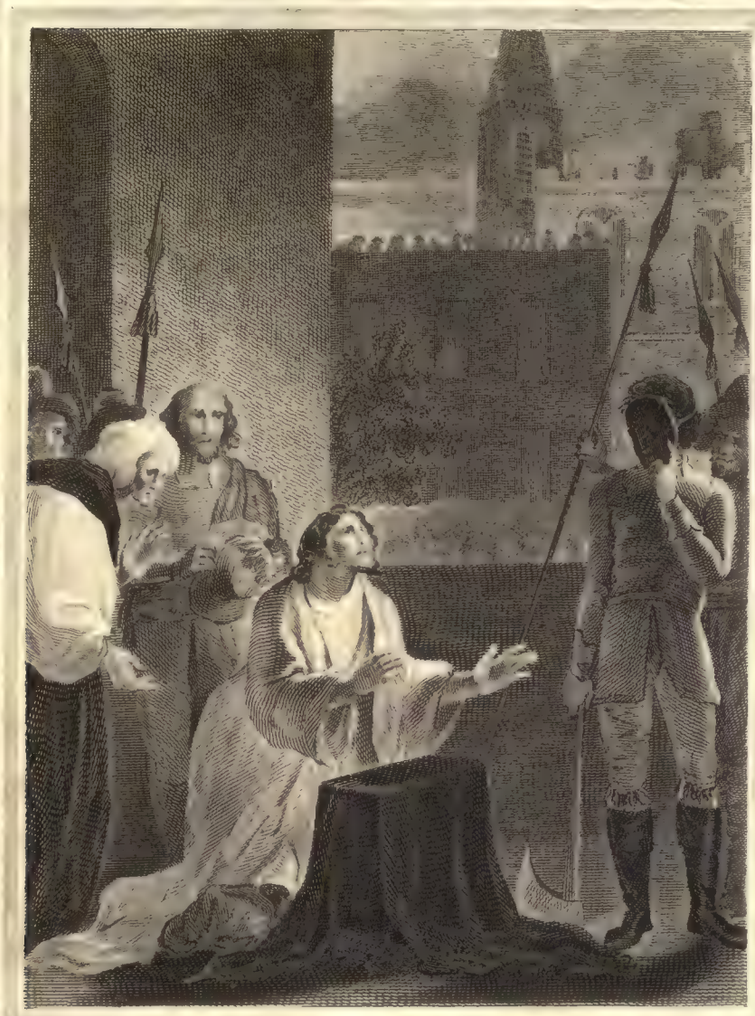
"Your bravery is well known: but will you have the courage to go, to-morrow night, to the entrance of Somerset House, where you will meet one who (if you dare follow him) will conduct you to a part of the town not much frequented, but where you will find one who is impatient to see you and to discover secrets which are of more importance than you imagine, and which cannot be disclosed in a letter. If you are afraid this should be a plot on your purse, bring nothing valuable about you."

We may conceive his lordship's surprise at the reading of this note. At first he took it for a trick of some secret enemy; or some affair of gallantry, the heroine of which had probably her reasons for so acting; however, he determined to go. He therefore, after providing himself with a brace of good pistols, went to Somerset House, and found there a man, who, without speaking, made a sign to follow him; after walking for about an hour, they came into a street almost empty, where the conductor knocked at the door of a small old house: when it was opened, he said, "Walk in, my lord," and the door was shut against them. The intrepid nobleman, holding a sword in one hand and pistol in the other, went up the staircase and entered a room, the furniture of which seemed very ancient. "Come in, my lord," said a faint voice issuing from a bed, "come in, you have nothing to fear: pray sit down in a chair near my bed, and we will converse together."—"Very well," said lord Stair; "but make haste and tell me the reason of this odd adventure."

"You are hasty, my lord, but have patience: lay down your arms, take that seat, and come and look at me." His lordship, surprised at such authoritative commands, to which he was little accustomed, got up, took the lamp, went to the bed, and remained stupified at the sight of an old man, pale and thin, with a long white beard, and whose eyes were instantly fixed upon him.—"Look at me, my lord," said he, "I am still alive, I owe to you the only true pleasure I have tasted these many, many years. Age and misfortunes have entirely effaced the marks of one who is nearly related to you, and who is delighted to find in you features which are most dear to him!" His lordship, still astonished, looked at the old man, and unable to account for the different emotions which agitated him, spoke not a word. "Stoop," said the old man, "and you will find under my bed, a box which contains papers capable of amply repairing the losses which your family has suffered by the civil wars." His lordship having placed the box upon the bed, sat down again upon the chair. "Here, my lord," said the old man, "here are copies of the sales of three of the principal seats belonging to your ancestors, which your great grandfather sold, or rather pretended to sell, during the troubles. Here are also the letters of the pretended buyers, by which you may immediately recover the estates on your arrival in Scotland: precautions have been taken to prevent any disputes." What was his lordship's astonishment when he saw these three contracts of estates, which he knew formerly belonged to his house? "Ah!" cried he with transport, "Ah! who are you, respectable and benevolent old man, to whom I owe more than to my own father? Speak, I beg of you! favour me with the name of so generous a benefactor, in whom I am so singularly interested, and whose days Heaven seems to have prolonged, that he may find in me the most tender and respectable of friends, and the most grateful of men?"—"Leave me, my dear lord," said the old man in haste, "I am too weak to bear a longer conversation; leave me, I beg; take that box, and bid adieu to an old man, who thinks himself less unfortunate since he has had the happiness of holding you in his arms."—"Ah! whoever you are," said lord Stair, "and whatever reasons you may have to conceal the name of so generous a man, can you have the cruelty to oblige him to obey you? To abandon you in such a situation, without help, without ——" "Stop, my dear lord, it is with pleasure I see in you such generous sentiments; but I know that your friend (since you think him worthy of that title), however unfortunate he may be in other respects, is still free from want; therefore, if you wish to oblige me, leave me, my lord, instantly; nay, do more, and believe me I have a right to demand it: swear to me that you will never come here again, nor ever search after me, unless I send for you." His lordship seeing by his tone of voice that he would not be refused, promised to obey him; once more embraced him, and then left him with tears in his eyes. On his return home he immediately opened the box, and found a great number of papers which he judged would be of great use to him. Next morning, as he was preparing (notwithstanding his promise) to return to the old man, he was suddenly stopped by the following letter, sealed with his own arms, and to his extreme surprise, signed "George Stair:"

"Do not return to me, my dear lord, for you will not find me. If it had been only to tell you who I am, that is, your great grand-father, who has so long been supposed dead, and who justly deserved to be so, I should not have opposed your just desire of knowing your benefactor; but the consequences which I foresaw of so interesting a scene, too much so for my weak age to bear, made me dread to satisfy your curiosity, upon circumstances, which, far from offering to you so dear and respectable a relation as you imagined, would only have shewn to you a wretch—a monster less worthy of pity than horror!

"My father died a few months after my birth; my mother soon followed him; I was left to the care of an aunt, sister to my father, who brought me up so tenderly that (though she was the cause of my crime,) I still retain the most grateful remembrance of her in my heart. I was scarcely seventeen, when, struck with indignation, at seeing my countrymen armed against their lawful sovereign, I formed the design of tendering to king Charles I. the offer of my fortune and sword: but what was my astonishment, when, at disclosing my intention to my good aunt, I saw her tremblingly lift her hands to heaven and look at me with a kind of horror! Surprised and afflicted at the state she was in, and turning with impatience to know the reason, 'You force me then to tell you,' cried she, bursting into tears: 'know, then, the prince you are so desirous of serving, is the author of my shame and of your father's death. I was about fifteen, and among the attendants who waited on his mother, when the wretch, imposing on my age and credulity, by the most sacred oaths, contrived to seduce me—in short, I was ruined. The perfidious prince soon after went to Spain, in hopes of marrying the infanta. I should have been entirely lost, if your father had not come to London; to him I was obliged to own my misfortune, and the consequences which I dreaded. That dear brother, afflicted even to tears, ran immediately to the queen, obtained permission to take me away, and sent me to one of his seats near Edinburgh, where I remained till I was perfectly recovered. 'Alas!' added she, 'I was doomed to see him no more! The grief which he conceived for my undoing, soon killed him; and his worthy wife, who, after bringing you into the world, survived only a month. Such, my dear nephew, were the secrets and deplorable motives which reduced me to that obscurity in which I have since lived, and of which you are alone acquainted. Judge now, my friend, if after the care I have taken of your infancy, and the education I have procured you, say, can you devote your fortune and arms to the author of so many calamities, to a barbarian who has carried death into the breasts of your parents, and into mine eternal remorse!'—'No!' cried I, 'by God! no! the wretch is unworthy of life, and he shall die by my hand!' To tell you, my lord, by what means, as refined as dangerous, my fury against the king continually increasing, was at last able to fulfil my revenge and execrable oath; to tell you all the events, and excess of remorse which soon followed my crime, would be now too grievous in my weak state to relate.



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Thus, by a fate unparalleled in the annals of princes (*t*), terminated the unfortunate life and turbulent reign of Charles Stuart; a monarch whose principles, conduct, fortune, and death, by powerfully engaging the opposite affections attending the different views and different interests of men, have given rise to bitter and irreconcileable contest. Regarded as the martyr to church (*u*) and state, the patron of the clergy, the support of the nobility, we behold him, in the representations of a considerable party, adorned with every flower of panegyric: by the bigots of a different persuasion, his memory, notwithstanding the tribute he paid to his crimes, is held in the highest detestation. The partizans of liberty applaud his fate; the liberal and humane condemn and pity him: to a mind softened by habits of amusement, and intoxicated with ideas of self-importance, the transition from royal pomp to a prison, from easy, gay, and luxurious life to a premature and violent death by the hands of an executioner, are punishments so sharp and touching, that, in the suffering prince, we are apt to overlook the designing tyrant, to dwell on his hardships, and forget his crimes. Compassion is the constant attendant of liberal minds; and the commiseration of Charles's singular and unfortunate fate, but for the interests of truth and the violence of his partizans, would have inclined all such to have thrown the mantle of oblivion over the dark parts of his character, and only have remembered that he bore his sufferings in a manner which would have done honour to the best of causes. From such indulgence the ill-fated Charles is necessarily excluded: history is called upon to scrutinize with exactness his principles, his conduct, and his character; since, from the false colourings which by designing men have been thrown on these, and the rancour with which his opponents have been falsely aspersed, have been deduced consequences destructive to the security and welfare of man, and highly injurious to the reputation of patriot citizens.

In the character of Charles the First, as represented by his panegyrists, we find the qualities of temperance, chastity, regularity, piety, equity, humanity, dignity, condescension, and equanimity; some have gone so far as to allow him integrity; and many writers, who condemn his political principles, give him the title of a moral man. In the comparison of this representation with Charles's conduct, accurately and justly described, from which alone we are able to discover his true character, it is discernible that vices of the worst tendency, (when shaded by a formal and plausible carriage, when concordant to the interests of a faction and the prejudices of the vulgar,) assume the appearance of, and are imposed on the credulous world as, virtues of the first rank.—Passion for power was Charles's predominant vice; idolatry to his regal prerogatives his governing principle (*v*): the interests of his crown legitimated every measure, and sanctified in his eye the widest deviation from moral rectitude. His religion was to this a secondary and subordinate affection: the prelates of the church of England paid him an impious flattery; they inculcated a slavish dependence on the regal authority; the corruptions in their ecclesiastical discipline fostered superstition; superstition secured their influence over the people; and on these grounds, and to these ends, they kept an interest in the king's heart, which continued to the last period of his life (*w*). If Charles had a higher estimation of the faith in which he had been educated than of popery, it was because the principles of popery acknowledged a superior allegiance to their spiritual than their temporal prince; but regarding that superstition to be more favourable to the interests of monarchy, he preferred it to the religion of any differing sect, and publicly avowed his wish, that there never had been a schism in the church. Neither gratitude (*x*), clemency, humanity (*y*), equity, nor generosity (*z*), have place in the fair part of Charles's character. Of the virtues of temperance, fortitude, and personal bravery, he was undeniably possessed. His manners partook of the dissipation, and his conversation of the indecency of a court (*a*). His chastity has been called in question by an author of the highest repute (*b*); and were it

relate. Be satisfied with knowing, that you may abhor me as much as I detest myself; that the executioner of king Charles I. who appeared under a mask, was in fact no other than your unworthy, too guilty, great grandfather, sir George Stair."

From 1649 (when Charles I. was beheaded) to 1743 (when the battle of Dettingen was fought) there is an interval of ninety-four years. On supposition that sir George Stair was twenty years old when he committed this crime, his age in 1743 must have been one hundred and fourteen years.

Whatever were the emotions of lord Stair on reading the letter, his first care was to look for the street and the house where he had seen his great-grandfather; but finding the house empty, he learned from the neighbours that it had only been occupied since eight days; that it was never known by whom; that since the preceding night the servants had abandoned it, furnished as it was; that they could not tell of whom the tenant held the house, the proprietor being long since settled in America. See an ingenious work entitled, "*Pieces Interressantes et peu Connues.*"

(*t*) In a neighbouring country, events have lately occurred which bear some resemblance to our present subject. Louis XVI. of France, like the unfortunate Charles, was imprisoned, tried, condemned, and beheaded, by the misguided zeal of his subjects, in January, 1791. As we shall have occasion to take notice of this event in a future page of our history, we shall not anticipate our observations on that important business, which has proved the means of revolutionizing Europe.

(*u*) The opinion of Charles's dying a martyr to the church is grounded on his refusing to give satisfaction, on this article, in his last treaty with the parliament; but, if there is any credence to be given to Lilly, the king would have signed the propositions in the form sent down to him, had he not been diverted from it by the lord Say, on the hopes that the parliament would conclude with him upon easier terms. *Lilly*, p. 72, *& seq.*

(*v*) The History of Coins affords an anecdote which shews Charles's affection towards prerogative and popular rights: in the years 1601, 2, 3, 4, and 5, there were several coins stricken in Scotland by James the First, bearing on their reverse the motto, "*Salus populi suprema lex esto:*" a noble sentence borrowed from that famous republican of antiquity Marcus Tullius Cicero. In the first year of Charles's government, he altered on his coins the just sentiment of this motto, to "*Salus reipublicæ suprema lex esto.*"

(*w*) In the British Museum, No. 122, there is a MS. letter from the king to the queen, dated from Newcastle, 1646, wherein he tells her, "That whoever gave her the advice that he should submit to take the damned covenant, was a fool or knave; that it was the child of rebellion, and breathed nothing but treason; that if episcopacy was to be introduced by the covenant he would not take it, for he was as much bound in conscience to do no act for the destruction of monarchy as to resist heresy." In a letter of the 17th of October, from the same place, the king, in answer to the queen's pressing importunity (by Davenant) for his agreeing to the establishment of Presbyterian government, says, "That such an establishment would make him but a titular king; that a flower of the crown, given away by an act of parliament, is not recoverable; that if the supremacy in church affairs was not a flower of the crown, he knew not what was; that the difference between episcopal and Presbyterian government was one of the least of his disputes with the parliament, who, under the pretence of a thorough reformation, did intend to take away all the ecclesiastical power of government from the crown; that they would introduce a doctrine which taught rebellion to be lawful, That the supreme power is in the people, to whom kings were accountable." In a letter of the 20th of November, the king tells the queen, "That unless religion was preserved, the militia (being not, as in France and other kingdoms, a formed powerful strength,) would be of little use to the crown; that if the pulpits had not obedience, which would never be if Presbyterian government was absolutely established, the king would have but small comfort of the militia; that for his three years concession of Presbyterian government, he never heard that any right was yielded so long as the claim was kept up, which was clearly done by the article of a debate by divines how the church should be governed, the determination being still free to him and the two houses, on which if his conscience was wronged, he could blame nothing but his own want of courage." In the end of this letter the king says, "He is confident that he shall in a short time be recalled with much honour, and that his friends will see he had neither a foolish nor a peevish conscience." *British Museum*, MS. 6988.

(*x*) The favours which Charles's fortunes occasioned him to receive from his subjects, he regarded only as obligations of duty to their prince; and any failure, either through motives of conscience or regard to personal safety or interest, in the lengths he exacted of them, cancelled the merits of former services. Of all the nobility and gentry slain in his service, the only individuals whose premature death, it is observed, he gave any public testimony of regretting, were sir Charles Lucas and sir George Lisle, when his mind was softened by long adversity. Whitlocke informs us, that when he was told they had been shot, he dissolved into a flood of tears.

(*y*) Notwithstanding Clarendon's extravagant encomium on the king for these virtues, the severe punishments he inflicted on several individuals, by the court of Star-Chamber, shew an extreme rigour in regard to offenders who opposed his government and opinions.—Ludlow and other writers aver, That the prisoners of war, in places immediately under his command, were treated with inhuman cruelty; and there are some traits in history which shew an indifference, or rather hardness of heart, to the sufferings of others. One, which is to be met with in the Strafford Papers, mentions the king's laughing at the relation of an officer's having lost part of his cheek in an engagement: this anecdote happened in the beginning of his reign. The same Papers make mention of a great unfeelingness, or rather harshness, in the king's behaviour to his servant Cottington, on the melancholy occasion of his wife's death. Lilly, the astrologer, who knew the king well, and who was sometimes consulted on his future fortunes, says, That in the times of war he was seldom seen to be sorrowful for the slaughter of his people or his soldiers. *Lilly's Observations on the Life and Death of King Charles, ed.* 1715, p. 13.

(*z*) The innovation of laws committed to his trust, with several mean as well as unjust acts, testify this. In particular, in the commencement of his reign, he dispensed by proclamation with the legal obligation his subjects lay under to buy the honour of knighthood; and then levied fines upon them for non-performance.

(*a*) Before the commencement of the civil wars, plays, and every kind of dissipation which the times afforded, reigned in the king's court. Milton, in his masterly Defence, &c. against Salmasius, taxes the king with amorous indecencies committed in public; and, notwithstanding the contrary has been so strongly asserted by Clarendon, there are two passages in the Sydney Papers which demonstrate that the conversation of the court, and even of Charles himself, was not only indelicate but lewd.

(*b*) Milton, in his Defence, &c. gives shrewd intimations that the king

it allowed, it was tainted by an excess of uxoriousness, which gave it the properties and the consequences of vice. The want of integrity is manifest in every part of his conduct; which, (whether it were the corruption of his judgement or heart,) lost him fair opportunities of reinstatement in the throne, and was the vice for which, above all others, he paid the tribute of his life. His intellectual powers were naturally good, and so improved by a continued exercise, that, though in the beginning of his reign he spoke with difficulty and hesitation, towards the close of his life he discovered in his writings purity of language and dignity of style, in his debates elocution and quickness of conception. The high opinion he entertained of regal dignity occasioned him to observe a stateliness and imperiousness of manner, which, to the rational and intelligent, was unamiable and offensive; by the weak and the formal, it was mistaken for dignity (*c*). In the exercise of horsemanship he excelled; had a good taste, and even skill in several of the polite arts; but, though a proficient in some branches of literature, was no encourager of useful learning, and only patronized adepts in the jargon of the divine right and utility of kings and bishops. His understanding in this point was so depraved by the prejudices of his education, the flattery of priests, and the affections of his heart, that he would never endure conversation which tended to inculcate the principles of equal rights in men; and notwithstanding that the particularity of his situation enforced his attention to doctrines of this kind, he went out of the world with the same fond preju dices with which he had been fostered in his nursery, and cajoled in the zenith of his power (*d*).

Charles was of a middle stature; his body strong, healthy, and justly proportioned; his face was regular, handsome, and well complexioned; and his aspect melancholy, yet not unpleasing. His surviving issue were three sons and three daughters (*e*). He was executed in the forty-ninth year of his age, and buried, by the appointment of the parliament, at Windsor, decently, yet without pomp. The duke of Richmond, the marquis of Hertford, the earls of Southampton and Lindsay, at their express desire, were permitted to pay the last duty to their master, but were denied (by colonel Whichcot, the governor of Windsor Castle) the use of the burial service, according to the book of Common Prayer (*f*).

Of the voluminous works published in Charles's name, his letters and messages to the parliament, during his strict confinement in the Isle of Wight, are known to be his, with several letters written to the queen and others. It may be expected that we should here mention the "Eikon Basilike," a work published in the king's name a few days after his execution. It seems almost impossible, in the controverted parts of history, to say any thing which will satisfy the zealots of both parties: but with regard to the genuineness of that production, it is not easy for an historian to fix any opinion, which will be entirely to his own satisfaction. The proofs brought to evince that this work is or is not the king's, are so convincing, that, if an impartial reader peruse any one side apart (*g*), he will think it impossible, that arguments could be produced, sufficient to counterbalance so strong an evidence; and when he compares both sides, he will be some time at a loss to fix any determination. Should an absolute suspense of judgement be found difficult or disagreeable in so interesting a question, we confess, that we rather incline to give the preference to the arguments of Toland. The testimonies, which prove that performance to be the king's, though more numerous, are not so certain and direct, as those on the other side. This is the case, even if we consider the external evidence: but when we weigh the internal, derived from the style and composition, there appears great similarity to the king's method. These meditations resemble in elegance, purity, neatness, and simplicity, the genius of those performances which we know with certainty to have flowed from the royal pen; but they are somewhat unlike the bombast, perplexed, rhetorical, and corrupt style of Dr. Gauden, in his other works, to whom they are ascribed, that no human testimony would seem sufficient to convince some persons that he was the author. Yet all the evidences, which would rob the king of that honour, tend to prove that Dr. Gauden had the merit of writing so fine a performance, and had imposed it on the world for the king's. It is not easy to conceive the general compassion excited towards the king, by the publishing, at so critical a juncture, a work so full of piety, meekness, and humanity. Many have not scrupled to ascribe to that book the subsequent restoration of the royal family. Milton compares its effects to those which were wrought on the tumultuous Romans by Anthony's reading to them the will of Cæsar. The *Eikon* passed through fifty editions in a twelvemonth; and independent of the great interest taken in it by the nation, as the supposed production of their sovereign, it must be acknowledged the best prose composition, which, at the time of its publication, was to be found in the English language.

In order to close this part of the British history, it is also necessary to relate the dissolution of monarchy in England: that event soon followed upon the death of the monarch. When the peers met, on the day appointed in their adjournment, the 6th of February, 1649, they entered upon business, and sent down some votes to the commons, of which the latter deigned not to take the least notice. In a few days, the lower house passed a vote, that they would make no more addresses to the house of peers, nor receive any from them; and that that house was useless and dangerous, and was therefore to be abolished. A like vote passed with regard to the monarchy; and it is remarkable, that Martin, a zealous republican, in the debate on this question, confessed that, if they desired a king, the last was as proper as any gentleman in England. The commons ordered a new great seal to be engraved, on

was defective in the point of chastity. Lilly says of him, That he honoured the virtuous, and was very shy and choice in wandering in irregular paths; that when he did, it was with much cautiousness and secrecy; that he never prostituted his affections but to those of exquisite persons or parts. The same author asserts that Charles had one or two natural children. *Lilly*, p. 11. And the circumstance mentioned above, in the note, p. 184, which points out that sir George Stair was the person who actually beheaded the king, is fully convincive.

(*c*) In the king's palaces different rooms were allotted to the different ranks of the nobility and gentry; and orders were hung up in every apartment, forbidding all persons below a certain quality to enter. The observance of these ridiculous distinctions was exacted with such rigour, that sir Henry Vane the younger, having intruded himself into an apartment allotted to a superior rank, was so suddenly, whilst in discourse, surprized with the king's appearance, that, not having opportunity to retire unperceived, he hid himself behind a large carpet, which hung before a sideboard cupboard: in this situation he was discovered by the king, who, with an unmanly insolence, struck him with his cane. Even in Charles's days of humiliation, he struck colonel Whaley for the omission of some ceremony, or fancied disrespect; and when sir Thomas Fairfax (who proved one of the principal actors in his overthrow) presented him on his knees a petition, the king, who knew the contents would be disagreeable to him, turned haughtily away, with a motion so sudden that the petitioner was hurt by his horse's feet, and had liked to have been trampled to death. With manners so insolent and provoking, the king's general carriage was stiff and formal, to a degree which carried the appearance of high contempt, to his inferiors. Clarendon spends many pages in panegyrising the king on the article of his stateliness; sets forth the glories of Solomon's court as an example for all princes to follow; and observes, "That its pompous ceremonies struck the queen of Sheba with the high idea she is said to have conceived of Solomon's wisdom:" This, though a very natural sentiment in a female princess, is a little out of character in the mouth of a moralist, a philosopher, and an historian. *Carte's Life of Ormond*, vol. i. p. 356, *& seq.* *Clarendon's History.*

(*d*) In apology for Charles's government, it has been often advanced, that the same tyrannical principles prevailed equally in those of all his predecessors, and in particular in the government of that favourite sovereign queen Elizabeth; that Charles only endeavoured to preserve the rights he found in the crown; and that the usurpation began on the side of the commons. In contradiction to this assertion, it is to be observed, that Charles, by offering to bring things back to the course preserved in church and state during Elizabeth's government, acknowledged he had innovated both. Were it granted, that the commons made the first attack on the established encroachments of the crown, was that supposed right to be defended by any mean? Charles's situation, and consequently his political conduct, differed widely from that of Elizabeth and the rest of his fortunate predecessors: in the peaceful possession of their tyranny, they ruled a willing people, and preserved the forms of the constitution. The opposition with which Charles encountered engaged him in breach of faith, in civil war, and other criminal transactions; whilst his inflexible tenacity, with the steady opposition of the commons, must, had he prevailed, have destroyed every principle of liberty in the constitution.

(*e*) Charles prince of Wales, born in 1630; James duke of York, born in 1633; Henry duke of Gloucester, born in 1641; Mary princess of Orange, born in 1631; Elizabeth, born in 1635; and Henrietta, afterwards dutchess of Orleans, born in 1644.

(*f*) In consequence of which he was buried, on the 9th of February, 1649, in a vault about the middle of the choir of St. George's Chapel, over against the eleventh stall on the sovereign's side, near Henry VIII. and Jane Seymour, with this inscription in capital letters, on a fillet of lead, "King Charles, 1648." The whole funeral charges came but to two hundred and twenty-nine pounds five shillings.

(*g*) See on the one hand, Toland's "Amyntor," and on the other, Wagstaffe's "Vindication of the royal Martyr," with Young's addition. We may remark, that lord Clarendon's total silence with regard to this subject, in so full a history, composed in vindication of the king's measures and character, forms a presumption on Toland's side, and a presumption of which that author was ignorant; the works of the noble historian not being then published. Bishop Burnet's testimony from the duke of York himself too must be allowed of great weight against the Eikon.

which

which that assembly was represented, with this legend, "ON THE FIRST YEAR OF FREEDOM, BY GOD'S BLESSING, RESTORED, 1648." The forms of all public business were changed, from the king's name, to that of the keepers of the liberties of England. And it was declared high treason to proclaim, or any otherwise acknowledge Charles Stuart, commonly called prince of Wales.

The king's statue, in the Exchange, was thrown down; and on the pedestal these words were inscribed: "EXIT TYRANNUS, REGUM ULTIMUS;" that is, "*The tyrant is gone, the last of the kings.*"

Duke Hamilton was tried by a new high court of justice, as earl of Cambridge in England; and condemned for treason. This sentence, which was certainly hard, but which ought to save his memory from all imputations of treachery to his master, was executed on a scaffold, erected before Westminster Hall. Lord Capel underwent the same fate. Both these noblemen had escaped from prison, but were afterwards discovered and taken. To all the solicitations of their friends for pardon, the generals and parliamentary leaders replied, that it was certainly the intention of Providence they should suffer; since it had permitted them to fall into the hands of their enemies, after they had once recovered their liberty.

The earl of Holland lost his life by a like sentence. Though of a polite and courtly behaviour, he died lamented by no party. His ingratitude to the king, and his frequent changing of sides, were regarded as great stains on his memory. The earl of Norwich and sir John Owen, being condemned by the same court, were pardoned by the commons.

CHAP. IV.

THE REPUBLIC.

THE troubles and confusions which overspread England after the execution of Charles I. proceeded as well from the spirit of refinement and innovation, which agitated the ruling party, as from the dissolution of all that authority, both civil and ecclesiastical, by which the nation had been accustomed to be governed. Every man had framed the model of a republic; and, however new it was, he was eager in recommending it to his fellow-citizens. Every man had adjusted a system of religion, which was peculiar to himself; and being founded on supposed inspiration, had no means by which it could recommend itself to others. The levellers insisted on the abolition of rank, and asserted, that God, being the Author of the human race, never intended that one man should be a noble and another his slave; they therefore required an equality of rank with their fellow citizens. The millenarians or fifth-monarchy-men required, that government itself should be abolished, and all human powers be laid in the dust, in order to pave the way for the dominion of Christ, whose second coming they suddenly expected. The Antinomians insisted, that the obligations of morality and natural law were suspended, and that the elect, guided by an internal principle more perfect and divine, were superior to the *beggarly elements* of justice and humanity. A considerable party declaimed against tithes and a hireling priesthood, and were resolved that the magistrate should not support by power or revenue any ecclesiastical establishment. Another party inveighed against the law and its professors; and on pretence of rendering more simple the distribution of justice, were desirous of abolishing the whole system of English jurisprudence, which seemed interwoven with monarchical government. Even those among the republicans who adopted not such extravagancies, were so elated, that they supposed themselves possessed of peculiar privileges, on account of the religion they professed; and all professions, oaths, laws, and engagements, had, in a great measure, lost their influence over them. The bands of society were every where loosened; and the irregular passions of men were encouraged by speculative principles, still more unsocial and irregular.

The royalists, consisting of the nobles and more considerable gentry, being degraded from their authority, were inflamed with the highest resentment and indignation against those adversaries, who had reduced them to subjection. The Presbyterians, whose credit had first supported the arms of the parliament, were enraged to find that the fruits of their labours were ravished from them. The former party, from inclination and principle, zealously attached themselves to the son of their unfortunate monarch, whose memory they respected, and whose tragical death they deplored. The latter cast their eye towards the same object; but they had still many prejudices to overcome, many fears and jealousies to be allayed, ere they could cordially entertain thoughts of restoring the family, which they had so grievously offended, and whose principles they regarded with such violent abhorrence.

The support of the republican independent faction, which had got possession of the government, was a numerous army of near fifty thousand men. But this army, formidable from its discipline and courage, as well as its numbers, was actuated by a spirit that rendered it dangerous to the assembly which had the command over it. Accustomed to indulge their fancy in politics and religion, the soldiers knew little of the subordination of citizens, and being republicans in one were so in the other. They therefore maintained, that all these enormous violations of law and equity, of which they had been guilty, were justified by the success with which Providence had blessed them.

But that which gave stability to all these unsettled humours was, the great influence both civil and military acquired by Oliver Cromwell. This man, suited to the age in which he lived, was equally qualified to gain the affection and confidence of men, as to command their obedience. Though familiar with the meanest centinel, he never lost his authority: transported to a high degree with religious extasies, he never forgot the political purposes to which they might serve. Hating monarchy, while a subject; despising liberty, while a citizen; though he retained for a time all orders of men under a seeming obedience to the parliament; he was secretly paving the way, by artifice and courage, to his own unlimited authority.

The parliament, for so we must henceforth call that part of the house of commons which adhered to republican principles, having sacrificed their sovereign with so many appearing circumstances of solemnity and justice, and so much violence, began to assume more the air of a civil, legal power, and to enlarge a little the ground upon which they stood. They admitted a few of the excluded and absent members, such as were liable to least exception; but on condition that these members should sign an approbation of whatever had been done in their absence with regard to the king's trial; and some of them were willing to acquire a share of power on such terms. They issued some writs for new elections, in places where they hoped to have interest enough to bring in their own friends and dependents. They named a council of state, thirty-eight in number, to whom all addresses were made, who gave orders to all generals and admirals, who executed the laws, and who digested all business before it was introduced into parliament (*h*). They pretended to employ themselves entirely in adjusting the laws, forms, and plan of a new representative; and as soon as they should have settled the nation, they professed their intention of restoring the power to the people, from whom they acknowledged they had entirely derived it.

The commonwealth found every thing in England composed into a seeming tranquillity by the terror of their arms. Foreign powers, occupied in wars among themselves, had no leisure or inclination to interpose in the domestic dissensions of this island. The young king, poor and neglected, living sometimes in Holland, sometimes in France, sometimes in Jersey, comforted himself amidst his present distresses with the hopes of better fortune. The situation alone of Scotland and Ireland gave any immediate inquietude to the new republic.

After the successive defeats of Montrose and Hamilton, and the ruin of their parties, the whole authority in Scotland fell into the hands of Argyle and the rigid churchmen, that party which was most averse to the interests of the royal family. Their enmity, however, against the Independents, who had prevented the settlement of Presbyterian discipline in England, carried them to em-

(*h*) Their names were, the earls of Denbigh, Mulgrave, Pembroke, Salisbury, lords Grey and Fairfax, Lisle, Rolls, St. John, Wilde, Bradshaw, Cromwell, Skippon, Pickering, Massam, Haselrig, Harrington, Vane, jun. Danvers, Armine, Mildmay, Constable, Pennington, Wilson, Whitlocke, Martin, Ludlow, Stapleton, Hevingham, Wallop, Hutchinson, Bond, Popham, Valentine, Walton, Scot, Purefoy, Jones.

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brace opposite maxims in their political conduct. Though invited by the English parliament to model their government into a republican form, they resolved still to adhere to monarchy, which had ever prevailed in their country, and which, by the express terms of their covenant, they had engaged to defend. They considered besides, that as the property of the kingdom lay mostly in the hands of great families, it would be difficult to establish a commonwealth, or without some chief magistrate, invested with royal authority, to preserve peace or justice in the community. The execution, therefore, of the king, against which they had always protested, having occasioned a vacancy of the throne, they immediately proclaimed his son and successor, Charles II.; but upon condition "of his good behaviour and strict observance of the covenant, and his entertaining no other persons about him but such as were godly men and faithful to that obligation." These unusual clauses, inserted in the very first acknowledgement of their prince, sufficiently shewed their intention of limiting his authority. And the English commonwealth, having no pretence to interpose in the affairs of that kingdom, allowed the Scots for the present to take their own measures in settling their form of government.

The dominion which England claimed over Ireland, demanded more immediately their efforts for subduing that country. But in order to convey a just idea of Irish affairs, it will be necessary to look backwards some years, and to relate briefly those transactions which had past during the revolutions in England. When the late king agreed to that cessation of arms with the popish rebels in 1643, the parliament reproached him with favouring that odious rebellion, and exclaimed loudly against the terms of the cessation. They even declared it null and invalid, because it was concluded without their consent; and to this declaration the Scots in Ulster, and the earl of Inchiquin, a nobleman of great authority in Munster, professed to adhere. By their means the war was still kept alive; but as the dangerous distractions in England hindered the parliament from sending any considerable assistance to their allies in Ireland, the marquis of Ormond, lord lieutenant, being a native of Ireland, formed a scheme for composing the disorders of his country, and for engaging the rebel Irish to support the cause of his royal master. There were many circumstances which strongly invited the natives of Ireland to embrace the king's party. The maxims of that prince had always led him to give indulgence to the Catholics throughout all his dominions; and one principal ground of that enmity, which the Puritans professed against him, was this toleration. The parliament, on the contrary, had ever menaced the papists with the most rigid restraint; and immediately after the commencement of the Irish rebellion, they put to sale all the estates of the rebels, and had engaged the public faith for transferring them to the adventurers, who had already advanced money upon that security. The success, therefore, which the arms of the parliament met with at Naseby, struck terror into the Irish; and engaged the council of Kilkenny, composed of deputies from all the Catholic counties and cities, to conclude a peace with the marquis of Ormond, in 1646. They professed to return to their duty and allegiance, engaged to furnish ten thousand men for the support of the king's authority in England, and were content with stipulating, in return, indemnity for their rebellion and toleration of their theological system.

The earl of Ormond, not doubting but a peace, so advantageous to the Irish, would be strictly observed, advanced with a small body of troops to Kilkenny, in order to concert measures for common defence with his new allies. The pope had sent over to Ireland a nuncio, Rinuccini, an Italian; and this man, whose commission empowered him to direct the spiritual concerns of the Irish, was emboldened, by their ignorance and bigotry, to assume the chief authority in the civil government. Foreseeing that a general submission to the lord-lieutenant would put an end to his own influence, he conspired with Owen O'Neal, who commanded the native Irish in Ulster, and who bore a great jealousy to Preston, the general chiefly trusted by the council of Kilkenny. By concert, these two malcontents secretly drew forces together, and were ready to fall on Ormond, who remained in security, trusting to the pacification so lately concluded with the rebels. He received intelligence of their treachery, made his retreat with celerity and conduct, and sheltered his small army in Dublin and the other fortified towns, which still remained in the hands of the Protestants.

The nuncio, full of arrogance, levity, and ambition, was not contented with this violation of treaty. He summoned an assembly of the clergy at Waterford, and engaged them to declare against that pacification, which the civil council had concluded with their sovereign. He even thundered out a sentence of excommunication against all who should adhere to a peace, so prejudicial as he pretended, to the catholic religion; and the deluded Irish, terrified with his spiritual menaces, ranged themselves on his side, and submitted to his authority. Without scruple, he carried on war against the lord-lieutenant, and threatened with a siege the Protestant garrisons, which were, all of them, ill provided for defence.

In the mean time the unfortunate king was necessitated to take shelter in the Scottish army; and being there reduced to close confinement, and secluded from all commerce with his friends, despaired, that his authority, or even his liberty, would ever be restored to him. He sent orders to Ormond, if he could not defend himself, rather to submit to the English than to the Irish rebels; and accordingly the lord-lieutenant, being reduced to extremities, delivered up Dublin, Tredah, Dundalk, and other garrisons, to colonel Michael Jones, who took possession of them in the name of the English parliament. Ormond himself went over to England, was admitted into the king's presence, received a grateful acknowledgement for his past services, and during some time lived in tranquillity near London. But being banished, with the other royalists, to a distance from that city, and seeing every event turn out unfortunately for his royal master, and threaten him with a catastrophe still more direful, he thought proper to retire into France, where he joined the queen and the prince of Wales.

In Ireland, during these transactions, the authority of the nuncio prevailed without control among all the Catholics; and that prelate soon made them repent of the power with which they had entrusted him. Prudent men likewise were sensible of the total destruction, which was hanging over the nation from the English parliament, and saw no safety but in giving support to the declining authority of the king. The earl of Clanricarde, a nobleman of an ancient family, who had preserved his loyalty, was sensible of the ruin which threatened his countrymen, and was resolved, if possible, to prevent it. He secretly formed a combination among the Catholics; he entered into a correspondence with Inchiquin, who preserved great authority over the Protestants in Munster; he attacked the nuncio, whom he chased out of the island; and he sent to Paris a deputation, inviting the lord-lieutenant to return and take possession of his government.

Ormond, on his arrival in Ireland, found the kingdom divided into many factions, among which either open war or secret enmity prevailed. The authority of the English parliament was established in Dublin, and the other towns, which he himself had delivered into their hands. O'Neal maintained his credit in Ulster; and having entered into a secret correspondence with the parliamentary generals, was more intent on schemes for his own personal safety than anxious for the preservation of his country or religion. The other Irish, divided between their clergy, who were averse to Ormond, and their nobility, who were attached to him, were uncertain in their motions and feeble in their measures. The Scots in the north, enraged against the usurpations of the sectarian army, professed their adherence to the king; but were still hindered by many prejudices from entering into a cordial union with his lieutenant. These distracted councils and contrary humours checked the progress of Ormond, and enabled the parliamentary forces in Ireland to maintain their ground against him. The republican faction, meanwhile, in England, employed in subduing the revolted royalists, in reducing the parliament to subjection, in the trial, condemnation, and execution of the king, totally neglected the supplying of Ireland, and allowed Jones and the forces in Dublin to remain in the utmost weakness and necessity. The lord-lieutenant, though surrounded with difficulties, neglected not the favourable opportunity of promoting the royal cause. Having at last assembled an army of sixteen thousand men, he advanced upon the parliamentary garrisons. Dundalk, where Monk commanded, was delivered up by the troops, who mutinied against their governor. Tredah, Neury, and other forts, were taken. Dublin was threatened with a siege; and the affairs of the lieutenant appeared in so prosperous a condition, that the young king entertained thoughts of coming in person to Ireland.

When the English commonwealth was brought to some tolerable

tolerable settlement, men began to cast their eyes towards the neighbouring island. During the contest of the two parties, the government of Ireland had remained a great object of intrigue; and the Presbyterians endeavoured to obtain the lieutenancy for Waller, the Independents for Lambert. After the execution of the king, Cromwell himself began to aspire to a command, where so much glory, he saw, might be won, and so much authority acquired. In his absence, on the 15th of March, his name was proposed to the council of state; and both friends and enemies concurred to vote him into that important office. When informed of his election, he feigned surprize, and pretended at first to hesitate with regard to the acceptance of the command. And Lambert, either deceived by his dissimulation, or feigning to be deceived, continued, notwithstanding this disappointment, his friendship and connexions with Cromwell.

The new lieutenant immediately applied himself with his wonted vigilance to make preparations for his expedition. Many disorders in England it behoved him previously to compose. All places were full of danger and inquietude. Though men, astonished with the successes of the army, remained in seeming tranquillity, symptoms of discontent began to appear. The English could not immediately conform their speech and countenance to the present necessity, or pretend attachment to the republican form of government. It was requisite to change the magistracy of London, and to degrade, as well as punish, the mayor and some of the aldermen, before the proclamation for the abolition of monarchy could be published in the city. An engagement being framed to support the commonwealth without king or house of peers, the army subscribed it; but though it was imposed upon the rest of the nation under severe penalties, no less than putting all who refused out of the protection of law; such reluctance was observed in the people, that even the parliament desisted from it. The spirit of fanaticism, by which that assembly had at first been strongly supported, was now turned, in a great measure, against them. The pulpits, being chiefly filled with Presbyterians, or disguised royalists, and having long been the scene of news and politics, could by no penalties be restrained from declarations unfavourable to the established government. Numberless were the extravagances which broke out among the people. Everard, a disbanded soldier, having preached that the time was now come when the community of goods would be renewed among Christians, led out his followers to take possession of the land; and being carried before the general, he refused to salute him; because he was but his fellow-creature. What seemed more dangerous, the army itself was infected with like humours. Though the levellers had for a time been suppressed by Cromwell, they still continued to propagate their doctrines among the private men and inferior officers, who pretended a right to be consulted, as before, in the administration of the commonwealth. They now practised against their officers the same lesson which they had been taught against the parliament. They framed a remonstrance, and sent five agitators to present it to the general and council of war: these were cashiered with ignominy by sentence of a court martial. One Lockyer, having carried his sedition farther, was sentenced to death; but this punishment was so far from quelling the mutinous spirit, that above a thousand of his companions showed their adherence to him, by attending his funeral, and wearing in their hats black and sea-green ribbons by way of favours. About four thousand assembled at Burford, under the command of Thomson, a man formerly condemned for sedition by a court-martial, but pardoned by the general. Colonel Reynolds, and afterwards Fairfax and Cromwell, fell upon them, while they were seduced by the appearance of a treaty. Four hundred were taken prisoners: some of them capitally punished: the rest pardoned: and this tumultuous spirit, though it still lurked in the army, and broke out from time to time, seemed for the present to be suppressed.

Petitions, framed in the same spirit of opposition, were presented to the parliament by lieutenant-colonel Lilburn, the person who, for dispersing seditious libels, had formerly been treated with such severity by the star-chamber. His liberty was at this time as ill relished by the parliament, and he was thrown into prison, as a promoter of sedition and disorder in the commonwealth. The women applied by petition for his release; but were now desired to mind their household affairs, and leave the government of the state to the men. From all quarters, the parliament was harassed with petitions of a very free nature, which proved how ardently all men longed for the restoration of their laws and liberties. Even in a feast, which the city gave to the parliament and council of state, it was deemed a requisite precaution, if we may credit Walker and Dugdale, to swear all the cooks, that they would serve nothing but wholesome food to them.

The parliament judged it necessary to enlarge the laws of high treason beyond those bounds, within which they had been confined during the monarchy. To affirm the present government to be an usurpation, to assert that the parliament or council of state were tyrannical or illegal, to endeavour subverting their authority, or stirring up sedition against them; these offences were declared to be high-treason. The power of imprisonment, of which the petition of right had bereaved the king, it was now found necessary to restore to the council of state; and all the jails in England were filled with men whom the jealousies and fears of the ruling party had represented as dangerous. The taxes, continued by the new government, and which, being unusual, were esteemed heavy, increased the general ill will under which it laboured. Besides the customs and excise, ninety thousand pounds a-month were levied on land for the subsistence of the army. The sequestrations and compositions of the royalists, the sale of the crown lands, and of the dean and chapter lands, though they yielded great sums, were not sufficient to support the vast expences, and, as was suspected, the great depredations of the parliament and of their adherents.

But amidst all these difficulties, the steady mind of Cromwell still pursued its purpose. While he was collecting an army of twelve thousand men in the west of England, he sent to Ireland, under Reynolds and Venables, a reinforcement of four thousand horse and foot, in order to strengthen Jones, and enable him to defend himself against the marquis of Ormond, who lay at Finglass, and was making preparations for the attack of Dublin. Inchiquin, who had now made a treaty with the king's lieutenant, having, with a separate body, taken Tredah and Dundalk, gave a defeat to O'Farrell who served under O'Neal, and to young Coot who commanded some parliamentary forces. After he had joined his troops to the main army, with whom, for some time, he remained united, Ormond passed the river Liffy, and took post at Rathmines, two miles from Dublin, with a view of commencing the siege of that city. In order to cut off all farther supply from Jones, he had begun the reparation of an old fort which lay at the gates of Dublin; and being exhausted with continual fatigue for some days, he had retired to rest, after leaving orders to keep his forces under arms. On the 2nd of August, he was suddenly awaked with the noise of firing; and, starting from his bed, saw every thing already in confusion. Jones, an excellent officer, had sallied out with the reinforcement newly arrived; and, attacking the party employed in repairing the fort, he totally routed them, pursued the advantage, and fell in with the army, which had neglected Ormond's orders. These he soon threw into disorder; put them to flight, in spite of all the efforts of the lord-lieutenant; chased them off the field; seized all their tents, baggage, ammunition; and returned victorious to Dublin, after killing a thousand men, and taking above two thousand prisoners.

This loss was irreparable to the royal cause. That numerous army which, with so much pains and difficulty, the lord-lieutenant had been collecting for more than a year, was dispersed in a moment. On the 15th of the same month, Cromwell arrived in Dublin, where he was welcomed with shouts and rejoicings. He hastened to Tredah. That town was well fortified: Ormond had thrown into it a good garrison of three thousand men, under sir Arthur Aston, an officer of reputation. He expected that Tredah, lying in the neighbourhood of Dublin, would first be attempted by Cromwell, and he was desirous to employ the enemy some time in that siege, while he himself should repair his broken forces. But Cromwell knew the importance of dispatch. Having made a breach, he ordered a general assault. Though twice repulsed with loss, he renewed the attack, and himself, along with Ireton, led on his men. All opposition was overborne by the furious valour of the troops. The town was taken sword in hand; and orders being issued to give no quarter, a cruel slaughter was made of the garrison. Even a few, who were saved by the soldiers were next day miserably butchered by orders from the general. One person alone of the

the garrison escaped to be a messenger of this universal havoc and destruction.

Cromwell pretended to retaliate by this severe execution the cruelty of the Irish massacre: but he well knew, that almost the whole garrison was English; and his justice was only a barbarous policy, in order to terrify all other garrisons from resistance. His policy, however, had the desired effect. Having led the army without delay to Wexford, he began to batter the town. The garrison, after a slight defence, offered to capitulate; but, before they obtained a cessation, they imprudently neglected their guards; and the English army rushed in upon them. The same severity was exercised as at Tredah.

Every town before which Cromwell presented himself, now opened its gates without resistance. Ross, though strongly garrisoned, was surrendered by lord Taffe. Having taken Estionage, Cromwell threw a bridge over the Barrow, and made himself master of Passage and Carric. The English had no farther difficulties to encounter than what arose from fatigue and the advanced season. Fluxes and contagious distempers creeped in among the soldiers, who perished in great numbers. Jones himself, the brave governor of Dublin, died at Wexford. And Cromwell had so far advanced with his decayed army, that he began to find it difficult, either to subsist in the enemy's country, or retreat to his own garrison. But in November, while he was in these straits, Cork, Kinsale, and all the English garrisons in Munster, deserted to him, and opening their gates, resolved to share the fortunes of their victorious countrymen.

This desertion of the English put an end to Ormond's authority, which was already much diminished by the misfortunes at Dublin, Tredah, and Wexford. The Irish, actuated by national and religious prejudices, could no longer be kept in obedience by a Protestant governor, who was so unsuccessful in all his enterprizes. The clergy renewed their excommunications against him and his adherents, and added the terrors of superstition to those which arose from a victorious enemy. Cromwell, having received a reinforcement from England, again took the field early in the spring. He made himself master of Kilkenny and Clonmel, the only places where he met with any vigorous resistance. The whole frame of the Irish union being in a manner dissolved, Ormond soon after left the island, and delegated his authority to Clanricarde, who found affairs so desperate as to admit of no remedy. The Irish were glad to embrace banishment as a refuge. Above forty thousand men passed into foreign service; and Cromwell, well pleased to free the island from enemies, who never could be cordially reconciled to the English, gave them full liberty and leisure for their embarkation.

Thus Cromwell, in the space of nine months had almost entirely subdued Ireland, but fortune was preparing for him a new scene of victory and triumph in Scotland. Charles was at the Hague when sir Joseph Douglas informed him that he was proclaimed king by the Scottish parliament. At the same time, Douglas acquainted him of the hard conditions annexed to the proclamation, and extremely damped that joy which might arise from his being recognised sovereign in one of his kingdoms. Charles too considered, that those who pretended to acknowledge his title, were at the same time in rebellion against his family, and would be sure to intrust very little authority in his hands. As the prospect of affairs in Ireland was at that time not unpromising, he intended rather to try his fortune in that kingdom, from which he expected more submission and obedience.

It was, however, expedient that he should depart from Holland, where the people were much attached to his interests; for, besides his connexion with the family of Orange, which was extremely beloved by the populace, all men regarded with compassion his helpless condition, and expressed the greatest abhorrence against the murder of his father. But though the public in general bore great favour to the king, the States were uneasy at his presence. They dreaded the parliament, so formidable by their power, and so prosperous in all their enterprizes; and, after the murder of Dorislaus, they found it still more necessary to satisfy the English commonwealth, by removing the king to a distance from them (*i*).

Charles, having passed some time at Paris, where no assistance was given him, and even few civilities were paid him, made his retreat into Jersey, where his authority was still acknowledged. Here Winram, laird of Liberton, came to him, as deputy from the committee of estates in Scotland, and informed him of the conditions to which he must necessarily submit before he could be admitted to the exercise of his authority. Conditions extremely hard; but as the affairs of Ireland began to decline, and the king found it no longer safe to venture himself in that island, he gave a civil answer to Winram, and desired commissioners to meet him at Breda, in order to enter into a treaty with regard to these conditions.

The earls of Cassilis and Lothian, lord Burley, the laird of Liberton, and other commissioners, arrived at Breda; but without power of treating: the king must submit, without reserve, to the terms imposed upon him. The terms were, that he should issue a proclamation, banishing from court all excommunicated persons, that is, all those who, either under Hamilton or Montrose, had ventured their lives for his family; that no English subject who had served against the parliament should be allowed to approach him; that he should bind himself by his royal promise to take the covenant; that he should ratify all acts of parliament, by which Presbyterian government, the Directory of Worship, the Confession of Faith, and the Catechism, were established; and that in civil affairs he should entirely conform himself to the direction of parliament, and in ecclesiastical to that of the assembly. These proposals, the commissioners, after passing some time in sermons and prayers, very solemnly delivered to the king.

Most of the king's English counsellors dissuaded him from accepting these conditions. They said that the men who now governed Scotland were the most furious and bigoted of that party, which had first excited a rebellion against the late king; that they had even renewed their rebellion, and stopped the progress of his victories; and after he had entrusted his person to them in his distress, had basely sold him to his barbarous enemies: that they had as yet shown no marks of repentance, and in the terms which they now proposed, displayed the same antimonarchical principles by which they had been actuated: that nothing could be more dishonourable than that the king, in his first enterprize, should sacrifice, merely for the empty name of royalty, those principles for which his father had died a martyr, and in which himself had been strictly educated: that by this hypocrisy he might lose the royalists, who alone were attached to him; but never would gain the Presbyterians, who were averse to his family and his cause, and who would ascribe his compliance to policy: that the Scots had refused to give him any assurances of their intending to restore him to the throne of England; and could they even be brought to make such an attempt, it had sufficiently appeared, by the event of Hamilton's engagement, how unequal their force was to so great an enterprize: that on the first check which they should receive, Argyle and his partizans would lay hold of the quickest expedient for reconciling themselves to the English parliament, and would betray the king, as they had done his father, into the hands of his enemies: and that however desperate the royal cause, it must still be regarded as highly imprudent in the king to make a sacrifice of his honour, where the sole purchase was to endanger his life or liberty.

The earl of Lanerc, now duke of Hamilton, the earl of Lauderdale, and others of that party, who had been banished their country for the late engagement, were then with the king; and being desirous of returning home in his retinue, they joined the opinion of the young duke of Buckingham, and pressed him to submit to the conditions required of him. It was urged, that nothing would more gratify the king's enemies than to see him fall into the snare laid for him, and by so scrupulous a nicety, leave the possession of his dominions to those who desired but a pretence for excluding him: that Argyle, not daring so far to oppose the bent of the nation as to throw off all allegiance to his sovereign, had embraced this expedient, by

(*i*) Dorislaus, though a native of Holland, had long resided in England; and being employed as assistant to the high court of justice, which condemned the late king, he had risen to great credit and favour with the ruling party. They sent him envoy to Holland; but no sooner had he arrived at the Hague, than he was set upon by some royalists, chiefly retainers to Montrose. They rushed into the room, where he was sitting with some company; dragged him from the table; put him to death as the first victim to their murdered sovereign; very leisurely and peaceably separated themselves; and though orders were issued by the magistrates to arrest them, these were executed with such slowness and reluctance, that the criminals had all of them the opportunity of making their escape.

which he hoped to make Charles dethrone himself, and refuse a kingdom which was offered him: that it was not to be doubted but the same national spirit, assisted by Hamilton and his party, would rise still higher in favour of their prince after he had entrusted himself to their fidelity, and would much abate the rigour of the conditions now imposed upon him: that whatever might be the present intentions of the ruling party, they must unavoidably be engaged in a war with England, and must accept the assistance of the king's friends of all parties, in order to support themselves against a power so much superior: that how much soever a steady, uniform conduct might have been suitable to the advanced age and strict engagements of the late king, no one would throw any blame on a young prince for complying with conditions which necessity had extorted from him: that even the rigour of those principles professed by his father had been extremely prejudicial to his interests; nor could any thing be more serviceable to the royal cause, than to give all parties room to hope for more equal and more indulgent maxims of government: and that where affairs were reduced to so desperate a situation, dangers ought little to be regarded; and the king's honour lay rather in showing some early symptoms of courage and activity, than in chusing strictly a party among theological controversies, with which, it might be supposed, he was but little acquainted.

These arguments, seconded by the advice of the queen-mother and of the prince of Orange, the king's brother-in-law, who both of them thought it ridiculous to refuse a kingdom merely from regard to episcopacy, had great influence on Charles. But what chiefly determined him to comply was the account brought him of the fate of Montrose, who, with all the circumstances of rage and contumely, had been put to death by his zealous countrymen. Though in this instance the king saw more evidently the furious spirit by which the Scots were actuated, he had now no farther resource, and was obliged to grant whatever was demanded of him.

Montrose, having laid down his arms at the command of the late king, had retired into France, and had lived for some time unactive at Paris. He there became acquainted with the famous cardinal de Retz; and that penetrating judge celebrates him in his memorials as one of those heroes, of whom there are no longer any remains in the world, and who are only to be met with in Plutarch. Desirous of improving his martial genius, he took a journey to Germany, was caressed by the emperor, received the rank of mareschal, and proposed to levy a regiment for the Imperial service. While employed for that purpose in the Low Countries, he heard of the tragical death of the king; and at the same time received from his young master a renewal of his commission of captain general in Scotland. He then gathered followers in Holland and the north of Germany, whom his great reputation allured to him. The king of Denmark and duke of Holstein sent him some small supply of money: the queen of Sweden furnished him with arms: the prince of Orange with ships: and Montrose, hastening his enterprize, lest the king's agreement with the Scots should make him revoke his commission, set out for the Orkneys with about five hundred men, most of them Germans. These were all the preparations which he could make against a kingdom, settled in domestic peace, supported by a disciplined army, fully apprized of his enterprize, and prepared against him. Some of his retainers having told him of a prophesy, that "to him and him alone it was reserved to restore the king's authority in all his dominions;" he lent a willing ear to suggestions which, however ill-grounded or improbable, were so conformable to his own daring character.

He armed several of the inhabitants of the Orkneys, though an unwarlike people, and carried them over with him to Caithness; hoping that the general affection to the king's service, and the fame of his former exploits, would make the Highlanders flock to his standard. But many of those who formerly adhered to him, had been severely punished by the covenanters; and no prospect of success was entertained in opposition to so great a force as was drawn together against him. The committee ordered Lesley and Holborne to march against him with an army of four thousand men. Strahan was sent before, with a body of cavalry to check his progress. He fell unexpectedly on Montrose, who had no horse to bring him intelligence. The royalists were put to flight; all of them either killed or taken prisoners; and Montrose himself, having put on the disguise of a peasant, was delivered into the hands of his enemies, by a friend to whom he had entrusted his person.

Lesley led him about for several days in the same low habit under which he had disguised himself. The vulgar, wherever he passed, reproached and vilified him. When he came to Edinburgh, he was met by the magistrates, at the gate of the city, and put into a new cart, purposely made with a high chair or bench, where he was placed, that the people might have a full view of him. He was bound with a cord, drawn over his breast and shoulders, and fastened through holes made in the cart. The hangman then took off the hat of the noble prisoner, and rode himself before the cart in his livery, and with his bonnet on; the other officers, who were taken prisoners with the marquis, walking two and two before them.

When he was carried before the parliament, which was then sitting, Loudon the chancellor, reproached him with the breach of the national covenant, which he had subscribed; his rebellion against God, the king, and the kingdom; and the many horrible murders, treasons, and impieties, for which he was now to be brought to condign punishment. Montrose in his answer told the parliament, that, since the king, as he was informed, had so far avowed their authority as to enter into treaty with them, he now appeared uncovered before their tribunal; a respect, which, while they stood in open defiance to their sovereign, they would in vain have required of him. That he acknowledged, with infinite shame and remorse, the errors of his early conduct, when their plausible pretences had seduced him to tread with them the paths of rebellion, and bear arms against his prince and country. That his following services, he hoped, had sufficiently testified his repentance; and his death would atone for that guilt, the only one with which he could justly reproach himself. That in all his warlike enterprizes he was warranted by that commission, which he had received from his and their master, against whose lawful authority they had erected their standard. That to venture his life for his sovereign was the least part of his merit: he had even thrown down his arms in obedience to the sacred commands of the king; and had resigned to them the victory, which, in defiance of all their efforts, he was still enabled to dispute with them. That no blood had ever been shed by him but in the field of battle; and many persons were now in his eye, many now dared to pronounce sentence of death upon him, whose life, forfeited by the laws of war, he had formerly saved from the fury of the soldiers. That he was sorry to find no better testimony of their return to allegiance than the murder of so faithful a subject, in whose death the king's commission must be, at once, so highly injured and affronted. That as to himself, they had in vain endeavoured to vilify and degrade him by all their studied indignities: the justice of his cause, he knew, would ennoble any fortune; nor had he other affliction than to see the authority of his prince, with which he was invested, treated with so much ignominy. And that he now joyfully followed, by a like unjust sentence, his late sovereign; and should be happy if, in his future destiny, he could follow him to the same blissful mansions, where his piety and humane virtues had already, without doubt, secured him an eternal recompense.

Montrose's sentence was next pronounced against him, "That he, James Graham" (for this was the only name they vouchsafed to give him), "should next day be carried to Edinburgh Cross, and there be hanged on a gibbet, thirty feet high, for the space of three hours: then to be taken down, his head be cut off upon a scaffold, and affixed to the prison: his legs and arms be stuck up on the four chief towns of the kingdom: his body to be buried in the place appropriated for common malefactors; except the church, upon his repentance, should take off his excommunication."

The clergy, hoping that the terrors of immediate death had now given them an advantage over their enemy, flocked about him, and insulted over his fallen fortunes. They pronounced his damnation, and assured him, that the judgement, which he was so soon to suffer, would prove but an easy prologue to that which he must undergo hereafter. They next offered to pray with him: but he refused their offers, and told them, that they were a miserably deluded and deluding people; and would shortly bring their country under the most insupportable servitude, to which any nation had ever been reduced. "For my part," added he, "I am much prouder to have my head affixed to the place where it is sentenced to stand, than to have my picture hang in the king's bed-chamber. So far from being

sorry

sorry that my quarters are to be sent to four cities of the kingdom; I wish I had limbs enough to be dispersed into all the cities of Christendom, there to remain as testimonies in favour of the cause for which I suffer." On the 21st of May, 1650, he was led forth to suffer the ignominious death to which he was destined.

The vengeance of the covenanters, however, was not satisfied with Montrose's execution. Urrey, whose inconstancy now led him to take part with the king, suffered about the same time: Spotiswood of Daersie, a youth of eighteen, sir Francis Hay of Dalgetie, and colonel Sibbald, all of them of birth and character, underwent a like fate. These were taken prisoners with Montrose. The marquis of Huntley, about a year before, had also fallen a victim to the severity of the covenanters.

On the 23rd of June, the king, in consequence of his agreement with the commissioners of Scotland, set sail for that country; and being escorted by seven Dutch ships of war, who were sent to guard the herring fishery, he arrived in the Frith of Cromarty. Before he was permitted to land, he was required to sign the covenant; and many sermons and lectures were made him, exhorting him to persevere in that holy confederacy. Hamilton, Lauderdale, Dumfermling, and other noblemen of that party, whom they called Engagers, were immediately separated from him, and obliged to retire to their houses, where they lived in a private manner, without trust or authority. None of his English friends, who had served his father, were allowed to remain in the kingdom. The king himself found that he was considered as a mere pageant of state, and that the few remains of royalty which he possessed, served only to draw on him the greater indignities. One of the quarters of Montrose, his faithful servant, who had borne his commission, had been sent to Aberdeen, and was still allowed to hang over the gates when he passed by that place. The general assembly, and afterwards the committee of estates and the army, who were entirely governed by the assembly, set forth a public declaration, in which they protested, "that they did not espouse any malignant quarrel or party, but fought merely on their former grounds or principles; that they disclaimed all the sins and guilt of the king, and of his house; nor would they own him or his interest, otherwise than with a subordination to God, and so far as he owned and prosecuted the cause of God, and acknowledged the sins of his house, and of his former ways."

The king, lying entirely at mercy, and having no assurance of life or liberty, farther than was agreeable to the fancy of these austere zealots, was constrained to embrace a measure, which nothing but the necessity of his affairs, and his great youth and inexperience, could excuse. He issued a declaration, on the 16th of August, in which he owned "the sin of his father, in marrying into an idolatrous family:" he acknowledged "the bloodshed, in the late wars, lay at his father's door:" he expressed a deep sense of his own ill education, and the prejudices he had drank in against the cause of God, of which he was now very sensible:" he confessed "all the former parts of his life to have been a course of enmity to the work of God:" he repented "of his commission to Montrose, and of every thing he had done, that gave offence:" and, with solemn protestations, he affirmed, "that he was now sincere in his declaration, that he would adhere to it to the end of his life, in Scotland, England, and Ireland."

Still the covenanters and the clergy were diffident of the king's sincerity. The facility which he discovered in yielding whatever was required of him, made them suspect, that he regarded all his concessions merely as ridiculous farces, to which he must of necessity submit. They had another trial prepared for him. Instead of the solemnity of his coronation, which was delayed, they were resolved, that he should pass through a public humiliation, and do penance before the whole people. They sent him twelve articles of repentance, which he was to acknowledge; and the king had agreed, that he would submit to this indignity. The various transgressions of his father and grandfather, together with the idolatry of his mother, are again enumerated and aggravated in these articles; and farther declarations were insisted on, that he sought the restoration of his rights for the sole advancement of religion, and in subordination of the kingdom of Christ. In short, having exalted the altar above the throne, and brought royalty under their feet, the clergy were resolved to trample on it, and vilify it, by every instance of contumely, which their present influence enabled them to impose upon their unhappy prince.

Charles in the mean time found his authority entirely annihilated, as well as his character degraded. He was consulted in no public measure. He was not called to assist at any councils. His favour was sufficient to discredit any pretender to office or advancement. All efforts which he made to unite the opposite parties, increased the suspicion which the covenanters had entertained of him, as if he were not entirely their own. Argyle, who by subtleties and compliances, was partly led and partly governed by this wild faction, still turned a deaf ear to all advances which the king made to enter into confidence with him. *Malignants* and *Engagers* continued to be the objects of general hatred and persecution; and whoever was noxious to the clergy, failed not to have one or other of these epithets assigned to him. The fanaticism which prevailed had acquired a new object of abhorrence: these were the *Sorcerers*. So prevalent was the opinion of witchcraft, that great numbers, accused of that crime, were burnt by sentence of the magistrates throughout all parts of Scotland. In a village near Berwick which contained only fourteen houses, fourteen persons were punished by fire; and it became a science, every where much studied and cultivated, to distinguish a true witch by proper trials and symptoms.

The advance of the English army under Cromwell was not able to appease or soften the animosities among the parties in Scotland. The clergy were still resolute to exclude all but their more zealous adherents. As soon as the English parliament found that the treaty between the king and the Scots would probably terminate in an accommodation, they made preparations for a war which, they saw, would in the end prove inevitable. Cromwell, having broken the force and courage of the Irish, was sent for; and he left the command of Ireland to Ireton, who governed that kingdom in the character of deputy, and with vigilance and industry persevered in the work of subduing the natives.

It was expected that Fairfax, who still retained the name of general, would continue to act against Scotland, and appear at the head of the forces; a station for which he was well qualified. But Fairfax had entertained scruples against invading the Scots, whom he considered as zealous Presbyterians, and united to England by the sacred bands of the covenant. He was farther confirmed in his repugnance by the exhortations of his wife, who had great influence over him, and was herself much governed by the Presbyterian clergy. A committee of parliament was sent to reason with him; and Cromwell was of the number. In vain did they urge that the Scots had first broken the covenant by their invasion of England under Hamilton; and that they would surely renew their hostile attempts, if not prevented by the vigorous measures of the commonwealth. Cromwell, who knew the rigid inflexibility of Fairfax in every thing which he regarded as matter of principle, ventured to solicit him with the utmost earnestness; and he went so far as to shed tears of grief and vexation on the occasion. No one could suspect any ambition in the man, who laboured so zealously to retain his general in that high office which, he knew, he himself was entitled to fill. The same warmth of temper which made Cromwell an enthusiast, rendered him the most dangerous of hypocrites; and it was to this turn of mind, as much as to his courage and capacity, that he owed all his wonderful successes. By his zeal, he engaged every one to cooperate with him in his measures; and entering easily and affectionately into every part which he was disposed to act, he was enabled to cover, under a tempest of passion, all his schemes and artifices.

Fairfax having resigned his commission, it was bestowed on Cromwell, who was declared captain-general of all the forces in England. This command, in a commonwealth, which stood entirely by arms, was of the utmost importance; and was the chief step which this ambitious politician had yet made towards sovereign power. He immediately marched his forces, and entered Scotland with an army of sixteen thousand men.

The command of the Scottish army was given to Lesley, an experienced officer, who formed a very proper plan of defence. He entrenched himself in a fortified camp between Edinburgh and Leith, and took care to remove from the counties of Merse and the Lothians every thing which could serve to the subsistence of the English army. Cromwell advanced to the Scotch camp, and endeavoured by every expedient to bring Lesley to action: the prudent Scotchman knew that, though superior in numbers, his army was much inferior in discipline to the English; and

he carefully kept himself within his entrenchments. By skirmishes and small rencounters he tried to confirm the spirits of his soldiers; and was successful in these enterprizes. His army daily increased both in numbers and courage. The king came to the camp; and having exerted himself in an action, gained on the affections of the soldiery, who were more desirous of serving under a young prince of spirit and vivacity, than under a committee of gown-men. The clergy were alarmed. They ordered Charles immediately to leave the camp. They also purged it carefully of about four thousand *Malignants* and *Engagers*, whose zeal had led them to attend the king, and who were the soldiers of chief credit and experience in the nation. They then concluded, that they had an army composed entirely of saints, and could not be beaten. They murmured extremely against their general. An advantage having offered itself on a Sunday, they hindered their general from making use of it, lest he should involve the nation in the guilt of sabbath-breaking.

Cromwell found himself in a very bad situation. He had no provisions but what he received by sea. He had not had the precaution to bring these in sufficient quantities; and his army was reduced to difficulties. He retired to Dunbar. Lesley followed him, and encamped on the heights of Lammermure, which overlook that town. There lay many difficult passes between Dunbar and Berwick, and of these Lesley had taken possession. The English general was reduced to extremities. He had even embraced a resolution of sending by sea all his foot and artillery to England, and of breaking through, at all hazards, with his cavalry. The madness of the Scottish ecclesiastics saved him from this loss and dishonour.

Night and day the ministers had been wrestling with the Lord in prayer, as they termed it; and they fancied that they had at last obtained the victory. Revelations, they said, were made them, that the sectarian and heretical army, together with Agag, meaning Cromwell, was delivered into their hands. Upon the faith of these visions, they forced their general, in spite of his remonstrances, to descend into the plain, with a view of attacking the English in their retreat. Cromwell, looking through a glass, saw the enemy's camp in motion; and foretold, without the help of revelation, that the Lord had delivered them into *his* hands. He gave orders immediately for an attack. In this battle, which was fought on the 3rd of September, 1650, it was easily observed that nothing, in military actions, can supply the place of discipline and experience; and that, in the presence of real danger, where men are not accustomed to it, the fumes of enthusiasm presently dissipate, and lose their influence. The Scots, though double in number to the English, were soon put to flight, and pursued with great slaughter. The chief, if not only resistance was made by one regiment of Highlanders, that part of the army which was the least infected with fanaticism. No victory could be more complete than this which was obtained by Cromwell. About three thousand of the enemy were slain, and nine thousand taken prisoners. Cromwell pursued his advantage, and took possession of Edinburgh and Leith. The remnant of the Scottish army fled to Stirling. The approach of the winter season, and an ague, which seized Cromwell, kept him from pushing the victory any farther.

The clergy made great lamentations, and told the Lord, that to them it was little to sacrifice their lives and estates, but to him it was a great loss to suffer his elect to be destroyed. They published a declaration, containing the cause of their late misfortunes. These visitations they ascribed to the manifold provocations of the king's house, of which they feared he had not yet thoroughly repented; the secret intrusion of malignants into the king's family, and even into the camp; the leaving of a most malignant and profane guard of horse, who, being sent for to be purged, came two days before the defeat, and were allowed to fight with the army; the owning of the king's quarrel by many without subordination to religion and liberty; and the carnal self-seeking of some, together with the neglect of family prayers by others.

Cromwell, having been so successful in the war of the sword, took up the pen against the Scottish ecclesiastics. He wrote them some polemical letters, in which he maintained the chief points of the independent theology. He took care likewise to retort on them their favourite argument of providence; and asked, Whether the Lord had not declared against them? But the ministers thought that the same events, which to their enemies were judgements, to them were trials; and they replied, that the Lord had only hid his face for a time, from Jacob. But Cromwell insisted, that the appeal had been made to God in the most express and solemn manner, and that, in the fields of Dunbar, an irrevocable decision had been awarded in favour of the English army (*k*).

The defeat of the Scots was regarded by the king as a fortunate event. The armies, which fought on both sides, were almost equally his enemies; and the vanquished now offered him more authority, and applied to him for support. The parliament was summoned to meet at St. John's Town. Hamilton, Lauderdale, and all the Engagers, were admitted into court and camp, on condition of doing public penance, and expressing repentance for their late transgressions. Some Malignants also creeped in under various pretences. The intended humiliation or penance of the king was changed into the ceremony of his coronation, which was performed at Scone with great pomp and solemnity, on the first of January, 1651. But amidst all this appearance of respect, Charles remained in the hands of the most rigid covenanters: and though treated with civility and courtesy by Argyle, a man of parts and address, he was little better than a prisoner.

Charles was now in a situation which very ill suited his temper and disposition. His affability, his wit, his gaiety, were here so many vices; and his love of ease, liberty, and pleasure, was regarded as the highest enormity. He was obliged to attend from morning to night at prayers and sermons; but he betrayed evident symptoms of weariness or contempt. The clergy never could esteem the king sincere; and by continual exhortations, remonstrances, and reprimands, they endeavoured to bring him to a juster sense of his spiritual duty (*l*).

The king was now very unpleasantly situated, and the formalities of the religious by no means suited with his disposition; so that he made an attempt to regain his liberty. General Middleton, at the head of some royalists, being proscribed by the covenanters, kept in the mountains, expecting some opportunity of serving his master. The king resolved to join this body. He secretly made his escape from Argyle, and fled towards the Highlands. Colonel Montgomery, with a troop of horse, was sent in pursuit of him. He overtook the king, and persuaded him to return. The royalists being too weak to support him, Charles was the more easily induced to comply. This incident procured him afterwards better treatment and more authority; the covenanters being apprehensive of driving him, by their rigours, to some desperate resolution. Argyle renewed his courtship to the king, and the king, with equal dissimulation, pretended to repose great confidence in that nobleman. He even went so far as to drop hints of his intention to marry the earl's daughter: but he had to do with a man too wise to be seduced by such gross artifices.

As soon as the season would permit, the Scottish army was assembled under Hamilton and Lesley; and the king was allowed to join the camp. The forces of the western counties, notwithstanding the imminent danger which threatened their country, were resolute not to unite their cause with that of an army which admitted any engagers or malignants among them; and they kept in a body apart under Ker. They called themselves the *Protesters;* and

(*k*) The following passage is extracted from Cromwell's composition on this occasion: "You say you have not so learned Christ as to hang the equity of our cause upon events. We could wish that blindness had not been upon your eyes to all those marvellous dispensations, which God had wrought lately in England. But did not you solemnly appeal and pray? Did not we do so too? And ought not we and you to think, with fear and trembling, of the hand of the great God, in this mighty and strange appearance of his, but can slightly call it an event? Were not both your and our expectations renewed from time to time, while we waited on God, to see which way he would manifest himself upon our appeals? And shall we, after all these our prayers, fastings, tears, expectations, and solemn appeals, call these mere events? The Lord pity you. Surely we fear, because it has been a merciful and a gracious deliverance to us. I beseech you in the bowels of Christ, search after the mind of the Lord in it towards you, and we shall help you by our prayers that you may find it. For yet, if we know our heart at all, our bowels do in Christ yearn after the godly in Scotland." *Thurloe*, vol. i. p. 158.

(*l*) The king's passion for the fair could not be restrained. He had been observed using some familiarities with a young woman; and a committee of ministers was appointed to reprove him for a behaviour so unbecoming a covenanted monarch. Mr. Douglas, the spokesman of the committee, began by informing the king that great scandal had been given to the godly; he enlarged on the heinous nature of sin, and concluded with exhorting his majesty, whenever he was disposed to amuse himself, to be more careful, for the future, in shutting the windows. This delicacy, so unusual to the place and to the character of the man was remarked by the king; and he never forgot the obligation.

their clergy declaimed equally against the king and against Cromwell. The other party were denominated *Resolutioners;* and these distinctions continued long after to divide and agitate the kingdom.

Charles encamped at the Torwood, between Edinburgh and Stirling; and his generals resolved to conduct themselves by the same cautious maxims which, so long as they were embraced, had been successful during the former campaign. The town of Stirling lay at his back, and the whole north supplied him with provisions. Strong entrenchments defended his front; and it was in vain that Cromwell made every attempt to bring him to an engagement. After losing much time, the English general sent Lambert over the frith into Fife, with an intention of cutting off the provisions of the enemy. Lambert fell upon Holborne and Brown, who commanded a body of four thousand Scots, and put them to rout with great slaughter. Cromwell also passed over his whole army; and lying at the back of the king, made it impossible for him to keep his post any longer.

Charles, reduced to despair, embraced the resolution of marching into England; where he expected that all his friends, and all those who were discontented with the present government, would flock to his standard. He persuaded the generals to enter into the same views; and with one consent the army, to the number of fifteen thousand foot, and three thousand horse, broke up their camp, and advanced towards the south.

Cromwell was surprized at this movement of the royal army. Wholly intent on offending his enemy, he had exposed his friends to imminent danger, and saw the king with numerous forces marching into England; where his presence, from the general hatred which prevailed against the parliament, was capable of producing some great revolution. But if this conduct was an oversight in Cromwell, he quickly repaired it by his vigilance and activity. He dispatched letters to the parliament, exhorting them not to be dismayed at the approach of the Scots: he sent orders every where for assembling forces to oppose the king: he ordered Lambert with a body of cavalry to hang upon the rear of the royal army, and infest their march: and he himself, leaving Monk with five thousand men to complete the reduction of Scotland, followed the king with all the expedition possible.

Charles found himself disappointed in his expectations of increasing his army. The Scots, terrified at the prospect of so hazardous an enterprize, fell off in great numbers. The English Presbyterians, having no warning given them of the king's approach, were not prepared to join him. To the royalists, this measure was equally unexpected; and they were farther deterred from joining the Scottish army, by the orders which the committee of ministers had issued, not to admit any, even in this desperate extremity, who would not subscribe the covenant. The earl of Derby, leaving the Isle of Man, where he had hitherto maintained his independence, was employed in levying forces in Cheshire and Lancashire; but was soon suppressed by a party of the parliamentary army. And the king, when he arrived at Worcester, where he was honourably received by the magistrates, and solemnly proclaimed, found that his forces, extremely harassed by a hasty and fatiguing march, were not more numerous than when he rose from his camp at Torwood.

The parliament raised the militia of the counties; and these, united with the regular forces, bent all their efforts against the king. With an army of about thirty thousand men, Cromwell fell upon Worcester on the 3rd of September; and attacking it on all sides, and meeting with little resistance, except from duke Hamilton and general Middleton, broke in upon the disordered royalists. The streets of the city were strewed with dead. Hamilton, a nobleman of bravery and honour, was mortally wounded; Massey wounded and taken prisoner; the king himself, having given many proofs of personal valour, was obliged to fly. The whole Scottish army was either killed or taken prisoners. The country people, inflamed with national antipathy, put to death the few that escaped from the field of battle.

The king left Worcester at six o'clock in the afternoon, and, without halting, travelled about twenty-six miles, in company with fifty or sixty of his friends. To provide for his safety, he thought it best to separate himself from his companions; and he left them without communicating his intentions to any of them. By the earl of Derby's directions, he went to Boscobel, a lone house in the borders of Staffordshire, inhabited by one Penderell, a farmer. To this man Charles entrusted himself; and though death was denounced against all who concealed the king, and a great reward promised to any one who should betray him, he professed and maintained unshaken fidelity. He took the assistance of his four brothers, equally faithful with himself; and having clothed the king in a garb like their own, they led him into the neighbouring wood, put a bill into his hand, and pretended to employ themselves in cutting faggots. Some nights he lay upon straw in the house, and fed on such homely fare as it afforded. For a better concealment, he mounted upon an oak, where he sheltered himself among the leaves and branches for twenty-four hours. He saw several soldiers pass by. All of them were intent in search of the king; and some expressed, in his hearing, their earnest wishes of seizing him. The tree was afterwards denominated the *Royal Oak;* and for many years was regarded by the neighbourhood with great veneration.

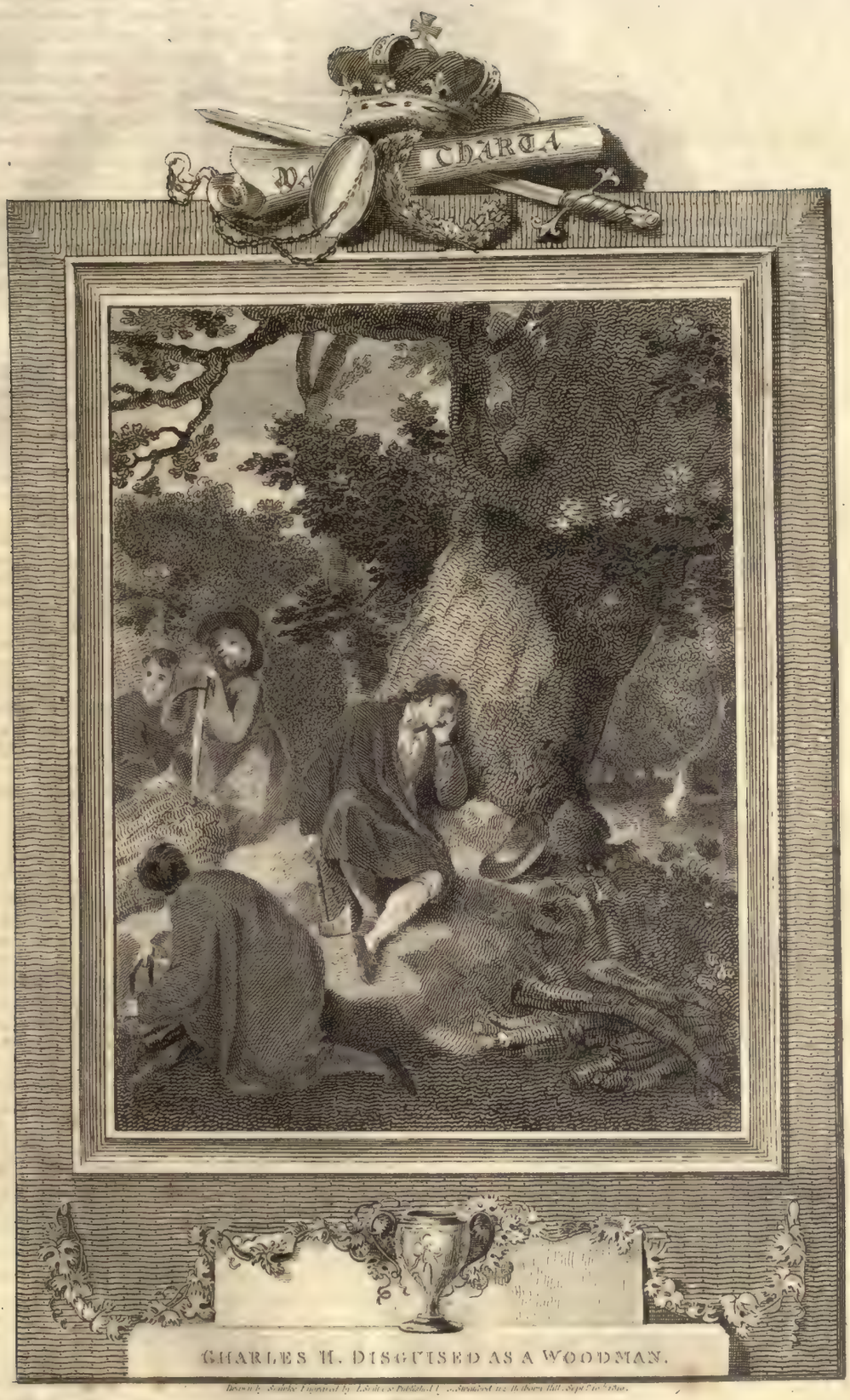
Charles was in the middle of the kingdom, and could neither stay in his retreat, nor stir a step from it, without the most imminent danger. Fear, hopes, and party zeal, interested multitudes to discover him; and even the smallest indiscretion of his friends might prove fatal. Having joined lord Wilmot, who was skulking in the neighbourhood, they agreed to put themselves into the hands of colonel Lane, a zealous royalist, who lived at Bentley, not many miles distant. The king's feet were so hurt by walking about in heavy boots or countrymen's shoes which did not fit him, that he was obliged to mount on horseback; and he travelled in this situation to Bentley, attended by the Penderells, who had been so faithful to him. Lane formed a scheme for his journey to Bristol, where, it was hoped, he would find a ship, in which he might transport himself. He had a near kinswoman, Mrs. Norton, who lived within three miles of that city, and was with child, very near the time of her delivery. He obtained a pass (for, during those times of confusion, this precaution was requisite,) for his sister Jane Lane and a servant, to travel towards Bristol, under pretence of visiting and attending her relation. The king rode before the lady, and personated the servant.

When they arrived at Norton's, Mrs. Lane pretended that she had brought along as her servant a poor lad, a neighbouring farmer's son, who was ill of an ague; and she begged a private room for him, where he might be quiet. Though Charles kept himself retired in this chamber, the butler, one Pope, soon knew him: the king was alarmed, but made the butler promise that he would keep the secret from every mortal, even from his master; and he was faithful to his engagement.

No ship, it was found, would, for a month, set sail from Bristol, either for France or Spain; and the king was obliged to go elsewhere for a passage. He entrusted himself to colonel Windham of Dorsetshire, an affectionate partizan of the royal family. The royalists had, many of them, been obliged to make concealments in their houses for themselves, their friends, or more valuable effects; and the arts of eluding the enemy had been frequently practised. All these circumstances proved favourable to the king in the present exigency. As he often passed through the hands of Catholics, the *Priest's Hole*, as they called it, the place where they were obliged to conceal their persecuted priests, was sometimes employed for sheltering the distressed Charles.

Colonel Windham, before he received the king, asked leave to entrust the important secret to his mother, his wife, and four servants, on whose fidelity he could rely. Of all these, no one proved wanting either in honour or discretion. The venerable old matron, on the reception of her royal guest, expressed the utmost joy, that having lost, without regret, three sons and one grandchild in the defence of his father, she was now reserved, in her declining years, to be instrumental in the preservation of himself. Windham told the king, that sir Thomas, his father, in the year 1636, a few days before his death, called to him his five sons. "My children," said he, "we have hitherto seen serene and quiet times under our three last sovereigns: but I must now warn you to prepare for clouds and storms. Factions arise on every side, and threaten the tranquillity of your native country. But whatever happen, do you faithfully honour and obey your prince, and adhere to the crown. I charge you never to forsake the crown, though it should hang upon a bush." "These last words," added Windham, "made such impressions on all our breasts, that the many afflictions of these sad times could never efface their indelible characters."

The king continued several days in Windham's house; while



CHARLES II. DISGUISED AS A WOODMAN.

Drawn by Sedeke Painted by I. Scott & Published 1 ... Strand near Holborn Hill Sept 2 1800.



while all his friends in Britain, and in every part of Europe, remained in the most anxious suspence with regard to his welfare: no one could conjecture whether he were dead or alive; and the report of his death being generally believed, relaxed the vigilant search of his enemies. Trials were made to procure a vessel for his escape; but he still met with disappointments. Having left Windham's house, he was obliged again to return to it. He passed through many other adventures; assumed different disguises; in every step was exposed to imminent perils; and received daily proofs of fidelity and attachment from several individuals. The sagacity of a smith, who remarked that his horse's shoes had been made in the north, not in the west, as he pretended, once detected him; and he narrowly escaped. At Shoreham in Sussex a vessel was at last found, in which he embarked. He had been known to so many, that if he had not set sail in that critical moment, it had been impossible for him to escape. After one and forty days concealment, he arrived safely at Fescamp in Normandy, on the 22nd of October. No less than forty men and women had at different times been privy to his concealment and escape.

For the trial of offences, the parliament erected a high court of justice, which was to receive indictments from the council of state. Colonel Eusebius Andrews, and colonel Walter Slingby, were tried by this court for conspiracies, and condemned to death. Love, Gibbons, and other Presbyterians, having entered into a plot against the republic, were also tried, condemned, and executed. The earl of Derby, sir Timothy Featherstone, Bemboe, being taken prisoners at the battle of Worcester, were put to death by sentence of a court-martial.

In their principles of toleration also, by which the republicans regulated ecclesiastical affairs they prognosticated a durable settlement. The Presbyterian model of congregation, classes, assemblies, was not yet completed; and it seemed to be the intention of some of the leaders in the parliament not to admit of any established church, and to leave every one, without any guidance of the magistrate, to embrace whatever sect, and to support whatever clergy, were most agreeable to his own conviction. This they considered as the natural right of man, and therefore could not conceive that they had any right to lay restraint upon their consciences.

The victory of Worcester, and the successes in Scotland, gave such a reputation to the new republic, that every state in Europe either courted its friendship, or dreaded its power. For this reason, most of the sovereigns excused themselves from making offers to the king, or supplying him with money, for fear of being suspected by the parliament; so that the king saw himself reduced to great extremities, and even to a want of common necessaries. He lived at Paris, maintained by his mother, who had a pension from the crown; but cardinal Mazarin, making his court to the parliament of England, took no notice of the distress of her unfortunate son.

On the other hand, Cromwell's glory and credit were so increased, since the battles of Dunbar and Worcester, that, as he was master of the armies of the three kingdoms, he was, in effect, master of the resolutions of the parliament, no man daring openly to oppose him. He had, besides, in the house, a great number of creatures, that it was easy for him to procure what resolutions he pleased; so that it may be truly said, he was the head of the commonwealth, whilst he had only the title of general.

This commonwealth was very powerful from its commencement. This appears rather strange at first, considering the great sums that were expended, and the blood that was shed, during the civil war. But it is to be considered, with regard to the expence, that the money had not been carried out of the kingdom. The only alteration was, that the rich were become poor, and the poor rich; which had not sunk the capital of the kingdom. And, as to the number of men killed in the war, it must also be considered, that England swarmed with people in the year 1642, having had no wars since the death of Elizabeth; so that the effusion of blood had not diminished the number of the inhabitants, so as to weaken the kingdom in any material degree. This is evident from the easiness wherewith, in the space of one year, the parliament raised an army for Ireland, and another more considerable for Scotland, besides the forces remaining in England. The navy, having had no enemies to engage during the war, was in a flourishing condition. In a word, England was not less powerful than under Elizabeth, or than it might have been under James the First and Charles the First, had those princes thought proper to engage in foreign wars. Nothing therefore was altered but the form of government; and that was in the hands of the most able men England had for a long time produced. In this respect England found itself in a very different state from what it was under the two foregoing kings, whose capacities to govern cannot be greatly commended by the impartial. Indeed the power of England had never, in any period, appeared so formidable to the neighbouring kingdoms as it did at this time, in the hands of the commonwealth. A numerous army served equally to retain every one in implicit subjection to established authority, and to strike a terror into the nations on the continent. The power of peace and war was lodged in the same hands with that of imposing taxes; and no difference of views, among the several members of the legislature, could any longer be apprehended. The present impositions, though superior to what had ever formerly been experienced, were in reality moderate, and what a nation so opulent could easily bear. The military genius of the people had, by the civil contests, been roused from its former lethargy; and excellent officers were formed in every branch of service. The confusion, into which all things had been thrown, had given opportunity to men of low stations to break through their obscurity, and to raise themselves by their courage to commands which they were well qualified to exercise. And while so great a power was lodged in such active hands, no wonder the republic was successful in all its enterprizes.

Blake, a man of great courage and a generous disposition, the same person who had defended Lyme and Taunton with such unshaken obstinacy against the late king, was made an admiral; and though he had hitherto been accustomed only to land service, into which too he had not entered till after fifty years of age, he soon raised the naval glory of the nation to a greater height than it had ever attained in any former period. A fleet was put under his command, and he received orders to pursue prince Rupert, to whom the king had entrusted that squadron which had deserted to him. Rupert took shelter in Kinsale in Ireland; and escaping thence, fled towards the coast of Portugal. Blake pursued and chased him into the Tagus, where he intended to make an attack upon him. But the king of Portugal, moved by favour to the royal cause, refused Blake admittance, and aided prince Rupert in making his escape. To be revenged of this partiality, the English admiral made prize of twenty Portuguese ships richly laden; and threatened still farther vengeance. The king of Portugal, dreading so dangerous a foe to his newly acquired dominion, and sensible of the unequal contest in which he was engaged, made all possible submissions to the republic, and was at last admitted to negociate the renewal of his alliance with England. Prince Rupert, having lost a great part of his squadron on the coast of Spain, made sail towards the West Indies. His brother, prince Maurice, was there shipwrecked in a hurricane. Every where this squadron subsisted by privateering, sometimes on English, sometimes on Spanish vessels. And Rupert at last returned to France, where he disposed of the remnant of his fleet, together with his prizes.

All the settlements in America, except New England, which had been planted entirely by the Puritans, adhered to the royal party, even after the settlement of the republic; and sir George Ayscue was sent with a squadron to reduce them. Bermudas, Antigua, Virginia, were soon subdued. Barbadoes, commanded by lord Willoughby of Parham, made some resistance; but was at last obliged to submit.

With equal ease were Jersey, Guernsey, Scilly, and the Isle of Man, brought under subjection to the republic; and the sea, which had been much infested by privateers from these islands, was rendered safe to the English commerce. The countess of Derby defended the Isle of Man; and with great reluctance yielded to the necessity of surrendering to the parliament. This lady, a daughter of the illustrious house of Tremoille in France, had during the civil war, displayed a manly courage by her obstinate defence of Latham House against the parliamentary forces; and she retained the glory of being the last person in the three kingdoms, and in all their dependent dominions, who submitted to the victorious commonwealth.

Ireland and Scotland were now entirely subjected and reduced to tranquillity. Ireton, the new deputy of Ireland,

land, at the head of a numerous army, thirty thousand strong, prosecuted the work of subduing the revolted Irish; and he defeated them in many rencounters, which, though of themselves of no great moment, proved fatal to their declining cause. He punished without mercy all the prisoners who had any hand in the cruel massacres practised in the reign of Charles the First against the Protestants. Sir Phelim O'Neale, among the rest, was, some time after, brought to the gibbet, and suffered an ignominious death, which he had so well merited by his inhuman cruelties. Limeric, a considerable town, still remained in the hands of the Irish; and Ireton, after a vigorous siege, made himself master of it. He was here infected with the plague, and shortly after died (*m*).

The command of the army in Ireland devolved on lieutenant-general Ludlow. The civil government of the island was entrusted to commissioners. Ludlow continued to push the advantages against the Irish, and every where obtained an easy victory. That unhappy people, disgusted with the king on account of those violent declarations against them and their religion, which he had published at the instigation of the Scots, applied to the king of Spain, and the duke of Lorraine, but found no one willing to give assistance. Clanricarde, unable to resist the prevailing power, made submissions to the parliament, and retired into England, where he soon after died. He was a steady Catholic; but a man much respected by all parties.

The successes which attended Monk in Scotland were no less decisive. That able general laid siege to Stirling Castle; and though it was well provided for defence, it was soon surrendered to him. He there became master of all the records of the kingdom; and he sent them to England. The earl of Leven, the earl of Crawford, lord Ogilvy, and other noblemen, having met near Perth, in order to concert measures for raising a new army, were suddenly set upon by colonel Alured, and most of them taken prisoners. Sir Philip Musgrave, with some Scots, being engaged at Dumfries in a like enterprize, met with a similar fate. Dundee was a town well fortified, supplied with a good garrison under Lumsden, and full of all the rich furniture, the plate, and money of the kingdom, which had been sent thither as to a place of safety. Monk appeared before it; and having made a breach, gave a general assault. He carried the town; and following the example and instructions of Cromwell, put all the inhabitants to the sword, in order to strike a general terror into the kingdom. Warned by this example, Aberdeen, St. Andrew's, Inverness, and other towns and forts, yielded, of their own accord, to the enemy. Argyle made his submissions to the English commonwealth; and excepting a few royalists, who remained some time in the mountains, under the earl of Glencairn, lord Balcarras, and general Middleton, that kingdom was reduced to total subjection.

The English parliament sent sir Harry Vane, St. John, and other commissioners, to settle affairs in Scotland. These men required the voluntary consent of all the counties and towns of this conquered kingdom, before they would unite them into the same commonwealth with England. The clergy protested; because, they said, this incorporating union would draw along with it a subordination of the church to the state in the things of Christ. English judges, joined to some Scottish, were appointed to determine all causes; justice was strictly administered; order and peace maintained; and the Scots, freed from the tyranny of the ecclesiastics, were not much dissatisfied with the present government. The prudent conduct of Monk, a man who possessed a capacity for the arts both of peace and war, served much to reconcile the minds of men, and to allay their prejudices.

By the total reduction and pacification of the British dominions, the parliament had leisure to look abroad, and to exert their vigour in foreign enterprizes. The Dutch were the first that felt the weight of their arms.

During the life of Frederic Henry, prince of Orange, the Dutch republic had maintained a neutrality in the civil wars of England, and had never interposed, except by her good offices, between the contending parties. When William, who had married an English princess, succeeded to his father's commands and authority, the States, both before and after the execution of the late king, were accused of taking steps more favourable to the royal cause, and of betraying a great prejudice against that of the parliament. It was long before the envoy of the English commonwealth could obtain an audience of the states-general. The murderers of Dorislaus were not pursued with such rigour as the parliament expected. And much regard had been paid to the king, and many good offices performed to him, both by the public, and by men of all ranks in the United Provinces.

After the death of William, prince of Orange, which took place on the 17th of October, 1650, and which was attended with the depression of his party and the triumph of the Dutch republicans, the parliament thought that the time was now favourable for cementing a closer confederacy with the States. St. John, chief justice, who was sent over to the Hague, had entertained the idea of forming a kind of coalition between two republics, which would have rendered their interests totally inseparable; but fearing that so extraordinary a project would not be relished, he contented himself with dropping some hints of it, and openly went no farther than to propose a strict defensive alliance between England and the United Provinces. But the States offered only to renew the former alliances with England. And St. John, disgusted with this disappointment, as well as incensed at many affronts, which had been offered him with impunity, by the retainers of the Palatine and Orange families, and indeed by the populace in general, returned into England, and endeavoured to foment a quarrel between the republics.

Though war with so considerable a naval power as the Dutch, who were in peace with all their other neighbours, might seem dangerous to the new commonwealth, there were several motives which at this time induced the English parliament to embrace hostile measures. Among the principal, to divert the attention of the public from domestic quarrels towards foreign transactions, seemed, in the present disposition of men's minds, to be good policy. The superior power of the English commonwealth, together with its advantages of situation, promised success; and the parliamentary leaders hoped to gain many rich prizes from the Dutch, to distress and sink their flourishing commerce, and by victories to throw a lustre on their own establishment. These views, enforced by the violent spirit of St. John, who had great influence over Cromwell, determined the parliament to change the purposed alliance into a furious war against the United Provinces.

To cover these hostile intentions, the parliament embraced such measures as they knew would give disgust to the States. They framed the famous act of navigation; which prohibited all nations from importing into England in their bottoms any commodity which was not the growth and manufacture of their own country. By this law, which was to commence the first of December, 1651, though the terms in which it was conceived were general, the Dutch were principally affected; because their country produces few commodities, and they subsist chiefly by being the general carriers and factors of Europe. Letters of reprisal were granted to several merchants, who complained of injuries, which, they pretended, they had received from the States; and above eighty Dutch ships fell into their hands, and were made prizes. The cruelties committed on the English at Amboyna, which were certainly enormous, but which seemed to be buried in oblivion by a thirty years' silence, were again made the ground of complaint. And the allowing the murderers of Dorislaus to escape, and the conniving at the insults to which St. John had been exposed, were represented as symptoms of an unfriendly, if not a hostile, disposition in the States.

The States, alarmed at these steps, sent orders to their ambassadors to endeavour the renewal of the treaty of alliance, which had been broken off by the abrupt departure of St. John. Not to be unprepared, they equipped a fleet of a hundred and fifty sail, and took care, by their ministers at London, to inform the council of state of that armament. This intelligence, instead of striking terror into the English republic, was considered as a menace, and farther confirmed the parliament in their hostile re-

(*m*) General Ireton was much celebrated for his vigilance, industry, capacity, and for the strict execution of justice in that unlimited command which he possessed in Ireland. He was observed to be inflexible in all his purposes; and he was animated with a sincere and passionate love of liberty, and never could have been induced by any motive to submit to the smallest appearance of regal government. Cromwell was much affected by his death; and the republicans, who reposed great confidence in him, were inconsolable. To shew their regard for his merit and services, they bestowed an estate of two thousand pounds a-year on his family, and honoured him with a magnificent funeral at the public charge.

solutions. The minds of men in both states were, every day, more irritated against each other; and it was not long before these humours broke forth into action.

Van Tromp, an admiral of great renown, received from the States the command of a fleet of forty-five sail, in order to protect the Dutch navigation against the privateers of the English. He was forced, by stress of weather, as he alledged, to take shelter in the road of Dover, where he met with Blake, who commanded an English fleet consisting of twenty-six ships only. Who was the aggressor in the action, which ensued between these two admirals, both of them men of such prompt and fiery dispositions, it is not easy to determine; since each of them sent to his own state a relation totally opposite in all its circumstances to that of the other, and yet supported by the testimony of every captain in his fleet. Blake pretended that, having given a signal to the Dutch admiral to strike, Van Tromp, instead of complying, fired a broadside at him. Tromp asserted that he was preparing to strike, and that the English admiral, nevertheless, began hostilities. It is certain that the admiralty of Holland, who are distinct from the council of state, had given Tromp no orders to strike, but had left him to his own discretion with regard to that vain but much contested ceremonial. They seemed willing to introduce the claim of an equality with the new commonwealth, and to interpret the former respect paid the English flag, as a deference due only to the monarchy. This circumstance forms a strong presumption against the narrative of the Dutch admiral. The whole Orange party, it must be remarked, to which Tromp was suspected to adhere, were desirous of a war with England.

Blake maintained the fight with bravery for five hours, and sunk one ship of the enemy, and took another. Night parted the combatants, and the Dutch fleet retired towards the coast of Holland. The populace of London were enraged, and would have insulted the Dutch ambassadors, who lived at Chelsea, had not the council of state sent guards to protect them.

When the States heard of this action, of which the consequences were easily foreseen, they were in the utmost consternation. On the 30th of April, 1652, they dispatched Paw, pensionary of Holland, as their ambassador extraordinary to London, and ordered him to lay before the parliament the narrative which Tromp had sent of the late rencounter. They entreated them, by all the bands of their common religion and common liberties, not to precipitate themselves into hostile measures, but to appoint commissioners, who should examine every circumstance of the action, and clear up the truth, which lay in obscurity. And they pretended that they had given no orders to their admiral to offer any violence to the English, but would severely punish him, if they found, upon inquiry, that he had been guilty of an action which they so much disapproved. The parliament, however, would not hearken to any of these reasons or remonstrances. Elated by the numerous successes which they had obtained over their domestic enemies, they thought that every thing must yield to their fortunate arms; and they gladly seized the opportunity, which they sought, of making war upon the States. They demanded that, without any farther delay or inquiry, reparation should be made for all the damages which the English had sustained. And when this demand was not complied with, they dispatched orders for commencing war against the United Provinces.

Blake sailed northwards with a numerous fleet, and fell upon the herring busses, which were escorted by twelve men of war. All these he either took or dispersed. Tromp followed him with a fleet of above a hundred sail. When these two admirals were within sight of each other, and preparing for battle, a furious storm attacked them. Blake took shelter in the English harbours. The Dutch fleet was dispersed, and received great damage.

Sir George Ayscue, though he commanded only forty ships, according to the English accounts, engaged on the 16th of August, near Plymouth, the famous de Ruiter, who had under him fifty ships of war, with thirty merchantmen. The Dutch ships were indeed of inferior force to the English. De Ruiter, the only admiral in Europe who has attained a renown equal to that of the greatest general, defended himself so well, that Ayscue gained no advantage over him. Night parted them in the greatest heat of the action. De Ruiter next day sailed off with his convoy. The English fleet had been so shattered in the fight, that it was not able to pursue.

Near the coast of Kent, on the 28th of October, Blake, seconded by Bourne and Pen, met a Dutch squadron, nearly equal in numbers, commanded by de Witte and de Ruiter. A battle was fought much to the disadvantage of the Dutch. Their rear-admiral was boarded and taken. Two other vessels were sunk, and one blown up. The Dutch next day made sail towards Holland.

The English were not so successful in the Mediterranean. Van Galen, with a much superior force, attacked captain Badily, and defeated him. He bought, however, his victory with the loss of his life.

Sea fights are seldom so decisive as to disable the vanquished from making head in a little time against the victors. Van Tromp, seconded by de Ruiter, met, near the Goodwin Sands, on the 29th of November, with Blake, whose fleet was inferior to the Dutch, but who resolved not to decline the combat. A furious battle commenced, where the admirals on both sides, as well as the inferior officers and seamen, exerted great bravery. In this action the Dutch had the advantage. Blake himself was wounded. The Garland and Bonaventure were taken. Two ships were burned, and one sunk; and night came opportunely to save the English fleet. After this victory, Tromp, in a bravado, fixed a broom to his main-mast; as if he were resolved to sweep the sea entirely of all English vessels.

Great preparations were made in England, in order to wipe off this disgrace. A fleet of eighty sail was fitted out. Blake commanded, and Dean under him, together with Monk, who had been sent for from Scotland. When the English lay off Portland, they descried, near break of day, on the 18th of February, 1653, a Dutch fleet of seventy-six vessels, sailing up the channel, with a convoy of three hundred merchantmen, who had received orders to wait at the isle of Rhé, till the fleet should arrive to escort them. Van Tromp, and, under him, de Ruiter, commanded the Dutch. This battle was the most furious that had yet been fought between these warlike and rival nations. Three days was the combat continued with the utmost rage and obstinacy; and Blake, who was victor, gained not more honour than Van Tromp, who was vanquished. The Dutch admiral made a skilful retreat, and saved all the merchant ships, except thirty. He lost, however, eleven ships of war, had two thousand men slain, and near fifteen hundred taken prisoners. The English, though many of their ships were extremely shattered, had but one sunk. Their slain were not much inferior in number to those of the enemy.

These successes of the English were chiefly owing to the superior size of their vessels; an advantage which all the skill and bravery of the Dutch admirals could not compensate. By means of ship-money, an imposition which had been so much complained of, and in some respects with reason, the late king had put the navy into a situation which it had never attained in any former reign; and he ventured to build ships of a size which was then unusual. But the misfortunes which the Dutch met with in battle, were small in comparison of those which their trade sustained from the English. Their whole commerce by the channel was cut off: even that to the Baltic was much infested by English privateers. Their fisheries were totally suspended. A great number of their ships, above sixteen hundred, had fallen into the hands of the English. And all this distress they suffered, not for any national interests or necessity; but from vain points of honour and personal resentments, of which it was difficult to give a satisfactory account to the public. They resolved, therefore, to gratify the pride of the parliament, and to make some advances towards peace. They met not, however, with a favourable reception; and it was not without pleasure that they learned the dissolution of that haughty assembly by the violence of Cromwell; an event from which they expected a more prosperous turn to their affairs.

The zealous republicans in the parliament had not been the chief or first promoters of the war; but when it was once entered upon, they endeavoured to draw from it every possible advantage. On all occasions they set up the fleet in opposition to the army, and celebrated the glory and successes of their naval armaments. They insisted on the intolerable expence to which the nation was subjected, and urged the necessity of diminishing it, by a reduction of the land forces. They had ordered some regiments to serve on board the fleet, in the quality of marines. And Cromwell, by the whole train of their proceedings, evidently perceived that they had entertained a jealousy of

his power, and were resolved to bring him to a subordination under their authority. Without scruple or delay he resolved to prevent them.

On such firm foundations was built the credit of Cromwell, that he judged it superfluous to employ any disguise in conducting this bold enterprize. He therefore summoned a general council of officers; and immediately found that they were disposed to receive whatever impressions he was pleased to give them. Most of them were his creatures, had owed their advancement to his favour, and relied entirely upon him for their future preferment. The breach being already made between the military and civil powers, when the late king was seized at Holdenby; the general officers regarded the parliament as at once their creature and their rival; and thought that they themselves were entitled to share among them those offices and riches, of which its members had so long kept possession. Harrison, Rich, Overton, and a few others, were guided by notions so extravagant, that they were easily deluded into measures the most violent. And the whole army, which had kept the nation in subjection, could entertain no scruple with regard to any enterprize which might serve their purposes.

In the council of officers it was presently voted to frame a remonstrance to the parliament. After complaining of the arrears due to the army, they there desired the parliament to reflect how many years they had sitten, and what professions they had formerly made of their intentions to new-model the representative, and establish successive parliaments, who might bear the burthen of national affairs, from which they themselves would gladly, after so much danger and fatigue, be at last relieved. They confessed that the parliament had atchieved great enterprizes, and had surmounted mighty difficulties; yet was it an injury, they said, to the rest of the nation to be excluded from bearing any part in the service of their country. It was now full time for them to give place to others; and they therefore desired them, after settling a council, who might execute the laws during the interval, to summon a new parliament, and establish that free and equal government, which they had so long promised to the people.

The parliament took this remonstrance in ill part, and made a sharp reply to the council of officers. The officers insisted on their advice; and by mutual altercation and opposition the breach became still wider between the army and the commonwealth. Cromwell, finding matters ripe for his purpose, called a council of officers, on the 10th of April, in order to come to a determination with regard to the public settlement. As he had here many friends, so had he also some opponents. Harrison having assured the council that the general sought only to pave the way for the government of Jesus and his saints, major Streater briskly replied, that Jesus ought then to come quickly: for if he delayed it till after Christmas, he would come too late; he would find his place occupied. While the officers were in debate, colonel Ingoldsby informed Cromwell, that that parliament was sitting, and had come to a resolution not to dissolve themselves, but to fill up the house by new elections; and was at that very time engaged in deliberations with regard to this expedient. Cromwell, in a rage, immediately hastened to the house, and carried a body of three hundred soldiers along with him. Some of them he placed at the door, some in the lobby, some on the stairs. He first addressed himself to his friend St. John, and told him that he had come with a purpose of doing what grieved him to the very soul, and what he had earnestly with tears besought the Lord not to impose upon him: but there was a necessity, in order to the glory of God and good of the nation. He sat down for some time, and heard the debate. He beckoned Harrison, and told him that he now judged the parliament ripe for a dissolution. "Sir," said Harrison, "the work is very great and dangerous: I desire you seriously to consider, before you engage in it." "You say well," replied the general; and thereupon sat still about a quarter of an hour. When the question was ready to be put, he said again to Harrison, "This is the time: I must do it." And suddenly starting up, he loaded the parliament with the vilest reproaches, for their tyranny, ambition, oppression, and robbery of the public. Then stamping with his foot, which was a signal for the soldiers to enter, "For shame," said he to the parliament, "get you gone; give place to honester men; to those who will more faithfully discharge their trust. You are no longer a parliament: I tell you, you are no longer a parliament. The Lord has done with you: he has chosen other instruments for carrying on his work." Sir Harry Vane exclaiming against this proceeding, he cried with a loud voice, "O! sir Harry Vane, sir Harry Vane! The Lord deliver me from sir Harry Vane!" Taking hold of Martin by the cloak, "Thou art a whore-master," said he. To another, "Thou art an adulterer." To a third, "Thou art a drunkard and a glutton:" "And thou an extortioner," to a fourth. He commanded a soldier to seize the mace. "What shall we do with this bauble? Here take it away. It is you," said he, addressing himself to the house, "that have forced me upon this. I have sought the Lord night and day, that he would rather slay me than put me upon this work." Having commanded the soldiers to clear the hall, he himself went out the last, and ordering the doors to be locked, departed to his lodgings in Whitehall.

In this manner did Cromwell, without the least opposition, annihilate that famous assembly, which had filled all Europe with the renown of its actions, and with astonishment at its crimes, and whose commencement was not more ardently desired by the people than was its final dissolution. All parties now reaped successively the melancholy pleasure of seeing the injuries which they had suffered, revenged on their enemies; and that too by the same arts which had been practised against them. The king had, in many instances, stretched his prerogative beyond its just bounds; and, aided by the church, had well nigh put an end to all the liberties and privileges of the nation. The Presbyterians checked the progress of the court and clergy, and excited the populace, first to tumults, then to war, against the king, the peers, and the royalists. No sooner had they reached the pinnacle of grandeur, than the Independents instigated the army against them, and reduced them to subjection.

Congratulatory addresses were now made to Cromwell by the fleet, by the army, and by many of the chief corporations and counties of England; but especially by the several congregations of Independents, which were dispersed throughout the kingdom (*n*). The royalists, though they could not love the man who had been instrumental in the death of their sovereign, expected more lenity from him, than from the jealous and imperious republicans, who had hitherto governed. The Presbyterians were pleased to see those men, by whom they had been outwitted and expelled, now in their turn expelled and outwitted by their own servant; and they applauded him for this last act of violence upon the parliament. These two parties composed the bulk of the nation, and kept the people in some tolerable temper. All men likewise, harassed with wars and factions, were glad to see any prospect of settlement. And they deemed it less ignominious to submit to a person of such admirable talents and capacity than to a few ignoble enthusiastics, who, under the name of a republic, had reduced them to subjection.

The republicans, being dethroned by Cromwell, were the party whose resentment he had the greatest reason to apprehend. That party, besides the Independents, contained two sets of men, who are seemingly of the most opposite principles, but who were then united by a similitude of genius and of character. The first and most numerous were the millenarians, or fifth monarchy men, who insisted, that, dominion being founded in grace, all distinction in magistracy must be abolished, except what arose from piety and holiness; who expected suddenly the second coming of Christ upon earth; and who pretended, that the saints in the mean while, that is, themselves, were alone entitled to govern. The second were the deists, who had no other object than political liberty, who denied entirely the truth of revelation, and insinuated, that all the various sects, so heated against each other, were alike founded in folly and in error. Men of such daring geniuses were not contented with the ancient and legal forms of civil government; but challenged a degree of freedom beyond what they expected ever to enjoy under any monarchy. Martin, Challoner, Harrington, Sidney, Wildman, Nevil, were esteemed the heads of this small division.

The deists were perfectly hated by Cromwell, because he had no hold of enthusiasm, by which he could govern or over-reach them; he therefore treated them with rigour and disdain, and usually denominated them the *heathens*. As the millenarians had a great interest in the army, it was much more important for him to gain their confidence. Of late years it had been so usual a topic of conversation to discourse of parliaments and councils and senates, and the

(*n*) See Milton's State Papers.

the soldiers themselves had been so much accustomed to enter into that spirit, that Cromwell thought it requisite to establish something which might bear the face of a commonwealth. He supposed that God, in his providence, had thrown the whole right, as well as power, of government into his hands; and without any more ceremony, by the advice of his council of officers, he sent summons to a hundred and twenty-eight persons of different towns and counties of England, to five of Scotland, to six of Ireland. He pretended, by his sole act and deed, to devolve upon these the whole authority of the state. This legislative power they were to exercise during fifteen months, and they were afterwards to choose the same number of persons, who might succeed them in that high and important office.

There were great numbers at that time, who made it a principle always to adhere to any power which was uppermost, and to support the established government. This maxim is not peculiar to the people of that age; but what may be esteemed peculiar to them, is, that there prevailed a hypocritical phrase for expressing so prudential a conduct: it was called a waiting upon providence. They therefore, on the 4th of July, 1653, being assembled at Whitehall, immediately voted themselves a parliament; and having their own consent, as well as that of Oliver Cromwell, for their legislative authority, they now proceeded very gravely to the exercise of it.

In this notable assembly were some persons of the rank of gentlemen; but the greater part were low mechanics; fifth-monarchy men, anabaptists, antinomians, independents. They began with seeking God by prayer: this office was performed by eight or ten *gifted* men of the assembly; and with so much success, that, according to the confession of all, they had never before, in any of their devotional exercises, enjoyed so much of the Holy Spirit as was then communicated to them. Their hearts were, no doubt, dilated when they considered the high dignity, to which they supposed themselves exalted. They had been told by Cromwell, in his first discourse, that he never looked to see such a day, when Christ should be so owned (*o*). They thought it, therefore, their duty to proceed to a thorough reformation, and to pave the way for the reign of the Redeemer, and for that great work which, it was expected, the Lord was to bring forth among them. All fanatics, being consecrated by their own fond imaginations, naturally bear an antipathy to the ecclesiastics, who claim a peculiar sanctity, derived merely from their office and priestly character. This parliament took into consideration the abolition of the clerical function, as savouring of popery; and the taking away of tithes, which they called a relict of Judaism. Learning also and the universities were deemed heathenish and unnecessary: the common law was denominated a badge of the conquest and of Norman slavery; and they threatened the lawyers with a total abrogation of their profession. Some steps were even taken towards an abolition of the chancery, the highest court of judicature in the kingdom; and the Mosaical law was intended to be established as the sole system of English jurisprudence.

Of all the extraordinary schemes adopted by these legislators, they had not leisure to finish any, except that which established the legal solemnization of marriage by the civil magistrate alone, without the interposition of the clergy. They found themselves exposed to the derision of the public. Among the fanatics of the house, there was an active member, much noted for his long prayers, sermons, and harangues. He was a leather-seller in London: his name *Praise-god Barebone.* This curious name, which seems to have been chosen by some poet or allegorist to suit so ridiculous a personage, struck the fancy of the people; and they commonly affixed to this assembly the appellation of Barebone's parliament (*p*).

The Dutch ambassadors endeavoured to enter into negociations with this parliament; but, though Protestants and even Presbyterians, they met with a bad reception from those who pretended to a sanctity so much superior. The Hollanders were regarded as worldly-minded men, intent only on commerce and the accumulation of wealth; whom it was fitting the saints should first extirpate, ere they undertook that great work, to which they believed themselves destined by providence, of subduing Antichrist, the man of sin, and extending to the uttermost bounds of the earth the kingdom of the Redeemer. The ambassadors finding themselves proscribed, not as enemies of England, but of Christ, remained in astonishment, and knew not which was most to be admired, the implacable spirit or egregious folly of the fanatics they now had to deal with.

If ever Cromwell had any design in summoning so preposterous an assembly beyond amusing the populace and the army; he had intended to alarm the clergy and lawyers; and he had so far succeeded as to make them desire any other government, which might secure their professions, now brought in danger by these desperate enthusiasts. Cromwell himself was dissatisfied, that the parliament, though they had derived all their authority from him, began to pretend power from the Lord, and to insist already on their divine commission. He had been careful to summon in his writs several persons entirely devoted to him. By concert, these met early; and it was mentioned by some among them, that the sitting of this parliament any longer would be of no service to the nation. They hastened therefore, to Cromwell, along with Rouse, their speaker; and, by a formal deed or assignment, on the 12th of December, 1653, restored into his hands that supreme authority which they had so lately received from him. General Harrison and about twenty more remained in the house; and that they might prevent the reign of the saints from coming to an untimely end, they placed one Moyer in the chair, and began to draw up protests. They were soon interrupted by colonel White, with a party of soldiers. He asked them what they did there? "We are seeking the Lord," said they. "Then you may go elsewhere," replied he: "For to my certain knowledge, he has not been here these many years."

CHAP. V.

OLIVER CROMWELL CHOSEN PROTECTOR.

THE members of Barebone's parliament, who left their seats, and went to Cromwell and the council of officers, declared to them, "that they found themselves incapable of the trust reposed in them, and therefore resigned the instrument they had received," and besought them to take care of the government. Thus Cromwell and his officers were once more invested with the supreme power, by that parliament on which themselves had conferred their pretended authority. Two days after, the 14th of December, 1653, the council of officers, by virtue of the authority lately given them by parliament, declared,

(*o*) These are his expressions. "Indeed, I have but one word more to say to you, though in that perhaps I shall show my weakness: it is by way of encouragement to you in this work; give me leave to begin thus: I confess I never looked to have seen such a day as this, it may be nor you neither, when Jesus Christ should be so owned as he is at this day and in this work. Jesus Christ is owned this day by your call, and you own him by your willingness to appear for him, and you manifest this (as far as poor creatures can do) to be a day of the power of Christ. I know you will remember that scripture, *he makes his people willing in the day of his power.* God manifests it to be the day of the power of Christ, having through so much blood and so much trial as has been upon this nation, he makes this one of the greatest mercies, next to his own Son, to have his people called to the supreme authority. God hath owned his Son, and hath owned you, and hath made you to own him. I confess, I never looked to have seen such a day: I did not:" The rest of the speech may be seen among Milton's State Papers, p. 106.

(*p*) It was usual for the enthusiasts at that time to change their names from Henry, Edward, Anthony, William, which they regarded as heathenish, into others more sanctified and godly: even the New Testament names, James, Andrew, John, Peter, were not held in such regard as those which were borrowed from the Old Testament, Hezekiah, Habbakuk, Joshua, Zerobabel. Sometimes a whole godly sentence was adopted as a name. Here are the names of a jury said to be enclosed in the county of Sussex about that time:

Accepted, Trevor of Norsham.	Return, Spelman of Watling.
Redeemed, Compton of Battle.	Be faithful, Joiner of Britling.
Faint not, Hewit of Heathfield.	Fly Debate, Roberts of the same.
Make peace, Heaton of Hare.	Fight the good Fight of Faith, White of Emer.
God Reward, Smart of Fivehurst.	More Fruit, Fowler of East Hadley.
Standfast on High, Stringer of Crowhurst.	Hope for, Bending of the same.
Earth, Adams of Warbleton.	Graceful, Harding of Lewes.
Called, Lower of the same.	Weep not, Billing of the same.
Kill Sin, Pimple of Witham.	Meek, Brewer of Okeham.

See Broome's Travels in England, p. 279. "Cromwell," says Cleveland, "hath beat up his drums clean through the Old Testament. You may learn the genealogy of our Saviour by the names of his regiment. The muster master hath no other list than the first chapter of St. Matthew." The brother of this Praise-god Barebone had for name, *If Christ had not died for you, you had been damned Barebone.* But the people, tired of this long name, retained only the last word, and commonly gave him the appellation of *Damn'd Barebone.*

that,

that, for the future, the government of the republic should reside in a single person, namely, Oliver Cromwell, captain-general of the forces of England, Scotland, and Ireland; who should have the title of Protector of the three kingdoms, and be assisted by a council of twenty-one persons (*q*).

Cromwell said, that he accepted the dignity of protector, merely that he might exert the duty of a constable, and preserve peace in the nation. Affairs indeed were brought to that pass, by the furious animosities of the several factions, that the extensive authority and even arbitrary power of some first magistrate was become a necessary evil, in order to keep the people from relapsing into blood and confusion. The Independents alone were too small a party to establish a popular government, or entrust the nation with the free choice of its representatives. The Presbyterians had adopted the violent maxims of persecutiou; incompatible at all times with the peace of society, much more with the wild zeal of those numerous sects which prevailed among the people. The royalists were so much enraged by the injuries which they had suffered, that the other prevailing parties would never submit to them, whom they knew, if they again got the power, would take severe vengeance upon them.

During the variety of ridiculous and distracted scenes, which the civil government exhibited in England, the military force was exerted with vigour, conduct, and unanimity; and never did the kingdom appear more formidable to all foreign nations. The English fleet, consisting of a hundred sail, and commanded by Monk and Dean, and under them by Pen and Lauson, met, near the coast of Flanders, with the Dutch fleet, equally numerous, and commanded by Van Tromp. The two republics were not inflamed by any national antipathy, and their interests very little interfered: yet few battles have been disputed with more fierce and obstinate courage than were those many naval combats, which were fought during this short, but violent, contest. The desire of remaining sole lords of the ocean animated these states to an honourable emulation against each other. After a battle of two days, in the first of which Dean was killed, the Dutch, inferior in the size of their ships, were obliged, with great loss, to retire into their harbours. Blake, towards the end of the fight, joined his countrymen with eighteen sail. The English fleet lay off the coast of Holland, and totally interrupted the commerce of that republic.

The ambassadors, whom the Dutch had sent over to England, gave them hopes of peace. But as they could obtain no cessation of hostilities, the States, unwilling to suffer any longer the loss and dishonour of being blockaded by the enemy, made the utmost efforts to recover their injured honour. Never on any occasion did the power and vigour of that republic appear in a more conspicuous light. In a few weeks, they had repaired and manned their fleet; and they equipped some ships of a larger size than any which they had hitherto sent to sea. Van Tromp issued out, determined again to fight the victors, and to die rather than to yield the contest. He met with the enemy, commanded by Monk; and both sides immediately rushed into the combat. Van Tromp, gallantly animating his men, with his sword drawn, was shot through the heart with a musquet ball, on the 29th of July, 1653. This event alone decided the battle in favour of the English. Though near thirty ships of the Dutch were sunk and taken, they little regarded this loss compared with that of their brave admiral.

The negociations for peace were in the mean time advancing. The States, overwhelmed with the expence of the war, terrified by their losses, and mortified by their defeats, were extremely desirous of an accommodation with an enemy whom they found, by experience, too powerful for them. Charles having shown an inclination to serve on board their fleet; though they expressed their sense of the honour intended them, they declined an offer, which might inflame the quarrel with the English commonwealth. The great obstacle to the peace was found not to be any animosity on the part of the English; but on the contrary a desire too earnest of union and confederacy. Cromwell had revived the chimerical scheme of a coalition with the United Provinces; a total conjunction of government, privileges, interest, and councils. This project appeared so wild to the States, that they wondered any man of sense could ever entertain it; and they refused to enter into conferences with regard to a proposal, which could serve only to delay any practicable scheme of accommodation; and peace was signed by Cromwell, now invested with the dignity of protector, on the 5th of April, 1654: it proves sufficiently, that the war had been impolitic, since, after the most signal victories, few advantageous terms could be obtained. A defensive league was made between the two republics. They agreed, each of them, to banish the enemies of the other; those who had been concerned in the massacre of Amboyna were to be punished, if any remained alive; the honour of the flag was yielded to the English; eighty-five thousand pounds were stipulated to be paid by the Dutch East India company for losses which the English company had sustained; and the island of Polerone in the East Indies was promised to be ceded to the latter.

Cromwell, jealous of the connexions between the royal family and that of Orange, insisted on a separate article; that neither the young prince nor any of his family should ever be invested with the dignity of stadtholder. The province of Holland, strongly prejudiced against that office, which they esteemed dangerous to liberty, secretly ratified this article. The protector, knowing that the other provinces would not be induced to make such a concession, was satisfied with this security.

The Dutch war being successful, and the peace reasonable, brought credit to Cromwell's administration. An act of justice, which he exercised at home, gave likewise satisfaction to the people; though the regularity of it may perhaps to some fastidious minds appear somewhat doubtful. Don Pantaleon Sa, knight of St. Malta, brother to the Portuguese ambassador, and joined with him in the same commission, fancying himself to be insulted, came upon the Exchange, armed and attended by several servants. By mistake, he fell on a gentleman, whom he took for the person that had given him the offence; and having butchered him with many wounds, he and all his attendants took shelter in the house of the Portuguese ambassador, who had connived at this base transaction. The populace surrounded the house, and threatened to set fire to it. Cromwell sent a guard, who seized all the criminals. They were brought to trial: and notwithstanding the opposition of the ambassador, who pleaded the privileges of

(*q*) Without delay, the council of officers prepared what was called *the instrument of government*, containing the plan of legislature they meant to adopt. So little were these men endowed with the spirit of legislation, that they confessed, or rather boasted, that they had employed only four days in drawing this instrument, by which the whole government of three kingdoms was pretended to be regulated and adjusted to all succeeding generations. There appears no difficulty in believing them; when it is considered how crude a system of civil polity they endeavoured to establish. The chief articles of the instrument are these: A council was appointed, which was not to exceed twenty-one, nor be less than thirteen persons. These were to enjoy their office during life or good behaviour; and in case of a vacancy, the remaining members named three, of whom the protector chose one. The protector was appointed supreme magistrate of the commonwealth: in his name was all justice to be administered; from him were all magistracy and honours derived; he had the power of pardoning all crimes, excepting murder and treason; to him the benefit of all forfeitures devolved. The right of peace, war, and alliance rested in him; but in these particulars he was to act by the advice and with the consent of his council. The power of the sword was vested in the protector jointly with the parliament, while it was sitting, or with the council of state in the intervals. He was obliged to summon a parliament every three years, and allow them to sit five months, without adjourning, prorogation, or dissolution. The bills, which they passed, were to be presented to the protector for his assent; but if within twenty days it were not obtained, they were to become laws by the authority alone of parliament. A standing army for Great Britain and Ireland was established, of twenty thousand foot and ten thousand horse; and funds were assigned for their support. These were not to be diminished without consent of the protector; and in this article alone he assumed a negative. During the intervals of parliament, the protector and council had the power of enacting laws, which were to be valid till the next meeting of parliament. The chancellor, treasurer, admiral, chief governors of Ireland and Scotland, and the chief justices of both the benches, must be chosen with the approbation of parliament; and in the intervals, with the approbation of the council, to be afterwards ratified by parliament. The protector was to enjoy his office during life; and on his death, the place was immediately to be supplied by the council. This was the instrument of government enacted by the council of officers, and which Oliver Cromwell made a solemn oath to observe to the utmost of his power. Cromwell was then conducted to Whitehall with great ceremony, Lambert carrying the sword of state before him; and from that time the title of Highness and Lord Protector were given him. Immediately after he was proclaimed as such in London, and then in the three kingdoms, which formed but one commonwealth. The city of London invited him to a splendid entertainment, where the solemnity of his reception was such as had been at any time performed to the king. The council of state, named by the instrument, were fifteen; men entirely devoted to the protector, and by reason of the opposition among themselves in party and principles, not likely ever to combine against him.

his office, Don Pantaleon was executed on Tower Hill. The crime committed by the Portuguese gentleman was to the last degree atrocious, and ought to have been punished; and the vigorous chastisement of it, suiting so well the undaunted character of Cromwell, was universally approved of at home and admired among foreign nations. The situation of Portugal obliged that court to acquiesce; and the ambassador soon after signed with the protector a treaty of peace and alliance, which was very advantageous to the English commerce.

Another act of severity, but necessary in his situation, was, at the very same time, exercised by the protector, in the capital punishment of Gerard and Vowel, two royalists, who were accused of conspiring against his life. He had erected a high court of justice for their trial.

The protector had occasion to observe the prejudices entertained against his government, by the disposition of the parliament, which he summoned on the third of September, that day of the year on which he gained his two great victories of Dunbar and Worcester, and which he always regarded as fortunate for him. It must be confessed, that, if we are left to gather Cromwell's intentions from his instrument of government, it is such a motley piece, that we cannot easily conjecture, whether he seriously meant to establish a tyranny or a republic. On one hand, a first magistrate, in so extensive a government, seemed necessary both for the dignity and tranquillity of the state; and the authority, which he assumed as protector, was, in some respects, inferior to the prerogatives, which the laws entrusted and still entrust to the king. On the other hand, the legislative power, which he reserved to himself and council, together with so great an army, independent of the parliament, were bad prognostics of his intention to submit to a civil and legal constitution. But if this were not his intention, the method in which he distributed and conducted the elections, being so favourable to liberty, form a trait in his character which deserves applause. He deprived of their right of election all the small boroughs, places the most exposed to influence and corruption. Of four hundred members, which represented England, two hundred and seventy were chosen by the counties. The rest were elected by London, and the more considerable corporations. The lower populace too, so easily guided or deceived, were excluded from the elections: an estate of two hundred pounds value was necessary to entitle any one to a vote. The elections of this parliament were conducted with perfect freedom; and, excepting that such of the royalists as had borne arms against the parliament and all their sons were excluded, a more fair representation of the people could not be desired or expected. Thirty members were returned from Scotland; as many from Ireland.

The protector seems to have been disappointed, when he found that all these precautions had not procured him the full confidence of the public; nor was it reasonable to expect he should so speedily gain the confidence of every man, when there were so many jarring interests in the nation. Though Cromwell's administration was less odious to every party than that of any other party, yet was it entirely acceptable to none. The royalists of course were zealous adversaries to his authority. It was maintained by them, that the pretence of liberty and a popular election was but a new artifice, in order to lay asleep the deluded nation, and give himself leisure to rivet their chains more securely upon them: that in the instrument of government he openly declared his intention of still retaining the same mercenary army, by whose assistance he had subdued the ancient established government, and who would with less scruple obey him, in overturning, whenever he should please to order them, that new system, which he himself had been pleased to model: that being sensible of the danger and uncertainty of all military government, he endeavoured to intermix some appearance, and but an appearance, of civil administration, and to balance the army by a seeming consent of the people: that the absurd trial, which he had made, of a parliament, elected by himself, appointed perpetually to elect their successors, plainly proved, that he aimed at nothing but temporary expedients, was totally averse to a free republican government, and possessed not that mature and deliberate reflection, which could qualify him to act the part of a legislator: that his imperious character, which had betrayed itself in so many incidents, could never seriously submit to legal limitations; nor would the very image of popular government be longer upheld than while conformable to his arbitrary will and pleasure: and that the best policy was to oblige him to take off the mask at once; and either submit entirely to that parliament which he had summoned, or, by totally rejecting its authority, leave himself no resource but in his enthusiastic army.

In prosecution of these views, the parliament, having heard the protector's speech, three hours long, and having chosen Lenthal for their speaker, immediately entered into a discussion of the instrument of government, and of that authority which Cromwell, by the title of protector, had obtained over the nation. The greatest liberty was used in arraigning this new dignity; and even the personal character and conduct of Cromwell escaped not without censure. The utmost that could be obtained by the officers and by the court party, for so they were called, was to protract the debate by arguments and long speeches, and prevent the decision of a question, which, they were sensible, would be carried against them by a great majority. The protector, surprized and enraged at this refractory spirit in the parliament, sent for them to the painted chamber, and with an air of great authority inveighed against their conduct. He told them that nothing could be more absurd than for them to dispute his title; since the same instrument of government which made them a parliament, had invested him with the protectorship; that some points in the new constitution were supposed to be fundamentals, and were not on any pretence to be altered or disputed; that among these were the government of the nation by a single person and a parliament, their joint authority over the army and militia, the succession of new parliaments, and liberty of conscience; and that with regard to these particulars, there was reserved to him a negative voice, to which, in the other circumstances of government, he confessed himself no-wise entitled.

The protector now found the necessity of exacting a security which, had he foreseen the spirit of the house, he would wish better grace have required at their first meeting. He obliged the members to sign a recognition of his authority, and an engagement not to propose or consent to any alteration in the government, as it was settled in a single person and a parliament; and he placed guards at the door of the house, who allowed none but subscribers to enter. Most of the members, after some hesitation, submitted to this condition; but retained the same refractory spirit which they had discovered in their first debates. The instrument of government was taken in pieces, and examined, article by article, with the most scrupulous accuracy: very free topics were advanced with the general approbation of the house: and during the whole course of their proceedings they neither sent up one bill to the protector, nor took any notice of him. Being informed that conspiracies were entered into between the members and some malcontent officers, he hastened to the dissolution of so dangerous an assembly. By the instrument of government, to which he had sworn, no parliament could be dissolved till it had sitten five months; but Cromwell pretended, that a month contained only twenty-eight days, according to the method of computation practised in paying the fleet and army. The full time, therefore, according to this mode of reckoning, being elapsed, the parliament was ordered to attend the protector, who made them a tedious harangue, and dismissed them, on the 22nd of January, 1655.

The electing of a discontented parliament is a proof of a discontented nation: the angry and abrupt dissolution of that parliament is always sure to increase the general discontent. The members of this assembly, returning to their counties, propagated that spirit of mutiny which they had exerted in the house. Sir Harry Vane and the old republicans, who maintained the indissoluble authority of the long parliament, encouraged the murmurs against the present usurpation; though they acted so cautiously as to give the protector no handle against them. Wildman and some others of that party carried still farther their conspiracies against the protector's authority. The royalists, observing this general ill-will towards the establishment, could no longer be retained in subjection; but fancied that every one who was dissatisfied like them, had also embraced the same views and inclinations. They did not consider that the old parliamentary party, though many of them were displeased with Cromwell, who had dispossessed them of their power, were still more apprehensive of any success to the royal cause; whence, besides a certain prospect of the same consequence, they had so much reason to dread the severest vengeance for their past transgressions.

In concert with the king a conspiracy was entered into by the royalists throughout England, and a day of general rising appointed. Information of this design was conveyed to Cromwell. The protector's administration was extremely vigilant. Thurloe, his secretary, had spies every where. Manning, who had access to the king's family, kept a regular correspondence with him. And it was not difficult to obtain intelligence of a confederacy, so generally diffused among a party who valued themselves more on zeal and courage, than on secresy and sobriety. Many of the royalists were thrown into prison. Others, on the approach of the day, were terrified with the danger of the undertaking, and remained at home. In one place alone the conspiracy broke into action. Penruddoc, Groves, Jones, and other gentlemen of the west, entered Salisbury with about two hundred horse on the 11th of March; at the very time when the sheriff and judges were holding the assizes. These they made prisoners; and they proclaimed the king. Contrary to their expectations, they received no accession of force; so prevalent was the terror of the established government. Having in vain wandered about for some time, they were totally discouraged, and one troop of horse was able at last to suppress them. The leaders of the conspiracy, being taken prisoners, were capitally punished. The rest were sold for slaves, and transported to Barbadoes.

The easy subduing of this insurrection, which, by the boldness of the undertaking, struck at first a great terror into the nation, was a singular felicity to the protector. The very insurrection itself he regarded as a fortunate event; since it proved the reality of those conspiracies, which his enemies, on every occasion, represented as mere fictions, invented to colour his severities. He resolved to keep no longer any terms with the royalists, who were those whom he could oppress under the most plausible pretences, and who met with least countenance and protection from his adherents. He issued an edict with the consent of his council, for exacting the tenth penny from that whole party; in order, as he pretended, to make them pay the expences to which their mutinous disposition continually exposed the public. Without regard to compositions, articles of capitulation, or acts of indemnity, all the royalists, however harassed with former oppressions, were obliged afresh to redeem themselves by great sums of money; and many of them were reduced by these multiplied disasters to extreme poverty. Whoever was known to be disaffected, or even lay under any suspicion, though no guilt could be proved against him, was exposed to the new exaction.

In order to raise this imposition, which commonly passed by the name of decimation, the protector instituted twelve major-generals; and divided the whole kingdom of England into so many military jurisdictions. These men, assisted by commissioners, had power to subject whom they pleased to decimation, to levy all the taxes imposed by the protector and his council, and to imprison any person who should be exposed to their jealousy or suspicion, nor was there any appeal from them but to the protector himself and his council. Under colour of these powers, the major-generals exercised an authority still more arbitrary, and acted as if absolute masters of the property and person of every subject. All reasonable men now concluded, that the very masque of liberty was thrown aside, and that the nation was for ever subjected to military and despotic government, exercised not in the legal manner of European nations, but according to the maxims of eastern tyranny.

It seems now proper, after so long an interval, to look abroad to the general state of Europe, and to consider the measures which England at this time embraced in its negociations with the neighbouring princes. The moderate temper and unwarlike genius of the two last princes, the extreme difficulties under which they laboured at home, and the great security which they enjoyed from foreign enemies, had rendered them negligent of the transactions on the continent; and England, during their reigns, had been in a manner overlooked in the general system of Europe. The bold and restless genius of the protector led him to extend his alliances and enterprizes to every part of Christendom; and partly from the ascendant of his magnanimous spirit, partly from the situation of foreign kingdoms, the weight of England, even under its bravest princes, was never more sensibly felt than during the protectorate of Oliver Cromwell.

A war of thirty years, the most signal and most destructive that had appeared in modern annals, was finished in Germany in 1648; and by the treaty of Westphalia, were composed those fatal quarrels which had been excited by the palatine's acceptance of the crown of Bohemia. The young palatine was restored to part of his dignities and of his dominions (r). The rights, privileges, and authority, of the several members of the Germanic body were fixed and ascertained: sovereign princes and free states were in some degree reduced to obedience under laws; and by the valour of the heroic Gustavus, the enterprizes of the active Richelieu, the intrigues of the artful Mazarin, was in part effected, after an infinite expence of blood and treasure, what had been fondly expected and loudly demanded from the feeble efforts of the pacific James, seconded by the scanty supplies of his jealous parliaments.

Sweden, which had acquired by conquest large dominions in the north of Germany, was engaged in enterprizes which promised her, from her success and valour, still more extensive acquisitions on the side both of Poland and of Denmark. Charles X. who had mounted the throne of that kingdom after the voluntary resignation of Christina, being stimulated by the fame of Gustavus as well as by his own martial disposition, carried his conquering arms to the south of the Baltic, and gained the celebrated battle of Warsaw, which had been obstinately disputed during the space of three days. The protector, at the time his allianee was courted by every power in Europe, anxiously courted the alliance of Sweden; and he was fond of forming a confederacy with a protestant power of such renown, even though it threatened the whole north with conquest and subjection.

The transactions of the parliament and protector with France had been various and complicated. The emissaries of Richelieu had furnished fuel to the flame of rebellion, when it first broke out in Scotland; but after the conflagration had diffused itself, the French court, observing the materials to be of themselves sufficiently combustible, found it unnecessary any longer to animate the British malcontents to an opposition of their sovereign. On the contrary, they offered their mediation for composing these intestine disorders; and their ambassadors, from decency, pretended to act in concert with the court of England, and to receive directions from a prince with whom their master was connected with so near an affinity. In the mean time cardinal Richelieu died, and soon after him the French king, Louis XIII. leaving his son an infant four years old, and his widow, Anne of Austria, regent of the kingdom. Cardinal Mazarin succeeded Richelieu in the ministry; and the same general plan of policy, though by men of such opposite characters, was still continued in the French counsels. The establishment of royal authority, the reduction of the Austrian family, were pursued with ardour and success; and every year brought an accession of force and grandeur to the French monarchy. Not only battles were won, towns and fortresses taken; the genius too of the nation seemed gradually to improve, and to compose itself to the spirit of dutiful obedience and steady enterprize. A Condé, a Turenne, were formed, and the troops, animated by their valour, and guided by their discipline, acquired every day a greater ascendant over the Spaniards. On a sudden, from some intrigues of the court, and some discontents in the courts of judicature, intestine commotions were excited, and every thing relapsed into confusion. But these rebellions of the French were conducted with little bloodshed, and made but a small impression on the minds of the people. Though seconded by the force of Spain, and conducted by the prince of Condé, the malcontents, in a little time, were either expelled or subdued; and the French monarchy, having lost a few of its conquests, returned with fresh vigour to the acquisition of new dominion.

During these commotions, Charles and his mother passed most of their time at Paris; and notwithstanding their near connexion of blood, received but few civilities, and still less support, from the French court. Had the queen regent been ever so much inclined to assist the English prince, the disorders of her own affairs would, for a long time, have rendered such intentions impracticable. The banished queen had a moderate pension assigned her; but it was so ill paid, and her credit ran so low, that, one morning, when the cardinal de Retz waited on her, she informed him that her daughter, the princess Henrietta,

(r) This prince, during the civil wars, had much neglected his uncle, and paid court to the parliament: he accepted a pension of eight thousand pounds a-year from them, and took a place in their assembly of divines.

was obliged to lie a-bed, for want of a fire to warm her. To such a condition was reduced, in the midst of Paris, a queen of England, and daughter of Henry IV. of France!

The English parliament, however, having assumed the sovereignty of the state, resented the countenance, cold as it was, which the French court gave to the unfortunate monarch. On pretence of injuries, of which the English merchants complained, they issued letters of reprisal upon the French; and Blake went so far as to attack and seize a whole squadron of ships, which were carrying supplies to Dunkirk, then closely besieged by the Spaniards. That town, disappointed of these supplies, fell into the hands of the enemy. The French ministers soon found it necessary to change their measures. They treated Charles with such affected indifference, that he thought it more decent to withdraw, and prevent the indignity of being desired to leave the kingdom. He went first to Spa in Germany, thence he retired to Cologne; where he lived two years on a small pension, about six thousand livres a-year, paid him by the court of France, and on some contributions sent him by his friends in England. In the management of his family, he discovered a disposition to order and œconomy; and his temper, cheerful, careless, and sociable, was more than a sufficient compensation for that empire, of which he had been bereaved. Sir Edward Hyde, created lord chancellor, and the marquis of Ormond, were his chief friends and confidents.

If the French ministry had thought it prudent to bend under the English parliament, they deemed it still more necessary to pay deference to the protector, when he possessed the reins of government. Cardinal Mazarin, by whom all the councils of France were directed, was artful and vigilant, supple and patient, false and intriguing; desirous rather to prevail by dexterity than violence, and placing his honour more in the final success of his measures than in the splendour and magnanimity of the means which he employed. Cromwell, by his imperious character, rather than by the advantage of his situation, acquired an ascendant over this man; and every proposal made by the protector, however unreasonable in itself, and urged with whatever insolence, met with a ready compliance from the politic and timid cardinal. Bourdeaux was sent over to England as minister; and all circumstances of respect were paid to the protector, who had been instrumental in beheading a prince so nearly related to the royal family of France. With indefatigable patience did Bourdeaux conduct this negociation, which Cromwell seemed entirely to neglect; and though privateers, with English commissions, committed daily depredations on the French commerce, Mazarin was content, in hopes of a fortunate issue, still to submit to these indignities (*s*).

The court of Spain, less connected with the unfortunate royal family, and reduced to greater distress than the French monarchy, had been still more forward in her advances to the prosperous parliament and protector. Don Alonzo de Cardenas, the Spanish envoy, was the first public minister who recognized the authority of the new republic; and, in return for this civility, Ascham was sent envoy into Spain by the parliament. No sooner had this minister arrived in Madrid, than some of the banished royalists, inflamed by that inveterate hatred which animated the English factions, broke into his chamber, and murdered him, together with his secretary. Immediately they took sanctuary in the churches; and, assisted by the general favour, which every where attended the royal cause, were enabled, most of them, to make their escape. Only one of the criminals suffered death; and the parliament seemed to rest satisfied with this atonement.

Spain, at this time, assailed every where by vigorous enemies from without, and labouring under many internal disorders, retained nothing of her former grandeur, except the haughty pride of her counsels, and the hatred and jealousy of her neighbours. Portugal had rebelled, and established her monarchy in the house of Braganza: Catalonia, complaining of violated privileges, had revolted to France: Naples was shaken with popular convulsions: the Low Countries were invaded with superior forces, and seemed ready to change their master: the Spanish infantry, anciently so formidable, had been annihilated by Condé in the fields of Rocroy: and though the same prince, banished France, sustained by his activity and valour, the falling fortunes of Spain, he could only hope to protract, not prevent, the ruin with which that monarchy was visibly threatened.

Had Cromwell understood and regarded the interests of his country, he would have supported the declining condition of Spain against the dangerous ambition of France, and preserved that balance of power, on which the greatness and security of England so much depended. Had he studied only his own interests, he would have maintained an exact neutrality between those great monarchies; nor would he have hazarded his power, by provoking foreign enemies, who might lend assistance to domestic faction, and overturn his tottering throne. But his magnanimity undervalued danger: his active disposition, and avidity of extensive glory, made him incapable of repose: and as the policy of men is continually warped by their temper, no sooner was peace made with Holland, than he began to deliberate what new enemy he should invade with his victorious arms.

The extensive empire and yet extreme weakness of Spain in the West Indies; the vigorous courage and great naval power of England; were circumstances which, when compared, excited the ambition of the enterprizing protector, and made him hope that he might, by some gainful conquest, render for ever illustrious that dominion which he had gained over his country. Should he fail of these durable acquisitions, the Indian treasures, which must every year cross the ocean to reach Spain, were, he thought, a sure prey to the English navy, and would support his military force, without his laying new burdens on the people. From France a vigorous resistance must be expected: no plunder, no conquests could be hoped for: the progress of his arms, even if attended with success, must there be slow and gradual: and the advantages acquired, however real, would be less striking to the multitude, whom it was his interest to allure. The royal family, so closely connected with the French monarch, might receive great assistance from that neighbouring kingdom; and an army of French Protestants, landed in England, would be able, he dreaded, to unite the most opposite factions against the present government.

These motives of policy were probably seconded by his religious prejudices. The Swedish alliance, though much contrary to the interests of England, he had contracted, merely from his zeal for Protestantism (*t*); and Sweden being closely connected with France, he could not hope to maintain that confederacy in which he so much prided himself, should a rupture ensue between England and this latter kingdom. The Hugonots, he expected, would meet with better treatment, while he engaged in a close union with their sovereign. And as the Spaniards were much more Papists than the French, were much more exposed to the old puritanical hatred, and had even erected the bloody tribunal of the inquisition, whose rigours they had refused to mitigate on Cromwell's solicitation (*u*); he hoped that a holy and meritorious war with such idolaters could not fail of protection from heaven. A preacher likewise, inspired, as was supposed, by a prophetic spirit, bid him "go and prosper;" calling him "a stone cut out of the mountains without hands, that would break the pride of the Spaniard, crush Antichrist, and make way for the purity of the Gospel over the whole world."

Actuated by these motives, the protector equipped two considerable squadrons; and while he was making those preparations, the neighbouring states, ignorant of his intentions, remained in suspense, and looked with anxious expectation on what side the storm should discharge itself. One of these squadrons, consisting of thirty capital ships, was sent into the Mediterranean under Blake, whose fame was now spread over Europe. No English fleet, except during the crusades, had ever before sailed in those seas; and from one extremity to the other, there was no naval force, Christian or Mohammedan, able to resist them. The Roman pontiff, whose weakness and whose pride equally provoke attacks, dreaded invasion from a power which professed the most inveterate enmity against him, and which so little regulated its movements by the usual

(*s*) Thurloe, vol. iii. p. 103. 619. 653. In the treaty, which was signed after long negociation, the protector's name was inserted before the French king's in that copy which remained in England. Thurloe, vol. vi. p. 116. See farther, vol. viii. p. 178.

(*t*) He proposed to Sweden a general league and confederacy of all the Protestants. Whitlocke, p. 620. Thurloe, vol. vii. p. 1. In order to judge of the maxims by which he conducted his foreign politics, see farther Thurloe, vol. iv. p. 295. 343. 443. vol. vii. p. 174.

(*u*) Thurloe, vol. i. p. 759. Don Alonzo said, that the Indian trade and the inquisition were his master's two eyes, and the protector insisted upon the putting out both of them at once.

motives

motives of interest and prudence. Blake, casting anchor before Leghorn, demanded and obtained from the duke of Tuscany reparation for some losses which the English commerce had formerly sustained from him. He next sailed to Algiers, and compelled the dey to make peace, and to restrain his piratical subjects from farther violences on the English. He presented himself before Tunis; and having there made the same demands, the dey of that republic bade him look to the castles of Porto Farino and Goletta, and do his utmost. Blake needed not to be roused by such a bravado: he drew his ships close up to the castles, and tore them in pieces with his artillery. He sent a numerous detachment of sailors in their long-boats into the harbour, and burned every ship which lay there. This bold action, which its very temerity, perhaps, rendered safe, was executed with little loss, and filled all that part of the world with the renown of English valour.

The other squadron was not equally successful. It was commanded by Pen, and carried on board four thousand men, under the command of Venables. About five thousand more joined them from Barbadoes and St. Christopher's. Both these officers were inclined to the king's service; and it is pretended that Cromwell was obliged to hurry the soldiers on board, in order to prevent the execution of a conspiracy which had been formed among them, in favour of the exiled family. The ill success of this enterprize may justly be ascribed, as much to the injudicious schemes of the protector, who planned it, as to the bad execution of the officers, by whom it was conducted. They were indeed tied down to follow the advice of commissioners, who disconcerted them in all their projects (*v*).

It was agreed by the admiral and general, on the 13th of April, 1655, to attempt St. Domingo, the only place of strength in the island of Hispaniola. On the approach of the English, the Spaniards in a fright deserted their houses, and fled into the woods. Contrary to the opinion of Venables, the soldiers were disembarked without guides ten leagues distant from the town. They wandered four days through the woods without provisions, and, what was still more intolerable in that sultry climate, without water. The Spaniards recovered spirit, and attacked them. The English, discouraged with the bad conduct of their officers, and scarcely alive from hunger, thirst, and fatigue, were unable to resist. An inconsiderable number of the enemy put the whole army to rout, killed six hundred of them, and chased the rest on board their vessels.

The English commanders, in order to atone as much as possible for this unprosperous attempt, bent their course to Jamaica, which was surrendered to them without resistance. Pen and Venables returned to England, and were both of them sent to the Tower by the protector, who, though commonly master of his fiery temper, was thrown into a violent passion at this disappointment. He had made a conquest of greater importance than he was himself at this time aware of; yet was it much inferior to the vast projects which he had formed. He gave orders, however, to support it by men and money; and that island has ever since remained in the possession of the English; a great acquisition which they owe to the enterprizing spirit of Cromwell.

As soon as the news of this expedition, which was an unwarrantable violation of treaty, arrived in Europe, the Spaniards declared war against England, and seized all the ships and goods belonging to the English merchants, of which they could make themselves masters. The commerce with Spain, so profitable to the English, was cut off; and nearly fifteen hundred vessels, it is computed (*w*), fell in a short period into the hands of the enemy. Blake, to whom Montague was now joined in command, after receiving new orders, prepared himself for hostilities against the Spaniards.

Several naval officers, having entertained scruples of conscience with regard to the justice of the Spanish war, threw up their commissions, and retired (*x*). No commands, they thought, of their superiors could justify a war, which was contrary to the principles of natural equity, and which the civil magistrate had no right to order. Individuals, they maintained, in resigning to the public their natural liberty, could bestow on it only what they themselves were possessed of, a right of performing lawful actions, and could invest it with no authority of commanding what is contrary to the decrees of heaven. Such maxims, though they seem reasonable, are perhaps too perfect for human nature; and must be regarded as one effect, though of the most innocent and even honourable kind, of that spirit which predominated in England.

Admiral Blake lay some time off Cadiz, in expectation of intercepting the plate fleet, but was at last obliged, for want of water, to sail towards Portugal. Captain Stayner, whom he had left on the Spanish coast with a squadron of seven vessels, came in sight of the galleons, and immediately set sail to pursue them. The Spanish admiral ran his ship ashore: two others followed his example: the English took two ships in September, 1656, valued at near two millions of pieces of eight. Two galleons were set on fire; and the marquis of Badajoz, viceroy of Peru, with his wife and his daughter, betrothed to the young duke of Medina Celi, were destroyed in them. The marquis himself might have escaped; but seeing these unfortunate women, astonished with the danger, fall in a swoon, and perish in the flames, he rather chose to die with them, than drag out a life embittered with the remembrance of such dismal scenes. When the treasures gained by this enterprize arrived at Portsmouth, the protector, from a spirit of ostentation, ordered them to be transported by land to London.

The next action against the Spaniards was less profitable to the nation than that above related. Blake having heard that a Spanish fleet of sixteen ships, much richer than the former, had taken shelter in the Canaries, immediately made sail towards them. He found them in the bay of Santa Cruz, disposed in a formidable posture. The bay was secured with a strong castle, well provided with cannon, besides seven forts in several parts of it, all united by a line of communication, manned with musketeers. Don Diego Diaques, the Spanish admiral, ordered all his smaller vessels to moor close to the shore, and posted the larger galleons farther off, at anchor, with their broadsides to the sea. Blake was rather animated than daunted with this appearance. The wind seconded his courage, and blowing full into the bay, in a short time brought him among the thickest of his enemies. After a resistance of four hours, the Spaniards yielded to English valour, and abandoned their ships, which were set on fire, and consumed with all their treasure. The greatest danger still remained to the English. They lay under the fire of the castles and all the forts, which must in a little time have torn them in pieces. But the wind suddenly shifting, carried them out of the bay; where they left the Spaniards in astonishment at their temerity. This was the last and greatest action of the gallant Blake. He was consumed with a dropsy and scurvy, and hastened home, that he might yield up his breath in his native country, which he had so much adorned by his valour. As he came within sight of land he expired, on the 20th of April, 1657 (*y*).

The conduct of the protector in foreign affairs was full of vigour and enterprize, and drew a consideration to his country, which, since the reign of Elizabeth, it seemed to have totally lost. His great mind was intent on spreading the renown of the English nation; and while he struck mankind with astonishment at his extraordinary fortune, he seemed to ennoble, instead of debasing, that people whom he had reduced to subjection. It was his boast, that he would render the name of an Englishman as much feared and revered as ever was that of a Roman; and as his countrymen found some reality in these pretensions, their national vanity being gratified, made them more reconciled to the calamities they laboured under.

It must be acknowledged, that the protector, in his civil and domestic administration, displayed as great regard both to justice and clemency, as his authority could possibly permit. All the chief offices in the courts of judicature were filled with men of integrity: amidst the virulence

(*v*) Burchet's Naval History. See also Carte's Collection, vol. ii. p. 46, 47. Thurloe, vol. iii. p. 505.

(*w*) Thurloe, vol. iv. p. 135. World's Mistake in Oliver Cromwell, in the Harl. Miscel. vol. i. (*x*) Thurloe, vol. iv. p. 570. 589.

(*y*) Never man so zealous for a faction was so much respected and esteemed even by the opposite parties. He was by principle an inflexible republican; and the late transactions, amidst all the trust and caresses which he received from the ruling powers, were thought to be very little grateful to him. "It is still our duty," said he to the seamen, "to fight for our country, into what hands soever the government may fall." Disinterested, generous, liberal; ambitious only of true glory, dreadful only to his avowed enemies; he forms one of the most perfect characters of the age, and the least stained with those errors and violences which were then so predominant. The protector ordered him a pompous funeral at the public charge: but the tears of his countrymen were the most honourable panegyric on his memory.

lence of party, the decrees of the judges were upright and impartial: and to every man but himself, and to himself, except where necessity required the contrary, the law was the great rule of conduct and behaviour. Vane and Lilburn, whose credit with the republicans and levellers he dreaded, were indeed for some time confined to prison: Cony, who refused to pay the taxes, was obliged by menaces to depart from his obstinacy: high courts of justice were erected to try those who had engaged in conspiracies and insurrections against the protector's authority, and whom he could not safely commit to the verdict of juries. But these irregularities were deemed inevitable consequences of his authority. And though often urged by his officers, as is pretended, to attempt a general massacre of the royalists, he always with horror rejected such sanguinary counsels.

In the army was laid the sole basis of the protector's power; and in managing it consisted the chief art and delicacy of his government. The soldiers were held in exact discipline; a policy which both accustomed them to obedience, and made them less hateful and burthensome to the people. He augmented their pay; though the public necessities sometimes obliged him to run in arrears to them. Their interests, they were sensible, were closely connected with those of their general and protector. And he entirely commanded their affectionate regard, by his abilities and success in almost every enterprize which he had hitherto undertaken. The soldiers, often taught, that the office of king was an usurpation upon Christ, were apt to suspect a protector not to be altogether compatible with that divine authority. Harrison, though raised to the highest dignity, and possessed of Cromwell's confidence, became his most inveterate enemy as soon as the authority of a single person was established, against which the protector himself had also made strong protestations. Overton, Rich, Okey, officers of rank in the army, were actuated with like principles, and Cromwell was obliged to deprive them of their commissions. Their influence, which was before thought unbounded among the troops, seemed from that moment to be totally annihilated.

The more effectually to curb the enthusiastic and seditious spirit of the troops, Cromwell established a kind of militia in the several counties. Companies of infantry and cavalry were inlisted under proper officers, regular pay distributed among them, and a resource by that means provided both against the insurrections of the royalists, and mutiny of the army.

Religion can never be deemed a point of small consequence in civil government: but during this period, it may be regarded as the great spring of men's actions and determinations. Though transported, himself, with strange whimsies, Cromwell had adopted a scheme for regulating this principle in others, which was sagacious and political. Being resolved to maintain a national church, yet determined neither to admit episcopacy nor presbytery, he established a number of commissioners, under the name of *tryers*, partly laymen, partly ecclesiastics, some Presbyterians, some Independents. These presented to all livings, which were formerly in the gift of the crown; they examined and admitted such persons as received holy orders; and they inspected the lives, doctrine, and behaviour of the clergy. Instead of supporting that union between learning and theology, which has so long been attempted in Europe, these tryers embraced the latter principle in its full purity, and made it the sole object of their examination. The candidates were no more perplexed with questions concerning their progress in Greek and Roman erudition; concerning their talent for profane arts and sciences: the chief object of scrutiny regarded their advances in grace, and fixing, if they were able, the time of their conversion.

With the religious of all denominations Cromwell was familiar and easy. Laying aside the state of protector, which, on other occasions, he well knew how to maintain, he insinuated to them, that nothing but necessity could ever oblige him to invest himself with it. He talked spiritually to them; he sighed, he weeped, he prayed. He even entered with them into an emulation of spiritual exercises; and these men were proud that his highness, by his princely example, had dignified those practices in which they themselves were daily occupied (z).

If Cromwell might be said to adhere to any particular form of religion, they were the Independents who could chiefly boast of his favour; and it may be affirmed, that pastors of that sect were principally devoted to him.

The Presbyterian clergy also, saved from the ravages of the Anabaptists and Millenarians, and enjoying their establishments and tythes, were not averse to his government; though he still entertained great jealousy of that restless spirit by which they were actuated. He granted an unbounded liberty of conscience to all but catholics and prelatists; and by that means he both attached the sectaries to his person, and employed them in curbing the domineering spirit of the Presbyterians. "I am the only man," he was often heard to say, "who has known how to subdue that insolent sect, which can suffer none but itself."

The Protestant zeal which possessed the Presbyterians and Independents, was highly gratified by the manner in which the protector so successfully supported the persecuted Protestants throughout all Europe. Even the duke of Savoy, so remote a power, and so little exposed to the naval force of England, was obliged, by the authority of France, to comply with his mediation, and to tolerate the Protestants of the vallies of Piedmont, against whom that prince had commenced a furious persecution. France itself was constrained to bear not only with the religion, but even, in some instances, with the insolence of the Hugonots; and when the French court applied for a reciprocal toleration of the catholic religion in England, the protector, who arrogated in every thing the superiority, would hearken to no such proposal. He had entertained a project of instituting a college in imitation of that at Rome, for the propagation of the faith; and his apostles, in zeal, though not in unanimity, had certainly been a full match for the catholics.

The protector retained the church of England in constraint; though he permitted its clergy a little more liberty than the republican parliament had formerly allowed. He was pleased that the superior lenity of his administration should in every thing be remarked. He bridled the royalists, both by the army which he retained, and by those secret spies which he found means to intermix in all their counsels. Manning being detected and punished with death, he corrupted sir Richard Willis, who was much trusted by chancellor Hyde and all the royalists; and by means of this man he was made acquainted with every design and conspiracy of the party. He could disconcert any project, by confining the persons who were to be the actors in it; and as he restored them afterwards to liberty, his severity passed only for the result of general jealousy and suspicion. The secret source of his intelligence remained still unknown and unsuspected.

Conspiracies for an assassination he was chiefly afraid of; these being designs which no prudence or vigilance could evade. Colonel Titus, under the name of Allen, had written a spirited discourse, exhorting every one to embrace this method of vengeance; and Cromwell knew that the inflamed minds of the royal party were sufficiently disposed to put the doctrine in practice against him. He openly told them, that assassinations were base and odious, and he never would commence hostilities by so shameful an expedient; but if the first attempt or provocation came from them, he would retaliate to the uttermost. He had instruments, he said, whom he could employ; and he never would desist till he had totally exterminated the royal family. This menace, more than all his guards, contributed to the security of his person.

There was no point about which the protector was more solicitous than to procure intelligence. This article alone, it is said, cost him sixty thousand pounds a-year. Postmasters, both at home and abroad, were in his pay: carriers were searched or bribed: secretaries and clerks were corrupted: the greatest zealots in all parties were often those who conveyed private information to him: and nothing could escape his vigilant enquiry. Such at least is the representation made by historians of Cromwell's administration: but it must be confessed that, if we may judge by those volumes of Thurloe's papers, which have been lately published, this affair, like many others, has been

(z) Cromwell followed, though but in part, the advice which he received from general Harrison, at the time when the intimacy and endearment most strongly subsisted betwixt them. "Let the waiting upon Jehovah," said that military religionist, "be the greatest and most considerable business you have every day: reckon it so, more than to eat, sleep, and council together. Run aside sometimes from your company, and get a word with the Lord. Why should not you have three or four precious souls always standing at your elbow, with whom you might now and then turn into a corner; I have found refreshment and mercy in such a way." Milton's State Papers, p. 12.

been greatly magnified. We scarcely find by that collection, that any secret counsels of foreign states, except those of Holland, were known to the protector.

The general behaviour and deportment of Cromwell was such as might befit the greatest monarch. He maintained a dignity without either affectation or ostentation; and supported with all strangers that high idea with which his great exploits and prodigious fortune had impressed them. Among his ancient friends he could relax himself; and by trifling and amusement, jesting and making verses, he feared not exposing himself to their most familiar approaches. With others, he sometimes pushed matters to the length of rustic frolic and buffoonery.

That vein of frolic and pleasantry which made a part of Cromwell's character, was apt sometimes to betray him into other inconsistencies, and to discover itself even where religion might seem to be a little concerned. It is a tradition, that, one day, sitting at table, the protector had a bottle of wine brought him, of a kind which he valued so highly, that he must needs open the bottle himself: but in attempting it, the cork-screw dropt from his hand. Immediately his courtiers and generals flung themselves on the floor to recover it. Cromwell burst out a-laughing. "Should any fool," said he, "put in his head at the door, he would fancy, from your posture, that you were seeking the Lord; and you are only seeking a cork-screw."

But amidst all the unguarded play and buffoonery of this singular personage, he took the opportunity of remarking the characters, designs, and weaknesses of men; and he would sometimes push them, by an indulgence in wine, to open to him the most secret recesses of their bosom. Great regularity, however, and even austerity of manners, were always maintained in his court; and he was careful never by any liberties to give offence to the most rigid of the godly. Some state was upheld; but with little expence, and without any splendour. The nobility, though courted by him, kept at a distance, and were not fond of mixing with those persons who were the instruments of his government. Without departing from œconomy, he was generous to those who served him; and he knew how to find out and engage in his interests every man possessed of those talents which any particular employment demanded. His generals, his admirals, his judges, his ambassadors, were persons who contributed, all of them, in their several spheres, to the security of the protector, and to the honour and interest of the nation.

Under pretence of uniting Scotland and Ireland in one commonwealth with England, Cromwell had reduced those kingdoms to a total subjection; and he treated them entirely as conquered provinces. The civil administration of Scotland was placed in a council consisting mostly of English, of which lord Broghil was president. Justice was administered by seven judges, four of whom were English. In order to curb the tyrannical nobility, he both abolished all vassalage, and revived the office of justice of peace, which king James had introduced, but was not able to support. A long line of forts and garrisons was maintained throughout the kingdom. An army of ten thousand men kept every thing in peace and obedience; and neither the banditti of the mountains, nor the bigots of the low countries, could indulge their inclination to turbulence and disorder. He courted the Presbyterian clergy; though he nourished that intestine enmity which prevailed between the resolutioners and protesters; and he found that very little policy was requisite to foment quarrels among theologians. He permitted no church assemblies; being sensible that from thence had proceeded many of the past disorders. And, in the main, the Scots were obliged to acknowledge, that never before had they attained so much happiness as at present, when reduced to subjection under the protectorate.

The protector's administration of Ireland was more severe and violent. The government of that island was first entrusted to Fleetwood, who had married Ireton's widow; then to Henry Cromwell, second son of the protector, a young man of an amiable, mild disposition, and not destitute of vigour and capacity. About five millions of acres, forfeited either by the popish rebels or by the adherents of the king, were divided, partly among the adventurers, who had advanced money to the parliament, partly among the English soldiers, who had arrears due to them. Examples of a more sudden and violent change of property are scarcely to be found in any history. An order was even issued to confine all the native Irish to the province of Connaught, where they would be shut up by rivers, lakes, and mountains; and could not, it was hoped, be any longer dangerous to the English government: but this absurd policy, which, from an impatience of attaining immediate security, must have depopulated all the other provinces, and rendered the English estates of no value, was soon abandoned as impracticable.

Cromwell began to hope that, by his administration, attended with so much lustre and success abroad, so much order and tranquillity at home, he had now acquired such authority as would enable him to meet the representatives of the nation, and would assure him of their dutiful compliance with his government. He summoned a parliament; but not trusting altogether to the good-will of the people, he used every art which his new model of representation allowed him to employ, in order to influence the elections, and fill the house with his own creatures. Ireland, being entirely in the hands of the army, chose few but such officers as were most acceptable to him. Scotland showed a like compliance; and as the nobility and gentry of that kingdom regarded their attendance on English parliaments as an ignominious badge of slavery, it was, on that account, more easy for the officers to prevail in the elections. Notwithstanding all these precautions, the protector still found that the majority would not be favourable to him. He set guards, therefore, on the 17th of September, 1656, at the door, who permitted none to enter but such as produced a warrant from his council; and the council rejected about a hundred, who either refused a recognition of the protector's government, or were on other accounts noxious to him. These protested against so egregious a violence, subversive of all liberty; but every application for redress was neglected both by the council and the parliament.

The majority of the parliament, by means of these arts and violences, was now at last either friendly to the protector, or resolved, by their compliance, to adjust, if possible, this military government to their laws and liberties. They voted a renunciation of all title in Charles Stuart, or any of his family; and this was the first act, dignified with the appearance of national consent, which had ever had that tendency. Colonel Jephson, in order to sound the inclinations of the house, ventured to move, that the parliament should bestow the crown on Cromwell; and no surprize or reluctance was discovered on the occasion. When Cromwell afterwards asked Jephson what induced him to make such a motion, "As long," said Jephson, "as I have the honour to sit in parliament, I must follow the dictates of my own conscience, whatever offence I may be so unfortunate as to give you." "Get thee gone," said Cromwell, giving him a gentle blow on the shoulder, "get thee gone, for a mad fellow, as thou art."

In order to pave the way to this advancement, for which he so ardently longed, Cromwell resolved to sacrifice his major-generals, whom he knew to be extremely odious to the nation. That measure was also become necessary for his own security. All government, purely military, fluctuates perpetually between despotic monarchy and a despotic aristocracy, according as the authority of the chief commander prevails, or that of the officers next him in rank and dignity. The major-generals, being possessed of so much distinct jurisdiction, began to establish a separate title to power, and had rendered themselves formidable to the protector himself; and for this inconvenience he well knew, before it was too late, how to provide a proper remedy. Claypole, his son-in-law, who possessed his confidence, abandoned them to the pleasure of the house; and though the name was still retained, it was agreed to abridge, or rather entirely annihilate, the power of the major-generals.

At length, a motion in form was made by alderman Pack, one of the city members, for investing the protector with the dignity of King. This motion, at first, excited great disorder, and divided the whole house into parties. The chief opposition came from the usual adherents of the protector, the major-generals, and such officers as depended on them. Lambert, a man of deep intrigue, and of great interest in the army, had long entertained the ambition of succeeding Cromwell in the protectorship; and he foresaw, that, if the monarchy were restored, hereditary right would also be established, and the crown be transmitted to the posterity of the prince first elected. He pleaded, therefore, conscience; and rousing all those civil and religious jealousies against kingly government, which had been so industriously encouraged

couraged among the soldiers, he raised a numerous, and still more formidable, party against the motion.

On the other hand, the motion was supported by every one who was more particularly devoted to the protector, and who hoped, by so acceptable a measure, to pay court to the prevailing authority. Many persons also, attached to their country, despaired of ever being able to subvert the present establishment; and were desirous, by fixing it on ancient foundations, to induce the protector, from views of his own safety, to pay a regard to the ancient laws and liberties of the kingdom. Even many of the royalists joined in the measure; and hoped that, when the question regarded only persons, not forms of government, no one would any longer balance between the ancient royal family and another person who had got possession of the throne. The bill was voted by a considerable majority; and a committee was appointed to reason with the protector, and to overcome those scruples which he pretended against accepting so liberal an offer. The conference lasted for several days: and on the 9th of April, 1657, the committee urged, that all the statutes and customs of England were founded on the supposition of regal authority, and could not, without extreme violence, be adjusted to any other form of government: that a protector, except during the minority of a king, was a name utterly unknown to the laws; and no man was acquainted with the extent or limits of his authority: that if it were attempted to define every part of his jurisdiction, many years, if not ages, would be required for the execution of so complicated a work; if the whole power of the king were at once transferred to him, the question was plainly about a name, and the preference was indisputably due to the ancient title: that the English constitution was more anxious concerning the form of government than concerning the birthright of the first magistrate, and had provided, by an express law of Henry VII, for the security of those who act in defence of the king in being, by whatever means he might have acquired possession: that it was extremely the interest of all his highness's friends to seek the shelter of this statute; and even the people in general were desirous of such a settlement, and all juries were with great difficulty induced to give their verdict in favour of a protector: that the great source of all the late commotions had been the jealousy of liberty; and that a republic, together with a protector, had been established, in order to provide farther securities for the freedom of the constitution; but that by experience the remedy had been found insufficient, even dangerous and pernicious; since every undeterminate power, such as that of a protector, must be arbitrary; and the more arbitrary, as it was contrary to the genius and inclination of the people.

The difficulty consisted not in persuading Cromwell. He was sufficiently convinced of the solidity of these reasons; and his inclination, as well as judgement, was entirely on the side of the committee. But how to bring over the soldiers to the same way of thinking, was the question. The office of king had been painted to them in such horrible colours, that there were no hopes of reconciling them suddenly to it, even though bestowed upon their general, to whom they were so much devoted. A contradiction, open and direct, to all past professions, would make them pass, in the eyes of the whole nation, for the most consummate hypocrites, enlisted, by no other than mercenary motives, in the cause of an usurper. Cromwell, therefore, actuated by political motives, protracted the time, and seemed still to oppose the reasonings of the committee; in hopes that by artifice he might be able to reconcile the refractory minds of the soldiers to the new dignity which was offered him.

While the protector argued so much in contradiction both to his judgement and inclination, it is no wonder that his elocution should be involved in darkness. An exact account of this conference remains, and may be regarded as a great curiosity. The members of the committee, in their reasonings, discover judgement, knowledge, elocution: Lord Broghill, in particular, exerts himself on this memorable occasion. But what a contrast, when we pass to the protector's replies! After so singular a manner does Nature distribute her talents, that, in a nation abounding with sense and learning, a man who, by superior personal merit alone, had made his way to supreme dignity, and had even found the parliament so complaisant as to make him a tender of the crown, was yet incapable of expressing himself on this occasion, but in a manner which a peasant of the most ordinary capacity would justly be ashamed of (*a*).

The opposition which Cromwell dreaded, was not that which came from Lambert and his adherents, whom he now regarded as capital enemies, and whom he was resolved, on the first occasion, to deprive of all power and authority: it was that which he met with in his own family, and from men, who, by interest as well as inclination, were the most devoted to him. Fleetwood had married his daughter: Desborough his sister: yet these men, actuated by principle alone, could by no persuasion be induced to consent that their friend and patron should be invested with regal dignity. They told him, that if he accepted of the crown, they would instantly throw up their commissions, and never afterwards should have it in their power to serve him. Colonel Pride procured a petition against the office of king, signed by a majority of the officers, who were in London and the neighbourhood. Several persons, it is said, had entered into an engagement to murder the protector within a few hours after he should have accepted the offer of the parliament. Some sudden mutiny in the army was dreaded. And upon the whole, Cromwell was at last obliged to refuse that crown, which the representatives of the nation, in the most solemn manner, had tendered to him. Most historians are inclined to blame his choice; but he must be allowed the best judge of his own situation.

The parliament, when the regal dignity was rejected by Cromwell, retained the name of a commonwealth and protector; and it was thought proper to sanctify the government by a seeming choice of the people and their representatives. Instead of the *instrument of government*, which was the work of the council of officers alone, *an humble petition and advice* was framed, and offered to the protector by the parliament. This was represented as the great basis of the republican establishment, regulating and limiting the powers of each member of the constitution, and securing the liberty of the people to the most remote posterity. By this deed the authority of protector was in some particulars enlarged: in others, it was considerably diminished. He had the power of nominating his successor; he had a perpetual revenue assigned him, a million a-year for the pay of the fleet and army, three hundred thousand pounds for the support of civil government; and he had authority to name another house, who should enjoy their seats during life, and exercise some functions of the former house of peers. But he abandoned the power assumed in the intervals of parliament, of framing laws with the consent of his council; and he agreed, that no members of either house should be excluded but by the consent of that house of which they were members. The other articles were in the main the same as in the instrument of government. The instrument of government Cromwell had formerly extolled as the most perfect work of human invention: he now represented it as a rotten plank, upon which no man could trust himself without

(*a*) We shall produce any passage at random: for this discourse is all of a piece. "I confess, for it behoves me to deal plainly with you, I must confess, I would say, I hope, I may be understood in this, for indeed I must be tender what I say to such an audience as this; I say, I would be understood, that in this argument I do not make parallel betwixt men of a different mind, and a parliament, which shall have their desires. I know there is no comparison, nor can it be urged upon me, that my words have the least colour that way, because the parliament seems to give liberty to me to say any thing to you; as that, that is a tender of my humble reasons and judgement and opinion to them; and if I think they are such, and will be such to them, and are faithful servants, and will be so to the supreme authority, and the legislative wheresoever it is: If, I say, I should not tell you, knowing their minds to be so, I should not be faithful, if I should not tell you so, to the end you may report it to the parliament: I shall say something for myself, for my own mind, I do profess it, I am not a man scrupulous about words or names of such things I have not: but as I have the word of God, and I hope I shall ever have it, for the rule of my conscience, for my informations; so truly men that have been led in dark paths, through the providence and dispensation of God; why surely it is not to be objected to a man; for who can love to walk in the dark? but providence does so dispose. And though a man may impute his own folly and blindness to providence sinfully, yet it must be at my peril; the case may be that it is the providence of God that doth lead men in darkness; I must need say, that I have had a great deal of experience of providence, and though it is no rule without or against the word, yet it is a very good expositor of the word in many cases." *Conference in Whitehall.* The great defect in Oliver's speeches consists not in his want of elocution, but in his want of ideas. The sagacity of his actions, and the absurdity of his discourse, form the most prodigious contrast that ever was known. The collection of all his speeches, letters, sermons (for he also wrote sermons), would make a great curiosity, and, with a few exceptions, might justly pass for one of the most nonsensical books in the world. *Hume.* It should be recollected, however, that Cromwell was not a man of elocution; and that, on such an occasion as this, he spake under an impulse of trepidation.

without sinking. Even the humble petition and advice, which he extolled in its turn, appeared so lame and imperfect, that it was found requisite, this very session, to mend it by a supplement; and after all, it may be regarded as a crude and undigested model of government. It was, however, accepted as the voluntary deed of the whole people in the three united nations; and Cromwell, as if his power had just commenced from this popular consent, was again inaugurated in Westminster Hall, after the most solemn and pompous manner.

The parliament having adjourned itself, on the 26th of June, 1657, the protector deprived Lambert of all his commissions; but still allowed him a pension of two thousand pounds a year, as a bribe for his future peaceable deportment. Lambert's authority in the army, to the surprize of every body, was found immediately to expire with the loss of his commission. Packer and some other officers, whom Cromwell suspected, were also displaced.

Richard, eldest son of the protector, was brought to court, introduced into public business, and thenceforth regarded by many as his heir in the protectorate; though Cromwell sometimes employed the artifice of flattering others with hopes of the succession. Richard was a person possessed of the most peaceable, inoffensive, unambitious character; and had hitherto lived contentedly in the country on a small estate which his wife had brought him. All the activity which he discovered, and which was never great, was however exerted to beneficent purposes: at the time of the king's trial, he had fallen on his knees before his father, and had conjured him, by every tie of duty and humanity, to spare the life of that monarch. Cromwell had two daughters unmarried: one of them he now gave in marriage to the grandson and heir of his great friend, the earl of Warwick, with whom he had, in every fortune, preserved an uninterrupted intimacy and good correspondence. The other he married to the viscount Fauconberg, for he was ambitious of forming connexions with the nobility.

The parliament was again assembled, on the 20th of January, 1658; consisting, as in times of monarchy, of two houses, the commons and the other house. Cromwell, during the interval, had sent writs to his house of peers, which consisted of sixty members. They were composed of five or six ancient peers, of several gentlemen of fortune and distinction, and of some officers who had risen in the army. None of the ancient peers, however, though summoned by writ, accepted of a seat, which they must share with such companions as were assigned them. The protector endeavoured at first to maintain the appearance of a legal magistrate. He placed no guard at the door of either house: but soon found how incompatible liberty is with military usurpations. By bringing so great a number of his friends and adherents into the other house, he had lost the majority among the national representatives. In consequence of a clause in the humble petition and advice, the commons assumed a power of re-admitting those members whom the council had formerly excluded. Sir Arthur Hazelrig and some others, whom Cromwell had created lords, rather chose to take their seat with the commons. An incontestable majority now declared themselves against the protector; and they refused to acknowledge the jurisdiction of that other house which he had established. Even the validity of the humble petition and advice was questioned; as being voted by a parliament which lay under force, and which was deprived, by military violence, of a considerable number of its members. The protector, dreading combinations between the parliament and the malcontents in the army, resolved to allow no leisure for forming any conspiracy against him; and, with expressions of great displeasure, he dissolved the parliament on the 4th of February. When urged by Fleetwood and others of his friends, not to precipitate himself into this rash measure, he swore, by the living God, that they should not sit a moment longer.

But these distractions at home were not able to take off the protector's attention from foreign affairs; and in all his measures he proceeded with the same vigour, as if secure of the duty and attachment of the three kingdoms. His alliance with Sweden he still supported; and he endeavoured to assist that crown in its successful enterprizes, for reducing all its neighbours to subjection, and rendering itself absolute master of the Baltic. As soon as Spain declared war against him, he concluded a peace and an alliance with France, and united himself in all his counsels with that potent and ambitious kingdom. Spain, having long courted in vain the friendship of the protector, was reduced at last to apply to the unfortunate prince. Charles formed a league with Philip, removed his small court to Bruges in the Low Countries, and raised four regiments of his own subjects, whom he employed in the Spanish service. The duke of York, who had, with applause, served some campaigns in the French army, and who had merited the particular esteem of marshal Turenne, now joined his brother, and continued to seek military experience under don John of Austria, and the prince of Condé.

The scheme of foreign politics, adopted by the protector, was highly imprudent, but was suitable to that magnanimity and enterprize, with which he was so signally endowed. He was particularly desirous of conquest and dominion on the continent (*b*); and he sent over into Flanders six thousand men under Reynolds, who joined the French army commanded by Turenne. In the former campaign, Maardyke was taken, and put into the hands of the English. Early this campaign, siege was laid to Dunkirk; and when the Spanish army advanced to relieve it, the combined armies of France and England marched out of their trenches, and fought the battle of the Dunes, where the Spaniards were totally defeated (*c*). The valour of the English was much remarked on this occasion. Dunkirk, being soon after surrendered, was by agreement delivered to Cromwell. He committed the government of that important place to Lockhart, a Scotchman of abilities, who had married his niece, and was his ambassador at the court of France.

This acquisition was regarded by the protector as the means only of obtaining farther advantages. He was resolved to concert measures with the French court for the final conquest and partition of the Low Countries. Had he lived much longer, and maintained his authority in England, this project would certainly have been carried into execution. And this first and principal step towards more extensive conquest, would doubtless have been accomplished by the enterprizing politics of Cromwell.

During these transactions, great demonstrations of mutual friendship and regard passed between the French king and the protector. Lord Fauconberg, Cromwell's son-in-law, was dispatched to Louis, then in the camp before Dunkirk; and was received with the regard usually paid to foreign princes by the French court. Mazarin sent to London his nephew Mancini, along with the duke of Crequi; and expressed his regret, that his urgent affairs should deprive him of the honour which he had long wished for, of paying, in person, his respects to the greatest man in the world.

The protector reaped little satisfaction from the success of his arms abroad: the situation in which he stood at home, kept him in perpetual uneasiness and inquietude. His administration, so expensive both by military enterprizes and secret intelligence, had exhausted his revenue, and involved him in a considerable debt. The royalists, he heard, had renewed their conspiracies for a general insurrection; and Ormond was secretly come over with a view of concerting measures for the execution of this project. Lord Fairfax, sir William Waller, and many heads of the Presbyterians, had secretly entered into the engagement. Even the army was infected with the general spirit of discontent; and some sudden and dangerous eruption was dreaded from it. But however zealous the royalists, their conspiracy took not effect: Willis discovered the whole to the protector. Ormond was obliged to

(*b*) He aspired to get possession of Elsinore and the passage of the Sound. See "*World's Mistake in Oliver Cromwell*." He also endeavoured to get possession of Bremen. Thurloe, vol. vi. p. 478.

(*c*) It was remarked by the saints of that time, that the battle was fought on a day which was held for a fast in London, so that as Fleetwood said (Thurloe, vol. vii. p. 159.), while we were praying, they were fighting, and the Lord hath given a signal answer. The Lord has not only owned us in our work there, but in our waiting upon him in a way of prayer, which is indeed our old experienced approved way in all streights and difficulties. Cromwell's Letter to Blake and Montague, his brave admirals, is remarkable for the same spirit. Thurloe, vol. iv. p. 744. You have, says he, as I verily believe and am persuaded, a plentiful stock of prayers going for you daily, sent up by the soberest and best approved ministers and Christians in this nation, and, notwithstanding some discouragements, very much wrestling of faith for you, which are to us, and I trust will be to you, matter of great encouragement. But notwithstanding all this, it will be good for you and us to deliver up ourselves and all our affairs to the disposition of our all-wise Father, who not only out of prerogative, but because of his goodness, wisdom, and truth, ought to be resigned unto by his creatures, especially those who are children of his begetting through the spirit, &c.

fly,

fly, and he deemed himself fortunate to have escaped so vigilant an administration. Great numbers were thrown into prison. A high court of justice was again erected for the trial of those criminals whose guilt was most apparent. Notwithstanding the recognition of his authority by the last parliament, the protector could not as yet trust to an unbiassed jury. Sir Henry Slingby, and Dr. Huet, were condemned and beheaded. Mordaunt, brother to the earl of Peterborough, narrowly escaped. The numbers for his condemnation and acquittal were equal; and just as the sentence was pronounced in his favour, colonel Pride, who was resolved to condemn him, came into court. Ashton, Storey, and Bestley, were hanged in different streets of the city.

The conspiracy of the Millenarians in the army struck Cromwell with still greater apprehensions. Harrison and the other discarded officers of that party could not remain at rest. Stimulated equally by revenge, by ambition, and by conscience, they still harboured in their breast some desperate project; and there wanted not officers in the army who, from like motives, were disposed to second their undertakings. The levellers and agitators had been encouraged by Cromwell to interpose with their advice in all political deliberations; and he had even pretended to honour many of them with his intimate friendship, while he conducted his daring enterprizes against the king and the parliament. Among those who were dissatisfied with Cromwell was Sexby; an active agitator, who now employed against him all that restless industry which he had formerly exerted in his favour. He even went so far as to enter into a correspondence with Spain; and Cromwell, who knew the distempers of the army, was justly afraid of some mutiny, to which a day, an hour, an instant, might provide leaders.

Of assassinations likewise he was apprehensive, from the zealous spirit which actuated the soldiers. Sindercome had undertaken to murder him; and, by the most unaccountable accidents, had often been prevented from executing his bloody purpose. His design was discovered; but the protector could never find the bottom of the enterprize, nor detect any of his accomplices. He was tried by a jury; and notwithstanding the general odium attending that crime, notwithstanding the clear and full proof of his guilt, so little conviction prevailed of the protector's right to the supreme government, it was with the utmost difficulty that this conspirator was condemned. When every thing was prepared for his execution, he was found dead in prison the day on which he was to be executed; from poison, as is supposed, which he had voluntarily taken.

The protector might better have supported those fears and apprehensions which the public distempers occasioned, had he enjoyed any domestic satisfaction, or possessed any cordial friend of his own family, in whose bosom he could safely have unloaded his anxious and corroding cares. But Fleetwood, his son-in-law, actuated by the wildest zeal, began to estrange himself from him; and was enraged to discover that Cromwell, in all his enterprizes, had entertained views of promoting his own grandeur, more than of encouraging piety and religion, of which he made such fervent professions. His eldest daughter, married to Fleetwood, had adopted republican principles so vehement, that she could not with patience behold power lodged in a single person, even in her indulgent father. His other daughters were no less prejudiced in favour of the royal cause, and regretted the violences and iniquities into which, they thought, their family had so unhappily been transported. Above all, the sickness of Mrs. Claypole, his peculiar favourite, a lady endued with many humane virtues and amiable accomplishments, depressed his anxious mind, and poisoned all his enjoyments. She had entertained a high regard for Dr. Huet, lately executed; and being refused his pardon, the melancholy of her temper, increased by her distempered body, had prompted her to lament to her father all his sanguinary measures, and urge him to compunction for those heinous crimes into which his fatal ambition had betrayed him. Her death, which followed soon after, gave new edge to every word which she had uttered.

All composure of mind was now for ever fled from the protector: he felt that the grandeur which he had attained with so much guilt and courage, could not ensure him that tranquillity which it belongs to virtue alone, and moderation, fully to ascertain. Overwhelmed with the load of public affairs, dreading perpetually some fatal accident in his distempered government, seeing nothing around him but treacherous friends or enraged enemies, possessing the confidence of no party, resting his title on no principle, civil or religious, he found his power to depend on so delicate a poise of faction and interests, as the smallest event was able, without any preparation, in a moment to overturn. Death too, which, with such signal intrepidity he had braved in the field, being incessantly threatened by the poignards of fanatical or interested assassins, was ever present to his terrified apprehension, and haunted him in every scene of business or repose. Each action of his life betrayed the terrors under which he laboured. The aspect of strangers was uneasy to him: with a piercing and anxious eye he surveyed every face to which he was not daily accustomed. He never moved a step without strong guards attending him: he wore armour under his clothes, and farther secured himself by offensive weapons, a sword, falchion, and pistols, which he always carried about him. He returned from no place by the direct road, or by the same way which he went. Every journey he performed with hurry and precipitation. Seldom he slept above three nights together in the same chamber: and he never let it be known beforehand what chamber he intended to choose, nor entrusted himself in any which was not provided with back doors, at which centinels were carefully placed (*d*). Society terrified him, while he reflected on his numerous, unknown, and implacable enemies: solitude astonished him, by withdrawing that protection which he found so necessary for his security.

His body also, from the contagion of his anxious mind, began to be affected; and his health seemed sensibly to decline. He was seized with a slow fever, which changed into a tertian ague. For the space of a week, no dangerous symptoms appeared; and in the intervals of the fits he was able to walk abroad. At length the fever increased, and he himself began to entertain some thoughts of death, and to cast his eye towards that future existence, whose idea had once been intimately present to him; though since, in the hurry of affairs, and in the shock of wars and factions, it had, no doubt, been considerably obliterated. He asked Goodwin, one of his preachers, if the doctrine were true, that the elect could never fall or suffer a final reprobation. "Nothing more certain," replied the preacher. "Then am I safe," said the protector: "For I am sure that once I was in a state of grace."

His physicians were sensible of the perilous condition to which his distemper had reduced him: but his chaplains, by their prayers, visions, and revelations, so buoyed up his hopes, that he began to believe his life out of all danger. A favourable answer, it was pretended, had been returned from Heaven to the petitions of all the godly; and he relied on their asseverations much more than on the opinion of the most experienced physicians. "I tell you," he cried with confidence to the latter, "I tell you, I shall not die of this distemper: I am well assured of my recovery. It is promised by the Lord, not only to my supplications, but to those men who hold a stricter commerce and more intimate correspondence with him. Ye may have skill in your profession; but nature can do more than all the physicians in the world, and God is far above nature (*e*)." Nay, to such a degree of extravagance did their enthusiastic assurances mount, that, upon a fast day, which was observed on his account both at Hampton Court and at Whitehall, they did not so much pray for his health, as give thanks for the undoubted pledges which they had received of his recovery.

Meanwhile all the symptoms began to wear a more fatal aspect; and the physicians were obliged to break silence, and to declare, that the protector could not survive the next fit with which he was threatened. The council was alarmed. A deputation was sent to know his will with regard to his successor. His senses were gone, and he could not now express his intentions. They asked him whether he did not mean that his eldest son, Richard, should succeed him in the protectorship. A simple affirmative was, or seemed to be, extorted from him. Soon after, on the 3d of September, 1658, in the sixtieth year of his age, that very day which he had always considered as the most fortunate for him, he expired (*f*).

(*d*) Oliver Cromwell's house at Whitehall, lately pulled down, was a sufficient evidence of this.

(*e*) Bates: See also Thurloe, vol. vii. p. 355, 416.

(*f*) On the 3d of September, 1650, he gained the great battle of Dunbar in Scotland; and on the same day in 1651, he overcame Charles at the battle of Worcester.

The writers attached to the memory of this wonderful person, make his character, with regard to abilities, bear the air of the most extravagant panegyric: his enemies form such a representation of his moral qualities as resembles the most virulent invective. Both of them, it must be confessed, are supported by such striking circumstances in his conduct and fortune as bestow on their representation a great air of probability. "What can be more extraordinary," it is said (*g*), "than that a person of private birth and education, no fortune, no eminent qualities of body, which have sometimes, nor shining talents of mind, which have often, raised men to the highest dignities, should have the courage to attempt, and the abilities to execute, so great a design as the subverting one of the most ancient and best established monarchies in the world? That he should have the power and boldness to put his prince and master to an open and infamous death? Should banish that numerous and strongly allied family? Cover all these temerities under a seeming obedience to a parliament, in whose service he pretended to be retained? Trample too upon that parliament in their turn, and scornfully expel them as soon as they gave him ground of dissatisfaction? Erect in their place the dominion of the saints, and give reality to the most visionary idea, which the heated imagination of any fanatic was ever able to entertain? Suppress again that monster in its infancy, and openly set up himself above all things that ever were called sovereign in England? Overcome first all his enemies by arms, and all his friends afterwards by artifice? Serve all parties patiently for a while, and command them victoriously at last? Overrun each corner of the three nations, and subdue with equal facility, both the riches of the south, and the poverty of the north? Be feared and courted by all foreign princes, and be adopted a brother to the gods of the earth? Call together parliaments with a word of his pen, and scatter them again with the breath of his mouth? Reduce to subjection a warlike and discontented nation, by means of a mutinous army? Command a mutinous army by means of seditious and factious officers? be humbly and daily petitioned, that he would be pleased, at the rate of millions a-year, to be hired as master of those who had hired him before to be their servant? Have the estates and lives of three nations as much at his disposal as was once the little inheritance of his father, and be as noble and liberal in the spending of them? And lastly (for there is no end of enumerating every particular of his glory), with one word bequeath all this power and splendour to his posterity? Die possessed of peace at home, and triumph abroad? Be buried among kings, and with more than regal solemnity; and leave a name behind him not to be extinguished but with the whole world; which as it was too little for his praise, so might it have been for his conquests, if the short line of his mortal life could have stretched out to the extent of his immortal designs?"

"My intention, says Hume, is not to disfigure this picture, drawn by so masterly a hand: I shall only endeavour to remove from it somewhat of the marvellous; a circumstance which, on all occasions, gives much ground for doubt and suspicion. It seems to me, that the circumstance of Cromwell's life, in which his abilities are principally discovered, is his rising from a private station, in opposition to so many rivals, so much advanced before him, to a high command and authority in the army. His great courage, his signal military talents, his eminent dexterity and address, were all requisite for this important acquisition. Yet will not this promotion appear the effect of supernatural abilities, when we consider, that Fairfax himself, a private gentleman, who had not the advantage of a seat in parliament, had, through the same steps, attained even a superior rank, and, if endued with common capacity and penetration, had been able to retain it. To incite such an army to rebellion against the parliament, required no uncommon art or industry: to have kept them in obedience had been the more difficult enterprize. When the breach was once formed between the military and civil powers, a supreme and absolute authority, from that moment, is devolved on the general; and if he be afterwards pleased to employ artifice or policy, it may be regarded, on most occasions, as great condescension, if not superfluous caution. That Cromwell was ever able really to blind or over-reach either the king or the republicans, does not appear: as they possessed no means of resisting the force under his command, they were glad to temporize with him, and, by seeming to be deceived, wait for opportunities of freeing themselves from his dominion. If he seduced the military fanatics, it is to be considered, that their interests and his evidently concurred, that their ignorance and low education exposed them to the grossest imposition, and that he himself was at bottom as frantic an enthusiast as the worst of them, and, in order to obtain their confidence, needed but to display those vulgar and ridiculous habits, which he had early acquired, and on which he set so high a value. An army is so forcible, and at the same time so coarse a weapon, that any hand, which wields it, may, without much dexterity, perform any operation, and attain any ascendant, in human society.

"The domestic administration of Cromwell, though it discovers great abilities, was conducted without any plan either of liberty or arbitrary power: perhaps, his difficult situation admitted of neither. His foreign enterprizes, though full of intrepidity, were pernicious to national interest, and seem more the result of impetuous fury or narrow prejudices, than of cool foresight and deliberation. An eminent personage, however, he was in many respects, and even a superior genius; but unequal and irregular in his operations. And though not defective in any talent, except that of elocution, the abilities, which in him were most admirable, and which most contributed to his marvellous success, were the magnanimous resolution of his enterprizes, and his peculiar dexterity in discovering the characters, and practising on the weaknesses of mankind.

"If we survey the moral character of Cromwell with that indulgence which is due to the blindness and infirmities of the human species, we shall not be inclined to load his memory with such violent reproaches as those which his enemies usually throw upon it. Amidst the passions and prejudices of that period, that he should prefer the parliamentary to the royal cause, will not appear extraordinary; since, even at present, some men of sense and knowledge are disposed to think that the question, with regard to the justice of the quarrel, may be regarded as doubtful and uncertain. The murder of the king, the most atrocious of all his actions, was to him covered under a mighty cloud of republican and fanatical illusions; and it is not impossible, but he might believe it, as many others did, the most meritorious action that he could perform. His subsequent usurpation was the effect of necessity, as well as of ambition; nor is it easy to see, how the various factions could at that time have been restrained, without a mixture of military and arbitrary authority. The private deportment of Cromwell, as a son, a husband, a father, a friend, is exposed to no considerable censure, if it does not rather merit praise. And, upon the whole, his character does not appear more extraordinary and unusual by the mixture of so much absurdity with so much penetration, than by his tempering such violent ambition and such enraged fanaticism with so much regard to justice and humanity."

Cromwell was of a robust frame of body, and of a manly, though not of an agreeable aspect. He left only two sons, Richard and Henry; and three daughters; one married to general Fleetwood, another to lord Fauconberg, a third to lord Rich. His father died when he was young. His mother lived till after he was protector; and, contrary to her orders, he buried her with great pomp in Westminster Abbey. She was of a good family, of the name of Stuart; remotely allied, as is by some supposed, to the royal family (*h*).

CHAP.

(*g*) Cowley's Discourses: This passage is altered in some particulars from the original.

(*h*) We shall here give some account of Oliver Cromwell and his family. Oliver Cromwell, who has been reproached with being meanly descended, was born on the 25th of April, 1599. His great-great-grandfather was Morgan Williams, who married the sister of Thomas baron Cromwell, of Oakham, earl of Essex, beheaded 32 Henry VIII. July 28, 1540. His great-grandfather sir Richard Williams, knight, took the name of Cromwell: this gentleman married Frances, daughter and coheir of sir Thomas Murfyn, lord mayor of London in 1518. His grandfather was sir Henry Cromwell of Hinchinbrook, knighted 6 Elizabeth, 1563, who died in 1603: he married Joan, daughter and at length heir of sir Ralph Warren, lord mayor of London in 1536; she died October 12, 1584. His father was Robert Cromwell of Huntingdon, (second son of sir Henry Cromwell,) who died about 1617: he married Elizabeth, daughter of sir Thomas Steward of Ely; she died November 18, 1654. Oliver Cromwell (the Protector) was the fourth child of his father: he married Elizabeth, daughter of sir James Bourchier, of Felsted, in the county of Essex; she was buried at Wicken September 18, 1672. His son Richard, who succeeded him in the Protectorate, was born October 4, 1626, and died at Cheshunt, in Hertfordshire, July 13, 1712, aged eighty-five: he married in May 1649, Dorothy, daughter and coheiress

CHAP. VI.

RICHARD CROMWELL, PROTECTOR.

ON the death of Oliver Cromwell, the council recognized the succession of his son Richard (*i*). Fleetwood, in whose favour, it was asserted, Cromwell had formerly made a will, renounced all claim or pretension to the protectorship (*k*): Henry, Richard's brother, who governed Ireland with popularity, ensured him the obedience of that kingdom: Monk, whose authority was well established in Scotland, apparently much attached to the family of Cromwell, immediately proclaimed the new protector: the army and the fleet, in all parts, acknowledged his title: above ninety addresses, from the counties and most considerable corporations, congratulated him on his accession, in all the terms of dutiful allegiance: foreign ministers were forward in paying him the usual compliments: and Richard, whose moderate, unambitious character never would have led him to contend for empire, was tempted to accept of so rich an inheritance, which seemed to be tendered to him by the consent of the nation.

A parliament was now called, in order to obtain supplies, both for the ordinary administration, and for fulfilling those engagements with foreign princes, particularly Sweden, into which the late protector had entered. The house of peers consisted of the same persons that had been appointed by Oliver. On the 7th of January, 1659, all the members of the house of commons, at first, signed, without hesitation, an engagement not to alter the present government. They next proceeded to examine *The humble Petition and Advice*; and after great opposition and vehement debates, it was carried by the court-party

heiress of Richard Major, of Hursley, in Hampshire, esq. she died January 5, 1675, aged forty-nine.

Oliver Cromwell was born in the most ancient or back part of the priory house at Huntingdon, which had been granted to his grandfather sir Henry Cromwell, and was then in the occupation of his father Robert, now (or lately) in that of the reverend Mr. Trollop. It has a brick casemated front, probably of the fifteenth century; but two or three rooms remain behind nearly in their original state; and part of the old walls are incorporated with the newer body. In the yard are old stone walls with arched doors and windows. The Protector's birth is thus entered in the register of St. John Baptist's church in Huntingdon: "Anno Domini 1599. Oliverus filius Roberti Cromwell gener. et Elizabeth ux. ejus, natus vicesimo quinto die Aprilis, et baptisatus vicesimo nono ejusdem mensis."

He died September 3, 1658, and was buried November 23 following. The following passage is taken from the "Public Intelligencer," No. 141. From Monday, August 30, to Monday, September 6, 1658.

"*Whitehall, September* 3.

"His most serene and renowned highness Oliver Lord Protector, being after a sickness of about fourteen days (which appeared an ague in the beginning) reduced to a very low condition of body, began early this morning to draw near the gate of death; and it pleased God, about three o'clock this afternoon, to put a period to his life. I would willingly express, upon this sad occasion, the deep sorrow which hath possessed the minds of his most noble son and successor, and other dearest relations, had I language sufficient. But all that I can use will fall short of the merits of that most excellent prince. His first undertakings for the public interest, his working things all along, as it were, out of the rock, his founding a military discipline in these nations, such as is not to be found in any example of preceding times; and whereby the noble soldiery of these nations may (without flattery) be commended for piety, moderation, and obedience, as a pattern to be imitated, but hardly to be equaled, by succeeding generations: his wisdom and piety in things divine, his prudence in management of the civil affairs, and conduct of the military, and admirable successes in all, made him a prince indeed among the people of God; by whose prayers being lifted up to the supreme dignity, he became more highly seated in their hearts, because in all his actings it was evident, that the main design was to make his own interest one and the same with theirs, that it might be subserving to the great interest of Jesus Christ.

"And in the promoting of this his spirit knew no bounds, his affection could not be confined at home, but brake forth into foreign parts, where he was by good men universally admired as an extraordinary person raised up of God, and by them owned as the great protector and patron of the Evangelical profession. This being said, and the world itself witness of it, I can only add, that God gave him blessings proportionable to all those virtues, and made him a blessing to us, by his wisdom and valour to secure our peace and liberty, and to revive the ancient renown and reputation of our native country.

"After all this, it is remarkable, how it pleased the Lord on this day to take him to rest, it having formerly been a day of labours to him; for which both himself and the day (September 3,) will be most renowned to posterity, it having been to him a day of triumphs and thanksgiving for the memorable victories of Dunbar and Worcester; a day, which after so many strange revolutions of Providence, high contradictions, and wicked conspiracies of unreasonable men, he lived once again to see, and then to die, with great assurances and serenity of mind, peaceably in his bed.

"Thus it hath been proved to him to be a day of triumph indeed, there being much of Providence in it, that after so glorious crowns of victory placed on his head by God on this day, having neglected an earthly crown, he should now go to receive the crown of everlasting life."

The "Public Intelligencer," No. 144. From Monday, September 20, to Monday, September 27, 1658, contains the following:

Whitehall, September 20.

"This night, the corpse of his late Highness was removed hence in a private manner, being attended only by his own servants, viz. the lord chamberlain, and the comptroller of his Highness's household, the gentlemen of his bed chamber, the gentlemen of the household, the gentlemen of the life-guard, the guard of halberdiers, and many other officers and servants of his Highness. Two heralds, or officers of arms, went next before the body, which, being placed in a hearse drawn by six horses, was conveyed to Somerset House, where it rests some daies more private, but afterwards will be exposed in state to public view."

The "Public Intelligencer," No 148. From Monday, October 18, to Monday, October 25, 1658, contains, "A particular and exact relation how Somerset House is prepared for the effigies, or representation of his late Highness, by particular order of the lords of the council, which was first shewed publicly on Monday last," that is, October 18.

The "Public Intelligencer," No. 152. From Monday, November 22, to Monday, November 29, 1658, contains an exact account of the funeral of the Protector, which took place on the 23rd of November, in Westminster Abbey.

Notwithstanding the positive declaration of the "Public Intelligencer," the fate of the Protector's corpse after his decease is variously reported. The Thames, Naseby Field, and Westminster Abbey, are all severally assigned as its repository. Dr. Cromwell Mortimer had the mason's receipt for taking it up at the Restoration; and the "Gesta Britannorum," at the end of Warton's Almanac for 1663, records the event, as does Seymour's Survey of London, 1735. Gent. Mag. 1783, p. 846. Whether Cromwell had the vanity to rank among kings in his death, no apology can be made for the mean revenge taken on his putrid carcase five years after its commitment to its peaceful mansion.

The following inscription was taken from the impression of a copper plate, gilt, found in a leaden canister, lying on the breast of the corpse, when the grave and coffin of Oliver Cromwell was broken open by order of government, after the Restoration, in order to have his body hanged at Tyburn, viz.

"Oliverius, Protector Reipublicæ
Angliæ, Scotiæ, et Hiberniæ,
Natus 25to Aprilis, Anno 1599.
Inauguratus 16° Decembris,
1653.
Mortuus 3° Septembris,
Anno 1658°, hic situs est."

The following is the mason's receipt for taking up the body of Oliver Cromwell, copied from the original, by Dr. Cromwell Mortimer:

"May the 4th day, 1661. Received then in full of the worshipful Serjeant Norfolke, fifteen shillings, for taking up the bodies of Cromwell, and Ireton, and Bradshaw."

Near Oliver Cromwell's tomb was found the body of his daughter Elizabeth, who married John Claypole, of Narborough, in the county of Northampton, esquire, master of the horse to Oliver Cromwell: she died at Hampton Court, and was buried with great pomp in Westminster Abbey, Aug. 7, 1658, where was a silver plate, containing her name, titles, &c. The inscription was in Latin; and this lady's body was the only one not taken up at the Restoration: so far did the littleness of party carry men in those days! The bodies were discovered in the north transept of Westminster Abbey, near where the duke of Newcastle's monument stands, not far from the steps of Henry the Seventh's tomb. The plate and canister containing the above inscription were preserved by serjeant Norfolk, then serjeant at arms to the house of commons, who left it to his daughter Mary, the wife of Hope Gifford, esq. at Colchester, whose daughter Mary married sir Anthony Abdy, of Felix Hall, Essex, bart. who left it to his third wife, by whose permission Dr. Cromwell Mortimer, secretary to the Royal Society, obtained the impression in the year 1739, from the original plate, which was in 1773 in possession of the honourable George Hobart, of Nocton, in the county of Lincoln, and which was shewn to the Society of Antiquaries by Mr. Willes, Fellow of the Antiquary Society, in March, 1787-8.—The above facts incontestably prove, that Oliver Cromwell was really buried in Westminster Abbey, notwithstanding the assertions of several historians to the contrary.

"A bill of sundry particulars for funerall of His Serene Highness Oliver Lord Protector," dated 6 September, 1658, amounted to one thousand and seventy-four pounds nineteen shillings and six pence.

"Worke bespoke, provided, and done, for the standing hearse at Westminster Abbey, &c. agreed for—between Mr. Barrington, clarke of the Greene Cloth, Mr. Maydstone, cofferer, and Mr. Waterhouse, steward, Mr. Kinardsley, wardrobe-keeper-assistant," amounted to seven hundred and thirty-nine pounds six shillings.

"Account and expences attending the paynting worke prepared and done for the right worshipfull company of the Cloth-workers in October, 1658, for the ceremonial or funeral of his Highness Oliver Cromwell," (Ireton, Mayor, and free thereof,) amounted to one hundred and sixty-four pounds eight shillings.

The above are extracted from copies of the bills at length *penes* the Editor.

(*i*) Richard Cromwell was a young man of no experience, was educated in the country, accustomed to a retired life, unacquainted with the officers, recommended by no military exploits, and endeared by no familiarities, therefore it was supposed he could not long maintain that authority, which his father had acquired by so many valorous atchievements and such signal successes. He possessed the virtues of private life in an eminent degree; but indolence and irresolution attended his facility and good nature; so that the hopes of the various parties which had divided the nation were excited by the expectation of some great event or revolution.

(*k*) This was, however, the assertion only of some interested persons; for it doth not appear, from any authentic document, that Oliver Cromwell even made such a promise to Fleetwood.

to confirm it. An acknowledgement too of the authority of the other house was obtained; though it was resolved not to treat this house of peers with any greater respect than they should return to the commons. A declaration was also made, that the establishment of the other house should not in any wise prejudice the right of such of the ancient peers as had, from the beginning of the war, adhered to the parliament. But in all these proceedings, by the opposition among the commons, the debates were prolonged, business was retarded, and alarm given to the partizans of the young protector.

There was yet another quarter from which greater dangers were apprehended. The most considerable officers of the army, and even Fleetwood, brother-in-law to the protector, who had married Oliver Cromwell's daughter, were entering into cabals against him. The whole republican party in the army, which was still considerable, Fitz, Mason, Moss, Farley, united themselves to general Fleetwood. The officers too of the same party, whom Cromwell had discarded, Overton, Ludlow, Rich, Okey, Alured, began to appear, and to recover that authority which had been only for a time suspended. A party likewise, who found themselves eclipsed in Richard's favour, Sydenham, Kelsey, Berry, Haines, joined the cabal of the others. Even Desborough, the protector's uncle, lent his authority to that faction. But, above all, the intrigues of Lambert inflamed all those humours, and threatened the nation with some great convulsion. The discontented officers established their meetings in Fleetwood's apartments; and because he dwelt in Wallingford House, the party received a denomination from that place.

Richard, who was a good-natured inoffensive person, and who possessed neither resolution nor penetration, was prevailed on to give a consent for calling a general council of officers, who might make him proposals, as they pretended, for the good of the army. No sooner were they assembled than they voted a remonstrance; in which they lamented, that "the good old cause," as they termed it, was entirely neglected; and they proposed as a remedy, that the whole military power should be entrusted to some person, in whom they might all confide. The city militia, influenced by two aldermen, Tichburn and Ireton, expressed the same resolution of adhering to "the good old cause."

The protector now began to take alarm at these movements among the officers, but he possessed none of those arts which were proper to gain an enthusiastic army. Murmurs being thrown out against some promotions which he had made, "Would you have me," said he, "prefer none but the godly? Here is Dick Ingoldsby," continued he, "who can neither pray nor preach; yet will I trust him before ye all." This imprudence gave great offence to the officers; and when some of his party offered to put an end to those intrigues by the death of Lambert, he declared, that he would not purchase power or dominion by such sanguinary means.

The parliament was no less alarmed at the military cabals. They voted that there should be no meeting or general council of officers, except with the protector's consent, or by his orders. This vote brought affairs immediately to a rupture. The officers hastened to Richard, and demanded of him the dissolution of the parliament. The protector wanted the resolution to deny, and possessed little ability to resist. The parliament was dissolved; and by the same act, the protector was, by every one, considered as effectually dethroned. Soon after, on the 22nd of April, 1659, he signed his demission in form. His brother Henry, deputy of Ireland, likewise resigned his command, and retired to England (*l*).

The council of officers, now possessed of supreme authority, deliberated what form of government they should establish. They applied to Lenthal, the speaker, and proposed to him, that the parliament should resume their seats. Lenthal being uncertain what issue might attend these measures, was desirous of evading the proposal; and replied, that he could by no means comply with the desire of the officers; being engaged in a business of far greater importance to himself, which he could not omit on any account, because it concerned the salvation of his own soul. The officers pressed him to tell what that business was. He was preparing, he said, to participate of the Lord's supper, which he resolved to take next Sabbath. They insisted, that mercy was preferable to sacrifice, and that he could not better prepare himself for that great duty, than by contributing to the public service. All their remonstrances were in vain. However, on the appointed day, the speaker, being informed that a quorum of the house was likely to meet, thought proper to join them; and the house immediately proceeded upon business. The secluded members attempted, but in vain, to resume their seats among them.

The numbers of this parliament were small, little exceeding seventy members: their authority in the nation, ever since they had been purged by the army, was extremely diminished; and after their expulsion, had been totally annihilated: but they were resolved not to act a subordinate part to those who acknowledged themselves their servants. They chose a council, in which they took care that the officers of Wallingford House should not be the majority: they appointed Fleetwood lieutenant-general, but inserted in his commission, that it should only continue during the pleasure of the house: they chose seven persons, who should nominate to such commands as became vacant: and they voted, that all commissions should be received from the speaker, and be assigned by him in the name of the house. These precautions gave great disgust to the general officers.

The majority of the nation now consisted of royalists and Presbyterians; and to both these parties the dominion of the parliament had generally been odious. When that assembly was expelled by Cromwell, contempt had succeeded to hatred; and no reserve had been used in expressing the utmost derision against the impotent ambition of these usurpers. A secret reconciliation was made between the rival parties; and it was agreed, that all efforts should be used for the overthrow of the rump; so they called the parliament, in allusion to that part of the animal body. The Presbyterians, sensible that their passion for liberty had carried them into unwarrantable excesses, were willing to lay aside former jealousies, and, at all hazards, to restore the royal family. The nobility and the gentry bent their endeavours to the same purport, by which alone they apprehended they could be redeemed from slavery. And no man was so remote from party as not to wish for the dissolution of that tyranny which, whether the civil or the military part of it were considered, appeared equally oppressive and ruinous to the nation.

Mordaunt, who had so narrowly escaped on his trial before the high court of justice, seemed rather animated than daunted with past danger; and having obtained the confidence of the royal party, he was now become the centre of their conspiracies. In many counties, a resolution was taken to rise in arms. Lord Willoughby of Parham and sir Horatio Townshend undertook to secure Lynne; general Massey engaged to seize Gloucester: lord Newport, Littleton, and others, conspired to take possession of Shrewsbury; sir George Booth of Chester; sir Thomas Middleton of North Wales; Arundel, Pollar, Granville, Trelawney, of Plymouth and Exeter. A day was appointed for the execution of all these enterprizes. And the king, attended by the duke of York, had secretly arrived at Calais, with a resolution of putting himself at the head of their partizans. The French court had promised to supply him with a small body of forces, to countenance the insurrections of the English.

This combination was disconcerted by sir Richard Willis. He continued with the parliament the same correspondence which he had begun with Cromwell. He had engaged to reveal all conspiracies, so far as to destroy their effect; but reserved to himself the power of concealing the conspirators. He therefore betrayed only the new converts among the Presbyterians, or such lukewarm royalists, as were resolved to expose themselves to no more hazards.

Many of the conspirators in the different counties were

(*l*) Thus fell suddenly, and from an enormous height, but by a rare fortune, without any hurt or injury, the family of the Cromwells. Richard continued to possess an estate, which was moderate, and burthened too with a large debt, which he had contracted for the interment of his father. After the restoration, though he remained unmolested, he thought proper to travel for some years; and at Pezenas, in Languedoc, he was introduced, under a borrowed name, to the prince of Conti. That prince, talking of English affairs, broke out into admiration of Cromwell's courage and capacity. "But as for that poor pitiful fellow, Richard," said he, "what has become of him? How could he be such a blockhead as to reap no greater benefit from all his father's crimes and successes?" Richard extended his peaceful and quiet life to an extreme old age, and died not till the latter end of queen Anne's reign. His social virtues, more valuable than the greatest capacity, met with a recompense, more precious than noisy fame, and more suitable, contentment and tranquillity.

thrown

thrown into prison, in July: others, astonished at such symptoms of secret treachery, left their houses, or remained quiet: very stormy weather prevailed during the whole time appointed for the rendezvouses; so that some found it impossible to join their friends, and others were dismayed with fear and superstition at an incident so unusual during the summer season. Of all the projects, the only one which took effect was that of sir George Booth for the seizing of Chester. The earl of Derby, lord Herbert of Cherbury, Mr. Lee, colonel Morgan, entered into this enterprize. Sir William Middleton joined Booth with some troops from North Wales; and the malcontents were powerful enough to subdue all who ventured to oppose them in that neighbourhood. In their declaration they made no mention of the king: they only demanded a free and full parliament.

Booth was of a family eminently Presbyterian; and his conjunction with the royalists they regarded as a dangerous symptom. They had many officers whose fidelity they could more depend on than that of Lambert; but there was no one in whose vigilance and capacity they reposed such confidence. Booth imprudently ventured out of the walls of Chester, and was soon routed and taken prisoner. His whole army was dispersed.

This success hastened the ruin of the parliament. Lambert, at the head of a body of troops, was no less dangerous to them than Booth. A thousand pounds, which they sent him to buy a jewel, were employed by him in liberalities to his officers. At his instigation they drew up a petition, and transmitted it to Fleetwood (*m*).

The parliament, alarmed at the danger, cashiered Lambert, Desborough, Berry, Clarke, Barrow, Kelsey, and Cobbet. Sir Arthur Hazelrig proposed the impeachment of Lambert for high treason. Fleetwood's commission was vacated, and the command of the army was vested in seven persons, of whom that general was one. The parliament voted, that they would have no more general officers. And they declared it high treason to levy any money without consent of parliament.

Lambert immediately drew some troops together, in order to decide the controversy. Okey, who was leading his regiment to the assistance of the parliament, was deserted by them. Morley and Moss brought their regiments into Palace Yard, resolute to oppose the violence of Lambert. But that general knew an easy way of disappointing them. He placed his soldiers in the streets which lead to Westminster Hall, on the 13th of October. When the speaker came in his coach, he ordered the horses to be turned, and very civilly conducted him home. The other members were in like manner intercepted. And the two regiments in Palace Yard, observing that they were exposed to derision, peaceably retired to their quarters.

The officers found themselves again invested with supreme authority, of which they intended for ever to retain the substance, however they might bestow on others the empty shadow. They elected, on the 26th of the same month, a committee of twenty-three persons, of whom seven were officers. These they pretended to invest with sovereign authority; and they called them a *Committee of Safety*. They spoke every where of summoning a parliament chosen by the people; but they really took some steps towards assembling a military parliament, composed of officers elected from every regiment in the service.

While England continued in this distracted condition, the other kingdoms of Europe were hastening towards a composure of those differences by which they had so long been agitated. The parliament, while it preserved authority, instead of following the politics of Cromwell, and lending assistance to the conquering Swede, embraced the maxims of the Dutch commonwealth, and resolved to mediate by force and accommodation between the northern crowns. Montague was sent with a squadron to the Baltic, and carried with him as ambassador Algernon Sidney, the celebrated republican. Sidney found the Swedish monarch employed in the siege of Copenhagen, the capital of his enemy; and was highly pleased, that, with a Roman arrogance, he could check the progress of royal victories, and display in so signal a manner the superiority of freedom above tyranny. With the highest indignation, the ambitious prince was obliged to submit to the imperious mediation of England and Holland. "It is cruel," said he, "that laws should be prescribed me by parricides and pedlars." But his whole army being enclosed in an island by the combined squadrons of England and Holland, he was obliged to quit his prey; and having agreed to a pacification with Denmark, he retired into his own country, where he soon after expired.

The affairs of England were in great disorder, and the king, reduced to despair by the failure of all enterprizes for his restoration, was resolved to try the weak resource of foreign succours; but in this experiment he was disappointed. Yet fortune, by a surprising revolution, was now paving the way for the king to ascend the throne of his ancestors. It was by the machinations of general Monk (*n*), that this change was at last accomplished.

It was well known that a rivalship had long subsisted between Monk and Lambert; and but little friendship had ever subsisted between him and the parliamentary leaders. How early he entertained designs for the king's restoration, we know not with certainty: it is likely, that as soon as Richard was deposed, he thought that without such an expedient, it would be impossible to bring the nation to a regular settlement. His elder and younger brothers were devoted to the royal cause: the Granvilles, his near relations, and all the rest of his kindred, were in the same interests. His early engagements had been with the king, and he had left that service without receiving any disgust from the royal family. Since he had inlisted himself with the opposite party, he had been guilty of no violence or rigour, which might render him an object of their hatred. His return, therefore, to loyalty was easy; and nothing could be supposed to counterbalance his natural propensity to that measure, except the views of his own elevation, and the prospect of usurping the same grandeur and authority which had been assumed by Cromwell. But from such projects, the moderation of his temper seemed to have set him at a distance. Cromwell himself, he always asserted, could not long have maintained his usurpation; and any other person, even equal to him in genius, would now find it difficult to practise arts, of which every one, from experience, was sufficiently aware. It is more agreeable, therefore, to suppose that Monk had entertained views of effecting the king's restoration; nor ought any objections, derived from his profound silence even to Charles himself, be regarded as considerable. His temper was naturally reserved; so that upon the

(*m*) The import of this petition was, that Fleetwood should be made commander in chief, Lambert major-general, Desborough lieutenant-general of the horse, Monk major-general of the foot. To which a demand was added, that no officer should be dismissed from his command but by a court-martial.

(*n*) George Monk, to whom the fate was reserved of re-establishing monarchy, and finishing the dissensions of three kingdoms, was the second son of a family in Devonshire, ancient and honourable, but lately fallen to decay. He betook himself, in early youth, to the profession of arms; and was engaged in the unfortunate expeditions to Cadiz and the isle of Rhé. After England had concluded peace with all her neighbours, he sought military experience in the Low Countries, the great school of war to all the European nations; and he rose to the command of a company under lord Goring. When the sound of war was first heard in this island, Monk returned to England, partly desirous of promotion in his native country, partly disgusted with some ill usage from the States. Upon the Scottish pacification, he was employed by the earl of Leicester against the Irish rebels; and having obtained a regiment, was soon taken notice of, for his military skill, and for his calm and deliberate valour. Without ostentation, expence, or caresses, merely by his humane and equal temper, he gained the good-will of the soldiery. When the Irish army was called over into England he had even been suspended from his command, and ordered to Oxford, that he might answer the charges laid against him. Upon his earnest protestations and declarations, he was restored to his regiment, which he joined at the siege of Nantwich. The day after his arrival, Fairfax attacked and defeated the royalists, commanded by Biron; and took colonel Monk prisoner. He was sent to the Tower, where he endured, about two years, all the rigours of poverty and confinement, and it was not till after the royalists were totally subdued, that he recovered his liberty. Monk, however distressed, had always refused the most inviting offers from the parliament; but Cromwell, having solicited him to engage in the wars against the Irish, he was not unwilling to repair his broken fortunes by accepting a command which, he flattered himself, was reconcilable to the strictest principles of honour. Having once engaged with the parliament, he was obliged to obey orders; and found himself necessitated to fight, both against the marquis of Ormond in Ireland, and against the king himself in Scotland. Upon the reduction of the latter kingdom, Monk was left with the supreme command. No less acceptable was his authority to the officers and soldiers; and foreseeing, that the good will of the army under his command might some time be of great service to him, he had, with much care and success, cultivated their friendship. The connexions which he had formed with Cromwell, his benefactor, preserved him faithful to Richard, who had been enjoined by his father to follow in every thing the directions of general Monk. When the long parliament was restored, Monk, who was not prepared for opposition, acknowledged their authority, and was continued in his command, from which it would not have been safe to attempt dislodging him. After the army had expelled the parliament, he protested against the violence, and resolved, as he pretended, to vindicate their invaded privileges. Deeper designs, either in the king's favour or his own, were, from the beginning, suspected to be the motive of his actions.

whole, it seems hard to interpret that conduct, which was a disparagement of his probity.

Sir John Granville, hoping that the general would engage in the king's service, sent into Scotland his younger brother, a clergyman, Dr. Monk, who carried him a letter and invitation from the king. When the doctor arrived, he found that his brother was then holding a council of officers, and was not to be seen for some hours. In the mean time, he was received and entertained by Price, the general's chaplain, a strong partizan of the king's. The doctor, having an entire confidence in the chaplain, talked freely to him about the object of his journey, and engaged him, if there should be occasion, to second his applications. At last, the general arrives; the brothers embrace; and after some preliminary conversation, the doctor opens his business. Monk interrupted him, to know whether he had ever before to any body mentioned the subject. "To no body," replied his brother, "but to Price, whom I know to be entirely in your confidence." The general, altering his countenance, turned the discourse; and would enter into no farther confidence with him, but sent him away with the first opportunity. He would not trust his own brother, the moment he knew that he had disclosed the secret; though to a man whom he himself could have trusted.

Hearing that Lambert was advancing northward with his army, Monk sent Clobery, and two other commissioners to London, with professions of his inclination to peace, and with offers of terms for an accommodation. A treaty was signed by Monk's commissioners; but he refused to ratify it, and complained that they had exceeded their powers. He desired, however, to enter into a new negociation at Newcastle. The committee willingly accepted this fallacious offer.

In November, these military sovereigns found themselves surrounded on all hands with inextricable difficulties. The nation had fallen into total anarchy; and by refusing the payment of all taxes, reduced the army to the greatest necessities. While Lambert's forces were assembling at Newcastle, Hazelrig, Morley, and Walton took possession of Portsmouth, and declared for the parliament. A party, sent to suppress them, was persuaded by their commander to join in the same declaration. Admiral Lawson with his squadron came into the river, and declared for the parliament. Hazelrig and Morley, hearing of this important event, left Portsmouth, and advanced towards London. The regiments near that city being solicited by their old officers, who had been cashiered by the committee of safety, revolted again to the parliament. Desborough's regiment, being sent by Lambert to support his friends, no sooner arrived at St. Albans, than it declared for the same assembly.

When Fleetwood, who was not vigorous enough to support his authority, received intelligence of any murmurs among the soldiers, he would prostrate himself in prayer, and could hardly be prevailed with to join the troops. Even when among them, he would, in the midst of any discourse, invite them all to prayer, and put himself on his knees before them. If any of his friends exhorted him to more vigour, they could get no other answer, than that God had spitten in his face, and would not hear him. Men now ceased to wonder, why Lambert had promoted him to the office of general, and had contented himself with the second command in the army.

On the 26th of December, Lenthal, the speaker, being invited by the officers, again assumed authority, and summoned the parliament, which twice before had been expelled with so much reproach and ignominy. As soon as assembled, they repealed their act against the payment of excise and customs; they appointed commissioners for assigning quarters to the army; and, without taking any notice of Lambert, they sent orders to the forces under his command immediately to repair to those quarters which were appointed them.

Lambert, on the 1st of January, 1660, was in a very disconsolate condition. Monk, he saw, had passed the Tweed at Coldstream, and was advancing upon him. His own soldiers deserted him in multitudes, and joined the enemy. Lord Fairfax too, he heard, had raised forces behind him, and had possessed himself of York, without declaring his purpose. The last orders of the parliament so entirely stripped him of his army, that there remained not with him above a hundred horse: all the rest went to their quarters; and he himself was, some time after, committed to the Tower. The other officers, who had formerly been cashiered by the parliament, were again cashiered and confined to their houses. Sir Harry Vane and some members, who had concurred with the committee of safety, were ordered into a like confinement. And the parliament now seemed to be again possessed of more absolute authority than ever, and to be without any danger of opposition or control. The republican party was at this time guided by Hazelrig and Vane, who were of opposite characters, and strenuously hated each other.

Monk, though informed of the restoration of the parliament, from whom he received no orders, still advanced with his army, which was nearly six thousand men: the scattered forces in England were above five times more numerous. Fairfax, who had resolved to declare for the king, not being able to make the general open his intentions, retired to his own house in Yorkshire. In all counties through which Monk passed, the prime gentry flocked to him with addresses; expressing their desire, that he would be instrumental in restoring the nation to peace and tranquillity, and to the enjoyment of those liberties which, during so many years, they had been fatally deprived of. Monk pretended not to favour these addresses; but the anarchy, which now prevailed; the experience of past distractions, the dread of future convulsions, and the indignation against military usurpation, had united every party, except the most desperate, into a desire for the king's restoration.

Scot and Robinson were sent as deputies by the parliament, under pretence of congratulating the general, but in reality to serve as spies upon him. The city dispatched four of their principal citizens to perform like compliments, and at the same time to confirm the general in his inclination to a free parliament. The parliamentary deputies received several insults, which the general pretended to disapprove.

Monk continued his march with few interruptions to St. Albans. He there sent a message to the parliament; desiring them to remove from London those regiments which had so lately offered violence to that assembly. This message was unexpected, and exceedingly perplexed the house; however, they found it necessary to comply. But one regiment quartered in Somerset House, expressly refused to yield their place to the northern army, though they were at last obliged to submit, and Monk with his army took quarters in Wesminster, on the 3rd of February, 1660.

The general was introduced to the house on the 6th; and thanks were given him by Lenthal for the eminent services which he had done his country. Monk told the house, that the services, which he had been enabled to perform, were no more than his duty, and merited not such praises as those with which they were pleased to honour him. That among many persons of greater worth, who bore their commission, he had been employed as the instrument of providence for affecting their restoration; but he considered this service as a step only to more important services, which it was their part to render to the nation: that while on his march, he observed all ranks of men, in all places, to be in earnest expectation of a settlement, after the violent convulsions to which they had been exposed; and to have no prospect of that blessing but from the dissolution of the present parliament, and from the summoning of a new one, free and full, who, meeting without oaths or engagements, might finally give contentment to the nation: that applications had been made to him for that purpose; but that he, sensible of his duty, had still told the petitioners, that the parliament itself, which was now free and would soon be full, was the best judge of all these measures, and that the whole community ought to acquiesce in their determination: that though he expressed himself in this manner to the people, he must now freely inform the house, that the fewer engagements were exacted, the more comprehensive would their plan prove, and the more satisfaction would it give to the nation: and that it was sufficient for public security, if the fanatical party and the royalists were excluded; since the principles of these factions were destructive either of government or of liberty.

This hypocritical speech kept every one in suspense, and upheld that uncertainty, in which it seemed the general's interest to retain the public. But it was impossible for the kingdom to remain long in doubt: the people, as well as the parliament, pushed matters to a decision. During the late convulsions, the payment of taxes had been interrupted; and so little reverence did the people

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now pay to the parliament, that they gave slow and unwilling obedience to their commands. The common-council of London positively refused to submit to an assessment required of them; and declared that, till a free and lawful parliament imposed taxes, they never should deem it their duty to make any payment. This resolution, if yielded to, would immediately have put an end to the dominion of the parliament: they were determined, therefore, upon this occasion to make at once a full experiment of their own power and of their general's obedience.

Monk received orders, on the 9th of February, to march into the city; to seize twelve persons, the most hateful to the parliament; to remove the posts and chains from all the streets; and to take down and break the portcullises and gates of the city; and very few hours were allowed him to deliberate upon the execution of these orders. To the great surprize and consternation of all men, Monk prepared himself for obedience. Neglecting the entreaties of his friends, and the remonstrances of his officers, he entered the city in a military manner; he apprehended as many as he could of the proscribed persons, whom he sent to the Tower; with all the circumstances of contempt he broke the gates and portcullises; and having exposed the city to the scorn and derision of all who hated it, he returned in triumph to his quarters in Westminster.

Perceiving that by this measure he was likely to do harm, he resolved, before it were too late, to repair the dangerous mistake into which he had been betrayed, and to shew that he meant no longer to be the minister of violence and usurpation. After complaining of the odious service in which he had been employed, he wrote a letter of reproach to the house on the 11th, requiring them, in the name of the citizens, soldiers, and the whole commonwealth, to issue writs, within a week, for the filling of their house, and to fix the time for their own dissolution and the assembling of a new parliament. Having dispatched this letter, he marched with his army into the city, and desired Allen, the mayor, to summon a common-council at Guild-hall. He there made many apologies for the indignity which, two days before, he had put upon them; assured them of his perseverance in the measures which he had adopted; and desired that they might mutually plight their faith for a strict union between the city and army, in every enterprize for the happiness and settlement of the commonwealth.

The parliament, though greatly in despair, made still one effort for the recovery of their dominion. They sent a committee with offers to gain the general. He refused to hear them, except in the presence of some of the secluded members. Though several persons promised to invest him with the dignity of supreme magistrate, and to support his government, he would not hearken to their proposals. Having fixed a close correspondence with the city, and established its militia in hands whose fidelity he could rely on, he returned with his army to Westminster, and pursued every measure for the settlement of the nation.

The secluded members, upon the general's invitation, went to the house, on the 21st of February, and finding no longer any obstruction, they entered, and immediately appeared to be the majority: most of the Independents left the place. The restored members first repealed all ordinances by which they had been excluded: they gave sir George Booth and his party their liberty and estates: they renewed the general's commission, and enlarged his powers: they fixed an assessment for the support of the fleet and army: and having passed these votes for the present composure of the kingdom, they dissolved themselves, on the 16th of March, and issued writs for the immediate assembling of a new parliament. This last measure had been previously concerted with the general.

A council of state was established, consisting of men whom Monk knew to be favourable to his scheme of restoring royalty. The militia was put into such hands as he knew would promote his designs. These, conjoined with Monk's army, which lay united at London, were esteemed a sufficient check on the dispersed army, of whose inclinations he had reason to be diffident. Monk, however, was every day removing the officers who were not so well affected to his plan, and bringing the troops to a state of obedience under his command.

Overton, governor of Hull, declared his resolution to keep possession of that fortress till the coming of King Jesus: but when Alured produced the authority of parliament for his delivering the place to colonel Fairfax, he thought proper to comply.

Montague, who commanded the fleet in the Baltic, had entered into the conspiracy with sir George Booth; and pretending want of provisions, had sailed from the Sound towards the coast of England, with an intention of supporting that insurrection of the royalists. On his arrival he received the news of Booth's defeat, and the total failure of the enterprize. The great difficulties, to which the parliament was then reduced, allowed them no leisure to examine strictly the reasons which he gave for quitting his station; and they allowed him to retire peaceably to his country-house. The council of state now conferred on him, in conjunction with Monk, the command of the fleet; and secured the naval, as well as military force, in hands favourable to the royal cause.

Notwithstanding all these steps which were taking towards the re-establishment of monarchy, Monk still hypocritically maintained the appearance of zeal for a commonwealth, and hitherto allowed no canal of correspondence between himself and the king to be opened. His silence, in the commencement of his enterprize, has by many been considered at an objection to his sincerity. There was, however, one Morrice, a gentleman of Devonshire, of a sedentary, studious disposition, nearly related to Monk, and one who had always maintained the strictest intimacy with him. With this person alone did Monk deliberate concerning that great enterprize, which he had projected. Sir John Granville, who had a commission from the king, applied to Morrice for access to the general; but received for answer, that the general desired him to communicate his business to Morrice. Granville, though importunately urged, twice refused to deliver his message to any but Monk himself; and this cautious politician, finding him now a person, whose secresy could be safely trusted, admitted him to his presence, and opened to him his whole intentions. Still he scrupled to commit any thing to writing: he delivered only a verbal message by Granville; assuring the king of his services, giving advice for his conduct, and exhorting him instantly to leave the Spanish territories, and retire into Holland. Charles followed these directions, and very narrowly escaped to Breda; for it was supposed, that if he had protracted his journey but a few hours, he would certainly, under pretence of honour and respect, have been arrested by the Spaniards.

Lockhart, who was governor of Dunkirk, and by no means averse to the king's service, was applied to on this occasion. The state of England was set before him, the certainty of the restoration represented, and the prospect of great favour displayed, if he would enter into the views of the general and his partizans, and receive the king into his fortress. Lockhart still dissembling the matter, replied, that his commission was derived from an English parliament, and he would not open his gates but in obedience to the same authority.

It being easy to the discerning part of the community to perceive what was going on, the elections for the new parliament went every where in favour of the king's party. The enthusiasts themselves seemed to be disarmed of their fury; and between despair and astonishment gave way to those measures, which, they found, it would be impossible for them, by their utmost efforts, to withstand. The Presbyterians and the royalists, being united, formed a strong party in the nation, which, without noise, but with infinite ardour, called for the king's restoration. The kingdom was almost entirely in the hands of the former party; and some zealous leaders among them began to renew the demand of those conditions, which had been required of the late king in the treaty of Newport: but the general was averse to the mention of conditions; and resolved that the crown, which he intended to restore, should be conferred on the king entirely free and unencumbered; and although the parliament had voted, that no one should be elected, who had himself, or whose father had borne arms for the late king; little regard was paid to this ordinance. The leaders of the Presbyterians, the earl of Manchester, lord Fairfax, lord Robarts, Hollis, sir Anthony Ashley Cooper, Annesley, Lewis, were determined to atone for past transgressions by their present zeal for the royal interests; and from former merits, successes, and sufferings, they had acquired with their party the highest credit and authority.

The affairs of Ireland were in a condition no less favourable to the king. As soon as Monk declared against the English army, he dispatched emissaries into Ireland, and engaged the officers in that kingdom to concur with him

him in the same measures. Lord Broghill, president of Munster, and sir Charles Coote, president of Connaught, entered into a correspondence with the king, and promised their assistance for his restoration. But all these promising views had almost been blasted by an untoward accident. Upon the admission of the secluded members, the republican party, particularly the late king's judges, were seized with despair, and endeavoured to infuse the same sentiments into the army.

In the mean time Lambert suddenly made his escape from the Tower, and threw Monk and the council of state into great consternation. They knew Lambert's vigour and activity; they were acquainted with his popularity in the army; they were sensible, that, though the soldiers had lately deserted him, they sufficiently expressed their remorse and their detestation of those, who, by false professions, they found, had so egregiously deceived them. It seemed necessary, therefore, to employ the greatest celerity in suppressing so dangerous a foe: colonel Ingoldsby, who had been one of the late king's judges, but who was now entirely engaged in the royal cause, was dispatched after him. He overtook him at Daventry, on the 22nd of April, while he had yet assembled but four troops of horse. One of them deserted him. Another quickly followed the example. He himself, endeavouring to make his escape, was seized by Ingoldsby, to whom he made submissions not suitable to his former character of spirit and valour. Okey, Axtel, Cobbet, Crede, and other officers of that party, were taken prisoners with him. All the roads were full of soldiers hastening to join them, and in a few days, they would have been formidable.

The parliament met on the 25th of April, and chose sir Harbottle Grimstone speaker, who had long been esteemed affectionate to the king's service. The members exerted themselves chiefly in bitter invectives against the memory of Cromwell, and in execrations against the inhuman murder of their late sovereign. At last, on the 1st of May, the general, having sufficiently sounded their inclinations, gave directions to Annesley, president of the council, to inform them, that one sir George Granville (*o*), a servant of the king's, had been sent over by his majesty, and was now at the door with a letter to the commons. The loudest acclamations were excited by this intelligence. Granville was called in: the letter, accompanied with a declaration, greedily read: a committee was immediately appointed to prepare an answer; and in order to spread the same satisfaction throughout the kingdom, it was voted that the letter and declaration should be instantly published.

The king's declaration was well calculated to uphold the satisfaction inspired by the prospect of public settlement. It offered a general amnesty to all persons whatsoever; and that without any exceptions but such as should afterwards be made by parliament: it promised liberty of conscience; and a concurrence in any act of parliament, which, upon mature deliberation, should be offered, for insuring that indulgence: it submitted to the arbitration of the same assembly the inquiry into all grants, purchases, and alienations; and it assured the soldiers of all their arrears, and promised them, for the future, the pay which they then enjoyed.

The lords, perceiving the spirit by which the commons was animated, hastened to reinstate themselves in their ancient authority, and to take their share in the settlement of the nation. They found the doors of their house open; and all were admitted; even such as had formerly been excluded on account of their pretended delinquency.

The two houses attended on the 8th of May; while the king was proclaimed with great solemnity, in Palace Yard, at Whitehall, and at Temple Bar. The commons voted five hundred pounds to buy a jewel for Granville, who had brought them the king's gracious messages: a present of fifty thousand pounds was conferred on the king, ten thousand pounds on the duke of York, five thousand pounds on the duke of Gloucester. A committee of lords and commons was dispatched to invite his majesty to return and take possession of the government. Such an impatience appeared, and such an emulation, in lords and commons, and even among some of the citizens, who should make the most lively expressions of their joy and duty; that the king himself said, that it must surely have been his own fault that he had not sooner taken possession of the throne; since he found people so zealous in promoting his restoration.

(*o*) By the hands of sir John Granville, general Monk received a commission from the king, constituting him general of the forces of the kingdoms of England, Scotland, and Ireland.

The English fleet came in sight of Scheveling. Montague had not waited for orders from the parliament; but had persuaded the officers, of themselves, to tender their duty to his majesty. The duke of York immediately went on board, and took the command of the fleet as high admiral.

When the king disembarked at Dover, he was met by general Monk, whom he cordially embraced. Never subject in fact, probably in his intentions, had deserved better of his king and country. In the space of a few months, without effusion of blood, by his cautious conduct alone, he had bestowed settlement on three kingdoms, which had long been torn with the most violent convulsions; and having obstinately refused the most inviting conditions, offered him by the king as well as by every party in the kingdom, he freely restored Charles to the vacant throne. The king entered London on the 29th of May, the day on which he completed the thirtieth year of his age.

CHAP. VII.

CHARLES II.

WHEN Charles the Second ascended the throne of his ancestors, he was in that period of life, when there remains enough of youth to render the person amiable, without preventing that authority and regard which attend the years of experience and maturity; and as the sudden and surprizing revolution, which restored him to his regal rights, had also restored the nation to peace, no prince ever obtained the crown in more favourable circumstances. The popularity which the king had acquired by his whole demeanour and behaviour, he was well qualified to support. To a lively wit and quick comprehension, he united a good understanding, and a general observation both of men and things. The easiest manners, the most unaffected politeness, the most engaging gaiety, accompanied his conversation and address. Accustomed, during his exile, to live among his courtiers rather like a companion than a monarch, he retained, even while on the throne, that open affability, which was capable of reconciling the most determined republicans to his royal dignity.

Into his council were admitted many eminent men, without regard to former distinctions: the Presbyterians, equally with the royalists, shared his honour. Annesley was also created earl of Anglesey; Ashley Cooper, lord Ashley; Denzil Hollis, lord Hollis. The earl of Manchester was appointed lord chamberlain, and lord Say, privy seal. Calamy and Baxter, Presbyterian clergymen, were even made chaplains to the king.

Admiral Montague, created earl of Sandwich, was entitled, from his recent services, to great favour; and he obtained it. Monk, created duke of Albermarle, had performed such signal services for the king, by effecting his restoration, notwithstanding his former friendship with Cromwell, that he was ever treated by Charles with great marks of distinction, who settled seven thousand pounds per annum on him out of the royal demesnes. Sir William Morrice, his friend, was created secretary of state, and was supported more by his patron's credit than by his own abilities or experience. Sir Edward Hyde, created earl of Clarendon, was chancellor and prime minister: the marquis, created duke of Ormond, was steward of the household; the earl of Southampton, high treasurer; sir Edward Nicholas, secretary of state. It required some time, however, before the several parts of the state, disfigured by war and faction, could recover their former arrangement: but the parliament immediately fell into good correspondence with the king; and treated him with the same dutiful regard which had usually been paid to his predecessors. Being summoned without the king's consent, they received, at first, only the title of a convention; and it was not till he passed an act for that purpose, that they were called by the appellation of parliament. All judicial proceedings, transacted in the name of the commonwealth or protector, were ratified by a new law: and both houses received his majesty's pardon and indemnity.

The king, before his restoration, being afraid of reducing any of his enemies to despair, and at the same time unwilling that such enormous crimes as had been committed, should receive a total impunity, had expressed himself

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very cautiously in his declaration of Breda, and had promised an indemnity to all criminals but such as should be excepted by parliament. He now issued a proclamation, declaring that such of the late king's judges as did not yield themselves prisoners within fourteen days should receive no pardon. Nineteen surrendered themselves: some were taken in their flight: others escaped beyond sea.

The commons seem to have been more inclined to lenity than the lords. The upper house were resolved, besides the late king's judges, to except every one who had sitten in any high court of justice. But the king soon dissipated these fears. He came to the house of peers, and passed the act of general indemnity. This measure of the king's was received with great applause and satisfaction. Those, however, who had an immediate hand in the late king's death, were there excepted: even Cromwell, Ireton, Bradshaw, and others now dead, were attainted, and their estates forfeited. Vane and Lambert, though not among the regicides, were also excepted. St. John and seventeen other persons were deprived of all benefit from this act, if they ever accepted any public employment. All who had sitten in any high court of justice during the commonwealth were disabled from bearing offices.

The next business was the settlement of the king's revenue. The tenures of wards and liveries had long been regarded as grievous; a hundred thousand pounds a-year was offered in lieu of them; and half of the excise was settled in perpetuity upon the crown as the fund whence this revenue should be levied. Tonnage and poundage and the other half of the excise were granted to the king during life. The parliament even voted that the settled revenue of the crown should be one million two hundred thousand pounds a-year.

In all the temporary supplies which they voted, they discovered great caution and frugality. To answer the king's present demands, an assessment of seventy thousand pounds a-month was imposed; but it was at first voted to continue only three months: and all the other sums, which they levied for that purpose, were granted by parcels; as if they were not, as yet, well assured of the fidelity of the hand to which the money was entrusted. Having proceeded thus far, the parliament adjourned itself for some weeks on the 13th of September.

During the recess of parliament, the object, which chiefly interested the public, was the trial and condemnation of the regicides: but in the peculiar circumstances of that action, in the prejudices of the times, as well as in the behaviour of the criminals, a humane mind will find a plentiful source of compassion and indulgence. Can any one, without concern, consider the demeanour of general Harrison, who was first brought to his trial? With great courage and elevation of sentiment, he told the court, "that the pretended crime, of which he stood accused, was not a deed performed in a corner: the sound of it hath gone forth to most nations; and in the singular and marvellous conduct of it had chiefly appeared the sovereign power of Heaven. That he himself, agitated by doubts, had often, with passionate tears, offered up his addresses to the divine Majesty, and earnestly sought for light and conviction: he had still received assurance of a heavenly sanction, and returned from these devout supplications with more serene tranquillity and satisfaction. That all the nations of the earth were, in the eyes of their Creator, less than a drop of water in the bucket; nor were their erroneous judgement aught but darkness, compared with divine illuminations. That these frequent illapses of the Divine Spirit he could not suspect to be interested illusions; since he was conscious, that, for no temporal advantage, would he offer injury to the poorest man or woman that trod upon the earth. That all the allurements of ambition, all the terrors of imprisonment, had not been able, during the usurpation of Cromwell, to shake his steady resolution, or bend him to a compliance with that deceitful tyrant. And that when invited by him to sit on the right hand of the throne, when offered riches and splendour and dominion, he had disdainfully rejected all temptations; and neglecting the tears of his friends and family, had still, through every danger, held fast his principles and his integrity."

Scott, who was more a republican than a puritan, had said in the house of commons, a little before the restoration, that he desired no other epitaph to be inscribed on his tomb-stone than this; "Here lies Thomas Scott, who adjudged the king to death." He supported the same spirit upon his trial.

Carew, a Millenarian, submitted to his trial, "saving to our Lord Jesus Christ his right to the government of these kingdoms." Some scrupled to say, according to form, that they would be tried by God and their country; because God was not visibly present to judge them. Others said, that they would be tried by the word of God.

Six of the late king's judges, Harrison, Scott, Carew, Clement, Jones, and Scrope, were executed: Scrope alone, of all those who came in upon the king's proclamation; Axtel, who had guarded the high court of justice, Hacker, who commanded on the day of the king's execution, Coke, the solicitor for the people of England, and Hugh Peters, the famous puritanical preacher: all these were tried, and condemned, and suffered with the king's judges (*p*). The rest of the king's judges were reprieved, and dispersed into several prisons.

This punishment of these persons interrupted not the rejoicings of the court: but the death of the duke of Gloucester, a young prince of promising hopes, on the 13th of September, threw a great cloud upon them; and the king, by no incident in his life, was ever so deeply affected. The young duke was believed to be affectionate to the religion and constitution of his country. He was but twenty years of age, when the small-pox put an end to his life.

The princess of Orange, having come to England, in order to partake of the rejoicings upon the restoration of her family, with whom she lived in great friendship, soon after sickened and died. The queen-mother paid a visit to her son; and obtained his consent to the marriage of the princess Henrietta, with the duke of Orleans, brother to the king of France.

After a recess of near two months, the parliament met on the 6th of November, and proceeded in the great work of the national settlement. They established the post-office, wine licences, and some articles of the revenue. They granted more assessments, and some arrears, for paying the disbanding army. After they had sitten near two months, the king, thinking that they might not be quite so pliant in every thing if they were permitted to sit much longer, in a speech full of the most gracious expressions, thought proper to dissolve them, on the 29th of December.

This house of commons consisted chiefly of Presbyterians, who had not yet entirely laid aside their old jealousies and principles, and royalists, who were inveterate against the republican party. Lenthal, a member, having said, that those who first took arms against the king, were as guilty as those who afterwards brought him to the scaffold, was, however, severely reprimanded by order of the house; and the most violent efforts of the long parliament, to secure the constitution, and bring delinquents to justice, were in effect vindicated and applauded (*q*). The claim of the two houses to the militia, the first ground of the quarrel, was never expressly resigned by this parliament. They made all grants of money with a sparing hand. Great arrears being due by the protector, to the fleet, the army, the navy-office, and every branch of service; this whole debt they threw upon the crown, without establishing funds sufficient for its payment (*r*).

The chancellor now hastened to disband the army. No more troops were retained than a few guards and garrisons, about one thousand horse, and four thousand foot. This was the first appearance, under the monarchy, of a regular standing army in this island. The fortifications of Gloucester, Taunton, and other towns, which had made resistance to the king during the civil wars, were demolished.

(*p*) No saint or confessor ever went to martyrdom with more assured confidence of Heaven than was expressed by those persons, even when the terrors of immediate death, joined to many indignities, were set before them.

(*q*) Journals, vol. viii. p. 24.

(*r*) Notwithstanding this jealous care, expressed by the parliament, there prevails a story, that Popham, having sounded the disposition of the members, undertook to the earl of Southampton to procure, during the king's life, a grant of two millions a-year, land tax; a sum which, added to the customs and excise, would have rendered this prince completely independent of his people. Southampton, it is said, merely from his affection to the king, had unwarily embraced the offer; and it was not till he communicated the matter to the chancellor, that he was made sensible of its pernicious tendency. It is not improbable, that such an offer might have been made, and been hearkened to; but it is no-wise probable that all the interest of the court would ever, with this house of commons, have been able to make it effectual. Clarendon, however, showed his prudence by rejecting it.

The earl of Clarendon, it must be admitted, behaved with wisdom and justice in the office of chancellor; and the counsels, which he gave the king, tended equally to promote the interest of prince and people. Charles, accustomed in his exile to pay entire deference to the judgement of this nobleman, continued still to submit to his direction. He moderated the forward zeal of the royalists, and tempered their appetite for revenge. With the opposite party, he endeavoured to preserve inviolate all the king's engagements: he kept an exact register of the promises which had been made for any service, and employed all his industry to fulfil them. This good minister was now nearly allied to the royal family. His daughter, Ann Hyde, a woman of spirit and fine accomplishments, had hearkened, while abroad, to the addresses of the duke of York, and, under promise of marriage, had secretly admitted him to her bed. Her pregnancy appeared soon after the restoration; and though many endeavoured to dissuade the king from consenting to so unequal an alliance, Charles permitted his brother to marry her. The earl, however, expressed great uneasiness at the honour which he had obtained; and said, that by being elevated so much above his rank, he thence dreaded a more sudden reverse of fortune.

The earl of Clarendon's maxims in the conduct of ecclesiastical politics have by many been deemed the effect of prejudices narrow and bigotted; and to the Presbyterian they seem to have that tendency. But as the impatience of the high-churchmen, the danger of delay, and the authority of Monk, had prevailed over the Presbyterians, the full settlement of the hierarchy, together with the monarchy, was a necessary consequence. All the royalists were zealous for that mode of religion; the laws which established bishops and the liturgy were as yet unrepealed by royal authority; and any attempt of the parliament, by new acts, to give the superiority to Presbyterianism, might have been sufficient to involve the nation again in blood and confusion. Moved by these views, the commons had postponed the examination of all religious controversy, and had left the settlement of the church to the king and to the ancient laws.

Nine bishops still remained alive; and these were immediately restored to their sees: all the ejected clergy recovered their livings: the liturgy was again admitted into the churches; but, at the same time, a declaration was issued, in order to give contentment to the Presbyterians, and preserve an air of moderation and neutrality. Though these appearances of neutrality were maintained, and a mitigated episcopacy only seemed to be insisted on, it was far from the intention of ministry always to preserve like regard to the Presbyterians. The madness of the fifth-monarchy-men afforded them a pretence for departing from it. A short time after the dissolution of parliament, Venner, a desperate enthusiast, who had often conspired against Cromwell, having, by his zealous lectures, inflamed his own imagination and that of his followers, issued forth at their head into the streets of London, on the 6th of January, 1661. They were to the number of sixty, completely armed, believed themselves invincible, and expected the same success which had attended Gideon and other heroes of the Old Testament. Every one at first fled before them. One unhappy man, who, being questioned, said, "He was for God and king Charles," was instantly murdered by them. At length the magistrates, having assembled some train-bands, made an attack upon them. They defended themselves with order, as well as valour; and, after killing many of the assailants, made a regular retreat into Cane Wood, near Hampstead. Next morning they were chased thence by a detachment of the guards; but they ventured again to invade the city, where they committed great disorder, traversing many streets of that capital; they then retired into a house, which they defended to the last extremity. Being surrounded, and the house untiled, they were fired upon from every side; and still refused quarter. The few who remained alive were tried, condemned, and executed; and to the last they persisted in affirming, that if they were deceived, it was the Lord that had deceived them.

In Scotland affairs hastened with still quicker steps than those in England towards a settlement and a compliance with the king. It was deliberated in the English council, whether that nation should be restored to its liberty, or whether the forts erected by Cromwell should not still be upheld, in order to curb the mutinous spirit by which the Scots in all ages had been so much governed. The king was induced to disband all the forces in Scotland, and to raze all the forts which had been erected. General Middleton, created earl of that name, was sent commissioner to the parliament, which was summoned on the 1st of January, 1661. The commissioner had sufficient influence to obtain an act, annulling all laws which had passed since the year 1633, on pretext of the violence which, during that time, had been employed against the king and his father, in order to procure their assent to these statutes. The tide was now running strongly towards monarchy; the lords of articles were restored, with some other branches of prerogative; and royal authority was, in its full extent, re-established in that kingdom. The prelacy likewise, by the abrogating of every statute enacted in favour of presbytery, was thereby tacitly restored; and the king deliberated what use he should make of this concession. Lauderdale, who in his heart was a passionate zealot against episcopacy, endeavoured to persuade him, that the Scots, if gratified in their favourite point of ecclesiastical government, would, in every other demand, be entirely compliant with the king. Charles, though he had no such attachment to prelacy as had influenced his father and grandfather, had suffered such indignities from the Scottish Presbyterians, that he ever after bore them a strong aversion. He said to Lauderdale, that Presbyterianism, he thought, was not a religion for a gentleman; and he could not consent to its farther continuance in Scotland. The resolution was therefore taken to restore prelacy; a measure afterwards attended with many and great inconveniencies. Sharp, who had been commissioned by the Presbyterians in Scotland to manage their interests with the king, was persuaded to abandon that party; and, as a reward for his compliance, was created archbishop of St. Andrews. The conduct of ecclesiastical affairs was chiefly entrusted to him; and as he was esteemed a traitor and a renegade by his old friends, he became on that account, as well as from the violence of his conduct, extremely hateful to the Presbyterians.

The king had not promised to Scotland any such indemnity as he had ensured to England by the declaration of Breda: and it was deemed more political for him to hold over men's heads, for some time, the terror of punishment, till they should have made the requisite compliances with the new government. Accordingly, the marquis of Argyle, and one Guthry, were pitched on as the victims. Two acts of indemnity, one passed by the late king in 1641, another by the present in 1651, formed, it was thought, invincible obstacles to the punishment of Argyle; and barred all inquiry into that part of his conduct which might be regarded as the most exceptionable. Nothing remained but to try him for his compliance with the usurpation; and letters were produced in court which he had written to Albermarle, while that general commanded in Scotland, and which contained expressions of the most cordial attachment to the established government. But besides the general indignation excited by Albermarle's discovery of this private correspondence, every one thought, that even the highest demonstrations of affection might, during jealous times, be exacted as a necessary mark of compliance from a person of such distinction as Argyle, and could not, by any equitable construction, imply the crime of treason. The parliament, however, passed sentence upon him; and he died with great constancy and courage. Lord Lorne, son of Argyle, having preserved his loyalty, obtained a gift of the forfeiture. Guthry was a preacher, and had personally affronted the king: he was therefore executed. Sir Archibald Johnstone of Warriston, was attainted and fled; but was treacherously seized in France about two years after, brought over and executed. He had been active during the late disorders, and was suspected of a secret correspondence with the English regicides.

Besides these instances of compliances in the Scottish parliament, they voted an additional revenue to the king of forty thousand pounds a-year, to be levied by way of excise. A small force was purposed to be maintained by this revenue, in order to prevent like confusions from happening again. An act was also passed, declaring the covenant unlawful, and its obligation null and void.

In England, the civil distinctions seemed to be abolished; and all men seemed to concur in submitting to the king's prerogatives, and in cherishing the privileges of the people and of parliament. A conference was held in the Savoy on the 25th of March, between twelve bishops and twelve leaders among the Presbyterian ministers, with a pretence

pretence of bringing about an accommodation between the parties. The surplice, the cross in baptism, the kneeling at the sacrament, the bowing at the name of Jesus, were canvassed afresh; and the ignorant multitude were in hopes that so many men of gravity and learning could not fail, after deliberate argumentation, to agree in all points of controversy: but, instead of coming to an agreement, they separated more inflamed than ever, and more confirmed in their several prejudices. To enter into particulars would be superfluous.

Charles's declaration had promised, that some endeavours should be used to effect a comprehension of both parties; and his own indifference with regard to all such questions seemed a favourable circumstance for the execution of that project. The partizans of a comprehension said, that the Presbyterians, as well as the prelatists, were well disposed towards an amicable agreement: that the bishops, by relinquishing some part of their authority, and dispensing with the most exceptionable ceremonies, would gratify their adversaries, and unite the whole nation in one faith and one worship: but the ministry were inclined to give the preference to the arguments in favour of high church principles; and were more confirmed in that idea by the disposition, which appeared in the parliament lately assembled. The royalists and zealous churchmen were at present the popular party in the nation, and, seconded by the efforts of the court, had prevailed in most elections. Not more than fifty-six members of the Presbyterian party had obtained seats in the lower house, in the parliament which met on the 8th of May, 1661; and these were not sufficient to oppose or retard the measures of the majority. Monarchy, therefore, and episcopacy, were now exalted to as great power as they had lately suffered depression. Sir Edward Turner was chosen speaker (*s*).

Through fear that too many names might be affixed to petitions, it was enacted, that no more than twenty signatures should appear to any petition, unless with the sanction of three justices, or the major part of the grand jury; and that no petition should be presented to the king or either house by above ten persons. The penalty annexed to a transgression of this law was a fine of a hundred pounds and three months imprisonment.

The bishops, though restored to their spiritual authority, were still excluded from parliament by the law which the late king had passed immediately before the commencement of the civil disorders; but Charles expressed much satisfaction, when he gave his assent to the act for repealing it. The authority of the crown, as well as that of the church, was interested in restoring the prelates to their former dignity; but those, who deemed every acquisition of the prince a detriment to the people, complained of this instance of complaisance in the parliament.

After an adjournment of some months, the parliament was again assembled on the 20th of November, and proceeded in the same spirit as before. They discovered no design to restore in its full extent, the ancient prerogative of the crown: they were only anxious to repair all those breaches, which had been made, not by the love of liberty, but by the fury of faction and civil war. The power of the sword had, hitherto, been allowed to be vested in the crown; but it was now thought proper to acknowledge, that neither one house, nor both houses, independent of the king, were possessed of any military authority. The preamble to this statute went so far as to renounce all right even of *defensive* arms against the king; and much observation has been made with regard to a concession esteemed so singular; which imply a total renunciation of limitations to monarchy, and of all privileges in the subject, independent of the will of the sovereign.

The care of the church was no less attended to by this parliament, than that of monarchy; and the bill of uniformity, passed in 1662, was a pledge of their attachment to the episcopal hierarchy, and of their antipathy to Presbyterianism. Different parties, however, concurred in promoting this bill, which contained many severe clauses. The Independents and other sectaries, enraged to find their schemes subverted by the Presbyterians, who had once been their associates, exerted themselves to disappoint that party of the favour and indulgence, to which they thought themselves entitled. By the Presbyterians, said they, the war was raised: by them was the populace first incited to tumults: by their zeal, interest, and riches, were the armies supported: by their force was the king subdued: and if, in the sequel, they protested against those violences, committed on his person by the military leaders, their opposition came too late, after having supplied these men with the power and the pretences, by which they maintained their measures. They had indeed concurred with the royalists in recalling the king; but ought they to be esteemed, on that account, more affectionate to the royal cause? Rage and animosity were their sole motives; and if the king should now be so imprudent as to distinguish them by any particular indulgences, he would soon experience from them the same opposition which had proved so fatal to Charles the First.

The Catholics, though they had little interest in the nation, were a considerable party at court; and they used, therefore, all their interest to push matters to extremity against the Presbyterians, who had formerly been their most severe oppressors, and whom they now expected for their companions in affliction. The earl of Bristol, who had changed his religion during the king's exile, was regarded as the head of this party.

The church party had, during so many years, suffered such injuries and indignities from the sectaries of every denomination, that no moderation, much less deference, was on this occasion to be expected in the ecclesiastics. Even the laity of that communion seemed now disposed to retaliate upon their enemies, according to the usual measures of party prejudice. This sect or faction (for it partook of the nature of both) encouraged the rumours of plots and conspiracies against the government; crimes which, without any apparent reason, they imputed to their adversaries: they therefore laid hold of the prejudices, which prevailed among the Presbyterians, in order to eject them from their livings. By the bill of uniformity it was required that every clergyman should be re-ordained, if he had not before received episcopal ordination; should declare his assent to every thing contained in the Book of Common Prayer; should take the oath of canonical obedience; should abjure the solemn league and covenant; and should renounce the principle of taking arms, on any pretence whatsoever, against the king (*t*).

The royalists, who now predominated, were ready to signalize their victory, by establishing those high principles of monarchy which their antagonists had controverted; but when any real power or revenue was demanded for the crown, they were neither so forward nor so liberal in their concessions as the king wished. Though the parliament passed laws for regulating the navy, they took no notice of the army; and declined giving their sanction to this innovation. The king's debts were become intolerable; and the commons at last voted him an extraordinary supply of one million two hundred thousand pounds, to be levied by eighteen monthly assessments. But finding that the several branches of revenue fell short of the sums expected, after much delay, they voted a new imposition of two shillings on each hearth; and this tax they settled on the king during life. After all business was dispatched, the parliament was prorogued on the 19th of May, 1662.

Previous to the rising of parliament, the court was employed in making preparations for the reception of the new queen, Catherine of Portugal, to whom the king was betrothed, and who had just landed at Portsmouth. During the time that the protector carried on the war with Spain, he was naturally led to support the Portuguese in their revolt; and he himself engaged by treaty to supply them with ten thousand men for their defence against the Spaniards. On the king's restoration, advances were made by Portugal for the renewal of the alliance; and in order

(*s*) An act was passed in this session, for the security of the king's person and government. To intend or devise the king's imprisonment, or bodily harm, or deposition, or levying war against him, was declared, during the lifetime of his present majesty, to be high treason. To affirm him to be a papist or heretic, or to endeavour by speech or writing to alienate his subjects' affections from him; these offences were made sufficient to incapacitate the person guilty from holding any employment in church or state. To maintain that the long parliament is not dissolved, or that either or both houses, without the king, are possessed of legislative authority, or that the covenant is binding, was made punishable by the penalty of premunire. The covenant itself, together with the act for erecting the high court of justice, that for subscribing the engagement, and that for declaring England a commonwealth, were ordered to be burnt by the hands of the common hangman. The people assisted with great alacrity on this occasion.

(*t*) This bill reinstated the church in the same condition in which it stood before the commencement of the civil wars; and as the old persecuting laws of Elizabeth still subsisted in their full rigour, and new clauses of a like nature were now enacted, all the king's promises of toleration and of indulgence to tender consciences were thereby eluded and broken.

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to bind the friendship closer, an offer was made of the Portuguese princess, and a portion of five hundred thousand pounds, together with two fortresses, Tangiers in Africa, and Bombay in the East Indies. Spain, who, after the peace of the Pyrenees, bent all her force to recover Portugal, now in appearance abandoned by France, took the alarm, and endeavoured to fix Charles in an opposite interest. The Catholic king offered to adopt any other princess as a daughter of Spain, either the princess of Parma, or, what he thought more popular, some Protestant princess, the daughter of Denmark, Saxony, or Orange: and on any of these, he promised to confer a dowry equal to that which was offered by Portugal. But many reasons inclined Charles rather to accept of the Portuguese proposals; for, besides political views, Charles was strongly inclined to give the preference to a Catholic alliance. When the matter was laid before the council, all voices concurred in approving the resolution; and the parliament expressed the same complaisance. And thus was concluded, seemingly with universal consent, the inauspicious marriage with Catherine, on the 21st of May, a princess of virtue, but who was never able, either by the graces of her person or humour, to make herself agreeable to the king. The report, however, of her natural incapacity to have children, seems to have been groundless; since she was twice declared to be pregnant.

The festivity of these espousals was clouded by the trial and execution of criminals. Berkstead, Corbet, and Okey, three persons who had signed the warrant for the execution of Charles the First, had escaped beyond sea; and after wandering some time concealed in Germany, came privately to Delft, having appointed their families to meet them in that place. They were discovered by Downing, the king's resident in Holland, who had formerly served the protector and commonwealth in the same station, and who once had even been chaplain to Okey's regiment. He applied for a warrant to arrest them. It had been usual for the States to grant these warrants; though, at the same time, they had ever been careful secretly to advertise the persons, that they might be enabled to make their escape. This precaution was eluded by Downing. He quickly seized the criminals, hurried them on board a frigate which lay off the coast, and sent them to England (*t*).

The public attention was much engaged by the trial of Lambert and Vane. These men, though not among the late king's judges, had been excepted from the bill of indemnity, and committed to prison. The convention parliament, however, petitioned the king, if they should be found guilty, to suspend their execution: but this new parliament, more zealous for monarchy, applied for their trial and condemnation. The indictment of Vane did not comprehend any of his actions during the war between the king and parliament: it extended only to his behaviour after the late king's death, as member of the council of state, and secretary of the navy, where fidelity to the trust reposed in him required his opposition to monarchy (*u*).

Notwithstanding the able defence, which Vane made, his efforts were fruitless. The court took advantage of the letter of the law, and brought him in guilty, on the 11th of June, 1662. His courage deserted him not upon his condemnation. Though timid by nature, the persuasion of a just cause supported him against the terrors of death; while his enthusiasm, excited by the prospect of glory, embellished the conclusion of his life (*v*). Lambert, though condemned, was reprieved at the bar; and the judges declared, that, if Vane's behaviour had been equally dutiful and submissive, he would have experienced like lenity in the king. Lambert survived his condemnation nearly thirty years. He was confined to the isle of Guernsey; where he lived contented the remainder of his days.

The fatal St. Bartholomew now approached; the day, (August the 24th, 1662,) when the clergy were obliged by the late law, either to relinquish their livings, or to sign the articles required of them. A combination had been entered into by the most zealous of the Presbyterian ecclesiastics to refuse the subscription; in hopes that the bishops would not venture at once to expel so great a number of the most popular preachers. The Catholic party at court, who desired a great rent among the Protestants, encouraged them in this obstinacy, and gave them hopes that the king would protect them in their refusal; and the king himself contributed, either from design or accident, to increase this opinion. Above all, the terms of subscription had been made strict and rigid, on purpose to disgust all the zealous and scrupulous among the Presbyterians, and deprive them of their livings. About two thousand of the clergy, in one day, relinquished their cures; and to the astonishment of the court, sacrificed their interest to their religious tenets. Fortified by society in their sufferings, they were resolved to undergo any hardships, rather than renounce those principles which they professed. The church enjoyed the pleasure of retaliation; and even pushed, as usual, the vengeance farther than the offence. During the dominion of the parliamentary party, a fifth of each living had been left to the ejected clergyman; but this indulgence, though at first insisted on by the house of peers, was now refused to the Presbyterians. Bishoprics were offered to Calamy, Baxter, and Reynolds, leaders among the Presbyterians; the last only could be prevailed on to accept. Deaneries and other preferments were refused by many.

Notwithstanding the supplies which the king had received, he was still in a necessitous condition, from the pressure of his old debts, and his want of œconomy. He therefore made a sale of Dunkirk to the French (*w*). He had secretly received the sum of two hundred thousand crowns from France for the support of Portugal; but the forces sent over to that country, and the fleets maintained in order to defend it, had already cost the king that sum; and together with it, near double the money, which had been paid as the queen's portion. The time fixed for payment of his sister's portion to the duke of Orleans was approaching. Tangiers, a fortress from which great benefit was expected, was become an additional burden to the crown; and Rutherford, who now commanded in Dunkirk, had increased the charge of that garrison to a hundred and twenty thou-

(*t*) These three men behaved with more moderation and submission than any of the other regicides, who had suffered. Okey in particular, at the place of execution, prayed for the king, and expressed his intention, had he lived, of submitting peaceably to the established government. He had risen during the wars from being a chandler in London to a high rank in the army; and in all his conduct appeared to be a man of humanity and honour. In consideration of his good character and of his dutiful behaviour, his body was given to his friends for interment.

(*u*) Vane wanted neither courage nor capacity to avail himself of this advantage. He urged, that, if a compliance with the government, at that time established in England, and the acknowledging of its authority, were to be regarded as criminal, the whole nation had incurred equal guilt, and none would remain, whose innocence could entitle them to try or condemn him for his pretended treasons: that, according to these maxims, wherever an illegal authority was established by force, a total and universal destruction must ensue; while the usurpers proscribed one part of the nation for disobedience, the lawful prince punished the other for compliance: that the legislature of England, foreseeing this violent situation, had provided for public security by the famous statute of Henry VII.; in which it was enacted, that no man, in case of any revolution, should ever be questioned for his obedience to the king in being: that whether the established government were a monarchy or a commonwealth, the reason of the thing was still the same; nor ought the expelled prince to think himself entitled to allegiance, so long as he could not afford protection: that it belonged not to private persons, possessed of no power, to discuss the title of their governors; and every usurpation, even the most flagrant, would equally require obedience with the most legal establishment: that the controversy between the late king and his parliament was of the most delicate nature; and men of the greatest probity had been divided in their choice of the party which they should embrace: that the parliament, being rendered indissoluble but by its own consent, was become a kind of co-ordinate power with the king; and as the case was thus entirely new and unknown to the constitution, it ought not to be tried rigidly by the letter of the ancient laws: that for his part, all the violences, which had been put upon the parliament, and upon the person of the sovereign, he had ever condemned; nor had he once appeared in the house for some time before and after the execution of the king: that finding the whole government thrown into disorder, he was still resolved, in every revolution, to adhere to the commons, the root, the foundation of all lawful authority: that in prosecution of this principle, he had cheerfully undergone all the violence of Cromwell's tyranny; and would now, with equal alacrity, expose himself to the rigours of perverted law and justice: that though it was in his power, on the king's restoration, to have escaped from his enemies, he was determined, in imitation of the most illustrious names of antiquity, to perish in defence of liberty, and to give testimony with his blood for that honourable cause, in which he had been inlisted: and that, besides the ties, by which God and nature had bound him to his native country, he was voluntarily engaged by the most sacred covenant, whose obligation no earthly power should ever be able to make him relinquish.

(*v*) Lest pity for a courageous sufferer should make impression on the populace, drummers were placed under the scaffold, whose noise, as he began to launch out in reflections on the government, drowned his voice, and admonished him to temper the ardour of his zeal. He was not astonished at this unexpected and illiberal incident. In all his behaviour, there appeared a firm and animated intrepidity; and he considered death but as a passage to that eternal felicity, which he believed to be prepared for him. He was executed on the 14th of June.

(*w*) By the terms of the agreement, Louis consented to pay seven millions of livres, for the surrender of the town and citadel of Dunkirk, and the fortress of Mardyke, and of all the artillery and military stores, which they contained. This sum, at ten pence halfpenny per livre, amounted to three hundred and six thousand two hundred and fifty pounds.

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sand pounds a-year. These considerations had such influence, not only on the king, but even on Clarendon, that this minister advised the accepting a sum of money in lieu of a place which he thought the king was no longer able to retain. By the treaty with Portugal it was stipulated that Dunkirk should never be yielded to the Spaniards: France was therefore the only purchaser that remained. Nine hundred thousand pounds were demanded. One hundred thousand were offered. The English by degrees lowered their demand: the French raised their offer: and the bargain was concluded at seven million of livres (*x*).

The king next issued a declaration, on pretence of mitigating the rigours contained in the act of uniformity. After expressing his firm resolution to observe the general indemnity, and to trust entirely to the affections of his subjects for the support of his throne, he mentioned the promises of liberty of conscience, contained in his declaration of Breda. And he subjoined, that, "as in the first place he had been zealous to settle the uniformity of the church of England, in discipline, ceremony, and government, and shall ever constantly maintain it: so as for what concerns the penalties upon those who, living peaceably, do not conform themselves thereunto, through scruple and tenderness of misguided conscience, but modestly and without scandal perform their devotions in their own way, he should make it his special care, so far as in him lay, without invading the freedom of parliament, to incline their wisdom next approaching sessions to concur with him in making some such act for that purpose, as may enable him to exercise, with a more universal satisfaction, that power of dispensing which he conceived to be inherent in him." Here a most important prerogative was exercised by the king; but under such artful reserves and limitations as might prevent the full discussion of the claim, and obviate a breach between him and his parliament. The foundation of this measure lay much deeper, and was of the utmost consequence.

During his exile, the king had imbibed strong prejudices in favour of the Catholic religion; and according to the most probable accounts, had been secretly reconciled in form to the church of Rome. The great zeal, expressed by the parliamentary party against papists, had always, from a spirit of opposition, inclined the court, and the royalists, to adopt more favourable sentiments towards that sect, which, through the whole course of the civil wars, had strenuously supported the prerogatives of the crown. The solicitations and importunities of the queen-mother, the contagion of the company which he frequented, the view of a more splendid and courtly mode of worship, the hopes of indulgence in pleasure; all these causes operated powerfully on Charles, whose careless and dissolute temper made him incapable of adhering to the principles of his early education. But though the king fluctuated, during his whole reign, between irreligion and popery, his brother, the duke of York, had zealously adopted all the principles of that theological party. He became a thorough convert, without any reserve from interest, or doubts from reasoning and inquiry. He had acquired a great ascendant over the king; and under pretence of easing the protestant dissenters, they agreed upon a plan for introducing a general toleration, and giving the Catholics the free exercise of their religion; at least, the exercise of it in private houses. The two brothers saw with pleasure so numerous and popular a body of the clergy refuse conformity; and it was hoped that, under shelter of their name, the hated sect of the Catholics might meet with favour and protection.

While the king pleaded his early promises of toleration, and insisted on many other plausible topics, the parliament, who sat a little after the declaration was issued, on the 18th of February, 1663, could by no means be satisfied with this measure. The house of commons represented to the king, that his declaration of Breda contained no promise to the Presbyterians and other dissenters, but only an expression of his intentions, upon supposition of the concurrence of parliament; and among other things that the indulgence intended would prove most pernicious both to church and state, would open the door to schism, encourage faction, disturb the public peace, and discredit the wisdom of the legislature. After such a remonstrance as this, the king did not think proper to insist any farther on the project of indulgence, at least for the present.

That the Catholics might be deprived of all hopes, the two houses concurred in a remonstrance against them. The king gave a gracious answer; though he scrupled not to profess his gratitude towards many of that persuasion. A proclamation, however, for form's sake, was soon after issued against Jesuits and Romish priests; but care was taken, by the very terms of it, to render it ineffectual (*y*). That the king might reap some advantage from his compliances, however fallacious, he engaged the commons anew into an examination of his revenue, which, chiefly by the negligence in levying it, had proved, he said, much inferior to the public charges; and the commons, without entering into too nice an examination, voted him four subsidies; and this was the last time that taxes were levied in that form.

Several laws were made this session with regard to trade. The militia also came under consideration, and some rules were established for ordering and arming it. It was enacted, that the king should have no power of keeping the militia under arms above fourteen days in the year. The situation of this island, together with its great naval power, has always occasioned other means of security to be neglected; and the parliament showed here a jealousy of the king's strictness in disciplining the militia.

The friendship which had subsisted with great intimacy between the earl of Bristol and Clarendon during their exile and the distresses of the royal party, had been considerably impaired since the restoration, by the chancellor's refusing his assent to some grants, which Bristol had applied for to a court lady: and a little after, the latter nobleman, agreeably to the impetuosity of his temper, entered a charge of treason against him before the house of peers; but had concerted his measures so imprudently, that the judges, when consulted, declared, that, neither for its matter nor its form, could the charge be legally received. The earl of Bristol himself was so ashamed of his conduct and defeat, that he absconded during some time, and could never regain the character which he lost by this hasty transaction.

Although Clarendon was able to elude this assault, his credit at court was declining; and in proportion as the king found himself established on the throne, he began to alienate himself from a minister, whose character was so little suited to his own. Charles's favour for the Catholics was always opposed by Clarendon, public liberty was secured against all attempts of the over-zealous royalists, prodigal grants of the king were checked or refused, and the dignity of his own character was so much consulted by the chancellor, that he made it an inviolable rule, as did also his friend, Southampton, never to enter into any connexion with the royal mistresses (*z*). Mrs. Palmer failed not in her turn to undermine Clarendon's credit with his master; and her success was made apparent to the whole nation. Secretary Nicholas, the chancellor's great friend, was removed from his place; and sir Harry Bennet, his avowed enemy, was advanced to that office. Bennet was soon after created lord Arlington.

The king's good understanding lost much of its influence by his want of application; his bounty was more the result of a facility of disposition, than any generosity of character; his social humour led him frequently to neglect his dignity; his love of pleasure was not attended with proper sentiment and decency; and while he seemed to bear a good will to every one that approached him, he had a heart not very capable of friendship, and he had secretly entertained a very bad opinion and distrust of mankind. But above all, what sullied his character in the eyes of good judges, was his negligent ingratitude towards the unfortunate cavaliers, whose zeal and sufferings in the royal cause had known no bounds. It should, however, be recollected, that the king's revenues were far from being large, or even equal to his necessary expences; and his mistresses, and the companions of his mirth and pleasures, gained, by solicitation, every request from his easy temper. The very poverty, to which the more zealous royalists had reduced themselves, by rendering them insignificant, made them unfit to support the

(*x*) That is to say, three hundred and six thousand two hundred and fifty pounds sterling.

(*y*) The parliament had allowed, that all foreign priests, belonging to the two queens, should be excepted, and that a permission for them to remain in England should still be granted. In the proclamation, the word *foreign* was purposely omitted; and the queens were thereby authorized to give protection to as many English priests as they should think proper.

(*z*) The king's favourite was Mrs. Palmer, afterwards created duchess of Cleveland; a woman prodigal, rapacious, dissolute, violent, revengeful.

king's measures, and caused him to deem them an useless incumbrance. The parliament took some notice of the poor cavaliers. Sixty thousand pounds were at one time distributed among them: Mrs. Lane also, and the Penderells, had handsome presents and pensions from the king. But the greater part of the royalists still remained in poverty and distress; and with regard to the act of indemnity and oblivion, they universally said, that it was an act of indemnity to the king's enemies, and of oblivion to his friends.

The next session of parliament, which met on the 16th of March, 1664, discovered a continuance of the same principles which had prevailed in all the foregoing. Monarchy and the church were still the objects of regard. Indeed, during no period of Charles's reign did this spirit more evidently pass the bounds of reason and moderation. The king, in his speech to the parliament, had ventured openly to demand a repeal of the trennial act; and he even declared that, notwithstanding the law, he never would allow any parliament to be assembled by the methods prescribed in that statute. The parliament, without taking offence at this declaration, repealed the law; and, in lieu of all the securities formerly provided, satisfied themselves with a general clause, "that parliaments should not be interrupted above three years at most." As the English parliament had now raised itself to be a regular check and control upon royal power, it is evident that they ought still to have preserved a regular security for their meeting; but before the end of Charles's reign, the nation had occasion to feel the effects of this repeal.

By the act of uniformity, every clergyman, who should officiate without being properly qualified, was punishable by fine and imprisonment: but this security was not thought sufficient for the church. It was now enacted, that wherever five persons above those of the same household should assemble in a religious congregation, every one of them was liable, for the first offence, to be imprisoned three months, or pay five pounds; for the second, to be imprisoned six months, or pay ten pounds; and for the third, to be transported seven years, or pay a hundred pounds.

The commons likewise passed a vote, that the wrongs, dishonours, and indignities, offered to the English by the subjects of the United Provinces, were the greatest obstructions to all foreign trade; and they promised to assist him with their lives and fortunes in asserting the rights of his crown against all opposition whatsoever. This was the first open step towards a Dutch war. But though Charles was not inclined to this war, his narrow revenues made it still requisite for him to study the humours of his people, which now ran towards hostile measures; and it has been suspected, that the hopes of diverting some of the supplies to his own private use were not overlooked by this necessitous monarch. The duke of York also eagerly pushed the war with Holland. But Clarendon and Southampton, observing that the nation was not supported by any foreign alliance, were averse to hostilities; but their credit was now on the decline. The court and parliament were both of them inclined to a Dutch war. The parliament was prorogued, on the 17th of May, without voting supplies: but as they had been induced to pass a vote against the Dutch encroachments, it was considered as sufficient sanction for the vigorous measures which were resolved on. Downing, the English minister at the Hague, a man of an insolent impetuous temper, presented a memorial to the States, containing a list of those depredations, of which the English complained (*a*). But Charles confined not himself to memorials and remonstrances. Sir Robert Holmes was secretly dispatched with a squadron of twenty-two ships to the coast of Africa. He not only expelled the Dutch from Cape Corse, to which the English had some pretensions; but he seized the Dutch settlements of Cape de Verde and the Isle of Goree, together with several ships trading on that coast. Having sailed to North America, he possessed himself of Nova Belgia, since called New York; a territory which James the First had given by patent to the earl of Stirling, but which had never been planted but by the Hollanders. When the States complained of these hostile measures, the king pretended to be totally ignorant of Holmes's enterprize. He likewise confined that admiral to the Tower; but some time after released him.

The Dutch perceiving that their applications for redress were likely to be eluded, and that a ground of quarrel was industriously sought for by the English, began to arm with diligence. Sir John Lawson and de Ruyter had been sent with combined squadrons into the Mediterranean, to chastise the piratical states on the coast of Barbary; and the time of their separation and return was now approaching. The States secretly dispatched orders to de Ruyter, that he should take in provisions at Cadiz; and sailing towards the coast of Guinea, should retaliate on the English, and put the Dutch in possession of those settlements whence Holmes had expelled them. De Ruyter, having a considerable force on board, met with no opposition in Guinea. All the new acquisitions of the English, except Cape Corse, were recovered from them. They were even dispossessed of some old settlements. Such of their ships as fell into his hands were seized by de Ruyter. That admiral sailed next to America. He attacked Barbadoes, but was repulsed. He afterwards committed hostilities on Long Island.

In the mean time, the English preparations for war advanced with vigour. The king had received no supplies from parliament; but by his own funds and credit was enabled to equip a fleet: the city of London lent him one hundred thousand pounds: the spirit of the nation seconded his armaments: he himself went from port to port, inspecting and encouraging the work; and in a little time the English navy was put in a formidable condition. Eight hundred thousand pounds are said to have been expended on this armament. When Lawson arrived, and communicated his suspicion of de Ruyter's enterprize, orders were issued for seizing all Dutch ships; and one hundred and thirty-five fell into the hands of the English. These were not declared prizes, till afterwards, when war was proclaimed.

The parliament, when it met, on the 24th of November, granted a supply, the largest that had ever been given to a king of England, yet scarcely sufficient for the present undertaking. Near two millions and a half were voted to be levied by quarterly payments in three years. A great alteration was likewise made in the method of taxing the clergy. A convocation, however, had usually sitten at the same time with the parliament; and assumed no other temporal power than that of imposing taxes on the clergy. But as the king's influence over the church was more considerable than over the laity, the church was not displeased to depart tacitly from the right of taxing herself, and allow the commons to lay impositions on ecclesiastical revenues, as on the rest of the kingdom. In recompence, two subsidies, which the convocation had formerly granted, were remitted, and the parochial clergy were allowed to vote at elections. Thus the church of England made a barter of power for profit. Their convocations, having become insignificant to the crown, have been much disused of late years.

The Dutch saw a war approaching, whence they might dread the most fatal consequences, but which afforded no prospect of advantage. They tried every art of negociation, before they would come to extremities. Their measures were at that time directed by John de Wit, a minister equally eminent for greatness of mind, for capacity, and for integrity. Though moderate in his private deportment, he knew how to adopt in his public counsels that magnanimity, which suits the minister of a great state. By his management a spirit of union was preserved in all the provinces; great sums were levied; and a navy was equipped, composed of larger ships than the Dutch had ever built before, and able to cope with the fleet of England.

When certain intelligence arrived of de Ruyter's enterprizes, Charles declared war against the States, on the 22nd of February, 1665. His fleet, consisting of one hundred and fourteen sail, besides fire-ships and ketches, was commanded by the duke of York, and under him by prince Rupert and the earl of Sandwich. It had about

(*a*) It is remarkable, that all the pretended depredations preceded the year 1662, when a treaty of league and alliance had been renewed with the Dutch; and these complaints were then thought either so ill grounded or so frivolous, that they had not been mentioned in the treaty. Two ships alone, the Bonaventure and the Good-hope, had been claimed by the English; and it was agreed that the claim should be prosecuted by the ordinary course of justice. The States had consigned a sum of money, in case the cause should be decided against them; but the matter was still in dependance. Cary, who was entrusted by the proprietors with the management of the law-suit for the Bonaventure, had resolved to accept of thirty thousand pounds, which were offered him; but was hindered by Downing, who told him, that the claim was a matter of state between the two nations, not a concern of private persons. These circumstances give us no favourable idea of the justice of the English pretensions.

twenty-two thousand men on board. Opdam, who was admiral of the Dutch navy, of nearly equal force, declined not the combat, which took place on the 3rd of June. In the heat of action, when engaged in close fight with the duke of York, Opdam's ship blew up. This accident much discouraged the Dutch, who fled towards their own coast. Van Tromp alone, son of the famous admiral killed during the former war, bravely sustained with his squadron the efforts of the English, and protected the rear of his countrymen. The vanquished had nineteen ships sunk and taken. The victors lost only one. Sir John Lawson died soon after of his wounds.

It is affirmed, that this victory might have been rendered more complete, had not orders been issued to slacken sail by Brounker, one of the duke's bedchamber, who pretended authority from his master. The duke disclaimed the orders; but Brounker never was sufficiently punished for his temerity (*b*). It is allowed, however, that the duke behaved with great bravery during the action. He was long in the thickest of the fire. The earl of Falmouth, lord Muskerry, and Mr. Boyle, were killed by one shot at his side, and covered him all over with their brains and gore.

This disaster threw the Dutch into consternation, and determined de Wit to exert his military capacity, in order to support the declining courage of his countrymen. He went on board the fleet, which he took under his command; and soon remedied all those disorders which had been occasioned by the late misfortune.

The misfortunes of the Dutch determined their allies to act for their assistance and support. The king of France was engaged in a defensive alliance with the States. He long tried to mediate a peace between the States, and for that purpose sent an embassy to London, which returned without effecting any thing. Lord Hollis, the English ambassador at Paris, endeavoured to draw over Louis to the side of England; and, in his master's name, made him tempting offers. Charles was content to abandon the Spanish Low Countries to the French, without pretending to a foot of ground for himself; provided Louis would allow him to pursue his advantages against the Dutch. But the French monarch rejected the offer with disdain. When de Lionne, the French secretary, assured Van Beuninghen, ambassador of the States, that this offer had been pressed on his master during six months; "I can readily believe it," replied the Dutchman; "I am sensible that it is the interest of England."

The king of France, however, was resolved to support the Hollanders; yet he protracted his declaration, and employed the time in naval preparations, both in the ocean and the Mediterranean. The king of Denmark in the mean time acted a most extraordinary part: he made a secret agreement with Charles to seize all the Dutch ships in his harbours, and to share the spoils with the English, provided they would assist him in executing the measure. In order to increase his prey, he perfidiously invited the Dutch to take shelter in his ports; and accordingly the East India fleet, very richly laden, had put into Bergen. Sandwich, who now commanded the English navy (the duke having gone ashore), dispatched sir Thomas Tiddiman with a squadron to attack them; but the English admiral failed of his purpose. The Danish governor fired upon him on the 3rd of August, and the Dutch, having had leisure to fortify themselves, made a gallant resistance.

The king of Denmark, however, concluded with sir Gilbert Talbot, the English envoy, an offensive alliance against the States; at the same time, his resident at the Hague, by his orders, concluded an offensive alliance against England; and he seized and confiscated all the English ships in his harbours. That prince stipulated to assist his ally with a fleet of thirty sail; and he received in return a yearly subsidy of one million five hundred thousand crowns, of which three hundred thousand were paid by France.

Charles endeavoured to counterbalance these confederacies by sending sir Richard Fanshaw to Spain, but he met with a cold reception. No motive could prevail with Philip to enter into cordial friendship with England. The bishop of Munster was the only ally that Charles could acquire. This prelate had entertained a violent animosity against the States; and was easily engaged, by the promise of subsidies from England, to make an incursion on that republic. With a tumultuary army of near twenty thousand men, he invaded her territories, and met with weak resistance. But after committing great ravages in several of the provinces, a stop was put to the progress of this warlike prelate. The king of France sent a body of six thousand men to oppose him: subsidies were not regularly remitted him from England; and many of his troops deserted for want of pay: the elector of Brandenburgh threatened him with an invasion in his own state; and he was glad to conclude a peace under the mediation of France. On the first surmise of his intentions, sir William Temple was sent from London with money to fix him in his former alliance; but he arrived too late.

The Dutch continued to exert themselves in their own defence. De Ruyter, their great admiral, was arrived from his expedition to Guinea: their Indian fleet was come home in safety: their harbours were crowded with merchant ships: faction at home was appeased: the young prince of Orange had put himself under the tuition of the States of Holland, and of de Wit, their pensionary, who executed his trust with honour and fidelity: and the animosity, which the Hollanders entertained against the attack of the English, made them thirst for revenge, and hope for better success in their next enterprize. Such vigour was exerted in the common cause, that, in order to man the fleet, all merchant ships were prohibited to sail, and even the fisheries were suspended.

The English likewise continued in the same disposition, though another more grievous calamity had joined itself to that of war. The plague had broken out in London; and that with such violence as to cut off, in a year, near ninety thousand inhabitants. The king was obliged to summon the parliament at Oxford, on the 10th of October. The parliament, being on a good understanding with the king, unanimously voted him twelve hundred and fifty thousand pounds, to be levied in two years by monthly assessments. And he, to gratify their wishes, passed the five-mile-act, which has given occasion to grievous and not unjust complaints (*c*). The parliament, after a short session, was prorogued, on the 31st of the same month, having sat only twenty-one days.

After France had declared war, England was evidently overmatched in force. Louis had given orders, in May, 1666, to the duke of Beaufort, his admiral, to sail from Toulon; and the French squadron, under his command, consisting of above forty sail, was now supposed to be entering the channel. The Dutch fleet, to the number of seventy-six sail, was at sea, under de Ruyter and Van Tromp, in order to join him. The duke of Albemarle, and prince Rupert commanded the English fleet, which exceeded not seventy-four sail. Albemarle, who, from his successes under the protector, had too much learned to despise the enemy, proposed to detach prince Rupert with twenty ships, in order to oppose the duke of Beaufort. Sir George Ayscue, well acquainted with the bravery and conduct of de Ruyter, protested against the rashness of this resolution: but Albemarle's authority pre-

(*b*) King James, in his Memoirs, gives an account of this affair different from what we meet with in any historian. He says, that, while he was asleep, Brounker brought orders to sir John Harman, captain of the ship to slacken sail. Sir John remonstrated, but obeyed. After some time, finding that his falling back was likely to produce confusion in the fleet, he hoisted the sail as before: so that the prince coming soon after on the quarter-deck, and finding all things as he left them, knew nothing of what had passed during his repose. No body gave him the least intimation of it. It was long after, that he heard of it by a kind of accident; and he intended to have punished Brounker by martial law; but just about that time, the house of commons took up the question and impeached him, which made it impossible for the duke to punish him otherwise than by dismissing him his service. Brounker, before the house, never pretended that he had received any orders from the duke.

(*c*) The episcopal church, under pretence of guarding monarchy, persevered in the project of wreaking her own enmity against the non-conformists. It was by this bill enacted, that no dissenting teacher who took not the non-resistance oath, should, except upon the road, come within five miles of any corporation, or of any place, where he had preached after the act of oblivion. The penalty was a fine of fifty pounds, and six months imprisonment. By ejecting the non-conforming clergy from their churches, and prohibiting all separate congregations, they had been rendered incapable of gaining any livelihood by their spiritual profession. And now, under colour of removing them from places where it was supposed their influence might be dangerous, an expedient was fallen upon to deprive them of all means of subsistence. Had not the spirit of the nation undergone a change, these violent proceedings were preludes to the most furious persecution. But however prevalent the hierarchy, this law did not pass without opposition. Besides several peers, attached to the old parliamentary party, Southampton himself, though Clarendon's great friend, expressed his disapprobation of these rigorous measures. But the church party, not discouraged with this opposition, introduced into the house of commons a bill for opposing the oath of non-resistance on the whole nation. It was rejected only by three voices.

vailed

vailed. The remainder of the English set sail to give battle to the Dutch; who, seeing the enemy advance quickly upon them, cut their cables, and prepared for the combat. The battle that ensued, is one of the most memorable that we read of in history; whether we consider its long duration, or the desperate courage with which it was fought. Albemarle made here some atonement by his valour for the rashness of the attempt. No person, animated by glory and ambitious hopes, could exert himself more than did this nobleman, who was now in the decline of life, and who had reached the summit of honours.

In the first day of the battle, June the first, 1666, sir William Berkeley, vice-admiral, leading the van, fell into the thickest of the enemy, was overpowered, and his ship taken. He himself was found dead in his cabin, covered with blood. The English had the weather-gage of the enemy; but as the wind blew hard, they could not use their lower tire, and derived but small advantage from this circumstance. The Dutch shot, however, fell chiefly on their sails and rigging; and few ships were sunk or much damaged. Chain-shot was at that time a new invention; commonly attributed to de Wit. Sir John Harman exerted himself extremely on this day. The Dutch admiral, Evertz, was killed in engaging him. Darkness parted the combatants.

The second day, the wind was somewhat fallen, and the combat became more steady and terrible. The English now found, that the greatest valour cannot compensate the superiority of numbers, against an enemy who is well conducted, and who is not defective in courage. De Ruyter and Van Tromp exerted themselves in emulation of each other; and de Ruyter had the advantage of disengaging and saving Van Tromp, who had been surrounded by the English, and was in the most imminent danger. Sixteen fresh ships joined the Dutch fleet during the action: and the English were so shattered, that their fighting ships were reduced to twenty-eight, and they found themselves obliged to retreat towards their own coast. The Dutch followed them, and were on the point of renewing the combat; when a calm, which came a little before night, prevented the engagement.

Next morning, the English continued their retreat; and a proper disposition was made for that purpose. The shattered ships were ordered to stretch a-head; and sixteen of the least disabled followed them in good order, and kept the enemy in awe. Albemarle himself closed the rear, and presented an undaunted countenance to his victorious foes. The earl of Ossory, son of the duke of Ormond, a gallant youth, who sought honour and experience in every action throughout Europe, was then on board the admiral. Albemarle confessed to him his intention rather to blow up his ship and perish gloriously, than yield to the enemy. Ossory applauded the desperate resolution. About two o'clock, the Dutch had come up with their enemy, and were ready to renew the fight; when a new fleet was descried from the south, crowding all their sail to reach the scene of action. The Dutch flattered themselves that Beaufort was arrived, to cut off the retreat of the vanquished: the English hoped that prince Rupert had come, to turn the scale of action. Albemarle, who had received intelligence of the prince's approach, bent his course towards him. Unhappily, sir George Ayscue, in a ship of a hundred guns, the largest in the fleet, struck on the Galloper sands, and could receive no assistance from his friends, who were hastening to join the reinforcement. He could not even reap the consolation of perishing with honour, and revenging his death on his enemies. They were preparing fireships to attack him, and he was obliged to strike. The English sailors, seeing the necessity, with the utmost indignation surrendered themselves prisoners. Albemarle and prince Rupert were now determined to face the enemy; and next morning the battle began afresh, with more equal force than ever, and with equal valour. After long cannonading, the fleets came to a close combat; which was continued with great violence, till parted by a mist. The English retired first into their harbours.

Although the English, by their obstinate courage, reaped great honour in this engagement, it is uncertain who obtained the victory. The Hollanders took a few ships; and having some appearances of advantage, expressed their satisfaction by all the signs of triumph and rejoicing. The English fleet was repaired in a little time and put to sea more formidable than ever, together with some of those ships which the Dutch had boasted to have burned or destroyed.

The conjunction of the French gave a decisive superiority to the Dutch. In order to facilitate this conjunction, de Ruyter, having repaired his fleet, posted himself at the mouth of the Thames. The English, under prince Rupert and Albemarle, were not long in coming to the attack. The numbers of each fleet amounted to about eighty sail; and the valour and experience of the commanders, as well as of the seamen, rendered the engagement, which was fought on the 25th of July, fierce and obstinate. Sir Thomas Allen, who commanded the white squadron of the English, attacked the Dutch van, which he entirely routed; and killed the three admirals who commanded it. Van Tromp engaged sir Jeremy Smith; and during the heat of action, he was separated from de Ruyter and the main body. De Ruyter maintained the combat against the main body of the English; and though overpowered by numbers, kept his station, till night ended the engagement. Next day, finding the Dutch fleet scattered and discouraged, his high spirit submitted to a retreat, which yet he conducted with such skill, as to render it equally honourable to himself as the greatest victory. Full of indignation however at yielding the superiority to the enemy, he frequently exclaimed, "My God! what a wretch am I? among so many thousand bullets, is there not one to put an end to my miserable life?" One de Wit, his son-in-law, who stood near, exhorted him, since he sought death, to turn upon the English, and render his life a dear purchase to the victors. But de Ruyter esteemed it more worthy a brave man to persevere to the uttermost, and, as long as possible, to render service to his country. All that night and next day, the English pressed upon the rear of the Dutch; and it was chiefly by the redoubled efforts of de Ruyter, that the latter saved themselves in their harbours (*d*).

The English now rode masters of the sea, and insulted the Dutch in their harbours. A detachment under Holmes was sent into the road of Vlie, and burned a hundred and forty merchantmen, two men of war, together with Brandaris, a large and rich village on the coast. The Dutch merchants, who lost by this enterprize, uniting themselves to the Orange faction, exclaimed against an administration, which, they pretended, had brought such disgrace and ruin on their country. None but the firm and intrepid mind of de Wit could have supported itself under such a complication of calamities.

The king of France, apprehensive that the Dutch would sink under their misfortunes, hastened the advance of the duke of Beaufort. The Dutch fleet was again equipped; and under the command of de Ruyter, cruised near the straits of Dover. Prince Rupert with the English navy, now stronger than ever, came upon them. The Dutch admiral declined the combat, and retired into St. John's road, near Bulloigne. Here he sheltered himself, both from the English, and from a furious storm, which arose. Prince Rupert too was obliged to retire into St. Helens; where he staid some time, to repair the damages which he had sustained. Meanwhile the duke of Beaufort proceeded up the channel, and passed the English fleet unperceived; but did not find the Dutch, as he expected. De Ruyter had been seized with a fever: many of the chief officers had fallen into sickness: a contagious distemper was spread through the fleet; and the States thought it necessary to recall them into their harbours, before the enemy could be refitted. The French king, anxious for his navy, which, with so much care and industry, he had lately built, dispatched orders to Beaufort, to make the best of his way to Brest. That admiral had again the good fortune to pass the English. One ship alone, the Ruby, fell into the hands of the enemy.

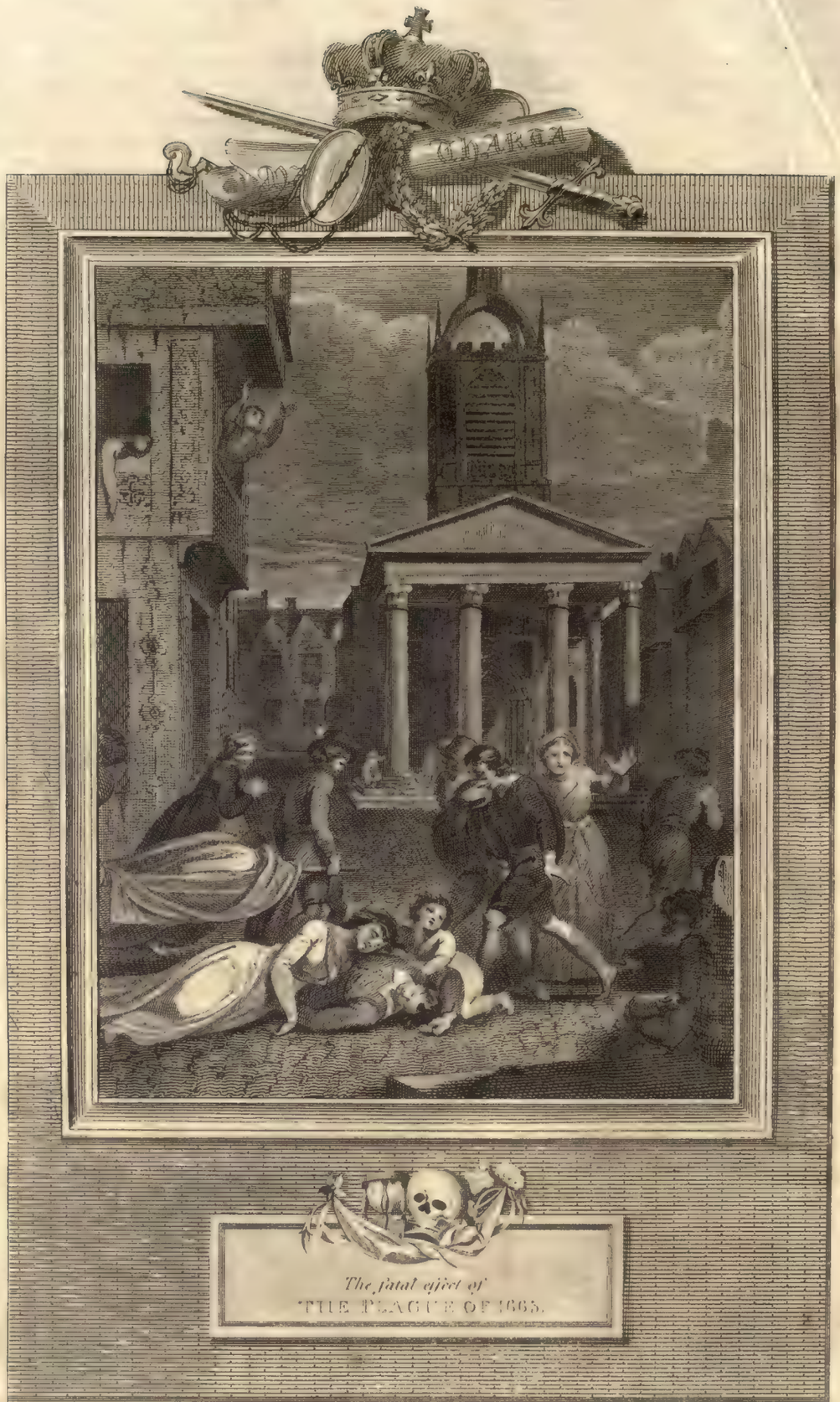
While the war continued without any decisive success on either side, a calamity happened in London, which threw the people into great consternation. Fire, breaking out, on the 3rd of September, in a baker's house near London Bridge, spread itself on all sides with such rapidity, that no efforts could extinguish it, till it laid in ashes

(*d*) The loss sustained by the Hollanders in this action was not very considerable; but as violent animosities had broken out between the two admirals, who engaged all the officers on one side or other, the consternation, which took place, was great among the provinces. Tromp's commission was at last taken from him; but though several captains had misbehaved, they were so effectually protected by their friends in the magistracy of towns, that most of them escaped punishment, and many were still continued in their commands.



THE FIRE OF LONDON, 1666.

Drawn by Smirke, Engraved by Audinet, and Published by J Stratford, Holborn Hill, November 2, 1811.



The fatal effect of
THE PLAGUE OF 1665.

Drawn by Smirke. Engraved by A. Smith. Published by J. Stratford 112 Holborn Hill Dec.r 20th 1810.

a considerable part of the city. The inhabitants, without being able to provide effectually for their relief, were reduced to be spectators of their own ruin; and were pursued from street to street by the devouring flames, which unexpectedly gathered round them. Three days and nights did the fire advance; and it was only by the blowing up of houses, that it was at last extinguished. The king and the duke of York used their utmost endeavours to stop the progress of the flames; but all their industry was unsuccessful. By this dreadful conflagration thirteen thousand houses were burnt down, the city gates, Guildhall, &c. eighty-six churches, amongst which were St. Paul's cathedral, and four hundred streets. The ruins of this city covered four hundred and thirty-six acres, extending from the Tower in the east to the Temple Church in the west; and from the north-east gate to Holborn Bridge and Fleet Ditch. It was a remark made, that the fire began at Pudding Lane near the Monument, (which was erected in commemoration of this dreadful fire,) and ended at Pye Corner, West Smithfield (*e*).

The fire of London, though at that time a great calamity, has in the issue proved beneficial both to the city and the kingdom. The city was rebuilt in a very little time; and care was taken to make the streets wider and more regular than before. A discretionary power was assumed by the king to regulate the distribution of the buildings, and to forbid the use of lath and timber, the materials of which the houses were formerly composed. The necessity was so urgent, and the occasion so extraordinary, that no exceptions were taken at an exercise of authority, which otherwise might have been deemed illegal. Great advantages have resulted from the alterations; though not carried to the full length. London became much more healthy after the fire. The plague, which used to break out with great fury twice or thrice in a century, and indeed was always lurking in some corner or other of the city, has scarcely ever appeared since that calamity.

The parliament met soon after, and gave the sanction of law to those regulations made by royal authority; as well as appointed commissioners for deciding all such questions of property, as might arise from the fire. They likewise voted a supply of one million eight hundred thousand pounds to be levied, partly by a poll-bill, partly by assessments. Though their inquiry brought out no proofs, which could fix on the papists the burning of London, the general aversion against that sect still prevailed. Charles, at the desire of the commons, issued a proclamation for the banishment of all priests and jesuits; but the tardy execution of this, as well as of former edicts against the catholics, destroyed all confidence in his sincerity. The intrigues of the duke of Buckingham had somewhat embarrassed the measures of the court; and this was the first time that the king found any reason to complain of a failure of confidence in this house of commons.

Charles began to be sensible, that the ends, for which the war had been undertaken, were likely to prove abortive. The Dutch had defended themselves with vigour, and were every day improving in their military skill and preparations. Though their trade had suffered greatly, their credit enabled them to levy great sums; and while the seamen of England complained for want of pay, the Dutch navy was supplied with money and every requisite for its subsistence. As two powerful kings supported the Dutch, every place from the extremity of Norway to the coasts of Bayonne, was become hostile to the English. And Charles earnestly sought for means of restoring tranquillity to his people, who were now disgusted with the war.

The first advances towards an accommodation were made by England. When the king sent for the body of sir William Berkeley, he insinuated to the States his desire of peace on reasonable terms; and their answer corresponded in the same amicable intentions. Charles, however, to maintain the appearance of superiority, still insisted that the States should treat at London; and they agreed to make him this compliment so far as concerned themselves: but being engaged in alliance with two crowned heads, they could not, they said, prevail with these to depart in that respect from their dignity. The king then offered to send ambassadors to the Hague; but this proposal was rejected; and conferences were secretly held in the queen-mother's apartments at Paris, where the pretensions of both parties were discussed. The Dutch made equitable proposals; and almost every thing was adjusted, except the disputes with regard to the isle of Polerone, in the East Indies, which was formerly valuable for its produce of spices. As neither party seemed likely to be satisfied, it was agreed to transfer the treaty to some other place; and Charles made choice of Breda. Lord Hollis and Henry Coventry, the English ambassadors, immediately desired, that a suspension of arms should be agreed to, till the several claims could be adjusted: but this proposal was rejected by the credit of de Wit.

Whatever projects might have been formed by Charles for secreting the money granted him by parliament, he had hitherto failed in his intention. The expences of such vast armaments had exhausted all the supplies (*f*); and even a great debt was contracted to the seamen. The king therefore was resolved to save, as far as possible, the last supply of one million eight hundred thousand pounds; and to employ it for payment of his debts. Thus, by an ill-timed frugality, Charles remitted his preparations, and exposed England to one of the greatest insults which it ever received. Two small squadrons alone were equipped; and during a war with such potent and martial enemies, every thing was left almost in the same situation as in times of peace.

De Wit protracted the negociations at Breda, and hastened the naval preparations. The Dutch fleet appeared in the Thames, on the 10th of June, 1667, under the command of de Ruyter, and threw the English into the utmost consternation. A chain had been drawn across the river Medway; some fortifications had been added to Sheerness and Upnore Castle: but these preparations were unequal to the present necessity. Sheerness was soon taken; nor could it be saved by the valour of sir Edward Sprague, who defended it. Having the advantage of a spring tide and an easterly wind, the Dutch pressed on, and broke the chain, though fortified by some ships, which had been there sunk by orders of the duke of Albemarle. They burned the three ships, which lay to guard the chain, the Matthias, the Unity, and the Charles the Fifth. After damaging several vessels, and possessing themselves of the hull of the Royal Charles, which the English had burned, they advanced with six men of war and five fire-ships, as far as Upnore Castle, where they burned the Royal Oak, the Loyal London, and the Great James. Captain Douglas, who commanded on board the Royal Oak, perished in the flames, though he had an easy opportunity of escaping. "Never was it known," he said, "that a Douglas had left his post without orders." The Hollanders fell down the Medway without receiving any considerable damage; and it was apprehended, that they might next tide sail up the Thames, and extend their hostilities even to the bridge of London. Nine ships were sunk at Woolwich, four at Blackwall: platforms were raised in many places, furnished with artillery: the train-bands were called out; and every place was in violent agitation. The Dutch sailed next to Portsmouth, where they made a fruitless attempt: they met with no better success at Plymouth: they insulted Harwich: they sailed again up the Thames as far as Tilbury, where they were repulsed. The whole coast was in alarm; and had the French joined the

(*e*) The causes of this calamity were variously reported. The narrow streets of London, the houses built entirely of wood, the dry season, and a violent east wind which blew; these were so many concurring circumstances, which rendered it easy to assign the reason of the destruction that ensued. But the people were not satisfied with this obvious account. Prompted by blind rage, some ascribed the guilt to the republicans, others to the catholics; though it is not easy to conceive how the burning of London could serve the purposes of either party. As the papists were the chief objects of public detestation, the rumour, which threw the guilt on them, was more favourably received by the people. No proof, however, or even presumption, after the strictest inquiry by a committee of parliament, ever appeared to authorize such a calumny; yet, in order to give countenance to the popular prejudice, the inscription, engraved by authority on the monument, ascribed this calamity to that hated sect. This clause was erazed by order of James the Second, when he came to the throne; but after the revolution it was replaced. So credulous, as well as obstinate, are the people, in believing every thing which flatters their prevailing passion!

In "Anecdotes of the Manners and Customs of London," by J. Malcolm, F.S.A. lately published, occurs the following curious note, at p. 255. "This subject may be allowed to be familiar to me, and I have, perhaps, had more than common means of judging; and I now declare it to be my full and decided opinion, that London was burnt by government to *annihilate the plague*, which was grafted in every crevice of the hateful old houses composing it."

(*f*) The Dutch had spent on the war near forty millions of livres a-year, above three millions sterling: a much greater sum had been granted by the English parliament. D'Estrades, 24th of December, 1665; 1st of January, 1666. Temple, vol. i. p. 71. It was probably the want of money which engaged the king to pay the seamen with tickets; a contrivance which proved so much to their loss.

Dutch fleet at this time, consequences the most fatal might have been apprehended. But Louis had no intention to push the victory to such extremities.

An army of twelve thousand men was suddenly levied; and the parliament, though it lay under prorogation, was summoned to meet. The houses were very thin; and the only vote, which the commons passed, was an address for breaking the army; which was complied with. This expression of jealousy shewed the court what they might expect from that assembly; and it was thought prudent to prorogue them till next winter. But the signing of the treaty at Breda, which took place on the 10th of July, extricated the king from his present difficulties (*g*).

The chancellor was at this period much hated by the public, and every party which divided the nation. The numerous sectaries regarded him as their enemy; and ascribed to his advice and influence those persecuting laws, to which they had lately been exposed. The catholics knew, that while he retained any authority, all their credit with the king (*h*) and the duke would be entirely useless to them, nor must they ever expect any favour or indulgence. Even the royalists, disappointed in their hopes of preferment, threw a load of calumny on Clarendon, into whose hands the king seemed at first to have resigned the whole power of government. The sale of Dunkirk, the bad payment of the seamen, the disgrace at Chatham, the unsuccessful conclusion of the war; all these misfortunes were charged on the chancellor, who, though he had opposed the rupture with Holland, thought it his duty to justify it. A building, likewise, of more expence and magnificence than his slender fortune could afford, being undertaken by him, exposed him to public reproach. The populace gave it commonly the appellation of Dunkirk House. The king himself, who had always more revered than loved the chancellor, was now totally estranged from him. What perhaps touched Charles more nearly, he found in Clarendon, it is said, obstacles to his pleasures as well as to his ambition. The king too, disgusted with the homely person of his consort, and desirous of having children, had hearkened to proposals of obtaining a divorce, on pretence either of her being pre-engaged to another, or of having made a vow of chastity before her marriage. He was farther stimulated by his passion for Mrs. Stuart, daughter of a Scotch gentleman; whose virtue he had hitherto found impregnable: but Clarendon, apprehensive of the consequences attending a disputed title, engaged the duke of Richmond to marry Mrs. Stuart, and thereby put an end to the king's hopes. It is pretended that Charles never forgave this disappointment. The great seal was taken from him, and given to sir Orlando Bridgeman, by the title of lord keeper, on the 30th of August, 1667. Southampton, the treasurer, was now dead, who had persevered to the utmost in his attachments to the chancellor. The last time he appeared at the council-table, he exerted his friendship with a vigour which neither age nor infirmities could abate. "This man," said he, speaking of Clarendon, "is a true Protestant, and an honest Englishman; and while he enjoys power, we are secure of our laws, liberties, and religion. I dread the consequences of his removal." But the fall of the chancellor was not sufficient to gratify the malice of his enemies: his total ruin was resolved on. The duke of York in vain exerted his interest in behalf of his father-in-law. Both prince and people united in promoting that violent measure.

The king, by popular acts, paved the way for the session; and the parliament, in their first address, on the 14th of October, gave the king thanks for these instances of his goodness, and, among the rest, for his dismission of Clarendon. The king, in reply, assured the houses, that he would never again employ that nobleman in any public office whatsoever. Immediately, the charge against him was opened in the house of commons by Mr. Seymour, afterwards sir Edward, and consisted of seventeen articles. The house, without examining particulars, farther than hearing general affirmations, that all would be proved, immediately voted his impeachment. Many of the articles were false or frivolous; but his advising the sale of Dunkirk, seems the heaviest and truest part of the charge; yet the king's necessities appear to have occasioned that measure. When the impeachment was carried up to the peers, as it contained an accusation of treason in general, without specifying particulars, it seemed not a sufficient ground for committing Clarendon to custody; but as the commons insisted upon his commitment, it was necessary to appoint a free conference between the houses. The lords persevered in their resolution; and the commons voted this conduct to be an obstruction to public justice, and a precedent of evil and dangerous tendency. Clarendon, finding that the popular torrent ran against him, thought proper to withdraw. At Calais, he wrote a paper addressed to the house of lords, which was presented to the peers on the 3rd of December; which the lords transmitted to the commons under the appellation of a libel; and by a vote of both houses, it was condemned to be burned by the hands of the hangman. The parliament next passed a bill of banishment and incapacity against Clarendon, which received the royal assent on the 19th of December. He retired into France, where he lived in a private manner. He survived his banishment seven years; and he employed his leisure chiefly in reducing into order the History of the Civil Wars, for which he had before collected materials (*i*).

Charles seems never to have mitigated his resentment against Clarendon; and the national prejudices pursued him to his retreat in France. A company of English soldiers, being quartered near him, assaulted his house, broke open the doors, gave him a dangerous wound on the head, and would have proceeded to the last extremities, had not their officers, hearing of the violence, timely interposed.

In the beginning of 1668, the king embraced an expedient to acquire popularity, which is more deserving of praise. This was the Triple Alliance; a measure, which gave entire satisfaction to the public.

The glory of France, which had long been eclipsed, either by domestic factions, or by the superior force of the Spanish monarchy, began now to break out with great lustre, and to engage the attention of the neighbouring nations. The independent power and mutinous spirit of the nobility were subdued: the popular pretensions of the parliament restrained: the Hugonot party reduced to subjection: that extensive and fertile country, enjoying every advantage both of climate and situation, was fully peopled with ingenious and industrious inhabitants: and while the spirit of the nation discovered all the vigour and bravery requisite for great enterprizes, it was tamed to an entire submission under the will of the sovereign.

The sudden decline and almost total fall of the Spanish monarchy, opened an inviting field to so enterprizing a prince as Louis XIV. and seemed to promise him easy and extensive conquests. The other nations of Europe, feeble or ill-governed, were astonished at the greatness of his rising empire; and all of them cast their eyes towards England, as the only power which could save them from that subjection with which they seemed to be so nearly threatened.

The animosity which had formerly subsisted between the English and French nations, and which had been suspended for above a century through jealousy of Spanish greatness, began to revive and to exert itself. The chi-

(*g*) The English ambassadors received orders to recede from those demands, which, however frivolous in themselves, could not now be relinquished, without acknowledging a superiority in the enemy. Polerone remained with the Dutch; satisfaction for the ships Bonaventure and Good-Hope, the pretended grounds of the quarrel, was no longer insisted on: Acadie was yielded to the French. The acquisition of New York, a settlement so important by its situation, was the chief advantage which the English reaped from a war, in which the national character of bravery had shone out with lustre, but where the misconduct of the government had been no less apparent.

(*h*) It has been confidently asserted, that while Charles was in France, in order to ingratiate himself with the pope, and to obtain a pension from the French court, he changed his religion, and became a proselyte to the Catholic system. This was shortly after the battle of Worcester, but Burnet thinks that change did not take place till 1659.

(*i*) Clarendon, at the commencement of the civil wars, had entered into the late king's service, and was honoured with a great share in the esteem and friendship of that monarch: he was pursued with unrelenting animosity by the long parliament: he had shared all the fortunes, and directed all the counsels of the present king during his exile: he had been advanced to the highest trust and offices after the restoration: yet all these circumstances, which might naturally operate with such force, either on resentment, gratitude, or ambition, had no influence on his mind. It is said, that when he first engaged in the study of the law, his father exhorted him with great earnestness to shun the practice too common in that profession, of straining every point in favour of prerogative, and perverting so useful a science to the oppression of liberty: and in the midst of these rational and virtuous counsels, which he reiterated, he was suddenly seized with an apoplexy, and expired in his son's presence. This circumstance gave additional weight to the principles which he inculcated.

mera of preserving the balance of Europe, flattered the ambition of England; and the people were eager to provide for their future security, by opposing the progress of so detested a rival. The prospect of embracing such measures had contributed to render the peace of Breda acceptable to the nation. By the death of Philip IV. king of Spain, an inviting opportunity had been afforded to call forth the ambition of Louis.

At the treaty of the Pyrenees, when Louis espoused the Spanish princess, he had renounced every title of succession to every part of the Spanish monarchy; and this renunciation had been couched in the most accurate and precise terms that language could afford. But, on the death of his father-in-law, he retracted his renunciation, and pretended that natural rights, depending on blood and succession, could not be annihilated by any extorted deed or contract. Philip had left a son, Charles II. of Spain; but as the queen of France was of a former marriage, she laid claim to a considerable province of the Spanish monarchy, even to the exclusion of her brother (*k*).

Having made this claim, Louis appeared in 1668 on the frontiers of the Netherlands with an army of forty thousand men, commanded by the best generals of the age, and exceedingly well appointed. The Spaniards were totally unprepared. Their towns fell into the hands of the French king, as soon as he presented himself before them. Athe, Lisle, Tournay, Oudenarde, Courtray, Charleroi, Binche, were immediately taken: and it was visible that no force in the Low Countries was able to stop or retard the progress of the French arms. This measure gave alarm to almost every court in Europe. It had been observed with what dignity, or even haughtiness, Louis, from the time he began to govern, had ever supported all his rights and pretensions. The conduct of Louis had given strong indications of his character: but the invasion of Flanders discovered an ambition which, being supported by such overgrown power, menaced the general liberties of Europe.

As no state lay nearer the danger, none was seized with more terror than the United Provinces. They were still engaged, together with France, in a war against England; and Charles, acquainted with these apprehensions of the Dutch, had been the more obstinate in insisting on his own conditions at Breda; and by delaying to sign the treaty, had exposed himself to the disgrace which he received at Chatham. De Wit, sensible that a few weeks delay would be of no consequence in the Low Countries, took this opportunity of striking an important blow, and of finishing the war with honour to himself and his country.

Negociations in the meantime commenced for the saving of Flanders; but no resistance was made to the French arms. The Spanish ministers exclaimed against the injustice of Louis's pretensions, and represented it to be the interest of every power in Europe, to prevent his conquest of the Low Countries. The emperor and the German princes discovered symptoms of discontent; but their motions were slow and backward. And though Louis, dreading a combination of all Europe, had offered terms of accommodation, the Dutch were apprehensive that they would never be carried into execution.

Charles resolved to take the first step towards a confederacy. Sir William Temple, his resident at Brussels, received orders to go secretly to the Hague, and to concert with the States the means of saving the Netherlands. This man, whom philosophy had taught to despise the world, without rendering him unfit for it, was frank, open, sincere, superior to the little tricks of vulgar politicians: and meeting in de Wit with a man of the same generous and enlarged sentiments, he immediately opened his master's intentions, and pressed a speedy conclusion. A treaty was from the first negociated between these two statesmen with the same cordiality as if it were a private transaction between intimate companions. Deeming the interests of their country the same, they gave full scope to that sympathy of character which disposed them to an entire reliance on each other's professions and engagements. And though jealousy against the house of Orange might inspire de Wit with an aversion to a strict union with England, he generously resolved to sacrifice all private considerations to the public service.

Temple insisted on an offensive league between England and Holland, in order to oblige France to relinquish all her conquests: but de Wit told him, that this measure was too bold and precipitate to be agreed to by the States. He said, that the French were the old and constant allies of the republic; and, till matters came to extremities, she never would deem it prudent to abandon a friendship so well established, and rely entirely on a treaty with England, which had lately waged so cruel a war against her. At length the English minister was content to accept of the terms proposed by the pensionary. Louis had offered to relinquish all the queen's rights, on condition either of keeping the conquests which he had made last campaign, or of receiving, in lieu of them, Franchecomté, together with Cambray, Aire, and St. Omers. De Wit and Temple founded their treaty upon this proposal. They agreed to offer their mediation to the contending powers, and oblige France to adhere to this alternative, and Spain to accept of it. If Spain refused, they agreed, that France should not prosecute her claim by arms, but leave it entirely to England and Holland to employ force for making the terms effectual. And the remainder of the Low Countries they thenceforth guarranteed to Spain. A defensive alliance was likewise concluded between Holland and England (*l*).

An opening had been left in the treaty for the accession of Sweden, which was soon after obtained; and thus was concluded in five days the triple league; an event received with equal surprize and approbation by the different European courts. Notwithstanding the unfortunate conclusion of the last war, England, by this wise conduct, had recovered her influence and credit among the continental powers. Temple likewise received great applause; but to all the compliments made him on the occasion, he modestly replied, that to remove things from their centre, or proper element, required force and labour; but that of themselves they easily returned to it.

The French monarch was extremely displeased with this measure; for by it, not only bounds were at present set to his ambition, but such a barrier was raised as seemed for ever impregnable. The court of Madrid shewed equal displeasure. But Temple and de Wit knew, that Spain must still retain the Low Countries, as a bond of connection with the other European powers, who alone, if her young monarch should die without issue, could insure her independency against the pretensions of France. They still urged, therefore, the terms of the triple league, and threatened Spain in case of refusal. The plenipotentiaries of all the powers met at Aix-la-Chapelle. Temple was minister for England; Van Beuninghen for Holland; D'Ohna for Sweden.

At last Spain, pressed on all hands, accepted of the alternative offered; but in her very compliance, gave strong symptoms of ill-humour and discontent. Franche Comté, by a vigorous and well-concerted plan of the French king, had been conquered, in fifteen days, during a rigorous season, and in the midst of winter. She chose, therefore, to recover this province, and to abandon all the towns conquered in Flanders during the last campaign. By this mean, Louis extended his garrisons into the heart of the Low Countries; and a very feeble barrier remained to the Spanish provinces. All Europe seemed now to repose herself with security under the wings of that powerful confederacy, which had been so happily formed for her protection.

Thus was England, since the restoration, brought to a proper state for ensuring at once, both her tranquillity and her liberty: the king was in continual want of supply from the parliament; and he appeared to be willing to accommodate himself to that dependent situation. Instead of

(*k*) By the customs of some parts of Brabant, a female of a first marriage was preferred to a male of a second, in the succession to private inheritances; and Louis thence inferred, that his queen had acquired a right to the dominion of that important duchy.

(*l*) The articles of this confederacy were soon adjusted by such candid and able negociators: but the greatest difficulty still remained. By the constitution of the republic, all the towns in all the provinces must give their consent to every alliance; and besides that this formality could not be dispatched in less than two months, it was justly to be dreaded, that the influence of France would obstruct the passing of the treaty in some of the smaller cities. D'Estrades, the French ambassador, a man of abilities, hearing of the league which was on the carpet, treated it lightly; "Six weeks hence," said he, "we shall speak of it." To obviate this difficulty, de Wit had the courage, for the public good, to break through the laws in so fundamental an article; and by his authority, he prevailed with the States General at once to sign and ratify the league: though they acknowledged that, if that measure should displease their constituents, they risked their heads by this irregularity. After sealing, all parties embraced with great cordiality, Temple cried out, "*At Breda, as friends: Here, as brothers.*" And de Wit added, that now the matter was finished it looked like a miracle.

reviving

reviving those claims of prerogative, so strenuously insisted on by his predecessors, Charles had strictly confined himself within the limits of the law, and had courted, by every art of popularity, the affections of his people. Even the severities, however blameable, which he had exercised against non-conformists, are to be considered as expedients by which he strove to ingratiate himself with that party which predominated in parliament. But notwithstanding these appearances, there were many circumstances which kept the government from resting steadily on that foundation on which it was placed. The crown having lost almost all its ancient demesnes, relied on voluntary grants of the people; but the commons were not disposed to supply the necessities of the crown with that liberality which Charles's extravagancies seemed to require. They imitated the example of their predecessors in a rigid frugality of public money; for which indeed they were to be commended; but they did not altogether consider the indigent condition of their prince, nor the general state of Europe. Some considerable sums, however, were bestowed on Charles; and the patriots of that age, tenacious of ancient maxims, loudly upbraided the commons with prodigality. Attempts were made to gain an ascendant over the commons by offices, and by bribes and pensions; but these artifices operated in a manner contrary to what was intended by the ministers. The novelty of the practice conveyed a general, and indeed a just alarm; while, at the same time, the poverty of the crown rendered this influence very limited and precarious.

On the 8th of February, the parliament met, after a long adjournment; and the king promised himself every thing from the attachment of the commons. All his late measures had been calculated to acquire the good-will of his people; and, above all, the triple league, it was hoped, would be able to efface all the disagreeable impressions left by the unhappy conclusion of the Dutch war. But a new attempt made by the court lost him, for a time, the effect of all these endeavours. Buckingham, who was in great favour with the king, and carried on many intrigues among the commons, had also endeavoured to support connexions with the non-conformists; and he now formed a scheme, in concert with the lord keeper, sir Orlando Bridgeman, and the chief justice, sir Matthew Hale, two worthy patriots, to put an end to those severities under which these religionists had so long laboured. It was proposed to reconcile the Presbyterians by a comprehension, and to grant a toleration to the Independents and other sectaries. Favour seems not, by this scheme, as by others embraced during the present reign, to have been intended the Catholics: yet were the zealous commons disgusted, and immediately voted an address for a proclamation against conventicles. Their request was complied with; but as the king still dropped some hints of his desire to reconcile his protestant subjects, the commons passed a very unusual vote, that no man should bring into the house any bill of that nature. The king in vain reiterated his solicitations for supply; represented the necessity of equipping a fleet; and offered, that the money which they might grant should be collected and issued for that purpose by commissioners appointed by the house. Instead of complying, the commons voted an inquiry into all the miscarriages during the late war; the slackening of sail after the duke's victory from false orders delivered by Brounker, the miscarriage at Bergen, the division of the fleet under prince Rupert and Albemarle, the disgrace at Chatham. Brounker was expelled the house, and ordered to be impeached. Commissioner Pet, who had neglected orders issued for the security of Chatham, met with the same fate. These impeachments were never prosecuted. The house at length, having been indulged in all their prejudices, were prevailed with to vote the king three hundred and ten thousand pounds, by an imposition on wine and other liquors; after which they were adjourned.

Public business, besides being retarded by the disgust of the commons against the tolerating maxims of the court, met with obstructions this session from a quarrel between the two houses. Skinner, a rich merchant in London, having suffered some injuries from the East-India company, laid the matter by petition before the house of lords, on the 11th of May, by whom he was relieved in costs and damages to the amount of five thousand pounds. The commons voted, that the lords, in taking cognizance of this affair, originally, without any appeal from inferior courts, had acted in a manner not agreeable to the laws of the land, and tending to deprive the subject of the right, ease, and benefit due to him by these laws; and that Skinner, in prosecuting the suit after this manner, had infringed the privileges of the commons: for which offence they ordered him to be taken into custody. Some conferences ensued between the houses; where the lords were tenacious of their right of judicature, and maintained, that the method in which they had exercised it was quite regular. The commons rose into a great ferment; and voted, that, "whoever should be aiding, or assisting in putting in execution the order or sentence of the house of lords, in the case of Skinner against the East-India company, should be deemed a betrayer of the rights and liberties of the commons of England, and an infringer of the privileges of the house of commons." They rightly judged, that it would not be easy, after this vote, to find any one who would venture to incur their indignation. The proceedings indeed of the lords seem in this case to have been unusual, and without precedent.*

The king's necessities obliged him again to assemble the parliament, which he did on the 9th of October, 1669; and the commons shewed some disposition to relieve him. The price, however, which he must pay for this indulgence, was his yielding to new laws against conventicles. His complaisance in this particular contributed more to gain the commons, than all the pompous pretences of supporting the triple alliance, by which he expected to make such advantage. The quarrel between the two houses was revived; and as the commons had voted only four hundred thousand pounds, with which the king was not satisfied, he thought proper, before they carried their vote into a law, to prorogue them on the 11th of December (*m*).

When the parliament met, after the prorogation, on the 14th of February, 1670, they entered anew upon the business of supply, and granted the king an additional duty, during eight years, of twelve pounds on each tun of Spanish wine imported, and eight on each tun of French. A law also passed empowering him to sell the fee-farm rents (*n*); the last remains of the demesnes, by which the ancient kings of England had been supported. By this expedient, he obtained some supply for his present necessities, but left the crown, if possible, still more dependent than before.

The act against conventicles passed, and received the royal assent. It bears the appearance of mitigating the former persecuting laws; but, if we may judge by the spirit, which had broken out almost every session during this parliament, it was not intended as any favour to the non-conformists. By this act a hearer in a conventicle (that is, in a dissenting assembly, where more than five were present, besides the family) was fined five shillings for the first offence, ten for the second; the preacher twenty pounds for the first offence, forty for the second. The person in whose house the conventicle met, was amerced a like sum with the preacher (*o*).

The affair of Skinner still remained a ground of quarrel between the two houses; but the king prevailed with the peers to accept of the expedient proposed by the commons, that a general razure should be made of all the transactions with regard to that disputed question.

Some attempts were made by the king to effect an union between England and Scotland; though they were too

(*m*) The only business finished this short session, was the receiving of the report of the committee appointed for examining the public accounts. On the first inspection of this report, there appears a great sum, no less than a million and a half, unaccounted for; and the natural inference is, that the king had much abused the trust reposed in him by parliament. But a more accurate inspection of particulars serves, in a great measure, to remove this imputation. The king indeed went so far as to tell the parliament from the throne, "That he had fully informed himself of that matter, and did affirm, that no part of those monies which they had given him had been diverted to other uses, but, on the contrary, besides all those supplies, a very great sum had been raised out of his standing revenue and credit, and a very great debt contracted; and all for the war." Though artificial pretences have often been employed by kings in their speeches to parliament, and by none more than Charles, it is somewhat difficult to suspect him of a direct lie and falsehood. He must have had some reasons, and perhaps not unplausible ones, for this affirmation, of which all his hearers, as they had the accounts lying before them, were at that time competent judges.

(*n*) Mr. Carte, in his Vindication of the Answer to the Byestander, p. 99, says, that the sale of the fee-farm rents would not yield above one hundred thousand pounds; and his reasons appear well founded.

(*o*) One clause is remarkable; that, if any dispute should arise with regard to the interpretation of any part of the act, the judges should always explain the doubt in the least sense favourable to conventicles, it being the intention of parliament entirely to suppress them. Such was the zeal of the commons, that they violated the plainest and most established maxims of civil policy, which require, that, in all criminal prosecutions, favour should always be given to the prisoner.

feeble

feeble to remove all the difficulties which obstructed that important undertaking. Commissioners were appointed to meet, in order to regulate the conditions; but the design, chiefly by the intrigues of Lauderdale, dropped soon after.

The king, about this time, began frequently to attend the debates of the house of peers. He said, that they amused him, and that he found them no less entertaining than a play. But deeper designs were suspected. As he seemed greatly to interest himself in the cause of lord Roos, who had obtained a divorce from his wife on the accusation of adultery, and applied to parliament for leave to marry again; people imagined, that Charles intended to make a precedent of the case, and that some other pretence would be found for getting rid of the queen. Many proposals to this purpose, it is said, were made him by Buckingham; but the king, how little scrupulous soever in some respects, was incapable of an action so harsh or barbarous; and he always rejected every scheme of this nature. A suspicion, however, of such intentions, it was observed, had, at this time, begotten a coldness between the king and the duke of York.

We now come to a period, when the king's counsels, which had hitherto been good, though negligent and fluctuating, became, during some time, remarkably bad, or even criminal; and breeding incurable jealousies in all men, were followed by such consequences as had almost terminated in the ruin both of prince and people. Happily, the same negligence still attended him; and, as it had lessened the influence of the good, it also diminished the effect of the bad measures which he embraced.

The king had long been fluctuating between his pride and his pleasures; the one urged him to extend his prerogative, the other to enjoy the good things which fortune threw in his way. He therefore would be likely to find the greatest satisfaction in those ministers who could flatter both his wishes at once. He was excited, by the active spirit of his brother, to rise above humble solicitations to his parliament; and was beset by some desperate counsellors, who importuned and encouraged him to assert his own independence. The whole secret was intrusted to five persons, Clifford, Ashley, Buckingham, Arlington, and Lauderdale. These men were known by the appellation of the CABAL, a word which the initial letters of their names happened to compose. Never was there a more dangerous ministry in England, nor one more noted for pernicious counsels (*p*).

The dark counsels of the Cabal, though from the first they gave anxiety to all men of reflection, were not thoroughly known but by the event. They advised the king to take steps against the parliament, and to exert his authority in an arbitrary way. Their suggestions happened fatally to agree with the inclinations and prejudices of the king; his desire of more extensive authority, his propensity to the Catholic religion, his avidity for money. He seems likewise, from the beginning of his reign, to have entertained great jealousy of his own subjects, and, on that account, a desire of fortifying himself by an intimate alliance with France. Even during the time when the triple alliance was most zealously cultivated, the king never seems to have been entirely cordial in those salutary measures; and Clifford, who had much of his confidence, said imprudently, "Notwithstanding all this joy, we must have a second war with Holland."

De Wit, at that time, came to Temple; and told him, that he paid him a visit as a friend, not as a minister. The occasion was, to acquaint him with a conversation which he had lately had with Puffendorf the Swedish agent, who had passed by the Hague in the way from Paris to his own country. This was relative to a war with Holland; and when Puffendorf seemed incredulous, Turenne showed him a letter from Colbert de Crossy, the French minister at London; in which, after mentioning the success of his negociations, and the favourable disposition of the chief ministers there, he added, "And I have at last made them sensible of the full extent of his majesty's bounty (*q*)."

The visit which the king received from his sister, the duchess of Orleans, about this time, was the foundation of still stronger suspicions. Louis, knowing the address and insinuation of that amiable princess, and the great influence which she had gained over her brother, had engaged her to employ all her good offices, in order to detach Charles from the triple league; and he now sent her to put the last hand to the plan of their conjunct operations. That he might the better cover this negociation, he pretended to visit his frontiers, particularly the great works which he had undertaken at Dunkirk; and he carried the queen and the whole court along with him. On the 16th of May, while he remained on the opposite shore, the duchess of Orleans went over to England; and Charles met her at Dover, where they passed ten days together in great mirth and festivity. By her artifices and caresses, she prevailed on Charles to relinquish the most settled maxims of honour and policy, and to finish his engagements with Louis for the destruction of Holland; as well as for the subsequent change of religion in England.

In order to fix Charles in the French interests, he resolved to bind him by the ties of pleasure; and he made him a present of a French mistress, by whose means he hoped, for the future, to govern him. The duchess of Orleans brought with her a young lady of the name of Queroüaille, whom the king carried to London, and soon after created duchess of Portsmouth. He was extremely attached to her during the remainder of his life; and she proved a great means of supporting his connexions with her native country.

But the satisfaction which Charles reaped from his new alliance, received a great check by the death of his sister, and still more by those melancholy circumstances which attended it. Her death was sudden, after a few days illness; and she was seized with the malady upon drinking a glass of succory water. Strong suspicions of poison arose in the court of France, and were spread all over Europe; and her husband was believed to be the author of the crime. Charles himself was convinced of his guilt; but upon receiving the attestation of physicians, who found no foundation for the rumour, he was, or pretended to be, satisfied.

Charles took advantage of this incident to send over Buckingham, under pretence of condoling with the duke of Orleans, but in reality to concert farther measures for the projected war. Never ambassador received greater caresses; and the journey of Buckingham augmented the suspicions in Holland, which every circumstance tended still farther to confirm. Louis made a sudden irruption into Lorraine; which he was soon able, without resistance, to make himself master of; and Charles turned a deaf ear to all remonstrances made him upon that occasion. But

(*p*) Lord Ashley, soon after known by the name of earl of Shaftesbury, was one of the most remarkable characters of the age, and the chief spring of all the succeeding movements. During his early youth, he had engaged in the late king's party; but being disgusted with some measures of prince Maurice, he soon deserted to the parliament. He insinuated himself into the confidence of Cromwell; and had great influence with the Presbyterians. He afterwards had a considerable hand in promoting the Restoration. In all his changes, he maintained the character of never betraying those friends whom he deserted; and his great capacity and singular talents soon gained him the confidence of the party he espoused, and enabled him to take the lead among them. Well acquainted with the blind attachment of faction, he surmounted all sense of shame; and relying on the subtilty of his contrivances, he was not startled with enterprizes the most hazardous and most criminal. His eminent abilities, by reason of his insatiable desires, were equally dangerous to himself, to the prince, and to the people.

The duke of Buckingham possessed all the advantages, which a graceful person, a high rank, a splendid fortune, and a lively wit could bestow; but by his wild conduct, unrestrained either by prudence or principle, he found means to render himself in the end odious and even insignificant. The least interest could make him abandon his honour; the smallest pleasure could seduce him from his interest; the most frivolous caprice was sufficient to counterbalance his pleasure. By riot and debauchery, he ruined his health; and he remained at last as incapable of doing hurt, as he had ever been little desirous of doing good, to mankind.

The earl, soon after created duke of Lauderdale, was not defective in natural, and still less in acquired, talents; but neither was his address graceful, nor his understanding just. He was ambitious, obstinate, insolent, and sullen.

The talents of parliamentary eloquence and intrigue had raised sir Thomas Clifford; and his daring impetuous spirit gave him weight in the king's councils. Of the whole cabal, Arlington was the least dangerous, either by his vices or his talents. His judgement was sound, though his capacity was but moderate; and his intentions were good, though he wanted courage and integrity to persevere in them. Clifford and he were secretly Catholics: Shaftesbury, though addicted to astrology, was reckoned a Deist: Buckingham had too little reflection to embrace any steady principles: Lauderdale had long been a bigoted and furious Presbyterian; and the opinions of that sect still kept possession of his mind, how little soever they appeared in his conduct.

Such were the men to whom Charles gave up the conduct of his affairs; and who plunged the remaining part of his reign in difficulties which produced the most dangerous symptoms.

(*q*) From this incident it appears, that the infamous practice of selling themselves to foreign princes, a practice which, notwithstanding the malignity of the vulgar, is certainly rare among men in high office, had not been scrupled by Charles's ministers, who even obtained their master's consent to this dishonourable species of corruption.

what tended chiefly to open the eyes of De Wit and the States, with regard to the measures of England, was the sudden recall of sir William Temple. De Wit made the Dutch resident inform the English court, that he should consider the recall of Temple as an express declaration of a change of measures in England; and should even know what interpretation to put upon any delay of his return, which was promised by Charles.

While these measures were in agitation, the parliament met, according to adjournment, on the 24th of October, 1670. The king made a short speech, and left the business to be enlarged upon by the keeper. That minister insisted on the king's great want of supply; the mighty increase of the naval power of France, now triple to what it was before the last war with Holland; the decay of the English navy; the necessity of fitting out next year a fleet of fifty sail; the obligations which the king lay under by several treaties to exert himself for the common good of Christendom. Among other treaties, he mentioned the triple alliance, and the defensive league with the States. The artifice succeeded. The house of commons voted him considerable supplies. A land tax for a year was imposed of a shilling in the pound; two shillings in the pound on two-thirds of the salaries of offices; fifteen shillings on every hundred pounds of bankers' money and stock; an additional excise upon beer for six years, and certain impositions upon law proceedings for nine years (*r*).

The commons passed another bill, for laying a duty on tobacco, Scotch salt, glasses, and some other commodities. Against this bill the merchants of London petitioned the house of lords. The lords entered into their reasons, and began to make amendments on the bill sent up by the commons. This attempt was highly resented by the lower house, as an encroachment on the right, which they pretended to possess alone, of granting money to the crown. Many remonstrances passed between the two houses; and in consequence of their altercations the king prorogued the parliament on the 22nd of April, 1671; and thereby lost the money which was intended him. This is the last time that the peers have revived any pretensions of that nature. Ever since, the privilege of the commons, in all other places, except in the house of peers, has passed for uncontroverted.

There was a private affair, which, during this session, disgusted the house of commons, and required some pains to accommodate it. The usual method of those who opposed the court in the money bills was, if they failed in the main vote, as to the extent of the supply, to levy the money upon such funds as they expected would be unacceptable, or would prove deficient. It was proposed to lay an imposition upon playhouses: the courtiers objected, that the players were the king's servants, and a part of his pleasure. Sir John Coventry, a gentleman of the country party, asked, "whether the king's pleasure lay among the male or the female players?" This stroke of satire was aimed at Charles, who, besides his mistresses of higher quality, entertained at that time two actresses, Davis and Nell Gwin. The king received not the raillery with the good humour which might have been expected; Sands, Obrian, and some other officers of the guards, were ordered to way-lay him, and set a mark upon him. He defended himself with bravery, and after wounding several of the assailants, was disarmed with some difficulty. They cut his nose to the bone, in order, as they said, to teach him what respect he owed to the king. The commons were inflamed by this indignity offered to one of their members, on account of words spoken in the house. They passed a law, which made it capital to maim any person; and they enacted, that those criminals, who had assaulted Coventry, should be incapable of receiving a pardon from the king.

There was another private affair transacted about this time, by which the king was as much exposed to the imputation of a capricious lenity, as he was here blamed for an act of the most shameful severity. Blood, a disbanded officer of the protector's, had been engaged in the conspiracy for raising an insurrection in Ireland; and on account of this crime had been attainted, and some of his accomplices capitally punished. The daring villain meditated revenge upon Ormond, the lord lieutenant. Having by artifice drawn off the duke's footmen, he attacked his coach in the night-time, as it drove along St. James's street in London; and made himself master of his person. He might here have finished the crime, had he not meditated refinements in his vengeance: he was resolved to hang the duke at Tyburn; and for that purpose bound him, and mounted him on horseback behind one of his companions. They were advanced a good way into the fields; when the duke, making efforts for his liberty, threw himself to the ground, and brought down with him the assassin to whom he was fastened. They were struggling together in the mire; when Ormond's servants, whom the alarm had reached, came and saved him. Blood and his companions, firing their pistols in a hurry at the duke, rode off, and saved themselves by means of the darkness (*s*).

A little after, Blood formed a design of carrying off the crown and regalia from the Tower; a design to which he was prompted, as well by the boldness of the enterprize, as by the views of profit. He was near succeeding. He had bound and wounded Edwards, the keeper of the jewel-office, and had gotten out of the Tower with his prey; but was overtaken and seized, with some of his associates. One of them was known to have been concerned in the attempt upon Ormond, and Blood was immediately concluded to be the ring-leader. When questioned, he frankly avowed the enterprize, but refused to tell his accomplices. "The fear of death," he said, "should never engage him, either to deny a guilt, or betray a friend." All these extraordinary circumstances made him the general subject of conversation; and the king was moved, by an idle curiosity, to see and speak with a person so noted for his courage and his crimes. Blood might now esteem himself secure of pardon; and he wanted not address to improve the opportunity. He told Charles, that he had been engaged, with others, in a design to kill him with a carabine above Battersea, where his majesty often went to bathe: that the cause of this resolution was the severity exercised over the consciences of the godly, in restraining the liberty of their religious assemblies: that when he had taken his stand among the reeds, full of these bloody resolutions, he found his heart checked with an awe of majesty; and he not only relented himself, but diverted his associates from their purpose: that he had long ago brought himself to an entire indifference about life, which he now gave for lost; yet could he not forbear warning the king of the danger which might attend his execution: that his associates had bound themselves by the strictest oaths to revenge the death of any of the confederacy: and that no precaution or power could secure any one from the effects of their desperate resolutions.

Whether these considerations excited fear or admiration in the king, they confirmed his resolution of granting a pardon to Blood; but he thought it a point of decency first to obtain the duke of Ormond's consent. Arlington came to Ormond in the king's name, and desired that he would not prosecute Blood, for reasons which he was commanded to give him. The duke replied, that his majesty's commands were the only reason that could be given; and being sufficient, he might therefore spare the rest. Charles carried his kindness to Blood still farther: he granted him an estate of five hundred pounds a-year in Ireland; he encouraged his attendance about his person; he showed him great countenance, and many applied to him for promoting their pretensions at court. And while old Edwards, who had bravely ventured his life, and had been wounded, in defending the crown and regalia, was forgotten and neglected, this man, who deserved only to be detested as a monster, became a favourite of the king.

(*r*) This year, on the 3d of January, died George Monk, duke of Albemarle, at Newhall in Essex, after a languishing illness, and in the sixty-third year of his age. He left a great estate of fifteen thousand pounds a-year in land, and sixty thousand pounds in money, acquired by the bounty of the king, and increased by his own frugality in his latter years. Bishop Burnet reproaches him with avarice: but as he appears not to have been in the least tainted with rapacity, his frugal conduct may more candidly be imputed to the habits acquired in early life, while he was possessed of a very narrow fortune.

(*s*) Buckingham was at first, with some appearances of reason, suspected to be the author of this attempt. His profligate character, and his enmity against Ormond, exposed him to that imputation. Ossory soon after came to court; and seeing Buckingham stand by the king, his colour rose, and he could not forbear expressing himself to this purpose: "My lord, I know well that you are at the bottom of this late attempt upon my father: but I give you warning; if by any means he come to a violent end, I shall not be at a loss to know the author: I shall consider you as the assassin: I shall treat you as such; and wherever I meet you, I shall pistol you, though you stood behind the king's chair; and I tell it you in his majesty's presence, that you may be sure I shall not fail of performance." *Carte's Life of Ormond*, vol. ii. p. 225. If there was here any indecorum, it was easily excused in a generous youth, when his father's life was exposed to danger.

Another

Another incident happened this year, which infused a general displeasure, and still greater apprehensions, into the minds of all men. The duchess of York died; and in her last sickness, she made open profession of the Romish religion, and finished her life in that communion. This put an end to that thin disguise which the duke had hitherto worn; and he now openly declared his conversion to the church of Rome. Unaccountable terrors of popery, ever since the accession of the house of Stuart, had prevailed throughout the nation; but the duke of York's imprudent bigotry convinced the whole nation that their surmises were well grounded. Popery was now become a real ground of terror; being openly and zealously embraced by the heir to the crown, a prince of industry and enterprize; while the king himself was well known to have embraced the same communion when he resided on the continent.

A ground of quarrel was now sought by means of a yatch, dispatched for lady Temple. The captain sailed through the Dutch fleet, which lay on their own coasts; and he had orders to make them strike, to fire on them, and to persevere till they should return his fire. The Dutch admiral, Van Ghent, surprized at this bravado, came on board the yatch, and expressed his willingness to pay respect to the British flag, according to former practice; but that a fleet, on their own coasts, should strike to a single vessel, and that not a ship of war, was, he said, such an innovation, that he durst not, without express orders, agree to it. The captain, thinking it dangerous, as well as absurd, to renew firing in the midst of the Dutch fleet, continued his course; and, for that neglect of orders, was committed to the Tower.

This incident, however, furnished Downing with a new article to increase those vain pretences, on which it was purposed to ground the intended rupture. The English court delayed several months before they complained; but the Dutch tried every expedient to prevent hostilities. At length, after various negociations, and delays on the part of the English, the Dutch ambassador demanded an audience, when an hour was appointed for that purpose; but when he attended, the English refused to enter upon business, and told him, (so grossly did the English insult the Dutch,) that the season for negociating was now past (*t*).

Long and frequent prorogations were made of the parliament; lest the houses should declare themselves with vigour against counsels, so opposite to the interests of the public. Every step, which the king took in this affair, became a proof, to all men of penetration, that the present war was intended against the religion and liberties of his own subjects, even more than against the Dutch themselves. It was well known, that ever since his restoration he had intended to favour the catholics, but had hitherto kept from the attempt through fear of being driven from the throne. He now acted in every thing, as if he were an absolute monarch, and was never more to lie under the control of national assemblies.

The long prorogations of parliament, if they freed the king from the importunate remonstrances of that assembly, were attended with this inconvenience, that no money could be procured to carry on the warlike preparations against Holland. Under pretence of maintaining the triple league, which he had firmly resolved to break, Charles had obtained a large supply from the commons; but this money was soon exhausted by debts and expences; and it seemed as yet premature to venture on levying money, without consent of parliament; since the power of taxing themselves was the privilege, of which the English were, with reason, particularly jealous. Some other resource must be devised. The king had declared, that the staff of treasurer was ready for any one that could find an expedient for supplying the present necessities. Shaftesbury dropped a hint to Clifford, which the latter immediately seized, and carried to the king, who granted him the promised reward, together with a peerage. This expedient was the shutting up of the Exchequer, which took place on the 2nd of January, 1672, and the retaining of all the payments which should be made into it (*u*).

At this period Charles resolved to make use of his supreme power in ecclesiastical matters. By virtue of this authority, he issued a proclamation, on the 15th of March, suspending the penal laws enacted against all non-conformists or recusants whatsoever; and granting to the Protestant dissenters the public exercise of their religion, to the Catholics the exercise of it, in private houses. By this measure Charles expected to gain favour with the dissenters and the Catholics; but though it softened them in some degree, they still looked upon him as a tyrant.

About the same time, the act of navigation was suspended by royal will and pleasure: a measure, which, though a stretch of prerogative, seemed useful to commerce, while all the seamen were employed on board the royal navy. A like suspension had been granted, during the first Dutch war, and was not much remarked; because men had, at that time, entertained less jealousy of the crown. A proclamation was also issued, containing rigorous clauses in favour of pressing: another full of menaces against those who presumed to speak undutifully of his majesty's measures, and even against those who heard such discourse, unless they informed in due time against the offenders: another against importing or vending any sort of painted earthen ware, "except those of China, upon pain of being grievously fined, and suffering the utmost punishment, which might be lawfully inflicted upon contemners of his majesty's royal authority." An army had been levied; and it was found, that discipline could not be enforced without the exercise of martial law, which was therefore established by order of council, though contrary to the Petition of Right (*v*).

It may be worth remarking, that the lord-keeper refused to affix the great seal to the declaration for suspending the penal laws; and was for that reason, though under other pretences, removed from his office. Shaftesbury was made chancellor in his place; and thus another member of the Cabal received the reward of his counsels.

Foreign transactions kept pace with these domestic occurrences. An attempt, before the declaration of war, was made on the Dutch Smyrna fleet by sir Robert Holmes. This fleet consisted of seventy sail, valued at a million and a half sterling; and the hopes of seizing so rich a prey had been a great motive for engaging Charles in the present war, and he had considered that capture as a principal resource for supporting his military enterprizes. Holmes, with nine frigates and three yachts, had orders to go on this expedition; and he passed Sprague in the channel, who was returning with a squadron from a cruize in the Mediterranean. Sprague informed him of the near approach of the Hollanders; and had not Holmes, from a desire of engrossing the honour and profit of the enterprize, kept the secret of his orders, the conjunction of these squadrons had rendered the success infallible. When Holmes approached the Dutch, he put on an amicable appearance, and invited the admiral Van Ness, who commanded the convoy, to come on board his vessel, on the 13th of March: one of his captains gave a like insidious invitation to the rear-admiral. But these officers were on their guard. They had received an intimation of the hostile intentions of the English, and had already put all the ships of war and merchant-men in an excellent posture of defence. Three times were they assailed by the English; and as often did they defend themselves. In the third attack one of the Dutch ships of war was taken; and three or four of their most inconsiderable merchant-men fell into the enemies' hands. The rest, fighting with

(*t*) England's Appeal, p. 22. This year, on the 12th of November, died, in his retreat, and in the sixtieth year of his age, Thomas lord Fairfax, who performed many great actions, without being a memorable personage, and allowed himself to be carried into many criminal enterprizes, with the best and most upright intentions. His daughter and heir was married to George Villiers, duke of Buckingham.

(*u*) It had been usual for the bankers to carry their money to the Exchequer, and to advance it upon security of the funds, by which they were afterwards reimbursed, when the money was levied on the public. The bankers, by this traffic, got eight, sometimes ten, per cent. for sums which either had been consigned to them without interest, or which they had borrowed at six per cent.: profits, which they dearly paid for by this egregious breach of public faith. The measure was so suddenly taken, that none had warning of the danger. A general confusion prevailed in the city, followed by the ruin of many. The bankers stopped payment; the merchants could answer no bills; distrust took place every where, with a stagnation of commerce, by which the public was universally affected: and men, full of dismal apprehensions, asked each other, what must be the scope of those mysterious counsels, whence the parliament and all men of honour were excluded, and which commenced by the forfeiture of public credit, and an open violation of the most solemn engagements, both foreign and domestic.

(*v*) All these acts of power, how little important soever in themselves, savoured strongly of arbitrary government, and were no-wise suitable to that legal administration, which the parliament, after such violent convulsions and civil wars, had hoped to have established in the kingdom.

skill

skill and courage, continued their course; and got safe into their own harbours. This attempt is denominated perfidious and piratical by the Dutch writers, and even by many of the English. The English ministry endeavoured to apologize for the nefarious action, by pretending that it was a casual rencounter, arising from the obstinacy of the Dutch, in refusing the honours of the flag: but the contrary was so well known, that even Holmes himself had not the assurance to persist in this assertion.

Till this incident the States never believed the English in earnest. Charles, however, was too far advanced to retreat; and he issued a declaration of war against the Dutch, on the 17th of March. Surely reasons more false and frivolous never were employed to justify a flagrant violation of treaty, than were adopted by the English on this occasion. The conclusion of this manifesto, where the king still professed his resolution of adhering to the triple alliance, was of the same complexion with the rest of it. Louis's declaration of war contained more dignity, if undisguised violence and injustice could merit that appellation. De Wit, sensible of the dangerous situation, of his country, and alarmed by the reports which came from all quarters, exerted himself to supply those defects, to which it was not easy of a sudden to provide a suitable remedy. But every proposal he could make, was opposed by the Orange party, now become formidable. The long administration of this statesman had begotten envy: but while the factions in Holland struggled for superiority, every scheme for defence was opposed, every project retarded. What was determined with difficulty, was executed without vigour. Levies were made, and the army completed to seventy thousand men: the prince was appointed both general and admiral of the commonwealth, and the whole military power was put into his hands. But the partizans of the prince were still unsatisfied, as long as the *perpetual edict*, so it was called, remained in force; by which he was excluded from the stadtholdership, and from all share in the civil administration.

It had always been the maxim of de Wit's party to cultivate naval affairs with care, and to give the fleet a preference above the army, which they represented as the object of partiality in the princes of Orange. The two wars, which had of late been waged with England, had exercised the valour, and improved the skill, of the seamen. And de Ruyter, the great sea commander, was closely connected with the Louvestein party; and every one was disposed to obey him. The equipment of the fleet was therefore hastened by de Wit; in hopes that, by striking at first a successful blow, he might inspire courage into the dismayed States, and support his own declining authority. De Ruyter, soon after put to sea with a formidable fleet, consisting of ninety-one ships of war and forty-four fire-ships. Cornelius de Wit was on board as deputy from the States. They sailed in quest of the English, who were under the command of the duke of York, and who had already joined the French under mareschal d'Etrées. The combined fleets lay at Solebay in a negligent posture; and Sandwich, being an experienced officer, had given the duke warning of the danger; but received such an answer as intimated, that there was more of caution than of courage in his apprehensions. Upon the appearance of the enemy, every one ran to his post with precipitation, and many ships were obliged to cut their cables, in order to be in readiness. Sandwich commanded the van; and though determined to conquer or to perish, he tempered his courage with prudence, and the whole fleet was visibly indebted to him for its safety. He hastened out of the bay, and by this wise measure he gave time to the duke of York, who commanded the main body, and to mareschal d'Etrées, admiral of the rear, to disengage themselves. He rushed into battle with the Hollanders; and by presenting himself to every danger, had drawn upon him the bravest of the enemy. He killed Van Ghent, a Dutch admiral, and beat off his ship: he sunk another ship, which ventured to board him: he sunk three fire-ships, which endeavoured to grapple with him: and though his vessel was torn in pieces with shot, and of a thousand men she contained, near six hundred were laid dead upon the deck, he continued still to thunder with all his artillery in the midst of the enemy. But another fire-ship, more fortunate than the preceding, having laid hold of his vessel, her destruction was now inevitable. Warned by sir Edward Haddock, his captain, he refused to make his escape, and embraced death as a shelter from that ignominy, which a rash expression of the duke's, he thought, had thrown upon him. This battle was fought on the 28th of May, 1672.

During this fierce engagement with Sandwich, de Ruyter remained not inactive. He attacked the duke of York, and fought with such fury for above two hours, that of two and thirty actions, in which that admiral had been engaged, he declared this combat to be the most obstinately disputed. The duke's ship was so shattered, that he was obliged to leave her, and remove his flag to another. His squadron was overpowered with numbers; till sir Joseph Jordan, who had succeeded to Sandwich's command, came to his assistance; and the fight, being more equally balanced, was continued till night, when the Dutch retired, and were not followed by the English. The loss sustained by the fleets of the two maritime powers was nearly equal, if it did not rather fall more heavy on the English (*w*).

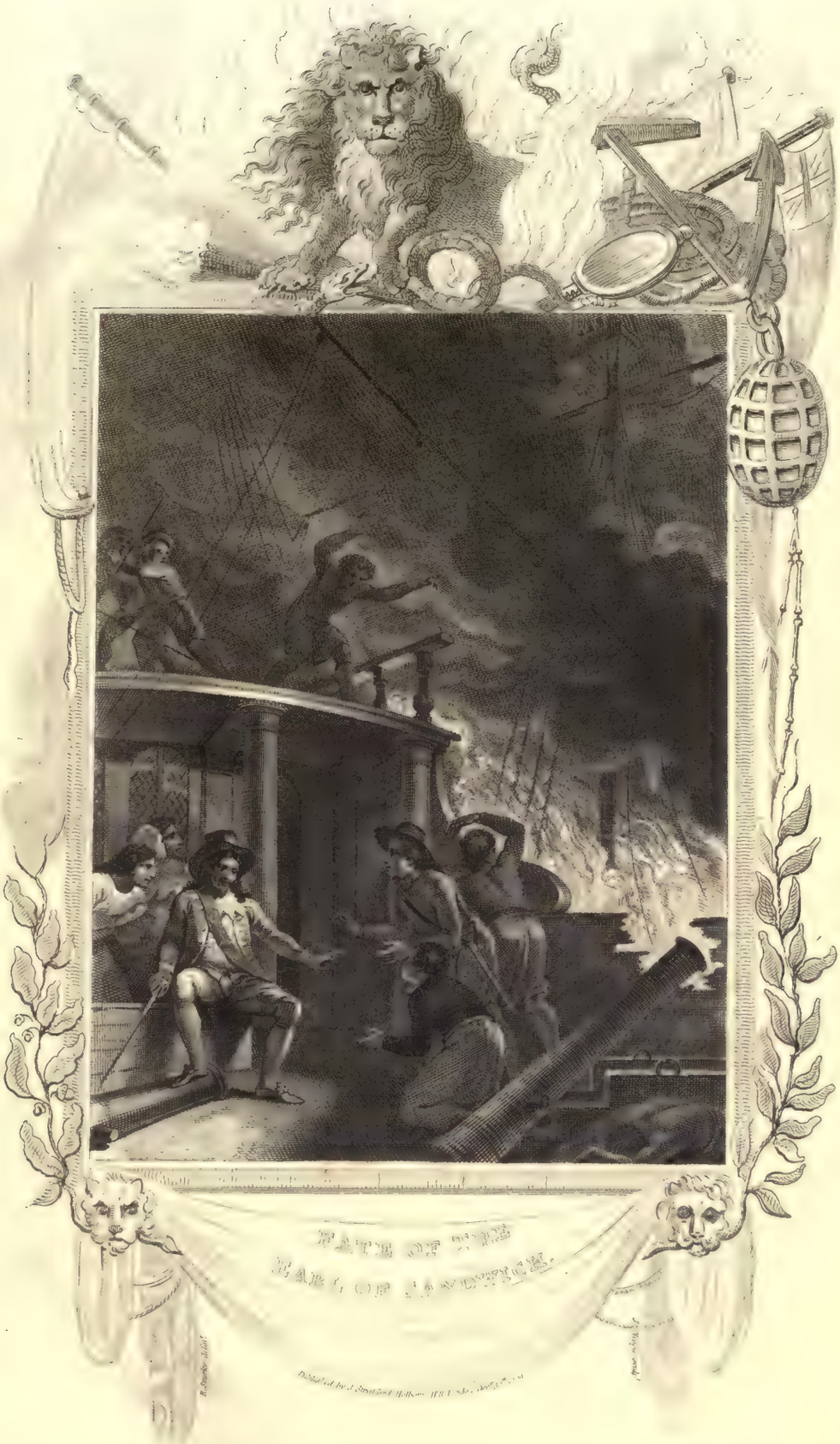
It was indeed honourable for the Dutch to have fought with advantage the combined fleets of two such powerful nations; but nothing less than a complete victory could serve the purpose of de Wit, or save his country from those calamities, which threatened to overwhelm her. He had expected that the French would make their attack on the side of Maestricht, which was well fortified, and provided with a good garrison; but Louis, taking advantage of his alliance with Cologne, resolved to invade the enemy on that frontier, which he knew to be more feeble and defenceless. Louis passed the Meuse at Viset; and laying siege to Orsoi, a town of the elector of Brandenburgh, but garrisoned by Dutch, he carried it in three days. He divided his army, and invested at once Burik, Wesel, Emerik, and Rhinberg, four places regularly fortified, and not unprovided with troops: in a few days all these places were surrendered. A general astonishment seized the Hollanders, from the combination of such powerful princes against the republic; and no where was resistance made, suitable to the ancient glory or present greatness of the state.

Louis advanced to the banks of the Rhine, which he prepared to pass, on the 2nd of June. To all the other calamities of the Dutch was added the extreme drought of the season, by which the greatest rivers were much diminished, and in some places rendered fordable. The French cavalry, animated by the presence of their prince, full of impetuous courage, but ranged in exact order, flung themselves into the river: the infantry passed in boats: a few regiments of Dutch appeared on the other side, who were unable to make resistance. And thus was executed without danger, but not without glory, the passage of the Rhine; so much celebrated, at that time, by the flattery of the French courtiers, and transmitted to posterity by the more durable flattery of their poetical writers. Each success added courage to the conquerors, and struck the vanquished with dismay. It was expected, that the fort of Skink, famous for the sieges which it had formerly sustained, would make some resistance; but it yielded to Turenne in a few days. The same general made himself master of Arnheim, Knotzembourg, and Nimeguen, as soon as he appeared before them. Doesbourg at the same time opened its gates to Louis: soon after, Hardewic, Amersfort, Campen, Rhenen, Viane, Elberg, Zwol, Cuilemberg, Wageninguen, Lochem, Woerden, fell into the enemies' hands. Groll and Deventer surrendered to the mareschal Luxembourg, who commanded the troops of Munster. And every hour brought to the States news of the rapid progress of the French, and of the cowardice of their own garrisons.

The prince of Orange, with his small and discouraged army, retired into the province of Holland; where he expected, from the natural strength of the country, to be able to make some resistance. The town and province of Utrecht sent deputies, and surrendered themselves to Louis. Naerden, a place within three leagues of Amsterdam, was seized by the marquis of Rochfort, and had he pushed on to Muyden, he had easily gotten possession of it. Fourteen stragglers of his army having appeared before the gates of that town, the magistrates sent them the keys; but a servant maid, who was alone in the castle,

(*w*) The French suffered but little, because they had scarcely been engaged in the action; and as this backwardness is not their national character, it was concluded that they had received secret orders to spare their ships, while the Dutch and English should weaken each other by their mutual animosity. Almost all the other actions during the present war tended to confirm this suspicion.

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having raised the drawbridge, kept them from taking possession of that fortress. The magistrates afterwards, finding the party so weak, made them intoxicated, and took the keys from them (*x*).

On the 25th of June, Louis with a splendid court made a solemn entry into Utrecht. Three provinces were already in his hands, Guelderland, Overyssel, and Utrecht: Groningen was threatened; Friezeland was exposed: the only difficulty lay in Holland and Zealand; and the monarch deliberated concerning the proper measures for reducing them. Condé and Turenne exhorted him to dismantle the towns he had taken, except a few; and fortifying his main army by the garrisons, put himself in a condition of pushing his conquests. Louvois, however, advised a contrary measure, and his counsel was followed; though it was found, soon after, to have been impolitic.

The people, throughout the republic, instead of collecting a noble indignation against the haughty conqueror, discharged their rage upon their own unhappy minister, on whose prudence and integrity every one formerly bestowed the merited applause. The bad condition of the armies was laid to his charge: the ill choice of governors was ascribed to his partiality. The prince of Orange, notwithstanding his youth and inexperience, was looked on as the only saviour of the state; and men were driven by their fears into his party, to which they had been led by inclination.

Amsterdam alone seemed to retain some courage; and by forming a regular plan of defence, endeavoured to infuse spirit into the other cities. The magistrates obliged the burgesses to keep a strict watch: the populace, whom want of employment might engage to mutiny, were maintained by regular pay, and armed for the general defence. Some ships, which lay useless in the harbour, were refitted, and stationed to guard the city; and the sluices being opened, the neighbouring country was laid under water. All the provinces followed the example, and scrupled not, in this extremity, to restore to the sea those fertile fields, which with great art and expence had been gained from its incursions.

The states were assembled to consider whether any means were left to save the remains of their lately flourishing, and now distressed commonwealth. Though they were surrounded with waters, which barred all access to the enemy, the nobles voted, that, provided their religion, liberty, and sovereignty, could be saved, every thing else should be sacrificed to the conqueror. Eleven towns concurred in the same sentiments: Amsterdam singly declared against all treaty with their enemies; but notwithstanding that opposition, ambassadors were dispatched to implore the pity of the two combined monarchs. It was resolved to sacrifice to Louis, Maestricht, and all the frontier towns which lay without the boundaries of the seven provinces; and to pay him a large sum for the charges of the war.

The French king deliberated with his ministers Louvois and Pomponne, concerning the measures which he should embrace on the present occasion; and fortunately for Europe, he still preferred the violent counsels of the former. The terms he offered were extremely exorbitant; and he allowed them but ten days for the acceptance of his proposals. The ambassadors, sent to London, met with still worse reception: no minister was allowed to treat with them; and they were retained in a kind of confinement. But, notwithstanding this rigorous conduct of the court, the presence of the Dutch ambassadors excited the sentiments of compassion, and even indignation, among the people in general, especially among those who could foresee the aim and result of those dangerous counsels; and even Charles himself was touched with anxiety, when he found every thing yield to the French arms, while such vigorous resistance was made to his own. He soon dismissed the Dutch ambassadors, lest they should cabal among his subjects, who bore them great favour; but he sent over Buckingham and Arlington, and soon after lord Halifax, to negociate with the French king in the present prosperous situation of affairs.

These ministers passed through Holland; and as they were supposed to bring peace to the distressed republic, they were every where received with the loudest acclamations. "God bless the king of England! God bless the prince of Orange! Confusion to the States!" This was every where the cry of the populace. The ambassadors had several conferences with the States and the prince of Orange; but made no reasonable advances towards an accommodation. They went to Utrecht, where they renewed the league with Louis, and agreed, that neither of the kings should make peace with Holland but by common consent. They next gave in their pretensions, which were in the highest degree humiliating and arbitrary. The terms indeed proposed by Louis bereaved the republic of all security against any invasion by land from France: those demanded by Charles exposed them equally to an invasion by sea from England: and when both were united, they appeared absolutely intolerable, and reduced the Hollanders, who saw no means of defence, to the utmost despair. What extremely augmented their distress, were the violent factions with which they continued to be agitated. De Wit became the object of horror to the Dutch populace. Their rage at last broke all bounds, and bore every thing before it. They rose in an insurrection at Dort, on the 30th of June, and by force constrained their burgo-masters to sign the repeal of the perpetual edict, so much demanded. This proved a signal of a general revolt throughout all the provinces.

At Amsterdam, the Hague, Middlebourg, Rotterdam, the people flew to arms, and, trampling under foot the authority of their magistrates, obliged them to submit to the prince of Orange. They expelled from their office such as displeased them: they required the prince to appoint others in their place; and agreeably to the proceeding of the populace in all ages, provided they might wreak their vengeance on their superiors, they expressed great indifference for the protection of their civil liberties.

The superior talents and virtues of de Wit made him, on this occasion, the chief object of envy, and exposed him to the rage of popular prejudice. Four assassins, had assaulted him in the streets, and after giving him many wounds, had left him for dead. One of them was punished: the others were never questioned for the crime. His brother, Cornelius, who had behaved with prudence and courage on board the fleet, was obliged by sickness to come ashore; and he was now confined to his house at Dort. Some assassins broke in upon him; and it was with the utmost difficulty that his family and servants could repel their violence. At Amsterdam, the house of the brave de Ruyter, the sole resource of the distressed commonwealth, was surrounded by the populace; and his wife and children were for some time exposed to the greatest danger.

One Tichelaer, a barber, a man noted for infamy, accused Cornelius de Wit of endeavouring by bribes to engage him in the design of poisoning the prince of Orange. The accusation was greedily received by the credulous multitude; and Cornelius was cited before a court of judicature. The judges, either blinded by prejudice, or not daring to oppose the popular torrent, condemned him to suffer the question. This man, who had bravely served his country in war, and who had been invested with the highest dignities, was delivered into the hands of the executioner, and torn in pieces by the most inhuman torments (*y*). The judges, however, condemned him to lose his offices, and to be banished the commonwealth. The pensionary, who had not been terrified from performing the part of a kind brother and faithful friend during this prosecution, resolved not to desert him on account of the unmerited infamy which was endeavoured to be thrown upon him. He came to his brother's prison, determined to accompany him to the place of his exile. The signal was given to the populace. They rose in arms: they broke open the doors of the prison; they pulled out the two brothers; and a thousand hands vied who should first be imbrued in their blood. Even their death did not satiate the brutal rage of the multitude. They exercised on the dead bodies of those virtuous citizens, indignities too shocking to be recited; and till tired with their own fury, they permitted not the friends of the deceased to approach, or to bestow on them the honours of a funeral, silent and unattended.

The massacre of the de Wits put an end for the time to the remains of their party; and all men, from fear, inclination, or prudence, concurred in expressing the most

(*x*) Muyden is so near to Amsterdam, that its cannon may infest the ships which enter that city.

(*y*) Amidst the severe agonies which he endured, he still made protestations of his innocence, and frequently repeated an ode of Horace, which contained sentiments suited to his deplorable condition.

implicit obedience to the prince of Orange. He bent all his efforts against the public enemy. Those intolerable conditions demanded by their insolent enemies, he exhorted the States to reject with scorn; and by his advice they put an end to negociations, which served only to break the courage of their fellow citizens, and delay the assistance of their allies. He exhorted them to remember the generous valour of their ancestors, who, yet in the infancy of the state, preferred liberty to every human consideration; and rousing their spirits to an obstinate defence, repelled all the power, riches, and military discipline of Spain. And he professed himself willing to tread in the steps of his illustrious predecessors, and hoped, that, as they had honoured him with the same affection which their ancestors paid to the former princes of Orange, they would second his efforts with the same constancy and fortitude. Immediately those who lately entertained thoughts of yielding their necks to subjection, were determined to resist the haughty victor, and to defend those last remains of their native soil, of which neither the irruptions of Louis, nor the inundation of waters, had as yet bereaved them. Should even the ground fail them on which they might combat, they were still resolved not to yield; but, flying to their settlements in the Indies, erect a new empire in those remote regions, and preserve alive, even in the climates of slavery, that liberty of which Europe was become unworthy.

Louis and Charles, finding at last some appearance of opposition, bent all their efforts to seduce the prince of Orange; but he rejected their proposals with scorn, and treated those who offered them with contempt. When Buckingham urged the inevitable destruction which hung over the United Provinces, and asked him, whether he did not see that the commonwealth was ruined? "There is one certain means," replied the prince, "by which I can be sure never to see my country's ruin; I will die in the last ditch." Louis, now finding that his enemies gathered courage behind their inundations, and that no farther success was likely for the present to attend his arms, retired to Versailles.

The emperor of Germany began to put himself in motion; Brandenburgh showed a disposition to support the States; Spain had sent some forces to their assistance; and by the present efforts of the prince of Orange, and the prospect of relief from their allies, a different face of affairs began to appear. Groninghen was the first place that stopped the progress of the enemy: the bishop of Munster was repulsed from before that town, and obliged to raise the siege with loss and dishonour. Naerden was attempted by the prince of Orange; but mareschal Luxembourg, breaking in upon his entrenchments with a sudden irruption, obliged him to abandon the enterprize.

There was no ally on whom the Dutch more relied for assistance than the parliament of England, which the king's necessities at last obliged him to assemble on the 4th of February, 1673. The eyes of all men, both abroad and at home, were fixed on this session, which met after prorogations continued for nearly two years. It was evident how much the king dreaded the assembling of his parliament; and the discontents universally excited by the bold measures entered into, both in foreign and domestic administration, had given just foundation for his apprehensions. The king, however, in his speech, addressed them with all the appearance of cordiality and confidence. He said, that he would have assembled them sooner, had he not been desirous to allow them leisure for attending their private affairs, as well as to give his people respite from taxes and impositions: that, since their last meeting, he had been forced into a war, not only just but necessary; necessary both for the honour and interest of the nation: that in order to have peace at home, while he had war abroad, he had issued his declaration of indulgence to dissenters, and had found many good effects to result from that measure: that he heard of some exceptions which had been taken to this exercise of power; but he would tell them plainly, that he was resolved to stick to his declaration; and would be much offended at any contradiction: and that though a rumour had been spread, as if the new levied army had been intended to control law and property, he regarded that jealousy as so frivolous, that he was resolved to augment his forces next spring, and did not doubt but they would consider the necessity of them in their supplies. The rest of the business he left to the chancellor; who enlarged on the same topics, and added many extraordinary positions of his own. He told them, that the Hollanders were the common enemies of all monarchies, especially that of England; and that, both by interest and inclination, the parliament had wisely judged it necessary to extirpate them, and had laid it down as an eternal maxim, that *delenda est Carthago*, this hostile government by all means is to be subverted: and that though the Dutch pretended to have assurances that the parliament would furnish no supplies to the king, he was confident that this hope, in which they extremely trusted, would soon fail them.

Before the commons entered upon business, there lay before them an affair, which discovered beyond a possibility of doubt, the arbitrary projects of the king; and the measures taken upon it proved that the house was not at present in a disposition to submit to them. It had been the constant practice for the house, in case of any vacancy, to issue out writs for new elections. This indeed was one of the first steps which the commons had taken in establishing and guarding their privileges; and nothing could be more requisite than this precaution, in order to prevent the clandestine issuing of writs, and to ensure a fair and free election. Several members had taken their seats upon irregular writs issued by the chancellor; but the house was no sooner assembled, and the speaker placed in the chair, than a motion was made against them; and the members themselves, thus called to parliament, had the modesty to withdraw. Their election was declared null; and new writs, in the usual form, were issued by the speaker.

The next step taken by the commons was to supply his majesty's extraordinary occasions, (for that was the expression employed); for which purpose they granted eighteen months assessment, at the rate of seventy thousand pounds a month, amounting in the whole to one million two hundred and sixty thousand pounds. The king's declaration of indulgence was next taken into consideration; and a remonstrance was immediately framed against that exercise of prerogative. The king defended his measure. The commons persisted in their opposition to it; and the king (*z*), that he might yield with the better grace, asked the opinion of the house of peers, who advised him to comply with the commons. Accordingly the king sent for the declaration, and with his own hands broke the seals. The commons expressed the utmost satisfaction with this measure, and the most entire duty to his majesty. Charles assured them that he would willingly pass any law offered him, which might tend to give them satisfaction in all their just grievances.

The earl of Shaftesbury, when he found the king recede at once from so capital a point, concluded that all schemes for enlarging royal authority were vanished, and that Charles was incapable of pursuing such difficult and hazardous measures. The parliament, he foresaw, might push their inquiries into those counsels, which were so generally odious; and the king might abandon his ministers to their vengeance. Like an habitual traitor, he now entered into all the measures of the country party; and discovered to them the arbitrary designs of the court, in which himself had borne so deep a share. He was received with open arms by that party, who stood in need of so able a leader; and no questions were asked with regard to his late apostacy.

Having abridged the king's stretches of power in some points, they went still farther, and resolved to make the conformity of principles still more general. A law was passed for imposing a test (*a*) on all who should enjoy any public office. Besides taking the oaths of allegiance and supremacy, and receiving the sacrament in the established church once a year; they were obliged to abjure all belief

(*z*) It is evident that Charles was now come to that delicate crisis which he ought at first to have foreseen, when he embraced those desperate counsels; and his resolutions, in such an event, ought long ago to have been entirely fixed and determined. Besides his usual guards, he had an army encamped at Blackheath, under the command of mareschal Schomberg, a foreigner; and many of the officers were of the catholic religion. His ally, the French king, he might expect, would second him, if force became requisite for restraining his discontented subjects, and supporting the measures which, by common consent, they had agreed to pursue. But the king was startled, when he approached so dangerous a precipice as that which lay before him. Were violence once offered, there could be no return, he saw, to mutual confidence and trust with his people; the perils attending foreign succours, especially from so mighty a prince, were sufficiently apparent; and the success which his own arms had met with in the war, was not so great as to increase his authority, or terrify the malcontents from opposition.

(*a*) This was called the Test Act.

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in the doctrine of transubstantiation. As the dissenters had also seconded the efforts of the commons against the king's declaration of indulgence, and seemed resolute to accept of no toleration in an illegal manner, a bill passed the commons for the ease and relief of the Protestant non-conformists; but met with some delays in the house of lords.

The resolution for supply was carried into a law; as a recompense to the king for his concessions. An act, likewise, of general pardon and indemnity was passed, which screened the ministers from farther inquiry. None of the capital points were touched on in the remonstrance concerning grievances; the breach of the triple league, the French alliance, or the shutting up of the exchequer. The sole grievances mentioned were, an arbitrary imposition on coals for providing convoys, the exercise of martial law, the quartering and pressing of soldiers; and they prayed, that, after the conclusion of the war, the whole army should be disbanded. The king gave them an evasive answer. When business was finished, the two houses adjourned themselves, on the 29th of March.

The king, however, was still resolved to persevere in his alliance with France, and in the Dutch war, and consequently in all those secret views which depended on those fatal measures. The money, granted by parliament, sufficed to equip a fleet, of which prince Rupert was made admiral; (for the duke was set aside by the test.) Sir Edward Sprague and the earl of Ossory commanded under the prince. A French squadron joined them, commanded by d'Etrées. The combined fleets set sail towards the coast of Holland, and found the enemy, lying at anchor, within the sands at Schonvelt, on the 28th of May, when an engagement took place. Both sides claimed the victory; therefore we infer, that the event was not decisive. The Dutch, being near home, retired into their harbours. In a week they were refitted, and presented themselves again to the combined fleets. A new action ensued, on the 4th of June, not more decisive than the foregoing. There seems not to have been a ship lost on either side in the second engagement.

It was sufficient glory to de Ruyter, that, with a fleet much inferior to the combined squadrons of France and England, he could fight them without any notable disadvantage; and it was sufficient victory, that he could defeat the project of a descent in Zealand, which, had it taken place, had endangered, in the present circumstances, the overthrow of the Dutch commonwealth (*b*).

Prince Rupert was suspected of being unfavourable to the designs of the court, but it is certain that the duke of York, though he could no longer command the fleet, still possessed the chief authority in the admiralty, and treated prince Rupert extremely ill. The prince complained of a total want of every thing, powder, shot, provisions, beer, and even water; and he went into harbour, that he might refit his ships, and supply their numerous necessities. After some weeks he was refitted, and again put to sea. The hostile fleets met at the mouth of the Texel, and fought the last battle, on the 11th of August, which, during the course of so many years, these neighbouring maritime powers had disputed with each other. De Ruyter, and under him Van Tromp, commanded the Dutch in this action, as in the two former: for the prince of Orange had reconciled these gallant rivals; and they retained nothing of their former animosity, except that emulation, which made them exert themselves with more distinguished bravery against the enemies of their country. Brankert was opposed to d'Etrées, de Ruyter to prince Rupert, Tromp to Sprague (*c*).

D'Etrées and all the French squadron, except rear-admiral Martel, kept at a distance; and Brankert, instead of attacking them, bore down to the assistance of de Ruyter, who was engaged in furious combat with prince Rupert. On no occasion did the prince acquire more deserved honour: his conduct, as well as valour, shone out with signal lustre. Having disengaged his squadron from the numerous enemies, with whom he was every where surrounded, and having joined sir John Chicheley, his rear-admiral, who had been separated from him, he made haste to the relief of Sprague, who was hard pressed by Tromp's squadron. The Royal Prince, in which Sprague first engaged, was so disabled, that he was obliged to hoist his flag on board the St. George; while Tromp was for a like reason obliged to quit his ship, the Golden Lion, and go on board the Comet. The fight was renewed with the utmost fury by these valorous rivals, and by the rear-admirals, their seconds. Ossory, rear-admiral to Sprague, was preparing to board Tromp, when he saw the St. George terribly torn, and in a manner disabled. Sprague was leaving her, in order to hoist his flag on board a third ship, and return to the charge; when a shot, which had passed through the St. George, took his boat, and sunk her. The admiral was drowned, to the great regret of Tromp himself, who bestowed on his valour the deserved praises.

Prince Rupert found affairs in this dangerous situation, and saw most of the ships in Sprague's squadron disabled from fight. The engagement however was renewed, and became very close and sanguinary. The prince threw the enemy into disorder. To increase it, he sent among them two fire-ships; and at the same time made a signal to the French to bear down; but the prince, when he saw that they neglected his signal, and observed that most of his ships were in no condition to keep the sea long, provided for their safety by making easy sail towards the English coast. The victory in this battle was as doubtful, as in all the actions fought during the present war.

The turn which the affairs of the Hollanders took by land, was still more favourable. The prince of Orange besieged and took Naerden; and from this success gave his country reason to hope for still more prosperous enterprizes. Montecuculi, who commanded the Imperialists on the Upper Rhine, deceived, by the most artful conduct, the vigilance and penetration of marshal Turenne, and making a sudden march, sat down before Bonne. The prince of Orange's conduct was no less masterly; for he eluded all the French generals, and leaving them behind him, joined his army to that of the Imperialists. Bonne was taken in a few days: several other places in the electorate of Cologne fell into the hands of the allies; and the communication being thus cut off between France and the United Provinces, Louis recalled his forces, and abandoned all his conquests, with greater rapidity than he had at first made them. The taking of Maestricht was the only advantage which he gained this campaign.

A congress was opened at Cologne, under the mediation of Sweden; but with little hopes of success. The demands of the two kings were calculated to reduce the Hollanders to perpetual servitude. In proportion as the affairs of the States rose, the kings sunk in their demands; but the States still sunk lower in their offers; and it was found impossible for the parties ever to agree on any conditions. After the French evacuated Holland, the congress broke up; and the seizure of prince William of Furstenburg by the Imperialists afforded the French and English a good pretence for leaving Cologne. The Dutch ambassadors, in their memorials, expressed all the haughtiness and disdain, so natural to a free state, which had met with such unmerited ill treatment.

On the 20th of October, the parliament of England again assembled, and discovered greater symptoms of ill-humour than had appeared in the former session. They had seen for some time a negociation of marriage carried on between the duke of York and the archduchess of Inspruc, a Catholic of the Austrian family; and they had made no opposition. But when that negociation failed, and the duke applied to a princess of the house of Modena, then in close alliance with France; this circumstance raised the commons into a flame; and they remonstrated with zeal and acrimony against the intended marriage. The king told them, that their remonstrance came too late; and that the marriage was already agreed on, and even celebrated by proxy. The commons still insisted; and proceeding to the examination of the other parts of government, they voted the standing army a grievance, and declared, that they would grant no more supply, unless it appeared, that the Dutch were so obstinate as to refuse all reasonable conditions of peace. To cut short

(*b*) It is remarkable, that, during this war, though the English, with their allies, much over-matched the Hollanders, they were not able to gain any advantage over them; while in the former war, though often overborne by numbers, they still exerted themselves with the greatest courage, and always acquired great renown, sometimes even signal victories. But they were disgusted at the present measures, which they deemed pernicious to their country; they were not satisfied in the justice of the quarrel; and they entertained a perpetual jealousy of their confederates, whom, had they been permitted, they would, with much more pleasure, have destroyed, than even the enemy themselves.

(*c*) It is to be remarked, that in all actions these brave admirals last mentioned had still selected each other, as the only antagonists worthy each other's valour; and no decisive advantage had as yet been gained by either of them. They fought in this battle, as if there were no mean between death and victory.

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these disagreeable altercations, the king resolved to prorogue the parliament; and with that intention he went unexpectedly to the house of peers, on the 4th of November, and sent the usher to summon the commons. It happened, that the speaker and the usher nearly met at the door of the house; but the speaker being within, some of the members suddenly shut the door, and exclaimed, "To the chair, to the chair;" while others cried, "The black rod is at the door." The speaker was hurried to the chair; and the following motions were instantly made: that the alliance with France is a grievance; that the evil counsellors about the king are a grievance; that the duke of Lauderdale is a grievance, and not fit to be trusted or employed. There was a general cry, "To the question, to the question:" but the usher knocking violently at the door, the speaker leaped from the chair, and the house rose in great confusion.

During the interval, the earl of Shaftesbury was dismissed from the office of chancellor; and the great seal was given to sir Heneage Finch, by the title of lord keeper. The test had incapacitated Clifford; and the white staff was conferred on sir Thomas Osborne, soon after created earl of Danby, a minister of abilities, who had risen by his parliamentary talents. Clifford retired into the country, and soon after died.

The parliament had been prorogued, in order to give the duke leisure to finish his marriage; but the king's necessities soon obliged him again to assemble them; which he did on the 7th of February, 1674; and by some popular acts he paved the way for the session. But all his efforts were in vain. The disgust of the commons was fixed in foundations too deep to be easily removed. They began with applications for a general fast; by which they intimated, that the nation was in a very calamitous condition: they addressed against the king's guards, which they represented as dangerous to liberty, and even as illegal, since they never had yet received the sanction of parliament: they took some steps towards establishing a new and more rigorous test against popery: but that which chiefly alarmed the court, was the attack they made on the members of the cabal, to whose pernicious counsels they imputed all their present grievances. Clifford was dead: Shaftesbury had made his peace with the country party, and was become their leader: Buckingham was endeavouring to imitate Shaftesbury; but his intentions were as yet known to very few. A motion was therefore made in the house of commons for his impeachment: he desired to be heard at the bar; but gave little satisfaction. He was required to answer precisely to certain queries, which they proposed to him. These regarded all the articles of misconduct above mentioned; and among the rest, the following query seems remarkable: "By whose advice was the army brought up to overawe the debates and resolutions of the house of commons?" Buckingham, in all his answers, endeavoured to exculpate himself, and to load Arlington. He succeeded not in the former intention: the commons voted an address for his removal. But Arlington, who was on many accounts disagreeable to the house, was attacked. Articles were drawn up against him; though the impeachment was never prosecuted.

The king perceived that he could expect no supply from the commons for carrying on a war so odious to them. He therefore resolved to make a separate peace with the Dutch, on the terms which they had proposed through the channel of the Spanish ambassador. With an affected cordiality he asked advice of the parliament. The parliament unanimously gave their advice for peace. Peace was accordingly concluded. The honour of the flag was yielded by the Dutch in the most extensive terms: a regulation of trade was agreed to: all possessions were restored to the same condition as before the war: the English planters in Surinam were allowed to remove at pleasure: and the States agreed to pay to the king the sum of eight hundred thousand patacoons, near three hundred thousand pounds. Four days after the parliament was prorogued, the peace was proclaimed in London, to the great joy of the people, on the 28th of February. Spain had declared that she could no longer remain neuter, if hostilities were continued against Holland: and a sensible decay of trade was foreseen, in case a rupture should ensue with that kingdom. The prospect of this loss contributed to increase the national aversion to the present war, and to enliven the joy for its termination.

In the French service there was a great body of English, to the number of ten thousand men, who had acquired honour in every action, and had greatly contributed to the success of Louis. These troops, Charles said, he was bound by treaty not to recall; but he obliged himself to the States by a secret article, not to allow them to be recruited; yet his partiality to France prevented a strict execution of this stipulation.

In considering the projects of the famous Cabal, it will appear difficult to determine, whether the end which those ministers pursued were more blamable and pernicious, or the means, by which they intended to effect it, were more impolitic and imprudent. Though they might talk only of recovering or fixing the king's authority; their intention could be no other than that of making him absolute. The assistance of the French king was, no doubt, deemed, by the cabal, a considerable support in the schemes which they were forming; but it is not likely, that they could imagine themselves capable of directing and employing an associate of so overbearing and ambitious a character. In all its other parts the plan of the cabal appears equally absurd and incongruous. Besides, whatever views might be entertained of promoting the Catholic religion in England, they could only tend to render all the other schemes abortive, and make them fall with inevitable ruin upon the projectors. But it must be allowed, that the difficulties, and even inconsistencies, attending the schemes of the Cabal, are so numerous and obvious, that one feels at first an inclination to deny the reality of those schemes, and to suppose them entirely the chimeras of calumny and faction. But the utter impossibility of accounting, by any other hypothesis, for those strange measures embraced by the court, as well as for the numerous circumstances which accompanied them, obliges us to acknowledge that a formal plan was laid for changing the religion, and subverting the constitution, of this country, and that the king and the ministry were in reality conspirators against the people (*d*). Though the king possessed penetration and a sound judgement, his capacity was chiefly

(*d*) Some authors have doubted the existence of a plan for the subversion of the constitution of this country; but there is the most direct and positive evidence of its reality. From the humanity and candour of the Principal of the Scotch College at Paris, Mr. Hume tells us, he was admitted to peruse James the Second's Memoirs, kept there. They amount to several volumes of small folio, all written with that prince's own hand, and comprehending the remarkable incidents of his life, from his early youth till nearly the time of his death. His account of the French alliance is as follows: The intention of the king and duke was chiefly to change the religion of England, which they deemed an easy undertaking, because of the great propensity, as they imagined, of the cavaliers and church party to popery: the treaty with Louis was concluded at Versailles in the end of 1669, or beginning of 1670, by lord Arundel of Wardour, whom no historian mentions as having had any hand in these transactions. The purport of it was, that Louis was to give Charles two hundred thousand pounds a-year in quarterly payments, in order to enable him to settle the Catholic religion in England; and he was also to supply him with an army of six thousand men in case of any insurrection. When that work was finished, England was to join with France in making war upon Holland. In case of success, Louis was to have the inland provinces, the prince of Orange Holland in sovereignty, and Charles, Sluice, the Brille, Walcheren, with the rest of the sea-ports as far as Mazeland Sluice. The king's project was first to effect the change of religion in England; but the duchess of Orleans, in the interview at Dover, persuaded him to begin with the Dutch war, contrary to the remonstrances of the duke of York, who insisted that Louis, after serving his own purposes, would no longer trouble himself about England. The duke makes no mention of any design to render the king absolute; but that was, no doubt, implied in the other project, which was to be effected entirely by royal authority. The king was so zealous a papist, that he wept for joy when he saw the prospect of re-uniting his kingdom to the Catholic church.

Sir John Dalrymple has since published some other curious particulars with regard to this treaty. We find, that it was concerted and signed with the privity alone of four popish counsellors of the king's, Arlington, Arundel, Clifford, and sir Richard Bealing. The secret was kept from Buckingham, Ashley, and Lauderdale. In order to engage them to take part in it, a very refined and a very mean artifice was fallen upon by the king. After the secret conclusion and signature of the treaty, the king pretended to these three ministers, that he wished to have a treaty and alliance with France for mutual support, and for a Dutch war; and when various pretended obstacles and difficulties were surmounted, a sham treaty was concluded with their consent and approbation, containing every article of the former real treaty, except that of the king's change of religion. However, there was virtually involved even in this treaty, the assuming of absolute government in England: for the support of French troops, and a war with Holland, so contrary to the interests and inclinations of his people, could mean nothing else. One cannot sufficiently admire the absolute want of common sense, which appears throughout the whole of this criminal transaction. For if popery was so much the object of national horror, that even the king's three ministers, Buckingham, Ashley, and Lauderdale, and such profligate ones too, either would not, or durst not receive it, what hopes could he entertain of forcing the nation into that communion? Considering the state of the kingdom, full of veteran and zealous soldiers, bred during the civil wars, it is probable that he had not kept the crown two months after a declaration

chiefly fitted for smaller matters, and the ordinary occurrences of life; nor had he application enough to carry his view to distant consequences, or to digest and adjust any plan of political operations. As he scarcely ever thought twice on any one subject, every appearance of advantage was apt to seduce him; and when he found his way obstructed by unlooked-for difficulties, he readily turned aside into the first path, where he expected more to gratify the natural indolence of his disposition. But the suspicions of the people, though they burst not forth at once, were by this attempt rendered altogether incurable; and the more they reflected on the circumstances attending it, the more resentment and jealousy were they apt to entertain: therefore deemed no precaution too great to secure them against the pernicious consequences of such machinations.

Charles, sensible of this jealousy, was inclined thenceforth not to trust his people, of whom he had before entertained a great diffidence; and, though obliged to make a separate peace, he still kept up connexions with the French monarch. He apologized for deserting his ally, by representing to him all the real difficulties under which he laboured; and Louis, with the greatest complaisance, admitted the validity of his excuses. The duke likewise, conscious that his principles and conduct had rendered him still more disgustful to the people, maintained on his own account a separate correspondence with the French court, and entered into particular connexions with Louis, which these princes dignified with the name of friendship. The duke had only in view to secure his succession, and favour the Catholics; and it must be acknowledged, that, though his schemes were dangerous to the people, they gave the king no ground of jealousy. A dutiful subject, and an affectionate brother, he knew no other rule of conduct than obedience; and the same unlimited submission which afterwards, when king, he exacted of his people, he was ever willing, before he ascended the throne, to pay to his sovereign.

The king was now at peace with all the world, and therefore he thought proper to offer his mediation to the contending powers, in order to compose their differences. Louis, willing to negociate under so favourable a mediator, accepted of Charles's offer; but it was apprehended, that the allies would be inclined to refuse it. Sir William Temple was sent by Charles as ambassador to the States; but when he was on the continent, he soon found, that the scheme of mediating a peace was likely to prove abortive. The allies, besides their jealousy of the king's mediation, expressed a great ardour for the continuance of war. Holland had stipulated with Spain never to come to an accommodation, till all things in Flanders were restored to the condition in which they had been left by the Pyrenean treaty. The emperor had high pretensions in Alsace; and as the greater part of the empire joined in the alliance, it was hoped that France, so much overmatched in force, would soon be obliged to submit to the terms demanded of her. In the mean time, the war between the Dutch and the French went on with the greatest vigour; and though the prince of Orange was frequently unsuccessful, he still found means to repair his losses, and to make head in a little time against his victorious enemies. But in England these events were considered by the people with great anxiety and concern; though the king and his ministers affected great indifference with regard to them.

Considerable alterations were about this time made in the English ministry. Buckingham was dismissed, who had long, by his wit and humour, possessed the king's favour. Arlington, now chamberlain, and Danby, the treasurer, possessed chiefly the king's confidence. Great hatred and jealousy took place between these ministers; and public affairs were somewhat disturbed by their quarrels. But as Danby daily gained ground with his master, Arlington declined in the same proportion. Danby was a frugal minister; and, by his application and industry, he brought the revenue into tolerable order. He endeavoured so to conduct himself as to give offence to no party; and the consequence was, that he was not able to please any. He was a declared enemy to the French alliance; but never possessed sufficient authority to overcome the prepossessions which the king and the duke retained towards it. It must be ascribed to the prevalence of that interest, aided by money remitted from Paris, that the parliament was assembled so late this year; lest they should attempt to engage the king in measures against France during the ensuing campaign. They met not till April 13, 1675 (*e*).

The commons, in all their measures, discovered that ill-humour and jealousy, to which the late open schemes of the king, and his present secret attachments, gave but too just foundation. They drew up a new bill against popery, and resolved to insert in it many severe clauses for the detection and prosecution of priests: they presented addresses a second time against Lauderdale; and when the king's answer was not satisfactory, they seemed still determined to persevere in their applications: an accusation was moved against Danby; but upon examining the several articles, it was found not to contain any just reasons for a prosecution; and was therefore dropped: they applied to the king for recalling his troops from the French service; and as he only promised that they should not be recruited, they were much dissatisfied with the answer: a bill was brought in, making it treason to levy money without authority of parliament: another vacating the seats of such members as accepted of offices: another to secure the personal liberty of the subject, and to prevent sending any person prisoner beyond sea.

That the court party might not be idle during these attacks, a bill for a new test was introduced into the house of peers by the earl of Lindesey. All members of either house, and all who possessed any office, were by this bill required to swear, that it was not lawful, upon any pretence whatsoever, to take arms against the king; that they abhorred the traiterous position, of taking arms by his authority against his person, or against those who were commissioned by him; and that they will not at any time endeavour the alteration of the Protestant religion, or of the established government either in church or state (*f*). There were many absurdities in this test, particularly that of binding men by oath not to alter the government either in church or state; since all human institutions are liable to abuse, and require continual amendments, which are, in reality so many alterations. These difficulties produced such obstructions to the bill, that it was carried only by two voices in the house of peers. All the popish lords, headed by the earl of Bristol, voted against it. It was sent down to the house of commons, where it was likely to undergo a scrutiny still more severe. But a quarrel, which ensued between the two houses, prevented the passing of every bill projected during the present session. Dr. Shirley, being cast in a law-suit before chancery against sir John Fag, a member of the house of commons, preferred a petition of appeal to the house of peers. The lords received it, and summoned Fag to appear before them. He complained to the lower house, who espoused his cause. The commons sent Shirley to prison; the lords asserted their powers. Conferences were tried; but no accommodation ensued. Four lawyers were sent to the Tower by the commons, for transgressing the orders of the house, and pleading in this cause before the peers. The peers ordered the lieutenant of the Tower to release the prisoners: he declined obedience: they applied to the king, and desired him to punish the lieutenant for his contempt. The king summoned both houses; and exhorted them to unanimity; but his advice had no effect: the commons continued as violent as ever; and the king, finding that no business could be finished, at last prorogued the parliament on the 8th of June.

When the parliament was again assembled, on the 13th of October, there appeared not in any respect a change in the disposition of either house. The king desired supplies, as well for the building of ships, as for taking off anticipations, which lay upon his revenue. He even confessed, that he had not been altogether so frugal as he might have been, and as he resolved to be for the future. The commons took into consideration the subject of supply. They

ration so wild and extravagant. This was probably the reason why the king of France and the French ministers always dissuaded him from taking off the mask, till the successes of the Dutch war should render that measure prudent and practicable.

(*e*) This year, on the 25th of March, died Henry Cromwell, second son of the protector, in the 47th year of his age. He had lived unmolested in a private station, ever since the king's restoration.

(*f*) Great opposition was made to this bill; as might be expected from the present disposition of the nation. During seventeen days, the debates were carried on with much zeal; and all the reason and learning of both parties were displayed on the occasion.

voted three hundred thousand pounds for the building of ships; but they appropriated the sum by very strict clauses. They passed a resolution not to grant any supply for taking off the anticipations of the revenue. This vote was carried in a full house, by a majority of four only: so nearly were the parties balanced. The quarrel was revived, to which Dr. Shirley's cause had given occasion; and the king prorogued them till the 22nd of November.

Soon after the prorogation, an incident occurred, which, though trivial in itself, tended strongly to mark the genius of the English government, and of Charles's administration, during this period. The liberty of the constitution, and the variety as well as violence of the parties, had begotten a propensity for political conversation; and as the coffee-houses were the places in which the conduct of the king and the ministry was canvassed with freedom, a proclamation was issued to suppress these houses of rendezvous. But Charles, finding doubts to arise upon his proclamation, had recourse to the judges, who supplied him with a chicane, and that too a frivolous one, by which he might justify his proceedings. The law, which settled the excise, enacted, that licences for retailing liquors might be refused to such as could not find security for payment of the duties. But coffee was not a liquor subjected to excise; and even this power of refusing licences was very limited, and could not be extended beyond the intention of the act. The king therefore, observing the people to be dissatisfied, yielded to a petition of the coffee-house keepers, who promised for the future to restrain seditious discourses in their houses; and the proclamation was recalled.

The campaign of 1675 proved more fortunate to the confederates than any other during the whole war. The French took the field in Flanders with a numerous army; and Louis himself served as a volunteer under the prince of Condé. But notwithstanding his great preparations, he could gain no advantage over the prince of Orange, who, with a considerable army, opposed him in all his motions; Louis, tired of so unactive a campaign, returned to Versailles. Success now attended the arms of the confederates in a variety of ways: the French retreated, and the allies advanced.

To the misfortunes of the French were added some domestic insurrections of the common people in Guienne and Britanny. Though soon suppressed, they divided the force and attention of Louis. The only advantage, gained by the French, was at sea. Messina in Sicily had revolted; and a fleet under the duke de Vivonne was dispatched to support the rebels. The Dutch had sent a squadron to assist the Spaniards. A battle ensued, where de Ruyter was killed.

Notwithstanding the successes of the allies, the Spaniards and Imperialists apprehended that France was not yet sufficiently broken, nor willing to submit to the terms which they resolved to impose upon her. Though they could not refuse Charles's mediation, and Nimeguen was at last fixed on as the place of congress; yet, under one pretence or other, they still delayed sending their ambassadors, and no progress was made in the negociation. Lord Berkeley, sir William Temple, and sir Lionel Jenkins, were the English ministers at Nimeguen. The Dutch soon appeared: Louis, who hoped to divide the allies, sent ambassadors: the Swedes were also forward to negociate. But these powers could not proceed of themselves to settle terms, the congress served only as an amusement to the public.

It was, however, by the events of the campaign in 1676, not by the conferences among the negociators, that the articles of peace were to be determined. The Spanish towns, ill fortified and worse defended, made but a feeble resistance to Louis; who laid siege to Condé in April, and took it by storm in four days. Having sent the duke of Orleans to besiege Bouchaine, a small but important fortress, which also surrendered. On the Upper Rhine, Philipsbourg was taken by the Imperialists. In Pomerania, the Swedes were so unsuccessful against the Danes and Bradenburghers, that they seemed to be losing apace all the possessions which they had acquired in Germany.

About the beginning of winter, the congress of Nimeguen was pretty full, and the plenipotentiaries of the emperor and Spain, two powers strictly conjoined by blood and alliance, at last appeared. The Dutch had threatened, if they absented themselves any longer, to proceed to a separate treaty with France. The allies thought it impossible but the people and parliament of England must at last force Charles to take part in the affairs of the continent, in which their interests were so deeply concerned. And they trusted, that even the king himself, on the approach of so great a danger, must sacrifice his prejudices in favour of France, to the safety of his own dominions. But Charles here found himself entangled in such opposite motives and engagements, as he had not resolution enough to break, or patience to unravel. He had actually in secret sold his neutrality to France, and he received remittances of a million of livres a-year, which was afterwards increased to two millions; a considerable supply in the present embarrassed state of his finances. He dreaded lest the parliament should treat him as they had formerly done his father; and after they had engaged him in a war on the continent, should take advantage of his necessities, and make him purchase supplies by sacrificing his prerogative and abandoning his ministers. But the cries of his people and parliament, seconded by Danby, Arlington, and most of his ministers, occasioned him to take part with the allies, and to correct the unequal balance of power in Europe.

Charles was now reduced to a situation which he knew not how to extricate himself from; therefore he assembled a parliament on the 15th of February, 1677, and made a plausible speech, in which he warned them against all differences among themselves; expressed a resolution to do his part for bringing their consultations to a happy issue; and offered his consent to any laws for the farther security of their religion, liberty, and property. He then told them of the decayed condition of the navy; and asked money for repairing it: he informed them, that part of his revenue, the additional excise, was soon to expire: and he added these words, "You may at any time see the yearly established expence of the government, by which it will appear, that, the constant and unavoidable charge being paid, there will remain no overplus towards answering those contingencies, which may happen in all kingdoms, and which have been a considerable burthen on me this last year."

Previous to the parliament's entering upon business, they were stopped by a doubt concerning the legality of their meeting. It had been enacted by an old law of Edward III. "That parliaments should be held once every year, or oftener, if need be." The last prorogation had been longer than a year; and being supposed on that account illegal, it was pretended to be equivalent to a dissolution. Such weight, however, was put on this cavil, that Buckingham, Shaftesbury, Salisbury, and Wharton, insisted strenuously in the house of peers on the invalidity of the parliament, and the nullity of all its future acts. For such dangerous positions, they were sent to the Tower, there to remain during the pleasure of his majesty and the house. Buckingham, Salisbury, and Wharton made submissions, and were soon after released. But Shaftesbury, more obstinate in his temper, sought the remedy of law; and being rejected by the judges, he was, at last, after a twelvemonth's imprisonment, obliged to make the same submissions; upon which he was also restored to liberty.

The commons at first seemed to proceed with temper. They granted the sum of five hundred and eighty-six thousand pounds, for building thirty ships; though they strictly appropriated the money to that service. Estimates were given in of the expence; but it was afterwards found that they fell short near one hundred thousand pounds. They also voted, agreeably to the king's request, the continuance of the additional excise for three years. This excise had been granted for nine years in 1668. Every thing seemed to promise a peaceable and an easy session. But the parliament was roused from this tranquillity by news received from the continent. The French king had taken the field in the middle of February, and laid siege to Valenciennes, which he carried in a few days by storm. He next invested both Cambray and St. Omers, both which places fell into his hands, and the prince of Orange was defeated. This success of the French infused terror into the English parliament. They addressed the king, representing the danger to which the kingdom was exposed from the growing greatness of France, and praying that his majesty, by such alliances as he should think fit, would both secure his own dominions and the Spanish Netherlands, and thereby quiet the fears of his people. The king, desirous of eluding this application, replied in general terms, that he would use all means for the preservation of Flanders, consistent with the peace and safety of his

his kingdoms. This answer was an evasion, or rather a denial. The commons, therefore, thought proper to be more explicit. They entreated him not to defer the entering into such alliances as might attain that great end: and in case war with the French king should be the result of his measures, they promised to grant him all the aids and supplies, which would enable him to support the honour and interest of the nation. The king was also more explicit in his reply. He told them, that the only way to prevent danger, was to put him in a condition to make preparations for their security. This message was understood to be a demand of money. The parliament accordingly empowered the king to borrow on the additional excise two hundred thousand pounds at seven per cent.: a very small sum indeed; but which they deemed sufficient, with the ordinary revenue, to equip a good squadron, and thereby put the nation in security, till farther resolutions should be taken. But this concession fell far short of the king's expectations. He therefore informed them, that, unless they granted him six hundred thousand pounds upon the new funds, it would not be possible for him, without exposing the nation to danger, "to speak or act those things," which would answer the end of their addresses. The house took this message into consideration; but before they came to any resolution, the king sent for them to Whitehall, where he told them, upon the word of a king, that they should not repent any trust which they would repose in him for the safety of his kingdom; that he would not for any consideration break credit with them, or employ their money to other uses than those for which they intended it. This speech brought affairs to a short issue. The king required them to trust him with a large sum: he pawned his royal word for their security: they must either run the risque of losing their money, or fail of those alliances which they had projected, and at the same time declare to all the world the highest distrust of their sovereign. There were, however, many reasons which determined the house of commons to put no trust in the king. They considered, that the pretence of danger was groundless; while the French were opposed by such powerful alliances on the continent, while the king was master of a good fleet at sea, and while all his subjects were united in opposition to foreign enemies. That the only justifiable reason, therefore, of Charles's backwardness, was not the apprehension of danger from abroad, but a diffidence, which he might perhaps have entertained of his parliament; lest, after engaging him in foreign alliances for carrying on war, they should take advantage of his necessities, and extort from him concessions dangerous to his prerogative. The parliament maintained, that the king had, by former measures, excited jealousies in his people, and now required their trust and confidence. That he had not scrupled to demand supplies for maintaining the triple league, at the very moment he was concerting measures for breaking it, and had accordingly employed to that purpose the supplies which he had obtained by those delusive pretences. That his union with France, during the war against Holland, must have been founded on projects the most dangerous to his people; and as the same union was still secretly maintained, it might justly be feared that the same projects were not yet abandoned. That, among other things, the real ground of the king's refusal, was a desire of obtaining the money, that he might, notwithstanding his royal word, employ it to other purposes. And that, by using such dishonourable means, he rendered himself still more unworthy the confidence of the nation. Thus it appears, that a general distrust of the king prevailed; and the parliament resolved not to hazard their money, in expectation of alliances, which, they believed, his majesty never intended to form. Instead of granting the supply, they voted an address, wherein they "besought his majesty to enter into a league, offensive and defensive, with the States General of the United Provinces, against the growth and power of the French king, and for the preservation of the Spanish Netherlands; and to make such other alliances with the confederates as should appear fit and useful to that end." They also promised speedy and effectual supplies, for preserving his majesty's honour and ensuring the safety of the public. The king pretended the highest anger at this address, which he represented as a dangerous encroachment upon his prerogative. He reproved the commons in severe terms; and ordered them to be adjourned on the 8th of May.

This was certainly the critical moment, when the king might with ease have preserved the balance of power in Europe, which it since cost this island great expence of blood and treasure to restore, and might by perseverance have regained, in some degree, the confidence of his people. This opportunity being neglected, the wound became incurable; and notwithstanding his momentary appearances of vigour against France and popery, and their momentary inclinations to rely on his faith; he was still believed to be engaged in the same interests, and they soon elapsed into distrust and jealousy. The secret memoirs of this reign, which have since been published (*g*), prove beyond doubt, that the king had at this time concerted measures with France, and had no intention to enter into a war in favour of the allies. He had entertained no view, therefore, even when he pawned his ROYAL WORD to his people, than to procure a grant of money; and he trusted, that, while he eluded their expectations, he could not afterwards want pretences for palliating his conduct.

In the mean time negociations were carried on between France and Holland, and all their differences were adjusted, provided they could afterwards satisfy their allies on both sides. This work, though in appearance difficult, seemed to be extremely forwarded by a new event, which promised a more prosperous issue to the quarrel with France, and revived the hopes of the English, who understood the interests of their own nation.

The king saw, with regret, the discontents which prevailed in England, and which seemed every day to increase upon him. He knew that, during the late war with Holland, the malcontents at home had made applications to the prince of Orange: he saw that the religion of the duke of York inspired the people with dismal apprehensions; and though he had obliged his brother to allow the young princesses to be educated in the Protestant faith, something farther, he thought, was necessary, in order to satisfy the nation. He entertained, therefore, proposals for marrying the prince of Orange to the lady Mary, the elder princess, and heir apparent to the crown (for the duke had no male issue,) and he hoped, by so tempting an offer, to engage him entirely in his interests. A peace he purposed to make; such as would satisfy France, and still preserve his connections with that crown: and he intended to sanctify it by the approbation of the prince, whom he found to be extremely revered in England, and respected throughout Europe. The reasons for this alliance were seconded by Danby and Temple; and Charles at last granted permission to the prince, when the campaign should be over, to pay him a visit.

The king received his nephew at Newmarket, on the 10th of October, and would have entered immediately upon business; but the prince desired first to be acquainted with the lady Mary: and he declared, that, contrary to the usual sentiments of persons of his rank, he placed a great part of happiness in domestic satisfaction, and would not, upon any consideration of interest or politics, match himself with a person disagreeable to him. He was accordingly introduced to the princess, and the king thought that he had now a double tie upon him, and might safely expect his compliance with every proposal; but he was surprized to find the prince decline all discourse of business, till his marriage should be finished. One day, Temple found the prince in a very bad humour, repenting that he had ever come to England, and resolute in a few days to leave it: but before he went, the king, he said, must chuse the terms on which they should hereafter live together: he was sure it must be like the greatest friends or the greatest enemies: and he desired Temple to inform his master next morning of these intentions. Charles was struck with this menace, and foresaw how the prince's departure would be interpreted by the people. He therefore paid a compliment to his nephew's honesty, and told Temple, that the marriage was concluded, and desired him to inform the duke of it, as of an affair already resolved

(g) Such as the letters, which passed betwixt Danby and Montague, the king's ambassador at Paris; Temple's Memoirs, and his Letters. In these last, we see that the king never made any proposals of terms but what were advantageous to France, and the prince of Orange believed them to have always been concerted with the French ambassador. Vol. i. p. 439. In sir John Dalrymple's Appendix, p. 103. it appears that the king had signed himself, without the participation of his ministers, a secret treaty with France, and had obtained a pension on the promise of his neutrality: a fact which renders his *royal word*, solemnly given to his subjects, one of the most dishonourable and most scandalous acts that ever proceeded from a throne.

on. The duke seemed surprized; but yielded a prompt obedience; which, he said, was his constant maxim to whatever he found to be the king's pleasure. The marriage of the prince of Orange with the lady Mary, took place on the 23rd of October, 1677. No measure, during this reign, gave such general satisfaction. All parties strove who should most applaud it (*h*).

This marriage was a great surprize to Louis, who had been accustomed to govern every thing in the English court. A conjunction of England with the allies, and a vigorous war in opposition to French ambition, were the consequences immediately expected, both abroad and at home: but to check these sanguine hopes, the king, a few days after the marriage, prolonged the adjournment of the parliament from the 3rd of December to the 4th of April. This term was too late for granting supplies, or making preparations for war; and could be chosen by the king for no other reason, than as an atonement to France for his consent to the marriage. It appears also, that Charles secretly received from Louis the sum of two millions of livres on account of this important service. Negociations at length commenced between England and France; and though Charles seemed to be determined, and talked in a menacing manner, Louis artfully evaded coming to any conclusion.

The English parliament met, after some new adjournments, on the 28th of January, 1678; and the king was astonished, that, notwithstanding the measures which he had taken, great distrust and jealousy and discontent prevailed, at intervals, among the members. Though in his speech he had allowed that a good peace could no longer be expected from negociation, and assured them that he was resolved to enter into a war for that purpose; the commons did not forbear to insert in their reply several harsh clauses. Upon his reproving them, they seemed penitent, and voted, that they would assist his majesty in the prosecution of the war. A fleet of ninety sail, an army of thirty thousand men, and a million of money, were also voted. Great difficulties, however, were made by the commons with regard to the army, which the house, judging by past measures, believed to be intended more against the liberties of England than against the progress of the French monarch. Thus had the king reduced both himself and the nation to a very perilous situation. In all debates, severe speeches were made, and were received with seeming approbation: the duke and the treasurer began to be apprehensive of impeachments: many motions against the king's ministers were lost by a trifling majority: the commons appointed a day to consider the state of the kingdom with regard to popery; and they even voted, that, how urgent soever the occasion, they would lay no farther charge on the people, till secured against the prevalence of the Catholic party. In short, the parliament was impatient for war whenever the king seemed averse to it; but grew suspicious of some sinister design as soon as he appeared to comply with their requests.

The politic Louis knew how to avail himself of all the advantages which these distractions afforded him. By his emissaries, he represented to the Dutch, the imprudence of their depending on England; where an indolent king, averse to all war, especially with France, and irresolute in his measures, was actuated only by the uncertain breath of a factious parliament. In order to enforce his insinuations, he took the field very early in the spring; and after threatening Ghent and Ypres, advances towards an accommodation were quickened.

Directly after the parliament had voted the supply, the king began to inlist forces; and such was the ardour of the English for a war with France, that an army of above twenty thousand men was completed in a few weeks. Three thousand men, under the duke of Monmouth, were sent over to secure Ostend: some regiments were recalled from the French service: a fleet was fitted out with great diligence: and a quadruple alliance was projected between England, Holland, Spain, and Germany.

But these measures received a sudden damp from an address of the lower house; in which they justified all their past proceedings that had given disgust to the king; desired to be acquainted with the measures taken by him; prayed him to dismiss evil counsellors; and named in particular the duke of Lauderdale, on whose removal they strenuously insisted. The king told them, that their address was so extravagant, that he was not willing speedily to give it the answer which it deserved. And he began again to lend an ear to the proposals of Louis, who offered him great sums of money, if he would consent to France's making an advantageous peace with the allies.

Sir William Temple, though pressed by the king, refused to have any concern in so dishonourable a negociation: but he informs us, that the king said, there was one article proposed, which so incensed him, that, as long as he lived, he should never forget it. Sir William goes no farther; but Dr. Swift, the editor of his works, says that the French, before they would agree to any payment, required as a preliminary, that the king should engage never to keep above eight thousand regular troops in Great Britain (*i*). Charles exclaimed in a passion, "Cod's fish," his usual oath, "does my brother of France think to serve me thus? Are all his promises to make me absolute master of my people come to this? Or does he think *that* a thing to be done with eight thousand men?"

Van Beverning was the Dutch ambassador at Nimeguen, a man of great authority with the States. He was eager for peace, and was persuaded, that the reluctance of the king, and the jealousies of the parliament, would for ever disappoint the allies in their hopes of succour from England. He therefore went to the French king at Ghent, to concert the terms of a general treaty, as well as to procure a present truce, for six weeks. The terms agreed on left the chief strength of the Spanish frontier in the hands of France.

The English murmured when it was known that Flanders was to be left in so defenceless a condition. The chief complaints were levelled against the king, who, by his concurrence at first, by his favour afterwards, and by his delays at last, had raised the power of France to so enormous a height, that it threatened the general liberties of Europe. Charles, uneasy under these imputations, and dreading the consequence of losing the affections of his subjects, began to wish heartily for war, hoping by that measure to be restored to his ancient popularity.

The marquis de Balbaces, the Spanish ambassador, asked the ambassadors of France, at what time France intended to restore the six towns in Flanders. They declared that the king, their master, would keep them till restitution was made to Sweden. The States immediately gave the king intelligence of a pretension, which might be attended with such dangerous consequences. Charles was both surprized and angry. He immediately dispatched Temple to concert with the States vigorous measures for opposing France. Temple in six days concluded a treaty, on the 16th of July, by which Louis was obliged to declare, within sixteen days after the date, that he would shortly evacuate the towns: and in case of his refusal, Holland was bound to continue the war, and England to declare immediately against France, in conjunction with the whole confederacy.

These warlike measures were so ill seconded by the parliament, where even the French ministers were suspected, with reason (*k*), of carrying on some intrigues, that the commons renewed their former jealousies against the king, and voted the army immediately to be disbanded.

(*h*) Even Arlington, who had been kept out of the secret, told the prince, "That some things good in themselves, were spoiled by the manner of doing them, as some things bad were mended by it; but he would confess, that this was a thing so good in itself, that the manner of doing it could not spoil it."

(*i*) To wit, three thousand men for Scotland, and the usual guards and garrisons in England, amounting to near five thousand men. Sir J. Dalrymple's App. p. 161.

(*k*) Sir John Dalrymple, in his Appendix, has given us from Barillon's dispatches in the secretary's office at Paris, a more particular detail of these intrigues. They were carried on with lord Russel, lord Hollis, lord Berkshire, the duke of Buckingham, Algernon Sydney, Montague, Bulstrode, col. Titus, sir Edward Harley, sir John Baber, sir Roger Hill, Boscawen, Littleton, Powle, Harbord, Hamden, sir Thomas Armstrong, Hotham, Herbert, and some others of less note. Of these, lord Russel and lord Hollis alone refused to touch any French money: all the others received presents or bribes from Barillon. But we are to remark, that the party views of these men, and their well-founded jealousies of the king and duke, engaged them, independently of the money, into the same measures that were suggested to them by the French ambassador. The intrigues of France, therefore, with the parliament were a mighty small engine in the political machine. Those with the king, which have always been known, were of infinitely greater consequence. The sums distributed to all these men, excepting Montague, did not exceed sixteen thousand pounds in three years; and therefore could have little weight in the two houses, especially when opposed to the influence of the crown. Accordingly we find, in all Barillon's dispatches, a great anxiety that the parliament should never be assembled. The conduct of these English patriots was more mean than criminal; and monsieur Courten says, that two hundred thousand livres employed by the Spaniards and Germans, would have more influence than two millions distributed by France. See sir J. Dalrymple's App. p. 111.

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The king by a message represented the danger of disarming before peace were finally concluded; and he recommended to their consideration, whether he could honourably recal his forces from those towns in Flanders, which were put under his protection, and which had at present no other means of defence. The commons agreed to prolong the term with regard to these forces. Every thing indeed in Europe bore the appearance of war.

Charles usually passed a great part of his time in the women's apartments, particularly those of the duchess of Portsmouth; where, among other gay company, he often met with Barillon, the French ambassador, a man of polite conversation, who was admitted into all the amusements of that inglorious but agreeable monarch. It was the charms of this sauntering, easy life, which, during his later years, attached Charles to his mistresses. By the insinuations of Barillon, and the duchess of Portsmouth, an order was, in an unguarded hour, procured, which instantly changed the face of affairs in Europe. One Du Cros, a French fugitive monk, was sent to Temple, directing him to apply to the Swedish ambassador, and persuade him not to insist on the conditions required by France, but to sacrifice to general peace those interests of Sweden. Du Cros, who had secretly received instructions from Barillon, published every where in Holland the commission with which he was intrusted; and all men took the alarm. It was concluded, that Charles's sudden alacrity for war was as suddenly extinguished, and that no steady measures could ever be taken with England. The king afterwards, when he saw Temple, treated this important matter in raillery; and said, laughing, that the rogue Du Cros had outwitted them all.

The negociations, however, at Nimeguen still continued; and the French ambassadors spun out the time, till the morning of the critical day, which, by the late treaty between England and Holland, was to determine whether a sudden peace or a long war were to have place in Christendom. The French ambassadors came then to Van Beverning, and told him, that they had received orders to consent to the evacuation of the towns, and immediately to conclude and sign the peace. The papers were instantly drawn, and signed by the ministers of France and Holland, between eleven and twelve o'clock at night, on the 1st of August. By this treaty France secured the possession of Franche Comté, together with Cambray, Aire, St. Omer's, Valenciennes, Tournay, Ypres, Bouchaine, Cassel, &c. and restored to Spain only Charleroi, Coutrai, Oudenard, Aeth, Ghent, and Limbourg. The next day Temple received an express from England, which brought the ratifications of the treaty lately concluded with the States, together with orders immediately to proceed to the exchange of them. Charles was now returned to his former inclinations for war with France. Van Beverning was loudly exclaimed against by the ambassadors of the allies at Nimeguen, and Hyde was sent over by Charles with a view of persuading the States to disavow Van Beverning; and the king promised that England, if she might depend on Holland, would immediately declare war, and would pursue it, till France were reduced to reasonable conditions. Charles at present went farther than words. He hurried on the embarkation of his army for Flanders; and all his preparations wore a hostile appearance. But the States had been too often deceived to trust any longer. They ratified the treaty signed at Nimeguen; and all the other powers of Europe were at last, after much clamour and many disgusts, obliged to accept of the terms prescribed to them (*l*).

The king, in the early part of his reign, endeavoured to render himself popular in England, and adopting like measures in Scotland, he entrusted the government into the hands chiefly of Tweddale, and sir Robert Murray, men of prudence and moderation. These ministers made it their principal object to compose the religious differences, which ran high; and as rigour and restraint had failed of success among the Scots, a scheme of *comprehension* was tried; by which it was intended to diminish the authority of bishops, to abolish their negative voice in the ecclesiastical courts, and to leave them little more than the right of precedency among the presbyters. But the presbyterians entertained great jealousy against this scheme. The least communication with unlawful and antichristian institutions they esteemed dangerous and criminal: "Touch not, taste not, handle not;" was vociferated amongst them: and the malcontents therefore were determined not to yield.

The next project adopted was that of *indulgence*. In prosecution of this scheme, the most popular of the expelled preachers were settled in vacant churches; and small salaries were offered to the rest, till they should otherwise be provided for. These last refused the king's bounty, which they considered as the wages of a criminal silence; and the former soon repented their compliance. The people now deemed their sermons languid and spiritless (*m*). In consequence, conventicles multiplied daily in the west: the clergy of the established church were insulted: the laws were neglected: the covenanters even met daily in arms at their places of worship; and though they usually dispersed themselves after divine service, yet the government took alarm at seeing men dare to set authority at defiance, and, during a time of full peace, to put themselves in a military array. The covenant, which the non-conformists in Scotland idolized, was a persecuting band of confederacy; and the government, instead of soothing them into tranquillity, thought themselves entitled to a rigid obedience, and were too apt, from a mistaken policy, to retaliate upon the dissenters, who differed from them in religious opinion.

Amidst these disturbances, a new parliament was assembled at Edinburgh, on the 19th of October, 1669; and Lauderdale was sent down commissioner. The zealous Presbyterians, who were the chief patrons of liberty, were too feeble to resist, with any success, the measures of government; and in parliament the tide ran strongly in favour of monarchy. The commissioner had influence to get two acts passed, which were of consequence to the ecclesiastical and civil liberties of the kingdom. By the one, it was declared, that the settling of all things with regard to the external government of the church was a right of the crown: that whatever related to ecclesiastical meetings, matters, and persons, was to be ordered according to such directions as the king should send to his privy council: and that these being published by them, should have the force of laws (*n*). The other act regarded the militia, which the king, by his own authority, had two years before established, instead of the army, which was disbanded (*o*).

The king by the former of these laws was rendered absolute master of the church, and might legally, by his edict, re-establish, if he thought proper, even the catholic religion in Scotland. By the latter, he saw a powerful force ready at his call: he had even the advantage of being able to disguise his orders under the name of the privy council; and in case of failure in his enterprizes, could, by such a pretence, apologize for his conduct to the parliament of England. But in proportion as these laws were agreeable to the king, they gave alarm to the English commons, and were the chief cause of the redoubled attacks which they made upon Lauderdale. These attacks, however, served only to fortify him in his interest with the king; and by degrees he became the prime, or rather sole minister for Scotland.

In a subsequent session of the same parliament, a se-

(*l*) Louis had now reached the height of that glory which ambition can afford. His ministers and negociators appeared as much superior to those of all Europe in the cabinet, as his generals and armies had been experienced in the field. A successful war had been carried on against an alliance, composed of the greatest potentates in Europe. Considerable conquests had been made, and his territories enlarged on every side. An advantageous peace was at last concluded, where he had given the law. The allies were so enraged against each other, that they were not likely to cement soon in any new confederacy. And thus he had, during some years, a real prospect of attaining the monarchy of Europe, and of exceeding the empire of Charlemagne, perhaps equalling that of ancient Rome. Had England continued much longer in the same condition, and under the same government, it is not easy to conceive that he could have failed of effecting his purpose.

(*m*) Their usual gifts, they thought, had left them, on account of their submission, which was stigmatised as erastianism. They gave them the appellation, not of ministers of Christ, but of *the king's curates*; as the clergy of the established church were commonly denominated *the bishop's curates*.

(*n*) As if the king had a right to determine what opinion a man should entertain with respect to his religion; and to compel him to embrace those sentiments which he could by no means reconcile to his conscience.

(*o*) By this act the militia was settled, to the number of twenty-two thousand men, who were to be constantly armed and regularly disciplined. And it was farther enacted, that these troops should be held in readiness to march into England, Ireland, or any part of the king's dominions, for any cause in which his majesty's authority, power, or greatness, was concerned; on receiving orders, not from the king himself, but from the privy council of Scotland.

vere law was enacted against conventicles, on the 28th of July, 1670. Ruinous fines were imposed both on the preachers and hearers, even if the meetings had been in houses; but field conventicles were subjected to the penalty of death, and confiscation of goods; four hundred marks Scotch were offered as a reward to those who should seize the criminals; and they were indemnified for any slaughter which they might commit in the execution of such an undertaking. And as it was found difficult to get evidence against these conventicles, however numerous, it was enacted by another law, that whoever, being required by the council, refused to give information upon oath, should be punished by arbitrary fines, by imprisonment, or by banishment to the plantations. Thus all persecution adopts the iniquities, as well as rigours, of the most detestable of all courts—the inquisition.

Notwithstanding this ready compliance in the parliament, a party was formed against Lauderdale, of which duke Hamilton was at the head. This nobleman, with Tweddale and others, went to London, and applied to the king, who, during the present depression and insignificance of parliament, was alone able to correct the abuses of Lauderdale's administration. But even their complaints to him might be dangerous; and all approaches of truth to the throne were barred by the ridiculous law against *leasing-making*; and no redress was obtained; for Charles continued Lauderdale in his authority. A very bad, at least a severe use was made of this authority. The privy council, in 1675, dispossessed twelve gentlemen or noblemen of their houses; which were converted into so many garrisons, established for the suppression of conventicles. The nation, it was pretended, was really, on account of these religious assemblies, in a state of war; and by the ancient law, the king, in such an emergency, was empowered to place a garrison in any house where he should judge it expedient.

It were endless to recount every act of violence and arbitrary authority exercised during Lauderdale's administration. All the lawyers were put from the bar, nay banished, by the king's order, twelve miles from the capital, and by that means the whole justice of the kingdom was suspended for a year; till these lawyers were brought to declare it as their opinion, that all appeals to parliament were illegal. A letter was procured from the king, for expelling twelve of the chief magistrates of Edinburgh, and declaring them incapable of all public office; though their only crime had been their want of compliance with the tyrannical measures of Lauderdale. Even several members of the Scottish parliament were fined and imprisoned, because they petitioned the king to empower his commissioner to repeal some late acts which obstructed their commerce. One More, a member of parliament, having moved in the house, that in imitation of the English parliament, no bill should pass except after three readings, he was, for this pretended offence, immediately sent to prison by the commissioner.

Lauderdale's private deportment was as insolent and provoking as his public administration was violent and tyrannical. Justice likewise was universally perverted by faction and interest; and from the great rapacity of that duke, and still more of his duchess, all offices and favours were openly put to sale. No one was allowed to approach the throne who was not dependent on him; and no remedy could be hoped for or obtained against his manifold oppressions. The case of Mitchel shows that this minister was as much destitute of truth and honour, as of lenity and justice (*p*).

The rigours exercised by Lauderdale against conventicles, instead of breaking the spirit of the religionists, had tended only to render them more obstinate, to increase the fervour of their zeal, to link them more closely together, and to inflame them against the established hierarchy. The commonalty frequented conventicles without reserve; and the gentry, though they themselves commonly abstained from these places of worship, connived at this irregularity in their inferiors. In order to interest the former on the side of the persecutors, a bond or contract was, by order of the privy council, tendered to the landlords in the west, by which they were to engage for the good behaviour of their tenants; and in case any tenant frequented a conventicle, the landlord was to subject himself to the same fine as could by law be exacted from the delinquent; thus iniquitously making one man answerable for the conduct of another. The greater part of the gentry consequently refused to sign these bonds; and Lauderdale endeavoured to break their spirit by expedients still more unusual and arbitrary.

The law enacted against conventicles had called them seminaries of rebellion. This expression, which was nothing but a flourish of rhetoric, Lauderdale and the privy council were willing to understand in a literal sense; and because the western counties abounded in conventicles, though otherwise in profound peace, they pretended that these counties were in a state of actual war and rebellion. They made therefore an agreement with some highland chieftains to call out their clans, to the number of eight thousand men: to these they joined the guards, and the militia of Angus; and sent the whole to live at free quarters upon the lands of such as had refused the bonds illegally required of them. The noxious counties were the most populous and most industrious in Scotland. The highlanders were the people the most disorderly and the least civilized. It is easy to imagine the havoc and destruction which ensued. Nothing escaped their ravenous hands: by menaces, by violence, and sometimes by tortures, men were obliged to discover their concealed wealth. Neither age, nor sex, nor innocence, afforded protection; and the gentry, finding that even those who had been most compliant, and who had subscribed the bonds, were equally exposed to the rapacity of those barbarians, confirmed themselves still more in the resolution of refusing them. The voice of the nation was raised against this enormous outrage; and after two months free quarter, the highlanders were sent back to their hills, loaded with the spoils and execrations of the west.

The very persons who had been engaged to subscribe

(*p*) Mitchel was a fanatic, and had entertained a resolution of assassinating Sharpe, archbishop of St. Andrews, who, by his former apostasy and subsequent rigour, had rendered himself extremely odious to the covenanters. In 1668, Mitchel fired a pistol at the primate, as he was sitting in his coach; but the bishop of Orkney, stepping into the coach, happened to stretch out his arm, which intercepted the ball, and was much shattered by it. This happened in the principal street of the city; but so generally was the archbishop despised, that the assassin was allowed peaceably to walk off; and having turned a street or two, and thrown off a wig, which disguised him, he immediately appeared in public, and remained altogether unsuspected. Some years after, Sharpe remarked one, who seemed to eye him very eagerly; and being still anxious lest an attempt of assassination should be renewed, he ordered the man to be seized and examined. Two loaded pistols were found upon him; and as he was now concluded to be the author of the former attempt, Sharpe promised, that, if he would confess his guilt, he should be dismissed without any punishment. Mitchel was so credulous as to believe him; but was immediately produced before the council by the faithless primate. The council, having no proof against him, but hoping to involve the whole body of covenanters in this crime, solemnly renewed the promise of pardon, if he would make a full discovery; and it was a great disappointment to them, when they found, upon his confession, that only one person, who was now dead, had been acquainted with his intention. Mitchel was then carried before a court of judicature, and required to renew his confession; but being apprehensive lest, though a pardon for life had been promised him, other corporal punishment might still be inflicted, he refused compliance, and was sent back to prison. He was next examined before the council, under pretence of his being concerned in the insurrection at Pentland; and though no proof appeared against him, he was put to the question, and, contrary to every principle of equity, was urged to accuse himself. He endured the torture with resolution, and continued obstinate in the denial of a crime, of which he really was not guilty. Instead of obtaining his liberty, he was sent to the Bass, a very high rock, surrounded by the sea; at this time converted into a state prison, and full of the unhappy covenanters. He there remained in great misery, loaded with irons, till 1677, when it was resolved by some new examples to strike a fresh terror into the persecuted, but still obstinate enthusiasts. Mitchel was then brought before a court of judicature, and put upon his trial, for an attempt to assassinate an archbishop and a privy counsellor. His former confession was pleaded against him, and was proved by the testimony of the duke of Lauderdale, lord commissioner, lord Hatton his brother, the earl of Rothes, and the primate himself. Mitchel, besides maintaining that the privy council was no court of judicature, and that a confession before them was not judicial, asserted, that he had been engaged to make that confession by a solemn promise of pardon. The four privy counsellors denied upon oath that any such promise had ever been given. The prisoner then desired that the council-books might be produced in court; and even offered a copy of that day's proceedings to be read; but the privy counsellors maintained, that, after they had made oath, no farther proof could be admitted; and that the books of council contained the king's secrets, which were on no account to be divulged. They were not probably aware, when they swore, that the clerk, having engrossed the promise of pardon in the narrative of Mitchel's confession, the whole minute had been signed by the chancellor, and that the proofs of their perjury were by that means committed to record. Though the prisoner was condemned, Lauderdale was still inclined to pardon him; but the unrelenting primate rigorously insisted upon his execution; and said, that if assassins remained unpunished, his life must be exposed to perpetual danger. Mitchel was accordingly executed at Edinburgh in January, 1678. Such a complication of cruelty and treachery shews the character of those ministers to whom the king had, at this time, entrusted the government of Scotland.

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the bonds, could find no security but by turning out such tenants as they suspected of an inclination to conventicles, and thereby depopulating their estates. To increase the misery of these unhappy farmers, the council enacted, that none should be received any where, or allowed a habitation, who brought not a certificate of his conformity from the parish minister. That the obstinate and refractory might not escape farther persecution, a new device was fallen upon. By the law of Scotland, any man, who should go before a magistrate, and swear that he thought himself in danger from another, might obtain a writ of *law-burrows*, as it is called; by which the latter was bound, under the penalty of imprisonment and outlawry, to find security for his good behaviour. The refusers of the bonds were summoned to appear before the council, and were required to bind themselves, under the penalty of two years' rent, neither to frequent conventicles themselves, nor allow their family and tenants to be present at those unlawful assemblies. It was an old law, but seldom executed, that a man, who was accused of any crime, and did not appear, in order to stand his trial, might be *intercommuned*, that is, he might be publicly outlawed; and whoever afterwards, either on account of business, relation, nay charity, had the least intercourse with him, was subjected to the same penalties as could by law be inflicted on the criminal himself. Several writs of intercommuning were now issued against the hearers and preachers in conventicles; and by this severe and even absurd law, crimes and guilt went on multiplying in a geometrical proportion.

Lest the cry of an oppressed people should reach the throne, the council forbade, under severe penalties, all noblemen or gentlemen of landed property to leave the kingdom: a severe edict, especially where the sovereign himself resided in a foreign country. Notwithstanding this act of council, Cassilis first, afterwards Hamilton and Tweddale, went to London, and laid their complaints before the king. These violent proceedings of Lauderdale were even praised by his majesty in a letter which he wrote to the privy council; and Burnet informs us, that Charles, after a full hearing of the debates concerning Scottish affairs, said, "I perceive, that Lauderdale has been guilty of many bad things against the people of Scotland; but I cannot find that he has acted any thing contrary to my interest."

The reign of Charles the Second presents the most amazing contrasts of levity and cruelty, of mirth and gloomy suspicion. Ever since the fatal league with France, the people had entertained violent jealousies against the court. The fears and discontents of the nation were vented without restraint; the apprehension of a popish successor, an abandoned court, and a parliament which, though sometimes assertors of liberty, yet continuing for seventeen years without change; these naturally rendered the minds of men timid and suspicious, and they only wanted objects on which to wreak their ill humour.

On the 12th of August, 1678, one Kirby, a chemist, accosted the king, as he was walking in the park: "Sir," said he, "keep within the company: your enemies have a design upon your life; and you may be shot in this very walk." Being asked the reason of these strange speeches, he said, that two men, called Grove and Pickering, had engaged to shoot the king, and sir George Wakeman, the queen's physician, to poison him. This intelligence, he added, had been communicated to him by doctor Tongue; whom, if permitted, he would introduce to his majesty (*q*). Dr. Tongue carried a bundle of papers to the king, which contained information of a plot, and were digested into forty-three articles. The king sent them to the treasurer, Danby, and ordered the two informers to lay the business before that minister. Tongue declared to Danby, that the papers had been secretly thrust under his door, and that, though he suspected, he did not certainly know, who was the author. After a few days, he told the treasurer, that the author of the intelligence had acknowledged the whole matter, but desired that his name might be concealed, lest the papists should murder him. The intelligence, however, was so vague and unsatisfactory, that the king concluded the whole was an imposture.

But Tongue was not to be repressed in the ardour of his loyalty: he next went to the treasurer, and told him, that a packet of letters, written by jesuits concerned in the plot, was that night to be put into the post-house for Windsor, directed to Bennifield, a jesuit, confessor to the duke. When this intelligence was conveyed to the king, he replied, that the packet mentioned had a few hours before been brought to the duke by Bennifield; who said, that he suspected some bad design upon him, that the letters seemed to contain matters of a dangerous import, and that he knew them not to be the hand-writing of the persons whose names were subscribed to them. This incident still further confirmed the king in his incredulity: but for the anxiety of the duke, who, hearing that priests and jesuits, and even his own confessor, had been accused, was desirous that a thorough inquiry should be made by the council into the pretended conspiracy, that their innocency might be proved. Kirby and Tongue were inquired after, and were now found to be living in close connection with Titus Oates, the person who was said to have conveyed the first intelligence to Tongue. Oates affirmed, that he had fallen under suspicion with the Jesuits; that he had received three blows with a stick, and a box on the ear from the provincial of that order, for revealing their conspiracy: and that, over-hearing them speak of their intentions to punish him more severely, he had withdrawn, and concealed himself (*r*). But he thought proper, before he was presented to the council, to go with his two companions to sir Edmundsbury Godfrey, a noted and active justice of peace, and to give evidence before him of all the articles of the conspiracy.

The wonderful intelligence, which Oates conveyed both to Godfrey and the council, and afterwards to the parliament, was to this purpose. The pope, he said, considered himself entitled to the possession of England and Ireland on account of the heresy of the prince and people, and had accordingly assumed the sovereignty of these kingdoms. This supreme power he had thought proper to delegate to the Jesuits; and de Oliva, general of that order, in consequence of the papal grant, had supplied all the chief offices, both civil and military. Lord Arundel was created chancellor; lord Powis, treasurer; sir William Godolphin, privy seal; Coleman, the duke's secretary, was made secretary of state; Langhorne, attorney-general; lord Bellasis, general of the papal army; lord Petre, lieutenant general; lord Stafford, pay-master; and inferior commissions, signed by the provincial of the Jesuits, were distributed all over England. All the dignities too of the church were filled, and many of them with Spaniards and other foreigners. The king, whom the Jesuits called the Black Bastard, was tried and condemned as a heretic; and a resolution taken to put him to death. Father le Shee (for this great plotter and informer called father la Chaise, the confessor of the French king) had consigned to London ten thousand pounds to be paid to any man who should merit it by this assassination. A Spanish provincial had expressed like liberality: the prior of the Benedictines was willing to go the length of six thousand: the Dominicans approved of the action; but pleaded poverty. Ten thousand pounds had been offered to sir George Wakeman, the queen's physician, who demanded fifteen thousand, as a reward for so great a service: his demand was complied with; and five thousand had been paid him in advance. Lest these means should fail, four Irish ruffians had been hired by the Jesuits, at the rate of twenty guineas a-piece, to stab the king at Windsor; and Coleman, secretary to the late duchess of York, had given the messenger, who carried them orders, a guinea to quicken his diligence. Grove and Pickering were also employed to shoot the king with silver bullets: the former was to receive the sum of fifteen hundred pounds; the latter, being a pious man, was to be rewarded with thirty thousand masses, which, estimating masses at a shilling a-piece, amounted to the like value. Pickering would have executed his purpose, had not the flint at one time dropped out of his pistol, at another time the priming. Coniers, the Jesuit, had bought a knife at the price of ten shillings, which he thought was not dear, considering the purpose

(*q*) Tongue was a divine of the church of England; a man active, restless, full of projects, void of understanding.

(*r*) This Titus Oates was an abandoned miscreant, obscure, illiterate, vulgar, and indigent. He had been once indicted for perjury, was afterwards chaplain on board a man of war, and dismissed for unnatural practices. He then professed himself a Roman Catholic, and crossed the sea to St. Omer's, where he was for some time maintained in the English seminary at that place. The fathers of that college sent him with some dispatches to Spain; but after his return, when they became better acquainted with his character, they would not suffer him to continue among them; so that he was obliged to return to London, where he was ready to encounter every danger for his support. But it appears strange, that at a time when he was supposed to have been entrusted with a secret involving the fate of kings and kingdoms, he should be suffered to remain in such a state of absolute necessity, that Kirby was obliged to supply him with the means for his daily subsistence.

for which he intended it, to wit, stabbing the king. Letters of subscription were circulated among the Catholics all over England to raise a sum for the same purpose. No less than fifty Jesuits had met in May last, at the White Horse tavern, where it was unanimously agreed to put the king to death; and Oates was employed to carry notes and letters from one to another, all tending to the same end, of murdering the king. A wager of a hundred pounds was laid, and stakes made, that the king should eat no more Christmas pies. In short, it was determined, to use the expression of a Jesuit, that if he would not become R. C. (Roman Catholic) he should no longer be C. R. (Charles Rex). The great fire of London had been the work of the Jesuits, who had employed eighty or eighty-six persons for that purpose, and had expended seven hundred fire-balls; but they had a good return for their money, for they had been able to pilfer goods from the fire to the amount of fourteen thousand pounds. A paper model was also framed for firing the city again: the stations were regularly marked out, where the several fires were to commence. Fire-balls were familiarly called among them Tewkesbury mustard pills; and were said to contain a notable biting sauce. Twenty thousand Catholics in London, were to rise in four-and-twenty hours or less; and Jennison, a Jesuit, said, that they might easily cut the throats of a hundred thousand Protestants. Coleman had remitted two hundred thousand pounds to promote the rebellion in Ireland; and the French king was to land a great army in that island. Poole, who wrote the Synopsis, was particularly marked out for assassination; as was also Dr. Stillingfleet, a controversial writer against the papists. Burnet tells us, that Oates paid him the same compliment. After all this havoc, the crown was to be offered to the duke, but on condition of his pardoning the incendiaries, and the murderers of his brother and of the people; and his consent to the extirpation of the Protestant religion. If he refuse these conditions, he himself was immediately to be poisoned or assassinated, "*To pot James must go;*" according to the expression ascribed by Oates to the Jesuits.

This abandoned wretch, Titus Oates, when examined before the council, betrayed his impostures in such a manner, as would have utterly discredited the most consistent story, and the most reputable evidence. While in Spain, he had been carried, he said, to don John, who promised great assistance to the execution of the Catholic designs. The king asked him, what sort of a man don John was: he answered, a tall lean man; directly contrary to the truth, as the king well knew. He totally mistook the situation of the Jesuits' college at Paris. Though he pretended great intimacies with Coleman, he knew him not, when placed very near him; and had no other excuse than that his sight was bad by candle-light. He fell into like mistakes with regard to Wakeman, the queen's physician.

Notwithstanding these objections, great attention was paid to Oates's evidence, and the plot became very soon the subject of conversation, and even the object of terror to the people. The violent animosity, which had been excited against the Catholics in general, made the public listen to the grossest absurdities when they accompanied an accusation of those religionists: and the more diabolical any contrivance appeared, the better it suited the tremendous idea entertained of a Jesuit. Danby likewise, who stood in opposition to the French and Catholic interest at court, was willing to encourage every story, which might serve to discredit that party. By his suggestion, when a warrant was signed for arresting Coleman, there was inserted a clause for seizing his papers; a circumstance attended with the most important consequences.

Coleman, partly on his own account, partly by orders from the duke, had been engaged in a correspondence with father la Chaise, with the pope's nuncio at Brussels, and with other Catholics abroad; and being himself a fiery zealot, busy and sanguine, the expressions in his letters often betrayed great violence and indiscretion. His correspondence, during the years 1674, and 1675, and part of 1676, was seized, and contained many extraordinary passages; but yet there was nothing in them which could serve as proof in the present information. But when the contents of these letters were publicly known, they diffused the panic, with which the nation began already to be seized on account of the popish plot. Indeed men reasoned more from their fears and passions than from the evidence before them. Thus Oates's plot and Coleman's supposed one in favour of the introduction of popery were universally confounded together; and the evidence of the latter being unquestionable, the belief of the former took possession of the people's minds.

There was danger, however, lest time might open the eyes of the public; when the murder of sir Edmundsbury Godfrey completed the general delusion, and rendered the prejudices of the nation absolutely incurable. This magistrate had been missing some days; and after much search, and many surmizes, his body was found lying in a ditch at Primrose Hill, near the Hampstead Road: the marks of strangling appeared about his neck, which was dislocated, and some contusions on his breast: his own sword was sticking in the body; but as no blood ensued on drawing it, it was concluded, that it had been thrust in some time after his death, and that he had not killed himself: he had rings on his fingers, and money in his pocket: it was therefore inferred, that he had not fallen into the hands of robbers. Without farther reasoning, it was inferred, that he had been assassinated by the papists, on account of his taking Oates's evidence. This clamour was quickly propagated, and met with universal belief. The panic spread itself on every side with infinite rapidity; and all men, astonished with fear, and animated with rage, saw in Godfrey's fate all the horrible designs ascribed to the Catholics; that no farther doubt remained of Oates's veracity. The voice of the nation united against that hated sect; and notwithstanding that the bloody conspiracy was supposed to be now detected, men could scarcely be persuaded that their lives were in safety.

In order still farther to propagate the popular frenzy, several artifices were employed. The dead body of Godfrey was carried into the city, attended by vast multitudes. It was publicly exposed in the streets, and viewed by all ranks of men. The funeral pomp was celebrated with great parade. The corpse was conducted through the chief streets of the city: seventy-two clergymen marched before: above a thousand persons of distinction followed after: and at the funeral-sermon, two able-bodied divines mounted the pulpit, and stood on each side of the preacher, lest, in paying the last duties to this unhappy magistrate, he should, before the whole people, be murdered by the papists. In this disposition of the nation, reason could not be heard; and even at present, the death of Godfrey remains, and must still continue, an impenetrable secret.

While the nation was in this ferment, the parliament was assembled, on the 21st of October, 1678. In his speech the king told them, that, though they had given money for disbanding the army (*s*), he had found Flanders so exposed, that he had thought it necessary still to keep them on foot, and doubted not but this measure would meet with their approbation. He informed them, that his revenue lay under great anticipations, and at best was never equal to the constant and necessary expence of government; as would appear from the state of it, which he intended to lay before them. He was anxious to keep the question of the popish plot from the parliament; but Danby, the prime minister, opened the matter in the house of peers the very first day of the session. The king was extremely displeased with this temerity, and told his minister, "Though you do not believe it, you will find, that you have given the parliament a handle to ruin yourself, as well as to disturb all my affairs; and you will surely live to repent it;" which actually came to pass. The cry of the plot was immediately echoed from one house to the other. An address was voted for a solemn fast: a form of prayer was contrived for that solemnity; and because the popish plot had been omitted in the first draught, it was carefully ordered to be inserted; lest omniscience should want intelligence (*t*).

In order to continue and propagate the alarm, addresses were voted for laying before the house such papers as might discover the horrible conspiracy; for the removal of popish recusants from London; for administering every where the oaths of allegiance and supremacy; for denying access at court to all unknown or suspicious persons; and for appointing the trainbands of London and Westminster to be in readiness. The lords Powis, Stafford, Arundel, Petre, and Bellasis, were committed to the Tower, and were soon after impeached for high treason. And both houses, after hearing Oates's evidence, voted, "That the lords and commons are of opinion, that there hath been, and still is, a damnable and hellish plot, contrived and

(*s*) They had granted him six hundred thousand pounds for disbanding the army, for reimbursing the charges of his naval armament, and for paying the princess of Orange's portion.

(*t*) As was observed by North, p. 207.

carried

carried on by the popish recusants, for assassinating the king, for subverting the government, and for rooting out and destroying the Protestant religion."

So vehement were the houses, that they sat every day, forenoon and afternoon, on the subject of the plot: for no other business could be attended to. A committee of lords was appointed to examine prisoners and witnesses: blank warrants were put into their hands, for the commitment of such as should be accused or suspected. Oates, who must, by his own account, be regarded as an infamous villain, was applauded, caressed, and called the saviour of the nation. He was recommended by the parliament to the king. He was lodged in Whitehall, protected by guards, and encouraged by a pension of one thousand two hundred pounds a-year.

The encouragement given to Oates brought forth new witnesses. William Bedloe, a man, if possible, more infamous than even Oates, appeared next upon the stage. He was of very low birth, had been noted for several cheats and even thefts, had travelled over many parts of Europe under borrowed names, and frequently passed himself for a man of quality, and had endeavoured, by a variety of contrivances, to prey upon the ignorant and unwary. When he appeared before the council, he gave intelligence of Godfrey's murder only, which, he said, had been perpetrated in Somerset House, where the queen lived, by papists, some of them servants in her family. He was questioned about the plot; but utterly denied all knowledge of it, and also asserted, that he had no acquaintance with Oates. Next day, when examined before the committee of lords, he bethought himself better, and was ready to give an ample account of the plot, which he found so anxiously inquired into. This narrative he made to tally, as well as he could, with that of Oates, which had been published: but that he might make himself acceptable by new matter, he added some other circumstances, and these still more tremendous and extraordinary. He said, that ten thousand men were to be landed from Flanders in Burlington Bay, and immediately to seize Hull: that Jersey and Guernsey were to be surprized by forces from Brest; and that a French fleet was, all last summer, hovering in the Channel for that purpose: that the lords Powis and Petre were to form an army in Radnorshire, to be joined by another army, consisting of twenty or thirty thousand religious men and pilgrims, who were to land at Milford Haven from St. Iago in Spain: that there were forty thousand men ready in London; besides those, who would, on the alarm, be posted at every alehouse door, in order to kill the soldiers, as they came out of their quarters: that lord Stafford, Coleman, and father Ireland, had money sufficient to defray the expences of all these armaments: that he himself was to receive four thousand pounds, as one that could murder a man; as also a commission from lord Bellasis, and a benediction from the pope: that the king was to be assassinated; all the Protestants massacred, who would not seriously be converted; the government offered to ONE, if he would consent to hold it of the church, but if he should refuse that condition, as was suspected, the supreme authority would be given to certain lords under the nomination of the pope. In a subsequent examination before the commons, Bedloe added that lord Carrington was also in the conspiracy for raising men and money against the government; as was likewise lord Brudenel. These noblemen, with all the other persons mentioned by Bedloe, were immediately committed to custody by the parliament.

These narrations carry their own refutation; the infamy of the witnesses, the contradiction in their testimony, the improbability of it, the low vulgarity of the information, unlike what men trusted with great affairs would be apt to form, all these serve to raise our horror against these base villains, and our pity at the delusion of the times that could credit such reports (*u*).

The king, though he scrupled not, wherever he could speak freely, to throw the highest ridicule on the plot, and on all who believed it; yet found it necessary to adopt the popular opinion before the parliament. A bill was introduced for a new test, in which popery was denominated idolatry; and all members, who refused this test, were excluded from both houses. The bill passed the commons without much opposition; but in the upper house the duke moved, that an exception might be admitted in his favour. With great earnestness, and even with tears in his eyes, he told them, that he was now to cast himself on their kindness, in the greatest concern which he could have in the world; and he protested, that whatever his religion might be, it should only be a private thing between God and his own soul, and never should appear in his public conduct. Notwithstanding this strong effort, in so important a point, he prevailed only by two voices; a sufficient indication of the general disposition of the people. "I would not have," said a noble peer, in the debate on this bill, "so much as a popish man or a popish woman to remain here; not so much as a popish dog or a popish bitch; not so much as a popish cat to pur or mew about the king." This was wretched eloquence, but it was admirably suited to the times, and therefore met with praise and approbation.

Encouraged by this general fury, the witnesses went still a step farther in their accusations; and though both Oates and Bedloe had often declared, that there was no other person of distinction, whom they knew to be concerned in the plot, they had now the audacity to accuse the queen herself of entering into the design against the life of her husband. The commons, in an address to the king, gave countenance to this scandalous accusation; but the lords would not be prevailed with to join in the address. The king, it was well known, bore no great affection to his consort; but Charles, notwithstanding all allurements of pleasure, or interest, or safety, had the generosity to protect his injured queen. "They think," said he, "I have a mind to a new wife; but for all that, I will not suffer an innocent woman to be abused." He immediately ordered Oates to be strictly confined, seized his papers, and dismissed his servants; but this daring informer's favour with the parliament soon procured his release.

While these things were in agitation, the parliament gave new attention to the militia. They passed a bill, by which it was enacted, that a regular militia should be kept in arms, during six weeks of the year, and a third part of them do duty every fortnight of that time. But Charles refused his assent to the bill, and told the parliament, that he would not, were it for half an hour, part so far with the power of the sword: but if they would contrive any other bill for ordering the militia, and still leave it in his power to assemble or dismiss them as he thought proper, he would willingly give it the royal assent. The commons, dissatisfied with this negative, immediately voted that all the new-levied forces should be disbanded. They passed a bill, granting money for that purpose; but, besides appropriating the money by the strictest clauses, they ordered it to be paid not into the exchequer, but into the chamber of London. The lords demurred with regard to so extraordinary a clause, which threw a violent reflection on the king's ministers, and even on himself; and by that means the act remained in suspence.

During the present ferment, Montague, the king's ambassador at Paris, had procured a seat in the lower house; and without obtaining the king's leave, he suddenly came over to England. Charles, suspecting his intention, ordered his papers to be seized; but Montague, who foresaw this measure, had taken care to secrete one paper, which he immediately laid before the house of commons. It was a letter from the treasurer Danby written in the beginning of the year, during the negociations at Nimeguen for the general peace. Montague was there directed to make a demand of money from France; or in other words, the king was willing secretly to sell his good offices to Louis, contrary to the general interests of the confederates, and even to those of his own kingdoms (*v*). Danby was so unwilling to engage in this negociation, that the king, to

(*u*) In order to support the panic among the people, especially among the citizens of London, a pamphlet was published with this title, "A Narrative and Impartial Discovery of the horrid Popish Plot, carried on for burning and destroying the Cities of London and Westminster with their Suburbs; setting forth the several Consults, Orders, and Resolutions of the Jesuits, concerning the same: By Captain William Bedloe, lately engaged in that horrid Design, and one of the Popish Committee for carrying on such Fires." Every fire, which had happened for several years past, is in this pamphlet ascribed to the machinations of the Jesuits, who purposed, as Bedloe said, by such attempts, to find an opportunity for the general massacre of the Protestants; and in the mean time, were well pleased to enrich themselves by pilfering goods from the fire.

(*v*) The letter, among other particulars, contains these words: in case the conditions of peace shall be accepted, the king expects to have six millions of livres a-year for three years, from the time that this agreement shall be signed between his majesty and the king of France; because it will probably be two or three years before the parliament will be in humour to give him any supplies after the making of any peace with France; and the ambassador here has always agreed to that sum; but not for so long a time."

satisfy him, subjoined with his own hand these words: "This letter is writ by my order, C. R." Montague, who revealed this secret correspondence, had even the baseness to sell his treachery at a high price to the French monarch. The commons were inflamed with this intelligence against Danby; and concluded, that the king had all along acted in concert with the French court; and that every step, which he had taken in conjunction with the allies, had been illusory and deceitful. Desirous of getting to the bottom of so important a secret, and being pushed by Danby's numerous enemies, they immediately voted an impeachment of high treason against that minister, and sent up six articles to the house of peers. Danby made a very able defence, and the house of peers plainly saw, that Danby's crime fell not under the statute of Edward III.; and though the words, *treason* and *traiterously*, had been carefully inserted in several articles, this appellation could not change the nature of things, or subject him to the penalties annexed to that crime. They refused, therefore, to commit Danby upon this irregular charge: the commons insisted on their demand; and a great contest was likely to arise, when the king thought proper to prorogue the parliament. This prorogation was soon after followed by a dissolution, on the 30th of December, 1678; a desperate remedy in the present disposition of the nation (*w*).

During the sitting of the parliament, and after its prorogation and dissolution, the trials of the pretended criminals were carried on; and the courts of judicature, places which ought to be kept pure from injustice, were strongly infected with party-rage, and bigoted prejudice. Edward Coleman, the most hated of the conspirators, was first brought to trial. His letters were produced against him. They contained much indiscretion; but they proved nothing criminal, much less treasonable, against him. Oates and Bedloe deposed, that he had received a commission, signed by the superior of the Jesuits, to be papal secretary of state, and had consented to the poisoning, shooting, and stabbing of the king: he had even, according to Oates's deposition, advanced a guinea to promote those bloody purposes. These wild stories were confounded with the projects contained in his letters; and Coleman received sentence of death. The sentence was executed upon him on the 3rd of December. He suffered with calmness and constancy, and to the last persisted in the strongest protestations of his innocence.

Coleman's trial was succeeded by that of father Ireland, who, it is pretended, had signed, together with fifty Jesuits, the great resolution of murdering the king. Grove and Pickering, who had undertaken to shoot him, were tried at the same time. The only witnesses against the prisoners were still Oates and Bedloe. Ireland affirmed, that he was in Staffordshire all the month of August, a time when Oates asserted he was in London. Ireland proved his assertion by good evidence, and would have proved it by undoubted, had he not, most iniquitously, been denied the liberty of sending for witnesses. All these men, before their arraignment, were condemned in the opinion of the judges, jury, and spectators; and to be a Jesuit, or even a Catholic, was of itself a sufficient proof of guilt. The chief justice, sir William Scroggs, gave sanction to all the narrow prejudices of the populace. Instead of being counsel for the prisoners, as his office required, he pleaded the cause against them, brow-beat their witnesses, and represented their guilt as certain and uncontroverted. And when the jury brought in their verdict against the prisoners, he said, "You have done, gentlemen, like very good subjects, and very good Christians, that is to say, like very good Protestants: and now much good may their thirty thousand masses do them:" Alluding to the masses by which Pickering was to be rewarded for murdering the king. All these unhappy men went to execution, on the 14th of January, 1679, protesting their innocence; a circumstance which made no impression on the spectators.

Although Bedloe had given information of Godfrey's murder, he still remained a single evidence against the persons accused; and all the allurements of profit and honour had not hitherto tempted any one to confirm the testimony of that informer. At last, means were found to complete the legal evidence. One Miles Prance, a silversmith, and a Catholic, had been accused by Bedloe of being an accomplice in the murder; and upon his denial had been thrown into prison, loaded with heavy irons, and confined to the condemned hole, a place cold, dark, and full of nastiness. Shaftesbury and Buckingham, in examining the prisoners, usually employed threatenings and promises, rigour and indulgence, and every art, under pretence of extorting the truth from them. Prance, being promised a pardon upon making a confession, had not courage to resist, but confessed himself an accomplice in Godfrey's murder. Being asked concerning the plot, he also thought proper to be acquainted with it, and conveyed some intelligence to the council (*x*). All the information which he gave with regard to the plot, as well as to the murder of Godfrey, Prance solemnly retracted, both before the king and the secret committee: but being again thrown into prison, he was induced, by new terrors and new sufferings, to confirm his first information, and was now produced as a sufficient evidence. The murder, he said, was committed in Somerset House, by the contrivance of Gerrard and Kelly, two Irish priests. That Lawrence Hill, footman to the queen's treasurer, Robert Green, cushion keeper to her chapel, and Henry Berry, porter of the palace, followed sir Edmundsbury Godfrey at a distance from ten in the morning till seven in the evening; but that passing by Somerset House, Green throwing a twisted handkerchief over his head, he was soon strangled, and the body carried to a high chamber in Somerset House, from whence it was carried to another apartment, where it was seen by Bedloe. Hill, Green, and Berry were tried upon this evidence; and though Bedloe's narrative and Prance's information were totally irreconcilable, the prisoners were condemned and executed, on the 21st and and 28th of February, 1679. They all denied their guilt at their execution; and as Berry died a Protestant, this circumstance was regarded as very considerable: but, instead of its giving some check to the general credulity of the people, men were only surprized, that a Protestant could be induced at his death to persist in so manifest a falsehood.

As the army could neither be kept up, nor disbanded, without money, the king, how little hopes soever he could entertain of more compliance, found himself obliged to summon a new parliament. The blood, already shed on account of the popish plot, instead of satiating the people, served only to increase their fury; and each conviction of a criminal was hitherto regarded as a new proof of the horrible designs of the papists (*y*). Religion, liberty, property, even the lives of men were now supposed to be at stake; and no security, it was thought, except in a vigilant parliament, could be found against the impious and bloody conspirators. All the zealots of the former parliament were re-chosen: new ones were added: the Presbyterians, in particular, being transported with the most inveterate antipathy against popery, were active and successful in the elections. That party, it is said, first began at this time the abuse of splitting their freeholds, in order to multiply votes and electors; and it was concluded, that the new representatives would exceed the old in their opposition to the court, and furious persecution of the Catholics. The king was alarmed, when he perceived such a dreadful tempest arise from such unaccountable beginnings. His life, if Oates and Bedloe's information were true, had been aimed at by the Catholics: even the duke's was said to be in danger. Men gave credit to the informers, so far as concerned the guilt of the Catholics: but they still retained their old suspicions, that these religionists were secretly

(*w*) Thus came to a period a parliament, which had sitten during the whole course of this reign, one year excepted. Its conclusion was very different from its commencement. Being elected during the joy and festivity of the restoration, it consisted almost entirely of royalists; who were disposed to support the crown by all the liberality which the habits of that age would permit. Alarmed by the alliance with France, they gradually withdrew their confidence from the king; and finding him still to persevere in a foreign interest, they proceeded to discover symptoms of the most refractory and jealous disposition. The popish plot pushed them beyond all bounds of moderation, and before their dissolution they seemed to be treading fast in the footsteps of the last long parliament, on whose conduct they threw at first such violent blame. In all their variations, they still followed the opinions and prejudices of the nation; and ever seemed to be more governed by humour and party-views than by public interest, and more by public interest than by any corrupt or private influence.

(*x*) Among other absurd circumstances, he said that one Le Fevre bought a second-hand sword of him; because he knew not, as he said, what times were at hand: and Prance expressing some concern for poor tradesmen, if such times came, Le Fevre replied, that it would be better for tradesmen, if the Catholic religion were restored: and particularly, that there would be more church work for silversmiths.

(*y*) This election is perhaps the first in England, which, since the commencement of the monarchy, had been carried on by a violent contest between the parties, and where the court interested itself, in a high degree, in the choice of the national representatives. But all its efforts were fruitless, in opposition to the torrent of prejudices which prevailed.

cretly favoured by the king, and had obtained the most complete ascendency over his brother. Charles had too much penetration not to see the danger, to which the succession, and even his own crown and dignity, now stood exposed. At length he was roused from his lethargy; and without quitting in appearance his usual facility of temper, he collected an industry, firmness, and vigilance, of which he was supposed to be altogether incapable. One chief step, which the king took, towards gratifying and appeasing his people and parliament, was, desiring the duke to withdraw beyond sea, that no farther suspicion might remain of the influence of popish counsels. The duke readily complied; but first required an order for that purpose, signed by the king; lest his absenting himself should be interpreted as a proof of fear or guilt. He also desired, that his brother should satisfy him, as well as the public, by a declaration of the illegitimacy of the duke of Monmouth (z). The duke, being gratified in so reasonable a request, willingly complied with the king's desire, and retired to Brussels.

But Charles soon found, that, notwithstanding his endeavours to comply with the wishes of the people, he could by no means obtain the confidence of his parliament. The refractory humour of the lower house appeared in the first step which they took upon their assembling, on the 6th of March. It had ever been usual for the commons, in the election of their speaker, to consult the inclinations of the king; and even the long parliament in 1641 had not thought proper to depart from so established a custom. The king now desired that the choice should fall on sir Thomas Meres: but Seymour, speaker to the last parliament, was instantly called to the chair, by a vote which seemed unanimous. The king, when Seymour was presented to him for his approbation, rejected him, and ordered the commons to proceed to a new choice. A great flame was excited. The commons maintained, that the king's approbation was merely a matter of form, and that he could not, without giving a reason, reject the speaker chosen. The king declared, that, since he had the power of rejecting, he might, if he pleased, keep the reason in his own breast. As the question had never before been started, it might seem difficult to find principles, upon which it could be decided (a). By way of compromise, it was agreed to set aside both candidates. Gregory, a lawyer was chosen; and the election was ratified by the king (b).

Seymour was deemed a great enemy to Danby; and it was the influence of that nobleman, as commonly supposed, which had engaged the king to enter into this ill-timed controversy with the commons. The impeachment, therefore, of Danby was, on that account, the sooner revived; and the commons maintained, that, notwithstanding the intervening dissolution, every part of that proceeding stood in the same condition in which it had been left by the last parliament. The king had had the precaution to grant a pardon to Danby; and, in order to screen the chancellor from all attacks by the commons, he had taken the great seal into his own hands, and had himself affixed it to the parchment. He told the parliament, that, as Danby had acted in every thing by his orders, he was in no respect criminal; that his pardon, however, he would insist upon; and if it should be found anywise defective in form, he would renew it again and again, till it should be rendered entirely complete: but that he was resolved to deprive him of all employments, and to remove him from court.

The commons, however pretended, that no pardon of the crown could be pleaded in bar of an impeachment by the commons: and although the prerogative of mercy had hitherto been understood to be altogether unlimited in the king; yet it was not unsuitable to the genius of a limited monarchy, where the king's ministers are supposed to be for ever accountable to national assemblies, even for such abuses of power as they may commit even by orders from their master. The commons insisted on the impeachment of Danby. The peers departed from their former scruples, and ordered Danby to be taken into custody. Danby absconded. The commons passed a bill, appointing him to surrender himself before a certain day, or, in default of it, attainting him. A bill had passed the upper house, mitigating the penalty to banishment; but, after some conferences, the peers thought proper to yield to the violence of the commons; and the bill of attainder was carried. Rather than undergo such severe penalties, Danby appeared, and was immediately committed to the Tower.

While a Protestant nobleman met with such violent prosecution, it was not likely that the Catholics would be overlooked by the zealous commons. The credit of the popish plot still stood upon the oaths of a few infamous witnesses. The commons voted, that, if the king should come to an untimely end, they would revenge his death upon the Papists. They promised rewards to new discoverers; not considering the danger, which they incurred, of granting bribes to perjury. They made Bedloe a present of five hundred pounds; and particularly recommended the care of his safety to the duke of Monmouth. The peers gave power to their committees to send for and examine such as would maintain the innocence of those who had been condemned for the plot. A pamphlet having been published to discredit the informers, and to vindicate the Catholic lords in the Tower, these lords were required to discover the author, and thereby to expose their own advocate to prosecution. And both houses concurred in renewing the former vote, that the Papists had undoubtedly entered into a horrid and treasonable conspiracy against the king, the state, and the Protestant religion.

Sir William Temple had lately been recalled from his foreign employments; and the king, who, after the removal of Danby, had no one with whom he could so much as discourse with freedom on public affairs, was resolved, upon Coventry's dismission, to make him one of his secretaries of state. But as that philosophical patriot could not well refuse the confidence with which his master honoured him, he resolved to employ it to the public service while he continued in office, but determined to relinquish his post so soon as he could do it with a tolerable grace. He represented to the king, that, as the jealousies of the nation were extreme, it was necessary to cure them by some new remedy, and to restore that mutual confidence, so requisite for the safety both of the king and the people: that to refuse every thing to the parliament in their present disposition, or to yield every thing, was equally dangerous to the constitution, as well as to public tranquillity: that if the king would introduce into his counsels such men only as enjoyed the confidence of his people, fewer concessions would probably be required; or if unreasonable demands were made, the king, under the sanction of such counsellors, might be enabled, with the greater safety, to refuse them: and that the heads of the popular party, being gratified with the king's favour, would probably abate of that violence by which they endeavoured at present to pay court to the multitude.

The king, now brought to his senses, assented to the reasons of this excellent and valuable minister; and, in concert with sir William Temple, he laid the plan of a new privy-council, without whose advice he declared himself determined for the future to take no measure of importance. This council was to consist of thirty persons, and was never to exceed that number. Fifteen of the chief officers of the crown were to be continued, who, it was supposed, would adhere to the king, and, in case of any extremity,

(z) James duke of Monmouth was the king's natural son by Lucy Walters, and born about ten years before the restoration. He possessed all the qualities which could engage the affections of the populace; a distinguished valour, an affable address, a thoughtless generosity, a graceful person. He rose still higher in the public favour, by reason of the universal hatred to which the duke, on account of his religion, was exposed. Monmouth's capacity was mean; his temper pliant: so that, notwithstanding his great popularity, he had never been dangerous, had he not implicitly resigned himself to the guidance of Shaftesbury, a man of such a restless temper, such subtle wit, and such abandoned principles. That daring politician had flattered Monmouth with the hopes of succeeding to the crown. The story of a contract of marriage, passed between the king and Monmouth's mother, and secretly kept in a certain *black box*, had been industriously spread abroad, and was greedily received by the multitude. As the horrors of popery still pressed harder on them, they might be induced, either to adopt that fiction, as they had already done many others more incredible, or to commit open violation on the right of succession. And it would not be difficult, it was hoped, to persuade the king, who was extremely fond of his son, to give him the preference above a brother, who, by his imprudent bigotry, had involved him in such inextricable difficulties. But Charles, in order to cut off all such expectations, as well as to remove the duke's apprehensions, took care, in full council, to make a declaration of Monmouth's illegitimacy, and to deny all promise of marriage with his mother.

(a) In 1566, the speaker said to Queen Elizabeth, that without her allowance the election of the house was of no significance. D'Ewes's Journal, p. 97. In the parliament 1592, 1593, the speaker, who was sir Edward Coke, advances a like position. D'Ewes, p. 459. Townshend, p. 35. So that this pretension of the commons seems to have been somewhat new; like many other powers and privileges.

(b) It has ever since been understood, that the choice of the speaker lies in the house; but that the king retains the power of rejecting any person disagreeable to him.

oppose

oppose the exorbitancies of faction. The other half of the council was to be composed, either of men of character, detached from the court, or of those who possessed chief credit in both houses. And the king, in filling up the names of his new council, was highly gratified to find that the members, in land and offices, possessed to the amount of three hundred thousand pounds a-year; a sum nearly equal to the whole property of the house of commons, against whose violence the new council was intended as a barrier to the throne (*c*).

This experiment was tried, and seemed at first to give some satisfaction to the public. The earl of Essex, a nobleman of the popular party, son of that lord Capel who had been beheaded a little after the late king, was created treasurer in the room of Danby: the earl of Sunderland, a man of intrigue and capacity, was made secretary of state: viscount Halifax, a fine genius, possessed of learning, eloquence, industry, but subject to inquietude, and fond of refinements, was admitted into the council. These three, together with sir William Temple, who often joined them, though he kept himself more detached from public business, formed a kind of cabinet council, from which all affairs received their first digestion. The earl of Shaftesbury was made president of the council, contrary to the advice of Temple, who foretold the consequence of admitting a man of so dangerous a character into any part of the administration of public affairs.

As Temple foresaw, it happened. Shaftesbury, finding that he possessed no more than the appearance of court favour, was resolved still to adhere to the popular party, by whose attachment he enjoyed an undisputed superiority in the lower house, and possessed great influence in the other. The very appearance of court favour, empty as it was, tended to render him still more dangerous. His partizans, observing the progress which he had already made, hoped that he would soon acquire the entire ascendant; and he constantly flattered them, that if they persisted in their purpose, the king, from indolence, and necessity, and fondness for the duke of Monmouth, would at last be induced, even at the expence of his brother's right, to make them every concession they desired.

Besides, the antipathy to popery, as well as jealousy of the king and duke, had taken too deep root in the minds of all men, to be removed by so feeble a remedy as this new council projected by Temple. The commons, soon after the establishment of that council, proceeded so far as to vote unanimously, "That the duke of York's being a papist, and the hopes of his coming to the crown, had given the highest countenance to the present conspiracies and designs of the papists against the king and the protestant religion." It was expected that a bill for excluding him the throne would soon be brought in. To prevent this bold measure, the king concerted some limitations, which he proposed to the parliament. The limitations projected were of the utmost importance, and deprived the successor of the chief branches of royalty. A method was there pointed out, by which the nation, on every new reign, could be ensured of having a parliament, which the king should not, for a certain time, have it in his power to dissolve. In case of a popish successor, the prince was to forfeit the right of conferring any ecclesiastical preferments: no member of the privy council, no judge of the common law or in chancery, was to be put in or displaced but by consent of parliament; and the same precaution was extended to the military part of the government; to the lord lieutenants and deputy lieutenants of the counties, and to all officers of the navy. The chancellor added, "It is hard to invent another restraint; considering how much the revenue will depend upon the consent of parliament, and how impossible it is to raise money without such consent. But yet, if any thing else can occur to the wisdom of parliament, which may farther secure religion and liberty against a popish successor, without defeating the right of succession itself, his majesty will readily consent to it (*d*)."

Notwithstanding these concessions made by the king, the parliament thought fit to reject them, and a bill was brought in for the total exclusion of the duke from the crown of England and Ireland. It was there declared, that the sovereignty of these kingdoms, upon the king's death or resignation, should devolve to the person next in succession after the duke; that all acts of royalty which that prince should afterwards perform, should not only be void, but be deemed treason; that if he even entered any of these dominions, he should be deemed guilty of the same offence; and that all who supported his title should be punished as rebels and traitors. This important bill, which implied banishment as well as exclusion, passed the lower house by a majority of seventy-nine.

In the commons the country party, during all the last parliament, had much exclaimed against the bribery and corruption of the members; and the same reproach had been renewed against the present parliament. When an inquiry was made, sir Stephen Fox, who was the paymaster, confessed that nine members received pensions to the amount of three thousand four hundred pounds; but by the secret committee, eight more pensioners were discovered. A sum also, about twelve thousand pounds, had been occasionally given or lent to others. The commons brought in a bill, which was twice read, excluding from the lower house all who possessed any lucrative office. So far we think the house of commons did right; for we cannot entertain the idea, that the people can be fairly or properly represented by persons who possess lucrative places under the crown.

The standing army and the king's guards were by the commons voted to be illegal: a new pretension, it must be confessed; but necessary for the full security of liberty and a limited constitution.

As arbitrary imprisonment is a grievance which, in some degree, has place in almost every government, except in that of Great Britain; so we owe our absolute security from it chiefly to the present parliament. The Magna Charta had laid the foundation of this valuable part of liberty; the Petition of Right had renewed and extended it; but some provisions were still wanting to render it complete, and hinder all evasion or delay from ministers and judges. The act of *habeas corpus*, which passed this session, served these purposes (*e*).

The king's revenue lay under great debts and anticipations: those branches of it which were granted in 1669 and 1670 were ready to expire: and the fleet was represented by the king as in great decay and disorder. To these distresses of the crown, the commons trusted chiefly for passing the exclusion-bill, and for punishing and displacing all the ministers who were disagreeable to them. They were therefore in no haste to relieve the king; and grew only the more assuming on account of his complaints and uneasiness. Jealous, however, of the army, they granted the sum of two hundred and six thousand pounds, which had been voted for disbanding it by the last parliament; though the vote, by reason of the subsequent prorogation and dissolution, had not been carried into an act. This money was appropriated by very strict clauses.

The impeachment of the five popish lords in the Tower, with that of the earl of Danby, was carried on with vigour. The power of this minister, and his credit with the king, rendered him extremely hateful to the popular leaders; and the commons hoped that he would be obliged, in order to justify his own conduct, to lay open the whole intrigue of the French alliance, which they suspected to contain a secret of the most dangerous nature. The king, apprehensive of the same consequences, employed his whole interest to support the validity of that pardon which had been granted him. The lords appointed a day for the examination of the question, and agreed to hear coun-

(*c*) The names of the persons who composed the present council were, Prince Rupert; the archbishop of Canterbury; lord Finch, chancellor; earl of Shaftesbury, president; earl of Anglesea, privy-seal; duke of Albemarle; duke of Monmouth; duke of Newcastle; duke of Lauderdale; duke of Ormond; marquis of Winchester, marquis of Worcester; earl of Arlington; earl of Salisbury; earl of Bridgwater; earl of Sunderland; earl of Essex; earl of Bath; viscount Falconberg; viscount Halifax; bishop of London; lord Roberts; lord Hollis, lord Russel; lord Cavendish; secretary Coventry; sir Francis North, chief justice; sir Henry Capel; sir John Ernley; sir Thomas Chicheley; sir William Temple; Edward Seymour; and Henry Powle.

(*d*) We may remark, that, when these limitations were first laid before the council, Shaftesbury and Temple were the only members who argued against them.

(*e*) By this act it was prohibited to send any one to a prison beyond sea. No judge, under severe penalties, must refuse to any prisoner a writ of *habeas corpus*, by which the gaoler was directed to produce in court the body of the prisoner (whence the writ had its name), and to certify the cause of his detainer and imprisonment. If the gaol lie within twenty miles of the judge, the writ must be obeyed in three days; and so proportionably for greater distances: every prisoner must be indicted the first term after his commitment, and brought to trial in the subsequent term. And no man, after being enlarged by order of court, can be recommitted for the same offence. This law seems necessary for the protection of liberty; and as it has not place in any other form of government, this consideration alone may induce us to prefer our present constitution to all others.

sel on both sides: but the commons would not submit their pretensions to the discussion of argument and inquiry. They voted, that "whoever should presume, without their leave, to maintain before the house of peers the validity of Danby's pardon, should be accounted a betrayer of the liberties of the English commons." And they made a demand, that the bishops, whom they knew to be devoted to the court, should be removed, not only when the trial of the earl should commence, but also when the validity of his pardon should be discussed.

The bishops before the reformation had always enjoyed a seat in parliament; but so far were they in former times from regarding that dignity as a privilege, that they affected rather to form a separate order in the state, independent of the civil magistrate, and accountable only to the pope and to their own order. By the constitutions, however, of Clarendon, enacted during the reign of Henry II. they were obliged to give their presence in parliament; but as the canon law prohibited them from assisting in capital trials, they were in such cases obliged to absent themselves. This practice became afterwards a rule; and on the earl of Strafford's trial, the bishops, who would gladly have attended, and who were no longer bound by the canon law, were yet obliged to withdraw. It had been usual for them to enter a protest, asserting their right to sit; and this protest, being considered as a mere form, was always admitted and disregarded. But in the present case was started a new question of no small importance. The commons insisted that the bishops had no more title to vote in the question of the earl's pardon than in the impeachment itself. The bishops asserted that the pardon was merely a preliminary; and that, neither by the canon law nor by the practice of parliament, were they ever obliged, in capital cases, to withdraw till the very commencement of the trial itself. If their absence was considered as a privilege, it depended on their own choice, how far they would insist upon it. If regarded as a diminution of their right of peerage, such unfavourable customs ought never to be extended beyond the very circumstance established by them; and all arguments, from a pretended parity of reason, were in that case of little or no authority.

The house of lords were so much influenced by these reasons, that they admitted the bishops' right to vote, when the validity of the pardon should be examined. The commons insisted on their withdrawing; and thus a quarrel being commenced between the two houses, the king began to entertain thoughts of laying hold of so favourable a pretence, and of finishing the session by a prorogation of parliament. While in this disposition, he was alarmed with sudden intelligence, that the house of commons was preparing a remonstrance, in order to inflame the nation still farther upon the favourite topics of the plot and of popery. He hastened, therefore, to execute his intention, on the 27th of May, even without consulting his new council, by whose advice he had promised to regulate his whole conduct. And thus were disappointed all the projects of the malcontents, who were enraged at this vigorous measure of the king. Shaftesbury publicly threatened that he would have the head of whoever had advised it. The parliament was dissolved on the 10th of July, and writs were issued for a new parliament.

Even during the recess of parliament, there was no interruption to the prosecution of the catholics accused of the plot: the king found himself obliged to give way to this popular fury. Whitebread, provincial of the Jesuits, Fenwick, Gaven, Turner, and Harcourt, all of them of the same order, were first brought to their trial. Besides Oates and Bedloe, one Dugdale (*f*), a new witness, appeared against the prisoners. Among other things Dugdale asserted, that two hundred thousand papists in England were ready to take arms. The prisoners proved, by sixteen witnesses from St. Omers, students, and most of them young men of family, that Oates was in that seminary at the time when he swore that he was in London: but as they were catholics, and disciples of the Jesuits, their testimony was totally disregarded. Even the reception which they met with in court was full of outrage and mockery. One of them saying that Oates always continued at St. Omers, if he could believe his senses; "You papists," said the chief justice, "are taught not to believe your senses." Oates, however, in opposition to the students of St. Omers, found means to bring evidence of his having been at that time in London: but this evidence, though it had, at that time, the appearance of some solidity, was afterwards discovered, (when Oates himself was tried for perjury,) to be altogether deceitful. In order farther to discredit that witness, the Jesuits proved that he had perjured himself in father Ireland's trial, whom they shewed to have been in Staffordshire at the time when Oates swore that he was committing treason in London. But these pleas availed them nothing: the Jesuits received sentence of death; and were executed, persisting to the last in protestations of their innocence.

The next trial was that of Langhorne, an eminent lawyer, by whom all the concerns of the Jesuits were managed. Oates and Bedloe swore, that all the papal commissions by which the chief offices in England were filled with catholics, passed through his hands. He was in course found guilty, and when verdict was given against the prisoner, the spectators expressed their savage joy by loud acclamations (*g*).

Thus far had these despicable informers proceeded with success: their accusation was hitherto equivalent to a sentence of death. The first check indeed which they received was on the trial of sir George Wakeman, the queen's physician, whom they accused of an intention to poison the king. It was a strong circumstance in favour of Wakeman, that Oates, in his first information before the council, had accused him only upon hearsay; and when asked by the chancellor, whether he had any thing farther to charge him with? he added, "God forbid I should say any thing against sir George: for I know nothing more against him." On the trial he gave positive evidence of the prisoner's guilt. There were many other circumstances which favoured Wakeman; particularly that which would have involved the queen, whom no one, even during the highest prejudices of the times, could sincerely believe guilty. The chief justice himself, who had hitherto favoured the witnesses, exaggerated the plot, and railed against the prisoners, was now considerably mollified, and gave a favourable charge to the jury. Whereupon Oates and Bedloe had the audacity to attack him to his face, and to accuse him of partiality before the council. The whole party, who had formerly much extolled his conduct, now loaded him with execrations. Wakeman's acquittal was indeed a sensible mortification to the prosecutors of the plot, and fixed an indelible stain upon their favourite witnesses. But sir George, after he recovered his liberty, thought it prudent to retire beyond sea; and his flight was interpreted as a proof of guilt, by those who were still resolved to persist in the belief of the conspiracy which had been propagated by such wretched miscreants.

The discontents in England, and the disposition of the parliament, drew the attention of the Scottish covenanters, and gave them a prospect of some time putting an end to those oppressions, under which they had so long laboured. It was the policy of the earl of Lauderdale and his associates to push these unhappy men to extremities, and force them into rebellion, with a view of reaping profit from the forfeitures and attainders which would naturally ensue upon it. But the covenanters, aware of this nefarious policy, had hitherto forborne all acts of hostility; and that tyrannical minister had failed of his purpose. An incident at last happened, which brought on an insurrection in that country.

The covenanters were greatly enraged against Sharpe, the primate, whom they experienced to be an unrelenting persecutor of all those who dissented from the established worship. He had an officer under him, one Carmichael, no less zealous than himself against conventicles, and who by his violent prosecutions had rendered himself extremely hateful to those religionists. A company of these had waylaid him on the road near St. Andrews, with an intention, if not of killing him, at least of chastizing him so severely as would afterwards render him more cautious in persecuting the non-conformists (*h*). While looking out for their prey, they were surprized at seeing the arch-

(*f*) This man had been steward to lord Aston, and, though poor, possessed a character somewhat more reputable than the other two: but his account of the intended massacres and assassinations was equally monstrous and incredible.

(*g*) So high indeed had the popular rage mounted, that the witnesses for this unhappy man, on approaching the court, were almost torn in pieces by the rabble: one in particular was bruised to such a degree as to put his life in danger: and another, a woman, declared that, unless the court could afford her protection, she durst not give evidence: but as the judges could go no farther than promise to punish such as should do her any injury, the prisoner himself had the humanity to wave her testimony.

(*h*) Wodrow's History of the Sufferings of the Church of Scotland, vol. ii. p. 28.

bishop's coach pass by, on the 3rd of May; and they immediately interpreted this incident as a declaration of the secret purpose of providence against him. But when they observed that almost all his servants, by some accident, were absent, they no longer doubted, but Heaven had here delivered their capital enemy into their hands. Without farther deliberation, they fell upon him; dragged him from his coach; tore him from the arms of his daughter, who interposed with cries and tears; and piercing him with redoubled wounds, left him dead on the spot, and immediately dispersed.

This action served the ministry as a pretence for a more violent persecution against the religionists, on whom, without distinction, they threw the guilt of those furious assassins. The officers, quartered in the west, received more strict orders to find out and disperse all conventicles; and for that reason the covenanters, instead of meeting in small bodies, celebrated their worship in numerous assemblies, and brought arms for their security. At Rutherglen, a small borough near Glasgow, they openly set forth a declaration against prelacy; and in the market-place burned several acts of parliament and acts of council, which had established that mode of ecclesiastical government, and had prohibited conventicles. For this insult on the supreme authority, they chose the 29th of May, the anniversary of the restoration; and previously extinguished the bonfires which had been kindled for that solemnity.

Captain Graham, afterwards viscount Dundee, an active and enterprizing officer, attacked a great conventicle upon Loudon-hill, and was repulsed with the loss of thirty men. The covenanters, finding that they were now involved in guilt, were engaged to persevere, and to seek, from their valour, for that indemnity, which the severity of the government left them no hopes of being able otherwise to obtain. They pushed on to Glasgow; and though at first repulsed, they afterwards made themselves masters of that city; dispossessed the established clergy; and issued proclamations, in which they declared that they fought against the king's supremacy, against popery and prelacy, and against a popish successor.

The king immediately dispatched thither the duke of Monmouth with a small body of English cavalry. That nobleman joined to these troops the Scottish guards, and some regiments of militia, levied from the well-affected counties; and with great celerity marched in quest of the rebels. They had taken post near Bothwel-castle, between Hamilton and Glasgow; where there was no access to them but over a bridge, which a small body was able to defend against the king's forces. They shewed judgement in the choice of their post; but discovered neither judgement nor valour in any other step of their conduct. No nobility and few gentry had joined them: the clergy were in reality the generals; and the whole army never exceeded eight thousand men. Monmouth attacked the bridge, on the 22nd of June; and the body of rebels, who defended it, maintained their post as long as their ammunition lasted. When they sent for more, they received orders to quit their ground, and to retire backwards. This imprudent measure occasioned an immediate defeat to the covenanters. Monmouth passed the bridge without opposition, and drew up his forces opposite to the enemy. His cannon alone put them to rout. About seven hundred were slain, twelve hundred were taken prisoners; and were treated by Monmouth with a humanity which they had never experienced in their own countrymen. Such of them as would promise to live peaceably were dismissed. About three hundred, who were so obstinate as to refuse this easy condition, were shipped for Barbadoes; but unfortunately perished in the voyage. Two of their clergy only were hanged. Through the humanity of Monmouth, an act of indemnity was granted; but Lauderdale took care that it should be so worded as rather to afford protection to himself and his associates, than to the unhappy covenanters. And though orders were given to connive thenceforwards at all conventicles, he found means, under a variety of pretences, to elude the execution of them.

The king, observing that the whole nation concurred at first in the belief and prosecution of the popish plot, had for his own safety pretended an entire belief in that famous absurdity, and by this artifice he had eluded the violent and irresistible torrent of the people. When a little time and recollection, as well as the execution of the pretended conspirators, had somewhat moderated the general fury, he was now enabled to form a considerable party, devoted to the interests of the crown, and determined to oppose the pretensions of the malcontents.

Though the king, after his restoration, had endeavoured to abolish the distinction of parties, and had chosen his ministers from among all denominations; no sooner had he lost his popularity, and exposed himself to jealousy, than he found it necessary to court the old cavalier party, and to promise them full compensation for that neglect of which they had hitherto complained. The present emergency made it still more necessary for him to apply for their support; and there were many circumstances, which determined them, at this time, to fly to the assistance of the crown, and to the protection of the royal family. But though his union with the political royalists brought great accession of force to the king, he derived no less support from the confederacy, which he had, at this time, the address to form with the church of England. He represented to the ecclesiastics the great number of presbyterians and other sectaries, who had entered into the popular party; and he persuaded them that the old scheme for the abolition of prelacy as well as of monarchy was revived, and that the same miseries and oppressions awaited them, to which, during the civil wars, they had so long been exposed. The cry against popery indeed was loud; but it proceeded less from religious than from party zeal, in those who propagated, and even in those who adopted it. The king too was happy in his amiable manners, and popular address. Far from being distant, stately, or reserved, he had not a grain of pride or vanity; but was a most affable and well-bred man. He treated his subjects therefore like gentlemen, not like vassals or boors.

The general affection borne the king appeared signally about this time. He fell sick at Windsor; and had two or three fits of a fever, and his life was thought in danger. A general consternation seized all ranks of men, increased by the apprehensions entertained of his successor. The malcontents, it was feared, would proceed to extremities, and immediately kindle a civil war in the nation. In the present dilemma, the king's chief counsellors, Essex, Halifax, and Sunderland, advised him to send secretly for the duke, that, in case of any accident, that prince might be ready to assert his right against the opposition which he was likely to meet with. When the duke arrived, he found his brother out of danger; and it was agreed to conceal the invitation which he had received. His journey, however, was attended with important consequences. He prevailed on the king to disgrace Monmouth, on the 2nd of September, 1679, whose projects were now known and avowed; to deprive him of his command in the army; and to send him beyond sea. The duke of York returned to Brussels; but made only a short stay in that place. He obtained leave to retire to Scotland, under pretence of quieting the apprehensions of the English nation; but in reality with a view of securing that kingdom in his interests.

Although Essex and Halifax had concurred in the resolution of inviting over the duke, they soon discovered that they had not obtained his confidence, and that even the king, while he made use of their service, had no sincere regard for their persons. Essex in disgust resigned the treasury: Halifax retired to his country seat: Temple, despairing of any accommodation among such enraged parties, withdrew almost entirely to his books and his gardens. The king, who changed ministers as well as measures with great indifference, bestowed at this time the chief confidence on Hyde, Sunderland, and Godolphin. Hyde succeeded Essex in the treasury.

Every one of the king's ministers, as well as himself, were greatly averse to the meeting of the new parliament, which they expected to find as refractory as any of the preceding. The elections had gone mostly in favour of the country party. The terrors of the plot had still a mighty influence over the populace; and the apprehensions of the duke's bigoted principles and arbitrary character weighed with men of sense and reflection. The king therefore resolved to prorogue the parliament, in which measure he did not expect the concurrence of his council (*i*). Many of the counsel in disgust threw up their offices about this time; particularly lord Russel, the most popular man in the nation, as well from the mildness and integrity of his character, as from his zealous attachment

(*i*) It is remarkable, that, though the king had made profession never to embrace any measure without the advice of these counsellors, he had often broken that resolution, and had, in affairs of the greatest consequence controlled their opinion.

to the religion and liberties of his country. The earl of Shaftesbury, who was, in most particulars of an opposite character, was removed by the king from the office of president of the council; and the earl of Radnor, a man who possessed whimsical talents and splenetic virtues, succeeded to his post.

It was the favour and countenance of the parliament, which had chiefly encouraged the rumour of plots; but the nation had gotten so much into that vein of credulity, and every necessitous villain was so much incited by the success of Titus Oates and captain Bedloe, that, even during the prorogation, the people were not allowed to remain in tranquillity. There was one Dangerfield, a fellow who had been burned in the hand for crimes, transported, whipped, pilloried four times, fined for cheats, outlawed for felony, convicted of coining, and exposed to all the public infamy which the laws could inflict on the basest and most shameful enormities. The credulity of the people, and the humour of the times, enabled even this wretch to become a person of consequence. He was the author of a new incident, called the *Meal-tub Plot*, from the place where some papers, relating to it, were said to have been found. In the contrivance of this plot, it appears, that Dangerfield, under pretence of betraying the conspiracies of the presbyterians, had been countenanced by some catholics of condition, and had even been admitted to the duke of York's presence and the king's: and that, under pretence of revealing new popish plots, he had obtained access to Shaftesbury and some of the popular leaders. Which side he intended to cheat, is uncertain; or whether he did not rather mean to cheat both: but he soon found that the belief of the nation was more open to a popish than a presbyterian plot; and he resolved to fall in with the prevailing humour. Though no weight could be laid on his testimony, by reason of his infamous character, great clamour was raised; as if the court, by way of retaliation, had intended to load the presbyterians with the guilt of a false conspiracy. It must be confessed that the present period, by the prevalence and suspicion of such mean and ignoble arts on all sides, throws a great stain on the British annals.

One of the most innocent artifices, practised by party men at this time, was the additional ceremony, pomp, and expence, with which a pope-burning was celebrated in London, on the 17th of November. The spectacle served to entertain, and amuse, and inflame, the populace. The duke of Monmouth likewise came over without leave, and made a triumphant procession through many parts of the kingdom, extremely caressed and admired by the people. All these arts seemed requisite to support the general prejudices, during the long interval of parliament. Great endeavours were also used to obtain the king's consent for the meeting of that assembly. Seventeen peers presented a petition to this purpose, in the beginning of 1680. Many of the corporations imitated the example. Notwithstanding several marks of displeasure, and even a menacing proclamation from the king, petitions came from all parts, earnestly insisting on a session of parliament (*k*).

This kind of petitioning was one of the chief artifices by which the malcontents in the reign of Charles the First had attacked the crown. As the king found no law, by which he could punish those importunate, and, as he deemed them, undutiful solicitations, he attempted to encounter them by popular applications of a contrary tendency. Wherever the church and court party prevailed, addresses were framed, containing expressions of the highest regard to his majesty, the most entire acquiescence in his wisdom, the most dutiful submission to his prerogative, and the deepest *abhorrence* of those who endeavoured to encroach upon it, by prescribing to him any time for assembling the parliament (*l*).

Charles used every art to encourage his partizans, and to reconcile the people to his government. He affected great zeal against popery. He even allowed several priests to be put to death, for no other crime than their having received orders in the Romish church. It is singular, that one of them, named Evans, was playing at tennis, when the warrant for his immediate execution was notified to him: he swore, that he would play out his set first. Charles, with the same view of acquiring popularity, formed an alliance with Spain, and also offered an alliance to Holland: but the Dutch, terrified with the great power of France, and seeing little resource in a country so distracted as England, declined acceptance. He had sent for the duke of York from Scotland, but desired him to return, when the time of assembling the parliament began to approach.

The sheriffs of London by their office return the juries: it had been usual for the mayor to nominate one sheriff by drinking to him; and the common-hall had ever without dispute confirmed the mayor's choice. Sir Robert Clayton, the mayor, appointed one who was not acceptable to the popular party: the common-hall rejected him; and Bethel and Cornish, two independents and republicans, and of consequence deeply engaged with the malcontents, were chosen by a majority of voices. In spite of all remonstrances and opposition, the citizens persisted in their choice; and the court party was obliged to acquiesce. Juries, however, were not so partial in the city, but that reason and justice, even when the popish plot was in question, could sometimes prevail. The earl of Castlemaine, husband to the duchess of Cleveland, was acquitted on the 23rd of June, though accused by Oates and Dangerfield of an intention to assassinate the king. Sir Thomas Gascoigne, a very aged gentleman in the north, had been accused by two servants, whom he had dismissed for dishonesty, received a like verdict. These trials were great blows to the plot, which now began to stagger, in the judgement of most men, except those who were entirely devoted to the country party. But in order still to keep alive the zeal against popery, the earl of Shaftesbury appeared in Westminster Hall, attended by the earl of Huntingdon, the lords Russel, Cavendish, Gray, Brandon, sir Henry Caverly, sir Gilbert Gerrard, sir William Cooper, and other persons of distinction, and presented to the grand jury of Middlesex reasons for indicting the duke of York as a popish recusant. While the jury were deliberating on this extraordinary presentment, the chief justice sent for them, and suddenly dismissed them. Shaftesbury however obtained the end for which he had undertaken this bold measure; by such daring conduct he gave his followers assurance, that he was determined not to desert their cause; and he engaged them to a like devoted perseverance in all the measures which he should suggest to them.

The king therefore resolved, at last, after a long interval, to assemble the parliament; which met on the 21st of October, 1680. In his speech, he told them that the several prorogations which he had made, had been very advantageous to his neighbours, and very useful to himself: that the farther examination of the popish plot and the punishment of the criminals were requisite for the safety both of king and kingdom; and after recommending to them the necessity of providing, by some supplies, for the safety of Tangiers, he made use of a number of mollifying expressions, which, however, had no influence with the commons. They voted that it was the undoubted right of the subject to petition the king for the calling and sitting of parliament. Not content with this decision, they fell with the utmost violence on all those abhorrers, who, in their addresses to the crown, had expressed their disapprobation of those petitions. For this offence, they expelled sir Thomas Withens. They appointed a committee for farther inquiry into such members as had been guilty of a like crime; and complaints were lodged against lord Paston, sir Robert Maleverer, sir Bryan Stapleton, Taylor, and Turner. They addressed the king against sir George Jefferies, recorder of London, for his activity in the same cause; and they frightened him into a resignation of his office, in which he was succeeded by sir George Treby, a great leader of the popular party. They voted an impeachment against North, chief justice of the common pleas, for drawing the proclamation against tumultuous petitions; but upon examination found the proclamation so cautiously worded, that it afforded them no handle against him. A petition had been presented to the king from Taunton. "How dare you deliver me such a paper?" said the king to the person who presented it. "Sir," replied

(*k*) It may be remarked, that the danger of popery, and the terrors of the plot, were never forgotten in any of these addresses.

(*l*) Thus the nation came to be distinguished into *petitioners* and *abhorrers*. The very names, by which each party denominated its antagonist, discover the virulence and rancour which prevailed. For besides petitioner and abhorrer, the year 1680 is remarkable for being the epoch of the well-known epithets of WHIG and TORY, by which, and sometimes without any material difference, this island has been so long divided. The Whigs were so denominated from a cant name given to the four Scotch conventiclers, (Whig being milk turned sour.) The Tories were denominated from the Irish banditti so called, whose usual method of bidding people deliver, was by the Irish word Toree, which signifies Give me. And after this manner, these foolish terms of reproach came into public and general use; and even at present seem not nearer their end than when they were first invented.

plied

plied he, "my name is DARE." For this saucy reply, but under other pretences, he had been tried, fined, and committed to prison. The commons now addressed the king for his liberty, and for remitting his fine. Some printers also and authors of seditious libels they took under their protection.

Great numbers of the abhorrers, from all parts of England, were seized by order of the commons, and committed to custody. The liberty of the subject, which had been so carefully guarded by the great charter, and by the late law of *habeas corpus*, was every day violated by their capricious commitments. At last, the vigour and courage of one Stowel of Exeter, an abhorrer, put an end to the practice. He refused to obey the serjeant at arms, stood upon his defence, and said, that he knew of no law by which they pretended to commit him. The house, finding it equally dangerous to proceed or to recede, got off by an evasion: they inserted in their votes, that Stowel was indisposed, and that a month's time was allowed him for the recovery of his health.

But the principal violence of the house of commons appeared in all their transactions with regard to the plot, which they prosecuted with the same zeal and credulity as their predecessors. They renewed their former vote, which affirmed the reality of the horrid popish plot; and, in order the more to terrify the people, they even asserted that, notwithstanding the discovery, the plot still subsisted. They expelled sir Robert Can, and sir Robert Yeomans, who had been complained of, for saying that there was no popish, but there was a Presbyterian, plot. And they greatly lamented the death of Bedloe, whom they called a material witness, and on whose testimony they much depended (*m*). The commons endeavoured to remove the infamy with which Dangerfield was loaded, and to restore him to the capacity of being an evidence. The whole tribe of informers they applauded and rewarded: Jennison, Turberville, Dugdale, Smith, la Faria, appeared before them; and their testimony, however frivolous or absurd, met with a favourable reception: the king was applied to in their behalf for pensions and pardons: their narratives were printed with that sanction which arose from the approbation of the house; and Dr. Tongue was recommended for the first considerable church preferment which should become vacant.

But the principal reasons, which still supported the clamour of the popish plot, were the apprehensions entertained by the people of the duke of York, and the resolution, embraced by their leaders, of excluding him from the throne. The earl of Shaftesbury and many considerable men of the party, had rendered themselves irreconcilable with him, and could find their safety no way but in his ruin. Monmouth's friends hoped that the exclusion of that prince would make way for their patron. The resentment against the duke's apostacy, the love of liberty, the zeal for religion, the attachment to faction, all these motives incited the country party. Though the king had withdrawn his countenance from Monmouth, he was known secretly to retain a great affection for him; and as his beloved mistress, the duchess of Portsmouth, had been engaged to unite herself with the popular party; this incident was regarded as a favourable prognostic of their success. Sunderland, secretary of state, who had linked his interest with that of the duchess, had concurred in the same measure. But besides friendship for his brother and a regard to the right of succession, there were many strong reasons which had determined Charles to persevere in opposing the exclusion. So much indeed were the popular leaders determined to carry matters to extremities, that in less than a week after the commencement of the session, a motion was made for bringing in an exclusion-bill, and a committee was appointed for that purpose. This bill differed in nothing from the former, but in two articles, which showed still an increase of zeal in the commons (*n*).

The debates were carried on with great violence on both sides. The bill was defended by sir William Jones, who had now resigned his office of attorney-general, by lord Russel, by sir Francis Winnington, sir Harry Capel, sir William Pulteney, by colonel Titus, Treby, Hambden, Montague. It was opposed by sir Leoline Jenkins, secretary of state, sir John Ernley, chancellor of the exchequer, by Hyde, Seymour, Temple. Many arguments were used both for and against the exclusion bill. In the house of commons, the reasoning of the exclusionists appeared very convincing; and the bill passed by a great majority. It was in the house of peers that the king expected to oppose it with success. The court party was there so prevalent, that it was carried only by a majority of two to pay so much regard to the bill as even to commit it. When it came to be debated, on the 15th of November, the contest was violent. Shaftesbury, Sunderland, and Essex, argued for it: Halifax chiefly conducted the debate against it, and displayed an extent of capacity, and a force of eloquence, which had never been surpassed in that assembly; and the bill was thrown out by a considerable majority. All the bishops, except three, voted against it. Besides the influence of the court over them; the church of England, they pretended, was in greater danger from the prevalence of Presbyterianism than of popery, which, though favoured by the duke, and even by the king, was extremely repugnant to the genius of the nation.

The commons upon this disappointment immediately voted an address for the removal of Halifax from the king's councils and presence for ever. When the king applied for money to enable him to maintain Tangiers, instead of complying, they voted such an address as was in reality a remonstrance, and one little less violent than that famous remonstrance, which ushered in the civil wars. All the abuses of government, from the beginning almost of the reign, are there insisted on; the Dutch war, the alliance with France, the prorogations and dissolutions of parliament; and as all these measures, as well as the *damnable* and *hellish* plot, are there ascribed to the machinations of papists, it was plainly insinuated that the king had, all along, lain under the influence of that party, and was in reality the chief conspirator against the religion and liberties of the country.

The commons, though they conducted the great business of the exclusion with extreme violence, had yet much reason for the jealousy which gave rise to it: but their vehement prosecution of the popish plot, even after so long an interval, discovers such a spirit, either of credulity or injustice, as admits of no apology. The impeachment of the catholic lords in the Tower was revived; and as viscount Stafford, from his age, infirmities, and narrow capacity, was deemed the least capable of defending himself, it was determined to make him the first victim, that his condemnation might pave the way for a sentence against the rest. The chancellor, now created earl of Nottingham, was appointed high steward for conducting the trial, on the 30th of November. Three witnesses were produced against the prisoner; Oates, Dugdale, and Turberville. Oates swore, that he saw Fenwic, the Jesuit, deliver to Stafford, a commission signed by de Oliva, general of the Jesuits, appointing him pay-master to the papal army, which was to be levied for the subduing of England: for this ridiculous imposture still maintained its credit with the commons. Dugdale gave testimony, that the prisoner, at Tixal, a seat of lord Aston's, had endeavoured to engage him in the design of murdering the king; and had promised him, besides the honour of being sainted by the church, a reward of five hundred pounds for that service. Turberville deposed, that the prisoner, in his own house at Paris, had made him a like proposal (*o*). It was sworn by Dugdale, that Stafford had assisted in a great consult of the Catholics held at Tixal; but Stafford proved by undoubted testimony, that at the time assigned he was in Bath, and in that neighbourhood. Stafford likewise proved, by the evidence of his gentleman and his page, that Turberville had never, either at Paris or at London, been seen in his company; and it might justly appear strange, that a

(*m*) Captain Bedloe had been seized with a fever at Bristol; had sent for chief justice North; confirmed all his former evidence, except that with regard to the duke and the queen; and desired North to apply to the king for some money to relieve him in his necessities. A few days after, he expired; and the whole party triumphed extremely in these circumstances of his death: as if the perseverance of one profligate could outweigh the last words of so many men, guilty of no crime but that of popery.

(*n*) The bill was to be read to the people twice a-year in all the churches of the kingdom, and every one who should support the duke's title was rendered incapable of receiving a pardon but by act of parliament.

(*o*) To offer money for murdering a king, without laying down any scheme by which the assassin may insure some probability or possibility of escape, is so incredible in itself, and may so easily be maintained by any prostitute evidence, that an accusation of that nature, not accompanied with circumstances, ought not to have been attended to by any court of judicature. This miscreant Turberville had served as a noviciate among the Dominicans; but having deserted the convent, he had enlisted as a trooper in the French army; and being dismissed that service, he now lived in London, abandoned by all his relations, and exposed to great poverty.

person

person, who had so important a secret in his keeping, was so long entirely neglected by him. The clamour and outrage of the populace, during the trial, were extreme: great abilities and eloquence were displayed by the managers, sir William Jones, sir Francis Winnington, and serjeant Maynard: yet did the prisoner, under all these disadvantages, make a better defence than was expected, either by his friends or his enemies: the unequal contest in which he was engaged, was a plentiful source of compassion to every mind, seasoned with humanity. He entirely overthrew the testimony of the witnesses employed against him; and with a simplicity and tenderness more persuasive than the greatest oratory, he made protestations of his innocence, and could not forbear, every moment, expressing the most lively surprize and indignation at the audacious impúdence of those suborned against him. The peers, after a solemn trial of six days, by a majority of twenty-four voices, gave sentence against him. He received, however, with resignation the fatal verdict. "God's holy name be praised," was the only exclamation which he uttered. When the high-steward told him that the peers would intercede with the king for remitting the more cruel and ignominious parts of the sentence, hanging and quartering, he burst into tears: but he told the lords that he was moved to this weakness, by his sense of their goodness, not by any terror of that fate which he was doomed to suffer (*p*).

In the interval between the sentence and execution, many efforts were made to shake the resolution of the infirm and aged prisoner, and to bring him to a confession of the treason for which he was condemned; but they were unable to extort any thing from him which they could possibly turn against him. Stafford now prepared himself for death with the intrepidity which became his birth and station, and which was the natural result of the innocence and integrity which, during the course of a long life, he had ever maintained: his mind seemed even to collect new force from the violence and oppression under which he laboured. When going to execution, on the 29th of December, 1680, he called for a cloak to defend him against the rigour of the season: "Perhaps," said he, "I may shake with cold; but, I trust in God, not for fear." On the scaffold, he continued, with reiterated and earnest asseverations, to make protestations of his innocence: all his fervour was exercised on that point: when he mentioned the witnesses, whose perjuries had bereaved him of life, his expressions were full of mildness and of charity. He solemnly disavowed all those immoral principles, which over-zealous Protestants had ascribed without distinction to the church of Rome: and he hoped, he said, that the time was now approaching, when the present delusion would be dissipated; and when the force of truth, though late, would engage the whole world to make reparation to his injured honour (*q*).

The earl of Stafford's execution gratified the prejudices of the country party; but it did not contribute to their power and security: on the contrary, it tended to increase that disbelief of the whole plot, which began now to prevail. The commons resolved to make both friends and enemies sensible of their power. They passed a bill for easing the protestant dissenters, and for repealing the persecuting statute of the thirty-fifth of Elizabeth: this laudable bill was likewise carried through the house of peers. The chief justice was become hateful for dismissing the grand jury in an irregular manner, and thereby disappointing that bold measure of Shaftesbury and his friends, who had presented the duke of York as a recusant. For this crime the commons sent up an impeachment against him; as also against Jones and Weston, two of the judges, who, in some speeches from the bench, had given to many of the first reformers the appellation of fanatics.

In rejecting the exclusion-bill, the king had sheltered himself behind the authority of the house of peers; and the commons were deprived of the usual pretence, to attack the sovereign himself, under colour of attacking his ministers and counsellors. In prosecution of the scheme, which he had formed, of blaming the commons in case of a rupture, he warned them in a speech, that a neglect of this opportunity would never be retrieved, and added, "I did promise you the fullest satisfaction, which your hearts could wish, for the security of the Protestant religion, and to concur with you in any remedies, which might consist with preserving the succession of the crown in its due and legal course of descent. I do again with the same reservations, renew the same promises to you: and being thus ready on my part to do all that can reasonably be expected from me, I should be glad to know from you, as soon as may be, how far I shall be assisted by you, and what it is you desire from me."

The commons, however, still hoped, from the king's urgent necessities, that he would throw himself wholly into their hands; by which means they might render themselves absolute masters of the government. The commons besides insisting still on the exclusion, brought in bills of an important, and some of them of an alarming nature: one to renew the trennial act, which had been so inadvertently repealed in the beginning of the reign: a second to make the office of judge during good behaviour: a third to declare the levying of money without consent of parliament to be high treason: a fourth to order an association for the safety of his majesty's person, for the defence of the Protestant religion, for the preservation of the Protestant subjects against all invasions and opposition whatever, and for preventing the duke of York or any Papist from succeeding to the crown.

The commons also voted, that whoever had advised his majesty to refuse the exclusion-bill, were promoters of popery and enemies to the king and kingdom. In another vote, they named the marquis of Worcester, the earls of Clarendon, Feversham, and Halifax, Laurence Hyde, and Edward Seymour, as those dangerous enemies; and requested his majesty to remove them from his person and councils for ever: they voted that, till the exclusion-bill were passed, they could not, consistent with the trust reposed in them, grant the king any manner of supply (*r*).

The king, fearful of the commons in their present temper, came secretly to a resolution of proroguing them. They got intelligence about a quarter of an hour before the black rod came to their door, on the 10th of January, 1681. Not to lose such precious time, they passed some extraordinary resolutions. They voted, that whosoever advised his majesty to prorogue this parliament to any other purpose than in order to pass the bill of exclusion, was a betrayer of the king, of the Protestant religion, and of the kingdom of England; a promoter of the French interest, and a pensioner of France: That thanks be given to the city of London for their manifest loyalty, and for their care and vigilance in the preservation of the king and of the Protestant religion: That it is the opinion of this house, that that city was burned in the year 1666 by the Papists, designing thereby to introduce arbitrary power and popery into the kingdom: That humble application be made to his majesty for restoring the duke of Monmouth to all his offices and commands, from which, it appears to the house

(*p*) It is remarkable that, after Charles, as is usual in such cases, had remitted to Stafford the hanging and quartering, the two sheriffs, Bethel and Cornish, indulging their own republican humour, and complying with the prevalent spirit of their party, ever jealous of monarchy, started a doubt with regard to the king's power of exercising even this small degree of lenity. "Since he cannot pardon the whole," said they, "how can he have power to remit any part of the sentence?" They proposed the doubt to both houses: the peers pronounced it superfluous; and even the commons, apprehensive lest a question of this nature might make way for Stafford's escape, gave this singular answer: "This house is content, that the sheriffs do execute William late viscount Stafford by severing his head from his body only." Nothing can be a stronger proof of the fury of the times, than that lord Russel, notwithstanding the virtue and humanity of his character, seconded in the house this barbarous scruple of the sheriffs.

(*q*) It is worthy of remark, that the populace, who had exulted at Stafford's trial and condemnation, were now melted into tears at the sight of that tender fortitude which shone forth in each feature, and motion, and accent of this aged noble. Their profound silence was only interrupted by sighs and groans: with difficulty they found speech to assent to those protestations of innocence, which he frequently repeated: "We believe you, my lord! God bless you, my lord!" These expressions with a faultering accent flowed from them. The executioner himself was touched with sympathy. Twice he lifted up the ax, with an intent to strike the fatal blow; and twice he let the destructive instrument drop from his trembling hand. A deep sigh was heard to accompany his last effort, which laid Stafford for ever at rest. All the spectators seemed to feel the blow. And when the head was held up to them with the usual cry, "This is the head of a traitor," no clamour of assent was uttered. Pity, remorse, and astonishment, had taken possession of every heart, and displayed itself in lively colours on the countenances of every bystander.

This was the last blood which was shed on account of the popish plot: an incident which, for the credit of the nation, it were better to bury in eternal oblivion; but which it is necessary to perpetuate, as well to maintain the truth of history, as to warn, if possible, their posterity and all mankind never again to fall into so shameful, and so barbarous a delusion!

(*r*) Lest he should be enabled, by any other expedient, to support the government, and preserve himself independent, they passed another vote, in which they declared that whoever should hereafter lend, by way of advance, any money upon those branches of the king's revenue, arising from customs, excise, or hearth-money, should be judged a hinderer of the sitting of parliament, and be responsible for the same in parliament.

he had been removed by the influence of the duke of York: and that it is the opinion of the house that the prosecution of the Protestant dissenters upon the penal laws is at this time grievous to the subject, a weakening of the Protestant interest, an encouragement of popery, and dangerous to the peace of the nation.

Charles passed some laws of no great importance; but the bill for repealing the thirty-fifth of Elizabeth, he privately ordered the clerk of the crown not to present to him. This artifice implied some timidity in the king. The last votes of the commons seemed to be an attempt of forming an association against the crown, after they found that the king would not assent to their association bill: the dissenting interest, the city, and the duke of Monmouth, they endeavoured to connect with the country party. A civil war indeed never appeared so likely as at present; and the king dissolved the parliament. Soon after, he summoned another; but the country party had established their interest so strongly in all the electing boroughs, that he could not hope for any disposition more favourable in the new parliament. The new parliament was summoned to meet at Oxford; for the king was apprehensive of danger if they met at Westminster (*s*). Monmouth with fifteen peers presented a petition against assembling the parliament at Oxford, "where the two houses," they said, "could not be in safety; but would be easily exposed to the swords of the papists and their adherents, of whom too many had creeped into his majesty's guards." These insinuations, which pointed so evidently at the king himself, were not calculated to persuade him, but to inflame the minds of the populace.

The leaders came to the parliament, attended not only by their servants, but by numerous bands of their partizans. The four city members in particular were followed by great multitudes, wearing ribbons, in which were woven these words, "No popery! no slavery!" The king had his guards regularly mustered: his party likewise endeavoured to make a show of their strength: and on the whole, the parliament at Oxford bore the appearance of a tumultuous assembly.

The king, on the 21st of March, addressed himself to the present parliament in a more authoritative manner than he had been accustomed to; and said that, as he would never use arbitrary government himself, neither would he ever suffer it in others. He now afforded them, he added, another opportunity of providing for the public safety. But notwithstanding the magisterial air of the king's speech, the commons were not in the least overawed. They consisted almost entirely of the same members; they chose the same speaker; and instantly fell into the same measures, the impeachment of Danby, the repeal of the persecuting statute of Elizabeth, the inquiry into the popish plot, and the bill of exclusion. So violent were they on this last article, that no other expedient, however plausible, could so much as be hearkened to. The past disappointments of the country party, and the opposition made by the court, had only rendered them more united, more haughty, and more determined. No method but their own, of excluding the duke, could give them satisfaction in the present state of affairs.

There was one Fitz-harris, an Irish Catholic, who had insinuated himself into the duchess of Portsmouth's acquaintance, and had been very busy in conveying to her, intelligence of a libel written by the country party, or of any designs entertained against her or the court. For services of this kind he had received from the king a present of two hundred and fifty pounds. This man met with one Everard, a Scotchman, a spy of the exclusionists, and an informer concerning the popish plot; who engaged him to write a libel against the king, the duke, and the whole administration. Everard, who was well pleased to have the merit of a discovery with his patrons, resolved to betray his friend: he posted sir William Waller, a justice of the peace, and two persons more, behind the hangings, and gave them an opportunity of seeing and hearing the whole transaction. The libel, sketched out by Fitz-harris, and executed partly by him, partly by Everard, was the most furious, indecent, and outrageous performance imaginable; and such as was calculated to hurt rather than serve any party, which should be so imprudent as to adopt it. Waller carried the intelligence to the king, and obtained a warrant for committing Fitz-harris, who happened, at that very time, to have a copy of the libel in his pocket. Finding himself now delivered over to the law, he resolved to pay court to the popular party, who were alone able to protect him. He affirmed, that he had been employed by the court to write the libel, in order to throw the odium of it on the exclusionists. The intention of the ministers, he said, was to send about copies to all the heads of the country party; and the moment they received them, they were to be arrested, and a conspiracy to be imputed to them. That he might merit favour by still more important intelligence, he commenced a discoverer of the great popish plot; and he failed not to confirm all the tremendous circumstances insisted on by his predecessors (*t*)

The commons, finding that Fitz-harris was willing to accuse the duke, were not ashamed to adopt his evidence, and resolved to save him from the destruction with which he was at present threatened. The king had removed him from the city-prison, where he was exposed to be tampered with by the exclusionists; and sent him to the Tower; and had ordered him to be prosecuted by an indictment at common law. In order to prevent his trial and execution, an impeachment was voted by the commons against him, and sent up to the lords. That they might shew the greater contempt of the court, they ordered, by way of derision, that the impeachment should be carried up by secretary Jenkins; who was so provoked by the intended affront, that he at first refused obedience; though afterwards, being threatened with commitment, he was induced to comply. The lords voted to remit the affair to the ordinary courts of justice, before whom, as the attorney-general informed them, it was already determined to try Fitz-harris. The commons maintained, that the peers were obliged to receive every impeachment from the commons; and this indeed seems to have been the first instance of their refusal: they therefore voted, that the lords, in rejecting their impeachment, had denied justice, and had violated the constitution of parliament. Great heats were likely to ensue; and as the king saw no appearance of any better temper in the commons, he proceeded to a dissolution of the parliament.

In consequence of this dissolution, party spirit ran extremely high, and the king and the parliament were equally afraid lest the other should enter upon some forcible means. Both parties therefore hurried from Oxford; and in an instant, that city, so crowded and so busy, was left in its usual emptiness and peace.

The court party gathered force from the dispersion and astonishment of their antagonists, and adhered more firmly to the king, whose resolutions, they now saw, could be depended on. The violences of the exclusionists were exclaimed against and aggravated; and even the reality of the plot was openly called in question. The clergy especially were busy in this great revolution; and being moved, partly by their own fears, partly by the insinuations of the court, they represented all their antagonists as sectaries and republicans, and rejoiced in escaping those perils, which they believed to have been hanging over them. Principles the most opposite to civil liberty were every where inforced from the pulpit, and adopted in numerous addresses; where the king was flattered in his present measures, and congratulated on his escape from parliaments.

The first step, taken by the court, was the trial of Fitz-harris. Doubts were raised by the jury with regard to their power of trying him, after the concluding vote of the commons: but the judges took upon them to decide the question in the affirmative; and the jury were obliged to proceed. The writing of the libel was clearly proved upon Fitz-harris: the only question was with regard to his intentions. He asserted, that he was a spy of the court, and

(*s*) The city of London showed how just a judgement he had formed of their dispositions. Besides re-electing the same members, they voted thanks to them for their former behaviour, in endeavouring to discover the depth of the *horrid* and *hellish* popish plot, and to exclude the duke of York, the principal cause of the ruin and misery impending over the nation.

(*t*) He said, that the second Dutch war was entered into with a view of extirpating the Protestant religion, both abroad and at home; that father Parry, a Jesuit, on the disappointment by the peace, told him, that the Catholics resolved to murder the king, and had even engaged the queen in that design; that the envoy of Modena offered him ten thousand pounds to kill the king, and upon his refusal the envoy said, that the duchess of Mazarine, who was as expert at poisoning as her sister, the countess of Soissons, would, with a little phial, execute that design; that upon the king's death the army in Flanders was to come over, and massacre the Protestants; that money was raised in Italy for recruits and supplies, and there should be no more parliaments; and that the duke was privy to this whole plan, and had even entered into the design of Godfrey's murder.

had accordingly carried the libel to the duchess of Portsmouth; and he was desirous that the jury should, in this transaction, consider him as a cheat, not as a traitor. He failed however somewhat in the proof; and was brought in guilty of treason by the jury. Finding himself entirely in the hands of the king, he now retracted all his former impostures with regard to the popish plot, and even endeavoured to atone for them by new impostures against the country party. He affirmed, that these fictions had been extorted from him by the suggestions and artifices of Treby the recorder, and of Bethel and Cornish, the two sheriffs: this account he persisted in even at his execution; and though men knew, that nothing could be depended on, which came from one so corrupt, and so lost to all sense of honour; yet were they inclined, from his perseverance, to rely somewhat more on his veracity in these last asseverations. But it appears, that his wife had some connections with Mrs. Wall, the favourite maid of the duchess of Portsmouth; and Fitz-harris hoped, if he persisted in a story agreeable to the court, that some favour might, on that account, be shown to his family (*u*).

The whole gang of spies, witnesses, informers, suborners, who had so long been supported and encouraged by the leading patriots, finding now that the king was entirely master, turned upon their old patrons, and offered their service to the ministers. To the disgrace of the court and of the age, they were received with hearty welcome; and their testimony or rather perjury made use of, in order to commit legal murder upon the opposite party. With an air of triumph and derision it was asked, "Are not these men good witnesses, who have established the popish plot, upon whose testimony Stafford and so many Catholics have been executed, and whom you yourselves have so long celebrated as men of credit and veracity? You have admitted them into your bosom: they are best acquainted with your treasons: they are determined in another shape to serve their king and country: and you cannot complain, that the same measure, which you meted to others, should now, by a righteous doom or vengeance, be measured out to you."

The first person, on whom the ministers wreaked their vengeance, was one Stephen College, a London joiner, who had become noted for his zeal against popery, and was much connected with Shaftesbury and the leaders of the country party: for as they relied much upon the populace, men of College's rank and station were useful to them. College had been in Oxford armed with sword and pistol during the sitting of the parliament; and this was made the foundation of his crime. It was pretended that a conspiracy had been entered into to seize the king's person, and detain him in confinement, till he should make the concessions demanded of him. The sheriffs of London were in strong opposition to the court; and the grand jury named by them rejected the bill against College. The prisoner was therefore sent to Oxford, where the treason was said to have been committed. Lord Norris, a courtier, was sheriff of the county. A jury was named, consisting entirely of royalists; and such was the factious rage which prevailed, that little justice could be expected by the prisoner. Some papers, containing hints and directions for his defence, were taken from him, as he was conducted to his trial: an iniquity, which some even pretended to justify. Against College were produced as witnesses Dugdale, Turberville, Haynes, Smith; men who had before given evidence against the Catholics; and whom the jury, for that very reason, regarded as the most perjured villains. College defended himself with spirit, courage, capacity, presence of mind; and he invalidated the evidence of the crown, by convincing arguments and undoubted testimony: yet did the jury, after half an hour's deliberation, bring in a verdict against him. The inhuman spectators received the verdict with a shout of applause; but the prisoner was not in the least dismayed. At his execution, he maintained the same manly fortitude, and still denied the crime imputed to him. His whole conduct and demeanour prove him to have been a man led astray only by the fury of the times, and to have been governed by an honest, but indiscreet, zeal for his country and his religion.

The system of fabricating plots, however, was not confined to England alone, for it was carried even into Ireland. In England, where the catholics were scarcely one to a hundred, means had been found to excite an universal panic, on account of insurrections, and even massacres, projected by that sect; yet in Ireland, where they exceeded the Protestants six to one, no symptoms appear of any combination or conspiracy. Such an incident, when duly considered, might even in England shake the credit of the plot, and diminish the authority of those leaders, who had so long, with such industry, inculcated the belief of it on the nation. Rewards, therefore, were published in Ireland to any that would bring intelligence or become witnesses; and some profligates were sent over to that kingdom, with a commission to seek out evidence against the catholics. Under pretence of searching for arms or papers, they broke into houses, and plundered them: they threw innocent men into prison, and took bribes for their release: and after all their diligence, it was with difficulty that that country, commonly fertile enough in witnesses, could furnish them with any fit for their infamous projects. At length, one Fitzgerald appeared, followed by Ivey, Sanson, Dennis, Bourke, two Macnamaras, and some others. These men were sent over to England; and though they possessed neither character sufficient to gain belief even for truth, nor sense to invent a credible falsehood, they were caressed, rewarded, supported, and recommended by the earl of Shaftesbury. Oliver Plunket, the titular primate of Ireland, a man of peaceable disposition, was condemned and executed upon such wretched testimony. And the Oxford parliament voted, that they were entirely satisfied in the reality of the *horrid* and *damnable* Irish plot. But such decisions, though at first regarded as infallible, had now lost much of their authority; and the public remained somewhat indifferent and incredulous as to its truth.

On the dissolution of the parliament, and the subsequent victory of the royalists, Shaftesbury's evidences, with Turberville, Smith, and others, applied to the ministers, and gave information of high treason against their former patron. It is sufficiently scandalous, that intelligence, conveyed by such men, should have been attended to; but there is some reason to think, that the court agents, nay the ministers, nay the king himself, went farther, and were active in endeavouring, though in vain, to find more reputable persons to support the blasted credit of the Irish witnesses. Shaftesbury was committed to prison, and his indictment was presented to the grand jury. The new sheriffs of London, Shute and Pilkington, were engaged as deeply as their predecessors in the country party; and they took care to name a jury devoted to the same cause: a precaution quite necessary, when it was scarcely possible to find men indifferent or attached to neither party (*v*). The draught of an association, it is true, against popery and the duke, was found in Shaftesbury's cabinet; and dangerous inferences might be drawn from many clauses of that paper. But it did not appear, that it had been framed by Shaftesbury, or so much as approved by him; yet as projects of an association had been proposed in parliament, it was natural for this nobleman, or his correspondents, to be thinking of some plan, which it might be proper to lay before that assembly. The grand jury, therefore, after weighing all these circumstances, rejected the indictment; and the people, who attended the hall, testified their joy by the loudest acclamations.

A scheme of oppression was laid in Scotland, about this time, after a manner still more flagrant, against a nobleman much less hated than Shaftesbury; and as that country was reduced to a state of almost total subjection, the project succeeded. From his youth the earl of Argyle had distinguished himself by his loyalty, and his attachment to the royal family. His father was at the head of the covenanters, but himself refused to concur in any of their measures; even when a commission of colonel was given him by the convention of states, he forbore to act upon it, till ratified by the king. By his respectful behaviour, as well as by his services, he was acceptable to Charles, when that prince was in Scotland: and even after the battle of Worcester he could not be persuaded to desert the royal

(*u*) This was no less than the fifteenth false plot, or sham-plot, as they were then called, with which the court, it was imagined, had endeavoured to load their adversaries.

(*v*) As far as swearing could go, the treason was clearly proved against Shaftesbury; or rather so clearly as to merit no kind of credit or attention. That veteran leader of a party, enured from his early youth to faction and intrigue, to cabals and conspiracies, was represented as opening without reserve his treasonable intentions to these obscure banditti, and throwing out such violent and outrageous reproaches upon the king, as none but men of low education, like themselves, could be supposed to employ.

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cause. Under Middleton he obstinately persevered to harrass the victorious English; and it was not till he received orders from that general, that he submitted to a capitulation. Such jealousy of his loyal attachments was entertained by the commonwealth and protector, that he was committed to prison; and his confinement was rigorously continued till the restoration. The king, sensible of his services, had remitted to him his father's forfeiture, and created him earl of Argyle; and when a most unjust sentence was passed upon him by the Scottish parliament, Charles had again remitted it. A parliament was summoned at Edinburgh this summer, and the duke was appointed commissioner. Besides granting money to the king, and voting the indefeasible right of succession, this parliament enacted a test, which all persons, possessed of offices, civil, military, or ecclesiastical, were bound to take. In this test, the king's supremacy was asserted, the covenant renounced, passive obedience assented to, and all obligations disclaimed of endeavouring any alteration in civil or ecclesiastical establishments. This was the state of the test, as proposed by the courtiers; but the country party proposed also to insert a clause, which could not with decency be refused, expressing the person's adherence to the Protestant religion. Among other things, the doctrine of resistance was inculcated; so that the test, being voted in a hurry, was found on examination to be a medley of contradiction and absurdity. Several persons, the most attached to the crown, scrupled to take it: the bishops and many of the clergy remonstrated: the earl of Queensberry refused to swear, except he might be allowed to add an explanation: and even the privy council thought it necessary to publish for general satisfaction a solution of some difficulties attending the test. All princes of the blood were exempted from taking the oath. This exception was opposed by Argyle; who observed, that the sole danger to be dreaded for the Protestant religion must proceed from the perversion of the royal family. By insisting on such topics, he drew on himself the secret indignation of the duke of York, of which he soon felt the fatal consequences.

When Argyle took the test as a privy counsellor, he subjoined, in the duke's presence, an explanation, which he had beforehand communicated to that prince, and which he believed to have been approved by him. It was in these words: "I have considered the test, and am very desirous of giving obedience as far as I can. I am confident that the parliament never intended to impose contradictory oaths: therefore, I think no man can explain it but for himself. Accordingly, I take it as far as it is consistent with itself, and the Protestant religion. And I do declare, that I mean not to bind myself, in my station, and in a lawful way, from wishing, and endeavouring any alteration, which I think to the advantage of church or state, and not repugnant to the Protestant religion and my loyalty: and this I understand as a part of my oath." The duke, as was natural, heard these words with tranquillity: no one took the least offence: Argyle was admitted to sit that day in council; and it was impossible to imagine, that a capital offence had been committed, where occasion seemed not in the least to have been given.

A few days after, a warrant was issued for committing Argyle to prison; and he was surprized to find, that he was indicted for high-treason, leasing-making, and perjury; and that from these innocent words an accusation was extracted, by which he was to forfeit honours, life, and fortune. The iniquity of the whole transaction is apparent. Of five judges, three did not scruple to find the guilt of treason and leasing-making to be incurred by the prisoner: a jury of fifteen noblemen gave verdict against him: and the king, being consulted, ordered the sentence to be pronounced; but the execution of it to be suspended till farther orders (*w*).

About this time, Cameron and Cargil, two furious preachers, publicly excommunicated the king for his tyranny and breach of the covenant; and renounced all allegiance to him. Cameron was killed by the troops in an action at Airs-Moss; Cargil was taken and hanged. Many of their followers were tried and convicted. Their lives were offered them if they would say, "God save the king;" but they would only agree to pray for his repentance; and they were put to death.

The king being now master in England, and no longer dreading the clamours of the country party, he permitted the duke to pay him a visit; and was soon after prevailed on to allow of his return to England, and of his bearing a part in the administration. The duke went to Scotland, in order to bring up his family, and settle the government of that country; and he chose to take his passage by sea. The ship struck on a sand-bank, and was lost: the duke escaped in the barge; and it is said that, while many persons of rank and quality were drowned, and among the rest Hyde, his brother-in-law, he was very careful to save several of his dogs and priests. During his abode in Scotland, the duke had behaved with great civility towards the gentry and nobility; and by his courtly demeanour had much won upon their affections: but his treatment of the enthusiasts was extremely rigorous and unrelenting. It is even asserted, that he sometimes assisted at the torture of criminals, and looked on with tranquillity, as if he were considering some curious experiment. He left the authority in the hands of the earl of Aberdeen, chancellor, and the earl of Queensberry, treasurer (*x*). Above two thousand persons were outlawed on pretence of their conversing or having intercourse with rebels, and they were continually hunted in their retreat by soldiers, spies, informers, and oppressive magistrates. It was usual to put ensnaring questions to people living peaceably in their own houses; such as, "Will you renounce the covenant? Do you esteem the rising at Bothwel to be rebellion? Was the killing of the archbishop of St. Andrew's murder?" And when the poor deluded creatures refused to answer, capital punishments were inflicted on them. Even women were brought to the gibbet for this pretended crime. A number of fugitives, rendered frantic by oppression, had published a seditious declaration; renouncing allegiance to Charles Stuart, whom they called, as they, for their parts, had indeed some reason to esteem him, a tyrant. This incident afforded the privy council a pretence for an unusual kind of oppression. Soldiers were dispersed over the country, and power was given to all commission-officers, even the lowest, to oblige every one they met with to abjure the declaration; and upon refusal, instantly, without farther questions, to shoot the delinquent. It were endless, as well as shocking, to enumerate all the instances of persecution, or, in other words, of absurd tyranny, which at that time prevailed in Scotland. One of them, however, is so singular, says Hume, that I cannot forbear relating it.

"Three women were seized, and the customary oath was tendered to them, by which they were to abjure the seditious declaration above mentioned. They all refused, and were condemned to a capital punishment by drowning. One of them was an elderly woman: the other two were young; one eighteen years of age, the other only thirteen. Even these violent persecutors were ashamed to put the youngest to death: but the other two were conducted to the place of execution, and were tied to stakes within the sea-mark at low water: a contrivance which

(*w*) It was pretended by the duke of York and his creatures, that Argyle's life and fortune were not in any danger, and that the sole reason for pushing the trial to such extremities against him was in order to make him renounce some hereditary jurisdictions, which gave his family a dangerous authority in the highlands, and obstructed the course of public justice. But if the end were justifiable, the means were infamous, and such as were incompatible, not only with a free, but a civilized government. Argyle had therefore no reason to trust any longer to the justice or mercy of such enemies: he made his escape from prison; and till he should find a ship for Holland, he concealed himself during some time in London. The king heard of the place of his retreat, but would not allow him to be arrested. All the parts, however, of his sentence, as far as the government in Scotland had power, were rigorously executed; his estate confiscated, his arms reversed and torn.

(*x*) A very arbitrary spirit appeared in their administration: a gentleman of the name of Weir was tried, because he had kept company with one who had been in rebellion; though that person had never been marked out by process or proclamation. The inferences upon which Weir was condemned (for a prosecution by the government and a condemnation were in Scotland the same thing) were extremely arbitrary. In the conclusion it was said to him, "You have conversed with a rebel; therefore you are yourself a rebel." A reprieve was, with some difficulty, procured for Weir; but it was seriously determined to make use of the precedent. Courts of judicature were erected in the southern and western counties, and a strict inquisition carried on against this new species of crime. The term of three years was appointed for the continuance of these courts; after which an indemnity was promised. Whoever would take the test, was instantly entitled to the benefit of this indemnity. The presbyterians, alarmed with such tyranny, from which no man could deem himself safe, began to think of leaving the country; and some of their agents were sent to England, in order to treat with the proprietors of Carolina for a settlement in that colony. Any condition seemed preferable to the living in their native country, which, by the prevalence of persecution and violence, was become as insecure to them as a den of robbers.

rendered

rendered their death lingering and dreadful. The elderly woman was placed farthest in, and by the rising of the waters was first suffocated. The younger, partly terrified with the view of her companion's death, partly subdued by the entreaty of her friends, was prevailed with to say, "God save the king." Immediately the spectators called out that she had submitted; and she was loosened from the stake. Major Winram, the officer who guarded the execution, again required her to sign the abjuration; and upon her refusal, he ordered her instantly to be plunged in the water, where she was suffocated."

This severity of administration is in part to be ascribed to the duke of York's temper, to whom the king had committed the government of that country, and who allowed nothing of moment to escape him. Even the government of England, from the same cause, began to be infected with the same severity. The duke's credit was great at court.

The king knowing how hateful the dissenters were to the church, resolved, contrary to the maxims of toleration which he had hitherto supported in England, to gratify his friends by the persecution of his enemies. The laws against conventicles were rigorously executed; an expedient which, Charles knew, would diminish neither the numbers nor influence of the non-conformists; and which is therefore to be deemed more the result of passion than of policy. Scarcely any persecution serves the intended purpose but such as amounts to a total extermination.

The king's authority had made every day great advances, yet it still met with considerable obstacles, chiefly from the city, which was entirely in the hands of the malcontents. The juries, in particular, named by the sheriffs, were not likely to be impartial judges between the crown and the people; and, after the experiments already made in the case of Shaftesbury and that of College, treason, it was apprehended, might there be committed with impunity. Sir John Moore, the mayor, was gained by secretary Jenkins, and encouraged to insist upon the privilege of his office, of naming one of the sheriffs. Accordingly, when the time of election came, he drank to North, a Levant merchant, who accepted of that expensive office. The country party said, that, being lately returned from Turkey, he was, on that account, better qualified to serve the purposes of the court. A poll was opened for the election of another sheriff; and here began the contest. The majority of the common-hall, headed by the two sheriffs of the former year, refused to acknowledge the mayor's right of appointing one sheriff, but insisted that both must be elected by the livery. Papillon and Dubois were the persons whom the country party agreed to elect: Box was pointed out by the courtiers. The poll was opened on the 24th of June, 1682; but as the mayor would not allow the election to proceed for two vacancies, the sheriffs and he separated, and each carried on the poll apart. The country party, who voted with the sheriffs for Papillon and Dubois were much more numerous than those who voted with the mayor for Box: but as the mayor insisted, that his poll was the only legal one, he declared Box to be duly elected. All difficulties, however, were not surmounted. Box, apprehensive of the consequences which might attend so dubious an election, fined off; and the mayor found it necessary to proceed to a new choice. When the matter was proposed to the common-hall, a loud cry was raised, "No election! No election!" The two sheriffs already elected, Papillon and Dubois, were insisted on as the only legal magistrates. But as the mayor still maintained, that Box alone had been legally chosen, and that it was now requisite to supply his place, he opened books afresh; and during the tumult and confusion of the citizens, a few of the mayor's partizans elected Rich, unknown to and unheeded by the rest of the livery. North and Rich were accordingly sworn in sheriffs for the ensuing year; but it was necessary to send a guard of the train bands to protect them in entering upon their office. A new mayor of the court party was chosen on the 25th of October, by means still more violent and irregular.

The court and church party, who were now named on juries, made justice subservient to their factious views; the king had a prospect of obtaining full revenge on his enemies; and it was not long before the effects of these alterations were seen. When it was first reported, that the duke intended to leave Scotland, Pilkington, at that time sheriff, had said, "He has already burned the city; and he is now coming to cut all our throats!" For these expressions, the duke sued Pilkington; and enormous damages, to the amount of one hundred thousand pounds, were decreed him (*y*).

Though the crown had obtained so great a victory in the city, it was not decisive; and the contest might be renewed every year at the election of magistrates. An important project, therefore, was formed, not only to make the king master of the city, but by that precedent to gain him uncontrolled influence in all the corporations of England, and thereby give the greatest wound to the legal constitution, which the most powerful and most arbitrary monarchs had ever yet been able to inflict. A writ of *quo warranto* was issued against the city; that is, an inquiry into the validity of its charter. It was pretended, that the city had forfeited all its privileges, and ought to be declared no longer a corporation, on account of two offences which the court of aldermen and common council had committed. After the great fire in 1666, all the markets had been rebuilt, and had been fitted up with many conveniences; and, in order to defray the expence, the magistrates had imposed a small toll on goods brought to market: in the year 1679, they had addressed the king against the prorogation of parliament, and had employed the following terms: "Your petitioners are greatly surprized at the late prorogation, whereby the prosecution of the public justice of the kingdom, and the making of necessary provisions for the preservation of your majesty and your Protestant subjects, have received interruption." These words were pretended to contain a scandalous reflection on the king and his measures. The cause of the city was defended against the attorney and solicitor generals, by Treby and Pollexfen. The advocates for the city pleaded their cause in a most able and justifiable manner; but they were borne down by the overbearing power of the judges, who caused a sentence of condemnation to be passed against the city (*z*), on the 12th of June, 1683. After sentence was pronounced, the city applied in a humble manner to the king; and he agreed to restore their charter; but in return they were obliged to submit to the following regulations; "That no mayor, sheriff, recorder, common serjeant, town clerk, or coroner, should be admitted to the exercise of his office without his majesty's approbation: that if the king disapprove twice of the mayor or sheriffs elected, he may by commission appoint these magistrates: that the mayor and court of aldermen may, with his majesty's leave, displace any magistrate: and that no alderman, in case of a vacancy, shall be elected without consent of the court of aldermen, who, if they disapprove twice of the choice, may fill the vacancy (*a*).

As long as so great a faction adhered to the crown, resistance, however justifiable, could never be prudent; and nothing was left but peaceably to submit to the present grievances. But there was a party in England which still cherished their former ideas of freedom, and were resolved to hazard every danger in its defence. This, like all other combinations, was made up of men, some guided by principle to the subversion of the present despotic power, some by interest, and still more by revenge. Some time before, in 1681, the king had been seized with a fit of sickness at Windsor, which gave great alarm to the public. Shaftesbury had even then attempted to exclude the duke of York from the succession, and united with the duke of Monmouth, lord Russel, and lord Grey. In case of the king's death, they conspired to rise in arms, and vindicate their opinions by the sword. Shaftesbury's imprisonment and trial put a stop to these designs for some time; but they soon revived with his release. Monmouth engaged the earl of Macclesfield, lord Brandon, sir Gilbert Gerrard, and other gentlemen in Cheshire. Lord Russel fixed a correspondence with sir William Courtney, sir Francis Rolles, and sir Francis Drake, who promised to raise the West. Shaftesbury, with one Ferguson, an independent

(*y*) By the law of England, ratified in the Great Charter, no fines or damages ought to extend to the total ruin of a criminal. Sir Patience Ward, formerly mayor, who gave evidence for Pilkington, was sued for perjury, and condemned to the pillory: a severe sentence, and sufficient to deter all witnesses from appearing in favour of those who were prosecuted by the court.

(*z*) The office of judge it is to be observed, was at that time held during pleasure; and it was impossible that any cause, where the court bent its force, could ever be carried against it.

(*a*) Most of the corporations in England, having the example of London before their eyes, were successively induced to surrender their charters into the king's hands. Considerable sums were exacted for restoring the charters; and all offices of power and profit were left at the disposal of the crown.

clergyman, managed the city, upon which the confederates chiefly relied. The turbulent Shaftesbury now found that his schemes were more likely to take effect: but this scheme, like all the former, was disappointed. The caution of lord Russel, who induced the duke of Monmouth to put off the enterprize, saved the kingdom from the horrors of a civil war; while Shaftesbury was so struck with a sense of his impending danger that he left his house, and, lurking about the city, attempted, but in vain, to drive the Londoners into open insurrection. At last, enraged at the numberless cautions and delays which clogged and defeated his projects, he threatened to begin with his friends alone. However, after a long struggle between fear and rage, he abandoned all hopes of success, and fled to Amsterdam, where he soon after ended his life, without being pitied by his friends, or feared by his enemies.

The loss of Shaftesbury, though it retarded the views of the conspirators, did not suppress them. A council of six was erected, consisting of Monmouth, Russel, Essex, Howard, Algernon Sidney, and John Hampden, grandson to the great man of that name. These corresponded with Argyle and the malcontents in Scotland, and resolved to prosecute the scheme of the insurrection, though they differed in principles. Monmouth aspired at the crown; Russel and Hampden proposed to exclude the duke of York from the succession, and redress the grievances of the nation; Sidney was for restoring the republic, and Essex joined in the same wish. Lord Howard was an abandoned man, who, having no principles, sought to embroil the nation, to gratify his private interest in the confusion.

Such were the leaders of the conspiracy, and such their motives: but there was also a set of subordinate conspirators, who frequently met together, and carried on projects unknown to Monmouth and his council. Among these men was colonel Rumsey, an old republican officer, with lieutenant colonel Walcot, of the same principles, Goodenough, under sheriff of London, Ferguson beforementioned, and several attorneys, merchants, and tradesmen of London. But Rumsey and Ferguson were the only persons who had access to the great leaders of the conspiracy. These men in their meetings embraced the most desperate resolutions. They proposed to assassinate the king in his way to Newmarket, whither he went commonly once a year on account of the races. Rumbald, one of the party, possessed a farm upon that road called the Rye House, and from thence the conspiracy was denominated the Rye House Plot. They deliberated on a scheme for stopping the king's coach, by overturning a cart on the highway at this place, and shooting him through the hedges. The house in which the king resided at Newmarket took fire accidentally, and he was obliged to leave that place eight days sooner than was expected, to which circumstance his safety was ascribed.

Among the conspirators was one Keiling, who was in danger of a prosecution for arresting the lord mayor of London; but he was resolved to purchase his pardon by discovering this plot to the ministry. Colonel Rumsey, and West, a lawyer, understanding that this man had informed against them, they agreed to save their lives by turning king's evidence, and surrendered themselves accordingly. Shephard, another conspirator, being apprehended, confessed all he knew, and orders were issued for apprehending the rest of the conspirators. Monmouth absconded, Russel was sent to the Tower, Grey escaped, Howard was taken concealed in a chimney; Essex, Sidney, and Hampden were soon after arrested, and had the mortification to find lord Howard an evidence against them.

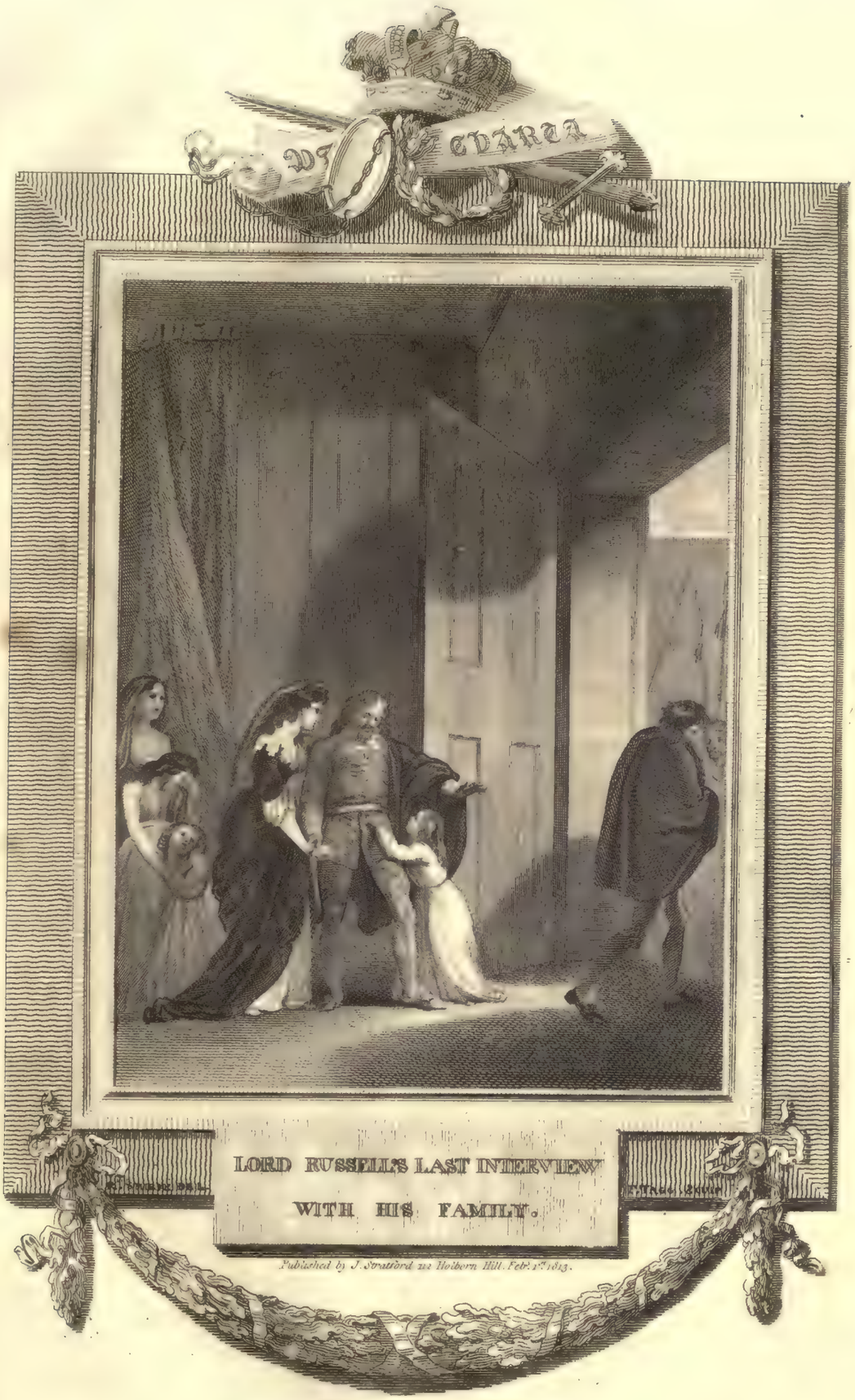
Lieutenant colonel Walcot was first brought to trial and condemned, together with Hone and Rouse, two of their associates, upon the evidence of Rumsey, West, and Shephard. They died penitent, acknowledging the justice of the sentence. Lord Russel, son of the earl of Bedford, was next brought to trial. He was a nobleman of numberless good qualities, and led into this conspiracy from a conviction of the duke of York's intention to restore popery. He was liberal, popular, humane, and brave; but all his virtues were looked upon as crimes. The chief evidence against him was lord Howard, a man of very bad character, and one of the conspirators. He swore that Russel was engaged in the design of an insurrection, but acquitted him, as did also Rumsey and West, of being privy to the assassination. To the fact which principally affected his life there was but one witness, and the law required two: this was over-ruled; for justice, during this whole reign, was not strictly adhered to. The jury, after a short deliberation, brought the prisoner in guilty. After his condemnation, the king was strongly solicited in his favour. Even two hundred thousand pounds were offered to the duchess of Portsmouth by lord Russel's father, the duke of Bedford; but the king was inexorable (*b*). Lord Cavendish, the intimate friend of Russel, offered to effect his escape, by exchanging apparel with him, and remaining a prisoner in his room. The duke of Monmouth sent a message to him, offering to surrender himself, if he thought that step would contribute to his safety. Lord Russel, however, generously rejected both these expedients, and resigned himself to his fate with admirable fortitude. His consort, the daughter and heiress of the earl of Southampton, finding that all supplications were vain, took leave of her husband without shedding a tear; while, as he parted from her, he turned to those about him, and said, "Now the bitterness of death is over." A little before the sheriffs conducted him to the scaffold, he wound up his watch, and said, "I have now done with time, and must henceforth think of eternity." The scaffold for his execution was erected in Lincoln's Inn Fields; where, without the least change of countenance, he laid his head on the block, which, at two strokes, was severed from his body, on the 21st of July, 1683.

The celebrated Algernon Sidney, son to the earl of Leicester, was next brought to his trial. He had been formerly engaged in the parliamentary army against the late king, and was even named on the high court of justice that tried him, but had not taken his seat among the judges. He had ever opposed Cromwell's usurpation, and went into voluntary exile upon the Restoration. His affairs, however, requiring his return, he applied to the king for a pardon, and obtained his request. But all his hopes and all his reasonings were formed upon republican principles. For his adored republic he had written and fought, and went into banishment, and ventured to return. It may easily be conceived how hateful a man of such principles was to a court that now was not even content with limitations to its power. They therefore took illegal measures to procure his condemnation. The only witness that deposed against Sidney was lord Howard, and the law required two. In order to make out a second witness, the court had recourse to a very extraordinary expedient. In ransacking his closet, some discourses on government were found in his own hand-writing, containing principles favourable to liberty, and in themselves no way subversive of a limited government. By overstraining some of these they were construed into treason. All the arguments used against their illegal proceedings were of no service; and the inhuman Jefferies, now chief justice, easily prevailed on a partial jury to bring him in guilty, and his execution followed soon after.

In a short time Hampden was brought to trial, and as there was nothing to affect his life, he was fined forty thousand pounds. Holloway, a merchant of Bristol, who had fled to the West Indies, was brought over, condemned, and executed. Sir Thomas Armstrong also, who had fled to Holland, was brought over, and shared the same fate. Lord Essex, who had been imprisoned in the Tower, was found in an apartment with his throat cut; but whether he was guilty of suicide, or whether the bigotry of the times might not have induced some assassin to commit the crime, cannot be now ascertained.

This was the last blood that was shed for an imputation of plots and conspiracies, which continued during the greatest part of Charles's reign. Nevertheless the cruelty, and the gloomy suspicion of the duke of York, who, since the dissolution of the last parliament, daily came into power, was dreadful to the nation. Titus Oates was fined one hundred thousand pounds for calling the duke a popish traitor, and he was imprisoned till he could pay it, which he was utterly incapable of. A like illegal sentence was passed upon Dutton Colt, for the same offence. Sir Samuel Barnardiston was fined ten thousand pounds, for having, in some private letters, reflected on the government. Of all those who were concerned in the late conspiracy, scarcely one escaped the severity of the court, except the duke of Monmouth, and he was the most culpable of any.

(*b*) So intent was the king upon taking the life of lord Russel, that he said, "Lord Russel shall find, that I am possessed of that prerogative, which, in the case of lord Stafford he thought proper to deny me." He, however, remitted the more ignominious part of the sentence.



LORD RUSSELL'S LAST INTERVIEW
WITH HIS FAMILY.

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The government of Charles was at this period as absolute as that of any monarch in Europe; but in 1684, he endeavoured to please his subjects by an act of popularity, and knowing that the suspicion of popery was of all others the most dangerous, he judged it proper to marry his niece, the lady Anne, to prince George, (a protestant,) brother to the king of Denmark. This was the last transaction worthy of note in Charles's extraordinary reign.

On the 1st of February, 1685, the king was seized with a sudden fit, which resembled an apoplexy; and though he was recovered from it by bleeding, yet he languished only for a few days, and then expired, on the 6th of February, in the fifty-fifth year of his age, and twenty-fifth of his reign.

During the few days of the king's illness, clergymen of the church of England attended him; but he discovered a total indifference towards their devotions and exhortations. Catholic priests were brought, and he received the sacrament from them, accompanied with the other rites of the Romish church. Two papers were found in his cabinet, written with his own hand, and containing arguments in favour of that communion. The duke had the imprudence immediately to publish these papers, and thereby both confirmed all the reproaches of those who had been the greatest enemies to his brother's measures, and afforded to the world a specimen of his own bigotry.

With respect to the character of this prince, says the celebrated Mr. Fox, at the close of his Introductory Chapter, upon the delineation of which so much pains have been employed, by the various writers who treat of the history of his time, it must be confessed that the facts which have been noticed in the foregoing pages, furnish but too many illustrations of the more unfavourable parts of it. From these we may collect, that his ambition was directed solely against his subjects, while he was completely indifferent concerning the figure which he or they might make in the general affairs of Europe; and that his desire of power was more unmixed with the love of glory than that of any other man whom history has recorded; that he was unprincipled, ungrateful, mean, treacherous, to which may be added vindictive, and remorseless. For Burnet, in refusing to him the praise of clemency and forgiveness, seems to be perfectly justifiable, nor is it conceivable upon what pretence his partizans have taken this ground of panegyric. I doubt, says the same elegant writer, whether a single instance can be produced, of his having spared the life of any one whom motives, either of policy, or of revenge, prompted him to destroy. To alledge that of Monmouth, as it would be an affront to human nature, so would it likewise imply the most severe of all satires against the monarch himself, and we may add too, an undeserved one. For in order to consider it as an act of meritorious forbearance on his part, that he did not follow the example of Constantine, and Philip the Second, by imbruing his hands in the blood of his son, we must suppose him to have been wholly void of every natural affection, which does not appear to have been the case. His declaration that he would have pardoned Essex, being made when that nobleman was dead, and not followed by any act evincing its sincerity, can surely obtain no credit from men of sense. If he had really had the intention, he ought not to have made such a declaration, unless he accompanied it with some mark of kindness to the relations, or with some act of mercy to the friends of the deceased. Considering it as a mere piece of hypocrisy, we cannot help looking upon it as one of the most odious passages of his life. This ill-timed boast of his intended mercy, and the brutal taunt with which he accompanied his mitigation, (if so it may be called,) of Russel's sentence, shew his insensibility and hardness to have been such, that in questions where right and feelings are concerned, his good sense, and even the good taste for which he has been so much extolled, seemed wholly to desert him.

On the other hand, it would be want of candour to maintain, that Charles was entirely destitute of good qualities; nor was the propriety of Burnet's comparison between him and Tiberius ever felt, I imagine, by any one but its author. He was gay and affable, and, if incapable of the sentiments belonging to pride of a laudable sort, he was at least free from haughtiness and insolence. The praise of politeness, which the Stoics are not perhaps wrong in classing among the moral virtues, provided they admit it to be one of the lowest order, has never been denied him, and he had in an eminent degree that facility of temper which, though considered by some moralists as nearly allied to vice, yet, inasmuch as it contributes greatly to the happiness of those around us, is, in itself, not only an engaging, but an estimable quality. His support of the queen during the heats raised by the popish plot, ought to be taken rather as a proof that he was not a monster, than to be ascribed to him as a merit; but his steadiness to his brother, though it may and ought, in a great measure, to be accounted for upon selfish principles, had at least a strong resemblance to virtue.

The best part of this prince's character seems to have been his kindness towards his mistresses, and his affection for his children, and others nearly connected to him by the ties of blood. His affection for the duke of Glocester, and for the duchess of Orleans, seems to have been sincere and cordial. To attribute, as some have done, his grief for the loss of the first to political considerations, founded upon an intended balance of power between his two brothers, would be an absurd refinement, whatever were his general disposition; but when we reflect upon that carelessness which, especially in his youth, as a conspicuous feature of his character, the absurdity becomes still more striking. And though Burnet more covertly, and Ludlow more openly, insinuate that his fondness for his sister was of a criminal nature, I never could find that there was any ground whatever for such a suspicion; nor does the little that remains of their epistolary correspondence give it the smallest countenance. Upon the whole, continues Mr. Fox, Charles the Second was a bad man, and a bad king: let us not palliate his crimes; but neither let us adopt false or doubtful imputations, for the purpose of making him a monster.

CHAP. VIII.

JAMES THE SECOND.

THE duke of York, who succeeded his brother on the 6th of February, 1685, had been bred a Papist by his mother, and was strongly bigotted in his principles. The intellects of this prince were naturally weak, and the education he had received made his mind still more feeble. He therefore conceived the impracticable project of reigning in the arbitrary manner of his predecessor, and of changing the established religion of his country, at a time when his person was hated, and the established religion highly approved. The people, though they despised the administration of Charles, yet had an affection for him: they were willing to bear with his faults, because Charles's whole behaviour was a continued instance of affability; but they were by no means willing to grant the same indulgence to James, as they knew him to be gloomy, proud, bigotted, and cruel.

The first act of James's reign was to assemble the privy council; where, after some praises bestowed on the memory of his predecessor, he said, "I have been reported to be a man for arbitrary power; but that is not the only story that has been made of me: and I shall make it my endeavour to preserve this government, both in church and state, as it is now by law established. I know the principles of the church of England are for monarchy, and the members of it have shewn themselves good and loyal subjects; therefore I shall always take care to defend and support it. I know too, that the laws of England are sufficient to make the king as great a monarch as I can wish; and as I shall never depart from the just rights and prerogatives of the crown, so I shall never invade any man's property. I have often heretofore ventured my life in defence of this nation; and I shall go as far as any man in preserving it in all its just rights and liberties (*c*)."

This discourse was received with applause, not only by the council, but by the nation. The king passed for a man of sincerity and honour; and as the current of favour ran at that time for the court, men believed that his intentions were conformable to his expressions. "We have," it was said by the court party, "the word of a king, and a word never yet broken." Addresses came from all quarters, full of duty, nay of the most servile adulation. Every one hastened to pay court to the new monarch (*d*): and James had

(*c*) See Fox's History of the Early Part of James the Second.

(*d*) The quaker's address was esteemed somewhat singular for its plainness and simplicity. It was conceived in these terms: "We are come to testify our sorrow for the death of our good friend Charles, and our joy for

had the vanity to think, that, notwithstanding the violent efforts made by so potent a party as the Whigs for his exclusion, no throne in Europe was better established than that of England.

The king, however, in the first exercise of his authority, shewed, that either he was not sincere in his professions of attachment to the laws, or that he had entertained so lofty an idea of his own legal power, that even his utmost sincerity would tend very little to secure the liberties of the people. All the customs and the greater part of the excise had been settled by parliament on the late king during life, and consequently the grant was now expired; nor had the successor any right to levy these branches of revenue. But James issued a proclamation, ordering the customs and excise to be paid as before; and this exertion of power he would not deign to qualify by the least act or even appearance of condescension.

To the above arbitrary measure, by which James displeased a great many of his friends, may be added, that his bigotry was so extreme that he went openly to mass, an illegal meeting, with all the ensigns of his dignity. He even sent one Caryl, as his agent, to Rome, to make submissions to the pope, and to pave the way for the re-admission of England into the bosom of the catholic church. The pope, Innocent the Eleventh, being better acquainted with the nature of man, prudently advised the king not to be too precipitate in his measures, nor rashly attempt what repeated experience might convince him was impracticable. These were but inauspicious symptoms in the very beginning of his reign; but the progress by no means fell short of the commencement.

James had, long before the beginning of his reign, had an intrigue with Mrs. Sedley, daughter of sir Charles Sedley, whom he afterwards created countess of Dorchester; but being now told that as he was to convert his people, the sanctity of his manners ought to correspond with his professions, Mrs. Sedley was discarded, and he resigned himself to the advice of the queen, who was as much governed by priests as he. From the suggestions of these men, and particularly the Jesuits, all measures were taken. One day, when the Spanish ambassador, Ronquillo, ventured to advise his majesty not to place too much confidence in the dangerous counsels of such kind of people, James said, "Is it not the custom in Spain for the king to consult his confessor?" "Yes," replied the ambassador, "and it is for that reason that our affairs succeed so very ill." But though his actions might serve to demonstrate his aims, yet his first parliament, which assembled on the 19th of May, 1685, and which was mostly composed of zealous Tories, were strongly inclined to comply with all the measures of the crown. They voted unanimously that they would settle on the present king, during his life, all the revenue enjoyed by the late king until the time of his decease. For this favour, James assured them of his resolution to secure them in the full enjoyment of their laws; but no answer could be extorted from him with regard to religion, for that he was secretly resolved to alter.

Notwithstanding the king's prejudices, all the chief offices of the crown continued still in the hands of Protestants. Rochester was treasurer; his brother Clarendon chamberlain; Godolphin chamberlain to the queen; Sunderland (e) secretary of state; Halifax president of the council. This nobleman had stood in opposition to James during the last years of his brother's reign; and when he attempted, on the accession, to make some apology for his late measures, the king told him, that he would forget every thing past, except his behaviour during the bill of exclusion. On other occasions, however, James appeared not of so forgiving a temper. When the principal exclusionists came to pay their respects to the new sovereign, they either were not admitted, or were received very coldly, sometimes even with frowns. This conduct might suit the character, which the king so much affected, of sincerity: but by showing, that a king of England could resent the quarrels of a duke of York, he gave his people no high idea either of his lenity or magnanimity.

To pave the way for his intended conversion of the kingdom, James thought it necessary to undeceive the nation with regard to the late rumour of a popish plot; and Titus Oates, the contriver, was the first object of royal indignation. He was tried for perjury on two indictments. One, for swearing he was present at a consultation of Jesuits in London, on the 24th of April, 1679; and another for swearing that father Ireland was in London in the beginning of September of the same year. He was convicted on the evidence of two and twenty persons who had been students at St. Omer's, (most of them men of credit and family,) on the first; and of forty-seven on the latter indictment. Oates's sentence was to pay a fine of a thousand marks on each indictment; to be whipped on two different days from Aldgate to Newgate, and from Newgate to Tyburn; to be imprisoned during life, and to be pilloried five times every year. Oates, long accustomed to a life of infamy, supported himself under every punishment that justice could inflict. He made solemn appeals to Heaven, and protestations of the veracity of his testimony. Though the whipping was so severe, that it appeared evidently the intention of the court to put him to death by that dreadful punishment; yet Oates survived it all, and lived till the reign of king William, when a pension of four hundred pounds per annum was settled upon him. Thus Oates remains as a stain upon the times in every part of his conduct. It is a stain upon them that he was first believed, it is a stain upon them that he was caressed, that he was tyrannically punished, and that he was afterwards rewarded by so considerable a pension.

The duke of Monmouth, when ordered to depart the kingdom, during the late reign, had retired to Holland, where he was well received by the prince of Orange; but who, after the accession of James thought it necessary to dismiss Monmouth and all his followers; and that illustrious fugitive retired to Brussels. Finding himself still pursued by the king's severity, he resolved to retaliate, and make an attempt on the kingdom. Monmouth had always been the darling of the people; and it was even asserted, that Charles declared he had married Mrs. Walters, the duke's mother, and that a little before his death he owned the duke's legitimacy. The duke of Argyle seconded his views in Scotland, and they formed the scheme of a double insurrection; so that while Monmouth should attempt to make a rising in the West, Argyle was also to try his endeavours in the North.

Argyle was the first who landed in Scotland, where he published his manifestoes, put himself at the head of two thousand five hundred men, and strove to influence the people in his cause. But a formidable body of the king's forces coming against him, his army fell away, and himself, after being wounded in attempting to escape, was taken prisoner by a peasant, who found him standing up to his neck in a pool of water. He was from thence carried to Edinburgh, where after enduring many indignities with a gallant spirit, he was publicly executed.

The fate of Argyle was but a bad encouragement to the unfortunate Monmouth, who, on the 11th of June, 1685, landed at Lyme in Dorsetshire, with scarcely a hundred followers. His name, however, was so popular, and so great was the hatred of the people both for the person and the religion of James, that in four days he had assembled above two thousand horse and foot. They were indeed all of them the lowest of the people, and his declarations were suited entirely to their prejudices. He called the king the duke of York, and denominated him a traitor, a tyrant, a murderer, and a popish usurper. He imputed to James the fire of London, the murder of sir Edmundsbury Godfrey, and the earl of Essex, and charged him with poisoning the late king.

The parliament was no sooner informed of Monmouth's landing, than they presented an address to the king, as-

for thy being made our governor." We are told thou art not of the persuasion of the church of England, no more than we: wherefore we hope thou wilt grant us the same liberty which thou allowest thyself. Which doing, we wish thee all manner of happiness."

(e) Robert Spencer, earl of Sunderland, had been at one period a supporter of the exclusion bill, and had been suspected of having offered the duchess of Portsmouth to obtain the succession of the crown for her son, the duke of Richmond. Nay more, king James, in his Memoirs, charges him with having intended, just at the time of Charles's death, to send him into a second banishment; but with regard to this last point, says Mr. Fox, chap. ii. p. 81. it appears to me, that many things in those memoirs relative to this earl, were written after James's abdication, and in the greatest bitterness of spirit, when he was probably in a frame of mind to believe any thing against a person by whom he conceived himself to have been basely deserted. The re-appointment, therefore, of this nobleman to so important an office, is to be accounted for partly upon the general principle of making the new reign a mere continuation of the former, and partly upon Sunderland's extraordinary talents for ingratiating himself with persons in power, and persuading them that he was the fittest instrument for their purposes; a talent in which he seems to have surpassed all the intriguing statesmen of his time, or perhaps of any other. *Fox.*

suring

suring him of their loyalty, zeal, and assistance. They even granted him four hundred thousand pounds to aid him in suppressing the rebellion. The duke of Albemarle, son to him who had restored the royal family, assembled the militia of Devonshire, to the number of four thousand men, and took post at Axminster, in order to oppose the rebels; but observing that his troops bore a great affection to Monmouth, he thought proper to retreat. Monmouth, though he had formerly given many proofs of personal courage, had not the vigour of mind requisite for an undertaking of this nature. From an ill-grounded diffidence of his men, he neglected to attack Albemarle; an easy enterprize, by which he might both have acquired credit, and have supplied himself with arms. Lord Gray, who commanded his horse, discovered himself to be a notorious coward; yet such was the softness of Monmouth's nature, that Gray was still continued in his command. Fletcher of Saltown, a Scotchman, a man of signal probity and fine genius, had been engaged by his republican principles in this undertaking, and commanded the cavalry together with Gray: but being insulted by one who had newly joined the army, and whose horse he had in a hurry made use of, he was prompted by passion, to which he was much subject, to discharge a pistol at the man; and he killed him on the spot. This incident obliged him immediately to leave the camp; and the loss of so gallant an officer was a great prejudice to Monmouth's expedition.

The next station of the rebels was at Taunton in Somersetshire, a disaffected town, which gladly and even fondly received them, and reinforced them with considerable numbers. Twenty young maids of some rank presented Monmouth with a pair of colours of their handiwork, together with a copy of the Bible. Monmouth was here persuaded to take upon him the title of king, and assert the legitimacy of his birth; a claim which he advanced in his first declaration, but whose discussion he was determined, he then said, during some time to postpone. His numbers had now increased to six thousand; and he was obliged every day, for want of arms, to dismiss a great many who crowded to his standard. He entered Bridgewater, Wells, and Frome; and was proclaimed in all these places: but forgetting that such desperate enterprizes can only be rendered successful by the most adventurous courage, he allowed the expectations of the people to languish, without attempting any considerable undertaking.

But while Monmouth, by his imprudent and misplaced caution, was thus wasting time in the west, the king employed himself in making preparations to oppose him. Six regiments of British troops were called over from Holland: the army was considerably augmented; and regular forces, to the number of three thousand men, were dispatched under the command of the earl of Feversham and Churchill, in order to check the progress of the rebels.

Monmouth, observing that no considerable men joined him, finding that an insurrection, which was projected in the city, had not taken place, and hearing that Argyle, his confederate, was already defeated and taken; sunk into such despondency, that he had once resolved to withdraw himself, and leave his unhappy followers to their fate. His adherents expressed more courage than their leader, and seemed determined to remain with him in every fortune. The negligent disposition, made by Feversham, invited Monmouth to attack the king's army at Sedgemoor near Bridgewater, on the 5th of July; and his men in this action showed what a native courage and a principle of duty, even when unassisted by discipline, is able to perform. They threw the veteran forces into disorder; drove them from their ground; continued the fight till their ammunition failed them; and would at last have obtained a victory, had not the misconduct of Monmouth and the cowardice of Gray prevented it. After a combat of three hours the rebels gave way; and were followed with great slaughter. About three hundred fell in the battle, and one thousand in the pursuit. And thus was concluded in a few weeks this enterprize, which was rashly undertaken, and as feebly conducted.

Monmouth fled from the field of battle above twenty miles, till his horse sunk under him. He then changed clothes with a peasant in order to conceal himself. The peasant was discovered by the pursuers, who now redoubled the diligence of their search. At last, the unhappy Monmouth was found lying in the bottom of a ditch, covered with fern, and a few raw pease in his pocket which he had gathered in the fields to sustain life: his body depressed with fatigue and hunger; his mind by the memory of past misfortunes, by the prospect of future disasters. Human nature is unequal to such calamitous situations; much more, the temper of a man, softened by early prosperity, and accustomed to value himself solely on military bravery. He burst into tears when seized by his enemies; and he seemed still to indulge the fond hope and desire of life. Though he might have known from the severity of James's temper, that no mercy could be expected, he wrote him the most submissive letters, and conjured him to spare the issue of a brother, who had ever been so strongly attached to his interest. James, finding such symptoms of depression and despondency in the unhappy prisoner, and desirous of feasting his eyes with the miseries of a fallen enemy, admitted him to his presence, in hopes of extorting a discovery of his accomplices: but Monmouth would not purchase life, however loved, at the price of so much infamy. James, however, offered him a paper, which he signed, declaring his own illegitimacy; and then the stern tyrant assured him, that his crime was of such a nature as could not be pardoned. Finding all efforts vain, he assumed courage from despair, and prepared himself for death, with a spirit better suited to his rank and character. This favourite of the people was attended to the scaffold with a plentiful effusion of tears. He warned the executioner not to fall into the error which he had committed in beheading Russel, where it had been necessary to repeat the blow. This precaution served only to dismay the executioner. He struck a feeble blow on Monmouth, who raised his head from the block, and looked him in the face, as if reproaching him for his failure. He gently laid down his head a second time; and the executioner struck him again and again to no purpose. He then threw aside the axe, and cried out that he was incapable of finishing the bloody office. The sheriff obliged him to renew the attempt; and at two blows more the head was severed from the body, on the 15th of July, 1685 (*f*).

This victory, obtained by the king's forces in the commencement of his reign, would naturally, had it been managed with prudence, have tended to increase his power and authority. But by reason of the cruelty with which it was prosecuted, and of the temerity with which it afterwards inspired him, it was a principal cause of his sudden ruin and downfal.

So tyrannical and arbitrary were the principles that the court instilled into all its servants, that Feversham, immediately after the victory, hanged above twenty prisoners; and was proceeding in his executions, when William Kenn, bishop of Bath and Wells, warned him, that these unhappy men were now by law entitled to a trial, and that their execution would be deemed a real murder. This remonstrance, however, did not stop the savage nature of colonel Kirke, a soldier of fortune, who had long served at Tangiers, and had contracted, from his intercourse with the Moors, an inhumanity less known in European and in free countries. At his first entry into Bridgewater, he hanged nineteen prisoners, without the least inquiry into the merits of their cause. As if to make sport with death, he ordered a certain number to be executed, while he and his company should drink the king's health, or the queen's, or that of chief-justice Jefferies. Observing their feet to quiver in the agonies of death, he cried that he would give them music to their dancing; and he immediately commanded the drums to beat and the trumpets to sound. By way of experiment, he ordered one man to be hung up three times, questioning him at each interval, whether he repented of his crime: but the man obstinately asserting, that, notwithstanding the past, he still would willingly engage in the same cause, Kirke ordered him to be hung in chains. One story, commonly told of him, is memorable for the treachery, as well as barbarity, which attended it. A young maid pleaded for the life of her brother, and flung herself at Kirke's feet, armed with all the charms which beauty and innocence, bathed in tears, could be-

(*f*) Thus perished, in the thirty-sixth year of his age, James duke of Monmouth, a nobleman, who, in less turbulent times, was well qualified to be an ornament of the court, even to be serviceable to his country. The favour of his prince, the caresses of faction, and the allurements of popularity, seduced him into enterprizes which exceeded his capacity. The good-will of the people still followed him in every fortune. Even after his execution, their fond credulity flattered them with hopes of seeing him once more at their head. They believed that the person executed was not Monmouth, but one who, having the fortune to resemble him nearly, was willing to give this proof of his extreme attachment, and to suffer death in his stead.

stow upon her. The tyrant was inflamed with desire, not softened into love or clemency. He promised to grant her request, provided that she, in her turn, would be equally compliant to him. The maid yielded to the conditions: but, after she had passed the night with him, the wanton savage, next morning, showed her, from the window, her brother, the darling object for whom she had sacrificed her virtue, hanging on a gibbet, which he had secretly ordered to be there erected for the execution. Rage and despair and indignation took possession of her mind, and deprived her for ever of her senses (*g*). All the inhabitants of that country, innocent as well as guilty, were exposed to the ravages of this barbarian. The soldiery were let loose to live at free quarters; and his own regiment, instructed by his example, and encouraged by his exhortations, distinguished themselves in a particular manner by their outrages. By way of pleasantry he used to call the most inhuman of his mercenaries *his lambs;* an appellation which was long remembered with horror in the west of England.

The violent Jefferies succeeded after some interval; and showed the people, that the rigours of law might equal, if not exceed, the ravages of military tyranny. This man, who wantoned in cruelty, had already given a specimen of his character in many trials, where he presided; and he now set out with a savage joy, as to a full harvest of death and destruction. He began at Dorchester; and thirty rebels being arraigned, he exhorted them, but in vain, to save him, by their free confession, the trouble of trying them: and when twenty-nine were found guilty, he ordered them, as an additional punishment of their disobedience, to be led to immediate execution. Most of the other prisoners, terrified with this example, pleaded guilty; and no less than two hundred and ninety-two received sentence of death at Dorchester. Of these, eighty were executed. Exeter was the next stage of his cruelty: two hundred and forty-three were there tried, of whom a great number were condemned and executed. He also opened his commission at Taunton and Wells; and every where carried consternation along with him. The juries were so struck with his menaces, that they gave their verdict with precipitation; and many innocent persons were involved with the guilty. And on the whole, besides those who were butchered by the military commanders, two hundred and fifty-one are computed to have fallen by the hand of what was called justice. The whole country was strewed with the heads and limbs of traitors. Every village almost beheld the dead carcase of a wretched inhabitant. And all the rigours of justice, unabated by any appearance of clemency, were fully displayed to the people by the inhuman Jefferies (*h*).

It might have been hoped, that, by all these bloody executions, a rebellion, so precipitate, so ill supported, and of such short duration, would have been sufficiently expiated: but nothing could satiate the spirit of rigour which possessed the administration. Even those multitudes, who received pardon, were obliged to atone for their guilt by fines, which reduced them to beggary; or where their former poverty made them incapable of paying, they were condemned to cruel whippings or severe imprisonments. Nor could the innocent escape the hands, no less rapacious than cruel, of the chief justice. Prideaux, a gentleman of Devonshire, being thrown into prison, and dreading the severe and arbitrary spirit, which at that time met with no control, was obliged to buy his liberty of Jefferies at the price of fifteen thousand pounds; though he could never so much as learn the crime of which he was accused.

Goodenough, the seditious under-sheriff of London, who had been engaged in the most bloody and desperate part of the Rye-house conspiracy, was taken prisoner after the battle of Sedgemoor, and resolved to save his own life by an accusation of Cornish, the sheriff, whom he knew to be extremely hateful to the court. Colonel Rumsey joined him in the accusation; and the prosecution was so hastened, that the prisoner was tried, condemned, and executed, in the space of a week. The perjury of the witnesses appeared immediately after; and the king seemed to regret the execution of Cornish. He granted his estate to his family, and condemned the witnesses to perpetual imprisonment (*i*).

It was not to be supposed that the king could by these slaughters acquire the love or the confidence of his people; yet he thought this a very favourable juncture for carrying on his schemes of religion and arbitrary power. Such attempts in Charles, however unjust, were in some measure politic, as he had a republican faction to contend with; but the same designs in James were as imprudent as they were impracticable; the republicans were then diminished to an inconsiderable number, and the people thought the advantage lay on the side of a limited monarchy. However, James began to throw off all disguise; and, when the parliament met, on the 9th of November, 1685, in the house of commons, by his speech, he seemed to think himself exempted from all rules of prudence or necessity of dissimulation. He told the house, that the militia were found by experience to be of no use; that it was necessary to augment the standing army; and that he had employed a great many catholic officers, in whose favour he had thought proper to dispense with the test, required to be taken by all entrusted by the crown: he found them useful, he said, and he was determined to keep them employed. These stretches of power naturally led the lords and commons into some degree of opposition; but they soon acquiesced in the king's measures, and then the parliament was dissolved for their tardy compliance. This was a happy circumstance for the nation; for it was perhaps impossible to pick out another house of commons, that could be more ready to acquiesce in the measures of the crown.

The parliament being dismissed, the king began the year 1686, with endeavouring to secure a catholic interest in the privy council. Accordingly four catholic lords were admitted: these were Powis, Arundel, Bellasis, and Dover. The king made no secret of his desires to have his courtiers converted to his own religion; and Sunderland, who saw that the only way to preferment was by popery, scrupled not to gain favour at that price. Rochester, the treasurer, though the king's brother-in-law, was turned out of his office, because he refused to conform. In these schemes, James was entirely governed by the counsels of his queen and his confessor, father Petre, a jesuit, whom he soon after created a privy counsellor. Even in Ireland, where the duke of Ormond had long supported the royal cause,

(*g*) Pomfret's admirable poetical essay, entitled "Cruelty and Lust," on this inhuman scene of wantonness, treachery, and cruelty, is too long for insertion, but is nevertheless worthy of perusal.

(*h*) Of all the executions, during this dismal period, the most remarkable were those of Mrs. Gaunt and lady Lisle, who had been accused of harbouring traitors. Mrs. Gaunt was an anabaptist, noted for her beneficence, which she extended to persons of all professions and persuasions. One of the rebels, knowing her humane disposition, had recourse to her in his distress, and was concealed by her. Hearing of the proclamation, which offered an indemnity and rewards to such as discovered criminals, he betrayed his benefactress, and bore evidence against her. He received a pardon as a recompense for his treachery; she was burned alive for her charity!

Lady Lisle was widow of one of the regicides who had enjoyed great favour and authority under Cromwell, and who having fled, after the restoration, to Lauzanne in Switzerland, was there assassinated by three Irish ruffians, who hoped to make their fortune by this piece of service. His widow was now prosecuted for harbouring two rebels the day after the battle of Sedgemoor; and Jefferies pushed on the trial with an unrelenting violence. The persons she was said to have concealed were Mr. Hicks, a presbyterian minister, and one Nelthorpe, who was a stranger to her. In vain did the aged prisoner plead, that these criminals had been put into no proclamation; had been convicted by no verdict; nor could any man be denominated a traitor, till the sentence of some legal court was passed upon him: that it appeared not by any proof, that she was so much as acquainted with the guilt of the persons, or had heard of their joining the rebellion of Monmouth: that though she might be disliked on account of her family, it was well known, that her heart was ever loyal, and that no person in England had shed more tears for that tragical event, in which her husband had unfortunately borne too great a share: and that the same principles, which she herself had ever embraced, she had carefully instilled into her son, and had, at that very time, sent him to fight against those rebels whom she was now accused of harbouring. Though these arguments did not move Jefferies, they had influence on the jury. Twice they seemed inclined to bring in a favourable verdict: they were as often sent back with menaces and reproaches; and at last were constrained to give sentence against the prisoner. Notwithstanding all applications for pardon, the cruel sentence was executed. The king said, that he had given Jefferies a promise not to pardon her: an excuse, which could serve only to aggravate the blame against himself.

(*i*) The injustice of this sentence against Cornish, was not wanted to disgust the nation with the court: the continued rigour of the other executions had already impressed an universal hatred against the ministers of justice, attended with compassion for the unhappy sufferers, who, as they had been seduced into this crime by mistaken principles, bore their punishment with the spirit and zeal of martyrs. The people might have been willing on this occasion to distinguish between the king and his ministers; but care was taken to prove, that the latter had done nothing but what was agreeable to their master. Jefferies, on his return, was immediately, for those eminent services, created a peer; and was soon after vested with the dignity of chancellor.

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this nobleman was dismissed as being a protestant; and the lord Tyrconnel, a furious and bigotted Roman catholic, was placed in his stead (*k*).

It was not, however, to be expected that the favour shewn by James to the catholics, would be tamely submitted to by the members of the English church. They had hitherto, indeed, supported the king against the republicans, and to their assistance he chiefly owed his crown; but finding his great partiality to the catholics, the clergy of the church of England began to take the alarm, and commenced an opposition to the measures of the court. The pulpits now became places of declamation against popery, and it was urged that it was more formidable from the support which was granted it by the king. It was in vain that James attempted to impose silence on these topics; for, instead of gratifying him in this particular, and avoiding the controversy, the protestant ministers pursued it with still greater vehemence.

Among those who distinguished themselves on this occasion, was one doctor Sharpe, a clergyman of London, who declaimed with just severity against those who had changed their religion, by such arguments as the popish missionaries were accustomed to produce. This being supposed to reflect upon the king, gave great offence to the court: and positive orders were given to the bishop of London to suspend Sharpe till his majesty's pleasure should be farther known. The bishop refused to comply; and the king resolved to punish the bishop for disobeying his commands.

In order to effect his designs, James determined to revive the high commission court, a measure which had given the nation so much disgust in the times of his father, and which had been for ever abolished by an act of parliament. But the laws were no obstacle to James, when they were in opposition to his inclination. An ecclesiastical commission was issued by his order, and seven commissioners (*l*) were invested with a full and unlimited authority over the whole church of England. This was so severe a blow to the church, that the kingdom became greatly alarmed at it; and if the authority of the court could have been carried into effect, the king's intentions of establishing popery would naturally follow. Before this tribunal the bishop was summoned; and by a majority of votes, not only he, but doctor Sharpe were suspended.

The next step was to allow a liberty of conscience to all sectaries; and James was taught to believe, that the truth of the catholic religion would then, upon a fair trial, gain the victory. In such a case, the same power that granted liberty of conscience might restrain it; and the catholic religion alone be then permitted to predominate. He therefore, in 1687, issued a declaration of general indulgence, and asserted that nonconformity to the established religion was no longer penal. In order to procure a favourable reception to this edict, he began to pay court to the dissenters, as if it had been principally intended for their benefit; but the dissenters were too suspicious to be so easily deceived. They knew that the king only meant to establish his own religion at the expence of theirs; and that both his own temper, and the genius of popery, had nothing of the true spirit of toleration in them. They dissembled, however, their distrust for some time, and James went on silently applauding himself on the success of his machinations. But what afforded the most alarming prospect, was the continuance and even increase of the violent and precipitate conduct of affairs in Ireland. Tyrconnel was now vested with full authority; and carried over with him as chancellor one Fitton, a man who had been taken from a jail, and who had been convicted of forgery and other crimes, but who compensated for all his enormities by a furious zeal for the catholic religion. He was even heard to say from the bench, that the protestants were all rogues, and that there was not one among forty thousand that was not a traitor, a rebel, and a villain. The whole strain of the administration was suitable to such sentiments. The catholics were put in possession of the council table, of the courts of judicature, and of the bench of justices. In order to make them masters of the parliament, the same violence was exercised that had been practised in England. The charters of Dublin and of all the corporations were annulled; and new charters were granted, subjecting the corporations to the will of the sovereign. The protestant freemen were expelled, catholics introduced; and the latter sect, as they always were the majority in number, were now invested with the whole power of the kingdom. The act of settlement was the only obstacle to their enjoying the whole property; and Tyrconnel had formed a scheme for calling a parliament, in order to reverse that act, and empower the king to bestow all the lands of Ireland on his catholic subjects. In this scheme, however, he met with opposition from the moderate catholics in the king's council. Lord Bellasis even affirmed with an oath, "that that fellow in Ireland was fool and madman enough to ruin ten kingdoms." The decay of trade, from the desertion of the protestants, was represented; the sinking of the revenue; the alarm communicated to England: and by these considerations the king's resolutions were for some time suspended; though it was easy to foresee, from his conduct, which side was likely to preponderate.

But the king was not content with discovering in his own kingdoms the imprudence of his conduct: he was resolved that all Europe should be witness of it. Therefore, to complete his work, for James did nothing by halves, he publicly sent the earl of Castlemaine ambassador extraordinary to Rome, in order to express his obeisance to the pope, and to reconcile his kingdoms, in form, to the catholic communion. Never man, who came on so important an errand, met with so many neglects, and even insults, as Castlemaine. His holiness, instead of being pleased with this forward step, concluded that a scheme, conducted with so much weakness, could never possibly be successful. And as he was engaged in a violent quarrel with the French monarch, a quarrel which interested him more nearly than the conversion of England, he bore little regard to James, whom he believed too closely connected with his capital enemy. Even the cardinals were heard facetiously to declare, that the king should be excommunicated, for thus endeavouring to overturn the small remains of popery that yet subsisted in England.

The only proof of complaisance which James received from the pontiff was his sending a nuncio to England, in return for the embassy. By act of parliament any communication with the pope was made treason: yet so little regard did the king pay to the laws, that he gave the nuncio a public and solemn reception at Windsor. The duke of Somerset, one of the lords of the bed-chamber, because he refused to assist at this ceremony, was dismissed from his employment. The nuncio resided openly in London during the rest of this reign. The Jesuits were soon after permitted to erect colleges in different parts of the kingdom, and exercised the catholic worship in the most public manner. Four catholic bishops were publicly consecrated in the king's chapel, and sent out under the title of vicars apostolical, to exercise the episcopal function in their respective dioceses. Their pastoral letters, directed to the lay catholics of England, were printed by the king's printer, and dispersed by the express allowance and permission of James. The regular clergy of that communion appeared at court in the habits of their order, and a great number of priests and friers came over to England. Some of them were so indiscreet as to boast, that, in a little time, they hoped to walk in procession through the metropolis.

Every great office the crown had to bestow was now gradually transferred from the protestants: even the earls of Rochester and Clarendon, the king's brothers-in-law, though they had been ever faithful to his interests, were, because they were protestants, dismissed from their employments; and the violent Jefferies himself, though he had sacrificed every principle of justice and humanity to the court, yet, because he refused to give up his religion, was declining in favour and interest. Nothing now remained but to open the door of the church and universities to the intrusion of the catholics, and an attempt to effect this was soon afterwards begun.

Father Francis, a Benedictine monk, was recommended by the king to the university of Cambridge for the degree of master of arts; but his religion was a stumbling-block which the university could not get over; and they presented a petition, beseeching the king to recall his man-

(*k*) The king one day, in his attempts to convert his subjects, stooped so low as colonel Kirke; but this daring soldier told him that he was pre-engaged, for he had promised the king of Morocco, when he was quartered at Tangiers, that if he ever changed his religion, he would turn Mohammedan.

(*l*) The persons named in this commission were, the archbishop of Canterbury, Sancroft; the bishop of Durham, Crew; of Rochester, Sprat; the earl of Rochester; Sunderland; chancellor Jefferies; and lord chief justice Herbert. The archbishop of Canterbury, however, refused to act, and the bishop of Chester was substituted in his place.

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date. Their petition was disregarded, and their deputies denied a hearing: the vice-chancellor himself was summoned to appear before the high commission court, and deprived of his office; yet the university persisted, and father Francis was refused. The king thus foiled, thought proper at that time to drop his pretensions, but he carried on his attempts upon the university of Oxford with still greater vigour.

The place of president of Magdalen College, one of the richest foundations in Europe, being vacant, the king sent a mandate in favour of one Farmer, a new convert, and a man of a bad character in other respects. The fellows of the college made very submissive applications to the king for recalling his mandate; but before they received an answer, the day came, on which, by their statutes, they were required to proceed to an election. The person now recommended by the king was Dr. Parker, lately created bishop of Oxford, a man of prostitute character, but who atoned for all his vices by his willingness to embrace the catholic religion. The fellows refused to comply with this injunction; which so incensed the king, that he repaired in person to Oxford, and ordered the fellows to be brought before him. He reproached them with their insolence and disobedience in the most imperious terms, and commanded them to choose Parker without delay. Another refusal on their part served still more to exasperate him; and finding them resolute in the defence of their privileges, he ejected them all, except two who complied, from their benefices, and Parker was put in possession of the place. Upon this the college was filled with catholics, and Charnock, who was one of the two that remained, was made vice-president. This act of violence, of all those which were committed during the reign of James, is perhaps the most illegal and arbitrary.

The next measure of the court was an insult still more open on the ecclesiastics, and rendered the breach between the king and that powerful body fatal, as well as incurable. A second declaration for liberty of conscience, almost in the same terms with the former, was published in 1688; and the king subjoined an order, that, immediately after divine service, it should be read by the clergy in all the churches. As they were known universally to disapprove of the use made of the suspending power, this clause, they thought, could be meant only as an insult upon them; and they were sensible, that, by their compliance, they should expose themselves, both to public contempt, on account of the tameness of their behaviour, and to public hatred, by their indirectly patronising so noxious a prerogative (*m*). They were determined, therefore, almost universally to preserve the regard of the people; their only protection, while the laws were become of so little validity, and while the court was so deeply engaged in opposite interests. In order to encourage them in this resolution, six prelates, namely Lloyd bishop of St. Asaph, Kenn of Bath and Wells, Turner of Ely, Lake of Chichester, White of Peterborough, and Trelawney of Bristol, met privately with William Sancroft the primate, and concerted the form of a petition to the king. They there represent in few words, that, though possessed of the highest sense of loyalty, a virtue of which the church of England had given such eminent testimonies; and though desirous of affording ease, in a legal way, to all protestant dissenters; yet, because the declaration of indulgence was founded on a prerogative formerly declared illegal by parliament, they could not, in prudence, honour, or conscience, so far make themselves parties as the distribution of it all over the kingdom would be interpreted to amount to. They therefore besought the king, that he would not insist upon their reading that declaration.

The king was incapable, not only of yielding to the greatest opposition, but of allowing the slightest and most respectful contradiction to pass uncensured. He immediately embraced a resolution (and his resolutions, when once embraced, were inflexible) of punishing the bishops, for a petition so popular in its matter, and so prudent and cautious in the expression. As the petition was delivered him in private, he summoned them before the council; and questioned them whether they would acknowledge it. The bishops saw his intention, and seemed long desirous to decline answering: but being pushed by the chancellor, they at last avowed the petition. On their refusal to give bail, an order was immediately drawn for their commitment to the Tower; and the crown lawyers received directions to prosecute them for the seditious libel which, it was pretended, they had composed and uttered (*n*).

The people were already aware of the danger to which the prelates were exposed; and were raised to the highest pitch of anxiety and attention with regard to the issue of this extraordinary affair. But when they beheld these fathers of the church brought from court under the custody of a guard, when they saw them embarked in vessels on the river, and conveyed towards the Tower, all their affection for liberty, all their zeal for religion, blazed up at once; and they flew to behold this affecting spectacle. The whole shore was covered with crowds of prostrate spectators, who at once implored the blessing of those holy pastors, and addressed their petitions towards Heaven for protection during this extreme danger, to which their country and their religion stood exposed. Even the soldiers, seized with the contagion of the same spirit, flung themselves on their knees before the distressed prelates, and craved the benediction of those criminals whom they were appointed to guard. Some persons ran into the water, that they might participate more nearly in those blessings, which the prelates were distributing on all around them. The bishops themselves, during this triumphant suffering, augmented the general favour, by the most lowly submissive deportment; and they still exhorted the people to fear God, honour the king, and maintain their loyalty; expressions more animating than the most inflammatory speeches. And no sooner had they entered the precincts of the Tower than they hurried to chapel, in order to return thanks for those afflictions, which Heaven, in defence of its holy cause, had thought them worthy to endure.

Their passage, when conducted to their trial, was, if possible, attended by greater crowds of anxious spectators. All men saw the dangerous crisis to which affairs were reduced, and were sensible that the king could not have put the issue on a cause more unfavourable for himself than that in which he had so imprudently engaged. Twenty-nine temporal peers (for the other prelates kept aloof) attended the prisoners to Westminster Hall; and such crowds of gentry followed the procession, that scarcely was any room left for the populace to enter. The lawyers for the bishops were sir Robert Sawyer, sir Francis Pemberton, Pollexfen, Treby, and Somers. No cause, even during the prosecution of the popish plot, was ever heard with so much zeal and attention. The popular torrent, which, of itself, ran fierce and strong, was now farther irritated by the opposition of government. The counsel for the bishops pleaded, "that the law allowed subjects, if they thought themselves aggrieved in any particular, to apply by petition to the king, provided they kept within certain bounds, which the same law prescribed to them, and which, in the present petition, the prelates had strictly observed: that an active obedience in cases which were contrary to conscience, was never pretended to be due to government; and law was allowed to be the great measure of the compliance and submission of subjects: that when any person found commands to be imposed upon him which he could not obey, it was more respectful in him to offer his reasons for refusal, than to remain in a sullen and refractory silence: that it was no breach of duty in subjects, even though not called upon, to discover their sense of public measures, in which every one had so intimate a concern: that the bishops in the present case were called upon, and must either express their approbation by compliance, or their disapprobation by petition: that it could be no sedition to deny the prerogative of suspending the laws; because there really was no such prerogative, nor ever could be, in a legal and limited government: that even if this prerogative were real, it had yet been frequently controverted before the whole nation, both in Westminster Hall, and in both houses of parliament; and no one had ever dreamed of punishing the denial of it as

(*m*) When Charles dissolved his last parliament, he set forth a declaration giving his reasons for that measure, and this declaration the clergy had been ordered to read to the people after divine service. These orders were agreeable to their party prejudices, and they willingly submitted to them. The contrary was now the case.

(*n*) It may be here observed, that, although the bishops of Durham and Rochester, who were members of the ecclesiastical court, ordered the declaration to be read in the respective churches of their dioceses, the audiences could not hear them with any degree of patience. One minister in particular told his congregation, that though he had positive orders to read the declaration, they had none to hear it, and therefore they might leave the church; a hint which the congregation quickly obeyed.

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criminal: that the prelates, instead of making an appeal to the people, had applied in private to his majesty, and had even delivered their petition so secretly, that, except by the confession extorted from them before the council, it was found impossible to prove them the authors: and that though the petition was afterwards printed and dispersed, it was not so much as attempted to be proved that they had the least knowledge of the publication." These arguments were convincing in themselves, and were heard with a favourable disposition by the audience. Even some of the judges, Holloway and Powel, though their seats were held during pleasure, declared themselves in favour of the prisoners. The jury, however, from what cause is unknown, took several hours to deliberate, and kept, during so long a time, the people in the most anxious expectation. But when the wished-for verdict, "Not guilty," was at last pronounced, on the 17th of June, the intelligence was echoed through the hall, was conveyed to the crowds without, was carried into the city, and was propagated with infinite joy throughout the kingdom (*o*).

If the bishops testified the readiness of martyrs in support of their religion, James shewed no less ardour in his attempts towards the establishment of his own. Grown odious to every class of his subjects, he still resolved to persist; for it was a part of his character, that those measures he once adopted he always persevered in pursuing. He struck out two of the judges, Powel and Holloway, because they had declared in favour of the bishops. He issued orders to prosecute all those clergymen who had not read his declaration, and all had refused it, except about two hundred. He sent a mandate to the new fellows, whom he had obtruded on Magdalen College, to elect for president, in the room of Parker, lately deceased, one Gifford, a doctor of the Sorbonne, and titular bishop of Madura.

Finding that the clergy were every where averse to the harshness of his proceedings, he was willing to try next what he could do with the army. He apprehended, that if one regiment should promise implicit obedience, their example would soon induce others to comply. He therefore ordered one of the regiments to be drawn up in his presence, and desired that such as were against his late declaration for liberty of conscience, should lay down their arms. He was surprized to see the whole battalion ground their arms, except two officers and a few soldiers of the Romish communion.

The opposition which was made to this infatuated monarch's measures served only to inflame his zeal. He was continually stimulated by the queen, and the priests about him, to go forward in his glorious work without receding. A fortunate circumstance happened in his family. A few days before the acquittal of the bishops, the queen was brought to bed of a son, on the 10th of June, 1688, who was baptized by the name of James. This would, if any thing could at that time, have served to establish him on the throne; but so great was the animosity against him, that a story was propagated that the child was supposititious, and brought to the queen's apartment in a warming-pan. So great, however, was this monarch's pride, that he scorned to take any precautions to refute the calumny. Indeed all his measures were marked with the characters of pride, of cruelty, of bigotry, and of weakness. In his arbitrary schemes James was chiefly supported by Father Petre, his confessor, an ambitious, ignorant, and intriguing priest, whom some historians have asserted was a concealed creature belonging to the prince of Orange. By that prince's secret directions, it was asserted, that James was hurried on, under the guidance of Petre, from one precipice to another, until he was obliged to give up the reins of that government which he went near to overthrow.

William, prince of Orange, had married Mary, the eldest daughter of king James. This princess had been bred a protestant; and as she was for a long time heir-apparent to the throne, the people bore the encroachments of the king, in hopes that his protestant successor would rectify those measures he had taken towards the establishment of popery, and the extension of the prerogative of the crown. For this reason, the prince gave the king not only advice but assistance in all emergencies, and had actually supplied him with six thousand troops upon Monmouth's invasion. But now, when a young prince was born, that excluded his hopes by succession, he lent more attention to the complaints of the nation; and began to favour those discontents which he had before endeavoured to suppress.

The politic William now perceived that James had incurred the most violent hatred of his subjects. He was minutely informed of their discontents; and by seeming to discourage, still farther increased them. He therefore began by giving Dykevelt, his envoy, instructions to apply in his name to every sect and denomination in the kingdom. To the church party he sent assurances of favour and regard; and declared that his education in Holland had no way prejudiced him against episcopacy. To the nonconformists he sent exhortations not to be deceived by the insidious caresses of their crown enemy, but to wait for a real and sincere protector. Dykevelt executed his commission with such dexterity, that all orders of men cast their eyes towards Holland, and expected from thence a deliverance from those dangers with which they were threatened at home.

The prince soon found that every rank was ripe for defection, and received invitations from some of the most considerable persons in the kingdom (*p*). The people of England indeed, though long divided between Whig and Tory, were unanimous in their measures against the king. The Whigs hated him upon principles of liberty, the Tories upon principles of religion. The former had ever shewn themselves tenacious of their political rights; the latter were equally obstinate in defence of their religious tenets. James had invaded both; so that for a time all factions were laid asleep, except the general one of driving the tyrant from a throne, which upon every account, he was so ill qualified to fill. William determined to accept the invitations of the kingdom; and still more readily embarked in the cause, as he saw that the malcontents had conducted their measures with prudence and secrecy.

The prince of Orange entered upon his enterprize just when the people were in a flame from the recent insult offered to their bishops. He had before this considerably increased the Dutch fleet, and the ships were then lying ready in the harbour. Some additional troops were also levied, and sums of money raised for other purposes were converted to the advancement of this expedition. Even troops from some of the German powers were marched down to Holland to protect his authority during his absence. Every place was in motion; all Europe saw and expected the descent, except the unfortunate James himself, who, secure in the piety of his intentions, thought nothing could injure his schemes for promoting the cause of his dearly beloved church.

The king of France was the first who apprised him of his danger; but James could not be persuaded that his son-in-law intended an invasion. He therefore rejected the French king's proposal of assisting him with ships and men. James having thus rejected the assistance of his friends, and being left to face the danger alone, was astonished with an advice from his minister in Holland, that an invasion was not only projected, but avowed. When he first read the letter, containing this information, he grew pale, and the letter dropped from his hand. He saw the gulph into which he was fallen, and he knew not where to seek for protection. His only resources was in retreating from those various precipitate measures into which he had plunged himself. He paid court to the Dutch, and

(*o*) Ever since Monmouth's rebellion, the king had, every summer, encamped his army on Hounslow Heath, that he might both improve their discipline, and by so unusual a spectacle overawe the mutinous people. A popish chapel was openly erected in the midst of the camp, and great pains were taken, though in vain, to bring over the soldiers to that communion. The few converts, whom the priests had made, were treated with such contempt and ignominy, as deterred every one from following the example. Even the Irish officers, whom the king introduced into the army, served rather, from the aversion borne them, to weaken his interest among them. It happened, that the very day on which the trial of the bishops was finished, James had reviewed the troops, and had retired into the tent of lord Feversham, the general, to take some refreshment; when he was surprized to hear a great uproar in the camp, attended with the most extravagant symptoms of tumultuary joy. He suddenly inquired the cause, and was told by Feversham, "It was nothing but the rejoicing of the soldiers for the acquittal of the bishops." "Do you call that nothing?" replied he, "but so much the worse for them."

(*p*) Admiral Herbert, and admiral Russel, assured him in person of their own and the national attachment. Henry Sidney, brother to Algernon, and uncle to the earl of Sunderland, came over to him with assurances of an universal combination against the king. Lord Dumblaine, son to the earl of Danby, being master of a frigate, made several voyages to Holland, and carried from many of the nobility tenders of duty, and even considerable sums of money to the prince of Orange. Soon after the bishop of London, the earls of Danby, Nottingham, Devonshire, Dorset, with several other lords, gentlemen, and principal citizens, united in their addresses to him, and intreated his speedy descent.

offered to enter into any alliance with them for their common security. He replaced in all the counties the deputy-lieutenants and justices, who had been deprived of their commissions for their adherence to the test and penal laws. He restored the charters of such corporations as he had possessed himself of; he annulled the high commission court; he reinstated the expelled president and fellows of Magdalen College; and he was even reduced to caress those bishops, whom he had so lately persecuted and insulted. But all James's concessions were now too late. They were regarded as the symptoms of fear, and not of repentance; as the cowardice of guilt, and not the conviction of error. Indeed he soon shewed the people the insincerity of his reformation; for, hearing that the Dutch fleet was dispersed, he recalled those concessions which he had made in favour of Magdalen College; and, to shew his attachment to the Romish church, at the baptism of his new-born son, he appointed the pope one of the sponsors.

In the mean time the prince of Orange's declaration was dispersed over the kingdom, and met with universal approbation. All the grievances of the nation were then enumerated: the dispensing and suspending power; the court of ecclesiastical commission; the filling of all offices with Catholics, and the raising of a Jesuit to be privy-counsellor; the open encouragement given to popery, by building every where churches, colleges, and seminaries, for that sect; the displacing of judges if they refused to give sentence according to orders received from court; the annulling of the charters of all the corporations, and the subjecting of elections to arbitrary will and pleasure; the treating of petitions, even the most modest, and from persons of the highest rank, as criminal and seditious; the committing of the whole authority of Ireland, civil and military, into the hands of papists; the assuming of an absolute power over the religion and laws of Scotland, and openly exacting in that kingdom an obedience without reserve; and the violent presumptions against the legitimacy of the prince of Wales. In order to redress all these grievances, the prince said that he intended to come over to England with an armed force, which might protect him from the king's evil counsellors; and that his sole aim was to have a legal and free parliament assembled, who might provide for the safety and liberty of the nation, as well as examine the proofs of the prince of Wales's legitimacy. No one, he added, could entertain such hard thoughts of him as to imagine, that he had formed any other design than to procure the full and lasting settlement of religion, liberty, and property. The force which he meant to bring with him was totally disproportioned to any views of conquest; and it were absurd to suspect, that so many persons of high rank, both in church and state, would have given him so many solemn invitations for such a pernicious purpose. Though the English ministers, terrified with his enterprize, had pretended to redress some of the grievances complained of; there still remained the foundation of all grievances, that upon which they could in an instant be again erected, an arbitrary and despotic power in the crown. And for this usurpation there was no possible remedy, but by a full declaration of all the rights of the subject in a free parliament.

So well concerted indeed were the prince's measures, that, in three days, above four hundred transports were hired; the army quickly fell down the rivers and canals from Nimeguen; the artillery, arms, stores, and horses, were embarked; and the prince set sail from Helvoet-Sluys, with a fleet of near five hundred vessels, and an army of above fourteen thousand men, on the 21st of October. He first encountered a storm, which drove him back; but his loss being soon repaired, the fleet put to sea under the command of admiral Herbert, and made sail with a fair wind towards the west of England. The same wind detained the king's fleet in their station near Harwich, and enabled the Dutch to pass the streights of Dover without opposition. Both shores were covered with multitudes of people, who, besides admiring the grandeur of the spectacle, were held in anxious suspense by the prospect of an enterprize, the most important, which, during some ages, had been undertaken in Europe. The prince had a prosperous voyage, and landed his army safely at the village of Broxholme in Torbay on the fifth of November, the anniversary of the gun-powder treason.

The Dutch army marched first to Exeter; and the prince's declaration was there published. That the whole county was so terrified with the executions which had ensued upon Monmouth's rebellion, that no one for several days joined the prince. The bishop of Exeter in a fright fled to London, and carried to court intelligence of the invasion. As a reward for his zeal, he received the archbishopric of York, which had long been kept vacant, with an intention, as was universally believed, of bestowing it on some Catholic. The first person who joined the prince was major Borringdon; and he was quickly followed by the gentry of the counties of Devon and Somerset. Sir Edward Seymour made proposals for an association, which every one signed. By degrees, the earl of Abingdon, Mr. Russel, son of the earl of Bedford, Mr. Wharton, Godfrey, Howe, came to Exeter. All England was in commotion, Lord Delamere took arms in Cheshire, the earl of Danby seized York, the earl of Bath, governor of Plymouth, declared for the prince, the earl of Devonshire made a like declaration in Derby. The nobility and gentry of Nottinghamshire embraced the same cause; and every day there appeared some effect of that universal combination into which the nation had entered against the measures of the king. Even those who took not the field against him, were able to embarrass and confound his counsels. A petition for a free parliament was signed by twenty-four bishops and peers of the greatest distinction, and was presented to the king. No one thought of opposing or resisting the invader.

But the most dangerous symptom was the disaffection which from the general spirit of the nation, not from any particular reason, had creeped into the army. The officers seemed all disposed to prefer the interests of their country and of their religion to those principles of honour and fidelity, which are commonly esteemed the most sacred ties by men of that profession. Lord Colchester, son to the earl of Rivers, was the first officer who deserted to the prince. Lord Lovelace was taken in the like attempt by the militia, under the duke of Beaufort. Lord Cornbury, son to the earl of Clarendon, carried off the greatest part of three regiments of cavalry to the prince: and several officers of distinction informed Feversham, the general, that they could not in conscience fight against the prince of Orange.

The defection of the officers was followed by that of the king's own servants and creatures. Lord Churchill had been raised from the rank of a page, and had been invested with a high command in the army; had been created a peer, and owed his whole fortune to the king's bounty; even he deserted among the rest, and carried with him the duke of Grafton, natural son to the late king, colonel Berkeley, and some others.

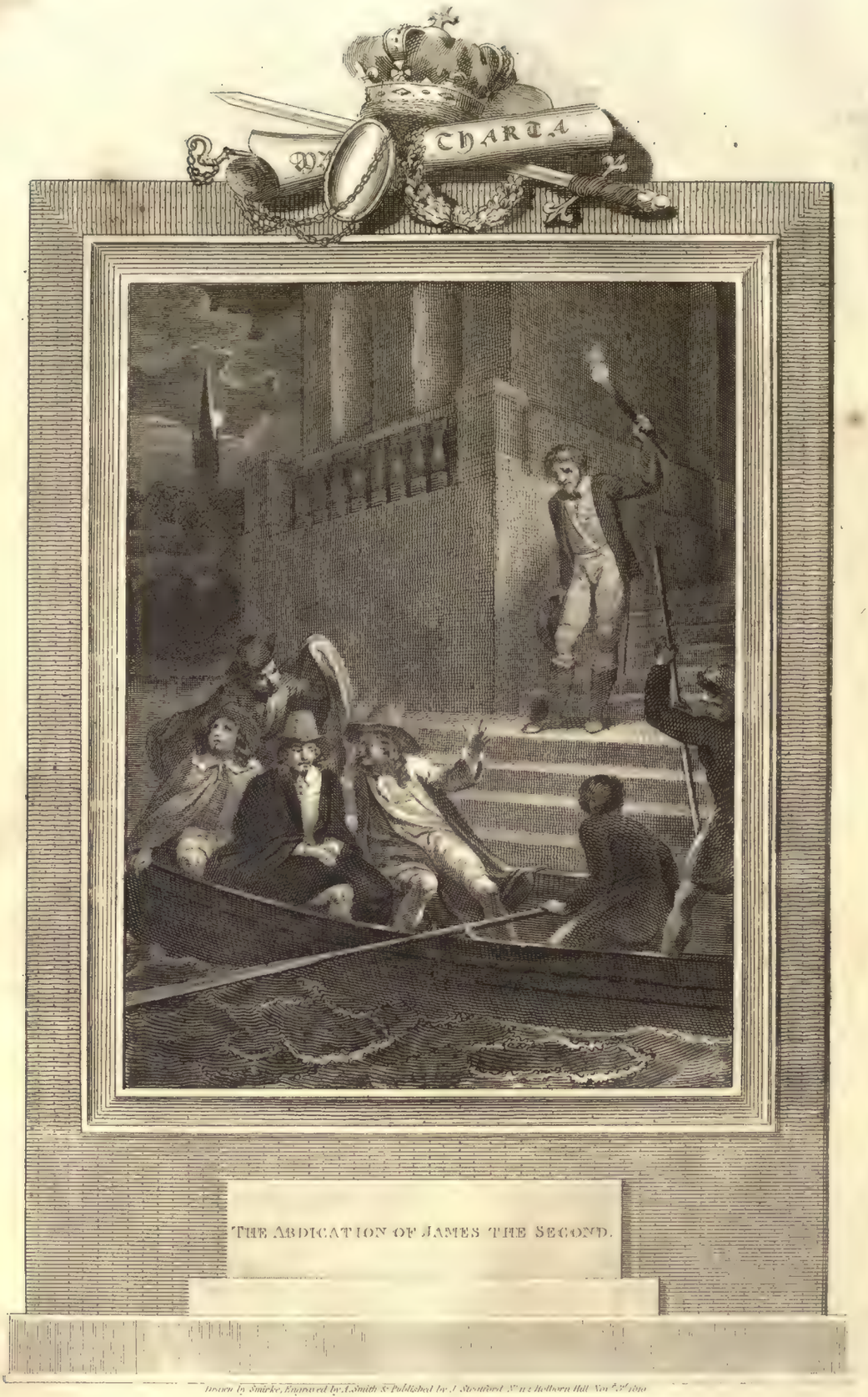
In this universal defection, the unfortunate monarch, not knowing where to turn, nor on whom to rely, began to think of requesting assistance from France, but it was now too late. He wrote to Leopold, emperor of Germany, but in vain; for that monarch only returned for answer, that what he had foreseen had happened. James had some dependence on his fleet; but that was entirely disaffected. In a word, his interests were deserted by all; for he had long deserted them himself.

He however repaired to Salisbury, the head quarters of his army, and he found that this body amounted to twenty thousand men. Instead of leading them to the combat he allowed them time to deliberate. Indeed he was involved in a maze of fears and suspicions; the defection of those he most confided in took away his confidence in all, and deprived him even of the power of action. It was likewise no small addition to his present distress that George, prince of Denmark, and Anne, his favourite daughter, resolved to take part with the prevailing side. When informed that the prince and princess had followed the rest of his favourites, he was stung with the most bitter anguish. "God help me," cried he, in the extremity of his agony, "my own children have forsaken me!"

During this distraction and perplexity, he embraced a sudden resolution of drawing off his army, and retiring towards London; a measure which could only serve to betray his fears, and provoke farther treachery. Thus driven to the precipice of his fortunes, invaded by one son-in-law, abandoned by another, despised by his subjects, and hated by those that had suffered beneath his cruelty, he assembled the few noblemen that still adhered to his interests. There, in his forlorn council, he demanded the advice of those he most confided in. Addressing himself to the earl of Bedford, father to lord Russel, who had been executed in the reign of Charles by the intrigues of James, "My lord," said the king, "you are an honest man, have credit, and can do me signal service." "Ah, sir!" replied the earl,

"I





THE ABDICATION OF JAMES THE SECOND.

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"I am old and feeble; I can do you but little service. I had indeed a son!"—James was so struck with the allusion in this reply, that he could not speak for some minutes.

The king's fortune now exposed him to the contempt of his enemies; and his behaviour was such as could not procure him the esteem of his friends and adherents. He was naturally timid; and some counsellors about him, either sharing his fears, or secretly attached to the prince of Orange, contributed to increase his apprehensions. They reminded him of the fate of his father, and aggravated the turbulence and inconstancy of the people. They at length persuaded him to fly from a nation he could no longer govern, and seek for refuge at the court of France, where he was sure of assistance and protection. The popish courtiers, and above all the priests, were sensible that they would be made the first sacrifice upon the opposite party's prevailing. They were therefore desirous of carrying the king along with them, as his presence would be still their honour and protection abroad.

The prince of Orange was no less desirous of the king's flying over to France than his most zealous counsellors could be. He was determined to use every expedient to intimidate the king, and drive him out of the kingdom. He declined treating with the king's commissioners, and sent the earls of Clarendon and Oxford to treat with them. The terms which he proposed implied almost a present participation of the sovereignty; and to urge his measures, he stopped not a moment in his march towards London.

The king, alarmed every day more and more by the prospect of a general disaffection, was resolved to hearken to those who advised his quitting the kingdom. To prepare for this he first sent away the queen, who arrived safely at Calais, under the conduct of the count de Lauzun, an old favourite of the French king. James himself soon after disappeared in the night time, attended only by sir Edward Hales, a new convert; and, disguising himself in a plain dress, went to Feversham in Kent, where he embarked on board a small vessel for France. But his misfortunes still continued to pursue him. The vessel in which he had embarked was detained by the populace, who, not knowing the person of the king, robbed, insulted, and abused him. He was now persuaded by the earl of Winchester to return to London, where the mob, moved by his distresses, and guided by their natural levity, received him, contrary to his expectations, with shouts and acclamations.

Indeed nothing could be more disagreeable to the prince of Orange than to hear that James was brought back to his capital. The prince had before taken measures to seize upon that authority, which the king's dereliction had put into his hands. The bishops and peers, who were now the only authorized magistrates in the state, gave directions in the present dissolution of government, for keeping the peace of the city. They issued orders, which were readily obeyed, to the fleet, the garrisons, and the army (q). They made applications to the prince, whose enterprize they highly applauded, and whose success they joyfully congratulated. It was not therefore, without extreme mortification, that he found the king returned once more to embarrass his proceedings.

William, however, determined to dissemble, and received the news of his return with an haughty air. His aim from the beginning was to cause James to relinquish the throne; and his proceedings argued the refined politician. The king having sent lord Feversham on a civil message to the prince, desiring a conference previous to the settlement of the throne, that nobleman was put under arrest, on pretence of his wanting a passport. The Dutch guards were ordered to take possession of Whitehall, where the king then lodged, and to displace the English. The king was soon after commanded, by a message which he received in bed at midnight, to leave his palace next morning, and to depart for Ham, a seat belonging to the duchess of Lauderdale. He desired permission to retire to Rochester, which was readily granted him; and it was now perceived that James was meditating an escape from the kingdom. He lingered, however, some days at Rochester, under the protection of a Dutch guard, and seemed desirous of an invitation still to keep possession of the throne. He was undoubtedly sensible, that, as he had at first trusted too much to his people's loyalty, and, in confidence of their submission, had offered the greatest violence to their principles and prejudices; so had he, at last, on finding his disappointment, gone too far in the other extreme, and had hastily supposed them destitute of all sense of duty or allegiance. But observing that the church, the nobility, the city, the country, all concurred in neglecting him, and leaving him to his own counsels, he submitted to his melancholy fate; and being urged by earnest letters from the queen, he privately embarked on board a frigate (on the 23rd of December, attended by his natural son the duke of Berwick) which waited for him; and he arrived safely at Ambleteuse in Picardy, whence he hastened to St. Germain. Louis received him with the highest generosity, sympathy, and regard; a conduct which, more than his most signal victories, contributes to the honour of that great monarch.

Thus the courage and abilities of the prince of Orange, seconded by surprizing fortune, effected the deliverance of this island; and thus with very little effusion of blood (for only one officer of the Dutch army and a few private soldiers fell in an accidental skirmish) had dethroned a great prince, supported by a formidable fleet and a numerous army. Still the more difficult task remained, and what perhaps the prince regarded as not the least important: the obtaining for himself that crown, which had fallen from the head of his father-in-law. Some lawyers, entangled in the subtilties and forms of their profession, could think of no expedient, but that the prince should claim the crown by right of conquest; should immediately assume the title of sovereign; and should call a parliament, which, being thus legally summoned by a king in possession, could ratify whatever had been transacted before they assembled. But this measure, being destructive of the principles of liberty, the only principles on which his future throne could be established, was prudently rejected by the prince, who, finding himself possessed of the good-will of the nation, resolved to leave them entirely to their own guidance and direction. The peers and bishops, to the number of near ninety, made an address, desiring him to summon a convention by circular letters; to assume, in the mean time, the management of public affairs; and to concert measures for the security of Ireland. At the same time, they refused reading a letter, which the king had left, in order to apologize for his late desertion, by the violence which had been put upon him. This step was a sufficient indication of their intentions with regard to that unhappy monarch.

The prince of Orange, however, seemed still unwilling to act upon an authority, which might be deemed so imperfect: he was desirous of obtaining a more express declaration of the public consent. A judicious expedient was fallen on for that purpose. All the members, who had sitten in the house of commons during any parliament of Charles II. were invited to meet; and to them were added the mayor, aldermen, and fifty of the common council of the city of London. This was regarded as the most proper representative of the people that could be summoned on the present occasion. They voted the same address with the lords; and the prince, being thus supported by all the legal authority which could possibly be obtained in this critical juncture, wrote circular letters to the counties and corporations of England; and his orders were universally complied with. A profound tranquillity prevailed throughout the kingdom; and the prince's administration was submitted to, as if he had succeeded in the most regular manner to the vacant throne. The fleet received his orders: the army allowed him to new-model them; and the city supplied him with a loan of two hundred thousand pounds.

The conduct of the prince, with regard to Scotland, was founded on the same prudent and moderate maxims. Finding that there were many Scotchmen of rank at that time in London, he summoned them together on the 7th of January, 1689, laid before them his intentions, and asked their advice in the present emergency. This assembly,

(q) Among other acts of authority, the peers imprisoned the lord chancellor Jefferies. That infamous minister, dreading the vengeance of the people, had disguised himself with a view of escaping beyond sea; but, being discovered at Wapping, he was for some time in great danger of being torn in pieces by the fury of the rabble. Being rescued from this peril, he was committed to the Tower, where he soon after died of a fever, which is supposed to have been occasioned by the anxiety of his mind, and the intemperance in which he indulged himself, with a view of drowning all reflections on his guilt, and dissipating the dread of public punishment. He was privately buried, but the place of his interment was concealed. It has, however, lately been ascertained to have been in the parish church of St. Mary, Aldermanbury, where, in 1810, while that church was under repair, the lord-chancellor's coffin was discovered under the communion table.

consisting of thirty noblemen and about fourscore gentlemen, chose duke Hamilton president. The duke's eldest son, the earl of Arran, professed an adherence to king James, and proposed to invite back the king upon conditions; but as he was vehemently opposed by sir Patrick Hume, the assembly made an offer to the prince of Orange of the present administration, which he willingly accepted. To anticipate a little in our narration; a convention, by circular letters from the prince, was summoned at Edinburgh on the 22nd of March; where it was soon visible, that the interest of the malcontents would entirely prevail. As soon as the purpose of the convention was discovered, the earl of Balcarrass and viscount Dundee, leaders of the tories, withdrew from Edinburgh; and the convention having passed a bold and decisive vote, that king James, by his mal-administration and his abuse of power, had *forfeited* all title to the crown, they made a tender of the royal dignity to the prince and princess of Orange.

The English convention was assembled on the 22nd of January; and it immediately appeared, that the house of commons were mostly chosen from among the Whig party. After thanks were unanimously given by both houses to the prince of Orange, for the deliverance which he had brought them, a less decisive vote than that of the Scottish convention was in a few days passed by a great majority of the commons, and sent up to the peers for their concurrence. It was contained in these words: "That king James II. having endeavoured to subvert the constitution of the kingdom, by breaking the original contract between king and people; and having, by the advice of Jesuits and other wicked persons, violated the fundamental laws, and withdrawn himself out of the kingdom, has abdicated the government, and that the throne is thereby vacant." This vote, when carried to the upper house, met with great opposition.

The Tories and the high-church party were inclined to steer a middle course; and, though generally determined to oppose the king's return, they resolved not to consent to dethroning him, or altering the line of succession. A regent with kingly power was the expedient they proposed. In favour of this scheme the Tories urged, that, by the uniform tenor of the English laws, the title to the crown was ever regarded as sacred, and could, on no account, and by no mal-administration, be forfeited by the sovereign: that to dethrone a king and to elect his successor, was a practice unknown to the constitution, and had a tendency to render kingly power dependent and precarious: that where the sovereign, from his tender years, from lunacy, or from other natural infirmity, was incapacitated to hold the reins of government, both the laws and former practice agreed in appointing a regent, who, during the interval, was invested with the whole power of the administration: that the inveterate and dangerous prejudices of king James had rendered him as unfit to sway the English sceptre, as if he had fallen into lunacy; and it was therefore natural for the people to have recourse to the same remedy: that the election of one king was a precedent for the election of another; and the government, by that means, would either degenerate into a republic, or, what was worse, into a turbulent and seditious monarchy: that the case was still more dangerous, if there remained a prince, who claimed the crown by right of succession, and disputed, on so plausible a ground, the title of the present sovereign: that though the doctrine of non-resistance might not, in every possible circumstance, be absolutely true, yet was the belief of it very expedient; and to establish a government, which should have the contrary principle for its basis, was to lay a foundation for perpetual revolutions and convulsions: that the appointment of a regent was indeed exposed to many inconveniencies; but so long as the line of succession was preserved entire, there was still a prospect of putting an end to the public disorders: and that scarcely an instance occurred in history, especially in the English history, where a disputed title had not, in the issue, been attended with much greater ills, than all which the people had sought to shun, by departing from the lineal successor.

The leaders of the Whig party, on the other hand, asserted, that, if there were any ill in the precedent, that ill would result as much from establishing a regent, as from dethroning one king, and appointing his successor; nor would the one expedient, if wantonly and rashly embraced by the people, be less the source of public convulsions than the other: that if the laws gave no express permission to depose the sovereign, neither did they authorize resisting his authority, or separating the power from the title: that a regent was unknown, except where the king, by reason of his tender age or his infirmities, was incapable of a will; and in that case, his will was supposed to be involved in that of the regent: that it would be the height of absurdity to try a man for acting upon a commission, received from a prince, whom we ourselves acknowledge to be the lawful sovereign; and no jury would decide so contrary both to law and common sense, as to condemn such a pretended criminal: that even the prospect of being delivered from this monstrous inconvenience was, in the present situation of affairs, more distant than that of putting an end to a disputed succession: that allowing the young prince to be the legitimate heir, he had been carried abroad; he would be educated in principles destructive of the constitution and established religion; and he would probably leave a son, liable to the same insuperable objection: that if the whole line were cut off by law, the people would in time forget or neglect their claim; an advantage which could not be hoped for, while the administration was conducted in their name, and while they were still acknowledged to possess the legal title: and that a nation thus perpetually governed by regents or protectors, approached much nearer to a republic than one subject to monarchs, whose hereditary regular succession, as well as present authority, was fixed and appointed by the people.

This question was agitated with great zeal by the opposite parties in the house of peers. The chief speakers among the Tories were Clarendon, Rochester, and Nottingham; among the Whigs, Halifax and Danby. The question was carried for a king by two voices only, fifty-one against forty-nine. All the prelates, except two, the bishops of London and Bristol, voted for a regent. The primate, a disinterested but pusillanimous man, kept at a distance, both from the prince's court and from parliament.

The house of peers proceeded next to examine the vote sent up to them by the commons. They debated, "Whether there were an original contract between king and people?" and the affirmative was carried by fifty-three against forty-six; a proof that the Tories were already losing ground. The next question was, "Whether king James had broken that original contract?" and, after a slight opposition, the affirmative prevailed. The lords proceeded to take into consideration the word *abdicated*; and it was carried that *deserted* was more proper. The concluding question was, "Whether king James, having broken the original contract, and *deserted* the government, the throne was thereby vacant?" This question was debated with more heat and contention than any of the former; and upon a division, the Tories prevailed by eleven voices, and it was carried to omit the last article, with regard to the vacancy of the throne. The vote was sent back to the commons with these amendments.

The earl of Danby had entertained the project of bestowing the crown solely upon the princess of Orange, and of admitting her as hereditary legal successor to king James; passing by the infant prince, as illegitimate or suppositious. His change of party in the last question gave the Tories so considerable a majority in the number of voices.

The commons still insisted on their own vote, and sent up reasons why the lords should depart from their amendments. The lords were not convinced; and it was necessary to have a free conference, in order to settle this controversy. A vehement debate took place on this occasion, and it was argued whether the crown should be declared *forfeited* or *abdicated*. It was also strenuously maintained, as a maxim of English law, *that the throne was never vacant*; but instantly, upon the demise of one king, was filled with his legal heir, who was entitled to all the authority of his predecessor. During these debates, a great part of which was mere declamation without much solidity of reasoning, the prince entered into no intrigues, either with the electors or the members: he kept himself in a total silence, as if he had been nowise concerned in these transactions: and, so far from forming cabals with the leaders of parties, he disdained even to bestow caresses on those whose assistance might be useful to him. This conduct was highly meritorious, and discovered great moderation and magnanimity; even though the prince unfortunately, through the whole course of his life, and on every occasion, was noted for an address so cold, dry, and distant, that it was very difficult for him, on account of any interest, to soften or familiarize it. At length, the prince

broke silence, and expressed, though in a private manner, his sentiments on the present situation of affairs. He called together Hallifax, Shrewsbury, Danby, and a few more; and told them, that having been invited over to restore their liberty, he had engaged in this enterprize, and had at last happily effected his purpose. That it belonged to the parliament, now chosen and assembled with freedom, to concert measures for the public settlement; and he pretended not to interpose in their determinations. That he heard of several schemes proposed for establishing the government: some insisted on a regent; others were desirous of bestowing the crown on the princess: it was their concern alone to chuse the plan of administration most agreeable or advantageous to them. That if they judged it proper to settle a regent, he had no objection: he only thought it incumbent on him to inform them, that he was determined not to be the regent, nor ever to engage in a scheme which, he knew, would be exposed to such insuperable difficulties. That no man could have a juster or deeper sense of the princess's merit than he was impressed with; but he would rather remain a private person than enjoy a crown which must depend on the will or life of another. And that they must therefore make account, if they were inclined to either of these two plans of settlement, that it would be totally out of his power to assist them in carrying it into execution; his affairs abroad were too important to be abandoned for so precarious a dignity, or even to allow him so much leisure as would be requisite to introduce order into their disjointed government.

These laudable views of the prince were seconded by the princess herself, who, as she possessed many virtues, was a most obsequious wife to a husband, who, in the judgement of the generality of her sex, would have appeared so little attractive and amiable. All considerations were neglected, when they came in competition with what she deemed her duty to the prince. When Danby and others of her partizans wrote her an account of their schemes and proceedings, she expressed great displeasure; and even transmitted their letters to her husband, as a sacrifice to conjugal fidelity. The princess Anne likewise concurred in the same plan for the public settlement; and being promised an ample revenue, was content to be postponed in the succession to the crown. And as the title of her infant brother was, in the present establishment, entirely neglected, she might, upon the whole, deem herself, in point of interest, a considerable gainer by this revolution in the affairs of the kingdom.

The principal parties therefore being agreed, the convention passed a bill, in which they settled the crown on the prince and princess of Orange, the sole administration to remain in the prince: the princess Anne of Denmark to succeed after the death of the prince and princess of Orange; her posterity after those of the princess, but before those of the prince by any other wife. The convention annexed to this settlement of the crown a declaration of rights, wherein all the points which had, of late years, been disputed between the king and the people, were finally determined; and the powers of royal prerogative were more narrowly circumscribed and more exactly defined, than in any former period of the English government.

Of the character of James the Second as a monarch it may be necessary to speak. His talents did not arise above mediocrity; they were neither contemptibly dull, nor eminently brilliant. He cultivated them with great assiduity; and at length attained, by indefatigable diligence, such a degree of knowledge as would have enabled him to fill the throne with reputation, had not his pertinacious adherence to an odious superstition vitiated all his attainments, hurried him into intemperate measures, and precipitated him from the sovereign of three kingdoms into an abyss of ruin and disgrace. He was remarkably attentive to every branch of public affairs, and studiously informed himself of the particular as well as general interests of his people. He entered with great zeal into the concerns of navigation and commerce; improved and augmented the maritime force of the realm; and introduced into the naval service an order and discipline which had been before neglected. He managed his revenue with care and frugality, and vigilantly superintended the official conduct of his ministers. He was firm and persevering in his enterprizes; bold and open in his designs; and generally upright and honourable in those transactions in which religion had no concern. He was steady in his political attachments, as well as in those of love and friendship. His personal courage was respectable, and had been displayed, before his accession, both in the military and naval departments; but, in the decline of life, he seems to have been enervated by superstition, and to have lost all the manly spirit of his youth. An invincible bigotry to the Romish persuasion, and an implicit adoption of those extravagant notions of the royal prerogative, to which the princes of the house of Stuart were so remarkably devoted, were the undoubted causes of James's ruin. He considered himself as the vicegerent of Heaven, ruling by indefeasible right over a herd of slaves. The laws of the realm, he thought, were only obligatory on the people; and, as the established religion of the country was inconsistent with his own creed, he deemed the private ties of his perverted conscience a sufficient reason for offering violence and insult to the religious sentiments of the community. He was encouraged in his views by the strong declarations of unreserved obedience and blind submission, which the Tories, during their temporary triumph over the Whigs, had lavished on the crown; but when he had invaded the constitution, and aimed at the subversion of the protestant establishment, he found that those from whom he expected a full submission to his will, were more inclined to practise the maxims of their adversaries, than to follow the servile lessons which had been lately inculcated by themselves.

In his exterior demeanour James was courteous and polite; but he had not that graceful address, or that suavity of manners, which distinguished his brother Charles the Second. In the domestic relations of life, he was mild and humane; though, in his public character he was barbarously severe and vindictive. He was temperate, but not chaste; for even his pretensions to the praise of piety, and the remonstrances of father Petre, his confessor and chief counsellor, could not restrain him from indulging himself in adulterous commerce (*r*).

CHAP. IX.

Observations on the Manners, Finances, Arms, Commerce, and the Arts and Sciences of the Kingdom.

IT may not be improper at this period, to take a general survey of the age, so far as regards its manners, finances, arms, commerce, arts and sciences. The chief use of history is, that it affords materials for disquisitions of this nature; and it seems the duty of an historian to point out the proper inferences and conclusions.

No nation could undergo a change more sudden and entire in their manners, than did the English during this period. From tranquillity, concord, submission, sobriety, they passed in an instant to a state of faction, fanaticism, rebellion, and almost frenzy. The violence of the English parties exceeded any thing which we can now imagine: had they continued but a little longer, there was just reason to dread all the horrors of the ancient massacres and proscriptions. The military usurpers would, doubtless, have been impelled into such sanguinary measures; and if these expedients had been employed on one side, revenge would naturally have pushed the other party, after a return of power, to retaliate upon their enemies. No social intercourse was maintained between the parties; no marriages or alliances contracted. The royalists, though oppressed, harassed, and persecuted, disdained all affinity with their masters. The more they were reduced to subjection, the greater superiority did they affect above those persons, who had acquired an ascendant over them.

The manners of the two factions were as opposite as those of the most distant nations. "Your friends, the Cavaliers," said a parliamentarian to a royalist, "are very dissolute and debauched." "True," replied the royalist, "they have the infirmities of men; but your friends, the Round-heads, have the vices of devils, tyranny, rebellion, and spiritual pride (*s*)." Riot and disorder, it is certain, prevailed very much among the partizans of

(*r*) By his first wife, the daughter of lord chancellor Clarendon, James had four sons, all of whom died in their infancy; and four daughters, one only of whom (Anne) survived him. By the princess of Modena, his second wife, he had two sons and four daughters. Five natural children, of whom the duke of Berwick was the most distinguished, are attributed to him.

(*s*) Sir Philip Warwick.

Charles the First. Being commonly men of birth and fortune, they indulged themselves in all pleasures, particularly those of the table. This good fellowship, as they called it, was affected among them, as a sure pledge of attachment to the church and monarchy. Even when ruined by confiscations and sequestrations, they endeavoured to maintain the appearance of a careless and social jollity. "As much as hope is superior to fear," said a poor and merry cavalier, "so much is our situation preferable to that of our enemies. We laugh while they tremble."

The gloomy enthusiasm which prevailed among the parliamentary party, is the most curious spectacle presented by any history. All recreations were in a manner suspended by the rigid severity of the presbyterians and independents. Horse-races and cock-matches were prohibited as enormities (*t*). Bear-baiting was esteemed an heathenish and unchristian sport; which gave great offence by reason of its inhumanity. Colonel Hewson, from his pious zeal, marched with his regiment into London, and destroyed all the bears, which were there kept for what was called the diversion of the citizens. This adventure seems to have given birth to the fiction of Hudibras.

We have had occasion, in the course of this work, to speak of many of the sects which prevailed in England: to enumerate them all would be impossible. The quakers, however, are so considerable, at least so singular, as to merit some attention; and as they renounced by principle the use of arms, they never made such a figure in public transactions as to enter into any part of our narrative.

The religion of the quakers, like most others, began with the lowest vulgar, and, in its progress, came at last to comprehend people of better quality and fashion. George Fox, born at Drayton in Lancashire, in 1624, was the founder of this sect. He was the son of a weaver, and was himself bound apprentice to a shoe-maker. Feeling a stronger impulse towards spiritual contemplations than towards that mechanical profession, he left his master, and went about the country clothed in a leathern doublet, a dress which he long affected, as well for its singularity as its cheapness. That he might wean himself from sublunary objects, he broke off all connexions with his friends and family, and never dwelled long in one place; lest habit should beget new connexions, and depress the sublimity of his aërial meditations. He frequently wandered into the woods, and passed whole days in hollow trees, without company, or any other amusement than his Bible. Having reached that pitch of perfection as to need no other book, he soon advanced to another state of spiritual progress, and began to pay less regard even to that divine composition itself. His own breast, he imagined, was full of the same inspiration which had guided the prophets and apostles themselves; and by this inward light must every spiritual obscurity be cleared; by this living spirit must the dead letter be animated. When he had been sufficiently consecrated in his own imagination, he felt that the fumes of self-applause soon dissipate, if not continually supplied by the admiration of others; and he began to seek proselytes. Proselytes were easily gained, at a time when all men's affections were turned towards religion, and when the most extravagant modes of it were sure to be most popular. All the forms of ceremony, invented by pride and ostentation, Fox and his disciples, from a superior pride and ostentation, carefully rejected: even the ordinary rites of civility were shunned, as the nourishment of carnal vanity and self-conceit. They would bestow no titles of distinction: the name of *friend* was the only salutation with which they indiscriminately accosted every one. To no person would they make a bow, or move their hat, or give any signs of reverence. Instead of that affected adulation, introduced into modern tongues, of speaking to individuals as if they were a multitude, they returned to the simplicity of ancient languages; and *thou* and *thee* were the only expressions which, on any consideration, they could be brought to employ. Dress too, a material circumstance, distinguished the members of this sect. Every superfluity and ornament was carefully retrenched: no plaits to their coat, no buttons to their sleeves: no lace, no ruffles, no embroidery. Even a button to the hat, though sometimes useful, yet not being always so, was universally rejected by them with horror and detestation.

The violent enthusiasm of this sect, like all high passions, being too strong for the weak nerves to sustain, threw the preachers into convulsions, and shakings, and distortions in their limbs; and they thence received the appellation of *quakers*. Amidst the great toleration which was then granted to all sects, and even encouragement given to all innovations, this sect alone suffered persecution. From the fervour of their zeal, the quakers broke into churches, disturbed public worship, and harassed the minister and audience with railing and reproaches. When carried before a magistrate, they refused him all reverence, and treated him with the same familiarity as if he had been their equal. Sometimes they were thrown into madhouses, sometimes into prisons; sometimes whipped, sometimes placed on the pillory. The patience and fortitude with which they suffered, begat compassion, admiration, esteem (*u*). A supernatural spirit was believed to support them under those sufferings, which the ordinary state of humanity, freed from the illusions of passion, is unable to sustain. The quakers creeped into the army: but as they preached universal peace, they seduced the military zealots from their profession, and would soon, had they been suffered, have put an end, without any defeat or calamity, to the dominion of those religious partizans. These attempts became a fresh ground of persecution, and a new reason for their progress among the people.

Morals with this sect were carried, or affected to be carried, to the same degree of extravagance as religion. The greatest interest could not engage a quaker, in any court of judicature, to swear even to the truth: he never asked more for his wares than the precise sum which he was determined to accept. This last maxim is laudable, and continues even at the present day to be religiously observed by that sect. No fanatics ever carried farther the hatred to ceremonies, forms, orders, rites, and positive institutions. Even baptism and the Lord's supper, by all other sects believed to be interwoven with the very vitals of Christianity, were disdainfully rejected by them. The very sabbath they profaned. The holiness of churches they derided; and they would give to these sacred edifices no other appellation than that of *shops* or *steeple-houses*. No priests were admitted in their sect: every one had received from immediate illumination a character much superior to the sacerdotal. When they met for divine worship, each rose up in his place, and delivered the extemporary inspirations of the Holy Ghost: women also were admitted to teach the brethren, and were considered as proper vehicles to convey the dictates of the spirit. Sometimes a great many preachers were moved to speak at once: sometimes a total silence prevailed in their congregations, and they returned from their places of worship without a word having been spoken by any person. It is likewise customary for the men to sit in their religious assemblies with their hats on, and the women with their bonnets off.

Some quakers attempted to fast forty days in imitation of Christ; and one of them bravely perished in the experiment (*v*). A female quaker came naked into the church where the protector sate; being moved by the spirit, as she said, to appear *as a sign* to the people. A number of them fancied, that the renovation of all things had commenced, and that clothes were to be rejected together with other superfluities. The sufferings which followed the practice of this doctrine, were a species of persecution not well calculated for promoting it.

James Naylor was a quaker, noted for blasphemy, or rather madness, in the time of the protectorship. He fancied that he himself was transformed into Christ, and was become the real Saviour of the world; and in consequence of this frenzy, he endeavoured to imitate many actions of the Messiah related in the Evangelists. As he bore a resemblance to the common pictures of Christ; he allowed his beard to grow in a like form: he raised a person from the dead (*w*): he was ministered unto by women (*x*): he entered Bristol mounted on a horse; perhaps from the difficulty in that place of finding an ass: his

(*t*) Killing no Murder.

(*u*) The following story is told by Whitlocke, p. 599. Some quakers at Hasington in Northumberland coming to the minister on the Sabbath day and speaking to him, the people fell upon the quakers, and almost killed one or two of them, who going out fell on their knees, and prayed God to pardon the people, who knew not what they did; and afterwards speaking to the people, so convinced them of the evil they had done in beating them, that the country people fell a quarrelling, and beat one another more than they had before beaten the quakers.

(*v*) Whitelocke, p. 624.

(*w*) Harleian Miscellany, vol. vi. p. 399. One Dorcas Earberry made oath before a magistrate, that she had been dead two days, and that Naylor had brought her to life.

(*x*) Id. ib.

disciples

disciples spread their garments before him, and cried, "Hosannah to the highest; holy, holy, is the Lord God of Sabbaoth." When carried before the magistrate, he would give no other answer to all questions than "thou hast said it." What is remarkable, the parliament thought that the matter deserved their attention. Near ten days they spent in inquiries and debates about him (*y*). They condemned him to be pilloried, whipped, burned in the face, and to have his tongue bored through with a red-hot iron. All these severities he bore with the usual patience. But the sequel spoiled all. He was sent to Bridewell, confined to hard labour, fed on bread and water, and debarred from all his disciples, male and female. His illusion dissipated; and after some time, he was contented to come out an ordinary man, and return to his usual occupations.

The chief taxes in England, during the time of the commonwealth, were the monthly assessments, the excise, and the customs. The assessments were levied on personal estates as well as on land (*z*); and commissioners were appointed in each county for rating the individuals. The highest assessment amounted to one hundred and twenty thousand pounds a-month in England; the lowest was thirty-five thousand. The assessments in Scotland were sometimes ten thousand pounds a-month (*a*); commonly six thousand. Those on Ireland nine thousand. At a medium, this tax might have afforded about a million a-year. The excise, during the civil wars, was levied on bread, flesh-meat, as well as beer, ale, strong waters, and many other commodities. After the king was subdued, bread and flesh-meat were exempted from excise. The customs on exportation were lowered in 1656 (*b*). In 1650, commissioners were appointed to levy both customs and excises. Cromwell in 1657 returned to the old practice of farming. Eleven hundred thousand pounds were then offered, both for customs and excise, a greater sum than had ever been levied by the commissioners (*c*): the whole taxes during that period might at a medium amount to above two millions a-year; a sum which, though moderate, much exceeded the revenue of any former king (*d*). Sequestrations, compositions, sale of crown and church lands, and of the lands of delinquents, yielded also considerable sums, but very difficult to be estimated. Church lands are said to have been sold for a million (*e*). None of these were ever valued at above ten or eleven years purchase (*f*). The estates of delinquents amounted to above two hundred thousand pounds a-year (*g*). Cromwell died more than two millions in debt (*h*); though the parliament had left him in the treasury above five hundred thousand pounds; and in stores, the value of seven hundred thousand pounds (*i*).

The committee of danger, in April 1648, voted to raise the army to forty thousand men (*k*). The same year, the pay of the army was estimated at eighty thousand pounds a-month (*l*). The establishment of the army in 1652, was in Scotland fifteen thousand foot, two thousand five hundred and eighty horse, five hundred and sixty dragoons; in England, four thousand seven hundred foot, two thousand five hundred and twenty horse, garrisons six thousand one hundred and fifty-four. In all, thirty-one thousand five hundred and nineteen, besides officers (*m*). The army in Scotland was afterwards considerably reduced. The army in Ireland was not much short of twenty thousand men; so that upon the whole, the commonwealth maintained in 1652 a standing army of more than fifty thousand men. Its pay amounted to a yearly sum of one million forty-seven thousand seven hundred and fifteen pounds (*n*). Afterwards the protector reduced the establishment to thirty thousand men, as appears by the Instrument of Government and Humble Petition and Advice. His frequent enterprizes obliged him from time to time to augment them. Richard had on foot in England an army of thirteen thousand two hundred and fifty-eight men, in Scotland nine thousand five hundred and six, in Ireland about ten thousand men (*o*). The foot soldiers had commonly a shilling a-day (*p*). The horse had two shillings and six-pence; so that many gentlemen and younger brothers of good family inlisted in the protector's cavalry (*q*). We need not wonder then that such men were averse from the re-establishment of civil government, by which, they well knew, they must be deprived of so gainful a profession.

At the time when Cromwell fought against Charles, and gained the battle of Worcester, the parliament had on foot about eighty thousand men, partly militia, partly regular forces. The vigour of the commonwealth, and the great capacity of those members who were at the head of the government, never at any time appeared so conspicuous (*r*).

The whole revenue of the public, during the protectorship of Richard, was estimated at one million eight hundred and sixty-eight thousand seven hundred and seventeen pounds: his annual expences at two millions two hundred and one thousand five hundred and forty pounds. An additional revenue was demanded from parliament (*s*).

The revenue of Charles II. as settled by the long parliament, was put upon a very bad footing. It was too small, if they intended to make him independent in the common course of his administration: it was too large, and settled during too long a period, if they resolved to keep him in entire dependence. The great debts of the republic, which were thrown upon that prince; the necessity of supplying the naval and military stores, which were entirely exhausted (*t*); that of repairing and furnishing his palaces: all these causes involved the king in great difficulties immediately after his restoration; and the parliament was not sufficiently liberal in supplying him. Perhaps too he had contracted some debts abroad; and his bounty to the distressed cavaliers, though it did not correspond either to their services or expectations, could not fail, in some degree, to exhaust his treasury. The extraordinary sums granted the king during the first years, did not suffice for these extraordinary expences; and the excise and customs, the only constant revenue, amounted not to nine hundred thousand pounds a-year, and fell much short of the ordinary burdens of government. The addition of hearth-money in 1662, and of other two branches in 1669 and 1670, brought up the revenue to one million three hundred and fifty-eight thousand pounds, as we learn from lord Danby's account: but the same authority informs us, that the yearly expence of government was at that time one million three hundred eighty-seven thousand seven hundred and seventy pounds (*u*); without mentioning contingencies, which are always considerable, even under the most prudent administration. Those branches of revenue, granted in 1669 and 1670, expired in 1680, and were never renewed by parliament: they were computed to be above two hundred thousand pounds a-year. It must be allowed, because asserted by all cotemporary authors of both parties, and even confessed by himself, that Charles the Second was profuse and negligent. But it is likewise certain, that a rigid frugality was requisite to support the government under such difficulties.

If we estimate the ordinary revenue of Charles II. at one million two hundred thousand pounds a-year during his whole reign, the whole computation will rather exceed than fall below the true value. The convention parliament, after all the sums which they had granted the king towards the payment of old debts, threw, the last day of their meeting, a debt upon him amounting to one million seven hundred forty-three thousand two hundred and sixty-three pounds (*v*). All the extraordinary sums which were afterwards voted him by parliament, amounted to eleven millions four hundred forty-three thousand four hundred and seven pounds. To these sums we must add about one million two hundred thousand pounds, which had been detained from the bankers on shutting up the Exchequer in 1672. The king payed six per cent. for this money during the rest of his reign (*w*). It is remarkable, that notwithstanding this violent breach of faith, the king, two years after, borrowed money at eight per cent.; the

(*y*) Thurloe, vol. v. p. 708. (*z*) Scobel, p. 419. (*a*) Thurloe, vol. ii. p. 476. (*b*) Scobel, p. 376. (*c*) Thurloe, vol. vi. p. 425.
(*d*) It appears that the late king's revenue from 1637, to the meeting of the long parliament, was only nine hundred thousand pounds, of which two hundred thousand may be esteemed illegal.
(*e*) Dr. Walker, p. 14. (*f*) Thurloe, vol. i. p. 753.
(*g*) Ibid. vol. ii. p. 414. (*h*) Ibid. vol. vii. p. 667.
(*i*) World's Mistake in Oliver Cromwell. (*k*) Whitelocke, p. 298.
(*l*) Ibid. p. 378. (*m*) Journal, 2d December, 1652. (*n*) Id. ibid.
(*o*) Journal, 6th of April, 1659. (*p*) Thurloe, vol. i. p. 395.
(*q*) Gumble's Life of Monk.
(*r*) Whitelocke, p. 477. (*s*) Journal, 7th of April, 1659.
(*t*) Lord Clarendon's speech to the parliament, Oct. 9, 1665.
(*u*) Ralph's History, vol. i. p. 288. We learn from that lord's Memoirs, p. 12. that the receipts of the Exchequer, during six years, from 1673 to 1679, were about eight millions two hundred thousand pounds, or one million three hundred and sixty-six thousand pounds a-year. See likewise, p. 169.
(*v*) Journals, 29th of December, 1660.
(*w*) Danby's Memoirs, p. 7.

same

same rate of interest which he had paid before that event (*x*).

The revenue of James the Second was raised by parliament to about one million eight hundred and fifty thousand pounds (*y*); and his income, as duke of York, being added, made the whole amount to two millions a-year; a sum well proportioned to the public necessities, but enjoyed by him in too independent a manner. The national debt at the revolution amounted to one million fifty-four thousand nine hundred and twenty-five pounds (*z*).

The commerce and industry of England increased extremely during the peaceable period of Charles the First's reign: the trade to the East-Indies and to Guinea became considerable. The English possessed almost the sole trade with Spain. Twenty thousand cloths were annually sent to Turkey (*a*). Commerce met with many interruptions, no doubt, from the civil wars and convulsions which afterwards prevailed; though it soon recovered after the establishment of the commonwealth. The war with the Dutch, by distressing the commerce of so formidable a rival, served to encourage trade in England: the Spanish war was to an equal degree pernicious. All the effects of the English merchants, to an immense value, were confiscated in Spain. The prevalence of democratical principles engaged the country gentlemen to bind their sons apprentices to merchants (*b*); and commerce has ever since been more honourable in England than in any other European kingdom. The exclusive companies, which formerly confined trade, was never expressly abolished by any ordinance of parliament during the commonwealth; but as men paid no regard to the prerogative whence the charters of these companies were derived, the monopoly was gradually invaded, and commerce increased by the increase of liberty. Interest in 1659 was reduced to six per cent.

The customs in England, before the civil wars, are said to have amounted to five hundred thousand pounds a-year (*c*): a sum ten times greater than during the best period in queen Elizabeth's reign: but there is probably some exaggeration in this matter.

The post-house in 1633, was farmed at ten thousand pounds a-year, which was deemed a considerable sum for the three kingdoms. Letters paid only about a fourth part of the present postage.

From 1619 to 1638, there had been coined six million nine hundred thousand and forty-two pounds. From 1638 to 1657, the coinage amounted to seven million seven hundred and thirty-three thousand five hundred and twenty-one pounds (*d*). Dr. Davenant has told us, from the registers of the mint, that between 1558 and 1659, there had been coined nineteen million eight hundred and thirty-two thousand four hundred and seventy-six pounds in gold and silver.

The first mention of tea, coffee, and chocolate, is about 1660 (*e*). Asparagus, artichokes, cauliflowers, and a variety of sallads, were about the same time introduced into England (*f*).

The colony of New England increased by means of the puritans, who fled thither, in order to free themselves from the constraint which archbishop Laud and the church party had imposed upon them; and, before the commencement of the civil wars, it is supposed to have contained twenty-five thousand souls (*g*). For a like reason, the Catholics, afterwards, who found themselves exposed to many hardships, and dreaded still worse treatment, went over to America in great numbers, and settled the colony of Maryland.

Before the civil wars, learning and the fine arts were favoured at court, and a good taste began to prevail in the nation. The king loved pictures, sometimes handled the pencil himself, and was a good judge of the art. The pieces of foreign masters were brought up at a vast price; and the value of pictures doubled in Europe by the emulation between Charles I. and Philip IV. of Spain, who were touched with the same elegant passion. Vandyke was caressed and enriched at court. Inigo Jones was master of the king's buildings; though afterwards persecuted by the parliament, on account of the part which he had in rebuilding St. Paul's, and for obeying some orders of council, by which he was directed to pull down houses, in order to make room for that edifice. Laws, who had not been surpassed by any musician before him, was much beloved by the king, who called him the father of music. Charles was a good judge of composition, and was thought by some more anxious with regard to purity of style than became a monarch (*h*). Notwithstanding his narrow revenue, and his freedom from vanity, he lived in great magnificence; he possessed four and twenty palaces, all of them completely furnished; insomuch that, when he removed from one to another, he was not obliged to transport any thing along with him.

Cromwell himself was not insensible to literary merit. Usher, notwithstanding his being a bishop, received a pension from him. Marvel and Milton were in his service. Waller, who was his relation, was caressed by him. The poet always said, that the protector himself was not so illiterate as was commonly imagined. He gave a hundred pounds a-year to the divinity professor at Oxford; which an historian of eminence mentions as an instance of his love of literature (*i*). He intended to have erected a college at Durham for the benefit of the northern counties.

Civil wars, when founded on principles of liberty, are not unfavourable to the arts of eloquence and composition; or rather, by presenting nobler and more interesting objects, they compensate that tranquillity of which they bereave the muses. The speeches of the parliamentary orators during this period are of a strain much superior to what any former age had produced in England; and the force and compass of our tongue were then first put to trial. It must, however, be confessed, that the zeal which so much infected the parliamentary party, was no less destructive of taste and science, than of the former established law and order. It was an article positively insisted on in the preliminaries to the treaty of Uxbridge, that all play-houses should for ever be abolished; and perhaps it would be better for the nation if they were. Sir John Davenant, says Whitlocke (*k*), speaking of the year 1658, published an opera, notwithstanding the nicety of the times. All the king's furniture was put to sale: his pictures, disposed of at very low prices, enriched all the collections in Europe: the cartoons, when complete, were only appraised at three hundred pounds, though the whole collection of the king's curiosities was sold at above fifty thousand pounds (*l*). Even the royal palaces were pulled in pieces, and the materials of them sold. The very library and medals at St. James's were intended by the generals to be brought to auction, in order to pay the arrears of some regiments of cavalry quartered near London: but Selden, apprehensive of the loss, engaged his friend Whitlocke, then lord-keeper for the commonwealth, to apply for the office of librarian. This expedient saved that valuable collection.

Charles the Second, in the beginning of his reign, had in pay near five thousand men, of guards and garrisons. At the end of his reign he augmented this number to near eight thousand. James the Second, on Monmouth's rebellion, had on foot about fifteen thousand men; and when the prince of Orange, with fourteen thousand men, invaded him, there were no fewer than thirty thousand regular troops in England.

The English navy, during the greater part of Charles the Second's reign, made a considerable figure, for number of ships, valour of the men, and conduct of the commanders. Even in 1678, the fleet consisted of eighty-three ships (*m*); besides thirty, which were at that time on the stocks. On the king's restoration he found only sixty-three vessels of all sizes (*n*). During the latter part of Charles's reign, the navy fell somewhat to decay, by reason of the narrowness of the king's revenue: but James, soon after his accession, restored it to its former power and glory; and before he left the throne, carried it much farther. The administration of the admiralty under Pepys, is still regarded as a model for order and œconomy. The fleet at the revolution consisted of one hundred and seventy-three vessels of all sizes; and required forty-two thousand seamen to man it (*o*). That king, when duke of York, had been the first inventor of sea-signals.

The commerce and riches of England did never, during any period, increase so fast as from the restoration to the

(*x*) Id. 65. (*y*) Journ. 1st of March, 1689.
(*z*) Journ. 20th of March, 1689.
(*a*) Strafford's Letters, vol. i. p. 421, 423, 430, 467.
(*b*) Clarendon. (*c*) Lewis Robert's Treasure of Traffick.
(*d*) Happy future State of England. (*e*) Anderson, vol. ii. p. 111.
(*f*) Id. ibid. (*g*) British Empire in America, vol. i. p. 372.
(*h*) Burnet. (*i*) Neale's History of the Puritans, vol. iv. p. 123. (*k*) P. 639.
(*l*) Parl. Hist. vol. xix. p. 83.
(*m*) Pepys's Memoirs, p. 4.
(*n*) Memoirs of English Affairs, chiefly Naval.
(*o*) Lives of the Admirals, vol. ii. p. 476.

revolution. The two Dutch wars, by disturbing the trade of that republic, promoted the navigation of this island; and after Charles had made a separate peace with the States, his subjects enjoyed, unmolested, the trade of Europe. The only disturbance which they met with, was from a few French privateers who infested the Channel; and Charles interposed not in behalf of his subjects with sufficient spirit and vigour. The recovery or conquest of New York and the Jerseys was a considerable accession to the strength and security of the English colonies; and, together with the settlement of Pennsylvania and Carolina, which was effected during that reign, extended the English empire in America. The persecutions of the dissenters contributed to augment and people these colonies. Dr. Davenant affirms (*p*), that the shipping of England more than doubled during these twenty-eight years. Several new manufactures were established; in iron, brass, silk, hats, glass, paper, &c. One Brewer, leaving the Low Countries, when they were threatened with a French conquest, brought the art of dying woollen cloth into England, and by that improvement saved the nation great sums of money. The increase of coinage during these two reigns was ten millions two hundred sixty-one thousand pounds. A board of trade was erected in 1670; and the earl of Sandwich was made president. Charles revived and supported the charter of the East-India company; a measure whose utility is by some thought doubtful: he granted the charter to the Hudson's Bay company; a measure probably hurtful.

We learn from sir Josiah Child (*q*), that in 1688 there were on the 'Change more men worth ten thousand pounds than there were in 1650 worth a thousand; that five hundred pounds with a daughter was, in the latter period, deemed a larger portion than two thousand in the former; that gentlewomen, in those earlier times, thought themselves well clothed in a serge gown, which a chambermaid would, in 1688, be ashamed to be seen in; and that, besides the great increase of rich clothes, plate, jewels, and household furniture, coaches were in that time augmented a hundred fold.

The duke of Buckingham introduced from Venice the manufacture of glass and crystal into England. Prince Rupert was also an encourager of useful arts and manufactures: he himself was the inventor of etching.

The first law for erecting turnpikes was passed in 1662: the places of the turnpikes were Wadesmill, Caxton, and Stilton: but the general and great improvement of highways took not place till the reign of George II.

In 1663, was passed the first law for allowing the exportation of foreign coin and bullion.

In 1667 was concluded the first American treaty between England and Spain: this treaty was made more general and complete in 1670. The two states then renounced all right of trading with each other's colonies; and the title of England was acknowledged to all the territories in America, of which she was then possessed.

Lord Clarendon tells us, that, in 1665, when money, in consequence of a treaty, was to be remitted to the bishop of Munster, it was found, that the whole trade of England could not supply above one thousand pounds a-month to Frankfort and Cologne, nor above twenty thousand pounds a-month to Hamburgh: these sums appear surprisingly small (*r*).

At the same time that the boroughs of England were deprived of their privileges, a like attempt was made on the colonies. King James recalled the charters, by which their liberties were secured; and he sent over governors invested with absolute power. The arbitrary principles of that monarch appear in every part of his administration.

The people, during the reigns of Charles II. and James II. were, in a great measure, cured of that wild fanaticism, by which they had formerly been so much agitated; but they certainly acquired new vices. By the example of Charles II. and the cavaliers, licentiousness and debauchery became prevalent in the nation. The pleasures of the table were much pursued. Love was treated more as an appetite than a passion. The one sex began to abate of the national character of chastity, without being able to inspire the other with sentiment or delicacy.

The abuses in the reign of Charles the First and the Republic, arising from overstrained piety, had much propagated the spirit of irreligion; and many of the ingenious men of this period lie under the imputation of deism. Besides wits and scholars by profession, Shaftesbury, Halifax, Buckingham, Mulgrave, Sunderland, Essex, Rochester, Sidney, Temple, are supposed to have adopted these principles.

The same factions, which formerly distracted the nation, were revived, and exerted themselves against each other. King Charles the Second, being in his whole deportment a model of easy and gentleman-like behaviour, improved the politeness of the nation; as much as faction, which of all things is most destructive to that virtue, could possibly permit. His courtiers were long distinguishable in England by their obliging and agreeable manners.

Till the Revolution, the liberty of the press was very imperfectly enjoyed in England, and during a very short period. The star-chamber, while that court subsisted, put effectual restraints upon printing. On the suppression of that tribunal in 1641, the long parliament, after their rupture with the king, assumed the same power with regard to the licensing of books; and this authority was continued during all the period of the republic and protectorship (*s*). Two years after the restoration, an act was passed, reviving the republican ordinances. This act expired in 1679; but was revived in the first of James II. The liberty of the press did not even commence with the Revolution. It was not till 1694, that the restraints were taken off; to the great displeasure of the king and his ministers, who, seeing no where, in any government, during present or past ages, any example of such unlimited freedom, doubted much of its salutary effects, and probably thought, that no books or writings would ever so much improve the general understanding of men, as to render it safe to entrust them with an indulgence so easily abused.

In 1677, the old law for burning heretics was repealed; a prudent measure, while the nation was in continual dread of the return of popery.

It is remarkable, that the greatest genius by far that shone out in England during this period, was deeply engaged with the Independents, and even made use of his pen in theological controversy, in factious disputes, and in justifying the measures of his party. This was John Milton, whose poems as well as his prose writings, are admirable, and esteemed some of the first compositions in the English language. His Paradise Lost, his Comus, and some others, shine out with superior lustre, and place at a distance every other performance of a similar nature. The natural inequality in Milton's genius was much increased by the inequalities in his subject; of which some parts are of themselves the most lofty that can enter into human conception; others would have required the most laboured elegance of composition to support them. It is certain, that, when in a happy mood, and employed on a noble subject, he is the most wonderfully sublime of any poet in any language; Homer and Lucretius and Tasso not excepted. More concise than Homer, more simple than Tasso, more nervous than Lucretius; had he lived in a later age, and learned to polish some rudeness in his verses; had he enjoyed better fortune, and possessed leisure to watch the returns of genius in himself, he had attained the pinnacle of perfection, and borne away the palm of epic poetry.

It is well known, that Milton never enjoyed in his lifetime the reputation which he deserved. His Paradise Lost was long neglected: prejudices against an apologist for the regicides kept the ignorant world from perceiving the prodigious merit of that performance. John lord Somers, by encouraging a good edition of it in folio, about twenty years after the author's death, first brought it into request; and Jacob Tonson, in his dedication of a smaller edition, to the same nobleman, says, "It was your lordship's opinion and encouragement that occasioned the first appearing of this poem in the folio edition, which from thence has been so well received, that notwithstanding the price of it was four times greater than before, the sale encreased double the number every year. The work is now generally known and esteemed."

It is not strange that Milton received no encouragement after the restoration: it is more to be admired that he escaped with his life. Many of the cavaliers blamed extremely that lenity towards him, which was so honourable in the king, and so advantageous to posterity. It is said, that he had saved Davenant's life during the protectorship; and Davenant in return afforded him like protection after the restoration. It was during a state of poverty, blindness, disgrace, danger, and old age, that Mil-

(*p*) Discourse on the public Revenues, part ii. p. 29, 33, 36.
(*q*) Brief Observations, &c.

(*r*) Life of Clarendon, p 237.
(*s*) Scobel, i. 44, 134, ii. 88, 230.

ton composed his wonderful poem (*t*), which not only surpassed all the performances of his contemporaries, but all the compositions which had flowed from his pen, during the vigour of his age and the height of his prosperity. This circumstance is not the least remarkable of all those which attend that great genius. He died in 1674, aged sixty-six.

Edmund Waller is generally esteemed as the first refiner of English poetry, at least of English rhyme; but his performances still abound with many faults, and, what is more material, they contain but feeble and superficial beauties. Gaiety, wit, and ingenuity, are their ruling character: they aspire not to the sublime; still less to the pathetic. They treat of love, without making us feel any tenderness; and abound in panegyric, without exciting admiration. The panegyric, however, on Cromwell, is a masterly composition, and contains more force than Waller's other poems. Waller was born to an ample fortune, was early introduced to court, and lived in the best company. He possessed talents for eloquence as well as poetry; and till his death, which happened in a good old age, he was the delight of the house of commons. He was one of Cromwell's partizans, and was a person of honour and integrity. He died in 1687, aged eighty-two.

Abraham Cowley is an author whose verses were extremely corrupted by the bad taste of his age; many of them being composed in the Pindaric measure, but not with the fire of Pindar. Had he lived even in the purest times of Greece or Rome, he would perhaps have shone with peculiar elegance. Great ingenuity and vigour of thought, break out in his allegories and allusions. His Anacreontics surprize us by their ease and gaiety: his prose writings please, by the honesty and goodness, which they express, and even by their spleen and melancholy. Cowley was an excellent Greek and Latin scholar: while at Westminster School, where he was educated under the celebrated Dr. Busby, he was employed by that great critic in assisting him to compose the Greek Grammar still continued to be used at that seminary: a strong proof of the high opinion which his master had of his abilities. His Latin play, called "Naufragium," was frequently acted by the scholars of that foundation. He died in 1667, aged forty-nine.

Sir John Denham, in his Cooper's Hill, has a loftiness and vigour, which had not before him been attained by any English poet who wrote in rhyme. The mechanical difficulties of that measure retarded its improvement. Shakespear, whose tragic scenes are sometimes so wonderfully forcible and expressive, is a very indifferent poet when he attempts to rhyme. Precision and neatness are chiefly wanting in Denham. He died in 1688, aged seventy-three.

Harrington's Oceana was well adapted to that age, when the plans of imaginary republics were the daily subjects of debate and conversation; and even in our time, it is justly admired as a work of genius and invention. The idea, however, of a perfect and immortal commonwealth will always be found as chimerical as that of a perfect and immortal man. He died in 1677, aged sixty-six.

Algernon Sidney was likewise a considerable writer, who, in his admirable discourses, not only recommended the republican form of polity, but enforced those noble principles of liberty which were so odious to a corrupt court, that the life of this able and intrepid patriot was sacrificed at the shrine of arbitrary power.

Harvey is entitled to the glory of having made, by reasoning alone, without any mixture of accident, a capital discovery in one of the most important branches of science. He had also the happiness of establishing at once this theory on the most solid and convincing proofs; and posterity has added little to the arguments suggested by his industry and ingenuity. His treatise of the circulation of the blood is farther embellished by that warmth and spirit which so naturally accompany the genius of invention. This great man was much favoured by Charles I. who gave him the liberty of using all the deer in the royal forests for perfecting his discoveries on the generation of animals. It was remarked, that no physician in Europe, who had reached forty years of age, ever, to the end of his life, adopted Harvey's doctrine of the circulation of the blood, and that his practice in London diminished extremely, from the reproach drawn upon him by that great and signal discovery. So slow is the progress of truth in every science, even when not opposed by factious or superstitious prejudices! He died in 1657, aged seventy-nine.

This age affords great materials for history; but did not produce any accomplished historian. Clarendon, however, will always be esteemed an entertaining writer, even independent of our curiosity to know the facts which he relates. His style discovers imagination and sentiment, and pleases us at the same time that we disapprove of it. He seems perpetually anxious to apologize for the king; but his apologies are sometimes well grounded. He is therefore often partial in his relation of facts, and in his account of characters. He died in 1674, aged sixty-six.

Notwithstanding the bigotry and superstition by which almost every party in the nation was guided, during the reign of the Stuarts, there were some few philosophers, who, in the retirement of Oxford, established conferences for the mutual communication of their discoveries in physics and geometry. Wilkins, a clergyman, who had married Oliver Cromwell's sister, promoted these philosophical conversations. Shortly after the Restoration these persons procured a patent, and having enlarged their number, were denominated The Royal Society. But though Charles the Second was a lover of the sciences, particularly chemistry and mechanics, he animated them by his example alone, not by his bounty. His craving courtiers and mistresses, by whom he was perpetually surrounded, indeed engrossed all his liberality, and left him neither money nor attention for literary merit.

During this period, there arose in England some men of superior genius, who drew on themselves and on their native country the regard and attention of Europe. Besides Wilkins, Wren, Wallis, eminent mathematicians, Hooke, an accurate observer by microscopes, and Sydenham, the restorer of true physic; there flourished during this period a Boyle and a Newton; men who trod with cautious, and therefore the more secure steps, the only road which leads to true philosophy.

Boyle improved the pneumatic engine invented by Otto Guericke, and was thereby enabled to make several new and curious experiments on the air, as well as on other bodies: his chemistry is much admired by those who are acquainted with that art: his hydrostatics contain a greater mixture of reasoning and invention with experiment than any other of his works; but his reasoning is still remote from that boldness and temerity which had led astray so many philosophers. Boyle was a great partizan of the mechanical philosophy; a theory which, by discovering some of the secrets of nature, and allowing us to imagine the rest, is so agreeable to the natural vanity and curiosity of men. He died in 1691, aged sixty-five.

In sir Isaac Newton this island may boast of having produced the greatest and rarest genius that ever rose for the ornament and instruction of the human race. Cautious in admitting no principles but such as were founded on experiment; but resolute to adopt every such principle, however new or unusual: from modesty, ignorant of his superiority above the rest of mankind; and thence, less careful to accommodate his reasonings to common apprehensions: more anxious to merit than acquire fame: he was, from these causes, long unknown to the world; but his reputation at last broke out with a lustre, which scarcely any writer, during his own life-time, had ever before attained. While Newton seemed to draw off the veil from some of the mysteries of nature, he shewed at the same time the imperfections of the mechanical philosophy; and thereby restored her ultimate secrets to that obscurity in which they ever did and ever will remain. His revival of the Copernican System has done more to furnish the minds of the intelligent with regard to the heavenly bodies, than had been done by all the philosophers before him, and perhaps is likely to be done by any that may come after him. He died in 1727, aged eighty-five.

This age was far from being so favourable to polite literature as to the sciences. Charles himself, though fond of wit, though possessed of a considerable share of it, though his taste in conversation seems to have been sound and just; served rather to corrupt than improve the poetry and eloquence of his time. When the theatres were

(*a*) John Dryden, the celebrated poet, speaking of Milton and his inimitable work, says,

"Three *Poets*, in three distant *Ages* born,
Greece, Italy, and England did adorn:
The First in loftiness of thought surpass'd;
The Next in majesty; in both the Last.
The force of Nature could no farther go:
To make a third she joined the former two."

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opened at the Restoration, and freedom was again given to pleasantry and ingenuity; men, after so long an abstinence, fed on these delicacies with less taste than avidity, and the coarsest and most irregular species of wit was received by the court as well as by the people. The productions represented at that time on the stage, were such monsters of extravagance and folly; so utterly destitute of all reason or common sense; that they would be the disgrace of English literature, had not the nation made atonement for its former admiration of them, by the total oblivion to which they are now condemned. The duke of Buckingham's Rehearsal, which exposed these wild productions, seems to be a piece of ridicule carried to excess; yet in reality the copy scarcely equals some of the absurdities which we meet with in the originals (*u*). This severe satire, together with the good sense of the nation, corrected, after some time, the extravagancies of the fashionable wit; but the productions of literature still wanted much of that correctness and delicacy which we so much admire in the ancients.

The reign of Charles II. which some represent as our Augustan age, retarded the progress of polite literature in this island; and it was then found, that the unbounded licentiousness, indulged or rather applauded at court, was more destructive to the refined arts, than even the ignorance and enthusiasm of the preceding period.

Most of the celebrated writers of this age remain monuments of genius, perverted by indecency and bad taste; and none more than Dryden, both by reason of the greatness of his talents, and the gross abuse which he made of them. His plays, excepting a few scenes, are shamefully disfigured by vice or folly, or both. His translations appear too much the offspring of haste and indigence: even his fables are ill-chosen tales, conveyed in an incorrect, though spirited versification. Yet, amidst this great number of loose productions, the refuse of our language, there are found some small pieces, his Ode to St. Cecilia, the greater part of Absalom and Achitophel, and a few more, which discover so great genius, such richness of expression, such pomp and variety of numbers, that they leave us equally full of regret and indignation, on account of the inferiority or rather great absurdity of his other writings. His indigence likewise prompted him to accommodate both his political and religious principles to the times. He complimented the protectoral government, and hailed the return of Charles the Second; and, on the accession of the Catholic James, he renounced the Protestant faith, and adopted the sentiments of the church of Rome. He died in 1701, aged sixty-nine.

The very name of Rochester is offensive to modest ears; yet does his poetry discover such energy of style and such poignancy of satire, as give ground to imagine what so fine a genius, had he lived in a more happy age, and followed better models, was capable of producing. The ancient satirists often used great liberties in their expressions; but their freedom by no means resembled the licentiousness of Rochester.

Wycherley was ambitious of the reputation of wit and libertinism; and he attained it: he was probably capable of reaching the fame of true comedy, and instructive ridicule. Otway had a genius finely turned to the pathetic; but he neither observes strictly the rules of the drama, nor the rules, still more essential, of propriety and decorum. By one single piece, the duke of Buckingham did both great service to his age, and honour to himself. The earls of Mulgrave, Dorset, and Roscommon, wrote in a good taste; but their productions are either feeble or careless. The marquis of Halifax discovers a refined genius; and nothing but leisure and an inferior station seems wanting to have procured him eminence in literature.

Of all the considerable writers of this age, sir William Temple is almost the only one that kept himself altogether unpolluted by that inundation of vice and licentiousness which overwhelmed the nation. The style of this author, though negligent, and even infected with foreign idioms, from his intercourse abroad, is agreeable and interesting. That mixture of vanity which appears in his works, is rather a recommendation to them. By means of it, we enter into acquaintance with the character of the author, full of honour and humanity; and fancy that we are engaged, not in the perusal of a book, but in conversation with a companion. He died in 1698, aged seventy.

Though Hudibras was published, and probably composed, during the reign of Charles II. Butler may justly, as well as Milton, be thought to belong to the foregoing period. No composition that we are acquainted with abounds so much as Hudibras in strokes of just and inimitable wit; yet are there many performances which give us great or greater entertainment on the whole perusal. The allusions in Butler are often dark and far-fetched; and though scarcely any author was ever able to express his thoughts in so few words, he often employs too many thoughts on one subject, and thereby becomes prolix after an unusual manner. It is surprising how much erudition Butler has introduced with so good a grace into a work of pleasantry and humour: Hudibras is perhaps one of the most learned compositions that is to be found in any language. The advantage which the royal cause received from this poem, in exposing the fanaticism and false pretences of the former parliamentary party, was prodigious. The king himself had so good a taste as to be highly pleased with the merit of the work, and had even got a great part of it by heart: yet was he either so careless in his temper, or so little endowed with the virtue of liberality, or, more properly speaking, of gratitude, that he allowed the author, a man of virtue and probity, to live in obscurity, and die in want (*v*). Dryden is an instance of a negligence of the same kind. His Absalom sensibly contributed to the victory which the tories obtained over the whigs, after the exclusion of parliaments: yet could not this merit, aided by his great genius, procure him an establishment which might exempt him from the necessity of writing for bread. Otway, though a professed royalist, could not even procure bread by his writings; and he had the singular fate of dying literally of hunger, for he was starved to death. These incidents throw a great stain on the memory of Charles, who had discernment, loved genius, was liberal of money, but attained not the praise of true generosity.

BOOK X.

WILLIAM THE THIRD AND MARY THE SECOND.

CHAPTER I.

IT is natural to suppose, that the constitution of England, upon the accession of William to the throne, assumed a different aspect from that which it had before. As the right of this monarch to the crown was wholly from the choice of the people, they were undoubtedly led to load the benefit with whatever stipulations they thought requisite for their own security. The power of the king was limited on every side; and the jealousy which his new subjects entertained of foreigners still farther obstructed the exercise of his authority. The power of the crown was allowed to flow from no other fountain than that of a contract with the people. The representatives made a regular claim of rights in behalf of their constituents, which, previous to his coronation, William was obliged to confirm (*w*).

William

(*u*) The duke of Buckingham died on the 16th of April, 1688.

(*v*) Butler died in 1680, aged sixty-eight.

(*w*) This declaration of rights maintained, that the suspending and dispensing powers, as exercised by James the Second, were unconstitutional; that all courts of ecclesiastical commission, the levying of money, or maintaining a standing army in times of peace, without consent of parliament; that grants of fines and forfeitures before conviction, and juries of persons not qualified, or not fairly chosen; and, in trials for treason, who were not freeholders, were all unlawful. It asserted the freedom of election to parliament, the freedom of speech in parliament, and the right of the subject to bear arms, and to petition his sovereign. It provided that excessive bails should not be required, nor excessive fines be imposed

William was no sooner elected to the throne, than he began to experience the difficulty of governing a people who were more ready to examine the commands of their superiors than to obey them. From the peaceful and tractable disposition of his own countrymen, he expected to find a similar disposition among the English; he hoped to find them ready and willing to second his ambition in humbling France, but he was mistaken, for he found them more apt to fear for the invasion of their domestic liberties at home.

The reign of William commenced with an attempt similar to that which had been the principal cause of all the disturbances in the preceding reign, and which had excluded the monarch from the throne. He was himself a Calvinist, and consequently averse to persecution: he therefore attempted to repeal those laws which enjoined uniformity of worship; and though he could not entirely succeed in his design, a toleration was granted to such dissenters as should take the oaths of allegiance, and hold no private conventicles. The papists themselves, who had every thing to fear, experienced the lenity of his government; and though the laws against them were unrepealed, yet they were seldom put into rigorous execution. Thus what was criminal in James became virtuous in his successor, as James wanted to introduce persecution, by pretending to disown it; while William had no other design, but to make religious freedom the test of civil security.

Although William was acknowledged king in England, Scotland and Ireland were still undetermined. The revolution in England had been effected by a coalition of Whigs and Tories; but in Scotland it was effected by the Whigs almost alone. They soon came to a resolution that James had, to use their own expression, *forefaulted* his right to the crown, a term which, in the law-language of that country, excluded not only him, but all his posterity. They therefore, in the year 1689, recognized the authority of William, and took that opportunity to abolish episcopacy, which had long been disagreeable to that nation.

The only part that now remained to the deposed king of all his former possessions was Ireland; and he had some hopes of maintaining his ground there, by the assistance which he was promised from France. Louis XIV. had long been at variance with William, and took every opportunity to form confederacies against him, and to obstruct his government. On the present occasion, being either touched with compassion at the sufferiongs of James, or willing to weaken a rival kingdom, by promoting its internal dissensions, he granted the deposed monarch a fleet and some troops, to assert his pretensions in Ireland, the only part of his dominions that had not openly declared against him.

On the other hand, William was not backward in warding off the threatened blow. He was pleased with an opportunity of gratifying his natural hatred against France; and he hoped to purchase domestic quiet to himself, by turning the spirit of the nation upon the continual object of aversion and jealousy. The parliament, though divided in all things else, was unanimous in conspiring with him in this: war was declared against France, and measures were pursued for driving James from Ireland, where he had landed, assisted rather by money than by forces, granted him by the French king.

On the 7th of May, 1689, that unhappy monarch embarked at Brest, and on the 22nd arrived at Kinsale; soon after which he made his public entry into Dublin, amidst the acclamations of the inhabitants. He found appearances of things in that country equal to his most sanguine expectations. Tyrconnel, the lord-lieutenant, was devoted to his interests; his whole army was steady, and a new one raised, amounting together to nearly forty thousand men. The Protestants over great part of Ireland were disarmed; the province of Ulster alone denied his authority; while the papists, confident of success, received him with shouts of joy and superstitious processions, which highly gratified the infatuated zealot.

In this state of the public mind, as the Catholics were eight times more numerous than the Protestants, the latter experienced the most cruel and oppressive indignities. Most of those who were attached to the revolution were under a necessity of retiring into Scotland and England, or hid themselves, or accepted written protections from their enemies. The bravest of them, however, to the number of ten thousand men, gathered round Londonderry, resolved to make their last stand at that place for their religion and liberty. A few also rallied themselves at Inniskilling; and after the first panic was over, became more numerous by the junction of others.

In the present posture of affairs James continued for some time irresolute what course to pursue; but so soon as the spring would permit, he marched to lay siege to Londonderry, a town of small importance in itself, but rendered famous by the stand which it made on this occasion. Colonel Lundie, who had been appointed governor of the town by William, was secretly attached to the interest of James; and at a council of war prevailed upon the officers and townsmen to send messengers to the besiegers with an offer of surrender on the following day. But the inhabitants, being apprized of his intention, and crying out that they were betrayed, rose in a furious manner against the governor and council, shot one of the officers whom they suspected, and resolutely determined to maintain the town, though destitute of leaders.

The town was weak in its fortifications, having only a wall eight or nine feet thick, and weaker still in its artillery, there being not above twenty serviceable guns upon the works. The new-made garrison, however, made up every deficiency by courage: one Walker, a dissenting minister, and major Baker, put themselves at the head of these resolute men; and thus abandoned to their fate, they prepared for a vigorous resistance. The batteries of the besiegers soon began to play upon the town with great fury, and several attacks were made, but always repulsed with resolution. All the success that valour could promise was on their side; but after some time they found themselves exhausted by continual fatigue; they were afflicted also with a contagious distemper which greatly thinned their numbers; and as there were many useless mouths in the city, they began to be reduced to the greatest extremities by the want of provision. They had even the mortification to see some ships, which had arrived with supplies from England, prevented from sailing up the river by the batteries of the enemy, and a boom by which they had blocked up the Channel. General Kirke was not more successful, who attempted to come to their assistance, but was prevented from sailing up the river. All he could do was to promise them speedy relief, and to exhort them to bear their miseries a little longer, with assurances of a glorious termination of them all. They had now consumed the last remains of their provision, and were reduced to the sad necessity of supporting life by eating horses, dogs, and all kinds of vermin; and even this loathsome food began to fail them. They had still farther the misery of seeing above four thousand of their fellow Protestants, from different parts of the country, driven by Rosene, James's general, under the walls of the town, where they were kept three whole days without sustenance. Kirke, in the mean time, who had been sent to their relief, continued inactive, debating with himself between the prudence and necessity of his assistance. At length, receiving intelligence that the garrison sunk with fatigue and famine, had sent proposals of capitulation, he resolved upon an attempt to throw provisions into the place, by means of three victuallers, and a frigate to cover them. As soon as these vessels sailed up the river, the eyes of all were fixed upon them; the besiegers eager to destroy, and the garrison as resolute for their defence. The foremost of the victuallers at first shock broke the boom, but was stranded by the violence of her own shock. Upon this a shout burst from the besiegers, which reached the camp and the city. They advanced with fury against a prize, which they considered as inevitable; while the smoke of the cannon on both sides wrapped the whole scene in darkness. But to the astonishment of all, in a little time, the victualler was seen emerging from imminent danger, having got off by the rebound of her own guns, while she led up her little squadron to the walls of the town. The joy of the inhabitants at this unexpected relief, was only equalled by the rage and disappointment of the besiegers. The army of James was so dispirited by the success of this enterprize, that they abandoned the siege in the night; and retired with precipitation, after having lost above nine thousand men before the place. Kirke no sooner took possession of the town, than Walker was prevailed on to embark for England, with an address

imposed, nor cruel nor unusual punishments be inflicted; and it concluded with an injunction that parliaments should be frequently assembled. Such is the substance of the Bill of Rights, which is calculated to secure the liberties of the people; but having been drawn up in a ferment, it bears all the marks of haste, insufficiency, and inattention.

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of thanks to king William, for the seasonable relief they had received.

The Inniskilliners were no less remarkable than the people of Londonderry, for the valour and perseverance with which they espoused the interests of William: and indeed the bigotry and cruelty of the papists upon that occasion were sufficient to rouse the most quiet into vigorous opposition. The Protestants, by an act of the popish parliament, under king James, were divested of those lands which they had been possessed of since the Irish rebellion. Three thousand of that persuasion, who had sought safety by flight, were attainted, and found guilty of treason. Soldiers were permitted to live at free quarter; the people were plundered, the shops of tradesmen, and the kitchens of the citizens, were pillaged, to supply a quantity of brass, which was converted into coin, and passed, by order of James, for above forty times its real value. Not content with this, he imposed by his own authority, a tax of twenty thousand pounds a month on personal property, and levied it by a commission under the great seal: beside which, all vacancies in the public schools were supplied by popish teachers. The pension allowed from the Exchequer to the university of Dublin was cut off, and that institution converted into a popish seminary. Brigadier-general Sarsfield commanded all Protestants of a certain district to retire to the distance of ten miles from their habitations, on pain of death; many perished with hunger, but by far the greater number through being forced from their homes, during the most inclement weather.

But the sufferings of the Protestants were soon to have an end. William at length perceived that his neglect of Ireland had been an error which required more than usual diligence to redress. He was fearful of sending the late king's army to fight against him, lest it might be weakened by desertion, or lest it might altogether favour his cause: he therefore gave orders for twenty-three new regiments to be raised for that service. These, with two Dutch battalions, and four of French refugees, together with the Inniskilliners, were appointed for the reduction of Ireland; and, next to the king himself, marshal Schomberg was appointed to the command (*x*).

The mode of carrying on the war in Ireland was a method with which Schomberg was entirely unacquainted. The forces he had to combat were incursive, barbarous, and shy; those he had to command were tumultuary, ungovernable, and brave. He did not sufficiently consider the dangers which threatened the health of his troops by being confined to one place; and he kept them in a low moist clump, near Dundalk, without firing almost of any kind; so that the men fell into fevers and fluxes, and died in great abundance. The enemy likewise were afflicted with similar disorders. Both camps remained for some time in sight of each other, and at last the rainy season approaching, they both, as if by mutual consent, quitted their camps at the same time, and retired into winter quarters, without attempting to take advantage of each other's retreat.

The bad success of the late campaign in Ireland, and the miserable situation of the Protestants in that country, at length induced king William to attempt their relief in person, at the opening of the ensuing spring. Accordingly on the 4th of June, 1690, the king set out for Ireland, attended by prince George of Denmark, the duke of Ormond, the earls of Oxford, Scarborough, Manchester, and many other persons of distinction: on the 14th he landed at Carrickfergus, from whence he immediately proceeded to Belfast, where he was met by the duke of Schomberg, the prince of Wirtemberg, major-general Kirke, and several other officers. By this time colonel Wolsey, at the head of a thousand men, had defeated a strong detachment of the enemy near Belturbat: sir John Lanier had taken Bedloe Castle; and that of Charlemont, a strong post of great importance, together with Balingargy, near Cavan, had been reduced. King William, having reposed himself for two or three days at Belfast, visited the duke's head quarters at Lisburne: then advancing to Hillsborough, published an order against pressing horses, and committing violence on the country people. When some of his general officers proposed cautious measures, he declared he did not come to Ireland to let the grass grow under his feet. He ordered the army to encamp and be reviewed at Loughbrilland, where he found it amount to six and thirty thousand effective men well appointed. He then marched to Dundalk; and afterwards advanced to Ardee, which the enemy had just abandoned.

James trusted so much to the disputes in the English parliament, that he did not believe his son-in-law would be able to quit that kingdom; and William had been six days in Ireland before James received intimation of his arrival. This was no sooner known, than he left Dublin under a guard of the militia commanded by Luttrel, and with a reinforcement of six thousand infantry, which he had lately received from France, joined the rest of his forces, which now almost equalled William's army in number, exclusive of about fifteen thousand men who remained in different garrisons. He occupied a very advantageous post on the bank of the Boyne, and, contrary to the advice of his general officers resolved to risk a battle. They proposed to strengthen their garrisons, and retire to the Shannon, to wait the effect of the operations at sea. Louis had promised to equip a powerful armament against the English fleet, and send over a great number of small frigates to destroy William's transports, as soon as their convoy should be returned to England. The execution of this scheme was not at all difficult, and must have proved fatal to the English army; for their stores and ammunition were still on board; the ships sailed along the coast as the troops advanced in their march; and there was not one secure harbour to which they could retire in case of emergency. James, however, was bent upon hazarding an engagement; and expressed uncommon confidence and alacrity. Besides the river, which was deep, his front was secured by a morass and a rising ground: so that the English army could not attack him without manifest disadvantage.

King William marched up to the opposite bank of the river, and, as he reconnoitred their situation, was exposed to the fire of some field pieces which the enemy purposely planted against his person. They killed a man and two horses close by him; and the second bullet rebounding from the earth, grazed upon his right shoulder, so as to carry off part of his clothes and skin, and produce a considerable contusion. This accident, which he bore without the least emotion, created some confusion among his attendants, which the enemy perceiving, concluded he was killed, and shouted aloud in token of their joy. The whole camp resounded with acclamation; and several squadrons of their horse were drawn down towards the river, as if they intended to pass it immediately, and attack the English army. The report was instantly communicated from place to place, until it reached Dublin; from thence it was conveyed to Paris, where, contrary to the custom of the French court, the people were encouraged to celebrate the event by bonfires and illuminations. William rode along the lines to shew himself to the army after this narrow escape. At night he called a council of war; and declared his resolution to attack the enemy in the morning. Schomberg at first opposed his design; but finding the king determined, he advised that a strong detachment of horse and foot should that night pass the Boyne at Slane Bridge, and take post between the enemy and the pass at Duleck, that the action might be more decisive. This counsel being rejected, the king determined, that, early in the morning, lieutenant-general Douglas, with the right wing of infantry, and young Schomberg with the horse, should pass at Slane Bridge, while the main body of foot should force their passage at Old Bridge, and the left at certain fords between the enemy's camp and Drogheda. The duke, perceiving his advice was not relished by the Dutch generals, retired to his tent, where the order of battle being brought to him, he received it with an air of discontent, saying, it was the first that had ever been sent to him in that manner. The proper dispositions being made, William rode quite through the army by torch-light, and then retired to his tent, after having given orders to the soldiers to distinguish themselves from the enemy by wearing green boughs in their hats during the action.

At six o'clock in the morning general Douglas, with young Schomberg, the earl of Portland, and Auverquerque, marched towards Slane Bridge, and passed the river with very little opposition. When they reached the farther bank, they perceived the enemy drawn up in two lines, to a considerable number of horse and foot, with a morass

(*x*) Mareschal Schomberg was a Dutchman, who had long been the faithful servant of William, and who had now passed a life of eighty years almost continually in the field.

in their front; so that Douglas was obliged to wait for a reinforcement. This being arrived, the infantry was led to the charge through the morass, while count Schomberg rode round it with his cavalry, to attack the enemy in flank. The Irish, instead of waiting the assault, faced about, and retreated towards Duleck with some precipitation; yet not so fast, but that Schomberg fell upon their rear, and did considerable execution. James, however, soon reinforced his left wing from the centre; and the count was obliged in his turn to send for assistance. At this juncture William's main body, consisting of the Dutch guards, the French regiments, and some battalions of English, passed the river, which was waist high, under a general discharge of artillery. James had imprudently removed his cannon from the other side; but he had posted a strong body of musqueteers along the bank, behind hedges, houses, and some works raised for the occasion. These poured in a close fire upon the English troops before they reached the shore; but it produced very little effect: then the Irish gave way; and some battalions landed without further opposition. Yet before they could form, they were charged with great impetuosity by a squadron of the enemy's horse; and a considerable body of their cavalry and foot, commanded by general Hamilton, advanced from behind some little hillocks to attack those that were landed, as well as to hinder the rest from reaching the shore. His infantry turned their backs, and fled immediately; but the horse charged with incredible fury, both upon the bank and in the river, so as to put the unformed regiments into confusion. Then the duke of Schomberg passed the river in person, put himself at the head of the French protestants, and pointing to the enemy, said, "Gentlemen, those are your persecutors;" and with these words he advanced to the attack, where he himself sustained a violent onset from a party of the Irish horse, which had broke through one of the regiments, and were now on their return. They were mistaken for English, and allowed to gallop up to the duke, who received two severe wounds in the head: but the French regiments being now sensible of their mistake, rashly threw in their fire upon the Irish while they were engaged with the duke; and instead of saving, shot him dead on the spot. The fate of this general had well nigh proved fatal to the English army, which was immediately involved in tumult and disorder, while James's infantry rallied, and returned to their posts with a face of resolution. They were just ready to fall upon the centre, when king William having passed with the left wing, composed of the Danish, Dutch, and Inniskillin horse, advanced to attack them on the right. They were struck with such a panic at this appearance, that they made a sudden halt, and then facing about, retreated to the village of Dunore. There they made such a vigorous stand, that the Dutch and Danish horse, though headed by the king in person, recoiled; even the Inniskilliners gave way; and the whole wing would have been routed, had not a detachment of dragoons, belonging to the regiment of Cunningham and Luison, dismounted, and lined the hedges on each side of the defile through which the fugitives were driven. There they did such execution upon the pursuers as soon checked their ardour. The horse, which were broken, had now time to rally, and returning to the charge, drove the enemy before them in their turn. In this action, general Hamilton, who had been the life and soul, as it were of the Irish during the whole engagement, was wounded and taken: an incident which discouraged them to such a degree, that they made no farther efforts to retrieve the advantage they had lost. He was immediately brought to the king, who asked him, if he thought the Irish would make any farther resistance; and he replied, "Upon my honour I believe they will; for they have still a good body of horse entire." William, eyeing him with a look of disdain, repeated, "Your honour! your honour!" but took no other notice of his having acted contrary to his engagement, when he was permitted to go to Ireland, on promise of persuading Tyrconnel to submit to the new government. The Irish now abandoned the field with precipitation; but the French and Swiss troops, that acted as their auxiliaries, under Lauzun, retreated in good order, after having maintained the battle for some time with intrepidity and perseverance.

As king William did not think proper to pursue the enemy, the carnage was not great. The Irish lost fifteen hundred men, and the English about one-third of that number; though the victory was dearly purchased, considering the death of the gallant duke of Schomberg, who fell in the eighty-second year of his age, after having rivalled the best generals of the age in military reputation (*y*). This battle proved likewise fatal to the brave Caillemore, who had followed the duke's fortunes, and commanded one of the protestant regiments. After having received a mortal wound, he was carried back through the river by four soldiers, and though almost in the agonies of death, he with a chearful countenance encouraged those who were crossing to do their duty, exclaiming, "*A la gloire, mes enfans; à la gloire!*" that is, "To glory, my lads: to glory!" The third remarkable person who lost his life on this occasion was Walker, the clergyman, who had so valiantly defended Londonderry against James's whole army. He had been very graciously received by king William, who gratified him with a reward of five thousand pounds, and a promise of further favour; but his military genius still predominating, he attended his royal patron in this battle, and, being shot in the belly, died in a few minutes.—The persons of distinction who fell on the side of James were the lords Dongan and Carlingford, sir Neile O Neile, and the marquis of Hocquincourt. James himself stood aloof during the action, on the hill of Dunmore, surrounded with some squadrons of horse; and seeing victory declare against him, retired to Dublin, without having made the least effort to re-assemble his broken forces. Had he possessed either spirit or conduct, his army might have been rallied, and reinforced from his garrisons, so as to be in a condition to keep the field, and even act upon the offensive; for his loss was inconsiderable, and the victor did not attempt to molest his troops in their retreat—an omission which has been charged upon him as a flagrant instance of misconduct. Indeed, through the whole of this engagement, William's personal courage was much more conspicuous than his skill in military tactics.

No sooner did James arrive at Dublin, than he assembled the magistrates and council of the city, and in a short speech advised them to make the best terms they could with the victor. He complained of the cowardice of the Irish; signified his resolution of leaving the kingdom immediately; forbade them, on their allegiance, to burn or plunder the city after his departure; and assured them, that, though he was obliged to yield to force, he would never cease to labour for their deliverance. The next day he set out for Waterford, attended by the duke of Berwick, Tyrconnel, and the marquis of Powis. He ordered all the bridges to be broken down behind him, and embarked on board a vessel which had been previously prepared for his reception. At sea he fell in with the sieur de Foran, who persuaded him to go on board one of his frigates, which was a prime sailer. In this he was safely conveyed to France, and returned to the place of his former residence at St. Germain's. James had no sooner quitted Dublin, than it was also abandoned by all the partizans of the Romish church. The protestants immediately took possession of the arms belonging to the militia, under the conduct of the bishops of Meath and Limeric. A committee was formed to take charge of the administration; and an account of these transactions was transmitted to king William, together with a petition that he would honour the city with his presence.

At an early hour on the day following the battle of the Boyne, William ordered a detachment of horse and foot, under the command of M. Mellionere, to march to Drogheda, the governor of which surrendered the place without opposition. William then directed his march towards Dublin, at the head of his army, and halted the first night at Bally Breghan, where, being informed of the enemy's retreat from the capital, he dispatched the duke of Ormond, with a body of horse, to take possession. The duke was immediately followed by the Dutch guards, who secured the castle. Shortly after William encamped at Finglas in the vicinity of Dublin, where the bishops of Meath and Limeric, at the head of the protestant clergy, waited on him, and received assurances from the monarch

(*y*) The duke of Schomberg was descended from a noble family in the Palatinate, and his mother was an English woman, the daughter of lord Dudley. Being obliged to leave his country on account of the troubles by which it was agitated, he commenced a soldier of fortune, and served successively in the armies of Holland, England, France, Portugal, and Brandenburgh. He attained to the dignities of Mareschal in France, Grandee in Portugal, Generalissimo in Prussia, and Duke in England. He professed the Protestant religion; was courteous and humble in his deportment: cool, penetrating, resolute, and sagacious; nor was his probity inferior to his courage.

of

of his favour and protection. He then issued a declaration of pardon to all the common people who had served against him, provided they should return to their dwellings, and surrender their arms by the first of August. Those persons that rented lands of popish proprietors who had been concerned in the late rebellion, were directed to retain their rents in their own hands, until they should have notice from the commissioners of the revenue to whom they should be paid. In the mean time, the principal officers of James's army, after having seen him embark at Waterford, returned to their troops, determined to carry on the war so long as they could be supplied with the requisite means to execute their purpose.

While these things were carrying on, the queen, as regent, found herself surrounded with numberless cares and perplexities. Her council being composed of Whigs and Tories, were not always unanimous. She was also distracted between her apprehensions for her father's safety and her husband's life: she was threatened by an invasion by the French from abroad, and by an insurrection of the Jacobites at home. But she prudently disguised her fears, and behaved with equal prudence and fortitude. Advice being received that a fleet was ready to sail from Brest, lord Torrington hoisted his flag in the Downs, and sailed to St. Helen's in order to assemble such a number of ships as would enable him to give them battle. The enemy being discovered off Plymouth, on the 20th of June, the English admiral, reinforced with a Dutch squadron, stood out to sea, with a view to intercept them at the back of the Isle of Wight, should they presume to sail up the Channel: not that he thought himself strong enough to cope with them in battle. The French fleet consisted of seventy-eight ships of war, and two-and-twenty fire-ships; whereas, the combined squadrons of England and Holland did not exceed six-and-fifty; but he had received orders to hazard an engagement, if he thought it might be done with any prospect of success. After the hostile fleets had continued five days in sight of each other, lord Torrington bore down upon the enemy, off Beachy-head, on the 30th of the same month, at daybreak. The Dutch squadron, which composed the van, began the engagement about nine in the morning: in about half an hour the blue division of the English, commanded by sir Ralph Delaval, were closely engaged with the rear of the French: but the red, which formed the centre, under the command of lord Torrington in person, did not fill the line till ten o'clock, so that the Dutch were almost surrounded by the enemy, and, though they fought with great valour, sustained considerable damage. At length, the admiral's division drove between them and the French, and in that situation the fleet anchored about five in the afternoon, when the action was interrupted by a calm. The Dutch had suffered so severely, that, Torrington thought it would be imprudent to renew the action; he, therefore, weighed anchor in the night, and with the tide of flood retired to the eastward. The next day the disabled ships were destroyed, that they might not be retarded in their retreat. They were pursued as far as Rye: an English ship of seventy guns being stranded near Winchelsea, was set on fire, and deserted, by the captain's command. A Dutch ship of sixty-four guns met with the same accident, and some French frigates attempted to burn her; but the captain defended her so vigorously that they were obliged to desist, and he afterwards found means to carry her safely into Holland. In this engagement the English lost two ships, two sea-captains, and about four hundred men; but the Dutch were more unfortunate: six of their ships were destroyed. Dick and Brackel, rear-admirals, were slain, together with a great number of inferior officers and seamen. Torrington retreated without further interruption into the mouth of the Thames, and, having taken precaution against any attempts of the enemy in that quarter, returned to London, the inhabitants of which were overwhelmed with consternation and alarm.

The government was likewise infected with the same panic. The ministry pretended to believe that the French acted in concert with the malcontents of the nation; that insurrections in the different parts of the kingdom had been projected by the Jacobites; and that there would be a general revolt in Scotland. These insinuations were circulated by the court agents, in order to justify the measures that were deemed necessary at this juncture; and they produced the desired effect. The apprehensions thus artfully raised among the people inflamed their aversion to nonjurors and Jacobites. Addresses were presented to the queen by the Cornish tinners, the lieutenancy of Middlesex, the mayor, aldermen, and lieutenancy of London, filled with expressions of loyalty, and promises of supporting their majesties, as their lawful sovereigns, against all opposition. The queen, at this crisis, exhibited remarkable proofs of courage, activity, and discretion. She issued proper orders for putting the nation in a posture of defence, as well as for refitting and augmenting the fleet: she took measures for appeasing the resentment of the States-General, who exclaimed against the earl of Torrington for his behaviour in the late action. He was deprived of his command, and sent to the Tower, and commissioners were appointed to examine into his conduct. A camp was formed near Torbay, where the French seemed to threaten a descent. Their fleet, which lay at anchor in the bay, cannonaded the village of Teignmouth. About a thousand of their men landed without opposition, set fire to the place, and burned a few coasting vessels: after which they re-embarked, and returned to Brest, so elated with this atchievement, that they printed a pompous account of their invasion. Some of the Whigs published pamphlets, and diffused reports, which implied that the bishops who had been suspended were concerned in the conspiracy against the government: and these arts so wrought upon the common people, that the prelates thought proper to print a paper, in which they asserted their own innocence in the most solemn manner. It does not appear that the court harboured any suspicion against them, otherwise it is probable they would not have escaped imprisonment. The queen issued a proclamation for the apprehension of the earls of Litchfield, Aylesbury, and Castlemain; viscount Preston; the lords Montgomery and Bellasis; sir Edward Hales, sir Robert Tharold, sir Robert Hamilton, sir Theophilus Oglethorpe, colonel Edward Sackville, and some other officers. These were accused of having conspired with other disaffected persons to disturb and destroy the government, and of a design to concur with her majesty's enemies in the intended invasion. The earl of Torrington continued a prisoner in the Tower till next session, when he was brought into the house of commons, and made a speech in his own defence. His case produced long debates in the upper house, where the form of his commitment was judged illegal: at length he was tried by a court-martial, appointed by the commissioners of the Admiralty, though not before an act had passed, declaring the power of a lord high-admiral vested in those commissioners. The president of the court was sir Ralph Delaval, who had acted as vice admiral of the blue in the engagement. The earl was acquitted, but the king dismissed him from the service; and the Dutch exclaimed against his judges for having acted with partiality.

We have before observed that James's friends were determined to second those interests which he himself had abandoned. Limeric, a strong city in the province of Munster, still held out for the late king, and braved all the attempts of William's army to reduce it. Sarsfield, a popular and experienced general, put himself at the head of the army that had been routed at the Boyne, and went farther into the country to defend the banks of the river Shannon, where he resolved to await the enemy. James, though he would not defend the country himself, determined that none but such as were agreeable to him should defend it. He therefore appointed St. Ruth, a French general, who had signalized himself against the protestants in France, to command over Sarsfield, which gave the Irish universal discontent, as it shewed that James could neither rely on their skill nor their fidelity. On the other hand, general Ginckle, who had been appointed to the command of the English army in the absence of William, who was gone over to England, advanced with his forces to meet the enemy, towards the Shannon, in order to pass that broad and dangerous river. The only place where it was fordable was at, Athlone, a strong walled town, built on both sides of the river, and defending that important pass. That part of the town which lay on the hither side of the river was quickly taken sword in hand by the English; but the part on the opposite bank being defended with great vigour, was for a while thought impregnable. At length it was resolved, in a council of war, that a body of forlorn hope should ford the stream in the face of the enemy, which desperate attempt was performed with great resolution; the enemy were driven from their works, and the town surrendered at discretion.

discretion. St. Ruth marched his army to give it relief, but he arrived too late; for when he approached the walls his own guns were turned upon him. No sooner did he behold this, than his fears increased in proportion to his former confidence; and dreading the impetuosity of a victorious enemy in his very camp, he instantly marched away, and took post at Aghrim, ten miles distant. Here he determined to await the English army, and decide the fate of Ireland at one blow.

Having put Athlone in a posture of defence, general Ginckel passed the Shannon, and marched towards the enemy, determined to give them battle, though his forces did not exceed eighteen thousand men, while that of the enemy was above twenty-five thousand. The Irish were posted in a very advantageous situation; the centre extended along a rising ground, uneven in many places, intersected with banks and ditches, joined by lines of communication, and fronted by a large bog almost impassable. His right was fortified with entrenchments, and his left secured by the castle of Aghrim. He harangued his army in the most pathetic strain, conjuring them to exert their courage in defence of their holy religion, in the extirpation of heresy, in recovering their ancient honours and estates, and in restoring a pious king to the throne, from whence he had been expelled by an unnatural usurper. He employed even the priests to enforce his exhortations; to assure the men that they might depend on the prayers of the church; and that, in case they should fall in battle, the saints and angels would convey their souls to heaven. They are said to have sworn upon the sacrament, that they would not desert their colours, and to have received an order that no quarter should be given to the French heretics in the army of the prince of Orange. Ginckel had encamped on the Roscommon side of the river Suc, within three miles of the enemy: after having reconnoitred their posture, he resolved, with the advice of a council of war, to attack them on Sunday the 12th of July, 1691. The necessary orders being given, the army passed the river at two fords and a stone bridge, and, advancing to the edge of the great bog, began about twelve o'clock to force the two passages, in order to possess the ground on the other side. The enemy fought with surprizing fury, and the horse were several times repulsed; but, at length, the troops upon the right carried their point by means of some field pieces. The day was now so far advanced, that the general determined to postpone the battle till next morning; but perceiving some disorder among the enemy, and fearing they would decamp in the night, he altered his resolution, and ordered the attack to be renewed. At six o'clock in the evening the left wing of the English advanced to the right of the Irish, from whom they met with such a warm and obstinate reception, that it was not without the most surprizing efforts of courage and perseverance that they at length obliged them to give ground; and even then they lost it by inches. St. Ruth, seeing them in danger of being overpowered, immediately detached succours to them from his centre and left wing. Mackay no sooner perceived them weakened by these detachments, than he ordered three battalions to skirt the bog, and attack them on the left, while the centre advanced through the middle of the morass, the men wading up to the waist in mud and water. After they had reached the other side, they found themselves obliged to ascend a rugged hill, fenced with hedges and ditches; and these were lined with musqueteers, supported at proper intervals with squadrons of cavalry. They made such a desperate resistance and fought with such impetuosity, that the assailants were repulsed into the middle of the bog with great loss, and St. Ruth exclaimed, "Now will I drive the English to the gates of Dublin." In this critical conjuncture Ptolemache came up with a fresh body to sustain them, rallied the broken troops, and renewed the charge with such vigour, that the Irish gave way in their turn, and the English recovered the ground they had lost, though they found it impossible to improve their advantage. Mackay brought a body of horse and dragoons to the assistance of the left wing, and at first turned the tide of battle in favour of the English. Major general Rouvigny, who had behaved with great gallantry during the whole action, advanced with five regiments of cavalry to support the centre, when St. Ruth perceiving his design, resolved to fall upon him in a dangerous hollow way, which he was obliged to pass. For this purpose he began to descend Kircommodon-hill with his whole reserve of horse: but in his way was killed by a cannon-ball. His troops immediately halted, and his guards retreated with his body. His fate dispirited the troops, and produced such confusion as Sarsfield could not remedy; for though he was next in command he had been at variance with St. Ruth since the affair at Athlone, and was ignorant of the plan he had concerted. Rouvigny having passed the hollow way without opposition, charged the enemy in flank, and bore down all before him with surprising impetuosity: the centre redoubled their efforts, and pushed the Irish to the top of the hill, and then the whole line giving way at once from right to left, threw down their arms. The foot fled towards a bog in their rear, and their horse took the route by the highway to Loughneagh: both were pursued by the English cavalry, who for four miles made a terrible slaughter. In the battle, which lasted only two hours, and in the pursuit, upwards of four thousand of the enemy were slain, and six hundred taken prisoners, together with the whole of their baggage, tents, provision, ammunition, and artillery, twenty-nine pair of colours, twelve standards, and almost all the arms of the infantry. In short, the victory was decisive, not above eight hundred of the English being killed upon the field. The vanquished retreated in great confusion to Limeric, where they resolved to make a final stand, in hope of receiving such succours from France as would either enable them to retrieve their affairs, or obtain good terms from the court of England. There Tyrconnel died of a broken heart, after having survived his authority and reputation (z).

Directly after this battle, which was so decidedly in favour of the English, detachments were sent to reduce Portumny, Bonnachar, and Moor Castle, considerable passes on the river Shannon, which were accordingly secured. After this general Ginckel advanced to Galway, which he summoned to surrender; but he received a defiance from lord Dillon and general D'Ussone, who commanded the garrison. The trenches were immediately opened; a fort which commanded the approaches to the town was taken by assault; six regiments of foot, and four squadrons of horse, passed the river on pontoons; and the place being wholly invested, the governor thought proper to capitulate. The garrison marched out with the honours of war, and was allowed safe conduct to Limeric. Ginckel then directed his march to the same town, which was the only post of importance that now held out in favour of James. Within four miles of the place he halted, until the heavy cannon could be brought from Athlone. Hearing that Luttrel had been seized by the French general D'Ussone, and was sentenced to be shot for having proposed to surrender, he sent a trumpet, to tell the commander, that if any person should be put to death for such a proposal, he would make retaliation upon the Irish prisoners. On the 25th of August the enemy were driven from all their advanced posts; captain Cole, with a squadron of ships sailed up the Shannon, and his frigates anchored in sight of the town. The following day the batteries were opened, and a line of contravallation was formed: the Irish army lay encamped on the other side of the river, on the road to Killalow, and the fords were guarded by four regiments of their dragoons. On the 5th of September, after the town had been almost laid in ruins by the bombs, and large breaches made in the walls by the battering cannon, the guns were dismounted, the out-forts evacuated, and such other motions made as indicated a resolution to abandon the siege. The enemy expressed their joy in loud acclamations; but this was of short continuance; for in the night the besiegers began to throw a bridge of pontoons over the river, about a mile higher up than the camp; and this work was finished before morning. A considerable body of horse and foot had passed when the alarm was given to the enemy, who were so panic struck, that they threw down their arms and betook themselves to flight, leaving behind them their tents, baggage, two pieces of cannon, and one standard. The bridge was immediately removed nearer the town, and fortified; all the fords and passes were secured, and the batteries continued firing incessantly till the 22nd, when Ginckel passed over with a division of the army and fourteen pieces of cannon. About four in the afternoon, the grenadiers attacked the forts that commanded Thomond Bridge, and carried them sword in hand, after an obstinate resistance. The garrison had made a sally from the town

(z) The earl of Tyrconnel had incurred the contempt of the French, as well as the hatred of the Irish, whom he had advised to submit to the new government, rather than totally ruin themselves and their families.

to support them; and this detachment was driven back with such precipitation, that the French officer on command in that quarter, fearing the English would enter with the fugitives, ordered the bridge to be drawn up, leaving his own men to the fury of the victorious soldiery. Six hundred were killed, and two hundred taken prisoners, including many officers, and a great number were drowned in the river.

The English then made a lodgement within ten paces of the bridge foot; and the Irish, perceiving that they were surrounded on all sides, came to the resolution of capitulating. General Sarsfield and colonel Wahop signified their intention to Scravenmore and Rouvigny: hostages were exchanged; a negociation was immediately commenced, and hostilities ceased on both sides of the river. The lords justices arrived in the camp the first of October, and on the 4th the articles of capitulation were agreed to: these extended to all the places in the kingdom that were still in the hands of the Irish. The Roman catholics were restored to the enjoyment of such liberty in the exercise of their religion as was consistent with the laws of Ireland, and conformable with that which they possessed in the reign of Charles the Second. All persons whatever were entitled to the protection of these laws, and restored to the possession of their estates, privileges, and immunities, upon their submitting to the present government, and taking the oath of allegiance to their majesties king William and queen Mary, excepting, however, certain persons who were forfeited or exiled. This article even extended to all merchants of Limeric, or any other garrison possessed by the Irish, who happened to be abroad, and had not borne arms since the declaration in the first year of the present reign, provided they should return within the period of eight months (*a*).

On the surrender of the town of Limeric to Ginckel, it was agreed on both sides, that the two armies should entrench themselves till the Irish could embark, that no disorders might arise from a communication between the different parties. The protestant subjects of Ireland, however, were highly dissatisfied at the concessions made in favour of the vanquished because they had exercised such flagrant acts of cruelty, rapine, and murder. They vehemently complained, that they themselves, who had suffered for their loyalty to king William, were neglected, and obliged to sit down with their losses, while their enemies, who had shed so much blood in opposing his government, were indemnified by the articles of capitulation, and even favoured with particular indulgences. They were dismissed with the honours of war: they were transported at the government's expence, to fight against the English in foreign countries: an honourable provision was made for the Rapparees, who were professed banditti: the Roman catholic interest in Ireland obtained the sanction of regal authority: attainders were overlooked, forfeitures annulled, pardons extended, and laws set aside, in order to effect a pacification.

When the articles of capitulation were ratified, and hostages exchanged for their being duly executed, about two thousand Irish foot, and three hundred horse, began their march for Cork, where they proposed to take shipping for France, under the conduct of Sarsfield; but three regiments refusing to quit the kingdom, delivered up their arms and dispersed to their former habitations. Those who remained at Limeric embarked on the 7th of November, 1691, in French transports, and sailed immediately to France, under the convoy of a French squadron which had arrived in the bay of Dangle immediately after the capitulation was signed. Twelve thousand men embarked, and when they arrived in France, they were thanked for their loyalty by James, who told them that they should still fight for their old master; and that he had obtained an order from the king of France for their being new cloathed, and put into quarters for refreshment.

Ireland being now completely reduced, baron Ginckel returned to England, where he was solemnly thanked by the house of commons for his great services, after he had been created earl of Athlone by his majesty. When the parliament met, on the 22nd of October, the king, in his speech, insisted upon sending a strong fleet to sea early in the season, and of maintaining a considerable army, to annoy the enemy abroad, as well as to protect the kingdom from insult and invasion; for which purposes, he said, sixty-five thousand men would be barely sufficient. Both houses presented addresses of congratulation upon his majesty's safe return to England, and on the reduction of Ireland: they promised to assist him to the utmost of their power, in prosecuting the war with France; and, at the same time, drew up addresses to the queen, acknowledging her prudent administration during his majesty's absence. But notwithstanding this appearance of cordiality and complaisance, a spirit of discontent had insinuated itself into both houses of parliament, and had even infected a great part of the people.

All the expectations, however, which might arise to James's interest from the attachment of the Irish were now entirely at an end; that kingdom submitted peaceably to the English government, and the late monarch was to look for other assistance to prop his declining pretensions. The chief hopes which he relied upon lay in a conspiracy among his English adherents, and in the succours which were promised him by Louis. The success of the conspiracy was the first to disappoint his expectations. This was originally set on foot in Scotland by sir John Montgomery, a person, who, from being an adherent to William, now turned against him; but as the project was ill-conceived, so it was lightly discovered by the instigator. To this another succeeded, which seemed to threaten more serious consequences, as it was chiefly managed by the Whig party, who were the most formidable in the nation. A number of these joined themselves to the Tory party, and both made advances to the adherents of the late king. They assembled together, and the result of their deliberations was, that the restoration of James was to be entirely effected by foreign forces; that he should sail for Scotland, and be there joined by five thousand Swedes, who, because they were of the protestant faith, it was thought would remove a part of the odium which attended an invasion by foreigners; that assistance should at the same time be sent from France, and that full liberty of conscience should be proclaimed throughout the kingdom. In order that no time might be lost, it was resolved to send over two trusty persons to France to consult with the banished monarch; and lord Preston and Mr. Ashton were the persons appointed for this dangerous embassy. Accordingly Ashton hired a small vessel for this purpose; and the two conspirators went secretly on board, happy in the supposed secrecy of their schemes; but there had been previous information given

(*a*) All the persons comprised in this and the foregoing article were indulged with a general pardon of all attainders, outlawries, treasons, misprisions of treason, præmunires, felonies, trespasses, and other crimes and misdemeanors whatsoever committed since the beginning of the reign of James II. and the lords justices promised to use their best endeavours towards the reversal of such attainders and outlawries as had passed against any of them in parliament. In order to allay the violence of party, and extinguish private animosities, it was agreed, that no person should be sued or impleaded on either side, for any trespass, or made accountable for the rents, tenements, lands, or houses he had received or enjoyed since the beginning of the war. Every nobleman and gentleman comprised in these articles was authorised to keep a sword, a case of pistols, and a gun for his defence or amusement. The inhabitants of Limeric and other garrisons were permitted to remove their goods and chattels, without search, visitation, or payment of duty. The lords justices promised to use their best endeavours, that all persons comprehended in this capitulation should for eight months be protected from all arrests and executions for debt or damage: they undertook that their majesties should ratify these articles within the space of eight months, and use their endeavours that they might be ratified and confirmed in parliament. The subsequent article was calculated to indemnify colonel John Brown, whose estate and effects had been seized for the use of the Irish army by Tyrconnel and Sarsfield, which last had been created lord Lucan, by king James, and was now mentioned by that title. All persons were indulged with free leave to remove with their families and effects to any other country, except England and Scotland. All officers and soldiers in the service of king James, comprehending even the Rapparees, willing to go beyond sea, were at liberty to march in bodies to the place of embarkation, to be conveyed to the continent with the French officers and troops. They were furnished with passports, convoys, and carriages by land and water; and general Ginckel engaged to provide seventy ships, if necessary, for their transportation, with two men of war for the accommodation of their officers, and to serve as a convoy to the fleet. It was stipulated, That the provisions and forage for their subsistence should be paid for on their arrival in France: that hostages should be given for this indemnification, as well as for the return of the ships: that all garrisons should march out of their respective towns and fortresses with the honours of war: that the Irish should have liberty to transport nine hundred horses: that those who might choose to stay behind, might dispose of themselves according to their own fancy, after having surrendered their arms to such commissioners as the general should appoint: that all prisoners of war should be set at liberty on both sides: that the general should provide two vessels to carry over two different persons to France, with intimation of this treaty; and that none of those who were willing to quit the kingdom should be detained on account of debt, or any other pretence.—This is the substance of the famous treaty of Limeric, which the Irish Roman catholics considered as the great charter of their civil and religious liberties.

of their intentions; and lord Carmarthen had them both seized, just at the time when they thought themselves out of all danger. The conspirators refused to inform; their trials were therefore hurried on about a fortnight after they were taken, in order, by the terrors of death, to force a discovery. They were tried at the Old Bailey, for compassing the death of king William and queen Mary. Lord Preston alledged, in his defence, that the treasons charged upon him were not committed in the county of Middlesex, as laid in the indictment; that none of the witnesses declared he had any concern in hiring the vessel; that the papers were not found upon him; that there ought to be two creditable witnesses to every fact, whereas, the whole proof against him rested on similitude of hands, and mere supposition. He was, nevertheless, found guilty. Ashton behaved with great intrepidity and composure. He owned his purpose of going to France, in pursuance of a promise he had made to general Worden, who, on his death-bed conjured him to go thither, and finish some affairs of consequence which he had left there depending; as well as with a view to recover a considerable sum of money due to himself. He denied that he was privy to the contents of the papers found upon him: he complained of his having been denied time to prepare for his trial: and called several persons to prove him a protestant of exemplary piety and irreproachable morals. These circumstances had no weight with the court. He was brow-beaten by the bench, and found guilty by the jury, as he had the papers in his custody; yet, there was no privity proved; and the Whig party themselves had often expressly declared, that of all sorts of evidence, that of finding papers in a person's possession, is the weakest, because no man can secure himself from such danger. Ashton suffered with equal courage and decorum. In a paper, which he delivered to the sheriff, he owned his attachment to king James; he witnessed to the birth of the prince of Wales; denied his knowledge of the contents of the papers that were committed to his charge; complained of the hard measure he had met with from the judges and jury, but forgave them in the sight of Heaven. This man was celebrated by the non-jurors as a martyr to loyalty; and they boldly affirmed, that his chief crime, in the eyes of the government, was his having among his baggage an account of such evidence as would have been convincing to all the world, concerning the birth of the prince of Wales, which by a great number of people was believed suppositious (*b*). Lord Preston obtained a pardon: Elliot, another of the conspirators, was not tried, because no evidence appeared against him: the earl of Clarendon, who was likewise concerned in the conspiracy, was sent to the Tower, where he remained some months, and was afterwards confined to his own house in the country; an indulgence, which he owed to his consanguinity with the queen, who was his first cousin. The bishop of Ely, Graham, and Penn absconded; and a proclamation was issued for apprehending them as traitors.

The bishop of Ely being implicated in the conspiracy furnished the king with a plausible pretence to fill up the vacant bishoprics; accordingly Dr. Tillotson (*c*) was advanced to the see of Canterbury, Beveridge was promoted to the see of Bath and Wells, Fowler to that of Gloucester, Cumberland to Peterborough, Moor to Norwich, and Patrick to Ely. These were all divines of unblemished character; and the public in general seemed satisfied with this exertion of the king's supremacy. Although the deprived prelates at first affected meekness and resignation, the press groaned with the efforts of their learning and resentment; and every essay was answered by their opponents. Passive obedience and non-resistance appeared to be the order of the day.

The commons voted three millions, four hundred and eleven thousand, six hundred and seventy-five pounds for the use of the ensuing year; but the establishment of funds for raising these supplies was retarded, partly by the intervention of other affairs, which engrossed the attention of the house. The parliament was amused by a pretended conspiracy of the papists in Lancashire to raise a rebellion, and restore James to the throne. Several persons were seized, and some witnesses examined; but nothing appeared to justify the information. At length one Fuller, a prisoner in the King's Bench, offered his evidence, and was brought to the bar of the house of commons, where he produced some papers. He obtained a blank pass from the king for two persons, who, he said, would come from the continent to give evidence. He was afterwards examined at his own lodgings, where he affirmed, that colonel Thomas Delaval, and James Hayes, were the witnesses for whom he had procured the pass and protection. Search was made for them, according to his direction; but no such persons could be found. The house then declared Fuller a notorious impostor, cheat, and false accuser. He was, at the request of the commons, prosecuted by the attorney-general, and sentenced to stand in the pillory; a disgrace which he accordingly underwent.

A bill for regulating trials in cases of high-treason having been laid aside by the lords in the preceding session, was now again brought forward, and passed the lower house. The design of this bill was to secure the subject from the rigours to which he had been exposed in the late reigns: it provided, That the prisoners should be furnished with a copy of his indictment, as also of the pannel, ten days before his trial; and, That his witnesses should be examined upon oath, as well as those of the crown. The lords, in their own behalf, added a clause, enacting, That upon the trials of any peer or peeress, for treason or misprision of treason, all the peers who have a right to sit and vote in parliament should be duly summoned to assist at the trial: That this notice should be given twenty days before the trial: and, That every peer so summoned, and appearing, should vote upon the occasion. The commons rejected this amendment, and a free conference ensued. The point was argued with great vivacity on both sides, which served only to inflame the dispute, and render each party the more tenacious of their own opinion. After three conferences that produced nothing but animosity, the bill was dropped; for the commons resolved to bear the hardships of which they complained, rather than be relieved at the expence of purchasing a new privilege to the lords; and without this advantage, the peers would not contribute to their relief.

The next object that engrossed the attention of the lower house, was the miscarriage of the fleet during the summer's expedition. Admiral Russel, who commanded at sea, having been joined by the Dutch squadron, sailed in quest of the enemy; but as the French king had received undoubted intelligence, that the combined squadrons were superior to his navy in number of ships and weight of metal, he ordered Tourville to avoid an engagement. This officer acted with such vigilance, caution, and dexterity, as baffled all the endeavours of Russel, who was, moreover, perplexed with obscure and contradictory orders. Nevertheless he cruised all the summer, either in the Channel or in soundings, for the protection of the trade, and in particular secured the homeward bound Smyrna fleet, in which the English and the Dutch had a joint concern, amounting to four millions sterling. Having scoured the Channel, and sailed along great part of the French coast, he returned to Torbay in the beginning of August, and received fresh orders to put to sea again, notwithstanding his repeated remonstrances against exposing large ships to the storms that always blow about the time of the equinox. He therefore sailed back to the soundings, where he continued cruising till the 2nd of September, when he was overtaken by a violent tempest, which drove him into the Channel, and obliged him to make for the port of Plymouth. The weather being hazy, he reached the Sound with great difficulty: the Coronation, a second rate, foundered at anchor off the Ram Head: the Harwich, a third rate, bulged upon the rocks, and perished: two others ran ashore, but were got off with little damage: in short, the whole fleet was scattered and distressed. The nation murmured at the supposed misconduct of the admiral, and the commons subjected him to an enquiry; but when they had examined his papers, orders, and instructions, they perceived he had adhered to them with great punctuality, and thought proper to drop the prose-

(*b*) To one of the pamphlets published on this occasion, is annexed a petition to the present government, in the name of James's adherents, importing, that some grave and learned person should be authorised to compile a treatise, showing the grounds of William's title; and declaring, that in case the performance should carry conviction along with it, they would submit to that title, as they hitherto opposed it from a principle of conscience.—The best answer that could be made to this summons, was Lock's book upon Government, which appeared at this period.—Ralph.

(*c*) Dr. John Tillotson was one of the most learned, moderate, and virtuous ecclesiastics of the age, who did not accept this promotion without great reluctance, because he foresaw that he should be exposed to the slander and malevolence of that party which espoused the cause of his predecessor.

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cution, out of tenderness to the ministry. At length the funds for the supplies of the ensuing year being established, and several acts passed relating to domestic regulations, the king, on the 24th of February, 1692, closed the session with a short speech, thanking the parliament for the liberality of the supplies, and communicating his intention of repairing speedily to the continent. Then the two houses, at his desire, adjourned themselves to the 12th of April, and the parliament was afterwards prorogued to the 29th of May, by proclamation.

As the Highlanders in Scotland were not yet totally reduced, the earl of Braidalbane undertook to bring them over, by distributing sums of money among their chiefs; and fifteen thousand pounds were remitted from England for this purpose. The clans being informed of this remittance, suspected that the earl's design was to appropriate to himself the best part of the money, and when he began to treat with them made such extravagant demands, that he found his scheme impracticable. He was therefore, obliged to refund the sum he had received; but resolved to wreak his vengeance with the first opportunity, on those who had frustrated his intention. He who chiefly thwarted his negociation was Macdonald of Glencoe, whose opposition rose from a private circumstance, which ought to have had no effect upon a treaty that regarded the public weal. Macdonald had plundered the lands of Braidalbane during the course of hostilities; and this nobleman insisted upon being indemnified for his losses, from the other's share of the money which he was employed to distribute. The Highlander not only refused to acquiesce in these terms, but by his influence among the clans, defeated the whole scheme, and the earl in revenge devoted him to destruction. King William had by proclamation offered an indemnity to all those who had been in arms against him, provided they would submit and take the oath by a certain day; and this was prolonged to the close of the present year, when a denunciation of military execution passed against those who should hold out after the end of December. Macdonald, intimidated by this declaration, repaired on the very last day of the month to Fort-William, and desired that the oaths might be tendered to him by colonel Hill governor of that fortress. As this officer was not vested with the power of a civil magistrate, he refused to administer them; and Macdonald set out immediately for Inverary, the county-town of Argyle. Though the ground was covered with snow, and the weather intensely cold, he travelled with such diligence, that the term prescribed by the proclamation was but one day elapsed when he reached the place, and addressing himself to sir John Campbell, sheriff of the county, who, in consideration of his disappointment at Fort-William, was prevailed upon to administer the oaths to him and his adherents. Then they returned to their own habitations in the valley of Glencoe, in full confidence of being protected by the government, to which they had so solemnly submitted.

Braidalbane had represented Macdonald at court as an incorrigible rebel, as a ruffian, inured to bloodshed and rapine, who would never be obedient to the laws of his country, nor live peaceably under any sovereign. He observed that he had paid no regard to the proclamation, and proposed that the government should sacrifice him to the quiet of the kingdom, in extirpating him, with his family and dependents, by military execution. His advice was supported by the suggestions of the other Scottish ministers; and the king, whose chief virtue was not humanity, signed a warrant for the destruction of those unhappy people, though it does not appear that he knew of Macdonald's submission. An order for this barbarous execution, signed and counter-signed by his Majesty's own hand, being transmitted to the Master of Stair, secretary for Scotland, this minister sent particular directions to Livingstone, who commanded the troops in that kingdom, to put the inhabitants of Glencoe to the sword, charging him to take no prisoners, that the scene might be more terrible. In the month of February, Captain Campbell, of Glenlyon, by virtue of an order from major Duncanson, marched into the valley of Glencoe, with a company of soldiers belonging to Argyle's regiment, on pretence of levying the arrears of the land-tax and hearth-money. When Macdonald demanded whether they came as friends or enemies, he answered as friends, and promised, upon his honour, that neither he nor his people should sustain the least injury. In consequence of this declaration, he and his men were received with the most cordial hospitality, and lived fifteen days with the men of the valley, in all the appearance of the most unreserved friendship. At length the fatal period approached. Macdonald and Campbell having passed the day together, parted about seven in the evening, with mutual professions of the warmest affection. The younger Macdonald, perceiving the guards doubled, began to suspect some treachery, and communicated his suspicion to his brother; but neither he nor the father would harbour the least doubt of Campbell's sincerity: nevertheless, the two young men went forth privately, to make further observations. They overheard the common soldiers say they liked not the work; that though they would have willingly fought the Macdonalds of the Glen fairly in the field, they held it base to murder them in cool blood; but that their officers were answerable for the treachery. When the youths hasted back to apprise their father of the impending danger, they saw the house already surrounded: they heard the discharge of the muskets, the shrieks of women and children, and being destitute of arms, secured their own lives by immediate flight. The savage ministers of vengeance had entered the old man's chamber, and shot him through the head. He fell down dead in the arms of his wife, who died next day, distracted by the horror of her husband's fate. The Laird of Auchintrincken, Macdonald's guest, who had three months before this period submitted to the government, and at this very time had a protection in his pocket, was put to death without question. A boy of eight years, who fell at Campbell's feet, imploring mercy, and offering to serve him for life, was stabbed to the heart by one Drummond, a subaltern officer. Eight-and-thirty persons suffered in this manner, the greater part of whom were surprized in their beds, and hurried into eternity before they had time to implore the divine mercy. The design was to butcher all the males under seventy, that lived in the valley, the number of whom amounted to two hundred; but some of the detachments did not arrive soon enough to secure the passes; so that one hundred and sixty escaped. Campbell, having perpetrated this brutal massacre, ordered all the houses to be burned, made a prey of all the cattle and effects that were found in the valley, and left the helpless women and children, whose fathers and husbands he had murdered, naked and forlorn, without covering, food, or shelter, in the midst of the snow that covered the whole face of the country, at the distance of six long miles from any inhabited place. Distracted with grief and horror, surrounded with the shades of night, shivering with cold, and appalled with the apprehension of immediate death from the swords of those who had sacrificed their friends and kinsmen, they could not endure such a complication of calamities, but generally perished in the waste, before they could receive the least comfort or assistance. This barbarous massacre, performed under the sanction of king William's authority, answered the immediate purpose of the court, by striking terror into the hearts of the jacobite Highlanders: but at the same time excited the horror of all those who had not renounced every sentiment of humanity, and produced such an aversion to the government, as all the arts of a ministry could never totally surmount. A detail of the particulars was published at Paris, with many exaggerations, and the jacobites did not fail to expatiate upon every circumstance, in domestic libels and private conversation. The king, alarmed at the outcry which was raised upon this occasion, ordered an enquiry to be set on foot, and dismissed the master of Stair from his employment of secretary: he likewise pretended that he had subscribed the order amidst a number of other papers, without knowing the purport of it; but as he did not severely punish those who had made his authority subservient to their own cruel revenge, the imputation stuck fast to his character, and the Highlanders, though terrified into silence and submission, were inspired with the most implacable resentment against his person and administration (*d*).

A great number in both kingdoms waited impatiently for an opportunity to declare in behalf of their exiled monarch, who was punctually informed of all these transactions, and endeavoured to make his advantage of the growing discontent. King William, having settled the domestic affairs of the nation, and exerted uncommon care and assiduity in equipping a formidable fleet, embarked for Holland on the first of March, 1692, and was received by the States General with expressions of the most cordial regard. While William was in Holland promoting the measures of the grand confederacy, the French king resolved to invade England in his absence, and seemed cordially engaged in the interest of James, whose emissaries

(*d*) See Smollett's Continuation of Hume, chap. iii. sect. 20, 21.

saries in Britain began to prepare the nation for his return. The papists of Lancashire dispatched one Lant to St. Germain's, assuring the court that they were ready to receive their old sovereign. Colonel Parker was therefore sent over to England, who assured the Jacobites that their lawful sovereign would visit his British dominions at the head of thirty thousand effective men, to be embarked at La Hogue; that the transports were already prepared, and a strong squadron equipped for their convoy. Having given them this information, he exhorted them to be speedy, and secret in their preparations, that they might be ready to take arms, and assist in effecting his restoration. It is likewise said that this officer and a priest had endertaken to assassinate king William; but his majesty was now in Holland.

In the mean time James addressed a letter to several persons of distinction, announcing the pregnancy of his queen; and employed his emissaries in circulating a printed declaration, importing that the king of France had enabled him to make another effort to retrieve his crown. He exhorted the people to join his standard. He forbade them to pay taxes or any part of the revenue to the usurper, as he stiled William. He solemnly protested that he would maintain and protect the church of England, as by law established; and concluded with professions of resignation to the Divine Will, declaring, that all who should reject his offers of mercy, and appear in arms against him, would be answerable to Almighty God for all the blood that should be spilt, and all the miseries in which these kingdoms might be involved by their desperate and unreasonable opposition. In consequence of this declaration, his partizans enlisted men privately for the service of James in several parts of the kingdom. They transmitted a list of of the ships that composed the English fleet, and exhorted James to use his influence with the French king, that the Count de Tourville might be ordered to attack them before they should be joined by the Dutch squadron. Louis therefore commanded his admiral to attack the English fleet so soon as he could come up with them; and James repaired to La Hogue, that he might be in readiness to embark with his army, consisting of a body of French troops, together with some English and Scotch refugees, and the regiments which had been transported from Ireland by virtue of the capitulation of Limeric.

The English ministry, however, were informed of all the particulars relative to the machinations of the French court in favour of James; and William, upon his arrival in Holland, hastened the naval preparations of the Dutch, so that their fleet was ready for sea much sooner than was expected. General Ptolemache was sent from Holland with three English regiments: a camp was formed in the vicinity of Portsmouth: papists were ordered to depart from the metropolis: the parliament was summoned to meet on the 24th of May: warrants were issued for apprehending divers disaffected persons: admiral Russel was ordered to put to sea with all expedition; and Carter, with a squadron of eighteen sail, continued to cruise along the French coast, to observe the motions of the enemy.

On the 11th of May, Russel sailed from Rye in Sussex to St. Helen's, where he was joined by the squadron under Delaval and Carter. There he received a letter from the earl of Nottingham, intimating, that a report having been spread of the queen's suspecting the fidelity of the sea-officers, her majesty had ordered him to declare in her name, that she reposed the most entire confidence in their attachment; and believed the report was raised by the enemies of the government. The flag-officers and captains forthwith drew up an address, which was graciously received by the queen, and published for the satisfaction of the nation. Russel, being re-enforced by the Dutch squadrons, commanded by Allemonde, Callembergh, and Vandergoes, set sail for the coast of France on the 18th, with a fleet of ninety-nine ships of the line, besides frigates and fire-ships. Next day, about three o'clock in the morning, he discovered the enemy, under the Count de Tourville, and threw out the signal for the line of battle, which by eight o'clock was formed in good order, the Dutch in the van, the blue squadron in the rear, and the red in the centre. The French fleet did not exceed sixty-three ships of the line, and, as they were to windward, Tourville might have avoided an engagement: but he had received positive orders to fight, on the supposition that the Dutch and English squadrons had not joined. Louis, indeed, was apprised of their junction before they were descried by his admiral, to whom he dispatched a countermanding order by two several vessels; but one of them was taken by the English, and the other did not arrive till the day after the engagement.

Tourville, therefore in obedience to the first mandate, bore down alongside Russel's own ship, which he engaged at a very small distance. He fought with great fury till one o'clock, when his rigging and sails being considerably damaged, his ship, the Soliel Royal, of one hundred and four guns was towed out of the line in great disorder. Nevertheless, the engagement continued till three, when the fleets were parted by a thick fog. When this abated, the enemy were descried flying to the northward; and Russel made the signal for chasing. Part of the blue squadron came up with the enemy about eight in the evening, and engaged them half an hour, during which admiral Carter was mortally wounded. Finding himself in extremity, he exhorted his captain to fight as long as the ship could swim; and expired with great composure. At length, the French bore away for Conquêt Road, having lost four ships in this day's action. Next day, about eight in the morning, they were discovered crowding away to the westward, and the combined fleet chased with all the sail they could carry, until Russel's foretop-mast came by the board. Though he was retarded by this accident, the fleet still continued the pursuit, and anchored near Cape La Hogue. On the 22nd of the month, about seven in the morning, part of the French fleet was perceived near the Race of Alderney, some at anchor, and some driving to the eastward with the tide of flood. Russel, and the ships nearest him, immediately slipped their cabels, and chased. The Soleil Royal, having lost her masts, ran ashore near Cherbourg, where she was burned by sir Ralph Delaval, together with the Admirable, another first-rate, and the Conquerant of eighty guns. Eighteen other ships of their fleet ran into La Hogue, where they were attacked by sir George Rooke, who destroyed them, and a great number of transports laden with ammunition, in the midst of a terrible fire from the enemy, and in sight of the Irish camp. Sir John Ashby, with his own squadron, and some Dutch ships, pursued the rest of the French fleet, which escaped through the Race of Alderney, by such a dangerous passage as the English could not attempt, without exposing their ships to the most imminent hazard. This was a very mortifying defeat to the French king, who had been so long flattered with an uninterrupted series of victories: it reduced James to the lowest ebb of despondency, as it frustrated the whole scheme of his embarkation, and overwhelmed his friends in England with grief and despair. So decisive was the blow, that from that time the French seemed to relinquish all claims to the ocean.

Russel having ordered sir John Ashby, and the Dutch Admiral Callemberg, to steer towards Havre de Grace, and endeavour to destroy the remainder of the French fleet, sailed back to St. Helen's, that the damaged ships might be refitted, and the fleet furnished with fresh supplies of provision and ammunition: but his principal motive was, to take on board a number of troops provided for a descent upon France, with a view to alarm and distract the enemy in their own dominions (*e*). In the latter end of July, seven thousand men, commanded by the duke of Leinster, embarked on board transports, to be landed at St. Maloes, Brest, or Rochefort; but in a council of war it was agreed that the season was too far advanced to put it in execution. Nevertheless, the admiral having detached sir John Ashby with a squadron, to intercept the remains of the French fleet, in their passage from St. Maloes to Brest, set sail for La Hogue with the rest of the fleet and transports: but, in a few days, the wind shifting, he was obliged to return to St. Helen's. The design of effecting a landing in France was, therefore, laid aside; and the forces were transported to Flanders. The French king having nothing further to apprehend from the English armament, withdrew his troops from the coast of Normandy; and James returned in despair to St. Germain's, where his queen had been in his absence delivered of a daughter, who was born in the presence of the archbishop of Paris, the keeper of the seals, and other persons of distinction.

Louis had taken the field in the latter end of May. On the 20th of that month he arrived at his camp in Flanders.

(*e*) The queen was so pleased with the victory, that she ordered thirty thousand pounds to be distributed among the sailors. She caused medals to be struck in honour of the action; and the bodies of admiral Carter and captain Hastings, who had been killed in the battle, to be interred with great funeral pomp.

Having

Having reviewed his army, which amounted to about one hundred and twenty thousand men, he undertook the siege of Namur, which he invested on both sides of the Sombre, with about one half of his army, while the other covered the siege, under the command of Luxembourg. The citadel was deemed one of the strongest forts in Flanders, strengthened with a new work contrived by the famous engineer Coehorn, who now defended it in person. The prince de Barbason commanded the garrison, consisting of nine thousand men. The place was well supplied; and the governor knew that king William would make strong efforts for its relief: so that the besieged were animated with many concurring considerations. The assailants, however, carried on their attacks with such vigour, that in seven days after the trenches were opened the town capitulated, and the garrison retired into the citadel. King William, being joined by the troops of Brandenburgh and Liege, advanced to the Mehaigne, at the head of one hundred thousand men, and encamped within cannon shot of Luxembourg's army, which lay on the other side of the river. That general, however, had taken such precautions, that William could not interrupt the siege, nor attack the French lines without great disadvantage. The besiegers, encouraged by the presence of their monarch, and assisted by the superior abilities of Vauban, their engineer, repeated their attacks with such impetuosity, that the fort of Coehorn was surrendered, after a very obstinate defence, in which he himself had been dangerously wounded. The citadel being thus left exposed to the approaches of the enemy, could not long withstand the violence of their operations. The two covered ways were taken by assault; and the governor capitulated, to the unspeakable mortification of king William, who saw himself obliged to lie inactive at the head of a powerful army, and be an eye witness to the loss of the most important fortress in the Netherlands. Louis, having taken possession of the place, returned in triumph to Versailles, where he was flattered with all the arts of adulation: while William's reputation suffered a little from his miscarriage, and the prince of Barbason incurred the suspicion of treachery. The allies were likewise defeated at Steenkirke, which occasioned extravagant rejoicings in France.

By the defeat of the French fleet at La Hogue, which James was an eye-witness of, he was reduced to the lowest ebb of despondency: his designs upon England were entirely frustrated, so that no hopes were left to his friends but what might arise from the base act of assassinating William. One Dumont, engaged for the purpose by colonel Parker, undertook to effect his destruction. The conspirators are said to have had an audience with James, who approved of their undertaking, and assured them of his protection. Dumont enlisted in the allied army, that he might have the better opportunity of shooting the king when he should ride out to visit the lines, while the chevalier de Grandval and colonel Parker repaired to the French camp, with orders for a party of horse to rescue Dumont as soon as the blow should be struck. After staying some weeks in the camp of the allies, Dumont retired to Hanover, without effecting his purpose. Grandval was inveigled to Eyndhoven by one Leefdale, who had been made acquainted with the secret, but who was a spy employed by king William: Grandval was apprehended, and understanding that Dumont had discovered the design to the duke of Zell, and that he himself had been betrayed by Leefdale, he freely confessed all the particulars, without enduring the torture; and being tried by a court-martial, and found guilty, he was executed as a traitor. Thus every scheme which was set on foot to favour the interest of James was brought to nought, and only ended in the destruction of those who undertook to be the perpetrators (*f*).

Though the parliament, amidst the dread of an invasion, had been required to meet for the dispatch of business, that measure had been countermanded by the queen when the public alarm had subsided. Soon after the king's arrival in England, a thanksgiving was ordered for his naval success at La Hogue, for the failure of the conspiracy against his life, and for the disappointments of his enemies. He opened the session on the 4th of November, 1692. The exorbitant power of France, and the necessity of opposing that power, formed the principal features of his speech.

In this session both houses exhibited an uncourtly spirit. William's partiality to the Dutch and other foreigners, his repulsive manners, and his occasional exertions of high prerogative, gave general disgust; and the little advantage which had been gained during the war furnished another ground of dissatisfaction. The first debate concerned the freedom of the subject, which had been violated in the case of the earls of Marlborough, Huntingdon, and Scarsdale, who had not only been detained in prison after they had applied for the benefit of the *habeas corpus* act, but, when they were released, had been obliged to continue their bail. The house of lords debated the mode of procuring the discharge of their securities, and would not proceed to business till the king had granted their request.

The commons, though they had honoured Russel with a vote of thanks for his late maritime exploits, ordered him, as well as the lords of the admiralty, to give an account of the affairs of the fleet, that they might judge who were deserving of blame for not prosecuting the victory, and other matters. The admiral assured the house, that there had been no deficiency of endeavours on his part, and that his conduct had been directed by the advice of a council of war. The house was satisfied with his defence, and unanimously resolved, that he had "behaved with fidelity, courage, and conduct."

The encouragement which William gave to foreigners, particularly in the army, occasioned severe reflections in both houses. Various motions were made with a view to check that partiality; and, though some of these were defeated by the efforts of the court, the peers at length voted an address, in the beginning of 1693, desiring that English soldiers might be commanded only by their own countrymen: the king, however, paid no attention to this advice.

To restrain the influence which the court had over the parliament, the commons passed a bill for securing the freedom and impartiality of their proceedings, by ordaining that such individuals as should accept any office under government, after being chosen members of a future parliament should be expelled. In the other house the friends of this bill carried it through several stages; but it was ultimately thrown out by a majority of two peers (*g*). On the failure of this bill against placemen, those who had supported it in the upper house patronized, with equal warmth, a bill which was introduced by the earl of Shrewsbury, for abridging the power of the crown with regard to parliaments. Besides providing for an annual session, the earl's bill directed that a new parliament should be triennially summoned, after the close of the present, which (it was stipulated) should not be protracted beyond the beginning of the following year. The lords, having agreed to this bill, sent it to the commons, among whom it was strongly contested; and it passed the ordeal of the house with difficulty. When it was presented to the king, he refused his sanction to it, regardless of the murmurs which such conduct might produce.

The members of opposition, in the two houses, endeavoured to procure the appointment of a joint committee, which should be authorized to consider the state of the nation, and propose various points of counsel to be given to the king. Though this scheme was reprobated by the peers, as an encroachment upon the executive power,

(*f*) From the time of the battle of La Hogue, and the miscarriage of all the plans for re-establishing him on the throne of England, it seems that James laid aside all thoughts of worldly grandeur, and devoted the whole of his attention to the concerns of his soul. Immediately after that battle he retired to St. Germains, where he continued to reside, (a pensioner on the bounties of Louis, and assisted by occasional liberalities from his daughter and friends in England,) till his death, which happened on the 16th of September, 1700, after a tedious indisposition. Though he could not prevent the busy genius of his queen from planning new schemes of restoration, he was always best pleased when wholly detached from such chimerical projects. Hunting was his chief diversion; but religion was his constant care. Nothing could be more harmless than the life he now led; and, in the course of it, he subjected himself to uncommon penance and mortification. He frequently visited the poor monks of La Trappe, who were much edified by his humble and pious deportment. His pride and arbitrary temper seem to have vanished with his greatness. He became affable, kind, and easy to all his dependents; and in his last illness he conjured his son to prefer his religion to every worldly advantage, and even to renounce all thoughts of a crown, if he could not enjoy it without offering violence to his faith. He recommended to him the practice of justice and Christian forgiveness; he himself declaring that he heartily forgave the prince of Orange, the emperor, and all his enemies. He died with great marks of devotion, and was interred, at his own request, in the church of the English Benedictines at Paris, without any funeral pomp.

(*g*) The rejection of this bill was followed by a protest, which was signed, among other names, by the duke of Cumberland (George of Denmark), whose princess (Anne) was now in disgrace, and had been deprived of her guards by order of the queen—for refusing to dismiss the countess of Marlborough from her service.

they ventured to give occasional advice; for, besides their remonstrance against foreigners, they voted an address on the mal-administration of Ireland. In their address they complained of many acts of tyranny and oppression, and William promised to apply speedy remedies to the objects of complaint; but he did not gratify the public wish by a strict performance of his promise.

Though the two houses were, in many respects, adverse to the court, they granted ample supplies for the continuance of the war. For the navy, one million nine hundred and twenty-six thousand five hundred and sixteen pounds were voted; and for the army, two million ninety thousand five hundred and sixty-three pounds; and, as the poll-tax of the last session had produced less than the estimated sum, seven hundred and fifty thousand pounds were now appropriated to the compensation of that deficiency.

The most important acts passed this session were, an act for the examination of the national accounts, one for preventing malicious informations in the court of King's Bench, several others for the partial reform of legal process, one for the recovery of the Greenland trade, and another for continuing the office of licenser to the press (*h*). When the two houses had finished that business which was most agreeable to the king, he dismissed them by another prorogation on the 14th of March.

Notwithstanding the liberality with which the parliament had provided for the exigencies of the war, the naval preparations were not prosecuted with the requisite diligence. The delay, indeed, partly arose from the want of men; but the negligence of the commissioners of the admiralty merited some degree of censure. When at length an ill-manned and ill-furnished fleet put to sea, the three commanders of it received particular instructions to provide for the security of near four hundred sail of merchant vessels, principally English and Dutch, bound for Spain, Portugal, and the Levant; some of which had been waiting above a year for a convoy. With this squadron, the grand fleets of England and Holland, amounting to above sixty ships of the line, sailed through the Channel, and proceeded fifty leagues to the south-west of Ushant. No intelligence being then received of the enemy, sir George Rooke was ordered, with twenty-three ships of war, to convoy the commercial fleet; and the main fleet returned to the mouth of the Channel on the 6th of June. Sir George, steering towards the straits of Gibraltar, left by the way, under a small escort, those vessels which were bound to the nearest ports. When he arrived off Cape St. Vincent, he discovered a part of the principal navy of France, which, under the command of the count de Tourville, had sailed from Brest before the combined armaments had left St. Helen's. On the 17th of June part of the French fleet was discovered under Cape St. Vincent; and the next day the whole navy appeared, to the amount of eighty sail. Sixteen of these made towards the English squadron, while the vice-admiral of the white stood off to sea, with a view to intercept the ships under convoy. Sir George Rooke called a council of war, and by the advice of the Dutch vice-admiral Vandergoes, resolved, if possible, to avoid an engagement, which could only tend to their absolute ruin. Sir George therefore sent orders to the small ships that were near the land, to put into the neighbouring ports of Faro, St. Lucar, and Cadiz, while he himself stood off with an easy sail for the protection of the rest. About six in the evening, ten sail of the enemy came up with two Dutch ships of war, commanded by the captains Schrijver and Vander-Poel, who seeing no possibility of escaping, tacked in shore; and thus drawing the French after them, helped to save the rest of the fleet. When attacked they made a most desperate defence, but at last were overpowered by numbers, and taken. An English ship of war and a rich pinnace were burned; nine-and-twenty merchant vessels were taken, and about fifty destroyed by the counts de Tourville and D'Etrées. Seven of the largest Smyrna ships fell into the hands of M. de Coetlogon, and four he sunk in the bay of Gibraltar. The value of the loss sustained on this occasion amounted to one million sterling. Meanwhile Rooke stood off with a fresh gale, and on the 19th sent home the Lark ship of war with the news of his misfortune; then he bore away for the Madeiras, where having taken in wood and water, he set sail for Ireland, and on the 3rd of August arrived at Cork, with fifty sail, including ships of war and trading vessels. He detached captain Fairborne to Kinsale, with all his squadron, except six ships of the line, with which, in pursuance of orders, he joined the great fleet then cruising in the chops of the Channel. On the 25th they returned to St. Helen's. On the 19th of September, fifteen Dutch ships of the line, and two frigates, set sail for Holland; and twenty-six sail, with seven fire ships, were assigned as guard-ships during the winter. The French admirals, instead of pursuing Rooke to Madeira, made an unsuccessful attempt upon Cadiz, and bombarded Gibraltar, where the merchants sunk their ships, that they might not fall into the hands of the enemy. After which they sailed along the coast of Spain, destroyed some English and Dutch vessels at Malaga, Alicant, and other places; and returned in triumph to Toulon.

About this period, sir Francis Wheeler returned to England with his squadron, from an unfortunate expedition in the West-Indies. In conjunction with colonel Codrington, governor of the Leeward Islands, he made unsuccessful attempts upon the islands of Martinique and Dominique. Then he sailed to Boston in New-England, with a view to concert an expedition against Quebec, which was judged impracticable. He afterwards steered for Placentia in Newfoundland, which he would have attacked without hesitation; but the design was rejected by a majority of voices in the council of war. Thus disappointed, he set sail for England; and arrived at Portsmouth in a very shattered condition, the greatest part of his men having died in the course of his voyage.

In November another effort was made to annoy the enemy. Commodore Benbow sailed with a squadron of twelve capital ships, four bomb-ketches, and ten brigantines, to the coast of St. Maloes, and anchoring within half a mile of the town, cannonaded and bombarded it for three days successively. Then his men landed on an island, where they burned a convent. On the 19th, they took the advantage of a dark night, a fresh gale, and a strong tide, to send in a fireship of a particular contrivance, stiled the Infernal, in order to burn the town: but she struck upon a rock before she arrived at the place, and the engineer was obliged to set her on fire, and retreat. She continued burning for some time, and at last blew up, with such an explosion as shook the whole town like an earthquake, unroofed three hundred houses, and broke all the glass and earthen ware for three leagues around. A capstan, that weighed two hundred pounds, was transported into the place, and falling upon a house, levelled it to the ground: the greatest part of the wall towards the sea tumbled down; and the inhabitants were overwhelmed with consternation: so that a small number of troops might have taken possession without resistance; but there was not a soldier on board. Nevertheless, the sailors took and demolished Quince-fort, and did considerable damage to the town of St. Malo, which had been a nest of privateers that infested the English commerce (*i*).

Notwithstanding the successes of the French, that people laboured under a dreadful famine, and Louis was willing to come to terms. He therefore tampered with the allies apart, in hopes of dividing and detaching them from the grand confederacy: he solicited the northern crowns to engage as mediators for a general peace. A memorial was presented by the Danish minister to king William, by which it appears, that the French king would have been

(*h*) In this session, the peers held a court in Westminster Hall for the trial of lord Mohun, who had been accused of the murder of Montfort, a popular theatrical performer. As it appeared that one Hill was the author of the deed, his lordship, though he in some measure abetted the violence of the assassin, was acquitted by a majority of fifty-five voices.

About the same time, the commons took cognizance of a complaint respecting a publication entitled, "King William and Queen Mary Conquerors," and condemned it to the flames as a work of dangerous consequence to the liberties of the subject. A pastoral letter, in which bishop Burnet had insinuated a similar doctrine, was also publicly burned.

(*i*) Though this attempt was executed with great spirit, and some success, the clamours of the people became extremely bold. They scrupled not to say, that the councils of the nation were betrayed; and their suspicions rose even to the secretary's office. They observed, that the French were previously acquainted with all the motions of the English, and took their measures accordingly for their destruction. They collected and compared a good number of particulars, that seemed to justify their suspicion of treachery. But the misfortunes of the nation, in all probability, arose from a motley ministry, divided among themselves, who, instead of acting in concert for the public good, employed all their influence to thwart the views, and blacken the reputation of each other. The people in general exclaimed against the marquis of Caermarthen, the earls of Nottingham and Rochester, who had acquired great credit with the queen, and, from their hatred to the Whigs, betrayed the interests of the nation.

contented to purchase a peace with some considerable concessions; but the terms were rejected by the king of England, whose ambition and revenge were not yet gratified; and whose subjects, though heavily laden, could still bear additional burthens.

In the mean time the Jacobites had been attentive to the progress of dissatisfaction in England, which they fomented with assiduity. The late declaration of James had been couched in such imperious terms as gave offence to some of those who favoured his interest. The earl of Middleton, therefore, in the beginning of the year, repaired to St. Germain's and obtained another, which contained the promise of a general pardon without exception, and every other concession that a British subject could demand of his sovereign. About the latter end of May, two men, named Canning and Dormer, were apprehended for dispersing copies of this paper, tried at the Old Bailey, found guilty of not only dispersing, but also of composing a false and seditious libel, sentenced to pay five hundred marks a-piece, to stand three times in the pillory, and find sureties for their good behaviour. But no circumstance reflected more disgrace on this reign, than the fate of Anderson, the supposed printer of some tracts against the government. He was brought to trial for high treason: he made a vigorous defence, in spite of the insults and discouragements he sustained from a partial bench. As nothing but presumptive evidence appeared against him, the jury scrupled to bring in a verdict that would affect his life, until they were reviled and reprimanded by judge Treby; then they found him guilty. In vain, recourse was had to the queen's mercy: he suffered death at Tyburn; and left a paper, protesting solemnly against the proceedings of the court, which he affirmed was appointed, not to try, but to convict him; and petitioning Heaven to forgive his penitent jury. The severity of the government was likewise exemplified in the case of some adventurers, who, having equipped privateers to cruise upon the English, under joint commissions from James and Louis XIV. happened to be taken by the English ships of war. Dr. Oldys, the king's advocate, being commanded to proceed against them as guilty of treason and piracy, refused to commence the prosecution; and gave his opinion in writing, that they were neither traitors nor pirates. He supported this opinion by arguments before the council: these were answered by Dr. Littleton, who succeeded him in the office from which he was dismissed; and the prisoners were executed as traitors. The Jacobites did not fail to retort those arts upon the government, which their adversaries had so successfully practised in the late reign. They inveighed against the vindictive spirit of the administration, and taxed it with encouraging informers and false witnesses; a charge for which there was too much foundation.

The friends of James in Scotland still continued to concert designs in his favour; but their correspondence was detected, and their aims defeated. Secretary Johnstone not only kept a watchful eye over their transactions, but by a dexterous management of court liberality and favour, appeased the discontents of the Presbyterians so effectually, that the king ran no risque in assembling the parliament. Some offices were bestowed upon the leaders of the Kirk party; and the duke of Hamilton, being reconciled to the government, was appointed commissioner. On the 18th of April, the session was opened, and the king's letter, replete with the most cajoling expressions, being read, the parliament proceeded to exhibit undeniable specimens of their good humour. They drew up a very affectionate answer to his majesty's letter: they voted an addition of six new regiments to the standing forces of the kingdom: they granted a supply of above one hundred and fifty thousand pounds sterling to his majesty: they enacted a law for levying men to serve on board the royal navy: they fined all absentees, whether lords or commons; and vacated the seats of all those commissioners who refused to take the oath of assurance, which was equivalent to an abjuration of king James: they set on foot an enquiry about an intended invasion: they published some intercepted letters, supposed to be written to king James by Nevil Payne, whom they committed to prison, and threatened with a trial for high treason; but he eluded the danger, by threatening in his turn to impeach those who had made their peace with the government: they passed an act for the comprehension of such of the episcopal clergy as should condescend to take the oaths by the 10th of July. All that the general assembly required of them, was, an offer to subscribe the confession of faith and to acknowledge presbytery as the only government of the Scottish church: but they neither submitted to these terms, nor took the oaths within the limited time, so that they forfeited all legal right to their benefices. Nevertheless, they continued in possession, and even received private assurances of the king's protection. It was one of William's political maxims, to court his domestic enemies; but it was never attended with any good effect. This indulgence gave offence to the presbyterians, and former distractions began to revive.

The king having prevailed upon the states-general to augment their land forces and navy for the service of the ensuing campaign, embarked for England, and arrived at Kensington on the 30th of October; and on the 7th of November, he met the parliament, which assembled on that day, pursuant to the last prorogation. The king in his speech expressed his hope, that the experience of the preceding summer, for the affairs of the confederates had suffered greatly by the arms of France, had convinced his subjects of the necessity of increasing the forces of the realm both by sea and land. In the same harangue, he intimated his deep resentment of that naval miscarriage which had "brought so great a disgrace upon the nation;" and declared that he would punish those who had failed in their duty, and provide more effectually for the proper management of the navy.

The commons were eager to enquire into the affairs of the fleet; they examined the three joint admirals, sir George Rooke, and other individuals: the peers also took the business into consideration: the blame was laid on the ministers; and as the two houses were inclined to favour the admirals, the king did not think proper to subject them to a court martial; and Russel was immediately appointed first commissioner of the admiralty.

The influence of the court produced an unprecedented grant of supplies. Besides five hundred thousand pounds towards the payment of the wages due to the seamen, the commons voted two millions for the general charge of the navy. With regard to the army, they did not agree to so great an augmentation of it as the king desired; but voted for the whole expences of that department two millions five hundred and twenty thousand five hundred and eighty-one pounds. They also voted, for supplying the deficiencies of former imposts, above four hundred thousand pounds. To provide for these grants, they extended the annuity act of the last session, continued the land-tax, and saddled the nation with new burdens. Two millions and a half of the supply were raised by two novel schemes; that of a lottery, and the establishment of a national bank.

The project of a national bank was devised by one William Peterson, an ingenious North Briton, and warmly promoted by many eminent merchants. It seems to have recommended itself to the ministry more by the opportunity which it afforded of present supply, than by the prospect of its tending to the security of the government, the support of public credit, and the increase of trade. The bill provided, that the subscribers of a million and a half should be incorporated under the title of the Governor and Company of the Bank of England; that the lenders of four-fifths of that sum should receive eight and one-third *per cent.* and the contributors of the remainder thirteen and one-third *per cent.*; and that they should not trade, except in bullion, bills of exchange, or goods pledged to them and unredeemed. The new society soon acquired the good opinion of the public; and the beneficial effects of the establishment were generally acknowledged.

Three popular bills were again brought forward this session; namely, the bill respecting trials for treason, that which related to triennial parliaments, and that which was directed against members who accepted offices from the crown. The first was suppressed by tacit consent; the second was rejected by a small majority in the lower house; the third passed both houses, but the king refused his assent. Great debates took place among the commons by the introduction of a bill for the naturalization of protestant foreigners. Though intended for the increase of population, the improvement of manufactures, and other purposes of public benefit, it awakened the jealousy of the English, and filled them with apprehensions of the continued prevalence of foreign interest. Sir John Knight vehemently opposed it; and his speech, which was immediately published, was highly acceptable to the populace,

who

who extolled him as an illustrious patriot. Complaint being made of the printed harangue, he disavowed it, and it was ordered by the house to be publicly burned. The bill, however, was sacrificed.

The grievances of Ireland were again brought forward, and articles of impeachment were prepared against the chief authors of them. The earl of Bellamont took the lead in this business, and accused lord Coningsby and sir Charles Porter, with acts of tyranny and injustice in their administration of that realm. When witnesses were examined against them, the house rejected the articles; not because they thought them innocent, but because Ireland was in a disordered state at the time. The earl was removed from office for an interference which displeased the court; and those whom he wished to bring to justice received a full pardon for every enormity of which they had been guilty.

The commissioners appointed for the examination of the public accounts, having found that various sums had been paid to members by the king's order—for secret service—imparted the discovery to the house. No motion of censure, however, arose from this communication, except in the case of lord Falkland, who, for having requested and received two thousand pounds from his sovereign, "contrary to the ordinary method of issuing and bestowing the king's money," was pronounced guilty of a high misdemeanor and breach of trust, and was committed to the Tower; but, upon his petition, was soon discharged from confinement. The practice of corruption had become one of the established rules of ministerial process; but it was not then carried to that inordinate extent which has since prevailed.

On the 25th of April, 1694, after a session of nearly six months, the king prorogued the parliament till the 18th of September. The principal acts passed this session, besides those of supply, were, one for the encouragement of ship-building; another for the better disciplining the navy; and one which enabled the city of London to levy particular taxes for paying interest to a great number of orphans, whose fortunes, by a gross breach of trust, had been diverted to the use of the corporation.

The parliamentary business being settled, the king shortly after prepared to return to the continent; but, before his embarkation, he gratified a good number of his friends with promotions. Lord Charles Butler, brother to the duke of Ormond, was created lord Butler, of Weston in England, and earl of Arran in Ireland. The earl of Shrewsbury was honoured with the title of duke. The earl of Mulgrave, being reconciled to the court measures, was gratified with a pension of three thousand pounds, and the title of marquis of Normandy. Henry Herbert was ennobled by the title of baron Herbert of Cherbury. The earls of Bedford, Devonshire, and Clare, were promoted to the rank of dukes. The marquis of Caermarthen was made duke of Leeds: lord viscount Sidney, created earl of Romney; and viscount Newport, earl of Bedford. Russel was advanced to the head of the Admiralty-board. Sir George Rooke and sir John Houblon were appointed joint-commissioners, in the room of Killegrew and Delaval: Charles Montague was made chancellor of the Exchequer; and sir William Trumbal and John Smith commissioners of the Treasury, in the room of sir Edward Seymour and Mr. Hampden.

Through the channel of James's friends, particularly lord Godolphin and the earl of Marlborough, the French gained information of a projected expedition against Brest. Admiral Russel sailed, on the 3rd of May, towards the French coast with a part of the English and Dutch fleets, to obtain information of the naval operations of the enemy. Finding that the count de Tourville had left Brest, and had steered towards the Mediterranean, he returned to England, after having taken measures for the destruction of the French ships in Berthaume Bay. Captain Peckard was employed in this attempt, and he so far succeeded as to burn or sink thirty-five merchant vessels out of a fleet of about sixty. When the preparations for the attack of Brest were completed, the aggregate navy of the two nations, amounting to ninety ships of the line, besides frigates fire-ships, and tenders, accompanied with a large body of transports, in which were about six thousand men, sailed from St. Helen's; and while the major part proceeded to Gibraltar, lord Berkeley of Stratton, with twenty-nine sail of the line, beside frigates, fire-ships, and bomb vessels, steered for Camaret Bay. The French had strengthened the fortifications of Brest and its vicinity; and the skill of Vauban had been exerted for that purpose. The marquis of Caermarthen endeavoured to force a passage into the bay, on the 8th of June; but he met with a series of difficulties. Lieutenant-general Ptolemache, however, who had the command of the land forces, ventured to make a descent: the British forces were quickly thrown into disorder, and others, who successively advanced in their boats were driven back with considerable loss. Though the marquis used every effort to cover the retreat of the forces, by a near approach to the shore, many lives were lost on the occasion. As it was the tide of ebb, some of the boats were left on the sands; and their occupants were slaughtered or made prisoners. In this unfortunate expedition the English lost seven hundred men in killed, wounded, and prisoners; and in the ships which entered the bay about four hundred men were lost. One of these vessels (a Dutch frigate) received so much damage, that she sunk, after she had lost most of her crew. The gallant Ptolemache was shot in the thigh, and the wound proved mortal. The purposes of the expedition being frustrated by the treachery of those who betrayed the counsels of their sovereign, lord Berkeley returned to England with his squadron.

Lord Berkeley again set sail towards Dieppe in Normandy, and bombarded the town with such fury, on the 12th of July, that it was thought the English might easily have become masters of the place during the confusion which prevailed. The fleet then proceeded to Havre de Grace, where captain Benbow, who directed the bombardment of Dieppe, prosecuted a similar plan. The town was burnt in several parts, and some small ships were destroyed in the harbour. Berkeley attempted to treat Cherburg in a similar way, but the wind obstructed his efforts, and he returned to St. Helen's. Sir Cloudesley Shovel was afterwards employed in an expedition against other French ports: he made an attack upon Dunkirk, but it proved fruitless. He then sailed towards Calais, and some bombs were thrown into the town; but the French were so well prepared, that it was judged expedient to relinquish the enterprize. Shovel then sailed to the eastward, to check the career of John du Bart, who, with a squadron of small vessels, had committed great depredations in the British seas, and had lately defeated eight Dutch ships of war, taken some of them, and rescued about thirty Swedish and Danish merchant ships which had been captured. Admiral Russel having sailed to the Mediterranean, raised the siege of Barcelona, and Tourville retired into the harbour of Toulon.

The military operations of this campaign require no length of detail. When William had joined the army, it was expected, that, as his force exceeded that of the French, he would have distinguished the campaign by some great achievement. But the skill and vigilance of the duke of Luxemburg disappointed the hopes of the allies: but that the season might not pass altogether fruitless, the allies sent a strong detachment to invest Huy, which soon capitulated. Both armies then retired into winter quarters.

On the Rhine, the summer was occupied in marches, skirmishes, ravages, and depredations. The campaign on the Italian frontier was equally languid. The greatest exertions were made in Spain, where the French army almost doubled that of the natives. The viceroy of Catalonia disputed the passage of the Ter with the mareschal de Noailles; but he found himself unable to hinder that general from passing the river, and defeating his troops. The victor, proceeding to Palamos, took that sea-port by storm; and some other towns were also captured by him.

During these hostilities, queen Mary conducted, with her usual prudence, the affairs of England, where the only remarkable occurrence, in that interval, was the discovery of a Jacobite plot. Lunt, an unprincipled Irishman, deposed before secretary Trenchard, that he had delivered, to several gentlemen of Lancashire and Cheshire, commissions from James to levy war against William; that these persons had furnished him with money for the purchase of arms and the enlistment of soldiers; and that they had twice sent him to France to receive instructions preparatory to the proposed insurrection. This information being corroborated by the testimony of Wilson and others, some of the accused individuals were apprehended, and tried at Manchester in October; but in consequence of the declaration of one Taaffe, importing that it was a fabricated plot, the jury were induced to acquit the prisoners.

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We have here to record the death of Dr. John Tillotson, archbishop of Canterbury, who was seized with a fit of the dead palsy, in the chapel of Whitehall, and died on the 22nd day of September, deeply regretted by the king and queen, who shed tears of sorrow at his decease; and sincerely lamented by the public, as a pattern of elegance, ingenuity, meekness, charity, and moderation. These qualities he must be allowed to have possessed, notwithstanding the invectives of his enemies, who accused him of puritanism, flattery, and ambition; and charged him with having conduced to a dangerous schism in the church, by accepting the archbishopric during the life of the deprived Sancroft. He was succeeded in the metropolitan see by Dr. Tennison, bishop of Lincoln, recommended by the Whig-party, which now predominated in the cabinet.

On the king's return to England, the parliament reassembled. When he harangued the two houses on the 12th of November, he expressed his joy that affairs were "in a better posture," than at the time of their last separation; that the designs of the French had been disappointed by sea, and the progress of their arms had been checked by land. He again requested ample supplies; and as a part of his revenue would soon expire, he hoped that it might be continued. That the maritime strength and commerce of the realm might be augmented, he recommended a bill for the encouragement of seamen.

The first business entered upon by the commons was the revival of the bill for triennial parliaments, which William had rejected. They resolved to insist on his enactment of this bill, as the price of the supply which he solicited. They voted two millions three hundred and eighty-two thousand seven hundred and twelve pounds for the navy, and two millions three hundred and eighty-two thousand pounds for the army; and they gratified him with a continuance of the expiring revenue (that of tonnage and poundage) for five years. The bill which comprehended the last grant was offered for his assent at the same time with the triennial bill. Influenced by the known views of the commons, and the probability of the death of his consort, whose loss might perhaps expose him to such a diminution of his popularity, as would subject him to much odium for a second refusal of a bill which the public desired, he confirmed it by his solemn sanction.

At this time the small pox was very prevalent, and the queen had contracted that disorder (*k*). The malignity of it soon increased; and, though an interval of hope arose, it was short and fallacious. When she found that her dissolution was approaching, she betrayed no symptoms of alarm or discomposure, but waited that aweful event with the most tranquil intrepidity. She died on the 28th of December, 1694, after a week's indisposition, in the thirty-third year of her age, and sixth of her reign (*l*). Although this princess had been married seventeen years to William, she had no issue.

As to the person of Mary, she was tall of stature, and was not deficient in justness of proportion. Her features were regular; her eyes brilliant and expressive; and the contour of her visage pleasing. Her talents were respectable; her understanding sound and judicious. She was lively in her conversation; graceful and engaging in her address. Her literary attainments were not despicable for a female. She reinforced her acquaintance with her native tongue by a knowledge of the languages of France and Holland; she was conversant in history and other branches of the *belles lettres*; she studied theology and ethics with zeal and proficiency.—Her government of the realm was distinguished by a constant display of prudence and judgement, and the occasional exercise of spirit and vigour. Though such an office was not congenial with her inclinations, her patriotism and philanthropy supplied the place of ambitious desires; and while the king was engaged in those military enterprizes which were calculated for the maintenance of the liberties of Europe, she employed herself, with indefatigable assiduity, in securing to the British dominions the blessings of order, harmony, and freedom. She tempered justice with clemency; and was only severe to those who had no claim to mercy. Uninfluenced by the pride of power and superiority, she moderated the awe of majesty by the most affable and benign complacency; she was easy of access, studious of obliging, and eager to gratify those who sought a redress of grievance or an alleviation of misfortune. She was liberal to the indigent; not only to those of her own country, but to those numerous foreigners who fled to this island from persecution. She rewarded merit in various departments; and promoted useful institutions, whether destined for the purposes of learning, of religion, or of benevolence. She paid particular attention to the affairs of the church, and was circumspect in the choice of those who presided over it; to whom, as well as to the public in general, her pious and virtuous demeanour furnished an admirable example. With respect to the propriety of her conduct towards James, the opinions of mankind will always differ. Those who place the greatest merit in filial piety and submission, will severely censure the concern which she had in the expulsion of her father from his throne; and such as entertain a high idea of hereditary right, will be disposed, with regard to the ties of consanguinity, to reprobate her violation of the claims of sovereignty. Many, on the other hand, will more justly consider obedience to a parent as limited to reasonable demands, and as ceasing to be obligatory when incompatible with the religious, moral, or patriotic principles, which the offspring may have deliberately imbibed. But these considerations would not have urged Mary to a concurrence in the deposition of James, had not they been effectually corroborated by that implicit devotion to the will of her husband which she constantly cultivated. It is supposed that, if this strong tie had been removed, during her life, by the death of William, she would have promoted the re-establishment of her father. This strictness of conjugal obedience she appears to have carried to an excess, particularly in the case of her sister Anne, whom she treated in an illiberal and ungenerous manner, in compliance with William's animosity against that princess.

(*k*) The princess Anne being informed of the queen's dangerous indisposition, sent a lady of her bed-chamber, to desire she might be admitted to her majesty; but this request was not granted. She was thanked for her expression of concern; and given to understand that the physicians had directed that the queen should be kept as quiet as possible. Before her death, however, she sent a forgiving letter to her sister; and, after her decease, the earl of Sunderland effected a reconciliation between the king and the princess, who visited him at Kensington, where she was received with uncommon civility. He appointed the palace of St. James's for her residence, and presented her with the greater part of the queen's jewels. But a mutual jealousy and disgust subsisted under these exteriors of friendship and esteem. The two houses of parliament waited on the king at Kensington, with consolatory addresses on the death of his consort: their example was followed by the regency of Scotland, the city and clergy of London, the dissenting ministers, and almost all the great corporations in England.

(*l*) Her obsequies were performed with great magnificence. The body was attended from Whitehall to Westminster Abbey by all the judges, serjeants at law, the lord mayor and aldermen of the city of London, and both houses of parliament; and the funeral sermon was preached by Dr. Tennison, archbishop of Canterbury. Dr. Kenn, the deprived bishop of Bath and Wells, reproached him in a letter, for not having called upon her majesty on her death-bed to repent of the share she had in the revolution. This was answered by another pamphlet. One of the Jacobite clergy insulted the queen's memory, by preaching on the following text. "Go now, see this cursed woman, and bury her, for she is a king's daughter." On the other hand, the lord mayor, aldermen, and common council of London came to a resolution to erect her statue, with that of the king, in the Royal Exchange.

CHAP. II.

WILLIAM THE THIRD *(Alone.)*

THE decease of the patriotic queen Mary was deeply lamented by the public in general; and the king, in particular, sincerely regretted the loss of an affectionate, amiable, and virtuous consort. When Dr. Tenison, who succeeded archbishop Tillotson, condoled with him on his misfortune, he replied, that he could not but grieve, since he had lost a wife whom, in the course of seventeen years, he had never known to have been guilty of an indiscretion. Besides the consideration of her merit and virtue, he had a political ground of uneasiness. He knew that Mary had always been a favourite of the people, and that this circumstance, added to the priority of her claim to the crown, had given her a degree of weight and importance, the want of which might prove prejudicial to his power and influence. He reflected, that her pretensions, as the first protestant heir of James, were now vested in the princess Anne of Denmark, though the parliament had settled the crown on him for his life; and that the spirit of faction might take advantage of that point, to

embroil his government, and undermine his authority. He was therefore reconciled to that princess.

It was apprehended by the friends of the government, that the Jacobites might be encouraged, by the death of the queen, to make some efforts for the restoration of her father. They certainly hoped to profit by that event, but their hopes were fallacious. Compliments, condolence, and promises of support, were voted to the king by both houses; and similar addresses were presented to him from the principal corporations throughout his dominions, in the beginning of 1695.

Those persons who had been tried in Lancashire on a charge of treason, complained to the commons of the injustice they had suffered; but the house voted, on the 6th of February, 1695, that sufficient grounds had existed for the trial of those individuals, and that a dangerous plot had been carried on against the king and government. The peers likewise justified the process which had been instituted against them. They, however, prosecuted the king's witnesses; who, being tried at the Lancaster assizes, were found guilty of perjury.

In this session several scenes of infamous corruption were exposed to public view. Upon an enquiry into the abuses of the army, colonel Hastings was dismissed from his regiment, and several agents and contractors were imprisoned. After which the commons investigated the delinquency of the commissioners for licensing hackney-coaches, who were accused of having betrayed their trust by the acceptance of bribes: three of them were removed from their office by the king. Suspecting the corporation of London of the guilt of corruption, the house appointed a committee to examine the chamberlain's books; and from this inspection it appeared, that sir John Trevor, speaker of the house, and master of the rolls, had received a thousand guineas for his encouragement of the bill for the relief of the orphans and other creditors of the city. He was therefore declared guilty of a high crime and misdemeanour. When sir John (who had been employed by the court in the dishonourable practice of corrupting members) had put the mortifying question relating to his own guilt, and which was readily decided against him, he absented himself from the house; and the office of speaker was conferred on Paul Foley, one of the leaders of opposition. By a subsequent resolution, on the 16th of March, Trevor was deprived of his seat; as was also a member named Hungerford, who had accepted a small present for the same service. Many other instances of bribery and corruption were likewise brought to light by the committees, particularly with regard to the East India Company; and many individuals of the house were implicated in the corrupt practices which had been investigated.

The enormous burthens which England had sustained during the war, and the inadequate share which her confederates had borne in the charges of it, drew an address from the commons, desiring that this kingdom might, in future, only be put upon an equal footing and proportion with the allies. A debate likewise took place with respect to the navy; during which, however, the interests of the mariners were neglected, though the king had recommended to the attention of parliament the circumstances of that useful body of men, whose grievances, occasioned by official fraud, rapacity, and tyranny, called loudly for redress.

The silver coin had been greatly debased, and was become so generally prejudicial, that both houses took into their consideration this alarming evil, which had proceeded to such an extent, that a hundred nominal shillings were not worth above half that sum. A law was therefore enacted for enforcing, with additional rigour, the punishment of all those who should clip or counterfeit the coin of the realm.

On the 3rd of May, the king prorogued the parliament, when he promised to commit the administration of the kingdom to persons "on whose care and fidelity he could entirely depend," and desired that every member of both houses would concur with them, and be "more than ordinarily vigilant" in preserving the public peace. The individuals whom he selected for the task of government, under the title of lords justices, were, Dr. Tenison, archbishop of Canterbury, the lord keeper Somers, the lord privy seal Pembroke, the lord steward Devonshire, the secretary Shrewsbury, the chamberlain Dorset, and the first lord of the treasury Godolphin. Sir John Trenchard having lately died, sir William Trumbal, an eminent civilian, was appointed to succeed him as secretary of state. Two earldoms were conferred about the same time; that of Rochford on Zuylestein, one of the Dutch favourites, and that of Tankerville on lord Grey of Werke.

The lords justices, however, though they had been appointed to the government of the nation during the absence of the king, had little real authority, but were obliged to regulate their conduct by the instructions which they received from him. The exclusion of the princess Anne from acting in the regency gave rise to some murmurs; and it was considered as a strong argument of the insincerity of the king's reconciliation with her. She herself, indeed, was equally insincere; for, while she professed an attachment to William's interests, she maintained a correspondence with her father; and engaged to second his efforts for the recovery of his throne. The earl of Marlborough had, some years before, undertaken to bring her back to a sense of filial duty; and his suggestions had so far prevailed over a mind tinctured with Tory principles, and disgusted with the behaviour of the reigning prince, that she had implored the forgiveness of James, and promised to atone for her former desertion of him by her future zeal in his service.

Lord Sydney's administration in Ireland not being popular, the king recalled him to England, and appointed him master general of the ordnance; and conferred the government of that kingdom on three lords justices, namely, lord Capel, sir Cyril Wyche, and William Duncombe. The first of these courted the protestants, and discountenanced the catholics; and acted as the leader of a party, rather than as a just and unbiassed ruler. His associates were more upright and impartial in their proceedings; but they were at length removed from the helm by his influence; and he became the sole governor, by the style of lord-deputy. He procured supplies from the parliament, and gave the royal assent to a variety of bills, for securing the government against the machinations of papists, and for other purposes of expediency.

In the Netherlands this year the allies out-numbered their enemies; on which account, as well as in consideration of the death of the duke of Luxemburg, the French resolved on defensive measures. William had fixed his thoughts on the re-capture of Namur, and accordingly made the necessary preparations for the siege of that place; which was partly invested by the allies when the mareschal de Bouffleurs entered it with a body of troops, which encreased the garrison to fourteen thousand men. The extraordinary strength of Namur, the fortifications of which had been greatly improved since it had fallen under the dominion of France, gave such confidence to the defenders, that the efforts of the besiegers were long considered as nugatory. The allies, however, were not discouraged; but, being inspired by the courage of their royal commander, persevered in their gallant exertions. The garrison behaved with the greatest valour, and it was not till almost every part had been taken by storm, that they offered to capitulate: this was on the 25th of July, the twenty-fourth day after the opening of the trenches. When the numerous batteries of the besiegers, by an incessant emission of bullets and bombs, had effected various breaches, an assault was made on all the works which composed the citadel. Though about two thousand of the allies were killed or wounded in this service, they failed in their grand object, and only extended their quarters. They therefore made preparations for another assault; but the mareschal de Bouffleurs prevented it by a seasonable surrender. When the vanquished, reduced to a less number than six thousand, marched out of the place, Bouffleurs was arrested by order of William, as a hostage for the release of the garrisons of Dixmuyde and Deynse (*m*). The king's spirit, in this instance, was applauded by all who resented the perfidy of his opponents; and his conduct of the siege increased his military reputation. He retired from the camp after the recovery of Namur; and the campaign closed with that important achievement.

(*m*) The French had taken Dixmuyde and Deynse. The governors of these towns had surrendered them without making any vigorous defence; and one of them (Ellenbeger) was beheaded by the allies for misconduct, and the other (O'Farrel) was cashiered. By a cartel which had been adjusted between the hostile powers, prisoners of war were entitled to their liberty, on the offer of a certain ransom; but the men who had garrisoned these towns, being in this predicament, had been detained by the French: they were now sent back, however, in exchange for the mareschal de Bouffleurs.

On the Rhine, nothing worthy of mention occurred. On the Italian frontier, the French surrendered the strong town of Casal, but Louis was secretly negociating with the duke of Savoy. In Catalonia, admiral Russel furnished the Spaniards with a body of land forces, that they might attack the French near Palamos; but perceiving they would not engage the enemy, he re-embarked his men, bombarded the town, and sailed towards Toulon, where the French fleet still remained. He then sailed to Cadiz, from whence he returned to England with a part of the combined fleets.

Several French ports were again bombarded this year. Lord Berkeley and admiral Allemonde sailed to St. Malo's with an English and Dutch fleet; and damaged that town by a furious discharge of bombs and carcasses. Granville sustained a similar visitation. The fleet then returned to the Downs, and having received some land forces on board, steered to Dunkirk, where the precautions of the French again obstructed the approach of the bomb vessels and fire ships. Calais was the next object; but the bombardment of that town was ineffectual.

In 1694 the French had made a descent on Jamaica, and, having committed great devastations and barbarities, were obliged to retire with loss. To revenge this insult, Wilmot was detached with a squadron this year to Hispaniola, where he destroyed the French towns at Port de Paix and Cape François, ravaged the adjacent country, and acquired considerable spoils: but his arbitrary conduct and rapacity occasioned a disunion which prevented the complete success of the expedition. An epidemical disorder raging, vast numbers of the English were carried off by it; and Wilmot himself, in his way to Europe, fell a victim to its ravages.

The numerous French vessels which infested the seas did no small injury to the English commerce, by the capture of several valuable ships returning from India, as well as from other quarters. To protect the trade, however, two squadrons had been sent out under Hopson and the marquis of Caermarthen, besides a multitude of particular convoys and cruisers. The marquis indeed was not very useful in his station; for, on the sight of a fleet of merchantment, which he took for French ships of war, he precipitately retired into Milford Haven. The prizes gained by the English were inconsiderable, except the capture of two ships of the line; a service in which captain Killigrew was slain.

When William returned from the continent, he held a council, in which it was debated whether a new parliament should be summoned, or the present be continued for another session, which was allowed by a clause in the triennial act. The former was adopted, and with a view of courting popular favour, the king made a progress, during the elections, through some of the midland and eastern counties, and endeavoured to soften his repulsive manners into ease and complacency. The close of his tour was remarkable. A sumptuous entertainment was provided for him by the university of Oxford; but a suspicion of a design of poisoning him having arisen from an anonymous letter addressed to the duke of Ormond, he abruptly departed without partaking of the banquet, and hastened to the palace of Windsor.

The new parliament assembled on the 22nd of November, and Foley was again chosen speaker. The following day the king harangued the two houses, observing, that as the advice of his first parliament had engaged him in the war, and the second had cheerfully assisted him in the prosecution of it, a concern for the common safety would undoubtedly oblige the new assembly to be unanimous in the same cause. He affirmed, that, "without the concurrence of the valour and power of England, it was impossible to put a stop to the ambition and greatness of France." Though he lamented the necessity of "asking so many and such large aids of his people," he could not but demand supplies at least equal to those which had been lately granted; and it even appeared that an augmentation of the navy was requisite. After adverting to some other particulars, he hoped that all possible dispatch would be made in the national business, and that all "heats and divisions" would be carefully avoided.

The promoters of the bill intended to favour persons tried for treason, resolved to make the king's assent to it the price of the expected supply. It provided, that all individuals accused of high treason, or misprision of treason, should have a copy of the whole indictment five days previous to their trial, and the pannel of the jurors two days before it; that they might be assisted by two counsellors at law; that none should be indicted for those crimes, except by the oaths of two lawful witnesses to the same overt act, or one to each of two overt acts of the same species of treason; and that prosecutions for those offences should not be commenced after the expiration of three years, with an exception of the case of those who should design or attempt to murder the king. William thought proper to give his sanction to this bill; and thus the people were at length gratified with a statute which mitigated such severities as had been the objects of frequent and just complaint.

The business of the coin produced warm debates; for the debasement of the silver had given rise to another evil, namely, the rise of the gold coin far beyond its value. Since a guinea had advanced to thirty shillings, it was asserted, the Dutch and other foreigners had deluged us with their gold, to the great loss of the public. It was therefore resolved by the commons, on the 10th of December, that the clipped silver money should be re-coined, according to the old standard; and that the deficiency of that coin (in order that the people might sustain no loss by its being called in) should be supplied by the sum of one million two hundred thousand pounds, which should be levied by a tax (for seven years) on the windows of all dwelling houses, except cottages. The diminished crowns and half crowns were first stopped by proclamation; and, on a subsequent day, all irregular currency was prohibited. As the exorbitant advance of the gold coin likewise called for redress, the reduction of it was strongly recommended by the ministerial party; and it was resolved that the currency of guineas should be settled at twenty-two shillings.

The new parliament had testified rather an uncourtly inclination, and the multiplication of the burthens on the people, co-operating with the interruption of trade and the decline of credit, had occasioned great discontent. The Jacobites now revived their hopes, and thought this a favourable opportunity of restoring their fallen monarch. While one part proceeded against William in the bolder manner, by attempting to excite an insurrection, another, consisting of the most desperate conspirators, formed a scheme of assassination. Sir George Barclay, a native of Scotland, who had served as an officer in James's army, and a bigot to the catholic faith, undertook the bold task of assassinating the king. This design he imparted to Harrison, Charnock, Porter, and sir William Perkins, by whom it was approved; and, after various consultations, it was resolved to attack the king on his return from Richmond, where he commonly hunted on Saturdays; and the scene of their ambuscade was a lane between Brentford and Turnham Green. To secure success, it was agreed that their number should be increased to forty horsemen, and each conspirator began to engage proper persons to assist in this dangerous enterprize. When their number was complete, they waited with impatience for the hour of action; but some of the under actors, seized with fear or remorse, resolved to prevent the execution by a timely discovery. One Prendergast, an Irish officer of the catholic persuasion, gave information of the plot, but refused to mention the persons who were concerned as associates in the undertaking. His information was at first disregarded; but it was soon confirmed by one De la Rue, a Frenchman, and still more by the flight of sir George Barclay, who began to perceive that the whole was discovered. The night previous to the intended day of assassination, a large number of the conspirators were apprehended, and the whole scheme was communicated to the privy council. Prendergast became an evidence for the crown, and the conspirators were brought to their trial. On the 11th of March, 1696, some of the delinquents were brought to trial: these were Robert Charnock, one of the two fellows of Magdalen College, who in the reign of James had renounced the Protestant faith; lieutenant King, and Thomas Keys. They were found guilty of high treason, and executed at Tyburn. Sir John Friend, an opulent citizen of London, was tried and condemned, on the 18th, for having promoted the intended insurrection. Sir William Perkins, (one of the six clerks in chancery,) who had encouraged the design upon the king's person, being tried and found guilty, was executed with Friend, on the 3rd of April. Rookwood, Cranborne, Lowick, and Cook, were next brought to their trials, and being all found guilty, the three former were executed, but the sentence of the latter was converted into an order for his banishment.

banishment. Knightley, who pleaded guilty to the indictment, was gratified with a pardon (*n*).

This conspiracy gave rise to a bill which provided "for the better security of his majesty's person and government;" it enacted, that such as should persist in their refusal to take the oaths, should be subject to the forfeitures of popish recusants; that all who should deny William's right to the crown, or impugn the act of settlement, should be liable to a penalty; that those who should decline to enter into the general association should be excluded from all offices of profit or trust; and that, after the dissolution of the present parliament, all who should be elected members should lose their seats for a refusal to sign that engagement. The session produced many other acts, among which were, one for annulling the election of those candidates who should be guilty of corruption; another for preventing false and double returns; a third for the further regulation of elections (*o*); others for continuing the parliament in case of the death of the king or his successors, for the encrease and encouragement of seamen, and for the improvement of several branches of commerce.

The grant of supplies was very considerable: for the navy, two millions and a half were granted, besides sixteen thousand nine hundred and seventy-two pounds for two regiments of marines; and for the army, two million, five hundred and seven thousand, eight hundred and eighty-one pounds. These subsidies, added to the sum raised on account of the re-coinage, oppressed the people beyond the burthens of every former year. The session was closed on the 27th of April, with a complimentary speech from the king, who, having again nominated the former lords-justices of the kingdom, created two peers, and constituted a board of trade, made another voyage to the continent.

Early in the spring, some of his general officers had formed a scheme for the destruction of a considerable French magazine at Givet, which completely succeeded. After William had joined the army, the season elapsed without any battle or enterprize; which inactivity has been attributed to the suspence arising from the prevalence of negociations. None of the allies acceded to the pacific overtures made by France, except the duke of Savoy, who concluded an advantageous treaty with the mareschal de Catinat. Not content with deserting his late associates, he turned his arms against them, by commencing the siege of Valenza, which held out till a convention was signed for the termination of the war in Italy.

While the French army were preparing for a descent upon England, they had recalled the greater part of their fleet from the Mediterranean. Orders were also sent for the return of the English and Dutch ships which Russel had left in the Bay of Cadiz: when he had reached the Channel, sir George Rooke succeeded him in the command. Sir George was directed to intercept the returning fleet of France, but the latter had arrived at Brest about the time of his sailing from St. Helen's. He proposed to make an attempt for the destruction of the French fleet in Brest harbour, but it was over ruled as impracticable. Sir George Rooke was succeeded in the command by lord Berkeley, who sailed towards the coast of France, and sent detachments on several petty enterprizes. Some small islands near Belle Isle (Grouais, Houat, and Hedic,) were plundered and ravaged in July. St. Martin's in the Isle of Rhé was considerably injured by bombardment; and hostilities of the same kind were prosecuted, though with less effect, against Olone in Poictou.

Du Bart was very active against the commerce of the maritime powers, and Benbow (now promoted to the rank of rear-admiral) was sent with a small squadron in quest of him. After attempting, without success, to block him up at Dunkirk, Benbow sailed towards Yarmouth. He was informed that Du Bart had fell in with a large fleet of Dutch traders on the 8th of June, and had captured about thirty of them, as well as five men of war by which they were escorted, but that on the approach of another convoy, he burnt all his prizes, except one (which was retaken), and effected his escape from the enemy.

The principal transaction of this year in North America, was a descent upon Newfoundland, where the English had a flourishing colony. Eight French privateers landed a strong body of men on that island, where they reduced most of the settlements, and occasioned the loss of a ship of war, which was burned by the crew, that it might not fall into the hands of the enemy.

When the parliament assembled, on the 20th of October, after his return, William informed the houses that overtures for peace had been made, and said, "the only way of treating with France is with swords in our hands; and we can have no reason to expect a safe and honourable peace, but by shewing ourselves prepared to make a vigorous and effectual war." He therefore requested that sufficient sums might be granted for the service of the following year, as well as for the supply of deficiencies. The two houses prefaced their deliberations with a loyal address. The commons proceeded to the business of supply; and assigned for the navy two million three hundred and seventy two thousand one hundred and ninety seven pounds; and for the army two million five hundred and seven thousand eight hundred and eighty-one pounds. They were alarmed at the great amount of the deficiencies, and at the decline of public credit, which had sunk so low, that the notes issued by the bank were discounted at twenty *per cent.* and the tallies of the exchequer at forty and even sixty. The inconveniences arising from the scarcity of coin were, at the same time generally felt. Under the auspices of Montague, the chancellor of the exchequer, a bill was prepared, in the beginning of 1697, for the establishment of a general fund for the supply of former failures, which were estimated at five millions, one hundred and sixty thousand, four hundred and fifty-nine pounds. This bill provided for the continuance of various duties to the 1st of August, 1706. It was likewise enacted, to support the tottering credit of the bank, that the stock of the corporation should be augmented by new subscriptions; that the bank should be exempt from all taxes; and that the forgery of bank notes should be a capital offence. Another bill was brought forward for removing, by fresh taxation, a deficiency of eight hundred and forty thousand pounds.

The progress of the re-coinage being unequal to the constant demands of trade, it was directed, by two statutes, that bills should be issued from the exchequer, to the amount of two million, seven hundred thousand pounds. In consequence of the provisions with respect to the exchequer bills, trade again began to rear its languishing head.

The case of sir John Fenwick was considered as one of the greatest stretches of power exhibited during this reign. This gentleman, whose name had been mentioned among the rest of the conspirators, was apprehended in his way to France. There was little evidence against him, except an intercepted letter which he wrote to his wife. It is true, he offered to discover all he knew of a conspiracy against the king; but when he came to enter into the detail, he so managed his information, that it could affect no individual concerned. King William, therefore, sent over word from Holland, where he then was, that unless the prisoner could make more material discoveries, he should be brought to his trial. The only material evidences against him were one Porter and Goodman, but of these lady Fenwick had the good fortune to secrete one, so that only Porter, a single witness, remained; and his unsupported evidence, by the late law, was insufficient to affect the life of the prisoner. However, the house of commons were resolved to inflict that punishment upon him which the laws were unable to execute. As he had, in his discoveries, made very free with the names of many persons in that house, admiral Russel insisted that he might have an opportunity of vindicating his own character in particular. Sir John Fenwick was ordered to the bar of the house, and there exhorted by the speaker to make an ample discovery. He refused, and a bill of attainder was preferred against him, which was passed by a large majority. He was furnished with a copy of the indictment, allowed counsel at the bar of the house, and the counsel of the crown was called upon to open the evidence. After much disputation, where passion and revenge were rather attended to than reason, the

(*n*) Jeremy Collier, (the antagonist of the licentious dramatic writers) and two other clerical non-jurors, attended Friend and Perkins at Tyburn, and gave them a solemn absolution. For this interference, which was considered as an encouragement of the treason for which these persons suffered, two of the ecclesiastics were imprisoned; and Collier, having absconded, was outlawed.

(*o*) One bill with this title was rejected by the king, though we are not informed of the noxious clauses it contained. A motion was made in the lower house, for censuring his adviser; but such was the loyal spirit which then prevailed, that, on a division, the adversaries of this proposal exceed, in more than a threefold degree, the number of its friends.

bill

bill was committed and sent up to the house of lords, where sir John Fenwick was found guilty, by a majority of only seven voices. The prisoner solicited the mediation of the lords in his behalf, while his friends implored the royal mercy. The lords, however, gave him to understand, that the success of his suit would depend upon the fulness of his discoveries. He would have previously stipulated for pardon, and they insisted on his trusting to their favour. He hesitated some time between the fears of infamy and the terrors of death. At last he chose death as the least terrible, and he suffered beheading on Tower Hill with great composure. His death proved the insufficiency of any laws to protect the subject, when a majority of the powerful shall think proper to dispense with them!

While the parliament were employed in various deliberations, the earl of Pembroke, the viscount Villiers, and sir Joseph Williamson, had been appointed to treat with the representatives of the French king on the subject of a general peace, in concert with the plenipotentiaries of the allied powers; and, after some dispute, it was agreed, that the negociators should meet in a palace which belonged to William, near the village of Ryswick, between Delft and the Hague. Here the conferences began in the spring, and were continued during the whole summer.

On the 16th of April, 1697, William prorogued the parliament; after which he made various promotions, and constituted a new regency. He conferred the office of lord chamberlain on the earl of Sunderland, and elevated the lord keeper Somers to the dignity of chancellor, and the honours of the peerage. He ennobled admiral Russel by the title of earl of Oxford; and promoted the viscount Galway to an earldom, besides granting him a participation in the government of Ireland, with the marquis of Winchester and lord Villiers. The regents of England were more numerous than in the two preceding years; for, only Godolphin was omitted, and the earls of Romney, Oxford, and Sunderland, were added.

The French took the strong town of Aeth; but on the Rhine they made no important exertions. The opposite armies seemed to remain inactive, in expectation of the event of the conferences at Ryswick. In Spain, the French laid siege to Barcelona, which they took after it had been defended nearly two months. In South America, Carthagena surrendered to the French arms. The combined fleets of England and Holland were long inactive, but while they were cruising near the coast of France, they captured many Swedish merchantmen, which, being freighted with French goods, and also with the spoils of several English and Dutch ships which had been taken, were condemned as lawful prizes.

At length these hostilities were terminated by the congress of Ryswick; and the conduct of William accelerated the completion of the treaty. The plenipotentiaries of the states general signed the treaty of peace on the 10th of September, on the footing of mutual restitution of conquests in all parts of the world. A treaty of commerce followed between France and that republic. William's representatives concluded a pacification on the same day. A restitution of the conquered places was to be reciprocally made within six months. At last all parties agreed to similar terms, and a general pacification ensued.

The peace of Ryswick was by no means beneficial to the allies, nor yet might it be said to be detrimental to France; for, notwithstanding so many potentates were engaged against her, she was able to renew the contest whenever she saw a fit opportunity. England, her most active enemy, reaped no other fruit from the war, than a rapid accumulation of debt, and a precedent for an unnecessary interference in the politics and turmoils of the continent. Though the peace secured this country from the attempts of James, by depriving him of the assistance of the only court which had been inclined to patronize him, that advantage was an inadequate compensation for the mischievous consequences of the war. From the æra of this war may be reckoned the miseries of this country, in the accumulation of a debt which the people of the present day are scarcely able to pay the interest of.

The return of William from the continent was attended with strong demonstrations of public joy and satisfaction, derived from the restoration of peace. He went to the house on the 3rd of December, and congratulated the parliament on the termination of the war, which, he said, "by the zealous and affectionate assistance of his people," had given way to an honourable peace (*p*). They would not, however, (he continued,) immediately find that full relief which he could wish, or they might expect; for it was necessary to provide for considerable deficiencies, which had arisen in the funds assigned for the service of the year; and there existed a debt to the fleet and army. He requested that a regular provision might be made for him during his life. He recommended the constant maintenance of a great naval force, and that the army might remain without much diminution.

It was, however, not believed by the generality of the nation, that there was the least necessity for keeping a large standing army on foot. The king's ambitious ideas were easily seen through: it was expected that the king of Spain would not long survive, and William intended to contend for the crown of that kingdom. Notwithstanding the people's murmurs about his wishing to keep so large an army, William intimated his confidence that the parliament would contribute to maintatn the peace with as much zeal as they had testified for the support of the war. Unwilling to adopt this hint in the sense in which William wished it to be taken, they resolved, *nemine contradicente*, "that all the land forces of this kingdom, which had been raised since the 29th of September, 1680, should be paid and disbanded." It was maintained against the king and his ministers, that the English were enabled, by their fleet and militia, to provide for the safety of the realm; that a standing army had almost invariably proved destructive of liberty; that the alledged impracticability of the introduction of despotism, by the aid of the force now desired, was a mere pretence, as the scheme might be carried on with a degree of artifice and secrecy which might preclude all apprehensions of immediate danger, so that the people, who, in case of an invasion, would have time to prepare for resistance, would be unprovided for withstanding the insidious purposes of an internal foe; that in this case, the boasted power of the purse being in the hands of the commons would be of little utility, and would quickly be transferred into new hands; and that for these reasons it would be highly imprudent to consent to an establishment so pregnant with peril. In consequence of this the earl of Sunderland resigned his office, and retired from court, notwithstanding the king's earnest desire of his continuance: some other changes likewise took place.

The king was highly disgusted at the resolute opposition of the commons to his favourite scheme; but they voted, that, in acknowledgement of his great services to the nation, seven hundred thousand pounds *per annum* should be granted to him during his life, for the different branches of the civil list. It was intended, indeed, that the additional hundred thousand pounds should be appropriated to the payment of the jointure of James's queen, (as if she were were really a widow,) and the establishment of a household for the duke of Gloucester, son of the princess Anne. But it appears that William declined the payment of the stipulated allowance to the exiled princess (*q*); and, it is said, that his largest annual grant to the duke did not exceed fifteen thousand pounds.

The military establishment was circumscribed by vote,

(*p*) An honourable peace!—While the opposite armies of France and the Allies were encamped in the vicinity of Brussels, the earl of Portland demanded an interview with the mareschal de Boufflers. They immediately met between the camps, and conferred for some time in the open field. Four others conferences followed between these military negociators; and in the two last, which were held at a house near Halle, they reduced their terms to writing, and signed an agreement. The earl was then deputed to inform the plenipotentiaries, that all affairs which concerned William and his kingdoms were adjusted with the court of France; and request, that as no delay of the general pacification would arise on his part, the emperor and the other allies would zealously unite their efforts for the speedy conclusion of a work so important and desirable. But the chief object of the conferences between Portland and Boufflers long remained a secret to the public. From the Memoirs of James himself, however, it appears, that a proposal had been made by the French monarch for securing the son of the deposed prince the reversion of the crown of England; and that William, by the medium of the earl, acceded to this proposition, solemnly promising to use his endeavours for the abrogation of the act of settlement, and the enactment of a new law, by which the son of his rival should be appointed his successor, on condition of his adoption of the Protestant faith. Another point of less moment, to which he agreed, was the settlement of fifty-thousand pounds *per annum*, as a jointure, on the wife of James. Upon such terms the peace must indeed have been very honourable to the English nation, who had driven away their arbitrary monarch to make way for William's accession!

(*q*) William alledged, on the aurhority of the earl of Portland, (which the mareschal de Boufflers controverted,) that the removal of James from St. Germain's was the condition of the payment; and that, as the former article was not executed, the performance of the latter could not be expected. *Macpherson.*

in the beginning of 1698, within the expence of three hundred and fifty thousand pounds, which, it was computed, would only suffice for the maintenance of about ten thousand horse and foot. A small gratuity was allowed to the disbanded soldiers; and the native officers were indulged with half-pay till they should obtain some other support. For the navy ten thousand men were voted. As the arrears for the different services formed too heavy a demand for immediate payment (*r*), the commons only provided a part of them in the present year, and engaged for the gradual discharge of the remainder. Some deficiencies having arisen in the produce of the imposts of the last session, a vote passed for supplying them. Provision was also made for answering all the exchequer bills. As these bills bore interest when they were re-issued, after they had been received in lieu of taxes, some of the officers of the exchequer, customs, and excise, put false indorsements upon a great number of them, before they were entitled to any allowance. For this fraud Duncombe and Knight were expelled from the house of commons, and imprisoned in the Tower; and a bill was introduced for punishing the former by the forfeiture of nearly half of his ample fortune; but the peers rejected it by a majority of one voice (which is said to have been the casting vote of the dvke of Leeds), and ordered the release of the delinquent. The other house, offended at this interference, remanded him to prison, where he continued till the close of the session. It was conjectured, that the fury of the storm had been averted by the arts of corruption.

After a session of above seven months, the king, in the beginning of July, prorogued the parliament, and he soon after dissolved it. He took the opportunity of the recess to re-visit Holland, appointing the lords justices to govern this country in his absence. The English, disgusted at his preference of his native country to one in which he had acquired a splendid and powerful establishment, complained of his partiality in acrimonious terms, and affirmed, that he only resided in this kingdom for the convenience of parliamentary business, while he made choice of Holland from motives of inclination, and seemed to be out of his element when he was not in the bosom of that republic.

A new parliament having been called to succeed that which had been dissolved, the king returned to England in the beginning of December to open it. When the commons had elected a speaker, he confirmed their choice, which had fallen on sir Thomas Littleton, one of the lords of the treasury; and then he addressed both houses. Two points, he said, seemed principally to require their consideration. One related to the force necessary for the naval and military service; the other to the expediency of making further progress in the discharge of the debts contracted during the war. As William had not strictly adhered to the act for the reduction of the army, but had kept up more troops than it allowed, and still persisted in recommending to the two houses the maintenance of a considerable force, the commons were highly displeased; and voted, that all the land forces of England, exceeding seven thousand men, should be paid and disbanded without delay, and that the whole of the retained number should consist of the king's native subjects. When the bill for the reduction of the army was offered to the king for his assent, he yielded to the force of the torrent. He was extremely disgusted at these proceedings of the parliament, and complained to his friends of the "ignorance and malice" of his opponents, even threatening to abandon a kingdom which the people would not enable him to protect as he thought fit." When he passed the bill, on the 1st of February, 1699, he could not refrain from expressing his disapprobation of it. Both houses thanked him in warm terms for his confirmation of the bill; and he completely gratified them by proceeding to put it in execution. But his reluctance to the dismission of the Dutch guards continued to operate on his mind; and he sent a message to the commons by the earl of Ranelagh, on the 18th of March, intimating that, though he had made the necessary preparations for the return of those troops to their own country, yet, if the house would permit them to remain in his service, he should consider himself as highly obliged by such an act of kindness. His humble application, however, did not soften the majority into compliance; and the king, finding it useless to persevere in the contest, gave orders for the speedy transportation of the noxious foreigners. While the commons reduced the army to a small though sufficient number, they added five thousand men to the establishment of the preceding year. They complained of various instances of mismanagement in that department, and the earl of Oxford was dismissed from his seat at the board of admiralty, as well as from his office of treasurer of the navy. The supplies of this session amounted to one million, four hundred and eighty-four thousand, fifteen pounds, towards the payment of the disbanded soldiers, the charges of the navy, and other purposes. In the bill which provided for this grant, a clause was inserted for the appointment of commissioners to take an account of the estates which had been forfeited in Ireland, that they might be applied to the use of the public. The royal assent being given to this bill, and some others of less importance, the king prorogued the parliament with hints of dissatisfaction on the 4th of May (*s*).

Before the king renewed his annual visit to the continent, he made some changes in the ministry; he then again delegated the chief officers of state to the government of the kingdom, and embarking for Holland, re-entered on the sea of foreign politics, which principally related to the partition of the Spanish monarchy, and the case of the duke of Holstein Gottorp, who was menaced with an invasion from the Danes, in violation of the peace of Altena. But an object of a more personal nature claimed the interposition of William: this was a contest between the prince of Conti and the duchess of Nemours for the county of Neufchatel; but an English envoy asserted the right of his master to the disputed territory, which William consented to wave during the lifetime of the duchess, and it was agreed that she should remain in quiet possession.

The spirited conduct of the majority, in the last session, had so displeased the king, that he was inclined to make another appeal to the sense of the nation, by convoking a new parliament; but he was dissuaded from this measure, and the late legislative body again met by his order. He opened the session, on the 16th of November, 1699, with a recommendation of a further provision for the safety of the kingdom by sea and land, of a compleat compensation of the deficiencies of the funds, and other matters of less importance. The commons, recollecting his former hints of displeasure, and thinking that some of the expressions in his present speech bore a tincture of the same dissatisfaction, voted a remonstance in lieu of a courtly address. They considered it, they said, as their greatest misfortune, that, after having so amply provided for the security of his majesty and the government, any suspicions had been raised of their zeal and affection for him and his people. The king, perceiving they were offended, sought to allay their discontent by a plausible and conciliatory answer, but he sought in vain.

The commissioners, who had been appointed to enquire into the value of the forfeited estates in Ireland, and the grants which had been made of any of them, did not perfectly agree in the report which was intended for the parliament; for it was only signed by four out of seven; and the minority presented a memorial to each house, signifying their dissent to particular articles. It was stated in this report, that the number of persons outlawed in Ireland on account of the rebellion, since William ascended the throne, amounted to three thousand, nine hundred and twenty-one; that the forfeited lands might be computed at one million, sixty thousand, seven hundred and ninety-two acres, the annual produce of which might be estimated at two hundred and eleven thousand six hundred and twenty-three pounds, and the full value at two million six hundred and eighty-five thousand one

(*r*) Those of the army, to the end of September, 1697, amounted to two million, three hundred and forty-eight thousand, one hundred and two pounds; towards the payment of which, the paymaster (the earl of Ranelagh) had only eight hundred and fifty-five thousand five hundred and two pounds in his hands on the 1st of January, 1698. The general debt of the navy was one million, three hundred and ninety-two thousand, seven hundred and forty-two pounds, exclusive of the arrears of the transport service. The arrears of subsidies for military aid amounted to nine hundred and seventy-six thousand, two hundred and twenty

rix dollars, due to the king of Denmark, the elector of Brandenburg, the landgrave of Hesse Cassel, the dukes of Holstein, Zell, and Wolfenbuttle, the duke (created, in 1692, elector) of Hanover, and the bishop of Munster. *Journals of the Commons.*

(*s*) Previous to the close of this session, lord Mohun was again tried for murder by the peers, and met with another acquittal. The earl of Warwick was tried for a concern in the same murder (that of an officer named Coote;) and being found guilty of manslaughter, was discharged on claiming the benefit of the peerage.

hundred

hundred and thirty-eight pounds, that is, little more than twelve years and a half purchase. When the report had been perused by the commons on the 15th of December, they unanimously resolved, that a bill should be brought in for applying all the forfeitures in Ireland, and all grants of them, or of the rents and revenues of the crown in that kingdom, to the use of the public; and they also declared, that they would not receive any petition relative to these forfeitures or grants, but that all disputes should be determined by a particular court of judicature. When this affair was agitated nine years before, William had engaged not to make any grant of those lands, till the whole business should be settled by parliament; but as he had repeatedly violated this promise, the enquiry gave him great uneasiness. Having taken into consideration the disputes which had divided the commissioners, the house justified the four who had signed the report, and declared that they had acquitted themselves in the execution of their trust, "with understanding, courage, and integrity;" while one of their associates (sir Richard Leving) suffered imprisonment, for having thrown out "groundless and scandalous aspersions" on their proceedings. The courtiers endeavoured to qualify the odious bill, by moving for the reservation of a part of the forfeitures to the king's disposal; but the motion was over-ruled; and the house, on the 18th of January, 1700, adopted one of a different tendency, which represented the grants as highly dishonourable to William and his advisers. On the 21st of February, the king vindicated the propriety of the grant which he had made; and observed, in a tone of displeasure, that the prosecution of "just and effectual" means of lessening the national debt, and supporting public credit, would "best contribute to the honour, interest, and safety of the kingdom." This reply so irritated the commons, that they animadverted on the adviser as one who studiously sought to create a misunderstanding and jealousy between the sovereign and his people. The bill being at length completed, and the grant of the land-tax interwoven with it, that the king might not have an opportunity of rejecting one without the other, it was, on the 2nd of April, sent to the upper house. The lords having made some alterations on the bill, a conference took place between the houses, which ended in a peremptory refusal of the amendments. Other conferences were equally unproductive of an agreement; and the commons were inflamed with indignation. William was long doubtful whether he should confirm or reject a bill which invalidated so many of his grants, and debarred him from disposing of the remainder of the forfeitures; but the dread of a convulsive ferment so far prevailed over his feelings of reluctance and resentment, that he privately requested his friends in the upper house to accede to the wishes of the commons. The peers being thus influenced, a majority agreed to the bill in the state in which they had received it; and the king gave his assent to it, but testified his displeasure by proroguing the parliament, without the compliment of a speech, on the 11th of April.—With regard to the establishments of the year, it may be necessary to mention, that the army was left unaltered, while the navy was reduced to seven thousand.

During this session a rigorous law was enacted, which promised a reward to any person who should apprehend a popish priest in the exercise of his function, condemned to perpetual imprisonment all who should discharge any part of that priesthood, as well as all catholic instructors of youth, and disabled the professors of that religion from inheriting or purchasing any estate, unless they should take the oaths of allegiance and supremacy, and deny the doctrine of transubstantiation.

Soon after the prorogation of parliament, William resolved to gratify the Tories, who had so violently opposed him, by the dismission of lord Somers from the post of chancellor; and, after a temporary commission, he presented the great seal, with the title of lord-keeper, to sir Nathan Wright, a zealous Tory, whose talents and attainments were inadequate to the trust. Other changes of importance he deferred till his return from the continent. Thither, having appointed a regency, he repaired in the summer.

While at Loo, the king received intelligence of an event which rendered a new settlement of the crown necessary. This was the decease of the duke of Gloucester, the only remaining child of the princess of Denmark, who expired of a fever on the 29th of July in the twelfth year of his age (*t*). His death revived the hopes of the Jacobite faction; while it turned the attention of the friends of the Revolution to the next protestant heir, Sophia, electress dowager of Hanover, who, in a visit to William, concurred with him on the prospect of the English succession.

King William returned to England on the 18th of October; the parliament met on the 6th of November, and was prorogued till the 11th of February, 1701. In the mean time the king made such ministerial alterations as, he thought, would subdue the opposition of the Tories. He caressed their leader, the earl of Rochester, whom he elevated to the viceroyalty of Ireland. He appointed sir Charles Hedges secretary of state, in the room of the earl of Jersey, who had succeeded the duke of Shrewsbury as lord chamberlain. He restored lord Godolphin to the office of first commissioner of the treasury, on the removal of the earl of Tankerville to the post of lord privy seal. By the advice of these ministers, who, though their party had prevailed in the last parliament, were doubtful of retaining the support of the majority, he issued a proclamation on the 19th of December, for the dissolution of that assembly, and the speedy meeting of a new national council.

The state of affairs, both at home and abroad, perplexed the mind of William. The frequent and strong opposition which he met with from his parliamentary subjects, and the difficulty of tempering the factious heats of two incensed parties, rendered his situation unpleasant and irksome. The new parliament met on the 11th of February, 1701; and the commons having filled their chair with Robert Harley, who was recommended by the new ministry, William sent for them to the house of peers, and opened the session with observing, that the national misfortune, in the loss of the duke of Gloucester, rendered it absolutely necessary to make a further provision for the succession to the crown in the protestant line; that the death of the king of Spain, and the appointment of Philip, grandson to Louis XIV. for his successor, had made so great an alteration in the affairs of Europe, as to suggest the expediency of deliberating on the consequences of those incidents; and that the public debts, the condition of the navy, and the regulation of trade, also demanded the attention of the house.

In answer to this speech, the commons declared, that they would support the king and his government, and take such measures as would "best conduce to the interest and safety of England, the preservation of the protestant religion, and the peace of Europe." Pleased with the king's desire of counsel, the commons advised, on the 20th of February, to enter into such negociations, in concert with the states general and other powers, as might contribute to their mutual safety, and the maintenance of general peace; and held out a prospect of support, and of that aid which had been promised to the states by treaty. A letter having been intercepted, which seemed likely to diffuse an alarm, as it spoke of the restoration of James, and might therefore incline the two houses to hostile measures against France, William communicated it to them. The commons treated it with contempt; but the peers thanked him for the communication, and advised him to seize the horses and arms of disaffected persons: and that a fleet might be got in readiness, the commons voted thirty thousand seamen for the service of the year.

The new adjustment of the succession furnished an opportunity for insisting on some popular provisions which had been neglected in the Bill of Rights; and the Tories, though they have been censured for their encouragement of the high claims of prerogative, were the first who resolved to seize this favourable occasion for securing, by farther stipulations, the rights and liberties of the people. The regulations for which they moved, on the 12th of March, 1701, were these: That all affairs, cognizable in the privy council, should be transacted in that assembly, and the resolutions should be signed by the assenting members; that no foreigner, though naturalized, should be appointed a privy counsellor, become a member of either house, enjoy any office of trust, whether civil or military, or receive any grant of lands from the crown; that no pardon should be deemed valid, when pleaded to a

(*t*) The preceptor of this prince (bishop Burnet) informs us, that he possessed a good understanding, an extraordinary memory, and a judgement which exceeded his years; and another prelate (Kennet) speaks of the vivacity of his genius, his fondness for manly exercises, his early knowledge, and his spirit of devotion.

parliamentary

parliamentary impeachment; that no placeman or pensioner should serve as a member of the house of commons; and that the judges should have fixed salaries, and should retain their commissions during their good behaviour, but might be removed at the desire of both houses. It was also resolved, at the motion of the same party, that future sovereigns should not embark this nation, without the consent of parliament, in any war for the defence of foreign territories not belonging to the crown; that they should not leave the British dominions without the same consent, and that they should join in communion with the church of England (*u*).

These improvements of the Bill of Rights were followed by a vote, which declared Sophia (the electress dowager of Hanover), and her posterity, the next Protestant heirs of the crown, after the king and the princess Anne, on the failure of issue from either (*v*). Till that time the new provisions were not to take effect. The bill which comprehended these important particulars passed through both houses with little opposition, and received the royal assent. The friends of the Protestant faith were pleased with a settlement which secured the throne to persons of their persuasion; and the advocates of liberty rejoiced at the additional restrictions that were imposed upon the power of the crown.

Both houses having desired the production of copies of all the treaties which William had concluded since the peace of Ryswick, the scheme for the division of the Spanish monarchy caused a great warmth of debate and severity of animadversion. In the commons, some of the members reprobated the king's conduct in aiming at the division of the dominions of another prince, as equivalent to a flagrant robbery; and one of the speakers (Howe) stigmatized the treaty as *felonious*.

The Tories were now prompted, by the zeal of party, to proceed to an impeachment of the Whig leaders who had retired from office: but, before they attacked their countrymen, they resolved to assail a foreigner; and therefore began their career of accusation against the earl of Portland, with a vote, on the 1st of April, declaring him highly criminal for his concern in the negociations which they condemned. This vote was succeeded by an impeachment of the earl at the bar of the upper house. Lord Somers was impeached, on the 15th of the same month, as an adviser of the first treaty; and similar resolutions were adopted against the earl of Orford, and Charles Montague, who had been created baron of Halifax (*w*). An address was then voted for the perpetual removal of these four noblemen from the royal presence; and William replied, that he should employ none in his service, but such as were most likely to establish a good correspondence between him and his people.

While the commons were preparing to carry the impeachments into effect, William, on the 8th of May, made another attempt to bring them over to his warlike purposes, by telling them that the safety of England, as well as the very existence of Holland, depended on their immediate interposition. After a debate, they unanimously resolved, that they would effectually contribute to the support of his allies, and to the maintenance of the liberty of Europe, and would immediately provide the desired succours for the states.

After a delay of several weeks, the commons completed their articles of charge against the earl of Orford. Besides the affair of the partition, they accused him of having procured exorbitant grants from his sovereign, embezzled the public money, obtained a commission for Kidd the pirate, and neglected the duties of his naval command. They received a plausible reply from the earl before they had finished their charge against lord Somers, whom they represented as not only having advised the king to conclude the first treaty of partition, but prepared commissions for that purpose without a lawful warrant; as having confirmed the second under the great seal, committed various illegalities in his office, encouraged Kidd, and received enormous grants from the crown. This nobleman asserted his innocence; but his vindication was not so effectual as to remove either the imputation of rapacity, or of courtly complaisance in measures which he disapproved. The delay of the production of articles against the two other peers induced the upper house to censure the tardy progress of the accusers, as injurious to the persons concerned, and not agreeable to the usual course of impeachment. The commons complained, that this reprimand was unparliamentary and unprecedented, and had a tendency to the creation of discord. The lords having fixed a day for the trial of the earl of Orford, the prosecutors refused to agree to it. The latter, in a conference with the peers, on the 6th of June, proposed a joint committee to adjust all the particulars of the process; but this expedient was rejected as unusual and unnecessary. Further disputes and altercations, of which a detail would be tedious, arose from the prevalence of the Whigs in one house, and of the Tories in the other. At length, when the lords had appointed a time for the trial of Somers, the commons refused to honour it with their presence; alledging, as reasons for their non-attendance, the rejection of their reasonable requests, and the denial of reparation for the indignity offered to them, at one of the conferences, by lord Haversham, who had charged them with partiality, in avoiding an impeachment of some individuals who were involved in the same guilt with the accused peers. The court being assembled in Westminster Hall, on the 17th of June, the lord keeper called for evidence against Somers; but none being adduced, the lords adjourned to their own house, and had a long debate, which terminated in a vote for his acquittal. The commons not only controverted, in strong terms, the legality of this procedure, but imputed the ill consequences which might attend the delay of the supplies to the conduct of those who, to procure an indemnity for enormous crimes, had promoted a rupture between the houses. The peers, on the other hand, censured these reflections as highly unjust, accused their opponents of aiming at the subversion of the constitution, and attributed the protraction of the necessary business of the year to the "fatal counsel" which had so long postponed the meeting of parliament, as well as to the unnecessary delays of the commons. After these vehement resolutions, the lords proceeded to the trial of the earl of Orford, whom they acquitted in default of evidence. For the same reason they dismissed the articles which had been brought against lord Halifax, as well as the charge against Haversham. The earl of Portland, against whom no articles had been exhibited, was also released from his impeachment. Thus ended an affair which had filled the nation, as well as both houses, with clamour and confusion.

The grants of the session, for the current service, and the payment of arrears, exceeded two millions and a half. In providing for these demands, the commons appropriated, to the payment of interest upon loans, the weekly sum of three thousand seven hundred pounds out of the funds of the civil list, in consideration not only of the excess of that revenue above the estimate, but also of the non-payment of the proposed annuity of the royal disbursements which arose from the death of the duke of Gloucester. It was resolved by the house, in order to assist the Dutch, that twelve battalions should be brought from Ireland, and be augmented to the number of ten thousand men; and William's high opinion of the martial abilities of the earl of Marlborough induced him to confer on that nobleman the command of those troops. A considerable fleet being likewise equipped, sir George Rooke was appointed to the direction of it; and, in conjunction with a Dutch armament, he prepared to resist all aggression. When William had prorogued this turbulent parliament, on the 24th of June, he made preparations for his journey to the continent (*x*).

While the king was abroad, the zealots of the opposite factions had appealed to the public in a variety of fugitive

(*u*) Vid. Stat. 13 Gul. III. cap. 2.

(*v*) Elizabeth, the daughter of James I. having espoused the elector Palatine, who was, for a short time, king of Bohemia, had several children. Sophia, on whom the crown of England was now settled, was one of these. She was married, in 1658, to Earnest Augustus, a prince of the house of Brunswick, who afterwards became the first elector of Hanover. As the duchess of Savoy was grand-daughter of Charles I. and had therefore a better claim, in point of blood, than one who derived her pretensions from a sister of that monarch, she made a formal protestation against all the proceedings of the parliament to her prejudice; but her claim, and that of all other papists had been annulled by the act of settlement in 1689; and as the new bill was founded on the same basis, it could not be supposed that her allegation of an exploded demand would meet with the smallest regard.

(*w*) These proceedings were so strongly contested by the Whigs, that the vote which pronounced the delinquency of Somers was carried by a majority of only ten voices, and that against lord Halifax by twenty-three; but the earl of Orford had a majority of forty-five against him.

(*x*) On the 16th of September, this year, died the late king James; of whose death and character after his retreat to St. Germains we have already spoken.

pieces,

pieces, full of rancorous invectives. The majority of the people being inclined to a war, the Whigs, who were the grand promoters of it, prevailed in the contest. Their views were aided by the conduct of the French king, whose acknowledgement of the son of James had kindled a general flame in the nation. The hope of procuring a majority of the Whig party in the house of commons induced William to determine on a dissolution of the parliament; and on November the 11th, soon after his return from the continent, he issued a proclamation for that purpose, and for new elections. The contests for parliamentary seats were carried on with great eagerness and animosity; but the Tories prevailed, and a majority of that party obtained the advantage of election.

On the 31st of December, the new parliament assembled, and the lower house was divided about the choice of a speaker. The Tories having proposed Harley, he was re-chosen by a majority of four only, in preference to sir Thomas Littleton, who was favoured by the king and the Whigs. William declared his acquiescence; and then made a speech to the two houses. The acknowledgement of the pretended prince of Wales for king of England, he said, was the highest indignity to him and the nation, and so nearly concerned all true protestants and patriots, that they would necessarily reflect on the most effectual means of securing the succession in the protestant line, and "extinguishing the hopes of all pretenders, and their open or secret abettors." He intimated, that the French king, having become, by the medium of his grandson, the real master of the whole Spanish monarchy, had enabled himself to oppress the rest of Europe, unless speedy and energetic measures should be adopted; and that the advantage which that monarch was taking of his augmented power, would sensibly affect England with regard to her trade, her domestic peace and safety, and her concern in the preservation of general liberty. The eyes of all Europe, he added, were directed to this parliament; and all affairs were at a stand, till the resolution of this assembly should be known. There was yet an opportunity of securing the national religion and liberties, by an exertion of hereditary courage and vigour; but it was his opinion, that, if this occasion should be neglected, there was no reason to expect another. A great naval strength would be required, and a land force proportional to that of his allies. It was always with regret, he continued, that he requested pecuniary aids; but they were particularly necessary at this crisis; and he would take care that they should not be misapplied. He conjured both houses to lay aside those animosities by which they were unfortunately divided and weakened: and he hoped that no other distinction would prevail for the future, but of those who were attached to the protestant religion and the present establishment, and of those who wished for a popish prince and a French government.

In their addresses, in answer to the king's speech, presented in the beginning of January, 1702, both houses engaged to support their sovereign, and those whom the parliament had pronounced his heirs against all pretenders whatsoever. The parliament soon after proceeded to the consideration of supply. They voted forty thousand soldiers for the purpose of fulfilling the royal stipulations. For the naval service they voted an equal number of men. They authorized the lords of the treasury to borrow six hundred and fifty thousand pounds at the rate six *per cent.* and proceeded to the adjustment of other points of finance. They prepared a bill of attainder against the pretended prince of Wales; to which the lords added a clause for attainting the widow of James, who affected to exercise the authority of regent in the name of her son. The commons rejected the amendment, and the peers consented to the bill in its original state; and, though they passed a separate bill against the nominal regent, they could not obtain the assent of the lower house to it.

Several resolutions were likewise adopted, in support of the privileges of the commons; and the Whigs carried two others, in justification of the right of the people to petition the king with regard to parliaments, or for the redress of grievances, as well as of their claim to a speedy trial, whether under an impeachment or any other mode of accusation. The proceedings of the trustees for the Irish forfeitures also underwent some investigation; and the commons justified the behaviour of the trustees, who had been charged with an abuse of their power. In addition to the bill of attainder against the new head of the Jacobite party, the two houses prepared separate bills for the abjuration of that prince. That which the lords brought forward was suppressed by the commons; while that which originated among the latter was carried into effect; but it was not till after warm debates on some of the clauses that it was finally adopted.

The concurrence of both houses in the intended war gave great pleasure to the king, but his joy was soon terminated. For some months he had been in an ill state of health, though it did not disable him from hunting. In one of his excursions, on the 21st of February, he fell from his horse, and his right collar bone was broken by the fall. In the course of a week his recovery from this accident was announced, but in other respects he was still indisposed. Being incapable of a personal attendance in parliament, he commissioned some of the officers of state to signify his assent to the bills that were ready. Though a defluxion in one of his knees, a fever, and other complaints, successively assailed him, he still listened to the calls of public business, and ordered another commission. His indisposition becoming highly dangerous, he prepared for death with the same fortitude with which he had braved it in the field. Having received the sacrament from archbishop Tenison, and faintly conversed with his friends for the last time, he resigned his breath in the arms of one of his domestics, on the 8th of March, 1702. He was then in the fifty-second year of his age, and the fourteenth of his reign.

In his person, William was of a middle stature, a thin body, and a delicate constitution. He had an aquiline nose, sparkling eyes, a high forehead, and a grave solemn aspect. He was very sparing of speech; his conversation was dry, and his manner disgusting, except in battle, when his deportment was free, spirited, and animating. In courage, fortitude, and equanimity, he rivalled the most eminent warriors of antiquity; and his natural sagacity made amends for the defects in his education, which had not been properly superintended. He was religious, temperate, generally just and sincere, a stranger to violent transports of passion, and might have passed for one of the best princes of the age in which he lived, had he never ascended the throne of Great Britain. But the distinguishing criterion of his character was ambition. To this he sacrificed the punctilios of honour and decorum, in deposing his own father-in-law and uncle; and this he gratified at the expence of the nation that raised him to sovereign authority. He aspired to the honour of acting as umpire in all the contests of Europe; and the second object of his attention was, the prosperity of that country to which he owed his birth and extraction. Whether he really thought the interests of the Continent and Great Britain were inseparable, or sought only to drag England into the confederacy as a convenient ally, certain it is he involved these kingdoms in foreign connections, which in all probability, will be productive of their ruin. In order to establish this favourite point, he scrupled not to employ all the engines of corruption, by which the morals of the nation were totally debauched. He procured a parliamentary sanction for a standing army, which now seems to be interwoven in the constitution. He introduced the pernicious practice of borrowing upon remote funds; an expedient that necessarily hatched a brood of usurers, brokers, contractors, and stock jobbers, to prey upon the vitals of their country. He entailed upon the nation a growing debt, and a system of politics big with misery, despair, and destruction. To sum up his character in a few words, William was a predestinarian in religion; indefatigable in war, enterprizing in politics, dead to all the warm and generous emotions of the human heart, a cold relation, an indifferent husband, a disagreeable man, an ungracious prince, and an imperious sovereign. He, however, deserves our praise for his zealous encouragement of the liberal act of toleration (*y*).

(*y*) King William died without issue. By his will he bequeathed the principality of Orange, and his other possessions, to prince Friso of Nassau.

BOOK XI.

COMPRIZING THE REIGN OF QUEEN ANNE.

CHAPTER I.

THE exclusion of the catholic branch of the house of Stuart made way for the accession of the protestant heir of the family. This was Anne, the second daughter of the late king James, and the wife of George, the brother of Christian V. king of Denmark. She was now in the thirty-eighth year of her age; a princess of a mild disposition, and a virtuous deportment. Her ascension to the throne gave general satisfaction to all parties. Even the Jacobites seemed pleased with her elevation, on the supposition, that as in all probability she would leave no heirs of her own body, the dictates of natural affection would induce her to alter the succession in favour of her own brother. She had been taught to cherish warm sentiments of the Tories, whom she considered as the friends of monarchy, and the true sons of the church; and they had always professed an inviolable attachment to her person and interest; but her conduct was wholly influenced by the countess of Marlborough, a woman of an imperious temper, and intriguing genius, who had been intimate with the princess from her tender years, and gained a surprizing ascendency over her. Anne had undergone some strange vicissitudes of fortune in consequence of her father's expulsion, and sustained a variety of mortifications in the late reign, during which she conducted herself with discretion. She was zealously devoted to the church of England, from which her father had used some endeavours to detach her before the Revolution; and she lived in great harmony with her husband, to whom she bore six children, all of whom she had already survived. William had no sooner yielded up his breath, than the privy-council in a body waited on the new queen, who assured them, that no pains nor diligence should be wanting on her part, to preserve and support the religion, laws, and liberties of her country, to maintain the succession in the protestant line, and the government in church and state, as by law established. She declared her resolution to carry on the preparations for opposing the exorbitant power of France, and to assure the allies, that she would pursue the true interest of England, together with theirs, for the support of the common cause. The members of the privy-council having taken the oaths, she ordered a proclamation to be published, signifying her pleasure, that all persons in office of authority or government, at the decease of the late king, should so continue till further direction. By virtue of an act passed in the late reign, the parliament continued sitting even after the king's death. Both houses met immediately, and unanimously voted an address of condolence and congratulation; and, in the afternoon, the queen was proclaimed. Next day, the lords and commons severally attended her with an address, congratulating her majesty's accession to the throne; and assuring her of their resolution to support her against all her enemies whatsoever. The commons declared, they would maintain the succession of the crown in the protestant line, and effectually provide for the public credit of the nation. The addresses were graciously received by the queen, who, on the 11th of March, 1702, went to the house of peers with the usual solemnity, where, in a speech to both houses, she expressed her satisfaction at their unanimous concurrence with her opinion, that too much could not be done for the encouragement of their allies in humbling the power of France; and desired they would consider of proper methods towards obtaining an union between England and Scotland. She observed to the commons, that the revenue for defraying the expences of civil government was expired; and she relied entirely on their affection for its being supplied in such a manner as should be most suitable to the honour and dignity of the crown. She declared it should be her constant endeavour to make them the best return for their duty and affection, by a careful and diligent administration for the good of all her subjects. "And as I know my own heart to be entirely English (continued she) I can very sincerely assure you, there is not any thing you can expect or desire from me, which I shall not be ready to do for the happiness and prosperity of England; and you shall always find me a strict and religious observer of my word (*a*)." She received the thanks of both houses. Addresses of congratulation were presented by the bishop and clergy of London; by the dissenters in and about that city; and, by all the counties, cities, towns, and corporations of England, she declared her attachment to the church; she promised her protection to the dissenters, and received the compliments of all her subjects.

The house of commons gratified the queen by an unanimous vote, by which the revenues assigned for the civil list were secured to her for life. When the bill received the royal assent, she assured them, that one hundred thousand pounds of this revenue should be applied to the public service of the current year: at the same time, she passed another bill, for receiving and examining the public accounts. On the 24th of March, the oath of abjuration was taken by the speaker and members, according to an act for the further security of her majesty's person, and the succession of the crown in the protestant line, and for extinguishing the hopes of the pretended prince of Wales. The queen's inclination to the Tories plainly appeared in her choice of ministers. Doctor John Sharp, archbishop of York, became her director and counsellor in all ecclesiastical affairs. The earl of Rochester was continued lord-lieutenant of Ireland, and enjoyed a great share of her majesty's confidence: the privy-seal was entrusted to the marquis of Normanby: the earl of Nottingham and sir Charles Hedges were appointed secretaries of state: the earl of Abingdon, viscount Weymouth, lord Dartmouth, sir Christopher Musgrave, Grenville, Howe, Gower, and Harcourt, were admitted as members of the privy-council, together with sir Edward Seymour, now declared comptroller of the household. The lord Godolphin declined accepting the office of lord high treasurer, until he was over-ruled by the persuasions of Marlborough, to whose eldest daughter his son was married. This nobleman refused to command the forces abroad, unless the treasury should be put into the hands of Godolphin, on whose punctuality in point of remittances he knew he could depend. George prince of Denmark, was invested with the title of generalissimo of all the queen's forces by sea and land; and afterwards created lord high admiral, the earl of Pembroke having been dismissed from this office with the offer of a large pension, which he generously refused. Prince George, as admiral, was assisted by a council, of his own nominating, consisting of sir George Rooke, sir David Michel, George Churchill, and Richard Hill. Though the legality of this board was doubted, the parliament had such respect and veneration for the queen, that it was suffered to act without question.

The earl of Marlborough directed the queen in all her resolutions. Rochester proposed in council, that the English should avoid a declaration of war with France, and act as auxiliaries only. He was seconded by some other members: but the opinion of Marlborough preponderated. He observed, that the honour of the nation was concerned to fulfil the late king's engagements; and affirmed that France could never be reduced within due bounds, unless the English would enter as principals in the quarrel. The queen being resolved to declare war, communicated her intention to the commons, by whom it was approved; and on the 4th of May the declaration was solemnly proclaimed. The king of France did not, however, produce his declaration of war till the 3rd of July.

The commons, in compliance with the queen's desire, brought in a bill, empowering her majesty to name commissioners to treat with the Scots for an union of the two kingdoms. It met with warm opposition from sir Edward Seymour, and other Tory members; but the measure

(*a*) In this part of her speech the queen made an insinuation to William's prejudice, by saying that her heart was "entirely English:" and she alluded to him when she said, "you shall always find me a strict and religious observer of my word."


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seemed so necessary at that juncture, that the majority espoused the bill, which passed through both houses, and on the 6th of May received the royal assent, together with some bills of less importance. On the 21st of May, the commons advised her majesty to engage the emperor, the states-general, and her other allies, to join with her in prohibiting all intercourse with France and Spain; and to concert such measures with the states-general as might most effectually secure the trade of her subjects and allies. The lords presented another address, desiring the queen would encourage her subjects to equip privateers, as the preparations of the enemy seemed to be made for a piratical war, to the interruption of commerce: they likewise exhorted her majesty to grant commissions or charters to all persons who should make such acquisitions in the Indies, as she in her great wisdom should judge most expedient for the good of her kingdoms. On the 25th, the queen having passed several public and private bills, dismissed the parliament by prorogation, after having thanked them for their zeal, recommended unanimity, and declared she would carefully preserve and maintain the act of toleration.

A warm contest arose in Scotland, between the revolutioners and those in the opposition, concerning the existence of the present parliament. The queen had signified her accession to the throne, in a letter to her privy-council for Scotland, desiring they would continue to act in that office, until she should send a new commission. In the mean time she authorized them to publish a proclamation, ordering all officers of state, counsellors, and magistrates, to act in all things conformably to the commissions and instructions of his late majesty, until new commissions should be prepared. She likewise assured them of her firm resolution to protect them in their religion, laws, and liberties, and in the established government of the church. The queen had already taken the coronation oath for that kingdom in the presence of twelve Scottish counsellors; but this was objected to, as an irregular way of proceeding, and it was affirmed that the oath ought to have been tendered by persons deputed for that purpose, either by the parliament, or by the privy-council of that kingdom. A late act declared that the parliament then in being should continue six months after the death of the king, and that it should assemble in twenty days after that event; but the queen had, by several adjournments, deferred the meeting almost three months after the king's decease; which made the anti-revolutioners affirm that it was dissolved. According to the queen's last adjournment, the parliament met at Edinburgh on the 9th of June, the duke of Queensberry having been appointed high-commissioner. Before the queen's commission was read, the duke of Hamilton, for himself and his adherents, declared their satisfaction at her majesty's accession to the throne, not only on account of her undoubted right by descent, but likewise because of her many personal virtues and royal qualities. He said they were resolved to sacrifice their lives and fortunes in defence of her majesty's right against all her enemies whatever; but at the same time, they thought themselves bound in duty to give their opinion, that they were not warranted by law to sit and act as a parliament. The duke of Hamilton having read a paper shewing their dissent from the present proceedings of the parliament, withdrew with seventy-nine members, amidst the acclamations of the people. But the commissioners, who retained a much greater number, produced the queen's letter, signifying her resolution to maintain and protect her subjects in the full possession of their religion, laws, liberties, and the presbyterian discipline. She informed them of her having declared war against France; she exhorted them to provide competent supplies for maintaining such a number of forces as might be necessary to disappoint the designs of France; and earnestly recommended to their consideration an union of the two kingdoms. The lord advocate prosecuted the faculty of advocates before the parliament, for having passed a vote among themselves in favour of the protestation and address of the dissenting members. The faculty was severely reprimanded; but the whole nation seemed to resent the prosecution. The parliament passed an act for recognizing her majesty's royal authority; another for adjourning the court of judicature called the session; a third declaring this meeting of parliament legal, and forbidding any person to disown, quarrel, or impugn the dignity and authority thereof, under the penalty of high-treason; a fourth for securing the true protestant religion and presbyterian church government; a fifth for a land-tax; and a sixth enabling her majesty to appoint commissioners for an union between the two kingdoms.

The earl of Marchmont, of his own accord, and even contrary to the advice of the high-commissioner brought in a bill for abjuring the pretended prince of Wales; but this was not supported by the court party, as the commissioner had no instructions how to act on the occasion. On the 30th of June, the commissioner adjourned the parliament, after having thanked them for their chearfulness and unanimity in their proceedings; and the chiefs of the opposite parties hastened to London to make their different representations to the queen and her ministry. In the mean time, she appointed commissioners for treating about the union; and they met at the Cockpit on the 22nd of October. On the 20th of the next month, they adjusted preliminaries, importing, That nothing agreed on among themselves should be binding, except ratified by her majesty and the respective parliaments of both nations; and that, unless all the heads proposed for the treaty were agreed to, no particular thing agreed on should be binding. The queen visited them in December, in order to quicken their mutual endeavours. They agreed, that the two kingdoms should be inseparably united into one monarchy under her majesty, her heirs, and successors, and under the same limitations, according to the acts of settlement: but, when the Scottish commissioners proposed that the rights and privileges of their company trading to Africa and the Indies should be preserved and maintained, such a difficulty arose as could not be surmounted, and no further progress was made in this commission. The tranquillity of Ireland was not interrupted by any new commotion. That kingdom was ruled by justices whom the earl of Rochester had appointed; and the Trustees for the forfeited estates maintained their authority.

While Britain was engaged in these civil transactions, her allies were not idle on the continent. The old duke of Zell, and his nephew, the elector of Brunswick, surprized the dukes of Wolfenbuttle and Saxe-Gotha, whom they compelled to renounce their attachments to France, and concur in the common-councils of the empire. Thus the North of Germany was re-united to the interest of the confederates; and the princes would have been in a condition to assist them effectually, had not the neighbourhood of the war in Poland deterred them from parting with their forces. England and the States-General endeavoured in vain to mediate a peace between the kings of Sweden and Poland. Charles was become enamoured of war, and ambitious of conquest. He threatened to invade Saxony through the dominions of Prussia. Augustus retired to Cracow, while Charles penetrated to Warsaw, and even ordered the cardinal-primate to summon a diet for choosing a new king. The situation of affairs, at this juncture, was far from being favourable to the allies. The court of Vienna had tampered in vain with the elector of Bavaria, who made use of this negociation to raise his terms with Louis. His brother, the elector of Cologn, admitted French garrisons into Liege, and all his places on the Rhine. The elector of Saxony was too hard pressed by the king of Sweden, to spare his full proportion of troops to the allies: the king of Prussia was over-awed by the vicinity of the Swedish conqueror: the duke of Savoy had joined his forces to those of France, and over-run the whole state of Milan; and the pope, though he professed a neutrality, evinced himself strongly biassed to the French interests.

The war was begun in the name of the elector Palatine with the siege of Keiserswaert, which was invested in April by the prince of Nassau-Saarburgh, mareschal-du-camp to the emperor: under this officer the Dutch troops served as auxiliaries, because war had not yet been declared by the States General. The French garrison made a desperate defence. They worsted the besiegers in divers sallies, and maintained the place until it was reduced to a heap of ashes. At lengh the allies made a general attack upon the counterscrap and ravelin, which they carried after a very obstinate engagement, with the loss of two thousand men. Then the garrison capitulated on honourable terms, and the fortifications were razed. During this siege, which lasted from the 18th of April to the middle of June, count Tallard posted himself on the opposite side of the Rhine, from whence he supplied the town with fresh troops and ammunition, and annoyed the besiegers with his artillery: but finding it impossible to save the place, he joined the grand army, commanded by the duke of Burgundy in the Netherlands. The siege of Keiserswaert was covered by a body of Dutch troops under the earl of Athlone, who

lay

lay encamped in the duchy of Cleve. Meanwhile general Coehorn, at the head of another detachment, entered Flanders, demolished the French lines between the forts of Donat and Isabella, and laid the chatellaine of Bruges under contribution; but a considerable body of French troops advancing under the marquis de Bedmar, and the count de la Motte, he overflowed the country, and retired under the walls of Sluys. The duke of Burgundy, who had taken the command of the French army under Boufflers, encamped at Zanten, near Cleve, and laid a scheme for surprising Nimeguen; in which, however, he was baffled by the vigilance and activity of Athlone, who, guessing his design, marched thither, and encamped under the cannon of the town. In the beginning of June, Landau was invested by prince Louis of Baden; in July, the king of the Romans arrived in the camp of the besiegers, with such pomp and magnificence as exhausted his father's treasury. On the 9th of September, the citadel was taken by assault; and then the town surrendered.

When the earl of Marlborough arrived in Holland, the earl of Athlone in quality of veldt-mareschal, insisted upon an equal command with the English general: but the States obliged him to yield this point in favour of Marlborough, whom they declared generalissimo of all their forces. In the beginning of July he repaired to the camp at Nimeguen, where he assembled an army of sixty thousand men. On the 16th he passed the Maese, and encamped at Over-asselt, within two leagues and a half of the enemy, who had entrenched themselves between Goch and Gedap. He was afterwards joined by the British train of artillery from Holland. On the 2nd of August, he advanced to Petit-Brugel, and the French retired before him, leaving Spanish Guelderland to his discretion. The duke of Burgundy finding himself obliged to retreat before the allied army, returned to Versailles, leaving the command to Boufflers, who lost the confidence of Louis by the ill success of this campaign. The earl of Marlborough detached General Scultz with a body of troops to reduce the town and castle of Werk, which were surrendered after a slight resistance. In the beginning of September he undertook the siege of Venlo, which capitulated on the 25th of the month, after fort St. Michael had been stormed and taken by lord Cutts, and the English volunteers, among whom the young earl of Huntingdon distinguished himself by very extraordinary acts of valour. Then the general invested Ruremonde, which he reduced after a very obstinite defence, together, with the fort of Stevenswaert, situated on the same river. Boufflers, confounded at the rapidity of Marlborough's success, retired towards Liege, in order to cover that city; but at the approach of the confederates, he retired with precipitation. When the earl of Marlborough arrived at Liege, he found the suburbs of St. Walburgh had been set on fire by the French garrison, who had retired into the citadel and the chartreux. The allies took immediate possession of the city; and in a few days opened the trenches against the citadel, which was taken by assault. Three hundred thousand florins in gold and silver were found in the citadel, besides notes for above one million, drawn upon substantial merchants in Liege, who paid the money. Immediately after this exploit, the garrison of the Chartreux capitulated on honourable terms, and were conducted to Antwerp. By the success of this campaign, the earl of Marlborough raised his military character above all censure, and confirmed himself in the entire confidence of the States-general, who, in the beginning of the season, had trembled for Nimeguen, and now saw the enemy driven back into their own dominions.

The army breaking up in November, the general repaired to Maestricht, from whence he proposed to return to the Hague by water. Accordingly, he embarked in a large boat, with five-and-twenty soldiers, under the command of a lieutenant. The boat was seized by a small French party on its passage, and the crew made prisoners. The earl of Marlborough was accompanied by general Opdam, and Mynheer Gueldermalsel, one of the deputies, who were provided with passports. The earl had neglected this precaution; but recollecting he had an old passport for his brother general Churchill, he produced it without emotion; and the French partizan was in such confusion that he never examined the date. Nevertheless, he rifled their baggage, carried off the guard as prisoners, and allowed the boat to proceed. An imperfect account of this affair was sent to Holland; and the States forthwith assembling, resolved that all their forces should march immediately to Gueldres, and threaten the garrison of the place with the utmost extremities, unless they would deliver the general. But, before these orders could be dispatched, the earl arrived at the Hague.

The French arms were not quite so unfortunate on the Rhine as in Flanders. The elector of Bavaria surprized the city of Ulm in Suabia, by a stratagem, and then declared for France, which had by this time complied with all his demands. The diet of the empire assembled at Ratisbon resolved to declare war in the name of the empire, against the French king and the duke of Anjou, for having invaded several fiefs of the empire in Italy, the archbishopric of Cologn, and the diocese of Liege: and they forbad the ministers of Bavaria and Cologn to appear in the general diet. In vain did these powers protest against their proceedings. The empire's declaration of war was published and notified, in the name of the diet, to the cardinal of Limberg, the emperor's commissioner. Meanwhile the French made themselves masters of Neuburgh, in the circle of Suabia, while Louis, prince of Baden, being weakened by sending off detachments, was obliged to lie inactive in his camp near Fridlinguen. The French army was divided into two bodies, commanded by the marquis de Villars and the count de Guiscard; and the prince, thinking himself in danger of being enclosed by the enemy, resolved to decamp. Villars immediately passed the Rhine, to fall upon him in his retreat; and an obstinate engagement ensuing, the Imperialists were overpowered by numbers. The prince, having lost two thousand men, abandoned the field of battle to the enemy, together with his baggage, artillery, and ammunition, and retired towards Stauffen, without being pursued. The next day the town of Fridlinguen surrendered. The prince being joined by some troops under general Thugen, and other reinforcements, resolved to give battle to the enemy: but Villars declined an engagement, and repassed the Rhine. Towards the latter end of October, count Tallard, and the marquis de Lomaire, with a body of eighteen thousand men, reduced Triers and Traerbach: on the other hand, the prince of Hesse Cassel, with a detachment from the allied army at Liege, retook from the French the towns of Zinch, Lintz, Brisac, and Andernach.

In Italy, prince Eugene laboured under a total neglect of the Imperial court, where his enemies, on pretence of supporting the king of the Romans in his first campaign, weaned the emperor's attention entirely from his affairs on the other side of the Alps; so that he left his best army to moulder away for want of recruits and reinforcements. The Prince, thus abandoned, could not prevent the duke de Vendome from relieving Mantua, and was obliged to relinquish some other places he had taken. Philip king of Spain, being inspired with the ambition of putting an end to the war in this country, sailed in person for Naples, where he was visited by the cardinal-legate, with a compliment from the pope; yet he could not obtain the investiture of the kingdom from his holiness. Philip proceeded from Naples to Final, under convoy of the French fleet, which had brought him to Italy: here he had an interview with the duke of Savoy, who began to be alarmed at the prospect of the king's being master of the Milanese; and in a letter to the duke de Vendome, he forbade him to engage prince Eugene until he himself should arrive in the camp. Prince Eugene understanding that the French army intended to attack Luzzara and Guastalla, passed the Po, with an army of about half the number of the enemy, and posted himself behind the dyke of Zero, in such a manner that the French were ignorant of his situation. The prince attacked them with great vivacity, in hopes of disordering their line, which gave way in several places: but night interposing, he was obliged to desist; and in a few days the French reduced Luzzara and Guastalla. The prince, however, maintained his post, and Philip returned to Spain, without having obtained any considerable advantage.

The French king employed all his artifice and intrigues in raising up new enemies against the confederates. He is said to have bribed count Mansfield, president of the council of war at Vienna, to withhold the supplies from prince Eugene in Italy. At the Ottoman Porte he had actually gained over the Visir who engaged to renew the war with the emperor. But the Mufti and all the other great officers were averse to this design, and the Visir fell a sacrifice to their resentment. Louis continued to embroil the kingdom of Poland by means of the cardinal primate. The young king of Sweden advanced to Lissau,

where he defeated Augustus. Then he took possession of Cracow, and raised contributions; nor could he be persuaded to retreat, although the Muscovites and Lithuanians had ravaged Liconia, and even made an irruption into Sweden.

The operations of the combined squadrons at sea did not fully answer the expectations of the public. On the 12th of May, sir John Munden sailed with twelve ships, to intercept a French squadron, which he chased on the 28th into the harbour of Corunna. The French fleet consisted of fourteen sail. Sir John was tried by a court-martial, and acquitted; but was shortly after dismissed from the service by prince George. An attempt was also made upon Cadiz, by sea and land, sir George Rooke commanding the navy, and the duke of Ormond the land forces; but this likewise miscarried. The combined fleet under sir George Rooke consisted of fifty ships of the line, beside frigates, fire-ships, and smaller vessels: the land forces amounted to fourteen thousand men. But the English arms were crowned with success at Vigo, where the duke of Ormond landed with about two thousand five hundred men, at the distance of six miles from the city; while the fleet forced its way into the harbour. After a very vigorous engagement, the French resolved to destroy their ships and galleons, that they might not fall into the hands of the English. They accordingly burned and run ashore eight ships and as many advice boats; but ten ships of war were taken, and eleven galleons. Though they had secured the best part of their plate and merchandize before the English fleet arrived, the value of fourteen millions of pieces of eight, in plate and rich commodities, was destroyed in six galleons that perished; and about half that value was brought off by the conquerors. This was a dreadful blow to the enemy, and a noble acquisition to the allies. Immediately after this exploit, sir George Rooke was joined by sir Cloudesley Shovel, who had been sent out with a squadron to intercept the galleons. This officer was left to bring home the prizes and dismantle the fortifications, while Rooke returned in triumph to England.

But the advantage which was acquired by this expedition was tarnished by the base conduct of some officers in the West Indies. Admiral Benbow, a bold rough seaman, had been stationed in that part of the world with a fleet of ten ships, that he might distress the trade of the enemy. Being informed that Mons. Du Casse, the French admiral, was in those seas with a force equal to his own, he resolved to attack him, and on the 19th of August he discovered the enemy's squadron near St. Martha. He quickly gave orders to his captains, formed the line of battle, and the engagement began. He found, however, that the rest of the fleet had taken some disgust at his conduct, and that they permitted him, almost alone, to sustain the whole fire of the enemy. Nevertheless the engagement continued till night, and he determined to renew it the next morning; but he had the mortification to perceive that all the rest of the ships had fallen back, except one, the Ruby, which joined with him in urging the pursuit of the enemy. For four days did this intrepid seaman, assisted only by one ship, pursue and engage the enemy, while his cowardly officers, at a distance behind, remained spectators of his activity. His last day's battle, that of the 24th, was more furious than all the former: alone, and unsustained by the rest, he engaged the whole French squadron, when his leg was shattered by a chain-shot. He then ordered that he should be placed in a cradle upon the quarter deck; and there he continued to give orders as before, till at last his ship became quite disabled, and was unfit to continue the chase any longer (*b*). He soon after died of his wounds; and his cowardly associates, Kirby and Wade, were tried by a court-martial, and sentenced to be shot. Hudson of the Pendennis died before his trial. Constable, Vincent, and Fogg, (the admiral's own captain,) came off with slighter punishment. Kirby and Wade were sent home in the Bristol man of war; and on their arrival at Plymouth, were shot on board that ship, by virtue of a warrant for their immediate execution, which had lain there for some time.

The next parliament which was convened by the queen, was highly pleased with the glare of success which attended the English arms on the continent. The house of commons was mostly made up of the Tories, and consequently much more liberal in their supplies than a Whig parliament would have been. They voted forty thousand seamen, and the like number of land-forces, to act in conjunction with those of the allies. It was never considered how little necessary these great efforts were either to the happiness, or the protection of the people; they were exerted against the French, and that was an answer to every demand. A short time after, the queen gave the commons to understand, that the allies pressed her to augment her forces. The commons were as ready to grant as she to demand, and it was resolved that ten thousand men more should be added to the army on the continent, but upon condition that the Dutch should break off all commerce with France and Spain. The Dutch complied without hesitation; sensible that while England fought their battles, they might a little relax in their commercial concerns.

In the beginning of April, 1704, the duke of Marlborough crossed the sea, and assembling the allied army, resolved to shew that his former successes only spurred him on to new triumphs. He opened the campaign with the siege of Bonne, the residence of the elector of Cologne. This place held out but a short time against the repeated attacks of the prince of Hesse Cassel, the celebrated Coehorn, and general Fagel. He next retook Huy; the garrison of which, after a vigorous defence, surrendered prisoners of war. The siege of Limburg being then undertaken, the place surrendered in two days; and, by the surrender of this place, the allies secured the country of Liege, and the electorate of Cologne, from the designs of the enemy. Such was the result of the campaign in the Netherlands, which, in all probability, would have produced events of greater importance, if the duke of Marlborough had not been restrained by the Dutch, who began to be influenced by the Lovestein faction, ever averse to a war with France.

In the next campaign the duke was resolved to act more offensively; and, being furnished with proper powers from the queen, he informed the Dutch that it was his intention to march to the relief of the empire, which had been for some time oppressed by the French forces. The states general, either willing to second his efforts, or fearing to weaken the alliance by distrust, gave him full powers to march as he thought proper, with assurances of their assistance in all his endeavours.

The French king, perceiving the motions of the allies, appointed marshal Villeroi (*c*) to head the army of opposition; for Boufflers was no longer thought an equal to the enterprizing Marlborough, who was peculiarly circumspect in studying the disposition and abilities of the general he was to oppose. Having no very great fears from his present antagonist, instead of going forward to meet him, he flew to the succour of the emperor, as had been already agreed at the commencement of the campaign. The English general, who was resolved to strike a vigorous blow for his relief, took with him abont thirteen thousand English troops, traversed extensive countries by hasty marches, arrived at the banks of the Danube, defeated a body of French and Bavarians, stationed at Donavert to oppose him, then passed the Danube with his triumphant army, and laid the dukedom of Bavaria, that had sided with the enemy, under contribution. Villeroi, who at first attempted to follow his motions, seemed all at once to have lost sight of his enemy; nor was he apprized of his route, till informed of his successes. Marshal Tallard prepared by a different route to obstruct the duke of Marlborough's retreat with an army of thirty thousand men. He was soon after joined by the duke of Bavaria's forces;

(*b*) When one of his lieutenants expressed his sorrow for the loss of the admiral's leg, "I am sorry for it too, (replied the gallant Benbow,) but I had rather have lost them both than have seen this dishonour brought upon the English nation. But, do you hear? if another shot should take me off, behave like brave men, and fight it out." When Du Casse arrived at Carthagena, he wrote a letter to Benbow to this effect:

"SIR,

"I had little hope on Monday last but to have supped in your cabin; but it pleased God to order it otherwise. I am thankful for it. As for those cowardly captains, who deserted you, hang them up; for, by God, they deserve it,

Your's, DU CASSE."

(*c*) Marshal Villeroi was son to the king of France's governor, and had been educated with that monarch. He had always been the favourite of Louis, and had long been a sharer in his amusements, his campaigns, and his glory. He was brave, generous, and polite, but unequal to the great task of commanding an army; and still more so, when opposed to so great a rival as the duke of Marlborough.

so that the French army in that part of the continent amounted to sixty thousand veterans, and commanded by two of the best reputed generals then in France.

Marshal Tallard had established his reputation by many former victories; he was active and penetrating, and had risen by his merits alone to the first station in the army: but his ardour often rose to impetuosity; and he was so extremely short-sighted, as to be altogether incapable of distinguishing objects at a very small distance. The duke of Bavaria was equally experienced in the field, and had still stronger motives for his activity. His country was ravaged and pillaged before his eyes, and nothing remained of his possessions but the army which he commanded. It was in vain that he sent entreaties to the enemy to stop the fury of their incursions, and to spare his people; the only answer he received was, that it lay in his own power to make his enemies friends, by alliance or submission. To oppose these powerful generals, Marlborough was now joined by a body of thirty thousand men, under the conduct of prince Eugene, whose troops were well disciplined, but they were still more formidable by the fame and conduct of their generals. Prince Eugene had been bred up from his infancy in camps; he was almost equal to Marlborough in intrigue, and his superior in the art of war. Their talents were of a similar kind; and instead of any mean rivalship or jealousy between such eminent persons, they concurred in the same designs; for the same good sense determined them always to the same object.

This allied army, with Eugene and Marlborough at their head, amounted to about fifty-five thousand men. The French amounted to sixty thousand. Both armies after many marchings and counter marchings, approached each other. The French were posted on a hill near the town of Hochstadt: their right covered by the Danube, and the village Blenheim; their left by the village of Lutzengen; and their front by a rivulet, the banks of which were steep, and the bottom marshy. Notwithstanding these difficulties, the generals resolved to attack them immediately, rather than lie inactive until their forage and provision should be consumed. They were moreover stipulated to this hazardous enterprize, by an intercepted letter to the elector of Bavaria from mareschal Villeroi, giving him to understand, that he had received orders to ravage the country of Wirtemberg, and intercept all communication between the Rhine and the allied army. The disposition being made for the attack, and the orders communicated to the general officers, the forces advanced into the plain on the 13th of August, 1704, and were ranged in order of battle. The cannonading began about nine in the morning, and continued on both sides till one in the afternoon. Mareschal Tallard commanded on the right, and posted seven-and-twenty battalions, with twelve squadrons, in the village of Blenheim, supposing that there the allies would make their chief effort: their left was conducted by the elector of Bavaria, assisted by Marsin, a French general of experience and capacity. The number of the confederates did not exceed fifty-five thousand: their right was under the direction of prince Eugene, and their left commanded by the duke of Marlborough. At noon the action was begun by a body of English and Hessians, under major-general Dilkes, who, having passed the rivulet with difficulty, and filed off to the left in the face of the enemy, attacked the village of Blenheim with great vigour; but were repulsed after three successive attempts. Meanwhile the troops in the centre, and part of the right wing, passed the rivulet on planks in different places; and formed on the other side without any molestation from the enemy. At length, however, they were charged by the French horse with such impetuosity, and so terribly galled in flank by the troops posted at Blenheim, that they fell in disorder, and part of them repassed the rivulet: but a reinforcement of dragoons coming up, the French cavalry were broke in their turn, and driven to the very hedges of the village of Blenheim. The left wing of the confederates being now completely formed, ascended the hill in a firm, compact body, charging the enemy's horse, which could no longer stand their ground, but rallied several times as they gave way. Tallard, in order to make a vigorous effort, ordered ten battalions to fill up the intervals of his cavalry. The duke perceiving his design, sent three battalions of the troops of Zell to sustain his horse. Nevertheless the line was a little disordered by the prodigious fire from the French infantry, and even obliged to recoil about sixty paces: but the confederates advancing to the charge with redoubled ardour, routed the French horse; and their battalions being thus abandoned, were cut in pieces. Tallard having rallied his broken cavalry behind some tents that were still standing, resolved to draw off the troops he had posted in the village of Blenheim, and sent an aide-du-camp to Marsin, who was with the elector of Bavaria on the left, to desire he would face the confederates with some troops to the right of the village of Oberklau, so as to keep them in play, and favour the retreat of the forces from Blenheim. That officer assured him, he was so far from being in a condition to spare troops, that he could hardly maintain his ground. The fate of the day was now more than half decided. The French cavalry being vigorously attacked in flank were totally defeated. Part of them endeavoured to gain the bridge which they had drawn over the Danube between Hochstadt and Blenheim; but they were so closely pursued, that those who escaped the slaughter threw themselves into the river, where they perished. Tallard, being surrounded was taken near a mill, behind the village of Sonderen, together with the marquis de Montperouz, general of horse, the major-generals de Seppeville, de Silly, de la Valiere, and many other officers of distinction. Whilst these occurrences passed on the left wing, Marsin's quarters, at the village of Oberklau, in the centre, were attacked by ten battalions, under the prince of Holsteinbeck, who passed the rivulet with undaunted resolution: but, before he could form his men on the other side, he was overpowered by numbers, mortally wounded, and taken prisoner. His battalions being supported by some Danish and Hanoverian cavalry, renewed the charge, and were again repulsed: at length the duke of Marlborough, in person, brought up some fresh squadrons from the body of reserve, and compelled the enemy to retire. By this time prince Eugene had obliged the left wing of the enemy to give ground, after having surmounted a great number of difficulties, sustained a very obstinate opposition, and seen his cavalry, in which his chief strength seemed to lie, three times repulsed. The duke of Marlborough had no sooner defeated the right wing, than he made a disposition to reinforce the prince, when he understood from an aide-du-camp, that his highness had no occasion for assistance; and that the elector with Monsieur de Marsin had abandoned Oberklau and Luteingen. They were pursued as far as the villages of Morselingen and Teissenhoven, from whence they retreated to Dillengen and Lawingen. The confederates being now masters of the field of battle, surrounded the village of Blenheim, in which, as we have already observed, seven-and-twenty battalions and twelve squadrons were posted. These troops, seeing themselves cut off from all communication with the rest of their army, and despairing of being able to force their way through the allies, capitulated about eight in the evening, laid down their arms, delivered their colours and standards, and surrendered themselves prisoners of war, on condition that the officers should not be rifled. This was one of the most glorious and complete victories that ever was obtained. Ten thousand French and Bavarians were left dead on the field of battle: the greater part of thirty squadrons of horse and dragoons perished in the river Danube: thirteen thousand were made prisoners: one hundred pieces of cannon were taken, and twenty-four mortars, one hundred and twenty-nine colours, one hundred and seventy-one standards, seventeen pair of kettle-drums, three thousand six hundred tents, four and thirty coaches, three hundred laden mules, two bridges of boats, fifteen pontoons, fifteen barrels and eight casks filled with silver. Of the allies, about four thousand five hundred men were killed, and about eight thousand wounded or taken. The loss of the battle was imputed to two capital errors committed by mareschal Tallard; namely, his weakening the centre, by detaching such a number of troops to the village of Blenheim, and his suffering the confederates to pass the rivulet, and form unmolested. Certain it is, these circumstances contributed to the success of the duke of Marlborough, who rode through the hottest of the fire with the calmest intrepidity, giving his orders with that presence of mind and deliberation which were so peculiar to his character. When he next day visited Tallard, he told that general, he was sorry such a misfortune should happen personally to one, for whom he had a profound esteem. The mareschal congratulated him on having vanquished the best troops in the world; a compliment to which the duke replied,

plied, that he thought his own the best troops in the world, seeing they had conquered those upon whom the mareschal had bestowed such an encomium.

The victorious generals having by this decisive stroke saved the house of Austria from entire ruin, and entirely changed the face of affairs in the empire, signified their opinion to prince Louis of Baden, that it would be for the advantage of the common cause to join all their forces, and drive the French out of Germany, rather than lose time at the siege of Ingoldstadt, which would surrender of course. The opinion was confirmed by the conduct of the French garrison at Augsburg, who quitted that place on the 16th of August. The magistrates sent a deputation, craving the protection of the duke of Marlborough, who forthwith ordered a detachment to take possession of that important city. The duke having sent mareschal de Tallard under a guard of dragoons to Frankfort, and disposed of the other prisoners of distinction in the adjacent places, encamped at Sefillingen, within half a league of Ulm. Here he held a conference with the princes Eugene and Louis of Baden, in which they agreed that, as the enemy retreated towards the Rhine the confederate army should take the same route, excepting three-and-twenty battalions and some squadrons, to be left for the siege of Ulm, under general Thungen. They began their march on the 26th of August, by different routes, to the general rendezvous at Bruschal, near Philipsburg. Then they resolved, that prince Louis of Baden should undertake the siege of Landau, in order to secure the circle of Suabia from the incursions of that garrison. Considering the consternation that prevailed all over France, nothing could be more impolitic than this measure, which gave the enemy time for recollection, and recruiting their forces. It was a proposal on which the prince of Baden insisted with uncommon obstinacy. He was even suspected of corruption. He was jealous of the glory which the duke of Marlborough had acquired, and such a bigoted papist, that he repined at the success of an heretical general. On the 12th of September he marched towards Landau with the troops destined for the siege, and the duke of Marlborough, with prince Eugene, encamped at Croon Weissenburg, to cover the enterprize. By this time Ulm had surrendered to Thungen, even before the trenches were opened. Villeroi advanced with his army towards Landau, as if he had intended to attack the confederates; but retired without having made any attempt for the relief of the place, which was defended with the most obstinate valour till the 23rd of November, when the besiegers having lodged themselves on the counterscarp, the breaches being practicable, and the dispositions made for a general assault, the garrison capitulated upon honourable conditions. The king of the Romans had arrived in the camp, that he might have the credit of taking the place, the command of which he bestowed on the count de Frize, who had before defended it with equal courage and ability.

The next enterprize which the confederates undertook, was the siege of Traerbach. The hereditary prince of Hesse-Cassel being entrusted with the directions of the attacks, invested the castle in the beginning of November. Though it was strongly fortified, and well defended, he carried on his operations with such spirit and assiduity, that in about six weeks the garrison surrendered the place on honourable terms. In the mean time the duke of Marlborough repaired to Berlin, where he negociated for a reinforcement of eight thousand Prussians, to serve under prince Eugene in Italy during the next campaign. Thence he proceeded to the court of Hanover, where, as in all other places, he was received with particular marks of distinction. When he arrived at the Hague, he was congratulated by the states general on his victories at Schellenberg and Blenheim, and as much considered in Holland as if he had been actually stadtholder. He had received a second letter from the emperor, couched in the warmest terms of acknowledgment, and was declared prince of the empire. In December he embarked for England, where he found the people in a transport of joy, and was welcomed as a hero who had retrieved the glory of the nation.

Nothing of consequence was executed in Flanders, except the bombardment of the towns of Bruges and Namur. In Italy the French met with no opposition, and the duke of Savoy was compelled in some measure to lie inactive. By a revolution which took place at the Ottoman Porte, the emperor of Germany was considerably alarmed; but his fears were removed by a chiaus being dispatched to Vienna, in which the new sultan declared he would not give any assistance to the malcontents of Hungary. In Poland, the diet being assembled by the cardinal primate, Stanislaus Lezinski, palatine of Posnania, was elected and proclaimed king, and recognized by Charles of Sweden, who was more intent upon the ruin of Augustus than upon the preservation of his own dominions. The protestants of the Cevennois, deriving courage from despair, became so troublesome to the French government, that Louis was obliged to treat them with lenity. The marshal Villars commenced a negociation with them by order of the French king, and a formal treaty was concluded, in which they were indulged with liberty of conscience; but the articles were ill observed on the part of the king.

The arms of England were not less fortunate by sea, than they had been on the Danube. Sir George Rooke having landed king Charles at Lisbon, sent a squadron to cruise off Cape Spartell, under the command of rear admiral Dilkes, who, on the 12th of March, engaged and took three Spanish ships of war, bound from St. Sebastian to Cadiz. Rooke received orders from the queen to sail to the relief of Nice and Villa Franca, which were threatened with a siege by the duke de Vendome. The ministry of England understanding also that the French were equipping a strong squadron at Brest, and judging it destined to act in the Mediterranean, sent sir Cloudesley Shovel with a considerable fleet, to watch the motions of that squadron; and he was provided with instructions how to act, in case it should be sailed to the Mediterranean. On the 16th of June, sir George Rooke, being joined by sir Cloudesley Shovel, resolved to proceed up the Mediterranean in quest of the French fleet, which had sailed thither from Brest, and which Rooke had actually discovered, in the preceding month, on their voyage to Toulon. On the 17th of July the admiral called a council of war in the road of Tetuan, when they resolved to make an attempt upon Gibraltar, which was but slenderly provided with a garrison. Thither they sailed, and on the 21st of the month the prince of Hesse landed on the isthmus with eighteen hundred marines: then he summoned the governor to surrender, and was answered, that the place would be defended to the last extremity. Next day the admiral gave orders for cannonading the town: perceiving that the enemy were driven from their fortifications at the south mole head, he commanded captain Whitaker to arm all the boats and assault that quarter. The captains Hicks and Jumper, who happened to be nearest the mole, immediately manned their pinnaces, and entered the fortifications sword in hand. The Spaniards sprung a mine, by which two lieutenants, and about a hundred men, were killed or wounded. Nevertheless, the two captains took possession of a platform, and kept their ground until they were sustained by captain Whitaker, and the rest of the seamen, who took by storm a redoubt between the mole and the town. The governor then capitulated; and the prince of Hesse entered the place, amazed at the success of this attempt, considering the strength of the fortifications, which might have been defended by fifty men against a numerous army.

The admiral having left a sufficient garrison with his highness, returned to Tetuan, to take in wood and water; and when he sailed, on the 9th of August, he descried the French fleet, to which he gave chase with all the sail he could spread. On the 13th he came up with it, as it lay in a line off Malaga ready to receive him, to the number of two-and-fifty great ships, and four-and-twenty galleys, under the command of the count de Thoulouse, high admiral of France, with the inferior flags of the white and blue divisions. The English fleet consisted of three-and-fifty ships of the line, exclusive of frigates; but they were inferior to the French in number of guns and men, as well as in weight of metal, and altogether unprovided with gallies, from which the enemy reaped great advantage during the engagement. A little after ten in the morning, the battle began, with equal fury on both sides, and continued to rage with doubtful success till two in the afternoon, when the van of the French gave way: nevertheless the fight was maintained till night, when the enemy bore away to leeward. The wind shifting before morning, the French gained the weather-gage: but they made no use of this advantage: for two successive days the English admiral endeavoured to renew the engagement, which the count de Thoulouse declined, and at last he disappeared. The loss was pretty equal on both sides, though not a single ship was taken or destroyed by either: but the honour of the day certainly remained with the English. The bottoms of the British fleet were foul, and several large ships had

had expended all their shot long before the battle ceased: yet the enemy were so roughly handled, that they did not venture another engagement during the whole war. The French king also claimed the victory, and published an account of the action, which was full of false and partial representations. After the battle, sir George Rooke sailed to Gibraltar to refit, and leaving a squadron with sir John Leake, set sail for England on the 24th of August. He arrived in September, and was received by the ministry, and the people in general, with those marks of esteem and veneration which were due to his long services and signal success: but he was still persecuted with a spirit of envy and detraction. Philip king of Spain, alarmed at the reduction of Gibraltar, sent the marquis de Valladarias with an army to retake it. The siege lasted four months, during which the prince of Hesse exhibited many shining proofs of courage and ability. The place was supplied with men and provisions by convoys from Lisbon, until Monsieur de Pointis put a stop to that communication, by entering the bay with a strong squadron; but he was obliged to retire at the approach of sir John Leake and admiral Vanderdussen; and the marquis de Villadarias, having made little or no progress on land, thought proper to abandon the enterprize.

The parliament meeting on the 29th of October, the queen, in her speech, observed that the great and remarkable success with which God had blessed her arms produced unanimous joy and satisfaction through all parts of the kingdom; and that a timely improvement of the present advantages would enable her to procure a lasting foundation of security for England, as well as a firm support for the liberty of Europe. She declared her intention was to be kind and indulgent to all her subjects. She expressed her hope that they would do nothing to endanger the loss of this opportunity; and that there would be no contention among them, but an emulation to promote the public welfare. Congratulatory addresses were voted and presented by both houses. They were equal in their professions of duty and affection to the queen; but the addresses imbibed a very different colour from the different factions by which the two houses were influenced. The lords congratulated her on the great and glorious success of her arms under the command of the duke of Marlborough, without deigning to mention sir George Rooke, who had defeated the French navy at sea, and added the important fortress of Gibraltar to the British conquests. On the other hand, the commons affected to mention the battle of Blenheim, and Rooke's naval victory, as events of equal glory and importance. However they might be warped by prejudice against individuals, they did not suffer the war to languish for want of supplies. Having taken into consideration the services of the army and navy, they voted that the queen should be desired to bestow her bounty on the seamen and land-forces who had behaved themselves so gallantly. They then deliberated upon the different articles of national expence, and granted four millions six hundred and seventy thousand nine hundred and thirty-one pounds, for the service of the ensuing year, to be raised by a land-tax, by the sale of annuities, and other expedients. These measures were taken with such expedition, that the land tax received the royal assent on the 9th of December; when the queen, in a short speech, thanked the commons for their dispatch, which she considered as a sure pledge of their affection.

The duke of Marlborough, at his first appearance in the house, after his return to England, was honoured with a very extraordinary eulogium, pronounced by the lord-keeper, in the name of the peers of England; and a compliment of the same nature was presented to him by a committee of the house of commons. The lower house also presented an address to her majesty, beseeching her to consider some proper mean to perpetuate the memory of the duke's noble actions. In a few days she gave them to understand by a message, that she was inclined to grant the interest of the crown in the honour and manor of Woodstock, and hundred of Wooton, to the duke of Marlborough and his heirs; and that, as the lieutenancy and rangership of the parks, with the rents and profits of the manors and hundreds, were granted for two lives, she wished that incumbrance could be removed. A bill was immediately brought in, enabling the queen to bestow these honours and manors on the duke of Marlborough and his heirs; and the queen was desired to advance the money for clearing the incumbrances. She not only complied with the address, but likewise ordered the comptroller of her works, to build, in Woodstock park, a magnificent palace for the duke, upon a plan much more solid than beautiful. By this time sir George Rooke was laid aside, and the command of the fleet bestowed upon sir Cloudesley Shovel, now declared rear-admiral of England. Mareschal de Tallard, with the other French generals taken at Hochstadt, arrived on the 16th of December in the river Thames, and were immediately conveyed to Nottingham and Litchfield, attended by a detachment of the royal regiment of horse guards. They were treated with great respect, and allowed the privilege of riding ten miles around the places of their confinement.

The remainder of this session was principally taken up in quarrels between the two houses concerning the right of certain persons to vote at elections for members of parliament. In order to put a stop to their cavilling, the queen went to the house of lords on the 14th of March, and passed the bills that were ready for the royal assent. She then thanked the parliament for their dispatch of business; after which she warned them to avoid the fatal effects of animosity and dissension; and then ordered the lord keeper to prorogue them to the 1st of May; but on the 5th of April they were dissolved by proclamation, and another was published for calling a new parliament.

On the 13th of March, 1705, the duke of Marlborough embarked again for Holland, where he prevailed with the states general to contribute their troops for the execution of his projects. Having concerted with the deputies of the states and the Dutch generals the necessary measures for opening the campaign, he set out for Maestricht, in order to assemble his army. On the 5th of May, the emperor Leopold died at Vienna, and was succeeded on the imperial throne by his eldest son Joseph, king of the Romans, a prince who resembled his father in meekness of disposition, narrowness of intellect, and bigotry to the Romish religion. Towards the close of June, Marlborough sent general Scholten with a detachment to invest Huy, and in a few days the garrison surrendered at discretion. In July the duke had an action with the French between the villages of Heylesem and Golsteven, in which he took the marquis d'Alegre and the count de Horne, lieutenant-generals, one major general, two brigadier generals, with many officers, and a great number of soldiers; a large heap of standards, four colours, one pair of kettle drums, and ten pieces of cannon (*b*).

About the close of October, the duke set out for Vienna, in consequence of pressing letters from the emperor, in order to concert the operations of the ensuing campaign, and other measures of importance, in which the concerns of the allies were interested. On the 12th of November he arrived at Vienna, where he was treated with the highest marks of distinction and cordial friendship, by their imperial majesties. His son-in-law, the earl of Sunderland, had been sent thither as envoy extraordinary; and now they conferred together with the emperor and his ministers. They resolved to maintain the war with redoubled vigour. The treaties were renewed; and in consideration of the duke's signal service to the house of Austria, the emperor presented him with a grant of the lordship of Mindelheim in Suabia, which was now erected into a principality of the Roman empire. In his return with the earl of Sunderland, he visited the courts of Berlin and Hanover, where he was received with extraordinary respect: he arrived at the Hague on the 14th of December, and concerted measures with the states general for the conduct of the ensuing campaign.

By sea the allies were generally prosperous. Philip of Spain being bent upon retaking Gibraltar, sent mareschal de Thessé to undertake the siege, while De Pointis was ordered to block up the place by sea with his squadron. The activity of these French officers obliged the prince of Hesse to dispatch an express to Lisbon, desiring sir John Leake to sail immediately to his assistance. The admiral having been reinforced from England by sir Thomas Dilkes, with five ships of the line and a body of troops, set sail immediately; and on the 10th of March descried five ships of war hauling out of the bay of Gibraltar. These were commanded by De Pointis in person, to whom the English admiral gave chase. One of them struck,

(*b*) In this action, as the duke of Marlborough advanced to the charge at the head of several squadrons, a Bavarian officer rode up to attack him sword in hand; but in raising himself on his stirrups to strike with the greater advantage, he fell from his horse, and was immediately slain.

after having made a very slight resistance; and the rest ran ashore on the westward of Marbella, where they were destroyed. The remaining part of the French squadron had been blown from their anchors, and taken shelter in the bay of Malaga: but now they slipped their cables, and made the best of their way to Toulon. The mareschal de Thessé, in consequence of this disaster, turned the siege of Gibraltar into a blockade, and withdrew the greater part of his forces. While sir John Leake was employed in this expedition, sir George Byng, who had been ordered to cruize in soundings for the protection of trade, took a ship of forty guns from the enemy, together with twelve privateers, and seven vessels richly laden from the West Indies.

The most eminent achievement of this summer, was the reduction of Barcelona, by the earl of Peterborough and sir Cloudesley Shovel, who sailed from St. Helen's in the latter end of May with the English fleet, having on board five thousand land forces; and on the 20th of June arrived at Lisbon, where they were joined by sir John Leake and the Dutch admiral Allemonde. In a council of war, they determined to put to sea with eight-and-forty ships of the line, which should be stationed between Cape Spartel and the bay of Cadiz, in order to prevent the junction of the Toulon and Brest squadrons. The prince of Hesse Darmstadt arriving from Gibraltar, assured king Charles, that the province of Catalonia and the kingdom of Valencia were attached to his interest; and his majesty being weary of Portugal, resolved to accompany the earl of Peterborough to Barcelona. He accordingly embarked with him on board the Ranelagh; and the fleet sailed on the 28th of July, the earl of Galway having reinforced them with two regiments of English dragoons. At Gibraltar they took on board the English guards, and three old regiments, in lieu of which they left two new-raised battalions. On the 11th of August they landed in the bay of Altea, where the earl of Peterborough published a manifesto in the Spanish language, which had such an effect, that all the inhabitants of the place, the neighbouring villages, and adjacent mountains, acknowledged Charles, son of the emperor of Germany for their lawful sovereign. They seized the town of Denia for his service; and he sent thither a garrison of four hundred men, under the command of major general Ramos. On the 22nd, they arrived in the bay of Barcelona, and were well received by the country people. Charles landed amidst the acclamations of an infinite multitude from the neighbouring towns and villages, who threw themselves at his feet; exclaiming, "Long live the king," and exhibiting all the marks of the most extravagant joy. The inhabitants of Barcelona were well affected to the house of Austria, but over-awed by a garrison of five thousand men, under the duke de Popoli, Velasco, and other officers devoted to the interest of Philip. Considering the strength of such a garrison, and the small number of Dutch and English troops, (not quite ten thousand men,) nothing could appear more desperate and dangerous than the design of besieging the place: yet this was proposed by the prince of Hesse Darmstadt, who served in the expedition as a volunteer, strongly urged by king Charles, and approved by the earl of Peterborough and sir Cloudesley Shovel. The city was accordingly invested on one side: but, as a previous step to the reduction of it, they resolved to attack the fort of Montjuic, strongly situated on a hill that commanded the city. The outworks were taken by storm, with the loss of the gallant prince of Hesse, who was shot through the body, and expired in a few hours: then the earl of Peterborough began to bombard the body of the fort; and a shell falling into the magazine of powder, blew it up, together with the governor and some of the best officers; which struck such a terror into the garrison, that they immediately surrendered.

This great point being gained, the English general erected his batteries against the town, with the help of the Miquelets and seamen: the bomb-ketches began to fire with such execution, that in a few days the governor capitulated (c), and on the 4th of October Charles entered in triumph. All the other places in Catalonia declared for him, except Roses; so that the largest and richest province of Spain was conquered with an army scarcely double the number of the garrison of Barcelona. King Charles wrote a letter with his own hand to the queen of England, containing a circumstantial detail of his affairs, the warmest expressions of acknowledgement, and the highest encomiums on her subjects, particularly the earl of Peterborough. In a council of war it was determined that the king and the earl should continue in Catalonia with the land forces: that sir Cloudesley Shovel should return to England: that five-and-twenty English and fifteen Dutch ships of war should winter at Lisbon, under the command of sir John Leake and the Dutch rear-admiral, Wassenear; and that four English and two Dutch frigates should remain at Barcelona. Don Francisco de Velasco was transported to Malaga with about a thousand men of his garrison: the rest voluntarily engaged in the service of king Charles, and six other regiments were raised by the states of Catalonia. The count de Cifuentes, at the head of the Miquelets and Catalans, attached to the house of Austria, secured Tarragona, Tortosa, Lerida, San-Mattheo, Gironne, and other places. Don Raphael Nevat, revolting from Philip with his whole regiment of horse, joined general Ramos at Denia, and made themselves masters of several places of importance in the kingdom of Valencia. Flushed with such unexpected success, they penetrated to the capital of the same name, which they surprized, together with the marquis de Villa Garcia, the viceroy, and the archbishop. These advantages, however, were not properly improved. The court of Charles was divided into factions and so much time lost in disputes, that the enemy sent a body of six thousand men into the kingdom of Valencia, under the command of the Conde de las Torres, who forthwith invested San-Mattheo, guarded by colonel Jones at the head of five hundred Miquelets. This being a place of great consequence, on account of its situation, the earl of Peterborough marched thither with one thousand infantry, and two hundred dragoons; and by means of feigned intelligence artfully conveyed to the Conde, induced that general to abandon the siege with precipitation, in the apprehension of being suddenly attacked by a considerable army. Peterborough afterwards took possession of Nules, and purchasing horses at Castillon de la Plan, began to form a body of cavalry, which did good service in the sequel. Having assembled a little army, consisting of ten squadrons of horse and dragoons, and four battalions of regular troops, with about three thousand militia, he marched to Molviedro, which was surrendered to him by the governor, brigadier Mahoni. Between this officer and the duke d'Arcos, the Spanish general, he excited such jealousies, by dint of artifices, not altogether justifiable even in war, that the duke was more intent upon avoiding the supposed treachery of Mahoni than upon interrupting the earl's march to Valencia, where the inhabitants expressed uncommon marks of joy at his arrival. About this period, a very obstinate action happened at St. Istevan de Litera, where the Chevalier D'Asfeldt, with nine squadrons of horse and dragoons, and as many battalions of French infantry, attacked colonel Wills at the head of a small detachment: but this last being supported by lieutenant-general Cunningham, who was mortally wounded in the engagement, repulsed the enemy, though three times his number, with the loss of four hundred men killed upon the spot. The troops on both sides fought with the most desperate valour, keeping up their fire until the muzzles of their pieces met, and charging each other at the point of the bayonet.

The only misfortune that attended the English arms in the course of this year was the capture of the Baltic fleet, homeward-bound, with their convoy of three ships of war, which were taken by the Dunkirk squadron under the command of count de St. Paul, though he himself was killed in the engagement. When an account of this advantage was communicated to the French king, he replied with a sigh, "Very well, I wish the ships were safe again in any English port, provided the count de St. Paul could be restored to life." After the death of the famous Du Bart, this officer was counted the best seaman in France.

On the 25th of October, the new parliament met, when a violent contest arose about the choice of a speaker. Mr.

(c) During the interval which was taken up in signing the necessary form upon these occasions, a body of Germans and Catalonians, belonging to the English army, entered the town, and were plundering all before them. The governor, who was treating then with the English general, thought himself betrayed, and upbraided that nobleman with treachery. Peterborough, struck with the suddenness of the transaction, left the writings unfinished, and flying among the plunderers, drove them from their prey, and then returned calmly back, and signed the capitulation. The Spaniards were equally amazed at the generosity of the English, and the baseness of their own countrymen, who had led on to the spoil.

Bromley was supported by the Tories, and the Whigs proposed Mr. John Smith, who was elected by a majority of forty-three. The queen, in her speech, represented the necessity of acting vigorously against France, as a common enemy to the liberties of Europe; and said, that her intention was to expedite commissions for treating of an Union with Scotland. The majority, being well disposed to support the queen in all her designs, assured her that they would, to the utmost of their power, assist her in bringing the treaty of Union to a happy conclusion. A great deal of debate took place relative to the successor to the throne, whom one party wished to invite to this country, that he might be resident therein, in case of the queen's demise; while the other saw no reason for the invitation, and the matter was at length dropped; and on the 15th of November, the queen gave the royal assent to an act for exhibiting a bill to naturalize the princess Sophia, and the issue of her body. Violent debates also took place on the subject of the church being in danger, and several pamphlets were published *pro* and *con*. The debate being at length finished, the question was put, Whether the church of England was in danger, and carried in the negative by a great majority. It was likewise resolved, that whoever should insinuate that the church is in danger, should be esteemed an enemy to the queen, the church, and the kingdom. The queen then issued a proclamation, containing the resolution of the two houses, and offering a reward for discovering the author of "The Memorial of the Church of England," and for apprehending David Edwards, a professed papist, who was charged upon oath with being the printer and publisher of that libel.

After a short adjournment, a committee of the commons presented the thanks of that house to the duke of Marlborough, for his great services performed to her majesty and the nation in the last campaign, and for his prudent negociation with her allies. This nobleman was in such credit with the people, that when he proposed a loan of five hundred thousand pounds to the emperor, upon a branch of his revenue in Silesia, the money was advanced immediately by the merchants of London. All the funds being established, one in particular for two millions and a half, by way of annuities for ninety-nine years, at six and a half per cent. and all the bills having received the royal assent, the queen went to the house of peers on the 19th of March, where, having thanked both houses for the repeated instances of their affection which she had received, she prorogued the parliament to the 21st of May following.

CHAP. II.

The Union of England and Scotland.

THE eyes of Great Britain were now turned upon a transaction of the utmost consequence to the whole island; namely, the Treaty for an Union of the two kingdoms of England and Scotland. The queen having appointed commissioners on both sides, they met on the 16th of April, 1706, in the council-chamber of the Cock-pit, near White-hall, which was the place appointed for the conferences. Their commissions being opened and read by the respective secretaries, and introductory speeches being pronounced by the lord-keeper of England, and the lord-chancellor of Scotland, they agreed to certain preliminary articles, importing, that all the proposals should be made in writing, and every point, when agreed, reduced to writing: that no points should be obligatory, till all matters should be adjusted in such a manner as would be proper to be laid before the queen and the two parliaments for their approbation: that a committee should be appointed from each commission, to revise the minutes of what might pass, before they should be inserted in the books by the respective secretaries; and that all the proceedings during the treaty should be kept secret. The Scots were inclined to a fœdal union, like that of the United Provinces; but the English were bent upon an incorporation, so as that no Scottish parliament should ever have power to repeal the articles of the treaty. The lord-keeper proposed that the two kingdoms of England and Scotland should be for ever united into one realm, by the name of Great Britain: that it should be represented by one and the same parliament; and, that the succession of this monarchy, failing heirs of her majesty's body, should be according to the limitations mentioned in the act of parliament passed in the reign of king William, intitled, "An Act for the further limitation of the Crown, and the better securing the Rights and Liberties of the Subject." The Scottish commissioners, in order to comply in some measure with the popular clamour of their nation, presented a proposal, implying that the succession to the crown of Scotland should be established upon the same persons mentioned in the act of king William's reign; that the subjects of Scotland should for ever enjoy all the rights and privileges of the natives in England, and the dominions thereunto belonging; and, that the subjects of England should enjoy the like rights and privileges in Scotland: that there should be a free communication and intercourse of trade and navigation between the two kingdoms, and plantations thereunto belonging; and that all laws and statutes in either kingdom, contrary to the terms of this union, should be repealed. The English commissioners declined entering into any considerations upon these proposals, declaring themselves fully convinced that nothing but an entire union could settle a perfect and lasting friendship between the two kingdoms. The Scots acquiesced in this reply, and both sides proceeded in the treaty, without any other intervening dispute. They were twice visited by the queen, who exhorted them to accelerate the articles of a treaty that would prove so advantageous to both kingdoms. At length they were finished, arranged, and mutually signed, on the 22nd of July, and next day presented to her majesty, at the palace of St. James, by the lord keeper, in the name of the English commissioners: at the same time a sealed copy of the instrument was likewise delivered by the lord chancellor of Scotland; and each made a short oration on the subject, to which the queen returned a very gracious reply. That same day she dictated an order of council, that whoever should be concerned in any discourse or libel, or in laying wagers relating to the union, should be prosecuted with the utmost rigour of the law (*d*).

(*d*) In this famous treaty it was stipulated, That the succession to the united kingdom of Great Britain should be vested in the princess Sophia, and her heirs, according to the acts already passed in the parliament of England: that the united kingdom should be represented by one and the same parliament: that all the subjects of Great Britain should enjoy a communication of privileges and advantages: that they should have the same allowances, encouragements, and drawbacks; and be under the same prohibitions, restrictions, and regulations, with respect to commerce and customs: that Scotland should not be charged with the temporary duties on some certain commodities: that the sum of three hundred and ninety-eight thousand and eighty-five pounds, ten shillings, should be granted to the Scots, as an equivalent for such parts of the customs and excise charged upon that kingdom, in consequence of the union, as would be applicable to the payments of the debts of England, according to the proportion which the customs and excise of Scotland bore to those of England: that as the revenues of Scotland might increase, a further equivalent should be allowed for such proportion of the said increase, as should be applicable to the payment of the debts of England: that the sum to be paid at present, as well as the monies arising from the future equivalents, should be employed in reducing the coin of Scotland to the standard and value of the English coin; in paying off the capital stock and interest due to the proprietors of the African company, which should be immediately dissolved; in discharging all the public debts of the kingdom of Scotland; in promoting and encouraging manufactures and fisheries, under the direction of commissioners to be appointed by her majesty, and accountable to the parliament of Great Britain: that the laws concerning public right, policy, and civil government, should be the same throughout the whole united kingdom; but that no alteration should be made in laws which concerned private right, except for evident utility of the subjects within Scotland: that the Court of Session, and all other courts of judicature in Scotland, should remain as then constituted by the laws of that kingdom, with the same authority and privileges as before the union; subject, nevertheless, to such regulations as should be made by the parliament of Great Britain: that all heritable offices, superiorities, heritable jurisdictions, offices for life, and jurisdictions for life, should be reserved to the owners, as rights of property, in the same manner as then enjoyed by the laws of Scotland: that the rights and privileges of the Royal Boroughs in Scotland should be represented in the parliament of Great Britain by sixteen peers and forty-five commoners, to be elected in such a manner as should be settled by the present parliament of Scotland: that all peers of Scotland, and the successors to their honours and dignities, should, from and after the union, be peers of Great Britain, and should have rank and precedency next and immediately after the English peers of the like orders and degrees at the time of the union; and before all peers of Great Britain of the like orders and degrees, who might be created after the union: that they should be tried as peers of Great Britain, and enjoy all privileges of peers, as fully enjoyed by the peers of England, except the right and privilege of sitting in the House of Lords, and the privileges depending thereon, and particularly the right of sitting upon the trials of peers: that the crown, sceptre, and sword of state, the records of parliament, and all other records, rolls, and registers whatsoever, should still remain as they were, within that part of the united kingdom called Scotland: that all laws and statutes in either kingdom, so far as they might be consistent with the terms of these articles, should cease and be declared void by the respective parliaments of the two kingdoms.

While



THE ACT OF UNION READ BEFORE QUEEN ANNE.

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While the treaty of union was carrying on, the duke of Marlborough repaired to Holland, at the close of April, and opened the campaign. He brought an army of eighty thousand men into the field, which was greater than what he had hitherto been able to muster; and still he expected reinforcements from Denmark and Prussia. The court of France was aware of this, and resolved to attack the duke before a junction could be formed by these troops. Villeroi, who commanded their army, consisting of eighty thousand men, near Tirlemont, had orders to act on the defensive; but, if compelled, to hazard an engagement. The duke, on the other hand, had received a slight repulse, by the defection of prince Louis of Baden; and he resolved to retrieve his credit by some signal action. Villeroi had drawn up his forces in a strong camp; his right was flanked by the river Mehaigne; his left was posted behind a marsh, and the village of Ramilies lay in the center. Marlborough, who perceived this disposition, drew up his army accordingly. He knew that the left wing of the enemy could not attack him but at a great disadvantage: he therefore weakened his troops in that quarter, and furiously fell on the centre with superior numbers. The enemy's centre was soon obliged to yield in consequence of this attack, and at length gave way on all sides. The horse, abandoning their foot, were so closely pursued, that almost the whole of them were cut to pieces. Six thousand men were taken prisoners, and about eight thousand were killed or wounded. The loss of the allies did not exceed three thousand men. Besides the six thousand privates, they took six hundred officers, the enemy's baggage and artillery, and about one hundred and twenty colours or standards. This victory was almost as signal as that of Blenheim: Bavaria and Cologne were the fruits of the one; all Brabant was gained by the other. The French troops were dispirited; the city of Paris was in confusion. Louis, who had been long flattered with conquest, was now humbled to such a degree, as almost to excite the compassion of his enemies. He entreated for peace, but in vain: the allies carried all before them; and his very capital began to dread the approach of the conquerors. What neither his power, his armies, nor his politics could affect, was brought about by a party in England. The dissension between the Whigs and the Tories in England saved France, now tottering on the very margin of destruction.

The councils of the queen had hitherto been governed by a Whig ministry; for though the duke of Marlborough had first started in the Tory interest, he soon joined the opposite faction; as he found them most sincere in their desires to humble the power of France. The Whigs still pursued the schemes of the late king; and impressed with a spirit of liberty, strove to humble despotism in every part of Europe. In a government where the reasoning of individuals, retired from power, generally leads those who command, the designs of the ministry must alter as the people happen to change. Such was the case in England. The queen's personal virtues, her successes, her deference for the clergy, and, in turn, their great veneration for her, began to have a prevailing influence over the whole nation. The people of every rank were not ashamed to defend the most servile tenets, when they tended to flatter or increase the power of the sovereign. They argued in favour of strict hereditary succession, divine right, and non-resistance to the regal power. The spirit of Toryism began to prevail; and the Whigs, who had raised the queen into greatness, were the first that were likely to fall by their own success. The Tories, though joining in vigorous measures against France, were, however, never ardently their enemies; they rather secretly hated the Dutch, as of principles very opposite to their own; and only longed for an opportunity of withdrawing from their friendship. They began to meditate schemes of opposition to the duke of Marlborough. They were taught to regard him as a self-interested man, who sacrificed the real advantages of the nation, in protracting a ruinous war for his own private emolument and glory. They saw their country oppressed with an increasing load of taxes, which, by a continuance of the war, must inevitably become an intolerable burthen. Their secret discontents therefore began to spread; and the Tories wanted only a few determined leaders to conduct them in removing the present ministry.

In the mean time, a succession of losses began to dissipate the conquering phrenzy which had seized the nation, and incline them to wish for peace. The army under Charles in Spain was then commanded by lord Galway. This nobleman having received intelligence that the enemy, under the command of the duke of Berwick, was posted near the town of Almanza, advanced to give him battle. The conflict began about two in the afternoon of the 14th of April, 1707, and the whole front of each army was fully engaged. The centers, consisting chiefly of battalions from Great Britain and Holland, seemed at first victorious; but the Portuguese horse, by whom they were to be supported, betaking themselves to flight on the first charge, the English troops were flanked and surrounded on every side. In this dreadful emergency they formed themselves into a square, and retired to an eminence, where, being ignorant of the country, and destitute of all supplies, they were obliged to surrender prisoners of war, to the number of ten thousand men. This victory was complete and decisive; and all Spain, except the province of Catalonia, returned to their duty to Philip.

An attempt was likewise made upon Toulon, by the duke of Savoy and prince Eugene by land, and the English fleet by sea, but with as little success as in the former instance. The prince, with a body of thirty thousand men, took possession of the eminences that commanded the city, on the 11th of July, while the fleet attacked and reduced two forts at the entrance of the mole; but the French king sending an army to the relief of the place, and the duke of Savoy perceiving no hopes of compelling the city to a speedy surrender, he resolved to abandon his enterprize; and having embarked his artillery, retreated by night without any molestation.

The fleet, under the command of sir Cloudesley Shovel, was still more unfortunate. Having set sail for England, and, being in soundings on the 22nd of October, about eight at night a violent storm arising, his ship was dashed upon the rocks of Scilly, and every soul on board perished. The like fate befel three ships more, while three or four others were saved with the utmost difficulty. The admiral's body being cast ashore, was stripped and buried in the sand; but this being thought too humble a funeral for so brave a commander, it was dug up again, and interred with proper solemnity in Westminster Abbey.

It is somewhat extraordinary, that through all the transactions relative to the Union, the Tories violently opposed it; for they considered the Scots in a body as Whigs, and supposed that their interest would become more powerful by this association. But never were men more agreeably disappointed than the Tories were in this particular. The majority of the Scottish nation, which was entirely against uniting with England, were so much dissatisfied with this measure, that they immediately joined in opposing the ministry, by whom they were thus compelled to unite. The members themselves were disaffected to the measure, and secretly strove to undermine those by whom their power had been thus established.

The body of English Tories were not less displeased with an union, of which they had not sagacity to distinguish the advantages. They were for some time become the majority of the kingdom, but found themselves opposed by a powerful coalition at court. The duchess of Marlborough had long been in possession of the queen's confidence and favour; and turned the easiness of her majesty's temper to her own advantage, as well as to that of her party. The duke of Marlborough, her husband, was at the head of the army, which was devoted to him. Lord Godolphin, his son-in-law, was at the head of the treasury, which he managed so as to co-operate with the ambition of the duke. An unexpected alteration, however, in the queen's affections was about to take place, and that was entirely owing to their own mismanagement. Among the number of those whom the duchess had introduced to the queen, to contribute to her private amusement, was one Mrs. Masham, her own kinswoman, whom she had raised from indigence and obscurity. The duchess having gained the ascendant over the queen, became petulant and insolent, and relaxed in those arts by which she had risen. Mrs. Masham, who had her fortune to make, was more humble and assiduous: she flattered the foibles of the queen, and assented to her prepossessions and prejudices. She soon saw the queen's inclination to the opinions of the Tories; and, instead of attempting to thwart her, as the duchess had done, she joined with her partiality, and even outwent her in her own way.

Mrs. Masham began to insinuate to the queen, that the Tories were by far the majority of the people; and that they were displeased with a ministry that attempted to

rule

rule their sovereign, and had lavished the treasures of the nation on wars which they chose to carry on in order to continue in power. But though this intriguing woman seemed to act from herself alone, she was in fact the tool of Mr. Harley, secretary of state, who also, some time before, had insinuated himself into the queen's good graces; and who had determined to sap the credit of Godolphin and Marlborough. His aim was to unite the Tory interest under his own shelter, and to expel the Whigs from the advantages which they had long enjoyed under the government. Harley, better known afterwards by the title of lord Oxford, was a man possessed of uncommon erudition, great knowledge of business, and as great ambition. He was close, phlegmatic, and cool; but at the same time fonder of the splendours of office than the drudgeries annexed to it.

In his career of ambition he chose for his associate Henry St. John, afterwards the famous viscount Bolingbroke, a man of great eloquence, and greater ambition, enterprizing, restless, active, and haughty, with some wit, but little principle. This statesman was at first contented to act in an inferior capacity, subservient to Oxford's designs; and it was not till afterwards, when he understood the full extent of his own parts and influence, that he was fired with the ambition of being first in the state, and aspired to depress his first promoters.

To this junto was added sir Simon Harcourt, a lawyer of great abilities. These united, endeavoured to rally and reconcile the scattered body of the Tories, and diffused assurances among their partizans, that the queen would no longer bear the tyranny of a Whig ministry. She had ever been, they said, a friend in her heart to the Tory and high-church party, by which appellation this faction now chose to be distinguished; and to convince them of the truth of their assertions, the queen herself shortly after bestowed two bishoprics on clergymen who had openly condemned the Revolution.

The Whig ministry, whom the people had formerly caressed, now began to decline. To them were imputed the burthens under which the nation groaned, burthens which the people had been hitherto animated to bear by the pomp of triumph; but the load of which they felt in a pause of success. No new advantage had of late been shewn them from the Netherlands; and France, instead of sinking under the weight of the confederacy, as they had been taught to expect, seemed to rise with fresh vigour from every overthrow. The English merchants too had lately sustained repeated losses, for want of proper convoys; the coin of the nation was visibly diminished, and the public credit began to decline.

The ministry were for a long time ignorant of these secret murmurings, or pretended to despise them. Instead therefore of attempting to mitigate the censures propagated against them, they continued to vex the queen with remonstrances against her conduct; and upbraided her with ingratitude for those services which had secured her glory. The murmurs of the nation first found vent in the house of lords, where the earl of Wharton, seconded by lord Somers, expatiated upon the scarcity of money, the decay of trade, and the mismanagement of the navy. This complaint was backed by a petition from the sheriffs and merchants of London, aggravating their losses by sea for want of convoys, and these complaints were proved by witnesses. The war with France was now canvassed and condemned. Lord Oxford was at the bottom of all these complaints; and though they did not produce an immediate effect, yet they did not fail of a growing and steady operation.

The Whig party of the ministry at length opened their eyes to the intrigues of their pretending associate. The duchess of Marlborough perceived, when it was too late, that she was supplanted by her kinswoman Mrs. Masham; and her husband found no other means of re-establishing his credit, but by openly opposing Oxford, whom he could not otherwise displace. The secretary had lately incurred some suspicions, from the secret correspondence which one Gregg, an under clerk in his office, kept up with the court of France. Gregg was brought to trial, condemned, and executed; and the duke of Marlborough took advantage of this opportunity to cause the removal of Oxford. He accordingly wrote to the queen, that himself and lord Godolphin could serve her no longer, should the present secretary be continued in his place. The queen, not regarding the secret intrigues of her ministers, endeavoured to appease the duke's resentment by every art of persuasion; but he was too confident of his own power, and continued obstinate in the refusal. The earl of Godolphin and the duke went so far as to retire from court, and the queen saw herself in danger of being deserted by her whole ministry. A sullen silence prevailed through the cabinet-council; and some were even heard to say, that no deliberations could be pursued in the absence of the duke and the lord treasurer.

The queen now, for the first time, perceived the power which these two ministers had assumed over her councils. She found that they were willing to place and displace the servants of the crown at pleasure; and that nothing was left to her but to approve such measures as they thought fit to press upon her choice. She secretly therefore resolved to remove a ministry that was thus grown odious to her, but in the present exigency was obliged to give way to their demands. She then sent for the duke of Marlborough, and told him that Harley should immediately resign his office, and it was accordingly conferred on Mr. Henry Boyle, chancellor of the exchequer.

Thus were the first efforts of the Tory party frustrated, and Bolingbroke was resolved to share in his friend Harley's disgrace, as were also sir Simon Harcourt, the attorney-general, and sir Thomas Mansell, comptroller of the household, who all voluntarily relinquished their offices. Bolingbroke's employment of secretary at war was conferred on Robert Walpole, a man who began to be considerable in the house of commons, and who afterwards made such a figure in the two succeeding reigns. The duke of Marlborough seemed to triumph in the success of his resentment, but he did not consider that, by this step, he entirely lost the confidence of the queen. He returned to prosecute his victories on the continent, where a new harvest of glory attended him, which, however, did not re-establish his power.

This violent measure, which seemed at first favourable to the Whig ministry, laid the foundation of its ruin. Harley was now enabled to throw off the mask of friendship, and to take more vigorous measures for the prosecution of his designs. In him the queen reposed all her trust, though he now had no visible concern in the administration. The first triumph of the Tories, in which the queen discovered a public partiality in their favour, was seen in a transaction of no great importance in itself, but from the consequences it produced. The parties of the nation were eager to engage, and they wanted but the watch-word to begin. This was given by a man neither of abilities, property, nor power; but who was accidentally brought forward on this occasion.

The person alluded to was Henry Sacheverel, a clergyman, who had been bred at Oxford, and possessed an overheated imagination. He had acquired some popularity among those who distinguished themselves by the name of high-church-men, and had taken all occasions to vent his spleen against the dissenters. At the summer assizes at Derby, he had held forth before the judges in that strain. On the 5th of November, 1709, in St. Paul's Church, he, in a violent declamation, defended the doctrine of non-resistance, inveighed against the toleration of dissenters, declared the church was dangerously attacked by its enemies, and slightly defended by its false friends. He sounded the trumpet for the zealots, and exhorted the people to "put on the whole armour of God." Sir Samuel Gerrard, lord mayor, countenanced this harangue, which, though very weak both in the matter and the style, was published under his protection, and extolled by the Tories as a master-piece of writing (*e*).

On the 13th of December, Mr. Dolben, son to the archbishop of York, laid a complaint before the house of commons against these rhapsodies, and thus gave force to what would have soon been forgotten. The most violent paragraphs were read, and the sermons voted scandalous and seditious libels. Sacheverel was brought to the bar of the house; and he, far from disowning the writing of them, gloried in what he had done, and mentioned the encouragement he had received to publish them from the lord mayor, who was then present. Being ordered to withdraw, it was resolved to impeach him of high crimes and misdemeanours at the bar of the house of lords: and Mr. Dolben was fixed upon to conduct the prosecution, in the name of the commons of all England. A committee was appointed to draw

(*e*) These sermons owed all their celebrity to the complection of the times, and they are now deservedly thrown aside as incoherent rhapsodies.

up articles of impeachment; Sacheverel was taken into custody, and a day appointed for his trial before the lords in Westminster Hall.

In the mean time, the Tories, who altogether approved his principles, were as violent in his defence as the commons had been in his prosecution. They affirmed that the Whigs had formed a design to pull down the church, and that this prosecution was intended to try their strength, before they would proceed openly to the execution of their project. The clergy did not fail to alarm and inflame their hearers; while emissaries were employed to raise a ferment among the populace, arising from a scarcity of provisions which at that time prevailed in almost every country of Europe. The dangers were multiplied to which the church was exposed from Dissenters, Whigs, and lukewarm prelates. These they represented as the authors of a ruinous war, which brought on that very dearth they were then deploring. Such an extensive party declaring in favour of Sacheverel, after the articles were exhibited against him, the lords thought fit to admit him to bail.

The eyes of the whole kingdom were turned upon this very extraordinary trial, which lasted three weeks, and excluded all other public business for the time. The queen herself was every day present as a private spectator, while vast multitudes attended the culprit each day as he went to the hall, shouting as he passed, or silently praying for his success. The managers for the commons were sir Joseph Jekyl; Mr. Eyre, solicitor-general; sir Peter King, recorder; general Stanhope; sir Thomas Parker; and Mr. Walpole. The doctor was defended by sir Simon Harcourt and Mr. Phipps, assisted by Dr. Atterbury, Dr. Smallridge, and Dr. Friend (*f*).

When the commons had gone through their charge, the managers for Sacheverel undertook his defence with great art and eloquence. He afterwards recited a speech himself, which, from the difference of style between it and his sermons, seems evidently the work of another. In this speech he solemnly justified his intentions towards the queen and her government. He spoke in the most respectful terms of the Revolution, and the Protestant succession. He maintained the doctrine of non-resistance as a tenet of the church, in which he was brought up; and in a pathetic conclusion endeavoured to excite the pity of his audience. He was surrounded by the queen's chaplains, who encouraged and extolled him as the champion of the church; and he was favoured by the queen herself, who could not but approve a doctrine that confirmed her authority and enlarged her power.

Those persons who are removed from the interests of that period may be apt to regard with wonder so great a contest from so slight a cause: but the spirit of contention had indeed been laid before in the nation, and this man only happened to set fire to the train. The lords, when they retired to consult upon his sentence, were divided, and continued undetermined for some time. At length, after much dispute, and virulent altercation, Sacheverel was found guilty by a majority of seventeen; but no less than four and thirty peers entered a protest against this decision. He was prohibited from preaching for three years; and his two sermons were ordered to be burned by the hands of the common hangman, in presence of the lord mayor and the two sheriffs (*g*).

Such was the complexion of the times, when the queen thought proper to remove the Whig ministers, and give their offices to others who were of the Tory party. That the triumph of the Tories might be complete, the queen dissolved the Whig parliament, after such precautions had been taken as would not fail to influence the new elections in favour of the other party. She then issued a proclamation for a new parliament.

We must, however, return to the affairs of the war on the continent. The duke of Marlborough had some time before gone back to Flanders, where he had led on the allied armies to great, but dear-bought victories. The French were dispirited indeed, and rather kept upon the defensive; but still, when forced to engage, they fought with great obstinacy, and seemed to gather courage as the frontiers of their own country became more nearly threatened.

Peace had been more than once offered, and treaties had been entered upon, and frustrated. After the battle of the Ramillies, the king of France had employed the elector of Bavaria to write letters in his name to the duke of Marlborough, containing proposals for opening a congress. He offered to give up either Spain and its dominions, or the kingdoms of Naples and Sicily to Charles of Austria, and to give a barrier to the Dutch in the Netherlands: but these terms were rejected. The Dutch were intoxicated with the success which had attended the allied armies; and the duke of Marlborough had every motive to continue the war, as it gratified not only his ambition but his avarice; a passion that obscured his shining talents.

The duke was resolved to push his good fortune. At the head of a numerous army he marched to the village of Oudenarde, where the French in equal numbers were posted. A furious engagement ensued, in which the French were obliged to retire, and took advantage of the night to secure their retreat. About three thousand men were slain on the field of battle; two thousand deserted; and about seven thousand were taken, including a great number of officers, together with ten pieces of cannon, above one hundred standards and colours, and four thousand horses. The allies lost about two thousand men.

The generals of the allies now undertook an enterprise, which, in the opinion of the French generals, indicated rashness and inconsiderate self-sufficiency. This was the siege of Lisle, the strongest town in Flanders, provided with all necessaries, store of ammunition, and a garrison reinforced with one-and-twenty battalions of the best troops in France, commanded by Mareschal de Boufflers in person. But these were not the principal difficulties which the allies encountered. The enemy had cut off the communication between them and their magazines at Antwerp and Sas-Fan Ghent; so that they were obliged to bring their convoys from Ostend along a narrow causeway, exposed to the attack of an army more numerous than that with which they sat down before Lisle. On the 13th of August, 1708, it was invested on one side by prince Eugene, and on the other by the prince of Orange-Nassau, stadtholder of Friesland; while the duke of Marlborough encamped at Helchin, to cover the siege. The trenches were opened on the 22d, and carried on with vigour. The dukes of Burgundy and Vendome being now joined by the duke of Berwick, resolved, if possible, to relieve the place; and made several marches and counter-marches for this purpose. Marlborough being apprised of their intention, marched out of his lines to give them battle, being reinforced by a considerable body of troops from the siege; but the enemy declined an engagement, and the allies returned to their camp, which they fortified with an entrenchment. On the 7th of September, the besiegers took by assault the counterscarp of Lisle, after an obstinate action, in which they lost a thousand men. The French generals continued to hover about the camp of the confederates, which they actually cannonaded; and the duke of Marlborough again formed his army in order of battle: but their design was only to harrass the allies with continual alarms, and interrupt the operations of the siege. They endeavoured to surprize the town of Aeth, by means of a secret correspondence with the inhabitants; but the conspiracy was discovered before it took effect. Then they cut off all communication between the besiegers and the Schelde, the banks of which they fortified with strong entrenchments, and a prodigious number of cannon; so

(*f*) While the trial continued, nothing could exceed the violence and outrage of the populace. They surrounded the queen's sedan, exclaiming, "God bless your majesty and the church; we hope your majesty is for Doctor Sacheverel." They destroyed several meeting houses, plundered the dwellings of many eminent dissenters, and even proposed to attack the bank. The queen, in compliance with the request of the commons, published a proclamation for suppressing the tumults; and several persons being apprehended, were tried for high treason. Two were convicted, and sentenced to die; but neither of them were executed.

(*g*) The lenity of this sentence, which was, in a great measure, owing to the dread of popular resentment, was considered by the Tories as an absolute triumph. They declared their joy in bonfires and illuminations, and openly avowed their rage against his persecutors. Shortly after, he was presented to a benefice in North Wales, whither he went with all the pomp and magnificence of a sovereign. He was sumptuously entertained by the university of Oxford, and many noblemen in his way, who, while they worshipped him as the idol of their faction, could not help despising the object of their adoration. He was received in several towns by the magistrates in their formalities, and often attended by a body of a thousand horse. At Bridgenorth he was met by a Mr. Creswell, at the head of four thousand men on horseback, and as many on foot, wearing white knots edged with gold. The hedges were for two miles decorated with garlands, and the steeples covered with streamers, flags, and colours. The church, and Dr. Sacheverel, was the universal cry, and a spirit of religious enthusiasm spread through the whole nation.

that all the stores and necessaries were sent to the camp of the confederates from Ostend. On the 21st, prince Eugene, who was in the trenches, seeing the troops driven by the enemy from a lodgement they had made on the counterscarp of the Tenaille, rallied and led them back to the charge: but being wounded over the left eye with a musket shot, he was obliged to retire, and for some days the duke of Marlborough sustained the whole command, both in the siege and of the covering army. On the 23rd, the Tenaille was stormed, and a lodgement made along the covered way. Mareschal Boufflers having found means to inform the duke de Vendome that his ammunition was almost expended, this general detached the chevalier de Luxenburgh, with a body of horse and dragoons, to supply the place with gunpowder, every man carrying a bag of forty pounds upon the crupper. They were discovered in passing through the camp of the allies, and pursued to the barrier of the town, into which about three hundred were admitted; but a great number were killed by the confederates, or miserably destroyed by the explosion of the powder which they carried.

The next attempt of the French generals was to intercept a convoy from Ostend. The count de la Motte marched from Ghent, with about two-and-twenty thousand men, to attack this convoy, which was guarded by six thousand of the allies, commanded by major-general Webb. This officer made such an admirable disposition by the wood of Wymendale, and received the enemy with such a close fire, that after a very warm action, that lasted two hours, they retired in the utmost confusion, notwithstanding their great superiority in number, leaving six thousand men killed upon the field of battle; the loss of the allies not exceeding nine hundred and twelve, officers and soldiers. This was the most honourable exploit performed during the whole war, and of such consequence to the confederates, that if the convoy had been taken, the siege must have been raised. The duke de Vendome ordered the dykes between Bruges and Nieuport to be cut, so as to lay the whole country under water, in hopes of destroying the communication between Ostend and the camp of the confederates; and, after a regular siege, he took colonel Caulfield, and a body of British troops posted in the village of Leffinghen, by whose means the convoys had been forwarded to the duke of Marlborough. On the 22nd of October, mareschal Boufflers desired to capitulate for the town of Lisle: next day the articles were signed: on the 25th the allies took possession of the place, and the mareschal retired into the citadel with the remains of his garrison, which, from twelve thousand, was reduced to less than half of that number. A negociation was begun for the surrender of the citadel: but Boufflers made such extravagant demands as were rejected with disdain. Hostilities were renewed on the 29th, and the earl of Stair was detached to provide corn for the army in the districts of Furnes and Dixmude. During these transactions, velt-mareschal D'Auverquerque died at Rousselaer, in the sixty-seventh year of his age, after having, in above thirty campaigns, exhibited innumerable proofs of uncommon courage, ability, and moderation. The duke de Vendome did not yet despair of obliging the confederates to abandon their enterprize: the French ministers at Rome and Venice publicly declared the allied army was cooped up in such a manner, that it must either raise the siege or be famished. The elector of Bavaria, with a detachment of ten thousand men, marched to Brussels, and attacked the counterscarp with incredible fury; but was repulsed by the garrison, under the command of general Paschal, and retired with precipitation, when he understood that the duke of Marlborough was in motion to relieve the place. This nobleman and Prince Eugene no sooner understood the danger to which Brussels was exposed, than they marched with their covering army to the Scheldt, which they passed in pontoons without opposition, notwithstanding the formidable works which the French had raised. They now abandoned them with precipitation, to the surprize of the confederates. Having passed the river between Eskenaffe and Hauterive, as well as at other places, they marched to Oudenarde, where they received intelligence that the elector had retreated. Then prince Eugene returned to Lisle, and the duke of Marlborough proceeded to Brussels, where he was received with joy and acclamation. He afterwards took post at Oudenarde, so as to maintain a communication with prince Eugene.

The besiegers having made lodgements and raised batteries on the second counterscarp of the citadel, sent a message to Boufflers, intimating, that if he would surrender before the opening of the batteries, he should have an honourable capitulation; otherwise he and his garrison must be made prisoners of war. He chose to avoid the last part of the alternative: hostages were exchanged on the 8th of December, and the articles signed on the 10th; when the mareschal and his garrison marched out with the honours of war, and were conducted to Douay. The success of the allies in this enterprize, was owing in a great measure to the improvidence and misconduct of the besieged. The French generals thought that the allies would not attempt any thing of consequence after the reduction of Lisle, considering the advanced season of the year, and therefore they returned to Paris, after having distributed their army into winter quarters. But their antagonists were determined to strike another stroke of importance before their forces should separate. On the 20th of December they invested the Ghent on all sides; and on the 30th, when the batteries were ready to open, the count de la Motte, who commanded the garrison, desired to capitulate. On the 3rd of January, 1709, he marched out with thirty battalions and sixteen squadrons, which were conducted to Tournay; while the duke of Argyle, with six British battalions, took possession of the town and citadel. Then the enemy abandoned Bruges, Plassedahl, and Leffingen; and the generals of the allies, having settled the plan of winter quarters, repaired to Holland, leaving the forces under the command of count Tilly.

The campaign in Catalonia was productive of a great event. Count Guido de Staremberg arrived at Barcelona on the last day of April: but the Imperial troops brought from Italy by admiral Leake did not land in time to relieve Tortosa, which the duke of Orleans besieged and took, together with Denia, the garrison of which were made prisoners of war, contrary to the articles of capitulation. These losses, however, were abundantly made up to the allies by the conquest of Sardinia and Minorca. Sir John Leake, having taken on board a handful of troops, under the conduct of the marquis d'Alconzel, set sail for Cagliari, and summoned the viceroy to submit to king Charles. As he did not send an immediate answer, the admiral began to bombard the city, and the inhabitants compelled him to surrender at discretion. The greater part of the garrison inlisted themselves in the service of Charles. The deputies of the States being assembled by the marquis D'Alconzel, acknowledged the prince as their sovereign, and agreed to furnish his army with thirty thousand sacks of corn, which were accordingly transported to Catalonia, where there was a great scarcity of provision. Major-general Stanhope having planned the conquest of Minorca, and concerted with the admiral the measures necessary to put it in execution, obtained from count Staremberg a few battalions of Spaniards, Italians, and Portuguese: at the head of these he embarked at Barcelona, with a fine train of British artillery, accompanied by brigadier Wade and colonel Petit, an engineer of great reputation. They landed on the island, about ten miles from St. Philip's fort, on the 26th of August, with about eight hundred marines, which augmented their number to about three thousand. Next day they erected batteries; and general Stanhope ordered a number of arrows to be shot into the place, to which papers were affixed, written in the Spanish and French languages, containing threats, that all the garrison should be sent to the mines, if they would not surrender before the batteries were finished. The garrison consisted of a thousand Spaniards and six hundred French marines, commanded by colonel la Jonquire, who imagined that the number of the besiegers amounted to at least ten thousand, so artfully had they been drawn up in sight of the enemy. The batteries began to play, and in a little time demolished four towers that served as outworks to the fort. On the second or third day they thought proper to beat a parley, and capitulate, on condition, That they should march out with the honours of war: that the Spaniards should be transported to Murcia, and the French to Toulon. These last, however, were detained, by way of reprisal for the garrison of Denia (*h*).

(*h*) The Spanish governor was so mortified when he learned the real number of the besiegers, that on his arrival at Murcia he threw himself out of a window in despair, and was killed upon the spot. La Jonquire was confined for life, and all the French officers incurred their master's displeasure.

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Fort St. Philip being thus reduced, to the amazement of all Europe, and the garrison of Fort Fornelles having surrendered themselves prisoners to the admirals Leake and Whitaker, the inhabitants submitted to the English government, for king Philip had oppressed and deprived them of their privileges: general Stanhope appointed colonel Petit governor of fort St. Philip, and deputy-governor of the whole island.

The British fleet not only contributed to the reduction of Minorca, but likewise over-awed the pope, who had endeavoured to form a league of the princes in Italy against the emperor. This pontiff had manifested his partiality to the house of Bourbon in such a palpable manner, that his Imperial majesty ordered Monsieur de Bonneval to march with the troops that were in Italy, reinforced by those belonging to the duke of Modena, and invade the duchy of Ferrara. He accordingly took possession of Comachio and some other places, pretending they were allodial estates belonging to the duke of Modena, and fiefs of the emperor, to which the holy see had no lawful claim. The viceroy of Naples was forbid to remit any money to Rome; and the council of the kingdom drew up a long memorial, containing the pretensions of his catholic majesty, which struck at the very foundation of the pope's temporal power. His holiness wrote a long remonstrance to the emperor, on the injustice of those proceedings, and declared that he would assert his cause though he should lose his life in the contest. He forthwith began to raise an army, and revived a plan of forming a league among the princes and states of Italy for their mutual defence. Sir John Leake had received orders to bombard Civita-Vecchia; but as the emperor and duke of Savoy hoped to effect an accommodation with the court of Rome, they prevailed upon the English admiral to suspend hostilities until they should have tried the method of negociation. The marquis de Prie, a Piedmontese nobleman, was sent ambassador to Rome; but the pope would not receive him in that quality. Elated with the promises of France, he set the emperor at defiance; and his troops having surprised a body of Imperialists, were so barbarous as to cut them all in pieces. The duke of Savoy having ended the campaign, the troops of the emperor, which had served under that prince, were ordered to march into the papal territories, and drove the forces of his holiness before them, without any regard to number. Bologna capitulated; and Rome began to tremble with the apprehension of being once more sacked by a German army. Then the pope's courage failed: he was glad to admit the marquis de Prie as envoy from the emperor. He consented to disband his new levies; to accommodate the Imperial troops with winter-quarters in the papal territories; to grant the investiture of Naples to king Charles; and to allow at all times a passage to the Imperial troops through his dominions.

In the West Indies commodore Wager destroyed the admiral of the galleons, and took the rear admiral on the coast of Carthagena. Had the officers of his squadron done their duty, the greatest part of the fleet would have fallen into his hands. At his return to Jamaica two of his captains were tried by a court-martial, and dismissed from the service.

The court of England was about this time not a little perplexed by the consequences of an outrage committed on the person of the count de Matueof the Muscovite ambassador. He was publicly arrested at the suit of a laceman, and maltreated by the bailiffs, who dragged him to prison, where he continued until he was bailed by the earl of Feversham. Incensed at this insult, he demanded redress of the government, and was seconded in his remonstrances by the ministers of the emperor, the king of Prussia, and several other foreign potentates. The queen expressed uncommon indignation against the authors of this violence, who were immediately apprehended, and orders were given to prosecute them with the utmost severity of the law. Matueof repeated his complaints with great acrimony; and Mr. secretary Boyle assured him, in the queen's name, that he should have ample satisfaction. Notwithstanding this assurance, he demanded a pass for himself and family; refused the ordinary presents at his departure, and retired to Holland. From thence he transmitted a memorial, with a letter from the Czar to the queen, insisting upon her punishing with death all the persons concerned in violating the law of nations upon the person of his ambassador. Such punishment being altogether inconsistent with the laws of England, the queen and her ministry were extremely disquieted, and held several councils, to deliberate upon the measures proper to be taken on such an occasion.

On the 28th of October, 1708, prince George of Denmark died of an asthma and dropsy, with which he had been long afflicted. He was a prince of an amiable rather than a shining character, brave, good-natured, modest, and humane, but devoid of great talents and ambition. He had always lived in harmony with the queen, who, during the whole term of their union, and especially in his last illness, approved herself a pattern of conjugal truth and tenderness. At his death the earl of Pembroke was created lord high admiral, the earl of Wharton promoted to the government of Ireland, and lord Somers appointed president of the council. Notwithstanding these promotions of the Whig noblemen, the duke of Marlborough declined apace in his credit with the queen, who privately consulted and reposed her chief confidence in Mr. Harley, though he had no visible concern in the administration.

The laws of England having been found insufficient to punish capitally the authors of the insult offered to the Muscovite ambassador, a bill was brought into the house of commons for preserving the privileges of ambassadors and other foreign ministers; and passed through both houses: as did another to prevent the laying of wagers relating to the public, a practice which had been carried to a degree of infatuation: and by which many unwary persons fell a sacrifice to crafty adventurers. On the 14th of March the commons voted the sum of one hundred and three thousand two hundred and three pounds, for the relief of the inhabitants of Nevis and St. Christopher's, who had suffered by the late invasion; and on the 21st of April, 1709, the parliament was prorogued.

The Muscovite ambassador, however, continued to write expostulatory letters to Mr. secretary Boyle, who at last owned, that the laws of the kingdom did not admit of such punishment as he demanded. An information was tried in the court of Queen's Bench for her majesty, against Thomas Morton, laceman, and thirteen other persons concerned in the insult, of which they were found guilty; and the special matter of the privileges of ambassadors was to be argued next term before the judges. Meanwhile, the queen, by way of satisfaction to the Czar, condescended to make solemn excuses by her ambassador; to repair Matueof's honour by a letter, and indemnify him for all his costs and damages: concessions, with which the Czar and his ambassador declared themselves well satisfied.

In 1709, the campaign was opened in Flanders by prince Eugene and the duke of Marlborough, who encamped the allied army, towards the end of June, in the plain of Lisle, to the number of one hundred and ten thousand fighting men. At the same time the mareschal Villars, reckoned the most fortunate general of France, assembled the French forces in the plain of Lens, where he began to throw up entrenchments. The confederate generals having observed his situation, and perceiving he could not be attacked with any probability of success, resolved to undertake the siege of Tournay, the garrison of which Villars had imprudently weakened. Accordingly, they made a feint upon Ypres, in order to deceive the enemy, and convert all their attention to that side, while they suddenly invested Tournay on the 27th of June. Though the garrison did not exceed twelve weakened battalions, and four squadrons of dragoons, the place was so strong, both by art and nature, that the siege was protracted, contrary to the expectation of the allies, and cost them a great number of men, notwithstanding all the precautions that could be taken for the safety of the troops. As the besiegers proceeded by the method of sap, their miners frequently met with those of the enemy under ground, and fought with bayonet and pistol. The volunteers on both sides presented themselves to the subterraneous combats, in the midst of mines and countermines ready primed for explosion. Sometimes they were kindled by accident, and sometimes sprung by design; so that great numbers of those brave men were stifled below, and whole battalions blown into the air, or buried in the rubbish. On the 28th of July, the besiegers having effected a practicable breach, and made the necessary dispositions for a general assault, the enemy offered to capitulate: the town was surrendered upon conditions, and the garrison retired to the citadel. Surville, the governor, likewise entered into a treaty about giving up the citadel: the articles being sent to the court of Versailles, Louis would not ratify them, except upon

condition that there should be a general cessation in the Netherlands till the 5th of September. Hostilities were renewed on the 8th of August, and prosecuted with uncommon ardour and animosity. On the 30th, Surville desired to capitulate on certain articles, which were rejected by the duke of Marlborough, who gave him to understand that he had no terms to expect, but must surrender at discretion. At length, his provision being quite exhausted, he was obliged to surrender himself and his garrison prisoners of war, though they were permitted to return to France, on giving their parole that they would not act in the field until a like number of the allies should be released.

The next object that attracted the eyes of the confederates was the city of Mons, which they resolved to besiege with all possible expedition. They passed the Scheldt on the 3rd of September, and detached the prince of Hesse to attack the French lines from the Haisne to the Sombre, which were abandoned at his approach. On the 7th, mareschal de Boufflers arrived in the French camp at Quievrain, content to act in an inferior capacity to Villars, although his superior in point of seniority. The duke of Marlborough having received advice that the French were on their march to attack the advanced body under the prince of Hesse, decamped from Havre, in order to support that detachment. On the 9th the allies made a motion to the left, by which the two armies were brought so near each other, that a mutual cannonading ensued; the French army, amounting to one hundred and twenty thousand men were posted behind the woods of La Merte and Tanieres, in the neighbourhood of Malplaquet. The confederates, nearly of the same number, encamped with the right near Sart and Bleron, and the left on the edge of the woods of Lagniere: the head-quarters being at Blarignies. The enemy, instead of attacking the allies, began to fortify their camp, which was naturally strong, with triple entrenchments. In a word, they were so covered with lines, hedges, entrenchments, cannon, and trees laid across, that they seemed to be quite inaccessible. Had the confederates attacked them on the 9th, the battle would not have been so bloody, and the victory would have proved more decisive; for they had not then begun to secure the camp; but Marlborough postponed the engagement until they should be reinforced by eighteen battalions which had been employed in the siege of Tournay; and, in the mean time, the French fortified themselves with incredible diligence and dispatch. On the 11th, early in the morning, the confederates, favoured by a thick fog, erected batteries on each wing, and in the centre: and about eight o'clock, the weather clearing up, the attack began. Eighty-six battalions on the right, commanded by general Schuylemburgh, the duke of Argyle, and other generals, and supported by two-and-twenty battalions under count Lottum, attacked the left of the enemy with such vigour, that, notwithstanding their lines and barricadoes, they were in less than an hour driven from their entrenchments, into the woods of Sart and Tanieres. The prince of Orange and baron Fagel, with six-and-thirty Dutch battalions, advanced against the right of the enemy, posted in the wood of La Merte, and covered with three entrenchments. Here the battle was maintained with the most desperate courage on both sides. The Dutch obliged the French to quit the first entrenchment; but were repulsed from the second with great slaughter. The prince of Orange persisted in his efforts with incredible perseverance and intrepidity, even after two horses had been killed under him, and the greater part of his officers either slain or disabled. The French fought with an obstinacy of courage that bordered on despair, till seeing their lines forced, their left wing and centre giving way, and their general, Villars, dangerously wounded, they made an excellent retreat towards Bavay, under the conduct of Boufflers, and took post between Quesnoy and Valenciennes. The field of battle they abandoned to the confederates, with about forty colours and standards, sixteen pieces of artillery, and a good number of prisoners: but this was the dearest victory the allies had ever purchased. About twenty thousand of their best troops were killed in the engagement; whereas the enemy did not lose half the number, and retired at leisure, perfectly recovered of that apprehension with which they had been for some years inspired and over-awed by the successes of their adversaries. On the side of the allies, count Lottum, general Tettau, count Oxienstern, and the marquis of Tullibardine were killed with many other officers of distinction. Prince Eugene was slightly wounded on the head: lieutenant-general Webb received a shot in the groin. The duke of Argyle, who distinguished himself by extraordinary feats of valour, escaped unhurt; but several musket-balls penetrated through his clothes, hat, and periwig. In the French army, the chevalier de St. George charged twelve times with the household troops, and in the last was wounded with a sword in the arm. The mareschal de Villars confidently asserted, that if he himself had not been disabled, the confederates would certainly have been defeated (*i*). The French having retired to Valenciennes, the allies were left at liberty to besiege Mons, which capitulated about the end of October; and both armies were distributed in winter-quarters. In Italy the pope delayed acknowledging king Charles, under various pretences, in hopes that the campaign would prove favourable to the house of Bourbon; till at length the emperor giving him to understand that his army should take up their winter-quarters in the Ecclesiastical State, his holiness, solemnly owned Charles as king of Spain, Naples and Sicily. But the military operations in Spain and Portugal were unfavourable to the allies. On the 7th of May, the Portuguese and English were defeated at Caya, by the Spaniards, under the command of the mareschal de Bay. The castle of Alicant, guarded by two English regiments, had been besieged, and held out during the whole winter. At length the Chevalier d'Asfeldt ordered the rock to be undermined, and having lodged two hundred barrels of gunpowder, gave Syburg, the governor to understand that two of his officers might come out and see the condition of the works. This offer being accepted, Asfeldt in person accompanied them to the mine: he told them he could not bear the thoughts of seeing so many brave men perish in the ruins of a place they had so gallantly defended; and allowed them four-and-twenty hours to consider on the resolution they should take. Syburg continued deaf to his remonstrances; and with an obstinacy that savoured more of stupidity than of valour, determined to stand the explosion. When the centinels that were posted on the side of the hill gave notice, by a preconcerted signal, that fire was set to the mine, the governor ordered the guard to retire, and walked out to the parade, accompanied by several officers. The mine being sprung, the rock opened under their feet, and they falling into the chasm, it instantly closed, and crushed them to death. Notwithstanding this dreadful incident, colonel d'Albon, who succeeded to the command, resolved to defend the place to the last extremity. Sir Edward Whitaker sailed from Barcelona to the relief of the place, but the enemy had erected such works as effectually hindered the troops from landing. Then general Stanhope, who commanded them, capitulated with the Spanish general for the garrison, which marched out with all the honours of war, and was transported to Minorca, where the men were put into quarters of refreshment. On the frontiers of Catalonia, general Staremberg maintained his ground, and even annoyed the enemy. He passed the Segra, and reduced Balaguer: having left a strong garrison in the place, he repassed the river, and sent his forces into winter quarters.

Although the events of this campaign were more favourable to Louis than he had reason to expect, yet he still continued desirous of peace, and once more resolved to solicit a conference. He employed Mr. Petkum, resident of the duke of Holstein at the Hague, to negociate upon this subject, and he ventured also to solicit the duke of Marlborough himself in private. However, as his affairs were now less desperate than they were in the beginning of the campaign, he would not adhere to those conditions which he then offered as preliminaries to a conference. The Dutch inveighed against his insincerity for thus retracting his former offers; not considering that he certainly had a right to retract those offers which they had formerly rejected. They still had reasons for protracting

(*i*) Considering the situation of the French, the number of their troops, and the manner in which they were fortified, nothing could be more rash and imprudent than the attack, which cost the lives of so many gallant men, and was attended with so little advantage to the conquerors. Perhaps the duke of Marlborough thought a victory was absolutely necessary to support his sinking interest at the court of Great Britain. His intention was to have given battle before the enemy had entrenched themselves; but prince Eugene insisted upon delaying the action until the reinforcement should arrive from Tournay. The extraordinary carnage is imputed to the impetuosity of the prince of Orange, whose aim, through this whole war, was to raise himself into consideration with the States-General, by signal acts of military prowess.

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the war, and the duke took care to confirm them in this resolution. Nevertheless, the French king seeing the misery of his people daily increase, and all his resources fail, continued to humble himself before the allies; and by means of Petkum, who still corresponded from the Hague with his ministers, implored the Dutch that the negociation might be resumed. A conference was at length begun at Gertruydenburgh, under the influence of the duke of Marlborough, prince Eugene, and count Zinzendorff, who were all three, from private motives, entirely averse to the treaty. Upon this occasion the French ministers were subjected to every species of mortification. Spies were placed upon all their conduct. Their master was insulted, and their letters were opened. The Dutch deputies would hear of no relaxation, and no expedient for removing the difficulties that retarded the negociation. The French commissioners offered to satisfy every complaint that had given rise to the war. They consented to abandon Philip of Spain; they agreed to grant the Dutch a large barrier; they were even willing to grant a supply towards the dethroning of Philip; but all their offers were treated with contempt. The conferences lasted from the 19th of March till the 25th of July, 1710, and the French commissioners were at last compelled to return home, after having sent a letter to the states, in which they declared that the proposals made by their deputies were unjust and impracticable, and complained of the unworthy treatment they had received. Louis therefore resolved to hazard another campaign, in hope that some lucky incident in the event of war, or some happy change in the ministry of England, might procure him more favourable concessions.

But though the duke of Marlborough by this means protracted his power on the continent, all his influence at home was at an end. The members of the house of commons, that had been elected just after Sacheverel's trial, were almost universally Tories. From all parts of the kingdom addresses were sent and presented to the queen, confirming the doctrine of non-resistance; and the queen, in course, received them with pleasure. But when the conferences at Gertruydenburgh were ended, the designs of the Dutch and English commanders were too obvious not to be perceived. The writers of the Tory faction displayed the avarice of the duke, and the self-interested conduct of the Dutch. They pretended, that while England was exhausting her blood and treasure in foreign conquests for the benefit of other nations, she was sapping the foundations of her liberty at home. They asserted, that her ministers were not contented with sharing the plunder of an impoverished state, but by controlling their queen, were resolved to seize upon its liberties also.

A part of these complaints was undoubtedly true, and a part exaggerated; but the real crime of the ministry, in the queen's estimation, was their pride, their combinations, and their increasing power. The insolence of the duchess of Marlborough, who had hitherto possessed more power than the whole privy council united, was likewise now become insupportable to the queen, who had entirely withdrawn her confidence from her; and she was resolved to seize the first opportunity of shewing her resentment, and such an opportunity was not long wanting.

Upon the death of the earl of Essex, who was colonel of a regiment under the duke of Marlborough, the queen resolved to bestow it on a person whom she knew was very displeasing to him. She therefore sent him word, that she wished he would give it to Mr. Hill, brother to her favourite Mrs. Masham, as a person every way qualified for the command. The duke was struck with this request, which he considered as a previous step to his own disgrace. He represented to the queen the prejudice that would redound to the service from the promotion of so young an officer, and the jealousy that would arise in the breasts of his seniors, never considering that he himself was a younger officer than many of those which he commanded. He expostulated with her on this extraordinary mark of partiality in favour of Mrs. Masham's brother, who had treated him with such peculiar ingratitude. To all this the queen made no other reply, but that he would do well to consult his friends. He therefore retired in disgust, and sat down to prepare a letter to the queen, in which he begged leave to resign all his employments.

The queen, in the mean time, who was conscious of the popularity of her conduct, went to the council, where she seemed not to take the least notice of the duke's absence. The whole junto of his friends, which almost entirely composed the council, did not fail to alarm her with the consequences of disobliging so useful a servant. She therefore for some time dissembled her resentment, and even sent the duke a letter, empowering him to dispose of the regiment as he thought proper. Still, however, she was too sensibly mortified at many parts of his conduct not to wish for his removal; though for the present she thought proper to continue him in his command. But she acted with less duplicity towards the duchess, who supposing, from the queen's present condescension, that she was willing to be pacified, resolved once more to practise the long-forgotten arts by which she rose. She therefore demanded an audience of her majesty, on pretence of vindicating her character from some aspersions. She hoped to work upon the queen's tenderness, by tears, entreaties, and supplications; but all her humiliations served only to render her more contemptible. The queen heard her without exhibiting the least emotions of tenderness or pity. The only answer she gave to the duchess's entreaties, was a repetition of an insolent expression used in one of this lady's own letters to her: "You desired no answer, and you shall have none."

It was indeed by insensible degrees that the queen seemed now to acquire courage enough to second her inclinations, and depose a ministry which had long been disagreeable to her. Harley, however, who still shared her confidence, did not fail to inculcate the popularity, and the security of such a measure; and upon his advice she began the changes, by transferring the post of lord chamberlain from the duke of Kent to the duke of Shrewsbury, who had lately voted with the Tories, and maintained an intimate correspondence with Mr. Harley. Soon after, the earl of Sunderland, secretary of state, and son-in-law to the duke of Marlborough, was displaced, and the earl of Dartmouth put in his room. Finding that she was rather applauded than condemned for this resolute proceeding, the queen resolved to free herself from those who were become noxious to her.

In these resolutions her majesty was strengthened by the duke of Beaufort, who coming to court on this occasion, told her, he was extremely glad he could now salute her *queen* in reality. The whole Whig party were in consternation: they influenced the directors of the Bank, so far as to assure her majesty that public credit would be entirely ruined if this change in the ministry should take place. The emperor and the states general interposed in this domestic revolution, and, by their ministers at London, presented memorials, and even threats; but the queen assured them, that whatever changes might be made, the duke of Marlborough should be continued in his employments. In the month of August the earl of Godolphin was divested of his office, and the treasury put in commission, subjected to the direction of Harley, who was appointed chancellor of the exchequer, and under-treasurer. The earl of Rochester was declared president of the council in the room of lord Somers: the staff of the lord steward being taken from the duke of Devonshire, was given to the duke of Buckingham; and Mr. Boyle was removed from the secretary's office, to make way for Mr. Henry St. John. The lord chancellor having resigned the great seal, it was first put in commission, and afterwards given to sir Simon Harcourt. The earl of Wharton surrendered his commission of lord lieutenant of Ireland, which the queen conferred on the duke of Ormond. The earl of Orford withdrew himself from the board of admiralty; and Mr. George Grenville was appointed secretary of war, in the room of Mr. Robert Walpole. The command of the forces in Portugal was bestowed upon the earl of Portmore: the duke of Hamilton was appointed lord lieutenant of the County Palatine of Lancaster. In a word, there was not one Whig left in any office of state, except the duke of Marlborough, who would have renounced his command, had not he been earnestly dissuaded by his particular friends from taking such a step as might have been prejudicial to the interest of the nation.

But the triumph of the Tory party was not yet complete, until the parliament was brought to confirm and approve the measures of the queen. The new parliament met on the 25th of November, 1710, and Mr. Bromley was chosen speaker without opposition. The queen, in her speech, recommended the prosecution of the war with vigour, especially in Spain. She declared herself resolved to support the church of England; to preserve the British constitution according to the Union; to maintain the indulgence allowed by law to scrupulous consciences; and to employ none but such as were heartily attached to the protestant

protestant succession in the House of Hanover. The parliament were ardent in their expressions of zeal and unanimity. They exhorted her to discountenance all such principles and measures as had so lately threatened the dignity of the crown. In the house of peers, the earl of Scarborough moved that the thanks of the house should be returned to the duke of Marlborough; but the duke of Argyle made some objections to the motion, and the general's friends, dreading the consequence of putting the question, postponed the consideration of this proposal until the duke should return from the continent. The earl of Peterborough was appointed ambassador extraordinary to the Imperial Court: the earl of Rivers was sent in the same quality to Hanover: Mr. Richard Hill was nominated envoy extraordinary to the United Provinces, as well as to the council of state appointed for the government of the Spanish Netherlands, in the room of lieutenant-general Cadogan. Meredith, Macartney, and Honeywood, were deprived of their regiments, because, in their cups, they had drank confusion to the enemies of the duke of Marlborough.

This nobleman arrived in England towards the latter end of December. He conferred about half an hour in private with the queen, and next morning assisted at a committee of the privy council. Her majesty gave him to understand, that he needed not to expect the thanks of the parliament as formerly: and told him she hoped he would live well with her ministers. He expressed no resentment at the alterations which had been made; but resolved to acquiesce in the queen's pleasure, and retain the command of the army on her own terms. On the 2nd of January, 1711, the queen sent a message to both houses, intimating that there had been an action in Spain to the disadvantage of king Charles: that the damage having fallen particularly on the English forces, she had given directions for sending and procuring troops to repair the loss, and hoped the parliament would approve her conduct. Both houses seized this opportunity of venting their spleen against the old ministry. The history of England is disgraced by the violent conduct of two turbulent factions, which, in their turn, engrossed the administration and legislative power. Marlborough, who but a few months before had been so highly extolled and caressed by the representatives of the people, was now become the object of parliamentary hatred and censure, though no sensible alteration had happened in his conduct or success. That hero, who had retrieved the glory of the British arms, won so many battles, subdued such a number of towns and districts, humbled the pride and checked the ambition of France, secured the liberty of Europe, and, as it were, chained victory to his chariot wheels, was, in a few weeks, dwindled into an object of contempt and derision. He was ridiculed in public libels, and reviled in private conversation. Instances were every where repeated of his fraud, avarice, and extortion; his insolence, cruelty, ambition, and misconduct: even his courage was called in question; and this consummate general was represented as the lowest of mankind. So unstable is the popularity of every character that fluctuates between two opposite tides of faction.

In their answer to the queen's message, the lords declared, that as the misfortune in Spain might have been occasioned by some preceding mismanagement, they would use their utmost endeavours to discover it, so as to prevent the like for the future. They set on foot an enquiry concerning the affairs of Spain; and the earl of Peterborough being examined before the committee, imputed all the miscarriages in the course of that war to the earl of Galway and general Stanhope. Notwithstanding the defence of Galway, which was clear and convincing, the house resolved, That the earl of Galway, lord Tyrawley, and general Stanhope, in advising an offensive war, had been the unhappy occasion of the battle at Almanza, the source of our misfortunes in Spain, and one great cause of the disappointment of the expedition to Toulon, concerted with her majesty. They voted, That the prosecution of an offensive war in Spain was approved and directed by the ministers, who were, therefore, justly blameable, as having contributed to all our misfortunes in Spain, and to the disappointment of the expedition against Toulon. The house, proceeding in the enquiry, passed another vote, importing, That the late ministry, had been negligent in managing the Spanish war, to the great prejudice of the nation. Finding that the Portuguese troops were posted on the right of the English at the battle of Almanza, they resolved, That the earl of Galway, in yielding this point, had acted contrary to the honour of the Imperial Crown of Great Britain. These resolutions they included in an address to the queen, who had been present during the debates, which were extremely violent; and to every separate vote was attached a severe protest. These were not the proceedings of candour and national justice, but the ebullitions of party zeal and rancorous animosity.

While the lords were employed in this enquiry, the commons examined certain abuses which had crept into the management of the navy; and some censures were passed upon certain persons concerned in contracts for victualling the seamen. The inhabitants of St. Olave's and other parishes presented a petition, complaining that a great number of Palatines, inhabiting one house, might produce among them a contagious distemper; and in time become a charge to the public, as they were destitute of all visible means of subsistence. Animated by the heat of this enquiry, they passed a bill to repeal the act for a general naturalization of all protestants: but this was rejected in the house of lords. Another bill was enacted into a law, importing, That no person should be deemed qualified for representing a county in parliament, unless he possessed an estate of six hundred pounds a-year; and restricting the qualification of burgess to half that sum. The design of this bill was to exclude trading people from the house of commons, and to lodge the legislative power with the land-holders. A third act passed, permitting the importation of French wines in neutral bottoms: a bill against which the Whigs loudly exclaimed, as a national evil, and a scandalous compliment to the enemy.

A violent party in the house of commons began to look upon Harley as a lukewarm Tory, because he would not enter into all their measures; they even began to suspect his principles, when his credit was re-established by a very singular accident. Guiscard, the French partizan, thought himself very ill rewarded for his services with a precarious pension of four hundred pounds, which he enjoyed from the queen's bounty. He had been renounced by St. John, the former companion of his pleasures: he had in vain endeavoured to obtain an audience of the queen, with a view to demand more considerable appointments. Harley was his enemy, and all access to her majesty was denied. Enraged at these disappointments, he attempted to make his peace with the court of France, and offered his services, in a letter to one Moreau, a banker in Paris. This packet, which he endeavoured to transmit by the way of Portugal, was intercepted, and a warrant issued out to apprehend him for high treason. When the messenger disarmed him in St. James's Park, he exhibited marks of guilty confusion and despair, and begged that he would kill him directly. Being conveyed to the Cockpit, in a sort of phrenzy, he perceived a penknife lying upon the table, and took it up without being perceived by the attendants. A committee of council was immediately summoned, and Guiscard brought before them to be examined. Finding that his correspondence with Moreau was discovered, he desired to speak in private with secretary St. John, whom, in all probability he had resolved to assassinate. His request being refused, he said, "*Voilà qui est dur! pas un mot!*" *i.e.* "That's hard! not one word!" St. John being out of his reach, he stepped up to Mr. Harley, and exclaiming, "*J'en veux donc à toi!*" *i.e.* "Have at *thee* then!" stabbed him in the breast with the penknife which he had concealed. The instrument broke upon the bone, without penetrating into the cavity: nevertheless, he repeated the blow with such force, that the chancellor of the exchequer fell to the ground. Secretary St. John, seeing him fall, cried out, "The villain has killed Mr. Harley!" and drew his sword. Several other members followed the example, and wounded Guiscard in several places. Yet he made a desperate defence, until he was overpowered by the messengers and servants, and conveyed from the council-chamber, which he had filled with terror, tumult, and confusion. His wounds, though dangerous, were not mortal: but he died of a gangrene occasioned by the bruises he had sustained. This attempt upon the life of Harley, by a person who wanted to establish a traitorous correspondence with France, extinguished the suspicions of those who began to doubt that minister's integrity. The two houses of parliament, in an address to the queen, declared their belief, that Mr. Harley's fidelity to her majesty, and zeal for her services, had drawn upon him the hatred of all the abet-

tors, of popery and faction. They besought her majesty to take all possible care of her sacred person; and, for that purpose, to give directions for causing papists to be removed from the cities of London and Westminster. A proclamation was published, ordering the laws to be strictly put in execution against papists. When Harley appeared in the house of commons after his recovery, he was congratulated upon it by the speaker, in a florid and fulsome premeditated speech. An act was passed, decreeing, That an attempt upon the life of a privy counsellor should be felony without benefit of clergy. The earl of Rochester dying, Harley became sole minister, was created baron of Wigmore, and raised to the rank of earl, by the noble and ancient title of Oxford and Mortimer: to crown his prosperity, he was appointed lord treasurer, and vested with the supreme administration of affairs.

In the beginning of this year, 1711, the commons empowered certain persons to examine all the grants made by king William, and report the value of them, as well as the considerations upon which they were made. Upon their report a bill was formed, and passed that house; but the lords rejected it at the first reading. Their next step was to examine the public accounts, with a view to fix an imputation on the earl of Godolphin. They voted, that above five-and-thirty millions of the money granted by parliament remain unaccounted for. This sum, however, included some accounts in the reigns of king Charles and king William. One half of the whole was charged to Mr. Bridges, the paymaster, who had actually accounted for all the money he had received, except about three millions, though these accounts had not passed through the auditor's office. The commons afterwards proceeded to enquire into the debts of the navy, that exceeded five millions, which, with many other debts, were thrown into one stock, amounting to nine millions four hundred and seventy-one thousand, three hundred and twenty-five pounds. A fund was formed for paying an interest or annuity of six per cent. until the principal should be discharged; and with this was granted a monopoly of a projected trade to the South Sea, vested in the proprietors of the navy-bills, debentures, and other public securities, which were incorporated for this purpose. Such was the origin of the South-Sea Company, founded upon a chimerical supposition, that the English would be permitted to trade upon the coast of Peru. About this time the emperor Joseph died of the small-pox without male issue; so that his brother's immediate aim was to succeed him on the Imperial throne. This event was, on the 20th of April, communicated by a message from the queen to both houses. She told them, that the States general had concurred with her in a resolution to support the house of Austria; and that they had already taken such measures as would secure the election of Charles as head of the empire.

The house of commons, in order to demonstrate their attachment to the church, in consequence of an address from the lower house of convocation, and a quickening message from the queen, passed a bill for building fifty new churches in the suburbs of London and Westminster, and appropriated for this purpose the duty upon coals, which had been granted for the building of St. Paul's, now finished. This imposition was continued until it should raise the sum of three hundred and fifty thousand pounds. At the close of the session, the commons presented a remonstrance or representation to the queen, in which they told her, that they had not only raised the necessary supplies, but also discharged the heavy debts of which the nation had so long and justly complained. They said, that, in tracing the causes of this debt, they had discovered fraud, embezzlement, and misapplication of the public money: that they who of late years had the management of the treasury were guilty of a notorious breach of trust and injustice to the nation, in allowing above thirty millions to remain unaccounted for; a purposed omission that looked like a design to conceal embezzlements. They begged her majesty would give immediate directions for compelling the several imprest accountants speedily to pass their accounts. They expressed their hope, that such of the accountants as had neglected their duty in prosecuting their accounts, ought no longer to be entrusted with the public money. They affirmed, that from all these evil practices and worse designs of some persons, who had, by false professions of love to their country, insinuated themselves into her royal favour, irreparable mischief would have accrued to the public, had not her majesty, in her great wisdom, seasonably discovered the fatal tendency of such measures, and removed from the administration those who had so ill answered her majesty's favourable opinion, and in so many instances grossly abused the trust reposed in them. They observed, that her people could with greater patience have suffered the manifold injuries done to themselves, by the frauds and depredations of such evil ministers, had not the same men proceeded to treat her sacred person with undutifulness and disregard. This representation being circulated through the kingdom, produced the desired effect of inflaming the minds of the people against the late ministry. Such expedients were become necessary for the execution of Oxford's project, which was to put a speedy end to a war that had already subjected the people to grievous oppression, and even accumulated heavy burdens to be transmitted to their posterity. The nation was inspired by extravagant ideas of glory and conquest, even to a rage of war-making; so that the new ministers, in order to dispel those dangerous chimeras, were obliged to take measures for exciting their indignation and contempt against those persons whom they had formerly idolized as their heroes and patriots. On the 12th of June, 1711, the queen having given the royal assent to several public and private bills, made an affectionate speech to both houses. She thanked the commons in the warmest expressions, for having complied with all her desires; for having baffled the expectations of her enemies in finding supplies for the service of the ensuing year; in having granted greater sums than were ever given to any prince in one session: and in having settled funds for the payment of the public debts, so that the credit of the nation was restored. She expressed her earnest concern for the succession of the house of Hanover; and her fixed resolution to support and encourage the church of England as by law established. After which the parliament was prorogued.

Of the convocation which was assembled with the new parliament, the lower house chose Dr. Atterbury their proculator. He was an enterprizing ecclesiastic, of extensive learning, acute talents, violently attached to the Tory principles, and intimately connected with the prime minister, Oxford; so that he directed all the proceedings in the lower house of convocation, in concert with that minister. The queen, in a letter to the archbishop, signified her hope, that the consultations of the clergy might be of use to repress the attempts of loose and profane persons. She sent a licence under the broad seal, empowering them to sit and do business in as ample a manner as ever had been granted since the Reformation. They were ordered to lay before the queen an account of the excessive growth of infidelity and heresy, as well as of other abuses, that necessary measures might be taken for a reformation. The bishops were purposely slighted and overlooked, because they had lived in harmony with the late ministers. A committee being appointed to draw up a representation of the present state of the church and religion, Atterbury undertook the task, and composed a remonstrance that contained the most keen and severe strictures upon the administration, as it had been exercised since the time of the revolution. Another was penned by the bishops in more moderate terms: and several regulations were made, but in none of these did the two houses agree. They concurred, however, in censuring some tenets, favouring Arianism, broached and supported by Mr. Whiston, mathematical professor in Cambridge.

The new ministry had not yet determined to supersede the duke of Marlborough in the command of the army. This was a step which could not be taken without giving umbrage to the Dutch and other allies. He, therefore, set out for Holland, in the month of February, after the queen had assured him, that he might depend upon the punctual payment of the forces. Having conferred with the deputies of the states about the operations of the campaign, he, about the middle of April, assembled the army at Orchies, between Lisle and Douay; while mareschal de Villars drew together the French troops in the neighbourhood of Cambray and Arras. Villars had found means to assemble a very numerous army, with which he encamped behind the river Sanset, in such an advantageous post as could not be attacked with any prospect of success. Meanwhile the duke of Marlborough passed the Scarpe, and formed his camp between Douay and Bouchain, where he was joined by prince Eugene, on the 23rd of May. This general, however, did not long remain in the Netherlands. Understanding that detachments had been made

made from the army of Villars to the Rhine, and that the elector of Bavaria intended to act in the empire, the prince, by order from the court of Vienna, marched towards the Upper Rhine with the Imperial and Palatine troops, to secure Germany. The duke of Marlborough repassing the Scarpe, encamped in the plains of Lens, from whence he advanced towards Aire, as if he intended to attack the French lines in that quarter. These lines beginning at Bouchain on the Schelde, were continued along the Sanset and the Scarpe to Arras, and thence along the Upper Scarpe to Canché. They were defended by redoubts, and other works, in such a manner, that Villars judged they were impregnable, and called them the *Ne plus ultrà* of Marlborough. But the duke, by an extraordinary effort, and marching thirty miles without halting, outwitted Villars, and, without the loss of one man, entered the lines which he had pronounced impregnable. This stroke of the English general was extolled as a master-piece of military skill, while Villars was exposed to the ridicule even of his own officers. The duke's intention was to besiege Bouchain; an enterprize that was deemed impracticable, inasmuch as the place was situated in a morass, strongly fortified, and defended by a numerous garrison, in the neighbourhood of an army superior in number to that of the allies. Notwithstanding these disadvantages, and the dissuasions of his own friends, he resolved to undertake the siege: and, in the mean time, dispatched brigadier Sutton to England, with an account of his having passed the French lines; which was not at all agreeable to his enemies. They had prognosticated that nothing would be done during this campaign, and began to insinuate that the duke could not effect any thing of importance without the assistance of prince Eugene. They now endeavoured to lessen the glory of his success; and even taxed him with having removed his camp from a convenient situation to a place where the troops were in danger of starving. Nothing could be more provoking than this scandalous malevolence to a great man who had done so much honour to his country, and was then actually exposing his life in her service.

On the 10th of August, Bouchain was invested, and the duke of Marlborough exerted himself to the utmost extent of his vigilance and capacity, well knowing the difficulties of the undertaking, and how much his reputation would depend upon his success. Villars had taken every precaution that his skill and experience could suggest, to baffle the endeavours of the English general. He had reinforced the garrison to the number of six thousand chosen men, commanded by officers of known courage and ability. He made some efforts to raise the siege; but they were rendered ineffectual by the consummate prudence and activity of the duke of Marlborough. Then he laid a scheme for surprizing Douay, which likewise miscarried. If we consider that the English general, in the execution of his plan, was obliged to form lines, erect regular forts, raise batteries, throw bridges over a river, make a causeway through a deep morass, provide for the security of convoys against a numerous army on one side, and the garrison of Condé and Valenciennes on the other, we must allow this was the boldest enterprize of the whole war: that it required all the fortitude, skill, and resolution of a great general, and all the valour and intrepidity of the confederate troops, who had scarcely ever exhibited such amazing proofs of courage upon any other occasion as they now displayed at the siege of Bouchain. In twenty days after the trenches were opened, the garrison were obliged to surrender themselves prisoners of war; and this conquest was the last military exploit performed by the duke of Marlborough: the breaches of Bouchain were no sooner repaired than the opposite armies began to separate, and the allied forces were quartered in the frontier towns, that they might be at hand to take the field early in the spring. They were now in possession of the Maese, almost as far as the Sambre; of the Scheldt from Tournay; and of the Lys as far as it is navigable. They had reduced Spanish Guelderland, Limburgh, Brabant, Flanders, and the greatest part of Hainault: they were masters of the Scarpe; and, by the conquest of Bouchain, they had opened to themselves a way into the very bowels of France. All these acquisitions were owing to the valour and conduct of the duke of Marlborough, who now returned to the Hague, and arrived in England about the middle of November.

The command of the forces in Spain was conferred by the queen upon the duke of Argyle, who was recalled from the service in Flanders for that purpose. He had long been at variance with the duke of Marlborough; a circumstance which recommended him the more strongly to the ministry. He landed at Barcelona on the 29th of May, and found the British troops in the utmost distress for want of subsistence. The treasurer had promised to supply him liberally; the commons had granted one million five hundred thousand pounds for that service. The duke of Argyle, however, waited in vain for the promised remittances, and was obliged to borrow money on his own credit, before the British troops could take the field. At length, Staremberg advanced towards the enemy, who attacked him at the pass of Prato del Rey, where they were repulsed with considerable loss. After this action the duke of Argyle was seized with a violent fever, and conveyed back to Barcelona. Vendome invested the castle of Cardona, which was vigorously defended till the end of December, when a detachment being sent to the relief of the place, defeated the besiegers, killed two thousand on the spot, and took all their artillery, ammunition, and baggage. Staremberg was unable to follow the blow: the duke of Argyle wrote pressing letters to the ministry, and loudly complained that he was altogether unsupported; but all his remonstrances were ineffectual: no remittances arrived; and he returned to England without having been able to attempt any thing of importance. In September, king Charles, leaving his queen at Barcelona, set sail for Italy, and at Milan had an interview with the duke of Savoy, where all disputes were compromised.

The ministry of England had conceived great expectations from an expedition against Quebec and Placentia, in North America, planned by colonel Nicholson, who had taken possession of Nova Scotia, and garrisoned Port Royal, to which he gave the name of Anapolis. He had brought four Indian chiefs to England, and represented the advantages that would redound to the nation, in point of commerce, should the French be expelled from North America. The ministers liked the proposal. A body of five thousand men was embarked in transports, under the command of brigadier Hill, brother to Mrs. Masham; and they sailed from Plymouth in the beginning of May, with a strong squadron of ships commanded by sir Hovenden Walker. At Boston in New England, they were joined by two regiments of provincials; and about four thousand men, consisting of American planters, Palatines, and Indians, rendezvoused at Albany, in order to march by land into Canada, while the fleet sailed up the river of that name. On the 21st of August, they were exposed to a violent storm, and driven among rocks, where eight transports perished, with about eight hundred men. The admiral immediately sailed back to Spanish River Bay, where it was determined, in a council of war, that as the fleet and forces were victualled for ten weeks only, and they could not depend upon a supply of provisions from New England, they should return home, without making any further attempt. Such was the issue of this paltry expedition, entrusted to the direction of an officer without talents and experience.

The commissioners for examining the public accounts, having discovered that the duke of Marlborough had received an annual present of five or six thousand pounds from the contractors of bread to the army, the queen declared in council, that she thought fit to dismiss him from all his employments, that the matter might be impartially examined. This declaration was imparted to him in a letter under her own hand, in which she took occasion to complain of the treatment she had received. She probably alluded to the insolence of his duchess; the subjection in which she had been kept by the late ministry; and the pains lately taken by the Whigs to depreciate her conduct, and thwart her measures with regard to the peace. The duke wrote an answer to her majesty, vindicating himself from the charge which had been brought against his character; and his two daughters, the countess of Sunderland and the lady Rialton, resigned their places of ladies of the bed-chamber.

Mr. Walpole had been very troublesome in the house of commons, by his talents, activity, and zealous attachment to the Whig interest, and the Tories found means to discover some clandestine practices in which he was concerned as secretary at war, with regard to the forage contract in Scotland. The contractors, rather than admit into their partnership a person whom he had recommended for that purpose, chose to present his friend with five hundred pounds. Their bill was addressed to Mr. Walpole, who endorsed it, and his friend received the money. This

transaction

transaction was interpreted into a bribe. Mr. Walpole was voted guilty of corruption, imprisoned in the Tower, and expelled the house (*k*). Mr. Walpole had been the representative of the borough of Lynn Regis, and after his expulsion was chosen again by the electors of the same borough; a petition was therefore lodged against him, and the commons voted him incapable of being elected a member to serve in the present parliament.

The next attack of the house was upon the duke of Marlborough, who was found to have received a yearly sum from sir Solomon Medina, a Jew, concerned in the contract for furnishing the army with bread; to have been gratified by the queen with ten thousand pounds a-year to defray the expence of intelligence; and to have pocketed a deduction of two and a half per cent. from the pay of the foreign troops maintained by England. It was alledged, in his justification, that the present from the Jew was a customary perquisite, which had always been enjoyed by the general of the Dutch army: that the deduction of two and a half per cent. was granted to him by an express warrant from her majesty: that all the articles of the charge joined together did not exceed thirty thousand pounds, a sum much inferior to that which had been allowed to king William for contingencies; that the money was expended in procuring intelligence, which was so exact that the duke was never surprized; that none of his parties were ever intercepted or cut off: and that all his designs were by these means so well concerted, that he never once miscarried. Notwithstanding these representations, the majority voted that his practices had been unwarrantable and illegal; and that the deduction was to be accounted for as public money. These resolutions were communicated to the queen, who ordered the attorney-general to prosecute the duke for the money he had deducted by virtue of her own warrant. Such practices were certainly mean and mercenary, and greatly tarnished the glory which the duke had acquired by his military talents, and other shining qualities.

For some time before the dismission of the duke of Marlborough, a negociation for peace had been carried on between the court of France and the new ministry. They had a double motive in bringing this about: first, it would serve to mortify the Whigs; and, secondly, it would free their country from a ruinous and unnecessary war. The motives of every political measure, where faction enters, are partly good, and partly evil. The present ministers were, without doubt, actuated as well by hatred on the one hand, as impelled by a love of their country on the other. They hoped to obtain such advantages in point of commerce for the English as would silence all detraction. They were not so very mindful of the interests of the Dutch, as they knew that people to be but too attentive to those interests themselves. In order therefore to attain the end in view, the earl of Jersey, who acted in concert with Oxford, sent a private message to the court of France, importing the queen's earnest desire for peace, and her wish for a renewal of the conference. This intimation was delivered by one Gualtier, an obscure priest, who was chaplain to the Imperial ambassador, and a spy of the French court. The message was received with great pleasure by the French, and an answer was returned, ardently professing the same inclinations. This led the way to a reply, and soon after to a more definitive memorial from the court of France, which was immediately transmitted to the Dutch by the queen, for their approbation.

This memorial being perused by the states-general, they assured queen Anne that they were ready to join with her in contributing to the conclusion of a durable peace; but they expressed a desire that Louis would be more explicit in his offers towards settling the repose of Europe. That the Dutch might have some satisfaction in this particular, a conference between the French and English courts had previously taken place. Matthew Prior, much more famous as a poet than as a statesman, was sent with proposals to France; and Menager, a man of no great station, returned with Prior to London, with full powers to treat upon the preliminaries. At length, after long and intricate debates, preliminary articles were agreed upon, and signed by the English and French ministers, in consequence of a written order from the queen. The greater difficulty, however, remained, that of making the terms of peace agreeable to all the confederates. The earl of Stafford, who had been recalled from the Hague, where he had resided as ambassador, was sent back to Holland, with orders to communicate to the pensionary Heinsius, the preliminary proposals, to signify the queen's approbation of them, and to propose a place where the plenipotentiaries should assemble. They sent over an envoy to persuade the queen from her resolution; but finding their efforts fruitless, they fixed upon Utrecht as the place of general conference, and granted passports to the French ministers accordingly.

But the Dutch and the Germans made use of many stratagems to frustrate the negociations of this congress. The emperor wrote circular letters to the princes of the empire, exhorting them to persist in their former engagements. His ambassador at London procuring a copy of the preliminary articles, procured their insertion in a common newspaper, in order to throw blame upon the ministry, and render their proceedings odious to the people. The Dutch complained of perfidy, and laboured to raise a discontent in England against the measures then in speculation. The Whigs in London seconded their efforts with all the arts of clamour, ridicule, and reproach. Pamphlets, libels, and lampoons, were every day published by one faction, and the next were answered by the other. But the confederates took a step from which they hoped success by reason of the greatness of the agent whom they employed. Prince Eugene, who had been long famous for his talents in the cabinet as well as in the field, was sent over with a letter from the emperor to the queen; but his intrigues and his arts were unable to prevail: he found at court indeed a polite reception; but at the same time such a repulse as the private proposals he carried seemed to deserve. Still measures for the conference were going forward, and the English ministry were determined to bring them to a conclusion.

Many of the motives, however, which first incited each side to take up arms were now no more. Charles of Austria, for whose cause England had spent so much blood and treasure, was, by the death of his elder brother, the emperor Joseph, placed on the imperial throne. There was therefore every reason for not supporting his pretensions to the Spanish monarchy; and the same jealousy which invited him to that kingdom, was necessary to be exerted in keeping him out of it. The elector of Bavaria, who was intimately connected with the French, was now detached from them; and the Dutch, who had trembled for their barrier, were encroaching upon that of the enemy.

The conferences began at Utrecht, in January, 1712, under the conduct of Robinson, bishop of Bristol, lord privy seal, and the earl of Stafford, on the side of the English; of Buys and Vanderdussen, on the part of the Dutch; and of the mareschal D'Uxelles, the abbot (afterwards cardinal) de Polignac, and M. Menager, in behalf of France. The ministers of the emperor and Savoy assisted, and the other allies also sent plenipotentiaries, though with the greatest reluctance: so that they rather retarded than advanced the adjustment of a peace. The English ministry were sensible of the dangerous and difficult task they had to sustain; therefore they hastened the peace, and this haste relaxed the English ministers' severity, in insisting upon such terms and advantages as they had a right to demand. The allies, however, endeavoured to raise obstacles, and conference followed conference; but still the contending parties appeared as remote from each other as when they begun.

Upon the dismission of the duke of Marlborough, the duke of Ormond had been invested with the supreme command of the British forces; but with particular directions that he should not act upon the offensive, nor hazard an engagement. However he joined prince Eugene at Tournay, who not being acquainted with the secret, advised the attacking of Villars; but he soon found how affairs stood with his co-adjutor. Ormond himself seemed uneasy at his situation; and, in a letter to the secretary in England, desired permission to return home. This gave the confederates fresh ground of complaint; and, having a strong party in the English house of lords, the Dutch employed that engine to arraign the conduct of the ministry. Lord Halifax descanted on the ill consequences of the duke of Ormond's refusal to co-operate with prince Eugene, and moved for an address to her majesty to loose

(*k*) An animated speech was delivered on this occasion in the house of commons, censuring Mr. Walpole as guilty of the basest corruption; and sir Peter King asserted in the house, that his crime merited not only imprisonment and expulsion, but suspension on a gibbet, as an example to others vested with offices of public trust.

the hands of the English general. Earl Pawlet replied, that the duke of Ormond was not like a certain general who led his troops to the slaughter, in hopes that a great number of the officers might be knocked on the head, that he might increase his treasures by disposing of their commissions (*l*).

The loss of the British forces was soon severely felt in the allied army. Villars attacked a separate body of their troops, encamped at Denain, under the command of the earl of Albemarle. Their entrenchments were forced, and seventeen battalions either killed or taken. The earl himself and all the surviving officers were made prisoners. Five hundred waggons loaded with bread, twelve pieces of brass cannon, a large quantity of ammunition and provisions, a great number of horses, and a considerable booty fell into the hands of the enemy: this advantage they gained in sight of prince Eugene, who advanced on the other side of the Scheldt to sustain Albemarle; but the bridge over that river was broke down by accident; so that he was prevented from lending the least assistance. Villars immediately invested Marchiennes, where the principal stores of the allies were lodged. The place was surrendered on the last day of July; and the garrison, consisting of five thousand men, were conducted prisoners to Valenciennes. He afterwards undertook the siege of Douay; an enterprize, in consequence of which prince Eugene abandoned his design on Landrecy, and marched towards the French, in order to hazard an engagement. The states, however, would not run the risque; and the prince had the mortification to see Douay reduced by the enemy. He could not even prevent their retaking Quesnoy and Bouchain, of which places they were in possession before the tenth of October. The allies enjoyed no other compensation for their great losses, but the conquest of fort Knocque, which was surprized by one of their partizans. These successes of Villars served to hasten the treaty of Utrecht. The great obstacle which retarded that peace which England and France seemed so ardently to desire, was the settling the succession to the kingdoms of France and Spain. The danger that threatened the interests of Europe was, lest both kingdoms should be united under one sovereign; and Philip, who was now king of Spain, stood next in succession to the throne of France, except with the interposition of one child, (afterwards Louis XV.) who was then sickly. Philip, however, after various expedients, at last resolved to wave his pretension to the French monarchy, and the treaty went forward with rapidity and success. In the beginning of August, 1712, secretary St. John, now created viscount Bolingbroke, was sent to the court of Versailles to remove all obstructions to a separate treaty between France and England. He was accompanied by Mr. Prior and the abbé Gualtier, and treated with the most distinguished marks of respect. He was caressed by the French king and the marquis de Torcy, with whom he adjusted the principal interests of the duke of Savoy, and the elector of Bavaria. This negociation being finished in a few days, Bolingbroke returned to England, and Prior remained as resident at the court of France.

The campaign being at an end in the Netherlands, the duke of Ormond returned to England, where the party disputes were become more violent than ever. The Whigs affected to celebrate the anniversary of the late king's birthday, in London, with extraordinary rejoicings. Mobs were hired by both factions; and the whole city was filled with riot and uproar. A ridiculous scheme was contrived to frighten the lord treasurer with some squibs in a band-box, which the ministers magnified into a conspiracy. The duke of Hamilton having been appointed ambassador-extraordinary to the court of France, the Whigs were alarmed on the supposition that this nobleman favoured the pretender. Some dispute arising between the duke and lord Mohun, on the subject of a law-suit, furnished a pretence for a quarrel. Mohun, who had been twice tried for murder, and was counted a mean tool, as well as the hector of the Whig party, sent a message by general Macartney to the duke, challenging him to single combat. The principals met by appointment in Hyde Park, attended by Macartney and colonel Hamilton. They fought with such fury, that Mohun was killed upon the spot, and the duke expired before he could be conveyed to his own house. Macartney disappeared, and escaped in disguise to the continent. Colonel Hamilton declared upon oath before the privy-council, that when the principals engaged, he and Macartney followed their example; that Macartney was immediately disarmed; but the colonel seeing the duke fall upon his antagonist, threw away the swords, and ran to lift him up: that while he was employed in raising the duke, Macartney, having taken up one of the swords, stabbed his grace over Hamilton's shoulder, and retired immediately. A proclamation was issued, promising a reward of five hundred pounds to those who should apprehend or discover Macartney; and the duchess of Hamilton offered three hundred pounds for the same purpose. The Tories exclaimed against this event as a party-duel: they treated Macartney as a cowardly assassin; and affirmed that the Whigs had posted others of the same stamp all round Hyde Park, to murder the duke of Hamilton, in case he had triumphed over his antagonist, and escaped the treachery of Macartney. The Whigs, on the other hand, affirmed, that it was altogether a private quarrel: that Macartney was entirely innocent of the perfidy laid to his charge: that he afterwards submitted to a fair trial, at which colonel Hamilton prevaricated in giving his evidence, and was contradicted by the testimony of divers persons who saw the combat at a distance. The duke of Marlborough, hearing himself accused as the author of those party mischiefs, and seeing his enemies grow every day more and more implacable, thought proper to retire to the continent, where he was followed by his duchess; and his retreat was compared by his party to that of Scipio from Rome, after he had saved his country. His friend Godolphin had died in September, with the general character of an able, cool, dispassionate minister, who had rendered himself necessary to four successive sovereigns, and managed the finances with equal skill and integrity. The duke of Shrewsbury was nominated ambassador to France, in the room of the duke of Hamilton: the duke d'Aumont arrived at London in the same quality from the court of Versailles; and about the same time the queen granted an audience to the marquis de Monteleone, whom Philip had appointed one of his plenipotentiaries at the congress.

At length, the treaties of peace and commerce between England and France being agreed on by the plenipotentiaries on both sides, and ratified by the queen, she acquainted the parliament with the steps she had taken. She informed them of her precautions to secure them the succession of a Protestant king; and desired them to consider by her actions whether she ever meant to divide her interests from the house of Hanover. She left it to the commons to determine what forces, and what supplies might be necessary for the safety of the kingdom. "Make yourselves safe, said she, and I shall be satisfied. The affection of my people, and the providence of Heaven, are the only guards I ask for my protection." Both houses returned warm addresses; and the ratifications of the treaty being exchanged, peace was proclaimed on the 5th of May, 1713, to the inexpressible joy of the greater part of the nation (*m*). It should be observed, that the chevalier

(*l*) The duke of Marlborough, who was present, was so deeply affected at this malicious insinuation, that he sent the earl a challenge the next day; but the nature of the message being made known to the queen, the duke was ordered to proceed no farther in the quarrel.

(*m*) The articles of this famous treaty were longer canvassed, and more warmly debated, than those of any other treaty we read of in history. The number of different interests concerned, and the great enmity and jealousy which subsisted between the parties, made it impossible that all could be satisfied: and indeed there seemed no other method of obtaining peace, but that which was taken, namely, for the two principal powers concerned to make their own articles, and to leave the rest for a subject of future discussion.

By the treaty of peace the French king obliged himself to abandon the pretender, and acknowledge the queen's title and the Protestant succession; to raze the fortifications of Dunkirk within a limited time, on condition of receiving an equivalent; to cede Newfoundland, Hudson's Bay, and St. Christopher's to England; but the French were left in possession of Cape Breton, and at liberty to dry their fish at Newfoundland. By the treaty of commerce a free-trade was established, according to the tariff of the year one thousand six hundred and sixty-four, except in some commodities that were subjected to new regulations in the year sixteen hundred and ninety-nine. It was agreed, that no other duties should be imposed on the productions of France imported into England, than those that were laid on the same commodities from other countries; and that commissaries should meet at London, to adjust all matters relating to commerce; as for the tariff with Spain, it was not yet finished. It was stipulated, that the emperor should possess the kingdom of Naples, the duchy of Milan, and the Spanish Netherlands: that the duke of Savoy should enjoy Sicily, with the title of king: that the same title, with the island of Sardinia, should be allotted to the elector of Bavaria, as indemnification for his losses: that the states-general should restore Lisle and its dependencies: that Namur, Charleroi, Luxembourg, Ypres, and

lier de St. George, (the pretender,) about this period conveyed a printed remonstrance to the minister at Utrecht, solemnly protesting against all that might be stipulated to his prejudice.

The Dutch and the Imperialists, after complaining of the desertion of their allies, resolved to hold out for some time: but they soon after concluded a peace; the former by the barrier treaty, and the latter by the treaty of Rastadt, in which their several interests were ascertained, and the treaty of Utrecht confirmed.

The English being now freed from their foreign enemies, had full leisure to indulge their domestic dissensions. The two parties never contended with greater animosity, nor greater injustice, against each other. No merit could be allowed in those of the opposite faction, and no knavery could be seen in their own. Whether it were at this time the wish of ministers to alter the succession of the crown from the house of Hanover to the pretender, cannot now be clearly made out; but true it is, that the Whigs believed it as certain, and the Tories but faintly denied the charge. The suspicions of that party became every day stronger, particularly when they saw a total removal of the Whigs from all places of trust and confidence throughout the kingdom, and their employments bestowed on professed Tories, supposed to be maintainers of an unbroken hereditary succession. The Whigs were all in commotion, either apprehending, or affecting to apprehend, a design in favour of the pretender; nay their reports went so far as to assert that he was actually concealed in London, and that he had held several conferences with the ministers of state.

Be this as it may, the chiefs of the Whig faction held secret conferences with baron Schutz, resident from the court of Hanover. They communicated their fears and apprehensions to the elector, who, before he arrived in England, or considered the spirit of parties, was thoroughly prejudiced against the Tories. In return, they received his instructions, and were taught to expect his favour in case of his succession. The house of lords seemed to share in the general apprehension. The queen was addressed to know what steps had been taken for removing the pretender from the dominions of the duke of Lorrain. They requested her to give them a list of such persons as having been once attainted for their political misconduct, had obtained licences to return into Great Britain since the Revolution. Mr. Steele, afterwards known as the celebrated sir Richard Steele, was not a little active in raising and spreading these reports. In a pamphlet written by him, called "The Crisis," he vehemently exclaimed against the ministry, and the immediate danger of their bringing in the pretender. The house of commons considered this performance as a scandalous and seditious libel; and Steele was expelled the house of which he was a member.

But while the Whigs were attacking the ministers from without, these were in much greater danger from their own internal dissensions. Harley was created lord Oxford, and St. John viscount Bolingbroke. Though they had started with the same principles and designs, yet having vanquished other opposers, they now began to turn their strength against each other. Never were two tempers worse matched to carry on business together. Oxford, cautious, slow, diffident, and reserved; Bolingbroke, hot, eager, impetuous, and proud; the first of great erudition, the latter of great natural capacity; the first obstinate in command, the other reluctant to obey; the first bent on maintaining that rank in the administration which he had obtained upon the dissolution of the last ministry; the other disdaining to act as a subaltern to a man whom he thought himself able to instruct. Both therefore began to form separate interests, and to adopt different principles. Oxford's plan was the more moderate, Bolingbroke's the more vigorous, but the less secure. Oxford, it is thought, was entirely for the Hanover succession; Bolingbroke had some hopes of bringing in the pretender. But though they hated each other cordially, yet they were for a while kept together by the good offices of their friends and adherents, who had the melancholy prospect of seeing the citadel of their hopes, while openly besieged from without, secretly undermining within.

This was a mortifying prospect to the Tories; but it was more particularly displeasing to the queen, who daily saw her favourite ministry declining, while her own health kept pace with their contentions. Her constitution was now quite broken. One fit of sickness succeeded another; and what completed the ruin of her health was the anxiety of her mind. The council chamber was for some time turned into a scene of obstinate dispute, and bitter altercation. Even in the queen's presence the treasurer and secretary did not abstain from mutual obloquy and reproach. As Oxford foresaw that the Whig ministry would force themselves in, he was for moderate measures. Bolingbroke, on the contrary, was for setting the Whigs at defiance, and flattered the queen, by giving way to all her favourite attachments. At length, their animosities coming to a height, Oxford wrote a letter to the queen, containing a detail of public transactions, in the course of which he endeavoured to justify his own conduct, and expose the turbulent and ambitious spirit of his rival. On the other hand, Bolingbroke charged the treasurer with having invited the duke of Marlborough to return from his voluntary exile, and of maintaining a private correspondence with the house of Hanover. In consequence of this, and the intrigues of lady Masham, who now seconded the aims of Bolingbroke, Oxford was removed from his employments, and his rival seemed to triumph in his new victory.

While these dissensions took place in England the princess Sophia died, in the eighty-fourth year of her age; and her death was intimated to the queen by baron Bothmar, who arrived in England with the character of envoy extraordinary from the elector of Hanover. This princess was the fourth and youngest daughter of Frederic, elector Palatine, king of Bohemia, and Elizabeth, daughter of king James I. of England. She enjoyed from nature an excellent capacity, which was finely cultivated: and was, in all respects, one of the most accomplished princesses of the age in which she lived. At her death the court of England appeared in mourning; and the elector of Brunswic was prayed for by name in the liturgy of the church of England.

The paltry triumph, however, of Bolingbroke was but of short duration. For a while he seemed to enjoy the confusion he had made; and the whole state being driven into disorder by the suddenness of the treasurer's fall, he sat secure, considering that he must be called upon to remedy every inconvenience. But the queen's declining state of health soon began to give him a dreadful prospect of his own situation, and the triumph of his enemies. As no plan had been adopted for supplying the vacancy of treasurer, the queen was perplexed and harrassed with the choice, and she had no longer strength left to support the fatigue. It had such an effect upon her spirits and constitution, that she declared she could not outlive it, and immediately sunk into a state of lethargic insensibility. Notwithstanding all the medicines that the physicians could prescribe, the distemper gained ground so fast, that the day after they despaired of her life, and the privy council was assembled on the occasion, July 30, 1714. The dukes of Somerset and Argyle being informed of the desperate state in which she lay, entered the council chamber without being summoned, not a little to the surprize of the Tory members, who did not expect their appearance. The duke of Shrewsbury thanked them for their readiness to give their assistance at such a critical juncture, and desired them to take their places. The physicians having declared that the queen was still in her senses, the council unanimously agreed that the duke of Shrewsbury was the fittest person to be appointed to the vacant office of treasurer. Thus Bolingbroke's ambition was defeated just at the moment when he thought himself secure.

All the members of the privy council, without distinction, being now summoned from the different parts of the kingdom, began to provide for the security of the constitution. They sent a letter to the elector of Hanover, informing him of the queen's dangerous situation, and desiring him to repair to Holland, where he would be attended by a British squadron to convey him to England. At the same time they dispatched instructions to the earl of Stafford at the Hague, to desire the states-general to be ready to perform the guaranty of the protestant succession. Precautions were taken to secure the sea-ports; and the command of the fleet was bestowed upon the earl of Berkeley, a professed Whig. These measures, which

and Nieuport, should be added to the other places they already possessed in Flanders: and, that the king of Prussia should have Upper-Gueldre, in lieu of Orange and other estates belonging to Franch-Comté. The king of Portugal was satisfied; and the first day of June was fixed as the period of time, granted to the emperor for consideration.

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were all dictated by that party, answered a double end. It argued their own alacrity, in the cause of their new sovereign, and seemed to imply a danger to the state from the disaffection of the opposite interest.

The queen, however, seemed to be somewhat relieved by medicines, arose from her bed, and walked a little. After some time, casting her eyes on a clock that stood in her chamber, she continued to gaze at it for some minutes. One of the ladies in waiting asked her what she saw there more than usual; to which the queen only answered, by turning her eyes upon her with a dying look. Soon after she was seized with a fit of the apoplexy, from which she was somewhat recovered by Dr. Mead; but she continued all night in a state of stupefaction. She gave some signs of life the following morning; but expired on the first of August, 1714, in the fiftieth year of her age. She reigned more than twelve years over a people now risen to the highest pitch of refinement; that had attained by their wisdom all the advantages of opulence, and by their valour all the happiness of security and conquest. Thus, by the death of Anne, ended the reign of the Stuarts; a family whose misfortunes and misconducts are not to be paralleled in history; a family, who, less than men themselves, seemed to expect from their followers more than manhood in their defence.

Anne Stuart, queen of Great Britain, was, in her person, of the middle size, well proportioned. Her hair was of a dark brown colour, her complexion ruddy, her features were regular, her countenance was rather round than oval, and her aspect more comely than majestic. Her voice was clear and melodious, and her presence engaging. Her capacity was naturally good, but not much cultivated by learning; nor did she exhibit any marks of extraordinary genius. She was certainly deficient in that vigour of mind by which a prince ought to preserve his independence, and avoid the snares and fetters of sycophants and favourites; but whatever her weakness in this particular might have been, the virtues of her heart were never called in question. She was a pattern of conjugal affection and fidelity: a tender mother, a warm friend, an indulgent mistress, a munificent patron, a mild and merciful prince, during whose reign no subject's blood was shed for treason. She was zealously attached to the church of England from conviction, rather than from prepossession, unaffectedly pious, just, charitable, and compassionate. She felt a mother's fondness for her people, by whom she was universally beloved with a warmth of affection, which even the prejudice of party could not abate. She had less vivacity and animation than her sister, and less activity and fortitude. She was dull and indolent in her disposition; was extremely timid and irresolute; and easily resigned herself to the influence and direction of others. She was, however, jealous of her prerogative, and willing to exact from her attendants a punctilious respect of her station. In the disputes of party she leaned strongly to the Tories; for she had been taught to believe, that their adversaries, the Whigs, were very unfriendly to the rights of monarchy and the principles of the national church.

CHAP. II.

Affairs of the Church, from the Revolution to the Death of Queen Anne.

ON the abdication of James the Second, in 1689, and the elevation of William the Third to the throne, the zealous friends of the church of England were fearful that the Calvinistic principles of the new king would render him partial to the presbyterians, who were the most numerous class of dissenters. They prepared to resist his supposed views; and when they were apprized of three schemes which he resolved to submit to parliamentary discussion, (for a toleration, a comprehension, and the removal of the test,) they propagated the alarm of danger with such success, that he succeeded only in one of his aims. The bill of toleration originated in the house of lords, being introduced by the earl of Nottingham. Though disapproved by the rigid churchmen, it was supported by the generality of the members of both houses; and a proposition for making it temporary, that the renewal of it might depend on the good behaviour of the non-conformists, did not meet with assent. Besides allowing the open frequenting of places of worship, suited to different persuasions, to such as should take the oaths to the new government, or (if quakers) should make a correspondent affirmation, this act exempted dissenting ministers from the obligation of acting as jurors, and the burthen of parochial offices; and permitted dissenters in general to execute those employments by deputies. All sects who denied the doctrine of the Trinity, as well as all Roman catholics, were precluded from the benefit of the statute; but from the increasing liberality of the times, even these sectaries felt the effects of that indulgence from which the strictness of the law would have debarred them.

The scheme for a comprehension was strongly opposed; nor was it supported with due spirit by those who professed their approbation of it. The high church zealots were unwilling to give up any points of doctrine or discipline for the purpose of introducing their old enemies within the pale of general communion; and many of the more moderate episcopalians were inclined to question the policy as well as the efficacy of the proposed union, which, they thought, would never form a cordial or compleat coalition. But others recommended it as a necessary act of humanity and Christian charity to relax the rigour of particular ordinances, in behalf of persons whose scruples of conscience entitled them to indulgence, and who did not differ so widely from the churchmen, as to be unworthy of a participation of the emoluments of the hierarchy. The chief debates in the progress of the bill through the upper house, related to a clause for dispensing with the act of kneeling at the reception of the sacrament; and to a motion for admitting the laity into a commission of ecclesiastical reform. The former question was carried in favour of the dissenters; while the other was decided in prejudice of the laity (*n*). The commons were less friendly to the bill than the peers; and, when it entered their house, it was exposed to contemptuous neglect, and became abortive.

To the bill for instituting new oaths of allegiance and supremacy, the addition of a clause was proposed by some of the ministerial peers, for the repeal of that part of the test act which imposed the sacrament on all candidates for offices; but it was eagerly discouraged by the majority of the house, and exploded without a division. A similar attempt was made, without success, by the offer of a clause, providing, that the reception of the sacrament, according to the forms of any protestant congregation, within a year previous or subsequent to the entrance upon any employment, should be a sufficient qualification for such office, notwithstanding the injunctions of the test act.

In the discussion of the same bill, debates arose with regard to the expediency of compelling the ministers of the church to take the oaths to William and Mary. After some dispute between the lords and commons, it was resolved, that the clerical non-jurors should not be exempt from the punishment of deprivation. Though the ecclesiastics of the establishment had opposed the arbitrary measures of James the Second, they were not inclined to an absolute renunciation of their former opinions of the indefeasible rights of monarchy and the strict rules of hereditary succession; and were therefore unwilling to sanction, by their solemn assent, a breach of those principles which they deemed sacred: but, to prevent their ejection from their benefices, they silenced the scruples of their consciences by various excuses, particularly by the allegation of the expediency of a temporary submission to an actual king, whose resentment they would otherwise excite, while they secretly retained their allegiance to the rightful sovereign whom he had supplanted, and whom they were ready to serve whenever an opportunity should present itself. Hence it happened, that a small number only of the clergy declined the oaths. Of the refusal of several of the prelates to comply with the act, we have already treated in the civil history.

At the desire of the commons, William summoned a convocation;

(*n*) It is remarkable, that the two divisions were respectively attended with an equality of votes; in which case, by the practice of the house of lords, a negative decision of the immediate question takes place. A committee having rejected the clause of dispensation, the question was, whether the house should agree to the omission of it: the negative to that point was therefore favourable to the clause. The motion concerning the laity being put in its original form, the equality of suffrages proved adverse to it.

convocation; but this meeting did not take place before the business of the comprehension had been discussed by commissioners whom he selected from the higher stations of the church, and whom he authorized to consider of such ecclesiastical alterations as seemed requisite. After frequent meetings of the delegates, such concessions were made to the dissenters as would probably have induced the majority of them to unite with the church. The convocation having met, a contest ensued for the office of prolocutor of the lower house, on the 21st of November, 1689. Dr. John Tillotson was proposed by the moderate members of the assembly; but the zealots, who were much more numerous, recommended Dr. Jane, who was therefore chosen speaker. William was so disgusted at the non-compliance of the clergy in this assembly with his wishes, that he resolved to follow the example of Charles the Second, in prohibiting the convocation from acting. He therefore regularly summoned that body with the parliament, but took care to preclude all business by repeated prorogations.

The deprivation of archbishop Sancroft and his nonjuring brethren occasioned a great clamour among the bigoted ecclesiastics, who condemned this treatment of the heads of the church as severe and unjust, and affirmed that the parliament had encroached on the power of the church by such jurisdiction. They therefore represented Tillotson (whom the king had promoted to the archiepiscopal see of Canterbury) as the usurper of a see which belonged to another; and, by affecting to consider all the deprived dignitaries as being still entitled to their preferments, endeavoured to establish a new schism.

On the decease of Dr. Tillotson in 1694, after a short enjoyment of his metropolitan dignity, Dr. Thomas Tenison, bishop of Lincoln, was advanced to the vacant see. He, like his predecessor, was attached to the principles of the Whigs. He had distinguished himself by an able and faithful discharge of the clerical duties; and in his new dignity he did not degenerate from his former fame.

The new primate, soon after his elevation, persuaded the king to issue injunctions for the strict observance of every branch of ecclesiastical discipline; and, in 1695, when the extraordinary prevalence of the Arian and Socinian doctrines alarmed the orthodox divines, he not only encouraged the Trinitarians, but procured fresh directions from the crown, which were published in every diocese in 1696. The defenders of the church, in the treatises which they sent into the world, did not entirely agree in their sentiments concerning this abstruse point; some explaining it one way, and others another. To check these disputes among the churchmen, and to guard against the attacks of the enemies of the Trinity, William directed, that no preacher or writer should deliver any other doctrine on this head, but what was agreeable to the Scriptures, the three creeds, and the articles; and that it should be explained in the ordinary way, without the introduction of new terms: and the prelates were ordered to exert their authority against the mischievous views of those who controverted or denied the Trinitarian system.

Under the spiritual government of Tenison, a process was instituted against Watson, bishop of St. David's, whose delinquency disgraced the order to which he belonged. The primate, assisted by some of his brethren, sat in judgement on this occasion in 1699. It appeared, that the accused prelate had been guilty of corrupt and simoniacal practices, of fraud and extortion, and of solemn attestations of falsehood; and for these offences he was deprived of his see. He appealed from this sentence to a court of delegates; but they confirmed the former decision. Complaint was made, in the house of lords, of the illegality of the process; and it was asserted, that the jurisdiction of the archbishop was incompetent to such a trial, as the cognizance of the cause belonged to a regular synod of the bishops of the province. Though better authority was produced on the other side, the vacatiey occasioned by the deprivation was not filled before the court of exchequer had decided that the delinquent had no right to the temporalities of the see.

The king being importuned by the Tory leaders in 1701 to suffer the convocation to sit, that assembly was opened with the usual forms. Hooper, dean of Canterbury was chosen prolocutor. He was inclined to support the zealous party. As some of the members quickly exercised their elocution to the prejudice of the moderate clergy, the primate ordered a short prorogation: but the lower house continued to sit and debate, and then adjourned. Some time after the two houses proceeded to the examination of heretical tenets advanced by the writers of the times; and having censured some of the opinions of Toland, they requested the concurrence of the prelates in their resolutions: but the latter replied, that they did not consider the convocation as competent to the pronunciation of a judicial censure in this case without a licence from the king; and that the bishop of the diocese in which that author resided was lawfully empowered to proceed against him. The two houses of convocation, however, continued to dispute with vehemence, till they were prorogued by the king's writ. When the convocation was again permitted to sit, in 1702, their contentions were renewed with augmented spirit, till the death of the king, and then a new difference of opinion arose, which, like the former, occasioned violent disputes.

Towards the close of William's reign, the solicitations of the primate procured a charter, which established a society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts. Several associations had taken place in this reign for the encouragement of religion and virtue. The members of these associations had employed themselves in promoting the enforcement of the laws against profane, vicious, and profligate individuals, and in collecting contributions for lectures and daily prayers in the churches, for the education of the children of the poor, and other laudable purposes. A more regular society (which still subsists) had been formed, in 1699, for the extension of Christian knowledge, by the distribution of religious publications among the inferior ranks of the community. These institutions led to others of a similar kind; and the consideration of the low state of religion in the Trans-Atlantic colonies induced several divines, particularly Blair (*o*), Bray, and Stanley, to recommend the erection of that society for which the above-mentioned charter, dated June 16, 1701, was granted. Many of the clergy and laity subscribed liberally towards the execution of the intentions of this corporation, which extended not only to the instruction of the descendants of the European colonists, but to the conversion of the savages and negroes.

During the reign of queen Anne, the disputes between the two houses of convocation were continually renewed, to the disgrace of the church party, and which in time rendered the dissenters from the established church exceedingly numerous. Amidst the disputes which agitated the convocation, the Anti-Trinitarian notions of Whiston came under consideration. The bishops, being doubtful of the power of the assembly to proceed against a heretic in the first instance, desired the opinion of the judges, of whom the major part asserted the competency of the convocation in this respect. Having still some doubts, the prelates would only censure the objectionable doctrines which Whiston had propagated, and the lower house followed their example.

In the subsequent meetings of the clergy, till the death of the queen, nothing memorable occurred. Want of unanimity still prevailed; and a warmth of zeal still influenced a great proportion of the clerical representatives; but it did not so strongly display itself as on some former occasions.

(*o*) The indefatigable projector of the college of Williamsburgh in Virginia, which was founded in 1694. This was the first academical institution among the North American colonies belonging to Great Britain.

BOOK XII.

THE HOUSE OF HANOVER.

GEORGE THE FIRST.

THE inclinations of Anne for the promotion of her brother's claim to the throne of Great Britain had not been disclosed, and if they had been made known, would not have met with the concurrence of the majority of her ministers, still less with the acquiescence of the generality of the people; so that the parliamentary pretensions of George Lewis (*p*), elector of Hanover, were carried into immediate effect. The queen had no sooner resigned her breath, than the privy council met, and three instruments were produced, by which the elector appointed several of his adherents to be added as lords justices to the seven great officers of the kingdom. Orders were immediately issued for proclaiming George king of England, Scotland, and Ireland. The regency appointed the earl of Dorset to carry to Hanover the intimation of his majesty's accession to the crown, and to attend him in his journey to England. They sent the general officers, in whom they could confide, to their respective posts: they reinforced the garrison of Portsmouth; and they appointed the celebrated Mr. Addison secretary of state. To mortify the late ministry, lord Bolingbroke was obliged to wait every morning in the passage, among the servants, with his bag of papers, where there were persons purposely placed to insult and deride him. No tumult or sign of popular discontent appeared on the accession of the new monarch; so that the unprejudiced part of the nation were persuaded that no design had been concerted by queen Anne and her ministry in favour of the pretender. The mayor of Oxford indeed received a letter, requiring him to proclaim the pretender; but this being communicated to the vice-chancellor, a copy of it was immediately transmitted to Mr. secretary Bromley, member of parliament for the university; and the vice-chancellor offered a reward of one hundred pounds to any person who should discover the author. It was supposed to be either the production of some mad-headed partizan, or a weak contrivance to fix an odium on that venerable body.

The parliament having assembled, pursuant to the act which regulated the succession, the lord chancellor, on the 1st of August, made a speech to both houses in the name of the regency. He told them, that the privy council, appointed by the elector of Brunswick, had proclaimed that prince, under the name of king George, as the lawful and rightful sovereign of these kingdoms; and that they had taken the necessary care to maintain the public peace. He observed, that the several branches of the public revenue were expired by the demise of her late majesty; and recommended to the commons the making such provision, in that respect, as might be requisite to support the honour and dignity of the crown. He likewise expressed his hope, that they would not be wanting in any thing that might conduce to the establishing and advancing of the public credit. Both houses immediately agreed to addresses, containing the warmest expressions of duty and affection to their new sovereign, who did not fail to return such answers as were very agreeable to the parliament of Great Britain. In the mean time the lower house proposed and passed a bill, granting to his majesty the same civil list which the queen had enjoyed; with additional clauses for the payment of arrears due to the troops of Hanover, which had been in the service of Great Britain; and for a reward of one hundred thousand pounds, to be paid by the treasury to any person who should apprehend the pretender in landing, or attempting to land, in any part of the British dominions. Mr. Craggs, who had been dispatched to Hanover before the queen died, returning on the 13th of August, with letters from the king to the regency, they went to the house of peers: then the chancellor, in another speech to both houses, intimated his majesty's great satisfaction in the loyalty and affection which his people had universally expressed at his accession. Other addresses were voted on this occasion. The commons finished the bill for the civil list, and one for making some alterations in an act for a state lottery, which received the royal assent from the lords justices. The parliament was then prorogued.

Mr. Prior having notified the queen's death to the court of Versailles, Louis declared that he would inviolably maintain the treaty of peace concluded at Utrecht, particularly with relation to the settlement of the British crown in the house of Hanover. The earl of Strafford signified the same event to the states of Holland; and the resident of Hanover presented them with a letter, in which his master claimed the performance of their guarantee; they resolved to perform their engagements, and congratulated his electoral highness on his accession to the throne of Great Britain. They invited him to pass through their dominions, and assured him that his interests were as dear to them as their own. The chevalier de St. George no sooner received the news of the queen's death, than he posted to Versailles, where he was given to understand, that the king of France expected he should quit his territories immediately; and he was accordingly obliged to return to Lorraine. By this time Mr. Murray had arrived in England from Hanover, with notice that the king had deferred his departure for some days. He brought orders to the regency, to prepare a patent for creating the prince royal prince of Wales; and for removing lord Bolingbroke from his post of secretary. The seals were taken from this minister by the dukes of Shrewsbury and Somerset, and lord Cowper, who, at the same time, sealed up all the doors of his office.

The king landed at Greenwich on the 18th of September, 1714, where he was received by the duke of Northumberland, captain of the life-guards, and the lords of the regency. From the landing place he walked to his house in the park, accompanied by a great number of the nobility and other persons of distinction, who expected to make their court in this reign. When he retired to his bed-chamber, he sent for such of the nobility as had distinguished themselves by their zeal for his succession. But the duke of Ormond, the lord chancellor, and the lord treasurer, found themselves excluded. Lord Oxford, the next morning, presented himself with an air of confidence, supposing that his rupture with Bolingbroke would compensate for his former conduct: but he had the mortification to remain a considerable time among the crowd unnoticed; and then was permitted to kiss the king's hand, without being honoured with any circumstance of peculiar respect. On the other hand, the king expressed uncommon regard for the duke of Marlborough, who had just arrived from the continent, as well as for all the leaders of the Whig party. This was a great mortification to the Tories.

(*p*) Genealogists have traced the Hanoverian family to Otbert, an Italian nobleman, who retired from Este into Germany in the tenth century, and whose grandson Azo received the hand of Cunegunda, the daughter of Guelfo, or Welff, duke of Bavaria. Guelf, the offspring of this match, succeeded to the duchy; and his grandson, Henry the Proud, added to it, by marriage, the territories of Brunswick, Zell, Lunenburg, and other provinces of Lower Saxony. Henry the Lion, son of this prince, being dispossessed of his dominions by his German enemies, fled into Normandy, to the court of Henry the Second, king of England, whose eldest daughter he had espoused, and by whose interest he at length recovered Brunswick, with other states between the Elbe and the Weser, which he divided among his three sons. After alternate separations and re-unions, Henry and William, his lineal descendants, jointly possessed the duchy of Lunenburg, that of Zell, and the county of Danneberg. The elder brother, retaining the county, resigned the two duchies to William, who, at different times, found means to augment his territorial portion. While the posterity of Henry became dukes of Brunswick and Wolfenbuttel, the line of William possessed Lunenburg and its dependencies, including the duchy of Hanover. Ernest, one of his grandsons, obtained the bishopric of Osnabruck in 1662; and, in 1680, the duchy of Hanover; which, in consequence of his zeal in the service of the emperor Leopold, was formed into an electorate. He was succeeded in the electoral dukedom, in 1698, by George Lewis, who was his eldest son by the princess Sophia, grand-daughter of James the First of England. George, in 1705, acquired Lunenburg, Zell, and Saxe-Lawenburg, by the death of his uncle and father-in-law; and was therefore a prince of territorial respectability, before the death of Anne called him to the British throne, at which time he was in the fifty-fifth year of his age.

The

The king of a faction is indeed but the sovereign of half his subjects. Of this, however, the newly elected monarch did not seem sensible. It was his misfortune, and consequently of the nation, that he was hemmed round by men, who soured him with all their own interests and prejudices. None now but the leaders of a party were admitted to employment. The Whigs, while they pretended to secure the crown for the king, were with all possible arts confirming their own interests, extending their connexions, and giving laws to their sovereign. An instantaneous and total change was made in all the offices of trust, honour, or advantage. The Whigs governed the senate and the court; whom they would they oppressed; bound the lower orders of the people with severe laws, and kept them at a distance by vile distinctions.

On the 20th of October, he was crowned in Westminster with the usual solemnity; at which the earl of Oxford and lord Bolingbroke assisted. On that very day, the university of Oxford, in full convocation, unanimously conferred the degree of Doctor of Civil Law on sir Constantine Phipps, with particular marks of honour and esteem. As the French king was said to protract the demolition of Dunkirk, Mr. Prior received orders to present a memorial to hasten this work, and to prevent the canal of Mardyke from being finished. The answer which he received being deemed equivocal, this minister was recalled, and the earl of Stair appointed ambassador to the court of France, where he prosecuted this affair with uncommon vigour. About the same time, general Cadogan was sent as plenipotentiary to Antwerp, to assist at the barrier treaty, negociated there between the emperor and the states-general.

The king's partiality to the Whigs soon raised great discontent among the people, and increased the number of malcontents in every part of the kingdom. The old clamour of the church being in danger was revived; jealousies were excited; seditious libels dispersed; dangerous tumults raised; and the people only seemed to want a leader to excite them to insurrection. Birmingham, Bristol, Chippenham, Norwich, and Reading, were filled with riot. The party cry was, "Down with the Whigs! Sacheverel for ever!" Many gentlemen of the Whig faction were abused; magistrates in towns, and justices in the country were reviled and insulted in the execution of their office.

During these commotions the pretender was not an idle spectator; for he transmitted, by the French mail, copies of a printed address to the dukes of Shrewsbury, Marlborough, Argyle, and other noblemen of the first distinction, vindicating his right to the crown, and complaining of the injustice of his people. Yet though he still complained of their conduct, he never took one step to reform his own, or to correct that objection upon which his father had forfeited the throne. He still continued to profess the truest regard to the catholic religion; and, instead of concealing his sentiments on that head, gloried in his principles. He expected to ascend the throne against a very powerful opposition, and that by professing the very same principles by which it had been lost. He observed that his people, instead of doing him and themselves justice, had proclaimed for their king a foreign prince, contrary to the fundamental and incontestible laws of hereditary right, which their pretended acts of settlement could never abrogate. These papers being delivered to the secretaries of state, the king refused an audience to the marquis de Lamberti, minister from the duke of Lorraine, on the supposition that this manifesto could not have been prepared or transmitted without the knowledge and countenance of his master. The marquis having communicated this circumstance to the duke, that prince denied his having been privy to the transaction, and declared that the chevalier de St. George came into Lorraine by directions of the French king, whom the duke could not disoblige without exposing his territories to invasion. Notwithstanding this apology, the marquis was given to understand that he could not be admitted to an audience until the pretender should be removed from the dominions of his master: he, therefore, quitted the kingdom without further hesitation.

Religion too was still mingled in all political disputes. The high-churchmen complained that impiety and heresy daily gained ground from the connivance, or at least the supine negligence of the Whig prelates. The lower house of convocation had, before the queen's death, declared that a book published by Dr. Samuel Clarke, under the title of "The Scripture Doctrine of the Trinity," contained assertions contrary to the catholic faith. They sent up extracts from this performance to the bishops; and the doctor wrote an answer to their objections. He was prevailed upon to write an apology, which he presented to the upper house: but apprehending it might be published separately, and misunderstood, he afterwards delivered an explanation to the bishop of London. This was satisfactory to the bishops; but the lower house resolved, that it was no recantation of his heretical assertions. The disputes about the Trinity increasing, the archbishops and bishops received directions, which were published, for preserving unity in the church, the purity of the Christian faith concerning the Holy Trinity, and for maintaining the peace and quiet of the state. By these every preacher was restricted from delivering any other doctrine than what is contained in the Holy Scriptures with respect to the Trinity; and from intermeddling in any affairs of state or government. The like prohibition was extended to those who should write, harangue, or dispute on the same subjects.

The parliament being dissolved, another was called by a very extraordinary proclamation, in which the king complained of the evil designs of men disaffected to his succession; and of their having misrepresented his conduct and principles. He mentioned the perplexity of public affairs, the interruption of commerce, and the heavy debts of the nation. He expressed his hope that his loving subjects would send up to parliament the fittest persons to redress the present disorders; and that in the elections, they would have a particular regard to such as had expressed a firm attachment to the protestant succession when it was in danger: though it does not appear that the protestant succession was ever in danger. When the earl of Strafford returned from Holland, all his papers were seized by an order from the secretary of state's office. Mr. Prior was recalled from France, and promised to discover all he knew relating to the conduct of Oxford's administration. Uncommon vigour was exerted on both sides in the elections; but, by dint of monied interest, which prevailed in most of the corporations through the kingdom, and the countenances of the ministry, which will always have weight with needy and venal electors, a great majority of Whigs were returned both in England and Scotland.

When this new parliament assembled on the 17th of March, 1715, at Westminster, Mr. Spencer Compton was chosen speaker of the commons. On the 21st, the king appeared in the house of lords, and delivered to the chancellor a written speech, which was read in presence of both houses. His majesty thanked his faithful and loving subjects for that zeal and firmness they had shown in defence of the protestant succession, against all the open and secret practices which had been used to defeat it. He told them, that some conditions of the peace, essential to the security and trade of Great Britain, were not yet duly executed; and that the performance of the whole might be looked upon as precarious, until defensive alliances should be formed to guarantee the present treaties. He observed, that the pretender boasted of the assistance he expected in England, to repair his former disappointment: that great part of the national trade was rendered impracticable; and that the public debts were surprizingly encreased, even since the fatal cessation of arms. He gave the commons to understand, that the branches of the revenue formerly granted for the support of the civil government, were so far encumbered and alienated, that the produce of the funds which remained, and had been granted to him, would fall short of what was at first designed for maintaining the honour and dignity of the crown: that it was his, and their happiness, to see a prince of Wales who might in due time succeed him on the throne, and to see him blessed with many children; these circumstances would naturally occasion an expence to which the nation had not been for many years accustomed; and therefore he did not doubt but they would think of it with that affection which he had reason to hope from his commons. He desired that no unhappy divisions of parties might divert them from pursuing the common interest of their country. He declared that the established constitution in church and state should be the rule of his government; and that the happiness, ease, and prosperity of his people should be the chief care of his life. He concluded with expressing his confidence, that with their assistance he should disappoint the designs of those who wanted to deprive him of that blessing which he most valued—the affection of his people.

This declaration portended measures which it was the interest

terest of the crown to avoid, and suited the temper of the majority in both houses, which breathed nothing but destruction to their political adversaries. The lords, in their address of thanks, professed their hope that his majesty, assisted by the parliament, would be able to recover the reputation of the kingdom in foreign parts, the loss of which they hoped to convince the world by their actions was by no means to be imputed to the nation in general. The Tories said this was an invidious reflection, calculated to mislead and inflame the people; for the reputation of the kingdom had never been so high as at this very juncture. The commons pretended astonishment to find that any conditions of the late peace should not yet be duly executed; and that care was not taken to form such alliances as might have rendered the peace not precarious. They declared their resolution to enquire into the fatal miscarriages; to trace out those measures whereon the pretender placed his hopes, and bring the authors of them to condign punishment. These addresses were not voted without opposition. In the house of lords, the dukes of Buckingham and Shrewsbury, the earl of Anglesey, the archbishop of York, and other peers, both secular and ecclesiastical, observed, that their address was injurious to the late queen's memory, and would serve only to increase those unhappy divisions that distracted the kingdom. In the lower house, sir William Wyndham, Mr. Bromley, Mr. Shippen, general Ross, sir William Whitelocke, and other members, took exceptions to passages of the same nature, in the address which the commons had prepared. They were answered by Mr. Walpole, Mr. Pulteney, and secretary Stanhope. These gentlemen took occasion to declare, that notwithstanding the endeavours which had been used to prevent a discovery of the late mismanagements, by conveying away several papers from the secretary's office, yet the government had sufficient evidence left, to prove the late ministry the most corrupt that ever sat at the helm: that those matters would soon be laid before the house, when it would appear that a certain English general had acted in concert with, if not received orders from, mareschal de Villars. Lord Bolingbroke, who had hitherto appeared in public, as usual, with remarkable serenity, and spoke in the house of lords with great freedom and confidence, thought it was now high time to consult his personal safety. He accordingly withdrew to the continent, leaving a letter which was afterwards printed in his justification (*q*).

In the midst of all this violence against the late ministers, friends were not wanting to espouse their cause in the face of opposition: and even in some addresses to the king their conduct was justified. Nay, some individuals had courage enough to attack the present administration. When a motion was made in the house of commons, to consider the king's proclamation for calling a new parliament, sir William Whitelocke, member for the university of Oxford, boldly declared it was unprecedented and unwarrantable. Being called upon to explain himself, he made an apology. Nevertheless, sir William Wyndham said, the proclamation was not only unprecedented and unwarrantable, but even of dangerous consequence to the very being of parliaments. When challenged to justify his charge, he observed, that every member was free to speak his thoughts. Some exclaimed, "The Tower! the Tower!" A warm debate ensued; sir William being ordered to withdraw, was accompanied by one hundred and twenty-nine members; and those who remained in the house resolved, That he should be reprimanded by the speaker. He was accordingly rebuked, for having presumed to reflect on his majesty's proclamation, and having made an unwarrantable use of the freedom of speech granted by his majesty. Sir William said, he was not conscious of having offered any indignity to his majesty, or of having been guilty of a breach of privilege: that he acquiesced in the determination of the house; but had no thanks to give those gentlemen, who, under pretence of lenity, had subjected him to this censure.

On the 9th of April, general Stanhope delivered to the house of commons fourteen volumes, consisting of all the papers relating to the late negociations of peace and commerce, as well as to the cessation of arms; and moved that they might be referred to a select committee of twenty persons, who should digest the substance of them under proper heads, and report them, with their observations, to the house. One more was added to the number of this secret committee, which was chosen by ballot, and met that same evening. Mr. Robert Walpole, original chairman, being taken ill, was succeeded in that place by Mr. Stanhope. The whole number was subdivided into three committees: to each a certain number of books was allotted; and they carried on the enquiry with great eagerness and expedition (*r*). Immediately after the committee had begun to act, the Whig party lost one of their warmest champions, by the death of the marquis of Wharton, a nobleman possessed of happy talents for the cabinet, the senate, and the common scenes of life; talents, which a life of pleasure and libertinism did not prevent him from employing with surprising vigour and application. The committee of the lower house taking the civil list into consideration, examined several papers relating to that revenue. The Tories observed, that from the seven hundred thousand pounds granted annually to king William, fifty thousand pounds were allotted to the late queen, when princess of Denmark; twenty thousand pounds to the duke of Gloucester; and twice that sum, as a dowry, to James's queen; that near two hundred thousand pounds had been yearly deducted from the revenues of the late queen's civil-list, and applied to other uses; notwithstanding which deduction, she had honourably maintained her family, and supported the dignity of the crown. In the course of the debate some warm altercation passed between lord Guernsey and one of the members, who affirmed that the late ministry had used the Whigs, and, indeed, the whole nation in such a manner, that nothing they should suffer could be deemed hardship. At length the house agreed that the sum of seven hundred thousand pounds clear should be granted for the civil-list during his majesty's life. A motion being made for an address against pensions, it was opposed by Mr. Walpole, and over-ruled by the majority. The lords passed the bill for regulating the land forces, with some amendments.

On the 18th of May, sir John Norris sailed with a strong squadron to the Baltic, in order to protect the commerce of the nation, which had suffered from the king of Sweden, who caused all ships trading to those parts to be seized and confiscated. That prince had rejected the treaty of neutrality concerted by the allies for the security of the empire; and considered the English and Dutch as his enemies. The ministers of England and the states general had presented memorials to the regency of Sweden; but finding no redress, they resolved to protect their trade by force of arms. After the Swedish general Steenboch and his army were made prisoners, count Wellen concluded a treaty with the administration of Holstein-Gottorp, by which the towns of Stetin and Wismar were sequestered into the hands of the king of Prussia; the administrator engaged to secure them, and all the rest of Swedish Pomerania, from the Poles and Muscovites; but, as the governor of Pomerania refused to comply with this treaty, those allies marched into the province, subdued the island of Rugen, and obliged Stetin to surrender. Then the governor consented to the sequestration, and paid to the Poles and Muscovites four hundred thousand rix dollars, to indemnify them for the expence of the siege. The king of Sweden returning from Turkey, rejected the treaty of sequestration, and insisted upon Stetin's being restored, without his repaying the money. As this monarch likewise threatened to invade the electorate of Saxony, and chastise his false friends; king George, for the security of his German dominions, concluded a treaty with the king of Denmark, by which the Duchies of Bremen and Verden, which had been taken from the Swede in his absence, were made over to his Britannic majesty, on condition that he should declare war against Sweden.

(*q*) In this paper, he declared he had received certain and repeated informations, that a resolution was taken to pursue him to the scaffold: that if there had been the least reason to hope for a fair and open trial, after having been already prejudged, unheard, by the two houses of parliament, he should not have declined the strictest examination. He challenged the most inveterate of his enemies to produce any one instance of criminal correspondence, or the least corruption in any part of the administration in which he was concerned. He said, if his zeal for the honour and dignity of his royal mistress, and the true interest of his country, had any where transported him to let slip a warm and unguarded expression, he hoped the most favourable interpretation would be put upon it. He affirmed, that he had served her majesty faithfully and dutifully, in that especially which she had most at heart, relieving her people from a bloody and expensive war; and that he had always been too much an Englishman to sacrifice the interest of his country to any foreign ally whatsoever.

(*r*) Before this measure was taken, Dr. Gilbert Burnet, bishop of Sarum, died of a pleuritic fever, in the seventy-second year of his age.

Accordingly,

Accordingly, he took possession of the Duchies in October; published a declaration of war against Charles in his Germanic dominions; and detached six thousand Hanoverians to join the Danes and Prussians in Pomerania. These allies reduced the islands of Rugen and Uledon, and attacked the towns of Wismar and Stralsund, from which last place Charles was obliged to retire in a vessel to Schonen. He assembled a body of troops with which he proposed to pass the Sound upon the ice, and attack Copenhagen; but was disappointed by a sudden thaw. Nevertheless, he refused to return to Stockholm, which he had not seen for sixteen years; but remained at Carlescroon, in order to hasten his fleet for the relief of Wismar.

The spirit of discontent and disaffection seemed to gain ground every day in England. Notwithstanding proclamations against riots, and orders of the justices for maintaining the peace, repeated tumults were raised by the malcontents in London and Westminster. Those who celebrated the anniversary of the king's birth-day with the usual marks of joy and festivity, were insulted by the populace; but next day, which was the anniversary of the restoration, the whole city was lighted up with bonfires and illuminations, and echoed with the sound of mirth and tumultuous rejoicing. The people even obliged the life guards, who patroled through the streets, to join in the cry of "High Church and Ormond!" and in Smithfield they burned the picture of king William (*s*). A frivolous incident served to increase the popular ferment. The shirts allowed to the first regiment of guards, commanded by the duke of Marlborough, were so coarse, that the soldiers could hardly be persuaded to wear them. Some were thrown into the garden of the king's palace, and into that which belonged to the duke of Marlborough. A detachment, in marching through the city, produced them to the view of the shopkeepers and passengers, exclaiming, "These are the Hanover shirts." The court being informed of this clamour, ordered those new shirts to be burned immediately: but even this sacrifice, and an advertisement published by the duke of Marlborough in his own vindication, did not acquit that general of a suspicion that he was concerned in this mean species of peculation. A reward of fifty pounds was offered by the government to any person that would discover one captain Wight, who by an intercepted letter, appeared to be disaffected to king George; and Mr. George Jefferies was seized at Dublin, with a packet, directed to Dr. Jonathan Swift, dean of St. Patrick's. Several treasonable papers being found in this packet, were transmitted to England: Jefferies was obliged to give bail for his appearance; and Swift thought proper to abscond.

The house of lords, to demonstrate their abhorrence of all who should engage in conspiracies against the king, rejected with indignation a petition presented to them in behalf of Blackburn, Casilis, Barnarde, Meldrum, and Chambers, who had hitherto continued prisoners, for having conspired against the life of king William. On the 9th of June, Mr. Walpole, as chairman of the secret committee, declared to the house of commons, that the report was ready; and in the mean time moved, That a warrant might be issued by Mr. Speaker, for apprehending several persons, particularly Mr. Matthew Prior and Mr. Thomas Harley, who being in the house, were immediately taken into custody. Then he recited the report, ranged under these different heads: the clandestine negociations with Monsieur Menager: the extraordinary measures pursued to form the congress at Utrecht: the trifling of the French plenipotentiaries, by the connivance of the British ministers: the negociation about the renunciation of the Spanish monarchy: the fatal suspension of arms: the seizure of Ghent and Bruges, in order to distress the allies and favour the French: the duke of Ormond's acting in concert with the the French general: the lord Bolingbroke's journey to France, to negociate a separate peace: Mr. Prior's and the duke of Shrewsbury's negociation in France: the precipitate conclusion of the peace at Utrecht. The report being read, sir Thomas Hamner moved, That the consideration of it should be adjourned to a certain day; and that in the mean time the report should be printed for the perusal of the members: he was seconded by the Tories: a debate ensued; and the motion was rejected by a great majority.

This point being gained, Mr. Walpole impeached Henry lord viscount Bolingbroke of high treason, and other high crimes and misdemeanors. Mr. Hungerford declared his opinion, that nothing mentioned in the report, in relation to lord Bolingbroke, amounted to high treason; and general Ross expressed the same sentiment. Then lord Coningsby said, "The worthy chairman has impeached the hand, but I impeach the head: he has impeached the clerk, and I the justice: he has impeached the scholar, and I the master. I impeach Robert earl of Oxford and earl of Mortimer of high treason, and other crimes and misdemeanors." Mr. auditor Harley, the earl's brother, spoke in vindication of that minister. He affirmed he had done nothing but by the immediate command of his sovereign: that the peace was a good peace, and approved as such by two parliaments; and that the facts charged to him in the report amounted only to misdemeanors: if the faction of a parliament, which is the representative and legislature of the nation, be not sufficient to protect a minister from the vengeance of his enemies, he can have no security. Mr. auditor Foley, the earl's brother-in-law, made a speech to the same purpose: sir Joseph Jekyll, a staunch Whig, and member of the secret committee, expressed his doubt, whether they had sufficient matter or evidence to impeach the earl of high treason. Nevertheless, the house resolved to impeach him, without a division. When he appeared in the house of lords, the following day, he found himself deserted by his brother peers, as infectious; and retired with signs of confusion. Prior and Harley having been examined by such of the committee as were justices of the peace for Middlesex, Mr. Walpole informed the house that matters of such importance appeared in Prior's examination, that he was directed to move them for that member's being closely confined. Prior was accordingly imprisoned, and cut off from all communication. On the 21st of June, Mr. secretary Stanhope impeached James duke of Ormond, of high-treason, and other high crimes and misdemeanors. Mr. Archibald Hutchinson, one of the commissioners of trade, spoke in favour of the duke. He enumerated the great services performed to the crown and nation by his grace and his ancestors; and affirmed that all the allegations against him could not, in the rigour of the law, be construed into high-treason. Mr. Hutchinson was seconded by general Lumney, who urged that the duke of Ormond had on all occasions given signal proofs of his affection for his country, as well as of personal courage; and that he had generously expended the best part of his estate, by living abroad in a most noble and splendid manner, for the honour of his sovereign. Sir Joseph Jekyll said, if there was room for mercy, he hoped it would be shewn to that noble, generous, and courageous peer, who had in a course of many years exerted those great accomplishments for the good and honour of his country; that, as the statute of Edward III. on which the charge of high treason against him was to be grounded, had been mitigated by subsequent acts, the house ought not, in his opinion, to take advantage of that act against the duke, but only impeach him of high crimes and misdemeanors. General Ross, sir William Wyndham, and the speakers of that party, did not abandon the duke in this emergency; but all their arguments and eloquence were lost upon the other faction, by which they were greatly out-numbered. The question being put, was carried for the impeachment of the duke of Ormond, who perceiving every thing conducted by a furious spirit of revenge, and, that he could not expect the benefit of an impartial trial, consulted his own safety, by withdrawing himself from the kingdom. On the following day, the earl of Strafford was impeached by Mr. Aislaby, for having advised the fatal suspension of arms, and the seizing of Ghent and Bruges: as well as for having treated the most serene house of Hanover with insolence and contempt. He was also defended by his friends, but overpowered by his enemies.

When the articles against the earl of Oxford were read in the house, a warm debate arose upon the eleventh, by which he was charged with having advised the French king in what manner Tournay might be gained from the states general. The question being put, Whether this article amounted to high treason; sir Robert Raymond, formerly solicitor general, maintained the negative, and was supported not only by sir William Wyndham, and the Tories, but also by sir Joseph Jekyll, who said, that he

(*s*) Thirty persons were imprisoned for being concerned in these riots. One Bournois, a schoolmaster, who affirmed that king George had no right to the crown, was tried, and scourged through the city, with such severity, that in a few days he expired in the utmost torture.

hoped he might pretend to have some knowledge of the laws of the kingdom, and would not scruple to declare, that, in his judgement, the charge in question did not amount to high treason. Mr. Walpole answered with great warmth, and said, that there were several persons both in and out of the committee, who were satisfied that the charge specified in the eleventh article amounted to high-treason. This point being decided against the earl, and the other articles approved by the house, lord Coningsby, attended by the Whig members, impeached the earl of Oxford at the bar of the house of lords, demanding at the same time, that he might be sequestered from parliament, and committed to safe custody. A motion was made, that the consideration of the articles might be adjourned. After a short debate the articles were read; then the Tory lords moved that the judges might be consulted. The motion being rejected, another was made, that the earl should be committed to safe custody: this occasioned another debate, in which he himself spoke to the following purpose: That the whole charge might be reduced to the negociations and conclusion of the peace: that the nation wanted a peace, he said, nobody would deny: that the conditions of this peace were as good as could be expected, considering the backwardness and reluctancy which some of the allies shewed to come into the queen's measures: that the peace was approved by two successive parliaments: that he had no share in the affair of Tournay, which was wholly transacted by that unfortunate nobleman who had thought fit to step aside: that, for his own part, he always acted by the immediate directions and commands of the late queen, without offending against any known law; and, being justified by his own conscience, was unconcerned for the life of an insignificant old man: that, if ministers of state, acting by the immediate commands of their sovereign, are afterwards to be made accountable for their proceedings, it might one day or other be the case with all the members of that august assembly: that he did not doubt their lordships, out of regard to themselves, would give him an equitable hearing: and that in the prosecution of the enquiry it would appear he had merited not only the indulgence, but even the favour of his government. "My lords (said he) I am now to take leave of your lordships, and of this honourable house, perhaps for ever; I shall lay down my life with pleasure in a cause favoured by my late dear royal mistress. When I consider that I am to be judged by the justice, honour, and virtue of my peers, I shall acquiesce, and retire with great content; and, my lords, God's will be done." The duke of Shrewsbury having acquainted the house that the earl was very much indisposed with the gravel, he was suffered to remain at his own house, in custody of the black-rod: in his way thither, he was attended by a great multitude of people, crying, "High Church, Ormond and Oxford, for ever!" Next day he was brought to the bar; where he received a copy of the articles, and was allowed a month to prepare his answer. Though Dr. Mead declared that if the earl should be sent to the Tower his life would be in danger, it was carried, on a division, that he should be conveyed thither on the 16th of July. During the debate, the earl of Anglesea observed that these impeachments were disagreeable to the nation; and that it was to be feared such violent measures would make the sceptre shake in the king's hands. This expression kindled the whole house into a flame. Some members cried, "To the Tower!" some, "To order!" The earl of Sunderland declared, that if these words had been spoken in another place he would have called the person that spoke them to account: in the mean time, he moved that the noble Lord should explain himself. Anglesea, dreading the resentment of the house, made an apology; which was accepted. The earl of Oxford was attended to the Tower by a prodigious concourse of people, who did not scruple to exclaim against his persecutors. Tumults were raised in Staffordshire, and other parts of the kingdom against the Whig party, which had depressed the friends of the church, and embroiled the nation. The house of commons presented an address to the king, desiring that the laws might be vigorously executed against the rioters. They prepared the proclamation-act, decreeing, that if any persons, to the number of twelve, unlawfully assembled, should continue together one hour after having been required to disperse by a justice of peace or other officer, and heard the proclamation against riots read in public, they should be deemed guilty of felony without benefit of clergy.

When the king went to the house of peers, on the 20th of July, to give the royal assent to this, and some other bills, he told both houses that a rebellion was actually begun at home; and that the nation was threatened with an invasion from abroad. He, therefore, expected that the commons would not leave the kingdom in a defenceless condition, but enable him to take such measures as should be necessary for the public safety. Addresses in the usual style were immediately presented by the parliament, the convocation, the common-council and lieutenancy of London, and the two universities; but that of Oxford was received in the most contemptuous manner: and the deputies were charged with disloyalty, on account of a fray which had happened between some recruiting officers and the scholars of the university. The addresses from the kirk of Scotland, and the dissenting ministers of London and Westminster, met with a much more gracious reception. The parliament forthwith passed a bill, empowering the king to secure suspected persons, and to suspend the *habeas corpus* act in that time of danger. A clause was added to a money-bill, offering the reward of one hundred thousand pounds to such as should seize the pretender dead or alive. Sir George Byng was sent to take the command of the fleet; general Earle repaired to his government of Portsmouth: the guards were encamped at Hyde Park: lord Irwin was appointed governor of Hull, in the room of brigadier Sutton, who, together with lord Windsor, the generals Ross, Webb, and Stuart, were dismissed from the service. Orders were given for raising thirteen regiments of dragoons, and eight of infantry: and the train bands were kept in readiness to suppress tumults.

In the midst of these transactions, the commons added six articles to those exhibited against the earl of Oxford. Lord Bolingbroke was impeached at the bar of the house of lords by Mr. Walpole. Bills being brought in to summon him and the duke of Ormond to surrender themselves by the 10th of September, or, in default, thereof, to attaint them of high-treason, they passed both houses, and received the royal assent. On the last day of August, the commons agreed to the articles against the earl of Strafford, which being presented to the house of lords, the earl made a speech in his own vindication. He complained that his papers had been seized in an unprecedented manner. He said, if he had in his letters or discourse dropped any unguarded expressions against foreign ministers, while he had the honour to represent the crown of Great Britain, he hoped they would not be accounted criminal by a British house of peers: he desired he might be allowed a competent time to answer the articles brought against him, and have duplicates of all the papers which had either been laid before the committee of secrecy, or remained in the hands of government, to be used occasionally in his justification. The request was immediately opposed by the leaders of the other party, until the earl of Ilay represented that, in all civilized nations, all courts of judicature, except the Inquisition, allowed the persons arraigned all that was necessary for their justification; and that the house of peers of Great Britain ought not, in this case, to do any thing contrary to that honour and equity for which they were so justly renowned throughout all Europe. This observation made an impression on the house, which resolved that the earl should be indulged with copies of such papers as he might have occasion to use in his defence.

On the 3rd of September, Oxford's answer was delivered to the house of lords, who transmitted it to the commons. Mr. Walpole having heard it read, said it contained little more than a repetition of what had been suggested in some pamphlets and papers which had been published in vindication of the late ministry: that it was a false and malicious libel laying upon his royal mistress the blame of all the pernicious measures he had led her into, against her own honour, and the good of his country; that it was likewise a libel on the proceedings of the commons, since he endeavoured to clear those persons who had already confessed their guilt by flight. After some debate, the house resolved, That the answer of Robert, earl of Oxford, should be referred to the committee appointed to draw up articles of impeachment, and prepare evidence against the impeached lords; and that the committee should prepare a replication to the answer. This was accordingly prepared, and sent up to the lords. Then the committee reported, That Mr. Prior had grossly prevaricated on his examination, and behaved with great contempt of their authority. The duke of Ormond and lord viscount Bolingbroke having omitted to surrender themselves within the time limited, the house of lords ordered the earl-marshal to erase out of the list of peers their names and armorial bearings. Inventories were taken of their personal estates; and the

duke's atchievement, as knight of the garter, was taken down from St. George's Chapel at Windsor (t).

About this period, the royal assent was given to an act for encouraging loyalty in Scotland. By this law the tenant who continued peaceable while his lord took arms in favour of the pretender, was invested with the property of the lands he rented: on the other hand, it was decreed that the lands possessed by any person guilty of high-treason should revert to the superior of whom they were held, and be consolidated with the superiority; and that all entails and settlements of estates, since the first day of August, in favour of children, with a fraudulent intent to avoid the punishment of the law due to the offence of high-treason, should be null and void. It likewise contained a clause for summoning suspected persons to find bail for their good behaviour, on pain of being denounced rebels. By virtue of this clause all the heads of the Jacobite clans, and other suspected persons, were summoned to Edinburgh: and those who did not appear were declared rebels.

By this time the rebellion was actually begun in Scotland. The dissensions occasioned in that country by the Union had never been wholly appeased. Even since the queen's death, addresses were prepared in different parts of Scotland, against the Union, which was deemed a national grievance; and the Jacobites did not fail to encourage this aversion. Though their hopes of dissolving that treaty were baffled by the industry and other arts of the revolutioners, who secured a majority of Whigs in parliament, they did not lay aside their designs of attempting something of consequence in favour of the pretender: but maintained a correspondence with the malcontents of England, a great number of whom were driven by apprehension, hard usage, and resentment into a system of politics, which otherwise they would not have espoused. The Tories finding themselves excluded from any share in the government and legislature, and exposed to the insolence and fury of a faction which they despised, began to wish in earnest for a revolution. Some of them held private consultations, and communicated with the Jacobites, who conveyed their sentiments to the chevalier de St. George, with such exaggerations as were dictated by their own eagerness and extravagance. They assured the pretender that the nation was wholly disaffected to the new government, and, indeed, the clamours, tumults, and conversation of the people in general countenanced this assertion. They promised to take arms without further delay in his favour: and engaged that the Tories should join him at his first landing in Great Britain. They, therefore, besought him to come over with all possible expedition, declaring that his appearance would produce an immediate revolution. The chevalier resolved to take the advantage of this favourable disposition. He had recourse to the French king, who had always been the refuge of his family. Louis favoured him in secret; and, notwithstanding his late engagements with England, cherished the ambition of raising him to the throne of Great Britain. He supplied him privately with money, to prepare a small armament in the port of Havre, which was equipped in the name of Depine d'Anicaut. The duke of Ormond and lord Bolingbroke, who had retired to France, finding themselves condemned unheard, and attainted, engaged in the service of the chevalier, and corresponded with the Tories of England.

These intrigues and machinations were discovered and communicated to the court of London by the earl of Stair, who then resided as English ambassador at Paris. He was a nobleman of unquestionable honour and integrity, generous, humane, discerning, and resolute. He had signalized himself by his valour, intrepidity, and other military talents, during the war in the Netherlands; and he now acted in another sphere with uncommon vigour, vigilance, and address. He detected the Chevalier's scheme while it was yet in embryo, and gave such early notice of it as enabled the king of Great Britain to take effectual measures for defeating the design. All the pretender's interest in France expired with Louis XIV. At his death, which happened on the first of September, the regency of the kingdom devolved to the duke of Orleans, who adopted a new system of politics, and had already entered into engagements with the king of Great Britain. Instead of assisting the pretender, he amused his agents with mysterious and equivocal expressions, calculated to frustrate the design of the expedition. Nevertheless, the more violent part of the Jacobites in Great Britain believed he was at bottom a friend to their cause, and depended upon him for succour. They even extorted from him a sum of money by dint of importunities, and some arms; but the vessel they were sent by was shipwrecked, and the cargo lost upon the coast of Scotland.

The partizans of the pretender had proceeded too far to retreat with safety; and, therefore, resolved to try their fortune in the field. The earl of Mar repaired to the Highlands, where he held consultations with the marquisses of Huntley and Tullibardine, the earls Marischal and Southesk, the generals Hamilton, and Gordon, with the chiefs of the Jacobite clans. Then he assembled three hundred of his own vassals; proclaimed the pretender at Castletown, and set up his standard at Brae-Mar, on the 6th of September. By this time the earls of Home, Wigroun, and Kinnoul, lord Deskford, and Lockhart of Carnwath, with other persons suspected of disaffection to the present government, were committed prisoners to the castle of Edinburgh; and major-general Whetham marched with regular troops which were in that kingdom to secure the bridge at Stirling. Before these precautions were taken, two vessels had arrived at Arbroath from Havre, with arms, ammunition, and a great number of officers, who assured the earl of Mar that the pretender would soon be with them in person. The death of Louis XIV. struck a general damp upon their spirits; but they laid their account with being joined by a powerful body in England. The earl of Mar, by letters and messages, pressed the chevalier to come over without further delay. He, in the mean time, assumed the title of lieutenant-general of the pretender's forces, and published a declaration, exhorting the people to take arms for their lawful sovereign. This was followed by a shrewd manifesto, explaining the national grievances, and assuring the people of redress. Some of his partizans attempted to surprize the castle of Edinburgh, but were prevented by the vigilance and activity of colonel Stuart, lieutenant-governor of that fortress. The duke of Argyle set out for Scotland, as commander in chief of the forces in North Britain: the earl of Sutherland set sail in the Queenborough ship of war, for the north, where he proposed to raise his vassals for the service of government; and many other Scottish peers returned to their own country, in order to signalize their loyalty to king George.

In England the practices of the Jacobites did not escape the notice of the ministry. Lieutenant-colonel Paul was imprisoned in the Gate House, for enlisting men in the service of the pretender. The titular duke of Powis was committed to the Tower: lords Lansdown and Duplin were taken into custody; and a warrant issued for apprehending the earl of Jersey. The king desired the consent of the lower house to seize and detain sir William Windham, sir John Packington, Mr. Edward Harvey of Combe, Mr. Thomas Forster, Mr. John Anstis, and Mr. Corbet Kynaston, who were members of the house, and suspected of favouring the invasion. The commons unanimously agreed to the proposal, and presented an address, signifying their approbation. Harvey and Anstis were immediately secured. Forster, with the assistance of some popish lords, assembled a body of men in Northumberland: sir John Packington being examined before the council, was dismissed for want of evidence: Mr. Kynaston absconded: sir William Windham was seized at his own house in Somersetshire, by colonel Huske and a messenger, who secured his papers: he found means, however, to escape from them; but afterwards surrendered himself, and, having been examined at the council-board, was committed to the Tower. His father-in-law, the duke of Somerset, offered to become bound for his appearance: and being rejected as bail, expressed his resentment so warmly, that the king thought proper to remove him from the office of master of the horse. On the 21st of September the king went to the house of lords and passed the bills that were ready for the royal assent. Then the chancellor read his majesty's speech, expressing his acknowledgment and satisfaction, in consequence of the uncommon marks of their affection he had received; and the parliament adjourned on the 6th of October.

The friends of the house of Stuart were very numerous

(t) A man of candour cannot, without an emotion of grief and indignation, reflect upon the ruin of the noble family of Ormond, in the person of a brave, generous, and humane nobleman, to whom no crime was imputed, but that of having obeyed the commands of his sovereign.

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in the western counties, and began to make preparations for an insurrection. They had concealed some arms and artillery at Bath, and formed a design to surprize Bristol; but they were discovered and betrayed by the emissaries of government, who baffled all their schemes, and apprehended every person of consequence suspected of attachment to that cause. The University of Oxford felt the rod of power on that occasion. Major-general Pepper, with a strong detachment of dragoons, took possession of the city at day-break, declaring he would use military execution on all students who should presume to appear without the limits of their respective colleges. He seized ten or eleven persons, among whom was one Lloyd, a coffee-man; and made prize of some horses and furniture belonging to colonel Owen, and other gentlemen. With this booty he retreated to Abingdon; and Handasyde's regiment of foot was afterwards quartered in Oxford, to over-awe the University. The ministry found it more difficult to suppress the insurgents in the northern counties. In the month of October the earl of Derwentwater and Mr. Forster took the field with a body of horse, and being joined by some gentlemen from the borders of Scotland, proclaimed the pretender at Warkworth, Morpeth, and Alnwick. Their first design was to seize the town of Newcastle, in which they had many friends: but they found the gates shut upon them, and retired to Hexham; while general Carpenter, having assembled a body of troops, resolved to march from Newcastle, and attack them before they should be reinforced. The rebels retiring northward by Woller, were joined by two hundred Scottish horse, under the lord viscount Kenmuir, and the earls of Carnwath and Wintoun, who had set up the pretender's standard at Moffat, and proclaimed him in different parts of Scotland. The rebels thus reinforced, advanced to Kelso, having received advice that they would be joined by Mackintosh, who had crossed the Forth with a body of Highlanders.

By this time the earl of Mar was at the head of ten thousand men, well armed. He had secured the pass of the Tay at Perth, where his head-quarters were established, and made himself master of the whole fruitful province of Fife, and all the sea-coast on that side of the Frith of Edinburgh. He selected two thousand five hundred men, commanded by brigadier Mackintosh, to make a descent upon the Lothian side, and join the Jacobites in that country, or such as should take arms on the borders of England. Boats were assembled for this purpose: and, notwithstanding all the precautions that could be taken by the king's ships in the Frith, to prevent the design, above fifteen hundred chosen men made good their passage in the night, and landed on the coast of Lothian, having crossed an arm of the sea, about sixteen miles broad, in open boats, that passed through the midst of the king's cruizers. Nothing could be better concerted, or executed, with more conduct and courage, than was this hazardous enterprize. They amused the king's ships with marches and counter-marches along the coast, in such a manner that they could not possibly know where they intended to embark. The earl of Mar, in the mean time, marched from Perth to Dumblaine, as if he had intended to cross the Forth at Stirling Bridge: but his real design was to divert the duke of Argyle from attacking his detachment, which had landed in Lothian. So far the scheme succeeded. The duke, who had assembled some troops in Lothian, returned to Stirling with the utmost expedition, after having secured Edinburgh, and obliged Mackintosh to abandon his design on that city. This partizan had actually taken possession of Leith, from whence he retired to Seaton-house, near Preston-pans, which he fortified in such a manner that he could not be forced without artillery. Here he remained until he received an order across the Firth from the earl of Mar, to join lord Kenmuir, and the English at Kelso, for which place he immediately began his march, and reached it on the 22nd of October, though a good number of his men had deserted on the route.

The lord Kenmuir, with the earls of Wintoun, Nithsdale, and Carnwath, the earls of Derwentwater and Mr. Forster, with the English insurgents, arriving at the same time, a council of war was immediately called. Wintoun proposed that they should march immediately into the western parts of Scotland, and join general Gordon, who commanded a strong body of Highlanders in Argyleshire. The English insisted upon crossing the Tweed, and attacking general Carpenter, whose troops did not exceed nine hundred dragoons. Neither scheme was executed. They took the route to Jedburgh, where they resolved to leave Carpenter on one side, and penetrate into England by the western border. The Highlanders declared they would not quit their own country; but were ready to execute the schemes proposed by the earl of Wintoun. Means, however, were found to prevail upon one half of them to advance, while the rest returned to the Highlands. At Brampton, Forster opened his commission of general, which had been sent to him from the earl of Mar, and proclaimed the pretender. They continued their march to Penrith, where the sheriff, assisted by lord Lonsdale, and the bishop of Carlisle, had assembled the whole posse comitatus of Cumberland, amounting to twelve thousand men, who dispersed with the utmost precipitation at the approach of the rebels. From Penrith, Forster proceeded by the way of Kendal and Lancaster to Preston, from whence Stanhope's regiment of dragoons, and another of militia, immediately retired; so that he took possession of the place without resistance.

General Willis marched against the enemy with six regiments of horse and dragoons, and one battalion of foot commanded by colonel Preston. They had advanced to the bridge of Ribble before Forster received intelligence of their approach. He forthwith began to raise barricadoes, and put the place in a posture of defence. On the 12th of November the town was briskly attacked in two different places; but the king's troops met with a very warm reception, and were repulsed with considerable loss. Next day general Carpenter arrived with a reinforcement of three regiments of dragoons; and the rebels were invested on both sides. The Highlanders declared they would make a sally sword in hand, and either cut their way through the king's troops, or perish in the attempt; but they were over-ruled. Forster sent colonel Oxburgh with a trumpet to general Willis, to propose a capitulation. He was given to understand, that the general would not treat with rebels; but, in case of their surrendering at discretion, he would prevent his soldiers from putting them to the sword, until he should receive further orders. He granted them time to consider till next morning, upon their delivering the earl of Derwentwater and Mackintosh as hostages. When Forster submitted, this Highlander declared he could not promise that the Scots would surrender in that manner. The general desired him to return to his people, and he would forthwith attack the town, in which case every man of them should be cut to pieces. The Scottish noblemen did not chuse to run the risque; and persuaded the Highlanders to accept the terms that were offered. They accordingly laid down their arms, and were put under a strong guard. All the noblemen and leaders were secured. Major Nairn, captain Lockhart, captain Shaftoe, and ensign Erskine were tried by a court-martial as deserters, and executed. Lord Charles Murray, son of the duke of Athol, was likewise condemned for the same crime, but reprieved. The common men were imprisoned at Chester and Liverpool: the noblemen and considerable officers were sent to London, conveyed through the streets, pinioned like malefactors, and committed to the Tower and to Newgate.

The day on which the rebels surrendered at Preston was remarkable for the battle of Dumblaine, fought between the duke of Argyle and the earl of Mar, who commanded the pretender's forces. This nobleman had retreated to his camp at Perth, when he understood the duke was returned from Lothian to Stirling. But, being now joined by the northern clans under the earl of Seaforth, and those of the west, commanded by general Gordon, who had signalized himself in the service of the Czar of Moscovy, he resolved to pass the Forth, in order to join his southern friends, that they might march together into England. With this view he advanced to Auchterarder, where he reviewed his army, and rested on the 11th of November. The duke of Argyle, apprized of his intention, and being joined by some regiments of dragoons from Ireland, determined to give him battle in the neighbourhood of Dumblaine. The next day Argyle passed the Forth at Stirling, and encamped with his left at the village of Dumblaine, and his right towards Sheriffmoor. The earl of Mar advanced within two miles of his camp, and remained till day-break in order of battle; his army consisting of nine thousand effective men, cavalry as well as infantry. In the morning, the duke, understanding they were in motion, drew up his forces, which did not exceed three thousand five hundred men, on the heights to the north-east of Dumblaine; but he was out-

flanked both on the right and left. The clans that formed part of the centre and right wing of the enemy, with Glengary and Clanronald at their head, charged the left of the king's army sword in hand, with such impetuosity, that in seven minutes both horse and foot were totally routed with great slaughter; and general Whetham, who commanded them, fled at full gallop to Stirling, where he declared that the royal army was totally defeated. In the mean time, the duke of Argyle, who commanded in person on the right, attacked the left of the enemy, at the head of Stair's and Evans's dragoons, and drove them two miles before him, as far as the water of Allan: yet in that space they wheeled about, and attempted to rally ten times; so that he was obliged to press them hard, that they might not recover from their confusion. Brigadier Wightman followed, in order to sustain him with three battalions of infantry; while the victorious right wing of the rebels, having pursued Whetham a considerable way, returned to the field, and formed in the rear of Wightman, to the amount of five thousand men. The duke of Argyle, returning from the pursuit, joined Wightman, who had faced about, and taken possession of some enclosures and mud-walls, in expectation of being attacked. In this posture both armies fronted each other till the evening, when the duke drew off towards Dumblaine, and the rebels retired to Ardoch, without mutual molestation. Next day, the duke marching back to the field of battle, carried off the wounded, with four pieces of cannon left by the army, and retreated to Stirling. Few prisoners were taken on either side: the number of slain might be about five hundred of each army; and both generals claimed the victory. This battle was not so fatal to the Highlanders as the loss of Inverness, from which sir John Mackenzie was driven by Simon Frazer, lord Lovat, who, contrary to the principles he had hitherto professed, secured this important post for the government; by which means a free communication was opened with the north of Scotland, where the earl of Sutherland had raised a considerable number of vassals. The marquis of Huntley and the earl of Seaforth were obliged to quit the rebel army, in order to defend their own territories; and in a little time submitted to king George: a good number of the Frazers declared, with their chief, against the pretender: the marquis of Tullibardine withdrew from the army, to cover his own country; and the clans, seeing no likelihood of another action, began to disperse, according to custom.

The government was now in a condition to send strong reinforcements to Scotland. Six thousand men that were claimed of the states-general, by virtue of the treaty, landed in England, and began their march for Edinburgh: general Cadogan set out for the same place, together with brigadier Petit, and six other engineers; and a train of artillery was shipped at the Tower for that country, the duke of Argyle resolving to drive the earl of Mar out of Perth, to which town he had retired with the remains of his forces. The pretender having been amused with the hope of seeing the whole kingdom of England rise up as one man in his behalf; and the duke of Ormond having made a fruitless voyage to the western coast, to try the disposition of the people, he was now convinced of the vanity of his expectation in that quarter; and as he knew not what other course to take, he resolved to hazard his person among his friends in Scotland, at a time when his affairs in that kingdom were absolutely desperate. From Bretagne he posted through part of France in disguise, and embarking in a small vessel at Dunkirk, hired for that purpose, arrived on the 22nd of December at Peterhead, with six gentlemen in his retinue, one of whom was the marquis of Tinmouth, son to the duke of Berwick. He passed through Aberdeen incognito, to Fetterosse, where he was met by the earls of Mar and Marischal, and about thirty noblemen and gentlemen of the first quality. Here he was solemnly proclaimed: his declaration, dated at Commercy, was printed and circulated through all the parts of that neighbourhood; and he received addresses from the episcopal clergy, and the laity of that communion in the diocese of Aberdeen. On the 5th of January, 1716, he made his public entry into Dundee; and on the 7th arrived at Scone, where he seemed determined to stay until the ceremony of his coronation should be performed. From thence he made an excursion to Perth, where he reviewed his forces. Then he formed a regular council; and published six proclamations; one for a general thanksgiving, on account of his safe arrival; another enjoining the ministers to pray for him in churches; a third establishing the currency of foreign coins; a fourth summoning the meeting of the Convention of Estates; a fifth ordering all fensible men to repair to his standard; and a sixth, fixing the 23rd of January for his coronation. He made a pathetic speech in a grand council, at which all the chiefs of his party assisted. They determined, however, to abandon the enterprize, as the king's army was reinforced by the Dutch auxiliaries, and they themselves were not only reduced to a small number, but likewise destitute of money, arms, ammunition, forage, and provision; for the duke of Argyle had taken possession of Burnt-Island, and transported a detachment to Fife, so as to cut off Mar's communication with that fertile country.

Notwithstanding the severity of the weather, and a prodigious fall of snow, which rendered the roads almost impassable, the duke, on the 29th of January, began his march to Dumblaine, and next day reached Tullibardine, where he received intelligence that the pretender and his forces had, on the preceding day, retired towards Dundee. He forthwith took possession of Perth; and then began his march to Aberbrothick, in pursuit of the enemy. The chevalier de St. George, being thus hotly pursued, was prevailed upon to embark on board a small French ship that lay in the harbour of Montrose. He was accompanied by the earls of Mar and Melfort, the lord Drummond, lieutenant general Bulkley, and other persons of distinction, to the number of seventeen. In order to avoid the English cruizers, they stretched over to Norway, and coasting along the German and Dutch shores, arrived in five days at Graveline. General Gordon, whom the pretender had left commander in chief of the forces, assisted by the earl Marischal, proceeded with them to Aberdeen, where he secured three vessels to sail northward, and take on board the persons who intended to make their escape to the continent. Then they continued their march through Strathspey, and Strathdown, to the hills of Badenoch, where the common people were quietly dismissed. This retreat was made with such expedition, that the duke of Argyle, with all his activity, could never overtake their rear-guard, which consisted of a thousand horse, commanded by the earl Marischal.—Such was the issue of a rebellion that proved fatal to many noble families: a rebellion, which, in all probability, would never have happened, had not the violent measures of a Whig ministry kindled such a flame of discontent in the nation, as encouraged the partizans of the pretender to hazard a revolt.

The law was now put in force with all its terrors; and the prisons of London were crowded with those deluded wretches, whom the ministry seemed resolved not to pardon. The commons, in their address to the crown, declared they would prosecute, in the most rigorous manner, the authors of the late rebellion, and their resolutions were as speedy, as their measures were vindictive. The earls of Derwentwater, Nithisdale, Carnwarth, and Wintown, the lords Widrington, Kenmuir, and Nairne, were impeached, and upon pleading guilty, all but lord Wintown, who petitioned for a longer time, received sentence of death. No entreaties could soften the king or his ministers to spare the lives of these unhappy men. The house of lords even presented an address to the throne for mercy, but without effect; for the king only answered, that on this, and all other occasions, he would act as he thought most consistent with the dignity of the crown and the safety of the people. The writs for executing the six lords were therefore delivered to the lieutenant of the Tower, and to the sheriffs of London and Middlesex, on the 18th of February, 1716; and on the 24th James earl of Derwentwater, and William viscount Kenmuir, were beheaded on Tower Hill. William earl of Nithisdale was to have been executed at the same time, but he made his escape out of the Tower the night before, in a woman's dress, which had been conveyed to him by his mother. The earl of Carnwarth, and the lords Widrington and Nairne were respited till the 7th of March (*u*).

To second these vindictive efforts, an act of parliament was

(*u*) Great contests happened in the privy council concerning the execution of the six noblemen, between Daniel earl of Nottingham and others: for which, on the 28th of February, he was removed from being president of the council; and the next day his son, lord Finch, was also removed

was made for trying the private prisoners in London, and not in Lancashire, where they were taken in arms (*v*). On the 7th of April, therefore, commissioners for trying the rebels met in the court of common pleas, when bills of high treason were found against Thomas Forster, major William Mackintosh, William Shaftoe, Robert Talbot, Henry Oxborough, Charles and Nicolas Wogan, John Hall, Richard Gascoigne, Alexander and John Menzies, and John Robertson, twelve of the Preston prisoners. Forster escaped from Newgate, and reached the continent in safety: the rest pleaded not guilty, and were allowed time to prepare for their trials. Pitts, the keeper of Newgate, being suspected of having connived at Forster's escape, was tried for his life, but acquitted. Yet notwithstanding this, Mackintosh and several others escaped from Newgate, after having mastered the keeper and turnkey, and disarmed the centinel. The court proceeded to the trials of those that remained; four or five were hanged, drawn, and quartered at Tyburn. Among these, William Paul, a clergyman, attracted particular pity: he professed himself a true member of the church of England, but not of that schismatical church, whose bishops had abandoned their king, and shamefully given up their ecclesiastical privileges. How strong soever the taint of faction may be in any man's bosom, if he has any goodness in him, he cannot help feeling the strongest pity for those brave men, who are willing, however erroneously, to sacrifice their lives to their principles. The judges appointed to try the rebels at Liverpool, found a considerable number guilty of high treason. Two-and-twenty were executed at Preston and Manchester; about a thousand prisoners experienced the king's mercy, if such it may be called, to be transported to North America. Such was the end of a rebellion probably at first hastened forward by the rigour of the new Whig ministry and parliament (*w*).

In a constitution so very complicated as that of England, it must necessarily suffer alterations from time; for some of its branches will gain strength, while others will, in a similar ratio, become weaker. At this period, the orders placed between the king and the people acquired more than their share of power. The king himself being a foreigner, and ignorant of the laws and constitution of the country, was kept under the control of his ministers, who, by their private connections, governed the parliament. At the same time the people, awed by the fears of imputed Jacobitism, were afraid to murmur, and were content to give up their freedom for safety. The rebellion now extinguished, only served to confirm the arrogance of those in power. The parliament had shewn itself eager to second the views of the ministry; and the pretended danger of the state was made a pretext for continuing the parliament beyond the term fixed for its dissolution. A bill therefore was brought into the house of lords, by the duke of Devonshire, on the 10th of April, for septennial parliaments; which occasioned long debates in both houses (*x*).

The domestic concerns of the nation being adjusted, the king began to turn his thoughts to his Hanoverian dominions, and resolved upon a voyage to the continent. He foresaw a storm gathering on the side of Sweden. Charles the Twelfth was highly provoked against him for having entered into a confederacy with the Russians and Danes in his absence, and for having purchased the towns of Bremen and Verden from the king of Denmark, which constituted a part of his dominions. George therefore having appointed the prince of Wales guardian of the realm, and his lieutenant during his absence, his majesty set out from St. James's on the 7th of July, and two days after landed in Holland; through which he passed *incognito*; arrived at Hanover on the 15th; and on the 20th set out for Pyrmont, to drink the waters. In order to secure his German dominions, he entered into a new treaty with the Dutch and the regent of France; by which they agreed mutually to assist each other in case of an invasion.

The king's fears, however, on account of Sweden were not without foundation; for Charles maintained a close correspondence with the disaffected subjects of Great Britain; and a scheme was formed for the landing a considerable body of Swedish forces, with the king at their head, in some part of the island, where it was expected they would be joined by all the malcontents in the kingdom. Count Gyllenborg, the Swedish minister in London, was peculiarly active in the conspiracy; but being seized with all his papers, by order of the king, on the 29th of January, 1717, the confederacy was broke for this time. The barons Gortz and Sparre, the Swedish ministers at the Hague and Paris, were likewise concerned in this confederacy.

The king left Hanover on the 8th of January, 1717, and arrived at Margate in ten days, from whence he proceeded to London. The parliament met on the 20th of February; and on the 4th of March, in pursuance of an act, authorizing his majesty to prohibit all commerce with Sweden, so long as he should think it necessary for the safety and peace of the nation, a proclamation was issued for prohibiting commerce with that kingdom; the trade with which country was of the utmost consequence to the English merchants. A supply of two hundred and fifty thousand pounds was granted the king to enable him to secure his dominions against the threatened invasion. These were the first fruits of England's being wedded to the continent; however, the death of the Swedish monarch, who was soon after killed by a cannon ball at the siege of Fredericshall in Norway, put an end to all disquietude from that quarter.

But this was the age of treaties, subsidies, and political combinations. At that time the politicians of the age supposed that such paper chains would be sufficient to secure the permanence of dominion, but experience has undoubtedly taught the contrary. Among other treaties concluded with such hopes was that called the Quadruple Alliance. It was agreed upon between the emperor, France, England, and Holland, that the emperor should renounce all pretensions to the crown of Spain, and exchange Sardinia for Sicily with the duke of Savoy; that the successors to the dutchies of Tuscany, Parma, and Placentia, should be settled on the queen of Spain's eldest son, in case the present possessors should die without male issue. This treaty, however, was by no means agreeable to the king of Spain, and consequently it became prejudical to the English, as it interrupted the commerce to that kingdom: but the interest of England was not the object which this treaty was intended to secure.

The displeasure of the king of Spain soon broke out into an open war against the emperor, whom he considered as the chief contriver of this alliance; and a numerous body of Spanish troops were sent into Italy to support Philip's pretensions in that quarter. It was in vain that the regent of France endeavoured to dissuade him; in vain the king of England offered his mediation: their interposition was rejected as partial and unjust. War, in the present exhausted state of the English finances, was a real evil; but a rupture with Spain was resolved on, in order to support a very distant interest. A strong squadron of twenty-two ships was expeditiously equipped, and sailed from St. Helen's under the command of sir George Byng, on the 4th of June, 1718, with orders to proceed to Naples, which was then threatened by the Spanish army. He was received with the greatest demonstrations

removed from being one of the lords of the treasury; his brother Heneage earl of Aylesford, from being chancellor of the duchy of Lancaster; and his cousin Heneage lord Guernsey, from his place of master of the jewel office.—It should also be mentioned, that the countess of Derwentwater, with her sister, accompanied by the duchesses of Cleveland and Bolton, and several other ladies of the first distinction, was introduced by the dukes of Richmond and St. Alban's into the king's bedchamber, where she invoked his majesty's clemency for her unfortunate consort; but she implored in vain.

(*v*) This proceeding was considered, by some of the best lawyers, as an alteration of the ancient constitution of the kingdom, by which it was confirmed, that every prisoner should be tried in the place where the offence was committed.

(*w*) In taking a retrospective view of the revolutions of human affairs, it affords a melancholy consideration that, in all contentions, we generally find little to applaud on either side. We here perceive a weak and imprudent party, endeavouring not only to subvert the government, but the religion of their country. We behold a pretended monarch, bred a papist himself, and confiding in popish counsellors, professing a desire to govern and protect the protestant religion. Most of his adherents, men of desperate fortunes, indifferent morals, or narrow principles, urging on a cause which nothing but repeated slaughter could establish. On the other hand, we see them opposed by a party actuated by pride, avarice, and animosity, concealing a love of power under a specious mask of freedom; and brandishing the sword of justice, to strike a vindictive blow. Clemency in the government, at that time, would probably have extinguished all that factious spirit which afterwards so much disturbed the public tranquillity; for they must be a wretched people indeed who are more easily driven than led into obedience to authority.

(*x*) This attempt, in any delegated body of people, to increase their own power by extending it, is contrary to the first principles of justice. If it were right to extend their duration from three to seven years, they might also perpetuate their authority; and thus cut off even the shadow of nomination. This bill, however, passed both houses, and all objections to it were considered as marks of disaffection. The people might murmur at the encroachment, but it was too late for redress.

of joy by the inhabitants of that city, and was informed that the Spaniards, to the amount of thirty thousand men, were then actually landed in Sicily, (where they soon made themselves masters of the city and castles of Palermo, of the town of Messina, and of the greater part of the island.) In this exigence, as no assistance could be given by land, he resolved to sail thither, fully determined to pursue the Spanish fleet, on board of which they had embarked. Upon sailing round Cape Faro, he perceived two small Spanish vessels; and following them closely, they led him to their main fleet, which before noon he discovered in line of battle, amounting in all to twenty-seven sail. However, the Spanish fleet, upon perceiving the force of the English, attempted to bear away, though superior in number. The Spaniards seemed distracted in their councils, and acted with extreme confusion. They made a running fight, and the commanders behaved with courage and activity; in spite of which they were all taken except three, which were preserved by the conduct of Cammor, their vice-admiral, a native of Ireland. This action was fought on the 31st of July. Sir George Byng behaved on this occasion with equal prudence and resolution, and the king wrote him a letter, with his own hand, approving his conduct. This victory produced the resentment and complaints of the Spanish ministers in all the courts of Europe; and hastened the declaration of war on the part of the English, which had been hitherto delayed: it was declared on the 17th of December.

The rupture with Spain served once more to raise the declining expectations of the pretender and his adherents. It was hoped, that by the assistance of cardinal Alberoni, the Spanish minister, a new insurrection might be excited in England. The duke of Ormond was the person fixed upon to conduct this expedition; and he obtained from the court of Spain a fleet of ten ships of war and transports, having on board six thousand regular troops, and arms for twelve thousand more (*y*). Having set sail from Cadiz, in the beginning of March, and proceeded as far as Cape Finisterre, he was encountered by a violent storm, which disabled his fleet, and frustrated the expedition (*z*). This misfortune, together with the bad success of the Spanish arms in Sicily, and other parts of Europe, induced Philip to wish for peace; and he at last consented to sign the Quadruple Alliance. This was at that time thought an immense acquisition; but England, though she procured the ratification, had no share in the advantage of the treaty.

The king having thus given peace once more to Europe, returned from the continent to receive the addresses and congratulations of his parliament. From addressing they proceeded to an object of much greater importance; namely, the securing the dependency of the Irish parliament on that of Great Britain. One Maurice Annesley had appealed to the house of peers in England, from a decree made by the house of peers in Ireland, and this decree was reversed. The British peers ordered the barons of the exchequer in Ireland to put Mr. Annesley in possession of the lands he had lost by the decree of the lords in that kingdom. The barons of the exchequer obeyed this order; and the Irish house of peers passed a vote against them, as having attempted to diminish the privileges of the parliament of Ireland; and at the same time ordered the barons to be taken under the custody of the black-rod. On the other hand, the house of lords in England resolved, that the barons of the exchequer in Ireland had acted with courage and fidelity, and addressed the king to signify his approbation of their conduct by some marks of his favour. To complete their intention a bill was prepared, by which the Irish house of lords was deprived of all right of final jurisdiction. This bill was opposed in both houses; but particularly in that of the commons. It was there asserted by Mr. Pitt that it would only increase the power of the English peers, who already were but too formidable. Mr. Hungerford demonstrated, that the Irish lords had always exerted their power of finally deciding causes. Notwithstanding all opposition the bill was carried by a great majority, and soon after received the royal assent.

On the 30th of October, 1719, John Matthews, a printer, was tried and convicted of high treason, for printing a pamphlet intituled "*Vox Populi Vox Dei*," that is, "The Voice of the People the Voice of God:" for which enormous crime he was executed at Tyburn on the 6th of November!

We are now to advert to the famous South Sea scheme, the most complete piece of deception that was ever practised upon a credulous people. The king having recommended to the commons the consideration of proper means for lessening the national debt, was a prelude to the famous South Sea act, which became productive of so much mischief and infatuation. The scheme was projected by sir John Blount, who had been bred a scrivener, and was possessed of all the cunning, plausibility, and boldness requisite for such an undertaking. He communicated his plan to Mr. Aislabie, the chancellor of the exchequer, as well as to one of the secretaries of state, in January, 1720. He answered all their objections; and the project was adopted. They foresaw their own private advantage in the execution of the design, which was imparted in the name of the South Sea Company, of which Blount was a director, who influenced all their proceedings. The pretence for the scheme was to discharge the national debt, by reducing all the funds into one. The Bank and South Sea Company outbid each other. The South Sea Company altered their original plan, and offered such high terms to government, that the proposals of the Bank were rejected; and a bill was then ordered to be brought into the house of commons, formed on the plan presented by the South Sea Company, on the 1st of February. While this affair was in agitation, the stock of that company rose from one hundred and thirty to near four hundred per cent. in consequence of the conduct of the commons, who had rejected a motion, for a clause in the bill, to fix what share in the capital stock of the company should be vested in those proprietors of the annuities who might voluntarily subscribe; or how many years purchase in money they should receive in subscribing, at the choice of the proprietors.

In the house of lords, the bill was opposed by lords North and Grey, earl Cowper, the dukes of Wharton, Buckingham, and other peers. They affirm it was calculated for enriching a few, and impoverishing a great number: that it countenances the fraudulent and pernicious practice of stock-jobbing, which diverted the genius of the people from trade and industry: that it would give foreigners the opportunity to double and treble the vast sums they had in the public funds; and they would be tempted to realize and withdraw their capital and immense gains to other countries; so that Great Britain would be drained of its gold and silver: that the artificial and prodigious rise of the South Sea stock was a dangerous bait, which might decoy many unwary people to their ruin, alluring them by a false prospect of gain to part with the fruits of their industry, to purchase imaginary riches: that the addition of above thirty millions capital would give such power to the South Sea Company, as might endanger the liberties of the nation; for by their extensive interest they would be able to influence most, if not all the elections of the members, and consequently over-rule the resolutions of the house of commons. Earl Cowper urged, that in all public bargains the individuals in the administration ought to take care, that they shall be more advantageous to the state than to private persons; but that a contrary method had been followed in the contract made with the South Sea Company; for, should the stocks be kept at the advanced price to which they had been raised by the oblique arts of stock-jobbing, either that company or its principal members would gain above thirty millions, of which no more than one fourth part would be given towards the discharge of the national debts. He apprehended that the re-purchase of annuities would meet with insuperable difficulties; and, in such case, none but a few persons who were in the secret, who had bought stock at a low rate, and afterwards sold them at a high price, would in the end be gainers by the project. The earl of Sunderland answered their objections. He declared that those who countenanced the scheme of the South Sea Company, had nothing in view but the advantage of the nation. He owned that the managers for that company had undoubtedly a prospect of private gain, either to themselves or to their corporation; but, he said, when the scheme was accepted, neither the one nor the other could foresee

(*y*) In consequence of this transaction, a proclamation was published in Ireland, in January, 1719, offering a reward of ten thousand pounds for seizing the duke of Ormond, in case he landed, or should attempt to land in that kingdom.

(*z*) On the 17th of March, a proclamation was issued, offering five thousand pounds for apprehending the duke of Ormond; one thousand pounds for every other attainted peer that was with him; and five hundred pounds for every gentleman under the degree of a peer.

that

that the stocks would have risen to such a height: that if they had continued as they were, the public would have had the far greater share of the advantage accruing from the scheme; and should they be kept up to the present high price, it was but reasonable that the South Sea Company should enjoy the profits, procured to it by the wise management and industry of the directors, which would enable it to make large dividends, and thereby accomplish the purpose of the scheme. The bill passed without amendment or division, and, on the 7th of April, received the royal assent. By this act the South Sea Company was authorised to take in, by purchase or subscription, the irredeemable debts of the nation, stated at sixteen millions five hundred forty-six thousand four hundred eighty-two pounds, seven shillings, one penny farthing, at such times as they should find convenient before the first day of March of the ensuing year, and without any compulsion on any of the proprietors, at such rates and prices as should be agreed upon between the company and the respective proprietors. They were likewise authorized to take in all the redeemable debts, amounting to the same sum as that of the irredeemables, either by purchase, by taking subscriptions, or by paying off the creditors. For the liberty of taking in the national debt, and increasing their capital stock accordingly, the company consented that their present, and to be increased annuity, should be continued at five per cent. till Midsummer, in the year one thousand seven hundred and twenty-seven; from thence to be reduced to four per cent. and be redeemable by parliament. In consideration of this and other advantages expressed in the act, the company declared themselves willing to make such payments into the receipt of the exchequer as were specified for the use of the public, to be applied to the discharge of the public debts incurred before Christmas, in the year 1716. The sums they were obliged to pay for the liberty of taking in the redeemable debts, four year's and a half's purchase for all the long and short annuities that should be subscribed, and one year's purchase for such long annuities as should not be subscribed, amounted on the execution of the act to about seven millions. For enabling the company to raise this sum, they were empowered to make calls for money from their members; to open books of subscription; to grant annuities redeemable by the company; to borrow money upon any contract or bill under their common seal, or on the credit of their capital stock; to convert the money demanded of their members into additional stock, without, however, making any addition to the company's annuities, payable out of the public duties. It was enacted, that out of the first monies arising from the sums paid by the company into the exchequer, such public debts carrying interest at five per cent. incurred before the 25th of December, in the year 1716, founded upon any former act of parliament, as were now redeemable, or might be redeemed before the 25th of December, in the year 1722, should be discharged in the first place: that then all the remainder should be applied towards paying off so much of the capital stock of the company as should then carry an interest of five per cent. It was likewise provided, that after Midsummer, in the year 1722, the company should not be paid off in any sums being less than one million at a time.

While the South Sea scheme was carrying on, the heads of the Royal Assurance and London Assurance Companies, understanding that the civil list was considerably in arrears, offered to the ministry six hundred thousand pounds towards the discharge of that debt, on condition of their obtaining the king's charter, with a parliamentary sanction for the establishment of their respective companies. The proposal was embraced; and the king communicated it in a message to the house of commons, desiring their concurrence. A bill was immediately passed, enabling his majesty to grant letters of incorporation to the two companies. It soon obtained the Royal assent; and, on the 11th of June, an end was put to the session. This was the age of interested projects, inspired by a venal spirit of adventure, the natural consequence of that avarice, fraud, and profligacy, which the monied corporations had introduced. This of all others is the most unfavourable æra for an historian.

Blount, the projector of the South Sea scheme, had taken the hint of his plan from the famous Mississipi scheme, formed by John Law, which in the preceding year had raised such a ferment in France, and entailed ruin upon many thousand families of that kingdom. In the scheme of Law, there was something substantial. An exclusive trade to Louisiana promised some advantage; though the design was defeated by the frantic eagerness of the people. Law himself became the dupe of the regent, who transferred the burthen of fifteen hundred millions of livres of the king's debts to the shoulders of the subjects; while the projector was sacrificed as the scapegoat of the political iniquity. The South Sea scheme promised no commercial advantage of any consequence. It was buoyed up by nothing but the folly and rapaciousness of individuals, which became so blind and extravagant, that Blount, with moderate talents, was able to impose upon the whole nation, and make tools of the other directors, to serve his own purposes, and those of a few associates. When this projector found that the South Sea stock did not rise according to his expectation upon the bills being passed, he circulated a report, that Gibraltar and Port Mahon would be exchanged for some places in Peru; by which means the English trade to the South Sea would be protected and enlarged. This rumour, diffused by his emissaries, acted like a contagion. In five days the directors opened their books for a subscription of one million, at the rate of three hundred pounds for every hundred pounds capital. Persons of all ranks crowded to the house in such a manner, that the first subscription exceeded two millions of original stock. In a few days this stock advanced to three hundred and forty pounds; and the subscriptions were sold for double the price of the first payment. Without entering into a detail of the proceedings, or explaining the scandalous arts that were practised to enhance the value of the stock, and decoy the unwary, we shall only observe, that by the promise of prodigious dividends, and other infamous arts, the stock was raised to one thousand; and the whole nation infected with the spirit of stock-jobbing to an astonishing degree. All distinctions of party, religion, sex, character, and circumstance, were swallowed up in this universal concern, or in some pecuniary project. Exchange Alley was filled with a strange concourse of statesmen and clergymen, churchmen and dissenters, Whigs and Tories, physicians, lawyers, tradesmen, and even with multitudes of females. All other professions and employments were utterly neglected; and the people's attention wholly engrossed by this and other chimerical schemes, which were known by the denomination of bubbles. New companies started up every day, under the countenance of the prime nobility. The prince of Wales was constituted governor of the Welch copper company: the duke of Chandos appeared at the head of the York-buildings company: the duke of Bridgewater formed a third, for building houses in London and Westminster. About an hundred such schemes were projected and put in execution, to the ruin of many thousands. The sums proposed to be raised by these expedients amounted to three hundred millions sterling, which exceeded the value of all the lands in England. The nation was so intoxicated with the spirit of adventure, that people became a prey to the grossest delusion. An obscure projector, pretending to have formed a very advantageous scheme, which, however, he did not explain, published proposals for a subscription, in which he promised, that in one month the particulars of his project fhould be disclosed. In the mean time, he declared that every person paying two guineas should be entitled to a subscription for one hundred pounds, which will produce that sum yearly. In one forenoon this adventurer received a thousand of these subscriptions; and in the evening set out for another kingdom. The king issued a proclamation against these unlawful projects; the lords justices afterwards dismissed all the petitions that had been presented for charters and patents; and the prince of Wales renounced the company of which he had been elected governor. The South Sea scheme raised such a flood of eager avidity and extravagant hope, that the majority of the directors were swept along with it, even contrary to their own sense and inclination; but Blount and his accomplices still directed the stream.

The infatuation prevailed till the 8th of September, when the stock began to fall. Then did some of the adventurers awake from their delirium. The number of the sellers daily increased. On the 29th of the month, the stock had sunk to one hundred and fifty; several eminent goldsmiths and bankers, who had lent great sums upon it, were obliged to stop payment, and abscond. The ebb of this portentous tide was so violent, that it bore down every thing in its way; and an infinite number of families was overwhelmed

overwhelmed with ruin. Public credit sustained a terrible shock; the nation was thrown into a dangerous ferment; and nothing was heard but the ravings of grief, disappointment, and despair. Some principal members of the ministry were deeply concerned in these fraudulent transactions: when they saw the price of stock sinking daily, they employed all their influence with the Bank to support the credit of the South Sea Company. That corporation agreed, though with reluctance, to subscribe into the stock of the South Sea Company, valued at four hundred *per cent*. three millions five hundred thousand pounds, which the company was to repay to the Bank on Lady-day and Michaelmas of the ensuing year. This transaction was managed by Mr. Robert Walpole, who, with his own hand, wrote the minute of the agreement, afterwards known by the name of the Bank contract. Books were opened at the Bank, to take in a subscription for the support of public credit; and considerable sums of money were brought in. By this expedient the stock was raised at first, and those who contrived it seized the opportunity to realize. But the bankruptcy of the Goldsmiths and the Sword-blade Company, from the fall of South-Sea stock, occasioned such a run upon the Bank, that the money was paid away faster than it could be received from the subscription. Then the South Sea stock sunk again; and the directors of the Bank, finding themselves in danger of being involved in the company's ruin, renounced the agreement, which, indeed, they were under no obligation to perform, for it was drawn up in such a manner, as to be no more than the rough draft of a subsequent agreement, without due form, penalty, or clause of obligation. All expedients having failed, and the clamours of the people daily increasing, expresses were dispatched to Hanover, representing the state of the nation, and pressing the king to return. He accordingly shortened his intended stay in Germany, and arrived in England on the 11th of November.

The parliament being assembled on the 8th of December, his majesty expressed his concern for the unhappy turn of affairs, which had so deeply affected the public credit at home; he earnestly desired the commons to consider of the most effectual and speedy methods to restore the public credit, and fix it upon a lasting establishment. The lower house was too much interested in the calamity to postpone the consideration of that subject. The members seemed to lay aside all party distinctions, and vie with each other in promoting an enquiry, by which justice might be done to the injured nation. They ordered the directors to produce an account of all their proceedings. Sir Joseph Jekyl moved, that a select committee might be appointed, to examine the particulars of this transaction. Mr. Walpole, now paymaster of the forces, observed, that such a method would protract the enquiry, while the public credit lay in a bleeding condition. He told the house he had formed a scheme for restoring public credit; but, before he would communicate this plan, desired to know, whether the subscriptions of public debts and incumbrances, money-subscriptions, and other contracts made with the South Sea Company, should remain in the present state. After a warm debate the question was carried in the affirmative, with this addition, "Unless altered for the ease and relief of the proprietors, by a general court of the South Sea Company, or set aside in the due course of law." Next day Walpole produced his scheme to engraft nine millions of South Sea stock into the Bank of England, and the like sum into the East India Company on certain conditions. The house voted that proposals should be received from the Bank, and those two companies, on this subject. These being delivered, the commons resolved, that an engrossment of nine millions of the capital stock of the Bank and East-India Company, as proposed by these Companies, would contribute very much to the restoring public credit. A bill upon this resolution was brought in, passed through both houses and received the royal assent. Another bill was enacted into a law, for restraining the sub-governor, deputy-governor, directors, treasurer, under treasurer, cashier, secretary, and accountants, of the South Sea Company, from quitting the kingdom till the end of the next session of parliament; and for discovering their estates and effects, so as to prevent them from being transported or alienated. A committee of secrecy was chosen by ballot, to examine all the books, papers, and proceedings, relating to the execution of the South Sea act.

The lords were not less eager than the commons to prosecute this enquiry, though divers members in both houses were deeply involved in the guilt and infamy of the transaction. Earl Stanhope said, the estates of the criminals, whether directors or not directors, ought to be confiscated, to repair the public losses. He was seconded by lord Carteret, and even by the earl of Sunderland. The duke of Wharton declared he would give up the best friend he had, should he be found guilty. He observed, that the nation had been plundered in the most flagrant and notorious manner; therefore, they ought to find out and punish the offenders severely, without respect of persons. The sub and deputy governors, the directors and officers of the South Sea Company, were examined at the bar of the house. Then a bill was brought in, disabling them to enjoy any office in that company, or in the East-India Company, or in the Bank of England. Three brokers were likewise examined, and made great discoveries. Knight, the treasurer of the South Sea Company, who had been entrusted with the secrets of the whole affair, thought proper to withdraw himself from the kingdom. A proclamation was issued to apprehend him, and another for preventing any of the directors from escaping from the kingdom. At this period, the secret committee informed the house of commons, that they had already discovered a train of the deepest villainy and fraud, that hell ever contrived to ruin a nation, which in due time they would lay before the house: in the meanwhile they thought it highly necessary to secure the persons of some of the directors, and principal officers of the South Sea Company, as well as to seize their papers. An order was made to secure the books and papers of Knight, Surman, and Turner. The persons of sir George Caswell, sir John Blount, sir John Lambert, sir John Fellows, and Mr. Grigsby, were taken into custody. Sir Theodore Jansen, Mr. Sawbridge, sir Robert Chaplain, and Mr. Eyles, were expelled the house, and apprehended. Mr. Aislabie resigned his employments of chancellor of the exchequer, and lord of the treasury; and orders were given to remove all directors of the South Sea Company, from the places they possessed under the government.

The lords, in the course of their examination, discovered that large portions of South Sea stock had been given to several persons in the administration and house of commons, for promoting the passing of the South Sea act. The house immediately resolved, that this practice was a notorious and most dangerous species of corruption; that the directors of the South Sea Company have ordered great quantities of their stock to be bought for the service of the company, when it was at a very high price, and on pretence of keeping up the price of stock; and at the same time several of the directors, and other officers belonging to the company, having, in a clandestine manner, sold their own stock to the company, such directors and officers were guilty of a notorious fraud and breach of trust, and their so doing was one great cause of the unhappy turn of affairs, that had so much affected public credit. Many other resolutions were taken against that infamous confederacy, in which, however, the innocent were confounded with the guilty. Sir J. Blount refusing to answer certain interrogations, a violent debate arose about the manner in which he should be treated. The duke of Wharton observed, that the government of the best princes was sometime rendered intollerable to their subjects by bad ministers; he mentioned the example of Sejanus, who had made a division in the Imperial family, and rendered the name of Claudius hateful to the Romans. Earl Stanhope conceiving this reflection was aimed at him, was seized with a transport of anger. He undertook to vindicate the ministry; and spoke with such vehemence as produced a violent head-ach which obliged him to retire. He underwent proper evacuations, and seemed to recover: but next day, in the evening, became lethargic, and being seized with a suffocation, instantly expired. The king deeply regretted the death of his favourite minister, which was the more unfortunate, as it happened at such a critical conjuncture, and he appointed lord Townshend to fill his place of secretary. Earl Stanhope was survived but a few days by the other secretary, Mr. Craggs, who died of the small-pox on the 16th of February. Knight, the cashier of the South Sea Company, being seized at Tirlemont, by the vigilance of Mr. Gandot, secretary to Mr. Leathes, the British resident at Brussels, was confined in the citadel of Antwerp. Application was made to the court of Vienna, that he should be delivered up to such persons as might be appointed to receive him: but he found means to interest the states of Brabant in his behalf. They insisted upon their privilege granted by

charter, that no person apprehended for any crime in Brabant, should be tried in any other country. The house of commons expressed their indignation at this frivolous pretence; instances were renewed to the emperor; and, in the mean time, Knight escaped from the citadel of Antwerp.

The committee of secresy found, that, before any subscription could be made, a fictitious stock of five hundred and seventy-four thousand pounds had been disposed of by the directors, to facilitate the passing of the bill. Great part of this was distributed among the earl of Sunderland, Mr. Craggs senior, the duchess of Kendal, the countess of Platen and her two nieces, Mr. Secretary Craggs, and Mr. Aislabie, chancellor of the exchequer. In consequence of the committees report, the house came to several severe, though just resolutions, against the directors and officers of the South Sea Company; and a bill was prepared for the relief of the unhappy sufferers. Mr. Stanhope, one of the secretaries of the treasury, charged in the report with having large quantities of stock and subscriptions, desired that he might have an opportunity to clear himself. His request was granted; and the affair being discussed, he was cleared by a majority of three voices. Fifty thousand pounds in stock had been taken by Knight for the use of the earl of Sunderland. Great part of the house entered eagerly into this enquiry; and a violent dispute ensued. The whole strength of the ministry was mustered in his defence. The majority declared him innocent; the nation in general was of another opinion. He resigned his place of first commissioner of the treasury, which was bestowed upon Mr. Robert Walpole; but he still retained the confidence of his master. With respect to Mr. Aislabie, the evidence appeared so strong against him, that the commons resolved, he had promoted the destructive execution of the South Sea scheme, with a view to his own exorbitant profit, and combined with the directors in their pernicious practices, to the ruin of public credit. He was expelled the house, and committed to the Tower. Mr. Craggs senior, died of the small pox before he underwent the censure of the house Nevertheless, they resolved that he was a notorious accomplice with Robert Knight, and some of the directors, in carrying on their scandalous practices; and therefore, that all the estate of which he was possessed, from the first day of December in the preceding year, should be applied towards the relief of the unhappy sufferers in the South Sea Company. The directors, in obedience to the order of the house, delivered inventories of their estates, which were confiscated by act of parliament, towards making good the damages sustained by the company, after a certain allowance was deducted from each, according to his conduct and circumstances.

The delinquents being thus punished by the forfeiture of their fortunes, the house converted their attention to means for repairing the mischiefs which the scheme had produced. This was a very difficult task, on account of the contending interests of those engaged in the South Sea Company, which rendered it impossible to relieve some but at the expence of others. Several wholesome resolutions were taken, and presented with an address to the king, explaining the motives of their proceedings. On the 29th of July, 1721, the parliament was prorogued for two days only. Then his majesty, going to the house of peers, declared that he had called them together again so suddenly, that they might resume the consideration of the state of public credit. The commons immediately prepared a bill upon the resolutions they had taken. The whole capital stock, at the end of the year 1720, amounted to about thirty-seven millions eight hundred thousand pounds. The stock allotted to all the proprietors did not exceed twenty-four millions five hundred thousand pounds: the remaining capital stock belonged to the company in their corporate capacity. It was the profit arising from the execution of the South Sea scheme; and out of this the bill enacted, that seven millions should be paid to the public. The present act likewise directed several additions to be made to the stock of the proprietors, out of that possessed by the company in their own right: it made a particular distribution of stock, amounting to two millions two hundred thousand pounds; and, upon remitting five millions of the seven to be paid to the public, annihilated two millions of their capital. It was enacted, that after these distributions, the remaining capital stock should be divided among all the proprietors. This dividend amounted to thirty-three pounds six shillings and eight pence per cent. and deprived the company of eight millions nine hundred thousand pounds. They had lent above eleven millions on stock unredeemed; of which the parliament discharged all the debtors, upon their paying ten per cent. Upon this article the company's loss exceeded six millions nine hundred thousand pounds; for many debtors refused to make any payment. The proprietors of the stock loudly complained of their being deprived of two millions; and the parliament, in the sequel, revived that sum which had been annihilated. While this affair was in agitation, petitions from counties, cities, and boroughs, in all parts of the kingdom, were presented to the house, crying for justice against the villainy of the directors. Pamphlets and papers were daily published on the same subject; so that the whole nation was exasperated to the highest pitch of resentment. Nevertheless, by the wise and vigorous resolutions of the parliament, the South Sea Company was soon in a condition to fulfil their engagements with the public: the ferment of the people subsided; and the credit of the nation was restored.

The Quakers having presented a petition to the house of commons, praying that a bill might be brought in for omitting in their solemn affirmation, the words, "In the presence of Almighty God," the house complied with their request; but the bill gave rise to a warm debate among the peers. Dr. Atterbury, bishop of Rochester, said he did not know why such a distinguishing mark of indulgence should be allowed to a set of people who were hardly Christians. He was supported by the archbishop of York, the earl of Strafford, and lord North and Grey. A petition was presented against the bill by the London clergy, who expressed a serious concern lest the minds of good men should be grieved and wounded, and the enemies of Christianity triumph, when they should see such condescension made by a Christian legislature, to a set of men who renounce the divine institutions of Christ; particularly that by which the faithful are initiated into his religion, and denominated Christians. The petition, though presented by the archbishop of York, was branded by the ministry as a seditious libel, and rejected by the majority.

The discontents occasioned by the public calamities once more gave the disaffected party hopes of succeeding: but in all their counsels they were weak, divided, and wavering. The duke of Orleans, regent of France, is said to be the first who gave the king information of a recent conspiracy carried on by many persons of the first distinction, joined by several malcontents of inferior quality. In consequence of this information, which was given in the beginning of May, 1722, a camp was formed in Hyde Park, and all military officers were ordered to repair to their respective stations. Lieutenant-general Macartney was dispatched to Ireland to bring over troops from that kingdom; and the states of Holland were called upon to be ready with their guaranty. The people thus excited by new terrors, every day expected an invasion, and looked where the vengeance of government was likely to fall.

The first person who was seized upon was Francis Atterbury, bishop of Rochester, a prelate who had long been odious in the estimation of the present government, and possessed of abilities to render him formidable to any ministry he opposed. His papers were seized, and himself committed to the Tower. Soon after the duke of Norfolk, the earl of Orrery, the lords North and Grey, and some others of inferior rank, were arrested and thrown into prison. Of all these, however, only the bishop, and Mr. Layer, a barrister, felt the severity of government, the proofs against the rest amounting to no convictive evidence. A bill was brought into the house of commons, impeaching bishop Atterbury, although he pleaded his privilege as a peer. This met with some opposition in that house, yet it was resolved by a great majority in the house of commons, that he should be deprived of his dignity and benefice, and should be banished the kingdom for ever. The bishop made no defence in the lower house, reserving all his force, which he intended to exert in the house of lords. In that house his cause had many friends; and his own eloquence, politeness, and ingenuity, procured him many more. His cause coming before that assembly, a long and warm debate ensued; in which the contest was more equally managed than the ministry expected. As there was little or no proof against him except what arose from intercepted letters, which were written in cyphers, the earl of Pawlet insisted that such could not be construed into treason or offence. The

duke of Wharton having summed up the depositions, and shewn the insufficiency of them, concluded with saying, that let the consequences be what they may, he hoped the lustre of that house would never be tarnished by condemning a man without evidence. Lord Bathurst also spoke in the bishop's favour, observing, that if such extraordinary proceedings were countenanced, he saw nothing remaining for him and others, but to retire to their country houses, and there, if possible, quietly to enjoy their estates within their own families, since the most trifling correspondence, or any intercepted letter, might be made criminal. Then turning to the bench of bishops, he said, he could hardly account for the inveterate hatred and malice which some persons bore to the ingenious bishop of Rochester, unless it was, that, infatuated like the wild Americans, they fondly hoped to inherit not only the spoils, but even the abilities of the man they should destroy. Notwithstanding all that was said in the bishop's favour, the bill passed against him in May, 1723, several lords entering their protests against it; by which he was deprived of all offices, benefices, and dignities, and rendered incapable of enjoying any for the future: he was banished the realm, and subjected to the pains of death in case he should return, as were all persons who should correspond with him during his exile. It should be observed, that the other party said very little, being conscious of a majority in their favour. Among the members of the house of commons, who exerted themselves in behalf of the bishop, was the celebrated Dr. Freind, who was himself soon after taken into custody on suspicion of treasonable practices; but he was admitted to bail on Dr. Mead's becoming security for him. The sentence against the bishop of Rochester being confirmed, he was, on the 22nd of June, 1723, put on board the Aldborough man of war, which landed him at Calais, with his daughter, Mrs. Morrice, and her husband (*a*). The bishop continued in exile and poverty till he died, though it may not be improper to observe, that Dr. Sacheverel dying some time before him, left him by will five hundred pounds (*b*).

The fate of Christopher Layer, Esq. was more severe. Being brought to his trial at the bar of the King's Bench, on the 21st of November, 1722, he was convicted of having enlisted men for the pretender's service, of having endeavoured to stir up a rebellion, and he received sentence of death. The circumstances of this conspiracy are not clearly known. It is said, that the intention of the conspirators was, by introducing a number of foreign officers and soldiers into England unobserved, to prepare a junction with the duke of Ormond, who was to have landed in the river with a great quantity of arms provided for that purpose. However this be, Mr. Layer was reprieved from time to time, and many methods tried to make him discover his accomplices; but he continued stedfast in his trust, and suffered death at Tyburn on the 17th of May, 1723. His head was fixed on a pole at Temple Bar.

The session of parliament, which commenced on the 12th of November, 1724, was distinguished by a remarkable incident, in which the interests and security of the nation were more deeply concerned. This was the trial of Thomas Parker, earl of Macclesfield, lord high chancellor of Great Britain. This nobleman had connived at certain venal practices touching the sale of places, and the money of suitors deposited, with the masters of chancery, so as to incur the general reproach of the nation. He found it necessary to resign the great seal in the beginning of January, 1725 (*c*). On the 9th of the ensuing month, the king sent a message to the commons, importing, that his majesty, having reason to apprehend that the suitors in the court of chancery were in danger of losing a considerable sum of money, from the insufficiency of some of the masters, thought himself obliged in justice and compassion to the said sufferers, to take the most speedy and proper method the law would allow, for enquiring into the state of the master's accounts, and securing their effects for the benefit of the suitors; and his majesty having had several reports laid before him, in pursuance of the directions he had given, had ordered the reports to be communicated to the house, that they might have as full and as perfect a view of this important affair as the shortness of the time, and the circumstances and nature of the proceedings, would admit. These papers being taken into consideration, sir George Oxendon observed, that enormous abuses had crept into the high court of chancery: that the crimes and misdemeanors of the late lord chancellor were many and various, but might be reduced to the following heads: that he had embezzled the estates and effects of many widows, orphans, and lunatics: that he had raised the offices of masters in chancery to an exorbitant price; trusting in their hands large sums of money belonging to suitors, that they might be enabled to comply with his extraordinary demands; and that in several cases he had made divers irregular orders. He therefore moved, That Thomas, earl of Macclesfield, should be impeached of high crimes and misdemeanors. Mr. Pulteney moved, That this affair might be left to the consideration of a select committee. Sir William Wyndham asserted, that in proceeding by way of impeachment upon reports from above, they would make a dangerous precedent; and seem to give up the most valuable of their privileges, the inquest after state criminals. The question being put, it was carried for the impeachment. The earl was accordingly impeached at the bar of the upper house: a committee was appointed to prepare articles; and a bill was brought in, to indemnify the masters in chancery from the penalties of the law, upon discovering what considerations they had paid for their admission to their respective offices. The trial lasted twenty days; during which the earl proved that such sums had been usually received by former lords chancellors. The earl was, however, convicted of fraudulent practices; and condemned in a fine of thirty thousand pounds, with imprisonment until that sum should be paid. He was immediately committed to the Tower, where he continued about six weeks; but upon producing the money he was discharged; and sir Peter King, now created baron of Oakham, succeeded him in the office of chancellor.

In this manner the corruption, venality and avarice of the times, had increased with the riches and luxury of the nation. Commerce introduced fraud, and wealth introduced prodigality. Religion, which might, in some measure, put a stop to these evils, was rather discouraged than promoted by the legislature. The houses of convocation, which had hitherto met purposely to inspect the morals of the people, and to maintain decency and dignity in the church, were now entirely discontinued. Their disputes among each other were assigned as the cause; but a ministry, studious of the morals of the people, would have permitted them to dispute, and kept up their zeal by their activity. But internal regulations were not what the ministry at that time attended to. The chief object of their attention was to gratify the sovereign with a continual round of foreign treaties and alliances. It was natural for a king born and bred in Germany, where all sovereignty is possessed upon such precarious tenures, to introduce the same spirit into the British constitution, however independent it might be as to the rest of Europe. This reign therefore was begun by treaties, and the latter part of it was burthened with them. The chief object of all was to secure to the king his German dominions, and to exclude the pretender from those of Britain. To effect both purposes, England paid considerable subsidies to many different states in Europe for the promise of their protection and assistance; but it most commonly happened, that the connection was changed, or a variance ensued, even before the stipulations on either side were capable of being executed. In this reign there were concluded no less than nine treaties. The barrier convention treaty, a defensive alliance with the emperor, the triple alliance, the convention treaty, the quadruple alliance, the congress of Cambray, the treaty of Hanover, the treaty of Vienna, and the convention with Sweden and Hesse Cassel. All these various and expensive negociations were mere political playthings; they amused for a while, and were since neglected.

It must, however, be owned, that the parliament made some new efforts to check the progress of vice and immorality, which now began to be diffused through every rank of life: but they were supported neither by the co-operation of the ministry, nor the voice of the people. The

(*a*) On the same day that bishop Atterbury landed at Calais, the famous lord Bolingbroke arrived there on his return to England, having, for some secret reasons, obtained his majesty's pardon. Dr. Atterbury being informed of this circumstance, could not help observing, with a smile, that "they were exchanged."

(*b*) Dr. Sacheverel died June 5, 1724.

(*c*) In consequence of the earl of Macclesfield's resignation, the great seal was committed to the custody of sir Joseph Jekyll, master of the rolls, sir Jeffery Gilbert, one of the barons of the exchequer, and sir Robert Raymond, one of the justices of the King's Bench.

treaties

treaties which had lately been concluded with Spain were already broken; but the spirit of commerce was so eager that no restrictions could bind it. Admiral Hosier was sent about the close of March, 1726, to the West Indies, with a view to intercept the Spanish galeons; but the Spaniards being apprized of his design, relanded their treasure. The admiral lay inactive on that station, until he became the jest of the Spaniards. He retired to Jamaica, where he found means to reinforce his crews; then he stood over to Carthagena. The Spaniards had by this time seized the English South-sea ship at La Vera-Cruz, together with all the vessels and effects belonging to that company. Hosier in vain demanded restitution: he took some Spanish ships by way of reprisal, and continued cruising in those seas until the greater part of his men perished deplorably by the diseases of that unhealthy climate; and his ships were totally ruined by the worms. This brave officer being restricted by his orders from obeying the dictates of his courage, seeing his best officers and men daily swept off by an outrageous distemper, and his ships exposed to inevitable destruction, is said to have died of a broken heart; while the people of England loudly clamoured against this unfortunate expedition, in which so many lives were thrown away, and so much money expended, without the least advantage to the nation. It seems to have been a mean, piratical scheme, to rob the court of Spain of its expected treasure, even while a peace subsisted between the two nations. The ministry of Great Britain indeed alledged, that the Spanish king had entered into engagements in favour of the pretender. In order to retaliate these hostilities, the Spaniards undertook the siege of Gibraltar, but with as little success on their side. In this dispute France offered her mediation, and such a reconciliation as treaties could procure was the consequence; a temporary reconciliation ensued, and both sides only watched the occasion to renew hostilities with advantage.

It was now two years since the king had visited his electoral dominions of Hanover; accordingly, on the 31st of May, 1727, he declared in council his intention of going to the continent. He therefore appointed the lords justices for the administration of the government, during his absence, and embarked at Greenwich on the 3rd of June, attended by the earl of Ilay and lord Townshend: on the 7th he arrived at Vaert in Holland, where he lay that night. On the 9th he arrived at Delden, between ten and eleven at night, to all appearance in perfect health, and supped there very heartily. He pursued his journey about four o'clock the next morning, but between eight and nine he ordered his coach to stop. It being perceived that one of his hands lay motionless, Monsieur Fabrice, who had formerly been servant to the king of Sweden, and who now attended king George, attempted to quicken the circulation by chaffing it between his own. As this had no effect, the surgeon, who followed on horseback, was called, and he also rubbed it with spirits. Soon after the king's tongue began to swell, and he had just strength enough to bid them hasten to Osnabruc. Then falling insensible into Fabrice's arms, he never recovered, but expired about eleven o'clock the next morning, June 11, 1727, aged sixty-seven years and fourteen days; and having reigned twelve years, ten months, and ten days (*d*). His body was conveyed to Hanover, where it was interred among his ancestors.

George the First was neither unpleasing in his person nor his countenance; nor did he disgust fastidious observers by a want of grace or of dignity in his manners and address. It must be allowed that his talents were not brilliant; but that his intellects were particularly weak or defective, it would be unjust to assert; though it does not appear that he had greatly improved them by scientific pursuits. His first entrance into public life was in the capacity of a warrior. At the early age of fifteen he served with reputation against the French; and he afterwards distinguished himself in the confederate army, which, under the conduct of the gallant Sobieski, compelled the Turks to relinquish the siege of Vienna. As a general, he was cool and cautious; and he prudently watched all opportunities of advantage. In the department of politics he was not destitute of skill. He was conversant in the arts of negociation; he understood the interests of different states, and the intricacies of the Germanic system; and he was vigilantly attentive to all the motions of the European powers. But, unfortunately for Great Britain, he rendered her strength and resources subservient to the benefit and preservation of his electorial territories. For these (particularly for his more recent acquisitions) he felt a constant alarm: these were the foundations of his frequent and multifarious treaties; these he was more anxious to secure against his jealous enemies, than his kingdom against the attempts of the pretender; and, when he equipped fleets and armies, he had an eye to the ultimate protection of his favourite possessions, under the pretence of resisting invasions for which this island was sufficiently prepared, and of guarding against insurrections which he did not dread. This conduct convinced the reflecting part of the nation, that the act of settlement was imperfect, in the want of a provision for preventing the subjection of the British and Hanoverian dominions to the same sovereign. In the government of his electorate, he was remarkable for his clemency and moderation, exercised over those who were slaves by prescription. He was sensible of the natural claims of the whole human race to freedom, and scorned to act as a tyrant or an oppressor. Such being his sentiments and his practice, he was gratified with the esteem, the reverence, and the affection of his German subjects. With the inhabitants of Britain he was less popular; and the predilection and prejudices which we have mentioned will amply account for this circumstance. In his administration of this kingdom he did not sufficiently attend to its true interests; and we have reason to lament, that he found, among the natives, many who were willing, from personal ambition, to second his views, and render this country, as it were, a province of Hanover. The influence of royalty will always command such compliant tools of state. The general disposition of George was grave and sedate; but he was not an enemy to mirth, or a stranger to cheerful indulgence. He was capable of the familiarity of private friendship, and of the easy relaxation of sovereign dignity. He was frank and sincere, generous and grateful, just and humane. He was observant of religious ordinances, and of moral decorum. To unchaste enjoyments, however, he is said to have been not averse; but in these and other gratifications he did not rush into excess. He seems to have been unreasonably severe in the capacity of a husband; for, either on suspicion or proof of the adulterous guilt of his wife (*e*), he subjected her to a state of perpetual confinement, in the castle of Ahlen in the electorate of Brunswic.

(*d*) He died in the palace of his only surviving brother, Ernest Augustus, bishop of Osnabruc, and duke of York; a prince of an amiable character, who died in the following year.

(*e*) This princess was named Sophia Dorothea, and was the daughter and heiress of George William, duke of Zell. By her George the First had only two children, viz. George Augustus, born October 30, 1683, who succeeded to his father's dominions; and a daughter, Sophia Dorothea, born March 16, 1687, who was married to Frederic William the Second, king of Prussia.

BOOK XIII.

COMPRIZING THE REIGN OF GEORGE THE SECOND.

CHAPTER I.

UPON the death of George the First, his son, George the Second, came to the throne. He was a person of inferior abilities to the late king, and strongly biassed with a partiality to his dominions on the continent. Upon his advancement to the kingly office, the business of government was chiefly conducted by lord Townshend, a man of extensive knowledge, and great skill in the interests of the different states of Europe; the duke of Newcastle, a nobleman of large connexions among the great, but rather of inferior abilities; and the earl of Chesterfield, a man of wit, insinuation, and address, though rather averse to the drudgery of business. But the chief person, and he who shortly after engrossed the greatest share of power, was sir Robert Walpole (*f*), who was formerly so actively employed in supporting the house of Hanover.

The house of commons, which had hitherto been distinguished by the appellations of Hanoverians and Jacobites, now altered their names with their principles, and the parties on either side went by the names of the Court and the Country. Both sides had been equally active in bringing in the Hanoverian family, and consequently neither was much afraid of the reproach of disaffection. The court party, who were listed under the banners of the ministry, were for favouring all their schemes, and for applauding all the measures of the crown. They were taught to regard foreign alliances and continental connections, as conducive to internal security; they considered England as unable or unfit to be trusted to defend herself, and paid the troops of other countries for the promises of future assistance. The two houses seemed to vie with each other in expressions of applause and affection to his majesty. The lords, in their address, hailed him as the best of kings, and true father of his country. The commons expressed the warmest sense of gratitude for the blessings they enjoyed in his reign, though it was not yet eight months old. They approved of all his transactions; promised to support him in all his undertakings; and declared they would cheerfully grant whatever supplies should be wanted for the public service. Having considered the estimates which were laid before them by order of his majesty, they voted two-and-twenty thousand nine hundred and fifty-five men for guards and garrisons; and fifteen thousand seamen for the service of the ensuing year. They granted two hundred and thirty thousand nine hundred and twenty-three pounds, for the maintenance of twelve thousand Hessian troops; a subsidy of fifty thousand pounds to the king of Sweden; and half that sum to the duke of Brunswick Wolfenbuttel (*g*). The expence of the year amounted to four millions, raised by a land tax of three shillings in the pound, a malt tax, and by borrowing of the Bank one million seven hundred and fifty thousand pounds, for which, annuities to the amount of seventy thousand pounds, to be raised by duties on coals imported into the city of London, were granted to that corporation.

All these sums, however, were not granted without question. The number of land forces occasioned a debate; and the Hessian auxiliaries were not allowed without dispute and opposition. When they deliberated on the loan of the Bank, Mr. W. Pulteney observed, that the shifting of funds was but perpetuating taxes, and putting off the evil day: that notwithstanding the great merit which some persons had built on the sinking fund, it appeared that the national debt had been increased since the setting up that pompous project. Some warm altercation passed between him and sir Robert Walpole on this subject. The lord mayor, aldermen, and common council of London, presented a petition, setting forth, that the duties already laid upon coals and culm, imported into London, affected the trade of that city only; that the inequality of the burthen was a great discouragement to their manufactures, and an hardship upon all the trading inhabitants. The petition was rejected, and the tax imposed. The house having addressed the king for a particular and distinct account of the distribution of two hundred and fifty thousand pounds, charged to have been issued for securing the trade and navigation of the kingdom, and preserving and restoring the peace of Europe, he declined granting their request, but signified in general, that part of the money had been issued and disbursed by his late majesty, and the remainder by himself, for carrying on the same necessary services, which required the greatest secresy. Such a message in the reign of William the Third would have raised a dangerous flame in the house of commons.

Of the foreign treaties and alliances sir Robert Walpole appears to have been the leader; and such as he could not convince by his eloquence, he persuaded by the more powerful argument of places and pensions. The other side, who went by the name of the country party, were entirely averse to continental connections. They complained that immense sums were lavished on subsidies which could never be useful; and that alliances were bought with money from nations that should rather contribute to England for her protection. These looked upon the frequent journies of the king to Hanover with a jealous eye, and sometimes hinted at a partiality shewn in the royal breast in its favour. These were joined by the high-flying Tories, who now began to perceive their own cause desperate; and as they were leagued with men who did not fear the reproach of Jacobitism, they gave and acquired greater confidence. As the court party generally alarmed the house of commons with imaginary dangers and concealed conspiracies; so they, on the country side, generally declaimed against the encroachments of the prerogative, and the overgrown power of the crown. The complaints of neither were founded in fact: the kingdom was in no danger of invasions from abroad, nor from plots at home; nor was the crown, on the other hand, gaining any accession of power, but rather every day losing somewhat of its authority by insensible diminution. The king, chiefly attentive to his foreign dominions, regarded but little his prerogatives at home; and he could admit of many limitations in England, to be possessed of plenary power in dominions which he probably more highly esteemed.

There seem to be two objects of controversy which, during the whole reign of George the Second, rose up in debate every session, and tried the strength of the opponents; these were the national debt, and the number of forces to be kept in pay. The government, at the accession of the present king owed more than thirty millions of money; and though there was a long continuance of profound peace, yet this sum was continually increasing. It

(*f*) This gentleman had arisen from low beginnings, through two successive reigns, into great consideration. He was considered as a martyr to his cause, in the reign of queen Anne; and when the Tory party could no longer oppress him, he still preserved that hatred against them with which he set out. Being raised in the beginning of this reign to the head of the treasury, he probably set off by endeavouring to serve his country; but soon meeting with strong opposition, his succeeding endeavours were rather employed in keeping his situation than in adorning it. To defend the declining prerogative of the crown, might perhaps have been the first object of his attention; but soon after those very measures, by which he pretended to secure it, proved the most effectual means to lessen it. By corrupting the house of commons, he encreased their riches and their power; and they were not averse to voting away those millions which he permitted them so liberally to share. As such a tendency in him naturally produced opposition, he was possessed of a most phlegmatic insensibility to reproach, and a calm dispassionate method of reasoning upon such topics as he desired should be believed. His discourse was fluent, but without dignity; and his manner convincing from its apparent want of art.

(*g*) Nothing, says Dr. Smollett, vol. ii. p. 472, could be a greater burlesque upon negociation than this treaty of alliance concluded with the petty duke of Brunswick Wolfenbuttel; who very gravely guarantees to his Britannick majesty the possession of his three kingdoms, and obliges himself to supply his majesty with five thousand men, in consideration of an annual subsidy of five-and-twenty thousand pounds for four years.

was much wondered at by the country party how this could happen; and it was the constant business of the court to give plausible reasons for the increase, and to furnish new matter of surprize to be debated upon in the ensuing session. Thus demands for fresh supplies were made every session of parliament, either for the purposes of securing friends upon the continent, of guarding the kingdom from internal conspiracies, or of enabling the ministry to act vigorously in conjunction with the powers in alliance abroad. It was vainly alledged, that those expences were incurred without prescience or necessity; and that the increase of the national debt, by multiplying and increasing taxes, would at last become an intolerable burthen. These arguments were offered, canvassed, and rejected; the court party was always victorious, and every demand which was made by the ministers was granted with cheerfulness, and even profusion.

The Spaniards were the first nation who shewed the futility of treaties to bind, when any advantage was to be procured by infraction. The extreme avidity of our merchants, and the natural jealousy of that nation, produced every day encroachments on our side, and as arbitrary seizures on theirs. The people of our West India islands had long carried on an illicit trade with the subjects of Spain upon the continent, but whenever detected were rigorously punished, and their cargoes confiscated to the crown. In this temerity of adventure on the one hand, and vigilance of pursuit and punishment on the other, it must often have happened that the innocent must suffer with the guilty, and many complaints were made, perhaps founded in justice, that the English merchants were plundered by the Spanish king's vessels upon the southern coasts of America, as if they had been pirates.

Other merchants complained by petition of the losses sustained by the Spaniards. The house, in a grand committee, deliberated on this subject, enquired into the particulars, examined evidence, and drew up an address to the king, desiring his majesty would be graciously pleased to use his utmost endeavours for preventing such depredations; for procuring just and reasonable satisfaction; and for securing to his subjects the free exercise of commerce and navigation to and from the British colonies in America. The king assured them he would use his best endeavours to answer the desires and expectations of his people, in an affair of so much importance; and they, in another address, thanked him for his gracious answer. They did not, however, receive such a satisfactory reply to a former address, touching the sum of sixty thousand pounds that had been stated in the public account, without specification of the particular uses to which it was applied. His majesty gave them to understand, that the money had been issued and disbursed for secret services; and that a distinct and particular account of the distribution of it could not be given, without a manifest prejudice to the public. A bill was prepared for the more effectual preventing bribery and corruption in elections for members of parliament; and it passed through the house without opposition: but their attention was chiefly employed upon the Spanish depredations, which had raised a great clamour through the whole kingdom, and excited very warm disputes in parliament; for they were generally reputed the fruits of negligence, incapacity, or want of vigour in the ministers. The commons having made further progress in the enquiry, and received fresh petitions from the merchants, passed some resolutions in which the Spaniards were accused of having violated the treaty between the two crowns; and with having treated inhumanly the masters and crews of ships belonging to Great Britain (*h*). They justified the instructions given to admiral Hosier, to seize and detain the flotilla and galleons of Spain, until justice and satisfaction should be rendered to his majesty and his allies; nay, even declared that such seizure would have been just, prudent, and necessary, tending to prevent an open rupture, and to preserve the peace and tranquillity of Europe. They again addressed the king to use his endeavours to procure satisfaction; and he promised to comply with their request.

Mr. Scroope, member for Bristol, moved for an address, entreating his majesty to order an account of the produce of the civil list revenues for one year to be laid before the house. The address was presented, the account produced, and the house, in a grand committee, took this affair into consideration. The courtiers affirmed that they fell short of the eight hundred thousand pounds settled upon his majesty, and Mr. Scroope proposed, that the sum of one hundred and fifteen thousand pounds should be granted to the king, on account of those deficiencies and arrears. The motion was vigorously opposed by Mr. Pulteney and other members. They expressed their surprize that it should be made so late in the session, when no further demand of money could be reasonably expected; and they said it was the more extraordinary, because it appeared in the former session, from the examination of the accounts then before the house, that the revenues of the civil list produced yearly a much greater sum than that for which they were given. Mr. Pulteney moved that the accounts and papers should be referred to the examination of a select committee, properly empowered to investigate the truth. The ministers opposed this motion; and the question being put, it passed in the negative. The majority voted the sum demanded: and, in a bill for settling the price of imported corn, they inserted the resolution for granting to his majesty the sum of one hundred and fifteen thousand pounds, on account of arrears due on the civil list revenues.

The house of lords having prepared a bill for the more effectual punishment of forgery, which was passed into a law, and ordered the judges to bring in another on the report of a committee appointed to consider the case of imprisoned debtors, at length deliberated upon the state of the nation, particularly the positive demand made by the court of Spain for the restitution of Gibraltar, grounded on a letter written by the late king to his catholic majesty. From a copy of the letter laid before the house, it plainly appeared that king George I. had consented to this restitution. A motion being made for a resolution, importing, that for the honour of his majesty, and the preservation and security of the trade and commerce of the kingdom, effectual care should be taken in the present treaty, that the king of Spain should renounce all claim and pretension to Gibraltar and Minorca, in plain and strong terms: a debate ensued, and the question being put, passed in the negative, though not without a protest. Then the majority resolved, that the house did entirely rely upon his majesty, that he would, for maintaining the honour and securing the trade of this kingdom, take effectual care, in the present treaty, to preserve his undoubted right to Gibraltar and Minorca. When the house examined the papers relating to the Spanish depredations, many severe reflections were uttered against the conduct of the ministry; and a motion was made, to resolve that Hosier's expedition was an unreasonable burthen on the nation: but this too, was rejected, and occasioned another protest. Nor did the clause in the corn-bill, for granting one hundred and fifteen thousand pounds to his majesty, pass through the house of peers without warm opposition. Divers lords alledged, that instead of a deficiency in the civil-list revenues, there was a considerable surplus: that this was a new grant, and a new burthen on the people: that the nation was loaded, not to complete, but to augment the sum designed for the civil list; and this at a time when the public debts were increased; when the taxes were heavily felt in all parts of the country; when the foreign trade of Britain was incumbered and diminished; when her manufactures were decayed, her poor multiplied, and she was surrounded by many other national calamities. They observed, that if the produce of the civil list revenue should not amount to the yearly sum of eight hundred thousand pounds, the deficiency must be made good to his majesty by the public; whereas no provision was made, by which, if the produce of these revenues should exceed that sum, the surplus could accrue to the benefit of the public: that, by this precedent, not only real deficiencies were to be made good, but also supplies were to be given for arrears standing out at the end of every year, which should come on before the supplies could be granted, though the supply given to make good arrears in one year, would certainly increase the surpluses in another: that the revenues of the civil list were variable in their own nature; and even when there is a deficiency in the produce, there might be arrears in the receipt: these might be easily encreased by the manage-

(*h*) They examined the evidence of several who had been unjustly seized, and treated with great cruelty. One man, the master of a trading vessel, had been used by the Spaniards in a shocking manner; he gave in his evidence with great precision, informed the house of the manner in which they had plundered and stripped him, of their cutting off his ears, and their preparing to put him to death. "I then looked up (cried he), to my God for pardon, and to my country for revenge."

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ment of designing ministers, by private directions to receivers, and by artful methods of stating accounts. All these arguments, and other objections equally strong and plausible, against this unconscionable and unparliamentary motion, served only to evince the triumph of the ministry over shame and sentiment, their contempt of public spirit, and their defiance of national reproach (*i*).

The king had, on the 24th of March, 1729, given the royal assent to five bills; and on the 14th of May, the same sanction was given to thirty other bills, including an act, enabling the queen to be regent in the kingdom during his majesty's absence, without taking the oaths; and another for the relief of insolvent debtors. At the same time two-and thirty private bills were passed: then the king expressed his approbation of the parliament, signified his intention to visit his German dominions, and ordered the chancellor to prorogue both houses. His majesty having appointed the queen regent of the realm, set out for Hanover, on the seventeenth of May, in order to remove a petty misunderstanding which had happened between that electorate and the court of Berlin. Some Hanoverian subjects had been pressed or decoyed into the service of Prussia; and the regents of Hanover had seized certain Prussian officers by way of reprisal. The whole united kingdom of Great Britain at this juncture enjoyed uninterrupted repose; and commerce continued to increase, in spite of all restriction and discouragement. The people of Ireland found themselves happy under the government of lord Carteret; and their parliament assembling in the month of September, approved themselves the fathers of their country. They established funds for the discharge of their national debt, and for maintaining the expence of government: they enacted wholesome laws for the encouragement of manufactures, trade, and agriculture; and they formed wise regulations in different branches of civil economy. Some time after this session, which was conducted with so much harmony and patriotism, lord Carteret returned to England, and was succeeded by the duke of Dorset in the government of that kingdom. In the month of May, Charles lord Townshend resigned the seals, which were given to colonel Stanhope, now created earl of Harrington; so that sir Robert Walpole now reigned without a rival. James, earl of Waldegrave was appointed ambassador to the court of France, which, about that time, was filled with joy by the birth of a Dauphin.

In the month of September, Victor Amadeus, king of Sardinia, resigned his crown to his son Charles Emanuel, prince of Piedmont. The father reserved to himself a revenue of one hundred thousand pistoles per annum, retired to the castle of Chamberry, and espoused the countess dowager of St. Sebastian, who declined the title of queen, but assumed that of marchioness of Somerive. Though the congress at Soissons proved abortive, conferences were begun at Seville, between the plenipotentiaries of England, France, and Spain; and a treaty was concluded on the 9th of November, not only without the concurrence of the emperor, but even contrary to his right, as established by the quadruple alliance. On this subject he communicated an Imperial commissorial decree to the states of the empire assembled in the diet at Ratisbon, which was answered by the French minister de Chavigny. In October, Peter II. czar of Muscovy, and grandson of Peter I. died in the fifteenth year of his age, at Moscow, and was succeeded on the Russian throne by the princess Anne Ivanowna, second daughter of John Alexowitz, elder brother of the first Peter, and widow of Frederic William duke of Courland.

The British parliament assembling on the 13th of January, the king gave them to understand, that the peace of Europe was now established by the treaty of Seville, built upon the foundation of former treaties, and tending to render more effectual what the contracting powers in the quadruple alliance were before engaged to see performed. He assured them, that all former conventions made with Spain in favour of the British trade and navigation were renewed and confirmed: that the free, uninterrupted exercise of their commerce was restored: that the court of Spain had agreed to an ample restitution and reparation for unlawful seizures and depredations: that all rights, privileges, and possessions, belonging to him and his allies, were solemnly re-established, confirmed, and guaranteed; and that not one concession was made to the prejudice of his subjects. He told them he had given orders for reducing a great number of his land forces, and for laying up great part of the fleet; and observed that there would be a considerable saving in the expence of the current year. After both houses had presented their addresses of thanks and congratulation to the king on the peace of Seville, the lords took that treaty into consideration, and it did not pass enquiry without severe animadversion (*k*).

A warm debate was excited by a bill which the courtiers brought in, to prevent any subjects of Great Britain from advancing sums of money to foreign princes of state, without having obtained licence from his majesty, under his privy seal, or some greater authority. The minister pretended that this law was proposed to disable the emperor, who wanted to borrow a great sum of the English merchants, from raising and maintaining troops to disturb the tranquillity of Europe. The bill contained a clause, empowering the king to prohibit by proclamation all such loans of money, jewels, or bullion: the attorney general was empowered to compel, by English bill, in the court of exchequer, the effectual discovery, on oath, of any such loans; and it was enacted, that in default of an answer to any such bill the court should decree a limited sum against the person refusing to answer. Mr. Daniel Pulteney argued strenuously against this bill, as a restraint upon trade that would render Holland the market of Europe, and the mart of money to the nations of the continent. He said, that by this general prohibition, extending to all princes, states or potentates, the English were totally disabled from assisting their best allies: that the bill would render the exchequer a court of inquisition; and that whilst it restrained our merchants from assisting the princes and powers of Europe, it permitted our stock-

(*i*) The peers that distinguished themselves in the opposition, were Beaufort, Strafford, Craven, Foley, Litchfield, Scarsdale, Gower, Mountjoy, Plymouth, Bathurst, Northampton, Coventry, Oxford, and Mortimer, Willoughby de Broke, Boyle, and Warrington.

(*k*) The lords in the opposition excepted to the article by which the merchants of Great Britain were obliged to make proof of their losses at the court of Spain. They said this stipulation was a hardship upon British subjects, and dishonourable to the nation: that few would care to undertake such a troublesome and expensive journey, especially as they had reason to apprehend their claims would be counterbalanced by the Spaniards; and, after all, they would have no more than the slender comfort of hoping to obtain that redress by commissaries which they had not been able to procure by plenipotentiaries. They thought it very extraordinary, that Great Britain should be bound to ratify and guarantee whatever agreement should be made between the king of Spain and the dukes of Parma and Tuscany, concerning the garrisons once established in their countries: that the English should be obliged to assist in effectuating the introduction of six thousand Spanish troops into the towns of Tuscany and Parma, without any specification of the methods to be taken, or the charge to be incurred in giving that assistance: that they should guarantee for ever, not only to Don Carlos, but even to all his successors, the possession of the estates of Tuscany and Parma; a stipulation which in all probability would involve Great Britain in endless quarrels and disputes, about a country with which they had no concern. They affirmed that the treaty of Seville, instead of confirming other treaties, was contradictory to the quadruple alliance, particularly in the article of introducing Spanish troops into Tuscany and Parma, in the room of neutral forces stipulated by the former alliance; and agreeing that they should there remain until Don Carlos and his successors should be secure and exempt from all events. They complained that these alterations, from the tenor of the quadruple alliance, were made without the concurrence of the emperor, and even without inviting him to accede; an affront which might alienate his friendship from England, and hazard the loss of such an ancient, powerful, and faithful ally: they declared that throughout the whole treaty there seemed to be an artful omission of any express stipulation, to secure Great Britain in her right to Gibraltar and Minorca. Such was the substance of the objections made to the peace: then lord Bathurst moved for a resolution, that the agreement on the treaty of Seville, to secure the succession of Don Carlos to the duchies of Tuscany, Parma, and Placentia, with Spanish troops, was a manifest violation of the fifth article of the quadruple alliance, tending to involve the nation in a dangerous and expensive war, and to destroy the balance of power in Europe. The question was put, and the motion rejected. Such too was the fate of two other motions, to resolve that Great Britain's right of sovereignty, dominion, possession, and claim to Gibraltar and Minorca, were not ascertained by the treaty of Seville; and that the stipulations in that treaty for repairing the losses of the British merchants were insufficient and precarious. The majority, far from stigmatising this transaction, resolved, that the treaty did contain all necessary stipulations, for maintaining and securing the honour, dignity, rights, and possessions of the crown: that all due care was taken therein for the support of the trade of the kingdom, and for repairing the losses sustained by the British merchants. On these resolutions an address of approbation was founded: but when a motion was made for an address to his majesty, that he would order to be laid before the house a list of all pensions payable to the crown, it was immediately resolved in the negative. Divers contests of the same kind arose upon the mutiny-bill, the pension-bill, and the maintenance of the twelve thousand Hessians; but the ministry bore down all opposition, though their triumphs were clogged with vigorous protests, which did not fail to make impression upon the body of the people.

jobbers to trade in their funds without interruption. Being however supported by the whole weight of ministerial influence, the bill not only passed through the house, but was afterwards enacted into a law.

The subsidies were continued to the landgrave of Hesse Cassel and the duke of Brunswick Wolfenbuttel, in spite of all that could be urged against these extraneous incumbrances; and the supply for the ensuing year was granted according to the estimates which the ministry thought proper to produce, amounting to about two millions two hundred and eighty thousand pounds. It must be owned, however, for the credit of this session, that the house appropriated one million of the surplusses arising from the sinking fund towards the discharge of the national debt; and by another act extinguished the duties upon salt, by which expedient the subject was eased of a heavy burthen, not only in being freed from the duty, but also from a considerable charge of salaries given to a great number of officers employed to collect this imposition. They likewise encouraged the colony of Carolina with an act, allowing the planters and traders of that province to export rice directly to any part of Europe, southward of Cape Finisterre; and they permitted salt from Europe to be imported into the colony of New York. The term of the exclusive trade granted by act of parliament to the East India Company drawing towards a period, many considerable merchants and others made application for being incorporated and vested with the privilege of trading to those countries, proposing to lay that branch of trade open to all the subjects of Great Britain, on certain conditions. In consideration of an act of parliament for this purpose, they offered to advance three millions two hundred thousand pounds, for redeeming the fund and trade of the present East India Company. This proposal was rejected; and the exclusive privilege vested in the company was, by act of parliament, protracted to the year 1766, upon the following conditions: that they should pay into the exchequer the sum of two hundred thousand pounds, towards the supplies of the year, without interest or addition to their capital stock: that the annuity or yearly fund of one hundred and sixty thousand pounds, payable to them from the public, should be reduced to one hundred and twenty-eight thousand: that after the year 1766, their right to the exclusive trade should be liable to be taken away by parliament, on three years notice, and repayment of their capital.

On the 15th of May, 1730, the king went to the house of peers, and closed the session. In his speech he expressed his joy, that notwithstanding all the clamours which were raised, the parliament had approved of those matters which fell under their consideration; a circumstance which, he said, could not fail to inspire all mankind with a just detestation of those incendiaries, who, by scandalous libels, laboured to alienate the affections of his people; to fill their minds with groundless jealousies and unjust complaints, in dishonour of him and his government, and in defiance of the sense of both houses of parliament (*l*). The emperor was so much incensed at the insult offered him in the treaty of Seville, with respect to the garrisons of Tuscany and Parma, that he prohibited the subjects of Great Britain from trading in his dominions: he began to make preparations for war and actually detached bodies of troops to Italy, with such dispatch as had been very seldom exerted by the house of Austria. Yet the article of which he complained was not so much a real injury as an affront put upon the head of the empire; for the eventual succession to those Italian duchies had been secured to the infant, Don Carlos, by the quadruple alliance, and all that the emperor required, was, that the prince would receive the investiture of them as fiefs of the empire.

In Great Britain this year was not distinguished by any transaction of great moment. Seven chiefs of the Cherokee nations of Indians in America were brought to England by sir Alexander Cumin. Being introduced to the king, they laid their crown and regalia at his feet; and by an authentic deed acknowledged themselves subject to his dominion, in the name of all their compatriots, who had vested them with full power for this purpose. They were amazed and confounded at the riches and magnificence of the British court: they compared the king and queen to the sun and moon, the princes to the stars of heaven, and themselves to nothing. They gave their assent in the most solemn manner to articles of friendship and commerce, proposed by the lords commissioners for trade and plantations; and being loaded with presents of necessaries, arms, and ammunition, were re-conveyed to their own country, which borders on the province of South Carolina.

England was at this period infested with robbers, assassins, and incendiaries, the natural consequences of degeneracy, corruption, and the want of police in the interior government of the kingdom. This defect, in a great measure, arose from an absurd notion, that laws necessary to prevent those acts of cruelty, violence, and rapine, would be incompatible with the liberty of British subjects; a notion that confounds all distinctions between liberty and brutal licentiousness, as if that freedom was desirable, in the enjoyment of which people find no security for their lives or effects. The peculiar depravity of the times was visible even in the conduct of those who preyed upon the commonwealth. Thieves and robbers were now become more desperate and savage than ever they had appeared since mankind was civilized. In the exercise of their rapine, they wounded, maimed, and even murdered the unhappy sufferers, through a wantonness of barbarity. They circulated letters, demanding sums of money from certain individuals, on pain of reducing their houses to ashes, and their families to ruin; and even set fire to the house of a rich merchant in Bristol, who had refused to comply with their demand. The same species of villainy was practised in different parts of the kingdom; so that the government was obliged to interpose, and offer a considerable reward for discovering the ruffians concerned in such execrable designs.

In the speech with which the king opened the session of parliament on the 21st of January, 1731, he told them, that the present critical conjuncture seemed in a very particular manner to deserve their attention; that as the transactions then depending in the several courts of Europe were upon the point of being determined, the great event of peace or war might be very much affected by their first resolutions, which were expected by different powers with great impatience. He said, the continuance of that zeal and vigour with which they had hitherto supported him and his engagements must at this time be of the greatest weight and importance, both with regard to his allies, and to those who might be disposed, before the season of action, to prevent, by an accommodation, the fatal consequences of a general rupture. The former scene was repeated. Both houses, in their addresses, promised to support his majesty in all his engagements: yet the members in the opposition demonstrated the absurdity of promising to fulfil engagements, before they could possibly know whether or not they were for the service of Great Britain. Another bill was brought into the house of commons, to prevent pensioners from sitting as members of parliament; and, after a third reading, carried up to the lords for their concurrence. When the supply fell under consideration, the debates were renewed upon the subsidies to the Landgrave of Hesse-Cassel and the duke of Wolfenbuttel, which, however, were continued: and every article was granted according to the estimates given in for the expence of the ensuing year. Two petitions being presented to the commons, representing the delays of justice, occasioned by the use of the Latin tongue in proceedings at law, a bill was brought in for changing this practice, and enacting, That all those processes and pleadings should be uttered in the English language. A great number of merchants from different parts of the kingdom having repeated their complaints of depredations and cruelties committed by the Spaniards in the West Indies, their petitions were referred to the consideration of a grand committee. Their complaints upon examination appeared to be well founded. The house presented an address to the king, desiring his majesty would be graciously pleased to continue his endeavour to prevent such depredations for the future; to procure full satisfaction for the damages already sustained;

(*l*) In the course of this session the commons passed a bill for making more effectual the laws in being, for disabling persons from being chosen members of parliament who enjoyed any pension during pleasure, or for any number of years, or any offices holden in trust for them, by obliging all persons hereafter to be chosen to serve for the commons in parliament, to take the oath therein mentioned. In all probability this bill would not have made its way through the house of commons, had not the minister been well assured it would stick with the upper house, where it was rejected at the second reading, though not without violent opposition.

tained; and to secure to the British subjects the full and uninterrupted exercise of their trade and navigation to and from the British colonies in America.

The house of peers proceeded to consider the state of the national debt: they read a bill for the free importation of wool from Ireland into England, which was fiercely opposed, and laid aside, contrary to all the rules of sound policy. On the 7th of May parliament was prorogued, after the king had given them to understand, that all apprehensions of war were now happily removed, by a treaty signed at Vienna between him and the emperor. He said it was communicated to the courts of France and Spain, as parties to the treaty of Seville, the execution of which it principally regarded; and that it was likewise submitted to the consideration of the states general. He observed, that the conditions and engagements into which he had entered on this occasion were agreeable to that necessary concern which the British nation must always have for the security and preservation of the balance of power in Europe: and that this happy turn, duly improved with a just regard to former alliances, yielded a favourable prospect of seeing the public tranquillity re-established.

In the month of January the duke of Parma died, after having made a will in which he declared his duchess was three months advanced in her pregnancy; entreating the allied powers of Europe to have compassion upon his people, and defer the execution of their projects until his consort should be delivered. In case the child should be still born, or die after the birth, he bequeathed his dominions and allodial estates to the Infant Don Carlos of Spain; and appointed five regents to govern the duchy. Notwithstanding this disposition, a body of Imperial troops immediately took possession of Parma and Placentia, under the command of general Stampa, who declared they should conduct themselves with all possible regularity and moderation, and leave the administration entirely to the regents whom the duke had appointed. They publicly proclaimed in the market place, that they took possession of these duchies for the infant, Don Carlos: and that if the duchess dowager should not be delivered of a prince, the said Infant might receive the investiture from the emperor whenever he would, provided she should come without an army. Though these steps seemed to threaten an immediate war, the king of Great Britain and the States general interposed their mediation so effectually with the court of Vienna, that the emperor desisted from the prosecution of his design; and on the 16th of March concluded at Vienna a treaty with his Britannic majesty, by which he consented to withdraw his troops from Parma and Placentia. He agreed, That the king of Spain might take possession of these places in favour of his son Don Carlos, according to the treaty of Seville. He likewise agreed, That the Ostend company, which had given such umbrage to the maritime powers, should be totally dissolved, on condition that the contracting powers concerned in the treaty of Seville should guarantee the pragmatic sanction, or succession of the Austrian hereditary dominions to the heirs female of the emperor, in case he should die without male issue. The Dutch minister residing at the Imperial court did not subscribe this treaty, because, by the maxims received in that republic, and the nature of her government, he could not be vested with full powers so soon as it would have been necessary: nevertheless the States General was by a separate article, expressly named as a principal contracting party.

On the 22nd of July a new treaty was signed at Vienna between the emperor and the kings of Great Britain and Spain, tending to confirm the former. In August a treaty of union and defensive alliance between the electorates of Saxony and Hanover, was executed at Dresden. The court of Spain expressing some doubts with regard to the pregnancy of the duchess of Parma, she underwent a formal examination by five midwives of different nations, in presence of the older duchess dowager, several ladies of quality, three physicians and a surgeon; and was declared with child: nevertheless, after having kept all Europe in suspense for six months, she owned she had been deceived; and general Stampa, with the Imperial forces, took formal possession of the duchies of Parma and Placentia. Spain and the great duke of Tuscany having acceded to the last treaty of Vienna, the crown of Great Britain engaged to equip an armament that should convoy Don Carlos to his new dominions. Accordingly, sir Charles Wager sailed with a strong squadron from Portsmouth on the 26th of August; and in September arrived at Barcelona, where being joined by the Spanish fleet and transports, they sailed together to Leghorn; from whence the admiral returned to England. Don Carlos passed through part of France, and embarking at Antibes on board of the Spanish gallies, arrived at Leghorn in December. Then the Imperial general withdrew his forces into the Milanese; and the Infant took possession of his new territories.

The parliament of Great Britain, meeting on the 13th of January, 1732, the king in his speech declared, that the general tranquillity of Europe was restored and established by the last treaty of Vienna; and Don Carlos was actually possessed of Parma and Placentia; and that six thousand Spaniards were quietly admitted and quartered in the duchy of Tuscany, to secure, by the express consent and agreement of the great duke, the reversion of his dominions; and that a family convention was made between the courts of Spain and Tuscany, for preserving mutual peace and friendship in the two houses.

An interval of peace succeeded, in which scarcely any events happened that deserve the remembrance of the historian. Such intervals are the seasons of happiness, for history is generally little more than the register of human contention and calamity. During this interval the disputes between the court and country party in the British parliament were carried on with unceasing animosity. Both sides, from moderate beginnings, at last fairly listed themselves in the cause, not of truth, but of party. Measures proposed by the ministry, though tending to the benefit of the nation, were opposed by their antagonists, who, on their side also, were abridged the power of carrying any act, how beneficial soever it might have been. A calm disinterested reader is now surprized at the heat with which many subjects at that time, of little importance in themselves, were discussed.

A society of men, in this interested age of seeming benevolence, had united themselves into a company, by the name of the Charitable Corporation. This company was first erected in the year 1707. Their professed intention was to lend money at legal interest to the poor, upon small pledges; and to persons of better rank upon an indubitable security of goods impawned. Their capital was at first limited to thirty thousand pounds; but, by licences from the crown, they increased it to six hundred thousand pounds, though their charter was never confirmed by act of parliament. In the month of October, George Robinson, esq. member for Marlow, the cashier, and John Thompson, warehouse-keeper of the corporation, disappeared in one day. The proprietors alarmed at this incident, held several general courts, and appointed a committee to inspect the state of their affairs. They reported, that for a capital of above five hundred thousand pounds, no equivalent was found; inasmuch as their effects did not amount to the value of thirty thousand, the remainder having been embezzled by means which they could not discover. The proprietors, in a petition to the house of commons, represented that by the most notorious breach of trust in several persons to whom the care and management of their affairs were committed, the corporation had been defrauded of the greatest part of their capital; and that many of the petitioners were reduced to the utmost degree of misery and distress; they therefore prayed, that as they were unable to detect the combinations of those who had ruined them, or to bring the delinquents to justice, without the aid of the power and authority of parliament, the house would vouchsafe to enquire into the state of the corporation, and the conduct of their managers; and give such relief to the petitioners as to the house should seem meet. The petition was graciously received, and a secret committee appointed to proceed on the enquiry. They soon discovered a most iniquitous scene of fraud, which had been acted by Robinson and Thompson, in concert with some of the directors, for embezzling the capital, and cheating the proprietors. Many persons of rank and quality were concerned in this infamous conspiracy: and even some of the first characters in the nation did not escape censure. Sir Robert Sutton and sir Archibald Grant were expelled the house of commons, as having had a considerable share in those fraudulent practices: a bill was brought in, to restrain them and other delinquents from leaving the kingdom, or alienating their effects (*m*).

During this session there was not any motion which produced

(*m*) In the mean time, the committee received a letter from Signor John Angelo Belloni, an eminent banker at Rome, giving them to understand,

duced such a warm contest as did that of sir Robert Walpole, when, after a long preamble, he proposed that the duties on salt, which about two years before had been abolished, should now be revived, and granted to his majesty, his heirs, and successors, for the term of three years. In order to sweeten this proposal, he declared that the land-tax for the ensuing year should be reduced to one shilling in the pound. All the members of the country party were immediately in commotion. They expressed their surprize at the grossness of the imposition. They observed, that two years had scarcely elapsed since the king, in a speech from the throne, had exhorted them to abolish some of the taxes that were the most burthensome to the poor: the house was then of opinion, that the tax upon salt was the most burthensome, and most pernicious to the trade of the kingdom, of all the impositions to which the poor were subjected, and therefore it was taken off: but that no good reason could be produced for altering their opinion so suddenly, and resolving to grind the faces of the poor, in order to ease a few rich men of the landed interest, they affirmed, that the most general taxes are not always the least burthensome: that after a nation is obliged to extend their taxes farther than the luxuries of their country, those taxes that can be raised with the least charge to the public, are the most convenient and easiest to the people: but they ought carefully to avoid taxing those things which are necessary for the sustenance of the poor. The price of all necessaries being thus enhanced, the wages of the tradesman and manufacturer must be increased; and where these are high the manufactures will be undersold by those of cheaper countries. Sir Robert Walpole endeavoured to obviate all these objections in a long speech, which was minutely answered and refuted in every article by Mr. Pulteney. Nevertheless, the question being put, the minister's motion was carried in the affirmative, and the duty revived: yet, before the bill passed, divers motions were made, and additional clauses proposed by the members in the opposition. New debates were raised on every new objection, and the courtiers were obliged to dispute their ground by inches.

The pension bill was revived, and for the third time rejected in the house of lords. A committee had been appointed to enquire into a sale of the estate which had belonged to the late earl of Derwentwater. It appeared by the report, that the sale had been fraudulent: a bill was prepared to make it void: Dennis Bond, esquire, and serjeant Birch, commissioners for the sale of the forfeited estates, were declared guilty of a notorious breach of trust, and expelled the house, of which they were members: George Robinson, esquire, underwent the same sentence, on account of the part he acted in the Charitable Corporation, as he and Thompson had neglected to surrender themselves, according to the terms of a bill which had passed for that purpose. During this session, five members of parliament were expelled for the most sordid acts of knavery; a sure sign of national degeneracy and dishonour. All the supplies were granted, and, among other articles, the sum of two-and-twenty thousand six hundred and ninety-four pounds, seven shillings, and sixpence, for the agio or difference of the subsidies payable to the crown of Denmark, in pursuance of the treaty subsisting between the late king and that monarch: but this was not obtained without a violent dispute (*n*).

Nor did the house of peers tamely submit to the measures of the ministry. The pension bill, being read, was again rejected, and a protest entered. A debate arose about the number of standing forces; and the earl of Chesterfield argued for the court motion. The earl of Oxford moved that they might be reduced to twelve thousand effective men. The earl of Winchelsea observed, that a standing army rendered ministers of state more daring than otherwise they would be, in contriving and executing projects that were grievous to the people: schemes that never could enter into the heads of any but those who were drunk with excess of power. The marquis of Tweedale, in reasoning against such a number as the ministry proposed, took occasion to observe, that not one shilling of the forfeited estates was ever applied to the use of the public: he likewise took notice, that the eighteen thousand men, demanded as a standing force, were modelled in such a manner, that they might be speedily augmented to forty thousand men on any emergency; nevertheless, victory declared for the minister. The parliament having granted every branch of the supply, towards the payment of which they borrowed a sum from the sinking fund, and passed divers other acts for the encouragement of commerce and agriculture, the king, on the first of June, gave the royal assent to the bills that were prepared, and closed the session, after having informed both houses that the States General had acceded to the treaty of Vienna: that he had determined to visit his German dominions, and to leave the queen regent in his absence. He accordingly set out for Hanover in the beginning of June, 1732. By this time the Pragmatic Sanction was confirmed by the diet of the empire, though not without a formal protest by the electors Palatine, Bavaria, and Saxony.

The most remarkable incident that distinguished this year in England was a very uncommon instance of suicide; an act of despair so frequent among the English, that in other countries it was objected to them as a national reproach. Though it may be generally termed the effect of lunacy proceeding from natural causes operating on the human mind, in some few instances it seems to have been the result of cool deliberation. Richard Smith, a bookbinder, and prisoner for debt within the liberties of the King's Bench, persuaded his wife to follow his example in making away with herself, after they had murdered their little infant. This wretched pair were in the month of April found hanging in their bed-chamber, about a yard's distance from each other; and in a separate apartment the child lay dead in a cradle. They left two papers enclosed in a short letter to their landlord, whose kindness they implored in favour of their dog and cat. They even left money to pay the porter who should carry the enclosed papers to the person for whom they were addressed. In one of these the husband thanked that person for the marks of friendship he had received at his hands; and complained of the ill offices he had undergone from a different quarter. The other paper, subscribed by the husband and wife, contained the reasons which induced them to act such a tragedy on themselves and their offspring. This letter was altogether surprising for the calm resolution, the good humour, and the propriety with which it was written. They declared, that they withdrew themselves from poverty and rags; evils that, through a train of unlucky accidents, were become inevitable. They appealed to their neighbours for the industry with which they had endeavoured to earn a livelihood. They justified the murder of their child, by saying, it was less cruelty to take her with them, than to leave her friendless in the world, exposed to ignorance and misery. They professed their belief and confidence in an Almighty God, the fountain of goodness and beneficence, who could not possibly take delight in the misery of his creatures: they, therefore, resigned up their lives to him without any terrible apprehensions; submitting themselves to those ways which, in his goodness, he should appoint after death. These unfortunate suicides had been always industrious and frugal, invincibly honest, and remarkable for conjugal affection.

Trustees having been appointed by charter to superintend a new settlement in Georgia, situated to the southward of Carolina in America, Mr. Oglethorpe, as general and governor of the province, embarked at Gravesend, with a number of poor families, to plant that colony. The dispute which had long subsisted between the king of Prussia and the young prince of Orange, touching the succession to the estates possessed by king William III. as head of the house of Orange, was at last accommodated

stand, that Thompson was secured in that city, with all his papers, and confined to the castle of St. Angelo; and that the papers were transmitted to his correspondent at Paris, who would deliver them up, on certain conditions stipulated in favour of the prisoner. This letter was considered as an artifice to insinuate a favourable opinion of the pretender, as if he had taken measures for securing Thompson, from his zeal for justice, and affection for the English people. On this supposition, the proposals were rejected with disdain; and both houses concurred in an order that the letter should be burned at the Royal Exchange, by the hands of the common hangman. The lower house resolved, that it was an insolent and audacious libel, absurd, and contradictory; that the whole transaction was a scandalous artifice, calculated to delude the unhappy, and to disguise and conceal the wicked practices of the professed enemies to his majesty's person, crown, and dignity.

(*n*) Mr. Pulteney, who bore a considerable share in all these debates, became in a little time so remarkable as to be thought worthy of a very particular mark of his majesty's displeasure. The king, on the first of July, 1731, called for the council-book, and with his own hand struck the name of William Pulteney, esquire, out of the list of privy counsellors: his majesty further ordered him to be put out of all the commissions of the peace. The several lord lieutenants, from whom he had received deputations, were commanded to revoke them; and the lord chancellor and secretaries of state were directed to give the necessary orders for that purpose.

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by a formal treaty signed at Berlin and Dieren. About this time, Mr. Dieden, plenipotentiary from the elector of Hanover, received, in the name of his master, the investiture of Bremen and Verden from the hands of the emperor.

The history of England at this period cannot be very interesting, as it chiefly consists in an annual revolution of debates in parliament. Debates, in which the same arguments perpetually recur on the same subjects. When the session was opened on the 16th of January, the king declared, that the situation of affairs both at home and abroad rendered it unnecessary for him to lay before the two houses any other reasons for calling them together, but the ordinary dispatch of the public business, and his desire of receiving their advice in such affairs as should require the care and consideration of parliament. The motion made in the house of commons, for an address of thanks implied, that they should express their satisfaction at the present situation of affairs both at home and abroad. The motion was carried, notwithstanding the opposition of those who observed, that the nation had very little reason to be pleased with the present posture of affairs; that the French were employed in fortifying and restoring the harbour of Dunkirk, contrary to the faith of the most solemn treaties: that the British merchants had received no redress for the depredations committed by the Spaniards: that the commerce of England daily decreased: that no sort of trade throve but the traffic of 'Change Alley, where the most abominable frauds were practised; and that every session of parliament opened a new scene of villainy and imposition.

The pension bill was once more revived, and lost again in the house of peers. While the commons deliberated upon the supply, sir Robert Walpole moved, that five hundred thousand pounds should be issued out of the sinking fund for the service of the ensuing year. Sir William Wyndham, Mr. Pulteney, and sir John Barnard, expatiated upon the iniquity of pillaging a secret deposit, solemnly appropriated to the discharge of the national debt; but all objections vanished before the powers of ministerial influence, which nothing now could check but the immediate danger of popular commotion. Such hazardous interposition actually defeated a scheme which had been adopted by the minister, and even before its appearance alarmed all the trading part of the nation.

The house having resolved itself into a committee, to deliberate upon the most proper methods for the better security and improvements of the duties and revenues charged upon tobacco and wines, all the papers relating to these duties were submitted to the perusal of the members: the commissioners of the customs and excise were ordered to attend the house, the avenues of which were crowded with multitudes of people; and the members in the opposition waited impatiently for a proposal, in which they thought the liberties of their country so deeply interested. In a word, there had been a call of the house on the preceding day. The session was frequent and full: and both sides appeared ready and eager for the contest, when sir Robert Walpole broached his design. He took notice of the arts which had been used to prejudice the people against his plan before it was known. He affirmed that the clamours occasioned by the prejudices had originally risen from smugglers and fraudulent dealers, who had enriched themselves by cheating the public; and that these had been strenuously assisted and supported by another set of men, fond of every opportunity to stir up the people of Great Britain to mutiny and sedition. He expatiated on the frauds that were committed in that branch of the revenue arising from the duties on tobacco; upon the hardships to which the American planters were subjected by the heavy duties payable on importation, as well as by the ill usage they had met with from their factors and correspondents in England, who, from being their servants, were now become their masters; upon the injury done to the fair trader; and the loss sustained by the public with respect to the revenue. He asserted that the scheme he was about to propose would remove all these inconveniencies, prevent numberless frauds, perjuries, and false entries, and add two or three thousand pounds per annum to the public revenue. He entered into a long detail of frauds practised by the knavish dealers in those commodities: he recited the several acts of parliament that related to the duties on wine and tobacco: he declared he had no intention to promote a general excise: he endeavoured to obviate some objections that might be made to his plan, the nature of which he at length explained. He proposed to join the laws of excise to those of customs: that the further subsidy of three farthings per pound charged upon imported tobacco should be still levied at the custom house, and payable to his majesty's civil-list as heretofore: that then the tobacco should be lodged in warehouses, to be appointed for that purpose by the commissioners of the excise: that the keeper of each warehouse, appointed likewise by the commissioners, should have one lock and key, and the merchant importer have another: and that the tobacco should be thus secured until the merchant shall find vent for it, either by exportation or home consumption: that the part designed for exportation should be weighed at the custom house, discharged of the three farthings per pound which had been paid at its first importation, and then exported without further trouble: that the portion destined for home consumption should, in the presence of the warehouse-keeper, be delivered to the purchaser, upon his paying the inland duty of four pence per pound weight, to the proper officer appointed to receive it; by which means the merchant should be eased of the inconvenience of paying the duty upon importation, or granting bonds and finding sureties for the payment, before he had found a market for the commodity: and all penalties and forfeitures, so far as they formerly belonged to the crown, should for the future be applied to the use of the public: that appeals in this, as well as in all other cases relating to the excise, should be heard and determined by two or three of the judges, to be named by his majesty: and in the country, by the judges of assize upon the next circuit, who should hear and determine such appeals in the most summary manner, without the formality of proceedings in courts of law and equity.

Such was the substance of the famous excise scheme, in favour of which sir Robert Walpole moved, that the duties and subsidies on tobacco should from and after the 26th day of June, cease and determine. The debate which ensued was managed and maintained by all the able speakers on both sides of the question. In the course of this debate, sir Robert Walpole took notice of the multitudes which had beset all the approaches of the house. He said it would be an easy task for a designing seditious person, to raise a tumult and disorder among them: that gentlemen might give them what name they should think fit, and affirm they were come as humble suppliants; but he knew whom the law called sturdy beggars: and those who brought them to that place, could not be certain but that they might behave in the same manner. This insinuation was resented by sir John Barnard, one of the members for the city of London, who observed that merchants of character had a right to come down to the Court of Requests, and lobby of the house of commons, in order to solicit their friends and acquaintance against any scheme or project which they might think prejudicial to their commerce: that when he came into the house, he saw none but such as deserved the appellation of sturdy beggars, as little as the honourable gentleman himself, or any gentleman whatever. At length, after a vehement dispute, the motion was carried by a majority of sixty-one voices. Several resolutions were founded on the proposal: and to these the house agreed, though not without another violent contest. The resolutions produced a bill, against which petitions were preferred by the lord mayor, aldermen, the common council of London, the cities of Coventry and Nottingham. A motion was made that counsel should be heard for the city of London; but it was rejected by the majority, and the petitions were ordered to lie upon the table. Had the minister encountered no opposition but that which appeared within doors, his project would have certainly been carried into execution; but the whole nation was alarmed, and clamoured loudly against the excise bill. The populace still crowded around Westminster Hall, blocking up all the avenues to the house of commons. They even insulted the persons of those members who had voted for the ministry on this occasion; and sir Robert Walpole began to be in fear of his life. He, therefore, thought proper to drop the design, by moving, that the second reading of the bill might be postponed till the 12th of June, 1733. Then, complaint being made of the insolence of the populace, who had mal-treated several members, divers resolutions were taken against those tumultuous crowds, and their abettors; these resolves were communicated to the lord mayor of London, the sheriff of Middlesex, and the high bailiff of Westminster.

Westminster. Some individuals were apprehended in the Court of Requests, as having fomented the disturbances; but they were soon released (*o*). After the miscarriage of the excise scheme, the house unanimously resolved to enquire into the frauds and abuses in the customs: and a committee of twenty-one persons was chosen by ballot for this purpose.

The subsequent debates of this session were occasioned by a bill to prevent the infamous practice of stock-jobbing, which, with great difficulty, made its way to the house of lords, who proposed some amendments, in consequence of which it was laid aside; and succeeded by another bill establishing a lottery, to raise five hundred thousand pounds for the relief of those who had suffered by the Charitable Corporation. After having undergone some alterations it passed through both houses, and obtained the royal assent. The king by a message to parliament, had signified his intention to give the princess royal in marriage to the prince of Orange, promising himself their concurrence and assistance, that he might be enabled to bestow such a portion with his eldest daughter as should be suitable to the occasion. The commons immediately resolved, that out of the monies arising from the sale of lands in the island of St. Christopher's, his majesty should be empowered to apply four score thousand pounds as a marriage portion with his daughter; and a clause to this effect was inserted in the bill, for enabling his majesty to apply five hundred thousand pounds out of the sinking fund for the service of the current year.

The opposition in the house of lords was extremely violent. The debates chiefly turned upon the pension bill, the number of land forces, and a motion for an account of the produce of the forfeited estates which had belonged to the directors of the South Sea Company. The ministry opposed the latter with all their vigour; yet, after a vehement debate, the motion was carried, and the directors of that company were ordered to lay the account before the house. From this it appeared that vast sums of money arising from the forfeited estates had been distributed among the proprietors, by way of dividend, even before recourse was had to parliament for directions in what manner that produce should be applied. A violent contest ensued, in the course of which the house divided, and of forty-seven peers who voted on the occasion, forty-six were such as enjoyed preferment in the church, commissions in the army, or civil employments under the government. On the 11th of June, the king gave the royal assent to the bills that were prepared, and closed the session with a speech, in which he took notice of the wicked endeavours that had been lately used to inflame the minds of the people, by the most unjust misrepresentations.

In November 1733, the prince of Orange arrived at Greenwich, in order to espouse the princess royal; but the marriage was postponed on account of his being taken ill; and he repaired to Bath, to drink the waters for the recovery of his strength. Henrietta, the young duchess of Marlborough, dying about this time, the title devolved to her sister's son, the earl of Sunderland. Lord King resigning his office of chancellor, it was conferred upon Mr. Talbot, solicitor general, together with the title of Baron. It was not till the 14th of March, 1734, that the nuptials of the prince of Orange and the princess royal were solemnized; and this match was attended with addresses of congratulation to his majesty from different parts of the kingdom.

The subject which of all others employed the eloquence and abilities of both sides to the most vigorous exertion, was a motion for repealing the septennial bill, and bringing back triennial parliaments, as settled at the Revolution. In the course of the debate the country party reflected with great severity on the measures of the late reign, and the conduct of the present minister. It was alledged, that the septennial bill was an encroachment on the rights of the people, and that there was no method to overturn a wicked ministry, but by frequent changes of parliament. Sir William Wyndham concluded an excellent speech, that spoke him the unrivaled orator, the uncorrupted Briton, and the unshaken patriot, in words to this effect: "Let us suppose a man abandoned to all notions of virtue and honour, of no great family, and but a mean fortune, raised to be chief minister of state, by the concurrence of many whimsical events; afraid, or unwilling, to trust any but creatures of his own making; lost to all sense of shame and reputation; ignorant of his country's true interest; pursuing no aim but that of aggrandizing himself and his favourites; in foreign affairs trusting none but those who, from the nature of their education, cannot possibly be qualified for the service of their country, or give weight and credit to their negociations. Let us suppose the true interest of the nation, by such means, neglected or misunderstood, her honour tarnished, her importance lost, her trade insulted, her merchants plundered, and her sailors murdered; and all these circumstances overlooked, lest his administration should be endangered. Suppose him next possessed of immense wealth, the plunder of the nation, with a parliament chiefly composed of members whose seats are purchased, and whose votes are bought at the expence of the public treasure. In such a parliament, suppose all attempts made to enquire into his conduct, or to relieve the nation from the distress which had been entailed upon it by his administration. Suppose him screened by a corrupt majority of his creatures, whom he retains in daily pay, or engages in his particular interest, by distributing among them those posts and places which ought never to be bestowed upon any but to the good of the public. Let him plume himself upon his scandalous victory, because he has obtained a parliament like a packed jury, ready to acquit him at all adventures. Let us suppose him domineering with insolence over all the men of ancient families, over all the men of sense, figure, or fortune in the nation; as he has no virtue of his own, ridiculing it in others, and endeavouring to destroy or corrupt it in all. With such a minister, and such a parliament, let us suppose a case, which I hope will never happen: a prince upon the throne, uninformed, ignorant, and unacquainted with the inclinations and true interest of his people, weak, capricious, transported with unbounded ambition, and possessed with insatiable avarice. I hope such a case will never occur; but, as it possibly may, could any greater curse happen to a nation, than such a prince on the throne, advised, and solely advised, by such a minister, and that minister supported by such a parliament. The nature of mankind cannot be altered by human laws: the existence of such a prince or such a minister we cannot prevent by act of parliament; but the existence of such a parliament I think we may prevent; as it is much more likely to exist, and may do more mischief while the septennial law remains in force, than if it were repealed: therefore, I am heartily for its being repealed." Notwithstanding the warmth of the opposition, the ministry, exerting all their strength, were victorious, and the motion was suppressed by the majority. However, as the country party seemed to grow more powerful on this occasion than formerly, it was thought adviseable to dissolve the parliament, which was done on the 16th of April, 1734, and another was convoked by the same proclamation.

A war had lately broken out on the continent, and the king watched the progress of it with the greatest anxiety. With an exception of the case of Stanislaus, king of Poland, who was completely dispossessed of his sovereignty, the tide of success was greatly in favour of the arms of the house of Bourbon; particularly in Italy, where the kingdom of Naples was reduced by Don Carlos, who also made considerable progress in the conquest of Sicily, while the French and Piedmontese gained some advantages in Lombardy.

A treaty between George and the emperor having been concluded, without consulting the king of France, who had long been the ally of England, the friendship of the courts of London and Versailles had begun to decline. So little respect indeed did the French court pay to the British nation, at this juncture, that in the month of November an edict was published at Paris, commanding all the British subjects in France, who were not actually in employment, from the age of eighteen to fifty, to quit the kingdom in fifteen days, or inlist in some of the Irish regiments, on pain of being treated as vagabonds, and sent to the gallies. This edict was executed with the utmost rigour. The prisons of Paris were crowded with the subjects of Great Britain, who were surprized and cut off from all communication with their friends, and must have perished by cold and hunger, had not they been relieved by the active charity of the Jansenists. The earl of Waldegrave, who then resided at Paris, as ambassador from the

(*o*) So highly were the people pleased at the miscarriage of this bill, that it was celebrated with public rejoicings, in London and Westminster; and the minister was burned in effigy by the populace.

king of Great Britain, made such vigorous remonstrances to the French ministry, upon this unheard-of outrage against a nation with which they had been so long in alliance, that they thought proper to set the prisoners at liberty, and publish another edict, by which the meaning of the former was explained away. Though the king had augmented his forces during the summer, it did not appear that he inclined to take part in the war; but this state of tranquillity was attended with burthensome expence.

After a vehement contest for seats, the new parliament assembled, on the 14th of January, 1735; and Mr. Onslow was chosen speaker. The king, in his speech, told them, that, notwithstanding the applications of the emperor for succours, it was deemed more adviseable to keep up a respectable force, and mediate between the belligerent powers, than to embark actively in the war; which, it was hoped, would soon be terminated by amicable interposition. The addresses were not unanimously voted; for, in each house, the leaders of the opposition endeavoured, though unsuccessfully, to generalize the terms, and limit the promises of support. The number of seamen, voted on the demand of the court, amounted to thirty thousand men, and that of the army to twenty-five thousand seven hundred. These estimates excited great opposition; but the minister carried his point with very little difficulty. A new subsidiary treaty with the king of Denmark was warmly and justly condemned; but it was sanctioned, as usual, by superiority of numbers (*p*).

On the 13th of February, a petition was presented to the peers by the duke of Bedford, from the dukes of Hamilton, Queensberry, and Montrose, the earls of Dundonald, Marchmont, and Stair, complaining, that "undue methods and illegal practices" had been used in the late election of the sixteen peers of Scotland, and requesting that they might be permitted to furnish proofs of this assertion. They affirmed, that a list of sixteen peers to be chosen for North Britain had been framed by persons in high trust; that electors had been engaged to vote for *the king's list* (as it was termed), by ample promises of pensions and offices, by actual gratuities, and other means of allurement; and that a battalion of soldiers stood under arms, as it were to overawe the electors. Earl Cholmondeley objected to the insufficiency of these statements, and moved, that the house could not proceed to an enquiry without stronger grounds. The earl of Chesterfield and lord Bathurst deprecated a refusal of enquiry as unjust and dishonourable: but the majority agreed to earl Cholmondeley's motion, as well as to another for the rejection of the petition.

With the laudable intention of discovering what concern the court had in the steps which led to the present war on the continent, the earl of Chesterfield and lord Bathurst moved, that the king's instructions to his minister in Poland, previous to the death of the late sovereign of that realm, and also those which he had given to his representatives at the courts of France and Spain, with regard to the execution of the treaty of Seville, should be communicated to the house: but the ministry strongly opposed the production of these papers. More effectually to guard against the presence of any part of the army in the places of parliamentary election, a bill was prepared by the judges in compliance with the desire of the lords of opposition; but from the alterations made in it by the courtiers, it was not so complete as the other party wished. To a bill calculated for the improvement of a law in Scotland, corresponding with the English act of *Habeas Corpus*, the house refused to agree.

On the 15th of May, when the king prorogued the parliament, he informed them, that the scheme of accommodation, which he and the states general had concerted, had not met with the acquiescence of the contending powers. He soon after re-visited the electorate; and the queen resumed the regency.

As Portugal was now threatened with disturbance from Spain, a considerable fleet was sent to the coast of the former kingdom. A misunderstanding had arisen from the rescue of a criminal by the servants of the Portuguese ambassador at the court of Madrid, from the consequent imprisonment of the domestics by order of Philip, and from the similar treatment of the attendants of the Spanish ambassador at Lisbon. This trivial dispute was followed by mutual threats; and, as the king of Portugal was too weak to cope with his royal neighbour, he sought the interposition of the king of England, who dispatched sir John Norris to his assistance. The Spaniard remonstrated against the appearance of a British fleet in that quarter, as tending to injure the commerce of Spain; but the expedition intimidated that court into a reconciliation with the Portuguese.

The chance of war continued adverse to the emperor, both in Italy and on the Rhine: but the arrival of a Russian army in Germany, the expected co-operation of Augustus, and the prospect of aid from Britain and Holland, gave him fresh hopes; and the same circumstances discouraged the French king, who, by the advice of cardinal Fleury, entered into a secret negociation with the court of Vienna.

On the 13th of January, 1736, in a speech to the British parliament, the king, (who had returned to England in the autumn,) adverting to the terms of the French king's negociation, observed, that they did not materially differ from the plan adjusted between him and the Dutch; and that this prospect of peace had induced him to give orders for the reduction of the forces of the realm. After the usual addresses, the supplies were voted with little debate. The seamen allowed were fifteen thousand, and the land forces eighteen thousand; but these were too numerous for a time of peace; and the king was informed, that the house expected a more economical system in the maintenance of that army which should in future be established.

The extraordinary consumption of gin by the lower ranks of people, tending to the ruin of their health, the diminution of their industry, and the depravation of their morals, gave rise to a bill for enhancing the price of that mischievous beverage. It was moved, that every gallon of spirits should be subject to an impost of twenty shillings, exclusive of former duties; and that all retailers of such liquors should take out an annual licence, for which fifty pounds should be paid. Great opposition was made to the progress of this bill; but in spite of all the efforts of the ministers, the distillers, and the West India merchants, the motion was adopted, and the bill passed both houses. Several other bills were productive of dispute. One for the restraint of bequests of landed property to corporations of any kind, received some qualification in its progress, and at length subdued all opposition: and a bill for the more effectual prevention of smuggling, though condemned as violent and oppressive, passed into a law.

When the king had ordered a prorogation of parliament, on the 20th of May, he prepared for another voyage to his German dominions, assigning the task of government to the queen, rather than to his son Frederic, prince of Wales, of whose popularity, arising from his amiable qualities, he seems to have been jealous (*q*).

While the king was absent in Germany, various infractions of order, and petty riots, occurred in Great Britain. The most extraordinary outrage was perpetrated at Edinburgh. At the execution of a smuggler, captain Porteous, commandant of the city guard, was so irritated at the insults offered to the soldiery by the people, that he ordered his men to fire, without the permission of the civil magistrate. This order proved fatal to several of the spectators; and the captain, being tried for murder, was condemned to death. The queen, too lenient to such an offender, granted him a reprieve, but the people were determined he should not reap the benefit of it. They remembered that pardons had been granted to divers military delinquents in that country who had been condemned by legal trial. They seemed to think those were encouragements to oppression: they were fired by a national jealousy: they were stimulated by the relations and friends of those who had been murdered; and they resolved to wreak their vengeance on the author of that tragedy, by depriving him of life on the very day which the judges had fixed for his execution. Thus determined, they assembled in different bodies, about ten o'clock at night, on the 7th of September. They blocked up the gates of the city, to prevent the admission of the troops that were quartered

(*p*) It was in vain urged, that this practice of treating with the European states on every alarm, and subsidising them into an attention to the balance of power, in which they were more interested than Great Britain, had been carried to an absurd excess; and that such conduct might ultimately subject this country to the whole charge of maintaining this equipoise, as she was always so ready to offer her treasures, that other powers would regularly expect to be pensioned by her, for no other service than that which was immediately connected with their own defence.

(*q*) This prince had lately entered into the conjugal state; having accepted, on the recommendation of his father, the hand of Augusta, sister to the duke of Saxe Gotha.

in the suburbs. They surprized and disarmed the town-guards: they broke open the prison doors; dragged Porteous from thence to the place of execution; and, leaving him hanging by the neck on a dyer's pole, quietly dispersed to their several habitations. This exploit was performed with such conduct and deliberation as seemed to be the result of a plan formed by some persons of consequence: it therefore became the object of a very severe enquiry.

The king being indisposed, in consequence of some fatigue he underwent during a storm in his return from the continent, deferred the meeting of parliament; and when the protracted interval had elapsed, the session was opened by commission, on the 1st of February, 1737. The chief subject of contention that presented itself in the course of this session, was a motion which Mr. Pulteney made for an address to his majesty, that he would be pleased to settle one hundred thousand pounds a year upon the prince of Wales. He represented that such provision was conformable to the practice of ancient times: that what he proposed had been enjoyed by his present majesty in the life-time of his father; and that a settlement of this nature was reasonable and necessary, to ascertain the independence of the apparent heir to the crown. The motion was vigorously opposed by sir Robert Walpole, as an encroachment on the prerogative; as an officious intermeddling in the king's family affairs; and as an effort to set his majesty and the prince at variance. But a misunderstanding, it seems, had already happened in the royal family. The minister, in the midst of his harangue, told the house, by his majesty's command, that on the preceding day the king had sent a message to the prince, importing, that his majesty had given orders for settling a jointure upon the princess of Wales, suitable to her high rank and dignity, which he would in a proper time, lay before parliament, in order to be rendered more certain and effectual: that although his royal highness had not thought fit, by any application to his majesty, to desire that his allowance of fifty thousand pounds might be rendered less precarious, the king, to prevent the bad consequences which he apprehended might follow from the undutiful measures which his majesty was informed the prince had been advised to pursue, would grant to his royal highness, for his majesty's life, the said fifty thousand pounds per annum, to be issued out of the civil list revenues, over and above the prince's revenues, arising from the duchy of Cornwall, which his majesty thought a very competent allowance, considering his own numerous issue, and the great expence which did and must necessarily attend an honourable provision for the whole royal family: that the prince, by a verbal answer, desired their lordships to assure his majesty that he did, and ever should, retain the utmost duty for his royal person: that he was very thankful for any instance of his majesty's goodness to him or to the princess, and particularly for his majesty's gracious intention of settling a jointure upon her royal highness; but, that as to the message, the affair was now out of his hands, and, therefore, he could give no answer to it; that his royal highness afterwards used many dutiful expressions towards his majesty; adding, "Indeed, my lords, it is in other hands, and I am sorry for it;" or words to that effect. Sir Robert Walpole then endeavoured to demonstrate, that the annual sum of fifty thousand pounds was as much as the king could afford to allow for the prince's maintenance; and he expatiated upon the bad consequences that might ensue, if the son should be rendered altogether independent of the father.

These suggestions did not pass unanswered. Sir Robert Walpole had asserted, that the parliament had no right to interfere in the creation or maintenance of a prince of Wales; and the supporters of the motion observed, that the allowance of fifty thousand pounds was not sufficient to defray the prince's yearly expences, without allotting one shilling for acts of charity and munificence; and that the several deductions for land taxes and fees reduced it to forty-three thousand pounds. They affirmed, that his whole income, including the revenues of the duchy of Cornwall, did not exceed fifty-two thousand pounds a-year, though by his majesty's own regulation, the expence of the prince's household amounted to sixty-three thousand. They proved, that the produce of the civil-list exceeded nine hundred thousand pounds, a sum above one hundred thousand pounds a year more than was enjoyed by his late majesty. They observed, that the parliament allowed one hundred thousand pounds for the maintenance of the prince of Wales: that the article of secret service money had prodigiously increased in the late reign; and by an account which happened to be laid before the parliament, it appeared that vast sums of money had been given for purposes which nobody understood, and to persons whom nobody knew. The debate was fierce and long: and ended in a division, by which the motion was rejected. A motion of the same nature was made by lord Carteret in the house of peers, and gave rise to a very keen dispute, maintained by the same arguments, and issuing in the same termination.

The last disputes of this session were excited by a bill sent down from the lords for punishing the magistrates and city of Edinburgh, on account of the murder of captain John Porteous. In the beginning of the session lord Carteret recapitulated the several tumults and riots which had lately happened in different parts of the kingdom. He particularly insisted upon the atrocious murder of captain Porteous, as a flagrant insult upon the government, and a violation of the public peace, so much the more dangerous, as it seemed to have been concerted and executed with deliberation and decency. He suspected that some citizens of Edinburgh had been concerned in the murder, not only from this circumstance, but likewise because, notwithstanding the reward of two hundred pounds, which had been offered by proclamation for the discovery of any person who acted in that tragedy, not one individual had as yet been detected. He seemed to think that the magistrates had encouraged the riot, and that the city had forfeited its charter; and he proposed a minute inquiry into the particulars of the affair. He was seconded by the duke of Newcastle and the earl of Ilay: though this last nobleman differed in opinion from him with respect to the charter of the city, which he said, could not be justly forfeited by the fault of the magistracy. The lords resolved, That the magistrates and other persons from whom they might obtain the necessary information concerning this riot should be ordered to attend; and, That an address should be presented to his majesty, desiring that the different accounts and papers relating to the murder of captain Porteous might be submitted to the perusal of the house. These documents being accordingly examined, and all the witnesses arrived, including three Scottish judges, a debate arose about the manner in which these last should be interrogated, whether at the bar, at the table, or on the wool-sacks. Some Scottish lords asserted, that they had a right to be seated next to the judges of England: but after a long debate this claim was rejected, and the judges of Scotland appeared at the bar in their robes. A bill was brought in to disable Alexander Wilson, esquire, lord provost of Edinburgh, from enjoying any office or place of magistracy in the city of Edinburgh, or elsewhere in Great Britain; for imprisoning the said Alexander Wilson; for abolishing the guard of that city; and for taking away the gates of the Nether Bow Port, so as to open a communication between the city and the suburbs, in which the king's troops are quartered. The duke of Argyle, in arguing against this bill, said he could not think of a proceeding more harsh or unprecedented than the present, as he believed there was no instance of the whole weight of parliamentary indignation, for such he called a proceeding by a bill *ex post facto*, falling upon any single person, far less upon any community, for crimes that were within the reach of the inferior courts of justice: for this reason he observed, that if the lord provost and the citizens of Edinburgh should suffer in the terms of the present bill, they would suffer by a cruel, unjust, and fantastical proceeding; a proceeding of which the worst use might be made, if ever the nation should have the misfortune to fall under a partial, self-interested administration. He told them he sat in the parliament of Scotland when that part of the treaty of union relating to the privileges of the royal burghs was settled on the same footing as religion, that is, they were made unalterable by any subsequent parliament of Great Britain. Notwithstanding the eloquence and warmth of his remonstrance, the bill was sent down to the house of commons, where it produced a violent contest. The commons set on foot a severe scrutiny into the particular circumstances that preceded and attached the murder of Porteous: from the examination of the witnesses it appeared that no freeman or citizen of Edinburgh was concerned in the riot, which was chiefly composed of country people, excited by the relations of some unhappy persons whom Porteous and his men had

slain at the execution of the smuggler: and these were assisted by 'prentice boys, and the lowest class of vagabonds that happened to be at Edinburgh: that the lord provost had taken all the precautions to prevent mischief that his reflection suggested: that he even exposed his person to the rage of the multitude, in his endeavours to disperse them; and that if he had done amiss, he erred from want of judgement, rather than from the want of inclination to protect the unhappy Porteous. It likewise appeared, that Mr. Lindsay, member for the city of Edinburgh, had gone in person to general Moyle, commander of the forces in North Britain, informed him of the riot, implored his immediate assistance, and promised to conduct his troops into the city; and that his suit was rejected, because he could not produce a written order from the magistracy, which he neither could have obtained in such confusion, nor ventured to carry about his person through the midst of an enraged populace. The Scottish members exerted themselves with uncommon vivacity in defence of their capital. They were joined by sir John Barnard, lord Cornbury, Mr. Shippen, and Mr. Oglethorpe. Lord Polwarth declared, that if any gentleman would shew where one argument in the charge against the lord provost and the city of Edinburgh had been proved, he would that instant give his vote for the commitment of the bill. He said, if gentlemen would lay their hands on their hearts, and ask themselves whether they would have voted in this manner had the case of Edinburgh been that of the city of Bristol, York, or Norwich, he was persuaded they would have required that every tittle of the charge against them should have been fully and undeniably proved. Some amendments and mitigations being inserted in the bill, it passed the house, was sent back to the lords, who agreed to the alterations, and then received the royal assent. On the 21st of June the king made a short speech to both houses, and the lord chancellor prorogued the parliament.

The disagreement between the king and the prince of Wales was at length inflamed into an open rupture. The prince did not give the least intimation, either to the king or to the queen, of the pregnancy of the princess, till she had entered the last month of that state. In the week preceding her delivery, he twice removed her from Hampton Court, (where his majesty then resided,) to St. James's Palace; and another precipitate and clandestine removal of the princess took place, "under the pains and certain indication of immediate labour, to the imminent danger both of her and the child," according to the expressions contained in a message from the king. These circumstances gave such offence at court, that Frederic was commanded, on the 10th of September, to quit the palace, as soon as the princess could be removed without inconvenience. In consequence the prince retired to Kew. By submissive apologies, he endeavoured to appease the wrath of his father; but his connection with the opposition obstructed a reconciliation. The queen, who was soon after seized with her last indisposition, so far yielded to the paternal resentment of his majesty, that she declined an interview with the prince, who was particularly shocked at the thoughts of losing his mother before he had recovered her favour and regard. She died on the 20th of November, 1737, in the fifty-fifth year of her age, amidst the general regret of the public (*r*).

Ever since the treaty of Utrecht, the Spaniards in America had insulted and distressed the commerce of Great Britain, and the British merchants had attempted to carry on an illicit trade into their dominions. A right which the English merchants claimed by treaty of cutting logwood in the Bay of Campeachy, gave them frequent opportunities of pushing in contraband commodities upon the continent; so that, to suppress the evil, the Spaniards were resolved to annihilate the claim. This liberty of cutting logwood had often been acknowledged, but never clearly ascertained; in all former treaties, it was considered as an object of too little importance to make a separate article in any negociation. The Spanish vessels appointed for protecting the coast continued their severities upon the English; many of the British subjects were sent to dig in the mines of Potosi, and deprived of all means of conveying their complaints to those who might be able to send them redress. One remonstrance followed another to the court of Madrid of this violation of treaty; but the only answer given were promises of enquiry, which produced no reformation. Our merchants complained loudly of those outrages; but the minister, sir Robert Walpole, vainly expected from negociations that redress which was only to be obtained by arms.

The fears discovered by the court of Great Britain only served to increase the insolence of the Spaniards; and their guard ships continued to seize not only all the guilty, but the innocent, whom they found sailing along the Spanish main. At length the complaints of the English merchants were loud enough to interest the house of commons; their letters and memorials were produced, and their grievances enforced by counsel at the bar of the house. It was soon found that the money which Spain had agreed to pay to the court of Great Britain was with-held, and no reason assigned for the delay. The minister, therefore, to gratify the general ardour, and to atone for his former deficiencies, assured the house that he would put the nation into a condition of war. Soon after letters of reprisal were granted against the Spaniards; and this being considered on both sides as an actual commencement of hostilities, both diligently set forward their armaments by sea and land. In this threatening situation, the French minister at the Hague declared that his master was obliged by treaty to assist the king of Spain; so that the alliances which but twenty years before had taken place were now quite reversed. At that time France and England were combined against Spain; at present France and Spain were united against England: such little hopes can statesmen place upon the firmest treaties, where there is no superior power to compel the observance.

A rupture between England and Spain being now unavoidable, the people, who had long clamoured for war, began to feel uncommon alacrity at its approach; and the ministry finding it inevitable, began to be as earnest in preparation. Orders were issued for augmenting the land forces, and raising a body of marines. War was declared, and soon after two rich Spanish prizes were taken in the Mediterranean.

Admiral Vernon, a man of more courage than experience, of more confidence than skill, was sent commander of a fleet to the West Indies, to distress the enemy in that part of the globe. He had asserted in the house of commons, that Porto Bello, a fort and harbour on the isthmus of Darien in South America, could be easily destroyed; and that he himself would undertake to reduce it with six ships only. A project which appeared so wild and impossible was ridiculed by the ministry; but as he still insisted upon the proposal, they complied with his request, hoping that his want of success might repress the confidence of his party. In this, however, they were disappointed; for with six ships only, he attacked and demolished all the fortifications of the place, and came away victorious, with scarcely the loss of a man. This victory was magnified at home in all the strains of panegyric, and the trial was far superior to the value of the conquest.

As the war began thus successfully, it inspired the commons to prosecute it with all imaginable vigour. The minister was granted such supplies as enabled him to equip a very powerful navy. They voted a subsidy to the king of Denmark, and empowered the king to defray some other expences not mentioned in the estimates of the year. As the preparations for war increased in every part of the kingdom, the domestic debates and factions seemed to subside; and indeed it seems to have been the peculiar felicity of this nation, that every species of activity takes its turn to occupy the people. In a nation like this, arts and luxury, commerce and war, at certain intervals, must ever be serviceable. This vicissitude turns the current of wealth from one determined channel, and gives it a diffusive spread over the face of the country: it is at one time diverted to the laborious and frugal, at another to the brave, active, and enterprizing.

During the greatest part of the winter in the beginning of 1740, the poor had been grievously afflicted in consequence of a severe frost, which began on the 24th of De-

(*r*) Queen Caroline was a princess of distinguished merit. Her sagacity and good sense were conspicuous; and she improved her understanding by sedulous cultivation. Literature and philosophy charmed her with their allurements, and engaged her willing attention. She was the patroness of men of learning and ability, whom she eagerly admitted to her conversation and friendship. Her wit, taste, and information, imparted to the British court an attractive vivacity and brilliancy. Her manners were courteous and polite; her disposition, candid and friendly; and her beneficence manifested the goodness of her heart. Her conjugal virtues were deserving of praise; but, like queen Mary, she was too obsequious to her husband, particularly in her treatment of her son. She has been accused of avarice and ambition; but those charges appear to be ill-founded; nor does the imputation of her want of humanity rest on a more substantial basis.

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cember, 1739, and continued till the 20th of February. The river Thames was covered with such a crust of ice, that a multitude of people dwelled upon it in tents, and a great number of booths were erected for the entertainment of the populace. The navigation was entirely stopped: the watermen and fishermen were disabled from earning a livelihood: the fruits of the earth were destroyed by the cold, which was so extreme, that many persons were chilled to death; and this calamity was the more deeply felt, as the poor could not afford to supply themselves with coal and fuel, which were advanced in price, in proportion to the severity and continuance of the frost. The lower class of labourers, who worked in the open air, were now deprived of all means of subsistence: many kinds of manufacture were laid aside, because it was found impossible to carry them on. The price of all sorts of provision rose almost to a dearth: even water was sold in the streets of London. In this season of distress, many wretched families must have perished by cold and hunger, had not those of opulent fortunes been inspired with a remarkable spirit of compassion and humanity. Nothing can more redound to the honour of the English nation, than did those instances of benevolence and well conducted charity which were then exhibited. The liberal hand was not only opened to the professed beggar, and the poor that owned their distress; but uncommon pains were taken to find out and relieve those more unhappy objects, who from motives of false pride, or ingenuous shame, endeavoured to conceal their misery. These were assisted almost in their own despite. The solitary habitations of the widow, the fatherless, and the unfortunate, were visited by the beneficent, who felt for the woes of their fellow creatures; and, to such as refused to receive a portion of the public charity, the necessaries of life were privately conveyed in such a manner as could least shock the delicacy of their dispositions.

While vigorous preparations were making in other departments, a squadron was equipped for distressing the enemy in the South Sea. It set sail in September 1740, under the command of commodore Anson. This fleet was destined to sail through the streights of Magelhaens, and steering northwards along the coasts of Chili and Peru, to co-operate occasionally with admiral Vernon across the isthmus of Darien. The delays and mistakes of the ministry frustrated that part of the scheme, which was originally well laid. The fleet consisted of five ships of the line, a frigate, and two store-ships, with about fourteen hundred men. Having reached the coasts of Brazil, he refreshed his men for some time on the island of St. Catharine, a spot that enjoys all the fruitfulness and verdure of the luxurious tropical climate. From thence he steered downward into the cold and tempestuous regions of the south; and in about five months after, meeting a terrible tempest, he doubled Cape Horn. By this time his fleet was dispersed, and his crew deplorably disabled with the scurvy; so that with much difficulty he gained the delightful island of Juan Fernandez. There he was joined by one ship, and a vessel of seven guns. From thence advancing northward, he landed on the coast of Chili, and attacked the city of Paita by night. In this bold attempt he made no use of his shipping, nor even disembarked all his men, a few soldiers, favoured by darkness, sufficed to fill the whole town with terror and confusion. The governor of the garrison, and the inhabitants, fled on all sides; accustomed to be severe, they expected severity. In the mean time, a small body of the English kept possession of the town for three days, stripping it of all its treasures and merchandize to a considerable amount, and then setting it on fire. Soon after this small squadron advanced as far as Panama, situated on the isthmus of Darien, on the western side of the great American continent. The commodore now placed all his hopes in taking one of those valuable Spanish ships, which trade from the Philippine Islands to Mexico. Not above one or two at the most of these immensely rich ships went from one continent to the other in a year; they were, therefore, very large, in order to carry a sufficiency of treasure, and proportionably strong to defend it. In hopes of meeting with one of these, the commodore, with his little fleet, traversed the great Pacific Ocean; but the scurvy once more visiting his crew, several of his men died, and almost all were disabled. In this exigence having brought all his men into one vessel, and set fire to the other, he steered for the island of Tinian, which lies about half way between the new world and the old. In this charming abode he continued for some time, till his men recovered their health, and his ship was refitted for sailing. Thus refreshed he set forward for China, where he laid in proper stores for once more traversing back the immense ocean in which he had just before suffered such difficulties. Having accordingly taken some Dutch and Indian sailors on board, he again steered towards America, and at length, after various toils, discovered the Spanish galleon he had so long ardently expected. This vessel was built as well for the purposes of war as of merchandize. It mounted sixty guns, and had five hundred men, while the crew of the commodore did not amount to half that number. However, the victory was on the side of the English, and they returned home with their prize, in June, 1744, which was estimated at three hundred and thirteen thousand pounds sterling, while the different captures that had been made before amounted to as much more. Thus, after a voyage of three years, conducted with amazing perseverance and intrepidity, the public sustained the loss of a small fleet; but a few individuals became possessed of immense riches.

In the mean time the English conducted other operations against the enemy with amazing activity. When Anson set out it was with a design of acting a subordinate part to a formidable armament designed for the coasts of New Spain, consisting of twenty-nine ships of the line, and almost an equal number of frigates, furnished with warlike stores, nearly fifteen thousand seamen, and as many land forces. Lord Cathcart was appointed to command the land forces, but he dying on the passage, the command devolved upon general Wentworth, whose abilities were supposed to be unequal to the trust reposed in him. The ministry, without any visible reason, detained the fleet in England, until the season for action in America was nearly over. In the country where they were to carry on their operations, the periodical rains began about the end of April, 1741, and the change in the climate always brings on epidemical diseases. Having at length arrived on the coasts of New Spain, before the wealthy city of Carthagena, they landed their forces, in order to form the siege of this important fortification (*s*).

To carry on the siege with safety, the troops were landed on the island Tierra Bomba, near the mouth of the harbour, which had been previously fortified by all the arts of engineering. The land forces erected a battery on shore, with which they made a breach in the principal fort, while Vernon, who commanded the fleet, sent a number of ships into the harbour, to divide the fire of the enemy, and to co-operate with the army on shore. The breach being deemed practicable, a body of troops were commanded to storm; but the Spaniards deserted the forts, which, if possessed of courage, they might have defended with success. The troops, upon gaining this advantage, were advanced a good deal nearer to the city; but there they met a much greater opposition than they had expected. It was found, or asserted, that the fleet could lie near enough to batter the town, and that nothing remained but to attempt one of the forts by scaling. The leaders of the fleet and the army began mutually to accuse each other, each asserting the probability of what the other denied. At length, Wentworth, stimulated by the admiral's reproach, resolved to try the dangerous experiment, and ordered that fort St. Lazare should be attempted by scalade. Nothing could be more unfortunate than this undertaking; the forces marching up to the attack, their guides were slain, and they mistook their way. Instead of attempting the weakest part of the fort, they advanced to where it was strongest, and where they were exposed to the fire of the town. Colonel Grant, who commanded the granadiers, was killed in the beginning. Soon after it was found that the scaling ladders were too short; the officers were perplexed for want of others, and the troops stood exposed to the whole fire of the enemy, without knowing how to proceed. After bearing a dreadful fire for some hours with great intrepidity, they at length retreated, leaving six hundred men dead on the spot. The terrors of the climate soon began to be more dreadful than those of war; the rainy season began with such violence,

(*s*) This city, which lies within sixty miles of Panama, serves as a magazine for the merchandize of Spain, which is conveyed from Europe thither, and from thence transported by land to Panama, to be exchanged for the native commodities of the new world. The taking of Carthagena, therefore, would have obstructed the whole trade between Old Spain and the New.

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that it was impossible for the troops to continue encamped; and the mortality of the season now began to attack them in all its frightful varieties. To these calamities, sufficient to quell any enterprize, was added the dissension between the land and sea commanders, who blamed each other for every failure, and became frantic with mutual recrimination. They only, therefore, at last could be brought to agree in one mortifying measure, which was to reimbark the troops, and to withdraw them as quickly as possible from this scene of slaughter and contagion.

The fortifications nearer the harbour being demolished, the troops were conveyed back to Jamaica; and this island which of itself is sufficiently unhealthy, was considered as a paradise to that from which they had just escaped. This fatal miscarriage, which tarnished the British glory, was no sooner known in England, than the kingdom was filled with murmurs and discontent. The loudest burst of indignation was directed at the minister, they who once praised him for successes he did not merit, condemned him now for a failure of which he was guiltless.

To this cause of complaint, several others were added. The inactivity of the English fleet at home was among the principal. Sir John Norris had twice sailed to the coasts of Spain, at the head of a very powerful squadron, without taking any effectual step to annoy the enemy. The Spanish privateers, become numerous and enterprizing, annoyed our commerce with great success, having taken, since the commencement of the war, four hundred and seven ships belonging to the subjects of Great Britain. The English, though at an immense expence in equipping fleets, seemed to lie down unrevenged under every blow, and suffered one loss after another without reprisal. This universal discontent had a manifest influence upon the general election which followed soon after; and the complaints against the minister became so general, that he began to tremble for his safety. All the adherents of the prince of Wales, who continued to live retired from court, as a private gentleman, concurred in the opposition. Obstinate struggles were maintained in all parts of the kingdom; and such a national spirit prevailed, that the country interest now at last seemed ready to preponderate. In this situation, the minister finding the strength of the house of commons turned against him, tried every art to break that confederacy, which he knew he had not strength to oppose. The first attempt was by endeavouring to disengage the prince from his party, by promises of royal emoluments (*t*). Walpole being disappointed in his endeavours to gain the prince, plainly perceived that his power was at an end; but he still feared more for his person. The resentment of the people had been raised against him to an extravagant height; and their leaders taught them to expect very signal justice to their supposed oppressors. The first occasion he had to find the house of commons turned against him was in debating upon some disputed elections. In the first of these, which was heard at the bar of the house, he carried his point by a majority of six only, and this he looked upon as a defeat rather than a victory. The inconsiderable majority that appeared on his side, which had long been used to carry every question with ease, plainly proved that his friends were no longer able to protect him. A petition, presented by the electors of Westminster, complaining of an undue election, which had been carried on by the unjust influence of the ministry, and which they begged to set aside, was presented to the house. Sir Robert laboured with all his art to over-rule their petition, the house entered into a discussion, and carried it against him by a majority of four voices. He resolved to try his strength once more in another disputed election, that of Chippenham in Wiltshire, and had the mortification to see the majority against him augmented to sixteen. He then declared he would never sit more in that house. The next day the king adjourned both houses of parliament, till the 18th of February, 1742; and in the interim sir Robert Walpole was created earl of Oxford, and resigned all his employments.

Nothing could give the people more general satisfaction than this minister's deposition. It was now universally expected that his power being abridged, his punishment was to follow; and mankind prepared themselves for some tragical event with vindictive satisfaction. Every person now flattered himself, that every domestic grievance would be redressed; that commerce would be protected abroad; that the expensive subsidies to foreign states would be retrenched; and that the house of commons would be unanimous in every popular measure. But they found themselves miserably deceived. Those who clamoured most against him, when put into power, began exactly to adopt all his measures.

At no time of his life did this minister acquit himself with such art as on the present occasion. The country party consisted of Tories, reinforced by discontented Whigs; the former implacable in their resentments against him, could not be mollified; the latter, either soured by disappointment, or incited by ambition, only wished his removal. To these therefore Walpole applied, and was willing to grant them that power they aimed at, in return for which he only demanded impunity. The offer was accepted with pleasure; their Tory friends were instantly abandoned; and a breach thus ensuing, the same opposition still continued against the new ministry that had obtained against the old.

The place of chancellor of the exchequer was bestowed on Mr. Sandys, who was likewise appointed a lord of the treasury. Lord Harrington was declared president of the council; and in his room lord Carteret became secretary of state. Mr. Pulteney was sworn of the privy council; and afterwards created earl of Bath. The reconciliation between the king and the prince of Wales took place soon after; and the change in the ministry was celebrated by rejoicings over the whole nation.

But this transport was of short duration: it soon appeared that those who declaimed most loudly for the liberties of the people, had adopted new measures with their new employments. The new converts were branded, as betrayers of the interests of their country; but particularly the resentment of the people fell upon the earl of Bath, who had long declaimed against that very conduct he now seemed earnest to pursue. He had been the idol of the people, and considered as one of the most illustrious champions that had ever defended the cause of freedom; but allured perhaps with the hope of governing in Walpole's place, he was contented to give up his popularity for ambition. The king, however, treated him with that neglect which he merited: he was laid aside for life, and continued a wretched survivor of all his former importance.

The war with Spain had now continued for several years, and was attended with but indifferent fortune. Some unsuccessful expeditions had been carried on in the West Indies, under admiral Vernon, commodore Knowles, and others; and the failure of these was still more aggravated by the political writers of the day; a class of men who had risen up during this and the preceding administration: at first they were employed against Walpole, and were afterwards taken into pay by him. Dull, and without principle, they made themselves agreeable to the public by impudence and abuse; they embarrassed every operation, and embittered every misfortune. These had for some time disgusted the nation at their operations by sea, and taught them to wish for better fortune by land. The people became ripe for renewing their victories in Flanders, and the king desired nothing with so much ardour. It was resolved therefore to send a powerful body of men into the Netherlands, to join in the quarrels that were beginning on the continent; and immense triumphs were expected from such an undertaking, which the king resolved to conduct in person. An army of sixteen thousand men was consequently transported to Flanders, and the war with Spain became but a secondary consideration.

That the reader may be enabled to form a just idea of the origin of the troubles on the continent, it will be necessary to go back for some years, and trace the measures of the several courts of Europe. After the death of the duke of Orleans, who had been regent of France, the cardinal De Fleury undertook to settle the great confusion in which that luxurious prince had left the kingdom. His moderation and prudence were equally conspicuous; he was sincere, frugal, modest, and simple: under him therefore France repaired her losses, and enriched herself by

(*t*) The bishop of Oxford was accordingly sent to him, with an offer, that if he would write a letter of submission to the king, he and all his counsellors should be taken into favour; fifty thousand pounds should be added to his revenue, two hundred thousand should be granted him to pay his debts, and suitable provision should be made in due time for all his followers. This to a person already involved in debt, from the scantiness of his pension and the necessity of keeping up his dignity, was a tempting offer. However, the prince generously disdained it, declaring he would accept of no conditions dictated to him under the influence of a minister whose measures he disapproved.

commerce; he only left the state to its own natural methods of thriving, and he saw it every day assuming its former health and vigour.

During the long interval of peace, which this minister's counsels had procured for Europe, two powers, till now unregarded, began to attract the notice and jealousy of the neighbouring nations. Peter the Great had already civilized Russia, and this newly-created extensive empire began to influence the councils of other nations, and to give laws to the northern kingdoms. The other power that came into notice, was that of the king of Prussia, whose dominions were populous, and whose forces were well maintained and ready for action. The other states were but little improved for the purposes of renewing the war. The empire remained under the government of Charles the Sixth, who had been placed on the throne by the treaty of Utrecht. Sweden continued to languish, being not yet recovered from the destructive projects of her darling monarch Charles the Twelfth. Denmark was powerful enough, but inclined to peace; and part of Italy still remained subject to those princes who had been imposed upon it by foreign treaties. All those states, however, continued to enjoy a profound peace, until the death of Augustus, king of Poland, by which a general flame was once more kindled in Europe. The emperor, assisted by the arms of Russia, declared for the elector of Saxony, son of the deceased king. On the other hand, France declared for Stanislaus, who long since had been nominated king of the Poles by Charles the Twelfth of Sweden, and whose daughter the king of France had since married. In order to forward his pretensions, Stanislaus repaired to Dantzig, where the people gladly received him. But his triumph was short; ten thousand Russians appearing before the place, the Polish nobility dispersed, and Stanislaus was besieged by this small body of forces. But though the city was taken, the king escaped with some difficulty by night; and fifteen hundred men that were sent to his assistance, were made prisoners of war. France, however, resolved to continue her assistance to him, and this it was supposed would be most effectually done by distressing the house of Austria.

The views of France were seconded by Spain and Sardinia, both having hopes to grow more powerful by a division of the spoils of Austria. A French army therefore soon over-ran the empire, under the command of the old marshal Villars; while the duke de Montemar, the Spanish general, was equally victorious in the kingdom of Naples. Thus the emperor had the mortification to see his own dominions ravaged, and a great part of Italy torn from him, for having attempted to give a king to Poland. These rapid successes of the French, and their allies, compelled the emperor to demand a peace (*u*).

The emperor dying in the year 1740, the French began to think this a favourable opportunity of exerting their ambition once more. Regardless of treaties, particularly that called the Pragmatic Sanction, by which the reversion of all the late emperor's dominions was settled upon his daughter, they caused the elector of Bavaria to be crowned emperor. Thus the queen of Hungary, daughter of Charles the Sixth, descended from an illustrious line of emperors, saw herself stripped of her inheritance, and left for a whole year deserted by all Europe, and without any hopes of succour. She had scarcely closed her father's eyes, when she lost Silesia, by an irruption of the young king of Prussia, who seized the opportunity of her defenceless state to renew his ancient pretensions to that province, of which it must be owned his ancestors had been unjustly deprived. France, Saxony, and Bavaria, attacked the rest of her dominions; England was the only ally that seemed willing to espouse her helpless condition. Sardinia and Holland soon after came to her assistance; and, last of all, Russia acceded to the union in her favour.

It may now be demanded, what cause Britain had to intermeddle in these continental schemes. It can only be answered, that the interests of Hanover, and the security of that electorate, depended upon the nicely balancing the different interests of the empire; and the English ministry were willing to gratify the king. Lord Carteret, who had now taken up that place in the royal confidence which had formerly been possessed by Walpole, by pursuing those measures soothed the wishes of his master, and opened a more extensive field for his own ambition. He expected to receive honour from victories which he seemed certain of obtaining; and desired to engage in measures which must be injurious to the nation, even though attended with desired success.

When the parliament met, his majesty informed the houses that he had strictly adhered to his engagements, and that he had sent a body of English forces into the Netherlands, which he had augmented with sixteen thousand Hanoverians, to make a diversion upon the dominions of France, in the queen of Hungary's favour (*v*). The people now saw, with indignation, their former defenders turned against themselves; patriotism they began to consider as an empty name, and knew not on whom to rely, since the boldest professors of liberty were purchased at so easy a rate. But however these continental measures might injure the real interests of the nation, they for that time served to retrieve the queen of Hungary's desperate affairs. She soon began to turn the scale of victory on her side. The French were driven out of Bohemia. Her general, prince Charles, at the head of a large army, invaded the dominions of Bavaria. Her rival, the nominal emperor, was obliged to fly before her; and abandoned by his allies, and stripped even of his hereditary dominions, retired to Francfort, where he lived in obscurity.

The French, who had begun as allies, were now under the necessity of sustaining the whole burden of the war, and accordingly faced their enemies, invading them on every side of their dominions. The troops sent to the queen of Hungary's assistance by England were commanded by the earl of Stair, an experienced general, who had learned the art of war under the famous prince Eugene. The chief object which he had in view in the beginning was to effect a junction with the queen's army, commanded by prince Charles of Lorrain, and thus to out number the enemy in the field. The French, in order to prevent this junction, assembled, in 1743, an army of sixty thousand men upon the river Mayne, under the command of marshal Noailles, who posted his troops on the east side of that river. The British forces, to the number of forty thousand, pushed forward on the other side into a country, where they found themselves entirely destitute of provisions, the French having cut off all means of their being supplied with any. The king of England arrived at the camp, while his army was in this deplorable situation; wherefore he resolved to penetrate forward to join twelve thousand Hanoverians and Hessians who had reached Hanau. With this view he decamped; but, before his army had marched three leagues, he found the enemy had enclosed him on every side, near the village of Dettingen.

The most mortifying prospects now presented themselves: if he fought the enemy, it must be at the greatest disadvantage; if he continued inactive, there was a certainty of being starved; and as for a retreat, that was impossible. They passed a defile, which they should have been contented to guard; and, under the conduct of the duke of Gramont, their horse charged the English foot with great fury. They were received, however, with intrepidity and resolution; so that they were obliged to give way, and repass the Mayne with precipitation, with the loss of about five thousand men. The king of England, with great personal courage, exposed himself to a severe fire of the enemies' cannon, and in the midst of the engagement encouraged his troops by his presence and example. The English had the honour of the day; but were soon obliged to leave the field of battle, which was taken possession of by the French, who treated the wounded English with great clemency. Though the English were victorious upon this occasion, yet the earl of Stair, who was commander in chief, did not assume any honour from such a victory. He was unwilling to share any glory, which was so precariously obtained, and snatched rather from the enemy's mistake, than gained by his conduct. He there-

(*u*) Peace was accordingly made; but Stanislaus, on whose account the war was begun, was neglected in the treaty. It was stipulated, that he should renounce all claim to the crown of Poland, for which the emperor gratified France with the duchy of Lorraine, and some other valuable territories.

(*v*) When the supplies came to be considered, by which this additional number of Hanoverian troops was to be paid by England for defending their own cause, it produced most vehement debates in both houses of parliament. It was considered as an imposition upon the nation, as an attempt to pay foreign troops for fighting their own battles, and the ministry were pressed by their own arguments against such measures before they came into power. They were not ashamed, however, upon this occasion, boldly to defend what they so violently impugned; and at length, by the strength of numbers, not by reason, they carried their cause.

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fore solicited for leave to resign; which obtaining, the troops were led into quarters, and desisted from further operations that campaign.

The French notwithstanding went on with vigour. They opposed prince Charles, and interrupted his attempts to pass the Rhine. They gained also some successes in Italy; but their chief hopes were placed upon a projected invasion of England. From the violence of the parliamentary disputes in England, the court of France had been persuaded that the people were ripe for a revolution, and only wanted the presence of a pretender to effectuate the change (*w*). An invasion therefore was actually projected; and Charles, the son of the old pretender, departed from Rome in the disguise of a Spanish courier, for Paris, where he had an audience of the French king.

The Stuart family had long been the dupes of the court of France; but it was thought there were now serious resolutions formed in their favour. The troops destined for the expedition amounted to fifteen thousand men; preparations were made for embarking them at Dunkirk, and some of the nearest ports to England, under the eye of the young pretender. The duke de Roquefuille, with twenty ships of the line, was to see them safely landed in England, and the famous count Saxe was to command them when they had effected their landing. The whole project, however, was disconcerted by sir John Norris, who, with a superior fleet, pressed forward to attack them. The French fleet was obliged to put back; a very violent gale of wind damaged their transports beyond redress; and the French, frustrated in their scheme of a sudden descent, openly declared war on the 20th of March, 1744.

Although fortune seemed to favour England at this juncture, yet she was not equally propitious on some other occasions. The English ministry had sent out a powerful squadron of ships into the Mediterranean to overawe those states which might be inclined to assist either France or Spain. This fleet had been conducted by admiral Lestock; but admiral Matthews, a younger officer, was sent out to take the superior command, which produced a misunderstanding between the commanders. An opportunity soon offered for these officers to discover their mutual animosity, which, as is usual on all such occasions, tended to the detriment of their country, and their own disgrace. The combined fleets of France and Spain, to the number of four and thirty sail, were seen off Toulon, and a signal was made by the English admiral to prepare for engagement. It happened that his signals were not perfectly exact; for he had hung out that for forming the line of battle, which at the same time shewed the signal for engaging. This was a sufficient excuse for Lestock in refusing to come up with alacrity; so that after some vain efforts to attack the enemy in conjunction, Matthews resolved to engage as well as he could. One ship of the line belonging to the Spanish squadron struck to captain Hawke; but was by the admiral's order burned the next day. Captain Cornwall was killed in the engagement, after continuing to give command, even after his leg was shot off by the discharge of a cannon. The pursuit was continued for three days, at the end of which time Lestock seemed to come up with some vigour; but just then Matthews gave orders for discontinuing the pursuit, and sailed for Port Mahon to repair the damage which his part of the fleet had sustained. The victory was claimed by the English; and the French and Spaniards were not less pleased with their own good fortune. In England, however, this disputed success was considered as the most mortifying defeat, and the complaints of the people knew no bounds (*x*).

The proceedings in the Netherlands were as unfavourable to the English as their enemies could wish. The French had assembled a formidable army of one hundred and twenty thousand men, the chief command of which was given to count Saxe (*y*). To oppose this able and experienced general, the English were headed by the duke of Cumberland, who neither possessed such talents for war, nor was able to bring such a formidable body of men into the field. The French therefore bore down all before them. They besieged Fribourg, and in the beginning of the succeeding campaign invested the strong town of Tournay. Although the allies, under the command of the duke of Cumberland, were inferior in number, they resolved, if possible, to save this town by hazarding a battle. They accordingly marched against the enemy, and took post in sight of the French, who were encamped on an eminence, the village of St. Antoine on the right, a wood on the left, and the town of Fontenoy before them. This advantageous situation did not repress the ardour of the English, who began the attack about two of the clock in the morning of the 30th of April, 1745, and, pressing forward, bore down all opposition. They were for near an hour victorious, and confident of success, while Saxe, who commanded the enemy, was at that time sick of the same disorder of which he afterwards died. However he was carried about to all the posts in a litter, and assured his attendants, that, notwithstanding all unfavourable appearances, the day was his own. A column of the English, without any command, but by mere mechanical courage, had advanced upon the enemies' lines, which opening, formed an avenue on each side to receive them. It was then that the French artillery on three sides began to play on this forlorn body, which, though they continued for a long time unshaken, were at last obliged to retreat about three o'clock in the afternoon. This was one of the most bloody battles that had been fought in this age: the allies left on the field of battle nearly twelve thousand men, and the French bought their victory with nearly an equal number of slain (*z*). The duke of Cumberland returned to England on the 12th of October.

The ministry of England was by this time changed, the lords Harrington, Chesterfield, and Mr. Pelham, being placed at the head of affairs: these enjoyed some share of popularity, and the operations of war were no longer thwarted by a turbulent opposition. The admirals Rowley and Warren had retrieved the honour of the British flag, and made several rich captures at sea. The fortress of Louisburg, in the island of Cape Breton, on the coast of North America, a place of great consequence to the British commerce, surrendered to general Peperell, while a short time after two French East India ships, and a Spanish ship from Peru, laden with treasure, put into the harbour, supposing it still their own, and were taken.

While the continent of Europe and the isles of America were thus exposed to the ravages of war, and subjected to such vicissitudes of fortune, Great Britain underwent a dangerous convulsion in her own bowels. The son of the chevalier de St. George, fired with ambition, and animated with the hope of ascending the throne of his ancestors, resolved to make an effort for that purpose, which, though it might not be crowned with success, should at least astonish all Christendom. The Jacobites in England and Scotland had promised, that if he would land in Britain at the head of a regular army, they would supply him with provisions, carriages, and horses, and a great number of them declared they would take up arms, and join his standard: but they disapproved of his coming over without forces, as a dangerous enterprize, that would in all probability end in the ruin of himself and all his adherents. This advice, including an exact detail of his father's interest, with the disposition of his particular friends in every town and country, was transmitted to London in January, in order to be forwarded to prince Charles: but the person with whom it was entrusted could find no safe method of conveyance; so that he sent it back to Scotland, from whence it was dispatched to France; but before it reached Paris, Charles had left that kingdom. Had the

(*w*) Several needy adventurers, who wished for a revolution, some men of broken fortunes, and all the Roman catholics of the kingdom, endeavoured to confirm the court of France in these sentiments.

(*x*) On their return to England both admirals were tried by a court martial. Matthews, who had fought with intrepidity, was declared for the future incapable of serving in his majesty's navy. Lestock, who had kept at a distance, was acquitted with honour, having entrenched himself within the punctilios of discipline. He barely did his duty. How much more noble would it have been for Lestock to have acted with vigour, when he knew the honour of his country was at stake!

(*y*) Count Saxe was natural son to the late king of Poland, and had been long a soldier of fortune. He had been bred from a youth in camps, and had shewn very early instances of cool intrepidity. He had in the beginning of the war offered his services to several crowns; and among others, it is said, to the king of Great Britain; but his offers were rejected. By long habit this general had learned to preserve an equal composure in the midst of battle, and seemed as serene in the thickest fire as in the drawing-room at court.

(*z*) This blow, by which Tournay was taken by the French, gave them such a manifest superiority all the rest of the campaign, that they kept the fruits of their victory during the whole continuance of the war. The duke of Bavaria, whom they had made emperor under the title of Charles the Seventh, was lately dead; but though his pretensions were the original cause of the war, that was by no means discontinued at his decease. The grand duke of Tuscany, husband to the queen of Hungary, was declared emperor in his room; and though the original cause of the quarrel was no more, the dissensions still continued as fiercely as ever.

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paper come to his hands in due time, perhaps he would not have embarked in the undertaking, though he was stimulated to the attempt by many concurring motives. Certain it is, he was cajoled by the sanguine misrepresentations of a few adventurers, who hoped to profit by the expedition. They assured him, that the whole nation was disaffected to the reigning family: that the people could no longer bear the immense load of taxes, which was daily increasing; and that the most considerable persons of the kingdom would gladly seize the first opportunity of crowding to his standard. On the other hand, he knew the British Government had taken some effectual steps to alienate the friends of his house from the principles they had hitherto possessed. Some of them had accepted posts and pensions: others were preferred in the army; and the parliament were so attached to the reigning family, that he had nothing to hope from their deliberations. He expected succours from the court of France; but he foresaw that delay would diminish the number of his adherents in Great Britain; and, therefore, resolved to seize the present occasion, which he thought propitious to his design: Scotland was indeed unfurnished with troops; king George was in Germany; the duke of Cumberland at the head of the British army, was employed in Flanders, and great part of the Highlanders were ripe for insurrection (*a*).

The young pretender being furnished with a sum of money, and a supply of arms, on his private credit, wrote letters to his friends in Scotland, explaining his design and situation, intimating the place where he intended to land, communicating a private signal, and assuring them he should be with them by the middle of June. These precautions being taken, he embarked on board of a small frigate at Port St. Lazaire, accompanied by the marquis of Tullibardine, sir Thomas Sheridan, sir John Macdonald, with a few other Irish and Scottish adventurers; and setting sail on the 14th of July, was joined off Belleisle by the Elizabeth, a French ship of war, mounted with sixty-six guns, as his convoy. Their design was to sail round Ireland, and land in the western part of Scotland; but falling in with the Lion, an English ship of the line, a very obstinate and bloody action ensued. The Elizabeth was so disabled that she could not prosecute the voyage, and with difficulty reached the harbour of Brest; but the Lion was shattered to such a degree, that she floated like a wreck upon the water. The disaster of the Elizabeth was a great misfortune to the adventurer, as by her being disabled he lost a great quantity of arms, and about one hundred able officers, who were embarked on board of her for the benefit of his expedition. Prince Charles, in the frigate, continued his course to the western isles of Scotland. After a voyage of eighteen days he landed on a little island between Barra and South-Uist, two of the Hebrides: then he reimbarked, and in a few days arrived at Borodale in Arnsacy, on the confines of Lochnannach, where he was in a little time joined by a considerable number of Highlanders, under their respective chiefs or leaders. On the 19th of August, the marquis of Tullibardine erected the pretender's standard at Glensinnan. Some of those, however, on whom Charles principally depended, now stood aloof, either fluctuating in their principles, astonished at the boldness of the undertaking, or startled at the remonstrances of their friends, who did not fail to represent, in aggravated colours, all the danger of embarking in such a desperate enterprize. Prince Charles having assembled about twelve thousand men, encamped in the neighbourhood of Fort William: and immediately hostilities were commenced. A handful of Keppoch's clan, commanded by major Donald Mac Donald, even before they joined the pretender, attacked two companies of new raised soldiers, who, with their officer, were disarmed after an obstinate dispute: another captain of the king's forces, falling into their hands, was courteously dismissed with one of the pretender's manifestos, and a passport for his personal safety. The lords of the regency issued a proclamation, offering a reward of thirty thousand pounds to any person who should apprehend the prince adventurer. The same price was set upon the head of the elector of Hanover, in a proclamation published by the pretender. A courier was dispatched to Holland, to hasten the return of his majesty, who arrived in England about the latter end of August. A requisition was made of the six thousand Dutch auxillaries; and several British regiments were recalled from the Netherlands. A loyal address was presented to the king by the city of London; and the merchants of his metropolis resolved to raise two regiments at their own expence. Orders were issued to keep the trained bands in readiness; to array the militia of Westminster; and instructions to the same effect were sent to all the lords lieutenants of the counties throughout the kingdom. The principal noblemen of the nation made a tender of their services to their sovereign; and some of them received commissions to levy regiments towards the suppression of the rebellion. Bodies of volunteers were incorporated in London, and many other places; associations were formed, large contributions raised in different towns, counties, and communities; and a great number of eminent merchants in London agreed to support the public credit, by receiving, as usual, Bank notes in payment, for the purposes of traffic. The Protestant clergy of all denominations exerted themselves with extraordinary ardour, in preaching against the religion of Rome and the pretender; and the friends of the government were encouraged, animated, and confirmed in their principles, by several spiritual productions published for the occasion.

In a word, the bulk of the nation seemed unanimously bent upon opposing the pretender, who nevertheless had already made surprising progress. His arrival in Scotland was no sooner confirmed, than sir John Cope, who commanded the troops in that kingdom, assembled what force he could bring together, and advanced against the rebels. Understanding, however, that they had taken possession of a strong pass, he changed his route, and proceeded northwards as far as Inverness, leaving the capital and the southern parts of North Britain wholly exposed to the incursions of the enemy. The Highlanders forthwith marched to Perth, where the chevalier de St. George was proclaimed king of Great Britain, and the public money seized for his use: the same steps were taken at Dundee and other places. Prince Charles was joined by the noblemen who assumed the title of duke of Perth, the viscount Strathallan, lord Nairn, lord George Murray, and many persons of distinction, with their followers. The marquis of Tullibardine, who had accompanied him from France, took possession of Athol, as heir of blood to the titles and estate which his younger brother enjoyed in consequence of his attainder; and met with some success in arming the tenants, for the support of that cause which he avowed. The rebel army being considerably augmented, though very ill provided with arms, crossed the Forth in the neighbourhood of Stirling, and advanced towards Edinburgh, where they were joined by lord Elcho, son of the earl of Wemys, and other persons of distinction. On the 16th of September Charles summoned the town to surrender. The inhabitants were divided by faction, and distracted by fear; the place was not in a posture of defence, and the magistrates would not expose the people to the uncertain issue of an assault. Several deputations were sent from the town to the pretender, in order to negociate terms of capitulation. In the mean time, one of the gates being opened for the admission of a coach, Cameron of Lochiel, one of the most powerful of the Highland chiefs, rushed into the place with a party of his men, and secured it without opposition. Next morning the whole rebel army entered, and their prince took possession of the royal palace of Holyrood House in the suburbs. Then he caused his father to be proclaimed at the market-cross; there also the manifesto was read, in which the chevalier de St. George declared his son Charles regent of his dominions, promised to dissolve the union, and redress the grievances of Scotland. His being in possession of the capital encouraged his followers, and added reputation to his arms: but the treasure belonging to the two banks of that kingdom had been previously conveyed into the castle, a strong fortress, with a good garrison, under the command of general Guest, an old officer of experience and capacity.

During these transactions, sir John Cope marched back

(*a*) Their natural principles were on this occasion stimulated by the suggestions of revenge. At the beginning of the war, a regiment of those people had been formed, and transported with the rest of the British troops to Flanders. Before they were embarked, a number of them deserted with their arms, on pretence that they had been decoyed into the service, by promises and assurances that they should never be sent abroad; and this was really the case. They were overtaken by a body of horse, persuaded to submit, brought back to London pinioned like malefactors, and tried for desertion. Three were shot to death *in terrorem;* and the rest were sent in exile to the plantations. Those who suffered were persons of some consequence in their own country; and their fate was deeply resented by the clans to which they belonged. It was considered as a national outrage: and the Highlanders, who are naturally vindictive, waited impatiently for an opportunity of vengeance.

from Inverness to Aberdeen, where he embarked with his troops, and on the 17th of September landed at Dunbar, about twenty miles to the eastward of Edinburgh. Here he was joined by two regiments of dragoons, which had retired with precipitation from the capital at the approach of the Highland army. With this reinforcement, his troops amounted to nearly three thousand men; and he began his march to Edinburgh, in order to give battle to the enemy. On the 20th of the month, he encamped in the neighbourhood of Preston-pans, having the village of Tranent in his front, and the sea in his rear. Early next morning he was attacked by the young pretender, at the head of about two thousand four hundred Highlanders half armed, who charged them sword in hand with such impetuosity, that in less than ten minutes after the battle began, the king's troops were broken and totally routed. The dragoons fled in the utmost confusion at the first onset; the general officers having made some unsuccessful efforts to rally them, thought proper to consult their own safety by an expeditious retreat towards Coldstream on the Tweed. All the infantry were either killed or taken; and the colours, artillery, tents, baggage, and military chest, fell into the hands of the victor, who returned in triumph to Edinburgh (*b*). Prince Charles bore his good fortune with moderation. He prohibited all rejoicings for the victory he had obtained: the wounded soldiers were treated with humanity; and the officers were sent into Fife and Angus, where they were left at liberty on their parole; which the greater part of them shamefully broke in the sequel. From this victory the pretender reaped manifold and important advantages. His followers were armed, his party encouraged, and his enemies intimidated. He was supplied with a train of artillery, and a considerable sum of money, and saw himself possessed of all Scotland, except the fortresses, the reduction of which he could not pretend to undertake without proper implements and engineers. After the battle he was joined by a small detachment from the Highlands; and some chiefs, who had hitherto been on the reserve, began to exert their influence in his favour. But he was not yet in a condition to take advantage of that consternation which his late success had diffused through the kingdom of England.

Charles continued to reside in the palace of Holyrood-house (*c*); and took measures for cutting off the communication between the castle and the city. General Guest declared that he would demolish the city, unless the blockade should be raised, so as that provision might be carried into the castle. After having waited the return of an express which he had found means to dispatch to court, he began to put his threats in execution, by firing upon the town. Some houses were beaten down, and several persons killed even at the market cross. The citizens, alarmed at this disaster, sent a deputation to the prince, entreating him to raise the blockade; and he complied with their request. He levied a regiment in Edinburgh and the neighbourhood. He imposed taxes; seized the merchandize that was deposited in the king's warehouses at Leith, and other places; and compelled the city of Glasgow to accommodate him with a large sum, to be repaid when the peace of the kingdom should be re-established. The numbers of his followers daily increased: and he received considerable supplies of money, artillery, and ammunition, by single ships that arrived from France, where his interest seemed to rise in proportion to the success of his arms. The greater and richer part of Scotland was averse to his family and pretensions: but the people were unarmed and undisciplined, consequently passive under his dominion. By this time, however, the prince pretender was joined by the earl of Kilmarnock, the lords Elcho, Balmerino, Ogilvy, Pitsligo; and the eldest son of lord Lovat had begun to assemble his father's clan, in order to reinforce the victor, whose army lay encamped at Duddingston, in the neighbourhood of Edinburgh (*d*). While Charles resided at Edinburgh, the marquis de Guilles arrived at Montrose, as envoy from the French king, with several officers, some cannon, and a considerable quantity of small arms for the use of that adventurer (*e*).

While the young pretender endeavoured to improve the advantage he had gained, the ministry of Great Britain took every possible measure to retard his progress. Several powerful chiefs in the Highlands were attached to the government, and exerted themselves in its defence. The duke of Argyle began to arm his vassals; but not before he had obtained the sanction of the legislature. Twelve hundred men were raised by the earl of Sunderland: the lord Rae brought a considerable number to the field: the Grants and Monroes appeared under their respective leaders for the service of his majesty: sir Alexander Macdonald declared for king George, and the laird of Macleod sent two thousand hardy Highlanders from Skie, to strengthen the same interest. These gentlemen, though supposed to be otherwise affected, were governed and directed by the advice of Duncan Forbes, president of the college of Justice at Edinburgh; a man of extensive knowledge, agreeable manners, and unblemished integrity. He procured commissions for raising twenty independent companies, and some of these he bestowed upon individuals who were either attached by principle, or engaged by promise, to the pretender. He acted with indefatigable zeal for the interest of the reigning family; and greatly injured an opulent fortune in their service. He confirmed several chiefs who began to waver in their principles: some he actually converted by the energy of his arguments, and brought over to the assistance of the government, which they had determined to oppose: others he persuaded to remain quiet, without taking any share in the present troubles. Certain it is, this gentleman, by his industry and address, prevented the insurrection of ten thousand Highlanders, who would otherwise have joined the pretender; and, therefore, he may be said to have been one great cause of that adventurer's miscarriage. The earl of Loudoun repaired to Inverness, where he completed his regiment of Highlanders; directed the conduct of the clans who had taken arms in behalf of his majesty; and, by his vigilance, over-awed the disaffected chieftains of that country, who had not yet openly engaged in the rebellion. Immediately after the defeat of Cope, six thousand Dutch troops (*f*) arrived in England, and three battalions of guards, with seven regiments of infantry, were recalled from Flanders, for the defence of the kingdom. They forthwith began their march to the North, under the command of general Wade, who received orders to assemble an army, which proceeded to Newcastle. The parliament meeting on the 16th of October, his majesty gave them to understand, that an unnatural rebellion had broke out in Scotland, towards the suppression of which he craved their advice and assistance. He found both houses cordial in their addresses, and zealous in their attachment to his person and government. The commons forthwith suspended the Habeas Corpus act; and several

(*b*) Never was a victory more complete, or obtained at a smaller expence; for not above fifty of the rebels lost their lives in the engagement. Five hundred of the king's troops were killed on the field of battle, and among these colonel Gardiner, a gallant officer, who disdained to save his life at the expence of his honour. When abandoned by his own regiment of dragoons, he alighted from his horse, joined the infantry, and fought on foot, until he fell covered with wounds, in sight of his own threshold.

(*c*) While he resided at Edinburgh, some of the presbyterian clergy continued to preach in the churches of that city, and publicly prayed for king George, without suffering the least punishment or molestation. One minister in particular, of the name of Mac Vicar, being solicited by some Highlanders to pray for their prince, promised to comply with their request, and performed his promise in words to this effect: "And as for the young prince, who is come hither in quest of an earthly crown, grant, O Lord, that he may speedily receive a crown of glory."

(*d*) Kilmarnock and Balmerino were men of broken and desperate fortune: Elcho and Ogilvie were sons to the earls of Wemys and Airly! so that their influence was far from being extensive. Pitsligo was a nobleman of a very amiable character, as well as of great personal interest; and great dependence was placed upon the power and attachment of lord Lovat, who had entered into private engagements with the chevalier de St. George, though he still wore the mask of loyalty to the government, and disavowed the conduct of his son when he declared for the pretender. This old nobleman is the same Simon Fraser whom we have had occasion to mention as a partizan and emissary of the court of St. Germain, in the year 1703. He had renounced his connexions with that family; and, in the rebellion, immediately after the accession of king George I. approved himself a warm friend to the Protestant succession. Since that period he had been induced, by disgust and ambition, to change his principles again, and was, in secret, an enthusiast in Jacobitism. He had greatly augmented his estate, and obtained a considerable interest in the Highlands, where, however, he was rather dreaded than beloved. He was bold, enterprising, vain, arbitrary, rapacious, cruel, and deceitful: but his character was chiefly marked by a species of low cunning and dissimulation, which, however, overshot his purpose, and contributed to his own ruin.

(*e*) He solicited, and is said to have obtained of the chevalier de St. George, the patent of a duke, and a commission for being lord lieutenant of all the Highlands.

(*f*) They were composed of the forces who had been in a garrison at Tournay and Dendermond when those places were taken, and engaged by capitulation, that they should not perform any military function before the first day of January in the year 1747; so they could not have acted in England without the infringement of a solemn treaty.

persons were apprehended on suspicion of treasonable practices. Immediately after the session was opened, the duke of Cumberland arrived from the Netherlands, and was followed by another detachment of dragoons and infantry. The trained bands of London were reviewed by his majesty: the county regiments were completed: the volunteers, in different parts of the kingdom, employed themselves industriously in the exercise of arms; and the whole English nation seemed to rise up as one man against this formidable invader. The government, being apprehensive of a descent from France, appointed admiral Vernon to command a squadron in the Downs, to observe the motions of the enemy by sea, especially in the harbours of Dunkirk and Boulogne; and his cruisers took several ships laden with soldiers, officers, and ammunition, destined for the service of the pretender in Scotland.

This enterprising youth, having collected about five thousand men, resolved to make an irruption into England, which he accordingly entered by the west border on the 6th of November. Carlisle was invested, and in less than three days surrendered: the keys were delivered to him at Brampton, by the mayor and aldermen on their knees. Here he found a considerable quantity of arms: his father was proclaimed king of Great Britain, and himself regent, by the magistrates in their formalities. General Wade being apprized of his progress, decamped from Newcastle, and advanced across the country as far as Hexham, though the fields were covered with snow, and the roads almost impassable. There he received intelligence that Carlisle was reduced, and forthwith returned to his former station. In the mean time orders were issued for assembling another army in Staffordshire, under the command of sir John Ligonier. Prince Charles, notwithstanding this formidable opposition, determined to proceed. He had received assurances from France, that a considerable body of troops would be landed on the southern coast of Britain, to make a diversion in his favour; and he never doubted but he should be joined by all the English malcontents, as soon as he could penetrate into the heart of the kingdom. Leaving a small garrison in the castle of Carlisle, he advanced to Penrith, marching on foot in the Highland garb, at the head of his forces; and continued his route through Lancaster and Preston to Manchester, where, on the 29th, of the month, he established his head-quarters. There he was joined by about two hundred Englishmen, who were formed into a regiment, under the command of colonel Townley. The inhabitants seemed to receive him with marks of affection; and his arrival was celebrated by illuminations, and other public rejoicings. His supposed intention was to prosecute his march by the way of Chester into Wales, where he hoped to find a great number of adherents: but all the bridges over the river Mersey being broke down, he chose the route to Stockport, and forded the river at the head of his division, though the water rose to his middle. He passed through Macclesfield and Congleton; and on the 4th of December entered the town of Derby, in which his army was quartered, and his father proclaimed with great formality. He had now advanced within one hundred miles of the capital, which was filled with terror and confusion. Wade lingered in Yorkshire: the duke of Cumberland had assumed the command of the other army assembled in the neighbourhood of Litchfield. He had marched from Stafford to Stone; so that the rebels, in turning off from Ashborne to Derby, had gained a march between him and London. Had Charles proceeded in his career with that expedition which he had hitherto used, he might have made himself master of the metropolis, where he would have been certainly joined by a considerable number of his well wishers, who waited impatiently for his approach: yet this exploit could not have been atchieved without hazarding an engagement, and running the risque of being enclosed within three armies, each greatly superior to his own in number and artillery. Orders were given for forming a camp on Finchley Common, where the king resolved to take the field in person, accompanied by the earl of Stair, field marshal and commander in chief of the forces in South Britain. Some Romish priests were apprehended: the militia of London and Middlesex were kept in readiness to march: double watches were posted at the city gates, and signals of alarm appointed. The volunteers of the city were incorporated into a regiment: the practitioners of the law, headed by the judges, the weavers of Spital Fields, and other communities, engaged in associations; and even the managers of the theatres offered to raise a body of their dependents for the service of the government. Notwithstanding these precautions and appearances of unanimity, the trading part of the city, and those concerned in the money corporations, were overwhelmed with fear and dejection. They reposed very little confidence in the courage or discipline of their militia and volunteers: they had received intelligence that the French were employed in making preparations at Dunkirk and Calais for a descent upon England: they dreaded an insurrection of the Roman catholics, and other friends of the house of Stuart; and they reflected that the Highlanders, of whom by this time they had conceived a most terrible idea, were within four days march of the capital. This state of suspense was of short duration. The young pretender found himself miserably disappointed in his expectations. He had now advanced into the middle of the kingdom, and except a few that joined him at Manchester, not a soul appeared in his behalf. The Welch took no step to excite an insurrection in his favour: the French made no attempt towards an invasion: his court was divided into factions: the Highland chiefs began to murmur, and their clans to be unruly: he saw himself with a handful of men hemmed in between two considerable armies, in the middle of winter, and in a country disaffected to his cause. He knew he could not proceed to the metropolis without hazarding a battle, and that a defeat would be attended with the inevitable destruction of himself and all his adherents; and he had received information that his friends and officers had assembled a body of forces in the north, superior in number to those by whom he was attended. He called a council at Derby; and proposed to advance towards London: the proposal was supported by lord Nairn with great vehemence; but, after violent disputes, the majority determined that they should retreat to Scotland with all possible expedition. Accordingly, they abandoned Derby on the 6th of December, early in the morning, and measured back the route by which they had advanced. On the 9th their vanguard arrived at Manchester: on the 12th they entered Preston, and continued their march northwards. The duke of Cumberland, who was encamped at Meriden, when first apprized of their retreat, detached the horse and dragoons in pursuit of them; while general Wade began his march from Ferrybridge into Lancashire, with a view of intercepting them in their route: but at Wakefield he understood that they had already reached Wigan: he, therefore, repaired to his old post at Newcastle, after having detached general Oglethorpe, with his horse and dragoons, to join those who had been sent off from the duke's army. They pursued with such alacrity, that they overtook the rear of the rebels, with which they skirmished, in Lancashire. The militia of Cumberland and Westmoreland were raised and armed by the duke's order, to harrass them in their march. The bridges were broken down, the roads damaged, and the beacons lighted to alarm the country. Nevertheless, they retreated regularly with their small train of artillery. They were overtaken at the village of Clifton, in the neighbourhood of Penrith, by two regiments of dragoons. These alighted, and lined the hedges, in order to harrass part of the enemy's rear-guard, commanded by lord John Murray; who, at the head of the Macphersons, attacked the dragoons sword in hand, and repulsed them with some loss. On the 19th of the month, the Highland army reached Carlisle, where the majority of the English in the service of the pretender were left, at their own desire. Charles, having reinforced the garrison of the place, crossed the rivers Eden and Solway into Scotland, having thus accomplished one of the most surprising retreats that ever was performed. But the most remarkable circumstance of this expedition, was the moderation and regularity with which those ferocious people conducted themselves in a country abounding with plunder. No violence was offered; no outrage committed; and they were effectually restrained from the exercise of rapine. Notwithstanding the excessive cold, the hunger, and the fatigue to which they must have been exposed, they left behind no sick, and lost a very few stragglers; but retired with deliberation, and carried off their cannon in the face of their enemy. The duke of Cumberland invested Carlisle with his whole army on the 21st of December, and on the 30th the garrison surrendered on a sort of capitulation made with the duke of Richmond. The prisoners, amounting to about four hundred, were imprisoned in different gaols in England, and the duke returned to the metropolis.

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The pretender proceeded by the way of Dumfries to Glasgow, from which last city he exacted severe contributions, on account of its attachment to the government, for whose services it had raised a regiment of nine hundred men, under the command of the earl of Home. Having continued several days at Glasgow, he advanced towards Stirling, and was joined by some forces which had been assembled in his absence by lords Lewis Gordon and John Drummond, brothers to the dukes of Gordon and Perth. This last nobleman had arrived from France in November, with a small reinforcement of French and Irish, and a commission as general of these auxiliaries. He fixed his head quarters at Perth, where he was reinforced by the earl of Cromartie, and other clans, to the number of two thousand, and was accommodated with a small train of artillery. They had found means to surprize a sloop of war at Montrose, with the guns of which they fortified that harbour. They had received a considerable sum of money from Spain. They took possession of Dundee, Dumblaine, Downcastle, and laid Fife under contribution. The earl of Loudoun remained at Inverness, with about two thousand Highlanders in the service of his majesty. He convoyed provisions to Fort Augustus and Fort William: he secured the person of lord Lovat, who still temporized, and at length this cunning veteran accomplished his escape. The laird of Macleod, and Mr. Monroof Culcairn, being detached from Inverness towards Aberdeenshire, were surprized and routed by lord Lewis Gordon at Inverary; and that interest seemed to preponderate in the north of Scotland. Prince Charles being joined by lord John Drummond, invested the castle of Stirling, in which general Blakeney commanded: but his people were so little used to enterprizes of this kind, that they made very little progress in their operations.

A considerable body of forces was by this time assembled at Edinburgh, under the conduct of general Hawley, who determined to relieve Stirling Castle, and advance to Linlithgow on the 13th of January, 1746: next day his whole army rendezvoused at Falkirk, while the rebels were cantoned about Bannockburn. On the 17th of the month, they began their march in two columns to attack the king's forces, and had forded the water of Carven, within three miles of Hawley's camp, before he discovered their intention. Such was his obstinacy, self-conceit, or contempt of the enemy, that he slighted the repeated intelligence he had received of their motions and designs, firmly believing they durst not hazard an engagement. At length, perceiving they had occupied the rising ground to the southward of Falkirk, he ordered his cavalry to advance, and drive them from the eminence; while his infantry formed, and were drawn up in order of battle. The Highlanders kept up their fire, and took aim so well, that the assailants were broke by the first volley: they retreated with precipitation, and fell in amongst the infantry, which were likewise discomposed by the wind and rain beating with great violence in their faces, wetting their powder, and disturbing their eye-sight. Some of the dragoons rallied, and advanced again to the charge, with part of the infantry which had not been engaged: then the pretender marched up at the head of his corps de reserve, consisting of the regiment of lord John Drummond, and the Irish piquets. These reinforcing the Camerons and the Stuarts in the front line, immediately obliged the dragoons to give way a second time; and they again disordered the foot in their retreat. They set fire to their camp and abandoned Falkirk with their baggage and train, which last had never reached the field of battle. The rebels followed the first blow, and great part of the royal army, after one irregular discharge, turned their backs, and fled in the utmost consternation. In all probability few or none of them would have escaped, had not general Huske, and brigadier Cholmondeley, rallied part of some regiments, and made a gallant stand, which favoured the retreat of the rest to Falkirk, from whence they retired in confusion to Edinburgh, leaving the field of battle, with part of their tents and artillery to the rebels: but their loss of men did not exceed three hundred, including sir Robert Monro, colonel Whitney, and some other officers of distinction. It was at this period, that the officers who had been taken at the battle of Preston Pans, and conveyed to Angus and Fife, finding themselves unguarded, broke their parole, and returned to Edinburgh, on pretence of their having been forcibly released by the inhabitants of those parts.

General Hawley, who had boasted that, with two regiments of dragoons, he would drive the rebel army from one end of the kingdom to the other, incurred abundance of censure for the disposition he made, as well as for his conduct before, and after the action; but he found means to vindicate himself to the satisfaction of his sovereign. Nevertheless, it was judged necessary that the army in Scotland should be commanded by a general in whom the soldiers might have some confidence; and the duke of Cumberland was chosen for this purpose. He was beloved by the army, and it was suggested, that the appearance of a prince of the blood in Scotland might have a favourable effect upon the minds of the people in that kingdom; he, therefore, began to prepare for his northern expedition. Meanwhile, the French minister at the Hague having represented to the States General, that the auxiliaries which they had sent into Great Britain were part of the garrison of Tournay and Dendermonde, and restricted by the capitulation from bearing arms against France for a certain term, the States thought proper to recall them, rather than come to an open rupture with his most Christian majesty. In the room of those troops six thousand Hessians were transported from Flanders to Leith, where they arrived in the beginning of February, under the command of their prince, Frederic of Hesse, son-in-law to his Britannic majesty. By this time the duke of Cumberland had put himself at the head of the troops in Edinburgh, consisting of fourteen battalions of infantry, two regiments of dragoons, and twelve hundred Highlanders from Argyleshire, under the command of colonel Campbell.

On the 31st of January, his Royal Highness began his march to Linlithgow; and the enemy who had renewed the siege of Stirling Castle, not only abandoned that enterprize, but crossed the Forth with precipitation. Their prince found great difficulty in maintaining his forces, that part of the country being quite exhausted. He hoped to be reinforced in the Highlands, and receive fresh supplies of all kinds from France and Spain: he, therefore, retired by Badenoch towards Inverness, which the earl of Loudoun abandoned at his approach. The fort was surrendered to him almost without opposition, and here he fixed his head-quarters. His next exploit was the siege of Fort Augustus, which he in a little time reduced. The duke of Cumberland having secured the important posts of Stirling and Perth, with the Hessian battalions, advanced with the army to Aberdeen, where he was joined by the duke of Gordon, the earls of Aberdeen and Findlater, the laird of Grant, and other persons of distinction.

While he remained in this place refreshing his troops, and preparing magazines, a party of the rebels surprized a detachment of Kingston's horse, and about seventy Argyleshire Highlanders, at Keith, who were either killed or taken. Several advanced parties of that militia met with the same fate in different places. Lord George Murray invested the castle of Blair, which was defended by sir Andrew Agnew, until a body of Hessians marched to its relief, and obliged the rebels to retire. The prince pretender ordered all his forces to assemble, in order to begin his march for Aberdeen, to attack the duke of Cumberland: but, in consequence of a remonstrance from the clans, who declined leaving their families at the mercy of the king's garrison in Fort William, he resolved previously to reduce that fortress, the siege of which was undertaken by brigadier Stapleton, an engineer in the French service: but the place was so vigorously defended by captain Scott, that in the beginning of April they thought proper to relinquish the enterprize. The earl of Loudoun had retired into Sutherland, and took post at Dornoch, where his quarters were beat up by a strong detachment of the rebels, commanded by the duke of Perth: a major and sixty men were taken prisoners; and the earl was obliged to take shelter in the Isle of Skye. These little checks were counterbalanced by some advantages which his majesty's arms obtained. The sloop of war which the rebels had surprized at Montrose was retaken in Sutherland, with a considerable sum of money, and a great quantity of arms on board, which she had brought from France for the use of the pretender. In the same county, the earl of Cromartie fell into an ambuscade, and was taken by the militia of Sutherland, who likewise defeated a body of the rebels at Goldspie. This action happened on the very day which had been rendered famous by the victory obtained at Culloden.

In the beginning of April, the duke of Cumberland began his march from Aberdeen, and on the 12th passed the

the deep and rapid river Spey, without opposition from the rebels, though a detachment of them appeared on the opposite side. His royal highness proceeded to Nairn, where he received intelligence, that the enemy had advanced from Inverness to Culloden, about the distance of nine miles from the royal army, with intention to give him battle. The design of Charles was to march in the night from Culloden, and surprize the duke's army at day-break: for this purpose the English camp had been reconnoitered; and on the night of the 15th the Highland army began to march in two columns. Their design was to surround the enemy, and attack them at once on all quarters: but the length of the columns embarrassed the march, so that the army was obliged to make many halts: the men had been under arms during the whole preceding night, were faint with hunger and fatigue, and many of them overpowered with sleep. Some were unable to proceed; others dropped off unperceived in the dark; and the march was retarded in such a manner, that it would have been impossible to reach the duke's camp before sun-rise. The design being thus frustrated, the prince pretender was with great reluctance prevailed upon by his general officers to measure back his may to Culloden; at which place he had no sooner arrived, than great numbers of his followers dispersed in quest of provision; and many, overcome with weariness and sleep, threw themselves down on the heath, and along the park walls. Their repose, however, was soon interrupted in a very disagreeable manner. The prince, receiving intelligence that his enemies were in full march to attack him, resolved to hazard an engagement, and ordered his troops to be formed for that purpose. On the 16th of April, the duke of Cumberland having made the proper dispositions, decamped from Nairn early in the morning, and after a march of nine miles perceived the Highlanders drawn up in order of battle, to the number of four thousand men, in thirteen divisions, supplied with some pieces of artillery. The royal army, which was much more numerous, the duke immediately formed into three lines, disposed in excellent order: and about one o'clock in the afternoon the cannonading began. The artillery of the rebels was ill served, and did very little execution; but that of the king's troops made dreadful havoc among the enemy. Impatient of this fire, their front line advanced to the attack, and about five hundred of the clans charged the duke's left wing with their usual impetuosity. One regiment was disordered by the weight of this column; but two battalions advancing from the second line, sustained the first, and soon put a stop to their career, by a severe fire that killed a great number. At the same time, the dragoons under Hawley, and the Argyleshire militia pulled down a park wall that covered their right flank, and the cavalry falling in among the rebels, sword in hand, completed their confusion. The French picquets on their left, covered the retreat of the Highlanders by a close and regular fire; and then retired to Inverness, where they surrendered themselves prisoners of war. An entire body of the rebels marched off the field with their pipes playing, and the pretender's standard displayed; the rest were routed with great slaughter; and their prince was, with reluctance prevailed upon to retire. In less than thirty minutes they were totally defeated, and the field covered with the slain (*g*). The vanquished adventurer rode off the field accompanied by the duke of Perth, lord Elcho, and a few horsemen: he crossed the water of Nairn, and retired to the house of a gentleman in Strutharrick, where he conferred with old lord Lovat; then he dismissed his followers, and wandered about, a wretched and solitary fugitive, among the isles and mountains for the space of five months, during which he underwent such a series of dangers, hardships, and misery, as no other person ever out lived. Thus, in one short hour, all his hope vanished, and the rebellion was entirely extinguished. When the news of the battle arrived in England, the nation was transported with joy, and extolled the duke of Cumberland as a hero and deliverer. Both houses of parliament congratulated his majesty on the auspicious event. They decreed, in the most solemn manner, their public thanks to his Royal Highness, which were transmitted to him by the speakers; and the commons, by bill, added five and twenty thousand pounds per annum to his former revenue.

Immediately after the decisive action at Culloden, the duke took possession of Inverness, where six-and-thirty deserters, convicted by a court-martial, were ordered to be executed: then he detached several parties to ravage the country. One of these apprehended the lady Mackintosh, who was sent prisoner to Inverness. They did not plunder her house, but drove away her cattle, though her husband was actually in the service of government. The castle of lord Lovat was destroyed. The French prisoners were sent to Carlisle and Penrith: Kilmarnock, Balmerino, Cromartie, and his son the lord Macleod were conveyed by sea to London; and those of an inferior rank were confined in different prisons. The marquis of Tullibardine, together with a brother of the earl of Dunmore, were seized, and transported to the Tower of London, to which the earl of Traquaire had been committed on suspicion: in a few months after the battle of Culloden, Murray the pretender's secretary, was apprehended; and the eldest son of lord Lovat, having surrendered himself, was imprisoned in the castle of Edinburgh. In a word, all the gaols of Great Britain, from the capital northwards, were filled with those unfortunate captives; and great numbers of them were crowded together in the holds of ships, where they perished in the most deplorable manner, for want of necessaries, air, and exercise. Some rebel chiefs, escaped in two French frigates, which had arrived on the coast of Lochaber about the end of April, and engaged three vessels belonging to his Britannic majesty, which they obliged to retire. Others embarked on board of a ship on the coast of Buchan; and were conveyed to Norway, from thence they travelled to Sweden. In the month of May, the duke of Cumberland advanced with the army into the Highlands, as far as Fort Augustus, where he encamped; and sent off detachments on all hands, to hunt down the fugitives, and lay waste the country with fire and sword. The castles of Glengary and Lochiel were plundered and burned: every house, hut, or habitation, met with the same fate, without distinction: all the cattle and provision were carried off: the men were either shot upon the mountains, like wild beasts, or put to death in cold blood, without form of trial: the women, after having seen their husbands and fathers murdered, were subjected to brutal violation, and then turned out naked, with their children, to starve on the barren heaths. One whole family was enclosed in a barn, and consumed to ashes. Those ministers of vengeance were so alert in the execution of their office, that in a few days there was neither house, cottage, man, nor beast, to be seen in the compass of fifty miles: all was ruin, silence, and desolation.

The humane reader cannot reflect upon such a scene without grief and horror: what then must have been the sensation of the fugitive prince, when he beheld these spectacles of woe, the dismal fruit of his ambition? He was now surrounded by armed troops, that chased him from hill to dale, from rock to cavern, and from shore to shore. Sometimes he lurked in caves and cottages, without attendants, or any other support but that which the poorest peasant could supply. Sometimes he was rowed in fisher-boats from isle to isle, among the Hebrides, and often in sight of his pursuers. For some days he appeared in woman's attire, and even passed through the midst of his enemies unknown. But, understanding his disguise was discovered, he assumed the habit of a travelling mountaineer, and wandered about among the woods and heaths, with a matted beard and squalid looks, exposed to hunger, thirst, and weariness, and in continual danger of being apprehended. He was obliged to trust his life to the fidelity of above fifty individuals, and many of these were in the lowest paths of fortune. They knew that a price of thirty thousand pounds was set upon his head; and that, by betraying him, they should enjoy wealth and affluence: but they detested the thought of obtaining riches on such infamous terms, and ministered to his necessities with the utmost zeal and fidelity, even at the hazard of their own destruction. One day, having walked from morning till night, he ventured to enter a house, the owner of which

(*g*) The road, as far as Inverness, was strewed with dead bodies; and a great number of people, who, from motives of curiosity, had come to see the battle, were sacrificed to the undistinguishing vengeance of the victors. Twelve hundred rebels were slain or wounded on the field, and in the pursuit. The earl of Kilmarnock was taken; and in a few days lord Balmerino surrendered to a country gentleman, at whose house he presented himself for this purpose. The glory of the victory was sullied by the barbarity of the soldiers. They had been provoked by their former disgraces to the most savage thirst of revenge. Not contented with the blood which was so profusely shed in the heat of action, they traversed the field after the battle, and massacred those miserable wretches who lay maimed and expiring: nay, some officers acted a part in this cruel scene of assassination, the triumph of low illiberal minds uninspired by sentiment, untinctured by humanity.



DEPARTURE OF THE PRETENDER FROM SCOTLAND.

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he well knew was attached to the opposite party. As he entered, he addressed the master of the house in the following manner: "The son of your king comes to beg a little bread and a few cloaths. I know your present attachment to my adversaries, but I believe you have sufficient honour not to abuse my confidence, or take advantage of my distressed situation. Take these rags that have for some time been my only covering; you may probably restore them to me one day when I shall be seated on the throne of Great Britain." The master of the house was touched with pity at his distress; he assisted him as far as he was able, and never divulged the secret. There were few of those who even wished his destruction, would choose to be the immediate actors in it, as it would subject them to the resentment of a numerous party. In the course of these peregrinations, he was more than once hemmed in by his pursuers, in such a manner as seemed to preclude all possibility of escaping: yet he was never abandoned by his hope and recollection: he still found some expedient that saved him from captivity and death; and through the whole course of his distresses maintained the most amazing equanimity and good humour. At length a privateer of St. Malo, hired by the young Sheridan and some other adherents, arrived in Lochnannach; and on the 20th of September, this unfortunate prince embarked in the habit which he wore for disguise. He was clad in a short coat of black frieze, threadbare, over which was a common Highland plaid, girt round him by a belt, from whence depended a pistol and a dagger. He had not been shifted for many weeks. His eyes were hollow, his visage wan, and his constitution greatly impaired by famine and fatigue. He was accompanied by Cameron of Lochiel, and his brother, with a few other exiles. They set sail for France on the 10th of August, 1746, and after having passed unseen, by means of a thick fog, through a British squadron commanded by admiral Lestock, and been chased by two English ships of war, arrived in safety at Roseau, near Morlaix, in Bretagne. Perhaps he would have found it still more difficult to escape, had not the vigilance and eagerness of the government been relaxed, in consequence of a report, that he had already fallen among some persons that were slain by a volley from one of the duke's detachments.

Having thus explained the rise, progress, and extinction of the rebellion, it will be necessary to take a retrospective view of the proceedings against the rebellious. In June, an act of attainder was passed against the principal persons who had embarked in that desperate undertaking; and courts were opened in different parts of England, for the trial of the prisoners. Seventeen officers of the rebel army were executed at Kennington Common in the neighbourhood of London, and suffered with great constancy under the dreadful tortures which their sentence prescribed: nine were put to death, in the same manner, at Carlisle: six at Brumpton, seven at Penrith, and eleven at York: of these a considerable number were gentlemen, and had acted as officers; about fifty had been executed as deserters in different parts of Scotland: eighty-one suffered the pains of the law as traitors. A few obtained pardons, and a considerable number were transported to the plantations. Bills of indictment for high-treason were found by the county of Surrey against the earls of Kilmarnock and Cromartie, and lord Balmerino. These noblemen were tried by their peers in Westminster Hall, the lord chancellor presiding as lord high steward for the occasion. The two earls confessed their crimes, and in pathetic speeches recommended themselves to his majesty's mercy. Lord Balmerino pleaded not guilty: he denied his having been at Carlisle at the time specified in the indictment, but this exception was over-ruled: then he moved a point of law in arrest of judgement, and was allowed to be heard by his counsel. They might have expatiated on the hardships of being tried by an *ex post facto* law, and claimed the privilege of trial in the country where the act of treason was said to have been committed. The same hardship was imposed upon all the imprisoned rebels: they were dragged in captivity to a strange country, far from their friends and connexions, destitute of means to produce evidence in their favour, even if they had been innocent of the charge. Balmerino waved this plea, and submitted to the court, which pronounced sentence of death upon him and his two associates. Cromartie's life was spared; but the other two were beheaded, on the 18th of August, on Tower Hill (*h*). In November, Mr. Radcliffe, the titular earl of Derwentwater, who had been taken in a ship bound to Scotland, was arraigned on a former sentence, passed against him in the year 1716: he refused to acknowledge the authority of the court, and pleaded that he was a subject of France, honoured with a commission in the service of his most christian majesty. The identity of his person being proved, a rule was made for his execution, and on the 8th of December he suffered decapitation, with the most perfect composure and serenity. Lord Lovat, now turned of fourscore, was impeached by the commons, and tried in Westminster Hall before the lord high steward. John Murray, secretary to the prince pretender, and some of his own domestics appearing against him, he was convicted of high treason, and condemned. Notwithstanding his age, infirmities, and the recollection of his conscience, which was supposed to be not altogether void of offence, he died like an old Roman, exclaiming, "*Dulce et decorum pro patria mori.*" He surveyed the crowd with attention, examined the axe, jested with the executioner, and laid his head upon the block with the utmost indifference. From this last scene of his life one would have concluded, that he had approved himself a patriot from his youth, and never deviated from the paths of virtue. Thus ended the last effort of the family of the Stuarts for re-ascending the throne of England.

When the people had in some measure recovered from their consternation on account of the rebellion, the legislature undertook to establish several regulations in Scotland, which were equally conducive to the happiness of the people and the tranquillity of the united kingdoms. The Highlanders had till this time continued to wear the old military dress of their ancestors, and never went without arms. In consequence of this, they considered themselves as a body of people distinct from the rest of the nation, and were ready upon the shortest notice to second the insurrections of their chiefs. But their habits were now reformed by an act of the legislature, and they were compelled to wear cloaths of the common fashion. That, however, which contributed most to their real felicity, was the abolition of that hereditary jurisdiction which the chiefs exerted over them. The power of their chieftains was totally destroyed, and every subject in that part of the kingdom was granted a participation of the common liberty.

During the time that England was thus convulsed at home, the flames of war continued to rage upon the continent with increasing violence. The arms of France were crowned with repeated success, and almost the whole of the Netherlands were reduced under the dominion of the Gallic sovereign. The Dutch negociated, supplicated, and evaded the war; but they found themselves every day stripped of some of those strong towns which formed a barrier to their dominions, and which they had been put in possession of by the victories of the duke of Marlborough. They now lay almost defenceless, and ready to receive the terms of the conquerors, their national bravery being quite overcome by the spirit of commerce and luxury.

The Dutch were at this time divided by factions which had subsisted for above a century in their republic. The one declared for the prince of Orange and a stadtholder, the other opposed this election, and desired rather friendship than to be at variance with France. The prevalence of either of these factions to its utmost extent was equally fatal to freedom; for, if a stadtholder were elected, the constitution would become altered from a republic to a kind of limited monarch; if, on the contrary, the opposite party prevailed, the people must submit to a kind of aristocracy, supported by French power, and liable to its control. Of the two evils they chose the former: the people of several towns, inflamed almost to sedition, compelled their magistrates to declare the prince of Orange stadtholder, captain-general, and admiral of the United Provinces. The vigorous consequences of this resolution immediately appeared. All commerce with the French was prohibited; the Dutch army was augmented, and orders were issued

(*h*) Kilmarnock was a nobleman of fine personal accomplishments; he had been educated in revolutionary principles, and engaged in the rebellion, partly from the desperate situation of his fortune, and partly from resentment to the government, on his being deprived of a pension which he had for some time enjoyed. He was convinced of his having acted criminally, and died with marks of penitence and contrition. Balmerino had been bred to arms, and acted upon principle: he was gallant, brave, rough, and resolute; he eyed the implements of death with the most careless familiarity, and seemed to triumph in his sufferings.

to commence hostilities against the French by sea and land. Thus the war, which had begun but in a single country, was now diffused over all Europe; and like a pestilential disease prevailed in different parts of this great political constitution, remitting and raging in rotation.

The king of Sardinia, who had some years before joined France against England, now changed sides, and declared against the ambitious power of France. Italy felt all the terrors of intestine war, or more properly surveyed, while foreigners were contending with each other for her usurped dominions. The French and Spaniards on one side, and the Imperialists and the king of Sardinia on the other, ravaged those beautiful territories by turns, and gave laws to a country that had once swayed the sceptre over the greater part of the then known world.

On the 30th of September, the English landed a body of forces at Quimperley Bay, ten miles from Port l'Orient, upon which sea port they made an unsuccessful attempt, though the place was but weakly defended, and drew off their troops in a panic. The next day general Sinclair advanced into the country, skirmishing with the enemy in his route; and arrived at the village of Plemure, within half a league from Port l'Orient, summoned that place to surrender. He was visited by a deputation from the town, which offered to admit the British forces on condition that they should be restrained from pillaging the inhabitants, and touching the magazines; and that they should pay a just price for their provisions. These terms being rejected, the inhabitants prepared for a vigorous defence; and the English general resolved to besiege the place in form, though he had neither time, artillery, nor forces sufficient for such an enterprize. This strange resolution was owing to the declaration of the engineers, who promised to lay the place in ashes in the space of four-and-twenty hours. All his cannon amounted to no more than a few field-pieces; and he was obliged to wait for two iron guns, which the sailors dragged up from the shipping. Had he given the assault on the first night after his arrival, when the town was filled with terror and confusion, and destitute of regular troops, in all probability it would have been easily taken by scalade: but the reduction of it was rendered impracticable by his delay. The ramparts were mounted with cannon from the ships in the harbour: new works were raised with great industry: the garrison was reinforced by several bodies of regular troops; and great numbers were assembling from all parts; so that the British forces were in danger of being surrounded in an enemy's country. Notwithstanding these discouragements, they opened a small battery against the town, which was set on fire in several places by their bombs and red hot bullets: they likewise repulsed part of the garrison which had made a sally to destroy their works: but their cannon producing no effect upon the fortifications, the fire from the town daily increasing, the engineers owning they could not perform their promise, and admiral Lestock declaring, in repeated messages, that he could no longer expose the ships on an open coast at such a season of the year, general Sinclair abandoned the siege. Having caused the two iron pieces of cannon and the mortars to be spiked, he retreated in good order to the sea-side, where his troops were re-embarked, having sustained very inconsiderable damage since their first landing. He expected reinforcements from England, was resolved to wait a little longer for their arrival, in hopes of being able to annoy the enemy more effectually. In the beginning of October the fleet sailed to Quiberon Bay, where they destroyed the Ardent, a French ship of war of sixty-four guns; and a detachment of the forces being landed, took possession of a fort on the peninsula; while the little islands of Houat and Heydic were reduced by the sailors. In this situation the admiral and general continued till the 17th of the month, when the forts being dismantled, and the troops re-embarked, the fleet sailed from the French coast; the admiral returned to England, and the transports with the soldiers proceeded to Ireland, where they arrived in safety.

The French gained a considerable victory at Roucroux in Flanders, although it procured them no real advantage, and cost them as many lives as they destroyed of the enemy. Another victory, which they obtained at La Feldt, served to depress the allied army still lower. But the taking of Bergen op Zoom, the strongest fortification of Dutch Brabant, reduced the Dutch to a state of desperation. These victories gained by the French were, however, counterbalanced with almost equal disappointments. In Italy, the marshal Belleisle's brother attempted to penetrate, at the head of thirty-four thousand men, into Piedmont, but was routed, and himself slain. An unsuccessful fleet was sent out for the recovery of Cape Breton. Two more were fitted out, the one to make a descent upon the British colonies in America, and another to carry on the operations in the East Indies; but these were attacked by Anson and Warren, and nine of their ships taken. Soon after this, commodore Fox, with six ships of war, took above forty French ships richly laden from St. Domingo; and this loss was soon after followed by another defeat, which the French fleet sustained from admiral Hawke, in which seven ships of the line, and several frigates were taken.

In this manner victory, defeat, negociation, treachery, and rebellion, succeeded each other in quick succession for some years, till all sides began to think themselves getting more feeble, and gaining no solid advantage; and consequently growing tired of the war, they came to the resolution that a negociation should be set on foot. The contending powers therefore agreed to assemble a congress at Aix la Chapelle, in the beginning of 1748, where the earl of Sandwich and sir Thomas Robinson assisted as plenipotentiaries from the king of Great Britain. Though the preliminary articles were signed in the spring, the definitive treaty was not completed till October the 7th, 1748. This famous treaty was begun upon the conditions of restoring all conquests made during the war. From thence great hopes were expected of conditions both favourable and honourable to the English; but the treaty still remains a lasting mark of precipitate counsels and English disgrace. By this it was agreed, that all prisoners on each side should be mutually restored, and all conquests given up. That the duchies of Parma, Placentia, and Guastalla, should be ceded to Don Philip, heir-apparent to the Spanish throne, and to his heirs; but in case of his succeeding to the crown of Spain, and then these dominions should revert to the house of Austria. It was confirmed that the fortifications of Dunkirk towards the sea should be demolished; that the English ships annually sent with slaves to the coast of New Spain should have this privilege for four years. That the king of Prussia should be confirmed in the possession of Silesia, which he had lately conquered; and that the queen of Hungary should be secured in her patrimonial dominions. But one article of the treaty was more displeasing to the English than all the rest. It was stipulated that the king of Great Britain should immediately, after the ratification of the articles, send two persons of rank and distinction to France as hostages, until restitution should be made of Cape Breton, and all other conquests which England had made during the war. This was a mortifying clause; but to add to the general error of negociation, no mention was made of the searching the vessels of England in the American seas, upon which the war was originally begun. The limits of their respective possessions in North America were not ascertained; nor did they receive any equivalent for those forts which they restored to the enemy. The treaty of Utrecht had long been the object of reproach to those by whom it was made; but, with all its faults, the treaty now concluded was by far more despicable and erroneous. Yet such was the spirit of the times, that the treaty of Utrecht was branded with universal contempt, and the treaty of Aix la Chapelle was extolled with the highest strains of panegyric. But the people were wearied with repeated disgrace, and only expecting an accumulation of misfortunes by a continuance of the war, they were glad of any peace that promised a pause to their disappointments.

CHAP. II.

WHILE the inhabitants of Great Britain were solacing themselves with the pleasing thoughts of a termination of the war, the king, who had passed some months on the continent, returned to the personal government of his realm. He was received with popular acclamations; and the peace which he had concluded, though not entirely satisfactory, was celebrated with great festivity (*i*).

(*i*) Splendid fire-works were exhibited in St. James's Park, at Dublin, at the Hague, and other places, which were highly calculated to work upon the minds of the populace.

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When the parliament met on the 29th of November, 1748, the king in his speech observed, that, by the late negociation, he had secured the rights and interests of his people, and had obtained for his associates in the war, the most favourable terms that the posture of affairs would allow: he intimated that he had made some progress in the diminution of the public expences; requested supplies for the execution of engagements already contracted; and recommended a reduction of the national debt, an encouragement of commerce, and an attention to all the arts of peace.

The prince of Wales, not being satisfied with the conduct of the ministry, nor with the treatment which he had received from his father, who had never yet complimented him with the honours of the regency, or admitted him to any share in the government, had manifested an intention of opposing, by the medium of his friends and servants, the parliamentary proceedings of the court. His revival of the ancient powers annexed to the dukedom of Cornwall, by which he would have acquired great influence in the elections for that county, alarmed the ministers; and they resolved to counteract his schemes and pretensions.

Notwithstanding the secession of the prince's friends from the court, a very considerable majority, in both houses, continued to support the administration. When it was proposed in the lower house, that the address of thanks for the harangue of the sovereign should convey a strong approbation of the terms of the peace, the partizans of Frederic, among whom the earl of Egmont was the principal speaker, condemned such praise as undeserved, and vilified the treaty as premature, imperfect, and dishonourable: but the courtiers defended it as the best which could be obtained under the existing circumstances; and the address passed without amendment.

Vehement debates were occasioned when the pecuniary demands of the court were brought forward; but all the objections of the antiministerialists were overpowered. The statement of the debts contracted in various departments produced just complaints of the profusion of the government, which had been so liberally supplied by the nation. For liquidating these debts, answering the engagements of the crown to foreign powers, maintaining the army and navy, and other purposes, above eight millions were granted. An extraordinary demand of a hundred thousand pounds, for the use of the queen of Hungary, aroused a lively indignation at the rapacity of that princess, and the subserviency of the court of England to her will.

Great alarm was excited by the production of a bill for the regulation of the navy; the chief purport of which was to render half-pay officers amenable to martial law. Some admirals and many captains petitioned against this bill; but, after a spirited debate, their request to be heard by counsel against the noxious clauses was exploded. A clause which prohibited the disclosure of the opinions or proceedings of a court-martial by the members of it, gave great disgust, as it tended to encourage partiality and injustice; but the house refused to amend it. The clause, however, which related to half-pay officers, the ministry consented to relinquish. Some innovations in the mutiny-bill were debated with vehemence; and frequent divisions attended its progress. The exorbitant power of the commander in chief, who was allowed to select the members of a court-martial, and to revise and alter the sentence; the demand of an oath of secrecy from the persons composing the court; and the extension of military law to officers on half-pay; were condemned in strong terms. Pitt, in his ministerial character, controverted the objections which were made on this occasion.

The affairs of commerce and navigation too were diligently examined, that proper steps might be taken for the improvement of those departments: but the effect of this investigation did not appear before the next session. Several motions were made for the production of papers relative to the late peace; but the courtiers contrived to hinder their being produced. At length the parliament was prorogued on the 13th of June; and the king said, that the powers concerned in the late war had expressed themselves "in so clear and friendly a manner, as left no room to doubt of their sincere disposition to render the peace lasting in all parts:" and he intimated his joy on finding public credit in so flourishing a condition, at the end of an expensive "though necessary" war.

While the European powers were cultivating the arts of peace, the Algerines insulted the British nation by the seizure of a packet, which they plundered of money and other property, nearly to the amount of a hundred thousand pounds, before they dismissed her. Keppel was sent with a small squadron, to demand restitution of the spoils of the vessel; but no satisfaction was obtained, nor was any resentment testified for the refusal of it. The delay of the usual presents to the rapacious dey had induced him to pillage the British ship; and the English court, with mean condescension to a contemptible state, and from motives of sordid policy, renewed the tribute granted to the African pirates. An envoy from the dey arrived in England in the autumn, and pacified the king by presents and apologies. Some indignities were also offered to the king, in the messenger he had sent to treat for the redemption of British captives in the empire of Morocco, and who, refusing to comply with the barbarians's demand of pretended arrears, was subjected to degradation and ignominious restraint. A new treaty of amity was afterwards concluded between the king and the Moorish tyrant.

The spirit of opposition to the court of England, which had revived in the last session of parliament, was strengthened by the endeavours of the prince of Wales, who met with some success in the extension of his parliamentary influence. But his party did not embarrass or interrupt the measures of government. His scheme, however, respecting the duchy of Cornwall was still under the consideration of his friends.

On the 16th of November, the parliament again met, when the king, in his speech, extolled the treaty of Aix la Chapelle, and the pacific disposition of the several courts, and recommended a reduction of the national debt. The address met with considerable opposition in the lower house, because it congratulated the king on the "complete re-establishment of a general peace," and on the "good disposition" of the contracting parties for preserving it. The earl of Egmont condemned that criminal complaisance which did not scruple to assert known falsehoods; alledging, that the dispute between this kingdom and Spain was still undecided; that the queen of Hungary and the king of Sardinia were not sincerely disposed to the maintenance of a peace that had been forced upon them; and that the French were watching every opportunity of encroachment. Various other arguments were used against the address; but, after a vehement debate, it passed without alteration.

A considerable diminution of the annual supplies, which were now lowered to a sum scarcely exceeding four miltions one hundred thousand pounds, took place: but, out of the grants which composed it, one million was assigned to the payment of a loan of the preceding session. The chief debate which occurred in the course of these grants related to the army, which the court wished to retain without ulterior reduction. The annual bill for the regulation of the army underwent some alterations favourable to the wishes of those who aimed at the restraint of royal and military influence. It was ordained, that the oath of secrecy should not prevent a full disclosure from the members of a court-martial, when they should be required to give evidence in the courts of common law (*k*). It was also provided by the bill, that no sentence of a martial tribunal should be liable to be revised more than once.

The execution of that article of the treaty which related to Dunkirk had hitherto been delayed by the French; and the prince recommended to the earl of Egmont to make a motion for a perfect account of that harbour and town; but Pelham objected to the interference of the noble lord, and held out the prospect of a strict compliance with the treaty on the part of France (*l*).

Pelham adjusted the scheme for the reduction of the national debt with prudence and address. When the commons took this subject into consideration, he proposed, that the proprietors of the stocks, for which an interest of four *per cent.* was now paid, should continue to receive that proportion for another year, and should then have only three and a half for seven years; from which period the interest should be reduced to three *per cent.* As the

(*k*) This qualification of an odious clause was not only supported by the earl of Egmont and his confederates, but even by the attorney and solicitor general; while it was opposed by Pelham and Pitt.

(*l*) The opposition of the minister to this motion exposed him to the censure of being the dupe of the French court; but he was defended by Pitt, and found no difficulty in baffling the proposal.

duties

duties appropriated to the payment of the present interest, would, in consequence of the reduction, furnish a considerable surplus, he proposed, that the excess should be added to the sinking fund. The house, after some cavils from the prince's party, adopted the suggestions of the minister, and a bill was prepared on that basis. The Bank, East India, and South Sea corporations testified a great reluctance to the acceptance of terms which tended to such a manifest diminution of their income; and many persons who had scarcely a sufficient revenue from the funds for the support of life, and had no other dependence, complained of what they deemed a breach of faith in the government. The majority of the proprietors accepted the proposals of the minister, but the three companies remained for some time obstinate, though they at last acquiesced (*m*).

Several bills for the advancement of commerce passed the two houses in this session. One of these related to the cultivation of the fisheries on the British coast, by which the Dutch had long profited in consequence of the neglect of the natives. This bill established a society for the direction of that important concern; and granted privileges and bounties to the promoters of it. Three bills also were passed which promoted the importation of Persian, Chinese, and American raw silk; and another for the improvement of the trade to Africa.

A contested election for Westminster had attracted the notice of the public, from the extraordinary zeal of the two parties, and the confusion and disturbance with which it was accompanied. The candidates were lord Trentham and sir George Vandeput; the former of whom, having been appointed one of the commissioners of the admiralty, had offered himself for re-election, for which he obtained a majority of votes. The demand of a scrutiny having delayed the return, notice was taken in the house of commons, of the neglect of answering the writ; and the high bailiff being summoned to appear at the bar, received orders to expedite the business, with an assurance of the house against all who should obstruct him in the discharge of his duty. Though the scrutiny proved favourable to the ministerial candidate, by which it appeared that he had a majority of a hundred and seventy-six legal votes, his opponent, by protracting the decision, kept him out of the house for the whole session; which was closed on the 12th of April, 1750, with the usual acknowledgements from the throne.

Among the grants of this session, considerable sums had been assigned for the support and enlargement of the colony of Nova Scotia, to which fresh migrations were made this year. The colonists were exposed to the insults of the Indians, whom the provincials of Canada had instigated to harrass them; and the French inhabitants of Nova Scotia were inclined to co-operate with the savages. The British governor having sent an armed party towards Chignecto, the Indians and their associates retired beyond a line which they pretended to be the boundary of the Canadian territories, though it included the greater part of the British province. In another expedition, the confederates were defeated by major-general Lawrence; but petty hostilities continued; notwithstanding which the settlement began to flourish (*n*).

By the treaty of Aix la Chapelle, the French had engaged to evacuate the neutral islands; but so little attention had been paid to this engagement by the marquis de Caylus, the governor of the French Antilles, that the earl of Albemarle remonstrated, in the name of his sovereign, against the delay of execution. Renewed orders, at his desire, were immediately sent to the West Indies; but the Gallic encroachments were not altogether discontinued. The king having made another voyage to the continent, amused himself with a German negociation. He now wished to secure the reversion of the imperial crown to Joseph, the son of Maria Theresa. He offered subsidies to those princes who would engage to vote for the young archduke. Several of these petty sovereigns were inclined to accept his proposals; and the elector of Bavaria, for the annual sum of forty thousand pounds (of which, as usual, the subjects of Great Britain were to pay the greater part,) agreed to keep six thousand foot ready for the service of the maritime powers, and to vote for the succession of Joseph. The king of Prussia, however, opposed this scheme, and threatened the confederates with formidable obstructions.

Another negociation was carried on with the court of Spain, at the conclusion of which, on the 24th of September, 1750, it was agreed, that no greater duties should be paid by the British merchants, than they had been accustomed to pay under Charles II. of Spain; that they might procure salt without hindrance in the island of Tortuga; and that the Spanish king should pay one hundred thousand pounds to the South Sea company, on surrendering their claims to the *assiento* of negroes. The imperfection, however, of this new treaty with Spain occasioned discontent in England. The dispute respecting the Spanish claim of search, of which the English parliament insisted on the dereliction, as a necessary preliminary to peace, was not even mentioned in this treaty; and this omission gave great dissatisfaction to the merchants. When the new session commenced on the 17th of January, 1751, the earl of Egmont, sir John Hynde Cotton, and Dr. Lee, the civilian, reflected on the conduct of the ministers. As the proposed address of thanks for the opening speech congratulated the king on the conclusion of the treaty, the earl moved, that such an instance of unnecessary complaisance should be omitted, as inconsistent with the dignity of the house. Pitt opposed the motion, and in speaking of the negociations with Spain, affirmed, that we could not expect the claim of search to be relinquished, till we should have reduced that nation to the lowest state (*o*). The earl of Egmont's motion was rejected by a great majority.

The grant of a subsidy to the elector of Bavaria was vehemently opposed, as an absurd and unjustifiable profusion of the public money; but it was vindicated by Pitt as conducive to the interest of the nation, by weakening the influence of the French court in the empire, promoting the security of the house of Austria, and preserving the equipoise of European power; and the house sanctioned the measure.

A petition from many of the electors of Westminster, and another from the unsuccessful candidate, against the return of lord Trentham, as illegal, the commons instituted an inquiry into the affair. The high bailiff was subjected to an examination; and, having mentioned the delays and obstructions which had been studiously encouraged, he was desired to name the authors of those practices, and state the means which had been employed. After a long debate, arising from the objections of many of the members to these interrogations, he named three individuals. One of these (Crowle, a professor of the law,) suffered the stigma of a reprimand from the house, which he was obliged to receive kneeling. Another was committed to Newgate; and a third, (Murray, brother to lord Elibank,) being accused of having acted in a riotous and seditious manner, was ordered to be conducted to the same place of confinement (*p*). During the imprison-

(*m*) The national debt at the end of the war, which was concluded at the peace of Aix la Chapelle, amounted to seventy-one millions three hundred and forty thousand three hundred and ninety-seven pounds sixteen shillings and one farthing.

(*n*) The lords of trade and plantations published an advertisement, on the 7th of March, 1749, for the better peopling and settling of the province of Nova Scotia, promising to grant fifty acres of land (in fee simple, free from quit rents or taxes for ten years, at the expiration of which no person was to pay more than one shilling *per annum* for every fifty acres so granted) to every private soldier or seaman, and ten acres over and above to every such soldier or seaman having a family for every head in their families; eighty acres to every officer under the rank of an ensign in the land service, and lieutenant in the sea service, and fifteen acres for each person in their families; two hundred acres to each ensign, three hundred to every lieutenant, four hundred to every captain and six hundred to every officer above the rank of captain in the land service; four hundred to every lieutenant, and six hundred to every captain in the sea service, and thirty acres for every person in their families. All such persons to be subsisted on their passage, and for twelve months after their arrival. Pursuant to this notification, numbers of settlers went over, settlements were made, and Halifax, now the capital, was laid out. The same conditions that were offered to private soldiers and seamen, were offered also to artificers, necessary in building or husbandry; and those proposed to ensigns were to extend likewise to surgeons.

(*o*) He said, he did not forget, that he had formerly concurred in the address against the Spanish claim; but he was then (he observed) young and sanguine, and did not coolly reflect on every thing which he affirmed or recommended.

(*p*) To increase the mortification of this offender, it was resolved, after a spirited renewal of debate, that he should receive his sentence kneeling. To this indignity he refused to submit; and it was immediately voted by the inflamed house, that his refusal was "a high and most dangerous contempt of the authority and privilege" of the commons. He was now sent to Newgate, with an order for the preclusion of all access to him, and the prohibition of the use of pen, ink, and paper; and a committee was appointed to consider of the proper mode of chastising him for his contemptuous behaviour: but the result of this investigation was an assertion, that close imprisonment was the only punishment with which this species of contempt had ever been treated by the commons. He remained in strict confinement till the prorogation released him.

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ment of Mr. Murray, the petitioners relinquished their opposition to the return of Trentham; and the commons made no enquiry into the merits of the election.

In consequence of the death of his royal highness Frederic prince of Wales, a bill was brought in for the purpose of settling a regency, which was productive of a violent debate. His royal highness having contracted an abscess in the lungs, was carried off on the 20th of March, 1751, in the forty-fifth year of his age (*q*). As the eldest son of the deceased prince was only in the thirteenth year of his age, the king had frequent consultations with his ministers on the adjustment of a regency, depending on the probable accession of his grandson to the throne, before he should be of proper age for the exercise of royal power. The debates on this subject were long and violent, but the ill consequences which might have arisen out of its operation were done away by the length of the king's life.

This session was distinguished by a bill for the reformation of the calendar. Although it may be unnecessary to inform our scientific readers, yet it may be proper to mention, for the satisfaction of the less learned part of the community, that, between the twelve months of the calendar established by Julius Cæsar, and the real solar year, there was an inequality of almost eleven minutes; and that hence arose a difference of one day in about a hundred and thirty-three years. For this variation an allowance was made, by ordaining, that eleven days should be omitted in the following year (between the 2nd and 14th days of September;) and it was also provided, that the year, instead of beginning at Lady-day, should commence on the first day of January. Thus the British style, after a long interval of inconvenient difference, coalesced with that which had prevailed on the continent from the time of pope Gregory the Thirteenth (*r*). The bill which proposed this computation met with some obstruction from prejudice and superstition; but, being promoted by the more enlightened members of the house, it passed into a law (*s*). The session was closed on the 25th of June, with a desire, that the members would not suffer the good laws which were enacted to lose their effect for want of due execution.

The divisions in the cabinet terminated in the triumph of the two ministerial brothers over the duke of Bedford and his friends. The earl of Sandwich, his chief adviser, was dismissed from the presidency of the admiralty, in which he had succeeded the duke; and his grace resigned the office of secretary of state, to which he had been appointed on the retreat of the earl of Chesterfield (*t*). Lord Trentham also relinquished his official situation; and the other adherents of the duke were removed. These were joined by some of the partizans of the deceased prince of Wales; but their views of opposition gave no alarm to the court party.

The king still pursued his favourite scheme of elevating the archduke Joseph; but it was opposed and counteracted by Frederic king of Prussia. The king of Poland, in his electoral capacity, acceded to the proposition; and became, by a new treaty, a subsidiary to Great Britain and the states general for the annual sum of forty-eight thousand pounds! but various difficulties yet remained to be overcome. At the next meeting of parliament, the 14th of November, 1751, the king informed the assembly of his engagements with the Saxon elector, and intimated, that the death of his son-in-law, the prince of Orange, (which had happened in the preceding month,) had made no alteration in the affairs of the Dutch republic, or in his union with that state; and recommended the adoption of some provisions for the suppression of robbery and violence. The addresses for this speech were voted without opposition.

The first business of the commons related to the bold North Briton who had defied the house. Lord Coke moved that Mr. Murray should be recommitted to prison; and, after a short debate, in which Pelham concurred with the mover, the house agreed to the proposition: but it appeared that the offender had quitted the kingdom (*u*). The supplies now granted did not amount to quite four millions. The subsidy consequent on the late convention with the elector of Saxony, was opposed by sir John Hynde Cotton and others of the same party; and renewed invectives were thrown out against the system of bribing the princes of the continent for purposes which had little connection with the interests of this island: but a powerful majority sanctioned the grant. In the upper house, the duke of Bedford moved for an address to the king, remonstrating against the contraction of subsidiary engagements in a time of general tranquillity; but this uncourtly proposition was resisted by the eloquence of earl Granville; and it was rejected by the house. On the following day, the lords Harley and Strange recommended, in vain, the same point to the commons.

Great opposition was likewise made to a bill which concerned some of the Scottish estates forfeited by the rebellion of their proprietors. The lands of the earl of Cromartie and others were proposed to be annexed inalienably to the crown, that the annual produce might be applied to the purposes of civilising the Highlanders, and promoting among them the progress of the protestant religion, of industry, order, and loyalty. By a former act, the estates of the rebels were ordered to be sold, if the crown should not satisfy all claims upon them; but, as it was apprehended, that they might be purchased in trust for the relatives of the forfeiting individuals, and that a spirit of disloyalty might thus subsist among the tenants and the inhabitants of the vicinity, the king resolved to retain possession of those districts in which disaffection had been most prevalent. Vehement debates took place, and in every division which attended the course of this bill, there was a great majority in favour of the court.

The frequency of rapine and violence about this period gave rise to two acts. As many of the places of public amusement in London and its vicinity were deemed schools of vice and profligacy, and nurseries of thieves and ruffians, one of these statutes provided for the suppression of such haunts, unless they should be licensed by the magistrates, and for the punishment of those individuals who should keep disorderly houses. The other, with a view to deter persons more effectually from the guilt of murder, ordained, that all who should be convicted of it should suffer death on the second day after condemnation, and that their bodies should be anatomised.

An East-India company having been erected at Embden by the king of Prussia, the jealousy of the English was roused, and an act was passed which prohibited all the subjects of his majesty from promoting, by loan or insurance, the success or security of foreign ships trading to India. The farther consideration of a different branch of commerce occasioned an act for divesting the African company of its charter, lands, forts, and stores, (with the allowance of a just compensation,) and establishing a new society, whose powers should be vested in a committee, merely authorised to regulate the trade, and provide, at the public expence, for the protection of the settlements, without excluding the generality of the people from a concern in the traffic (*v*).

His majesty being anxious for the prosecution of his Germanic schemes, dismissed the two houses on the 26th of March, 1752, and again made a voyage to the continent. He endeavoured to subdue the reluctance of Frederic to the purposed election of Joseph; but his application to the court of Berlin was ineffectual. The British king was

(*q*) It is the general practice, when heirs to a crown die before they obtain possession of it, to praise them beyond their deserts: this practice was pursued with regard to Frederic; and he was represented by his panegyrists as a model of perfection. His character was indeed respectable and exemplary. He had a good capacity, a strong memory, and a clear judgement. His education had been carefully superintended, and he was diligent in his studies. He was humane, sincere, benevolent, friendly, and munificent; but some blame may be imputed to him for his eager encouragement of the opposition party to the measures of his father. He had a numerous family. Besides George, who succeeded to his pretensions, he had Edward, William, and Henry, dukes of York, Gloucester, and Cumberland; and Frederic, who died in his fifteenth year. Of his daughters, Augusta, Elizabeth, Louisa, and Carolina, the first was married to the duke of Brunswic; the second and third died unmarried; and the fourth, who was a posthumous child, was the unfortunate queen of Denmark.

(*r*) This style, however, was not perfectly accurate; for Gregory referred only to the period of the Nicene council, which met in the year 325, instead of carrying his retrospect to the commencement of the Julian supputation. Twelve days are to be omitted during the present century.

(*s*) The earl of Chesterfield informs us, that, though he presented this bill to the lords, it was prepared by the earl of Macclesfield, of whose astronomical and mathematical knowledge he speaks in high terms.

(*t*) Lord Anson succeeded the earl of Sandwich as president of the admiralty; and the earl of Holderness succeeded the duke of Bedford as secretary of state.

(*u*) A statement of Mr. Murray's case, written by Paul Whitehead, the poet, had been recently published; and, as it was marked by freedom of reflection, the house pronounced it "an impudent, malicious, scandalous, and seditious libel," and desired the king to prosecute the author, printer, and publisher: but the last individual, being brought to trial, was acquitted by the spirit of the jury.

(*v*) In the early part of this session (December 12, 1751,) died the viscount Bolingbroke.

at this time at variance with the king of Prussia on another point. Each claimed a right to East Friezeland; and George proposed, that the dispute should be decided by the aulic council of the empire; but Frederic, having possessed himself of the disputed territory, declined a reference to any tribunal. He had frequently complained of the conduct of the English, who had detained and plundered the vessels of many of his merchants during the late war, under pretence of their conveying contraband goods to the enemies of Great Britain. His demands of indemnification being rejected, he refused to pay the interest of the money due upon the loan of British subjects to the father of the queen of Hungary, regardless of the complaints of the English.

The negociations of George and his allies, for procuring the accession of the elector Palatine to the scheme of election, were now renewed; and this prince seemed inclined to concur in their views; but the exorbitancy of his pecuniary demands hindered the conclusion of a treaty. They did not, however, relinquish their favourite pursuit, till the obstacles which arose from the influence of the Prussian monarch, and the intrigues of the court of France, baffled their endeavours.

A confederacy for securing the peace of Italy was promoted by the king of England; and the treaty was signed at Aranjuez by the ministers of the courts of Vienna, Madrid, and Turin. This agreement was founded on the basis of the peace of Aix la Chapelle. Disputes, however, still subsisted between the British and Spanish courts, with regard to the navigation of the American seas. The Spaniards continued their imperious visitation of the ships which sailed near the coasts of their colonies; and in so doing occasional acts of rigour and outrage were committed. Keene remonstrated against these practices; and desired, that his catholic majesty would adopt some means for the removal of future grounds of difference: but to his frequent applications only unsatisfactory answers were given.

Although peace prevailed in Europe, yet the East India companies of France and England were engaged in hostilities, as auxiliaries to the contending princes of Hindostan. Mohammed Ali Khan having implored the aid of the English against an usurper of the principality of Arcot on the Carnatic, who was supported by Dupleix, governor of Pondicheri, the company granted him a small force, which contributed to put him in possession of his paternal territories; but he soon met with a reverse of fortune. He was enabled, however, in some measure to retrieve his affairs by the activity of Clive, one of the company's writers, who retook Arcot with facility in September, 1751, defended it about two months against a superior force, and gained a series of advantages. The courage and skill of major Lawrence were also exerted in behalf of Mohammed Ali Khan; but, although the usurper was seized and put to death, the war did not terminate with the present year.

There being no necessity for the early meeting of parliament, the king, soon after his return from the continent, ordered a prorogation to the following year. The two houses therefore met on the 11th of January, 1753, when the king told them in his speech, that the nature of his views and negociations were pacific. The addresses were voted with little debate, and the ministerial estimates were readily granted. The aggregate supplies scarcely reached two million one hundred thousand pounds: no fresh duties were requisite; and the land tax was reduced.

Dissensions of a peculiar nature had lately occurred at the court of the princess dowager of Wales, which had occasioned the resignation of the earl of Harcourt and the bishop of Norwich, who, on the death of Frederic, had been respectively appointed governor and preceptor of the young heir to the crown. Finding that the chief sway in that court was exercised by Tories and Jacobites, who instilled pernicious doctrines into the young prince's mind, the earl and his associate were unwilling to continue in stations of responsibility, unless Stone, the sub-governor, and other confidential advisers of the princess dowager, were dismissed from their employments at Leicester House. Stone, and his friend the solicitor-general, were openly accused of an attachment to the pretender; but a committee of the privy council declared the charge, after enquiry, to be unsupported. After a great deal of debate the affair died away; but the public were persuaded that the charge was well founded.

The jealousy of the people was aroused by a proposal for naturalizing such Jews as would settle in Britain. The bill originated in the house of peers; and it was promoted by the ministers, who concluded, that it would extend their influence, and facilitate future loans: but the major part of the community exclaimed against it as impolitic and injurious. A most vehement debate took place on this occasion; but notwithstanding the public clamours, the advocates of the Jews pursued their aim, and the bill passed into a law.

A bill for the regulation of the preparatives to the matrimonial union also met with strong opposition. It was calculated for the prevention of clandestine marriages, by which numerous families had suffered in their honour and their happiness. Many arguments were used both for and against the bill in its several stages; but the objections, in which many of the courtiers joined with those who usually differed from them, were not so efficacious as to prevent the compliance of either house with the views of the patrons of the bill, who were supported by the exertions of the lord chancellor and other ministerial speakers. This act has been frequently evaded, but it has not been unproductive of good effects.

Some other useful acts were likewise the fruits of this session. One ordained the establishment of a national Museum, open to public inspection; composed of the library of sir Hans Sloane and his multifarious collections, of the manuscripts of the Cotton family, and of those which Harley, the minister of queen Anne, had procured at an immense expence (*w*). Other bills provided for the following purposes: for the prevention of the practice of plundering wrecked ships; for guarding against the introduction of pestilence, by an enforcement of the performance of quarantine: for abolishing the exclusive trade of the Turkey company; and for allowing the general importation of wool into this country from Ireland. After these proceedings, the two houses were prorogued, on the 7th of June, with an intimation, that foreign affairs remained in the state which had prevailed for some time.

Several riots happened in various parts of England in the course of this year, (1753;) which were principally caused by the high price of bread. These tumults were not suppressed without the effusion of blood, consequent on the calling in of the military (*x*).

An act of illiberal vengeance disgraced the government at this time: Dr. Cameron whose concern in the rebellion had subjected him to an inclusion in the act of attainder, ventured to return to North Britain; but he was soon apprehended, received sentence, and suffered death at Tyburn, notwithstanding the reputation of his private merit, and the distance of time from the suppression of the revolt (*y*).

As the affair in which Elizabeth Canning was concerned,

(*w*) These collections were removed to Montague House, Great Russel Street, Bloomsbury; and they have since been considerably augmented, particularly in the article of books, both printed and manuscript.

(*x*) It may be necessary to mention, that the highest price of the peck loaf of wheaten bread was two shillings and three pence; that is, six pence three farthings the quartern loaf. In 1811, the highest price of the peck loaf was six shillings and one penny; and that of the quartern, one shilling and six pence farthing!

(*y*) On the morning of the 17th of May, 1753, Dr. Archibald Cameron was taken from the Tower (attended by several of the yeomen and a party of the guards) to the court of King's Bench, and there arraigned upon the act of attainder passed against him and others, for being in the late rebellion, and not surrendering in due time. Admitting himself to be the identical person, judgement was pronounced against him by the court; and his execution was fixed for that day three weeks. His sentence was to be hanged, drawn, and quartered, and his head to be disposed of according to his majesty's pleasure. The court first intended his execution to be in a fortnight after the passing of the sentence; but as the doctor begged to be permitted to see his wife, who, with seven children, (entirely dependent on him for support,) were then at Lisle; the court thought proper to postpone his execution a week longer. An account of the behaviour of Dr. Cameron at Tyburn, the place of execution, on the 7th of June, was published in the Universal Magazine for that month. When he arrived at Tyburn, he looked on the officers and spectators with an undaunted and composed countenance. As soon as he was loosed from the sledge he started up, and with an heroic deportment stepped up into the cart, by the help of one of his executioners; whence, looking round, with unconcern, on all the aweful apparatus of death, he smiled. Seeing the clergyman that attended him coming up the steps, he came forward to meet him, and endeavoured with his fettered hands, to help him up, saying, "So—are you come? This is a glorious day to me! It is my new birth-day; there are more witnesses at this birth than were at my first." The clergyman asked him how he did: he answered, "Thank God, I am very well, but a little fatigued with my journey; but, blessed be God, I am now come to the end of it." On hearing one of the gentlemen who presided at the execution ask the clergyman whether he would be long about his office, Dr. Cameron immediately took the hint, and said, He required but very little time, for it was but disagreeable being there, and he was as impatient to be gone as they were. As the clergyman was going down from the cart after having performed his office, he had liked to have missed the steps, which being observed by the doctor, he said with a chearful tone of voice, "Take care how you go; I think you don't know the way so well as I do."

long occupied the attention of the public, and divided the nation into parties, it may be proper not to pass it over in silence. This artful woman affirmed, that she had been seized and conveyed to a house at Enfield Wash; that she was robbed of part of her apparel by Mary Squire, an aged gypsy; and that, on her refusal of submitting to prostitution, she was confined in a dark room, where she was reduced to the greatest danger of perishing by hunger and thirst, having only four fragments of bread and a gallon of water for the space of four weeks; but that she at length found means to escape through a window. The gypsy, being tried for the imputed robbery, was pronounced guilty by a prejudiced jury, and she would probably have suffered death, had not sir Crisp Gascoign, chief magistrate of London, investigated the case, developed the imposture, and obtained, by his active interposition, a pardon for the injured old woman. The partizans of Canning endeavoured to prove, that the witnesses who had sworn to the presence of Squire in a different place from the scene of the robbery, had committed the crime of perjury; but they were acquitted on satisfactory evidence. Canning, being tried for the same offence, was found guilty, and sentenced to be transported to North America for seven years. Her friends calumniated her prosecutors, and vilified the jurors whose verdict had consigned her to exile: but the more impartial were convinced of her guilt, and pleased with her punishment.

A new session of parliament was opened on the 15th of November, 1753. So general were the clamours of the people against the act for naturalizing the Jews, that the court thought fit to repeal it, that the multitude might be appeased. Among the acts produced this session, was one which provided for the extension of the rigours of martial law to the military servants of the East India company. Besides the deliberations which related to bills, the commons investigated the delinquency of different officers; and having voted one individual guilty of a breach of trust, and of a violation of the lottery act, they desired the king to order the prosecution of this offender, who was convicted and fined. On the 6th of April, 1754, when the king dismissed the two houses, he declared, that he should never forget "the many eminent proofs" which they had given of loyalty, wisdom, and patriotism. He, soon after, commanded a dissolution, as this was the seventh year of the parliament.

For some time the commons of Ireland had been a variance with the court. The duke of Dorset, viceroy of Ireland, had intimated, in the year 1751, that his majesty had consented to the application of a part of the surplus of the revenue for the purpose of reducing the public debt. The commons having, by vote, appropriated a certain sum, omitted, in the preamble of the bill, the mention of the royal assent, which they considered as unnecessary. Pelham and his associates were highly offended at this omission, and they supplied the uncourtly defect, before they sent back the bill to Ireland. The unpleasing alteration was immediately observed by the commons; but it did not hinder them from passing the bill. In another session, which began in the autumn of 1753, it was stated, by the lord lieutenant, that the king would "graciously consent" to the similar appropriation of an additional sum. The commons now repeated their former behaviour; and the British court again supplied the omission; but the resentment of the house produced a rejection of the bill. It was indeed expected that the remainder of the debt would have been paid without delay, and the duties assigned for the interest had been suffered to expire: the creditors of the nation therefore, disappointed both of the principal and the interest, became loud in their clamours, while a general flame was kindled among the people. To allay this ferment, the king made some official changes in favour of the popular leaders, and sent orders for satisfying the creditors of the public.

The first commissioner of the treasury, Mr. Pelham (z), dying in the spring of this year, occasioned some ministerial alterations in Great Britain. Mr. Pelham was succeeded at the board of treasury by the duke of Newcastle; and the office of chancellor of the exchequer was filled by sir William Lee, chief justice of the court of King's Bench, till it was granted to Legge, by whom it was not disgraced. On this occasion the king was inclined to promote Mr. Fox to the station of premier; but the duke so strongly opposed the appointment, that his majesty did not persist in his intention. The post of secretary of state was then offered to Mr. Fox by his royal patron, connected with the management of the house of commons, or, in other words, with the task of seducing and corrupting a majority. The duke, however, would not suffer such an employment to be given to one who was likely to prove a dangerous rival; and sir Thomas Robinson, a more subservient statesman, was appointed secretary. Mr. Pitt had flattered himself with the prospect of succeeding the duke in this office; but it was thought that even he would not be sufficiently passive.

The nation, however, was, in the mean time, threatened with a new war. French commissaries had treated with those of this kingdom, concerning the adjustment of the boundaries between the American territories of each nation; but no agreement had taken place on the subject. The English commissioners thought the claims of the French too exhorbitant to be admitted; and the conferences exhibited the artful policy of that nation. The governor of Canada, while the negociations were pending, diligently employed himself in superintending the execution of a grand scheme for connecting that extensive province, by means of numerous forts, with the settlements on the Missisippi. This project alarmed the inhabitants of British America with apprehensions of the ruin of their trade among the Indian tribes, and of frequent and formidable attacks from the French and their savage confederates. It was therefore requisite, that exertions should be made for the purpose of counteracting the ambitious views of the French in that quarter.

During the time that the French were promoting their scheme of colonial aggrandizement, many subjects belonging to Great Britain were engaged in commerce with the Indians on the banks of the Ohio, in behalf of a company erected since the conclusion of the war. The French complained that these traders intruded within the limits of their territories, and therefore harassed them. The governor of Virginia asserted the rights of his sovereign to the districts near the Ohio; and remonstrated by the medium of major Washington, against the schemes of fortification and settlement which the French were pursuing. But all expostulations were fruitless; and it plainly appeared that the French had no intention of giving satisfaction. Orders were therefore sent from England, commanding the provincial governors to expel the French from their posts on the Ohio, and to repress their encroachments in other parts. Forces were immediately levied; but before they were ready for action, the enemy seized several posts, and committed various depredations and acts of cruelty. Washington having entrenched himself on the banks of that river, in expectation of a reinforcement, a small French party approached, and insisted on his retiring from territories which did not belong to his sovereign. A skirmish ensued, in which the French commandant was slain, or (as they affirmed) wantonly murdered. The major's post was soon after attacked by a superior force, against which he acted with such spirit, that he hindered the enemy from dislodging him by storm, and obtained honourable terms: but, in his retreat, he was harassed by the Indians, with the connivance of the French officer who had agreed to the capitulation. These incidents soon led to more decisive hostilities, each nation representing the other as the aggressor.

As to the affairs of India, the rival companies still interfered in the quarrels of the native princes. Mohammed Ali Khan continued to receive aid from the English; and, on the other hand, Dupleix, having lost the chieftain whom he had supported, offered his services to the son of the deceased; but, soon neglecting him, he pretended to dispose of the dignity of nabob of Arcot to an opulent governor, from whom he procured large sums by fallacious promises. By the association of the Maissowrians and Mahrattas, he strengthened the party which opposed Mohammed. Although this prince and his auxiliaries were considerably out-numbered, they baffled the exertions of their opponents. At length Dupleix affected a desire of peace; and a congress was holden; but the negociations proved abortive. Hostilities were renewed with various success, till the arrival of M. Godeheu, who had been appointed to supersede Dupleix. The new governor early intimated his inclination to put an end to the war. His overtures were accepted, and an armistice was concluded for three months. A treaty of peace was signed on the

(z) Mr. Pelham, says Dr. Coote, was possessed of a clear head and good heart; was respectable in his public capacity, and amiable in his private character. But his memory deserves some blame for his compliance with the Germanic system of the court, which in his heart he disapproved.

11th of October, 1754; by which, besides the regulation of limits, it was agreed, that the English and French companies should never interfere in any of the disputes of the native princes.

The peace of Aix la Chapelle was not destined for permanency. The French king wished only for a cessation of war, that he might recruit his marine, and render it formidable to the English, and aimed at the establishment of his colonial power on the ruin of that of Great Britain. He had been indefatigable in his exertions ever since that treaty had been signed; and hoped to prosecute his schemes with success, before the jealousy of the English should be roused: but herein he was disappointed; for he found them ready to take arms against him before he was fully prepared to oppose them.

The ministerial interest was triumphant in the election of persons to serve in the new parliament, which had assembled, for a particular purpose, soon after the elections were completed; and the commons had then re-chosen Mr. Onslow for their speaker. The two houses being met, on the 14th of November, the king, without expressly mentioning the conduct of the French, or the danger of a rupture with that nation, stated, that he had received assurances from the king of Spain, of a firm resolution of cultivating friendship and confidence with him; represented it as his chief aim to strengthen the foundations of the general peace, and to improve the present advantages of it, for the promotion of the trade of his people, and the protection of those possessions which formed one great source of their commerce and wealth; and desired supplies not only for the ordinary services, but for guarding against all encroachments. The motion for an address was productive of a debate in the house of commons; in which the opponents of the court urged the alternative of a speedy and explicit surrender, on the part of France, of every unsupported pretension, or a declaration of war from the court of England (*a*). In the earlier votes of supply, twelve thousand seamen were allowed, while the army remained without augmentation: but, on the 25th of March, 1755, when a royal message had been sent to the commons, intimating the necessity of taking active measures for the security of the just rights and possessions of the crown in North America, the house granted a million for the augmentation of the forces by sea and land. The amount of all the grants exceeded four millions.

As there was an intention of sending troops to America, it was thought proper to make an additional clause in the mutiny bill, by which it was ordained, that the military force, raised by the provincial governors, should be liable to martial law when acting in conjunction with British troops.

In this session the debates were few and uninteresting. On the 24th of April, earl Poulet surprized the lords with a motion for an address, requesting the king, "at a conjuncture so pregnant with distress, so denunciative of danger," to remain in England for the safety both of himself and his people. The earl of Chesterfield immediately moved for an adjournment; and, on a division, Poulet stood alone. The next day, when the king prorogued the parliament, he complimented the zeal and vigour of the two houses; and, while he asserted his sincere desire of preserving the public tranquillity, he declared, that he never could entertain a thought of purchasing the name of peace, at the expence of submitting to flagrant encroachment (*b*).

When news was brought to England of the great naval preparations of France, and of the expected departure of a strong armament to America, the king gave orders for the equipment of a squadron, the command of which was given to vice-admiral Boscawen, who was authorized to attack the French without ceremony.

The duke de Mirepoix, the French ambassador at London, endeavoured to convince the English ministry that his master was pacifically inclined. The proposals for adjusting the dispute which he made were not approved; and he, in turn, objected to those offered by the British minister. When he complained of the sailing of Boscawen, he was told, that the king had no other view than to defend his rights and possessions, and that he would carefully avoid being an aggressor.

The people were eager for the commencement of a new war, though they had not recovered from the distresses of the last; and, when the vice-admiral had sailed, they waited with impatience for the news of a victory over the Gallic fleet. They were soon gratified with information of important captures; but they were not satisfied.

When Boscawen arrived off Newfoundland, he waited the approach of the French fleet, which soon reached that coast in its passage to the river St. Lawrence. M. de la Mothe, the French admiral, was highly favoured by fogs; but two detached ships were discovered by captains Howe and Andrews, and an action was fought in June, 1755, which terminated in the surrender of the two French ships. The French complained of this attack upon their ships, as a gross violation of faith; and accused the English of entertaining the same schemes against them, which their adversaries affirmed they fondly cherished, and had begun to execute to the prejudice of the British colonies.

Orders were now issued generally for the seisure of French ships; and several squadrons were sent out for the purposes of interception. The business of shipbuilding was prosecuted with ardour; and vessels, purchased from individuals for the public service, were expeditiously equipped for war. So active were the cruisers that they met with great success. The French were quickly deprived of a considerable number of their mercantile ships; and, for some time they made no captures in return, but even sent back, with professions of amity, a frigate which had been stopped by one of their ships.

The continent of America was the chief seat of war in the present year. A body of provincials, commanded by lieutenant-colonel Monckton, advanced towards the isthmus which separated the British possessions in Nova Scotia from the extensive districts claimed by the French in that country. They were met, on the banks of the Messagnath, by a body of French and Indians, whom they drove from their works. Proceeding to the fort of Beausejour, erected by the French since the treaty of Aix la Chapelle, Monckton so intimidated the garrison by a bombardment, that the commandant capitulated before the besiegers had mounted one piece of cannon on their batteries. The day following another fort was reduced. Captain Rous sailed to the river St. John, near the mouth of which the French had lately built a fortress; the occupants of which, so soon as he approached, demolished it as far as they could, and retired with precipitation. The French colonists were either compelled to quit the province, or were disarmed and reduced to subjection.

An expedition to the banks of the Ohio was less successful, under the conduct of major-general Braddock. He sailed from Cork with two regiments, and arrived on the coast of Virginia early in the year. He was delayed by the negligence of the provincial contractors; but at length commenced his march. In letters which he sent to England, he complained of the divisions which agitated the provinces, of the general want of zeal for his majesty's service, and of the inadequate aid which he could obtain. Having brought his troops to a rendezvous at Fort Cumberland, he found himself at the head of about two thousand men, including the provincial levies. Hearing that at Fort du Quesne the French expected the speedy arrival of five hundred men, he hastened to reduce that fort before the arrival of the reinforcement. He therefore left his baggage under the care of eight hundred men, commanded by colonel Dunbar; and marched with the rest of his force though an unfavourable country, which he neglected to reconnoitre. He soon felt the effect of his folly; for, in his progress through the woods, he was attacked, on the 9th of July, 1755, both in front and flank, by an enemy which he could not discern. The fire from the French

(*a*) Of the controverted elections, one is entitled to particular notice, from the warm debates which it occasioned in the house of commons. After an extraordinary profusion of expence, and a series of tumult, supported and encouraged by four candidates, the sheriff of the county of Oxford had returned the whole number. Two had a majority on the poll; but many of their votes were disallowed by their competitors; and, as the scrutiny which the latter had demanded had been closed by the sheriff, that it might not continue beyond the time fixed for the return of the writ, he affected to think it most proper to name four persons in that instrument, from a doubt of the real number of legal votes. Various questions arose in the house, before the merits of the election was decided. The chief point of discussion related to the right of copyholders to vote for knights of the shire; but the influence of the ministry prevented that question from being determined by the house. At length, the same interest annulled the return of lord Wenman and sir James Dashwood, the popular candidates; and gratified lord Parker and sir Edward Turner (whom the poll had not favoured) with a declaration of their legitimate election.

(*b*) Among the statutes which were passed this session, we find one for the relief of insolvent debtors; another (introduced by Pitt) for the pecuniary accommodation of the out-pensioners of Chelsea Hospital; and two for the encouragement of the fisheries.

and their Indian auxiliaries, having killed many of his regular soldiers, filled the rest with such a panic, that they fled in confusion; while the colonists, to whom, in his letters, he had imputed want of courage as well as of skill, proved themselves fully entitled to the praise of the former quality, by maintaining their ground when they were deserted by the regulars. The major-general was long a mark for the enemy, who killed five horses under him, and shot him through the right arm and the lungs: he was carried off by some of his officers, and died of his wounds within four days. By the exertions of the provincials, the retreat was not attended by a pursuit. The loss was said to have consisted of two hundred men, exclusive of the wounded; but it was probably much greater (*c*). The artillery and stores, and the cabinet of the commander in chief, were left as spoils to the victorious party. The fugitives, followed by the slowly retiring colonists, did not recover from their consternation till they met colonel Dunbar, with whom they returned to the cultivated parts of the provincial territories.

An army of provincials and Indians being levied, major general Johnson marched from Albany to the borders of Lake George, after a long delay of preparation. While waiting for bateaux, to transport his men across the lake, he was informed, that a body of the enemy approached an encampment where a part of his forces lay entrenched. For the defence of this post he sent a thousand men, besides Indians, under the command of colonel Williams. The French were commanded by the baron de Dieskau, who, hearing that the post of the major general himself was weak, resolved to attack that station in preference to the other camp. He met with Williams, and an engagement commenced on the 8th of September, in which the French overpowered their adversaries. Johnson detached a party to cover the retreat of his men; and made dispositions for defending his post. A central attack was made by the regular troops of the baron; but the fire was inefficacious. The French, whose commander, the baron de Dieskau, was mortally wounded, lost about seven hundred men in the action with Williams, and the attack of the camp; and of the English about two hundred were slain, chiefly in the former of these contests, in which the colonel himself fell. Major general Johnson was also wounded, but not dangerously; and the enterprize against Crown Point was postponed till a more convenient season.

A plan was also laid for the reduction of the fort of Niagara, the execution of which was attempted by Shirley, governor of the colony of Massachuset. Having, after many delays, in which vast numbers of his troops deserted, advanced to Oswego, he would have proceeded to Niagara, had not the necessity of waiting for a supply of provisions given time for the commencement of unfavourable weather. It was therefore resolved, in a council of officers, that the scheme could not be carried into effect, and the execution of it was deferred.

The following winter was unfortunate to the more remote inhabitants of several of the American provinces, particularly Virginia and Pennsylvania; for the Indians, instigated by the French, made frequent incursions, and committed horrible barbarities on the persons of the colonists, and furious ravages on their lands. These outrages it was thought might have been prevented by the governors; but they were suspected of not paying a proper attention to their duty.

The king, being at Hanover in the summer, endeavoured to improve by negociations of alliance, the efficacy of his arms. He concluded a treaty with the landgrave of Hesse Cassel, containing stipulations of mutual defence, and an engagement, on the part of the latter prince, to keep in readiness a body of eight thousand subsidiaries (or twelve thousand if necessary) for the service of the former. His majesty also made overtures to the empress of Russia; with whom an agreement was signed on the 30th of September (*d*).

The French king, being equally desirous of advantageous alliances, courted the assistance of Spain, and urged the formation of a family compact, or of such an union as might render the interests of both inseparable. Ferdinand, however, considered the proposal as incompatible with his pacific system. He was encouraged in his reluctance by the advice of his minister, whose influence was seconded by the suggestions of the British ambassador: The views of France being thus frustrated at Madrid, he applied to the principal German powers.

The king of Prussia was become respectable by his policy and military power, therefore the contending courts of France and England were equally desirous of courting his friendship. The king of England was apprehensive that Louis would harrass his electoral dominions by the medium of a Prussian army, and was therefore anxious to make an ally of Frederic. The French king trusted to a former treaty with the court of Berlin, and demanded assistance against George; but the Prussian declared, that a colonial rupture was an exception to the league. He therefore did not long hesitate between the proposals of Great Britain and France; and resolved to accede to the overtures of George. Louis, enraged at his refusal of aid, fomented the enmity which Maria Theresa had long borne against Frederic, and which had prompted that princess to court an alliance with the house of Bourbon, and to seek the humiliation of the house of Brandenburgh. She refused to comply with the demands of the court of London for a body of auxiliaries; alledging, that her interference in a contest which related to North America was not required by treaty.

Great Britain had been subsidising various powers for the purposes of war; but now a more honourable opportunity was afforded for the exercise of her liberality by a calamity which befel the inhabitants of Lisbon. On the 1st of November, an earthquake affected the foundations of that large and flourishing city with extraordinary violence; and the volcanic materials which attended the progress of the disaster, reinforced by the numerous fires in private houses, and by the illuminations of the churches and monasteries, (for it was the festival of All-Saints,) occasioned a conflagration of long continuance (*e*). By these united misfortunes the greater part of the city was involved in destruction; and about ten thousand individuals, on a moderate calculation, perished on the occasion; while most of the survivors were reduced to the extremity of distress. The king of Portugal and his family narrowly escaped personal danger; but the palaces of the capital being destroyed, and the castle of Belem greatly damaged, tents were, for some time, the habitations of the court. When the king of England received intelligence of this melancholy accident, he sent a message to the lords and commons, in which he expressed a desire, that they would concur with him in sending "such speedy and effectual relief as might be suitable to so afflicting and pressing an exigency." Eager to succour the unfortunate, they unanimously voted a hundred thousand pounds for the accommodation of the Portuguese sufferers. Relief was therefore sent with the utmost expedition; and the objects of this generosity acknowledged the favour with emotions of joy and gratitude; and they hailed, as benefactors, those whom, as heretics, they viewed with a malignant eye.

The French had made several attempts for an accommodation of the disputes which respected the American colonies; but they would not agree to such terms as the British ministry deemed reasonable. Appealing to the king's regard for his Hanoverian territories, they menaced him with an invasion of those favourite provinces, if he should persist in the rejection of their offers for the adjustment of Trans-Atlantic pretensions. But he confided in his ability of defending the electorate; and reprobated all proposals which tended to extort from him a sacrifice of British rights. In his speech to the parliament, on the

(*c*) The chief officers who fell in the action, was sir Peter Halket, who was slain before the disgraceful flight of his regiment commenced.

(*d*) This convention provided, that thirty-five thousand men should be kept on the borders of Livonia, and forty or fifty galleys stationed on the coast of that province, for the defence of the king of England and his allies against any attack; that his German dominions should be included in that stipulation, if they should be invaded on account of interests or disputes which should regard his kingdoms; that he should pay an annual subsidy of one hundred thousand pounds, till the time of the departure of the troops from the Russian dominions, consequent on his requisition; that one half of a million should, from that period till the expiration of four years, be annually paid to him to the empress; that, when her troops should make a diversion in pursuance of her present engagements, she should, in consideration of the proximity of the territories in which such diversions would probably be made, and of the opportunity which the army would have of subsisting immediately in the districts of an enemy, subject herself to the charge of maintaining the body thus employed; and that, if she should be disturbed in the execution of such measures, or should be attacked in her own dominions, the royal elector should furnish her with succours.

(*e*) The fire, according to some accounts, continued above a fortnight; and shocks were felt, with intermission, till the second week in December. Less violent concussions, accompanied with extraordinary inundations, were observed in Spain and other countries of Europe; and also in the North-western parts of Africa.

13th of November, he observed, that his readiness for the acceptance of "reasonable and honourable" terms had not been gratified by the French monarch, by whom no conditions which merited those epithets had hitherto been proposed. He also stated, that he had confined his views and operations to the following objects; the prevention of France "from making new encroachments, or supporting those which had already been made," the exertion of the right of the nation to a satisfaction for hostilities committed in a time of profound peace;" and the frustration of "such designs as, there was reason to think, had been formed against his kingdoms and dominions." In both houses, disputes arose with regard to the terms in which his majesty should be addressed for his speech (*f*).

When the parliament was prorogued, the duke of Newcastle, apprehensive that the renewal of foreign connections would contribute to the decline of his influence, and that an united administration would be particularly necessary at the commencement of a war, had endeavoured to soften the opposition of Pitt to subsidiary treaties, and to bring him into a cordial concert with the court. But the paymaster, sensible of his consequence, and willing to enter the cabinet on his own terms, declined an assent to the overtures of the premier; and, when he was courted by the secretary at war to form a coalition with him, for the expulsion of the duke from his station, he would not agree to the proposal, as he was jealous of the favour which Fox enjoyed at court. The duke's disappointment in his application to Pitt induced him to wave his objections to the promotion of Fox, and comply with the wishes of the king and his son. On the resignation therefore of sir Thomas Robinson, who, sealing his incompetency of properly discharging his ministerial duty, accepted an inferior post and a pension, Fox was appointed secretary of state, and consequently manager of the house of commons. Legge and Pitt were now dismissed from their stations for their opposition to the court; and the former was succeeded by Lyttleton, while the other vacancy was conjunctly supplied by the earl of Darlington and lord Dupplin. George Grenville, the brother-in-law of Pitt, was deprived of the post of treasurer of the navy, which was restored to Dodington; and the duke of Marlborough was obliged to surrender the privy seal to earl Gower. The new secretary at war was lord Barrington, whose seat at the board of admiralty was filled by lord Bateman (*g*).

By the intrigues of Fox and his associates the treaties with Russia and Hesse Cassel obtained the sanction of parliament. Strong objections were made to them by Pitt and other members; and the arguments against continental connections and Hanoverian politics were repeated in the ears of inattentive courtiers. The lords, however, in the proportion of above seven to one, approved the two conventions; and the commons confirmed them by a majority of one hundred and ninety-two votes.

The grants of the public money in this session were large. Fifty thousand seamen and marines were allowed; and upwards of thirty-four thousand soldiers were at first voted; to which number additions were afterwards made. The grants exceeded seven millions two hundred thousand pounds in the aggregate.

In consequence of the maritime equipments of France, and the rendezvous of troops near the coasts of that kingdom, the English were greatly alarmed with the dread of an invasion, and the king applied to the states-general for the aid which they were bound to furnish in case of emergency. The French court laboured to hinder their compliances with this demand, and even menaced them with vengeance, if they should assist a prince who had been the aggressor in the war. This denunciation occasioned such a delay on their part, that George, expecting a refusal, desisted from his requisition, and sent for a body of Hessians. He intimated to the parliament his strong apprehensions of an invasion either of Great Britain or Ireland; and hoped, that he might be supported in the adoption of effectual measures for the defence of the nation. Addresses of loyal promise were voted without opposition; but when the new secretary of state moved, that the commons should solicit the speedy transportation of a body of Hanoverians to this endangered kingdom, those who deemed the employment of foreign mercenaries unnecessary for the safety of the country, endeavoured to supersede the motion by the order of the day; an attempt which the house quickly baffled. The peers entering into an address for the electoral troops, orders were dispatched for expediting their arrival; and they, as well as the Hessians, soon made good their landing.

The dread and terrors of the English were ridiculed by their enemies; and such a want of confidence in the resources of interior defence, excited the surprize and derision of Europe. But, since the militia had been neglected, and the standing army considered as the only security of the nation, the martial spirit of the multitude had greatly declined; and the idea of an invasion produced general consternation. The alarm, however, which arose at this time, appears to have been ill-founded; for the French, by their motions on the northern coasts of their kingdom, seem to have had no other idea than that of concealing their schemes for attacking the English in the Mediterranean.

When the apprehensions of the public began to subside, they became distrustful of the foreign troops; and the expediency of a well-regulated militia for the defence of the nation being generally acknowledged, a bill was prepared for that purpose. The commons gave it their sanction; but the peers, a debate, in which it was represented as inadequate to its object by earl Granville and others, refused to agree to it.

The speaker of the house of commons, when he presented some money bills for the royal assent, made use of free and spirited language. He dwelt on the hope of the representatives of the people, that the military and naval strength, so amply provided for, would be properly exerted: he reprobated, in strong terms, the system of continental alliance as pernicious to the kingdom; deprecated all increase of the oppressive burthens of the people, by pecuniary grants to foreign princes, in whose honour or gratitude little confidence could be reposed; spoke of the introduction of foreign troops into the country, as a ground of just suspicion and alarm; and urged the necessity of dispelling the fears, and alleviating the distresses, of the nation. The king, however, entirely satisfied in his continental connections, turned a deaf ear to the remonstrances of the speaker. Having signed the bills which were ready, his majesty, on the 27th of May, 1756, thanked the two houses for their vigorous support; informed them of a descent of the French on the island of Minorca, and of his having declared war in consequence of that invasion; and expressed his reliance on the divine protection in a just cause. His denunciation of war was quickly followed by a correspondent declaration from the king of France.

The first object, which attracted the notice of France, was the isle of Minorca. This excited alarm in the minds of the English, and a squadron of ten sail of the line and some frigates were sent to the Mediterranean, under the command of admiral Byng, son of the naval hero, lord Torrington. On his arrival at Gibraltar, Byng was made acquainted with the force and proceedings of the French armament; which consisted of twelve ships of the line and five frigates, that had sailed from Toulon, under the command of M. de la Galissonniere, and about fourteen thousand troops under the conduct of the duke de Richelieu, which had sailed for Minorca, and had undertaken the siege of the castle of St. Philip.

Having received reinforcements at Gibraltar and off Majorca, the admiral made his appearance near the invaded island. He had already sent a desponding letter to the board of admiralty, complaining of the foul state of his ships, and the insufficiency of requisites for his expedition, and stating the improbability of succeeding in the

(*f*) When a proposal was made in the upper house, that the address, besides implying an approbation of the late treaties, should contain a promise of providing for the protection of Hanover, if it should be attacked in resentment of the measures which the sovereign had taken "for the support of the essential interests of Great Britain," earl Temple opposed the motion; affirming, that, as the treaties had not been examined by the house, all approbation of their contents would be premature and indiscreet; and that the defence of the electorate would involve this kingdom in great danger and expence, and would weaken, without a prospect of the least advantage, the efforts required against a powerful enemy. Other peers spoke to the same effect; but the officers of the court overpowered their exertions. On the making of a similar proposal in the lower house, Legge and Pitt, uninfluenced by the employments which they held, refused to sanction such measures as they deemed inconsistent with the interest of their country, and condemned the foreign system of the court, which, they said, would never have been adopted, if Hanover had not belonged to the king of Great Britain. A great majority, however, agreed to a clause which favoured the continental schemes of his majesty.

(*g*) These were the principal changes which contributed to the formation of what the public termed the duke's ministry, from the influence which the duke of Cumberland had in framing it.

relief

relief of the principal fortress of Minorca, for want of a competent land force. This early despair of success enfeebled his exertions, and contributed to the unfortunate issue of his enterprize.

The two hostile fleets of France and England had an action on the 20th of May. Rear-admiral West commenced an eager attack, and drove five of the enemy's ships out of the line. Admiral Byng, recollecting the disgrace of admiral Matthews, for having neglected the preservation of the line of battle, did not bear down upon the enemy, so as to co-operate with the other division; though, by adhering to the examples of Anson and Hawke, who had disregarded the strict observance of the line, he would probably have given the enemy a total defeat. After a long delay, he fired when he was at too great a distance; and, during this idle parade, he ordered some of his ships to shorten sail, that two others might get a-head of him. By these and other unnecessary and injudicious measures, he lost the good effect which might have resulted from vigorous operations, and gave the French admiral an opportunity of retiring. In this partial conflict, about fifty men lost their lives on the part of the English; and three of their ships were greatly damaged. A council of war being called, Byng declared his opinion that, as his fleet was considerably inferior to that of Galissonniere, in number of men and weight of metal, and had received more injury than that of the latter, it would be hazardous to renew the engagement; that all attempts for the relief of the besieged castle would be fruitless; and that, as Gibraltar might be in danger, it would be advisable to hasten thither. The officers acquiesced in the proposal of the discouraged admiral; and the defence of Minorca was left to the unassisted efforts of the British occupants.

Lieutenant-general Blakeney was the officer who had the command as governor of Minorca, by whose efforts, notwithstanding his great age, the operations of defence were conducted with spirit and activity; but he was circumscribed in his endeavours by the inadequate number of his troops. The chief fortress required a garrison much more numerous than that which sustained the attacks of the besiegers, who, when they had battered and bombarded the place above seven weeks, gained possession of some of the outworks by storm, on the 27th of June, and threatened a more general assault. Apprehensive of the dreadful consequences attendant on such an attack, the majority of a council of war signified a desire of capitulation. The body of the castle remained entire, and a small number of the defenders had lost their lives, so that the place might have been maintained till succours could have been sent; but the remarks of those who delivered such an opinion in the council, were condemned as ill-founded. The terms which Richelieu granted were honourable. He allowed the garrison to march out in military parade, and to be transported to Gibraltar in safety. The whole island quickly surrendered after the fortress. Galissonniere then returned to Toulon, before the approach of sir Edward Hawke, who had been sent to supersede Byng, and who, having added some ships to the squadron which that officer had commanded, sailed towards the harbour of Mahon, whence he soon bore away on finding the island in possession of the French. Having blocked up the French admiral in Toulon, and invested the French trade in the Mediterranean, Hawke returned to England.

The English were by no means consoled for the loss of Minorca by the warlike transactions of this year in North America. The earl of Loudoun, who was appointed to the chief command of the army on that continent, and indulged with extraordinary powers, did not commence his voyage from England before the time in which he ought to have opened the campaign; and when he had reached the scene of action, so great a portion of time was lost in deliberative proceedings and preparatory measures, that no attempts were made by a general from whom vigorous operations were expected. Extensive schemes were formed to the prejudice of the French; but they were postponed on various pretences. The marquis de Montcalm, commander of the French forces, was more active than the earl of Loudoun. After some exploits of inferior moment, he invested Oswego, which, though occupied by about fifteen hundred men, was not a very strong post. Colonel Bradstreet had lately met with some success in the vicinity of this station; but his successes did not hinder the enemy from commencing the siege of that place. The fall of Mercer, the commandant, discouraged the garrison; and the works not being tenable against the batteries and strength of the enemy, the officers unanimously resolved upon a surrender. The marquis de Montcalm, who was preparing for a general assault, which, he was confident, would put him in possession of that post, insisted on the captivity of the whole garrison; but he engaged to treat the prisoners with humanity, and to secure to them the enjoyment of their property; promises to which he did not strictly adhere (*h*). The marquis demolished the forts, and retired towards Montreal; and no other acts of hostility were committed, which deserve to be recorded, in North America during the remainder of the year.

In adverting to our affairs of the East Indies, we find, that, after the convention between the French and English companies, rear-admiral Watson, who had been sent with a squadron into the Eastern seas before the signature of the pacific agreement, resolved to employ his forces for the overturning of a piratical state, which had long been established on the coast of Malabar. Commodore James had undertaken an expedition against Angria, the sovereign of this predatory state, with an army belonging to the company, and a Mahratta fleet; and had dispossessed the pirate of some of his forts. Watson now sailed with the king's ships to Geriah, the chief fortress belonging to Angria; and James and the Mahrattas assisted in the attack of that place. Angria's vessels were soon destroyed; and colonel Clive, landing with a body of forces, promoted the reduction of that capital. The Mahrattas endeavoured to obtain sole possession of the place in a clandestine way, because they expected to find an immense deal of treasure, but their design was frustrated by the vigilance of colonel Clive. On the surrender of the fort, a garrison of the company's troops was put into it (*i*).

But the most important events which arose in the East Indies during the present year, were in a war between the English company and the soubah-dar of Bengal, (Surajeddoula (*k*).) This prince, pretending that the English were greatly indebted to him, and that the governor of Calcutta had afforded protection to some of his malcontent subjects, made preparations for gratifying his avarice and his resentment, by the conquest of the company's settlements near the Ganges. He marched with a numerous army to Cossimbazar, which he soon reduced. He then advanced to Calcutta; and having captured the town, invested the fort.

In the mean time, the governor of Calcutta, dreading the cruelty of the invading foe, retired with his treasures to a vessel in the river; and many of his countrymen escaped by the same means. Those who remained in the fort, submitted to the directions of Holwell, who made as good a defence as the insufficiency of the garrison, the weakness of the fortifications, and the scarcity of ammunition, would allow. Despairing of success, his companions sought an opportunity of effecting their escape; but they were disappointed in that hope. Holwell having signified a desire of treating, the besiegers seemed willing to agree to a conference; but, before any terms were adjusted, the enemy forced a passage, and compelled the English and their fellow warriors to surrender at discretion on the 19th of June.

The Mohammedan prince complained to Holwell of the resistance which had been made, and of the small amount of the treasure found in the fort. But gave assurances, that his resentment should not fall on that gentleman or his captive associates: yet, in the evening of that day, either by his particular order, or by the malice and revenge of the military despots to whose custody the prisoners were committed, one hundred and forty-six individuals, including Holwell, were confined in a small room, called The Black Hole. The evening was extremely warm; and the apartment, or rather dungeon, was a cube of about eighteen feet, open to the air only on one side, where, through the iron bars of two windows, the circulation of that fluid was scarcely perceptible. In this state, the dread of suffocation presented itself to the numerous occupants

(*h*) The spoils of the reduced forts were considerable; for they consisted of more than one hundred pieces of cannon, and a great quantity of stores of various kinds: some armed vessels, and about two hundred bateaux were also the reward of the victors.

(*i*) Artillery, to the amount of two hundred pieces, and an ample supply of ammunition, besides as much money and other property as exceeded the value of one hundred and twenty thousand pounds, were found in the place.

(*k*) He is generally denominated *soubah* by the English writers; but that word signifies *a province*, and is therefore incorrectly used for *soubah-dar*, or the *governor of a province*.

of

of a contracted space, in which a third part of the company could not breathe with convenience. The first efforts of the wretched prisoners were directed to the door; but, as it opened inward, their attempts were ineffectual. Holwell, foreseeing that death would make great havoc among them, if no relief should be quickly granted, addressed a serjeant of the Indian guard through one of the windows, and offered him a thousand rupees, for the favour of such a separation as should leave only a moiety of the number in the room. The serjeant promised to use his endeavours; but soon after returned, and declared that such an indulgence could not be obtained. "The soubahdar (said the slave) is sleeping; and no one can presume to interrupt his rest." The despair which this answer produced may be easily conceived. The heat of the room had by this time occasioned an extraordinary perspiration, which was attended by a raging thirst; and these circumstances, added to the fatigue with which the captives were harassed before they entered the dungeon, nearly exhausted them. They tried various means of temporary accommodation; but these were productive of very little mitigation of their distress. To avoid a gradual dissolution, they insulted the soldiers, that they might be provoked to fire upon them through the windows. Such as were not near these openings, became, after a short time, frantic and outrageous. Their impatient cries for drink having prevailed on the guard to bring some water, the contests which ensued for a supply increased the horrors of the scene; and many were pressed to death in the struggles. Others quietly expired from exhaustion; nor did the rest expect long to survive. Holwell had continued for some hours near one of the windows; and his companions treated him with deference and attention: but their alarming situation at length extinguished all respect of persons; and they pressed so closely upon him, with a view of sharing the advantages of his post, that he was deprived of the power of motion. The pressure being removed at his earnest request, that he might retire and die in quiet, he reclined on some of the bodies, calmly recommended himself to Heaven, and, after several changes of situation, lost all sense of the surrounding horrors. The soubah-dar, being informed of the death of most of the prisoners, enquired whether the chief survived; and, hearing that there were some remains of life in him, which the fresh air might re-establish, he ordered the door of the prison to be opened. The confinement, which had continued nearly ten hours, proved fatal to one hundred and twenty-three persons; whose fate did not excite the least regret in the heart of the tyrant. Having summoned Holwell into his presence, he insisted on a discovery of the treasure which he supposed to have been secreted; and, as the answers he received did not gratify his rapacious wishes, he ordered him to be detained a prisoner; but restored him to liberty soon afterwards.

The fate of Calcutta being made known at Madras, the governor of that presidency took immediate steps to retrieve the company's affairs in Bengal. Troops were assembled, and placed under the command of colonel Clive. Watson, now vice-admiral of the blue, engaged in the same service; and these commanders prepared with alacrity for the recovery of the captured settlements.

In Europe the flames of war began to extend their fury. The king of Prussia, early in the year, had concluded a treaty with his Britannic majesty, for the preservation of the tranquillity of Germany, which, it was apprehended, the French would endeavour to disturb. The agreement between these two powers accelerated the formation of a confederacy between the king of France and the queen of Hungary; and though the Austrian princess precluded herself, by one of the articles of the league entered into between them, from joining the French against their British enemies, yet was she eager to introduce her new allies into Germany, that she might not only profit by their aid against Frederic, but might give them an opportunity of subduing the electorate of Hanover. She made preparations for war, and solicited the co-operation of the empress of Russia, who, having long been on friendly terms with Maria Theresa, and on the contrary footing with the king of Prussia, did not reject the overtures of the former, reinforced as they were by the persuasions of the French. The king of Prussia suspecting, on strong grounds, that the two princesses had formed schemes for the ruin of the house of Brandenburg, resolved to act with vigour by anticipating the attacks which he expected. Shortly after, a Prussian army entered Saxony; and the elector, whose intimacy with the court of Vienna was known, was required to give unequivocal indications of neutrality. On his refusal, he was blocked up in his camp at Pirna; while his capital was seized, and his revenue sequestered by the invaders. A considerable part of the Prussian army having made an irruption into Bohemia, count Brown prepared for resistance; and, when Frederic had assumed the command of that detachment, a battle was fought near Lowositz, in which little advantage was gained by either party. The Saxons retiring from Pirna in the night, were pursued by the Prussians, and compelled to surrender themselves prisoners of war, to the number of twelve thousand men. The unfortunate elector escaped to his Polish kingdom, while the king of Prussia reigned triumphant in Saxony. The conduct of Frederic towards Augustus was loudly censured; but he vindicated himself by assuring the public, that this prince was concerned in the secret confederacy against him; and, from papers which he found in the cabinet of Dresden, (forcibly plundered by him, notwithstanding all the efforts of the electress against such unmanly outrage,) he exposed to the world the testimonies of the inimical league.

In the channel and other seas, occasional conflicts occurred, between the English and the French, in which the number of ships captured by the former bore some excess over the prizes which had been taken by the latter (*l*). This advantage, however, was no compensation to the public for the misfortunes which had been suffered, partly from the neglect of the ministry, and partly from individual misconduct.

The discontent, however, arising from ill success chiefly vented itself on admiral Byng. The character and conduct of that officer were assailed with the most severe reproach; and a strict enquiry was peremptorily demanded, that the proof of his guilt might be followed by adequate punishment. The partizans of the court, conscious of the blame due to the chief members of the cabinet, insidiously fomented the rising odium against the admiral, that their leaders might escape censure. Inflammatory appeals were made to the public; and the clamour arose to an extraordinary height. At length the odious admiral was ordered to be put in irons; and being sent from Gibraltar to England under an arrest, his speedy trial was demanded; but the enquiry did not commence till nearly the expiration of the year. Lieutenant-general Fowke, deputy governor of Gibraltar, was previously tried for having sent too small a part of his garrison to attempt the relief of Minorca, in repugnance to the orders transmitted from court. The court martial being equally divided in opinion, the president declared against him; and he was sentenced to a year's suspension. Admiral Byng being at length brought to trial, his associate West gave some evidence in his favour, and some which tended to his prejudice. General Blakeney, who, for his valorous conduct in defence of Minorca, had been enrolled among the peers of Ireland, deposed to the practicability of the introduction of troops into the castle of St. Philip, which Byng had forborne to attempt; and captain Everet affirmed, that the admiral might have borne an active share in the engagement, in which case, he thought, a compleat victory would have accrued to the English. After the examination of other witnesses, the prisoner was heard in his defence. He referred to the ill condition of his ships, and to the want of their compliment of men; asserted the advantages which the French admiral had over him in these and other respects; declared, that he had endeavoured, consistently with a prudent regard to circumstances and to naval discipline,

(*l*) Of these incidental engagements, that which occurred between a privateer, named The Terrible, commanded by captain William Death, and La Vengeance, a vessel of far superior force, was the most remarkable. The English ship had captured a trader from St. Domingo, after a violent conflict; but this prize was re-taken, and became an assistant to the Vengeance in the combat with the Terrible. With such fury did the two parties engage, that the French commander and nearly two-thirds of his crew (consisting in the whole of about three hundred and fifty men,) and the English captain and all his men, except twenty-six out of about one hundred and fifty, are said to have been killed. The issue of this dreadful conflict, was the capture of the Terrible by her shattered opponent. There was a strange combination of names belonging to this privateer; the Terrible, equipped at Execution Dock, commanded by captain Death, whose lieutenant was called Devil, and who had one Ghost for surgeon. This adventure was no sooner known in England, than a liberal subscription was raised for the support of Death's widow, and that part of the crew which survived the engagement.

to perform all the duties of his station; and hoped, that no errors in judgement would expose him to rigour of punishment. The court adopted a series of resolutions; two of which imported, that the admiral "did not do his utmost" either to relieve St. Philip's castle, or to "take, sieze, and destroy," the ships of the enemy. In the final resolution, which condemned him to death, he was earnestly recommended to mercy, as, from the testimony of those who were near him during the action, he did not exhibit any marks of fear or confusion, but "seemed to give his orders coolly and distinctly, and did not seem wanting in personal courage;" to which observations the court added, that his misconduct did not appear to arise either "from cowardice or disaffection." Some doubts being entertained with respect to the legality of the sentence, particularly whether the crime of negligence, not being expressed in any one of the resolutions, could be supplied by implication, the lords of the admiralty desired the king to refer this point to the determination of the twelve judges, who, having considered the sentence with relation to the twelfth article of war, pronounced it legal.

It was generally believed, and that opinion still prevails, that the king would have complied with the recommendation of the court-martial, by an extension of his mercy to the condemned admiral, had not some of his ministers represented to him, in strong terms, the expediency of consulting the honour of the navy, and allaying the indignation of the people, by the capital punishment of one who had neglected his duty. This resolution being at last embraced, the commissioners of the admiralty signed a warrant, ordering, that admiral Byng should be shot to death in the harbour of Portsmouth. Vice-admiral Forbes, one of those who sat at this board, to his honour, refused to sign the warrant; alledging, that, as the twelfth article of war subjected to the loss of life those who had not acted in an engagement with the requisite vigour, whether such behaviour should arise from negligence, pusillanimity, or disaffection, the express acquittal of Byng from the last two charges, and the omission of the other ground of condemnation, rendered the sentence inapplicable and illegal. It was soon after intimated to the commons, that several members of the court which had tried Byng wished to be released from their oath of secrecy, with a view of disclosing the grounds of the sentence pronounced against the admiral, which, on enquiry, might perhaps be found unjustifiable. A bill was introduced for the desired release from these oaths; but when the commons had agreed to it, the peers, having examined the members of the court martial, were not induced to give it their sanction.

Although admiral Byng had flattered himself with the hope of acquittal, he received his sentence without betraying the least alarm or discomposure; and the same coolness remained with him till the latest moment of his life. On the day assigned for his fate, March 14, 1757, he made his appearance on the quarter deck of the Monarque; and, a party of marines being ready for the execution of the sentence, he knelt on a cushion with his face covered, and was instantaneously deprived of life by a well-directed volley (*m*),

The operations at sea during the course of the year 1757, either in Europe or America, were far from being decisive or important. The commerce of Great Britain sustained considerable damage from the activity and success of French privateers, of which a great number had been equipped in the islands of Martinique and Guadaloupe. The Greenwich ship of war, mounted with fifty guns, and a frigate of twenty, fell into the hands of the enemy, together with a very considerable number of trading vessels. On the other hand, the English cruizers and privateers acquitted themselves with equal vigilance and valour. The Duc d'Aquitaine, a large ship of fifty guns, was taken in June by two British ships of war, after a severe engagement, and about the same time the Aquelon, of nearly the same force, was driven on shore and destroyed near Brest, by the Antelope, one of the British cruizers. A French frigate of twenty-six guns, called the Emeraude, was taken in the Channel, after a warm engagement, by an English ship of inferior force, under the command of captain Gilchrist, a gallant and alert officer, who, in the sequel, signalized himself on divers occasions, by very extraordinary acts of valour. All the sea-officers seemed to be animated with a noble emulation to distinguish themselves in the service of their country, and the spirit descended even to the captains of privateers, who instead of imitating the former commanders of that class, in avoiding ships of force, and centering their whole attention in advantageous prizes, now encountered the armed ships of the enemy, and fought with the most obstinate valour in the pursuit of national glory.

In sea rencounters that happened within the present year, the superiority in skill and resolution was ascertained to the British mariners; for ever when they fought against great odds, their courage was generally crowned with success. In November, captain Lockhart, a young gentleman, who had already rendered himself a terror to the enemy as commander of a small frigate, now added considerably to his reputation, by reducing the Melampe, a French privateer of Bayonne, greatly superior to his own ship in number of men and weight of metal. This exploit was seconded by another of the same nature, in his conquest of another French adventurer called the Countess of Gramont; and a third large privateer of Bayonne was taken by captain Saumarez, commander of the Antelope. In a word, the narrow seas were so well guarded, that in a little time scarcely a French ship could appear in the English Channel, but which the British traders navigated without molestation.

During the severity of the winter in the beginning of 1758, the British cruizers kept the sea, in order to protect the commerce of the kingdom, and annoy that of the enemy. They exerted themselves with such activity, and their vigilance was attended with such success, that a great number of prizes were taken, and the trade of France almost totally extinguished. A very gallant exploit was atchieved by one captain Bray, commander of the Adventure, a small armed vessel in the government's service, falling in with the Machault, a large privateer of Dunkirk, near Dungenness; he ran her aboard, fastened her bowsprit to his capstan, and, after a warm engagement, compelled her commander to submit. A French frigate of thirty-six guns was taken by captain Parker, in a new fireship of inferior force. Divers privateers of the enemy were sunk, burned or taken, and a great number of merchant ships fell into the hands of the English. Nor was the success of the British ships of war confined to the English Channel. At this period the board of admiralty received information from admiral Cotes, in Jamaica, of an action which happened off the island of Hispaniola, in the month of October of the preceding year, between three English ships of war and a French squadron. Captain Forrest, an officer of distinguished merit in the service, had, in the ship Augusta, sailed from Port Royal in Jamaica, accompanied by the Dreadnought and Edinburgh, under the command of the captains Suckling and Langdon. He was ordered to cruize off Cape François, and this service he literally performed in the face of the French squadron under Kersin, lately arrived at that place from the coast of Africa. This commander, piqued at seeing himself thus insulted by an inferior armament, resolved to come forth and give them battle; and that he might either take them, or at least drive them out of the seas, so as to afford a free passage to a great number of merchant ships then lying at the cape, bound for Europe, he took every precaution which he thought necessary to insure success. He reinforced his squadron with some store-ships, mounted with guns, and armed for the occasion, and supplied the deficiency in his complements, by taking on board seamen from the merchant-ships, and soldiers from the garrison. Thus prepared, he weighed anchor, and stood out to sea, having under his command four large ships of the line, and three stout frigates. They were no sooner perceived advancing, than captain Forrest held a short council with his two captains. "Gentlemen, (said he) you know our strength, and see that of the enemy; shall we give them battle?" They replying in the affirmative, he added, "Then fight them we will; there is no time to be lost; return to your ships, and get them ready for engaging." After this laconic consultation among these three gallant

(*m*) The opinions of the public have long been divided with regard to the equity of his doom. By many it has been condemned as unreasonably severe; and, by others, it has been pronounced just and necessary. That the admiral did not behave with due spirit, is certainly manifest. He attended to punctilio, when vigour ought to have been exerted; and, by despairing of success, because the enemy had some superiority in weight of metal and number of men, he proved himself deficient in that determined intrepidity which his situation required, though he possessed a sufficient degree of courage for the occasions of ordinary service. Perhaps, however, it would have been an adequate sacrifice to the demands of justice, if he had been dismissed from the navy with ignominy and contempt.

officers, they bore down upon the French squadron without further hesitation, and the action began with great impetuosity. The enemy exerted themselves with uncommon spirit, conscious that their honour was peculiarly at stake, and that they fought in sight, as it were, of their own coast, which was lined with people, expecting to see them return in triumph. But, notwithstanding all their endeavours, their commodore, after having sustained a severe engagement, that lasted two hours and a half, found his ship in such a shattered condition, that he made signal for one of his frigates to come and tow him out of the line. His example was followed by the rest of his squadron, which, by this assistance, with the favour of the land breeze and the approach of night, made shift to accomplish their escape from the three British ships, which were too much disabled in their masts and rigging to prosecute their victory (*n*). The courage of captain Forrest was not more conspicuous in his engagement with the French squadron near Cape François, than his conduct and sagacity in a subsequent adventure near Port-au-Prince, a French harbour, situated at the bottom of a bay on the western part of Hispaniola, behind the small island of Gonave. After M. de Kersin had taken his departure from Cape François for Europe, admiral Cotes, beating up to windward from Port Royal in Jamaica with three ships of the line, received intelligence that there was a French fleet at Port-au-Prince, ready to sail on their return to Europe: captain Forrest then presented the admiral with a plan for an attack on this place, and urged it earnestly. This, however, was declined, and captain Forrest directed to cruize off Gonave for two days only, the admiral enjoining him to return at the expiration of the time, and rejoin the squadron at Cape Nicholas: accordingly, captain Forrest, in the Augusta, proceeded up the bay, between the island Gonave and Hispaniola, with a view to execute a plan which he had himself projected. Next day in the afternoon, though he perceived two sloops, he forbore chasing, that he might not risk a discovery; for the same purpose he hoisted Dutch colours, and disguised his ship with tarpaulins. At five in the afternoon he discovered seven sail of ships steering to the westward, and hauled from them, to avoid suspicion; but at the approach of night gave chase with all the sail he could carry, one of which fired a gun, and the other made the best of her way for Leoganne, another harbour in the bay. At this period captain Forrest reckoned eight sail to leeward, near another port called Petit Gonave; coming up with the ship which had fired the gun, she submitted without opposition, after he had hailed, and told her captain what he was, produced two of his largest cannon, and threatened to sink her if she should give the least alarm. He forthwith shifted the prisoners from this prize, and placed on board of her five-and-thirty of his own crew, with orders to stand for Petit Gonave, and intercept any of the fleet that might attempt to reach that harbour. He then made sail after the rest, and in the dawn of the morning, finding himself in the middle of their fleet, he began to fire at them all in their turns, as he could bring his guns to bear: they returned the fire for some time; at length the Marguerite, the Solide, and the Theodore struck their colours. These being secured, were afterwards used in taking the Maurice, Le Grand, and La Flore; the Brilliant also submitted, and the Mars made sail, in hopes of escaping, but the Augusta coming up with her about noon, she likewise fell into the hands of the victor. Thus, by a well-conducted stratagem, a whole fleet of nine sail were taken by a single ship, in the neighbourhood of four or five harbours, in any one of which they would have found immediate shelter and security. The prizes, which happened to be richly laden, were safely conveyed to Jamaica, and there sold at public action, for the benefit of the captors.

The ministry having determined to make vigorous efforts against the enemy in North America, admiral Boscawen was vested with the command of the fleet destined for that service, and sailed from St. Helen's on the 19th of February, 1758, when the Invincible, of seventy-four guns, ran a-ground and was lost; but her men, stores, and artillery were saved. In the course of the succeeding month, sir Edward Hawke sailed to the Bay of Biscay with another squadron, with a view to intercept any supplies from France designed for Cape Breton or Canada. The same month advice was received at the admiralty of another advantage by sea, which had been gained by admiral Osborne, while he cruized between Cape de Gatt and Carthagena, on the coast of Spain. On the 28th of March he fell in with a French squadron, commanded by the marquis du Quesne, consisting of four ships, namely, the Foudroyant, of eighty guns, the Orphée, of sixty-four, the Oriflamme, of fifty, and the Pleiade frigate, of twenty-four, in their passage from Toulon to reinforce M. de la Clue, who had for some time been blocked up by admiral Osborne in the harbour of Carthagena. The enemy no sooner perceived the English squadron than they dispersed, and steered different courses: then Mr. Osborne detached divers ships in pursuit of each, while he himself, with the body of his fleet, stood off from the bay of Carthagena, to watch the motions of the French squadron which lay there at anchor. About seven in the evening, the Orphée, having on board five hundred men, struck to captain Storr, in the Revenge, who lost the calf of one leg in the engagement. The Monmouth, of sixty-four guns, commanded by captain Gardener, engaged the Foudroyant, one of the largest ships in the French navy, carrying eighty guns, and eight hundred men, under the direction of the marquis du Quesne. The action was maintained with great fury on both sides, and the gallant captain Gardener lost his life; nevertheless the fight was continued with unabating vigour by his lieutenant, Mr. Caskett, and the Foudroyant disabled in such a manner, that her commander struck, as soon as the other English ships, the Swiftsure and the Hampton Court appeared. This mortifying step, however, he did not take until he saw his ship lie a wreck upon the water, and the decks covered with carnage. The Oriflamme was driven on shore under the castle of Aiglos, by the ships Montague and Monarque. The Pleiade frigate escaped. In the beginning of April, sir Edward Hawke entered the Basque Road, on the coast of Poicton, discovered a French fleet at anchor, consisting of five ships of the line, with six frigates, and forty transports, having on board three thousand troops, and a large quantity of stores and provisions, intended as a supply for their settlement in North America. They no sooner saw the English admiral advancing, than they began to slip their cables, and fly in the utmost confusion. Some of them escaped by sea, but a greater number ran into shoal water, where they could not be pursued; and next morning they appeared a-ground, lying on their broadsides; so that the end of their equipment was totally defeated. Another convoy of merchant ships, under the protection of three frigates, had been chased by sir Edward Hawke, a few days before, into the harbour of St. Martin in the Isle of Rhé, were they still remained, waiting an opportunity for hazarding a second departure: a third, consisting of twelve sail, bound from Bourdeaux to Quebec, under convoy of a frigate and an armed vessel, was encountered at sea by one British ship of the line and two fire-ships, which took the frigate and armed vessel, and two of the convoy afterwards met with the same fate.

On the 29th of May the Raisonable, a French ship of sixty-four guns, in her passage from Port l'Orient to Brest, was attacked by captain Dennis, in the Dorset, of seventy guns, and taken after an obstinate engagement, in which one hundred and sixty of the Raisonable's complement were killed or wounded. On the 13th of April, a dreadful fire broke out in the fore part of the Prince George, of eighty guns, commanded by rear-admiral Broderick, and raged with such fury, that notwithstanding all the efforts of the officers and men for several hours, the flames increased, and the ship being consumed to the water's edge, the remnant sunk about six o'clock in the evening. About three hundred men were preserved by the boats belonging to some ships that accompanied the admiral in his voyage, but five hundred perished in the ocean.

This year the king was determined to make another attempt upon the coast of France, and two powerful squadrons by sea were destined for the service of this expedition; the first, consisting of eleven great ships, was commanded by lord Anson and sir Edward Hawke; the other, composed of four ships of the line, seven frigates, six sloops, two fire-ships, two bombs, ten cutters, twenty tenders, ten store-ships, and one hundred transports, was put under the direction of commodore Howe, a body of troops,

(*n*) One of the French squadron was rendered altogether unserviceable for action: their loss in men amounted to three hundred killed, and as many wounded; whereas that of the English did not much exceed one-third of this number. Nevertheless, they were so much damaged, that, being unable to keep the sea, they returned to Jamaica, and the French commodore seized the opportunity of sailing with a great convoy for Europe.

consisting

consisting of sixteen regiments, nine troops of light horse, and six thousand marines, was assembled for the execution of this design, and embarked under the command of the duke of Marlborough, grandson of the great general of that name. The troops having been encamped for some time upon the Isle of Wight, were embarked in the latter end of May, and the two fleets sailed in the beginning of June for the coast of Bretagne. The fleets parted at sea; lord Anson, with his squadron, proceeded to the Bay of Biscay, in order to watch the motions of the enemy's ships and harrass their navigation; while commodore Howe, with the land-forces, steered directly towards St. Maloes, a strong place of considerable commerce, situated on the coast of Bretagne. The town, however, was found too well fortified, both by art and nature, to admit of an attempt by sea with any prospect of success; and, therefore, it was resolved to make a descent in the neighbourhood. After the fleet had been delayed several days by contrary winds, in sight of the French coast, it arrived in Cancalle Bay, about two leagues to the eastward of St. Maloes, and Mr. Howe having silenced a small battery which the enemy had occasionally raised upon the beach, the troops were landed on the 6th of June. The duke of Marlborough immediately began his march towards St. Servan, with a view to destroy such shipping and magazines as might be in any accessible parts of the river; and this scheme was executed with success. A great quantity of naval stores, two ships of war, several privateers, and about fourscore vessels of different sorts, were set on fire and reduced to ashes, almost under the cannon of the place, which they could not pretend to besiege in form. His grace having received repeated advices that the enemy were assembling forces to march against him, returned to Canada, where the re-embarkation of the troops was performed with ease and expedition. The forces, while on shore, were restrained from outrages by the most severe discipline; and the French houses, which their inhabitants had abandoned, were left untouched. Nevertheless some houses were pillaged, and not without acts of barbarity: but the offenders were brought to immediate justice. The British forces being re-embarked, including about five hundred light horse, which had been disciplined and carried over with a view to scour the country, the fleet was detained by contrary winds in the bay of Cancalle for several days, after which it stood out to sea, where it was exposed to some rough weather. After threatening a disembarkation at several places on the coast of France, they steered for the Isle of Wight, and next day anchored at St. Helen's.

The designs upon the coast of France, though interrupted by tempestuous weather, were not as yet laid aside for the whole season; but a considerable body of troops were re-embarked, and every thing being prepared for the second expedition, the fleet sailed from St. Helen's on the 1sth of August, and after a tedious passage, from calms and contrary winds, anchored on the 7th in the bay of Cherburg. By this time the enemy had entrenched themselves within a line, extending from fort Encœurdeville, which stands about two miles to the westward of Cherburg, along the coast for the space of four miles, fortified with several batteries at proper distances. Behind their entrenchment a body of horse and infantry appeared in red and blue uniforms; but as they did not advance to the open beach, the less risk was run in landing the British forces. The grenadiers and guards were rowed regularly ashore in the flat-bottomed boats, and, landing without opposition, instantly formed, on a small open portion of the beach. Next morning, the general having received intelligence that no parties of the enemy were seen moving on the hill, or in the plain, and that fort Querqueville was entirely abandoned, made a disposition for marching in two columns to Cherburg. An advanced party took immediate possession of Querqueville; and the lines and batteries along the shore were now deserted by the enemy. The British forces, marching behind St. Aulne, Encœurdeville, Hommet, and La Galet, found the town of Cherburg likewise abandoned, and the gate being open, entered it without opposition (*o*). On the day following the general ordered the place to be reconnoitred, and he determined to destroy, without delay, all the forts and the bason. The execution of this design was left to the engineers, assisted by the officers of the fleet and artillery (*p*). The enemy had raised several unconnected batteries along the bay; but the town itself was quite open and defenceless. The harbour and bason of Cherburg being destroyed, together with all the forts in the neighbourhood, and about twenty pieces of brass cannon secured on board the English ships, a contribution, amounting to about three thousand pounds sterling, was levied upon the town, and a plan for the re-embarkation of the troops concerted; as it appeared from the reports of peasants and deserters, that the enemy were already encreased to a formidable body. A slight entrenchment being raised, sufficient to defend the last division that should be re-embarked, the stores and artillery were shipped, and the light horses conveyed on board their respective transports, by means of platforms laid in the flat-bottomed vessels, on the 16th of August. They then returned to England, and after a few days again put to sea, and steering to the coast of France, came to anchor in the bay of St. Lunaire, two leagues west of St. Maloes, against which it was determined to make another attempt. An attack upon St. Maloes being found impracticable, and the general being unwilling to re-embark, without having taken some step for the further annoyance of the enemy, resolved to penetrate into the country, conducting his motions, however, so as to be near the fleet, which had, by this time, quitted the bay of St. Lunaire, where it could not ride with safety, and anchored in the bay of St. Cas, about three leagues to the westward. On the 8th of September, general Bligh, with his little army, began his march for Guildo, at the distance of nine miles, which he reached in the evening: next day he crossed a little gut or inlet of the sea, at low water, and his troops being incommoded by the peasants, who fired at them from hedges and houses, he sent a priest with a message, intimating, that if they would not desist, he would reduce their houses to ashes. No regard being paid to this intimation, the houses were actually set on fire as soon as the troops had formed their camp about two miles on the other side of the inlet. Next morning he proceeded to the village of Matignon, where, after some smart skirmishing, the French piquets appeared, drawn up in order, to the number of two battalions; but having sustained a few shot from the English field-pieces, and seeing the grenadiers advance, they dispersed. General Bligh continuing his route through the village, encamped in the open ground, about three miles from the bay of St. Cas, which was this day reconnoitred for re-embarkation: for he now received undoubted intelligence, that the duke d'Aiguillon had advanced from Brest to Lambale, within six miles of the English camp, at the head of twelve regular battalions, six squadrons, two regiments of militia, eight mortars, and ten pieces of cannon. The enemy came down upon the English as they were re-embarking, and, opening the battery of ten pieces of cannon and eight mortars, did great execution upon them. They afterwards began to march down the hill, partly covered by a hollow way on the left, with a design to gain a wood, where they might form and extend themselves along the front of the English, and advance against them under shelter of the sand-hills; but in their descent they suffered extremely from the cannon and mortars of the shipping, which made great havoc, and threw them into confusion. Though the greater part of the British troops were already embarked, the rear-guard, consisting of all the grenadiers, and half of the first regiment of guards, remained on shore, to the number of fifteen hundred, under the command of major-general Dury. This officer, seeing the French advance, ordered his troops to form a grand division, and march from behind the bank that covered them, that they might charge the enemy before they could be formed on the plain: but by this time the French had extended themselves into a very formidable front, and no hope remained of being able to withstand such a superior

(*o*) The citizens, encouraged by a manifesto containing a promise of protection, which had been published and distributed, in order to quiet their apprehensions, received their new guests with a good grace, overwhelming them with civilities, for which they met with a very ungrateful return, for as the bulk of the army was not regularly encamped and superintended, the soldiers were at liberty to indulge themselves in riot and licentiousness. During the night they ravaged the adjacent country without restraint, and as no guards had been regularly placed in the streets and avenues of Cherburg to prevent disorders, the town itself was not exempted from pillage and brutality. These outrages, however, were no sooner known, than the general took immediate steps for putting a stop to them, and preventing future irregularities.

(*p*) Great sums of money had been expended upon the harbour and bason of Cherburg; which at one time was considered by the French court as an object of great importance, from its situation respecting the river Seine, as well as the opposite coast of England; but as the works were left unfinished, in all appearance the plan had grown into disrepute.

force.

force. The English line being drawn up on uneven ground, began the action with an irregular fire from right to left, which the enemy returned; but their usual fortitude and resolution seemed to forsake them on this occasion. They saw themselves in danger of being surrounded, and cut in pieces; their officers dropped on every side; and all hope of retreat was now intercepted. In this dilemma their spirits failed; they were seized with a panic; they faultered, they broke, and in less than five minutes after the engagement began they fled in the utmost confusion, pursued by the enemy, who no sooner saw them give way than they fell in among them with their bayonets fixed, and made a great carnage. General Dury being dangerously wounded, ran into the sea, where he perished; and this was the fate of great numbers, officers as well as privates. Many swam towards the boats and vessels, which were ordered to give them all possible assistance; but by far the greater number were either butchered on the beach, or drowned in the water: a small body, however, instead of throwing themselves into the sea, retired to the rock on the left, where they made a stand until they had exhausted their ammunition, and then surrendered at discretion. The havoc was moreover increased by the shot and shells discharged from the battery, which the enemy had raised on the hill. The slaughter would not have been so great, had not the French soldiers been exasperated by the fire from the frigates, which was still maintained, even after the English troops were routed: but this was no sooner silenced by a signal from the commodore, than the enemy exhibited a noble example of moderation and humanity, in granting immediate quarter and protection to the vanquished. About one thousand chosen men of the English army were killed and taken prisoners on this occasion: nor was the advantage cheaply purchased by the French troops, among whom the shot and shells from the frigates and ketches had done great execution. Commodore Howe returned with the fleet to Spithead, and the troops were disembarked.

Nothing further was attempted by that armament after the misfortune of St. Cas; nor was any enterprize of importance atchieved by the British navy in Europe during the course of this summer. The cruisers, however, still continued active and alert. Captain Harvey, in the ship Monmouth, destroyed a French ship of forty guns in the island of Malta; an exploit of which the Maltese loudly complained, as a violation of their neutrality. About twenty sail of small French vessels were driven ashore on the rocks of Bretagne, by some cruisers belonging to the fleet commanded by lord Anson, after a smart engagement with two frigates, under whose convoy they sailed. In November the Belliqueux, a French ship of war, mounted with sixty-four guns, having, by mistake, run up St. George's Channel, and anchored in Lundy-road, captain Saumarez, of the Antelope, then lying in King-road, immediately weighed and went in quest of her, according to the advice he had received. When he appeared in sight, the French captain heaved up his anchor, and made a show of preparing for an engagement; but soon hauled down his colours, and, without firing a shot, surrendered with a complement of four hundred and seventeen men, to a ship of inferior force, both in number of hands and weight of metal. By this time the English privateers swarmed to such a degree in the Channel, that scarcely a French vessel durst quit the harbour, and consequently there was little or no booty to be obtained.

The whole of the very lucrative and important gum trade, from Cape Blanco to the river Gambia, an extent of five hundred miles, had been engrossed by the French, who built Fort Louis, within the mouth of the Senegal, extending their factories nearly three hundred leagues up that river, and on the same coast they had fortified the island of Goree, in which they maintained a considerable garrison. The gum-senega, of which a great quantity is used by the manufacturers of England, being wholly in the hands of the enemy, the English dealers were obliged to buy it at second-hand from the Dutch, who purchased it of the French, and exacted an exorbitant price for that commodity. This consideration forwarded the plan for annexing the country to the possession of Great Britain. The conquest of Senegal was the plan of Mr. Cumming, a quaker. A small squadron was equipped under the command of captain Marsh, having on board a body of marines commanded by major Mason, with a detachment of artillery, ten pieces of cannon, eight mortars, and a considerable quantity of warlike stores and ammunition. Captain Walker was appointed engineer; and Mr. Cumming was concerned as a principal director and promoter of the expedition (*q*). This little armament sailed in the beginning of March, 1758; and on the 23rd of April captain Marsh discovered the French flag flying upon Fort Louis, situated in the midst of a considerable town, which exhibited a very agreeable appearance. The commodore came to anchor in Senegal-road at the mouth of Senegal river, and perceived several armed sloops which the enemy had detached to defend the passage of the bar. All the boats were employed in conveying the stores into the small craft, while three of the sloops continued exchanging fire over a narrow tongue of land with the vessels of the enemy, consisting of one brig and six armed sloops, mounted with great guns and swivels. At length, the channel being discovered, and the wind, which generally blows down the river, changing, captain Millar, of the London buss passed the bar, dropped anchor on the inside, and lay till night, exposed to the whole fire of the enemy. Next day he was joined by the other small vessels, and a regular engagement ensued. This was warmly maintained on both sides, until the busses and one dogger running a-ground, immediately bulged, and were filled with water. The troops they contained took to their boats, and with some difficulty reached the shore, and were soon joined by their companions from the other vessels; so that now the whole amounted to three hundred and ninety marines, besides the detachment of artillery. The natives, instead of opposing them, came in great numbers and submitted; and on the succeeding day they were reinforced by three hundred and fifty seamen. They had made no further progress in their operations, when two French deputies arrived at the entrenchment, with proposals for a capitulation from the governor of Fort Louis. After some hesitation, captain Marsh and major Mason agreed, "That all the white people belonging to the French company at Senegal should be safely conducted to France in an English vessel, without being deprived of their private effects, provided all the merchandize and uncoined treasure should be delivered up to the victors: and that all the forts, store-houses, vessels, arms, provisions, and every article belonging to the company in that river, should be put into the hands of the English immediately after the capitulation should be signed. They promised that the free natives living at Fort Louis should remain in quiet possession of their effects, and in the free exercise of their religion; and that all negroes, mulattoes, and others, who could prove themselves free, should have it in their option either to remain in the place, or remove to any other part of the country. The captains Campbell and Walker, were immediately sent up the river with a flag of truce, to see the articles signed and executed; but they were so retarded by the rapidity of the stream, that they did not approach the fort till three in the morning. As soon as the day broke they hoisted their flag, and rowed up towards a battery on a point of the island, where they lay upon their oars very near an hour, beating the chamade; but no notice was taken of their approach. This reserve appearing mysterious, they retired down the river to their entrenchments, where they understood that the negroes on the island were in arms, and had blocked up the French in Fort Louis, resolving to defend the place to the last extremity, unless they should be included in the capitulation. This intelligence was communicated in a second letter from the governor, who likewise informed the English commander, that unless the French director-general should be permitted to remain with the natives, as a surety for that article of the capitulation in which they were concerned, they would allow themselves to be cut in pieces rather than submit. This request being granted, the English forces began their march to Fort Louis, accompanied by a number of long boats, in which the artillery and stores had been embarked. The French seeing them advance, immediately struck their flag; and major Mason took possession of the castle, where he found ninety-two pieces of cannon, with treasure and merchandize to a considerable value. Fort Louis

(*q*) As Mr. Cumming acted contrary to the tenets of his religion, he requested that people might not impute to his brethren what was his own act. If this was the first military scheme of any quaker, it should be observed, that it was one of the first that was ever carried on without the loss of a drop of blood on either side.

being secured with an English garrison, they proceeded to make an attempt upon the island of Goree, which lies at the distance of thirty leagues from Senegal, but not having a sufficient force, they were obliged to relinquish the enterprize.

As the conquest of Senegal was considered incomplete, while the French remained in possession of Goree, the British ministry resolved to annex that place to their African acquisitions. Accordingly commodore Keppel was sent with a squadron of four ships of the line, several frigates, two bomb ketches, and some transports, having on board seven hundred regulars, commanded by colonel Worge, and embarked, on the 11th of November, from Cork harbour. They arrived at Goree after a tempestuous passage about the close of December, and the commodore immediately made a disposition for the attack of that island, which was remarkably strong by nature, but indifferently fortified. After a very warm, but short contest, the garrison, though they had not lost a man, deserted their post, and the governor was under the necessity of striking his colours, and surrendering at discretion. The loss of the English did not exceed one hundred men, killed and wounded. Thus fell the important island of Goree into the hands of the English, together with two trading vessels that chanced to be at anchor in the road, and stores, money, and merchandize, to the value of twenty thousand pounds. Part of the troops being left in garrison at Goree, under the command of major Newton, together with three sloops for his service, the commodore set sail for Senegal, and reinforced Fort Louis with the rest of the troops under colonel Worge (*r*).

Captain Tyrrel being detached in the Buckingham on a cruize in November, fell in with the Weazle sloop, commanded by captain Bowles, between the islands of Montserrat and Guadaloupe, and immediately discovered a fleet of nineteen sail, under convoy of a French ship of war carrying seventy-four guns, and two large frigates. Captain Tyrrel immediately gave chase with all the sail he could carry, and the Weazle running close to the enemy, received a whole broadside from the large ship, which, however, she sustained without much damage: nevertheless, captain Tyrrel ordered her commander to keep aloof, as he could not be supposed able to bear the shock of large metal, and he himself prepared for the engagement. The enemy's large ship, the Florissant, though of much greater force than the Buckingham, instead of lying to for his coming up, made a running fight with her stern-chase, while the two frigates annoyed him in his course, sometimes raking him fore and aft, and sometimes lying on his quarter. At length he came along side of the Florissant, within pistol-shot, and poured in a whole broadside, which did considerable execution. The salutation was returned with equal vivacity, and a furious engagement ensued. Captain Tyrrel was wounded in the face, and lost three fingers of his right hand; so that, being entirely disabled, he was obliged to delegate the command of the ship to his first lieutenant, Mr. Marshal, who continued the battle with great gallantry until he lost his life; then the charge devolved to the second lieutenant, who acquitted himself with equal honour, and sustained a desperate fight against three ships of the enemy. The officers and crew of the Buckingham exerted themselves with equal vigour and deliberation, and captain Troy, who commanded a detachment of marines on the poop, plied his small arms so effectually, as to drive the French from their quarters. At length confusion, terror, and uproar, prevailing on board the Florissant, her firing ceased, and her colours were hauled down about twilight; but her commander, perceiving that the Buckingham was too much damaged in her rigging to pursue in any hope of success, ordered all his sails to be set, and fled in the dark with his two consorts. Nothing but this circumstance could have prevented a British ship of sixty-five guns, indifferently manned in respect to number, from taking a French ship of the line, of seventy-four guns, provided with seven hundred men, and assisted by two large frigates, one of thirty-eight guns, and the other of thirty-six. The loss of the Buckingham, in this action, did not exceed twenty men killed and wounded; whereas the number of slain on board the Florissant did not fall short of one hundred and eighty, and that of her wounded is said to have exceeded three hundred. She was so disabled in her hull, that she could hardly be kept afloat until she reached Martinique, where she was repaired; and the largest frigate, together with the loss of forty men, received such damage as to be for some time quite unserviceable.

We must now return to our affairs in the East Indies. While success appeared doubtful between these contending nations, the Dutch, under pretence of reinforcing the garrisons in Bengal, equipped seven ships, which were ordered to sail up the Ganges, and render their fort at Chincura so formidable as to exclude all other nations from the salt-petre trade, which was carried on there, and thus monopolize so beneficial a commodity. This design colonel Clive thought proper to oppose. He sent the Dutch commander a letter, informing him that he could not permit his landing, and marching his forces to the fort intended, as he foresaw that it would be detrimental to the commerce of Europe. To this message the Dutchman replied, that he had no designs of a monopoly, and he only requested the liberty to land and refresh his troops; which request was quickly granted. But the Dutch commander continued submissive no longer than he supposed himself unable to act with vigour; for as soon as he knew that the ships which were to second his operations were come up the river, he boldly began his march to Chincura, and took several small vessels belonging to the English in his passage, to retaliate for the affront he pretended to have received. Colonel Clive was not slow in vindicating the honour of his country; and as there happened to be three India ships at that time in the harbour, he gave them instant orders to meet the Dutch fleet, and sink them if they offered to resist. This command was obeyed with great alacrity; but, after a few broadsides on either side, the Dutch commander struck, and the rest of the fleet followed his example. The victory thus obtained, without any great damage, captain Wilson, who commanded in the expedition, took possession of the fleet of the enemy, and sent their men prisoners to the fort; while, about the same time, their land forces were defeated by colonel Ford, sent by Clive upon that duty. This contest had like to have produced a new rupture in that part of the world; but a negociation soon after ensuing, the Dutch wisely gave way to a power they were not able to withstand.

Meanwhile the operations against the French were carried on with equal success. The troops, headed by colonel Coote, marched against general Lally, and resolved to come to a decisive engagement. On his march he took the city of Wandewash; afterwards he reduced the fortress of Carangoly, and, at length, came up with the French general, who did not appear to have any intention of declining the engagement. The French advanced within three quarters of a mile of the English line, and the cannonading began with great fury on both sides. The engagement continued with obstinacy for several hours, when the French gave way and fled towards their camp, which they as quickly abandoned, leaving their baggage, cannon, and the field of battle, to the conquerors. The re-taking the city of Arcot was the consequence of this victory; and nothing now remained to the French, of all their former dominions in India, but Pondicherry. As soon as the fortresses adjacent were reduced, colonel Coote sat down before that city determined to blockade it by land, while admiral Stevens shut up the harbour by sea. A regular siege was at that time impracticable, from the periodical rains which in that climate would not fail to obstruct all such operations. However, neither the rains nor the inclemency of the climate, were able to abate the ardour of the besiegers; the blockade was continued, and the garrison was pressed in such a manner, that it was reduced to the most extreme distress. Though the French soldiers were obliged to feed on dogs and cats, Lally the commander was determined to hold out to the last. In the midst of the garrison's distress, fortune seemed to give an opportunity of relief, had it been seized with vigour. One of those terrible tempests, common in that climate, wrecked a large part of the English fleet that was blocking up the harbour. Lally wrote the most pressing letters to

(*r*) This expedition, though in the main a successful one, was attended with one misfortune, the loss of the Litchfield man of war, commanded by captain Barton, together with one transport and a bomb tender, which were wrecked on the coast of Barbary. One hundred and thirty men, including several officers, perished on this occasion; but the captain and the rest of the company, about two hundred and twenty, reached the shore, where they were in danger of starving, and were cruelly used by the natives, although a treaty of peace subsisted at that time between Great Britain and the emperor of Morocco; nay, the emperor even ordered them into slavery, and detained them in captivity till they were ransomed by the British government.

the French residents at the Dutch settlements, to be supplied with provisions; but to his mortification, instead of seeing the French boats coming to his relief, he saw, in less than four days, the English admiral again entering the harbour, having repaired the damage he had lately sustained. Lally, however, still determined to hold out, and with a savage obstinacy saw his troops half consuming with fatigue and famine around him. At length, finding that a breach had been made in the rampart, and that no more than one day's provision remained, he permitted a signal to be made for ceasing hostilities. Yet still the strong perverseness of his temper continued; he sent a paper alledging, that he would not treat upon honourable terms with an enemy that had transgressed all the laws of honour. He surrendered the place not in his own person, but permitted some under officers in garrison to obtain terms of capitulation. This conquest put an end to the power of France in India. The chief part of the territory and trade of that vast peninsula, from the Indus to the Ganges, was annexed to the British empire; and the princes of the country, after some vain opposition to the English power, were at length contented to submit.

But the strength of the crown of England seemed to be every day declining, and the general opinion of the people was loud enough to reach the throne. The ministry that had hitherto hedged in the throne, were at length obliged to admit some men into a share of the government, whose activity at least would counterbalance their timidity and irresolution. At the head of the newly introduced party, was the celebrated Mr. William Pitt, from whose vigour the nation formed very great expectations, and they were not deceived. Though the old ministers were obliged to admit these new members into their society, there was no legal penalty for refusing to operate with them; they therefore associated with each other, and used every art to render their new assistants odious to the king, upon whom they had been in a manner forced by the people. His former ministry flattered him in his attachments to his German dominions; while the new clamoured against all continental connections, as incompatible with the interests of the nation. The king was naturally led to take part with those who favoured his own sentiments, and to reject those who opposed them. Mr. Pitt, therefore, after being a few months in office, was ordered to resign, by his majesty's command, and his coadjutor, Mr. Legge, was displaced from being chancellor of the exchequer. This blow to his ambition was but of short continuance; the generality of the nation seemed to rise up in his defence, and Mr. Pitt and Mr. Legge were once more reluctantly restored to their former employments, the one of secretary of state, the other of chancellor of the exchequer. The consequences of the former ill conducted counsels still seemed to continue in America. The generals sent over to manage the operations of the war, loudly accused the timidity and delays of the natives, whose duty it was to unite in their own defence. The Americans, on the other hand, as warmly expostulated against the pride, avarice, and incapacity of those sent over to command them. General Shirley, who had been appointed to the supreme command there, had been for some time recalled, and replaced by lord Loudon; and this nobleman also soon after returning to England, three several commanders were put at the head of separate operations. General Amherst commanded that designed against the island of Cape Breton; the other was consigned to general Abercrombie, against Crown-Point and Ticonderago; and the third, still more to the southward, against Fort du Quesne, commanded by brigadier-general Forbes.

Cape Breton (*s*), which had been taken from the French during the preceding war, had been restored at the treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle. The wresting of this important place once more from the hands of the French, was a measure ardently desired by the whole nation. The fortress of Louisburgh, by which it was defended, had been strengthened by the assistance of art, and was still better defended from the nature of its situation. The garrison also was numerous, the commander vigilant, and every precaution taken to oppose a landing. Notwithstanding the complicated difficulties the English had to encounter, they surmounted every obstacle with great intrepidity. Their former timidity and irresolution seemed to vanish, their natural courage and confidence returned, and the place surrendered by capitulation. The fortifications were soon after demolished, and rendered unfit for future service.

The expedition to Fort du Quesne was equally successful; but that against Crown-Point was once more defeated. This was now the second time the English army had attempted to penetrate into those hideous wilds, by which nature had secured the French possessions in that part of the world. Braddock fell in the attempt, a martyr to his impetuosity; too much caution was equally injurious to his successor. Abercrombie spent much time in marching to the place of action; and the enemy were thus prepared to give him a severe reception. As he approached Ticonderago, he found them deeply entrenched at the foot of the fort, and still farther secured by fallen trees, with their branches pointing against him. These difficulties the English ardour attempted to surmount; but as the enemy, being secure themselves, took aim at leisure, a terrible carnage of the assailants ensued; and the general, after repeated efforts, was obliged to order a retreat. The English army, however, was still superior; and it was supposed that when the artillery was arrived, something more successful might be performed; but the general felt too sensibly the terrors of the late defeat to remain in the neighbourhood of a triumphant enemy. He withdrew his troops, and returned to his camp at Lake George, from whence he had taken his departure. But though in this respect the English arms were unsuccessful, yet upon the whole the campaign was greatly in their favour. The taking of Fort du Quesne served to remove from their colonies the terror of the incursions of the Indians, while it interrupted that correspondence which ran along a chain of forts, with which the French had environed the English settlements in America. This, therefore, promised a fortunate campaign the next year, and vigorous measures were taken to ensure success.

On the opening of the following year, therefore, the ministry, sensible that a single effort, carried on in such an extensive country, could never reduce the enemy, resolved to attack them in several parts of their empire at once. Preparations were accordingly made, and expeditions driven forward against three different parts of North America at the same time. General Amherst, the commander in chief, with a body of twelve thousand men, was to attack Crown-Point, that had hitherto been the reproach of the English army. General Wolfe was at the opposite quarter to enter the river St. Lawrence, and undertake the siege of Quebec, the capital of the French dominions in America; while general Prideaux, and sir William Johnson, were to attempt a French fort, near the cataracts of Niagara. The last named expedition was the first that succeeded. The siege was begun with vigour, and promised an easy conquest; but general Prideaux was killed in the trenches by the bursting of a mortar, so that the whole command of the expedition devolved upon general Johnson, who omitted nothing to push forward the vigorous operations of his predecessor, to which also he added his own popularity with the soldiers under him. A body of French troops, who were sensible of the importance of this fort, attempted to relieve it; but Johnson attacked them with intrepidity and success; for in less than an hour their whole army was put to the rout. The garrison soon after perceiving the fate of their countrymen, surrendered prisoners of war. The success of general Amherst was less splendid, though not less serviceable; upon arriving at the destined place, he found the forts both of Crown-Point and Ticonderago deserted and destroyed.

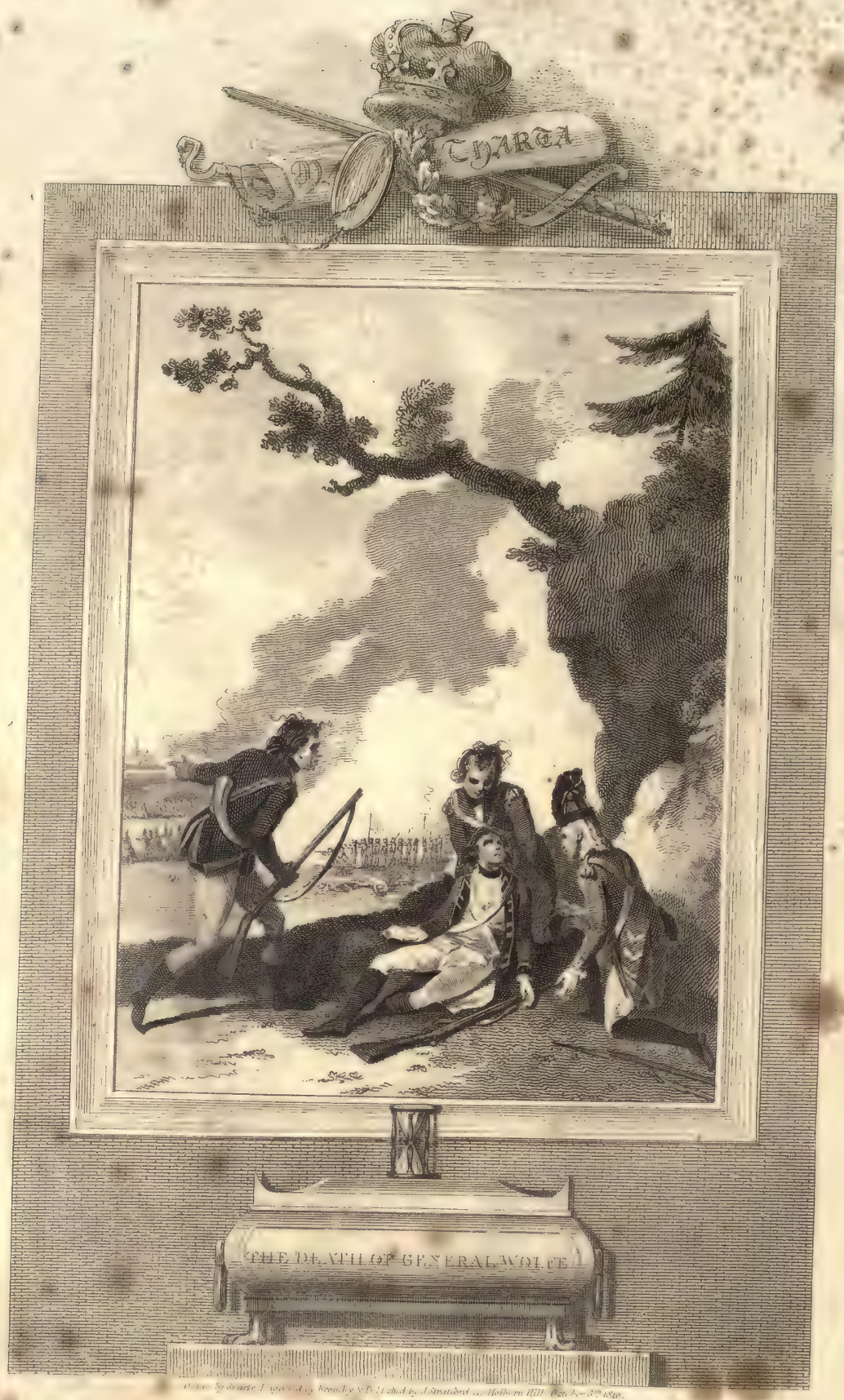
There now remained but one grand and decisive blow to put all North-America into the possession of the English; and this was the taking of Quebec, which was successfully undertaken in 1759. Admiral Saunders was appointed to command the naval part of the expedition; the siege by land was committed to the conduct of general Wolfe, of whom the nation had great expectations (*t*).

The war in America had been hitherto carried on with extreme barbarity; and retaliating murders were continued without any one's knowing who first began. General Wolfe, however, disdained to imitate an example that

(*s*) It was not till the English had been put in possession of this island, that they began to perceive its advantageous situation, and the convenience of its harbour for annoying the British trade with impunity. It was also a convenient port for carrying on their fishery, a branch of commerce of the utmost benefit to the English nation in general.

(*t*) This young soldier, who was not yet thirty-five, had distinguished himself on many former occasions, particularly at the siege of Louisburgh; a part of the success of which was justly ascribed to him, who, without being indebted to family or connections, had raised himself by merit to his present command.




CHARTA
THE DEATH OF GENERAL WOLFE

had been set him even by some of his associate officers; he carried on the war with all the spirit of humanity which it admits of. The city of Quebec is situated on the north side of the great river St. Lawrence; and when we consider the fortifications with which it was secured, the natural strength of the country, the great number of vessels and floating batteries the enemy had provided for the defence of the river, the numerous bodies of savages continually hovering round the English army, it must be owned there was such a combination of difficulties, as might discourage and perplex the most resolute commander. The general himself seemed perfectly sensible of the difficulty of the undertaking. After stating, in a letter to the ministry, the dangers that presented, "I know, said he, that the affairs of Great Britain require the most vigorous measures. But then the courage of an handful of brave men should be exerted only where there is some hope of a favourable event. At present the difficulties are so various, that I am at a loss how to determine." The only prospect of attempting the town with success was by landing a body of troops in the night below the town, who were to clamber up the banks of the river, and take possession of the ground on the back of the city. This attempt, however, appeared peculiarly discouraging. The stream was rapid, the shore shelving, the bank above lined with centinels, the landing-place so narrow as to be easily missed in the dark, and the steepness of the ground such as hardly to be surmounted in the day-time. All these difficulties were removed by the conduct of the general, and the bravery of the men. Colonel Howe, with the light infantry and the Highlanders, ascended the woody precipices with admirable courage and activity, and dislodged a small body of troops that defended a narrow pathway up the bank; thus a few mounting, the general drew the rest up in order as they arrived. Monsieur de Montcalm, the French commander, was no sooner apprized that the English had gained these heights, which he had confidently deemed inaccessible, than he resolved to hazard a battle, and a furious encounter quickly began. This was one of the most desperate engagements during the war. The French general was slain; and the second in command shared the same fate. General Wolfe was stationed on the right, where the attack was most warm; as he stood conspicuous in the front line, he had been aimed at by the enemies marksmen, and received a shot in the wrist, which, however, did not oblige him to quit the field. Having wrapped an handkerchief round his hand, he continued giving orders without the least emotion, and advanced at the head of the grenadiers with their bayonets fixed; but a second ball more fatal, pierced his breast; so that, unable to proceed, he leaned on the shoulder of a soldier that was next him. Now struggling in the agonies of death, and just expiring, he heard a voice cry, "They run! they run!"—"Who run?" cried the gallant Wolfe, with great eagerness: when the lieutenant replied, "The French,"—"What! (said he,) do the cowards run already? then I die happy." So saying, the glorious youth expired. Perhaps the loss of the English that day was greater than the conquest of Canada was advantageous; but it is the lot of mankind only to know true merit on that dreadful occasion when they are going to lose it.

The surrender of Quebec was the consequence of this victory; and with it soon after the total cession of all Canada. The French, indeed, the following season made a vigorous effort to retake the city; but by the resolution of governor Murray, and the appearance of an English fleet under the command of lord Colville, they were forced to abandon the enterprize. The whole province was soon after reduced by the prudence and activity of general Amherst, who obliged the French army to capitulate. To these conquests about the same time was added the reduction of the island of Guadaloupe, under commodore More and general Hopson, an acquisition of great importance; but which was restored at the succeeding peace.

Notwithstanding these troublesome, warlike, and expensive times, the citizens of London found leisure to plan, and funds to execute magnificent works of art, for the ornament of the metropolis, and the convenience of commerce. They had obtained an act of parliament, empowering them to build a new bridge over the Thames, from Black Friers to the opposite shore, about midway between those of London and Westminster. Commissioners were appointed to put this act in execution; and, at a court of common council, it was resolved that a sum not exceeding one hundred and forty-four thousand pounds should be forthwith raised, within the space of eight years, by instalments, not exceeding thirty thousand pounds in one year, to be paid into the chamber of London; that the persons advancing the money should have an interest at the rate of four pounds *per cent. per annum*, to be paid half-yearly by the chamberlain, yet redeemable at the expiration of the first ten years; and that the chamberlain should affix the city's seal to such instruments as the committee might think fit to give for the security of the payment of the said annuities. Such were the first effectual steps taken towards the execution of a laudable measure, which met with the most obstinate opposition in the sequel from the narrow views of particular people, as well as from the prejudice of party.

The spirit that now animated the citizens of London was such as small difficulties did not retard, and even considerable losses could not discourage. In November, 1759, the city was exposed to a dangerous conflagration, kindled in the night by accident in the neighbourhood of the Royal Exchange, which burned with great fury, notwithstanding the assistance of the fire-men and engines employed under the personal directions of the magistracy, and consumed a great number of houses, and damaged many more. That whole quarter of the town was filled with consternation; some individuals were beggared; one or two perished in the flames, and some were buried in the ruins of the houses that sunk under the disaster.

This year a sloop called the Dolphin, bound from the Canaries to New York, met with such unfavourable weather, that she was detained one hundred and sixty-five days in the passage, and the provisions of the ship was altogether expired before the first fifty days were elapsed. The wretched crew had devoured their dog, cat, and all their shoes on board: at length, being reduced to the utmost extremity, they agreed to cast lots for their lives, that the body of him on whom the lot should fall might serve for some time to support the survivors. The wretched victim was one Antonio Gulatie, a Spanish gentleman and passenger. Him they shot with a musquet; and having cut off his head, threw it overboard; but the entrails, and rest of the carcase, they greedily devoured. This horrid banquet having, as it were, fleshed the famished crew, they began to talk of another sacrifice, from which, however, they were diverted by the influence and remonstrances of their captain, who prevailed upon them to be satisfied with a miserable allowance to each per diem cut from a pair of leather breeches found in the cabin. Upon this calamitous pittance, reinforced with the grass which grew plentifully upon the deck, these poor objects made shift to subsist for twenty days, at the expiration of which they were relieved, and taken on board by one captain Bradshaw, who they chanced to fall in with at sea (*u*).

Intelligence having been received that the enemy meditated an invasion upon some of the British territories, and that a number of flat-bottom-boats were prepared at Havre de Grace for the purpose of disembarking troops, rear-admiral Rodney was, in the beginning of July, detached with a small squadron of ships and bombs to annoy and overawe that part of the coast of France. He accordingly anchored in the road of Havre, and made a disposition to execute the instructions he had received. The bomb vessels being placed in the narrow channel of the river leading to Honfleur, began to throw their shells, and continued the bombardment for two-and-fifty hours, without intermission, during which a numerous body of French troops were employed in throwing up entrenchments, erecting new batteries, and firing both shot and shells upon the assailants. The town was set on fire in several places, and burned with great fury; some of the boats were overturned, and a few of them reduced to ashes, while the inhabitants forsook the place in the utmost consernation.

But the honour of the British flag was much more effectually asserted by admiral Boscawen, who had the command of a squadron in the Mediterranean. Having in vain displayed the British flag in sight of Toulon, by way of defiance to the French fleet that lay there at anchor, he ordered three ships of the line, commanded by cap-

(*u*) When captain Bradshaw fell in with them, the whole crew, consisting of seven men, were so squalid and emaciated, as to exhibit an appearance at once piteous and terrible; and so reduced in point of strength, that it was found necessary to use ropes and tackle to hoist them from one ship to the other.

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tain Smith, Harland, and Barker, to advance and burn two ships that lay close to the mouth of the harbour. They accordingly approached with great intrepidity, and met with a very warm reception from divers batteries which they had not before perceived. Two small forts they attempted to destroy, and cannonaded for some time with great fury; but being over-matched by superior force, and the wind subsiding into a calm, they sustained considerable damage, and were towed off with great difficulty in a very shattered condition. The admiral seeing three of his best ships so roughly handled in this enterprize, returned to Gibraltar in order to retard M. de la Clue, the commander of the French squadron at Toulon, who seized this opportunity of sailing, in hopes of passing the Strait unobserved, with his fleet, consisting of twelve ships of the line and three frigates. Admiral Boscawen's fleet consisted of fourteen sail of the line, with two frigates and as many fire-ships. On the 17th of August, signal was made that fourteen sail appeared on the Barbary shore, to the eastward of Ceuta; upon which the English admiral, having refitted his squadron, immediately went to sea: at day-light he descried seven large ships lying-to; but when the English squadron forbore to answer their signal, they discovered their mistake, set all their sails, and made the best of their way. This was the greater part of the French squadron commanded by M. de la Clue, from whom five of his large ships and three frigates had separated in the night. Even now, perhaps, he might have escaped, had he not been obliged to wait for the Souveraine, which was a heavy sailer. At noon the wind, which had blown a fresh gale, died away, and although admiral Boscawen had made signal to chase, and engage in a line of battle a-head, it was not till half an hour after two that some of his headmost ships could close with the rear of the enemy; which though greatly out-numbered, fought with uncommon bravery. The English admiral, without waiting to return the fire of the sternmost, which he received as he passed, used all his endeavours to come up with the Ocean, which M. de la Clue commanded in person; and about four o'clock in the afternoon running athwart her hause, poured into her a broadside: thus the engagement began with equal vigour on both sides. This dispute, however, was of short duration. In about half an hour admiral Boscawen's mizen-mast and topsail-yards were shot away, and the enemy hoisted all the sail they could carry. Mr. Boscawen having shifted his flag from the Namur to the Newark, joined some other ships in attacking the Centaur, of seventy-four guns, which, being thus overpowered, was obliged to surrender. The British admiral pursued them all night, during which the Souveraine, and the Guerrier, altered their course, and deserted their commander. At day-break M. de la Clue, whose left leg had been broke in the engagement, perceiving the English squadron crowding all their sails to come up with him, and finding himself on the coast of Portugal, determined to burn his ships, rather than they should fall into the hands of the victors. The Ocean was run ashore two leagues from Lagos, near the fort of Amadoria, the commander of which fired three shot at the English; another captain of the French squadron followed the example of his commander, and both endeavoured to disembark their men; but the sea being rough, this proved a very tedious and difficult attempt. The captains of the Temeraire and Modeste, instead of destroying their ships, anchored as near as they could to the forts Xavier and Lagres, in hopes of engaging their protection; but in this hope they were disappointed. M. de la Clue had been landed, and the command of the Ocean was left to the count de Carno, who having received one broadside from the America, struck his colours, and the English took possession of this noble prize, the best ship in the French navy, mounted with eighty guns. Captain Bently, of the Warspight, attacked the Temeraire, of seventy-four guns, which was bulged, and abandoned by her men and officers; but they made a prize of the Modeste, carrying sixty-four guns, which had not been much injured in the engagement (*v*).

Sir Edward Hawke having the command of a squadron, steered for Quiberon, on the coast of Bretagne, which he supposed would be the rendezvous of the French squadron: but, notwithstanding his utmost efforts, he was driven by a hard gale considerably to the westward, where he was joined by two frigates, the Maidstone and Coventry. These he directed to keep a-head of the squadron. The weather growing more moderate, the former made the signal for seeing a fleet, on the 20th of November, at half an hour past eight o'clock in the morning, and an hour afterwards discovered them to the enemy's squadron. They were at that time in chase of captain Duff's squadron, which now joined the large fleet, after having run some risk of being taken. Sir Edward Hawke, who, when the Maidstone gave the first notice, had formed the line a-breast, now perceiving that the French admiral endeavoured to escape with all the sail he could carry, threw out a signal for seven of his ships that were nearest the enemy to chase, and endeavour to detain them, until they could be reinforced by the rest of the squadron, which were ordered to form into a line of battle a-head, as they chased, that no time might be lost in the pursuit. With respect to his ships of the line, he had but the advantage of one in point of number, and no superiority in men or metal. At half an hour after two the van of the English fleet began the engagement with the rear of the enemy, in the neighbourhood of Belleisle. Every ship, as she advanced, poured in a broadside on the sternmost of the French, and bore down upon their van, leaving the rear to those that came after. Sir Edward Hawke, in the Royal George, of one hundred and ten guns, reserved his fire in passing through the rear of the enemy, and ordered his master to bring him along-side of the French admiral, who commanded in person on board the Soleil Royal, a ship mounted with eighty guns, and provided with a complement of twelve hundred men. When the pilot remonstrated that he could not obey his command, without the most imminent risk of running upon a shoal, the veteran replied, "You have done your duty in showing the danger; now you are to comply with my order, and lay me along-side the Soleil Royal." His wish was gratified: the Royal George ranged up with the French admiral. The Thesée, another large ship of the enemy, running up between the two commanders, sustained the fire that was reserved for the Soleil Royal; but in returning the first broadside foundered, in consequence of the high sea that entered her lower-deck port, and filled her with water. Notwithstanding the boisterous weather, a great number of ships on both sides fought with equal fury and dubious success, till about four in the afternoon, when the Formidable struck her colours. The Superbe shared the fate of the Thesée in going to the bottom. The Hero hauled down her colours in token of submission, and dropped anchor; but the wind was so high, that no boat could be sent to take possession. By this time day-light began to fail, and the greater part of the French fleet escaped under cover of the darkness. Night approaching, the wind blowing with augmented violence on a lee-shore, and the British squadron being entangled among unknown shoals and islands, sir Edward Hawke made the signal for anchoring to the westward of the small island Dumet; and here the fleet remained all night in a very dangerous riding, alarmed by the fury of the storm, and the incessant firing of guns of distress, without their knowing whether it proceeded from friend or enemy. The Soleil Royal, had, under favour of the night, anchored also in the midst of the British squadron; but at day-break M. de Conflans ordered her cable to be cut, and she drove ashore to the westward of Crozie. The English admiral immediately made signal to the Essex to slip cable, and pursue her; and, in obeying this order, she ran unfortunately on a sand-bank called Lefour, where the Resolution, another ship of the British squadron was already grounded. Here they were both irrecoverably lost, in spite of all the assistance that could be given: but all their men, and part of their stores, were saved, and the wrecks set on fire by order of the admiral. He likewise detached the Portland, Chatham, and Vengeance, to destroy the Soleil Royal, which was burned by her own people, before the English ships could approach; but they arrived time enough to reduce the Hero to ashes on the Lefour, where she had been also stranded; and the Juste, another of their great ships, perished in the mouth of the Loire. The admiral, perceiving several large ships of the enemy riding at anchor, between Point Penvas and the

(*v*) This victory was obtained by the English admiral with the loss of but few men; the whole number of the killed and wounded not exceeding two hundred and fifty on board the British squadron, though the carnage among the enemy was much more considerable, as M. de la Clue, in his letter to the French ambassador at Lisbon, owned, that on board of his own ship, the Ocean, one hundred men were killed, and seventy dangerously wounded.

mouth

mouth of the river Vilaine, made the signal to weigh, in order to attack them; but the fury of the storm increased so vehemently, that he was obliged to remain at anchor, and even order the top-gallant-masts to be struck. In the mean time, the French ships being lightened of their cannon, their officers took advantage of the flood, and a more moderate gale under the land, to enter the Vilaine, where they lay within half a mile of the entrance, protected by some occasional batteries erected on shore, and by two large frigates moored across the mouth of the harbour. Thus they were effectually secured from any attempt of small vessels; and as for large ships, there was not water sufficient to float them within fighting distance of the enemy. This battle not only defeated the projected invasion, which had hung menacing so long over the apprehensions of Great Britain, but it gave the finishing blow to the naval power of France, which was totally disabled from undertaking any thing of consequence in the after part of the war.

We must now return to the military atchievements on the continent of Europe. A defensive war in Germany was all that could be expected; and this was maintained against the united powers of the continent with unexampled bravery, by the king of Prussia and the English in alliance. The French and Imperialists, triumphing in repeated successes, formed the siege of Leipsig, in the depth of winter. The capture of that city would have been fatal to the interests of the king of Prussia; and by one of those rapid marches, for which he was remarkable, he seemed with his army, unexpectedly, to rise up before the town. Such was the terror of his arms, that, even vanquished as he appeared, the French, though superior in number, raised the siege, and retreated. He was resolved to pursue, and at length overtook them at the village of Rosbach, where he gained so complete a victory, that night alone saved their whole army from annihilation.

The Austrians in the mean time laid siege to Breslau, upon which place, November 22, 1757, they began a most furious discharge of cannon, forty of which were twenty-four pounders, and this continued without intermission about four hours, when it was succeeded by a severe fire of the small arms, which likewise lasted about four hours. The Prussians, with undaunted resolution, stood two of the most violent attacks that were ever made; but at the third, overpowered by numbers, and assailed on both sides, they began to lose ground, and were forced to retire from one entrenchment to another. In this extremity, night coming on, the Prussian generals fearing their entrenchment would be entirely forced, and that they should then be totally defeated, thought proper to retreat. The prince of Bevern, with the greater part of the army, retired to an eminence on the banks of the Oder, while the rest of the troops threw themselves into Breslau, which they might have defended, in all probability, till the king had come to its relief. But, on the 24th, their commander in chief, the prince of Bevern, going to reconnoitre the enemy, with only a single groom to attend him, fell in among a party of Croats, who took him prisoner. His army, thus deprived of their general, retreated northward that night, leaving in Breslau only four battalions, who, the next day, surrendered the place by capitulation, one of the articles of which was, That they should not serve against the empress or her allies, for two years. All the magazines, chests, artillery, &c. remained in the hands of the Austrians. The garrison marched out with all military honours, conducted by general Leswitz, governor of Breslau. Though the Austrians sung *Te Deum* for the victory, they owned that such another would put an end to their army, for it cost them the lives of twelve thousand men; a number almost equal to the whole of the Prussian army before the battle. They had four almost inaccessible entrenchments to force, planted thick with cannon, which fired cartridge-shot from nine in the morning till the evening, and the Prussians, when attacked, were never once put into the least confusion. Among the slain on the side of the Austrians were general Wurben, and several other officers of distinction. The loss of the Prussians did not much exceed three thousand men, in killed, wounded, and prisoners, of which last there were about sixteen hundred. Their general, Kleist, was found dead on the field of battle.

The king of Prussia, at the head of only fifteen thousand men, advanced towards the enemy. In his march he was joined by twenty-four thousand more. With this force, though greatly inferior in number to that of the enemy, he resolved to attack the Austrians, who were entrenched at Lissa, near Breslau. On the 4th of December he seized upon their ovens at Neumarck, and upon a considerable magazine, guarded by two regiments of Croats, who retired to a rising ground, where his majesty ordered his hussars to surround them, and send a trumpet to summon them to surrender themselves prisoners of war. Upon their refusal, the hussars of Zeithen fell upon them sabre in hand, and some hundreds of them having been cut in pieces, the rest threw down their arms, begging for quarter on their knees. After this seizure, and after having distributed to his army the bread prepared for his enemies, he began again the next morning his march towards Lissa. General Ziethen, who led the van-guard of light horse, fell in with a body of Austrian hussars, and three regiments of Saxon dragoons, which were the very best cavalry the enemy had left after the late battle. They had been detached by the Austrians, in order to retard the king's march, and to conceal their own, till their batteries should be completed; for, as they held the small number of the Prussians in contempt, their intention was to have met the king two German miles from their entrenchments. The Austrian cavalry having been vigorously repulsed to a considerable distance, general Ziethen perceived that their whole army was forming. He immediately acquainted the king with what he had discovered, and his majesty, after having himself observed the disposition of the enemy, made his own with that sagacity and dispatch for which he has always been remarkable. The action began by attacking a battery of forty pieces of large cannon, which covered the right wing of the enemy. The two battalions of guards, with the regiments of the margrave Charles and of Itzenplitz, marched up, amidst a most terrible fire, in the very mouth of the cannon, with their bayonets screwed. In this attack the Prussians sustained their greatest loss, though the battery was carried as soon almost as they could reach it: then the enemy's artillery, now turned against themselves, played furiously upon them with their own powder. From that instant the two wings and the center of the Prussians continued to drive the enemy before them, advancing all the time with that firm and regular pace for which they have always been renowned, without ever halting or giving way. The ground which the Austrians occupied was very advantageous, and every circumstance that could render it more so had been improved to the utmost by the diligence and skill of count Daun, who, remembering his former success, was emboldened to enter the lists again with his royal antagonist. The Prussians, however, no way terrified by the enemy's situation, nor their numbers, went calmly and dreadfully forward. It was almost impossible, in the beginning, for the Prussian cavalry to act, on account of the impediments of fallen trees, which the enemy had cut down and laid in the field of battle, to retard their approach; but a judicious disposition which the king made overcame that disadvantage. When he had first formed his army, he had placed four battalions behind the cavalry of his right wing, foreseeing that general Nadisti, who was placed with a corps of reserve on the enemy's left, designed to take him in flank. It happened as he had foreseen, this general's horse attacked the king's right wing with great fury: but he received so severe a fire from the four battalions. that he was obliged to retire in disorder. The enemy gave way on all sides; but at some distance recovered themselves, and rallied three times, animated by their officers, and by the superiority of their numbers. Every time they made a stand, the Prussians attacked them with redoubled vigour, and with success equal to their bravery. Towards night, the enemy still retreating, fell into disorder. Their two wings fled in confusion; one of them, closely pressed by the king, retired towards Breslau, and took shelter under the cannon of that city; the other, pursued by the greatest part of the light cavalry, took their flight towards Canth and Schweidnitz. Six thousand Austrians fell in this engagement, and the Prussians, who had only five hundred men killed, and two thousand three hundred wounded, made upwards of ten thousand of the enemy prisoners, among whom were two hundred and ninety-one officers. They also took an hundred and sixteen cannon, fifty-one colours and standards, and four thousand waggons of ammunition and baggage.

Never was the art of war carried to such a pitch of glory as by Frederic king of Prussia, and it must be added, its horrors also. In this war, Europe saw, with astonishment, campaigns carried on in the midst of winter, great

and bloody battles fought, yet producing no visible advantage to the victors. At no time since the days of heroism were such numbers destroyed, so many towns taken, so many skirmishes fought, such stratagems practised, or such intrepidity discovered: armies were by the German discipline considered as composing one great machine, directed by one commander, and animated by a single will. From the commentary of these campaigns, succeeding generals will take their lessons of devastation, and improve upon the arts increasing human calamity. As soon as it was known that prince Ferdinand had put himself at the head of the Hanoverian army, his Britannic majesty, in a speech to his parliament, observed, that the late successes of his ally in Germany had given a happy turn to his affairs, which it would be necessary to improve. The commons concurred in his sentiment, and liberally granted supplies both for the service of the king of Prussia, and for enabling the army formed in Hanover to act vigorously in conjunction with him. From sending money over into Germany the nation began to extend their benefits; and it was soon considered that men would be a more grateful supply. Mr. Pitt, who had at first come into popularity and power by opposing such measures, was now prevailed on to enter into them with even greater ardour than any of his predecessors. The hopes of putting a speedy end to the war by vigorous measures, a connection with which he was obliged to co-operate, and perhaps the pleasure he found in pleasing the king, all together incited him eagerly to push forward a continental war. However, he only conspired with the general inclinations of the people at this time, who, allured by the noble efforts of their only ally, were unwilling to see him fall a sacrifice to the united ambition of his enemies.

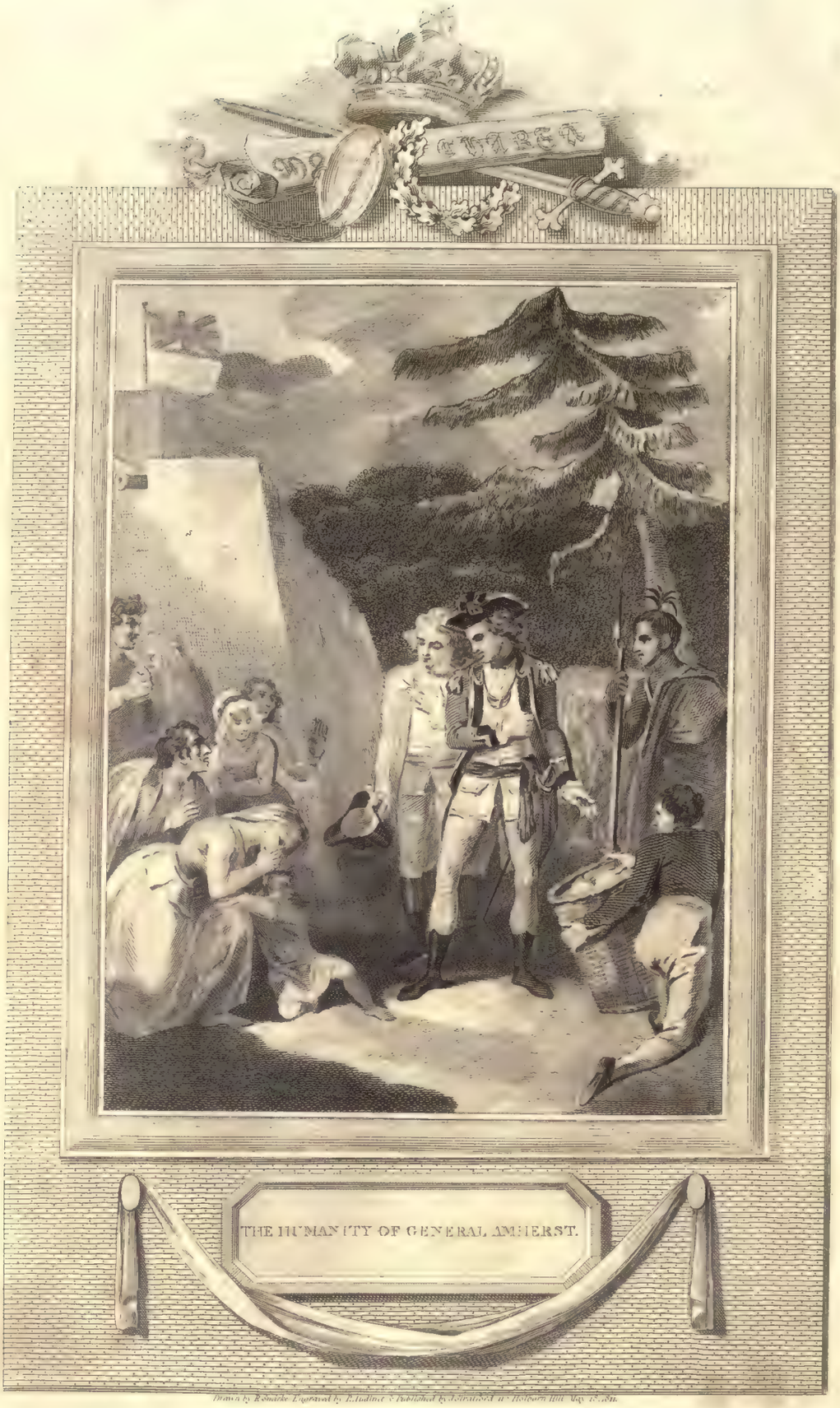
In order to indulge this general inclination of assisting the king of Prussia, the duke of Marlborough was at first sent to Germany with a small body of British forces, to join with prince Ferdinand, whose activity against the French began to be crowned with success. After some small successes by the allied army at Crevelt, the duke of Marlborough dying, his command devolved upon lord George Sackville, who was at that time a favourite with the English army. However, a misunderstanding arose between him and the commander in chief, which soon had an occasion of being displayed at the battle of Minden (*w*), fought shortly after. The cause of this secret disgust on both sides is not clearly known; it is thought that the extensive genius, and the inquisitive spirit of the English general, were by no means agreeable to his superior in command, who hoped to reap some pecuniary advantages the other was unwilling to permit. Be this as it will, both armies advancing near the town of Minden, the French began the attack with great vigour, and a general engagement of the infantry ensued. Lord George, at the head of the British and Hanoverian horse, was stationed at some distance on the right of the infantry, from which they were divided by a scanty wood that bordered on a heath. The French infantry giving ground, the prince thought that this would be a favourable opportunity to pour down the horse among them, and accordingly sent lord George orders to come on. These orders were but ill obeyed; and whether they were unintelligible, or contradictory, still remains a point for posterity to debate upon. It is certain that lord George shortly after was recalled, tried by a court-martial, found guilty, and declared incapable of serving in any military command for the future. The enemy, however, were repulsed in all their attacks with considerable loss, and at length giving way were pursued to the very ramparts of Minden. The victory was splendid, but laurels were the only advantage reaped from the field of battle. After these victories, which were greatly magnified in England, it was supposed that one reinforcement more of British troops would terminate the war in favour of the allies, and a reinforcement was quickly sent.

The British army in Germany now amounted to above thirty thousand men, and the whole nation was flushed with the hopes of immediate conquest. But these hopes soon vanished in finding victory and defeat successively following each other. The allies were worsted at Corback; but retrieved their honour at Exdorf. A victory at Warbourgh followed shortly after, and another at Zierenberg, but then they suffered a defeat at Campen, after which both sides went into winter-quarters. The successes thus on either side might be considered as a compact lay which both engaged to lose much and gain little, for no advantages whatever followed from victory. The English at length began to open their eyes to their own interest, and found that they were waging unequal war, and loading themselves with taxes for conquests that they could neither preserve nor enjoy. It must be confessed, that the efforts of England, at this time, over every part of the globe, were amazing; and the expence of her operations greater than had ever been disbursed by any nation before. The king of Prussia received a subsidy; a large body of English forces commanded the extensive peninsula of India; another army of twenty thousand men confirmed their conquests in North-America; there were thirty thousand men employed in Germany, and several other bodies dispersed in the different garrisons in various parts of the world; but all these were nothing to the force maintained at sea, which carried command wherever it came, and had totally annihilated the French power on that element. The courage and the conduct of the English admirals had surpassed whatever had been read of in history; neither superior force, nor numbers, nor even the terrors of the tempest, could intimidate them.

A petition was presented to the house of commons, in November, 1759, from several noblemen, gentlemen, and others, inhabitants of East Greenwich, and places adjacent, in the county of Kent, representing, that, in the said parish, within a quarter of a mile of the town distinguished by a royal palace, and a royal hospital for seamen, there was a magazine, containing great quantities of gunpowder, frequently to the amount of six thousand barrels; that, besides the great danger which must attend all places of that kind, the said magazine stood in an open field, uninclosed by any fortification or defence whatsoever, consequently exposed to treachery and every other accident. They alledged, that if, through treachery, lightning, or any other accident, this magazine should take fire, not only their lives and properties, but the palace and hospital, the king's yards and stores at Deptford and Woolwich, the banks and navigation of the Thames, with the ships sailing and at anchor in that river, would be inevitably destroyed, and inconceivable damage would accrue to the cities of London and Westminster. They moreover observed, that the magazine was then in a dangerous condition, supported on all sides by props that were decayed at the foundation; that in case it should fall, the powder would, in all probability, take fire, and produce the dreadful calamities above recited: they therefore prayed that the magazine might be removed to some more convenient place, where any accident would not be attended with such dismal consequences. The subject of this remonstrance was so pressing and important, that a committee was immediately appointed to take the affair into consideration, and procure an estimate for purchasing lands, and erecting a powder magazine at Purfleet in Essex, near the banks of the river, together with a guard-house, barracks, and all other necessary conveniences. A bill for the purpose was accordingly framed, and soon received the royal assent. Hereupon the magazine was removed to Purfleet, an inconsiderable and solitary village, where there was but little danger of accident, and where no great damage would attend an explosion; but in order to render this possible explosion still less dangerous, it would be necessary to form the magazine of small distinct apartments, totally independent of each other; that in case one should be accidentally blown up, the rest might stand secure and unaffected.

The next affair which engrossed the attention of the commons, was a measure which related to the internal œconomy of the metropolis. The sheriffs of London delivered a petition from the lord-mayor, aldermen, and commons, in common council assembled, representing that several streets, lanes, and passages within the city of London, and liberties thereof, were too narrow and incommodious for the passing and re-passing, as well of foot-passengers as of coaches, carts, and other carriages, to the prejudice and inconvenience of the owners and inhabitants of houses, and to the great hindrance of business, trade, and commerce. They alledged, that these defects might be remedied, and several new streets opened within the said city and liberties, to the great ease, safety, and

(*w*) Minden was first taken by the French, afterwards re-taken by the Hanoverians, then re-possessed by the French, and, lastly, it surrendered to the allies. Minden is situated in Saxony, and at that time belonged to the elector of Hanover.



THE HUMANITY OF GENERAL AMHERST.

Drawn by R.Cruikshank. Engraved by I.Audinet. Published by G.Humphrey 27 Holborn Hill May 15th 1811.

convenience of passengers, as well as to the advantage of the public in general, if they, the petitioners, were enabled to widen and enlarge the narrow streets, lanes, and passages, to open and lay out such new streets and ways, and to purchase the several houses, buildings, and grounds which might be necessary for those purposes. After enumerating a variety of particulars relative to the dangerous situation of some parts of the metropolis, a committee was appointed to examine into the matter of the petition; and upon their report, leave was given to prepare a bill, which was accordingly brought in. The next day a great number of citizens represented, in another petition, that the pavement of the city and liberties was frequently damaged by being broken up for the purposes of amending or new laying of water-pipes belonging to the proprietors of water works; and praying, that provision might be made in the bill then depending, to compel those proprietors to make good any damage that should be done to the pavement by the leaking or bursting of water-pipes, or opening the pavement for alterations. In consequence of this representation, some amendments were made in the bill, which passed through both houses, and was enacted into a law, under the title of "An Act for widening certain streets, lanes, and passages, within the city of London and liberties thereof; for opening certain new streets and ways within the same, and for other purposes."

In July, 1760, the vast magazine of naval stores belonging to the dock yard at Portsmouth, was set on fire by lightning; and, consisting of combustibles, burnt with such fury, notwithstanding all the efforts of the workmen in the yard, the sailors in the harbour, and the troops in the town, that, before a stop could be put to the conflagration, it had consumed a very great quantity of stores, to an immense value. The damage, however, considerable as it was, was so immediately repaired, that it had not the least effect in disconcerting any plan, or even in retarding any naval preparation.

In February this year, M. Thurot, with a small squadron arrived in the bay of Carrickfergus, where, on the 21st, he made a descent with six hundred men. Lieutenant-colonel Jennings, who commanded four companies of raw undisciplined men at Carrickfergus, having received information that three ships had anchored about two miles and a half from the castle, which was ruinous and defenceless, immediately detached a party to make observations, and ordered the French prisoners confined there to be removed to Belfast. In the mean time the enemy landed without opposition, and advanced towards the town, which they found as well guarded as the nature of the place, which was entirely open, and the circumstances of the English commander, would allow. A regular attack was carried on, and a spirited defence made, until the ammunition of the English failed; when colonel Jennings retired in order to the castle, which, however, was in all respects untenable; for besides a breach in the wall nearly fifty feet wide, they found themselves destitute of provision and ammunition. Nevertheless they repulsed the assailants in the first attack, even after the gate was burst open, and supplied the want of shot with stones and rubbish. At length the colonel and his troops were obliged to surrender, on condition that they should not be sent prisoners to France, but be ransomed, by sending thither an equal number of French prisoners from Great Britain or Ireland: that the castle should not be demolished, nor the town of Carrickfergus plundered or burned, on condition that the mayor and corporation should furnish the French troops with necessary provisions. The enemy after this exploit did not presume to advance farther into the country, but embarked with some precipitation, after having laid that town under moderate contribution (*x*).

The fate, however, which the French escaped on shore, they soon met with at sea. Captain John Elliot, who commanded three frigates at Kinsale, and who had in the course of the war more than once distinguished himself, even in his early youth, by extraordinary acts of valour, was informed by a dispatch from the duke of Bedford, at that time lord-lieutenant of Ireland, that three of the enemy's ships lay at anchor in Carrickfergus bay; and thither he immediately shaped his course in the ship Æolus, accompanied by the Pallas and Brilliant, under the command of captains Clements and Logie. On the 28th of February they descried the enemy, and gave chase, in sight of the Isle of Mann, and, about nine in the morning, captain Elliot, in his own ship, engaged the Belleisle, commanded by Thurot, although considerably his superior in strength of men, number of guns, and weight of metal. In a few minutes his consorts were also engaged with the other two ships of the enemy. After a warm action, maintained with great spirit on all sides for an hour and a half, captain Elliot's lieutenant boarded the Belleisle; and striking her colours with his own hand, the commander submitted: his example was immediately followed by the other French captains; and the English commodore, taking possession of his prizes, conveyed them into the bay of Ramsay, in the Isle of Mann, that their damage might be repaired. Though the Belleisle was very leaky, and had lost her bowsprit, mizen-mast, and main-yard, in all probability the victory would not have been so easily obtained, had not the gallant Thurot fallen during the action. The victor had not even the consolation to perform the last offices to his brave enemy; for his body was thrown into the sea by his own people in the hurry of the engagement. The loss on the side of the English did not exceed forty men killed and wounded, whereas above three hundred of the enemy were slain or disabled (*y*).

The bravery of five Irishmen and a boy belonging to the crew of a ship from Waterford, deserves commemoration. The vessel, in her return from Bilboa, laden with brandy and iron, being taken by a French privateer off Ushant, about the middle of April, the captors removed the master, and all the hands but these five men and the boy, who were left to assist nine Frenchmen in navigating the vessel to France. These stout Hibernians immediately formed a plan of insurrection, and executed it with success. Four of the French mariners being below deck, three aloft among the rigging, one at the helm, and another walking the deck, Brian, who headed the enterprize, tripped up the heels of the French steersman, seized his pistol, and discharged it at him who walked the deck; but missing the mark he knocked him down with the but end of the piece. At the same time hallooing to his confederates below, they assailed the enemy with their own broad swords, and soon compelling them to submit, came upon deck, and shut the hatches. Brian being now in possession of the quarter-deck, those who were aloft called for quarter, and surrendered without opposition. The Irish having thus obtained a complete victory, almost without bloodshed, and secured the prisoners, another difficulty occurred: neither Brian nor any of his associates could read or write, or knew the least principles of navigation; but supposing his course to be north, he steered at a venture, and the first land he made was the neighbourhood of Youghall, where he happily arrived with his prisoners.

In the West Indies, several frigates, and many privateers were captured or destroyed; and on the coast of America the enemy sustained similar damage. With regard to commercial vessels, the balance of capture was adverse to this country; to which the turbulence of the weather also proved hostile, by occasioning the wreck of two ships of the line, in one of which, (the Ramilies,) was lost nearly seven hundred men.

General Amherst having taken possession of Montreal, in North America, the conquest of Canada was, by that means, completed without bloodshed. The French ministry had attempted to succour Montreal, by equipping a considerable number of store-ships, and sending them out in the spring under convoy of a frigate; but as their officers understood that the British squadron had sailed up the river St. Lawrence before their arrival, they took shelter in the bay of Chaleurs, on the coast of Acadia, where they did not long remain unmolested. Captain Byron,

(*x*) One circumstance that attended the dispute between the rival troops deserves to be transmitted to posterity, as an instance of that courage, mingled with humanity, which constitutes true heroism.—While the French and English were hotly engaged in one of the streets, a little child ran playfully between them, having no idea of the danger to which it was exposed: a common soldier of the enemy, perceiving the life of this poor innocent at stake, grounded his piece, advanced deliberately between the lines of fire, took the child up in his arms, and conveyed it to a place of safety; then returning to his station, he resumed his musquet, and renewed his hostilities.

(*y*) The service performed on this occasion was deemed so essential to the peace and commerce of Ireland, that the thanks of the house of commons in that kingdom were voted to the conquerors of Thurot, as well as to lieutenant-colonel Jennings, for his spirited behaviour at Carrickfergus; and the freedom of the city of Cork was presented in silver boxes to the captains Elliot, Clements, and Logie. The name of Thurot was become terrible to all the trading sea-ports of Great Britain and Ireland, and therefore the defeat and capture of his squadron were celebrated with as hearty rejoicings as the most important victory could have produced.

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who commanded the ships of war that were left at Louisbourg, having received intelligence of them from brigadier-general Whitmore, sailed thither with his squadron, and found them at anchor. The whole fleet consisted of one frigate, two large store-ships, and nineteen sail of smaller vessels; the greater part of which had been taken from the merchants of Great Britain: all these were destroyed, together with two batteries which had been raised for their protection. The French town, consisting of two hundred houses, was demolished, and the settlement totally ruined. All the French subjects inhabiting the territories from the bay of Fundy to the banks of the river St. Lawrence, and all the Indians through that tract of country, were now subdued, and subjected to the English government. In the month of December of the preceding year, the French colonists of Miramichi, Richebuctou, and other places lying along the gulf of St. Lawrence, made their submission by deputies to colonel Frye, who commanded in Fort Cumberland at Chignecto. They afterwards renewed this submission in the most formal manner, by subscribing articles, by which they obliged themselves, and the people they represented, to repair in the spring to Bay Verté, with all their effects and shipping, to be disposed of according to the direction of colonel Lawrence, governor of Halifax, in Nova Scotia. They were accompanied by two Indian chiefs of the nation of the Mickmacks, a powerful and numerous people, now become entirely dependent upon his Britannic majesty. In a word, by the conquest of Canada, the Indian fur trade, in its full extent, fell into the hands of the English.

While the British commanders exerted themselves by sea and land with the most laudable spirit of vigilance and courage against the foreign adversaries of their country, the colonists of Jamaica ran the most imminent hazard of being extirpated by a domestic enemy. The negro slaves of that island, grown insolent in the contemplation of their own formidable numbers, or by observing the supine indolence of their masters, or stimulated by that appetite for liberty so natural to the mind of man, began, in the course of this year, to entertain thoughts of shaking off the yoke by means of a general insurrection. Assemblies were held, and plans revolved, for this purpose. At length they concerted a scheme for rising in arms all at once in different parts of the island, in order to massacre all the white men, and take possession of the government. They agreed that this design should be put in execution immediately after the departure of the fleet for Europe; but their plan was defeated by their ignorance and impatience. Those of the conspirators that belonged to captain Forrest's estate, being impelled by the fumes of intoxication, fell suddenly upon the overseer, while he sat at supper with some friends, and butchered the whole company. Being immediately joined by some of their confederates, they attacked the neighbouring plantations, where they repeated the same barbarity; and seizing all the arms and ammunition that fell in their way, began to grow formidable to the colony. The governor no sooner received intimation of this disturbance, than he, by proclamation, subjected the colonists to martial law. All other business was interrupted, and every man took to his arms. The regular troops, joined by the troop of militia, and a considerable number of volunteers, marched from Spanish Town to St. Mary's, where the insurrection began, and skirmished with the insurgents: but as they declined standing any regular engagement, and trusted chiefly to bush fighting, the governor employed against them the free blacks, commonly known by the name of the Wild Negroes, now peaceably settled under the protection of the government. These auxiliaries, in consideration of a price set upon the heads of the rebels, attacked them in their own way, slew them by surprize, until their strength was broken, and numbers made away with themselves in despair; so that the insurrection was supposed to be quelled about the beginning of May: but in June it broke out again with redoubled fury, and the rebels were reinforced to a very considerable number. The regular troops and the militia, joined by a body of sailors, formed a camp, under the command of colonel Spragge, who sent out detachments against the negroes, a great number of whom were killed, and some taken; but the rest, instead of submitting, took shelter in the woods and mountains. The prisoners being tried, and found guilty of rebellion, were put to death by a variety of tortures. Some were hanged, some beheaded, some burned, and some fixed alive upon gibbets. One of these last lived eight days and eighteen hours, suspended under a vertical sun, without being refreshed by one drop of water, or receiving any manner of sustenance.

While the arms of Great Britain still prospered in every effort tending to the real interest of the nation, an event happened which for a moment obscured the splendour of her triumphs. On the 25th of October, 1760, George II. without any previous disorder, was in the morning suddenly seized with the agony of death, at the palace at Kensington. He had risen at his usual hour, drank his chocolate, and enquired about the wind, as anxious for the arrival of the foreign mails; then he opened a window of his apartment, and perceiving the weather, declared he would walk in the garden. In a few minutes after this declaration, while he remained alone in his chamber, he fell down upon the floor: the noise of his fall brought his attendants into the room, who lifted him on the bed, where he desired in a faint voice, that the princess Amelia might be called; but before she could reach the apartment he expired. An attempt was made to bleed him, but without effect; and indeed his malady was far beyond the reach of art: for when the cavity of the thorax or chest was opened, and inspected by the serjeant-surgeons, they found the right ventricle of the heart actually ruptured, and a great quantity of blood discharged through the aperture into the surrounding pericardium; so that he must have died instantaneously, in consequence of the effusion. The king had almost completed the seventy-seventh year of his age, and had reigned upwards of thirty-three years (z).

The character of George the Second was not of that splendid or brilliant kind with which the records of history sometimes present us. Acuteness, penetration, or strength of intellect, did not enter into his composition; nor was he possessed of that genuine vigour of mind which preserves a happy medium between weakness and obstinacy. On the one hand, he was pertinaciously and inflexibly attached to that system of politics which he had imbibed from his father; and, on the other hand, he was frequently so tame and passive, as to suffer his ministers to make him a cypher in his own cabinet. At one time, he would peremptorily maintain a trivial point: on other occasions, he would give way in matters of real importance. His general disposition inclined him to pay a due regard to laws of honour, integrity, and justice. He was also desirous of promoting the welfare and happiness of those whom he governed. In the administration of a limited monarchy, he was observant of the laws and constitution, except when he was misled by pernicious advisers; and, in his sway over a state in which he was unfettered by law, he voluntarily pursued a system of equity and moderation, which endeared him to his German subjects. His political knowledge was not profound or comprehensive; nor were his other attainments superior to his skill as a statesman. He had no taste for the polite arts; he did not aim at any high degree of literary or mental improvements; nor did he patronise, in others, those acquisitions in which he was himself deficient. He had an undisputed claim to the praise of personal courage; and, indeed, the intrepidity of a soldier was more apparent in his character than the conduct of a general. He was not, however, unacquainted with the military science, to which he paid more attention than to such pursuits as were worthy of superior regard. He was less influenced by ambition than by avarice. His thirst of pecuniary spoil was disgraceful to his character. No monarch can have a right to accumulate public money for his private use, or can be justified in making a demand on pretence of debts and deficiencies, when his coffers abound with reserved supplies. In religious affairs, this prince was actuated by a spirit of toleration. He abhorred the idea of persecution; and wished that all his subjects should be left to the free impulse of conscience. He would not, therefore, consent to a rigid enforcement of the laws which had been enacted against sectaries. His private life was regular; and he indulged not his sen-

(z) George the Second was buried in Henry the Seventh's Chapel at Westminster. His only sons were Frederic prince of Wales, and William duke of Cumberland. At the king's interment the duke acted as chief mourner. His daughters were, Anne, who became princess of Orange; Amelia, who died unmarried in 1786, at an advanced age; Elizabeth, whom her father survived; Mary, the wife of the late landgrave of Hesse Cassel; and Louisa, who became queen of Denmark.

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QUEEN CHARLOTTE
GEORGE III

sual appetites to excess. He was an affectionate husband, and a kind father, with an exception of those cases in which his avarice was concerned. He was a stranger to artifice and disguise; and his irascibility bore testimony to the openness of his character. With regard to his person, he was not tall, but he was well proportioned; and though he had large projecting eyes, and a very prominent nose, his countenance was not unpleasing.

BOOK XIV.

COMPRIZING THE REIGN OF GEORGE THE THIRD.

CHAPTER I.

IT is natural to suppose that the accession of a native prince (*a*) to the throne excited great joy and satisfaction in the minds of the people in general. Upon receiving intelligence of his grandfather's decease, the young prince immediately repaired to Carlton House, where the privy council were at that time assembled; and entering into the council chamber, he addressed himself immediately to the members in the following terms: "The loss the nation and I have sustained by the death of the king, my grandfather, would have been severely felt at any time; but coming at so critical a juncture, and so unexpected, it is by many circumstances augmented; and the weight now fallen upon me is much increased: I feel my own insufficiency to support it as I wish; but, animated by the tenderest affection for this my native country, and depending on the advice, experience, and abilities of your lordships, the support and assistance of every honest man, I enter with cheerfulness into this arduous situation; and shall make it the business of my life to promote, in every thing, the glory and happiness of these kingdoms; to preserve and strengthen the constitution, both in church and state; and as I mount the throne in the midst of an expensive, but just and necessary war, I shall endeavour to prosecute it in a manner the most likely to bring about an honourable and lasting peace, in concert with my allies." His majesty then took the oaths to maintain the church of Scotland (*b*) as by law established; and having signed two instruments for that purpose, one of them was deposited among the archives of the council, and the other transmitted to Edinburgh, to be recorded in the court of sessions.

On the 27th of October, though but one day had intervened since the decease of the king's grandfather, the earl of Bute was sworn a member of the privy council; and, after a short interval, the rangership of Richmond Park (*c*) was transferred from the princess Amelia to that nobleman. Likewise, by an order of the king in council, the name of the duke of Cumberland, rendered dear to the Whigs, by the memory of the day on which the battle of Culloden was fought, was struck out of the liturgy of the church.

One of the first specimens which his majesty gave of a disposition to moral and religious duty, was a proclamation for the encouragement of piety and virtue, and the preventing and punishing of vice, profaneness, and immorality. This proclamation was immediately succeeded by another, requiring all persons possessing offices of authority at the decease of the late king, to proceed in the execution of their respective offices. Addresses, expressive of the warmest professions of attachment, were poured in from every quarter of the kingdom. The lord mayor and aldermen of London led the way; and their example was followed by the merchants and traders of that opulent city (*d*).

The parliament assembled on the 18th of November, and his majesty addressed both houses in a most pathetic speech from the throne; in the beginning of which his majesty said:

"The just concern which I have felt in my own breast, on the sudden death of the late king, my royal grandfather, makes me not doubt but you must all have been deeply affected with so severe a loss. The present critical and difficult conjuncture has made this loss the more sensible, as he was the great support of that system, by which alone the liberties of Europe, and the weight and influence of these kingdoms can be preserved, and give life to measures conducive to those important ends.

"I need not tell you the addition of weight which immediately falls upon me, in being called to the government of this free and powerful country at such a time and under such circumstances. My consolation is in the uprightness of my own intentions, your faithful and united assistance, and the blessing of Heaven upon our joint endeavours, which I devoutly implore.

"Born and educated in *this country, I glory in the name of Briton;* and the peculiar happiness of my life will ever consist in promoting the welfare of a people, whose loyalty and warm affection to me, I consider as *the greatest and most permanent security of my throne;* and I doubt not but their steadiness in those principles will equal the firmness of my invariable resolutions to adhere to, and strengthen, this excellent constitution in church and state; and to maintain the toleration inviolable. The civil and the religious rights of my loving subjects are equally dear to me with the most valuable prerogatives of my crown; and, as the surest foundation of the whole, and the best means to draw down the divine favour on my reign, it is my fixed purpose to countenance and encourage the practice of true religion and virtue."

In the progress of his speech, he expatiated on the flourishing circumstances of the kingdom, and added, "In this state I have found things at my accession to the throne of my ancestors:—happy, in viewing the prosperous part of it; happier still should I have been, had I found my kingdoms, whose true interests I have entirely at heart, in full peace: but since the ambition, injurious encroachments, and dangerous designs of my enemies, rendered the war both just and necessary, and the generous overture, made last winter, towards a congress for a pacification, has not yet produced any suitable return, I am determined, with your cheerful and powerful assistance, to prosecute this war with vigour, in order to that desirable object,—a safe and honourable peace. For this purpose, it is absolutely incumbent upon us to be early prepared; and I rely upon your zeal and hearty concurrence to sup-

(*a*) Of this prince, says Dr. Coote, the following character was given by the princess dowager of Wales, in a conversation she had with Doddington, with whom she was on such terms of unreserved confidence, that she would not disguise her real sentiments. "George is not a wild, dissipated boy, but good-natured and cheerful, with a serious cast upon the whole: he is not quick, but, with those with whom he is acquainted, applicable and intelligent." Dodington's Diary, August 6, 1755. The prince was in his eighteenth year when his mother thus spoke of him. She added, that "his education had given her much pain: of his *book-learning* she was no judge, though she supposed it small or useless; but she hoped that he might have been instructed in the general understanding of things." She also observed, that Stone, whom she had repeatedly desired to inform the prince of the nature of the constitution, had declined the task, "as not being his province:" but he probably took many opportunities of inculcating such maxims as were more consonant with Tory prejudices than with the genuine principles of a limited monarchy.

(*b*) This circumstance exposed the king to ill-founded censure. His taking an oath for the security of the church of Scotland, and subscribing two instruments tending to the same purport, occasioned a certain author to say, "How the church of England came to be neglected on this occasion, it is not easy to conceive; for it is evident, that, if the coronation oath be a sufficient defence of the one, it must be so for the other; and it is never prudent in a monarch to discover a partiality to one portion of his dominions in preference to the rest." If this had been a spontaneous act of his majesty, there would have been some reason for the introduction of such remarks; but he was obliged by the treaty of union to act as we have mentioned, in compliance with the presbyterian jealousy of the Scots, while the English were content with the sanction of the oath taken at the coronation.

(*c*) Of the rangership of Richmond Park, the princess could not be deprived without her consent; which was procured by the grant of a pension of one thousand two hundred pounds per annum, on the Irish establishment: but, considering the disrespectful treatment she had received as a kind of insult, she withdrew entirely from court, and, at her death, bequeathed her immense wealth among the descendants of her sister, the princess of Hesse.

(*d*) We may here mention, that the committee appointed to manage the building of a new bridge over the Thames at Black Friers, laid the first stone of the bridge on the 31st of October, 1760, and placed upon it a plate with an appropriate inscription in Latin.

port the king of Prussia, and the rest of my allies, and to make ample provision for carrying on the war, as the only means to bring our enemies to equitable terms of accommodation."

He concluded by observing, in his address to both houses, that, "The eyes of all Europe are upon you. From your resolutions, the Protestant interest hopes for protection, as well as all our friends for the preservation of their independency; and our enemies fear the final disappointment of their ambitious and destructive views. Let these hopes and fears be confirmed and augmented by the vigour and dispatch of our proceedings.

"In this expectation I am the more encouraged by a pleasing circumstance, which I look upon as one of the most auspicious omens of my reign. That happy extinction of divisions, and that union and good harmony which continue to prevail amongst my subjects, afford me the most agreeable prospect. The natural disposition and wish of my heart, are to cement and promote them; and I promise myself that nothing will arise on your part to interrupt or disturb a situation so essential to the true and lasting felicity of this great people."

By a representation of his majesty, to the house of commons, that it was necessary to make provision for supporting his civil government with honour and dignity, they granted the sum of eight hundred thousand pounds to defray the expences of the civil list. They then proceeded to grant the supplies for the service of the current year, the whole of which amounted, so great was their zeal, to the sum of nineteen millions, six hundred thousand, one hundred and nineteen pounds, nineteen shillings, and three farthings.

In the beginning of 1761, the parliament passed an act in favour of insolvent debtors, who, by giving up all their effects, were to be discharged by the justices at the quarter sessions: but this act, however beneficial in other respects, had in it a clause, attended with such consequences, that it was found necessary to repeal it; but the repeal did not take place till the meeting of the new parliament.

In March the king sent a message to both houses, importing that as nothing could contribute more towards promoting the interests of the people than that of rendering the judges independent, so he desired they would grant him leave to advance their salaries, and that they should hold their places by patent for life; for by the act of settlement at the revolution, they were to expire within six months after the death of the king. The salaries of the nine puisne judges in England were in consequence advanced from fifteen hundred to two thousand pounds *per annum;* and the three chief justices in proportion. In Scotland, the lord president, instead of one thousand pounds a year, was allowed thirteen hundred; the lords of session, seven hundred pounds instead of five hundred; and the lords justiciary, one thousand instead of five hundred pounds (*e*). The public business being now concluded, the king repaired to the house of lords on the 19th of March, and having signed such bills as were ready, closed the session with a speech from the throne: shortly after which the parliament was dissolved, and writs were issued for the calling of a new one.

The king now resolved on the choice of a consort, and accordingly turned his attention to Charlotte Sophia, princess of Mecklenburg Strelitz. This being satisfactory to his people, overtures were made to that amiable princess. The proposal of such an illustrious alliance could not be unacceptable to the court of Mecklenburg. On the 8th of July, the king acquainted the members of the privy council, that, having nothing so much at heart as to procure the welfare and happiness of his people, and to render the same permanent to posterity, he had ever since his accession to the throne, directed his attention towards the choice of a princess for a consort; and now, with great satisfaction, acquainted them, that, after the fullest information, and mature deliberation, he had formed a resolution to demand in marriage the princess Charlotte of Mecklenburg Strelitz; a princess distinguished by every eminent virtue, and amiable endowment; whose illustrious line had constantly shewn the firmest zeal for the protestant religion, and a particular attachment to his family (*f*).

This declaration, so agreeable to the council, was unanimously requested to be made public, for the satisfaction of the nation in general. The earl of Harcourt was appointed ambassador plenipotentiary to the court of Strelitz, to demand the princess, and to sign the contract of marriage. After a negociation, not very tedious, the royal yachts were prepared, under convoy of a large squadron, commanded by lord Anson, to conduct the future queen to England. In the mean time, her household being established, the ambassador proceeded to the continent on this important business. The duchesses of Ancaster and Hamilton, and the countess of Effingham were appointed ladies of the bed-chamber, to attend her from the court of Mecklenburgh in her passage to England; and, embarking at Harwich, the whole fleet set sail for Stade on the 8th of August. The contract of marriage being signed by the earl of Harcourt at Strelitz, her royal highness was complimented by the states of the country, and the deputies of the towns. The ambassador and the ladies were magnificently entertained; and the event was celebrated with the most splendid rejoicings.

On the 17th of that month, the princess, accompanied by the reigning duke her brother, set out for Mirow,

(*e*) Mr. Onslow, speaker of the house of commons, having signified his intention to retire from business in consequence of age, infirmities, and other motives of a private nature, the house determined to bestow on him some signal tokens of their regard. Accordingly, they resolved, that the thanks of the house should be given to Mr. Speaker, for his faithful services, during the course of above thirty-three years, in five successive parliaments; for the unshaken integrity and steady impartiality of his conduct in the chair; and for the indefatigable pains he had, with uncommon abilities, constantly endeavoured to promote the honour and dignity of parliament, and to preserve inviolable the rights and privileges of the commons of Great Britain. The venerable patriot was so much affected by this proof of their esteem, that he could only answer in broken sentences, bursting unconnectedly from a heart whose sensations were too powerful for utterance. They also instantly resolved, that thanks should be given to Mr. Speaker for what he had now said: that an address should be presented to the king, humbly to beseech his majesty, that he would be graciously pleased to confer some signal mark of his royal favour upon the right honourable Arthur Onslow, Esq. for the great and eminent services he had rendered to his country for the space of thirty-three years. Upon this application the king expressed a proper sense of the speaker's great services and unblemished character; and gratified that gentleman with an annual pension of three thousand pounds, for his own life and that of his son; who was afterwards ennobled.

This session a new tax was imposed upon beer, which so exasperated the labouring classes of the people, that loud clamours were excited, particularly in the metropolis, where some publicans began to raise the price in consequence of this new impost; but as the publicans did not act in concert, those houses in which the attempt was made, were immediately abandoned by their customers. Menacing letters were sent to some individuals, who were supposed to have advised the new tax. The streets resounded with the noise of popular clamour and uproar; and it was some time before the price of strong beer could actually be raised to the consumer. In the fourth month of his reign, the king experienced the licentious spirit of the mob, by a riot when he was in Drury Lane playhouse. The people supposed lord Bute had advised the tax upon beer, and adopted this method of expressing their disapprobation.

(*f*) His majesty is said to have received the first intimation of the extraordinary qualities of the princess from the following letter, which she wrote to the king of Prussia on his entering the territories of her cousin, the duke of Mecklenburg Swerin, and which that monarch transmitted to his late majesty (George the Second) as a prodigy of patriotism and good sense in so young a princess:

"May it please your Majesty,

"I am at a loss whether I shall congratulate or condole with you on your late victory; since the same success that crowns you with laurels, has overspread the country of Mecklenburg with desolation. I know, Sire, that it seems unbecoming my sex, in this age of vicious refinement, to feel for one's country, to lament the horrors of war, or wish for the return of peace. I know you may think it more properly my province to study the arts of pleasing, or to turn my thoughts to subjects of a more domestic nature; but however unbecoming it may be in me, I cannot resist the desire of interceding for this unhappy people.

It was but a very few years ago that this territory wore the most pleasing appearance. The country was cultivated, the peasants looked chearful, and the towns abounded with riches and festivity. What an alteration at present from such a charming scene! I am not expert at description, nor can my fancy add any horrors to the picture; but sure, even conquerors themselves would weep at the hideous prospect now before me. The whole country, my dear country, lies one frightful waste, presenting only objects to excite terror, pity, and despair. The business of the husbandman and the shepherd is quite discontinued; the husbandman and the shepherd are become soldiers themselves, and help to ravage the soil they formerly occupied. The towns are inhabited only by old men, women, and children; perhaps here and there a warrior, by wounds or loss of limbs, rendered unfit for service, left at his door; his little children hang round him, ask a history of every wound, and grow themselves soldiers, before they find strength for the field. But this were nothing, did we not feel the alternate insolence of either army, as it happens to advance or retreat. It is impossible to express the confusion, which even those, who call themselves our friends, excite. Even those from whom we might expect redress, oppress us with new calamities. From your justice, therefore, it is that we hope for relief; to you even children and women may complain, whose humanity stoops to the meanest petition, and whose power is capable of repressing the greatest injustice.

I am, Sire, &c."

amidst the tears and prayers of all ranks of people. Next day she arrived at Parleberg, where the count de Gotter complimented her in the name of the king of Prussia. Thence she continued her journey by Lutzen to Gourde, and on the 22nd reached Stade, under a general discharge of cannon, and amidst the acclamations of the people. She was received by all the burgesses in arms: the whole town was illuminated: triumphal arches were erected: several of the principal ladies presented her with verses on her approaching nuptials; and the public approbation was expressed by every possible demonstration of joy. On the 23rd she embarked in the yatcht at Cuxhaven, where she was saluted by the British squadron assembled for her convoy. After a tedious voyage of ten days, during which the fleet had to encounter with three different storms, and was frequently in danger of being driven on the coast of Norway, the princess landed on the 7th of September, in the afternoon, at Harwich, where she was received by the mayor and aldermen in their formalities. She advanced with her attendants by the way of Colchester to Witham, where she obligingly gratified the curiosity of the people. In the mean time, the king being apprized by couriers of her arrival, dispatched his own coaches, with a party of horse-guards, who met her at Rumford, and conducted her to London, through innumerable crowds of people, assembled on the road. Their applause was signified in noisy acclamations, which attended her several miles. Thus accompanied, the princess proceeded to the garden-gate of the palace of St. James, where she was handed out of her coach by the duke of Devonshire, in quality of lord chamberlain. At the gate she was received by the duke of York, and in the garden she was met by the king himself, whose looks declared the transport of his joy. When she made her obeisance, he raised her by the hand, which he kissed, and then led her up stairs to the palace, where they dined together, with the whole royal family. At nine the nuptial ceremony was performed by Dr. Secker, archbishop of Canterbury, in the royal chapel, which had been magnificently decorated for the occasion.

The ceremony of the nuptials was soon succeeded by that of the coronation. Westminster Hall was prepared for the royal banquet, by removing the courts of judicature, boarding the floor, erecting canopies, and building three rows of galleries for the accommodation of the spectators. A platform was laid between the Hall and Westminster Abbey, where the king was actually crowned. All the houses and streets within sight of the procession were faced and crowded with benches and scaffolding, which extended on both sides within the abbey from the western entrance almost to the choir.

In the beginning of this year, 1761, the French king, in consequence of the losses he had sustained through the successes of the British in various parts of the globe, began to hint, by means of his ambassadors at different courts, his disposition to restore the peace of Europe, and affected a peculiar moderation with respect to Great Britain, provided she should appear to acquiesce in reasonable terms. In consequence of this intimation, the courts of Petersburg, Vienna, France, Sweden, and Poland, having made several declarations which were signed at Paris on the 25th of March, and delivered at London the 31st of the same month; the counter-declaration of Great Britain and Prussia appeared on the 3rd of April; and Augsburg was appointed for the place of congress, as being most conveniently situated for the several powers at war. Lord Egremont, lord Stormont, ambassador in Poland, and general Yorke, ambassador in Holland, were nominated plenipotentiaries for England; and the count de Choiseul was appointed on the part of France. The German war was referred to the negociators at Augsburg, but the limits of America were separately considered at London and Paris. For this purpose ministers were mutually sent from those courts; Mr. Stanley on the part of England, and M. de Bussy on that of France.

Notwithstanding the negociations for peace, the war in Germany was carried on with vigour. In the beginning of February prince Ferdinand assembled his army, and began his march towards Cassel, on the 18th of that month, the command of the vanguard being given to the marquis of Granby, who advanced to Kirkberg and Metz. In the mean time, the hereditary prince having received intelligence that the French garrison of Fritzlar was not prepared for defence, he marched thither with a few battalions, in the hope of carrying the place by a sudden assault, with musquetry only; but he was mistaken; for he met with such a warm reception, that he was under the necessity of waiting for the arrival of some artillery; when he commenced more vigorous operations, and the governor of the place was soon compelled to capitulate. In the interim, general Briedenback took possession of a large magazine at Rosenthal, and made an unsuccessful attempt upon Marpurg, in which he lost his life; but this place was afterwards abandoned by the French at the approach of the marquis of Granby, who took possession of it.

Prince Ferdinand now resolved to reduce Zeigenheim and Cassel, before the duke de Broglio should receive reinforcements, and these two places were accordingly invested; but they proceeded very slowly in their operations, and were several times repulsed by the sallies made by the garrison. By this time the duke de Broglio was joined by all the detachments he expected from the Lower Rhine, and advanced towards the army of the allies, now not sufficiently strong to meet him in the field. On the 21st of March, the detachment under the command of the hereditary prince was, in its march from Heimbach, encountered by a numerous body of the enemy, near Stangerode, in the neighbourhood of Gronberg. Two thousand of the allied army were either killed or taken, together with eighteen pair of colours, and twelve pieces of artillery. The allied army now broke up the blockade of Zeigenheim, which was followed by raising the siege of Cassel, after the trenches had been opened twenty-seven days. They then evacuated the whole country of Hesse, and retired behind the Dymel, falling back nearly to the quarters they possessed previous to this disastrous attack.

About the middle of May the hereditary prince of Brunswick, at the head of a separate corps, advanced to Nettolen, in the vicinity of Memster, with a view of making observations on another French army under the prince de Soubise's command. Soubise had by this time formed three different camps, one at Dusseldorp, another at Burich, and a third at Rees, though part of his forces still continued in cantonment. In the mean time the war was prosecuted by detached parties, and skirmishes took place with various success. The army of the duke de Broglio, having, about the close of June, crossed the Dymel, dislodged general Sporcken from his post on the left of that river, with the loss of eighteen hundred men taken prisoners, nineteen pieces of cannon, four hundred horses, and two hundred waggons. The French next took possession of Warbourg, Paderborn, and Dringlebroen; and, on the 2nd of July, compelled prince Ferdinand to pass the Lippe. These successes, however, were overbalanced by the atchievements of small parties of the allies, who, at different times, were dispatched to harrass the enemy in their motions, and cut off the convoys of provisions.

On the 13th of July, general Luckner, with a detachment, advanced to Salme, where the count de Chabot was posted with a strong body of horse and foot, which he attacked with such fury, that they were forced to repass the Lippe in haste, losing about two hundred men, and as many horses in their retreat. Other parties intercepted the French convoys near Cassel, and did much damage to the enemy, so that they resolved to unite their armies and give battle to prince Ferdinand. The armies formed their camp at Hohenover. On the 15th, the army of Soubise, having struck their tents, advanced on the left of the allies, and dislodged an advanced post of the allied army. In the evening of the same day, the enemy made a furious attack on a post assigned to the command of lord Granby, which was sustained with the most intrepid bravery and resolution till the arrival of Wutgenau, who advancing on his left, and charging them in flank, obliged them to retire into the woods. At three in the morning of the 16th, the whole French army advanced again to the attack on the side where Wutgenau was posted, and a terrible discharge of cannon and musquetry was maintained on both sides for five hours, during which the enemy was not able to gain one inch of ground. About nine prince Ferdinand received advice that Broglio's design was to cannonade lord Granby's camp, from an opposite eminence. Hereupon a body of troops received immediate orders to anticipate this operation by making a vigorous charge. They advanced accordingly with the greatest intrepidity, and attacked the enemy with so much fury, that the French were obliged to abandon the field. Their left, however, still maintained a severe cannonade; but were no sooner informed of their defeat on the right, than they desisted from the attack, and retreated in good order. During this action the French lost near five thousand

sand men killed and taken, some colours, and a few pieces of artillery. Prince Ferdinand's loss did not exceed five hundred men. The two French generals, from some misunderstanding between them, now divided their armies: Broglio, with his division, marched towards Cassel, and Soubise retreated to Dortmund, and crossed the Roer, in order to secure a great number of barges then passing down the Rhine with provisions for his army. He did not, however, take this step, before he sent off two large detachments to reinforce Broglio. Nor did he continue any longer on the other side of the Roer, than was necessary to receive his provisions, when he repassed both that river and the Lippe, advancing as far as Dulmen. In the mean time Broglio penetrated still farther into the electorate of Hanover, took possession of Kester, and fortified the place.

The allied army being greatly inferior to the French, prince Ferdinand retired to Dumolt, and called in most of his detachments. The French encamped near him on the heights of Neim, and several skirmishes happened between the two armies, in one of which prince Henry, brother to the hereditary prince, was mortally wounded. During these transactions general Luckner gained a considerable advantage at Cassel. He attacked and routed a large body of the enemy, and took many prisoners, together with some horses, and a large quantity of ammunition. Nor did the French remain idle. Broglio, having crossed the Weser with his whole army, prince Ferdinand made a forced march, passed the Dymel, and advanced to Cassel. Broglio perceiving that he could not now advance to the city of Hanover, without bringing on a general engagement with the allied army, thought proper to retreat. Prince Ferdinand then proceeded to Paderborn, and established his head quarters at Buhne. The duke de Broglio, having re-crossed the Weser, encamped his army at Eimbeck, where he laid the whole country under contribution. Meanwhile Soubise erected his ovens at Dorsten, and garrisoned the place with one battalion, but the hereditary prince attacked and reduced the town. The garrison were made prisoners, the ovens demolished, and large quantities of provisions destroyed. Soubise now retreated to the other side of the Lippe; but soon after re-passed that river, and advanced to Coesfelt, ravaging the northern districts of the country.

In September a detachment from the army of Soubise, under the command of the count de Conflans, advanced to the gates of Embden, which was garrisoned by two companies of English invalids, who obtained an honourable capitulation, and embarked for Bremen. The French did not, however, continue long in the town: they laid the neighbouring country under contribution, and immediately evacuated the place. But the country people flew to arms, and sunk the pontoons, on which the enemy had passed the river, so that it was some time before the detachment could return to their camp. Another party entered the city of Osnaburg, and pillaged the place, the inhabitants not being in a condition to pay the enormous contributions demanded by the enemy. A third party made an attempt upon Bremen: but the inhabitants joining the garrison, the French were repulsed. In the beginning of November prince Ferdinand formed a plan for attacking marshal Broglio unexpectedly, before he could call in his detachments. That he might effect this, he ordered the hereditary prince and general Luckner, reinforced by the garrison of Wolfenbuttle, to advance from their respective posts, so as to be in the neighbourhood of Eimbeck by a certain hour on the 5th of November. He commanded the marquis of Granby to force the French post at Cappelnhagen on the 4th; to proceed next day to Wickensen, and block up a defile in that neighbourhood, on the road from Eschershausen to Eimbeck. On the 4th he crossed the river near Hastenbeck with the main body of his army, and advanced towards Eimbeck. When he approached Wickensen, he found part of his orders already executed, the road being occupied by a strong body of British grenadiers and highlanders; for the marquis of Granby had bravely forced the enemy's post at Cappelnhagen, and, by the hour appointed, blocked up the defile. In the mean time M. de Chabot finding he was intercepted, retreated towards Eschershausen, and struck into the road to Eimbeck, which general Hardenberg had been ordered to secure: but, unfortunately, some of that officer's pontoons were overturned, which retarded him so long, that he did not arrive at the place appointed till seven in the morning; by which time Chabot had passed the defile on his way to Eimbeck, which place he reached without farther interruption. Prince Ferdinand advanced towards the French camp, which he found too strong to be attacked with any probability of success. He therefore resolved to turn their flanks, as if he designed to cut off their communication with Göttingen, a motion which, he imagined, would either bring Broglio to an engagement on equal terms, or oblige him to retreat. He chose, however, the latter, and on the 9th the whole French army retired. After this no transaction of consequence happened in Germany. The duke de Broglio quartered his forces in and about Cassel; while those of Soubise were distributed at Dusseldorp and along the Lower Rhine. The allies fixed their quarters at Hildersham, Munster, Hamelen, and Eimbeck. The British cavalry wintered in East Friesland, and the infantry in the bishopric of Osnaburg.

In the course of this year several successful exploits were performed in the East and West-Indies. After the reduction of Pondicherry, an armament was equipped against the French settlement of Mahie, situated about thirty miles to the northward of Tillicherry on the Malabar coast. A body of forces for this expedition was embarked at Bombay, under the command of major Hector Monro, who obliged M. Loner, the French governor at Mahie, to surrender the place with all its dependencies in the beginning of February. But the French officers in the East-Indies interested in their cause Shah Zadeh, a prince of the Mogul empire, who, at the head of eighty thousand men, took the field against the East India company's forces, commanded by major John Charnock, and reinforced by the subahdar of Bengal. This army consisted of five hundred Europeans, two thousand five hundred sepoys, and twenty thousand black troops, with twelve pieces of cannon. Both armies advanced to the neighbourhood of Guya, where, on the 15th of January, the Mogul's troops were routed in a pitched battle. All their artillery was taken, together with part of their baggage, and a number of French officers.

In June, the island of Dominica, in the West Indies, was taken from the French, by a party of English forces under the command of lord Rollo, assisted by commodore sir James Douglas, with four ships of the line. The forts that had been damaged during the sieges were repaired, and every thing settled in a proper manner; after which lord Rollo and sir James Douglas bent their course towards Guadaloupe.

This year the English navy was remarkably successful; different engagements happened in various parts of the world, and many of the enemy's ships were taken. But the following is justly esteemed one of the most remarkable and gallant actions which distinguished this war: on the 10th of August, captain Faulkner, of the Bellona, a ship of the line, and the Brilliant, a frigate of thirty guns, sailed from the river Tagus in Portugal, for England; having on board a considerable sum of money for the merchants of London. On the 13th they descried, off Vigo, three sail of ships standing in for the land, one of the line of battle, and two frigates. When they perceived captain Faulkner, they bore down upon him till within the distance of seven miles, when they crowded all the sail they could and bore away. Captain Faulkner being now convinced of their size, and from the intelligence he had received, conjecturing that the large ship was the Courageaux, as it proved to be, he hoisted all the sail he could carry, and gave chase till sun-set, when one of the French frigates hauling out in the offing, captain Faulkener threw out a signal to the Brilliant to pursue in that direction. They were within sight of the enemy all night; but at sunrise had only gained two miles upon them in a chace of fourteen hours. The French commodore no longer declined the action: he made a siglal for his two frigates to close with and engage the Brilliant, and himself stood for the Bellona under his top-sails. The two large ships were equal in burthen, in number of guns and weight of metal. The crew of the Courageux amounted to seven hundred men, commanded by M. du Guy Lambert; but the Bellona's complement consisted only of five hundred and fifty men. The fire on both sides was reserved till they were within musquet shot of each other, when the engagement began with a terrible discharge of small arms and artillery. In less than nine minutes all the Bellona's braces, bowlings, shrouds, and rigging, were cut and shattered by the shot, and the mizen mast fell over the stern, with all the men on the round top, who nevertheless saved their lives by clambering into the port-holes of the gun room. Captain Faulkner

Faulkner now gave orders to board the Courageux, but the attempt was soon frustrated by the position of the two ships. The Bellona then, by the help of her studding sails, wore round upon the opposite quarter of the Courageux; and the officers and men flew to the guns on that side of the ship opposed to the enemy, from whence they poured in a most dreadful discharge, and maintained it without intermission for twenty minutes. The hull of the Courageux was greatly shattered, and her decks strewed with carnage. Her ensign was now hauled down, and the engagement ceased; but in a short time after a shot was fired from the lower tier of the Courageux; and the British seamen, without waiting for orders, ran to their quarters, and poured in two broadsides upon the enemy, who now called for quarter, which was immediately granted. The Bellona suffered extremely in her rigging, but very little in her hull, and the number of her killed and wounded did not exceed forty. The case was very different with the Courageux: nothing was left standing but her foremast and bowsprit; large breaches were made in her sides; her decks were torn up in several parts, many of her guns were dismounted; and her quarters filled with mangled bodies of the dying and the dead. Upwards of two hundred and twenty were killed, and half that number wounded. The prize was conducted safely into Lisbon (*g*).

A squadron was likewise equipped this year under the command of commodore Keppel, consisting of ten ships of the line, several frigates, two fire ships, and two bomb-ketches, besides transports. This armament was sent against Belleisle, the largest of the European islands belonging to the French king. The troops, under the command of major-general Hopson, consisted of ten battalions, some light troops of horse, and a detachment of artillery. The whole armament sailed from Spithead, on the 29th of March, and anchored in Belleisle road on the 7th of April. A feint was made to attack the citadel of Palais, while two large ships convoyed the troops to the landing place, and silenced a battery which the enemy had erected there. This attempt, however, did not succeed, and was attended with the loss of nearly five hundred men. It was some time before the weather would permit a second attack to be made. On the morning of the 22nd the following successful stratagem was adopted: the troops were disposed in the flat-bottomed boats, and rowed to different parts of the island, as if they intended to land in several places; by which means the enemy was obliged to divide his forces at random, not knowing where to expect the descent. In the mean time brigadier Lambert pitched upon the rocky point of Lomaria, where captain Paterson, at the head of Beauclerk's grenadiers, and captain Murray with a detachment of marines, climbed the precipice with amazing intrepidity, and sustained the fire of a strong body of the enemy, till they were supported by the rest of the troops, who joined as they landed, and the French were obliged to abandon their batteries: but this advantage was not gained without loss; forty men being killed, and many more wounded. The French governor, M. de St. Croix, finding that the English troops, to the number of about eight thousand had landed, recalled all his detachments, and prepared for a vigorous defence. After various skirmishes, a detachment of marines, supported by part of Loudoun's regiment, drove the French from the parapet, and took possession of the place. Five other redoubts were likewise quickly taken, and the enemy withdrew into the citadel, in which a breach was made by the 7th of June, when M. de St. Croix demanded a capitulation: this being granted upon very honourable terms, the citadel was taken possession of by Beauclerk's grenadiers.

While the war was thus raging in almost every part of the globe, and the French king losing ground in every quarter, it was intended to open a congress at Augsburg for a general peace; but in consequence of the politic prevarication of the French, and the interposition of the Spaniards, that intention was rendered abortive, and the congress never met. The Spanish ambassador was called upon to disavow the representation he had made, but in the written answer he returned, as authorized by the court of Madrid, he justified the step he had taken as agreeable to the sentiments of his master.

By reason of the partiality of the Spanish court, Mr. Pitt declared that a war with that country was absolutely necessary; and that we ought to consider the evasions of that court as a refusal of satisfaction, and that refusal as a declaration of war. He said, that, as an act of prudence, we ought to secure the first blow, and by that means deter, or disable Spain from affording protection to France; that their flota had not yet arrived, and that the taking of it would at once disable their hands and strengthen ours. The sentiments of most of the other ministers, on this occasion were different from those of Mr. Pitt; and on the division Mr. Pitt and lord Temple were the only persons in favour of an immediate declaration of war against Spain, upon which, having declared their reasons in writing, they resigned their employments. His majesty, the day following, in consideration of his eminent services, settled a pension of three thousand pounds per annum on Mr. Pitt for three lives, and at the same time his lady was made countess of Chatham in her own right.

A new parliament, having been summoned, met on the 3d of November, and, as no ministerial influence had been used in electing the members of which it was composed, it deserved the appellation of a free parliament. The king, being seated on the throne, commanded the attendance of the commons; to whom he signified his pleasure, by the mouth of the lord-chancellor, that they should return to their house, and choose a new speaker. Accordingly their choice fell upon sir John Cust, a gentleman of extensive knowledge and distinguished probity. His majesty, repairing again to the house of peers on the 6th, approved of their choice, and made an excellent speech (*h*) to the parliament.

After presenting their address, the commons proceeded to settle the supplies, which amounted to eighteen million, two hundred and twenty-nine thousand, one hundred and thirty-five pounds eighteen shillings and eleven pence halfpenny. But they had hardly settled this important measure, when advice arrived from the earl of Bristol, his majesty's ambassador at Madrid, importing, that having demanded a categorical declaration with respect to the part his catholic majesty intended to act in the disputes between the courts of London and Versailles, he had received at first a very evasive and unsatisfactory answer. He added, that on repeating his remonstrance, he was answered, that the Spanish monarch had already taken his measures in concert with the court of Versailles, and that war was at that moment declared against Great Britain; and therefore, that he might retire when he thought proper. Soon after the count de Fuentes, ambassador from Spain at the court of London, delivered to the earl of Egremont, who had succeeded Mr. Pitt as secretary of state for the southern department, a paper calculated for sowing jealousies, and fomenting divisions among the subjects of Great-Britain, and containing invectives against the late secretary.

In consequence of these measures, war was declared against Spain, on the 4th of January, 1762, letters of marque were issued, and preparations made to humble the pride and insolence of the Spanish monarch. On the 19th of the same month his majesty went to the house of peers and addressed the parliament in a speech, in which he expressed his reliance on the Divine blessing, on the justice of his cause, on the zealous and powerful assistance of his faithful subjects, and the concurrence of his allies: who must find themselves involved in the pernicious and extensive projects of his enemies. Addresses were then presented from both houses to his majesty, in which they assured him, in the most affectionate and loyal manner, that they would vigorously support the justice of his cause.

(*g*) The success of the Bellona was, in a great measure, owing to the bravery of captain Logie, who commanded the Brilliant, and resolved to amuse the French frigates in such a manner as to hinder either of them from assisting the Courageux. Accordingly he began the attack on the Malicieuse, but the other coming up immediately, he bore their whole fire all the time the great ships were engaged, and nearly an hour after she had struck her colours; when they both thought proper to seek for safety in flight, having suffered considerable damage in their masts and rigging.

(*h*) In this speech his majesty recommended an adequate and honourable provision for the support of the queen, in case she should survive him; and added, "that there never was a situation in which unanimity, firmness, and dispatch were more necessary for the safety, honour, and true interest of Great Britain." The house of commons instantly resolved, that if she should survive the king, she should enjoy a pension of one hundred thousand pounds *per annum*, together with the palace of Somerset House, and the lodge and lands at Richmond Park. An act was unanimously framed and passed to this effect; and, when it received the royal assent, the queen was in the house of lords, and testified her satisfaction and gratitude, by a graceful obeisance to the king.

A little before Mr. Pitt's resignation, he had determined to employ a considerable part of the British forces against the French colonies in the West-Indies: nor was this resolution merely speculative; a squadron was fitted out, and sailed from Spithead in the month of October the preceding year. This armament had under their convoy a number of transports, with four battalions from Belleisle to join at Barbadoes a strong body of forces from North America, together with some regiments and volunteers from Guadaloupe and the Leeward Islands, and proceed in concert with the fleet already on that station, and make a conquest of Martinico, which, since the attempt of general Hopson, had been strengthened with new fortifications, and a strong body of troops. The armament from North America and England, under the command of major-general Monckton and rear-admiral Rodney, amounting to eighteen battalions, and as many ships of the line, besides frigates, bombs, and fire-ships, having rendezvoused at Barbadoes, sailed from that place on the 5th of January, and on the 8th the fleet and transports anchored in St. Ann's Bay, on the eastern shore of Martinico, the men of war having first silenced some batteries which the enemy had erected on that part of the coast (*i*). General Monckton, not thinking this a proper place for disembarking, detached two brigades under brigadiers Haldimand and Grant, to the bay of Petite Anse, where the seamen and marines took a battery. These brigades were soon followed by the whole army, and the rest of the squadron; when some other batteries being silenced, general Monckton landed with the forces, on the 16th, in the neighbourhood of Cas des Navires, and having received a reinforcement of marines from the squadron, he determined to besiege the town of Fort Royal; but previous to this attempt he found it necessary to attack the heights of Garnier and Tortueson, which the enemy had fortified, and seemed resolved to defend to the last extremity. He therefore raised a battery to protect the passage of a ravine that separated him from those heights, and made dispositions for the attack, which began on the 24th of June. On the 28th the governor, perceiving the English were employed in erecting batteries on the heights which commanded the citadel, ordered the chamade to be beat, and surrendered by capitulation. On the 4th of February, the gate was delivered up to the victors, and next morning the garrison, amounting to eight hundred men marched out with the honours of war.

Upon the reduction of this important place, deputations were sent from different parts of the island, requesting a capitulation: but M. de la Touche, the governor-general, retired with his forces to St. Pierre, which he was resolute to defend to the last extremity. On the 7th, Pigeon Island, esteemed one of the best defences of the harbour, surrendered at the first summons. This conquest was obtained at the expence of about four hundred men, including a few officers, killed and wounded; but the loss of the enemy was more considerable. General Monckton was just setting out for the reduction of St. Pierre, when two deputies arrived from M. de la Touche, with proposals of capitulation signed. The English commander agreeing to the propositions, took possession of St. Pierre, and all the posts in that neighbourhood, on the 16th; while the French governor-general, with M. Rouille, the lieutenant-governor, the staff officers, and about three hundred and twenty grenadiers, were embarked for France, on board some transports (*k*).

The determination was now made to carry on the war against Spain in the West Indies. The Havannah, the center of their Indian commerce, was at this time strongly defended, and reckoned impregnable. Nineteen ships of the line, with many smaller vessels, were fitted out, under the command of admiral Pocock, and about ten thousand land forces under the earl of Albemarle. The admiral intended to have landed on the south side of the island of Cuba, with a view to fall in with the Spanish galleons; but that being over-ruled, the fleet continued on a course of seven hundred miles, in a very dangerous sea. The admiral had no pilot to direct him; but having an excellent chart of those seas taken by lord Anson, he depended on his own judgement, and dispatched a ship to make proper enquiries whether there was a probability of passing. On the return of that ship, the admiral ordered the fleet to weigh anchor, and continuing under way, in three divisions, consisting of the ships of the line, the frigates, and the transports, on the 9th of June they got out of these dangerous seas, and came within sight of St. Jago, on the eastern extremity of that island. From St. Jago the fleet continued their voyage to the Havannah; but here they found more difficulties to encounter than they had apprehended (*l*). These difficulties seemed insurmountable; and the admiral, in order to divert the attention of the enemy, bore away, with a large part of the fleet to the westward, where he seemed inclined to land; while commodore Keppel and captain Hervey landed the forces on the east of the harbour, without the loss of a man, although the Spaniards had a large fleet lying at anchor, which might have considerably annoyed them. The earl of Albemarle divided the army into eight brigades; one of which, under the command of general Elliot, was ordered to march up the country, in order to hinder supplies from being sent to the town, and to cover the siege in the rear. General Keppel and colonel Howe were ordered to make a diversion on the west of the town; while the earl of Albemarle, with the main body of the forces, attacked the Moro Castle, that being the grand object in view, because it defended the entrance to the harbour (*m*). The troops suffered innumerable troubles, but their courage and perseverance overcame all difficulties; for batteries were erected in the night on the rising grounds, to cover the approaches, and prepare the way for the reduction of the place. The Spaniards defended it with great bravery, and, for some time, the fire was equal on both sides. On the 29th of June, in the evening, they made a sally; but although they acted with great courage and resolution, they were obliged to retreat, with the loss of above three hundred men. All the batteries being now opened, the admiral ordered the Cambridge, the Dragon, and the Marlborough, to sail up to the fort, under the command of captain Hervey; and a dreadful firing began. The Spanish artillery was well conducted. As the Moro Castle was situated on a high rock, the ships could not, after seven hours firing, make the least impression on it. In the attempt the English lost one hundred and thirty men; for, besides the Moro Castle, they had another battery playing upon them from an opposite fort, which galled them excessively; so that they were obliged to retire, otherwise they would probably have been destroyed. So soon as the English men of war were gone to rejoin the fleet, the Spaniards turned their attention to the eastern part of the fort, and resolved to hold out to the last extremity; so that the English found the reduction of the place likely to be a work of time. An unforseen accident likewise tended to retard their operations; namely, the reduction of a battery, which took fire by the explosion of a mortar. Sickness also rendered many of the men incapable of acting, and the few who remained in health, were fatigued beyond description. Add to this, the want of fresh provisions, the heat of the climate, and the insupportable fatigue which both officers and men underwent, made many give themselves up to despair, and they died in consequence of their misery. They were, however, shortly after relieved by the arrival of two fleets, one from New York, and another from Jamaica, having on board a quantity of provisions necessary for their relief.

That no time might be lost, it was agreed that miners should be employed; but having a deep ditch to cross, it was with great difficulty they got over it, and entrenched themselves under a rock, where they were not perceived by the enemy. The governor of the Havannah, sensible that the English would make themselves masters of the Moro Castle, unless he could send reinforcements to it,

(*i*) In the course of this service the Raisonable, a ship of the line, was, by the ignorance of the pilot, run upon a reef of rocks, from whence she could not be got off; but the crew were happily saved, together with her stores and artillery.

(*k*) The surrender of Martinico was followed by that of all the dependent islands, by which the English became sole possessors of all the Caribbees, and held that chain of innumerable islands which form an immense bow, extending from the eastern point of Hispaniola almost as far as the continent of South America.

(*l*) The entrance to the harbour is extremely narrow, and upwards of half a mile in length, at the end of which is a large bason, where a thousand ships may ride in safety. On one side of the narrow passage is the Moro Castle, built for the defence of the place, and to prevent any ships from coming in but such as have passports. To the westward of the harbour stands the town strongly fortified with a parapet, redoubts, and bastions; the whole being surrounded by a ditch, and batteries erected in proper directions.

(*m*) There was no fresh water to be had; and as the British troops were obliged to cut their way through woods, and drag the cannon along with them, many of them died through the heat of the climate, and the fatigues they underwent in the service of their country.

ordered

ordered one thousand two hundred men to land and attack the English. Accordingly, these men attacked our forces in three different places, but with so little success, that upwards of four hundred were left dead on the field, and the rest, with difficulty, saved themselves by taking to their boats. On the 30th of July the marines blew up a part of the wall, by which a breach was made; and although it was small, yet the engineers were of opinion, that the army might attack it. The English troops then mounted the breach in good order, and the enemy became intimidated, above four hundred of them being killed, among whom was the marquis de Gonsales, the second in command, a brave officer, who died animating the soldiers to defend the place. The same fate attended Don Lewis de Velasco, the commander in chief, who, disdaining to ask quarter, fell by a promiscuous shot, whilst exhorting his troops to support the glory of the Spanish arms.

The English being now in possession of the fort, after a siege of forty-four days, turned their cannon against the town. The earl of Albemarle sent a message to the governor, desiring him to surrender, as it would be in vain to hold out any longer; but the governor refused to comply, declaring he would defend the place to the last extremity. The firing then recommenced on both sides; but in about six hours the enemy's artillery was silenced, and the north bastion of the city was nearly disabled. This gave another turn to affairs, white flags were displayed, and soon after a flag of truce was sent to the British head quarters with proposals for a capitulation (*n*). The terms, however, which the Spaniards transmitted were not agreed to, and hostilities recommenced. This produced the desired effect: the enemy receded from their proposals, and treated upon different terms. This important conquest had great effect on the Spanish power, and operated greatly against that nation.

Although the British arms had been so successful in the West Indies, they were no less triumphant over those of Spain in other parts of the world. A plan had been projected for making a descent on the island of Manilla in the Pacific Ocean; from which place two large ships were annually sent across the South Sea to Acapulco, one of the Mexican ports in North America: these were richly laden with spices, stuffs, jewels, and other rich merchandise of the East Indies. Part of the squadron commanded by vice-admiral Cornish, and a body of troops under brigadier-general sir William Draper, were destined for the expedition. The troops employed by the English on this occasion consisted of one regiment, with a company of royal artillery; some experienced officers from Madras, about thirty men of the company's artillery, six hundred sepoys, a company of Caffres, one of topazes, one of pioneers, and two companies of French deserters, with a few hundreds of lascars, for the use of the engineers. The preparations being completed, captain Grant was dispatched, in the Sea Horse, to the entrance of the Chinese Seas, with orders to intercept all vessels bound for the Manillas, that the Spaniards might not be apprized of their design. On the 23rd of September, the British ships anchored in the bay of Manilla, where the enemy was but ill prepared for a defence, and greatly alarmed at their unexpected visit. The governor was the archbishop, who assumes the title of captain-general of the Philippine Islands; but the garrison, consisting of eight hundred men, was commanded by the marquis de Villa Medina, who now reinforced it with ten thousand undisciplined Indians, from the province of Pamgana. The admiral immediately made the proper dispositions for landing the troops. The three frigates, Argo, Sea Horse, and Seaford, were stationed near the shore, to cover the descent, three divisions were put on board the boats of the fleet, and soon landed at the church and village of Malata. The enemy assembled in great numbers to oppose the descent; but the frigates kept such a constant fire of cannon and small arms, that they soon dispersed, and sought their safety in a precipitate flight; the troops were therefore disembarked without the loss of a man. The day following, the general took possession of the Polverista, a small fort which the Spaniards had deserted. The curate's dwelling house formed the head quarters, and was guarded by the seventy-ninth regiment. The church of the Hermitage was occupied by colonel Monson, with an advanced party of two hundred men. The marines were left at the Malata, in the neighbourhood of the Polverista, to secure the communication with the fleet, and protect the stores and artillery. A body of men in the mean time approached within a hundred yards of the town, and took possession of the church of St. Jago, which they maintained, notwithstanding the fire of the enemy; and the admiral landed a battalion of seamen. The Spaniards were not inactive on this occasion: they determined, if possible, to hinder the destruction of their city; therefore they sent four hundred troops under the chevalier Fayette, with two field-pieces, on the right of the English advanced post, the flank of which they began to cannonade; but their attempt was soon frustrated: colonel Monson, at the head of the piquets, and a small reinforcement of marines, attacked them with such fury, that they retreated with precipitation, leaving one of their field pieces behind them. The English general, from the smallness of his army, was obliged to confine his operations to one part of the town, which he resolved to attack in the front. A detachment under captain Fletcher happily passed a ditch, with the loss of only three men, though exposed to the whole fire of the enemy. The bombardment now began, and continued day and night without intermission, and on the 29th, the admiral ordered the Elizabeth and Falmouth to lie as near the city as the depth of water would permit, and enfilade the enemy's front, in order to second the operations of the besiegers. The task was executed with intrepidity, and the inhabitants thrown into the utmost confusion. In the beginning of October, the weather grew stormy and tempestuous, but did not hinder the besiegers from carrying on their works with ardour. A furious sally was made from the town, on the 4th, before day-break, in which the regular troops of the fort were reinforced by a considerable body of the native Indians, armed only with bows and lances, who fought with astonishing perseverance; advancing even to the muzzles of the English muskets, and with savage ferocity, biting the bayonets, when they experienced the agonies of death. They were, however, repulsed with great loss; and the works having sustained considerable damage, it was resolved to storm the town. The governor, with the principal magistrates, withdrew into the citadel, and the town was exposed for some hours to all the horrors of a pillage. At length, the citadel being in no condition of defence, the marquis de Villa Medina, the archbishop of Manilla, and the officers of the garrison, surrendered themselves prisoners of war. The Spanish officers, on giving their parole of honour, were enlarged, and all the Indians dismissed with safety. This important conquest cost the English only one hundred men, including officers. By the capitulation it was agreed, that the town and ports of Cavite, with the islands and ports depending upon Manilla, were to be delivered up to his Britannic majesty; and four millions of dollars paid as a ransom for the city of Manilla, and the effects of the inhabitants, who, in return, were to be protected in their religion and private property (*o*). The fleet, which also fell into the power of England, consisted of nine ships of the line, and four frigates. The garrison was allowed the honours of war, and a safe conveyance to Spain.

While the siege was carrying on, some intercepted letters to the Spanish governor were procured by admiral Cornish, which informed him, that the galleon, St. Philippina, was arrived from Acapulco at Cayjaygan; he therefore resolved to dispatch some vessels, in quest of her. The Panther man of war, and Argo frigate, were accordingly sent on this service; and on the 30th of October, being off the island of Capul, they discerned a sail standing to the northward. The Panther was driven by the current among the Narangoes, and obliged to drop anchor, but the frigate continued the chace, and came up with and engaged her for near two hours, during which her

(*n*) By the capitulation, which was signed on the 13th of August, the inhabitants were secured in the enjoyment of their own laws, religion, and private property; and on the following day the English took possession of this important conquest. The Spanish garrison, which was reduced to about seven hundred men, including officers, were permitted to march out with the honours of war; and it was stipulated that they and the sailors should be conveyed to Old Spain. About five hundred of the British troops, including fifteen officers, were killed, or died of their wounds, during the progress of this siege; and seven hundred were carried off by disease. The conquerors found great quantities of artillery, small arms, ammunition, and warlike stores. Twelve ships of the line, two upon the stocks, and several trading vessels also fell into the hands of the English. They also acquired to the amount of three millions sterling in silver, tobacco, and valuable merchandize, collected on his Catholic majesty's account.

(*o*) The English had scarcely men sufficient to garrison their conquests.

rigging

rigging suffered greatly, and obliged the captain to give over the attack till it could be repaired. In the mean time the Panther got under sail again, and in her turn engaged the enemy, who soon after surrendered; but instead of the St. Philippina, the prize proved to be the Santa Trinidada, pierced for sixty guns, which had departed from Manilla for Acapulco, on the first of August; but meeting with stormy weather, in which she was dismasted, had been obliged to put back and refit (*p*).

The kingdom of Portugal being in a defensive alliance with Great Britain, was, in consequence of the war, exposed to invasion both from France and Spain, those powers having presented a joint memorial by their ambassadors at the court of Lisbon to the Portuguese ministry, exclaiming against the conduct of Great Britain, and exhorting the court of Portugal to take part with them against its ally. But notwithstanding the extraordinary memorial, the firmness of his Portuguese majesty compelled him to answer this insulting proposition with a moderate but intrepid resolution. He observed, "That the ties which equally united him to Great Britain, and the crowns of France and Spain, rendered him a proper mediator to each party, and consequently it was improper for him to declare himself an enemy to either: that his alliance with England was ancient, and consequently incapable of giving offence at this juncture: that it was merely defensive, and therefore innocent: that the late calamities of Portugal had rendered her incapable of taking part in any offensive war, into which neither the love his most faithful majesty bore his subjects as a father, nor the duty by which he was bound to them as a king, could suffer him to plunge them." This moderate answer, however, was not satisfactory to the princes of the Bourbon family. They denied that the alliance with England was either purely defensive, or innocent; adding, that if the king of Portugal did not comply with their requisitions, that Spanish troops should enter his country, seize his forts, and shut them up; and declared that no choice was therefore left to his majesty, but that of receiving them as friends, or treating them as enemies. But this insulting treatment neither diverted his Portuguese majesty from his resolution, nor provoked him to depart from his moderate language. He declared he would keep his treaties with England inviolate, and asserted they were such as the law of God, of nature, and of nations had always deemed innocent; and protested, that if the troops of France and Spain should enter his dominions, he would in defence of his neutrality, repulse them with all his forces, joined by those of his allies. On receiving his Portuguese majesty's final resolution, the ambassadors of the two crowns demanded passports, which being granted, they set out for their respective courts; and France and Spain, in the month of June, published a joint declaration of war against that kingdom. In the mean time about eight thousand troops, with large supplies of stores and ammunition, arrived in Portugal from England. The command of the Portuguese army had been conferred upon the count de Lippe Buckebourg, an officer of abilities, who, during the whole course of the war, had directed the British artillery in Germany. The English forces were conducted by lord Tyrawley and the earl of Loudon, assisted by several officers of experience. These forces had not been long in Portugal before lord Tyrawley, disgusted at the behaviour of the court of Lisbon, requested to be recalled: his request was granted, and the earl of Loudon succeeded to the chief command.

In the month of May this year, M. de Ternay sailed from Brest with a squadron under his command, and escaped the vigilance of sir Edward Hawke, who was sent with seven ships of the line and two frigates to intercept him; but the destination of Ternay was not even conjectured. Sir Edward Hawke returned to the channel, and De Ternay pursued his course to Newfoundland, where, on the 24th of June, he landed some troops in the Bay of Bulls, with which he advanced to the town of St. John's, which not being in a posture of defence, was obliged to surrender. But the triumph of the French was of short duration; for sir Jeffrey Amherst and lord Colville, who commanded by land and sea in North America, were no sooner informed of this loss than the latter sailed from Halifax, and blocked up the harbour. Colonel Amherst soon after followed him with eight hundred men, which were landed after a slight opposition. On the 16th of September, colonel Amherst took post in the neighbourhood of St. John's, and after a short time the French capitulated, on condition that himself and the garrison should be conveyed to France by the first opportunity, which was accordingly done. M. de Ternay escaped with the whole of his fleet.

On the resignation of Mr. Pitt, the direction of affairs in Great Britain was vested wholly in the earl of Bute, who enjoyed the entire confidence and esteem of his sovereign. The duke of Newcastle, who still held the office of first commissioner of the treasury, received an intimation in May 1762, that his resignation was expected; when he was also informed, that the king intended to grant him an adequate pension, in consideration of his past services: but the duke nobly replied, that, "if he could no longer be permitted to serve his country, he was at least determined not to be a burthen to it." The dismission of this nobleman, who had always been distinguished for his zeal and attachment to the Hanoverian line, and had injured his fortune in defending it, excited great disgust in the Whig party; who thought it ungrateful to discharge an old and faithful servant, though his talents were not above mediocrity. The duke of Devonshire indignantly resigned his office of lord chamberlain, and was struck out of the list of the privy council. The earl of Hardwicke retired; the duke of Grafton, and the lords Ravensworth, and Ashburnham now appeared on the side of opposition. Mr. George Grenville was appointed secretary of state, as successor to the earl of Bute; and many other singular promotions took place.

On the 12th of August, this year, the prince of Wales was born. On the 17th he was created Prince of Wales, and on the 12th of September he was baptized, and named George Augustus Frederic. The first grand object of the new minister, now honoured by a flattering association with the duke of York, with the order of the garter, after his open assumption of the office and authority of premier, was the restoration of a peace; a design which was attended with some difficulty. The majority of the nation wished for the continuance of war, in the expectation of new victories. It may be necessary, however, to remark, that the earl of Bute had given great disgust by the general tenor of his conduct, his precipitate measures of expelling the members of the old administration, and intruding himself and his partizans into all the efficient offices of government.

It is necesssary now to direct our attention to the affairs of the war in Germany. Before the allied armies had commenced their operations, a detachment of four thousand men was sent from the French garrison of Gottingen, to surprize the east chain of the allied cantonments; the plan was rendered abortive by the retreat of the troops; in consequence of which the French only made a small impression upon their rear. Prince Ferdinand, to prevent a similar attempt, sent three thousand men to take post at Embeck, which effectually answered the intended purpose. On the other hand general Luckner, who had made several successful incursions into the country possessed by the enemy, obtained a considerable advantage over the marquis de Lortange, who had marched out of Gottingen, at the head of eighteen hundred horse, and two thousand infantry, to intercept Luckner; but the latter falling unexpectedly on the marquis, obliged him to retire, with considerable loss, to Gottingen. About the same time, a party of French irregulars were made prisoners at Eichffeld, by major Wingerode, commander of the Hessian hussars.

The castle of Roer, which had been occupied for some time by the French, was besieged in April by the hereditary prince of Brunswick. His batteries had hardly began to play when the fort was set on fire. Every method was pursued by M. de Muret, who commanded in the castle, to stop the progress of the flames, which being unable to effect, he was obliged, with his whole garrison of two hundred and thirty men, to leap over the walls and surrender at discretion.

On the 24th of June, prince Ferdinand made disposi-

(*p*) The merchandize on board this Manilla ship was estimated at one million and a half of dollars, (which, at four shillings and six-pence each, amounted to three hundred and thirty-seven thousand five hundred pounds sterling,) and the whole cargo was supposed to be worth double that sum. The Santa Trinidada was not the only valuable prize taken from the enemy in the course of the present year: the Hermione, a Spanish register ship, bound from Lima to Cadiz, laden with treasure and valuable effects, was captured in May by two English frigates, which were on a cruise off Cape St. Vincent. She was carried into Gibraltar, and afterwards brought to England. Her cargo was estimated at one million sterling.

tions for attacking the French camp, between Grœbenstein and Meinbrexen. That he might execute this plan with success, general Luckner quitted his camp on the morning of the 23rd, crossed the Weser, and early the next morning arrived between Mariendorff and Undenhausen. General Sporcken passed the Dymel at Siemel, at the head of twelve Hanoverian battalions, and part of the cavalry of the left wing, in order to engage the enemy's flank, while Luckner attacked them in the rear. Prince Ferdinand passed the river at the head of twelve British battalions, eleven battalions of the Brunswick troops, eight regiments of Hessians, the English cavalry, and part of the German horse of the left wing. On gaining the bank on the opposite side, he drew up his forces in order of battle behind the ponds of Kalse. All the preparations were conducted with such judgement, that the French were attacked with the utmost impetuosity in front, flank, and rear, before they were aware of the approach of the allied army. Terrified at this unexpected assault, a precipitate retreat soon followed, and would probably have ended in a total defeat of the whole army, had not M. de Stainville, at the head of a chosen body of troops, thrown himself into the woods of Willemstahl, where he made a noble stand, and covered the retreat of the French marshals, who retired in confusion, under the cannon of Cassel. Stainville was attacked by lord Granby with his usual impetuosity, and the whole body, except two battalions were either killed or taken; the prisoners amounting to two thousand five hundred and fifty men.

Prince Ferdinand then attempted to cut off the communication of the French from Frankfort, while they continued in their strong camp at Cassel. This communication was preserved by M. Rochambeau, who, at the head of a body of horse and some brigades of infantry, possessed a strong post near Hamburgh. The marquis of Granby and lord Frederick Cavendish advanced, with a considerable detachment, to dislodge them. At their approach the enemy began to retreat, upon which the marquis ordered his horse to attack them in the rear. In performing this service they were in imminent danger of being overpowered by the French cavalry, who, suddenly facing about, attacked them sword in hand; but the infantry coming to their assistance, the enemy were obliged to fly in their turn, and it was with the utmost difficulty they effected a retreat.

Prince Ferdinand then resolved to attack the French, who had withdrawn to their camp at Mulsengen, in order to maintain their communication with Franckfort, and facilitate their junction with the prince of Condé, who had received orders to advance from the Lower Rhine. On the 25th of July, Ferdinand crossed the Eder, and joined the marquis of Granby on the heights of Falkenberg, after which he reconnoitered the enemy's situation, when he perceived there was no probability of engaging them with success: and having cannonaded their camp, he re-crossed the Eder, leaving the marquis of Granby on the heights of Falkenberg. The French now crossed the Fulda, and retired to Cassel, having left a body of troops under M. de Guerchy, opposite the camp they abandoned: at the same time the marquis of Granby took possession of Mulsengen, and again cut off the enemy's communication with Franckfort. A body of their dragoons advancing towards Ruthenburn, fell into an ambuscade at Morschen, and were entirely routed. This was followed by the loss of Gottingen, which place they relinquished, after having destroyed the fortifications. The French now secured themselves in a strong camp on the banks of the Fulda, whence they dispatched orders to the prince of Condé to hasten to their relief. That general began his march from Coesfeldt on the 16th of July, and passed the Lippe at Halderen. He was followed by the hereditary prince, at the head of a strong detachment from the allied army: who being informed, that a large body of the enemy were on their march to meet the prince of Condé, he resolved to attack them before their arrival. In the beginning of this action, the French were driven from the heights into the plain; but while the troops were pursuing their advantage, the main army of the enemy arrived. Such a powerful reinforcement turned the balance in their favour. The allies were totally defeated, having lost upwards of three thousand men. To add to the misfortune, the hereditary prince received a wound from a musquet ball in his hip-bone, by which his life was long in danger. From their victory, however, the French acquired no advantage.

That part of the French army which was commanded by generals de Castries and Saarsfelt being posted on the side of the Ohme, and opposite to them a strong detachment under the marquis of Granby, and general Zastrow on the other, a furious cannonade succeeded. The castle of Ameneburg, in the neighbourhood of the allies, was furnished with a garrison of seven hundred men, under captain Cruse. This fortress the enemy resolved to make themselves masters of; but, to conceal their intention, they attacked a post of the allies called Bruckermulk, which defended the passage of a bridge over the Ohme. After an obstinate engagement, darkness terminated the dispute, the French having sustained a loss of upwards of a thousand men, and the allies near six hundred. A few days after this action, prince Ferdinand invested Cassel; and notwithstanding the resolution of a numerous garrison, commanded by baron Diesbach, the operations were carried on with remarkable vigour, so that on the 10th of October the city capitulated. This was the last action between the French and the allies in Germany. Prince Ferdinand, indeed, was preparing to besiege Ziegenheim, the only place now possessed by the French in Hesse; but before he could carry his design into execution, the preliminaries of peace were signed between France and England, at Fontainebleau; in consequence of which a cessation of arms took place between the two armies.

Preliminaries of peace being signed, and the definitive treaty in an advanced stage, the parliament was convened and assembled on the 25th of November, when his majesty opened the session with a speech from the throne; in which he observed, that nothing was more desirable to him than a permanent peace, procured him on such honourable terms as would secure the happiness of his people. For that purpose, he had condescended to renew the negociation that had been broken off before: and he mentioned the conduct of his army and navy in the highest terms of approbation. He observed, that he had been obliged to send an armed force to support his good ally the king of Portugal, who was threatened by the whole Spanish army, in consequence of the intrigues of the French. He concluded by assuring them, that nothing gave him so much unhappiness, as the consideration that his subjects were burthened with heavy taxes; but there was a necessity for it, as it would otherwise have been impossible to have defeated the enemy's schemes, and render their undertakings abortive. He desired the commons to consider of such methods, in the settlement of the new acquisitions as should tend to the security of those countries, and to the improvement of the British trade and navigation. He recommended to their care and attention his gallant subjects, by whom these acquisitions were obtained. He observed, that union at home was necessary to lay the foundation of that œconomy which they owed to themselves and their posterity, and which alone could relieve the nation from the heavy burthens entailed upon it by the necessities of a long and expensive war. In answer to this speech, addresses were presented by both houses, containing general compliments upon the approach of peace, as well as upon the birth of the prince of Wales. The next day a cessation of arms was proclaimed; and orders were issued for opening again all the channels of communication with the powers we had been at war with.

But the preliminaries of peace were severely scrutinized by the parliament; though they were at length approved by a majority in both houses, and each presented an address to the king on the occasion; in which they declared, "That they owed the utmost gratitude to his majesty for the re-establishment of the public tranquillity upon terms of honour to the crown, and of advantage to the people (*q*)."

In speaking of the affairs of this year, it may be ne-

(*q*) When an address to his majesty on occasion of the peace, came under the consideration of the house of commons, Mr. Pitt declared his entire disapprobation of the tenor of the treaty, as derogatory to the honour and interests of the kingdom. "He was determined," he said, "afflicted as he was with illness, at the hazard of his life to attend the house that day, to raise up his voice, his hand, and his arm against the preliminary articles of the treaty, which obscured all the glories of the war, surrendered the dearest interests of the nation, and sacrificed the public faith, by abandoning our allies." But in the house of lords the minister himself vindicated the treaty with great energy and spirit, and concluded his harangue in the following impressive terms: "That he wished no other epitaph to be inscribed on his tomb, than that he was the adviser of the peace, on the merits of which they were called upon to decide."

cessary just to mention that on the 5th of January, died Elizabeth empress of Russia; she was succeeded by Peter III. who, from motives of jealousy, had been kept at a distance from court. His understanding was below mediocrity, and his disposition indolent; but, having formed a friendly attachment to the king of Prussia, he negociated and concluded a treaty of peace and friendly alliance with that sovereign; in consequence of which, the army under Czernichef, consisting of twenty thousand men, was transferred to the service of Frederick. The feeble character of the emperor rendered him highly unpopular, and ambition stimulated Catharine, his consort, to a vigorous exertion of authority. A conspiracy was formed against him; he was deposed, signed an abject instrument of abdication; was imprisoned, insulted, neglected; and, at length, an uncontradicted report declared him to have been privately assassinated.

A bill being brought into parliament for a duty upon cyder, the clamour against it became extremely violent and general. The city of London presented a petition against it at the bar of the house of commons; but the bill passed both houses by considerable majorities. In the cyder counties the measure was held in such abhorrence, that it was found extremely difficult to enforce the odious impost.

But no sooner was this favourite measure carried into execution, than the kingdom received the astonishing intelligence of the resignation of the minister, who after having vaunted of restoring peace to the world, was now determined, by retiring "to the blessings of the life he loved," to manifest that ministerial greatness had no charms for him (*r*).

The British cabinet, already extremely weak, was now further enfeebled by the death of lord Egremont, whose abilities and interest gave weight to the measures which he generally adopted.

The definitive treaty of peace was signed at Paris on the 10th of February, 1763; and being transmitted to England was speedily laid before the parliament. The articles of the treaty, like those of the preliminaries, occasioned vehement debates in both houses, where, after a variety of arguments on each side, the question being put, it was carried in the affirmative by a considerable majority (*s*). And on the 22nd of March peace was proclaimed in London, with the accustomed ceremonies.

On the establishment of peace, the ministry came to a resolution of avoiding taxation as much as the public service could possibly admit. The supplies were to be raised, first, by taking two millions of the sinking fund; secondly, by striking one million eight hundred thousand pounds in exchequer bills; thirdly, by borrowing two millions eight hundred thousand pounds on annuities; and, lastly, by two lotteries, for three hundred and fifty thousand pounds each. To pay the interest of these loans, an additional duty was imposed upon all wines of the growth of France, and in an inferior degree on all other wines. Thus far the scheme seemed unexceptionable; but another duty was added, which excited a ferment in the nation; viz. four shillings per hogshead upon cyder, to be paid by the maker, collected by the officers, and subjected to all the laws of excise. The chiefs of the opposition differed in opinion from the treasury upon every particular in this impost. But, after a violent debate, the question was put, and carried in the affirmative by a very considerable majority. In the upper house the bill was also strongly opposed; but the ministry carried their point, and the bill received the royal assent.

On the 18th of April two ambassadors extraordinary from the republic of Venice made their public entry into London, in a very splendid and pompous manner; and on the subsequent day, the king went to the house of peers, and having given the royal assent to several bills, he prorogued the parliament with a speech from the throne, in which he expressed his thanks for the zeal and dispatch they had manifested in their proceedings.

We have to remark, that the rage of party was at this time more inflamed than ever; and the press teemed with political pamphlets on both sides, couched in terms of the utmost virulence and abuse. Of these the ministry seemed totally regardless, till the appearance of the forty-fifth number of the North Briton. A rule for an information was now granted by the court of King's Bench against the authors, printers, and publishers of that paper, which contained a severe commentary on the king's speech at the close of the session of parliament on the 19th of April. John Wilkes, Esq. member of Aylesbury in Buckinghamshire, was the supposed author of this performance. A warrant was therefore issued by the secretary of state for taking Mr. Wilkes, together with the printer and publisher, into custody. Accordingly, late at night, on the 29th of April, the messengers repaired to Mr. Wilkes's house for that purpose. On their entrance he excepted to the *generality* of the warrant (*t*), as his name was not mentioned in it, and threatened the first who should offer violence to his person in his own house, at that unseasonable hour of the night, upon any pretended verbal order which they might, or might not, have received for that purpose. The messengers therefore thought proper to retire, and defer the execution of their warrant till next morning, when they took him into custody, and conducted him to the office of the secretary of state for examination. On the intimation of this event, application was made in the court of Common Pleas, then sitting in Westminster Hall, for a Habeas Corpus, which was granted; though by reason of the prothonotary's office not being open, it could not be served till four o'clock in the afternoon. In the interim several gentlemen applied for admittance to him; which was refused, on pretence of an order from the secretary of state, which order was never produced; and though it was well known that the court of Common Pleas had granted a Habeas Corpus, and Philip Carteret Webb, Esq. was assured of the fact, Mr. Wilkes was committed to the Tower, where many of his friends were also refused admittance to him. On the 3rd of May he was brought to the bar of the court of Common Pleas, where he addressed himself to the judges on the illegality and hardships of his commitment in a very animated speech. The case was then argued by eminent lawyers on both sides; but the court, after making a polite excuse to Mr. Wilkes for the delay, (requiring further time to consider of the affair,) remanded him to the Tower till the 6th, with orders that his friends and lawyers should have free access to him. In the mean time orders were given, that Mr. Wilkes should no longer continue colonel of the militia for the county of Buckingham. On the day appointed, Mr. Wilkes was again brought to Westminster Hall, when, after another spirited address to the court, lord chief justice Pratt, a firm and invariable friend to constitutional liberty, proceeded to give his opinion on the three following points, viz. The legality of Mr. Wilkes's commitment; the necessity for a specification of those particular passages in No. 45 of the North Briton which had been deemed a libel; and his privilege as a member of parliament (*u*). These points were discussed by his lordship in a manner which

(*r*) The principal cause of his resignation, was the want of support in the cabinet. In a private letter to a friend, he thus relates the real motives of his conduct. "Single, in a cabinet of my own forming; no aid in the house of lords to support me, except two peers (lords Denbigh and Pomfret;) both the secretaries of state silent, and the lord chief justice, whom I myself brought into office, voting for me, yet speaking against me; the ground I tread upon so hollow, that I am afraid, not only of falling myself, but of involving my royal master in my ruin. It is time for me to retire!" *Adolphus's History.*

(*s*) By the treaty, which was now the subject of animadversion, Canada, Nova Scotia, and the island of Cape Breton were ceded to Great Britain; the river Mississippi constituted the boundary between the British and French colonies in North America; and in the West Indies, the king of Great Britain yielded to the French the conquered islands of Martinico and Guadaloupe, with their dependencies. The island of Belleisle was given in exchange for Minorca; and the Grenades, with the other islands depending on them, were ceded to Britain. All the British conquests on the river Senegal were confirmed to England: with respect to the East Indies, the French settlements were partly restored, and partly retained. The French were obliged to restore such places as they had taken possession of in Germany; and in consequence of the king of Spain's abandoning all pretensions to Florida, and ceding it to the English, the Havannah, with the whole island of Cuba, were to be restored. The king of Prussia, and the empress queen were to remain in the same condition they were in before the commencement of the war.

(*t*) Copy of the warrant to take Mr. Wilkes into custody.

Charles Earl of Egremont, and George Dunk, Earl of Halifax, Lords of his Majesty's most honourable Privy Council, and principal Secretaries of State.

"These are, in his majesty's name, to authorize and require you to receive into your custody the body of John Wilkes, Esq.; herewith sent you, for being the author and publisher of a most infamous and seditious libel, entitled the North Briton, No. XLV. tending to inflame the minds and alienate the affections of the people from his majesty, and to excite them to traitorous insurrections against the government. And to keep him safe and close until he shall be delivered by due course of law, and in so doing this shall be your warrant. Given at St. James's, the thirtieth of April, 1763, in the third year of his majesty's reign.

(Signed) "EGREMONT. L. S.
"DUNK HALIFAX. L. S."

(*u*) Lord chief justice Pratt declared afterwards, in his judicial capacity,

which greatly redounds to his honour: and his opinion having met with the approbation of the court, Mr. Wilkes was discharged. But before he had quitted the court, a gentleman of eminence in the law, stood up, and informed the lord chief justice, that he had just received a note from the attorney and solicitor-general, to desire his lordship would detain Mr. Wilkes till their arrival, as they had something to offer against his plea of privilege. This request, however, was not complied with; and Mr. Wilkes was discharged.

Shortly after Mr. Wilkes had been released from the Tower, he erected a printing press in his house in Great George Street, Westminster, and advertised the proceedings of the administration, with all the original papers; and the North Briton was re-published. In the interim an information was filed against him in the court of King's Bench, at his majesty's suit, as being the author of the North Briton, No. 45; and on the meeting of parliament, a message was sent to the house of commons with the information his majesty had received, that John Wilkes, esq. a member of that house, was the author of a most seditious and dangerous libel. The examinations and proofs of the said libel, together with the measures that had been taken thereon, were also laid before the house: in consequence of which, the North Briton, No. 45, was adjudged a false, scandalous, and seditious libel, and ordered to be burned by the hands of the common hangman (*v*).

Mr. Wilkes also made a formal complaint to the house of commons concerning a breach of their privilege, by the imprisonment of his person, the plundering of his house, the seizing of his papers, and the serving him with a subpœna upon an information in the court of King's Bench, &c. He likewise commenced an action against Robert Wood, esquire, under secretary of state, for seizing his papers. The cause was tried on the 6th of December, before lord chief justice Pratt, and a special jury; when, after a hearing of nearly fifteen hours, the jury gave a verdict for the plaintiff with one thousand pounds damages, and full costs of suit (*w*). Previous to this, a complaint had been exhibited against Mr. Wilkes in the house of lords, for affixing the name of a member of that house to a book entitled, "An Essay on Woman;" which book was publicly produced, to the utter confusion and eternal disgrace of every person concerned in it; but Mr. Wilkes could not prefer his answer, being then indisposed, in consequence of a wound he had received in a duel with Samuel Martin, esquire, late secretary of the treasury; who, thinking himself grossly insulted in the North Briton, and, presuming Mr. Wilkes was the author of that abuse, he sent him a challenge, which being readily accepted by Mr. Wilkes, he received a dangerous wound in the belly; of which he sent immediate notice to the house of commons, who thereupon allowed time for his appearance, and afterwards, on the report of his physician and surgeon, enlarged it: but at length, suspecting some collusion between him and them, on the 16th of December, they ordered Dr. Heberden and Mr. Hawkins to attend him, that they might observe the progress of his cure, and make a report of it to the house. This being made known to Mr. Wilkes by his physician, he sent cards to the two gentlemen appointed to attend him, expressing his just sense of the care of the house for his speedy recovery, but at the same time intimated his perfect reliance on the gentlemen to whom he had committed his case, and assured them, that though he did not wish to see them at present, he was impatient for an opportunity of shewing the just regard he would ever pay to distinguished merit. Eight days after, Mr. Wilkes set out for France on a visit to his daughter, who was very ill at Paris.

The commons afterwards expelled Mr. Wilkes, for a contempt of their authority, and publishing the North Briton; it being adjudged an infamous libel. His trial came on in February, in the court of King's Bench, before lord chief justice Mansfield, for reprinting and publishing the North Briton, No. 45, at his own house: of which publication he was found guilty; as he was afterwards for printing and publishing a most obscene and blasphemous pamphlet, entitled, "An Essay on Woman, with Remarks," to which the name of Warburton, a right reverend prelate, had been scurrilously affixed. Mr. Kidgell, chaplain to lord March, clandestinely procured a sheet of this work, from one of Wilkes's journeymen printers, and caused it to be laid before the secretaries of state (*x*).

On the 16th of August, 1763, the queen was delivered of a second son, who was baptized by the name of Frederic, afterwards created duke of York. At this period the pulse of the nation beat high in favour of liberty; a striking manifestation of which appeared in the dignified congratulatory address to the king presented on this occasion by the city of London, in which the citizens say, "Firmly trusting, that every increase of your royal family will prove an additional security to our religion and the great Charter of Liberty, which, in consequence of the glorious Revolution, your illustrious house was *chosen* to defend."

On the 16th of January, 1764, princess Augusta, eldest sister to his majesty, was married to Charles William, hereditary prince of Brunswick-Lunenburgh. The ceremony was performed in the great council-chamber at St. James's, in the presence of a great number of peers, peeresses, and foreign ministers. Their serene highnesses left London on the 26th, and embarked at Harwich. Princess Augusta's dowry, granted by the English parliament, was eighty thousand pounds.

We must now return to our affairs in the East, and other foreign parts. In the beginning of this year, the East India company received advice, that the dispute between their servants and the reigning nabob, Cossim Ali Khan, had been productive of such animosities and jealousies, on the part of the latter, that it was thought highly necessary to use every means to allay them: and for this purpose Messrs. Amyatt and Hay, two gentlemen of the council, were deputed to wait upon the nabob to endeavour to adjust the difference amicably. When they ar-

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pacity, this warrant unconstitutional, illegal, and absolutely void. "If it be good," continued he, "a secretary of state can delegate and depute any of his messengers, or any even from the lowest of the people, to take examinations, to commit or release, and, in fine, to do every act which the highest judicial officers the law knows, can do, or order. There is no authority in our law books that mentions these kinds of warrants, but in express terms condemns them. Upon the maturest consideration, I am bold to say this warrant is illegal; but I am far from wishing a matter of this consequence should rest solely on my opinion. It may be referred to the twelve judges, and there is still a higher court, before which it may be canvassed, and whose determination is final. If these superior jurisdictions should declare my opinion erroneous, I submit as will become me, and kiss the rod; but I must say, I shall always consider it as a rod of iron for the chastisement of the people of Great Britain."

(*v*) The operation of burning the North Briton, according to the sentence, was committed to the superintendance of Mr. alderman Harley, sheriff of London, and one of the city members. The officers who assembled at the Royal Exchange to perform this duty, were assailed by a furious mob, pelted, and grossly insulted; and the glass of Harley's chariot was broken by a billet of wood. The pieces of the libel which remained, were carried off in triumph to Temple Bar, where a bonfire was prepared to receive and consume a huge Jack-Boot, typically signifying John earl of Bute. On the day appointed for enforcing this sentence, December the 3rd, a great number of persons assembled at the Royal Exchange, who insulted the sheriffs, one of whom received a slight wound in the scuffle, which obliged him to retire. The North Briton, however, was partly consumed by means of a lighted link, but some scraps of it were carried off in triumph by the populace, who, in the evening, displayed them at Temple Bar, where a bonfire was made, and the greatest rejoicings exhibited on the occasion.

(*w*) On the evening of the day that the verdict was obtained, a person knocked at Mr. Wilkes's door, requesting to speak with him on particular business: but it appearing by his dialect that he was a North Briton, and being besides an entire stranger, he was refused admittance; on which he went to a coffee-house in Parliament Street, where a person made affidavit, that he heard him declare, himself and ten more were determined to cut off Mr. Wilkes, let the event be what it would. This person, the next morning, gave information to Mr. Wilkes, desiring him to be ever on his guard. According to the information, the person sworn against, as was supposed, bringing a letter to Mr. Wilkes's house, signed Alexander Dun, (the purport of which was to beg an interview with him on business of importance,) he was desired to call again at one o'clock, which he did accordingly; and seven o'clock in the evening being then appointed, he again attended; but as he was stepping out at the parlour door, two gentlemen, who had placed themselves behind it for that purpose, seized him by the arms, and threw him on his back. On searching his pockets a new penknife was found, which he pretended to have purchased nine months before; but after many equivocations, he acknowledged to have bought it at Chatham within a fortnight. From these circumstances he was taken into custody, and the next morning carried before one of the judges; after which a complaint was exhibited against him in the house of commons, and he was ordered to be brought to the bar of the house, when, after an examination, he was discharged, being generally supposed to be insane.

(*x*) In the proceedings against Mr. Wilkes, lord Temple was his avowed supporter and patron, and shared the popularity resulting from the contest. The king having deprived Wilkes of his commission as colonel of the Buckinghamshire militia; it was the duty of lord Temple, as lord lieutenant, to announce that resolution, which he did in the most gentle terms, accompanied with assurances of regret and complimentary testimonies. This behaviour, on the part of lord Temple, was considered in so offensive a light, that he was struck off the list of privy-counsellors, and dismissed from the lord lieutenancy of Buckinghamshire, which was given to sir Francis Dashwood, who had recently attained the title of lord Le Despenser. *Vid. Adolphus's Hist.* i. 136.

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rived at Mongheer, where the nabob resided, they held many conferences with him, in which he manifested a great aversion to an accommodation upon the terms which were proposed to him; and about this time, a supply of five hundred arms, on the road to Patna, was stopped by his officers. Other acts of hostility were likewise committed, which brought affairs to such an extremity, that a war with the nabob appeared inevitable. Messrs. Amyatt and Hay were recalled, and the former of those gentlemen, having received the usual passports, set out for Calcutta, accompanied by Messrs. Amphlett, Woollaston, and Hutchinson; the lieutenants Jones, Gordon, and Cooper, and Dr. Crooke; Messrs. Hay and Guiston being left with the nabob as hostages. As the boats were passing Moorshedabad, they were attacked by a number of troops, assembled on both sides of the river for that purpose, and some of the gentlemen in the boats being slain, Mr. Amyatt immediately landed with a few sepoys, whom he had ordered to fire. He then endeavoured to make the enemy understand that he was furnished with the nabob's passport, and had no intention of committing hostilities; but the Moorish horse advancing, some of the sepoys inadvertently fired, and, in the confusion which ensued, Mr. Amyatt, with most of his small party, were killed. In consequence of this disaster, Mr. Ellis, and the other gentlemen in council at Patna, agreed, with the approbation of captain Corstairs, to attack the city of Moorshedabad. This resolution was successfully executed on the 25th of June, and captain Corstairs, with his party, were in possession of the city for four hours, the Moorish governor, and his people having fled. But he speedily returned, resolving to make an effort to regain the place, in which he succeeded. Most of the sepoys and Europeans being fully occupied in plundering the place, were not prepared to receive him, and were consequently easily dispossessed. They then repaired to the factory, but the men were so dispirited, and the sepoys deserted in such numbers, that it was found impossible to make any stand there; upon which a resolution was taken to proceed to Sujah ed Dowlah's dominions.

They crossed the river on the 26th in the evening, and met with no obstruction till they passed the Churpa; when on the 30th they were attacked by the Fouzdar, with about two thousand men, whom they easily routed; but he being joined by about five hundred sepoys from Bugepore, with six field-pieces, he attacked the Europeans, who, quitting their ranks at the first onset, were entirely defeated. Fifty of them were killed, among whom was captain Corstairs, Mr. Ellis and the rest were made prisoners. From these and other acts of hostility committed by Cossim Ali, a resolution was formed to declare war against him, and to restore Meer Jaffier, the former nabob, who had been deposed, to the subah; after engaging him to enter into a treaty with the English company.

The treaty between Meer Jaffier and the company, was executed at Fort William, on the 10th of July, 1763, and a few days after Meer Jaffier set out to join the army under major Adams, then on his march towards Moorshedabad. On the 19th of July, a battle was fought opposite Cutwa on the Cossimbuzar side of the river, in which the English were successful. They also obtained possession of the fort of Cutwa, on the other side of the river, together with all the enemy's artillery. After this successful enterprize, major Adams pursued his march to Moorshedabad, which he entered on the 24th, at night, with very little opposition; and here the army halted for some days, during which Meer Jaffier was formally proclaimed. On the 28th of July, the army was again put in motion, and on the 2d of August, they arrived in the neighbourhood of Sooty, at the head of Cossimbuzar river; where a numerous army of the enemy's best troops, with artillery, occupied a very advantageous post.

These were immediately attacked by major Adams, and for four hours they made an obstinate defence; but, being at length thrown into confusion, they were easily defeated. In this engagement the loss of the English consisted of six officers, and forty Europeans; together with two hundred and ninety-two sepoys and black cavalry, killed and wounded. Twenty-three pieces of cannon, and one hundred and fifty boats, laden with military and other stores, were taken. Shortly after this engagement, major Adams advanced to the neighbourhood of Ragamaut, about three or four miles from which place the enemy had thrown up a strong entrenchment from the hills to the river. This the major determined to attack, and every thing being ready for the assault on the 5th of September, it was carried on with such vigour, that in a short time the enemy were obliged to abandon the entrenchment to the conquerors. By this victory, the province of Bengal was entirely secured to the English.

Intelligence was received in July, from North America, importing, that the military operations in that quarter had been carried on with great vigour; but that sir William Johnson had at length succeeded in bringing the Seneca nation to concessions highly advantageous to Great Britain, and that they had entered into a treaty of peace, friendship, and alliance with the English, which was reciprocally signed in a congress held for that purpose at Niagara. The forces commanded by the colonels Bradstreet and Bouquet were as successful as those under sir William Johnson. The Delaware and Shawanese Indians had refused to meet sir William at the congress of Niagara, but being intimidated by the march of such a number of troops towards their country, they met colonel Bradstreet at Presque Isle, and submissively sued for peace, which was granted them with readiness.

The peace, however, with the Delawares and Shawanese was but of short duration: they soon after revolted, and committed outrages with aggravated insolence. In consequence of this perfidy, major-general Gage, commander in chief of his majesty's forces in those parts, resolved to penetrate into the heart of their country. The regular and provincial troops, commanded by colonel Bouquet, having been joined by a large body of volunteers from Virginia, Maryland, and Pennsylvania, in the beginning of October, marched from Fort Pitt, and about the 16th, arrived at Tuscarowas. The sight of these troops threw them into the utmost consternation; they having hitherto depended on their woods for protection, and had frequently boasted that their situation secured them from the attacks of our army: but not being willing to come to an engagement, they had again recourse to negociation, and were informed, that they might obtain peace, but every prisoner in their possession must first be delivered up. They brought up about twenty, and promised to deliver up the rest; but as their promises were not regarded, they engaged to send the whole on the first of November, to a fort about two hundred and fifty miles from Fort Pitt, the center of the Delaware towns, and near the most considerable settlement of the Shawanese. Colonel Bouquet determined not to lose sight of them, moved his camp to that place; and soon obliged the Delawares, together with some broken tribes, to bring in all their prisoners. They were then informed, that they must appoint deputies to go to sir William Johnson, in order to receive such terms as he might think proper to mention, which the nations must agree to ratify; and they were obliged to leave a considerable number of their chiefs in the hands of the English, as a security for the performance of this agreement. All the nations readily agreed, except the Shawanese, who disapproved of the conditions, and were particularly averse to the delivery of hostages: but finding their obstinacy would only tend to their destruction, they at last consented, gave up forty principal chiefs as hostages, and appointed their deputies to repair to sir William Johnson, in the same manner as the others had done. The number of prisoners delivered up by these nations exceeded three hundred, and it was expected that the English parties would bring in near one hundred more from their different towns.

Several accounts were received from the Bay of Honduras, in June, complaining that our logwood cutters there had not only been disturbed in their business, but had been ordered to remove from their usual places of settlement, on pretence of their having no proofs that they were subjects of his Britannic majesty; and supposing they were, that they had roved too freely about the country, gathering the fruits of it as if it belonged to them. In consequence of these proceedings, a remonstrance was presented to the Spanish court by the English ambassador at Madrid: and on the 27th of September, a messenger arrived in London, with a duplicate of the orders, which were instantly dispatched to Don Felix Raming de Estenoz, governor of Yucatan; by which it appeared, that the Spanish monarch disapproved of the proceedings of the said governor, and expressed his desire of giving the greatest proofs of his friendship to his Britannic majesty.

The British parliament met again on the 10th of January, 1765, when his majesty opened the session with a speech from the throne; in which he said, "I have now the satisfaction to inform you, that I have agreed with my

good brother the king of Denmark, to cement the union which has long subsisted between the two crowns by the marriage of the prince royal with my sister the princess Carolina Matilda, which is to be solemnized as soon as their respective ages will permit."

Both houses presented loyal and affectionate addresses to his majesty, on account of his speech; and the commons, that they might raise the supplies for the ensuing year, resolved to put the Americans on the same footing as the inhabitants of Great Britain, by compelling them to pay stamp duties. Great opposition was made to this bill; but at length it passed both houses, and on the 22nd of March received the royal assent. Shortly after this his majesty ordered, that America should be divided into two districts, *viz.* northern and southern, by the river Potomack, and a line drawn due west from the head of the main branch of that river, as far as his majesty's dominions extend, and that a surveyor general should be appointed in each, to make general surveys both of the sea coast, and the inland country, in order to facilitate the navigation, and to promote the speedy settlement of the new acquisitions. Commissioners were likewise appointed to settle the new ceded islands in the West Indies, who were directed to divide each island into parishes and districts; then in every parish to trace out a town, its streets, market-place, &c. and to parcel out the ground into proper allotments to build on, with a small field annexed to each. The land was to be sold at a small quit-rent.

In the month of April, the trial of lord Byron for murder came on in Westminster Hall, before the peers; of which the following are the particulars: In January, at a meeting of the Nottinghamshire club, a dispute arose between lord Byron and Mr. Chaworth, a gentleman of that county, concerning the quantity of game on their respective estates. The warmth of the dispute produced a quarrel, and a duel was the consequence, which was fought at the Star and Garter tavern in Pall Mall, when the latter was unfortunately killed, and some time after lord Byron surrendered himself to be tried by his peers. Accordingly, on the morning of the 26th of April, his lordship was conveyed from the Tower to Westminster Hall, where the trial took place. The number of witnesses on the part of the crown was so great, that they could not be all examined that day. On the next, the trial being resumed, and the examinations against the prisoner finished, the solicitor-general summed up the evidence; after which lord Byron, who declined examining any witnesses on his own behalf, told their lordships, "That what he had to offer in his own vindication he had committed to writing, and begged that it might be read by the clerk, as he feared his own voice, considering his present situation, would not be heard." This request being complied with, the clerk, in a very audible and distinct manner, read his speech, which contained an exact detail of all the particulars relating to the melancholy affair between him and Mr. Chaworth. He said, "he declined entering into the circumstances of Mr. Chaworth's behaviour farther than was absolutely necessary for his defence, expressed his deep and unfeigned sorrow for the event, and reposed himself with the utmost confidence on their lordship's justice and humanity, observing that he would with chearfulness acquiesce in the sentence of the noblest and most equitable court of judicature in the world, whether it were for life or death." When the clerk had concluded, the peers adjourned to their own house; and, after some time, returned, when they found his lordship guilty of manslaughter: and, as by an old statute, peers are, in all cases where benefit of clergy is allowed, to be dismissed without burning in the hand, loss of inheritance, or corruption of blood, his lordship was immediately dismissed on the payment of his fees.

His majesty, who had been for some time indisposed, went to the house of peers, on the 24th of April, and, after signing such bills as were ready, made a speech from the throne; in which he recommended the appointment of a regent in case of his demise, during the minority of the prince of Wales; and in which he said, "The tender concern which I feel for my faithful subjects, makes me anxious to provide for every possible event which might effect their future happiness or security. My late indisposition, though not attended with danger, has led me to consider the situation in which my kingdoms and my family might be left, if it should please God to put a period to my life, whilst my successor is of tender years. The high importance of this subject to the public safety, good order, and tranquillity; the paternal affection which I bear to my children, and to all my people; and my earnest desire that every precaution should be taken which may tend to preserve the constitution of Great Britain undisturbed, and the dignity and lustre of its crown unimpaired; have determined me to lay this weighty business before my parliament. And as my health, by the blessing of God, is now restored, I take the earliest opportunity of meeting you here, and of recommending to your most serious deliberation the making such provision, as would be necessary, in case any of my children should succeed to the throne before they shall respectively attain the age of eighteen years. To this end, I propose to your consideration, whether, under the present circumstances, it will be expedient to vest in one the power of appointing, from time to time, by instruments in writing, under my sign manuel, either the queen, or any other person of my royal family, usually residing in Great Britain, to be the guardian of the person of such successor, and the regent of these kingdoms, until such successor shall attain the age of eighteen years; subject to such restrictions and regulations as are contained in an act, passed upon a similar occasion, in the 24th year of the reign of the late king, my royal grandfather. The regent so appointed to be assisted by a council, composed of the several persons, who, by reason of their dignities and offices, are constituted members of the council established by that act, together with those whom you may think proper to leave to my nomination." To his majesty's speech each house presented a loyal address; and in conformity to his majesty's request, a bill was ordered to be brought into the house of lords, where it was passed, and sent to the house of commons. Here, however, it met with some opposition; but an amendment being made, which was approved of by the lords, it received the royal assent on the 15th of May (*y*). The affair of the regency being settled, his majesty prorogued the parliament by commission, on the 25th, being so indisposed as to be unable to attend in person.

When the king repaired to the house to give his assent to the regency bill, a vast concourse of journeymen silk-weavers appeared at Saint James's, some of them displaying black flags, declaring they were reduced to a state of famine by the encouragement of French silks. They surrounded the two houses of parliament, insulted them, and proceeded to commit other outrages. They also attended the two following days, but were at length repressed by the *posse comitatus* and the military.

To prevent frauds committed by smugglers, the Isle of Man was this year annexed to the realm. It was before a part of the crown, but not of the realm of England: it was under the allegiance of the king, but governed by its own laws. This extraordinary inheritance had for almost four centuries been vested, by parliamentary charter, in the family of the duke of Athol.

A short time after the prorogation of the parliament, accounts were received of the success of his majesty's arms in conjunction with the company's troops, in the East Indies. On the 22d of October, 1764, major Monro, who, on the decease of major Adams, had succeeded to the command of the king's forces in that part of the world, came up with the Indian army at Buxard, on the river Cammassary, about one hundred miles above Patna. They were most advantageously encamped, having a morass in their front, judiciously lined with cannon, so that whichever way the English should move, they could greatly annoy them. The major, however, not being intimidated by the advantageous situation of the enemy, ordered the line of battle to be formed next morning; about nine the Indians began to cannonade the English; and in half an hour the action became general. The morass in the front of our troops prevented their advancing for some time, during which they were greatly galled by the enemy's artillery. The British forces charged the enemy with such success, that before noon their whole army was put to flight, leaving six thousand men on the field, with one hundred and thirty pieces of cannon, a proportionable quantity of military stores, and all their tents ready pitched. The loss of the victors was comparatively small, for they had

(*y*) By this act his majesty was empowered to appoint the queen, with the princes of the blood, and all the great officers of state jointly, regents during the minority of the prince; and that his majesty should be allowed to add to the number of regents such persons as he thought proper, whose names should be left, in case of his death, sealed up in a deed to be opened by the privy council.

only thirty Europeans, and two hundred and thirty-nine Indians killed; and fifty-seven Europeans, and four hundred and seventy-three Indians wounded. Such was the situation of affairs in the East Indies, when major Monro was recalled; and sir Robert Fletcher, an officer brought up in the company's service, was appointed to command in his room. He took the field as soon as he arrived; and marched about one hundred and fifty miles up the Ganges, when he attacked several of the enemy's forts, and made the garrisons prisoners of war.

On account of the stamp-act great disturbances arose in America. The first intelligence that arrived there of such a bill being in agitation, threw an universal melancholy on the countenances of all the people; but when it was known that the bill had passed both houses, and received the royal assent, they were fired with indignation, and the utmost scene of confusion took place throughout most of the provinces. When the news arrived at Boston, the ships in the harbour hung out their colours half mast high, in token of the deepest mourning; the bells were rung muffled: copies of the act were printed, with a death's head in the place where it is usual to fix the arms, and cried publicly about the streets by the name of "The Folly of England and Ruin of America." Essays soon followed, not only against the expediency, but even the equity of it, in several newspapers, one of which bore the significant title of "The Constitutional Courant, containing Matters interesting to Liberty, and no ways repugnant to Loyalty; printed by Andrew Marvel, at the Sign of the Bribe Refused, on Constitution Hill, North America." The head-piece to this paper was cut in small pieces, with the initial letters of the names of the several colonies, from New England to South Carolina, affixed to each piece, and above them the words "Join or Die." To these were added caricatures, pasquinades, puns, bonmots, and such sayings, suited to the occasion, as by being short could be most easily circulated and retained, at the same time that, by being extremely expressive, they carried with them the weight of a great many arguments (*z*). By the time the act itself, as printed at the king's printing-house, reached the colonies, the populace were every where exasperated against it to such a degree, as to shew it the most public marks of contempt. In several places it was burnt, together with the effigies of those who were supposed to have voted for, or otherwise had any hand in favour of it (*a*).

When the news of the American discontents arrived in England, several masters of ships refused to take any stamps on board for the colonies; and it soon appeared that their precaution was well founded; for such as ventured to take them had sufficient cause to repent of their temerity on their arrival at their destined ports, where, to save their vessels from fire, and their persons from the gallows, they were most of them obliged to surrender their noxious cargoes into the hands of the enraged multitude, which they treated in the same ignominious manner they had done the act: the other vessels were obliged to take shelter under such of the king's ships as happened to be at hand to protect them. Those gentlemen who went from England with commissions to act as distributors of the stamps, met with still worse treatment. Many of them were compelled to renounce, upon oath, all manner of concern in them: others thought it most prudent to return home; whilst some, who were suspected of obstinately persisting in endeavouring to enslave their country, as it was termed, or of having spoken too freely concerning the behaviour of the people on this occasion, had their houses burnt, and their most valuable effects plundered or destroyed. Even those who, without their solicitation or knowledge, had been named, or were obliged in virtue of the offices they already filled, to superintend the distribution of the stamped paper, were treated in a similar manner; and the populace having suspected one person of writing to England in disrespectful terms concerning their proceedings, surrounded his house, and, notwithstanding the most earnest entreaties, obliged him to deliver up the copies of his letters, and thereby turn evidence against himself. Even ships bringing stamped mercantile or custom-house papers, merely in their own defence, from such of the colonies as had thought proper to submit to the stamp act, were forced to part with them to be stuck up in derision in coffee-houses and taverns, and were afterwards publicly burnt.

Several persons of the higher classes now began to join these popular tumults. One in particular set the act openly at defiance, by advertising under his hand, that those whose business it was to enforce it, might save themselves the trouble of calling upon him for that purpose; for that he was resolved to pay no tax but what was laid upon him by his representatives. The provincial assemblies themselves even declined giving the governors any advice concerning their behaviour on this critical occasion, and although they disavowed these riotous proceedings, and offered rewards for apprehending the rioters, yet they would not condemn them further than decency required; and absolutely refused, when exhorted to it by the governors, to make any compensation to the injured parties; much less would they strengthen the hands of the executive power, so as to hinder any future commotions; which they did not think proper to consider as objects of military restraint. The conduct of the general assemblies was not only approved, but openly encouraged, by assemblies of the freeholders and principal inhabitants of some places, who directed their representatives not to agree to any steps for the protection of stamped papers, or stamp officers, though they owned there had been already some tumults and disorders relating to them; and likewise cautioned them against all unconstitutional draughts on the public treasury. The general assemblies went still farther: for, instead of conniving at the people's asserting their independence by tumultuous acts, they avowed themselves, and established committees to correspond with each other concerning the general affairs of the whole; they even appointed deputies from these committees to meet in a congress at New York. But such harmony already prevailed in the sentiments of the general assemblies of the several provinces, that the deputies, who met, had little more to do than to congratulate each other upon it, and put their hands to one general declaration of their rights, and the grievances they laboured under; and to one general petition expressive thereof, to the king, lords, and commons of England. At length, those invested with the subordinate executive powers began to join the legislative; and they resolved rather to give up their business, than carry it on with stamped papers.

By the first of November, when the act took place, not a sheet of stamped paper was to be had throughout the several colonies of New England, New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Virginia, Maryland, or the two Carolinas, except a small parcel, which the governor of New York, terrified by the threats of the enraged multitude, had surrendered into the hands of the corporation of that place, on condition of their not being destroyed; so that all business, which could not be legally carried on without stamps, was at once put to a stand, except that of news-printing, which the printers still continued, pleading in excuse, that, if they did not, the populace would serve them as they had done the stamp masters themselves. The courts of justice were closed, and the ports shut up. Even in those colonies where stamps were to be had, the people of the best fortune submitted to be asked in church, rather than take out licences for private marriages (*b*).

The merchants of all those colonies which ventured openly to oppose the act, now entered into the most solemn engagements with each other, not only not to order any more goods from Great Britain, let the consequences be what they might, and recal the orders they had already given, if not obeyed by the first of January, 1766, but

(*z*) The two chief articles urged in these newspaper essays were, first, that the person acting under this statute had it in his power to bring an action, the cause of which had arisen at one extremity of the North American colonies, and extended itself to the other, at almost two thousand miles distance, without the traders being entitled to recover damages, in case the judge certified that there was any probable cause for the prosecution. The second was, the judge having an interest in giving a decree in favour of the party suing for the penalties of the act, on being allowed, by way of commission, a very large share in these penalties.

(*a*) It was agreed by the Americans, at the meeting of those in higher rank, that thanks should be given to general Conway and colonel Barré, two gentlemen whom they considered as the most strenuous opposers of it in the British house of commons; that their speeches against it, and their pictures, should be requested. The pictures to be hung up in their places of meeting; and their speeches to be inserted in the books destined to record all their principal transactions.

(*b*) The consequences of the stagnation of business which took place on account of the stamp act soon began to be so severely felt, that the inhabitants found it necessary to try some expedient by which they might elude the act. Accordingly, one of them sent a thin piece of bark to the printers at Boston, on which he had written, "That it being neither paper, parchment, or vellum, he would be glad to know, if instruments written on such stuff might not be valid, though not stamped; in which case he was ready to supply, with good writing bark, all those whose consciences were bound by the late act."

that

even not to dispose of any British goods sent them on commission, that were not shipped before that day; or, if they consented to any relaxation from these engagements, it was not to take place till the stamp act, and even the sugar and paper money acts were repealed. The people of Philadelphia also resolved, though not unanimously, that, till such repeal, no lawyer should put in suit a demand for money owing by a resident in America, to one in England; nor any person in America, however indebted in England, make any remittances to that country. These resolutions were adopted by the retailers, who unanimously agreed, not to buy or sell any British goods shipped contrary to their express meaning and declaration.

The only place that received any material benefit from these proceedings was Ireland, as what goods the colonies could not possibly do without they took from that country in exchange for their hemp-seed and flax-seed, of which they annually exported very large quantities. In the mean time they endeavoured to free themselves even from this dependence. A society of arts, manufactures, and commerce, on the plan of the London society, was instituted at New York, and markets were opened for the sale of home-made goods; by which it soon appeared, that neither the natives nor the manufacturers, had been idle. Linens, woollens, the coarser but most useful kinds of iron ware, malt-spirits, paper-hangings, &c. were produced to the society, and greatly approved; and when brought to market every body appeared desirous of purchasing them. At the same time, lest the new woollen manufacturers should come short of materials, many of the inhabitants came to a resolution not to eat any lamb; and to extend the influence of their resolution to those who did not join them in it, not to deal with any butcher that should kill or expose any lamb to sale.

In the mean time the nation suffered a loss in the death of his royal highness William, duke of Cumberland, uncle to his majesty, who died on the 31st of October, in the forty-fifth year of his age. His royal highness was at court in the morning, dined with lord Albemarle, and drank tea with the princess of Brunswick at St. James's, whence he came to his own house in the evening, to be present at a council to be held on affairs of state. So soon as he entered the house he complained of a pain in his shoulder, and desired to be laid on a couch, where, in about twenty minutes, he expired. On examining the body a coagulation of extravasated blood was found in the right ventricle of the brain, which was the cause of his death; but all the other parts were sound, except the membrane between the lobes of the brain, which had become ossified.

In consequence of the distracted state of America, his majesty thought proper to assemble the parliament on the 17th of December (*c*), which was considerably sooner than he intended. After having adjourned for the holidays, the house met again on the 14th of January, when his majesty addressed the parliament in a short speech, in which he acquainted the lords and commons, that he had ordered "All the papers that give any light into the origin, the progress, or the tendency of the disturbances which have of late prevailed in some of the northern colonies, to be immediately laid before them."

The merchants of London, Bristol, Lancaster, Liverpool, Hull, Glasgow, and, in short, most of the trading and manufacturing towns and boroughs in the kingdom, now presented petitions to parliament, wherein they set forth the great decay of their trade, owing to the new laws and regulations made for America: the vast quantity of our manufactures, (besides those articles imported from abroad, which were purchased either with our own manufactures, or with the produce of our colonies,) which the American trade formerly took off our hands; by all which many thousands of manufacturers, seamen, and labourers, had been employed, to the great benefit of the nation. That in return for these exports, the petitioners had received from the colonies, rice, indigo, tobacco, naval stores, oil, whale-fins, fins, and pot-ash, with other staple commodities; besides a large balance in remittances by bills of exchange and bullion, obtained by the colonists for articles of their produce, not required for the British markets, and therefore exported to other places: that from the nature of this trade, consisting of British manufactures exported, and of the import of raw materials from America, many of them used in our manufactures, and all of them tending to lessen our dependence on neighbouring states, it must be deemed of the highest importance in the commercial system of this nation, that this commerce so beneficial to the state, and so necessary for the support of multitudes, than lay under such difficulties and discouragements, that nothing less than its utter ruin was apprehended, without the immediate interposition of parliament: that the colonies were then indebted to the merchants of Great Britain, to the amount of several millions sterling; and that when urged for payment, they appeal to past experience in proof of their readiness upon all proper occasions; but declare it is not in their power at present to fulfil their engagements, alledging that the taxes and restrictions laid upon them, and the extension of the jurisdiction of the vice-admiralty courts, established by some recent acts of parliament, particularly by an act passed in the fourth year of his present majesty, for granting certain duties in the British colonies and plantations in America, and by an act passed in the fifth of his majesty for granting and applying certain stamp duties, &c. in the said colonies, &c. with several regulations and restraints, which they represent to have been extending in such a manner as to obstruct and embarrass legal commerce and harrass the fair trader; insomuch that the state of the several provinces were thrown into confusion, and so great a number of actual bankruptcies were occasioned, that the former opportunities and means of remittances were no longer remaining. That the petitioners were by these unhappy events, reduced to the necessity of applying to the house, to secure themselves and their families from impending ruin; to prevent a multitude of manufacturers from becoming a burthen to the community, or of seeking their bread in other countries, to the irretrievable loss of the kingdom; and to preserve the strength of this nation entire, its commerce flourishing, the revenues encreasing, our navigation, the bulwark of the kingdom, in a state of growth and extension, and the colonies from inclination, duty, and interest, firmly attached to the mother country. Petitions of a similar kind were also presented from almost every part of the kingdom, and from the agents of Virginia and Georgia, setting forth their inability to pay the stamp duty.

The projectors, however, were determined to support their favourite act, and could not be prevailed on to alter in the least their resolution. Such petitions they represented as the effect of ministerial artifice, and observed, that supposing the distress of trade was as real and great as it was represented, a temporary inconvenience ought to be submitted to, rather than by a repeal of the act, to hazard the total annihilation of the superiority of Great Britain over her colonial subjects. Those who contended for the repeal of the stamp act were divided in their opinion, respecting the right of this nation to tax America; the more numerous body, among whom were the ministry, insisted that the legislature of Great Britain had an incontestible right to tax the colonies, but acknowledged the inexpediency of the present tax, as ill adapted to the condition of the colonies, and framed upon principles destructive to the trade of Great Britain. Those who denied the right of taxation were not so numerous: but they consisted of some of the most distinguished and popular characters in the kingdom. Though this affair was attended to in the house with the most unwearied application, yet the nature of their enquiries, the number of petitions they received, and the multitude of papers and witnesses they had to examine, occasioned great delay, which could not easily be avoided. In the mean time there were continual debates, and the opposition made the most strenuous efforts for enforcing the stamp act, and by every means to prevent the repeal.

Two questions arose in the course of the contest upon which the whole argument seemed to turn. The first was, whether the legislature of Great Britain had a right of taxation over the colonies or not? The second was confined to the expediency or inexpediency of the late laws. The arguments against the right of taxation were supported by the authorities of Locke, Selden, Harrington, and Puffendorf; and it was asserted, that the charters of the colonies, which are derived from prerogatives, and are in fact only so many grants from the crown, are not the only right the colonies have to being represented before they are taxed. They, as British subjects, derive their rights and liberties from a higher origin than their charters. They flow to them from the same origin and fountain which confer them on all Englishmen, from Magna Charta, and the natural right of the subject. By that rule of right, the

(*c*) On the 29th of this month died Frederic William, his majesty's youngest brother, in the sixteenth year of his age.

charters

charters of the colonies, like all other crown grants, are to be restricted and interpreted, for the benefit, not the prejudice of the subjects. Many other arguments were adduced, and several instances brought from ancient history, of the conduct of some of the most celebrated republics, with respect to their colonies; and likewise of colonies which outgrew their mother countries, such as Carthage, the northern emigrants, &c. Precedents were also quoted from events in the United Netherlands and other places, which should serve as a beacon to warn us from pursuing such measures as accelerated those revolutions (*d*).

The partizans of the other side contended, that it was necessary to clear away from the question all that mass of dissertation and learning, displayed in arguments which have been brought from speculative men, who have written upon the subject of government: that the refinements upon that subject, and arguments of natural lawyers, as Locke, Selden, Puffendorf, &c. are little to the purpose in a question of constitutional law: that it is absurd to apply very ancient records to our present constitution; because the constitution is not the same; and it is impossible to declare what it was at some of the times that are quoted: that there are things even in Magna Charta which are not constitutional now, and that those records are no proofs of our constitution as it now is: that the constitution of this country has always been in a fluctuating state, either gaining or losing something: that the representation of the commons of Great Britain was not formed into any certain system till Henry VII. that with regard to the modes of taxation, when we get beyond the reigns of Edward I. or king John, we are lost in obscurity, the history of those times being entirely uncertain.

And it was argued, that protection is the ground that gives a right of taxation: that the obligations between the colonies and the mother country is natural and reciprocal, consisting of defence on the one side, and obedience on the other; and that common sense dictates, that they must be dependent in all points on the mother country, or not belong to it in any degree; that the question is not, what was law? or what was the constitution? but the question is, what is law now? and what is the constitution now? That if a matter of right has been generally exercised, and as generally held to be law, as has been proved in numberless instances, without having ever been questioned before, it is now the constitution. It was also observed, that the colonies had proceeded to extremities; and it was even insisted, that, by appointing deputies from their respective assemblies, to confer together, they had absolutely forfeited their charters.

At length the debates being ended, and the question stated, the power of the legislature of Great Britain over her colonies, in all cases whatsoever, and without any distinction in regard to taxation, was confirmed without a division. But not being dispirited at the seeming triumph of the ministerial party, the opposition gained new vigour, and still urged the repeal in all the stages of its progress.

So many instances of the inexpediency of the stamp duty had already occurred, that the question was considered as no longer controvertible; therefore, instead of entering into the merits of that part of the controversy, the ministry rested their chief defence upon the resolutions, on which the late bill for securing the dependency of the colonies had been founded. They argued thence, that the total repeal of the stamp act, while such an obstinate resistance continued, would for the future weaken the authority of Great Britain, and make it appear contemptible: that such a submission of the supreme legislature would be in effect a surrender of their ancient unalienable rights, to subordinate provincial assemblies, established only by prerogative; which in itself it had no such power to bestow; that a concession of this nature carried with it such an appearance of weakness and timidity in government, as might tend to encourage fresh insults, and lessen the respect of his majesty's subjects to the dignity of his crown, and the authority of the laws. Many other arguments were urged in order to manifest the heavy burthens with which the mother country was loaded; the ability of the Americans; their exemption from all manner of taxation; and their peremptory and refractory refusal to contribute in any degree towards defraying the public expences. These arguments were strongly opposed, and on the question being put, the bill passed by a majority of one hundred and eight, and was carried up to the lords by above two hundred members of the house of commons. Notwithstanding the manner in which it was introduced, it met with a strong opposition in the upper house; a protest was entered against it at the second reading by thirty-three lords, and at the third by twenty-eight; but it was carried by a majority of thirty-four: and on the 18th of March received the royal assent (*e*).

The national business being now finished, his majesty went to the house of peers on the 16th of June, and terminated the session with a speech from the throne; in which he declared, that "It was with the utmost satisfaction he had observed the wisdom and moderation by which the parliament had been uniformly guided, through the important deliberations in which they had been engaged." His majesty also observed, that "The many regulations which had been made for extending and promoting the trade and manufactures of Great Britain, and for adjusting the mutual intercourse of his kingdoms and plantations, in such a manner as to provide for the improvement of the colonies, on a plan of due subordination to the commercial interests of the mother country, were the strongest proofs of their equitable and comprehensive regard to the welfare of all his dominions." He added, "That it should be his endeavour, that such care be taken, as might tend to secure and improve the advantages which might be expected from such wise and salutary regulations."

Shortly after the rising of the parliament his majesty made the following change in the ministry: his grace the duke of Grafton was appointed first lord of the treasury in the room of the marquis of Rockingham; the earl of Shelburne succeeded the duke of Richmond as secretary of state; lord Camden was created lord high chancellor, as successor of the earl of Northington, as was the honourable Charles Townshend chancellor of the exchequer, in the room of the right honourable William Dowdeswell; and the right honourable William Pitt, who some days before had been created viscount Pynsent and earl of Chatham, was appointed lord privy seal.

The immoderate price of provisions at this time occasioned a commotion among the poor in several parts of the kingdom; when they destroyed the flour-mills, seized the corn, and other necessaries of life, which they sold at a moderate price, and delivered the money to the owners. In some places they were much more violent: they ripped open the sacks, and wantonly scattered the corn about, seized butter, cheese, and bacon in the shops of the inhabitants, which they threw into the streets; and behaved in the most outrageous manner to the proprietors of the food they were thus demolishing. To prevent the dreadful consequences which might ensue, a proclamation was issued on the 11th of September, for putting in execution the laws against forestalling, regrating, and engrossing of corn. And on the 23rd of the same month two other proclamations; by the first of which an embargo was laid on all vessels laden, or to be laden, with wheat or flour for exportation, till the 14th of November; and the other prohibited the distillation of spirits from wheat.

(*d*) In the debates upon this subject, Mr. Pitt declared his opinion, that Great Britain had no right to lay a tax upon the colonies, though he asserted the authority of Great Britain over them to be sovereign and supreme in every case of legislation. In support of this opinion he said, "The colonists are subjects of this kingdom, equally entitled with yourselves to all the natural rights of mankind, and the peculiar privileges of Englishmen. The Americans are the sons, not the bastards of England. Taxation is no part of the governing or legislative power. Taxes are the voluntary gift and the grant of the commons alone. In legislation, the three estates of the realm are alike concerned, but the concurrence of the peers and the crown to a tax, is only necessary to clothe it with a form of law. The gift and grant is of the commons alone.—When in this house we give and grant, we give and grant what is our own; but in an American tax, what do we do? We your majesty's commons for Great Britain, give and grant to your majesty, what? Our own property? No, we give and grant to your majesty, the property of your majesty's subjects in America. It is an absurdity in terms!"

In the upper house, lord Camden averred that taxation and representation were inseparable: this, he said, was no novelty: it did not originate in Edward's or in Henry's reign, but was coëval with the constitution. There is not, he declared, a blade of grass growing in the most obscure corner of this kingdom, which is not, which was not ever represented since the beginning of the constitution: there is not a blade of grass which, when taxed, was not taxed with the consent of the proprietor: he therefore refused his assent to any bill for taxing the American colonies, while they remained unrepresented.

(*e*) The American merchants attended in great numbers upon this occasion, to express their joy and gratitude; the ships in the river displayed their colours; several houses in the city were illuminated; and every method was taken to demonstrate the just sense that was entertained of his majesty's goodness, and the wisdom of parliament, in conciliating the minds of the people at this critical period.

On the first of October, this year, her royal highness Carolina-Matilda, his majesty's youngest sister, was married to the king of Denmark, at the Chapel Royal at St. James's, the duke of York being proxy for the Danish king. On the following morning her majesty set out from Carlton House for Harwich, accompanied by his royal highness the duke of Gloucester, lady Mary Boothby, and count de Rothmar, her majesty's vice-chamberlain. The next day her majesty embarked with her whole retinue, and on the 18th landed at Altena, in his Danish majesty's dominions, amidst the acclamations of her subjects. Her marriage portion was one hundred thousand pounds.

When the parliament met on the 18th of November, his majesty opened the session with a speech from the throne. As the ministry had lately been changed, strong opposition, as is usually the case on such occasions, was made to every thing proposed by the administration; and some of the discarded ministers had the temerity to attempt to palliate and even excuse the rioters, who had given rise to the disturbances which had lately taken place in different parts of the kingdom. But, notwithstanding their dissentions, it was at length agreed, that addresses of thanks should be presented to his majesty for his speech, which being done, they adjourned till after the holidays.

This session the attention of parliament was drawn to an object of great importance, respecting the East India Company, which was become extremely rich, and even had began to exercise a sovereign authority over their settlements. In consequence of this circumstance, a committee of the house was appointed to examine into the particulars of the affair. The company's charter was ordered to be produced, and that the house might be in possession of whatever related to their transactions in the East, they were obliged to lay before the parliament the originals of such treaties as they had entered into with the native princes; and also an account of all the expences incurred by the government for the support of the company (*f*). By the charter granted to the East India Company, that company was prohibited from making any conquests; and yet it was certain that they had subdued several of the native princes in India, and annexed their dominions to their own settlements. The disputes between the partizans for and against the company, were carried on with intemperate zeal, the result of which was, that the company should, for the space of two years ensuing, pay four hundred thousand pounds to government; and that no dividend of their stock should be made without the consent of a general court of proprietors. On the 24th of June his majesty went to the house of peers, and, after signing such bills as were ready, prorogued the parliament.

On the 27th of September, this year, (1767,) captain Wrottesley arrived in town from Monaco, a town of Genoa in Italy, with intelligence of the death of Edward duke of York, the king's eldest brother, on the 17th of the same month. The body was afterwards brought to England, and interred in the family vault in Henry the VIIth's chapel (*g*).

For some time the feelings of the public had been in a peculiar manner interested, and their attention engaged, by the situation of the island of Corsica, which, neglected as it had been by one administration after another, now at length forced itself upon the notice of the government. This island, so celebrated in all ages for its ardent and invincible passion for liberty, was, on the fall of the Roman empire, possessed by the Goths, and afterwards by the Saracens, from whom it is said to have been wrested by the famous Charles Martel. In a short time, Corsica was resigned by the kings of France as a free gift to the Holy See, which, from the incessant eruptions of the Saracenic powers, and the ungovernable spirit of the natives, finding the acquisition very unprofitable, ceded the island to the republic of Pisa, then in the meridian of its greatness. But Genoa gaining the ultimate ascendancy over this rival nation, Corsica, unfortunately, about the beginning of the fourteenth century, fell under her dominion, which from its very commencement was distinguished by the most cruel and oppressive severity.

In the wars between France and the house of Austria in the sixteenth century, Corsica made a spirited effort to recover her independency, under the protection of Francis I. and his son and successor Henry II. But the Genoese, being strongly protected by the emperor Charles V. reduced, under the auspices of the renowned Andrew Doria, the island again under their yoke; Sampieri d'Ornano, the principal leader of the insurgents, being basely assassinated, A. D. 1567, by the treachery of Genoa. Despised, plundered, and oppressed, the Corsicans, after a long succession of wretched and calamitous years, suddenly and unexpectedly rose in arms in 1729, and possessed themselves of the city of Cortes, the ancient capital of the island. The republic then applied to Charles VI. and receiving powerful succours from him, an accommodation took place, and a treaty was concluded. This being almost immediately broken by the Genoese, the Corsicans in a few years rose anew; and, after a short interval, elected the famous Theodore Baron Neuhoff for their sovereign. The republic then applied to the court of France for assistance; and in 1739 a great force was sent over under the count de Maillebois, by whose able, and relentless exertions of military skill and vigour, the island was once more vanquished; the French auxiliaries leaving it, at the end of 1741, in a state of the perfect submission, exhibiting every where marks of the most frightful desolation. Scarcely, however, had the French retired, before the Corsicans were again in motion. As if actuated by a kind of inspiration, not only men, but women and beardless boys, appeared in the field, and the whole nation burned with renewed and redoubled ardour to burst the bonds of their ignominious thraldom. The war between England and France having now commenced, and Genoa taking a decided part with the latter, the English fleet in the Mediterranean gave frequent and efficacious succours to the Corsican insurgents, and San Fiorenzo and Bastia were recovered in 1745, by their assistance, from the Genoese. In the succeeding year the Corsicans, conducted by count Rivarola, made proposals to the earl of Bristol, the English ambassador at Turin, to put themselves under the protection of Great Britain; but this was declined by the English: and on the conclusion of the treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle, the Corsicans were, with political apathy, left to their fate. The contest was nevertheless continued with various success. In 1755 the Corsicans elected Pascal Paoli as their chief, a regular government on a free and democratic basis was formed under his invigorating influence, and great advantages were gained over the Genoese in the subsequent conduct of the war. The proclamation of the king of England in 1762, issued under the inauspicious administration of the earl of Bute, prohibiting his subjects from giving aid or assistance in any shape to the *Corsican rebels*—when England was in a situation to have established, by a single word, the liberty and independency of Corsica—was a terrible blow to these unfortunate islanders, and no doubt emboldened the court of Versailles to conclude the subsequent treaty with Genoa, by which the progress of the Corsican general was arrested in the midst of his victories. The aid of France was, however, granted in a mode conformable to the insidious policy of that court, which, influenced by the aspiring councils of the duc de Choiseul, was ambitious to annex Corsica to its other dominions. The Genoese, perceiving no prospect of a termination to the war, at length made a formal cession of the island to the French king; and a large body of forces was immediately ordered to embark, and take possession. This excited jealousy and alarm in the several courts of Europe most adverse to France; and England and Holland presented, by their ambassadors, strong memorials to the court of Versailles, expressive of their resolution not to suffer this addition to the power of the French monarchy. In consequence of this spirited language the duc de Choiseul began to waver; but suddenly the French court assumed a more haughty language, and breathed an air of hostility and defiance. The English ministers, astonished at this alteration, and at a loss how to decide, sent, together with a considerable supply of arms and ammunition, a

(*f*) The proprietors of India stock were greatly chagrined at this circumstance; but what was still worse, all these papers were printed and published. The question stated by the administration was, "What right have the East India Company to exercise territorial jurisdiction?"

(*g*) The political principles of the duke of York are little known, but he gave his vote in parliament against the repeal of the stamp act. He is usually represented as a prince of pleasing manners, and comparative vivacity of genius; but of superficial attainments in knowledge, and very dissolute in his morals. He was of the naval profession, and had distinguished himself in the last war, when very young, in the attack on Cherbourg, under lord Howe, by his spirit and gallantry. His affability and courage, conjoined with the common advantages of youth, had acquired him no inconsiderable degree of popularity amongst the vulgar; and the esteem of the wise he never sought. *Belsham.*

private message to general Paoli, desiring full information respecting the defence he was able to make, and how long he deemed that Corsica would be competent to resist the force employed on this service. General Paoli, instead of acknowledging that the island must fall, without immediate and powerful succours from England, affirmed, that it could not be reduced in less than eighteen months; and while the English ministers were hesitating and deliberating, the French arms made a rapid and alarming progress; and Paoli, discerning no symptoms of vigour in the English councils, thought proper to make a seasonable retreat, leaving his unfortunate country to its hard and unmerited fate. He was, however, well received at the court of London, on his subsequent arrival in England, and an ample pension was settled on him in reward of his heroism, or, according to the malicious construction of some, as the guarantee of his silence (*h*).

His majesty went to the house of peers, on the 24th of November, and opened the session with a speech from the throne, in which he informed the members that he had assembled them at so early a period, to give them time to deliberate with steadiness and discretion; and he recommended to them the state of the nation with respect to the high price of provisions. The business of this session being brought to a conclusion, on the 10th of March, 1768 (*i*), his majesty appeared at the house of peers and thanked the parliament, for the many signal proofs they had given of their affectionate attachment to his person, family, and government; and concluded with the following words: "In the approaching election of representatives, I doubt not but my people will give fresh proofs of their attachment to the true interest of their country; which I shall ever receive as the most acceptable mark of their affection to me. The welfare of all my subjects is my first object. Nothing therefore has ever given me more real concern, than to see any of them, in any part of my dominions, attempting to loosen those bonds of constitutional subordination so essential to the welfare of the whole; but it is with much satisfaction that I now see them returning to a more proper sense of what is their own interest, no less than their duty, indispensibly requires of them; and thereby giving me the prospect of continuing to reign over a happy, because an united people." The parliament was then prorogued to the last day of the month: but on the 12th of April it was dissolved by proclamation.

It has been before observed, that Mr. Wilkes had retired to France. He had been resident in that kingdom for a considerable time; and as he had thus neglected to appear to the indictments preferred against him, he was declared an outlaw. Previously, however, to the general election he returned to England, and to the great astonishment of the public, declared himself a candidate to represent the city of London in parliament. Not succeeding in this attempt, he became a candidate for the county of Middlesex, and on the 28th of March was elected by a very considerable majority (*k*).

The general election was carried on with great impetuosity, and violent contests ensued in many parts of the kingdom. Nor did the disorders, which arose on this occasion, subside with it. A general dissatisfaction prevailed among the lower orders of the people, partly from other causes. The riotous assemblies of the weavers, coal-heavers, and sailors, kept the metropolis and its environs in continual alarm. From some unknown cause, just at this period, the civil power seemed to lose its force and energy, and too frequently gave occasion for the dangerous interposition of a military force in its support: the unhappy effects of which are still felt in the minds of many of the present day (*l*).

On the 10th of May the members of the new parliament formally took their seats in the house: and the following day the commons having re-chosen sir John Cust for their speaker, presented him to the lords commissioners for their approbation, who were pleased in his majesty's name to approve their choice. After which the lord chancellor opened the session with a speech, by virtue of his majesty's commission. A joint address was presented by the lords and commons on this occasion, beseeching his majesty to exert his authority for suppressing the disorders and tumults which prevailed to so alarming a degree; at the same time assuring him, that nothing should be wanting on their parts which might enable him to maintain the public authority, and carry the laws into due execution; and soon after an end was put to this short session.

On the 11th of August, the king of Denmark arrived at St. James's, on a visit to his majesty. He was attended by most of his great officers of state, and the utmost respect was shewed him by all ranks of people. But nothing less than the most unbounded dissipation seemed to have taken place. His Danish majesty gave orders for a masquerade, which was one of the most magnificent that had ever been seen in England; and while the necessary preparations for it were making, he visited Cambridge, where he was elegantly entertained in the hall of Trinity College. From thence he proceeded to York, Leeds, and Manchester; and on his return to London, passing through Oxford, he was met by the whole university in procession. When he arrived at the senate house, the public orator complimented him in a most elegant speech in Latin, to which

(*h*) The present emperor of the French, Napoleon Bonaparte, was born in this island, shortly after it was taken possession of by the French; so that he could not be considered altogether as a foreigner, but was actually a native of the French monarchy.

(*i*) The new year (1768) began with a very severe frost, which aggravated the calamity of the lower classes of the people, who were greatly distressed from the exorbitant price of food. On the 9th of January, the river Thames below London bridge, presented the appearance of a general wreck; ships, boats, &c. lying in a confused and scattered manner; some on shore, and others injured or overset by the ice. A fish-boat was discovered near Deptford Creek, jammed in by the ice, and all the people in it were frozen to death: one of whom, a youth of seventeen, was found sitting erect, and had all the appearance of being perfectly alive.

(*k*) On the 20th of the same month he surrendered himself to the court of King's Bench, and on the 27th was committed to the King's Bench prison. Soon after his trial came on in that court, and being found guilty, he received the following sentence: "That for the republication of the North Briton, No. XLV. he should pay a fine of five hundred pounds, and be imprisoned ten calender months; and for publishing the "Essay on Woman," that he should likewise pay a fine of five hundred pounds, and be imprisoned twelve calender months, to be computed from the expiration of the former imprisonment, and that he should afterwards find security for his good behaviour for seven years, himself in the sum of one thousand pounds, and two sureties in five hundred each."

(*l*) The most fatal of the disturbances at this time was that which happened in St. George's Fields on the 10th of May, and evinced the rash violence exercised against the people on account of their attachment to Mr. Wilkes, then a prisoner in the King's Bench. The particulars of this remarkable affair are as follow: The parliament being to assemble on that day, great numbers of people assembled about the prison, expecting that Mr. Wilkes would, on that account, obtain his liberty, and intending to conduct him to the house of commons. Finding themselves disappointed, they grew tumultuous, and a party of the third regiment of guards was sent for. The riot was much increased by a paper, that had been stuck against the wall of the prison, which was forcibly taken down by one of the justices for the Borough. The populace insisted on the restoration of this paper, which the justice not regarding, the tumult became extremely violent; the drums beat to arms, and the riot act was read, during which great quantities of stones and filth were thrown by the populace. William Allen, a youth, son of Mr. Allen, keeper of the horse-shoe inn, in Blackman Street, Southwark, being pursued with others, was unfortunately singled out, rancorously pursued by three soldiers, and shot to death. These measures not having any tendency to disperse the mob, an additional number of the guards was sent for, as also a party of horse grenadiers; but the people becoming still more numerous, they were fired on by the soldiers, when five were killed upon the spot, and about fifteen wounded. Among the latter were two women, one of whom afterwards died in St. Thomas's hospital. The following day an inquisition was taken by the coroner for Surrey, on the above William Allen, when the jury gave their verdict, that Donald Maclaine was guilty of wilful murder, and Donald Maclaury, and Alexander Murray, (the last of whom was commanding officer), were aiding and abetting therein. This inquest was held at the house of Mr. Allen; and it appeared on examination, that the deceased was only a spectator, and on seeing some persons run, he ran also, but was unhappily mistaken, and followed by the soldiers into a cow-house, where he was fired at. Maclaury and Murray were admitted to bail, but Maclaine was committed to prison for the murder. He was afterwards tried at the Surrey assizes at Guildford, and acquitted. Mr. Allen was buried in the church yard of St. Mary, Newington Butts, where an elegant tomb, enclosed with iron rails, was erected to his memory, on which were engraven several pertinent passages; and many people still resort to the spot, and lament the rashness of the military which caused the death of this unfortunate young man. Two other inquisitions were taken in the Borough on persons killed by the soldiers in this riot; one on the body of Mary Jeffs, who having a basket with oranges, was shot in removing them; the other on William Bridgman, who was shot on the top of a hay cart, as he was observing some of these outrages at a distance; on both these inquisitions, the jury brought in their verdict "Chance-Medley."

The populace were also much irritated by the grant of the royal pardon to two rioters, who had been convicted of murder at the election for Middlesex, to succeed Mr. Cooke their late member, who was deceased. The court recommended this clemency, as it did not clearly appear to the best chirurgical judges that the blow, which some considered as fatal, did occasion the death of the supposed murdered person.

The spirit of revenge against the supporters of government in the late proceedings, was carried to a considerable excess. Gillam, the magistrate, who authorized the guards to fire, was indicted for murder; but the jury acquitted him on the evidence for the prosecution.

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his majesty replied in the same language. He was then presented with a diploma as doctor of the civil and canon laws, and walked in honorary robes with the doctors and regents. Early in the month of October, his Danish majesty left England; and nearly at the same time, several changes occurred in the English cabinet.

Violent disturbances happened in America on account of some duties which had been imposed on glass, salt, and other commodities imported from England. It was thought that the repeal of the stamp act would have given some satisfaction to the colonists, but they still insisted that it was their inherent privilege to tax themselves. At Boston the people assembled in a large body, and entered into several resolutions not to import any goods of a superfluous nature, but to be regulated by the strictest œconomy, both in apparel and furniture. A subscription was opened for the encouragement of their own manufactures, and the establishment of new ones. The freeholders, and all the inhabitants of Massachusett's Bay, had reposed the greatest confidence in their representatives, and a continual contest existed between them and their governor (*m*). Governor Barnard had dissolved the assembly of representatives, and new ones having been chosen, he insisted on their making a public act to declare their disapprobation of the conduct of the late assembly. They, however, requested to see a copy of the governor's instructions, which was granted them; and, to their astonisment, they found, that if they refused to comply with his request, they were to be dissolved, and an account of their conduct transmitted to England, to be laid before the next session of parliament. This set the whole colony in a flame; and when the bill was brought in to pass a censure on the conduct of the last assembly, ninety-two voted against it, and no more than seventeen for it. The rest of the colonies took the alarm, and followed their example; while combinations were formed almost every where not to take any goods from England, except such as were absolutely necessary for the preservation of their lives.

The discontents among the people of Boston now broke out into open violence: a ship having landed a cargo of wine, and taken on board another of oil, without paying any attention to the new laws by which the new customs were to be regulated, the officers displayed a signal to the Romney man of war, who instantly sent her boats; and having cut down the masts of the trading vessel, hawled her alongside of the king's ship. This was so highly resented by the populace, that they rose in great numbers, demolished the habitations of the custom-house officers, seized the commissioners boat, dragged it on shore, and set it on fire. During these tumults in the town, the governor dissolved the assembly; but that was of no avail, for the disturbances daily increased; two regiments were consequently sent from Ireland to support the civil power. Their place of rendezvous was to be at Halifax in Nova Scotia; and no sooner had the people of Boston received intelligence that they were landed there, than they assembled and chose a president from among themselves, who was deputed to wait on the governor, to know for what reason, or with what view, his majesty's forces were to be sent among them. They desired, at the same time, that a general assembly might be summoned to meet; but he informed them, that it was their duty to break up their tumultuous meetings, and submit quietly to the laws. He added, however, that as they seemed ignorant of the offence they had committed, he must take the liberty to assure them, that, unless they submitted to the government, he should be obliged to treat them as rebels. From this period, the governor refused to receive any messages from them; in consequence of which they sent a detail of their grievances to London, to be laid before the ministry. In the mean time, the transports, with the two regiments, and a train of artillery, arrived from Halifax, and were quartered in the houses of the townsmen; but as the military laws did not extend to America, any farther than providing barracks for them, it was ordered by the governor, that they should have barrack provisions, that they might be as little burthensome to the people as possible. This part of the governor's conduct gave general satisfaction to the more moderate, but a great majority were still discontented. They beheld, with jealousy, an armed force quartered among them in a time of peace; but with respect to their late combinations, they considered them as efforts to maintain their freedom.

In the East Indies our affairs now began to wear a different aspect; and it was even feared that a revolution would take place to the disadvantage of the company, whose stock was now advanced to an astonishing height. Hyder Ally, a man who had served some time as a common soldier, and was then of the rank of a sergeant, having received an affront from his officer, quitted the army and raised a chosen band of followers, with a view of driving the English out of all their settlements in that part of the world. Having brought over the Nizam of the Decan to his interest; and having raised a large body of forces, he prepared to take the field. Colonel Smith, in the company's service, was dispatched to oppose this formidable alliance; and a most desperate engagement ensued, in which Hyder Ally displayed all the courage and conduct of the most consummate general. He made his dispositions with so much prudence, that it was no easy matter to attack him. The Asiatic general rode from one place to another, to encourage his men; but at last they gave way, and the English continued pursuing them with great slaughter. All their cannon and ammunition fell into the hands of the victors, besides a vast quantity of treasure; and the Nizam perceiving the danger he was in from his connections with Hyder Ally, concluded a peace with the company. This, however, did not terminate the war; for Hyder Ally, finding himself deserted by the Nizam, transferred the seat of war into a mountainous part of the country, where it was extremely difficult to attack him, as he was exceedingly well acquainted with all the passages and defiles, and could defend himself even against a great superiority of numbers.

By the death of Mr. Townshend, the chancellor of the exchequer, the English ministry were thrown into some confusion. As a change in the ministry was the natural consequence, lord North was appointed chancellor of the exchequer, Mr. Thomas Townshend, paymaster of the forces, earl Gower president of the council, lord Weymouth one of the secretaries of state, and Mr. Rigby was nominated one of the vice-treasurers of Ireland. This parliament assembled on the 24th of November, when his majesty went to the house of peers, and opened the session with a speech from the throne, in which he expressed his wishes that the parliament would prosecute the consideration of those great commercial interests which had been entered upon before, but which the shortness of the last session had prevented from being brought to a termination. He animadverted on the conduct of the Americans, and observed, that the capital of one of the colonies was in an actual state of disobedience, having proceeded to measures subversive of the constitution, and attended with circumstances which manifested a disposition to disavow their dependence on the mother country; but that he did not doubt, with their assistance and concurrence, of being able to defeat the mischievous designs of those turbulent incendiaries, who, under false pretences, had too successfully deluded numbers of his subjects in America; and whose practices, if suffered to prevail, could not fail to produce the most fatal consequences to his colonies immediately, and in the end to all the dominions of his crown.

In consequence of the dearness of provisions, a bill was introduced, which passed both houses, and received the royal assent. This bill prevented, for a limited time, the exportation of corn, and gave great satisfaction to the public. The parliament then took into consideration the

(*m*) The earl of Shelburne had sent a letter to the governor, complaining of these abuses, and it was read in the open assembly of the representatives. This occasioned most vehement debates, and some of the members declared, that the governor had misrepresented their conduct to the ministry. They denied the charges in the letter, and wrote to the earl of Shelburne on the subject, vindicating themselves, and fixing the whole blame on the governor. At the same time, the merchants at Boston ordered their agent to represent to the lords of the treasury, that unless these duties, which had occasioned so much mischief, were taken off, the trade of the province would be destroyed, as they seemed contrary to the spirit of the constitution, and inconsistent with their charter. Their representations occasioned the establishment of a new officer, who was to act as secretary of state for the colonies in America; and the first person appointed was the earl of Hillsborough, at that time first lord of trade. His lordship's first act, in this new character, was to send circular letters to the governors of the provinces informing them, that his majesty was highly displeased at the conduct of the people, as it tended to create confusion, and to throw every thing into the utmost disorder. He said, their conduct in opposing the legislative power of Great Britain was little better than an act of open rebellion; for, by giving encouragement to such practices, the government would be overturned, and the laws totally disregarded. He concluded by recommending to them to preserve the public peace, by punishing all disorders of an evil tendency; but as to mere opposition in words, or in scandalous libels, they were to treat them with the contempt they deserved.

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state of public affairs in America. A petition was presented, signed by Mr. Danforth, president of the council of Boston, praying a repeal of the revenue acts. The petition was fraught with modesty and humility, and contained a promise, that if the acts were repealed, the people would make an ample compensation, by voluntary taxations on themselves. Much debating took place in both houses respecting this petition; those of the ministerial party adopting similar arguments to those which had been urged when the stamp act was debated upon. The lords agreed to address his majesty on American affairs; and their resolution, being adhered to by the commons, became the joint act of both. It was farther resolved, that the town of Boston was in a state of disorder and confusion, disturbed by riots and tumults of a dangerous nature, in which the officers of the revenue had been obstructed in the discharge of their duty, and their lives endangered; that neither the council of the province, nor the magistrates in general, had exercised their authority for suppressing those tumultuous proceedings; that the execution of the laws would be rendered abortive, without the assistance of a military force to support the civil power, and protect the officers of the customs; and that the resolutions of the town meetings in Boston were unconstitutional, and calculated to excite sedition and insurrection against the government. It was also agreed, that all those who had dispatched circular letters to the other colonies, were insulting the dignity of the crown, and had committed a daring insult on the legislative power of Great Britain. His majesty was therefore desired to issue a special commission, to enquire into the causes of these disorders, as authorised by the statute of the thirtieth of Henry VIII. These arguments were opposed by the opposition. It was observed, among other things, that it was the duty of those in power to promote the interest of the people both at home and abroad; but if such a measure was carried into execution, it would increase the seditions complained of in the colonies, and consequently injure the trade of the mother country. They concluded by calling upon the ministry to produce the person, who had advised his majesty to enforce the statute of Henry VIII. as had been recommended.

In the interim, Mr. Wilkes published a letter written by lord Barrington, secretary at war, to the justices of the county of Surrey, to which he prefixed an *introduction* (*n*) which greatly offended the house of lords, who voted it "an insolent, scandalous, and seditious libel, tending to inflame the minds of his majesty's subjects to sedition, and to a total subversion of all good order and legal government." The lords then complained to the commons, who confirmed the vote of the peers, expelled Mr. Wilkes their house, and ordered a new writ to be issued for the county of Middlesex: Mr. Wilkes was, however, unanimously re-chosen, and again expelled by the commons, who at the same time pronounced him incapable of being a member of that house. On the 13th of April a new election for the county of Middlesex came on at Brentford, the county town. The candidates on this occasion were Mr. Wilkes, Mr. Luttrell, (who had vacated his seat for the mere purpose of superseding Mr. Wilkes,) Mr. serjeant Whitaker, and Mr. Roach, when Mr. Wilkes had a majority of eight hundred and fifty-seven votes: notwithstanding which he was rejected by the house of commons, and Mr. Luttrell declared duly elected (*o*), in defiance of the laws of parliamentary election. A petition against him was, however, duly preferred, and the house confirmed their resolution in favour of Mr. Luttrell.

His majesty repaired to the house of peers on the 9th of May, and terminated the session with a speech from the throne, in which he told them, that every part of their conduct gave him the greatest satisfaction. He applauded them for their attention to the interests of the people, and the suppression of riots and tumults, which had been so frequent, not only in London, but in many parts of the kingdom.

Not many days elapsed, before the freeholders of Middlesex, who thought themselves particularly injured by the decision of the house of commons against Mr. Wilkes, in favour of Mr. Luttrell, presented a petition to the king; which contained a very long catalogue of grievances relative to infringements on the constitution, from the first prosecution of Mr. Wilkes, to his expulsion from the house of commons as member for Middlesex. The city of London, and many of the counties in England, followed the example of Middlesex, and presented petitions and remonstrances to the throne; but the only answer they received was, that his majesty would not do any thing without the consent of his parliament.

When the parliament met again, the session was opened by his majesty, as usual, with a speech from the throne; in which no mention was made of the petitions and remonstrances from the different counties relative to the Middlesex election. The articles chiefly noticed were the distracted state of America, and the distemper which had broke out among the horned cattle. The former was, in the strongest terms, recommended to their serious attention, as a matter of the utmost importance to the dignity of government. The other was mentioned as a most direful calamity, and every one was desired to exert themselves in endeavouring to impede the progress of the contagion. His majesty's speech received the severest comments from the public in general, who supposed nothing should be so much dwelt on as the petitions and remonstrances. Ridicule was circulated with the greatest freedom, especially as the distemper among the black cattle was not believed to be so universal as had been represented.

The affairs of the colonies, and also of Corsica, were discussed during this session. Various papers were desired by the members of opposition, for a due investigation of the conduct of the ministry with regard to that island; but such communications were refused by the majority. The American concerns were productive of warm debates in both houses; and a course of enquiry was followed by resolutions, condemning the proceedings of the Massachuset colonists, and by an address to the king, in which he was requested to give orders for the transmission of full information from America, respecting treasonable acts committed by any of those provincials, that the accused might be tried in Great Britain. The idea of subjecting the colonists to a remote and prejudiced judicature, met with strong and just animadversion.

When the new parliament of Ireland had assembled, the lord lieutenant made another attempt for the augmentation of the army; and a majority agreed to the scheme. But on the 21st of November, the commons rejected a pecuniary bill, because it did not originate in their house. The viceroy protested against this ground of rejection, as inconsistent with the established rights of the crown; but the commons would not suffer his declaration to be recorded in their journal, though the peers consented to the insertion of it in their register. When the supplies had been granted in the mode which the lower house preferred, a prorogation was ordered with intimations of disgust, without regard to the inconvenience which the nation sustained from this abrupt dismission of the two houses.

The parties by which Great Britain was divided, looked forward to the meeting of parliament; and, as soon as the session was opened, on the 9th of January, 1770, a great warmth of debate arose. To the address proposed by the house of commons, an amendment was offered by Dowdeswell, intimating, that an enquiry would be made into the causes of the prevailing discontent. It was denied by the courtiers, that the discontent was general, or that the petitions expressed the real sentiments of the nation; but the members of opposition, among whom Edmund Burke distinguished himself, affirmed, that the majority of the people, on just grounds, complained of the conduct of the ministry, and that it was highly expedient for the house to enter upon the proposed enquiry, and devise the means of removing the foundations of complaint. The amendment was rejected; as was also that which the earl of Chatham proposed to the peers. This nobleman had resigned his post in the autumn of 1768; and now took a decided part in opposition to the ministry. He moved, that the lords should promise in their address, to examine the proceedings relative to the incapacitation of Mr. Wilkes, by which the commons had invaded the rights of the people. Lord Mansfield attacked this amendment with spirit; and the noble earl vindicated his motion with zeal: even lord

(*n*) For this offence, and others of which he had been convicted, and which had disqualified him from attending his parliamentary duty, the commons voted his expulsion, A. D. 1769.

(*o*) At the fourth election, Mr. Wilkes was again returned by the sheriffs; the votes in his favour being one thousand two hundred and forty-three, to two hundred and ninety six; but, on a petition from colonel Luttrell, he was, after a violent debate continued to a very late hour (March 3, 1769,) declared duly elected. *Vid. Belsham's Memoirs*, vol. i. p. 281.

Camden, who had for some years tamely acquiesced in the measures of the court, supported the opinion of his friend. For this conduct the chancellor was deprived of his office; and the honourable Charles Yorke, son of the late lord chancellor Hardwicke, (although he had positively told his brother that he would *not, upon any terms*, listen to the offers of the court,) was seduced, by the personal intreaties of the king, to an acceptance of the vacant employment. His brother, in consequence of his violation of his engagement to him, refused to admit him into his house; and Mr. Yorke, repenting of his dishonourable weakness, put a period to his existence in the course of three days. The great seal was then put in commission; and, after the lapse of a year, it was delivered to the custody of judge Bathurst, who was not a very able lawyer.

The duke of Grafton had proposed in the cabinet, a repeal of all the post duties imposed on the Americans in the year 1767; but a majority of the ministers differed from him, and it was resolved that the duty on tea should remain. This circumstance, added to the dismission of lord Camden, which the duke disapproved, and reinforced by the consideration of that general clamour which he had excited by an invasion of the rights of election, urged him to resign his trust, on the 28th of January, 1770, and lord North was appointed first commissioner of the treasury.

The proceedings with regard to the Middlesex election now became the topics of renewed discussion. Dowdeswell in one house, and the marquis of Rockingham in the other, moved for a declaration, that the commons, in the exercise of their jurisdiction, ought to judge of elections by the law of the land, and by the practice of parliament. The efforts of the marquis were likewise unsuccessful, though the earl of Chatham afforded the aid of his energetic eloquence. The motion was easily baffled by the ministerial peers, who assented to one which was more likely to please the commons, as it contained a strong censure of all the resolutions which might impeach their decisions, respecting those points in which "their jurisdiction is competent, final, and conclusive." After an interval of some months, the earl revived the affair, by presenting a bill for the reversal of those abjudications of the lower house, which related to Mr. Wilkes and his opponent; but it was exploded by a majority of above two to one.

The citizens of London, offended at his majesty's neglect of a petition which they had presented to him in the preceding year, renewed their complaints in a spirited remonstrance; wherein they affirmed, that, under the malignant influence of his secret advisers, the commons had violated the freedom of election, and had "done a deed which must vitiate all the future proceedings of this parliament;" that the present house, not representing the people, was an illegal assembly; and that a new appeal to the electors, and a removal of evil counsellors, were requisite preparatives to the restoration of constitutional government. His majesty, in the answer which he gave to this address, made specious professions of equity and patriotism; and expressed his surprize at the behaviour of those who had been "so far misled," as to offer him a remonstrance, the contents of which he considered as "disrespectful to himself, injurious to the parliament, and irreconcileable to the principles of the constitution (*p*)." The earl of Chatham urged the peers to pronounce a condemnation of this answer; but his oratory was unavailing. The commons voted, that it was unwarrantable and seditious to deny the validity of the acts of the present parliament; and both houses concurred in an address, strongly reprobating the factious spirit displayed in the remonstrance. Some of the abettors of the ministry recommended the signal punishment of the civil leaders, but the court, apprehensive of violent commotions, declined an adoption of such advice. The earl continued to favour the views of the citizens, by moving, that the lords should request the king to dissolve the parliament; but the house rejected the proposal with indignation (*q*).

That the discontents might be allayed which still prevailed among the Americans, who persisted in discouraging the trade with Great Britain, the new premier moved for the repeal of the late port duties, with the exception of that which related to tea. On the other hand, it was alledged, that the provincials would not be satisfied, unless this duty should also be taken off: but the minister urged the expediency of maintaining the authority of the legislature, by an assertion of that right which was disputed by the colonists; and an act was accordingly passed in pursuance of his recommendation.

Resolutions declarative of a strong disapprobation of the conduct of the court with regard to North America, were moved in both houses; and the pernicious effects of such a system were predicted. Messrs. Burke, Wedderburne, and the duke of Richmond distinguished themselves in these attacks, which, however, were unsuccessful. But before the act of partial repeal was completed, a riot arose at Boston from the jealousy which the inhabitants entertained of the soldiery; and some lives were sacrificed by the rage of military resentment. The flame of discord spread through the town; and the people insisted on the removal of the troops; a demand which met with acquiescence. The repeal contributed to calm the minds of the provincials; and the associations against the British trade were, in general, discontinued: but the reservation of a controverted right precluded a fullness of satisfaction.

On the 19th of May, the king went to the house of peers, and closed the session with a speech from the throne, in which he applauded both houses for zealously supporting the interest and honour of the nation.

A dispute between Great Britain and Spain diverted the public attention from other contentions. A settlement had been formed on one of the Malouine or Falkland islands, for the convenience of a whale-fishery, and for the facilitation of hostile enterprizes against the Spanish colonies in South America. The governor of Port Solidad, (a contemptible Spanish settlement,) considering the English as intruders upon his master's extensive claim of American dominion, desired, without effect, their retreat from Port Egmont, the commandant of which had previously ordered the Spaniards to quit the neighbourhood. The English, on the contrary, claimed an exclusive right, as the first occupants of a country which their ancestors had discovered in the reign of queen Elizabeth. Some Spanish frigates at length appeared off the coast; and a descent was made, on the 20th of June, 1770, which quickly produced the capitulative surrender of the colonists of Port Egmont, who were permitted to retire with their property. This attack was considered, by the British nation, as combining insult with injury; and, though it made less impression on the court than on the people, naval preparations were ordered. Harris, the British minister at Madrid, demanded satisfaction for the violence and indignity offered to his countrymen; but no accommodation had taken place when the parliament re-assembled. Warm addresses were then voted for the support of such measures as the king should deem most preservative of the honour of the crown and the rights of the nation. From a desire of implicating the ministry in the censure of negligence, the duke of Richmond moved for the production of such accounts as had been received at court (by the month of September last) respecting the hostilities of the Spaniards; but the peers refused to comply with his wish before an agreement was signed. In the debate which arose on this occasion, the earl of Chatham inveighed against the pusillanimity of those ministers who "made it a matter of negociation whether his majesty's dominions should be restored to him or not." Restitution, he said, ought to be immediately enforced; and it might then be justifiable to treat with the aggressors upon the satisfaction which they should make for the insult offered to the British crown. A convention was at length adjusted between the kings of Spain and Great Britain. The prince de Masserano, on the part of the former, signed a declaration, on the 22nd of January, 1771, disavowing the conduct of the Spanish officer who had seized Port Egmont, and promising the restitution of that settlement, with all its contents, the question of the sovereignty of the Malouine islands remaining undecided. The earl of Rochford signed an acceptance of this declaration; and his catholic majesty sent orders for the execution of the agreement. If this affair had thus terminated, there would have been

(*p*) The common-council of the city afterwards presented an address, praying a redress of grievances; but, as no satisfaction was obtained, William Beckford, then lord-mayor of London, muttered some expressions of displeasure, which were improved by one of his friends into a regular speech, containing severe reflections on the evil counsellors of his majesty.

(*q*) This session a bill was brought forward by lord Grenville, for the better regulation of the proceedings of the commons in cases of controverted election; and, though it was opposed by the minister, it passed into a law: it has been found useful in restraining the partiality of such decisions. Another act of this period mentioned felony, and some other crimes, as offences which should render incapacitation the consequence of expulsion from the house of commons. A third statute, by no means unpopular, diminished the personal privileges of members of the senate.

little reason for blaming the ministry: but a secret article which was added to the convention, was dishonourable to Great Britain, as it not only imported that the king should give the first orders for disarming, but that the islands should be wholly abandoned by the subjects of this realm, after the farce of repossession should have been performed. Great Britain purchased this disgrace by such augmentations of force as added three millions to the expences of the year.

When an address was proposed in each house, expressing an approbation of the ostensible terms of the agreement, the members of opposition attacked the ministry, not only for having been guilty of negligence and delay, in point of negociatory remonstrance and hostile preparation, but for having disgraced the king and country by a convention which, after the expence of millions, "settled no contest, asserted no right, exacted no reparation, and afforded no security." Both houses, however, refused to admit any amendment by which the address of either assembly would have been rendered less acceptable to the court.

A most flagrant scene of corruption was discovered about this time, by the committee appointed to determine contested elections; and, in particular, that of New Shoreham, in Sussex. The returning officer for that borough had returned a candidate who had only thirty-seven votes, in preference to one who had eighty-seven, of which he doubted seventy-six, and therefore made his return without examining, as he ought to have done, whether they were legal votes or not. In the course of the examination of witnesses, it appeared, that a great number of freemen had formed themselves into a society, under the title of the Christian Club; the apparent views of which institution were to promote acts of charity and benevolence, and to answer all such purposes as were consistent with the doctrines of the Christian religion. But regardless of all these pretensions, it was evident that they made a traffic of their oaths and consciences, and offered their borough to sale to the highest bidder; while the rest of the freemen were deprived of the privilege of giving their legal votes. The returning officer had belonged to this society, but having taken some disgust at the conduct of his companions in iniquity, he had quitted their party. Being called before the committee, he assigned as a reason for having made such an unequal return, that he knew, from his own experience, that the majority of the voters had taken bribes; and, that they had absolutely proposed to sell their borough to any one who would offer the largest sum for it. This combination at Shoreham was of too flagrant a nature to be overlooked; but as the powers of the select committee did not permit them to proceed any farther, they reported the whole matter to the house, and moved, that they would make a further enquiry into the particulars of this nefarious transaction: in consequence of which, an act passed, rendering eighty-one freemen of the borough of Shoreham incapable of voting at any election, and the attorney-general was ordered to prosecute all the members of the club. The right of electing members for that borough, in consequence of this transaction, was also extended to all the freeholders in the Rape of Bramber, in the county of Sussex, who had tenements of the value of forty shillings. This act of justice gave great satisfaction to the country in general.

About this time a circumstance happened, which it was greatly feared would have been attended with the most alarming consequences. The printers of certain newspapers were in the habit of detailing the debates of the members of both houses. These communications were so gratifying to the public, that the success of a newspaper was principally dependent on the reports of parliamentary proceedings. Those members who did not conceive that justice had been done to their harangues, were offended at the freedom of the reporters, and colonel Onslow made a complaint to the house of two publishers of newspapers, Thompson and Wheble, who were cited before the house, but refused to appear; whereupon a proclamation was published with a reward for apprehending them. This produced the desired effect. J. Wheble (*q*), one of these booksellers, was apprehended and taken before John Wilkes (*r*), esquire, the sitting alderman at Guildhall: but he discovering that the person who apprehended Mr. Wheble had no accusation against him, and only apprehended him on the authority of the proclamation; and at the same time Mr. Wheble declaring that the apprehender had forcibly detained him, and brought him there, the alderman immediately discharged him, and bound him over to prosecute his accuser. Mr. Miller, also printer of a public paper, (the London Evening Post,) was likewise taken into custody by a messenger from the house of commons, who, on his refusing to go with him, took him by the arm, in consequence of which a constable was sent for, and Mr. Miller gave him charge of the messenger for assaulting him in his own house: he was therefore taken to the Mansion House, and a hearing came on before the lord mayor, and the aldermen Wilkes and Oliver. In the mean time, the serjeant at arms being informed of this transaction, came to demand the bodies of the messenger and of Mr. Miller. The lord mayor asked the messenger, if he had applied to a magistrate to indorse the warrant, or to any peace officer of the city to assist him; and on his replying in the negative, his lordship declared, that no power could seize a citizen of London, without an order from him, or some other magistrate; and that he was of opinion, the seizing of Miller and the warrant were both illegal; he therefore declared Mr. Miller to be at liberty, and proceeded to examine witnesses to prove the assault by the messenger: which being accomplished, his lordship asked the latter, if he chose to give bail. This he at first refused to do; but his commitment being actually made out, he thought proper to comply, when he himself was bound in forty pounds, and two sureties in twenty pounds, for his appearance at the next sessions at Guildhall.

This circumstance produced many and tedious debates in the house of commons, where at length it was resolved, "That the proceeding of the lord mayor and Mr. Oliver, was a breach of the privilege of that house," and they were both committed to the Tower, where they continued till the prorogation of parliament, which happened on the 8th of May, when his majesty terminated the session with a speech from the throne.

While the lord mayor and Mr. alderman Oliver continued in the Tower, they were addressed and applauded for their spirited conduct in maintaining the authority of the laws of their country, by every ward in London, and by several of the principal towns and boroughs in England. Great preparations were made for conducting the two patriots from the Tower; but the parliament being prorogued one day sooner than was expected, a few only of the aldermen could attend. The procession was, however, magnificent, and they were conducted to the Mansion House amidst hosts of applauding spectators. From this time, without dreading the effects of parliamentary displeasure, the printers have regularly published the debates of the two houses, in the newspapers of the following day: nor is it to be supposed, that the sources of that intelligence will be withheld from the people, by the legislature.

During the recess of parliament, an event occurred, which gave great surprize to the whole nation. This was the marriage of his royal highness the duke of Cumberland with Mrs. Horton, a widow lady, and daughter of lord Irnham, of the kingdom of Ireland. This circumstance occasioned great uneasiness at court, especially as it had been openly acknowledged by the parties, and not attempted to be concealed like the marriage of the duke of Gloucester with the countess dowager of Waldegrave.

The parliament meeting on the 21st of January, 1772, the session was opened by his majesty with a speech from the throne; in which he expressed much satisfaction, that neither the foreign nor domestic state of affairs required their more early attendance; that now they were assembled, they would, doubtless, attend to the interests of the nation, and regulate its internal policy, as well as its fo-

(*q*) Wheble was taken by Edward Twine Carpenter, a journeyman printer, and carried before Wilkes, who not only discharged him, but took recognizances for prosecuting the person by whom he was apprehended. Mr. Dowdeswell, who attempted to interest the house of commons in Carpenter's behalf, received the following whimsical answer from Mr. Wedderburne. "As to the affair of Mr. Twine Carpenter, I can see no reason for supporting him; as I understand it, the man is Mr. Wheble's devil. Wheble was arrested by his own devil: he was discharged out of the illegal arrest of this devil: the devil was bound over to answer: whether printer beats devil, or devil beats printer, is of no consequence; there may be the devil to do; there will be the devil to pay: if the devil has had the reward that was advertised, the devil has fairly outwitted the noble lord near me: whether he has or not I do not know; but I hope this house will have nothing to do with him."

(*r*) This gentleman obtained the office of alderman of London, by his opposition to the court; having before triumphed over the ministry, in the condemnation of the earl of Hallifax to the payment of four thousand pounds damages.

reign

reign commerce. They were likewise informed that the king of Spain had given up Fort Egmont, and that we were on amicable terms with that court. He concluded, with recommending to them to keep the navy on the most respectable footing, to be ready in case of any necessity for the future. Addresses, as usual, were presented to the king on the subject of his speech; after which the public business began, by making proper enquiries into the state of the navy. The minister then proposed, that twenty-five thousand men should be voted for the service of the current year. After urging several arguments in support of the motion, and hearing the replies of the opponents, the question was at length put, and carried by a considerable majority.

About this time a petition was offered to be presented to the commons, by sir William Meredith, for leave to bring in a bill to excuse some of the clergy from subscribing the thirty-nine articles of religion, some of which he declared were unintelligible, absurd, and contradictory, and asserted the illiberality of their wounding tender consciences, to establish external uniformity at the expence of truth and sincerity. It was urged in favour of the motion, that they could not subscribe to doctrines of human invention, but only to the sacred scriptures; and that it was their right to explain them according to what they esteemed their genuine sense and meaning. On the other hand, it was urged, that to grant such an indulgence would be to open a door for all sorts of licentiousness: for, under a pretence, that particular tenets were the pure dictates of conscience, the fundamental doctrines of our holy religion would be subverted; and blasphemy taught in our very churches: that most of those who had associated upon this sinister business had been formerly dissenters, but had quitted their original profession, in order to enjoy some of the revenues of the church, and that they had brought their Arian and Socinian notions with them: that if their consciences were so very tender, they might give up their livings, and return to their conventicles, where they would be at liberty to disseminate what notions they pleased: that they would thus give a convincing proof of their disinterested views; but nothing could be more reasonable, than for a church established by law to bestow her honours upon those who subscribed to her doctrines, and conformed to her discipline. The motion therefore was rejected by a great majority, but not without some severe animadversions on the conduct of those who had promoted the measure.

Mr. Edmund Burke resisted the introduction of the petition, not because the church of England could not subsist independently of the thirty-nine articles, but because the petitioners, by the extraordinary latitude they had taken, rendered their objects indeterminate. "What are we to understand," said he, "by the holy scriptures, which these gentlemen desire to make a profession of their belief in? The Romish canon admits the books of the Apocrypha: the canon of Luther excludes some parts of the Pentateuch, and the whole epistle to the Hebrews; and some ancient fathers have rejected the books of Revelations. Mankind were as little likely to be of one mind in this, as on any other point." Lord North likewise reprobated the desired exemption, and a great majority of the house refused to receive the petition. It was also rejected by an extraordinary majority in the house of peers.

In this session the king sent messages, recommending to both houses to take into their serious consideration, whether it may not be wise to supply the defects of the laws now in being, and, by some new provision, more effectually guard the descendants of his late majesty, except such as were already married to foreign princes, from marrying without the approbation of his majesty, his heirs, and successors. A bill was therefore brought into the house of lords, which fully answered all the purposes intended (*s*).

The affairs of the East India company, which were at this time in a very perplexed situation, was then taken notice of by the parliament. On the 30th of March, the deputy chairman of the company moved the house for leave to bring in a bill for the better regulation of the servants belonging to the company in India. The grand object in view was, to restrain the governor's council; and, indeed, all the servants belonging to the company, from transacting any sort of business, and to give the directors of the company a sovereign power over their own servants. The motion being carried, an enquiry into the state of India affairs was immediately directed. All the papers belonging to the company, were ordered to be laid before a select committee of the house, and from the perusal of them, many important discoveries were made. Indeed, it was found, that the mode of government in India was, in every respect, arbitrary, unconstitutional, and not calculated for preserving the rights of the people, or the administration of justice to individuals. The committee, finding the business increasing fast, and the season far advanced, desired leave to continue sitting during the recess of parliament, or at least, till such time as they could go through with the intended enquiry.

On the 9th of June his majesty repaired to the house of peers, and closed the session. In his speech on this occasion, he mentioned the laudable conduct of his parliament, that had conducted the affairs of the public with such spirit and propriety. He thanked them for the care they had taken of his family in passing the act respecting the marriage of the royal family; and informed them of the pacific disposition of those persons with whom we had any concern. That there was great reason to believe, that the public tranquillity would not meet with disturbance. The commons were thanked in the most cordial manner for the supplies they had granted; and it was confidently hoped that the national debt would be greatly reduced.

Her royal highness the princess dowager of Wales, mother to his present majesty, died at Carlton House, on the 8th of February, in the fifty-third year of her age (*t*). By an act of parliament of the tenth of George II. a revenue of fifty thousand pounds *per annum* for life, was settled on her royal highness, in case she survived the prince, which was to be paid quarterly, and the first payment took place five days after his decease. On the 15th the corpse of her royal highness was interred with the usual solemnities, in Henry the VIIth's chapel in Westminster Abbey (*u*).

The feelings of George III. were at this time affected with very unpleasant intelligence. His sister Carolina-Matilda, who had become queen of Denmark by marriage, was falsely charged with having carried on a criminal correspondence with count John Frederic Struensee. The count originally practised physic at Altena on the Elbe, and afterwards attended the king of Denmark on his travels into England, in quality of physician. On his return, he advanced in the favour of his royal master, was invested with the order of St. Matilda, instituted in honour of the queen, created a count, and possessed unlimited ministerial power. Unawed by the precarious tenure of courtly greatness, and more peculiarly of his own, he began a general reform. The state felt him through all her members: finances, chancery, army, navy, nobles, peasants—all were sensible of his influence. He not only dictated, but penned his replies to every important question or dispatch; and a petition, or a scheme of public import and utility, rarely waited two hours for an answer. The civil judicature of Copenhagen was then vested in thirty magistrates. Struensee sent a message to this tribunal, demanding

(*s*) This bill was opposed with great strength of argument, by some of the most respectable peers in the nation. All the judges were sent for, and required to give their opinion, which was, that the marriages of the intermediate branches of the royal family must be approved of by the king, but how far that power extended over collateral branches they could not ascertain. At last the motion was carried, though fourteen lords entered a protest against it, as being inconsistent with the law of nature. In the house of commons, the bill met with a much stronger repulse; but the bill at length passed triumphantly, and soon after received the royal assent.

(*t*) Her royal highness was the youngest daughter of Frederic II. duke of Saxe-Gotha; born the 30th of November, 1719. She was married the 27th of April, 1736, to Frederic late prince of Wales; by whom she had issue as follow: Augusta, born July 31, 1737, O. S. married to the hereditary prince of Brunswick. George, born May 24, 1738, O. S. now king of Great Britain. Edward, duke of York, born March 14, 1739; died at Monaco, in Italy. Elizabeth, born December 30, 1740; died September 4, 1759. William Henry, duke of Gloucester, born November 14, 1743. Henry Frederic, duke of Cumberland, born October 27, 1745, dead. Louisa, born March 8, 1748, dead. Frederic, born May 13th, 1750: died December 29, 1765. Carolina Matilda, born July 11, (after the death of her father,) 1751; married October 2, 1766, to Christian VII. king of Denmark, dead.

(*u*) "She was," says Mr. Belsham, "a princess possessed of many virtues, personal and relative, and, till the accession of the present sovereign, greatly beloved and esteemed by the English nation: but in the latter years of her life, it too plainly appeared that the extensive influence she possessed over the mind of the king, her son, was exercised in a manner very pernicious to the nation. It might appear harsh to doubt the general rectitude of her intentions; but unhappily, bred up in the despotism of German courts, she attained not the just ideas of the spirit of the English constitution, or the genius of the people, with whom her name became at length the continued theme of reproach and obloquy." *See Belsham's Memoirs*, vol. i. 357.

manding

manding to know the annual salary or pension annexed to each member: rather alarmed at this inquiry, they sent an answer, in which they diminished their emoluments two-thirds, and estimated them at fifteen hundred instead of four thousand rix dollars. The count then informed them that his majesty had no further occasion for their services, but, in his royal munificence and liberality, was graciously pleased to continue to them the third part of their avowed incomes, as a proof of his satisfaction with their conduct. He at the same time constituted another court, composed only of six persons of approved integrity, to whom the same power was delegated. He proceeded to purge the chancery and other bodies of the law. Then, entering on the military department, he, at one stroke, broke all the horse guards, and afterwards the regiments of Norwegian foot guards, the finest corps in the service, and who were not disbanded without a short but very dangerous sedition. Still proceeding in this salutary, but most perilous achievement, he ultimately began to attempt a diminution of the power of the nobles, and to set the farmers and peasants at perfect liberty. We must not therefore wonder that he fell a victim to the intrigues of those men whose power he had abridged, and that these powerful parties united to effect his destruction. These were his *real* crimes, and not that he was too acceptable to the queen, as was falsely made a pretext. Count Struensee was even pressed, a short time before his seizure, to depart from court, and pass the Betts, with the most ample security for his annual remitment of forty, fifty, or a hundred thousand rix dollars; but, not suspecting any sinister intention, he nobly refused to leave his post, being determined to do every thing in his power for the welfare of his country, and was therefore reserved for the prison and the block. The queen dowager and prince Frederic were the feeble instruments to produce the catastrophe, as being by their rank immediately about the person of the king. On the night fixed for seizing the queen and the two unfortunate counts Struensee and Brandt, there was a masked ball in the palace; and when the queen and the two counts had retired from the company about two in the morning, the queen dowager and her son prince Frederic hastened to the king's private chamber, where he was already in bed. They kneeled down by the bed side, and with tears, implored his majesty to save himself and Denmark from impending destruction, by arresting those whom they called the authors of it. The king hesitated, but by their intreaties they at last prevailed on him to affix his sign manual to the paper. Colonel Koller Banner instantly repaired to Struensee's apartment, which, as well as Brandt's, was in the palace; they were both seized nearly at the same instant, and hurried away immediately to the citadel (*x*). At five in the morning count Rantzau went to the door of the queen's anti-chamber, and knocked for admittance, when one of the women was ordered to awake the queen, and inform her that she was arrested. She was then conveyed to Elsineur, and shut up in the castle of Cronsberg, where she remained for some time closely confined; but, by the interposition of her royal brother, the king of Great Britain, she was set at liberty, and suffered to reside at Zell, in the electorate of Hanover, with a scanty pension, where she languished for some time, and afterwards died with grief. After being confined in dungeons for two months, and not allowed any thing to subsist on but bread and water, and threatened with being put to the torture, unless they made an open confession, sentence of death was passed upon counts Struensee and Brandt, that they should have their right hands cut off, and then their heads; and that, after their quarters had been exposed on the wheel, they should be placed on the most conspicuous parts in the city. Accordingly this sentence was executed, in all its rigour, on the 28th of April, on a scaffold near the city, in the midst of a vast concourse of people. They both behaved with great decency and resignation (*y*).

On the 26th of November, 1772, the parliament again met, and the session was opened by his majesty with a speech from the throne; in which he informed the members, that his reason for calling them so soon was to take into their consideration some matters of the utmost importance. He declared, that he had been informed that the East India company was in a most distressed condition; and that, as many of his good subjects had their fortunes depending on the credit of that company, its security was now become a national concern. He desired them to take it into their immediate consideration, and, if possible, contrive some rational plan, by which the interest and honour of the company might be restored, and every thing settled on the most permanent foundation. He concluded, by recommending the most prudent methods, in order to reduce the price of provisions, as the distresses of the poor were not imaginary, but real; and that nothing could afford him greater pleasure, than to hear that those distresses were alleviated.

The present state of the navy came immediately under the consideration of the house of commons, and occasioned very animated debates. The objections made by those in opposition were to the following import: They asserted, that the number of seamen was too considerable in time of profound peace; and that we were at peace with all our neighbours, was acknowledged in his majesty's speech. The ministry, on the other hand, urged the necessity of keeping our navy on the most respectable footing; and declared, that our fleet in the East Indies was now much greater than formerly. After a variety of arguments advanced on both sides, the question was put, and being carried by a great majority, the supplies were granted. A motion was now made to enquire into the nature of those causes which occasioned the extraordinary dearth of all sorts of provisions, but nothing had been effected which could be of any real service to the public. Several regulations indeed were adopted with respect to bread, and some restraints laid upon bakers; but the public were very little benefited.

A secret committee having been appointed to enquire into the state of the East India company's affairs, they reported that the situation of the company was exceedingly distressed and deranged. It was therefore suggested, that supervisors should be sent to the East Indies, to make a proper inquiry how far the officers and servants of the company had abused the trust reposed in them, and to have power to afford redress to those who supposed themselves injured. Some of the members who were holders of East India stock vehemently opposed this bill, and others as strongly supported it. At length the motion was carried; and supervisors were appointed, with plenary powers to enquire into the abuses complained of, and to endeavour to redress them (*z*).

Before the close of the session, his majesty made an excursion to Portsmouth, to inspect the state of the dock-yards, forts, &c. at the arsenals; and to review the fleet assembled at Spithead for that purpose. On his majesty's entering the Land Port Gate, he was saluted by a triple discharge of two hundred and thirty-two pieces of ordnance mounted on the ramparts of Portsmouth, at Block-house Fort, and at South Sea Castle. His majesty then proceeded through the town to the Dock-yard, where the artificers belonging to the yard, being all assembled at the commissioner's house, gave three hearty cheers as his majesty entered, and immediately dispersed, each returning to his respective employment. The shores both on the Portsmouth and Gosport sides, were lined by the populace, who manifested their loyalty with discharges of cannon, acclamations, and other demonstrations of joy. The king expressed the highest approbation of the good

(*x*) When count Struensee stepped out of the coach, he said with a smile to the commandant who received him into custody, "I believe you are not a little surprized at seeing me brought here a prisoner."—"No, and please your excellency," replied the old officer bluntly, "I am not at all surprized, on the contrary, I have long expected you."

(*y*) The crimes of which queen Matilda and counts Struensee and Brandt were accused were these: Struensee was charged with having embezzled from the king's coffers a large sum, amounting to one hundred and twenty-five thousand pounds sterling; of having issued many orders from the cabinet without the king's knowledge; of having been guilty of criminal conversation with the queen; of having secreted from the king several letters sent to his majesty, &c.—Count Brandt was accused of having been privy to Struensee's criminal conversation, and all his other crimes, without divulging them, and of having laid violent hands on the king's majesty, &c. all of which was a contrived falsehood.

(*z*) Till about this period no provision was made to defray the expences of discharging exculpated felons from prison; instances were produced of some poor creatures lying a whole year in jail, because they could not procure the customary fees. To remedy an evil of so grievous a nature, a bill was brought in to oblige every county to supply the deficiences incurred to the jailers by keeping the prisoners. In consequence of which, the prisoner who is now acquitted must be discharged without demanding payment of his fees. The acquittal by the jury is therefore now considered as an ample liberation to all intents and purposes.

order

order and discipline of his fleet (*a*), and contributed liberally to release the insolvent prisoners confined in Portsmouth jail.

The parliament meeting on the 25th of January, 1774, the session was opened by his majesty, who, in his speech from the throne, recommended to them to take into their serious consideration the state of the colonies, who menaced to throw off all subjection to the British government. He informed them, that the most salutary laws had been treated with contempt; that the colonies were little better than in a state of rebellion: and that, unless some vigorous measures were adopted to enforce obedience, all laws would be trampled under foot, and the regularity which once existed among the different ranks of society, would once more return to its original state of confusion.

In the house of commons vehement debates ensued respecting the address which should be presented to his majesty. The partizans of the court recommended thanks to his majesty for his paternal care of the nation. On the other hand, it was urged, that the colonies, so far from being in a state of rebellion, were only contending for the enjoyment of those rights and privileges which belong to all men in common as members of society: that the mother country had no power to tax those emigrants, unless a consent to that measure was first had and obtained from their own representatives; that the colonies were not regularly, nor in any sense whatever, represented in the British parliament; and therefore, till that legal representation took place, no taxes could, in justice, be imposed upon them. Such were the principal arguments of both parties; but the question being proposed, it was carried by a great majority in favour of the ministry.

The grand object of the court party now appeared to be the total reduction of the colonies to a state of unconditional obedience, and to convince them of the necessity they were under of being subject to the mother-country; a bill was therefore brought in of a very coërcive nature. Three ships laden with tea, which had been sent from England, were plundered by the people of Boston, and their cargoes consisting of three hundred and forty chests, were thrown into the sea. As this was an infringement on private property, it was contended, that it called aloud for the exertion of the regal power. Accordingly, an act passed to remove the customs from the town of Boston, to quarter a military force upon the people, and to block up their harbour by several vessels of war.

During this session of parliament many important affairs were discussed; and several essential acts were passed. Among these was one for the better regulation of the gold coin; and another relative to the naturalization of foreigners.

About this time Henry Sampson Woodfall, printer of the Public Advertiser, and the Rev. John Horne, for causing a libel to be inserted in that paper against the speaker of the house of commons, were ordered before the house. Woodfall obeyed without hesitation, and, on his interrogatory, declared the reverend John Horne author of the noxious paper. A warm debate ensued, in which lord North proposed committing the printer to the Gatehouse. Mr. Fox recommended Newgate; but he was ordered to be taken into the custody of the serjeant at arms. After some demurs, relative to the summons, Mr. Horne was brought before the house. He extricated himself from the accusation with great dexterity: having attempted to remove the imputation of contumacy, he enquired whether Woodfall's declarations were to be taken as *evidence*, or as the *charge* against him: after some hesitation he was told, they constituted the charge, and he pleaded, as in any other court *not guilty*. The house was embarrassed: Woodfall was again called and confronted with Horne; but as he was implicated in the guilt of the publication, his testimony was deemed insufficient to warrant conviction. Three of Woodfall's journeymen afterwards attended: they failed, however, in proving the accusation, and Mr. Horne was set at liberty.

The British ministry were now particularly engaged in providing for the safety of our fellow subjects in the East Indies. It had long been matter of complaint, that the superior servants of the company, at their principal settlements, had acted in a very arbitrary and oppressive manner, nor indeed had any code of laws been formed for their security. The great distance from England rendered it difficult, and almost impossible for any person to obtain redress. It was therefore resolved in council, that four gentlemen learned in the law, and of the most approved integrity, should be sent over to Asia, where we have settlements, to act there in the capacity of judges. They were to hold pleas of the crown, determine in real, mixed, and personal actions, to give judgement in all cases of equity, and in every matter relative to the revenue; but as the settlements are distant from each other, the courts were not to be fixed upon any plan of locality, but to be moveable from one place to another, that justice might be equally distributed to all ranks of people, under the dominion of the English.

CHAP. II.

WE are now arrived at a very eventful period, namely, the commencement of a war between this country and its colonies in the extensive regions of North America. Intelligence of the destruction of the tea at Boston was communicated, in a message from the throne, to both houses of parliament, on the 7th of March; and this conduct of the mal-contents subjected them to the vengeance of parliament. The minister proposed, on the 14th, that a bill should be introduced for the removal of the officers of the customs from Boston, and the suspension of the trade of that port. The Bostonians, he said, had been the instigators of all the disturbances which had occurred in any of the colonies; and it would be a derogation from the honour and justice of Great Britain to suffer them to escape with impunity. Both houses adopted his sentiments, and agreed to the enactment of the bill; which, however, was opposed in its course. It was contended by some members, that the punishment would exceed the offence, and that the exaction of a fine would be sufficient; and, by other speakers, that, if the authors of the late outrage were known, they ought to be prosecuted at common law; but that, if they were unknown, it would be highly unjust to involve a multitude of innocent persons in misery; and that the rigours of the bill were more particularly iniquitous, as the parties were condemned without being heard.

This bill of impolitic severity was followed by two other acts of arbitrary regulation. One of these provided for the alteration of the civil government in the province of Massachusett's Bay; and it tended to the subversion of the democratic part of the constitution which had been granted by charter. It was wholly without effect, that the members of opposition, now reinforced by Charles Fox, (who had for some time been in office, but had lately been dismissed,) reprobated this violation of privilege, and inveighed against the injustice and tyranny of the court. The other statute was calculated for the judicial protection of those who might be indicted in the same province for any capital offence, committed in the aid of magistracy; and it empowered the governor to send such individuals for trial to a different part of America, or to Great Britain. This bill was represented, by colonel Barré and others, in the most odious light, and was earnestly deprecated as a measure which would encourage the habitual insolence of the soldiery, and would lead to such outrages as might exasperate the provincials into open rebellion.

Another very important bill was the produce of this session. It was alledged, that the generality of the Canadians were desirous of a form of government more analogous to that which had prevailed before the conquest of their province than to that which the English inhabitants were willing to introduce; and it was therefore proposed, that the French laws should take place in all controversies relative to civil rights, while the English laws should be appropriated to criminal cases; that the king should appoint a new council, furnished with legislative powers; and that the catholic religion should be established, without prejudice to the maintenance of protestant ecclesiastics. A bill to this effect originated in the house of lords, and after a vehement opposition, was passed into a law. The principal opposers of this bill were the earl of Chatham, Mr. Burke, and Mr. Dunning. The earl of Chatham affirmed, that

(*a*) Among the artificers, workmen, and labourers of the dock-yard, victualling office, and gun wharf, his majesty ordered fifteen hundred pounds to be distributed. To the companies of the Barfleur and Augusta yacht, and the crew of his majesty's barge, three hundred and fifty pounds. To the poor of Portsmouth, Portsea, and Gosport, two hundred and fifty pounds.

the bill was extremely reprehensible in every point of view, and was destructive of that liberty which ought to be the basis of every constitution. Burke represented the Canadian noblesse as the only provincials who wished success to the bill, while the majority of their countrymen agreed with the British inhabitants of the colony in preferring the laws of England. Mr. Dunning, who had risen to great eminence in the profession of the law, declared the bill to be the most pernicious which had ever been offered to parliament. By the indulgence granted to the religion of the Canadians, the ministry, he said, intended to cheat them out of the advantages of civil liberty; and it was the aim of the court to render the arbitrary power, which would thus be acquired over a vast extent of country, subservient to the grand object of establishing slavery in the other provinces of North America.

These acts were followed, in the autumn, by a dissolution of the parliament. It might have been legally continued for another session; but the court wished to make an appeal to the people before the troubles of America should produce actual hostilities. The new elections terminated in favour of the ministry; and new proofs of the ignoble compliance of the senate with the requisitions of royalty, were destined to appear.

It may readily be supposed, that the three bills which affected the Massachusett provincials, highly inflamed their discontent and indignation. The Bostonians were at first apprehensive, that commercial interest would prompt the inhabitants of the neighbouring ports to promote the efficacy of the bill of obstruction; but they soon found that this fear was imaginary. Their cause was espoused by the provincials in general: the day on which their port was to be shut, was observed as a day of fasting: new associations were formed against all intercourse with the British realm; and it was determined that a general congress should take place at Philadelphia.

Lieutenant-general Gage, who had succeeded the unpopular Hutchinson as governor of Massachusett's Bay, had called an assembly of the province according to the ancient charter; but he soon dissolved it, and issued an alarming combinations of the people. His authority being disregarded, he formed a camp near Boston; and, not thinking that the soldiers were secure from an attack, he began to erect fortifications. It was immediately reported, that he was on the point of proceeding to hostilities; and, by this and other rumours, industriously propagated, the popular resentment was kindled to a dangerous height of fury.

The congress at length assembled on the 5th of September; and it was composed of fifty-one deputies from twelve colonies (*b*). These delegates concurred in resolutions adverse to the high claims of Great Britain; and they prepared a declaration of rights and grievances; addresses to the inhabitants of this island, to the Canadians, and the colonists in general; a remonstrance to general Gage; and a petition to the king. These papers breathed the true spirit of freedom, and were couched in perspicuous and masculine style. To the dictates of this assembly, and of provincial meetings, the people gave a ready submission; and the governors found themselves mere cyphers, in provinces which had been consigned to their plenary authority.

In this critical state of affairs, the new parliament met at Westminster on the 30th of November. The speech of the sovereign on the opening of the session intimated, that a "most daring spirit of resistance and disobedience to the law" still prevailed in the Massachusett province, and that this conduct had been countenanced and encouraged in other colonies; but that proper measures had been taken for the restoration of peace and order; and every attempt "to impair the supreme authority of this legislature over all the dominions of the crown" would be firmly withstood. To an address from the peers, an amendment was proposed, importing, that the king should be desired to communicate, without delay, the accounts which had been received of the state of the colonies, and that the house would then recommend proper steps for securing the honour of the crown, the true dignity of the mother-country, and the harmony and happiness of all the British dominions: but this proposition was over-ruled by a great majority; as was also a similar motion in the house of commons.

At length, in the beginning of 1775, the court communicated, to both houses, garbled extracts of letters from the governors of the American provinces. The earl of Chatham having animadverted on the delay of ministers in the production even of these imperfect papers, conjured the peers to exert themselves on this alarming occasion, and from that torrent of rashness and folly which threatened a civil war. He deprecated the injustice of using coërcive measures against the Americans, who, for refusing to be taxed by the parliament, deserved the praise of spirit, not the censure of contumacy. He concluded with moving for an address, soliciting an order from the king for the removal of the troops from Boston. This motion, being strongly opposed, was unsuccessful. Persisting in his endeavours, the earl presented to the house, on the first of February, 1775, a bill for promoting an accommodation. It declared the colonies to be dependent on the British crown, and, in matters which concerned the whole empire, subject to the controul of the parliament of this kingdom; but exempted those provinces from all taxation, unless it should be decreed by their respective assemblies, or by a congress of deputies from each colony. It also promised a repeal of those statutes which were odious in the eyes of the Americans, as soon as they should recognize the supreme authority of the parliament. Earl Gower and other peers condemned the bill, as tending to a dereliction of the just claims of the mother country, and as inadequate to the attainment of peace; and, on those grounds, it was rejected.

From the disregard with which the petition from the American congress was treated at court, it was not to be expected, that the parliament would pay any attention to the remonstrances of that body. When sir George Saville, at the desire of the agents of that assembly, proposed that they should be heard at the bar of the house of commons in support of the petition, the courtiers indignantly rejected the application. Nor did the petitions of the British merchants, and of persons of other descriptions, meet with due regard.

After the American papers had been examined by the commons, lord North endeavoured on the 2nd of February to convince the house of the expediency of vigorous measures for crushing that spirit of resistance which might be considered as actual rebellion; and he moved for an address, desiring his majesty to enforce obedience in North America, and promising to support him with energy against all rebellious attempts. Dunning and other members contended, that the colonists could not justly be denominated rebels, as they had only opposed, by temperate resolutions, the tyranny of the present state; and they represented the stigma of rebellion, as calculated to render the provincials desperate, and to preclude that reconciliation which might yet be effected. The ministerial orators alledged, that the proceedings of many of the Americans were acts of treason and rebellion; that concessions would only operate as encouragements; that powerful remedies were most suitable to the disease; and that the display of spirit at this crisis might intimidate and reclaim the seditious leaders. The address being sanctioned by the house, the peers declared their readiness to concur in it.

On the 10th of February, lord North, with a view of subduing the firmness of the Americans, proposed, that the inhabitants of New England should be excluded from the liberty of trading with any other than the British nation, and from the benefits of the northern fisheries; with an exception, however, of such individuals as might be thought deserving of indulgence. The bill for this purpose was pronounced both impolitic and iniquitous; but it was adopted by the two houses; and, by a subsequent act, New Jersey and other provinces were involved in similar restrictions of commerce.

That he might obviate the censure of harshness and obstinacy, the minister, on the 20th of February, proposed to the commons a resolution which bore an aspect of tenderness and complacency. It imported, that, when the assembly of any one of the American provinces should engage to contribute its due proportion to the common defence, as well as to provide for the charges of the civil government, it would be proper for the parliament to forbear the levy of any tax in that province; except commercial duties. This proposition, the premier observed, would offer to the colonial delinquents a fair opportunity of re-

(*b*) These were, New Hampshire, Massachusett's Bay, Rhode Island, (with the plantation called Providence), Connecticut, New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, the three counties bordering on the Delaware, Maryland, Virginia, North Carolina, and South Carolina. A thirteenth colony (Georgia) was soon added to the confederacy.

conciliation

conciliation with the government: it would allow them to assess themselves; and thus the chief cause of dispute would be removed. This proceedure, he added, would serve as a test of the sincerity of the provincials, who, if they should reject the offered terms, would prove themselves to be actuated by a rebellious spirit. He did not mean, however, that the parliamentary right of taxation should be abandoned, but only suspended. Messrs. Burke, Fox, and Barré, assailed this scheme in terms of the most pointed reprobation. They affirmed, that it was pregnant with mischief rather than with peace and harmony; that it was a base and insidious project, intended as a medium for dividing the Americans, and rendering the plan of coërcion more efficacious; but that it was so badly contrived, as to give reason for concluding that it would strengthen the union of the provincials. These and other censures, however, did not prevent the adoption of the proposal.

The conciliatory plan which Mr. Burke recommended to the house was marked with greater wisdom, and enforced with more ability, than that of the first lord of the treasury. On the 22nd of March he entered into an accurate detail of the state and circumstances of the colonies: he examined their means and resources of every kind; traced the increase of their population, and the improvement of their commerce; and delineated the general character of the people. He avoided a discussion of the invidious question concerning the right of taxation, and rested his plan on the principles of policy and prudence. He maintained, that the admission of the provincials to an interest in our constitution was the only mode of governing them with safety and benefit; a method which had been found highly useful with regard to Ireland and Wales. It was impracticable, he said, to extinguish the free spirit which animated the Americans; and it was impolitic, rash, and dangerous, to punish it as criminal: to comply with it was the most rational and equitable procedure. He proposed, that the assembly of each province should tax the inhabitants for the support of their civil government; that each should send delegates to a general congress, for the adjustment of the united interests, and the grant of a revenue to Great Britain; and that the offensive acts should be repealed.

This plan was strenuously opposed by the courtiers, who urged, that it contained such concessions as would only render the Americans more insolent and intractable; that no hope of adequate pecuniary contribution from them would remain; and that the supremacy of parliament was, in a manner, annihilated by the resolutions now proposed. These remarks were invalidated by the arguments of the opposite party; but the house would not even suffer the question to be put on the propositions of Burke. A less judicious scheme of accommodation was submitted to the commons by Hartley; but his suggestions were urged without effect.

The affairs of Canada were warmly agitated in each house. Lord Camden presented a petition from the British inhabitants of that province, soliciting the repeal or the emendation of the late act by which they were affected. He then observed, that the amendment of the act would not be sufficient; and he therefore contended for the total abrogation of it. It was so incompatible, he said, with the principles of the British constitution, that every true friend to civil liberty and to the protestant religion could not but approve the bill of repeal which he now offered. The earl of Dartmouth and other peers vindicated the Quebec act, as expedient for the gratification of the French Canadians, who (they said) ought not to be deprived of the objects of their wishes, at the mere suggestion of a very small proportion of the inhabitants of the colony; and, by the efforts of the courtiers, the new bill was rejected. When sir George Saville offered a similar petition to the commons, he and his friends in vain enforced it by animated strictures on the obnoxious act.

The conduct of the parliament was so agreeable to the king, that he expressed his satisfaction in strong terms; and he affected to prognosticate the most salutary effects from the measures taken during the session which he closed on the 26th of May. But the framer of his speech was not a true prophet.

The ferment which had long prevailed in the North American provinces, did not subside at the intelligence of the firm resolution of the British court to act with coërcive rigour. The zeal of liberty was highly inflamed; and the spirit of opposition broke out with additional violence. A proclamation for prohibiting the exportation of warlike stores to the colonies, increased the eagerness of the malcontents for procuring the apparatus of hostility. They applied with indefatigable ardour to the fabrication of arms: they established manufactories of gun powder; and they dispatched vessels to the European ports for various supplies. They even seized, in different places, the stores which belonged to the crown; alledging the necessity of defending themselves against that aggression which they had reason to expect.

While the provincials waited with impatience for the determination of the congress, which was appointed to meet again in the spring, hostilities broke out in the colony of Massachusett's Bay, near the town of Concord; a name ill suited to a scene of sanguinary contest. Some military stores being collected at that town for the use of the provincials, general Gage ordered a part of his army to destroy the supply. On the arrival of a body of light infantry at Lexington, in April, the militia of the neighbourhood appeared in arms. The royalists commanded the dispersion of those whom they styled rebels, and fired some of their pieces to enforce obedience. The colonists retired in confusion; and, in their retreat, some guns were fired at the detachment from the back of a stone wall, and from houses. A discharge of musquetry from the royal troops followed, and some of the provincials were killed. The light infantry, being now joined by a party of grenadiers, proceeded towards Concord. Here the latter employed themselves in the destruction of the stores; while the former engaged a fresh corps of the militia. Having executed the orders of general Gage, the troops commenced their return; during which they were severely annoyed. The Americans, posted in various places of ambuscade, fired on the flank of their fatigued adversaries, who were also harrassed in the rear; and this annoyance continued till they reached the vicinity of Boston. In the course of the day, above two hundred and seventy royalists were killed, wounded, or captured; while the provincials who suffered were about eighty in number.

The colonists loudly boasted of the courage and alacrity which the militia had displayed on this occasion; and they were so eager to profit by what they considered as a victory, that they prepared to dispossess the king's troops of the town of Boston. They assembled in multitudes, and formed a camp for the investment of that capital. They accused the royalists of having shed the first blood in the contest; and disclaimed all intention of continuing it, except for the defence of their liberties.

The proceedings of the congress confirmed the spirit of the people. That assembly decreed, that a considerable army should be levied; that, as a medium of payment, a currency of paper should be established; that no provisions should be conveyed to the persons concerned in the fisheries, or to the inhabitants of any settlement which still remained in subserviency to the British court; and that the confederacy of the provinces should be distinguished by the appellation of the United Colonies.

The colonies were now put under martial law, but not without the offer of pardon to all who should return to their duty, except Hancock and Adams, who were considered as the chief authors of the disturbances.

The provincials now invested the town of Boston, and the people of New York, hearing of the action at Lexington, and the affair of Concord, rose in a tumultuous manner, entered the town house, seized many stands of arms, appropriated to their own use the cargoes of two ships laden with military stores for general Gage, and then marched to the assistance of the Bostonians. They not only continued to block up the town of Boston, but began to raise batteries on the heights of the peninsula of Charles Town, in order to cannonade the king's troops. This occasioned an action at Bunker's Hill; for on the 17th of June, a considerable body of troops, under the command of major-general Howe, and brigadier Pigot, were sent to dislodge the provincials. This body of forces, with a proportionable quantity of artillery, facilitated their landing near Bunker's Hill, under the protection of the ships of war, armed vessels, floating batteries, &c. and being soon after reinforced by another detachment, a desperate action commenced, in which the British troops were victorious, the provincial lines being forced, and themselves compelled

compelled to retreat, leaving behind several pieces of cannon and other military stores (*c*).

On the evening of the 23rd of August, the cannon were seized by order of the congress, though the Asia man of war, which lay in the harbour, endeavoured to prevent it by cannonading the town.

General Carleton was, in the mean time, indefatigable in his endeavours to render the province of Canada in a permanent state of defence; and the earl of Dunmore, governor of Virginia, taking refuge on board a ship of war, harrassed the coast, and made frequent descents upon Canada: laying waste the country, carrying off or spiking up a vast number of cannon, destroying great quantities of military stores belonging to the provincials, &c. &c. But on the other hand, Fort St. John surrendered to the provincial forces, on the 3rd of November, and the garrison became prisoners of war. On the 18th of the same month, a fierce engagement occurred between the king's troops and the provincials, near Savannah, in Georgia, in which the latter were defeated; and on the 31st of December, the provincial general Montgomery, who had for some time laid siege to the city of Quebec, attempted to take it by storm. In this attempt, however, he was defeated and slain, with several of his officers, and about sixty privates; about three hundred were also taken prisoners.

The parliament of England meeting on the 26th of October, the session was opened by his majesty with a speech from the throne (*d*). The attention of the parliament, previous to the holidays, was engaged in raising and adjusting the supplies for the ensuing year, and concerting measures for raising them. Several acts were also framed, which, having passed both houses, received the royal assent; after which the parliament was prorogued on the 25th of January, 1776; when the parliament assembled pursuant to their adjournment; and on the same day, a paper was delivered to the members of both houses, containing the following words: "To the parliament, A suffering and afflicted people most humbly and solemnly beseech and implore every member of parliament to put a speedy stop to the further effusion of the blood of our American brethren; that peace and tranquillity may be restored to the royal breast, and glory, commerce, and felicity to the whole empire (*e*)."

The war was now carried on with great vehemence in America. General Gage having been recalled, the chief command of the army at Boston devolved on general Howe, who soon after issued a proclamation declaring those inhabitants who attempted to quit the town without licence, subject to military execution, if detected and taken; and if they escaped, to be proceeded against as traitors. By another, such as obtained permission to quit the town were restrained, by several penalties, from taking more than a small specified sum of money with them. He also enjoined the signing and entering into an association, by which the remaining inhabitants offered their persons for the defence of the town, &c. But general Howe now thought it expedient to evacuate the town of Boston, which he effected on the 17th of March; and soon after made good his landing, and capture of New York. In June a battle occurred in Canada, between the regulars under general Carleton, and the provincials, at a place called Trois Rivieres, (Three Rivers,) when the latter were defeated, many of them being killed and wounded, and above two hundred taken prisoners. In the same month an attempt was made on Charles Town, South Carolina, by sir Peter Parker, at the head of a fleet of ships of war, and general Clinton with a body of land forces, but it failed of success; and on the 4th of July following, the congress declared the colonies independent.

On the 19th of September a declaration was published by lord Howe and general Howe, addressed to the provincials; offering terms of accommodation, and soliciting them to reflect upon their conduct; but the causes of dissention were so highly aggravated by some recent transactions both in England and America, that the provincials seemed determined to reject every conciliatory proposal, and were resolute to assert that independence which they had avowed.

On the 31st of the same month general Howe issued another proclamation, offering full pardon to all deserters, who should surrender themselves at the head quarters on or before the 31st of October, 1776. But this proclamation proved equally ineffectual.

After the publication of these proclamations many skirmishes happened between the king's troops, and the provincials; but nothing decisive took place till towards the end of October, when the latter were defeated, in an action, afterwards termed the Battle of the White Plains.

In the dispatches from general Howe, dated November 30, besides an account of a variety of skirmishes, information was given of the taking of Fort Washington, and Fort Lee, by the British forces, together with a great variety of military stores, and many prisoners. In December, Rhode Island was taken by general Clinton; about the same time lord Cornwallis took possession of East Jersey; and general Lee was taken prisoner, by a patrole of British dragoons, commanded by lieutenant-colonel (afterwards lord) Harcourt (*f*).

On the 31st of October, the parliament met again, when his majesty recapitulated grievances, and complained of his proferred indulgence to the Americans being rejected with circumstances of indignity and insult. The nature of his speech occasioned considerable debates in both houses, concerning the addresses which were proper to present to his majesty, upon the occasion. The most important were in the house of lords; but they were at length adjusted, as well as those in the lower house: and the addresses were accordingly presented; to each of which his majesty returned a gracious answer.

The house then proceeded to the consideration of the supplies, when a motion was made that forty-five thousand seamen, including ten thousand one hundred and twenty-nine marines, be employed for the service of the ensuing year. The motion was carried by a great majority. At the same time a resolution passed for allowing four pounds per man per month, for the maintenance and wages of every seaman.

A proclamation was issued by his majesty, on the 22nd of November, for a general fast to be observed throughout England on the 13th of December following. The same solemn act of humiliation was enjoined to be observed on the same day in Ireland; and on the 12th in Scotland.

Soon after another proclamation was issued for recalling and prohibiting seamen from entering into the service of foreign states, and for granting rewards for discovering such seamen as should conceal themselves, in a gratuity of two pounds for every able, and thirty shillings for every ordinary seaman, to be paid to any person on making such discovery; that such men might be taken into his majesty's service, by any one of his majesty's sea officers for raising men, on or before the 31st of December next (*g*).

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(*c*) The loss of the provincials was about four hundred and fifty, in killed, wounded, or missing; of the British troops, according to the return of general Gage, two hundred and twenty-six were killed, and eight hundred and twenty-eight wounded, some of the latter dying soon after; and more than a proportionable number of officers were killed on this occasion.

(*d*) A few days before the opening of the session, a petition from the general congress in America, signed by the heads of the respective colonies, was presented to the king, humbly soliciting that such measures might be pursued as might tend to eradicate the present disturbances, and effect a lasting and happy reconciliation.

(*e*) In the course of the session the attention of the lords was engaged on the trial of the duchess of Kingston, who was accused of bigamy, in having married the duke of Kingston, while her first husband, the honourable Mr. Hervey, (afterwards earl of Bristol) was living. The trial continued five days, at the close of which the prisoner being called to the bar, was informed by the lord high-steward, that the lords had pronounced her guilty. In consequence of this she claimed her privilege of peerage, which occasioned the lords to adjourn to the chamber of parliament to debate on the matter. On their return the prisoner was again called to the bar, and the lord high steward pronounced it to be the sense of the house, "That the duchess should be allowed the privilege she claimed." As a peeress, she could endure no kind of corporal punishment, and was therefore discharged on paying her fees.

(*f*) The following are the particulars of the manner in which general Lee was taken prisoner. Colonel Harcourt having penetrated the country upon a reconnoitering party with about twelve light dragoons, and happening to meet a countryman on the road, entered into conversation with him, and found he was charged with a letter to general Washington, and that the wafer with which the letter was sealed was still wet; the signature being that of Mr. Lee, the colonel desired the countryman to conduct him to that gentleman, which he complied with. The countryman was accordingly mounted behind one of the dragoons, and a party galloped to the house where Mr. Lee was: the guard fired upon the dragoons, by which one private was killed, and a cornet wounded; a bullet passed through colonel Harcourt's helmet, but did not injure him. Lee was now summoned to surrender, which he complied with, delivered up his sword, and in the most earnest manner interceded for his life, desiring to come in under the proclamation. This, of course, could not be complied with, he was therefore conducted to the head-quarters, and conveyed on board one of his majesty's ships. He was afterwards exchanged for some of the king's officers, who had been taken prisoners by the provincials.

(*g*) This year terminated with an event, which, for a considerable time,

The parliament met on the 21st of January, 1777, pursuant to adjournment, and immediately proceeded to the business of the nation. The first thing that engaged the particular attention of the commons was, a bill brought in for granting commissions, or letters of marque and reprisal, as they were usually called, to the owners or captains of private merchant ships, authorizing them to take and make prizes of all vessels with their effects, belonging to any of the inhabitants of the thirteen specified revolted American colonies. This bill passed the commons without opposition; nor did it produce much debate among the lords, with whom it underwent the inconsiderable alteration, of inserting the words, "letters of permission," instead of "letters of marque," the latter being thought only applicable to reprisals on a foreign enemy.

The day after the above bill passed the lords, a motion was made in the house of commons, for leave to bring in a bill to enable his majesty to detain persons charged with, or suspected of, the crime of high-treason committed in America, or on the high seas, of the crime of piracy. The bill being admitted, was, after great debates, read the first time; and a motion being made for the second reading, it was carried by a great majority (*h*). At the very next meeting of the members, the bill, notwithstanding it had been petitioned against by the city of London, was read the third time, and, after some few alterations, passed the house.

It was, however, more strongly opposed in the upper than the lower house, till the question was put for reading it the third time, when (among others who objected to it) lord Abingdon rose, and declared himself totally against the bill, as repugnant to the laws of nations, and to the dictates of humanity. His lordship particularly dwelt upon the word "suspected," as a term of such latitude, that it was liable to be construed to the most unconstitutional meanings, and the consequences of the bill might prove fatal to the liberties of this country: he therefore could not give his consent to the passing of the bill; but it was carried, without further debate; and, on the 3rd of March, received the royal assent. Among others which received the royal signature at the same time was, the "bill for enabling the lords of the admiralty to grant letters of marque to private ships of war, or merchant ships belonging to the American colonies, that were then in actual rebellion against Great Britain."

The next circumstance that excited the attention of the commons was, the following message from his majesty, which was read by lord North:

"G. Rex.

"It gives his majesty much concern to find himself obliged to acquaint the house of commons with the difficulties he labours under, by reason of debts incurred by the expences of his household, and of the civil government, which being computed on the 5th of January last, do amount to more than six hundred thousand pounds. His majesty relies on the loyalty and affection of his faithful commons, of which he has received so many signal proofs, for enabling him to discharge this debt; and that they will at the same time make some further provision for the better support of his majesty's household, and the honour and dignity of his crown.

"G. R."

This message being read, a motion was made for referring it to a committee of supply on that day se'nnight. One member strongly opposed this motion as unusual, if not unprecedented, it having at all times been customary to take *royal* messages into immediate consideration. This produced a very warm debate, at the close of which, however, the motion was carried. On the day appointed for taking this matter into consideration, the house went into a committee of supply; and after some debates, came to the following resolutions: "Resolved, that it is the opinion of this committee, that the sum of six hundred and eighteen thousand two hundred and forty pounds nine shillings be granted to his majesty to discharge the arrears and debt due, and owing, on account of the civil list, on the 5th of January, 1775." "Resolved, that it is the opinion of this committee, that the sum of one hundred thousand pounds *per annum* be granted to his majesty over and above the sum of eight hundred thousand pounds granted by an act made in the first year of his reign." When these resolutions were reported from the committee of supply to the whole house, the first was agreed to without opposition; but the second produced debates which continued for several hours, at the close of which it was likewise agreed to by a great majority.

On the 7th of May, the bill passed both houses, and received the royal assent. This gratuity on the part of the commons to the king, was accompanied by an address from the speaker, which seemed very ingeniously adapted to reconcile so extraordinary a measure, at such a crisis, to the minds of the people, under the idea of loyalty; while it recommended a practice of which the political manœuvres of the times could not boast in any eminent degree. Indeed, it appeared to the discerning and impartial, an admirable specimen of state finesse (*i*).

While this bill was in agitation, a motion was made by sir James Lowther, "that an humble address be presented to his majesty, for an augmentation of the annual incomes of their royal highnesses the dukes of Gloucester and Cumberland." This motion, however, was rejected by a great majority. No other business of importance occurred during the remainder of this session, and on the 6th of June, his majesty repaired to the house of peers, and after signing such bills as were ready, prorogued the parliament.

In the beginning of this year several skirmishes happened in the Jerseys with various success. On the 23rd and 24th of March, a great quantity of provisions, stores, &c. with barracks and store-houses belonging to the provincials, were destroyed by the king's troops, at Peck's Hill, on the North River. The cruizers belonging to lord Howe and commodore Hotham's fleet continued to take many prizes. In Connecticut, on the 27th of April, the king's troops destroyed a great quantity of stores at Danbury. General Burgoyne, with the northern army, proceeded to Ticonderago and Fort Independence, which he took possession of on the 6th of July, and found great quantities of stores and provisions, beside those which he destroyed at Skenesborough. He then took possession of Fort Edward, which the provincials abandoned, and proceeded to Saratoga, where they were strongly posted. On the 11th of September, an engagement took place between the troops under general Howe and the provincials on the heights of Brandywine, in which many were killed and wounded on both sides, and four hundred provincials were taken pri-

time, occasioned great confusion, apprehension, and suspicion. On the 9th of December intelligence was received at the admiralty office, by express, that a fire broke out in the rope house of his majesty's yard at Portsmouth, about half an hour after four o'clock on Saturday afternoon, which continued with great violence, and consumed the whole, except the outer walls; but by the timely assistance, and vigorous efforts of the workmen of the yard, the seamen of his majesty's ships, the marines quartered at Portsmouth, and the men belonging to the ordnance with their respective officers, it was happily prevented from extending to any other of the buildings in the yard; and was at length totally extinguished. The principal loss sustained by this accident consisted chiefly of the rigging of two ships, the implements belonging to the rope makers and rigging house, a small quantity of cordage, and some toppings of hemp. The alarm occasioned by this accident was greatly increased by another of a similar nature, that happened shortly after at Bristol, which destroyed a considerable range of warehouses, besides many private dwellings, and, had it not been for the quick discovery and alacrity of the people in suppressing it, would have been productive of the most fatal consequences. How these accidents were occasioned was for some time a mystery; but it was at length discovered that they originated from the machinations of a wretched enthusiast and incendiary, afterwards well known by the appellation of John the Painter, but whose real name was James Aitken. When he was secured and examined, he refused answering any questions, and otherwise behaved in a very resolute and daring manner. But there appearing sufficient reason to suppose him the guilty person, he was committed to Winchester jail. At the next assizes he was brought to trial, and being found guilty, was soon after executed at Portsmouth.

(*h*) This bill occasioned great discontents among the people, and during the short time it was in agitation, a petition against it was presented to the commons from the city of London.

(*i*) The following is a copy of sir Fletcher Norton's address, who was at that time speaker of the house of commons:

"*Most gracious sovereign,*

"The bill which it is now my duty to present to your majesty, is entitled, "An act for the better support of his majesty's household, and the honour and dignity of the crown of Great Britain, to which your commons humbly beg your royal assent.

"By this bill, sir, and the respectful circumstances which preceded and accompanied it, your commons have given the fullest and clearest proof of their zeal and affection for your majesty; for in a time of public distress, full of difficulty and danger, their constituents labouring under burthens almost too heavy to be borne, your faithful commons postponed all other business, and, with as much dispatch as the nature of their proceedings would admit, have not only granted to your majesty a large present supply, but also a very great additional revenue; great beyond example; great beyond your majesty's highest expence.

"But all this, sir, they have done in a well grounded confidence, that you will *apply wisely* what they have *granted liberally*, and feeling what every good subject must feel with the greatest satisfaction, that under the direction of his majesty's wisdom, the affluence and grandeur of the sovereign will reflect dignity and honour upon his people."

soners. But though the latter were defeated, and the action at first seemed of an indecisive nature, it occasioned Philadelphia to fall into the hands of the British forces. An attack was also made by the provincials on Staten Island nearly at the same time; but they were repulsed with great slaughter. And about the same period, general Clinton stormed and took Fort Clinton and Fort Montgomery.

On the 16th of October, the provincials, under the command of general Gates, having surrounded general Burgoyne's army at Saratoga, the latter thought proper to enter into articles of capitulation: by which, after laying down their arms, he and his troops were to have a free passage to Great Britain. Towards the close of the year several forts were taken by the troops and shipping; and many skirmishes happened on the banks of the Delaware, in order to preserve the communication with the army at Philadelphia. The provincials likewise evacuated their entrenchments at Red Bank.

During this year great disturbances happened in the East Indies, where lord Pigot, governor of Madras, was deposed, imprisoned, and soon after died. His death was imputed to various causes, but as it happened in a region where the most palpable crimes have often been connived at, it is supposed to have escaped that minute investigation which it demanded.

The parliament assembling on the 20th of November, his majesty went to the house of peers, and opened the session with a speech. The house then resolved itself into a committee of supply, when a short state of the navy, both as to the number of ships and men employed, and where stationed, being given, a motion was made, "That it is the resolution of this committee, that sixty thousand seamen be employed for the service of the year 1778." This motion produced very warm debates, at the close of which it was carried without a division. The supplies being granted, and several bills read, (among which was that for suspending the habeas corpus,) on the 10th of December his majesty went to the house of peers, and after signing the respective bills, adjourned the parliament.

On the 4th of February the parliament again met, when a motion was made by the earl of Abingdon, "That this house, taking into consideration the legality of the present mode of benevolences, or of raising forces by subscription, do look upon this practice as contrary to law, and the principles of the constitution." This motion produced considerable debates, but was at length rejected by a great majority.

It was also moved in the house of commons, that an address should be presented to his majesty, requesting that he would be graciously pleased to order the proper officers to lay before the house the accounts received from the admiral on the Jamaica station, relative to the shipping under his command. The question was carried without a division. Mr. Pulteney then took the chair; having gone into a committee of the whole house to take into consideration the state of the nation, Mr. Charles Fox, on whose motion the committee was formed, opened the debate. He took a retrospective view of the American war; followed it in all its stages; pointed out the events, as well fortunate as unfortunate, of each respective year; demonstrated from his statement the incapacity of administration to conduct the war, their ignorance of men, measures, and the country of America; and enumerated the errors and blunders into which this unpardonable ignorance had plunged them. He pointed out the defenceless state of the British empire in Europe, from the absence of the troops and navy; and concluded his speech with moving, "that as it would be impossible to complete the proposed levies in due time to replace the regiments that might in the interim be sent away, the house, considering the state to which such a measure would reduce the nation, would not suffer any troops from Great Britain, Ireland, Minorca, or Gibraltar, to be sent to America (*k*)."

The business of the new levies came on two days after; and was opposed by some of the minority, but the house, after a long debate, granted to the king a sum of money for the pay and maintenance of the new corps.

On the 16th a full house assembled to hear Mr. Burke's promised motion; and the honourable member began with an aweful solemnity to prepare their minds, and incline them to adopt his sentiments. After an interesting exordium, he described the savage ungovernable rage of the Indians let loose upon the unarmed, the aged, the infant, and the helpless female; he represented them rioting in murder, lust, and rapine; he drew, in the most affecting terms, the sufferings of the unhappy victims whom they devoted to death; a death which his pathetic eloquence represented with an aspect horrible almost beyond conception. Raised by his own imagery to a high degree of indignation, he inveighed most vehemently on those who, by ordering a treaty with the barbarians, might be justly deemed the authors of all the calamities which attended the inhuman measure. Administration, and several principal commanders were minutely exhibited; and the share they had undertaken in the barbarities complained of were held up to execration. Towards the conclusion of his harangue, which had delighted and astonished the auditors for about three hours, he moved, that copies of the treaties entered into with the Indians should be laid before the house. The motion was warmly opposed by administration, and as vigorously defended by the minority. The arguments of the latter differed but little from those of Mr. Burke; they were all framed after his model; the differences lay only in the colouring and fancy. The opposite side vindicated the Indians from the reflections thrown on them; and instances of their humanity, and the strict discipline they were obliged to submit to, were adduced. The facts urged as proofs of the untameable and ungovernable rage of the Indians, it was said, were greatly exaggerated: they owed much of their horror to the fancy of the orator; and, such as they were, ought to be deemed the acts of a few lawless banditti of their body, who equally disclaimed obedience to our commanders and to their own; and therefore were not to be attributed to the nation, who, to the knowledge of many members of the house, had often acted with a degree of humanity which might make even a Christian blush. The emancipation of the negroes, by lord Dunmore, was justified on the ground of necessity; it was impossible to raise men otherwise to recover our just rights; every private consideration should yield to the promotion of the public good. The debate was warm, interesting, and of great length; the question being put, the motion was rejected by a majority of eighty-six.

On the 19th, lord North presented to the house, "a bill to enable his majesty to appoint commissioners to treat, consent, and agree on the means of quieting the disorders then subsisting in certain of the colonies, plantations, and provinces of America." As also, "a bill for declaring the intention of the parliament of Great Britain, concerning the exercise of the right of imposing taxes on the colonies, plantations, and provinces of America," which after several days debate, and some amendments, were carried.

On the 22nd of March an embargo was laid by the French on all shipping belonging to the subjects of his Britannic majesty at that time in their ports; and having previously fitted out a large fleet, it was thought necessary to call out the militia of England, and encamp them, in order to oppose any intended invasion; and five days afterwards, an order was issued for detaining all French ships in the ports of England.

His majesty, having suddenly formed a resolution of viewing some of the principal dock-yards, repaired to Chatham and Sheerness, and having surveyed what was thought most worthy of observation at those places, he, together with the queen, &c. visited Portsmouth on the 2nd of May, and after reviewing the fleet, returned on the 9th to London (*l*).

On

(*k*) This important resolution was not opposed by arguments, but by votes. The question was called for, and upon a division it was rejected. The numbers for the resolution were one hundred and sixty-five against two hundred and fifty-nine.

(*l*) On the 12th of this month the nation sustained a most important loss in the death of the illustrious earl of Chatham, a statesman unrivalled in the annals of history. To aggrandize his country appears throughout the whole of his political conduct to have been his sincere intention. He was not only eminent for the display of his eloquence in the senate, but the formation and execution of plans which at once astonished and terrified the common enemy, and rendered the British arms the dread and admiration of the world. The following are the particulars respecting the death of lord Chatham, extracted from a letter from lord Camden to a nobleman of the highest rank: "I saw him (says he) in the prince's chamber, before he went into the house, and conversed a little with him; but such was the feeble state of his body, and indeed the distempered agitation of his mind, that I did forbode his strength would certainly fail him before he had finished his speech. The earl spoke, but was not like himself. His speech faultered, his sentences broken, and his mind not master of itself. His words were shreds of unconnected eloquence, and flashes of the same fire, that he, Prometheus-like, had stolen from heaven, and were then returning to the place from whence they were taken. He fell back upon his seat, and was to all appearance in the pangs of death. This threw the whole house into confusion.

On the 28th of May, the royal assent was given to a bill for the relief of the Roman Catholics; and about the same time an embargo was laid on all foreign vessels in the ports of England.

Having narrated the material parliamentary transactions, and other domestic occurrences, we must now advert to our naval and military affairs. Admiral Keppel having sailed with a fleet deficient in point of force, for the purpose of attacking the French, returned to England for a reinforcement, which having obtained, he again put to sea. On the 27th of July, the two grand fleets met, and engaged off Ushant; the issue of which, in consequence of an accusation laid by sir Hugh Palliser, vice-admiral, against the chief commander, produced great dissentions. The engagement was mentioned in such censorious terms by sir Hugh Palliser, as to reflect on the reputation of admiral Keppel; who, however, vindicated his character in parliament on the 2nd of December, notwithstanding which, sir Hugh Palliser exhibited his charge against him on the 17th of the same month at the admiralty. The bill for his trial on land received the royal assent on the 24th ensuing; and his trial commenced on the first of February, when he was unanimously acquitted with the greatest honour, and the prosecution pronounced to be malicious (*m*).

During these transactions at home, hostilities were prosecuting with the utmost vigour in America. On the 18th of June, general Clinton evacuated Philadelphia. He was attacked on his march by the provincials, whose object appeared to be the gaining possession of the British baggage; but in this they were disappointed, and every where repulsed by the judicious manner in which general Clinton had disposed his forces.

In consequence of the bill empowering his majesty to appoint commissioners to treat of a pacification with America, the earl of Carlisle, Mr. Eden, and governor Johnstone, went officially to America, for the purpose of effecting a reconciliation with the Americans. But so far from accomplishing that desireable object, the measures pursued tended to widen the unhappy breach. The bill for declaring the intention of the British parliament of imposing the taxes on the colonies, could not possibly fail of producing such an effect, as it struck at the original primary cause of hostilities.

The islands of St. Pierre and Miquelon were taken from the French about this time, by admiral Montague's fleet; to form a kind of counterbalance to which, the island of Dominica was captured by an armament of French and Americans from Martinico.

On the 11th of December, admiral Barrington, who succeeded lord Howe in the command of the British fleet, and a body of forces under general Grant, seized on the island of St. Lucia, one of the Antilles belonging to the French. Count D'Estaing attempted to retake it, but was repulsed with considerable loss both by sea and land.

The province of Georgia surrendered to a detachment of British troops, on the 4th of January, 1779, and many inhabitants of that colony and of the Carolinas came in and joined the royalists. On the 3rd of March, general Prevost, by surprise, obtained a complete victory over the Americans under general Ashe. In the beginning of May, sir Henry Clinton concerted with sir George Collier, who then commanded the marine at New York, an expedition to the Chesapeak, and a descent upon Virginia, as measures which would embarrass and distress the enemy, much more than any other that could be undertaken. A sufficient quantity of naval and land forces for the intended purposes, were accordingly dispatched from New York, under the conduct of sir George Collier, and major-general Matthew. The fleet having successfully passed between the capes of Virginia, the Raisonable man of war, with some armed tenders, were left in Hampton Road to block up that port, and to intercept the navigation of James River, while sir George Collier, having shifted his pendant to a frigate, proceeded with the smaller ships of war and transports up Elizabeth River. The town of Portsmouth was their immediate object, but the fleet being delayed by some circumstances of wind or tide in its passage, the general and troops, impatient of delay, were landed at some distance, and marched directly towards the place. The town was open and defenceless, but the passage to it by water was covered by Fort Nelson, which had been constructed at about half a mile distance for that purpose. The garrison of the fort, knowing that no succour was at hand, and that the fort was incapable of any effectual defence, abandoned it on the approach of the army, which instantly took possession of that and the town. The town, or remains of Norfolk, on the opposite side of the river, also fell into their hands. On the approach of the fleet and army, the enemy burned several vessels in these ports, among which were two large French ships laden with a thousand hogsheads of tobacco; the celerity of the invaders having early checked the destruction, several others were preserved, and fell into the hands of the victors. In the mean time the British guards marched eighteen miles by night to the town of Suffolk, on the Nansemond River, and arrived there at day-break. They found the place had been hastily abandoned at their approach; and immediately proceeded to the destruction of a very large magazine of provisions, together with the vessels and naval stores. Within a fortnight that the fleet and army continued upon the coast, the loss sustained by the Americans in provisions and stores was immense. Above one hundred and thirty ships and vessels of all sorts were destroyed or taken. All those upon the stocks were burned, and every thing relative to the building or fitting of ships, that was not portable, was destroyed. When the above circumstances were communicated to sir Henry Clinton by sir George Collier's letter, the general sent an immediate order for their return; and the fleet and army, with their prizes, arrived safe at New York, before the expiration of the month.

The provincials had, for some time, been engaged in constructing very strong works at the two important posts of Verplanks Neck and Stoney Fort in the Highlands. All these works were nearly completed, but not yet defensible, when the general thought it a proper season to avail himself of the industry of the enemy, and to reap the fruits of their toil. The troops destined for this service under the command of major-general Vaughan, were lately embarked, when they were joined by the force returned from Chesapeak, and proceeded all together up the North River, the naval department being under sir George Collier. On the following morning, general Vaughan, with the greater part of the army, landed on the east side of the river, about eight miles below Verplanks, whilst the remainder under general Patison, and accompanied by sir Henry Clinton, advancing farther up, landed within three miles of Stoney Point. On the appearance of the ships the enemy abandoned their works, but set fire to a large block-house. On the approach of the troops to take possession of Stoney Point, they, however, made some shew of resistance, but did not think proper to dispute the matter. The Americans had finished a small work on the opposite side of the river, on which they bestowed the name of Fort la Fayette. This was defended by four pieces of artillery, and a small garrison of between seventy and eighty men. But this little redoubt, though strong in itself, was effectually commanded by Stoney Point, which lay at the distance of about a thousand yards on the opposite shore, and it being exceedingly difficult to approach from its own side, the attack was accordingly intended from the other. For this purpose, general Patison, with the most indefatigable perseverance during the night, overcame the difficulties of dragging the heavy artillery from a very wretched landing place to the top of the hill; and his exertions and arrangements were so effectual and judicious, that by five on the following morning, he had opened a battery of cannon, and another of mortars, on the summit of the different rocks of Stoney Point, which poured a storm of fire over Fort la Fayette. The attack was supported by sir George Collier, who advanced with the gallies and gun-boats within reach of the fort. The cannonade was continued during the day, at the close of which, sir George ordered two of the gallies to pass the fort and anchor above it, to prevent the escape of the garrison by water. In the mean time general Vaughan with his division, having made a long circuit through the hills, at length arrived and closely invested the fort on the land side.

confusion. Many crowded about the earl. Even those who might have felt a secret pleasure in the accident, yet put on the appearance of distress—except only the earl of Mansfield, who sat still, almost as much unmoved, as the senseless body itself." *Belsham's Memoirs*, ii. 335.

(*m*) On the acquittal of admiral Keppel, the most general demonstrations of joy took place, and the greatest illuminations were displayed in most of the cities, towns, &c. throughout the kingdom. He likewise received the united thanks of the houses of lords and commons, the lord mayor and common council of London (who presented him with the freedom of the city, in a box made of the heart of oak, and richly decorated with gold,) and of many other cities, towns, corporations, &c.

side. The garrison seeing all possibility of escape was now cut off, and that their fire was totally overpowered, surrendered their little fortress on the following morning, and themselves prisoners of war, without any other stipulation than that of demanding humane treatment (*n*).

The state of the armies in America, on both sides, with respect to actual force, together with the scarcity of money and military provisions on one side, necessarily limited the views of the opposite commanders, and prevented their undertaking any decisive or expensive operations. The campaign was therefore languid, and rather confined to the surprizing of posts, and to desultory excursions. While the greater part of the British army, however, were engaged in moving from one island to another, and establishing different posts, general Lincoln, the American commander, thought proper to attack lieutenant-colonel Maitland, who was strongly posted at the pass of Stoney Ferry. The colonel's force amounted only to about eight hundred, while the American force is represented as amounting to five thousand men and eight pieces of cannon. The attack was made and supported with spirit. The royalists lost some officers as well as men, and about an hundred of both were wounded. The Americans lost some officers of note, and a considerable number of privates.

Great dispatch had been used in completing or restoring the works at Stoney Point, and that port was now in a respectable state of defence, with a powerful garrison under the command of lieutenant-colonel Johnson. General Wayne, on the part of the Americans, was appointed to the arduous task of surprizing and reducing Stoney Point. The troops, having set out from Sandy Reach on the 15th of July about noon, after a most grievous march of fourteen miles, the van, about eight in the evening, arrived within a mile and a half of their object, where they halted, and the troops were formed into two columns as they arrived. While they were in this position, Wayne, with some of his principal officers, went to reconnoitre the works, and to observe the situation of the garrison. It was near midnight before the two columns approached the place; that on the right was led by general Wayne, the van, consisting of one hundred and fifty picked men, led by the most adventurous officers, and commanded by lieutenant-colonel Fleury, advanced to the attack with loaded muskets and fixed bayonets. The column on the left was led also by a chosen van with loaded muskets and fixed bayonets, under the command of major Steward. The general issued the most pointed orders to both columns not to fire a single shot on any account, but to rely entirely on their bayonets. Such was the astonishing resolution of the Americans, that neither the deep morass, nor the strong works, in front and flank, could damp the ardour of their troops, who, in the face of the most incessant and tremendous fire of musquetry, and of cannon loaded with grape-shot, forced their way at the point of the bayonets, until the van of each column met in the center of the works, where they arrived at nearly the same instant (*o*). The total number of prisoners amounted to five hundred and forty-three, and the slain of the garrison to sixty-three: and trophies, artillery, and stores, were as considerable as could be expected, from the nature and extent of the post.

The Americans were so elated on account of their success at Stoney Point, that they undertook an attack on Paulus Hook, which lies almost opposite to the city of New York, on the Jersey side. They failed, however, in the execution.

Sir George Collier sailed from Sandyhook on the 3rd of August, arrived in Penobscot Bay on the 14th, and surprized, routed, and destroyed the American fleet. One frigate of twenty guns and another of eighteen were taken. The Warren, of thirty-two guns, seven others of smaller force, six armed vessels, and twenty-four transports, were sunk or destroyed.

By the sudden appearance of the French fleet, on the 14th of September, off Carolina and Georgia, the Experiment man of war of fifty guns, and three royal frigates, apprehensive of no danger, and upon separate services, had the misfortune of falling in with them, and adding to their triumph and number.

General Prevost was now at the town of Savannah, but the greater part of his force was on the island of Port Royal in South Carolina, where it had lately taken post. The intercepting of an express to colonel Maitland from the general, delayed the previous measures so long, that the enemy had leisure to seize the principal communications before they could take effect. This rendered the junction of colonel Maitland's corps with the garrison a matter of doubt, difficulty, and danger. But the colonel's address, the zeal of his troops, with the distinguished services of lieutenant Goldesborough, of the navy, surmounted every obstacle.

The whole French force, amounting to forty sail, anchored off the bar of Tybee, at the mouth of the Savannah, on the 9th of September. On the 14th the French, with Polaski's American light horse, appeared so near the British lines, as to skirmish with the piquets. The day following, M. D'Estaign summoned the general to surrender, in the name of the French king. Colonel Maitland's division had not yet joined the garrison: it was therefore thought essential to gain as much time as possible, and general Prevost had the address to carry this point. Messages passed backwards and forwards, till at length a truce of twenty-four hours was agreed on, to afford leisure for deliberation. During this interval the fortunate arrival of colonel Maitland with the troops, presented a new face of affairs, and an answer was returned, that they were unanimously determined to defend themselves to the last extremity. The French force consisted of three thousand five hundred men, that of the Americans under general Lincoln, of four thousand eight hundred. The spirit, vigour, and exertion of every individual of the garrison, merited the highest encomium. Nor were the enemy inactive, for at midnight, on the 3rd of October, they commenced a heavy bombardment, and at day-light opened a vehement cannonade, which was continued for five days. On the 9th the allies attacked the British lines with great fury at day-break. The grand attack was directed to the right, where D'Estaing in person led the flower of both armies, and was accompanied by all the principal officers of each. The attack was begun with great spirit, and supported with an extraordinary degree of perseverance and obstinacy; till at length the enemy were broken, routed, and driven in the greatest disorder and confusion into a swamp. At ten they required a truce, with permission to bury their dead, and remove their wounded; the first was granted, but a restriction laid with respect to distance as to the rest. Count Polaski was mortally wounded in this action. Mons. D'Estaing was twice wounded. The loss on the side of the British was very small. The French and Americans abandoned their camp on the night of the 17th, and about the first of November, M. D'Estaign quitted the coast of America.

Early in the month of October, captain Farmer of his majesty's ship Quebec, being on a cruize off Ushant, in company with the Rambler cutter, closely engaged the Survillante, a large French frigate, mounting forty guns; while the Rambler was engaged with a French cutter, as superior in force as the French frigate was to the Quebec. The action on both sides was warm and bloody, from ten in the morning till two in the afternoon, when the French cutter set all the sail she could crowd, and bore away; but the Rambler being much disabled in her masts and rigging, could not follow her with any hopes of success. The commander, therefore, seeing both the frigates dismasted, and the Quebec take fire, endeavoured to get as near the Quebec as possible, in hopes of saving some of her men; but no other assistance could be afforded them than by hoisting out the boat, which picked up one master's mate, two midshipmen, and fourteen more of the Quebec's people, the enemy's frigate at the same time firing at the boat. The Quebec continued burning very fiercely, with her colours flying till six o'clock, when she blew up (*p*).

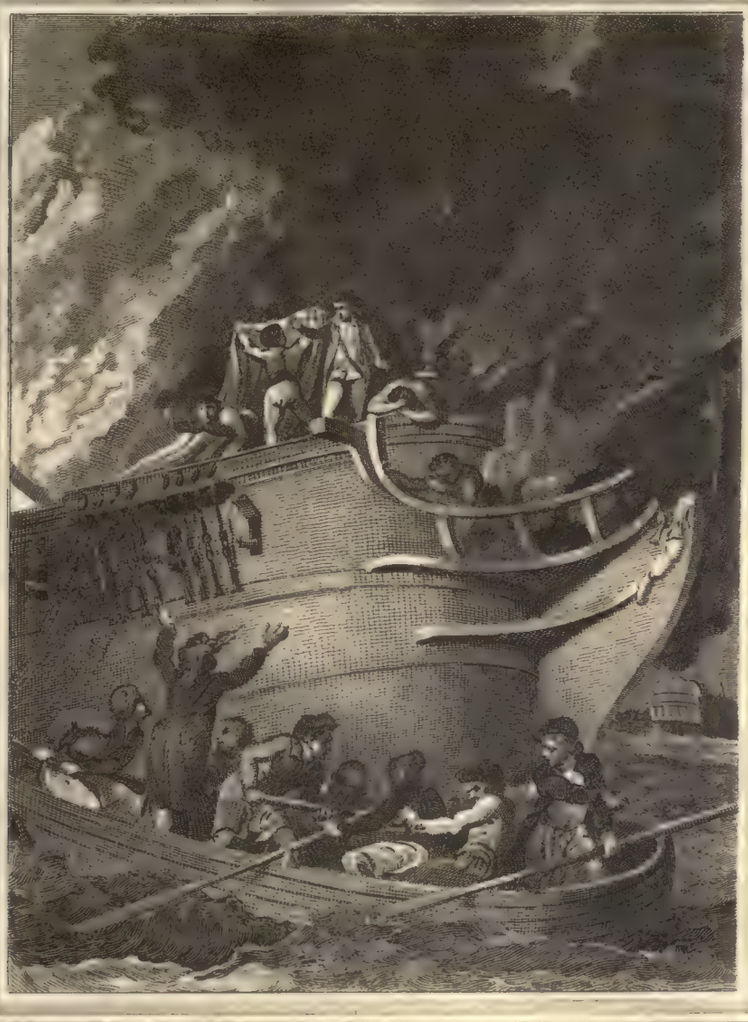
In October, the baymen or logwood-cutters on the Mosquito, and bay of Honduras shores, being in great danger from the Spaniards, the governor of Jamaica had dispatched captain Dalrymple, commandant of a new corps raised in Ireland for the service of that island, with a small force and some arms to their relief. Admiral sir Peter

(*n*) Having these posts, the enemy in the Jerseys were under a necessity of making a detour of above ninety miles through the mountains, to communicate with the country east of Hudson's river.

(*o*) General Wayne received a wound in the head by a musket-ball, but was gallantly supported by two of his aid-de-camps, Fishbourn and Archer, to whom he acknowledged the utmost gratitude in his public letters. Colonel Fleury, a French officer, was the person who struck the British standard with his own hand. Lieutenants Gibbons and Knox displayed great courage, one of whom led the avant-guard on the right, as did the other on the left, and both escaped unhurt, though the first lost seventeen men out of twenty in the attack.

(*p*) Captain Farmer's conduct on this occasion has been highly extolled by some, as a mark of heroism and courage; but to us it appears to savour more of the act of a madman, in refusing to quit the ship, and being blown up with her.





THE MEMORIAL OF CAPTAIN FASMER.



Parker had also detached a small squadron of three frigates and a schooner, under the conduct of captain Luttrell, as commodore to the bay of Honduras, to intercept some Spanish register ships; which, however, escaped into the excellent harbour, and under the protection of the strong fortress of San Fernando de Omoa, where they were found too well secured for any attack by sea, which their then small squadron was capable of making. In the course of a few days, the commodore fell in at sea with the Porcupine sloop of war, and the detachment of the loyal Irish under her convoy. The commanders immediately resolved to unite their forces in an attack by sea and land upon Omoa, a bold attempt with their inconsiderable force; but in which success presented a prospect of throwing the galleons, which were still under its shelter, into their hands. The fortress of Omoa, could not be considered as a fort or castle for the defence of the harbour, the town itself being entirely open. Its batteries exhibited above forty pieces of artillery, but it seems to have been deficient in that respect, as well as in point of garrison. The land force of the assailants by the junction of the baymen with the marines, which were allotted by the commodore for that service, amounted to five hundred men; the defensive force, without including the useless inhabitants, was not much inferior in number. In advancing to the fort, the English were so much annoyed by the guns from the tower, that they found themselves compelled to set it on fire. The commander of the expedition conceiving that a regular siege would not answer his design, determined on a *coup de main*, and to attempt the place by escalade. Measures being accordingly concerted with the commodore, the Pomona frigate was towed in near the fort during the night, and the heavier ships took their proper stations, to enable them to commence the attack on their side about three in the morning, giving a signal twenty minutes before, which was to direct that from the land. In the mean time, one hundred and fifty men in four columns, in line, and carrying the scaling ladders, were moved down the hill, where they lay waiting for the signal. That being given, they suddenly advanced with trailed arms, under the fire of their own batteries, which with the heavy cannonade from the ships served to deafen as well as to distract the enemy: in consequence of which they passed undiscovered by the Spanish sentries to the very entrance of the ditch. On their being discovered, the columns seemed for a moment to hesitate, but instantly recovered, and advanced to fix their ladders to the walls. Two seamen having mounted the wall, levelled their muskets without firing, at a body of above sixty Spaniards, and such was the consternation that prevailed, that they kept them for some moments in awe, and even motionless, while their friends were ascending the ladders. The garrison, notwithstanding all the efforts of their officers, fled on all sides. In these circumstances, the governor and principal officers, asking only for their lives, presented their swords and keys to the commandant, with a surrender of the fort, garrison, and ships. The treasure had been removed from the castle on the approach of the British forces, but that which was on board the galleons, with the cargoes of their vessels in the harbour, were estimated at about three millions of piastres (*q*).

The 16th of February, 1780, was favourable to admiral Rodney, who, on that day, obtained a signal victory over the Spanish fleet commanded by Don Juan Langara, off Cape St. Vincent; in consequence of which, the fortress of Gibraltar, then besieged by the Spaniards, and the people in great distress, for want of provisions, were happily relieved. The admiral then proceeded on his destined voyage, and soon after his arrival, a smart engagement took place on the 27th of May, between the English fleet commanded by admiral Rodney, and that of the French under M. de Guichen, near Martinico. This engagement proved unfavourable to the French, though no capture was made on either side (*r*).

On the 11th of May, Charles-Town surrendered to sir Henry Clinton; on this occasion, many officers, a commodore, several continental regiments, and three battalions of artillery, with a great number of American and French seamen were taken; in all, upwards of six thousand men in arms, besides several armed ships, and four hundred pieces of cannon.

About this time, between five and six thousand men, under generals Clinton, Knyphausen, Robertson, and Tyron, passed over by night, from Staten Island to Elizabeth Town, in New Jersey, in order to attack some of Washington's advanced posts; and on the following morning they advanced a few miles to Connecticut Farms, a settlement which had been lately formed by some inhabitants of that province (*s*).

The army now directed their march towards Springfield, but were annoyed on the road by the militia. On their arrival, they found general Maxwell at the head of the Jersey brigade, and reinforced by all the militia which in a few hours could be collected; which induced the British army to halt: but the Americans, though inferior in strength, did not permit them by any means to hold the post they had taken without molestation. They kept up a continual fire during the day, though they avoided coming to close action. The British officers now abandoned the design of attacking Springfield, and the army returned to Elizabeth Town in the night. As soon as the day-light appeared, the Americans pursued them to that place: but being too confident of success, they experienced a check in their career. On the 23rd of the same month, the British forces left Elizabeth Town, and marched again towards Springfield, which place, after some opposition, they obtained possession of; but, from some unknown cause, it experienced the same fate with the Connecticut farms; the whole village, excepting about four houses, was reduced to ashes.

A signal victory was obtained on the 16th of August over the American army under general Gates, by the British forces under lord Cornwallis. The loss of the Americans was about nine hundred slain, among whom was brigadier general Gregory; a thousand were also taken prisoners. Soon after this action, lieutenant colonel Tarleton defeated general Sumpter's army, which was much superior to his own, taking two pieces of cannon, and about three hundred prisoners.

The most flagrant instance of treachery, during the revolutionary war, occurred this year. The American army was stationed in the strong holds of the highlands, on both sides of the North River. For the defence of this river, a fortress had been built at West Point, after the loss of Fort Montgomery; and it was so strong and impregnable, as to be called the Gibraltar of America. Of this post general Arnold solicited the command; and general Washington, far from suspecting any sinister views in an officer, who had been uniformly zealous and active in the cause of his country, complied with the solicitation. When Arnold had become invested with the command, he carried on a negociation with sir Henry Clinton, by which it was agreed, that Arnold should make such a disposition of his forces, as would enable the British general to surprize West Point. The agent employed in this negociation was major André, adjutant general of the British army. To favour the communications, the Vulture, a British sloop of war, had been previously stationed in North River, as near Arnold's posts, as could be without exciting suspicion. On the night of the 21st of September, a boat was sent to fetch

(*q*) A singular instance of true courage and magnanimity in a British sailor, occurred on this occasion. He scrambled singly over the wall, and, for the better annoyance of the enemy on all sides, he armed himself with a cutlass in each hand. Thus equipped, he fell in with a Spanish officer, just roused from sleep, and who, in the hurry and confusion, had forgotten his sword. This circumstance restrained the fury of the tar, who disdained to attack an unarmed foe, but, unwilling to decline any opportunity of displaying his courage in single combat, he presented one of the cutlasses to him, saying at the same time, "I scorn any advantage, you are now on a footing with me." The astonishment of the officer at such an act of generosity, when he expected nothing less than that of being cut off instantly, and without pity or mercy, could only be equalled by the admiration, which his relating the story excited in his countrymen.

(*r*) In all the debates of the session of 1780, the most licentious invectives were indulged: it seemed to be the wish of political opponents to urge parliamentary altercation as much as possible, that it might amount to the unpardonable extremes of personal animosity. In consequence of a misrepresentation of words said to have been spoken, through the ignorance or malice of the newspaper reporter, a duel was engendered between Mr. Adam and Mr. Fox, in which the latter was slightly wounded in the body.

(*s*) In their march they were continually fired at by scattering parties of the neighbouring militia. This thriving settlement, together with the town and the Presbyterian church, were now destroyed. One circumstance, however, served to make this expedition appear more odious in the eyes of the Americans, than it otherwise would have done. The wife of the clergyman belonging to the Presbyterian church, was sitting in her house with her children and family, when, either by accident or design, she was shot dead through one of the windows. This served as a new ground of clamour to the Americans, and tended to increase that aversion to the British government, which had already been so deeply rooted.

major André; and Arnold met him at the beach, without the posts of both armies. Their business not being finished till it was too near morning for André to return to the Vulture, Arnold, telling him he must be concealed till the next night, conducted him within one of the American posts, where he continued with him the following day. The Vulture having in the mean time changed her position, the boatmen refused to carry back André the next night; and he could now return to New York in no other way than by land. Quitting his uniform, which he had worn under a surtout, for a common coat, he set out on horseback under the name of John Anderson, with a passport "to go to the lines of White Plains, or lower if he thought proper, he being on public business." When advanced a great part of the way, he was stopped by three of the New York militia, belonging to a scouting party; and several papers, containing exact returns of the state of the forces, ordnance, and defences at West Point, were found in his boots, the captors, disdaining a proferred bribe of a purse of gold and permanent provision and promotion, on condition of their conveying and accompanying him to New York, delivered him a prisoner to lieutenant colonel Jameson, who commanded the scouting parties. André, with the incautious permission of Jameson, informed Arnold of his detention in a letter, on the receipt of which Arnold abandoned every thing, and went on board the Vulture sloop of war. General Washington referred the case of André to the examination and decision of a board, consisting of fourteen officers, who, without examining a single witness, founded their report on his own confession. After stating the facts, they reported it as their opinion, "that major André ought to be considered as a spy, and that, agreeably to the laws and usages of nations, he should suffer death." He was accordingly hung as a spy, on the 2nd of October (*t*).

About this period, intestine tumults prevailed in London. A bill which passed in the last session of parliament for a relaxation of the penal laws against the Roman Catholics, had excited the jealousy and indignation of the more zealous, but less moderate of the Protestants. These malcontents found a leader in lord George Gordon, who pledged himself to bring in a bill for the repeal of that noxious act (*u*). As his lordship did not succeed in his endeavours, the multitude proceeded to acts of riot, rapine, and depredation, pulling down, and consuming the Romish chapels, a great number of houses belonging to persons of that persuasion, and several prisons, among which were Newgate (*v*), the King's Bench, and the Fleet. All business for a time, subsided, and nothing but inebriation and anarchy prevailed among the outrageous multitude. At last, through the exertion of the military, many of these deluded people were unfortunately marked as victims, and killed on the spot, others were taken, brought to trial, and, being found guilty in consequence of the evidence produced, received sentence of death. Nineteen were executed in London and Middlesex; and six in Southwark.

On Friday, during these disturbances, lord George Gordon, who was considered as the instigator of them, was taken into custody, and after a long examination before the privy council, committed to the Tower. On the 5th of February, 1781, he was tried at the court of King's Bench, Westminster, for high-treason, and levying war, insurrection, and rebellion against the king, by assembling a great number of armed persons on the 2nd of June in the preceding year, and disturbing the peace, &c. The trial lasted from half past eight on Monday morning till five o'clock the next morning, when the jury, after considerable deliberation, pronounced his lordship Not Guilty.

About this time, in a committee of the house, Mr. Dunning made a motion, that, in order to secure the independence of parliament, and obviate all suspicions of its purity, the proper officer should, in future, within seven days after the meeting, lay before the house an account of all monies paid out of the civil list, *for the use of any member of parliament*. However unfounded such a suspicion might be, he said the public *firmly believed* that large sums were conveyed into the pockets of their representatives. If any members did unduly possess themselves of the public money, this proposition would distinguish them: if not, it would be acceded to without difficulty. Slight objections were made to the motion, as proposing a test which might be unpleasant to the house, and beget differences, but it was carried without a division.

The close of the year 1780 may be considered as memorable for the declaration of hostilities by Great Britain against Holland. Circumstances of irritation, and jealousy, were continually accumulating on both sides, till the capture of Henry Laurens (*w*) brought things to their ultimate point of decision. Sir Joseph Yorke immediately pressed the business

(*t*) Major André's name is perpetuated by a monument erected to his memory in Westminster Abbey. Every exertion was made by the royal commanders to save him, but without effect. His execution, however repugnant to the dictates of humanity, "cannot be condemned without condemning the maxims of self-preservation, which have uniformly guided the practice of hostile nations." The three soldiers who apprehended major André were rewarded with a pension of two hundred dollars in specie during life. A silver medal was likewise presented to each of them by general Washington in person, with the thanks of the congress for the faithful discharge of their duty.

(*u*) On the 2nd of June, the day appointed for the meeting of the petitioners in St. George's Fields, from sixty thousand to one hundred thousand attended. They were marshalled in separate bands, and after an harangue from lord George, the main body made an unnecessary circuit over London Bridge, and through the city, to the seat of parliament. They marched six a-breast, preceded by a man carrying on his head the petition, signed with the names, or *marks*, of one hundred and twenty thousand persons.

(*v*) The assault of Newgate, without arms or ammunition, was certainly the most desperate attempt that could be conceived. It seems so strong as to defy any attempts without artillery.

(*w*) Early in the month of October, Mr. Henry Laurens, president of the American council, was taken by one of the king's frigates in his passage for Holland, where he was commissioned to negociate a treaty of peace with the Dutch. Being conducted to London, and an accusation laid against him for treasonable practices, he was, with John Trumbull, Esq. another of the American partizans, committed to the Tower, where he remained for a considerable time, and was then discharged. During Mr. Lauren's confinement in the Tower, he petitioned the house of commons for relief and enlargement: such petition being presented to the house in the form in which it came out of Mr. Lauren's own hand, it being written by him with a leaden pencil.

On the 10th of October, a dreadful hurricane happened in the West Indies, which did considerable damage to most of the islands in that part of the world, particularly Barbadoes, Jamaica, St. Christopher's, Martinico, St. Vincent's, and Grenada. The hurricane began at Barbadoes on the morning of the 10th, and continued, with very little intermission, about forty-eight hours. In the afternoon of the first day, the ships were driven from their anchors, and obliged to encounter all the horrors of the most outrageous sea that the oldest seamen had ever beheld. In the course of the night, Bridge Town, the capital of the island, was nearly levelled with the ground. No means were neglected, early in the evening, to barricade the doors and windows in such a manner as to render them proof to all outward violence. But before ten o'clock, the irresistible force of the tempest burst its way through different parts of the governor's house; and having carried off the roof, and the ruins falling on all sides, his family were obliged to fly for refuge to the souterrains; but they were soon driven from that asylum by the bursting in of the water, which, through the continued torrents of rain that fell, threatened nothing less than a deluge. They gained, however, some temporary shelter amongst the ruins of the platform, on which the flagstaff had been erected. But these, however massy, became so obedient to the increased violence and astonishing force of the wind, as to threaten instant destruction to the distressed fugitives, who were again compelled to encounter all the open horrors of the tempest. The governor, and such others as had strength and recollection enough to keep together, after being frequently blown down, and rolled about in the mire and wet, at length gained a battery, and took shelter under the gun carriages; where they sat in continual apprehension of being crushed to pieces, so terribly were the cannon moved by the storm.

The other houses of the town being much earlier destroyed, the surviving inhabitants were exposed to the miseries of a longer night of continued danger and horror. Numbers were buried in the houses; and the dreadful uproar of the tempest, was intermixed with the groans of the dying; the cries of those who were incapable of dragging their mangled and wounded bodies from the ruins, and the screams of women and children, whose fate seemed only to be deferred for greater horror, whilst they were lamenting or calling for help to their lost friends. When day-light appeared such a scene of desolation was presented to view, as has seldom been equalled. That beautiful island, so lately glowing in the richest bloom and verdure of continual spring, now presented the image of those dreary polar regions, whose wastes are buried in eternal winter. To increase the calamity, most of the living stock of the island, particularly of the horned kind, perished. The reputable and opulent families were, in common with the most indigent, exposed to the still unexhausted fury of the tempest, without food, raiment, or cover. The loss of human lives was great, even among the whites; but including the blacks, amounted to some thousands. The numbers indeed were so great, that they could not be accurately estimated. During the hurricane, the ships of war were driven from their moorings, and were either destroyed or greatly damaged.

The hurricane in the island of Jamaica differed in many respects from that which raged on the other islands. It was earlier by a week, than that at Barbadoes; and was more complex, being accompanied by an earthquake, and a most extraordinary swell of the sea, which rendered it more terrible as well as more fatal. But its effects were happily more confined. The two large districts of Westmoreland and Hanover, which include the whole breadth of Jamaica in its western extreme, were the principal victims of its rage. Whilst the unhappy inhabitants of Savannah la Mar, then a considerable trading town on the south side of the island, in Westmoreland parish, were gazing on the 3rd of the month with astonishment, at such an immense swell of the sea, and the agitation of its waves, as had never been witnessed before; on a sudden, bursting through all bounds, and surmounting all obstacles, it overwhelmed

ness in strong memorials to the states-general, and after stating the clandestine correspondence which, it now appeared from Mr. Laurens's papers, the states of Amsterdam had long carried on with the Americans, and the instructions and powers which they had given, for entering into a treaty with them, though they were the natural subjects of a sovereign to whom the republic was joined by the strictest ties of friendship, he then demanded, in the name of the king his master, not only a formal disavowal of so irregular a conduct, but also insisted on a speedy satisfaction adequate to the offence; and the punishment of the pensionary Van Berkel and his accomplices, as disturbers of the public peace, and violators of the rights of nations. An immediate answer being evaded, the British ambassador continued to press the matter closely in several conferences, and, at length, in a second memorial. The states-general then informed sir Joseph York, by a message, that his memorial had been taken *ad referendum* by the deputies of the respective provinces, according to the received order and constitution of government: and that they would endeavour to frame an answer to it, as soon as the nature of their government would admit. This not being deemed satisfactory to the court of London, sir Joseph Yorke was ordered to withdraw from the Hague; and hostilities against Holland were declared on the 20th of December (*x*).

On the day that hostilities were denounced against Holland, general letters of marque and reprisal were granted against the Dutch, and an embargo was laid on their ships in the different ports of England. The appearances of vigour and spirit generally gratify the multitude, who seldom look forward to consequences, and are pleased at any increase in the clattering of those arms from which they think themselves secure. Many, however, regretted the war, not only as it added a new enemy to the tremendous combination already formed against us, but from a persuasion of the natural connection and mutual interests of both nations. Hostilities were soon commenced. The Princess Carolina, a Dutch man of war of fifty-four guns and three hundred men, on her way through the Channel from Amsterdam to Lisbon, was taken after a short resistance, by the Bellona man of war. Soon after captain Elphinstone, in the Warwick, of fifty guns, with a crew young in the service, fell in with the Rotterdam of equal metal, and three hundred men, which he most gallantly attacked and took; and a large Dutch East-Indiaman, outward-bound, with a number of other merchant ships, were captured in the course of a few days.

Early in the month of January, 1781, the French made a descent on the island of Jersey, but in attempting to land four of their transport vessels were wrecked upon the rocks, and upwards of two hundred men perished. Those who did land, proceeded to the most interior part of the island, where they were strongly repulsed from the garrison, great numbers of them being killed, many taken prisoners, and the rest seeking their safety in a precipitate retreat.

At the beginning of February, admiral sir George Bridges Rodney, commander of the British fleet in the West Indies, in conjunction with general Vaughan, commander of the land forces, appeared before the island of St. Eustatius, belonging to the Dutch. They sent a peremptory summons to the governor, to surrender the island and its dependencies within an hour; accompanied with a menace that they must otherwise experience the consequences. M. de Graaf, the governor, not having received any intelligence of the rupture between England and Holland, supposed the officer who delivered the summons could not be in earnest. He, however, returned for answer, that being incapable of making any defence against the force which invested the island, he must of necessity surrender it; only recommending the town and its inhabitants to the known clemency of British commanders. The wealth found in the place was so immense, as to excite the astonishment even of the conquerors, notwithstanding their intimate previous knowledge of its nature and circumstances. The whole island seemed to be only one vast magazine. All the storehouses were filled with various commodities, and even the beach was covered with hogsheads of sugar and tobacco. The value of the merchandize was estimated at above three millions sterling. The capture of shipping was immense. Upwards of two hundred and fifty vessels of various denominations were taken in the bay; exclusive of six Dutch frigates. The neighbouring small islands of St. Martin's and Suba, were reduced in the same manner, and admiral Rodney having received information, that a fleet of about thirty large ships, richly laden with West India commodities, had, just before his arrival, sailed from St. Eustatius for Holland, under convoy of a flag ship of sixty guns, he immediately dispatched the Monarch and Panther, with the Sybil frigate, in pursuit of them. These soon overtook the convoy; and the Dutch admiral refusing to strike his colours, a short engagement took place between him in the Mars, and captain Reynolds in the Monarch; in which the Dutch admiral was slain. The Mars then struck her colours; and the Panther and Sybil, having in the mean time taken care to restrain the flight and separation of the merchantmen, the whole of the convoy was captured.

So soon as the rupture with Holland was known, a number of privateers, chiefly belonging to Bristol, entered the rivers Demerary and Issequibo, which were deemed highly dangerous, and hardly navigable to strangers, and brought out, from under the guns of the Dutch forts and batteries, almost all the valuable vessels in either river (*y*). The governors and principal inhabitants of the settlements of Demerary and Issequibo, sensible of their defenceless situation, had already made a tender of their submission to the governor of Barbadoes; requiring no other terms than a participation of those which had been granted to St. Eustatius and its dependencies. As both parties were equally ignorant of these terms, the newly proposed subjects were naturally referred to the commanders in chief, who alone could tell the nature of the conditions which had not yet been specified. A deputation was accordingly sent by the Dutch colonists to St. Eustatius for that purpose. There

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whelmed the town; and swept every thing away so completely upon its return, as not to leave the smallest vestige of man, beast, or habitation behind. About three hundred persons perished in this dreadful irruption. The sea flowed up half a mile beyond its usual limits; and so sudden and unavoidable was the destruction, though it took place at noon-day, that of the inhabitants of one gentleman's house, consisting of ten whites and about forty negroes, not a human creature escaped. This was only the prelude to a more extensive calamity. Where the sea could not reach, the destruction was almost as effectual, by the succeeding earthquake and hurricane. The provisions were entirely destroyed; and the live stock nearly shared the same fate. The calamity, however, was not confined to the fruits of the earth, nor to its immediate inhabitants. The rich cultivated soil, was in many places covered with heaps of sterile matter which could not be removed without infinite labour, and which it was not in the power of culture to reclaim.

The damage sustained in the parish of Westmoreland only, was estimated at nine hundred and fifty thousand pounds, Jamaica currency, amounting to near seven hundred thousand pounds sterling. In that of Hanover, one-fourth of the absolute property was said to be lost for ever. The damage in the other two parishes was very considerable. The merchants of Kingston, the metropolis of the island, generously subscribed ten thousand pounds for the immediate relief of the unfortunate sufferers; the value of which was speedly transmitted to them in those articles of cloathing and provision which were most necessary. But the bounty of the crown and parliament of Great Britain, will afford a lasting testimonial of the beneficence and liberality of this country. Notwithstanding the expensive war in which it was engaged, the house of commons instantly granted eighty thousand pounds for the relief of the sufferers in Barbadoes, and forty thousand pounds for those in Jamaica. The generous benefactions of individuals likewise kept equal pace with the public munificence. We have thrown our account of this dreadful calamity into a note, that we might not break the thread of our detail of the important transactions of the war.

(*x*) In the declaration the states-general are accused with departing, through the prevalence of faction devoted to France, from those prudent principles which used to govern the republic; and following the dictates of that court, which having adopted a policy destructive of the friendship which had so long subsisted between the two nations, and which was so essential to the interests of both. The circumstances of complaint and resentment are then enumerated. The inattention to the friendly negociations proposed by the British ambassador. Their not fulfilling the mutual and perpetual defensive engagements solemnly established between both nations. The total contempt of those treaties shewn, in their ready promise to our enemies of observing a neutrality. Their giving every secret assistance to the enemy, whilst they withheld from us the succours which they were bound to furnish. The protection afforded to the American commander, Paul Jones, and the privateers of our enemies in general; and the endeavours of their subjects, in concert with the French, to raise up enemies to England in the East Indies. But the principal force and *acumen* of the manifesto, seemed to be directed against the city and magistracy of Amsterdam, and against their pensionary Van Berkel, on account of the lately discovered treaty with the American States.

(*y*) These settlements of Demerary, and Issequibo, as well as the neighbouring one of Berbices, appertained to the Dutch colony, known by the general name of Surinam, and which formed a moderate part of that vast country on the continent of South America, anciently called Guinea: the principal settlements, properly called Surinam, and which takes its name like the rest, from the great river on which it is situated, was first cultivated by the English; and being taken by the Dutch in the wars with Charles II. was ceded to them by a peace, as some sort of compensation for the valuable colony of New-York.

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they discovered that they had made a very improvident demand, as, in effect, the terms which they required were, that they might be deprived of all their goods, and be banished from their habitations; for such was the general treatment of the greater part of the inhabitants of St. Eustatius. But the odium which this rigorous proceeding began to excite, the embarrassments which it created, and the impossibility of applying it, though nominally required, to a people who had voluntarily put themselves under the British dominion, obtained a different kind of treatment for the inhabitants of these colonies. They were fully secured in their property; were allowed to be governed by their own laws and magistrates; and had every other indulgence granted, which could have been reasonably expected. At the same time that their unfortunate fellows in St. Eustatius, were obliged to suffer the opprobrium of having the crime of perfidy and perjury publicly charged and recorded against them in the gazettes. The British merchants in the West-Indies, as well as at home, having suffered greatly by the indiscriminate confiscation of all private property which took place at St. Eustatius; and the former, who from their vicinity were more fully acquainted with the transactions at the place, being also greatly irritated at the supposed oppression, and the certain ruin, which individuals of their own country, as well as their friends and correspondents of others, had suffered; all these matters at first drew out strong representations against the commanders in chief, and were at length productive of innumerable law suits. The merchants of the island of St. Christopher's, who had suffered greatly by the confiscation of property at St. Eustatius, and even the legislature of that island, presented several strong remonstrances to the commander in chief, in which they stated, that their connections with that island, and the property they had lodged in it, were all, in pursuance and under the sanction of, repeated acts of the British parliament. These remonstrances produced little effect, or satisfaction. At length, a note was given in writing, to the following effect, *viz.* that the island was Dutch, every thing in it was Dutch, under the protection of the Dutch flag, and as Dutch, it should be treated. It is an unpleasant task to treat of a business which drew upon the English the odium of all Europe. Suffice it to say, that all the horrors of so universal a havock of property were fully realized. The beginning of this storm fell principally upon the Jews (*z*) in the island, who were numerous and wealthy. Several of these, with many indignities, were torn from their habitations, and banished, without knowing the place of their destination; and were, in that state of nakedness and wretchedness, transported as outlaws, and conveyed to the island of St. Christopher's. The assembly of that island, to their great honour, passed an immediate act for their present relief, and future provision, till they should have time to recover from their present calamitous situation (*a*). The Jews were soon followed by the Americans, some of whom had been obliged to fly their native country, through the part they had taken in support of the British cause and government. These unhappy people were sent to St. Christopher's in nearly the same plight and condition with the former; and were received and entertained with the same humanity and liberality by the inhabitants of that island. The French merchants and traders were next banished; and, at length, the native Dutch, or at least the Amsterdammers, met with the same fate. In the mean time, public sales were advertised, invitation given, and protection afforded, to purchasers of all nations and denominations; and the island of St. Eustatius became one of the greatest auctions that ever was opened in the universe, to satisfy the rapacity of the British naval commanders.

Though the British forces seemed to obtain a superiority in America, there was no probability of terminating that destructive war. The colonists were rather animated than deterred by the slaughter which overspread their country, and no effort was exerted against them without considerable loss. In March, general Greene's army at Guildford was defeated, after a very severe engagement, in which several English officers of rank, and great numbers of privates, were killed and wounded.

The English affairs in the East Indies had no very favourable aspect at this time. Dispatches arrived from Madras, with intelligence that Hyder Ally had obtained a complete victory over a detachment of British troops commanded by colonel Baillie, which, not being sufficiently supported by the main army under general sir Hector Monro, was obliged to retreat, leaving behind him his heavy cannon, camp equipage, and baggage. The conqueror pushed his successes afterwards to Arcot, and several other places; and, it was then supposed, he would have made himself master of Madras; but by the judicious management of general Coote, and the intrepidity of the English forces under his command, he was not only disappointed in his aim, but also defeated in several engagements, and most of the places he had taken were recovered by the valour of the British forces.

Commodore Johnson's fleet, with several India ships under convoy, was attacked on the 16th of April by the French fleet under M. de Suffrein, off the island of St. Jago, when great damage was sustained on both sides. Several of the India ships were taken by the French, but as they were not able to retain the whole, some escaped, and rejoining the English fleet, arrived at their respective ports in Britain.

The British troops being in possession of Camden, lord Rawdon, with colonel Weston's detachment, being near it, and closely pursued by the American general Greene, after the battle of Guildford, set fire to that beautiful town, and reduced it to ashes, after which he retired for safety to within a small distance of Charles Town.

About this period an engagement took place between admiral Arbuthnot, commander of an English fleet in America, and a small squadron of the French. The battle was very severe for a time, and considerable damage was sustained on both sides, but at length an uncommon mist arising, the two fleets lost sight of each other, and consequently separated.

A smart action took place, on the 28th of April, in the West Indies, between the British fleet, under the command of sir Samuel Hood, and a squadron of French ships under the command of M. de Grassé. The action was continued for some time with great obstinacy, till at length night separated the fleets, and the French bore away. On the 30th they again met and renewed the engagement, which at length terminated without any material advantage on either side.

On the 2nd of June the island of Tobago was taken from the English by a body of land forces, commanded

(*z*) The expulsion and plunder of the Jews was afterwards (Feb. 4, 1782,) referred to a committee on the petition of Mr. Mohen, and motion of Mr. Burke, and a report presented (on the 14th of May,) reflecting great discredit on the character of the general and admiral. Actions at law instituted against Rodney, were subsequently decided to his disadvantage, and he was obliged to refund large sums for property illegally seized. *Vid. Adolphus's History,* iii. 435.

General Vaughan protested upon his honour, that he was not directly or indirectly one shilling enriched by the capture of St. Eustatia.

(*a*) Our limits will not allow us to insert every paper which the calamities of the war gave rise to; but we must not, on this occasion, wholly pass by the elegant and pathetic petition of the Jews of St. Eustatius to admiral Rodney and general Vaughan.

"*To their Excellencies the Commanding Officers in Chief of his Britannic Majesty's Army and Navy in the West Indies.*

"May it please your Excellencies,

"To permit us in the name and on the behalf of ourselves, and others of the people of the Hebrew nation, residents in the island of St. Eustatius, humbly to approach your excellencies, and with heartfelt anguish, to lay our grievances before you, and say: that it was with the utmost concern and astonishment we have already, not only received your excellencies' afflicting order and sentence, to give up the keys of our stores with an inventory thereof, and of our household plate and furniture, and to hold ourselves in readiness to depart this island, ignorant of our destination, and leaving our beloved wives, and helpless children behind us, and our property and effects liable to seizure and confiscation: but also find, that these orders are for the major part carried into execution, a number of our brethren having, on Tuesday the thirteenth instant, been sent on board a ship, and have not since been heard of. Such unexpected orders as these from British commanders, whose principal characteristic is, "mercy and humanity," have not only been productive of the most horrid and melancholy scenes of distress and confusion, that ever British eyes beheld under the fatal consequences of a rigid war, but numbers of families are now helpless, disconsolate, and in an absolute state of indigence and despair."

We cannot insert the whole of this long and energetic petition, without incurring the disapprobation of our readers, but we hope we shall be pardoned for admitting the conclusion of it, which is as follows:

"May the God of all mercies incline your hearts to listen to the prayers and supplications of your petitioners, and in this confidence we humbly submit ourselves to your excellencies' determination, hoping that you will pardon us for the intrusion of this address; and that through your excellencies' lenity and humanity, your excellencies will be pleased to grant us such favourable terms, as you in your judgement and wisdom shall think most advantageous to his majesty's interest, and the honour and glory of his successful arms.

"And your petitioners, as in duty bound, shall ever pray, &c."

Saint Eustatius, Feb. 16, 1781.

by the French governor of St. Vincent's under cover of M. de Grasse's squadron (*b*).

Early in the month of June admiral Hyde Parker sailed from Portsmouth with four ships of the line, and one of fifty guns, for the North Sea, to annoy the Dutch Baltic trade, and protect the British commerce. In the mean time Holland equipped a force that might be able to convoy their outward bound trade to the Baltic; but it was not till after the middle of July, that admiral Zoutman, and commodore Kingsbergen, sailed from the Texel, with a great convoy under their protection. Admiral Parker was on his return with a great convoy from Elsineur. He had been joined by several frigates since he left Portsmouth, and by the Dolphin of forty-four guns; and, in this critical conjuncture, was reinforced by the junction of commodore Keith Stuart, in the Berwick, of seventy-four guns, who had been some time on the coast of Scotland. The squadron now consisted of six ships of the line, of which the princess Amelia carried eighty guns, the Fortitude, the admiral's own ship, and the Berwick, seventy-four each, the Beinfaisant sixty-four, the old Buffalo sixty, and the Preston fifty guns. The hostile fleets faced each other on the Dogger Bank, (there not being much disparity in their strength,) early in the morning of the 5th of August. The parties were equally resolved to do their utmost; a gloomy silence prevailed; and not a single gun was fired till the hostile fleets were within little more than pistol-shot distance. Admiral Parker in the Fortitude, then ranging a-breast of Mr. Zoutman's ship, the Admiral Ruyter, the action was commenced with fury on both sides. The cannonade continued without intermission for three hours and forty minutes; when the ships were so shattered on both sides, that they were incapable of answering so much command, as would keep them within the distance necessary for mutual annoyance; while the combatants were reluctantly separated by the mere motion of the water. The English ships were principally wounded in their masts and rigging, but those of the enemy were greatly injured in their hulls, insomuch, that it was with the utmost difficulty they were kept above water, till they reached separately, and in the utmost distress, some of their own nearest ports (*c*).

Advices were received in August, that Pensacola, the capital of West Florida, had been besieged by the Spaniards, and that the garrison had surrendered at discretion; in consequence of which the whole province became a conquest to the Spanish monarch.

A brisk engagement took place near Sandy-Hook in North America on the 31st of August, between the English fleet under sir Samuel Hood, and the French fleet commanded by M. de Barras. The engagement continued from four o'clock in the morning till sun-set, during which time the ships belonging to both nations received great damage, but neither fleet obtained much advantage. The Terrible received so much injury, that it was thought necessary to destroy her, which was accordingly done, after taking out the water, provisions, and other essential articles. Sir Samuel Hood was desirous of renewing the engagement the following morning, but was prevented by the French sheltering themselves in Chesapeak Bay.

On the entrance of general Morgan into the district of Ninety-Six, lord Cornwallis, who was far advanced in his preparations for the invasion of North Carolina, found it necessary to drive him from this station, that he might not leave an enemy in his rear. Lieutenant-colonel Tarleton was therefore ordered to proceed with about eleven hundred men, and "push him to the utmost." Tarleton had two field pieces, and a superiority of infantry, in the proportion of five to four, and of cavalry the proportion of three to one. With these advantages, he engaged Morgan at the Cowpens, near Pacolet River, on the 17th of January. The British, led to the attack by Tarleton himself, advanced with a shout, and poured in an incessant fire of musketry. The American militia, though they received the charge with firmness, were soon compelled to fall back into the rear of the second line; and this line also, after an obstinate conflict, was obliged to fall back on the cavalry. The English looked upon the day as now their own: but the Americans, notwithstanding the inferiority of their numbers, rallied, and charged the British forces with fixed bayonets. The English were, in their turn, thrown into confusion, and driven from the ground with great slaughter. Lieutenants-colonel Howard and Washington pressed the advantage they had now gained, until the British artillery and a great part of their infantry had surrendered. So sudden was the defeat, that two hundred and fifty horse, which had not been brought into action, fled with precipitation. The first battalion of the seventy-first, and two British light infantry companies, laid down their arms to the American militia. Upwards of three hundred of the British troops were killed or wounded, and above five hundred taken prisoners. Eight hundred muskets, two field pieces, two standards, thirty-five baggage waggons, and one hundred dragoon horses, fell into the hands of the victors. Of the Americans, twelve men only were killed, and sixty wounded (*d*).

General Arnold, who had returned from Virginia, was appointed to conduct an expedition against New London. The troops employed on this service, were landed on each side of the harbour in two detachments; the one commanded by lieutenant-colonel Eyre, and the other by general Arnold (*e*). For the defence of the place, there had been constructed below the town, and on the western side of the harbour; a fort, called Fort Trumbull, with a redoubt; and opposite to it, on Groton Hill, another fort, called Fort Griswold, a strong square fortification, insufficiently garrisoned. Fort Trumbull, the redoubt, and the town of New London, being totally untenable, were evacuated on the approach of Arnold, who took possession of them with inconsiderable loss, on the 6th of September. Fort Guiswold was defended by colonel Ledyard with a garrison of about one hundred and sixty men, some of whom had just evacuted the works on the opposite side of the river. On the rejection of a summons to surrender, the British marched up to the assault on three sides; and, though the assent was steep, and a continued fire was directed against them, they at length made a lodgement on the ditch and friezed work, and entered the embrazures with fixed bayonets. An officer of the conquering troops, on entering the fort, asked who commanded. "I did," answered colonel Ledyard, "but you do now;" and presented him his sword, which was instantly plunged into his own bosom. Although resistance had now ceased, yet, to the indelible infamy of the conquerors, they commenced a merciless slaughter, which "was kept up until the greater part of the garrison was killed or wounded." The town of New London, and the stores contained in it, were reduced to ashes; and general Arnold, having completed the object of his expedition, returned in eight days to New York (*f*).

The British fleet on its return to New York, was joined by the Prudent man of war, with several frigates for the

(*b*) In July the attention of the public was engaged in the fate of M. de la Motte, a Frenchman, who had been arrested as a spy, committed to the Tower for high-treason, and being tried and found guilty, was, on the 27th of the same month, executed at Tyburn, pursuant to his sentence.

About this time a general demolition of "E. O." tables took place in the metropolis. E. O. was a game supposed to be out of the reach of the law, because not distinctly specified in any of the statutes; and tables were erected in almost every street and alley in the metropolis. To these, persons of all denominations resorted. Some were established in common brothels, and exhibited disgraceful scenes of riot, drunkenness, and debauchery, while robbery, assassination, and suicide abounded. Towards the close of the ensuing session, the attention of the legislature was directed to the destroying of these nuisances; and it was also stated in the house of commons, in June 1782, that in two parishes of Westminster alone, two hundred and ninety-six E. O. tables were maintained. Another member corroborated the assertion, with this addition, that five hundred more were on the stocks, and that they were common in every county town.

Also at this time, a bill was introduced for disfranchising the borough of Cricklade. A committee granted on the petition of an unsuccessful candidate, reported, that great abuses had been committed; and sir Harbord Harbord declared, that out of two hundred and forty-three votes, eighty-three had already been convicted of bribery, and actions were pending against forty-three others. In the house of commons the disfranchisement was opposed, but without effect. It was justified on the same principles as that of the electors of New Shoreham! "When that bill was shewn to the late earl of Chatham," said Mr. Montague, "he expressed his joy at finding the borough removed from Bengal, to its ancient situation in the county of Sussex."

(*c*) The Hollandia, one of their best ships, of sixty-eight guns, sunk in the night of the engagement: and the danger was so sudden and extreme, that the crew were reduced to the melancholy necessity of abandoning their wounded in quitting the ship.

(*d*) Congress, in honour of the good conduct of general Morgan, on this occasion, presented him with a gold medal; to lieutenant-colonels Washington and Howard, medals of silver; and to colonel Pickens, a sword.

(*e*) New London is a sea-port town, situated near the mouth of the Thames, and on the west side of that river.

(*f*) Colonel Eyre, the commander of the British detachment in the assault on Fort Griswold, and major Montgomery, the second in command, were killed. The whole loss of the English was forty-eight killed, and one hundred and forty-five wounded.

West Indies: and soon after its arrival, was farther reinforced by rear-admiral Digby, with three ships of the line from England; but the junction of the Rhode-Island squadron, had given so decided a superiority to M. de Grasse, that nothing less than the most desperate circumstances, could have justified any attempt towards another encounter. The desire of supporting lord Cornwallis and his army, however, prevailed over all considerations of danger, and the British naval commanders were expeditious in refitting and equipping the fleet at New York. This, however, though extremely necessary, required more time than could have been well afforded at this critical juncture. The delay seemed indeed to be in some degree compensated, by the arrival of the Prince William and Torbay men of war from Jamaica. In the mean time a council of war, consisting of all the flag and general officers, being held, it was determined that every possible exertion should be made both by the fleet and army, to form a junction with the squadron and army in Virginia. It was, however, the 19th of October, before the fleet could be got clear over the bar; sir Henry Clinton, with about seven thousand of his best forces, having embarked on board the ships of war.

The British fleet now amounted to twenty-five ships of the line, two fifties, and eight frigates; and notwithstanding the superiority of force which the enemy still retained, the spirit which operated both upon the common men and officers was so high, that they entertained not a doubt, but that the expected naval action would stand foremost, among the most obstinate and the most bloody, that had yet been known. During these transactions on the side of New York, the united armies employed in the siege of York Town, sensible of the efforts that would be made for its relief, and unwilling to stake all their hopes on the issue of a naval engagement, exerted themselves in the prosecution of their works; and shewed no less resolution in their attacks, than vivacity in the fire of their batteries. On the night of the 11th of October, they began their second parallel within three hundred yards of the works of the place, and carried it on with unremitting industry. Two redoubts, which were advanced about three hundred yards on the British left, had greatly incommoded the enemy, and still continued to impede their progress. It was resolved to attack these at the same time, at dark, on the evening of the 14th. To balance the honour as well as the duty, between both nations, the attack on one was committed to the Americans, and on the other to the French. Colonel Hamilton, Washington's aid-du-camp, commanded the American detachment, which marched to the assault with unloaded arms; passed to the abbatis and palisades without waiting to remove them; and attacking the works on all sides at once, carried the redoubt with astonishing rapidity. The French were equally successful, but their loss was greater; amounting to about an hundred in killed and wounded. The taking of these two redoubts may be said to be decisive of the fate of the army. Lord Cornwallis, in a letter to sir Henry Clinton, considered their situation as being so desperate, that he could not recommend to the fleet and army to run any great risk in endeavouring to save them. The British commander, however, omitted nothing which could prevent that fatal issue, which was equally dreaded and expected. Being sensible that his works could not stand many hours after the opening of the batteries of the second parallel, he did his utmost to interrupt that work, opening new embrazures for guns, and keeping up a constant fire with all his howitzers and small mortars. At length the works were so ruined, and the batteries so overpowered, that there was no part of the whole front attacked, in which the besieged could shew a single gun; and their shells, which were the last source of defence, were nearly exhausted. In these circumstances, lord Cornwallis had no other choice left than to prepare for a surrender on the following day, or to endeavour to escape with the greatest part of the troops. He determined upon attempting the latter, under the consideration, that though it should prove unsuccessful in its immediate object, it might at least delay the enemy in the prosecution of farther enterprizes. The adverse current of fortune gave a contrary effect, to a design well calculated to delay the fate of lord Cornwallis's army. Boats were prepared, under various pretexts, to be ready for receiving the troops at ten at night, in order to pass them over to Gloucester Point. The arrangements were made with the utmost secrecy; and the intention was to abandon the baggage, and to leave a detachment behind, in order to capitulate for the inhabitants of the town, and for the sick and wounded; lord Cornwallis having prepared a letter upon the subject, which was to be delivered to general Washington upon his departure. The first embarkation consisting of the light infantry, the guards, and a part of the twenty-third regiment, had arrived at Gloucester Point, and the greater part of the troops were already landed, when, at that critical moment, the weather, which was then moderate and calm, instantly changed to a most violent storm of wind and rain. The boats, with the remaining troops, were all driven down the river, and the intention of passing was not only entirely frustrated, but the absence of the boats rendered it impossible to bring back the troops from Gloucester. Thus weakened and divided, the army was involved in the most imminent danger. The enemies batteries were again opened at day-break; and the passage at Gloucester Point was now much exposed to their fire. But the boats happily returned; and the troops were brought back in the course of the afternoon. Lord Cornwallis perceiving the dreadful situation of his army, wrote a letter to general Washington on the 17th, proposing a cessation of arms for twenty-four hours, and that commissioners might be appointed on both sides for adjusting the terms of capitulation.

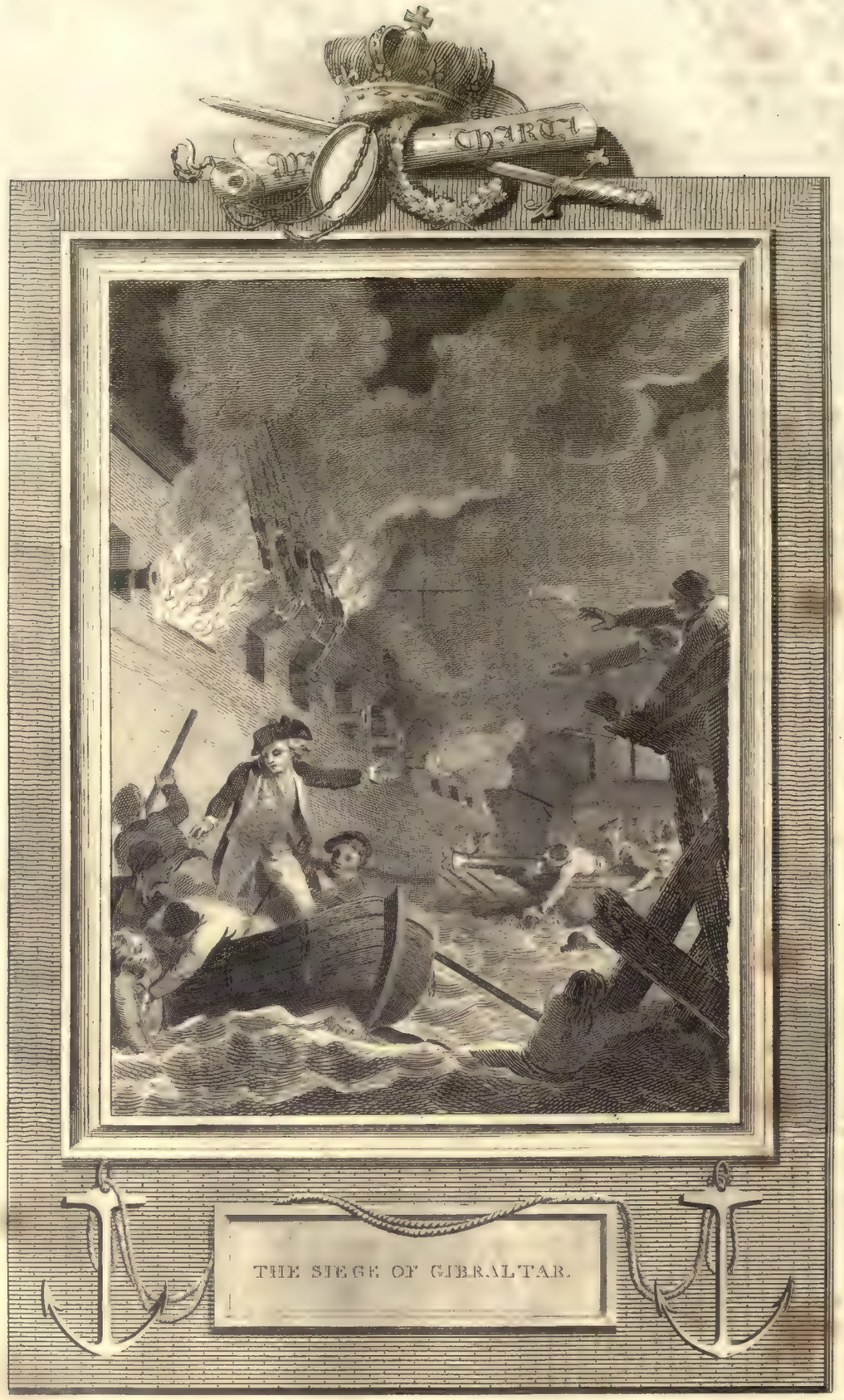
The American general in his answer, declared his "ardent desire to spare the farther effusion of blood, and his readiness to listen to such terms as were admissible;" and granted a suspension of hostilities for two hours. The general propositions stated by lord Cornwallis for the basis of the proposed negociation, being such as to lead to an opinion, that the terms of capitulation might without much difficulty be adjusted, the suspension of hostilities was prolonged through the night. Commissioners were appointed the next day to digest into form such articles as general Washington had drawn up and proposed to lord Cornwallis; and early the next morning the American general sent them to his lordship with a letter, expressing his expectation, that they would be signed by eleven, and that the garrison would march out by two in the afternoon. Lord Cornwallis, submitting to a necessity absolutely inevitable, surrendered the posts of York Town and Gloucester Point, with the garrison, and the shipping in the harbour, with the seamen, to the land and naval officers of America and France (*g*). By the articles of capitulation, the officers were to retain their side arms and private property. The garrison marched out of the town with colours cased; and general Lincoln, by appointment, received the submission of the royal army precisely in the same manner in which the submission of his own army had been previously made, at the surrender of Charlestown (*h*). The capture of lord Cornwallis may be considered as the closing scene of the revolutionary war.

The affairs of the English in the East Indies presented a very favourable aspect, towards the termination of this year. In December, the gallant sir Eyre Coote engaged the army of Hyder Ally between Borto Novo and Monteapollam with great success. The battle continued eight hours,

(*g*) The army, with the artillery, arms, accoutrements, military chest, and all public stores, were surrendered to general Washington; the ships and seamen, to the count de Grasse. The prisoners, exclusively of seamen, amounted to seven thousand and seventy-three; of which number five thousand nine hundred and fifty were rank and file.

(*h*) Colonel Isaac Hayne, of South Carolina, was executed at Charlestown on the 4th of August, this year, by order of Lord Rawdon and colonel Balfour. After the reduction of Charlestown, colonel Hayne had, with some restrictions, subscribed a declaration to the king of Great Britain; but afterwards, from an "open breach of contract" on the part of the British, and their inability to afford him the promised protection for his allegiance, he was led to consider himself as released from his engagements, and, on solicitation, took the command of a regiment of militia in Carolina. Falling into the hands of the British while in arms, he was thrown into a loathsome prison; and, though he was at first promised a trial, and had counsel prepared to justify his conduct by the laws of nations, and the usages of war; yet this privilege was finally refused, and he was ordered for execution. The royal lieutenant governor Bull, and a great number of the inhabitants of Charlestown, both loyalists and Americans, interceded for his life. The ladies of that town generally signed a petition in his behalf. His children, accompanied by some near relations, begged, on their bended knees, for the life of their father. These intercessions "drew tears from many a hard eye;" but the British commanders were inflexible. Colonel Hayne submitted to his destiny with decent firmness, composure, and dignity. "Thus fell," says Dr. Ramsey, "in the bloom of life, a brave officer, a worthy citizen, a just and upright man; furnishing an example of heroism in death, that extorted a confession from his enemies, that, though he did not die in a good cause, he must at least have acted from a persuasion of its being so." *See American Annals*, vol. ii. p. 377.





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hours, and was maintained with great obstinacy on both sides, till at length the forces under Sir Eyre Coote, though greatly inferior in number, became victors, and the enemy precipitately retreating, left them masters of the field; the loss of the Indian army was about four thousand killed, among whom were many of their principal officers.

The Spaniards made a very forcible attack on Gibraltar, but from the intrepidity of the troops under the command of general Elliot, governor of that fortress, the enemy were repulsed. The battle began at three o'clock in the morning. The pioneers and artillerists made wonderful exertions, and spread their fire with such amazing rapidity, that in half an hour two batteries of ten inch mortars, and three batteries of six guns each, with all the lines of approach, communication, traverses, &c. were in flames, and reduced to ashes. The mortars and cannon were spiked, and their beds, carriages, and platform destroyed. Their magazines blew up successively as the fire approached them. Finding all opposition to be ineffectual, the enemy offered no farther annoyance, than an ill-directed fire of round and grape shot from the forts of St. Barbara and St. Philip, and the batteries on the lines, and remained in the camp spectators of the conflagration. Great numbers of the enemy were destroyed, but the loss on the part of the English was very inconsiderable.

About this time St. Eustatius, with the island of St. Martin, was captured by the French, under the marquis de Bouille. They were taken by surprize on the 26th of November, and by a small party of the enemy, the number not exeeeding three hundred, who landed from three frigates and some small craft, at Jenkins's Bay, on the back of the island. They obtained possession of the place without the least opposition from the garrisons, though they were both numerous. Lieutenant-colonel Cockburne, of the thirty-fifth regiment, who commanded at St. Eustatius when it was taken by the French, declared, that exclusive of the money deposited in that place by admiral Rodney and general Vaughan, there was a sum of two hundred and sixty-four thousand livres, which was his property, and which he therefore demanded. The marquis de Bouille having assembled the superior officers of his corps, to inform them of lieutenant-colonel Cockburne's demand, they were all of opinion, that the English governor's money should be restored to him, which was accordingly done. The marquis de Bouille found in the governor's house the sum of one million, which he restored to the Dutch, after receiving authentic proof that it was their property. He also found about one million six hundred thousand livres in colony money belonging to admiral Rodney, general Vaughan, and other officers, arising from the sale of their captures, which he divided between his land and sea-forces.

About this time public meetings, clubs, committees, petitions, and projects of reform, were very frequent. In December, a common hall of the city of London voted an address, remonstrance, and petition to the king, complaining of his speech from the throne, and reprobating the conduct of ministers, recapitulating the disasters of the war, and their direful effects; declaring their abhorrence of it, as an unnatural and unfortunate contest. An address of a similar nature was voted by the electors of Westminster, whom Mr. Fox convened in Westminster Hall, and whom he addressed in a long and interesting harangue. The freeholders of Middlesex and Surrey, the West India planters, and many other bodies and fraternities, adopted a similar mode.

The war in America had been attended with so little success, and with such an immense expence of blood and treasure, that it excited the indignation of great numbers of the inhabitants of Great Britain. Many respectable members of both houses pointed out the atrocious cruelty of maintaining so injurious a contest, and thence inferred the expediency of finally terminating such an offensive war. Among these the right honourable Henry Seymour Conway, particularly distinguished himself. On the 27th of February, 1782, he made a motion in the house of commons to the following effect: "That the farther prosecution of an offensive war on the continent of America, for the purpose of reducing the revolted colonies to obedience by force, will be the means of weakening the efforts of this country against her European enemies; that it greatly tends to increase the mutual enmity so fatal to the interests both of Great Britain and America, and by preventing a happy reconciliation with that country, to frustrate the earnest desire graciously expressed by his majesty, to restore the blessings of public tranquillity." This motion, after a short debate, was carried; upon which general Conway moved, "That an humble address be presented to his majesty thereupon." This was carried without a division, and an address was accordingly presented, to which his majesty was pleased to give a most gracious answer.

The united forces of France and Spain laid siege to the island of Minorca in February, 1782. The earnestness of the court of Spain to gain possession of this island was so great, that, through the medium of an immense bribe, it endeavoured to corrupt the fidelity of the governor. The duke de Crillon became the instrument in this business. General Murray treated the insult with a mixture of disdain and resentment. The fortress had been closely invested, and its communications with the country entirely cut off, from the landing of the enemy, about the middle of August, 1781. By this means the garrison were deprived of all supplies of vegetables; and that want alone has not often produced more unfortunate effects. In all other respects they were admirably provided. The scurvy raged with such violence among the troops, as could hardly be exceeded in the most foggy and humid northern climates, and even under the worst circumstances of water and provisions; while this inveterate enemy was aided in its course, as usual, by its destructive concomitants, a putrid pestilential fever, and a mortal dysentery. It is, however, to be observed, that other causes concurred to the ill effects produced by the immediate want of vegetables. The greater part of the British troops had been eleven years on the island; and the soldiers had lived during that time on salt provisions. Its progress was likewise encouraged by the close confinement of the troops within the narrow limits of the fortress. The combined forces, which amounted to sixteen thousand regular troops, brought a prodigious artillery, consisting of one hundred and nine pieces of the heaviest cannon, and thirty-six great mortars, to act upon the place. The garrison consisted only of two thousand six hundred and ninety-two men. A marine corps, which had been formed on the present occasion, having preserved their health much better than the regular troops, were of excellent service in the siege, and composed a greater part of the remainder. A few Greeks and Corsicans also displayed great bravery. The fortress was, in many respects, exceedingly strong; but the upper works by no means corresponded in strength with the under. The knowledge of this weakness perhaps induced the duke de Crillon to lie more unguardedly in his head quarters at Cape Mola, than he might perhaps otherwise have done: while the observation of this negligence encouraged a vigorous and successful sally from the garrison, who, surprizing and routing the enemy, chased the duke from his post, and secured themselves, for the present, so effectually in it, that though he brought up his whole army to dislodge them, he, after much hesitation, desisted from the attack. The successful party returned safe to the garrison on the following night, taking with them about a hundred prisoners, among whom were a a lieutenant-colonel, three captains, and four or five subaltern officers. About this time the enemy having opened their bomb batteries, a shell from the castle fell upon a powder magazine, which by its explosion entirely destroyed one of them; a number of men were blown up, and a large quantity of loaded shells either spent their fury in the air, or burst more destructively among the troops. The artillery of the fortress was likewise so well served, as soon after to sink a ship in the harbour, which was just arrived, loaded with ammunition and stores for the supply of the enemy's batteries. But these could in no degree counterbalance the increasing ravages of those diseases which prevailed in the garrison. Nor could the differences that took place, between the governor and lieutenant-governor, tend in any degree to the removal of difficulties. Although the enemy kept a most cautious distance in the construction and progress of their works, their artillery were so weighty and incessant in their battery, that in a short time they produced an extraordinary effect in ruining the upper defences of the fortress; and dismounted or rendered useless a great number of pieces of ordnance. Nothing ever exceeded the zeal, valour, and constancy displayed by the garrison. The behaviour of the emaciated private men, through the course of the siege, was indeed beyond example. Numbers of soldiers expired on guard, whose emulative eagerness

ness to defend the place, occasioned them to conceal their extreme illness to the last, to prevent their being sent to the hospitals from a service which held so firm a possession of their hearts. The soldiers of the garrison were at length so much reduced by sickness, that only six hundred and sixty men remained, who were in any degree fit for service at the beginning of February; and of these, all but one hundred were so much afflicted by the scurvy, that the physicians and surgeons declared, they could exist but a very few days, before they must of necessity be sent to the hospital. They also declared, that a few days longer obstinacy in defence, must prove the inevitable destruction of the remains of that brave garrison. The necessary guards, on the last night of defence, required four hundred and fifteen men upon duty; only two hundred and forty-five were therefore left, which was one hundred and seventy less than the necessary number, for the next relief, and no picket could at all be formed. Under all these circumstances, the governor saw himself reduced to the necessity of a capitulation, on the fifth of the month; by which he obtained all the honours of war, and what else he required, excepting that article only, of freeing the garrison from the condition of prisoners of war, which the duke de Crillon assured him, his master, the Spanish king, had commanded him not to grant: the troops were, however, to be sent to England, subject to the customary conditions, till they were either exchanged, or discharged by a peace (*i*). Such was the fate of the island of Minorca, nearly fourteen years after its reduction by the English; and after being long considered as one of the splendid jewels of the British monarchy.

The islands of St. Christopher and Nevis were about the same time captured by the French, under the command of the marquis de Bouille. Major-general Shirley, the governor, defended it with great resolution, for a considerable time: but, at length, finding the enemy too powerful, he was obliged to submit to their superiority of strength, and, after a siege of about five weeks, compelled to surrender to the French.

The squadron under vice-admiral Barrington fell in with a number of transports belonging to the French, under the protection of three men of war, and two frigates. Captain Jarvis of the Foudroyant came up with, and engaged, the French commodore's ship La Pegase, of seventy-four guns, and after an hour's engagement, obliged her to surrender. The rest of the fleet were diligent in pursuing the transports, which were hastening to secure themselves in Brest water; but in this, however, they were disappointed, and thirteen out of eighteen were captured. Some of them were full of troops, and the rest laden with stores, ordnance, &c. destined for the relief of the French settlements in the East Indies (*k*).

While these things were occurring abroad, some considerable alterations took place at home. Great disputes arose in the British senate relative to the suppression of the war in America. A considerable majority were for its suppression; but they were strongly opposed by the ministry, and great debates arose on the occasion. At last, after several resolutions passed, sir John Rous made a motion, which comprized the whole, adding these significant words: "Therefore this house can no longer repose confidence in those who have the management of public affairs." In consequence of this lord North, on his next appearance in the house, declared he was no longer minister. The other members of the ministry quickly followed his example, and his majesty was pleased to appoint a new administration, which was composed of such gentlemen as appeared to be satisfactory to all parties.

The British fleet in the West-Indies now amounted to thirty-six ships of the line; and the French fleet under M. de Grassé was nearly of the same force. The French fleet seems to have been rather over-manned, and besides a full complement of seamen, had nearly six thousand land forces on board. The Ville de Paris, of one hundred and ten guns, De Grasse's own ship, had about thirteen hundred men, including soldiers, on board; and the French seventy-fours carried nine hundred men each. The van of the English was commanded by sir Samuel Hood, the centre by sir George Rodney, and the rear by admiral Drake. The three divisions of the French fleet were commanded by the count de Grasse, M. de Vaudreuil, and M. de Bougainville. The French fleet began to sail out of the harbour of Port Royal, by the break of day on the 8th of April, with a large convoy under their protection, all bound to leeward, and intended to fall down to the French and Spanish ports in Hispaniola. M. de Grasse had every reason to wish to avoid an engagement on the present occasion; but the movements of the French ships were so speedily communicated, by signals from the frigates upon the watch, and the English fleet were so well prepared, that the whole were clear off Gross-Islet Bay by noon, and pursued them with the utmost expedition. This diligence, and the general ardour, brought them within sight of the enemy under Dominique, the same night; and they afterwards regulated the pursuit by their signals. Notwithstanding the alacrity of the English, M. de Grasse accommodated himself to the emergency, and though fighting was by no means his object, he formed the line of battle to windward early in the morning, to afford an opportunity to his convoy to proceed on their course, whilst he remained to abide the consequences. On the other side, sir George Rodney had thrown out signals soon after five in the morning to prepare for battle, to form the line at two cables length distance asunder, and for the ships to fill and stand on. But the English fleet lay becalmed for a considerable time under the highlands of Dominique, while the enemy, who were farther advanced towards Guadaloupe, had wind enough to enable them to make the movements we have stated. The breeze at length reaching the van of the English fleet, they began to close with the French centre, whilst their own centre and rear were still becalmed. This action, however, commenced about nine o'clock on the 9th of April. The attack was led by the Royal Oak, captain Burnet, and seconded by the Alfred and the Montague, with the most impetuous bravery. The whole division were in a few minutes closely engaged, and for upwards of an hour were exceedingly pressed by the great superiority of the enemy. The Barfleur, sir Samuel Hood's own ship, had at one time seven, and generally three ships firing upon her, and none of the division escaped the encounter of a very disproportionate force. At length, the leading ships of the centre were gradually enabled to come up to the assistance of the van. These were soon followed by sir George Rodney in the Formidable, with his two seconds, the Namur and Duke, all of ninety guns; who supported

(*i*) So tragical a spectacle as the poor remains of the garrison, has seldom been exhibited, as in their march through the Spanish and French armies, which were drawn up in opposite lines for the passage. Six hundred old, emaciated, and decrepid soldiers, were followed by one hundred and twenty of the royal artillery, and two hundred seamen: about twenty Corsicans, and a few Greeks, Moors, and Turks, closed the procession. The scene became still more melancholy and interesting, when the battalions arrived at the place appointed for laying down their arms; the soldiers exclaiming with tears in their eyes, that "they surrendered them to God alone;" and at the same time seeming to derive consolation from the idea, that the victors could not boast of their conquest in taking an hospital.

(*k*) Towards the close of the year 1781, lord George Germaine was, for his *eminent services*, raised by his majesty to the dignity of the peerage. But before the great seal was affixed to the patent, the marquis of Carmarthen moved, in the house of peers, "that it was highly derogatory to the honour of that house, that any person labouring under the sentence of a court-martial, styled in the public orders issued by his late majesty, *a sentence much worse than death*, and adjudged unfit to serve his majesty in any military capacity, should be recommended to the crown, as a proper person to sit in that house." This motion was evaded by the question of adjournment: but lord George Germaine having actually taken his seat in that house, under the title of lord viscount Sackville, the marquis of Carmarthen renewed his attack, and urged, "that the house of peers being a court of honour, it was their duty to preserve that honour uncontaminated, and to mark, in the most forcible manner, their disapprobation of the introduction of a person into that assembly, who was stigmatized in the orderly books of every regiment in the service." Lord Abingdon, who seconded the motion, styled the admission of lord George Germaine to the peerage, "an insufferable indignity to that house, and an outrageous insult to the public." Lord Sackville, in his own vindication, denied the justice of the sentence passed upon him, and affirmed, "that he considered his restoration to the council-board, at a very early period of the present reign, as amounting to a virtual repeal of that iniquitous verdict." The duke of Richmond strongly defended the motion, declaring, "that he himself was present at the battle of Minden, and was summoned on the trial of lord George Germaine; and had his deposition been called for, he could have proved, that the time lost when the noble viscount delayed to advance, under pretence of receiving contradictory orders, was not less than *one hour and a half;* that the cavalry were a mile and a quarter only from the scene of action; and it was certainly in his lordship's power to have rendered the victory, important as it was, far more brilliant and decisive; and he had little reason to complain of the sentence passed upon him." The motion was also powerfully supported by lord Southampton, the earl of Shelburne, the marquis of Rockingham, and other distinguished peers: but on a division, it was rejected by a majority of ninety-three to twenty-eight voices. A protest, however, was entered on the journals of the house, which could not have been a pleasing circumstance to his lordship.

ported

ported a dreadful fire. The gallantry of a French captain of a seventy-four in the rear, who, opposite to Prince Rupert's Bay, having backed his main-top sail, steadily received and bravely returned the fire of these three great ships in succession, without in the least attempting to leave his station, excited the highest applause and admiration of his enemies. The coming up of the admiral, with part of the centre division, rendered the fight less unequal; and M. de Grasse, perceiving that his purpose had failed while the van was engaged singly; determined, by changing the nature of the action, to prevent its now becoming decisive. The command of the wind, and the connected state of his fleet, enabled him to execute this design, and to keep such a cautious distance during the remainder of the engagement, as was evidently intended to disable our ships as much as could be done, without any considerable hazard on his own side. This sort of firing, which was extremely well supported on both sides, was continued for an hour and three quarters longer; during which time, the rest of the fleet was held back by the calms and baffling winds under Dominique. About twelve o'clock the remaining ships of the centre came up, and the rear was closing the line; in consequence of which M. de Grasse withdrew his fleet from the action, and evaded all the efforts of the English commanders for its renewal. Captain Bayne of the Alfred gallantly fell in this action. The fleet lay to, on the night of the 9th, to repair their damages; and the following day was principally spent in refitting. Both fleets kept turning up to the windward, in the channel which separates the islands of Dominique and Guadaloupe. On the 11th, the enemy had got so far to the windward as to weather Guadaloupe, and had gained such a distance, that the body of their fleet could only be descried from the mast head of our centre. Two of the French ships which had suffered great injury in the late action, were perceived about noon, to fall off considerably from the rest of the fleet to leeward. This circumstance produced signals for a general chace from the British admiral, and again renewed throughout the fleet, the hope of coming up with the enemy. It was now impossible for them to avoid fighting; but the evening being too far advanced, that final decision was postponed to the morning. The pursuing ships fell back into their stations, a close line was immediately formed, and a most masterly disposition of the British fleet exhibited; while such manœuvres were practised in the night, as were necessary, at least, to preserve things in their present state, and might possibly produce casual advantage. The hostile fleets met upon opposite tacks. The battle commenced about seven o'clock in the morning of the 12th, and was continued with unremitting fury till about the same hour in the evening. Admiral Drake, whose division led to action, gained the highest honour, by the gallantry with which he received, and the effect with which he returned, the fire of the whole French line. His leading ship the Marlborough, captain Penny, was peculiarly distinguished. She received and returned, at the nearest distances, the first fire of twenty-three French ships of war; and had the fortune only to have three men killed and sixteen wounded. The signal for close fighting had from the first been thrown out, and was, without a single exception, punctually observed. The line was formed at only a cable length's distance. Our ships as they came up, ranged along the enemy's line, and close under their lee, where they gave and received a most tremendous fire (*l*). About noon sir George Rodney, in the Formidable, with his seconds the Namur and Duke, and immediately supported by the Canada, bore directly athwart the enemy's line, and successfully broke through it, about three ships short of the centre, where M. de Grasse commanded in the Ville de Paris. Being followed and supported by the ships a-stern of his division, he wore round upon his heel, and completing the separation of their line, threw them into inextricable confusion. This masterly push decided the fortune of the day. The French, however, continued to fight with great bravery, and the battle continued till sun-set; which, in those latitudes, is almost immediately succeeded by total darkness.

The French fleet, being now in a very broken condition, naturally exposed, in some instances, a few ships to the attack of a greater number; and the extent of the action, with the darkness and uncertainty occasioned by the smoke, afforded opportunities, which might have been less expected, for single combat. The Canada, a seventy-four gun ship, commanded by captain Cornwallis, took the French Hector, of the same force, singly. Captain Inglefield, in the Centaur of seventy-four guns, also came up from the rear, to the attack of the César, of seventy-four. Both ships were yet fresh, and had received no injury: and a very obstinate action took place; but though the French captain had evidently the disadvantage, he still disdained to yield. Three other ships came up successively. His courage was inflexible; he is said to have nailed his colours to the masts, and his death only could terminate the contest. When she struck, her mast went overboard, and she had not a foot of canvas without a shot hole. The Glorieux also fought nobly; and did not strike, till her masts, bowsprit, and ensign, were shot away. The English Ardent, of sixty-four guns, which had been taken by the enemy in the beginning of the war, was now retaken, by the Bellequeux or the Bedford. The Diadem, a French seventy-four, went down by a single broadside, in an exertion to save her admiral. M. de Grasse was nobly supported even after the line was broken, and till the disorder and confusion became unavoidable. His two seconds, the Languedoc and Couronne, were particularly distinguished, and the former narrowly escaped being taken, in her last efforts to extricate the admiral. The Ville de Paris, after being much battered, was closely laid along side by the Canada; and in a desperate action of nearly two hours, was reduced almost to a wreck. Captain Cornwallis was so eager in his design upon the French admiral, that without taking possession of the Hector, he left her to be picked up by a frigate, while he proceeded to the Ville de Paris. It seemed as if M. de Grasse was determined to sink rather than strike to any thing under a flag; but he perhaps also considered the fatal effects which the striking of his flag might produce on the fleet. At length, sir Samuel Hood came up in the Barfleur, almost at sun-set, and poured in a most tremendous fire, which is said to have killed sixty men; but M. de Grasse, wishing to signalize, as much as possible, the loss of so fine and so favourite a ship, endured the repetitions of this fire for about a quarter of an hour longer. He then condescended to strike his flag to the Barfleur, and surrendered himself to sir Samuel Hood. It may justly be said, that prodigies of valour were performed on both sides (*m*). Sir George Rodney, for his gallant behaviour, received the thanks of the British senate, was created a peer of the realm, and gratified with a liberal pension.

A considerable battle was fought about this time in the East Indies, between the British forces under sir Eyre Coote, and those under Hyder Ally, in which the former proved victorious. Hyder lost his second son, with many of his principal officers, and the whole number of killed and wounded were said to amount to eighteen thousand. After this sanguinary engagement Hyder Ally retreated with precipitation to Trincomale, in order to recruit his army (*n*).

Dispatches from sir Edward Hughes, about the same time

(*l*) The Formidable, sir George Rodney's ship, fired near fourscore broadsides: and we may well believe that she was not singular. The French stood and returned this dreadful fire with the utmost gallantry: and both sides fought, as if the fate and honour of their respective countries were staked upon the fate of that single day.

(*m*) The César, one of the best ships in the French fleet, was unfortunately set on fire, and blew up in the night of the action. This happened through the inordinate behaviour of the French prisoners, who throwing off all obedience to their officers from the time she struck, and finding the English on board too few in number effectually to restrain their ill conduct, were guilty of the greatest enormities. A lieutenant, and fifty English seamen, perished, with about four hundred prisoners. The loss of men in the British fleet was wonderfully small, considering the length and violence of the battle, the prodigiousness of the fire, the nearness of the combatants, and the obstinate bravery of the enemy. The whole number killed, and wounded, in two actions of the 9th and 12th, (for no separate lists have been given,) amounted only to one thousand and fifty, of which two hundred and fifty-three were killed on the spot. It is observable, that the slain in the Ville de Paris only, was said to amount, at least to four hundred. The brave captain Blair of the Anson, who in the preceding year, had most gallantly fought the Dolphin against the Dutch, in the North-sea action under admiral Hyde Parker, fell gloriously on this day. The loss of lord Robert Manners, son of the late marquis of Granby, and brother to the duke of Rutland, was universally lamented by the nation as well as the navy. That gallant young nobleman, in the command of the Resolution, of seventy-four guns, had been highly distinguished during the war, by a series of the most brilliant actions; and being most grievously wounded in this battle, though with fair hopes of recovery from the excellence of his constitution, was, to the great loss of his country and the service, carried off by a locked jaw, a few days after, on his passage to England. Thirty-six chests of money, destined to the pay and subsistence of the troops in the intended invasion of Jamaica, were found in the Ville de Paris. The Ville de Paris, however, suffered so much in the action, that it was impossible to keep her above water, and she never reached England.

(*n*) On the commitment of the mutiny bill for 1782, Mr. Burke ex-

time informed us, that on the 21st of October, in the preceding year, the company's troops under the command of sir Hector Monro, marched to Nogore on the sea-coast, to co-operate with his majesty's fleet in the reduction of Negapatam. The marines, and the greater part of the seamen, with the heavy cannon, &c. being landed on the 29th, the strong lines which the enemy had thrown up to defend the approach to the town, were stormed and carried. On the 7th of November a battery of ten eighteen pounders being ready to open, the admiral and general dispatched a summons to the governor to surrender, who being indisposed, his second in command declared for him, that the place should be defended. During the siege the enemy made two desperate sallies, but were repulsed with considerable loss. On the 10th, more batteries being ready, the enemy demanded a capitulation, which was granted, and being signed on the 12th, the town and citadel were then delivered up. The garrison consisted of eight thousand men, two thousand three hundred of which were troops belonging to Hyder; and among these were one thousand cavalry. In consequence of the fall of Negapatam, Hyder's troops evacuated all the forts and strong posts they held in the Tanjore country; and the petty princes in various other provinces, who, at the instigation of Hyder, had rebelled against the nabob of the Carnatic, laid down their arms, and returned to their obedience.

To return to domestic affairs; the marquis of Rockingham, having been appointed first lord of the treasury, lord Shelburne, and the right honourable Charles James Fox, secretaries of state, lord Camden, president of the council, &c. it was hoped the new administration was founded upon a permanent basis, and as a memorable instance of the supposed triumph of freedom over venality, the resolution declaring the expulsion of Mr. Wilkes, and his incapacity of serving as a member of parliament, was expunged from the journals of the house of commons, by a very considerable majority. But the general joy arising from an arrangement of ministry so grateful to the people, was soon allayed by the universally lamented death of the marquis of Rockingham, a nobleman, whose whole conduct throughout life had evinced the most genuine patriotism and philanthrophy. This melancholy event was followed by the resignation of Mr. Fox and other members of the new cabinet, in consequence of the earl of Shelburne being appointed to the office of first lord of the treasury. Various conjectures were formed from these sudden resignations, but the house of commons having been unexpectedly adjourned to the 9th of July, no authentic information could be obtained till that day, when, under the idea that Mr. Fox would then mention his reason for his resignation, there appeared a most astonishing concourse of people at every avenue of the house. A debate took place from a report of a pension having been granted to colonel Barré, then treasurer of the navy, amounting to three thousand two hundred pounds per annum. In the course of the debate, those of his majesty's late administration gave their reasons for having resigned, whilst such as remained pledged themselves for the continuance of those principles, for which they were first received into his majesty's councils. The next day this interesting subject was discussed in the house of lords. The duke of Richmond spake with candour and liberality, declaring his wish that the world should know on what principles he came into office. He affirmed that the new government was formed on this triple foundation: the great basis was in a peace with those against whom we waged war abroad; in retrenching expences at home; and in lessening the increasing influence of the crown. After speaking respectfully of the character of the late marquis of Rockingham, he lamented the resignation of the secretary of state, and chancellor of the exchequer, but declared that the present ministers should have his support so long as they remained firm to those principles they professed when they came into office.

His majesty repaired to the house of peers on the 11th, and having in a speech to the parliament commended their unwearied zeal and industry with the plainest regard to its true interest, whether peace or a continuance of war should be the event, thanked the commons for their liberal supplies, and declared his reliance on the spirit, affection, and unanimity of his people in support of the honour of his crown, and the interest of his kingdoms; the lord chancellor then, by command of his majesty, prorogued the session to the 3rd of September.

It appeared, by accounts from the East India house, that there had been a desperate engagement between the English fleet under sir Edward Hughes, and that of France under M. Suffrein. The French, at length, after a warm contest of upwards of two hours, ceased firing and hauled off after the transports they had in convoy; much loss was sustained on both sides; that of the enemy could not be determined, but on the side of the English fell two captains, several inferior officers, and thirty-two private men, besides about one hundred who were wounded. Sir Edward Hughes, after the action, proceeded to Tricomale to repair his damages, and having refitted, sailed for Madras.

The deplorable circumstances which the American war brought on this country, may be gathered from the following resolution in the house of delegates, transmitted in the South Carolina gazette: "Resolved unanimously, "That the house will exert the power of the state, to enable congress to prosecute the war, until Great Britain renounce all claim of sovereignty over the United States, or any part thereof, and until their independence be formally or tacitly assured by the treaty with Great Britain, France, and the United States, which shall terminate the war."

The loss of the Royal George; of one hundred guns, which happened at Spithead on the 29th of August, 1782, was thought one of the greatest misfortunes this country had experienced for many years past. This ship having, on her last cruize, made more water than usual, a resolution was formed, to heave her down at Spithead; in consequence of which, the weather being moderate, the business was commenced at six o'clock in the morning, and the ship by ten was got to a proper situation for discovering the leak, but in order to take off some farther sheets of copper, to caulk the seems properly, she was ordered to be lowered another streak; in the mean time, great part of the crew were at dinner, when the ship by a sudden gust of wind fell on one side, and the lower deck port being open, she filled in about eight minutes, and sunk to the bottom. It is generally supposed that upwards of nine hundred people lost their lives upon this melancholy occasion, including about two hundred and fifty women and several children. The loss of the brave admiral Kempenfeldt was truly lamented; his abilities were well known to all the maritime powers, and he was justly esteemed as a brave and experienced naval commander (*o*).

Soon after the loss of the Royal George, an express was received at the admiralty from vice-admiral lord Shuldham, with an account from the captain of a merchantman from Jamaica, of the loss of his majesty's ship the Ramillies. It appeared that admiral Greaves, who had the charge of the homeward bound Jamaica convoy, kept a very northward course to avoid the enemy's cruizers, whom he supposed might be detached to intercept the heavy sailing ships of the convoy. His flag was flying on board the Ramillies from his departure from Jamaica, till the moment it was necessary to quit her for the preservation of the lives of the crew. She lost her masts on the 10th of September in a violent gale of wind, and continued ungovernable till the 19th, when she was abandoned and left in a sinking condition.

Advices from Bengal, received about this time, announced the most pleasing expectations of an immediate and general peace, though our government in that quarter abounded in every species of resource for prosecuting the war. The Mahrattas, weary of an unsuccessful system of warfare, had declared for pacific measures, and the late misunderstanding with the Nizam, and some other of the country powers, were now so far removed, that if Hyder Ally alone had proved refractory, they had all engaged to unite with the company's servants in bringing him to compliance.

Accounts received about the same time mention, that the squadron commanded by Paul Jones, which surprized

pressed strong disapprobation of employing general Arnold as an officer in the British army; as he was a rebel to rebels. His services might be properly rewarded by a pecuniary gift or pension, but he ought never to be entrusted with the power of committing fresh treasons.

(*o*) In the beginning of 1783, a very elegant monument was erected in the church-yard at Portsea, to the memory of the brave, though unfortunate, admiral Kempenfeldt, and his fellow sufferers, who perished in the Royal George. The monument is lofty, in a pyramidal form, ornamented with marine trophies, arms, sculptured urns, &c. and in an oval compartment upon the upper part of the pyramid, in black marble and gold letters, is an appropriate inscription.

and took the forts and settlements in Hudson's Bay, consisted of three frigates and three or four privateers. They obtained a considerable booty at Fort Charles, and Fort Rupert factories, destroyed all the forts and vessels in the bay, and took away two valuable loaded vessels belonging to the Hudson's Bay company, which were sent for Boston prior to Paul Jones's bearing away for the North Seas. His booty, exclusive of the injury he had done to the forts and factories, was estimated at one hundred thousand pounds. This adventurer some time before fell in with his majesty's ship the Serapis, commanded by captain Pearson, and the Countess of Salisbury, commanded by captain Piercy, having under his convoy a large number of transports. A desperate engagement ensued, in which Paul Jones's squadron proved victorious, and the Serapis and Countess of Salisbury were both captured; but the transports, fortunately made their escape (*p*).

About this time the English were most agreeably relieved from the disagreeable apprehensions they had entertained respecting the fate of Gibraltar, by the important intelligence which arrived from general Elliot, the gallant defender of that fortress. From the general's representation it appeared, that the enemy had collected their whole force by sea and land; the former consisted of forty-four sail of the line, besides three inferior two deckers, ten battering ships, five bomb ketches, several frigates, and zebecques, a great number of gun and mortar boats, a large floating battery, many armed vessels, and three hundred boats for carrying troops (*q*). Their land batteries were mounted with above one hundred pieces of cannon, and an equal number of mortars and howitzers, and the combined army consisted of nearly forty thousand men. On the 13th of September, at eight in the morning, all the battering ships commanded by Don Buenaventura Moreno, rear-admiral, were put in motion, and came forward to their several appointed stations, the admiral being placed upon the capital of the king's bastion, the other ships extending three to the southward of the flag as far as the church battery, five to the northward, about the height of the Old Mole, and one a little to the westward of the admiral. By a quarter before ten they were anchored in line, at the distance of a thousand to twelve hundred yards, and immediately a heavy cannonade began from all the ships, which was strongly supported by the cannon and mortars on shore. At the same instant our batteries began with hot and cold shot from the guns, and shells from the howitzers and mortars. This fire continued without intermission on both sides till noon, when that of the enemy from their ships seemed to slacken a little. About two o'clock the admiral's ship was observed to smoke as if on fire, and a few men were observed to be active in searching out the cause. Our batteries never discontinued; but the fire from the ships of the enemy gradually decreased. About seven in the evening they fired only from a few guns at intervals. At midnight the admiral's ship was discovered to have taken fire, and in an hour after it was completely in flames; eight more of their ships took fire in succession. Signals of distress being now made, the launches, feluccas, and boats, had yet made no considerable progress, and the fire from the enemy's batteries on shore did not in the least diminish. Captain Curtis of the ship Brilliant, who was appointed to the command of the marine brigade, and with his squadron of gun-boats lay ready to take advantage of any favourable circumstances, left the New Mole at two o'clock, and about three formed a line upon the enemy's flank, advancing and firing with great order and expedition, which so astonished and disconcerted them, that they fled precipitately with all their boats, and abandoned the ships, in which some officers and numbers of their men, including many wounded, were left to perish (*r*). In the course of the day the remaining eight ships severally blew up with a violent explosion; one only escaped the effect of our red hot shot, which it was thought proper to burn, there being no possibility of preserving her. The admiral's flag remained flying on board his ship till she was totally consumed. The royal artillery, additional gunners, and marine brigade, only could be employed in this service, which they executed with deliberate coolness and undaunted intrepidity. The fire was incessant, and the batteries abundantly supplied with ammunition; every soldier in the garrison, not on duty, eagerly pressing to share in the honourable labours of the day. The enemy's daring attempt by sea was effectually defeated by the well supported fire from our batteries; but the well-timed, judicious, and spirited attack made by brigadier Curtis, rendered this success a complete victory. The loss in the brigade of seamen, considering the nature of the attack, was very inconsiderable, only one man being killed and five wounded; while that of the enemy in killed, burned, drowned, and wounded, was great beyond example (*s*). The sincere gratitude all the prisoners of war expressed for their deliverance from the various horrors that surrounded them, afforded the highest satisfaction to humanity (*t*).

On the 22nd of November, Mr. Secretary Townshend sent a letter to the directors of the bank of England, of which the following is a copy:

"Gentlemen, *Whitehall, Nov. 22, 1782.*

"His majesty's ministers, anxious to prevent, as much as possible, the mischiefs too commonly resulting from speculations in the funds, during the uncertain state of the negociation for peace, between the powers at war, (and which it is to the general honour and interest of all great powers to avoid,) have thought it their duty to ask his majesty's permission to communicate to you, for the information of the public, that the negociations now carrying on at Paris, are brought so far to a point, as to promise a decisive conclusion, either for peace or war, before the meeting of parliament, which will on that account be prorogued from Tuesday the 26th instant, to Thursday, the 5th of December next.

"I have his majesty's commands to assure you, that you will receive immediate notice of the issue.

"I am, Gentlemen,

"your most obedient

Governor and Company of the Bank of England.

"humble servant,

"T. TOWNSHEND."

A few days afterwards the lord mayor of London received the following letter from the secretary of state:

"My Lord,

"In consequence of my letter to your lordship of the 22nd of last month, I take the earliest opportunity of informing

(*p*) Towards the conclusion of this action, one of the crew on board Paul Jones's ship, thinking they must be inevitably conquered, or totally destroyed, attempted to strike the colours, which so irritated his commander, that he instantly shot him through the head.

(*q*) The preparations for this enterprize were great beyond all example. It was asserted, that not less than twelve hundred pieces of heavy ordnance of various kinds had been accumulated before the place, for the purposes of attack by sea and land. The quantity of powder, shot, shells, and of every kind of military stores and provisions, were so immense as to exceed credibility. The quantity of gunpowder only was said to exceed eighty-three thousand barrels. Forty gun-boats, with heavy artillery, as many bomb-ketches, with twelve inch mortars, besides a large floating battery, and five bomb-ketches on the usual construction, were all destined to second the powerful efforts of the great battering ships. Nearly all the frigates, and smaller armed vessels of the kingdom were assembled, to afford such aid as they might be found capable of; and three hundred large boats were collected from every part of Spain, which, with the very great number already in the vicinity, were to minister to the fighting vessels during action, and to land troops in the place as soon as they had dismantled the fortress. The combined fleets of France and Spain, amounting to about fifty ships of the line, were to cover and support the attack. The preparations by land kept pace with those at sea. Twelve thousand French troops were brought to join the Spanish army, and to exert themselves in the reduction of the place. The duke de Crillon, who was the commander by land, was assisted by a number of the best officers of both France and Spain, and particularly of the best engineers and artillerists of his own.

(*r*) Captain Curtis's vigorous fire from some gun-boats, increased the consternation of the enemy; many of whom were killed in the attack; many perished in the flames; many were drowned; and not a few were rescued from impending destruction by the efforts of the English, who endangered their own lives in this noble exercise of humanity. Thus did general Elliott, and his resolute garrison triumph over the boasted preparations of France and Spain!

(*s*) The fate of the Spaniards must have been wretched, had they not been dragged from amidst the flames through the personal intrepidity of brigadier Curtis and his people, at the compleat hazard of their own lives. The general expressed the utmost anguish at seeing the brigadier's pinnace close to one of the largest ships at the instant she blew up, and spread her wrecks to a vast extent all around, till the black cloud of smoke being dispersed, he was again revived by the sight of the pinnace, little apprehending that the brigadier was in the utmost danger of sinking; some pieces of timber having fallen into, and pierced the boat, killing the cockswain, and wounding others of the men, so that scarcely any hopes remained of reaching the shore: he was, however, providentially saved by stopping the hole with the seamen's jackets until boats could arrive to their relief. One of our gun-boats was sunk at the same moment.

(*t*) The duke de Crillon, a general of great reputation, having the chief command of the allied forces, princes of the royal blood of France, dignified characters of Europe, the first nobility of Spain, and great military officers, being present with the besieging army, an amazing concourse of spectators that filled the camp and covered the adjacent hills on this occasion, plainly proved that the combined powers had formed the most sanguine expectations from their battering ships, which had been completed by prodigious labour and unlimited profusion of expence.

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forming your lordship, that a messenger is just arrived from Paris with an account of provisional articles being signed on the 13th of November, between his majesty's commissioners and the commissioners of the United States of America, to be inserted in, and constitute a treaty of peace; hence peace shall be concluded between Great Britain and France. Your lordship will make this as public as possible.

"I am, &c.

December 3, 1782. "T. TOWNSHEND."

A copy of the above was also sent to the directors of the bank.

On the 5th of December his majesty went to the house of peers, and opened the session of parliament with a speech from the throne, importing that in consequence of the sense of his parliament, he pointed all his views and measures to an entire and cordial reconciliation with the colonies; and expressive of his perfect reliance on their wisdom in the further prosecution of the war, should its continuance appear to be indispensible. In his particular address to the commons, he displayed a very œconomical disposition, a generous feeling for the sufferers in America, made the greater concession, on his part, and recommended such measures as should be deemed most salutary and patriotic. After some debates as to certain particular parts of the speech, an address was unanimously agreed to in the house of lords; the same form passed in the house of commons, and the addresses being respectively presented, met with most gracious answers from the king (*u*).

On the 12th of December captain Luttrell, commander of the Mediator, of forty-four guns, displayed an instance of singular prowess in the attack of five sail of French and American frigates laden with military stores off Ferrol, and the capture of the Alexander of twenty-four guns, together with the Managere of thirty guns, *armée en flute*. On the 14th captain Stephen Gregory, of the Alexander, contrived a plan to occasion the prisoners to rise, and hoped to have taken the command of the Mediator from captain Luttrell; but through the indefatigable attention of lieutenant Rankin of the marines, the parties were discovered, and ordered to be put in irons, and kept on bread and water. The Managere was conducted into Plymouth Sound, and the Alexander followed a short time after.

On the 23rd of the same month his majesty went to the house of peers, and gave the royal assent to several bills that were ready; after which the lords unanimously voted their thanks to sir Edward Hughes and sir Eyre Coote, as did also the house of commons on the same day (*x*).

Public expectation was now greatly raised by the apparent prospect of the happy restoration of general tranquillity, as the preliminary articles of peace between England and France were signed at Versailles, on the 20th of January, 1783, by Mr. Alleyne Fitz-herbert, on the part of the one, and by the count de Vergennes, on that of the other. The preliminary articles between England and Spain were signed on the same day by the first of those gentlemen, and by the count D'Aranda, on the part of the catholic king.

As usual on such occasions, great debates arose in both houses of parliament on the subject of the preliminary articles of peace. In the upper house the leaders of the opposition considered the preliminaries as injurious to the interest and honour of Great Britain: accused the ministry of impolicy and improvidence in marking the boundaries between the territorial rights of this country and the United States of America; censured them for employing an incompetent commissioner to negociate with them, as appeared from the shameful ignorance, and absurdity of the provisional articles; condemned the several concessions both in America and the East Indies, and concluded, from the general tenor of the preliminaries, that the ministry had acceded implicitly to whatever terms might have been proposed to them. In answer to these charges, the friends of administration observed, that the peace was as good as we had reason to expect, considering the number of foes that assailed us in Europe, in America, in the West Indies, and in the East. They remarked, that the ministry who transacted the important matter alluded to had come into power at the most critical moment this nation had ever experienced; that they were sensible of the distressed situation of their country, and the arduous task they were about to undertake; but that, actuated by their duty, their attachment to the constitution, and their public spirit, they rather chose to hazard every thing than suffer such destructive measures any longer to be pursued; that they had come into administration when the cry of the whole nation was, "Give us peace on any terms;" and that they had procured a peace on much better terms than could have been expected. As to the boundaries in America, so much objected to, they urged that they were proposed agreeably to the system of moderation that now began to prevail in the most enlightened parts of Europe; and, in a word, presumed that, all circumstances considered, every dispassionate and impartial man would be convinced that the ministry had done their duty, and made as good a peace as this kingdom had a right to expect. At length a motion for an address to his majesty, congratulating him on the return of peace, was carried by a majority of thirteen.

In the lower house, Messrs. Fox and Sheridan condemned the treaties as pregnant with disadvantage and ignominy: lord North, to the astonishment of all present, joined in the public clamour; in consequence of which, the address proposed by the ministerial party, was deprived of those clauses which involved an approbation of the articles, by a majority of sixteen voices. The attack and defence of the treaties were renewed in a subsequent debate; and the concessions which had been made to the adversaries of Great Britain, were voted to have been greater than they had a right to expect, or we to concede.

At this time a most unexpected and extraordinary coalition took place between lord North (*y*) and Mr. Fox, and their partizans, and the consequent censures passed in the lower house on the negociators of the peace. Many members thought these inconveniences of such serious consequence, that, however it might seem to encroach on the royal prerogative, in which alone was the appointment of ministers, it was highly necessary, in a moment so extremely critical, to address his majesty on this occasion. Accordingly the following motion was made on the 24th of March, "That an humble address be presented to his majesty, that he would be graciously pleased to take into consideration the present calamitous condition of this country, occasioned by a long and ruinous war, and that he would appoint such an administration, as would deserve the confidence of the people, and relieve them from the distractions under which they groaned." It could not be expected that this motion would pass without opposition, nor the coalition escape without being animadverted upon by the opposite parties. Mr. Martin, a member whose parliamentary conduct had ever been graced by indepen-

(*u*) Intelligence was about this time received of the fate of his majesty's ship Centaur, of seventy-four guns, commanded by captain Inglefield, which foundered near the Azores in the Atlantic Ocean. At the time of her sinking, the crew were chiefly on board, there not being a single ship in sight to afford them any assistance. A short time previous to her going down, a part of the crew took to her remaining boats, which were three in number, her other boats being stove in the hurricane; but of these, two were sunk from being too much laden, and all who were in them perished. The other, which was very small, containing only twelve men besides the captain and a boy, fortunately reached Fyal, one of the Azores, after being exposed to the greatest distress for sixteen days. When these wretched survivors quitted the ship, they took with them only water sufficient for three days, but which, by prudent management, sparingly furnished them for nine days; after which time they were reduced to the shocking extremity of drinking their own urine.

(*x*) Towards the termination of this year, the pleasing intelligence arrived of the release of captain Asgill, son of sir Charles Asgill, alderman of London, by virtue of an order of the United States of America in congress assembled on the 7th of November. This brave and amiable young officer, had been doomed by lot to suffer death, to retaliate for the murder of captain Huddy, an American officer, who had been executed as a traitor by the loyal refugees of New York. Immediately on hearing of the fate of her unfortunate son, lady Asgill, his afflicted mother, applied in the most pathetic terms, to the count de Vergennes, prime minister of France. The count with great humanity and politeness, wrote to general Washington on the interesting subject, and that officer, warmly interfering in behalf of the unhappy captain, his life was spared.

Lady Asgill's letter to count Vergennes on this occasion, was so truly pathetic and interesting, as was that of the prime minister of France to general Washington, and that general's to captain Asgill containing his pardon, that we were almost inclined to insert them, were it not on account of their length.

(*y*) Till this strange coalition, no politicians were more hostile in their public declarations than the honourable Charles James Fox and the right honourable Frederic lord North, during many years of acrimonious contest. The most opprobrious epithets had been applied to each other upon almost all manner of occasions. But ambition and faction too frequently prevail over honour and principle.

"Tempora mutanda, et nos mutamur ab illis."

dence

dence and integrity, peremptorily declared, that from fixed principles he abhorred the coalition; that he had for many years heard the wisest and best men in the house exclaim against the incompetence of the noble lord (North) to sustain the cares of this mighty empire, that his somnolency, his blunders, his obstinacy, &c. had been the continual theme of those very men who were now elaborate in their encomiums on his character; and that therefore he should feel himself a betrayer of the interests of his country, if he gave his voice for an address to countenance such a coalition; but, having an entire confidence in the wisdom and firmness of his sovereign, he should vote for it, not doubting that his majesty's choice would meet the most sanguine wishes of his people. At length the address was proposed, carried, and graciously received by his majesty, who declared, that it was his earnest desire to do every thing in his power to comply with the wishes expressed by his faithful commons.

The country being without an administration, the chancellor of the exchequer announced his resignation to the house, on the 31st of the same month. The suspension of public business, unavoidably consequent on this state of affairs, created just ground for public murmur and parliamentary interference. Different forms of addresses were moved and submitted to the consideration of the house, but nothing was carried into resolution; till at length an administration was formed, and on the second of April many of the consequent new writs were moved for in the house. His majesty, however, delayed the expected change, till after repeated application. He then appointed the duke of Portland to preside in the treasury, Mr. Fox and lord North to be secretaries of state, restored the chancellorship of the Exchequer to lord John Cavendish, appointed Edmund Burke pay-master of the forces; and complied with such other alterations as were dictated by the victorious party.

Among the taxes proposed by the new ministry at the opening of the budget by lord John Cavendish, that on receipts and promissory notes was considered as particularly unpopular, since it produced a general murmur among the commercial part of the community, followed by petitions from the city of London, and other parts, though without producing the effect they intended.

The king having, about this time, engaged to allow the prince of Wales sixty thousand pounds per annum out of his civil list, the commons voted a temporary aid of sixty thousand pounds for the settlement of the prince's household, on his attainment of the age of twenty-one years. Nothing of importance occured in either house till the 16th of July, when the king closed the session, as usual, with a speech from the throne.

The king had now leisure to attend to the gratification of many of his loyal and meritorious subjects, by heaping honours on them. On the 5th of February, he was pleased to order letters patent to be passed under the great seal of the kingdom of Ireland, for creating a society, or brotherhood, to be called Knights of the Illustrious Order of St. Patrick, to consist of the sovereign and fifteen knights companions, of which his majesty, his heirs and successors, should be perpetual sovereigns; and his majesty's lieutenant-general, and governor-general of Ireland, or the lord-deputy or deputies, or lords justices, or other chief governors, should officiate as grand masters: fifteen knights companions of the said order were accordingly constituted by appointment of his majesty, and afterwards vested with the insignia in due form (*z*).

The court martial which had been summoned on the trial of general Murray, for the loss of Minorca, met at the close of the preceding month, at the Horse Guards, to receive the decision of the court, after its revision by his majesty. Both general Murray, and sir William Draper, who had exhibited the charges against him, being present, the judge advocate proceeded to read the decision, which was, "That twenty-seven of the charges were frivolous and groundless." Of the remaining two, the court had found the prisoner guilty, and sentenced him to receive such reprehension as his majesty might think proper, which his majesty had been graciously pleased to *remit*. The judge advocate then informed sir William Draper, that it was the pleasure of the court, that he should be required to make an apology to general Murray for having instituted the present trial against him. Sir William acquiesced, and apologized accordingly. When a similar requisition was made of general Murray to sir William, for having wounded his feelings as a soldier, by his conduct to him during his command at Minorca, general Murray vehemently refused acquiescence, declaring that he was the protector of his own honour, and would leave that of every other man to his own vindication. He was, therefore, put under arrest; but the affair was accommodated, by changing a word in the proposed apology, and the matter terminated in such a manner as to leave no possible ground for apprehension that any future ill consequence would take place between the two generals.

About this time intelligence arrived from the East Indies, informing us, that the establishment of peace with the Mahrattas was almost accomplished, as articles of a treaty of peace and perpetual amity and alliance, between the English and the Mahrattas, had been agreed upon and executed. Some time after advices were received of the death of Hyder Ally, who had been our most formidable opponent in that quarter of the globe, and that his son and successor Tippoo Saib was more pacifically inclined to the English than his father.

On the 22nd of May, articles were agreed on between Mr. Oswald, his Britannic majesty's commissioner, and the commissioners of the United States of America. These articles declare the acknowledgement of the freedom, sovereignty, and independence of those states on the part of Great Britain, pointed out their boundaries in express terms, and settled several points relative to navigation, to trade, and to commerce.

Sir Roger Curtis, who had eminently distinguished himself by his valour during the late siege of Gibraltar, renewed on the 16th of June, as deputed from our court, the treaty of peace which had subsisted between Great Britain and the emperor of Morocco (*a*).

On the 2nd of September, preliminary articles of peace, between the king of Great Britain and their high mightinesses the States General of the United Provinces of Holland, were signed at Paris by the plenipotentiaries of the respective powers; as was, on the 3rd, the definitive treaty with France, Spain, and America; and on the 6th of the following month, by virtue of his majesty's warrant, peace was proclaimed between Great Britain, France, and Spain, at the usual places, and with the accustomed ceremonies.

On the 11th of February, the session of parliament was opened by a speech from the throne, informing the lords and commons, that definitive treaties of peace had been concluded with the courts of France and Spain, and with the United States of America; and that preliminary articles had been also ratified with the States General of the United Provinces. When his majesty had retired, his royal highness the prince of Wales, who had been previously introduced with the usual ceremonies, and taken his chair on the right hand of the throne, took the oaths of allegiance and supremacy, and made and subscribed the declaration, and also took and subscribed the oaths of abjuration. In both houses, a motion for an address was carried.

Mr. secretary Fox now brought forward a motion respecting the future regulation of the English settlements in the East Indies, and after a number of ingenious observations, concluded his speech with the following motions: 1. That leave be given to bring in a bill for vesting

(*z*) The following is a list of the knights companions as then instituted:

His royal highness prince Edward,
His grace William, duke of Leinster,
Henry Smyth, earl of Clanrickard,
Randal William, earl of Antrim,
Thomas, earl of Westmeath,
Morrough, earl of Inchiquin,
Charles, earl of Drogheda,
George de la Poor, earl of Tyrone,
Richard, earl of Shannon,
James, earl of Clanbrassen,
Richard, earl of Mornington,
James, earl of Courtown,
James, earl of Charlemont,
Thomas, earl of Bective,
Henry, earl of Ely,
Chancellor, the archbishop of Dublin,
Register, dean of St. Patrick's,
Secretary, lord Delvin,
Ulster, William Hawkins, esq.
Usher, John Freemantle, esq.

(*a*) Sir Roger Curtis on this occasion took with him, as presents to that African monarch, three twenty-six pounders, and one of eighteen, with four hundred balls, besides several other articles of less importance.

the affairs of the East India company in the hands of certain commissioners, for the benefit of the proprietors and the public: 2. That leave be given to bring in a bill for the better government of the territorial acquisitions and dependencies in India. These motions, after a short debate, were severally put and agreed to by the house. When the first bill was brought in, it was read the first time, and ordered to be printed; and after some desultory debates, a day was fixed for the second reading. Accordingly, at the stated time, the point was agitated with great vehemence by the respective parties. Mr. secretary Fox vindicated the bill with his usual force and energy. He argued upon principles of humanity, and painted, in the liveliest colours, the shocking acts of barbarity committed by the Europeans on the natives of India. He represented the impropriety of supporting the servants of the company, who, in defiance of every thing sacred, could be guilty of the most atrocious acts of cruelty and wantonness: urged the grand plea necessity; and having declared, that in bringing it into parliament, he had done his duty as a minister of this country, a friend to humanity, and an enemy to oppression, he therefore moved, that the bill might be committed. Lord North, in a very able manner, defended the principles of the bill, reprobated the servants of the company for engaging in the most wanton hostilities, which had nearly ruined the interests of the India company in that part of the world, and concluded with averring, that the tendency of the bill was only to diminish their political, but not by any means their real consequence.

The opponents reasoned against the bill upon general principles, as dishonest, impolitic, and arbitrary. Mr. William Pitt said he was shocked at the propositions in the bill. Its tendency, he declared, was equally hostile to private property and public freedom. In addition to the general atrocity of the measure, the influence which it would create was dreadfully dangerous. It would render the king, he said, subservient to an aspiring faction, and destroy the true balance of our excellent constitution. Others pointed out particularly the injustice of infringing the purchased rights of the chartered company, and the dangerous tendency of establishing an influence which might end only with the existence of the constitution. After a variety of arguments produced on both sides, the house divided on a motion for adjournment, which was carried in the negative by a majority of one hundred and nine voices. The question, that the bill be committed, was then carried without a division, and it was ordered to be committed for the 1st of December. On that day the principal opponents again displayed their eloquence, and the bill was again committed by a majority of one hundred and fourteen. But this measure of administration met with a very different fate in the house of lords, where, after some debates, the motion for the commitment of the bill, was lost by a majority of nineteen.

The offensive behaviour of the two leaders of the coalition, roused the king's displeasure, and a letter was sent soon after midnight, on the 19th of December, to Mr. Fox and lord North, demanding the seals of their offices, without permitting them the indulgence of an interview. Mr. Fox had before rallied Mr. Pitt on his eagerness to re-enter into office, declaring it was perfectly agreeable to him to retire. On the following day, the right honourable William Pitt was appointed first lord of the treasury and chancellor of the exchequer; earl Gower, president of the council, in the room of lord Stormont; and earl Temple, secretary of state: the latter immediately wrote letters of dismission to the remaining members of the cabinet; the consequence of which was, a general and almost unexampled resignation of their adherents. Earl Temple did not long continue in office; for on Monday the 22nd, Mr. Grenville rose and announced the resignation of his noble relation, who, he said, had taken this step, that he might not be supposed to shelter himself under the cover of authority against any charge that might be brought against him, but that he might meet it fairly and openly in his private capacity. A dissolution of parliament being now expected, a motion was made to address his majesty, with a view to prevent its taking place. At length, the question being put, that the house agree to the motion for the address, it was carried with so high a hand, that the friends of the new administration did not think proper to try the question by a decision. When the address was presented to his majesty, he returned an answer, in which he assured the house, that he should not interrupt their meeting by any exercise of his prerogative, either of prorogation or dissolution. It was then finally agreed to by the house, to adjourn to the 12th of January, 1784 (*b*).

During these revolutions, dispatches arrived from his excellency major-general James Stuart, commander in chief of his majesty's and the East India company's forces on the coast of Coromandel, containing a particular account of a very signal victory obtained over the French and Tippoo Saib's auxiliaries under his command. The same dispatches brought intelligence from vice-admiral sir Edward Hughes, stating that he had had another action with the French squadron under monsieur Suffrein. It began on the 20th of June, when the enemy, having the advantage of the wind hauled off. Several of his majesty's ships received injury in their hulls, masts, and rigging, and sickness prevailed throughout the whole fleet. The admiral, on his return to Madras roads, received intelligence of the ratification of the preliminary articles of peace, as well as the cessation of hostilities agreed to between Great Britain and the States General of the United Provinces; and on the 27th dispatched his majesty's ship Medea on a flag of truce, with letters to monsieur Suffrein and the marquis de Bussy. On the 4th of July, the Medea returned to Madras road, with answers from the French commanders in chief, concurring in a cessation of hostilities, as well as an immediate release of prisoners on both sides; and thus terminated the war in that quarter of the world.

CHAP. III.

A RECONCILIATION was no sooner effected with foreigh enemies, than domestic faction reared its baneful head, and involved our political system in a state of anarchy. When the house of commons met pursuant to adjournment, on the 12th of January, debates were maintained by the contending parties with much zeal and acrimony. A retrospect was had to the rumoured dissolution of parliament, and the talents of the late ministers were contrasted with those of the present. The sovereign's prerogative to appoint ministers, and dissolve parliament, was admitted; but the propriety of such measures, at a certain crisis, was questioned by the advocates for the late administration. After a division of the house on the order of the day, upon which there appeared a majority of thirty-nine against the minister, the house went into a committee on the state of the nation, and Mr. Fox moved several resolutions to the following effect: That it is the opinion of this committee, that for any person or persons in his majesty's treasury, exchequer, or navy offices, or the bank of England, to issue any money for services already voted by the house of commons, unless the usual bill for appropriating the sums voted for services, should pass into a law previous to any dissolution or prorogation of parliament, would be a high misdemeanor, derogatory to the dignity of the house, and subversive of the constitution. That there be produced before the house, an account of all sums issued for public services, from the 19th of December, 1783, to the 12th of January, 1784. That no more money be issued on the credit of a vote of the house, till the above account shall have been laid before the house, nor for three days after. That the chairman be instructed to move the house that the mutiny bill be read a second time on the 23rd of February next.

Objections having been made to the third of these resolutions, the mover said, that in order to take away every possible ground for accusing him of any intention to withhold the supplies, he would not press that resolution. The other three were then carried without a division. Several other resolutions were moved respecting general and alarming reports, new appointments, &c. which were so directly levelled against the new ministry, that their friends opposed them as a matter of course; notwithstanding which they were carried by a considerable majority.

On the 23rd, Mr. chancellor Pitt moved, that the India bill laid by him before the house, be read a second time and committed, after having recommended it to the house, as one which would be equally efficacious with that of

(*b*) Notwithstanding there appeared so much difficulty in forming a cabinet, an arrangement of ministers was completed in a few days. The duke of Rutland was appointed lord privy-seal; the marquis of Caermarthen and Mr. Townshend, who had been created lord Sidney, principal secretaries of state; and lord Thurlow, lord high chancellor.

Mr.

Mr. Fox, in correcting abuses and disorders, without creating improper influence, violating charters, or invading property. Mr. Fox immediately rose, and adverted to the tendency of the bill, as totally insufficient to eradicate the evils complained of, or emancipate the company from that slavish dependence on its servants abroad, which deprived it of its energy, and rendered it the prostituted object of foreign cabal. After a considerable debate, the house divided on the second reading, when there appeared against the bill, a majority of eight. The bill being thus rejected, Mr. Fox moved for leave to revive his plan, and bring in a bill for the better regulation and government of our affairs in the East Indies; the two principal objects of which were, the rendering the system for the government of India, permanent by the authority of parliament; and the fixing the government at home. The other system as secondary, might be modelled to meet the inclinations and opinions of the country. He then called upon the minister to declare explicitly, whether the house was to rely on the promise made in answer to their late address. The minister, however, made no answer. He was called upon again and again: but remained silent. At length, as if urged by the pointed severity of some remarks, he declared that he would not condescend to answer interrogatories, which he did not think gentlemen entitled to propose to him, and concluded with assigning his reasons in language extremely haughty and unbecoming.

On the day following, the members were engaged as before, on the subject of the dissolution, and as undecisively, till at length the question for adjournment was proposed and carried. A right honourable member, after some exordium, moved, that the house do come to this resolution, "That the house of commons expressed the firmest reliance on his majesty's most gracious assurance, that he would not interrupt their proceedings in settling the affairs of the East India company, the state of public credit, and of the revenue; objects which appeared of the greatest magnitude to his majesty, to this house, and to the public." The minister appeared, from the tenor of his observations on this motion, to be at first much agitated by it; at length, however, he said, he was not averse to declare, that he never had any intention of dissolving the parliament, that the circumstances of the public rendered it a measure which no friend to his country would advise; that he for one would not advise any such measure, nor even act with a ministry by whom it was advised. This declaration having, in some degree, conciliated the minds of the opposite party; a motion was made, and passed unanimously, for adjournment to the 29th.

In this distracted state of our councils, a meeting was held by many independent members of the house of commons, at the Saint Alban's Tavern, for the purpose of recommending an union of parties. Their number amounted to between fifty and sixty, and, in point of property and consideration in the country, they were truly respectable. The following requisition, signed by several members of parliament, was presented to Mr. Grosvenor, in consequence of his proposal in the house of commons for an union among the leaders of the contending parties: "We whose names are hereunto signed, members of the house of commons, being fully persuaded that the united efforts of those whose integrity, abilities, and constitutional principles we have reason to confide in, can alone rescue the country from its present distracted state, do join in most earnestly entreating them to communicate with each other on the arduous situation of public affairs; trusting, that by a liberal and unreserved intercourse between them, every impediment may be removed, to a cordial co-operation of great and respectable characters, acting on the same public principles, and entitled to the support of independent and disinterested men. And we depute—to present this representation and requisition to his grace the duke of Portland, the right honourable lord John Cavendish, the right honourable William Pitt, and the right honourable Charles James Fox, in our names." The efforts, however, of this respectable body were frustrated; the one part making the resignation of the minister the very basis of the proposed intercourse, and the minister stating, that his personal feelings would not suffer him to resign his post for the purpose of negociating: so that after several meetings, and many letters had passed between the parties, the assembly carried a motion declaratory of their sentiments, and agreed to adjourn *sine die*.

On the 16th of January, the lord mayor, attended by several of the aldermen, went in procession from Guildhall to St. James's, and presented an address to his majesty, expressing the satisfaction they felt at the dismission of his majesty's late ministers, and their earnest assurances of maintaining their zeal and loyalty inviolate. A similar address was also presented by the merchants of London.

The house of commons met pursuant to adjournment, on the 29th; but nothing important occurred till the 2nd of February, when Mr. Grosvenor, the chairman of the meeting of the country gentlemen assembled for the purpose of effecting an union of parties, after informing the house, that the conciliatory efforts of that meeting were not likely to prove effectual, moved, "That in the present circumstances of this country, so arduous and pressing, it was necessary for that house to take such measures as were most conducive to procure a strong, permanent, extensive, and united administration, as should carry the full confidence of the commons and the public." The particular friends of administration opposed the motion, and reprobated the idea of an union between the parties mentioned, as too much in imitation of a recent coalition. Mr. Fox vindicated his measures and those of his adherents; asserted the dignity and privileges of the house of commons, and maintained, that to set the sense of that house at defiance, was to overturn its consequence, and with it the constitution itself, and the liberties of the subject. At length, after a few observations from some other members, the question was carried without a division. Another motion was then made similar to the former, both with respect to substance and effect, and carried by a majority against the minister.

The present administration, however, appear to have had the concurrence of the upper house, in which a noble lord, on the 4th of February, made two resolutions respecting some late transactions, and then moved for an address to the throne, founded on those resolutions, expressive of their entire satisfaction with his majesty's appointment of ministers, and assuring his majesty, that they would, upon all occasions, support him in the just exercise of a constitutional prerogative. The same subject of altercation which had engrossed the attention of the lower house for some time, continued to be debated from day to day, and every motion was carried against the minister, till, on the 20th, Mr. Fox moved for an address to the king, which being also carried, was prepared and reported.

This address was presented on the 25th to his majesty; when a reply being read in the house, Mr. Fox rose and said, he would not then enter into the consideration of it, but would barely remark, that it appeared to him to be final on the part of his majesty, and therefore the house could not well proceed more than one step farther; and as this measure on the part of the house ought to be final also, there ought to be proper time for gentlemen to deliberate on what that measure should be. He then moved that his majesty's answer should be taken into consideration on Monday, the 8th of March, which was agreed to. Accordingly, on that day Mr. Fox, after an excellent exordium, moved a variety of resolutions, tending on the whole to testify the surprize and affliction of the house on receiving the answer which his majesty's ministers had advised, to assure his majesty, that the house neither had disputed, nor meant in any instance to dispute, much less, to deny his majesty's prerogative of appointing to the executive offices of state, such persons as to his wisdom might seem meet: at the same time again submitting to his majesty's royal wisdom, that no administration can serve his majesty and the public with effect, which does not enjoy the confidence of that house, to express a most unfeigned gratitude for his majesty's royal assurances, that he does not call in question the right of the house to offer their advice to his majesty on every proper occasion, respecting the exercise of any branch of royal prerogative; to declare, that they had done their duty to his majesty, and their constituents, in pointing out the evil, and in humbly imploring redress; and that therefore the responsibility must now be wholly upon those who had disregarded the opinions, and neglected the admonitions of the representatives of the people, and attempted thereby to set up a new system of executive administration, which, wanting the confidence of the house, must prove inadequate, by its inefficacy to the necessary objects of government, and dangerous by its example to the liberties of the people. The opponents of administration, however, in this instance, lost considerable ground, having,

on a division on Mr. Fox's motion, the majority only of one.

On the 10th, lord Hinchinbroke informed the house, that their representation had been laid before his majesty, and graciously received. On the 25th, his majesty repaired to the house of peers, and having given the royal assent to several bills then ready, delivered a speech from the throne, in which, among other particulars, he said,

"My lords and gentlemen,

"On a full consideration of the present situation of affairs, and of the extraordinary circumstances which have produced it, I am induced to put an end to this session of parliament; I feel it a duty, which I owe to the constitution and to the country in such a situation, to recur as speedily as possible to the sense of my people, by calling a new parliament (*c*)."

The new parliament assembled on the 18th of May, and the house of commons proceeded to the choice of a speaker, when Mr. Cornwall was again placed in the chair. The day following, his majesty in a speech from the throne, declared the causes of his calling the parliament. He assured them of the satisfaction he enjoyed in meeting them, after recurring in so important a motion, to the sense of his people; and of his reliance, that they were animated by the sentiments of loyalty and attachment to the constitution. He then directed their attention to the maintenance of the public credit, to the support of the established revenues, and to the affairs of the East India company: and, after warning them against adopting any measures for the regulation of the latter, which might affect the constitution and our dearest interests at home, concluded with expressing his inclinations to support and maintain in their just balance, the rights and privileges of every branch of the legislature (*d*). Addresses to his majesty on his speech were proposed and carried, as usual.

On the 14th of June, the attention of the house was claimed by Mr. Burke, in a speech of considerable length, in which he examined with great freedom the dangerous principles upon which a late act of power was both executed and defended by government; reprobating the dissolution of parliament as a breach of faith, as well as an impolitic measure.

On the 21st following, the chancellor of the exchequer moved several resolutions, as the foundation of the act, afterwards well known by the denomination of the "Commutation Act." He stated to the house, that the illicit trade of the country had of late increased to so alarming a height, as to endanger almost the very existence of several branches of the revenue, and more particularly that of tea. It had appeared, before the committee on smuggling, that only five millions five hundred thousand pounds weight of tea was sold annually by the East India company, when the annual consumption of the kingdom was supposed, from good authority, to exceed twelve millions. After stating the particulars, he said, this tax would not be felt as an additional burthen, but ought to be considered as a commutation, by substituting an additional duty on windows, in which no smuggling could occur, and would in fact prove favourable to the subject. The act, however, was warmly opposed in both houses of parliament. It was denied to have any claim to the principle of commutation. Tea, though an article of general use, was still an article of luxury.

The next public measures related to an object that required all the address and management of the minister. The first was a bill to enable the East India company to divide eight *per cent.* interest on their principal. This bill, after a warm debate, passed the house of commons without a division; and after a strong debate in the house of lords, passed, on a division of twenty-eight to nine. The second act was to allow the company a further respite of duties due to the exchequer; to enable them to accept of bills beyond the amount prescribed by former acts of parliament; and to establish their future dividends. These propositions occasioned frequent debates; and, after several divisions, the bill passed both houses, and was followed by an act, "for the better government of the affairs of the East India company," &c.

On the 23rd, Mr. Pitt displayed the national accounts for the year, or what is generally denominated the Budget. After having recapitulated the supplies granted by parliament, and the ways and means for raising them, he stated, that the ways and means fell just within six million pounds of the sum voted for the supplies; and this last sum he proposed to raise by a loan. With respect to the unfunded debt, which exceeded twelve millions in navy bills, and one million in ordnance debentures, though he intended to fund only seven millions of this debt, still, as most of the navy bills bore interest, and as the interest on that part which he did not intend to fund this year, would amount to two hundred and eighty thousand pounds, he proposed to impose taxes this year for the interest of the whole, though only half of it would be funded.

The session was closed after a motion made by Mr. Dundas, for the restoration of the estates forfeited in Scotland, in the rebellion of 1745. As this measure had for its object the relief of individuals, whose attachments and loyalty to his present majesty and his family, could not be supposed to be tainted or affected with the crimes of their ancestors, it met with the perfect approbation of the commons. In the house of lords, however, it was opposed by the lord chancellor, both on the grounds of its impolicy and its partiality. It was impolitic, he said, as far as it rendered nugatory the settled maxim of the British constitution, that treason was a crime of so deep a dye, that nothing was adequate to its punishment but the total eradication of the person, the name, or the family, out of the society which he had attempted to injure. This was the wisdom, he said, of former times. The bill, however, passed the house of lords, and received the royal assent.

On the 20th of August the king terminated the session, by a speech from the throne; in which after expressing his approbation of their proceedings, and his concern for the additional burthens which they had been compelled to impose upon the public, he adverted to the important objects, with respect to trade and commerce, yet to be provided for; and he trusted that such regulations would be framed, upon a full investigation, as would tend to promote the wealth and prosperity of every part of the British empire.

In the progress of the general election, it appeared, from incontrovertible evidence, that the partizans of the coalition were not the favourites of the people. The most tumultuous contest, and that which excited the greatest attention, occured at Westminster, as well with regard to the election as to the scrutiny. At the general election, lord Hood, Mr. Fox, and sir Cecil Wray, offered themselves as candidates to represent that city in parliament. The first of these gentlemen was elected by a very great majority; the struggle between the two last was long and obstinate; after continuing the contest for upwards of six weeks, it was finally concluded on the 17th of May, leaving a majority of two hundred and thirty-five voters in favour of Mr. Fox. The high bailiff, at the requisition of sir Cecil Wray, the unsuccessful candidate, granted a scrutiny into the poll which he had taken, on the day on which it closed, and which was the day previous to the return of his writ. This mode of proceeding was on the spot formally protested against by Mr. Fox, and also by several of the electors. Immediately on the meeting of the new parliament, the conduct of the high bailiff in granting the scrutiny, under the existing circumstances, was warmly taken up by opposition, and as warmly defended by the minister and his friends. After much debate, as well by counsel at the bar of the house, as by the members themselves, in every shape, and as often as it

(*c*) The following day, a curious occurrence threw the metropolis into a very great ferment, by an incident which, from the crisis in which it happened, was deemed the more extraordinary. Some robbers having entered the lord chancellor's house in Great Ormond Street, carried off the great seal of England. As soon as his lordship knew of the robbery, information was sent to the respective offices of police, and persons were dispatched in pursuit of the perpetrators of so daring a villainy, but without effect. A very important event was announced to the public on the same day. It was nothing less than a proclamation for dissolving the then parliament, and declaring the calling of another.

(*d*) Prior to the motion for an address, Mr. Lee stated to the house the conduct of the high bailiff of Westminster, who had neglected making a return to the writ of election, on pretence of not having finished the scrutiny into the legality of the votes, and concluded with moving a resolution, declaring it to be "his duty to return two citizens to serve for the said city." This motion, after a considerable debate, was negatived by a majority of two hundred and eighty-three to one hundred and thirty-six.

In this session the commons expelled a delinquent member, Mr. Christopher Atkinson, who in the capacity of corn contractor, had been guilty of gross perjury, for which he was exhibited ignominiously on the pillory.

From some cause, however, proceedings against sir Thomas Rumbold were discontinued about the same time, though many of the members entertained doubts of the purity of that gentleman's conduct.

could

could be brought before them, both by petitions from Mr. Fox, and the electors, the proceeding of the high bailiff was justified; and it was resolved, by a very considerable majority, on a motion of lord Mulgrave's, "That the high bailiff of Westminster do proceed in the scrutiny for the said city, with all practicable dispatch." Agreeable to this resolution of the house, the high bailiff proceeded with the scrutiny during the remainder of the session, and during the recess (*e*).

The Westminster scrutiny was again brought before the house, by a petition of several of the electors, on the 8th of February, when the high bailiff and his counsel, Mr. Hargrave and Mr. Murphy, underwent a long examination at the bar of the house, respecting the practicability of carrying on the scrutiny, and the difficulties and delays attending the same. The high bailiff declared, that, calculating from what had been already done, it would take certainly not less than two years to finish the scrutiny. The day following, Mr. Welbore Ellis moved, "That Thomas Corbett, Esq. high bailiff of the city of Westminster, having finally closed the poll for members to represent the said city, do forthwith obey the said writ, and make a return of the precept directed to him for that purpose." This motion brought the merits of the whole question again before the house, and was long and ably debated, during several days, by the respective advocates of each party (*f*). Towards the close of the debate, the high bailiff was called to the bar, and informed by the speaker of a resolution made by the house, whereby it appeared that the prosecution of the scrutiny was not defended by any thing like so numerous a majority as during the preceding session. Colonel Fitzpatrick moved, "That it appearing to this house, that Thomas Corbett, Esq. high bailiff, having received a precept from the sheriff of Middlesex, for electing two citizens to serve in parliament for the city of Westminster, and having taken and finally closed the poll on the 17th of May last, being the day next before the day of return of the said writ, he be now directed forthwith to make a return of his precept of members chosen in pursuance thereof." This motion was rejected by a majority of nine only. The same motion was again brought forward on the 3rd of March, by alderman Sawbridge, and the question of adjournment was moved on it by the chancellor of the exchequer, which passed in the negative. The main question was then put, and carried without a division. Thus, after a struggle in parliament for two sessions, terminated the Westminster scrutiny, and the high bailiff the day following made a return of lord Hood and Mr. Fox.

The business of the session being gone through, the house was adjourned, on the 2nd of August, till the 27th of October; but in the mean time a proclamation was issued, by which it was prorogued to the first of December.

On the 25th of February the committee, appointed to wait on Mr. Pitt with the freedom of the city of London, went in procession from Guildhall to Mr. Pitt's house in Downing-street, Westminster, where they presented the freedom in form.

Soon after the commencement of the session, the parliament was agitated by a measure which originated with the duke of Richmond, master-general of the ordnance. It was an extravagant scheme for fortifying the dock-yards at Portsmouth and Plymouth. The house of commons had in the preceding session, expressed their unwillingness to apply any part of the public money for this purpose, before they were made acquainted with the opinions of those who were best able to decide concerning the utility and propriety of such a measure. A board of military and naval officers was therefore appointed by the king, with the master-general of the ordnance as their president; and the proposed plan of fortifications, was referred to them for their opinions and advice. After investigating the subject, and making their report thereon, the plans recommended were laid before a board of engineers to form an estimate of the expences necessary to carry them into execution (*g*). Mr. Pitt intended, that it should be debated and decided upon, together with the ordnance estimates, as a mere collateral question. Lieutenant-general Burgoyne, one of the board of officers that made the report, expressed his desire, that before the business was further proceeded on, so much both of the report itself, and of the instructions upon which it was founded, as could be made public with safety to the state, should be laid upon the table of the house of commons: alledging, that the house might otherwise unwarily be led to imagine that the report perfectly approved of the plan of fortifications proposed. In support of this mode of proceeding, Mr. Sheridan, on the 16th of February, moved "for a copy of the appointment of the board of naval and military officers, and of such parts of their instructions and of their report, as his majesty's discretion might deem proper to be made public, with perfect consistency to the safety of the state;" but as the board in question had been constituted by circular letters from the king, without any official commission, Mr. Pitt substituted another motion, the same in effect as the foregoing, but more conformable to the fact, which passed unanimously. These papers being laid before the house, Mr. Pitt, on the 27th of the same month, introduced the measure in the form of a general resolution, to the following effect: "That it appears to this house, that to provide effectually for securing his majesty's dock-yard, at Portsmouth and Plymouth, by a permanent system of fortification, founded on the most œconomical principles, and requiring the smallest number of troops possible to answer the purpose of such security, is an essential object for the safety of the state, intimately connected with the general defence of the kingdom, and necessary for enabling the fleet to act with full vigour and effect for the protection of commerce; the support of our distant possession, and the prosecution of offensive operations in any war in which the nation may hereafter be engaged." This mode he said he had devised, as best calculated to afford an opportunity of discussing every principle which could possibly be involved in the proceeding, whether in opposition to, or in favour of it. It was also, he thought, more consistent with the importance of the subject to bring it immediately before the house separately, and in the form of a specific resolution, than to send it to the committee involved with the rest of the ordnance estimates. In support of the resolution, Mr. Pitt undertook to prove: first, that the fortifying the dockyards at Portsmouth and Plymouth, was a measure of absolute necessity; secondly, that the plan of fortifications proposed by the duke of Richmond was the best possible plan for that purpose; thirdly, that these fortifications would be the means of giving greater effect to the operations of our fleets; and, lastly, that they would diminish the standing army.

Mr. Bastard satirically compared the schemes of the duke of Richmond with the romantic absurdities of Don Quixote, and totally disapproved the adoption of a system which would evidently discourage the naval service. He could not bear, he observed, the idea of tearing the ensign of British glory from the mast-head, and fixing it on the ramparts of a garrison. He therefore moved for an amendment.

Captain Macbride, who was actually a member of the council of officers appointed upon this occasion, conceived the report to be the result of the duke's artifice and influence, and by no means the unbiassed opinion of the board. Colonel Barré supposed that the officers had been deluded by the misrepresentations of the master-general, and that Mr. Pitt could not have approved of this extravagant project, if his conscience had not been taken by surprise. Lord Mahon supported, on this particular consideration, that the works might be defended by a very in-

(*e*) Not quite two parishes out of the seven, into which Westminster is divided, were finished when the parliament met the second time, and yet the scrutiny had then continued for eight months. It was calculated that the business already gone through was not more than an eighth of the whole. Of the votes in favour of Mr. Fox, seventy-one had been objected to in the first parish, and the objections made good only against twenty-five: in the same parish out of thirty-two of the voters for sir Cecil Wray, which were objected to, twenty-seven were declared illegal. In the second parish, out of two hundred objected to, Mr. Fox lost eighty; sir Cecil Wray out of seventy-five, at that time objected to, had sixty struck off.

(*f*) In debating on this subject, Mr. Fox said "He saw plainly, that it was a pecuniary struggle, and that his friends were to be tired out by the expence of the contest. The scrutiny on both sides could not cost less than thirty thousand pounds a year. This was enough to shake the best fortunes. His own last shilling might be easily got at, as he was poor; but still, little as he had, he would spend to the last shilling. If, in the end he should lose his election, it would not be, he well knew, for want of a legal majority, but for want of money! and thus would he be deprived of his right, and the electors of Westminster of the man of their choice, because he was not able to carry on a pecuniary contest with the treasury."

(*g*) This estimate, amounting to seven hundred and fifty thousand pounds, Mr. Pitt laid before the house on the day on which the rest of the ordnance estimates were brought forward.

considerable number of men. Lord Hood, and some other naval officers, approved of the scheme as expedient and judicious; but Mr. Fox and Mr. Windham reprobated the idea, as derogatory from the honour and consequence of the navy. As the division produced an equality of votes, the speaker, therefore, judiciously voted for the amendment.

In the early part of this session Mr. Pitt took notice of that part of his majesty's speech, which related to the necessity of providing for the reduction of the national debt; he had intimated to the house, that such was the present flourishing condition of the revenue, that the annual national income would more than equal the annual national disbursements, besides leaving a surplus of considerable magnitude; this surplus, he said, he meant to form into a permanent fund, to be constantly applied to the liquidation of the public debt. In pursuance of this information to the house, and to ascertain the amount of the surplus in question, Mr. Pitt, previous to his entering into the state of the finances, or ways and means for the present year, moved, "That the several accounts and other papers presented that session, relating to the public income and expenditure, be referred to the consideration of a select committee, and that the committee should be directed to examine and report to the house, what might be the supposed annual amount of the income and expenditure in future." This motion was unanimously agreed to, and the select committee having framed their report, exhibited it before the house on the 21st of March: Mr. Pitt, on the 29th brought the consideration of the national debt, and his proposition for the diminution of it, formally before the house. In the course of the debate, he observed, that the accumulated compound interest on a million yearly, together with the annuities that would fall into that fund, which in twenty-eight years, amount to a sum which would leave a surplus of four millions annually, to be applied, if necessary, to the exigencies of the state. Some additional clauses being added, it was read a third time on the 15th of May, and carried up to the lords, where it also passed without meeting with any material opposition, and afterwards received the royal assent.

About the 20th of May, Mr. Pitt presented a bill for transferring certain duties on wines from the customs to the excise, which was one of the plans he had in view for increasing the revenue, and which he had before given the house notice of, when he proposed the sinking fund of a million annually. The bill, however, was objected to upon two grounds; first on the difficulty of applying the excise laws to wine; and, secondly, on the impolicy of ever extending those laws. Though these objections were started by several members, the bill was read the third time on the 29th of June, and carried without any material alterations.

On the 17th of February, 1786, Mr. Burke charged in the house of commons, Warren Hastings, esq. with high crimes and misdemeanors committed by that gentleman during his administration in the East Indies, in the capacity of governor-general of Bengal. In consequence of the charges made against Mr. Hastings, a prosecution was commenced; but as it could give little or no entertainment to our readers to enter into a detail of the particulars of such an immense mass of evidence, as would of itself furnish matter to constitute several volumes, and which continued for several successive years; we shall content ourselves with just observing that many complicated scenes of villany were exhibited to the public in the course of this trial, but at length Mr. Hastings was acquitted (*h*).

A treaty of commerce and navigation, between the king of Great Britain and Louis XVI. king of France, was signed at Versailles, on the 26th of September. We shall forbear making any other remark upon this new and important event, than that it appears to have caused much alarm and apprehension amongst the manufacturing part of the French nation: its expediency and policy, with respect to this country, was amply discussed in the proceedings of the British parliament.

During the recess in parliament, the right honourable Charles Jenkinson was advanced to the dignity of a peer of Great Britain, appointed chancellor of the duchy of Lancaster, and president of the board of trade; and though not formally admitted to a seat in his majesty's cabinet councils was supposed to be confidentially consulted upon all affairs of importance; the earl of Gower was created marquis of Stafford, and lord Camden, advanced to the degree of an earl; and the duke of Athol, earl of Abercorn, duke of Montague, (with remainder to the second son of the duke of Buccleugh;) the duke of Queensberry, the earl of Tyrone, the earl of Shannon, lord Delaval, sir Harboard Harboard, and sir Guy Carleton, were created peers of Great Britain.

His majesty opened the session on the 23rd of January, 1787, with a speech from the throne, in which, after mentioning the friendly disposition of foreign powers towards this country, he informed the two houses, that he had concluded a treaty of commerce with the French king, and had ordered a copy of it to be laid before them. He recommended, as the first object of their deliberations, the necessary measures for carrying it into effect: and expressed his satisfaction, that they would find the provisions contained in it were calculated for the encouragement of industry, and the extension of lawful commerce in both countries; and, by promoting a beneficial intercourse between their respective inhabitants, to have a tendency to give additional permanency to the blessings of peace.

Addresses were moved and seconded in both houses; and as they contained nothing but matters of mere compliment to the king, they passed without opposition; but in the house of commons Mr. Fox thought himself obliged to take notice of some general principles, which had been advanced by the proposers of the address, apparently as the ground upon which it was intended to defend the treaty, that had lately been concluded with the court of Versailles.

On the 5th of February Mr. Pitt moved, "That the house should resolve itself into a committee on the Monday following, to take into consideration that part of his majesty's speech on opening the session, which related to the treaty of commerce and navigation formed with his Most Christian majesty." This was strenuously objected to by the opposition, as affording too short a time for deliberation: lord George Cavendish moved, that "Monday se'nnight" should be substituted in the room of "Monday next," and that in the mean time a call of the house should be ordered. After some altercation the house divided, when there appeared for the amendment eighty-nine, against it two hundred and thirteen.

On the 12th, before the house resolved itself into a committee upon the treaty of commerce and navigation with France, a petition was presented by Mr. alderman Newnham from certain manufacturers assembled in their chamber of commerce, praying that the house would not that day come to any decisive resolution upon the commercial treaty with France, as the petitioners had not leisure to understand the treaty, and consequently were not perfectly aware to what degree their interests, and the interests of other manufacturers might probably be affected by it. Upon the petition, Mr. Pitt remarked, that its contents, and the moment of presenting it were somewhat singular. The French treaty had been published between four and five months, during which time the petitioners it seems had not chosen to find leisure to examine and understand it, and now, on the day on which the house had agreed to take it into consideration, without pointing out one specific objection to it, they modestly requested parliament would delay, for an indefinite time, all further proceedings upon it. This, he conceived, the house ought by no means to consent to. The order of the day was therefore loudly

(*h*) The administration of Mr. Hastings had been said, by Mr. Sheridan, "to exhibit a medley of meanness and outrage, of duplicity and depredation, of prodigality and oppression, of the most callous cruelty contrasted with the hollow affectation of liberality and good faith. The sordid system of commercial policy, to which all the arrangements and regulations of the company are ultimately to be traced, was under his government carried to its utmost extent. Thus have nations been extirpated for a sum of money, whole tracts of country laid waste to furnish an investment, princes expelled from the balance of an account, and a bloody sceptre wielded in one hand, in order to replenish the empty purse of mercantile mendicancy, displayed in the other." *Vide Sheridan's speech on the Begum Charge, in the fourteenth article of Impeachment.*

Yet, as Mr. Hastings declares, in his famous minutes of defence, "that he had the conscious satisfaction to see all his measures terminate in their designed objects; that his political conduct was invariably regulated by truth, justice, and good faith: and that he resigned his charge in a state of established peace and security, with all the sources of its abundance unimpaired and even improved."

To reconcile these apparent incongruities, we are required therefore, by a species of faith which can work miracles, to believe that there existed in India crimes without a criminal, oppressions without an oppressor, and tyranny without a tyrant. *Belsham's Memoirs*, iii. 222.

called

called for; and the house being resolved into a committee, Mr. Pitt, in a long speech entered into an explanation and defence of the treaty. Mr. Fox answered him at great length, in which he objected to several of that gentleman's principles, as too narrow for the great subject they were discussing, and to the conclusions he had drawn from them in favour of the treaty, in its three great points of view, policy, commerce, and finance, as fallacious and unwarranted.

On the 15th, at a late hour, Mr. Pitt proposed, that the committee should again be formed for the consideration of the commercial treaty. This was strongly opposed, as taking the house by surprize; but upon a division, Mr. Pitt's motion was carried by a majority of one hundred and forty-five to fifty-nine. The house being accordingly resolved into a committee, Mr. Pitt read, without any preface to his second resolution: "That the wines of France be imported into this country upon as low duties as the present duties paid on the importation of Portugal wines." Some debates now ensued, and before the question was demanded, Mr. Fox moved, by way of amendment, that the following words be added to it: "That the duties on the importation of Portugal wines should at the same time be lowered one-third." This, Mr. Fox observed, would effectually preserve the Methuen treaty in full force, so far as related to our part of the obligation, and would enable government more advantageously to negociate the pending treaty with Portugal. This motion was negatived without farther discussion, by ninety-one to seventy-six, and the original resolution put and carried.

On the 19th the report of the committee upon the commercial treaty, was brought up, and on the usual motion being made, that the house do agree to the same, notice was taken of the omission of the mention of Ireland both in the treaty and the tariff; and it was asked, whether she was understood to be included in it? To this question Mr. Pitt replied, that Ireland was certainly entitled to all the benefits of the French treaty; but it was at her own option, whether she should choose to avail herself of those advantages; for it was only to be done by her passing such laws as should put the tariff on the same footing in that country, as it was stipulated should be done in this. Had the adoption of the treaty by Ireland been a stipulation necessary to be performed before it could be finally concluded on by this country, then this country would have been deprived of all the benefits resulting from it in the event of Ireland's refusal. The report was finally agreed to, upon a division, by a great majority.

On the 21st came on another debate, which the commercial treaty gave rise to, in the house of commons. It arose from an address, moved by Mr. Blackburne, member for Lancashire, "to thank his majesty for the solicitude he had been graciously pleased to evince, in forming a treaty of commerce between Great Britain and France; assuring him that the house conceived that the most happy effects would result from it to his faithful subjects, and that they would take every necessary step to render the negociation effectual." In support of this address, he said that he had received letters from his constituents, informing him, that a numerous meeting of cotton manufacturers had been held at Manchester, in consequence of a kind of remonstrance which they had seen in the public prints against the commercial treaty, from the chamber of manufactures; and that, after a serious deliberation, and a full discussion of the subject, they considered the treaty as highly beneficial to this country in general, and to the cotton manufacture in particular. They desired him also to inform the house, that they neither approved of the chamber of commerce, nor had delegated any person to represent them in that body, when the petition, praying for time to consider the subject, was carried.

The honourable captain Berkeley, (member for Gloucestershire,) seconded the motion; and said, that the treaty had met the approbation of many bodies of woollen manufacturers among his constituents. It was in France only that it was condemned, as being too advantageous to England, and to have a tendency to ruin the French manufactures. The people of Abbeville in particular had declared, that if the treaty should be carried into effect, they should be undone. These arguments were opposed. The debate, however, continued till near three in the morning, when the previous question, which was moved by Mr. Ellis, being put, was carried in the affirmative, by two hundred and thirty-six to one hundred and sixty, and an address was afterwards agreed to without a division.

On the 23rd the address was communicated, at a conference, to the lords, and their concurrence requested; and the 1st of March was appointed by them for taking the subject into consideration. Whilst the commons were engaged in debating on the commercial treaty, the attention of the house of lords was called, by viscount Stormont, to a question in which the constitution of that branch of the legislature, together with the rights of the Scottish peerage, were essentially concerned. It arose out of a circumstance which happened during the late prorogation of parliament, the creation of two of the sixteen peers of Scotland to be peers of Great Britain; and it was simply this, whether, after such creation, they could continue to sit as representatives of the peerage of Scotland? The act of union made no mention of the subject; the only precedent that existed, was that of the duke of Athol, upon whom, in 1736, being then one of the sixteen peers, the English barony of Strange devolved by inheritance, was for the affirmative; and it was well known that the lord chancellor's opinion was in favour of the same side of the question. On the other hand, the negative appeared to lord Stormont so strongly supported by every principle of equity, as to induce him to bring the question, notwithstanding those difficulties, to a public decision. Accordingly, on the 13th of February, the lords, having been previously summoned, the house resolved itself into a committee of privileges, for the purpose of their taking it into consideration (*i*). In support of the motion he observed that the question appeared to him to lie in a narrow compass, and was to be decided upon a few plain obvious principles, which he stated to the committee. After some debate, the motion was carried by a majority of fifty-eight to thirty-eight, and was followed by another of the same kind respecting the duke of Queensberry, created baron Douglas.

On the 28th, Mr. Beaufoy, member for Great Yarmouth, at the request of the deputies of the dissenting congregations in and about London, made a motion for taking into consideration the repeal of the corporation and test acts. But Mr. Beaufoy's endeavours to procure a repeal of those parts of the test and corporation acts which excluded protestant dissenters from office, were of no avail. Lord North apprehended danger to the church and state from such an appeal; and Mr. Pitt supposed that the barriers of our establishment might be weakened by it. Mr. Fox, however, thought the constitution sufficiently secure without those illiberal restrictions; and said that, on the present occasion, he should not be suspected of being biassed by any improper partiality towards the dissenters. The motion was also supported by sir Harry Houghton, Mr. Smith, and sir James Johnstone: but opposed by sir William Dolben; who read a passage from a book written by a distinguished dissenting minister, in which he observes, "That their silent propagation of the truth would in the end prove efficacious. They were wisely placing, as it were grain by grain, a train of gunpowder, to which a match would one day be laid to blow up the fabric of error, which could never be again raised upon the same foundation." The question being put, it passed in the negative; ayes one hundred, noes one hundred and seventy-eight.

About this time a subject was brought forward in the house of commons by Mr. alderman Newnham, which had for some time engaged the attention and feelings of the public, namely, the embarrassed state of the finances of the prince of Wales. The establishment of his royal highness's household took place upon his coming of age, in the year, 1783, during the administration of the duke of Portland. Upon a full consideration of what was thought becoming the credit of the nation, and the exalted rank of the heir apparent to the throne, the ministers of that day are said to have proposed, that an annual income should be settled upon him by parliament of one hundred

(*i*) A message from his majesty was delivered on the nineteenth of March by the chancellor of the exchequer to the house of commons, in which he acquaints them "of his being desirous of conferring a mark of his royal favour upon sir John Skynner, late lord chief baron of the exchequer, in consideration of his diligent and meritorious services; and he recommends to them to consider of enabling him to grant an annuity, clear of all deductions, of two thousand pounds *per annum*, during the term of his natural life. On the 21st Mr. Pitt moved for leave to bring in a bill for the purposes above-mentioned, and was seconded by Mr. Burke, who said, that having frequently interfered in matters of supply, he could not avoid expressing on the present occasion his conviction, that there never came a proposal for a grant on better grounds than the one before them; never was an office so exalted filled with more diligence and integrity, and resigned with more dignity. The motion and the bill passed both houses unanimously.

dred thousand pounds. This proposal is said to have been rejected by the king with expressions of such marked resentment, as to make the immediate resignation of those ministers more than probable. In this emergency the prince of Wales interposed, and signified his desire, that the whole business should be left to the king; and declared his readiness to accept of whatever provision his majesty might think proper to grant. In consequence of this interference the affair appears to have been accommodated, and an allowance of fifty thousand pounds a-year, payable out of the civil list revenue, was settled upon his royal highness. In a few years afterwards, it appeared that this provision was inadequate to the purpose for which it was designed; for, in the year 1786, the prince was found to have contracted a debt to the amount of about one hundred thousand pounds, exclusive of fifty thousand pounds and upwards expended on Carlton House. His royal highness, on thus becoming acquainted with the state of his affairs, thought it expedient to take some effectual measures for the relief of his creditors. He first applied to the king, his father, upon whose affection alone he wished to rely, and to whose judgement he declared his readiness to submit his past, and conform his future conduct. By his majesty's directions, a full account of the prince's affairs were laid before him; but from some cause, hitherto unknown, a direct refusal to afford him any relief was conveyed to his royal highness through one of his principal officers of state. The prince of Wales appears then to have conceived himself bound in honour and justice to have recourse to the only expedient in his power. The day after he received the message from the king, he dismissed the officers of his court, and reduced the establishment of his household to that of a private gentleman; he ordered his horses to be sold, the works at Carlton House to be discontinued, and such parts, as were not necessary for his personal use, to be shut up. From these savings an annual sum of forty thousand pounds was set apart, and vested in the hands of trustees for the payment of his debts. But even this laudable conduct did not escape censure, as it appeared by an event, which happened soon after; we mean the danger to which his majesty's life was exposed in August, 1786, when Margaret Nicholson, a lunatic, under pretence of presenting a petition to his majesty, made an effort to deprive him of life, by endeavouring to stab him in the body. Upon that occasion no notice whatever of the accident was conveyed to the prince of Wales by the court. He was informed of it at Brighthelmstone from the information of a private correspondent; and he immediately repaired to Windsor, where he was received by the queen, but the king did not see him. In this deplorable state of the prince's affairs, the expedient was suggested to his royal highness, by several respectable members of the house of commons, of appealing to the justice and generosity of the nation in parliament. To this measure the prince appears to have assented, as well from a natural wish to free himself from his pecuniary embarrassments, as from a desire of removing any ill impression, that the misfortune of having incurred the royal displeasure, and the consequent refusal of affording him any relief, might have left upon the minds of the public. Accordingly on the day already mentioned, Mr. alderman Newnham demanded of the chancellor of the exchequer, whether it was the intention of ministers to bring forward any proposition for rescuing the prince of Wales from his present embarrassed situation? For though his conduct, under the difficulties with which he laboured, reflected the highest honour on his character, he thought it would bring indelible disgrace upon the nation, if he were suffered to remain any longer in his present reduced circumstances. Mr. Pitt replied, that it was not his duty to bring forward a subject of the nature that had been mentioned, except by the command of his majesty. Mr. Newnham, therefore gave notice of his intention to bring the subject regularly before the house on the 4th of May. In the mean time the friends of the prince were indefatigable in their endeavours, to procure the support of the independent members of parliament to the proposed motion. On the 24th of the same month, Mr. Pitt, after requesting that Mr. Newnham would inform the house more particularly of the motion he intended to make, adverted to the extreme delicacy of the subject; and declared, that the knowledge he possessed of many circumstances relating to it, made him anxious to persuade the house to prevent the discussion of it. Should, however, the honourable member persist in his determination to bring it forward, it would be absolutely necessary to lay those circumstances before the public; and however distressing it might prove to him as an individual, from the profound respect he entertained for every part of the royal family, he should discharge his duty to the public and enter fully into the subject. On the 27th, Mr. Newnham, in compliance with the request that had been made, signified to the house, that the motion he intended to make would be to the following effect: "That an humble address be presented to his majesty, praying him to take into his royal consideration the present state of the affairs of the prince of Wales, and to grant him such relief as his royal wisdom should think fit, and that the house would make good the same." Some debates ensued on the motion, and on the 30th, Mr. Newnham made a few observations upon what had passed during those debates. A violent altercation ensued; and on the day following, overtures were made to his royal highness to bring the business to a private accommodation. On the 3rd, Mr. Pitt had an audience at Carlton House, and the same night the prince was informed by his majesty's command, in general terms, that if the motion intended to be made next day in the house of commons should be withdrawn, every thing might be settled to his highness's satisfaction. Accordingly, Mr. Newnham, upwards of four hundred members being present, said, he felt the highest satisfaction in being able to inform the house, that his intended motion was no longer necessary. Several members joined in expressing, in the warmest terms, the great satisfaction this information afforded them.

In the year 1785, a tax had been imposed upon retail shop-keepers, which was strongly opposed at the time by the inhabitants of London and Westminster, as partial and unjust in its principle, and peculiarly oppressive in its operation upon those two cities. The business was this year committed to Mr. Fox, who on the 24th of April moved the house for the repeal. He said, he had never been forward in opposing taxes, because he thought it the duty, in general, of members of parliament to support government in the arduous and invidious measures of finance; but at the same time he thought there were limits to this duty, and that they were bound to insist upon the abolition of any tax, which upon a fair trial was found to be oppressive and unjust. Such a trial the tax in question had undergone, and it was found by experience to be, a partial tax upon housekeepers, whose houses had shops annexed to them; it was, to all intents and purposes, a personal tax, unjustly levied upon a particular description of men. The partiality of the tax, he said, was in the highest degree glaring. The whole sum assessed for the shop-tax amounted to fifty-nine thousand pounds, of which the cities of London and Westminster, and the adjacent parishes, paid forty-three thousand pounds. In some parts of the kingdom not above one hundred pounds was assessed for a whole county, and not above fifty for a few. If, according to the opinions of some politicians, every place should send such a number of representatives to parliament as was proportionable to their payment of taxes, the inhabitants of London and Westminster would send not less than three hundred and fifty. These facts, Mr. Fox contended, proved the tax to be so partial and unjust in its operations and pressure, that he could not see how the minister could resist the application for its repeal with any colour of reason or candour. Upon a division there appeared for the repeal one hundred and forty-seven, against it one hundred and eighty-three.

On the 30th of May, the king went in the usual state to the house of peers, and the commons being sent for, the speaker, as soon as he came to the bar, addressed his majesty, and stated that he had brought up two bills, by which the house of commons had granted to his majesty an additional supply; and he expressed the satisfaction they felt in having been able to provide for the services of the year without having recourse to any new loan. He then enumerated the principal transactions of the session, as they related to the several objects that had been recommended to their attention at the opening of the session. The royal assent being then given to the bills, the king delivered a speech from the throne, in which he commended their zeal and assiduity, and thanked them for the proofs they had given him, his family, and government, of their attention and regard. The lord chancellor then, by his majesty's command, prorogued the parliament.

A war had for some time raged with the utmost fury between the empress of Russia and the Porte. The empress had

had sought the alliance of most of the European courts; but the disposition of the maritime powers of England and Holland were not yet fully known. The empress intended to send a fleet into the Mediterranean; and the assistance of England was now become necessary. In confidence of English succour, pilot-boats were engaged in this country, to wait in proper stations for the arrival of the Russian fleet, to guide them into those ports, which, being the station of the royal navy arsenals, could the more expeditiously supply them with stores and provisions, and, at the same time, most effectually facilitate their equipment for the Mediterranean service. These objects being attained, the pilots were to conduct them through the Channel, and then to be replaced by a new set, equally versed in the navigation of the more distant seas, which they were to encounter. In the mean time some merchants in London, as agents to the court of Petersburg, had agreed for the hire of eighteen large ships, of four hundred tons, or upwards, to serve as tenders to the Russian fleet, in the conveyance of provisions, stores, arms, artillery, and ammunition. Notwithstanding this promising train, a proclamation appeared in the London Gazette, prohibiting British seamen from entering into any foreign service, which threw a fatal damp upon the design: this was attended with a notice to the contractors for the tenders, that the engagement for supplying them must be renounced; that the ships would not be permitted to proceed; and that government was determined to maintain the strictest neutrality during the war, with respect to all the hostile powers, and consequently should afford no aid whatever to any of them. In consequence of this refusal on the part of the English, Russia applied to Holland for the hire of a number of large transports to answer the same purpose; but here the disappointment was renewed, that government not only absolutely refusing to comply with the request, but declaring its determination to observe the strictest neutrality. This rejection was attributed to the influence of Great Britain at the Hague, and stored up for future remembrance.

The interval between the prorogation of parliament, on the 30th of May, and its subsequent meeting on the 27th of November following, was not distinguished by any remarkable domestic occurrences. The speech from the throne contained a very full and explicit declaration of the reasons which induced the king to assemble the two houses at so early a period. He informed them, that the disputes which subsisted in the republic of the United Provinces had become so critical as to endanger their constitution and independence, and were therefore likely in their consequences to affect the interests of his dominions. That, upon this account, he had endeavoured by his good offices to maintain the lawful government in those countries, and had thought it necessary to explain his intention of counteracting all forcible interference on the part of France: that, in conformity to this principle, when his most Christian Majesty, in consequence of an application for assistance against the king of Prussia, made by the party which had usurped the government of Holland, had notified to him his intention of granting their request, he had declared that he should not remain a quiet spectator, and had given immediate orders for augmenting his forces both by sea and land; and that, in the course of these transactions, he had thought proper to conclude a subsidiary treaty with the landgrave of Hesse Cassel. That the rapid success of the Prussian troops having soon after enabled the provinces to re-establish their lawful government, and all subjects of contest being thus removed, an amicable explanation took place between him and the most Christian king, and both parties had engaged to disarm, and to place their naval establishments on the same footing as at the beginning of the year. His majesty next acquainted them with the friendly assurances he continued to receive from all foreign powers, and with the war that had unfortunately broken out between Russia and the Porte. He further informed them of a convention which had been agreed upon between him and the French king; and that he had ordered copies of the several treaties and declarations, before referred to, to be laid before them. Addresses were moved as usual, and after some trifling debates, passed *nem con.*

Shortly after the commencement of the sessions, Mr. Grenville gave notice, that he should beg leave to propose for the consideration of the house, certain amendments and additions to the bill brought into parliament by his father, for the better regulation of the trials of controverted elections. He explained the objects which his bill had in view, and the means he proposed for obtaining them; namely, to impower a committee to adjudge that the party presenting an election petition, which should turn out to be frivolous, should pay reasonable costs, and to impower them in like manner to oblige the party offering a frivolous pretence or answer to a petition, to pay reasonable costs. He believed such a regulation would save much expence to individuals, and much time and trouble to the house. Another very material inconvenience, he said, called equally for a remedy, which was the want of a rule being laid down to establish the rights of election. To remedy this, he proposed to annex certain provisions to his bill, which he presumed would answer the purport intended, and ascertain the rights of election for the future. The bill was immediately brought in, and read a first time, and ordered to be printed; and, after going through the usual forms in both houses, received the royal assent.

The trade carried on by this country, and other European nations, upon the coast of Africa, for the purpose of purchasing negro slaves, to be employed in the cultivation of the West India islands, and parts of the continent of America, does not seem till lately to have been considered with that general attention, which a practice so abhorrent in its nature to the mild principles of modern policy and manners might have been expected to excite. The first public attempt that was made to put a stop to this inhuman traffic, was said to be by the quakers of the southern provinces of America, who soon after the establishment of their independence, not only presented for this purpose, a strong and pathetic address to their legislative assemblies, but actually proceeded to emancipate the slaves that were in their possession. In Great Britain, the same sect appears also to have taken the lead, and, after the example of their American brethren, presented last year a similar petition to the parliament of this kingdom. The cause soon after became extremely popular. A society was formed, and a considerable sum subscribed, for the purpose of collecting information, and supporting the expence of an application to parliament. Pamphlets were published upon the subject; several eminent divines recommended it from the pulpit and in printed discourses, and in the present session, petitions were presented from the two universities. In the mean time his majesty's ministers thought it their duty to institute an enquiry, before a committee of the privy council, into the facts and allegations contained in the representation of both parties upon the subject; and Mr. Wilberforce, to whom the conduct of that business of the house of commons had been, by a sort of general consent, assigned, having been prevented, by illness, from bringing it before the house, Mr. Pitt, on the 9th of May, moved the following resolution, "That this house will, early in the next session of parliament, proceed to take into consideration the circumstances of the slave trade, complained of in the petitions presented to the house, and conclude on what may be fit to be done thereupon."

Some difficulty attending the introduction of this business before the house, sir William Dolben moved, on the 21st of May, for leave to bring in a bill to regulate the transportation of the natives of Africa, to the British colonies in the West Indies. The regulations of the bill, he said, would regard the number of Africans put on board each ship, limiting the number to the tonnage of the vessel, to prevent their being crowded too closely together; securing to them good and sufficient provisions, and other matters equally conducive to their health, and their accommodation. He declared he should not have thought of bringing in a bill at that late period of the session, were he not convinced of the existence of the grievance to a considerable extent, and, that, by applying an immediate remedy, some thousands of the unhappy persons' lives might be saved before the meeting of the next session.

On the 26th of May, the merchants and other inhabitants of the town and port of Liverpool, presented a petition, stating, that the suppression of the slave trade would be attended with ruinous consequences to many of the petitioners, who had embarked in the trade, and invested their whole property therein; it would be highly injurious to the interest and public revenues of this country; and operate as an effectual bar to future commercial emulation and enterprize; and therefore praying, that they might be heard, by their counsel, against the aboli-

tion or restriction of this trade, before any resolution, or a bill, be passed by the house. On the 2nd of June, the house being in a committee upon the regulating bill, the counsel for the petitioners appeared at the bar. The bill, however, having gone through the house of commons, was carried up to the lords, where it also passed, after having received several amendments; some of which being supposed to trench on the privileges of the lower house, a new bill was brought in, which passed both houses, and received the royal assent.

On the 8th of June, the chancellor of the exchequer drew the attention of the house to the compensation which was intended to be made to the American Loyalists, for the losses they had sustained in consequence of their adherence to the mother country, during the late American war. Mr. Pitt thought they had strong claims on the generosity and compassion of the house. He stated the different descriptions of loyalists, who had preferred their claims before the commissioners appointed to inquire into American claims, and divided them into four classes. In the first, he ranked all those who had resided in America at the commencement of the war, and who, in pursuance of their principles of loyalty and adherence to this country, were obliged to abandon their estates and other property in America, which, as a natural consequence, were seized and confiscated by the Americans. The second class of claimants included those who, though resident in England during the war, had exhibited claims on account of their loss of property in America. The other class of claimants, were those loyalists, who, having either enjoyed places, or exercised professions, in America, had, by being driven away in consequence of their loyalty to this country, lost their incomes. With respect to the West Florida claimants, he should propose to pay them the full amount of their claims, as they stood in a very different predicament from the American claimants, having, in consequence of a peace, which ceded Florida to another power, and which that house had agreed to, been obliged to abandon their habitations and property in West Florida. Having thus explained the several points, and stated that the whole amount of claims was upwards of two millions, exclusive of the four or five hundred thousand pounds which had been already advanced at different periods, he said he should move a general resolution for the amount of that sum to be issued in debentures, bearing three and a half *per cent.* interest, which would, he supposed, be nearly equal to ready-money payment; and he had, on a former occasion, intimated his idea of proposing, with the approbation of the committee, that the whole sum should be paid off by instalment, by means of a lottery. That, however, was reserved for further discussion; it was sufficient for the present to move, "That one million two hundred and twenty-eight thousand two hundred and thirty-nine pounds should be voted for the several American claimants for losses, &c. and one hundred and thirteen thousand nine hundred and fifty-two pounds fourteen shillings and three farthings to the Florida claimants." These propositions, with few exceptions, met with the general approbation of the house (*k*).

On the 31st of January, departed this life at Rome, prince Charles-Edward-Louis-Casimir Stuart. Since the death of his father in 1765, he assumed the title of king of England. He was generally known on the continent by the appellation of the Chevalier de St. George, and in England by that of the Young Pretender. He was sixty-seven years and two months old on the day of his decease. He was the son of James-Francis, prince of Wales, son of James the Second. His mother was the princess Maria-Clementina Sobieski, grand-daughter of the celebrated John Sobieski, king of Poland. She had an immense fortune; a great part of which was consumed in the fruitless attempt made by her son, in 1745, to place his father on the throne of England. She had two sons; Charles, who lately died, and Henry Benedict, who by his father was created duke of York, and who having been promoted to the purple, has been generally known by the name of Cardinal York. The elder son married some years ago, a princess of Stolberg, in Germany; but by her he left no issue. He has left, however, a natural daughter, whom, by his pretended royal power, he created duchess of Albany, and to whom he bequeathed considerable property: to his brother, the cardinal, he left his empty pretensions to the crown of England. The remains of Charles were deposited at Frescati in Italy.

A singular circular letter, concerning the English nation, was now transmitted by order of the emperor of Morocco, to all the European consuls resident within his dominions (*l*).

A treaty of defensive alliance between the king of Great Britain and their high mightinesses the States General of the United Provinces, was signed at the Hague, on the 15th of April, 1788. A defensive treaty between his Britannic majesty and the king of Prussia, was also signed at Berlin, on the 13th of August following.

This year was distinguished by a calamity which seemed to threaten the nation with consequences of a very direful nature. The health of the sovereign had suffered a gradual decline, and from some peculiar symptoms, the king was induced to visit Cheltenham, where he drank liberally of the mineral waters, without exhibiting any symptoms of mental derangement, and did not return to the metropolis until the 18th of August. No benefit answerable to the expectations that had been formed, resulted from this excursion. His health was in a precarious state, and, on the 22nd of October, symptoms were observed by one of the royal physicians, of that alienation of mind which afterwards occasioned so many important transactions (*m*). For some time, it was thought proper to observe as much secrecy as possible respecting the nature of the king's malady. The retreat of the sovereign to Windsor was favourable to this purpose, and for several days an opinion was entertained by the people in general, that his indisposition was a fever, and that it had arisen to so alarming a height as to threaten a speedy dissolution. The real nature of the case, however, could not long be suppressed. Public prayers were offered up to the throne of grace for his recovery, and the private wishes of his loyal subjects accompanied them. By the structure and practice of the English constitution, almost every species of public business is in some degree implicated with the royal prerogatives. The administration of political government, in particular, was by this event virtually suspended from its functions; and notwithstanding the critical situation of Europe, it was now deemed impracticable to return any answer to the dispatches of foreign courts, or of our own ambassadors. In this situation, the most natural expedient was to suffer the two houses of parliament, which stood prorogued till the 20th of November, to meet at that time, and either adjourn for a short interval, or immediately proceed to discuss the measures it would be proper to adopt at the present crisis. Circular letters were accordingly addressed to the members of the legislature on the 14th, signifying to them, that the indisposition of the sovereign rendered it doubtful whether there would be a possibility of receiving his commands for the farther prorogation of parliament. In that case the two houses must of necessity assemble, and the attendance of the different members was earnestly requested. In consequence of which, they hastened to Westminster from all parts of the kingdom.

At the meeting of parliament, the lord chancellor observed in the house of lords, that the reason of their being thus unusually called together, without the ordinary notice for the dispatch of business, arose from the severity of the king's indisposition, which had rendered it impossible for him to approach the royal person, in order to receive his

(*k*) A bill was now brought into the house of commons, for granting to the earl of Newburgh, grandson of the late Charles Radcliffe, and the heirs male of his body, a rent charge of two thousand five hundred pounds, out of the estates forfeited by the earl of Derwentwater, and settled upon Greenwich Hospital. The peculiar hardship of lord Newburgh's case, whose father was an infant when his family were engaged in the rebellion of 1715, had often induced parliament from time to time, during the late and the present reign, to grant certain sums of money for his relief. In the act passed for restoring the forfeited estates, that of the Derwentwater family was not included, but an intention was then declared of making a special provision for the case. Some difficulties occurred with regard to the diminution in the hospital fund, but at last the bill passed as originally stated.

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(*l*) The whole of this curious paper is nothing more than an unqualified assertion, that the English delight in telling lies. We shall, however, select the following article from this curious Imperial epistle.—"According to our religion, a lie is the most abominable of all vices. We never could dive into their character, because they have no other than that of telling lies."

(*m*) Many indeed were of opinion that the king's temporary loss of intellectual capacity, was the consequence of his general abstemious mode of living, though he habituated himself to exercise. His indisposition, however, continued several months, amidst all the exertions of his medical attendants; among whom Dr. Willis is supposed to have had the most perfect knowledge of his case.

commands.

commands. Lord Camden remarked, that the customary practice of giving forty days notice, previously to the meeting of parliament, was not in his opinion absolutely necessary. There was an express act of parliament, that limited the notice in case of treason or rebellion to fourteen days; he therefore recommended an adjournment for that term, and at the same time moved, that the chancellor, by order of the house, should address an official letter to every individual peer. Mr. Pitt observed to the house of commons, that every authority had been consulted respecting the present singular situation of affairs; but they did not point out either the possibility of directing a new prorogation, or enable ministers to open the session of parliament in any regular way. He therefore recommended the interval of a fortnight, when, if the king's illness should unhappily continue, it would be indispensably incumbent upon them to enter upon the immediate consideration of the state of public affairs. Mr. Pitt farther moved a call of the house for the 4th of December, and that the speaker be directed to send circular letters requiring the attendance of every member on that day.

The ministers, by this expedient, removed the difficulties which at first presented themselves, respecting the legal assembling of the two houses of parliament; but the questions that remained were more essential in themselves, and had a greater tendency to interest the passions of mankind. The uniform tenor of all precedents afforded by the History of England, were in favour of a protectorate or regency, under which the whole or a part of the political power should be confided to the next heir to the crown, or to the adult of the royal family most nearly allied to the king (*n*). Three modes of proceeding that might be adopted in the present instance, and three forms of executive government that might be employed for the present temporary purpose, appeared evident to the ministry. Parliament therefore might either be called upon to nominate a council of regency, or they might constitute the prince of Wales regent, at the same time declaring that none of his proceedings should be valid unless approved of by a council so appointed: or they might constitute the prince sole regent, but under such limitations and restrictions, as should be calculated to supersede as much as possible all important changes, and to restrain him from the adoption of any decisive measures. These three projects are supposed to have passed successively under the contemplation of ministers. The two first were rejected as untenable: the most obvious objection against the last was, that the government of England was a limited monarchy.

On the 4th of December, when the parliament re-assembled, a report of the board of privy council, containing an examination of the royal physicians, was presented to the two houses by lord Camden and Mr. Pitt. In the mean time, doubts were suggested by Mr. Vyner, Mr. Fox, and Mr. Burke, whether parliament could, consistently with its privileges and its momentous situation, dispense with that sort of evidence upon which they were accustomed to proceed. Upon these suggestions, administration changed its original design, and it was resolved on the 8th, that each house should appoint a committee of its own members to examine and report the sentiments of the royal physicians. In pursuance of the usual mode of procedure in the two houses, the committee of the house of commons was named on the same day, and the committee of the house of lords on the day following. The number selected in each house was twenty-one. The report of the committee was laid upon the table of the house of commons, on the 10th, when a farther proposition was moved by Mr. Pitt, for the appointment of a committee to examine and report precedents of cases, in which the personal exercise of the royal authority had been prevented or interrupted by infancy, sickness, infirmity, or any other cause. Mr. Fox embraced this opportunity of bringing forward an opinion that was of considerable consequence to the cause of the prince of Wales, and which, if admitted would instantly put an end to those precautions and limitations upon the regency, which it was in the contemplation of ministers to suggest. By that report, they had ascertained that the king was at present incapable of the executive government; and it was the firm opinion of Mr. Fox, that the prince of Wales had as clear and express a right to exercise the powers of sovereignty, during the continuance of the present incapacity, as if his father were actually dead. He did not, however, mean that the prince of Wales could enter upon this exercise at his own pleasure, or was entitled to judge of the circumstances that caused it to be requisite. His right was perfect and entire, but the two houses of parliament, as the organs of the nation, were alone qualified to pronounce when he ought to take possession of his right. He commended the prince of Wales for not bringing forward his claim himself, and choosing rather to wait the decision of the parliament; adding, that his forbearance was to be imputed to his having been bred in the principles which had placed his family on the throne, and to his known veneration for those principles as the fundamentals of our constitution. Mr. Fox observed with respect to precedents, that there were none that applied to the present instance, and that he could therefore conceive no adequate reason for the proposed delay. The motion for a committee of precedents being at length put, was carried without a division. A motion for a similar committee was offered in the house of lords on the day following by lord Camden: and in the course of the debate, lord Stormont adduced an argument from the act of union concerning the election of a regent, and concluded with recommending an address to the prince of Wales, intreating him to assume the exercise of the royal authority.

On the 16th, the house of commons was to resolve itself into a committee on the state of the nation; and on the preceding day an ultimate attempt was made by lord Fitzwilliam and others in the house of lords, to deprecate the discussion of this delicate topic. The duke of York, in particular, expressed his wishes that the question might be waved. The duke of Gloucester confirmed the declaration of the duke of York. Lord Thurlow spoke with great energy of his sentiments of affection towards the king, emphatically exclaiming, "If I forget my king, may God forget me!" This circumstance, however, was obliquely censured by another peer, as having only a personal and interested tendency. The two leading resolutions proposed by Mr. Pitt, in the committee upon the state of the nation, were entirely of a declaratory nature, the first affirming that the personal exercise of the royal authority was interrupted, and the second, that it was the duty of the two houses of parliament to provide the means of supplying that defect. At length, after vehement debates, the house divided, when the numbers appeared, ayes two hundred and sixty-eight, and noes two hundred and four. The third resolution, which was intended by Mr. Pitt to complete the present proceeding, was stated to the house on the same day, but was not regularly debated till the 22nd. Its tenor was to declare that it was not necessary, for the purpose of supplying the present defect, that the two houses should determine on the means by which the royal assent might be given to the bill, which they might adopt for constituting a regency. The object of this proposition was sufficiently obvious. Administration had determined not to confide the regency to the prince of Wales but with certain limitations and restrictions; and they conceived it incumbent upon them to fix those restrictions in the present maimed and defective state of the legislature. All parties were agreed, that the prince of Wales was the proper person to be nominated sole regent, and that, if parliament possessed a discretion, it would be unwise for them to exercise it for any other than this individual purpose. After some debates, when the resolution passed for the second time under the revision of the house, an amendment upon the second of them was moved by Mr. Dempster, declaring, that it was the duty of the two houses to provide the means of supplying the present defect, by presenting an address to the prince of Wales, heir apparent, and of full age, requesting him to take upon himself the administration of the civil and military government during the royal incapacity. The house divided upon this amendment, ayes one hundred and seventy-eight, noes two hundred and fifty-one. The resolutions which had thus been passed were communicated to the house of lords on the following day, and were taken into consideration on the 26th.

A similar motion to that of Mr. Dempster was made by

(*n*) It may be necessary to observe, that soon after the indisposition of the king had been ascertained, the prince of Wales dispatched an express to Mr. Fox, who was then in Italy, requesting his immediate presence to assist him in forming an administration. Mr. Fox arrived in London on the 24th of November, and the rapidity with which he travelled, had been such as to occasion an indisposition, which for several weeks had an alarming appearance. Lord Thurlow assented to become a member of the proposed administration, and the principal officers of state were said to have been arranged.

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lord Rawdon in the other house, and this amendment was supported by lord viscount Stormont and lord Loughborough. When the house divided upon the amendment of lord Rawdon, the contents were sixty-six, non-contents ninety-nine. A protest was entered, signed by the duke of York, the duke of Cumberland, and forty-six other peers (*o*).

Mr. Pitt had fixed upon the 6th of January as the day for explaining to the house of commons the restrictions, which he should propose as necessary to accompany the declaration of a regent. But this topic was procrastinated, in consequence of a motion by Mr. Loveden for the appointment of a fresh committee to enquire into the state of the health of the king; as the royal indisposition was at this time an object of considerable curiosity, and that of consequence various and contradictory rumours would be propagated upon the subject. The degree of uncertainty was increased by the opposition and rivalship that had broken out between doctor Richard Warren, one of the principal physicians in ordinary to the king, and doctor Francis Willis, whose original profession had been that of a clergyman, but had very frequently and successfully attended persons afflicted with the royal malady. Doctor Warren was particularly cautious of delivering any prognostics upon the subject, not choosing to flatter the public with any delusory expectations; while doctor Willis conceived from the first the most sanguine hopes of his patient's recovery, and declared his opinion with a confidence which was ultimately justified by the event. Doctor Willis, therefore, became exceedingly acceptable to the queen; and doctor Warren, by her majesty's interference, was in one instance prevailed on to sign a report of the sovereign's health somewhat more favourable than he thought it ought to have been. At length, Mr. Sheridan moved an amendment upon the proposition for a committee of enquiry, authorising the members not merely to receive the evidence of the royal physicians, but to enquire generally into the state of the king's malady, and the probability of his speedy recovery, and to send for such persons and papers as might conduce to their information. The house divided upon the amendment, ayes one hundred and forty-one, noes two hundred and twenty-one. The report of the committee which was thus instituted, instead of being prepared, as was predicted, in a few hours, occupied a period of seven days. The report was voluminous, and the physicians underwent the most scrupulous examination. But, though a considerable degree of intelligence was thus obtained respecting the nature and symptoms of the royal indisposition, and the treatment the king had received, there did not appear any satisfactory materials, out of which to form a judgement respecting the duration of his disease.

Mr. Pitt's project respecting the form of government to be instituted, seemed to render it necessary for the ministers to consider the prince of Wales in no other light in the commencement of the business, than a privy counsellor and a prince of the blood; and such had been the principle upon which they acted, till their propositions respecting the decision of the question of right, had been ultimately adopted by the two houses of parliament. It was then thought necessary to proceed by bill, or by resolutions to be made the ground-work of a bill, to provide for the administration of the executive government during the period of the royal incapacity. In this situation they conceived themselves at liberty, and consequently regarded it as an act of deference and respect, to communicate to the prince of Wales the propositions they intended to offer to parliament upon this subject. A letter was addressed to him by Mr. Pitt on the 30th of December, informing him that it was the opinion of the king's confidential servants, that he should be empowered to exercise the royal authority during the illness and in the name of his father; providing nevertheless, that the care of the king's person, and the disposition of his household should be committed to the queen; and that the power to be exercised by the prince should not extend to the personal property of his father; to the granting any office, reversion, or pension, except where the law absolutely required it, as in the case of the judges, for any other term than during the king's pleasure; nor to the conferring any peerage, unless upon such persons of the royal issue as should have attained the age of twenty-one years. Mr. Pitt added, that the ideas he had suggested, were founded upon the supposition that the royal malady was only temporary, and might be of short duration. It would be difficult to fix the precise period of which these provisions ought to endure, but it would be open hereafter to the wisdom of parliament to consider them, whenever circumstances might appear to render it eligible.

The prince of Wales's answer is dated on the 2nd of January, 1789, and expresses, with considerable force, the sentiments which he might have been expected to feel upon such an occasion. Respecting the steps already taken he was silent; but it was with deep regret that he perceived, in the propositions of administration, a project for introducing weakness, disorder, and insecurity into every branch of political business; a project for dividing the royal family from each other, for separating the court from the state, and depriving government of its natural and accustomed support; a scheme for disconnecting the authority to command service from the power of animating it by reward, and for alloting to him all the invidious duties of the king by station, without the means of softening them to the public by any one act of grace, or favour.

On the 16th of the same month, Mr. Pitt opened his propositions to the house of commons, and declared, that the report which had just been prepared abundantly confirmed the sentiments he had before entertained upon the subject. He said, that the king's recovery was more probable than the contrary, and that the greatest length to which the malady was ordinarily known to extend, was a year and a half or two years, the shortest three months, and the average five or six. Such was the opinion of Dr. Willis, who of all the king's physicians was most entitled to credit. Mr. Pitt adverted to the regency bills of queen Anne, of king George the First, and king George the Second, where the circumstance in contemplation being a minority, the prospect of a more certain and longer delegation of power was afforded than might be expected in the present instance. In each of these cases, the powers of the crown had been lodged not in one single hand, but in great variety of persons. He owned that he had considerable doubts whether these bills were well adapted to the circumstances of the times in which they had passed, and was of opinion that the political power should be entrusted by parliament to one individual. But as the delegated authority had in former instances been restricted by the mode in which it was distributed, so he deemed it more judicial in the present, that he should have certain limitations. He adverted to the limitation respecting the peerage, and observed, that it could scarcely be maintained, that the want of such an incentive for a few months, was likely to deprive the country of the services of its meritorious citizens. Mr. Grenville discussed the subject at considerable length; and lord North retorted upon ministers what they had employed in a former debate. The measure which parliament was now called upon to adopt, contradicted that maxim of our constitution, that the king could never die. The king, it was true, in his individual and natural capacity, suffered a demise, but the political capacity of the crown was whole and entire, and the reason of this maxim was obviously to guard against and prevent an interregnum of imperial power. Mr. Pitt's project consisted of five propositions. To the first of these, vesting the prince of Wales with the royal authority, subject to such limitations as the parliament should provide, an amendment was moved by Mr. Powys; the object of which was to confer the exercise of the royal authority, unaccompanied by any limitations. This amendment was rejected with the usual majority. Upon the second resolution, relative to the creation of peers, the house divided, ayes two hundred and sixteen, noes one hundred

(*o*) In this stage of the business, an incident occurred, that was calculated to render the singular situation of the two houses of parliament more palpable and conspicuous. Mr. Cornwall, speaker of the house of commons, died after a few days indisposition, on the 2nd of January, 1789. This was a case within the usual sphere of the royal prerogative, it being requisite to proceed to the immediate election of a new speaker, and the person elected not being accustomed to take upon himself the duties of his office, till his appointment had received the approbation of the king. This form it was necessary to dispense with in the present instance, and on the 5th of January it was moved by lord Euston and Mr. Pulteney, that Mr. Grenville, brother to the marquis of Buckingham, be chosen to supply the present vacancy. By Mr. Welbore Ellis, and Mr. Frederic Montagu, in the name of the other party in the house of commons, it was moved, that the speaker to be elected should be sir Gilbert Elliot, who had lately distinguished himself by the proposed impeachment of sir Elijah Impey. Upon this question the house divided, for Mr. Grenville two hundred and fifteen, for sir Gilbert Elliot one hundred and forty-four.

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and fifty-nine. The resolutions that respected the granting offices for life, and the reservation of the king's real and personal property, were then carried without a division. The consideration of the fifth resolution, respecting the guardianship of the royal person, was adjourned to the 19th, and was attended with some degree of debate; when an amendment was moved by Mr. Boverie, to separate that part of the resolution which related to the household; and his motion was rejected upon a division, ayes one hundred and sixty-five, noes two hundred and twenty-nine.

The resolutions on the subject of the regency having undergone so considerable a degree of discussion, the bill which was brought in to carry them into effect, was attended with no remarkable debate, till the 7th of February, when the clauses came to be separately discussed. In the course of the debate, Mr. Pitt brought up certain clauses, enabling parliament to grant a pension of permanent office to any person filling the situation of lord chancellor, or to any person resigning the situation of one of the twelve judges. Mr. Pulteney did not think proper to offer his clause for limiting the duration of the regency, but presented an amendment which was accepted, limiting the duration of the peerage restriction to three years. The bill passed the house of commons on the 12th, and was carried up to the house of lords on the day following. The particular clauses of which bill came under the consideration of the house of lords, on the 17th and 18th, and a few amendments were introduced in this stage of the business. The power of the regent was limited in respect to the peerages to be conferred upon the members of the royal family, to such of them as should be resident in Great Britain, and a clause was introduced for vesting in the queen the guardianship of such of the royal children as had not attained the age of twenty years.

The further proceedings on this extraordinary business were suddenly suspended by the symptoms which now manifested themselves of the king's recovery. On the 12th of February, he was declared by his physicians to be in a state of progressive amendment; and on the 17th they declared his majesty to be in a state of convalescence. In consequence whereof the lord chancellor, on the third day of the intended committee of the house of lords upon the regency bill, moved an adjournment of all farther proceedings upon the subject. On the 25th the king was declared by his physicians free from complaint, and two days after, the reports of his health, which had been daily issued, were discontinued by the royal command. The two houses of parliament continued to sit by various adjournments, till the 10th of March, when the lord chancellor, commissioned by the sovereign, addressed them in a speech, and the ordinary business of the session regularly commenced. Addresses of congratulation were presented; illuminations demonstrated the joy of the people in every part of the kingdom; and a general thanksgiving was solemnized on the festival of St. George; the lords and commons attending their sovereign and his family, on this extraordinary occasion, to the cathedral of Saint Paul (*p*).

In the speech delivered by the chancellor, in the name of his majesty, to the two houses of parliament, the king conveyed to them his warmest acknowledgements for the additional proofs they had given of their attachment to his person, their concern for the honour and interests of his crown, and the security and good government of his dominions. He communicated to them the treaty of alliance which he had concluded with the king of Prussia, and mentioned the endeavours he had employed to prevent, as far as possible, the extension of hostilities in the North, and to manifest his desire of a general peace. In the conversation that took place upon the motion of address, in return for the speech that had been delivered, earl Stanhope expressed a doubt as to the propriety of the present proceeding. He had no hesitation, he said, in giving a full confidence to the fact of the king's recovery, but doubted whether the present measure was strictly parliamentary. The two houses had determined that the king was rendered incapable by illness of executing the duties of his office, and they had just declared their opinion, in the provisions of the regency bill, respecting the manner in which it was proper he should resume the royal authority. If the king could of himself declare his recovery, such provisions had been superfluous and nugatory. Lord Thurlow replied, that no declaration of the two houses, on account of the king's illness, could take from him the right of governing, nor any clause in such a bill interrupt the resumption of his powers upon the restoration of his health. It was accordingly on the same day moved by lord Hawkesbury that the bill be rejected. The two houses accompanied their address to the king, with an address of congratulation to the queen, upon the fortunate termination of her late calamity.

One of the earliest topics of revenue that engaged the attention of parliament, after the king's restoration to health, was Mr. Fox's annual motion for a repeal of the shop tax; and Mr. Pitt consented to a measure, so earnestly and unremittingly demanded by the persons immediately affected by the tax.

A bill now passed for an extension of the laws of excise, for the purpose of preventing an evasion of the duties on tobacco. Though some of its restrictions appeared rigorous, if not unjust, it was not strongly opposed.

Mr. Beaufoy, on the 8th of May, introduced the motion, which he had two years before submitted to the house of commons, for the repeal of the corporation and test acts. This motion was opposed by lord North and Mr. Pitt, and upon a division the numbers appeared, ayes one hundred and two, noes one hundred and twenty-two.

Mr. Beaufoy also introduced a bill for the purpose of instituting a festival for the commemoration of the Revolution. The bill had originated in the circumstance of the preceding year, being the last in completing a century from that important event. The period had been celebrated in many parts of the kingdom with great zeal and solemnity, and a project had been formed, at the head of which were Mr. Fox and Mr. Sheridan, for the purpose of erecting a column in memory of this illustrious æra, which was to be seated upon the plains of Runnemede, the scene where the barons of old had extorted from king John the confirmation of Magna Charta. The bill was supported by Mr. Sheridan, but met with more opposition than might have been expected. It passed the house of commons, but was rejected upon the first reading in the house of lords.

The subject of the slave trade, which had been suggested to the consideration of parliament, in the preceding session, was not regularly resumed till the 12th of May. In the interval, various petitions had been presented in the last and present session from persons principally interested, the object of which was to demand that so fatal a measure as the abolition of the African trade might not be adopted. In the mean time, the report of the committee of privy council, of which Mr. Pitt had given notice in the preceding session, was laid upon the table of the house of commons, on the 25th of April, and the regular discussion of the business was at length opened by Mr. Wilberforce, in an elegant and energetic speech (*q*). After the debate, the house of commons proceeded to the hearing

(*p*) The guns in the Tower and in the Park were fired three times; first, upon the king's setting out; secondly, at the singing of *Te Deum*; and thirdly, upon his majesty's return: after which, the brigade of foot guards fired a *feu-de-joie* in St. James's Park, being drawn up in the queen's palace.

(*q*) In the course of his speech, Mr. Wilberforce noticed the evidence of Mr. Norris from Liverpool, which he observed was delivered in a manner that fully demonstrated that interest could draw a film over the eyes so thick, that total blindness could do no more. "Their apartments," said the evidence, "are fitted up as much for their advantage as circumstances will admit. They have several meals a day, some of their own country provisions, with the best sauces of African cookery, and by way of variety another meal of pulse, &c. according to the European taste. After breakfast they have water to wash themselves, while their apartments are perfumed with frankincense and lime juice. Before dinner, they are amused after the manner of their country; the song and the dance are promoted, and games of chance are furnished. The men play and sing, while the women and girls make fanciful ornaments with beads, with which they are plentifully supplied." Such was the strain, said Mr. Wilberforce, in which the Liverpool delegates gave their evidence before the privy council. What would the house think, when by the concurring testimony of other witnesses, the true history was laid open? The slaves, who were sometimes described as rejoicing in their captivity, were so wrung with misery at leaving their country, that it was the constant practice to set sail in the night, lest they should be sensible of their departure. Their accommodations, it seemed, were convenient. The right ancle of one indeed was connected with the left ancle of the other, by a small iron fetter, and if they were turbulent, by another on the wrists. The pulse which Mr. Norris mentioned, were horse-beans. He also talked of frankincense and lime-juice, while the surgeons described the slaves as so closely stowed, that there was not room to tread among them; and while it was proved in evidence by sir George Yonge, that even in a ship that wanted two hundred of her complement, the stench was intolerable. The song and the dance, said Mr. Norris, are promoted. The real truth was, that for the sake of exercise, those miserable wretches, loaded with chains, and oppressed with disease, were forced

hearing of witnesses upon this important subject; at the same time that several attempts were made on the part of the West India proprietors, to procrastinate and interrupt the progress of the business. A motion was twice made for a call of the house, to attain a full attendance at the period of the ultimate decision, and, at length, on the 23rd of June, Mr. alderman Newnham, with the consent of Mr. Wilberforce, moved that the farther consideration of the subject should be deferred to the next session; and the question was carried without a division.

The office of speaker of the house of commons became vacant in June, by the promotion of Mr. Grenville to the situation of one of the principal secretaries of state, on the resignation of lord Sydney. On this occasion it was moved by the marquis of Graham, and Mr. Grosvenor, that Mr. Henry Addington, the personal friend of Mr. Pitt, and the son of Dr. Stephen Addington, physician to Mr. Pitt's family, should be appointed to the chair. Sir Gilbert Elliot was proposed on the part of opposition, and Mr. Fox and Mr. Burke, in support of this amendment, did not fail to mention the youth and inexperience of his competitor. At length the house divided, and the numbers appeared, in favour of Mr. Addington, two hundred and fifteen, and of sir Gilbert Elliot, one hundred and forty-two.

A discussion occurred in the house of commons on the 6th of July, relative to an application that had been made to ministers, by the French government, to permit the exportation of twenty thousand sacks of flour, for the relief of the inhabitants of that country, in the extreme scarcity under which they laboured. Mr. Pulteney having proposed a question to the minister upon the subject, Mr. Pitt replied, that the application was such, as upon a cursory view, seemed improper to be complied with; but that government had not yet sufficiently digested their inquiries upon the subject, and that when they had, they would state the result to the consideration of the house. Mr. Orde and Mr. Windham lamented that the topic had even been mentioned in that public manner. It might lead to very great inconvenience, and the price of corn might rise so suddenly, as to produce all the ill effects of a scarcity at home. They wished government had done whatever to them appeared proper, and had afterwards applied to parliament for a bill of indemnity. As the subject appeared to be of such a nature as by no means to admit of suspence, Mr. Pitt, on the following day, presented the minutes of the examination taken by the privy council, and named a committee of fifteen persons to take the question into consideration. The committee, after retiring, came to a resolution, that from a comparative view of the prices of wheat and flour in France and England, twenty thousand sacks of flour ought not to be exported.

On the 11th of August, the session of parliament was concluded by a speech delivered from the lord chancellor, in the name of the sovereign, in which it was observed, that, though the good offices of himself and his allies had not been effectual for restoring general tranquillity to Europe, the king had the satisfaction of perceiving that the farther extension of hostilities had been prevented, and that the aspect of affairs continued to promise to this country the uninterrupted enjoyment of the blessings of peace (*r*).

By intelligence from the East, it appeared that lord Cornwallis had totally abolished the slave trade in Bengal, and had issued a proclamation declaring, "That all persons who may hereafter be found either directly or indirectly concerned therein, shall be prosecuted in the supreme court; and, if a British subject, shall, on conviction, be dispatched to Europe. A reward of one hundred rupees is offered for discovering any offender against the proclamation, and fifty rupees more for every person who is delivered from slavery, or illegal confinement, in consequence of such discovery."

The parliament which had been elected in 1784, met for its last session on the 21st of January, 1790. In the speech from the throne, his majesty informed them, that since the last meeting, the continuance of the war upon the continent, and the internal situation of different parts of Europe, had produced events which had engaged his most serious attention. That he received continual assurances of the pacific disposition of foreign powers towards this country; and experienced great consolation in reflecting on the happiness we enjoyed in the increasing advantages of peace, and the uninterrupted possession of those invaluable blessings, which we derived from our excellent constitution. Towards the conclusion, he mentioned the order of council which had been issued with a view to the apprehended scarcity of corn, which measure, as it exceeded the legal authority vested in the executive power, was taken into the early consideration of parliament, and provided for by an act of indemnity passed for that purpose.

The next object of discussion which engaged the house this session, was the augmentation of the income of the speaker. His salary, exclusive of services of plate, and other incidental advantages, amounted to three thousand pounds *per annum*. Mr. Hussey opposed this augmentation as tending to increase the influence of the crown; and particularly complained of that part of the motion, by which it was supposed the additional salary would be taken out of the sinking fund, and not out of the civil list. It was intended to raise the income of the speaker's office to the annual amount of five thousand pounds, which sum Mr. Burke stated as being even then insufficient; and in this opinion the house so completely coincided, that an amendment for increasing the specific sum of six thousand pounds, was carried by a majority of more than five to one.

A topic which called forth an effort of ability, was the motion of Mr. Sheridan for a repeal of the act of the preceding year, subjecting the manufacturers of tobacco to the survey of the excise. The manufacturers were heard by their counsel, and a considerable body of evidence was adduced, to prove the allegation which had been stated while the act itself was in progress, that the survey of the excise was inapplicable to the manufacture of tobacco. Mr. Sheridan introduced his motion on the 16th of April, and in a train of the most forcible evidence endeavoured to set forth all the enormities with which the collection of the excise was attended (*s*). Mr. Sheridan's motion was, however, negatived; ayes one hundred and forty-seven, noes one hundred and ninety-one. The object of the petitioners being thus disposed of, Mr. Pitt introduced, as he had promised, a bill to explain and amend the exceptionable clauses of the bill of the preceding year.

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forced to dance by the terror of the lash, and sometimes by the actual use of it. "I," said one of the witnesses, "was employed to dance the men, while another person danced the women." And it might also be observed with respect to food, that instruments were sometimes carried out in order to force them to eat, which was the same sort of proof how much they enjoyed themselves in this instance also. With respect to their singing, it consisted of songs of lamentation on their departure, which, while they sung, they were always in tears. That he might not trust, however, too much to any sort of description, Mr. Wilberforce called the attention of the house to one species of evidence, which was infallible. Death was a witness that could not deceive them. It would be found upon an average of all the ships upon which evidence had been given, that, exclusively of such as perished before they sailed, not less than twelve and a half *per cent.* died in the passage. Besides these, the Jamaica reports stated, that four and a half *per cent.* expired upon shore before the day of sale, which was only a week or two from the time of their landing; one-third more died in the seasoning, and this in a climate exactly similar to their own, and where, as some of the witnesses pretended, they were healthy and happy. The diseases, however, that they contracted on ship-board, the astringents and washes that were employed to hide the wounds, and make them up for sale, were a principal cause of this mortality. The negroes were not purchased at first except in perfect health, and the sum of the different casualties taken together, produced a mortality of above fifty *per cent.*

(*r*) The 19th of November announced the completion of the greatest object of internal navigation in this kingdom. The Severn was united to the Thames by an intermediate canal ascending by Stroud, through the vale of Chalford, to the height of three hundred and forty-three feet, by forty-locks; there entering a tunnel through the hill Sapertra, for the length of two miles and three furlongs, and descending by twenty-two locks, it joined the Thames near Lechlade.

(*s*) While Mr. Sheridan was speaking on this subject, he held in his hand a book, which contained only ten acts of parliament for enforcing the collection of the revenue by excise; and he would venture to declare, he said, that in no age or country had the blackest despotism pursued measures more tyrannical, cruel, and oppressive, than were to be found in that book. He further observed, that in the reign of Charles II. when the system began to appear, an excise officer could not break into a house, without an information upon oath, without a warrant from a justice of peace, and the presence of a constable; and no house, even with all these precautions, could be entered by an exciseman in the night. By degrees all these barriers, erected for the protection of liberty, were beaten down. There were certain cases in which the trader was admitted to appeal to trial by jury; but even here the tradesman and the exciseman did not go into court upon equal terms. If goods were seized, the owner was obliged to prove that they had paid the duty: but the officer was not obliged to prove that they were seizable. The officer could bring his action within three *years*, the trader within three *months*. The latter was compelled to give notice in writing of the grounds on which he intended to proceed. He was restrained at the time of trial from entering into any fresh evidence; and after all, though the jury on finding the conduct of the officer to be vexatious, malicious, and oppressive, should give the trader five thousand pounds damages, yet if the judge should certify that there was probable ground for the seizure, these damages might not amount to two-pence.

One of the financial measures of the preceding session had been the introduction of a tontine, or scheme of annuity with benefit of survivorship. This measure had failed in the execution, the numbers of subscribers being extremely few; and Mr. Pitt accordingly found it necessary at this time to amend his original proposition, by granting to the subscribers an option of exchanging the shares of their tontine for an equivalent amount of long annuity for the term of sixty-nine years.

The motion for the repeal of the Corporation and Test acts came on again this session. The efforts upon the present occasion were more animated than those which had been made upon the two former; the dissenters had prevailed upon Mr. Fox to undertake the introduction of the intended motion: and the clergy of the church of England, alarmed perhaps at the rapid downfall of the pecuniary and territorial eminence of the Gallican church, strenuously exerted themselves to keep alive and diffuse a spirit of opposition, against the encroachment that they imagined was intended upon their exclusive privileges. The question was discussed in the house of commons on the 2nd of March. When the house divided upon the question there appeared, ayes one hundred and five, noes two hundred and ninety-four.

A few days after, a motion was made by Mr. Flood for leave to bring in a bill, on the subject of the equal representation of the people in parliament. This topic had met with a considerable degree of attention from the people towards the close of the American war. Associations had been formed, and petitions originated, for the purpose of obtaining an amendment of the constitution; but, as the immediate cause of the discontent was removed, the spirit of reform subsided, and the last attempt that was made upon the subject, with less hope of success than the instances that had preceded, was upon the motion of Mr. Pitt in 1785. The question had been forgotten by the nation at large; and men of extensive property and hereditary wealth conceived themselves to have too obvious an interest, in preserving the inequality, not anxiously to exert themselves to stifle so dangerous a spirit. Mr. Flood began with informing the house of a truth, which but from a confidence in their virtue, as he said, he should not have dared to have uttered; that they were not the adequate representatives of the people. That they were the legal representatives he admitted: nay, he would go farther, and say, that they were a highly useful and honourable council, a council which in any other government of Europe, would be a great acquisition. But, to the honour of our country, the British constitution entitled us to something better. Representation, he said, was the great arcanum and wise mystery of our government, by which it excelled all the states of antiquity (*u*). Mr. Flood's proposition was, that one hundred members should be added to the present house of commons, to be elected by a new and numerous body of electors, the resident freeholders in every county. It was on all hands admitted, that every individual in this country paid upon an average fifty shillings *per annum* to the revenue. The master or father of a family coutributed in proportion for himself and all its members. Who shall say, that this class of men ought to be confounded with the rabble? Who should dare to say, that they ought to be proscribed from franchise? They maintained the affluence of the rich, the dignity of the noble, and the majesty of the crown; they supported our fleets and our armies. Could we deny them the right to protect their liberty? But, so great was the clamour against Mr. Flood's hypothesis, that, borne down by a torrent of ministerialists, he at length consented to withdraw his proposition.

The propriety of continuing the slave trade was again discussed in this session. Early in the year 1790, Mr. Wilberforce revived his proposition, and exerted his eloquence with considerable weight against this degrading species of commerce, which was, however, defended by Mr. Jenkinson, colonel Tarleton, and several other members. The evidence of the planters not being completed, he moved, that the remainder of the witnesses should be examined by a select committee, and not by the house at large. This proposition was opposed by the majority of the persons interested, upon the ground that there was no precedent for referring so important a question to a select committee. The motion, however, was voted without a division, and the examination of witnesses proceeded. The evidence on the part of the trade concluded about the 23rd of April. Mr. Wilberforce now moved, that evidence should be heard on the part of the abolition. But, upon this occasion, the partizans of the trade changed their ground, and as eagerly called for an immediate decision, as they had before avoided it. It was said, that during the two last years, the enthusiasm upon the present question both in and out of the house had greatly abated.

The two members for Liverpool differed in some degree in their sentiments upon the present question. Lord Penrhyn was for pressing the subject to an immediate decision, while Mr. Gascoyne was willing to allow three weeks to the friends of the abolition, to collect their witnesses: their impatience, however, was overruled by the sense of the house. In the mean time, the reinforcements they had gained, encouraged them to become more adventurous; and upon the revisal of sir William Dolben's bill, for limiting the number of slaves to be transported in each slave ship, they proposed an amendment to increase the number in proportion to the tonnage of the ships, without ascertaining, as had hitherto been done, the extent of these superfices. This amendment was carried in a thin house on the 26th of May; ayes twenty-three, noes eighteen. But the planters were not suffered to retain their advantage; and on the next day the amendment was rejected upon the report; ayes ninety-five, noes sixty-nine.

Mr. Fox, in the course of the session, recalled the attention of the house, to a pledge voted in the year 1788, that "they would early in the next session take into consideration the government proper to be established in Canada." The next session, as he observed, had not properly commenced till March, and it was owing to that circumstance that the business had been suffered to pass at that time without discussion. But he conceived that it was incumbent upon ministers, after so long a delay, to proceed to something decisive in the present year. Mr. Grenville, secretary of state, undertook to shew that the delay was not ascribable to any negligence in him. He had not been appointed to his present office till July 1789. With great application, he had been able, in about three months from that time, to study the subject, to digest his own opinions respecting it, to compare them with the opinions of the other members of the cabinet, and to mature the whole into the form of a bill, such as he thought proper to be submitted to the consideration of parliament. This business being completed, he sent out his draught to lord Dorchester, governor of Canada, for his judgement. Unfortunately, the packet in which it was conveyed, did not perform its voyage in the usual time, in consequence of which lord Dorchester's answer was not yet received. It was impossible, therefore, to proceed farther in the business in the present session.

The business of the session was approaching to a conclusion, when, on the 5th of May, a new and unexpected transaction was submitted to the consideration of parliament. It consisted in certain hostilities committed by the Spaniards upon the north-western coast of America, for which satisfaction had been demanded and refused; and which of consequence, were considered as rendering an armament necessary, to induce the Spaniards to make a compensation for the injury they had committed. A small association of British merchants resident in the East Indies, had early in 1786, formed the project of opening a trade to this part of the world, for the purpose of supplying the Chinese market with furs. The principal point towards which these expeditions were directed, was Port Nootka, or King George's Sound; and the adventurers, finding their traffic advantageous, endeavoured in 1788, to secure to themselves a permanent settlement; at the same time that the shipping employed in this expedition, was only from two to four small vessels. The Spaniards, jealous of the intrusion of the English into a part of the world, which they seemed to regard as their exclusive property; dispatched a Spanish frigate of twenty-six guns, from the province of Mexico, for the purpose of annihilating this commerce. The Spanish frigate arrived in May, 1789, and captured two English vessels in the following July, at the same time taking possession of the little settlement and fort, which had been formed upon the coast. This

(*u*) In the course of his speech Mr. Flood observed, that the freeholders, who originally included the whole property of the country, now constituted only a small part of it. What was worse, the majority of the representatives who decided for the whole, and acted for eight millions of people, were chosen by a number of electors, not exceeding six or eight thousand.

transaction

transaction was first notified to the government by the Spanish ambassador, resident at the court of London, who at the same time demanded, that measures should be taken by the English government, to prevent the inhabitants from frequenting these coasts, which were alledged to have been previously occupied by the subjects of Spain. In their remonstrance they even pretended that the whole coast from Cape Horn to the sixtieth degree of northern latitude, belonged to their sovereign. Complaints were made by the British court against this outrageous conduct, and satisfaction required; and, to enforce a demand in which the king of Spain was not inclined to acquiesce, naval preparations were expedited. Both houses offered to support his majesty on the occasion; and, though many were of opinion that the object was too trivial for a cause of war, the majority of the public were advocates for vigorous proceedings. By the answer from the court of Spain, it appeared that the captured vessels and their crews had been set at liberty by the viceroy of Mexico, on the supposition, as he declared, that nothing but an ignorance of the rights of Spain, could have encouraged the individuals of other nations to attempt establishments upon that coast, and in conformity to his previous instructions to shew all possible regard to the British flag. No farther satisfaction was either made or afforded, and a direct claim was set up by the court of Spain to the exclusive rights of sovereignty, navigation, and commerce in the territories and coasts of that part of the world.

Whether Spain was seeking a pretence for hostilities, by this unexpected transaction, we cannot pretend to determine. Charles the Third, their late sovereign, died in December 1788, and consequently before we can impute a premeditated intention of hostility, we must suppose an absolute coincidence of views between him and Charles the Fourth, his successor.

The claim of the court of Spain was certainly the most absurd and exorbitant that could be imagined; it originated in no treaty, and was indefinite in its extent. If we submitted to it, we must expect to be deprived of our South Sea fishery, a commerce which promised to afford us the most considerable advantages. Mr. Fox, in a debate on this subject, declared, that no man felt a warmer resentment in the unprovoked aggression of the court of Spain, or was more fully persuaded of the necessity of an immediate and vigorous armament than he was. It was now hardly a fortnight since the minister had expatiated on the flourishing state of the finances, and in no part of his argument did he seem more confident, than in the assurance he had given the house of the probable continuance of peace; yet at the moment that Mr. Pitt was vaunting of the resources of the country, he must have known that Spain had seized upon British ships, made prisoners of the crews, and confiscated the property they contained. Mr. Fox then moved, that there should be laid before the house, the intelligence which had been obtained concerning the captured ships, and such information as had been received concerning the armament in the Spanish ports, together with the dates of that information. The first of these motions was carried, and the second passed in the negative, it being alledged that the publication of such an account was calculated to betray the channel through which the intelligence had been obtained. On the 10th, Mr. Pitt moved for a vote of credit to the amount of one million sterling. In the mean time opposition obtained information which they deemed credible, that the first notification of the Spanish ambassador had passed so long ago as the 10th of the preceding February; and this circumstance they were desirous to ascertain in an authentic form, as it appeared to them materially to criminate the conduct of administration. In the mean time, Mr. Pitt observed, that he had not understood the communication of the Spanish ambassador as included in the intelligence moved for, by Mr. Fox, or he should certainly have opposed the granting that intelligence; of consequence the other side of the house had no reason to flatter themselves, that this communication would be produced together with the other papers. Accordingly, a distinct motion was shortly after brought forward by Mr. Grey, for the purpose of obtaining it. It was necessary, he said, to obtain information, that it might be seen whether we had been hurried on to the eve of war by the rashness, the credulity, and the inattention of ministers, or whether it had arisen from unavoidable circumstances, and such as no human foresight could have prevented. Mr. Pitt had been acquainted with the unjust and insulting conduct of Spain for no less than three months. His conduct had therefore been unwarrantable, in holding out to the public the ideas which had accompanied his opening of the budget; and he ought to ask pardon of the parliament and of the nation. Mr. Lambton seconded the motion, and deprecated the wantonly precipitating the nation in hostilities. The house divided upon the question, ayes one hundred and twenty, noes two hundred and thirteen. A motion was then made for the date of the paper only, and likewise rejected.

On the 10th of June the king terminated the session by a speech from the throne. He said, that he had not hitherto received the answer of the court of Madrid. He entertained the strongest desire for the maintenance of peace, upon just and honourable grounds; but under the present circumstances he felt it necessary to proceed with vigour in the armament. He had received the most unequivocal assurances of the support of his allies on this interesting occasion; and he trusted their mutual good understanding would be productive of the happiest effects. The king proceeded to acquaint parliament of his intention immediately to dissolve them, at the same time expressing a deep and grateful sense of their loyalty and constitutional principles.

On the 13th, the court of Spain delivered a memorial to Mr. Fitzherbert, his Britannic majesty's ambassador at Madrid, in which the Spanish court endeavoured to justify their proceedings at Nootka. To this memorial Mr. Fitzherbert delivered a spirited answer, which drew a reply from the count de Florida Blanca on the 18th. However, this affair was brought to a conclusion on the 24th of July; when a declaration (*v*) and counter-declaration was signed at Madrid between the Spanish minister and the British ambassador (*w*).

The new parliament assembled on the 25th of November,

(*v*) Besides the particulars which we have already mentioned, the declaration provided, that the English should not sail or carry on their fisheries, either in the north or south Pacific, within the space of ten leagues from the coasts occupied by the subjects of Spain, and should not form any settlements to the southward of the eastern and western coasts of South America, which were already in Spanish occupancy; but might land in those southern districts, and erect temporary huts for their fisheries. Respecting the territory of Nootka, and other parts situated to the northward of the districts occupied by the Spaniards, it was stipulated, that if individuals of either nation should have formed settlements since April 1789, or should hereafter form such colonial arrangements, the subjects of both nations should have free access, and might trade without any kind of molestation.

(*w*) On the same day the following authentic paper appeared in the London Gazette:

DECLARATION.

"His Britannic majesty having complained of the capture of certain vessels belonging to his subjects in the port of Nootka, situated on the north-west coast of America, by an officer in the service of the king: the undersigned counsellor and principal secretary of state to his majesty, being thereto duly authorized, declares, in the name and by the order of his said majesty, that he is willing to give satisfaction to his Britannic majesty for the injury of which he has complained; fully persuaded that his said Britannic majesty would act in the same manner towards the king, under similar circumstances; and his majesty farther engages to make full restitution of all the British vessels which were captured at Nootka, and to indemnify the parties interested in those vessels, for the losses which they shall have sustained, as soon as the amount thereof shall have been ascertained.

"It being understood that this declaration is not to preclude or prejudice the ulterior discussion of any right which his majesty may claim to form an exclusive establishment at the port of Nootka.

(Signed) (L. S.) "Le Compte de Florida Blanca."

N. B. The counter-declaration, signed by Alleyne Fitzherbert, would be superfluous here.

In March accounts were received at the admiralty of a mutiny on board the Bounty armed ship, captain Bligh, in the South Sea. The ship sailed from England in the autumn of 1787, on a voyage to the Society Islands, for bread fruit trees. The Bounty had made good the object of her voyage, so far as to have received on board a great number of trees; and there was every prospect of their being capable of preservation. The ship thus laden, quitted Otaheite on the 4th of April, 1789, and every thing like good order was supposed to prevail on board. Even the mid-watch was relieved, without the least apparent disorder; but, at day-break, on the 28th, the cabin of captain Bligh was forcibly entered by the officer of the watch, assisted by three others, who dragged him instantly on the deck, menacing his life if he attempted to speak. His endeavours to bring back the conspirators to their duty proved of no avail. Each of the desperadoes was armed with a drawn cutlass, or fixed bayonet, and all their musquets were avowed to be charged. Captain Bligh saw, when he came upon deck, several of the crew, and most of the officers pinioned; the ship's boat was let over her side, and all who were not on the part of the conspirators, to the number of eighteen, besides the captain, were committed to the boat, with an inconsiderable quantity of provisions and water. One of the victims secured a compass and a quadrant, as they were stepping into the boat; and the mutineers, after giving them a cheer, stood away, as they pretended, for Otaheite.

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ber, and on the following day his majesty opened the session by a speech from the throne. He began with testifying his satisfaction that the differences with the court of Spain had been amicably terminated. He informed the parliament, that since the last session, a foundation had been laid for pacification between Austria and the Porte, and for adjusting the dissentions in the Netherlands. He remarked, that a separate peace had taken place between Russia and Sweden; but as the war still continued between the former of these powers and the Porte, he intimated an intention of exerting the influence of Great Britain in restoring general tranquillity. On the 30th, an address was moved and carried without a division.

About this period a very important business engaged the attention of the British legislature; it was respecting a continuation of the war which had for some time been carried on between the subjects of his Britannic majesty in the East Indies, and Tippoo Sultan. The origin of the war may be thus briefly stated. The rajah of Travancour having purchased of the Dutch the ports of Cranganore and Jacottah, refused to comply with the demand of the sultan Tippoo, who, declaring himself the feudal sovereign of that part of the coast, had insisted on the renunciation of the agreement (*x*).

Mr. Hippesley proposed, that copies of the correspondence relative to the attack of Tippoo Sultan on the lines of Travancour, should be laid before the house. He supported his motion by a statement of the particulars, and insisted principally on the ancient feudal claim of the Sultans of Mysore to the forts of Cranganore, &c. on the pacific intentions of Tippoo, and on the report of his offer to submit the dispute to an equitable arbitration. He considered the purchase of the fort by the rajah of Travancour, as the effect only of unwarrantable ambition, and as a fair cause of uneasiness and complaint to the neighbouring powers. Travancour he admitted to be the ally of Great Britain, who had certainly guarantied all our lawful possessions: but he asserted that it was a most mischievous principle, that we were bound to protect her in every ambitious scheme for the extension of dominion, whether by purchase or otherwise. The native powers, he asserted, neither were, nor could be, radically friendly to the English. Little dependence was to be placed upon the Nizam or the Mahrattas: both these powers were notorious for their perfidy. However flourishing our force in India, there was reason to believe that Tippoo had kept equal pace with our improvement. He had a force of one hundred and fifty thousand men, a large corps of Europeans, well officered, an admirable artillery, well served. He had a revenue of five millions sterling, and a treasury of eight or nine millions. To these resources we had to oppose an exhausted treasury, and a tottering credit. Mr. Hippesley deprecated a war in India, and entered into a forcible detail of the difficulties and miseries which would attend it in that part of the world.

Mr. Francis supported Mr. Hippesley's reasoning, by shewing that it had ever been considered by all good statesmen, that to increase our territories in India was a destructive policy to this country. Between the Nizam and Tippoo there subsisted a mutual jealousy, by means of which they might be prevented from employing their power to the prejudice of our settlements. The Mahrattas again were the most formidable power in India; and on this account it would be dangerous to extirpate Tippoo, even were it in our power, as he served particularly to maintain the balance of India. Mr. Fox observed, that the extirpation of Tippoo would not be a politic measure: however he might detest his vices, with the Mysore country, we ought to be friendly, as it was a strong barrier between the most powerful states of India and our settlements. Mr. Pitt, Mr. D. Scott, and colonel Macleod, supported the necessity of the war, and represented Tippoo as a merciless tyrant. The question was, however, carried in favour of the production of the papers.

On the 28th of February, Mr. Hippesley renewed his former motion on the Indian war; but his ill state of health only permitted him to move the reading of the acts of parliament and resolutions of the house of commons, which prohibit the British governors in India from entering into offensive war. The reading of these was followed by that of several extracts from the correspondence of the government and council of Fort St. George. After the reading of these papers, Mr. Francis rose at the request of Mr. Hippesley, and in a very able speech explained the causes of the war, which he entirely attributed to the policy of the Dutch, and the ambition and the imprudence of the rajah of Travancour. He said it was a mistake to suppose that a war in India did not affect the best interests of Great Britain; for India did not possess the means of supporting the war for a single hour, but by incurring debts which must be paid by England. He censured the appointment of a military officer, over the immense civil as well as military government of Bengal, observing that the preservation of peace could not be the predominant passion of men educated in a camp. From a civil to a military, from a military to an arbitrary government, the gradations are easy, and the progress rapid. The same facts which counteract principles to-day, will be precedents to-morrow, and principles the day after. He endeavoured to shew that the rajah was the aggressor, in making what Mr. Francis termed a collusive purchase from the Dutch: the aggressor, he said, should alone be answerable for his aggression: and as to the forts themselves, they were allowed to be of no use or importance, and ought in fact to be demolished. He pressed the necessity of preserving the balance of power in India, by keeping Tippoo as a counterpoise to the Mahrattas: and quoted the authority of Mr. Dupré, Mr. Hastings, lord Clive, and several others. Mr. Francis concluded with a series of motions, the object of which was to censure the origin, and prevent the prosecution of the war.

Mr. Fox reprobated the treaties which had been entered into with the Nizam and the Mahrattas for the extirpation of Tippoo. At a time when the enlightened policy of all Europe led them to renounce their offensive alliances, we were pursuing this disgraceful system in India. The rajah, he asserted, was the aggressor even to us, by purchasing the forts contrary to our advice. But supposing Tippoo to have been the aggressor, what right had we to ask for more than adequate satisfaction? We censured his conduct, but did not look at the injustice of our own. He professed to have a claim upon Cranganore, and aimed at recovering his right. But what do we? We carry the war into the center of his dominions, extirpate him and divide his territories.

Mr. Wilberforce, lord Fielding, and the solicitor general, supported the conduct of administration, and Mr. Francis's motions were negatived. Not satisfied, however, with this triumph, Mr. Dundas, on the 2nd of March following, moved three resolutions approving of the Indian war, and of the conduct of lord Cornwallis, which were carried without a division. The expediency of the war was debated upon nearly similar principles in the house of lords, on the 11th of April; but the debate ended only in the triumph of ministers; as lord Grenville, before the house broke up, moved three resolutions, similar to those which

The captain in this dreadful situation, found his boatswain, carpenter, gunner, surgeon's mate, two midshipmen, and one master's mate, Mr. Nelson the botanist, and a few inferior officers, among those who were likely to share his fate. After a short consultation, it was deemed expedient to put back to the Friendly Islands; and, accordingly, they landed on one of these, in hopes they might improve their small stock of provisions, on the 30th of April; but they were driven off by the natives two days after, and pursued with such hostility, that one man was killed and several wounded. It was then deliberated whether they should return to Otaheite, and throw themselves on the clemency of the natives; but the apprehension of falling in with the Bounty determined them, with one assent, to make the best of their way to Timor. To effect this enterprise, astonishing to relate, they calculated the distance near four thousand miles; and in order that their wretched supply of provisions might endure till they reached the place of destination, they agreed to apportion their food to one ounce of bread and one gill of water a day for each man. They received no other nourishment till the 5th or 6th of June, when they made the coast of New Holland, and collected a few shell fish; and with this scanty relief, they held on their course to Timor, which they reached on the 12th, after being forty-six days in a crazy open boat, too confined in dimensions to suffer any of them to lie down for repose, and without the least awning to protect them from the rain, which almost incessantly fell for forty days. A heavy sea and squally weather, for great part of their course augmented their misery. The governor of this settlement, which belongs to the Dutch, afforded them every succour. They remained here to recruit their strength and spirits till the 20th of August, when they procured a vessel to carry them to Batavia, which they reached on the 2nd of October, and thence captain Bligh, with two of the crew, embarked for the Cape of Good Hope, and the rest were preparing to follow as soon as a passage could be obtained. Captain Bligh reached the Cape about the middle of December: and soon after took his passage for England, which he reached on the evening of the 13th of March, 1790, and on the day following he arrived in London.

(*x*) To enforce submission, Tippoo assaulted the lines of Travancour; but his troops were repelled with loss and disgrace. In the following year he renewed his his attack, and dispossessed the rajah of his capital, and other parts of his territories.

had been moved in the commons, approving of the conduct of lord Cornwallis, &c. which were carried by a great majority.

The cause of toleration received an accession this year, which must be peculiarly grateful to the friends of freedom. As the Romish church was the grand terror in the first ages of reformation, we cannot be astonished that our statute book should be loaded with the most rigorous edicts directed against the professors of that faith; and though in 1710 some of these were removed, yet in 1791, in Burn's Ecclesiastical Law, we find not less than seventy pages entirely occupied with the enumeration of the penal statutes in force against the Roman Catholics. That such laws should have been framed in times of difficulty and danger, in times when the church of Rome flourished in all the vigour of temporal power, and urged her authority by all the rigours of persecution, is not surprising; but it is surprising that they should have been suffered to remain in force for centuries of peace and tranquillity, when the power of the pope is annihilated even in countries professing his religion, and when all noxious principles of that faith are disavowed by its professors. A reform in the penal statutes became the more necessary, since, in the course of the year 1790, a large body of Catholic dissenters had formally protested against the temporal power of the pope, against his assumed authority of releasing men from their civil obligations, or dispensing with the sacredness of oaths. It was upon these principles, and supported by these arguments, that Mr. Mitford moved on the 21st of February, for a committee of the whole house, to enable him "to bring in a bill to relieve, upon conditions and under restrictions, persons called protesting Catholic dissenters, from certain penalties and disabilities, to which papists, or persons professing the popish religion are by law subject." This bill, Mr. Mitford added, would be similar to that which had passed in Ireland some years since; and as no ill consequences had resulted in a country where the Roman Catholics were so much more numerous than in this, he should hope the house would see no impropriety in the proposition; and the motion passed unanimously. On the 21st of March, the house resolved itself into a committee on Mr. Mitford's proposal, and the bill proceeded through its several stages without opposition.

Early in the present session Mr. Wilberforce gave notice of an intended motion for appointing a committee for receiving and examining evidence on the abolition of the slave trade, and on the 4th of February he submitted a motion to that effect, which was opposed by colonel Tarleton and others, on the frivolous ground that there were many other objects on which we might more properly exercise our philanthropy. After a short debate, the motion of Mr. Wilberforce for a committee above stairs was put and carried. It was not, however, till the 18th of April, that the business was in such a degree of forwardness as to enable Mr. Wilberforce to press for the abolition; when he noticed, among other things, the beneficial effects that might result from a *fair* and *open* commerce with Africa, which was capable of producing the most desirable commodities. He said, let the fate of his motion be what it might, he was satisfied that "the public had already abolished the slave trade." Supported by this consideration, he should continue to persevere, and would never abandon the object till he had accomplished it. He concluded with moving, "That the chairman be instructed to move for leave to bring in a bill to prevent the further importation of African negroes into the British colonies (*y*)." The motion was, however, negatived by a majority of *seventy-five!*

On the 28th of March, a message was delivered from his majesty, importing, that his endeavours, in conjunction with those of his allies, to effect a pacification, not having proved successful, his majesty thought it requisite to add weight to his representations, by making some further augmentation of his naval force. As soon as Mr. Pitt had moved, "That the message be taken into consideration on the morrow," Mr. Fox deplored the circumstance of their having fallen into a situation so unfortunate and so unexpected. He asked the chancellor of the exchequer, whether he meant only to move a simple address of thanks to his majesty for the communication, or whether he meant to include in the vote, an approbation of the measure? Mr. Pitt said, in reply, that a vote of supplies would be included in an answer on the message. The day following, the debate came on, when several weighty arguments were used in opposition to the armament against Russia: the question, however, was carried in favour of the address, by two hundred and twenty-eight votes against one hundred and thirty-five.

The attention of the house was again called to this important subject on the 11th of April, by Mr. Grey, who said, that he intended to introduce a motion for the committee on the state of the nation; but having understood from high authority, that an objection would be taken against such a committee, he thought proper to wave that object, and to come before the house directly with the following propositions. He then brought forward eight resolutions, which he supposed might have a tendency to prevent the melancholy events which must naturally attend a war, and point out a road to tranquillity among the seemingly dissatisfied parties. These resolutions were opposed by several able speakers on the side of the minister, and as ably supported by some of the first orators in the house. At length, after a considerable debate, Mr. Grey's resolutions were negatived by a majority of eighty.

The question was agitated a third time on the 15th of April, on two motions being made by Mr. Baker, the first expressing it as the duty of the house, before they proceed to any additional burthens on their constituents, to enquire into the justice and necessity of the objects: the second stating, that no information had been given to the house on the present occasion. Mr. Baker's motions, however, were both negatived by a majority of ninety-two.

The business of the session being concluded, his majesty proceeded to the house on the 10th of June, when he delivered a speech from the throne, expressing his satisfaction, that a mode had been adopted for defraying the expences of last year, without any permanent addition to the public burdens. He expressed his regret at being unable to acquaint them with the result of the negociation for peace between Russia and the Porte; thanked the commons for the supplies, and prorogued the parliament to the 16th of August.

A short time after the rising of the parliament, the nation was disgraced by a series of outrages, which almost exceeded any thing of the kind which had ever been heard of; and which, for the space of four days, spread terror and alarm through the large and opulent town of Birmingham, and the adjacent country. A vast difference of sentiment concerning the French revolution prevailed among the higher orders of society in this country; and the same difference of sentiment seemed to pervade the other classes. This difference of opinion at length broke out in a settled hatred; and considerable pains were taken to excite the passions and prejudices of the populace against the asserters of Gallic liberty. On the other hand, a considerable body of the whig party in Great Britain, rejoiced in the emancipation of a neighbouring nation from slavery, and flattered themselves, that they saw in the establishment of the French constitution, not only the annihilation of despotism in that country, but the commencement of a new system of politics in Europe, the basis of which was peace, happiness, and mutual concord. In many of the larger towns of Great Britain, associations were formed for the celebration of that event, by the anniversary dinners on the 14th of July; but the opposite party were not indifferent spectators of these proceedings. The populace were inflamed by the most injurious insinuations conveyed in journals and pamphlets: the friends of the French revolution were stigmatized as determined republicans; and the act of joining in a convivial meeting on the *odious* 14th of July, was represented as an attempt to overturn the British constitution in church and state. Notwithstanding the pains which had been taken to lessen these asso-

(*y*) Mr. Fox in speaking upon this occasion instanced two shocking acts of inhumanity. In one of the French islands a poor negro having run away; to prevent his repeating the offence, and indeed as a common punishment for such offences, the planter ordered the surgeon to amputate his leg: the surgeon, who had more humanity than his master, refused. "You refuse," said the planter; "then what you decline as an act of friendship to me, I will force you to do as an act of duty;" and instantly broke the leg of the poor wretch in a most barbarous manner. The other instance occurred in an English island. As one of the witnesses, Mr. Ross, was walking along, he heard the most dreadful shrieks proceeding from a barn or outhouse. On looking in, he saw a young female tied up to a beam by her wrists, entirely naked, writhing and swinging about, while the inhuman author of her torture was applying a lighted torch to different parts of her body as they occasionally approached him!

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ciations in the eyes of the public, the meeting in London consisted of not less than one thousand five hundred respectable gentlemen, many of them literary characters of high reputation and distinguished virtue. As rumours, however, had been spread to the disadvantage of the meeting, and the populace appeared to collect in a tumultuous manner, round the Crown and Anchor Tavern, where the meeting was held, the company dispersed at an early hour.

At Birmingham, the causes of discord were more numerous than even in London. According to Dr. Priestley's statement, a violent animosity had subsisted for years between the high church party and the dissenters of that place. The religious controversies, which took place between Dr. Priestley and some of the clergy of Birmingham, greatly contributed to increase this animosity. A festive meeting in commemoration of the French revolution, was projected at Birmingham, on Thursday, the 14th of July; and on the preceding Monday, six copies of a most inflammatory and seditious hand-bill, proposing the French revolution as a model to the English, and exciting them to rebellion, were left, by some person unknown, in a public house. The views and intention of the meeting having, however, been greatly misrepresented, the majority of the gentlemen who projected it, thought proper to relinquish the scheme; notice was accordingly given to that effect; but at the instance of Mr. Russel, as it is said, the intention was revived, and the company met at the appointed time to the number of between eighty and ninety. Mr. Keir, a gentleman well known for his great attainments in chemistry, and other branches of philosophy, and a member of the established church, was placed in the chair. The gentlemen had hardly met, before the house was surrounded by a tumultuous crowd, who testified their disapprobation by hisses and groans, and by the shout of "Church and King," which became the watch-word on this occasion. At five o'clock the company dispersed; and soon afterwards, the windows in the front of the hotel were demolished, notwithstanding the appearance and interference of the magistrates. After supper, they were alarmed with the intelligence that the mob were assembled at the new dissenting meeting-house, (Dr. Priestley's,) and were threatening both the doctor and his house. The rioters soon set the meeting on fire, and nothing remained that could be consumed. The old meeting-house shared almost a similar fate, being nearly levelled with the ground. Many other scandalous outrages were committed. The day broke on the succeeding morning, only to discover the ruins which this infatuated multitude had made, and to enable them to continue their depredations. Early in the morning they were met by a party of gentlemen, who persuaded them to desist from their outrages, and even to assist in their endeavours to preserve tranquillity. About noon, however, a fresh party demolished the elegant mansion of Mr. Ryland, formerly Mr. Baskerville's, at Easy Hill. Here, as they found a profusion of liquor, a dreadful scene of intoxication ensued; and several of the wretched rioters perished in the cellars by suffocation, or by the falling in of the roof. Six, terribly bruised, were dug out of the ruins, and committed to the hospital; ten dead bodies were found, and one man remained alive in one of the vaults till the Monday following, when he worked his way out with but little injury (*z*). Many other elegant seats and houses were likewise destroyed, till, at length, by the arrival of the military, a period was put to their excesses. A great number of persons were taken in the act of rioting; of whom five were tried at Worcester; one of whom was found guilty and executed. At Warwick, twelve were tried, but only four received sentence of death; but upon an application from the magistrates, and some other respectable inhabitants, one of the convicts was afterwards reprieved (*a*).

Intelligence was received, that ministerial notes had been delivered at St. Petersburgh, by William Whitworth, Mr. Fawkener, and count Goltze, on the part of his Britannic majesty and of the king of Prussia, and by count Osterman on the part of the empress of Russia, relative to the terms of pacification between Russia and the Porte. In these notes, the ministers of his majesty and the king of Prussia agree, on the part of their respective sovereigns, that their majesties will propose to the Porte to conclude a peace with Russia, on the terms of the cession of the district of Oczakovv, from the Bog to the Dniester; her Imperial majesty engaging not to disturb the free navigation of the latter river, but to favour and protect it, (to which condition the Porte is to be equally and reciprocally bound,) and her Imperial majesty being also to restore to the Porte at the conclusion of the peace, all other conquests whatever. The minister of her Imperial majesty agrees, on the part of his sovereign, to make peace on these terms; and the ministers of his majesty and the king of Prussia agree, on the part of their respective sovereigns, that if the Porte should decline to enter into negociation on this basis, their majesties still leave the termination of the war to the course of those events to which it may lead. The preliminaries were signed at Petersburgh, on the 4th instant, by the plenipotentiaries of Great Britain, Prussia, Holland, and Russia.

On the 23rd of November, were married at St. James's, the duke and duchess of York. The ceremony was performed by the archbishop of Canterbury, assisted by the bishop of London; his majesty standing at one end of the altar, and her majesty at the other; the duke and duchess of York in the centre; the archbishop opposite to them; and the lord chancellor standing behind them; the prince of Wales next to the duchess of York, and the duke of Clarence next to the duke of York.

On the 31st of January, 1792, the king opened the session with a speech from the throne, in which he informed them of the marriage of the duke of York with the eldest daughter of the king of Prussia: he also acquainted them with the conclusion of peace between the emperor of Germany and the Porte, and between the empress of Russia and the Porte, through the mediation of the court of Great Britain. An address being moved in the house of commons, violent debates ensued, in the course of which Mr. Grey moved an amendment, "That the house, fully sensible of the evils of a procrastinated war, which must be ruinous to the finances of the company, cannot help expressing their regret that the prospects held out in the speech from the throne at the commencement of the last session have not been realized; nevertheless, that their attachment to his majesty, and their desire to support the honour of his crown, are undiminished." The debates were again renewed, and, after some altercation, the house divided on the question of amendment; ayes eighty-five, noes two hundred and nine. The original address was then moved and carried without a division (*b*).

On the 17th of February, the chancellor of the exchequer presented a copy of the treaty, entered into between his Britannic majesty and the king of Prussia, dated the 26th of January, on the marriage of the duke of York with the princess of Prussia. It was afterwards passed into a law. On the 7th of March, Mr. Pitt moved, "That his majesty be enabled to settle eighteen thousand pounds *per annum* upon his royal highness the duke of York." He further stated, that it was his majesty's intention to settle an additional sum of seven thousand pounds *per annum* upon his royal highness out of the Irish revenue; the additional revenue to commence July, 1791. He then moved, "That a sum of eight thousand pounds *per annum*, be settled upon her royal highness the duchess of York, in case she should survive. Both motions were put and carried unanimously.

(*z*) Among the articles consumed at Mr. Ryland's, was the body of the late Mr. Baskerville, who by will ordered he should be buried in his own house, and he was accordingly interred there. A stone closet was erected in it, where he was deposited in a standing posture. The house was afterwards sold with this express condition, that it should remain there.

(*a*) In the afternoon of the 2nd of February this year, the highest flood-tide appeared in the Thames that had been known for several years. Above Westminster-bridge, it overflowed the banks of the river on both sides. In Palace Yard, it was near two feet deep; it also ran into Westminster Hall, and hindered people from passing for two hours. Boats came through the passage of Old Palace Yard, from the Thames, and rowed up to Westminster Hall Gate. The inhabitants in Milbank Street, were obliged to pass to and from their houses in boats. The two Scotland Yards and Privy Gardens, Whitehall, were entirely under water, and many parts rendered impassable for two hours. Several poor people who kept small shops near the barracks in Scotland Yard, had four feet water in their shops, and their beds floating in their rooms. Westminster Hall suffered much; the water ran in at the great door for upwards of an hour, and was up to the second stair, leading to the court of King's Bench. Most of the gardens and fields between Blackfriars Road and Westminster Bridge were overflowed.

About this time a meeting of the people took place in the *Champ de Mars*, in France, to frame a petition for dethroning the king. *Robespierre* was at the head of the party. Four thousand armed men were brought against the multitude, who, without orders from their general, fired on them; many hundreds were killed and wounded.

(*b*) About this time the British ministry issued a proclamation, under the signature of the king, against the printing, publishing, and dispersing of wicked and seditious writings. The very rapid circulation of *Thomas Payne's* Rights of Man, Common Sense, &c. were supposed to have occasioned this proclamation.

On

On the 2nd of April, the order of the day was read, for the house going into a committee on the African slave trade, Mr. Hobart in the chair. Mr. Wilberforce, after an appropriate introduction, took a review of the manner in which negroes were procured in Africa; enlarged upon the disgrace which the trade brought upon our national character, from the conduct of those who were engaged in it. He then stated, that the trade, instead of being a nursery, was the grave of our seamen; and concluded with moving, "That it is the opinion of this committee, that the trade carried on by British subjects, for the purpose of obtaining slaves on the coast of Africa, ought to be abolished." And, "That the chairman be directed to move the house for leave to bring in a bill for the abolition of the slave trade."

A long debate afterwards followed, in which Mr. Dundas said, that he thought an immediate abolition would not be expedient, as it might excite the clamours of the West Indian planters, and other interested individuals; therefore he was for a gradual amendment. Mr. Fox rejected all terms of compromise in a case of flagrant injustice. Mr. Pitt expressed a wish that the trade might instantly be abolished. The majority for the gradual abolition amounted to one hundred and forty-five. Mr. Windham contended for the most speedy suppression that could be effected. After various debates and divisions, the term was limited to the first day of the year 1796. These resolutions, however, were not approved by the peers: the duke of Clarence, in particular, was zealous for the indefinite continuance of a trade which he pronounced justifiable and politic.

Mr. Fox moved on the 11th of May, for the repeal of certain penal statutes, passed in the reign of king William. He began by stating his opinion of toleration; and enforced, by a variety of arguments, the justice of the cause in which he now came forward. After enumerating a variety of acts which he meant should be included in the principle of his motion, he moved, "That the ninth and tenth of William III. be repealed, and that the said motion be referred to a committee of the whole house." Mr. Burke said, no man could be a greater advocate for proper toleration than he was; but then the sacredness of the church establishment should be the first object; and which he asserted, was one and the same thing with the state. The claims of the present petitioners were of so questionable a shape as to require much consideration. He then took a view of those persons and their professions; he asserted, that they were a set of *Propagandists*, with Dr. Priestley at their head, who, not satisfied with the quiet enjoyment of their own opinions, sought industriously to make proselytes of the world, and so to sap the very foundation of the most sacred of all religions, and subvert all order in society. He read various extracts from several books, written by members of the society, which, he said, indicated their projects to overturn the constitution as well as the established church; and their correspondence with the licentious clubs of France, he particularly condemned. The house divided; for Mr. Fox's motion sixty-three; against it one hundred and forty-two.

On the 15th of June, the king went to the house of lords, and after a speech, as usual, from the throne, he prorogued the parliament to the 13th of August (*c*).

A large body of the lower class of people assembled in the market-place at Coventry, in the month of May, and after manifesting symptoms of disorder, entered the shambles, which in a short time, they cleared of all the meat, as well as of all the utensils belonging to the butchers. The doors, shutters, fire-places, &c. were also broken down, and the remnants of wood collected to make a fire in the market-place; but the mayor, calling in some troops of the sixth regiment of dragoons, then in the town, and prudently addressing the mob, prevailed upon them to depart. On the following morning a great number of people assembled again, and seemed to threaten a further riot: the mayor himself went among them, endeavouring to dissuade them from disorders; and one or two butchers setting up a stall in the market-place, and offering their meat at reduced prices, the peace of the town was restored. On the afternoon of the following day, the people assembled again, and their threats seemed chiefly against the master shoemakers. However, through the vigilance of the magistrates, assisted by the military, the mob was dispersed, without any damage of consequence.

(*c*) At Kettering in Northamptonshire, on the 2nd of March, 1792, about a quarter before nine in the evening, an earthquake was felt, and at several of the neighbouring towns, which continued near thirty seconds. It was attended with no perceptibly pernicious effects, other than causing a general alarm. The shock was sensibly felt throughout the counties of Bedford, Leicester, Nottingham, Rutland, and Lincoln.

On the 29th of March, this year, died Gustavus III. of Holstein Gottorp, king of Sweden, assassinated by Ankerstrom, at the opera-house, on the 16th. He vested the whole of his authority in his brother, the duke of Sudermania, during the minority of his son. The assassin was put to the torture: after being three times exposed and flogged, having his right hand cut off, and being about to receive the fatal blow, he addressed himself to the surrounding multitude in the following words:—"I now reach the minute of deliverance, and everlasting reward. I rejoice in my deed. I have rescued my country from a tyrant, by the only means left to a slave: I know that you will bless me for the act, and my memory will be sacred in Sweden: let your gratitude to me be shewn in friendship to my children." His head was then separated from his body, which being quartered, was exposed to public view.

CHAP. IV.

THE revolution in France, which has overturned, in its consequences, the whole of Europe, now demands our particular attention, especially as the war which it occasioned continues still to rage with the utmost fury.

In July, 1789, one of the most extraordinary revolutions occurred in France that ever happened in the political world. The monarchy was overturned, and the king, being divested of his absolute authority, became one of the most limited sovereigns. He was afterwards, by a decree of the national convention, denominated king of the French. But as so great a change in the internal polity of France could not be supposed to have been effected in a short period of time, the nation, as might naturally be imagined, experienced various commotions, jealousies, and dissentions, till the king's acceptance of the new constitution in the beginning of September, 1791. We shall, however, begin our detail of the most material circumstances, with the escape of the royal family from Paris. And, accordingly, in the night between the 20th and 21st of June, 1791, the king and queen escaped from the palace of the Thuilleries in Paris, and took the route towards Mons. On the 21st, it was decreed, that all persons should be stopped from passing out of the kingdom. The king and queen were arrested at Varennes. June the 25th, it was decreed, among other things, that the king should return to the Thuilleries, under the guard of the commandant-general; and that both himself and his queen should be heard in their own defence. On the 7th of July it was decreed, that all the people of France should have a right to travel out of the kingdom, and return at their pleasure. On the first of September, the king, attended by a deputation of sixty members, went to the national assembly, and, amidst the applauses of those august senators, solemnly consecrated by oath the assent which he had given the preceding day, to the constitutional act. On the 30th of the same month, he issued a proclamation, in which he declared, "that he had accepted the constitution, and that the revolution was completed." In December following, the emperor of Germany published a manifesto, wherein he declared against France. To this manifesto, the king of the French returned a spirited answer. April the 19th, 1792, the national assembly declared war against the king of Hungary. On the 12th of May, it was decreed, "That the immense heap of papers and parchments, which relate to the late nobility, and were collected from various monasteries, &c. and deposited in the church *des Grandes Augustins*, shall be burned." Six hundred volumes were accordingly burned on the 19th of June. On Sunday, the 5th of August, the city of Paris was alarmed early in the morning, by an attempt made by the king to escape from the Thuilleries. Upon being recognized by a centinel, he sent for the mayor of Paris, and informed him, that he had gone out solely to take the air. The king was in the habit of a peasant. On the following day, a petition signed by several thousand persons, in the Champ de Mars, and requesting the deposition of the king, was presented to the national assembly. Long and interesting debates succeeded this important circumstance, and on the 12th of August, the assembly passed the following decree: "First, the hotel of the minister of justice shall be inhabited by the king. Second, he shall be furnished with a guard, subordinate to the mayor of Paris, and to the commandant of the national guard, who shall be answerable for his

safety, and that of his family. Third, there shall be a sum of five hundred thousand livres allowed to pay his expences, until the moment of the national convention meeting." The hotel of the minister of justice not being deemed a safe place, the Temple was afterwards chosen, and the assembly passed a decree for conducting the royal family to that place. It being suspected that several persons of rank had been concerned in the robbery of the jewel office, the convention, on the 24th of September, decreed, "1. The French republic no longer acknowledges princes; 2. The national convention, in consequence, suppresses all appanages." In the beginning of September, dreadful commotions took place in Paris, on receiving intelligence of the siege of Verdun. The populace were irritated to that degree, that they forcibly entered several prisons, and slew a vast number of persons whom they suspected; among whom were the princess Lambelle, M. Montmorin, and about three hundred ecclesiastics who refused to take the oaths prescribed by the legislature. A few days after this massacre, fifty-two state prisoners, who had been confined at Orleans, were conveyed to Paris, and instantly put to death. About the close of the same month, the French opened the navigation of the Scheldt. On the 11th of December, the *ci-devant* king was carried to the bar of the national convention; when the reading of the act of accusation against him by Barbaroux, was followed by a long discussion, wherein much calumny was used. After he was seated, the instrument of accusation and the interrogatories were read by M. Maille; to all of which the king returned spirited answers. On the 26th, he was again taken to the bar with his counsel, when he was informed by the president, that the convention had decreed, "That he should be heard definitively that day." M. Romaine Deseze, one of the king's counsel, read his defence; which being concluded, the king addressed the convention in a short but animated speech. After long and violent debates it was decreed, "That the further discussion of the proceedings against Louis XVI. is open, and shall be continued without any other business interfering, till judgement be pronounced upon him. On the 15th of January, 1793, a profound silence having taken place, and the appeal nominal being finished, the president examined the register, and made the following report: "Of *seven hundred and forty-five* members that form the convention, *six hundred and ninety-three* have voted for the affirmative [DEATH], twenty-six are absent upon public business, twenty-six have made different declarations; but not a single person has voted for the negative." A scrutiny, however, among the votes took place, and on the 17th, the president made the following declaration: "That out of *seven hundred and twenty-one* votes, *three hundred and sixty-six* were for death, *three hundred and nineteen for imprisonment, eight* for a suspension of the execution of the sentence of death, till after the expulsion of the family of the Bourbons; *twenty-three* were for not putting him to death, unless the French territory was invaded by any foreign power, and *one* was for death, but with commutation of punishment." After this enumeration, the president took off his hat, and lowering his voice, said, "In consequence of this, I declare, that the punishment pronounced by the national convention against Louis Capet, is DEATH!" On the 19th, it was decreed by the national convention, that the sentence passed upon Louis XVI. should be put in execution within twenty-four hours. Three hundred and eighty voted for immediate death, and three hundred and ten for a suspension of the sentence. On the 21st the French king was guillotined in the Place de Revolution, in the thirty-eighth year of his age.

On the 13th of March, a decree of accusation was passed against general Dumourier, a very skilful officer, and four commissioners, with Bournonville, the minister at war, were sent to arrest him. Having sounded the dispositions of his army, and declared his intentions, he arrested the commissioners, whom he sent prisoners to general Clairfait, and made a temporary truce with the Austrians.

In December, 1793, the British ministry began to be alarmed at the growth of republicanism, from its rapid progress in France; and, to prevent any disorders, the Tower was put in a posture of defence, the Bank double guarded, the environs of the capital billeted with soldiery, and several regiments of cavalry ordered into the neighbourhood of London. On the 13th of the same month, his majesty repaired to the house of peers, and opened the session with a speech from the throne, breathing hostilities against France, and proposing an augmentation of the army and navy to check their proceedings, as well as to curb that spirit of tumult in this kingdom, which began to be truly alarming. A message to this effect, from his majesty, delivered to the speaker by Mr. Dundas, was read from the chair, the members being uncovered. After a debate on the subject of his majesty's message, the chancellor of the exchequer moved, "That an humble address be presented to his majesty, thanking him for his most gracious communications to the house, and assuring him of their zeal and readiness to furnish that augmentation of forces required by his majesty for the purpose stated in the message."

In debating on this motion, Mr. Fox declared that he should shrink from his duty to his constituents, and to the people at large, if he did not deprecate a war with France as the greatest calamity in which this nation could be involved. The death of the French king, he considered as a disgraceful event; but he did not see the propriety of the parliament of Great Britain expressing any opinion on this public act, unless it was alledged as a ground affecting this country.

About this time, the king ordered a circular letter to be sent to the bishops, commanding them to cause collections to be made in every parish throughout England, for the relief of the French emigrant clergy; when such a vast sum of money was collected as to furnish an additional proof of the generosity and liberality of the English. A convention was also signed in April, between the kings of England and Sardinia, wherein his Britannic majesty engaged to pay two hundred thousand pounds *per annum*, during the continuance of the war, to the king of Sardinia.

The business of the session being closed, the king addressed the house of peers on the 21st of June, mentioning his having concerted with other powers for the effectual prosecution of the war, and flattering himself with the best prospect of a happy issue to the important contest in which we were engaged; recommending perseverance in vigorous exertions, for the restoration of peace on such terms as might be consistent with our permanent security, and with the general tranquillity of Europe. The parliament was then prorogued to the 13th of August following.

On the first of February, war against Great Britain and Holland was decreed in the French national convention; soon after which the duke of York proceeded to Holland to take the command of the British forces, destined to serve in the ensuing campaign on the continent, in conjunction with the allies against the French. After engaging in several hazardous enterprizes, the strong and important town of Valenciennes became an object of his attention, the siege of which commenced on the 14th of June.

The island of Tobago, in the West Indies, which had been ceded to Great Britain at the peace of 1763, and returned to the French by the treaty of peace in 1783, was successfully attacked by a small detachment of British forces under the command of major-general Cuyler, in April this year. The whole of the British force, destined for the reduction of this important island, consisted of about five hundred men. In this expedition, the English had three men killed, and twenty-five wounded, and the French had fifteen killed and wounded. On the 14th of May, the small islands of St. Pierre and Miquelon were also taken by the English under brigadier-general Ogilvy and captain Affleck. These islands had been ceded to the French by Great Britain, at the peace of 1763, for the purposes of curing and drying their fish.

The Nymph frigate, captain Pellew, of thirty-six guns, arrived at Portsmouth, on the 20th of June, with the Cleopatra French frigate, of the same force, which she captured on the morning of the preceding day, off the Start, after a most severe action of fifty minutes. The Cleopatra was a commodore of five other frigates, sent to protect the trade of France, which had separated from the fleet, and, on coming within hail of the Nymph, gave her three cheers, coming fairly and by consent into action. The first broadside from the French frigate cleared captain Pellew's forecastle, and towards the close of the action, the Cleopatra's wheel was shot away, and she fell on the Nymph's quarter: when the English boarded the enemy, and cut every thing before them. Upwards of seventy of the French fell in boarding, and the killed or mortally wounded in the French ship amounted to ninety. The chief captain of the Cleopatra was fatally wounded early

in the action, and did not live to see his colours struck: the second captain also died of his wounds. The Nymph also suffered severely, having the boatswain, four midshipmen, and twenty-two seamen killed; and the second lieutenant, the lieutenant of marines, and twenty-two seamen and marines wounded. The Cleopatra's mizenmast was carried away about twelve feet from the deck; her jib-boom, with part of her bowspirit and head, went into the water, and her sails and rigging were shot to pieces. The Nymph was also greatly wounded in her hull and masts.

Hostilities were preparing on the part of Austria, Prussia, Sardinia, &c. and France manifested a determination to oppose the united attacks of all whom they deemed despotic sovereigns. War and desolation now commenced their ravages, and such enterprizes were achieved as threw all Europe into a consternation.

Dumourier, an officer of great military talents, succeeded to La Fayette's command, while the advance of the combined armies through the deserts of Champagne, demanded every precaution. A camp was formed at Chalons, whence Luckner was to supply the armies of Dumourier, Kellerman, and Bournonville with reinforcements, and support them in case of a defeat. Yet it was computed, at this critical time, that these three armies did not exceed forty thousand men, of whom Dumourier had seventeen thousand. Dumourier and Kellerman were separately attacked by the enemy: the assault of the latter at Dampierre, on the 20th of September, was formidable, and repelled with great skill and courage. The former ordered Chalons to be evacuated, and seized a strong position at St. Menehoud, between Chalons and Verdun: the Prussians advanced to Flans; a decisive engagement was daily expected; and the destruction of the French armies was considered as inevitable.

Such was the situation of affairs when the national convention assembled at Paris, on the 21st of September. The assembly voluntarily resigned the superintendence of public business, which had exceeded its capacity and powers, into new hands. On the first day of the meeting of the convention, the *Abolition of Royalty in France* was decreed by proclamation: and on the following day, it was ordered that all public acts should be dated *The First Year, &c. of the French Republic.* No sooner was the democracy declared, than the genuine republican spirit shone forth, in the answer given by the French to the Prussian king, refusing to treat till the enemy had evacuated the territories of the republic. A report was circulated through Europe, that the French general had laid down his arms, either from treachery, or despair; and that the Prussians had advanced within ten leagues of Paris, when they suddenly adopted the resolution of an inglorious retreat. Prussia offered to withdraw her armies, and enter into an alliance with France, on condition that due regard was shewn to the French king in the new order of affairs. This was refused: the Prussians and Austrians retreated; and France immediately commenced her career of, at least, temporary success.

The retreat of the Prussians and Austrians was followed by the re-capture of Verdun and Longwy, and the raising of the sieges of Thionville and Lisle, after a fourth part of the latter city had been destroyed by the Austrians. The invasion of Savoy was now projected. On the 21st of September, general Montesquieu entered the Savoyard territories, seized on the frontier posts and castles without resistance, and two days after took Montmelian and Chamberry; and all Savoy soon followed. Any further transactions in the south are hardly entitled to narration. Admiral Truquet, commanding a squadron in the Mediterranean, captured Nice, Villa Franca, and the fortress of Montalban, belonging to the Sardinian king.

Having thus concisely mentioned the progress of the arms of France in the south, their more surprizing success in Italy, Germany, and the Netherlands, demands attention. The king of Sardinia, having entered into the confederacy, was punished with the loss of the duchy of Savoy. The conquest of Savoy, however, was not much regarded; but when general Custine began his acquisitions in Germany, every eye was turned to the rapidity and importance of his progress, till diverted by the wonders of Dumourier. Spires yielded to the French arms on the 13th of September, and Worms soon followed. Custine, pursuing his course along the left shore of the Rhine, next captured Mentz, and afterwards Frankfort; but the latter was speedily retaken.

Towards the conclusion of October, Dumourier published his manifesto to the inhabitants of the Netherlands; declaring his intention of entering their territories to erect the tree of liberty, and deliver them from the Austrian yoke; and promising that, if they would establish the sovereignty of the people, and renounce the sway of despots, the French would become their brethren, friends, and supporters. General Dumourier had declared he would pass his Christmas at Brussels; this was looked upon as mere bombast; but he was afterwards found to have been in earnest, for that city was actually in his possession by the 14th of November. Having entered the Netherlands on the 1st or 2nd of that month, with an army of forty thousand men, and with a most formidable train of artillery, repeated engagements with the Austrian army, commanded by the duke of Saxe-Teschen, and by general Beaulieu, took place on the first five days. At length, on the 6th of November, a decisive battle was fought at Jemappes, which decided the fate of the Netherlands. After an obstinate defence, the Austrians retired in the utmost disorder: their loss in the various engagements, amounted to about four thousand killed and wounded, besides about fifteen hundred prisoners and deserters. The killed and wounded among the French did not exceed one thousand.

General Dumourier advancing, took possession of the neighbouring town of Mons. Tournay surrendered to a detachment, on the 8th of November. Dumourier proceeded to Brussels, where, after an indecisive engagement between his van and the Austrian rear, he was received with acclamations on the 14th of that month, as above noticed. Ghent, Charleroi, Antwerp, Malines or Mechlin, Louvain, Ostend, Namur; and in short, all the Austrian Netherlands, except Luxemburgh, successively followed the example of the capital. Ruremond, the principal city of Austrian Guelderland, submitted to Miranda on the 11th of December.

The city of Antwerp having yielded to the French arms, in order to conciliate the Dutch, the opening of the navigation of the Scheldt, shut up by the treaty of Munster, in 1648, was projected and ordered. The Dutch considered this measure as injurious to their trade, because Antwerp might prove a dangerous rival to Amsterdam. The first inclination manifested by Great Britain to break with France, regarded the navigation of the Scheldt. The court of St. James's declared an alliance with the Dutch, and the French formally issued a declaration of war against Great Britain.

Shortly after, Cagliari, the capital of Sardinia, was bombarded, under the command of admiral Truquet, but the admiral failed in his attempt. We have now to notice the hasty retreat and final defection of general Dumourier in the Netherlands. Soon after that general quitted Holland, and assumed the command of the disconcerted armies of Valence and Miranda, the forces of the prince of Cobourg and general Clairfait attacked him with a vigour which astonished him, he having but a few months before, driven the same troops out of France, and through the Netherlands into Germany. He beheld, with dismay, the laurels of Jemappe wither on the plains of Tirlemont.

On the 14th of March, 1793, the Imperialists advanced towards Tirlemont, and were attacked by general Dumourier, on the 15th and following days: the first attempts were successful, the Austrians' advanced posts were obliged to retire to St. Tron through Tirlemont, which they had already passed. On the 18th, a general engagement ensued, the French army being covered by Dormael, and on the right by Landen: the action continued with great obstinacy, from seven in the morning till five in the evening, when the French were obliged to fall back, and the Austrian cavalry coming up, put them entirely to flight: the loss on both sides was considerable. About this time, Dumourier described the army as in a state of the utmost disorder, and having provisions only for ten days: he said, it was impossible for him to stop the progress of the enemy, who, without amusing themselves with sieges, might, with an army of twenty thousand cavalry, lay waste and reduce to ashes all that part of the country, which lies in the vicinity of the metropolis. Such is the outline of affairs preceding the defection of that celebrated general from the republicans of France, whose *conduct* and not their *cause*, he seems to have disapproved. Convinced that no reliance was to be placed upon the majority of his army, Dumourier, with two regiments of horse, and accompanied by young Egalité, and some other officers,

officers, determined to repair to the enemy at Mons. He has since appeared in Switzerland, England, &c. but hardly any country seemed inclinable to give him the least encouragement.

Amidst the accumulation of external misfortunes, France was at this period internally agitated by the most formidable insurrections in different parts; a great number of royalists assembled on the banks of the Loire, and threatened the reduction of Nantz. In the department of Vendée, they assumed the denomination of the Christian army; many skirmishes took place between these and the republican troops, in which both parties were occasionally victorious. Robespierre and Marat were now accused, in the convention, of having excited the people to murder, with an intention of aspiring to a dictatorship or triumvirate. They both answered very equivocally.

General Custine, finding Mentz closely besieged by the forces of the king of Prussia, attempted to succour it on the 19th of May, and succeeded beyond his expectation. He advanced at the head of a very numerous army, and attacked general Wurmser, whom, after a vigorous resistance, he obliged to retire beyond Queich. He afterwards, with part of his forces, attacked the Prussian corps, commanded by the hereditary prince of Hohenloe, at Carlsberg, in the duchy of Deux Ponts, when the latter, after a brave resistance, was obliged to yield to superior numbers, and abandon that important post (*d*).

A particular enumeration of the actions which followed, between the combined armies and the French republic, would be uninteresting. Many of them were trifling and indecisive, and the defeats and victories were so nearly equal on each side, that it could not with certainty be pronounced on which side the advantages predominated; till on the 10th of July, the governor of Condé consented to surrender that place to the Imperial forces, under the command of the prince of Wirtemberg, by whom it had been long blockaded. This was deemed a conquest of the utmost importance, Condé being one of the strongest places of the frontier, requiring only a small garrison for its defence, commanding the navigation of the Scheldt, and facilitating any future operation. This acquisition was succeeded by another of very great importance: on the 28th of the same month, the town and castle of Valenciennes surrendered to the combined army, under the command of his royal highness the duke of York (*e*).

His royal highness, after several less important exploits, intended on the 24th of August to attack the enemy, who were then posted at some distance from Dunkirk, in order obtain possession of the ground which it was necessary to occupy, previous to the siege of that place. The enemy hastened the execution of his design, by attacking the out-posts between the canal of Furnes and the sea. Lieutenant-general Dalton advanced with the reserve, which was encamped on that side, to their support; the enemy were repulsed, and driven with loss into the town; one piece of cannon, and a few prisoners were taken. The ardour of the troops carried them farther in the pursuit than was intended, in consequence of which they came under the cannon of the place, and sustained a considerable loss. Lieutenant-general Dalton, was killed with a cannon shot, towards the conclusion of the attack. The duke had also to lament the loss of lieutenant-colonel Eld, of the Coldstream regiment, and of other valuable men.

The position afterwards taken by the duke of York, was judicious and favourable to the besiegers. It was between the canal leading from Dunkirk to Furnes, and the sea-coast.

The Hanoverian general Freytag was fiercely attacked by the French army on the 8th of September, and compelled to retreat with great loss. That general and prince Adolphus, the younger son of George III. were made prisoners in their retreat, but were opportunely rescued by a detachment. The duke of York's right wing was harrassed by a sally; but, on this occasion, he drove the enemy back into the town. A despair of success, however, induced them to desist from the siege; and his artillery and ammunition fell into the hands of the enemy. The loss sustained was about fifteen hundred in killed and wounded, among whom were many gallant officers. His royal highness sent two battalions of Hessians to general Walmoden's support; but, finding that aid to be ineffectual, he was compelled to collect his whole force, by abandoning the position he had taken near Dunkirk. Thirty-two of the heavy guns, and part of the stores provided for the siege, were left behind, there being no possibility of carrying them off. The French were commanded by general Houchard, who is said to have been put to death by the tyranny of the convention, for suffering the duke's forces to escape destruction.

Intelligence was about this time received from admiral lord Hood, commander of his majesty's ships in the Mediterranean, that an intercourse had taken place between his lordship and the commissioners from Toulon and Marseilles; and by subsequent accounts it appeared, that the treaty relative to Toulon was brought to a conclusion; and on the 28th of August, lord Hood's fleet landed fifteen hundred men, and took possession of the batteries at the mouth of the harbour. The French fleet hauled into the inner road; and on the 29th the British fleet and the fleet of Spain, which joined the same day, anchored in the outer road of Toulon. Several declarations and proclamations were issued by lord Hood on this occasion (*f*).

The English being now in possession of Toulon, and consequently masters of the Toulon fleet, thought to establish themselves in that part of France, and lieutenant-general O'Hara, was requested to send word whether he wanted more troops, but so confident was that officer that the place was impregnable, that he apprehended he had sufficient to defend it against the whole force of France, if it could be collected before the place. Towards the close of November, however, the French opened a considerable battery on the heights of Arenes, against Toulon, and managed their attack with so much enthusiasm and military skill, that the allies were compelled to quit that important post in the utmost confusion and disorder, the loss on their side, as may be imagined, from the nature of the attack, and the situation, being immense. Lieutenant-general O'Hara himself was wounded in the arm and taken prisoner; and many gallant officers were killed or taken on this occasion. On the 20th of December, lord Hood sent intelligence to England, dated on board the Victory, Hieres Bay, that he had been obliged to evacuate Toulon, and to retire from the harbour to that anchorage. But as they conceived themselves authorised by the laws of war, to inflict on the enemy all the mischief in their power, they distinguished their retreat by conflagration and havoc. Sir Sidney Smith engaged in the arduous task of burning the store-houses and ships, amidst an unceasing fire from the approaching enemy. It was also asserted that three ships of the line, four frigates, and many sloops were added to the British fleet; and that ten of the enemy's ships of the line in the arsenal, with the mast-house, great store-house, hemp-house, and other buildings, were totally destroyed: (which, however, does not seem to have

(*d*) The States General, about this time, presented a reply to a memorial of lord Auckland, of the 18th, expressive of their most grateful remembrance of the earnestness and promptitude of the duke of York and his troops in their cause. Their high mightinesses gave the most solemn assurances, that they would exert all their efforts to combat an enemy, which they regarded not only as the enemy of Holland, but of the human race; as having formed the project of destroying the happiness of civil society, by the annihilation of all the principles of religion, justice, and humanity.

(*e*) The delay of naval preparations for the siege, and the necessity of waiting for heavy artillery, enabled the enemy to make ample provision for the defence of the town.

(*f*) On the 16th of October, 1793, was guillotined at Paris, in her thirty-eighth year, (having been born November 2, 1755,) Marie Antoinette, the beautiful widow of the late French king Louis XVI. She was archduchess of Austria, and sister of Leopold II. emperor of Germany, and was married to the king of France in 1770. This unfortunate princess had been condemned on the preceding day, by the revolutionary tribunal, as "Guilty of having been accessary to, and having co-operated in, different manœuvres against the liberty of France, of having entertained a correspondence with the enemies of the republic; of having participated in a plot tending to kindle civil war in the interior of the republic, by arming citizens against each other," and of other crimes too horrid and ill-founded to be here enumerated. When the sentence of the tribunal was read, the queen cast down her eyes, and did not afterwards lift them up. "Have you nothing to reply, upon the determination of the law?" said the president to her. "Nothing," she replied. "Nor you her official defenders?" "Our mission, (said they) is fulfilled, with respect to the widow Capet." The execution took place at half after eleven o'clock in the forenoon. As soon as the queen left the Conciergerie, to ascend the scaffold, the multitude assembled in the courts and streets, cried out Bravo! Marie Antoinette was clad in a white loose dress, and her hands were tied behind her back. She looked firmly round on all sides. She was accompanied by the deposed curate of St. Landry, a constitutional priest; and on the scaffold preserved her natural dignity and composure of mind.

About this time John Frost was indicted and tried for uttering the following seditious words at the Percy Coffee-house: "I am for equality: I see no reason why one man should be greater than another. I would have no king, and the constitution of this country is a *bad one*." He was found guilty in the court of King's Bench before lord Kenyon.

been

been entirely the fact; for it afterwards appeared in the London Gazette, that several of the ships said to have been burned on this occasion, formed a part of the French navy in 1795:) and, before day-light, all his majesty's ships, together with those of Spain and the Two Sicilies, were out of the reach of the enemy's shot and shells, except the Robuste, which was to receive captain Elphinstone, and she followed soon after without being struck by a single shot.

In opening a new session of parliament on the 21st of January, 1794, his majesty made favourable mention of the advantages gained upon the whole, by the allied armies; and that even the temporary possession of the town and port of Toulon, had greatly distressed the operations of the enemy. He recommended a steady perseverance in so just and necessary a war on our part, till it shall be terminated by an honourable and permanent peace. "It only remains for us (said he) to persevere in our united exertions: their discontinuance or relaxation could hardly procure even a short interval of delusive repose, and could never terminate in security or peace." He further said, "Although I cannot but regret the necessary continuance of the war, I should ill consult the essential interest of my people, if I were desirous of peace on any grounds exclusive of a due provision for their permanent safety, and for the independence and security of Europe."

In the house of lords, an address of thanks to his majesty for his speech, was moved by the earl of Stair, and by lord Cliefden in the house of commons. The earl of Guildford proposed an amendment to the former, and wished for a speedy negociation, as we had rushed into the war without necessity; and Mr. Fox to the latter; but on a division, the address was carried by ninety-seven against twelve in the upper house, and two hundred and seventy-seven against fifty-nine in the lower house.

By a letter from sir Charles Grey to the right hon. Henry Dundas, dated Fort Royal, Martinico, March 25, 1794, intelligence was received at the court of St. James's, that a complete conquest had been made of the island of Martinico; the last and most important fortress of Fort Bourbon having surrendered to his majesty's arms on the 23rd of the same month. Sir Charles Grey landed with a respectable force on the island of Martinico, while sir John Jervis superintended the naval operations. Several strong posts were soon seized, and the reduction of Pigeon isle opened the bay and harbour of Fort Royal to the shipping. Very few men were killed or wounded in this enterprize. The garrison of Fort Bourbon, amounting to nine hundred men, marched out prisoners of war, laying down their arms on the parade of Fort Royal, and were embarked for France immediately. His majesty's troops having marched in, struck the French and hoisted the British colours, and changed the name from Fort Bourbon to that of Fort George. Major-general Dundas and prince Edward landed in St. Lucie without any loss, and proceeded to the investment of La Morne Fortunée; lieutenant-colonel Coote stormed a redoubt and two batteries; and the dread of an assault on the fort accelerated a surrender.

The armies of the combined powers, commanded by the duke of York, obtained a considerable advantage near Cateau on the 16th of April; and on the 22nd, the hereditary prince of Orange made a general attack upon the posts which the enemy occupied in the front of Landrecy, and succeeded in getting possession of them all; and in taking by storm their intrenched camp, and a very strong redoubt which they had thrown up at the village of Éloques, within six hundred yards of the place. The duke of York, in a letter to the right hon. Henry Dundas, dated April 26, Heights above Cateau, says, "It is from the field of battle that I have the satisfaction to acquaint you with the glorious success, which the army under my command have had this day. At day-break, this morning, the enemy attacked me on all sides. After a short but severe conflict, we succeeded, in repulsing them, with considerable slaughter. The enemy's general Chapuy, is taken prisoner, and we are masters of thirty-five pieces of the enemy's cannon. The behaviour of the British cavalry has been beyond all praise!"

About the same period, general count Kinksly, and major-general Bellegarde, after driving the enemy with great slaughter from Prisches, pursued them as far as day-light would permit, and took from them twenty-two pieces of cannon.

The Austrian general Clairfait received a check from the enemy at Moncron, and was forced to retire with the loss of some cannon and tumbrils; but to atone for this disaster, Landrecy surrendered to the duke of York on the 30th of April. His royal highness soon after repulsed twenty thousand of the enemy near Tournay, taking from them thirteen pieces of cannon and four hundred prisoners. A few days after, the island of St. Lucie surrendered to his majesty's forces, under the command of sir John Jervis, K. B. Guadaloupe and its dependencies soon followed the example, and surrendered to the British.

The republican troops gained a considerable advantage over the duke of York near Tournay in the beginning of May, and the duke escaped with extreme difficulty; but towards the conclusion of the month, general count Kaunitz attacked the French army which had passed the Sambre, defeated them, and obliged them to pass in great confusion over the river. The enemy lost near fifty pieces of cannon, and above five thousand men, three thousand of whom were taken prisoners; the loss of the Austrians was inconsiderable (*g*).

Marshal Mollendorf, on the 14th of May, surprized the French in their entrenchments near Mentz, and defeated them with great slaughter. The French sustained a loss of one thousand killed, two thousand taken prisoners, eighteen pieces of cannon, and two howitzers.

The glorious first of June firmly established the laurels on the brow of admiral earl Howe. He was cruizing off the coast of Bretagne, when he was informed that the French admiral, Villaret Joyeuse, had sailed from Brest harbour. Having approached the enemy to the westward of the isle of Ushant, rear-admiral Paisley briskly attacked the rear, and a spirited engagement ensued on the following day, the nautical skill of the veteran Howe having obtained the weather-gage. Three days afterwards the French were brought to close action. The enemy's force, consisting of twenty-six ships of the line, opposed his majesty's fleet of twenty-five. The admiral, in the Queen Charlotte, displayed great skill and intrepidity in breaking the enemy's line. Captain Berkeley, in the Marlborough, after sustaining a dangerous conflict with two ships, disabled one and repelled the other. Captain Hervey, in the Brunswick, engaged several ships with undaunted valour, and had a violent contest with the Vengeur, whose crew vociferated for mercy; but the British captain could not prevent her sinking. Many of the French were, however, saved by the humanity of their adversaries, but about three hundred of them perished in the ocean. Captain Montague was the only officer of rank who fell in this action; but admiral Graves received a wound in the arm; and the rear-admirals Bowyer and Paisley, and captain Hutt of the Queen, had each a leg taken off. The names and forces of the French ships captured by lord Howe, are La Juste, eighty guns; Sans Pareille, eighty; l'Amerique, seventy-four; l'Achylle, seventy-four; Northumberland, seventy-four; l'Impetueux, seventy-four; the Vengeur, seventy-four, in which six hundred and ninety were killed, and five hundred and eighty wounded. This splendid victory added to the renown of our naval countrymen, and raised the hearts of our people with joy and admiration.

There was likewise received from lord Hood, an account of the surrender of the town and forts of Bastia, and consequently of the whole island of Corsica. General Paoli, having exercised his influence over his countrymen, the sovereignty of the island was voted, in a regular assembly, to be transferred to the king of Great Britain. Sir Gilbert Elliot, in the name of his royal master, accepted the offer; but the success of lord Howe's fleet excited stronger emotions of joy than the addition of Corsica to the territories of George the Third.

The national convention now determined the fall of Robespierre. Billaud Varennes delivered a speech in the

(*g*) Madame Elizabeth, the ill-fated sister of Louis XVI. fell a victim to the sanguinary system of republicanism on the 10th of May. She was followed to the scaffold by twenty-five persons, condemned at the same time; but was not suffered to fall under the edge of the fatal axe, till the heads of all her fellow-sufferers had been severed from their bodies. Having ascended the scaffold, and continued in prayer till the moment when she was to submit her head to the ensanguined instrument, she advanced with perfect resignation, with a kind of heroism inspired by religion, and perfectly submissive to the decree of Providence. Thus died the amiable Elizabeth Philippina Maria of France, after having lived, with an unsullied reputation, thirty years and seven days.

Tribune

bune, replete with invective, denouncing Robespierre as aspiring at the dictatorship, and endeavouring to destroy many members of the convention. "I, therefore," said he, "proclaim the tyranny of Robespierre." Loud and repeated bursts of applause resounded in the hall. Robespierre attempted to speak, but in vain, in consequence of the vociferous exclamations from every quarter, of "Down with the tyrant! Down with the tyrant!" Tallien, in a speech of considerable length, followed Billaud Varennes; and the arrest of Robespierre, the elder, Robespierre, the younger, and several others, was immediately decreed. A decree of arrest was also passed against Henriot, commandant of the armed force at Paris, and others of the creatures of Robespierre. Robespierre was then sent prisoner to Luxemburg. A decree of outlawry was also passed against him. Leonard Bourdon, having shortly after ascended the Tribune, informed the convention of Robespierre's being seized in the hall of the commune, by a *gens d'arme*, then at his side: Robespierre had been armed with a knife, which the *gens d'arme* immediately wrested from him. So great was the abhorrence of the convention to the tyrant, that they would not suffer him or his accomplices to appear at the bar, but, in obedience to their decree of outlawry, immediately ordered him to the place of execution, where, in conjunction with twenty others, he fell a victim to his own cruelty and ambitious views.

To signal victories, a remarkable change took place in the state of affairs in the West Indies. The force originally sent out under sir Charles Grey, and sir John Jervis, was comparatively small, considering the magnitude of the undertaking; and the yellow fever, with other diseases so fatal to European constitutions in that climate, made dreadful havoc among the soldiers, in the course of the summer, insomuch that nearly two-thirds of our force was consigned to the grave.

A French squadron appeared off the island of Guadaloupe, on the 3rd of June, and manifested an intention of attacking fort Fleur d'Epée. Accordingly on the 5th they manned thirteen boats, and on the following day, attacked the fort, which they carried by storm, when the English garrison retreated with considerable loss to fort Louis, and afterwards retired to Basseterre. The fort being no longer tenable, they found it expedient to retire in the night. The French commissioner Victor Hughes, a man of uncommon enterprize, and daring courage, made every necessary arrangement both for defence and attack. Sir Charles Grey, on the other hand, was equally active; he sailed from St. Kitt's with all the troops he could collect, on a short notice, and landed on the 19th at Guadaloupe, under cover of the English fleet.

On the 2nd of July, sir Charles Grey dispatched brigadier Symes, with a select number of soldiers and seamen, to attack the town of Point-à-Petre, and take it by surprize; but they were repulsed with great loss, and obliged to retreat. The enemy then attacked Basseterre, which after a long and gallant resistance, was compelled to surrender. The efforts of the French were then directed against the fort of Tiberen, in St. Domingo, which after a severe contest was evacuated by the British troops on the 29th. In addition to these mortifications, a French squadron of one ship of the line, two frigates, and two sloops, destroyed in the course of the winter of this year, all the British settlements on the coast of Africa, and took a number of merchant ships, with an immense quantity of plunder.

On the 16th of June, the hereditary prince of Orange attacked and defeated the French army, which had again passed the Sambre, and chosen a position near Josselies, in order to cover the siege of Charleroi, before which they had begun to open trenches. The enemy's loss was about seven thousand men, twenty-two pieces of cannon, and thirty-five ammunition waggons, besides horses and baggage. A succession of disastrous events on the part of the combined armies, more than over-balanced these disadvantages; but intelligence of the surrender of Port au Prince, in the island of St. Domingo, revived the drooping spirits of the British nation.

On the 29th of June, the national convention received information, that general Pichegru had pushed his advanced posts as far as Ghent, and that he had taken from the enemy ten pieces of cannon, and six hundred prisoners. That the enemy, reinforced by twenty thousand Prussians, with an army of one hundred thousand men, under the prince of Cobourg, had in vain attempted to relieve Charleroi. That victory had remained long doubtful, and nothing was to be seen but slain and combatants, in this memorable battle which was fought in the plains of Fleurus: in which about nine thousand of the allied troops were killed, wounded, and taken prisoners. It also facilitated a junction between the French armies of the Moselle, the Ardennes, and the north. This battle began at three o'clock in the morning: thrice was the French army forced, by the numerous artillery of the allies, to fall back on the entrenchments; but those movements served only to increase the ardour of the republicans, who exclaimed aloud throughout the line, "*No retreat to-day! No retreat!*" For nine hours the victory seemed indecisive, and no one could determine which would be the conqueror. At six in the evening, general Jourdan collected the *corps de reserve*, and the artillery, and charged the whole: their efforts were accompanied by unanimous cries of "*Vive la republic!*" and at this moment the allied army, no longer able to resist the shock, fled on all sides with the utmost precipitation.

A treaty of amity, commerce, and navigation, between the king of Great Britain and the United States of America, was signed on the 19th of November by lord Grenville, his majesty's principal secretary of state for foreign affairs, being duly authorized for that purpose on his majesty's part; and the hon. John Jay, envoy extraordinary from the United States of America, having like authority on the part of the said States.

In consequence of bills found by the grand jury, at Hicks's Hall, several persons were tried, in the course of the months of November and December, for high treason. Thomas Hardy, secretary to the London Corresponding Society, standing foremost on the list, first put himself on the justice of God and his country; and, after a very long and deliberate investigation, was acquitted on the 5th of November, having been ably defended by Messrs. Erskine and Gibbs: John Horne Tooke, Thomas Holcroft, John Thelwall, the political lecturer, the reverend Mr. Jeremiah Joyce, Stewart Kyd, a barrister at law, and most of the others accused of similar offences, were also successively acquitted, and many of them discharged from prison.

The court party lamented the escape of these men, and blamed the forbearance and indulgence of the jury; but there was not evidence sufficient to justify a verdict of guilt. Edward Watt, who, on a prior charge of high treason, had been convicted, was executed at Edinburgh, on the 15th of October preceding (*h*).

About this time a decree was passed in the national convention,

(*h*) It may not be improper to give some further particulars relative to the extraordinary trials of these gentlemen. On the 10th of September a special commission of oyer and terminer was issued for the prisoners, confined on a charge of high treason in the Tower of London; and on the 2nd of October it was opened at the sessions-house, Clerkenwell, by the lord chief justice Eyre, in an elaborate charge to the grand jury: and in the course of their proceedings the jury found a bill of indictment against Thomas Hardy, John Horne Tooke, and ten others; and on the 28th of October, Thomas Hardy, secretary to the London Corresponding Society, was put on his trial at the Old Bailey. Mr. Wood opened the pleadings, and stated nine overt acts of high-treason with which the prisoner was charged. When he had finished, sir John Scott, the attorney-general, in a speech of nine hours, went into a very minute detail of the subject of these prosecutions for high-treason. The counsel for the prosecutions then produced their evidence, which consisted of papers that had been found in the custody of different persons, and seized under the warrant of the privy-council. Prior to the court's breaking up, about twelve o'clock, a conversation occurred respecting the gentlemen of the jury, who wished to be discharged on their honour; to which Mr. Erskine, on behalf of the prisoner, consented; but the court were of opinion that the law would not permit the jury to separate after having been once impanelled. The jury were therefore consigned to the care of the sheriffs, by whom preparations for their accommodation in the sessions-house had been previously made; and, the next day, the jury having complained that their accommodations were uncomfortable, and incapable of affording them the necessary rest, they were provided that evening, and all the subsequent evenings of the trial, with beds at the Hummums in Covent Garden. The 29th, 30th, and 31st of October, were employed in the production of evidence for the crown, both documentary and oral, which latter took up great part of the morning of November 1. This being finished, Mr. Erskine, in behalf of the prisoner, addressed the jury for the space of six hours. The remainder of the day was occupied in the examination of witnesses for the prisoner, many of whom gave him an excellent character. The court adjourned at half past twelve on Sunday morning, November 2nd, till the Monday following, when the counsel for the prisoner proceeded with their evidence: after which Mr. Gibbs likewise addressed the court in his favour. He was followed by the solicitor-general in reply. The next day the solicitor-general concluded his reply, and the lord precedent commenced the summing up the evidence; which he resumed the following day, and finished about noon.—The jury then returned, and after having been absent two hours and a half, returned and delivered their verdict—Not guilty.

vention, against the use of the manufactures of Great Britain or Ireland; which was followed by another, declaring, that all the English, Scotch, Irish, and Hanoverians, of either sex, and all the subjects of Great Britain generally, at present within any part of the republican territories, shall be put in a state of arrest in houses of security, and seals shall be put upon their papers; and the effects of those subjects of the same nation who are absent, shall be seized and confiscated for the benefit of the republic.

The fate of Holland was now determined; and the French only waited for the setting in of the frost, to complete the total overthrow and reduction of that country. In some of the provinces the disaffected party were very active, and several resolutions hostile to the stadtholder and his government were passed.

General Pichegru, still mindful of his plan of seeming tardiness and irresolution, made no advance whatever for more than a month; but a frost setting in about the middle of December, opened a new field to the adventurous spirit of the republican forces. In the space of a week the Maese and the Waale were both frozen over, and on the 27th of the month, a strong column of the French crossed the Maese near Driel, the right wing extending from Nimeguen to fort St. Andre, which was employed in watching the movements of the allies, while the centre made themselves masters of the Bommel, the Waert, and Langstraale; and the left forced the lines of Breda. On this day the French gained one hundred and twenty pieces of artillery, sixteen hundred prisoners, and three hundred horses. But notwithstanding this success, the French were driven back across the river, in three days after, with considerable loss, by a well conducted attack of the British forces, co-operating with a body of Hessians, and a party of emigrant hussars.

This check, however, was but trifling, for on the same day a detachment from Pichegru's army took possession of the fortress of Grave, after a very obstinate resistance. General Bons defended it till his last shot was expended, the whole town being reduced to a heap of ruins, and the garrison were made prisoners of war. The terms granted reflect the highest honour on the humanity of the conquerors. Shortly after the main body of the French army, to the amount of sixty or seventy thousand men, crossed the Waale at different points, and made a general attack on Walmoden's position between Nimeguen and Arnheim. The allies were defeated in every direction, with great slaughter; and before they had time to rally, or even to make any necessary preparations for flight, their remaining posts between the Waale and the Rhine were attacked with irresistible fury. This put the finishing stroke to the power of the stadtholder, for, neither the troops nor the inhabitants of the United Provinces made any attempt to stop the progress of the French. The tri-coloured flag was speedily displayed, and the tree of liberty was planted in every province.

Previous to the above disasters a general attack had been made on the French (on the 17th of May) at Turcoing, with a view to compel them to evacuate West Flanders. The battle was very long and extremely obstinate, but it terminated in favour of the French, who were successful at every point. During the contest the duke of York was cut off from every part of his own corps, and obliged to repair to that of general Otto, to concert measures with him to extricate the British forces from the critical situation in which they were then placed. This was at last effected, and the English troops retired to Templeneuve, after a dreadful havoc had been made among them, in fighting their way through the ranks of the enemy. By the French accounts it appears, that they took on this occasion sixty pieces of cannon, and two thousand prisoners, consisting of English, Hanoverians, and Hessians. The duke of York quitted the command on the 6th of December, and shortly after returned to England.

The parliament met again on the 30th of December, when his majesty, in his speech, urged the necessity of persisting in the war, however unfortunate it had been. The Dutch had, he observed, from a sense of present difficulties, entered into a negociation for peace with the prevailing party in France, but no established government could derive security from such a negociation. The most effectual means had therefore been adopted for the further augmentation of the forces, on whose valour his majesty professed he had the utmost reliance. He also mentioned the accession of the sovereignty of Corsica to the British dominions, and the conclusion of a treaty of marriage between the prince of Wales and the princess Caroline of Brunswick, for whose provision his majesty expected the concurrence and support of both houses. He exhorted the house of commons to make ample provision for the public service; lamented the necessity of imposing additional burthens on the subject; but observed with satisfaction the state of crédit, commerce, and resources in this country.

An address was moved in the house of lords by earl Camden, seconded by the earl of Besborough, and supported by the earls of Morton and Kinnoul, lords Mulgrave, Grenville, and Darnley. It was opposed by the marquis of Lansdowne, and earls Stanhope and Derby. On the question for the amendments proposed by the opposition, it was rejected by a majority of one hundred and seven against twelve.

In the house of commons an address was moved by sir Edward Knatchbull, and seconded by Mr. Canning, on the leading grounds, that a peace with France at present must be so insecure as to incur all the inconveniencies and expence of a war establishment. Mr. Wilberforce objected to the address, as pledging the house to prosecute the war till there was a counter-revolution in France; for there was nothing in his majesty's speech in the least pacificatory. After maturely considering the matter, his opinion was, that government ought to endeavour to negociate a peace in an open and manly manner. England, he said, was now reduced to that state, when necessity required her to endeavour to bring back the country to the blessings of a fair and honourable peace. He did not think that the country would be at all debased by a declaration for peace; and moved an amendment to the address, containing the substance of the arguments he had advanced, which was seconded by Mr. Duncombe.

Mr. Wilberforce's motion for the amendment was strenuously opposed by Mr. Pitt, who censured with much asperity the members of the house, that after agreeing to the war, now wished for peace. Mr. Pitt was answered, with great calmness, reason, and energy, by Mr. Fox; but the amendment, as was to be expected, was negatived by a large majority: no less than two hundred and forty-six against seventy-three! The motion for the address was then put and carried.

Mr. Sheridan introduced his proposed motion, relative to the suspension of the habeas corpus act, on the 5th of January, 1795. He strenuously argued against the suspension of that act, as suspending the whole British constitution, and urged the authorities of sir Edward Coke, and judge Blackstone. Such a measure could only be justified by an emergency, when a traiterous conspiracy was apprehended, which, he contended did not exist. He denied the reality of the plot, on which the suspension was professedly founded; and mentioned the encouragement given to spies and informers, as disgraceful to any government. The motion was supported by Mr. Erskine, Mr. Fox, Mr. Milbank, and Mr. Thompson, and opposed by Mr. serjeant Adair, Mr. Windham, the secretary at war, the master of the rolls, and Mr. Pitt, who in his speech intimated a renewal of the bill. There were forty-one members for the repeal, and one hundred and eighty-five against it.

On the 15th of the same month, the attorney-general moved for leave to bring in a bill to continue the suspension of the habeas corpus act for a limited time. A debate

guilty. On Monday, November 17th, the court again met, and proceeded on the trial of John Horne Tooke, Esq. on the same charge of high-treason. This trial was conducted in the same manner as the preceding, and ended on the Saturday following about eight in the evening, when the jury retired, and in a few minutes returned with their verdict—Not guilty.

On Monday the 6th of December, the court again met, and John Augustus Bonney, Jeremiah Joyce, Stewart Kyd, and Thomas Holcroft, (who, much to his honour, though not in custody, had surrendered himself as soon as the bill was found against him by the grand jury,) were arraigned, and a jury was sworn in; when the attorney-general informed the court that he should decline going into the evidence against the prisoners, as it was the same that had been adduced on the two late trials, and on which, after the most mature consideration, a verdict of acquittal had been given. The prisoners were of course acquitted and discharged. Mr. Thelwall was then put to the bar, and, after a trial of five days, acquitted.

Thus ended these memorable trials, the issue of which the country awaited with the utmost agitation and anxious suspense, until the just and temperate verdict of an honest jury had defended the law of the land, against the dangerous innovation of constructive treasons.

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ensued, in which the motion was opposed by Mr. Sheridan, lord William Russel, Mr. Lambton, Mr. Francis, Mr. Grey, and Mr. Whitbread, and supported by the attorney and solicitor-generals, Mr. Anstruther, and Mr. serjeant Watson, after which there appeared for the motion seventy-one, against it thirteen! The second reading of the bill was opposed by Mr. Lambton, and several other members, who denied the existence of a conspiracy in the country to subvert the constitution, which was as peremptorily affirmed by the advocates of administration, who strongly contended for the adoption of the measure, as essential to its preservation. The motion was carried by a majority of two hundred and thirty against fifty-three. The bill was then read a second time, and the ministers were earnest to go instantly into a committee upon it, though it was then three o'clock in the morning. This was, however, strongly opposed by Mr. Erskine, Mr. Fox, and Mr. Sheridan, and deferred till the 28th. It was then again opposed by Mr. Fox, but was carried by a considerable majority.

The earl of Lauderdale, on the third reading of this bill in the house of lords, moved an amendment, limiting the operation of it to the first of July; though, by the words of the bill, the crown, by the power of not proroguing parliament, was vested with the privilege of continuing the suspension for an indefinite time. This he forcibly urged on the ground of preventing a dangerous precedent on future occasions. This amendment was agreed to, and the bill read a third time; after which, lord Grenville moved that it should pass. His lordship entered at large into the proceedings of the societies, to prove the existence of the conspiracy, insisting that the late verdict did not negative that, but only considered whether the persons put upon their defence, were guilty to the extent charged in the indictments. The earl of Guildford replied to his lordship in a pointed speech; and a spirited debate ensued, in which the suspension was supported by the dukes of Leeds and Portland, lord Carlisle, and several other peers; but it was strenuously opposed by the duke of Bedford, the marquis of Lansdowne, and the earl of Lauderdale. The question was then proposed, and carried without a division. A protest was, however, entered against the bill, signed by the dukes of Bedford and Norfolk, and the earls of Lauderdale and Guildford.

The most strenuous endeavours of the opposition members were exerted in both houses, during the course of this month, for the attainment of peace. In the upper house motions were made to that effect by earl Stanhope, the duke of Bedford, and the earl of Guildford. In the lower house by Mr. Grey and Mr. Fox; the subject excited much warmth of debate; but the event terminated in favour of the administration, who carried their point when the several motions were introduced, by very considerable majorities.

The affairs of Ireland, during the course of this and the two following months, occupied much of the public attention in both kingdoms. The coalition between a certain portion of the whigs, and an administration whom they had so frequently reviled, and whose appointment to office they had represented as an insult on the people, was not likely to be productive of the happiest effects; and it is singular, that the man who was the principal agent and the most active in bringing about the coalition, should be the first victim of ministerial artifice and cunning.

Earl Fitzwilliam, whose zeal for the war had recommended him to the ministry, was appointed lord lieutenant of Ireland in the beginning of the year. It may be proper to observe, that though the Roman catholics had been restored in some degree to their civil right, by the elective franchise; it does not appear, that either their own leaders, or their parliamentary adherents, were satisfied with what had been granted, or would probably be satisfied with less than a total repeal of all remaining disqualifications. The temporising spirit so characteristic of the administration of the day, had made them receive, with some degree of surprize, the former concessions; but as the Portland party had come into office, the hopes of the catholics revived, and in that party they expected confidently to find firmer friends, and more strenuous supporters; and even before the appointment of earl Fitzwilliam, they had taken the most effectual means for pressing their claims on the first opportunity which appeared to be favourable.

It is evident, however, that not only the new-appointed viceroy, previous to his acceptance of the office, satisfied himself that the catholics ought to be relieved from every remaining disqualification, but that the duke of Portland uniformly concurred with him in this opinion. When the question came under discussion, previous to his departure for Ireland, ministers were strongly impressed with the same conviction, and his lordship adds, in his own statement of the case to a noble friend, "had I found it otherwise, I never would have undertaken the government."

His lordship certainly appears to have proceeded with caution in the business. It was his intention in assuming the government, not to press the question forward; but rather to endeavour to protract it to a period of a more general tranquillity; but, as the principle was agreed upon by all parties, he determined, if the catholics should seem resolute, to bring it before parliament, and give it support on the part of government.

Perhaps no administration was ever more popular in Ireland than that of earl Fitzwilliam. All parties seemed united, and all differences of sentiment subsided. The Irish parliament assembled on the 22nd of January. The address, in the lords, was voted unanimously; that in the commons with only three dissentient voices. On the 9th of February the house of commons agreed to the most liberal supplies, almost without a debate. On the 12th Mr. Grattan moved for leave to bring in a bill for the further relief of his majesty's subjects professing the Roman catholic religion, and, after a feeble opposition, leave was obtained, and Mr. Grattan with three members were appointed to prepare and bring in the same.

Although earl Fitzwilliam had been enjoined by the cabinet not to bring forward the bill for the farther relief of the catholics, he was instructed not to oppose it, should it be introduced by any member who did not act in any official character. Yet, when the measure had been proposed by the house of commons he was suddenly recalled, at the instigation of that party who had long possessed and exercised great influence in Ireland.

Earl Camden, son of the celebrated chancellor, was at the same time appointed to succeed earl Fitzwilliam in the government of Ireland, and the bill was then rejected by the influence of the reigning party.

The rumour of this recal acted upon the whole island like an electric shock, which shook it from the center to its remotest shores. It excited the utmost discontent both in and out of parliament. In the house of commons, sir Laurence Parsons proposed an address to the lord lieutenant, stating that he possessed the confidence of the people and of the house, and expressing the strongest apprehensions if his excellency should be prematurely removed. The address was seconded with great warmth, and some expressions of indignation were uttered against the conduct of the British ministry. It was, however, withdrawn on the persuasion of Mr. Ponsonby.

On the 2nd of March sir Laurence Parsons moved for the limitation of the money-bill to the 25th of May, which was negatived; but a resolution, highly approving the conduct of lord Fitzwilliam, was passed on the motion of Mr. Conolly, with the single dissentient vote of Mr. Beresford. The kingdom continued for some time in a violent ferment, but not without serious conflicts between the military and the people. Addresses poured in from all quarters to the disgraced viceroy; and the discontent occasioned by this unpopular measure universally prevailed. On the 25th of March, earl Fitzwilliam took his departure for England. The day was observed as a day of general mourning: the shops were shut: no business was transacted; and the citizens were clad in black. In college-green, a number of respectable gentlemen, dressed in mourning, took the horses from his excellency's carriage, and drew it to the water-side. His lordship wished, as usual, on such occasions, to distribute money to the populace; but the offer was rejected even by the people. The military had been ordered out, in expectation of some disturbance; yet nothing was displayed but the serious emotions of sorrow, and the utmost order and decorum.

When earl Fitzwilliam returned to England, the duke of Norfolk condemned, in pointed terms, the dismission of that nobleman, and moved for an enquiry into the subject, as it involved the honour and character of a very respectable peer, and disturbed the tranquillity of the country which he had been deputed to govern; but after a debate, in which the earls of Caernarvon, Guildford, Moira, and lord Grenville took a part, a majority of seventy-five voted against it.

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On the 31st of March earl Camden arrived in Dublin to assume the government. Some disturbances arose in the evening of his arrival, which were soon quelled by the interposition of the military. But so unpopular was the dismissal of earl Fitzwilliam from the lord lieutenancy, that a riot took place in Dublin on the day in which earl Camden was sworn in. When the lords were returning from the council after the ceremony, a furious party attacked the lord chancellor's carriage, and disfigured it with stones and brickbats. His lordship received a wound in the head by a stone, and probably would have fallen a sacrifice, had he not been preserved by the guards. At length, however, the insurgents were dispersed, but not till one person had lost his life, and many had been wounded.

On the 30th of April the Irish parliament met, pursuant to adjournment, and on the 21st of May a motion was made by Mr. Grattan for an enquiry into the state of the nation, including the reasons for the recal of earl Fitzwilliam. This motion was negatived by a large majority of that very parliament, who had almost unanimously supported the measures of the preceding administration. Mr. Grattan presented the bill for the emancipation of the catholics on the 24th, but it was rejected on the second reading by a majority of seventy-one.

On the 24th of April, earl Fitzwilliam appeared in his place in the British house of peers, and, in a spirited manner, called upon ministers to come forward to a full investigation of the business. They had, he said, insinuated blame to him; they had thrown down the gauntlet; he accepted the challenge, and wished to try the issue.

The duke of Norfolk then moved an address to his majesty, praying there might be laid before the house, such parts of the correspondence between ministers and earl Fitzwilliam, while in Ireland, as related to the motives of his recal, at a time when parliament had voted their confidence in him, and granted supplies with unexampled munificence. This motion was deferred to the 8th of May, when it was prefaced by the noble duke with whom it originated, by a variety of remarks in justification of the proceeding. He thought, from a full consideration of this affair, the time was arrived, when the inquisitorial power of parliament over the conduct of ministers ought to be exerted. His grace was warmly thanked by earl Fitzwilliam, who earnestly urged a full enquiry into the cause of his removal. The motion was supported by the earl of Guildford, the earl of Lauderdale, the dukes of Bedford and Leeds, and the earl of Moira, who urged the question as involving the interests of both kingdoms.

The motion was strongly opposed, particularly by the earl of Mansfield, who thought the enquiry improper, from the secrecy necessary to be observed in cases of this nature. The removal of earl Fitzwilliam did not, he contended, imply any charge against his character: it only proved such a difference between him and his majesty's ministers here, respecting Ireland, as rendered it impossible for them to act properly together.

Earl Fitzwilliam alledged that the embarrassments which had arisen in the affairs of Ireland, proceeded, in a great measure, from the arrangements made for this purpose by the late lord-lieutenant; and declared that a very perfect system had been formed with ministers at home for accomplishing this end. That the whole truth in this affair might be unravelled, his lordship earnestly supported the motion, and added, that he asked for no more than the impartial decision of the house. The motion, however, was lost by a majority of three to one; there being contents twenty-five, non-contents one hundred.

In the house of commons, the recal of earl Fitzwilliam underwent a very spirited discussion, and a motion for inquiry, similar to that introduced by the duke of Norfolk in the upper house, was made by Mr. Jekyll, and supported by Mr. Fox. The motion, however, was lost by a majority of one hundred and eighty-eight against forty-nine. Thus ended this important business, which had so generally engrossed the public attention, and was eventually productive of the most dangerous consequences, which we shall in the progress of our history have occasion to notice (*i*).

Let us now revert to the affairs of Britain. In the course of the preceding year, a treaty of marriage had been negociated between his royal highness the prince of Wales, and the princess Caroline of Brunswick. From the troubled state of affairs on the continent, the arrival of the princess in England was delayed till the 5th of April, and, on the 8th of the same month, the royal nuptials were celebrated in the chapel of St. James's, with becoming solemnity.

A message from his majesty was delivered to both houses of parliament, on the 27th, mentioning the debts of the prince of Wales. It stated the reliance of his majesty upon their liberality, for enabling him to settle an establishment on the prince and his august bride, suited to their rank and dignity; that the benefit of any settlement now to be made could not be effectually secured to the prince, till he was relieved from his present incumbrances to a large amount; but that his majesty did not propose to his parliament any other means of providing for this object, than the application of a part of the income which may be settled on the prince, and the appropriation, for a certain time, of the revenues of the duchy of Cornwall; declaring his readiness to concur in any plan of establishing a proper and regular arrangement in the prince's future expenditure, and of guarding against the possibility of his being again involved.

Mr. Pitt then moved for a committee to consider his majesty's message on that day se'ennight, upon which colonel Stanhope moved for reading the address to the house on the 24th of May, 1787. On this being complied with, he observed that the house had already liberally paid the debts of the prince; and he wished for a call of the house, that the attendance upon such an important business might be as full as possible. This was opposed by Mr. Pitt, who stated, among other things, that an establishment for the prince had long been a matter of general expectation. In a provision for supporting the dignity and splendour of the prince of Wales, it was certainly necessary to remove from his affairs all embarrassments. He enlarged upon the necessity of supporting the dignity and splendour of the royal family in every branch; and that, on a subject of such general notoriety, a call of the house was not necessary.

A conversation took place respecting this second application of the prince for assistance; which, with the exception of general Smith, appeared to be universally disapproved. The extent of the debts was stated by Mr. Pitt at between six and seven hundred thousand pounds, no part of which, he said, could be paid out of the civil list, so many charges having lately been made upon it. He expatiated upon the interest which the house had in preserving the hereditary succession, and in supporting the character of the house of Brunswick. He recommended to the house, before they yielded to heat or resentment, to consider, that in the issue of the discussion was involved the credit of the hereditary monarchy, and consequently the safety of this country. To this Mr. Martin significantly replied, that the way which appeared best calculated for the preservation of the hereditary monarchy, was to prevent it from being oppressive to the people.

When the consideration of his royal highness's debts was resumed on the 14th of May, various propositions were made by Mr. Pitt, after which he moved, that his majesty be enabled to appropriate sixty-five thousand pounds annually as an establishment for the prince of Wales. This produced a debate, in which some gentlemen contended for an abatement of the sum specified by Mr. Pitt, others for the exact sum, and others for an increase. Mr. Grey proposed that the new annual allowance should be only forty thousand pounds, and he thought the creditors who had encouraged the prince's prodigality, might be satisfied with a composition. But the original motion was carried by a great majority. A bill for preventing future princes of Wales from incurring debt was afterwards presented by sir William Pulteney, and passed the house, and the jointure of the princess was settled at fifty thousand pounds a year.

In the house of lords, on the 26th of June, the bill for preventing future princes of Wales from contracting debts, for granting an establishment to his royal highness, and for granting a jointure to the princess of Wales, were read and passed.

(*i*) A decree, about this time, passed the national convention, respecting the formation of a military school in the plains of Sablons, near Paris. Six young citizens from each district of the republic, under the name of *Elèves de l'école de Mars—Pupils in the school of Mars*—from the age of sixteen to seventeen and a half, were to be instructed in all the knowledge and habits suitable to a republican soldier: these youths were to be taken from the children of *Sans Culottes*, and clothed, armed, and fed, at the expence of the republic.

The intricate long-depending cause of Mr. Hastings, which began on the 12th of February, 1788, terminated during this session. The whole of the charges exhibited against him, which were comprised under four heads, were negatived by the committee appointed to examine the articles of impeachment. These consisted of twenty-four particulars. After the articles had been severally put to those peers who chose to vote, the lord chancellor observed, that there was a considerable majority for the acquittal of Mr. Hastings, and he declared him acquitted of all the charges alledged against him by the commons, and of all the matters contained therein. Thus, after a protracted trial of upwards of seven years, was brought to a conclusion this celebrated cause, so highly expensive to the nation at large, and so ruinous to the fortune of the accused individual. The high court of parliament sat, during the interval of its duration, not less than one hundred and forty-one days.

On the 27th of June the session ended with the usual formalities. His majesty, in his speech, noticed the liberal and spirited support which he had received from parliament in the prosecution of the war; he thanked the house of commons for the ample supplies which had been granted both on this account, in settling the establishment of the prince and princess of Wales, and in extricating the prince from his embarrassments. The lord chancellor then prorogued the parliament to the 19th of August. The supplies granted by parliament for the year 1795, were twenty-nine millions, three hundred and seven thousand two hundred and sixty-five pounds.

The peace and unanimity which accelerated the revolution in Holland, reflects great credit on the prudence and humanity of general Pichegru. The terms of capitulation proposed to the several provinces were extremely liberal. Perfect liberty of religious worship was established, and persons and property secured. French troops were permitted to be put in garrisons; and assignats were prohibited from circulation by forcible measures.

During the time that these events were in agitation, a requisition was made by the French generals for a supply of some articles of provision and cloathing for the armies. The French republic was pledged for the payment of the amount, and the proclamation issued by the French general at the Hague on the 27th of January, 1796, states, that the demand was made, not as from a conqueror, but as from an ally in support of the common cause. The amount of the requisition was estimated at one million, four hundred and three thousand and fifty-four pounds.

In consequence of the resistless power of the French arms in Holland, a royal proclamation was issued on the 16th of January, by the British ministry, ordering that all goods, merchandizes, and effects, belonging to the inhabitants of the United Provinces, should be permitted to be landed in any of the ports of Great Britain, and be secured in warehouses under the joint locks of his majesty and the proprietors, to remain in safe custody, till due provision should be made by law to enable the proprietor to re-export and dispose of the same. The emigrations from Holland in consequence of this proclamation were expected to be numerous, but they happened to be very few; and but little advantage was taken of the measure, except by the stadtholder himself and his family, who repaired to take refuge in England; and, according to general opinion, brought with them a considerable portion of their effects (*k*).

The success of the invaders induced several of the Dutch, though not so many as was expected, to seek refuge in Britain, where they were received with politeness and hospitality. On the 21st of the month, his serene highness, the prince of Orange, accompanied by the princess Frederick Louisa Wilhelmina his daughter, and prince George Frederick his son, arrived at Harwich in a fishing boat from Helvoetsluys. To the firmness of the Swiss regiment, and the fidelity of the Dutch horse guards, they were principally indebted for their escape in safety.

The expulsion of the stadtholder, finally terminated all friendly disposition on the part of the British ministry, towards the Dutch of every description. Peremptory orders were immediately dispatched to seize, without enquiry or delay, whatever Dutch vessels might be found in the different ports of Great Britain. In Plymouth Sound, two Dutch sixty-four's and two sloops of war, were seized by virtue of this authority. Six homeward-bound, and two outward-bound Dutch East India ships, and about sixty sail of other vessels, were captured in that port at the same time. A further proclamation was also issued, authorizing all ships of war, privateers, or letters of marque, to seize and bring into port all Dutch vessels bound either to or from any of the ports of Holland; and also all neutral vessels laden with military stores, bound to any part of the United Provinces. This proceeding was considered as equivalent to a declaration of war on the part of Great Britain.

About the close of January, the provisional representatives of the citizens of Holland assembled. Citizen Pierre Paulus (for the Hollanders had already adopted the language of the French their new allies) was unanimously chosen president. His speech, though not brilliant, was well adapted to the occasion, and concluded with recommending peace and unanimity. The Dutch now treated our military with contempt and illiberality; and the United Provinces were now revolutionized on the French model, liberty and the rights of man, were every where proclaimed.

After various disasters, the total reduction of Holland, and the consequent abolition of the Stadtholderate, the British army took the route to Deventer. To general Abercrombie, who conducted it during this painful and perilous retreat, every praise is due, for his humanity and vigilance. The partial thaw which occasionally happened, only served to aggravate the misery of the wretched fugitives. At Deventer, Zool, and Zutphen, great numbers of the sick were left behind, but the magazines were partially destroyed (*l*). Of the loss of men in this dreadful march no accurate return has been made. Private letters have asserted, that the British army, which amounted to thirteen thousand men when the retreat commenced, was reduced by the beginning of February to half the number. In the march from Amersfort alone, upwards of three hundred soldiers were frozen to death, besides women and children. The division commanded by lord Cathcart encountered the greatest difficulties, as his rear was continually harassed by the advanced parties of the French forces. At Groningen they were refused admittance into the city, and every where experienced loss and disappointment from the prevailing disaffection to the family of Orange.

In March the French were enabled to make some advances into the bishopric of Munster. Bertheim was taken early in that month, after an obstinate engagement, and on the 31st they advanced to Bienen, a league distant from Rees, and an engagement commenced at an early hour in the morning. The French were at first repulsed, but having brought fresh reinforcements into the field before the close of the day, the tide of success was turned, and the Austrians were defeated with amazing loss. The republicans immediately took possession of Bienen. The allied powers after this appear to have lost all their energy in the north of Germany, and the conquests of the French were only bounded by natural obstacles and the territory of neutral powers.

After some preliminary negociations in the beginning of February, Charette and the principal chiefs of his army, in the name of the royalists in La Vendée, and another chief of the name of Cromartie, as representing that party which was distinguished by the appellation of Chouans, (or night-owls,) publicly declared their intention to live in future subject to the laws of the republic, and to deliver up their arms and magazines. In the mean time conferences were opened at a place about three leagues distant from Nantes, between all the chiefs of the Chouans and Vendeans, and the representatives of the French people on mission in those departments; and on the 3rd of March the treaty was solemnly concluded, signed, and ratified at Nantes.

The naval war was now carried on as usual with success

(*k*) The following were the circumstances and ceremonies which preceded the stadtholder's departure from Holland: On the evening of the 16th of January, the stadtholder, in the assembly of the States General, and in the assembly of the States of Holland, requested that his two sons might be permitted to resign their situations in the army of the republic. The request was instantly complied with. On the next day he assisted again at the deliberations of the two assemblies, and obtained the necessary dispositions for absenting himself from the United Provinces. The States-general, however, appointed previously a committee to examine the documents and representations laid before them by the stadtholder.

(*l*) During the two days that the army remained there, it is said that upwards of twelve thousand stand of arms were destroyed; fifty thousand hundred weight of powder; some millions of musket ammunition; one hundred gun carriages; the artillery was in general spiked; working implements and other stores were lost to an incredible amount.

on the part of Britain, as the maritime force of France was never able, in its most flourishing periods, to contend with that of Great Britain. Several frigates were taken by the English in the course of the year, most of them without resistance, but some after a serious conflict; one of the most remarkable of which happened on the 4th of January, off Martinique, between the French frigate La Pique, of thirty-four guns, and the Blanche, commanded by the gallant captain Falkner, of thirty-two guns. The engagement continued five hours of close fighting. The French frigate had all her masts shot away, and had seventy-six men killed, and one hundred and ten wounded, besides about thirty who were lost with their masts. The loss of the English was eight killed and twelve wounded; but among the former was captain Falkner himself.

A considerable action took place on the 14th of March, in the Mediterranean, between the English fleet, consisting of fourteen ships of the line and three frigates, under admiral Hotham, and a French fleet of fifteen sail of the line, having an equal number of frigates with the British. Admiral Hotham, while in Leghorn road, on the 8th of March, received intelligence that the French fleet had been seen off the isle of St. Marguerite; he therefore ordered the British fleet to be unmoored, and the following morning put to sea. Having previously received information by the Mozelle, that the fleet she had seen was steering to the southward, he shaped his course for Corsica, and dispatched the Tarleton brig with orders for the Berwick at St. Fiorenza to join him off Cape Corse; but in the course of the night, the Tarleton returned with the unwelcome intelligence, that the Berwick had been captured two days before by the enemy's fleet. The two squadrons were not within sight of each other till the 12th. The signal was made the following morning by the British admiral for a general chase; and the wind blowing very fresh, one of the French line of battle ships was discovered without her top-masts, which afforded captain Freemantle, in the Inconstant frigate, a good opportunity to attack, rake, and harass her, till the Agamemnon came up, when the French ship received so much injury, as to be disabled from repairing her damage. The two English vessels were, however, so far distant from their own fleet, that they were obliged to quit her, as others of the enemy's ships were coming up to her assistance. On the morning of the 14th, the enemy's disabled ship was observed by admiral Hotham, with one who had her in tow, to be so far to leeward, as to afford a probable chance of cutting them off. For this purpose, every possible exertion was made; and the French were obliged to abandon those ships, or venture a battle. Though the latter did not appear to be their choice, they came down with a view of supporting them; but the Captain and Bedford were so far advanced, and so closely supported by the other ships of the British van, as effectually to cut them off. The conflict ended in the French abandoning these ships, which proved to be the Ca-Ira of eighty guns, and the Censeur of seventy-four. The total killed on board admiral Hotham's fleet was seventy-five, and of wounded two hundred and eighty: the loss of the French could not be ascertained.

The Illustrious and Courageux, which were the van ships that engaged the Ca-Ira and the Censeur, suffered so much in the conflict, having each lost their main and mizen-tops, that the British admiral was not able to renew the action. The Illustrious, in particular, was so much disabled, that she was taken in tow by a frigate, but was afterwards separated in a gale of wind, and driven on shore and lost near Avenza (*m*).

Admiral Cornwallis's judicious retreat from a superior force in the beginning of June, has been generally celebrated as a naval manœuvre. The squadron under his command consisted of five line of battle ships and two frigates. On the 7th of June, as he was cruizing off Belleisle, he fell in with a fleet of merchant ships under convoy of three ships of the line and six frigates. The men of war escaped; but the British admiral captured eight of the convoy, which were laden with wine and military stores. On the 16th, as he was standing in with the land near the Penmarks, the Phæton frigate made a signal for an enemy's fleet, which consisted of thirteen sail of the line, several frigates, two brigs, and a cutter. The wind now fell very much, and came round to the northward, bringing the enemy's ships to the windward; and the next morning they were seen moving, before day-light, upon both quarters of the squadron. About nine o'clock in the morning of the 17th, the front ships of the French line began to fire upon the Mars, which, as well as the rest of the British fleet, kept up a running fire during the whole of the day. It has been said that admiral Cornwallis was relieved from this perilous situation, by causing the signals to be made for a superior British fleet, which deterred the French admiral from pushing his advantages, and enabled the British fleet to effect their escape with little loss.

The period now approached, when the factious commotions which prevailed in France, during the violent paroxysm of liberty, was about to terminate. Distracted as the convention still was by faction and jealousies, and implicated as many of the leading members were, in the guilt of Robespierre's administration, it was some time before it could retrieve its character, and before its proceedings could be directed on principles of justice and honour. Several of the accomplices of that execrable tyrant were brought to condign punishment, and a committee of general security was ordered on the motion of Tallien, to frame a report concerning several persons that had been imprisoned, in order that those men who had been deluded by their leaders, should be restored to liberty, and the severity of justice be exclusively confined to their principals. About the same time, a decree was issued, charging the committee to revise the whole code of the laws, and to propose the repeal of such as should be found contrary to justice and liberality. Some other regulations were adopted, and on the 21st of February a decree highly honourable to the convention, was unanimously passed: it was for securing the freedom of religious worship and opinions.

The reign of Jacobinism was now no more, and it was determined that whatever tended to place an impediment in the way of peace, was contrary to good policy and to the general prosperity: and the power of the committee of public safety to negociate and conclude treaties, subject to the ratification of the legislative body, was acknowledged.

A committee was appointed on the 3rd of April to prepare the mode of organizing the laws of the republican constitution, and a decree to that effect was unanimously passed. Strong decrees were passed by the convention, to prevent the return of the emigrants, without the consent of the legislature; yet saving clauses were admitted in favour of the creditors and relatives of emigrants; all confiscation of property was abolished, except in cases of actual emigration; and the estates of those persons who had been condemned by the revolutionary tribunal, were restored to their respective families.

In the course of this month the French republic was publicly acknowledged by the court of Stockholm; and the Swedish ambassador, baron Storel, was received with great form. The address of the king of Sweden to the convention, concludes with these remarkable words: "We are making vows for the continual increase of your prosperity, and we recommend you with all our heart to the divine protection."

The moderation shewn by the French rulers towards the Dutch republic, was the basis of an advantageous treaty between the two nations.

During the month of May great riots and insurrections happened in Paris. A scarcity of bread was the real or pretended cause of the rising of the jacobin insurgents; and the emissaries of sedition had little difficulty in persuading the people of the suburbs, that the legislature was chargeable with all the public miseries. For several days previous to the bursting forth of the insurrection, placards were stuck up in various parts of Paris, accusing the convention of withholding bread from the people. At length, on the evening of the 19th, a plan of insurrection was openly circulated in the different sections, prefaced with that alarming political principle, "That insurrection is the most sacred duty of the people,"—followed by a determination, "that the citizens of Paris, of both sexes, and of all ages, should, without further delay, proceed in a mass to the convention, to demand bread,—the abolition of the revolutionary government, the immediate establishment of the constitution of 1793,—the dissolution of the present convention, and the establishment of another,—the arrest of each of the members who composed the present convention,—the convocation of the primary

(*m*) It is observable, that one or both of the French ships that were taken, were among the number of those reported, in the London Gazette, to have been destroyed at Toulon,

assemblies,

assemblies, in order to renew the constitutional authorities, and to replace the national convention by the legislative body on a day to be specified." The rallying exclamation was to be "Bread, and the constitution of 1793."

Early on the 20th, the *tocsin* was rung in the Fauxbourg St. Antoine, and the *générale* beat. On this alarm the convention assembled, and a decree was passed, ordering all the citizens to their respective sessions. The insurgents, in the mean time, surrounded the convention, and the people in the tribunes insulted the deputies. Several conflicts now took place between the gens d'armes and the insurgents. A crowd of insurgents burst into the tribunes, exclaiming for "Bread and the constitution of 1793." These cries were accompanied with actions, menacing the national convention, whose deliberations were for some time suspended. The president, with a becoming energy, commanded silence, and, having obtained it, exclaimed—"They demand bread—and to give them bread is the object of our constant care. Let the people know that disorder will only stop the supplies of provisions." The president then ordered, without effect, the left tribunes to be cleared. General Hoche was appointed commandant of the armed force. The insurgents at length obtained possession of the hall of the convention; but some veteran soldiers repelled the besiegers, and there was an interval of tranquillity for about half an hour; after which a cry of "To arms," was heard on all sides. Bayonets and swords clashed against each other at the door;—a conflict took place—detachments of the armed force traversed the hall—three guns were fired, which drew a crowd into the hall. A citizen snatched off the hat of one of the populace, upon which was written—"Bread and the constitution of 1793:" the person who had taken off the hat was immediately assailed with sabres. He flew towards the tribune; but before he had reached it, a musquet was fired at him, and he fell by the side of the president. The representative of the people, Feraud, ran to his assistance; but he fell under repeated strokes of sabres and pikes. He endeavoured to defend himself, but was killed in one of the corridors; and his head was brought into the convention upon a pike.

During the tumult Boissy D'Anglas, had taken the president's chair, and remained firm and immoveable amidst the violence and confusion which still continued to increase. A drum was heard, and immediately an immense number of armed men appeared, marching in regular order, and filling the whole hall. A petitioner, in the dress of a cannoneer, read the paper, which was before agreed upon by the insurgents; he was often interrupted by the acclamations of the multitude, which filled and surrounded the hall. This was about four o'clock in the afternoon. The greater part of the deputies had departed: those who remained were principally the favourites of the insurgents, who took advantage of this moment of horror and consternation, to pass several decrees favourable to their faction. Duroc demanded the repeal of the law of the fifth Ventose, which struck the patriots under the name of terrorists: Goujon, Du Quesnoi, and Bourbotte, made several motions, which equally favoured the fallen party of Robespierre and Barrere: their propositions were received with the enthusiastic acclamations of the multitude; but this usurped authority was of short duration; a crowd of citizens made their appearance in company with the military, and entered the hall, exclaiming, "Long live the convention, and down with the factious!" It was instantly announced, that if those who prevented all legal deliberations, did not immediately retire, force would be used to compel them to be quiet. The multitude, alarmed by this menace, escaped in disorder by the windows.

Though defeated the preceding night, the jacobins rallied again on the 21st, and returned to the charge. They had thrown aside the guise of petitioners, and had roused themselves to the execution of the most violent acts. The convention, either conscious of the superior force of the insurgents, or desirous of averting this new danger by a seeming accommodation, sent a deputation of ten of its members to fraternize with them. When the deputation was repairing to fraternize, the assembly decreed, that bread should become more plentiful, and that the constitution of Robespierre should be put into immediate activity. To complete this scene of disgrace, the president was ordered to give the fraternal kiss to the rebellious mob, and a deputy congratulated the convention on what he called the *holy re-union*.

On the 22nd, the rebels were alarmed by the arrival of some regiments of troops of the line: but when they saw the whole of the Fauxbourg surrounded by increasing numbers, and, in addition to famine, were informed that if they did not instantly surrender, their houses should be laid in ashes by a general bombardment; they sent a deputation to inform the convention, that they had repealed the decree respecting gold and silver, making these metals no longer merchandize, and they were inclined to hearken to terms.

The convention, treating their offer of capitulation with a proper degree of contempt, ordered their generals to reduce the Fauxbourg to unconditional obedience, which was speedily effected, the inhabitants having forced the rebels to surrender; since they saw the destruction which awaited both themselves and their property, if they joined them, or sanctioned the resistance which they made.

On the 20th of May an insurrection happened at Toulon, in which Brunel, one of the representatives of the people, lost his life. Niou, who was then on board the fleet, hastened to oppose the designs of the insurgents, but in vain:—they insisted on the liberation of the terrorists. The fleet was on the point of sailing; but the jacobins succeeded in detaining it in the road. The insurgents took possession of the gates of the town, and mounted cannon upon them. They also marched from Toulon on their way to Marseilles, to the amount of three thousand men, and twelve pieces of cannon, but were soon interrupted in their career by the forces under the command of generals Charton and Pacton, who completely defeated and carried three hundred of them prisoners to Marseilles. By this event, Toulon was restored to the republic and to tranquillity.

If the king of Prussia had been so disposed, he might now have become the general pacificator of Europe: the protestant princes would have accepted his mediation; and if the catholic princes continued obstinately to prosecute the war, they would, by so impolitic a proceeding, have weakened their force, and consequently their opposition to his views of acquiring that influence, which had hitherto belonged to the house of Austria as head of the empire. But from whatever cause the indecision of the court of Prussia arose, time was given, by its neglect of the favourable moment, for Austria and England to regain the ascendency; and though Hesse Cassel formed a treaty soon after, and Saxony and other powers withdrew their contingents from the army of the empire, while the duke of Wirtemburg and others began a negociation, every thing was broken off; except the treaty of Hesse Cassel, and another with the elector of Hanover, by the reserve of the French on the eastern side of the Rhine.

The next discussion agitated in the national convention of France regarded the secret articles. After a long debate, in which the propriety of admitting secret articles was most ably supported by Cambaceres, it was agreed "that secret articles may be made, provided they do not militate against those of the open treaty." When the discussion was resumed on the following day, Cambaceres, as reporter from the committee of public safety, presented the plan of a decree upon the subject, the articles of which were adopted in their fullest extent, without a dissenting voice.

Though the negociation with the king of Prussia had commenced some time before, it was not presented to the convention till the 10th of April. "At length," said Reubell, "you are on the eve of gathering the fruit of your principles. The coalesced powers, who had sworn the ruin of the republic, feel compelled to sue to you for peace, since you have proved that justice and humanity were really the order of the day. Your committee, this day, offers, for your ratification, the peace which it has concluded with the king of Prussia. We have not forgotten, that if the wishes of the French people are for peace, it is for a glorious peace, and such as can compromise neither its dignity nor its interests. We thought it our duty to re-establish a commercial intercourse between Prussia and the French republic, and even to extend it by removing the theatre of war from the north of Germany. We thought it proper that a power so long coalesced against us, and now become our friend, should have a preponderance in the Germanic circles, which may be useful to the republic. We have observed, since the commencement of the last campaign, that the Prussian nation has omitted no opportunity of giving us the testimony of their esteem. We have been seconded in this proceeding, by the indefatigable zeal of the citizen Barthelemy, our ambassador in Switzerland."

Shortly after the Prussian negociation, a treaty was entered

tered into between the French republic and Spain. As the king of Prussia had departed from the integrality of the coalition by his secession, the king of Spain found no difficulty in abandoning it also; and seeing the French troops marching to his capital, orders were dispatched to Don D'Yriarte to come to an immediate conclusion. So expeditious were they in this negociation, indeed, that though Don d'Iranada had been sent to Bayonne by the Spanish court at this time, and general Servan was sent to meet him by the committee of public safety, before these negociators had one interview, the peace was concluded at Basle between Don D'Yriarte and Mons. Barthelemy. The treaty at Basle was signed on the 22nd of July, by Mons. Barthelemy, on the part of the French republic, and by Don Domingo D'Yriarte, on the part of Spain.

A court was held at the East India house, early in the month of June, to determine by ballot, the following question; "That this court do recommend, that the court of Directors should apply to Warren Hastings, Esq. for a statement of the legal expences incurred by him in making his defence; and that, after having ascertained the same, by a full and satisfactory investigation, they discharge the amount thereof, not exceeding the sum of seventy-one thousand, and eighty pounds." On casting up the votes, after the ballot, there were for the question five hundred and forty-four—against it two hundred and forty-four. Majority three hundred.

A general court was also held the next day, for determining by ballot the following question: "That it is the opinion of this court, that in consideration of the long, faithful, and important services of Warren Hastings, Esq. and to mark the grateful sense entertained by this company of the extensive benefits which they have received from those services, a grant of an annual sum of *five thousand pounds*, from the first of January, 1795, to issue from the territorial revenues, during the term of the company's present exclusive trade, to Warren Hastings, Esq. his executors, administrators, and assigns, be prepared by the court of directors, and submitted to the board of commissioners for the affairs of India, for their approval and confirmation, pursuant to the act of parliament." On casting up the votes, the numbers were, for the question five hundred and eight; against it three hundred. Majority two hundred and eight. From this liberal proceeding, on the part of the East India Company, it clearly appears that the directors and proprietors of that opulent trade, entertained very different ideas of the abilities and integrity of Mr. Hastings than those which were entertained by the gentlemen who were the instigation of his impeachment.

The important capture of the Dutch settlements of Trincomale and Fort Ostenburg, in the East Indies, was effected on the 26th and 31st of August, 1795, by his majesty's forces under the command of colonel Stuart, and rear-admiral Rainier. On the 18th of August the British troops broke ground; on the 23rd the batteries were opened, and on the 26th a practicable breach was made. The garrison then surrendered by capitulation. The capture of Fort Ostenburg followed the surrender of Trincomale. The garrison, in consideration of their gallant defence, were allowed to march out of the fort with the honours of war, drums beating, and colours flying to the glacis, where they were to ground their arms, and surrender themselves prisoners of war; the officers keeping their swords. Private property was secured to them; but all public property, guns, stores, and provisions of every kind, were delivered up to the officers appointed by the British commanders to receive them.

On the 9th of June, died Louis Capet, son of the late unfortunate king of France, during his imprisonment in Paris, aged eleven years. It was at first suspected that the youth had been taken off by poison; but for such calumny there does not appear to have been the least foundation. For some time previous to his death, he had been afflicted with a swelling in his knee, and another in his left wrist; and he was at length attacked with a fever. It does not appear that any attention or medical aid was neglected. He expired in the prison of the Temple, where he had been confined ever since the autumn of 1792.

Perhaps in consequence of this event, or influenced by the general sympathy of the people of France, the committee of public safety, proposed the exchange of the princess, who remained a prisoner in the Temple, for the deputies delivered up to Austria, by the treachery of Dumourier; and the two ambassadors, Semonvillet and Muret, who had been seized contrary to the law of nations, upon neutral territories, by an Austrian corps, and who were also detained as prisoners in that country. After some hesitation, the emperor acceded to the proposal, and before the conclusion of the year the princess was delivered up to the Austrian envoy at Basle in Switzerland, and the captive deputies were at the same time restored to their country.

On the 13th of July the convention issued a decree respecting the regulation and dismission of foreigners.

The unsettled state of France, in the convention, and the late disturbances in Paris, pointed out the necessity of giving to France a regular form of government, an executive power, and to snatch her out of the military revolutionary vortex in which she had been long involved. While the events, we have been relating, were in agitation, the convention was sedulously employed in discussing the plan of the new constitution. It was presented by the committee of eleven on the 23rd of June, and was introduced to the consideration of the assembly by an excellent speech from Boissy D'Anglas, the reporter of the committee. Long and interesting debates succeeded. The different articles were separately discussed, and many of them referred back to the committee of eleven for revision. In the course of these debates, the convention restored that useful institution which formed a part of the old free constitution of France, electoral assemblies, and indeed the whole plan was materially altered. On the 23rd of August, the constitution was declared complete, and was referred to the primary assemblies for their acceptance and confirmation.

Shortly after a treaty of peace and amity was concluded between the French republic and the landgrave of Hesse Cassel. By this treaty the landgrave engaged neither to prolong nor renew his subsidiary treaties with Great Britain, nor to employ his troops in any manner hostile to the republic during the war. Peace was also concluded with the Elector of Hanover on nearly the same terms.

Great antipathy prevailed between the discontented sections and the convention: the former most grossly vilified the latter, and imputed to them all the mischiefs that had desolated the republic, as well as evinced every disposition to excite insurrection. On the 4th of October both parties made preparations for acts of hostility, and a contest ensued, in which the sectionaries displayed much valour, till they were compelled by the military force of Paris, to retreat to the place they had fixed for their headquarters. After an interruption of two hours, the cannon was heard again, and it only ceased firing at midnight, when the conventional troops had full possession of the field of battle, having driven the sectionaries from all their posts. The number that fell on this fatal day was eight hundred.

The executive directory were thus employed for the general good of the nation, when they received intelligence that hostilities were renewed in La Vendée; and the Chouan chiefs, and other royalists, were engaged in active correspondence with certain emigrants in England, and through them with the British ministry. The correspondence was detected, and seven of the leaders were assested, in consequence of some intercepted letters. The royalists had assembled in a body, and blockaded the Grand Champ; but the republican army came up with them, surprized the leaders in their beds, and completely defeated the Chouans. While those efforts were making in favour of a counter revolution in the interior of France, preparations were made in England for an invasion on the coast of Brittany. M. de Puisaye, who was appointed commander-in-chief of the catholic royal army of Britanny, published a proclamation at Carnac, inviting all Frenchmen to rally round the standard of their lawful king, Louis XVIII. for so was the count of Provence denominated on the death of the son of Louis XVI. With Puisaye was united in the command, the Count D'Hervilly, a royalist of an excellent character, and some military skill (*n*).

This expedition was set on foot by Mr. Windham, but he did not derive much honour from it; for it was ill-planned and extremely disastrous.

The squadron having reached the bay of Quiberon,

(*n*) M. D'Hervilly did not solicit to be employed in this service, but was sent for expressly by the British ministers, as well as a young man of uncommon merit, the count de Sombreuil, who was sent afterwards with a small reinforcement to join him. This youth, who did not approve of the expedition, was induced to sacrifice his conviction to a nice point of honour, by which he lost his life.

landed

landed on the peninsula, and raised intrenchments for their defence. It was at length determined to attack the fort of Quiberon, which was surrendered to a detachment under Mons. D'Hervilly, on the 3rd of July, the republican garrison consisting only of about six hundred men. The main army of the royalists, in consequence of a determination in a council of war, were removed within the peninsula and fort of Quiberon, where they were surprized by the republican forces on the night of the 21st. The royal troops were completely overthrown; and the slaughter made among them was extremely dreadful. A small part of the troops, however, who had sailed from England, to the amount of about nine hundred, together with near one thousand five hundred royalist inhabitants, who had joined the regiments in the pay of Great Britain, effected their embarkation on board the ships. The remainder fell into the hands of the enemy, together with all the stores and ammunition that had been landed.

The British ministry, notwithstanding the ill success of this expedition, meditated a second attempt on the coast of Britanny, but this plan proved as abortive as the former.

The fortress of Luxembourg surrendered on the 7th of June, to the republicans, and the garrison engaged to take an oath, according to the terms of the capitulation, not to serve against the republic, or her allies, till they were exchanged. They were to be conducted to the right side of the Rhine, and to cross the river at Coblentz.

As some compensation for these losses on the part of the Austrians and their British ally, the republican army under general Jourdan, was obliged to fall back from Mentz, and on its retreat towards the Rhine, experienced several trifling defeats.

The republican forces in the West Indies, by the reduction of Guadaloupe, acquired property belonging to the emigrants, to a vast amount, and colonial commodities in abundance. A great number of vessels were taken from the English, most of which were either sunk or burned; and slavery was abolished in the French colonies, which, as a necessary consequence, was attended with the destruction of the English planters. To add to these misfortunes, a dreadful fire broke out at Montego Bay, in the island of Jamaica, on the 14th of June, which destroyed an hundred and ten houses, and an immense quantity of merchandize. This was succeeded by a more serious calamity—a war with the Maroons, who inhabited the mountainous part of that extensive island.

Towards the close of the year, an event occurred in the South, to compensate the losses the British nation had sustained in the West. This was the reduction of the Cape of Good Hope, on the 16th of September, by admiral Elphinstone and general Clarke. An attempt to surprize the most considerable out-posts failed; and, though the English repelled a fierce attack, their adversaries were not deterred from preparing for a general engagement. At this instant, the appearance of a British reinforcement at sea, commanded by major-general Clarke, checked the ardour of the enemy. At Wynberg, the Dutch attempted to resist, but were soon driven from their post. The governor then proposed a cessation of hostilities, that terms of capitulation might be adjusted. It was agreed, on the 16th of September, 1795, that the troops should be considered as prisoners of war, and that the property of the Dutch East India Company should be delivered up to the captors of the settlement. Private possessions, and civil rights were, however, left inviolate.

On the 28th of October, the ratification of the treaty of amity, commerce, and navigation, between his majesty and the United States of America, signed on the 19th of November last, was exchanged by lord Grenville, his majesty's principal secretary of state for foreign affairs, with William Allen Dias, Esq. chargé d'affairs from the United States.

Among the naval exploits of the day, that of the honourable captain Cochrane demands our notice. Being ordered by rear-admiral Murray to cruise off the Chesapeak, with his majesty's ship the Thetis, accompanied by the Hussar, commanded by captain Beresford, an action was commenced and gallantly maintained against five ships of the enemy, when two of the latter were taken, *viz.* La Prevoyante, pierced for twenty-six guns, but mounting only twenty-four, and the Raison, carrying eighteen guns, though pierced for twenty-four. The Thetis had eight men killed, and two wounded: the Hussar had only two wounded.

The naval war, however, was not so fortunately concluded as it commenced. On the 7th of October, the British Mediterranean fleet, which originally consisted of upwards of sixty merchant ships homeward-bound, richly laden, under the convoy of three ships of the line and four frigates, were overtaken off Cape St. Vincent, by a French fleet, commanded by admiral Richery, consisting of nine ships of the line and several frigates. On discovering the French fleet, the British commodore made the signal immediately to wear and stand from them. The French frigates were, however, previously dispatched to prevent the escape of the merchant ships; and admiral Richery, by employing a press of sail, cut off the retreat of one of the British ships of the line, the Censeur, of seventy-four guns, which had previously lost her main-top-mast. But the attention of the French being chiefly directed to the capture of the convoy, the Bedford and Formidable, with the other ships of war, found means to escape, keeping up a smart fire from their stern chases. The number of vessels belonging to this fleet taken by admiral Richery, amounted to thirty-one.

On the 19th of October, the London Gazette contained a proclamation of the king of Great Britain, granting general reprisals against all ships, goods, and subjects of the United Provinces.

The British parliament were summoned to meet on the 29th of October, on which occasion we lament to relate the daring outrages which were offered to his majesty, on his passage to and from the house of lords. He proceeded from the palace to open the session of parliament, at the usual hour; and the crowd in St. James's Park, which is always considerable on these occasions, was at this time much greater than usual. As the royal carriage passed along the park, the predominant exclamations were, "Peace!—Peace!—Give us bread!—No Pitt!—No famine!—No war!"—It was likewise said, that a few persons were heard to exclaim, "Down with George!" or words to that effect. In the Park, and in the streets adjacent to Westminster Hall, some stones and other hostile substances were thrown, nine of which, it is asserted, struck the state coach. On his majesty's return from the house, those outrages were renewed, and after he had alighted at St. James's, the populace attacked the state carriage, and in the way through Pall Mall to the Mews, it was almost demolished (*o*).

Four witnesses of what occurred in the course of the day were severally examined at the bar of the house of lords, on the evening of the 29th, and a copy of the minutes of the evidence was communicated to the house of commons on the following day (*p*). On the 31st a proclamation was issued offering a reward of a thousand pounds, to

(*o*) The treatment his majesty received in passing to and from the house of lords, was imputed to the intrigues of the seditious members of the London Corresponding Society. This, however, was supposed to be without foundation.

(*p*) Among the several witnesses examined to these facts, were John Walford, of Pall Mall, a constable, who deposed, that on entering Parliament Street, he observed one man in particular among the crowd, very active, running by the side of the coach and exclaiming, "No war!—Down with George!" and on their entrance into Palace Yard, he observed something come with great velocity from the foot pavement as he thought; on which he observed to Mr. Stockdale, his brother constable, "Good God! the glass is broken!" This man repeated the exclamation of "Down with George!" again; upon which he immediately seized him; and under the protection of the horse guards, conducted him to the court-yard of St. James's, where he left him.

On the same evening some persons taken into custody upon suspicion of having insulted his majesty, were examined at the public-office, Bow Street. The first was Kidd Wake, aged twenty-seven: he was a journeyman printer. Lemon Caseby, a constable, deposed, that he observed the prisoner, soon after the carriage had entered the park, hiss, groan, and call out, "No war!" vehemently and repeatedly. The witness endeavoured to secure him, but fell down in the attempt; when he rose, he observed the prisoner again in the same act. After his majesty alighted at the house of lords, a Mr. Walford came up, and observed to the witness and other peace officers, that he should know the man who broke the glass of the coach, describing him to wear a green coat with a black collar. The prisoner said he was in the service of Mr. Noble, a printer; was a married man; and by hissing and groaning at his majesty, he meant to let the king see "he was dissatisfied at the war."

On the next morning Kidd Wake was brought before the sitting magistrates for re-examination, when Mr. Walford, above mentioned, came forward, and deposed, that as soon as he joined the procession as a constable, he observed to Mr. Stockdale, his brother officer, how very particularly active the prisoner was in hissing, hooting, and calling out "No war!" As the procession was passing from the Horse Guards, towards Carleton House gates, six or seven stones were thrown at the carriage; and about the same time the stones were flung, he observed the prisoner stoop two or three times; but whether he flung any of the stones he could not positively say. The prisoner, Kidd Wake, was re-committed for further examination. He at length was brought to trial, and con-

to any persons, other than those actually concerned in doing any act by which his majesty's royal person was immediately endangered, who should give information, so that any of the authors or abettors in that outrage might be apprehended and brought to justice.

On the 30th of October, the minutes of the evidence of the witnesses examined in the house of lords was communicated to the house of commons. The reading of this evidence being closed, the commons unanimously agreed to the address they had received for their concurrence, and a message was sent to acquaint the lords therewith (*r*).

On the 4th of November, another proclamation was issued. It began by announcing, that, immediately before the opening of the present session of parliament, a number of persons were collected in the fields in the neighbourhood of the metropolis, by advertisements and hand-bills, and that many inflammatory discourses were delivered to the persons so collected, tending to create groundless jealousy, and discontent, and to endanger the public peace; and that such proceedings were followed, on the day on which the session of parliament commenced, by acts of tumult and violence, to the imminent danger of his majesty's person. And further, that uneasiness and anxiety had been raised in the minds of his majesty's faithful subjects, by rumours and apprehensions that seditious assemblies were intended to be held, by evil disposed persons; that it was therefore thought necessary to enjoin and require all justices of peace, sheriffs, and all well-disposed persons, to discourage and suppress all seditious and unlawful assemblies, and the distribution of all seditious papers and publications.

Notwithstanding the outrages which had taken place, during his majesty's progress to and from the house, the session of parliament was opened as usual by a speech from the throne, but the address was suspended, the house having resolved itself into a committee of privileges, in consequence of the atrocious insults recently offered to his majesty's person.

In the house of lords, on the 6th of November, lord Grenville, after some prefaratory remarks, recapitulating the causes which had given rise to the late proclamation, presented a bill, entitled, "An Act for the Preservation of his Majesty's Person against treasonable and seditious Practices and Attempts." At the same time he moved for the printing and second reading of the bill.

The bill was opposed in all its stages by the earl of Lauderdale, and the dukes of Bedford and Norfolk. The noblemen in opposition expressed their concern for the outrages offered to his majesty, but deprecated the evils which would arise from the bill, as tending to effect a total alteration of the laws respecting treason, and a most dangerous innovation upon the constitution of the realm.

Lord Grenville, the earl of Mansfield, and the bishop of Rochester, strenuously contended for the propriety of passing the bill, on the ground alledged on presenting and moving for its being taken into consideration, by the noble secretary of state. The learned prelate, in the course of other remarks in support of the bill, adopted an expression which has since been often noticed, that he did not know "what the mass of the people in any country had to do with the laws but to obey them."

The earl of Lauderdale and the duke of Bedford expressed their astonishment at the assertion of the noble prelate: the former observed, that if he had been in Turkey, and heard such a declaration from the mouth of a mufti, he should have attributed it to his ignorance; but to hear it from a British prelate, filled him with indignation.

In its progress through the house, some amendments took place, after particular discussion; and on the 16th of November, the bill passed the house of lords, but a protest was entered on the journals against it. Notwithstanding the tyrannical complexion of this bill, it baffled every attack, being supported by all the influence of power (*s*).

On the passing of the bill, a message was then sent from the lords to the commons, informing them that they had passed an act for the preservation of his majesty from treasonable acts, and desiring their concurrence in the same. The bill, after much altercation, passed the house on the 10th of December. It is needless to recapitulate the arguments adduced upon this occasion, as they were similar in their tendency to those advanced in the house of lords.

Another bill, to nearly the same effect, originated in the house of commons, on the 10th of November. The chancellor of the exchequer, after a prefatory speech, moved, "That leave be given to bring in a bill for the more effectually preventing seditious meetings and assemblies."

The introduction of the bill was warmly opposed by Mr. Fox, Mr. Stanley, Mr. Halhed, Mr. Grey, and Mr. Sheridan. It was contended, that if such alarming proceedings took place, and such seditious meetings were held, the speakers were amenable to law, and, when found guilty, were liable to adequate punishment; that the present bill was a libel on the loyalty of Englishmen; that the interference of a magistrate at a public meeting of peaceable subjects would be an arbitrary measure; and, on the whole, it militated against the liberty of the subject.

Sir William Pulteney, Mr. alderman Lushington, Mr. Wilberforce, and Mr. Windham, spoke in favour of the bill. It was averred, on their part, that in such inflammatory assemblies as those in question, where sedition was copiously dealt out to the multitude, there ought to be something to save the public mind from imbibing the insidious poison; that it was the business and duty of le-

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convicted of hooting, groaning, and hissing at the king; for which he was sentenced to be confined for several years in the penitentiary house at Gloucester, and to stand in the pillory.

(*r*) The following are the copies of the address, and answer:

Address of both Houses of Parliament to his Majesty, on the daring Outrages committed on the 29th of October, 1795.

"*Most gracious Sovereign,*

"We, your majesty's most dutiful and loyal subjects, the lords spiritual and temporal, and commons in parliament assembled, beg leave to approach your majesty, humbly to express to your majesty our indignation and abhorrence at the daring outrages offered to your majesty in your majesty's passage to and from your parliament. We cannot reflect without the utmost concern, that there should be found within your majesty's dominions, any person so insensible of the happiness which all your majesty's subjects derive from your majesty's just and mild government, and of the virtues which so eminently distinguish your majesty's character, as to be capable of these flagitious acts: and we beg leave humbly to lay before your majesty, the earnest wishes of your faithful lords and commons, in which we are confident we shall be joined by all descriptions of your majesty's subjects, that you will be graciously pleased to direct the most effectual measures to be taken, without delay, to discover the authors and abettors of crimes so atrocious."

ANSWER.

"*My Lords and Gentlemen,*

"I receive, with great pleasure, this additional proof of your uniform zeal and loyalty. I have too much reason to be assured of the affectionate and steady attachment of my people at large, to have felt any other sentiment upon this occasion, than that of concern at so high a violation of the laws. I shall not fail to give such directions as may tend to bring to justice and punishment, the persons concerned in an offence so dangerous to the public tranquillity, and so injurious to our excellent constitution."

(*s*) *Protest against the Bill entitled, "An Act for the Safety and Preservation of his Majesty's Person and Government, against Treasonable and Seditious Practices and Attempts.*

"*Dissentient,*

"1. Because we conceive this bill to be founded on a false pretence. It recites a daring outrage on his majesty's person, (which we feel with the utmost horror) and purports to provide further remedies against such practices, while, in reality, it affords no additional security whatever to his majesty's person, and leaves us to regret a deep and irreparable injury to the laws and constitution of our country, by making the compassing, imagining, inventing, and devising the levying war, a substantive treason; thereby departing in a most dangerous and unjustifiable manner, from the statute of the twenty-fifth of Edward the Third, the salutary provisions of which we cannot be tempted to abandon, by the example of temporary statutes, whose doubtful policy stands in opposition to a law, in which the wisdom of our ancestors has been so repeatedly recognized by the legislature, and so strongly confirmed by the permanent experience of its benefits.

"2. Because the free discussion of the administration of government in all its branches, by writing, speaking, and meeting for the purpose of representing grievances to any of the three branches of the legislature, has afforded the best protection to the liberties of the people, and is the undoubted inherent right of Englishmen. Yet this bill erects into a high misdemeanor, the exercise of this most valuable privilege, and inflicts in certain cases the pains and penalties of transportation, for the offences which it creates; a punishment in the case of misdemeanors, thus generally constituted, as unprecedented in the history of our laws, as it is unnecessary and unconstitutional.

"3. Because the extension of the treason laws, and the creating new misdemeanors, is an alarming encroachment on the security of the subject, and affords no additional protection to his majesty's person and government: for the state of every king, ruler, and governor of any realm, dominion, or commonwealth, standeth and consisteth more assured by the love and favour of the subjects toward their sovereign, ruler, and governor, than in the dread and fear of those laws with rigorous pains and extreme punishments, which have at all times disgraced our code. History, however, shews us, that by succeeding legislatures, our statute book has, with every mark of generous indignation, been uniformly cleared of these temporary and unconstitutional excrescences; a circumstance which we now regard as a solemn warning against creating new and unheard of misdemeanors, or altering the treason laws of our country.

"*Bedford,*
"*Derby,*
"*Lauderdale.*"

gislators

gislators to apply remedies for public evils, as occasion required; and that, if the magistrate exceeded his powers, he might be punished, as there was no fear that liberty would be surrendered in a country where the juries were judges.

A very great majority of the house decided in favour of the bill, which was accordingly brought in; and after warm debates, it passed into a law, by vote of the usual majority which supported the measures of administration. It was then taken up to the lords, and on the 14th of December, passed the house, though protested against by several of the noble members (*t*).

While these two bills were under discussion in the houses of parliament, the public mind was much agitated, and parties proceeded to very intemperate extremities, in opposing and defending the principles on which they were founded, according to the declaration of the partizans of government.

On the 11th of November, the Whig Club of England met at the Crown and Anchor Tavern, when his grace the duke of Bedford was in the chair. They resolved, "that they would give every aid to the civil magistrate, in detecting and bringing to punishment the persons concerned in the daring attack made upon his majesty, in his passage to parliament, on the first day of the session: that, lamenting as they did, this nefarious act, they saw with the utmost concern, that it had been used as a pretext for introducing into parliament a bill striking at the liberty of the press, and the freedom of public discussion. That it was highly expedient, that meetings of the people in their respective districts, should be immediately called to consider this important subject, and for the purpose of petitioning parliament against the said bill, or any other measure which might tend to infringe the rights of the people of Great Britain."

This meeting of the Whigs was very generally attended. All the members of both houses of parliament belonging to the club were present, to the number of near fifty lords and members of the house of commons.

A great number of the members of the corresponding society, and others of the populace assembled on the 12th of November, in a field near Copenhagen House. An address, remonstrance, and petition to his majesty, was proposed, imploring his majesty to exert his royal authority to maintain and preserve inviolate the rights and liberties of his subjects, then about to be invaded, by the two bills impending in parliament. A petition to the lords spiritual and temporal, nearly to the same purport, was also read; and, lastly, one to the commons of Great Britain, stating it to be the petition of nearly four hundred thousand Britons, inhabitants of London, and its environs, assembled together in the open air, to express their free sentiments, according to the tenure of the bill of rights, on the subject of the threatened invasion of their constitutional liberties.

The association against republicans and levellers, well known by the appellation of Mr. Reeves's society, met at the Crown and Anchor, about the same time, and agreed to an address to his majesty, highly approving of the measures that had been taken, and of the two bills pending in parliament. The example of the Whig Club was immediately followed by the livery of the city of London, the electors of Westminster, the freeholders of Middlesex; and by several counties, and almost every considerable town in the kingdom; wherever a meeting was publicly called, the decision was almost unanimous.

At a very numerous and respectable meeting, of merchants, bankers, manufacturers, and other inhabitants of the city of London, consisting of upwards of eight hundred persons, convened by public advertisement, at the Paul's Head Tavern, Cateaton Street, on the 25th of November, to take into consideration, an humble and affectionate petition to the king, most ardently beseeching him to dismiss his present ministers from his presence and councils, and to adopt measures for the purpose of speedily obtaining for his distressed subjects, the blessings of peace, Samuel Ferrand Waddington, esquire, in the chair, It was resolved (with only twenty-five dissentient voices) that the critical and calamitous state of these kingdoms demands an immediate peace; and it is the opinion of this meeting, that his majesty's ministers have lost the confidence of the people. That an humble petition be presented to his majesty; praying that he would be graciously pleased to adopt measures for immediately procuring to his distressed subjects the blessings of peace, and to dismiss his present ministers from his presence and councils.

At another meeting held at the London Tavern, in Bishopsgate Street, November the 27th, Samuel Bosanquet, esquire, in the chair: It was unanimously resolved, that it is expedient in the present important crisis, that a meeting should be convened of such merchants, bankers, traders, and other inhabitants of London, as have not joined in the proceedings of some meetings, lately held at the Paul's Head Tavern, Cateaton Street, purporting to be meetings of "the merchants, bankers, manufacturers, traders, and other inhabitants of the city of London;" in order to take into consideration the propriety of making a declaration to the public, that *they have had no concern* in the proceedings and resolutions of those meetings; but that, on the contrary, they are of opinion it has become necessary for parliament to adopt some temporary measures for the more essential support of peace and good order.

Another meeting was afterwards held on the 2nd of December, when Samuel Bosanquet, esquire, again appeared in the chair; and the same description of people, resolved "to support, by every means in their power, the ancient and most excellent constitution of Great Britain, and a government by king, lords, and commons, and to exert their best endeavours to impress on the minds of those connected with them, a reverence for, and a due submission to, the laws of their country, which have hitherto preserved the liberty, protected the property, and increased the enjoyments of a free and prosperous people."

Nothing remarkable occurred in the speeches for and against the usual addresses, on his majesty's speech to both houses, on the 29th of October. The necessity of a continued war was strongly urged by one party, and by the other a negociation as strongly recommended. Mr. Fox censured the king's speech for giving a partial view of the situation of affairs, but the minister, as usual, defended its propriety.

The chancellor of the exchequer, on the 30th, moved in the commons for a committee for the extension, during another twelvemonth, of the bill of the last session, allowing the importation of corn duty free. But upon some further conversation upon the subject, Mr. Ryder moved for leave to bring in a bill to alter the existing laws relative to the price of bread, to prohibit the manufacture of starch from wheat or other articles of provision, and to lower the duties upon its importation; for continuing the prohibition of distilling from articles of grain; and for removing all obstructions to the free passage of grain within the kingdom; which was carried unanimously.

On bringing up the report of the select committee respecting the high price of corn by Mr. Ryder, it appeared, from the fullest information which the committee had been able to procure, that, except in the article of wheat, the crops had been abundant; so that, by the proper mixture of different grains, a considerable alleviation of the evils of the present scarcity might be made; and this was the more necessary, as from different causes, the price of grain in America, the Mediterranean, and the northern parts of Europe, was exorbitantly dear, and an adequate supply could not be depended upon. After full consideration of the means of obtaining a supply, the committee thought proper to leave the trade perfectly open, and to grant a bounty upon the importation. This bounty was twenty shillings upon every quarter, and fifteen shillings upon every barrel, imported from the Mediterranean, till three hundred thousand quarters should be imported. The bounty upon corn imported from America was fixed at fifteen shillings the quarter, and ten shillings the barrel, till five hundred thousand quarters should be imported. A bounty of five shillings a quarter, and three shillings a barrel,

(*t*) *Protest against the Bill, entitled, "An Act to prevent seditious Meetings and Assemblies."*

"*Dissentient,*

"Because, to present petitions to the throne and the two houses of parliament, has at all times been the undoubted right of the subjects of this realm; the free and unlimited enjoyment of which was one of the many blessings restored by the revolution, and invariably continued in its fullest extent, as well during times of internal commotion as of external danger; we therefore cannot consent to a bill which thus fetters the rights of the people, and imposes restraints on that freedom of speech, to the existence of which the preservation of all our liberties may be ascribed, and from the full, free, and continued exercise of which is derived the manly character that distinguishes a free people.

Norfolk, *Albemarle,*
Suffolk, *Lauderdale,*
Lansdowne, *Ponsonby,*
Derby, *Bedford.*"
Chedworth,

rel, upon Indian corn or meal, till five hundred thousand quarters should be imported.

The committee to consider of the high price of corn, in the mean time, entered into an engagement to reduce the consumption of wheat in their own families one-third, by every possible expedient. This measure, which provided no legislative remedy for an evil of such magnitude, was pointedly animadverted upon by lords Lauderdale, Lansdowne, and Thurlow, as "silly, futile, and even ridiculous." The engagement was, however, signed, not only by the committee, but by several members of both houses of parliament.

Many important regulations were made by the committee, respecting weights and scales, the tolls of millers, &c. which formed the basis of succeeding acts of parliament. Sir John Sinclair about the same time brought forward a motion, founded upon resolutions of the board of agriculture, for the cultivation of the waste lands. In consequence, therefore, of recommendations from the board, several inclosure bills passed the house in the course of the session.

On the 7th of December, the minister thought proper to open the budget. He said, upon this occasion, that he thought it necessary to give the general state of receipt and expenditure, as it would tend to prove that the finances of this country were equal to every emergency; and that Great Britain could furnish the means for carrying on the war for years, if necessary, without burthening its people, or injuring its trade. He then proceeded to state the particulars, and specify the ways and means for raising the sum adequate to the necessary supplies; the total amount of which was twenty-seven millions four hundred and eighty-five thousand pounds.

The business of the loan (which amounted to eighteen millions) created long and animated debates in the house of commons; both as to the manner of its negociation, and the allowance made to the contractors.

Mr. Fox, and several members in the opposition, reprobated the loan as not only disgraceful in itself, but as it would be a pernicious precedent in future times. The house, after much opposition, agreed to go into a close committee, which all members who pleased were allowed to attend. This committee, after sitting a considerable time, and examining several witnesses, completed their report, which was brought up by Mr. W. Smith, who moved a string of resolutions, establishing the principle of an open competition—that the loan was bad and improvident—and that the minister, in adjusting the terms, had been guilty of a departure from his own principles, and of a breach of his duty.

Arguments respecting the budget, and the distribution of the consequent loans, are generally considered as momentary. Calculations, accurate as well as erroneous, are brought forward; and undue influence, or corruption, is always sure to be alledged, as matters almost of course. A little irregularity appeared in this business respecting the antedating of some bills, and dating them from Hamburg, but no fraud appeared in the transaction. Mr. Long, therefore, moved the previous question.

Sir William Pulteney vindicated the whole transaction. It had been asserted, that the bill had been drawn on unstamped paper; he observed, that had they been stamped, government must have been paid. It was only saving government the trouble of paying with one hand, and receiving with the other.

The previous question, which had been moved by Mr. Long, was carried by a majority of eighty-five. On the second resolution, the ayes were eight, noes one hundred and eight.

It is remarkable that, during the discussion of the two coërcive bills, each house received a message from the king, in which he signified his inclination to meet any negociation on the part of the enemy, with a desire to give it the speediest effect in producing a peace.

On the following day, Mr. Pitt moved an address in reply. He observed, that the sentiments expressed in the message, were conformable to those delivered from the throne at the commencement of the session, with a view to the formation of a government in France, with which a secure and honourable peace might be concluded. He renewed those sentiments as applicable to the present French government, the recent successes of our allies, and the embarrassment of the enemy's financial system.

Mr. Sheridan, in reply to Mr. Pitt, on the import of his majesty's message, insisted on the propriety and necessity of not considering any particular form of government in France as necessary for the establishment of peace. If the present circumstances in France only were admitted as a ground for negociation, any change might be considered as a ground for discontinuing any treaty which was begun: he hoped the form of government in France might be no bar to negociation, whenever a peace could be safely effected; and that his majesty would be pleased to order an immediate negociation to commence.

Mr. Grey stated that several continental powers had concluded treaties with the French, which had never been violated. Upon the whole, he wished ministers to be enjoined really to negociate by the terms of the amendment, which declared the government of France no bar to this business.

The chancellor of the exchequer contended, that, if the amendment, and the advice of its promoters, was adopted, the discretion of government would be entirely taken away, and the responsibility doubled.

Mr. Fox in reply, contended that the amendment did not go beyond the extent of the message: it only declared that there were no impediments to treating, in the form of the government in France. In supporting the amendment, he was far from arguing against the address; he was, in fact, supporting it by what gave it meaning and force. On every account, Mr. Fox said, he thought it necessary to bind ministers to make peace. It was an erroneous opinion, that it was constantly disadvantageous to a power at war to be the first to offer terms of peace: the experience of history proved the reverse; and were peace offered to the French on reasonable terms, it would not be in the power of the directory, or the council of ancients, nor the two houses joined together, to refuse the terms. The people would force them to agree to them. Mr. Fox particularly observed, that a better season for treating than the present, might not occur for a very long period of time.

Mr. Pitt wished this affair might be left to the discretion of the ministry; and the allies of Great Britain ought to be consulted on such a measure. Steps, he said, had already been taken to ascertain the disposition of the enemy; and, if there should be a prospect of an honourable peace, the opportunity would be readily embraced. After a few observations from general Smith in favour of the amendment, and a short reply from Mr. Sheridan, the amendment was negatived without a division, and the address carried.

A few days after the address was carried in the house of commons, his majesty's message was brought down to the lords by lord Grenville, who moved the address to the same import with that voted by the house of commons, and, after a short debate, a great majority determined in its favour, and it was, according to the usual forms, presented to his majesty.

On the 7th of January, 1796, the princess of Wales was happily delivered of a princess, at Carlton House. The duke of Gloucester, the archbishop of Canterbury, the lord chancellor, the lord president, the duke of Leeds, the duke of Devonshire, the lord chamberlain, the master of the horse, the prince of Wales, lord Thurlow, and the ladies of her royal highness's bed-chamber were present. This event was made known by the firing of the Tower guns, and other demonstrations of joy in London and Westminster (*u*).

On

(*u*) As the following transaction reflects honour on the feelings of the prince of Wales, it claims the attention of our readers. On the 6th of February, at a court of common council of the city of London, the lord mayor rose to state to the court, a conference he had had with the prince of Wales, on the subject of not receiving the congratulatory address of the city on the birth of a princess, in the usual form; observing, that in a matter of so delicate a nature, he had thought it his duty to commit the purport of this conversation in writing, which, with the leave of the court, he would wish to be read. The communication was as follows:—'In consequence of a letter from lord Cholmondeley, dated January 31, 1796, stating that his royal highness the prince of Wales wished to speak to me at Carlton House, and to give me a private audience, I had the honour of waiting on his royal highness, who addressed me, by saying, "that he had seen with concern in the public papers, a statement of what had passed in the court of common council, on Thursday last, respecting a letter written by lord Cholmondeley, at the command of his royal highness, and sent to the city remembrancer, conveying his sentiments on the intended address of congratulation to their royal highnesses, which sentiments he conceived had been mistaken or misunderstood; or at least a very different construction had been given to them than he meant, or was intended to be conveyed by that letter. His royal highness said, that he thought it incumbent on him to preserve a consistent

On the first of February, their majesties were grossly insulted on their way from Drury Lane Theatre to Buckingham House, by a banditti of ruffians. One of these misguided men, in Covent Garden, opposite Southampton Street, threw a stone, brick, or some other hard substance, which struck, with great violence, one of his majesty's servants standing behind the carriage; and, as it was passing along Pall-Mall, a second stone was thrown by one of the ruffians, which broke one of the glasses, and fell into the lap of lady Harrington, who was then lady in waiting.

The indefatigable Mr. Grey speedily brought forward another debate. He declared, in the house of commons, that he thought it his duty to observe, that from the message delivered from his majesty, a general expectation of the return of peace had been excited, and a general desire of knowing whether that much wished event was still at a distance, or whether we were still to prosecute the war? As the chancellor of the exchequer said he did not think it incumbent on him to answer such a question at present, Mr. Grey proceeded to give notice of his intended motion for peace, which he accordingly brought into the house on the 15th of that month. Prefatory to his motion, Mr. Grey observed, that, contrary to the hopes that had been rationally formed, no negociation for peace had taken place, but that ministers appeared determined to prosecute the contest to extremity: the expedient was now recurred to of deluding the people with the hopes of peace, while they were determined to persevere in the system of warfare. He enumerated the disasters which had arisen in the different campaigns, and the repeated motions which had been submitted to the house, for the purpose of promoting a negociation with the enemy. Another campaign was about to take place, and the emperor was to have another loan. He concluded with moving, that an humble address be presented to his majesty, stating, that it is the wish of this house, that his majesty may be graciously pleased to take such steps as to his royal wisdom shall appear most proper, for communicating directly to the executive directory of the French republic, his majesty's readiness to meet any disposition to negociation on the part of that government, with an earnest desire to give it the fullest and speediest effect.

The chancellor of the exchequer said, that however he might be disposed to favour the object which the motion appeared to have principally in view, he could not concede to the grounds on which it had been followed up. The state of the country was very different from that held out, and no temporary reverse in the fortune of the war, no internal pressure had yet produced that humiliation which he suggested. He said, the progress of measures which were necessary in the present situation of affairs, could, however, only be left safely to the conduct of the executive government. He farther observed, that it was important for the supporters of the motion, to consider, whether the measures which they might wish to recommend, were such as might oblige the country to give up the chance of a successful peace altogether, or to make it on terms inconsistent with the honour of the nation. An honourable peace, he contended, could only be had by perseverance in the vigorous conduct we had hitherto pursued.

Mr. Fox concluded a very eloquent speech upon this occasion, in the following emphatic terms: let us manifest to the world a spirit of moderation, and this night address his majesty to commence a negociation with the republic of France. I say, republic, for there is more in names than we can imagine. He concluded by declaring, that he wished not for a dishonourable peace, or peace on any other terms than such as were worthy the character and situation of the country, but such it was his decided opinion might be obtained. On the division of the house, there appeared for Mr. Grey's motion, fifty; against it, one hundred and eighty-nine.

In the month of April, the house of commons was engaged in a warm debate relative to the expedition in the West Indies. Several motions were made and negatived, and others carried; and thus terminated, for the present, after long uninteresting debates, this political contest, without effecting the purpose for which it was brought on the tapis.

Colonel John Fenton Cawthorne, of the royal Westminster regiment of militia, was found guilty (by a court martial assembled at the Horse Guards) on the 24th of March, 1796, of receiving and applying to his own use, the marching guineas allowed by the militia act, and of several acts of peculation; particularly of receiving money to excuse persons from serving in the militia, and putting it in his own pocket, without providing substitutes, &c. On twelve charges he was adjudged to have acted in a *scandalous* and *infamous* manner, unbecoming the character of an officer and a gentleman; he was therefore sentenced to be *cashiered*, and declared incapable of ever serving his majesty in future. In consequence of this sentence, colonel Cawthorne was afterward expelled from the house of commons. His sentence, by his majesty's order, was read at the head of every militia regiment in the kingdom.

Intelligence was received in London, on the 28th of March, that the Dædalus transport, from Port Jackson, in New South Wales, on her passage home, touched at Otaheite. There, to the astonishment of the captain and crew, they found nine of their countrymen married, settled, and living in the greatest ease and comfort; who, being asked how they came there, informed them, that they sailed from England, in a South Sea whaler, belonging to Messieurs Calvert and Co. called the Amelia, which had the misfortune to bulge upon a rock. Finding it impossible to save the ship, or any part of the stores, they got into the boat, committed themselves to the mercy of the waves, and were safely wafted to the shores of Otaheite. The natives, not unaccustomed to the colour of their skin, or the sound of their language, received them with every token of affection and joy; assigned them lands, and servants to cultivate them; adopted them into the order of nobility, and, as a proof of the insignia of their elevation, tattowed them from top to bottom.

In the beginning of May, the general conduct of administration came under discussion in the house of lords, on the motion of the marquis of Lansdowne, respecting some government papers, for the production of which he had previously moved. His lordship reminded the house, that so long ago as the 15th of December, 1779, and the 8th of December, 1780, he had proposed two motions, in order to suggest that system of public operations with which it was his wish that the resolutions then to be brought forward, should be followed. In this system he had been supported by many of the present administration, who appeared to have since abandoned it. He therefore wished to afford them an opportunity of shewing whether they still adhered to their former resolution, "that the influence of the crown was increased, is increasing, and ought to be diminished;" or, if they had apostatized, that the public should be in possession of documents upon which to form an impartial estimate of their character. He said he wished to draw the attention of the house to some very interesting particulars; which having enumerated, he observed, that time would fail him in mentioning all the measures which had been introduced and sanctioned by the present administration, and he was tired with inspecting the red book, that register of corruption. Yet all this had taken place under the conduct of some noble lords, who came into office abetting the principle "that the influence of the crown had increased, was increasing, and ought to be diminished." The marquis further said, that perceiving no effectual steps taken to realize those measures of reform, for which ministers at their entrance into office stood pledged, or those recommended by commissioners appointed by parliament, it was necessary to inquire into so extraordinary an omission, as well as whether any new offices had been created?—Whether any old salaries had been increased on slight pretences?—Whether any salaries had been granted for special purposes, and continued when the reason for them ceased?—Whether any warrant for beneficial grants had been directed?—And, on the whole, whether the public expences had increased beyond the supplies annually granted by parliament?

consistent character; that as his establishment, for certain reasons, had been reduced, and that the necessary state appendages attached to the character and rank of prince of Wales, did not in consequence exist, his royal highness conceiving he could not receive an address in state, and particularly from the corporation of the city of London, for which he entertained the highest veneration and respect. His royal highness therefore thought it would appear disrespectful to the first corporate body in the kingdom, to receive the members of it inconsistently with their *character* and *his own dignity*."

The prince of Wales, on the 7th of February, received in private the congratulatory compliments of both houses of parliament, presented by committees, in consequence of his royal highness, from having reduced his establishment, being unable to receive them with the proper dignities of his rank.

liament? His lordship proceeded to censure the war as bloody and profuse beyond example, and our situation on the whole as calling for the most accurate investigation; and concluded with moving for an enquiry into the several abuses which he had pointed out.

The arguments and motion of the noble marquis were supported by the earls of Lauderdale and Moira, and opposed by lords Auckland, Hawkesbury, and earl Spencer. Lord Auckland entered into an elaborate statement of the difference of our prosperity in the years 1783 and 1795, to prove the great advantages on the side of the latter. When the house divided, there appeared for the motion of the marquis of Lansdowne twelve, against it one hundred and four!

On the 6th of May, Mr. Grey brought several accusations against ministers, on which he grounded a motion for impeachment. He observed, that the power of the purse was the best security for the liberty of the people; and this the house would not allow to be incroached upon without betraying a most sacred trust, and violating a most valuable privilege. This duty was still more important from the magnitude of expence which they had to superintend. It was, he stated, his intention to confine his motion to three plain and simple considerations; first, that ministers had violated the express stipulations of the appropriation act, by applying grants to different services than those for which they had been voted; secondly, that they had presented false accounts to the house to conceal this infraction; and, thirdly, that they had violated another law for regulating the office of paymaster-general of the army. He desired the house to consider, that there was an act passed every sessions, after the grants for the year were made, appropriating certain sums to certain purposes respecting the different articles in the army. By a paper on the table, he would, however, shew that this act had in many instances been violated. He said, that if a necessity for such a violation had existed, ministers were bound to come to parliament for an act of indemnity as speedily as possible, and to state the reasons for such a necessity. They, however, had acted on the contrary. They had endeavoured to conceal the infraction of the law from the eye of scrutiny by a confused account, and thus afforded additional ground for the severest censure. By papers on the table it appeared, that to the 21st of August, 1795, for the quarter preceding, eight millions of the grants of the current year had been expended, and still these arrears remained due. The premier acknowledged that some irregularities had occurred; but nothing criminal had been wilfully committed. Upon a variety of instances which he adduced, Mr. Grey formed fifteen resolutions, the last of which stated, that "in the instances mentioned, his majesty's minister had been guilty of presenting false accounts, calculated to mislead the judgement of the house, of a flagrant violation of various acts of parliament, and a gross misapplication of the public money."

Mr. Pitt ably replied to the several allegations of Mr. Grey; he cited many precedents, and endeavoured to exculpate ministers from the charges exhibited against them by the Whigs. Mr. Steele moved the previous question, when there appeared two hundred and nine votes against thirty-eight, in favour of the minister.

On the 10th of May an important motion was made in both houses of parliament, respecting a change of measures in regard to external politics. That in the house of lords was moved for by the earl of Guildford, who, after reciting a variety of instances to prove the misconduct of ministers in carrying on the war, moved for an address at great length, concluding with declaring, that the house thought itself bound in duty to his majesty, to profess they saw no rational hope of redeeming the affairs of the kingdom, but by the adoption of a system radically different from that which had produced the present calamities.

The same motion which had been introduced by the earl of Guildford in the house of lords, was brought forward on the same day by Mr. Fox in the house of commons, and with the same effect. He satirized the rashness which had driven the nation into a war, and the incapacity manifested in the progress of it. In the former there appeared, upon a division for the question, ten against one hundred and ten! In the latter, the ayes for the motion were forty-two against two hundred and sixteen!

The minister at this period seemed to be driven to his wit's end for money; therefore, in April, two strange political phœnomena presented themselves; these were a second budget, and a second loan in the same session. The subject of the second budget produced a long debate, in which Mr. Grey took the lead on the opposition to the minister. Mr. alderman Newnham made some pointed observations on the partial manner in which the business of the loan had been conducted; but when the resolutions were put, they were agreed to without a division; and the new tax bills which the minister brought forward in consequence of his second budget, were all passed into laws, without any further alteration, a few days before the conclusion of the session.

Mr. Wilberforce, according to annual custom, again moved for the abolition of the slave trade. He observed, that the first of January, 1796, was the period allotted by the house for the abolition of this infamous and detestable traffic. The motion was opposed by general Tarleton, Mr. Dundas, and a considerable number of members; but it was ably supported by Mr. Pitt, Mr. serjeant Adair, and Mr. Fox. To the regret of the friends of humanity, the narrow views of interest and policy prevailed over every consideration of religion and justice. The house would not even receive a bill proposed by Mr. Francis for improving the condition of the slaves in the British West India islands.

The session was closed as usual by a speech from the throne, on the 19th of May, in which his majesty announced his intention of giving immediate directions for calling a new parliament, extolled the regard both houses had paid to the safety and welfare of his people, in the provisions they had made for suppressing sedition and civil tumult, and for restraining the progress of principles subversive of all established governments. He signified the greatest satisfaction in observing the difficulties arising to his subjects, from the high price of corn, being in a great degree removed; and thanked the commons for their very liberal supplies. On the following day the parliament was dissolved by proclamation; and thus terminated a parliament, concerning whose transactions a more impartial account may be expected from posterity, than from the writers of the present age.

During the time that the belligerent powers on the Rhine were collecting their forces to open the campaign of 1796, as soon as the time limited for the armistice should expire, the civil war in the western departments of France was hastening to a conclusion: after several defeats of the different rebel armies, and the capture and death of their leaders, Charette (*v*) and Stoflet, the remainder of the insurgents, classed under the names of Chouans and Vendeans, harassed on every side, submitted to the forces of the republic, or to the magistrates of the several communes, and peace was finally restored to that desolated department.

The campaign opened in Italy on the 9th of April this year. The republican armies had hitherto only scaled the vanguard of the Alps, from whence also they had been driven, after having viewed in perspective the immense difficulties they had to encounter, before they could succeed in achieving the conquest of Italy. They had possession of the coast from Nice to Genoa; but the passage into Italy was blockaded by the Austrian and Sardinian armies, who had apparently taken the most effectual measures to prevent the further progress of the enemy. The army of Italy, having received considerable reinforcements, was intrusted to the command of general Bonaparte, a young Corsican of the most daring courage, and the most enterprising ambition; but an officer of whose military skill no mention had been hitherto made during the course of the revolution (*w*).

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(*v*) The following account of the Vendean general, Charette, appeared in the Parisian papers:

"Entirely defeated by the republican army—his troops dispersed, and incapable of being collected again and rallied—himself closely pursued, Charette assumed the dress of a peasant, with the hope of eluding the strict search that was making after him. He wandered for some time among the fields alone, and was at length discovered and pursued by a republican patrole. His strength being at last exhausted, he sunk upon the ground, and was taken by two grenadiers, who carried him on their shoulders to the next post, from whence he was conveyed to Angers. At Angers he was tried, and sentenced to be shot. The sentence was immediately carried into execution."

(*w*) It is remarkable, that when this extraordinary person first figured in the grand theatre of the world, he called himself *Buonaparte*, according to the Italian orthography; but when he thought he saw a distant glimpse of the honours which awaited him, he gallicised his name, and

The first action of the campaign we are recording occurred near Savona, on the shores of the Mediterranean, where the French general Bonaparte was attacked by the troops under the Austrian general Beaulieu, and driven back to the lines near Savona. Presuming on their success, the Austrians advanced in hopes of cutting off the retreat of the division which they had repulsed; but Bonaparte, who had foreseen his retreat, had strengthened his post on the flanks of the Austrians, who were advancing, but who had been held in check by the forces which occupied the post of Montenotte, lying between Voltri and Savona. The possession of this post was absolutely necessary to cutting off the retreat of the division of the French, whom they had previously defeated; and as it appeared probable that the Austrians would renew the attack, Bonaparte sent a division, under general Massena, to take advantage of the night, and gain the rear of the Austrian army. General Beaulieu, having reinforced his army, began the attack at break of day. The success was various, and the victory remained undecided, until the division under general Massena, who had been sent round by Bonaparte, appeared on their left and rear. Unable to withstand this shock, the Austrian army was thrown into confusion, and being completely routed, was pursued by the French to Cairo. Their loss amounted to three thousand five hundred men, of whom two thousand were prisoners.

The victory at Montenotte was immediately followed by one more signal and decisive at the village of Millesimo over the united Austrian and Piedmontese forces, and which proved more fatal to our allies.

After these successes, Bonaparte having made dispositions to march forwards to Mondovi, the Piedmontese general, count Colli, apprehending the issue of a contest where he might easily be surrounded, and his retreat cut off, withdrew during the night to that place. At break of day the French attacked him at the entrance of Vico; the redoubt, which covered the centre of the Piedmontese army, was taken; and Mondovi itself on the same day, upon the further retreat of the Piedmontese, fell into the hands of the French, so that, finding it now impossible to withstand the republican army, the Piedmontese retreated towards Turin, from whence the French were distant but twenty-four miles, while general Augereau was about to pass the Tanaro on the right flank of the retreating forces.

The three battles which the French had just won were decisive of the fate of Sardinia (*x*); for the aged monarch then seated on the throne, was under a necessity of dispatching his minister to Paris, who concluded a treaty with the republic on the 17th of May. As Piedmont lay entirely at the mercy of the conqueror, the king was compelled to submit to such conditions as were proposed to him. The king of Sardinia ceded the duchy of Savoy and the county of Nice to the French republic.

By this treaty, his Sardinian majesty agreed to withdraw himself in the most unequivocal manner from every alliance, offensive or defensive, formed with any of the powers in the coalition against the French republic; to renounce both for himself and his successors for ever, all title to Savoy, Nice, and the country now forming the department of the Maritime Alps; to determine the limits of the respective countries by new demarcations advantageous to the republic; and to grant a full and entire amnesty to all those of his subjects who had been or were prosecuted for their political opinions.

Bonaparte was ably supported in these arduous enterprizes by the zeal of his generals, each of whom led on his respective division with that alertness which could alone have ensured success in a war among the Alps.

The Austrians, defeated in several attempts, retreated to Lodi on the river Addi, where marshal Beaulieu had concentrated his forces. To pass the bridge in the face of the Austrian army, advantageously posted, was incurring certain destruction to numbers; the judicious and enterprizing Bonaparte, however, full of confidence in his soldiers, gave peremptory orders that the attack should be made by the bridge. Accordingly a battalion of grenadiers bore down all before them, and reached the bridge of Lodi, exclaiming, "*Vive la Republique!*" *i. e.* "Long live the Republic!" but the dreadful fire kept up by the enemy having stopped their progress, the generals Berthier, Massena, and Cervoni rushed forward; yet even their presence would have been ineffectual, had it not been for the intrepidity of Bonaparte himself, who, snatching a standard from the hand of a subaltern, placed himself in the front, and animating his soldiers by his actions and gesticulations (for his voice was drowned in the noise of cannon and musquetry) they rushed on with impetuosity, seized the Austrian artillery, broke through the lines, and throwing the whole into disorder, ended the contest.

and has ever since called himself *Bonaparte*, judiciously omitting the (*u*). The following memoirs of Buonaparte, as far as they extend, are averred to be authentic:

Napoleone Buonaparte was born in the town of Ajaccio, in Corsica, in 1767, is the son of Charles Buonaparte, and Lætitia Raniolini. His father, who was also a native of Ajaccio, was bred to the civil law at Rome, and took part with the celebrated Pascal Paoli, in the ever-memorable struggle made by a handful of brave islanders, against the tyrannical efforts of Louis XV. and the Machiavelian schemes of his minister, Choiseul. He not only laid aside the gown upon this occasion, but actually carried a musquet as a private sentinel. On the conquest of the island by France, he wished to retire with the gallant chieftain who had so nobly struggled for its independence; but was prevented by his uncle, a canon of the church, who exercised a parental authority over him. In 1773, a deputation from the three estates was sent to wait on the king of France; and on this occasion, Charles Buonaparte was selected to represent the nobles. He was soon after promoted to the office of *procuratore reale* of Ajaccio, where his ancestors, supposed to have been originally from Tuscany, had been settled nearly two hundred years. The family of Charles Buonaparte was numerous, for he had seven children, four sons and three daughters. The sons were, Lucien, Napoleon, Joseph, and Louis. It was his good fortune, however, to be cherished by the French; and both he and his family lived in the greatest intimacy with M. de Marbœuf, the governor, who received a revenue of sixty thousand livres a year, on condition of doing nothing! An intendant was paid nearly as much; and a swarm of hungry leeches, engendered in the corruption of the court of Versailles, at one and the same time sucked the blood of the Corsicans, and drained the treasure of the mother country; in short, like the conquests of more recent times, the subjugation of that island seems to have been achieved for no other purpose than to gratify avarice, and satiate rapacity.

On the death of his friend Charles Buonaparte, M. de Marbœuf continued to patronize his family, and placed his second son Napoleone, the subject of these memoirs, at the *Ecole Militaire*, or Military Academy. The advantages resulting from this seminary, which has produced more great men than any other academy of a similar description in Europe, were not lost on young Buonaparte; he then re-applied himself, with equal assiduity and address, to mathematics, and studied the art of war as a regular science. Born in the midst of a republican struggle in his native land, it was his good fortune to burst into manhood at the moment when the country of his choice shook off the chains with which she had been manacled for centuries. There was also something in his manners and habits that announced him equal to the situation for which he seems to have been destined: instead of imitating the frivolity of the age, his mind was continually occupied by useful studies; and from the Lives of Plutarch, a volume of which he always carried in his pocket, he learned, at an early age, to copy the manners, and emulate the actions, of the heroes of antiquity. With this disposition, it is but little wonder that he should have dedicated his life to the profession of arms.

In the winter of 1796, general Buonaparte was united to Madame Beauharnois, a beautiful French woman, who had experienced a variety of persecutions during the tyrannical reign of Robespierre. Her former husband had attained the rank of general in the service of the republic, and had always conducted himself as a friend to liberty. On that memorable day when Louis XVI. and his family repaired to Paris, M. de Beauharnois sat as president of the national assembly, and exhibited great dignity of demeanour. He fell a victim, however, to the terrorists, who, joining the narrow ideas of sectarists to the ferocious character peculiar to themselves, persecuted all whose opinions were not exactly conformable to their own standard. M. Barras, at length, luckily for her, extended his protection to the widow, who was afterwards the wife of his friend.

As to his person, Bonaparte is rather small of stature, but admirably proportioned. He is of a spare habit of body, yet robust, and calculated to undergo the greatest fatigues. His complexion, like that of all the males of southern climates, is olive; his eyes blue, his chin prominent, the lower part of his face thin, and his forehead square and projecting. The large whole length Italian print, published in London by Sestolini, exhibits a good likeness; but the best portrait ever taken of him was at Verona, in consequence of the solicitations of an English artist, who applied to him for this purpose, by means of a letter from a relation, now in London.

With respect to his mind, his very enemies allow that he possesses uncommon attainments. He converses freely, and without pedantry, on all subjects, and writes and speaks with fluency and eloquence.—Above all things he has attempted, and in a great measure obtained, the mastery over his passions. He is abstemious at his meals, and was never seen in the slightest degree intoxicated; he possesses many friends, but has few or no minions; and preserves an inviolable secrecy, by means of a rigorous silence, far better than other men do by a loquacious hypocrisy. He has, however, like a sound politician, shewn great attention to those generals who have exerted themselves in his service.

His mother, the beautiful Lætitia Buonaparte, is still alive, as are also his two sisters. They were taken prisoners by an English armed vessel, during their passage from France to Corsica; but were restored to their country and their friends.

The above account of Napoleon Bonaparte and his family may be considered by some in the light of panegyric and adulation; but let such remember that it is not the part of a faithful historian to calumniate the character of this great man, because others have done so, but to adhere to truth.

(*x*) The king of Sardinia died in October, soon after the signing of the treaty, aged seventy, and his son Charles Emanuel succeeded him.

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While one part of the republican forces pursued Beaulieu towards Mantua, the rest entered Milan on the 18th of May, without further resistance; and the French armies gained possession of the whole of Lombardy. Bonaparte, having alarmed the pope by an invasion of his territories, granted the favour of a truce to him, and proceeded to cover the siege of Mantua.

In Holland, after several contests between the various parties respecting the convocation of a conventional assembly, the two provinces of Friezeland and Zealand, which had been most averse to the proposition, assented to the wish of the majority; and the national assembly was installed on the first of March, 1796. One of the first acts of this assembly was a declaration of war against England, which had deprived the republic of almost all its colonies both in the East and West Indies.

Official dispatches from Bombay, dated the 9th of November, 1795, and received in England the 2nd of March, 1796, announced the capture of the island of Ceylon (*y*), with its valuable settlements of Malacca, Cochin, and Jaffnapatam. Malacca was taken by major Brown; Cochin, on the Malabar coast, by a detachment of the Bombay forces; and Jaffnapatam, on the island of Ceylon, by admiral Rainier and colonel Stuart.

On the 11th of March, Mr. Joddrell made a motion in the house of commons, for extending anatomical dissection to persons guilty of burglary, or highway robbery; but, upon finding the sense of the house against the measure, he withdrew it.

On the 8th of March, the English cabinet, by the agency of its ambassador to the Helvetic states, had communicated to the government of France, by their ambassador at Basle, a series of propositions relative to a general pacification. The apparent motive of this communication was to ascertain whether there was any disposition in France, to open a negociation with the king of England and his allies, for that purpose: and whether it would be agreed to appoint a congress to arrange and adjust the terms? The directory, anxious to evince its disposition for pacific measures, declared it was its sincere desire to make peace, and detailed the conditions on which it was prepared to offer it; of which one was indispensible, namely, that of retaining the provinces in the Low Countries, which by the constitutional act had been united to the French republic. These propositions, however, were declared by the English ministry to be utterly inadmissible.

On the 10th of May, the Executive Directory sent a message to the Legislative Body, announcing that a conspiracy was to have burst forth upon the morrow at daybreak. The Legislative Body, the Directory, and the chiefs of the army of the interior, were to have been massacred; pillage and slaughter at once extending their ravages throughout the great city of Paris. The conspirators arrested on this occasion were Drouet, Babœuf, Antonelle, Riccard, Rossignol, Laignelot, Chastes, Germain, Darthez, and the secretary Joseph Lebon. Vadier and Amar made their escape.

The armistice on the Rhine, terminated on the 31st of May, and the campaign opened immediately after that date. General Moreau had been appointed, by the Directory, to the command-in-chief of the French army of the Rhine and Moselle, as successor to general Pichegru, who was nominated ambassador to the court of Stockholm.

The first operations of the French were successful; general Kleber forced the passage of the Sieg, surprized the van of the Austrian army at Altenkirchen, under the prince of Wirtemberg, and totally defeated it, with the loss, on the part of the Austrians, of two thousand four hundred killed and wounded, and three thousand taken prisoners.

But the republicans were not so fortunate in an engagement near the Lahn; yet they afterwards reduced Frankfort, Wurtzburg, and other considerable towns. They were, however, defeated in several actions in the autumn, and found it expedient to re-cross the Rhine.

General Moreau, the commander in the Upper Rhine, took the fort of Kehl, and made great ravages in the enemy's country. At Rewhen, the Austrians fled before him, and he was completely victorious at Rastadt. He compelled the duke of Wirtemberg to decline all opposition to the French cause, and even to sue for peace. He entered the Bavarian capital, and exacted large contributions from the elector as the price of a truce. But, receiving intelligence that the emperor had augmented his forces, he meditated a retreat, which he accomplished with great address. He encountered many difficulties in his perilous march from the Lech to the Rhine, the relation of which astonished all the world.

In Italy the French prosecuted the war as successfully as they had commenced the campaign. Bonaparte attacked the Austrians at Mori, where they were strongly entrenched; and, after a severe contest, on the 4th of September, they were defeated, and compelled to take refuge in Trent. To cover this city, the Austrians had rallied at the pass of Calliano, and had taken positions which appeared impregnable. The address and courage of the division under general Massena surmounted every obstacle; and, after a long and obstinate conflict, in which the French made six thousand prisoners, and took twenty pieces of cannon, this general victoriously entered the city. Bonaparte, instead of continuing his march into the Tyrol, directed his course to the right, and followed Wurmser to the valley of Brenta. Pursuing his march along the river of this name, he defeated the Austrians on the 8th of September, in four successive engagements, forced general Wurmser from Bassano, where he had established his head-quarters, and pursued him so vigorously, that he was obliged to retreat towards Trieste.

Bonaparte intended to have prevented him from penetrating into Mantua, and had taken measures to surround him, and oblige him to surrender, but Wurmser's marches were so rapid, that he was unable to carry his plan into execution. The Austrian general met with resistance in his march; but as he had to contend with inferior forces, he succeeded in making good his retreat to Mantua, where the French attacking and obtaining, after great slaughter, the posts of Favorito and St. George in the suburbs of that city, and not having artillery to form a siege, turned the whole into a blockade. In this attack it is supposed the Imperialists lost twenty thousand men; and this was the third Austrian army which the French had destroyed in the course of this campaign, in attempting to reduce Lombardy once more under the Austrian yoke.

Bonaparte, to shew that it was not his intention to arrest the progress of the arts and sciences, in the parts of Italy which he had lately conquered, addressed two letters to the astronomer Oriani, and the municipalities of Milan and Pavia, in one of which are inserted the following words—"The sciences, which do honour to the human mind; the arts, which embellish human life, and transmit illustrious actions to posterity, should be peculiarly respected in all free governments. All men of genius, all those who have obtained a distinguished rank in the republic of letters, are Frenchmen, whatever may be the country in which they were born (*z*)."

In the beginning of the year, general Nichols recommenced

(*y*) Ceylon is a large island in the East Indies, about two hundred and fifty miles long, and two hundred broad. The air is very good, and the country full of mountains, but interspersed with fertile vallies. It is remarkable for producing excellent cinnamon. In some places are rich mines of sapphires, rubies, topazes, and cats'-eyes, besides other stones of less value. There is also plenty of wood for dying, and all other uses. The animals are cows, buffaloes, goats, hogs, tigers, monkies, &c. They have large elephants, and monstrous serpents, which are very dangerous. The island is also infested with ants, which do incredible mischief. It lies from 78 to 82 degrees of E. longitude, and from 6 to 10 degrees of N. latitude. The conquest of this island was the first attempt of Albuquerque, the celebrated Portuguese admiral. He found it well peopled, and inhabited by two different nations, the Bedas inhabiting the northern, and the Cinglasses inhabiting the southern parts. The former were very barbarous, but the latter a great deal more polished. The Portuguese tyrannized over the natives to such a degree, that they assisted the Dutch in expelling the Portuguese from the island, which was accomplished, after a bloody and obstinate war, in 1658. All the Portuguese settlements fell into the hands of the Dutch East India company, and the island continued to belong to the Dutch till it was wrested from them by the English, as above related. At the time when the English conquered the island, the Ceylonese were in a most miserable situation: they might be said to have been in a state of total inactivity, living in huts without any furniture, and subsisting upon fruits. Those who were more affluent had no other covering than a piece of coarse linen wrapt about their waists.

(*z*) On the 25th of October, 1795, the French minister of war pronounced the following inflated speech, descriptive of the victories of the republican army in Italy, on his presenting to the Executive Directory citizen *Marmont*, aid-de-camp to general Bonaparte. This is the same gentleman who lost his arm at Salamanca in Spain, in the battle which was fought in June, 1812, between the French forces and those of the Anglo-Portuguese army under the command of the marquis of Wellington. "The army of Italy, always triumphant, present to you the trophies of new victories. The enemy vanquished at Castiglione, received considerable reinforcement; they prepared a fresh attack in the hopes of repairing their defeats; but they were met by an army accustomed to conquest, and the battle of Saint George's, put a period to their efforts.

menced active operations in the West-Indies, and having received some reinforcements, attacked the French at Port Royal in Jamaica, once without success, and with considerable loss, but in a second and more desperate attempt, he carried their works by storm. After this signal defeat the insurgents were every where discomfited, and compelled to submit (*a*). The reduction of the island of St. Lucia under the British government, was effected in May by the troops under general Abercrombie, but not without considerable resistance on the part of the French. At length, a capitulation was agreed upon for the whole island, and the garrison, to the amount of two thousand men, surrendered prisoners of war. The fate of St. Vincent's depended greatly upon that of St. Lucia, and as the opponents to the British forces were chiefly a herd of undisciplined savages, they became an easy conquest, and were in a short time subdued. By the indefatigable zeal and activity of general Walpole, the Maroons were brought to submission; the greater part of them laid down their arms, and soon after the remainder surrendered. They were removed with their families in the month of June, to Lower Canada, where lands were provided for them by the legislature of Jamaica.

Though every power in Europe had felt in some degree the force of the French arms; England had hitherto, except in the accumulation of debt, and the derangement of her finances, suffered the least inconvenience from the war. It was therefore suggested, that the most effectual mode of opposing England since the naval force of France could not injure her commerce, was to shut out her manufactures from every port in Europe. The proclamation issued by the English minister, permitting the exportation of goods to the Netherlands and the United Provinces, induced the Dutch convention to issue a counter proclamation, forbidding, under severe penalties, the entry of such goods into the Dutch republic, and restraining them from engaging in this commerce with England.

This new system of warfare was adopted throughout the greatest part of Europe. The English manufacturers found no entrance into any port from the Elbe to the Adriatic, except those of Portugal. Spain, by the declaration of war, had entered partly into the plan. Genoa, after repeated struggles to keep her neutrality respected, placed unfortunately in the midst of three great powers, those of England, Austria, and France, and her territory violated successively by each, was compelled to yield to the urgent remonstrances of the French republic, and by a formal treaty (on the 9th of October) agreed to shut up her ports against the English. Leghorn was in possession of the republican troops, and the English found themselves confined in the Mediterranean to the possession of the island of the Elbe, before Leghorn, to which they retreated when expelled from that city. Their Italian allies, the pope and the king of Naples, were by the conditions of the armistice with the French republic, circumscribed in their means of affording assistance. Corsica was also at this period evacuated by the English, who having taken possession of it when the tyranny of the jacobins had subjected France, had found the less resistance in re-establishing the forms of monarchical government. The Corsicans scarcely waited the withdrawing of the English troops, before they formed themselves into primary assemblies to send deputies to the commissioners in Italy, to divest themselves of their title of subjects to the king of England, and "swear allegiance to liberty, as citizens of the French republic."

While these transactions were carrying on, the inhabitants of the countries south of the Po, which had been conquered by the French, adopted measures for the formation of new governments, under the protection of the French republic. The cities of Bologna, Ferrara, and Reggio, were leagued in the confederation, and proceeded to the formation of its respective governments, in each of which similar regulations took place. Among others, the privileges and even the name of noble was abolished, and the various ensigns and blazonry of the order were not sufferred to remain.

The vast superiority of the naval forces of Great Britain was universally acknowledged in almost every part of the globe, yet the dexterity of the French completely eluded their vigilance, and succeeded in an expedition to Newfoundland, where they destroyed British property to a very large amount; but this loss on the part of the English was compensated soon after, by the advantages gained over the Dutch at the Cape of Good Hope, where admiral Lucas, with his squadron consisting of seven ships, were captured, or rather delivered into the power of the English, by the defection of the crews under that admiral's command. This squadron had escaped the watchfulness of the English, by effecting a passage early in the spring, and was to have been joined by a French squadron of sufficient force to accomplish the purpose for which the expedition was destined—the recapture of the Cape. The French squadron were to have been equipped at the expence of the Dutch, who could obtain this aid upon no other conditions; the money was regularly paid to the French government; but the squadron was never prepared; and the Dutch, after uselessly soliciting for several months, instead of recovering their possessions, were compelled to submit to the loss of the forces which they had sent to retake that important place.

General Bournonville, in the beginning of October, had been dispatched from Holland to replace general Jourdan, and to reinforce the army of the Sambre and the Meuse, with the division of the army under his command. In addition to the post opposite Huninguen, and the village of Kehl, the French kept possession of Neuweid, on the right side of the Rhine, a few miles below the fortress of Ehrenbreitstein. The Austrians, in order to possess themselves of this important place, crossed the Rhine, to divert the attention of the republican general from the attack which they had meditated, from the island, one side of which still communicated with the fort, as the bridge was unbroken in that part, and from the main land, where the regular batteries were already established. This expedition was planned for the capture of the whole garrison; but the French general, anticipating the design of the Austrians, made his dispositions to receive them at the true point of attack, and, after an obstinate conflict, repelled them with incredible loss.

During this period, the emperor had assembled a fourth army to liberate general Wurmser, who was shut up with his troops in Mantua. This army, commanded by generals Alvinzi and Davidovich, having received great reinforcements, the latter expelled the French from the Trent and the Tyrolese. General Alvinzi was attacked on the 7th of November with the utmost fury, near the village of Arcola by the republican army, commanded by Bonaparte: night alone terminated the battle, during which the French fell back on Verona. The battle of Arcola was singularly fatal to the French generals, by whose distinguished efforts of bravery, victory was taken out of the hand of fortune. Bonaparte escaping himself with difficulty, lost both his aids-du-camp, who fell by his side. The result of this bloody conflict, which was fought for eight successive days, was the loss on the part of the Austrians of twelve thousand men, in killed, wounded, and prisoners, besides four flags and eighteen guns. Their loss in this battle was so considerable, that Alvinzi was compelled to retire behind the Brenta with the remainder of his forces, to await the arrival of another army, and leave Mantua once more to its fate. But on the 14th the republican army, commanded by general Vaubois, was attacked by the Austrian general Davidorich, on the heights of Rivoli, and defeated, by which the blockade of that city was raised.

On the 7th of December, an armistice took place on the Lower Rhine, and the generals of both armies agreed to certain articles, subject to a future ratification. The convention was signed by generals Kray and Kleber, and the troops, in consequence, went into winter quarters.

Posterity will hardly credit the evidence of history, that in one campaign ALL ITALY was conquered; that three armies were successively destroyed; that upwards of fifty stands of colours remained in the hands of the conquerors; that forty thousand Austrians laid down their arms: In fine, that thirty thousand Frenchmen, under a warrior of twenty-five years of age, performed all these prodigies. The army of Italy has more triumphs to obtain: a career to run still more glorious and astonishing: to restore victory to the army of the Rhine, and convince an enemy, ready to pride itself on ephemeral advantages, that Frenchmen are every where the same, and that whilst they combat for liberty, nothing can resist their courage."

(*a*) The French newspaper, entitled *L'Eclair*, was forged in London about this time, to answer a stock-jobbing purpose. It announced that a preliminary convention for peace between France and the emperor had been signed at Basle. An action was afterwards brought by the proprietors of the *Telegraph*, against the proprietors of the *Morning Post*, for imposing the above paper on them for publication, knowing it to be forged. The cause was tried in the court of King's Bench, and a verdict was given in favour of the plaintiff.

Among the variety of negociations which in the course of the year occupied the French government, that which England proposed to open excited particular attention. On the 22nd of October lord Malmesbury, appointed minister-plenipotentiary from the court of London, for the purpose of negociating a peace with the executive government of France, arrived in Paris. His lordship was met by an immense concourse of people at a league distance from the capital, who were with difficulty restrained from taking his horses from the carriage, for the purpose of drawing him into the city.

On the 24th, the British minister delivered to the executive government, through the hands of Mons. Delacroix, the French minister for foreign affairs, a memorial, in which, after stating the desire which his Britannic majesty entertained for peace, he proposed the establishment of some general principle on the opening of the negociation, to serve as a basis for a definitive settlement; observing, that the first object of a negociation was generally that of restoring what had been taken from the respective parties during the war. The memorial stated, that as Great Britain, far from having any restitution to demand from France, had by a series of uninterrupted success, acquired colonial conquests of inestimable value; and as France had made continental conquests on the allies of his Britannic majesty, it was proposed, that the negociations should turn on the compensations to be made by France by proportional restitutions, the nature of which might be discussed, when the principle was admitted.

The negociation was agitating from the 24th of October to the 19th of December, when, as the grand principle respecting the restitution to be made to the allies of Great Britain, could not by any means be admitted by the executive government of France, (nor did it appear that lord Malmesbury had sufficient powers from the allied courts to stipulate for their respective interests,) the negociation ended; for on reading the memorials received on the 17th, of December, the directory ordered the minister to write to lord Malmesbury on the 18th, the day previous to the explanatory and expostulatory communication made by his lordship, as his last letter was dated on the 19th of December, that they could hear of no proposition contrary to the constitution, and the laws and treaties by which the republic was engaged; observing, moreover, that as his lordship found himself obliged to have recourse to his court on every communication, and as the part he had to act in this negociation was purely passive, his lordship's residence in Paris was unnecessary and inconvenient; and, therefore, enjoined him to leave it in forty-eight hours; observing, that if the British cabinet was really desirous of peace, the negociation might be carried on by messengers from the respective parties. After a long conference on these points, lord Malmesbury received a note, requiring the delivery of an *ultimatum* within twenty-four hours. He opposed this arbitrary preclusion from deliberate negociation, and requested a *contre-projet* on the part of the Directory, that the proposals might be duly considered, and mutually discussed with conciliatory candour. The answer to this request, was a determined refusal of restoring any country, which had been constitutionally annexed to the republic. Lord Malmesbury immediately demanded the necessary passports, quitted Paris with his suite in the time prescribed, and arrived in London the 29th following.

The British government issued a declaration against France, in consequence of the abrupt and arrogant dismissal of lord Malmesbury from Paris, on the 27th of December. Several other official papers relative to the mission of that noble lord, for the purpose of negociating a peace with the French republic, were also published at this time, under the sanction and direction of the British government (*b*).

There were other projects of hostility which the French had meditated against Great Britain, among which engaged their principal attention was the invasion of Ireland; for on the 31st of December, intelligence was received at the admiralty with dispatches from admiral Kingsmill, at the Cove of Cork, stating that seven French ships of the line, with two ships *armée en flute*, frigates, and transports, making in the whole seventeen sail, had reached the southern coast of Ireland, and had actually anchored in the Bay of Bantry on the 24th. Soon after their arrival, they sent a boat towards shore, with an officer and eight men, but the peasantry appeared on shore, and convinced the enemy that they were determined to lose their lives, or repel any attempt to invade the country. The boat was captured in sight of the French fleet, and the prisoners were conveyed to Cork, from whence they were sent to Dublin, for the purpose of undergoing an examination before the privy council (*c*). The greatest loyalty was displayed on this occasion by the people of Ireland.

When a suspension of arms, agreed on by the generals on the Lower Rhine, had finished the dreadful campaign in that quarter, the Upper Rhine was still deluged with the blood of the contending armies in the attack and defence of the fortress of Kehl, which on the 25th of November, was invested by the archduke Charles. On the first onset, a cannonade began, which continued without intermission fifteen days, during which the Austrians were repulsed with considerable loss; but the obstinate resistance of the French, with the severity of the season, relaxed the operations of the archduke for some time; till on the renewal of the attack, on the 25th of December, the cannonade was redoubled on both sides, and Kehl was in a few days reduced to a heap of ruins. A capitulation was then proposed by general Desaix, who waited person-

(*b*) The following memorial, delivered by lord Malmesbury, on the principal objects of restitution, compensation, and reciprocal arrangement, was the pretext of his dismissal:

"The principle already established, as the basis of the negociation, by the consent of the two governments, is founded on restitution to be made by his Britannic majesty to France, in compensation of the arrangements to which that power may consent, in order to satisfy the just pretensions of the allies of the king, and to preserve the political balance of Europe.

"In order to accomplish these objects, in the manner the most complete, and to offer a fresh proof of the sincerity of his wishes for the re-establishment of general tranquillity, his majesty would propose that there should be given to this principle, on each side, all the latitude of which it may be susceptible.

"I. His majesty demands therefore,

"1. The restitution, to his majesty the emperor and king, of all his dominions, on the footing of the *Status ante Bellum*, [i. e. the situation they were in before the war.]

"2. The re-establishment of peace between the Germanic empire and France, by a suitable arrangement, conformable to the respective interests, and to the general safety of Europe. The arrangement to be negociated with his Imperial majesty, as constitutional head of the empire, either by the intervention of the king, or immediately, as his imperial majesty shall prefer.

"The evacuation of Italy by the French troops, with an engagement not to interfere in the internal affairs of that country; which should be established, as far as possible, upon the footing of the *Status ante Bellum*."

In the course of the negociation a more detailed discussion was to be entered into of the further measures which it might be proper to adopt, respecting the objects of these three articles, in order for the providing more effectually for the future discussion of their respective limits and possessions, and for the maintenance of general tranquillity.

"II. With regard to the other allies of his Britannic majesty, his majesty demands that there be reserved to her majesty the empress of all the Russias, a full and unlimited power of taking part in this negociation, whenever she may think fit, or of acceding to the definitive treaty, and thereby returning to a state of peace with France.

"III. His majesty also demands, that her most faithful majesty may be comprehended in this negociation, and may return to a state of peace with France, without any cession or burthensome condition on either side.

"IV. On these conditions, his majesty offers to France the entire and unreserved restitution of all the conquests which he has made on that power in the East and West Indies, proposing at the same time that a mutual understanding should be established as to the means of securing for the future the tranquillity of the two nations, and of consolidating, as much as possible, the advantages of their respective possessions. His majesty offers, in like manner, the restitution of the islands of St. Pierre and Miquelon, and of the fishery of Newfoundland, on the footing of the *Status ante Bellum*.

"But if in addition to this, his majesty were to wave the power given to him by the express stipulations of the treaty of Utrecht, of opposing the cession of the Spanish part of St. Domingo, to France, he would then demand, in return for this concession, a compensation, which might secure, a least, in some degree, the maintenance of the balance of the respective possessions in that part of the world.

"V. In all cases of cessions or restitutions, which may come in question in the course of this negociation, there should be granted on each side, to all individuals, the most unlimited right to withdraw with their families and their property, to sell their land and other immoveable possessions; and adequate arrangements should also be made, in the course of this negociation, for the removal of all sequestrations, and for the satisfaction of their just claims, which individuals on either side may have to make upon the respective governments."

The executive directory also published a note on the dismissal of lord Malmesbury.

(*c*) The republican society of united Irishmen had applied to the Directory, to convince them how easy it was to excite a general insurrection against the government. Deluded by their specious representations, the French sent out a fleet, and gave the command of the troops to general Hoche. A part of the armament cast anchor at Bantry Bay, where they continued for several days without attempting to invade the country. Having waited in vain for the rest of the fleet, the ships sailed away: others indeed made their appearance; but a continuance of stormy weather defeated the views of the enemy.

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ally on prince Charles; but the prince would not agree to the conditions which were proposed. Desaix refused to make any alteration, and observed that he should make use of his last resource. "What resource have you left?" replied the archduke. The French general observed, that he had so many men, and such a quantity of powder remaining; and that rather than submit to a dishonourable capitulation, he would blow up the Austrian camp, and both armies should perish in one common ruin. The archduke instantly signed the capitulation, and left the French twenty-four hours to transport to the other side the remainder of the stores and artillery, which had been employed in the glorious resistance which this fortress had made.

By the surrender of the important fortress of Kehl the campaign of 1796 was terminated on the Rhine:—a campaign which had effected in a few months, more than has been generally achieved during the continuance of the longest war; which had shaken Europe to its foundations, rendered it one vast theatre of carnage, and crimsoned with blood every river, from the frontiers of Holland, to the Adriatic Gulph.

The new parliament of Great Britain met on the 27th of September, pursuant to prorogation, and, upon the motion of lord Frederic Campbell, the house of commons re-elected Mr. Henry Addington for their speaker.

On the 9th of October, his majesty repaired to the house of peers, and opened the session, as usual, with a speech from the throne; in which he informed both houses, of his intention to send a person to Paris to negociate a peace; but enjoined them not to relax in their efforts, at a moment when the enemy had manifested a design of attempting a descent on the shores of these kingdoms. He expressed his satisfaction in reviewing the exertions of the navy, the operations in the East and West Indies, and the general conduct of the British forces: highly extolling the intrepidity, discipline, and invincible spirit of his Austrian allies, under the auspicious direction of the archduke Charles, which had lately given so favourable a turn to the course of the war on the continent, as to inspire a well-grounded confidence of future success. He noticed the hostile disposition of the court of Madrid; expressed reliance on the zeal and public spirit of the commons for the necessary supplies, and assured his parliament of his hearty desire to concur with them in every effort to defeat the designs of the enemy, and restore to his people the blessings of a secure and honourable peace. Addresses were moved and carried on the occasion in both houses, by a great majority (*d*).

On the 18th, the commons took into consideration that part of his majesty's speech which related to the enemy's design of invading these kingdoms; on which occasion the minister proposed measures for augmenting both the sea and land forces, and moved for a bill for that purpose (*e*).

The ground of the motion was contested by Mr. Sheridan and Mr. Fox, who were of opinion, that there was not sufficient cause for apprehending the danger of an invasion, though in the present stage of the bill they did not oppose it; and several resolutions were carried to further the intentions of the minister, which were essentially promoted by the passing of a bill, a few days after, for raising sixty thousand supplementary militia, consisting both of infantry and cavalry.

On the 13th of December, in the upper house, lord Grenville moved the order of the day for taking into consideration a message from his majesty. The message being read by the clerk, his lordship said, he confided in what he had to propose to the house, that he should meet with the greatest unanimity. In the course of his present majesty's reign, the court of Spain had three times declared war against this country, without the least provocation, and always for the purpose of interfering in the concerns of the French. In every one of these instances, they had proceeded upon the most frivolous pretences, and the court of Great Britain had done every thing in its power to maintain peace. Whatever might have influenced the conduct of the court of Madrid on former occasions, they might fairly be said in the present case to be still more frivolous than any that had preceded it. His majesty had taken every possible step to maintain peace between two great nations. He had endeavoured to bring the matters in dispute, trivial as they appeared to be on the face of the declaration, to an amicable conclusion, by a cool and friendly treaty; but in this he had been prevented by an abrupt and unprovoked declaration of war on the part of the court of Madrid. Thus situated, he could not suppose for a moment that any one who feels for the honour and dignity of the crown, and the dearest interests of the British empire, would have the least objection to what he had to move, which was, that an humble address be presented to his majesty, thanking him for his communication, and assuring him, that their lordships would give him every assistance in support of a war, against the unprovoked attack and declaration of the Spanish monarch. The address was carried *nemine dissentiente*.

On the same day, in the house of commons, Mr. Dundas made a similar motion to that of lord Grenville in the house of lords, which was also carried *nem. con.*

On the 14th, Mr. Fox brought forward a motion for a vote of censure upon ministers, for sending money to the emperor, without the authority of parliament. After having briefly recapitulated the sums, and the different times at which they were transmitted to the emperor, and deprecated the strides the crown was making on the privileges of that house, and on the liberties of the people, in consequence of the vast increase of the revenue—the creation of new species of treason—the cruel punishments of the courts—and the enormous military establishments—he said, if to all these engines of power the executive government could add the command of the appropriation of the public money, we had no longer a security left for preserving our once boasted constitution. He therefore moved, "That his majesty's ministers, having authorised and directed, at different times, without the consent, and during the sitting of parliament, the issue of various sums of money, for the service of his imperial majesty, and also for the service of the army under the prince of Condé, have acted contrary to their duty, and to the trust reposed in them, and have therefore violated the constitutional privileges of this house!" Mr. alderman Combe, at the request of his constituents, in common hall assembled, seconded the motion.

Mr. Pitt, the chancellor of the exchequer, said, that the practice now complained of had been pursued by all his predecessors, and he quoted a number of precedents on the journals that bore analogy to the present case, in which the most eminent ministers in all the reigns from king William to his present majesty, had, when necessity urged, adopted without censure, measures similar to that for which he was now so violently arraigned. He said it was on precedents such as these, arising from a zeal for the public service, that he rested his defence; and after entreating the house to view the subject in the aggregate, and with all its concomitant circumstances, threw himself upon its candour and justice, declaring, that he had rather sink under its censure, than suffer the painful reflection of having sacrificed, through timidity, the interests of his country.

The chancellor of the exchequer was vindicated by Mr. Bragge, who moved the following amendment:—"That the measure of advancing the several sums of money, which appear, from the accounts presented to the house this session of parliament, to have been issued for the service of the emperor, though not to be drawn into precedent, but upon occasions of special necessity, was, under the peculiar circumstances of the case, a justifiable and proper exercise of the discretion vested in his majesty's ministers by the vote of credit, and calculated to produce consequences which have proved highly advantageous to the common cause, and to the general interests of Europe."

The aldermen Curtis, Lushington, and Anderson, (the other three members for the city) said they should not, like their colleague (alderman Combe) be guided by the resolutions of the common hall of livery that day, which meeting, they remarked, did not consist of one-sixth part of the liverymen; but they would vote according to their own sentiments, for the amendment. The amendment was warmly opposed by several members; but, on a division, it was carried in favour of the amendment by a majority of two hundred and four.

On the 19th Mr. Pitt, in consequence of a message from

(*d*) In the month of October, 1796, a circumstance occurred at the mayor's dinner at *Bath*, which reflects much honour on the police of that city, and the prudent conduct of its inhabitants. Great quantities of meat being taken away untouched from the tables, some gentlemen were observing what a feast it would be to the poor people in the prison: but the mayor assured the company that he had the day before made enquiry at the gaol, and found *the keeper its only inhabitant*, there being not a single *felon* or *debtor* in it.

(*e*) On the 17th of November, 1796, Catherine II. empress of Russia, died of an apoplexy, in the sixty-seventh year of her age, and the sixteenth of her reign; on which event her son, the great duke Paul Petrowitz, was proclaimed emperor.

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his majesty, respecting the expediency of the nation being prepared for a vigorous prosecution of the war, in case of failure of the negociation for peace; moved in a committee of supply, that a sum not exceeding five hundred thousand pounds should be granted to his majesty, to enable him to remit, from time to time, to his Imperial majesty, such sums as might be thought necessary for the prosecution of the war, should another campaign be rendered unavoidable.

After alluding to the late supply to the emperor, and the manner in which the minister disposed of the public money, Mr. Fox said, it was a delusion any longer to suppose that house had influence or direction over its distribution. Mr. Fox, sir William Pulteney, and Mr. Sheridan, proposed different amendments, to destroy the effect of the motion, but they were all negatived without a division, and the motion was consequently carried.

In the house of lords, the following day, lord Grenville, in consequence of his majesty's message, moved that an humble address should be presented, promising to assist his majesty, conformable to the purport of the message. The noble lord said a few words on the propriety of assisting the emperor with a loan.

On the 21st, the order of the day being read for the commencement of the loan bill, the duke of Norfolk said, he reproached himself for suffering the bill to proceed so far without some comment on the conduct of ministers, who had not even thought it necessary to communicate to the house a single syllable, on a bill, that added eighteen millions to the debt of the nation. In his opinion, the terms of the loan were disadvantageous to the public. He therefore moved an instruction to the committee, to empower the lords of the treasury to postpone the payments of the loan till the three per cents. were at seventy-five. It was opposed by lord Grenville and negatived.

The last debate which took place in both houses of parliament, in 1796, was on the subject of lord Malmesbury's mission to negociate a peace with the French republic, in consequence of a message from his majesty relative to that momentous affair. On the 30th of December, in the house of lords, lord Grenville, in a very able manner entered into the correspondence between lord Malmesbury and M. de la Croix, and concluded by moving an address to his majesty. The earl of Guildford moved an amendment, reflecting on the conduct of his majesty's ministers in the late negociation; and assuring his majesty that the house would proceed with unremitting diligence to investigate the causes of our present calamities, and to offer such advice as the critical and alarming circumstances of the nation may require.

Lord Fitzwilliam disapproved the original motion and amendment, and moved to recognize the principle of the war, agreeable to the resolution of the house in 1794. The duke of Bedford and lords Abingdon and Derby were in favour of the first amendment. Lords Kinnoul, Spencer, and the lord chancellor, opposed it; and on a division, the numbers were—contents eighty-eight, non-contents eight—majority against the amendment eighty. Lord Fitzwilliam's motion was negatived without a division.

In the house of commons, Mr. Pitt having entered into a general review of all the circumstances attending the overtures which had been made in order to a pacification; and commented on the confidential memorial delivered on the peace with Spain and Holland, and also on lord Malmesbury's conversation with the French minister for foreign affairs on this subject; moved an address to his majesty to the usual effect.

Mr. Erskine rose to oppose the address, and was entering into a detail of the history of the war, when he was taken suddenly ill, and found himself unable to proceed.

Mr. Fox then rose, and after discussing a variety of subjects, insisted upon the absurdity and imbecility of lord Malmesbury's mission; who was sent to treat on subjects on which he had no power to conclude any terms, and with powers to come to a definitive conclusion on subjects of which he was not empowered to treat. The terms proposed to France left her nothing, and were not such as the allies were justified by their comparative circumstances in demanding. He said the minister excelled in artifice and sophistry; but these were not the qualities now wanted to give repose to Europe. He concluded by moving an amendment, similar to that proposed by the earl of Guildford in the house of lords.

Mr. Dundas said, the proposed amendment went to record a proposition tending to strengthen the hands of the enemy, and weaken our own country. He animadverted severely on the conduct of Mr. Fox, whom he represented as the advocate of France, rather than of Great Britain.

The house divided on Mr. Fox's amendment, when the numbers were, for the amendment, ayes thirty-seven—noes two hundred and twelve—majority one hundred and seventy-five.

The first business of importance which demanded the attention of parliament in 1797, was in consequence of a message from his majesty, on the 27th of February, 1797, when lord Grenville presented to the house, by his majesty's command, a copy of the order of the privy council, signifying that, upon the representation of the chancellor of the exchequer, stating, that from the universal demand for specie made upon the metropolis, in consequence of ill-founded alarms in different parts of the country; it was the unanimous opinion of the board, that it was necessary for the public service, that the bank of England should forbear issuing any cash (*f*) in payment, till the sense of parliament could be taken on that subject. The duke of Norfolk expressed surprize that so extraordinary a measure should have been taken upon the representation of the chancellor of the exchequer only; and moved, "that an humble address be presented to his majesty, humbly soliciting him to prevent any further exportation of gold or silver in coin, or gold or silver in bullion, for the use of the emperor, or any other foreign power, until the sense of parliament should have been taken on the subject, after a full view of the cause of the public exigencies, on which his majesty has been this day advised to issue a most extraordinary proclamation." A number of lords here called out it was no "proclamation;" upon which his grace substituted instead of it, "order of council." The motion was negatived, and a secret committee of nine was appointed to enquire into the finances of the bank, and make their report to the house accordingly.

On the same day, the chancellor of the exchequer, in the house of commons, stated the necessity of proceeding to the appointment of a secret committee, for the same purpose as that for which a motion was carried in the other house; and on the following day he moved, "that a secret committee be appointed, to ascertain the amount of the outstanding debts of the bank, and the means of answering them." Mr. Fox expressed infinite concern at the embarrassment in which the country was involved by ministerial misconduct; censured the order of council as unconstitutional, and recommended a minute investigation of the affairs of the bank. Mr. Sheridan moved, that the committee should enquire into the causes which had produced the order. Mr. Dundas, however, opposed this suggestion, as tending to delay, and it was exploded by a majority of one hundred and fifty-eight (*g*).

On the 3rd of March, a bill to enable the bank of England to issue notes under five pounds, passed the house of lords; a bill to the same effect having been carried in the house of commons, on the first of the same month. Motions were also made in both houses, for the appointment of committees to enquire into the causes of the order of council, and long debates ensued, but the motions were negatived by great majorities; by which a restriction on the bank from payment in cash for a stated time was likewise confirmed.

At first this measure created much popular alarm, but the public mind became soon reconciled to it, from a conviction of its necessity. The issuing of twenty-shilling notes, and Spanish dollars, at the rate of four shillings and nine pence each, from the bank, contributed much to dissipate their fears.

(*f*) The frequent remittance of cash to foreign princes, and the practice of individuals to withdraw their money from banking houses, for the purpose of preserving it, had diminished the circulation of coin to an alarming degree; in consequence of which an order against the issue of cash from the bank was enforced; a circumstance which did not demonstrate, though it created in timid minds, a dread of national bankruptcy.

(*g*) The great point of dispute on this occasion was, whether the enquiry proposed by the chancellor of the exchequer, should be extended to the causes which produced the necessity of the order in council, or should be confined, in the present instance, merely to the stability of the bank, to answer every demand upon them. Mr. Pitt and the other ministers contended, that the occasion called for immediate decision upon the latter subject. Mr. Fox and the gentlemen in opposition urged, that a fair, full, and open enquiry was absolutely requisite to calm the minds of the people, and to re-establish public credit. However, both parties admitted the perfect solvency of the bank to be a fact beyond dispute.

On the 21st, earl Moira brought forward a motion, in the house of lords, on the state of Ireland. He set out with admitting the apparent delicacy of the question; he allowed the propriety of the separate and independent legislatures of both kingdoms adhering to the constitutional bounds prescribed to them in particular cases, and was aware of the allowable jealousy which, on such occasions, should be entertained by either; but such a line of reasoning, he contended, could not apply to the present occasion. He said, that, when an urgent necessity arose, when circumstances took place in which the general welfare of both kingdoms were involved, it was necessary, that either the one or the other should boldly step forward, and with manly openness, avow its sentiments, in such a manner as to evince to the public the purity of its motives, and that it was on great and obvious grounds of public utility alone that its interference was offered. His lordship then moved, "That an humble address be presented to his majesty, imploring his paternal and benevolent intervention to remedy the discontents which unhappily prevail in his majesty's kingdom of Ireland, and threatened seriously to affect the dearest interests of the British empire."

On the question being put, lord Grenville declared, that he deemed the proposed call upon his majesty to be at least highly superfluous; there was no need, he said, of imploring his paternal intervention; the whole tenor of his conduct towards Ireland shewed there was no necessity for urging him. He concluded by observing that he would trouble their lordships no farther than to say, he deemed it his duty to give the motion his decided negative. At length, the question being called for, the house divided, when it appeared that the majority against it was seventy-one.

A few days after, the earl of Oxford made a motion for a negociation for peace, which was negatived by a great majority.

On the 27th of the same month, the earl of Suffolk made a motion in the house of lords, "That an humble address be presented to his majesty, praying that he would be graciously pleased to remove from his councils his minister, namely, the first lord of the treasury, who by his misconduct had forfeited the confidence of the people." Preparatory to his motion, his lordship adverted to the conduct of ministers in general. He said, their whole system was to govern by influence; they had libelled the loyalty of the people, and branded every man with the epithets of *Jacobin* and *Democrat* who opposed their measures. In tracing them through every court on the continent, from the treaty of Pilnitz to the present moment, duplicity, incapacity, and corruption were discernible in all their measures. Lord Grenville very ably replied to the charges in the noble earl's address. He said that, with regard to the tenor of the motion, he must say he never knew any instance of the kind, where such a motion was brought forward without any one specific charge alledged, of misconduct or malversation against the person in question; it was therefore unnecessary to dwell on that head. He thought it necessary, however, to say, that one part of the noble lord's accusation had no foundation in truth. The treaty of Pilnitz, he asserted, was not only entered into without the participation, but even without the knowledge of the British government.

A long debate ensued, at the conclusion of which a division took place: contents eighty-six, proxies eighteen; non-contents fifteen, proxies two; majority eighty-seven.

A second budget was opened by the chancellor of the exchequer on the 26th, when he took occasion to propose the taxes for paying the interest of the money raised by loan, and brought forward a string of resolutions which were agreed to.

On the resolution for an increased duty on newspapers, a division ensued,—ayes one hundred and fifty-one, noes forty-three—majority one hundred and eight.

Mr. W. Smith observed, that if the marriage of the princess royal took place, a further sum would be necessary to provide for her dower of eighty or one hundred thousand pounds: to this was to be added four hundred thousand pounds at least for the increased pay of the seamen, and the additional bonus to the subscribers of the loyalty loan would amount to about three hundred thousand pounds more, making together a further sum to be provided for of eight hundred thousand pounds. Mr. Pitt making no reply, the question was put, "That the resolutions be read a second time," and carried. The opposition members then rose and left the house in a body. The resolutions were read and agreed to, and bills ordered to be brought in for carrying them into effect.

On the 3rd of May was presented to the house of lords a message from his majesty, similar to that delivered to the house of commons on the same day, respecting the intended marriage of the princess royal to the hereditary prince of Wirtemberg. An address was moved to his majesty, in answer to his gracious message, which was prefaced by an observation, that the utmost unanimity must pervade the house on such an occasion, and that all their lordships must feel happy in expressing their congratulation at an event which produced such an advantageous alliance, and contributed to the domestic happiness of his majesty's royal family.

The address was then read, which, after thanking his majesty for his most gracious communication, faithfully echoed the message, and expressed the concurrence of the house in the warmest and most affectionate language. The question was then put, and the address voted *nem. dis.* A similar motion was put and carried in the house of commons.

On the 15th, the motion for the abolition of the slave trade was made, as usual, by Mr. Wilberforce, and debated on with warmth and ability by its advocates and opponents; when, on a division, there appeared to be a majority of eight against the motion.

Mr. alderman Combe, soon after moved, "That an humble address be presented to his majesty, praying that he would dismiss from his presence and councils his ministers, as the most likely means of obtaining a speedy and permanent peace." Sir W. Milner seconded the motion. After a long and vehement debate, there appeared, for the motion fifty-nine, against it two hundred and forty-two.

About the same time, the duke of Bedford moved in the house of peers for an address to his majesty to remove his ministers; but this motion was negatived by a majority of seventy-seven. His grace, and many of the peers who voted with him, also expressed their intention, as they found their efforts to save their country were in vain, not to trouble the house any more upon public business.

On the 20th of July, his majesty repaired to the house of peers, and prorogued the parliament, after having delivered a speech from the throne, expressing his approbation of their measures, returning thanks to the commons for their liberal supplies, and assuring both houses, that nothing should be wanting on his part, to bring the important negociation for peace, in which he was engaged, to a successful termination, on such conditions as might be consistent with the security, honour, and essential interests of his dominions (*h*).

The campaign of 1797, opened under auspicious circumstances

(*h*) On the 16th of December, 1796, a letter was sent to each of the admirals and captains, whose names were mentioned in the Gazette by earl Howe, as having signalized themselves in the action of the first of June, 1794, accompanying the medal which has been presented to them.

"My Lord, or Sir,

"The king having been pleased to order a certain number of gold medals to be struck in commemoration of the victory obtained by his majesty's fleet, under the command of earl Howe, over that of the enemy, in the actions of the 29th of May, and the first of June, 1794, I am commanded by his majesty to present to your lordship one of the medals above-mentioned, and to signify his majesty's pleasure that you should wear it when in your uniform, in the manner described by the directions, (which together with the medal and ribband belonging to it) I have the honour to transmit to you.

"I am also commanded by his majesty to acquaint your lordship, that, had it been possible for all the officers, on whom his majesty is pleased to confer this mark of his approbation, to attend personally in London, *his majesty would have presented the medal to each of them in person;* but that being from various causes, at this time, impossible, in order to obviate all further delay, he has, therefore, been pleased to direct them to be forwarded in this manner.

"Allow me to express the great satisfaction I feel in being made the channel of communicating to your lordship so distinguished a mark of his majesty's approbation. I have the honour to be, &c.

"Spencer."

Admiralty, Nov. 30, 1796.

The admirals to wear the medal suspended by a ribband about their necks; the captains to wear the medal suspended to a ribband, but fastened through the third and fourth button-hole, on the left side. The colour of the ribband blue and white.

It is worthy of remark, that rear-admiral Caldwell, a brave and meritorious officer, whose unremitting services, whose persevering activity, zeal,

cumstances for France, as well as Spain, who was now in alliance with her. Sardinia acted a subordinate part under her controul: Tuscany obeyed her requisitions; and Naples had concluded a separate peace. Thus circumstanced, the court of Vienna, and indeed all Europe, turned its eyes to the archduke Charles, who was said to inherit the military talents of the house of Lorraine. It was accordingly determined that this young prince should be appointed commander-in-chief; and that the hero of Kehl should oppose the hero of Italy.

A variety of operations took place in the month of January. At the beginning the archduke was successful in compelling the French to surrender the Tête-du-Pont of Huninguen to the Austrians. By the terms of capitulation, the French were allowed four days to evacuate the fort, and the Austrians engaged not to fire upon Huninguen during the war, unless the French effected the passage of the Rhine.

The fortune of war, however, soon turned in favour of the victorious Bonaparte, who gained great advantage over the Austrians in five battles on five successive days. These were the battles of St. Michael, Corono, Anguira, Rivoli, and La Favorite. In the last of these actions, he took seven thousand prisoners, with standards, cannon, all the baggage of the army, a regiment of hussars, and a considerable convoy of grain and cattle, which the enemy was endeavouring to convey into Mantua. General Wurmser attempted a sortie to attack the left wing of the French army, but was received with such resolution, that he was obliged to return: Thus in the short space of three or four days, the fifth army of the emperor was totally destroyed. The French took twenty-three thousand prisoners, among whom were one lieutenant-general, and ten generals; six thousand men were killed or wounded, and about twenty-four standards taken. All the battalions of the volunteers of Vienna were made prisoners: the standards carried by whom had been embellished by the hands of the empress.

Mantua surrendered on the 2nd of February, the inevitable consequence of the total defeat of the Austrian armies on the above successive days. The terms were honourable, the garrison were made prisoners, but marched out with military honours; and the veteran general Wurmser, then upwards of seventy years of age, was excepted from the humiliating condition of appearing as a prisoner of war (*i*). On this occasion upwards of five thousand horses were taken by the French.

On the 22nd of the same month, the victorious army of Italy attacked and defeated the enemy in the Tyrolese; and, on the other side, a column of the army entered the territory of the pope.

The van-guard of general Victor's division, commanded by general of brigade Lesne, in which were the grenadiers of the legion of Lombardy, attacked the army of the pope on the Cenio, turned it in fording the river, and the enemy was assailed and routed in the same moment. The grenadiers of Lombardy carried the batteries with fixed bayonets. The pope lost in prisoners one thousand men, and twenty-six officers; in killed, from four to five hundred men, eight stand of colours, fourteen pieces of cannon, and eight caissons. The seventh regiment of hussars, commanded by the aid-de-camp Junot, pursued the papal cavalry for ten miles, but could not overtake it.

His holiness's army having experienced such signal defeats, he found himself again disposed to make overtures to the enemy, and peace was accordingly concluded between him and the French, in consequence of a letter from him to general Bonaparte (*k*).

From such a series of victories obtained by the republican forces over the imperial armies, the French, by the 28th of March, became entire masters of the provinces of Carniole and Carinthia, the district of Trieste, and the whole of the Tyrol; and fixed their head quarters at Vilnach, within sixty leagues of Vienna. At length, from a succession of unfortunate events, the emperor thought it prudent to enter into a negociation; a message from the directory was therefore communicated to the council of five hundred, respecting the preliminaries of peace between France and the emperor, announcing that hostilities throughout Germany had ceased. The basis of these preliminaries, approved by the executive directory, were the cession of Belgium by the emperor and king; the acknowledgement of the limits of France, such as they have been decreed by the laws of the republic; the establishment and the independence of a republic in Lombardy. The emperor recognized the independence of the Batavian republic. He received as an indemnification, a part of the Terra Firma of Venice; Venice was to receive in exchange the legations of Bologna and Ferrara: and there was to be a congress at Berne, to regulate the definitive articles. The two powers were to invite their allies to be present at the congress to treat for a general pacification. Mantua was to be restored to the emperor.

The war on the continent might now be considered as terminated. An emperor and a pope humbled; the imperial crown reduced to little more than an empty name, and the pontifical tiara held at the will of the conqueror; two kings subjected—one to humiliation, and the other to unconditional submission;—Corsica restored to France without an effort—and a new and formidable republic erected in that country which had beheld the overthrow of five armies appertaining to its ancient master; such is the summary of the political efforts and martial achievements of general Bonaparte, who had scarcely attained the thirtieth year of his age (*l*).

The British arms under general Abercrombie and admiral Hervey, were successful in the West Indies. A resolution was formed by those two officers to attack Trinidad, a considerable island to the southward of Tobago. The arrival of part of the convoy from England, enabled them to proceed with confidence in their operations. So soon as the troops could be collected from the different islands, which were ordered to rendezvous at Curaçao, the admiral sailed from Martinique, which island he left with his squadron on the 12th of February. The precision with which the admiral had given his orders to assemble the ships of war and transports, would not admit of a moment's delay. On the 15th, in the morning, the fleet sailed from Curaçao. The next day it passed through the Bocas, or entrance into the gulf of Paria, where they found the Spanish admiral, with four sail of the line and a frigate, at anchor, apparently ready for sailing, under cover of the island of Gaspagrande, which was fortified. The British squadron came to anchor opposite, and almost within gunshot of the Spanish ships. The frigates and transports were ordered to anchor higher up in the bay, and at the distance of nearly five miles from the town of Port d'Espagne. The disposition was immediately made for landing at day-light

zeal, and courage, had never, for a long series of years, been once sullied by the breath of calumny or suspicion, was, with three or four other officers, omitted in the honourable mention made by lord Howe, in his official dispatches, of those whom he thought entitled to "his particular thanks" for their exertions upon this occasion. We shall not, however, presume to animadvert on this extraordinary omission. *Naval Chron.* xi. 8. But on the 14th of February, 1799, he was elevated to the rank of admiral of the blue squadron.

(*i*) Bonaparte, in addressing the executive directory, thus expresses himself: "I have endeavoured to display the generosity of a Frenchman towards general Wurmser, who is seventy years of age, to whom fortune has been particularly cruel during this campaign; but who has never ceased to manifest a constancy and a courage which history will record. Surrounded on every side, after the battle of Bassano, and having lost at one blow, a part of Tyrol and of his army, he yet dared to hope that he should be able to take refuge at Mantua, from which he was at the distance of four or five days journey; he passed the Adige, routed one of our advanced guards at Cerea, crossed the Mulinella, and arrived at Mantua. Shut up in this city, he made two or three sorties, all of them unfortunate, though he himself commanded every time. But besides the very considerable obstacle which our lines of circumvallation presented to him, augmented by tracts of country which he was obliged to surmount, he could only act with soldiers discouraged by many defeats, and weakened by the pestilential sickness which prevailed in Mantua. That numerous body of men, who always make a point of calumniating the unhappy, will, however, doubtless, load Wurmser with calumny."

(*k*) The pope's letter, and the general's answer are admirable specimens of hypocrisy.

The pope, in his epistle, calls the general his *dear son*, and concludes as follows: "Assured of the sentiments of good will which you have manifested, we have abstained from removing any thing from Rome, by which you will be persuaded of the entire confidence which we repose in you. We conclude by assuring you of our most perfect esteem, and in giving you the paternal apostolic benediction."

Bonaparte replies, "*Most holy father*, I ought to thank your holiness for the obliging things contained in the letter, which you have taken the trouble to write to me.

"The peace between the French republic and your holiness is just signed: I felicitate myself in having been able to contribute to your personal safety."

(*l*) In the treaty which Bonaparte concluded with the pope, his holiness renounced all connection with the coalition of crowned heads; engaged to disband the troops which had been raised for the support of the war, and to shut his ports against all the powers at war with the republic. He also ceded Avignon and Venaissin to the French, and consented to pay the conquerors thirty millions of livres, (about one million three hundred and twelve thousand five hundred pounds sterling,) with sixteen thousand horses.

next

next morning, and for a general attack upon the town and ships of war (*m*).

At two in the morning of the 17th, they perceived the Spanish squadron to be on fire; the ships burned with great fury, one line of battle ship excepted, which escaped the conflagration, and was taken possession of by the English; the enemy at the same time evacuated the island, and abandoned the district in its vicinity.

The troops under sir Ralph Abercrombie landed without opposition; and as the chief town was not defended, the governor readily resigned the whole island. The Spanish troops laid down their arms, and the whole colony passed under the dominion of his Britannic majesty.

Lieutenant-colonel Simcoe was also successful in repulsing the enemy who made an attack upon the Grand Anse; and other advantages were obtained by the British troops in the island of St. Domingo, on the 30th of May and the 2nd of June.

The operations of the English navy were prosecuted this year with great zeal and courage. Our frigates and smaller cruizers captured vast numbers of the enemy's privateers, which infested our coasts; but on the 14th of February, a most signal victory was obtained by the unparalleled exertions of admiral sir John Jervis.

The British squadron amounted to no more than fifteen sail of the line, four frigates, a sloop of war, and a cutter; of these six were three-deckers, eight were of seventy-four guns, and one of sixty-four. The Spanish fleet consisted of twenty-seven sail of the line, one of which was a four-decker, and carried one hundred and thirty-six guns; six were three-deckers, of one hundred and twelve guns each, two of eighty-four, and eighteen of seventy-four. The gallant and experienced officer had been for some time cruizing, with fifteen sail of the line, off Cape St. Vincent, in hopes of falling in with the Spanish fleet. On the evening of the 13th his hopes were confirmed, by distinctly hearing the report of their signal guns, and by intelligence by sea from captain Foote, of his majesty's ship Niger, who had kept company with them for several days, on the prescribed rendezvous (which from the strong south-east winds, the fleet had never been able to reach), and that they were not more than three or four leagues distant. The admiral anxiously awaited the dawn of day, when being on the starboard tack, Cape St. Vincent bearing east by north eight leagues, he had the satisfaction of seeing a number of ships extended from south-west to south, the wind then at west by south. At forty-nine minutes past ten, the weather being extremely hazy, Le Bon Citoyenne, made the signal that the ships seen were twenty-seven sail of the line. His majesty's squadron formed in the most compact order of sailing, in two lines. By carrying a press of sail, the admiral got in with the enemy's fleet before a regular line was formed to oppose him. Now, confident in the skill, valour, and discipline of his officers and men, as well as judging that the honour of his majesty's arms and the circumstances of the war in those seas required a considerable degree of enterprize; sir John Jervis felt himself justified in departing from the regular system; and passing through their fleet, in a line formed with the utmost celerity, tacked, and thereby separated one-third from the main body, after a partial cannonade, which prevented their re-junction till the evening. The intrepid Nelson and Troubridge, in the Captain and Culloden, greatly distinguished themselves in this action. For a considerable time their ships were engaged with six of the Spanish vessels. At length they were supported by the Blenheim; and the exertions of captain Collingwood, in the Excellent, were highly instrumental in saving them from capture. When commodore Nelson's ship was disabled, he prepared to board the San Nicolas, and his orders for that purpose were instantly obeyed. The cabin door was forced by some marines; and, rushing upon the quarter-deck, he perceived that captain Berry was nearly master of the ship. All opposition being subdued in this vessel, the San Josef was boarded; when the Spanish officers delivered up their swords to the commodore. Though the conflict was partial, some other ships besides those we have particularised, had a share in it (*n*). By the exertions of those which had the good fortune to come up with the enemy on the larboard tack, four of their ships were captured, viz. the Salvador del Mundo of one hundred and twelve guns; the San Josef of one hundred and twelve guns; the San Nicolas of eighty-four guns; and the San Ysidor of seventy-four guns. The action ceased about five o'clock in the evening. In the squadron under the command of sir John Jervis, seventy-three were killed, and two hundred and twenty-seven wounded: total three hundred. In the captured vessels upwards of six hundred are said to have suffered. The gallant admiral was honoured with the thanks of both houses of parliament, and rewarded with a peerage and a pension.

Equal honour was reflected on the British flag by admiral Duncan, commander-in-chief of the fleet stationed in the North Sea, to watch the motions of the Dutch squadron which had been all the summer in the Texel. Admiral de Winter sailed out with a view of reinforcing the French, and flattered himself with being able to elude the observation of the English. Finding, on the 10th of October, that they had come out of harbour, the admiral placed his squadron in such a situation, as to prevent the enemy from returning to the Texel, without falling in with them. At nine in the morning of the 11th, he got sight of captain Trollope's squadron, with signals flying for an enemy to leeward; he immediately bore up, made the signal for a general chace, and soon got sight of them, forming in a line on the larboard tack to receive our fleet; the wind at N. W. As the fleets approached, the British commander made the signal for the squadron to shorten sail, in order to connect them; he soon after saw the land between Camperdown and Egmont, about nine miles to leeward of the enemy, and finding there was no time to be lost in making the attack, made the signal to bear up, break the enemy's line, and engage them to leeward, each ship her opponent, by which he got between them and the land, whither they were hastily approaching. The signals were obeyed with great promptitude, and vice-admiral Onslow, in the Monarch, bore down on the enemy's rear in the most gallant manner, his division following his example, and the action commenced about forty minutes past twelve o'clock. The Venerable (admiral Duncan's ship) soon got through the enemy's line, and began a close action, with his division on their van, which lasted near two hours and a half, when all the masts of the Dutch admiral's ship was observed to go by the board. The ship occupied by De Winter, contended at one time with two, and afterwards with three of our vessels. About two hundred and fifty of her men were killed or wounded. She was, however, gallantly defended for some time, but being over-pressed by numbers, her colours were struck, and admiral De Winter was soon brought on board the Venerable. The ship bearing the vice-admiral's flag was also dismasted, and surrendered to vice-admiral Onslow. Many more of the Dutch at this time, had also struck. One of the

(*m*) On the first of February in this year, colonel Frederic, son of the late Theodore, king of Corsica, shot himself in the west porch of Westminster Abbey. The coroner's inquest pronounced the crime an act of insanity. The remains of this unfortunate gentleman were afterwards interred in the church-yard of St. Anne's, Soho, near the body of his father: about an hour before interment, the following character was placed upon the church-wall at the head of his grave: "Here lie the mortal remains of colonel Frederic, son of Theodore, king of Corsica; in his deportment he was a gentleman; in honour, honesty, and truth, he was princely; he was poor in circumstances, rich in the possession of the most liberal heart; and the greatest distress he laboured under was the want of abilities to relieve the distress of others—God be with him!"

(*n*) On the 28th of December, 1797, admiral Nelson received, at the office of Mr. Wilkes, (who was then chamberlain of the city of London,) a gold box value one hundred guineas, voted him for his bravery and conduct in the British service. The chamberlain thus addressed him on the occasion:

"Rear admiral sir *Horatio Nelson*, I give you joy, and with true satisfaction I return you thanks, in the name of the lord mayor, aldermen, and common-council assembled, who have unanimously voted you the freedom of the capital, for your distinguished valour and conduct in the favourite service of the navy, and particularly against a very superior force of the enemy off Cape St. Vincent, on the 14th of February last. Many of our naval commanders have merited highly of their country by their exertions, but in your case there is a rare heroic modesty which cannot be sufficiently admired. You have given the warmest applause to your brother officers, and the seamen under your command; but your own merit you have not mentioned even in the slightest manner; and the relation of the severe and cruel wounds you suffered in the service of your country, is transmitted by your noble commander-in-chief. May you long live to enjoy the grateful benedictions of the country, which you honour and protect."

Sir Horatio Nelson's answer.—"Sir, Nothing could be more gratifying to me (as it must be to every sea-officer) than receiving the high honour this day conferred upon me, in becoming a freeman of the great city of London; and I beg you to believe, and to assure my fellow citizens, that my hand and head shall ever be exerted, with all my heart, in defence of my king, the laws, and the just liberties of my country; in which are included every thing which can be beneficial to the capital of the empire. I beg leave, Sir, to return you my sincere thanks for the very flattering expressions you have honoured me with on this occasion."

enemy's

enemy's ships caught fire in the action, and drove very near the Venerable; but it was extinguished, and she was one of the ships in possession of the victors. The British squadron suffered much in their masts, yards, and rigging, and many of them lost a number of men; though not in proportion to that of the enemy. The carnage on board the two ships which bore the admirals' flags, was beyond all description; they had no less than two hundred and fifty men killed and wounded on board of each ship. The loss on board our fleet amounted in killed and wounded to upwards of seven hundred and fifty. Nine of the enemy's ships were taken in this memorable action; more of them struck, but taking advantage of the night, and being so near their own coast, they made their escape, and some of them were seen going into the Texel, the next morning.

Admiral Duncan received the thanks of parliament for the valour and skill he had manifested on this memorable occasion, and was gratified with a peerage and pension. Even the British ladies were so captivated with the valour of the North British commander, that they decorated their heads and bosoms with plaid ribbons, in honour of the country which gave birth to so illustrious a hero. A most liberal collection was made for the widows and orphans of such of the seamen and marines as fell, or were wounded in the action (*o*).

Success continued to crown the exertions of our fleets stationed on the coast: between the 17th of July, and the 6th of September, the squadron under the command of sir John Borlase Warren, took one French frigate and sixteen trading vessels, and destroyed five armed ships and six trading vessels (*p*).

Our naval achievements, however, were tarnished by desperate mutinies in our fleets. In February, petitions were sent from all the line of battle ships at Portsmouth to lord Howe; but being all apparently written by one person, and couched in the same language, it was supposed they were only the productions of a few factious individuals, who were thought too contemptible for notice; the petitions were therefore thrown aside, and no answers returned to them. This, on the return of the fleet to port from the last cruize, occasioned an epistolary correspondence to be kept up through the whole fleet; till at length it was unanimously agreed, that no ship should lift an anchor till a redress of grievances was obtained. In this state matters remained till the 15th of April, when admiral Bridport ordered the signal for the fleet to prepare for sea: but, instead of weighing anchor, three cheers were given from the Queen Charlotte, as a signal for disaffection, which was followed by every ship in the fleet. The officers were astonished, and tried various means to bring the men to a sense of their duty; but without effect. The next day a boat from each ship was demanded, and two men from the crew of each were appointed delegates to represent the whole; and lord Howe's cabin was deemed the most proper place for their deliberations. On the 17th every man in the fleet was sworn to support the cause in which he had embarked. Their next procedure was the reeving ropes, *in terrorem*, at the fore-yard-arm, and turning all those officers out of the fleet who had given them any offence. The chief assertor of these demands was said to be Richard Parker, a person of a bold and enterprizing spirit, who was appointed president of the council of delegates.

On the 18th, the lords of the admiralty arrived there, and in the course of the two following days, several propositions were made by them to reduce the fleet to obedience, but without effect. On the 21st, admirals Gardner, Colpoys, and Pole, went on board the Queen Charlotte, to confer with the delegates, who informed the admirals, that it was the determination of the crews not to agree to any thing that should not be sanctioned by parliament, and guaranteed by the king's proclamation; which so irritated admiral Gardner, that he seized one of the delegates by the collar, and swore he would have them all hanged, with every fifth man throughout the fleet. This circumstance so exasperated the crew against the admiral, that it was with much difficulty he escaped from the ship with his life.

The delegates from the Royal George returned to their ship, and informed the crew of what had happened, who, after some consultation, resolved on summoning all the delegates on board their ship, which was done by hoisting the red or bloody flag, which struck terror through the fleet (the signal not being generally understood), and particularly to the officers, who trembled for the consequences, fearing that something dreadfully hostile was intended. At this moment, lord Bridport's flag was struck, with a resolution never to display it again, which drew tears from almost all the officers. The fleet then proceeded to load all their guns, ordered a watch to be kept the same as at sea, and put every thing in a state of defence, keeping every officer to his respective ship. On the 22nd, the men were in some degree pacified, and caused two letters to be written, one to the lords of the admiralty, stating the cause of their conduct on the preceding day; the other to lord Bridport, in which they stiled him their *father* and *friend*, and avowed no intentional offence to him. This had a proper effect; for on the 23rd, the admiral returned to his ship, and re-hoisted his flag; and, after a short address to the crew, informing them that the painful business of the last week would be the means of hurrying him shortly to his grave, he assured them that he had brought with him a redress of all their grievances, and his majesty's pardon for the offenders, which, after some deliberation, were accepted, and every man returned to his duty.

The mutiny, however, which was supposed to be happily terminated, in consequence of the liberal concessions of administration, broke out on the 7th of May, with greater violence than ever; occasioned, it has been said, by a misrepresentation of parliamentary discussion on the subject; and by an idea that the concessions granted to the seamen, would not be adhered to. It was renewed at Spithead. The channel fleet refused to put to sea, under pretext that government did not mean to fulfil their promises. The delegates re-assembled, and sent a deputation to the London, admiral Colpoys' ship, at Portsmouth, whom the admiral refused to admit on board, and enforced his authority, by ordering the marines to fire on the boat. This conduct was resented by the crew of the London,

(*o*) In beginning the repairs of *Worcester* cathedral, in 1797, the tomb which stood in the nave, near the chancel, to commemorate the interment of king John, was proposed to be removed to a more convenient place; but, to the astonishment of the workmen, a stone coffin was discovered at the bottom, level with the floor, which, on carefully examining it, was found to contain the remains of the king. From the great length of time the body had been deposited, (so long since as the year 1216,) nothing but conjectural ideas could be formed respecting the vestments, &c. Part of the robe was firm in its texture, but of what colour, could not be ascertained. What was discovered of the body, appeared to be nearly in the same position as the figure on the top of the tomb-stone, and, from the length of the coffin, measured five feet six inches and a half: part of his sword was lying by his left side, which time had much mouldered; and the leather sheath was nearly in the same state: the most perfect part was towards the bottoms of the legs and feet, on which appeared a kind of half-boot. The robe had the appearance, in some parts, of having been embroidered, particularly on the right knee: no bones of the fingers were to be found. One point ascertained is, that the body certainly was deposited here, and not in the more eastern part of the church, as was supposed: and the extraordinary circumstance of there being no memorandum or record of the place of interment in the archives of the cathedral, is now obviated. The tomb is to remain sacred to the ashes of the king, and will doubtless be preserved with additional care and attention. The dean and chapter gave orders that the curiosity of the people should be gratified as far as could be done consistently with safety; but, the concourse from all parts becoming so great, it was deemed proper to inclose the tomb again in a few days. *From the London Gazette*, 1797.

(*p*) A letter from sir John Jervis, to Evan Nepean, esquire, furnishes an additional laurel to the brow of rear-admiral Nelson. It is dated, Ville de Paris, off Cadiz, July 5th. It begins thus,—"Sir, I desire you will acquaint the lords commissioners of the admiralty, that the Terpsichore, with the Thunder bomb, having a detachment of artillery on board, and the Urchin gun-boat, from Gibraltar, joined on the second instant, and the night following, rear-admiral Nelson having made his dispositions, the bomb, covered by the gun-boat, launches, and barges of the fleet, was placed near the tower of San Sebastian, and fired some shells into the town, when an attempt was made by the gun-boats, and launches of the enemy, to carry her. The rear-admiral, *who is always present in the most arduous enterprizes*, with the assistance of some other barges, boarded and carried two of the enemy's gun-boats, and a barge launch of one of their ships of war, with the commandant of the flotilla. In this short conflict, eighteen or twenty Spaniards were killed, the commandant and several wounded; he and twenty-five made prisoners: the rest swam on shore. This spirited action was performed with inconsiderable loss on our part. The launch of the Ville de Paris was sunk by a raking shot from the enemy's gun-boats; but, by the active and intelligent mind of captain Troubridge, got up yesterday morning, and repaired on board the Culloden. Rear-admiral Nelson's actions speak for themselves: any praise of mine would fall very short of his merit. I am, sir, your most obedient humble servant,

"J. Jervis."

Admiral Nelson was not so fortunate in attacking the town of Santa Cruz, in the island of Teneriffe, on the 27th of July, though he declares that more daring intrepidity was never shewn than by the officers and men under his command.

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who immediately deposed the admiral, struck his flag, and hoisted the ensign of defiance. In this affray, several seamen were wounded, some of whom died soon after of their wounds. The next day, the London joined the mutinous fleet at Spithead, and several officers were sent on shore by their crews.

Two days after, the seamen at Spithead, agreed to permit admiral Colpoys to go on shore; and the same day an act for advancing the pay of seamen passed both houses of parliament, which, together with a general pardon, was immediately transmitted to Portsmouth. This communication seemed to give perfect satisfaction to the sailors, and they immediately agreed to put to sea.

A few days afterwards, rear-admiral Curtis arrived at St. Helen's, from Torbay, and the crews of several of the ships immediately declared themselves in a state of mutiny, and sent several of their officers on shore; but on receiving information from the delegates of the channel fleet, that government had complied with their demands, they returned to their duty.

Shortly after, several of the lords of the admiralty set off for Sheerness, followed by a messenger with his majesty's proclamation, offering his most gracious pardon to such men, as, having been seduced from their duty, should return to it again.

An admiralty board having been formed at the commissioner's house, the delegates were sent for, and introduced to lords Spencer, Arden, &c. One of the seamen, named Parker (*q*), the principal delegate, was the advocate for himself and for his colleagues, who amounted to about a dozen. They stood behind Parker, forming a kind of half circle, and the lords of the admiralty several times urged them to speak, but none of them would engage in the discussion, except Parker, who being the premier chief of the delegates, was called the port-admiral. Lord Spencer addressed himself to the delegates. He informed them they should have every indulgence that had been granted to the seamen at Portsmouth, and with which they had been contented; and his lordship expressed a hope, that the seamen at Sheerness would be also satisfied with those indulgences. The seamen said they had other grounds of complaint, and presented a list of them, amounting to eight articles; the first and principal of which was, the unequal distribution of prize money. The lords commissioners assured the delegates they could grant nothing of themselves, but they would mention their demands to those who must finally decide upon them. In the course of the conversation, lord Spencer asked them, rather peevishly, "What do you want?" To this Parker is said to have replied, "You are a man of sense, and you know what is due to us; you know what we want."

On Thursday, the delegates sent on shore to the admiral a declaration, stating their intention of blocking up the river Thames. They said, they had heard that the Dutch fleet was on the point of sailing; and as they were determined to have their grievances settled, they would bring things to an extremity at once. Accordingly the Standard, Inspector, Brilliant, and Swan, got under weigh, and moored at equal distances across the mouth of the Thames. Soon after, several vessels standing down the river, were obliged to come to an anchor near the ships of the mutineers. The Monmouth at the same time moved her birth.

On the 7th of June, the earl of Northesk, who had been long confined on board the Montague, arrived in town from the Nore, with some resolutions adopted by the mutinous delegates, to be presented to the king; but previous to his departure from the mutineers, he received the following paper to ratify his credentials.

"*Sandwich, June* 6, 3 *P.M.*

"To Captain Lord NORTHESK,

"You are hereby authorised and ordered to wait upon the king, wherever he may be, with the resolutions of the committee of delegates, and are directed to return back with an answer to the same, within fifty-four hours from the date hereof.

"R. PARKER, *President.*"

No answer being given to the application of the mutineers, shortly after divisions took place in the rebel councils. A proclamation was now published, declaring the crews of the ships at the Nore in a state of rebellion; and prohibiting all intercourse between them and his majesty's faithful subjects.

After several remonstrances of the delegates, and an attempt to negociate through the medium of lord Northesk, the mutineers were given to understand, that nothing but unconditional submission would be accepted. At length the dread of the vigorous measures intended to be taken by government, produced dissatisfaction and altercation among the mutineers. The moderate part of the crews, endeavoured to emancipate themselves from their mutinous brethren, and the more violent were confounded and dismayed. But there was an obstinate struggle before the loyal party triumphed.

On the 15th of June, the Repulse, one of the ships that had been in a state of rebellion, made for Sheerness, and the Leopard went up the Thames. Other vessels, particularly the Nassau, also attempted to leave the mutineers, but they were prevented. The Repulse ran aground, and in that helpless situation, was fired upon by the Monmouth, the vessel which followed her close. A lieutenant lost his leg, and another man was wounded by a splinter. This was very remarkable, as many hundred shot were fired at her, and they were seen in great numbers to strike the water close to the Repulse. The Ardent afterwards, in the dark escaped, and, in passing the Monmouth, fired at her, by which it was said some few were killed or wounded. Next day, the delegates, finding it impossible to effect their purpose, made various propositions, but discord had got footing among them. It was then that the red flags were struck, and that the trade was allowed to pass up the Thames; it was then that distrust of each other, and despair of succeeding in their demands, took possession of the seamen's minds, and that every ship was suffered to follow her own course. In this state they remained on the 17th, in hopes of a general pardon; but finding that government was decided in refusing it, and that the most vigorous preparations were making to force them to submission, they resolved to allow every ship to do the best for itself, and no longer to oppose the desertion.

On the 18th, the Nassau, the Standard, and others, made off a little way up the Thames, and next morning the five ships sailed up the river to Gravesend, with a flag of truce flying. On the 19th, in the afternoon, the Champion sailed in under the guns of Sheerness, and at night the Monmouth, regarded as the most desperate ship of all, came into the Little Nore, under the guns of the fort, to surrender; but so little faith was placed in her apparent intentions, that every preparation was made to compel her to submit. The guns at the fort were ready to fire on her, and the Ardent drew up on the opposite side, so that she would then have been between two fires, if she had attempted to resist. When she first came in, it was with difficulty the crew of the Repulse could be restrained from acts of hostility against her.—The same night, the Brilliant and some others came into Sheerness, and the Lion and a frigate went up the Thames. About three o'clock next morning, the Sandwich came under the guns of the fort. The Grampus arrived in the course of the forenoon, and the Director arrived off the fort about half past four o'clock. The Swan sloop of war arrived in the evening. She was nick-named the Little Inflexible, to distinguish her for her violence; the Inflexible being regarded as the most outrageously mutinous, and the most obstinate of the whole fleet.

The apprehension of admiral Parker was considered as a service of danger. Several of the officers of the Sandwich were on deck, and but few of the men appeared. As soon as Parker heard that a boat was come for him, he surrendered himself to four of the ship's crew, to protect him against the outrages of the other seamen, whose vengeance he feared. Admiral Buckner's cockswain informed the officers on deck of the nature of his business,

(*q*) Richard Parker, who became so conspicuous on this occasion, descended from a respectable family in Exeter, Devon. He obtained a good education, was bred in the navy, and, about the conclusion of the American war, was an acting lieutenant in one of his majesty's ships. He soon came into the possession of a considerable sum of money, and, shortly after he arrived in Scotland, he married a farmer's daughter in Aberdeenshire, with whom he received some property. At this time, being without employment, he soon dissipated his money, which involved him in debt; on account of which, he was imprisoned in the gaol of Edinburgh, where he was at the time the counties were raising seamen for the navy. He then entered as one of the volunteers for Perthshire, received the bounty, and was released from prison, on paying the incarcerating creditor a part of his bounty. He was put on board the tender then in Leith Roads, commanded by captain Watson, who carried him with many others to the Nore. On the passage, captain Watson distinguished Parker, both by his activity and polished address.

and claimed their assistance. The lieutenant drew his sword, and the party, consisting of eight or ten, went down below, where Parker was surrendered into their hands. They tied his hands together behind, and the officers quietly conducted him into the boat, which had eight or ten rowers, and a party of the West York militia seated at the head, with their faces towards the stern, and their muskets held upright in their hands ready charged. Parker was seated in the stern part, and before him sat the lieutenant of the Sandwich, holding a drawn sword over him. In this situation, the boat left the ship, and the rowers pulled with extraordinary vigour. The top of the stairs and the surrounding parts were crowded with spectators, principally soldiers. Parker being landed, was marched through the dock-yard by a party of the West York militia, and imprisoned in one of the cells under the chapel of the garrison; where, having remained for several hours, he was conducted to the commissioner's house, to be examined, and then committed to Maidstone gaol. Many of the delegates and committee-men were afterwards brought on shore, the principal of which were from on board the Sandwich. They were all guarded and lodged in the cells of the prison.

Order and subordination being now restored, government instituted an enquiry into the conduct of those delegates who were taken into custody. Accordingly, the trial of Parker, by a court-martial, commenced on the 22nd of June, on board the Neptune of ninety-eight guns, and lasted till the 26th, when he was found guilty of various acts of mutiny, and disobedience of orders; in consequence of which, sentence of death was passed upon him by the court-martial.

Parker, with a degree of fortitude and composure, which astonished every one, thus addressed the court:—"I have heard your sentence—I shall submit to it without a struggle—I feel thus, because I am sensible of the rectitude of my intentions. Whatever offences may have been committed, I hope my life will be the only sacrifice—I trust it will be thought a sufficient atonement. Pardon, I beseech you the other men—I know they will return with alacrity to their duty." The prisoner was then taken on board the Sandwich, the ship destined for his execution.

On the 29th, the prisoner, who had taken his usual repast in the birth allotted him in the gun-room, and passed the night in great composure, was awaked a little after six o'clock, from a sound sleep, by the martial provost, who, with a file of marines, composed his guard. He rose with cheerfulness, took his breakfast, and then prepared for the approaching aweful solemnity. At half past eight he was informed that the chaplain was ready to attend him to prayers on the quarter-deck, which he immediately attended uncovered, and recited some verses out of one of the penitential psalms. At nine o'clock the preparatory gun was fired, which he heard without the smallest emotion. Ascending the scaffold, he asked the captain, "whether he might be permitted to speak?" and immediately apprehending his intention might be misconceived, he added, "I am not going, sir, to address the ship's company!—I wish only to declare, that I acknowledge the justice of the sentence under which I suffer, and I hope my death may be deemed a sufficient atonement, and save the lives of others." He then requested "a minute to collect himself," and knelt down alone about that space of time; then rising up, said, "I am ready." The halter being adjusted, and the cap being drawn over his face, walking by firm steps up to the extremity of the scaffold, he dropped the handkerchief, and submitted to his fate on the yard-arm of the ship which had been the chief scene of his power.

After the execution of Parker, who was considered as the ringleader of the mutiny, it was thought expedient by government to exhibit exemplary justice in the punishment of the other most atrocious offenders; many of whom were accordingly hanged at the Nore, and other places, after having been convicted upon substantial evidence of their guilt. Some of them were only scourged for their offence; and a free pardon was granted to many of those who received condemnation.

In the mean time, the French, determined to persevere in their plan of alarm, landed to the amount of about twelve hundred miserable wretches, on the coast of Wales, in the month of April; but they met with so warm a reception from the loyal inhabitants, that they were compelled to surrender at discretion; and after being detained as prisoners till August, were embarked at Milford, to be transported to their own country. They are said to have consisted of galley-slaves, and other criminals from Brest; and the object was supposed to be to create an alarm on the British coast, and to rid the French republic of a number of desperate fellows. They were without artillery, and almost without accoutrements. As two of the ships which brought them over were returning into Brest harbour, they were captured by the St. Fiorenzo and Nymph frigates (*r*).

On the 30th of June, lord Malmesbury and the honourable H. Westley, his secretary, set out for Lisle, to negociate a peace with the plenipotentiaries of the French republic. The negociation was continued till September; on the 11th of which it was terminated, in consequence of the following order from the French executive directory: "The executive directory order that citizens Trielhard and Boniere, commissioners to negociate a peace with England, shall transmit, on their first conference with lord Malmesbury, plenipotentiary minister of the king of England, a note, the object of which shall be to know, 'whether this minister has sufficient powers to restore to the French republic and its allies, all the possessions which have fallen into the hands of the English, since the commencement of the war.' The plenipotentiaries will require his answer within the day. The executive directory further order, that if lord Malmesbury shall declare that he has not full powers to establish this basis, which the laws and treaties that bind the republic render indispensible, or if within a space prescribed he does not return an answer, he shall depart, within twenty-four hours, to his court to obtain them."

The English minister refusing to comply with the requisition of the directory, instantly quitted Paris with his suite, and on the 20th, arrived in London. In October, an official declaration was published, relative to the rupture of the negociation with the French republic.

The spirit of party continued to prevail throughout Great Britain in general, and the metropolis in particular. At a common hall of the livery of London, held on the 23rd of March, a motion was made, "That an humble address and petition be presented to his majesty, upon the present alarming state of public affairs, and praying him to dismiss his present ministers from his councils for ever, as the first step towards obtaining a speedy, honourable, and permanent peace;" which was carried in the affirmative, as were also several other resolutions, tending to carry that into effect. The following day, the sheriffs of London went to St. James's in state, to know the king's pleasure when he would receive the address of the livery of London, voted at the common-hall; they were not admitted to the presence as usual, his majesty sending out a message by the duke of Portland, that he never received addresses on the throne, but from the corporation of the city of London.

On the first of April, another numerous meeting of the livery was held at Guildhall; when the sheriffs, having reported that his majesty declined receiving upon the throne, their address for the removal of ministers; the following resolution was passed by the meeting with only one dissenting voice: "That the answer given to the sheriffs, when they attended to know his majesty's pleasure as to the time of receiving their petition, was given by the third secretary of state, one of the persons for whose removal they petitioned; that the sheriffs do again attend at St. James's, and request a personal audience of his majesty, at which, if granted, they do represent to the king, that it is the privilege of the livery to present petitions to the sovereign on the throne; and that the sheriffs do make a report of this application to a future hall." The sheriffs attended according to the above resolutions, when his majesty in person confirmed the message before delivered by the duke of Portland.

To counteract the measures of that party of the citi-

(*r*) About this time, the prince of Wirtemberg arrived in London, and was presented to the princess royal of England, his intended bride. His serene highness proceeded a few days after on a tour to Bath, Bristol, Birmingham, Oxford, Portsmouth, and other places, and was gratified by the loudest acclamations of the people. On his return, the marriage was performed with the usual ceremony and magnificence, and on the 2nd of June, the prince, with his royal consort, set out for Germany: and on the 21st, arrived at Stutgard, the capital of the duke of Wirtemberg's dominions.

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zens of London, who were averse to the proceedings of ministers, and therefore wished their removal; another party, attached to them, and desirous of their continuance in office, caused to be drawn up and signed, a declaration of a very opposite tenor.

Murmuring, however, still prevailed among a very numerous body of the people; and on the 3rd of July, a meeting convened by the corresponding society, was held in an open field near the Veterinary College, St. Pancras. At two o'clock, near five thousand people were assembled. Three tribunes, as they were termed, were erected in different places. Before the first tribune sir W. Addington presented himself on horseback, attended by an escort of constables. Other magistrates attended and took their stations before the different tribunes. Among the populace who surrounded them were many persons of respectability and fortune.

At two o'clock, the president at the first tribune came forward, and read the advertisement by which the meeting was convoked. On the meeting being declared illegal by the Bow Street magistrates, a person was deputed to wait on them, and to enquire in what consisted its illegality; and to say, that if their proceedings were considered as trenching on the late Convention Bill, they should avoid the investigation of those points. Mr. Justice Ford replied, "that he did not consider himself as obliged to give any explanation of the law; and if they proceeded, the London corresponding society and the Bow Street magistrates should be at issue." On receiving this general answer, the persons who assumed the title of the executive committee, did not hold it incumbent on them to forbid the meeting which had been summoned.

The address being received with some small tokens of applause, the same person proceeded to read a petition and remonstrance to the king, which, he said was to be followed by the moving of a certain resolution. Here the reader was interrupted by an assertion, that the proclamation for dissolving the assembly as illegal had been read. Mr. Ferguson, a barrister at law, who occupied one of the tribunes, then addressed the meeting, and conjured them quietly to separate; and, to prevent mischief, to depart to their several homes. He said, the question was now really at issue, and it remained to be seen, whether the magistrates of Bow Street were to be regarded as the interpreters of the law of England. Sir William Addington then gave orders that Mr. Ferguson, and others, should be taken into custody. The populace did not attempt to hinder the constables from executing their orders, and indeed the persons who were arrested, were earnest in deprecating any interference in their behalf. They were ushered into a hackney coach, and escorted by a party of constables to Bow Street.

In the evening, they were brought before sir William Addington, at the public office, charged with having aided and assisted in certain illegal proceedings respecting the above meeting. Evidence was called to prove the charge, which being established to the satisfaction of the bench, they were ordered to find bail to answer the complaint at the next sessions, themselves in one hundred pounds, and two sureties in fifty pounds each. The charge against Mr. Ferguson, was supported by a Mr. John Smith, who deposed, that he heard Mr. Ferguson address the people from one of the tribunes, after the proclamation had been read, in nearly the following words:—"Citizens, I beg of you to disperse, and not stay here to be butchered; we shall hereafter see, whether or not the Bow Street magistrates are the interpreters of the law." Mr. Ferguson strenuously denied the whole of the charge, but declared he was ready to give bail, which was accordingly executed in the usual form.

About this time disturbances took place in different parts of Scotland, to oppose the ballotting for persons to serve in a militia, it being its first introduction into that country: a very unpleasant circumstance occurred at Tranent in particular, on one of these occasions. On the arrival of the deputy-lieutenants and magistrates in that place, they were insulted and abused in the grossest manner, by multitudes of people whom they found assembled. The women were particularly clamorous, and for some time seemed to take the lead: for the men, either ashamed of the business, or wishing to conceal their strength, at first thought proper to keep out of sight. The deputies desired that the cavalry should be drawn up at the east end of the town, as they were anxious that the constables only, if possible, should be employed in keeping off the crowd from the door of the house which they had entered. In about half an hour, a squadron of the Pembrokeshire cavalry arrived, and soon after great numbers of people, chiefly colliers and salters, assembled from all parts of the country, armed with immense bludgeons. As soon as they had collected their forces, they sent up to the deputy-lieutenants, a most insolent and threatening paper, (that they denominated a petition,) which the deputies received, but told the person who presented it, that it would not prevent them from going through with their business, and doing their duty. The mob then began to press extremely on the house where the deputy-lieutenants were assembled: a shower of pieces of brick soon demolished the windows, while the concussion on the walls and roof was dreadful, and made them believe they should instantly be demolished. All attempts to remonstrate were in vain. The officer who commanded the cavalry, addressed himself to the crowd, and begged them to desist, for if they proceeded to extremities, and the military were ordered to act, a great many of them would suffer. At this time, the soldiers received many severe blows from the stones which were thrown from the tops of the houses, and the street. The commanding officer was in imminent danger; and a serjeant of the Cinque Ports cavalry, at this time received so severe a blow on the head from a stone, that his life was despaired of.

Several other attempts were made to keep possession of that part of the street which was opposite to the door, but they were all equally ineffectual: the men were completely driven off; and had not orders been at last reluctantly given to fire, the military would doubtless have been defeated, and the magistrates and deputies seized and murdered. On these orders being given, some of the Pembrokeshire cavalry were directed to fire with their pistols, at the men on the tops of the houses, which they did for a considerable time, without the smallest effect: the men on the houses treating the pistol-firing with contempt. An officer of the Pembrokeshire observing this, took a party of the Cinque Ports, (who had carbines), from the right, and went to the rear of the house, on the north side of the street, and dismounted them. They now fired with considerable effect, which speedily brought them down from the tops of the houses, and enabled the military to get the better of them. The magistrates then interposed, and many of the rioters were apprehended, and sent to Haddington gaol; which terminated this alarming affray.

The national thanksgiving for the three great naval victories of lord Howe, St. Vincent, and Duncan, took place on the 19th of December; his majesty, attended by both houses of parliament, went in state to St. Paul's, where the colours which had been taken in the different engagements, were deposited.

The preliminaries of peace between the court of Vienna and the French republic, were now signed by Bonaparte, in the name of the French republic, and by the Neapolitan minister, on the part of the emperor. Among other articles, the Netherlands and the duchy of Luxembourg were ceded to France, the independence of the new Italian republics, and the navigation of the Rhine were acknowledged. By a secret article, the French, it is said, undertook to indemnify the emperor by a part of the Venetian territories, and by secularizing some of the ecclesiastical states of Germany (*s*).

In Ireland the prospect now became extremely gloomy. In the northern parts of that island, the peasants rose in large bodies, and committed such depredations, that general Lake, in the beginning of March, published a proclamation, requiring every person in the northern district to deliver up their arms of all kinds to the military, and declaring the whole district in a state of insurrection. The coërcive measures adopted by government were strenuously opposed in the Irish parliament, as tending to defeat the very purposes for which they were avowedly adopted;

(*s*) Amongst the events of this year, we deem it necessary to record the death of two very singular characters—Edmund Burke and John Wilkes; they both possessed eminent talents, and were long zealous champions in the cause of liberty: but as versatility is almost inseparable from frail mortals, the ardour of the latter degenerated into a total indifference respecting the interests of the common weal; and the pen and eloquence of the former, were employed in the decline of life in the support of principles evidently repugnant to those they had so ably maintained in its meridian: and we have only in candour to observe, that "it is the lot of humanity to err." Mr. Burke's invectives were so severe, that they seemed to manifest a malignity of disposition, though they rather proceeded from an irritability of temper.

but

but as they were declared to be expedient, and even indispensable, by a great majority in both houses, they were pursued with vigour, and very disastrous consequences followed.

On the 25th of May, Mr. W. Ponsonby moved in the house of commons, for a reform in that house, which was negatived by one hundred and seventeen to thirty; on which Mr. Grattan and the leaders of opposition seceded from parliament, which was dissolved on the 11th of July.

The number of insurgents who had assumed the title of United Irishmen, increased so greatly, that the whole kingdom of Ireland was put under martial law. Many actions took place between the king's troops and the rebels; which, though generally terminating in favour of the royalists, rather increased than diminished the number of the disaffected; and such was the prevalence of party rancour and animosity, that the inhabitants of this unhappy country were exposed to the most dreadful outrages, both from the military and the insurgents. Several trials occurred for treason and conspiracies, some executions ensued, and other punishments were inflicted on convicted persons; and in this perturbed state was the sister kingdom at the close of the year 1797 (*t*).

With respect to the affairs of the continent, warlike operations were now suspended by consent of both parties; so that the only occurrence worthy of notice, is the detection of a league formed in Paris, in consequence of which Barthelemy, one of the executive directory of France, general Pichegru, nine of the council of ancients, and forty members of the council of five hundred, with many other leading men, were seized and confined on a charge of having entered into a conspiracy to restore monarchy, and destroy the republic, for which they were afterwards banished to Cayenne, in South America.

To spread alarm throughout this country, the executive directory ordered, in the month of October, that an army should be assembled on the French coasts, to be called the "Army of England," and to be commanded by general Bonaparte, for the purpose of invading England; and the merchants of Paris voluntarily offered to subscribe to a loan for the completion of the avowed design. The event, however, proved that the destination of this armament, was far more remote than was generally apprehended. Every preparation was made on the part of the English government, to counteract the project: military associations were formed, and the people, waving political prejudices, embarked in every measure for the defence of their country; but fortunately there was no necessity for the exertion of those services (*u*).

The British parliament met on the 2nd of November, pursuant to prorogation, when the session was opened by a speech from the throne, in which his majesty expressed his concern for the failure of his endeavours to restore to his subjects the blessings of peace, on secure and honourable terms; assuring them that the rupture of the negociation was solely to be ascribed to the inordinate ambition, and inveterate animosity of the enemy. He assured them of his firm reliance on the wisdom and vigour of their counsels, and on the zeal, magnanimity, and courage of a great and free people. He extolled the public spirit displayed by the army and navy, and made honourable mention of the victory lately obtained by his fleet under the command of admiral lord Duncan. He exhorted the commons to an animated exertion, and stated the necessity and importance of supporting effectually public credit, in order to convince the enemy of the ability of the nation to support with vigour an arduous contest as long as necessary, for the safety, honour, and independence of these kingdoms.

The address to his majesty on this occasion, was moved in the house of lords by the earl of Glasgow, and seconded by lord Gwydir: an amendment was moved by earl Fitzwilliam, who declared his opinion, that this country could never obtain a secure peace from France, until her monarchy was restored, and with it, the reign of hereditary law, morality, and religion in that country.

Lord Grenville differed from the noble earl in his inference, that under no circumstance an adequate peace could be made with the present government of France. He allowed it was a consideration of a most momentous nature, and the question of peace with such a country should be regarded with all possible cautionary attention. His lordship then expressed his disapprobation of the noble earl's amendment. The question upon earl Fitzwilliam's motion was then put and negatived, and the address carried in its original form. The noble earl entered a protest.

A similar motion was made and carried on the same day in the house of commons, but not without some pointed observations on the side of opposition. The thanks of the house were voted to lord Duncan, for the signal victory he had lately obtained over the Dutch fleet.

In the house of commons, Mr. Tierney submitted a proposition on a subject which he represented as highly offensive and derogatory to the honour and independency of the house. The subject he alluded to was the creation of the office of a third secretary of state, in the person of Mr. Dundas, in contravention to an express act of parliament for the abolition of certain useless places, and to preserve the honour and independence of parliament against the influence of the crown. To this third department was attached, he said, patronage and salary, amounting to thirteen thousand pounds per annum, which, added to the emoluments of the other two, out of which it had sprung, amounted to a sum exceeding forty thousand pounds a year. He concluded by moving, "That the office of secretary of state for the war department, was an addition to the other two, and that the right honourable Henry Dundas, having accepted that office, was incapacitated from sitting in that house."

The only question on view of this subject was, said Mr. Dundas, Whether he was *bonâ fide* the secretary of state described in the act? To make it appear that he did not come within the description, he mentioned that he delivered up the seals which he had *in custodia* to his majesty, who transferred them to the duke of Portland: other seals were entrusted to him. With the appointment he had no new patent, no new salary. He remained, he said, "one of his majesty's principal secretaries of state," and this description applied equally to the three. According to the legal import of the act, it did not prohibit the creation of a third secretary of state, it merely interdicted a third secretary sitting in the house.

Mr. Pitt vindicated the appointment of a third secretary of state. The act, he contended, did not restrain generally: it merely says, that the office of third secretary should not be tenable with a seat in the house.

After some further debate, a division took place, when there appeared, for the motion, eight; against it, one hundred and thirty-nine—majority, one hundred and thirty-one.

In the house of lords, the lord chancellor, in consequence of a previous motion, communicated personally to lord Duncan the thanks of that house, for the signal victory he had lately obtained; and congratulated his lordship on his accession to the honour of a distinguished seat in that house, to which his meritorious professional conduct had deservedly raised him. His lordship made an appropriate reply.

The house then entered into a discussion of his majesty's declaration, together with the substance of a variety of papers, relative to the late negociation. On this occasion lord Grenville adverted to a variety of circumstances relative to the belligerent powers, for some time previous to the negociation. His lordship detailed several circumstances in the conduct of the French government, more immediately connected with the negociation; and vindicated the steps taken on the part of this country during the

(*t*) Gold seven-shilling pieces were ordered to be received as the current coin of this kingdom, on the 2nd of December, 1797.

(*u*) On the 16th of November, this year, Frederic William the Second, king of Prussia, died at Potzdam; in consequence of which, his successor sent the following letter to the executive directory of France:—

"Frederic-William the Third, by the grace of God, king of Prussia, margrave of Brandenburgh, arch-chamberlain, and elector of the Holy Roman Empire, &c.

"To the French republic, and in its name to the citizens who compose the executive directory.

"*Mighty and dear Friends,*

"Providence having disposed of the days of the king my father, deceased on the 16th of this month, and having called me to the throne of my ancestors, I hasten to announce to you these two events, persuaded that you will take a part in the loss I have sustained, and that you will feel yourselves interested in my accession to the regency of the Prussian states. I shall take the greatest care to cultivate and cement the harmony which I find happily established between the two nations; and for that purpose, I pray God, high and dear friends, to have you in his holy keeping.

"Your good friend,

"FREDERICK-WILLIAM."

"*Berlin, Nov. 17th,* 1797."

negociation,

negociation, which he contended were open, fair, and manly, and such as would best conduce to the attainment of a safe and honourable peace. He would not, he said, enter into a discussion of what particular terms would or would not be proper for this country to accede to in a definitive treaty; but he insisted that the idea of giving up all our acquisitions as a preliminary, could only be regarded by the ministers of this country as the height of madness and folly. Under these impressions, expressing a confidence that their lordships must coincide with him, he moved an address to his majesty, the general substance of which was, "That their lordships had taken into their serious consideration the various papers relative to the late negociation for peace, which his majesty ordered to be laid before them; and that they beheld with regret and indignation, the inordinate ambition and unwarrantable pretensions of the enemy, by which his majesty's endeavours to attain an adequate peace were frustrated;" and concluded with assurances of support to his majesty, in the warmest and most affectionate language. The address was passed unanimously.

The same subjects were introduced into the house of commons, on the day following, and Mr. Dundas proposed the question for the adoption of the address transmitted from the lords for the concurrence of the house, which was passed *nem. con.*

The state of Ireland was recommended to the consideration of the house of lords by earl Moira, who, said lord Grenville, seemed disposed to accuse government of being hostilely inclined towards the sister kingdom, and eager to keep up in it a system of coërcion.

The lord chancellor declared, he thought an interference in the British parliament, in an affair of internal regulation in Ireland, as a very serious consideration. It will be in effect a breach of the solemn compact made with Ireland—of that renunciation of all controul whatever over the legislative concerns of that country, which was deliberately made by the parliament of Great Britain. Such a proceeding, he said, he could never silently suffer to be called a mere matter of form. And thus the matter rested.

On the 24th, the chancellor of the exchequer proposed to raise seven millions, as part of the supplies for the year, by doubling, trebling, &c. of the assessed taxes, estimating, thereby, to take a tenth part of every man's income, who had or acquired more than sixty pounds a-year. This proposition occupied the attention of the house at intervals, by adjournment from this day to the 5th of January following, during which very interesting debates took place; though it would be superfluous to repeat them in this place.

The produce of the augmented assessments being inadequate to the expectations of the proposer of the tax, he resolved to enforce the payment of large sums, not by the criterion of expenditure, but by that of INCOME. By the former impost very few paid so much as a tenth of their income; but by the new scale every one was required to contribute at least a tenth part of their revenue. It was now proposed, that no person whose annual income did not amount to sixty pounds, should be obliged to contribute more than the taxes which he already paid; but those who had an income exceeding that amount, should be additionally burthened according to the regulations of the following table:

Where the said annual income shall appear to be not less than (*v*)

but under	to a sum not exceeding	part of the same	but under	to a sum not exceeding	part of the same.
60l.	65l.	1-120	135l.	140l.	1-26
65	70	1-95	140	115	1-24
79	75	1-70	145	150	1-22
75	80	1-65	150	155	1-20
80	85	1-60	155	160	1-19
85	90	1-55	160	165	1-18
90	95	1-50	165	170	1-17
95	100	1-45	170	175	1-16
100	105	1-40	175	180	1-15
105	110	1-38	180	185	1-14
110	115	1-36	185	190	1-13
115	120	1-34	190	195	1-12
120	125	1-32	195	200	1-12
125	130	1-30	200	000	1-10
130	135	1-26			

(*v*) This being the first *avowed* tax upon *income*, though many indirect imposts have had a similar operation, we have deemed it expedient to state the particulars of its origin, introduction, and proportional operation; but though the project, after having been abandoned for a time, has experienced a renovation, accompanied with more rigorous clauses, we hope it will be enforced no longer than the exigencies of the times will be thought a sufficient apology for the exercise of so burthensome a measure.

And where the annual income shall appear to be not less than two hundred pounds, every person shall be entitled to such an abatement of the additional duty now granted as may be necessary to reduce the same, to a sum not exceeding one-tenth part of the said income.

That evasions and fraudulent statements might be prevented, it would be required of the party applying for relief to give in his declaration upon oath, and also that his statement should be open for inspection, the better to detect false returns. Commissioners were to be appointed in different parishes and districts, to conduct the business, with a small compensation for their trouble.

Persons with large families, he thought, were fair objects of modification or exemption. The committee might think it most desirable to fix the scale according to the number of children. Those who had no family he thought should be rated higher in proportion to their income. Having gone through this statement, Mr. Pitt recurred to the principle on which his scheme was founded. It was not, he said, free from objections on the first view; but he challenged any gentleman to produce a scheme for raising so considerable a sum in a mode so universally comprehensive, equal, and more susceptible of modification and abatement. He also wished to remind them that the burthen would not be permanent; and that though it would be too much for ordinary occasions, the present was one which imperiously demanded it. He concluded with moving a series of resolutions founded upon the above statement.

Sir William Pulteney approved of the principle, and said, that he did not think its operation was sufficiently extensive. Mr. Nichols deprecated the system as oppressive and unjust. The secretary at war spoke in favour of the scheme, and vindicated the conduct of ministers. Mr. Pierpoint said, he thought it would be a great improvement of the plan, if the royal family offered their contributions.

Mr. Tierney opposed the scheme in a speech of some length, after which a division took place, when there appeared for the resolutions moved by the minister, two hundred and fourteen; against them, fifteen; majority, one hundred and ninety-nine!

The following day, on the question being put for the reading of the resolutions a second time, Mr. Wigley said, that on a subject so novel and important, the minister ought to allow an interval for deliberation. It was also he said of that alarming and oppressive nature, that members should have an opportunity of consulting their constituents. Mr. Hussey said, he disapproved of the plan, not from a desire to throw obstacles in the way, but because he thought a better might be adopted. The resolutions were then read the second time, and bills ordered pursuant thereto.

The chancellor of the exchequer, desirous of bringing this important business to a conclusion before any recess of parliament should take place, brought up a bill for trebling the assessed taxes on the 7th of December, and after the first reading, immediately put the question for its being read a second time. After being strenuously opposed by Mr. Wilberforce Bird, and censured by Mr. alderman Lushington, for bearing too hard on the lower classes of the community, the question was put and carried.

The debates on the assessed tax bill being resumed, in the house of commons on the 14th, the order of the day for the second reading being read, Mr. Wigley supported the arguments that had been used in behalf of tradesmen, and the middling class of the people; and contended that the tax ought to bear in a greater proportion on those who were in a higher station in life.

Mr. Henry Thornton said, he was instructed by the unanimous voice of his constituents, to oppose the bill.

Mr. Yorke urged the second reading of the bill; a more practical criterion of property, he said, could not be found than that of expenditure. Mr. Nichols alledged that the principle of the bill went first to destroy the lower and midling classes of society, and next to destroy the capital of the country.

Mr. Sheridan observed, that it was a penalty upon the retrenchments of œconomy, an encouragement of perjury, and a commission of bankruptcy against the whole nation. The principle of the bill was, he said, a fiscal contribution, it went to establish in every parish a fiscal inquisition, to report the profits of every individual—a most enormous

proceeding in a free commercial country. By this inquisitorial act, a tradesman, whose income might fall from two hundred to one hundred and fifty pounds, must either disclose his circumstances, which would still more reduce his credit, or be guilty of perjury, and defraud his creditors by paying the abominable tax with their money.

Mr. Pitt said, that after the most accurate inquiry in his power, every objection which had been made against this bill did not affect its principle, but might easily be obviated in a committee, without altering the general principle, or defeating the tendency of the measure. The house then divided, when there appeared a majority for the bill of one hundred and twenty-five!

On the 18th, several modifications in the bill were offered to the house, by the chancellor of the exchequer, who also brought up the scale of payment, as proposed by the committee on the bill, which, with other particulars became the subject of future consideration, until the 3rd of January, 1798, when very interesting debates took place, on the motion for the third reading of the bill, which were continued on the 4th and 5th.

Mr. Sheridan said, it was not his wish to withhold the supplies. Whoever was in administration, and whether the war was just and necessary or not at the commencement, our fleets and armies must be supported. It had been asked, "Can you devise any better mode of raising the supplies?" Though it did not fall within his department to bring forward schemes of finance, he felt no hesitation in declaring, that the only constitutional mode was to persevere in the old way, by loan, with the payment of interest, with a sinking fund kept inviolate and inalienable. Mr. Fox expatiated fully on the pernicious tendency of the bill, and said, that he had that night attended in consequence of the request of his constituents; but he still retained his opinion, that a general attendance upon that house would be of no service to the country, and therefore he should decline attending in future.

Mr. Pitt having replied to Mr. Fox, animadverted on the secession of the leaders of opposition, and said, as he was unable, at that late hour, to enter into a long detail upon the bill, he should leave it to the decision of the house, which, he said, would, he was sure, be confirmed by the voice of the country. After a desultory conversation, rather than a debate, Mr. Pitt's original motion was put; which was carried by a majority of one hundred and eighty-five! On the motion for the further consideration of the assessed tax bill, the question was put and carried, and the house proceeded to receive clauses by way of riders. After the amendments were read, the bill passed.

The assessed tax bill was brought into the house of lords on the 9th, when, after a short debate, the house divided, and there appeared for the bill fifty, proxies twenty-three—seventy-three; against it, six—majority, sixty-seven.

The earl of Oxford and lord Holland entered a protest against the bill.

On the 3rd of April, in the house of commons, Mr. Wilberforce, in pursuance of notice, moved for leave to bring in a bill "for the abolition of the slave trade, at a time to be limited." After some debate, a division took place, for Mr. Wilberforce's motion, eighty-three; against it, eighty-seven; majority, four.

The most important subject which now claimed the attention of parliament, was the proposition from the chancellor of the exchequer, for the redemption of the land-tax, which he opened in the house of commons on the 2nd of April. Having premised that the object of the measure he had to propose was to invigorate public credit, to facilitate the means whereby we were to continue the struggle with a most implacable enemy, and to animate the spirit of the people, by shewing the strength of our resources; he said, his proposition was to convert the land-tax into a perpetual annuity, which should be equally destined to the public service, and in making this conversion to produce a large pecuniary advantage to the public. He wished, he said, by diminishing the quantity of stock in the market, to remove the pressure which, of all others, was most sensibly felt. This ill-adjusted and unequal tax was so plausibly introduced, that the bill for that purpose was enacted, in defiance of many strong objections from different members.

This bill came under the consideration of the house of lords on the 11th and 12th of the same month, passed on the 12th, and was ordered back to the commons. A protest was entered against it, on the journals of the house, by several noble lords.

On the 29th of June his majesty came to the house of peers, and after having delivered, from the throne, a speech to both houses, the lord chancellor, by his majesty's command, prorogued the parliament.

The spirit of rebellion in Ireland, was about this time, productive of every species of evil that can annoy society, or bring destruction on mankind, collectively or individually. Such were the outrages committed on persons and property in the villages, that the inhabitants who had any possessions in them, were under the necessity of relinquishing their homes, and taking shelter in the great towns; in consequence of which Queen's County, and the County of Tipperary were in the month of May almost totally deserted; and this emigration had come to such a height, that in the latter county, a proclamation was issued, charging persons with cowardice for leaving their houses, and desiring such emigrants to return within forty-eight hours.

The king's troops assisted by the yeomen of Ireland, having greatly repressed the audacity of the rebels, their leaders perceived their cause was losing ground, and that they must either hazard an insurrection, or resign their hopes. The arrest of the Leinster provincial committee, and several other leading members of the union, on the same day, tended so much to disclose the guilt of the party, that the conspirators resolved, without delay, to make one desperate effort. Their intention was to surprize Dublin, the camp at Loughlingstown, and the artillery station at Chapelizod, on the same night. The insurrection being commenced near the metropolis, (the signal for announcing which, was to be the detention of the mail coaches,) it was supposed that the north and south would also rise. The lord lieutenant was to be seized, and all the privy council, separately in their own houses; and the night of the 23rd of May was resolved on for the execution of this design.

The government informed of the purpose of the conspirators, caused several of the leaders to be apprehended on the 19th and 21st of May; and on the 22nd, the lord lieutenant sent a message to both houses of parliament, informing them of the intended insurrection. Notwithstanding many military precautions, it took place in the neighbourhood of Dublin, on the night appointed, and every possible effort was made by the disaffected within the town, to co-operate with those without; the party in the provinces using, at the same time, every exertion, to incite the people into action.

The measures adopted in the metropolis prevented any movement whatever; but acts of open rebellion were committed in the counties of Dublin, Meath, and Kildare. About half past two, on the morning of the 24th, a regular attack was made by a rebel force upon the town of Naas, where lord Gosford commanded, with part of the Armagh militia, and detachments of the fourth dragoon guards, and Ancient Britons. The rebels consisted of about one thousand men, armed with musquets and pikes, and made their attack with great regularity, but were repulsed by the Armagh militia, with the loss of near two hundred men; they made another unsuccessful attack the next day, and had almost an equal number slain. There was also an attack made on a party of the ninth dragoons, which suffered much, but after some time, general Dundas was enabled to come up with a considerable body of the rebels, near the hills of Kilcullen, where they were entirely routed with considerable loss. Several bodies of rebels collected in the course of the night, in different parts near Dublin, which were attacked and dispersed with some loss; and some prisoners and horses were taken. A party of them, however, assembled on the border of the county of Dublin, near Dunboyne, overpowered some constables, and took the baggage of two companies, guarded by a small party of fencibles; and having committed many outrages, several of them were killed, but as the body remained undispersed, the lord lieutenant issued a proclamation, directing, that all persons, acting, aiding, or assisting in the rebellion, should be punished according to martial law. The insurgents appeared in the neighbourhood of Baltinglass to the amount of four or five hundred; a party of the Antrim militia were sent to attack them; and while these troops were advancing upon them, in the town of Stratford, captain Stratford appeared at the other end of the town, with part of his corps. The rebels being thus attacked on both sides, were completely routed, having upwards of one hundred killed, and many wounded. Near Hacketstown, three hundred were left dead on the field, and about

four

four hundred to the north of Dublin, on the hill of Taragh, among whom was the commanding officer, in his uniform.

In the beginning of June the insurrection broke out in great force in the county of Wexford, and the rebels assembled in considerable numbers; it was supposed at least four thousand, and many of them mounted. Colonel Campbell, at Athy, had partial engagements with the rebels; and many of them were defeated at Monastereven and Carlow, with considerable loss. Near Kildare, three hundred, and near Newton-Ards five hundred were slain, who had descended from Vinegar-hill (*w*).

A victory was obtained over them by sir James Duff, who with infinite alacrity had opened the communication with Limerick, and arriving at Kildare, while the rebels had possession of it, completely routed them, and became master of the place.

A proclamation was now issued by the principal Roman catholic inhabitants, exhorting the deluded people to return to their duty and allegiance; and declaring their determination to stand or fall with the present existing constitution; in consequence of which, the rebels on the Curragh of Kildare, surrendered their arms, and delivered up a number of their leaders.

On the 18th of June major-general Lake was fiercely attacked by the rebels in his position at New Ross; but after a contest of several hours, they were completely repulsed, with great loss. Lord Mountjoy fell in the beginning of the contest. A party of rebels, consisting principally of protestant dissenters, took possession of Antrim, which, however, they soon lost. At Balinah-Inch, about four thousand men were routed, by fifteen hundred under major-general Nugent; and the northern insurrection was speedily suppressed.

In these encounters the king's troops sustained considerable loss in killed and wounded, among whom were some officers of distinction; and, particularly lord viscount O'Neil, governor of the county, who died of a wound with a pike, from his own park-keeper.

Shortly after their expulsion from Antrim, the insurgents quarrelled, and out of two thousand who were in arms, the commander could only retain fifty; the rest having left the camp, destroyed their arms, and declared that they never would again carry an offensive weapon against his majesty or his loyal subjects.

About the time of the last engagement in the north, general Needham was opposed to a great body of rebels, near Arklow. On the 10th of June they made their approach in two large columns, while the whole intermediate space, embracing his entire front, was crowded by a rabble, armed with pikes and musquets, and bearing down without any regular order. The general's position was very strong: as soon as they were come within a short distance, he opened a heavy fire of grape shot, which continued for two hours and a half, when the enemy fled in all directions, after the fall of about three hundred and fifty of their associates. The Durham fencibles were much applauded for their intrepidity and firmness on this occasion.

On the 20th, marquis Cornwallis arrived in Dublin, in the capacity both of commander-in-chief, and lord lieutenant of Ireland. The public virtues of this distinguished nobleman; his military talents, and also the peculiar moderation and mildness of his character, are well known.

The following day, the great rebel camp, near Wexford, was attacked by the king's troops, under colonel Moore, and vanquished after an action of an hour and a half. The rebels fled with precipitation, and left several pieces of cannon behind them. Colonel Moore then pushed on to Wexford, which had been in possession of the rebels, and entered it so opportunely, as to prevent its being laid in ashes, and hinder the massacre of the remaining prisoners by the rebels, who on the preceding day, had murdered upwards of seventy of them in cold blood, and thrown their bodies over the bridge. The rebels having fled from Wexford, on the approach of colonel Moore, sent a proposal to general Lake, commander-in-chief of the king's troops, importing that they were ready to lay down their arms, and return to their allegiance, provided their persons and properties were duly guaranteed; on which conditions, they would endeavour to induce the people of the country to return to their duty. To this proposal general Lake replied, that he could not attend to any terms offered by rebels in arms against their sovereign; but, to the deluded multitude, he promised pardon, on delivering into his hands their leaders, surrendering their arms, and returning with sincerity to their allegiance.

Various actions took place from this period to the close of August, in some of which his majesty's troops experienced partial defeats; but the rebel party were generally routed with great loss. Many of the leaders of the conspiracy, now despairing of their cause, consented to make a voluntary confession of all the circumstances within their knowledge; and it is from their own account, given on oath, that we are enabled to state the rise and progress of this rebellion, and the correspondence carried on with France. On condition of a full disclosure of what they knew, they were permitted to migrate to some country to be agreed on between them and government, giving security never to return to Ireland without permission of his majesty's ministers; and thus this formidable rebellion was quelled in a considerable degree, but not entirely.

A great deal of information was given by the principal leaders; as it appeared from the examinations of Dr. M'Nevin, Mr. Arthur O'Connor, Mr. Neilson, counsellor Emmet, and many others, that an executive directory of the Irish union was instituted at an early period of the discontents, of which lord Edward Fitzgerald, Dr. M'Nevin, Arthur O'Connor, and Mr. Emmet, were members; that in the year 1796, lord Edward Fitzgerald and Mr. Arthur O'Connor, set out for Paris, in order to negociate with the executive directory of France, for the invasion of Ireland by a French force; but that fearful of a discovery of their intention, they proceeded no farther than the Rhine, where they met general Hoche, to whom they communicated the object of their mission; that that officer formed arrangements with the executive directory; that a fleet with general Hoche and a formidable army on board, was, in consequence of those arrangements, sent to Ireland in the month of December following: but not being expected by the directory of the union, till the spring of 1797, the people were not prepared to receive the enemy when they arrived at Bantry Bay. That Dr. M'Nevin afterwards went to France on a similar mission, and succeeded in obtaining a promise from the directory, that another attempt should be made; that a fleet was accordingly fitted out in the Texel, and several thousand men embarked on board of it, for the purpose of invading Ireland; that the troops, after remaining some time on board were disembarked; that the fleet, which was under the command of admiral De Winter, put to sea without the troops (probably for the purpose of giving battle to the British squadron, and with the hope of clearing the way for the transports to come out); and that the result was, the glorious victory achieved by admiral Duncan on the 11th of October. It appears also from the report, that the real object of the union had all along been the accomplishment of a revolution, and the separation of Ireland from Great Britain; that parliamentary reform and catholic emancipation had been used as mere delusive veils to cover their designs; that the French directory, between whom and the directory of the union, a regular correspondence for some time had been kept up, on being applied to for a loan to enable the promoters of the rebellion to effect the proposed revolution, refused to comply with the request, unless they were permitted to send an army of sufficient force to take possession of the country as a conquest to their arms; and, finally, that there was at that moment, an agent from the united Irishmen residing in Paris. These were the leading points of the report of the secret committee, and which left no doubt of the real designs of the chief actors concerned in the rebellion.

In the month of September, when the faint sparks of the rebellion could hardly be perceived, about a thousand French troops and general Humbert (*x*) landed from three frigates in the Bay of Killala, and succeeded in taking possession of the town of that name, and the palace of the

(*w*) Vinegar-hill, near Enniscorthy, was, for several weeks, the chief station of the southern revolters, and the scene of their vindictive barbarities.

(*x*) The design of the French in conjunction with the united Irishmen will appear evident from the following orders signed by general Humbert.

"LIBERTY, EQUALITY—ARMY OF IRELAND.

"At the head-quarters at Castlebar, 14 Fructidor, the 6th year of the French republic, one and indivisible.

"General Humbert, commander in chief of the army of Ireland, orders as follows:

1. "The

the venerable bishop of the diocese, in which he and his family were confined as prisoners: but the French general was obliged to submit to the king's troops under the command of general Lake, who being greatly superior in number, obtained a complete victory over them in the battle of Ballinamuck with a very trifling loss; while that of the enemy must have been very considerable, as no less than twenty-four principal officers were taken prisoners; and a great number of subalterns, the whole amounting, according to the estimate of their own Chéf de Brigade to eight hundred and forty-four. The enemy, in their retreat before the king's troops were compelled to abandon nine pieces of cannon, which they had taken in former actions with his majesty's forces.

In the morning of the 16th, a French national brig called the Anacreon, having on board general Rey, and the notorious James Napper Tandy, Chéf de Brigade, appeared off the little town and island of Rutland, on the north-west coast of the county of Donegal, a place so utterly unnoticed, except for its convenience for the herring-fishery, as not to be defended by a single soldier. When the crew of the brig, who were principally Irish, made good their landing, they solicited information respecting the French army which had landed at Killala. Nothing could equal their dejection when they were informed that the whole French force had been destroyed, and that they had been joined by comparatively very few of their Irish rebel friends. The Anacreon was laden with many stand of arms to supply those who were willing to join the French army; but such was the caution or the terror of the country people, that as soon as the French appeared, they retired to the mountains. Napper Tandy and his friends were now fully convinced that the inhabitants of Rutland were not disposed to further their designs; they deemed it most prudent to reimbark, and thus ended this rash attempt (*y*).

Frustrated in their plans of invasion by the French, and defeated in their own efforts to effect a revolution in their country, the united Irishmen now considered their cause as truly desperate. They continued, however, to commit depredations, and perpetuate their usual cruelties; sallying forth occasionally, and skirmishing with parties of the king's troops under a leader of the name of Holt; but being always repulsed in their attempts, their constant resource was to flee to the bogs, mountains, and recesses, and thereby escape the vengeance of their pursuers. But all their hopes were defeated, by the capture of a French fleet, by sir John Borlase Warren, which had sailed from Brest, with a formidable armament for the purpose of a more powerful invasion than had been previously attempted; and which, had a landing been effected, would probably have revived the rebellion, and perhaps have been the means of going near to effect the designs of the enemy in severing that island from the British empire; but by the capture of this fleet, the rebels received their final overthrow.

The hostile armament of the French was composed of a ship of the line and eight frigates, with a military force, and a great quantity of stores. Sir John successfully engaged and captured the principal ship and six frigates. Wolfe Tone, one of the establishers of the seditious society, being taken with the French, was tried by a court martial, and sentenced to die the death of a felon, an ignominy which he thought proper to avoid by being his own executioner.

Having given a full account of the rise and overthrow of the Irish rebellion, we must now advert to the affairs of the continent. Holland was completely revolutionized, the principles of the new constitution, according to late decrees, were to be the abolition of the respective sovereignty of the provinces, and of the feudal system; the exclusion of the Orange party, and the enemies of the sovereignty of the people, from the right of voting for ten years after the acceptance of the constitution; a plan of a new system of finance, founded on the relative abilities of individuals; the abolition of provincial quotas; the separation of the legislative, executive, and judicial powers; an annual responsibility for the public expenditure; a strict alliance with the French republic, &c.

The Batavian constituent assembly established its new government on a variety of constitutional bases: the last and most important of which was, "That there shall be a strict union between the French and the Batavian republics, in such a manner, that the latter, though considered as completely free, can entertain no political or commercial connection with the enemies of France; and that, in future, the two republics shall consider the cause of either as a common cause."

It appeared by authentic accounts, about this period, that the war in Switzerland might be considered as terminated. The cantons of Berne, Zurich, Basle, Fribourg, and Soleure, having been forced to yield, the smaller cantons were following their example. Uri, Lucerne, Schaffhausen, Underwalden, Glaris, and the town of Winterther, had now declared in favour of the French system of liberty and equality. Lucerne, which seemed the most resolute in opposition, seeing itself deserted by the other cantons, would make no further attempts to resist the French, but merely guard its own frontiers. The loss of the Swiss, in the late different engagements, was estimated at seven thousand, among whom were about four hundred women. The Swiss fought with a bravery worthy their ancestors; and many of them refused to accept quarter. The whole of the Swiss cantons had now indeed declared, that they were willing to accept the plan of a constitution prepared for them at Paris.

In Italy, the French pursued their revolutionary system in the same manner. Early in the month of February, the pope left Rome with an escort suitable to his age and dignity, and proceeded to Florence, where he took up a temporary residence. On the 15th, the people repaired in great crowds to the place Campo Varino. There they proclaimed their liberty with shouts, that the Roman republic was resuscitated by an act signed by several thou-

1. "The government of Connaught shall reside at Castlebar, till further orders.
2. "It shall be composed of twelve members, to be nominated by the commander in chief of the French army.
3. "Citizen John Moore is appointed president.
4. "Provisions are required for the French and Irish armies.
5. "Eight regiments of infantry and four of cavalry shall be raised.
6. "The government will declare rebels and traitors all those who, having received arms or cloathing, shall not join the army in twenty-four hours.
7. "Every individual, from sixteen to forty, is called upon to repair to the French camp, to march in a mass against the English."

(*y*) The following are copies of two proclamations which they issued: they are each headed by an harp surmounted by the cap of liberty, and bearing the motto *Erin go Bragh:* that is, *Ireland for ever.*

LIBERTY OR DEATH.

Northern Army of Avengers.

Head Quarters, the First Year of Irish Liberty.

"UNITED IRISHMEN,

"The soldiers of the great nation have landed on your coast, well supplied with arms and ammunition of all kinds: with artillery worked by men who have spread terror amongst the ranks of the best troops in Europe; headed by French officers, they come to break your fetters, and restore you to the blessings of liberty.

"James Napper Tandy is at their head. He has sworn to lead them on to victory or to die. Brave Irishmen! the friends of liberty have left their native soil to assist you in reconquering your rights. They will brave all dangers, and glory at the sublime idea of cementing your happiness with their blood.

"French blood shall not flow in vain: To arms!—Freemen, to arms! the trumpet calls; let not your friends be butchered unassisted; if they are doomed to fall in this most glorious struggle, let their death be useful to your cause, and their bodies serve as footsteps to the temple of Irish liberty.

"GEN. REY,
"In the name of the French officers and soldiers now on the coast of Ireland."

LIBERTY OR DEATH!

Northern Army of Avengers!

Head Quarters, the First Year of Irish Liberty.

GEN. J. N. TANDY *to his* COUNTRYMEN.

"*United Irishmen!*

"What do I hear? The British government have dared to speak of concessions! Would you accept of them?

"Can you think of entering into a treaty with a British minister; a minister too, who has left you at the mercy of an English soldiery, who has laid your cities waste, and massacred inhumanly your best citizens—a minister, the bane of society, and the scourge of mankind. Behold, Irishmen . . . he holds in one hand the olive of peace; be aware, his other hand lies concealed, armed with a poniard. No, Irishmen, no!—you shall not be the dupes of his base intrigues. Unable to subdue your courage, he attempts to seduce you; let his efforts be vain.

"Horrid crimes have been perpetrated in your country. Your friends have fallen a sacrifice to their devotion for your cause. Their shadows are around you, and call aloud for vengeance.

"It is your duty to avenge their death. It is your duty to strike on their blood-cemented thrones the murderers of your friends.

"Listen to no proposals, Irishmen; wage a war of extermination against your oppressors, the war of liberty against tyranny, and liberty shall triumph!

"J. N. TANDY."

sands

sands of the citizens. The tree of liberty was afterwards planted before the capitol, and in several of the public places. But this afterwards appeared to be rather the effect of the phrenzy of the moment, than a deliberate act founded on a rational conviction of its propriety.

On the 4th of May, general Bonaparte set out from Paris; and on the 19th embarked at Toulon, on board admiral Brueyès's ship l'Orient, (formerly the Sans Culottes,) a three-decker. The fleet set sail with a favourable wind. The transports, with the infantry and cavalry, got under weigh at day-break, with eight frigates. This formidable armament, which was intended for the invasion of Egypt, consisted of fifteen ships of the line and eighteen frigates. The transports, to the number of four hundred, were off Hieries. An immense number of infantry, with artillery, vast quantities of mortars, howitzers, furnaces, bombs, grape and cannister-shot, and other ammunition, were put on board. Men of letters, astronomers, geometricians, and artists of every sort, also embarked. The convoy from Genoa consisted of thirty-eight sail, with ten thousand men on board. Kleber, Berthier, and other generals, had also embarked.

The general-in-chief, Bonaparte, harangued the officers and soldiery, previous to their embarkation, in the following spirited terms:—"Soldiers! you form one of the wings of the army of England; you have braved the perils of war on mountains, on plains, and in sieges. There now only remains a naval war, in which you are equally to signalize yourselves. The Roman legions, whom you have sometimes imitated, but whom you have not yet equalled, alternately fought Carthage on this same sea; and, on the plains of Zama, victory never deserted them, because they uniformly evinced themselves courageous, patient of fatigue, disciplined, and united among themselves.—Soldiers! Europe has its eyes fixed on you. You have a high destiny to fulfil, battles to engage in, dangers to brave, fatigues to encounter. You will perform more than you have hitherto done for the prosperity of the country, for the happiness of mankind, and for your own glory.—Soldiers, sailors, infantry, cavalry, artillery! be firm and united; and do not forget that in the day of battle, you will stand in need of each other's help. Military seamen, *(soldats matelots,)* you have hitherto been neglected; but at present the republic has nothing more anxiously at heart than your welfare. You will, no doubt, shew yourselves worthy of the army of which you form a part. The Genius of Liberty, which rendered the republic, from its very birth, the arbitress of Europe, intends also to make it the arbitress of the seas, and of the most distant countries!"

The fleet arriving at Malta on the 9th of June, a request was made by the French general for water, which was refused by the grand-master, who declared ironically, he could admit but two ships into the port. On the 10th, the French were on shore early in the morning, and Malta was invested, and the town cannonaded in all quarters. The besieged made a sally, in which general Marmont, at the head of the nineteenth brigade, took the standard of the order. On the 11th, the knights surrendered the town and port, as well as their property in the island, to the French republic. The victors found at Malta two vessels, one frigate, four gallies, twelve hundred pieces of cannon, and forty thousand muskets.

After the French fleet had quitted Malta, no intelligence was received concerning it till the 31st of August, when a letter arrived at the East India House, from Mr. Tooke, the company's agent at Constantinople, dated July the 23rd; stating from the report of the captain of the port of Alexandria (*z*), who had escaped from thence to Cyprus, from whence he had forwarded a dispatch to Constantinople, that Bonaparte actually disembarked at Alexandria, on or about the 8th of July, from fifteen to twenty thousand men. Bonaparte's fleet, ships of war, and transports, were stated to be near three hundred sail.

The French directory, flushed with success, had meditated a chimerical plan of extending their arms to the wilds of Arabia, subjugating Egypt, and, as many conjectured, of pursuing their passage to the East Indies, where they indulged an idea of ransacking all the territories of the English company, and returning home with an enormous quantity of plunder.

In consequence of the landing of the French troops, the Grand Signior, enraged at the insolent conduct of the directory, issued a memorial, which was delivered to all the foreign ministers (*a*). The memorial was followed by a declaration on the part of the Porte against the French, and an imperial decree was issued for pursuing the most vigorous measures to attack them by sea and land.

In the spring an expedition was undertaken, to annoy the possessors of the Netherlands. When planned in the British cabinet, it was entrusted to captain Popham of the royal navy, and major-general Eyre Coote, as commander-in-chief of the land forces, who, in conjunction, had it in charge to repair with a squadron of ships, and a select number of troops, to Ostend, in order to destroy the gates and sluices of the canal of Bruges, by which means their communication with the Netherlands would be very materially obstructed. The squadron reached Ostend on the morning of the 19th, and through the judicious management of captain Popham, and the exertions of the officers and seamen under his command, the greater part of the troops were speedily disembarked, the sluices were completely destroyed, and the object of the expedition thereby attained, with the loss of only five men killed and wounded. The commander-in-chief then sent a summons to the town of Ostend, to surrender, and received for answer from the French commandant, that it was the unanimous resolution of the council of war sitting on the occasion, not to surrender the place till they were buried under its ruins. The British troops, on their return to the beach the next day, found, that from an increase of wind and surf, their communication with the fleet was nearly cut off, and that it was impossible to re-imbark the troops. Thus perilously situated, every effort was made for annoying the enemy in their approach to an attack. About four in the morning, two strong columns of the enemy advanced on their front, with several other columns on their flanks. A severe conflict was maintained for two hours, till the British troops, being overpowered by numbers, their left and right flanks were completely turned; and, at the moment that general Coote had put himself at the head of the eleventh regiment, to regain the advantageous ground from which they had retreated; at that very critical period, he received a very severe wound in his thigh, and being unable to proceed, he sent for major-general Burrard, who finding that the enemy was pouring down upon them on all sides, and several valuable officers, and many of the best men were killed and wounded, thought it prudent to surrender; for had the British troops persisted but a short time longer in the conflict, their fate would have been decided by the bayonet. Several officers of rank were wounded; two of them mortally; about thirty privates, and twelve seamen (including petty officers,) were killed, and fifty wounded. The number of those who surrendered prisoners of war, including officers, amounted to upwards of eleven hundred.

But the loss sustained in this expedition, was amply compensated by the conquests and captures made by the

(*z*) The sandy shore at Alexandria being almost level with the sea, nothing of the beach is seen till you are almost in the harbour, which is very precarious, being little sheltered, and very rocky; the bottom is so much so, as to make it necessary to under-run every cable, and to moor opposite the castle with four cables, two a-head, two a-stern, lashed to others as far as four anchors are carried, and a buoy of some sort to each lashing. Thus every cable crossing each other, form quite a net, and would employ one ship's company two days at least to anchor; but it is a rule to send from the ships in harbour as many men as can be spared to assist the vessel coming in, it is so exposed, and there is sometimes so much swell, as to cause great confusion and distress. No boats can come off or land at this time, nor do the Turks desire they should, as they wish to see your vessel lost, in expectation of plunder. There is very little provision to be had of any kind: water is so extremely scarce, that you are obliged to purchase it at a dear rate, and the Turks, if you are not attentive, will put in salt water to increase the profits.

(*a*) The following is a copy of the memorial: "The Porte, as all Europe knows, has long continued at peace with France, and on terms of the strictest amity and good understanding; which good understanding it has done every thing in its power to maintain. With the utmost surprize, therefore, has it seen the Turkish territories abruptly, and in a most extraordinary manner, attacked by the French arms.

"A man of the name of Bonaparte, giving himself out to be a French general, has made war on the Turkish province of Egypt. It is impossible for the Porte to believe that such a proceeding, so contrary to the rights of all nations, can ever be countenanced, much less commanded, by the French executive directory. A considerable force has, however, been sent to Egypt, to stop the progress of the invaders.

"Some of the emissaries of Bonaparte have pretended to persuade the people of Egypt, that they have been sent by Mohammed to give them perfect liberty and happiness, and render their religion the sovereign religion on earth; but the people have answered, that Mohammed authorises no injustice; and that they can place no faith in such promises from those who have denied their God, and renounced their own prophet."

Constantinople, Sept. 2.

British navy; which may be said, in the truest sense of the phrase, to have maintained the empire of the seas, while one grand achievement at length crowned the whole. After receiving intelligence of the conquest of Malta, and the departure of the French fleet from that island, a squadron was dispatched in pursuit of them, by admiral lord St. Vincent, from his fleet, under the command of rear-admiral sir Horatio Nelson. A long time elapsed before he fell in with them; and, in the interval, the public mind was universally agitated, for the result of an expedition so highly important to the interests of Great Britain.

After a long search for the fleet of the republic, he at last discovered it in the Bay of Aboukir, near the mouth of the Nile. He instantly directed his course towards them, and found them at anchor; in a line extending from N. W. to S. E. They were at single anchor, with springs on their cables, and riding head to wind, which was from the north-west. To approach them, it was necessary to sail round an island, and a reef which projected from it, to the distance of several miles from the point on which the small fort of Aboukir stands. The wind was perfectly fair both for this, and for approaching the fleet; but, unfortunately, in rounding the reef the Culloden, the leading ship, commanded by the gallant Trowbridge, ran aground, and could not take a part in the action. After this accident, admiral Nelson had only ten ships (three having fallen several leagues astern) to fight thirteen of the enemy, and several of these of superior force to any of those under his command.

The island also, fortified with two mortars, and some heavy guns, was to be passed within gun-shot; but he determined on an immediate assault, and made the signal to attack the van and centre of the enemy. It was nearly six in the evening when he closed with them. About half the number of his ships got between the enemy and the shore, either by cutting through their line, or sailing round the head of it, and the rest attacked on the outside. All dropped their anchors, so as to place themselves opposite and close to their opponents; one of the ships, in passing, destroyed the carved work of the enemy's stern. By this disposition all that were engaged on the land side were taken unprepared; the Zealous fired three broadsides before a gun was returned from that side.

The enemy began their efforts as soon as our ships came within shot. The Zealous dismasted the Guerrier, the headmost ship of the enemy's line, in three broadsides, and she was completely beaten in five minutes. Their six headmost ships were taken possession of the first night (remaining still at anchor), and L'Orient blew up, when the awe of the explosion produced a cessation of firing; but the conflict was speedily renewed. The next morning, at day-light, the action recommenced, and other ships were taken or destroyed; nor did the battle terminate till the forenoon of the third day, (August, the 3rd, when the enemy's rear was compelled either to surrender or run. Two ships of the line, and two frigates, by their being less disabled in their masts and rigging than our ships; escaped, though they were pursued. All the captured ships were dismasted. The Timoleon shared the fate of L'Orient; and those of her crew who swam to the shore, were said to be massacred by the Arabs. The advantages held out to Nelson by the French admiral were great indeed. If he could not have made such a disposition of his fleet at anchor, as to command the bay of Aboukir, he should have got his fleet under sail, that every ship might have had a chance of coming into action. As it was stationed, his line was so disposed as to lie in the direction of the wind, whilst Nelson had the option of attacking the line to the windward; and, of course, of throwing out of the action all the leeward ships, which, being tied down at anchor by their faulty disposition, could not repair to the assistance of those which were attacked; in consequence of which, the different parts of their line were beaten in succession; and victory inclined in favour of the English. In this action, seven ships of seventy-four guns each, were taken; one of eighty, and one of seventy-four were burned, besides a frigate of thirty-six guns, and another of the same force, that was sunk. One ship of eighty guns, one of seventy-four, one of forty-eight, and one of forty-four guns escaped.

The French began with great intrepidity; their admiral and commander-in-chief Brueyes was killed by a cannon-ball; many officers of rank fell, and the general slaughter was immense, all the ships that were engaged being greatly shattered. Admiral Nelson was wounded on the head, and obliged to be carried off the deck; but the service suffered no loss by the event, through the skill and intrepidity of captain Berry, the admiral's captain. The number of killed and wounded on board the British fleet, was, killed, sixteen officers, one hundred and fifty-six seamen, forty-six marines; wounded, thirty-seven officers, five hundred and sixty-two seamen, seventy-eight marines: Total, eight hundred and ninety-five. The killed and wounded of the enemy could not be ascertained, but without doubt it was very great. They also lost their admiral, while the victors lamented the death of captain Westcott.

This triumph diffused over the world, the renown of Nelson, and crowned the British seamen with immortal honour. The exertions of the gallant admiral, and the intrepid combatants who manned his fleet, furnished a lasting topic of conversation.

This victory was the most splendid and decisive of a series, in which, in the course of five years, such a number of French ships of the line were taken, as were alone sufficient to form a considerable navy; and had reduced the maritime power of France, from being the second in Europe, below that of Russia, and to a level with that of Sweden. It frustrated all attempts of invasion, and defeated the chimerical project of the directory of France concerning Egypt. The gallant admiral obtained the reward he so justly merited in a peerage and pension, and his name will be transmitted with honour to posterity (*b*).

To complete the success of the year, the fortress of Cittadella, and the island of Minorca, surrendered by capitulation on the 15th of November, to general Stuart and commodore Duckworth. This important event was accomplished without the loss of a single man; the Spaniards on the island, though they had a great superiority of force, not choosing to make any material resistance. There were found in the fortress immense quantities of stores and ammunition.

On the morning of the 19th of February, 1798, the lord mayor, attended by a numerous body of respectable merchants and bankers, appeared upon a temporary hustings, erected in the Royal Exchange, for the purpose of promoting the voluntary contributions recommended for the service of the country. The area of the Exchange was crouded with the most respectable merchants and traders of London, to the number of many hundreds. The lord mayor, in a concise speech, having stated the object of the meeting, Mr. Bosanquet observed, that they were now called upon, in a crisis of danger and difficulty, to step forward in defence of their country. The merchants of London, he declared, would ever support the high character for patriotism and liberality, which they had so successfully established; and he hoped that the present subscription would not only aid the public

(*b*) Shortly after the news arrived in England, a message was sent to parliament by his majesty, intimating that he had granted a pension of 2000*l. per annum* to lord Nelson, and to his two next heirs, in consideration of the eminent services of his lordship, which grant they resolved to establish.

We cannot suppress our inclination of communicating to the public, the particulars of the polite attention shewn by the king of Naples to admiral Nelson. His majesty's ship the Culloden, captain Trowbridge, the Alexander, captain Ball, and the frigate Bon Citoyenne, came into the port of Naples, on the eighteenth of September. His Sicilian majesty went out in his boat into the bay to meet them, as did numerous English and Neapolitan boats. The ships gave the royal salute to his majesty. Admiral sir Horatio Nelson, in the Vanguard, accompanied by the Thalia frigate, did not make his appearance in the bay till the 22nd, having been becalmed off Sicily. The king of Naples not only went off to meet the admiral, but instantly went on board the Vanguard, and continued on board till that vessel was at anchor in the port. The royal salute was given by all the king's ships, both on his Sicilian majesty's arrival on board the Vanguard, and on his leaving the ship. The day being remarkably fine, a great number of boats, with colours and music, attended the Vanguard, and all the shores and wharfs of Naples were crouded with a multitude of rejoicing people; and when the admiral came on shore, the Neapolitans received him with unbounded applause.

His majesty's ship, the Leander, of fifty guns, captain Thomson, on her voyage from the Nile, with dispatches from lord Nelson, nobly contended with the Généreux French man of war, of seventy-four guns, one of the ships which escaped from the battle of Aboukir, but, after a long and spirited resistance, was compelled to surrender to the enemy. The loss of the Leander, in this action, was three officers, twenty-four seamen, one serjeant, and seven marines, killed; seven officers, forty-one seamen, and nine marines, wounded; that of the Généreux was one hundred men killed, and one hundred and eighteen wounded.

service

service in a very material degree, but, as a proof of the general feelings and sentiments of the country, would be universal. Mr. Bosanquet concluded his speech with proposing several resolutions, stating the necessity of the subscription, from the conduct of the enemy; and proposing that books should be opened at the Exchange for subscriptions, to be afterwards forwarded to the bank of England; recommending, at the same time, to all bodies corporate, mayors, and chief officers of cities and towns in the kingdom, to call meetings, and promote subscriptions in their respective districts. The resolutions were unanimously agreed to, accompanied by the loudest plaudits. The thanks of the meeting were then returned to the lord mayor, and books were immediately opened, to which great numbers appeared crowding to be among the foremost of the subscribers.

At the dissolution of the meeting, four separate books were opened on the hustings, and, at the close of the day, the exact sum subscribed in cash, was forty-six thousand five hundred and thirty-four pounds fourteen shillings and six-pence. The number of subscribers was two hundred and sixteen, and the subscriptions from one guinea to three thousand pounds, which last sum was the donation of the house of Boyd, Benfield, and Co. with the promise of continuing it annually during the war. Several other subscriptions were also set down as annual.

About this time intelligence arrived from admiral lord Bridport, that l'Hercule of seventy-four guns, a French ship, was taken by the Mars, though the captain of the latter fell in the contest. Lieutenant Butterfield succeeded to the command of l'Hercule, and captain James George Shirley, was appointed to the temporary command of the Mars. L'Hercule contained seven hundred men. Besides captain Hood, captain White of the marines was killed, and lieutenant Argles severely wounded. We had about thirty killed, and as many wounded, most of them dangerously (*c*).

The capture of the Loire, one of the largest and finest frigates belonging to the French republic, was announced by dispatches from captain Durham, after an obstinate action of an hour and a quarter, in which the citizen Joseph Andrien Segone, her commander, fought with great skill and bravery. The ship, which was quite new, was presented by the city of Nantes, pierced for fifty guns, mounting forty-six, having on board six hundred and sixty-four men, troops included. La Loire had forty-eight men killed, and seventy-eight wounded. Our loss was not very considerable. By this conflict, we obtained cloathing complete for three thousand men, one thousand and twenty muskets in cases, two hundred sabres, three hundred and sixty pouches, and a great quantity of ammunition of different kinds.

His majesty was graciously pleased about this time to elevate admiral Nelson to the peerage, by creating him baron Nelson of the Nile, and of Burnham Thorpe, in consideration of the great zeal, courage, and perseverance manifested by him on different occasions; and particularly of his able and gallant conduct in the glorious and decisive victory obtained over the French fleet near the mouth of the Nile.

Gaeta and Capua afterwards yielded to the valour of captain Trowbridge, commanding a little army, composed of English, Russians, Neapolitans, Piedmontese, Swiss, and Ottomans. The French obtained permission to retire into their own country, on condition of not serving again till exchanged.

Early in the morning of the 26th of March, 1799, the French made an attack on the Austrian advanced posts at Santa Lucia and Bussolengo, before the expiration of the truce, but were repulsed with considerable loss at both places. The Austrians had many officers and men killed and wounded. General Kray repulsed the enemy at Leguago, killed two thousand, made two thousand prisoners, took fourteen pieces of cannon, and pursued the remainder of the enemy towards Mantua. The Piedmontese insurgents were now become so formidable against their new lords, as to threaten the capital (*d*).

The court of directors of the East India company, came to the resolution of thanking lord Nelson for the eminent services rendered by him to the company, and to request his acceptance of the sum of ten thousand pounds.

The emperor of Russia having, as a mark of friendship and regard to his majesty, and of esteem and respect towards his majesty's naval service, and particularly towards the officers and crews of the ships who served on the first of August, 1798, under the command of rear-admiral lord Nelson, signified to his majesty's minister at Petersburgh, his desire that the Leander of fifty guns, which, having been engaged in that action, was, after a most gallant and distinguished resistance, captured on its passage home by a French ship of the line of seventy-four guns, and has since been re-captured from the enemy, by his Imperial majesty's arms, at the surrender of Corfu, should be presented to his majesty, in his Imperial majesty's name, with a view to its being restored to his naval service; the king was pleased to accept this distinguished mark of attention and friendship on the part of his ally; and directed that the Leander should be received accordingly, from such officer as the emperor of Russia may direct to deliver the same, to be again placed among the ships composing his majesty's fleet employed in the Mediterranean.

A fresh war having broken out in India, with Tippoo Saib, Seringapatam, his capital, was taken, and himself slain in the assault. The earl of Mornington (since created marquis Wellesley) had made dispositions for counteracting the views of Tippoo; the sultan having received a small force from the Mauritius, and expected further assistance for an attack on the English. Eighteen thousand effective men, of whom twelve thousand were natives of India, marched from the Coromandel coast, under the command of lieutenant-general Harris; and, forming a junction with the troops of the Nizam, reduced some inconsiderable forts on the frontiers of Maissour. Tippoo, about the same time, attacked at Sidasir, a brigade of the army which had been furnished by the governor of Bombay, and was commanded by lieutenant-general James Stuart. Notwithstanding the great superiority of the assailants, in point of number, they were routed, with a loss which far exceeded that of their antagonists.

Tippoo Sultan then hastened to meet the grand army, and encountered the right wing near Malavelli. The engagement, though not sanguinary, terminated in the defeat of the Maissourians. On the approach of general Harris to Seringapatam, another favourable contest occurred to his army. He then commenced the siege of the town, and his enterprize was zealously promoted by the forces from Bombay.

The sultan neither obstructed the march of his enemies, or intercepted their supplies of provisions; an inattention which enabled them to carry on their operations with vigour and alacrity. Serjeant Graham led the forlorn hope with a cheerful countenance, but he received a shot through the head while he was fixing the colour-staff on the breach.

(*c*) On the 16th of October, 1798, the committee appointed to consider the best manner of disposing of the sword which had been presented to the court by admiral lord Nelson, reported the following resolution, which was agreed to unanimously: that the sword delivered to our gallant hero, lord Nelson, by the French admiral M. Blanquet, be put up in the most conspicuous place in the common-council chamber, with the following inscription engraven on a marble tablet:—"The "sword of monsieur Blanquet, the comanding French admiral, in the "glorious engagement off the Nile, on the first of August, 1798, pre-"sented to the court by the right honourable rear-admiral Nelson." The lord mayor was requested to communicate to lord Nelson, the high sense which the court entertained of the invaluable present of this sword, The thanks of the court, and a sword of the value of two hundred guineas, were ordered to be presented to lord Nelson; and the lord mayor requested to order the same, and to present it to the victorious admiral. The thanks of the court was also ordered to be given to captain Berry, and the captains, officers, and seamen, for their important services; and it was also resolved, that the freedom should be presented to captain Berry, in a gold box of the value of one hundred guineas.

(*d*) In the court of King's Bench, sentence was pronounced on the 30th of May, by Mr. justice Grose, on the reverend Gilbert Wakefield, for publishing a malevolent seditious libel, with intent to traduce the government of the country, and the administration of the public affairs of these realms. The offender was therefore adjudged to be committed to Dorchester jail, for the term of two years, and at the end of that term, to give security for his good behaviour for five years; himself in five hundred pounds, and two sureties in two hundred and fifty pounds each; and to continue in such jail till he had given such security.

At the same time, the attorney-general prayed the judgement of the court on Mr. Parry, the proprietor, John Vint, the printer, and George Ross, the publisher of the *Courier* new-spaper, for a paragraph which appeared in that paper, "stating the emperor of Russia to be a tyrant among his own subjects, and ridiculous to the rest of Europe." Mr. justice Grose pronounced the judgement of the court, which was, "that Mr. John Parry do pay the sum of one hundred pounds, and be imprisoned in the King's Bench prison for six calendar months, and enter into security for his good behaviour for five years; himself in five hundred pounds, and two secnrities in two hundred and fifty pounds each; and that John Vint and George Ross be imprisoned in the same prison, each for one calendar month."

The

The alarm attending this circumstance, having roused the sultan, he hastened along the rampart, and saw himself pursued by the grenadiers who had rushed through the breach. He endeavoured to rally the fugitives, and to check the invaders; but without effect, though he impeded their progress for a time. Retiring to the gate of the inner fort, the sultan received several wounds, and while he was aiming a blow at a soldier who was seizing his sword-belt, a ball struck him on the temple, and put a period to his life. The garrison no longer opposed; and the victorious officers eagerly repressed the violence of their men. The most rigid discipline could not prevent irregular acts of depredation; but the riches of the palace were reserved for regular distribution.

A quadruple division of the country was resolved on: the East India company obtained additional territory by this conquest; other parts were allotted to the Nizam and the Mahrattas; and the remaining portion of Tippoo's dominions was bestowed on a prince of that family which had been deprived of its power, by Hyder Ally's usurpation. By this successful enterprize, the British power in the East was established upon a permanent foundationr.

An expedition was about this time fitted out in the West Indies, under the command of lieutenant-general Trigge, and vice-admiral lord Hugh Seymour, consisting of two ships of the line, five frigates, and several transports: it arrived on the 16th of August, off the mouth of the river Surinam; when the fort New Amsterdam, and the town of Paramaribo, the capital of the Dutch colony of Surinam, surrendered by capitulation to the British commanders without attempting any resistance.

But the principal military operation undertaken by Great Britain, in this year, was the expedition fitted out to rescue the United Provinces from the hands of the French. After a long course of preparation, and a farther delay occasioned by unfavourable weather, a descent took place on the coast of North Holland. Seven thousand men, composed of French and Dutch, encountered the invaders; who with difficulty gained the advantage. The enemy had about one thousand killed or wounded, and the British combatants about four hundred and fifty. Sir Ralph Abercrombie intended to attack the Helder fort the next morning; but it was evacuated in the night, leaving our troops a considerable train of artillery. A naval magazine was also abandoned, and thirteen ships of war, with three Indiamen, were taken without opposition.

After making some judicious arrangements, vice-admiral Mitchell immediately stood down into the Texel, and offered battle to the Dutch fleet lying there; the whole of which, consisting of twelve ships of war, surrendered to the British admiral, the Dutch sailors refusing to fight, and compelling their officers to give up their ships for the service of the prince of Orange. Eight of the twelve ships mounted from fifty-four to seventy-four guns.

But as the Hollanders were averse to the restoration of the Stadtholder, few of them submitted to the intruders, the majority threatening a strenuous opposition. For several days, the invading troops could find no shelter, but by digging trenches in the sand; though they afterwards obtained more comfortable quarters. While they were waiting for reinforcements, they were vigorously attacked by a force of about twelve thousand men; but the English defended themselves so resolutely, that eight hundred of the assailants were killed or wounded, while only four hundred suffered on the part of the opponents. The guards acquired great honour in this engagement.

The duke of York now arrived in Holland with three brigades, and took the command of the army: a Russian army also disembarked. The allied host now amounting to thirty-five thousand men, the duke and general d'Herman was eager for an action. The Russians began with great impetuosity, making great havoc, and pushing forward to Bergen: Abercrombie's column penetrated to Hoorn; and the other two columns were successful in their attacks. But the rashness of the Russians exposed them to unnecessary danger, and obliged the whole force to retreat. About two thousand of the enemy were killed or wounded, and three thousand taken prisoners. Upwards of one thousand British soldiers were killed, wounded, or captured; and of the Russians about two thousand.

In another action, the army moved to the attack in four columns, under Abercrombie, d'Essen, Dundas, and Pulteney. The hostile force consisted of twenty-five thousand, including French and Dutch; the former were commanded by general Brune, and the latter by Daendels. The main body of the first column were not much opposed in the early part of the day; but, when sir Ralph Abercrombie approached Egmont, he met with violent opposition from a strong corps of French infantry, aided by a body of cavalry, and a train of artillery upon the beach. A smart conflict took place in the vicinity of Bergen: the brigades of major-general Coote, and the earl of Chatham, charged the enemy in flank and rear, and occasioned a confused retreat

At length the cavalry were baffled in an attack upon the British horse-artillery, and were gallantly driven towards Egmont, by lord Paget, with considerable loss. Night terminated the engagement, and the troops rested upon their arms. At day-break, the English and Russians were enabled to take several posts, in consequence of the retreat of the enemy. The number killed and wounded of the British combatants, amounted to upwards of one thousand three hundred and fifty. Six hundred Russians were killed or captured; but, the loss of the French and Dutch was said to be much greater.

The Russians had a considerable share in a conflict which happened on the 6th of October: they were so vigorously resisted by the enemy, that sir Ralph Abercrombie found it necessary to advance with a strong body to their relief. The action, from that moment, became general along the line, from Lemmen to the sea; but the invaders were left masters of the field. Of the Russians, about three hundred and eighty were killed, and seven hundred and thirty-five wounded. Of the British, about one hundred were killed, and seven hundred and twenty-five wounded: six hundred were also missing.

General Brune's army was rendered formidable after this action, as a considerable body of men had now joined it. This consideration, added to the ruined state of the roads, and the difficulty of procuring supplies and accommodations for the soldiers, induced the officers to resolve on a retreat. A convention was speedily adjusted between the commanders of the opposite armies. The principal of which were, that eight thousand of French and Batavian prisoners, taken before that campaign, should be restored to their respective countries: that the combined English and Russian army should evacuate the territory, coasts, islands, and internal navigation of the Dutch republic, by the 30th of November, 1799, without committing any devastation by inundations, cutting the dykes, or otherwise injuring the sources of navigation; and that the mounted batteries taken possession of at the Helder, or at other positions, should be restored in the state in which they were taken; or, in case of improvement, in the state in which they then were, together with all the Dutch artillery taken in them.

Thus terminated an expedition, the failure of which, when planned, was considered as almost impossible; and which, in fact, commenced with such brilliant advantages, and so fair a prospect of ultimate success. It must not, however, be forgotten, that the capture of the Dutch fleet almost annihilated the naval power of the new Batavian republic, and more permanently secured to Britain the sovereignty of the seas.

On the 15th of May, 1800, during the field-day of the grenadier battalion of foot guards, in Hyde Park, a shot was accidentally discharged from the ranks, which unfortunately wounded a gentleman of the name of Ongley, who was among the spectators. The shot preforated Mr. Ongley's thigh, but did not injure the bone or arteries. His majesty directed the military surgeon present to examine and dress Mr. Ongley's wound, and was much gratified by the favourable report made by Mr. Nixon, the surgeon of the grenadiers. His majesty in coming from the field, sent his commands to Mr. Keate, the surgeon-general, and Mr. Rush, the inspector of hospitals, to attend Mr. Ongley during the progress of his cure.

On the succeeding day, the following article was dispatched to the respective conductors of news-papers:—
"May the 16th, We have authority to state, that the mis-
"fortune which happened yesterday morning, at the field-
"day of the grenadier battallion of guards, in Hyde Park,
"arose entirely from accident. A due regard to the an-
"xiety that every individual of the battalion feels, that
"this matter should be properly understood, is our induce-
"ment for giving this statement to the public."

The coincidence of this event, with the attempt made at night in the theatre, tended to strengthen an opinion, previously

previously entertained by some, that it was not entirely the effect of accident, but arose from a design against his majesty's person. But there was not the least reason to suppose this was the case: for the king was within twenty yards of the battalion, and about eight yards, upon a parallel line, from the gentleman who was wounded. His majesty was on horseback, and the musket which fired the ball, must not only have been pointed low, but could not have been directed against his person.

In the evening of that day, the king and queen, and the princesses Augusta, Elizabeth, Mary, and Amelia, with their usual attendants, went to the theatre to see a comedy. Just as his majesty had entered the box, and while he was bowing to the audience, a person who sat in the second row from the orchestra, but towards the middle of the pit, stood up, and levelling a horse pistol towards the king's box, fired it; but, providentially, a gentleman who sat next him, (Mr. Holroyd of Scotland Yard), had the presence of mind to raise the arm of the assassin, so as to direct the contents of the pistol towards the roof of the box. The audience continued for a few seconds in a state of alarm and suspence. The queen was at that instant making her entry; and the curtain rising, as generally arranged on such occasions, when his majesty waved his hand, as a signal to dissuade her from immediately appearing; and, instantly standing erect, raised his right hand to his breast, and continued for some time in a bowing attitude to the spectators, to shew to the audience that he had not received any injury. Her majesty now entered, and appeared much agitated, clasping her hands with great emotion. On the entry of the princesses, the confusion had not subsided; and, on being informed of the cause, Augusta fainted, but was soon recovered by the tender assiduities of her sister Elizabeth, and the ladies in waiting. Princess Mary also swooned at the alarming communication, but was speedily recovered. The offender was immediately seized, and hurried over the palisadoes, into the music-room.

A considerable degree of confusion ensued for a time, but one of the comedians asserting that the person who fired the pistol was in safe custody, the performances were suffered to go on without further interruption. Mr. Tamplite, a trumpeter in the band, who assisted in taking the offender over the orchestra, recognized him to be a soldier, and pulling open his coat, found he had on a military waistcoat, with the button of the fifteenth light dragoons. On being questioned by Mr. Sheridan, he said, "he had no objection to tell who he was—it was not over yet—there was a great deal more, and worse to be done. His name was James Hadfield; he had served his time to a working silversmith, but had enlisted into the fifteenth light dragoons, and had fought for his king and country." At this time the prince of Wales and duke of York entered the room. He immediately turned to the duke, and said, "I know your royal highness—God bless you! I have served with your highness, and (pointing to a deep cut over his eye, and another long scar on his cheek, said) I got these, and more than these, in fighting by your side. At Lincelles, I was left three hours among the dead in a ditch, and was taken prisoner by the French. I had my arm broken by a shot; and eight sabre wounds in my head; but I recovered, and here I am." He now began to shew manifest signs of mental derangement. Being asked who his father was, he said, "he had been postilion to some duke;" but could not say to what duke. He talked in a mysterious way of dreams, and of a great commission he had received in his sleep; that he knew he was to be a martyr, and was to be persecuted like his great master Jesus Christ—William Wake, the person of whom he had bought the pistols, being brought into the room, was examined. He said that the prisoner had bought a pair of pistols of him, and that he had said they were for his young master, who would give him a blunderbuss for them; but he had not yet got the blunderbuss. He knew very little of Hadfield, but knew where he worked, and had heard a good character of him; but that the least strong liquor affected his head. Several persons, from the house of Mrs. Mason, his acquaintance, confirmed this fact; and said, they ascribed it to the very severe wounds he had received in the head. Search being afterwards made for the slugs, a mark was discovered in the top of the canopy over the royal box; and, in the orchestra below, a flattened and irregular piece of lead was found, supposed to have recoiled from the place where it struck.

An address of congratulation was unanimously agreed to be presented to his majesty by the lords and commons, on his happy escape from the effects of lamentable insanity; and the city of London, in common council assembled, resolved to address his majesty on the same occasion.

James Hadfield who fired the pistol, was afterwards brought to trial before lord Kenyon, in the court of King's Bench; when the chief justice expressed his full conviction of his insanity; but in the present case, which alike concerns the king upon his throne, and the beggar at his gate, he could not think of discharging him: he must be disposed of, added he, in such a manner, that relief may be administered to his unfortunate case. My brothers agree in thinking with me, that he was not so far under the guidance of reason, as to be capable of knowing what he did: therefore the court are of opinion, that he should be carried to his late place of confinement, till he can be farther disposed of. He was therefore conducted to a coach, and conveyed back to prison.

Although the proceedings of the British parliament concerning an union with Ireland, were rendered abortive by the opposition of the Irish legislature in 1799, that business was introduced into the parliament of Ireland, on the 5th of February, 1800, by a message from the lord lieutenant, in which his excellency stated, that he had it in command from his majesty, to acquaint both houses of legislature, with the resolutions of the British parliament, and to express his wish that they would take the important measure into their most serious consideration. After a spirited debate, the ministry prevailed by a majority of forty-three. The great abilities of Mr. Grattan were eminently exerted on this interesting occasion. In a debate which occurred on the 17th of February, on proposing the first article of the union, he opposed the measure with such vehemence, that the chancellor of the exchequer (Mr. Corry) accused him of associating with traitors, and of disaffection to the government. The reply of Mr. Grattan was so pointed and severe, that the chancellor thought proper to resent it by a challenge. A duel was the consequence; five shots were exchanged, and the chancellor was wounded in the arm. The question was carried by a majority of one hundred and sixty-one against one hundred and fifteen; and as the discussion proceeded, the numbers of the opposition appeared to diminish. The last struggle was made on the 13th, when sir John Parnell, who had resigned the office of chancellor of the exchequer, moved to petition his majesty to call a new parliament, that the sense of their constituents might be more fully ascertained; but this motion was overruled by a majority of forty-six.

While these things were carrying on, the business proceeded with little opposition in the house of lords, and on the 24th of March, both houses adopted the whole of the articles of union, with very trifling alteration. In the course of a few days, both houses repaired to the lord lieutenant with a joint address, which was afterwards transmitted to Great Britain, and no time was lost by the minister in submitting the measures again to the British parliament, which, after a minute discussion, and very spirited debates in both houses, were sanctioned by a great majority; and, on the 2nd of July, the royal assent was given for a legislative union with Ireland, the articles of which were to the following effect:

"That the kingdoms of Great Britain and Ireland shall, on the first day of January, 1801, and ever after, be united into one kingdom, by the name of the *United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland*; that of the peers of Ireland at the time of the union, four spiritual lords, by rotation of sessions, and twenty-eight temporal peers for life, shall be the number to sit and vote in the house of lords; and one hundred commoners, viz. two for each county of Ireland; two for the city of Dublin; two for the city of Cork; and one for each of the thirty-two most considerable cities, towns, and boroughs, be the number of representatives of Ireland, in the house of commons of the parliament of the united kingdom."

The progress of the union bill in England, was not marked with the asperity of altercation which it had received in Ireland; and after bestowing on it the royal assent, the king declared, that he should "ever consider this great measure, as the happiest event of his reign."

By these articles it was also provided, that, for the space of twenty years after the union takes place, the contribution of Great Britain and Ireland respectively, towards the expenditure of the united kingdom in each year, shall be defrayed in the proportion of fifteen parts for Great Britain, and two parts for Ireland; this proportion, at the expiration of that time, to be subject to revision and regulation from other considerations.

The British parliament met early, chiefly for the purpose of enabling his majesty to avail himself of the voluntary services of the militia, to supply the army in Holland. A bill for that purpose was speedily enacted, though violently opposed by several members. After some financial arrangements, an adjournment was ordered; and, during the recess, some important communications occurred between the French and English governments.

Returning to the affairs of France, we may observe, that the French directory, in order to captivate the multitude, lulled them into a belief of the frantic resolution of an invasion of England; but that project, which, however, does not seem to have been ever seriously intended, was soon changed for another. This appears to have been the establishment of a colony in Egypt, and "to regenerate a country which was the first theatre of civilization in the universe." In order to carry on the farce, and to create alarm in England, the people were amused with ridiculous stories of rafts being constructed for the invasion of England, and troops were collected on the northern coast of France, while the navy of the republic were secretly repairing to Toulon. At length Bonaparte embarked on board the fleet, and proceeded to Malta, which surrendered after a slight resistance, he then proceeded on his voyage, and disembarked his troops in Egypt, in the month of July, 1798. After the reduction of Alexandria, Rosetta, and other fortresses, he proceeded to attack Cairo, which was defended by Mourad Bey, with a considerable body of Mamelukes. On the 23rd, the place was attacked and carried, though the Mamelukes exhibited determined valour. At Cairo, a proclamation was issued, appointing a provisional government for Egypt, in which the general promised to secure the pacha of Egypt in all his dignity and power. The beys, however, attempted to rally, and collected a considerable force near Cairo. On the 25th the French general attacked one of the posts at Lambabe, when three hundred of the enemy were killed. The celebrated battle of the Pyramids was fought on the succeeding day, which decided the fate of Egypt. Twenty-three beys, with all their forces, were completely defeated; two thousand of the Mamelukes were slain, and all their camels and baggage taken; while the loss of the French was only estimated at twenty or thirty killed, and one hundred and twenty wounded.

Egypt was now supposed to be completely subjugated; but the British ministry thought they could not politically suffer the establishment of a colony so near her East India possessions, and therefore concerted with the Porte, a project of general attack, to expel those dangerous neighbours from their new conquests. The principal preparations were made in Syria, under the pacha of Djezzar, who was to be supported with an army to traverse Asia Minor. The attack on the frontiers of Egypt, on the side of the desert of Syria, was to be favoured by a strong diversion towards the mouths of the Nile, and by different attacks executed by the wrecks of Mourad Bey's army in Upper Egypt, united to other hostile parties.

The execution of this plan, on the part of England, was committed to commodore sir Sidney Smith, who left Portsmouth the preceding autumn, on board the Tiger, and proceeded to the Levant, where he hastened the preparations for the campaign in Egypt. Commodore Hood continued to block up, with four ships of the line, and five frigates, the port of Alexandria, and the mouths of the Nile.

Bonaparte, informed that the arrival of commodore Smith was to be the signal of offensive operations, resolved to march into Syria, to destroy the preparations made by Djezzar. The two months which intervened, from the entire submission of Egypt, to the moment when the troops destined for the expedition of Syria were to march, were employed in finishing military surveys, confided to different officers, and in journies, which the scientific members of the different classes of the institute had undertaken.

During this survey, Bonaparte was informed of the movements of Djezzar, whom the grand signior had named pacha of Egypt. He had already sent a body of troops towards El-Arisch, at the entrance of the desert, on the side of Egypt. This general received orders to occupy and fortify Cattich, and general la Grange marched, with a demi-brigade, to take possession of this post on the same day that Bonaparte returned to Cairo; where he gave his last orders for the organization and march of the army of Syria, and regulated the command of the troops which were to remain in Egypt. The army consisted of four divisions of infantry, under the generals Kleber, Bonn, Lannes, and Regnier, amounting to ten thousand, besides cavalry, and artillery. The difficulty of transporting the artillery, constrained Bonaparte to provide these different divisions with pieces much below the ordinary proportion.

The garrisons intended to remain in Lower Egypt, were formed of the nineteenth demi-brigade, three battalions of the expedition of Syria, the nautic and Maltese legions; and the depots of cavalry. General Dugua had the command of Cairo, general Menou was stationed at Damietta. Adjutant-general Almeiras received, with the command of Damietta, orders to hasten the finishing of the fortifications. Alexandria, which was threatened by the English, and also menaced with the plague, was entrusted to general Marmont. General Desaix remained with his army in Upper Egypt, to keep in awe the remains of the Mamelukes, and hinder Mourad Bey from taking advantage of the expedition into Syria.

General Kleber's division embarked at Damietta, and was transported to Tinch, on the lake Meuzala. When the general arrived at Cattich, he was joined by general Regnier's advanced guard, and marched on to El-Arisch, the fortress of which was garrisoned by two thousand troops of the pacha of St. John d'Acre. The village of El-Arisch was carried with the bayonet, by Regnier's division; the Arnauts and Mangrabins, who defended it, after having made a brave resistance, withdrew precipitately into the fort. Scarcely was it blocked up by Regnier's division, when a reinforcement of infantry and cavalry, escorting a convoy of provisions, appeared in sight of El-Arisch, and encamped on a rising ground. Kleber came up at that moment, and approved of Regnier's project of surprising the camp of the Mamelukes during the night. This attack succeeded; the camp was carried, the corps of infantry cut in pieces, taken, or destroyed. A number of horses, camels, stores, and provisions, and the whole of the convoy fell into the hands of the French. The two other divisions of the army formed their junction, a few days after, at El-Arisch, and were joined at length, by Bonaparte. The fort of El-Arisch was cannonaded, and surrendered in two days.

The artillery necessary for the reduction of St. John d'Acre, could be transported only by sea, and Bonaparte had ventured its embarkation from Alexandria. Vice-admiral Perrée, with three frigates, had sailed during the night, to escort the gun-boats, and had orders to cruize before Jaffa. The secrecy and promptitude of the preparations for the expedition of Syria, and the celerity of the attack, surprized the Turks.

At Constantinople, the English, notwithstanding the new alliance, the important support of their naval forces, and the activity of sir Sidney Smith, could not obtain the means for the entire execution of the plan concerted for the attack on Egypt. By judicious management, however, Passwan Oglow, who claimed from the Turkish government to renew the haticheriff granted to his ancestors, became reconciled. The Ottoman Porte, now found itself relieved from a dangerous enemy, and concluded a treaty with Passwan, who swore solemnly on the Koran to be faithful to his engagements, and never to give cause of discontent to the Porte. A free pardon was also extended to Passwan, and he obtained the dignity of pacha.

In the mean time sir Sidney Smith gained intelligence of the first movements of Bonaparte, and endeavoured to counter-act his designs, by making attempts on Alexandria, which he bombarded, without further injury to the French, than sinking two transports. After this fruitless enterprize, he sailed to the assistance of the pacha of Syria, who at first did not think of defending himself in St. John d'Acre, meaning only to secure his retreat, and to convey away his women and treasure. The commodore anchored, with three frigates, in the road of Caiffa.

Kleber, with his division, was misled by the guides: the two divisions which followed him, were drawn astray by the tracks of the first. It was not till after forty-eight hours toil, and enduring the torments of burning thirst, that they reached the Kan Jodnesse, the first village of Palestine, on leaving the deserts, whence they discovered the cultivated plains of Gaza.

A corps of Mamelukes, under the command of Abdalla Pacha, which had encamped before Kan Jodnesse, had fallen back on Gaza: thither Bonaparte repaired, drove away the Mamelukes, and took possession of the town, where he found very considerable magazines of provisions, as well as stores.

It was at the town of Jaffa, anciently called Joppa, that Bonaparte

Bonaparte met with the first resistance: the way to it was covered with hillocks of moving sand, which the cavalry traversed with difficulty; the camels slowly and painfully proceeded, and for about three leagues it was necessary to treble the teams to the artillery. Hordes of Arabs hovered around the army, without, however, doing any injury; and the advanced guard under Kleber, reached the town on the third day. Jaffa was found to be surrounded with a wall without ditches, flanked by good towers mounting cannon. Two forts defended the port and the road, and it appeared well armed. The garrison having retired within the place, the main attack was made on the south side. The whole army having come up, and batteries being established, a practicable breach was soon effected, and the town taken by assault. Many of the garrison on this occasion (which is a very common thing) were put to the sword; but the greater part flying into the mosques, and imploring mercy from their pursuers, their lives were granted. The Turks, it is said, received orders to give no quarter; and three days afterwards, Bonaparte, to shew them that he could be rigorous, as well as merciful, if necessity required it, having three thousand eight hundred prisoners, ordered them to be drawn up, and every tenth man to be selected, who were marched to a rising ground near Jaffa, and immediately shot. The remainder were set at liberty, with instructions to inform the grand signior, that the French general had only put every tenth person to death, and that he had pardoned the rest. The Turks, it should be observed, did not attempt to take any prisoners, but massacred every Frenchman that fell into their hands (*e*).

After making Jaffa and its port the principal depôt for the artillery and stores which he expected from Damietta and Alexandria, Bonaparte marched upon St. John d'Acre, with the three divisions of Kleber, Bonn, and Lannes. That of Regnier composed the rear-guard, at two days' distance from the army, which he had orders to rejoin at St. John d'Acre. The French advanced guard discovered near Zetta, a body of cavalry under Abdalla Pacha, who to retard the march of the army, had taken a position on the heights of Korsum, flanking himself by the mountain of Naplousium, the ancient Samaria, on which several thousand Naplousians were posted.

While Kleber, Bonn, and Murat, endeavoured to bring Abdalla to an engagement, which he avoided, Lannes' division marched upon the right, and cut off the pacha from the Naplousians; the latter fled; but the light infantry, who pursued them, having entangled themselves in the defiles, the Naplousians rallied, and attacked in their turn, pursuing the French to the outlines of the defiles. Barthelemy the commander of the demi-brigade was killed. Two days after, Kleber took possession of Caiffa, at the foot of Mount Carmel. The advanced guard of this division discovered, on arriving at Caiffa, the division of the English squadron which had cast anchor. The boats of the Tiger, which was one of the ships, approached the coast, reconnoitred their advanced guard, at the foot of Mount Carmel, and endeavoured, by their fire, to harass them.

Sir Sidney Smith had elevated the courage of the pacha of St. John d'Acre, by sending him an old engineer, who had facilitated his deliverance from the Temple. Colonel Philippeaux, caused the fortress to be repaired; and the captain of the Theseus furnished him with many necessary materials for the reparation of this ancient bulwark of Syria. At this instant, the fleet of gun-boats, which had on board the greatest part of Bonaparte's battering pieces, and his stores, fell into the hands of the English. This loss was irreparable to the French, and decided the fate of St. John d'Acre. The cannon and stores were instantly landed, and the vessels that transported them were armed and employed to harass the French posts, and disturb their convoys and communications.

Having drawn back the external posts, Bonaparte encamped his army on an insulated height, bordering upon the sea, which commands, on the western side, a plain of about a league and three quarters, bounded by the mountains situated between St. John d'Acre, and the river Jordan. After taking possession of Sasset, Nazareth, and Schaffham, to clear the passes on the road to Damascus and Cafferelli, he reconnoitred St. John D'Acre more accurately with his officers of artillery, and came to a resolution of attacking the front on the east of the town. The trench was opened at nine hundred feet from the place, and the French proceeded with such activity, that the ninth day, after the opening of the trench, batteries and counter-batteries, mounted as at Jaffa, had pierced the tower, while a branch of the mine had been pushed on to blow up the counterscarp. The mine was sprung, but it only made a hole in the glacis: the French thought the counterscarp injured. The ditch appeared to be of no considerable depth, but they found another of about fifteen feet deep, which was almost half filled up with the rubbish of the breach; they plunged into it, but found themselves separated by the counterscarp from the troops which were to support them. Mailly, Lascelles, and Langier, the officers who headed the attack, all perished. The Turks, who had abandoned the tower, re-entered it, and the French retreated to their trenches.

The failure of success in this first attack, and the hopes which Djezzar entertained of being supported by a body of Naplousians and Mangrabins, induced him to make several brisk sallies, in which he was repulsed with considerable loss. Bonaparte had not yet received the heavy artillery, for which he had sent to Damietta, to replace that which he had lost. He once more endeavoured to open a breach in the same tower, which the Turks had filled with wood, bales of cotton, and bags of earth: the tower was set on fire, but all attempts to reach it were ineffectual. At length sir Sidney Smith, in concert with Djezzar, made a considerable sally in three columns, at the head of which were the marines. The intention was to destroy the works nearest the place, and chiefly the mine, which led under the counterscarp: this perilous attack was entrusted to the gallant captain Aldfield, who had distinguished himself at the taking of the Cape of Good Hope: he broke the head of the column of the centre, and threw himself first on the entrance of the mine; where he was mortally wounded, and carried off by the French grenadiers. He expired in the arms of the enemy, amidst the warmest testimonies of their regard and esteem. The three columns received much injury by the fire from the batteries and parallels, and the intermediate space was strewed with their dead and dying.

The English had the misfortune to behold, under their colours, united to those of Djezzar, the French, who were wounded and prisoners, massacred in cold blood by the Turks, a practice too common among those barbarians. This practice being well known to Bonaparte, no doubt occasioned him to act more vigorously against his prisoners than he would otherwise have done. Sir Sidney Smith had softened the fate of French prisoners at Constantinople, and therefore lamented the multiplied horrors which were committed under his inspection at St. John d'Acre.

The corps of Mamelukes which had been assembled had become considerable, so that it was thought necessary to send against them a corps of observation, which was entrusted to general Kleber. The first troops of this numerous Turkish army had already passed the river Jordan. General Junot endeavoured to reach them with his light infantry, and a few cavalry, when he was surrounded and attacked by about three thousand horse, and made his retreat to Kaff Cana.

General Kleber left the camp of St. John d'Acre, with the remainder of his division, to join general Junot at Nazareth; and directing his march upon the heights of Louby, reached Sed-Jara, when four thousand Turkish and Arabian cavalry, surrounded the French, and were preparing to charge them. Kleber routed the Turkish cavalry, which fled across the Jordan. A few days after, the whole of the army destined to relieve St. John d'Acre, formed its junction in the plain of Fouli.

The French, after various prodigies of valour, were obliged to yield to superior numbers, and to the resolution which the Turks displayed amidst their ruins. From their high walls, they persevered in a well-directed and destructive fire. After their multiplied and irreparable losses, it was found almost impossible to reduce a place defended with so much intrepidity, supported and protected by the English squadron under sir Sidney Smith.

Bonaparte, whom Fortune had so often favoured, was still anxious to try the chance at arms, and marched at two in the morning, on the 10th of May, to the foot of the breach, which was mounted by the grenadiers of the seventy-fifth and nineteenth demi-brigades, and the carabineers of the second of light infantry. His intention was to surprize the Turks, and to establish himself in force in the breach. General Verdier marched at the head of the grenadiers; the first posts were killed on the spot, but the garrison held firm behind the new entrenchments, which stopped his impetuous attack, and forced the French to retreat. They renewed it the same evening, and the grenadiers of the twenty-fifth demi-brigade, having requested to

(*e*) See the French account of the action at Jaffa.

to mount to the assault, the combat began again on the breach with redoubled fury. The besieged, warned of this last attack, had reinforced a second and third line of artillery, which the grenadiers could not force.

In these assaults, the loss on each side was considerable, but that of the French was particularly so. Adjutant-general Fouler, Venoux, and general Bonn, were killed, and many other field-officers dangerously wounded. Determined, at length, to raise the siege, Bonaparte first ordered his sick and wounded to be sent away. To keep the besieged in check, he made use of the rest of his ammunition, and increased the fire of his cannon and mortars. Djezzar remarking these dispositions for retreat, made frequent sallies, which were repulsed with vigour. The aspect of the field of carnage was horrible; the ditches, and the reverses of the parapets were filled with the slain, the air was infected, and the proposition for a suspension of arms to bury the dead, remained unanswered.

Bonaparte, in a proclamation, announced to his army the raising of the siege, and resolved to return to Egypt, to defend its approach in the season of landing, against the forces assembled at Rhodes. The raising of the siege was executed in good order, and the very day on which the army began its march, general Le Grange repulsed two sallies, and forced the Turks back into the town. General Lannes' division led the march, Regnier's division evacuated the trenches. Kleber formed a strong rear-guard, whilst General Junot covered the left flank. Bonaparte threw into the sea the pieces of artillery, which he could not carry back through the desert, and embraced every means of transporting to Jaffa his field-pieces, and his sick and wounded.

This convoy sailed from Jaffa a few days after, for Damietta, but fell into the hands of the English commodore, who, having received intelligence of the retreat, sent in chase of the three French frigates, and lay along the coast to harrass the march.

Djezzar knew not till day-break that the trenches were evacuated: the Turks took possession of the works, and, following the traces of the army, found a few pieces of the artillery buried in the sand. The French army continued its march, ravaging the country, and depriving the Turks of those resources which might possibly have been serviceable to them in their approach to the frontiers of Egypt. Kleber formed the rear with his division, which, after crossing the deserts, embarked at Tinah, for Damietta. Bonaparte left a strong garrison at Cattich, and entered Cairo with his army, twenty-six days after raising the siege.

Thus terminated the campaign of Syria; and notwithstanding his misfortunes at the siege of St. John d'Acre, losing by battle, and by sickness, almost a quarter of his troops, Bonaparte was satisfied that he had fulfilled the principal object of his expedition, by weakening the army of the enemy, and retarding its operations during the most favourable season.

Sir Sidney Smith, pursuing with ardour the execution of the plan of campaign against Egypt, found an increase of zeal and activity on the part of the Ottomans. Seid Mustapha Pacha assembled in the Isle of Rhodes, the troops destined for the attack of Alexandria: European officers directed the details of the enterprize, and the combined English and Turkish fleet only waited for a convoy which the Captain Pacha, anchored in the Dardanelles, was to dispatch to Rhodes.

Previous to the return of the French army from Syria into the strong places of Lower Egypt, general Dugua, commander of Cairo, had detached Lanuffe, Duranteau, and d'Estrees, against different hordes of Arabs, whom they surprized and defeated in several rencounters. Acts of rigour were exercised; villages were consumed to stifle the sedition; but the presence of Bonaparte completely re-established order. He applied himself principally to repair the losses sustained by the four divisions, and the cavalry which had marched with him into Syria. He completed the different corps, and so perfectly re-established their organization, that within three weeks after the return of those troops to their quarters, they were in a condition to commence fresh attacks upon the Turks.

The movements of the Mamelukes and the Arabs proclaimed the projects of the allies, and the approach of their fleet. Desaix, who was charged with the expulsion of the Mamelukes from Upper Egypt, was preparing for an expedition into the Oäsis, when he was informed that the Mamelukes had been remarkably hostile, and formed themselves into two divisions; part of them having endeavoured to form a junction with Ibrahim Bey, and the others to form a junction with the Arabs. These two corps of Mamelukes did not reach their destination; the first was surprized at Sababier, by general le Grange; their camp baggage, and seventeen hundred camels fell into the hands of the French, the remainder was dispersed in the desert. Mourad Bey, having been preceded on the Natron Lakes by general Murat, who, after having driven away the bands of Arabs, marched to meet him, retreated towards the pyramids of Gizeh.

Bonaparte, informed of this counter-march, conceived it practicable to cut off the retreat of Mourad Bey, and marched from Cairo with his select troops, ordering general Murat to come and join him: he reached the pyramids the day that Mourad Bey had left them, on his retreat to Fayum; but now a more serious business demanded his attention; he had received advice from Alexandria, that a Turkish fleet of one hundred sail had anchored in the Road of Aboukir; and another dispatch informed him that a body of three thousand Turks had landed with artillery on the shore of the peninsula, and carried by storm the fort of Aboukir. Bonaparte dispatched orders to all his generals to march towards the place of landing, and to watch the Mamelukes and Arabs. The advanced guard of general Murat, had orders to pass the Nile, and the moveable column which general Menou had marched upon the Natron Lakes, with the park of artillery and the staff, formed their junction at Rhamania.

Upper Egypt was occupied by Desaix, who continued the pursuit of Mourad Bey. He had orders to watch the position of Cairo, and consult his operations with general Dugua, and general Reignier. Bonaparte ordered Kleber to march to Rosetta, with a part of his division, and sent reinforcements to that place, under the orders of general Menou.

The Turks, after the surrender of fort Aboukir, had landed their artillery, having possession of the peninsula, and had begun to entrench themselves and form magazines: they had opened a communication with Rosetta, by cutting the pontoons, and their force, which increased daily, was estimated at about fifteen thousand men; but they appeared to be waiting for still greater reinforcements, and the junction concerted with Mourad Bey, in order to invest Alexandria.

Bonaparte took post at the village of Birket, at the point of one of the angles of the Lake Madie; and, seeing that the Turks thought only of fortifying and maintaining themselves in the peninsula, he determined to attack them. The army, after having quitted the position of Birket, assembled at the wells between Alexandria and Aboukir; and Bonaparte, having moved his head quarters to Alexandria, and surveyed the new works which general Marmont had improved, formed his disposition of attack. Kleber had followed the movement of the army, with a part of his division; and general Menou undertook to cannonade such little embarkations as the Turks might send into the lake to harass him on his left.

Mustapha Pacha defended the entrance of the peninsula, by two lines of troops, and by imperfect intrenchments. He had placed his first line half a league in front of the fort of Aboukir; the right of this line was flanked by the sea, and occupied by about one thousand men: a village at a small distance was defended by a corps of one thousand men, and four pieces of cannon. The left of this first line was detached and insulated at the distance of twelve hundred yards before the centre; and a few gun-boats, drawn up on the inner shore, flanked on the left the interval between the first and second lines. The latter was more advantageously posted: the centre occupied the redoubt, which had been taken from the French at the moment of landing, and which had since been connected with the sea-shore by an intrenchment, behind which was the right: the left occupied the mounds of sand, and the internal shore was flanked by gun-boats. Seven thousand men, and twelve pieces of cannon, defended this second line. The squadron was anchored at a league and a half distant in the road of Aboukir.

The French army, which was only two hours distant from the first posts of the Turks, early in the morning began its march in two columns, preceded by a strong advanced guard. As soon as the armies were in sight of each other, Bonaparte formed his columns of attack, and general d'Estaign carried with the bayonet the entrenched height, which formed the support of the right of the Turks

Turks. At the same time Lannes' division marched upon the left of the first line: general Murat cut off the retreat of the two wings, which were attacked by detached squadrons, and marched right to the centre with his cavalry. Almost the whole of the first line, dislodged and surrounded by this manœuvre, perished by the fire, or were drowned: a part only of the right fell back on the village, which was attacked and carried. The Turks were pursued to their second position, which was much stronger than the first. The redoubt formed the head of this position, which the pacha, who had no other retreat, was prepared to defend with vigour, having still eight or nine thousand men remaining.

Perceiving the principal force of the Turks was at the centre, Bonaparte changed his position. He detached the cavalry to the right, and directed the attacks of the infantry on the entrenchments of their right, disposing a reserve to storm the redoubt, at the moment when the attacks by the left wings should have succeeded. After briskly cannonading the redoubt and the entrenchments, he began the storm. General Fugieres, at the head of the eighteenth demi-brigade, marched a column along the shore: the Turks, seeing the French approach the entrenchments, sallied out, and attacked the columns: the combatants fought man to man, and the Turks were repulsed—the French followed them, and threw themselves into the entrenchments; but they were stopped by the fire of the redoubt. General Fugieres lost an arm, and the column was forced to fall back to the village. The cavalry, which had come up to the redoubt, had charged several times with impetuosity; but they could not sustain the heavy fire of the redoubt, and that of the gun-boats. Du Vivier was killed; adjutant-general Roiza, and Bessieres renewed the attack. Letour sprung first into the entrenchment, without being followed, and was killed. To decide the action, Bonaparte ordered general Lannes to march to the redoubt at the head of two battalions: seizing the moment when the Turks sallied from their entrenchments, he attacked the redoubt; the battalion of the twenty-second and twenty-ninth demi-brigades leaped into the ditch, climbed the parapet, and carried the work. Mustapha Pacha now strove, but in vain, to rally his troops, which were forced on every point. General Murat traversed the positions of the Turks, and pushing as far as the ditches of the fort of Aboukir, completed the confusion that had taken place in their ranks. The Turks fled on every side, and threw themselves into the sea; the greater part could not reach their vessels; and the remainder of the army, except the garrison, surrounded and taken with Mustapha Pacha perished in the ocean.

This victory was attended with considerable loss to the French, who had a great number wounded; among whom was general Murat, and the chief of brigade Cretin, who died of their wounds. The fort of Aboukir, summoned to surrender the day after the battle, was defended with desperate fury; the Turks scorning the idea of a capitulation with arms in their hands. After eight days of fierce bombardment, however, when the castle was nothing but a heap of ruins, the son of the pacha, his kyaia, and two thousand men, threw down their arms, and surrendered themselves prisoners: the French found in the fort eighteen hundred men killed, and three hundred wounded.

Sir Sidney Smith, it is said, arriving at Aboukir with the last sail of the convoy, was a witness of this retreat, without having it in his power, as at St. John d'Acre, to revive the hopes of the Turks. His squadron, united to that of Fetah Bey, served only to gather up the wrecks of an expedition from which the Porte had expected the extermination of the remains of the French army.

Bonaparte returned to Alexandria the day after the battle; he had received intelligence of the first reverse which the armies of the republic had experienced in Italy and on the Rhine, and of the struggles which were taking place in France. Resolving to return to Europe, he meditated on his departure in secret. Thinking the victory of Aboukir was an honourable termination of the war in the East, he consecrated the memory of the principal officers he had lost there as well as at the siege of St. John d'Acre, by annexing their names to different forts repaired, or newly constructed for the defence of the town and ports of Alexandria. On his return to Cairo, he employed himself in re-establishing the police of the country, and cultivated the affections of the people by new attentions to their religious prejudices. Two commissions of artists left Cairo, with a strong escort, to visit the monuments of Upper Egypt. To accomplish other designs, Bonaparte ventured to quit his army, and trust his fortune to the waves: he disclosed his projects only to Berthier; and gave orders to admital Gantheaume to prepare two frigates, without informing him of the destination of those vessels: the persons on whom he conferred the dangerous favour of accompanying him, were the generals Lannes, Marmont, Murat, and Andreossi; together with Monge and Berthollet: Bessieres, and his guides, received sealed notes, which they were to open at a certain day, hour, and place. A similar packet, to be opened twenty-four hours after the departure of the vessels, was destined for general Kleber, containing his nomination to the chief command, and to Dessaix that of Upper Egypt.

It was not till the 24th of August, that Bonaparte, waiting for a favourable wind, left the road of Aboukir, and sailed for the island of Corsica. He anchored at Ajaccio, the first of September, and left it seven days after. His two frigates having been chased by an English squadron, he would not suffer admiral Gantheaume, who saw no hopes of safety, to turn back to Corsica, but was resolved to trust to fortune. He avoided the roads of Toulon, on account of the cruizers which might be hovering round it, entered the port of Frejus, and landed on the 14th of September, the forty-seventh day after his departure from the shores of Egypt.

Shortly after Bonaparte returned from Egypt, a new revolution took place in the government of France; the directory was displaced, the council of elders was dissolved (*f*), and Bonaparte was speedily appointed First Consul, according to a new constitution which had been framed (principally by the abbé Sieyes, it is said,) and which had been accepted by some of the legislative authorities. To induce the people to consent to this change, by which Bonaparte was invested with the supreme authority, he promised to take effectual measures to terminate the miseries and calamities of war. In pursuance of this promise, on the very day on which he entered on his new dignity, he addressed a dispatch immediately to the king of Great Britain, in which he expressed a wish to contribute effectually to a general pacification; and in a second communication afterwards transmitted by M. Talleyrand, to the English ministry, proposed "an immediate suspension of arms, and that plenipotentiaries on each side should repair to Dunkirk, or any other town as advantageously situated, for the quickness of the respective communications, and who should sedulously apply themselves to effect the re-establishment of peace and harmony between the French republic and England." The British ministry, however, manifested no inclination to accede to the overture, conceiving, perhaps, that the new government of France had not yet acquired sufficient stability to engage in a treaty; and encouraged by the success which had attended the arms of the allies in the preceding campaign, they hoped they should be able still more effectually to humble and weaken France by a continuance of hostile measures.

But a short time elapsed after the consular government had been established in France, when the state of the newly acquired possessions in Egypt became deplorable. The dissentions in Syria, between the grand vizier, who commanded the Ottoman army, and Djezzar, the pacha of St. John d'Acre, had suspended, for a time, the fate of the French army. Djezzar, who would have fallen an easy prey to the impetuosity of the French army under Bonaparte, had not the valour of sir Sidney Smith relieved him from all apprehension, directed his arms against his deliverers, and the grand vizier was compelled, for some time, to employ his forces in opposing the hostilities

(*f*) The manner of Bonaparte's dissolving the council of elders, was truly embarrassing and curious. When he presented himself at the door of the assembly, accompanied by several officers and grenadiers, he advanced towards the president. A vehement agitation immediately arose among part of the members, who darted precipitately from their seats towards Bonaparte, insulted him, and pushed him back with violence: at this instant he was assailed by cries from different parts of the hall, of "Down with the tyrant! kill him! outlaw him! This is the moment to deliver France!" A member attempted to stab him with a dagger, but the blow was warded off by a grenadier. The vehemence of the members was not confined to words: several started from their seats, and rushed towards the door, imprecating vengeance, and practising menacing gesticulations. Bonaparte, however, preserved his usual address, and a few days relieved him from these apparent insurmountable difficulties.

of this rebellious and ungrateful subject. At this period, a correspondence commenced between sir Sidney Smith, as minister plenipotentiary of his Britannic majesty, near the Ottoman Porte, and the French general Kleber. Sir Sidney Smith, in an epistle to the general, informed him, that a peace could never be effected till Egypt was evacuated, but that it might be accelerated by the speedy execution of that preliminary to any negociation; and expressed his wishes that their official communications might be productive of the evacuation of that country, which would lead the way to a definitive arrangement.

To the letter of the English plenipotentiary, general Kleber signified his disposition to engage in such a negociation; and, after some delay, a conference was held between the commissaries appointed by Kleber, and sir Sidney Smith, on board the Tiger. During these transactions, the grand vizier sent detachments from his army encamped at Gaza, to besiege El-Arisch, of which he obtained possession the seventh day after the attack. An armistice had been adjusted in the interval, but the vessel which was dispatched with the notice, having been prevented by a tempest from approaching the coast, the siege and capture of this avant-post of Egypt took place. After several conferences, Kleber finding that no other conditions could be obtained, than the free evacuation of Egypt, agreed to a definitive arrangement for this object. Being thus critically situated, having an immense multitude to oppose without, and enemies within, hardly less formidable in the disaffection of the Egyptians, and in the plague which had begun its ravages, and which daily diminished his army, he gave orders to assent to a convention for the evacuation of the country, which was signed at the camp of the grand vizier, before El-Arisch, the 24th of January, 1800.

As lord Grenville's answer to the notes transmitted by Bonaparte to the king and the English ministry, peremptorily refused all negociations for peace, except on the condition of the re-establishment of monarchy, it was evident that hostilities must immediately ensue: but while the French nation were waiting some dire disasters from the menaces of the coalesced parties, the Russian army, to which so much importance had been attached the preceding year, and which, it was confidently stated, was shortly to be renewed with at least fifty thousand men, began its retreat into Poland, in consequence of peremptory orders from the emperor Paul, which reached general Suwarrow, whose situation was acknowledged to be critical, about the middle of January. But though the emperor of Russia's continental co-operation was to be less extensive than the last campaign, the emperor of Germany continued a faithful ally. Bonaparte, when he lured the British ministry to negociation, had adopted the same experiment on the Austrian cabinet, through the means of the archduke Charles, whose inclination for peace was well known. But all the efforts of prince Charles were defeated by the hostile resolutions of the empress and the minister Thugut. The message of the king of Great Britain to the parliament, of the 13th of February, stating, that his majesty was at that moment, employed in making engagements with the emperor of Germany, the elector of Bavaria, and other princes of the empire, to support the common cause, and asking preliminary supplies, also confirmed the designs of the British cabinet; and every prospect of peace vanished, on the arrival of general Kray, the 16th of February, to supersede the archduke Charles in the command of the army in Suabia. As appeal was again made to the sword, the French government, conquered in negociation, was obliged to accept the challenge, and the greatest preparations were made for opening the campaign in a vigorous manner.

The territory of Genoa was now in the possession of the French; and it was as much the object of the ambition of the house of Austria, as it was that of the solicitude of the French republic. When general Massena was appointed to the command of the republican forces in Italy, he found it in a most deplorable condition; not only reduced to half its number by the sword, but so oppressed with disease and famine, that the loss sustained by those dire ravages, during a winter's abode in the territories of Genoa, amounted nearly to twenty thousand men; he had therefore, in a great measure, to re-create the army of which he went to take the command; and this, by prudence and perseverance, he in some degree effected. Massena had applied for a reinforcement, but instead of the sixty thousand men he had been promised, he found himself with only twenty-four thousand, which he organized as well as he was able; but the French army was so situated, that they had only the choice of two evils, that of entering the field against a very superior force, under the command of Melas, or of being blocked up in Genoa, which was destitute of provisions, and which, if not relieved, he apprehended must be reduced by famine.

The appearance of the British fleet before Genoa on the 5th of April, was the signal for the commencement of hostilities. The communication by sea was now cut off. A few days preceding, a certain quantity of wheat and other provisions had entered the port of Genoa; had the blockade therefore taken place sooner, the town must have immediately surrendered. Though the Austrians were far superior in number to the French, the latter achieved prodigies of valour, encountering at the same time a more formidable enemy, which was famine. The Austrians were not exempt from the effects of this scarcity; for as the residence of the prisoners in Genoa, to which they had been sent by the French, might have been attended with danger, in the state of despair to which the people were driven; Massena sent them on board vessels in the port, and included them in the list of the people to whom the Ligurian government was commissioned to distribute provisions. Of this distribution, wretched as it was, it might readily be supposed, that these unfortunate men were not equally partakers. Hardly can an idea be formed of the intense hunger to which they became a prey. Their shoes and knapsacks, converted into food, served for a momentary prolongation of their miseries; and such was the state of desperation to which they were driven, that the government could not venture to send any one on board, lest the messenger should become the victim of their raging appetites. Their lamentations resounded throughout the port, assailing the ears of wretches scarcely more fortunate than themselves. At length, the miserable victims expired in great numbers, amidst the most deplorable sufferings, and many shrunk from them, by seeking a voluntary death in the waves which washed their vessels.

When reduced to the defensive, no opportunity escaped Massena of harrassing, by sallies from his lines, the enemy by whom he was surrounded. In one of these engagements, the Austrians lost upwards of four thousand men; but in an engagement, in which the French general lost three of his best commanders, all farther operations on his part were put a stop to, and the Austrians penetrated to the walls of Genoa, without meeting with any further effective resistance. The French territory was then invaded by the Imperialists, and Melas, the Austrian general, left in possession of the whole department of the Maritime Alps; so that the Austrians had gained the entire possession of Italy, except the city of Genoa.

The campaign on the Rhine began towards the close of April. General Moreau, whose military skill had been demonstrated on many occasions, on reading his orders, dispatched a courier to Paris, signifying, that if those orders were to be rigidly followed, he must decline the place of commander-in-chief, and take a secondary situation. He accompanied his message with a plan of his own formation; his dismission was refused, and the execution of the plan submitted to the courage and skill of the framer. The passage of the Rhine into the Brisgaw was a military stratagem to draw the attention of the Imperialists to that point; and Kray was so little prepared for the manœuvres of Moreau, that a passage was effected without any considerable loss. The French commander Lecourbe had taken a position on the right side, and after an engagement, in which he made eight hundred prisoners, gained possession, by capitulation, of the otherwise impregnable fortress of Hohortwell.

Lecourbe, according to orders, directed his course on the rear of the Austrian army at Stockach, while Moreau, collecting his centre and left divisions, marched upon the village of Engen, where general Kray, no longer deceived with respect to the plan of attack, had assembled the main body of his army. Lecourbe, in his march, met with a division of the Austrians near Stockach, which he attacked, routed, and pursued beyond the town. Moreau, willing to favour this movement, attacked the Austrians at Engen, and after a desperate engagement, seized all the posts of the Imperialists, who, half surrounded, made their retreat during the night into Moskirch. The loss of the Austrians

Austrians on this day, amounted to upwards of ten thousand men, of which four thousand were prisoners. The loss of magazines and baggage was likewise immense.

A succession of defeats at length compelled general Kray to concentrate his forces around Ulm, while general Moreau established his head quarters at Memingen, occupying the country between the rivers Yell and Lech. In this position, two divisions of the French army sustained an attack from the whole force of general Kray. After an obstinate resistance, the French resumed offensive operations, and forced the Austrians to a precipitate retreat across the Danube during the night, adding two thousand prisoners to those they had already taken. Another engagement ensued, the consequence of which was, that the retreat of the Austrians to the left of the Danube, made the French masters of the electorate of Bavaria to the right; Ulm was invested, and their head quarters established without further opposition at Munich.

The French army of reserve, which had been forming at Dijon, now began its march towards Italy. It was composed of fifty thousand men, and received reinforcements daily. The existence of such an army near Dijon was not generally credited; and the enemy fell into the snare which had been prepared for them. The chief consul, who had publicly declared his intention of taking the command, while the situation of the army at Genoa required his immediate assistance, seemed to countenance the delusion, by remaining at Paris. Bonaparte left that city on the 5th of May, and arrived at Dijon, from whence, after reviewing the troops cantoned there, he proceeded to Genoa. Remaining a short time in the Pays de Vaud, he joined the army of reserve, who were assembled at the fort of Mount St. Bernard. The progress and victories of the French army exceeded all conception. They passed the Alps, obtained the battle of Romano, passed the river Tessino, entered the city of Milan, and took Pavia and Piacenza.

That he might enter the valley of Aosto, Bonaparte found it necessary to traverse, for more than twenty Italian miles, the mountain called the Great Saint Bernard, situated between those of Simplon and Mont Blanc. From Martinach to St. Peter's, the road, though extremely bad, was not absolutely untrodden; human abodes, vegetation, and pasturage were found: but after passing this region, nature presented no object to the eye, but snow and naked rocks. From Saint Peter's, it is about three leagues to the summit of St. Bernard, by a road which is impassable by two men a-breast. A monastery presents itself at the top of this mountain, from the founder of which it derives its name. The tenants, highly celebrated for rescuing and restoring travellers who have strayed, or are benumbed, or even buried in the snow, were on this occasion made auxiliaries to Bonaparte, who was not now to be taught how much any circumstance, producing an appearance of dramatic effect, would animate his own followers, and impose on the rest of mankind. The progress of the soldiery had hitherto been extremely singular. For transporting the artillery, general Marmont, and brigadier general Gassendi, contrived two ingenious devices: the first was, to hollow out trunks of trees like canoes, in which were deposited the artillery and mortars, then a hundred men harnessing themselves to a cable, dragged the piece along, while others, furnished with handspikes, to prevent its falling over the precipices, directed its course. The other expedient was the use of sledges on castors; the gun-carriages being taken to pieces, were transported separately, except the carriages of four-pounders, which were placed on a kind of litter, and conveyed entire. The caissons were emptied, and the ammunition, stowed in chests, borne by men or mules. Every particular in the expedition hitherto savoured of romance: the solitude of the scene, the concurrence of individual efforts to the general advantage, which constituted every man a hero; the singularity of the route, and the importance of its results, all aided the predisposition to lofty contemplations, which the most judicious travellers have observed to prevail in mountainous countries. While the troops were thus animated, and their imaginations exalted, Bonaparte had contrived that even the ordinary solace of eating, should harmonize with the general sublimity of the region of sentiment. By his orders, and at his expence, the monks of Saint Bernard had prepared a feast for the whole army; and when the fatigued soldiers reached the heights of the monastic abode, tables spread, as if by enchantment, on the snow, and well furnished with viands, and delicious wines, were suddenly beheld; and the holy fathers humbly solicited the army to partake of their humble fare.

When they descended from St. Bernard to Verney, the first village in Piedmont, their fatigue was diminished, but their danger was augmented. For about a league, a road is formed on a rugged mountain; the horseman there must lead or follow his beast, as he cannot walk a-breast without the peril of falling into an abyss: on one side, the road is bounded with tremendous precipices; on the other, mountains of snow, suspended over the head of the passenger, threaten to descend in thundering avelanches, and hurry him, and every opposing object, in their irresistible course. In the descent, some of the soldiers adopted the scheme of sliding over the polished snow, to abridge their toil. The general himself, it is said, set the example; and many who followed it, reached in a few minutes, a small plain at the bottom, at which they could not have arrived by the regular path, in less time than several hours. During this whole journey, no other loss was sustained than a piece of artillery, and three men carried away by an avelanche, and four or five horses, by falling down the precipices. As they descended, the air gradually became milder, and grass and flowers again relieved their eyes; and in half an hour afterwards, the heat was found to be intolerable: in consequence of which the army experienced, in one day, the three seasons of winter, spring, and summer. Soon after this circumstance, the French received intelligence, by means of the intercepted correspondence of the Austrian general Melas, of the fate of their army in Genoa.

It was not till every hope of succour had vanished, and the French general Massena had seen fifteen thousand of the inhabitants of Genoa perish from absolute hunger, that he would deign to enter into a negociation for the delivery of the place. This negociation was concluded on the 4th of May, the principal article of which stated, that the army of Genoa, amounting to upwards of eight thousand men, should enter France by the way of Nice, and the rest be conveyed by sea to Antibes; and that the Genoese and other Italian inhabitants of Genoa, should be permitted to remove themselves and their effects to any place which suited their inclination.

The Austrian general Otto, with thirty battalions, quitted Genoa, to oppose the progress of the French army, that was marching towards Piedmont. The Austrians were in possession of Casteggio, which they defended with upwards of fifteen thousand men. The shock was dreadful, and victory was a long time doubtful. Casteggio was taken and re-taken several times. The Austrians at length gave way, leaving behind them about three thousand dead and wounded, with six thousand prisoners, and were pursued by the French as far as Voghera.

But this victory was in a few days followed by one of much greater extent. Unable to impede the progress of the French by partial detachments, general Melas, who was now blockaded in Piedmont, assembled the whole of his forces between Alessandria and Tortona, that he might crush the enemy by one stroke, or open himself a way across the French army, to join the Austrian divisions on the Mincio. After detaching different corps from the main army, to strengthen various posts, and defend the passages of the river, Bonaparte, with the remainder, marched to meet the Austrians at Alessandria: the French accordingly met the advanced guard of the Austrians at St. Julian's, which they evacuated to take post at Marengo; from which post they were driven, and compelled to retire beyond the Bormida. The French were at first surprized at seeing the Austrians abandon a situation in which they had so great a superiority of numbers, and it was conjectured that they intended either to pass the Po, or the Tessino, or to march by the territory of Genoa and Bobbio. But while dispositions were made to frustrate these attempts, the advanced guard of the French was attacked, and the Austrians, by the display of their forces, manifested their intention of giving battle. The troops under the command of general Victor were immediately ranged for engagement; a part formed the centre, which occupied the village of Marengo; the other composed the left wing, extending to the Bormida, and general Lannes' division the right wing. The army, formed in two lines, had its wings supported by a numerous body of heavy cavalry.

The Austrians began the engagement on all points. The centre of the French was soon compelled to fall back, and the

the Austrians advanced upon Marengo. A dreadful carnage ensued; but the Austrians, reinforced, continued to advance, and gained possession of the village. Part of the centre of the French gave way, and quitted the field in disorder. The right wing was attacked by two lines of infantry, which marched against it with a formidable artillery. On the point of being flanked by a considerable body, they were supported for a moment by a brigade of dragoons; but the retreat of the centre obliged it, at length, to follow the same movement. The army could only be saved by a body of reserve under general Dessaix. This division was not yet ready for action, and Bonaparte, seeing the necessity of gaining time, advanced towards the right wing, in order to retard its movement. The retreat was, however, made under the fire of eighty pieces of artillery. The carnage was again dreadful, but the French preserved their flanks, and instantly supplied the place of those who fell by fresh troops.

Victory now seemed to declare in favour of the Austrians, whose numerous cavalry covered the plain, supported by several squadrons of light artillery. At this critical moment, the grenadiers of the consular guard marched to support the right, the only column that had continued firm. They advanced, and resolutely sustained three successive charges. At this moment, came up Monier's division, which made part of the corps de reserve. This division was ordered to attack the battalions which protected the Austrian cavalry, part of which were in pursuit of the centre and left of the French. At the plain of St. Juliano, the reserve under Dessaix was drawn up in two lines, supported by the artillery under Marmont, and by the cavalry under Kellerman. Behind this corps the fugitives of the centre and left formed; the presence of Bonaparte, who rapidly flew from rank to rank, re-animated the soldiers, and at four in the afternoon, the battle, which had raged for seven hours, was recommenced with extraordinary vigour and effect.

The Austrians, secure of the victory, having routed two-thirds of the French army, intended to surround the remainder, not considering the division yet unattacked. They had improvidently wasted their strength, and scattered their battalions, in the eagerness of pursuit. Bonaparte instantly perceived the advantages which this eagerness gave him. Dessaix at the head of his legion, impetuously rushed forwards among the victorious battalions, whom he charged with the bayonet. The remainder of the division followed his example, and the whole army, catching the enthusiasm, advanced to the charge. The Austrians, astonished at this sudden explosion, withdrew their artillery, and the infantry began to give way. At this moment Dessaix fell. The loss of whom, instead of disconcerting, only heightened the ardour of the troops into a fury to avenge his death. The bayonet, which had driven back the first line of the Austrians, could not pierce the second. The resistance of the Austrians checked for a moment the French in their career, and the event of the day was still doubtful; but its fate was at length determined by general Kellerman, who, ordering a charge of cavalry, threw the Austrians into disorder, and made six thousand men prisoners, among whom were the general Zagg, general St. Julien, and many other officers of rank.

A third line of Austrian infantry remained as a corps de reserve, supported by the rest of the artillery, and the whole of the cavalry. Against this last division, the right wing of the French advanced, with the grenadiers of the consular guard, and supported by the artillery. The Austrian line still maintained its ground; but the French cavalry, under Murat, having charged the Austrian cavalry, the latter gave way, and was completely routed. Night only put an end to the carnage and pursuit.

The French assert, that the Austrians lost in killed, wounded, and prisoners, about fifteen thousand men; the victory was signal on the part of the French, but their own loss was very great. As far as glory belongs to these actions, history will record this battle as honourable to both parties. It would be endless to enumerate the particular traits of heroism which was this day exhibited. On the next, general Melas, finding his situation no longer tenable, proposed an armistice, which was accepted by Bonaparte. The principal conditions of this armistice were the free passage of the Austrians into the territory of Mantua, Tuscany, and Ancona, and the surrender of the whole of Piedmont and Genoa to the French. The armistice, which was concluded for Italy alone, was to continue till an answer could be returned from the court of Vienna.

The general of the imperial army in Germany endeavoured to take advantage of this armistice in Italy, to stop the progress of the troops under Moreau; but the French general had not listened to the proposition; on the contrary, finding himself in possession of the capital, and the principal part of Bavaria, Moreau detached Lecourbe towards the Tyrol, to seize on the Voralberg and the Grisons, and form a junction with the army of Italy. A suspension of arms having again been made, and Count St. Julien having arrived at Paris in July with proposals for peace, supposed to be from the Imperial cabinet, an armistice was at length concluded for the armies in Germany, leaving for the line of demarcation the posts occupied by the respective troops.

During these transactions, intelligence arrived in Europe of the sudden and extraordinary change of affairs in Egypt. The arrival of the troops according to the terms of capitulation between general Kleber, the grand vizier, and sir Sidney Smith, had been daily expected, and the isle of Hieres had been nominated for the performance of quarantine. No doubt had been entertained, but the British cabinet would readily assent to the terms agreed on and signed by the plenipotentiary; and though the instructions which lord Keith (late sir George Elphinstone) had received and transmitted, destroyed or suspended this hope, the grand vizier and the French general continued on good terms, conceiving that the British cabinet would not persevere in its determination. They had even concerted provisionary measures, but a difficulty occurred which hindered the effect of those reciprocal dispositions. The grand vizier, already master of Salahich, Catichobs, Belbois, Damietta, a part of the Delta, and Upper Egypt, evacuated in virtue of the convention, required the French to deliver up to him the citadel of Cairo, of which they were still in possession. Kleber refused to abandon the only fortified place which was left him after Alexandria. His refusal was communicated to the grand vizier, with his resolution to resume hostilities; for which he prepared his army, by communicating the ignominious propositions in the letter from lord Keith.

The French, equally indignant with their general, regardless of the superiority of numbers they had to encounter, and the difficulty of their position, began to cannonade on the 20th of March, at break of day, the Turkish advanced posts at Maturia, two leagues from Cairo. The grand vizier drew out his army, and occupied the ground between that post and the village Elhauca. The French army, consisting of fifteen thousand men, including the cavalry on dromedaries, was ranged in two lines, and extended half a league towards Boulac. The Turkish cavalry, at first made some partial attacks on the French infantry, but without much effect. The Janissaries, opposed to the left wing of the French, advanced next, and attacked with great bravery, but, wanting artillery and ammunition, they were speedily obliged to fall back. Towards noon the French advanced on the whole line with a terrible fire of artillery and musquetry; which threw the Turks into disorder, and instantly the whole army, consisting of forty thousand men, fled in all directions. The grand vizier withdrew to his camp, but was obliged to abandon it the same day, the French having advanced in two oblique lines to cut off his retreat. The route then became general. Nineteen pieces of cannon and a part of the camp fell into the hands of the victors, whose loss was but trivial, as they met with a feeble resistance. The loss of the Turks amounted to eight thousand men killed or wounded, exclusive of those who perished in the desert. At the beginning of the action, Nazon Pacha and Murad Bey passed the rear of the republican army into Cairo, where they massacred whatever French they found, and slaughtered numbers of the Greeks and Copts. Kleber declined any further pursuit of the Turkish army, invested the city of Cairo, which was in revolt against him, and, having taken possession, punished in an exemplary manner the cruelties which had been exercised against those who took part with the French.

The proposals of peace, which in July had been presented in Paris by Count St. Julien, had been the subject of frequent negociations between the French cabinet and the court of Vienna. Whatever might be the hopes or secret views of that court, the refusal of the ratification of the preliminaries was intimated in a note from the British government, which insisted that a minister should be sent to the congress at Luneville, conjointly with the plenipotentiaries of the emperor.

The hostilities of the English in this year, were principally

pally connected with the maritime service. A descent on the coast of Bretagne was resolved on, the forts of Quiberon were destroyed, and other embarkations were adopted injurious to the French. From the Dutch, the island of Goree was taken, as well as the American island of Curaçoa. Ferrol was threatened by a British armament; but, though the invaders obtained the neighbouring heights by repelling the Spaniards, they were discouraged from attacking the place. Cadiz which had also been menaced, was saved by the same improbability of success, and the danger of being infected with a contagious disease, which was then prevalent in the garrison, and among the inhabitants of the town.

Disturbances arose, about this time in England, occasioned chiefly by the high price of corn. At Birmingham, and many other provincial towns, depredations, and acts of violence were committed. The metropolis was for several days alarmed by clamorous multitudes, but the chief magistrate, by his firmness and judicious conduct, prevented outrages from becoming serious.

To alleviate the pressure of dearth, the king proposed to the parliament, that the most ample encouragement should be given to the importation of every species of grain, and that measures should be taken for the extension and improvement of agriculture. A proclamation, recommending œconomy, was issued by his majesty, exhorting "all masters of families to reduce the consumption of bread by at least one-third of the quantity consumed in former times, and in no case to suffer the same to exceed one quartern loaf for each person in each week; to abstain from the use of flour in pastry; and restrict the consumption of oats and other grain for the subsistence of horses." Three bills were instantly prepared, prohibiting the use of grain in the distilleries, and the exportation of provisions of any denomination.

A dispatch from sir Hyde Parker, received at the Admiralty-office on the 27th of January, 1800, announced that captain Hamilton of the Surprize, formed a resolution of attempting to cut out, by the boats of his majesty's ship under his command, the Hermoine from the harbour of Porto Cavallo, which had formerly belonged to his majesty; nor was he induced to abandon his project, though two hundred pieces of cannon were mounted on the batteries. He turned the hands up, to acquaint the officers and ship's company of his intentions to lead them to the attack, which was handsomely returned with three cheers, and that they would all follow to a man: the boats, containing one hundred men, including officers, at half past twelve in the morning of the 25th (after having beat the launch of the ship, which carried a twenty-four pounder and twenty men, and receiving several guns and small arms from the frigate) boarded: the forecastle was taken possession of without much resistance; the quarter-deck disputed the point a quarter of an hour, where a dreadful carnage took place; the main-deck held out much longer, and with equal slaughter; they last of all retreated between decks, and continued firing till their ammunition was expended: then, and not till then, did they cry for quarter. At two o'clock they were completely in possession of the Hermione. She was nearly ready for sea, mounting forty-four guns, with a ship's company of three hundred and twenty-one officers and sailors, and fifty-six soldiers. Every officer and man behaved with an uncommon degree of valour and exertion.

The French and Imperial armies were now preparing to open the campaign a second time. The situation of affairs roused the imperial court to a seeming temporary effort of personal courage. The emperor signified his resolution of putting himself, with his brother the archduke John, at the head of the army; hoping that this example, together with the general danger, would encourage the Germans, and other subjects of the empire to join themselves to his imperial majesty, to secure a peace upon honourable terms.

In conformity with the rescript of the imperial minister to the diet, the emperor, and his brother the archduke John, repaired to the army, where the latter entered on his office as commander-in-chief. On his arrival in this character, he received a letter from general Moreau, which had just been transmitted from Paris, and which he thus literally transcribed: "Inform the general who commands the Austrian army, that the emperor refuses to ratify the preliminaries of peace, and that you are obliged to recommence hostilities. You may, however, agree to an armistice of a month, on condition that places of surety be immediately put into your possession." General Moreau at the same time sent an officer to state the terms of this new armistice, or notify the commencement of hostilities the following day. A nearer review of the state of his forces, and the peremptory demand of general Moreau, induced the emperor to adopt more pacific sentiments; in consequence of which, the interview between the archduke John and the French general, Lahorne, ended in an arrangement for another armistice, which included the armies of Italy also, and was to terminate in forty-five days, if no definitive arrangements took place in the mean time. The treaty was signed at Hohenlinden on the 20th of September.

During these proceedings in Germany, a negociation for peace was opened at London. In the beginning of August, M. Thugut, the emperor's prime-minister, had addressed a note to M. Talleyrand, in which he transmitted by order of his imperial majesty, an invitation to the First Consul to nominate plenipotentiaries to treat on this subject; declaring at the same time that his Britannic majesty was disposed to concur in this negociation, as had been announced in a note of lord Minto's, the English minister at Vienna. Lord Minto had therein declared that his Britannic majesty was ready to send his plenipotentiaries to treat of peace, in concert with the emperor, as soon as the French government should have signified its intention of entering into negociation with the cabinet of St. James's. The French government immediately dispatched M. Otto, commissary for the exchange of prisoners in England, a copy of the propositions made by the cabinet of Vienna, with instructions to enter into a negociation with the English cabinet.

M. Otto communicated his instructions to lord Grenville, the most important of which was, that he was authorised to propose and conclude a general armistice between the armies and fleets of the states implicated in the treaty. The commissioners met on the 28th of August, but the result of this negociation was unfavourable to peace. The French insisted on a naval armistice, and demanded great preliminary advantages, declaring they would not consent to a general treaty, unless these requisitions should be complied with. The spirit of the British court revolted from this proposal, and the conference and correspondence ended of course. The rupture of this negociation was followed by that of the continental armistice, which had not afforded time to the belligerent powers to recruit their shattered forces, in order to renew hostilities.

In November, the winter campaign opened, when the Austrians at first gained some advantages, but were at length overcome by the skill and prowess of general Moreau. Prompted by some inconsiderable successes, the Imperialists were induced to abandon their strong positions on the river Inn, where they might have made a long resistance. Leaving this advantageous position, they marched upon the army of the French, stationed near the village of Hohenlinden. Moreau, who had waited for them in the positions he had taken, met the attack as if he had intended only to keep himself on the defensive, and this hesitation in the French general was construed by the Austrians into a disinclination to come to a decisive action; but this error was not of long duration. While the Austrians, confident of victory, were endeavouring to force Moreau to some determinate purpose, they were astonished to find a French division in their rear, led on by Richepanse and Decaer. This moment of hesitation in the Austrian army was the signal for attack: the French generals Grenier and Ney poured down their divisions on the Austrian lines, and met those of Richepanse and Decaer. These last divisions having innumerable obstacles to encounter, had performed prodigies of valour.

Richepanse, cut off from the rest of his division, without looking behind him, had marched with five or six battalions into the midst of the Austrians. The imperial army, surprized, broken, and overwhelmed, endeavoured to retreat; but, ingulphed in defiles and woods, and surrounded by enemies, no mode of escaping or rallying presented itself, and for the space of a league and a half the carnage was tremendous. The centre of the Austrian army had fled or perished. The defeat of the centre consequently drew on that of the wings. The French remained masters of the field, with eighty pieces of cannon, two hundred caissons, ten thousand prisoners, and a considerable number of officers, among whom were three generals of distinction.

The campaign was now decided in favour of the French, and the battle of Hohenlinden, and the passage of the Inn, had thrown not only the court of Vienna, but also the capital,

pital, into the greatest confusion, and, in proportion to the presumption of the former, was now its terror and dread of seeing the French soon at the gates. One resource yet remained, since that of arms had proved ineffectual; and of that the imperial court was sufficiently prudent at this crisis to have recourse to.

Prince Charles, who quitted the command of the army at the opening of the campaign, and who retreated into honourable exile, as governor of Bohemia, for declaring his opinion respecting the events of the war, which the result had justified, was again resorted to as the saviour of his country. The court had flattered itself that his presence and efforts would once more establish an equilibrium of force with the French, and conceived hopes that its military affairs were yet retrievable.—This charm was now dissolved: the prince, though adored by the army, perceived that this allurement was departed; and the soldier of every rank hailed his return, not as the hero who was to lead them to victory, but as the herald who was to conduct them to peace. The archduke, whatever hopes he might entertain at the moment of his recal, saw, on his arrival at the army, that they were destitute of foundation. Before, however, he resolved on making a submission, which, from various circumstances, he presumed must be almost unconditional, he resolved on making a last attempt. This attempt was unsuccessful; the Austrians were defeated, and, after losing about eight thousand men, withdrew in disorder behind the Ens. This event convinced the imperial cabinet of the truth of the archduke's repeated assertions, in his correspondence, from the time of his recal, that there was no safety for the Austrian monarchy, but in peace, at any rate; since, in the space of twenty days, the army had lost seventy leagues of ground, twenty-five thousand prisoners, fifteen thousand killed or wounded, one hundred and forty pieces of cannon, and immense magazines of all descriptions, while the enemy was in a position to dictate orders to the capital. An armistice was therefore offered, on the 27th of December, and accepted by Moreau, on condition that peace should, without delay, follow this third cessation of hostilities. A convention was soon after agreed on for the same purpose in Italy between the generals Bellegarde and Brune, in which the Austrians ceded to the French the fortified places they had left behind them untaken, including Mantua which was given up by the subsequent treaty of Luneville (*g*).

The negociations at Luneville were now carried on with considerable alacrity. The French army, by the convention of the late armistice, possessing part of the hereditary dominions of the house of Austria, within thirty leagues of the capital, and masters of the whole of Italy, gave the republic a decided preponderance with respect to the conditions of peace, which were rather dictated than discussed. By this treaty, the emperor formally ratified the cession of the Belgic provinces, renounced by the treaty of Campo Formio. The whole of the country, left of the Rhine, forming the four new departments, and which had been hitherto previously governed by the French, the cession of which had been stipulated for, and assented to, at the congress of Rastadt, was given up; henceforth the Rhine, from Switzerland to Holland, should consequently form the limits of the German empire and the French republic. In Italy, the possession of the Imperial fiefs was confirmed to the Ligurian republic, and the Cisalpine, which terminated at the river Mirren, was enlarged to the banks of the Adige, including Verona. In consequence of these and other cessions, the emperor was permitted to remain in possession of Istria, Dalmatia, the Venetian islands in the Adriatic depending on those countries, and of the state of Venice, as far as Adige. Such were the principal articles of this treaty, which was declared to be made in common with the Swiss, Dutch, Cisalpine, and Ligurian republics. It was signed at Luneville, by count Dobentzel on the part of the emperor, and Joseph Bonaparte on the part of the French republic, and was to be ratified in thirty days (*h*).

The year 1801 was introduced by a circumstance which ultimately

(*g*) About this time, Bonaparte, deserting the accustomed form of diplomatic proceeding, addressed a letter to the king of Great Britain, which was inclosed in one from Talleyrand to lord Grenville. He asked, whether the war was to be eternal? Whether the two powerful nations of France and Great Britain could not come to a mutual understanding? And expected this overture to be considered as a proof of his desire to contribute efficaciously for the second time, to a general pacification. Lord Grenville answered Talleyrand, by observing, that the king, seeing no reason for departing from the forms of transacting affairs between foreign states, which prevailed throughout Europe, had directed him to answer the propositions of the first consul, by a note to his minister. He traced the conduct of France from the origin of the existing hostilities, and noticed the repeated assurances made by every succeeding government of pacific intentions, while all their acts were replete with war. The new government had given no proofs of a disposition to adopt a different system, nor could any assurance be given of its stability. The best assurance which Great Britain could receive of the formation of a regular government in France, would be the restoration of that race of princes, who, for so many ages, preserved the French nation in internal prosperity, and in consideration and respect among foreign powers. But, though such an event would obviate every obstacle, his majesty did not consider it indispensable to the attainment of a safe and durable peace; but whenever he should be of opinion that the security of his own dominions, and those of his allies, and the general security of Europe, could be attained, he would eagerly seize the opportunity to concert with his allies, the means of an immediate and general pacification. Hitherto no such security existed; and nothing remained for him but to prosecute, in conjunction with the other powers, a just and defensive war.

At the close of this year, a plan was said to be formed for the assassination of the first consul, whose conduct had procured him many enemies. It was proposed to be carried into execution by means of gunpowder, and the construction of what has since been termed the *infernal machine*. This machine was nothing more than a barrel filled with gunpowder, in which was to be inserted a match, to produce the explosion at a calculated moment. This barrel was conveyed in a cart, into the Rue Nicaise, in the evening of the 24th of December, when it was known the chief consul intended to be at the opera. The Rue Nicaise being a narrow street, leading from the Thuilleries to the opera, it was supposed he would pass through it at a certain time after he had ascended his carriage; but, lest the velocity of his horses and the burning of the match should not keep in unison, the cart with the machine was so placed as to impede the passage. The coachman not only drove unusually fast, but had the address, in driving through the street, to pass the cart which was intended to obstruct the way. The consul and his suite had proceeded to another street before the explosion took place, which failing in the purpose for which it was designed, was destructive to those who were in its neighbourhood, killing some, wounding others, and shattering the buildings to their foundations. This attempt was at first attributed to the royalist party, but it was soon agreed that none were capable of conceiving or executing such a project, but the Jacobins. An exemplary punishment was therefore declared necessary, and those who first suffered for this act, were two individuals, in whose possession were found a barrel of powder, and some combustible machinery; and some of these not being able to give a satisfactory account, they were sentenced to be shot, and afterwards suffered that punishment. The further researches of the prefect of the police, warranted a conclusion, that it was certainly a Jacobin conspiracy, in consequence of which one hundred and thirty-two were arrested; and, though there was not any specific charge against these individuals, and it was impossible to convict them by a regular trial, an act of police banished them beyond the seas.

(*h*) At the court of St. James's, the first of January, 1801, present the king's most excellent majesty in council, his majesty was pleased to appoint by proclamation, that the royal style and titles shall henceforth be accepted, taken, and used, in manner and form following: that is to say, the same shall be expressed in the Latin tongue, by these words: *Georgius Tertius, Dei Gratia, Britanniarum Rex, Fidei Defensor;* and in the English tongue by these words.—*George the Third, by the Grace of God, of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland King, Defender of the Faith.* And that the arms or ensigns armorial of the said united kingdom, shall be quarterly, first and fourth England; second Scotland; third Ireland. And it is our will and pleasure, that there shall be borne therewith, on an escutcheon of pretence, the arms of our dominions in Germany, ensigned with the electoral bonnet. And it is our will and pleasure, that the standard of the said united kingdom, shall be the same quarterings as are herein-before declared to be the arms or ensigns armorial of the said united kingdom, with the escutcheon of pretence thereon, herein-before described; and that the union flag shall be azure, the crosses-saltire of St. Andrew and St. Patrick quarterly, per saltire counter-changed, argent and gules; the latter fimbriated of the second, surmounted by the cross of St. George of the third fimbriated as the saltire.

On the third of February, his majesty's council took the oaths, as privy counsellors for the united kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland: and his majesty received the great seal from the lord chancellor, and causing it to be defaced, presented to him a new great seal for the united kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland.

It is also required, by his majesty's royal proclamation, that the following alterations be made in the book of Common Prayer.—In the title page, instead of *the Church of England,* insert, " of the United Church of England and Ireland."

In the prayer for the high court of parliament instead of *our sovereign and his kingdoms,* read, " his dominions."

In the first prayer to be used at sea, instead of his *kingdoms,* read, " his dominions."

In the form and manner of making, ordaining, and consecrating bishops, priests, and deacons, instead of *the church of England,* read, " of the united church of England and Ireland."

In the preface of the said form, in two places, instead of *church of England,* read, " in the united church of England and Ireland."

In the occasional offices, twenty-fifth of October, the king's accession, instead of *these realms,* read, " this realm."

In the collect, before the epistle, instead of *these kingdoms,* read, " this united kingdom."

For the preachers, instead of *king of Great Britain, France, and Ireland,* say, " king of the united kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland."

And no edition of the book of Common Prayer, shall be hereafter printed without these amendments; and until copies of such edition may be

ultimately produced other interesting events. An administration, which had existed upwards of seventeen years, and had baffled, and at length subdued, a most formidable opposition, was suddenly dissolved; and on the 11th of January, Mr. Pitt gave in his resignation to his majesty, which was immediately followed by that of lord Grenville, earl Spencer, the lord chancellor, Mr. Dundas, and Mr. Windham. Mr. Pitt declared, that he thought himself bound by his duty, his conscience, and his honour, to resign that situation, in which he had not full liberty to pursue his ideas of equity and public benefit. The ostensible ground of resignation was the question of catholic emancipation, as it has been termed. In his ardour for accomplishing the projected union, Mr. Pitt, it is said, had engaged to the Irish catholics to atchieve for them their object, if the act of union should meet with no opposition on their parts; and he took one of the earliest opportunities of bringing it forward in the cabinet council. The English clergy dreaded the increase of popery; and the Irish protestants were alarmed at the idea of having to encounter a Popish judge upon the bench, supported by a Popish jury, summoned by a Popish sheriff. Through what channel his majesty was influenced to oppose this measure, we are ignorant: but it is generally understood that, through his interference, the plan of the minister was defeated: and this was immediately followed by his resignation, and that of most of his colleagues in office.

Of the character of this administration, an impartial judgement will be formed by posterity. The retainers of a minister may erect statues, and pour out the grateful incense of adulation before that idol which has been the tutelar deity of their fortune; but it is the page of history, which alone will erect a durable monument, and which will consecrate the name of a minister to honour and immortality. To Mr. Pitt's administration, the impartial historian cannot accord the praise of political consistency, of extended views, of liberal principles, and an enlarged and beneficial system of policy. He entered upon his political career too early in life, and with a degree of popularity which was calculated to intoxicate an inexperienced mind. Early involved in the vortex of public business, his talents wanted the exercise of study to improve and mature them. He was deficient in some of the rudiments requisite for the knowledge of a statesman. Thus thrown prematurely into public life, gifted by nature with extraordinary talents, among the first of which we may mention a fluent, copious, and impressive eloquence; he was nevertheless an unfinished politician. He would have excelled as an associate, though he was perhaps unequal to the situation of a principal: he was calculated for an admirable partizan, though he wanted the knowledge and capacity of a general. His measures therefore displayed the impetuosity, but not the vigour of youth; they had all the stratagem, but not the judgement of the experienced statesman. They were calculated to excite admiration, rather than to ensure approbation; and, while we were astonished at the boldness of the design, we sometimes beheld, with disappointment, a poverty of execution. He entered upon undertakings of the greatest magnitude, without sufficient information, and he abandoned them, because he had not calculated upon the difficulties that were to be encountered. In every thing, his object was to be distinguished; in every thing he must be a prominent character. Thus the statesman was lost in the projector; and in too eagerly pursuing fame, he lost that greatness, to which, with more sober counsels, he might have attained.

But the errors of Mr. Pitt were rather errors of judgement than of principle. We despise the factious calummy which would ascribe to him a deliberate plan to overthrow the liberties of his country. He disapproved of liberty only when it opposed his views; and he sported occasionally with the constitution of his country, only to serve the little purposes of party—the exigencies of the moment. He lavished the honours of the peerage with an unsparing hand; though the system of bribery, under the colour of participating in the loan, was laid aside; nor does it appear, on the whole, that the pension list was immoderately enlarged during his administration.

So far from charging this administration with pursuing despotism on a system, it is lamented that they were totally without any plan or system whatever. Mr. Pitt's administration was best characterized by a favourite phrase of his own,—*existing circumstances*. His first political project was a parliamentary reform, but he discovered that *existing circumstances* would not admit it. He undertook to extinguish the national debt; he concluded by doubling it. He gloried in being the minister of peace; and soon after manifested an inordinate passion for war. Thus one part of his administration was a contradiction of another; one system served as a practical refutation of the preceding: a measure of the highest national importance, which had been ordered in the afternoon, has been revoked the succeeding morning.

The same inconsistency is observable in the causes, or rather excuses for the late war. At one time, it was a war voluntarily undertaken for religion, monarchy, and social order; at another, we were forced into it by the aggression of our adversaries. At one period, it was prosecuted to procure indemnity for the past, and security for the future: at another, for the express purpose of restoring the house of Bourbon. In the negociation at Paris, the *sine quâ non* was the restoration of the Netherlands to the emperor of Germany: in the answer to the overture of Bonaparte, it was the re-establishment of monarchy in France. Contrary to the policy of all sagacious statesmen, who embrace the moment of good fortune to secure the most advantageous terms, our ministers were haughty and insolent in success, and abject in ill fortune; they negociated only when their allies were beaten off the field.

The character of Mr. Pitt's administration has been grossly mistaken by both parties. He was neither the knight errant of despotism, nor the cool and crafty politician. His proceedings were more the effect of impulse than of meditation. He has been extolled as a profound financier; the fact, however, has rather been asserted than proved. It is generally understood, that, of three plans for the liquidation of the national debt, presented by the late Dr. Price, he made choice of the worst; a circumstance that argues little for either his knowledge or his judgement in that department. His first essay in taxation, which was termed the commutation tax, was a palpable blunder in finance, and answered no beneficial purpose to any part of the nation, except the India company. The other taxes, which he from time to time imposed, evinced no genius for finance. They consisted either in augmentations of existing taxes, or in fantastical forms of taxation which have been found either impolitic or unproductive. Among these may be enumerated the taxes on shops, watches, maid servants, hair-powder, armorial bearings, &c. A great and masterly genius for finance might certainly, in so long a space of time as seventeen years, have projected something of a more novel and interesting a nature.

Such appears to be the impartial outline of the character of this administration. Mr. Pitt is neither to be regarded as the saviour of his country, nor the enemy of its liberties. His administration will be known to posterity chiefly by its profusion; and the mischiefs which the nation has to regret from it are five hundred millions added to the national debt, the existing taxes nearly trebled, and the necessaries of life (from these causes, and the unnecessary extension of paper credit) raised to such an exorbitant price as to be beyond the power of many individuals to purchase them, who before this period could have lived on their earnings.

A considerable time elapsed before the new ministerial arrangements were announced. When the new ministry was formed, lord Eldon was nominated to the office of lord high chancellor; lord St. Vincent to that of the first lord of the admiralty; lord Hawkesbury to that of secretary of state for the foreign department; lord Pelham to that of secretary of state for the home department; and colonel Yorke to that of secretary at war. Lord Eldon was succeeded by sir Richard Pepper Arden, now created lord Alvanley, as chief justice of the common pleas; and Mr. Addington (*i*), by sir John Mitford, as speaker of the house of commons, though that gentleman strongly intimated, that he did not consider this dignity as the *ne plus ultra* of his ambition, but merely as an avenue to other dignities and emoluments: sir William Grant was appointed master

had, parsons, vicars, &c. are required, (to prevent mistakes) with pen, to correct and amend all such prayers in their church books, according to the above directions: and the bishops are enjoined to take care, that obedience be paid to the same accordingly, within their respective dioceses.

(*i*) After some deliberation, his majesty selected Mr. Addington for the office of first lord of the treasury and chancellor of the exchequer. This gentleman had long been intimately acquainted with Mr. Pitt, whose influence had raised him to the chair of the house of commons.

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of the rolls, and Mr. Law and Mr. Perceval, attorney and solicitor-generals. But before the new ministers could regularly enter upon their respective offices, and before their appointment was announced in the Gazette, his majesty was seized with a febrile indisposition, and continued so far indisposed, as to be unable to transact public business, till the middle of the month of March. Till that period, the old ministers continued to hold the reins of government, with the exception only of lord St. Vincent and lord Hawkesbury, who had been inducted into office previous to his majesty's indisposition.

A vacancy having happened in the representation of the borough of Old Sarum, John Horne Tooke, esquire, was named its representative by the proprietor, lord Camelford (*k*). When Mr. Tooke had taken the oaths at the table, lord Temple gave notice that he should move for his expulsion. The matter was, however, deferred till the 6th of May, and during the interval, a commitee had been appointed to search for precedents, and report on the case. On that day, lord Temple brought forward his motion, and supported it with considerable ability. Mr. Tooke adduced many cogent arguments, to establish his right to a seat; and, after ridiculing the officious zeal of lord Temple, and his parade of historic learning, he expressed a willingness to co-operate with him in a general bill for the exclusion of the clergy, if it should afford him a prospect of the increase of moral and religious wisdom; but he was inimical to the practice of punishing an individual by an *ex post facto* law. Though Mr. Tooke maintained that nothing but positive assertion, unsupported by ecclesiastical law, church history, or parliamentary precedent, had proceeded from its advocates, it passed through both houses. He was supported by Mr. Erskine, Mr. Fox, and Mr. Grey; and opposed by sir William Scott, and the attorney and solicitor-generals. The motion was carried by a majority of forty-one (*l*).

A bill was now introduced, declaring the clergy ineligible to a seat in the house of commons; but not any debate of importance took place, till the second reading in the house of lords, on the 15th of June, when lord Thurlow cited various legal authorities decidedly against the bill; and he was followed, in similar arguments, by the lords Moira, Carlisle, and Holland. The bill was strenuously supported by the lord chancellor, the bishop of Rochester, and other noble lords; and being read a second time, was afterwards passed into a law. But it may not be improper to observe, that, by a specific clause, it was prevented from expelling Mr. Tooke from the existing parliament.

The suspension of the habeas corpus act was moved and carried in both houses, according to an annual custom, for several years; as was the bill for the continuance of martial law in Ireland. This measure was followed by the introduction of a bill of indemnity in favour of the late administration, which, after some debate, passed both houses.

On the 2nd of July, the session was closed by commission, his majesty being then absent at Weymouth. The lord chancellor addressed the two houses in an appropriate speech, expiating on the late victories; and adding, that they derived peculiar value in his majesty's estimation, from their tendency to facilitate the restoration of peace. This inspired a public confidence that peace would be a desirable object of the new administration, in which the people of this country were not disappointed; that object was obtained, though, unfortunately, it was but of short duration.

Notwithstanding the chancellor's address to the imperial parliament, peace with France, at this time, appeared more impracticable than at any former period of the war. The disgust excited by the rejection of Bonaparte's overture, on his assuming the government of France, was heightened by the breach of a treaty concluded by sir Sydney Smith, and by an order issued for seizing the fishing boats off the French coasts: Besides, France was now powerfully strengthened by the alliance of Russia; and a formidable confederacy of the maritime powers of the north, threatened the annihilation of the naval empire of the united kingdom.

To prevent the active co-operation of Denmark in the designs of Russia, a considerable armament was fitted out in the British ports, under the command of sir Hyde Parker and lord Nelson. When this fleet approached Copenhagen, about the middle of March, the Danes appeared to have made very formidable dispositions.

The defensive arrangements of the Danes were well calculated to inspire terror. The approaches to Copenhagen were skilfully and judiciously fortified; batteries of cannon and mortars were erected on the shore wherever they could be rendered efficacious. Amatz, and the Crown Islands, were strengthened and improved by a variety of works: a chain, and fort built on piles protected the mouth of the harbour; and a line of shipping was an additional buttress to its support. The admiral having ordered an attack from the southward, lord Nelson advanced with twelve ships of the line, and four frigates, attended by some sloops, fire-ships, and bomb-vessels; but two of the large ships run aground, from the intricacy of the navigation, and another was obliged to cast anchor at a considerable distance from her intended station. Captain Murray, in the Edgar, gallantly led the van. The Monarch sustained the most destructive fire, Mosse, the commander, being killed, and about fifty of his men. Captain Riou was also killed; the battle raging for three hours, with great slaughter on both sides. Of the English, upwards of two hundred and fifty were killed, and of the Danes, about five hundred. The wounded on each side were more numerous. Some of our ships were much damaged; and seventeen Danish vessels, including floating batteries, were sunk, captured, or destroyed.

After the termination of the contest, lord Nelson threatened to burn the floating batteries, without sparing even the prisoners on board, if the enemy did not instantly cease firing. This menace produced a cessation of hostilities, and an armistice was soon after concluded with the Danish court.

About the middle of April, the British fleet appeared off the entrance of Carlscrona, a port in Sweden; and the admiral informed the governor, that the court of Denmark, having concluded an armistice, by which the unfortunate dispute with the court of St. James's had been accommodated, he was directed to require an explicit answer from his Swedish majesty, relative to his intention of adhering to, or abandoning, the hostile measures he had taken in conjunction with Russia. An official answer to this demand was communicated from the king of Sweden to sir Hyde Parker, intimating, that his Swedish majesty would not fail to perform the engagements entered into with his allies; but that he would not refuse to hearken to equitable proposals, made by deputies properly authorized to

(*k*) This eccentric yonng nobleman, after performing a principal character in many tumults and commotions, for some of which he had suffered temporary imprisonment, provoked captain Best of the navy to give him a challenge, a duel ensued, and the irascible peer, experienced that death he had frequently sought! A bullet from the pistol of his adversary, terminated his existence on the 8th of March, 1804.—The following annecdote of this young nobleman may perhaps be found interesting. On the 30th of January, 1798, died, at English harbour, Antigua Charles Paterson, esquire, first lieutenant of his majesty's ship Perdrix. This event was occasioned by a dispute between the deceased and lord Camelford, upon the right of commanding at English Harbour. Lord Camelford commanded his majesty's sloop of war the Favourite, by virtue of an order or warrant from admiral Hervey; and Mr. Paterson, (though an older lieutenant than lord Camelford) had lately served on board that ship under his command; but, having been removed to the Perdrix, and lord Camelford not having a commission as master and commander, Mr. Paterson being then at English Harbour, supposed himself to be the commanding officer, and under that idea, issued some orders to lord Camelford, which were answered by other orders from lord Camelford to Mr. Paterson. Upon Mr. Paterson's refusal to obey these orders, a lieutenant and a party of marines were sent to put him under arrest, when Mr. Paterson prepared for resistance, and ordered the crew of the Perdrix to arm in his defence. But before any conflict took place, lord Camelford arrived, went up to Mr. Paterson, demanded if he would obey his orders or not; and, upon being answered in the negative, he *immediately shot him dead* upon the spot. A court martial was some time afterwards held on board the Invincible, in Fort Royal Bay, Martinique, when the court, being duly sworn, proceeded to try lord Camelford; and they were unanimously of opinion, that, "the very extraordinary and manifest disobedience of lieutenant Paterson, both before and at the instant of his death, to the orders of lord Camelford, the senior officer at English Harbour, at that time, and the violent measures taken by lieutenant Paterson to resist the same, by arming the Perdrix's ship's company, were acts of mutiny highly injurious to the discipline of his majesty's service. The court do therefore unanimously adjudge, that the right honourable lord Camelford be honourably acquitted."

(*l*) The case of the famous Dr. Walker was well known, who bravely defended Londonderry, during its siege by James the Second. King William was anxious to reward him with a bishopric: the bishops interfered, and gave it as their opinion, that notwithstanding he had performed great services, his hands had been embrued in blood, and he could not therefore be made a bishop. King William remunerated him another way, and gave him a regiment; and the doctor, then created colonel Walker, was afterwards killed, fighting gallantly by his side.

regulate





F. P. Burney delin.

J. Taylor fec.

The Death of General Abercrombie at the battle of Alexandria, March 21. 1801.

Published as the Act directs, Sept. 10. 1813. by J. Stratford. N.° 112 Holborn Hill.

regulate the matters in dispute. The termination of this contest is not to be attributed either to the battle of Copenhagen, or to the victorious progress of the British fleet; but to an event which had just before taken place, which produced an almost instantaneous revolution in the politics of the north—the death of the emperor Paul, who had acted so versatile a part on the political stage, from the period when he ascended the Russian throne. Respecting the cause and manner of his death, a cautious silence was maintained in Russia (*m*). Of his character, but little is to be said. He was a strange compound of inconsistencies: from the consideration of the most important enterprizes, he would descend to the most trivial narratives. He was capricious in the extreme, and equally credulous and suspicious. His conduct was marked by an eccentricity, which not unjustly induced a suspicion of mental derangement. His benignity to Kosciusko, and the Polish insurgents, formed an extraordinary contrast to his embarking in the coalition against France, which was succeeded by another wonderful change, in his desertion of the coalesced powers, his alliance with Bonaparte, and his quarrel with England. The same eccentricity which signalized his character in his foreign transactions, distinguished his domestic policy, and many of his acts can only be characterized as the capricious outrages of a tyrant. His mortal career was too soon terminated to admit of a clear developement of his character; but it may confidently be predicted, that he would not have lived either to his own honour, or the benefit of his own country. His want of steadiness and principle deprived him of respect; and his arbitrary proceedings excited general disgust and odium. His death was unlamented, and his son Alexander ascended the throne, amidst the unbounded acclamations of the people.

The conduct of Alexander, his eldest son, who succeeded him, was, on his accession to power, characterized at least by an apparent moderation, which formed a contrast to the hasty violence of his predecessor. The new emperor disclaimed the politics of his father. Soon after a cessation of arms, and the general outline of a pacific accommodation, were agreed on between the Russian court and sir Hyde Parker; and lord St. Helens was dispatched from our court, with ample powers to terminate the dispute. In the mean time, the embargo on the British ships detained in the ports of Russia was removed; and this honourable conduct was answered by a correspondent liberality on the part of Great Britain. Under these favourable auspices the negociation commenced, and, it was natural to conclude that each party would be disposed to concede a little, which actually took place. One stipulation in the treaty deserves particular commendation, that of the confining the right of search to the ships employed entirely in the service of government. Thus, by the dissolution of this confederacy, one of the great obstacles to a peace between Great Britain and the French government was happily set aside.

The vigilance of ministers having, about this time, obtained certain information of the renewal of seditious practices, which had been checked by coërcive laws, the *Habeas Corpus* act was again suspended, and a bill reenacted to prevent treasonable and seditious meetings. Martial law was also continued in Ireland, by statute, as the union had not perfectly tranquillized that country.

By reason of the breach of the treaty between general Kleber and sir Sidney Smith, a considerable force had been dispatched from Great Britain, under admiral lord Keith and general Abercrombie, which, after unexpected delays, arrived off Alexandria on the first of March. The day following, the fleet made sail for the bay of Aboukir, and anchored there. Till the 7th, the sea ran so high, that the disembarkation could not be effected; but on that day the first division accomplished their landing, in the face of a body of French, who were aware of their intention, and were posted in force, with considerable advantages of position. The front of the disembarkation was narrow, and a hill, which commanded the whole, appeared almost inaccessible; yet the British troops ascended it, under the fire of grape-shot, with the utmost intrepidity, and forced the French to retire, leaving behind them several pieces of artillery, and a number of horses, though upwards of seven hundred of our men, sailors included, were killed or wounded in this service. The troops which landed on the 8th of March, advanced three miles the same day; and on the 12th, the whole army moved forward, and came within sight of the French, who were formed advantageously on a ridge, with their left to the canal of Alexandria, and their right towards the sea.

It having been resolved to commence the attack on the 13th, the British army marched in two lines by the left, with an intention of turning the right flank of the enemy. The attack was anticipated by the French; who descended from the heights on which they had formed, and attacked the leading brigades of both lines. The British troops were therefore obliged to change their position, and the rest of the army immediately followed their example. The British advanced guard suffered considerably, but after a severe conflict, victory declared in favour of the English. The loss of the French must of course have been also considerable. Sir Ralph Abercrombie took with him from England, upwards of fifteen thousand infantry and cavalry, and with the seamen, who, from the official returns appear to have been engaged, the troops must have amounted to that number at the least. One hundred and fifty of the English and their associates were killed, and about one thousand one hundred wounded.

The British army pursued their successes with vigour: and on the 21st of the same month, a more memorable conflict occurred, with a similar event, at the distance of about four miles from Alexandria. It commenced before day light in the morning, by a false attack on the left of the English, under major-general Craddock, in which the French were repulsed. But the most vigorous efforts of the enemy were directed to the right of the English army, which they endeavoured to turn. The attack, on that point, was gallantly begun by the French infantry, sustained by a strong body of cavalry, who charged in column. The contest was remarkably obstinate. The French were twice repulsed, and their cavalry were repeatedly mixed with the British infantry; but at length gave way. While this was passing on the right, the French attempted to penetrate the centre of the British army, with a column of infantry, who were also repulsed, and obliged to retreat. A corps of light troops, however, advanced, supported by infantry and cavalry, to check the left of the English, which was the weakest of the whole line; but all their efforts were ineffectual, and the British forces remained masters of the field. The loss on our side, in killed, wounded, and missing, amounted to upwards of fifteen hundred; that of the French was estimated at double that number.

Sir Ralph Abercrombie was vigorously engaged in the heat of action on the right, when he received a mortal wound in the thigh, though he continued in the field till the battle ceased to rage. In this action, major-general Moore, and sir Sidney Smith, were also wounded. The French general Roize was left dead on the field, and generals Lanusse and Rodet afterwards died of their wounds. These actions were decisive of the fate of Egypt.

After the death of sir Ralph Abercrombie, general Hutchinson assumed the chief command of the British forces, and proceeded towards Alexandria, where the principal force of the enemy was yet concentered. In the mean time, the town and castle of Rosetta was taken by a division of the British army, under colonel Spencer, aided by a body of Turks. The French garrison, consisting of about eight hundred men, made but a feeble resistance, and retired to the right bank of the Nile, leaving a few men killed and taken prisoners.

During these transactions in the vicinity of Alexandria, admiral Blanket, with a considerable force from the East Indies, landed at Suez. The admiral was separated from the rest of his squadron in the dangerous and difficult passage of the Red Sea; but, before the conclusion of April, was joined by large reinforcements, commanded by general Baird, colonels Wellesley, Murray, and others.

Cairo being a principal object with the allies, a force was detached for its reduction. On the 9th of May, general Hutchinson, with four thousand British, and an equal number of Turks, attacked the French near Rahmanieh, which, on the following day, surrendered to the victors. The French were driven in, and in the night retreated towards Cairo, leaving a small garrison at Rahmanieh, which likewise surrendered to the allies. About the same time, a body of the French and Copts, who had moved forward from Cairo to attack the Turks, were defeated by the grand vizier, assisted by colonel Murray, and other British officers.

About the middle of June, the British army, under general Hutchinson, reached the vicinity of Cairo. He found the works very much extended, though the garrison did not consist of more than four or five thousand men. The captain pacha, at the same time, invested Gizeh, a kind of suburb on the left canal of the Nile, and the grand

(*m*) Authentic accounts inform us, that he was strangled in his own palace, on the 24th of March, by order of count Zouboff

vizier took a position within cannon-shot of the city. Thus invested on every side, Beillard, the French commandant, sent a flag of truce to the English general, offering to treat for the evacuation of Cairo, upon certain conditions. The terms adjusted were not dishonourable to the enemy. It was agreed that all the French forces should evacuate the city of Cairo, the citadel, the town and forts of Boulas, and all the other parts of Egypt, except Alexandria: that they should proceed by land to Rosetta, with their arms, baggage, artillery, and ammunition, and should afterwards be conveyed, at the expence of the allied powers, to some of the southern ports of France; that every person attached to the French army should have the same indulgencies as the soldiery; and that, immediately after the ratification, the prisoners on both sides should be set at liberty.

Alexandria, however, was yet to be reduced. With the assistance of lord Keith, general Hutchinson directed the siege. Some heights in front of the entrenched position of the enemy were secured; the fort of Marabout was successfully attacked both by sea and land; and major-general Coote defeated a strong corps on the western side of the town. The French suffered extremely in the action, and retreated in much confusion, leaving their wounded, and seven pieces of cannon behind them. Other acts of vigorous hostility subdued the firmness of general Menou, who yielded the place upon honourable terms.

When the negociation was nearly completed between the hostile governments, the menace of an invasion from France induced the British nation to adopt measures of defence; and lord Nelson was directed to sail towards the French coast to impede or destroy the preparations of the enemy. Arriving off Boulogne, he attempted to demolish the armed vessels in that port, a few of which were sunk or disabled; but a more serious attack was meditated, when he had reinforced his armament. The boats destined for boarding the flotilla were dispatched in the night, in four divisions, and respectively conducted by the captains Somerville, Parker, Cotgrave, and Jones: other boats, containing howitzers, were detached under captain Conn, to assist in the enterprize. Parker's division first approached the enemy, and began the attack with undaunted bravery; but an unforeseen and unexpected obstacle baffled his strenuous exertions: a very strong netting was traced up to the lower yards of the French vessels, which were firmly fastened with chains to each other, as well as to the ground. So irresistible was the foe, thus guarded, that two-thirds of the crew of the boat in which he acted, were repelled in attempting to board a large brig, by a tremendous discharge of cannon and musquetry. Many of the assailants were killed, and many more wounded and mutilated. A shot carried away the leg and part of the thigh of the gallant captain. Somerville silenced the fire of a brig near the pier head; but, instead of bringing her off, he found it a difficult task to secure the retreat of his own boats. Cotgrave, after great exertion, was deprived of the services of many of his men, by the fire from the shore and the flotilla. Jones was so obstructed by the tide, that he could not approach till break of day, when the other captains were returning: he therefore did not attempt any hostile acts. The failure of success in this enterprize was much lamented, while the zeal and courage displayed in it were much admired. Lord Nelson informs us, that one hundred and seventy-two of our men were either killed or wounded. Captain Parker died of his wounds on the 27th of September, after the return of the fleet to the Downs.

The negociations with France which commenced early in the summer, were conducted with equal ability and moderation. The dissolution of the northern confederacy, and the successes in Egypt, had removed the greatest obstacles, and administration embraced the favourable opportunity which these circumstances presented. The island of Malta was to be evacuated by the British troops, and restored to the order of St. John of Jerusalem. Egypt was to be restored to the Ottoman Porte. The territory of Portugal was to be maintained in its integrity, and the French were to evacuate the territories of Rome and Naples. The republic of the Seven Islands was to be recognized by France. The fishery at Newfoundland was to be established on its former basis; and, finally, the English and French plenipotentiaries were to be named by the contracting parties, to repair to Amiens, to proceed with the formation of a definitive treaty, in concert with the allies of the contracting parties.

These particulars being announced in England, emotions of joy were excited in the nation from a different cause. A negociation had long taken place between M. Otto and lord Hawkesbury, and when it was generally understood that some important disputes were yet unsettled, which would probably preclude an accommodation without an additional year of hostile exertion, preliminary articles were actually signed.

By these preliminaries, which were executed in London in 1802, by lord Hawkesbury, on the part of his Britannic majesty, and by M. Otto, on the part of the French republic, it was stipulated that the king of Great Britain should restore all the possessions occupied or conquered by his forces during the war, except the island of Trinidad, and the Dutch possessions in Ceylon: that, in the port of the Cape of Good Hope, each of the contracting parties should enjoy the same advantages: that the territories of the Ottoman emperor, including Egypt, should remain entire, as they were before the commencement of the war: that the republic of the Seven United islands should be recognized by the republic of France: that the French troops should evacuate the territories of Rome and Naples: that Malta should be evacuated by the British troops, and be again possessed by the knights of Saint John of Jerusalem: and that the queen of Portugal should not lose any part of her dominions.

When the particulars of these preliminaries were communicated to the parliament, his majesty supposed they would manifest the justice and moderation of his views, and be conducive to the substantial interests of this country: but they were far from being generally approved; though the address for the speech was not opposed in either house.

Mr. Windham censured the terms of the peace. Mr. Sheridan qualified his disapprobation with the following remark:—"It is a peace, of which every man is glad, but of which no man is proud." Earl Spencer said they were inadequate to our just expectations; and lord Temple averred, that a continuation of the war would have been less dangerous than such a peace. But, notwithstanding these and a variety of other censures, an approving address was voted by a majority of one hundred and four peers.

In the lower house, Mr. Pitt and Mr. Fox voted for it; the latter declaring, "that we could not have insisted on better terms without great risk of a rupture of the negociation." The approvers, however, were more numerous than the censurers; for the house, without a division, agreed to address the king in favour of the preliminaries.

About this time a mutiny arose in Bantry Bay, the crew of the Temeraire having protested against serving in the West Indies; but the vigilance of the officers prevented its extending to a material height: twenty of the offenders were tried by a court-martial at Portsmouth, and eleven suffered capital punishment.

Impartial justice was also evinced in the conviction of lieutenant-colonel Wall, who, when governor of Goree, had occasioned the death of a serjeant, by unwarrantable cruelty. Justice was tardy, on this occasion, for upwards of nineteen years intervened between the surrender and the trial.

Previous to the definitive treaty being adjusted, a great force was thought necessary for the national defence, as, from a tedious and unnecessary delay, the pacific inclinations of Bonaparte began to be doubted. At length, however, the treaty was signed at Amiens by the marquis Cornwallis and Joseph Bonaparte, which differed from the preliminaries in the following points. A part of Portuguese Guiana was yielded to the French by a new regulation of the boundaries. Respecting Malta, it provided that no French or English tongue, or class of knights should be allowed; that half the soldiers in the garrison should be natives, and the rest should be supplied for a time by the king of Naples; that the independence of the island under the sway of the knights, should be guaranteed by France, Great Britain, Austria, Spain, Russia, and Prussia; and its ports should be free to all nations. It was also agreed that the prince of Orange should be compensated for his loss of property and power; and that persons who shall in future be accused of murder, forgery, or fraudulent bankruptcy, should be surrendered to the demands of each party.

The plenipotentiaries named by the said parties were the following: On the part of the French republic, Joseph Bonaparte: on the part of the united kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, the marquis Cornwallis: on that of the king of Spain, don Azara; and, on the part of the Batavian

Batavian republic, the baron Schimmelpenninck. After a conference held statedly at Amiens, from the month of October, 1801, to the month of March, 1802, during which the public mind was greatly agitated; the treaty, conformably to the preliminaries, was signed by the respective plenipotentiaries, on the 27th of March; and thus terminated, for a short space, a war which had been attended with an unparalleled profusion of blood and treasure.

A dispatch arrived about this period from port Antonio, sent by lieutenant Johnstone of the Lark, relating a brilliant little exploit performed by the two boats of that vessel. After chasing a Spanish privateer the whole afternoon, close in with the Cuba shore, till dark, she took shelter within the portillo recess. Lieutenant Johnstone then sent lieutenant Pasley and Mr. M'Cloud, midshipman, with the yawl and cutter, and sixteen men in each. About half past ten, Mr. Pasley found her at anchor in the place he expected: she was waiting the attack in readiness, which she commenced by a discharge from one nine and two four pounders, which severely wounded several in each boat. They boarded her, however, and, after a severe contest, they carried her. She proved to be the Esperance, from St. Jago, commanded by Joseph Collit, and had on board, when the action commenced, forty-five men, twenty-one of whom were killed, and six wounded. The captain and all the officers, were among the former.

On the 3rd of March, a great national loss was sustained in the death of the duke of Bedford, in the thirty-seventh year of his age. His grace was in such perfect health on the Friday morning preceding his dissolution, as to have played at tennis during the early part of it. The duke continued sensible to the last moment, and submitted to an operation which was recommended by Dr. Halifax and sir James Earle, though only temporary relief could be expected from it. His grace, however, requested to be indulged with two hours, for some necessary arrangements of his papers. The operation was then performed, and he died as above stated, after an illness of four days, to the great regret of his family and friends, and of many hundreds who were fed by his bounty and encouragement. His favourite pursuit was agriculture, and the encouragement of those useful arts that may be justly called the basement pillars of every well-regulated state; his princely fortune enabled him to carry these pursuits to an extent, that gradually evinced the incalculable powers of art, when called forth in aid of nature. The duke of Bedford's will was short, of which the following is a copy. "I, Francis, duke of Bedford, do give unto my brother John Russell, all my personal property. Dated this twenty-seventh of February, 1802. BEDFORD (*n*)."

Accidents had frequently happened on the Kentish coast; but a very deplorable one occurred in the early part of March. The hoy named Margate, of Margate, John Goodbyrn, captain, very deeply laden with corn for the London market, having a crew of four men, with twenty-eight passengers, sailed from the harbour in moderate weather, at three on Saturday afternoon, and came to an anchor in the roads, till near nine in the evening, when they again got under sail, and soon after the weather began to be very tempestuous; but they continued working against the wind, and notwithstanding the utmost exertions of the crew, the vessel striking the ground, the rudder was off, and she became totally unmanageable. At length the scene became truly horrible, as a dreadful sea was breaking over the hoy every moment, and women and children were loud and vehement in their lamentations. Five of the passengers, and four of the crew, sought shelter in the shrouds, where they continued till the water was so lowered, that they could get on shore about five in the morning. The scene which the morning presented to numerous spectators from Margate and the neighbouring villages, cannot possibly be described; as within the length of a mile and a half, sixteen men and women lay dead on the shore; and very soon after seven other passengers were taken in the same state from the cabin, making in the whole twenty-three persons.

On the 29th of March, at nine in the morning, arrived Mr. Moore, assistant secretary to marquis Cornwallis, with the definitive treaty of peace; which was signed at Amiens, at four in the afternoon of the 27th instant, by the plenipotentiary of his majesty, and by the plenipotentiaries of France, Spain, and the Batavian republic. And on the 21st of April, the honourable Henry Pierrepoint, dispatched by Andrew Merry, esquire, his majesty's minister plenipotentiary to the French republic, arrived with the ratification by the first consul of the French republic, of the definitive treaty, signed the 27th of March; which was exchanged with Mr. Merry, against that of his majesty, on the 18th of April, at Paris, by the plenipotentiary of the French republic.

On the 22nd of April, his majesty issued a proclamation, declaring the conclusion of the war with the French republic, his Catholic majesty, and the Batavian republic; and, on the same day, another proclamation, appointing and commanding that a general thanksgiving to Almighty God for these his mercies be observed, on Tuesday, the first of June.

A resolution having been formed by Bonaparte for re-establishing the Catholic religion in France, that ceremony was performed on the 18th of April at Paris, with a degree of splendour perhaps unprecedented even in that capital. The street from the Thuilleries to Nôtre Dame, was doubly lined with soldiers; a guard of gendarmerie and grenadier guards preceded the berlin of the chief consul, which was drawn by eight horses: those of the other two consuls, had each six horses; and forty carriages, containing the ambassadors, counsellors of state, and ministers, together with five carriages for the most distinguished generals, were each drawn by four horses. The procession occupied an hour and a half to the church, where the primary authorities, &c. were assembled. A box, decorated with gold and jewels, and raised about ten feet, received the consuls, whilst the pope's legate and the two archbishops sat in another opposite to them. Bonaparte went through all the ceremonies of solemn mass, the soldiers presenting arms at those parts in which the people bow. A box was erected for the foreign ministers, and another for the family of the chief consul, whose mother, sitting to the right of madame Bonaparte, beheld her five sons assisting at the solemnity; which was closed by the *Te Deum* of Paesiello. Among the consecrations was the sword of Bonaparte, the hilt of which is mounted with the jewels formerly belonging to the crown, the famous Pitt diamond appearing on the top.

M. de Boisgelin, late archbishop of Aix, who preached before the first consul on the 10th, is the same prelate who, when Louis XVI. was crowned at Rheims, delivered a discourse analogous to the solemnity!

On the 29th of April, the ceremony of proclaiming peace took place, with the accustomed solemnity. The populace began to assemble so early as six o'clock in the morning, in every situation that could command the most distant prospect of the cavalcade, and, as the town was never known to be so full, the crowd was immense. The tops of the houses were covered with spectators. The heralds were richly dressed, and their horses gaily caparisoned.

In the court of Common Pleas, the special verdict in the case of lord Nelson *v.* lord Saint Vincent was argued on the 17th of May. The cause of action was prize-money, proceeding from a capture made by a frigate of the Mediterranean squadron, after lord St. Vincent had quitted the fleet and sailed for England: the fleet was actually under the command of lord Nelson, when the capture was made. On the part of lord Nelson, it was contended, that the instant lord St. Vincent quitted the fleet, the admiral who commanded it was entitled to the admiral's share of prize-money. On the part of lord St. Vincent, it was replied, that there could be but one commander-in-chief of a squadron; and that till lord St. Vincent resigned the command, or was superseded, the responsibility of that situation, and the profits, belonged to him, and were not affected by his returning to England for his health.

Addresses of congratulation to the king on the definitive treaty of peace, were inserted about this time, in the London Gazette, from the cities of Bath, Gloucester, Coventry, Hereford, Wells, Winchester; the counties of Northumberland, Surrey, Norfolk, Somerset, Devon; the towns of Southampton, Beverley, Stirling, Ashburton, Dumfermline, Queens-ferry, Torrington, Banbury, Scarborough, Yarmouth, Callington, Birmingham, Newcastle-on-Tyne, Kingston-on-Thames, Pool, Liverpool, and the Protestant dissenting ministers of London and Westminster.

The king was pleased to grant to the right honourable Horatio, viscount and baron Nelson of the Nile, and of Burnham Thorpe, in the county of Norfolk, knight of the

(*n*) It is remarkable that there has been no regular succession in the illustrious family of Bedford. The earls and dukes have all been brothers, cousins, or grandsons, of their immediate predecessors.

Bath,

Bath, and vice-admiral of the blue (also duke of Bronte in Sicily, and grand cross of the order of St. Ferdinand, and of Merit) his royal licence to receive and wear the insignia of the order of the Crescent, which the grand signior had transmitted to him.

He also granted to major-general sir Eyre Coote, knight of the Bath, his royal license to receive and wear the insignia of the order of the Crescent, which the grand signior had transmitted to him.

The Turkey company also manifested their gratitude to sir Sydney Smith, by presenting him with the freedom of the company, and a magnificent piece of plate, in the form of a vase, highly decorated; the top terminating with the figure of an alligator, and one side bearing an appropriate inscription.

The navy and army estimate were moved on the 9th of June, in the house of commons. Seventy thousand seamen and marines were voted for the remainder of the year: but Mr. Addington observed, "that this was far beyond the peace establishment, which probably would not amount to more than thirty thousand. It was thought unavoidably necessary to continue the present high number, in consequence of so many ships of war being in distant stations abroad. The army estimates voted, however, seem to approach very near to the actual peace establishment, and probably they will no further vary hereafter, than in certain regulations, which cannot now be made. The number of men voted, is, of cavalry, fourteen thousand, comprehending thirty regiments; of infantry, nearly fifty thousand, comprehending seventy regiments, besides the guards, making a total of about seventy thousand men, at an expence of two millions and a half annually. The duke of York to continue commander-in-chief, with three lieutenant and major-generals under him; besides one lieutenant-general for Scotland, and one for Ireland. This establishment of the regulars of the army, is as low as any one expected, but it is not to be regarded as a final arrangement."

To the honour of the united kingdom, the house of commons resolved themselves into a committee of supply, to which the consideration of Dr. Jenner's petition, relative to the vaccine inoculation was preferred. Admiral Berkley, after adverting to all the particulars contained in the report, on the petition of Dr. Jenner, the discoverer of the cow pox, stated that Dr. Jenner had lost an extensive practice in this country, by his application in carrying into effect his discovery; and, when he had accomplished it, he voluntarily promulgated the secret for the benefit of the world. The expence of foreign correspondence with this gentleman, cost him from twenty-five to thirty shillings a-day, which to a man of fortune would be deemed considerable, but, to a man of none, it was a very serious consideration. The number of patients lost annually in the united kingdom by the small pox, was estimated at forty-five thousand; and, taking the number throughout the habitable globe, a victim fell every *second* of time to this destructive malady. He concluded by moving, "that it is the opinion of the committee, that a sum not exceeding ten thousand pounds, be granted to his majesty, to be paid as a remuneration to Dr. Edward Jenner, for promulgating the discovery of the vaccine inoculation, by which mode that dreadful malady, the small-pox, was prevented." Sir Henry Mildmay moved an amendment, that instead of the sum of ten thousand pounds, the words "twenty thousand pounds," should be inserted; which was also seconded. A long conversation ensued, and a division took place on the amendment. For the original motion to remunerate Dr. Jenner with a sum not exceeding ten thousand pounds, ayes fifty-nine, noes fifty-six, of course the amendment was lost.

The 26th of June being appointed for laying the foundation stone of that great national work, the London Docks, a vast concourse of persons assembled from all quarters, to witness a ceremony which commenced an undertaking of so much public utility. About two o'clock, the chancellor of the exchequer, lord Hawkesbury and Hobart, Mr. N. Vansittart, sir A. Hammond, and many other gentlemen, arrived at Wapping. They were conducted round the works adjacent to the river, and shewn the engines and plans. After which, they were conducted to the foundation of the entrance-basins, where two stones were prepared to be laid, each weighing about two tons and a half. The first stone was laid by the chancellor of the exchequer, lord Hawkesbury, and sir Richard Neave, chairman, and Edward Forster, deputy chairman. When this stone was laid, two glass bottles, containing the gold, silver, and copper coins, of the present reign, with a medal of the king's recovery, and the peace, were deposited in a hole made in the stone; and over them a tin plate, containing the following inscription was placed:—"This stone was laid on Saturday, the twenty-sixth of June, *Ann. Dom.* 1802, in the foundation of the entrance basin of the London Docks, undertaken by private subscription, for the greater accommodation and security of SHIPPING, COMMERCE, and REVENUE, within the port of London; and pursuant to an act passed on the twenty-sixth day of June, *Ann. Dom.* 1800 in the fortieth year of the reign of George the Third."

The chancellor of the exchequer threw a purse of gold on the stone for the workmen; after which the second stone was laid. Three times three cheers were then given both to the first and second stones.

The order of the day for the second reading of a bill for abolishing the practice of bull-baiting and bull-running, being read in the house of commons, sir Richard Hill rose, in order to give his decided support to the measure; as the bill went to abolish a practice which the common sense, the dignity, the decorum, and the piety of the house, would concur in condemning. The honourable baronet then read an extract from the Bury paper; which stated that a bull, which in the morning was tame and gentle, had been fastened to a ring, and gored till it became furious: it was then baited by dogs and more brutal men, to the great danger of the inhabitants of that place. After being baited for some time it got loose, and was secured; and was again fastened with ropes, and his hoofs cut off. "Good God!" said the honourable baronet, "what an age we live in, when a poor dumb animal, given by the Almighty for the support and succour of man, and to whom we ought to be tender and careful, is tortured by those who are worse than savages." He then quoted sir Matthew Hale's sentiments on mercy, as well as those of king Solomon. That wise man had said, "the merciful man sheweth mercy to his beast, but the mercy of the wicked is cruelty." This sentiment had never been called in question in this country, whatever it might have been in a neighbouring nation.

Mr. Windham, after some sarcastical observations, on affected mercy and tenderness, said he was inclined to check every cruelty to brutes, but he never would pretend on that account, that he had more humanity than those who delighted in such sports. He did not see why contemplating the courage of the bull-dog was not as rational a source of amusement, as admiring the sagacity of the hound, or the quick eye of the hawk. Gentlemen were often fond of shooting, and he supposed there was no cruelty in that sport. None but persons of the most delicate sensibility practised that mode of killing animals. If the present bill should pass, he would move to bring in one to do away hunting, shooting, and all the cruel amusements of the higher orders.

Colonel Grosvenor thought the house ought not to interfere in the amusements of the common people: the higher orders had their *Billington*, and the lower might be permitted to have their *Bull*.

Mr. Sheridan repeated a number of instances, in which the savage barbarity of men was displayed, in the methods which worrying of bulls was taught and encouraged in dogs. Among others, he mentioned a circumstance in which the master set the bitch to pin a bull, and in order to prove its blood and pertinacity, cut the bitch's head off, together with some of the other limbs, and afterwards sold the puppies at four guineas a piece. He asked what sort of feeling or gratitude did a proceeding of this kind teach to the young and tender mind? He declared his resolution of voting in favour of the bill. The house then divided.—Ayes 51, noes 64; majority 13. Consequently the bill was lost, and bull-baiting was not suppressed (*o*).

On the 28th of June, the king repaired, in his state-coach

(*o*) The virtues of generosity and gratitude are so strongly pourtrayed in the following correspondence between sir Francis Burdett and the rev. Dr. Parr, that an insertion of the two epistles cannot be deemed intrusive:

"Sir,

"I am sorry that it is not in my power to place you in a situation which would well become you—I mean in the episcopal palace at Bugden:

coach to the house of lords, where he delivered a speech from the throne, and prorogued the houses of parliament. The speech announced an intention of immediately dissolving the present, and calling a new parliament: in consequence of which, a proclamation was issued by his majesty, on the following day, for the purpose of dissolving the parliament.

In the Conservative Senate in Paris, about this time, Napoleon Bonaparte was proclaimed Chief Consul for life. At the same time it was decreed, that a statue of peace, holding in one hand the laurel of victory, and in the other the decree of the senate, shall attest to posterity the gratitude of the nation. The senate engaged to convey to the first consul the expression of the confidence, the love, and the admiration of the French people.

Much has been said of the commission of suicide in England, and that crime has been strongly imputed by foreigners to those islanders as a kind of national propensity; but by advices from Vienna we are credibly informed, that within the space of two months, forty-seven suicides had been committed in that city: in consequence of which it is said to have been in contemplation, to order the dead bodies of those who were their own destroyers, to be hung on the gallows by the public executioner, in order to deter others from the commission of this desperate act.

On Wednesday, December 21, 1802, the king was pleased to grant the dignities of baron and viscount of the united kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, to the right honourable Henry Dundas, and his heirs male, by the names, stiles, and titles of Baron of Durina, in the county of Perth, and Viscount Melville, in the county of Edinburgh (*g*).

On the 4th of November, in the afternoon, the French ambassador, general Andreossi, arrived at Quillacq's hotel, Calais. The muncipality went out in procession to meet him, and he was saluted with repeated discharges of cannon on his arrival at Calais; the military being determined to pay him every mark of honour. On the succeeding morning he went on board the Parfait Union, captain Moscou, for Dover. He was again saluted with discharges of artillery, and escorted by the military to the water-side; and at half after six he set sail amidst a grand discharge of cannon. As there was but little wind, he was not expected to reach Dover before five in the evening. The military were under arms to receive him.

Lord Whitworth, the British ambassador, arrived at Calais on the 14th, after a pleasant passage. He was received on his landing, by an immense concourse of people, and with loud huzzaing. The guns were fired, and the flags displayed on the church-steeples. When his excellency arrived at the inn, where a captain's guard mounted, he was complimented by the constitutional authorities, consisting of the mayors, the commissary-general Mengaud, the *juge de paix*, &c. After these, general Barbasanne advanced, at the head of the officers of the garrison. Dinner being ended, his excellency and suite were formally invited to accompany them at the theatre, in order, as they declared, that the public might have an opportunity of seeing what had been so long and so ardently desired, an English ambassador in France. They were received with enthusiastic joy!—"God save the king," was struck up, and played for a quarter of an hour, attended with the plaudits of the whole house, who stood up whilst it was playing, in the good old English fashion.

On the 17th, the ambassador from the French republic was introduced to the king, and had his formal audience at St. James's. The French ambassador and his suite, being properly apprized by persons from that court, of the order of proceeding, his excellency's carriage was at his door, in Portland-place, before one o'clock; where a considerable number of persons were assembled to see him set off: about a quarter after one he appeared, dressed in a general's uniform of the consular guard. When he arrived at St. James's he was conducted by sir Stephen Cotterell, Andreossi having his credentials in his hand. After some time, his majesty went into the presence chamber, when his excellency was introduced to him by sir Stephen Cotterel, and presented his credentials.

On the day following a circumstance of a very different nature occurred. Information being given to Mr. Carpenter Smith, and another magistrate at Union Hall, a search warrant was issued, and Mr. Stafford, the chief clerk, attended by a numerous body of peace officers, went to the Oakley Arms, in Oakley Street, Lambeth; where they apprehended colonel Despard, and twenty-nine labouring men and soldiers, the major part of them Irish,

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Bugden: but I can bring you very near to it; for I have the presentation to a rectory now vacant within a mile and a half of it, which is very much at Dr. Parr's service. It is the rectory of Graffham, at present worth two hundred pounds a-year, and, as I am informed, may soon be worth two hundred and seventy; and I this moment learn that the incumbent died last Tuesday.

"Dr. Parr's talents and character might well entitle him to better patronage than this, from those who know how to estimate his merits; but I acknowledge that a great additional motive with me to the offer I now make him is, that I believe I cannot do any thing more pleasing to his friends, Mr. Fox, Mr. Sheridan, and Mr. Knight; and I desire you, Sir, to consider yourself obliged to them only. I have the honour to be, Sir, with the greatest respect, your obedient servant,

"FRANCIS BURDETT."

"Dear Sir, "*Vicarage-house, Bugden*, Sept. 26, 1802.

"After rambling in various parts of Norfolk, I went to Cambridge, and from Cambridge I yesterday came to the parsonage of my most respectable friend Mr. Maltby, at Buckden, where I this morning had the honour of receiving your letter. Mrs. Parr opened it last Friday at Hatton, and I trust you will pardon the liberty she took in desiring your servant to convey it to me in Huntingdonshire, where she knew that I should be as upon this day.

"Permit me, dear Sir, to request that you would accept the warmest and most sincere thanks of my heart, for this unsolicited, but most honourable expression of your good will towards me. Nothing can be more important to my worldly interests than the service you have done me in presenting me to the living of Graffham. Nothing can be more exquisitely gratifying to my very best feeling, than the language in which you have conveyed to me this mark of your friendship. Indeed, dear Sir, you have enabled me to pass the years of declining life in comfortable and honourable independence. You have given me additional and unalterable conviction, that the firmness with which I have adhered to my principles, has obtained for me the approbation of wise and good men. And when that approbation assumes, as it now does, the form of protection, I fairly confess to you, that the patronage of sir Francis Burdett has a right to be ranked among the proudest, as well as the happiest events of my life."

After some further effusions of gratitude from the reverend doctor, he thus concludes—"The living of Graffham will be of infinite value to me, because it is tenable with a rectory I now have in Northamptonshire: and happy I am, that my future residence will be fixed, and my existence closed, upon that spot where sir Francis Burdett has given me the power of spending my old age with comforts and conveniencies quite equal to the extent of my fondest wishes, and far surpassing any expectation I have hitherto ventured to indulge. I have the honour to be, with the greatest respect and most unfeigned thankfulness, dear sir, your very obedient and faithful servant. "S. PARR."

A privy council was held on the eighteenth of September, at Windsor, at which a proclamation was issued, and published in the Gazette, summoning parliament to meet on the sixteenth of November.

At Stirbitch theatre, on the evening of the 28th of October, the ladies and gentlemen in one of the front boxes, were alarmed with the cry of fire, from behind the boxes, but not loud enough to be heard by the audience in general: they immediately arose, and, perceiving nothing extraordinary, were inclinable to be seated again; but, hearing the cry repeated, began to hasten to the doors: every part of the house was now extremely alarmed, and great confusion ensued. Many from the gallery began to throw themselves over into the pit: others ran to the stairs and greatly impeded the passage; whilst some fell headlong down the stairs and were trodden under foot. Ladies and gentlemen from the upper boxes, precipitated themselves into the pit, and clambered over the orchestra to the stage. Many persons of both sexes were much bruised, and several limbs were broken. Four lives were absolutely lost. A gang of pickpockets were supposed to have visited the fair, and spread a false alarm to aid them in their depredations, as several ladies' pockets were cut off, and watches, trinkets, &c. were lost. A reward of one hundred guineas was offered by the managers, on conviction of the offender or offenders.

(*g*) The following grant reflects equal honour on the bestower and the receiver: Whitehall, Jan. 7, 1803. The king has been graciously pleased in consideration of the signal services performed to his majesty, and to his ally the Ottoman emperor, by sir William Sidney Smith, knt. commander, and grand cross of the royal Swedish military order of the sword, a captain in the royal navy, and representative of the city of Rochester;—and to evince the sense which his majesty entertains of the great ability and heroic perseverance, manifested by him the said sir William Sidney Smith upon divers occasions, and more especially of his able and highly distinguished conduct in defence of the town of St. John d'Acre, in Syria, in 1799; his majesty grants certain augmentations to the armorial ensigns borne by his family. [*Here follow the particulars.*] The said arms and crest to be borne by him, and by his issue, together with the motto of *Cœur de Lion*. And though the privilege of bearing supporters be limited to the peers of the realm, the knights of his majesty's orders, and the proxies of princes of the blood royal at installations, except under particular circumstances: yet, in order to give a further testimony of his majesty's particular approbation of the services of the said sir William Sidney Smith, he has been graciously pleased to allow him to bear, for supporters to his arms, *a tiger guardant, navally crowned; in the mouth a palm branch, being the symbol of victory, supporting the union-flag of Great Britain, together with the inscription* (JERUSALEM 1799) *upon the cross of St. George; and a lamb, murally crowned; in the mouth an olive branch, being the symbol of peace, supporting the banner of Jerusalem.*

and conducted them to Union Hall. The next morning this intelligence was communicated by the Union Hall magistrates to sir Richard Ford, who was then at his house in Sloane Street. Sir Richard with his usual diligence, repaired to Union Hall, where colonel Despard underwent a long private examination before him and three other magistrates, after which he was committed to the county gaol of Surrey. The warrant of commitment expressly charged him with conspiring to compass the death of the king, and was grounded upon the oath of the soldier who gave the information, with the circumstances arising out of his examination. The remaining twenty-nine were committed without any examination; fourteen of them to Tothill Fields Bridewell, and fifteen to the house of correction in Cold Bath Fields. The party when surprized, said they were a club that met there for innocent recreation. This was the only account they gave of themselves; but a printed form of an oath was found in the room where they were sitting.

Colonel Despard was afterwards examined by the privy council, before whom he was taken hand-cuffed and very heavily ironed. Mrs. Despard applied for admission to see him, which was refused, and she withdrew, after having waited above an hour in the anti-chamber. When the colonel was brought out, he walked with great difficulty, in consequence of the weight of his irons. He was conveyed in a hackney-coach strongly guarded to Newgate.

On the 9th of February, colonel Edward Marcus Despard was tried at the New Sessions House, in the Borough of Southwark, before lord Ellenborough for high-treason. After hearing the evidence, and the lord chief justice's comments on the several particulars, the jury withdrew for about half an hour; when they returned and pronounced a verdict of guilty against the prisoner.

The court then, pursuant to adjournment, met at nine o'clock on the following morning, and proceeded to the trial of John Wood, Thomas Broughton, John Francis, Thomas Phipps, Thomas Newman, John Doyle, Daniel Tyndall, James Sedwick Wratton, William Lander, Arthur Graham, Samuel Smith, and John M'Namara. After hearing the evidence, the jury retired for an hour and thirty minutes: they then returned a verdict of guilty, against the following nine prisoners: John Wood, Thomas Broughton, John Francis, Thomas Newman, Daniel Tyndall, J. Sedwick Wratton, William Lander, Arthur Graham, and John M'Namara. The learned judge, after a general address to the miserable wretches who were doomed to suffer on this occasion, thus particularly and pathetically lamented the conduct of colonel Despard:—"You Edward Marcus Despard, in whom the dignified pride of birth, the advantages of a liberal education, and the habits of intercourse in that rank, in which your conduct was once so highly honourable, and from the testimony borne of your former conduct, by the honourable companions of your earlier pursuits, adduced in this court as witnesses for your character, should have induced us to expect widely different conduct and principles: how grossly have you misapplied and abused the talents and opportunities which you enjoyed for honourable distinction in society; and how have you degraded yourself to the association of those unfortunate and wretched companions, by whom you are now surrounded, in whose ignominious fate you so justly share; but who are the unhappy victims of your seducive persuasion and example. I do not wish, at this aweful moment, to urge any thing to you, and the degrading companions by whom you are surrounded, to sharpen the bitterness of your feelings, under the ignominy of your fate; but would earnestly and sincerely wish to impress your mind, during the short period of your remaining life, with a due sense of your aweful situation, and of the criminal conduct which has involved you in your present ignominious fate: I would earnestly entreat you zealously to endeavour to subdue the callous insensibility of heart, of which in an ill-fated hour, you have boasted (*h*), and regain that sanative affection of the mind, which may prepare your soul for that salvation, which by the infinite mercy of God I hope you may obtain."

On the 14th of February, John Peltier was convicted, in the court of King's Bench, of a libel against Napoleon Bonaparte, first consul and chief magistrate of the French republic. Lord Ellenborough declared, that such publications against the character and person of a foreign magistrate could not pass unnoticed in this country, as they had a direct tendency to interrupt and destroy the peace now happily subsisting between the two countries; and therefore, in point of law, a libel.

An account of an official correspondence appeared in the Moniteur, between the plenipotentiary of the grand master of the Order of Malta, and sir A. Ball. It appeared that M. de Thomasi, the new grand master, had dispatched his lieutenant M. de Bussy, invested with full power to take possession of the island, where he arrived on the 28th of February. M. de Bussy's first step was to demand the delivery of the place, to which he received only a verbal answer in the negative, from the governor: not satisfied with this, he wrote a letter, containing a formal demand of the place by virtue of the fourth paragraph of the tenth article of the treaty of Amiens. To this address, sir A. Ball returned an explicit answer, stating, that as some of the powers invited by the tenth article of the treaty to guarantee the independence of Malta, had not yet acceded to that measure; he did not think himself authorized to put an end to the government of his majesty in that island, until he received special instructions from his court.

Shortly after the above, letters from Malta gave intelligence of some very unpleasant disturbances that had taken place at the opera there, with general Vial, the French minister, in consequence of his refusal to stand up, or take off his hat when "God save the King" was played: the riot was so great at first, as to hinder the performance of the piece; and on the next night, when general Vial's family went there without him, the ladies were hissed out of the house, on their refusing to stand up when the rest of the audience did, on the performance of that tune. It has by some been thought, that, from general Vial's conduct on this occasion, he wished to draw some insult upon himself, that strong remonstrances might be transmitted to his court upon the subject. But the fact might be widely different: he, doubtless, thought the island then belonged of right to his own master; and, consequently, that he ought not to pay that mark of respect to the British king, at that particular time.

To shew how greatly Britons were averse to corruption, the following circumstance of punishment for an attempt to commit such an offence, may afford consolation to the lovers of integrity. Thomas Hamlin, convicted of offering Mr. Addington two thousand pounds for the place of landing officer at Plymouth, was carried into court to receive judgement. Mr. justice Grose, after stating the enormity of his offence, in soliciting that to be done by a bribe, which if complied with, would tend to the total destruction of all honour and prosperity in the country, as far as connected with its ministers, hoped the sentence the court should inflict upon him would deter other persons from similar attempts. The sentence awarded, that he should pay a fine of one hundred pounds, and be imprisoned in the King's Bench for three months.

Early in March, 1803, the chancellor of the exchequer delivered the following message from his majesty at the bar of the house: "G. R. His majesty having taken into his most gracious consideration the eminent services of rear-admiral sir James Saumarez, knight of the most honourable Order of the Bath, and particularly the valour, promptness, and intrepidity he displayed in an engagement with a Spanish squadron, upon the 12th of July, 1801, in the Straits of Gibraltar, recommends it to his faithful commons to grant unto him, the said sir James Saumarez, K. B. an annuity of twelve hundred pounds for the term of his natural life." The house having resolved itself into a committee

(*h*) On the day of execution, the colonel addressed the multitude in precisely the following words: "Fellow citizens, I come here as you see, after having served my country faithfully, honourably, and I trust usefully, for thirty years and upwards, to suffer death upon a scaffold, for a crime which I am no more guilty of than any who is now looking at me. I do solemnly declare, that I am no more guilty, than any of you who may now be listening to me. But though his majesty's ministers know I am not guilty, they avail themselves of this opportunity, which they have, of destroying a man, because they think he is a friend to truth, to liberty, and to justice; and because he has been a friend to the poor and the oppressed. But, fellow citizens, I hope and trust, notwithstanding my fate, and perhaps the fate of many others, who may follow me, that still the principles of liberty, justice, and humanity, will triumph over falsehood, despotism, and delusion, and every thing else hostile to the interests of the human race. And now, having said this, I have nothing more to add, but to wish you all that health, that happiness, and that freedom, which I have ever made it my endeavour, as far as it lay in my power, to procure for every one of you, and for mankind in general."

Part of the sentence which is usually pronounced against traitors was remitted with respect to these, they were only to be drawn and hanged, and their heads separated from the body.

committee on his majesty's message, the chancellor of the exchequer observed, that it would not be necessary for him to offer many arguments to induce the committee to accede to the motion which he should have the honour to make, respecting his majesty's most gracious communication. The name of sir James Saumarez, he said, would suggest reflections highly gratifying to every feeling and honourable mind, who could appreciate justly the importance of the naval character to the country. To describe the services of the gallant admiral, would be to refer to some of the most memorable atchievements to be found in the naval history, from the year 1780 to the present time. This consideration had induced his majesty to resort to the recommendation now before the committee; the adoption of which would serve as a fresh incentive to additional exploits, and must animate the brave defenders of the country to future exertions, worthy of the British flag, and the glory of the nation. He then moved, that the annual sum of twelve hundred pounds be granted to his majesty, to enable him to reward the services of rear-admiral sir James Saumarez, out of the consolidated fund of Great Britain; and the motion was agreed to *nem. con.*

Previous to this honourable testimony of the admiral's merits, the chamberlain of London, accompanied by the lord mayor, alderman le Mesurier, and several other gentlemen, assembled at the chamberlain's office, in Guildhall, had presented to admiral sir James Saumarez, the thanks, and the sword voted to him by the official representatives of the city of London. On this occasion, the chamberlain, seated in his chair, thus addressed the admiral: "Admiral sir James Saumarez, I give you joy, and in pursuance of the unanimous resolution of the lord mayor, aldermen, and corporation of the city of London, in common-council assembled, offer you the thanks of the court for the very important and splendid victories obtained by the force under your command over a Spanish and French fleet of superior force, on the 6th of July, 1801, off Algeziras; and on the 13th of the same month, off Cape Trafalgar. It was farther resolved, that you should be admitted to the freedom of this great city; that your name should be placed among those of the illustrious characters which adorn the civic roll: and, as a testimony of the sense the court entertains of the eminent services rendered by you, to your country, that you should be presented with this SWORD.—Long, very long, Sir, may you continue to wear those laurels, which so eminently and gracefully adorn your brow." &c.

Sir James Saumarez, who was then dressed in full uniform, received the sword, and returned a respectful answer to the following effect: "Mr. Chamberlain, I receive this sword, together with the freedom of the first city in the world, with the utmost gratitude; and feel the highest obligation to you, sir, for the flattering manner in which you have conveyed the resolution of the corporation, to record my name among the many illustrious characters which adorn this nation. And if foreign or domestic enemies should again disturb your quiet, I shall be proud to draw the sword in defence of my king and country."

We have to record a most extraordinary forgery, which took place on the 5th of May in the city of London; at an early hour in the morning, a pretended messenger arrived at the mansion-house, with a letter which he said he had received from lord Hawkesbury, and requested it might be delivered immediately to the lord mayor. The bearer of this epistle was booted and spurred, and had all the appearance of having just completed a long and fatiguing journey. Being informed that the lord mayor was not at home, he expressed some regret; but said he would leave the letter, and begged the servant would place it where his lordship might see it immediately on his return. The fabrication was accordingly found on the table when he revisited his city mansion; and he perused it with all those emotions of joy, which, as a friend to peace, such consoling information must give birth to. It was as follows:

LORD MAYOR.

Downing Street, Thursday morning, 8 o'clock, May 5, 1808.

"Lord Hawkesbury presents his compliments to the lord mayor, and has the honour to acquaint his lordship that the negociation between this country and the French republic is brought to an amicable conclusion."

The letter was sealed with lord Hawkesbury's seal.

The lord mayor, after some proper enquiries respecting the appearance of the person who was charged with the conveyance of this interesting epistle, was perfectly satisfied that no imposition had been practised on his credulity, and therefore instantly resolved to communicate the happy event to his fellow citizens. He copied the letter with his own hand, and caused it to be affixed in a conspicuous place on the outside of the mansion house. The contents were these:

May 5, 1803.

"Lord Hawkesbury has, this morning, informed the lord mayor, that the negociation with the French republic is brought to an amicable conclusion."

A second copy was sent to Lloyd's, and his lordship went himself with the original to the stock-exchange. Soon after he returned to the mansion-house, and wrote a letter to lord Hawkesbury, expressing his satisfaction on the occasion.

Printed notices were then posted round the custom-house, declaring the embargo to be taken off ships laden with *salt-petre*, &c. and, in consequence of this delusion, the funds experienced an immediate rise from 63¾ to 71¼. A real treasury messenger, however, was soon dispatched to announce the falsity of the intelligence: in consequence of which the genuine communication was read in the public street by the city marshal. The confusion which now prevailed was beyond all description: the stock-exchange was immediately shut, and the committee came to the following resolution: "That all bargains made in the morning, should be declared null and void." Some difficulty, however, arose respecting the actual purchase of stock for money, Mr. Templeton holding up a transfer receipt for reduced stock, which he had just made for the commissioners for liquidating the national debt. An appeal was therefore made to the directors of the bank, who gave it as their opinion, "that the money purchasers of reduced stock for government, made that day, should stand at yesterday's closing prices," viz. 64; but reserved the delivery of any opinion on the points of money-purchases till eleven o'clock on Friday! The subscribers then entered into a resolution, that all sales of the two days should be delivered to a committee of the house, to facilitate the discovery of the person who forged the notification. The consequence was a rapid fall of the funds from seventy-one to sixty-three. The bank directors afterwards altered their opinions respecting actual money bargains made in consequence of the forgery, and informed the stock-exchange committee, that the government commissioners had authorized them to pay the full price for the reduced stock, which their broker had thus purchased on their account, viz. sixty-nine and a half per cent.

In consequence of various reports, the stock-exchange committee prevailed on the lord mayor to address a note to lord Hawkesbury, soliciting information, and stating the occasion of his application. To this note, the chancellor of the exchequer returned the following answer:

"My lord,

"As lord Hawkesbury is not at the foreign office, I have opened your lordship's note, conformably to the wish expressed through your messenger. If any information had been received by government, which could properly be the subject of public communication, your lordship may be assured that such communication would not have been withheld. I feel it however my duty distinctly to *caution your lordship* against receiving impressions of the description alluded to, through any unauthorized channel of information.

"I have the honour to be, &c.

"HENRY ADDINGTON."

Downing Street, Saturday noon.

On Thursday the 19th of May, the day appointed by the sovereign, twenty-two knights of the most honourable order of the Bath, were installed in Westminster Abbey (*i*). About half an hour after twelve, the knights were all in Henry

(*i*) This order of knighthood was founded by Henry IV. and established by George the First, as a military order in 1725. The splendour and magnificence of the procession was highly gratifying to the spectators. Though the early hour of nine in the morning was appointed for opening the doors of the Abbey, a great number of carriages were in Dean's Yard (the place for entrance to the aisles) and an immense crowd of the populace were assembled in Old Palace Yard considerably before the appointed time. It is supposed there were about ten thousand spectators within the body of the church, in the course of the day. Every porch or niche in the building, which could afford a prospect of the procession, was fitted up as a temporary accommodation for visitors, which were chiefly of the first respectability; as tickets could only be obtained through the influence of the members of the order, the dignitaries of the cathedral, or the payment of a high premium proportioned

Henry the Seventh's chapel, the gates of which were immediately closed. The knights were then installed with great ceremony, and a little after three they returned to the prince's chamber. Lords Nelson, Keith, and Whitworth, and several others, were installed by proxy. The knights personally installed were sir Alured Clarke, sir Henry Harvey, sir J. F. Craddock, lord Henley, sir William Pitt, right honourable sir Joseph Banks, sir James Henry Craig, sir James Colpoys, lord Hutchinson, sir Eyre Coote, and sir David Dundas (*k*).

In giving an account of the extraordinary correspondence, for adjusting the differences between Great Britain and the French republic during the negociation, we shall submit to our readers those passages and papers which are of the most interesting nature. The correspondence began on the 23rd of May, 1802; but there is in it little more than the failure of every attempt to procure the complete execution of the treaty of Amiens, on the part of France. The letters are between lord Hawkesbury, M. Talleyrand, M. Otto, and Mr. Merry.

It appears that so far back as August, 1801, the following demands were made on our government. "1. That his majesty's government will adopt the most effectual measures to put a stop to the unbecoming and seditious publications with which the news-papers and other writings printed in England are filled. 2. That the individuals mentioned in the minister's letter of the 23rd of July last, shall be sent out of the island of Jersey. 3. That the former bishops of Arras and Saint Pol de Leon, and all those who, like them, under the pretext of religion, seek to raise disturbances in the interior of France, shall likewise be sent away. 4. That Georges and his adherents shall be transported to Canada, according to the intention which the undersigned has been directed to transmit to his government at the request of lord Hawkesbury. 5. That, in order to deprive the evil disposed of every pretext for disturbing the good understanding between the two governments, it shall be recommended to the princes of the house of Bourbon, at present in Great Britain, to repair to Warsaw, the residence of the head of their family. 6. That such of the French emigrants as shall think proper to wear the orders and decorations belonging to the ancient government of France, shall be required to quit the territory of the British empire."

In answer to these points, lord Hawkesbury says, in his letter to M. Otto, of the 28th of August—"The propositions in M. Otto's official note, are six in number, but may in fact be comprized under two heads: the first, that which relates to libels of all descriptions, which are alledged to be published against the French government; the last comprehending the five complaints which relate to French emigants resident in this country. On the first, I am convinced you must be aware, that his majesty cannot, and never will, in consequence of any representation, or any menace from a foreign power, make any concession, which can be in the smallest degree dangerous to the liberty of the press, as secured by the constitution of this country. This liberty is justly dear to every British subject. The constitution admits of no previous restraint upon publications of any description; but there exist judicatures, wholly independent of the executive government, capable of taking cognizance of such publications as the law deems to be criminal, and which are bound to inflict the punishment the delinquents may deserve: these judicatures may take cognizance, not only of libels against the government and the magistracy of this kingdom, but, as has been repeatedly experienced, of publications defamatory of those in whose hands the administration of foreign governments is placed.

"With respect to the complaints in detail under the second head, you may, in the first place, inform the French government, that the emigrants in Jersey, many of whom had remained there solely on account of the cheapness of subsistence, had actually removed, or were removing, previous to the representation concerning them in M. Otto's note; and that before your explanation with M. Talleyrand can take place, there will probably not be an emigrant in the island. To the second complaint, which relates to the bishops of Arras and St. Pol de Leon, and others, his majesty can only reply, that if the facts alledged against them can be substantiated, if it can be proved that they have distributed papers on the coast of France, with a view of disturbing the government, and of inducing the people to resist the new church establishment, his majesty would think himself justified in taking all measures within his power, for obliging them to leave the country; but some proof must be adduced of those facts; and such proof must not be that of their having in a single instance, viz. on a reply to the pope's mandate, published a vindication of their own conduct, in refusing to conform to the new establishment, a proceeding in which they would be justifiable on every principle of toleration and justice; but it should shew that they have since availed themselves of their situation in this country, to excite the people of France against that government, whether civil or ecclesiastical.

On the third complaint, which respects the removal of Georges, and those persons supposed to be described as his adherents, M. Otto must have mistaken me in what he supposes me to have said on that subject. His majesty is, however, very desirous to obviate any cause of complaint or uneasiness with respect to these persons; and measures are in contemplation, and will be taken, for the purpose of removing them out of his majesty's European dominions.

On the fourth complaint, respecting the princes of the house of Bourbon, I can only inform you, that his majesty has no desire that they should continue to reside in this country, if they are disposed, or can be induced to quit it; but he feels it to be inconsistent with his honour, and his sense of justice, to withdraw from them the rights of hospitality, as long as they conduct themselves peaceably and quietly; and unless some charge can be substantiated of their attempting to disturb the peace which subsists between the two governments.

"With respect to the fifth complaint, which relates to the French emigrants wearing in this country the orders of their ancient government; there are few, if any, persons of that description in this country, who wear such orders: it might be more proper if they all abstained from it; but the French government could not persist in expecting, that even if it were consistent with law, his majesty would be induced to commit so harsh an act of authority as to send them out of the country on such an account."

The French government, unable to succeed in these points, next attempted to obtain the evacuation of Malta; and, upon that and other topics, an interesting conversation took place, between lord Whitworth and the First Consul, which is detailed in his lordship's letter to lord Hawkesbury: the contents of which are too interesting and important to admit of any alteration, mutilation, or abridgement:

"My lord, *Paris, Feb.* 21, 1803.

"My last dispatch, in which I gave your lordship an account of my conference with M. de Talleyrand, was scarcely gone, when I received a note from him, informing me, that the first consul wished to converse with me, and desired I would come to him at the Thuilleries, at nine o'clock. He received me in his cabinet with tolerable cordiality, and, after talking on different subjects for a few minutes, he desired me to sit down, as he himself did on the other side of the table, and began. He told me that he felt it necessary, after what had passed between me and M. de Talleyrand, that he should in the most clear and authentic manner, make known his sentiments to me, in order to their being communicated to his majesty; and he conceived this would be more effectually done by himself, than through any medium whatever. He said that it was a matter of infinite disappointment to him, that the treaty of Amiens, instead of being followed by conciliation and friendship, the natural effects of peace, had been productive only of continual and increasing jealousy and mistrust; and that this distrust was now avowed in such a manner, as could not fail to bring the point to issue.

"He then enumerated the several provocations which he pretended to have received from England. He placed

tioned to the eligibility of the situation. A covered platform was prepared, with the flooring elegantly matted, extending from the house of lords, across Old Palace Yard, to communicate with the Abbey at the Poet's Corner. On this the procession passed from the prince's chamber in the house of lords, to the Abbey, about eleven o'clock. It was near twelve before they reached the further end of the great aisle, where the queen and princesses were seated in a gallery embellished for the purpose by the dean. His royal highness the duke of York, as grand master, walked last of the order, with his train-bearers and attendants following.

(*k*) Within the door of the abbey, the king's master cook delivered the following admonition to each companion:—"Sir knight, the great oath that you have taken, if you keep it, will be great honour to you; but if you break it, I have power, by virtue of my office, to break the spurs from off your heels."

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in the first line our not evacuating Malta and Alexandria, as we were bound to do by treaty. In this, he said, that no consideration on earth should make him acquiesce; and, of the two, he had rather see us in possession of the Fauxburgh Saint Antoine, than Malta. He then adverted to the abuse thrown out against him in the English public prints; but this, he said, he did not so much regard, as that which appeared in the French papers published in London. This he considered as much more mischievous, since it was meant to excite this country against him and his government. He complained of the protection given to Georges, and others of his description, who, instead of being sent to Canada, as had been repeatedly promised, were permitted to remain in England, handsomely pensioned, and constantly committing all sorts of crimes on the coasts of France, as well as in the interior. In confirmation of this, he told me that two men had within these few days been apprehended in Normandy, and were now on their way to Paris, who were hired assassins, and were employed by the bishop of Arras, by the baron de Rolle, by Georges, and by Dutheil, as would be fully proved in a court of justice, and made known to the world.

"He acknowledged, that the irritation he felt against England increased daily, because every wind (I make use, as much as I can, of his own ideas and expressions) which blew from England, brought nothing but enmity and hatred against him.

"He next adverted to Egypt, and told me, that if he had felt the smallest inclination to take possession of it by force, he might have done it a month ago, by sending twenty-five thousand men to Aboukir, who would have possessed themselves of the whole country, in defiance of the four thousand British in Alexandria. That instead of that garrison being a mean of protecting Egypt, it was only furnishing him with a pretence for invading it. *This he should not do, whatever might be his desire to have it as a colony, because he did not think it worth the risk of a war, in which he might perhaps be considered as the aggressor, and by which he should lose more than he could gain; since, sooner or later, Egypt would belong to France, either by the falling to pieces of the Turkish empire, or by some arrangement with the Porte.*

"As a proof of his desire to maintain peace, he wished to know what he had to gain by going to war with England. A descent was the only mean of offence he had, and that he was determined to attempt, by putting himself at the head of the expedition. But, how could it be supposed, that, after having gained the height on which he stood, he could risk his life and reputation in such a hazardous attempt, unless forced to it by necessity, when the chances were, that he and the greatest part of the expedition, would go to the bottom of the sea? He talked much on this subject, but never affected to diminish the danger. He acknowledged that there were one hundred chances to one against him; but still he was determined to attempt it, if war should be the consequence of the present discussion; and that such was the disposition of the troops, that army after army would be found for the enterprize.

"He then expatiated much on the natural force of the two countries. France, with an army of four hundred and eighty thousand men, (for, to this amount, it is, he said, to be immediately completed,) all ready for the most desperate enterprizes; and England with a fleet that made her mistress of the seas, and which he did not think he should be able to equal in less than ten years. Two such countries, by a proper understanding, might govern the world, but by their strifes might overturn it. He said, that if he had not felt the enmity of the British government on every occasion, since the treaty of Amiens, there would have been nothing that he would not have done to prove his desire to conciliate; participation in indemnities, as well as in influence on the continent; treaties of commerce; in short, any thing that could have given satisfaction. Nothing, however, had been able to conquer the hatred of the British government, and therefore it was now come to the point, whether we should have peace or war. To preserve peace, the treaty of Amiens must be fulfilled; the abuse in the public prints, if not totally suppressed, at least kept within bounds, and confined to the English papers; and the protection so openly given to his bitterest enemies (alluding to Georges, and persons of that description) must be withdrawn. If war, it was necessary only to say so, and to refuse to fulfil the treaty. He now made the tour of Europe to prove to me, that in its present state, there was no power with which we could coalesce for the purpose of making war against France; consequently it was our interest to gain time, and if we had any point to gain, renew the war when circumstances were more favourable. He said, it was not doing him justice to suppose, that he conceived himself above the opinion of his country, or of Europe. He would not risk uniting Europe against him by any violent act of aggression, neither was he so powerful in France, as to persuade the nation to go war, unless on good grounds. He said, that he had not chastised the Algerines, from his unwillingness to excite the jealousy of other powers; but he hoped that England, Russia, and France, would one day feel that it was their interest to destroy such a nest of thieves; and force them to live rather by cultivating their land than by plunder.

"In the little I said to him, for he gave me in the course of two hours but very few opportunities of saying a word, I confined myself strictly to the tenor of your lordship's instructions. I urged them in the same manner as I had done to M. de Talleyrand, and dwelt as strongly as I could on the sensation which the publication of Sebastiani's report had created in England, where the views of France towards Egypt must always command the utmost vigilance and jealousy. He maintained, that what ought to convince us of his desire of peace, was, on the one hand, the little he had to gain by renewing the war, and on the other, the facility with which he might have taken possession of Egypt, with the very ships and troops which were now going from the Mediterranean to St. Domingo; and that with the approbation of all Europe, and more particularly of the Turks, who had repeatedly invited him to join with them, for the purpose of forcing us to evacuate their territory.

"I do not mean to follow the arguments of the first consul in detail: this would be impossible, from the vast variety of matter which he took occasion to introduce. His purpose was evidently to convince me, that on Malta must depend peace or war; and at the same time to impress upon my mind a strong idea of the means he possessed of annoying us at home and abroad.

"With regard to the mistrust and jealousy, which he said constantly prevailed since the conclusion of the treaty of Amiens, I observed that after a war of such long duration, so full of rancour, and carried on in a manner of which history has no example, it was but natural, that a considerable degree of agitation should prevail; but this, like the swell after a storm, would gradually subside, if not kept up by the policy of either party; that I would not pretend to pronounce which had been the aggressor in the paper war of which he complained, and which was still kept up, though with this difference, that in England it was independent of the government, and in France its very act and deed. To this I added, that it must be admitted, that we had such motives of mistrust against France, as could not be alledged against us; and I was going to instance the accession of territory and influence gained by France since the treaty, when he interrupted me by saying, I suppose you mean Piedmont and Switzerland; "*ce sont des bagatelles:*" and it must have been foreseen whilst the negociation was pending: "*vous n'avez par le droit d'en parler à cette heure.*" I then alledged, as a cause of mistrust and jealousy, the impossibility of obtaining justice, or any kind of redress for any of his majesty's subjects. He asked me in what respect? and I told him that since the signing of the treaty, not one British claimant had been satisfied, though every Frenchman of that description had been so within one month after that period; and that since I had been here, and I could say as much of my predecessors, not one satisfactory answer had been obtained to the innumerable representations which we had been under the necessity of making in favour of British subjects, and property detained in the several ports of France, and elsewhere, without even a shadow of justice. Such an order of things, I said, was not made to inspire confidence, but, on the contrary, must create mistrust. This, he said, must be attributed to the natural difficulties attending suits, when both parties thought themselves right, but he denied that such delays could proceed from any disinclination to do what was just and right. With regard to the pensions which were granted to French or Swiss individuals, I observed that they were given as a reward for past services during the war, and most certainly not for present ones, and still less for such as had been insinuated of a nature repugnant to the feelings of every individual in England, and to the universally acknowledged loyalty and honour of the British government. That as for any participation of indemnities, or other accessions which his majesty

jesty might have obtained, I could take upon myself to assure him, that his majesty's ambition led him rather to preserve than to acquire. And that with regard to the most propitious moment for renewing hostilities, his majesty, whose sincere desire it was to continue the blessings of peace to his subjects, would always consider such a measure as the greatest calamity; but, that though his majesty was so desirous of peace, it must not be imputed to the difficulty of obtaining allies; and the less so, as those means which it might be necessary to afford such allies, for perhaps inadequate services, would be concentrated in England, and give a proportionate increase of energy to our own exertions.

"At this part of the conversation, he rose from his chair, and told me that he should give orders to general Andreossi to enter on the discussion of this business with your lordship: but he wished that I should, at the same time, be made acquainted with his motives, and convinced of his sincerity, rather from himself than from his ministers. He then, after a conversation of two hours, during the greatest part of which he talked incessantly, conversed for a few moments on indifferent subjects, in apparent good humour, and retired."

Such being a true statement of the case, adverse measures seemed to portend a breach of that harmony between this country and the French republic, which indeed had not been cordially cemented by the treaty of Amiens. Hostile preparations were making in France and Holland, to an immoderate extent, which naturally created suspicions that faithless and dishonourable proceedings were meditating against Great Britain. His majesty, therefore, thought proper to resent such insidious measures. Lord Hobart was consequently dispatched, on the 8th of March, with a message from his majesty to the house of lords, which was couched in the following terms:

"GEORGE REX.

"His majesty thinks it necessary to acquaint the house of lords, that as very considerable military preparations are carrying on in the ports of France and Holland, he has judged it expedient to adopt additional measures of precaution for the security of his dominions, though the preparations to which his majesty refers, are avowedly directed to colonial service, yet as discussions of great importance are now subsisting between his majesty and the French government, the result of which must at present be uncertain, his majesty is induced to make this communication, in the full persuasion that, whilst they partake of his majesty's earnest and unvarying solicitude for the continuance of peace, he may rely with perfect confidence on their public spirit and liberality, to enable his majesty to adopt such measures as circumstances may appear to require, for supporting the honour of his crown, and the essential interests of his people."

The order of the day, for taking into consideration his majesty's message being read, lord Hobart said, that to the motion which he should have the honour to make upon this occasion, he would not anticipate a dissenting voice. His majesty had stated in the message, that preparations of considerable magnitude were carried on in two countries with which we had recently been at war. These preparations, it was but just to observe, might be fully authorized, up to the whole extent to which they had hitherto been carried, by the state of the French possessions abroad. But when it was considered that his majesty also informed them, there were discussions of great importance subsisting between the two countries, the necessity of our making a proportionate addition to our means of security, must be obvious to the unanimous sense of that house, and of the country. He concluded by moving an address of thanks to his majesty.

Lord Spencer declared, that the system of concession had been too long tried; if it had been sooner departed from, he should have augured better for the continuance of peace. He hoped, that the spirit which had begun to be manifested, would be followed up with equal vigour; and he entertained the firmest conviction, that there was not a man in the country, who was not ready, with the last drop of his blood, and the last shilling of his property, to support his majesty in the assertion of the honour of his crown, and the rights of his people.

Lords Grenville, Moira, Westmoreland, and Auckland supported the address, which was agreed to *nem. dis.*

When his majesty's message to this effect, was read in the house of commons, the chancellor of the exchequer moved that it might be taken into the consideration of the whole house the next day, which was ordered accordingly.

The following day, therefore, Mr. Addington moved the order of the day, for the house taking into consideration his majesty's message; which message having been read by the speaker, Mr. Addington moved an address to his majesty, expressive of the acknowledgements of the house, for the gracious communication which they had received. Having made a few suitable observations on the business, he concluded by moving, that an humble address be presented to his majesty, "to return his majesty the thanks of the house for his most gracious message; and to assure his majesty, that his faithful commons will, with the utmost cheerfulness, support his majesty in the adoption of such measures as circumstances may appear to require, for maintaining the honour of his majesty's crown, and the essential interests of his people."

The question being put, Mr. Fox said, he did not rise to oppose the motion for the address; but hoped his majesty's advisers would seriously consider the present situation of the British empire; for if they should involve the country in a war, which should afterwards be found not to be necessary, they would be more guilty than any ministers that ever advised such a measure in any other period of our history.

Lord Hawkesbury said, if unfortunately these discussions should lead to war, it would be the duty of his majesty's ministers to lay before the house every information respecting their conduct, and the causes of the war.

Mr. Windham said, all that he could learn from the statement of the chancellor of the exchequer was, that the measures of precaution about to be adopted, were to be of a defensive kind; and for that reason he must protest against the present mode of proceeding. The force to be raised ought to be calculated for offence as well as defence. Perhaps it might now be said, that those gentlemen who had so warmly disapproved of the peace, were glad to catch at any thing like a renewal of the war. That would certainly be a false conclusion. Those gentlemen, among whom he was one, disapproved of the peace of Amiens, not because they preferred war to peace, but because they thought it deprived the country of the means of carrying on the war, which he thought must soon break out again. That opinion he had not since changed; and he was still more confirmed in it, from what had passed that day in the house.

Mr. Sheridan said, the right honourable gentleman (Mr. Windham) and the first consul of France, held the same language. Mr. Windham had said, that peace left the country in a situation incapable of renewing the war, and the first consul said so also. Mr. Sheridan added, "I certainly did not expect that the sentiments of the first consul of France would be re-echoed by a member of this house. But whatever sentiments both of them may entertain, with respect to the incapability of the country, I hope and trust, if unhappily war be unavoidable, that we shall convince that right honourable gentleman, and the first consul of France, that we have not incapacitated ourselves, by making peace, to renew the war with as much promptitude, vigour, and perseverance, as we have already evinced. I trust, sir, we shall succeed in convincing them that we are able to enter single-handed into war, notwithstanding the despondency of the right honourable gentleman, and the confident assertion of the first consul of France; and that we are justified in entertaining a well-founded hope, that we shall be able to convince, not only the right honourable member and the first consul of France, but all Europe, of our capability, even single-handed, to meet and triumph over the dangers, however great and imminent, which may threaten us from the renewal of hostilities."

After a considerable debate, the address was unanimously voted, and presented in the usual form to his majesty.

The chancellor of the exchequer then gave notice that he would, on the ensuing Friday, move for an addition of ten thousand seamen.

On the 10th of March, the chancellor of the exchequer brought down to the house of commons, the following message from his majesty:

"G. R.

"In consequence of the preparations carrying on in the ports of France and Holland, whilst important discussions are subsisting between his majesty and the French government,

ment, his majesty thinks it due to the care and concern which he feels for his faithful people, to omit no means in his power, which may contribute to their security. In pursuance, therefore, of the acts of parliament enabling his majesty to call out and assemble the militia of the united kingdom, his majesty has thought it right to make this communication to the house of commons, to the end that his majesty may cause the said militia, or such part thereof as his majesty shall think necessary, to be forthwith drawn out and embodied, and to march as occasion shall require. *G. R.*"

The king's message being read from the chair, the secretary at war rose to move the address usual on such occasions; which was agreed to *nem. con.* and ordered to be presented to his majesty.

On the following day, the house resolved itself into a committee of supply, when Mr. Garthshore moved, that ten thousand seamen be granted for the service of the navy, for twelve lunar months.

Mr. Francis said, that it was not his intention to oppose the motion; but he wished to express a hope that the number of seamen, now to be voted, would be found adequate to the purpose for which he conceived they were wanted; namely, to put the country in a posture of defence. He could not, however, look for any great success to the country, because the *best abilities* were not in the king's administration.

The chancellor of the exchequer denied (with the exception of himself) the want of *ability* in the persons conducting his majesty's government. The message of his majesty to parliament, had been the result of the most mature deliberation. It could not be expected, that, pending negociation and discussion, he should state the objects under consideration; the truth was, that if any amicable adjustment took place, concession must be made on the one side or the other. In stating this, he begged it might not be inferred, that there was any unbecoming spirit of concession on either hand; and his majesty's government had the heart-felt satisfaction of reflecting, that they in no degree, had compromised the honour of the country.

Mr. Dent was of opinion, that ten thousand seamen was too small a number on the present occasion; he therefore moved an amendment, that twenty-five thousand seamen be granted.

Mr. Fox declared, that he would support the original motion in preference to the amendment, not because he did not conceive the amendment to be proper, but because no information was afforded to the committee that ten thousand seamen, or indeed any express number, were more necessary. After a speech of considerable length, in which he made many excellent reflections on the subject under discussion, he concluded by saying, "If we cannot preserve our rank in the scale of the nations of Europe, but by war, then I call that war just and necessary. I am thoroughly convinced, that to obtain the consent of a nation to such a war, does not require, in the present posture of affairs, any stimulus: tell the people of Great Britain the truth, then shew their situation, expose the artifices by which they have been attempted to be deluded, and their confidence will be obtained. If they are misled, if they are kept in the dark, a war is entered upon with reluctance, and that public spirit which has so knit them together, falls to the ground."

At length, after a great deal of debate, in which lord Hawkesbury, Mr. Canning, sir William Pulteney, and Mr. French, severally supported the motion, it was put, and carried.

The sum of six hundred and three thousand and five hundred pounds was then voted for the ten thousand seamen, for twelve lunar months; two hundred and ninety thousand pounds for victuals: three hundred and thirty thousand pounds for wear and tear of the ships; and twenty-seven thousand pounds for ordnance.

In consequence of his majesty's message, the following note was delivered by M. de Talleyrand to lord Whitworth:

"1. If his Britannic majesty, in his message, means to speak of the expedition to Helvoetsluys, all the world knows that it was destined for America, and that it was on the point of sailing for its destination: but, in consequence of his majesty's message, the embarkation and putting to sea are about to be countermanded.

"2. If we did not receive satisfactory explanation respecting these armaments in England, and if they actually take place, it is natural that the first consul should march twenty thousand men into Holland, since Holland is mentioned in the message.

"3. These troops being once in the country, it is natural that an encampment should be formed on the frontiers of Hanover; and, moreover, that additional bodies should join those troops which were already embarked for America, in order to form new embarkations, and to maintain an offensive and defensive position.

"4. It is natural that the first consul should order several camps to be formed at Calais, and on different points of the coasts.

"5. It is likewise in the nature of things, that the first consul, who was on the point of evacuating Switzerland, should be under the necessity of continuing a French army in that country.

"6. It is also the natural consequence of all this, that the first consul should send a fresh force into Italy, in order to occupy, in case of necessity, the position of Tarentum.

"7. England arming, and arming with so much publicity, will compel France to put her armies on the war establishment; a step so important, as cannot fail to agitate all Europe."

The island of Malta appears to have been the point upon which the negociation terminated; a variety of notes were exchanged. The English government required that they should retain possession of the island for ten years, on account of the alteration which had taken place in the constitution of the order of St. John, since the treaty of Amiens; while the first consul insisted on the evacuation, but proposed that it should be garrisoned by one of the three powers, Russia, Austria, or Prussia. In reply to this proposition, lord Hawkesbury observed, that Russia was the only power to which England (if she were even so disposed) would resign Malta, but that Russia would not agree to such an arrangement (*l*).

(*l*) The following conversation between lord Whitworth and the first consul, on the 14th of March, 1803, is not uninteresting. At the court which was held at the Thuilleries on that day, the first consul accosted lord Whitworth with great agitation. He began by asking him—If he had any news from England? He told him, he had received letters from lord Hawkesbury, two days ago. Bonaparte immediately said, and so you are determined to go to war?—No, replied lord Whitworth, we are too sensible of the advantages of peace.—*Nous avons*, said he, *déjà fait la guerre pendant quinze ans. We have already*, said he, *been fifteen years at war.*—As he seemed to wait for an answer, lord Whitworth observed only, *C'en est déjà trop.*—That is already too much,—*Mais*, said he, *vous voulez la faire encore quinze années. But*, said he, *you would continue it for another fifteen years.* His lordship said, that was very far from his majesty's intentions. The first consul then proceeded to count Marcou and the chevalier Azara, who were standing together at a little distance from lord Whitworth, and said to them, *Les Anglois veulent la guerre, mais s'ils les premier à tirer l'epée, je serai le dernier à la remettre. The English are desirous of a war, but if they are the first to draw the sword, I shall be the last to sheath it.* He then went his round. In a few minutes, he came back to lord Whitworth, and resumed the conversation, by saying something personally civil to him. He began again.—*Pourquoi des armamens? Contre qui des mesures de précaution? Je n'ai pas un seul vaisseau de ligne dans les ports de France; mais si vous voulez armer, j'armerai aussi. I have not a single ship of the line in the ports of France; but if you arm I shall follow your example. Vous pourrez peut etre tuer la France, mais jamais l'intimider. On ne voudroit*, said his lordship, *ni l'un ni l'autre. On voudroit vivre en bonne intelligence avec elle. Il faut dans respecter les traites*, replied he: *malheur à ceux qui ne respectens pas les traites; ils en serons responsable à tout l'Europe. Regard then should be paid to treaties*, replied he; *and misfortune attend those who are regardless of their treaties. For such a violation they are accountable to all Europe.* The chief consul was too much agitated to render it adviseable for lord Whitworth to prolong the conversation; he therefore made no answer, and Bonaparte retired to his apartment, repeating the last phrase. All this conversation was loud enough to be heard by about two hundred people who were present: and it was supposed that there was not a single person, who did not feel the extreme impropriety of the first consul's conduct.

Lord Whitworth called on M. de Talleyrand to converse with him on what had passed at the Thuilleries, between Bonaparte and his lordship on Sunday the 14th of March: He said he went to the Thuilleries to pay his respects to the first consul, and to present his countrymen, and not to treat of political subjects; and that unless he had the assurance from him, that he should not be exposed to a repetition of the same disagreeable circumstances, he should be under the necessity of discontinuing his visits to the Thuilleries. M. de Talleyrand assured his lordship that it was very far from the first consul's intention to distress his lordship; but he had felt himself personally insulted by the charges which were brought against him by the English government; and that it was incumbent on him to take the first opportunity of exculpating himself in the presence of the ministers of the different powers of Europe. He assured him, however, that nothing similar should occur.

His majesty, hearing of this behaviour of the chief consul, signified by lord Hawkesbury, that he had a right to expect, that his ambassador should be treated with the respect and attention due to the dignity of the sovereign whom he represents; and that it would be impossible for lord Whitworth to present himself on any days of ceremony to the first consul, unless he receives an assurance that he shall never be exposed to a repetition of the treatment which he experienced on that occasion.

Concerning

Concerning the restrictions wished to be imposed on the liberty of the press in this country, the following extract from a note, presented by general Andreossi, will sufficiently explain the desires of the French government on that head. The chief consul has had cause to be convinced, that all his representations on these points were useless, and that his Britannic majesty, regardless of the neighbouring powers, was resolved to authorize every thing within his dominions; but he did not, on that account, entertain a doubt of the continuance of peace, nor alarm Europe with the notification of war. He confined himself to this principle of conduct, to permit or prevent in France with respect to England, whatever should be permitted or prevented in England with regard to France. He has, however, expressed, and again expressed it, a wish that means should be adopted to prevent in future any mention being made of what is passing in France, either in the official discussions, or in the polemical writings in England, as in like manner in the French official discussions, and polemical writings, no mention whatever should be made of what is passing in England.

In a conversation which took place between M. Talleyrand and lord Whitworth, the former mentioned the calamities which would follow the failure of our endeavour to avoid a rupture. He insisted that Holland, Naples, and other countries connected with Great Britain, would be the first victims of the war. Lord Whitworth asked him, whether he thought such a conduct would add to the glory of the first consul, or whether an attack on the innocent and defenceless would not rather tarnish it, and ultimately unite against him not only the honest men in his own country, but every government in Europe. That it certainly would excite more detestation than terror in England; at the same time that it would serve to impress upon them still more strongly, the necessity of omitting no means of circumscribing a power so perniciously exerted. His lordship added, that no act of hostility had actually taken place, yet the inveteracy with which our commerce, our industry, and our credit, had been attacked in every part to which French influence could be extended, it would bear the same construction; as it tended to prove, in addition to the general system of the first consul, that his object was to pursue, under the mask of peace, the same line of conduct in which the preceding governments had acted.

On the 29th of April a person, supposed to have been employed by the first consul, waited on lord Whitworth, for the purpose of ascertaining his sentiments: he informed his lordship, that, in the course of the day, he would receive a letter from M. de Talleyrand, drawn up under the inspection of the first consul, which, though not exactly what his lordship might wish, was so moderate as to afford him a well-grounded hope, and might certainly be sufficient to induce him to delay, for a short time, his departure. Lord Whitworth assured him that it would afford him great satisfaction to perceive a probability of bringing the negociation to a favourable issue; and that he should be extremely sorry to impede the business by any useless precipitation. His lordship added, that he acted in conformity to instructions, and that those instructions were positive; and that by them he was enjoined to leave Paris on the following Tuesday, unless certain conditions were agreed to in the intermediate time.

Lord Whitworth, however, received no letter in the course of that day; therefore he went about four o'clock to M. de Talleyrand, and expressed great anxiety to learn whether he had any thing favourable to communicate: if he had not, his lordship begged him to recollect that Tuesday was the day on which he must leave Paris; and also requested that he would have the necessary passports prepared for him and his family. Talleyrand appeared evidently embarrassed, and, after some hesitation, observed, that he could not suppose he should really go away; but that at all events the first consul never would recal his ambassador. To this lord Whitworth replied, his majesty recalled me, in order to put an end to the negociation, on the principle that even actual war was preferable to the state of suspence in which England, and indeed all Europe, had been kept for so long a period.

After this lord Whitworth relates a number of shifts and expedients which were put in practice by the French minister to gain time. He afterwards found it extremely difficult to find Talleyrand; and when he did get a sight of him, the old arguments were repeated on both sides. Talleyrand talked of a *contre-projet:* lord Whitworth said he could not attend to it, his orders being peremptory. Talleyrand said it should be given him, when he might either accept it, send it to London, or leave Paris. Lord Whitworth waited some time in expectation of it, but it did not arrive; he therefore demanded his passports by an official note which he sent to Mr. Mandeville: after experiencing some delay, he renewed his demand of passports; which he obtained, and prepared to leave France.

The following is the *projet* sent by lord Hawkesbury in his last dispatch, and on which lord Whitworth and Talleyrand had their last conference.

"I. The French government shall engage to make no opposition to the cession of the island of Lampedosa to his majesty the king of the Two Sicilies.

"II. In consequence of the present state of the island of Lampedosa, his majesty shall remain in possession of the island of Malta, until such arrangements shall be made by him, as may enable his majesty to occupy Lampedosa as a naval station; after which period the island of Malta shall be given up to the inhabitants, and acknowledged as an independent state.

"III. The territories of the Batavian republic shall be evacuated by the French forces, within one month after the conclusion of a convention founded on the principles of this *projet*.

"IV. The king of Etruria, and the Italian and Ligurian republics, shall be acknowledged by his majesty.

"V. Switzerland shall be evacuated by the French forces.

"VI. A suitable territorial provision shall be assigned to the king of Sardinia in Italy.

"*Secret Article.* His majesty shall not be required by the French government to evacuate the island of Malta, until after the expiration of ten years.

Articles IV. V. VI. may be entirely omitted, or must all be inserted.

Another inclosure contains a letter from lord Whitworth to Talleyrand, informing him that he could not find him, and therefore, as he must leave Paris within a limited time, he would leave the *projet* of a convention with his secretary Mr. Talbot.

Lord Whitworth set out from Paris on the 12th of May, and arrived in London at eleven o'clock at night on the 18th. It was at one o'clock on the morning of the 9th, that lord Whitworth received dispatches transmitted by Silvester, the messenger, but in consequence of an accident which had happened to the first consul, he deferred delivering in the final determination of his government till noon on the 10th. A decisive answer was at the same time demanded by the ambassador in the course of thirty-six hours; and if the proposal was rejected, he expressly informed the minister for foreign affairs, that he had orders to quit Paris at the expiration of that time. An answer was soon after sent to lord Whitworth, that the first consul intended to submit to his council of state, the decision of the question of war or peace. The council was accordingly assembled; and notwithstanding the opposition both of Joseph Bonaparte and Talleyrand, the issue of their deliberations was the renewal of hostilities.

Constituted as this council is, no other result could be reasonably expected. It does not appear that either the senate or the legislative body were in any respect consulted; and no other advice was asked than that which was previously known to accord with Bonaparte's avowed opinion. The council was occupied in the consideration of the question, till the afternoon of the 12th. The expedient of referring the points in dispute to the decision of the council of state, was a subterfuge calculated for giving another day's delay, and taking off, as much as possible from the first consul, the odium of involving the people of France in a war. Lord Whitworth quitted Paris three hours after the opinion of those counsellors was communicated to him.

The crisis being now arrived, lord Pelham brought down on the 16th of May, the following *message from his majesty* (*m*):

"G. R.

(*m*) On the same day, his majesty issued his royal proclamation, at a court held at the queen's palace, present the king's most excellent majesty in council, in the following words:

"Whereas, in consequence of the repeated insults and provocations which his majesty has experienced from the government of France, his majesty finds himself compelled to take such measures as are necessary for vindicating the honour of his crown, and the just rights of his subjects; his majesty therefore is pleased, by and with the advice of his privy

"G. R.

"His majesty thinks proper to acquaint the house of lords, that the discussions which his majesty announced on the 8th of March, as then subsisting between his majesty and the French government, have terminated. The conduct of the French government has obliged his majesty to recal his ambassador from Paris; and the ambassador from the French republic has left London. His majesty has given directions for laying before the house of lords, with as little delay as possible, copies of such papers as may be proper for the information of parliament on this important subject. It is a consolation to his majesty to reflect that no endeavour has been wanting on his part to preserve the blessings of peace; but, under the circumstances which have occurred to disappoint his just expectations, his majesty relies with perfect confidence on the zeal and public spirit of the house of lords, and upon the exertions of his brave and loyal subjects, to support his determination to employ the power and resources of the country, in opposing the spirit of ambition and encroachment, which now actuates the conduct of the French government, in upholding the dignity of the crown, and in asserting and maintaining the rights and essential interests of his people."

The message having been read by the lord chancellor, lord Pelham stated, that what their lordships had just heard read, would be followed by the communication of the papers which it alluded to, without the least possible delay. Their lordships would no doubt be anxious to give them the fullest examination, before they should be called upon to determine on the subject of the message itself; and as there certainly could not be sufficient time to enable them to accomplish that object before the beginning of next week, he would move that his majesty's message should be taken into consideration on that day sennight.

Lord Stanhope said, he agreed with the language of the message, as to the importance of the subject, which was now submitted to them. War, was at all times, a subject of the most serious importance. War, the evils of which might be summed up in the quotation used by a right reverend prelate then in the house: "Before it is as a garden of Eden, and behind it is as a desolate Wilderness," was pregnant with more than ordinary evils to a country like this, which had almost exhausted its strength and its finances in a recent contest. He expressed a desire of some delay, to receive information from the perusal of the papers alluded to, and to deliberate maturely on the situation of the country.

The motion was then carried unanimously, and the house adjourned.

The order of the day for taking into consideration his majesty's message on the 25th of May, being read, lord Pelham said that it was perhaps unnecessary to remark upon the extreme importance of the occasion upon which he rose. The question of peace or war was at all times important, but connected with the circumstances under which it was now presented to their consideration, it challenged more than ordinary attention. The documents on which their lordships' decision was required, had been for some days before the house, and to them alone did he wish them at present to direct their enquiries; fully acquiescing in the line of proceeding suggested the other day, of reserving the examination of the conduct of ministry for a separate occasion. His lordship took a retrospective view of the circumstances as they occurred since the conclusion of the treaty of Amiens, and then concluded with moving an address.

Lord Stanhope, after declaring the address to be founded on a mistake, said he should be doing violence to his conscience, were he to vote in support of it.

The duke of Cumberland gave his cordial assent to the address.

The duke of Clarence stated the grounds on which he had supported the peace of Amiens, though it did not stipulate for two of the objects which he had most at heart. The cession of Malta to this country, and the restoration of the king of Sardinia. Notwithstanding this disappointment, he considered the treaty, on the whole, as both honourable and advantageous; and as such, had the French government manifested the same sincerity with his majesty's ministers for carrying it into effect, in its spirit as well as its letter, might long have preserved the blessings of peace to both countries. His royal highness here took occasion to detail the various points of contrast in the conduct of the French and British governments, contending, as the general result, that in no respect was the latter chargeable with a breach of good faith. He trusted, that the issue of the present contest would so chastise the insolence of the rulers of France, that they would not only retract their boast, that England could not fight France single-handed, but feel convinced, that with respect to the foreign possessions of them and their vassal states of Spain and Holland, we had it amply in our power to retort upon them the same language and conduct, which they adopted with respect to us, in regard to our intercourse with the continent.

Lord Mulgrave, with a minuteness of detail, which will not permit us to follow in its full extent, expatiated on the series of insults and provocations which we had received from the French government ever since the conclusion of the treaty of Amiens. In the remonstrances which had been made relative to Switzerland, Holland, Malta, and the various other topics of complaint on our part, he conceived that ministers had exhausted every means of conciliation, before they made an appeal to the decision of the sword. On these grounds he found himself bound by his duty to his sovereign, his country, and his conscience to concur in the address.

Lord Melville observed, that it had not been contended by any noble lord, that Egypt was not essential to the interests of this country, in whatever light it might be viewed. That point being admitted, no noble lord in any manner argued, or even so much as attempted to argue, that Malta was not equally essential to the preservation of possessions in the east, as affording a key to Egypt. With respect to that island, no guarantee for it had been found, as was stipulated by the treaty of Amiens. Would it be proper to have recourse to Prussia, Spain, or Austria, as guarantees?—No. The first is by local situation incapable of such a trust: the second is under the controul of France; and the third, in the present situation of affairs, cannot interfere with any effect. Malta, therefore, could only be guaranteed by Great Britain and Russia united; but it would appear from the feeble manifestation of that power, that by a British garrison alone this point could be attained. After a great number of observations on this important topic, his lordship concluded by declaring, that this country,

privy council, to order, and it is hereby ordered, that general reprisals be granted against the ships, goods, and subjects of the French republic, so that as well as his majesty's fleets and ships, as also all other ships and vessels that shall be commissioned by letters of marque, or general reprisals, or otherwise, by his majesty's commissioners for executing the office of lord high admiral of Great Britain, shall and may lawfully seize all ships, vessels, and goods belonging to the French republic, or to any persons being subjects of the French republic, or inhabiting within any of the territories of the French republic, and bring the same to judgement in such courts of admiralty within his majesty's dominions, as shall be duly commissioned to take cognizance thereof; and, to that end, his majesty's advocate general, with the advocate of the admiralty, are forthwith to prepare a draft of a commission, and present the same to his majesty at his board, authorizing the commissioners for executing the office of lord high admiral, or any person or persons by them empowered and appointed, to issue forth and grant letters of marque and reprisals to any of his majesty's subjects, or others whom the said commissioners shall deem fitly qualified in that behalf, for the apprehending, seizing, and taking, the ships, vessels, and goods belonging to the French republic, or to any persons being subjects of the French republic, or inhabiting within any of the territories of the French republic: and that such powers and clauses be inserted in the said commissions, as have been usual, and are according to former precedents; and his majesty's said advocate general, with the advocate of the admiralty, are also forthwith to prepare the draft of a commission, and to present the same to his majesty at his board, authorising the said commissioners for executing the office of lord high admiral, to will and require the high court of admiralty of Great Britain, and the lieutenant and judge of the said court, his surrogate, or surrogates, as also the several courts of admiralty within his majesty's dominions which shall be duly commissioned to take cognizance of, and judicially proceed upon all, and all manner of captures, seizures, prizes, and reprisals of all ships and goods that are or shall be made; and to hear and determine the same, and according to the courts of admiralty and the laws of nations, to adjudge and condemn all such ships, vessels, and goods, as shall belong to the French republic, or to any persons being subjects of the French republic; or inhabiting within any of the territories of the French republic; and that such powers and clauses be inserted in the said commission as have been usual, and are according to former precedents; and they are likewise to prepare and lay before his majesty at his board, a draft of such instructions as may be proper to be sent to the said several courts of admiralty, in his majesty's foreign governments and plantations, for their guidance herein; as also another draft of instructions for such ships as shall be commissioned for the purposes above-mentioned." [Here follows the signatures of thirty-one members of the privy council.]

Three other proclamations were also issued; the first, offering bounties to seamen; the second, recalling British seamen from foreign service; and the third, prohibiting the British ships from entering the ports of the French and Batavian republics, and also ordering an embargo on French and Batavian ships in British ports.

in his opinion, was to retain and keep Malta in perpetuity as its guarantee, and upon that ground he would cordially support the motion for an address to his majesty.

The duke of Richmond took a view of the conduct of administration, and contended, notwithstanding their high language now, that, some time ago, they would have given up Malta, and taken in exchange the island of Lampedosa.

The marquis of Lansdown argued on several particulars, which had been stated by the noble peers. With respect to Switzerland, surely Austria could not interfere: neither could it be presumed, that Austria would interfere in the annexation of Parma and Placentia to the French power. Even the report of Sebastiani was not a legitimate cause of war, because there was no state in Europe which did not employ spies and emissaries to collect information upon every subject.

The duke of Norfolk said, that he approved of the peace which had been concluded by the treaty of Amiens, and hoped some means might be devised by which it might be preserved.

Lord King concluded a speech of considerable length, by moving an amendment to the original motion, for an address to the following effect:—"To assure his majesty of the co-operation of the house in the vigorous prosecution of the war; but at the same time to assure his majesty, that the house was anxious to support him in any arrangement which might be entered into, for bringing the present dispute to an amicable termination, &c."

Lord Ellenborough opposed the amendment.

In the further progress of the debate, the original address was supported by lord Moira, lord Rosslyn, the marquis of Sligo, and lord Grenville, and the amendment by the duke of Norfolk, lord Darnley, and lord Gwydir. The house having been divided on the amendment, it was lost by a majority of one hundred and forty-two to ten. After which the original address was carried.

Such was the opinion of the house of lords with respect to the important subject of discussion; and the lower house manifested a similar disposition. On the 24th of May, lord Hawkesbury brought up to the house, several papers connected with the late negociation, which had been prepared in consequence of lord Whitworth's return. He then moved the order of the day for the house resuming the debate on his majesty's message.

The speaker stated, that an address had been moved to his majesty, which he read. This was merely an echo of the message. To this address an amendment had been moved, assuring his majesty that the house was anxious to support him in any arrangement, which might be entered into for bringing the present dispute to an amicable adjustment.

After some prefatory observations, Mr. Thomas Grenville said, he should proceed to consider the argument, whether the country has a just cause of war? Dependent on this question was another, namely, whether having a just cause of war, there may not be a proper degree of expediency in pursuing it.—With regard to the first of these points, he had no hesitation in saying, that every act of the French government, since the definitive treaty, had been to degrade, vilify, and abuse England, while the French nation was exalted and praised. In considering of the question, therefore, whether we had a just cause of war, his difficulty was in culling the most prominent from the mass, as he could not lay his finger on one, without touching another, so bloated and deformed was the scandalous catalogue of French insult and aggression. If he were to take the first mentioned in the declaration (*n*), he would say, that the act of sending men into this country, disguised as commercial agents, but who were in fact military spies, who were received with that generous hospitality which ever characterises Britons, that mere act he would pronounce to be a cause for war; nay, more, it was so scandalous and detestable a breach of faith, as must stamp infamy eternal on its authors. He did not mean to trouble the house, on the point respecting the annexation of the dominions of the king of Sardinia to France, but this he would also pronounce another sufficient cause of war. At length, after a very long and animated speech, which breathed nothing but war, he concluded by saying, if the country be unanimous, and the parliament true to the country, in taking care the supplies be properly administered, and wisely employed, we shall come out of the contest with glory to ourselves, honour to the nation, safety to our people, and confer lasting and permanent benefits on posterity.

Mr. Whitbread supported the amendment with great ability.

Mr. Canning expressed his astonishment that any doubt could remain in the mind of any man, as to the justice of our quarrel, after perusing the mass of evidence contained in the papers on the table. He then touched on the most prominent points of the correspondence, to prove that the aggression was clearly on the side of France.

Mr. Dallas spoke against the amendment.

Mr. Fox went over the different points of complaint at considerable length, and contended, that upon none of them had he brought the discussion with France to that clear unequivocal issue, which would constitute a legitimate cause of war. If France, said he, had unjustly seized and confiscated British vessels, satisfaction ought to have been demanded in a firm and decided tone; and if that was refused, there would have been an undoubted act of aggression on the part of France. There was no nation more exposed to complaint, for restraints on the commerce of other countries, than Great Britain. Alarming as the extended dominion of France was to this country, and the continental powers, if we took into the comparison all our acquisitions in India, it would be found that, as between us and France, the charge of aggrandizement applied to this country. But when this view of the question was taken, ministers seemed to imitate the conduct of those ladies, who, on their return from India were accused of some irregularities, and whose answer always was, "Never, upon my honour, on this side the Cape of Good Hope." He thought Malta ought to be placed under the protection of Russia, which, it appears, was disposed to accept the guarantee under certain modifications. He begged the house to pause before they plunged the country into all the horrors of war, and to recollect the situation it was in during the last five years of the preceding war. They were told, not by a novice, but a very distinguished artist, that the dangers they were then exposed to, and the burdens they then had borne, were nothing, compared to what now awaited them. As they had then paid a tenth, they would now be compelled to pay a fifth, or a third of their income. He would vote for the amendment, because, while it pledged the house to the support of his majesty, it manifested an anxiety for the speediest possible restoration of peace. Mr. Fox said, that when we concluded the treaty of Amiens, we were aware that Europe was far from being in a comfortable state, we had, however, acquiesced in that imperfect security. This was the condition of man in society. If we had always aimed at substantial and absolute security, we should have had nothing but unremitted war for the last century. The situation of Italy we knew at the time of our signing the definitive treaty. As to Piedmont, it was a mere difference of name, and it was a matter of complete insignificance whether it was called the 27th military division, or the department of the Po. Adverting to the situation of Holland, filled with French troops, and to the late revolution of Switzerland, he argued, that our ministers, from all that had appeared, had never properly remonstrated on those important points, and had therefore no right to make them a part of his majesty's declaration. If we had remonstrated, it is at least probable that redress might have been obtained. If it were contended, that every aggrandizement on the part of France should be a cause of jealousy on our part, this, in his opinion, would be pushing the principle too far. Every improvement in the interior of France, might in that case be considered as offensive, and war between the two countries might be regarded as eternal. The affairs of Holland and Switzerland seemed, however, to be inferred in the declaration, only to avoid the perpetual repetition of "the First Consul," and "Malta;" and this was pretty evident from our omitting all mention of the Swiss in our *ultimatum*. The treatment of the Dutch by France could not be too strongly condemned; but our ministers, who did

(*n*) His majesty had issued a declaration, written in a temperate yet firm and dignified style, clearly manifesting the great moderation and forbearance of the British government, under a continued system of aggression and menace, with which the French have insulted this country. The declaration of his majesty is such as becomes a great nation, whose faith and dignity it most ably justifies. It is a simple narrative of recorded facts that convinces the understanding, without any delusive aid, drawn from argument or abstract reading. In the negociation itself, we find the sophistry of the chief consul miserably opposed to the plain dealing of an English plenipotentiary; demonstrating through the whole little more than the weakness of his own judgement, and the irritability of a coarse ungovernable disposition. Even in his affectation to deprecate a rupture with England, he had not the ordinary policy to disguise, that warfare with her was predetermined in his mind.

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not remonstrate, had no right to complain. It formed nearly as black a stain, however, in the conduct of the French government, as their proceedings with regard to St. Domingo. The idea of re-establishing the French government in that island, was as absurd and ruinous, as its conduct to Toussaint had been false and treacherous. In all these proceedings, in the affair of the German indemnities, in the occupation of Parma and Placentia, he saw no legitimate cause of quarrel on the part of England, and particularly as our ministers had failed to remonstrate at the proper season. With respect to the attack made by the consular government on the liberty of the press in this country, it betrayed only gross ignorance of the forms and essence of our constitution: and if their demands had been resisted in a manly way, it would never, in his opinion, have furnished a ground for dispute. The reciprocal abuse, and mutual irritation, arising from this source, were certainly matters of regret; but no person could say that they offered a ground for war. He did not profess to entertain much respect for the members of the Bourbon family, but if it was insisted peremptorily that one of them was to be sent out of the kingdom, he should refuse it on the point of honour, though at the expence of a war. This, however, had not been demanded. Much reliance had been placed on the language of the *exposé*, "That England could no longer contend single-handed with France." This was an impertinent phrase, but, as was usual in society, it should either have been noticed at the time, or consigned to utter contempt. With respect to the report of Sebastiani, of which so much has been said, it was in many respects highly indecorous. The attack upon general Stuart was indecent, but, from every thing he had heard, the character of that officer stood too high to be affected by so pitiable a calumny. He regretted that so much had been said of the verbal intercourse between lord Whitworth and Bonaparte. Conversations of such a kind were subject to different representations, but all that could be inferred from them was this, that lord Whitworth should not have gone again to the palace of the Thuilleries till the matter was properly explained.

Mr. Addington in reply said, he was sorry that any thing should fall from his great and exalted talents, which had for its tendency to unnerve and unhinge the public mind under the present circumstances. It was to hold forth hope and encouragement to a rival nation, which should rather be impressed with a deep conviction of guilty designs. The speech, which the house had just heard, seemed calculated to invite individuals to weigh their private inconveniences against their public duty. The address had not been so constructed as to cover ministers, who did not desire to shrink from any enquiry whatever. It was meant to embrace all opinions, and to produce that unanimity so important and so essential upon the present occasion. In proof of the hostile designs of the French government, he stated that the expences of the army which had been reduced to two hundred and ten millions of livres, amounted in March last, when his majesty's message was delivered, to two hundred and forty millions; and those of the navy had arisen in a like proportion, namely, from one hundred and five, to one hundred and twenty-six millions. The papers on the table, he contended, were sufficient to convince every thinking man in the country of the propriety of the conduct pursued by ministers. Had they acted otherwise, they would have betrayed their trust, and gone into a new war with diminished advantages. They had not insisted upon Malta; on the contrary, they had offered in their last project, to accept of any other equivalent security; but this was refused. Under such circumstances, it became absolutely necessary, to put forth this strength of the nation. He, for himself and his colleagues, exhibited a general disclaimer to that sort of coverture which was supposed to be conveyed in the address, and therefore he hoped, it would have the general, if not the unanimous, concurrence of the house.

The Attorney General did not wish to intrude on the time of the house, otherwise he had materials before him that would convince them of the immediate necessity of commencing a war against a powerful and dangerous enemy.

Mr. Windham considered it a perfectly just war; and that a peace, under the present situation of affairs, would be dangerous to the country. The house of commons, he considered like an assembly of surgeons, convened to execute a great but delicate operation; and he would ask, whether it would not be better to give the patient a little pain, than let him perish by false kindness? This was the exact state of the country at the present moment: we must suffer pain to save our country from becoming a heap of ruins. He should therefore support the original question. The house divided on the amendment. Ayes, sixty-seven; Noes, three hundred and ninety-eight. Majority in favour of the address, three hundred and thirty-one.

On the 27th of May, a debate occurred in the house of commons respecting the mediation of Russia. Mr. Fox in detailing the advantages that would result from the mediation of Russia, contended that she was equally inclined to promote an adjustment of differences, and capable of making both powers abide by her decision. After taking an enlarged view of the question, he submitted the following motion to the house: "That an humble address be presented to his majesty, praying that he would be graciously pleased to avail himself of the disposition manifested by his imperial majesty the emperor of Russia, to offer his mediation between his majesty and the republic of France, as a means of terminating the war in which we are engaged, in a manner consistent with the honour of his majesty's crown, and with a view to the general tranquillity of Europe."

Lord Hawkesbury was equally ready to agree that Russia was the power, which of all others the country should endeavour to conciliate, as affording the best hopes of arresting the progress of French ambition. He must candidly admit, that one circumstance weighed particularly on his mind with respect to the conclusion of the last peace, which was, that of forming a barrier to the aggrandizement of France. From the signing of the treaty to the present time, no efforts have been wanting on the part of his majesty's government to form a close connection with Russia, having for its basis no hostility towards any power, and, having only in view the necessary measures of defence. Those efforts have, however, failed; otherwise it is highly probable, that the present crisis would not have arisen. He assured the house, that during the whole of the negociation, his majesty's ministers used every opportunity of expressing to the court of Petersburgh their desire of preserving peace; but no measure was proposed by that court, however good its intentions, that did not seem calculated to add to that procrastination of which the French were so desirous. With regard to the supposed offer of mediation, he had to say, that after a long negociation, after a frank and full expression of his majesty's sentiments, after numberless evasions on the part of France, the only proposition made in the end was, that the two powers might avail themselves of any explanation that could be afforded by his imperial majesty.

Mr. Pitt declared, that if any judicious arrangements could be made, so as to constitute Russia a guarantee of the peace of Europe, it could never enter into any statesman's head to reject it, but at present, there were no grounds for a hope of this nature. There was nothing on which the motion could be fairly founded; it was best, therefore, to leave the course of conduct to the executive government.

Mr. Fox explained; but lord Hawkesbury having assured the house that the mediation of Russia would be joyfully accepted, and any proposals she might make listened to, if consonant with the dignity of Great Britain, Mr. Fox withdrew his motion without pressing for a division (*o*).

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(*o*) On the renewal of hostilities, Bonaparte dispatched the following message to the *Senate*, the *Legislative Body*, and the *Tribunate*.

"St. Cloud, May 20.—The English ambassador has been recalled: forced by this circumstance, the ambassador of the republic has quitted a country where he could no longer hear the words of peace. In this decisive moment, the government places before your eyes, it will place before the eyes of France and of Europe, its first relations with the British ministry; new discussions, which seem to end with an absolute rupture. The present age and posterity will see all that it has done to put an end to the calamities of war; with what moderation, with what patience it has laboured to prevent its return. Nothing could interrupt the course of the projects formed to rekindle discord between the two nations. The treaty of Amiens was negociated in the midst of the clamours of a party hostile to peace. Hardly concluded, it became an object of severe censure; it was represented as fatal to England, because it was disgraceful to France. Speedily inquietudes were spread, dangers were pretended, on which the necessity of such a state of peace was established, which served as a permanent signal for new hostilities. Those wicked wretches were kept in reserve, and paid, who had torn in pieces the bosom of their country, and were destined to tear it again. Vain calculations of hatred! It is no longer that France divided by factions, and agitated by storms; it is France restored to internal tranquillity, regenerated in its administration and its laws, ready to fall with all its might upon any foreigner who shall dare to attack it, and to connect himself with those brigands, whom

We are far from being surprized that Mr. Fox should hastily withdraw his motion. Who could ever entertain the slightest hopes of success from a mediation on the part of Russia? Instead of taking a bold and magnanimous part, Russia had uniformly stood aloof to see the important blow atchieved; to see whether Bonaparte will be able to effect his landing in Britain, or experience shame, defeat, and ruin on her shores. To solicit the mediation of Russia, to adjust the differences, seemed a very impolitic step; though France was said to be desirous of the reference, and the emperor not averse to it. We are sensible of the influence of such an empire, who, in such a crisis, held the balance of power in her hands, and could direct its preponderance at her pleasure. If ministers were determined to adhere to the *ultimatum*, the idea of a mediation was absurd and contradictory: besides it might be highly impolitic in England to conform to a decision on subjects, which, from their peculiar nature, no arbitration of Russia could adjust. If France desired such a reference, she certainly had her inducements to suppose that England would be awarded to abate somewhat of her demands; and, should this great northern empire have ratified the claims of her government, France would have appealed from the award. On the other hand, had she pronounced those claims unreasonable, England would have been equally dissatisfied.

Had the mediation been confined to the question of Malta, it could be of no durable service. Whether Malta belong to England or France is a matter of small importance, when it is considered that the object of the contest is the independence of Europe, and not the guarantee of a rock. If the emperor should have awarded us Malta, which is certainly a very doubtful point, this would not have prevented a speedy renewal of the war; it would have been to close up a single wound, and leave a thousand open.

In a private interview with lord Whitworth at the Thuilleries, Bonaparte acknowledged, as we have more particularly shewn, his *unwillingness* to *risk his life* and *reputation* in such a *hazardous enterprize*, as the invasion of England, unless *forced to it* by *necessity*, and expressed his apprehension that if such an expedient should be adopted, that *himself*, and the greatest part of the expedition would *go to the bottom of the sea.* He modestly concluded his harangue, by asserting, "that there were *one hundred chances to one against him.*" But it must be admitted that Bonaparte in condescending to speak thus rationally to the British ambassador, descended from the pinnacle of mystical sublimity, and in this single instance conducted himself like a mere man, though he was then almost an emperor.

With respect to our naval department for carrying on the war, sir Edward Pellew said, "from the debate of this night, there is one piece of information I have acquired, that the French have got upwards of a thousand vessels at Boulogne. I am glad to find that they are shut up there: we have one advantage in it, we know where they are; but I wish we had any means of knowing when they come out. I do not really see," continues the admiral, "in the arrangement of our naval defence, any thing to excite the *apprehensions* of even the *most timid* among us; on the contrary, I see every thing that may be expected from activity and perseverance, to inspire us with confidence. I see a triple naval bulwark, composed of one fleet acting on the enemy's coast; another consisting of heavier ships stationed in the Downs, ready to act at a moment's notice; and a third close to the beach, capable of destroying any part of the enemy's flotilla, that should escape the vigilance of the other two branches of our defence."

And sir James Pulteney, (in the same debate) after recapitulating the statements of sir Edward Pellew, respecting the strength and efficiency of our naval force, contended, "that we were able to block up the enemy in their ports, and to *deride* the menaces of invasion?"

CHAP. V.

AT length the die is cast, and war is declared by both nations. On the 22nd of May, 1803, ten days after the departure of lord Whitworth from Paris, appeared a decree, of which the following contains the particulars:

"Art. I. Ordered, that every commander of the squadrons, or naval divisions of the republic, captains of the ships of war, do bear down upon those of the king of England, as well as upon all vessels belonging to his subjects, to attack, take, and bring them into the harbours of the republic.

"II. Commissions shall be delivered in course, to such of the French privateers as shall demand them, and who shall obtain them, on condition of conforming for the said armaments, in course to the laws and rules now existing, or which may hereafter be made.

"III. All the English enrolled in the militia between the age of eighteen and sixty, or who hold commissions from his Britannic majesty, now in France, shall be immediately constituted prisoners of war, to answer for the citizens of the republic, who may have been detained, or made prisoners, by the vessels or subjects of his Britannic majesty, before the declaration of war.

"IV. The ministers are charged, each of whom it may concern, with the execution of this order, which shall be inserted in the bulletin des Loix.

(Signed) "BONAPARTE, First Consul.

By order of the First Consul,

"H. B. MARET, Secretary of State."

The king of England's declaration of war against the French republic appeared also about this time; and as it is couched in firm and masterly language, though we do not conceive that the matters mentioned therein, and so plausibly and positively asserted, were of sufficient weight to force the nation into a war, yet it would be deemed a glaring omission were we not to insert the principal parts of it (*p*).

As

whom an atrocious policy shall vomit again upon its soil to organize pillage and assassination. At length an unexpected message alarmed all England with imaginary armaments in France and Batavia, which assumed that important discussions divided the two governments, while no such discussion was known to the French government. Forthwith formidable armaments appeared on the coasts and in the ports of Great Britain; the sea is covered with ships of war, and it is in the midst of this preparation that the cabinet of London demands of France the abrogation of a fundamental article of the treaty of Amiens. They want, they say, new guarantees, and they forget the sacredness of treaties, the execution of which is the first of guarantees that nations can give to each other. France has in vain invoked plighted faith; in vain has she consented to shut her eyes upon the actual inexecution of the article of the treaty of Amiens, which England pretends to free herself from; in vain has she wished to delay taking a definitive part till the moment that Spain and Batavia, the other two contracting parties, had manifested their will; and, lastly, in vain has she proposed to call in the mediation of the powers who had been requested to guarantee, and who have, in effect, guaranteed the stipulations, the abrogation of which has been demanded. All these propositions have been rejected, and the demands of England are become more imperious and more absolute. It was not in the principles of government to bend under the menace; it was not in its power to bow the majesty of the French people under laws which were prescribed to it with forms so haughty and so new. If he had done it, it would have consecrated to England the right to annul, by its sole will, all the stipulations by which it was bound toward France. It would have authorised her to exact from France new guarantees at the least alarm which she might feign; and from thence two new principles would be placed in the public law of Great Britain, by the side of that by which she has cut off other nations from the sovereignty of the seas, and subjected to her laws and regulations the independence of their flags. The government confined itself within the line which principle and duty traced out of it. The negociations are interrupted, and we are ready to fight if we are attacked. At least we shall fight to maintain the faith of treaties, and for the honour of the French name. If we had given way to a vain terror, we should soon have had to fight to repel new pretensions, but we should have fought dishonoured by this first instance of our weakness, degraded in our own eyes, and lowered in the eyes of an enemy who would on some future occasion have made us to sink under their unjust pretensions. The nation will rest confident in the sentiment of its strength, whatever wounds the enemy may inflict in parts where we can neither prevent them nor reach them. The result of this contest will be such as we have a right to expect from the justice of our cause, and from the courage of our warriors.

BONAPARTE, First Consul.
H. B. MARET, Secretary of State."

Several speeches occurred on this MESSAGE in the *Legislative Body* on the 20th; but they did not, in the smallest degree, resemble an English debate; the speakers being all of one opinion, and attributing the rupture entirely to the bad faith, jealousy, and ambition of the English nation.

(*p*) We shall, therefore, by reason of its length, give an abstract of it by way of a note; and we insert it the more readily, because the war which followed it has now (January 1813,) continued nearly ten years, and there does not appear to be any solid reason for supposing that its flames will be speedily extinguished.

"His majesty's earnest endeavours for the preservation of peace having failed of success, he entertains the fullest confidence that he shall receive the same support from his parliament, and that the same zeal and spirit will be manifested by his people, which he has experienced on every occasion when the honour of his crown has been attacked, or the essential interests of his dominions have been endangered. As soon as the treaty of Amiens was concluded, his majesty's courts were open to the people of France for every purpose of legal redress; all sequestrations were taken off their property; all prohibitions on their trade, which had been

As it is not our intention to animadvert on the terms of his majesty's declaration of war, which has been said to be unanswerable, though it appears to us that every part of it might be answered with the greatest facility, we must remark, that it drew forth from the first consul and his cabinet the following observations, which were inserted in the Moniteur, the government gazette of France:

STATE PAPER.

Paris, May 26, 1803.

"The declaration of the king of England has just appeared. It is accompanied with a volume of papers of one hundred and forty-five folio pages. This volume contains seventy-two articles, among which ten only are official, and even of these many are insignificant. Sixty-two are extracts of letters from the ministers to their agents, and from English agents to their cabinets, letters which have doubtless been fabricated by the *chancellerie* (*q*), to suit the convenience of ministers. Those notes which are the most important, and the most proper for shewing to the English people the proceeding of the French government, and the true spirit of the negociation, have been carefully suppressed; and what appears the last degree of shamelessness, and even of folly, is, that in the note of lord Whitworth, dated the 10th of May, and given in page one hundred and twelve of the official papers of London, the most essential passage is omitted, with an infidelity which could not escape censure."

The Moniteur then proceeds to give in a double column, copies of the note, in its original state, and as it has been printed by the English ministers. The difference between them consists in the omission of the following words in the first paragraph of the before-mentioned letter after the words "3rd instant:" "And this proposal having been judged inadmissible from the refusal of his majesty the emperor of Russia, to be a party thereto, and at the same time beyond his majesty's just pretensions."

"This infidelity, committed for the purpose of concealing a false allegation which can no longer be sustained, required the commission of another. The English ministers have, consequently, suppressed the note transmitted in answer on the 12th of May, which note was of the following tenour:—

"*Paris, May* 12.

"The undersigned has it in charge to acquaint his excellency lord Whitworth, ambassador from his Britannic majesty, that the first consul having proposed, in his note of the 14th of this month, [Floreal, that is, May 4,] that the island of Malta should be placed in the hands of one of the three guaranteeing powers, Russia, Austria, or Prussia, it would not be sufficient to set that proposition aside, to argue on the refusal which his majesty the emperor of Russia might make, of receiving this trust, since the intentions of their majesties the emperor of Germany and the king of Prussia would remain to be known.

"That besides the assertion contained in his excellency's note, dated 30th of this month, and which is expressed in these terms, 'from the refusal of his majesty the emperor of Russia to accede to it,' is entirely contrary to the guarantee which his imperial majesty formally offered, with the slight alterations which the first consul made no difficulty of adopting, and which he knows that the English ministry refused, meditating, beyond doubt, even then, the strange pretensions of retaining Malta.

"That, further, this assertion is also an absolute opposition to the assurances which the first consul has received from Petersburgh, since the message of his majesty has been known there, and which have just been renewed to him by an authentic communication, which count de Marcoff yesterday gave of the intentions of his court.

"It hence results, that it is impossible to reconcile the last communication made by his excellency lord Whitworth, with the fresh confirmation, which has just been received, of the dispositions of his majesty the emperor of Russia, and that it cannot but be supposed, that his Britannic majesty, when better informed, will, of himself, lose no time in causing to be given to his excellency, instructions different from those which he has communicated, in the name of his government.

(Signed) "C. M. TALLEYRAND."

The month of June commenced with many important debates in both houses of parliament; indeed, the convulsed state of the country, from the rupture which had taken place, and from the temper with which communications from the French cabinet were received, indicated no very favourable symptoms of good understanding, through every class of the inhabitants of Great Britain: however, that objects of internal national consequence might not be neglected, sir John William Anderson, one of the members for the city of London, presented a bill to the honse of commons, on the first of this month, "for improving the port of London; to authorize money to be advanced out of the consolidated fund, for improving and rendering more extensive the navigation of the river Thames; and for erecting new quays for the encouragement of commerce."

Previously to reading the *custom duty consolidation* bill, Mr. Price, (the lord mayor, and member of parliament for London,) presented a petition from the silk manufacturers, praying to be heard by counsel at the bar of the house, against that part of the consolidation duty act which regarded the importation of Bandana handkerchiefs. Hereupon sir William Curtis drew the attention of the house to the situation of the working silk weavers of Spitalfields; and presented a petition on their behalf, which set forth, "that there were no less than five thousand manufacturers, (who, with their families, at an average, employed about ten thousand looms,) all of whom were likely to be materially injured by the importation of such articles, and that they could prove, to the satisfaction of the house, they paid a more considerable duty on handkerchiefs of their own manufacture, than what the intended bill could possibly produce to the revenue." This produced an observation

been imposed during the war, were removed, and they were placed, in every respect, on the same footing, with regard to commerce and intercourse, as the inhabitants of any other state in amity with his majesty, with which there existed no treaty of commerce.

"To a system of conduct thus open, liberal, and friendly, the proceedings of the French government afford the most striking contrast. The prohibitions which had been placed on the commerce of his majesty's subjects during the war, have been enforced with increased strictness and severity; violence had been offered, in several instances, to their vessels and their property; and, in no case, has justice been afforded to those who may have been aggrieved in consequence of such acts, nor has any satisfactory answer been given to the repeated representations made by his majesty's ministers or ambassador at Paris. Under such circumstances, when his majesty's subjects were not suffered to enjoy the common advantages of peace within the territories of the French republic, and the countries dependent upon it, the French government had recourse to the extraordinary measure of sending over to this country a number of persons for the professed purpose of residing in the most considerable sea-port towns of Great Britain and Ireland, in the character of commercial agents or consuls; but it was supposed that the real object of their mission was by no means of a commercial nature, some of them being military men, furnished with instructions to obtain the soundings of the harbours, and to procure military surveys of the places where it was intended they should reside. His majesty therefore considered these circumstances as decisive indications of the dispositions and intentions of the government by whom they were employed.

"The conduct of the French government, with respect to the commercial intercourse between the two countries, must therefore be considered as ill suited to a state of peace; and their proceedings in their more general political relations, as well as in those which immediately concern his majesty's dominions, appear to have been altogether inconsistent with every principle of good faith, moderation, and justice. His majesty has unfortunately had too much reason to observe, and to lament, that the system of violence, aggression, and aggrandizement, which characterized the proceedings of the different governments of France during the war, has been continued with as little disguise since its termination. They have continued to keep a French army in Holland, against the will, and in defiance of the remonstrances, of the Batavian government, and in repugnance to the letter of three solemn treaties. They have, in a period of peace, invaded the territory, and violated the independence of the Swiss nation, in defiance of the treaty of Luneville, which had stipulated the independence of their territory, and the right of the inhabitants to chuse their own form of government. They have annexed to the dominions of France, Piedmont, Parma, and Placentia, and the island of Elba, without allotting any provision to the king of Sardinia, whom they have despoiled of the most valuable part of his territory, though they were bound, by a solemn engagement to the emperor of Russia, to attend to his interests, and to provide for his establishment. It may, indeed, with truth be asserted, that the period which has elapsed since the conclusion of the Definitive Treaty, has been marked with one continued series of aggression, violence, and insult, on the part of the French government. His majesty learned, however, that no disposition to counteract these repeated infractions of treaties and acts of violence, was manifested by any of the powers most immediately interested in preventing them; and his majesty therefore felt that, with respect to these objects, his single effort could not be expected to produce any considerable advantage to those in whose favour they might be exerted.

"It was about this time that the French government first distinctly advanced the principle, that his majesty had no right to complain of the conduct, or to interfere with the proceedings of France, on any point which did not form a part of the stipulations of the Treaty of Amiens. The treaty of Amiens, and every other treaty, in providing for the objects to which it is particularly directed, does not assume or imply an indifference to all other objects which are not specified in its stipulations, much less does it adjudge them to be of a nature to be left to the will and caprice

(*q*) That is, *chancery*.

vation from Mr. Wilbraham Bootle, who observed, that a great majority of the manufacturers in the kingdom, were kept perfectly ignorant of the nature of this bill, otherwise a great number of other petitions would have been presented. He himself had several observations to make, more particularly as the bill respected the interests of the British potteries, many of which have been brought to considerable perfection, under the operation of a protecting duty on foreign china, which was far exceeded in excellence and beauty in many of the British manufactories of Derbyshire and other counties. This manufacture of British porcelain, was still in a progressive state of improvement, because men of very considerable capital had been induced to embark in it, under the faith of a protecting duty against foreign china: he stated that this excellent infant manufacture would suffer under the decrease proposed by the bill, from one hundred and nine to one hundred and fifty pounds per cent. which would operate as a most injurious discouragement to the British manufacturers.

But the Chancellor of the Exchequer replied, that such objections could only be brought forward in a committee on the bill, the only matter for present consideration being, the propriety or impropriety of consolidating the duty.

The next subject of debate was on a motion by lord Folkstone, for accounts of all representations by the French government, and of all steps taken by his majesty's ministers towards carrying into effect the second article of the treaty of Amiens.

In opposition to this, lord Hawkesbury observed, that the article, having been a subject of contention, his majesty thought it right to follow the precedent of former treaties; but the French government had laid in a claim, of a nature which could not be fairly resisted, namely, that the French government, in their treaties with other powers, had no such stipulation, and therefore it was just there should be set off such sums as were due for the maintenance of prisoners actually in the service, and under the command of his majesty's government; this did not apply to the troops of Austria, Russia, or Bavaria, which his majesty had thought proper to subsidize, but to the Hessians only. His lordship added, that this allowance on the part of his majesty, made such a difference on the face of the account, that it was impossible to ascertain on which side the balance was. The important point was the saving the principle itself.

General Gascoyne said, he understood, from what the secretary of state had mentioned, that there was no money due by this country in consequence of the article of the treaty. It would, therefore, be proper for the house to be informed, what was the setting off by the French government in the account for no less than eighteen thousand prisoners. It was the only article which appeared to promise advantage to this country, in that execrable treaty, if there was a balance against us. He understood, however, that it was only inserted as a matter of form, merely because it had made a part of former treaties. The general put some other questions to ministers, which they did not think necessary to answer. On the question being put, lord Folkstone's motion was carried.

The house then resolved itself into a committee on the "consolidation of the tax duties," in which the Chancellor of the Exchequer noticed, that so many inconveniences had arisen from the discordant decisions of magistrates and the judges on the subject of the assessed taxes in particular, that the people of the country were at a loss to discover in what manner they were liable to the duties. The opinions of the judges, however, having been declared, it was proposed that their opinions should constitute a part of the law of the land. To prevent evasions to which the window tax was in many instances liable, it would be proposed, that those exceeding certain dimensions should be charged as double windows. Instead of the whole duty on gardeners and game-keepers, those who may be only occasionally employed in those capacities, were in future to be taxed at no more than five shillings each. The tax upon race horses was at this time extremely disproportionate, they paying less than saddle horses. The former were now charged no more than two guineas a year each, and it was proposed that they should in future be charged two guineas over and above the tax upon saddle-horses, which they should also be subject to. In the assessed duties, as they stood, the tax was confined to the number of horses employed; and as it was known, that several familes used the same horses for coaches, chaises, sociables, &c. the same duty should attach to every vehicle of that description. There were, he said, other subordinate points, but those he mentioned were the most essential.

After a few observations by Mr. Shaw Lefevre and sir R. Buxton, the Chancellor of the Exchequer finally remarked, that, without giving in upon too great evasions, it would be a matter of much difficulty to make a distinction between persons of different descriptions who might have horses, but that it was provided by the bill, that those in real poverty and distress, should be quite exempted from the horse and window tax; and that those who only retained day servants for a few weeks, should not be subjected to the duty for a whole year. He then moved a resolution, that the present duties on coaches and horses for sale, should cease and determine, in order to be replaced by others, which was agreed to, and the report of the committee ordered to be received, and as this bill affected England only, he should propose a separate bill for extending its provisions also to Scotland, which was ordered.

The motion of earl Fitzwilliam, next day, in the house of lords, on the conduct of the ministry, attracted general attention. His lordship had given notice to this purpose on the preceding Thursday, May 26, and now delivered his opinion relative to the proofs of insolence, aggression, and encroachment displayed by the French government since the conclusion of the treaty, and the responsibility which ministers had incurred in not having at a much earlier

caprice of the violent and powerful. The justice of the cause is alone a sufficient ground to warrant the interposition of any of the powers of Europe in the differences which may arise between other states; and the application and extent of that just interposition is to be determined solely by considerations of prudence.

"His majesty therefore judged it most expedient, under the circumstances which then affected Europe, to abstain from a recurrence to hostilities on account of the views of ambition and acts of aggression manifested by France on the continent; yet an experience of the character and dispositions of the French government could not fail to impress his majesty with a sense of the necessity of increased vigilance in guarding the rights and dignity of his crown, and in protecting the interests of his people. Whilst his majesty was actuated by these sentiments, he was called upon by the French government to evacuate the Island of Malta. His majesty had manifested from the moment of the signature of the Definitive Treaty, an anxious disposition to carry into full effect the stipulations of the Treaty of Amiens relative to that island. As soon as he was informed that an election of a grand master had taken place, under the auspices of the emperor of Russia, and that it had been agreed by the different priories assembled at St. Petersburgh, to acknowledge the person whom the court of Rome should select out of those who had been named by them to the grand master of the Order of St. John, his majesty proposed to the French government, for the purpose of avoiding any difficulties which might arise in the execution of the arrangement, to acknowledge that election to be valid: and when, in the month of August, (1802,) the French government applied to his majesty to permit the Neapolitan troops to be sent to the island of Malta, as a preliminary measure for preventing any unnecessary delay, his majesty consented, without hesitation, to this proposal, and gave directions for the admission of the Neapolitan troops into the island. His majesty has thus shewn his disposition not only to throw no obstacle in the way of the execution of the treaty, but, on the contrary, to facilitate the execution of it by every means in his power. His majesty cannot, however, admit, that at any period since the conclusion of the treaty of Amiens, the French government have had a right to call upon him, in conformity to the stipulations of that treaty, to withdraw his forces from the island of Malta. At the time when this demand was made by the French government, several of the most important stipulations of the arrangement respecting Malta remained unexecuted. The election of a grand master had not been carried into effect. The tenth article had stipulated, that the independence of the island should be placed under the guarantee and protection of Great Britain, France, Austria, Russia, Spain, and Prussia. The emperor of Germany had acceded to the guarantee, but only on condition of a like accession on the part of the other powers specified in the article. The emperor of Russia had refused his accession, except on the condition that the Maltese langue should be abrogated; and the king of Prussia had given no answer whatever to the application which had been made to him to accede to the arrangement. But the fundamental principle, upon the existence of which depended the execution of the other parts of the article, had been defeated by the changes which had taken place in the constitution of the order since the conclusion of the treaty of peace. It was to the Order of St. John of Jerusalem that his majesty was, by the first stipulation of the tenth article, bound to restore the island of Malta. The order is defined to consist of those langues which were in existence at the time of the conclusion of the treaty; the three French langues having been abolished, and a Maltese langue added to the institution. The order consisted, therefore, at that time, of the following langues, viz. the langues of Arragon, Castile, Germany, Bavaria, and Russia. Since the conclusion of the Definitive Treaty, the langues of Arragon and Castile have been separated from the Order by Spain, a part of the Italian langue has been abolished by the annexation of Piedmont and Parma to France.

"Under these circumstances, the order of St. John cannot now be considered as that body to which, according to the stipulations of the treaty, the island was to be restored; and the funds indispensably necessary for its support, and for the maintenance of the independence of the island,

earlier period laid the evidence of this hostile spirit before both houses of parliament. In bringing forward the motions which he meant to submit to their lordships' consideration, the noble earl wished it to be understood, that he was actuated by no motives of personal hostility to ministers. For many of them individually he felt the greatest respect, and no man was more ready to do justice to the respectability of their private character; no considerations, however, of this nature, should induce him to desert a duty which he felt that he owed to their lordships and the country. It was on public views that he brought forward the business, and on public grounds he should only ask for their lordships' support. Having stated this in explanation of his object, his lordship took up the consideration of the general subject, and in the course of his observations adverted to all the acts of aggression and aggrandizement on the part of the French government, from the time of signing the preliminaries of peace, and the corresponding conduct of ministers.

On adverting to the part of the French government, his lordship said, there had been many acts of insolence, of violence, and aggression, every one of which ought to have been the ground of serious remonstrance, as being diametrically opposite to the principles of the treaty which ministers had avowed at the time when the treaty was concluded. When the French government had agreed on preliminary articles of peace, his lordship begged the house to consider what was the line of conduct which it had pursued? Was this a conduct of a conciliatory nature? Was it of a nature which could at all induce a hope that peace might be preserved in the true spirit of peace? A very contrary spirit had on every occasion been evinced. Instead of a disposition to adopt that policy which might be considered as shewing some degree of respect for the rights of independent states, or that moderation which bespoke no wish for an extension of French power, acts had been committed which were totally inconsistent with a desire for the preservation of peace, and which could only originate from a fixed determination to pursue aggrandizement, whatever might be the consequence; his lordship then referred to the extraordinary step taken by Bonaparte, of procuring presidentship of the Italian republic. This, he contended, was neither more nor less than a direct annexation of the whole territory of which that republic was composed, to the already overgrown dominions of France. It was not a measure by which the connection between Italy and France might be rendered more intimate, but one by which the interests, the objects and the strength of the two countries were identified. Was a measure of this magnitude taking place during the interval between the signature of the preliminaries and a definitive treaty, a matter of light importance? Was it one to which, with reference to such a definitive treaty, no attention ought to have been given by ministers? But ministers had made no remonstrances, and it was from the knowledge that they had on this, as well as many other acts of violence and aggression on the part of the French government, that he had felt it his duty to bring the matter under discussion. That this very extraordinary measure took place in February 1802, and it was with the knowledge of this decisive proof of the disposition of the French government that the definitive treaty had been concluded. What then had been the spirit of encroachment displayed by the French government after the treaty was concluded? Was it of a description which could justify the expectation that permanent peace might be maintained? It was, on the contrary, distinguished by every evidence of aggression and hostility. A very few months elapsed after the conclusion of the treaty, when by a convention, of the grounds of which ministers had not given parliament and the country the smallest information, Parma and Placentia were ceded to France. It was in June that this new acquisition of territory was obtained, and still no remonstrance was resorted to by ministers. The French government, profiting by this spirit of forbearance, and actuated by a thirst of power which acknowledged no bounds, resolved that no opportunity of aggrandizement should be overlooked. In September, Piedmont was declared to be an intregal part of the French republic; and thus, whatever hope might have been previously entertained of the restoration of the liberty of Italy, it was now destroyed. It was henceforth left at the mercy of France, for who was ignorant that in every great contest Piedmont had always been considered as the key of Italy? All these repeated and unequivocal manifestations of a spirit inconsistent with the maintenance of peace had been given, and not a remonstrance had been heard from ministers. They appeared to allow the causes of jealousy to accumulate. They suffered the proofs of the hostile mind to augment, and still they took no effectual measures to provide against the consequence. The first step taken, which at all indicated a determination to resist this ambitious spirit, was issuing orders for retaining possession of the Cape of Good Hope. On what circumstances, however, he begged their lordships to consider, were these orders dispatched? Was it on receiving intelligence of the determination of Bonaparte to interfere in the affairs of Switzerland?—It was of importance to observe how the conduct of ministers on this subject ought to be considered. When they determined to interfere, they ought to have known what effect their interference was likely to produce. For if from the circumstances of the continent, at the time the remonstrances were made, it appeared, that they could be productive of no beneficial consequences, the remomstrances were in themselves highly inexpedient. Now, how did the case stand after being fairly considered? On the 3rd of October, Mr. Merry sent a dispatch to ministers, informing them of the exertions made by a Swiss deputy to procure the interference of some of the ministers of the great powers of Europe, in behalf of his persecuted country. In this dispatch it was stated that the application had been ineffectual. Most of the ministers were not only not disposed

island, have been nearly, if not wholly, sequestered. As the conduct of the governments of France and Spain have in some instances directly, and in others indirectly, contributed to the changes which have taken place in the Order, and thus destroyed its means of snpporting its independence, it is to those governments, and not to his majesty, that the non-execution of the 10th article of the Treaty of Amiens must be ascribed.

"His majesty was induced by the Treaty of Peace to consent to abandon, and to restore to the Order of St. John, the island of Malta, on condition of its independence and neutrality. But a further condition, which must necessarily be supposed to have considerable influence with his majesty, in inducing him to make so important a concession was the acquiescence of the French government, in an arrangement for the security of the Levant, by the eighth and ninth articles in the treaty stipulating the integrity of the Turkish empire, and the independence of the Ionian Islands. But the views of the French government must be manifest to all the world, from the official publication of the report of colonel Sebastiani; from the conduct of that officer, and of the other French agents in Egypt, Syria, and the Ionian Islands, and from the distinct admission of the first consul himself, in his communication with lord Whitworth. His majesty was, therefore, warranted in considering it to be the determination of the French government to violate those articles of the Treaty of Peace, which stipulated for the integrity and independence of the Turkish empire and of the Ionian Islands, and consequently he would not have been justified in evacuating the island of Malta, without receiving some other security, which might equally provide for these important objects. His majesty accordingly feels that he has an incontestible claim, in consequence of the conduct of France since the Treaty of Peace, and with reference to the objects which made part of the stipulations of that treaty, to refuse under the present circumstances, to relinquish the possession of the island of Malta. Yet, notwithstanding this right, so clear and so unquestionable, the alternative presented by the French government to his majesty, in language the most peremptory and menacing, was the evacuation of Malta, or the renewal of war.

"The report of colonel Sebastiani contains the most unwarrantable insinuations and charges against his majesty's government, against the officer who commanded his forces in Egypt, and against the British army in that quarter. This paper cannot be considered as the publication of a private individual; it has been avowed, and indeed bears evidence upon the face of it, that it is the official report of an accredited agent, published by the authority of the government to which it was addressed, who thereby have given it their express sanction. This report had been published a very short time, when another indignity was offered to this country in the communication of the first consul of France to the legislative body. In this communication he presumes to affirm, in the character of chief magistrate of that country, 'That Great Britain cannot singly contend against the power of France;' an assertion as unfounded as it is indecent, disproved by the events of many wars, and by none more than by those of the war which has been recently concluded. Such an assertion, advanced in the most solemn official act of a government, and thereby meant to be avowed to all the powers of Europe, can be considered in no other light than as a defiance publicly offered to his majesty, and to a brave and powerful people, who are both willing and able to defend his just rights, and those of their country, against every insult and aggression.

"The conduct of the first consul to his majesty's ambassador at his audience, in presence of the ministers of most of the sovereigns and states of Europe, furnishes another instance of provocation on the part of the French government, which it would be improper not to notice on the present occasion. At the very time when his majesty was demanding satisfaction and explanation on some of the points above-mentioned, the French minister at Hamburgh endeavoured to obtain the insertion, in the Hamburgh paper, of a most gross and opprobrious libel against his majesty; and when difficulties were made respecting the insertion of it, he availed himself of his official character of minister of the French republic,

posed to listen to their application, but they were afraid of admitting him within their threshold, from a dread of giving offence to the first consul. With the knowledge of all this, ministers did interfere when they must have known that interference could not be beneficial. They had passed over the fairest opportunities of dignified and effectual remonstrance, and had made a shew of remonstrances when it could not with the smallest dignity be employed. But the cases to which he had alluded, were not all which, though forming just ground of complaint, had not been taken up with sufficient spirit by ministers. His lordship then alluded to the manner in which British sublects had been abused, and British property confiscated, which did not appear to him to have been made the ground of sufficient remonstrance. Our claims to reparation and redress had not been urged with that spirit and that energy which the extreme importance of the subject required. His lordship next proceeded to the direct point in which ministers had chosen to make their final stand, and had thought proper to assume a determination no longer to submit to the insolence and the aggressions of the French government. After all the instances of aggression which had occurred; after all the proofs which had been given, of a disposition altogether inconsistent with the independence and the safety of other states; after the most unequivocal demonstrations of a mind incurably hostile to this country, ministers had instructed lord Whitworth, to express to the French government, their readiness to give up Malta agreeably to the conditions of the treaty. Having given such instructions, attention was naturally directed to the circumstances which produced the subsequent determination of ministers to retain Malta, as a means of additional security against the future views of the French government. Lord Hawkesbury, in consequence of the report of Sebastiani, disclosing the views of the French government, addresses a note to our ambassador, stating, that ministers expected that additional security, to which these views gave them a fair claim. Till the middle of February, the ambitious designs of the French government were not resisted by ministers, and at length they took their stand at a point which, compared with various other causes of offence, was very secondary in real importance. From all these considerations, he conceived himself fully warranted in drawing the inference which he meant to found on his first proposition, that ministers in full possession of sufficient proofs of the hostile mind of the French government, of its uninterrupted insults and aggressions from the time that the treaty of peace had been signed to the day when his majesty's message of the 8th of March was delivered, were highly censurable in not declaring what was the real situation of the country. At the time that they were sufficiently sensible of the existence of this spirit, they continued to hold out to parliament and to the country the hope of the continuance of peace. At the very moment when there could remain no reasonable expectation of the maintenance of peace, the public was deceived with the expectation that there was a prospect not of short and precarious, but of solid and permanent repose, from all the miseries attendant on war. Parliament and the public had at all times a clear and undoubted right to know, from the servants of the crown, what was the real situation of the country. This information ministers had most assiduously concealed, and while they sheltered themselves behind responsibility, the country was brought into a situation more critical and more dangerous than had ever been paralleled in the records of our history. Considering the state of darkness relative to the most interesting matters in which ministers had so long left their lordships, it was, he contended, highly necessary to institute an inquiry, with the view of vindicating their honour against a supposition of being indifferent to the great duties which they were called on to perform. It was solely from this consideration of public duty that he had been induced to bring forward the propositions with which he meant to conclude. The situation in which the country was placed had become unquestionably highly arduous and critical, and to meet the danger to which it was exposed it was necessary that the public should have an assurance of the capacity of the ministers of the crown for directing the resources and the energies of the people. It was proper at a time when all ranks would be called on to contribute great sacrifices for the public service, that they should have confidence in the talents and the knowledge of those by whom these sacrifices were to be applied for the service of the empire. It was necessary too, when engaging in a contest in which the opinion or the mediation of other powers might be required, that the character of the government of the country should be such as to command respect. When he looked at the whole of the negociations, when he considered the manner in which all the hostile acts of the French government had been viewed by them, he could not admit that his majesty's present servants were qualified to secure confidence with the country at home, or inspire respect among governments abroad. The noble earl concluded with moving several resolutions, of which the two following are the most important:

1st. Resolved, "That it appears to this house, from the declaration issued by his majesty on the 18th instant, and laid before this house by his majesty's command, that the conduct of the French republic towards this country during the whole period which has elapsed since the conclusion of the definitive treaty of peace, is considered by his majesty's ministers as having exhibited 'one continued series of aggression, violence, and insult;' and as necessarily creating a 'thorough conviction,' of a system deliberately 'adopted by France, for the purpose of degrading, vilifying, and insulting his majesty and his government."

2d. Resolved, "That his majesty's ministers having throughout the whole period from the definitive treaty of peace to the breaking out of the present war, neither communicated to parliament any knowledge of the sense which they now appear to have entertained respecting the conduct and system of France, nor any regular information of the particulars on which the same was founded, or the steps taken by his majesty's government thereupon, have thereby withheld from this house the necessary materials for the due and full discharge of its constitutional functions; and that by encouraging throughout the country an unfounded security and confidence in the permanence of the peace; they have embarrassed and perplexed our commerce; have deceived the expectations, and unnecessarily harrassed the spirit of the people; and have materially increased and aggravated the difficulties of our actual situation." His lordship also moved a third resolution for a vote of censure on the ministers for their conduct.

On the question being put on the first resolution from the woolsack,

Lord Limerick vindicated the conduct of ministers. He professed his inability to enter into a distinction which on a former evening had been studiously attempted to be established betwixt the conduct of ministers and the justice of the war into which the ambition of France had

lic, to require the publication of it, by order of his government, in the Gazette of the senate of that town. With this requisition the senate of Hamburgh was induced to comply; and thus has the independence of that town been violated, and a free state made the instrument of propagating throughout Europe, the most offensive and unfounded calumnies against his majesty and his government. His majesty might add to this list of indignities, the requisition which the French government have repeatedly urged, that the laws and constitution of his country should be changed relative to the liberty of the press. His majesty might likewise add, the calls which the French government have, on several occasions, made upon him to violate the laws of hospitality, with respect to persons who had found an asylum within his dominions, and against whose conduct no charge whatever has at any time been substantiated.

"Under all these insults and provocations, his majesty, not without a due sense of his dignity, has proceeded with every degree of temper and moderation to obtain satisfaction and redress, while he has neglected no means consistent with his honour and the safety of his dominions, to induce the government of France to concede to him, what is, in his judgement, absolutely necessary for the future tranquillity of Europe. His efforts in this respect have proved abortive, and he has therefore judged it necessary to order his ambassador to leave Paris. In having recourse to this proceeding, it has been his majesty's object to put an end to the fruitless discussions which have too long subsisted between the two governments, and to close a period of suspense peculiarly injurious to the subjects of his majesty.

"But though the provocations which his majesty has received, might entitle him to larger claims than those which he has advanced, yet anxious to prevent calamities which might thus be extended to every part of Europe, he is still willing, as far as is consistent with his own honour, to concur in an arrangement by which satisfaction shall be given to him, for the indignities which have been offered to his crown and to his people, and substantial security afforded against further encroachments on the part of France.

"His majesty has thus distinctly and unreservedly stated the reasons of those proceedings to which he has found himself compelled to resort. He is actuated by no disposition to interfere in the internal concerns of any other state; by no projects of conquest and aggrandizement; but solely by a sense of what is due to the honour of his crown, and the interests of his people, and by an anxious desire to obstruct the further progress of a system, which if not resisted, may prove fatal to every part of the civilized world."

forced

forced us to enter for the support of all that is estimable in society. He then took up the question before the house in a clear stile of argument. Concerning the responsibility under which the ministers had attempted to shelter their conduct, much had been said, and it was made the subject of complaint that ministers had not at a much earlier period put the house in possession of information relative to the ambitious views of the French government. With regard to the objects started against the conduct of ministers, from the time of the signature of the preliminaries to the period when the treaty was concluded, they had formerly been so fully considered and so satisfactorily answered, that, to dwell on them at present, would be equally inexpedient and unnecessary. The conduct of ministers respecting Switzerland had been condemned: to him it appeared at once proper and spirited. The ministers of all the great continental powers had been addressed with a view of obtaining their mediation with the first consul, to avert the evils with which Switzerland was threatened, and which afterwards it so fully experienced. To these applications no sort of attention had been given, except by the ministers of this country. Was a disposition to listen to the remonstrances of a brave and injured people, a ground of censure? Was it a subject of fair complaint, that a hope was held out of a determination to give every degree of support which was likely to be effectual in a contest for usages and for privileges, endeared by every consideration that is most cherished by the heart of man? But this general principle of the interference of ministers respecting Switzerland appeared to be condemned. Degraded as the powers of the continent had shewn themselves to be, ministers had no choice left but to make a separate remonstrance to the French government. Such a remonstrance, their lordships were aware, had been presented, and if it failed of effect, neither the honour or general character of the country were at all compromised. Ministers had sent a confidential agent to Switzerland, not to foment a spirit of rebellion; not to elude them with false hopes and expectations of success; but to ascertain the real disposition of the people; to find out what was their ability for effectual resistance, and to see what prospect there was that with such assistance as might have been given, by this country, there was any probability that this resistance would promote the end desired. On inquiry it was ascertained, that with all their detestation of French persecution, successful resistance was impossible, and therefore ministers found further interference unnecessary. He contended that in the whole conduct of ministers, as far as interference in the affairs of Switzerland was concerned, they had acted so as to entitle them to fair and honourable support. Ministers had been loudly accused for not having sooner declared their opinion that war had become necessary. The circumstances under which the peace had been concluded were to be considered before such an objection could be fairly started. He hoped it would not be contended that ministers were not desirous of the continuance of peace; for on this they rested their pretensions to popularity, and it was not likely they would do any thing to destroy the good opinion which had been created in their favour, by rashly plunging the country in war. Malta, he said, was the grand point in dispute, and to remove the grounds of difference no efforts had been omitted. They had endeavoured to procure the assent of the guaranteeing powers; they had given every facility for the election of a grand master; they had pursued this object in the way most calculated to evince their determination to act in the true spirit of peace. They found soon after the conclusion of the treaty, that the French government, instead of discovering a spirit of conciliation, evinced a disposition rancorous and hostile. They received a proposal insolent and outrageous in the highest degree! a proposition to curtail or to suppress the most valuable privilege and the firmest support of the British constitution—the freedom of full and fair discussion! To such a proposal, ministers of course refused to accede; but even here their language was mild and moderate. To a most detestable and cruel demand, to drive from our land the representatives of a family once eminent for wealth and power, but now eminent only in misfortune, the answer of ministers *was at once firm and dignified.* Our ministers were called upon to banish the remains of an ancient nobility and the wreck of a venerable priesthood. It had been objected to ministers, that their orders and counter-orders respecting the Cape of Good Hope, betrayed want of firmness and consistency of character. Ministers had reason to believe that a plan was in contemplation by which Holland was to be incorporated with France. Under such an expectation, it was clear that the Cape would necessarily fall into the hands of France, the moment it was surrendered. It was on this principle that the order for retaining the Cape was founded, and it was not till an explanation on the subject was obtained, that a second order for its evacuation was dispatched. Ministers, after this explanation had been obtained, had no pretence for refusing to comply with the terms of the treaty. His lordship condemned Sebastiani's report in very energetic terms. It appeared to him to express such clear evidence of the insidious designs of the first consul, both with respect to Egypt and the Ionian islands, that if ministers had not laid hold of it in establishing a just claim to further security on the part of this country, they would have forfeited all claims to public confidence. The article in the Hamburgh paper, which had excited so much attention, and called forth such just indignation, was one of the foulest and most malignant libels that ever was published against the government of an independent country, and reflected discredit on the character of M. Rheinard, by whose influence it was inserted. Under all these considerations, Ministers had called for additional security, but no offer of security had been obtained. On the contrary Talleyrand declared that the question betwixt the two countries lay within a very narrow compass. It was simply Malta, or war. Retain Malta, and war will be considered to be declared. His lordship declared that he had reflected much on the causes of the hatred of Bonaparte to this country; who, he contended, wished to remove from the eyes of his debased and degraded subjects, the image of Great Britain, free and happy; and hence his eternal hostility to a people, all whose institutions only placed his own tyranny in the stronger colours. His lordship then declared his approbation of the conduct of ministers.

Earl Grosvenor conceived that the present question ought to be moved. The accusation against ministers contained in the resolutions was of the most weighty nature, and he believed that the noble lords would pause before they consented to entertain the motion. Noble lords could not but be aware that if the motion was carried, it would be followed up by an impeachment against ministers. Before blame was, however, attached so strongly to them, and such weighty accusations were produced, it was but fair to look to the situation of affairs, when ministers were called on to take on themselves the conduct of government. It would be recollected that the Northern Confederacy then existed, and that they had succeeded in concluding a convention, which their lordships had highly applauded. It would be recollected that ministers had formed a treaty of peace, which had also been highly approved by both houses of parliament. His lordship concluded by observing, that no disadvantage had arisen from the experiment, and it was now clear beyond the possibility of doubt that war was rendered unavoidable by the wild and ungovernable spirit of hostility and ambition manifested by the French government; and hinted that till Bonaparte was displaced, no permanent repose could exist in Europe.

Lord Darnley took a view of the subject on similar grounds, and said, among other things, that it should be remembered that those persons who are supposed most decidedly adverse to war on all occasions, have stated the point of national honour to be almost the only legitimate ground of warfare. What could be more flagrant than the cause of the vessel which was forced into a port of France by stress of weather, or of that which was confiscated, because the captain had a few knives and plates for his own use of English manufacture? Were not these acts of injustice and hostility, and yet as far as we know, no notice was taken of them, except in the presenting a few whining remonstrances at Paris, which were treated with silent contempt. In the case of Switzerland, a remonstrance of the same sort had been presented, and with the same effect: and here he must repeat what he had stated on former occasions, that such remonstrances were puerile, and far beneath the dignity of a great and powerful nation. We ought certainly either to have remonstrated with effect, that is, have gone to war, if our remonstrances had been rejected, or not remonstrated at all. His lordship forbore to dwell on the contradictory orders respecting the surrender of the Cape, and proceeded to that of Malta, which was of the greatest consequence in itself, and because it had

had immediately led to the present war; and here he referred back to the negociation of Amiens, where the unintelligible and absurd tenth article of the treaty left it open to certain dispute, and necessarily produced the consequences which have followed. If, during these negociations, that line of dignified firmness to which he had alluded had been adopted, instead of that of weakness and concession which had been preferred, he must repeat, that in all probability, Malta would have been ours, and peace established on a secure and honourable basis; or if we had been obliged to take up arms again, we should have done so with many advantages which we had since relinquished. On his part, lord Darnley said, he most firmly believed that if we had shewn ourselves, and Bonaparte had believed us to be in earnest, he would at that time have preferred the loss of Malta to that of St. Domingo or his fleet. But he early saw our blind fondness for peace, and fear of war, and he has taken full advantage of it, till at last he has strained the cord till he has broken it. Our patience and forbearance are at length exhausted, and we are at last obliged to fight. He should therefore assent to the propositions moved that night by the noble earl, because he thought they could not be controverted.

Lord Borringdon differed entirely from the noble lord who had just sat down, as to its being of little moment who was minister or who was not. He wished the present ministers to strengthen themselves by every possible accession of talent. He could not help remarking, and giving it as his opinion, from the most careful perusal of the correspondence, that there was not one point previous to the great leading question relative to Malta, which could in any way particularly excite the feelings of the nation. The noble lord who spoke first, had asked whether the intention of France to regain, or rather to get entirely the possession of Egypt, was matter in any shape novel? Certainly it was a favourite object of the Bourbons during the whole of the last century. Still he would contend, with respect to Bonaparte again getting that country, that previous to the mission of Sebastiani, and the report made by that officer, no evidence could be given that the First Consul's views were directed thither, or that any intention of the kind was at all rendered manifest and clear. He did not approve of the mode in which the present ministers came into power, nor did he think highly of their talents; but he would not, therefore, withhold his approbation when it was deserved, and therefore he voted now in their defence.

The Duke of Cumberland said, he was induced to rise merely from an expression which had fallen from a noble lord, who had asserted that he disapproved of the mode in which the present administration came into office. What the noble lord might intend by *the mode*, he could not really say, but he had never known a set of men come into office in a more honourable manner.

Lord Borringdon explained, that in making use of the expression quoted by the royal duke, he had not been actuated by any motive of disrespect towards his majesty's ministers.

The earl of Suffolk said, if it was not for the partition of Poland, a prince of the house of Bourbon would now be upon the throne of France. His lordship added, he considered that the cause of the hostile spirit manifested by Bonaparte did not arise so much from the circumstances of the negociation, as from the conduct of his majesty's former ministers, in the violation of the treaty of El-Arisch; and he contrasted the moderate and civil conduct of the present ministers with lord Grenville's answer to Bonaparte's letter, which had cost this country two years of destructive war, and 150,000,000*l.* of money.

The earl of Westmoreland trusted that he should stand excused in the opinion of the house, if he endeavoured to answer and refute the various charges which had been brought against ministers. He surely could not be contradicted when he asserted that the non-performance of a treaty was tantamount to a declaration of war, as he was strengthened and fortified by the words of Bonaparte himself, and also the opinion of Talleyrand. A refusal to evacuate Malta, because the letter of that treaty could not be fulfilled, was made a declaration of war. But was it the duty of ministers to have patiently waited until the sword was unsheathed, and the Chief Consul had withdrawn his troops from the West Indies, before hostilities should be commenced by this country? The importance of Malta had not been denied; that island was the key to the Levant, the protection of Egypt, consequently in a very eminent degree the guardian of our possessions in India. It was also of much moment to Great Britain as a naval station, for watching the movements of the powers of France and Spain in that quarter. After a few arguments in support of the same system, his lordship concluded by calling upon the house to be unanimous in supporting the war, in defence of the liberties of the people, in defence of the constitution of the country, and in defence of his majesty's sacred person.

Lord Mulgrave, after reprobating the conduct of the first consul, said, that it might reasonably be expected that Bonaparte would attempt the invasion of this country, since he had made no scruple in avowing his intention of hazarding his life, his fame, and those armies which had exalted him to that pinnacle of greatness on which he stood. The war, therefore, was to be maintained by the resources and energies of a great and free people, unanimous and hearty in the contest, in opposition to conscripts and forced measures. He trusted ministers would soon bring down to the house measures of revenue of a lasting and permanent kind, wisely calculated to bear as little on the people as the nature of the contest would allow. He lamented the debate which had occurred, and in order that there might be no more of it, he should move that the house do now adjourn.

The earl of Carlisle spoke in terms of the highest praise as to the abilities and eloquence of the noble lord who spoke first in the debate, and recapitulated some of his lordship's arguments, in order to point out their force, and impress them the stronger on the house. His lordship reprobated the proposal of such a motion when the house were employed in the discharge of one of their highest and most important constitutional duties, an inquiry into the conduct of his majesty's ministers, in the course of a negociation which, through their neglect, had led the country into the state in which it stood—of actual war with France. He also implored the house to consider in what a situation they placed his majesty's ministers, if such a motion should be carried. They would be deprived of the opportunity of clearing themselves, if they could clear themselves, of one of the heaviest charges that ever was brought against ministers. He urged the necessity of proceeding in the present debate, that every one might state the grounds on which he conceived his majesty's ministers deserved the severe censure passed upon their conduct, and enable them to make their defence. It was more necessary that this should be the course of proceeding, because, although his majesty's ministers had talked much of their acknowledging their responsibility, and being ready to meet inquiry; yet the word *responsibility*, as applied to ministers, appeared lately to have lost its meaning. The word, responsibility, had been better understood by our ancestors. Cardinal Wolsey, who was undoubtedly a great minister, towards the end of his life felt what responsibility in the king's servants really was. Lord Strafford, in like manner, paid the price of responsibility for his conduct. Other ministers, and great officers of state, for their mal-practices, paid the same price; and it was highly necessary that the ministers of this day should be taught how aweful and serious a thing responsibility was. Ministers, he contended, were answerable for every charge which should be brought against them by parliament, and which was supported by arguments founded in reason; yet, he was sorry to say, it was too common a mode of evading that aweful responsibility to which they were liable, to say, that in a time of peace they should not disturb the public tranquillity, or cause any ferment in the public mind, by instituting an inquiry as to what had passed during a period of hostility and irritation of the minds of the contending powers. In war, it was urged, on the other hand, it was not becoming to clog the operations of the government for the good of our country, by instituting an inquiry which might at that time, by throwing a reflection on the conduct of their rulers, damp the ardour of our countrymen. If this sort of general principle were to be adopted by the legislature, there would be an excuse, not only for every species of incapacity or inability, but also for every dereliction of all principle, and even a total want of integrity might escape the justice of parliamentary censure, or parliamentary punishment. The conduct of his majesty's ministers appearing to him highly culpable in many points of view, he felt himself therefore bound, to support the motion.

The earl of Carnarvon reprobated the conduct of his majesty's

majesty's ministers both at the time of the definitive treaty and during the whole of the negociation which had since taken place. He said it appeared from the papers on the table, that they knew, when they signed the definitive treaty, that the article respecting Malta could not be carried into execution, and when they defended the preliminary articles, and assured the house, that the peace was likely to be safe, secure, and permanent, on the ground of their knowledge of the amicable tone and temper of the first consul towards this country, at the time that they could not but be aware, that the very reverse was the fact. The definitive treaty, therefore, instead of being a wise, an efficient, and sincere treaty, was a treaty founded in delusion and fraud. His lordship said, ministers were highly criminal for having not only deceived the house by giving them repeated assurances, that every thing pacific was evinced in the conduct of the chief consul, where they knew to the contrary, but by unconstitutionally withholding that information which they ought from time to time to have communicated to parliament. His lordship ended with declaring, that he should give his negative to the motion of adjournment, and vote for the resolutions.

Lord Ellenborough declared, that the respect and esteem which he felt for the characters of his majesty's confidential servants, both in their public and private capacity, made him indignant at the frequency of such reflections, as from day to day rang the changes on the hacknied charge of the incapacity of his majesty's ministers, their weakness, and imbecility. He then reprobated the conduct of the first consul, and concluded by supporting the motion of adjournment.

Earl Spencer considered many of the public evils which had occurred, as owing to the premature pledge given by ministers on the subject of peace—a pledge which bound them up in the negociation which preceded the definitive treaty. It was said that peace had been called for by the voice of the country. He could not allow it to be said that at the period of the preliminaries, there was any such clamour for peace as could force ministers into rash and inadequate engagements. He next proceeded to consider the delay which had taken place in ministers announcing to parliament the hostile views of France. In reading over the declaration, he found that most, if not all of the aggressions complained of, except Sebastiani's report, were of an old date, and previous to the assembling of parliament, yet, for months after that, ministers had continued to conceal those very aggressions of which they complained. The French aggressions, and the conduct of ministry respecting Switzerland, Malta, &c. next engaged his lordship's censure; after which he added, that when these things were considered, it was not mere vague charges that were made against ministers. They were arraigned of incapacity and misconduct upon specific facts and circumstances presented to the attention of the house in the papers on the table. Those who brought forward and supported the resolutions proposed, did so from feelings of public duty. It was in vain to talk of unanimity in the maintenance of the public cause, unless we boldly faced our situation, and examined all the means by which our safety was to be promoted. In this view he considered it as of the greatest importance to examine the conduct of ministers, both in the negociation of peace and the course they took to preserve it. No man was less than him disposed to contest the prerogative which gave to the king the choice of his ministers; but, on the other hand, it was the duty of the house, both for the sake of the king and the public, to examine the measures of ministers, and if they did not appear deserving of confidence, it was competent for them to address the throne for their removal. He concluded with saying that he should vote for the resolution.

Viscount Melville resolved to vote for the adjournment.

Lord Hobart pointed out the great injustice the house would manifest in supporting the motion of adjournment. Could he on such an occasion be influenced by personal motives, he might consent to such a motion, because he was conscious it would add much to the convenience of the house, as well as to the convenience of ministers, under the present circumstances of the country. If the ministers were to be censured and disgraced under the present circumstances, it would naturally follow, that they ought to be dismissed, or the measures necessary to be pursued for the defence of the country would be enfeebled and rendered inefficient, and of little utility. Considering the arduous and difficult task that ministers had to perform ever since they came into office, undoubtedly many of their acts might be highly questionable; but so conscious was he, that the more their conduct was examined, the more it would be found that every step they had taken had been taken with great anxiety, with great caution, and with a most earnest endeavour to avoid the depriving the country of the continuance of the blessings of peace. His lordship was so conscious of this, and at the same time, that their whole conduct would be scrupulously inquired into, that whenever inquiry had been talked of and menaced, he had always declared that they were ready to meet it. He had never said he was anxious to court it, but prepared to meet it; now, therefore, as motions of censure, amounted in substance to a desire of the removal of ministers, he earnestly entreated the house not to vote the adjournment proposed, but to go on with the debate, and decide upon the resolutions, respecting which they had already heard so much that day, and, no doubt, would hear much more.

Lord Carysfort adverted to the conduct of ministers, and censured it as having prevented that house from exercising its constitutional privileges and rights. His majesty had the exclusive prerogative of making peace and war, in common with every other sovereign; but there was another thing by which he was distinguished from all other sovereigns on earth, and that was the appeal to the voice of his people by consulting parliament. The silence of ministers had not only prevented parliament from exercising its constitutional privileges, but had very materially injured the people. Nothing could more have facilitated the bringing about of peace, than the statement of some particular point as the cause of war. The point was not communicated to parliament, for the very good reason that ministers themselves had not fixed upon it. He concluded by declaring his approbation of the motion of censure upon his majesty's ministers.

Lord Grenville said, that it had been contended that his majesty's ministers have a right to complain of the manner in which the present subject had been treated, alledging that it was in our power, who thus accuse them, to have brought all the points to an issue when the great question as to the expediency of the war was discussed in that house. Was there, his lordship asked, any thing in this course of proceeding which any friend of his country need be ashamed to avow? Was it not, on the contrary, the plain and manifest method of reconciling what noble lords might feel their duty towards ministers with a due consideration of the arduous and critical circumstances in which the country was placed? Another motive for this course was, that when a general dissatisfaction at the conduct of ministers had been intimated, those who had expressed that opinion had been called on to specify the particulars of their charge, that ministers might know in what points they were accused. Yielding to this requisition, the present mode of bringing on the question had been adopted; and would it, he asked the house, be said, with any justice or candour, that those whose duty placed them in the situation of accusers, by following suggestions thus made, shewed any disposition to take advantage of parliamentary form, to forward any objects they might have in view? On the contrary, did they not by this proceeding discharge a very painful duty, as much as possible, in conformity to the feelings and opinions of others? He and other noble lords, who thought as he did in respect to the conduct of his majesty's servants, had frequently expressed their opinion of it to the house, that it was not in general such as to entitle them to any confidence in the trying and arduous situation in which the country was placed. On these occasions, the answer, as he had said, uniformly was, do not hover in generalities—bring forth specific charges, that his majesty's ministers may know what they have to answer. We accept the challenge; we produce our specific charges. Then we are told that all these points might have been brought to issue, when ministers themselves brought forward the general question, as to the existence and policy of the war. We, on the contrary, were anxious to give no interruption to that general question, affecting, as its decision did, the great and vital interest of the country. This question disposed of, we now, from the very papers produced by ministers in their own justification, produce those specific charges we were by their defenders called upon to do. If the other mode alluded to by the noble and learned lord were really thought to be desirable, they might on the motion of any noble lord be adopted. It was now said, do not bring forward your charges, but make a motion tending to criminate ministers, or referring the whole to a committee. At the present

present moment we wish to discuss the resolutions brought forward by the noble earl, as being most adapted to the wishes hitherto expressed. Then we are told that ministers can defend themselves better in a committee. If so, the noble and learned lord knows that any lord is competent to turn the form of a debate into a committee. Such had been the conduct of his majesty's ministers ever since the conclusion of the preliminary treaty, that his lordship thought the honour of the house and interest of the public were equally concerned in forwarding the investigation to which the motion led. Notwithstanding the wide scope which had been alledged as a ground of complaint, those who accused his majesty's ministers were ready to go into the subject charge by charge. It could by no means be said, that it was they who moved the question of adjournment. This was entirely with the adverse party, and so was in no wise imputable to them. The particulars of the present motion were two facts, and a consequence that manifestly, when these were established, resulted from them. The inference or just result from these was not, as had been stated, that an address was to be proposed for the removal of his majesty's servants. All that the inferences went to establish was, that his majesty's ministers wanted the confidence of that house.

His lordship contended that the discussion of the conduct of ministers involved a great constitutional principle, as to just intercourse and proper communication between the government and parliament of the country. The charge against ministers was, that, not by accident, *but by a deliberate systematic conduct*, they precluded parliament from that knowledge of public events which was indisputably necessary to the performance of its duty. Communications of this kind were indispensible, he contended, to the just correspondence and constitutional understanding between the executive government and parliament. He might refer, he said, in investigating this subject, to the ministerial defence of the preliminary articles, in supporting which ministers declared there was nothing in the person who ruled over France, or in the circumstances of the times, that should render the peace less likely to continue than any that ever was made. His lordship then entered on an elaborate display of the circumstances which took place since the definitive treaty had been signed, and concluded by opposing the adjournment, and expressing a wish that the resolutions should meet that discussion which was due to their importance.

The Lord Chancellor (Lord Eldon) could by no means give his assent to the motion of adjournment, and conceived it would be a stigma on his character were he to do so. He trusted, he said, that the conduct of ministers rested on no improper vindication; for, conscious of having done the best they could for their country, they had no apprehensions from appealing to its justice; and absurd indeed would it be in them to consent to a motion of adjournment on the present question, which would only serve to paralyze their exertions in the arduous cause to which they were now pledged, and thus furnish a new pretence for reviving at the end of a month or six weeks, a motion for their censure and removal.

Lord Mulgrave vindicated himself against the charge of injustice and absurdity, and said, his motive for moving the question of adjournment was not as a shield to ministers, but to the country, against apparent disunion, and because, as there were many points in the conduct of ministers, which he could not conscientiously approve; and therefore, as he could not vote against the whole of the original motion, he preferred moving the adjournment.

The Earl of Warwick, after allowing to ministers all possible credit for their private virtues and inflexible integrity, did not think that the amiableness of their disposition was combined with talent sufficient to guide the affairs of the country at this difficult crisis. Their lordships then divided, when the numbers appeared, for the adjournment eighteen, against it one hundred and six. Majority eighty-eight. The house again divided on the previous question, when the numbers were, for the previous question, ninety-six, against it fourteen.

This important debate was resumed on the 6th, when on the order of the day being read for *the additional resolutions* proposed by earl Fitzwilliam, for THE CENSURE OF MINISTERS, his lordship adverted to the arguments that had been used on the side of administration, on occasion of the former debate, and combated them. So far from giving satisfaction to his mind, they had only more firmly impressed it with conviction, that the conduct of ministry had been such as justly merited the censure which it was the object of his resolutions to fix upon it. He concluded his observations on the question, and the arguments which had been adduced against his propositions, by declaring, that the effect of the whole upon his mind had been such as induced him to persevere in his former intentions of submitting the additional resolutions to the consideration of the house; which were in substance as follow:—Resolved, "That no firm and adequate representations had been made by his majesty's ministers relative to the system of aggression, in which France had constantly persevered since the conclusion of the Treaty of Amiens. That his majesty's ministers had, by these means, neglected the opportunity of bringing France to such an explanation as would either have prevented the renewal of the war, or obliged her to disclose her real intentions before the forces of this country had been to any considerable degree disbanded. And that their conduct had proved of the utmost injury and detriment to the nation. These were, that the tenth article of the Treaty of Amiens was constructed in such a way, as rendered it incapable of being executed:—that in these circumstances ministers had neglected to enter, till too late, into a discussion with France, relative to the best mode of applying a remedy to this defect; and the consequence had been, that the question how it was to be adjusted had, by these means, produced another rupture between the two countries.

Resolved, "That it was the duty of his majesty's ministers to have made early and spirited remonstrances against all those acts which constituted a series of aggressions, insults, &c. on the part of France, and by such representations to have endeavoured to ascertain, whether their course and progress could have been arrested without the necessity of recurring to force of arms. That before the determination of the French government was ascertained, they should not have proceeded to a reduction of our forces; and that the neglect of such duties on the part of his majesty's ministers, was injurious to the public interests."

The duke of Clarence remarked, that in whatever shape the motion had been introduced, he could not help considering it as a motion expressly made for the removal of his majesty's ministers. He rose, because he wished to say, that though he differed completely from the noble earl, yet he gave him credit for his consistency, as his motion was in the spirit, and constituted a part, of the system which he had uniformly pursued from the commencement of the French revolution. There were many parts of that system in which he had cordially agreed, and highly approved, but the continuation of the war was not in the number. Upon that point certainly he did differ from the noble earl, as he always thought that no opportunity should be lost to put an end to the horrors of war, and that the chance which the state of things appeared to afford for the attainment of that end, should not have been rejected. Ministers, therefore, did right in making peace, notwithstanding their expectations had been frustrated. How far indeed they ought to have agreed to the definitive treaty, is matter of serious consideration. That is a question which would involve the gross misconduct of the former administration, which brought the country into the state which the present ministers found it. On that subject he was ready to go into detail. Much stress had been laid upon the difficulties in the way of the execution of the tenth article of the treaty of Amiens, respecting Malta. Ministers did say they were anxious to secure the independence of that island, and that such was the object of the stipulations contained in the article. The present ministers, he said, had been accused for reducing our force. He did not admit that they did reduce it lower than was necessary for the safety and interest of the country. But supposing the charge to be founded in fact, it shewed that ministers were actuated by a pacific spirit, and repelled the charge which the enemy had brought against them, of wishing to renew the war. He had thought the peace at any time a matter of experiment, and in such a situation, it was impossible to know what the amount of the force should be. With regard to the navy, there were many opinions, and his highness owned he had not been without forming a judgement upon it. There was one circumstance, which it will be observed, is peculiar to our navy. We are a great commercial nation, and the manning of the navy must greatly interfere with our trade. His highness adverted to several other particulars, which had been mentioned in the course of the former debate, and concluded with

with saying, that he felt himself disposed to negative the proposition of the noble earl.

Lords Minto, Grosvenor, Bolton, De Dunstanville, and Clifton, severally delivered their opinions, which were couched in a similar train of argument to what had been before brought forward. After which, lord Carysfort called the attention of the house to what was the real object in discussion. His lordship followed the order in which they stood enumerated in the three resolutions which had been read, and the first of which had been moved by his noble friend; as the last of these resolutions turned upon the cession of the Cape of Good Hope, in consequence of the order of the 17th of November, after they had sent out an order to retain it, dated the 16th of October. He argued at some length on the inconsistency of such conduct, and laid particular stress on the criminality of it. He concluded with declaring, that he should vote for the resolutions, the object of which was to pass a censure on his majesty's ministers.

Lord Hobart spoke at great length in defence of ministers, denied their having reduced the army and navy in the proportion that had been stated; and particularly dwelt on the subject of the Cape of Good Hope, which, he said, he did not hold in equal estimation with many of their lordships. If he was asked, whether he thought it of no value? certainly he should not answer in the affirmative. It had its value undoubtedly, but not to the extent that other noble lords attached to it. In the first place, it was not necessary that ships coming from or sailing to India should touch at it, and he had been informed from those best acquainted upon the subject, that no French cruizers could derive any advantage from it. The usual and the best practice of our Indiamen, was to keep at least the distance of thirty leagues from the Cape in their voyages to and from India. In the next place, it was to be considered that Cape Town could hardly be deemed a port; during the favourable season of six months in the year, ships might lay in Table Bay; but during the severe and tempestuous season, ships could only lay in False Bay, from which, on account of the boisterous sea, the worst of any part of the ocean, no man of war or cruizer could put to sea. But another consideration was the immense charge the Cape put us to, while it was in our own hands. It cost this country no less than one million and a half annually, whereas it would not cost us above four hundred thousand pounds to send out convoys with the several fleets of Indiamen which sailed from our ports at home to India, and from India home again.

Lord Grenville stated, that the object of the resolutions was to infer that it was the duty of his majesty's ministers to have remonstrated with the French government for the aggressions they had committed; and he contended, that in not having done so, their conduct had been highly criminal. He argued against that system of acquiescence in insult, which characterized the present government. His lordship was of opinion the resolutions should have been taken separately. He recapitulated the charges which they contained, observing that it was the duty of his majesty's ministers to have followed up, by strong remonstrances and representations, the acts of violence of the French republic. The second charge in the resolutions was partly a proof of the former one, attended with an assertion, that if the aggressions of France had been followed up with becoming spirit, it would have been productive of a proper answer; or, at least, if that answer had been contemptuously refused, the silence of the French government might have been construed into a declaration of war. It certainly would have been so construed by any government than such a one as at present directed the affairs of this country. He then adverted to the arrest of captain d'Auvergne in the streets of Paris; a more gross affront was, he said, never offered to any government, than that was; yet this flagrant retention of an officer wearing the king's uniform had never been resented, even by the slightest remonstrance. The noble lord called the consideration of the house to the object for which the war was undertaken. Was this great and illustrious nation, he observed, to involve itself in a war on the dispute respecting the paltry island of Lampedosa. If war had taken place to espouse the part of Holland, or the people of Switzerland, we might have been justified; but their lordships would see that something more than Malta, Lampedosa, and the different causes at present urged by ministers, is necessary to prove the grounds of the contest that is likely to ensue. If the Cape was spoken of, it would be obvious that ministers had violated the treaty of Amiens by not giving it up at the appointed time. On the 17th of August the troops were to have left that place. On the 16th of November we find the Dutch troops there, and the English in possession, and if a battle had taken place in consequence, many lives would have been lost, and ministers would have added one more charge to the many brought against them. His lordship concluded with remarking, that the importance of the contest we were now engaged in, had been kept back from public observation by ministers, whose measures, since the treaty of Amiens, had led to hostilities in consequence of making an insecure peace.

The Lord Chancellor expressed his astonishment at the expressions made use of by a noble lord, who had advanced opinions respecting the conduct of ministers, which he certainly could not wish to see realized. After which, going through the three propositions, and answering the charges imputed to his majesty's ministers, his lordship went into a course of general reasoning on the whole view of their conduct in first making the peace, and in since using their most anxious endeavours to preserve the continuance of it to their country. He said he perfectly agreed that the present was a war to check and restrain the ambitious spirit of aggrandizement, aggression, insult, and violence of the French government, which had by a system of offensive and injurious conduct showed that no country could repose in safety till that system was put an end to. His lordship adverted to the case of captain d'Auvergne, who, he said, was not a subject of this kingdom, and that consequently his case stood on very different grounds from that on which the case of a subject of this country would do. He also denied that his majesty's ministers had any information of colonel Sebastiani's conduct in Egypt, till his report was published, and they received a dispatch from general Stuart, informing them of Sebastiani's conduct in Egypt, with respect to his application to him (general Stuart) as to the non-evacuation of Egypt.

Earl Spencer said, that having listened with the greatest attention to the arguments of the noble and learned lord on the woolsack, and being perfectly conscious, that no man was more capable of defending the conduct of his majesty's ministers, if it could be defended, yet he must still find himself under the necessity of voting for the resolutions. The arguments of the noble and learned lord appeared to him to be very poor ones, where arguments so much stronger were necessary to be urged. In the first place the noble and learned lord had said, that the case of captain d'Auvergne was not before parliament. He would ask, whose fault was it that it was not before parliament? He had himself asked for papers concerning it, and a noble secretary of state had promised to lay information respecting it before the house, but he never had made good his promise. With regard to there having been a difference as to the ground of complaint between the treatment of a person who was a subject of two countries, he could not speak to such distinctions, because he did not understand them. But to admit that the distinction was a solid one, as applied to captain d'Auvergne, what could be said as to the case of captain Dumaresque, who was not a subject of France, but a native of Jersey or Guernsey? With regard to ministers not knowing of colonel Sebastiani's mission, till his report was published, he begged leave to refer them to one of lord Hawkesbury's letters, written antecedent to the publication of that report, in which letter they would find colonel Sebastiani and his mission mentioned. His lordship added one observation or two relative to the conduct of ministers, respecting the cession of the Cape of Good Hope, and concluded with repeating, that he should vote for the resolutions.

The house divided on the first proposition—Contents seventeen—Non-contents eighty-six.——The second and third propositions were likewise negatived.

The importance of the preceding debate, has induced us to treat it more copiously than our limits would properly admit, because the opinions of the great leading characters in the nation are expressed, upon one of the most eventful circumstances recorded in the page of English history. The powers of oratory, the exertion of talent, and the strength of reasoning were never more forcibly displayed: the opposition members strove by cogent and plausible arguments to convince the public of the incapacity of those who stood at the helm of the state; whilst the latter endeavoured to shew, that under existing difficulties, they had done all that was possible, and that no better measures, at

that time, could be pursued, than those they had been obliged to adopt.

The very important debate in the house of peers on earl Fitzwilliam's motion of censure on ministers, was followed by a similar motion in the house of commons, by Mr. Patten, member for Newtown, Lancashire, and in the orations of the several speakers, we are led to admire the talents indicative of those who eminently interest themselves on great political questions which come before them; which shews that the members of the British senate are persons of the highest wisdom and penetration.

Mr. Patten called the attention of the house to his MOTION FOR CENSURING MINISTERS, and said he felt great regret that the task had not been undertaken by some gentleman more calculated to give to it the effect it deserved. It was now the third time that he had trespassed upon their indulgence. He had felt that in undertaking the review of the conduct of his majesty's ministers, he was justified by the opinion of the people of Great Britain, which left no doubt upon the subject. If gentlemen, said he, took the trouble to look to the commercial interests of the country, or to the transactions of monied people, they would find the suspense which prevailed fatal to every kind of commerce and speculation. They would find that trade was locked up in our ports, and that the spirit of enterprize, the great source of our opulence, was nearly, if not altogether, extinguished. But, it might be asked, why he undertook a task, to the execution of which, he candidly confessed himself incompetent. It was upon this ground, that gentlemen of great talents and rank, not only in the opinion of this country, but of Europe, had been accused of aiming, by their difference of sentiment from his majesty's ministers, at places and emoluments, and in order to prevent an accusation of so unworthy a nature from being in the slightest degree countenanced, he had come forward, and proposed the inquiry. He felt a grateful and honest pride in observing, that he belonged to no party, and that he could not be accused of having for his object, the gratification of personal or selfish feelings. It had been the cause of considerable alarm to the country, to hear that formidable naval armaments were carrying on in the ports of France; yet he had heard, that when lord Whitworth received his majesty's message to parliament, communicating that intelligence, his lordship did not know of any such armaments. That this was the fact, was confirmed by the statement of the first consul, and by the positive assurances of Talleyrand. He was also informed of the sentiments of an officer of great eminence in the civil line in France, who declared that the naval force preparing in the ports of the republic, was not sufficient for the wants and exigencies of the colonial service. He now came to a view of the papers and documents which were upon the table, relative to the late negociation, and the immediate causes of the present rupture. He could not conceive that there was a single man in that house, or in the country, with a spark of English spirit in his breast, or a drop of English blood in his veins, who was not satisfied that the first consul ultimately aimed a fatal blow at the ruin of our power and independence. But although this was a proposition which could not be controverted, it did not go to extenuate the measures pursued by his majesty's ministers, in their discussions with the government of France. The house was called upon to take into consideration the conduct of the king's ministers, as it arose out of the papers on the table; and the result was, that they had been kept in a continual state of aggression, insult, and degradation, by the first consul. After recapitulating the many points on which he wished to ground his censure, Mr. Patten concluded by stating that there were many other grounds, on the justice of which he might rest his charge against his majesty's ministers, but he should content himself with accusing them of withholding all communication from parliament; of suspending the functions of that house; of having issued such orders as they were not warranted to do, from their own knowledge and conviction; of compromising the honour and dignity of his majesty's crown; and of essentially injuring the interests of his people. He then read the resolutions he intended to submit to the consideration of the house:

"1. Resolved, That it appears to this house, from the declaration of his majesty, which has been laid before the house by his majesty's command, that the conduct of the French republic, since the conclusion of the definitive treaty, has been such as to be considered by his majesty's ministers as inconsistent with good faith, moderation, and justice, and as forming a series of aggression, pursued by France for the purpose of degrading, vilifying, and insulting his majesty's government.

"2. That his majesty's ministers have not since the treaty of peace to the time of issuing his majesty's declaration, neither communicated to parliament the real sense which they entertained of the system of conduct pursued by France, nor the steps taken by his majesty's government thereupon; and that they have thereby prevented this house from having the opportunity of properly discharging its real functions; and that by their having thus improperly withheld such communication, they have materially embarrassed the commerce of the country, deceived the expectations, and depressed the spirit of the people.

"3. That it was the duty of his majesty's ministers to embrace some more early opportunity of obtaining reparation for this country for the insults which had been offered to it by the continued aggressions on the part of France, and that such reparation was to be procured by dignified and temperate remonstrances; and that if such conduct had been pursued more seasonably, this country might have avoided the necessity of going to war, even before his majesty, by the reduction of his forces, had in a manner put out of his hands the most essential means of procuring reparation after the failure of all others; and that such a conduct, on the part of ministers, was a manifest neglect and omission highly injurious to the public interest.

"4. That it appears to this house, that upon the 4th day of October last, counter orders were issued by his majesty's government for the evacuation of the Cape of Good Hope, and that on the 16th of November, the spirit of France had been manifested by aggression, violence, and insults, for which no redress had been attempted to be obtained; that the Spanish and other priories had been withdrawn from the Order of Malta, and that Parma and Placentia had been added to the dominions of the French republic; Switzerland had been attacked, and the territory of the Batavian republic occupied by armies of the French government; that the first consul of France at the same time entertained all his plans relative to the Turkish empire, which appear from the papers before the house: and from all these circumstances it is evident, that by the evacuation of the Cape, during such transactions, his majesty's ministers have acted contrary to their duty, and have imprudently exposed to danger his majesty's government.

"5. That by all these instances of misconduct in the present ministers of his majesty's government, they have proved themselves unworthy of the confidence reposed in them, in such an important crisis as the present undoubtedly is."

After the first resolution was put, seconded by the right honourable T. Grenville, and read from the chair,

Mr. I. H. Browne observed, that the difficulties and dangers to which the honourable gentleman alluded, originated with the former, and not with the present administration. He did not think it right at this critical moment, when the honourable gentlemen themselves, and the house, all agree in the propriety of supporting the country against the dangers which threaten it, to interrupt the harmony and unanimity of the house, by any vote of censure on his majesty's government. He was well convinced, however, that the generality of the house was as unanimous against the first consul as he appeared to be determined against our enjoyment of the liberties of Englishmen. The conclusion of the treaty of Amiens, he thought praise-worthy in the present administration. While France continued to violate only the spirit of the treaty, he thought it most wise to avoid hostilities, if possible; but when she came to violate the letter, that was a point to stand on, there he thought it fit to rest, as, indeed, for every rupture of the kind it was necessary to begin at some point. He was decidedly against the motion, having never heard a speech of so great importance in its conclusion, and which contained so little to convince his judgement in the course of it.

Lord Temple said, it must be in the recollection of the house, that his majesty's ministers, since the ratification of the definitive treaty, on the 23d of April, 1802, until the 8th of March, when his majesty's message was communicated to parliament, did invariably hold out to the country the most flattering hopes, and he might add certainty of peace. How, he would ask, could they justify themselves for having done so? Had they not, and did not they offer as a justification, that the ambitious views, insults, and aggressions of France, since the signing of that disgraceful treaty, were a just ground of recommencing

ing hostilities—did they not roundly declare, that it is indispensably necessary for Great Britain, even single-handed, to oppose the gigantic strides of the first consul? Peruse with attention the papers they had laid before the house, and it must appear, that his majesty's ministers were convinced, from the signing of the treaty, that it could not be executed. Notwithstanding the provocations, the injuries, and aggressions offered and committed by the first consul, ministers came down to the house and gave every assurance of the permanence of peace, although there was scarcely any ground subsequent to the 23d of October, that did not exist before that period, and consequently ministers must acknowledge, that they told what they did not believe, what could not take place, and what they were determined should not take place, namely, the execution of a treaty which had been already violated by the French government. But it was not until the report of colonel Sebastiani, that ministers seemed to take the alarm, and inform the country of the hostile intentions of the first consul. Was not the sending of commercial agents to this country antecedent and sufficient ground for war? Need he mention what had happened respecting the King George packet, on the 13th of October? Were we not given to understand that Holland was freed from the French troops? and on the 29th, Bergen-op-zoom and Breda were occupied by them; and, strange as it may appear, Mr. Liston wrote a letter, in which he recommended to leave them there, and this at a time when the annexation of that country to France was actually in the contemplation of the French government; all this was known previous to the 23d of November. But after all this, the tenth article of the treaty of Amiens comes to be considered, and it is found impossible to carry it into effect. It is discovered, that the general interests of the guaranteeing powers of all Europe, and of Great Britain in particular, render the execution of it, under existing circumstances, totally impossible. Ministers knew all this before the 23d of November, and determined to act upon it, and still the country was led to indulge the fallacious hope of peace. On the 27th of April, a Madrid Gazette had announced the annexation of the possessions of Malta in Spain by the government of that country; was not that a cause why the treaty could not be executed? But on the 22d of August, the noble secretary writes to the French government, informing it, that if the guaranteeing powers could be induced to accede to the wishes of both governments respecting Malta, there could be no further difficulties in the way of peace; and this was done at a time when sufficient ground for hostility had long before occurred; and when ministers knew that event, the tenth article of the treaty could not be carried into effect. His lordship then took a short view of the affairs of Switzerland, Holland, Turkey, and India; and proceeded by saying, on the 11th of March, Talleyrand tells lord Whitworth, that on the evacuation of Malta by the English troops depended either peace or war, and that the treaty of Amiens must be strictly executed. Was this information ministers were not prepared to receive? Did they not know long since that it would be impossible to execute it? And yet with all the grounds of war which he had already stated, arising out of the insults, ambition, and the infraction of the treaty, ministers did present an ultimatum as incapable of being executed on any permanent grounds, or with any hope of removing the feverish uncertainty which had pervaded the country, and depressed the spirit of commercial enterprize. What was this ultimatum? That this country might keep possession of Malta for ten years, during which time we should be colonising and improving Lampedosa, and enlarging its harbours; *and at the expiration of that term, we should be requited with the sovereignty of that invaluable island, which would be the resort, not of seamen, but of sea-gulls.* On the subject of the press, he felt like an Englishman, and hoped England would never be reduced to the necessity of regulating it to gratify any power. After a few other observations, his lordship concluded with observing, that it was manifest from the documents and papers submitted to the house, that his majesty's ministers had seen from the first moment that the treaty could not be executed; and he would not hesitate, therefore, to say, that they had shamefully sported with the feelings of the country, deluded it with false hopes, and abused its generosity. He charged them with not having remonstrated with the decision and energy which should characterize the ministers of this great nation. But he hoped, that after having the sad experience of two years of peace, as they were called, no person would be found so degraded as to sacrifice any longer at the shrine of such ministers; especially at this moment, when every thing which was held most dear and sacred might be at issue in the contest.

Sir William Young considered that the true policy of this country to be adopted towards France, was to view it as a great military republic, headed by a man too formidable and too eminent in enterprize, to be despised or disregarded; a man who, when he came to put into action his real designs, would not be found intoxicated with loose, vague, and undigested projects, but prepared to follow up his real plans with the most determined and desperate spirit. We must therefore be prepared against his attempts. It was of the very nature of a military republic to find constant employment for its troops; without this it must cease to exist; and thus, so long as France retained this form, it was immaterial whether Bonaparte, Moreau, or who else might be at her head; it would be her policy to vomit forth her troops upon every surrounding nation, which offered them enterprizes to interest their avarice or ambition. He concluded by voting for the resolutions.

Mr. T. Grenville said, that the motion had been ascribed to mean considerations of party spirit; to the mere wish of one set of gentlemen to drive others from confidential situations under government, with the view of occupying their places. For himself he most unequivocally reprobated such insinuations, and would not so far forget what he owed to the house and to his own character, as to make them the subject of any length of animadversion. It had been argued that the present was not the time for bringing forward resolutions of the nature which had that evening been submitted to the house. Of all the possible objections which could be urged, he said, he had no difficulty in saying that he considered this as one of the most extraordinary. He could hardly bring himself to believe that that evening he had heard it gravely stated, that by agreeing to the resolutions, or, even by pressing the discussion, information might be conveyed to the enemy. For himself, he was anxious that, at a moment when we were engaged in a contest in which great exertions and great sacrifices would be more powerfully required than in any former struggle in which the country was ever engaged, that an inquiry should be instituted into the capacity of those who were to direct the application of the national resources, and the national strength; to ascertain whether the battle which was to be fought, would be fought with proportionate energy and courage; to see that every department of the public service was properly administered; to take care, that if the country was to submit to extraordinary sacrifices, the exertions which were made were directed by those to whom all ought to look up with confidence. In this sense he certainly wished that the enemy and the people of Great Britain should be put in possession of that which it was the object of the resolutions to procure. Having said this, he would not pretend to deny that the object of the resolutions was to call in question the conduct of ministers throughout the whole of the negociations and discussions which had taken place between the two governments, from the time that the definitive treaty of peace was concluded. To have a full and fair view of this subject, it would, however, be in the first place necessary, briefly to advert to the situation of the country at the time when the treaty was concluded. By the second of the resolutions it was declared, that ministers had not made to parliament such full and ample communications as could lead to any estimate of the real situation of the country, and therefore the house was debarred of the constitutional right of giving any opinion on the state of public affairs. He was desirous of distinctly recollecting and stating to the house the views and expectations which had been held out at the time of the signature of the definitive treaty; and therefore referred to the language which had then been employed by the right honourable the Chancellor of the Exchequer, when the merits of the definitive treaty were fully discussed (*r*). On that occasion he was among

(*r*) Mr. Grenville alluded to the debate on the 14th of May, 1802, when Mr. Addington made use of the following expressions, in answer to some arguments to prove that the peace could not possibly be of long duration:—"I am impressed with a thorough conviction that the peace which has now been concluded will, in all probability, be of as long duration as any of the pacifications concluded at various periods of the last century. I see nothing in the appearance of the present times, in the present government of France, or the character of the individuals of whom that government is composed, which at all induces me to think that the peace will not be lasting."

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the small number of those who had uniformly argued in favour of the propriety of an address to his majesty, recommending an immediate settlement of the various points which the treaty had left open to discussion, and from which was anticipated a rupture at no very distant period, unless an adjustment was effected. This proposition had, however, been resisted by ministers and rejected by the house. What then was the state of the information which ministers communicated to parliament? The fact was, that no information of any kind was communicated to the last parliament after the signature of the treaty, except what was communicated through his majesty's gracious speech at the conclusion of the session. In that speech an expectation was certainly held out, that there was a prospect of the continuance of peace, and a recommendation was given to cultivate the advantage which a state of peace presented. With this general impression the last parliament was dissolved. He certainly had never heard it asserted, and he could in no case admit the position, that the prospect of a speedy dissolution of parliament at all lessened the obligation of ministers to communicate a full and fair explanation of the state of public affairs. In this state the matter continued till the opening of the new parliament (*s*), and then, as before, all communication was withheld. Here, however, it became important to inquire what were the facts which had occurred during the interval. When those who supported the resolutions contended that no information of the real state of the country was laid before parliament, at the opening of the session in his majesty's speech from the throne, they at the same time argued that every one of the grounds of war enumerated in his majesty's declaration had then taken place, and were as well known to ministers as at the period when the declaration was published. To shew that this assertion was well founded, he then directed the attention of the house to the principal grounds of complaint and aggression which the declaration contained. The first to which he adverted, was the molestation to which our commerce was exposed. From documents now on the table, it appeared, he said, that from December, 1801, to the same period in the following year, a series of these complaints had been preferred to ministers, and no spirited remonstrance had taken place on the subject. The visit of the military consuls was known before his majesty's speech was delivered, for it appeared by a paper which was laid before the house, that the instructions of Talleyrand to Fauvelet, who had been sent to take soundings of the harbour of Dublin, that they were dated at an early part of the month of November, and consequently were known to ministers when parliament was opened. That the designs of the first consul of France with respect to Switzerland was a matter of general notoriety. Ministers themselves had presented a remonstrance long before that period. With the annexation of Piedmont to France, ministers were not unacquainted. The confiscation of the revenue of the Spanish priories of the order of Malta, there was also every reason to think that ministers were acquainted with even before the definitive treaty was concluded. The mission of Sebastiani, ministers were fully apprized of long before they thought proper publicly to allude to it. They were not ignorant of the time when he left France, and on the 29th of November a dispatch from general Stuart announced his arrival in Egypt. Thus all the principal grounds of the declaration were perfectly well known to ministers long before the declaration made its appearance. He then alluded to the arrangement of the German indemnities, which to a considerable degree involved British interests. When he said this, he meant to allude to the insult which had been offered to his majesty, by mulcting a part of his Hanoverian dominions to satisfy the avarice of the greater powers. Complete mystery had almost wholly covered the whole business of the indemnities to the house of Orange. For this arrangement an article had been introduced into the treaty; but till the papers were laid on the table the house had been totally ignorant in what train the negociation on this subject had been left by ministers. The whole business about the order for the evacuation of the Cape, and its subsequent retention was entirely passed over in silence.

By papers subsequently called for, it appeared, that (*t*) ministers had dispatched orders to retain the Cape, though by a solemn treaty, it was to be given up within a limited period. Ministers, by this treaty, entered into a stipulation, which stated, that within a certain period the Cape should be surrendered to the Batavian republic. The treaty containing this stipulation had been laid before both houses of parliament, and had received their approbation. Under such circumstances, ministers had taken on themselves to violate a direct stipulation of the treaty. They had chosen to dispatch orders to suspend the execution of a part of it, and of consequence to declare the country in a state of war. At what time, he desired the house to consider, was it that this extraordinary step had been taken by ministers? It was just about one month from the time that parliament assembled: but they did not inform the house of the measure to which they had resorted? They had not said a single word on the subject. In a very few weeks after, it had appeared proper to them to evacuate the Cape, and then a war virtually intervened; still ministers continued to observe the same silence; and he believed, that if the negociation, which had lately terminated, had taken a favourable turn, we should have heard nothing of the whole of the orders and counter-orders of ministers; the whole would have been involved in the darkest obscurity. Every discussion would have been discountenanced by ministers, and conversation in the public prints would have supplied the place of official documents on a matter of the highest importance. He next proceeded to examine the grounds on which the third resolution was founded. From the two first resolutions, the third appeared to flow as a necessary inference. It involved a variety of serious and weighty observations. First, in the attacks which had been made on our ships by the officers of the French government. When the individuals complained of the injuries they had received, they were told to appeal to the national courts of justice. But what, he begged the house to consider, were these national courts of justice? The principal ground of complaint was, that these courts of appeal decide only by taking immediate possession of the prizes submitted to their decision. But what does the first consul say to the complaints of British subjects? Why, he tells them they must appeal to the tribunals, to the very tribunals from which all the injustice complained of had been received. Let justice take its course, is the language of the first consul; and the grossest injustice is the course which this pretended justice invariably pursues. The capture is divided, and the British claimant is forced to bear those losses, against which the remonstrances of ministers had failed to protect them. This was an outrage in all respects so gross, that ministers ought with much greater spirit to have resented the attempt to violate the usages of independent nations; but they had chosen to pursue a course totally different. No memorial could be laid before the house, not because they had not remonstrated, but because the remonstrance had taken place merely in a verbal conference with the French ambassador. This was an evil in diplomatic proceedings which was frequently attended with very serious consequences. It left too much dependant on memory, necessarily liable to considerable deficiency; or to be distorted by party prejudice or private interest.

The next point on which he wished to touch, was the situation of Holland. For his own part he considered the conduct of the French government to the Batavian republic, to be a full, fair, and unanswerable ground of war; but ministers had not shewn that zeal and activity with regard to the necessity of remonstrating against the violence and injustice of the French government to the Dutch, which their duty to the public imperiously called on them to display. Indeed their conduct was marked by weakness, irresolution, and timidity. It had been remarked by one honourable gentleman, that in making their stand for Malta, ministers had made their stand for a truly British object. When he considered the manner in which the stand was made, whatever he might think of the importance of Malta, he could not perfectly coincide with that sentiment. But even granting that Malta was a fair British object, he would ask whether there was any man who did not think that ministers ought firmly and manfully to have remonstrated against the continuance of the French troops in Holland. It was, he said, to his infinite astonishment, that he found that no memorial had been presented to the French government on the subject, though one had been drawn up with the view of being presented; which after being in the hands of our ambassador, ministers had at length discovered that it would be more wise that it should not be delivered. They declined interfering, on the base and dishonourable principle, that their interference might have excited the jealousy of the French government. Was such language to be endured in an English parliament? Was a British secretary of state to tell a British house

(*s*) The 23d of November, 1802.

(*t*) On the 16th of October.

house of commons, that a memorial drawn up in behalf of an ancient and valuable ally, in support of the independence of a power with which we have a mutual interest, should, from considerations of prudence, propriety, or wisdom, from a dread of irritating France, be cancelled or buried in oblivion. Such was the disgraceful picture which the conduct of ministers to the Batavian republic presented. Now, as to their conduct to Switzerland, he confessed that here too ministers seemed to be highly reprehensible. He had good reason, he said, for believing that as early as the spring of last year, several persons of eminent character, and invested with considerable situations, had come from Switzerland to London, with the view of consulting about the best means of providing against that interference of the French government in their internal affairs they had even then began to dread. He had heard that these individuals, so far from being received with favour or with kindness, that it was not till after a solicitation of nearly two months that they could gain admission to any one of his majesty's ministers. This was a circumstance of considerable importance, and he wished to point out particularly the application of this circumstance, as throwing light on the conduct of ministers. They must have known long before October, when their remonstrance in behalf of Switzerland was presented, what was the real situation of that country (*u*). In June, the fears, the wishes, and the views of the Switzers had been explained to them. He wished to know from ministers what circumstances existed to induce them to remonstrate in October, which did not operate with equal force in June? Were not the claims of the Swiss as powerful? Was there not then a much greater probability of successful resistance than at the time when the remonstrance was presented, when in fact that was done beyond the power of reparation, which it was the object of Mr. Moore's journey to prevent? The whole remonstrance evinced neither dignity nor foresight. It was equally destitute of policy, wisdom, or ability. But, there was another circumstance attending this remonstrance, to which he thought it might not be improper to call the attention of the house. The memorial had been presented to the French government on the 10th of October, and nothing more is heard of it till the 27th of February following, when lord Whitworth is instructed to demand an answer to the remonstrance. Was no inquiry made during the whole intermediate space, in what light the memorial was regarded by the French government? Was this a matter of such trifling importance, that ministers chose to overlook it? It was in fact a tacit mode of establishing what ministers could not but know was the avowed object of the ambition of the first consul? Ministers ought much earlier to have demanded explanation. But this was just a part of their general system. As to Piedmont, he had to offer a few observations. On a former occasion the situation of the king of Sardinia had given rise to a good deal of discussion. On the debates on the definitive treaty, when it was objected that no provision was obtained for that sovereign, a noble secretary of state (*v*) had said, that he had not only lost all right to interfere on his behalf on the part of this country, but had, from his conduct, placed himself in the situation of being considered as an enemy. Against such a view of the subject he did then and must at all times protest in the strongest terms. Because a prince who, fighting in our cause, had been stripped of his dominions, and deprived of his all, was for a while obliged to assume the nominal appearance of a foe, he could never admit the doctrines which the noble lord had laid down. But on a sudden a most important change is introduced in the situation of this sovereign. From being something little short of an avowed enemy, he is at once converted into a favoured ally, for whom ample security is to be obtained for all his losses. And how is this new indemnity to be procured? Why, by the rare scheme of the cession of Lampedosa, and by tacking the poor king of Sardinia to the end of the projet; which contains two articles that may be either admitted or not, as the French minister for foreign affairs chooses to receive them. Whether, however, the menace of war or the proffer of peace was considered, the whole conduct of ministers to that unfortunate prince appeared equally disgusting. Now as to the direct subject of Malta, he could not but think that a total want of policy with regard to Russia had been discovered by ministers, while negociations were going forward on this subject. Russia is allowed on all hands to have been the principal power on which ministers relied for the guarantee of Malta at the time the tenth article of the treaty was formed. Now, what happened while such was the avowed wish and design of ministers? Ministers signed a treaty, by one article of which Russia is to be invited to be one of the guarantees of the independence of the island of Malta; and this ministers did, while at the very moment they were making this requisition, they were conscious that such a guarantee would be directly contrary to a previous arrangement betwixt this country and Russia. [Here the right honourable member read an extract from count Woronzow's note on the 12th of November, stating this fact.]

The history which he had now to present to the house on the subject of Malta, was short and simple, unless the note to which he had alluded was a direct forgery, which there was no reason whatever to suppose. The language of the emperor of Russia to the ministers of this country, or to the French government is—"You wish me to be one of the guarantees of Malta, agreeably to the tenth article of the treaty of Amiens, which I am far from wishing to undertake; but if I were willing, I cannot accept the invitation; it is not in my power, as you, the ministers of Great Britain, must be perfectly aware. You know that I have already entered into an agreement with your court relative to Malta, in its nature entirely contrary to the guarantee you require." Is it really true that the king's ministers knew that such was the situation of the emperor of Russia with regard to Malta; and did they really form an article, which they must have been conscious at the time could never be fulfilled. Those who objected to the article originally, did so on the ground of the difficulties which could not fail to attend its being carried into execution. How much stronger reasons had ministers to entertain such an opinion. They knew that it was contrary to the wishes of the emperor of Russia to undertake the guarantee. They knew that it was impossible he could, consistently with a former solemn engagement, undertake it, and yet with such knowledge they conclude the treaty, and gravely call for the guarantee. In the whole annals of diplomacy, he believed, it would be difficult to find any parallel to the conduct of ministers in this point; of a piece with this was the manner in which they had acted with respect to the sale of the priories of the order of Malta in Spain. They knew, that without revenues the restoration of the order was utterly impracticable, but, at the very time, when the definitive treaty was signed, they had every reason for thinking that in Italy, in Bavaria, and in Spain, the revenues of the order were either confiscated, or on the eve of being confiscated, in these several countries. After all this knowledge, they come forward and call for the guarantees, to pave the way for the restoration of the order. Such being the case, he could not conceive that ministers ever could have entertained the remotest idea of the restoration of the Order of St. John of Jerusalem in Malta? Before he concluded, he wished to occupy the attention of the house a few moments on the subject of the Cape of Good Hope. Of the importance of the Cape as a naval station, no diversity of opinion prevailed. All those whose habits of life led them to form the most accurate ideas of its value, were those who spoke most highly of its importance. It was merely with the view of an absolute necessity of its surrender at the conclusion of peace, that the cession was ever attempted to be justified. On this ground alone had the expediency of ceding the Cape been argued, both in the preliminary articles and the definitive treaty. With this impression on his mind, it was, he said, with no small degree of surprize, that he found, on referring to the French official papers, that the proposition for ceding the Cape originated with the ministers of this country; that it was brought forward even so early as the second conference. He begged leave to press this on the attention of the house, which, in the minds of many, could not fail to excite very considerable surprize. He recurred to the order for retaining the Cape, and on this subject he made some very pointed observations. It was generally understood the orders for the retention were

(*u*) In this remonstrance, dated October 10, 1802, and addressed to M. Otto, lord Hawkesbury acquaints that gentleman that he has received his majesty's commands to communicate, through his means, to the French government, the sentiments of deep regret which have been excited in his majesty's mind by the address of the first consul to the Helvetic people, which was published by authority in the Moniteur of the 1st instant. The remonstrance laments the convulsions to which the Swiss Cantons had for some time been exposed; but considered the late exertions of the Switzers in no other light than as the lawful efforts of that people to recover their independency, which the French nation had formally guaranteed to the Swiss nation by the treaty of Luneville.

(*v*) Lord Hawkesbury.

sent out on the 16th of October, with reference to the prospect of a war with France, on account of her unjustifiable interference with Switzerland. If the interference of France with Switzerland was a just ground of war, the same interference with respect to Holland was a still more powerful reason for hostilities. If the occupation of Switzerland by French troops, was a fair ground of remonstrance, it surely was not less so with regard to Holland. Now, how did the case stand here? Ministers, on the 16th of October, dispatched orders to retain the Cape of Good Hope, under an apprehension of the renewal of war, on account of the unjust attempts of the French government to impose a form of government on the Swiss people. On the 14th of November they receive a dispatch from the British minister at the Hague, which gives them no room to entertain any hope of the French troops being speedily withdrawn from Holland. On receiving this intelligence, ministers did not discover new jealousy, nor adopt new measures of precaution. On the contrary, they sent out orders for the evacuation of the Cape! He desired the house to contrast this with the order of the same day on the preceding month, and then judge of the talents or the consistency of ministers. The right honourable gentleman, after recapitulating and enforcing all his arguments, sat down by giving his cordial vote for declaring his majesty's present ministers unworthy of the confidence of parliament, and unfit to manage the affairs of the empire at so perilous a crisis.

The Chancellor of the Exchequer (Mr. Addington) now observed, that were it not that several of the charges and observations that had been so forcibly insisted upon by the right honourable gentleman who spoke last, seemed personally to be directed against him, and that he was but too sensible of the weight they must carry with them when they come under the sanction and authority of his name, he should not have risen in the present discussion. But much had on the present and on former occasions been remarked upon the treaty of Amiens. He said, however, that he thought it was a measure not only wise, prudent, and necessary at the time it was adopted, but that it had since been productive of the most beneficial consequences; nor would he hesitate to affirm, that he should not have now to congratulate the house, and the country, on the spirit, the vigour, and the unanimity, which the present emergency had called forth, were it not for that very treaty which was so loudly arraigned and so severely stigmatized. Of the wisdom and beneficial consequences of that treaty, not only did he continue to retain a hardened sense, but was ready to affirm, that it was also wise and desirable to endeavour to maintain it, if it could be maintained consistently with the honour, the dignity, and the interests of the country. But since our anxious wishes in that respect had been frustrated, and war had necessarily arisen, he trusted he was prepared to meet the crisis with the feelings of an Englishman; and anxious as he was to sheath the sword, he should now be found no less determined to unsheath it, until it appeared that the honour of the country remained untouched, and that its safety and independence were more effectually secured..

He then adverted to the conduct of his majesty's ministers with respect to the French government; and observed, that it had been asserted, that in the discussion on his majesty's speech, on the 23d of November, an assurance was expressed by him, that there was no probability of a rupture. What he then said, was in answer to an honourable gentleman, who observed that he was concerned to see that it was likely hostilities would be renewed. All he asserted on the occasion was, that he saw no probability of an immediate rupture at that time. He was supposed to have observed that we were in profound peace; but he did not think that he made use of the word *profound;* and if he added the word *profound*, it was probably only from the usual combination of the two words. No other expression of the nature hinted at had escaped his lips. In another conversation, he was supposed to have said, that he had no expectation that the war would be renewed. What he said then, merely referred to the state of our national and military strength, which he asserted was not intended to answer any views of ambition and aggrandizement, but had only in contemplation the assertion of our just rights, and the maintenance of the blessings of peace. Ministers, he said, were also accused of not making formal communications to parliament of the matters that gave rise to the discussions. Such communications might be attended with the worst effects, and therefore it was prudent to withhold them until the time came for making them with safety. As to the application from Switzerland, it was true, that it took place before the meeting of parliament, but it was then earnestly wished that no resistance should be made on their part. Nor was there then any combination that could give any effect to a remonstrance in their behalf. When that combination afterwards took place, it was too late to make any successful remonstrance. With regard to Holland, the right honourable gentleman complained that strong and vigorous remonstrances had not been made for the removal of the French troops from that country. The contrary would appear from the instructions given to lord Whitworth. Hopes were given by Mr. Liston, on the 5th of November, that the French troops would evacuate Holland; but on the 12th that expectation was discouraged. The French government expressed a wish that the troops destined for Louisiana might continue some time longer in the Batavian territories; with which wish the Batavian government seemed disposed to comply; for they hinted a desire that we should forbear to interpose in their behalf. On the subject of the Cape of Good Hope (*w*), much had been said, and more value has been attached to that possession than, perhaps, it deserves. In his opinion, it was of much less value than other possessions which his majesty's ministers were anxious to retain; and in this opinion he had been confirmed by the concurrence of those who were best qnalified to decide upon that question. Besides, the retaining of it would involve a large expence; for during the time we were in possession of it, that expence amounted to no less than two millions. The right honourable gentleman in speaking of Malta, seemed to suppose that an engagement respecting it had been entered into with Russia; no such engagement had taken place, nor any thing approaching to it. Previous to the conclusion of the preliminaries, a communication had been made to the Russian government of the heads of the arrangement respecting Malta: and then no objection was made to the arrangement, except to that part which related to a Maltese langue. We afterwards, indeed, agreed to adopt the Russian mode of electing the grand master, and hopes were given by lord St. Helen's, that Russia would on her part consent to grant her guarantee, but these hopes were afterwards disappointed. With regard to the French commercial commissioners, and the intention with which it appeared that they were sent into the British dominions, his noble friend had remonstrated in the most spirited terms, and he received a disavowal of the purpose for which they were supposed to be intended. As soon as all hopes had vanished of concluding a commercial treaty, government refused to recognize them, and they were instructed to remove from the country. The only one of them who attempted to remain, was sent away from Jersey, by virtue of an order from the secretary of state's office; and an intimation was sent to general Andreossi, that unless they all withdrew, force would be employed to compel them. Ministers anxiously wished to preserve peace, but notwithstanding that anxiety, the ho-

(*w*) The Cape of Good Hope, the most famous place of traffic among the Hottentots, was discovered in 1493, by Bartholomew Dias, a Portuguese admiral, in the reign of John II. The admiral gave it the name of *Cabo dos todos los Tormentos*, or *The Cape of great Sorrows*, from the boisterous winds almost constantly roaring there. But the king, his master, changed the name to *Cabo del Buonne Esperanza*; the Cape of Good Hope; "because," said he, "there was now good hope of making prosperous voyages to the East Indies." This has continued its European name ever since. But the Portuguese never having made any settlement here, it remained unnoticed, except as an anchorage, till 1600, when the Dutch discovered it; but even they did not consider its advantages till, in 1650, Mr. Van Riebeck, a surgeon, found out what advantage the Dutch East India company might reap, if they encouraged the cultivation of the spot, and erected it into a settlement; his representations were sanctioned by government, and after many improvements it arrived at its ultimate importance. The settlement being firmly established, its population increased to such a degree, being joined by other settlers from Europe, that new settlements were extended along the coast, which at last were divided into four principal forts or towns, viz. The Cape, which is denominated the capital; Hellenbogesh; Drakenstone; and Waverish colony. The colony also purchased a large tract of land, called Terra de Natal, lying between Mosambique and the Cape; for which they paid in toys, &c. to the value of thirty thousand guilders, so that, with such an accession, the province became of great extent, and its government a considerable port. In the neighbourhood of the Cape are three remarkable hills; of which the highest is denominated Table Hill. On the tops of these are several springs of clear and wholesome water; and though at a distance, there is no appearance of fertility, at a nearer approach, the beholder is charmed with an abundant beauty of cultivation: the stately trees with which these majestic eminences are crested, are hardly discoverable but at an approximity. On Table Hill, are two groves, between which a silver-mine was discovered, which, it is the opinon of many, might be wrought to great profit.

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nour of the country was never committed, as the documents on the table would abundantly prove. They would exhibit, indeed, strong marks of forbearance, but not one of unbecoming weakness. While there remained a hope of peace no communication was made to parliament, because it was thought, and he thought justly, that such communications would frustrate rather than promote the attainment of the desirable object. What the conduct of ministers had been throughout, he hoped, that the house had now before them full and ample communications, and he was ready to say, that in whatever light they might be induced to behold their conduct, ministers were ready to meet their decision. They only called for a decision; they did not venture to ask for approbation: they were anxious, however, to escape censure—if it were merited, they submissively acquiesced in the sentence of the house: but if it were unmerited, let their minds be relieved from the charges which the resolutions then proposed hung over them, and let them go unfettered to the discharge of those arduous duties of which they were desirous to acquit themselves with zeal, diligence, and fidelity. Let them know that they did not go forth in the eyes of the country branded with the stigma of the displeasure of the house; or, if they had unfortunately incurred their disapprobation, let it be proved by a direct charge; if the house said the charge was not founded, their gratitude would be unbounded—if they said it was, they should bow to the decision, with the consciousness of having exerted their best endeavours to have deserved a better fate.

Mr. Pitt felt a considerable difficulty in giving a decided opinion, and the more especially so after the manly appeal of the right honourable gentleman who had just sat down, to the positive decision of the house. He then took a view of the subject in a masterly manner, and concluded by saying, if a certain portion of good was not to be obtained by any measure which was comparable to the mischief it might occasion, we should not lose a moment to enter upon the question, and to decide it at once. But he could not help thinking, that if they were instantly to enter upon a plan of enabling his majesty to carry into immediate effect those active and vigorous measures which might be necessary for the general welfare and security of the country—if they were to grant him a bill of supply for completing the ranks of our armies and other necessary establishments—which might give the most effective energy to the operations so necessary for us to carry on by sea and on land—these were objects by which they would sooner convince his majesty of their love and regard for his person, and their attachment to, and anxiety for, the honour and dignity of his crown, and the general welfare and prosperity of the nation, than by desiring him to dismiss his ministers, and shewing a want of confidence in those to whom he had entrusted the rule and guidance of his executive government. These were the sentiments which he felt, and therefore, without entering further into the motives for doing so, he should conclude by moving "that the order of the day be now read."

Lord Hawkesbury rose, evidently under considerable agitation. He said, that never before had he risen in parliament with such feelings as those that now oppressed him. With every wish to do justice to the motives of his right honourable friend, in making the motion with which he had concluded his speech, he and his colleagues should be shrinking from their duty to themselves, if they could accept the compromise offered, between a direct censure and a total acquittal. A charge of crimination, founded upon papers laid on the table, had been brought forward. He asked, if there was an instance in which propositions founded on such documents, and involving the conduct of ministers, had not been met either with a direct negative or affirmative? A motion of inquiry might be got rid of by a previous question; but when a direct charge was made, grounded on facts, arising out of public documents, a previous question was not the fit way of disposing of the subject. No man was more ready than he was to acknowledge the prerogative of the crown to chuse its ministers: but, on the other hand, ministers were responsible to parliament for the exercise of their functions, and when parliament saw sufficient grounds of censure, they ought to state it; and then ministers, no longer able usefully to serve the public, ought to retire. He wished that, on the present occasion, ministers might either be acquitted or condemned. He was sure, from what he knew of his right honourable friend, that his motives in bringing forward a previous question were pure and upright, but ministers could not acquiesce in the discredit of a suspended censure. If it were the desire of ministers to retain their places at all hazards, they might accept the compromise which had been offered, but he could say for himself and his colleagues, that they had no desire to remain in office longer than they could be useful to their country. If he felt himself reduced to that situation in which he could not serve it with advantage, he would carry the seals to the feet of his gracious sovereign, and intreat him to appoint a successor more worthy. It was that they might not remain in office discredited, and useless, that he must oppose the previous question; for he could not think of remaining an hour in office after having forfeited the confidence of the house, and the good opinion of the country. He therefore gave a direct negative to the previous question, as well as to the resolutions moved.

Mr. Canning took a retrospective view of the leading features of the debate, made observations on the several resolutions upon the table, and concluded in the following manner: he had said, that he was fully prepared to declare his entire assent to all, and every part of the resolutions upon their table. After the manner in which they had been argued by his right honourable friend Mr. Grenville, and the answer, if answer it could be called, which his able and perspicuous speech has received from the right honourable Mr. Addington, it could not be necessary, even if at that time of night, and after the turn which the debate had taken, it were possible for him to detain the house by any detailed argument, in support of the resolutions. With regard to the fourth resolution, as it had been so unanswerably argued by his right honourable friend Mr. Grenville, and as a reply to his statement—if reply there could be—yet remained to be offered on the part of ministers, he would not detain the house by entering into any additional argument. He would content himself with expressing his firm persuasion that the present ministers of Great Britain were the first statesmen who ever imagined that the most likely way of bringing to a happy conclusion any point upon which they intended to make a stand, was to put previously out of their hands all collateral means of pressing it to advantage; that when, from the beginning, they were determined to take their stand upon the article of Malta—not to surrender Malta directly to France, nor under any arrangement but such as should provide effectual security against France obtaining possession of it; when with this determination, they foresaw, as they must have foreseen, that the first consul was bent upon pressing the evacuation of that island under circumstances which could not fail to place it within his grasp; and when so determined, and so foreseeing, they had thought it right (for no matter what reason) to retain the Cape, or any other possession which had escaped the general surrender, it did seem to him to be the very height of inconsistency, weakness, and improvidence, not to have turned this possession of the Cape to the obvious advantage of which it was capable, that of making it tell upon the settlement of their other differences, and specifically upon that of the dispute respecting Malta. All the evils, whatever they were, attending the recapture of the Cape they *had* already incurred. They *had* by this act rivetted Holland in the chains of France. Subscribing, therefore, as he most cordially and implicitly did, to the truth of every allegation contained in the resolutions to which he had referred, he could have no hesitation in giving a hearty assent to that which was the natural and inevitable inference from the foregoing, the resolution which asserts, that by these instances of misconduct the ministers had proved themselves unworthy of the confidence of parliament, and incapable of administering the public affairs to advantage at a crisis of such difficulty and danger. In his conscience he fully subscribed to, and adopted, the averment of this resolution also: and with all the solemnity which he felt to belong to such a declaration, he declared in the face of that house and of the country, that he did not think the country safe while the administration of its affairs was suffered to continue in such hands. This was the opinion which he conscientiously entertained; which he had not formed lightly, but upon the best consideration that he was capable of giving to a subject of the highest and most aweful importance; and which having thus formed, and being thus convinced of its truth, he could not consent to abandon, or to abstain from affirming by his vote. To give this vote, he must, in the first instance, vote against the previous motion of his right honourable friend Mr. Pitt. It was with infinite pain he did so. But if all the pain

which

which he felt in being compelled to take a course so new to him, was not sufficient to withhold him from the discharge of what he considered as an indispensible duty, it was not likely that he should be deterred from it by other considerations, which had been adduced that night, to deter gentlemen from expressing what they thought of the incapacity of the present administration. It had been imputed by more gentlemen than one, and among others, in a particular pointed manner by an honourable baronet (sir Thomas Metcalf) who sat near him, that those only wished to displace the present ministers, who looked for power, or emolument, or honours, from their removal. He was truly sorry that the honourable baronet should have been persuaded to join in this trite and vulgar cry, because he should be loth that any thing he might say should hurt his feelings, or derogate from the respect to which he believed his character to be entitled. But one general remark he must make, in answer to these imputations, that he believed those only to be capable of seriously imputing such motives of conduct to others, who were conscious of being actuated by similar motives themselves.

The Secretary at War (the honourable Mr. Yorke) called for a decisive vote, on the same grounds with his colleagues. He said that the militia, and a certain portion of the army had been disbanded on peace; but that the military force of this country was never in a better state than it was at present. He defended the conduct of the admiralty. He shewed that we had a naval force in every quarter superior to the enemy; and in Europe superior to that of the French by a much greater proportion than had ever happened on the breaking out of any war.

The house then divided—Ayes for the order of the day fifty-six; Noes against it three hundred and thirty-three.

The house then resumed; Mr. Pitt and several of his friends immediately went out; and afterward the question being put on the original motion;

Mr. Fox said, that it was not his intention to vote for the resolutions, though, at the same time, it was impossible for him to approve of the conduct of his majesty's ministers. He had expressed his opinion upon a former occasion, and he conceived that the time was past for moving a vote of censure on their conduct upon the present subject. Yet he hoped that what had occurred would be a warning to them how they kept the house in future in the dark to the last moment. Mr. Fox concluded by paying some warm compliments to Mr. T. Grenville upon his masterly speech, and by saying that he could not agree to a vote of censure, because he did not know but that the successors of the present ministry might be more objectionable to him than the present—After which a division took place upon the original motion of colonel Patten—For it, thirty-four; Against it, two hundred and seventy-five (*x*).

Thus have we brought to a conclusion our summary of these very important debates, which will be read with attention by all who wish to ascertain the state of party at this time; the house of commons having presented a new appearance. It must be remembered, that when Mr. Pitt went out of office, he unequivocally promised his cordial support to his successors; this promise he had strictly abided by till now, when his behaviour appeared truly paradoxical. He could not agree in a vote of censure against ministers—nor could he approve of their conduct. He did not offer a single reason for his not approving of the measures of the ministry—and yet he moved the order of the day. Such versatility appears unaccountable, and indeed lord Hawkesbury conceived it so, when in his reply his agitation was observable by every member. Making due allowance for what was due to the delicacy of old friendships, a career of opposition could not be opened in a more decided manner. The arguments urged against the ministry, of having too long neglected to arrest the arm of consular aggression, were such as shewed their repugnance to go to war, if any other means could be used to prevent it; this, in a country where commerce flourishes by amicable arrangements, must endear them to the public and every lover of peace: had not ministers acted as they did, and waited till the measure of the French iniquity was complete, they would have merited disapprobation for so soon involving the country in a needless war, merely to satisfy some diplomatic *minutiæ*.

From appearances at this time, it was evident, that some change was in agitation; and as doubts had always arisen concerning Mr. Addington's elevation to power; some considering it as purely independent, and unconnected with any part of the preceding administration; whilst others as confidently insisted that he was merely the automaton of Mr. Pitt; and in this opinion were the majority of such as considered themselves competent to judge of the various movements in the political measures of the cabinet. These circumstances, however, were very soon discredited, when ministry took a step which convinced the country of its independence and its decision. This was the appointment of Mr. Tierney, to the lucrative post of treasurer of the navy.

Mr. Tierney had been popular during the former administration for his decided opposition to all their measures; of a bold and determined spirit; and with abilities adequate to such a disposition, he had, by means of the union of extraordinary talents, been a source of uneasiness to them in all their proceedings. His appointment, therefore, was a proof, that, however the former connexion had subsisted, this step was an act of separation as great as it was unexpected, and though Mr. Pitt's observations in the house might apparently be a disavowal of the partnership, if any existed, this act did not fail effectually to widen the breach.

The friends of Mr. Pitt might have conceived, that the difficulties under which the country now laboured, were only to be met by the wonderful abilities, which it must be allowed by all parties, and has never been denied by any, he certainly did possess. Mr. Fox's admirers drew the same hopes of their favourite, as resulting from the same cause; but the promotion of Mr. Tierney was a convincing proof, that the minister thought he could have a sufficient reinforcement of talent without the assistance of either party. Mr. Tierney stood independent: he had long seceded as a member of the Whig Club; or, as they wished to insinuate, they had *shaken him off*; he therefore went into office without friends, or any weight of influence, except brilliant talent, as a mere individual, and without any other recommendation. Ministers, therefore, made no acquisition of power by means of his appointment; which, when announced, immediately extinguished the hopes of the leading parties. The consequence was, that Mr. Pitt immediately and unequivocally disowned the minister; whilst the Ponsonby interest, and the other friends of Mr. Fox, retired from public business in disgust; they determined to await a fortuitous turn in the cabinet, to accomplish which, if possible, and, not to forfeit their hopes by precipitation, they resolved not to take a decided part either for or against the minister.

Mr. Tierney also did not escape the censure which it was imagined his desertion from his former professions, as it was called, had entailed upon him. His seat in parliament, upon his acceptance of the treasurership having been declared vacant, a powerful opponent appeared to dispute his further claim on the electors of Southwark. Sir Thomas Turton, a magistrate, and a person of great interest, declared his determination to canvas the suffrages of the electors against one who had so flagrantly deserted his constituents. He took a general review of Mr. Tierney's conduct, and the principles upon which he had been considered a fit person to represent the Borough; and he adverted to a book, formerly written by a friend of Mr. Tierney, in explanation of his principles and conduct. Having quoted many passages from it, he begged leave to ask, whether Mr. Tierney could possibly be considered the character he was described? Could he pretend to say it was in his power now to vote on any question with the opposition? Could he sit in any part of the house of commons, except upon the treasury bench; or, could he vote otherwise than with the minister? He considered that Mr. Tierney had forfeited all claim to the favour of the electors of Southwark, and he trusted, that, as that gentleman had become an apostate from the principles he had once professed, he had forfeited the title by which he had been recommended. Mr. Tierney had formerly professed himself the champion of peace and parliamentary reform; but he had now come forward as the champion of war, for, as treasurer of the navy, he must necessarily have an interest in the continuance of the war; and he doubted not, but he would soon come forward as the champion of corruption.

To an address so pointed and so personal, Mr. Tierney made an excellent and judicious reply; and after a most illiberal, and personal contest, which disturbed the peace of the inhabitants for nine days; and was productive of more rancour, than is consistent with the regulations of a populous borough, in the neighbourhood of a polished metropolis, Mr. Tierney gained a majority, and was consequently re-chosen.

The recal of lord Whitworth, the opinions in parliament, and

(*x*) Mr. Fox and several of his friends retired without dividing.

and the other testimonies of a rupture with an inveterate foe called forth the sentiments of the whole kingdom; addresses from all quarters approached the royal presence with assurances of unqualified loyalty and attachment; but none were more pointed in their expressions than that of the city of London; and, on the 8th of June, the lord mayor, aldermen, sheriffs, common council, &c. of the city of London, presented an address to his majesty, on the throne; in which they said, they begged leave to approach the throne, at this important crisis, with renewed sentiments of fidelity and allegiance to his majesty's person, crown, and government. "We are, continued they, fully persuaded of the necessity for the decisive and dignified measures adopted by your majesty, by the recal of your majesty's ambassador from France, and the vigorous posture of defence of the united kingdom to repel the designs of that government, whose inordinate and insatiable views of restless ambition are manifestly directed to overthrow the glorious constitution of these realms, and give a mortal stab to our existence as a free and independent nation. The justice of your majesty's cause, and the moderation of your claims, must be felt and acknowledged by every surrounding power; and we are convinced that the brave and happy people of this land, conscious of the purity of their freedom, and the inestimable privileges they enjoy under your majesty's mild and paternal rule, will with one hand and heart, resolve to defend and maintain them. Your majesty's faithful citizens of London feel a grateful pride in this assurance of kindred loyalty throughout your majesty's dominions, and are deeply sensible of the eminent distinction they are invested with, by this opportunity of testifying their fidelity and attachment to their beloved sovereign."

His majesty's answer to the address was dignified but moderate; and, according with the measures of his ministers, did not wish hostility, if peace was possible to be maintained.

The inhabitants of Ireland also stood forward on this important occasion. The meeting of the principal inhabitants of Cork, voted an address to his majesty, expressive of fervid loyalty to the constitution, and of abhorrence to the tyranny which provoked, by a series of offensive aggressions, the necessity of vindicating the honour, and securing the interests, of the British empire. But there was a new and a noble feature in the address, which enhanced even the value of loyalty, because it carried with it the means of making it effective, and competent to our crisis. It spoke the language of *unanimity among Irishmen*, of a reconciled and national spirit, in the place of alienation and animosity, and of the reality of that redemption of the Irish character from the little considerations of party, to the broader and prouder views of their common country, the meeting exhibited proofs at once convincing and delighting. An address was presented to the lord lieutenant, justly expressing how much his mild and liberal administration had done, in effecting that national reconcilement which inspired the conduct of the meeting.

Although the city of London presented the address just mentioned, she thought it highly necessary to oppose every proceeding which seemed to encroach on her privileges, or the rights of the country.

Mr. Addington in his budget, had introduced a modification of the Income Tax, at five *per cent.* and upon this tax he had said, "that he must make a distinction between that species of property, the value of which, to the owner, did in no degree depend on skill, talents, and industry, and that species of property, which wholly depended upon personal industry and exertions: under the first head, he included land and funded property. These, he said, must be relieved from disclosure; but that all persons carrying on trade, engaged in professions, or living by personal exertions, *must be brought under the inspection of commissioners*." Such a tax, under such circumstances, created just cause of alarm, because it was evident that the power given of an inquisition into the private finances of individuals, must be pregnant with incalculable evils.

The proposal of this odious tax was inexcusable, inasmuch, as it was not merely unjust by its liability to evasion; it was unjust in its very principle; income not being the criterion by which to judge of a man's ability to pay taxes; nor, probably, might his income be proportionable to his riches. Therefore, to tax men according to their income, was evidently one of the most unequal measures, and of consequence one of the most unjust things that could be attempted, especially in a free country (*y*).

It should also be considered, that industry is subject to many casualties, it may be suspended by sickness; and sickness may unfit even a young man from exercising his faculties to the last moment of a long life; industry is also liable to mental as well as bodily imbecility; besides, the changes which go on without intermission in human affairs, often diminish the productive powers of industry. An income under all these casualties, dependent upon the industry of an individual, must be worth less than an annuity dependent upon his life, whether arising from landed or other property. The worth of the one would be ten years purchase, that of the other would not be more than seven or six. If therefore a man whose income did not rise to more than six years purchase, was compelled to pay a tax equal probably to him whose income was even at forty years purchase; very little need be shewn how detestable must be such a system!

So corrupt, indeed, was this tax considered, that had it been solely levied upon landed property, it would have been held unequal and unjust; it therefore agitated the minds of all ranks, but of none more than those attached to trade and commercial concerns: in consequence of such agitation, a numerous and respectable meeting of merchants, bankers, and others, disapproving of the income tax, was held at the London Tavern, on the 23d of this month, for the purpose of devising the most effectual means, that a tax so noxious should not pass into a law.

Timothy Brown, esq. being called to the chair: Mr. Travers, an eminent merchant, opened the business: "He said, he had thought it his duty to convene this meeting, in consequence of the declaration of the Chancellor of the Exchequer, of his intention to revive that odious tax, called the Income Tax, against which they had protested more than twelve months ago. The chancellor of the exchequer, impressed with their strong objections against the bill, thought proper to meet their wishes. He repealed the bill; a measure that spread universal satisfaction throughout the country. This was unnecessary for him to prove, since even the commissioners of the income tax, many of whom he was acquainted with, had assured him, that if the tax had not been repealed they would have resigned their offices, which were so unpleasant to them, and so repugnant to their feelings of the liberty which distinguished the British nation, and constituted the pride and glory of the country. He did not think such a tax would again have been resorted to; he had given the chancellor of the exchequer credit for being a man of more judgement: he knew he was a man full of the best intentions, and he therefore could not suppose he would have attempted to revive a tax which would have the effect of rendering the war unpopular. It was a tax which would unnerve and unbrace the energies of the country. The moment he found the chancellor of the exchequer had announced his intention, he wrote to Mr. Vansittart, urging him to state his objections; but unhappily the measure was in such a state of progression, that as he expected no answer, so he received none. Not discouraged, he had on Saturday last written a long letter to the chancellor of the exchequer, in which he stated all the objections that occurred to him against the tax. He in answer had a letter from Mr. Hobhouse, informing him he had received from the chancellor of the exchequer, an important communication touching the income tax. This he should lay before the meeting; but previous to his doing so, he thought it expedient they should enter their protest against this unconstitutional tax, in order that it might make a lasting impression on the country. He hoped the resolutions he intended to submit would be circulated from John

(*y*) Suppose, for instance, one man derives five hundred pounds per year from his industry, and another should derive five hundred pounds per year, from a landed estate. Are these men equally rich? The man who has the estate, can enjoy his income during his life; and at his death, the estate can be sold for twenty thousand pounds. The five hundred pounds per year, obtained by the industry of the other, would fall at his decease; consequently he must be poorer than the former, by the same sum of twenty thousand pounds. This man who possessed the estate, might live up to his income, and leave ample provision for his family; but he who is compelled to live by his industry, and derives his income from it, ought every year to reserve a part of that income for the benefit of his children. How intolerable then would it be, if government should tax his income equally high with that of the man whose estate was a sufficient provision for his family. The former, with the most persevering economy, must still leave a property greatly inferior to that of the man with the estate. Were he to put by his *whole* income as long as he lived, still he must leave much less than he who possessed the estate. Could there be more injustice than to tax these men equally?

O'Groat's House (the farthermost house in Scotland) to the Land's End in Cornwall. He would not detain them further, but would read the thoughts he had committed to paper, and then propose them as distinct resolutions. He had at first framed these resolutions in the form of a petition, but Mr. Smith, one of the members for Norwich, had informed him, that a petition against a money bill would certainly be rejected, even though it should come from the city of London in its corporate capacity. The general scope of his resolutions was to this effect:—"That in the present critical juncture of public affairs, they felt the greatest repugnance to objecting to any tax imposed by the legislature, as they were convinced of the indispensible necessity they lay under to contribute largely towards the expences of the war in which the country was engaged; at the same time they thought it their duty publicly to express their opinion respecting the intended tax on income: first, as to its principle, that it was founded in error, inasmuch as the abilities of persons to pay the tax ought not to be measured by their income, but by the claims on it. One man was possessed of two hundred pounds a year, with a large family; another had two thousand pounds a year, without any family at all. Would any one say that it was a fair mode of taxation, to make each of these pay five *per cent.* on his income. One man derived his income from land, another from trade, another from salary, another from short annuities;—was it fair that all these should be equally taxed? Another objection arose from the difficulty of collecting the tax. Commissioners might be appointed, but no man could ascertain the exact amount of every person's income; it would consequently operate as A TAX ON HONESTY. The next objection was, that it created a temptation to evasion, and tended to dissolve the great moral obligations by which society were bound together. But the most weighty objection was, the manner of collecting the tax. The summary jurisdiction of a board of commissioners, furnished with unconstitutional powers, were degrading to the country, and hostile to the feelings of the people. For these, and many other obvious reasons, he wished the meeting to declare their disapprobation of the tax on income, as one which no modification whatever could rectify, and that the passing it into a law would be both unjust and impolitic." Such was the tenor of the resolutions he meant to submit to their consideration, alteration, or explanation.

He then proposed to put the meeting in possession of the letter from Mr. Hobhouse, on the part of the minister, which was accordingly read by the chairman.

Mr. Waithman said, they were met for the purpose of endeavouring to prevent the introduction of a tax called the Income Tax, which had been some time ago repealed. He had attended to the long resolution read, but it did not seem to him to come up to the grand and principal objection to this noxious and unjust tax. It was unjust to tax that income, which might have a limited duration, in the same proportion as that which was permanent, and was produced from funded or landed property. It was not the wish of the citizens of the metropolis to be excused from paying their taxes; but they objected to being placed in a state of degradation, which no Englishman ought to submit to. It seemed to be considered as a promise to relieve persons engaged in trade. He did not view it in that light; all that was asked of the chancellor of the exchequer was to impose his taxes fairly, that every one might pay his just proportion, and not introduce those which violated the freedom of the constitution. He conceived the whole of the measure was brought forward as if with a view to irritate the feelings of the public. It was truly said, great exertions were necessary, but surely no consideration ought to deter them from opposing a tax of such pernicious tendency. Having stated some further objections, he said he should propose a few plain resolutions as amendments to those which had been submitted. He concluded by moving, "That it appears to this meeting, that notwithstanding the manifest injustice, vexation, and oppression, occasioned by the late tax upon income, it is proposed, by a bill now depending in parliament, to revive the same partial and obnoxious impost." This resolution was passed unanimously. He next moved, "That it is the opinion of this meeting, that the revival of this tax is highly dangerous and impolitic; and that the arbitrary, inquisitorial, and unconstitutional power, necessary to render it efficient under any modification, would be outraging the public feeling, and endangering the peace of the community." Which, after some debate, was carried by a great majority.

Determined not to let a matter of such vast national consequence, be dropped for want of formality; a decided opinion was given against it, at a common hall of the livery of London, on the 29th of the same month. But though apologies have been attempted for the income tax; and though the commercial may be said to be levied with liberality, &c. yet, when the inquisitorial part of the question is suggested, as with great propriety it may, when so much power is placed in the breasts of commissioners and inspectors, who, possessing the passions similar to their fellow creatures, might be induced to exercise that power to the disadvantage of interests, which but for such interference, might have insured unsullied and unbounded credit.

The vigour which government thought it necessary to exert, now began to prevail. Forty thousand additional seamen, including eight thousand marines, were voted in the house of commons for the year 1803; making an aggregate of seventy thousand. The Gazettes constantly announced the bravery and intrepidity of the British sailors; several valuable prizes were brought into English ports; the capture of which developed Bonaparte's motives for prevarication in his various answers; it was evident, that he wished by delusive representations to prolong the negociation, till he had secured the property of his subjects; one month longer would have effected his purpose; but the forbearance of the British government had been exhausted, its resentment superseded its former moderation, and the first consul found the danger of insulting a nation, which might have been, had his measures been honourable, a powerful friend and ally.

The gallantry evinced in a *petite* expedition against the French coast, renders it worthy of preservation:—the Blanche frigate, commanded by captain Mudge, being upon the coast of Havre, took a small fishing-boat: it immediately occurred to the first lieutenant, Mr. Fromow, that something might be done to annoy the enemy even with this; and he not only proposed to fit her up as a gun-boat, with a twelve-pound carronade, but also volunteered to take the command of her himself. Four seamen, four marines, Mr. Lockyer, master's mate, and Mr. Bettesworth, midshipman, made up the crew. Thus provided, they immediately sailed into the harbour of Havre, and came to an anchor about five in the morning, determined to brave every event to which fortune might expose them. They had not been long in this situation, before they saw a sloop, deeply laden, making for the harbour. They attacked and immediately carried her, and Mr. Bettesworth, with two men, being placed aboard, was directed to proceed to the frigate, then at a distance in the offing. This transaction being perceived by the people of Havre, a brig mounting sixteen guns, lying in the harbour, was ordered to slip and chase; and coming within pistol-shot, opened a heavy fire of grape-shot upon the boat; her sails were torn, and her hull was shattered; but fortune preserved the lives of the gallant men on board. Not at all discouraged by the inequality of the contest, they kept up a brisk and determined fire with their carronade upon the brig, beat in her quarter, and as she was crowded with men who volunteered for the occasion, such a well directed fire had considerable effect. This action continued with equal ardour on both sides, till the frigate, having heard the cannonade, and made sail towards the harbour, checked the impetuosity of the Frenchmen, who, consulting their own safety, left the boat with her prize, and made the best of her way into Havre.

Catwater, the eastern arm of Plymouth, now displayed an interesting spectacle, it appeared a forest of prizes; so that there was scarcely room for passage-boats. The number of French prizes and Batavian ships sent into this port, in the course of only three weeks, amounted to the astonishing number of one hundred and five sail, of all descriptions; the computed value of the ships and cargoes, could not be less than one million and a half sterling (z). Orders, however, were sent to liberate the masters, mates, and crews of the Batavian ships, which it had been found necessary to detain; they had each a change of linen and clothes, with freedom to go home when they pleased. This liberality, so unexpected, operated upon them to

(z) Many of the Batavian cargoes, cost in Batavia, from forty thousand pounds to sixty thousand pounds each, besides private ventures; a circumstance unparalleled in this or any former war; for besides the loss of private vessels, a considerable defalcation in the revenues of France and Holland, must have been sustained by the non-payment of the duties on importation.

such

such a degree, that most of them entered on board the king's ships or privateers.

The naval department of the country was in continual requisition: seamen were drafted from smaller to larger ships, which were prepared for sea with alacrity; indeed all classes were engaged in some project to defend their own and to annoy the enemy's shores; under all these circumstances of dispatch, no confusion, no precipitation seemed to pervade the proceedings of those concerned; every thought, every project seemed well weighed, and only calculated to display perseverance in the government, and confidence in the people.

The moderation constantly exhibited by the British government in all its measures was also manifest at this time by the publication of a state paper, on the 24th of May, addressed to Citizen Vander Goer, secretary of state for foreign affairs, at the Hague: it breathes no rancour; it does not attempt to arrest the feelings; but merely states such facts as convince without resorting to logical premises.

A measure of the greatest national import took place during this period, in which the trade and navigation of the country were incalculably interested. In a committee of supply, in the house of commons, the sum of twenty thousand pounds was granted towards making a navigable canal through the highlands of Scotland from sea to sea. The extent is fifty-nine miles, twenty-nine of which are occupied by lakes of unfathomable depth. The remaining to be twenty feet deep, and of a proportionate breadth, so that ships of the line may pass from the Baltic to the British Channel. Such a plan would obviate all the difficulties of going round about by the Shetland and Orkney Isles; a passage of fourteen days in the calmest weather, and which, in the windy season, is rarely effected in less than three months: while, by the proposed canal, the passage in the most unfavourable weather, would not occupy more than twelve days, and frequently little more than half that period. The whole expence of this canal was calculated not to exceed the loss sustained by shipwrecks, in the present course of navigation, in five years.

But as a very disagreeable counterpart to such a beneficial proceeding in one part of the kingdom; a species of peculation was discovered which ought to redound to the shame and reproach of those concerned. The first report of the commissioners for inquiring into the abuses of the navy having been published, it appeared, that the naval storekeepers in Jamaica had been accustomed for a long time preceding to purloin the premium on bills of exchange, instead of carrying it to the credit of government. For this misconduct the storekeeper was removed from the office in 1795, and succeeded by another, who was also charged with having continued the practice of his predecessor. Of the extent of this depredation an idea can be formed, when it is considered that from 1793 to 1800, the public lost, by the premiums on bills drawn on the navy board by the store-keeper, not being carried to account, the sum of fifty-three thousand six hundred and twenty-five pounds, while other nefarious practices by the same person, during the above period, would have made the whole loss amount to one hundred and thirty-four thousand five hundred and fifty-seven pounds if the difference had been equal between the prices abroad and at home. A prosecution was commenced against the store keeper who held the place since 1795; and who was also charged with circulating false coin on the island to a great amount.

While the inhabitants of Great Britain were consolidating their strength, and preparing the most powerful means of resisting invasion, Bonaparte was not inactive on the continent.

The British cabinet had observed the greatest moderation respecting his majesty's German dominions, and it had been considered as being in no manner involved in any part of the disputes between this country and France. The French consul, however, conceived otherwise; and ordered his general Mortier to march from Coeverden, where he had established his head-quarters, and to enter the electorate of Hanover. But that every measure which he undertook might have, at least, the appearance of consistency, the entrance of the French army into the Hanoverian territories was preceded by what was termed a proclamation, containing an invective against the king of Great Britain, and a comparative eulogy on the political and warlike virtues—the moderation—the humanity of the first consul.

On the 31st of May the French army had arrived before Wechte; when dispositions were made for attacking general Hammerstein, who was stationed at Diepholtz, with the Hanoverian advanced guard. The French advanced guard, under general Drouet, on the following day, had a smart skirmish with the rear guard of the Hanoverians, near Bauven; and on the 2d of June, the French army having joined, an attack took place near Bersten: when, after a warm cannonade, the French hussars broke the line of the Hanoverian dragoons, and were pursuing them, when the civil and military deputies from the regency of Hanover presented themselves at the advanced posts of the enemy; they requested them to suspend their march, and informed them that they were ready to offer advantageous propositions, but general Mortier refused to listen to any proposals, unless he was put into immediate possession of the whole electorate of Hanover. After a long discussion, it was agreed between the civil and military deputies of the regency of Hanover, and lieutenant-general Mortier, commander-in-chief of the French army, that Hanover should be occupied by the French army, and likewise the fortresses dependent thereon; that the Hanoverian troops should fall back behind the Elbe, and not bear arms against the French army or their allies, so long as the war should last between France and England; that the artillery, powder, arms, and ammunition of every kind should be placed at the disposal of the French army; that all the effects, of whatever kind, belonging to the king of England, should be left at the disposal of the French army; that the general in chief should have the power of making in the government and in the authorities constituted by the elector, such changes as he might think fit; that the whole of the French cavalry should be mounted anew at the expence of Hanover; that the electorate should likewise provide for the pay, the cloathing, and the provision of the French army; that the revenues of the country, arising both from the electoral dominions and the public contribution, should be at the disposal of the French government; and that the commander-in-chief should raise upon the electorate such contributions as he might deem necessary for the wants of the army.

This convention, which placed Hanover in the hands of the French, was signed at Sublingen, on the 3rd of June, 1803, by lieutenant-general Mortier, on the part of France, and by F. de Bremer, judge of the electoral court of justice, and provincial councellor, and G. de Boch, lieutenant-colonel, commander of the electoral regiment of guards, on the part of Hanover.

The Hanoverian minister, previously to this transaction, had furnished a communication to the Diet, that the elector, his master, had determined to observe the strictest neutrality in the war betwixt England and France, and therefore called on the Diet, in conformity to the treaty of Amiens, to interfere for the protection of the electorate from the invasion of the French troops. The other ministers took this declaration *ad referendum*. It was, however, generally understood, that the ministers of Prussia, Austria, Bavaria, and Wurtemberg, the arch-chancellor, &c. had in private declared, that they regarded the contest betwixt France and the minister of Hanover, as well as the neutral occupation of the states of the king in Germany, as a matter totally foreign to the interests of the Germanic empire; therefore they could not see in what way the emperor and the empire could interfere in behalf of the electorate.

At the time of the French invasion, the military force of Hanover amounted to thirty thousand men; but there was not a single fortified place of strength within the whole territory, sufficient to impede for any considerable time, the progress of the French army, consequently it was no very difficult matter for general Mortier to become master of the whole country, and in particular of the mouths of the Elbe and the Weser (*a*). "I have issued orders," says this general, "to seize all the vessels on those rivers."

"The

(*a*) As the rivers Elbe and Weser will be frequently mentioned in the account we have to give of the present war, it may be necessary to observe, for the information of our readers, who are not acquainted with geography, that the Elbe rises in the confines of Silesia and Bohemia, and running south to Konigsgratz in Bohemia, bends its course afterwards north-west, till it receives the Mulda below Prague; then running northerly, passes through Saxony, visiting Dresden, Messin, and Wittenberg, and afterwards Magdeburg: then running north-east, through Brandenburg, it receives the river Havel, after which it divides Lunenburg from Mecklenburg; then steering between Bremen and Holstein, visits Hamburg;

"The duke of Cambridge," says Mortier, "son of the king of England, and governor of Hanover, *thought proper to take himself away before the battle, and to retreat by post. He had indeed previously promised to die with the levy* en masse. *It is probable he will have embarked before we reach the mouth of the Elbe.*" But the duke of Cambridge was with, and commanded the Hanoverians, during two slight skirmishes that took place, in which both parties had some wounded, and one or two men killed; immediately after which, the duke received an express from the regency, requesting his presence at Hanover, on business of the utmost importance. His royal highness, in consequence of this message, immediately attended. After being informed that all hopes of assistance or mediation were at an end, and that the regency were on the point of signing a capitulation, they begged his royal highness would not lose a moment in resigning, and quitting the country, as otherwise he must be made a prisoner of war (*b*).

On the 11th of June, the French army entered the city of Hanover, and general Mortier notices on this occasion, "That the most exact discipline had been maintained; and that two soldiers of the forty-eighth demi-brigade, convicted of having abandoned themselves to pillage and other excesses, had been shot." In the metropolis of the electorate, the enemy found fifteen thousand new muskets, five thousand pair of pistols, sixty new ammunition waggons, one hundred pieces of artillery, a bridge equipage adapted to the passage of the Elbe, magazines filled with powder, a foundery in the best condition, and completely furnished. According to the inventory of the pieces which were found in *La Place d'Hameln*, there were sent to the French army more than five hundred pieces of cannon. The park of field-artillery of the army of Hanover, which is at Zell, was delivered to general Dulauloy, commandant of artillery, and was composed of forty field-pieces, and two hundred caissons, all drawn by good horses. The infantry was stated at twenty-six battalions, of five hundred men, including officers; making from eleven to twelve thousand men, and the cavalry at twenty-two squadrons, forming in all more than five thousand men. The inventories arrived from the different places of Hanover, amounted to more than four hundred milliards of powder, three millions of cartridges, and forty thousand muskets, which were found in the different magazines. The number of artillery was estimated about seven hundred men. The garrison of Hameln was composed of three battalions of infantry, a squadron of cavalry, a regiment of veterans of one thousand men, four officers of artillery, and an officer of miners.

General Leopold Brotheir, chief of the staff-major, transmitted an account of the forced marches of the army, the least day's journey of which amounted to ten leagues. These rapid marches were performed through a marshy country affording no resource. The soldiers supported their fatigues and most painful privations with a confidence and courage of which they constantly received the example of the general in chief. The soldiers were recompensed for their ten days of fatigue and privation, by their present situation, and particularly by the satisfaction of having fulfilled, with so much celerity, the intentions of the government.

On the evening of the 4th of June, a French general entered the city of Bremen. He immediately waited on the chief burgomaster, and desired "that all English property, under whatever denomination it might be, should be taken possession of; and that all English sailors in the place, as well as other persons belonging to the English service, should be put under arrest." As soon as this demand was made, the officer who had come with it, went away to general Mortier. The answer given to this request was, that the senate "begged to decline the execution of a measure so inconsistent with their interests." Upon this the French commander threatened in person to carry his wishes into effect; and three ships belonging to the city were seized for the use of general Mortier and his army. The city of Osnaburgh, and indeed every place where property was supposed to be treasured, soon became a prey to the French forces. After these transactions Bonaparte made proposals to the English government for the restitution of Hanover on certain terms; but when the proposal was submitted to his majesty in council, the proposals were rejected. Disappointed in his views, and thwarted in his projects, the first consul ordered all the English in Hanover, in Piedmont, and in all the powers which were under his controul, to be arrested; he issued orders that no merchandize should be admitted into the electorate without a certificate from the commercial agent of the French republic at Hamburg, attesting that they were neither British productions nor manufactures, nor had paid British duties. This was a severe blow upon the English merchants, whose consignments to the different parts of Germany, to Switzerland, &c. were sent by Luneburg, and other cities of Hanover.

The shutting up the mouths of the Elbe and the Weser, was the next step pursued by the French government; thus all mercantile concerns were stagnated, industry was impeded, and thousands of individuals reduced to distress and beggary. The mercantile communications were now converted to the North, by the way of Gottenburgh (*c*).

The adulation poured in from all quarters of the French republic, whilst it buoyed up the vanity of the first consul, served to dignify the warlike preparations carried on in every part of the French nation. The military, the members of the senate, the tribunate, the legislative body, &c. severally addressed the first consul, entreating permission to accompany him in his projected expedition against England. The principal cities and towns voted men of war and frigates for this important service, and preparations for this desperate enterprize pervaded all classes of society in France (*d*).

The journals of Paris, in the pay of government, now thought it necessary to pour forth invective against the

burg; after which it proceeds north-west, by the fortress of Gluckstadt, and falls into the German Ocean not far from that place. It is observable, that this river is navigable for large ships higher than any river in Europe, vessels of three or four hundred tons burthen sailing up as far as Hamburg, which is seventy miles from the sea.

The Weser, which rises in the mountains of Thuringia, runs north between Westphalia and Lower Saxony, and passing by Munden and Bremen, falls into the German Ocean below Carlstadt.

(*b*) In the court Gazette, published at Paris on the 15th of June, 1803, speaking of the king of England, and the complaints he made relative to the French attacking the electorate of Hanover, is the following passage: "These complaints broadly betray the spirit of ambition and ill-faith, which characterises and directs the cabinet of that monarch. What? In his capacity of king of England, he finds that France endangers the liberty of Europe by her usurpations: he flies to arms to espouse the quarrel of the kings of the continent; and in his capacity of elector of Hanover, where he is more nearly interested, he discovers no cause of complaint in the conduct of France. He looks upon France as a good ally? he is not disinclined to be at peace with her! This proves that the king of England acknowledges no other right than that of force, and that the elector of Hanover is silent only from the consciousness of weakness. Such is the golden rule, of just and unjust, which his majesty adopts. But, doubtless, if he could rekindle the flames of war upon the continent, if Hanover could furnish an army of two hundred thousand men, king ****** would not thus plead his *neutrality!*"

(*c*) Gottenburgh is situated on the German ocean, in the province of Bohus, and is the second city in Sweden, both on account of its trade and population; with a fair wind, ships may sail from Sunderland to Gottenburgh in forty-eight hours; the entrance to its harbour is more easy than to that of Cuxhaven; and in the coldest winters, the navigation is seldom interrupted for a long time, the tide being so very strong as to break and carry away the ice.—From Gottenburgh to Copenhagen or to Stockholm, a courier may easily travel in seventy-two hours, and from Gottenburgh to St. Petersburgh in six or eight days.

From Yarmouth to Cuxhaven, the passage is as long, if not longer than from Sunderland to Gottenburgh, considering the winds during certain seasons; from Cuxhaven to the Russian frontiers, are the worst roads in Europe, the expence of travelling very great, and the people dull, rude, and inhospitable. It requires at least ten or twelve days to travel from Cuxhaven to St. Petersburgh, five days to Copenhagen, and nine days to Stockholm.

(*d*) Chaptal, the minister of the interior, addressed a circular letter to the prefects, concerning the construction of the vessels to be employed in the invasion, of which the following is a copy:—

"*Paris, June* 24.

"In the position in which France is at present, and with the kind of enemies whom we have to combat, the bravery of the French would remain fruitless on the shores of the ocean, if the means of reaching their enemy were not furnished to them by numerous vessels. It is to the construction of vessels, therefore, that all your efforts ought to be directed: commerce, agriculture, and industry will suffer the less, the more speedy the execution. A flat bottomed boat of the first kind will cost thirty thousand franks (one thousand two hundred and fifty pounds sterling); one of the second, from eighteen thousand to twenty thousand; and one of the third from four thousand to six thousand.

"Two feet of water are sufficient to carry a flat bottomed boat not armed: there are few towns, therefore, that cannot execute an enterprize of this nature. These boats will be distinguished by the names of the towns, and the departments which have constructed them. The government will accept with satisfaction from a ship of the line down to the smallest transport. If each department, and each large town, by a general and rapid movement, put vessels on the stocks, the French army will soon go and dictate laws to the British government, and establish the repose of Europe, the liberty and prosperity of commerce, on the only bases by which their duration can be ensured."

British

British ministry, respecting the declaration of war against the Batavian republic:

"If," say they, "his Britannic majesty had acted with regard to the Batavian republic, as he had acted with regard to Spain; if, without his having seized on any of the ships, either of war or of commerce, belonging to the Dutch, Holland had, in consequence of the treaties which bind her to France, declared war against England, England might justly say that the calamities of war brought down upon Holland were the consequences of her connection with France.

"But his Britannic majesty has engaged in a war with Holland, by acts of hostility, on the same day that he commenced hostilities against us; and at the very moment when the message of the king of England contained a declaration of war against Holland, eighty Dutch ships were already in the British ports, in which they had been carried, not by privateers, but by brigs, frigates, and cruizers, belonging to the royal navy!

"And they will venture to appeal to the opinion of Europe, while they do not hesitate to commit every act calculated to excite the just indignation of all Europe! Their public law is enough to shame Tunis and Algiers; but it is worthy of them!"

Mr. Liston, the British ambassador, soon after took his departure from the Hague; but previously, he made overtures to the Batavian government, on the part of his court, by which Great Britain undertook to acknowledge the neutrality of Holland, upon condition, that the republic should refuse to join France in the war, or assist that power with troops. He was authorized to promise, besides, that the Batavian vessels, which had been taken as prizes, and were then in British ports, should be restored. Another demand was added, that the English agent of the post-office, arrested at Helvoetsluys, who was charged with sending information to the British commanders, should be released.

The intemperance which the first consul entertained towards the English, now broke forth in the most undisguised manner. He fulminated the most violent and rigorous injunctions against the introduction or continuance of the English commerce in his dominions, by enacting the following decree:

Paris, June 20.

The government of the republic, in consequence of the report of the minister of the interior, decrees as follows:

"1. From the date of the publication of this *arrêt*, there shall not be received into the ports of the republic, any colonial produce from the English colonies; nor any merchandize that comes directly or indirectly from England. Consequently, every kind of merchandize, or produce of English manufacture, or from the English colonies, will be confiscated.

"2. Neutral vessels, bound for the ports of the republic, must be furnished with a certificate, from the commissary or agent for the commercial concerns of the republic at the port from whence they sailed; which certificate shall contain the name of the vessel, and that of the captain; the nature of the cargo, the number of the crew, and destination of the voyage.—In this declaration, the commissary shall certify, that the vessel was laden under his own immediate inspection; and that the merchandize is not of English manufacture, and does not proceed from England or its colonies.—A counter-part of this declaration shall be addressed to the minister of the interior, by the commissary of the republic, on the very day of the vessel's departure.

"3. All captains, who from a negligence of the necessary forms, or a change in the place of their destination, shall not be furnished with similar declarations, will be refused admittance into the ports of the republic, but on condition that they shall reload their vessels with the produce of the French manufactories, to an amount equal to the value of his cargo. The director of the customs shall send to the prefect of the department, an account of the cargo, and the goods taken in return; and having examined it, the prefect will deliver the permit to leave the port.

"4. The ministers of the interior, and of the finances, are charged with the execution of the present *arrêt*, which will be inserted in the bulletin of the laws.

"The first consul, (Signed) BONAPARTE."

The threat of invasion, also, against Great Britain, assumed shape and consistency. An army of reserve was formed at Deventer, under the command of general Desolles; this, with the number of troops already assembled between that place and Flushing, was estimated at nearly eighty thousand men. To this force, by way of pre-eminence, was given the pompous title of "The Army of England!" A camp of ninety thousand men was formed at Dunkirk, and another of sixty thousand men was raised at Calais, at which place the first consul had arrived on his military tour into Belgium; having previously ordered that all the English should be removed.

The army was increased in all quarters. A number of fresh corps were marched to several parts of Holland. The Hague was furnished with a French brigade, in place of a Dutch regiment that had been removed, and general Victor, was declared by the Dutch government, commander-in-chief of the Batavian army. It appears, however, that the great object of Bonaparte was not so much the invasion of England, though that was held to be the ostensible design, as the means of keeping his troops employed. The south of Germany held out no temptation for war, as that unfortunate part of the continent had been already exhausted, during ten years' hostility; but those princes in the north of Germany, as well as the Hanse Towns, were in possession of considerable treasure, mostly in specie: these were, the king of Prussia, the electors of Hanover and Saxony. The first, with two hundred thousand men at his command, could not be immediately attacked, therefore a good understanding was kept up with him. A pretext was soon found for a war on the second; and contributions, exactions, forced loans, were found indispensible by the first consul, as they enabled him not only to support a numerous army, without encumbering the people more immediately around him; but occasioned at the same time a vast circulation of foreign specie in the French territory.

Conscriptions now took place throughout the republican territory; the utmost severities were exercised in raising these conscripts. This revolutionary oppression was invented by Robespierre, improved by the directory, and organized by Bonaparte.

The aspect of Europe at this time was rather singular; all was trepidation or apathy; the Germanic body was a chimera, formed of jarring interests; Russia, and the powers of the north, seemed to fear the menaces of the first consul; whilst Naples, Portugal, and Spain, alike dreaded his friendship or his hatred: the latter, aware that if a rupture took place between England and France, she must be inevitably drawn into a war, began to prepare for the worst. Naturally allied to the French, she considered their interests as congenial as their territories were contiguous; and a perpetual treaty of alliance against the common enemy could alone preserve her rich possessions from the attacks of the first consul. In short, she considered that if she did not support France in the contest, she could expect no assistance when her turn should come to sustain the attacks of England. The strict union of two powers, who possessed such an extent of coast in the ocean and the Mediterranean, and who ought always to join in a common cause, would oblige the English to spread their maritime forces over a variety of points, by which division they would be so weakened as to be incapable of offensive operations, particularly as the considerable armies that must be kept to protect their own metropolis from the threatened attack of an enthusiastic enemy, would prevent them from attempting distant expeditions. It, however, appeared that England would not leave to Spain the choice of peace or war, as, from the extent of her navy, she was possessed with the opinion, that she was capable of attacking the whole world, and that Spain was the first upon the list of her enemies. But the extreme anxiety of France to effect a reconciliation, by every plausible method, had been of infinite service, as it had enabled the Spanish ships from the colonies to arrive with an immense quantity of specie, and afforded the means of defraying the expences of a long continued war.

The naval register of this period furnished several instances of the prowess with which British sailors might be said to challenge the courage of their enemies.

Captain Pearson of the Doris, whilst cruizing off Ushant, fell in with the French republican lugger L'Affronteur, commanded by Monsieur Morice André Dutoya, lieutenant de vaisseau, mounting fourteen guns and ninety-two men. In her endeavour to escape the British ship, the shot from the Doris killed her commander and eight men, when she surrendered to captain Pearson, who had only one man wounded on board his ship.

The Minotaur, another of his majesty's ships, fell in with the French republican frigate La Française, off the

Dodman, which she chased, in company with the Albion, and took. The French vessel was pierced for twenty-eight twelve-pounders on her main-deck, and sixteen nine-pounders on the quarter-deck and fore-castle, ten of which were in her hold; she had on board also one hundred and eighty-seven men.

Captain Wallis, of his majesty's ship the Naiad, also captured the French national corvette L'Impatient, of twenty guns and eighty men. This was a very fine vessel, and esteemed one of the swiftest French sailers. Captain Wallis was successful likewise in capturing the French merchant-ship La Chasseur, laden with sugar, cotton, coffee, &c. from St. Domingo to L'Orient, a very handsome vessel, of three hundred and fifty-nine tons burthen, and newly coppered.

The various prizes taken by lieutenant Senhouse deserve notice here: this gentleman, in the Hind revenue cutter, captured La Felicité, a French cutter privateer, Le Charles, a merchant brig, laden with oak timber for constructing ships from Rouen to Rochefort; a Dutch galliot, laden with salt for Rotterdam, from the coast of Portugal; a Dutch Indiaman, with a very valuable cargo of cotton and coffee, from Surinam.

But the most prominent of the successes by British valour, during the month of June, were the captures of St. Lucia and Tobago, two of the West India islands. In consequence of the success of his majesty's arms, lieutenant general Grinfield, commander-in-chief of his majesty's troops in the Windward and Leeward Caribbee islands forwarded the following dispatch to lord Hobart:

"My lord, *St. Lucia, June* 22, 1803.

"It is with satisfaction I have the honour to acquaint your lordship, that this day the fortress of Morne Fortunée was carried by assault, and the island of St. Lucia is in consequence unconditionally restored to the British government.

"I have to state to your lordship, that in consequence of his majesty's order, signified to me in your letter, dated the 16th of May, and received on the 14th instant, which I immediately communicated to commodore Hood, he arrived at Barbadoes on the 17th; the troops, stores, &c. were on board, or embarked on the 19th; sailed on the 20th. On the 21st, at day-break, they were off the north end of St. Lucia; in the course of the day the greatest part of the troops were disembarked in Choque Bay; about half past five the out-posts of the enemy were driven in, the town of Castries teken, and a summons was sent to the commander of the troops of the French republic.

"In consequence of the refusal of brigade general Nogues to accede to any terms, and the expectation of approaching rains, it became necessary to get possession of the Morne with as little delay as possible. It was therefore determined, this morning, to attack the fortress by assault, which was done accordingly at four o'clock, and it was carried in about half an hour, and with less loss, considering the resistance, than could have been expected; but the loss has been chiefly among the higher ranks of officers, and those most truly valuable: but it is yet to be hoped most of them will recover, for the real benefit of his majesty's service.

"I cannot omit a circumstance which reflects so much credit, as well on the British nation, as on the conduct of the soldiers actually employed, that, notwithstanding the severe and spirited resistance of the French troops, yet, no sooner were the works carried by assault, and the opposition no longer existed, than every idea of animosity appeared to cease, and not a French soldier was either killed or wounded.

"The return of the killed and wounded, excepting the number of officers of high rank, is not equal to what might have been expected, and, by far less than it would have been, in all probability, had a formal investment of the fortress taken place (*e*)."

The dispatch of commodore Hood to sir Evan Nepean, was also expressive of the alacrity which the naval part of the expedition testified in co-operation with the military.

"On my arrival at Barbadoes (writes the commodore) on the 17th, late in the evening, having consulted lieutenant-general Grinfield with respect to the intended co-operations of the army and navy, I instantly took measures to prevent farther supplies being thrown into St. Lucia, (the ships on this service, under the orders of captain O'Bryen, of the Emerald, made some captures of trading vessels) and every disposition was settled for embarking the troops and light artillery on board the ships of war, and the necessary stores, &c. in small vessels for the expedition; by great exertions, the whole was effected on the 20th, and the arrangements completed: the lieutenant-general having embarked with the troops, I put to sea with the ships Centaur, Courageux, Argo, Chichester, Hornet, and Cyane, and was joined the next morning by the Emerald and Osprey, having brigadier-general Prevost on board, and were all anchored by eleven o'clock in the bay.

"There being a strong breeze, the boats of the squadron had a heavy pull, with the first division of the army, composed of the second battalion of the Royals, and two field-pieces, under the command of brigadier-general Brereton; but, by the great energy and excellent disposition made by captain Hallowell, were landed in good order about two *p. m.* and by the perseverance of every officer and man employed in landing the remainder of the troops, the lieutenant-general was enabled to make an early arrangement for an attack on that very important and strong post, Morne Fortunée, where the force of the enemy was assembled, which, on the commandant refusing to give up when summoned, was ordered to be attacked with that decision and promptitude which has always been the characteristic mark of lieutenant-general Grinfield, and carried by storm at half past four this morning, with the superior bravery which has ever distinguished the British soldier: this placed the colony completely in our possession (*f*)."

The success attendant upon the capture of St. Lucia, induced general Grinfield and commodore Hood to pursue their good fortune, and attempt the reduction of Tobago.

"The circumstances which led to this fortunate and valuable conquest," says general Grinfield, were as follow:

"On the 25th of June, commodore Hood, with the fleet and troops, sailed from St. Lucia, and on the 30th, at day-break, made the island of Tobago. About five o'clock in the afternoon, having landed the greater part of the troops, the two leading columns marched forward to Scarborough, and meeting no opposition in the defiles of St. Mary's advanced to Mount Grace, from which place I sent a summons to the commandant general Berthier, who returned an answer, by producing terms of capitulation, which were finally settled about four this morning, and at eleven, possession of the fortress was given the British forces; the French garrison marching out with the honours of war, and laying down their arms, after passing the guard of honour, under the orders of brigadier-general Picton.

"The fort having surrendered without resistance, I can only speak, in general terms of the excellent discipline and good conduct of the officers and soldiers in this expedition; there is no doubt, had the French garrison been

(*e*) The total of the killed and wounded on this occasion was—four serjeants, sixteen rank and file, killed; four field officers, two captains, three subalterns, four serjeants, ninety-seven rank and file, wounded; one drummer, seven rank and file, missing.

St. Lucia, 22*d June*, 1803.

(*f*) *Return of ordnance, ammunition, and stores, at Morne Fortunée, and the batteries adjoint.*

Iron guns—seven thirty-six pounders, four twenty-four pounders, one twenty-two pounder, thirteen eighteen pounders, seven twelve pounders, six eight pounders, two four pounders. Brass guns—two four pounders. Iron mortar—one thirteen inch. Brass mortars—one ten inch, two eight inch. Round shot—one thousand four hundred thirty-six pounders, seven hundred and thirteen twenty-four pounders, five hundred and seventy-seven eighteen pounders, one hundred and four twelve pounders, thirty-one eight pounders, sixty-eight four pounders. Case shot—twenty six pounders.—Round shot fixed to powder—thirty-two six pounders. Ten case shot fixed to powder. Shells empty—two hundred and sixty-eight thirteen inch, eighty-five ten inch, one hundred and twenty-six eight inch. Flannel cartridges, filled—eighteen thirty-six pounders, thirty-eight twenty-four pounders, thirteen eighteen pounders, forty-five twelve pounders, six six pounders. Paper cartridges filled—twenty-one twenty-four pounders.—Sixty empty paper carriages.—Two thousand musket balls—seventy-two portfires—ten eight inch shells bursters—one gyn—twelve powder horns—sixty pounds of slow match—forty-six handspikes.—Spunges without staves and rammers—four thirty-six pounders, three twenty-four pounders. Ladles without ditto—one thirty-six pounder, three twenty-four pounders, one six pounder. Rammers without ditto—two thirty-six pounders, four twenty-four pounders. Wadhooks without ditto—one thirty-six pounder, two twenty-four pounders—five hundred weight of musket balls—eighteen and quarter pounds of rockets: Fuzes—four hundred ten inch—five hundred and fifty eight inch—one hundred and fifty-five and half inch—eighty-six barrels of powder—one leather cartouch—five hundred and thirteen muskets—four hundred bayonets—four hundred and sixty pouches—four hundred belts.

Return of engineers' stores taken at Morne Fortunée, the 22d June, 1803.

One thousand five hundred sand bags—seven hammers—one anvil—two vices—two pair bellows—five pair tongs—twenty-five spades—one cross cut saw—twenty-five pair hinges—fourteen barrel, nails—six pickaxes—one iron crow—eight axes—three rammers—one stone cutter's saw—sixty barrels lime—five tons iron—one hundred weight steel—twenty wheel barrows.

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sufficiently strong to have hazarded resistance, they would have met as obstinate an attack, as was experienced by the garrison at Morne Fortunée.

"It is next to impossible for me to say too much in praise of the co-operation of the navy. The troops are in the highest degree indebted to commodore Hood, for the accommodation afforded to them on board, and to the judicious arrangements and execution in the embarking and disembarkation of them by captain Hallowell.

"I take the liberty to enclose a copy of the orders given to the troops.

"I likewise enclose a list of the troops of the French republic who laid down their arms in consequence of the capitulation; also the return of ordnance and military stores taken in the fort and other batteries in this island."

General Grinfield, upon making good his landing, issued the following summons to general Berthier, commandant of Tobago:

"The forces of his Britannic majesty, now landed in this island, being so superior to those of the French republic, that resistance will only prove an unnecessary profusion of the lives of men:

"The superiority of the British naval force over that of the French in those seas, must preclude the hope of succour:

"The commanders of the British army and navy being fully sensible of the decided superiority, so fully evinced on the 22d instant, by the capture of Morne Fortunée, in the island of St. Lucia, by assault, offer to the French commanding officer to accede to any reasonable proposals for the immediate surrender of this island, as he may think proper to offer, premising only, that the garrison must surrender prisoners of war, to be conveyed to Europe, and that all the public property is to be at the disposal of the captors.

"The officer who will have the honour to deliver this, is to wait one hour, and no longer, for an answer."

This proposal having been delivered, the French general Cæsar Berthier, captain-general of the island of Tobago, in the name of the French republic, offered terms of capitulation, which was in general agreed to (*g*).

The month of June closed with the publication of lord Hobart's plan to the lords lieutenants of the maritime counties, for the protection of the coast: by this it was recommended, that

"1st. The lords lieutenants of the maritime counties should co-operate with the board of admiralty in obtaining the enrollment of all sea-faring men, not applicable to the service of the navy, upon their respective coasts, under the denomination of 'SEA FENCIBLES.'

"II. It was recommended to the principal sea-port towns, to equip, at their own expence, a certain number of armed vessels and hulks, to be stationed for the better security and protection of such ports, and to be appropriated to and manned by *Sea Fencibles*, who should take charge of them, and be exercised on board at the guns, as often as might be required.

"III. That when the proportion of sea fencibles, which any place could furnish, might be greater than such place could find shipping to employ; and likewise when any place was capable of providing men, but unable to procure vessels; in both such cases vessels should be supplied by government.

"IV. That as colliers and coasting vessels were well adapted to be armed as gun-boats, it was recommended to the principal merchants and owners in every part of the kingdom, to fit their vessels of that description with slides (*h*) between decks, and loop-holes in the combings of their hatchways, for close quarters; these vessels to carry two guns forward and two aft, to fight on either side, as well as fore and aft.

"V. That when the vessels were reported ready, guns and ammunition should be put on board by government, free of expence to the owners; the masters giving a receipt and voucher to return them when demanded, and to keep a regular account of the expenditure of the stores.

"VI. That these vessels should be fitted with ring and eye-bolts for guns, and that small vessels be prepared to receive large oars, that they might be able to act in a calm, if necessary.

"VII. That the vessels should be under orders to attend to and obey the signals and directions that might be made to them by the commanders of his majesty's ships, or from the signal stations on the shore, and when detained, that they were to be entitled to demurrage according to their regular tonnage, at the same rate as common transports; the time of detention to be certified by the officer who might order it.

"VIII. That the said vessels, on arriving at and sailing from port, should be subject to visitation by the commanding officer of the Sea Fencibles of the district."

The recommendations of lord Hobart were soon followed by several patriotic suggestions: each one thought himself bound to give his assistance and best information in his power towards repelling the threatened attacks of the enemy; and although the volunteer associations, which were embodied about this time, gained universal and just applause; yet it was necessary that something should be promoted which might prevent the more immediate and sudden pressure of rapacious adventurers, upon men who were unused to the fatigues and hazards of military life; however the love of their country and its constitution might have placed them above every other consideration. Ingenuity and experience, therefore, furnished various propositions for putting the kingdom into every possible state of security.

The offers made by the cities and towns of France to build vessels of various sizes for the service of their government, were, however, far exceeded by the marks of patriotism which distinguished the subjects of the British isles. Among others, a plan for the inhabitants of manufacturing towns to open subscriptions for building gun-boats for their respective harbours, merited approbation.

By this plan it was proved, that the expence of an excellent boat would be but small to an opulent sea-port; it might be manned with the fishermen and boatmen of the place. The services of such gun-boats might be under regulations, similar to those which govern the volunteer associations; so that they might be under the obligation to extend their service from their own line of coast to any part, where the probable attempts of the enemy should make their exertions necessary.

The adoption of this plan, it was stated, would soon be productive of a considerable flotilla of gun-boats, manned by effective and daring seamen, who, habituated to the element on which they were to serve, would, by their natural resolution and activity, strike terror into the seamen of France; and by the superior management of their vessels, not only do considerable damage, but entirely defeat a superior force. Another benefit was to be derived from this plan, gun-boats having an advantage over land batteries, so that by their removal, as occasion should require, they might protect or annoy; a few such vessels, carrying heavy guns, would make prodigious havock among those flat-bottomed boats, usually appropriated to the debarkation of soldiery.

After having been proved, that in many parts of England there are a number of aquatic labourers, who could serve in such vessels with peculiar advantage; it might with great certainty be added, that even the keelmen of the Tyne and the Wear would find such an employment in the service of their country, more congenial to their peculiar disposition, and more satisfactory to the spirit which they would naturally evince in its protection; their amount being at least to the amount of fifty thousand able-bodied men, would do more essential duty than by being drilled as soldiers. To these might be joined the large body of fishermen, lightermen, and boatmen, from the various parts of the kingdom, which would furnish a vast assemblage of hardy-bodied men, whose services could not be any where so effectually exerted as on their own element. These, and similar recommendations, employed the talents of the generality of British subjects, who strove to evince their willingness to benefit their country at such a crisis, by every means in their power.

In the debate which took place on the army estimates, June 6, the secretary at war produced papers relative to some additional sums for the support of supernumerary officers, pensioners at Chelsea and Kilmainham; the erection of the royal military college and the military asylum,

(*g*) Among the ordnance captured at Tobago were—thirty-one thousand one hundred and ten cartridges—six hundred and ninety cylinders—two brass guns mounted—nineteen iron guns, dismounted—three brass mortars—three hundred and fifty-six shells—six hundred and sixty-five case shot—one hundred and four grape shot—six thousand seven hundred and forty-four round shot—three hundred and twenty-six muskets—six hundred and nineteen spikes—four hundred and forty fuzees—and a great variety of lesser articles.

(*h*) The expence of such a fitting was calculated at fifty four pounds per vessel.

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for which, and other necessaries for the military establishment, he moved, that three millions one hundred and ten thousand pounds might be raised, for the service of Great Britain and Ireland.

Upon this Mr. Windham took occasion to repeat his objections to the system pursued by the ministry, particularly with regard to the militia. He contended, that as the country was not sufficiently populous to supply both those descriptions of force, that the regular army should have the preference. Ministers did not appear to him to have duly considered the nature and character of the war in which the country was engaged, nor to have yet made up their minds as to the plan of operations they ought to pursue. Either they had not determined on any plan at all, or that which they adopted was exceedingly fallacious. They were evidently forced into war, and their resolution was scarcely formed when they got into it; therefore they had not yet prepared their measures.—If defence alone even was intended, he did not think the sort of force proposed to be raised, that which sound wisdom would recommend; for, if invasion should take place, the militia was not the most desirable force to employ; a regular army ought to be met by a regular army. He expressed his decided conviction that, unless some very strong measures were immediately taken, nothing effectual could be done. Provisions should be made to raise the people *en masse*, if necessary; for the period might suddenly come, when, without exertion, our fate would be precarious indeed.—It was come to this with Great Britain, that either she must strengthen herself, materially indeed, or weaken the enemy considerably, or she could not subsist. He urged the adoption of a liberal and dignified plan of policy, which should make a common cause, not only with the royalists of La Vendée, or any other part of France, but with the patriots of Holland, Switzerland, and Italy. When gentlemen talked, he said, of the people of the country stopping an invading army, he confessed that, though he admired the spirit, and confided in the loyalty of his country as much as any man, he could not help smiling; for where, he would ask, was the precedent of a populace, without discipline or arrangement, opposing with success the progress of a regular army? He therefore deprecated the dastardly and imprudent policy of keeping our forces locked up in our own island, waiting, as it were, until the French should come over to attack us.

The Secretary at War thought that the question between the two governments was now brought to a point, that it was high time we should shew, not by words, but actions, that we were not to be insulted by France; that we were not to be intimidated by any menace they might throw out; that it is not their shewing themselves in large numbers opposite to our coasts, which was to throw us into a panic. That they might throw a body of men into this country was certainly practicable. It might be done certainly under favourable circumstances, that is, if they were not drowned in the attempt: but really, said the right honourable secretary, it would not be long before they would be made prisoners; and that very few of them would ever return.

Mr. Pitt said, it did not appear that it would have been fortunate if ministers had rather begun by establishing in the opinion of parliament and of the country, the necessity of the thing to be done, by preparing the public mind by an adequate vote for that purpose. He would assert, that as we wanted the means of offensive, we should have the more of defensive war. He applauded every desire which ministers could manifest to labour with perseverance to consider of the best means for the safety of the state. If, therefore, gentlemen concurred with him, as indeed he believed the house did, that the present force was insufficient, he wished them then to pledge themselves; to pledge parliament; to pledge the nation too; that a strong measure should be taken for the defence of the nation, without any loss of time. His object by all he had said was, that the country should be told at once, that it was to prepare for measures of an unusual extent; that the people should be impressed with a notion that extraordinary preparations must be made, that extraordinary means must be used. He thought that a large portion of regular troops might be added to the seventy thousand militia, and must be kept at home, or we should not have a sufficient force for home security.

He then proceeded to make several observations on the numbers of the militia, &c. and then said, he hoped that the additional force to be raised was not to depend upon a system of tardy and precarious recruiting, and that the forces should not be confined to serve at home, as a force necessary merely for home defence, and that at all events we should secure the advantages of the forces being under officers regularly trained. They knew that they had raised by ballot, without interfering with the agriculture or the industry of the country, one hundred thousand men. He knew, from the concurring opinion of almost all militia officers, that they could not hope to have, on the militia plan, officers for more than seventy thousand men. The country must be put in a proper state of military preparation; and whatever is wanted for the public defence, some how or other must be obtained.

The Chancellor of the Exchequer said, the ministry did not rely, in the present crisis, upon the militia consisting of seventy thousand men, great part of whom were at present in arms; that they did not rely upon the regular force of the country, which was at present greater than at any other period, except when an embarkation was about to take place; that they did not rely upon the brave and loyal yeomanry of the conntry; but that they were prepared to bring forward measures for the purpose of providing a large subsidiary force, to be officered in the manner pointed out by his right honourable friend. In looking to the population of the country, and the means of constituting a large and effective force, he said, it was not merely an option on the part of government, whether such a force should be called out; but they must consider how, consistently with the feelings and opinions of the country, and the avocations of men of business, the largest and most effective force could be provided for defensive and offensive operations; it appeared to him, that those means ought to be resorted to which were calculated to provide such a force with the greatest public advantage, and the least possible inconvenience. The right honourable gentleman had adverted to the danger arising from an invading enemy; that right honourable gentleman would do him (Mr. Addington) the justice to recollect that he never under-rated that danger, though he thought at the same time that it had been greatly over-rated: it was their duty, however, to provide against such a danger, and that without delay.

After several desultory observations had been made, the motion for the supplies was agreed to.

In the house of lords, on June 7, the second reading of the Clergy Farming and Residence Bill took place.—The Lord Chancellor having left the woolsack, observed the necessity of amending the act of Henry VIII. concerning the regulation of the clergy, which went to enforce regulations upon each of the two distinct heads, to which different parts of the bill referred. The enactments of the act of Henry VIII. were in both points ill adapted to the present times; and in regard to the penalties to enforce residence, perfectly inadequate, and consequently unjust. A bill having such important interests as the ease, accommodation, and comfort of the clergy for its objects, interests involving the preservation, discipline, and security of the church establishment, was a bill fit at least to go to a committee, in order to see if such parts of it as might possibly be liable to objection, could be so amended as to render the whole of the bill fit to become a part of the law of the land.

The Earl of Suffolk said, he was desirous that the income of the clergy should be such as would enable them to live decently and comfortably. He understood that the livings of one half of the inferior clergy, at least, did not produce seventy pounds a year, and many nothing like it. He had one particular proof of the poverty of some of the clergy, who held livings which he would state. Many years since he visited the Lakes, and at a particular place, he was told, there was a slate mine well worth his seeing. He asked if he could have any accommodation there? He was told he might at the clergyman's. He replied, he could not obtrude himself on a gentleman, to whom he was a stranger. "Oh," said the person, with whom he conversed, "you need not mind that, the clergyman keeps a public house!" He then asked what his living produced, and the answer was "fourteen pounds a year, but he makes out a maintenance by playing upon the fiddle, and can play a country-dance, a jig, and a hornpipe admirably." Upon his hearing this, his lordship said, he gave up going, as he did not wish to see a clergyman in so indecorous and unbecoming a situation. There were, he next observed, many prebendaries, the income of which had risen to two, three, or four hundred a year; they he thought ought to give

give a first fruit and a tenth, in addition to Queen Anne's bounty, which had done a great deal of good, but only averaging about fifteen thousand pounds a year, was not equal to what was necessary to support the inferior clergy as they ought to be. He desired their lordships to call to mind that the clergy of France having joined the *tiers etats*, was one great leading cause of the revolution. They ought to be enabled to hold their station as an independent and respectable body.

The Duke of Richmond objected to the principle of the bill: it went to take away from the juries the right of trying the causes brought against such of the clergy as were sued for non-residence, and to lodge that power in the hands of the bishops, for whom he entertained a very high respect; but he could not but consider that the laity, whether affluent, or only moderately able to keep house, paid the clergy of every description for the religious duties they performed, and therefore he could not but be of opinion, that the jurisdiction to enforce the residence of their rector or vicar should remain in their hands, and ought not to be transferred to the right reverend prelates.

The Lord Chancellor read a clause from the act of Henry VIII. to shew the violent injustice that might be practised under it; and he remarked, that in trying a cause upon a penal statute, no discretion was vested either in a judge or jury. The judge must be bound by the express letter of the law, and must in his direction lay down the rule of law for them to go by, without referring to, or observing upon, the hardship of the case, be it ever so great. He mentioned two causes which had been tried by himself in one week, that of the exemplary clergyman of Bow-church, for non-residence, although the parsonage house was the little pocket book shop, the corner of the church-yard, a residence not fit to put a clergyman into, and therefore he was obliged to reside in Ely place: and the other cause that of a clergyman, who held two or more livings in the city, but had lived for nine years, sporting and taking his pleasure in Somersetshire. Both were obliged to be fined the penalty of one hundred and ten pounds, though their cases were so dissimilar. He also mentioned a cause of non-residence, tried before a noble and learned lord now dead, who had been provoked to declare in court, that it was the most impudent cause he had ever tried. The cause was this.—A cunning attorney in a country town lived in a house rather too small for his family, and observing that the parsonage house was much larger, and the incumbent a single man, proposed an exchange upon his paying rent. When he demanded his rent, the attorney said, "Don't trouble me about rent, or I shall prosecute you for non-residence; and then there will be a considerable balance in my favour." He did prosecute the minister, and obtained the penalty.

The bishop of Norwich approved the bill in its principle, but he did not think it altogether faultless. Having gone through the law as it stood, he addressed his argument to the bill he held in his hand, and went through a summary statement of the objects of each clause. The first part of the bill, he observed, referred solely to what was termed the farming facilities given to the clergy, and the latter to the residence. With respect to empowering the bishops to exercise an undefined and unlimited authority, they could not desire it, but if he himself were asked, in what hands could that controul be most constitutionally placed? he would answer conscientiously, in none that he knew of so fitly as those proposed by this bill; certainly under due restrictions, and with all that aweful responsibility which did, as it always ought, attach to every public department, under the constitutional laws of this country.

This important bill was committed for Friday the 10th (*i*), and, by several adjournments, postponed, till it finally passed on the 24th of June.

On the 11th, Mr. Addington produced his budget; and in recapitulating the ways and means for providing for the exigencies of the current year, he observed the sum of twenty-six millions would be adequate to every exertion, and amply sufficient for every national object; the only part of this budget which appeared disagreeable was the tax upon property, of which we have already mentioned some objectional points. On the resumption of the subject, when the report was presented, several objections were made by the members to the various taxes.

Lord Folkstone reprobated the system of *war taxes*. Such taxes might, he said, be very proper and considerate, but the giving them such an appellation was, he thought, the very means of creating a reluctance in the people to pay them. When people are very anxious for war, it was, no doubt, fair, not to burden their posterity, with a continuance of such a mode of taxation: but as the inhabitants of this country seem rather willing to submit to insults, and bear with ministers, who were willing not to remonstrate, or when they did remonstrate, to acquiesce with the silence and total inattention with which their remon-

(*i*) On the 10th, after the question was put, "That the house resolve itself into a committee," the bishop of St. Asaph (Dr. Horsley) delivered his opinion upon the duties of the clergy, and the necessity of residence; which, for beauty of expression and strength of argument, has seldom been excelled; we therefore subjoin the substance of it in a note, as being the most pointed in the course of the debate. He observed, that the principle of the bill, as he understood it, embraced two points; first, to enforce the residence of the clergy; and secondly, to preserve them pure and separate in a proper state of ecclesiastical discipline, uncontaminated by sordid occupations and pursuits. Residence he considered of first rate importance, and essentially necessary to the welfare of the church. Without it, it was impossible for any clergyman to discharge the duty which he owed his flock. The public performance of that duty, such as attendance at church on Sunday, constituted but a very small part of it.

The parish priest should live among his flock, he should watch over them, and be an example constantly before their eyes of rectitude, enforcing the precepts of virtue, which it is his duty to inculcate. He should attend the bed of the sick and the dying, and administer to them those comforts which alone they are capable at such a moment of receiving, those comforts which are administered to them through the sacraments of the church. The mere enumeration of these duties was surely sufficient to shew that residence is essential to their performance. Residence, at the time of the reformation, was a mere matter of ecclesiastical discipline, and the civil power never interfered with it. It was objected to the present bill, that it takes the power of inforcing residence out of the hands of the civil authority, and places it under ecclesiastical jurisdiction. For his part, he was not anxious to take the question out of the hands of judges and juries. On the contrary, were a proposition made to repeal the act of Henry VIII. by which juries have that power, he would oppose it upon that very ground, unless it provided some regulation that might prove an adequate substitute in that particular point. The statute of Henry VIII. with all its vices on its head, had done more good than harm. He admitted, however, that it was certainly defective, inasmuch as it inflicted equal penalties upon unequal degrees of delinquency, and also upon unequal means, the forfeiture not being proportioned to the amount of the living. It was also defective in not leaving a discretionary power to judges to reduce the penalty, in cases where the letter of the law could not be inforced without peculiar rigour and hardship.

The present bill remedied that defect, as it had provided a scale of penalties proportioned to the means of the party, and the different degrees of delinquency. With regard to ecclesiastical jurisdiction, the old act goes the length of depriving the contumacious clergyman of his benefices. From delay, expence, and a variety of other circumstances, it was impossible, however, to carry the act into execution, and therefore, it was no more than a dead letter. In some old dioceses, such as Winchester, the proceedings of the ecclesiastical court were correct, and justice was administered as well as in Westminster Hall. That, however, was not the case in the provincial courts. He remembered giving, when bishop of St. David's, a living of seven hundred pounds a year, the best in his diocese, to a clergyman who promised to reside; the clergyman had, however, a living in Glamorganshire, and did not change his place of residence; of this he complained, but at length consented to admit of six months residence, which the clergyman promised. Even this promise, however, was not kept, and he proceeded to enforce the act to compel residence, or deprive him of the benefice, but, by the connivance of his own court, the party slipped through his fingers, and remains to this very day in possession of the living, without having resided upon it. This case shews the insufficiency of the provincial courts in this particular. It became, therefore, necessary, that a power should be placed in the hands of the bishops; and as this was done by the present bill, that part of it also had his approbation. With regard to the other part of the act of Henry VIII. which restrains the clergy from having any thing to do with the low pursuits of the world, he should beg leave to make a few observations.

When he spoke of the clergy being nothing but clergy, he did not mean to be an advocate for that puritanical cant that would entirely cut them off from all commerce with the world. To advise his flock required a knowledge of the world. The duty of a clergyman could not be adequately performed by any, but a man of knowledge and information. To expound the Bible he should be acquainted with every science. The clergyman, therefore could not be considered as mispending his time, who was studying a mathematical proposition, or calculating the proportions of a piece of architecture. No, the clergyman should be restrained only from those things that degrade him. He should not be engaged in sordid pursuits. Agriculture, he admitted, was of old said to be the business of heroes and the gods. It did honour to Ceres and Triptolemus. It was a business worthy of men in the most exalted stations; but when a clergyman engaged in agriculture, he did not, like their lordships, engage in it for amusement, or from public spirit, but from sordid views. Now this was what he condemned. He could by no means allow of the profession of a farmer as compatible with the grave dignity of the clerical character: it must lead the farming clergyman to associate with the labourer in the field, to wield the sickle and scythe, to carry his samples to market, and to chaffer and drive bargains about his commodities, incompatible with his character, and degrading to his station. It was true, the statute of Henry VIII. prevented this abuse, but the provisions in that particular were extremely severe. He feared, however, that the relaxation was carried too far in the present bill.

strances were treated, he thought it was absolutely wrong to lead people into a disinclination towards that war, or to create selfish feelings to render it unpopular. This was the reason of his objecting to the principles of war taxes, as at present brought forward.

After much objection to the various articles of taxation in detail, Mr. William Smith observed, that he could not avoid mentioning his disapprobation of the principle of the income tax; the inquisitorial part of it particularly. He thought it the most oppressive and unjust that was ever suggested to a British house of commons; and if the right honourable gentleman had an opportunity of hearing the sentiments of the various classes of the people as he had done, he would also be convinced how severely it was reprobated by a vast majority of the people. He thought this tax might have been avoided, and a larger revenue raised by increasing the duty on malt; and he wished the chancellor of the exchequer had tried that experiment, as he was convinced it would have been found much more popular.

The Chancellor of the Exchequer said, it was very much his wish taxes should be raised with as much regard to the feelings of the people as possible. The honourable gentleman had said, that by making an addition to the duty on malt, the inquisition of the other tax might be avoided; but it would be a great injustice to the brewers to levy such a tax, without admitting them to the right of raising the price of beer. The rise could not well be less than a halfpenny a pot, or four shillings and six-pence a barrel, which would be productive of inordinate profit to the brewers; and if you did not allow them to raise the price, you would be guilty of great injustice. He had taken every possible care, he said, in modifying the tax, so as not to affect persons possessed of that description of property below seventy pounds a year. It had ever been his most ardent and anxious wish to carry public feeling and public opinion along with him: for while he was determined to look all our difficulties fairly in the face, he was convinced that, with the public feeling in its favour, the arm of government, or rather the arm of this great country, must prove irresistible.

The report was then brought up, and the resolutions read and agreed to.

The discussion of *naval abuses* occupied the attention of the house of commons on the 16th of this month. For the purpose of investigating circumstances of such vast national importance.

Mr. Whitbread moved for certain papers relative to the late visitation of the dock-yards. It appeared to him absolutely necessary, that all possible information should be immediately laid before the house on this subject; and he could see no objection which the noble lord at the head of the admiralty (earl St. Vincent) could possibly entertain, relative to what he was about to propose. In prosecuting the naval inquiry, that noble lord had thought proper to visit the different dock-yards in the kingdom, along with the commissioners. Since their report was made out and presented to the house, it had occasioned much conversation, and much obloquy had been incurred. These circumstances, when properly brought to light, ought most undoubtedly to have great weight, in shewing the beneficial consequences which must result from the noble lord's exertions for the public interest. It was certainly true, however, that some most gross delinquencies had been found out in the course of that investigation, and in his opinion it was most proper and expedient that the delinquents should be brought to punishment.

This was opposed by the chancellor of the exchequer, on the ground that as the investigation was already before a committee appointed by the house; the present motion would interfere with their jurisdiction.

After much conversation on the subject, Mr. Whitbread withdrew his motion. The minister, however, observed, that the delinquencies were so enormous, as to deserve exemplary punishment, which he should certainly think it his duty to promote at some future period.

On the same day also Mr. Corry moved, that the house resolve into a committee to take into consideration the acts of the 39th and 40th of the king, respecting the restriction of issuing small bank notes and bills of exchange in Ireland. His motive for going into this committee was to take into consideration the pernicious practice which had long prevailed in Ireland, of issuing bank notes for small sums under twenty shillings value, upon a pretence of scarcity of silver coin. So far from removing the evil which this practice professed to remedy, it was, in his mind, the true cause of it. It had originated in consequence of the bank restriction act, which stopped the issue of cash from the bank of Ireland; and its effect had been to absorb all the silver currency, in those parts of the country where these notes were taken, into the hands of the persons who passed them, which they disposed of in some mode that took it completely out of circulation. These notes were even issued by obscure persons, for three, six, and ten shillings British, which they circulated, and took the difference of change in silver from their customers, until they had got all the currency of the country into their hands. He should therefore move for leave to bring in a bill to restrain the issue and currency of such notes after the first of January next. This, he said, would give the parties who had issued them time for a gradual recal, as well as allow the gentlemen of Ireland time to examine and collect the real sense of their respective counties upon the subject, preparatory to the meeting of the next parliament. The motion was agreed to, and leave was granted to bring in the bill.

Lord Pelham, in the house of lords, on June 17, presented the following message from his majesty:

"GEORGE R.

"His majesty thinks it right to inform the house of lords, that from an anxious desire to prevent the calamities of war being extended to the Batavian republic, he communicated to that government his disposition to respect their neutrality, provided that a similar disposition was manifested on the part of the French government, and that the French forces were forthwith withdrawn from the territories of the Batavian republic. This proposition not having been acceded to by the government of France, and measures having been recently taken by them in direct violation of the independence of the Batavian republic, his majesty judged it expedient to direct his minister to leave the Hague; and he has since given orders, that letters of marque and general reprisals should be issued against the Batavian republic and its subjects.

"His majesty has at all times manifested the deepest and most lively interest for the prosperity and independence of the United Provinces: he has recourse to these proceedings with the most sincere regret, but the conduct of the French government has left him no alternative; and in adopting these measures, he is actuated by a sense of what is due to his own dignity, and to the security and essential interests of his dominions. "G. R."

Lord Pelham moved, "That an humble address be presented to his majesty, thanking him for his gracious communication." Ordered.

The same message was read, and the address, moved by lord Hawkesbury, in the house of commons, on the same day.

Next day, in the house of lords, lord Hobart read another message from his majesty, as follows:

"GEORGE R.

"His majesty thinks it proper to acquaint the house of lords, that for the more effectual defence of the united kingdom against the avowed designs of the enemy, and for the purpose of providing such means as may be best calculated for a vigorous prosecution of the war, his majesty deems it important that a large additional force should be forthwith raised and assembled.

"His majesty recommends this subject to the consideration of their lordships, and relies with confidence on their zeal and public spirit, that they will adopt such measures as upon this occasion shall appear to them to be most effectual, and for carrying the same into execution with the least possible delay. "G. R."

The Chancellor of the Exchequer also delivered a message from his majesty to the same purport, in the house of commons; which being read, he moved, that the message should be referred to a committee of the house, which was agreed to *nem. con.*

It became now a main object of consideration, as the country had been threatened by invasion, how to prevent the threats of the enemy taking place. For this end in the council it had been determined, that some speedy measure should be resorted to, and to this purpose his majesty's message had been sent to parliament, who met on the 18th of June, to determine on the most effectual means to repel the ambitious projects of the first consul, by taking his majesty's message into consideration, for THE DEFENCE OF THE COUNTRY.

In the house of lords, lord Hobart deemed it his duty,

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in consequence of the situation he held, (that of secretary of state;) to throw out a general outline of the intentions of government with respect to the object of the address, and the pledge he meant it should contain. In the last war, he said, there were raised for the militia one hundred and fourteen thousand three hundred and eighty-six men, including Scotland. The number of men now raised for the established and supplementary militia, amounted to seventy-two thousand nine hundred and sixty-three men, to which it was proposed by the present plan to add forty thousand for Great Britain: this would make the whole force for this country amount to one hundred and twelve thousand nine hundred and sixty-three men, being one thousand four hundred and twenty-three less than during the last war. With respect to the measure itself, it was the intention of his majesty's ministers, that the army to be raised should consist of forty thousand men for Great Britain, and the islands of the Channel (Guernsey and Jersey), and ten thousand for Ireland. It was intended the men should be raised, on the principle of the militia, by ballot, and that they should be taken out of the counties and districts, with the addition of such volunteers as thought proper to offer their services, and enrolled for Great Britain, Ireland, and the islands in the Channel. The age of the persons to be raised, from eighteen to forty-five.

The Duke of Clarence could not approve of the principle even of the general outline of what the noble secretary of state had proposed; but he candidly owned, that it was less objectionable than what the public at large had reason to expect. The country was now entering upon a war with perfect unanimity. Every one was convinced of its justice. It was not Malta that was the cause; it was the restless and arrogant spirit of the tyrant that governed France, that had forced us to go to war. It behoved all who entertained a respect and veneration for the laws and constitution, which had been handed down by our ancestors, to meet the danger with courage and intrepidity.

The Earl of Carnarvon spoke in terms of the highest censure on the mode of recruiting, and the general plan of the measure proposed by ministers, and in conclusion observed, that when ministers, unfit for their stations, harrass the country with these absurd projects, the interests of the nation must suffer, and discontents, and probably resistance to their measures, might arise when nothing but unanimity ought to prevail.

The Earl of Suffolk was confident every thing had been done by his majesty's ministers that ought to have been done, but he wished to know whether their plan embraced the whole country, as well as Ireland. He had proposed five years ago, that there should be a military survey, and that twenty thousand men should be raised and placed in the centre of the country. He was of opinion, a force should be assembled, which, by means of carriages, might be at any point of attack in thirty hours.

Earl Moira said, the danger of the crisis was so great, that the energies of the people must be called out to enable the country to repel it, and not only act defensively but offensively. That the people were willing to stand forth, if they were properly called upon, but it was not by half measures, or common-place measures that any good could arise. The urgency of affairs required action and not discussion. There had been too much tardiness and procrastination already, and it was wonderful that ministers were now only commencing their career. The enemy had been wise enough to pursue a very different line of conduct from us, and had been already suffered to strike a blow, by stripping his majesty of Hanover and the whole of his electorate. Hanover was of considerable importance to the interests of Great Britain, it secured to us an opportunity of attacking the enemy at the back, while we were annoying him in the front by sea; besides, it secured to us the important circumstance of having Hamburgh open to our commerce. These advantages had been snatched from us, without ministers taking any one means to resume and preserve Hanover, which they might easily have done, as they must have long foreseen that in case of a rupture the first blow that the enemy would aim at us, would be to seize upon his majesty's electorate, and thereby enable them to shut our commerce out from Hamburgh, the Elbe, and the Weser. Means of retaliation ought to be found. There were openings to assail and injure the enemy, and deeply too, that yet remained. Let ministers then make up for their erroneous system, by adopting one of vigour and energy, proportionate to the urgency of the cause.

The Duke of Richmond recommended it to ministers to employ a number of cavalry in the defence of the country. Our troops of horse were very fine ones, and the horses of this kingdom, of which we had great plenty, some of the finest in Europe, whereas the men to be raised were all infantry. Now, he thought cavalry the most efficient force that could be opposed to the enemy in such a country as England, particularly where no invading general could derive such fame as Dumourier did, from the tactics he displayed in the forest of Ardennes; or, Moreau, in the retreat which will immortalise his name. He would also suggest the propriety of augmenting the horse artillery. It was a force too obviously useful to be neglected by government. With regard to the raising forty thousand men by ballot, his grace repeated it, that he doubted of its practicability. The last supplementary militia regiments were not yet completed. His own regiment was deficient two hundred men, and they were extremely difficult to be got. The duke voted for the address.

Earl Fitzwilliam observed, that the effect of raising so many militia, exclusive of the disadvantage of their not being applicable to general service, put an end to the regular recruiting service of the army. His lordship took notice of what the Duke of Richmond had said, respecting the two hundred men being deficient in his regiment of militia; the same was the case, he said, in the regiments for the north and west ridings of the county of York.

Lord Grenville agreed with the noble duke, and could not but join with those who complained of the want of activity of ministers on not coming earlier forward with this or some more efficient measure of defence.

Lord Hobart spoke in reply to the accusations against his majesty's ministers, and retorted severely upon lord Grenville under whose administration the whole continent was separated from English influence.

Lord Sheffield concluded the debate by saying, that in voting for the address, he wished not to be supposed to agree that the plan of defence proposed was the best that could be selected; on the contrary, it appeared to him as inadequate to the object, and inexpedient as to the means; and if the ballot was not to take place without any exemptions, it would be the most oppressive, provoking, and expensive that could have been chosen. He considered that if the proposition passed into a law, upwards of one hundred and twelve thousand men, for whom there had been a ballot, would be called out within three months; and if the number should ever be complete, which he much doubted, that the wives and families of those men must all fall on their parishes.

At length the question was put, and the address agreed to.

In the house of commons, after the Secretary at War, had in the course of a long, and intelligent speech, proposed the plan of defence, Mr. Windham, in the most pointed manner, combated every measure which ministers had pursued. He said, the measure now proposed, in his opinion, would only aggravate our difficulties, and tend completely to cut up the recruiting for the regular army. The quantity of men now proposed, was not in proportion to the necessity of the case, nor to the population of the united country. We have already an army of militia, and this measure was intended to augment it and make a ruinous competition between the two services. After taking a view of the arguments adduced in the debate, he concluded by saying, I am sorry to be under the necessity of thus objecting to the only mode of raising a force which ministers have proposed; and must enter my protest against it, so far as it tends to cut up the regular army. Upon the whole, it is the most impolitic step that could be taken in the present situation of the country.

In reply to Mr. Windham, the Chancellor of the Exchequer observed, that as to the right honourable gentleman's revision of the militia system, he would say that this was not the proper time for that discussion, could he suppose it possible to recruit a regular army to the number of fifty thousand men without resorting to means of compulsion.

Mr. Pitt expressed his sincere concurrence in the sentiments of the chancellor of the exchequer, and his entire approbation of the principle of the plan before the committee, but that he disapproved of some of its provisions.

After some further observations from Messrs. Windham, Pitt, the Secretary at War, sir W. Young, &c. the address was agreed to.

The house next resolved itself into a committee of Ways and Means, when Mr. Corry submitted to their attention, the state of Irish finance, and observed that the policy adopted by Great Britain, must be acknowledged by all persons

persons of discrimination in Ireland; and the newness of the war, with other circumstances, rendered it necessary to demand those charges on that country, which none could be inclined to refuse; he should only state what had been adopted as the best measure that could be chosen. The charges consisted of those which she bore separately, and which did not interfere with this country. He entered into a statement of the situation of the financial concerns of Ireland since last December, and observed, that the trade had been considerably in favour of that country during the last year. He had pledged himself upon former occasions, that the exports of Ireland would be increased; which had been the case. The demand for provisions, he understood, last year, was twenty-five thousand pounds. Corn had also produced from thirty thousand pounds to fifty thousand pounds. He trusted, that during the present year, the fleets and armies would be supplied with the articles last mentioned; however war might be disliked, it was a happiness to reflect that we had resources in Ireland to support it. There never had been seen such a prospect of flax as during the last year, nor so much pains taken to cultivate it. The revenues last year had increased since the year before considerably. He was sorry to say, tobacco and sugar had fallen off in the exports. He then stated, the means by which the charges on the present occasion were to be raised, which after a slight opposition were agreed to.

The grand debate on national defence in the house of commons, took place on the 23d of June, when the whole force of each party seems to have been collected, and the greatest effort of argument and elocution exerted on the subject.

When the Secretary at War moved for the second reading of the bill for the Army of Reserve, Mr. Calcraft regretted that he should in the least degree delay a proceeding, the object of which was, the defence of the country; but, feeling that it was a measure not calculated to meet the exigency of our present situation, he should be compromising his duty to the house, and degrading himself in his own estimation, if he did not take the earliest opportunity of stating his sentiments.—He thought, that the mode by ballot, adopted with respect to fencible regiments, should be had recourse to, to fill up the regiments of the line. The country required strong measures, and if there was any odium attached to the recommendation of what he proposed, he must be content to come in for his share of it. We were now going to take fifty thousand men from the ranks, for the same purposes that fencible regiments were raised.

Mr. Sheridan observed he was as much for strong, bold, and vigorous measures as his honourable friend; but when he talked of ballotting for the line, and having recourse to compulsory service, he could not possibly agree in sentiment with him. The whole power and property of the country were in the hands of government, for its defence; but it would be a most unconstitutional stretch of authority to send people abroad against their consent. The government had no right to force a man, by ballot, into a regiment of the line; such a plan would be reversing every principle upon which the British constitution and government were founded.

Mr. William Elliott opposed the bill, and referred to the ample means the northern parts of Scotland afforded of providing troops for the line, and censured a system adopted some years ago, of raising five thousand militia in that country, locking them up, and not suffering them to advance beyond the borders.

The Secretary at War observed, it would be found, that in the course of the last year, and particularly within the last five or six months, there had been an infinitely larger number of recruits for the regular army than usual, although the recruiting for the militia had been going on during the whole of that time. He could state, that during the last year there had been obtained as many recruits as from one thousand to one thousand two hundred a month. He trusted it would be considered that this bill was the best measure that could, under the present state and circumstances of the country, be adopted. It was the most effectual measure, because it was calculated to raise the greatest number of men within the shortest time, and because he could not, for constitutional reasons, think of resorting to any compulsory measure for the purpose of recruiting the regular army.

Mr. Pitt said, he considered this bill as not only being that which appeared to furnish the most prompt and efficacious mode of giving us that which we first wanted, a defensive army against projected invasion, and for laying the foundation of a disposable force, by which we might avail ourselves of any opening that might present itself of striking a blow against the assailing enemy. This bill, if properly modified, he was persuaded, would give the country a well-grounded hope of raising a much larger army for our internal defence, and eventually for general purposes, than could be done by any other system whatever.

Mr. Windham thought, that even a less force brought into the line gradually, would place the country in a safer state than could be effected by the greater force now in contemplation. The danger was said to be immediate; but should it come upon us even so late as a distance of two months, what he would ask, in the name of common sense, is to be our situation? The bill was not yet passed, and the house had not yet advanced beyond the theory. What will be the nature of this force when raised? It will be a discordant force, composed of men taken away from their business and their families, full of soreness and dissatisfaction; and yet such was the force that was to constitute our last hope, and to be called the Army of Reserve of England. This is the army that is to step in after every other shall be defeated, and upon which the fate of the country is ultimately to depend. He concluded by saying, that though he did not despair of seeing the militia perform the most glorious and distinguished services, yet his general opinion was against the present measure; and therefore he felt it his duty thus openly to express his disapprobation.

Lord Castlereagh observed, the bill was not mandatory upon government to employ unfit persons; and that therefore he approved of the present plan.

Doctor Lawrence said, that the fate of the country depended upon raising its spirit, and calling forth its energies, and that such an effect was only to be produced by discussions in that house. He was convinced, that fifty thousand men, raised as a militia, would not do to go upon regular service; he thought it possible to obtain a regular force by other means than those which had been already adopted.

The Chancellor of the Exchequer assured the house, that he should be as ready as any man to employ any means, however violent or strong they might at other times justly be considered, for the defence of the country. But before the necessity arrived, we must not proceed to that extreme point. Our situation was by no means such as to warrant such an extremity as to force the people of the country to join the regular troops, to leave their homes, their occupations, and connections, and embark for military service in all quarters of the world. There were means, he said, sufficient to render this country impregnable, and these means would be made use of. For his own part, he felt confident, let the enemy meditate and prosecute any projects he may think proper, against the credit or the coasts of this country, they would all prove equally fruitless, and be attended with nothing better than shame, disgrace, and ruin.

The bill went through its various stages, and ultimately passed.

The month of July commenced with some of those busy measures which the extraordinary conduct of the chief consul had occasioned. All Europe seemed to feel, though afraid to confess, the situation into which it had been forced, by the consular edict for shutting up the months of the Elbe and the Weser. It was very soon discovered, that the occupation of those rivers by French troops, was much more injurious to the Continent than to England; for it evidently appeared that few continental merchants were possessed of sufficient capitals to sustain such a chasm in trade, without considerable loss or total ruin, on account of the stock, which for want of commercial communication, was left upon their hands; whilst British patriotism and British resources were alike great; public assistance was always at hand to prevent the destruction or inconvenience of individual branches of commerce from accidental causes. It is well known, that the short stoppage of communication in 1801, was productive of immense confusion on the continent, whilst the productions of British ingenuity and industry, from their goodness, their worth, their taste, and their cheapness, became absolutely requisites to every class of society; whilst coffee, sugar, &c. besides the productions of British colonies, were unequivocal necessaries in every part of Europe.

Though the conduct of France, considered in a commercial

cial point of view, might cause a temporary stagnation in a few branches of the British articles of trade; its effects would be most seriously felt, where, probably, it was least intended; for, on the continent, it would certainly be productive of confusion, scarcity, bankruptcy, wretchedness, and ruin; and instead of producing, as was intended, a commercial revolution against British trade, it would only be productive of commercial anarchy on the continent.

Whilst the governor of the French republic was endeavouring to effect the disorganization of the world, the premeditated flattery offered by his subjects, was beyond comparison. Thus the members of the council general of the department of the Seine and Oise conveyed their ebullitions: "Citizen chief consul and president, the English government, the violator of treaties, the tyrant of the seas, the plunderer of commerce, still wishes for war! To this perfidious provocation the French people will reply only by shouts of honour and the vengeance of victory. *You are the chief of the great nation to which nothing is impossible.* Our legions opened a passage through the Alps, to conquer at Marengo. A strait cannot prevent them from conquering Albion. One day will be sufficient to convey them to its astonished shores. The means of reaching them, France presents to you by unanimous concert. This offer has no other principles or rules than the most complete devotion, and the desire of peace, of that peace sworn to and violated by the enemy, and which you will not restore to them till you have reduced them to such a state that they shall never in future be able to break it. Such are the wishes of the council general of the department of the Seine and Oise, who, to second your glorious projects, have unanimously voted the offer of one million two hundred thousand francs, (fifty thousand pounds) which we have the honour to address to you."

The British ministry, notwithstanding the thunders and storms which were so diffusely levelled against them, were not in the least neglectful of their duty, they considered, that as the first consul had in an unprovoked manner, invaded Hanover, and occupied the shores of the rivers, by hostile measures, to injure the mercantile concerns of their government, they were fully justified in using every means to counteract his intentions, and therefore, still attending to the rules of moderation, on the 8th July, issued the following proclamation for blocking up the mouth of the Elbe:

"*Downing-street, June* 28.

"The king has been pleased to cause it to be signified by the right honourable lord Hawkesbury, his majesty's principal secretary of state for foreign affairs, to the ministers of neutral powers residing at this court, that the necessary measures have been taken by his majesty's command, for the blockade of the entrance of the river Elbe, in consequence of the forcible occupation of parts of the banks of that river by the French troops; the said river is declared to be in a state of blockade; and that from this time, all the measures authorized by the law of nations, and the respective treaties between his majesty and the different neutral powers, will be adopted and executed with respect to all vessels which may attempt to violate the said blockade.—Lord Hawkesbury has been further commanded by his majesty, to signify to ministers of the neutral powers, that whenever the French troops will evacuate the positions which they now occupy on parts of the banks of the Elbe, and will remove to such a distance from them, as to leave the course of that river perfectly free and secure to the vessels of his subjects, as well as of other nations, his majesty will immediately direct his ships of war, which may be stationed at the mouth of the river Elbe, for the purpose of blockading the same, to be withdrawn."

This measure of retribution on the part of the British ministry proved, that though they did not fear the menacing projects of their enemy, they promised every satisfactory explanation to neutral powers; they were compelled to seek redress by such means only; and though they felt the decreased value of their Hanoverian alliance, they did not make it a consideration, in comparison with the welfare of Europe.

In the mean time, the states of Europe stood still, astonished and confounded!—they might be inclined to resent; but were afraid to act: they, therefore, suffered what they did not dare to resist, and silently beheld the injury of their neighbours, to whom they dared not give the smallest assistance, lest the chief consul's mercenaries should levy similar contributions on their dominions, and thus reduce them to an equally pitiable situation.

The Hanoverian army, however, finding that the faith of their French intruders was of no duration, and probably experiencing contrition for so easily exchanging a mild government for one that was rapacious and arbitrary, began to shew signs of resistance to the invasive depredations of Mortier's army; but their repentance was too late; their fate was determined, and they were compelled to submit to the hard conditions imposed by their conquerors and masters. They were considered as prisoners, on the condition of not serving against France during the war; they were suffered to go to their several homes, but all their arms, ammunition, &c. were given up to the enemy. The Hanoverian soldiery, with reluctance, yielded to such humiliating conditions, and general Walmoden, to use the words of Mortier, "signed the instrument with a heart torn with grief!"

We have before mentioned, that application had been made on the part of Bonaparte to his Britannic majesty, that he would consent to the depredations of his electoral dominions, by a ratification of the convention between that government and general Mortier; for this purpose Talleyrand transmitted a letter to lord Hawkesbury.

It appears that orders had also been sent to Mortier, to announce to the Hanoverian general, that the first consul would make no difficulty to ratify the articles of the convention which had been held at Suhlingen, as soon as the king of Great Britain should do the same on his part. But from the considerations formerly stated, his majesty, with a patriotic self-denial, refused to accede to proposals derogatory to the dignity of his crown, or profess himself an aggressor, when it was plain to every understanding, that he was the aggressed. Lord Hawkesbury, therefore, remitted a reply to M. Talleyrand, in which he says, that his Britannic majesty, "in his character of elector of Hanover, will scrupulously abstain from every act which may be considered as contravening the stipulations contained in the convention which was concluded on the 3d of June, between the deputies appointed by the regency of Hanover, and the French government."

So pointed a refusal in lord Hawkesbury's reply, to comply with what the chief consul had so much at heart; and "which," as their own journals state it, "not a single man of sense in Europe, who could have doubted for one moment, that the king of England would have ratified," affected the chief consul's temper of mind very forcibly; he therefore remitted orders to Mortier, that the proceedings of the convention at Suhlingen were null and void, and commanded him to act accordingly. Thus instructed, Mortier communicated to general Walmoden the commission he had received. After which general Mortier, in a few days, sent a dispatch to the first consul, in which he stated the particulars of his proceedings. This letter fixed the resolution of the first consul: he found himself obliged, he said, to regard the convention as void, and in consequence, he commanded Mortier to sign articles of capitulation immediately, without being submitted to ratification by either of the two governments. The articles were therefore immediately signed, and Hanover was annexed to France.

The situation of England at this time was as prosperous as it was enviable; all ranks flocked to ensure the safety of their country; and it was a gratifying prospect to behold with what energy, and patriotism they formed themselves into a national guard to repel the audacious menace of invasion. The citizens of London stood forward at this crisis, in a distinguished manner. The volunteer system received every encouragement; and the government gave every assistance to the plan; which was transfused into the remotest parts of the nation.

To give vigour to this disposition, as well as to afford a further incitement to the spirit of the country, which had so eminently manifested itself by the efficient manner in which the volunteer corps of cavalry and infantry was conducted, lord Hobart transmitted circular papers of regulations to the lords lieutenants of counties.

Every measure indeed, which the British government adopted at this time, proved that they were neither inactive nor spiritless. Their plans for raising the supplies, their modes of defending the country were bold, vigorous, and daring; whilst the recent blockade of the Elbe, evidently proved what the power of Great Britain might be, when fully exerted.

But the natives of Britain did not shew their unanimity to support the cause of their nation, by merely arming in its defence; their treasures were opened not only to assist the exigences of government; but to establish funds for the relief of the relatives of such as might unfortunately suffer in the protection of their country. On the 20th of July, a large body of merchants, underwriters, and other subscribers to Lloyd's Coffee House, met for the purpose of setting on foot a general subscription on an extended scale, for the encouragement and relief of such as might be engaged in the defence of the country, and who might suffer in the common cause; and of such as might signalize themselves during the present most important contest. Brook Watson, Esq. was in the chair. Several resolutions were passed unanimously; and to the lasting honour of such a respectable body be it recorded, that the subscriptions at this place only, amounted in the course of ten days to ninety-four thousand two hundred and twelve pounds four shillings and sixpence, exclusively of what was collected in the different wards, and the other parts of the metropolis.

The excellent establishment of the sea fencibles, before-mentioned, now took place. This was intended to comprize all fishermen, and other persons employed in the ports and on the coast, who, from their occupations, were not liable to be impressed for government service: forty-eight post captains, and a proportionate number of lieutenants, were appointed to conduct this important service, from which, and from its arrangement, the most beneficial purposes were expected. The different rendezvous of this force were disposed in the following order: Shoreham, four captains; Hastings, New Romney, Dover, Ramsgate, Margate, Maldon, Harwich, Aldborough, Yarmouth, Lynn, Boston, Barton, Hull, Whitby, Hartlepoole, Berwick and Leith, three captains each; Breding, Stokes Bay, Poole, Weymouth, Exmouth, Dartmouth, Fowey, Falmouth and Haverford West, three captains each; St. Mary's, Scilly, Minehead and Swansea, two captains each. This formation of the sea fencibles bids fair, in case of an attempt to invade the country, to be of the greatest service in annoying the enemy, and discomfiting his measures.

It is with great regret, however, after exhibiting so interesting an account, that we are compelled to reverse the scene in contemplating the affairs of Ireland. A system of degradation and grievance, whatever the ostensible pretensions to the contrary, has certainly been the prevailing policy of the English government towards the Irish, from the time of their conquest by Henry II. to a very recent period. The unhappy consequence of which has been a jealousy of the power that illiberally excluded, instead of affording equal protection; and a fear originating from the harsh treatment administered upon the least symptom of a justifiable disaffection. A violation of public faith, a contempt for all decency and right, and a marked indifference for the comforts, the prejudices, the property, and even the lives of the great bulk of the Irish nation, had been manifested, with very few exceptions, by those who had been entrusted with the management of its general concerns. Surely then a people so circumstanced, so oppressed, could not but be affected by a sense of their depressed situation. An immoderate passion for theoretical systems, fomented by the French revolution, was introduced and entertained, and inflicted in Ireland its most cruel ravages. This malady, however deplorable the state of the country, affected only the lower classes; those of more exalted ranks in life, though they regretted the aggravated insult, bestowed on their country, only hoped for better times, and exerted their influence in maintaining the loyalty of their oppressed fellow-subjects, and in conciliating to their feelings, those acts of the legislature to which they were compelled to yield. Among the other orders of people, publications, derogatory to the interests of monarchy, though delusive in their positions, yet operated to excite doubt, to countenance disaffection, and to rouse that doubt and disaffection into revolt and rebellion. But instead of using the prudence and management which might have reclaimed the insurgents, and restored to their government the misled populace of a distracted country; the measures pursued were unjust, revolting to the dictates of humanity, and rigorous without restriction.

Martial law, indiscriminate punishments, and inquisitorial means, were used to extort confessions, which had probably no ground, but in the torments of the sufferers; these proceedings hunted the Irish into wilds and mountains, whence, assuming the demeanour of their ancestors, they burst forth in parties of desperadoes, and scoured the country where they could trust to no security, and were excluded every hope of pardon.

Had such of these proscribed beings as were casually seized, been treated with magnanimity, such a conduct might have operated, at least, to have excited gratitude, and returning loyalty; but, on the contrary, they were loaded with ignominy, whipped like slaves, and immolated like savage beasts. Conduct like this irritated beyond reparation; and though the rebellion was subdued by military force, the tempers of the relatives to the slain were fixed in disaffection; and when to this was joined what they were taught to imagine the religious and civil rights of their country, they only waited an opportunity to wreak their vengeance, and again hurl their country into confusion and massacre.

A circumstance has been mentioned, not very easily to be accounted for, on any other ground than that of negligence, as inconceivable as it is reprehensible, which had nearly deprived the crown of its most valuable appendage, and Great Britain of its best support.

A rabble promiscuously assembled, of little account in point of numbers, and of less in talents and discipline, threw the metropolis of Ireland into the utmost confusion; if they had been better marshalled and less impetuous, had the conduct and arrangement of the enterprize borne any proportion to the boldness of the design, the condition of subject and sovereign might probably have been reversed, and government felt the necessity of submission to a revengeful populace who had experienced oppression; but happily, the execution was as pitiful as the plan was gigantic; and to this circumstance alone, the salvation of Ireland at this time, is to be attributed. The good effects of the Union had not yet been understood—its benevolent principles had not been investigated; and as it would be unjust to attribute to any one cause, the evils which Ireland in general had suffered, we must generally ascribe those calamities to a concatenation of occurrences, as inexplicable in themselves, as their consequences were horrible. Be these circumstances as they may, they were productive of a riot in Dublin, which exhibited the most savage atrocity.

On the 21st of July, and the day following, it had been observed, that the roads leading from the county of Kildare into Dublin, were frequented by more than an ordinary proportion of travellers of the lower class of people; and the day after, the district of the city upon that side called the Liberty, wore a very suspicious appearance. Thomas Street and High Street, which are upon the line directly leading to the Castle, were, in a manner, crowded with a great number of suspicious characters. Information having been sent to major Sirr, of these extraordinary circumstances, he dispatched a party of the police, for the purpose of preserving the peace in that quarter: but the police being resisted in the execution of their duty, and finding a disposition to riot, which they were unable to quell, they returned for assistance (*k*).

By reason of the police officers making their appearance, the rebels suspected their plan was discovered, and that a superior force might be immediately expected to attack them, and hinder them from carrying it into execution. Judging, therefore, that no time was to be lost, they resolved upon immediate action. At this critical moment, about a quarter before eight in the evening, lord Kilwarden's post-chaise had reached the Market House (*l*), a large detached stone building, standing at the end of Thomas Street, next the Castle. In the carriage were lord Kilwarden, his niece, (Miss Wolfe,) and his nephew, (the Reverend Richard Wolfe.) His lordship was soon recognized; and a mob, hitherto concealed, rushed upon it in every direction, armed with guns, blunderbusses, pikes, swords, &c.

(*k*) It seems to have been the intention of the rebels to have lain in wait until night—and then, sallying forth, to storm the castle, to take possession of the magazine in Phœnix Park, carry the barracks by assault, and to possess themselves of the artillery at Chapelizod. These points once carried, the whole city of Dublin would be completely in their power; and a more judicious place could not be chosen for the purpose, than Thomas Street, which is in the centre of all these points. The Castle is distant from it about a furlong; the barracks about a quarter of a mile; the magazine in the park, half a mile; and Chapelizod, about a mile and a half.

(*l*) Lord Kilwarden had, a few hours before, set out for his country seat at Newlands, but was overtaken by an express, recalling him; and had reached Thomas Street, upon his return, shortly after the party of police had retired.

Some

Some seized the horses by the head, and dragged the postilion from his seat; while others rushed to each side of the carriage, and opened the doors; Miss Wolfe sat between her uncle and brother, who were dragged out from her side, one from each door, by the banditti. In a state of distraction, Miss Wolfe jumped out, and was received in the arms of one of the party, who carried her through the crowd unhurt, to an opposite house, where she remained until four o'clock on the following morning, when she was conveyed to the Castle, where she remained. While some of the most ferocious were dragging Lord Kilwarden and Mr. Wolfe out of the carriage, others were employed in murdering them. Lord Kilwarden was carried to the watch-house in Vicar Street, where major Swan saw him lying on the guard-bed, dreadfully lacerated. His lordship, although nearly expiring at the time, knew the major, and appeared perfectly in his senses. He eagerly enquired as to the fate of his niece, and being assured by the major of her safety, he exclaimed, with an emotion of gratitude to Heaven—"thank God!"

The alarm being immediately given, the drums beat to arms through the city, and the military marched in all directions to the scene of riot. A party of soldiers from the castle came up, and charged the rebels with great spirit; but, being overpowered by numbers, and the rebels keeping up a strong and well-directed fire, they were repulsed with loss. This party consisted of a detachment of the twenty-first regiment, under the command of colonel Brown and major Stewart; the remainder of the regiment coming up at this moment, and being further aided by a strong detachment of yeomanry, the whole rallied, and charged the rebels again, but were again repulsed. The military, taken by surprize, had brought but a few rounds of ammunition, consequently, as soon as that was expended, they were obliged to resort to the bayonet. The rebels, on the other hand, being well armed with pikes, stood this charge with firmness, and repulsed the soldiery a second time. Fresh forces, however, continually pouring in, the army rallied, and made a third vigorous charge. A most desperate fight now commenced. The rebels were driven back the whole length of Thomas Street; but, in the mean time, rebel succours were coming up from various parts of the liberty, on the rear of the army, who, to avoid being surrounded, fell back again towards the castle. The rebels pressed upon them, until they came into a narrow space, where they could not bring their whole force to bear with effect, while a terrible fire was kept upon them by fresh forces of the army and yeomanry. The rebels, unable to make head, at length retreated in all directions, leaving behind a great number of their dead in the streets. The battle lasted from a quarter after eight, until nearly eleven; during all which time, the king's forces had not only to contend with the rebels in the streets, but also with great numbers who were stationed in the houses, and fired upon them from the windows; while others fired or threw down bricks and stones from the roofs. It is thought more of the military were killed by the rebels from the houses, than by their opponents in the streets. In the number of killed was colonel Brown of the twenty-first, which regiment bore the brunt of the action, and, of course, suffered most. During the remainder of Saturday night, all the principal streets of Dublin, and the principal avenues leading to it, were guarded by the military, consisting of the troops of the line, militia, yeomanry, and volunteers. A double guard was placed upon the castle, and several pieces of artillery were stationed at the several gates. A strong force also continued to parade througn Thomas Street and other parts of the liberty. Several men were killed or wounded by shots from the windows or tops of the neighbouring houses, but no farther riot took place, and several of the disaffected were secured. In this manner passed the remainder of Saturday night. On Sunday morning the dead bodies of the rebels were taken up in the streets, and several carts were employed in carrying them to the castle-yard, for the purpose of having them identified. In the number were several women, who were found with pikes and stones in their hands. As the charge of these persons were irregular and tumultuous, it does not appear that they had any commander. The rebels who had been taken and lodged in the various prisons and watch-houses were then examined, and in consequence of discoveries made by some of them, a vast number of pikes were found in an extreme part of the liberty, called Dolphin's Barn, and also in several parts of that district of the liberty called the Coombe.

The privy council was immediately assembled, and sat a considerable time, when additional precautions were taken for the preservation of the city; and the yeomanry appeared every where in great numbers, ready to act. The consequence of the deliberations of the council, was the publication of a spirited proclamation, which was dispersed the next day, offering, "as a reward, the sum of one thousand pounds sterling, for each and every of the first three persons who shall be apprehended and convicted" of the murder of lord Kilwarden, or his nephew the rev. Richard Wolfe; and his majesty's most gracious pardon for all except the persons who actualiy committed the murders. The same proclamation strictly enjoined and commanded all his majesty's subjects, in their several stations, and according to their several duties, to use their utmost endeavours to suppress all such rebellious and treasonable practices as had taken place, and to apprehend and bring the persons engaged therein to the punishment due to their crimes; and more especially it enjoined and commanded the lord-mayor of the city of Dublin, and all the justices of the peace of the said city of Dublin, and of the county of Dublin, and all sheriffs and other magistrates and officers within their several jurisdictions, and all other his majesty's loving subjects, to do all acts in their power to such purposes. And also, it is further required and commanded, that all officers commanding his majesty's forces employ the troops under their command in the most speedy and effectual manner, for the suppression of all rebellious insurrections and treasonable practices, wherever the same may appear, and particularly to disarm all rebels, and recover all arms forcibly and traitorously taken from his majesty's peaceable and loyal subjects, and take and seize all arms and ammunition, which may be found in the custody of any person or persons, not duly authorised by law to have and keep the same.

The magistracy of Dublin were equally vigilant; they immediately called a board, and published a resolution, purporting, that from the recent disturbances which disgraced that city, the magistracy felt it a duty incumbent on them to put the insurrection acts in force, as during the late rebellion, and therefore thought proper to apprize the inhabitants thereof; and required them not to be out of their respective habitations after eight o'clock at night, as prescribed by those acts. In consequence of these spirited exertions, the most prompt assistance was afforded to government. A party of military and yeomanry, under the command of colonel Brown, attacked a body of rebels in Francis Street, whom they drove before them down the Coombe, with great slaughter; but colonel Brown and two members of the Liberty Rangers, Mr. Edmiston and Mr. Parker, were killed in the conflict; two others were dangerously wounded. Nor did the rebels disperse till many of them were killed, wounded, or taken prisoners.

By the activity of government, depots of various kinds were now discovered: in one was taken thirty thousand pikes; in others, ammunition to a great amount, and made up for various purposes, all after French patterns.

Many suspected persons were taken into custody; and among others a decent dressed man at the corner of Anglesea Street, in College Green, who was supposed to be a French spy. Whatever may have been the intentions of the French government, if they were actually concerned, whether by spies to foment dissension, or by more open hostility to endeavour at the separation of Ireland from the mother country, they were greatly disappointed in their views.

It appears, however, that immediately previous to the insurrectionary explosion, many printed papers were circulated by the rebels; one a short declamatory exhortation, in the style of Sheares's address in the late rebellion, but not so well written; the other large as the page of a newspaper, containing five columns, and entitled, "*The Provisional Government of the People of Ireland*," so that though the insurrection was happily suppressed, the conspiracy appears to have been most deeply contrived. This was evident from the conduct of the rabble at the mansion house; they attacked the building with fire arms, and having rushed violently in, they threatened to murder every opponent to their plunder of fire-arms, halberts, &c. which they were in search of.

Mr. Wilson, a justice of the peace, and brother to Mr. W. Wilson, a bookseller, had been wounded in the belly in Dirty Lane, by a villain, whom he, however, shot dead upon

upon the spot. The same gentleman, with Mr. justice Bell, apprehended seven persons armed with pikes, in New Street, and notwithstanding his wound, to his credit be it recorded, could not be persuaded by his friends to desist from the discharge of his public duty. A number of the rebels attacked the guard-house near justice Drury's, on the Coombe, but by the exertions of the same magistrate, aided by a party of the military, many of them were killed or wounded, and a number taken prisoners. On the retreat of the remainder, they threw down a great many pikes, and fled.

After this exhibition, the scene which presented itself of indiscriminate carnage, was of the most melancholy appearance, all was terror and confusion; and many of the deluded miscreants were seen dead in the different streets. The privy council continued sitting, when additional precautions were taken for the preservation of the city; and the yeomanry appeared every where in great numbers. It does not appear, however, that any atrocities were committed beyond the city bounds, except that a party of the rebels attacked the guard of the mail, between Dublin and Naas, and being resisted, two soldiers unfortunately lost their lives.

On the 30th of June, captain Malbon, of his majesty's ship the Aurora, on the Newfoundland station, made the island of St. Peter's. He sent his large cutter and launch, manned and armed with a twelve pound carronade, under the command of lieutenant Richard Longfield Davies, and lieutenant Baillie, of the marines, to oblige the town to surrender, or begin the attack; they entered the harbour, under a thick fog, and perceiving a boat crossing from one side to the other, brought her to, in which they found the commissary who acted as governor. The confusion that the place was thrown into from the sudden attack, prevented the inhabitants from assembling together, and the commissary surrendered the island, by delivering the colours to lieutenant Davies. From what was afterwards learned, there is no doubt, that if the inhabitants could have had time to have collected themselves from their different situations, they would have made a strong resistance; upwards of one hundred stand of arms having been afterwards found among them. Knowing the small force in the boats, captain Malbon used his utmost efforts to get his majesty's ship into the harbour, but was as frequently prevented by thick fogs; but at length he entered under a heavy press of sail between the rocks, which were not a cable's length across. They found here a French merchant brig (La Reine des Agnes) and a schooner (Le Provoiyer), with eleven small schooners, and upwards of a hundred battoes. St. Peter's contained fish, stores, salt, and merchandize of various descriptions, and, upon a rough survey, about two hundred men were upon the island in the boats, but they being so detached, that several got away in the small craft, one of which was afterwards taken off Liverpool, in Nova Scotia, and another at St. Lawrence, in Newfoundland.

Every thing being secured, captain Malbon ordered one of the fishing schooners to be fitted as a tender, and having her manned and armed with a twelve pound carronade, gave the command to lieutenant Davies, with directions to scour the coast, and take possession of the islands of Great and Little Miquelon, which he did, but neither inhabitants nor stores were found at either of those places.

Captain Wallis, in the Naiad, in the bay of Brest, took on the 5th of July, a French national schooner, called La Providence, bound to Brest, from the foundery at Nantes, and laden with heavy cannon, of thirty-six, twenty-four, and eighteen French pounders, as well as choice timber for their navy. This capture was made, notwithstanding the rapidity of the tide, and the number of rocks and shoals, which it was necessary to pass, but which rendered the exploit extremely dangerous. The schooner, under all these unpropitious circumstances, was brought off without the smallest accident to the boat or men.—Several French privateers and other vessels were also taken and brought into British ports; but these being of minor consequences, it is not necessary to enumerate them.

A fact, rather curious, occurred at this time, the Dart privateer was taken by the Apollo, and in her were the relations of Madame Bonaparte, who had been consigned to the care of captain Thesiger, agent for French prisoners at Porchester. These prisoners were, however, treated with every attention; were allowed to walk abroad, to furnish themselves with necessaries, and had every indulgence consistent with their situation.

An unfortunate circumstance took place, during this month, by the loss of his majesty's ship the Minerva, of thirty-six guns, commanded by captain Brenton. She went on shore in a thick fog, on a rock, near Cherbourg, close under two batteries, which, the moment the fog cleared away, began a very heavy firing. Captain Brenton finding resistance ineffectual, was under the necessity of surrendering; but happily no officer or man on board was either killed or wounded. They were of course made prisoners of war, and marched into the country.

The loss of the Resistance frigate, of twenty-six guns, happened on the first of this month, but the crew were saved. And on the 21st, the Seine frigate, of forty-two guns, having been wrecked on a sand-bank near Scheveling; the officers and crew finding it impossible to get her off, set her on fire.

The loss of of the Lady Hobart Packet, was attended with such circumstances as to render it worthy a particular relation. This vessel, under the command of captain Fellowes, had sailed from Halifax, in North America, on the 22d of June, and about one o'clock in the morning of the 29th, going at the rate of seven knots an hour, struck against an island of ice, with such violence, that several of the crew were pitched out of their hammocks; and, though by extraordinary exertions the crew and passengers were saved, the packet was lost. The conduct of her commander, in the hour of danger, was, however, highly distinguishable for true courage, fortitude, and piety, and the credit in which he was held by the post-masters-general, is fully exemplified by the note which accompanied the return of his dispatches. After requesting captain Fellowes to publish his narrative, of which they speak in the most unqualified terms of approbation, the post-masters general add, "It cannot fail to impress on the minds of all who may read it, the benefit of religion, and the consolation of prayer, under the pressure of calamity; and also an aweful sense of the interposition and mercies of Providence, in a case of extreme peril and distress. To seamen, it will more especially shew, that discipline, order, generosity of mind, good temper, mutual benevolence, and patient exertion, are, under the favour of Heaven, the best safeguards in all their difficulties."

Captain Fellowes' account of this shipwreck, after such an high official encomium, is best recorded in his own words:

"Being roused out of my sleep, by the suddenness of the shock, I instantly ran upon deck. The helm being put hard a-port, the ship struck again about the chest-tree, and then swung round on her heel, her stern-post being stove in, and her rudder carried away, before we could succeed in our attempts to haul her off. At this time, the island of ice appeared to hang quite over the ship, forming a high peak, which must have been at least twice the height of our mast-head; and we suppose the length of the island to have been from a quarter to half a mile.

"The sea was now breaking over the ice in a dreadful manner, the water rushing in so fast as to fill the hold in a few minutes. We hove the guns overboard, cut away the anchors from the bows, got two sails under the ship's bottom, kept both pumps going, and bailing with buckets at the main hatchway, in the hope of preventing her from sinking; but in less than a quarter of an hour she settled down to her fore-chains in the water.

"Our situation now became most perilous. Aware of the danger of a moment's delay in hoisting out the boats, I consulted captain Thomas of the navy, and Mr. Bargus, my master, as to the propriety of making any further efforts to save the ship; and as I was anxious to preserve the mail, I requested their opinion, as to the possibility of taking it into the boat, in the event of our being able to get them over the ship's side. These gentlemen agreed with me, that no time was to be lost in hoisting them out; and that, as the vessel was then settling fast, our first and only consideration was to endeavour to preserve the crew.

"And here I must pay that tribute of praise, which the steady discipline and good conduct of every one on board so justly merit. From the first moment of the ship's striking, not a word was uttered expressive of a desire to leave the wreck: my orders were promptly obeyed; and though the danger of perishing was every instant increasing,

creasing, each man waited for his turn to get into the boats, with a coolness and composure that could not be surpassed.

"Having fortunately succeeded in hoisting out the cutter and jolly-boat, the sea then running high, we placed the ladies in the former; one of them Miss Cotenham, was so terrified, that she sprung from the gunwale, and pitched into the bottom of the boat, with considerable violence. This accident, which might have been productive of fatal consequences to herself, as well as to us all, was unattended by any bad effects. The few provisions which had been saved from the mens' births, were then put into the boats, which were quickly veered astern. By this time, the main deck forward was under water, and nothing but the quarter-deck appeared: I then ordered my men into the boats, and having previously lashed iron pigs of ballast to the mail, it was thrown overboard.

"I now perceived the ship was sinking fast; I called out to the men to haul up and receive me, intending to drop myself into the cutter from the end of the try-sail boom, fearing she might be stove under the counter; and I desired Mr. Bargus, who continued with me on the wreck, to go over first. In this instance, he replied, he begged leave to disobey my orders; that he must see me safe over before he attempted to go himself. Such conduct, at such a moment, requires no comment; but I should be wanting to myself and to the service, if I did not faithfully state to their lordships every circumstance, however trifling; and it is highly satisfactory to me, to have this opportunity of recording an incident so honourable to a meritorious officer.

"The sea was running so high at the time we hoisted out the boats, that I scarcely flattered myself we should get them out in safety: and, indeed, nothing but the steady and orderly conduct of the crew, could have enabled us to effect so difficult and hazardous an undertaking; and it is justice to them to observe, that not a man in the ship attempted to make use of the liquor, which every one had in his power. Whilst the cutter was getting out, I perceived one of the seamen, (John Tipper,) emptying a demijean, or bottle, containing five gallons, which, on inquiry, I found to be rum. He said, he was emptying it for the purpose of filling it with water from the scuttle-cask on the quarter-deck, which was generally filled overnight, and which was then the only fresh water to be got at; it became afterwards our principal supply. I relate this circumstance, as being so highly creditable to the character of a British sailor.

"We had scarce quitted the ship, when she suddenly gave a heavy lurch to port, and then went down head foremost. I had ordered the colours to be hoisted at the main top-gallant-mast head, within the distance of three hundred and fifty miles from St. John's, in Newfoundland, with a prospect of a continuance of westerly winds, it became at once necessary to use the strictest œconomy. I represented to my companions in distress, that our resolution, once made, ought on no account to be changed; and that we must begin by suffering privations, which I foresaw would be greater than I ventured to explain. To each person, therefore, were served out half a biscuit, and a glass of wine, which was the only allowance for the ensuing twenty-four hours, all agreeing to leave the water untouched as long as possible. During the time we were employed in getting out the boats, I had ordered the master to throw the main-hatch tarpauling into the water; which being afterwards cut into lengths, enabled us to form a temporary bulwark against the waves. I had also reminded the carpenter to carry with him as many tools as he could: he had accordingly, among other things, put a few nails in his pockets, and we repaired the gunwale of the cutter, which had been stove in hoisting her out. Soon after day-light we made sail, with the jolly-boat in tow, and stood close-hauled to the northward and westward, in the hope of reaching the coast of Newfoundland, or of being picked up by some vessel. Passed two islands of ice, nearly as large as the first. We now said prayers, and returned thanks to God for our deliverance."

After encountering for six days and nights, various gales of wind, and being reduced by famine, to almost the lowest possible state of existence, these victims of distress made Conception Bay, on the coast of Newfoundland, on the 4th of July, about noon.

"At this affecting period," as the captain impressively adds, "though overpowered by my own feelings, and impressed with the recollection of our sufferings, and the sight of so many deplorable objects, I proposed to offer up our solemn thanks to Heaven for our miraculous deliverance. Every one cheerfully assented; and as soon as I opened the prayer book, (which I had secured the last time I went down to my cabin), there was an universal silence; a spirit of devotion was so singularly manifested on this occasion, that to the benefits of a religious sense in uncultivated minds, must be attributed that discipline, good order, and exertion, which even the sight of land could scarcely produce."

The wind having blown with great violence from off the coast, they did not reach the landing-place at Island Cove, till four o'clock in the evening. All the women and children in the village, with two or three fishermen, (the rest of the men being absent), came down to the beach, and appeared deeply affected at the wretched situation of the captain and his company, whom they assisted out of the vessel, and afterwards carried them up the craggy rocks; over which they were obliged to pass, to get to the habitations.

It was a most fortunate circumstance for them, that they fell in with the land about Island Cove; a very few miles further to the northward, the coast is inaccessible, and lined with dangerous reefs of rocks, which, had they seen in the night, they would have pushed for; their situation had become so desperate, that captain Fellowes had resolved to land at the first place he could make; and they in that case must all have perished.

This small village, however, afforded neither medical aid nor fresh provisions; potatoes and salt fish being the only food of the inhabitants. It was determined, therefore, to lose no time in proceeding to St. John's, and a small schooner was hired for that purpose. On the 7th of July, they embarked in three divisions, placing the most infirm in the schooner; the master's mate having charge of the cutter, and the boatswain of the jolly-boat: but such was the exhausted state of nearly the whole party, that the day was considerably advanced before they could get under weigh.

On their arrival at St. John's, the ladies, colonel Cooke, captain Thomas, and captain Fellowes, conducted by Mr. Lilly, off Island Cove, in the jolly-boat, having left the schooner when she anchored, notwithstanding the badness, as well as extreme darkness of the night, reached the shore about midnight. They wandered for some time about the streets, there being no house open at that late hour; but were at length admitted into a small habitation, where they passed the remainder of the night on chairs, there being but one miserable bed for the ladies.

Early on the following day, their circumstances being made known, hundreds of people crowded down to the landing place: nothing could exceed their surprize, on seeing the boats that had carried nine-and-twenty persons such a distance over a boisterous sea; and when they beheld so many miserable objects, they could not conceal their emotions of pity and concern. Captain Fellowes waited on brigadier-general Skerrit, who commanded the garrison, and who immediately, upon being informed of their situation, ordered down a party of soldiers to take the people out of the boats, and with the utmost kindness and humanity, directed beds and every necessary article to be prepared for the crew.

The greatest circumspection was found necessary in administering nourishment to the men. Several of the crew were so much frost-bitten, as to require constant surgical assistance; and it was determined they should continue at St. John's, until they were in a fit state to be transported to Halifax: for which purpose a schooner was hired.

Being anxious to return to England, captain Fellowes engaged the cabin of a small vessel bound to Oporto; and on the 11th of July, embarked with Mrs. Fellowes, colonel Cook, captain Thomas, Mr. Bargus, the master, and the colonel's servant, who, during the voyage home, lost several of his toes, in consequence of what he had suffered. The master's mate was left in charge of the ship's company, and was directed to conduct them to Halifax; whence they would be enabled to return by the first opportunity to their own country.

After taking leave of their hospitable friends at St. John's, and recommending to their protection the companions of their hardships, they put to sea with favourable weather. During a voyage of fifteen days, they met with a few difficulties to encounter, such as pumping continually, the vessel having sprung a leak in a gale of wind; and were obliged to throw overboard a considerable quantity of her cargo of salt fish.

On the 26th of July, they fell in with an American ship,

the Bristol Trader, of New York. The owner, Mr. William Cowley, being told of their distressed situation, and that they had been shipwrecked, immediately hove to, and, with a benevolence and humanity that will ever reflect the highest honour on his character, received them on board, and brought them safe to Bristol; at which place they arrived on the 3d of August.

The singular interposition of Providence in the preservation of captain Fellowes, and his company, is wonderfully striking. It is with great pleasure we add, that the whole company and crew, except a French captain, after proper care and attention, had rendered them able to pursue their voyage, arrived at their several destinations. The unfortunate French captain, every reader of sensibility must regret to be informed, threw himself overboard in a fit of delirium, on Sunday, the 3rd of July, the day before they reached the shore.

Instead of venting fulsome deifications, as was now the practice at Paris, the government and people of Great Britain submitted themselves to the protection of that power, "by whom kings reign, and princes decree justice," in a devout appeal to the disposal of Him, "to whom all hearts are open, all desires known, and from whom no secrets are hid." A form of prayer was ordered to be read in all places of worship, and is still daily repeated.

On the 2nd of July, in consequence of a summons from the lord lieutenant, a meeting of the deputy lieutenants and magistrates of the county of Kent, and the city of Canterbury, was held at the George Inn, Sittingbourne, in order to carry into execution a plan for establishing a system of communication throughout the county, and for rendering the body of the people instrumental to the general defence, in case of invasion. The meeting was numerously attended, there being present the principal noblemen, and a large proportion of the magistracy and gentlemen of the county. When his majesty's warrant appointing the meeting was read, the lord lieutenant, after expressing his thanks for so large an attendance, submitted the following plans for their approbation, which, except with respect to the corps of guides, were severally adopted. The plan for a system of communication, proposed to form the county into four divisions, each to be placed under the charge of a deputy lieutenant, who was to be denominated lieutenant of a division, subject to his majesty's approbation. Earl Camden was appointed for the lathe of Sutton. The earl of Darnley for the lathe of Aylesford. Lord Sondes for the lathe of Scray, and sir Edward Knatchbull, Bart. for the lathes of St. Augustine and Shipway. Each hundred to be in like manner placed under the charge of a competent person (if possible a magistrate), who was to be denominated inspector of the hundred, and each parish to be placed in charge of such resident gentleman, clergyman, or principal farmer, who would engage to superintend the same, and to be denominated Superintendents of Parishes, who were also empowered to select agents to assist them as the extent of the parish might require; all orders to be conveyed through the lieutenants of divisions to the inspectors of hundreds, and through them to superintendents of parishes. Returns to be made agreeable to forms which were to be delivered for that purpose. The proposals for rendering the body of the people instrumental to the general defence, were comprehended under eight general heads, viz. 1. The driving the country within fifteen miles of the coast. 2. Bearing arms, and engaging to assemble when an enemy has landed. 3. Pioneers. 4. Guides. 5. Waggons. 6. Millers. 7. Bakers. 8. Barges. The lords lieutenants of the other counties in the kingdom, held general meetings to resolve on the best modes of security. The county of Somerset addressed his majesty in support of the war. Devon, and all the counties, cities, and corporations, did the same.

The lord mayor of London called a court of aldermen on the 11th, in which passed such spirited resolutions, as were calculated to animate the other parts of the empire. They did not consider the question of support for party; but whether the British constitution was to be overturned, replaced, and superseded, by the politics of a French military dominion.

As the arming of the country was the primary object to be considered, the measures which had been brought under deliberation, to remove all reasonable apprehensions for the public defence, were now carried into effect. The necessity of recurring to the body of the people in the country as its surest protection, was acknowledged and enforced; and a warlike population was considered as the best nursery of a valiant army. The plan, therefore, which had been brought before parliament for training the people to the use of arms, and for better enabling his majesty to call them out in case of invasion, gave general content, because it made no distinction between the great and the humble, nor did it impose a hardship on the former, which must not be borne by the latter. All were exposed to danger; therefore all must be equally secure. Upon such principles, appeared the act for a *Levy en Masse*.

The Income Tax bill, though amended, did not contain any thing in its principle, to approve of its passing; or to overturn the obloquy which it had deservedly merited; its chief objections still existed, and ought not to have been brought forward as a compulsatory measure, when the public, by subscriptions, by loans, and by every other constitutional means, exerted every nerve to assist the government, which, under these untoward circumstances, they respected (*m*).

On Monday, July the 27th, in the house of commons, a sum of sixty thousand pounds, and also an annuity of sixteen thousand pounds were granted, in conformity with his majesty's message, to the house of Orange. The sum of sixty thousand pounds to be paid out of the consolidated fund, from which source the annuity was also to be payable. The annuity to be paid at the discretion of the crown, until the affairs of the house of Orange were in too prosperous a state to require such assistance. The foundation of this grant was stated to be our obligations to that house, and the losses which it had sustained in consequence of its attachment to us. It was also strongly urged, that since the treaty of Amiens, the Dutch had offered an indemnity to the prince of Orange, upon condition that the ships surrendered at the Helder, estimated at two hundred and fifty thousand pounds, should be given up to them, but neither the English government, nor the prince of Orange, would listen to the proposition.

A vote of credit of two millions was also granted to the minister in the committee of supply.

Works of national utility also gained their merited consideration. The committee appointed by the house of commons, to consider of erecting a light-house on the Bell or Cape Rock, on the eastern coast of Scotland, near the entrance of the Frith of Forth, proceeded to examine evidence with respect to the situation of the said rock; the benefits which would arise to the trade and navigation of the kingdom, from a light-house thereon; and the practicability of erecting and maintaining the same: from the evidence of the honourable captain Cochrane, of his majesty's navy, of captain James Dunbar, of the royal navy, and of Mr. Murdo Downie, master in the royal navy, (who made a survey and charts of the east coast of Scotland,) it was determined to erect the light-house, which would be the means of saving many vessels from shipwreck.

On the 9th of July, the roof of the center tower, or

(*m*) *An abstract of the bill for levying contributions on the profits of certain descriptions of property, and on professions, trades,* &c.

"Of the bill, so far as concerns profits arising from trade or profession, the following will afford an idea of the most prominent clauses:

"Upon all interest of money, annuities, dividends, and shares of annuities; for every twenty shillings of the annual amount thereof, one shilling.

"Upon the annual profits or gains, arising or accruing to any person or persons residing in Great Britain, from any kind of property whatever, whether situate in Great Britain or elsewhere, or from any annuities, allowances, or stipends, or from any profession, trade, or vocation, whether carried on in Great Britain or elsewhere; upon the annual profits, &c. accruing to any of his majesty's subjects, although not resident in Great Britain, or from any professions, &c. exercised there; and upon the annual profits, &c. accruing to any person, although not subjects of his majesty, not resident in Great Britain, from any property whatever in Great Britain, or any trade, &c. exercised there, for every twenty shillings of the amount of such annuities, annual profits or gains, the yearly sum of one shilling.

"Exemptions.—The stock of friendly societies; of charitable institutions; the commissioners for the national debt, and foreigners, (why they should be exempted we are at a loss to say!) are exempted from the first of these enactments.

"From the others, when the profits or annual income is under one hundred and fifty pounds, the following abatements take place:—When under sixty pounds, a total exemption.—When above sixty pounds and under eighty pounds, the sum charged is for every twenty pounds, the annual amount two pence.—Eighty pounds and not exceeding one hundred pounds, three pence.—One hundred pounds, and not exceeding one hundred and twenty pounds, six pence.—One hundred and twenty pounds, and not exceeding one hundred and fifty pounds, nine pence.

"The other clauses, regulations, and modes of assessment, are similar, if not exactly the same, with those concerning the taxation of property, which we formerly laid before our readers.

"Voluntary Contributions from any person or persons, body corporate or politic, towards effecting the purposes of the act, are appointed to be received by the governor and company of the bank of England, and certificates or receipts granted therefore, if required."

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rather the lanthorn of Westminster Abbey, was discovered to be on fire. The flames soon assumed a formidable appearance, rising to a considerable height above the parapet. To every person in the vicinity, and to all persons who regarded this venerable pile as the most valuable monument of Gothic architecture, the sight was truly lamentable. Every person was alarmed with the apprehension that the flames, so violent on their first appearance, would quickly spread over the whole of the Abbey, and communicate to the adjacent buildings. The Guards and the Westminster Volunteers were immediately on the spot, assisting to repress the multitude and extinguish the flames. The soldiers and others formed lines to the water side, from whence they handed buckets of water, one to another, along the line, till the buckets reached the Abbey, and were drawn to the top by ropes. Fortunately, however, the high parapet of the tower where the fire commenced, the thickness of the walls, and the nature of the roof, consisting principally of stone arches, opposed a barrier to the destructive element which it was unable to overcome. The mischief was therefore confined to the tower where it originated, but the consequences were still sufficiently distressing. About an hour and a half after the commencement of the conflagration, the roof of the tower fell in, and crushed the wood-work below, being the pews, &c. of that part of the Abbey appropriated to divine worship. The devastation of the venerable pile was happily here at an end; but it became a matter of importance to extinguish the hidden flames of the mass, composed of the fallen roof, the wood-work of the pews, &c. Here it was that the exertions of the firemen, and the power of the engines, which were unavailing, while the flames were confined to the roof of the tower, were found essentially beneficial; and the flames were completely got under in about two hours. The accident was occasioned by the negligence of some plumbers, who went to dinner, leaving their fire unextinguished and insecure (*n*).

During the late war, sir James Craufurd resided at Hamburgh, in the capacity of *Chargé des Affaires* from the English court, and held that situation when the celebrated Napper Tandy and his associates arrived, after having made an unsuccessful expedition to the coast of Ireland. Sir James peremptorily demanded of the Senate to deliver these men into his custody, that he might send them to answer the offence they had committed against the laws of their country. The senate remonstrated, on the ground of Hamburgh being a neutral state; alledging, at the same time, that Tandy and his companions were in the French service, and had produced their commissions. These remonstrances, however, could not divert the envoy from his purpose, and he at length succeeded. Tandy and his associates were sent to England, and Bonaparte menaced the Hamburghers for their pusillanimity, and attachment to the British government.

It was to be lamented, however, that sir James, after having been so recently engaged in a business of this kind, should think of taking a tour through the French dominions, in his passage to England, but such unfortunately was the case. He arrived at Calais a few days before the English were placed in a state of arrestation, and had a vessel been ready at the time, might have escaped the general calamity. His baggage, however, was at length shipped, and he applied to the commissary, general Mengaud, for a passport. The answer he received, was delivered in a manner that evinced a determined hostility. "Sir James," said Mengaud, "I did not expect to see you in Calais; but since you are here, I cannot part with you so soon. My actions are generally directed *by great examples;* you are therefore, Sir, my prisoner."

Sir James remained a few days at Calais on his parole, and was afterwards ordered to Valenciennes.

The deliberations of parliament were mostly a continuation and conclusion of the business which had been brought forward during the month of June, except in a few instances.

On the 4th of July, the house of lords resolved itself into a committee of the whole house, on the Army of Reserve bill. In the course of the debate, the earl of Moira called for an explanation of the meaning of the clause, which, according to his construction of it, appeared to give most unnecessarily a gratuitous exclusion to the substitutes, who had voluntarily entered into regiments of the line, from going abroad, even if they expressed their desire so to do. His lordship said, in the course of the war, it might be thought expedient to attack a fort or military position on the enemy's coast, or to send a regiment or two out to defeat an armament on the sea, and he saw no reason why ministers should deprive themselves of the service of the substitutes admitted into regiments of the line, if they volunteered their services, in the case of their regiments being sent on general service abroad.

Lord Hobart replied, that the clause meant to hold out to all who volunteered, or acted as substitutes for those ballotted for militia-men, that no more should be exacted from them than was originally contracted for. Upon this the earl of Moira moved an amendment, which being negatived, the committee went through the other clauses, and the bill was reported.

When the order for going into a committee on the Income Tax, was moved on the 5th, the sentiments of the Chancellor of the Exchequer, upon colonel Bastard's question, "Whether under any circumstances, landed property can be charged more than five *per cent.*" were to the following purport: in all circumstances, where the owner of land lets it out, only five *per cent.* was payable, that is, one shilling in the pound. Where the owner of land holds the same in his own hands, and was, in fact, his own tenant, then to pay one shilling and nine pence, that is, one shilling as landlord and nine pence as tenant. An honourable member, (Mr. Alderman Coombe,) had said, that this was neither more nor less than the old income tax revived. This he denied to be the case; for, the difference between that measure and this was, that the present tax was to be applied to the same purposes, and hinges on the same principle as the other, but the mode of collecting it was better, because it was calculated to avoid any disclosure of the circumstances or property of the parties paying the tax. By the mode of charging land and money at interest, no disclosure whatever took place. In a commercial country it was unquestionably most desirable, that no disclosure of circumstances should be made, further than was absolutely necessary to secure the payment of the tax. Another advantage was, that the execution was infinitely more easy and simple to the commissioners than it was before, as persons now will not be in a situation which they would have to decide between their interest and their duty. After consenting to raise eight millions within the year, for the public service, it was necessary that the means of doing so should be as speedily as possible provided. The measure he now submitted to the house was such as he thought would draw fair and equal contributions, by taxing income and other species of property as nearly on a *par* as possible.

The honourable Mr. Erskine said, that our particular situation must suggest the measures of our conduct; and, though far from wishing to see an income tax re-established, as an ordinary mode of taxation, unless in times of very great difficulty indeed, yet he was ready to say, he thought this was not the time for debating such matters. The country was in a great and aweful crisis; but he did not say this with a view to dismay the national feeling. The enemy had but two modes by which to accomplish their most sanguine expectation for the invasion of this country: the one by pouring in their population. The other was to exhaust our finances, by allowing us to go on with the funding system to carry on the war, which the enemy imagined would terminate in exciting discontents amongst the people of this country, and consequently disunion. He therefore thought that the rich should make up their minds to suffer great privations at this moment; as the more we disappointed the hopes of those who wished to disunite the people of this country, the stronger would be our means of defence. He by no means assented to the principle of this bill as a permanent mode of taxation, but merely as a means of providing against present danger; and he trusted the country would cheerfully acquiesce, and bury all differences of opinion on the subject. This was, in his mind, the arduous moment for the rich to come forward, and shew an example.

On the 8th of July, sir William Scott, in the house of commons, brought forward a measure of great benefit to a

(*n*) The flat and elevated roof at which the accident happened, was constructed almost entirely of stone, and the Gothic pillars of the square, which supported it, were formed of a composition of mortar or stucco-work, the combustible nature of which was principally occasioned by its age. When water was procured, it was conveyed in such torrents over the interior, that the superstratum of the aisles, by absorbing a quantity of the water, sunk in many parts, carrying with it large portions of the pavement, and presenting cavities of a considerable depth. To the elevation of the square roof alone, is the building indebted for it preservation.

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useful class of British subjects. He said, that in consequence of the present hostilities between this country and France, he rose to bring in a bill for the encouragement of seamen. The bill was partly of the same nature as the antecedent one he had introduced, and therefore it was unnecessary to say much upon the subject. It was founded on the ancient rules of the admiralty courts, and the vice-admiralty courts, dispersed throughout his majesty's dominions. That gallant body of men, the seamen of Great Britain, had an irresistible claim on the legislature of this country, for every practicable attention that could be paid to their interest. It was a known mark of the character of seamen, that they were not equal to the task of taking care of themselves; his majesty's courts had been long in the habit of thinking for them. This arose from their improvident indiscretion, against the effect of which it was in view to provide, at the same time, breaking in as little as possible upon those principles which left men free to dispose of what they consider as their own. To the present time, they had appointed their own agents and trustees, and revoked the appointment as they thought proper. They had the power of transferring the whole contigent interest they might be entitled to during the war, within a week after its commencement, for any consideration, however inadequate. It had been proposed that there should be a public office erected, with powers for conducting the whole business of prizes on one general system. He could not deny that a principle of this kind would be attended with advantages, but he was not sure that many of those advantages might be obtained from the modification of the system which at present prevailed—a system which left the parties to the nomination of those in whom they confided their interest. Such a system was more natural, because it was more acceptable to those for whose benefit it was intended. The adoption of that system, which left men to the nomination of their own agent, was not all he proposed. He wished to guard the nomination by regulations; it would be a great improvement of the plan, if after agents were nominated by private individuals, they were clothed with a public, legal known character, which rendered them amenable for their conduct. For that purpose, one regulation he should propose was, that on the nomination of an agent, the power of attorney should be immediately registered in the court of admiralty; by which he would be known to the court, and liable to its authority during the whole time. A second regulation was, that at the time of registering the letters of attorney, the agent should give security, in a considerable sum, for the execution of his trust. At present, no security was given, and consequently a seaman might pick up the most needy man he could find, on Portsmouth Point, to be his agent. He should propose likewise, that the agent should be invested with the permanence that belonged to a public character, so long as he exercised it with propriety. Another regulation was, that, upon the institution of any appeal, it should be lawful for the judge of the Admiralty to order in the proceeds, and invest them. With respect to the navy, that question stood in a lamentable way. The money, during the whole time of the appeal, remained in the hands of the agent; in consequence of this, he had an interest adverse to his principal. The evil did not rest there. If the appeal was determined in favour of the captor, the profits of the principal rested with the agent; on the contrary, if the captor was condemned, he was liable to pay the interest. Another regulation was, that, after the time of appeal was elapsed, it should be in the power of the judge of the Admiralty to compel a destribution. There was no power to compel a destribution, but by action at law, or by a bill in chancery. He should submit, whether it would not be more beneficial, that the court should have the power of following up the agent to a full execution of his duty. At present, it had only the power of verifying accounts, or disallowing them; but it stopped at that point where its authority was most required. Another regulation was this, that no seaman should be allowed to make the general power of attorney to which he had adverted, in a way by which he might, for a temporary gratification, convey his whole interest in his future prize-money. It would be highly important, that the power of attorney should be a special power of attorney, appointing the particular source out of which the interest conveyed was to arise. To this he should add another regulation respecting the dates of the prizes. When prizes were made in the West Indies, the seamen were often removed to other ships, and what became of the prizes, whether they were condemned or not, they knew not. He should provide that registers of prizes should be transmitted home every month: he meant a list of all the prizes that had gone through the adjudication of the court. The house would see that he had not pressed this subject beyond what justice demanded; and he was persuaded that the house would, by adopting the regulations he proposed, contribute to the comforts of a class of men whom it was their interest to protect. He concluded by moving, "That leave be given to bring in a bill for the encouragement of Seamen, and for the better and more effectual manning of his majesty's navy," which was granted.

On the 11th, lord Castlereagh presented the following message from his majesty:

"*G. R.*

"His majesty thinks proper to acquaint the house of Commons, that in consideration of the eminent services performed in America, by the late Geoffrey, lord Amherst, and particularly in the reduction of Canada, his majesty was induced, on the termination of the war, to grant to lord Amherst, certain tracts of land in that province; but in consequence of some local circumstances, that grant has not been carried into effect. His majesty, therefore, relies on the justice and liberality of the house of Commons, that they will make to lord Amherst such compensation as they shall see fit."

On the motion of lord Castlereagh, the message was ordered to be taken into consideration.

When the bill for enabling the city of London to raise a certain *quota* of men for the better defence of the country, was moved, on the 12th, to be read a second time, next day, Mr. Price, the lord mayor said, he hoped the house would indulge him while he said a few words, in order to vindicate the city of London from certain imputations that had gone abroad into the world, concerning the number of men that were to form its *quota* of the new Army of Reserve, and in which it was said that the city did not supply a number proportioned to its population. It was said that London contained one-ninth part of the population of the whole kingdom. So far was that from being the fact, it would appear from the returns made under the late Population Act, that the population within the walls of the city did not exceed seventy-four thousand persons; and that without the walls it was not more than fifty-four thousand. The number of men therefore, as a part of the army of reserve, to be raised by this bill, was sufficiently great in proportion to what was raised by the rest of the country.

In the house of lords, on the 13th of July, when the woollen manufactory bill was read, the lord chancellor observed, that though he felt many objections to the bill, as it at present stood, he had heard enough from all the gentlemen at the bar, to convince him that, with all its imperfections, there was sufficient principle in it to entitle it to be read a second time, and he hoped their lordships would concur with him in that opinion. His lordship objected to several particulars in the form of the bill, and pointed out a variety of defects; and then, in order to satisfy the petitioners, that the house had acted honestly, honourably, fairly, and faithfully by them, and paid due and serious attention to the objections, moved that it be read a second time.

The earl of Rosslyn said, that the bill was the most ill drawn and unparliamentary of any he had ever read in point of form. It was full of objectionable parts, several of which he stated; he would not, however, oppose its going to a committee.—The bill was therefore committed.

On the 13th of July, when the order of the day on the Income bill was read in the house of commons, Mr. Pitt said, with respect to the provisions of the bill under consideration, there were many of them of which he strongly disapproved. The modes of disposing of capital should not by any means be interfered with, through the operation of a partial tax, tending to encourage the application of that capital to one mode in preference to another. Those modes were various. One wishes to employ his capital in a business which requires great labour, and from which he looks for proportionable profits; another seeks to derive profits from his capital in great risks; and a third chooses to indulge in laziness, and to enjoy a small profit in security. Of the latter, some resort to the funds, and others to land. It struck his mind, that any attempt to meddle by a legislative measure with this, the usual and spontaneous distribution of property, would be highly injudicious and unjust,

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would be extremely unequal, and tend to violate the very character of an income tax. The great mass of property to be found in this country should be left to find its own level. If taxes are to be levied, they should be accommodated to the present state of property, which should in no case be disturbed. Every man had, to be sure, the right of disposing of his capital as he pleased. But in a country like this, it would be unwise to encourage any man by a partial tax, to give his capital a particular direction; yet such was the tendency of certain clauses in the act before the house, which he hoped would be corrected in the committee. The tax upon income should, according to its principle, be universal, and no man should be suffered to withdraw himself from it, or to escape its operation, but under certain circumstances, not to include the exemption, or unequal taxation, of any particular class of proprietors. It was proposed in the bill to make various abatements to persons having annual revenue not exceeding one hundred and fifty pounds, and all under six hundred pounds a year, to be entirely discharged from the tax. From this exemption, however, the landed proprietors and receivers of interest in the funds to such amount were excluded; he could not, however, conceive the grounds upon which this exclusion rested. No premium should be given to men to employ their capital in a particular way, and nothing could be more iniquitous than to grant such premium of the revenue of the poor land owners occupying their own ground, and the smaller annuitants in the funds. It would be subversive of the system by which this country had prospered, would derange the regular course of property, and depart from that policy by which this country had advanced in defiance of all the pedantry of law, and all the formality of positive institution. Why, he would ask, should persons of humble revenue in the funds and in land be made the sacrifices of this singular difference, while those of superior revenues were left quite untouched? He deprecated in the strongest terms a distinction pregnant with so much injustice in principle, and so much mischief in impression. Mr. Pitt next proceeded to consider the policy of the tax, as now modified, in its operation on Funded Property. He called the attention of the house to the situation of many of those who were to be made liable to the whole tax without any abatements, who had claims to abatement much more powerful than numerous classes of possessors of other property to whom abatements were extended. When it was considered that many of those to be affected by it were the aged and the infirm, altogether incapable of increasing their income by any exertion of their own; when it was reflected that they were in possession of no capital which could admit of any increase; that their wretched pittance could receive no possible augmentation; exposed to the unavoidable vicissitudes which the fluctuation of the funds experienced, and destitute even of the imaginary advantages of hope; was it, he would ask, consistent either with humanity, far less justice, to lay them under a pressure so severe? It was hard that, under these disadvantages, they should be exposed to a fresh burden, which could not fail to add to difficulties already unavoidable. The principle of the bill as it now stood, was in itself unfair, and, at all events, if it were allowed to remain, the same regulation ought to be extended to property in the funds as to all the lower species of property. But, above all other considerations, he deprecated the proposed regulation as inconsistent with the national good faith, and as calculated to strike the first blow against that credit for which the country had been so long distinguished. Never at any period was it more important than at the present moment to preserve the public credit from the slightest suspicion. It would indeed be a most extraordinary and most unaccountable circumstance, if, at the time that we were, for the purpose of upholding the character of the parliament, and maintaining the good faith of the country in paying every year upwards of six millions to the extinction of the national debt, we should, for the sake of gaining a revenue of a few hundred thousand pounds, resort to a tax which might strike at the root of public credit, and materially injure the future resources of the country. After adding a few more observations on this head, the right honourable gentleman sat down by declaring his resolution, as soon as the motion for taking the report into further consideration was disposed of, to move an instruction to the committee in terms of the concluding part of his speech.

The principal topics on which both houses of parliament were engaged during the latter part of the month of July, were the bills for the defence of the country, and in consequence of the Irish rebellion. The income tax having been before treated of, and the opinions of the great political characters given on the subject, precludes our going over the same ground of discussion.

On the 22d, the Chancellor of the Exchequer brought forward a bill for the improvement of the port of London, and for the general benefits of merchandize, which was agreed to.

In the committee of ways and means, it appeared that the average increase of permanent taxes from July 1799 to July 1803, amounted to eight hundred and ninety-one thousand, eight hundred and forty-two pounds. Besides this, the chancellor of the Exchequer proposed the following resolutions:

"1. That towards raising the sum of two millions voted in the committee of supply, the sum of one million, five hundred thousand pounds be raised out of the consolidated fund, and be supplied by exchequer bills.

"2. That towards the payment of money advanced by the Bank, the sum of two millions be also raised by loans of exchequer bills, to be made good next year.

"3. That it appears, that the sum of one million, five hundred thousand pounds, stands as the surplus of the consolidated fund."

The attorney general, on July 26th, submitted to the house, the propriety of making some alterations in the laws respecting aliens. It appeared necessary that persons offending under the alien act should be liable to be punished in a more summary manner than was at present provided for. Under the act they could be punished by indictment only for disobeying the king's proclamation, and other offences. This mode of proceeding was, however, frequently very inconvenient; and it would be proposed to alter it. Another change which he intended to suggest, related to the power of sending aliens out of the country; that power was at present possessed by the magistrates; but in his opinion it ought to be lodged in the hands of the crown only. Several regulations, which were not necessary in the time of peace, when the last act was passed, would be introduced; he therefore moved, that leave be given to bring in a bill to repeal the alien act, and to substitute other regulations in lieu thereof. On such considerations, leave was given.

Besides the above, several bills for the regulation, as well as the comforts, of the English and Irish clergy, were passed.

But the most important business which engaged the attention of parliament at this period, was occasioned by the riots in Dublin.

On the 28th, in the house of lords, lord Hobart presented a message from his majesty, relative to the treasonable and rebellious practices lately carried on in Ireland; he said, it was with feelings of the deepest regret, he had to call their lordships' attention to the subject now brought before them. It was with deep and heartfelt sorrow, he reflected on the violent and disgraceful outrages lately committed in Ireland and if there was in those proceedings any one act of atrocity more horrible than another, it was that of the barbarous murder of a most distinguished and meritorious character, who, one would suppose, should have been the last person to fall a sacrifice to the brutal and ferocious spirit with which those miscreants who destroyed him had been actuated. If ever there was a man whose conduct was more blameless than that of another, it was the noble person to whom he alluded. Never was there any man who merited less the resentments of others. In private life, he was peculiarly distinguished for his virtues; and in public, he was eminently useful. He knew the excellent qualities of that noble person: he knew him as a private and public character (*o*). His lordship observed, that besides the address which he should move to his majesty, the house would probably on that day have occasion to adopt some measures of great importance. He expected that certain bills would be passed in the commons, and sent to that house. One of these would be a bill for enabling the government in Ireland to try persons, charged with

(*o*) As Lord Hobart was proceeding, he was so overcome with grief, that for some moments he could not utter a word; he at length apologized to the house, and trusted their lordships would excuse him for an irregularity which was occasioned by his feelings on a melancholy subject, in which he was so personally interested.

with rebellious practices, by courts martial. In consequence of what had already passed in Ireland, his majesty had power to proclaim martial law there; but if that was done, it would extend universally over the country; but by the measure now intended to be brought forward, the operation of martial law would extend only to persons actually concerned in the rebellion. The next measure would be a suspension of the *Habeas Corpus* act, by which the lord lieutenant of Ireland would be enabled to detain all persons suspected of treason. These measures it would be necessary to carry into effect without delay. He understood, that besides the outrages committed in the city of Dublin, there had been an insurrection in the county of Kildare. Every noble lord who had heard him must agree, that the most prompt, effectual, and expeditious steps must be taken to put a stop to those disgraceful and horrible proceedings. For the present, he should content himself with moving an humble address to his majesty, thanking him for his most gracious communication; and assuring his majesty, that the house would cheerfully concur in any measures which could tend to restore general tranquillity in Ireland.

The Earl of Limerick spoke at great length on the same subject, and concluded by saying, that on a former occasion, he had observed, that there should be no distinction between the militia of England and the militia of Ireland, and that a small sea should not prevent the militia of one country from passing into another country. If it was proper at that time to adopt his recommendation, how much more so must it be now, for reasons which he would explain to the house. There were about eighteen thousand militia soldiers in Ireland at this time. With regard to the courage and loyalty of those men, he entertained no kind of doubt whatever. But he must assure their lordships, and he spoke from positive knowledge and experience, that every art would be used, as had been used hitherto, to withdraw them from their duty and allegiance: and from the close connexion that existed between them and those people who might be in a state of rebellion—from the superstitious attachment they generally had for each other, and the influence which their priests had over them, it was impossible to say how far their loyalty might be shaken. He must, therefore, again strongly recommend it to his majesty's ministers, to remove the militia regiments from Ireland to Great Britain, not by any compulsory law, but by giving them an opportunity of volunteering their services, and when they came to this country, they would be found as powerful and efficacious troops as any in his majesty's service. He hoped he should be excused for throwing out this hint, but he did it from a real conviction that it would be highly beneficial in the present state of the country.

The address was then moved and passed.

The Chancellor of the Exchequer, accompanied by several members of the commons, brought up two bills, one for trying rebels by martial law in Ireland, and the other for suspending the *Habeas Corpus* act in Ireland. They were both read a first time.

On the motion of lord Hobart, the proclamation issued by the lord lieutenant and council of Ireland, on the 24th, was read, and ordered to lie on the table.

Lord Hobart then said, that as it would be necessary to pass the two bills on that night, there must be a suspension of the standing orders of the house, which prevented the reading of any bill more than once on the same day. He moved, "That as it was necessary for the public safety these bills should be passed with the utmost dispatch, the house forthwith proceed to read them in their several stages, notwithstanding any standing orders of the house," which being carried, the two bills were read through all their stages, and passed.

It was in the house of commons, however, that the public opinion was more amply displayed concerning the atrocious transaction alluded to.

The same day on which this business had been brought forward in the house of lords, the chancellor of the exchequer presented to the lower house, the following message from his majesty:

"GEORGE R.

"His majesty feels the deepest regret in acquainting the house of commons, that a treasonable and rebellious spirit of insurrection has manifested itself in Ireland, which has been marked by circumstances of peculiar atrocity in the city of Dublin.

"His majesty relies with perfect confidence on the wisdom of his parliament, that such measures will be forthwith adopted, as are best calculated to afford protection and security to his majesty's loyal subjects in that part of the united kingdom, and to restore and preserve general tranquillity. "G. R."

The Chancellor of the Exchequer, after expatiating on the enormity of the Irish rebellion, proposed, "That an humble address be presented to his majesty, to return his majesty the thanks of this house for his most gracious message; to assure his majesty, that we learn with the strongest feelings of regret and indignation, that a treasonable and rebellious spirit of insurrection has manifested itself in Ireland, which has been marked with circumstances of peculiar atrocity in the city of Dublin; that his majesty may be assured of the readiness and determination of his faithful commons, to adopt forthwith such measures as may appear to them to be best calculated to afford protection and security to his majesty's loyal subjects in that part of the united kingdom, and to restore and preserve general tranquillity."

Mr. Windham said, the proposing of an address to the throne upon the very same day on which his majesty's message had been delivered, was exceedingly unusual in parliamentary proceedings. He thought it might be reckoned respectful to the crown, to make a small interval of time betwixt his majesty's message and the address now proposed. The objects comprehended by that message were not at present fit for mature consideration. If the bare statement of measures were enough, then it would be thought unbecoming in parliament ever to enter into any minute consideration of a message, previous to its adopting an answer to be returned to his majesty. Now, upon this particular subject, he could really conceive, that there was a great deal of information and mature deliberation wanted, before they could frame an address which could be reckoned proper for the occasion. Was it an easy matter to say, that Ireland had been surprized by an open rebellion or insurrection having broken out, that government had been so ignorant of their dangers, that even the capital of that part of the united kingdom had been almost wrested from them by means of that rebellion? Were not those points on which the house would wish to be informed, before they thought of adopting any final answer to such a communication? How came it to pass, that the capital of that part of the united kingdom was within an ace of being taken, and the government overturned? It appeared from all these circumstances, that the government of the country might be snatched away, without the least notice being previously given to the house, as to the real existing dangers. That being the state of things, it required the greatest consideration of parliament to know what ought to be done. The delay of even twenty-four hours had been objected to in the present instance. Nor could he determine whether the urgency of the case could be so great as to preclude the urgency of consideration. He concluded by saying, that if the address was at present to be agreed to, it should in his opinion be done only *pro forma*, and then the matter taken into consideration and deliberate discussion; it being a practice not countenanced by the general rules of the house, to vote an immediate address to any message from his majesty.

After a few observations by Mr. Sheridan, Mr. Hutchinson, Lord Hawkesbury, Dr. Lawrence, Lord Castlereagh, and Mr. Alexander, the question was put, and the address voted *nem. con.*

The Chancellor of the Exchequer then brought up a copy of the proclamation of the lord lieutenant and council of Ireland, which we have noticed before.

The Chancellor of the Exchequer then said, that the house would observe, in the proclamation, that it stated, the outrage committed in Dublin was, in the opinion of the persons by whom the proclamation was issued, the result of a dangerous and traitorous conspiracy against his majesty's government and the constitution of the country. He was fully aware that he should not be justified, nor could any consideration induce him to propose such measures as those which he felt it his duty, indispensable duty, to submit, if the outrages which had excited the horror and indignation of every well conditioned mind, were the result of any other projects than those against the public safety: for however they might regret the circumstances alluded to in the proclamation, they furnished of themselves no ground for narrowing the constitution within the limits

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of the existing government of the country; and although the proclamation avowed a dangerous conspiracy, it did not specify those details which it was necessary should be furnished before those measures were adopted which he should feel it his duty to recommend. He should contend that the proclamation itself contained grounds which would warrant the measure, but it was necessary he should state that the proclamation did not contain all the information in possession of his majesty's government; information which, at the present moment, it would have been highly improper to declare. It stated a dangerous conspiracy at a time when it was the avowed design of the enemy to invade the country, and when the parliament was about to separate. With respect to the particular measure he meant first to propose, and he assured the house, he did it with reluctance, it was for the purpose, according to the title of the bill, of suppressing rebellion, and protecting the persons and property of his majesty's faithful subjects in Ireland. The means by which this purpose was to be effected were, that wherever persons should be found in actual rebellion, power should be given to the lord lieutenant to direct that courts martial should be called for their immediate trial. Martial law being proclaimed in any place, suspended the ordinary course of justice, and substituted martial law for the law of the land. He wished to give a power to the lord lieutenant, that should not disturb the ordinary administration of justice, but by which, for the purpose of suppressing rebellion, those who were taken in arms against the government should be liable to be tried by a military court. If the house should adopt the motion for the bill he had stated, he should follow it up with a motion for the suspension of the habeas corpus act. The bill he meant to propose was meant to qualify the rigour of the other bill, by providing that persons might be committed by civil process, without any court martial. He then moved for leave to bring in a bill, for the suppression of rebellion in Ireland, and for the protection of the persons and property of his majesty's faithful subjects there.

Mr. Windham said, he wished to suggest the real situation in which the house was placed. Whether the measure was right or wrong, he should not attempt to pronounce. He must take it on the representation and knowledge of his majesty's ministers, who themselves had taken it from the representation and knowledge of others. He thought it a measure too strong to be taken on the authority of such information. As the question stood, martial law was to be established in Ireland, because the right honourable gentleman, for reasons which he could not declare, told the house it was necessary. It was a circumstance worthy of reflection, that the persons on whose authority they were to rely for the necessity of the measure proposed, were the very ministers by whom the last acts had been repealed. It was very remarkable, that they who, at no very distant period, repealed the acts, should now desire the house to renew them. When the house was not allowed a moment to deliberate, it naturally created doubt.

The Chancellor of the Exchequer, in explanation, stated, that the government of Ireland had not repealed the acts after the peace, but had suffered them to expire.

Mr. Hawthorn supported the motion, because he thought the measure would be productive of most salutary effects in the hands of that illustrious nobleman now at the head of the government in Ireland; and he was of opinion, that, notwithstanding the partial instance of insurrection and outrage which had recently occurred, that spirit was by no means general in Ireland, and so far as it did exist, was confined to the lowest orders of the people.

After a few reflexions on the nature of the subject by Mr. I. H. Browne, Mr. Hutchinson, and Lord Castlereagh, the report of the bill was received and passed.

The Chancellor of the Exchequer then obtained leave to bring in a bill to enable the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland to secure and detain such persons as he should suspect to be conspiring against his majesty's person and government. The bill was brought up, carried through all its stages, and passed. A clause was introduced into this, as well as into the former bill, for limiting the duration of both to six weeks after the commencement of the next session of parliament. The bills were sent to the lords, and about half past ten o'clock, a message came down, informing the house, that the lords had agreed to the same without any amendment.

We must now advert to the affairs of the continent, in which we must notice the towering ambition of the First Consul, who, having burst through every boundary, set all human investigation at defiance. The absolute controul which he had assumed, the violence which he menaced, and the promises which he liberally dispersed, hinted to every nation, that on his will depended prosperity or adversity.

Enveloped by a concatenation of circumstances which nourished his vanity, and added strength to his measures, the operation of these evinced itself in a very conspicuous, immediate, and unexpected manner. Bonaparte, though nominally united in office, could not brook equals, and therefore panted for superiority. It was not the chief consulate that was to gratify his wishes; the royal tarnished diadem of France, he imagined, was to recover more than its former lustre, when ornamenting his brows; but this, without the absolute authority, consequence, and inviolability attached, were not charms sufficient for his attention; and therefore he had privately negociated with the Bourbon princes to relinquish their right in his favour, and offered them terms for their resignation, which they of course rejected.

The first consul having been declared the head of the army of England, appointed general Berthier to be chief, and Desolles, second in command, and named a number of subordinate officers. The labours in the dock yards assumed a state of exertion: all France, Holland, and Flanders, were employed to furnish warlike implements for the proposed invasion of England; and no pains were wanting to evince the most extraordinary activity to forward the chief consul's boasted project.

By way of encouraging the people of Paris, to an approbation of these proceedings, the journalists were instructed to deceive the people by fabricated assertions of internal disturbances against the government in England; and to accord with these measures, emissaries were sent to the different European powers, for the purpose of inducing them to form an armed neutrality against the British government. Electors were to govern kingdoms; and kings were to be exalted to emperors. Malta was offered to the emperor of Russia: Hanover was promised to his brother-in-law the duke of Mechlenburgh, whilst the dominions of his other brother-in-law, the elector of Bavaria, were to be raised to a kingdom. Russia, however, refused the gaudy boon, and Prussia was the next object for application. To this monarch was promised Hanover, the Imperial city of Bremen, and the ostentatious glittering of an imperial crown. Hamburgh and Lubeck were proposed to Denmark, in return for the island of Bornholm, as ceded to Sweden, in exchange for Swedish Pomerania, which had been already given to the prince bishop of Lubeck.

Such was the plan for revolutionizing the north of Europe. The French minister, Talleyrand, had said, "that not a prince should survive upon the continent, whose existence was not dependent on that of his master; who had not shared his indemnities, or who had not guaranteed the indemnities, as he had thought fit to share them among the several states." This had been fully exemplified in the destruction of Venice, the partition of Germany, the slavery of Switzerland, the invasion of Egypt, and the oppression of Holland.

Such was the unhappy state of the continent of Europe at this period, which we leave for the present, and return to that part of the British history which lately engaged our attention.

The effects produced by the riots in Dublin, were jealousy and apprehension; and although government pursued the most vigorous measures for quieting the alarm which such an outrage had occasioned, still each looked upon his neighbour with suspicion, and feared to trust him with his sentiments upon the dangers that seemed to hover round the capital and its vicinity. This disposition was increased by the discovery of vast quantities of arms in several parts of the city, by the yeomanry and military, which were conveyed to the castle and barracks. But when the spirit of rebellion was exposed and repelled by the prompt measures of government, public confidence assumed its importance. The insurgents were hunted out of their retreats, and brought forward to atone for their enormities.

To add strength and authority to these proceedings, the efforts of the magistracy were rendered efficient, by a proclamation issued by the lord lieutenant, in which was inserted, that "Whereas it had become necessary to use the most speedy and effectual means to put an end to the rebellious insurrections which had broken out, and had been attended with the most daring and flagrant outrages: the

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lord lieutenant had thought fit, by and with the advice of his majesty's privy council, to give orders, and they had accordingly given the most positive orders to the officers commanding his majesty's forces, to exert the utmost energy for that purpose, and therefore to attack and disperse all assemblies of armed rebels, wherever they might be found, and to do military execution upon all such rebels as they should find in arms."

The government, at the same time, issued another proclamation, offering a reward of five hundred pounds for the discovery of the murderers of lieutenant-colonel Browne; and three hundred pounds for the apprehension of the murderers of cornet Cole, of the 12th dragoons, who had been killed at the same time.

The consequence of these proceedings was, that apprehensions of delinquents took place in every quarter, and several persons of respectability were called upon to answer for their conduct.

The Roman Catholic clergy also felt themselves impelled to use the best endeavours in their power to restore tranquillity. A principle of subordination also induced the catholic archbishop of Dublin, to circulate a pastoral address among his clergy, which they were instructed to publish in their several places of worship, and at the same time to exhort their congregations to the preservation of peace. Thus the vigour now exerted, and the precautions taken to maintain and ensure the public tranquillity, promised a hope of future peace and good order.

That a regular plan of rebellion existed, and had been organized in Ireland, there is, great reason to believe; and that the outrages in Dublin were intended to form the prelude to a general rising throughout the country, authorizes more than mere supposition. This opinion is confirmed by the fact of some of the rebel chiefs, who stiled themselves "The Provisional Government of the People of Ireland," issuing a proclamation, copies of which came into the hands of government, containing a developement of their object and views. This proclamation set out with stating, that the system of insurrection had been organized for the last eight months, that it was totally independent of any prospect of foreign assistance; that the failure of a similar attempt in England had not retarded, nor the renewal of hostilities accelerated its progress. The developement of this system, it was stated, would shew to the people of this country, that the spirit of perseverance in Ireland could by no human efforts be repressed, that under no change of circumstances could the obedience of the Irish be relied on, that those engaged in the insurrection would be satisfied with nothing short of complete absolute separation. They considered themselves pledged to trust to their own strength only, and that the first attempt to introduce what they denominated a SYSTEM OF TERROR should be the signal of insurrection. They declared their object to be, "TO ESTABLISH A FREE AND INDEPENDENT REPUBLIC IN IRELAND; that the pursuit of this object they would relinquish only with their lives; that they would never, unless at the express call of their country, abandon their post, until the acknowledgement of its independence was obtained from England; and that they would enter into no negociation (but for exchange of prisoners) with the government of that country, while a British army remains in Ireland."

This general declaration being made, they proceeded to address themselves to the inhabitants of the different provinces. They first appealed to the North, and exhorted them by their past exertions, to come forward with spirit and unanimity at the present crisis. There appeared a great affectation of humanity and abhorrence of outrage in their language to the inhabitants of Leinster. They cautioned them against excesses of all kinds, and impressed on them that if six years ago, when they rose without arms, without plan, without co-operation, with more troops against them alone than are now in the country at large, they were able to remain for six weeks in open defiance of the government, and within a few miles of the capital, what would they not now effect with that capital, and every other part of Ireland ready to support them? They were at great pains to disclaim the idea of this being a religious contest. Religious disqualification they declared to be only one of the many grievances of which Ireland had to complain. Their intention was to remove not only that, but every oppression under which they laboured. They represented themselves as fighting for their country, and that done, every man was to have his religion. After finishing their appeal to those whom they considered their tried adherents, they next turned to that portion of their countrymen whose prejudices they would rather overcome by a frank declaration of their intention, than conquer their persons in the field.

In this appeal, there is a very artful affectation of moderation and forbearance. It then proceeds,

"We will therefore enter into no detail of the atrocities and oppression which Ireland has laboured under during its connection with England, but we justify our determination to separate from that country on the broad historical statement, that during six hundred years she has been unable to conciliate the affections of the people of Ireland; that during that time five rebellions were entered into to shake off the yoke; that she has been obliged to resort to a system of unprecedented torture in her defence; that she has broken every tie of voluntary connection by taking even the name of independence from Ireland, through the intervention of a parliament notoriously bribed, and not representing the will of the people; that in her vindication of this measure, she has herself given the justification of the views of the United Irishmen, by declaring in the words of her ministers—That Ireland never had, and never could enjoy under the then circumstances, the benefits of British connection; that it necessarily must happen when one country is connected with another, that the interests of the lesser will be borne down by those of the greater; that England had supported and encouraged the English colonists in their oppression towards the natives of Ireland; that Ireland had been left in a state of ignorance, rudeness, and barbarism, worse in its effects, and more degrading in its nature, than that on which it was found six centuries before. They, therefore, warred not against property or any religious sect, not against past opinions and prejudices, but against English dominion." The conclusion of the proclamation was addressed to the established government. They endeavoured to paint the consequences of a system of terror in increasing their success. They held out threats of dreadful retaliation in case a single rebel was put to death, unless on the field of battle. Their language on this subject, held out, that—"The prisoners which first fall into our hands shall be treated with the respect due to the unfortunate; but if the life of a single Irish soldier is taken after the battle is over, the orders thenceforth to be issued to the Irish army are—neither to give or take quarter. Countrymen, if a cruel necessity forces us to retaliate, we will bury our resentments in the field of battle."

Whatever might have been the success of such resolutions; and how far their professions might have been realized, had the projectors accomplished their purpose, we cannot take upon us to affirm; but the promptitude of the lord lieutenant, and the Irish government, was evinced by the most decisive measures. On the 30th of July, 1803, general orders from the adjutant-general's office in Dublin, made its appearance. It expressed, that "the commander of the forces had it in command from his excellency the lord lieutenant, to express to the regular forces, militia and yeomanry, composing the garrison of Dublin, his excellency's warmest approbation of the zeal, alacrity, and spirit which they displayed in suppressing the rebellious insurrection which manifested itself in the city on the evening of the 23d instant. The Royal Scotch Fuzileers, and the Liberty Rangers, who were chiefly employed, would be pleased to receive his excellency's particular thanks. His excellency had directed the commander of the forces, at the same time, to observe to the officers in command of regiments of the line and militia, and yeomanry corps, that the nature of the duties which they may still be called on to perform, particularly required that the strictest discipline should be observed by the men under their command; and desired that on all occasions, the most positive orders might be given for the security of the property and persons of individuals against plunder and outrage, as far as circumstances might permit; and that every effort should be used to prevent any act of severity or violence being committed, beyond what the faithful discharge of their military duty should render indispensible."

Thus the powers vested by the adoption of martial law, were so exercised, as to shew a desire in the government, though the most absolute authority was in their option, to choose the milder mode of confining such controul within narrow bounds, that civil justice might not be interrupted, except where individual property was invaded.

Certain resolutions which were passed in the imperial parliament having arrived in Ireland, the lord lieutenant issued

issued a proclamation for suspending the *Habeas Corpus* act, and to forbid the sailing of any person from Ireland to England without a proper passport.

Whilst the government and magistracy were exerting themselves to suppress rebellion, and restore tranquillity, the patriotic part of the country were strenuous in their endeavours for the general welfare of the united kingdom, against the machinations of its enemies; and in various parts of the country a return to loyalty and duty evinced itself.

On the 3d of this month, a calamitous event happened in Dublin. About two o'clock in the afternoon, a most dreadful hurricane occurred, accompanied with thunder and lightning, which, though it lasted not more than ten minutes, produced the most dreadful consequences. Several chimnies were blown down, some houses unroofed, and a whole range of stables in Merrion Row levelled with the ground. The Beresford Packet of Parkgate, unfortunately at this time was endeavouring to clear the harbour; the captain had prolonged his departure to the last minute, in hopes of getting additional passengers, and the tide having been long on the ebb, there was not water sufficient to carry her over the bar, on which she was driven by the violence of the storm. In this state she soon filled, and the whole of the steerage passengers, amounting to fifty-five, met a watery grave; the cabin passengers were more fortunate, being able to cling to the masts and rigging, until the boats from Bullock and Dunleary came to their assistance.

Several persons were arrested for treasonable practices about this period, among whom was Mr. Robert Emmett, younger brother to a celebrated counsellor; he had been for some time concealed in the house of a person named Palmer, whose brother was in custody upon a charge of having a concealed gun-powder manufactory, which had been discovered previously to the late outrage. On being identified, Mr. Emmett was committed to the Tower in the Castle, to abide the decision of law.

A special commission was issued for the trial of those charged with rebellion; and on the 24th of August, the honourable Judge Downes, Judge Finucane, and Mr. Baron Daly, having opened the court, the commission was read, which besides the above-mentioned judges, included lord Norbury and baron George.—Two respectable grand juries were constituted for the city and county.

The honourable judge Downes, in his address to the jury, observed, that they were called upon to execute the grand inquisition which was to precede the more public and final enquiry between his majesty and the prisoners to be tried under the present commission, and to determine from the bills of indictment laid before them, whether sufficient grounds existed for sending the accused to trial. On the general nature of their duties it was unnecessary to expatiate, as the gentlemen composing the juries had most or all of them exercised those duties before in the same place, and were accustomed to see the judges of the land administer the law of the land under the same authority by which the court then addressed them. They were called upon to act as grand jurors in unusual times. The offences which would form the object of their enquiry would not be merely of a general and common nature, but of a description the most heinous in the eye of the law, as being of the most destructive consequence to the whole frame of society. The public peace had been violently broken, attended with such barbarous atrocities, such savage aggravations of guilt, as scarcely to find a parallel in the records of human crime. This induced his majesty's government to lose no time to make them the subject of judicial enquiry and legal punishment. From the aspect of the informations, his lordship had no doubt but that the indictments would contain charges of high treason—a crime unknown in this country before the rebellion of 1798. The exertions, however, of his majesty's government, aided by the loyalty of the land, crushed the attempt, and having done so, that government tried by clemency, as well as firmness, to bring back an erring and offending multitude to their duty and to happiness. An act of general pardon was passed, which might naturally have been expected to produce the best influence on a deluded people; but unhappily it would still appear, that there existed wicked and designing men, exciting a furious multitude to outrages which would be found to constitute some of the charges against many of the prisoners to be tried during the present commission. His lordship next proceeded to make some observations explanatory of the laws against high treason, but without adverting to any particular case. He then, after paying a general tribute to the brave and loyal men who were basely assassinated on the 23rd of July, adverted to the murder of lord Kilwarden; and then said, this was a moment in which every loyal, virtuous man should lend his hand to the state, and support it by all the means in his power, and the gentlemen whom he addressed, should not relax in their efforts for the public security, and the maintenance of the laws; their lives and liberties were at stake; the first and dearest interests of every man, however humble, were involved, and the vigilance of the magistracy, and the generous loyalty and patriotism of all, should be commensurate to the invaluable rights and social blessings which a free, great, and happy people have to watch over and defend."

The honourable judge having concluded his charge, bills of indictment were sent up to the grand juries, and true bills were found against sixteen of the offenders, who had counsel assigned them, and every indulgence granted, which the laws of their country could allow.

The only occurrence worthy of notice in the naval department of this period, was the behaviour of the captain and crew of the Catharine and Mary privateer of London. This vessel mounting ten four-pounders, had been on a cruise; and having had two severe actions with the Caroline French brig privateer, of twenty-two long six pounders, and ninety men, to which, after the most gallant defence, and after having expended every thing that could be converted into ammunition, she was compelled to strike. She fell in with the Caroline on the evening of the 23d ult. with the Sybill, an English South Whaler, and the Active West Indiaman, in company, which she had captured. Notwithstanding her great superiority, captain Goodall of the English privateer immediately attacked her, and after a severe contest, the Frenchman sheered off. In the course of the night, captain Goodall recaptured the two English ships, but the Frenchman conceiving that the English crew had been weakened, renewed the attack with redoubled vigour, and continued it until the Catherine and Mary had not the power of discharging another gun, when, to prevent further slaughter, she was obliged to strike. During the engagement, one man was killed and nine wounded, two of them mortally, and the vessel was much cut in her masts, sails, rigging, and hull (*p*). The two recaptured vessels again fell into the hands of the French, after the capture of the Catherine and Mary, and they shaped their course for France. The Caroline had five English captains on board, taken out of ships she had captured. The conduct of captain Goodall and his crew, on this occasion, was highly meritorious.

Two small British cruizers, one the Basilisk gun-brig, commanded by captain Shepheard, and his majesty's armed cutter Princess Augusta, being at anchor close off Boulogne, in a calm on the 9th of August, were attacked by seven of the enemy's gun boats filled with soldiers, who began a heavy cannonade, which was returned with interest by the two vessels. Finding themselves so roughly treated, the gun boats retreated under the batteries, within shore. Captain Shepheard then made a signal to captain M'Leod, of his majesty's bomb Sulphur, who then appeared in sight, when this little squadron renewed the attack, and compelled the French flotilla to retreat to the pier-head.

The parliamentary business drawing to a conclusion, it could not be expected that much important matter could come before the different houses; but what engaged their attention, was of too much consequence to remain unnoticed.

The house of commons, on the 2d of August, were employed in discussing the merits of the India budget; on this occasion, Mr. Princep stated, "that if the company persevered in paying their debts in the present circuitous manner, the consequences could not fail to be, in the end, very ruinous and fatal to their best interests, and must inevitably and totally preclude any expectation the house or country might have formed, of receiving any of that participation in the resources of the company, which had been

(*p*) After the Frenchman boarded her, they cut away her main-mast, threw all her guns overboard, together with every other moveable store, quadrant, compasses, &c. except just enough to bring her to port; and after having taken captain Goodall and the mate out of her, they turned her adrift.

so long and so repeatedly promised them. It had been stated, that the debt of the India company was ten millions; whereas on comparison of all the papers, and a minute investigation of all the sums taken from the papers produced by that right honourable gentleman, the amount was fifteen millions sterling, which sum had been taken out of the revenues of the company, by means of loans, and other improper methods of managing the company's finances. Had that sum been applied in payment of the debt, it might have been altogether extinguished in the course of five years, and in that case, instead of the present existing debt of nineteen millions, the company would be in possession of three millions, with a debt of no more than two millions. He therefore thought himself strictly warranted in repeating, that if the system be pursued, of paying off the debt in the same circuitous way that had hitherto been persisted in, the consequence would not fail to be highly injurious, and, he feared, would in the end prove fatal and ruinous to their interests. Bills to the amount of five hundred thousand pounds had been drawn, and the expences of various kinds had amounted to full as much more; whereas, had the trade been limited according to the act of parliament passed for that purpose, no India debt would exist."

Mr. Sheridan made his motion relative to the volunteers, and said that his motion would include volunteer corps, corps of yeomanry, and corps which were raised by patriotic gentlemen, and accepted by government. He observed, that in addition to a regular army of a certain magnitude, a force, consisting of militia, volunteers, and yeomanry, was a force more suited to the habits, to the circumstances, to the constitutional liberties of this country. In saying this, he did not speak of an army for the purpose of carrying on a continental war, but a force such as it behoved us to keep up when the necessity of cultivating military habits was more imperiously imposed on us by the ambition and malignity of a foreign enemy, whom nothing could satisfy short of our destruction. Great standing armies, however disciplined and powerful, were not to be implicitly trusted; but he admired the present constitution of our military force, as being exempted from the inconveniencies and the evils which attached in a certain degree to all standing, exclusive, permanent armies. By such a constitution, the strength and efficiency of the whole was confirmed and consolidated. Mr. Sheridan, in conclusion, said, that the zeal, the fortitude, the promptitude, with which the volunteer associations had obeyed the call of their country in the hour of her danger, could never be sufficiently admired. He then moved, "That the thanks of this house be given to the volunteer and yeomanry corps, for the zeal and promptitude with which they associated for the defence of the country, in this important and dangerous crisis."

Mr. Sheridan's motion was seconded by general Gascoigne; and after a debate of seven hours, including the remarks of Mr. Windham, colonel Craufurd, and other members in opposition, Mr. Sheridan's reply silenced every objection, and the motion passed *nem. con.*

Mr. Sheridan next moved that the Speaker do signify to the lords lieutenants of counties, &c. the assent of the house to the above resolution. Agreed to *nem. con.*

Mr. Sheridan finally moved, "That a return be made and entered upon the journals, of the names and number of the volunteer corps, who, from the present moment till the next meeting of parliament, should enrol themselves and be accepted by his majesty, in order that their patriotic example may be handed down to animate our latest posterity." This motion was also agreed to *nem. con.*

On the 11th, the house was occupied concerning Mr. Hutchinson's motion relative to the affairs of Ireland. He began by observing how material it was in the present juncture, to enable his majesty to avail himself of all the resources which every part of the empire was capable of affording, and how desirable it therefore was to put Ireland in such a situation as to render her natural strength, her wealth, and her population, available for the common safety of the empire. The unanimity which appeared in this country was a source of gladness to every loyal mind, but the joy of an Irishman was considerably allayed by the reflection that so many of his countrymen were, by the oppression they endured, by the wretched poverty they suffered, damped in their ardour for the public security, if not altogether alienated in their affections for the British government. To remedy this misfortune, he called upon ministers to attend to the state of Ireland, and to reform the system by which it had been so long governed, which would serve to establish the tranquillity of Ireland, and to place that country beyond the reach of foreign aggression and domestic treason. He called upon the liberality of parliament to consider this subject, and upon the equity of ministers to recollect the solemn pledges which had been made to the Irish at the time of that union which deprived Ireland of its parliament. He demanded of them the execution of those promises, if they wished that the professions of the British cabinet should have any confidence or credit in the sister country. For himself, he would confess, that when that measure was carried he did not reckon much on the splendid prospects which he understood were held out by the emissaries of the British cabinet to delude the supporters of that measure, and from that and still stronger reasons he opposed it, but as it had actually taken place, it was his wish that this incorporation should be the parent of settlement, and not the nurse of revolution. He begged it to be understood, that it was not his intention to charge any set of men with a designed breach of promise, but he regretted that his countrymen were deceived, that ministers were so inattentive to their wants and desires. This was a conduct which any Irishman must observe with pain, as tending to produce the most dreadful calamity to Ireland, and threatening to involve the downfal of the empire. He then entered into a comparison between the systems in which the government of the two countries was managed, and contended that they were essentially different—the people of England enjoying the privileges of the constitution, and the advantages and profits of industry, to both of which the people of Ireland were almost entire strangers; for the revolution of 1688, which gave liberty to the former, cramped the industry of the latter, and laid the foundation of the discords which had since desolated that unhappy country. So long as any part of this system was suffered to exist, he was fully persuaded that it would be idle to calculate on the peace of Ireland, or to look for harmony or happiness among that people. If any doubt was entertained of the melancholy situation of Ireland, or that the picture was exaggerated, he desired that a deputation be appointed by the house to go over to that country, to investigate the state of the poor, and to report their opinion to parliament after the recess. If such a course were adopted, he was confident, from what he observed of the liberality of the house, that relief would be granted to his poor countrymen. The office of deputy on such occasion, would be one of the highest honour, and one which no doubt any man of humanity would be happy to undertake. This was one of the means to which ministers ought to resort, to put parliament in possession of the authentic information respecting a country in which, by justice solely, it was in the power of ministers to recover the minds of the disaffected, and to substitute the most zealous loyalty for hostility and desperation. If the just expectations, said he, of the people of Ireland should be satisfied, and they should be cordially attached to the British government, there was very little doubt that we should be qualified to despise the menaces of that insatiable despot, by whose machinations alone the horrible atrocity lately committed in Dublin was to be attributed; that to which no Irishman could advert without horror and indignation; but he trusted that the benevolent interposition of the house would cure them of their disaffection; that interposition which humanity and policy should urge the government to make, in order to protect from bloodshed a body of men who had the strongest claims to their kindness—who were their fellow subjects for now above six hundred years—who had fought their battles—who had contributed to establish their strength and consequence, and who were still capable of assisting in the defence of that strength and consequence, if they were only treated with equity, and the natural resources of the country were properly nurtured. These advantages, which it possessed from nature, were generally known, and the character of its inhabitants was esteemed wherever it was known; for, of whatever enormities some of its infatuated people might have been guilty in times of civil commotion—enormities which were equalled, if not exceeded, under similar circumstances in other countries, and very recently in this. It could not, he said, be pretended by ministers that they did not possess the power of granting a complete redress of grievances to Ireland. It might be said, that ministers had in contemplation to bring forward a better system for Ireland, but that it was not yet prepared. The case, however, did not admit of delay. If any commotion should take place in Ireland during the recess, which was not improbable, he recom-

recommended government to meet it with vigour, but exhorted them, at the same time, to send positive orders that no cruelty should be practised, that vigour should be blended with humanity; that such measures as the loyalists resorted to during the rebellion of 1798, and which too many of them were disposed to employ at present, shall not be allowed, for he assured ministers that they would only tend to create thousands of rebels; which would drive many to desperation who were at present tranquil. His advice, therefore, upon this point, he hoped, would be followed by ministers, from that humanity which formed the most prominent trait in the character of the present minister. He expected that he would not tolerate any wanton severity, the apprehension of which was now such in Ireland, that he knew of many families who were anxious to quit the country, in order to release themselves from seeing or suffering such dreadful scenes as were too frequent during the former rebellion; but he hoped they would never again occur, that the outrages of the rebel and the loyalist would be repressed, and that we should hear no more of house-burning, of pillage, or of tortures! He concluded with moving, "That an humble address be presented to his majesty, praying he will be graciously pleased to give directions that there be laid before the house, such information as has been received respecting the late rebellious outrages in Ireland, and the present state of that part of the united kingdom."

Mr. Hutchinson's motion was replied to by lord Hawkesbury, and was productive of a very serious and energetic debate, but it was negatived without a division.

The next day, at three o'clock, his majesty went to the house of lords, where the peers being assembled, and his majesty being seated on the throne, a message was sent to desire the attendance of the house of commons, when the Speaker, accompanied by several members, approached the bar of the house of lords, and addressed his majesty in an energetic speech, which he concluded by saying, "To the bills which I have now humbly to present to your majesty, your commons, with all humility, entreat your majesty's royal assent."

His majesty then made a speech from the throne, and the parliament was prorogued to Thursday, the 6th day of October. Thus closed the first, and very important session of the new imperial parliament.

In the affairs of France, we must observe, that Bonaparte evinced in all his actions, that he had studied the character of the French nation, and that the portrait which their own countryman Montaigne drew of them was not overcharged (*q*). His creatures that looked up to him for bread, found that his ear was always open to flattery, and they lavished it on every side. Even the men of letters, forgetful of that dignity and independence of mind which learning ought to inspire, were among the first to sound his praise: he was compared by one to Alexander, by another to Cæsar, and by a third to Scipio. The only persons who appear at this period to have given the chief consul uneasiness, were general Moreau and the Abbé Sieyes. He well knew that it was not easy to blast the laurels that the former had reaped in the tented field, and that his military fame was heightened by those amiable qualities which always accompany real valour, and distinguish the true soldier from the barbarian. He had nothing to dread from the Abbé, but his cunning, and the pliability of his politics.

Bonaparte saw that it was impossible to accomplish the ambitious views which he appears to have cherished, so long as the freedom of speech, and the liberty of the press remained; and in order to suppress them both, he resorted to power: a swarm of spies were let loose upon the public; and the press, that great medium through which we "think aloud," as Addison expresses it, was so completely shackled, that it was converted into a mere state engine, calculated to promote the ends of those who trampled on the ruins of their country.

The first consul likewise conceived it necessary to visit the coast, that he might learn to what degree of popularity his fame had ascended; to see the country, and above all, perhaps, to give a consistency and colour to the promise he had made, that he would invade England with fire and sword: but that he intended to invade this country is much doubted. Bonaparte, therefore, paid a visit to Calais, where he arrived on the 20th of October, 1803. The entrance of the "greatest man in the world," as the French papers stiled him, was announced by a discharge of cannon; the town hall was decorated with boughs of trees; the windows and carriages newly painted, and a range of flags of all nations displayed from the balcony over the entrance; the market-place was strewed with fine sand, and all the principal streets decorated with rows of artificial trees; the gates of the town were also ornamented with wreaths of flowers; an inscription was hung up in the street leading to the port, "The Liberty of the Seas," and another in large characters was affixed on the gate which opens to the passage for embarkation, "The Road to London." Some of the young men of the town came forward as a guard of honour to attend him in all his movements. The following in letters of gold was inscribed on their flag:

"BONAPARTE,
Amidst the descendants of
EUSTACE ST. PIERRE,
12th of Messidor, year 11."

Bonaparte was so well pleased with his reception, that on his return to Paris, he ordered a letter to be addressed to the inhabitants of Calais, in which he assured them, "no request they could make, would ever be denied them."

The dread, however, of an invasion, raised the spirit of the people of England, and the volunteer system acquired daily strength, pervading the most distant corners of England. Government saw the necessity of moulding this body into form, so as to derive the best advantages from their number, force, and spirit.

Several public companies also and corporate bodies gave at the same time instances of their zeal. The Birmingham Canal Company subscribed five hundred pounds at one meeting: the inhabitants of Manchester, in the course of a few days raised a subscription of twenty thousand pounds. The example was followed in many parts of the kingdom. All party spirit was lost in one grand consideration, the DEFENCE OF THE NATION, in case of a French invasion.

It was apprehended in England, that the powers on the continent, would be roused at the temerity of Bonaparte, that it would be their interest to unite in reducing France to its ancient bounds, and by that means restore what is called the balance of power: but instead of shewing any hostile disposition towards the first consul, they publicly avowed their intention of observing the strictest neutrality. The emperor of Germany published an ordonance to this effect, in which he forbade any of his subjects to enter into the service of France or England, by land or sea. This edict consisted of twenty-one articles, in which the admission of prizes into the Imperial harbours, and the manner in which they were to be disposed of were regulated. The emperor of Russia was employed in the internal regulation of his immense empire; agriculture, manufactures, the useful arts, and those that embellish human life, successively engaged his attention.

That system of polity which had influenced the cabinets of Europe from the days of Charlemagne, down to the present, now seemed to yield to another of a very different complexion. Ambition, gratified by splendid victories, was the soul of the first, and interest appeared to be that of the second. It was the policy of Bonaparte to hasten the dissolution of the old system, and to bring the other forward as fast as possible. With this view he paid every court to the king of Prussia, and probably held out plans of territorial aggrandizement to that monarch.

We have mentioned above the opening of the commission for trying the rebels in Ireland, and we have now to record, that in the month of September, 1803, several persons concerned in the murder of lord Kilwarden, were indicted for high treason, and brought to trial. The first on this list was Edward Kearney. The Attorney General on this occasion addressed the jury in a speech of some length, in which he lamented, "that too many grow hardened by the contemplation of their wicked projects; and, insensible to the miseries they were inflicting on others, had contributed to place the prisoner at the bar in that situation, against which he should have been guarded by their character; men of depraved minds, and desperate

(*q*) The French scarcely see a new object but they will it. The wish almost instantaneously follows the perception, and as they seize with greediness, they let go with equal haste. The cameleon does not change its colour with readier obedience to the objects which surround it, than they do their inclinations. They determine solemnly this moment, the next they have already changed their mind, and in one moment more come round again to the first thought. Their will is perpetual vibrations, and every day has its own whim. *Essais de Montaigne*, liv. i. chap. iv. 18.

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fortunes, giddy in the contemplation of the same schemes of avarice and ambition, and assuring their wretched victims of impracticable good, while they were implicating them in the certain evils of confiscation and civil war." The prisoner was found guilty and executed with several others.

The British cabinet now judged it expedient to establish a rigorous blockade at the entrance of Havre de Grace, and the other ports of the Seine, according to the usages of war established and allowed in similar cases. His majesty at the same time caused it to be notified to the ministers of the neutral powers, that the navigation thereof was to be considered as being in a state of blockade.

The chief consul, to evince the virulence by which he was guided, resorted to every measure in his power to harrass the trade of this country; but notwithstanding his efforts to cripple our commerce, the excellence of our manufactures, the probity of our merchants, and the long credit which they were in the habit of giving, triumphed over its machinations; for though all articles of British manufacture, as well as colonial produce, were prohibited in France by one consular decree after another, yet they found their way to that country, through the ports of Bilboa and Cadiz. At the fair of Leipsic, several articles, such as silks, cambrics, &c. for which France had hitherto been famed, yielded the palm to those of England, to the mortification of Bonaparte, and the great loss of the French weaver. The demand for British goods in India, and for Indian and British goods in China, had encreased to an extent hitherto unknown in the annals of commerce. In Turkey, our trade was visibly on the decline; the Italians and Germans had glutted the markets of that country with silks of all kinds, and cottons of a cheap but inferior quality. Our trade with Spain was still open and active. In the Baltic, our commercial intercourse branched out into several new articles of export, such as implements of agriculture, which were sought for with avidity, and purchased at high prices in Russia. We also engrossed a considerable portion of the carrying trade of that immense empire.

Bonaparte likewise conveyed an intimation to the court of Copenhagen that he could not view with indifference the partiality of that cabinet to this country. The crown prince of Denmark, was, however, determined to put the state that looked up to him in a posture of defence, so as to place it beyond the reach of surprize. The first object to which he directed his attention, was to encrease his military force, and to new model the army, so as to give it the greatest effect. In the course of a few months, the army in Denmark and Norway amounted to one hundred and twelve thousand regular troops. The garrison of Copenhagen was augmented to six regiments of artillery, two battalions of light infantry, a corps of marines, and a squadron of huzzars. The citizens of Copenhagen formed themselves into a body of thirteen companies, and one company of artillery. The students of the university likewise took up arms and enrolled themselves under the name of The Prince Royal's Body Guards, so that the Danish army, including volunteers, &c. amounted to upwards of two hundred thousand men.

The British cabinet perceived the necessity of courting the alliance of Alexander, emperor of Russia, who was daily disgusted with the outrages of Bonaparte, on all those states that were too feeble to resist the torrent of his power. The subtil consul was aware of the views of the British government in this line, and did every thing in his power to counteract them. The cabinet of St. Petersburgh listened to the suggestions of the court of London, and the ties of amity between Great Britain and Russia became in appearance firmly united.

The circulation of English news-papers, as well as every other medium of intelligence, being interdicted in France, the soldiery and the people of that country were kept in a state of ignorance, with regard to what was passing in England. They were taught to believe that the invasion of Britain would immediately take place, that it would be crowned with success, and that France would then sit as the arbitress of the fate, not only of Europe, but of the world. In order to keep these flattering expectations afloat, the French journals teemed with accounts of rebellions in Ireland, and riots in England, so that the deluded Parisians really thought that there was great probability of success in the event of an invasion of England; and general Grosbert was engaged by Bonaparte to draw up, what was called A PLAN FOR THE INVASION OF ENGLAND. The general had served in Egypt, where he had acquired no small portion of military fame, so that his name added considerable weight among his countrymen, to whatever flowed from his pen. This plan was diffused over all France; and a curious publication, which was well calculated, from the plausibility of the reasoning made use of, to work upon the misguided apprehensions of the soldiery and people of France. This plan, however, was as futile as it was vaunting, and therefore was treated with derision by the people of England.

All the powers of Europe suspended as it were their own public concerns, that they might mark the operations of Great Britain and France. Victory perched on the British flag in every quarter of the globe, whilst, on the other hand, the French navy was reduced beyond all former example. Upwards of twenty-five thousand of her prime seamen had fallen victims to the climate of Saint Domingo, in Bonaparte's ill-concerted expedition against that island.

The Prince of Wales evinced the most exemplary conduct and patriotism at this period: his royal highness was active in the inspection of the public works that were carrying forward in the most vulnerable parts of the kingdom. He visited Portsmouth, where the fleet lay at anchor, under the command of admiral Montagu; and his royal highness was received with all the honours due to his exalted rank.

The phrenzy of the French nation in the matter of religion, by this time, was greatly subsided, and Bonaparte, who had till of late shewn but little regard even to the outward shew of religion, was at one time a professor of Christianity, and the next minute an apparent proselyte of Mohammedanism (*r*), as best suited his turn; but now he began to affect a zeal for the Catholic faith, he frequented mass, seemed very devout, assisted in the performances of all the rites of that church, and though he promised that the Protestants of France should be placed on an equal footing with the Catholics, yet it was doubtless better policy in him to render the latter the predominant religion of the state.

Towards the close of the last session of parliament, the legislature had directed its attention to the migrations from the Highlands of Scotland to America, a subject worthy of the deepest attention, as the persons who thus migrated, consisted of the most useful and industrious part of the community. A committee was therefore appointed to inquire into all the circumstances connected with this matter, and to report their opinion thereof, which they did in the course of a few weeks. The first object which the committee recommended was, "to regulate the vessels carrying passengers to America, &c. with respect to the number of passengers which they shall be allowed to carry, in proportion to the tonnage of such vessels, as well as with respect to the provision of proper necessaries for the voyage." In the investigation of this business, it appeared that the avidity of the captains of these American ships was such, that they neither consulted the number, convenience, nor health, of these emigrants, nor yet their provisions. The following relation reported by the committee, will set the whole in a clear point of view: it appeared, that in 1791, an emigrant ship took passengers at Skye, for Carolina. "The vessel was about two hundred and fifty tons burthen. The number of passengers about four hundred, including women and children: so that their situation was most uncomfortable and dangerous, there being hardly room for them to stretch themselves. There were three tiers of beds fore and aft, and two midship. The births for a full passenger were eighteen inches broad.

(*r*) Bonaparte in his letter to cardinal Mathei, dated January 1st, 1797, says, "It shall be my peculiar care to prevent any alteration being made in the religion of our fathers."

"People of Egypt, you will be told that I come to destroy your religion. Believe it not. I come to restore to you your rights, to punish usurpers, and I respect God, his prophet, and the Koran, more than the Mamelukes." *(Bonaparte's Proclamation, July 2d,* 1798.)—"Tell the people that we are Musselmen. Are we not the persons that ruined the pope?" *(Ibid.)*

"You may assure Diocesans, that the Catholic, Apostolic, and Roman religion, shall not only be respected, but that their ministers shall be specially protected." *(Letter to the Bishop of Malta,* 1798.)—"I hope the period is not distant, when I shall be able to unite all wise and well-informed men; to establish an uniform regime, founded on the principles of the Alcoran, which are the only true principles, and which alone can constitute the happiness of mankind." *(Letter to Sheikh Missiri, August* 29, 1798.)—"The real enemy of Islamism, is Russia. The emperor has made himself Grand Master of Malta, that is, has made a vow to carry on war against Musselmen. Is he not the head of the great church, that is, of the most numerous enemies of Islamism?" *(Letter to the Grand Vizir, August* 18, 1799.)

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Those fore and aft were only about two feet high, including the space occupied by bedding, so that it was scarcely possible to creep into them. The others were a little higher, so that the passenger could turn himself on his side, and rest on his elbow. To add to these calamities, they neither had sufficiency of victuals, nor proper cooking utensils, there being only two pots of twenty-four pints each, which were quite inadequate to the preparation, in any reasonable time of a meal for four hundred persons. Had the vessel made out its voyage, the chief part of the people must have been consumed by disease and filth, which last was horrible; but after being twelve days at sea, the ship was dismasted, and put back to Greenock, where many of the passengers, especially the children, died from the effects of the short voyage which they had made. These unfortunate people were completely cured of their passion for America, and happily found an asylum in the benevolence of Mr. David Dale, who employed them in his extensive cotton manufactory, in the vicinity of Glasgow."

The example of Mr. Dale was followed by others, who endeavoured to ameliorate the condition (which before this period was rather miserable from the servitude in which they were kept by their lairds, and the want of employment,) of a large portion of the inhabitants in the Highlands of Scotland, and the islands adjoining.

War had for some time been carried on in the island of Ceylon, and the English were every where successful. In the middle of the island, however, is the kingdom of Candy, and disputes subsisted between the sovereign of that district and the English, and the honourable Mr. North tried every measure without effect, that could tend to conciliate the good-will of the Candeans, but was obliged to resort at last to arms. On the 25th of September, 1803, intelligence was brought to England, that the natives were driven from several important positions, by the fifty-first regiment, under the command of lieutenant-colonel Logan. These successes were so rapid, that the king of Candy, with all the court, fled to his capital, which is seated perhaps in one of the finest countries in the world (*s*).

Sir James Saumarez, on board the Cerberus, having been joined by the Terror bomb and the Sulphur, sailed on the 12th of September, from Guernsey roads, in company with the Charwell and Carteret cutters, and after many impediments in consequence of contrary winds, appeared before Granville; when, reconnoitring the enemy's gun vessels, and other craft within the pier, and the different batteries by which they were protected, he anchored as near shore as the tide would permit, having only sixteen feet at low water. The other vessels having joined, a brisk fire was commenced, which was returned from the batteries. The fire was so well directed from the ships, particularly the bombs from the Terror, that much mischief was done to the town. The fire was kept up till late in the afternoon, when sir James ordered her to lay by. A few shells were thrown in the evening; but next morning the attack was renewed with increased vigour, although the batteries and a line of gun boats strove to annoy the assailants, but without effect. Upon sailing back to his station, sir James's ship grounded upon a sand bank, and remained there three hours before she floated; nine of the enemy's gun boats seeing her distress, attacked her from all quarters; but the vessels that had been in company, coming to her assistance, by a well directed fire, drove the assailants into the port with the greatest expedition they could make.

Similar prowess was evinced by the heroic conduct of the seamen under the command of captain Owen, who had so undauntedly a few months before affrighted the inhabitants of the town of Boulogne, by his defeat of the gun boats, which had vauntingly set off to attack him. This officer in the Immortalité, accompanied by the Perseus and Explosion bombs, commenced an attack upon the batteries which protected the town of Dieppe, as well as upon seventeen vessels which were building there, at eight o'clock in the morning of the 14th. The firing was continued on both sides till past eleven, when the tide making strong, and the town having taken fire badly in one place, and slightly in two others, the vessels weighed, and proceeded till they arrived off St. Vallery en Caux, where six vessels were constructing. At three in the afternoon, captain Owen opened his fire for an hour, and the enemy were not only soon driven from the batteries; but the town's-people were compelled to seek shelter in the neighbouring fields.

In the affairs of Ireland, we have to observe, that amongst those who had forfeited their lives to the offended laws of their country, in cases of high treason, was R. Emmet, who from his trial appeared to be the grand director of the conspiracy. He was a person of talents, improved by an excellent education, and descended from an ancient family, many branches of which had distinguished themselves in the learned professions. In his address to the court, immediately previous to sentence of condemnation being passed on him, he said, "I have been accused of being actuated by a wish to bring about a revolution of this country, through the means of French influence. I deny that either myself, or the provisional government had such an idea in contemplation. As to French influence, it cannot be too much deprecated; and I exhort the people of Ireland to beware of such assistance. I urge them in the strongest manner to burn their houses, nay, even the very grass on which a Frenchman shall land." In his way to the place of execution, his demeanour did not appear of that serious cast which might be expected from a person in his situation, or the religious sentiments he had uttered on his trial; he gazed about with a kind of light inattentive smile, approaching to a laugh; spoke and nodded to some of his acquaintances, until he reached the temporary gallows. On mounting the platform, he addressed the surrounding crowd in a few words, saying, that he died in peace and universal love with all mankind; while the executioner was adjusting the rope about his neck, he became very pale, and in the course of a few minutes, he was quite motionless. As Emmet appears to have had a considerable influence over the Irish traitors, his speech made, no doubt, a deep impression on those who heard him.

The Roman Catholic archbishop of Dublin, Dr. Troy, published an address to the Catholics, exhorting them to regularity, order, and peace; which was read in all the chapels of his diocese.

The disturbances in Ireland naturally called for exertion on the part of his majesty's ministers. The first steps were the suspension of the Habeas Corpus Act, and the Martial Law Act, these two were transmitted to Ireland by a special messenger, and arrangements made for sending large bodies of troops over, so that every measure to quell it was adopted with promptitude.

The political events of the most distant parts of Europe were so intimately interwoven with the affairs of England at this period, that they may be said to have formed a portion of its history. We shall therefore advert to the fate of Switzerland; which country had purchased her liberty at the expence of the best blood of her children, and when she obtained it, made the best use of it, by the establishment of those laws, that rendered public and private property sacred, that protected the weak, and restrained the powerful within due bounds—so that the marquis of Lansdowne was fully justified, when he declared in the house of lords, that if wisdom was hunted out of all the other parts of Europe, she would find an asylum in Switzerland. The Swiss maintained a neutrality throughout the whole course of the war between Austria and France, and the belligerent powers repeatedly courted their alliance: yet France invaded their territories under

(*s*) The very mountains in Candy are cultivated to their summits, interspersed with rivulets, villages, and cattle, with well trodden foot-paths, crossing them in all directions—fruitful vallies, with groves of areca, jach, cocoa-nut, limes, oranges, plantains, and pumple-nose trees, with fine villages and fields of Paddy, raggee, natchenee, and other grains: the paddy fields well watered by the streams rushing down from the mountains, altogether forming such striking scenery as is but seldom seen. The palace is an immense pile of building, and perhaps only inferior to that of Seringapatam. The town is about two miles long, and consists of one principal street, terminated by the palace at the upper end; there are also many lesser streets, branching off on both sides, but of no great length. The houses are chiefly of mud, and raised above the level of the street about five feet; you ascend to them therefore by steps. A few of the houses at the upper end of the street, belonging to the principal inhabitants, are tiled and white-washed. The palace is built of a kind of chunam, or cement, perfectly white, with stone gateways. It is a square of immense extent, one face of which is new, and not yet finished. In the center is a small square inclosure, which is a cemetery, and contains the tombs of the kings of Candy. The palace contains a great number of rooms, the walls of which are painted in the most grotesque manner, and covered with a multiplicity of inscriptions. Many of the walls are covered with immense pier glasses, of about seven feet by four. In one room is a gigantic brass image of Buda, in a sitting posture, with two smaller ones at his feet. The river of Candy is a very noble one, and swarming with fish, as their kings never allow them to be molested.

the mask of friendship. When Bonaparte first obtained the reins of the government of France, he promised that the Swiss should be left to the formation of their new constitution; which they had scarcely published, when they found that Bonaparte was determined they should neither think, nor speak for themselves; the people thus cajoled and menaced on every side, by French intrigues, and French troops, cast their eyes on Austria, Prussia, and Russia, but in vain. The English government felt for their situation, and would have rendered them assistance, but circumstances rendered their good offices ineffectual for the present. Talleyrand complained of our attempts to stir up commotions in Switzerland, which he represented as supremely happy under the government of Bonaparte.

It now appeared, that the first object of the first consul, on the renewal of hostilities, was to endeavour to alienate if possible, those affections, which the continental cabinets had almost on all occasions professed for this country. His agents were therefore distributed over all the continent, and flattered him, no doubt, with the success of their missions. He was mortified to find that the courts of London and Stockholm had concluded a convention on such liberal terms, as left no room for future misunderstanding on any one of the points enumerated in that treaty. This convention was still the more excellent, as it was founded on mutual advantages, and was not calculated to raise any jealousy in the courts of Petersburgh or Copenhagen, which is a matter of something more than a secondary consideration.

It was generally supposed, that Bonaparte would attempt the invasion of England, towards the close of October, or the beginning of the month following. The preparations in the ports of France and Holland, for that enterprize were immense. Every ship-carpenter, nay, every man that could handle an ax, was put into a state of requisition, and obliged to work night and day. Troops were marched from every quarter of France, to the coast; and camps were formed at Boulogne and Calais, so that it was really thought Bonaparte intended to put his threat into execution, especially as every thing he wished was at his nod: men, money, and gun boats.—Men who were desperate; money that dared not be refused; and gun boats built chiefly at the expence of the Dutch. But we do not think he ever seriously intended it.

Bonaparte's threats of invasion were not confined to this country; it was extended to our old ally Portugal. General Lasnes, the French ambassador to the court of Lisbon, had presented several notes to the Prince Regent, in which he made the most exorbitant demands in the name of his government. He insisted, that the Portuguese harbours should be shut against all the shipping of England; and at the same time, he exacted the most extravagant pecuniary subsidies, and threatened, that if every requisition was not complied with, an invasion would be the immediate consequence. The Prince Regent, however, was not to be alarmed by these menaces, into any action that would have tarnished his dignity as a prince, or that would have thrown his country out of the arms of England into those of France.

In the London Gazette, of the 1st of October, 1803, is an account of the attack of captain Jackson, of the Autumn sloop, on the enemy's gun boats in the port of Calais. "After we anchored a-breast," says the gallant captain, "of the town (Calais) and pier head battery, the enemy opened their fire on us from all directions, amongst which I found they had mortars. The first shell fell within a ship's length of us, and burst under water, our vessels at that time were so close, that I thought there was a great probability some of their shells might fall on board, whilst I found our shot, though they all reached the pier head, would not go so far up as their ships. I therefore made the signal to weigh, and open to a greater distance, remaining at anchor myself. The squadron has been very fortunate in receiving no damage from the fire of the enemy. The bombs were now keeping up a well directed fire, many of the shells evidently falling in the midst of their gun boats. The shells that fell over the boats, went into the town, and must have done great damage; the east end of the town appeared to be on fire for some time. From the enemy's boats and vessels being covered under the land, it was impossible to judge what damage they sustained; but it must have been considerable.".

While the English were in Egypt, the bravery and humanity of the British officers, and the troops under their command, during the several conflicts which took place in that country, had won the confidence of the beys. These chiefs resolved amongst themselves to send one of their own body on a special mission to England: for this purpose, they pitched on Elfi Murad, a soldier of fortune, whose talents in the camp, and in the cabinet, had raised him to the rank of a bey. His address, fine personal figure, and his attachment to the cause in which he had bled (*t*), pointed him out as a person every way worthy of this important charge.

As he was not invested by any crowned head or state capable of maintaining the relations of peace and war, he was not of course accredited as a foreign minister, consequently he was not introduced at court. He had the honour, however, of a private interview with his majesty previous to his return to Egypt, being introduced by lord Blantyre. His audience continued a considerable time; and, on his return to London, he expressed the highest pleasure at his reception. He embarked a few days afterwards, on board the Argo frigate, at Portsmouth, and was presented with a portrait of his majesty, set in diamonds. He also took out with him several articles of British manufacture, particularly a fire engine, with which he seemed highly delighted. The main object of his mission was never publicly known, but it is conjectured, that one part of it related to the mediation of England, so as to bring about a reconciliation between the Ottoman Porte and the beys of Upper Egypt, especially those who had revolted against the Grand Seignior. Whatever may have been the primary cause of his visit, it is supposed, that the object of the Mamelukes was in a great measure obtained through the medium of the English ambassador at Constantinople (*u*).

We find that every measure was adopted in England that could ensure the safety of the country at this period: for this purpose, an immense number of volunteer corps were brigaded. Beacons were established at Canterbury, Shorncliff, Barham, Isle of Thanet, Shottenham, Hythe, Poolingdown, Westwell, Pluckley, Lynham Hill, Coxheath, Boxley Hill, Chatham Lines, Wrotham Hill, Ten-

(*t*) This Mameluke chief, who fought so bravely at Alexandria, where he was wounded in the side by a musket ball, which he concealed for two days, lest, if known, his danger should produce a cabal among the other rival chiefs, and dismay among his troops. His life was saved by the valour of the English. His suite, on his arrival in London, consisted of seventeen persons. During his stay in England, he lived in a style of Eastern magnificence; whilst at dinner, he was waited upon by four pages, and a secretary, who acted as interpreter; he did not help himself at table, but when he signified a liking to any particular dish, one of the pages helped. His epicurism was evinced in the delicacies of his table, the first the season could afford. When Elfi Bey dined with the prince of Wales, he was shewn the armoury of his royal highness, and passed some time in examining its contents. He tried the weight of the more ancient European instruments, and endeavoured to estimate their degrees of utility. He was particularly gratified by the sight of the Asiatic weapons, especially the choice collections of scymitars. As he was viewing these, and had half drawn one from the scabbard, he suddenly threw it down, seemed to experience a strong emotion, and leaned upon the arm of one of the company. When the cause was enquired, it was found, that this was the scymitar of his great patron, Murad Bey. He knew it instantly on drawing it, for he had often had the care of it when a boy The prince pressed him to accept of it, but he refused the offer, saying, "It cannot be in better hands." During his stay in this country, he never slept in a bed, but stretched on a couch in his clothes, with his mantle thrown over him; he sat up twice or thrice during the night, to smoak his pipe, which was lighted by one of his attendants who sat up; two of his officers slept on couches in the adjoining apartment. The Bey never stript but when he wanted to change his apparel.

(*u*) Mohammed Elfi Bey, was born in Georgia, and was purchased when a child, by Murad Bey, for a thousand sequins. He was uncommonly beautiful, and got the name Elfi, which in the Turkish language signifies a thousand sequins. About the age of fifteen, he was made an Aga, for the extraordinary bravery he displayed against some rebel Beys. In consequence of an insult offered him by Murad, he deserted from that chief, and joined the insurgents. Murad, however, repenting of what he had done, recalled Elfi, and loaded him with fresh favours. Passing over the intermediate rank of hiaschief, he raised him to a rank equal to his own. At the time he was in this country, he was second in command, but by far the richest and most powerful of the Beys. He was married to the daughter of one of the principal Bedouin Sheichs, and had in his interest nine of the ten tribes. His Mamelukes were commanded in his absence by Solyman Aga, an officer of inferior rank, but great reputation. Elfi Bey was remarkable for his courage, agility, and uncommon address and powers on horseback. He has repeatedly cut off the head of a buffalo at full gallop, with one stroke of his sabre. He was forty-three or forty-four years old, about five feet eight inches high, and very corpulent. His countenance was open, and his manners affable; but still the despot was stamped on his brow. He was a man of strong natural abilities; but his mind uncultivated. He could read and write, which is a very uncommon thing among the Mamelukes. He commanded in November 1802, at El-Hoche, a body of one thousand one hundred Mamelukes and Bedouins, the latter never came into action, except in pursuit of a flying enemy, and killed three thousand Turks, took seven field pieces, with all their stores, baggage, &c. On this occasion, he had but six men killed, and twenty-four wounded.

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terden, Hawkehurst, and Goodhurst, which beginning from Canterbury or Shorncliff, were intended to be successively fired on the near approach or actual landing of the enemy on the coast of Kent, and on which signal, every one was to assemble at his known place of rendezvous, and there to receive orders from the general officer, under whose command the several volunteers and other corps were to be placed, and to whose quarters, on the first alarm of such an event, the commanding officer of every corps, was to dispatch a mounted officer, or non-commissioned officer, to receive such orders as might be thought proper.

The military tone of England was lofty and firm: it was not merely heard in cities, towns, and villages, but was re-echoed even in the quiet retreat of the muses. The young gentlemen of the University of Cambridge, proposed to form themselves into a volunteer corps; and for this purpose a grace was passed by the senate.

About this period, letters were received from Botany Bay, which contained a very flattering account of the flourishing state of that colony. The climate is very temperate, the prospects extremely variegated, and the vegetation amazingly rapid. These letters contain an account of the physical and civil progress of society in that remote quarter of the world. Schools had been planted, and a system of education established, which was calculated to improve the mind, and render the pupils useful members of society. A theatre was also erected, and some of our best plays were performed in the presence of numerous audiences; and a newspaper was likewise established, which was often replete with interesting matter. But the introduction of spiritous liquors, that bane of population and morality, tended, by the immoderate use which was made of them by some of the lower orders, to damp the expectation which might be entertained of the prosperity of the colonists.

The 19th of October this year, was appointed as a day of general fast, the solemnity of which was greatly heightened by several volunteer corps, who had not taken the oath of allegiance, either on their drill grounds, or in their respective churches, doing so on this day. Every principal church in the city and liberties of Westminster, was crowded with volunteers. The honourable artillery company, commanded by alderman Le Mesurier, upwards of one thousand strong, the two troops of Loyal London cavalry, and the third regiment of Loyal London volunteers, marched to St. Paul's, accompanied by their band, in a superb uniform. The lord mayor, the sheriffs, and other city officers attended with their different insignia. The first, second, fourth, seventh, eighth, and ninth regiments of Loyal London volunteers, &c. &c. attended in their respective churches. The Loyal City of Westminster volunteers attended divine service at the drum head in Westminster Hall; and notwithstanding it is the largest in Europe, it was crowded with persons of the first respectability. The St. Giles's and St. George's volunteers, after attending divine service at St. Giles's, proceeded to the Toxophilité ground behind Gower Street, and received their colours amid an innumerable crowd of spectators. The Law Association repaired to the Temple Church, headed by their colonel, the honourable Thomas Erskine. But the Christian churches were not the only places of divine worship that were crowded. The Jewish synagogue was filled at an early hour, by almost all the members of that persuasion in the city and its vicinity Upwards of three hundred of the most respectable persons of that persuasion took the oaths to government, with their high-priest at their head. They were sworn upon the book of Leviticus, having their heads covered, according to their custom.

Apprehensions for the safety of Ireland were now removed in a considerable degree, by the arrival of intelligence from Cork, that ten thousand troops from England had made good their landing in Bantry Bay; which reinforcement, added to the regular and militia forces at that period in Ireland, together with the yeomanry, consisting of seventy thousand infantry and fifteen thousand cavalry, left the government little to fear from the attempts of the enemy.

The Dover Castle having arrived from Madras, brought intelligence of the loss of the ship Nautilus, which was wrecked on the Ladrone Islands. This fine vessel had experienced a series of foul weather, which she encountered for many days, but was at length obliged to yield to the fury of the waves. Twenty-seven of the crew were lost, including the captain and the chief mate, and only nineteen were saved. An account was also received of a dreadful fire having broke out at Bombay, by which nearly five hundred horses were burnt to death; and the loss was estimated at six hundred and fifty thousand pounds.

On the 26th of October, the king reviewed the volunteer corps of London and its environs in Hyde Park. The corps reviewed were, the Loyal London volunteer cavalry; the honourable artillery company; the first, second, and third Royal East India Company volunteers; the eleven regiments of Loyal London volunteer infantry; the Bank regiment of volunteer infantry; the Bank Supplementary regiment; the first regiment of the Tower hamlets; the volunteers of Whitechapel, Mile End, St. George's in the East, Ratcliffe, Shoreditch, St. Leonard Bromley, Bethnal Green, St. Catharine, and Christ Church, making up nearly twelve thousand effective men (*v*). Two days after, (the 28th,) his majesty reviewed the London and Westminster light horse volunteers, the Westminster regiment of volunteer cavalry, the Southwark troop of yeomanry, the St. George's regiment of volunteer infantry, and those of St. James's, Bloomsbury and Inns of Court, Royal Westminster, Prince of Wales's, St. Margaret's and St. John's, Loyal North Britons, Royal York Mary-le-bon, Duke of Gloucester's, First Surrey, the Somerset Place, Lambeth, first and second battalions of the Queen's Royals, St. Giles's and St. George's, the Loyal British artificers, St. Andrew's and St. George's, the Clerkenwell, the St. Sepulchre's, the Loyal Britons, the Knightsbridge, the St. Saviour's, the St. Clement Danes', the Loyal Southwark, the Duke of Cumberland's sharp shooters, and the Gray's Inn rifle-men, amounting in the whole to nearly thirteen thousand effective men. The concourse of spectators on both these occasions was immense (*w*).

The island of Ireland has been justly called by Mr. Pitt, the right hand of England (*x*), and by Mr. Sheridan, the vital part of the British empire (*y*). It is therefore deeply to be regretted, that any circumstances should have taken place to weaken that arm, or those vital parts. Rebellion is one of the greatest misfortunes which any country can be visited with, as it is an evil that does not merely terminate in itself. There have been two parties for some years past in that kingdom, Orange Men and the United Irish-

(*v*) On entering the gate at Hyde Park, his majesty alighted from his carriage, and mounted his charger. He then rode forward, preceded by the life guards, and the royal grooms, with four led horses, elegantly caparisoned. He was met by the duke of York, the earls of Harrington, Chesterfield, and generals Calvert, Stewart, Burrard, &c. As the procession advanced, it was joined near the Ring by Monsieur, dressed in green, with red facings; the prince of Condé, in white, faced with blue; the duke of Bourbon, in white, faced with red; and the duke of Berri, in green. The French princes were attended by many of the French noblesse, decorated with the insignia of several military orders. Generals Dumourier and Pichegru were said to be in their train.

(*w*) The following general orders were issued from the office of the commander in chief, to the commanding officers of the several volunteer corps:

"*Horse Guards, October 29th.*

"His royal highness the commander in chief, has received the king's command to convey to the several volunteer and associated corps, which were reviewed in Hyde Park, on the 26th and 28th instant, his majesty's highest approbation of their appearance, which equalled his majesty's utmost expectations.

"His majesty perceives, with heartfelt satisfaction, that spirit of loyalty and patriotism, on which the system of armed volunteers throughout the kingdom was originally founded, has risen with the exigencies of the times, and, at this moment, forms such a bulwark to the constitution and liberties of the country, as will enable us, under the protection of Providence, to bid defiance to the unprovoked malice of our enemies, and to hurl back, with becoming indignation, the threats which they have presumed to vent against our independence, and even our existence as a nation.

"His majesty has observed with peculiar pleasure, that, amongst the unprecedented exertions which the present circumstances of the country have called forth, those of the capital of his united kingdom have been eminently conspicuous; the appearance of its numerous and well-regulated volunteer corps, which were reviewed on the 26th and 28th instant, indicates a degree of attention and emulation, both, in officers and men, which proceed only from a deep sense of the important objects for which they have enrolled themselves, a just estimation of the blessings we have so long enjoyed, and a firm and manly determination to defend them like Britons, and transmit them unimpaired to our posterity.

"The commander in chief has the highest satisfaction in discharging his duty, by communicating these, his majesty's most gracious sentiments, and requests, that the commanding officers will have recourse to the readiest means of making the same known to their respective corps.

"(Signed) FREDERICK,
"Commander in Chief."

(*x*) Mr. Pitt's speech on the Union.

(*y*) Mr. Sheridan's speech at the meeting of the Benevolent Society of St. Patrick, March 18th, 1805.

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men (*z*). The former were zealots in the Protestant cause, and the latter affected to be as zealous in the Catholic.

Many of the leaders of the united Irishmen fled to France; some were tried, convicted, and executed. Their declarations on the most solemn occasions seemed to be at variance with their conduct (*a*). It is certain, however, that they all looked to rebellion for the accomplishment of their schemes. They disseminated their agents and emissaries throughout the kingdom with a secrecy and vigilance that often eluded the most active pursuit. On the execution of Emmet, they turned their eyes to Thomas Russel, a man well calculated by nature and art to win the confidence of the people: they invested him with the title of "the General of the Northern District." Government offered a thousand pounds by proclamation for his apprehension; notwithstanding which he found means to conceal himself for a considerable time, although the most unabating pursuit was made after him by the officers of justice; but he was at length arrested in the following manner:

Mr. Emerson, a member of the attorney's corps, having obtained information that a stranger of suspicious appearance was accidentally observed in the house of a Mr. Muley, a gun-maker, in Parliament Street, Dublin, and therefore lost no time in communicating this circumstance to Mr. Secretary Marsden, who referred him to major Sirr. Mr. Emerson, major Sirr, and lieutenant Minchin, with a detachment of captain Green's yeomanry corps, repaired about ten o'clock at night, to Mr. Muley's, where they discovered the person, who had excited suspicion, secreted in a garret. On putting some questions to him, he instantly drew forth two loaded pistols, which he snapped at them, but each of them missed fire. He was instantly seized, and carried to the Castle, where his person was immediately identified by the honourable captain Knox, son of lord Northland, under whose patronage he would have risen to high rank in the army, if he had not forfeited it by a dereliction of his former political principles. After he had acknowledged his real name, he avowed his purpose in returning to the country, and spoke in the boldest tone of "the glorious cause" in which he had embarked. "It is that," said he, "for which I would meet death with pleasure, either in the field, or on the scaffold; but do not imagine that my death, or the death of hundreds, will avail to secure the existence of your power. No! though my arrest may prove some embarrassment to my friends, the organization is too extensive, and the plan too well laid, to entertain a doubt, that it will be relinquished." It is not easy to say, whether this was the language of confidence or desperation, but on his examination, he kept up the same boldness of expression, and instead of any attempt to soften down his guilt, launched out into an abuse of the system of government. He was fully committed, and on the 20th of October, was put on his trial at Carrickfergus. His trial lasted from ten in the morning till half past eight in the evening, when he was convicted on the clearest evidence of having conspired to levy war against the king, &c. &c.

When he was asked in the usual form, if he had any thing to say, why sentence of death should not be passed upon him, he addressed the court in a speech of some length, in which he took a review of his life for the last thirteen years, and on which he said he looked back with triumph and satisfaction, as he declared that all he had done was from the conviction of his conscience. He was executed on the 25th of the same month, and died with amazing fortitude and resolution (*b*).

The death of such a man must have operated against the designs in a great measure of the rest of the conspirators. The administration, however, took the most effectual measures to secure and strengthen the tranquillity of the country.

From this unpleasant scene we must turn to our naval affairs. The Gazette of the 6th of November, 1803, contained a dispatch from Sir T. Duckworth, dated on board the Bellerophon, off Cape Maize, in which the admiral introduced a letter from Mr. Loring, containing an account of the capture of the Duquesne, a French seventy-four gun ship, and the French national schooner Oiseaux, of sixteen guns. This happened near Cape François in the West Indies.

The generality of intelligence brought from the West Indies in the course of November, confirmed the successful operations of our navy in that quarter. As the forces, however, in those islands were insufficient for the entire conquest of the French and Dutch settlements, additional regiments were immediately ordered on that service (*c*). The French were preparing to make an attempt from Guadaloupe against Antigua, which was fortunately defeated by the vigilance of captain O'Brien of the Emerald. This gallant officer suddenly discovered thirteen armed schooners, in the movement off Guadaloupe. Twelve hundred troops were, at the same time, on the shore, in that island, and ready to embark. On sight of the Emerald, the schooners were steered back in haste for Guadaloupe; but captain O'Brien gave chace, and took three of them.

An expedition under the command of general Grinfield, destined against Demerara and Essequibo (*d*), sailed from Barbadoes, on the 2d of September. On the appearance of the fleet off the coast, the English in Starbrock retired into the country, to avoid any demands of the government, and most of their colony boats were sent out to assist and supply the fleet, and facilitate the landing of the troops, if the least appearance of opposition had rendered it necessary; but the Dutch colonists saw the inefficacy of opposing five hundred of their men to the force which they saw advancing against them, (the English amounting to one thousand five hundred,) so that they quietly surrendered. An official account of this affair was published in the Gazette of November 15.

(*z*) The United Irishmen undoubtedly coupled political with religious views. From their own declarations, joined to their conduct, it is now evident that the main object of this party was to separate Ireland from England. To gain this end, they availed themselves of every art that could inflame the passions of the unthinking, or work upon the feelings of the ambitious. They disseminated their sentiments through every medium. They conferred by means of their deputies, with general Hoche, and represented to the French directory, that England wished only to make peace, because Ireland was on the eve of revolt.

(*a*) Emmet in his defence on his trial, made use of these expressions, "I am charged with being an emissary of France; it is false, I am no emissary, I did not wish to deliver up my country to a foreign power, and least of all to France."

(*b*) Mr. T. Russel was a native of the North of Ireland, and descended of a family that once lived in ease and elegant hospitality. His father lived on a few paternal acres, which with industry and economy, enabled him to give his children an education suitable to their birth, and even beyond their prospects in life. Thomas having evinced an early passion for learning was placed under the care of the Rev. Mr. Stoupe, one of the first classical teachers in that part of the country. The progress of the pupil drew the attention of the master, who was highly pleased with his taste and reflections, that would have done credit to a boy of riper years. Mr. Stoupe, advised Mr. Russel to bring up his son to the church, in which he was certain, from the promise of his moral and literary character, he would one day become an ornament. But when the pupil was told of it, and desired to speak his mind freely, he answered, that he had a very high reverence for the clerical character, but at the same time, notwithstanding his youth, he was not ignorant of the great and important duties that devolved on a minister of the gospel, so that he preferred a military life to that of any other, and that he did not think the time he had passed in the study of the dead languages was lost, for in his opinion, a classical education was a necessary appendage to that of a military one. He was immediately sent to learn mathematics, and at the age of twenty-two, was presented with a pair of colours by his relative general Dikes. He served with no small reputation in America, under the command of general Knox, during the unhappy war in that country; towards the close of which, he was raised to the rank of a captain. His officer-like behaviour, and rigid observance of all the duties of his profession, were spoken of in a manner highly gratifying to his friends and acquaintances. On his return to his native country, he quitted the army, and was introduced to some of the best families in the North of Ireland. Through the interest of the Northland family, he was appointed a magistrate for the county of Tyrone. In 1792, he was arrested with Samuel Nelson, and conveyed to Newgate, Dublin, in which he remained a prisoner till 1798, when he was sent with Arthur O'Connor and others to Fort St. George, Scotland; at the conclusion of the last peace, he was permitted to withdraw to France. He lived in Paris during the peace, where, being a military man, he frequently mixed with several of the French revolutionary generals, and admirers of the new philosophy. Soon after the declaration of war, he returned to Ireland, with a view no doubt, of disseminating those revolutionary principles which he had imbibed, and which few men, unhappily, were better calculated to carry into effect. He was reserved to those above him, open and of the most conciliating manners to his equals, and to those of inferior rank, and possessed of that species of popular eloquence, which is so well adapted to inflame the passions, and captivate the understanding. He was six feet high, well proportioned, a military air, a marked countenance, and a determined voice.

(*c*) The sixteenth, forty-sixth, and seventieth regiments, sailed immediately for the West Indies.

(*d*) Demerara and Essequibo, on the Spanish Main, are in a high state of cultivation, and very productive. The following is the return of the shipping found in the river Demerara. Hippomenes, Batavian corvette, pierced for eighteen guns; Sophia, a ship claimed as English property; Rotterdam, ditto; Diana, ditto; Eliza, detained by the Dutch, before our arrival, under British colours; Nile, ditto; Admiral Kingsbergen, a sloop, Dutch property; Aurora, ditto; Leesfield, ditto; Wilhelmina, ditto. At Berbice: Serpent, national schooner, and five merchant vessels.—Total, nineteen.

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The articles of capitulation obtained by the Dutch, notwithstanding the easy capture of them, were such, that the vanquished had no reason to regret the change. The first article provided, that the laws and usages of the colonies should remain in full force, that the inhabitants should enjoy the full exercise of their religion, and that no new establishments should be introduced without the consent of the court of police, as the legislature of the colony, and that the constituted authorities, and public officers, whether in the civil law, or church establishments, as well as the members of the respective courts, (except the governor general,) should be continued in their respective offices, and situations, until his majesty's pleasure be known. It was also stipulated, that the inhabitants should be protected in their persons, and have the free enjoyment of their property, with many other conditions equally favourable, which were religiously observed on both sides. Immediately after the Gazette announcement of the capture of these islands, a great number of ships were taken up to bring home the produce of them. An expedition was also meditated against Martinique, but a sufficient number of troops could not be spared for the enterprize; besides, the garrison was strong by nature and art, and would have cost more lives, perhaps, to have taken it by a *coup de main*, than would have been prudent to have run the hazard of.

The British cruizers likewise profited from the distracted state of St. Domingo. The Snake sloop of war, captain Roberts, on the 2nd of August, captured twelve vessels, which were coming out of Jeremie, and carried them into Jamaica. The English squadron closely blockaded Cape François, where three frigates, and sixty merchant ships lay, with their cargoes; many of which fell into our hands.

Thus were the prospects of the enemy frustrated in the West Indies—St. Domingo was wrested out of their hands; Martinique and Guadaloupe were so closely blockaded, that vessels of any kind could not pass in or out of either; the rich settlement of Surinam (*e*), menaced by our arms, and the distribution of our naval force in every sea, so judiciously appointed, so well manned, and so ably commanded, that Bonaparte centered all his threats against the united kingdom. Therefore, on the 4th of November, he went a second time to Boulogne, where he arrived about two o'clock in the afternoon, and immediately went on board one of the ships, where he remained till midnight in the port, inspecting the different works; the next day, the advanced guard of the flotilla, consisting of upwards of two hundred vessels, went into the harbour, and a number of English ships sailed along the line of coast. The cannonade then began, and even the French accounts could not conceal the effects of the fire from the English vessels, and the confusion which it occasioned even in the presence of Bonaparte himself.

On this occasion, the boats of the Merlin, captain Brenton, destroyed the French lugger Les Sept Freres, off Calais. The British ships Raisonable, sixty-four guns, the Immortalité and Leda frigates, attacked eighty-four gun-boats on the coast of France, sunk two of them, and damaged many more. Lieutenant Shepherd, in the armed cutter, admiral Mitchel, drove a French gun-boat on shore; and a gun-brig which was armed with twelve guns, thirty-two pounders, off Boulogne. A French gun-boat was taken (*f*) off Dunkirk, by Lieutenant Chambers, in the Conflict gun-brig. A French brig, with a sloop and a lugger, were also taken off Cherbourg. The Griffin sloop of war likewise had an action between Boulogne and Calais, with eleven French gun-boats. The gun-boats were quickly driven under the shelter of the French batteries. Sir Sidney Smith, with a squadron of five ships of war, off the Texel, drove twelve armed vessels of the enemy on shore, on the coast of Holland. Of these, three were taken. The Dutch complained in their news papers, that the English took their gun-boats, even when they had been run aground on the shore. Many of the Dutch fishing-boats were taken; which at first might seem rather hard, but this was a measure of precaution, as they could be easily converted into gun-boats and invasion transports.

The internal state of the united kingdom at this period, exhibited one of the most gratifying scenes that can possibly be drawn, if every circumstance should be compared. Among the most eminent instances of public zeal, the Patriotic Fund at Lloyd's Coffee House will ever shine in full lustre. The managers of that fund began their laudable exertions by an act of signal encouragement to heroism: they assigned an annuity of forty pounds per annum to the widow of lieutenant Scott, who was killed in an obstinate engagement which he fought as commander of the Princess Augusta armed cutter against two Dutch privateers, and another annuity of ten pounds per annum upon his infant son. They likewise presented Mr. Thomas, who acted as master and commander of the cutter in the same action, with two hundred pounds.

The face of affairs in Ireland now began to assume a more placid appearance; and in conformity with what had taken place in England with respect to the volunteer corps, the yeomanry of Ireland, who had contributed in a signal manner to effect the restitution of order in that portion of the united empire, were reviewed in the Phœnix Park, near Dublin, on the 10th of November, by lord Cathcart, the commander-in-chief of his majesty's forces in that kingdom. Colonel Hope, also, of the first battalion of Edinburgh volunteers, issued orders to the officers and privates of that corps on almost every point that related to their military conduct; and lieutenant-general Vyse laboured with activity and diligence, to prepare the whole military force of North Britain for the most prompt, effective, and steady service; and that no advantage of heroism or generalship might be wanting for the defence of that part of Great Britain, the earl of Moira was appointed to the chief command of the army in Scotland. The first act of earl Moira, on his arrival at Edinburgh, was to review the regulars, whom he complimented on their discipline and steadiness. He then reviewed the volunteers, whom he likewise complimented in a very flattering manner.

By the official return made out at the War Office on the 10th of November, it appeared that there were,

Infantry - -	297,502
Cavalry - - -	31,600
Artillery - -	6,207
Total	335,309

So that we perceive, from the above, that every measure was daily adopting that could call forth the energies of the country, in the army, volunteers, &c. in case the projected invasion from France should take place.

In order to try the effect, beacons were lighted at the following places, on the 16th of November, viz. Colchester, Wigborough, Danbury, Langden Hill, Cane Green, Ongar Park, Good Easter, Weathersfield, and Littlebury Broom.

The important measure of communication by telegraph, was adopted by government in Ireland, on one of the lines between the capital and the sea coast, established by the ingenious Mr. Edgeworth, upon the same plan which he proposed to government in 1796. The lord-lieutenant and several persons of the first rank in the kingdom were present, and were highly gratified with the effect of the experiment.

The Circe frigate, at three *p. m.* had the misfortune to strike on the Lemon and Oar, whilst in chace of a French privateer, on the 16th of November: the shock was so violent, that it tore away her rudder, and so damaged her keel, that she immediately sprung a leak. She did not remain long on this dangerous sandbank, but was beat off by the violence of the waves into deep water, where, being unmanageable by reason of the loss of her rudder, the leak gained so much upon them, that every hand on board was employed at the pump, the officers taking their turn with the men; all their exertions, notwithstanding, could scarcely keep her above water. In this alarming situation, they continued till seven o'clock the next evening, when their strength became nearly exhausted, and almost every one resigned himself to the fate that now seemed inevitable. Their signals at length luckily brought three fishing smacks to their assistance, which were prevented from reaching them sooner, in consequence of the boisterous state of the weather. The smacks immediately took the whole of the crew on board, in the most distressing situation, worn out with fatigue, and not able to save a single article of their cloathing or any thing else. When

(*e*) Surinam, at present in possession of the English, has a number of excellent plantations, and was always considered by the Dutch as the most valuable of all their colonies. Its chief articles of trade are sugar, coffee, cotton, tobacco, flax, skins, and some valuable dying drugs. It is advantageously situated on the continent of South America.

(*f*) This was the first gun-boat that was captured from the enemy.

they were safe on board, the captain requested they would not sail immediately, till he saw the frigate go down, which happened about half an hour after they had quitted her. The fishing boats then made sail for Yarmouth, where they arrived the 18th of the same month, and put the crew on board the Repulse, admiral Russel's ship, where they experienced the most humane and hospitable attention. After the ship's company had been refreshed, they were consigned to the Galgo armed ship, and sent to Sheerness.

The state of parties at this time in Great Britain ran high, and as the public opinion was very much divided on the subject, a pamphlet was published which arrested the attention of almost every politician; as it was ascribed to the pen of a writer, who was allowed to be well acquainted with the topics in all its branches.

The great object of the writer was to justify the resignation of Mr. Pitt and his friends, in the first instance, and to defend them against the charge of inconsistency, in departing from the support which immediately after their resignation (according to this writer) they gave to the administration of Mr. Addington. With respect to the first point, he says, "as far as was consistent with their duty to their sovereign, the ministers did not hesitate to acquaint the public with the motives which induced them to relinquish their situations. Feeling it (they said) an incumbent duty on them to propose a measure on the part of government, which they thought of great public importance, when they met with circumstances which rendered it impossible for them to propose it, as a measure of government, they felt it equally inconsistent with their duty and their honour, any longer to remain a part of that government." The second point to which the writer adverts, was the promise given and withdrawn on the part of Mr. Pitt and lord Grenville, "of constant, zealous, and active support of Mr. Addington." The author admits, that such a promise was given, but insists that it was merely conditional, observing, that to give any body of men a promise of a constant support, let their conduct be what it might, was as inconsistent with every idea of public duty, as it certainly was with common sense or common honesty. The support, he adds, was promised by the ex-ministers, in consequence of their successors having "both publicly and privately professed their intention of continuing to act upon the same general system, which had been adopted by their predecessors;" but their subsequent conduct, he insists, was "a departure from the principles upon which that support was offered," and "afforded a proof of the incapacity of ministers sufficient to authorize and require a systematic opposition. The next topic of which the author treated, was the negociation that took place in March, for the re-admission of Mr. Pitt into the councils of his majesty; and in order to induce him to take upon him the administration of affairs, it was proposed, that lord Melville should be admitted into the cabinet, and some other of Mr. Pitt's friends, into different official situations. To this proposition Mr. Pitt replied, that he would not enter upon the question of arrangement, "until he was distinctly informed by a message from the highest quarter, that his services were thought essential;" and all that Mr. Pitt required was, that he should be at liberty to submit to his majesty whatever he thought best for his majesty's service, unfettered by any previous condition, and he positively declined committing himself upon the question of particular arrangements, until his majesty's pleasure had been distinctly signified unto him.

Such we may venture to assert was the substance of Mr. Pitt's conduct through the transaction; but Mr. Addington, in bringing forward the proposition of which we have spoken, endeavoured to make it a preliminary, that lord Grenville should not, in the first instance, be included in any arrangement whatever. His majesty of course was not advised to send to Mr. Pitt, and Mr. Addington's proposition fell to the ground.

At the approach of the session of parliament, public curiosity was anxious to know if the reports of the coalitions and secessions of parties which were in circulation, had any foundation in truth. Several members of the old opposition had on many important questions supported the minister, (Mr. Addington,) particularly Mr. Sheridan, who thought the present not a time to harrass administration with vexatious opposition, and that the situation of the country called for the united assistance of every person.

On the 22nd of November, his majesty opened the parliament, with a speech which was read by the lord chancellor.

So soon as the lord chancellor had finished reading the speech, the marquis of Sligo rose to move the address; which was seconded by the earl of Limerick; and after an appropriate speech on the occasion, from both of these noblemen, the motion was put and carried, *nem. con.*

In the house of commons, Mr. Cropley Ashley moved the address, which was seconded by Mr. Burland, and, of course, carried.

On Wednesday, the 23rd of November, Mr. Ashley brought up the report of the address, when Mr. Windham said he supported the address from a conviction that he was supporting the cause of his sovereign and his country, but in so doing, it was not to be construed into any the most distant support of his majesty's ministers, for such, said the honourable member, was the imbecility of administration, that he was ready to confess, that Bonaparte, and all his legions, did not appear to him so terrific as the men he then saw sitting on the treasury bench. They were men in general of good education, strong natural endowments, and pretty well read in history, but that they were men fit and calculated "to guide the world in its wildest career," was far from being the case, and he could almost predict, that the country would not survive their administration. They were the Augusti in whose hands the empire would fade and decay. The report was then agreed to.

On the 24th, the address was presented to his majesty, when he returned the following answer:

"*Gentlemen*,

"I return you my warmest thanks for your dutiful and affectionate address. Such a declaration of your sentiments, at the present moment, cannot fail to afford me the highest satisfaction. I have the most perfect reliance on your support, and on the exertions of my faithful subjects, to bring the present contest to a successful and honourable issue."

Mr. Addington obtained leave to bring in a bill to continue for a time to be limited, the acts already in force for restricting the payment in cash by the Bank of England. Having adverted to the expediency of the measure, he said, he had the satisfaction to assure the house, that during all the period of the restriction, the credit of the bank had been conspicuous, and entirely unimpaired. This in a great measure was to be ascribed to the prudence of the directors, who had not issued notes beyond the extent of its capital (*g*). Mr. Jekyl observed, that the scarcity of SPECIE was so general a complaint, that he wished ministers would suggest some remedy for the inconvenience. Mr. Corry obtained leave at the same time to bring in a similar bill for Ireland. In the committee of supply, one hundred thousand seamen were voted for the service of the navy, for thirteen lunar months; two millions four hundred and fifty thousand pounds were voted for wages; two millions four hundred and seventy thousand pounds for victuals; three millions nine hundred and thirty thousand pounds for wear and tear; and three hundred and twenty-five thousand pounds for naval ordnance.

As Bonaparte perceived at this period that the emperor of Russia leaned to the court of England, he treated count Markoff, the Russian ambassador, at first with coolness, and sometimes with insolence, especially in the presence of the foreign ministers. The count was by no means mortified at this "peculiar mark of distinction," as he called it; he wrote to his court, and was recalled. The chief consul affected to make light of this matter, but from the conduct of Talleyrand, it should seem, that Bonaparte began to repent that he had carried his insolence to such a height to the representative of a powerful court, and a young monarch, who could not forget the indignities offered to him in the person of his ambassador. Talleyrand waited on count Markoff, a few days previous to his departure, and apologized for some hasty expressions which his master had made use of, but all his protestations of esteem and friendship for the court of St. Petersburgh were ineffectual. The first consul was doubly mortified on this occasion; he saw that this circumstance put an end to all the hopes which he had entertained of being able to stand fair with Alexander the First; and secondly, that it would throw all the good wishes of that prince into the English scale. A short time previous to this suspension of

(*g*) This is a very curious declaration of the minister: either he must have been most egregiously deceived, or else he must wilfully have misrepresented the case; since it is well known, that there is not so much specie in all the world as would take up the notes that have been issued by the bank of England alone.

com-

munication between the courts of St. Petersburgh and the Thuilleries; the emperor of Russia had offered his mediation between Great Britain and France, but the terms proposed were neither agreeable to France nor England. But it does not appear that either Austria or Prussia interested themselves in this mediation; nor is it evident that either one or the other would profit by the accomplishment of it. It is more probable that they did not wish that the emperor of Russia should intermix with European politics. From being a mediator, such a colossal power might become a dictator; of which they had an example in the days of Peter the First (*h*), when Russia was enveloped in barbarism, and scarcely one-third so extensive and populous as it is at present.

Every attention was paid by government to the West India islands, and on the 10th of December, 1803, The London Gazette announced the surrender of the garrisons of Port Dauphin and St. Marc, in the island of St. Domingo, and several vessels of war, to the squadron employed in the blockade of different parts of that colony.

The garrison of St. Marc was reduced to the greatest distress. They had subsisted for some time on horse-flesh. General Dessalines (*i*) was on the point of putting the whole to death, when captain Watkins, of the Vanguard, humanely interposed, and offered to take them on board, which he did, and treated them with a humanity highly honourable to the British character. Port Dauphin surrendered to captain Bligh, of the Theseus. This gallant officer having learned from the prisoners, that their general Dumont and his suite, had fallen into the hands of the blacks, and that they were in the most imminent danger of their lives, he was induced from motives of humanity, to solicit their freedom from the chief of the people, and with much difficulty obtained it. Previous to the surrender of Port Dauphin, the boats of the Theseus cut out of the harbour the national corvette La Sagesse, from under a heavy fire of the batteries; and the boats of the Desirée frigate cut out from Monte Christe, the schooner L'Amiable Sophie. The only loss sustained in all these engagements, was that of the Garland frigate, off Cape François. The crew was happily saved. The conduct of our officers and seamen through the whole of this transaction, is deserving of estimation.

The design which Bonaparte entertained on our possessions in the East, was manifest on the conclusion of the peace of Amiens, when the chief consul sent out a squadron to Pondicherry, under the command of admiral Linois; when questioned by our ambassador as to the sailing of that fleet, he smiled, and said, it was with a view of prosecuting discoveries in astronomy and natural history, and that those who were called officers, were no other than naturalists and astronomers; but by letters received from Bombay, December the 15th, it appeared, that the squadron consisted of one ship of the line, with three frigates, and several transports, having between two and three thousand troops on board.

Notwithstanding the court of Spain gave the warmest assurances of her amity for this country, and her wish to maintain all the relations of peace with our court, yet the Spanish captain-general of Yutacan, demanded the evacuation of the English settlement of Honduras. From the haughty tone in which this demand was delivered, it was not difficult to perceive that it was made at the instance of Bonaparte, whose influence in the cabinet of Madrid, was now so great, that Spain might be called a political province of France. It is scarcely necessary to say, that the demand was refused, and was not again repeated.

The severity of the weather interrupted our intercourse with the northern powers, and our naval force was chiefly distributed into blockades, retaining their stations off Brest and the Texel, in the midst of all the boisterous weather. We must not omit to take notice of a gallant action performed at this time by the boats of his majesty's sloop Atalante, on the coast France. Two ketches and a brig, part of a French convoy, running under the point of St. Guildas, were driven on shore off the mouth of the river Pennerf. Captain Mansfield, of the Atalante, having considered it possible to cut them out in the night, as the wind was directly off the shore, dispatched lieutenant Hawkins, in a six-oared cutter, and Mr. Richard Burstal, in a five-oared cutter, on that service, after it became dark. About half-past nine, *p. m.* the boats got up to these vessels, when lieutenant Hawkins boarded and took possession of the in-shore vessel, but found her a-ground; a number of troops along the shore, kept up a heavy fire of musketry on his boat, assisted by two field-pieces. After cutting her cable, and firing a considerable time on the other vessel near him, he found it impossible to do any thing with her, and very properly left her to go to the assistance of the other boat, which had by this time boarded the brig, in defiance of a party of ten or twelve soldiers, with their muskets and sabres, killed six of the troops, hove two overboard, and drove the others with the crew below. After cutting her cable, finding she was a-ground, and a light vessel, they returned with both boats on board, not thinking proper, from motives of humanity, to set her on fire, as several people were heard below, whom they supposed to be wounded.

All the plans of the consular government at this period appear to have been directed against Great Britain. Taxes, subscriptions, the money voted for the repair of the roads, bridges, &c. was to be employed only for this purpose. The fortifications of Brussels, Louraine, Diest, Tirlemont, Ghent, Axel, Lerneuse, &c. were suddenly ordered to be abolished, and the money arising from the sale of the materials was directed to be put in the public treasury, that it might be applied to facilitate the projected invasion of England. Two thousand men were likewise employed at work on the harbour and fortifications of Boulogne.

The mighty preparations carrying on in France, roused the active spirit of the English government, who adopted various plans for the defence of the kingdom in case of an invasion. Every attention was paid to the recruiting and discipline of the army: every place where it was practicable for an enemy to land on the coast of Kent was planted with cannon, and lined with military, as well regular forces as militia. The foot-paths which the smugglers had cut on cliffs to ascend secretly with their commodities were either entirely destroyed, or altered so that only one man could ascend at a time, and be exposed to the fire of the musketeers from above in various directions. The pilot-boats, the fishing-boats, &c. were fittèd up as gun-boats, so as to carry each an eighteen-pound carronade. Fifty of these lay at that time in Dover harbour, in such a state of readiness, that they could all be equipped in a quarter of an hour, and manned with some of the best seamen in the world, viz. the pilots and fishermen, who were brought up in storms and dangers. It was calculated that, between Margate and Dungeness, upwards of two hundred of these boats could be collected in the space of a few hours by a signal along the coast. Their guns lay on the piers and the quays, numbered and marked with the names of the boats and those to whom they belonged, ready to be mounted in an instant. Some of them were placed as batteries, ready to be used as such, should any unexpected occasion occur. New lines of defence were also erected at Eastware Bay, near Folkstone, and manned by the Cinque Port volunteers, under the command of colonel Pitt.

On the 4th of December, the colours of the Royal Spelthorne legion, under the command of his royal highness the duke of Clarence, were presented to that corps by his royal highness the Prince of Wales, on Ashford Common.

Among the disasters of this year, we have to record the effects of a tremendous gale at sea. On the 20th of December, the wind shifting to S. and then to S. S. E. blew a perfect hurricane. The Rambler, a sloop of war of sixteen guns, which was anchored off St. Nicholas, began to drive violently from her anchors, and drifted towards the ledge of rocks, near Oliver Cromwell's battery, off Mill Bay. She fired guns of distress for a considerable time, which were repeated by the Salvador del Mundi, of one hundred and twelve guns, and signals made for assistance from the dock yards; but the gale blew so hard, and the sea ran so high, that no launch or boat could weather Devil's Point. At length the masts of the Rambler were cut away, and letting go another anchor, she rode a little easier, and assistance soon afterwards went from the dock yard, with spare anchors, cables, &c. she was then towed into Bampool, where she lay for a day, and then went up the harbour to refit. On the same day the Shannon, of thirty-six guns, near Cape la Hogue, received so much

(*h*) Who, under the pretext of protecting Augustus II. king of Poland, opened a way for his successors to invade and dismember that unhappy country.

(*i*) The black general, a native of St. Domingo, whose personal bravery and address, has raised him to the rank of emperor of Hayti, the original Indian name for that island.

damage

damage from the hurricane, that captain Gower, who commanded her, was under the necessity of running the ship on shore, in order to save the lives of the crew, who were of course taken prisoners, and marched up the country.

The public prints about this time teemed with observations on a correspondence that had taken place between his royal highness the Prince of Wales and his royal father. On the 18th of July, 1803, the prince addressed a letter to Mr. Addington, in which he tells that gentleman, that the immediate danger with which the kingdom was threatened, "pressed so heavily upon his mind," that he felt it impossible "to withhold or delay an explicit statement of his feelings." Mr. Addington, in answer to his royal highness, acquainted him, that he had laid his letter before his majesty, and that he had it in command from his majesty to inform his royal highness, that, "the king had referred Mr. Addington to the orders he had before given him, with the addition, that the king's opinion being fixed, he desired that no farther mention should be made to him upon the subject." Being a little chagrined at this reply his royal highness then addressed a letter to his majesty, complaining of the treatment he had received, and received the following answer:

"My Dear Son,

"Though I applaud your zeal and spirit, of which, I trust, no one can suppose any of my family wanting, yet, considering the repeated declarations I have made of my determination on your former applications to the same purpose, I had flattered myself to have heard no farther on the subject.

"Should the implacable enemy so far succeed as to land, you will have an opportunity of shewing your zeal at the head of your regiment: it will be the duty of every man to stand forward on such an occasion, and I shall certainly think it mine to set an example, in defence of every thing that is dear to me, and to my people.

"I ever remain,

"My dear Son,

"Your most affectionate father,

Windsor, Aug. 7, 1803. "GEORGE R."

The Prince of Wales then addressed another letter to his majesty, but without producing the effect desired. A correspondence then took place between his royal highness the prince of Wales, and his royal highness the duke of York. The prince having made some observations on the extensive promotions which had just appeared in the Gazette, in which his pretensions were unnoticed,—afstating his standing in the army, adds, "My birth, according to the distinctions usually conferred on it should have placed me first on that list." The duke of York returned for answer, that so far as he could learn, it was not the wish of the king that a prince of Wales should consider the army as a profession.

On the 5th of December an interesting debate took place in the house of commons on the order for the second reading of the Irish martial law bill; but as the arguments which were adduced were of the same nature as those made use of on a former occasion, there is not the least necessity to repeat them. The bill was, however, read a second time. In the house of lords also a vehement debate on the same subject took place, when the lord chancellor recapitulated the arguments on both sides, and gave it as his opinion, that the political salvation of Ireland depended on the speedy adoption of the proposition. The bill was read a second time. Several noble lords delivered their sentiments on the remaining stages of the bill; which, in fact, were little else but the arguments repeated, and the bill, after a few days, received the royal assent.

The bank restriction bill produced some conversation on the third reading in the house of lords; when the lords Grenville and King thought that a committee should be appointed to enquire into the state of the paper circulation of the country (*k*).

The following is an abstract of the sums used for the service of the year 1803:

Navy	10,211,378	13	1
Army	8,935,753	12	3
Militia, &c.	2,889,976	2	11
Ordnance	1,128,913	14	6
Miscellaneous services	5,440,441	13	9½
Redemption of the National Debt	200,000	0	0
Exchequer Bills	10,150,456	3	3
Excess of ways and means for the year	2,406,292	10	3½
	41,363,192	9	1

Towards the close of 1803 and the beginning of 1804, our affairs in the East Indies assumed rather a favourable aspect. Our alliances were renewed and strengthened on terms of mutual advantage with some of the most potent of the native princes, particularly with Madajee Boonslah, chief of the Eastern Mahrattas. An overland dispatch, by way of Bussorah, brought intelligence that his highness the Peishwa had been enthroned at Poonah; and as he was sensible that he was indebted for his exaltation to the influence of our government in India, he ceded to the British a territory, of which the yearly revenue is estimated at seven hundred and seventy-five thousand pounds sterling. But these prospects were somewhat clouded by the appearance of Holkar, who inherited all the qualities of Tippo Saib; and with, if possible, an additional degree of hatred to the English name. As Scindia had, however, wrested from him a considerable portion of his territory, had cut off his supplies, and besieged him in Indoor, his capital, it was thought that he would have yielded almost to any terms; but Holkar found means to make his escape, and to collect an immense number of forces, who, lured by the scent of plunder, committed incalculable ravages in the peaceable dominions of our allies in that part of the world. Our government in India at this time concluded a treaty of commerce with the Persian ambassador, which promised the most favourable results.

The British cruizers in the West Indies were uncommonly vigilant and successful. The London Gazette, of the 3d of January, 1804, contained a letter from captain Younghusband, of the Osprey, off Martinique, describing his sending three boats to attack a privateer. The boats were placed under the command of lieutenant Robert Henderson: the cutter in which he was, rowing much faster than the other boats, he, without waiting to be joined by them, in the most brave and determined manner, and under a heavy fire from the guns and musquetry of the vessel, boarded and captured the French schooner privateer La Resource, mounting four four-pounders, and having on board forty-three men, two of whom were killed, and twelve wounded. The cutter had only seventeen seamen in her, who all behaved with the utmost bravery.

An action not less hazardous and spirited was announced in the Gazette of the 28th of January, in a letter from captain Graves, of his majesty's ship Blenheim, dated off Martinique. The captain stated, that having observed the French privateer L'Harmonie put into the harbour of Maria, in the bay of St. Anne, Martinique, with a prize, induced him to suggest a plan for the capture of this vessel, especially as she had been more destructive to our commerce than any other which had appeared in those seas; and for this purpose he attempted, against a strong breeze and lee current, to beat up from off the Diamond Rock to the place where she lay at anchor. Having reconnoitred the harbour of Maria, together with the batteries on each side of it, and also one above the town, he determined on the attempt. He therefore ordered sixty seamen, with two lieutenants and sixty marines, all of the Blenheim, to carry the enterprize into execution. The former, in their boats, to attack the privateer, and the latter, at the same instant, to surprize, or in any event to storm, Fort Dunkirk, a battery of nine guns on the starboard side of the harbour. The Drake having joined, captain Ferris, volunteered his services, and took the command of the seamen, to whom he added fourteen from the Drake. All things being ready, both parties set off so timely as to commence the attack at the same moment, which was crowned with success. The fort was completely surprized, the prisoners, fifteen in number, taken, the guns were dismounted, and spiked, their carriages totally destroyed, and the magazine blown up. The barracks were spared, as a large and ripe field of canes adjoining must have inevitably

(*k*) This is an abstract of an official account of the notes of the bank of England in circulation, on the following dates, distinguishing the amount of those that are below the value of five pounds.

On the 1st June,	1802	13,257,600
1st October,	1802	13,111,510
1st December,	1802	12,075,020
1st February,	1803	12,874,030

Amount of Bank of England notes of 2*l.* and 1*l.* each.

On the 1st June,	1802	3,013,610
1st August,	1802	3,292,520
1st October,	1802	3,435,130
1st December,	1802	3,236,530
1st February,	1803	3,234,520

been

been destroyed, had they been set fire to. This was effected without the loss of a man on our part.

On the 5th of January, 1804, the Immortalité and the Archer gun brig brought two gun boats, a Dutch galliot and a schuyt, into the Downs. The gun boats were of the first class, carrying an eighteen pounder in the prow, and a twelve pounder aft. They fired twice at the Immortalité with their great guns, and kept up a brisk fire of musketry for about an hour. Their rigging and sails were cut almost to pieces, and several shot lodged in their hulls. They were cut off from the shore by the boats belonging to the Immortalité, close off the harbour of Boulogne. There was not a man either killed or wounded on the part of the English.

Intelligence was received, on the 26th of January, of the evacuation of the French post of St. Domingo, by general Rochambeau, and the troops under his command. This event took place on the 28th of November, 1803, in consequence of a capitulation between Rochambeau and the black general Dessalines. Admiral Duckford, at the same time captured the French shipping, consisting of three frigates, several smaller ships of war, and a number of merchant vessels.

The officers of government now directed their attention to every suggestion that was practically calculated to place the country in that situation that would set the menaces of the foe at defiance. The first measure was to reserve to the commanders of the volunteer corps, the power exclusively, to present to the commander in chief, such persons as they might deem fit to fill the vacant appointments among the officers. The delicate manner in which government conducted itself, however, in this particular, removed those apprehensions which were entertained, that it would not be palatable to the volunteers (*l*).

The great scarcity of silver coin, which was felt at this period by all classes of persons engaged in business was in some measure remedied by the emission of dollars; and British manufactures found their way into many of the great foreign markets. The Baltic trade, which had been suspended, as usual, during the winter season, began to resume an active shape; large quantities of goods being exported to Tonningen and Embden. The English merchants likewise opened a considerable market at Stettin in Pomerania, through which large quantities of British manufactures passed into Prussia, Upper Saxony, Poland, and all Germany, without danger of seizure by the French. The ports of Spain and Portugal likewise continued open to the English.

On the 1st of February, the house of commons met pursuant to adjournment. Several notices of motions were given, and the days on which they were to be brought forward fixed.

The next day Mr. Fox made a motion relative to one of the petitions presented against the return for the county of Middlesex. He said, there was one clause in the act (the 24th of the king) on which he should rest his argument: that clause laid it down, in the most unqualified terms, that the house should not proceed on any petition, complaining of an undue election or return, unless the petitioners described themselves in the body of the petition as persons having a right to vote. This was not the case either directly or indirectly in the petition of which he complained. Having enforced this observation at some length, he then moved, that the order of the day (February 3, 1804,) for taking the said petition into consideration be discharged. Mr. Tierney, Mr. Addington, and Mr. Sheridan, delivered their opinions on the subject, and the question being put, was negatived by a majority of ninety-six to twenty-four.

A committee was then ballotted to try the merits of the petition, complaining of an undue return for the county of Middlesex, when the sitting member (sir Francis Burdett) having waved his right of appointing a nominee, the committee withdrew, and retained Nicholas Calvert, on the part of the sitting member, and J. H. Browne on the part of William Mainwaring, the petitioner.

Mr. Secretary Yorke had given notice that he intended to bring forward a motion relative to the volunteer system, in which he took an enlarged view of the subject, and concluded by moving, "That leave be given to bring in a bill to explain, amend, and consolidate the provisions contained in the several acts then in force relative to the yeomanry and volunteer corps throughout the united kingdom." At length, after a great deal of debate on the subject, in which Mr. Sheridan, Lord Castlereagh, Mr. Whitbread, and others took an active part, leave was given to bring in the bill.

The prudent measures adopted by the governor of Ceylon in 1803, made the English suppose that the good will and affection of the king of Candi and his subjects would be fully conciliated; and that matters would be placed on such a footing, as to put an end to those jealousies which the natives entertained of the English power in that quarter of the globe; but those hopes were too sanguine. In the war which unfortunately and unexpectedly broke out in the island of Ceylon, in the beginning of 1803, the king of Candi was at first defeated in every engagement, notwithstanding the multitudes he brought into the field. The British, flushed with successive victories, pressed on into the interior of their dominions. His capital was taken; but the conquerors found they had advanced too far, and having spread themselves over a wide extent of country, their numbers were insufficient to maintain all the posts they had taken. They were besides attacked with diseases, and ignorant of the local advantages and disadvantages of the country. The provisions in many of the posts which they occupied were exhausted, as well as their ammunition, so that they were on many occasions obliged to cut their way, sword in hand, through the island. This was what led to the disastrous capitulation of major Davie, who was always considered as a gallant officer. The garrison, which was cruelly massacred, consisted

(*l*) The different modifications will be found in the following circular letter, addressed to the lieutenants of the several counties in Great Britain; by which it will appear, that our *volunteers* receive *pay*:

"My Lord,

"His majesty's confidential servants have thought it to be their duty, on further considering the improvements of which the volunteer system is capable, to extend to it every useful aid and assistance which it can receive, consistent with that due attention to that principle of œconomy on which the whole system is founded, and have resolved to allow of adjutants and serjeant majors on permanent pay to corps of different descriptions of force, consisting of the following numbers, without any other conditions or restrictions than such as may be applicable to the whole volunteer establishment.

"Cavalry.—To every corps, consisting of not less than three hundred effective rank and file of cavalry, an adjutant on permanent pay will be allowed (pay, when not called out into actual service, six shillings per day, two shillings ditto for a horse.)

"To every corps of cavalry, under three hundred rank and file, but consisting of not less than three troops of forty effective rank and file each, a serjeant major will be allowed on permanent pay (pay, when not called out into actual service, three shillings and eleven pence per day, including nine pence for a horse.)

"Infantry.—To every corps of infantry (including artillery) consisting of not less than five hundred effective rank and file, one adjutant and one serjeant major, on permanent pay will be allowed (pay, when not called out into actual service, six shillings per day; ditto of serjeant major, ditto, one shilling and sixpence per day, and two and sixpence per week extra.

"To every corps of infantry, consisting of not less than three hundred effective rank and file, one adjutant, but no serjeant major, will be allowed on permanent pay (pay six shillings per day, as above.)

"To a corps of infantry, under three hundred effective rank and file, but consisting of not less than three companies of sixty privates each, one serjeant major will be allowed, on permanent pay (pay as above, one shilling and sixpence per day, and two shillings and sixpence per week extra.)

"When the corps to which the adjutants and serjeant majors are appointed shall be called out on actual service by competent authority, these staff officers will receive the pay of their respective ranks, as in the line.

"The adjutants are to be recommended by the lords lieutenants, for his majesty's approbation, in the usual manner; but no recommendation of an adjutant can be attended to, unless the person recommended has served four years at least, as a commissioned officer, or a serjeant major in the regulars, embodied militia, fencibles, or East-India Company's service; and the recommendation must likewise distinctly express the actual period of the service of the person recommended, and specify the particular corps in which the service was performed.

"Serjeant majors may be appointed by the commandant of the corps, from among persons who have served at least three years as non-commissioned officers, in his majesty's regular, embodied militia, or fencible forces; and the period of such service, and the particular corps in which it was performed, are to be distinctly specified in the first pay list which shall be transmitted to the War-office after the appointment takes place.

"All adjutants and serjeant majors who are placed on permanent pay are to consider themselves as, at all times, at the disposal and under the commanding officer of the corps for the time being, and are expected to give their attendance whenever required, for the drill, good order, and management of the corps.

"It is not intended by this arrangement to make any alterations as to the appointment of adjutants or serjeant majors without pay; they will still be allowed to corps of different strength, as directed by the militia laws, and as before pointed out by the War office regulations of the 28th of September, 1803.

Whitehall, Jan. 14, 1804. "Yorke."

sisted of three hundred and forty-three officers and men. Thus the kingdom of Candi was lost as rapidly as it was gained (*m*).

In another part of India, the flames of war, which were thought to be nearly extinguished, were afresh lighted up in the neighbourhood of the presidency of Bombay. Scindia, a powerful Mahratta chief, took umbrage because the British espoused the cause of Bajerow, the Peishwa, and therefore declared war against the English. General Wellesley being invested with the command of the troops, (sixteen thousand men, infantry and cavalry,) commenced, without loss of time, the siege of Ahmednaghur, which was taken by escalade in three days, in August, 1803, with very inconsiderable loss on the part of the English. This fortress is one of the most considerable in the territories of Scindia, and the very key of his dominions.

In addition to this important acquisition, the Bombay troops, under the command of lieutenant-colonel Woodington, had taken Baroach, in the Guzzurat. Great havoc took place of the Arabs in the fort, as the affair was decided by the bayonet. The only English officer killed in this dreadful conflict was captain Temple, of the eighty-sixth regiment. Holkar, it is said, offered to remain neuter, on condition that he should share in the spoils of his rivals. A considerable force at the same time marched from the Bengal provinces into the country belonging to the rajah of Benares, so that the native princes in hostility were to be attacked on all sides. The Malabarians threatened to give the English a good deal of trouble, but were quiet by the prudent conduct of the government.

In the West Indies the British cruizers were remarkably successful. Lieutenant Canning, of his majesty's ship Desirée, on the 18th of August, 1803, brought out of Monte Christi Roads five schooners and a sloop under a heavy fire from the batteries; and on the 4th of September, our boats, manned by a part of the crew of the Desirée, brought out of the same roads six sail of schooners, being all the vessels in that anchorage. Sir T. Duckworth transmitted a list of vessels, captured, detained, and destroyed, by his majesty's ships under his command on the Jamaica station, to the amount of forty-five, in the space of six weeks.

The London Gazette of the 7th of February, 1804, announced the destruction of the French national brig La Mutiné, on the coast of Cuba, by captain Austin Bissel, of his majesty's ship Racoon. La Mutiné received so much damage, that all her masts went overboard, and she was full of water. She carried eighteen long eighteen pounders, and was full of men, from Port au Paix bound to St. Jago. This happened on the 18th of August, 1803.

Captain Bissel likewise on the 13th of October, when standing in for the coast of Cuba, observed several vessels to windward coming close along the shore, all of whom hauled in towards Cumberland Harbour before sun-set. He anchored in a small bay, in expectation of seeing them pass by in the night: day-light on the 14th discovered nine or ten sail, a few miles to the windward, nearly becalmed. He got under weigh with a fine land wind, and chased them: a brig, schooner, and cutter (full of men) hoisted French colours, and fired guns to windward. The brig attempted to get in shore, while the other two, with the assistance of their sweeps and boats, endeavoured to join her. He had only time to send an officer and a small party of men to secure the brig, before his attention was called to the schooner and cutter, who had by this time got nearly within gun-shot, and were firing at him. When within pistol-shot, he fired a broadside at the cutter, which was as speedily returned with long guns and musquetry; he then wore round, and fired the other broadside into the schooner, and so on alternately, keeping up a running fight, and preventing either of them from raking him. This kind of engagement lasted more than an hour, both schooner and cutter keeping up an incessant fire of musquetry; nor was it until the cutter was literally beaten to a wreck, and had many men killed, that she struck her colours: the schooner seeing her companion fall, made off under all sail. Lieutenant Lawrence took possession of the cutter, and captain Bissel then made sail after the schooner with a fresh breeze. He again got within gun-shot of her, and, after firing a few shot, she surrendered without further resistance. After gaining possession of the schooner, he chased another brig, which proved to be an American: he then stood in shore to rejoin the brig he had taken in the morning, but had the mortification to find that, while he was engaging the schooner and cutter, they had overpowered the officer, and had run her on shore on the rocks, where they had all landed with their arms: he, however, got all his men back safe. The brig was called La Petite Fille, commanded by M. Piquet, and had on board one hundred and eighty troops, including about fifty officers of all ranks: the schooner, La Jeune Aigle, of six small guns, commanded by M. Serin, had on board eighty troops: the cutter, L'Amelie, commanded by M. du Puy, carrying four long guns, and many swivels, with upwards of seventy troops. Their loss is about forty killed and wounded. The damage the Racoon received was immaterial, being principally in her sails.

In returning to the affairs of Europe, the situation of our own country is entitled to the first consideration. Ministers continued to receive the warmest assurances from Spain, of her intention to observe the most rigid neutrality, and to remain on a friendly footing with the English; our friendship with Russia and Sweden, was daily strengthened by mutual acts of kindness and civility. The prepa-

(*m*) The following extract from the dispatch, which appeared in the London Gazette of the 7th of February, 1804, from the honourable Frederic North, dated Columbo, July 8, 1803, will explain the circumstances of this massacre much better than any abstract account:

"I enclose the deposition of a person, stating himself to be an eye-witness of one of the most atrocious acts of perfidy and cruelty ever committed. Every particular of the narration may not be true, but it appears that Candi was attacked in the midst of a truce by the first Adigaar, on the 23d, or rather, I believe, on the 24th ult. That major Davie, commanding the garrison there, capitulated on the following day, and that after he left the fort, all the English soldiers who accompanied him were treacherously murdered in cold blood. I cannot believe that major Davie would have consented to evacuate on any terms less favourable, than those stated in the deposition, viz. of being allowed to proceed with arms and ammunition to Trincomalee, and that care should be taken of the sick, whom he left behind; for the fort was rendered, in the opinion of most military men, tenable against any force that was likely to be brought against it, and large supplies of provisions had been sent thither, in addition to those which lieutenant-colonel Barbut declared to be sufficient for six months consumption, two months ago. Lieutenant Huskisson was also on the road from Trincomalee (as major Davie must have known) with a hundred Doolies, under an escort of one hundred and fifty Malays; and when I heard of the breach of the truce, I ordered lieutenant-colonel Hunter to proceed from Trincomalee with two hundred of his majesty's tenth regiment, and fifty Malays, to secure the evacuation, which, had it been delayed for a fortnight, would have been effected with safety. But what I can less account for, is, that major Davie, having obtained such terms, could have consented to lay down his arms; when he must have felt that the person who insisted on such infraction of agreement, could have no other design but that of murdering him and his men; and when he must, in common with all the army, have known that a corps of forty Europeans, in good health, and of two hundred Malays, might cut their way through an army of Candians, to any part of the island. Indeed, captain Mudge, late commandant of Fort Macdowall, brought off his men in circumstances of as great difficulty; and a small detachment of twenty-two invalid Malays, fourteen convalescents of the nineteenth regiment from Candi, and sixty sepoys, under lieutenant Nixon, ensign Grant, and ensign Smellie, defended themselves in a miserable little fort of fascines at Dembadenia, for more than a week, against an immense multitude collected by the second Adigaar, after they had expended their ammunition, till they were relieved by a detachment of fifty Europeans, and as many sepoys, whom I sent, under the command of captain Blackall, of the fifty-first, to bring them down, in which he succeeded without loss. Under the impression of so dreadful a misfortune, it is satisfactory to me to state, that an opinion formed of a spirit of defection in his majesty's Malay regiment, is perfectly unfounded. Some individuals had indeed deserted from Candi; but the great majority, including all officers of influence and respectability, were staunch to the end. Those who, after the English were separated from them, were forced into the Candian service, were certainly not blameable; and of these, five have already escaped, and arrived here, who say, that all the others are ready to follow their example. The princes of that nation, who are settled at Columbo, waited on me as soon as the melancholy intelligence arrived, to assure me of their regret and indignation, at hearing that any Malays had deserted, and of their invariable attachment to the British government. To this extract is annexed the deposition of Milihanage Joannes, a Lascoryn of the reformed religion, who had made his escape from Candi. In this affidavit he stated, that he was present when major Davie received an ola from the Adigaar, which the major read, importing, that the whole might proceed to Trincomalee, without receiving any molestation; and that the next day (the 7th of June, 1803,) they set out with arms and ammunition. On the third day of their march, as they were preparing to cross a river on a raft, an order came from the Adigaar to major Davie, to make his men lay down their arms, and return to Candi; which, after some time, they consented to. On their way they came to a village, where two cannons were placed, when the Malays were ordered to separate from the rest, and to proceed to Candi, which they did. Soon afterwards, all the prisoners were taken, two by two, and delivered over to the Candians, who took them to a little distance and cut their heads off. They were going to kill the women, but this was put a stop to by order of the Adigaar. Major Davie, and the captain of the artillery, were carried off to the Adigaar; the deponent saw them the next day, and was told they were to be carried to Hargaroonketti, where the king was at the time. In the evening the Adigaar collected all the effects which the English had left, and ordered all the cannon to be fired without ball, as a mark of rejoicing."

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rations for the pretended invasion were carried on with great activity in all the ports of Boulogne, Dunkirk, &c. but the daring attitude of this country, set all the threats of Bonaparte at defiance. Such was the vigilance and enterprising spirit of our cruizers in the Channel, that the French dare not venture to sail along their own coast, except in a few instances. The first consul prohibited the introduction of our manufactures into any part of the Continent, where his power could reach, particularly in the different towns of Holland.

His majesty's health had for some time been but indifferent. The disorder was supposed to be a rheumatic gout, which manifested itself in his feet. He had, however, so far recovered as to ride out occasionally. His illness at length encreased to such a degree, that on the 14th of February, 1804, the following bulletin was communicated to the Prince of Wales, and other branches of the royal family: "His majesty is much indisposed to-day." To satisfy the public on this occasion, a bulletin was published every day, signed by two of the physicians, in which the state of his indisposition was announced.

On the 28th, Mr. Addington declared in the house of commons, "That there is not at this time a necessary suspension of the exercise of the royal authority:" and this communication was heightened, by the announcement of the physicians that "his majesty was in a progressive state of amendment;" which ended in a compleat restoration of health.

The fate of the ship Caledonia is one of the most lamentable of the kind. The Caledonia had left Balasoa Roads on the 18th of May, 1803, bound to Bombay, with several passengers on board. On the 29th of the same month a smoke was observed coming up the fore hatchway, and a cry of fire was heard. It was soon discovered that the fire had communicated generally in the hold, the main and after hatches having been burst open by the violence of the flames, which raged with such fury, that captain Thomas (captain of the ship) Mrs. Thomas, colonel Paterson, &c. to the amount in all of ninety-three people, embarked in the long boat. In the pinnace, ten sea connies and lascars, seven of whom were unfortunately lost on the rock when landing. In the jolly-boat, were the gunner and fourteen lascars, four of whom were dashed to pieces on the surf on Malabar Point, in attempting to land. The total number of souls on board were one hundred and fifty-seven, out of which only seventy-one were saved.

We have to record, among the acts of benevolence and humanity that his majesty has occasionally conferred, the timely relief which he afforded out of his privy purse to cardinal York (*n*), as highly praiseworthy. "It is a transaction," says sir J. C. Hippisley, "that forms an epoch in the history of the house of Brunswick, as well as in the annals of our country." Several letters were sent from cardinal Borgia, cardinal York, and Pius VII. on this subject, to sir J. C. Hippisley, which are specimens of the unaffected effusions of grateful and illustrious minds.

On the 7th of February, the earl of Suffolk moved in the house of lords, "That a committee of naval and military officers, members of that house, do advise with government respecting the volunteers, and recommend such measures as they may think expedient, for rendering them more serviceable and efficient." Lord Hawkesbury opposed the motion on the grounds, that all questions of this nature were supposed to originate with his majesty's ministers; and the question was negatived without a division.

In the house of commons, sir J. W. Anderson presented a petition from Messrs. Boydell; the prayer of which petition was, that leave be given to bring in a bill to enable Messrs. Boydell to dispose of their magnificent gallery, and collection of pictures and prints, by way of lottery. The petition was received without one dissenting voice, and ordered to be referred to a committee, to report their opinion thereon.

The following members were chosen to try the merits of the Southwark petition: W. Burroughs, James Buller, G. P. Moore, Sir W. Paxton, J. Porter, J. Palmer, R. H. Lee, C. Chaplin, J. Frail, J. Farquhar, P. North, Hon. G. Lowry Cole, J. Baker.—D. P. Coke, T. B. Bernard, nominees. The motion was agreed to.

On the motion of Mr. Corry, that the house do resolve itself into a committee on the Irish Bank Restriction Bill; lord Archibald Hamilton said, he was convinced that the measure of restriction generally was a great national evil. It was first introduced in time of war, it was renewed in peace; and now that we were plunged into war again, it was proposed to be continued. The result of these renewals was, that the paper currency of Ireland had encreased to a most alarming extent, and the evils attendant on this encrease had been magnified in a proportionate degree. At the time the bank of Ireland Restriction Bill had passed the Irish house of commons, the amount of bank notes issued was six hundred thousand; and at the moment he was speaking, he found that their amount was two millions six hundred thousand; so that in consequence of the measure of restriction, there was an encrease to the amount of two millions. The proportion of gold to be balanced against this paper, might be about one million. Gold coin rose exactly in proportion as paper currency was depreciated in value. The effect of this depreciation of money was felt very strongly on the rate of exchange between this country and Ireland. For a number of years, the rate of exchange between Dublin and London had fluctuated from eight or nine to sixteen per cent. to the disadvantage of Ireland: but now the loss was far more considerable, it was as high as seventeen, eighteen, or even nineteen per cent, in some instances not less than twenty. The directors of the bank of Ireland had been censured, because they had extended the issues of their paper with such improvident liberality. If there be too great a profusion of paper currency in Ireland, it is not the fault of the bank directors. They have no controul over the issuing of notes by private banks of the metropolis, or private banks in different parts of the country. The principle on which the restriction was to be continued was the simplest imaginable. Its continuance was absolutely essential, as long as the restriction continued in this country. To compel the bank of Ireland to pay in cash when the restriction continued here, would be equally impolitic and unjust. The bill for restricting the issues of cash by the bank of Ireland, was, in fact, a bill auxiliary to, and coëxistent with, the bill for similar purposes in England.

Mr. Foster said, there were circumstances in the situation of Ireland, which were perhaps not generally known to the house. In the northern counties all business was carried on by means of gold. There was not in Ireland one real shilling, and even the brass was not of the first quality. Those who bought linen were obliged to obtain gold to enable them to complete their purchases; and for this purpose to give a premium of two shillings and fourpence on each guinea. Thus it was clear in the first instance, that the linen manufactory was subject to a drawback of no less than ten per cent. Much might be expected from a serious enquiry, and a strong effort should be made to introduce a suitable remedy.

Mr. Thornton lamented, that at that moment the paper of the bank of Ireland was at an actual depreciation of ten per cent. After a few observations from lord Castlereagh, Mr. Foster, and Mr. Johnstone, the bill passed the committee and was reported.

On the motion for the third reading of the bill, lord Archibald Hamilton said he understood, notwithstanding the rate of exchange had been for some time past increasing against Ireland, yet that the lords of the Irish treasury received their salaries at par. Mr. Corry answered, that certain officers from Ireland, at that time employed in this country in the discharge of their public duty, were paid their salaries at par. The bill was then read a third time.

Sir Robert Lawley having called the attention of the house to the indisposition of his majesty, was anxious to know if ministers intended to lay any explicit communication before the house on a subject which he considered to be one of the highest importance, and the deepest interest to the country. The Chancellor of the Exchequer (Mr. Addington) answered in substance as follows: "I rejoice to have the happiness of being enabled to state, that in the opinion of his majesty's *confidential* servants, such a communication as that required, is not necessary."

Mr. Fox declared, that he should feel himself deficient in duty to the house, deficient in duty to his majesty, deficient in respect to the principles of the constitution, if

(*n*) Cardinal York was the grandson of James II. younger brother of Charles Edward, and the last survivor of the unfortunate house of Stuart. His eminence early dedicated himself to a life congenial with the habits of his mind. Placid, humane, and temperate, he sought consolation in the bosom of his church, as the only apparent asylum to secure him from the storms that followed his family. The malign influence of the stars, which had marked the vicissitudes of his house, was not exhausted. At the age of seventy-five he was driven from Frascati, his episcopal residence, by the French, plundered of all his property, and urged to seek his safety in flight.

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he could bring himself to acquiesce in the answer which Mr. Addington had just given. Hitherto the house and the public had known nothing of the indisposition of his majesty, except through the medium of the daily reports which had been published by official authority. Mr. Addington had told the house, that it was the opinion of his majesty's *confidential* servants that no communication was necessary. I have to say, said Mr. Fox, that I know of no such persons as the king's *confidential* servants; they are, he added, a body utterly unknown in any constitutional view of the subject. He knew of a body of individuals more particularly employed in the executive government, but they could only be recognized in that capacity alone. In a general point of view, they could claim no superior distinction, they were nothing more than privy counsellors. There was one, and only one point of distinction, and that was the circumstance of their being more frequently called upon for their advice by the sovereign, when any business of emergency occurred, and a council was to be held, and that was the only distinction between them and the other members of his majesty's privy council. And would it not be necessary to shew that this distinction was inseparable from the regular daily exercise of all the royal functions. From the moment that the sovereign, from illness, or from any other cause, was rendered incapable of discharging the functions of royalty, those persons described as *confidential* servants of the crown, were nothing more than *ordinary* privy counsellors. The source of their distinction was for the time destroyed, and it was ridiculous to talk of their continuing the exercise of powers expressly delegated from the chief magistrate in person. He should at all times protest against the doctrine, that certain individuals, stiling themselves his majesty's confidential servants, should assume the right of determining when a communication to parliament should be brought forward. For any individuals, whatsoever situation they might hold under government, whether as chancellor of the exchequer, or as secretaries of state, to take upon them the right of judging when an undoubted privilege of parliament was to be exercised, was an assumption of power which no former ministers ever did attempt in any period of our history.

Mr. Addington attempted to explain, and said, that he did not mean to dispute, that the ultimate determination should rest with the house with regard to the steps requisite to meet any extraordinary emergency arising from the suspension of the royal functions; and then protested, that his majesty's ministers did not wish to conceal any degree of information, which, consistent with their duty, could possibly be disclosed. They were anxious that nothing which ought to be known, should be withheld; whilst they were desirous of being regulated by that delicacy which, on a subject of that nature, was on all hands allowed to be so important.

After a few words from Mr. Fox, Mr. Addington, Mr. Pitt, and others, Mr. Windham observed, that parliament was called upon to trust to the statement of ministers. They were to be led blindfold when they were about to decide upon a subject of the highest interest to every loyal man in the empire. The language of ministers, if it meant any thing, went the length of telling the house, "You are not to pretend to judge when any early communication is to be brought forward; you are to go on, till we tell you when to halt. Continue your support; and we will be responsible. Do not be clamorous in your calls for enquiry; wait till we let you know that the right time is come, and then all will go on smoothly." Mr. Windham reprobated this doctrine as dangerous and unconstitutional, as it amounted to a declaration that ministers might, for whatever time they pleased, keep the country in want of an executive government.

Mr. T. Grenville observed, that it appeared to him, from the whole of the explanations, as they were called, that there was a constant design to divert the attention of the house from the conduct of ministers on the subject; and the attempt to divert it was made only because it would not bear discussion. After this, sir R. Lawley, who had moved the question of adjournment, withdrew it.

On the resumption of the debate on the Volunteer Regulation Bill, all the members that spoke to the question bore testimony to the zeal and patriotism of that body; and, after some debate, in which Mr. T. Grenville and others took an active part, the Chancellor of the Exchequer said, he was ready to discuss the charge at a future day. The bill was then read a second time.

In the house of lords, on the 29th of February, lord King moved, "That an account be laid before the house of all pensions and salaries chargeable on the revenues of Ireland, and paid at par in this country." This motion was agreed to.

We have before observed that the flames of war had been rekindled in India, and that little hopes were expected of the restoration of peace in that quarter so long as the ambitious spirit of Scindia remained unsubdued. We had, however, every thing to hope from the courage and discipline of our troops. Intelligence was received in the month of March, of the capture of the important fortress of Pawngat; and farther particulars arrived of the attack on the fort of Ahmednaghur, by the reduction of which Scindia lost a revenue of twelve lacks of rupees.

On the 5th of January, the Æolus, of thirty-two guns, captain Evans, arrived at Port Royal in Jamaica, from a cruise, having with her a Spanish ship of war of eighteen guns, which she fell in with off Hispaniola. On firing a shot across the latter, to bring her to, the Spaniard poured in a broadside, which killed two men. This was instantly returned by the Æolus, which soon silenced the Spaniard, killing the first captain, the first lieutenant, and thirty-six men, and wounding a number more, besides carrying away her fore and mizen masts, and reducing the ship almost to a wreck: in which state she was under the necessity of striking.

About this time Bonaparte and his staff visited Boulogne for a third time, in order it was thought to direct the immediate embarkation of the troops on that coast, and to fix, in his own pompous language, "the seal of our ruin." After inspecting the gun boats and fortifications, he returned to Paris. But from the vigilance of the English ministers, it is certain that they expected the long threat of invasion would now be put into execution. In the North of England, at Newcastle and other places, orders and regulations were issued under the act of the 43rd of the king, "to enable his majesty to provide more effectually for the defence and security of the realm, &c." These orders were distributed to every housekeeper in Newcastle, as specifying the places of rendezvous, in the event of an invasion in that quarter, for such inhabitants as might be desirous of being removed, but who were unable to remove themselves. Each person was to provide himself with three days' provision, and utensils for cooking; besides which, beds and blankets, as no other description of property would be allowed to be put in the carriages appropriated for the removal of the inhabitants. Newbury, Ryton, Wylam, and their vicinities, were, in the first instance, appointed the places of general depot for Newcastle; and all persons travelling on foot, were particularly requested to take the bye roads, in order to keep the grand west road free from any interruption to his majesty's forces.

In Ireland every thing wore the appearance of a return of tranquillity; and the most active preparations were carrying on to place that country in a state of defence, but even in a menacing position. The fortifications erected at the Pigeon House, at the entrance of the harbour, near Dublin, were of a most formidable nature (*o*). And a great number of wooden frames, pointed with iron spikes, calculated to impede the landing of the foe, in such parts as are open to the sea. In the dock at Ringsend, forty gun boats were put into a state of readiness to act in defence of the harbour, which number was to be encreased. These boats were of the size of those used in the herring fishery, in the Channel. Each had a brass eighteen pounder in the bow, and from four to six thirty-six pound carronades abaft; and as the sides of the vessel were made stout, and if used in offensive warfare would very well carry one hundred men in each, with their appointments and provisions, and sustain a longer voyage than that to the coast of our enemy.

The Paris papers, in the middle of March, brought an account of the arrest of general Moreau, charged with being in a conspiracy with general Pichegru, Georges, (the Vendean chieftain,) and others, to assassinate Bonaparte, at the instigation of the British government. Generals Moreau, Pichegru, and Georges, were arrested: Moreau was transferred from the Abbey to the Temple,

(*o*) On that part of it, fronting the road from the city, a strong bastion and counterscarp were erected, with a fosse and chevaux-de-frize in front: on this battery four pieces of heavy ordnance were mounted. Strong curtain walls, composed of stone, were erected on the south, north, and west sides, with a great number of heavy cannon, with loop holes, through which the soldiers could act with perfect security.

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and nobody was allowed admittance to him. On his examination before the grand judge, in the presence of Bonaparte, he denied all the charges brought against him. When general Pichegru was taken, he was carried before the counsellor of state and police director Réal, and underwent a long examination, in which he is said to have behaved with great insolence, but which we do not give credit to (*p*). His examination was soon followed by the report of the grand judge, to which a series of letters and papers were annexed; the object of which was to shew that Mr. Drake, the British minister at Munich, was employed in the project of destroying the French government, blowing up the powder mills, and disorganizing the French armies. Among the accusations exhibited against him in this report, was one accusing him of having sent an agent to Paris, to execute this project; and these instructions, said to be furnished to him, as well as his correspondence after his arrival at Paris, are given at full length. In one of the letters Mr. Drake desires him to print an address to the army, not to suffer Moreau to fall a victim to the jealousy of the consul. This mass of fabrications, was printed and distributed gratis over all France, and copies of it immediately sent to the respective courts by extraordinary couriers.

On the 17th of February, Joubert, the president of the tribunate, opened that assembly with a speech, in which he said, "When a great empire, after long struggles, is at last placed on its basis, what can the efforts of enemies, or the delirium of passion, accomplish against it? The enemy's government organized assassination; and to complete the evil, we find involved in their plots a name (he alluded to Moreau) which has long been accompanied with illustrious recollections."

In this sitting, the brother of general Moreau, who was also a member of the tribunate, attempted several times to speak, but in vain, for some time. Having at length obtained a hearing, he gave way to his fraternal affections in the following words: "Citizen president, you have heard the orators of the government, you have this morning read the orders published by the governor of Paris; both these publications are in part directed against general Moreau. I cannot see without the greatest sorrow that so much pains have, for a long time been taken, to calumniate a man who has rendered important services to the republic, and who has not at this moment the liberty of defending himself. I declare to the whole nation that my brother is innocent of the atrocities ascribed to him. Let him have the opportunity of justifying himself, and he will clear himself from those imputations. I request in his name, in my own, in the name of his afflicted family, that his trial may be conducted with the greatest solemnity. I request that he may be tried before one of the ordinary tribunals; it will be easy for him to prove his innocence. I affirm that all that has been said is an infamous calumny." As soon as Moreau had done speaking he left the tribunal.

The conservative senate, on the 18th of February, waited on Bonaparte with an address, wherein the British government was not forgotten; to which the first consul replied in the following terms:

"Since I attained the supreme magistracy, a great many plots have been formed against my life. Educated in camps, I have never regarded as important dangers which gave me no fear; but I cannot avoid experiencing a deep and painful feeling when I consider the situation in which this great nation would have been placed, if this last plot had succeeded; for it is principally against the glory, the liberty, and the destiny of the French people, that the conspiracy was formed. I have long since renounced the hope of enjoying the pleasures of private life; all my days are employed in fulfilling the duties which my fate, and the will of the French people, have imposed upon me. Heaven will watch over France, and defeat the plots of the wicked."

On the 2nd of March, the following bulletin was published at St. James's: "His Majesty is going on favourably." In the course of a few weeks his majesty was so far recovered, as to be able to hold consultations with his ministers.

We have now to record an event of an affecting nature—the duel between lord Camelford and Mr. Best; the circumstances of which were as follows: On Saturday evening, the 10th of March, Mr. Best met a lady (Mrs. Simmonds) to whom lord Camelford was partial. Mrs. Simmonds wished captain Best to accompany her home; and, on his refusal, said he would have cause to repent of it, for "she would set lord Camelford on his back." Accordingly, at the Prince of Wales's coffee house, where they generally dined, lord Camelford went up to Mr. Best, and said, loud enough to be heard by all the company, "I find, Sir, that you have spoke of me in the most unwarrantable terms." Mr. Best replied, "that he was utterly unconscious of having deserved such a charge." Lord Camelford replied, "that he was not ignorant of what he had reported to Mrs. Simmonds, and pronounced him to be a scoundrel, a liar, and a ruffian." Mr. Best said, "these were epithets which admitted but of one course," and a meeting was immediately settled for the next morning. The place was not fixed. Lord Camelford desired the honourable Mr. Devereux, son to lord Hertford, to arrange matters with Mr. Nichol, who was named by Mr. Best as his second, as to the time and place. In the course of the evening, Mr. Best conveyed to lord Camelford the strongest assurances that the information he had received was unfounded; and that believing he had acted under a false impression, he would be satisfied if his lordship would retract the expressions he had used. This lord Camelford refused to do. They met in the morning at a coffee house in Oxford Street, agreeable to the appointment which had been made; and here again Mr. Best endeavoured to prevail on his lordship to retract the epithets which he had used. He said to him, "Camelford, we have been friends, and I know the unsuspecting generosity of your nature; upon my honour you have been imposed upon by a strumpet; do not persist in expressions under which one of us must fall." Lord Camelford answered, "Best, this is child's play, the thing must go on." In going to the ground, which was a field behind Holland House, his lordship repeated to his second, that he was the aggressor, but that he could not bring himself to retract what he had once said: that he knew well, Mr. Best and he were two of the best shots in England; one of them must fall; but whatever might be the issue of the affair, he begged of him to bear testimony that he acquitted Mr. Best of all blame. No remonstrance, however, could prevail on him to retract his words. They fired together, and lord Camelford fell, to all appearance dead. In an instant, however, he recovered the shock, so far as to exclaim, "I am killed, but I acquit Best; I alone was to blame." He begged them to consult their safety, and accordingly Mr. Best and Mr. Nichol departed. Mr. Devereux remained with him till a man came up, and conveyed him to the house of Mr. Ottey, in the neighbourhood. Surgeons were immediately sent for: it appeared that the ball had entered his right breast, and passed through his lungs, lodged in the back bone, and injured the spine. His lordship lingered till Saturday evening, the 17th of March, and died. On the Monday morning following the Coroner's Inquest sat on the body; and, after a full investigation, returned a verdict of Wilful Murder against some person or persons unknown (*q*).

In the house of commons, lord King having alluded to the state of the sovereign's health, expressed a hope that the

(*p*) The manner of Pichegru's arrest was as follows: The broker, Le Blanc, was the person who betrayed Pichegru, who occupied a fifth floor in his house, for which he paid fifteen thousand livres a month. Le Blanc went to general Murat, the governor of Paris, and offered to inform him of Pichegru's place of concealment, and to deliver him up for one hundred thousand livres, (about four thousand pounds sterling.) This sum was promised him. The manner of arresting him was then planned. Le Blanc introduced the gens d'armes into his house at night, when Pichegru was asleep, and gave a key to his room, as they were informed that Pichegru had with him two pistols and a dagger; they opened the door with as little noise as possible, and rushed on his bed. Though surprized and alarmed, Pichegru conducted himself with the greatest presence of mind, and in such a manner that even his enemies were forced to speak highly of his courage, and even to pity his misfortunes. He jumped out of his bed, naked and without arms; knocked down four gens d'armes, and they were unable to hold him, though six in number. He almost choaked two, in pushing them against the chimney; a third he struck with such force upon the breast, that he spit blood; and the fourth he griped with such strength by the arm, that he cried out in agony, "If you do not let me loose, I will shoot you through the head." With a loss of part of the flesh he got loose, and Pichegru exclaimed, "Fire, rascal, and you will receive a sword of honour!" At last, he was obliged, from fatigue, to capitulate and surrender himself, upon condition of not being tied or chained. He was, however, wounded in the head, and on the shoulders, and had lost a great deal of blood. In dressing himself, he declared, "that if he had not been deprived of his arms, he should not have fallen into their hands." Bonaparte had ordered the gens d'armes to take him alive, and they were all picked men.

(*q*) His lordship bequeathed the principal part of his fortune to his sister, lady Grenville. He left several sums to be devoted to benevolent purposes. Soon after his lordship's death, the rev. William Cockburne, published his will, with some remarks upon his character. The following extracts are taken from his will: "There are many other matters which, at another time, I might be inclined to mention, but I will say nothing

the secretary of state would afford that consolatory information which had been given in the other house of parliament. To which lord Hawkesbury replied, "That there existed at present no necessary suspension whatever of his majesty's royal functions or authorities."

Mr. Foster referred to what he said on a former day relative to the paper issues and exchanges of Ireland. He stated, that the rate of exchange against Ireland had been rising for some pears past, and had encreased so rapidly within the last five or six months, that it was then at seventeen or eighteen *per cent.* which, as the exchange at par was eight one-third, occasioned a loss to Ireland of ten *per cent.* Mr. Foster entered very particularly into the matter, and observed, that two shillings and four pence Irish currency was given for each guinea, which amounted to a premium of ten *per cent.* But why such a rise had taken place in the value of gold, was a subject worthy of investigation. At length, after a great deal of debate on the subject, the motion concerning the depreciation of paper currency in Ireland was agreed to, and a committee appointed.

The house then resolved itself into a committee of the whole house on the Volunteer Regulation Bill, and after much discussion, the principal arguments of which have been before adverted to, the report was agreed to.

On the 8th of March, the earl of Hardwicke accompanied by several of the great officers of state, laid the foundation stone of the new bank of Ireland, on the site of the late house of commons, in College Green, Dublin.

At this period several tons of dollars were sent to Birmingham, by the canal, to be converted into Bank Tokens.

In the beginning of April, official intelligence of the most brilliant victories obtained in the East Indies, by generals Wellesley and Lake, over the combined forces of Dowlut Row Scindia, and the rajah Berar. The battle was fought on the 23rd of September, 1803, near Alljunty Pass, and ninety pieces of cannon were taken from the enemy. The English officers commanding the brigades, and the mounted officers of the infantry, had their horses shot under them (*r*).

In the general orders on the subject of this victory, the governor and council signified their intention of presenting honorary colours to the cavalry and infantry, and of causing the names of all who fell to be inserted in a monument to be erected at Fort William in Bengal.

On the 9th of April, a Gazette Extraordinary was published, containing dispatches which had been received at the India House, from Bombay. They related to the operations of general Lake before Agra, under date of the 10th, 12th, 14th, and 18th of October. In the last of these dispatches, addressed to marquis Wellesley, the general announces the capture of Agra in these words: "My lord, I have the pleasure to inform you, that the important fortress of Agra, termed by the natives the Key of Hindostan, capitulated last night (October 17), and the garrison, consisting of between five and six thousand men, marched out at noon this day (October 18), when the place was immediately occupied by our troops, under the command of Brigadier General Macdonald. The only terms required by the garrison were, protection to their persons, and private property."

On the 21st of April, dispatches were received at the India House, by way of Bagdad, which were published in the London Gazette. By these dispatches it appears, that the commander in chief obtained a most complete and decisive victory on the 1st of October, 1803, at Cassowly, over a large body of the enemy. General Lake says, that the army which he combatted at this time, consisted of "the whole of the fifteen regular battalions, which had been sent from the Decan, under the command of Monsieur Dundernez, and two battalions of the same description, which had escaped from Delhi. I therefore have the satisfaction of congratulating your excellency upon the annihilation of the whole of the regular force in Scindia's service, commanded by French officers (*s*).

General Wellesley, in a letter to the governor in council in Bombay, under the date Furdipoor, October 24, announced that Burhampore had surrendered, without opposition, to colonel Stevenson, on the 15th of that month; as did Assur Ghur, on the 21st of October, after a slight resistance. Assur Ghur was the last fortress in the Decan, belonging to Scindia.

On the 5th of April, a dispatch was received from the honourable Frederick North, governor of Ceylon; in which his excellency stated, that on the 28th of March, 1803, the king of Candi, at the head of the most numerous force he could collect in his dominions, attacked the petty fortress of Haugwelle, which was within eighteen miles of the seat of the English government, and defended by a small garrison of fifty Europeans, one hundred and sixty sepoys, and seventeen gun lascars, on the 3d, 4th, and 6th of April. All these actions were obstinate, but the last was by far the most bloody and decisive. After a combat of an hour and a half, the Candians were defeated with great slaughter, their guns taken, together with the royal standard, and more than one hundred and twenty Bengal and Madras Lascars, who had been made prisoners at Candi, and compelled to work at the Candian guns; those of course were brought back to the English service. The king fled at the beginning of the battle, and was followed by his secretaries of state, both of whose heads he immediately ordered to be struck off. A reinforcement was sent up on the night after the battle, consisting of fifty Europeans, and eighty sepoys, under Captain Hankey, to join captain Pollock, who had commanded on that day.

The London Gazette of the 12th of April, contained an account of the capture of the island of Goree, by a French squadron, commanded by M. Mahe. The squadron carried upwards of sixty guns, and six hundred men, about two hundred and forty of whom had been landed in the night. The garrison consisted of fifty-four white men, including officers, who made a noble resistance, but were at length obliged to yield to the superiority of numbers. Our loss consisted of one drummer, eight rank and file, killed; two officers, eight rank and file, wounded; total, nineteen. Of the enemy, three officers, and forty men, killed; two officers and thirty men, wounded. Total, seventy-five.

On the 24th of April, an official letter, addressed to William Marsden, Esq. was published, announcing the recapture of Goree, dated the 15th of March, 1804.

In the catalogue of our marine losses, we have with regret to state that the Apollo frigate, of thirty-eight guns, and about forty sail of the outward bound West India fleet, was lost off Cape Mondego, on the coast of Portugal, early in the morning of the 2d of April, 1804. Captain Dixon, the third lieutenant, and about one hundred of the crew of the Apollo, found a watery grave. This disaster was followed by the melancholy loss of the Magnificent, of seventy-four guns, captain W. R. Jervis. That fine ship struck on a ledge of sunken rocks, not laid down in the charts, near the Black Rocks, off Brest. The captain, officers, and crew, were all providentially saved by the exertions of the boats of the off-shore squadron. They were out but a short time when she turned over, and went down; so that her stores and guns, with the hull, were totally lost.

The rulers of France now finding that the Moniteur was doomed to be the only medium of their libellous attacks

nothing more at present, than that in the present contest, I am fully and entirely the aggressor, as well in spirit as in the letter of the word; should I therefore lose my life in a contest of my own seeking, I most solemnly forbid any of my friends or relations, let them be of whatsoever description they may, from instituting any vexatious proceedings against my antagonist; and should, notwithstanding the above declaration on my part, the laws of the land be put in force against him, I desire that this part of my will may be made known to the king, in order that his royal heart may be moved to extend his mercy towards him." The day previous to his death, his lordship wrote, with his own hand, a codicil to his will; in which he particularly described the place where he wished his remains might be deposited, and assigns his reasons for this request in these words: "I wish my body," says he, "to be removed, as soon as may be convenient, to a country far distant, to a spot not near the haunts of men, but where the surrounding scenery may smile upon my remains." This spot is situated on the picturesque borders of the lake of St. Lampierre, in the canton of Berne, in Switzerland: it is shaded with three spreading sycamores. The centre tree, he desired might be taken up, and, on his body being there deposited, immediately replaced; which was according done, about nine months after his lordship's death. "Let no monument," (he says) "be placed over my grave." At the foot of this tree, his lordship adds, he formerly passed many hours in solitude, contemplating the mutability of human affairs. As a compensation to the proprietors of the spot he described, he left the sum of one thousand pounds. In another part of his will, he desired his relations would not wear mourning apparel for him.

(*r*) In this action, the Europeans killed and wounded, including artillery and officers, were upwards of six hundred; and of the native troops, it was supposed upwards of nine hundred. The wounded amounted to three hundred and forty-six.

(*s*) The total of killed and wounded on this occasion was, one hundred and seventy-two killed, and six hundred and fifty-two wounded.—Two hundred and seventy-seven horses killed; one hundred and fifty-four wounded, and one hundred and twenty-two missing.

Ordnance captured—seventy-one pieces of cannon of different calibres, sixty-four tumbrils complete, laden with ammunition, and forty-four stand of colours.

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on England, scarcely a day passed in which the columns of that paper were not filled with something of the kind, either directly, or by insinuation. In the legislative assembly, every member that spoke, never failed to level his acrimony at this country, probably as the price of his permission to open his lips.

It is evident that the objects of the reports industriously circulated on the continent, were, to degrade the character of the British government in the eyes of all Europe; to prejudice the minds of the French against the state prisoners; to cover the murder of the duke d'Enghien, who had been barbarously put to death; and to furnish Bonaparte with a pretext to insist on those courts that were in his power to dismiss our ministers from them, where they maintained the dignity of the sovereign they represented; and when the trial of general Pichegru was daily expected, it was announced that he had hung himself in prison (*t*).

A letter was received on the 10th of April at the admiralty, from rear admiral Thornborough, enclosing one to him from captain Hardinge, of his majesty's sloop the Scorpion, in which he reported the successful issue of a most gallant and spirited attack which was made by captains Hardinge and Pelly, with the boats of the Scorpion and Beaver, on the Dutch national brig Atalante (*u*), commanded by captain Carp, at anchor within the Vlie roads, on the 31st of March preceding. Captain Hardinge, after detailing the particulars of the engagement, which was obstinate, states, that the captain of the Atalante refused quarter, when most generously offered him, and fell in defence of his brig.

In the house of commons, the Volunteer Bill was recommitted, and several amendments were adopted, among which was one for altering an insertion in one of the exemption clauses to twenty-four days service within the year, instead of stating the periods.

Mr. Crevey moved for papers relative to the proceedings in Ceylon, with a view to ground an enquiry into what took place in that island. He made some observations on the affairs of that colony from the year 1795 to the present time. He condemned the object which gave rise to the war then raging in that country, and adverted to the government of that island, which he condemned as inefficient. He alluded to the impolicy of sending our small force to a distance in the woody and mountainous interior, where their numbers were greatly diminished by the unhealthiness of the climate; and censured them for intriguing at the court of Candi, and dethroning the legal monarch, instead of recalling and concentrating our troops. He also asserted, that the number of exasperated Candians, who surrounded and massacred our force, was upwards of ten thousand. Adverting to the project of sending out two regiments, he asked if the house would admit of such a measure, without enquiring into the object of their service; and advised them to look to the example of the Dutch, who, in 1764, had penetrated and taken Candi twice.

Lord Castlereagh acknowledged that the house had a right to every information on the subject, but the production of the papers would only expose the weakness of the garrison in the island. As this was the case, he should move the previous question, which was carried by a majority of twenty-three.

Mr. Pitt brought forward two motions on the naval defence of the country, under the impression that no objection would be made to the information he wished to obtain. His first motion was, for an account, shewing the number of ships of the line, fifty gun ships, frigates, sloops, gun boats, bomb ships, hired armed sloops, and cutters, in commission, from the 1st of September, 1793, to the 1st of September, 1801, and from the year 1801, to the 1st of September, 1803, distinguishing how many armed sloops and floating batteries. His second motion was to ascertain whether the encrease of gun boats had not been attempted till 1804; and he contrasted this delay with the activity displayed at three periods of the last war, 1794, 1797, and 1801, when a very considerable number of gun boats had been built in less than ten weeks. The next point was to enquire how far our naval force would require new ships, supposing the war to be of considerable duration; and then he took a view of the number of seamen and marines in the beginning of the last war, when sixteen thousand had been augmented to eighteen thousand, and the number encreased in the first year to seventy-six thousand; while in the present war we started with a peace establishment of fifty thousand, to which only thirty-six thousand had been added; which shewed that in the first instance the number had been encreased five fold, while in the latter it had not been doubled.

After a few observations from sir C. Pole, admiral Berkeley, Mr. Wilberforce, Mr. Sheridan, Mr. Fox, Mr. Addington, and captain Markham, the house divided, when there were, for the motion one hundred and thirty, against it two hundred and one; majority seventy-one.

The Volunteer Regulation Bill having passed the house of commons, in which it was debated in every stage, was read a first time in the house of lords, with a few observations, which chiefly turned on the importance of the measure, and the necessity of discussing it with temper.

On the order of the day for the second reading of this bill, lord Hawkesbury remarked, that there were at the time he was addressing the house, one hundred and eighty thousand regular troops in the united kingdom. The volunteer force, however, for general service, though it might be inferior to this, was, he contended, in some points of view, more efficacious than any other species of defensive force: it was intended, he said, to act, in general, as a subsidiary body. But as the principal parts of the debate which took place on the present occasion have been already detailed, there is no necessity for repeating them. Suffice it to say, that after considerable speeches from the earl of Caernarvon, lord Ellenborough, lord King, lord Boringdon, the bishop of Llandaff, lord Romney, lord Grenville, the Lord Chancellor, lord Spencer, and lord Auckland, the bill was read a second time.

On Wednesday, the 28th of March, lord Hawkesbury moved that his majesty's message respecting the Irish militia be taken into consideration. His lordship said, the address would not tend to pledge the house to the adoption of any specific measure; but merely general expressions of their willingness to concur in enabling his majesty to avail himself of the offers made by several regiments of the Irish militia. The voluntary coming forward of these troops in so laudable and patriotic a manner, was following up the auspicious measure of the union, in a most important and striking instance, and tending to identify the interests, the happiness, and prosperity of both parts of the united kingdom. His lordship then moved an address in the general terms which he had stated. This address occasioned a considerable debate, in which the duke of Montrose, the marquis of Sligo, the earl of Limeric, lord Grenville, lord Hobart, and lord Darnley, took a decided part, and the motion was adopted *nem. diss.*

A letter received from admiral Ranier, dated Bombay,

(*t*) The particulars of the death of this unfortunate man are too interesting to be passed over in silence. The following is the account as it appeared in the French papers: "The ex-general, Charles Pichegru, having repeatedly requested, and having given his word of honour that he would make no attempt on his life, Pichegru had obtained the dismission of his guards during the night. Every morning an attendant in waiting came to light his fire with a bundle of wood. Pichegru, on one of the preceding mornings, had laid aside a part of a faggot, by which he thought he might put an end to his existence. In short, on the 5th inst. (April) after having supped very heartily at eleven o'clock, he went to bed about twelve. The attendant in waiting having retired, Pichegru drew from under his pillow, where he had placed it, a black silk handkerchief, which he tied round his neck. The piece of wood which he had kept in reserve, he then made use of to assist him in the project of suicide. He introduced this piece of wood into the two ends of the handkerchief where it was tied; he turned this little stick close into the glands of the neck, as often as he thought necessary to put a stop to respiration. When on the point of losing respiration, he drew the stick behind his ear, and threw himself on the same side of his head, in order to prevent its shifting. Pichegru, naturally fat, full of blood, suffocated by the full meal which he had just taken, and the great pressure which he made, expired during the night.

Next day, in the morning, the attendant came to kindle his fire; he looked towards Pichegru's bed, saw him, as he supposed, in a profound sleep, and retired to do his other work. About half past seven, the attendant came again, saw the head of Pichegru quietly resting on his pillow, and again went away, still fearing to interrupt his sleep. At nine o'clock, he went up a third time; and observed no alteration in the posture of the prisoner, who usually spoke to him when he was awake. The attendant began to be surprized at his sleeping so long, went up to the bed, when he saw his face pale and distorted; he then moved the body, and found it lifeless and without motion. He immediately gave information to the gaoler, who went that instant to inform Thevenot, the judge, and solicitor in this important trial. Eight physicians and surgeons were employed to draw up the *proces verbal* of the state in which the body was found, and this *proces verbal* and the corpse, were brought before the criminal tribunal on the 6th, about one o'clock in the afternoon. The four sections of the tribunal immediately assembled, appointing eight physicians and surgeons to open, in the presence of four commissary judges, assisted by C. Lasfuterie, the body, and state the circumstances of his situation, and the cause of his death. An inquest was immediately held, which was followed by a judicial report of considerable length, stating that the corpse was the body of the ex-general Pichegru, and that he was guilty of suicide.

(*u*) The Atalante carried fifteen long twelve-pounders, and had on board seventy-six men. She was one of the largest brigs in the Dutch navy, and a remarkably fine vessel.

December 14, announced the capture of two Dutch ships, carrying six guns each, and three French ships, laden with merchandize and field artillery, ordnance, &c.

Letters from Jamaica confirmed the failure of the expedition against Curacoa; it was thought proper, however, to keep the island in a state of blockade, by the Blanche frigate, and two government schooners.

Several letters were received from commodore Hood, of his majesty's ship Centaur, our naval commander at the Windward Islands, in the West Indies. The first dated February 6, off Martinique, contained an account of a very gallant action performed by seventy-two seamen and marines belonging to the Centaur, under the command of lieutenant Reynolds, in four boats. They captured a French corvette, of sixteen long sixes, and one hundred men, lying in Fort Royal harbour, after a very spirited resistance. Every French officer but one, was either killed or wounded; and the captain (M. Cordier) who was among the latter, jumped overboard, and got on shore; our loss in killed and wounded was only three officers, and six men.

Lieutenant King, in the sloop Drake, carried Trinité, on the night of the 19th of February, with only thirty men, exposed to triple that force.

The elevation of the first consul to the imperial diadem is perhaps the most extraordinary event in the annals of modern Europe; an event that has involved, and appears likely to involve the most important consequences. And as we have hitherto noticed the means by which he ascended into the consular power, we deem it necessary to point out the manner in which he obtained the imperial crown. Many were of opinion that Bonaparte would be gratified with the high office of first consul, in which he was invested with all the authority of a crowned head; and which he exercised, but those who marked his ambition foresaw that he wished to render the sceptre of France hereditary in his family. The levity of the French character, their fondness for shew and novelty, were well known to Bonaparte, who saw that the time had now arrived when he could avail himself of the tide of popular opinion; which seemed to run entirely in his favour. His flatterers and dependents began to propagate the idea of the necessity of bringing back France again to a monarchical form of government; and that as the first consul had arrested the revolutionary system in its sanguinary career, he ought, as the reward of his services, to be called to the throne. The first hint of this kind in print appeared in the *Moniteur* of the 21st of April, 1804, in these words: "It is asserted that a deputation of the council of state will shortly present to the senate the new *consultum*, relative to an hereditary succession in the family of the first consul. The nation desires that solid system to be introduced for the public good, and this desire has been already expressed by several departments. The factious will thereby be deprived of every hope." This paragraph was immediately followed with a number of addresses, in which the inconveniencies attached to the elective system were deprecated, and a more stable form of government recommended. The council general of the department of Jura, at length ventured to speak out in bolder terms in their address to Bonaparte, which, amongst many other passages, contained the following: "The attack which threatened your life, has filled us with horror at the thoughts of the calamities into which all France was about to be plunged by a single crime. This attempt of our enemies is an important admonition which shall not have been given in vain. Those instigators of plots must be deprived of that chance of troubles and disorders which is the object of their hopes. Let a more stable order of things present to the friends of tranquillity a stronger security against all events. Let this order prevent for ever any vacancy in the supreme magistracy, by designing before hand, and in perpetuity, the successor to the head of the state. But, at the same time, let institutions equally strong and liberal, secure to our posterity a sufficient protection against the fluctuation and abuses of power. We address these our wishes with all frankness to Bonaparte; to his genius it belongs, by realizing them, to eternize his own work, and the happiness of France."

The grand question of the investiture of Bonaparte with the imperial purple was submitted to the opinion of the tribunate on the 1st of May, 1804. The debates on this momentous topic were so interesting, that we trust we shall be excused if we insert a few extracts from them. Fabre de l'Aude, the president, addressed the assembly as follows: "On the 23d of last month (April) our colleague Curée, laid on the table a motion of order, in which he demanded, 1st, That the government of the republic shall be confided to one emperor: 2d, That the empire shall be hereditary in the family of Napoleon Bonaparte, now first consul: 3d, That such of our instructions as are only traced out, shall be definitively suppressed. Curée, after a long introduction on the importance of the subject and the purity of his own patriotism, called the attention of the tribunes to the memorable epoch of the revolution, when the French with one unanimous will, and a voice as powerful as that of the Creator, the first day of the existence of the universe, exclaimed, "Let equality be established, let privileges disappear, and let the nation be as it ought to be." He then took a view of the government of Charlemagne, and the abuse introduced into France after that glorious epoch, when one of the most powerful families of the feudal system was called to the sovereignty. Having then made some observations on the constituent assembly, and the constitution of 1791, and the state of things down to the time in which he was speaking, he observed that the happy situation of the French people, who were then in the full possession of all the rights which were the sole objects of the revolution in 1789, was disturbed only by uncertainty in regard to the future. "The enemies of our country," said he, "are alarmed at our prosperity; their plots have been multiplied, and one might say, that instead of a whole nation, they had to combat only one man. Him they have attempted to strike, in order to effect his destruction, being well assured that France, deprived of its chief, would be divided by ambitious rivals, and torn by parties; would sink amidst the storms let loose against it in every direction. What security can we give it against the fear of so many misfortunes? What remedy can we oppose to so many evils? Opinion.—The armies, and the whole people have pronounced it:—Hereditary succession in a family rendered illustrious by the revolution, consecrated by liberty and equality; in the family of a chief, who was the first soldier of the republic before he became the first magistrate; a chief who would have been eminently distinguished by his civil qualities, even if he had not filled the whole world with the fame of his arms, and by the splendour of his victories." He concluded by saying, "I do not find any title for the chief of the national power, more worthy of the splendor of the nation than the title of Emperor. I move then, that we refer to the senate a wish, which is that of the whole nation, and of which the object is—1st. That Napoleon Bonaparte, now first consul, be declared Emperor, and in that quality remain charged with the government of the French republic. 2d, That the imperial dignity be declared hereditary in his family. 3d, That such of our institutions as are only traced out shall be definitively suspended."

A debate of considerable length ensued, in which Carnot was the only member that opposed the motion; and it was at last decreed as follows:

"The tribunate, considering that at the breaking out of the revolution, when the national will had an opportunity of manifesting itself with the greatest freedom, the general wish was declared for the individual unity of the supreme power, and for the hereditary succession of that power.

"That the family of the Bourbons, having by their conduct rendered the hereditary government odious to the people, forced them to lose sight of its advantages, and drove the nation to seek for a happier destiny in a democratical form of government.

"That France having made a trial of different forms of government, experienced from those trials only the miseries of anarchy.

"That the state was in the greatest peril, when Bonaparte, brought back by Providence, suddenly appeared for its salvation.

"That, under the government of a single individual, France recovered tranquillity at home, and acquired abroad the highest degree of consideration and glory.

"That the plots formed by the house of Bourbon, in concert with a ministry, the implacable enemy of France, warned France of the dangers which threatens it, if, losing Bonaparte, she continued exposed to the agitation inseparable from election.

"That the consulship for life, and the power granted to the first consul, of appointing his successor, are not adequate to the preventing intrigues at home or abroad, which could not fail to be formed during the vacancy of the supreme power.

"That, in declaring that magistracy hereditary, conformity

mity is observed at once to the practice of all great states, ancient or modern; and to the first wish of the nation, expressed in 1789.

"That, enlightened and supported by this experience, the nation now returns to this wish, more strongly than ever, and expresses it on all sides.

"That in all political changes it has been usual for nations to confer the supreme power on those to whom they owe their safety.

"That when France demands for her security an hereditary chief, her gratitude and affections call on Bonaparte.

"That France will preserve all the advantages of the revolution by the choice of a new dynasty, as much interested for their safety as the old one would be for their destruction.

"That France may expect from the family of Bonaparte, more than from any other, the maintenance of the rights and liberties of the people who chose them, and all those institutions best calculated to support them.

"That there is no title more suitable to the glory of Bonaparte, and to the dignity of the supreme chief of the French nation, than the title of Emperor.

"The tribunate, exercising the right given them by the 29th article of the constitution, have come to the following vote:

"That Napoleon Bonaparte, the first consul, be proclaimed Emperor of the French, and in that capacity invested with the government of the French republic.

"That the title of Emperor, and the Imperial power, be made hereditary in his family in the male line, according to the order of primogeniture.

"That in introducing into the organization of the constituted authorities the modification rendered necessary by the establishment of hereditary power, the equality, the liberty, and the rights of the people, shall be preserved in all their integrity."

The foregoing decree having been put to the vote by the president of the tribunate, it was carried by acclamation, with the single exception of Carnot, as above mentioned.

As it is unnecessary to give the speeches of the several members on this important occasion, we shall come at once to the adoption of the above degree, by which Napoleon Bonaparte was elected Emperor of the French.

On the 19th of May, the Senatus Consultum of France finally adopted the decree for conferring the imperial dignity on Napoleon Bonaparte. The senate, accompanied by several bodies, repaired to the palace of St. Cloud, and being admitted to an audience of the newly created emperor, the consul Cambaceres, after a long address, presented the act of the Senatus Consultum. This act contained one hundred and forty-three articles. The laws are to be in future thus prefaced: "Napoleon, by the grace of God, and the constitution of the Republic, Emperor of the French," &c. &c.

On the 29th of the same month, general Moreau and other state prisoners were put on their trials; and nearly the whole of the first day was occupied in reading the act of accusation, which assumed, 1st, That the conspiracy was indisputably proved; 2nd, That the English government was the promoter of it; and, 3d, That all the individuals confined in virtue of the different mandates of arrest, were authors or accomplices in the conspiracy, or guilty of infringing the law relative to conspirators (*x*). The trial of Moreau was conducted with great acrimony, and when the witnesses on the part of the prosecution had been examined, Burnet, counsel for Moreau, recapitulated, *seriatim*, the whole of the evidence, in order to weaken the testimony of the witnesses, to point out their contradictions, and the little credit that ought to be given to men of such abandoned characters; they being mostly approvers to save their own lives. He then spoke for three hours in defence of his client. His speech, in which eloquence and argument were well combined, drew tears from almost every one who heard him. Having concluded, the general was called upon for his defence, which he delivered in a very impressive manner, without the least hesitation, in a manly tone of voice, and with an air that arrested the attention of the court. At length, the grand judge, having summed up the evidence, pronounced sentence of death on the general Moreau, which was afterwards commuted for banishment to America, whither he repaired.

The hopes which were entertained by the English, that our victories in the East Indies, though purchased at the expence of much blood and treasure, would ultimately lead to an honourable and permanent peace, were in some measure gratified by the ratification of two treaties, one with the rajah of Berar, and the other with Scindia, two of the most warlike and potent princes of Hindostan.

The capture of Surinam by the English was announced in the Gazette of June 22. This valuable acquisition was made with very little loss on the part of his majesty's troops. In the articles of capitulation it was stipulated that all the ships in the service of the colony, with a few exceptions should be delivered up.

And in the West Indies, the squadron under the command of admiral Duckworth, was extremely active in picking up several of the most desperate of the French privateers in that quarter, great numbers of which were enumerated in the Gazettes of this period.

In the house of commons the chancellor of the Exchequer moved to refer the papers relative to lord Hood's claims concerning the captures at Toulon, to a committee of supply, and stated the grounds on which these claims were preferred. The value of the ships brought away from Toulon, and afterwards employed in his majesty's service, was estimated at two hundred and thirty-six thousand seven hundred and forty-two pounds, and the value of the ordnance at twenty-eight thousand five hundred and ninety-four pounds. The motion was agreed to, and the money granted.

Mr. Secretary Yorke moved the consideration of his majesty's message relative to the offers made by several regiments of Irish militia to extend their services to England. This motion called forth the talents of several members, and was at last carried. And in the course of a few days, the secretary at war, brought in a bill to empower his majecty to accept of the voluntary offer of the service of the Irish militia in England. This bill occasioned a great deal of debate, particularly on the third reading, which was carried by a majority of fifty-eight.

Intelligence was received about this time from Botany Bay, which mentioned that the prisoners at labour at Castle Hill, and the settlers' men, were in a state of insurrection, and that they had committed several outrages; but the affair was happily suppressed. The ring-leaders were taken and afterwards executed.

On the 8th of August, intelligence was received at the India House from captain Dance of the East India Company's ship Earl Camden, which gave an account of one of the most brilliant naval actions upon record. This action happened in the Eastern seas between the Company's ships and a squadron of French men of war under the command of admiral Linois, who was beat off. It appeared that of sixteen Indiamen, only *three* were really in action, and three more, which fired at some distance during the engagement: these were opposed to the whole French line, and the greatest number of hands on board any one of them amounted but to one hundred and thirty-five! In the chase but two of the British ships fired; and so great was the confusion of the enemy, that they never so much as fired one stern chaser. The English fleet was deeply laden; and admiral Linois' ship carried eighty guns! The value of our fleet, which was one of the richest that ever sailed from China, being sixteen ships, the smallest of one thousand eight hundred tons, was estimated at eight millions sterling, independent of the country ships, which might be estimated at two millions more, many having large quantities of specie on board. The praiseworthy gallantry of the British officers and seamen was handsomely rewarded by the court of directors, who presented captain Dance with two thousand guineas and a piece of plate of the value of two hundred guineas. The other captains and officers they likewise liberally rewarded; and to each seaman, ordinary seaman, and servant they gave six pounds.

The public mind experienced a great sensation by an account which was received of an engagement having taken place with a Spanish squadron on the 5th of October, England being at peace with Spain at the time. Four large Spanish frigates were discovered steering for Spain, the van ship carrying a broad pendant, and the ship next to her a rear-admiral's flag. Captain Gore's, the Medusa, being the headmost ship, placed himself on the weather boom of the Spanish commodore; the Indefatigable, captain Graham Moore, took a similar position along-side of

(*x*) The object of the conspiracy was asserted to have been to place Louis XVIII. upon the throne, in which plan it was said that Moreau had promised to co-operate with Pichegru and Georges; and that he had consented to take a share in the restoration of royalty, but afterwards wavered in his opinion, and finally wished to erect himself into a dictator.

the rear-admiral; and the Amphion and Lively each took an opponent in the same manner as they came up. The Indefatigable fired a shot across the rear-admiral's fore foot, on which he shortened sail: lieutenant Ascot was then sent on board, to inform him, that captain Moore's orders were to detain the squadron, but that it was his wish to execute them without bloodshed, and that his determination must be made instantly. After waiting some time, a signal was made for the boat, and a shot was fired a-head of the admiral. As soon as the officer returned with an unsatisfactory answer, the action commenced; and in less than ten minutes La Mercedes, the admiral's second a-stern, blew up alongside the Amphion, with a tremendous explosion. The other three were taken (*y*). The Spanish fleet came from Monte Video, in the Rio de la Plata. The loss of men on both sides was but trifling.

About this time several martello towers were erected on the coast of Kent, particularly about Dover and its vicinity; and several batteries were likewise erected, to annoy the enemy in case of invasion being attempted. In Ireland also, the building of martello towers, for the protection of the coast from Bray to Dublin, was carried on with great activity.

In the West Indies, the Windward Islands suffered greatly by a hurricane of unexampled severity, which happened in the autumn of this year. St. Kitt's suffered mostly, every vessel there being utterly lost, to the number of one hundred and twenty. At Antigua fifty-eight vessels, besides the Cumberland packet, were cast away: at St. Bartholomew's fifty: at St. Thomas's forty-four, of which five were English. The loss fell chiefly among the American vessels. The dreadful effects of this hurricane was so extensive, that captain Counal, of the brig Agenora from Surinam and St. Thomas's to New York, stated that he was three days in sailing through pieces of the wrecks.

Accounts were received from Gibraltar that the Malaga fever had made its appearance, and continued to rage with uncommon rapidity; so that the deaths were averaged at ninety *per diem*, and on one day one hundred and fourteen were buried. From the strong approximation of the disease to the head, the faculty at first had recourse to bleeding, which generally proved fatal; as where it subdued the fever the patient often expired suddenly. The most successful mode of treatment at the commencement was a strong dose of glue and calomel combined with an equal quantity of jalap and rhubarb the instant the patient was attacked, to which the fever generally yielded in a few hours; and afterwards calomel with antimonials, administered in smaller quantities, rarely failed to complete a restoration of health. In pursuance of this plan, this dreadful pestilence was at length subdued, and every precaution taken to prevent the recurrence of it.

We have now to relate one of the most extraordinary events in the annals of history—the seizure of an ambassador, whose person in all ages was held inviolate. On the 25th of October, two hundred and fifty French troops commanded by general Frere, landed from three boats on the Hamburgh territory, and a part of the detachment, of about eighty men, went to Grendel, the country seat of sir George Rumbold, the British Chargé des Affaires for Hamburgh. Having heard a knock at the door, he got out of bed to inform himself of the cause, when he perceived the house was surrounded with soldiers, who instantly rushed in and took him prisoner. All his papers were seized, and sir George conveyed to Paris, where he was lodged as a prisoner in the Temple. The reason assigned by the French for his detention, was the machinations he was countenancing against the French government. Sir George was, however, not long detained in prison, but was released from his confinement, and on the 18th of November arrived in London.

The Romney of fifty guns, which sailed from Yarmouth, laden with bullocks, vegetables, &c. for the blockading fleet off the Texel, was totally lost on the 22d of November, on the south Haak sand, five miles west of the Texel; but by the humanity of the Dutch, who sent out five launches, the lives of three hundred British seamen were preserved.

Apprehensions having been entertained that hostilities with Spain were unavoidable, on the 27th of November, captain sir Richard Strachan, of the Donegal, took a large Spanish frigate off Cape St. Vincent, in which the Spanish captain was killed; and on the 29th, the British squadron on the same station, consisting of nine sail of the line, captured ten vessels whose cargoes were estimated at one hundred and fifty thousand pounds. The capture of these, and four register ships on the 5th of October, abovementioned, caused a great sensation in the heart of Spain. On the 14th of December, the king of Spain published a manifesto, which no doubt was manufactured in the cabinet at St. Cloud, in which he speaks of his great moderation, and of his intention to have remained neutral during the war; making no hesitation to assert, that he should quickly have the satisfaction of seeing that these ingenuous assurances were well received by the court of London. "Nevertheless," says the manifesto, "that cabinet, (St. James's,) which must have resolved in silence beforehand, and for its own particular ends, upon the renovation of war with Spain, and which it was always able to declare, not with the forms and solemnities prescribed by the law of nations, but by means of positive aggressions, which should turn to its own profit, sought the most frivolous pretext to bring into doubt the conduct of Spain, which was truly neutral, and to give demonstrations at the same time, to the desires of his Britannic majesty, to preserve the peace, all with the intention of gaining time, cajoling the Spanish government, and holding in uncertainty the opinion of the English nation upon its own premeditated and unjust designs, which could in no manner be approved by it." The manifesto continues some length; and the king of Spain proceeds to state, that he did not doubt "that all his subjects, inflamed with that just indignation with which the violent proceedings of England must inspire them, would not omit any of those means to which their valour should prompt them, of co-operating with his majesty towards the most complete vengeance for the insult of the Spanish flag!"

On the 7th of December, 1801, Mr. Wagstaff, the messenger, left London with dispatches for St. Petersburgh and Berlin. At Nahrdoff he was joined by a Hanoverian messenger who was travelling the same route. They arrived safely at Lubec, and proceeded through a wood, where they were beset by six men, who had lain in ambush, each of them armed with a carbine, who demanded their dispatches, which were delivered to them by the messengers; who were then tied to a tree, and left in that situation till they were enabled to relieve each other. It appeared that this transaction was planned by the French government, with a view of getting at the understanding which existed at that period between the courts of London and Petersburgh.

The third session of the second parliament of the United Kingdom was opened on the 15th of January, 1805, when his majesty went in his usual state to the house of lords, and delivered a speech from the throne; in which he noticed the conduct of the court of Spain, as being "evidently under the predominant influence and controul of France," which, he said, "compelled him to take prompt and decisive measures to guard against the effects of hostility." His majesty then observed, "The general conduct of the French government on the continent of Europe, has been marked by the utmost violence and outrage, and has shewn a wanton defiance of the rights of neutral territories, of the acknowledged privileges of accredited ministers, and of the established principles of the law of nations." His majesty then noticed, that overtures of a pacific nature had been made to him, but before he entered into any negociation on that subject, he thought it adviseable to consult the powers on the continent with whom he was on friendly terms.

The address, as usual was moved, seconded, and carried. The debates, however, though long, were not very interesting; similar topics having before been mentioned in our parliamentary departments, there is not the least necessity for repeating them.

On the 17th of January, a chapter of the knights of the

(*y*) The following is a statement of the Spanish squadron: La Medée, (flag ship,) forty-two guns, eighteen pounders; La Fama, (commodore's ship,) thirty-six guns, twelve pounders; La Clara, thirty-six guns, twelve pounders; and La Mercedes, thirty-six guns, twelve pounders.—On account of the king, the amount of their lading was, seventy-five sacks of Vidona wool, sixty chests and sacks of cascarilla, four thousand seven hundred and thirty-two bars of tin, one thousand seven hundred and thirty-five pigs of copper, twenty-eight planks of wood, and one million three hundred and seven thousand six hundred and thirty-four dollars in silver. On account of the merchants, thirty-two chests of ratinia, one million eight hundred and fifty-nine thousand two hundred and sixteen dollars in silver, one million one hundred and nineteen thousand six hundred and fifty-eight gold, reduced into dollars, and one hundred and fifty thousand and eleven ingots of gold, reduced into dollars. And, on account of the marine company, twenty-six thousand nine hundred and twenty-five seal skins, and ten pipes of sea oil.

Garter

Garter was held by his majesty at St. James's, for the purpose of creating five new knights: these were, the duke of Beaufort, the marquis of Abercorn, the earl of Pembroke, the earl of Winchelsea, and the earl of Chesterfield. The bishop of Salisbury, Dr. Douglas, being much indisposed, the bishop of Norwich acted for him as chancellor of the order.

In the administration of Mr. Addington, a bill was enacted, empowering certain commissioners to make enquiry into naval abuses, and to report the same to the admiralty. The commissioners in progress of their investigations made a report respecting some repairs made to the ships Romney and Sensible, under the command of sir Home Popham: accordingly, on the 31st of January, Mr. Kinnaird moved in the house of commons, for the production of this paper; adding, that he should feel it his duty, if circumstances appeared to warrant it, to propose to the house a prosecution of the enquiry to which that report alluded. On the 5th of February, therefore, he made his promised motion, for the production of the papers relative to the repairs of the ships under the command of sir Home Popham. The motion was agreed to.

On the 8th of February, sir Evan Nepean moved for leave to bring in a bill for suspending the operation of the Habeas Corpus Act in Ireland. To which sir John Newport moved an amendment, specifying that a committee be appointed by ballot to examine such documents as may be laid before them, and give their opinion whether the present circumstances of the country demanded such a measure. The motion of sir Evan Nepean occasioned a considerable debate, and the house divided on the amendment of sir John Newport, when there appeared, ayes thirty-three, noes one hundred and twelve; majority seventy-nine for the original motion.

On the 14th, sir Evan Nepean moved the second reading of the bill, which being done, a debate ensued, and the bill was then ordered to be committed. On the 19th, it was read a third time in the lower house, passed, and ordered to be carried to the lords; where it passed on the 21st, and the following day received the royal assent.

We have to record the melancholy accident of the loss of the Doris frigate, captain Campbell, on the night of the 12th of January. The Doris was proceeding to Quiberon Bay, through the Benequet Passage, when she struck on a sunken rock, called "The Diamond Rock," and in consequence made so much water, that all her guns and every weighty article were obliged to be thrown overboard. The weather moderating, they gained upon the leak, and in the evening she sailed for England with a fair breeze. In the night, however, it blew hard, with a heavy sea, and the water gushed in with such violence, that every exertion to keep it under proved ineffectual. In this situation, the captain finding it impossible to keep her above water, determined to abandon her, and bring her to anchor. A Danish brig was drifted in by the tide, and part of the crew were put on board her, with orders to proceed for England; the rest, including the captain and most of the officers, in all one hundred and seventeen, got on board the Felix. Captain Campbell then set the Doris on fire; in a short time the magazine blew up, and the ship immediately sunk.

But the loss of the Abergavenny East Indiaman was by far more disastrous. On the 1st of February, this fine vessel, under the command of captain Wordsworth, sailed from Portsmouth, in company with four others, under the convoy of the Weymouth frigate. The weather proving very unfavourable after their sailing, and the wind strongly adverse, induced them to steer for Portland Roads. When the Abergavenny struck on the shambles of the Bill of Portland, about two miles from the shore, it was the opinion of captain Wordsworth and his officers that the ship might be got off without sustaining much damage, and accordingly no signal guns of distress were fired for upwards of an hour and a half. The people were free from alarm, and lulled into a false security. They had even omitted to hoist out the boats, that they might be in readiness to take the crew on shore, in case of necessity. At four P. M. the aspect became dark and gloomy, and ideas of approaching danger alarmed the ship's company. The pumps were all set a-going, but the water gained upon them. At six P. M. the loss of the ship appeared inevitable; yet the captain and officers were firm, cool, and deliberate, giving their orders with promptitude, and supporting due subordination. As night advanced, the situation of all on board became terrible. At seven, Mr. Mortimer, the purser, was dispatched in one of the ship's boats with all the papers and dispatches: he was accompanied by the third mate, a cousin of the captain. One boat went from the shore, and brought away most of the ladies. About nine several boats were heard about the ship; but they rendered no assistance to the distressed on board, on what account has never been ascertained. The dreadful crisis was now approaching; and every one on board was assured of his fate. At ten o'clock, the ship began to sink, and, as she went down, confusion began to prevail. When the passengers and crew were acquainted with their situation they made several efforts to save their lives; some laid hold of pieces of the wreck, and committed themselves to the mercy of the waves; a great number ran up the shrouds; and about eleven o'clock, a heavy sea gave the vessel a sudden shock, and in an instant she sunk twelve fathoms in water. Many of the unfortunate persons who had run up the shrouds for safety were unable to sustain the motion of the vessel in going down, and suffered with their unhappy companions below. Between eighty and ninety persons, however, were still able to maintain their situation, and were ultimately saved. She had seventy thousand pounds in specie on board: the crew consisted of one hundred and sixty men, and there were between fifty and sixty passengers: the rest were recruits for his majesty's service: about thirty Chinamen were also on board. The number lost was estimated at three hundred. Captain Wordsworth was among the lost.

On the 31st of January, the London Docks were opened for the reception of vessels.

The vacancy in the archiepiscopal see of Canterbury was filled up in February, by the elevation of Dr. Charles Manners Sutton to the primacy.

The imperial diadem which had been placed on the head of Bonaparte does not appear to have been sufficient to satisfy his ambition; he wished to augment the list of his titles, by adding another kingdom to his sovereignty. Accordingly, on the 17th of March, his imperial majesty being seated on the throne, surrounded by the grand dignitaries, the ministers and great officers, and members of the council of state; the grand master of the ceremonies introduced M. Melzi, vice-president of the Italian republic. M. Melzi addressed the emperor in a speech, in which he declared the resolutions of the Italian consulta to be, "That the emperor Napoleon, founder of the Italian republic, be declared king of Italy; that the throne of Italy be hereditary from male to male, to the perpetual exclusion of females and their issue," &c.

On the 25th of March, in the house of lords, lord Grenville presented a petition from a number of Roman Catholic noblemen and gentlemen of different parts of the United Kingdom, praying to be relieved from various disqualifications under which they laboured. The petition was ordered to lie on the table. The same day Mr. Fox, in the house of commons, presented a petition from the Roman Catholics of Ireland, which was likewise ordered to lie on the table. We forbear to make any remarks upon the subject of the catholic question at present, because we shall have occasion to mention it in a future page of our history.

During the administration of Mr. Addington, certain commissioners were appointed to enquire into enormous and flagrant abuses which had been discovered in the department of the navy. The commissioners executed their trust with circumspection and diligence, and from time to time they made reports of their proceedings to parliament; but their tenth report was of such a nature as to attract universal attention. Upon examination of the accounts of the late treasurer of the navy, lord Melville, (then Mr. Dundas,) it was discovered that his lordship had drawn large sums of money from the Bank, through the agency of Alexander Trotter, Esq. pay-master. Lord Melville had been twice treasurer of the navy. In 1785 an act was passed "for better regulating the office of treasurer of his majesty's navy;" which enacted that all monies issued for naval services should be paid to the bank, and should not be withdrawn unless for naval services. Lord Melville was the person who brought forward this bill for the regulation of the office; and he it appeared was the first charged with infringing the statute. Upon discovery of the proceedings of lord Melville and Mr. Trotter, the commissioners addressed a letter to him for information on the subject; to which his lordship did not afford the commissioners a satisfactory answer. The subject was brought before parliament; and on the 8th of April, Mr. Whitbread moved various resolutions against his lordship. With respect to Mr.

Mr. Trotter, the honourable member said, there was no occasion for making any distinction; for that, in this business, he and lord Melville were identified with each other; they were, indeed, one and the same. Mr. Whitbread closed a luminous and eloquent speech by moving thirteen resolutions; the eleventh and thirteenth of which were, "That the right honourable viscount Melville having been privy to, and connived at, the withdrawing from the bank of England, for purposes of private interest or emolument, sums issued to him as treasurer of the navy, and placed on his account in the bank, according to the provisions of the 25th Geo. III. c. 31. has been guilty of a gross violation of the law, and a high breach of duty;" and "That lord Melville, in applying monies issued for the service of the navy to other services, stated to have been of so delicate and confidential a nature, that in his opinion no account can or ought to be given of them, has acted in a manner inconsistent with his duty, and incompatible with those securities which the legislature has provided for the proper application of the public money." After a great deal had been said on the subject, in which Mr. Pitt, lord Henry Petty, the Attorney General, Mr. Tierney, Mr. Wilberforce, sir Charles Price, and lord Archibald Hamilton, took a leading part, the house divided, when there appeared ayes two hundred and sixteen, noes two hundred and sixteen. The numbers being thus equal, the right honourable Charles Abbot, the speaker, gave the casting vote in a most solemn manner against lord Melville (*z*).

It is impossible for words to describe the general satisfaction which pervaded the nation in consequence of this termination of so important a question. The exalted rank; the supposed integrity of the nobleman, who had so long been a star of magnitude in the political world; his long established friendship with the premier; the places he had possessed; the situation he now held as first lord of the admiralty, rendered the circumstance of his supposed delinquency in the office of treasurer of the navy, more notorious. Yet many who were not his partizans, who disapproved of his political system, but admired his talents, were not suspicious of his integrity until the tenth report of the commissioners of naval enquiry unfolded and developed such a series of transactions, that "appeared pregnant with guilt," so as to astonish and excite the indignation not only of those persons, but of the public in general.

On the 10th of April, the Chancellor of the Exchequer informed the house that lord viscount Melville, in consequence of the proceedings which had taken place in that house two nights ago, had sent in his resignation of the office he held as first lord of the admiralty, and that his majesty had been graciously pleased to receive the same.

Mr. Whitbread then moved, "That an humble address be presented to his majesty, praying that he would be graciously pleased to remove lord Melville from all the offices held by him under the crown, and from his majesty's councils and presence for ever."

A great deal of debate took place on this motion, which the honourable member at length withdrew, but substituted in its place the following: "That the resolutions passed by the house be laid at the foot of the throne." This was unanimously agreed to. He then moved, "That the whole house do wait upon his majesty with those resolutions." This motion was also carried.

The next day, April 11, the resolutions were presented to his majesty at St. James's, by the speaker and a great number of the members: they were most graciously received by his majesty, who thanked them for their care and attention to the public interest.

Numerous debates took place on this important business on the 25th and 29th of the same month. On the 25th, Mr. Grey complained in the house of a scandalous and insulting libel contained in a newspaper (The Oracle) of that day, a part of which he read, the purport of which was, that "lord Melville had been condemned without a trial." Mr. Grey then moved, "That Peter Stuart, the proprietor and publisher of the Oracle, should attend the house on the next day." This motion was carried; and the next day Mr. Stuart being ordered to the bar, was shewn the paper containing the offensive passage, which he acknowledged as having printed and published. He then addressed the speaker, in which he said, that he very much regretted that any part of the contents of his paper should have incurred the displeasure of the honourable house; and that he had no wilful intention to provoke the censure of a power on which our dearest rights and interests depend. He was then ordered into the custody of the serjeant at arms, and on the ensuing day brought to the bar, where he was reprimanded by the speaker, and discharged.

The house of commons having passed a vote of censure on lord Melville, occasioned a considerable degree of public discussion. General meetings were called throughout the kingdom, to express their sentiments on this subject; of which the city of London took the lead, and presented an address to his majesty on the 1st of May (*a*).

On the 13th of May, the catholic petition was again agitated, when a considerable debate took place. On the division, there appeared, ayes one hundred and twenty-four; noes three hundred and thirty-six: it was therefore lost by a majority of two hundred and twelve. The debate on the catholic petition likewise occupied two days in the house of peers; and on the division there appeared, in support of it forty-nine, and against it one hundred and seventy-eight; majority one hundred and twenty-nine.

Among the institutions of the present year, we must mention that of the honourable East India Company; who established at Hertford a seminary or college for the instruction of such young men as may be employed in various civil capacities in their service in India. The Rev. Mr. Henley was appointed president of the college. The education is to be commercial and classical, and to comprize, among other branches of instruction, the mathematics, geography, modern languages, and Oriental literature.

On the 26th of May, Mr. Whitbread, attended by a number of members, went to the bar of the house of lords, and delivered a message to their lordships in the following terms:

"My Lords,

"The commons of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, in parliament assembled, have commanded me to impeach Henry lord viscount Melville of high crimes and misdemeanours; and I do here, in their name, and in the name of all the commons of the said United Kingdom, impeach the said lord viscount Melville of high crimes and misdemeanours. I am further commanded to acquaint your lordships, that the house of commons will, in due time, exhibit particular articles of impeachment against him, Henry lord viscount Melville, and will make good the same."

The 11th of June being the day appointed for Mr. Whitbread to move the impeachment against lord viscount Melville, the speaker informed the house, that he had just received a letter, signed "Melville," dated Wimbledon, June 11, which being read,

"Mr. R. Dundas moved, "That lord viscount Melville be now admitted, and heard;" which being unanimously agreed to, the speaker ordered the serjeant to take the mace, and acquaint lord viscount Melville that he may come in (*b*).

(*z*) The place where the members of the house of commons meet was formerly the chapel of St. Stephen, and this laudable conduct of the speaker gave rise to a popular toast at this period—"The Abbot of St. Stephen."

(*a*) It may be observed, that the clerks of Messrs. Coutts, bankers, on their examination before the commissioners, deposed, that the monies held by the banking house in the name of Trotter were appropriated to the purpose of discounting private bills, and buying stock on account of Mr. Trotter.

In 1791, by the accounts of Messrs. Coutts, the whole of the dividends on Mr. Trotter's property amounted to eighty pounds per annum; in 1792, to two hundred pounds; in 1793, to four hundred and seventy pounds ten shillings; in 1794, to five hundred and fifty-six pounds eight shillings; in 1796, to have increased to two thousand pounds three shillings; in 1797, to four thousand and sixty-two pounds seventeen shillings; in 1801, to six thousand eight hundred and sixteen pounds thirteen shillings and three pence; and in 1802, to eleven thousand three hundred and sixty-eight pounds one shilling.

Mr. Trotter's funded property, at the close of the account, appears to have consisted of, fifty-three thousand two hundred and twenty-one pounds thirteen shillings and four pence Consols. Seventeen thousand eight hundred and fifty-eight pounds seven shillings, India stock. Two thousand one hundred and forty-two pounds seventeen shillings and two pence, Bank stock. Forty-four thousand pounds, Reduced three per cents. One hundred and thirty thousand and five pounds, Four per cents. One thousand five hundred pounds per annum Imp. ann.

Mr. Trotter's SALARY was only eight hundred pounds per annum!!!

(*b*) The ceremony of admitting a peer to defend himself in the house of commons, is thus stated in Hatsell's Book of Precedents:

"The peer is attended from the door of the house by the serjeant at arms, with the mace, making three obeisances to the house; a chair is set for him within the bar, on the left hand, as he enters, in which he sits down, covered, the speaker informing him that there is a chair for his lordship to repose himself in. When he rises to speak in his defence, he speaks uncovered. He may be admitted into the house as soon as the member who is to move the impeachment rises. When that member has finished his speech, the peer gets up, and after he has finished he withdraws, making the same obeisances to the house; the serjeant with the mace accompanying him to the door."

The

The serjeant accordingly introduced lord Melville in the customary manner, who was attended by his son and Mr. Charles Dundas. Having made his obeisance to the chair, the speaker informed his lordship, that there was a chair for him to repose in, if he thought fit. His lordship seated himself for about a minute, with his hat on, and then rose, uncovered, to address the house; which he did in a speech of considerable length, wherein he "denied any participation with Mr. Trotter in his supposed profits, by the application of public monies for private purposes." Upon the subject of ten thousand pounds, and other public monies received by him and not applied to naval purposes, but disbursed in the management of the affairs of Scotland, his lordship positively declared, that "*private honour and personal convenience must prevent him from ever giving any account of them.*" Having concluded his harangue,

Mr. Whitbread replied, and said, that he meant to accuse his lordship upon three distinct heads: "first, that he had connived at a direct violation of the law, and thereby been guilty of a high breach of his duty; secondly, he should charge him with a *participation* of profits arising from the abuse of the public money; and, thirdly, that he procured under false pretences, certain sums of money from the public purse, for the application of which he could produce no voucher, the same being burnt and destroyed by express agreement and contrivance.

A long debate ensued, and it being three o'clock on the morning of the 12th, and not likely to come to a conclusion, the house adjourned till the afternoon, when the debate was resumed; and on the first division—for the impeachment of lord Melville, there appeared ayes one hundred and ninety-five, noes two hundred and seventy-two; majority against the impeachment seventy-seven!!! On a second division—for the criminal prosecution, the numbers were, ayes two hundred and thirty-eight; noes two hundred and twenty-nine; majority for the criminal prosecution nine.

The subject was again discussed in the house of commons on the 20th of June; and again on the 25th; when, on the motion of Mr. Leycester, the method of proceeding by impeachment was adopted in preference to that by criminal prosecution; and a committee was appointed to conduct it. On the 27th, a debate took place on a part of the commissioners' report; and on 28th, Mr. Whitbread obtained leave to bring in a bill for the indemnity of Mr. Trotter, &c.

On the 9th of July, Mr. Whitbread, accompanied by several members of the house of commons, presented articles of impeachment against lord Melville at the bar of the house of lords; which articles being read over by the clerk, it was ordered, on the motion of lord Hawkesbury, that a copy of them should, within one month, be delivered to lord Melville; and that he should be directed to give in an answer in writing to the said articles on the second day of the next session.

On the 11th of July, the house was occupied in passing the impeachment committee, and various other bills; and, on the following day, after a number of bills had received the royal assent, the lord Chancellor, in the name of his majesty, addressed both houses in a short speech, and the parliament was prorogued to the 22nd of August next.

In the court of King's Bench, Dublin, Mr. Hamilton Rowan was brought by writ of Habeas Corpus, on the 1st of July, when being put to plead to the indictment, which was for high treason, he pleaded his majesty's pardon, and was dismissed.

On the 23rd of July, sir Robert Calder, with fifteen sail of the line, two frigates, a cutter, and a lugger, fell in with the combined fleets of France and Spain, and a desperate action ensued, which lasted upwards of four hours, when he captured the San Raphael of eighty-four guns, and El Firme of seventy-four guns. A heavy fog continued nearly the whole time, and the rest of the combined fleet escaped. On board the English fleet were forty-one killed, and one hundred and fifty-eight wounded; but the loss on board the combined fleet could not be known.

About this period, an amazing progress was made in the propagation of Spanish sheep in this country; insomuch, that although that valuable breed had been so lately introduced, yet its good effects began to be already felt; and it was thought that if due attention were paid to the cultivation of that useful animal, we might, in the course of a few years, be entirely independent of Spain in our manufactures, for the greater part of that supply of wool which was formerly so indispensibly requisite.

At this time our West India merchants were considerably depressed, in consequence of the number of vessels taken by the enemy, fifteen of which were captured by the combined fleets of France and Spain. Admiral Villeneuve's letter to the minister of marine says, "Having doubled Antigua, I got intelligence of a convoy of the enemy, consisting of fifteen sail. I made signal for a general chase, and at night-fall the whole of the convoy was in my power, which I sent to Martinique. These ships, which had come out from Antigua, were all laden with colonial produce, and destined for Europe. The convoy may be valued at five millions (French.)"—About one million two hundred thousand pounds sterling.

A French force was stationed to annoy our West India commerce, which consisted of La Topaze, of forty-four guns; Le Departement des Landes, of twenty guns; La Torche, of eighteen guns; and Le Faune, of sixteen guns. Captain Zachariah Mudge, in the Blanche, made a spirited attack on that force; and his conduct, though his ship was lost, cannot be too highly spoken of. His own letter, addressed to William Marsden, Esq. secretary to the admiralty, and dated on board the French national ship La Topaze, July 22, shall describe the action (*c*).

The system of peculation carried on against the workmen in the king's dock yards, induced the admiralty to adopt measures for the relief of that useful body of men. From time immemorial it had been the practice to calculate the earnings of the artificers and other workmen in his majesty's dock-yards at the expiration of each quarter, and by the time the books were cast and properly adjusted, it was always near the end of the succeeding quarter before the payments could be made, so that the earnings of the men were always at least three months, and in part from four to six months, in arrears. The consequence was, the men were beholden entirely, for the subsistence of themselves and families, to a set of people called dealers, but who, in fact, were shop or tavern keepers, who supplied them with what they wanted, not in cash, but in different articles of provisions, liquors, or goods, at a deduction of from ten to fifteen per cent. from the amount of their earnings, which the note they got from the clerk of check's office stated to be due to the parties. Thus the workman was subjected to a deduction in the rate of his earnings of at least two shillings in the pound, and which they were endeavouring to raise to three, while he was frequently compelled to take all he wanted from one shop or tavern keeper, whether he dealt in that article or not, or procured it from another for the workman's use. This glaring evil is now, by the wisdom of the admiralty, at an end. On the first Saturday of October, a new mode of payment was adopted throughout all his majesty's dock-yards, by which each artificer and workman was paid in money from three-fourths to seven-eighths of the amount of his week's earn-

(*c*) "Sir, I am sorry to inform you of the loss of his majesty's ship Blanche, which was captured by a French squadron; but, thank God, she was not destined to bear French colours, or to assist the fleet of the enemy. On Friday morning, July 19, in latitude twenty degrees twenty minutes North, longitude sixty-six degrees forty-four minutes West, (weather hazy,) at eight, four sail were seen off the weather cat-head, three ships, and a brig on the opposite tack, under easy sail. I kept to the wind until we were near enough to distinguish colours. I then made the necessary signals to ascertain whether they were enemies. At ten, when a-breast, about three miles distant, they all bore up, and hoisted English ensigns; but, from the make of the union, and colour of the bunting, with other circumstances, I concluded they were French, and therefore determined to sell the ship as dearly as possible (for sailing was out of the question, the Blanche having little or no copper on these last nine months, and sailed very heavy). Having brought-to, with the mainsail in the brails, at eleven the commodore ranged up within two cables' length, shifted his colours, and gave us his broadside. When within pistol-shot she received ours; the action became warm and steady, the ships never without hail of each other, running large, under easy sail; le Departement des Landes on the starboard quarter, and the two corvettes close astern. At forty-five minutes past eleven the ship became ungovernable, and was reduced to a perfect wreck; the sails totally destroyed, ten shot in the foremast (expecting it to fall every minute), the mainmast and rigging cut to pieces, seven guns dismounted, and the crew reduced to one hundred and ninety, and the rest falling fast, with no probability of escape, I called a council of officers for their opinion, who deemed it only sacrificing the lives of the remainder of as brave a crew as ever fought, to hold out longer, as there was not the smallest prospect of success; I therefore, at twelve, ordered the colours to be struck, and was immediately hurried on board the commodore. At six, the officers, who had charge of the Blanche, returned, and reported the ship to be sinking fast, on which she was fired; and in about an hour after she sunk, for the magazine had been some time under water. Thus, Sir, fell the Blanche; and I trust the defence made by her officers and gallant crew will meet their lordships' approbation. I have the honour to be, &c. "ZACHARY MUDGE."

ings, under the denomination of subsistence, while the remainder only went to account, to be calculated at the expiration of the quarter, under the denomination of arrears. It is lamentable, but not surprising, to observe the means which were resorted to by these dealers to render this very salutary measure objectionable to the parties: they threatened to cut off all temporary supplies in the interim, and had recourse to every means in their power to thwart the measure in its outset; but their efforts proved in vain, and this excellent regulation not only met with no obstruction, but was the mean of recalling numbers of those valuable workmen, who quitted the king's service for that of the merchant builders, from whom they received their wages in a manner certainly more suitable to the exigencies and wants of their families.

About the middle of October, Mr. Francis, the inventor of the *catamarans*, made an experiment on a brig opposite Walmer Castle. After walking some time on the water's edge, he tied a handkerchief to the end of his cane, and made a signal to a brig, which lay about half a mile from the shore, and instantly a long ten-oared galley darted by the bow of the brig, and threw the catamaran into the water. Mr, Francis then said, fifteen minutes is her time; accordingly in sixteen minutes the explosion took place. The brig appeared to be lifted out of the water, and heeling to larboard, she separated in the middle, when the two ends immediately went to the bottom; and in one minute nothing was to be seen of her but morsels of floating wreck.

We have now to record the account of one of the most brilliant victories over the French and Spanish combined fleets off Cape Trafalgar, in which we lost the gallant lord viscount Nelson. The following extracts from the letters of vice-admiral Collingwood will better describe the action than any abstract account. The letters are dated from on board the Euryalus, off Cape Trafalgar, October 22, 1805.

"The ever-to-be-lamented death of vice-admiral lord viscount Nelson (*d*), who in the late conflict with the enemy, fell in the hour of victory, leaves to me the duty of informing my lords commissioners of the admiralty, that on the 19th instant (October) it was communicated to the commander in chief from the ships watching the motions of the enemy in Cadiz, that the combined fleets had put to sea; as they sailed with light winds westerly, his lordship concluded their destination was the Mediterranean, and immediately made all sail for the Streights' entrance, with the British squadron, consisting of twenty-seven ships, three of them sixty-fours, where his lordship was informed by captain Blackwood, (whose vigilance in watching, and giving notice of the enemy's movements, has been highly meritorious,) that they had not yet passed the Streights.

"On Monday the 21st instant, at day-light, when Cape Trafalgar bore E. by S. about seven leagues, the enemy was discovered six or seven miles to the eastward, the wind about west, and very light; the commander in chief immediately made the signal for the fleet to bear up in two columns, as they are formed in order of sailing; a mode of attack his lordship had previously directed, to avoid the inconvenience and delay in forming a line of battle in the usual manner. The enemy's line consisted of thirty-three ships (of which eighteen were French and fifteen Spanish,) commanded in chief by admiral Villeneuve; the Spaniards, under the direction of Gravina, wore, with their heads to the northward, and formed their line of battle with great closeness and correctness; but as the mode of attack was unusual, so the structure of their line was new;—it formed a crescent convexing to leeward—so that, in leading down to their centre, I had both their van and rear abaft the beam: before the fire opened, every alternate ship was about a cable's length to windward of her second a-head and a-stern, forming a kind of double line, and appeared, when on their beam, to leave a very little interval between them; and this without crowding their ships. Admiral Villeneuve was in the Bucentaure in the centre, and the prince of Asturias bore Gravina's flag in the rear; but the French and Spanish ships were mixed without any apparent regard to order of national squadron.

"As the mode of our attack had been previously determined on, and communicated to the flag-officers and captains, few signals were necessary, and none were made, except to direct close order as the lines bore down.

"The commander in chief, in the Victory, led the weather column; and the Royal Sovereign, which bore my flag, the lee.

"The action began at twelve o'clock, by the leading ships of the columns breaking through the enemy's line, the commander in chief about the tenth ship from the van, the second in command about the twelfth from the rear, leaving the van of the enemy unoccupied; the succeeding ships breaking through in all parts, a-stern of their leaders, and engaging the enemy at the muzzles of their guns, the conflict was severe; the enemy's ships were fought with a gallantry highly honourable to their officers, but the attack on them was irresistible; and it pleased the Almighty Disposer of all events to grant his majesty's arms a complete and glorious victory. About three P. M. many of the enemy's ships having struck their colours, their line gave way; admiral Gravina, with ten ships, joining their frigates to leeward stood towards Cadiz. The five headmost ships in their van tacked, and standing to the southward, to windward of the British line, were engaged, and the sternmost of them taken; the others went off, leaving to his majesty's squadron nineteen ships of the line, (of which two are first rates, the Santissima Trinidada and the Santa Anna,) with three flag officers; viz. admiral Villeneuve, the commander in chief; Don Ignatio Maria d'Aliva, vice-admiral; and the Spanish rear-admiral, Don Balthazar Hidalgo Cisneros.

"The Royal Sovereign having lost her masts, except the tottering foremast, I called the Euryalus to me, while the action continued, which ship lying within hail, made my signals, a service captain Blackwood performed with great attention. After the action I shifted my flag to her, that I might more easily communicate my orders to, and collect the ships, and towed the Royal Sovereign out to seaward. The whole fleet were now in a very perilous situation; many dismasted; all shattered; in thirteen fathoms water, off the shoals of Trafalgar; and when I made the signal to prepare for anchor, few of the ships had an anchor to let go, their cables being shot; but the same

(*d*) Horatio, late lord viscount Nelson, was the third son of the Rev. Edmund Nelson, rector of Burnham Thorpe, in the county of Suffolk. He was born September 29, 1758, and received the first rudiments of his education in the public school of Norwich. In the year 1770, when only twelve years of age, he was entered on board the Raisonable, of sixty-four guns, under the command of captain Maurice Suckling, his maternal uncle. He was averse to the sea life at first, and captain Suckling had great difficulty in removing his prejudices; but this being effected, he behaved with the greatest intrepidity and courage; and, at length, after a series of amazing successes, he arrived at the head of his profession. We shall not enter into a particular account of the number of actions in which his lordship so eminently distinguished himself, but proceed to narrate the manner of his death and funeral. Lord Nelson is reported to have said to his friend admiral Stirling, just before he went upon the service which terminated so brilliantly for his own fame, and for that of his country, "My health is so bad, that I ought to retire; but as my generous countrymen seem to think that I could do something if I were to meet the enemy, I feel it to be a duty to do what I can. I shall therefore go, and hope I shall be able to meet and conquer them; and I shall think my life gloriously sacrificed in such a cause." The last order which his lordship gave before the action is a short, but comprehensive one, "*England expects every man to do his duty.*" The first person that was killed near his lordship was Mr. Scott, his secretary. A musket-ball entered his head, and he fell dead instantly. Another shot, a few minutes after, struck his lordship, and, entering below his left shoulder, took a direction through the vital parts; he staggered against the officer who was next him, and was instantly carried below. This was about the middle of the action. The surgeons were employed upon the wounded: and his lordship, with his accustomed disinterestedness, desired that he might take his turn. As soon as the surgeon examined the wound, he perceived that it was mortal. The gallant hero had his eyes fixed attentively upon him; he saw the surgeon turn pale, and his countenance assume the deepest impression of grief. "Is it mortal?" said his lordship. The surgeon did not, or could not speak. Perceiving his hesitation, lord Nelson said, "Why, then, I will tell you it is! Do you not recollect some time ago, when we were talking of wounds, that you told me of a shot a man received in his breast, which you declared was mortal? I feel that I am precisely in the situation of that man; but GOD'S WILL BE DONE! If it had pleased the Almighty, I should have preferred dying on British ground." Having been placed on a chair, his lordship directed that captain Hardy might attend him, who remained with him till the last, and in a few moments his gallant soul escaped for ever.

Thus terminated the life of Horatio lord viscount Nelson! a life which, from the twelfth year of his age, had been indefatigably devoted to the public service. For variety of danger, and for splendour of success, the memoirs of his brilliant career are without parallel.

On Sunday, the 5th of January, 1806, the great hall of Greenwich Hospital was thrown open for the admission of the public to see the coffin which contains the body of lord Nelson; for it there lay in state in a magnificent manner; and on the 9th, the coffin was placed on a funeral car, supported on a platform, which was modelled at the ends in imitation of the hull of the Victory. An awning was placed over the whole: at one end was inscribed the word NILE, and behind the word TRAFALGAR. The procession advanced to St. Paul's cathedral, where the funeral service was performed, and the body interred.

So great was the respect for the memory of lord Nelson, that by a message from the crown in May, 1806, which was confirmed by parliament, earl Nelson and his heirs are to receive five thousand pounds per annum, and one hundred and twenty thousand pounds to purchase a family estate.

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Taylor sculp.

DEATH of LORD NELSON.

good Providence which aided us through such a day preserved us in the night, by the wind shifting a few points, and drifting the ships off the land, except four of the captured dismasted ships, which are now at anchor off Trafalgar, and I hope will ride safe until those gales are over."

From a letter, dated October 24. "On the 22d, in the morning, a strong southerly wind blew, with squally weather, which however did not prevent the activity of the officers and seamen of such ships as were manageable from getting hold of many of the prizes (thirteen or fourteen), and towing them off to the westward, where I ordered them to rendezvous round the Royal Sovereign, in tow by the Neptune: but on the 23d the gale increased, and the sea ran so high, that many of them broke the tow rope, and drifted far to leeward before they were got hold of again; and some of them taking advantage of the dark and boisterous night, got before the wind, and have perhaps drifted upon the shore and sunk; on the afternoon of that day the remnant of the combined fleet, ten sail of ships, who had not been much engaged, stood up to leeward of my shattered and straggled charge, as if meaning to attack them, which obliged me to collect a force out of the least injured ships, and form to leeward for their defence; all this retarded the progress of the hulks; and the bad weather continuing, determined me to destroy all the leewardmost that could be cleared of the men, considering that keeping possession of the ships was a matter of little consequence compared with the chance of their falling again into the hands of the enemy: but even this was an arduous task in the high sea which was running. I hope, however, it has been accomplished to a considerable extent; I entrusted it to skilful officers, who would spare no pains to execute what was possible. The captains of the Prince and Neptune cleared the Trinidada and sunk her. Captains Hope, Bayntun, and Malcolm, who joined the fleet this moment from Gibraltar, had the charge of destroying five others. The Redoubtable sunk a-stern of the Swiftsure while in tow. The Santa Anna, I have no doubt, is sunk, as her side was almost entirely beat in; and such is the shattered condition of the whole of them, that unless the weather moderates, I doubt whether I shall be able to carry a ship of them into port."

October 28, 1805.

"Since my letter to you of the 24th, stating the proceedings of his majesty's squadron, our situation has been the most critical, and our employment the most arduous, that ever a fleet was engaged in. On the 24th and 25th it blew a most violent gale of wind, which completely dispersed the ships, and drove the captured hulls in all directions.

"I have since been employed in collecting and destroying them, where they are at anchor upon the coast between Cadiz and six leagues westward of San Lucar, without the prospect of saving one to bring into port.

"On the return of Gravina to Cadiz he was immediately ordered to sea again, and came out, which made it necessary for me to form a line, to cover the disabled hulls—that night it blew hard, and his ship, the Prince of Asturias, was dismasted, and returned into port; the Rayo was also dismasted, and fell into our hands; Don Enrigue M'Donel had his broad pendant in the Rayo, and from him I find the Santa Anna was driven near Cadiz, and towed in by a frigate."

November 4, 1805.

"On the 28th ultimo I informed you of the proceedings of the squadron to that time. The weather continuing very bad, the wind blowing from the S. W. the squadron not in a situation of safety, and seeing little prospect of getting the captured ships off the land, and great risk of some of them getting into port, I determined no longer to delay the destroying them, and to get the squadron out of the deep bay.

"I informed you, in my letter of the 28th, that the remnant of the enemy's fleet came out a second time to endeavour, in the bad weather, to cut off some of the hulks, when the Rayo was dismasted, and fell into our hands; she afterwards parted her cable, went on shore, and was wrecked. The Indomptable, one of the same squadron, was also driven on shore, wrecked, and her crew perished.

"The Santa Anna and Algeziras being driven near the shore of Cadiz, got such assistance as has enabled them to get in; but the ruin of their fleet is as complete as could be expected, under the circumstances of fighting them close to their own shore. Twenty sail of the line are taken or destroyed; and of those which got in, not more than three are in a repairable state for a length of time.

"In clearing the captured ships of prisoners, I found so many wounded men, that to alleviate human misery as much as was in my power, I sent to the marquis de Solana, governor-general of Andalusia, to offer him the wounded to the care of their country, on receipts being given: a proposal which was received with the greatest thankfulness; not only by the governor, but the whole country resounds with expressions of gratitude. Two French frigates were sent out to receive them, with a proper officer to give receipts, bringing with them all the English who had been wrecked in several of their ships, and an offer from the marquis de Solana of the use of their hospitals for our wounded, pledging the honour of Spain for their being carefully attended.

"I have ordered most of the Spanish prisoners to be released, the officers on parole; the men for receipts given, and a condition that they do not serve in war, by sea or land, until exchanged (*e*).

"I am, &c.

"C. Collingwood."

Thus have we given a faithful description of the battle off Trafalgar; the four ships (*f*), mentioned below, which were part of the combined fleet, were afterwards taken by captain sir Richard J. Strachan, (promoted November 9, to the rank of rear-admiral).

Sir Robert Calder's conduct in the action with the French and Spanish combined fleet not giving general satisfaction, he was brought to trial by a court martial on the 22nd of December following, on board his majesty's ship Prince of Wales, in Portsmouth harbour. The trial lasted some time, during which a great number of witnesses were examined; and when sir Robert Calder had made his defence, the court proceeded to give judgement; which was, "That the charges against him, for not having done his utmost to take and destroy every ship of the enemy, which it was his duty to engage, are fully proved: The court are of opinion, that such conduct on the part of sir Robert Calder was not the result of fear or cowardice, but of error in judgement; for which he deserves to be severely reprimanded, and he is hereby severely reprimanded accordingly." It was, however, thought by many, that sir Robert did not properly deserve this sentence, because with fifteen sail of the line he gained a partial victory over the enemy, whose fleet consisted of twenty; and he even took two ships, the one of eighty-four, and the other of seventy-four guns, from that fleet.

As the English were engaged as a party in the grand coalition of 1805 against France, it is proper that we say a few words on the state of Europe at the commencement of the year 1806, which may be justly said to be unexampled in the annals of history. Two rival nations, the French and the English, had acquired not merely a decided preponderance, but an absolute and uncontrouled dominion, the one over the land, and the other over the seas. The French, by gaining the battle of Austerlitz, had completely overthrown the powers on the continent, and confirmed the military superiority of France over other nations, and left her without a rival on the continent of Europe; while the victory of Trafalgar had no less decided the superiority of the naval power of England. But notwithstanding the naval prowess of England, she was unable to make any serious impression on the territories of France, or to weaken in the least the solid foundations of Napoleon's power.

By the treaty of Presburgh, the triumph of Napoleon over the continent of Europe was completed, and France was at liberty to direct her whole force and energy to the subjugation of England. No longer deterred by the fear of a continental coalition, she had only to decide upon the most expedient and practical mode of conducting an enterprize for that purpose; and if Great Britain had nothing to apprehend from the number of troops Bonaparte might be able to land on the shores of England, yet it must be

(*e*) It is unnecessary to detail the number of killed and wounded on board each ship respectively, therefore we shall mention only the grand total: twenty-seven officers, sixteen petty officers, two hundred and ninety-nine seamen, and one hundred and thirteen marines, killed; forty-three officers, fifty-nine petty officers, nine hundred seamen, and two hundred and twelve marines, wounded.—Total one thousand six hundred and sixty-three.

(*f*) The following are part of the combined fleet which escaped on the day of battle with lord Nelson: 1. French ship Formidable, of eighty guns; hauled to the southward, and escaped. 2. French ship Mont Blanc, of seventy-four guns; hauled to the southward and escaped. 3. French ship Scipion, of seventy-four guns; hauled to the southward and escaped. 4. French ship Duguay Trouin, of seventy-four guns; hauled to the southward, and escaped.

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well known that there were other parts of the British empire that were not equally invulnerable to his attacks. Ireland was exposed by her grievances to the seduction of his emissaries, and easily accessible by her situation to the invasion of his army. Rebellion had, in that country, been put down, it is true, but discontent still existed in the minds of the people. The fire, which had lately blazed with such fury, was smothered, but not extinguished. The rejection of the Catholic petition by parliament tended to keep the embers alive; and though the more moderate of the Catholics were ready to postpone the discussion of their claims, till the only obstacle to the redress of their grievances was removed, and the prudent and considerate were disinclined to those violent counsels, from which they had already suffered so much, it was not to be supposed that all the Irish Catholics were moderate and prudent, but that many of that body would join themselves to a French army so soon as it made its appearance in their country.

Mr. Pitt, the prime minister, was now sick at Bath; and his colleagues were men of inferior parts; so that England might be said at this time to be without any efficient government. So weak, indeed, were the colleagues of Mr. Pitt at this period, that they announced a great victory of the allies over the French, after the battle of Austerlitz, on no better authority than the report of a prating messenger, whose idle hearsays they had the weakness to believe, in preference to the dispatches of which he was the bearer. This miserable fabrication was eagerly circulated by the ministers then in town, and for some days it met with universal credit among their adherents; but when the history, as well as the falsehood was made known, it covered them with shame and ridicule, and exposed them to the derision of those who had been duped by their folly.

While affairs were in this posture, it was, that parliament, after repeated prorogations, was at length permitted to meet, on the 21st of January, 1806, and, as the state of his majesty's eyes did not allow him to open the meeting in person, it was accordingly done by commission.

The speech was read by the lord chancellor, and the address was moved in the house of lords by the earl of Essex, and in the house of commons by lord Francis Spencer. An amendment to the address was prepared and read in both houses, but was not brought forward as a motion on account of the indisposition of Mr. Pitt, who, it afterwards appeared, was at that very moment on his death bed. A report had been circulated in the morning of the 21st of January, that he was dangerously ill, and this had induced opposition to give up their intentions of moving the amendment they had prepared: but the very dangerous state to which he was reduced, was far from being suspected; and that very evening, in the house of commons, some of his most intimate friends asserted, that he was no longer in danger, but in a fair, though slow way of recovery.

Mr. Pitt had left Bath on the 10th of January, and on his arrival in the neighbourhood of London, took up his residence at his own house on Putney Heath. His health had been for some time in a most alarming state. He was reduced to the greatest possible weakness, and as the functions of his stomach were greatly impaired, there seemed to be little hopes of his speedy re-establishment. A suspicion having been entertained that his complaints proceeded from some organic disorder of the stomach, or liver, a consultation of physicians was held on his case, and he expressed great satisfaction at being told that they saw no reason to adopt such an opinion. He was then advised to seclude himself entirely from business, and to abandon every other care but that of his health, and upon these terms he was flattered with hopes of recovery. A few days after he was seized with symptoms of a *Typhus* fever. His pulse rose to one hundred and thirty, and his tongue and lips were dry and furred. He was occasionally delirious, and talked incoherently on various subjects, but in general he was drowsy and lethargic. When spoken to, he gave a pertinent answer, but relapsed immediately into incoherent language, and was quite incapable of any rational or connected conversation; nor, whatever stories have been circulated to the contrary, was he ever sensible of the danger of his situation. A constitution so exhausted as his had previously been, sunk rapidly under the violence of the fever, and early on the 23d of January he expired.

Thus died William Pitt, in the 47th year of his age, after having enjoyed greater power and popularity, and held the first place in the government of his country, for a longer course of years, than any former minister of England. It is not our province to enter at large into his character and merits. That he was a person of rare and splendid qualities, a powerful orator, an expert financier, his greatest enemies must admit. But, whether the appellation of an illustrious statesman has been justly applied to him, is a question on which men may reasonably differ.

On the 27th of January, Mr. H. Lascelles moved, in the house of commons, "That an humble address be presented to his majesty, that his majesty will be graciously pleased to give directions that the remains of the right honourable William Pitt be interred at the public expence, and that a monument be erected in the collegiate church of St. Peter, Westminster, to the memory of that excellent statesman, with an inscription expressive of the public sense of so great and irreparable a loss; and to assure his majesty, that this house will make good the expences attending the same." The motion was carried by a majority of one hundred and sixty-nine.

On the 3rd of February, Mr. Cartwright moved, that a sum, not exceeding forty thousand pounds, should be voted for the payment of Mr. Pitt's debts; which motion was carried without opposition.

The common council of the city of London having met on the 6th of February, it was moved, that a monument be erected in Guildhall, to perpetuate the memory of Mr. Pitt, and after some debate the question was carried by a majority of six.

On the death of Mr. Pitt great difficulty occurred in the formation of a new administration, but the matter being at length adjusted, the cabinet was composed of the following members, viz. lord Erskine, lord high chancellor of England; earl Fitzwilliam, lord president of the council; viscount Sidmouth, lord privy seal; lord Grenville, first lord of the treasury; lord Howick, first lord of the admiralty; earl of Moira, master general of the ordnance; earl of Spencer, Mr. Fox, and Mr. Windham, secretaries of state for the home, foreign, and war departments; lord Henry Petty, lord chancellor of the exchequer; and lord Ellenborough, lord chief justice of England. The duke of Bedford went as lord lieutenant to Ireland, and Mr. Elliot accompanied him as chief secretary. Mr. George Ponsonby was appointed chancellor and keeper of the seals in Ireland, and sir John Newport, chancellor of the Irish exchequer. So complete a change in all the departments of the state had not taken place since 1784.

The subject of military arrangements was the first matter of consequence submitted to the consideration of parliament by the new ministers. Then followed the army of reserve bill, which was one of the most oppressive measures that could possibly be adopted, since it compelled thirty-eight thousand out of forty thousand who were unfortunate enough to be drawn, to find substitutes at an enormous expence, to the great detriment and impoverishment of their families.

The spirit of determined hostility to the new military system, which had marked the conduct of the opposition, in their defence of the additional force bill, continued to animate them throughout the subsequent debates, when the different parts of that system came in detail before the house. The Mutiny Bill, the Chelsea Hospital Bill, the Training Bill, and the Militia Officers' Bill, gave rise to very long debates, which, from the frequent recurrence of the same topics, became at length tiresome and uninteresting.

In this anxiety shewn by government for improving the present condition, and adding to the future prospects of the army, the interests of the navy were not forgotten. In a committee of supply (April 25th) lord Howick explained to the house the intentions of government respecting the allowance of additional pay to the officers, petty officers, and seamen of the royal navy, and on the motion of the same noble lord a sum was voted for enabling government to carry that measure into effect. Two acts of parliament were afterwards passed, in pursuance of a recommendation from his majesty, to empower the governors of Greenwich Hospital and the directors of the chest of Greenwich, to increase the allowances to out-pensioners of Greenwich Hospital, and to grant pensions to old, infirm, and disabled officers, not provided for in that hospital, in addition to their half-pay; and in order to defray these expences, additional funds were appropriated by act of parliament to the support and increase of that noble establishment.

The new ministers followed the financial system of their predecessors; but the Property Tax Bill gave great discontent,

content, and met with great opposition in its progress through the house, particularly from the independent members, who reprobated in strong terms the harshness and rigour of its provisions.

The attention of parliament was next called to a reform in the mode of auditing the public accounts. It appeared that in consequence of the imperfection of the provisions established for that object, there had been a gradual accumulation of inaudited accounts, amounting, when the present ministers came into office, to the enormous sum of five hundred and thirty-four millions!!! Not a single account in the army pay office had been audited since 1782. The store accounts had been suffered to lie over, without examination, during the same period. The navy accounts were greatly in arrear. None of the accounts of the late war were audited, and those relating to the expeditions to Holland and Egypt, and to the treaties of subsidy with foreign powers, had not even been touched upon by the auditors.

The abuses to which the accumulation of inaudited accounts had given rise in the West Indies, were so glaring, that, in 1800, commissioners had been sent thither to investigate them; in consequence of which malversations to an enormous extent were detected. New commissioners were then appointed by act of parliament, with authority to correct and remedy the evil. But, though much good was effected by the exertions of these commissioners, the system of fraud and profusion, which they were sent out to stop, continued to go on; and no crime was spared by the actors in this scene of delinquency, that could serve to screen them from detection, or secure them from punishment. Forgery, perjury, bribery, and every iniquitous stratagem, which fraud could devise, was resorted to; and not content with false charges, false returns, and flagitious embezzlements, they bribed the custom-house officers to sign false certificates, fraudulent invoices, and other such documents, in aid of their mal-practices; proofs of which were detected, in one instance, to the amount of eighty thousand pounds, and in another, to the amount of thirty thousand pounds applied in bribery, to conceal frauds of an enormous extent.

The attention of parliament, during the present session, was called to another subject, connected with the reform of abuses, arising out of the first report of the commissioners of military enquiry, appointed in Mr. Pitt's last administration. It appeared from the report of these commissioners, that lieutenant general de Lancey, late barrack master general, who filled that office from 1793 to 1804, had been accustomed, in making up his accounts with the public, to take credit to himself for one per cent. on the whole expenditure of the barrack department, under the title of *contingencies for additional charge and responsibility upon unsettled accounts;* it appeared also that he had charged the public twice in one year with his pay and allowances; from the whole of which it followed, that, supposing his accounts, not yet audited, to be in other respects correct, but subducting these charges, which on no account could be allowed, he was indebted to the public in the sum of ninety-seven thousand four hundred and fifteen pounds, instead of six thousand eight hundred and sixty-five pounds, which was the balance he acknowledged to be due by him. The report containing these statements was laid before the house on the 21st of March, and ordered to be printed; but no further notice was taken of it till the 8th of May, when lord Henry Petty, referring to it, assured the house, that not only would the suggestions contained in that report with respect to the mode of auditing the barrack accounts, be attended to, in the general measure then under consideration for improving the mode of auditing the public accounts, but that immediate steps would be taken by government for recovering the balance that appeared to be due by the late barrack master general.

The grants of public money during this session of parliament were numerous and considerable; but the greater part of them were such, as fully to deserve as well as to receive the approbation of the country. The grants to the family of lord Nelson, to the seamen who had fought in the battle of Trafalgar, to lord Collingwood, sir Richard Strachan, and sir John Duckworth, were of that description. The public submitted without a murmur to the additional burthens occasioned by these arrangements. But it was with feelings of a different sort, that it beheld, in the moment of national distress, an additional allowance of income, solicited from the throne and granted by the commons to the younger branches of the royal family. It was desirable, no doubt, that the royal dukes, as peers of parliament, should be independent of the minister of the day; and, if their present incomes were inadequate to the necessary expences of their station, it was fitting, on the first proper occasion, to increase them. But, to see the ministers of the crown come with an application for that purpose to parliament, within a fortnight after raising the property tax to ten per cent. excited a general feeling in the country, against the importunity that could solicit, and the facility that could grant so ill-timed a largess; for no one would contend that the increase of income to the royal family, supposing it proper to have been granted, might not have been postponed to another session, or even till the return of peace.

There is not any part of the conduct of the new ministers which reflected greater credit on their sincerity and consistency, than the measures they adopted, shortly after their coming into office, in regard to the abolition of the African slave trade. The last motion made by Mr. Fox in the house of commons was to propose a resolution, couched in the strongest language, against this iniquitous traffic; and in his speech on that occasion, almost the last he delivered in that assembly, he declared, that, "so fully was he impressed with the vast importance and necessity of attaining what would be the object of his motion that night, that if, during the almost forty years that he had had the honour of a seat in parliament, he had been so fortunate to accomplish that, and that only, he should think that he had done enough, and could retire from public life with comfort, and conscious satisfaction, that he had done his duty." The attorney general, therefore, with the concurrence of the cabinet, and in his official capacity, brought in a bill for the purpose, which passed both houses with but trifling opposition, and afterwards received the royal assent.

The remaining proceedings of parliament during this session (with the exception of lord Melville's trial) either related to subjects of less general importance than those we have mentioned, or they were left in an incomplete state at the close of the session, or they failed in attaining their objects.

The trial of lord viscount Melville excited great interest in all parts of the country: many of the people were irritated against that nobleman when the charges of peculation were exhibited against him; but as he was acquitted by a majority of the lords, we must suppose he was not so extensively guilty of the mal-practices laid to his charge as many people were inclined to imagine. His lordship was acquitted on the 12th of June, in Westminster Hall.

It was about the middle of April, 1806, that sir Sidney Smith arrived at Palermo, in the Pompée of eighty-four guns, and took upon him the command of the English squadron destined for the defence of Sicily, consisting of five ships of the line, besides frigates, transports, and gun boats. With this force he sailed to Italy, and began his operations on Gaeta, by introducing supplies of stores and ammunition, of which its garrison had been greatly in want. He then went to the island of Capri, of which he took possession, after a slight resistance, and placed in it an English garrison.

On the 6th of July, sir John Stuart obtained a signal victory over the French general Regnier, in Calabria; and the peasants, already ripe for insurrection, took up arms against the French, cut off their stragglers, pursued their flying parties, and attacked their posts. The French provoked by their defeat, and exasperated by the cruelty of the insurgents, who gave no quarter to such as fell into their hands, retaliated their savage cruelty with interest. The villages, which declared against them, were plundered and burned to the ground, and the inhabitants generally massacred without distinction of age or sex. At length, unable to contend with their numerous and exasperated assailants, the French were compelled to evacuate both Upper and Lower Calabria, and to abandon the cannon, stores, and ammunition, which they had collected in those provinces with a view to invade Sicily. But successful as sir John Stuart had been in Calabria, he was sensible of his inability to maintain his conquests, and therefore announced his intention of returning without loss of time to Sicily.

But the loss of Gaeta, which surrendered to the French soon after the battle of Maida, more than counterbalanced the successes of the allies in other parts of Calabria. The surrender of this fortress cut off the communication with the northern parts of the kingdom of Naples, and set at

liberty sixteen thousand French troops, previously employed in that siege, to act against the Calabrians. By a decree issued at Naples on the 31st of July, the two Calabrias were declared in a state of war, and subjected to all the horrors of military law. Massena was placed at the head of a powerful army; and, on the 16th of August, the advanced guard of the French forces entered Cosenza, the capital of Upper Calabria; and before the beginning of September, the French had recovered the whole of that province, except a few places which was deemed of little importance (*g*).

A correspondence took place between the ministers of France and England, relative to peace, which lasted six months, and which was broken off without coming to a favourable termination.

On the 14th of February, about ten days after Mr. Fox came into office, he received a letter from a person calling himself Guillet de la Gevrillière, stating that he was arrived at Gravesend without a passport, and requesting Mr. Fox to send him one, as he had very lately left Paris, and had something to communicate which would give Mr. Fox satisfaction. On receiving this letter Mr. Fox gave orders, through sir Francis Vincent, under secretary of state, to Mr. Brooke of the alien office, to send for the man from Gravesend, and a private interview having been solicited, to bring him on his arrival to Mr. Fox's house in Arlington Street, instead of taking him to the foreign office. In consequence of these orders the Frenchman was next morning carried to Mr. Fox's house, and there admitted by him alone into his closet; when after some unimportant conversation, he proceeded to the object of his journey, which was to inform Mr. Fox that a plan had been entered into for the assassination of Bonaparte, and a house hired at Passy, from which it could be carried into effect with certainty, and without risk. Surprized and confounded with the audacity of the villain, in making him the confident of so execrable a design, Mr. Fox, without enquiring farther into the particulars of the plot, instantly dismissed the Frenchman from his presence, and desired Mr. Brooke to send him as soon as possible out of the kingdom. But on reflection he ordered him to be detained, till such information could be given to the French government, as might hinder the perpetration of his crime, if really projected; and with that view he transmitted to M. Talleyrand, on the 20th of February, a short and simple statement of the occurrence, and of what he had done thereupon. The answer to this communication, dated the 5th of March, was a natural and well turned compliment to the honour and generosity of Mr. Fox's character, and was accompanied by an extract from the emperor's speech to the legislative body, in order, as M. Talleyrand observed, "that Mr. Fox might know, if the advantages of peace were duly appreciated, on what terms it might be discussed." The extract was a simple offer "to conclude peace, taking for its basis the stipulations of the treaty of Amiens."

While the correspondence was carrying on, and in consequence of the conciliatory manner in which it had been conducted, Mr. Fox had solicited as a personal favour the release of several of his private acquaintance prisoners at Verdun, the peculiar circumstances of whose detention had rendered any arrangement for their exchange impracticable, as it would have been derogatory to the dignity of the country to have acknowledged the principle on which they had been detained. The applications of Mr. Fox were in many instances successful, and among the persons named by him was the earl of Yarmouth, only son of the marquis of Hertford, who together with his wife and family, had been detained in France since the commencement of the war. On lord Yarmouth's arrival in London, early in June, he communicated the substance of a conversation with M. Talleyrand, which had passed at the desire of that minister, for the purpose of conveying through a secret and confidential channel, the sentiments and views of France, and the outlines of the terms, on which peace might be restored between the two countries. The terms sketched out in the conversation seemed so favourable, that the English cabinet lost no time in conveying to M. Talleyrand their disposition to commence a negociation, on the basis contained in them. The bearer of the proposition was better able to judge of, and to enforce the adherence to the terms proposed, than any other person whatever; the residence of his family in France rendered lord Yarmouth's return less liable to public observation; and it was understood, that excepting himself, no one would have been permitted to remain twelve hours in France, without producing full powers to negociate a treaty of peace. These were probably the reasons, which induced the English cabinet to direct lord Yarmouth to return.

Lord Yarmouth remained in France for a long time, but it being apprehended that the affair would be better conducted by another hand, lord Lauderdale was sent to take the lead in the negociation; but by the policy of M. Talleyrand, that nobleman was unable to bring the matter to a favourable issue, and, considering the negociation at an end after several fruitless efforts, at length peremptorily insisted on his passports.

In the war which was now carried on between Prussia and France, the Prussian government was guilty of great errors, when it determined upon hostilities. It was at first concluded that the king, assisted by a council of general officers, would take the command of the army in person; but he was inexperienced in war, diffident of his own abilities, and unsteady in his determinations; therefore a very unfit person to oppose to the greatest military genius which this or any other age ever produced. The whole force, Prussians and Saxons, under the command of the duke of Brunswick, did not amount to less than one hundred and fifty thousand men.

But while this immense army remained inactive on the banks of the Saale, the French were collecting their scattered troops and concentrating their forces in the neighbourhood of Bamberg. On the 6th of October, Bonaparte arrived at Bamberg; and on the 8th, the French army was in motion to attack the Prussians. The Prussians, by some unaccountable oversight, left their magazines at Hof, Zurchau, Weissenfels, and Naumberg, without protection, and the French, taking advantage of their neglect, cut them off from these repositories; so that the Prussians had no alternative but to fight or starve. There were no resources in the country of Weimar for maintaining so large an army and numerous cavalry as the Prussian. There was no bread, no beer, no brandy for their men, and no fodder for their horses. When their cavalry took the field in the morning of the battle of Auerstadt, the horses had been without corn, and the men without food for two nights and a day.

After several partial battles, in which the Prussians were great losers, both armies were employed in making arrangements for the important battle which decided the fate of Prussia. The French army extended from Naumberg to Kahla, along the Saale, a line of six hours march, its centre being at Jena; and the Prussians, who had been collecting the whole of their forces into one point, were assembled betwixt Auerstadt, Weimar, and Jena. At break of day on the 14th, the whole of the French army was under arms. The light troops of the centre began the action on the Prussians, which drove them from their advanced positions, and enabled the French to extend their line on the plain, and draw up in order of battle. The Prussian left, amounting to about fifty thousand men, were dispatched to take possession of the defiles of Korsen; but these were already occupied by Davoust, whom they attacked eleven times successively, but could not dislodge. Their centre, consisting of eighty thousand men, was opposed to the French centre at Jena; and these were the only two divisions of their army engaged in the heat of the action. At length the action became general; and two hundred and fifty, or three hundred thousand men, with seven or eight hundred pieces of artillery, scattered death in every direction, and exhibited one of the most aweful scenes ever beheld. The Prussian infantry behaved with courage and firmness; but their cavalry, worn out, fatigued, and disheartened, maintained not their ancient reputation. The French cavalry charged with the greatest spirit and intrepidity, and their artillery performed wonders. The Prussians were every where thrown into disorder; and the charge of the French cavalry, at the close of the day, was irresistible. Neither cavalry nor infantry could withstand the shock; artillery, cavalry, infantry, all were put to the

(*g*) The Calabrian insurgents were indeed a set of miserable miscreants, for while the French were still at a distance, a report was spread that they were advancing to attack them, on which their chiefs fled, and the mass of the insurgents, after recovering from their first panic, committed such acts of murder, cruelty, and rapine, that sir John Stuart found it necessary to send detachments of British troops into the country, to put a stop to their excesses.

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rout. The king himself quitted the high road, and, at the head of a small body of cavalry, escaped across the fields. According to the French accounts, more than twenty thousand Prussians were killed or wounded in this battle, and from thirty thousand to forty thousand taken prisoners. Above twenty generals and lieutenant generals were made prisoners, with three hundred pieces of cannon and sixty standards were taken. The duke of Brunswick was among the slain.

On the 27th, Bonaparte made his public entry into Berlin; and the next day gave audience to the foreign ministers of powers in amity with France, resident in that city.

Several actions took place with the remainder of the Prussian troops, who were every where overthrown with great slaughter, and many fell into the hands of the French. At length, the surrender of Plassenburg, a small fortress in the territory of Bayreuth, completed the conquest of the Prussian fortresses in Germany to the west of the Oder.

The elector of Hesse Cassel was expelled from his dominions, because he had sold the blood of his subjects to England, and because his existence on the frontiers of the French empire was incompatible with its safety; the duke of Mecklenburg Schwerin suffered the same fate, November 27. The houses of Brunswick Lunenburg and Brunswick Wolfenbuttel, which had taken an active part in the war, were deprived of their states. A few days after the battle of Auerstadt, on the 25th of October, the house of Brunswick was declared to have lost the sovereignty of its ancestors; and soon after the occupation of Hesse, Mortier marched into Hanover, and took formal possession of the electorate, on the 14th of November. Of all the princes of Germany, who had joined with Prussia in the war, none were treated with clemency by the French emperor, except the elector of Saxony and the princes of the house of Saxe. By a treaty signed at Posen on the 11th of December, the elector was declared king of Saxony, and he and the other princes of the house of Saxe were admitted into the confederation of the Rhine, and received under that denomination among the new vassals of the French empire. The dukes of Saxe Weimar and Saxe Gotha were in the number of princes, who consented to hold their dominions upon those terms.

General Mortier entered Hamburgh on the 19th of November, and the next day issued an order for the sequestration of all English produce and manufactures found in the city, whether belonging to English subjects or to other persons. The English merchants at this town were put under arrest, and though afterwards released on their parole, they were placed under a guard, and threatened to be sent to Verdun.

So sound was the policy of Bonaparte, that he was ever anxious to connect the members of his family with the other princes of Europe, and on the 4th of March, 1806, he announced to the senate his intention of uniting in marriage the princess Stephanie Beauharnois, niece of the empress Josephine, with the hereditary prince of Baden.

But Bonaparte's next communication was of more importance. On the 31st of March he submitted to the senate a variety of decrees for its approbation; by the first of which he established various regulations for the education of the princes of his imperial house; by the second he annexed the Venetian territories to the kingdom of Italy; by the third he conferred the kingdom of Naples on his brother Joseph; by the fourth he bestowed the duchies of Berg and Cleves, in full sovereignty, on his brother-in-law Murat; and the principality of Guastalla on his sister Paulina, and her husband, prince Borghese; by the fifth he gave to Berthier the principality of Neufchatel; by the sixth he united to Lucca, the countries of Massa, Carrara, and Garragnana; and by the seventh he created a number of duchies, with suitable revenues, in Italy, to be distributed among the civil and military officers, who had distinguished themselves in his service, and to be held by them in property, transmissible by inheritance to their direct descendants in the male line (*h*).

The erection of the duchy of Benevento into a fief of the French empire, in favour of Talleyrand, with the title of prince and duke of Benevento; and the grant of the duchy of Ponte Corvo to marshal Bernadotte, by a similar tenure, followed some months after the preceding establishments, on the 5th of June. Cardinal Fesch, uncle of Bonaparte, was appointed at the same time to be co-adjutor and successor of the archbishop of Ratisbon, archchancellor of the Germanic empire. A new order of knighthood was also instituted for the kingdom of Italy, called the order of the Iron Crown, and established on the footing of two hundred knights companions, besides commanders and other higher dignitaries. Many Frenchmen as well as Italians were decorated with insignia of this order.—Thus we find that Bonaparte was strengthening himself by every means, in the countries where he had got the ascendency.

This year our navy was likewise successful. On the 6th of February, admiral sir J. T. Duckworth descried a French squadron of five ships of the line, two frigates, and a corvette, which he gave chase to, and an action commenced, which lasted with great fury for two hours, when three of the French line of battle ships remained prizes to the English, and two were driven on shore and burnt. The two frigates and corvettes made their escape. Sir J. T. Duckworth's squadron consisted of seven ships of the line and four frigates. The French squadron was commanded by admiral Leisseigues.

Another part of the Brest fleet, commanded by admiral Villaumez, was destined for the Cape of Good Hope; but learning that that settlement had been captured by the English, he bent his course to the West Indies. This squadron consisted of six ships of the line and one frigate; but to intercept it several squadrons were dispatched from England, of which admiral Villaumez having received intelligence, determined not to sail home in a body, but to separate his fleet. The Veteran of seventy-four guns, commanded by Jerome Bonaparte, seems to have been the first that separated from the squadron. On the 16th of August he fell in with the homeward bound Quebec fleet, of which he took and destroyed six vessels laden with timber and other valuable articles; and on the 26th of the same month, after having been chased by the English, it reached the coast of Britanny in safety, and entered the harbour of Concarneau, under the protection of the batteries, where, though the vessel was stranded, the stores and guns were saved, and the captain and the crew got on shore with safety. Some of the rest were greatly damaged in a severe storm, and were eventfully destroyed by the English on the shores of America. The Cassant, one of the French fleet, which it was generally believed had foundered at sea, arrived safely at Brest in the middle of October.

The French admiral Linois, who had for a long period traversed the Indian seas, carrying on a successful and destructive war against our commerce in the East, was this year intercepted in his return to Europe, with his plunder, by sir John Borlase Warren, on the 13th of March, and brought to England, with the Marengo of eighty guns, and the Belle Poule of forty guns, being the only two ships under his command.

On the 24th of September, five large frigates and two corvettes, with troops on board for the West Indies, escaped from Rochefort, and were met the next day at sea by the squadron under commodore sir Samuel Hood; and after a running fight of several hours, four of the five frigates were compelled to strike. The English commander received a severe wound in the right arm, which was obliged to be amputated immediately.

In military matters we have to record that an expedition against the Cape of Good Hope, having on board five thousand iand forces under sir David Baird, with a proportional naval equipment under sir Home Popham, reached Table Bay on the 4th of January, 1806. So soon as the weather would permit, the disembarkation of the troops was effected, and sir David Baird began his march to Cape Town on the morning of the 8th. Having reached the Blue Mountains, he there discovered the enemy drawn up in the plain, and prepared to receive him. At the commencement of the action, the Dutch received the British fire without quitting their ground, but, at the moment of charging, they gave way and fled with precipitation. In this action the loss of the enemy exceeded seven hundred killed and wounded, while that of the British army amounted only to fifteen killed and one hundred and ninety-seven wounded and missing. The English reached the Salt River on the 9th, where they intended to encamp, but a flag of truce being sent from the town with offers of capitulation, the articles were soon settled, and the British were put in possession of Fort Knocke the same evening. The capitulation was signed the next day, and the town surrendered. General Janssens seemed disposed to maintain

(*h*) The last of these decrees presents the curious spectacle of the revival of benefices of Bonaparte, within less than twenty years after the extinction of the feudal institutions, derived from the victories and destructive conquests of Charlemagne.

himself

himself in the interior, to which he retired; but he was prevailed upon by general Beresford to surrender upon terms; which he did, and by the articles of capitulation, signed January 18, it was agreed, that general Janssens and his army should be sent back to Holland and not be considered as prisoners of war, in return for the compleat surrender of the colony and its dependencies.

Sir Home Popham, the naval commander in the capture of the Cape of Good Hope, had long entertained an idea, that if an expedition were sent against the Spanish settlements on the Rio de la Plata, and having been successful in gaining possession of the Cape, he turned his thoughts to the conquest of Buenos Ayres; and having persuaded sir David Baird to acquiesce in his plans, he obtained from that officer a small body of troops under general Beresford. He then sailed from the Cape about the middle of April, without leaving a single armed vessel to protect that colony from insult, and directed his course to St. Helena, where he obtained from the governor a small reinforcement to his little army, which after all did not exceed one thousand six hundred men, including marines. With this inadequate force he steered for the Rio de la Plata, and arrived at the mouth of that river in the beginning of June. It was now debated, whether an attack should be made on Buenos Ayres or Monte Video, and the former being preferred, the troops were removed from the line of battle ships into the transports and frigate that accompanied the expedition, in which, after surmounting with great skill and perseverance the difficulties of a most intricate navigation, they arrived before Buenos Ayres on the 24th of June, and next day disembarked without resistance at the Punta de Quilmes, about twelve miles from that city. A body of Spaniards placed on the height at two miles distance, witnessed the landing of the British army without opposing it, and general Beresford having marched against them on the following morning, they fled with precipitation at the first fire, leaving behind them their artillery. No other difficulty occurred after this success, except the passage of a river, which it was necessary to cross, before getting to Buenos Ayres; but this being effected with the help of rafts and boats, the bridge having been burnt by the enemy, general Beresford entered the city on the 27th, the viceroy having previously abandoned it and fled to Cordova, with the small body of troops under his command. While the army was thus employed in the conquest of Buenos Ayres, the line of battle ships of the squadron made demonstrations before Monte Video and Maldonado, in order to alarm and occupy the garrisons of these places, in which, as it afterwards appeared, were stationed the regular troops of the colony, while the defence of Buenos Ayres, from its situation, supposed to be less liable to attack, had been committed to the militia. To this accident, and to the misconduct and timidity of the viceroy, who was quite inexperienced in military affairs, the success of an expedition, undertaken not more in defiance of the rules of discipline than in opposition to the dictates of prudence, may in a great measure be attributed. About one million two hundred thousand dollars of public money were found in the town and sent to England; besides which, public property in quicksilver and Jesuits' bark, to the value of nearly three millions of dollars, was seized for the benefit of the captors; but before it was secured on board of ship, the place was retaken by the enemy (*i*).

When intelligence reached government of sir Home Popham's unauthorized departure from the Cape, and meditated invasion of South America, orders were instantly dispatched to recall him home, and put a stop to his expedition. These orders, however, were too late to prevent his enterprize; and when the news of his success arrived, the strong objections to his plan were drowned in the universal joy at the fortunate result of his operations. A conquest, which the government would not have made, it had not the resolution to abandon; or possibly, deceived by the ease with which the victory had been gained, it gave in to the popular delusion, and supposed that South America required only to be attacked, in order to be subdued. The British government seemed as it were bewildered as to the course they ought to take in the present state of Spanish America; and long before the system proper to be followed with Buenos Ayres came to be discussed in the British cabinet, that settlement was in the hands of the Spaniards.

The Spaniards were at first taken by surprize, but so soon as they recovered from their panic, they collected the few troops they had in the neighbourhood, and a desperate action took place, in the streets and great square of the town, in which the English were attacked with incredible fury, and severely annoyed by a destructive fire from the windows and balconies of the houses, and were at last compelled to lay down their arms, and surrender themselves prisoners of war, but, instead of conforming to the articles, they were marched up the country. The loss of the English in this action amounted to one hundred and sixty-five killed, wounded, and missing, besides one thousand three hundred made prisoners.

Thus terminated the first expedition to Buenos Ayres, and such were the bitter fruits of an enterprize, undertaken without authority, and originating in a "breach of public duty," which, though alleviated by circumstances, was adjudged by a court martial to be "highly censurable," and, for the general good of his majesty's service, deserving of a "severe reprimand (*k*)."

Sir Home Popham then continued to blockade the river, till the arrival of troops from the Cape, on the 5th or 12th of October, enabled him to recommence offensive operations. He then attempted to get possession of Monte Video, but finding his ships could not be brought near enough to act, he desisted. He then landed at Maldonado, and drove the Spaniards from the isle of Gorriti, where he encamped his troops, and found safe anchorage for his ships. In this situation our army remained at the end of the year, receiving successive reinforcements from England and the Cape, and preparing for farther and more disastrous successes.

We have now to record the death of the honourable Charles James Fox, who was born January 29, 1748, and who had received from nature an uncommon vigour of constitution, and notwithstanding the irregularities of his youth, he had enjoyed uninterrupted health till about two years before his death, when the seeds of the disorder, to which he fell afterwards a victim, were probably formed. Having in the summer of 1804 made too free use of the waters of Cheltenham, he was soon after seized with a pain of his right side, which from its consequences was probably occasioned by an affection of the liver; and though he soon got apparently well from that attack, he never enjoyed again his former health, but was subject to frequent invasions of a disorder of his bowels. In the beginning of 1806 he attended the funeral of lord Nelson, and being then exposed for many hours to the cold, he was seized with a return of his complaint, and was never entirely free from it afterwards for any length of time. In this state of health he was called to take a principal part in the direction of his majesty's councils, and besides his office of secretary of state for foreign affairs, he was prevailed upon to undertake the fatiguing duty of daily attendance in the house of commons, as leader in that assembly on the part of government. The labour and anxiety of these avocations probably accelerated the progress of his disease, and certainly hindered him from having recourse in time to the measures necessary for his recovery. At length, about the middle of June, he became so seriously indisposed, that he was forced to discontinue his attendance in parliament. Symptoms of both general and local dropsy declared themselves, and so rapid was the progress of his complaint, that after the middle of July, though informed of every step taken by his colleagues in the negociations with France, he could seldom be consulted by them on that or any other public measures, till they had been carried into effect. It was at length thought necessary by his physicians to have recourse to the usual operation for his relief, which was accordingly performed for the first time on the 7th of August, and repeated again on the 31st. After both operations he fell into a state of languor and depression, but his medical attendants never absolutely despaired of his case till the 7th of September, when he sunk into an alarming state of lowness, in which he languished till the evening of the 13th, when he expired. He retained to the last his senses and understanding, and till a very short time before his death he continued to have

(*i*) Extravagant was the joy and delusive the expectations, which the news of the capture of Buenos Ayres diffused through every part of the British empire. A circular manifesto from sir Home Popham to the principal mercantile and manufacturing cities, announcing and certainly not under-rating the value of the market he had opened, spread widely and rapidly the most exaggerated notions of his conquest; and led to many rash and improvident mercantile speculations, in which the adventurers had reason afterwards to lament their credulity.

(*k*) See the sentence of the court martial in the trial of sir Home Popham, March 11, 1807.

confident

confident hopes of his recovery. The cause of his death was ascertained to have been a schirrous affection of the liver.

The account of Mr. Fox's death was received at court with coldness and indifference, and such inquiries into the particulars of that event as curiosity dictated, were addressed to those, who from the recentness of their connection with him, were the least likely to receive gratification from those inquiries, or consider them as marks of an interest in his fate. No haste was expressed to fill up the vacancy occasioned by his death.

At length the new cabinet was formed, and lord Holland was appointed to succeed lord Sidmouth as lord privy seal. It may be necessary to observe, that lord Holland, the nephew of Mr. Fox, was the only new member brought into the cabinet. And the only measure of the new ministry that falls under our notice is the dissolution of parliament.

Ireland enjoyed tranquillity during the greater part of the present year, under the mild and conciliatory government of the duke of Bedford. It may be questioned, indeed, whether the system of conciliation, pursued by that amiable and excellent nobleman, was not carried farther than prudence justified, or popular discontent could bear. Since the Catholics could not be gratified with the restoration of their privileges, they might have been soothed by the public disgrace of their enemies, and relieved from future apprehension by purging the magistracy of their torturers and persecutors. Towards the close of the year, disturbances broke out in the north-west of Ireland, occasioned by a banditti, who went about in the night time under the name of Threshers, committing every sort of crime and outrage. Strong applications were made to the Castle, to have these disturbances put down by the insurrection law, the usual remedy in Ireland on such occasions; but the duke of Bedford refused to have recourse, without necessity, to so violent a remedy, and he succeeded in repressing and putting a stop to these excesses by a proper use of the ordinary and regular authority of government.

The year 1807 was a very eventful time; for in the course of it the continent of Europe experienced great and important changes: we therefore regret that our limits confine us to give a mere outline of those interesting particulars, which, if detailed at full length, would require a large volume. Never, perhaps, since the contest between religious tyranny and religious liberty, the sister and powerful ally of political freedom, in the reign of the emperor Charles V. was there so eventful a crisis as that we are now to describe. France and Russia, the two most powerful nations on the face of the earth, contended on the banks of the Vistula for the empire of the political world; and this appeared to be put in a train for being settled at the peace of Tilsit: while expeditions from Great Britain were sent to every quarter of the world.

There are in this year two campaigns which demand particular attention: the first was terminated by the long cessation of arms, at least of field operations, which succeeded to the horrible battle of Eylau: the second, that which was opened at the beginning of June, and terminated in the armistice that followed the decisive battle of Friedland.

Every eye was now turned to the north; for the genius and sources of the northern powers were now brought into conflict with those of the south. A mighty contest was to be decided by arms between Alexander emperor of all the Russias, and the king of Prussia on the one part, and, on the other, Napoleon emperor of France and king of Italy. The former likewise depended on the aid of Sweden, and the co-operation of Great Britain; while the latter derived support from the nations whom he had conquered or intimidated, viz. Italy, Spain, Holland, and a great part of Germany. There was also another ally, much more powerful than the former, on which the Russians, no doubt, placed their principal alliance, namely, a rigorous climate to which they themselves were inured, but which might prove fatal to the soldiers from a more southern clime.

Napoleon seems to have acted with a great deal of wisdom and sound policy; for he carried on negociations with different courts at the same time, professing his wish to cultivate the arts of peace. He laboured to detach the king of Sweden from the cause of his allies, by professions of good will, respect, and admiration, and even by dismemberments in his favour, of Prussia and Denmark. He roused the Turks to war against Russia, and entered into a negociation for an alliance offensive and defensive with the emperor of Persia. Ambassadors were seen in his camp from Isfahan and Constantinople. Eighty-four pieces of cannon taken from the Russian generals Kamenskoy, Bennigsen, and Buxhoevden, in the battles of Czarnowo, Nasielsk, Pultusk, and Golymin, were ranged before the palace of the republic of Warsaw; and that the effect which the sight of so grand a triumph was fitted to produce might be greater, it was observed, "That they were the very same that the Russians drew along the streets of that city with so much ostentation, when lately they marched through them to meet the French." It was stated, that in the battles with the Russians, the Russians lost great part of their artillery, all their baggage, and from twenty-five to thirty thousand men, killed, wounded, or prisoners. It is well known that Gazettes are strongly inclined to magnify advantages gained on one side, and exaggerate losses sustained on the other. This bias, at the period now spoken of, was carried to a pitch of extravagance on the part of the Russian generals, altogether unprecedented: so that the French accounts were more to be depended on than the Russian, as was proved from the evidence of facts.

After the battle of Pultusk, the French retired into winter-quarters on the Vistula. The Russians fell back by Ostrolenka, on the Niemen. The king and queen of Prussia, with the ministry, the treasure, the most valuable property, and a guard of one thousand five hundred troops, horse and foot, retreated to Memel. The other troops remaining to the king of Prussia, were as follow: there were five thousand under the command of general Lestocq, the greater part of which remained in Konigsberg. There was a garrison of six thousand Prussians in Dantzig, of two thousand at Colberg, and of three thousand at Graudenz. And from fifteen to twenty thousand were dispersed in the different garrisons of Silesia. A military officer from England, encouraged the king in this extremity, when he was literally cooped up in the most remote and smallest corner of his kingdom, with the promise of assistance in both money and troops, and the immediate advance of eighty thousand pounds for maintaining the garrisons in Silesia. The Russian army was computed at one hundred and sixty thousand; the strength of the French army was estimated by some at one hundred and fifty thousand. Reinforcements of troops advanced from time to time during the whole of the campaign, to both armies.

The grand Russian army, towards the end of January, was supported on one side, by a corps of Russians and Prussians under the generals Lestocq, Pahlen, and Gallitzin, flanked on their right by the Frisch-haff and the Pregel, and covered on its left flank by a corps under general Von Essen, originally destined against Moldavia. The command of the army after the battle of Pultusk, was given to general Bennigsen, who had formed a junction with general Buxhoevden after his defeat at Golymin.

As the eye of the Russian general was fixed on the Vistula, so that of Bonaparte was directed to the Pregel and the Niemen; who, perceiving that the Russians designed to give him no rest in his winter quarters, determined, with his usual foresight, to take advantage of his assailant, and to anticipate an attack, by making one.

The Russian general Markovv, with a division of the corps under the command of the counts Pahlen and Gallitzin, attacked the French at Mohringen, on the 25th of January. After a sharp action in which the eagle of the 9th regiment of the French infantry was taken, the Russians were repulsed. But being afterwards reinforced by a division of cavalry under general Anrep, the battle was renewed. In these actions at Mohringen, the French lost more than one thousand men, in killed and wounded; the Russians left twelve thousand dead on the field of battle, and among these, general Anrep, whose death was greatly deplored by the whole Russian army.—The Russian and French details of the battle of Mohringen, though different, were not very inconsistent in any material point, except that both parties claimed the victory: but we have before made an observation concerning the Russian accounts.

On the 1st of February the whole of the French army was in motion, and several battles took place between different corps of the respective armies, in which the Russians were generally worsted. But in Eylau, where the Russians wished to maintain themselves, but which the French were eager to possess, before the commencement of the general battle, the contest was most bloody. The Russians had placed some regiments in a church and the yard around it. There they made a most obstinate resistance, and the post

was not taken till after a dreadful carnage on both sides, at ten o'clock at night. The night was spent by the two armies under the bare canopy of heaven, facing each other. One division of the French army, under Le Grand, was posted in front of the village; and one under Saint Hilaire, on its right. The corps of Augereau was placed on its left. That of Davoust had been detached in the evening, to stretch beyond Eylau, and to come round and fall on the left flank of the Russians, if they should not have changed their position. Marshal Ney was likewise in motion to outflank and fall on them on the right. On the following morning, (February 8,) the Russians commenced the attack with a brisk cannonade on the village of Eylau, and the division under Saint Hilaire. The emperor, with his guards, took post in the church and burying ground, which the Russians had so well defended the day before. Thus, in a contest, maintained for twelve hours, during the whole of which time, three hundred pieces of cannon vomited death from the opposite lines so near each other, the carnage could not be otherwise than great. The Russians left seven thousand dead on the field of battle. The French general, marshal Augereau, was wounded, general Hautpoult died of his wounds. "Thus, (says the bulletin,) the Russian expedition, which set out on the 27th of January, and which had for its object to stretch out towards Thorn, and turn our left wing, has proved exceedingly fatal to them. It has cost the enemy from twelve to fifteen thousand prisoners, as many in killed and missing, forty-five pieces of artillery, and eighteen standards.

On the 9th of February, the Russians were pursued as far as the river Trischeling, while they retreated behind the Pregel. The French Gazette says in conclusion, "This expedition is ended. The enemy is beaten and driven back eighty leagues from the Vistula. The French army is going to return to its winter quarters."

Thus by a series of successive actions, the Russians had been driven back by the French as far as Eylau, and the day after the battle, beyond the Pregel. The French had buried the Russian dead; collected and taken care of the greatest part of their wounded, taken a number of their cannon dismounted in the action; and, finally, remained seven or eight days on the field of battle. This circumstance alone proves, notwithstanding what may have been asserted to the contrary in the Petersburg Gazettes, that the French remained masters of the field, and that they had entirely discomfited the most numerous and best appointed army ever sent out by any emperor of Russia (*l*).

It is a very remarkable circumstance, in the dreadful battle of Eylau, that there was but little engagement between the infantry of the two armies. The battle was chiefly fought by the artillery and cavalry. The day after the battle presented a horrid scene of dead and dying men: to bury all the dead, required immense labour. A great number of Russian slain, were found with the insignia of their orders. Forty-eight hours after the battle, there were still upwards of five hundred wounded Russians, whom the French had not been able to carry off. Brandy and bread were carried to them, and they were successively carried to the ambulance, or train of carriages. On the space of a square league were seen nine or ten thousand dead bodies; four or five thousand horses killed; whole lines of Russian knapsacks; broken pieces of muskets and sabres; the ground covered with cannon-balls, howitzer shells, and ammunition; twenty-four pieces of cannon, near which lay the bodies of their drivers, killed at the moment when they were endeavouring to carry them off. All this was the more conspicuous, as the ground was covered with snow. The five hundred wounded Russians were all conveyed in sledges to Thorn, and to the French hospitals, on the left bank of the Vistula. The surgeons observed with astonishment, that the fatigue of this conveyance did no harm to the wounded.

After the battle of Eylau, Napoleon, according to his usual policy on all great occasions, dispatched Bertrand, a general of division, to the Russian commander in chief with overtures of a pacific nature; but general Bennigsen replied, that he had been sent by his master not to negociate, but to fight. Bertrand was then ordered to proceed from Konigsberg to Memel, with similar overtures to the king of Prussia, with whom he had not greater success than with the Russian chief.

On the 15th of February, general Von Essen, at the head of twenty-five thousand men, advanced to Ostrolenka, and at the village of Flakis Lawowa met the advanced guard of general Savary, who commanded the fifth corps of the French army. At Ostrolenka the French permitted the Russians to get fairly within the town, as far as half the length of the streets; when they were charged by the French with fixed bayonets. Thrice did the Russians make an attack on the French, and were as often repulsed, leaving the streets covered with the dead. Their loss was so great, that they were compelled to abandon the town, and take a position behind the sand hills which cover it. The divisions of generals Souchet and Oudinot advanced, and at noon the head of their columns arrived at Ostrolenka. General Oudinot, at the head of the cavalry, made a successful charge, and cut in pieces the Cossacks of the Russian rear-guard. At length the Russians gave way on all sides, and were followed fighting for three leagues. The loss of the Russians was one thousand three hundred killed, among whom were two generals, above one thousand two hundred taken, seven pieces of cannon, and two standards; but the loss of the French was very trifling in comparison with that of the Russians.

A division of one of the French corps marched to Marienwerder, where were seven Prussian squadrons: these were attacked and routed, and three hundred men with two hundred and fifty horses taken. The rest of the Prussians making their escape, took refuge in Dantzig.

The Russians, however, seemed determined to give the French no rest; accordingly, they engaged the French in a variety of skirmishes, in which the Russians were always great losers. On the 28th of February, the French attacked the Russians at Braunsberg, who were ten thousand strong, and overthrew them with fixed bayonets, drove them from the town, and took sixteen pieces of cannon, two stands of colours, and made two thousand prisoners. Thus in the several engagements of Pultusk and Golymin, Bergfried, Allenstein, Deppen, Hoff, Eylau, Ostrolenka, and Braunsberg, the French took one hundred and seventy-five pieces of cannon.

Bonaparte was now at leisure to push the siege of Dantzig, and trenches were opened before it on the night between the 2nd and 3rd of April. But it was necessary, for carrying on the siege, to bring battering cannon from the fortresses of Silesia, upwards of three hundred miles. Part of this artillery arrived on the 12th, and the remainder on the 24th (*m*).

The force that lay before Dantzig was between thirty and forty thousand men; the place being defended by double, and, in some places, by triple rows of fortifications, by marshy ground, and a garrison of twelve thousand Prussians and six thousand Russians: the whole under the command of the Prussian general Kalkreuth. Notwithstanding this immense garrison, the siege was pushed on with vigour by the besiegers, and the bombardment commenced on the 24th of April.

On the 13th of May, the Russians attacked general Marrois at the mouth of the Bug. This general had passed that river on the 10th with a Bavarian brigade, and a Polish regiment. In the course of three days, he had constructed several têtes-du-pont, and had advanced to Wiskywo, for the purpose of burning the rafts on which the Russians had been at work for six weeks. This expedition completely succeeded, and the foolish work of six weeks was destroyed in a moment.

On the 16th, a Russian division, of six thousand men, under general Turkow, advanced from the Brock to the Bug, and towards Pultusk, with a view to hinder the execution of some new works for strengthening a tête-du-pont. The Russians advanced four times to the attack, and were four times repulsed by grape shot from the different batteries. The Russians, for this attack on Pultusk, had prepared a great number of rafts, in the same manner as they

(*l*) So little indeed were the Russian accounts, which were given in their gazettes, to be depended upon, that, in order to gain a tolerable acquaintance with the truth, it was necessary to wait for the French accounts, which, though they have been stigmatized as given to exaggeration, have generally proved true in the main.

(*m*) While Bonaparte was employed in carrying on the siege of Dantzig, the court of St. Petersburgh reckoned on the co-operation of Great Britain, not only in the way of subsidy, but of an army, that should form a junction with the Swedes and Prussian insurgents, and occupy a portion of the French force, by a diversion on their rear. Repeated and earnest applications for an English army of infantry and cavalry were, however, made in vain. A subsidy of five hundred thousand pounds was indeed granted, but no troops were sent from Britain till it was too late; and the force then sent to the Isle of Rugen, in July, (about two months after Dantzig had surrendered,) consisted only of the German legion about eight thousand strong!

had

had done in their attack on the works of general Le Marrois. Those rafts, prepared at so great an expence of time and labour, were burnt in two hours time.

On the 19th of May, when every thing was prepared by marshal Le Febvre, and the French were proceeding to the assault, general Kalkreuth demanded a capitulation; which was dated on the 20th, and carried into execution on the 26th, at twelve o'clock at noon. On the 27th, the garrison marched out of the city with general Kalkreuth at its head (*n*). Several thousands of artillery horses were given up to the French, according to the terms of capitulation; eight hundred pieces of artillery; magazines of every kind; more than five hundred thousand quintals of grain; well stored cellars; immense collections of cloathing, and spices and great resources of every kind for the army.

Notwithstanding the surrender of Dantzig, the fortress of Weischelmunde still held out; but when mareschal Le Febvre summoned it on the 26th, while the terms were only under consideration, the whole garrison advanced from the fort, and surrendered at discretion. The commandant, thus abandoned by the garrison, saved himself by sea.

After the fall of Dantzig, a detachment was sent, closely to blockade and besiege, in form, the fortress of Graudenz, which, though strong both by nature and art, could not be supposed to hold out long, hemmed in, as it was, on all sides, by the besieging and grand French army.

The last hope that remained to the allies, of a favourable turn to the war, on the western side of the Vistula, was Stralsund. General Mortier, being charged with the siege of Colberg, drew off seven thousand men to that place, leaving the siege of Stralsund in charge to general Granjeau. In the mean time, while the operations of the besiegers were but languid, the besieged made several sorties, demolishing the French batteries, and spiking their guns. The garrison of Stralsund likewise received considerable reinforcements; and troops were also landed at other points from the Swedish flotilla. In the beginning of April, it was thought proper to reinforce the army before Dantzig; the siege of Stralsund was therefore raised, and the besieging army, by degrees, withdrew to the Lower Vistula. So soon as general baron Von Essen, governor-general of Swedish Pomerania, perceived that the French were filing off in small detachments, he determined to march against them, and compel them to abandon their entrenchments, and completely evacuate Pomerania. Accordingly, he divided his forces into two columns, each consisting of eight squadrons of hussars, a detachment of mounted artillery, and four battalions of infantry, with their proper divisions of chasseurs. With these he advanced in the same line of direction, and came up with the French at Lussow, who retreated from one post to another with admirable skill and courage, and effected their retreat in a masterly manner, even according to the Swedish accounts.

After the French had retreated from Swedish Pomerania, the Swedish army occupied a line of positions of very great extent, viz. from the banks of the Oder to the confines of Mecklenberg Strelitz. Mareschal Mortier now determined to bear, with his whole force, on the centre of this dilated line, without giving himself any trouble about the other positions, being convinced, that by a rapid march on the river Peene, which the Swedes had inconsiderately crossed, he could throw them into the utmost confusion and consternation. Having assembled a part of his forces at Passewack on the evening of April 15th, he advanced on the 16th, before break of day, on the road to Anclam, overthrew a Swedish post at Belling, and another at Ferdinandskaff, took four hundred prisoners, and two pieces of cannon, entered Anclam at the same time with the enemy, and made himself master of the bridge on the Peene. Thus a Swedish column commanded by general Cardell was cut off. It remained at Neckermunde when the French were already at Anclam. General Armfeldt, one of the Swedish commanders in chief, was wounded by a grape-shot. All the magazines at Anclam were taken, together with all the Swedish sloops of war and transports, on the lake adjoining to Anclam. The column of general Cardell, which was cut off from the other Swedish troops, was attacked on the 17th, by the general of brigade Veau, near Neckermunde, when it had lost three pieces of cannon, and five hundred men. Another column took possession of Demnin, and made five hundred soldiers prisoners. The Swedes were driven back again behind the river Peene.

General Armfeldt, after informing the baron Von Essen of his having been wounded, and that he had been obliged to make the infantry of his division fall back on Ranzien, retired to Stralsund. It was ordered by Von Essen to march to Grimm, and thereafter to the head quarters of Von Essen, the commander of the other division, and who had now the supreme command of both at Greifswald.

Here, on the 17th of April, he was joined by a detachment of hussars, belonging to the royal guard from Stralsund. Early on the morning of that day, he sent a flag of truce to mareschal Mortier, of twenty-four hours, for the purpose of removing the sick and wounded to hospitals. It was not difficult to persuade the mareschal, who knew how much his master wished to detach Sweden from the cause of the allies, to comply with his request. Soon after noon, the first adjutant of mareschal Mortier arrived with a flag of truce at Griefswald, with an answer to that which had been sent by the Swedish general. Before mid-day of the 18th, another flag of truce arrived from mareschal Mortier, and an early hour fixed for a conference between the two generals at Slatkow, within an English mile and half of Anclam, where an armistice was agreed on, not to be broken without ten days' previous notice. Besides this, which was the principal article, there were others, and these altogether in favour of the French. The Swedes were to restore the isles of Usedom and Wollin, which were to be occupied by the French garrisons, to be sent thither for that purpose, on the day after, that is, on the 20th of April. The line of demarcation between the two armies, was to be the Peene, and the Trebel. But the French were farther to occupy a position beyond the Peene, and behind the barrier of Anclam. During the armistice the Swedes were not to afford succours of any kind, to the towns of Graudenz and Dantzig, nor yet to the troops of any of the powers at war with France or its allies. Towards the end of the same month (April,) mareschal Mortier and general Von Essen, improved the terms of mutual accommodation into a more certain prelude to a permanent peace. It was agreed, April 29th, that none of the parties should resume hostilities without giving a month's previous notice, instead of the ten days fixed by the armistice of the 18th.

When the king of Sweden was informed of the armistice, and the events that led to it in Pomerania, he determined to come thither, and take the affairs of this province, political and military, into his immediate management, and accordingly arrived at Stralsund early in May. The king was satisfied with baron Von Essen, and therefore appointed him governor-general of Pomerania, and decorated him with the grand cross of the Swedish order of the sword. It was supposed that general Armfeldt had acted precipitately, and the king granted him permission to retire. This took place on the 14th of May.

While Gustavus was in Pomerania, he was not a little animated by the arrival of general Clinton at Stralsund, with assurances from the British government of speedy succours both of men and money, the English government being now disposed to act cordially with the confederation against France.

We must now take a retrospective view of our affairs in parliament. The new parliament that had been called in October, assembled, according to appointment, on the 15th of December, 1806, and was opened by commission. The commissioners were the archbishop of Canterbury, the lord chancellor, the earl of Aylesford, and lord Walsingham. Mr. Abbot was chosen speaker of the house of commons. An address to the throne for the speech, as usual, was moved in both houses, and after a considerable debate, in which the conduct of administration was severely scrutinized, the address was carried.

On the 22nd of December, lord Grenville moved, in the house of lords, the thanks of that house to sir John Stuart, and the officers and soldiers by whose valour the victory of Maida was obtained; and the motion was carried *nem. diss.* The same day a similar motion was made in the house of commons, by Mr. Windham, and after a just encomium on the valour and intrepidity of the British officers and soldiers, it was agreed to *nem. con.*

The subject of the negociation between this country and France came under consideration in both houses of par-

(*n*) This strong garrison, which consisted at the commencement of the siege of eighteen thousand men, as above stated, was now reduced to nine thousand, of which number four hundred, and among these some officers, deserted. The reason assigned by the officers was, that they had no inclination to go to Siberia.

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liament, in the beginning of January, 1807, when a long debate took place, wherein the principles on which the British ministry acted during the negociation were examined and commented upon, and an address to his majesty on the subject was carried in both houses.

On the 4th of March, in the house of commons, a conversation approaching to the style of a debate, was entered into on the subject of granting five thousand pounds, in addition to the eight thousand pounds formerly granted to the Roman Catholic College at Maynooth in Ireland. On this occasion Mr. Perceval observed, that the interests of the Protestant university of Dublin were sacrificed to the advancement of the Catholic seminary. Within a few years, he said, the professors of the latter institution had been doubled; there being, instead of the nine original professors, now eighteen. In the university of Dublin, provision was made for only one hundred persons, including the fellows, senior and junior scholars, and singers; whilst the public were called upon to defray the expences of two hundred Roman Catholic professors and students in the college of Maynooth, a class of subjects who, in their religious tenets, withheld from their lawful sovereign the admission of his supremacy. The true and strong source of danger and hostility, he said, lay in the principles in which the Roman Catholics were educated. And lord Mahon observed, that the influence of the Catholic priests in Ireland had been too strongly exemplified by the events of the late rebellion; and, therefore, he could not see any reason for increasing their number. At length, after a few observations from lord Howick and others, the grant was carried.

In the progress of the commission of military enquiry, abuses of very great magnitude were brought to light in the barrack department. It appeared that general Delancy, barrackmaster-general, had been in the habit of drawing, through the medium of Mr. Greenwood, the army agent, immense sums of the public money long before they were wanted; and that in a part only of his accounts, (for there had not been time to examine the whole,) there were over-charges and mis-statements to the amount of no less a sum than ninety thousand pounds.

The report of the commissioners, (being their third,) made early in the present session of parliament, related to Mr. Alexander Davison, banker, and colonel of a regiment of volunteers. This man, who had been lately tried for bribery at elections, and imprisoned for that offence, soon after his coming out of prison, had been made treasurer of the ordnance; an office in which, from three to four millions passed through his hands of the public money. It appeared from the report, that in consequence of a bargain with general Delancey, Davison was to receive a commission of two and a half per cent. for supplying the articles of beds, bedding, sheets, blankets, towels, ironmongery, candles, beer, and forage; but that, as to coals, he was to supply this article as a merchant.

It appeared from the report, that the way in which the public was injured by Davison, was two-fold. First, by following the example of Delancey, in drawing immense sums of money, long before they were expended by him for the public service: he had always in hand a million or more of the public money; of the interest of which he thus deprived the public. Secondly, he imposed on the public in the price of the articles furnished. On this head there did not appear to have been any means of detection afforded, so far as related to the articles furnished on commission: but ample means of detection were found with respect to the coals, and the commissioners did not fail to make a proper use of them. The bargain concerning the coals was this: Davison was to buy the coals on his own account, and to sell them to the barrack office, at the wholesale prices, at the several places where the barracks were situated: and, that these prices might be ascertained in a regular way, Davison was to produce certificates that his prices were fair; these certificates being signed by persons of the most perfect respectability. But it appeared that Delancey had never made any inquiry into the character, or the means of knowledge possessed by the persons who signed Davison's certificates, save in one single instance (*o*). Had he conceived himself to be under any check or control, it is probable that, in his tricks, he would have been less daring.

In the first place, he charged, in point of measure, as a retailer, not making the allowance always made by wholesale dealers, of one chaldron in twenty: so that, supposing his profits to have been fair, he thus gained one-twentieth part more, than would have been done by a fair wholesale dealer. This, however, was a trifle, compared with what follows. It appears, from a comparative view of the prices which Davison paid, and those which he charged to the government, (and which were paid to him for a course of nine years,) that the average of the price charged to the public, was eighty-one shillings per chaldron; and the average of the price paid by Davison, sixty-one shillings per chaldron; making a difference of twenty-five in the hundred. To this sum, again, must be added, the one chaldron in twenty, which Davison ought to have given in, as the wholesalers do, amounting to five pounds in the hundred more: thus making a gain of *thirty* pounds in every hundred. Farther still, Davison was bound to make the deliveries in the most favourable seasons; instead of which, he made almost the whole of them in *winter*, when coals were dearest, though he had bought them at the seasons when coals were cheapest; and that too, through the most shameful and culpable inattention, if not the connivance of general Delancey, with the public money. Many other instances might be adduced, concerning the fraudulent dealing of Mr. Alexander Davison. The wealth that this man accumulated at the expence of the public, must have been immense; nor was he at any pains to shade it from the public eye, but, on the contrary, seemed desirous to display it by the utmost splendour and magnificence (*p*). In short, he seemed destined to rouse the attention of government to the conduct of their servants, and the agents of its servants.

Lord Henry Petty told the house, that the commissioners of barrack accounts had, very properly, communicated to the lords of the treasury their opinion, that it was necessary that Mr. Davison should produce his cash account with the barrack-master-general. Mr. Davison, after delays, which he endeavoured to excuse, declared his readiness to give such information as to his cash account, *as he could give;* but stated, at the same time, that his cash account was so mixed with other accounts, that *it was impossible he could give a clear view of it.* Mr. Robson spoke at some length, and moved for the production of certain papers relative to abuses in the barrack department; but it being apprehended that his motion would interfere with the commissioners already appointed, it was negatived.

The debates on the bill for the abolition of the slave trade, in the house of peers, were long and pointed: earl St. Vincent made a strong declaration against it; but the bill was read a third time and passed; after which it was sent down to the house of commons, where council was heard against it; notwithstanding which it was passed into a law.

On the 16th of April, lord Hawkesbury moved the thanks of the house of peers to sir Samuel Auchmutty, for the capture of Monte Video; and lord Mulgrave moved the thanks of the house to rear-admiral Stirling, and the officers and men under his command; both which motions were agreed to *nem. diss.* And on the same day similar motions were made in the house of commons; which were likewise agreed to.

On the 27th of April, the parliament was prorogued by a speech from the throne, delivered, in his majesty's name, by the lord chancellor, one of his majesty's commissioners. The other two were lord Hawkesbury, and the earl of Camden. The commissioners had it also in charge to state, that his majesty was anxious to recur to the sense of his people, while the events which had recently taken place were yet fresh in their recollection. Thus ended a very short, but a very busy parliament.

(*o*) "In the islands of Guernsey and Jersey, the certificates were generally signed by a person of the name of George Richard Walker, a dealer in coals, and who was concerned with Mr. Davison under some agreement or contract, in supplying coals for the barracks in Guernsey and the adjacent islands, for about four years. He was afterwards Mr. Davison's agent for about two years more, in the same business, at a commission of two and a half per cent. on an estimate price of the coals delivered. He was also Mr. Davison's agent in supplying candles during the whole time. This person had, therefore, had a direct interest in certifying high prices: and he had also an interest in the quantity delivered in; for while he acted as Mr. Davison's agent, he received, on an agreed valuation of sixty-five shillings per chaldron, on all the coals measured in the barracks. It was during this period, that the great increase in the cargoes sent to these islands appeared.—Now this George Richard Walker was convicted of perjury and executed." *Extracted from the Third Report of the Commission of Military Inquiry.*

(*p*) He was a purchaser of the most valuable pictures, as well as of estates, and was in the habit of giving grand and splendid entertainments not only to the nobility, but to the prince of Wales, and others of the princes.

While

While the British parliament was employed in debates respecting the means of quieting, or of opposing, the growing power of France, Bonaparte pursued his career of conquest, triumphing over the futility of detachments and expeditions sent at various times, to different places, against one compact and mighty power, and the imbecility of confederation; and shewing to all nations, that it is on the direction, not the existence, of military force, that the issue of campaigns, and the fate of empires depends.

On the 5th of June, the grand French army was attacked by the allies at different points of its line. On the right of the allies, and the left of the French, twelve Russian and Prussian regiments, forming two divisions, attacked the tête-du-pont of Spanden on the Passarge, which was defended by a regiment of light infantry, strongly covered by entrenchments and redoubts. They were repulsed seven times, and as often renewed the attack; but immediately after the last assault, they were charged by a regiment of dragoons, that had advanced to the assistance of the regiment of infantry, and forced to abandon the field of battle with a great loss in killed and wounded. Two divisions of the centre of the allied army attacked at the same time the tête-du-pont of Lomitten, which was defended by a brigade of the corps of marshal Soult. The Russian general, with one thousand one hundred fell in the action, and a great many wounded.

The next day, June 6, the allies attacked the 6th corps of the French army, under Soult and Marchant, at Deppen. In this action the Russians lost two thousand killed, and more than three thousand wounded. In short, in the different actions from the 5th to the 12th of June, the Russian army was deprived of about thirty thousand fighting men. The number of wounded left prisoners in the hands of the French, amounted to between three and four thousand. On the 12th, at four in the morning, the French army entered Heilsberg, where they found in the magazines several thousand quintals of grain, and an immense quantity of different kinds of provisions.

On the 14th, the Russians advanced to the bridge of Friedland, with intent to pursue their march to Konigsberg, and at three in the morning a cannonade was heard. "It is a fortunate day," says Bonaparte, "it is the anniversary of the battle of Marengo." Different movements and actions took place, by which the Russians were stopped in their march, and could not pass the village of Postenheim. A mighty struggle was now unavoidable; and both armies prepared for a decisive battle. By five in the evening the several corps of the French were at their appointed stations; and the whole of the Russian army was drawn up in the best order that the place and circumstances would admit. The field of battle lay between the village of Henrichsdorf and the Alla to the south of Friedland.

Bonaparte having reconnoitred the position of the enemy, instantly determined to take the town of Friedland. Then suddenly changing his front, and advancing his right, he commenced the attack with the first part of that wing; the firing of twenty cannon from a battery being the signal for battle. After a most dreadful conflict Friedland was taken, and its streets bestrewed with dead bodies. The field of battle presented one of the most horrible spectacles of wounded, dying, and dead men and horses, that was ever beheld. The number of the dead on the side of the Russians was estimated at from fifteen to eighteen thousand. Eighty cannon, and a great number of covered waggons and standards fell into the hands of the conquerors. The Russians were pursued in their retreat towards Konigsberg till eleven o'clock. During the remainder of the night the cut-off columns endeavoured to pass, and part of them did pass the Alla at several fordable places; but the next day covered waggons, cannon, and harness, were every where seen in the river. "The battle of Friedland," says the French bulletin, "is worthy to be numbered among those of Marengo, Austerlitz, and Jena. The enemy were numerous, had fine cavalry, and fought bravely."

The next day, June 15, the Russians endeavoured to re-assemble on the right bank of the Alla, while the French army manœuvred on the left bank to cut them off from Konigsberg. Almost all the magazines which the Russians had on the Alla, had been thrown into the river, or burnt. At Wehlaw, however, the French found more than six thousand quintals of corn; and the corps under marshal Soult took possession of Konigsberg. At this place were found some hundred thousand quintals of corn, more than twenty thousand wounded Russians and Prussians, and all the ammunition that had been sent to the Russians by England, including one hundred and sixty thousand muskets, that had not been landed (*q*).

On the 19th of June, Napoleon with his guards entered Tilsit, the second town in Prussia, after Konigsberg, which contained ten thousand inhabitants, and enjoyed a brisk commerce. The Russians, after the battle of Friedland, were pursued by the grand duke of Berg, at the head of the greater part of the light cavalry, and some divisions of dragoons and cuirassiers, so that they were obliged to cross the Niemen, which they effected, burning the bridge of Tilsit, and continuing their retreat to the eastward. The emperor of Russia, who had remained three weeks with his Prussian majesty at Tilsit, left that place along with the king in great haste. The same day, an armistice was proposed to the *chiefs of the French army*, by the Russian commander-in-chief. In consequence of this proposition, an armistice was agreed on at Tilsit, on the 22d of June, by which it was settled that hostilities should not be resumed on either side without a month's previous notice of such an intention. That a similar armistice should be concluded between the French and the Prussian armies in the course of five days. That plenipotentiaries should be instantly appointed by the different parties, for the salutary work of pacification; and that there should be an immediate exchange of prisoners. The boundary between the French and Russian armies, during the armistice, was the Thalwag, or middle of the stream of the Niemen from the Kurisch-haff, where it falls into the sea, to Grodno: and a line from thence to the confines of Russia, between the Narew and the Bug. Such was the formidable position of the French, while nothing remained to the king of Prussia but the small town and territory of Memel. The first interview between the emperor Napoleon, and the emperor Alexander, took place on the 25th of June, on a raft constructed for the purpose, on the Niemen, where two tents had been prepared for their reception by the French. Alexander and Napoleon landed from their boats at the same time, and embraced each other. It was settled that half the town of Tilsit should be considered as neutral ground, and be occupied by the emperor of Russia, with the officers of his household, and his body-guards.—Great were the mutual courtesies and expressions of kindness and respect that ensued among French, Russians, and Prussians of all ranks: visiting, feasting, and all kinds of entertainment and festivity that could be thought of. Human nature gladly relaxed from the miserable rage of war, and indulged, and was eager to acknowledge, and emphatically to express every sentiment of social and generous affection. A magnificent dinner was given by Napoleon's guards to those of Alexander and the king of Prussia. At this entertainment they exchanged uniforms, and were to be seen in the streets in a motley kind of dress, partly Russian, partly Prussian, and partly French. It is much in the same spirit that the chiefs of so many islands in the South Seas exchange names for a time, with persons to whom they wish to shew friendship, or pay a compliment. A stranger to the ways of Europe, witnessing at Tilsit, such ardent love among those different tongues and nations, from the highest to the lowest, might have wondered what could possibly have impelled such good-natured and tender-hearted people to the most horrid scenes of war and bloodshed.

A treaty of peace was concluded, between his majesty, Napoleon, emperor of the French, and king of Italy, and his majesty the emperor of all the Russias, at Tilsit, July 7th. As the contest between Russia and France related not to any direct interests of their own, but wholly to those of their respective allies, there was nothing to be adjusted between these powers on their own account, farther than that there should be henceforth perfect peace and amity between their imperial majesties; that all hostilities between them should immediately cease at all points by sea and land; and, that for this purpose, couriers should be dispatched to their respective generals and other commanders. The great sacrifice to peace was, of course, the

(*q*) The seventy-ninth bulletin of the French concludes thus: "It was on the 5th of June that the enemy renewed hostilities. Their loss in the ten days that followed their first operations may be reckoned at sixty thousand men, killed, wounded, taken, or otherwise put *hors de combat*. They have lost a part of their artillery, almost all their ammunition, and the whole of their magazines on a line of more than forty leagues. The French armies have seldom obtained such great advantages with such little loss."

kingdom of Prussia, which was reduced at once from the rank of a primary to that of a secondary, at best, power of Europe, and all that had been done for the augmentation and aggrandizement of the monarchy by the great Frederick in the course of twenty years, undone in one day. The king of Prussia, by the peace of Tilsit, together with an immense territory, lost near the half of his yearly revenues, and five millions of his subjects. On the whole, Prussia was brought back nearly to the state in which it was on the 1st of January, 1772, before the first partition of Poland. The greater part of those provinces which, on that day, formed a part of the kingdom of Poland, and had since, at different times, been subjected to Prussia, where annexed to his majesty the king of Saxony, with power of possession and sovereignty, under the title of the duchy of Warsaw, and was to be governed according to a new constitution or system of fundamental laws, that should secure the liberties and privileges of the people of the said duchy, and be consistent with the security of the neighbouring states.—This constitution, framed on the model of that of France, was presented, approved by *Napoleon, by the grace of God and the constitution, emperor of the French, king of Italy, and protector of the confederation of the Rhine*, and signed by him, and countersigned by his secretary of state, Maret, at Dresden, so early as the 22d of July. The city of Dantzig, with a territory of two leagues around it, was restored to her former independence, under the protection of his majesty the king of Prussia, and his majesty the king of Saxony, to be governed by the laws by which she was governed at the time when she ceased to be her own mistress. For a communication between the kingdom of Saxony and the duchy of Warsaw, his majesty the king of Saxony was to have the free use of a military road through the states of his majesty the king of Prussia: this road, the number of troops to be allowed to pass at once, and the resting places with magazines, to be fixed by a particular agreement between the two sovereigns, under the mediation of France. Neither his majesty the king of Prussia, his majesty the king of Saxony, nor the city of Dantzig, were to oppose any obstacles whatever to the free navigation of the Vistula, under the name of tolls, rights, or duties. In order, as far as possible, to establish a natural boundary between Russia and the duchy of Warsaw, a certain territory, heretofore under the dominion of Prussia, to be for ever united to the empire of Russia.—This territory added two hundred thousand subjects to those of the Russian empire.—Their royal highnesses, the dukes of Saxe Cobourg, Oldenburg, and Mecklenburgh Schwerin, were each of them to be restored to the complete and quiet possession of their estates: but the ports in the duchies of Oldenburgh to remain in the possession of French garrisons till a definitive treaty should be signed between France and England: for accomplishing which, the mediation of Russia was to be accepted, on the condition that this mediation should be accepted by England in one month after the ratification of the present treaty. Until the ratification of a definitive treaty of peace between France and England, all the ports of Prussia, without exception, to be shut against the English. His majesty the emperor of all the Russias, acknowledged the confederation of the Rhine; his majesty Joseph Napoleon, king of Naples; his majesty Lewis Napoleon, king of Holland; and his imperial highness prince Jerome Napoleon, as king of Westphalia: a kingdom to consist of the provinces ceded by the king of Prussia on the left bank of the Elbe, and other states then in the possession of his majesty the emperor Napoleon. These were the most generally important articles in the treaties. There were others relating to private estates and other property, more interesting, no doubt, to individuals. The time and manner in which the different stipulations in the treaties were to be carried into execution, were fixed in a special convention between France and Prussia.

The young king of Sweden was now the only potentate on the continent of Europe that refused to submit to the dominion of Napoleon. On the 18th of July an armistice was concluded between the Swedish and French generals at Skatklow, to be continued till ten days should be expired after notice of an intention to renew hostilities; which term of ten days was afterwards, by an additional article, extended to thirty. But the king of Sweden having himself assumed the command of his army in Pomerania, immediately declared his intention to acknowledge only the first stipulation, of a term of ten days. In the mean time, notwithstanding the armistice, the Swedish navy held all the ports in the Baltic, in the possession, or under the influence of France in the strictest blockade, and carried on hostilities at the mouth of the Trave, and against the corps of French and Germans besieging Colberg. Remonstrances were made on this subject, a correspondence ensued about the meaning and terms of the armistice, and, at the king of Sweden's request, a conference was held between his majesty and marshal Brune at Skatklow, which lies within the Swedish territory. The marshal being admitted to the presence of the king, after a short silence, said, "I am come here by order of your majesty." The king immediately told him, that he wanted to speak with the marshal himself, that they might come to a clear understanding respecting the additional article of the armistice at Skatklow, and declared his unalterable resolution to abide only by the armistice. The conversation after this, turned on the general situation of affairs in France, and other topics relative to Louis XVIII. in which the Swedish monarch endeavoured to shake the allegiance of marshal Brune; but he quickly found that he had mistaken his man, and that, to the strictest honour and fidelity, he united firmness in the cause he had espoused, with quick recollection and good sense. He, however, treated his Swedish majesty with respect.

From the first day of the king's arrival at Stralsund, he had been indefatigable in his exertions for improving the fortifications of that place, and for the erection of new works on the isle of Rugen. His army at Stralsund consisted of about thirteen thousand Swedes, and four thousand Prussians, and he was in expectation of being soon joined by a large force from England.

At Putt, a town of Anterior Pomerania, eight miles S. S. W. from Stralsund, the Swedes were attacked in their entrenchments by a corps of the grand army of observation under marshal Brune. The Swedes bore no proportion in point of numbers to the assailants, but they made an obstinate resistance. The loss of the French, or rather of their German and Dutch allies, was computed at two thousand four hundred killed and wounded; that of the Swedes to one thousand five hundred: so that, considering the magnitude of the respective armies, and the Swedes being in their entrenchments, the loss on the part of the latter was by far greater than that on the side of the former. The Swedes, however, were driven under the walls of Stralsund. The Swedish army now found itself reduced to the necessity of evacuating Stralsund, which it did on the 19th and 20th of August, after destroying their magazines, spiking their cannon, and breaking their carriages, which they threw into the ditches. The same day (the 20th) an aid-de-camp presented himself at the out-posts of the French, and announced, that at any hour that should be appointed, a Swedish officer, general Peyron, would attend general Brune, with some proposals relative to the fortress of Stralsund, and that, in the mean time, there should be a cessation of hostilities for twenty-four hours. The aid-de-camp was received by general Reille, and it was agreed on, that marshal Brune should see general Peyron at six o'clock in the evening. At the appointed time deputies from the senate of Stralsund arrived at the French out-posts, and in a little time thereafter general Peyron. Articles of capitulation were then speedily adjusted, and the French took possession of the place.

Early on the 20th, all the troops and stores were safely landed on the isle of Rugen, where eight thousand Germans, in British pay, had arrived some weeks before, under the command of lord Cathcart, but were by this time employed in another part of the Baltic. The small Swedish army capitulated early in September, and all the islands on the German coast of the Baltic were included in the capitulation.

We now advert to the affairs of Turkey as connected with England. Mr. Arbuthnot, the English minister at the Porte, had observed, that ever since the great victories obtained by the French over the Prussians, the influence of the French at Constantinople had increased, and that of England and Russia had proportionably diminished: he therefore wrote an account of the state of affairs at that place, which he sent home to the English government. Intelligence to the same purport as that which had been transmitted by Mr. Arbuthnot, was sent by the Russian ministers to the British government, accompanied with a recommendation to send a British fleet, with a large military force, which might defeat the ascendancy of the French counsels at the Porte, and cause a powerful diversion of the force of France in favour of Russia. A negociation

ciation for peace with the Porte was then entered into by the Russian in conjunction with the English government. To give weight to this, a fleet under the command of sir John Duckworth, was sent to force the passage of the Dardanelles, and, if certain terms should not be acceded to by the Turkish government, to bombard Constantinople. The fleet consisted of seven ships of the line, besides frigates and bomb ships. Two of the ships of the line were three-deckers, three carried eighty-four guns, and two seventy-four. This naval force cast anchor at the isle of Tenedos, about the middle of February, where it was joined by the frigate on board of which Mr. Arbuthnot had made his escape from the personal violence of which he had been in apprehension at Constantinople. Our fleet passed the Dardanelles on the morning of the 19th. A Turkish squadron, consisting of a sixty-four gun ship, four frigates, and several corvettes, had been for some time at anchor within the inner castles. Orders were given to commodore sir Sydney Smith, who was well acquainted with those seas, to bear up with three ships of the line, and destroy them, if any opposition should be made to their passage. This division was followed closely by the other ships; the whole of the squadron, therefore, passed the outer castles, receiving the Turkish fire, which, however, did but little damage to the English ships. But in passing the narrow strait, between Sestos and Abydos, our squadron sustained a very heavy fire from both castles. The small Turkish squadron within the inner castles, was attacked by sir Sydney Smith, driven on shore, and burnt; and the guns of a formidable battery, to the number of more than thirty, on a point of land which our squadron had yet to pass, called Point Pesquiez, were spiked by a detachment of marines.

On the 20th of February, in the evening, the English squadron came to anchor near the Isles of Princes, at the distance of eight miles from Constantinople; when a strange and almost ridiculous process took place, on the part of the English minister and admiral, a sort of menacing courtship—menacing war, and courting the Turks to pacific measures. After which the admiral, having previously apprized the Turkish government, moved the squadron four miles nearer the city, but still kept without cannon shot. Threats were intermixed with tokens of amity. While the Turks detained in close custody five seamen belonging to the Endymion, that had fallen into their hands, having gone to some distance from the frigate in the long boat, he sent back to the seraglio some Turks that had been seized in the act of committing hostilities against the English.

In the mean time, the fortifications, of which the English complained, were not interrupted, but continued, night and day, with unremitted activity and vigour, at many different points, and on both the European and Asiatic sides of the canal of Constantinople. The flames of the small Turkish squadron destroyed on the 19th of February, by sir Sydney Smith, did not intimidate the Turks, but roused and united them in a determination to resist aggression, and to preserve the city from destruction, and the contamination of infidels. The grand signior himself, conducted by the French ambassador, general Sebastiani, appeared at the places most proper for the construction of redoubts and batteries. Men, women, and children, Turks, Armenians, Greeks, Ulemas, Sheikhs, and Dervises, lent their aid. The Greek patriarch, and a number of his clergy, put their hands to the pick-ax and wheel-barrow. Thousands of workmen flocked from different quarters. The works were carried on under the direction of certain officers of the corps of engineers, and of artillery that had arrived opportunely from Dalmatia. The members of the divan, and other grandees, remained on the busy scene night and day, each of them at one battery, for encouraging the labouring people, and forwarding the work. They took the necessary repose in small tents. The grand signior too slept in a tent; and every day made the round of all the batteries, encouraging the workmen by kind looks and words, and the distribution of money. At the end of four days, batteries, with excellent breast-works, were mounted with five hundred pieces of cannon, and one hundred mortars.

While the whole line of coast presented a chain of batteries, twelve Turkish line of battle ships, two of them three deckers, and nine frigates filled with troops, lay in the canal, with their sails bent, and apparently ready for action. Two hundred thousand men, destined to march against the Russians, were said to be in the city and suburbs; and an innumerable quantity of gun-boats and sloops, converted into fire-ships, were also prepared to act against the invaders.

Sir J. Duckworth was of opinion, that the Turks were inclinable at first to treat for peace; but he now began to change his mind, and apprehended, that if the English were compelled to contend against the force which the Turks had been preparing, it was become extremely doubtful whether they would ever be able to repass the Dardanelles. The fire of the two inner castles on our ships in their inward passage had been severe, but the effects they had on them, in their return, proved them to have been doubly formidable. Bullets, or blocks of marble, of immense weight and size, were fired at our ships, from huge mortars. One of these, weighing eight hundred pounds, cut the main-mast of the Windsor man of war in two, and it was not without much trouble and pains that the ship was saved. Those masses, however, being easily discovered in their course, our men avoided them on their approach, by stepping aside, and opening a clear way for their passage. Our loss of men in this unfortunate expedition, amounted, in killed and wounded, to about two hundred and fifty. Of this number twenty-six were killed or wounded in a fruitless attempt, February 27, to dislodge the Turks from the isle of Prota, very near the place where our fleet, after passing the strait, had cast anchor; and where they had begun to construct a battery, that might have greatly annoyed our squadron (*r*). The British squadron repassed the Dardanelles on the morning of the 1st of March.

The failure of our attempt on the capital of the Turkish empire seemed for some little time to have been compensated by the possession of Alexandria. On the 6th of March, a military force of about five thousand men, including three companies of artillery, with two engineers, was sent against that city, by general Fox, from Messina, under the command of major-general Mackenzie. On the night of the 17th, the Apollo frigate, with nineteen transports, out of thirty-three, which conveyed the troops, parted company, and the other fourteen, with the Tigre, came to an anchor to the westward of Alexandria, on the 16th. When our squadron approached the land, a vessel was dispatched by major Misset, who appears to have resided at Alexandria, in the character of British consul, and with whom the general was directed by his instructions to consult as to the best plan of operations, with a letter to him, stating, that the major had not come off himself, thinking his presence in Alexandria absolutely necessary, to counteract the intrigues of the French consul, who was endeavouring to prevail upon the government to admit a body of Albanians from Rosetta, to assist in the defence of the place. And he earnestly recommended to the general, to land the troops immediately, as the inhabitants were well affected to the English, and expressed his sanguine hopes that they should be able to get possession of the city, without firing a shot. The general stated the diminution of his force, in consequence of the separation of the nineteen transports. The major still urged his immediate landing. The troops were landed, part on the 17th, part on the 18th. He then moved forward, about eight o'clock in the evening of the 18th. In their way, the British forced a pallisadoed entrenchment, with a deep ditch in front of it, that had been thrown up as a defence against the Mamalukes and Arabs, on the western side, stretching from Fort des Bains, on its right flank, mounting thirteen guns. This they effected with very little loss, though under a heavy fire of cannon and musketry, and proceeded within a few yards of Pompey's gate, where they found the garrison prepared to receive them, the gate barricadoed, and the walls lined with troops and armed inhabitants. This, added to the smallness of the British force, not much exceeding one thousand, determined the general to proceed to the westward. In the morning of the 19th, he took up his position on the ground which the British troops had occupied in the action of the 21st of March, 1801, immediately sending detachments to take possession of Aboukir Castle, and cut between the lakes Maadie, and Mareotis, by which communication the reinforcement of Albanians was expected in Alexandria. In both these designs they succeeded.

(*r*) The demonstrations of sir J. Duckworth, as might easily have been foreseen, produced an effect diametrically opposite to what was intended. He co-operated with the address of general Sebastiani, to bring the Turkish government, for a time wholly under the influence of France, and under that influence to make peace with Russia, when Russia also had declared herself against England.

succeeded. The next day, the 20th, the general sent in by a friendly Arab, that had stolen out of the town, and joined the English, a manifesto addressed to the inhabitants, warning them of the danger of an assault, in the horrors of which, friends would be involved with foes, and urging them to force the government to capitulate. This had the desired effect. A truce was agreed to and signed. The garrison of Alexandria, before its surrender, consisted in four hundred and sixty-seven men, soldiers, gunners, sailors, and marines. The loss of the British, in this reduction of Alexandria, was no more than one officer, six rank and file killed; one officer, one serjeant, eight rank and file wounded. The Apollo, with the nineteen missing transports, came to anchor in Aboukir bay, on the morning of the 20th; and sir John Duckworth's squadron arrived there on the 22d.

In consequence of a strong representation by major Misset, that the inhabitants of Alexandria ran a risk of being starved, unless Rosetta and Rhamine were occupied by British troops, general Fraser, with the concurrence of admiral sir John Duckworth, March 27th, detached the thirty-first regiment, and the chasseurs Britanniques, amounting together, to about one thousand five hundred, under major-general Wauchope, and brigadier-general Meade, for that purpose. Our troops took possession of the heights of Abermandour, which command the town of Rosetta, without any loss. But the general, instead of keeping his post there, penetrated with his whole force into the town, without any previous examination of it, when our men were so briskly fired on, and otherwise annoyed, from the windows and tops of houses, without ever seeing their enemy, that after a loss of about three hundred men, in killed and wounded, they retired, in good order to Aboukir, without molestation, from whence they were directed to return to Alexandria. Apprehensions of famine being still strongly declared both by our resident, major Misset, and the forbagi, or chief magistrate, in the name of the people, without the occupation of Rosetta, another corps, about two thousand five hundred strong, was sent for the reduction of this important place, under the command of the honourable brigadier-general Stewart, and colonel Oswald. This force took post opposite the Alexandrian gate of Rosetta, on the 9th of April, and after a summons to the town to surrender, was treated with defiance, began to form their batteries. Great stress had been laid by the British commander, on assistance promised by the Mamalukes, and their appearance was now daily, or even hourly expected. No succour, however, after an anxious expectation of many days, nor intelligence of any succour was received. Early on the morning of the 22d of April, sixty or seventy vessels were seen sailing down the Nile, and there could not be a doubt that this was a reinforcement sent to the enemy, from Cairo. Orders were immediately dispatched to colonel Macleod to retreat from his position to the main body; but these orders were unfortunately intercepted. The detachment at Elhammed was completely cut off. General Stewart, overpowered by so large a force, retreated, fighting all the way to Alexandria. Our loss in this unfortunate enterprize, was not less than one thousand men, in killed, wounded, and missing.

Generals Mackenzie and Fraser, being now threatened with expulsion, by the disaffection of the inhabitants, and a formidable force of infantry and cavalry, on its march from Cairo, against Alexandria, abandoned the idea of making any defence. On the approach of the enemy, he sent out a flag of truce, announcing that, on the condition of the delivery of the British prisoners, the army under his command should immediately evacuate Egypt: which condition was accepted without hesitation. The British troops, setting sail from Alexandria, on the 23d of September, returned to Sicily: where they set free a part of our troops stationed there for the protection of that island. The troops thus liberated, were brought to Gibraltar, with a view to co-operate in securing the retreat of the royal family of Portugal, from Lisbon; which was effected without the necessity of employing them.

The expedition to Alexandria, was more generally censured, as silly and childish, than even that against Constantinople; because it tended to throw the Turks into the hands of the French. Though the bravery, the discipline, and the perseverance of the British troops, were as conspicuous as they had ever been, yet the capitulation of Alexandria, a defeat in Egypt, where the achievements of our countrymen redounded so much to the glory of the nation, was a source of melancholy impressions.

We have now to record another disastrous expedition, which was still more unfortunate than those against Constantinople and Alexandria: we allude to that undertaken by sir Home Popham against the Spanish settlements on the Rio de la Plata in South America, for which he was tried by a court-martial held in March 1807; when it was declared to be highly reprehensible in a British officer, and leading to a subversion of all military discipline, as well as subordination to government; and he was reprimanded accordingly.

As we have before mentioned the particulars of the expedition to the Rio de la Plata, it is unnecessary to recapitulate them; we shall therefore take notice only of the operations in that quarter which were performed this year. On the 2nd of February, it was reported that a breach made in the walls of Monte Video was practicable, and orders were issued for the attack an hour before day-break on the ensuing morning. A summons was sent in the evening of the preceding day to surrender the town; but no answer was returned. At the appointed time our troops marched to the assault: when they were discovered, a destructive fire was opened from every gun that could bear upon them, as well as from the musketry of the garrison. During the night, which was extremely dark, the Spaniards had barricadoed the breach with hides, so as to render it nearly unperceivable. The head of the column missed the breach; and when it was approached, it was so shut up that it was mistaken for the untouched wall; notwithstanding which we obtained possession of the town by day-light. The number of British troops employed in the reduction of Monte Video was four thousand, and our loss was six hundred. Fresh forces were sent under general Craufurd, which arrived at La Plata on the 14th of June; so that the whole of the British forces was now computed at nine thousand five hundred men. After this general Whitelocke was sent, as commander in chief, with an additional force of one thousand six hundred and thirty men; of which there was a troop of horse artillery to the number of one hundred and thirty, dismounted, with harness and appointments. General Whitelocke arrived in La Plata on the 9th of May. On the 11th, he took the command of the forces; and, on the 28th of June, seven thousand eight hundred and twenty-two men, assembled near Ensenada Le Barrag, after some fatiguing marches through a country much intersected by swamps and deep muddy rivulets, the army reached Reduction, a village about nine miles distant from the bridge over the Rio Chuâlo, on the opposite bank of which, the enemy had constructed batteries, and established a formidable line of defence. The next day, general Whitelocke, with the main body of the army, advanced, and each division was ordered to proceed along the streets directly in its front, till it arrived at the last square of the houses next the river Plata; of which square it was to take possession, forming on the flat roofs, and there wait for further orders. The whole of the troops were unloaded, and no firing was to be permitted until the columns had reached their final points and formed. A cannonade in the central streets was to be the signal for the whole to come forward. The issue of the conflict which ensued, in July, 1807, was such as was to be expected from a plan so weak and ludicrous (*s*).

In

(*s*) The British troops moving forward in the appointed order, with their unloaded muskets and iron crows, were assailed by a heavy and continued shower of musketry, hand-grenades, bricks, and stones, from the tops of the windows of the houses, the doors of which were barricadoed in so strong a manner, as to render it almost impossible to force them. The streets were intersected by deep ditches; and cannon planted on the inside of these, poured vollies of grape-shot on our advancing columns. They were saluted also with grape-shot at the corners of all the streets. Every householder, with his negroes, defended his own dwelling, which was in itself a fortress. Yet, in the midst of all this assailance, and while the male population of Buenos Ayres, by the means of destruction just mentioned, was employed in its defence, sir S. Auchmuty, after a most spirited and vigorous attack, in which his brigade suffered much from grape-shot and musketry, made himself master of the Plaza de Toros, took eighty-two pieces of cannon, an immense quantity of ammunition, and six hundred prisoners; which served as a place of refuge to some other regiments that were overpowered by the enemy. Brigadier-general Craufurd with his brigade, being cut off from all communication with any of the other columns, was obliged to surrender: so also was lieutenant colonel Duff, with a detachment under his command. Still, however, the result of this day's action left general Whitelocke in possession of the Plaza de Toros, a strong post on the enemy's right, and the Residentia, another strong post on his left; whilst general Whitelocke himself occupied an advanced post on his centre.

But

In consequence of the transactions on the Rio de la Plata, at a general court-martial, held at the hospital of Chelsea, on the 28th of January, 1808, and continued by adjournments until the 18th of March, lieutenant-general John Whitelocke was tried upon four different charges; the result of which was, "That the said lieutenant general Whitelocke be cashiered, and declared totally unfit and unworthy to serve his majesty in any military capacity whatever." This sentence was confirmed by the king, who gave orders that it should be read at the head of every regiment in his service, and inserted in all regimental orderly books, with a view of its becoming a lasting memorial of the fatal consequences to which officers expose themselves, who, in the discharge of the important duties confided to them, are deficient in that zeal, judgement, and personal exertion, which their sovereign and their country have a right to expect from officers entrusted with high commands.

After the peace of Tilsit, all the continent of Europe lay prostrate at the feet of France; but the island of Great Britain still defied the power of Napoleon; and as the English were superior to him at sea, it was against the commercial interests of this country that he now turned his thoughts. In order, therefore, to shut out the English commerce from the continent of Europe, he had recourse to a decree, dated Hamburgh, November 11, 1806, and another at Milan, dated December 27, declaring the whole island of Great Britain to be in a state of blockade, and prohibiting and compelling all the other continental powers, even Portugal for a time, to prohibit commerce with any of the dominions of his Britannic majesty, excluding thereby all articles of the growth, produce, or manufacture of Great Britain and its dependent territories. In consequence of these decrees, the continental trade of this country was brought to the very brink of destruction, and our Gazettes exhibited amazing lists of bankrupts in every part of the kingdom. At length the British government, with a view to counteract the decrees against English commerce, published an order of council on the 7th of January, 1807; but this was evaded, and tended to the advantage of the enemy, by carrying on a circuitous trade to this country. Therefore new orders of council were issued on the 11th and 21st of November, allowing neutrals to trade with countries not at peace with Great Britain, on condition of their touching at the ports of this country, and paying the customs or taxes imposed by the British government. The neutrals were thus placed between confiscation and confiscation. If they went to an enemy's port, without first paying duty here, they were to be captured by our cruizers; and if they came here and paid the duty, then they would be confiscated if they went to the ports of the enemy. Thus was an effectual stab given to our commercial interests; and our manufacturing towns (such as Birmingham, Sheffield, Manchester, &c. &c.) were reduced to the greatest misery and distress. The journeymen were thrown out of employ, their families were starving, the workhouses became filled with the poor, and the prisons with debtors.

On the western side of the Atlantic, the island of Curaçoa, was taken by a squadron of British frigates, commanded by captain Brisbane, under the orders of vice-admiral Dacres, with the loss of only three men killed and fourteen wounded.

And our affairs in the East Indies were likewise prosperous, in a victory obtained over Dundie Khan, on the 10th of December, 1807.

We have before mentioned the dissolution of the short parliament, in April, 1807, and the new parliament was opened with the accustomed formalities, on the 22nd of June, when Mr. Abbot was re-elected speaker of the house of commons. The first four days were employed in administering the prescribed oaths to the members, and his majesty's speech was delivered on the 26th. The principal transactions of this session were, adopting measures for obviating the inconveniences respecting private bills, arising from the late dissolution of parliament; the appointment of a new committee of finance; discussion of the particulars of the army and navy estimates; new military plan for recruiting and re-inforcing the army; debates on the Irish arms and insurrection bills; a motion and debates thereupon for discovering to the public what sinecure places, pensions, &c. were held by members of parliament; debates on a bill against granting offices in reversion, which was thrown out in the house of lords; after which, the house of commons voted an address to his majesty, on the subject of granting places in reversion; and, lastly, notice was given of a motion intended to be made early in the next session of parliament, against places in reversion. On the 14th of August, a speech was delivered, in the house of lords, by the lord chancellor, in his majesty's name to both houses of parliament, and the parliament was prorogued to the 24th of September.

We have now to advert to the expedition from Great Britain against Denmark, a circumstance which gave great umbrage to some, and was highly extolled by others. It was apprehended by the British cabinet, that the measures adopted by Bonaparte, tended to hostilities with Denmark, in the event of which it was supposed, that that country would not be able to stand against his gigantic power; to obviate which a sort of negociation and correspondence by letter, was carried on between Great Britain and Denmark.

At length, the British government determined to send to sea a powerful military and naval armament, consisting of about twenty thousand men, and a fleet of twenty-seven sail of the line, and vessels of all other descriptions, to the number of near ninety pendants: but such had been the secrecy attending these preparations, that the whole force was nearly ready for sea, before the extent of it was known to the public, and it had actually sailed from England many days before its destination was even suspected. The British army accompanied the main body of the fleet to the Sound, where it was reinforced by the troops that had been for some time employed at Stralsund and the isle of Rugen, as auxiliaries to the king of Sweden. Lord Cathcart, who was with these troops, was appointed to the chief command of the whole land forces; admiral Gambier, one of the lords of the admiralty, commanded the fleet.

This armament was to remain inactive till the issue of a negociation with the court of Denmark was known. Mr. Jackson, who left England on the 1st, and arrived at Kiel on the 6th of August, was instructed to demand of the prince royal of Denmark the delivery of the Danish fleet into the possession of the British admiral, under the most solemn stipulation that it should be restored at the conclusion of the war between this country and France: but in case the prince royal refused to comply, he was to be informed, that the British commanders would forthwith proceed to hostilities.

When Mr. Jackson had an audience with the prince, the prince is said to have argued upon the proposals made to him with dignity, and in terms of strong, but decorous resistance, and finally to have declared his determination to reject them, and to adhere to the line of policy which he had hitherto pursued. Mr. Jackson was informed the next day that the prince had set out for Copenhagen, upon which Mr. Jackson resolved to follow him, and arrived at the capital on the 12th of August, but as he found no signs of his request being complied with on the 14th, the next morning the British commanders were informed that all hope of a friendly accommodation had been frustrated, and that they were at liberty to proceed in their operations according to the instructions with which they were for that case provided.

The English army accordingly landed without opposition, at the village of Vedbeck, on the morning of the 16th of August; and, after some ineffectual attempts of the enemy, to annoy its left wing, by the fire of their gun-boats, and to impede its progress by sallies which were always repulsed with loss, it closely invested the town on the land side. The fleet removing to an advanced anchorage, formed an impenetrable blockade by sea; at the same time a proclamation was issued by the commanders, notifying to the inhabitants of Zealand the motives of their undertaking; the conduct that would be observed towards them; and an assurance that at any time when the demand of his Bri-

But these advantages had cost about two thousand five hundred men in killed, wounded, and prisoners. This was the situation of our army on the morning of the 6th of July, when general Linieres addressed a letter to the British commander, offering to give up all his prisoners taken in the late affair, together with the seventy-first regiment, and others taken with brigadier-general Beresford, on the condition of his desisting from any further attack on the town, and withdrawing his majesty's forces from the river Plata; intimating, at the same time, that, from the exasperated state of the populace, he could not answer for the safety of the prisoners if he persisted in offensive operations. General Whitelocke, influenced by this consideration (which, he says, he knew from better authority to be founded in fact), and reflecting of how little advantage would be the possession of a country, the inhabitants of which were so absolutely hostile, resolved to forego the advantages which the bravery of his troops had obtained, and acceded to a treaty of peace, on the basis that had been proposed by the Spanish commander.

tannic majesty should be acceded to, hostilities should cease.

On the evening of the 2d of September, the land batteries, and the bomb and mortar vessels, opened a tremendous fire upon the town, and with such effect that in the course of a very short time, a general conflagration appeared to have taken place. The fire was returned but feebly from the ramparts of the town, and from the citadel and crown batteries. On the night of the 3d, the British fire was considerably slackened. This had been variously accounted for, some supposing that it was owing to the great expenditure of ammunition on the preceding night, and the apprehension that enough would not remain for the prosecution of the siege: others, that the British general expected that the impression already made, would produce proposals for capitulation. It was probably because the enemy adopted the first of these suppositions, that the second was not realized: they on the contrary conceived some hope, and were encouraged in their resistance, by the relaxation of our fire, which was however resumed with so much vigour and effect on the night of the 4th, that the next morning a trumpeter appeared at the British out posts with a letter from the commandant of the town, containing the proposal of a truce for twenty-four hours, to give time to negociate a capitulation which he was willing to conclude on the basis of no British troops being admitted within the city of Copenhagen. It should seem, however, either that that basis was not at first considered as admissible, or that it was accompanied by some other objectionable condition: for we find, that the capitulation was not signed until three days afterwards, viz. the 8th of September, when the British army took possession of the citadel, dock-yards, and batteries, dependent upon them. The British admiral immediately began rigging and fitting out the ships that filled the spacious basons where they were laid up in ordinary, and at the expiration of the term limited in the capitulation, they were all, together with the stores, timber, and every article of naval equipment, found in the arsenal, and store-houses, conveyed to England, where, with the exception of one line of battle ship, that grounded on the isle of Huen, and was destroyed, they all arrived safely in the close of the month of October.

It was understood that the capitulation was not altogether approved by his majesty's government, and it must be evident to every body, that the officers who concluded it, unless they did so in virtue of specific instructions, assumed powers that could belong to no commanders. In the capitulation, no notice whatever was taken of the large quantity of shipping and naval stores that were in the merchants docks; the consequence of which neglect was, that we had scarcely left the waters of Copenhagen, before a considerable number of armed vessels was prepared to act against us, and we have been informed that they actually drew up in line of battle, in front of the port of Copenhagen, when admiral Gambier's flag-ship was still in sight of the town. The losses suffered by our commerce, from this newly created species of Danish naval force, were very considerable, and they were the more sensibly felt, because, under the apprehension of the turn which might be given, during the ensuing winter, to the politics of the court of St. Petersburgh, large purchases of hemp, timber, and other naval stores, had been made; these were sent home in single ships, in the confident expectation of having no danger to fear till they cleared the Cattegat, or that they would obtain ample protection before they reached the Sound: instead of which, they were for the most part captured by small privateers, from the isle of Bornholm, and those which escaped in that quarter, fell into the hands of the Danes, off Draco Point, where no adequate force had been stationed for their protection.

The treaty of Tilsit was scarcely concluded, when Bonaparte turned his eyes towards the west of Europe, and resolved on the subjugation of Portugal and Spain. He fomented, through Beauharnois, his ambassador at the court of Madrid, discord in the royal family of Spain, that he might assume to himself the arbitration of their differences. The ambassador suggested to the prince of Asturias, the idea of intermarrying with a princess related to the emperor Napoleon. The anxiety of the prince to avoid another connection, into which an attempt was made to force him, with a lady selected for him by his greatest enemy, the favourite at once of the queen and the king, and on that account alone the object of his aversion, induced him to acquiesce in the proposition of Beauharnois; with the reservation that it was to meet with the approbation of his royal parents; and he wrote a letter, signifying his wishes, to the French emperor. The clandestine communication between the prince of Asturias, and other circumstances artfully prepared, gave colour to an accusation of the innocent prince. A few days after he wrote that letter, the prince of Asturias was arrested and confined in the monastery of St. Laurence. On the 31st of October, all the members of the different councils of state being assembled, a declaration by the king was read, of a discovery that the prince of Asturias had formed a conspiracy for dethroning him. He had been surprized, it was said, in his own apartments, with the cyphers of his correspondence; which were laid before the council of Castile, with instructions to them to investigate the whole matter. The whole Spanish nation instantly suspected that the pretended conspiracy was an infernal calumny fabricated by the *Prince of the Peace*, Don Emanuel Godoy, for the purpose of removing the only obstacle that then opposed his audacious ambition.

The imprisonment of the prince of Asturias, and the decree fulminated against his royal person, produced an effect quite contrary to the expectations of the favourite; who now being afraid, thought proper to recede, and to mediate a reconciliation between the royal parents and their son. He forged penitential letters, November 5, to both the king and queen, and made the prince of Asturias, while a prisoner, sign them. There is nothing in the confession of the prince, of a very heinous nature; and all that they can be fairly supposed to allude to, is the step he had taken, in writing to Napoleon, without the king's knowledge, on the subject of the projected marriage. But a decree that had been addressed, November 3, to archbishops, bishops, prelates, and all the clergy, both secular and irregular, for a solemn thanksgiving to God for the king's deliverance, was calculated to preserve the idea, that the prince had formed or entered into a conspiracy against his father's government, if not his life. On the same day that the prince's letters were received by the king and queen, November 5, a royal edict was addressed to the governor *ad interim* of the council of Castile, declaring that the voice of nature having disarmed the hand of vengeance, the king had been moved by pity, and the intercession of the queen, to pardon his penitent son, who had given information against the authors of the horrible design in contemplation.

Such was the state of affairs, when a French courier arrived at the royal palace of St. Laurence, with a treaty concluded and signed at Fontainbleau, on the 27th of October, by Don Eugenio Isquierdo, as plenipotentiary of his catholic majesty, and marshal Duroc, in the name of the emperor of the French. By this treaty, it was agreed, among other articles, that the province of Entre Minho y Douro, with the city of Oporto, should be made over in entire property and sovereignty to the king of Etruria, with the title of king of Northern Lusitania. The province of Alentejo, and the kingdom of the Algarves, in entire property and sovereignty, to the prince of Peace, to be by him enjoyed under the title of prince of the Algarves. The provinces of Beira, Tras os Montes, and Portuguese Estremadura, were to remain undisposed of, until there should be a general peace. The kingdom of Northern Lusitania, and the principality of the Algarves, were to acknowledge, as their protector, his catholic majesty, the king of Spain, and in no case to make peace or war without his consent. In case of the provinces of Beira, Tras os Montes, and Portuguese Estremadura, held in sequestration, devolving at a general peace to the house of Braganza, in exchange for Gibraltar, Trinidad, and other colonies, which the English had conquered from Spain and her allies: the new sovereign of these provinces was to have, with respect to his catholic majesty, the same obligations as the king of Northern Lusitania, and to hold them on the same conditions. His majesty the king of Etruria ceded the kingdom of Etruria, in full property and sovereignty, to his majesty the emperor of the French, and king of Italy. By a secret convention, it was agreed that French troops should be admitted into Spain, where they were to be joined by bodies of Spanish troops, and march into Portugal. The troops to be subsisted and maintained by Spain, during their march through that country, but to be paid by France. The main body of the army to be under the orders of the commander of the French troops: nevertheless, it was added, should the king of Spain, or the prince of the Peace, think fit to join the said body, the French troops, with the general commanding them, were

were to be subject to their order. It is probable that Bonaparte was under no hesitation in paying them this compliment. Another body of French troops, to the number of forty thousand, was to be assembled at Bayonne by the 20th of November, at the latest, to be ready to enter Spain, for the purpose of proceeding to Portugal, in case the English should send reinforcements there, or menace it with aggression.

Bonaparte demanded of the court of Lisbon, 1. To shut up the ports of Portugal against England. 2. To detain all Englishmen residing in Portugal. 3. To confiscate all English property; denouncing war in case of a refusal. And, without waiting for an answer, he gave orders for detaining all Portuguese merchant-ships that were in the ports of France. The prince-regent of Portugal, hoping to ward off the storm, acceded to the shutting up of his ports; but refused to comply with the other two demands, as being contrary to the principles of the public law, and to the treaties that subsisted between the two nations. The court of Portugal then began to adopt measures for securing its retreat to its dominions in South America. For that purpose, the prince regent ordered all ships of war fit to keep the sea, to be fitted out; and also gave warning of what was intended to the English, directing them to sell their property and leave Portugal. He resolved also to comply, if possible, with the views of the emperor of the French, in case he should not allow himself to be softened down to more moderate pretensions. But Bonaparte peremptorily insisted, not only on the shutting up of the ports, but on the imprisonment of all British subjects, the confiscation of their property, and a dereliction of the project of a retreat to America. The prince-regent, finding that all the English, not naturalized in the country, had left Portugal, and that all English property had been sold, and its amount exported, resolved to shut up the ports against England, and even to comply with the other demands of France; declaring, at the same time, that should the French troops enter Portugal, he was resolved to remove his court to Brazil.

The English ambassador, lord Strangford, had frequently stated to the cabinet of Lisbon, that the king of Great Britain, in agreeing not to resent the exclusion of British commerce from the ports of Portugal, had gone to the utmost extent of forbearance; that, in making this concession to the peculiar circumstances of the prince-regent's situation, his majesty had done all that friendship could justly require; and that a single step beyond it would lead to actual war. Nevertheless, the prince regent, in hope of preserving Portugal by conciliating France, on the 8th of November, signed an order for detaining a few British subjects, and of the very inconsiderable portion of British property that yet remained at Lisbon. On the publication of this order, lord Strangford removed the arms of England from the gates of his residence, demanded his passports, presented a final remonstrance against the recent conduct of the court of Lisbon, and proceeded, November 17th, to a British squadron, commanded by sir Sydney Smith, who immediately, on the suggestion of lord Strangford, established a most rigorous blockade at the mouth of the Tagus. A few days thereafter, the intercourse between the court of Lisbon and the British ambassador was renewed. Lord Strangford, under assurances of protection and security, proceeded to Lisbon on the 27th; when he found the prince regent directing all his apprehension to a French army, which had entered Portugal, and was on its march to Lisbon, and all his hopes to an English fleet. The object of this march he was at no loss to understand; for Bonaparte had declared in his journals, "That the house of Braganza had ceased to reign." Lord Strangford promised to his royal highness, on the faith of his sovereign, that the British squadron before the Tagus should be employed to protect his retreat from Lisbon, and his voyage to the Brazils. A decree was published, November 28, in which the prince regent announced his intention of retiring to Janeiro until the conclusion of a general peace, and of appointing a regency to administer the government at Lisbon, during his absence from Europe.

On the 29th of November, the Portuguese fleet sailed from the Tagus, with the prince of Brazil and the whole of the royal family of Braganza on board, together with many of his faithful counsellors and adherents. The fleet consisted of eight sail of the line, four large frigates, several armed brigs, sloops, and corvettes, and a number of Brazil ships; amounting in all to about thirty-six sail. While they passed through the British squadron, our ships fired a salute of twenty-one guns, which was returned with an equal number; and four English ships of the line were sent by the British admiral, to accompany the royal family to Brazil.

The Portuguese fleet had not left the Tagus, when the French, with their Spanish auxiliaries, appeared on the hills above Lisbon, under the command of general Junot, who had formerly resided for several years at the court of Portugal, in the character of an ambassador from France. Though the Portuguese had long been under an apprehension of a visit from the French, they were surprized by their sudden arrival; for the entrance of the French troops into Portugal was not known at Lisbon, till their advanced guard had reached Abrantes. The retreat of the royal family from Lisbon was, of course, a matter of extreme precipitation. Junot did not meet with any more opposition on his entrance into the capital, than when he passed, on his march, the Portuguese frontier (*t*).

After Portugal had fallen under the dominion of France, the valuable island of Madeira was committed to the protection of British troops; and to be restored to Portugal on the conclusion of a general peace.

We have to record the death of Henry Benedict Maria Clement, cardinal York, calling himself Henry IX. king of England, who died at Rome, in August, 1807. This gentleman was the last of the race of Stuart. He was born at Rome, on the 26th of March, 1725; and was the second son of James Stuart, commonly known by the name of "The Pretender," and of Maria Clementina Sobieski. As a Pretender to the throne of Britain, he was never very forward in urging the pretension; and his general character was that of an inoffensive and respectable individual. Towards the close of the year 1745, he went to France, to put himself at the head of fifteen thousand men, assembled under the command of the duke of Richelieu, to assist his brother Charles in his attempt on this kingdom; but receiving intelligence of the issue of the battle of Culloden, he returned to Rome, and took orders; and in 1747 was made cardinal by pope Benedict XIV. and afterwards bishop of Frescati, and chancellor of the church of St. Peter. After his brother Charles's death, in 1788, he had medals struck, having on their face his head, with "Henricus Nonus Angliæ Rex;" *i. e.* "Henry the Ninth, King of England:" on the reverse, a city, with "Gratia Dei, sed non Voluntate Hominum," that is, "By the Grace of God, but not by the will of Men." The cardinal had two rich livings in France, and a considerable pension from the court of Spain, all of which he lost by the revolution. In order to assist pope Pius VI. in making up the sum required by Bonaparte in 1796, he disposed of all the family jewels; and, among others, of the largest and most perfect ruby known, which was valued at fifty thousand pounds, and when the pope and his court were expelled from Rome, the cardinal was reduced to great distress. At length, in 1798, he was forced to renounce his comforts and property, and retire to Venice; which he did—infirm and destitute. His majesty George the Third, being informed of his distress, ordered a pension of four thousand pounds to be paid him for life. The cardinal of York returned to Rome in 1801, and died Doyen of the sacred college, after being one of its most disinterested members upwards of sixty years. He was also bishop of Ostre and Velletri, vice-chancellor of the holy Roman church, and arch-priest of the basilique patriarchal of St. Peter of the Vatican. Thus died the last, in a direct line, of the royal house of Stuart; and, it is understood, that an act with respect to attainder of blood was to expire at the death of this last of the Stuart family.

During the summer and autumn of 1807, wonderful events took place on the continent of Europe, and formed a great portion of the various subjects that were brought into discussion in the imperial parliament of Great Britain and Ireland, which assembled on the 21st of January, 1808. We regret, however, that our limits will not allow us to enter into a full detail of the parliamentary observations on these subjects, but we shall endeavour to give as clear and succinct a narrative of the particulars, as may be sufficient to give the reader a general idea of the whole.

The parliament assembled on the 21st of January, pur-

(*t*) The greatest professions were made on the part of the French army, and nation, of friendship and affection for the people of Portugal. Nevertheless, the inhabitants of Lisbon were disarmed; they were inhibited from assembling together to the number of more than ten at a time; cannon were placed in all the streets and squares; heavy contributions were imposed for the support and maintenance of the French, with their Spanish auxiliaries; and, in a word, the French system of governing subdued countries was completely established.

suant

suant to his majesty's proclamation, when the commissioners appointed to open the session, read the speech from the throne, which, as usual, turned on the leading public questions that would come under discussion in parliament: the most important of which were, the expedition to Copenhagen; our relations with Russia, Austria, and Sweden; the departure of the royal family of Portugal for the Brazils; and the orders in council respecting neutral commerce. On the motion for the address, ministers, when the speech was animadverted upon, seemed unwilling to enter into a negociation for peace. Lord viscount Milton considered the attack on Copenhagen as totally unjustifiable; that city being left defenceless, while the Danish troops were pouring towards Holstein, to watch the motions of the French, not suspecting any hostile intention on the part of England.

The next day, January 22, lord Hamilton brought up the report of the address to his majesty; when Mr. Macdonald said, that the armament of the Danes could not be considered as hostile, because the preparations in their harbours could not have been begun in the interval between the conclusion of the treaty of Tilsit and the sailing of the expedition from England; and as to the disposition of the Danes, their arming exhibited rather a jealousy of the French than of those of the English. Mr. Herbert too, was of opinion, that the present ministers had, by their expedition, disgraced the country, without either necessity or ability. Mr. Eden observed, that the treaty of Tilsit was signed on the 7th of July, 1807; that intelligence, and a copy of it reached this country on the 8th of August only; and yet orders had been given to admiral Gambier, to sail from the Downs on the 26th of July: and Mr. Pym said, it was impossible for him to approve of the expedition to Denmark.

Although the expedition to Copenhagen had been pretty fully examined in the debates occasioned by the speech from the throne, in respect of both moral law and sound policy, in which it was strongly reprobated, it was again and again brought into discussion, and continued to be, on different occasions, a subject of very animated controversy for almost the whole of the present session; but so greatly were ministers against the country's being made acquainted with the circumstances which attended the origin and progress of the expedition against Denmark, that, on a motion for the production of the papers relative to that business, they took care to secure a majority, and procure its being negatived.

The next subject which was canvassed in parliament, was the offer of mediation on the part of Russia and Austria to procure a peace between Great Britain and France; but a motion for entering into an immediate negociation for peace being made was negatived.

The expedition to the Dardanelles was then brought into discussion in the house of commons; but on the motion being made for sundry papers relative to that affair, the motion was negatived. The measure was, however, highly reprobated.

The commercial warfare, or the war of privation, in which Great Britain and France were now engaged, together with the orders of council, produced a most animated, keen, and pertinacious debate; in which it was strongly contested that the orders in council were a direct violation of the provisions of *Magna Charta*.

Having gone through the business of the session, in which the debates, though very long, became dry and tiresome, the royal assent was given, by commission, to a number of bills, on the 4th of July; after which the lord chancellor, having delivered a speech in his majesty's name, to both houses, prorogued the parliament to the 20th of August. The concluding, and, indeed the greater part of the speech turned on the Spanish nation, which was struggling against the usurpation of France, and therefore no longer to be considered as the enemy, but the ally of Great Britain.

The mysterious conduct of Bonaparte with respect to Spain, threw the king, the queen, the prince of Asturias, and the favourite Don Emanuel Godoy, into extreme disorder. And while they were under this distraction, the French troops spread themselves over a great portion of the Spanish nation. So far did this infatuation prevail in the administration, that orders wese issued for receiving and treating the French on a more liberal scale than their own troops.

Many important posts in Spain, as well as the whole of Portugal, being now in possession of the French, Bonaparte transmitted to the king a complaint, that no steps had been taken in the affair of the marriage of the heir apparent with his relation. To this Charles, king of Spain, replied, that retaining the same sentiments, he was desirous that the marriage might take place immediately. But Bonaparte had a view of a different nature in his mind. He sent Don Eugenio Izquierdo to Spain, who was, on his arrival at Aranjuez, immediately conducted to the presence of the royal parents, by Don Emanuel Godoy, where his conferences were carried on with the greatest secrecy, so that it was impossible for any one to discover the object of his mission. But soon after his departure from the Spanish capital, their majesties began to show a disposition to abandon both the metropolis and the peninsula, and migrate to Mexico.

The recent example of the determination of the royal family of Portugal induced Bonaparte to hope that that of Spain would take a similar resolution; but on this circumstance being known, discontent and fear pervaded all ranks and classes of persons. A popular commotion burst forth at Aranjuez, on the 17th and 19th of March, like a sudden explosion; the people being actuated by a sort of instinct of self-preservation. The favourite, who, without the title of king, had exercised all the functions of royalty, was thrown into prison. The king and queen now took the resolution of abdicating their throne; which they did in favour of their son and heir the prince of Asturias.

The grand duke of Berg now advanced with his whole army to take possession of the capital; intending to profit by the occasion, and take such steps as should best seem calculated to realize the plan of making himself master of Spain.

The prince of Asturias, (now Ferdinand VII.) was totally ignorant of the designs of Bonaparte, from the mysterious obscurity which hung about his projects; and endeavoured to conciliate the good will of the French emperor. He was not satisfied with having communicated his accession to the throne in the most friendly terms, but he appointed a deputation of three grandees of Spain to proceed to Bayonne, and in his name to compliment his imperial majesty. He also appointed another grandee of Spain to pay a similar compliment to Murat, the grand duke of Berg, who had already arrived in the vicinity of Madrid.

It was now industriously circulated that Bonaparte was on his way to Madrid to visit the royal family, and Ferdinand was, after considerable efforts persuaded to set out on the road to meet the French emperor. At Vittoria, Ferdinand received intelligence that Napoleon had arrived at Bourdeaux, and was on his way to Bayonne, where he arrived with his empress on the 15th of April. Several persons endeavoured to persuade Ferdinand not to proceed to Bayonne, but at the solicitation of general Savary, who arrived with a letter from Napoleon, dated April 16, he determined to proceed.

When Ferdinant set foot on the French territory, he remarked, that no one came to receive him till his arrival at St. Jean de Luz, when the mayor, attended by the municipality, made his appearance, and addressed his majesty in an animated manner; and was proud of having the honour of being the first to receive a king, who was the friend and ally of France. Proceeding onward, he was met by a detachment of Napoleon's guard of honour, and invited to enter Bayonne, where a place had been prepared for his residence; which he did on the 20th of April. Shortly after this, his imperial majesty arrived, accompanied by a number of his generals. The king went down to the street door to receive him, and both monarchs embraced each other with every token of friendship and affection. The emperor of the French staid but a short time with his majesty, and they embraced each other again at parting. Soon after, marshal Duroc came to invite the king to dine with the emperor, whose carriages were coming to convey the king to the castle of Marrac, about the distance of a mile and an half from Bayonne, where his imperial majesty resided, which accordingly took place. Napoleon came as far as the steps of the coach to receive his majesty; and having embraced him again, led him by the hand to the apartment provided for him.

Agreeably to the tenour of the secret engagements with Bonaparte, while the flower of the Spanish army had been transferred to the north of Germany, with a view, no doubt, to the project now going forward, bodies of French troops were speedily accumulated at different points of the northern frontier of Spain.

The French forces assembled on the borders of Spain, remained

remained but a short time inactive. Early in the year, a corps entered Catalonia, and on the 16th of February, obtained possession of the town and citadel of Barcelona, with the formidable position of Monjuich. It had been industriously spread through Spain, that the French troops were destined to assist in defending the coast against any insult from the British army or navy. Advantage had been taken of the national feelings to lull the Spaniards into security, by asserting, that one great object of their powerful allies would be the reduction of Gibraltar, and its restoration to its ancient and natural masters. Whispers and surmizes too were industriously circulated of an intended invasion of Algiers and Morocco. The mask was, however, soon thrown aside, and the French army, which had advanced to Barcelona, pretending only to halt for a few days for refreshment, seized without bloodshed the citadel, Monjuich (*u*), and every other important post.

The fortress of St. Sebastian and Figueras were seized by the French in a similar way. At Pampeluna, however, they experienced a different reception; for, on the arrival of a French officer at the head of a body of troops from Bayonne, demanding admission and possession of the place, the governor refused to comply, until orders should arrive from his own government. The French commander then brought forward a body of three thousand men, and compelled the Spaniards, after a severe conflict, to surrender.

The French armies that had entered Spain, instead of proceeding to the southern provinces, remained inactive on the banks of the Ebro. Messengers passing to and from Madrid indicated the existence of negociations, but their object was unknown. The Spanish troops recalled from Portugal, were rapidly advancing towards the capital. The court seemed in the greatest anxiety and uncertainty, the orders of one day being uniformly countermanded by those of the next. The administration of public affairs seemed to be arrested in its course.

On the 15th of March, a report was disseminated that the king was preparing to leave Aranjuez for Seville, with a view to migrate to his American dominions, and that the troops recalled from Portugal were destined to cover his retreat; that a numerous council had been assembled on the subject, in which it had been decided to undertake the journey; that the queen and the favourite, Godoy, had avowed their desire to depart; but that the prince of Asturias opposed the design. The troops quartered in Madrid, had at the same time received orders to march. But when the public alarm was at its height, on the 16th, the king issued a proclamation, thanking his subjects for the marks they had shewn of attachment to his person, and explained the object of the French troops, which had entered his dominions with the most friendly purposes, to assist in defending the country against the common enemy. The assembling his guards, it was stated, was solely for the purpose of protecting his person and family, and not for accompanying him on a journey, which none but evil-minded persons could suppose to have been projected. The king closed this very extraordinary publication, with directing the people to conduct themselves as they had hitherto done towards the troops of his great and good ally.

The next day, March 17th, when the Spanish guards were to leave Madrid, the inhabitants crowded round them, beseeching them not to abandon their native country, for the purpose of securing the flight of a prince who sacrificed his subjects to private considerations. "Do you think," said they, "we have no more spirit than the people of Lisbon?"

On the 18th, the people poured along the road to Aranjuez. Relays for the king's carriages had been provided on the way to Seville. The village of Aranjuez was crowded with troops; and the baggage of the court lay already packed up in the apartments of the palace. The preceding night had been busily spent in preparation. The residence of the prince of the peace was protected by his proper guards, (for to such a point of dignity he had been exalted) with a peculiar countersign, while those of the palace had another. At four o'clock in the morning of the 19th, the people rushed in crowds to the favourite's hotel, but they were driven back by his guards, who in their turn were driven back by the king's body guards that had ranged themselves on the side of the people. Godoy's doors were forced; the furniture was broken; the apartments were laid waste; the princess, his spouse, daughter of don Antonio, and niece to the king of Spain, was conveyed by the people, with respect, to the king's palace. The favourite himself had disappeared, and his brother don Diego Godoy, commandant of the king's body guards, was arrested by his own troops. Their majesties, who had not retired to rest during the night, were early in the morning visited by the French ambassador, and soon after appeared a proclamation, in which the unfortunate sovereign was made to say, that having resolved to take upon himself the command of his forces by land and sea, he had thought it proper to relieve Godoy of the duties of a generalissimo, and permit him to retire to whatever place he might choose (*v*).

In the midst of these disorders, the king, on the 19th of March, at Aranjuez, published a declaration, signed, as usual, by himself, stating, that on account of his constant infirmities, he had resolved to abdicate the crown in favour of his well-beloved son and heir, the prince of Asturias.

The first act of the new king, Ferdinand VII. was to publish a manifesto, declaring his own innocency and that of his ministers, and stating the nature of the papers and cyphers found in his apartment at Escurial, in the month of October last. Among his first acts also, was one confiscating all the property of every description, belonging to the prince of the peace.

At the same time, he appointed the duke of Infantado, to the important station of president of the great council of Castile, the first tribunal of the kingdom, and the command of the Spanish life guards.

On the 25th of March, Ferdinand, already proclaimed king, made his public entry into Madrid, which was by this time under the power of the French.

The grand duke of Berg had, March 23rd, entered Madrid at the head of his army. The cavalry and a division of infantry were quartered within the town, whilst other divisions were encamped on the rising grounds in the neighbourhood. A corps under general Dupont was stationed at Segovia and the Escurial. This army, which amounted to fifty-four thousand men, was received by all ranks of people with the greatest joy, and peace was completely re-established at Madrid.

To preserve the tranquillity of the city, orders were issued to the patroles, to continue their rounds. All keepers of public houses were ordered to shut them up before eight o'clock at night. Manufacturers and commercial people, were ordered to continue their people in their usual employment, to keep them constantly at work, and to send the names of all absentees from their usual offices to the police magistrates. Masters of families were earnestly enjoined to restrain their children and domestics from mixing with crowds, and joining in any tumult (*w*).

King Charles IV. and his queen, Louisa, arrived on the 27th of April at Burgos, and on the 28th at Vittoria.

On the 29th, their majesties remained all night at Tolosa; on the 30th they came, about noon, to Irun, where they received letters from Bonaparte, and two hours after entered the walls of Bayonne, where they were received with all public respect and honour.

The officers of king Charles's household, were appointed by Bonaparte, all of them Frenchmen. On the 1st of May, the king and queen of Spain dined at the castle of Marrac with Napoleon and his empress Josephine.

The prince of Asturias, as he was still styled by the French, or Ferdinand VII. as he was called by the Spaniards, had no sooner returned from dinner at the castle of Marrac to his residence, than general Savary went to inform him, that the emperor of the French and king of Italy had determined that the house of Bourbon should no longer reign in Spain; that it should be succeeded by his; and that his imperial majesty required Ferdinand, in his own name, and that of all his family, to renounce the crown of Spain and the Indies in favour of the dynasty of

(*u*) The garrison of Monjuich, reported to have amounted to about six thousand men, retired, and made way for the French without a struggle: indeed the whole conduct of the Spanish commanders at Barcelona remains involved in mystery and suspicion.

(*v*) When this was known in Madrid, the people attacked the house of Godoy, and of certain ministers of state attached to his party, and destroyed the furniture without opposition, on the part of either the magistrates, or the two Swiss regiments in the Spanish service, then quartered in the town. The prince of the peace was at last discovered in a garret, where he had been concealed for six and thirty hours, and committed to close custody in the common jail.

(*w*) To gratify Bonaparte, the sword that Francis I. king of France, surrendered in the famous battle of Pavia, in the reign of the emperor Charles V. of Spain, which had been kept in the royal armoury since 1525, was by order of Ferdinand, on the 5th of April, remitted to his imperial and royal majesty Napoleon, at Bayonne.

Bonaparte. But he declared, that he neither could nor would renounce his right to the crown of Spain, in favour of any individual, or family whatever, to the prejudice either of himself or the other branches of his house.

The conference on this subject between the French and Spanish ministers was interrupted by a command from Bonaparte, who had secretly heard their discourse, to attend him in his cabinet. There, Cevallos tells us, he was treated by the French emperor, as a traitor to his former master Charles; because he was now in the service of Ferdinand, and reproached in the most insulting manner, for having maintained, in a former official conference with general Monthion, that however necessary the recognition of Ferdinand's title to the throne of Spain might be to the preservation of amity between the two countries, still that his title was not to be invalidated by the withholding of any such recognition. Finding, however, Cevallos inflexible in the principles he professed, and despairing of success in a negociation with that minister, Bonaparte required Ferdinand to entrust his concerns with some other minister. Ferdinand now thought that he was actually under arrest. However, in order to establish the certainty of this fact, Cevallos, by his majesty's order, sent a note to the French minister for foreign affairs, telling him, that the king was determined to return to Madrid, to tranquillize his subjects, and to provide for the transaction of the important business of the kingdom; assuring M. Champagny, at the same time, that he himself would continue, in order to treat with his imperial majesty, on affairs reciprocally advantageous.

Bonaparte finding Ferdinand inflexible, had recourse to other expedients for effecting his object. With a view to this, the old king and queen were invited to repair to Bayonne, to arrange affairs finally.

Scarcely had Charles reached Bayonne, when he demanded that his son should resign the crown so lately assumed, signifying his resolution not to remount the throne himself, but to renounce all his rights, and those of his family, in favour of France. Ferdinand VII. overawed, a prisoner, and controlled by circumstances, on the 1st of May, transmitted in writing a conditional renunciation of the crown in favour of his father.

On the 5th of May, his imperial majesty went to visit the old king and queen of Spain. At this interview there were present, besides their majesties, the Infant Don Carlos, Godoy, the grandees of Spain, who had accompanied the new king in his journey to Bayonne, and the Spanish minister Don Pedro Cevallos. After a conference, which was continued above an hour, Ferdinand was called in by his father, "To hear," says Cevallos, "in the presence of the emperor, expressions so disgusting and humiliating that I dare not record them (*x*)." There seemed to be no end to the queen's reproaches and rage, when Napoleon interrupted her, by saying, "No! I give to Ferdinand the crown of Naples, and to Charles that of Etruria, with one of my nieces in marriage to each of them. Let them declare if they be willing to accept this offer." After a short silence, Don Carlos replied, "Emperor, I was not born to be a king, but an infant of Spain." Ferdinand was silent. Bonaparte, after a short pause, said, "Prince, il faut opter entre la cession et la mort."—"Cession or death;" and six hours were allowed him for coming to a determination. King Charles seconding the threat of Bonaparte, ordered his son to make an absolute resignation of the crown, under pain of being treated with all his household as an usurper of the throne, and a conspirator against the life of his father. To this proposition, Ferdinand being desirous not to involve in his misfortunes the number of persons comprehended in the threat of Charles IV. assented. And next day, in a letter to his father, after stating the circumstances of constraint in which he was placed, he made the resignation which was commanded. After this, Ferdinand was deprived of his coach of state, and sword of honour. He had no other attendant than the commandant of the party that watched him.

On the same day, a treaty of abdication was agreed to, and signed by the prince of peace, on the part of king Charles IV. and marshal Duroc on that of Bonaparte. In the first articles, Charles cedes to his majesty, the emperor Napoleon, all his rights to the throne of Spain, and the Indies, as things had come to such a pass, that he alone could re-establish social order.

In the mean time, there was, as might be expected, an action and re-action between what was going on at Bayonne, and what came to pass at Madrid. The people were now in such a state as threatened some terrible explosion, and it was not without difficulty that the junta of government, were able to calm the alarms of the people, so far as to restrain them from insulting the French, and treating them with violence.

A courier extraordinary arrived every evening at Madrid, with news of the proceedings at Bayonne. This news was not published in the gazette, but circulated under the form of letters from particular persons in the suit of the king; these bulletins were at first satisfactory; but after a short time, it was surmised that affairs at the castle of Marrac, wore but a gloomy aspect. The courier expected on Sunday, the 30th of April, did not arrive; and the mail looked for hourly, was still due on the evening of the 1st of May, when several thousands of the inhabitants of the capital assembled at *the Port of the Sun*, and other streets near the post-office, on the look-out for the arrival of the post. The French garrison of Madrid rested all night on their arms, and on Monday the 2d of May, the sun, says an Englishman, who was present, rose on many an unfortunate inhabitant, who was never to behold the dawn of another day.

This was the day fixed for the departure of the queen of Etruria, daughter of king Charles, and her son, Don Francisco, for Bayonne, to join the rest of the royal family. The infant Don Francisco, manifested unequivocal tears of reluctance to leave the palace. He was observed even to weep bitterly, which greatly affected the people, and raised their indignation to the highest pitch. At this instant, an aid-de-camp came with a detachment of French soldiers, and immediately there commenced a scene of carnage and horror. The populace were the first aggressors; and the French let fly vollies of musquetry, by which many innocent spectators were killed, and others wounded. The news spread over the whole city with the rapidity of lightning, and in less than an hour, every individual of the lower classes, who possessed the means, appeared in the streets in arms. At first the Spaniards had the best of it in the greater part of the city, although the Spanish troops had no share in the engagement, having been confined by their officers to their barracks. A great number of the French were killed, and their arms supplied such of the Spaniards as had none of their own. But as soon as the dispositions directed by Murat began to be carried into effect, the advantage was decidedly on the side of the French. All the French troops in Madrid were set in motion. Each column had one or more pieces of flying artillery, with which they scoured the streets as they moved onward, and which were afterwards placed at the spots from whence they would do the greatest execution (*y*).

Peace being restored, the inhabitants of Madrid flattered

(*x*) The scene to which Cevallos alludes was this. The queen, in a transport of passion, addressing Ferdinand, said, "Traitor, you have for years meditated the death of the king your father; but thanks to the vigilance, the zeal, and the loyalty, of the prince of the peace, you have not been able to effect your purpose: neither you, nor any of the infamous traitors who have co-operated with you, for the accomplishment of your designs. I tell you to your face, that you are my son, but not the son of the king. And yet, without having any other right to the crown than those of your mother, you have sought to tear it from us by force. But I agree and demand, that the emperor Napoleon shall be umpire between us: Napoleon, to whom we cede and transfer our rights, to the exclusion of our own family. I call on him to punish you and your associates, as so many traitors, and to abandon to him the whole Spanish nation." This scene of the queen bastardizing her own legitimate son in the presence of the king, his legitimate father; and proclaiming her own infamy before her husband, is something so new, surprizing, and singular, that it would not have gained universal and undoubted credit as it has done, if it were not attested by so many witnesses.

(*y*) The place where the Spaniards made the stoutest defence was the store-house of artillery of *Monteleone House*, which, besides ammunition, contained arms for ten thousand men. Thither Murat sent a detachment to take possession of the artillery and ammunition, but he found it occupied by a small number of the inhabitants of Madrid and Spanish artillery-men, under the command of two artillery officers, of the names of Doaize and Velayde. A twenty-four pounder charged with grape-shot, placed at the gate of the store-house, in front of a long and narrow street, made such havoc among the French column as it advanced by this street, that the commander was obliged to send to Murat for a reinforcement. Two other columns were dispatched with all speed to his succour. The French columns attacked this small garrison on both flanks from the windows and tops of the adjoining houses, and repeatedly summoned it to surrender, but the resolute commanders refused to listen to any propositions, and their constancy remained unshaken till they were both killed. The command of this little arsenal now devolved on a corporal of artillery, who, sensible that nothing good was to be expected from further resistance, offered to capitulate. This offer the French general readily accepted. But a Spanish officer, the major of the warlike store-house, appeared on horseback, waving a white handkerchief,

ed themselves that the carnage was at an end; but in the afternoon, Murat issued general orders to his army for the immediate formation of a military tribunal, of which general Grouchy was appointed president. Before this tribunal all persons were brought who had been made prisoners in the early part of the day, or found in the street with any kind of arms about them, or any implements whatever that might possibly have been used, or by any construction considered as a weapon; those who were found with muskets, swords, penknives, and even scissars, were all of them considered as equally guilty, and ordered to be instantly shot; and the sentence was executed without a moment's delay. Several other persons were condemned to be shot on the day after the next.

The whole of the French troops employed against Madrid, on the horrible 2d of May, was computed not to have exceeded ten thousand at most; and the whole city of Madrid, by order of the junta, was disarmed.

The grand duke of Berg, May 6, issued a proclamation to his army, in which he says, that the "2d of May had forced them to draw the sword; that they had acquitted themselves to his satisfaction, and that he would not fail to report their praise-worthy conduct to the emperor; but order and tranquillity was restored; the guilty had been punished; the men who had been misled, acknowledged their errors; in short, a veil was to cover all that had passed, and that confidence ought now to return. He exhorted his soldiers to return to their old relations of friendship with the inhabitants of the capital. The conduct of the Spanish troops was worthy of eulogy. He bade the inhabitants of Madrid to banish from their minds all uneasiness and apprehension, and to see nothing in the soldiers of the grand Napoleon, the *protector of Spain*, but friendly troops, and faithful allies. The inhabitants of all orders and degrees, might wear their cloaks according to their usual fashion. They would not on that account, be any longer arrested, or otherwise molested.

The public mind, it was presumed, was now sufficiently prepared for the reception of an imperial decree, which was communicated to the council of Castile, May 29th, informing the council of the measures which the emperor, by virtue of his rights to the crown of Spain, which had been ceded to him, had taken for fixing the basis of the new government of the kingdom, of which the grand duke of Berg was to continue in the mean time to be viceroy; and the council of Castile were required to affix the said imperial decree on the usual places, that no man might pretend ignorance of the same.

The junta at Bayonne held their twelfth meeting on the 7th of July, the day appointed for the acceptance of the new constitution. In the chamber where they sat, were erected a magnificent throne, and a richly decorated altar, the service of which was performed by the archbishop of Burgos. Joseph Bonaparte, to whom Napoleon had transferred the crown of Spain, being seated on the throne, delivered a speech to the "Gentlemen deputies," in which, after adverting to circumstances which produced "events to which all nations in their turn, and at particular junctures, are subject;" he proceeded to touch on the intrigues of the enemies of the continent, who hoped to sever Spain from her colonies; but "if the Spaniards were disposed to make the same sacrifices with him, then should Spain be speedily tranquil and happy at home, and just and powerful abroad."—The act of constitution was read over in a loud voice, and the members of the junta, on the question being put, unanimously declared their acceptance thereof.

A short address was delivered by the president of the junta, in answer to the speech of king Joseph; after which the several members took the following oath—"I swear obedience to the king, the constitution, and the laws." The junta then attended his majesty's levee, to pay him their respects on the occasion. The viceroy of Spain, Murat, was present at the inauguration of king Joseph.

King Joseph set foot on the territory of Spain on the 9th of July, escorted by a guard of four thousand Italian troops, and followed by upwards of an hundred coaches, carrying his suite, and the members of the Bayonne junta. This guard, gradually increased, amounted, by the time Joseph arrived at Madrid, to ten thousand; but his true guard was an army of eighteen thousand men, under marshal Bessieres, properly posted for that purpose. Napoleon accompanied him as far as Trun, twelve miles distant from the frontier. On the 20th of July, king Joseph made his public entry into Madrid.—On the same day Bonaparte, with Josephine, set out from Bayonne, and arrived at St. Cloud, on the 16th of August.

When Bonaparte's arrangements relative to the settlement of Spain seemed to be completed, and waited only for the sanction of the junta he had called to Bayonne, insurrections broke out in all the provinces not immediately under the controul of that monarch's arms. These insurrections did not appear to cause him any uneasiness, and even after they began to wear a serious aspect he regarded the Spanish commotions with indifference and contempt. The public mind in Spain was in a state of fermentation ever since the affair at Madrid on the 2nd of May; but when the Madrid Gazette of the 20th of that month proclaimed the abdication of the Spanish crown by Ferdinand VII. in favour of Napoleon, there was a great and general insurrection. The anniversary of St. Ferdinand, the tutelar saint of the prince, was on the 27th of the same month, which seemed to awaken the Spaniards from their supineness; for on that day the insurrection broke out in different parts of that country (*z*).

The reign of mere democracy was however of very short duration. The zeal and efforts of unconnected individuals, were quickly brought into unity of design and action, by the establishment of provincial juntas. The municipal

kerchief, and proclaiming peace; on which the French were suffered to take possession of the place. In about two hours the firing in every part of the town ceased; an effect produced by the personal interposition of the members of the council of Castile and the other tribunals, who flew from one street to another on horseback, accompanied by several Spanish noblemen, with some French generals, and escorted by parties of cavalry, consisting of Spanish body guards and troopers belonging to the French imperial guards, mixed together.

(*z*) Don Miguel de Saavedra, captain-general of the province of Valentia, where the insurrection first broke out, who attempted to oppose the views of the insurgents, was put to death. The insurgents then demanded, that all the goods belonging to the French should be declared to be forfeited, and their persons secured in the citadel. A few days after this they dragged the crew of a French ship, which had been pursued by an English frigate, and sought refuge on the Spanish coast, to prison; and on the 14th of June, in a fresh paroxysm of rage, they massacred them. At Cuença, the corregidor and the intendant were thrown into chains, and carried off by a party of peasants. The governor of Carthagena was murdered. General Truxillo, governor of Malaga, was murdered at Granada. His body was dragged through the streets, cut in pieces, and afterwards burnt. The French consul at Malaga, Mornard, and some French merchants of that place, were secured on the 4th of June from the fury of the people, in the Moorish castle of Gibralforo. A great quantity of arms and ammunition taken from an English privateer in 1800, had been lodged in a warehouse in the suburbs, to be sold. On the 20th of June a report prevailed, that this magazine had been purchased by the French consul for the use of the French army. The people of Malaga marched to the castle, and, notwithstanding all the remonstrances of the deputy-governor, and the resistance of the guard, they burst into the castle, pierced the victim of their fury with a thousand daggers, and burned his dead body in a bonfire made of the furniture and some wrecks of the consul's house. The depot was broken open, and all that it contained destroyed. All this was done in spite of every effort on the part of the municipal government of Malaga to prevent it. This tumult was at last quelled by a singular expedient. The dean and chapter fell on the expedient of a procession, to thank God for their deliverance from the oppressor. The multitude immediately joined the procession, and tranquillity was restored. The governor of St. Lucas Barameda was massacred. At Jaen, the peasants murdered the corregidor, and plundered the town.

Similar scenes were exhibited in Estremadura and the Castiles. At Badajoz the insurrection broke out on the 30th of May, and was in an instant matured. The palace of the governor was assaulted. The insurgents demanded arms, to be enrolled, and formed into a regular body. The government, with the bishop, appeared at the balcony, exhorting the multitude to retire, but in vain. They overpowered the guard of the palace, rushed in, seized the governor, and dragged him as far as the Palm gate, where with knives and sticks they destroyed him.

At Cadiz, on the 29th of May, the people rose against the lieutenant general Solano, marquis del Socorro, captain general of the province of Andalusia, and governor of the city of Cadiz. The marquis, with the Spanish troops under his command, had been recalled for the purpose of covering the flight of Charles IV. from Aranjuez to Seville. At Madrid he formed an intimate and confidential connection with Murat, the grand duke of Berg, and general O'Farrel, an Irishman in the Spanish service, but drawn over to the side of the French. Solano appeared at the balcony, and endeavoured to persuade the people, that the power of the emperor of the French was altogether irresistible, and that if they should attempt to resist his will by force, they would precipitate their own destruction. They heard him with patience a long time; but interrupted him at last, by repeating their cry of "arms and ammunition. Long live Ferdinand VII." Arms were brought from the barracks, and a cannon from the bulwarks. The gates of the palace were instantly forced: the governor's guard was disarmed: Solano himself, attempting to make his escape by the tops of the houses, was seized and dragged into the street. Even in this extremity, he proclaimed the power and the vengeance of Bonaparte, and declared, "that he was ready to die in the cause of the grand Napoleon." A person who was near him, on hearing these words, dashed his brains out at one blow with a club.

Some excesses were committed in the provinces of Leon and Asturias. At Corunna, in Gallicia, on the 1st of June, the people demanded that all the French residing at Corunna should be arrested.

nicipal government of the towns of Spain, though complicated, wore in general an air of popular representation. Wherever there were two thousand householders, four deputies, and a syndic were named by the people, and formed part of the town council. All classes of men were obedient to the authority of the juntas, who were animated by one spirit of national indignation. Noblemen and gentlemen, the clergy of all conditions, manufacturers, artizans, and labourers, all presented themselves voluntarily to be enrolled in the public service. There were not less than twenty-four universities in Spain, and several of them crowded with students, who took upon them the profession of arms. Of the companies of students, some were called the *company of Brutus*, others the *company of Cato*, the *company of the People*, and by other allusions to the great cause of freedom. On their standards was inscribed *Liberty or Death!*

After the tragical end of Solano, the lieutenant-generalship of Andalusia and government of Cadiz were conferred by the supreme junta of Seville on don Thomas Morla, who had been long odious to the nobility on account of his attachment to the prince of peace; but, as his great rival and adversary, general O'Farrel, had gone over to the French, his subsequent declarations of irreconcilable hatred to that party were believed to be sincere.

In the mean time, in consequence of the concert between general Castanos and the patriots of Cadiz on the one part, and the commanders of the British forces at Gibraltar in the Mediterranean on the other, lord Collingwood arrived with ships to take the command of the English fleet off Cadiz, and general Spencer with five or six English regiments from Gibraltar, and the two Swiss regiments of Meuron and Watteville. Lord Collingwood offered his services for the reduction of the French fleet: but Morla very properly determined, that this should be exclusively, an achievement of the Spaniards. The French ships lay in the canal of the arsenal in such a position, that they were out of the reach of the cannon of the castles, as well as of the Spanish squadron off Cadiz. But gun-boats, bomb-vessels, and tremendous batteries, constructed on the isle of Leon and near fort Louis, soon reduced admiral Rosilly to surrender (June 14,) the French fleet, after offering in vain, terms of capitulation. The French fleet consisted of five ships of the line, of seventy-four guns, one frigate, and four thousand seamen and marines.

Advice having been received, that a small detachment of French had assembled at Tavira, to enter Spain by the river Guadiana, general Spencer, with the small detachment under his command, at the entreaty of general Morla, set sail for the Guadiana, and landed his troops at Ayamonte. Three ships had already been sent to the mouth of the Guadiana by admiral Purvis. In consequence of these movements, the French retired in all directions on Lisbon, with the exception of some weak detachments, left to occupy the small forts of other positions on that side of Portugal. The Portuguese, animated by the presence of the English, and the example of the Spaniards, rose against the French. Deputations were sent from every part of Portugal to admiral sir Charles Cotton, commanding the naval forces of Britain in that quarter, soliciting succours. The admiral, with due frankness, immediately replied: "Agreeably to your desires, I send you ships, troops, arms, and ammunition: and have given orders for hoisting the flag of his royal highness the prince regent of Portugal, around which the whole Portuguese nation ought instantly to rally, and take up arms in a cause at once so just and so glorious."

It is scarcely necessary to mention that the efforts of the Spaniards were immediately followed by peace between that nation and Great Britain and her allies. Proclamations of peace and amity with England and her ally Sweden, were published by the juntas; and, as for England, whatever power was at war with France, was at peace with England. Preliminaries of a new and perpetual alliance, offensive and defensive, between the two nations of Spain and Portugal, were signed at Oporto, in the name of Ferdinand VII. and the prince regent of Portugal, July 14, 1808. The bishop of Oporto, president of the junta of government of that city, which, Lisbon as well as Madrid being in the hands of the French, seems to have taken a pattern from Seville, signed the treaty in the name of the prince.

On the 9th of June, six Spanish gentlemen, having at their head the viscount de Materosa and don Diego de la Vega, arrived in London, and they were followed by a succession of deputies from other provinces, both Spanish and Portuguese. Peace was proclaimed with Spain in the London Gazette of the 5th of July. The Spanish prisoners in our jails, to the number of several thousands, were set free, cloathed, and sent home to join their brethren in arms. The British arsenals, fleets and squadrons, and treasures: all that Spain could demand, or England afford, was without hesitation or delay liberally granted (*a*).

On the 20th of July, about three o'clock in the morning, the army under Dupont attacked the Spaniards; whose army was twenty-five thousand: of these twenty-five thousand the half were peasants. The force of Dupont did not exceed eight thousand. The first shock of the French was so furious, that the foremost companies of the Spaniards, suffered prodigiously. But the Spaniards maintained their ground, and supported by their artillery, attacked and drove the French back before them at all points. Yet the French nobly kept up the conflict, constantly renewing their assaults without any other interruption than what was unavoidably occasioned by momentary retreats, for the formation of fresh columns, till half an hour past mid-day. At two o'clock P. M. the advanced guard of the division under general Pena arrived at the scene of action, and began to play on the enemy with his artillery; when a flag of truce appeared, desiring to treat for a capitulation. An armistice ensued of course. But during this, the Spanish division under the command of general Pena, was attacked by the French division, six thousand strong, under general Wedel, who came up, while Dupont was engaged with the generals Reding and Coupigny. The battalion of Cordova was surprized and taken, with two field pieces. The number of the French killed and wounded in the battle of Baylen, amounted, it was computed, to three thousand; that of the Spaniards was much more considerable. The negociation between Dupont and the Spanish commander-in-chief, general Castanos, did not last long. Dupont was told that he must surrender at discretion: which he agreed to. General Wedel's division was comprehended in the capitulation, as well as that of Dupont, forming together a body of fourteen thousand. It was agreed that general Wedel's division should be sent home by sea, to Rochfort.

Marshal Moncey was not more successful in Valentia than general Dupont in Andalusia, though he escaped capture, and made good his retreat, but with a heavy loss in killed, wounded, and prisoners, to Madrid. The passes through the rugged mountains were guarded by some troops of the line, and a considerable body of Valentian insurgents. These guards were attacked by Moncey, on the 21st of June, and routed. Having crossed the mountains, he marched to Valentia.

On the 26th, he was attacked at Bunolos by general Caro, a nephew of general Romana, and suffered severely, in both cavalry and infantry. He was attacked again by general Caro, between Quarte and Mislata, when he also sustained considerable loss. Nevertheless, though thus harassed, he continued his march, and on the 28th, opened a heavy fire on Valentia, of both artillery and musquetry, which was continued without ceasing from mid-day to the evening. The Valentians returned his fire with some pieces of artillery planted at the gates of the city, and by showers of musketry from the tops of houses. On the other hand, he had to maintain a conflict with general Caro, who had followed the French close at their heels, for the defence of Valentia. An impetuous charge with the bayonet, made such havoc among the ranks of the French, that they retired, at about eight o'clock at night to their camp between Quarte and Mislata, which was fortified by strong entrenchments and formidable batteries. From thence he continued his retreat to Madrid, harassed for some days by general Caro, as he had been on his march through the plain of Valentia. Fifteen hundred were made prisoners, and sent to Carthagena.

Early in June, a detachment of eight thousand French infantry, and nine hundred cavalry, under the general of division Le Fevre, began to march from Pampeluna against

(*a*) The first supply to the Spanish patriots, which was sent within a few days after the arrival of the Asturian deputies, consisted of three hundred thousand pounds sterling in dollars, five thousand muskets, thirty thousand pikes, and an immense quantity of powder and balls. Materosa's secretary was sent home, together with three British officers of rank, with these succours, and assurances that others should be sent from time to time, as well as troops, and whatever the patriots might need.

Saragossa. After a succession of skirmishes with the Arragonese, at Tudela, Mallen Gaul, and Alagon, the French advanced, June 14, within a short distance of Saragossa, where they took up a position in the valley on the opposite side of the town, to that side which was situated on the Ebro. Having occupied this post, they deferred their general attack on the city till the next day: but a small detachment of cavalry that penetrated into the town on the 14th of June, paid dearly for their rashness. On the 15th, the French sent a detachment against the outposts on the canal of Arragon, while their main body attempted to storm the city by the gate called Portillo. The efforts of the Arragonese were, after a most severe conflict, finally crowned with success. A party of the French that entered the town, were instantly put to death, and Le Fevre withdrew his troops out of the reach of the Arragonese cannon.

The French being thus repulsed, general Joseph Palafox set out from Saragossa to collect reinforcements, and provide resources for a siege, and to place the rest of the kingdom in a state of defence, in case of the reduction of the capital. He found from twelve to fourteen hundred soldiers who had escaped from Madrid, and he united with them a small division of militia stationed at Calatayud. With this force he determined to attack the French. He hoped now to place the French between his little army and the city of Saragossa; but was frustrated by a sudden attack on the part of the enemy in the night at Epila, when the Spaniards, after an obstinate resistance, were compelled to yield to superior discipline. The wrecks of this force retired to Calatayud, and afterwards with great difficulty threw themselves into Saragossa.

The French, however, received reinforcements of troops and artillery from Pampeluna, and began to occupy the several military positions in the plain covered with olive trees that surrounds Saragossa: but in a short time the French had invested nearly one half of the town, and on the 28th of June they took possession of Torrero. The battery on the neighbouring height also, which had been entrusted to an artillery officer, and five hundred men, fell into their hands. The officer was declared a traitor to his country, for not having defended this important post as he ought to have done, and on his return into Saragossa, was immediately hanged. After the surrender of the Torrero, the city could not communicate with the country on any other side than that of the Ebro.

During these operations of the enemy the Arragonese were busily employed in placing their town in the best possible state of defence that their slender resources would admit of. Scarcely had a day passed without a sanguinary contest between detachments of the French and Arragonese, in the neighbouring olive woods. About the last day of June, a powder magazine in the heart of the city blew up, and in a moment nearly a whole street was reduced to a heap of ruins. The inhabitants had scarcely recovered from their consternation, when the French, who had received mortars, howitzers, and cannon, opened a destructive fire upon the city. The sand-bag battery before the gate called Portillo, against which the attack of the enemy was principally directed, was gallantly defended. It was several times destroyed, and as often reconstructed under the fire of the enemy (*b*). Attack was made after attack; Saragossa was more and more closely invested. Above the city the Ebro was fordable, and below it the French, in spite of the efforts of the Arragonese, constructed a bridge. Having by these means transported their cavalry to the opposite bank of the river, they destroyed the mills which supplied the town with flour, levied contributions in the different villages, and cut off the only communication by which the besieged could receive any supplies either of provisions or ammunition. In this critical situation, the active and intelligent captain general of Arragon, established in various parts of the city corn mills worked by horses, and ordered the monks to be employed, under skilful directors, in manufacturing gun-powder.

Towards the end of July, the large population of Saragossa was but scantily supplied with food, and had but little or no hope of succour. By the unremitted exertions of forty-six days, their spirits were exhausted, and their bodily strength impaired. A desperate effort was made to recover the important post of Torrero, in vain; after which, the Arragonese, despairing of being able to make any sortie with effect, resolved to conquer or perish within the walls. During a bombardment on the 2d and 3d of August, a foundling hospital, which contained the sick and wounded, who from time to time had been conveyed there during the siege, unfortunately caught fire, and was rapidly consumed. On the 4th of August, the French opened a tremendous battery on the quarter of the city called Santa Engracia. In an instant the mudwalls opposite to their batteries vanished; and the splendid convent of Santa Engracia was on fire and tottering in ruins. The French columns immediately rushed through this entrance into the city, took the batteries before the adjacent gates in reverse, and after a most sanguinary conflict, penetrating to the centre of the town, were in possession before the day closed of one half of Saragossa. The French general then demanded a capitulation; but that was refused by Palafox; who declared he would carry on the war by the knife, when every other method failed. One side of the street Corso, was now occupied by the French, in the centre of which general Verdier was seen giving his orders from the Franciscan convent. The Arragonese maintained their positions on the opposite side, throwing up batteries at the openings of the streets within a few paces of similar batteries of the French. The intervening space was soon heaped up with dead, either thrown from the windows of the houses in which they had been slain, or killed in the conflicts below. From this enormous accumulation of the dead, there was the utmost reason to apprehend a pestilence. To an Arragonese it was almost certain death to appear in the middle of the street. On the 5th of August, when the French were expected to renew their efforts to obtain complete possession of the city, the Arragonese found their ammunition beginning to fail. The only cry that assailed the ears of the gallant general, as he rode amongst the people was, that if ammunition failed, they were ready to attack the enemy with their knives. At this aweful crisis, just before the fall of night, a convoy of provisions and ammunition, with a reinforcement of three thousand men, composed of Spanish guards, Swiss, and volunteers of Arragon, unexpectedly made their entrance into the city, under the command of Don Francisco Palafox, the brother of the captain general. During the night of the 13th of August, the fire of the French was particularly destructive; and when their batteries ceased, flames were seen to burst out in many parts of the buildings in their possession. On the morning of the 14th, to the great surprize of the Arragonese, their columns were seen at a distance retreating over the plain on the road to Pampeluna. The retreating French were followed into Navarre by general Palafox, with a force composed of Arragonese and Valentians, who had begun their march for the relief of Saragossa, when the siege was raised.

Duhesme, the French governor of Catalonia, had been directed to reduce Gerona, at the same time that Lefevre was sent against Saragossa. Gerona gave an earnest of that valour and patriotism, which was found afterwards to equal those of Saragossa. Duhesme, after spending upwards of a fortnight in the siege of Gerona, into which he threw in one night four hundred bombs and grenades, was forced, by the vigorous sallies of the Geronese, and the movements of other Catalonians, who threatened to attack him in flank and rear, to retreat to Barcelona, leaving before Gerona some pieces of artillery, and a considerable quantity of provisions and ammunition. In his retreat he sustained a great loss both of men and baggage.

On the 30th of June, in the morning, the French, under general Goulles, and brigadier general Bessieres, marched from Barcelona against the main strength of the in-

(*b*) Here an act of heroism was performed by a female, to which there is scarcely any thing equal in history. Augustina Saragossa, about twenty-two years of age, a handsome young woman, of the lower class of the people, whilst performing her duty of carrying refreshments to the gates, arrived at the battery of the Portillo, at the very moment when the fire of the French had absolutely destroyed every person that was stationed on it. The citizens and soldiers, for a moment, hesitated to re-man the guns. Augustina, rushing forward over the wounded and slain, snatched a match from the hand of a dead artilleryman, and fired off a twenty-six pounder. Then, jumping upon the gun, she made a solemn vow never to quit it alive during the siege; and her fellow-citizens, stimulated by this daring act of intrepidity to fresh exertions, instantly rushed into the battery, and again opened a tremendous fire on the enemy. Mr. Vaughan, fellow of All Souls College, Oxford, and one of Dr. Ratcliffe's travelling fellows from that university, whose excellent narrative has been our principal guide in this account of the siege of Saragossa, relates, that when he saw this heroine there, "She had a small shield of honour embroidered on the sleeve of her gown, with *Zaragoza* inscribed upon it, and was receiving a pension from the government, and the daily pay of an artilleryman."

surgents, which rested on the right bank of the Llobregat. Proceeding to the mouth of the river, they forced the passage, and pushing up the right bank, took several Catalonian posts in the rear. At the same time general Leckie, with a division of French, fifteen hundred strong, assailed and took possession of the bridge of Molinos del Rey, with the three pieces that guarded the passage-way; but not without a well-fought battle, in which the loss on both sides was computed to be nearly equal. On the side of Figueras, general Reible proceeded against the insurgents, on the 5th of July. The insurgents being worsted in a smart action, and dispersed, he threw provisions into the place, and a reinforcement into the garrison.

General Duhesme, in revenge for his repulse from Gerona, burnt many houses in the towns and villages by which he passed, took many prisoners, and laid waste the whole plain within the jurisdiction of the city of Barcelona; all the cultivated fields, villages, convents, and churches.

When general Duhesme returned to Barcelona, he found his two forts in great want of powder and provisions. During his absence about a month from Barcelona, it had been cut off from a free intercourse with the neighbouring country. And a vessel loaded with powder for their use, and another with salted pork, had been taken by the English. Duhesme pointed the cannon of the citadel against the inhabitants, threatening them with death if they did not furnish him with twelve thousand rations of provisions daily, and an excessive number of pipes of wine and brandy.

In the mean time the affairs of the patriots in the north of Spain wore an unfavourable aspect, and a battle was fought at Medina del Rio Seco, in the province of Leon, which turned the tide of fortune, and was only counterbalanced by the events in the south and the east just related.

Marshal Bessieres at the same time that he sent a force against Saragossa, pushed forward columns for the reduction of Logrono, Segovia, Valladolid, and St. Andero. All these objects were easily accomplished; for the Spaniards consulted their safety by flight, for the most part throwing down their arms. On the 7th of June, general Frere, having arrived with his column within a quarter of a mile of Segovia, sent an officer to the magistrates demanding a parley. The insurgents, five thousand strong, with thirty pieces of cannon, would not suffer the messenger to approach, but fired on him. On this the place was taken by force; the resistance here was not inconsiderable; a great number of wounded and others, fell into the hands of the French, with all their cannon. The city of Segovia, after the defeat and flight of the armed peasants, made its submissions, in the manner required by the French general. When general La Salle, June 8th, was approaching Palentia, a deputation, with the bishop at their head, brought the submission of the town. The town and province of Palentia were disarmed. On the 12th of June, general La Salle advanced to Duennas, where he formed a junction with general Merle, and from thence continued his march to Valladolid, where the spirit of insurrection had grown very strong, and which was a great rendezvous of the patriots. General Cuesta, with seven thousand men, and six pieces of artillery, had taken post at Cabezon, a small town on the Pisuerga, about nine miles to the north of Valladolid. General Sabathier was ordered to force the position, which had been reconnoitred, of the insurgents, whilst general Merle was directed to cut off his retreat to Valladolid. The firing, according to the French accounts, lasted but half an hour, when the insurgents were completely beaten, scattered in every direction on the field of battle, leaving their artillery, four thousand muskets, and about one thousand killed.

The bishop of Valladolid, with the principal clergy of the city, came to meet general La Salle, supplicating forgiveness to the city and its inhabitants, which was readily granted. The city and province of Valladolid was disarmed. Ten members of the council of Placentia, Segovia, and Valladolid, were deputed to go to his Catholic majesty (Joseph Bonaparte) at Bayonne, there to supplicate his forgiveness, in the act of tendering their own fealty, and that of their fellow citizens.

General Merle proceeded to the mountains of St. Andero: on the morning of the 21st of June, he fell upon the insurgents, headed by the bishop, drove them from their positions, and took from them two eighteen pounders, which, loaded with grape shot, they had fired only twice. In other parts of the mountainous district, parties of the insurgents were driven from post to post into St. Andero, by general Ducos. On the 23d, generals Merle and Ducos entered St. Andero, on different sides of the town; which having made its submission, was obliged to swear fealty to the French.

A great number of patriots had been assembling, for some time, at Benevento, under the standard of general Cuesta. In this number were comprehended all the Spanish prisoners who had been sent back to Spain by the British government. With this force, general Cuesta marched to Valladolid, with the design of cutting off the communication between the French in the northern provinces of Spain, and those in Madrid. It was his plan, having reduced Valladolid, to advance to Burgos. The force under Cuesta, is stated to have amounted to thirty-five thousand men. Marshal Bessieres advanced to meet them with a force, amounting in all to twelve thousand, of which two thousand were cavalry, with a proportionate train of artillery. On the 14th of July, at day break, he came in sight of the enemy, and attacked them on the right. And at the same time general Monton, at the head of another division, made himself master of the town of Medina del Rio Seco, with fixed bayonets. The Spaniards fled in great confusion; and lost all their artillery, consisting of forty pieces of cannon. Six thousand were made prisoners, and more than twelve thousand left on the field of battle. All their baggage and military stores fell into the hands of the French. They were pursued by marshal Bessieres, who at Benevento, July 19th, found an immense quantity of arms and ammunition. Here, he received a letter of submission from Zamora, and on the following day, the 20th, he entered that town, whence he proceeded to Majorga; where he received a deputation from Leon, which city he entered on the 26th. The bishop came two miles to meet him, and the council appearing before the gates of the city, presented the keys in token of submission.

The kind of order observed by the Spaniards, is sufficiently illustrated by the rapidity of their retreat, and the distance to which they retreated. On the other hand, that their disasters were not so great as had been given out, and that reinforcements were advancing to join general Cuesta, is rendered extremely probable by the retreat or flight of king Joseph Bonaparte, on the 27th of July, from Madrid, who took the route of Segovia, from whence he proceeded to Burgos. The French carried along with them all the artillery and ammunition, for which they could find means of conveyance; spiking the cannon, and destroying the ammunition they were obliged to leave behind them. The French army was accompanied or followed by such of the Spaniards as had accepted offices under the government of Joseph, and most of the French established in various situations in Madrid.

By a well combined plan, concerted between the English admiral Keats, in the Baltic, and the marquis Romana, ten thousand of the Spanish troops stationed in Funen, Langeland, Zealand, and Jutland, emancipated themselves from the French yoke, and, under the protection of the British fleet, were conveyed, with their stores, arms, and artillery, to Spain, where they landed at Corunna on the 30th of September. The marquis of Romana himself returned home by the way of London, where he arrived on the 16th of September, for the purpose of having a conference with the British ministry, and British military officers. One Spanish regiment of two thousand men, was too critically situated in Jutland to effect its escape: and two in Zealand were disarmed. While the French general Frision was in the act of haranguing these troops, for the purpose of engaging them to declare for king Joseph, one of the soldiers stepped forth from the ranks and fired a pistol at him, which missing the general, killed the aid-de-camp (*c*).

When the real state of Spain became manifest to Europe by the flight of king Joseph from Madrid, and the concentration

(*c*) The marquis de la Romana was kept in profound ignorance of the events that had taken place in his country, and various attempts had been made on the part of the British government, to communicate the tidings to him, and to devise means for his escape with the troops under his command, without effect. At length a Swedish clergyman was found in whom the firmest confidence could be placed. This gentleman, disguised as a low and travelling tradesman, went by the way of Heligoland, and having overcome many obstacles with the utmost patience, prudence, and fortitude, at length arrived at the place where the marquis and his troops were stationed. Having ascertained the person of the marquis, he was obliged to watch incessantly for an opportunity of addressing him, without exciting the suspicion of the numerous spies by whom

concentration of the French forces on the defiles of Biscay, and on the Ebro, Bonaparte's military operations were interrupted; and it was evident, that the Spanish insurrection was of too serious a nature to be treated lightly.

The inhabitants of Lisbon, overawed by the army of Junot, were restrained at first from expressing their joy, otherwise than in private and confidential conversation. The public voice of Portugal was first heard at Oporto. This town, besides the circumstance of being situate at a considerable distance from the force under Junot, possessed another advantage. It had been occupied by about three thousand Spanish troops, who before their departure to join the patriotic standard in Spain, took the French general under whose orders they were, and all his staff, prisoners, and delivered up the government of the city to Lewis D'Oliveda, who had filled that office before the arrival of the French. The treachery of this man, his attachment to the French, and the measures he took for restoring their authority, roused the indignation of the people; so that he found it impossible to avert their threatened vengeance otherwise than by yielding up his authority. They rose on the 18th of June, broke open the depots of stores, and having supplied themselves with arms, proceeded to destroy every vestige of French power, and to imprison every person suspected of being in their interest. The bishop of Oporto, who, with most of the other priests, had endeavoured to rouse the people to arms, was appointed governor of the city, and vigorous measures were adopted for defending it against any force. General Loison, with about three thousand men, advanced against the insurgents as far as Amirante; but on being made acquainted with the determined spirit of the people of Oporto, he retreated on Lisbon. Nearly the whole of the northern provinces of Portugal, rose in arms against the French. The south of Portugal was restrained from coming forward in so open a manner, by their vicinity to the army of Junot, and by a strong and numerous French party among themselves. Notwithstanding the terror, however, of Junot, a friendly intercourse was maintained between Lisbon and sir Charles Cotton.

As soon as Junot received certain intelligence of the Spanish insurrection, he ordered the Spanish troops to be disarmed, and put on board the hulks in the Tagus.

The French being expelled from the northern provinces of Portugal, and the authority of the prince regent re-established, provisional juntas were formed, similar to those of Spain. That of Oporto exerted itself with the utmost zeal and effect, in heightening and directing the enthusiasm of the people, and in the establishment of such orders and regulations as were required by the peculiar circumstances of the country. They naturally looked for support and assistance to England, nor were their hopes disappointed. An army, under the command of sir Arthur Wellesley, destined for Portugal, were it ultimately landed, was, in the first instance, offered to the Spaniards. This army, consisting of about ten thousand men, set sail from Cork, on the 12th of July, and arrived at Corunna on the 20th. The battle of Medina del Rio Seco had taken place a few days before, and the Spaniards were retreating in different directions: one division of them adhering to Cuesta, proceeded to Salamanca; another, under general Blake, made for the mountains. In consequence of this intelligence, combined with his instructions, sir Arthur Wellesley offered the assistance of the force under his command to the junta of Gallicia. The junta replied, that they did not want men, and they wished for nothing from the British government except money, arms, and ammunition. Sir Arthur leaving Corunna, proceeded to Oporto. On his arrival there, the bishop, who was the governor, informed him. that the Portuguese force was sufficient to deter the French from making any attacks, or if not, to repel them. Sir Arthur, however, that he might be the better enabled to judge what was best to be done, left his forces at Oporto, in order to have a conference with sir Charles Cotton, off Lisbon; and in the mean time, he received a letter from general Spencer, who was then, with about six thousand men, off Cadiz. Sir Arthur was of opinion that his own army, and that of general Spencer, could be but of little avail towards the expulsion of the French from Portugal, while they acted separately, and therefore gave orders to that general to join him.

The English general, then determined to land his forces in Mondego bay, where he would be able to effect a landing, and to form his army into order, without opposition from the enemy; while at the same time, he would be assisted and supported by the Portuguese army which had advanced to Coimbra. Before he landed the troops he received advice from the British government that five thousand men, under general Anstruther, were proceeding to join him, and that twelve thousand more, under sir John Moore, would speedily be dispatched for the same purpose. He was also informed that the army of Junot was weakened by sending six thousand men, under general Loison, to quell an insurrection in the south of Portugal. Soon after the disembarkation, the corps under general Spencer also landed; and on the 9th of August, the advanced guard marched forward on the road to Lisbon. On the 12th the army reached Legria. On the 15th the advanced guard came up with a party of the French at Obidos, where a slight action took place. On the 16th the army halted, and on the next day the general came to the determination of attacking the French under general Laborde at Roleia; which is situated on an eminence, having a plain in its front, at the end of a valley, which commences at Caldas; about eight miles from Roleia, is the town and old Moorish fort of Obidos, whence the enemy's pickets had been driven on the 15th. The French force amounted to about six thousand, of which about five hundred were cavalry, with five pieces of cannon. And there was some reason to believe that general Loison, who was at Rio Major on the 16th, would join general Laborde by his right in the course of the night. The plan of attack was formed accordingly, and the army breaking up from Caldas on the 17th, was formed into three columns. The enemy was defeated, but retreated in good order. By this victory the road was cleared to Lisbon. On the day after the battle the British army moved to Lourinha, to protect the landing and facilitate the junction of the troops under general Anstruther; and on the 21st they resumed their march.

General Junot, having been informed of the large reinforcements expected under sir John Moore, determined to attack the British army before the reinforcements should arrive. He therefore left Lisbon with nearly the whole of the forces under his command, and came up with sir Arthur on the morning of the 21st of August. A hard fought battle ensued. The French, with fixed bayonets, attacked the British with their usual impetuosity. They were driven back by our troops with the bayonet. They renewed their attacks, in different columns, again and again, and were as often driven back. At last they fled from the charge. In this battle the French lost thirteen pieces of cannon, twenty-three ammunition waggons, and about three thousand in killed, wounded, and missing. One general officer was wounded and taken prisoner, and another was killed. Our loss in killed, wounded, and missing, amounted to upwards of a thousand.

After the dispositions for the battle of Vimeira had been made, sir H. Burrard arrived at the scene of action, but declined to take upon himself the command of the army. On the 22d, sir Hew Dalrymple reached Cintra, the place to which the British army had moved after the battle. Within a very few hours after his arrival, a flag of truce came in from Junot, proposing a cessation of hostilities, in order that a convention might be settled, by which the French should evacuate Portugal.

When intelligence was received in England, that in the words of sir Arthur Wellesley, "The whole of the French force in Portugal, under the command of the *duke of Abrantes in person*, had sustained a signal defeat;" there was an universal expectation, that it would be followed up with

whom he was surrounded. The venerable agent at last was obliged, as if by accident, to jostle the marquis in the street, in order to attract his attention. Having done so, he apologized, as if ignorant of the person whom he addressed, and concluded with offering to sell him some excellent coffee. The marquis treated this offer with contempt, and signified that he supposed he was speaking to a smuggler. The minister of the gospel, however, persevered in recommending his coffee, and in the course of the conversation, found means to intimate that he was not a smuggler but a gentleman.—"We'll soon see that," said the marquis, and then asked him if he could speak Latin. The minister answered in the affirmative, and a conversation ensued, apparently about coffee, and the gestures of both were calculated to deceive all who might observe them. The marquis was then informed of the outlines of what had occurred in Spain, of the assistance the British government had rendered, and of the readiness of his Britannic majesty to adopt any measure that might be thought practicable for effecting the rescue of himself and his troops, that they might join their heroic countrymen in resisting the base attempts of France to enslave them.

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other victories, and ultimately lead to some solid advantage (*d*).

The indignation of the British nation was raised by the convention of Cintra, to a painful height. The throne was besieged, as it were, with petitions from all parts of the kingdom, calling loudly for an inquiry into that transaction. The answer to the petition from the city of London, that for "The institution of an inquiry, there was no need of their interference," was universally deemed ungracious. An inquiry, however, was set on foot. The board in their report, after giving a well-arranged, and not altogether an uncircumstantial account of sir Arthur Wellesley's expedition, declared, "That on a consideration of all circumstances, as set forth in the report, they most humbly submitted their opinion, that no further military proceeding was necessary on that subject. Because some of them might differ in their sentiments respecting the fitness of the convention in the relative situation of the two armies, it was their unanimous declaration, that unquestionable zeal and firmness appeared throughout to have been exhibited by lieutenant-general sir Hew Dalrymple, sir Harry Burrard, and sir Arthur Wellesley, as well as that the ardour and gallantry of the rest of the officers and soldiers, on every occasion during the expedition, had done honour to the troops, and reflected lustre on his majesty's arms."

But his royal highness the duke of York, in a letter to sir David Dundas, president of the board of inquiry, observed, that in their report, their opinion respecting the conditions of the armistice and convention had been altogether omitted. He therefore desired that they would be pleased to take the same again into their most serious consideration. The board met again: some approved the treaties in question; others disapproved of them. A formal declaration of disapprobation on the part of the king, of both the armistice and convention, with reasons, was, however, officially communicated to sir Hew Dalrymple.

As the defeat of Junot and the deliverance of Portugal were only mediate, and not the ultimate object of the British army, it marched from Lisbon, but not till the 27th of October, nearly two months after the convention of Cintra, under the command of general sir John Moore, to the assistance of the Spanish patriots. The general's instructions were, to march through Spain with his face towards Burgos; which was to be the general rendezvous of the British troops: not only of those now under the command of that officer, but of those with which he was to be reinforced from England. And he was to combine his operations with those of the commander in chief of the Spanish armies.

The two emperors, Alexander and Napoleon, when they met at Erfurth, were each of them attended by a numerous and brilliant suite, and kings, sovereign princes, and other persons of high distinction, came day after day, to do homage to the great emperor of the West. Great was the pomp and ceremony, and most splendid the feasts and other entertainments, that took place on the occasion of this imperial and royal convention. The little town of Erfurth was astonished to witness a magnificence, that would have been admired at Paris. The first dinner was given by Bonaparte. Napoleon and Alexander held their conferences every day at ten o'clock. These being over, they rode out together, either in the same carriage or on horseback, to take a view of the adjacent country.

A negociation was entered into at Erfurth, under the mediation of Alexander, in consequence of which Napoleon engaged to evacuate the Prussian territory, as soon as the contributions should be paid up: which he graciously reduced to one-third of their total amount. And he wrote a letter to the queen of Prussia, with his own hand, in which he promised her the completion of all her wishes. He also relaxed in the severity of his restrictions and imposts on the commerce of Holland. It was easy to persuade Alexander, that the insurrection in Spain was only the natural consequence, and what was to be apprehended from the convention of the treaty of Tilsit. The garrisons of Prussia were now evacuated; and the veteran troops of France began to march from the Oder to the Ebro; while, on the other hand, forty thousand French conscripts were sent to Germany.

Another visible effect of the meeting at Erfurth was an offer of peace on the part of Russia and France to the British government. A flag of truce, with two officers, one a Frenchman, the other a Russian, arrived October 21st, at Dover. The Frenchman, by order of lord Hawkesbury, who happened then to be at Walmer Castle, was detained. The Russian messenger was allowed to proceed on the 22d to London. It was proposed, by the overture to his Britannic majesty, to enter into a negociation for a general peace, in concert with his majesty's allies, and to treat either on the basis of *uti possidetis*, or on any other basis consistent with justice. The king professed his readiness to enter into such a negociation in concurrence with his allies; in the number of whom he comprehended the Spanish nation. In the reply returned by France to this proposition of his majesty, the Spanish nation was described by the appellation of the "Spanish Insurgents;" and the demand for admitting the existing government of Spain, as a party to any negociation, was rejected as inadmissible and insulting. A declaration, therefore, by his majesty, was published on the 15th of December, concluding with saying, that "neither the honour of his majesty, nor the generosity of the British nation, would admit of his majesty's consenting to commence a negociation by the abandonment of a brave and loyal people, who are contending for the preservation of all that is dear to man, and whose exertions in a cause so unquestionably just, his majesty has solemnly pledged himself to sustain."

While the army of France lay inactive on the Ebro, and the passes into the mountainous province of Biscay, the provincial juntas had leisure to resolve themselves into one supreme and central junta. The forces of the patriots, including now the army of Romana, and the Spanish regiments that had been confined in hulks of ships by Junot, were divided into three, and disposed in such a manner as to form together, towards the end of October, one grand army. The eastern wing was commanded by general Joseph Palafox; the north-western, by general Blake; the centre, by general Castanos. The number under general Blake was computed at fifty-five thousand: that under general Castanos at sixty-five thousand; and that under general Palafox, at twenty thousand. General Castanos was commander in chief. Besides these there was a small army in Estramadura, and another in Catalonia. The positions of the French army remained, with some variation, nearly the same as in August; its right towards the ocean, its left on Arragon, its front on the Ebro. It was strengthened from time to time by reinforcements from France. The design of the Spaniards was, with the right and left wings of their grand army to turn the wings of the French army, whilst Castanos should make a vigorous attack, and break through their centre.

Bonaparte having ordered a levy of one hundred and sixty thousand conscripts, set troops in motion for Spain, and, provided for all that might be demanded by the contingencies of war, set out from Paris for Spain without waiting for an answer to the overture for a negociation with the British government. With his usual celerity, having set out from Rambouillet, October 30th, he arrived at Bayonne on the 3d of November, and on the 5th, accompanied by a reinforcement of twelve thousand men, he joined his brother Joseph at Vittoria.

Agreeably to the general plan of operations, general Castanos crossed the Ebro at the three points with only a shew of resistance, and he was suffered to push forward detachments, and take possession of Lerin, Viana, Capporoso, and other French posts on the left bank of the Ebro.

(*d*) That such an advantage had in fact been obtained, was firmly believed, when, on the arrival of the next dispatches from the army, the firing of the Park and Tower guns was heard, and that too, at a time of night very unusual, if not quite unprecedented. But how great was the surprize of the public when it was understood that the discharge of the Park and Tower guns related to a convention, signed at Cintra, by which it was, among other stipulations, agreed on, "That the English government should be at the expence of transporting the whole of the French army to any of the ports between Rochefort and L'Orient. When the army arrived in France, it was to be at liberty to serve again immediately. All the property of the army, as well as the personal property of individuals of the army, was to be sacred and untouched. It might either be carried off into France or sold in Portugal. In the latter case, full security was to be given by the British to the purchasers, that the property they had would not be taken from them, nor they themselves molested on account of the purchase!" This convention was founded on the basis of an armistice agreed upon between sir Arthur Wellesley and general Kellerman on the day after the battle of Vimeira. But the seventh article of that preliminary treaty, stipulating that the Russian fleet should be allowed to remain in the Tagus unmolested as long as it thought proper, or to return home, was afterwards rejected by sir Charles Cotton; between whom and the Russian admiral Siniavin, a convention was agreed to for the surrender of the Russian fleet to the British fleet, on the 3d of September.

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The French did not oppose his course towards Pampeluna, any farther than was necessary to conceal their own plan of operations. Marshal Moncey, the duke of Cornegliano, was directed with the left wing of the French army to advance along the banks of the Alagon and the Ebro, and instead of opposing the passage, by presenting a weak front, to decoy general Castanos across the Ebro. The stratagem having succeeded, marshal Ney, the duke of Elchingen, with his division, passing the line of the Ebro, and moving forward with great celerity in separate columns, took the Spanish posts at Logrono and Calahorra, threw the whole country into alarm and confusion, and cut off the communication between the armies respectively under the command of Blake and Castanos.

In a series of actions from the 31st of October, the army under general Blake was driven from post to post; from Durango to Guenas; from Guenas to Valmaseda; from Valmaseda to Espinosa. In a strong position there, the Gallician army made a stand, in order to save its magazines and artillery, in vain; they were obliged to retreat with precipitation. During the conflict at Espinosa, a detachment was sent against the last retreat of the Gallicians, Reynosa. On the 11th of November, they were suddenly attacked, and forced to consult their safety by flight; throwing away their arms and colours, and abandoning their artillery. General Blake, with the remains of his broken army, took refuge in Asturias. What remained of the corps of the marquis of Romana, that had formed part of the Gallician army, fled first to St. Andero, and afterwards to Asturias. The Spaniards were pursued closely by marshal Soult, duke of Dalmatia, the van of whose army entered St. Andero on the 16th. The bishop of which city took refuge in an English frigate.

In the mean time the Estramaduran army, under the command of count Belvedere, was permitted without opposition, to advance to Burgos, of which he took possession without resistance. Here the French fell on him, routed his army, and almost annihilated it. The count, with the small remains of his army, fled to Lerma, and from thence to Aranda.

The French, having routed and dispersed the armies of the north of Spain, and of Estramadura, next fell on the central army under Castanos; and an engagement ensued at Tudela, 23d November, which fixed the fate of the campaign. Four thousand Spaniards were left dead on the field of battle, or driven into the Ebro.

By the battle of Tudela the road was laid open to Madrid. On the 29th of November, a division of the French army, under the command of general Victor, duke of Belluna, arrived at the pass of the Sierra Morena, called *Puerto*. It was defended by thirteen thousand men of the Spanish army of reserve, under the orders of general San Juan. In the conflict which took place at the Puerto, the Spaniards fled, leaving behind them their artillery and standards.

Advanced parties of the French cavalry appeared on the 1st of December, before Madrid; and were driven back from certain gates several times: but on the third, they were in possession of the gate of Alcala, and also of the Reteiro. The junta then hoisted a white flag. The people of Madrid pulled it down, and persisted in their design of defending the city; but this enthusiasm soon began to subside; and when they learnt that the French were fortifying themselves in the Reteiro, they retired to their respective houses.

During the night of December the 3d, a Spanish officer who had been taken prisoner at Somosierra, brought a message from general Berthier, summoning for the second time Madrid to surrender. The marquis of Castellar, captain general of Castile, sent in answer a letter to Berthier, demanding a suspension of hostilities, that he might have time for consulting the superior authorities. The superior authorities had a secret correspondence with the enemy, and had already come to a determination on the subject. When intelligence that the French had forced the passage of the Sierra Morena reached Madrid, a council was held, at which the honourable Mr. Stuart, the British envoy at Madrid, was present. Don T. Morla took the lead, and expatiated on the hopeless state of affairs; and urged the necessity of immediately capitulating for Madrid. When he sat down, another counsellor rose, and reproached Morla for his proposal. He said that this advice was more suited to a minister of Joseph Bonaparte, than to one of king Ferdinand. Two days after this discussion, Don T. Morla, together with the prince of Castel Franco, to whom the defence of the capital had been committed by the supreme junta, sent a dispatch to sir John Moore, describing the formidable Spanish force that was assembled at Madrid: and pressing him to advance, with all possible expedition to the capital. Had sir John Moore complied with their request, his army would have been thrown completely into the hands of the French.

The letter of the marquis of Castellar, sent to Berthier in the morning of the 4th, produced a peremptory summons to surrender immediately; and in the evening of the same day, Don Thomas Morla and Don Bertrando Yriate waited on Berthier, and were introduced by him to Bonaparte; who told them, that if the city did not tender its submission by five or six o'clock next morning, it would be taken by assault, and every one found with arms in his hands put to the sword. The Spanish troops in Madrid were sent off in the dead of night, by the gates of Segovia and Tudela.

Bonaparte addressed a manifesto to the Spanish nation, in which he promised them all good things if they received with sincerity Joseph for their king; if not, he would put the crown on his own head, treat them as a conquered province, and find another kingdom for his brother.

The troops that had fled from the Puerto, or gate of Guadarama, having arrived, on the 3d of December, almost under the walls of Madrid, demanded with loud cries to be led to its defence. Their commander, count San Juan, who opposed so dangerous an attempt, was massacred.

In 1809, the session of parliament was opened by commissioners, on the 19th of January, when the lord chancellor read his majesty's speech; the grand outline of which, as usual in time of war, was, that his majesty relied on his parliament for support in the prosecution of a war, which, he said, could not be terminated honourably or safely but by vigorous exertion. An address of thanks was put and carried in both houses.

On the 27th of January, colonel Wardle submitted to the house his promised motion, respecting certain abuses which had obtained in the disposal of commissions in the British army. In doing this, he said, he should make no assertion in which he was not supported by positive facts. The power of disposing of commissions in the military service of this empire had been placed in the hands of a person of high birth, power, and influence; and he was sorry to observe, that this power had been exercised to the worst of purposes. But notwithstanding the high authority and powerful influence which the commander-in-chief of this country possessed; no respect to either should induce him to swerve from his duty as a member of that house, to operate with him as a motive to screen his royal highness, (the duke of York,) in any misuse of his power or authority, from that public justice which was called for by the voice of the people. No other motive impelled him that day than a sense of public duty; for, if corruption were not attacked in a quarter where it was so formidable, the army and the country must fall the victims of its influence. It was necessary, in the first instance, he said, to put the house in possession of the true purposes for which the disposal of commissions in the army was placed in the hands of the commander-in-chief. It was for the purposes of defraying the charges of the half-pay list for the support of veteran officers, and increasing the compassionate fund, for the aid of officers' widows and orphans; and, therefore, any commissions which fell by deaths or promotions, the commander-in-chief had no right to sell or dispose of for his own private emolument, nor to appropriate for the like purpose any differences arising from the change or reduction of officers from full to half pay. He had thus explained, he believed, the nature of the power vested in the hands of the commander-in-chief; but he could bring positive proofs that such commissions had been sold, and the money applied to very different purposes from the legitimate ones required by the military usages and establishments of the country. If he could prove that those purposes were, in a variety of instances, abandoned by the commander in chief; that officers had been reduced to the half pay list without receiving the usual difference in such cases; and if he could substantiate such a violation of the rights of military officers, it was a duty he owed his constituents and his country to do so.

In the year 1803, his royal highness set up a very handsome establishment, in a fashionable quarter of the town, consisting of a superb house and elegant carriages of various descriptions, for a favourite lady of the name of Mrs. Clarke. The first fact which he should state was the

case of major Tonyn, of the forty-eighth regiment, who received his commission as a captain on the 2nd of August, 1802, and was promoted to a majority in the thirty-first regiment in August, 1804. Major Tonyn was the son of a distinguished officer, and might have purchased his promotion, if he chose; but he was introduced to Mrs. Clarke by a captain of the royal waggon train; and it was agreed, that upon his appointment to a majority he should pay five hundred pounds, the money to be lodged at a house to be named, three days before he was gazetted, and then paid to a Mr. Donovan, a surgeon, in Charles Street, St. James's Square. As he should have occasion to mention Mr. Donovan again, it was necessary to state, that in 1802 he was appointed to a lieutenancy in a garrison battalion. He had never inquired what was the nature of the services he performed; but certainly no military services, for he had never been near his regiment, and seemed to have a perpetual leave of absence. This introducer was captain Huxley Sandon. This money was appropriated by Mrs. Clarke towards the purchase of an elegant service of plate from Mr. Purkis, a silversmith, the commander in chief paying the remainder. Thus it was evident that Mrs. Clarke had the power of disposing of commissions for purchase; secondly, that she received pecuniary considerations for promotions; and thirdly, that the commander in chief partook of the emoluments; and this he could prove, by the evidence of five witnesses, including the executors of Mr. Purkis.

The next fact he would adduce was that of colonel Brooke, on the 25th of July, 1805, which was transacted through a Dr. Thynne, a medical gentleman of high respectability. It was agreed between him and Mrs. Clarke, that she should receive two hundred pounds on his exchange being gazetted: the lady was extremely anxious, and said she could have an opportunity of getting two hundred pounds without calling on the commander in chief, and on the Saturday following the promotion was gazetted.

The next was the case of major Shaw, appointed deputy barrack-master general at the Cape of Good Hope. It appeared that the commander in chief had no favourable opinion of major Shaw; but Mrs. Clarke interposes: he consents to pay her one thousand pounds. Of this money he immediately paid two hundred pounds; shortly after he paid three hundred pounds; when she, finding he was backward in the payment, sent to demand the remainder; but finding no chance of receiving it, she complains to the commander in chief, who immediately put major Shaw upon the half pay list. Here was further proof, to shew that Mrs. Clarke's influence extended to the army in general, and that it operated to put any officer on the half pay list, and that the commander in chief was a direct party in her authority.

The next case to which he should advert, of the lady's influence, was that of colonel French, of the horse-guards. This gentleman was appointed to a commission for raising new levies in 1804, and the business was set on foot by Mrs. Clarke. He was introduced to her by captain Huxley Sandon, and she was to have a certain sum out of the bounty to every recruit raised, and a certain portion of patronage in the nomination of the officers. She was waited on by colonel French, of the first troop of horse-guards, and as the levy went on, she received various sums of money by colonel French, captain Huxley Sandon, Mr. Corri, and Mr. Cokayne, an eminent solicitor, in London, in the following rates, viz. for a majority, nine hundred pounds; captaincy, seven hundred pounds; lieutenancy, four hundred pounds; and ensigncy, two hundred pounds; whereas the regulated prices were respectively two thousand six hundred pounds, one thousand five hundred pounds, five hundred and fifty pounds, and four hundred pounds; and consequently all this money was lost to the half-pay compassionate fund, to put money into Mrs. Clarke's pocket.

The next instance was one in which the commander in chief himself was a direct partaker in the advantages of this traffic, by a loan to be furnished through colonel French, the writings for which were drawn by a Mr. Grant, an eminent solicitor of Barnard's Inn, for the purpose of raising three thousand pounds; but he did not receive it, because there were three thousand pounds due from government to colonel French. Hence then it was obvious that Mrs. Clarke exercised an influence in raising the military force of the country, in disposing of commands in that force, and in converting the purchase of commissions to her own private advantage.

He would next proceed to the case of captain May, of the royal African corps. He meant no reflection upon that officer. He was appointed to an ensigncy on November 28, 1806; some time after, he was made lieutenant. He had still the good fortune to remain a clerk at the desk of Mr. Greenwood, army agent. On the 15th of April, 1808, he was employed by the duke of York, and before the end of the year he was raised to a captain in the royal African corps, and the third year after his first appointment, and without seeing service; thus promoted over the heads of all the subalterns of the army, without any regard to their long service and wounds in their country's cause, though many of them had lodged this money to pay the differences on promotion. Whether the honour and interests of the British army, and the feelings of the officers, were properly to be subjected to such a system, the house of commons would judge and decide. He hoped, after what he had stated, the house of commons would not refuse to grant him a committee to inquire into those transactions: and, if they agreed, he would pledge himself to bring as evidence before them Mrs. Clarke herself, and the whole of the other persons whom he had named.

There was another circumstance in this case which he could not pass unnoticed: it was the existence of a public office in the city of London, where commissions in the army were offered to purchasers at reduced prices, and where the clerks openly and unequivocally stated, in his own presence, and in his hearing, that they were employed by the present favourite mistress of the commander in chief, Mrs. Carey; and that, in addition to commissions in the army, they were employed to dispose of places in every department of church and state; and those agents did not hesitate to state, in words and writing, that they were employed under the auspices of two of his majesty's principal ministers. Having now gone through the whole of his statement, the honourable member concluded by expressing his hope, that the house would grant him a committee to enquire into the conduct of the duke of York, in respect to the disposal of military commissions; and he moved accordingly.

Sir Francis Burdett seconded the motion; and a debate of considerable warmth and great length took place, in which the principal speakers were, the secretary at war, sir Arthur Wellesley, Mr. Yorke, sir Francis Burdett, Mr. Adam, Mr. Wilberforce, the chancellor of the exchequer, Mr. Wardle, lord Folkstone, Mr. secretary Canning, Mr. Whitbread, and lord Castlereagh; when the question was put, on the motion of the chancellor of the exchequer, "that the committee should be a committee of the whole house," and was carried without a division.

On the motion of Mr. Wardle, in the house of commons, on the 1st of February, the house resolved into a committee, to inquire into the conduct of his royal highness the duke of York, touching the disposal of commissions in the army,—Mr. Wharton in the chair. After a few preliminary observations from colonel Wardle, the committee proceeded to the examination of several witnesses, in the course of which a great number of instances occurred wherein Mrs. Clarke appeared to have received various sums of money from different persons for the procurement of their promotion; after which, at the proposition of the lord chancellor the committee adjourned for a few days, to give an opportunity for some material witnesses arriving in town. Suffice it to say, for it is not necessary to enter into the particulars of the examinations of the several witnesses, that for prevarication before the house, captain Huxley Sandon was committed to Newgate; and that in the course of the examination, much important evidence was adduced, merely by the cross-examinations of the attorney-general, and those who were avowedly the advocates of the commander in chief. Indeed his royal highness appears to have been more indebted for the strong parts of the case made out against him, to his friends than to colonel Wardle. Divers letters were brought to light through their means, of which the prosecutor was totally ignorant; and to justify his royal highness, general Clavering made a signal attempt, and was committed to Newgate for prevarication, having first greatly injured the cause which he hoped to defend.

On the 23rd of February, the speaker stated, that since he had come to the house, he had received a letter, the contents of which related to the inquiry now pending before the house, respecting the conduct of his royal highness the duke of York, and he wished to know whether it was the pleasure of the house that he should read it; which being

being agreed to, the right honourable gentleman then announced that the letter came from his royal highness the duke of York, was signed "Frederick," addressed to the speaker, and dated Horse Guards, February 23, 1809.

On the next day, Mr. Whitbread wished to draw the attention of the house to the letter written by his royal highness, addressed to that house, and conveyed to it through the medium of the speaker. This letter appeared to Mr. Whitbread to strike at the privileges of the house, by stating, that it examined evidence which it ought not to have done. His royal highness, he said, was as competent to have written to the house in the first instance, that it ought not to institute and carry on an inquiry on such evidence as would be produced before it. And lord Henry Petty thought the question of extraordinary importance, and that the house had, by the vote of last night, (February 23,) permitted a letter to be put on the table which was an attack on their privileges.

On the 28th, Mr. Wynne made a few observations on the letter in question; after which the subject was not resumed till the 8th of March, when Mr. Wardle, having complimented the ministers, sir Francis Burdett, and lord Folkstone, said, there was nothing for which he rejoiced so much, as the manner in which his royal highness had been defended, particularly by his majesty's ministers, and the law officers of the crown. After a long and animated speech on the occasion, he concluded by moving an address to his majesty, which terminated in these words: "His majesty's faithful commons, therefore, beg leave humbly to submit to his majesty, that the duke of York ought to be deprived of the command of the army." Lord Folkstone seconded the motion; and on the division, which took place on the 15th of March, there appeared for it one hundred and twenty-three; against it three hundred and sixty-four; majority against the motion two hundred and forty-one.

On the 20th of March, the chancellor of the exchequer said, he had to communicate to the house, that his royal highness the duke of York, of his own accord, had spontaneously waited on his majesty, and resigned the high office which he had so long held, as commander in chief, into his majesty's hands. The motives for his royal highness having taken that step at this particular time appeared to him so proper, that he entertained the most sanguine hopes they would prove satisfactory to the house.—His majesty was pleased to accept his royal highness's resignation.

Lord Arpthorpe then moved a resolution, "That the duke of York having resigned, the house did not think it necessary to proceed further on the minutes of evidence taken before the committee appointed to inquire into the conduct of the duke of York, as far as relates to his royal highness;" which motion was agreed to.

Thus terminated an affair, which had excited a great deal of curiosity among all ranks of people, and which, from the exalted rank of the commander in chief, had raised very opposite sensations in the breasts of many individuals.

On the 1st of March, sir Samuel Romilly moved for leave to bring in a bill to alter and amend certain of the bankrupt laws, which being agreed to *nem. con.* the bill was brought in, and finally passed into a law.

On the 19th of June, Mr. Wardle brought forward a plan for the saving of nearly seventeen millions of the public money annually, which he branched out into thirty-two motions, requiring accounts of the expenditure in certain departments to be laid before the house, which were agreed to.

And, on the 21st, the parliament was prorogued by commission.

The French fleet, consisting of eight sail of the line and two frigates, was blocked up in Brest harbour by the English fleet under lord Gambier; but in the beginning of February, the latter, being compelled to quit its station on account of the prevalency of westerly winds, the French fleet effected their escape, and entered Basque roads, where they were joined by four sail of the line and two frigates. They then removed into Aix roads; where they anchored in such a manner as to afford mutual support and protection to one another, and to lie under the guns of their own fort; while, if they were not thus found to be safe from the attack of the British, they had the entrance of the river Charente open to them, into which they might escape. An attack upon them in this situation being hazardous, and requiring the most prompt display and exertion of cool and unshaken bravery, the lords of the admiralty sent lord Cochrane on the undertaking. He went in the Impérieuse, and lord Gambier received orders to employ him in an attempt to destroy the enemy's fleet, by means of fire-ships. This appointment of lord Cochrane, a junior officer, gave offence to the officers in lord Gambier's fleet; and rear-admiral Harvey, the second in command, charged lord Gambier with having recommended the appointment of lord Cochrane to this undertaking, and accompanied this charge with language disrespectful to his commander (*e*).

Lord Cochrane, however, answered the expectations of the lords of the admiralty. On the 10th of April a number of fire vessels and transports filled with Congreve's rockets joined lord Gambier's fleet. Immediately the preparations for the intended attack were begun. As the fitting up and management of the explosion ship were entirely intrusted to lord Cochrane, he determined that they should be complete in every respect: for this purpose he caused puncheons, placed end upwards, to be filled with one thousand five hundred barrels of gunpowder; on the tops of the puncheons nearly four hundred shells with fusees were placed, and in the intermediate spaces about three thousand hand granades. In order that the explosion might be as violent and destructive as possible, the puncheons were fastened together by cables, and kept steady and immoveable by wedges and sand rammed down between them. In this ship, dreadful even to imagine, lord Cochrane, with one lieutenant, and four seamen, committed himself. On the evening of the 11th, the fire-ships, led on by captain Woodridge, and the explosion-ship, proceeded to the attack. When they approached the enemy, they perceived a boom stretched across in front of their line, to protect them. This was soon broken; and the English advanced, undaunted and undisturbed by a heavy fire from the forts in the Isle of Aix. The French fleet, thrown into confusion, cut their cables and run on shore to avoid destruction.

Lord Cochrane approached with his explosion-ship as near to the enemy as he could, and perceiving that they had taken the alarm, set fire to the fusee, and betook himself, with his companions, to the boat. They had not left the vessel more than nine minutes before she blew up (*f*). Lord Cochrane had no sooner reached his own ship, than he proceeded to attack the French vessels thrown into confusion or driven on shore, and sustained their fire for some time, before any other man of war entered the harbour.

Early on the morning of the 12th, lord Gambier, in consequence of a signal from lord Cochrane, made the signal to unmoor and weigh, but was obliged to anchor again before he reached Aix roads, the wind and tide being against him. The enemy succeeded in getting six of their ships up the river Charente: four of the remaining ships were attacked by lord Cochrane in the Impérieuse, followed by the Revenge, the Indefatigable, and the Valiant, of seventy-four guns each. Lord Cochrane laid his ship alongside of the Calcutta, which had one-third more guns than the Impérieuse, and soon compelled her to surrender. He afterwards, supported by the other English men of war, attacked the Ville de Varsovie and the Aquilon; and notwithstanding our ships were exposed to a tremendous fire from the batteries of the Isle of Aix, they were also taken. It being found impossible to get these ships off, they were set fire to, after the crews were taken out. The Tonnerre, another of the French squadron, was also burnt by her own crew. The result of this brilliant and gallant atchievement was, that one ship of one hundred and twenty guns, five of seventy-four guns, and two frigates, were driven on shore, in such a manner and situation that they were either afterwards totally destroyed, or rendered useless: one of eighty, two of seventy-four, and one of fifty guns, and three frigates, were burnt, either by us or by their crews. On the 13th a constant fire was kept up on such of the French ships as had escaped up the Charente, by a bomb and the

(*e*) In consequence of this he was brought to a court-martial at Portsmouth; and after a short trial, (the admiral having admitted the truth of the charges, and pleaded in exculpation the excess of his zeal and his impatience of restraint, where he thought he could benefit his country,) was found guilty of having used vehement and insulting language to lord Gambier. The sentence of the court was, that he should be dismissed his majesty's service.

(*f*) The lieutenant, who accompanied lord Cochrane, expired in the boat, through fatigue; and two of the sailors were so nearly exhausted, that their lives for some time were despaired of.

rocket

rocket boats. In this hazardous operation, our whole loss amounted to thirty men killed and wounded (*g*).

A very short time after the enterprize, it was rumoured that lord Cochrane had expressed himself by no means satisfied with the conduct even of lord Gambier; and the latter demanded a court-martial on the whole of his conduct during the attack in Basque roads, in order that the charges of lord Cochrane might be officially and fully stated, directly met, and, if ill-founded, publicly repelled. Accordingly an order for a court-martial, to be holden in Portsmouth harbour, was issued by the lords of the admiralty, to enquire into the conduct of lord Gambier; and the court, after having deliberated on the evidence that was laid before them, determined that the charge against lord Gambier had not been proved; but that, on the contrary, his lordship's conduct, during the whole of the operations in Basque roads, "was marked by zeal, judgement, ability, and an anxious attention to the welfare of his majesty's service." They, therefore, adjudged him to be most honourably acquitted.

About the beginning of July, a Russian flotilla, in the Baltic, with a convoy of vessels laden with ammunition and provisions for their army in Finland, being alarmed at the sight of the British squadron under sir James Saumarez, took up a strong position under Pencola point. Their flanks were protected by two rocks, mounted with guns: the Russians imagined themselves here perfectly secure. Captain Martin, of the Implacable, manned the boats of four ships, which he placed under the command of lieutenant Hankey. The British seamen, amidst a well directed and destructive fire upon their boats, kept steadily on to their purpose, and never deigned to fire a gun till their boats actually touched the enemy. Then they boarded the gun-boats sword in hand, and swept away all opposition and resistance. The flotilla consisted of eight gun-boats, each mounting a thirty-two and twenty-four pounder, and armed with forty-six men: of these six were brought out, and one was sunk, and the whole of the convoy was captured. This successful achievement was however, attended with the loss of the gallant leader. After he had captured one gun-brig, lieutenant Hankey was killed as he was in the act of boarding a second. His last words were, "Huzza! push on! England for ever!" (*h*)

The fleet under lord Collingwood, in the Mediterranean, was likewise of great benefit to the cause of the Spaniards. Barcelona had been long besieged by them, and was reduced to such straits, for want of ammunition and provisions, that there was every reason to hope for its speedy surrender, provided the French were not able to supply it with what it so much stood in need of. This the French determined to attempt by sea; and admiral Bauden had orders to attempt the relief of Barcelona. For this purpose he sailed from Toulon, towards the end of October, with three sail of the line, four frigates, and twenty large transports. As soon as they were discovered, lord Collingwood gave orders to admiral Martin to chase them. The French line of battle ships, and one of the frigates, ran ashore between Cette and Frontignan, and were set on fire by their crews, to prevent their falling into our hands. The transports separated from the men of war, and took shelter in the bay of Rosas, where, under the shelter of an armed store-ship, two bombards, and a xebeck, they were attacked and destroyed. In this action we had fifteen killed and fifty-five wounded.

In the West Indies it was deemed adviseable to attempt the reduction of Martinique, which had long been a shelter for privateers. The principal place which the enemy defended was Mount Sourrier; and this was absolutely necessary to gain possession of, that our troops might carry on their operations against Fort Bourbon. Accordingly there was some hard fighting at Mount Sourrier; and the enemy were driven from this strong position; and in twenty-seven days from the departure of the expedition from Barbadoes, the whole island of Martinique was brought under the power of the English.

About the same time, captain Yeo, of the navy, at the head of some English and Portuguese troops, attacked the French settlement of Cayenne. No resistance appears to have been made; and the colony was surrendered to the united forces of Great Britain and Portugal. From the tenure of several of the articles of capitulation, the prince regent is represented as the future possessor of the colony.

In the beginning of July, general Carmichael sailed from Jamaica, for the purpose of co-operating with the Spaniards in the reduction of the city of Saint Domingo. At first, the French general Barquier, who commanded the city, expressed his determination to abide by his instructions, which ordered him not to surrender; but when general Carmichael made preparations to carry the place by assault, the governor capitulated. The garrison were allowed to march out with the honours of war: the officers were sent to France on their parole, and the private soldiers were considered as prisoners of war (*i*).

In the East Indies there appeared, at one time, a probability that a rupture would have taken place between us and Persia. Bonaparte had dispatched not only diplomatic agents, but several French officers, to the Persian court. They had been received with so much favour, that lord Minto seems to have prepared for an expedition against that empire: but in order to avert the necessity of this measure, and to destroy the French influence, sir Harford Jones was sent to the Persian court. Respecting the measures pursued by him, there seems to be some obscurity; but he procured the mission of a Persian ambassador to the court of St. James.

Our differences with America, which had subsisted for some time, instead of being brought to an amicable termination, this year became wider and more confirmed. All the circumstances and causes which tended to this unfortunate issue are not yet distinctly known. The American government, however, was highly offended at the repeated assertion made by Mr. Jackson, that they had been put in possession of Mr. Erskine's instructions; and at length officially announced to him, that as he did not appear to be commissioned or empowered to treat on the points in dispute between the two governments, but seemed to have been sent solely for the purpose of charging the government of the United States with having formed an arrangement which they knew at the time was unauthorized, and would not be sanctioned by the British cabinet, they must decline all further communication with him.

In the beginning of June, sir John Stewart, commander of the British army in Sicily, determined to attempt the invasion of the south of Italy, and the capture of the city of Naples. For these purposes he prepared an expedition on as large and extensive a scale as his means would allow. He embarked with fifteen thousand British troops; and he was soon afterwards joined by a body of Sicilian forces, under the command of one of the royal princes. The king of Sardinia had undertaken to aid this expedition with six thousand men; but from some unexplained cause they never arrived. The British general detached a brigade to reduce Lower Calabria, and after its reduction to join him over land. This brigade appears to have partly succeeded in the object for which they were dispatched, as they took possession of the line of posts which the French had formed directly opposite Messina, and of which therefore it was of considerable importance to deprive them. The

(*g*) In the course of this enterprize lord Cochrane displayed his humanity in as signal and noble a manner as he did his courage. A captain of one of the French seventy-fours, when delivering his sword to his lordship, lamented that the conflagration of his ship, which was just about to take place, would destroy all the property he possessed. On hearing this, lord Cochrane instantly went into the boat, along with him, in order, if possible, to save some of it; but, unfortunately, his lordship's humane intentions were frustrated in a most shocking manner. As they passed a French ship which was on fire, her loaded guns went off, and one of them killed the captain, by the side of his generous conqueror.

(*h*) In this severe contest we had seventeen killed and thirty-seven wounded. The Russians suffered much more dreadfully; as sixty-three of them were killed, and one hundred and twenty-four were taken prisoners, among whom were fifty-four wounded; besides several that were drowned in attempting to make their escape from the vessels.

(*i*) The island of Jamaica discovered, soon after the abolition of the slave trade, symptoms of dissatisfaction with the mother country. The principal inhabitants were displeased, because they conceived that, in abolishing the slave trade, the mother country had interfered with the privileges and rights of their own provincial assembly. In this state of mind, it was scarcely to be hoped that fresh causes of disgust and dissatisfaction would not either actually arise, or be imagined to exist. During a mutiny which took place in a negro corps, two officers were slain. As no coroner's inquest was held, the legislature of the island requested the governor to lay before them the military proceedings which had been carried on against the offenders. This the commander in chief peremptorily refused; at the same time prohibiting all military persons from answering any questions that might be put to them by the legislative body, on the subject of the mutiny. At length, finding that the assembly would not carry on the business of the island, the governor prorogued it in a short speech, wherein he stated his determination to bring the circumstances and nature of the dispute before the British government. The difference, however, was afterwards made up, or rather permitted on both sides to die away.

allies


DESTRUCTION OF A
FRENCH SQUADRON by ADMIRAL MARTIN
in the
BAY OF ROSAS
Corbould delin.
C. Warre sculp.
Published March 12 1812 by J. Stratford 112 Holborn Hill

allies had great success in the beginning, and in a short period they took one thousand five hundred regular troops, and one hundred pieces of ordnance. But it was soon found that the projected attempt on the continent and on the city of Naples must be abandoned; for, besides a large regular force which Murat had assembled for the protection of his dominions and capital, a large body of national guards had been formed and embodied. Sir John Stewart, however, dispatched a body of troops to take possession of Scylla castle. The attempt to reduce this important fortress was attended, in the first instance, with disappointment: for a very superior force of the enemy suddenly made their appearance, and compelled the British detachment precipitately to raise the siege and embark for Messina. A few days afterwards the enemy retreated again from the coast, after having blown up the works of Scylla. Our troops on taking possession of it not only regained their captured stores, but an immense quantity of stores and ordnance left by the enemy. The enemy, however, again returned as suddenly and unexpectedly as they had quitted the fortress, and, after four days' possession, the British were forced finally and completely to abandon it, as well as all their other conquests.

Soon after the commencement of the war between France and Austria, the British ministry began to make preparations for a very large and formidable expedition. Immense bodies of troops were marched from different parts of the kingdom to the coasts of Kent and Hampshire, from which the embarkation was to take place. The intelligence that Bonaparte, after an unsuccessful attempt to drive the archduke from his position, had been compelled to recross the Danube with enormous loss, and that the insurgents in Germany had gained fresh spirit and confidence, and a considerable accession of strength from this defeat, induced the British ministry to hasten the expedition, and to render it still more formidable and complete than they had at first intended (*k*). Although ministers endeavoured to keep the precise object of this expedition a profound secret, yet long before it sailed, the point of attack was known, not only here, but even to our enemies. Indeed almost the first clear and positive notice of the object on which it was about to be sent, appeared in the French newspapers. News was received, previous to the sailing of the expedition, that Austria found it necessary to enter into an armistice with France, the nature of which proved that she was unable to continue the war. This necessarily confined the object of the expedition to the occupation of the islands at the mouth of the Scheldt, and the destruction or capture of the French ships of war.

After the troops were all embarked, and the transports and men of war were on the point of sailing, a contrary wind set in, and blew so strongly and steadily as to detain the fleet in the Downs nearly a fortnight. At length, on the 28th and 29th of July, it sailed. On the arrival of the army in the islands of Walcheren and South Beveland, in the mouth of the Scheldt, they found the enemy not disposed to make any resistance except in Flushing. This place lord Chatham, who was appointed commander-in-chief, immediately proceeded to invest. By the capitulation of Middleburgh, it appeared that it was the design of our government to retain a permanent occupation of the island of Walcheren.

The conquest of Flushing was not of such easy and speedy achievement as was at first expected: by some neglect or remissness on the part of our commander, the enemy were enabled to send across from the opposite coast considerable reinforcements; and though they were defeated in every sortie they made, owing to the superiority of numbers in the British army, they were enabled to hold out so long, that, on the surrender of the place, it was not deemed advisable to proceed up the Scheldt.

Flushing was invested on the 1st of August, on the 13th the batteries were completed, and the frigates and smaller vessels having taken their respective stations, the bombardment commenced that day. The town suffered dreadfully, especially from the effects of Congreve's rockets; the fortifications were but little injured. General Monnet, who commanded, attempted an inundation of the island; but it was not carried to such a length as materially to retard or impede our military offensive operations. On the 14th of August the line of battle ships cannonaded the town for some hours: the enemy's fire ceased; and a summons was sent in: but some delay and difficulty having arisen, it is supposed from general Monnet's wish either to include some Irish troops in the capitulation, or to obtain time for escape, the attack recommenced, and an advanced post was carried by the bayonet. The next day the enemy demanded a suspension of arms, which was succeeded by the surrender of the town; and the garrison, amounting to more than four thousand men, were made prisoners of war.

Soon after the surrender of Flushing, a rumour reached England, that no ulterior operations would be undertaken. Nothing, however, appears to have been decided till the 27th of August, when sir Richard Strachan, who commanded the fleet, having gone in person to learn lord Chatham's plans, was told that his lordship had come to a determination not to advance. Every preparation had been made to oppose the passage both of our army and navy; and a numerous army had been collected for the defence of Antwerp and the shipping; and preparations had been made for the purpose of conveying the ships so high up the river, as to put them beyond the possible reach either of our navy or army.

Lord Chatham with the greater number of the troops returned to England. The remainder found it expedient to give up all their conquests, except the island of Walcheren. This it was resolved to keep, if possible, for the purpose both of shutting up the mouth of the Scheldt, and thus preventing the sailing of the French fleet, and of enabling our merchants to introduce British manufactures into Holland. But from this island, the sole fruit of a most expensive expedition, we were doomed to be driven by an enemy more cruel and destructive than the French. It was notoriously unhealthy, and from the nature of its situation and climate, it would prove a grave to our troops. Here, however, they were ordered to remain, and consequently were doomed to perish. When the fatal malady appeared to be suspending its ravages, they resolved to retain possession of the island. At an enormous expence they sent out materials for building barracks and repairing the fortifications; provisions and even water for the troops were obliged to be furnished from England. The malady continued and increased: they paused in their proceedings, and seemed inclined to evacuate the island. The frost set in; the deaths were not so numerous. Again they clung to their dearly bought conquest. At length, after by far the greater proportion of our forces had either died of the pestilential disease, or been rendered by it incapable of performing their duty, the fortifications, which had been repaired at a great expence, were destroyed; and the island was evacuated, in the sight of an enemy, who, knowing that the ravages of disease would render any attack upon us unnecessary, took no measures to expel us from our fatal conquest (*l*).

The failure of the expedition against Walcheren called forth

(*k*) Perhaps at no period within the recollection of the present generation, had such a numerous body of troops been collected for the purpose of invading the continent: they amounted to upwards of forty thousand men; and their operations were to be assisted by the powerful aid of between twenty and thirty sail of the line, besides a great number of frigates, gun-boats, bombs, &c.

(*l*) It was expected by many people that ministers would perceive the necessity of instituting some inquiry into the causes of the failure of the expedition to Walcheren; or at least that they would endeavour to shift the blame from themselves to the earl of Chatham. But no disposition or attempt of that kind was manifested. The people were therefore grieved and surprized to see undoubted signs of the determination of his majesty's ministers to let the conduct of the earl of Chatham go uncensured and unexamined. A British commander, with nearly fifty thousand men at his disposal, had barely and slowly accomplished the capture of one fortified place; before which he had needlessly loitered so long, as to render all further enterprize useless or extremely hazardous. With means more than sufficient for the accomplishment of all he was sent to perform, he had failed in achieving any conquest of real benefit to his country or of permanent injury to the enemy. Yet he was received on his return as if he had not disappointed the expectations of the nation, nor wasted the blood of her soldiers, nor tarnished the honour of her arms; while the man who had defended Flushing so long against our immense force was declared by the military tribunals of France deserving of death, for having surrendered it before an assailable breach was made in the walls.

As there appeared to be no disposition on the part of ministers to institute any inquiry into the causes of the failure and the calamities of the expedition to the Scheldt, the common council of the city of London at length determined to address his majesty on the subject; and at the same time to express to him their indignant sense of the disgraceful squabbles that had taken place among his servants. A strong address to this effect was accordingly moved and carried, but only by the casting voice of the lord mayor. As the language and tone of this address were by no means acceptable to ministers, the party attached to them in the common council called another meeting, in which, after a long and warm debate, they succeeded in substituting an address less offensive and harsh. To the address, even when thus rendered palatable, his majesty's

forth the disputes of the British cabinet into a public act of a most disgraceful nature. On the 22d of September a duel took place between lord Castlereagh and Mr. Canning, two members of his majesty's cabinet, holding the highest official situations in the state, the former being secretary for the colonial department, and the latter secretary for foreign affairs. The first fire was without effect; and as the nature of the difference did not appear to the combatants to admit of explanation or apology, they fired at each other a second time, when Mr. Canning received his antagonist's bullet in his right thigh (*m*).

Lord Castlereagh made serious charges against Mr. Canning, equally implicating him as a gentleman and a public minister, therefore the nation naturally expected a prompt, if not a satisfactory reply. But nearly a month elapsed from the time of the duel before Mr. Canning entered on his defence. In the mean time the ministry was completely broken up. The duke of Portland gave in his resignation, on account of his age and infirmities; and lord Castlereagh and Mr. Canning resigned, but not officially and formally till after the duel had taken place.

On the day after the duel took place, Mr. Perceval, on whom, in consequence of the resignation of the duke of Portland, the ostensible as well as the real government of the country and superintendence of his majesty's councils had fallen, wrote to earl Grey and lord Grenville, for the purpose of inducing them to come into administration. In it Mr. Perceval stated to the noble lords, that his majesty had authorized lord Liverpool and himself to communicate with them, "for the purpose of forming an extended and combined administration." These noblemen refused, and application was at length made to the marquis of Wellesley. This nobleman was in Spain, whither he had gone for the purpose of infusing a portion of his energy and activity into the supreme junta. He did not, however, succeed in the object of his mission; and it was believed that he might be more advantageously employed at home, in vivifying and connecting the discordant materials of which Mr. Perceval was compelled to form his ministry. He himself took the offices of first lord of the treasury and chancellor of the exchequer. The marquis of Wellesley succeeded Mr. Canning as secretary of state for the foreign department; lord Liverpool was transferred from the home to the war department; and Mr. Ryder was appointed to succeed lord Liverpool. Lord Palmerston was at the same time appointed secretary at war, in the room of sir James Pulteney.

His majesty having this year entered into the fiftieth year of his reign, the circumstance was celebrated by keeping the day of his accession as a jubilee.

In resuming our account of the affairs of Spain and Portugal, the first object that demands our attention embraces the march and operations of the British army under sir John Moore. This army consisted of the troops which marched from Portugal under sir John Moore, and those which were sent from England under sir David Baird. The latter arrived at Corunna on the 13th of October, 1806, and was astonished and disappointed to find that the junta of Gallicia refused him permission to land his troops. When at last he was permitted to land them, his reception was so extremely cold, that he was disposed to doubt whether the Spanish government really wished for the co-operation of the British. The same impression was made on sir John Moore, when he arrived at Salamanca on the 13th of November: he found so little preparation made for the reception or accommodation of his army, that he wrote to the British minister at Madrid, desiring him plainly to tell the Spanish government, that if they expected his army to advance they must pay more attention to its wants. He had been officially informed that his entry into Spain would be covered by sixty or seventy thousand men; whereas when he had got so far as to be within three marches of the French army, not even a Spanish piquet had appeared to protect his front. At this critical time the Spanish general Blake was defeated, and a report reached sir David Baird that the French were advancing upon his division in two directions, so as to threaten to surround him. He consequently prepared to retreat upon Corunna; but sir John Moore, having ascertained that the report was unfounded, ordered sir David Baird to advance, in order if possible to form a junction with him. On the 28th of November sir John Moore received information that Castanos was completely defeated. No army now remained against which the whole French force might be directed, except the British; and it was vain to expect that they, even had they been united, could have resisted or checked the enemy. Sir John Moore therefore determined to fall back on Portugal, to hasten the junction of general Hope, who had gone on towards Madrid, and to order sir David Baird to regain Corunna as expeditiously as possible; and from the events which afterwards took place, there is much reason to lament that the determination was afterwards changed.

All the principal Spanish armies were beaten and dispersed. A week had elapsed since the army of Castanos had suffered a total defeat on the Ebro. Burgos was in possession of the French; and Valladolid had been entered and occupied by the cavalry. A reinforcement, amounting to nearly thirty thousand, was advancing on the side of Biscay. The French thus numerous, having driven before them the Spanish armies, found nothing to oppose their plans, whether they were directed to the immediate attack of the British army or to the occupation of Madrid.

After the main body of the army had been joined by general Hope's division, they advanced towards Valladolid, in order to have the corps under sir David Baird in their rear. Before, however, they had proceeded a day's march on this route, sir John Moore learnt by an intercepted dispatch, that Bonaparte was advancing towards Lisbon, and that a body of eighteen thousand men under Soult was posted at Saldanha. The British general immediately resolved to attempt the attack of Soult's corps: but it does not seem to have struck sir John Moore that Soult was posted with this comparatively small body of men, for the purpose of enticing the British army further into Spain, while Bonaparte in person, with his whole disposable force, endeavoured to place himself between the British army and the route of their retreat towards Portugal and the sea. Sir John Moore, therefore, quitted the route towards Valladolid, as soon as he heard that Soult was at Saldanha, and, by a movement on the left having effected his junction with sir David Baird, advanced by rapid marches to the Carrion. Here the advanced post of the two armies first met; and the superiority of the British cavalry was eminently displayed in a most brilliant and successful skirmish. But just as sir John Moore had issued orders for the main body of his army to commence a general attack, he received information that Bonaparte in person had left Madrid with his army in order to get into the rear of the British; that the army which had been stationed at Talavera had moved forward to Salamanca; and that Soult himself had received strong reinforcements. There was now no alternative, nor any time to be lost. Retreat was become indispensably necessary: the only difficulty and doubt lay in the route that ought to be pursued.

The situation of the British at this time was most dreadful. Their provisions were scanty, or procured with great labour and in an irregular manner: the waggons, in which were their magazines, baggage and stores, were often deserted in the night time by the Spanish drivers, terrified at the approach of the French; the bullocks and mules by which they were drawn would not move, except by the native drivers: it was therefore often necessary to destroy the provisions and stores, in order that they might not fall into the hands of the enemy. He then sent off dispatches to sir Samuel Hood at Vigo, to send round the transports to Corunna, on which place, as three long marches nearer than Vigo, he thought it preferable to direct his retreat.

Marshal Soult did not chuse to attack the British in the strong

jesty's reply was very short and dry. He expressed his regret, that the expedition to the Scheldt had accomplished a part only of the objects for which it was sent out, but he did not judge it necessary to direct any military inquiry into the conduct of his commanders by sea or land, in this conjoint service. Parliament, however, might ask for such information, or take such measures, as they should judge most conducive to the public good. This reply is not only short, but it is also unsatisfactory, and by no means of easy comprehension.

(*m*) This duel was preceded and immediately occasioned by a letter from lord Castlereagh to Mr. Canning. In this letter his lordship accuses Mr. Canning of having clandestinely endeavoured to procure his removal from his situation, and of having obtained a positive promise to that effect from the duke of Portland. His lordship declares that he would not have deemed the conduct of Mr. Canning improper or unfair towards himself, if he had not concealed his intention from his lordship, who, as the person most interested, ought explicitly, and at first, to have been made acquainted with Mr. Canning's proposal for his removal. On the contrary, Mr. Canning, notwithstanding he had declared his conviction that lord Castlereagh was unfit for his situation, and had thereupon prevailed upon the duke of Portland to consent to his removal, continued to treat his lordship as if he still possessed his confidence and good opinion, and permitted a minister, whom he had denounced to the premier as incapable, to plan and carry into execution the most expensive and formidable expedition perhaps ever sent from the British shores.




DEATH OF SIR JOHN MOORE
AT THE BATTLE OF CORUNNA.

strong position they now occupied near Lugo; sir John Moore, not judging it safe either to act offensively or to delay his retreat any longer, quitted his ground in the night, leaving fires burning to deceive the enemy. The French did not discover the retreat till after day-light, so that the British army got the start of them considerably.

On the 11th of January the whole of the British reached Corunna, except one division, which had been dispatched to Vigo. But unfortunately the transports from the latter port were not yet arrived, and the French army were seen the next morning approaching the town. The English had been obliged to sacrifice most of their baggage, and some of their artillery; the greater number of their horses had been put to death, to prevent them from falling into the hands of the enemy.

The French made only partial indications of attack till the noon of the 16th of January, when they began to place some guns in the front of the right and left of their line, and to follow up this preparatory movement by a rapid attack upon the division of general Baird. When the enemy's line were first getting under arms, sir John Moore was employed in visiting the outposts, and in explaining his plans to the general officers. As soon as he was informed of the hostile indications of the French, he flew to the field, expressing his regret, that the advanced time of the day would not allow the British army to reap all the advantages of a victory which he regarded as certain. But the career of this gallant general was near its end: a cannon ball struck the left shoulder of sir John Moore, and beat him to the ground. For a few moments it was hoped he was rather stunned than materially hurt by the shot; but it was soon discovered that he was mortally wounded, and he was immediately carried from the field of battle.

The soldiers, although they knew that their general was carried off, continued to fight with confidence and valour. The attack of the French upon the right of our army was completely repulsed, and in their turn they were obliged to draw back their left flank entirely, in order to prevent it from being turned. At five in the evening the light began to fail. The British army lost, in killed and wounded, between seven and eight hundred men.

General Hope, on whom the command devolved, when sir John Moore (*n*) was killed and sir David Baird wounded, thought it advisable to proceed in the embarkation of his troops, for which, indeed the preparatory measures had been taken by sir John Moore. Accordingly about ten o'clock at night the troops quitted their position, and marched into Corunna, strong piquets being left to guard the ground, and to give notice of the approach of the enemy. The embarkation immediately commenced, and before day-light the whole of the army, with the exception of the rear guard, were on board the ships. In the course of the day after the battle general Hill's corps de reserve, the sick and wounded, and the rear guard, were safely embarked, in the view of the enemy, who offered no molestation or hindrance. The brigade under general Craufurd, which, separating from the main army, had proceeded towards Vigo, arrived after a most fatiguing and harassing march at that port, where fortunately they found ready a sufficient number of transports to take them on board and convey them to England.

When the British army had retreated from the peninsula, the attention and movements of the French were principally directed to the pursuit and discomfiture of the Spanish corps which still occupied the centre of the kingdom. Accordingly in the centre of Spain the duke of Belluno attacked and defeated one of the divisions of the duke del Infantado's army, under the command of Venegas: the loss of the Spanish in this affair was not great, as they offered no obstinate nor continued resistance to the French forces, but fled and dispersed after a short and ineffectual combat. After the engagement, the duke del Infantado crossed the province of Valencia, and took the route to Grenada.

While Madrid opened its gates to the French, Saragossa compelled the enemy to fly from before its walls with great slaughter; and when again besieged by a more numerous and better provided army, it did not yield, till the ravages of disease had broken the spirit and thinned the number of its inhabitants, to a great degree. The second siege commenced early in January; and on the 21st of the following month it was compelled to capitulate.

The first place in Portugal against which the French directed their efforts was Oporto, at this time defended by twenty-four thousand men, and more than two hundred pieces of cannon: notwithstanding which, the French made themselves masters of it with little loss, after a short and feeble resistance. About the same time they advanced against Chaves. General Francisco de Silviera who commanded there, retired on their approach; but having collected a more adequate force, he advanced again, and retook Chaves, with twelve pieces of artillery and one thousand five hundred prisoners.

The situation of marshal Soult who commanded the French army that had taken possession of Oporto, was rendered critical and hazardous by the successful operations of the patriots in Gallicia. Assisted by two British frigates, the Lively and Venus, they compelled the garrison of Vigo, consisting of one thousand five hundred men, to surrender, and afterwards drove the enemy from the towns of Tuy and Viana.

The only engagement worthy of notice, took place at Medellin between marshal Victor and general Cuesta; the latter general found Victor's division, consisting of about twenty thousand foot and three thousand cavalry, drawn up in front of Medellin. Against the enemy Cuesta determined to commence a rapid and general attack. The left wing of the Spanish infantry advanced within pistol shot of the French; the first battery was already taken: the cavalry of the enemy made a charge in order to regain possession of it; and general Cuesta was shortly afterwards obliged to retreat. The loss of the Spaniards in this engagement was very severe: upwards of one hundred and seventy officers were either killed, wounded, or taken prisoners; and the loss in rank and file bore rather more than the usual proportion to this number of officers.

To carry into effect the promise of assistance which the British ministry had bound themselves to afford to the patriots, and to free Portugal from the French forces, sir Arthur Wellesley was dispatched to that country with an army, which, though not very numerous, was well equipped and provided, and was deemed by the general himself perfectly equal to drive the enemy from Portugal, and to defend it from any future attacks they might make against it. The situation of Soult indeed began to be very hazardous: cut off as he was from any immediate and effectual communication and support, and dependent for the supply of his army upon an exhausted and hostile country, he attempted to force a passage into Spain by the route of Zamora; but not being able to effect it, after five days obstinate fighting, he was obliged again to retreat back upon Oporto. At length after several partial battles, in which the French were uniformly unsuccessful, they retired hastily towards Amaranthe, leaving behind them several prisoners and five pieces of cannon. In order to render his flight more rapid and successful, Soult was under the necessity of abandoning the greater part of his artillery and baggage; and sir Arthur Wellesley was compelled to give up the pursuit, in order to protect Lisbon and its vicinity from marshal Victor.

In the mean time the affairs of the patriots were chequered with alternate success and disaster in the greater part of Spain; but in Gallicia the success, at least for a season, preponderated. Their advantages, however, were in some degree counterbalanced by the recapture of St. Andero. This town, destined to frequent capture and recapture, and of great importance both to the patriots and the French, on account of its situation, was taken by general Ballasteros on the 10th of June. On that very night the French general Bannet, at the head of a large body of troops, came suddenly and unexpectedly upon it, and after having gained possession of it, put the whole Spanish garrison, amounting to five thousand men, to the sword. General Ballasteros at first eluded the search of the enemy, but was afterwards taken.

In the north-east of Spain, the army of general Blake made an attempt to regain possession of Saragossa; in which he not only completely failed, but exposed his army by it to a fatal and inglorious defeat at Belchite. He was opposed by the French general Suchet, who was completely

(*n*) As sir John Moore had repeatedly declared his wish to colonel Anderson to be buried where he had fallen, if it should be his lot to be killed in battle, it was determined to bury his body on the rampart of the citadel of Corunna. Accordingly at eight o'clock in the morning it was deposited, uncoffined and undressed, in a grave hastily dug by some soldiers. Some months afterwards, when the Spaniards again got possession of Corunna, the marquis de Romana ordered his body to be taken up, and properly interred in the citadel; and over the tomb a short and simple inscription was graven.

successful; and in a short time, only the general and officers were left to oppose the enemy. In their flight the Spaniards not merely abandoned their baggages, but they even threw away their arms. The fruits of this victory to the French, were nine pieces of cannon, immense quantities of provisions, stores and ammunition, and upwards of three thousand prisoners. The loss of the French was very trifling, not exceeding forty killed and two hundred wounded.

Joseph Bonaparte joined the army under marshal Victor, bringing with him considerable reinforcements from general Sebastiani's division. Victor with his army thus strengthened, and amounting to about thirty-five thousand men, was stationed in the neighbourhood of Talavera, and along the banks of the river Alberche. He had taken up this position for the purpose of opposing the march of the united British and Spanish armies against Madrid. The Spanish army, under the immediate command of Cuesta, amounted to thirty-eight thousand men. The force of Venegas, who had again advanced as far as Madrilejos, consisted of seven thousand cavalry, and a proportionate number of infantry. On the 20th of July a complete junction of the British and Spanish armies had taken place; and immediate measures were taken to carry into effect the plan of operations agreed upon by sir Arthur Wellesley and general Cuesta. The French forces then attacked the advanced guard of general Cuesta, and obliged him to fall back upon the British, with very considerable loss. They then attacked the united British and Spanish armies, with their Portuguese auxiliaries; but being unsuccessful, retreated across the Alberche, in the most regular order; having lost twenty pieces of cannon and a few prisoners. The loss of the British was, in killed, wounded, and missing, nearly six thousand men; among the killed were major-general Mackenzie and brigadier-general Langworth.

Shortly after, however, Soult, Ney, and Mortier, having formed a junction, advanced through Estramadura, and were soon in the rear of the British. There was no time for delay or hesitation: the army could be saved only by promptly adopting the most active measures; and on the 3d of August the British left Talavera, and marched to Oropesa: on the evening of that day, sir Arthur Wellesley received information that Cuesta was obliged to leave Talavera immediately, and let most of the wounded and sick fall into the hands of the French, from the want of means of conveyance. The most rapid retreat was now indispensably requisite. He therefore judged it expedient to retreat to Badajoz. Here during the remainder of the year his army remained not only inactive, but exposed from the unhealthiness of the situation to the ravages of a fatal disorder.

General Augereau assumed the command of the French army which was besieging Gerona, defeated general Blake, and took the city, after a vigorous defence. The Spaniards in their turn were successful against the French at Zamanes; but Joseph Bonaparte completely defeated the Spanish army of the centre, (which was destined to attack Madrid,) at Ocana, on the 19th of November.

Towards the end of March and the beginning of April, preparations for war were carried on by both the French and Austrians with uncommon vigour. The court of Vienna divided its army into nine corps, which were commanded by the archdukes, and by generals Lichtenstein, Rosenberg, Klenau, and Bellegarde. The archduke Charles was appointed generalissimo, and invested with the highest and most unlimited powers ever granted to an Austrian commander. Large bodies of reserve were established and regularly trained, for the purpose of supplying the losses of war with troops in no small degree instructed in its duties. The students of the universities and the high schools manifested their zeal for their country, by enrolling themselves in separate corps for the defence of the capital.

The Austrians assembled four armies. One was stationed in Bohemia, threatening the territories of the king of Saxony; another was collected in the southern provinces of the empire, for the purpose of supporting the Tyrolese, in case they should revolt against the Bavarians, and of watching and keeping in check the French army of Italy; the third was stationed near Saltzburgh, for the purpose of either acting separately, or in conjunction with the fourth grand army, which, under the command of the archduke Charles, threatened the invasion of Bavaria, from its position between the Inn and the Iller.

The force on which Bonaparte principally relied at the commencement of the war, consisted of the troops of Bavaria, Wirtemburg, and the confederation of the Rhine. The Bavarian was formed in three divisions; the duke of Dantzic assumed the temporary command of it and the other allied troops till the arrival of Bonaparte. He established a chain of advanced posts along the banks of the Iser. In the mean time the whole of the north and west of Germany and the interior of France was stripped of troops, which proceeded by forced and rapid marches towards the Danube. It does not appear that Bonaparte drew any forces out of Spain, except the imperial guard. On the side of Italy, prince Eugene, the viceroy of that country, had concentrated a formidable army. The greater number of the Saxon troops were stationed near Dresden, in order to protect their capital from the Austrian army in Bohemia. They were commanded by the prince of Ponte Corvo.

Before the actual commencement of hostilities, the archduke Charles issued a proclamation of war in the form of an address to the soldiers of Austria. And on the 9th of April, having established his staff and head-quarters at Lintz, he sent formal notice to the French general commanding in Bavaria, that he had received orders from the emperor of Austria to advance with the troops under his command, and to treat as enemies all who should oppose him. In consequence of this notice, the king of Bavaria quitted his capital, and repaired to Augsburgh. On the 10th of the same month the Austrians, having thrown a bridge of boats over the Inn, between Brannau and Schardinig, crossed that river, and advanced slowly into Bavaria.

On the 12th of April the duke of Auerstadt (Massena) published a proclamation to his army, in which he treated the Austrian proclamation as beneath his notice, from the abuse and scurrility, which, he said, it contained.

Information that the Austrians had crossed the Inn having been conveyed to Paris by the telegraph, Bonaparte left that city on the 12th of April, and arrived at Donawerth on the 17th, from which place he removed his head-quarters to Ingolstadt on the following day. Movements immediately began to take place among the French armies, while the Austrians endeavoured to out-manœuvre them at Landshut, and surprize them in their march towards Ratisbon.

On the 19th the duke of Auerstadt advanced to the village of Pressing, where he met a division of the Austrian army; and an engagement immediately took place, which ended in the defeat of the latter. On the same day another French corps attacked an Austrian division in front, while the Bavarian troops under the command of the duke of Dantzic fell upon their rear. The French in this action were equally successful.

The archduke Louis and general Keller had very imprudently drawn their divisions to such a distance from the other corps of the Austrian army, that they at once presented a weak point of attack to the French, cut themselves off from all support, and exposed the troops under the archduke Charles to destruction. Bonaparte resolved to profit by this mistake. While the adjoining corps of the Austrians, who from their situation were most likely to support the archduke Louis, were kept in check by the duke of Auerstadt, he himself, at the head of the troops of Bavaria and Wirtemburg, assisted by two French divisions, attacked the archduke's corps in front. At the same time the communication of this corps was completely cut off by a manœuvre of the duke of Rivoli, who, passing by Freyberg, proceeded to the rear of the Austrian army. As the imperial guards were not yet arrived from Spain, Bonaparte assigned the post of honour to the troops of Bavaria and Wirtemburg. He placed himself at their head, and gave the signal for battle. A brigade of light infantry, two batteries of horse artillery, and nearly the whole of the cavalry commenced the attack: the Austrians were quickly dislodged from their position; and the infantry, chiefly composed of the troops of Wirtemburg and Bavaria, completed the defeat of the Austrians: compelled on all sides to fall back, they retreated with great rapidity and confusion. In this battle the French took eight standards, twelve pieces of cannon, and eighteen thousand prisoners.

The flank of the Austrian army having been completely laid open by the battle of Ebensberg, Bonaparte, pursuing his victory, pushed immediately forward to Landshut. The Austrian cavalry, having formed before the city, were attacked and driven back by the duke of Istria: the town was taken, and along with it thirty pieces of cannon, nine thousand

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sand prisoners, and the hospitals and magazines which the Austrians had established in that quarter.

In the mean time the main Austrian army, under the immediate command of the archduke Charles, having made a rapid descent upon the Danube, in conjunction with the Bohemian army under general Kollowarth, entered Ratisbon, and took prisoners one thousand French, who had been left to guard the bridge at that place. Immediately afterwards he crossed to the right bank of the Danube, and occupied the very position in which his brother the archduke Louis had been beaten on the 20th. Bonaparte left the banks of the Iser, and marched with such celerity, that at two o'clock on the 22d of April he arrived opposite Eckmuhl, where the four corps of the Austrian army, amounting to one hundred and ten thousand men, were posted.

Bonaparte's military eye immediately perceived that the left wing of the Austrian army was disadvantageously posted. This wing he ordered the duke of Montebello to attack: he succeeded in turning it, while the front of the Austrians was opposed to the main body of the French. The contest was long and obstinate; and was not entirely terminated till night; when the army of the archduke, turned on their left, and driven from all their positions, were compelled to retreat. A large body of them, endeavouring to make a stand, under the cover of some woods near Ratisbon, were driven into the plain, and suffered dreadfully from the French cavalry. An attempt was made to cover the retreat of the main body by the cavalry; but this was equally unsuccessful: the covering corps were attacked on both wings, and obliged to seek safety in flight. The archduke Charles was nearly taken prisoner, but escaped through the fleetness of his horse.

When the extreme darkness of the night had rendered it impossible for the French to continue the pursuit, the broken and scattered divisions of the Austrian army collected in Ratisbon. Here they endeavoured to make a stand; but were compelled to give way: eight thousand of the Austrians were cut to pieces; the remainder of those who were posted without the city fled across the Danube. The city itself was still defended, but not long; for the French entered it through a breach in the fortifications. Six Austrian regiments who were in it were either cut to pieces or taken prisoners; and the remainder not having had time, from the mode in which the enemy had entered the city, to break down the bridge, were closely pursued to the left bank of the Danube. In the battles of Eckmuhl and Ratisbon the French took upwards of twenty thousand prisoners, and the greater part of the Austrian artillery; so that in the short space of five days the Austrians had lost nearly forty thousand men and one hundred pieces of cannon.

When Charles had been defeated and compelled to retreat into that part of the Upper Palatinate which borders on Bohemia, Bonaparte, with the centre of his army, took that line of march which should at once enable him to pursue the archduke Louis, and to reach Vienna. A skirmish happened between the two armies, when the Austrians, to save themselves set fire to the town of Ebensberg; and Bonaparte, following the course of the Danube, advanced rapidly towards Vienna; having ordered the prince of Ponte Corvo with his army, who were principally Saxons, to follow the retreat of the archduke Charles as far as the town of Egra, in Bohemia. The corps of the archduke Louis, after they reached Saint Polten, divided; two-thirds of them crossed the Danube, the other third took the direction to Vienna.

On the 10th of May, Bonaparte appeared before Vienna, and immediately rendered himself master of the suburbs; but the city itself made an unexpected, though not a long, resistance. It was defended by about three thousand or four thousand regular troops, as many armed citizens, and a few battalions of *landwehr*, or country militia. Ordnance of different calibre was placed on the ramparts; and the numerous islands in the Danube, and low-lying bushy ground behind the town, were occupied by part of the corps of general Hiller, while the principal body of his forces was posted on the left shore of the river. The archduke Maximilian had the chief command in the city. For twenty-four hours the French howitzers played upon the town: but when the French had succeeded in crossing the smaller branches of the Danube, dislodged the troops from the islands nearest the city, and threatened to cut off all communication with the left bank, it was thought prudent to surrender.

Soon after Bonaparte obtained possession of the capital of the Austrian monarchy, he issued a proclamation addressed to the Hungarian nation, from Schœnbrunn, a favourite palace of the emperor Francis, where the headquarters of the French army were established. After the battle of Eckmuhl, the archduke Charles crossed the Danube, and retreated in the direction of Bohemia. The archduke, in order if possible to preserve Vienna, directed his march, after the unfortunate battle of Eckmuhl, by the route of Klentsch and Newarkt in Bohemia, under the expectation of being able to join the left wing of his army, under the command of general Hiller, at Lintz. The French army, however, by the rapidity of its movements, arrived at Lintz before him. At length the archduke, after various and fatiguing marches, pushed his advanced guards forwards near the Danube, and the cavalry was posted along the banks of a small rivulet, on ground covered, and partly concealed, by bushes.

Bonaparte resolved to cross the Danube and attack the archduke Charles in his position: for this purpose he marched his army along the south bank of the river till it had reached the distance of about six miles from Vienna. At this place he determined to effect his passage: the situation was extremely favourable. He accordingly crossed at In-der-Lobau, or the isle of Lobau, where bridges were thrown over with amazing rapidity. Bonaparte posted the right wing of his army on the village of Esling, and the left on that of Aspern. As soon as the archduke Charles was informed that the French had gained possession of the villages of Esling and Aspern, were rapidly accumulating in the town of Enzersdorf, and were advancing towards Heischstetten, he formed his plan of attack. As the recapture of Aspern was essentially necessary, in order to enable the Austrian artillery to play with effect upon the centre of the enemy's line, the first and second columns were ordered to attack this village. The conflict here was most obstinate and murderous: every street, every house, and every barn was the scene of it: scarcely had the Austrians succeeded in gaining possession of part of the village, when the French poured in strong reinforcements and regained it: at last, the second column, combining its movements and attacks with those of the first, made itself master of the upper part of the village, and maintained its position during the whole of the first day's combat.

The battle of the 21st was terminated only by the night: the French had been driven from Aspern: they still retained possession of Esling: but the morning of the 22d witnessed Aspern again in possession of the French: an Austrian regiment endeavoured to drive them out, but without effect; another rushed in, and, having gained possession of the churchyard, succeeded in maintaining themselves in the entrance to the village; being reinforced here under general Hiller, the Austrians at length obtained a final and unmolested possession of this long and dreadfully contested place. However, in the night between the 22d and 23d the enemy had effected his retreat from the south bank of the Danube, and taken up a position in the isle of Lobau. In this dreadful battle the Austrians took three pieces of cannon, and about eight thousand prisoners. The loss of the French in killed, wounded, and prisoners, could not be ascertained. Five of their generals were killed on the field of battle, eight were wounded, one of whom, the duke of Montebello, afterwards died; two were taken prisoners. The loss of the Austrians was also very great: they acknowledged the death of eighty-seven superior officers, and of upwards of four thousand subalterns and privates. Twelve of their generals, six hundred and sixty-three officers, and fifteen thousand six hundred and fifty-one subalterns and privates were wounded; of these, one general, eight officers, and eight hundred and twenty-nine men were taken prisoners by the French.

In Poland the Austrian army was for a time successful, and Warsaw was consequently occupied by the Austrians; but in the beginning of June, the grand duchy was abandoned by the Austrians, while the Russians and Polish army in the service of France occupied nearly the whole of Gallicia.

The king of Saxony having been compelled, like the rest of Bonaparte's vassal princes, to take up arms against Austria, soon found himself stripped, for a short time, of great part of his dominions, and compelled to abandon his capital. A formidable insurrection likewise sprung up in Saxony, Westphalia, and Hanover, which, after having harassed the French, was crushed by superior numbers and discipline. At the head of these insurgents were Schill

and the duke of Brunswick Oels. After traversing the whole of the north of Germany in different directions, and perplexing or defeating the troops that were opposed to him, Schill was at length compelled to take refuge in Stralsund, with the hope of being able to effect his escape by sea. Stralsund, however, was forced; Schill's troops were driven from all their guns; and the enemy gained possession of streets filled with dead bodies of these insurgents. Schill and twenty of his officers were killed. Such of his officers as were taken prisoners were tried and executed, as being deserters from the service of the king of Prussia.

At the beginning of the campaign in Italy the Austrians were eminently successful; but on the anniversary of the battle of Marengo the two armies, for a third time, came to an engagement near Raab. Three thousand prisoners, six pieces of cannon, and four standards, were the immediate result of this victory. The archduke John retreated with rapidity, and in disorder, on the road to Pest. The city of Raab was thus left exposed; but it detained the French army eight days; when it capitulated.

From the day on which the battle of Aspern was fought till the end of the first week in July, Bonaparte continued stationary on the south bank of the Danube; but though stationary he was by no means inactive.

It is not easy to estimate exactly the number of the troops in either army. At a fair estimation, each may be reckoned at nearly one hundred and fifty thousand men. As the principal means of passing the Danube, Bonaparte made a feint of crossing opposite Esling; and as soon as he perceived the attention and the force of the Austrians principally drawn to that part, he began his measures for crossing the river on the left flank of the Austrian army, where it was in a great measure unprotected, and where if he succeeded in gaining a footing, they would be obliged to leave their entrenchments and fight him to great disadvantage. During the night of the 4th of July therefore new bridges were completed. One bridge of a single piece, eighty toises long, was fixed in less than five minutes; three others of boats and rafts were also thrown over the river. At two o'clock in the morning of the 5th, the whole French army had crossed the Danube, and at day-break they were arranged in order of battle, at the extremity of the left flank of the Austrians. The archduke Charles was thus most completely out-generalled: his works were rendered useless; he was compelled to abandon his positions, and to fight the French on the spot chosen by themselves and most convenient for them.

The whole of the 5th of July was spent in manœuvring; during the night of that day Bonaparte attempted to gain possession of the village of Wagram, but without success. On the morrow a general engagement was inevitable. The arrangements for this event were directly opposite on the part of Bonaparte and of the archduke Charles. The former strengthened his centre, where he was in person, and which was stationed within cannon shot of Wagram. The Austrian general, on the other hand, extended his flanks and weakened his centre. At day-break on the 6th the battle began. The archduke Charles soon after its commencement weakened his centre still further, and extended and strengthened his wings in such a manner as if he meant to outflank the French army. Bonaparte, perceiving this manœuvre, commanded a powerful and general attack to be made on the centre of the Austrian army: it gave way, and retreated nearly a league: the right wing, thus separated and left unsupported, fell rapidly back. At this moment it was briskly attacked in front by the duke of Rivoli; while the duke of Auerstadt attacked and outflanked the left wing, thrown into consternation and confusion by the retreat of the centre. The village of Wagram now fell into the hands of the French; and the Austrians, routed in all quarters, retreated towards Moravia. In this battle the French took ten pieces of cannon and twenty thousand prisoners, among whom were nearly four hundred officers. The French acknowledged that they had one thousand five hundred killed, and nearly four thousand wounded; but the loss on the part of the Austrians was much greater.

The French lost no time in pursuing the Austrians, and came up with them at Znaim. Here another battle took place, which, however, was soon terminated by a proposal from the emperor Francis to conclude an armistice. On the 12th of July this armistice was signed, the terms of which too plainly proved the extent of the loss the Austrians had sustained, and how completely destitute of hope and resources they were left. All the strong places and positions, which might be advantageous to the French in case the war was renewed, were delivered up; and by the fourth article it was expressly stipulated, that the Austrians were to abandon the inhabitants of the Tyrol and Voralberg.

From causes which have never been clearly and fully explained, the negociations for a definitive treaty of peace between France and Austria proceeded very slowly, and did not accomplish their object till the middle of October. When the terms of peace were made known, many people were disposed to regard them as by no means so unfavourable to Austria as had been generally anticipated (*o*).

The inhabitants of the Tyrol, though deserted and given up by that government in whose favour they had risen in arms, still refused submission to the Bavarians or French. At the head of the mountaineers appeared a man worthy of being a leader among a nation of heroes:—the brave Hoffer. Though the Tyrolese held out for some time, Bonaparte was determined on the conquest of their country, and at length he effected it by pouring in continued reinforcements, and by the capture and execution of the gallant Hoffer.

In France itself, our attention is called this year to a very important scene;—the divorce of Bonaparte from his empress Josephine. A rumour had for a long time gone abroad, which, though it occasionally died away, was always revived after a short interval, that Bonaparte meant to divorce Josephine, for the purpose of uniting himself with a younger and more noble bride. At last, on the 16th of December, his design to dissolve his marriage was formally announced. The project of a decree on the subject was submitted to the senate on that day, and before the sitting terminated the law authorizing the divorce was enacted. To witness this divorce, most of the relations of Bonaparte and Josephine were summoned to Paris. The arch-chancellor was ordered to attend in the grand cabinet of the emperor, where the empress, the kings of Holland, Westphalia, and Naples; the viceroy of Italy; the queens of Holland, Westphalia, and Spain; madame, the mother of Bonaparte, and the princess Pauline, were assembled.—The emperor then explained to them his views, and the motives which had led him to form them and carry them into execution. Anxious to promote the interests of France, and convinced that those interests would be best secured if he should leave children to inherit his throne, brought up in the knowledge of his plans, and imbibing from him his love of the French people, he had come to the reluctant determination to divorce the empress Josephine, by whom he could no longer expect to have issue, in order that he might unite himself to a more youthful bride. This motive alone, and not any ground of complaint against the empress, whom he wished still to retain the title, and whom he should always esteem, had led him to this step. As soon as Bonaparte had finished, the empress stepped forward, and declared that she willingly consented to the divorce, in order to forward the emperor's generous and patriotic views. From him she had received all she possessed: towards him she felt the strongest attachment; of this attachment she gave the greatest proof by consenting to cease to be his wife.—A procès verbal was then drawn up, which was signed by the kings, queens, princes, and princesses present, as well as by the emperor and empress (*p*).

On the 23rd of January, 1810, the fourth session of the fourth

(*o*) The cessions which Austria made may be considered under three heads:—first, those to the sovereigns forming the Rhenish league generally; secondly, those to Bonaparte; and thirdly, those to the king of Saxony. To the king of Bavaria, as one of the sovereigns of the Rhenish league, Austria ceded Salzburg, and a portion of territory extending along the banks of the Danube, from Passau to the vicinity of Lintz. To France she gave up Fiume and Trieste, and the whole of the country to the south of the Save, till that river enters Bosnia. The king of Saxony obtained a few villages in Bohemia; and in Poland, the whole of Western Gallicia, from the frontiers of Silesia to the Bog, together with the city of Cracow, and a district round it in Eastern Gallicia. Russia obtained so much of the territory of this latter province, as should contain four hundred thousand souls. With respect to external politics, the emperor Francis agreed to acknowledge Joseph Bonaparte king of Spain. But the most mortifying and humiliating condition is that by which the Austrian monarch gave up the inhabitants of the Tyrol, with a provision, indeed, that Bonaparte shall procure for them a complete and full pardon.

(*p*) We insert the following, because it establishes the right of Dissenters in a case which some of the established clergy had thought fit to dispute: on the 11th of December, a cause concerning the burial of a child, was heard in the Court of Arches, Doctors' Commons, in which the rev. Mr. Kempe was plaintiff, and the rev. Mr. Wicks defendant. Mr. Kempe is a minister of the Calvinistic Independent persuasion, and Mr.

fourth parliament of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, was opened by commission. The speech which was read by the lord chancellor, adverted to the affairs of the continent, the expedition to the Scheldt, and to the state of affairs with respect to America.

On the motion for an address to his majesty, as usual on the opening of the session, the earl of St. Vincent said, he had intended never to open his lips again in that house; but he could not sit silent after the disasters and failures which had recently overwhelmed the country; disasters and failures which were solely attributable to the ignorance and incapacity of ministers. Of those ministers, who, on a former occasion, fired guns, rang bells, and trumpeted forth shouts of joy, as if for a great triumph, when that triumph turned out to be the disastrous convention of Cintra; and who now, in his majesty's speech, had converted a disaster into another triumph, talking of the glorious victory of Talavera, a victory which to us had all the consequences of defeat; the enemy taking prisoners, whilst we took none; taking also our hospital with our sick and wounded, and our own troops finally obliged to retreat. He did not mean to condemn the conduct of the officers employed in Spain or in Walcheren; he believed that they did their duty; the disasters and failures in both instances were to be attributed to ministers. In the case of Walcheren, the expedition was ill planned, ill advised, and the object of it impracticable.

On the 28th, the earl of Liverpool moved the thanks of the house of lords to lord Wellington, and the army under his command, for the bravery and valour by which they obtained the *victory* at Talavera; which was carried.

The 29th, Mr. Perceval moved in the house of commons a vote of thanks to lord Gambier; which, after a considerable debate, was carried, but not unanimously.

On the 31st, Mr. Banks made a motion on the subject of reversionary grants, and concluded by moving, "That leave be given to bring in a bill, to render perpetual the act for preventing the grant of offices in reversion." The motion was carried unanimously.

The 19th of February, on the motion of Mr. Yorke, the printer of a hand-bill for the Westminster Forum (Debating Society), was ordered to attend at the bar, to answer for a breach of privilege, in announcing the following comparative question: "Which is the most deserving the censure of the public—Mr. Yorke's enforcement of the standing order of the house to exclude strangers from the enquiry into the Walcheren expedition, or Mr. Windham's late attack on the liberty of the press?" The next day, J. Dean being called to the bar, acknowledged himself the printer, and Mr. John Gale Jones, the author of the Westminster Forum hand-bill, when the latter was ordered into the custody of the serjeant at arms.

On the 21st, Mr. Yorke moved the order of the day, and Mr. John Gale Jones was called in; and being addressed by the speaker, and shewn the libel complained of, was asked what he had to say in his behalf. Mr. Jones readily acknowledged himself to be the author of the paper in question, expressed regret that the printer should have felt any inconvenience upon his account, declared that he had no intention of making any innovations upon the rights and privileges of that assembly, apologized for having inadvertently given cause of offence, and threw himself upon the compassionate indulgence of that house. He then retired. Mr. Yorke, after declaring that he was not actuated by any personal motives, which was warmly cheered from all parts of the house, moved that J. G. Jones be committed to Newgate. A petition from Mr. Dean having been subsequently presented, acknowledging his offence, and praying the clemency of the house, he was brought to the bar, reprimanded, and discharged without paying any fees.

On the 12th of March, sir Francis Burdett, in a lengthened speech, made a motion respecting the committal of John Gale Jones. The tendency of the honourable baronet's arguments went to prove, that, though the house had the power of committing its own members, it had not the like power over others; that this assumption of authority was of very recent date; that it trenched upon the liberty of the subject as provided for by Magna Charta and the Bill of Rights, inasmuch as the house took upon itself to be the complainant, judge, jury, and executive authority, all united in one; and that, contrary to the custom of all other tribunals, it took two steps at once, and jumped directly upon its alarming conclusion, in finding the accused guilty. He concluded by moving the discharge of Mr. John Gale Jones.

Mr. Sheridan differed from the honourable mover, as to the privileges possessed by that house; but regretted that Mr. Jones should be made the unavailing martyr to doctrines which he never propagated, nor perhaps ever entertained; for he had never said with the honourable baronet, that the house had no jurisdiction over any except its own members. He concluded by moving as an amendment, "That Mr. J. G. Jones, having been now imprisoned since the 21st of February, and having expressed his contrition at the time for the offence, be now discharged."

The chancellor of the exchequer opposed the original motion, because he was certain, that the house had the power to punish all offences which tended to bring it into contempt; and he should oppose the amendment, because there was no instance of an individual having been discharged out of custody unless he condescended in person to petition.

Some farther discussion ensued, after which the amendment was negatived without a division; and the house having divided upon the original motion, there appeared for it fourteen, against it one hundred and thirty-nine.

On the 27th, Mr. Lethbridge laid on the table a paper which sir Francis Burdett had admitted to have been written and published by his authority; stating, that he had marked the passages which justified the charge he had preferred. The clerk, being directed by the speaker, read the whole of sir F. Burdett's letter, together with the report of his speech respecting the case of Mr. J. Gale Jones, as published in Cobbett's Register. The speaker then called upon the honourable baronet to answer the complaint alledged against him.

Sir Francis declared, that he was perfectly willing to leave the matter to the consideration of the house, and to abide the consequences of his conduct. He had nothing to urge, he said, in the shape of defence, for he knew not in what he had offended. Until that moment the honourable gentleman (Mr. Lethbridge) had not furnished the house with any explanation of the ground of his complaint—of what he even deemed offensive; and he had not yet explained why he considered the passages alluded to involved a breach of the privileges of the house. He had no intention of violating their privileges; and as to the doctrines contained in the publication referred to, he conceived those doctrines to be perfectly constitutional. He had stated the reasons why he thought so; and, until those reasons were answered, he should think it unnecessary to offer any thing more. The honourable baronet, upon an intimation from the speaker, then withdrew, amidst loud cries from many of the members of No! no!

Mr. Lethbridge then read his resolutions:—the first was, that the publication which had been read to the house from Cobbett's Register of the 24th instant, was a libellous and scandalous paper, reflecting upon the just rights and privileges of that house; the second resolution was, that sir Francis Burdett, having admitted that he was the author of the paper alluded to, was guilty of a gross breach of the privileges of that house. Upon the first resolution being again read, Mr. Ponsonby moved that the debate be adjourned till this day se'nnight; to which Mr. Perceval proposed as an amendment, that the debate be adjourned till to-morrow; which was carried by a majority of fifty. This, however, was afterwards rescinded, and the original motion was adopted.

On the 5th of April, the adjourned debate on Mr. Lethbridge's motion was resumed, when the resolution originally proposed by that gentleman, deeming sir F. Bur-

Mr. Wicks a rector of a parish in Somersetshire. The latter had refused to bury the corpse of a child belonging to two parishioners, on the ground of its having been baptized by a dissenting minister. It was contended, on the part of the rev. Mr. Wicks, that the administering of this sacrament must be performed by a lawful minister of the established church of England, otherwise such baptism was to be considered null and void, both by the ancient and modern rubrics, canon law, and various other authorities, quoted by the learned civilians on the subject. Sir John Nicholl, after hearing the counsel on behalf of the promoter of the suit, was of opinion (after entering at considerable length into the various authorities upon the point in question,) that the rev. Mr. Wicks had mistaken the law, and that it was his duty to have performed the ceremony; at the same time recommending, as this suit was not brought by Mr. Kempe through any vindictive spirit, but only for the purpose of determining the right, and setting the question at rest, that he would be satisfied with correcting the error, and establishing the right, without proceeding any further in the cause.

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dett's letter to his constituents a libel, &c. was read. A debate of an immoderate length took place, which our limits will not permit us to insert, since it continued till seven o'clock in the morning of the next day, when, upon the motion of sir R. Salusbury, that sir F. Burdett be committed to the Tower, strangers were excluded from the gallery. To this motion, an amendment was proposed by Mr. Adam, that the honourable baronet should be reprimanded in his place. The house then divided, when the numbers were,—for the amendment one hundred and fifty-two; for the original motion one hundred and eighty nine. Majority for sir F. Burdett's committal thirty-seven (*q*).

Long and vehement debates took place at different times on the subject of sir F. Burdett's committal, and his conduct previous to his apprehension; and on the 13th, the speaker stated, that he had received a notice, dated the 9th instant, from Mr. Ellis, sir F. Burdett's attorney, of the baronet's intention to bring his action of trespass against Charles Abbot, Esq. for having ordered an unlawful and forcible entry into his house, and illegally imprisoning him in a certain prison called the Tower. The letter was ordered to be entered on the Journals.

Lord Cochrane, on the 17th, presented the petition and remonstrance of the electors of Westminster, in which they said, "We are convinced, that no one ought to be the prosecutor, juror, judge, or executioner, in his own cause; much less to assume, accumulate, and exercise all those offices in his own person." The petition concluded with, "We, therefore, most earnestly call upon your honourable house, to restore to us our representative, and, according to the notice he has given, to take the state of the representation of the people into your consideration; a reform in which is, in our opinion, the only means of preserving the country from military despotism." His lordship then moved, that it be laid upon the table.

In the mean time, vehement debates took place on the subject of the fatal expedition to Walcheren, in which we lost so many thousands of brave men, expended an immense quantity of treasure, and effected—nothing.

The chancellor of the exchequer, on the 30th of April, brought down a message from his majesty, stating, that in consequence of the occupation of the territories of the duke of Brunswick by the French armies, since 1806, his serene highness the present duke of Brunswick Wolfenbuttle, his majesty's nephew, has been compelled to seek an asylum in his majesty's dominions. His majesty therefore recommends it to this house, to consider of the means of enabling him to make such provision for the establishment of his serene highness, as may be suitable to the rank and misfortunes of a prince so nearly allied to his majesty's throne, and for whom his majesty's feelings are so strongly interested.

Accordingly, on the 4th of May, the house having gone into a committee on the king's message, the chancellor of the exchequer proposed a vote of seven thousand pounds a year to the duke of Brunswick, payable out of the consolidated fund; which, after a few observations, was agreed to.

Since the committal of Mr. J. G. Jones to Newgate, and sir F. Burdett to the Tower, petitions were sent to the house of commons, from various counties and towns in different parts of the kingdom, praying the release of those gentlemen; some of them were ordered to lie on the table, but others of them were rejected.

On the 21st of June, the commissioners, consisting of the archbishop of Canterbury, the lord chancellor, &c. having taken their seats in the house of lords, the speaker, attended by several members of the house of commons, appeared at the bar, when the lord chancellor, in the name of his majesty, delivered a speech, in which he said, "His majesty has commanded us to acquaint you, that, as the public business is now concluded, he thinks it proper to put an end to the present session of parliament."

We shall now advert to the affairs of the continent. The kingdom of Holland was pitched upon as necessary to be added to the French empire; for, the Exposé expressly says, "Holland is, in fact, only a part of France. A definition of that country may be given, by saying, that it is a continuation of the Rhine, the Meuse, and the Scheldt—that is to say, of the great arteries of the French empire."

On the 27th of February, the senate met at Paris, when the prince arch-chancellor, who presided on the occasion, read the following message from the emperor:—"Senators, We have dispatched to Vienna, as our ambassador extraordinary, our cousin the prince of Neufchatel, to solicit the hand of the arch-duchess Maria Louisa, daughter of the emperor of Austria. We have given orders to our minister of foreign relations to lay before you the articles of the treaty of marriage between us and the arch-duchess Maria Louisa, which has been concluded, signed, and ratified. We have been desirous of eminently contributing to the happiness of the present generation. The enemies of the continent have founded their prosperity upon its dissensions and divisions. They can no longer nourish war, by imputing to us projects incompatible with the ties and duties of affinity, which we have just contracted with the imperial house reigning in Austria. The brilliant qualities which distinguish the arch-duchess Maria Louisa, have acquired her the love of the people of Austria. They have fixed our regards. Our people will love this princess from their love for us, until, being witnesses of all the virtues which have given her so high a place in our thoughts, they shall love her for herself.—Given at our palace of the Thuilleries, the 27th of February, 1810.

(Signed) "NAPOLEON."

After the message was read, the duke de Cadore communicated to the senate the articles of the marriage treaty, which are in the usual form. It is reported, that the articles of the treaty are, with regard to portion, dowry, and jewels, in all respects the same as those in the marriage treaties in preceding reigns between the kings and dauphins of France, and the princesses of Austria. The value of the jewels and the nuptial ornaments which Napoleon had destined for his bride, is estimated at eighteen millions of francs.

The marriage was celebrated at Vienna, on the 11th of March, at six in the evening, and the empress set off on the 13th on her way to Paris, where the ceremony took place on the 1st of April. The train of the empress Louisa was supported by four queens, and after the marriage the royal pair set off for St. Cloud. Three days after they received the congratulations of the senate. Bonaparte's answer was short and general; and the empress contrary to the practice of her predecessors, made no reply.

(*q*) Thus the house of commons, at seven o'clock in the morning of the 6th of April, adjudged that sir Francis Burdett, bart. who had admitted that a letter signed Francis Burdett, and a further part of a paper, intituled, 'Argument,' in Cobbet's Weekly Register, of March 24, 1810, was printed by his authority (which letter and argument the house had resolved to be a libellous and scandalous paper, reflecting on the just rights and privileges of the house), had been thereby guilty of a breach of the privileges of the house; and thereupon ordered that he be for his said offence committed to his majesty's Tower of London. Mr. John Burdett, brother to sir Francis (who had remained in the vicinity of the house throughout the night) proceeded to Wimbledon to apprize his brother of the result of the debate. Sir Francis arrived in town about one o'clock, when he received a note from the serjeant at arms, informing him of the order of the house, and requesting to know when he should wait upon him with the speaker's warrant, for the purpose of accompanying him to the Tower. Sir Francis, however, had not been many minutes at his house, when Mr. Colman entered; and he was informed, that the honourable baronet would be at leisure to speak with him at twelve o'clock on Saturday. Upon this Mr. Colman departed; but about six o'clock in the evening, he again called, and stating to sir Francis that he had the speaker's order to execute the warrant forthwith, the baronet replied that he would not go with him. Mr. Colman urged the *authority* of his warrant, and that he was entitled, if he thought proper, to call in aid for its enforcement. Sir Francis denied the authority of such an instrument, alleging his right to call in aid, if he thought proper, to resist its execution, and expressed his resolution to repel force by force. Sir Francis then wrote a letter to the speaker, assigning his reasons for refusing to submit to his warrant; and the serjeant and messengers, not thinking it prudent to resort to force, went away; and the baronet remained at home during the rest of the day; in the course of which he was visited by Mr. Whitbread, colonel Wardle, lord Folkstone, the earl of Thanet, and other gentlemen. A great number of persons assembled during the day in front of sir Francis's house in Piccadilly, shouting "Burdett for ever!" The people began to get disorderly, and attacked the houses of several persons whom they conceived inimical to the principles of sir Francis; the riot act was read; and the military were called out. At length, on Monday the 9th, the officers entered the house by forcing the kitchen window, in front; and sir Francis was taken and conveyed to the Tower in a glass coach, accompanied by his brother, the serjeant at arms, and Mr. Wright, under a strong guard, both civil and military. He arrived at the Tower about twelve o'clock. Upon the return of the troops from the Tower, the mud and stones from the populace began to play on them in showers.—Opposite the Trinity House they could endure the assault no longer, but charged the multitude sword in hand. The firing of the carbines became now pretty general. The contest continued all the way up Fenchurch Street, where a shot entering the shop of Mr. Goodeve, wounded Mr. Ebral, a corn-meter, who since died. Coroners' inquests sat on him and on the body of James Pledge, another person who had been shot in Piccadilly: they then returned verdicts of *Wilful Murder* against Life Guardsmen unknown. Another inquest sat on Thomas Bryant, who was said to have been active in attacking the troops. A verdict of *Justifiable Homicide* was returned. No other lives, it is believed, were lost, though many persons were wounded.

By

By this marriage, the emperor Napoleon is related to almost all the royal families in Europe. Besides being son-in-law to the emperor of Austria, and nephew to the archduke Charles, he is great nephew to the queen of Naples, first cousin to Ferdinand the Seventh, and to the prince regent of Portugal; he is also nephew to the daughter of Louis the Sixteenth, the duchess of Angoulême.

By a decree of the senate, which adopted a *senatus consultum* at Paris, Rome was united to the French empire.

In Spain the French made great progress. It appears, that the line of defence formed by the Spaniards on the Sierra Morena, was suddenly forced by the French, who by their manœuvres completely deceived the Spaniards, and even in some instances debouched in the rear of their mines and entrenchments, by which their progress was expected to have been opposed. In these operations the French are stated to have taken six thousand prisoners, including two generals, twenty-five pieces of cannon, eight standards, and several magazines, and to have effected the total dispersion of the remains of the Spanish army which had rallied after the defeat of Ocana. The letter containing this intelligence was dated the 22nd of January, from Baylen. On the 29th, the French were within two leagues of Seville, whence the people were flying in all directions. Cadiz was crowded with refugees. On the 31st, eleven thousand men of the duke of Albuquerque's army entered the isle of Leon. A strong detachment of the French cavalry attempted to surprize Alcala la Real, to which place the Spanish park of artillery had been removed; but it failed. In consequence of the advanced position of the enemy, the Spanish fleet at Cadiz was moved to the outer harbour, and anchored on the outside of the English squadron.

The people of Cadiz became greatly enraged at the members of the late junta, some of whom had been publicly denounced as traitors. Several of them who had arrived were personally assailed by the populace, and had nearly fallen victims to the infuriated resentment of the people. General Venegas was also suspected of treason; and though he had publicly appealed for protection, it was with the utmost difficulty he escaped with his life.

Marshal Augereau sent to the minister of war an account of a battle fought in the plains of Vech, between the division of general Souham and the Spanish army of Catalonia, commanded by general O'Donnell; in which the latter were defeated with the loss of six thousand three hundred men, and retreated to Tarragona. The Spaniards were the assailants, and it is admitted that the attack was made with great fury. General Souham was wounded.

The French general Bonnet, in his report from Oviedo, declares, that the patriots were in such superior force, that they meditated an attack upon him; which he anticipated, by attacking them on the 14th: that the battle was renewed on the 15th, and that it ended in the defeat of the Spaniards, who were driven to the frontiers of Gallicia.

The whole of the Spanish men of war at Carthagena, consisting of the San Carlos and San Fernando, of one hundred and thirty guns; the Guerrero and San Pueblo, seventy-fours, and the Soledad frigate, were, through the exertions of colonel Roche and sir S. Hood, removed to Gibraltar and Mahon.

The French opened a new work in the neighbourhood of Matagorda, without producing the effect apprehended upon Cadiz. The distance across the channel of the Puntals is only one thousand three hundred and thirty yards; but the nearest French battery to the front bastion of Cadiz, was three thousand eight hundred and eighty-eight yards removed from it, and the two next batteries were four thousand one hundred and eighteen, and five thousand two hundred and three yards distant.

Joseph Bonaparte had a very narrow escape in his journey from Grenada to Madrid. A number of armed peasants in order to intercept him, concealed themselves in one of the sinuosities of the Sierra Morena: on a sudden they made their appearance, and discharged several rounds. Some of the balls pierced the carriage, and killed two of his attendants; but he escaped.

Marshal Augereau was recalled from the command of the army in Catalonia, and succeeded by Macdonald; and Barcelona was supplied with provisions, during the absence of the British squadron in a gale of wind.

Two prison-ships were driven on shore on that side of the bay of Cadiz occupied by the French. The prisoners on board one of them, amounting to several hundreds, escaped on shore. The other prison-ship being in imminent danger, as a heavy sea was breaking over her, assistance was sent to her from the British squadron. Instead, however, of gratefully acknowledging and accepting these offices of humanity, the Frenchmen, who had by this time obtained complete possession of the vessel, fired upon the English boats, killed nineteen of the crews, and wounded several. A heavy fire was, in consequence, opened on the prison-ship, by which nearly two hundred of the refractory were killed and wounded. A Spanish ship of the line, with a considerable quantity of dollars on board, also ran ashore about the same time; the disaster was ascribed rather to treachery than accident or negligence. The vessel was, however, fortunately got off by the exertions of the British seamen.

The British force in Cadiz at the beginning of June, amounted to seven thousand men, the Portuguese to fifteen hundred, and the Spaniards to fifteen thousand, making in the whole twenty-three thousand five hundred.

By a decree dated Fontainbleau, October 19, 1810, all prohibited articles of English manufacture at that time in France, or that might after that period be brought into it, were ordered to be burned. A similar order was applied to Holland, the duchy of Berg, the Hanse Towns, and all the country between the Maine and the sea. By this decree, all British merchandize introduced into the kingdoms of Italy or Naples, the Illyrian provinces, the parts of Spain occupied by the French, and generally in all the places within the reach of the French troops was to be burned also. It likewise ordered that those who introduced them should be branded on the forehead, and imprisoned from three to ten years.

By a decree of the 12th of November, Napoleon united to the French empire the territory of the Valais, under the name of the Department of Simplon. The pretexts for this annexation were, that the Simplon, connecting France and Italy, had cost both treasuries eighteen millions of livres; that the Valais had not adhered to its engagements, and that it was necessary to put an end to the struggles for power among the population.

A convention was concluded between France and Austria; by the articles of which, the sequestrations upon the property of the partizans of either in the Austrian territories, or in those of the Rhenish Confederation, were done away, in order, as the preamble states, to efface all traces of the late war in Germany. In conformity with this arrangement, all the Austrian nobles having possessions in the states of the Rhenish Confederation, were requested to declare, within the first days of the year 1811, whether they would choose to remain in the service of the court of Vienna, or return to their possessions within the limits of the Confederation. In the first case they were required to sell such estates within the space of five years, or transfer them to some branch of their family who would be resident.

The Austrian monarchy, by the loss of the quicksilver mines of Istria, in consequence of the late war, and the lead mines of Bleyberg, the customs at Trieste, the salt works at Hallein, Saltzburgh, and Wicheza in Gallicia, with the customs of the ceded countries, sustained an annual deficiency in her revenues of forty millions of francs. It may likewise be added, that the sum total of the war contributions paid by Austria to France, amounted to eighty-five millions of francs, of which thirty millions were paid in cash, and the rest in bills of exchange, at five millions per month; the last payment of which was to take place in October, 1810.

The annexation of the Hanoverian territory to the kingdom of Westphalia, was definitively settled. A proclamation issued by king Jerome to his new subjects, was dated from Cassel, the 1st of March; and after stating that Napoleon had, by a convention concluded at Paris on the 14th of January, resigned all his rights and claims on that country to him, congratulates the Hanoverians on being relieved from the painful state of uncertainty in which they had hitherto lingered, adverts to their present misery and wretchedness—engages to protect them from all attacks of continental powers, and to secure them from the insults incident to a maritime war; and concludes with expressing a hope, that they will render themselves worthy of the brilliant prospect which this union opens to their view. The deputies of Hanover took the oath of allegiance to their new sovereign, on the part of the people, at Cassel, on the 14th of March. Hanover is to be divided into three departments, viz. those of the Aller,

of the Ilmenau, and of the Mouths of the Elbe and Weser (r).

In the Tyrol disturbances broke out in consequence of an attempt to enforce the conscription system among those brave people. A number of the inhabitants, to avoid this hateful measure, fled to the mountains, and relying upon their fastnesses, braved the military. Occasionally, they descended into the valleys, and interrupted by their incursions, the communication between the different districts. The presence of a large military therefore became necessary, to prevent the insurrection extending to the Pusterthal, the inhabitants of which were adverse to their country being incorporated with the Illyrian provinces.

In Spain the supreme junta issued an edict, ordaining that the armies should be augmented to one hundred thousand men; and that one hundred thousand lances, and one hundred thousand poignards should be manufactured and distributed among the provinces where they might be of use. The war in the Peninsula therefore assumed an unlooked for and flattering degree of promise.

The Spanish general Ballasteros, it appears by a dispatch from marquis Romana, had his head quarters on the 28th of March, in the neighbourhood of Ronquillo, from whence he reports that he had defeated the enemy at Santa Olalla, and dislodged them from all the strong posts in the neighbourhood. These positions are to the westward of the Sierra Morena, direct north of Seville, and nearly in the rear of the French troops in Andalusia.

The duke of Treviso for four successive days attacked Badajoz, but was repulsed with loss, and fell back towards Merida.

A plan was entered into at St. Andero, to expel the French from that town and neighbourhood, by a general rising of the inhabitants. The plot was partially executed on the 3rd of April, and about one hundred of the enemy killed in their quarters. The garrison, however, recovering from the alarm, attacked, and ultimately overpowered the inhabitants, vast numbers of whom were put to the sword, and about two hundred sent off under an escort to France.

By the dispatches which were received from sir John Stuart, dated Messina, April 24, it appears that the Greek island of St. Maura was captured by the British troops under brigadier-general Oswald, aided by a naval force under captain Eyre, of the Magnificent, after several smart and well contested actions with the French garrison, which amounted to sixteen hundred men, and the remains of which finally surrendered prisoners of war.

The French were successful in taking Ciudad Rodrigo, which, after a most obstinate defence, during a terrific and destructive fire of sixteen days, surrendered at discretion, as appears from the account given by his highness the Marshal Prince of Essling, in a report dated the 12th of July. The report says, "it is impossible to form an idea of the state to which Ciudad Rodrigo is reduced. Every thing is battered down and ruined, not so much as a single house standing entire." Upwards of two thousand men were killed, including the troops and inhabitants. The garrison, consisting of seven thousand men, laid down their arms in the arsenal on the entrance of the French troops. At this place the French took six stand of colours, one hundred and twenty-five excellent pieces of artillery, the greater part of them brass, two hundred thousand pounds of powder, twelve hundred thousand cartridges, and a considerable quantity of shot and artillery stores.

On the 29th of July, the French general count Serras attacked the fort of Senabria, which was defended by three thousand Spaniards. This post is important says the French account, because it commands the entrance into Portugal, and shuts up the communications with Gallicia. After a slight resistance the Spanish general abandoned the town, and the French found therein twenty pieces of artillery, and provisions for three thousand men for six months.

On the 15th of August, the prince of Essling caused the trenches to be opened before Almeida, when a false attack, directed against the north of the town, had drawn the attention of the besieged to that quarter. After a most obstinate defence, which continued till the 26th, the governor sent some officers to request a cessation of hostilities. Marshal Massena, prince of Essling, made known to them the terms of capitulation which he intended to offer, and several hours were employed in negociation; but as this did not answer the expectations of the French general, he ordered the fire to re-commence at eight in the evening, and three hours after the governor signed a capitulation, by which the garrison surrendered prisoners of war, and the Portuguese militia deposited their arms, and were permitted to return home. The French found on the batteries ninety-eight pieces of cannon, and seventeen requiring repair, three thousand rations of biscuit, one hundred thousand rations of salt meat, and a great quantity of other provisions.

On the 27th of September a battle was fought between the armies under marshal Massena (prince of Essling) and lord viscount Wellington in the position of Busaco in Portugal. This was a well contested action, which fortunately turned much to the advantage of the English forces under the command of his lordship: the French, it is said, left two thousand dead on the field of battle, and that the number of their wounded was immense. The English and Portuguese, according to the dispatch, had about two hundred and ten killed, and about nine hundred and fifty wounded.

In the East our arms were attended with success in the capture of Amboyna, one of the Molucca islands, by a squadron of British ships under captains Tucker, Montague, and Spencer, who, with one hundred and seventy-six troops and the seamen and marines of the Dover, Cornwallis, and Samarang, the whole force amounting only to four hundred and one men, including officers, proceeded up the harbour on the 9th of February, and made good their landing on the 15th, under the command of captain Court, of the India Company's coast artillery. The ships commenced the attack by cannonading the fort and surrounding batteries, which was continued for two hours and a half, though exposed to a heavy fire of red hot shot from the heights on the left of the town. In the mean time, the force on shore had stormed the battery of Wannatoo, notwithstanding the determined opposition of the enemy, who had two officers killed, and one dangerously wounded, and the guns were turned upon the enemy in their retreat. Captain Court then proceeded in the arduous undertaking along the heights to turn the enemy's position at Batter Gantong, which commanded the town of Amboyna. After a fatiguing march, ascending and descending hills over which there was no road, and many of them so extremely steep as to require the assistance of the busher for the men to get up and down by, they reached an eminence which effectually commanded the enemy, who retired immediately, and the battery was entered without opposition. In this state of things, a summons was sent to the governor on the morning of the 17th, and a capitulation was agreed to, by which the island was given up to the British on the 19th; the garrison to be sent to Java at the expence of the captors. The island was defended by one hundred and thirty Europeans and upwards of one thousand Javanese and Mandurese troops, exclusive of the crews of three vessels sunk in the inner harbour, amounting to two hundred and twenty men, aided by the Dutch inhabitants. The loss sustained by the British at Amboyna, and at the destruction of a Dutch fort at Poolo Combu, in the Celebes, was only five killed and nineteen wounded.

The English took seven vessels of war of various descriptions, forty-two government supply vessels of different descriptions, and three neutrals; in all fifty-two.—By another letter from captain Tucker, dated from Amboyna, March 1, it appears, that the valuable islands from Saparona, Harouka, and Nassau-Laut, as well as those of Bouro and Manippa, likewise surrendered to his majesty's forces.

His majesty's arms were also crowned with success in another expedition in the Indian seas, by which the island of Bonaparte (late Bourbon) was added to his dominions. The expedition consisted of the Boadicea, Neriade, Sirius, and Iphigenia, under the command of commodore Rowley, and a force of three thousand six hundred and fifty European and Indian troops, under lieutenant-colonel Keating. On the 7th of July, a partial landing was effected on the island, but, owing to the violence of the surf, the remainder of the force was not put on shore till the next day, when colonel Keating advanced to the attack of the capital (St. Denis). Every thing was in readiness, and the grand attack would have taken place in less than half an hour, when a suspension of arms was demanded by "a brave, though vanquished enemy," and thus, says the

(r) We may here remark, that the total loss of the empire of Austria, from 1804 to the peace of Vienna in 1809, amounts to three thousand one hundred and eighty-eight square leagues, and five millions nine hundred and seventy-eight thousand five hundred and thirty-six inhabitants.

colonel,

colonel, "in a few hours has this rich, extensive, and valuable colony, been added to his gracious majesty's dominions, with a population of upwards of one hundred thousand souls, and with a loss on our part comparatively trifling." By the capitulation, the French troops (fifteen hundred) were allowed the honours of war; they were to be sent to the Cape of Good Hope; and the laws, customs, and religion of the inhabitants, as well as their private property, was to be insured to them. The loss of the British consisted of eighteen men killed, and seventy-nine wounded.

The parliament met, pursuant to adjournment, on the 1st of November; when the lord Chancellor in a very impressive manner observed, that their lordships were met together pursuant to regular notification for the first of November, which stated, that his majesty would appoint a commission in the usual manner. But it was with the deepest concern and regret that he found himself under the necessity of informing their lordships, that such was at prerent the state of the personal indisposition of his majesty, that he had not thought it his duty under the circumstances to proffer to his sovereign a commission to receive a sign manual. This personal indisposition of his majesty was created by the pressure of that domestic affliction (in which every noble lord must sympathize) upon his majesty's paternal feelings (*s*). But he was happy to say, that there were strong hopes of his majesty's recovery from that indisposition. His lordship then stated, that he had not felt himself authorized to put the great seal to the commission without the sign manual, and must therefore leave it to their wisdom to adopt such measures as the importance of the occasion required.

The earl of Liverpool, after dwelling briefly on the lamented situation of the health of his majesty, caused, as it had been truly stated by the noble lord on the woolsack, by a serious and severe domestic calamity, stated, that there was every reason to hope, from the opinions of the physicians who attended the royal person, for a speedy recovery from the illness under which his majesty at present suffered. Upon a view of the circumstances, his lordship felt it to be his duty, and he believed he felt it in common with the house, to move that their lordships do adjourn for a fortnight.

Lord Holland would have preferred an adjournment *de die in diem;* but, the present motion being founded on a parliamentary precedent, he would not oppose it. Carried *nem. dis.*

In the commons, the same day, the speaker having stated the circumstances under which they met, and that notwithstanding the royal proclamation for the further prorogation of parliament, they were not to expect any message from the commissioners, declared that he felt it his duty to take the chair, in order that the house might adjourn itself; which was accordingly agreed to.

On the 15th of November, the parliament again assembled, when the lord chancellor stated, in the house of lords, that he had written letters to all the lords who were members, desiring their attendance that day; and that some few, whose names he read, had excused themselves on various grounds. The house having filled, his lordship advanced to the table, and, after premising as his reason for addressing them from that place instead of the woolsack, that he intended to conclude with a motion, entered into a statement similar to that made on the 1st instant, as to the cause of his majesty's illness. He then stated, that the physicians had confident hope of his majesty's recovery, and did not conceive, that there was any necessity for adopting any proceeding to supply the defect of the royal authority, he should conclude by moving an adjournment till this day fortnight; which was carried without a dissenting voice.

In the commons, the same day, the speaker took the chair; and after similar observations to those made in the house of lords, the house adjourned for a fortnight.

On the 29th of November, in the house of lords, earl Camden presented the report of the privy council, containing the examination of the physicians, Drs. Reynolds, Heberden, Willis, and sir H. Halford; who all stated that his majesty was incapable of business; but that they entertained the most confident hopes of his recovery, though they could not state at what period he might become convalescent.

The earl of Liverpool, after a short speech, moved, that the house do adjourn till Thursday, the 13th of December; which, after some debate, was carried.

In the commons, the same day, Mr. secretary Ryder presented the report of the physicians, as taken before the privy council; when the question being put, it was ordered to be laid on the table.—The report having been read, the chancellor of the Exchequer moved, that the house do adjourn, at its rising, for fourteen days; which was agreed to.

On the 13th of December, the parliament met again, when, in the house of lords, the earl of Liverpool stated, that, unfortunately, there was not that advance in his majesty's recovery which could warrant him in proposing another adjournment. He therefore moved, "That a select committee be appointed to examine the physicians who have attended his majesty during his illness, respecting the state of his majesty's health, and to report such examination to the house." The motion was carried unanimously; and the committee to consist of twenty-one lords.

In the commons, the same day, the chancellor of the Exchequer proposed the appointment of a select committee, of twenty-one members, to examine the physicians; and that the house should adjourn to the 17th, when it would receive the report. The motion was unanimously agreed to.

On December 17, Mr. Dundas brought up the report of the committee appointed to examine his majesty's physicians.

The chancellor of the Exchequer moved, "That the house should be called over on the 20th, and that it should form itself into a committee on the state of the nation."

Mr. Ponsonby declared, that he should strenuously oppose the proceeding by way of bill, as tending to degrade the kingly office.

Mr. Sheridan, after warm encomiums on the letter written by the prince of Wales in 1788, recommended the precedent of the Irish parliament, which voted an address to the heir apparent, praying that he would be pleased to take upon him the regency, &c. with such limitations as parliament might deem proper.

In the house of lords on the 19th, lord Grenville said, that with respect to the course to be pursued, it was with pain he found himself unable to concur with those noble friends with whom he generally acted. After a lapse of twenty years, and giving the question the most attentive consideration, it was the honest conviction of his mind, that the defect of the royal authority could be supplied only by legislative provision, and not by address. This he felt himself bound to declare as a peer of parliament faithfully discharging his duty; a duty which, he regretted, must cost him the pain of disagreeing with his noble friends.

The earl of Lauderdale combated the chief position of lord Grenville, and concluded by recommending an address to the prince of Wales.

(*s*) Her royal highness the princess Amelia departed this life, at Windsor, on the 2nd of November, after a long and painful illness. Her royal highness was born August 7, 1783, and was from early youth of a tender and delicate constitution, being frequently attacked with severe indispositions. Her disorder began to discover alarming symptoms about 1808. About a month before her death she was attacked with St. Anthony's fire, which brought on a relapse, and an extreme state of debility, under which she displayed the noblest Christian faith and fortitude during weeks of prolonged agony, uncheered by any ray of hope. For the last few days her strength had been rapidly wearing away, and she died without the least struggle or convulsion. She wished to present her royal father with a token of her filial duty and affection, before her demise; and she had the satisfaction of placing a ring on his finger, which was made by her directions for the express purpose, containing a small lock of her hair, inclosed in a crystal tablet, set round with a few sparks of diamonds. The effect of that present on his majesty's heart, the public have to deplore at this hour, (June 1813.) In consequence of a delay in sending an official notice of her royal highness's death to the dean of St. Paul's, caused by the death of the lord chamberlain, (lord Dartmouth,) the custom of tolling the great bell at St. Paul's did not take place till Sunday afternoon, November 4, immediately after a grand funeral anthem had been sung. The remains of her royal highness were, on the night of November 14, privately interred in St. George's Chapel, Windsor. The following is the inscription, (issued from the Herald's Office,) engraved on the plate of the coffin:

"Depositum
Illustrissimæ Principissæ Ameliæ,
Filiæ sextæ et Natu Minimæ
Augustissimi et potentissimi Georgii Tertii,
Dei Gratia Britanniarum Regis,
Fidei Defensoris, &c.
Obiit IIda Die Novembris,
Anno Domini MDCCCX,
Ætatis suæ XXVIII."

The

The next day, earl Camden presented the report of the committee appointed to examine the physicians (*t*).

On the motion of the earl of Liverpool, "That a committee be appointed to search for precedents on occasions similar to the present," it was carried.

In the commons, the same day, the house having resolved itself into a committee on the state of the nation, Mr. Lushington in the chair, the chancellor of the Exchequer, in a preliminary speech, submitted the three following propositions: 1. That it is the opinion of this house, "That his majesty is prevented by indisposition from coming to his parliament, and from attending to public business; and that the personal exercise of the royal authority is thereby for the present interrupted."—2. That it is the opinion of this house, "That it is the right and duty of the lords spiritual and temporal and commons of Great Britain now assembled, and lawfully, and freely, representing all the estates of the people of this realm, to provide the means of supplying the defect of the personal exercise of the royal authority, arising from his majesty's late indisposition, in such a manner as the exigency of the case may appear to require."—3. "That for this purpose, and for the maintaining entire the constitutional authority of the king, it is necessary that the lords spiritual and temporal and commons of Great Britain should determine on the means whereby the royal assent may be given in parliament to such bill as may be passed the two houses of parliament respecting the exercise of the powers and authorities of the crown, in the name and on the behalf of the king, during the continuance of his majesty's indisposition." The honourable gentleman then proceeded to state, that he should propose that his royal highness the prince of Wales should be appointed to exercise the office of regent, in the name and on the behalf of his majesty, during the continuance of the king's indisposition: That, generally, all the powers of the government should be committed to his hands: That to her majesty the queen should be entrusted the care and guardianship of the king's person: That due provisions should be made to notify the king's recovery, and chalk out the course of proceedings by which his majesty might be enabled to re-assume his functions. These three provisions should have no limit in point of time, except what should arise from the duration of the king's indisposition. Taking all the circumstances connected with the king's indisposition into consideration, a limit should be placed on the prerogatives of the crown, when in the hands of the regent, for a twelvemonth; taking care that the limitation should expire during the sitting of parliament, and at least six weeks after it was convened. It would then be open for parliament to re-consider the subject; or, if they did not think that duty necessary, the termination of the restriction would have the advantage of having occurred under the eye and superintendence of the legislature. Upon these grounds, he thought that there should be a suspension for the same period of the power of granting any rank or dignity in the peerage, with certain exceptions. Also, that all pensions and offices granted should continue only during the continuance of the regent in office, unless subsequently approved and confirmed by his majesty: and, lastly, that to her majesty the queen, with the care of his royal person, should be committed the appointment to the several offices connected with his majesty's household, subject to the re-consideration of parliament. He had the authority of the late Dr. Willis for stating, that the shortest period, in which recovery from such disorders could be expected, was six weeks; that the average period was five or six months; and that from twelve months to twelve months and a half was the extreme point at which, if the most encouraging symptoms of recovery did not present themselves, the prospect became almost hopeless. The honourable gentleman then concluded by moving the first resolution, which was carried. On the second a warm discussion took place, in which sir F. Burdett, Messrs. Ponsonby, Canning, Adam, Horner, Croker, Whitbread, lords Castlereagh, Temple, and Jocelyn, and the attorney-general and solicitor-general participated.

The division being at length loudly called for, the second and third resolutions were carried by two hundred and sixty-nine to one hundred and fifty-seven. Adjourned.

The day following, December 21, a considerable discussion took place, when the house divided on the second resolution—ayes ninety-eight, noes fifteen. The third resolution was subsequently carried.

On the 27th of December, in the house of lords, the earl of Carlisle, on the lord chancellor's taking the woolsack, commented on the delay in submitting the subject of the sovereign's indisposition to parliament, and providing for the defect in the kingly office. The different view given by the bulletins of his majesty's health, from those held out by ministers, he could not suffer to pass without remark—their object was procrastination, and they had succeeded. He should not make any specific motion on the subject; but should suggest the propriety of a re-examination of the physicians, particularly on account of the contents of recent bulletins.

The house having resolved itself into a committee on the state of the nation, the earl of Liverpool, after exculpating himself, and his colleagues from all blame for delay, or for any proposals they made to parliament, declared it was impossible to avoid great difficulties with respect to any arrangements; he therefore moved, that their lordships do agree to the resolutions communicated by the other house.

The first resolution was then put and carried. On the second and third, a considerable debate arose, but they were subsequently carried.

On the 31st of December, in the house of commons, a conference took place with the lords, who notified their agreement to the resolutions which were communicated in a conference on the 22d.

The house having resolved itself into a committee on the state of the nation, the chancellor of the Exchequer said, that it was the intention of his majesty's servants to propose the transferrence of the executive authority to his royal highness the prince of Wales, accompanied with certain specified exceptions, which are, however, only to be the operative for a limited time. These exceptions extend to the granting of peerages, pensions, and places for life, for the period of twelve months. The care of his majesty's person to be entrusted to the queen, assisted by a council; and that her majesty have power to remove from, or nominate persons, to his majesty's household. On the question being put, this proposition was agreed to.

Although we have closed our account of the parliamentary history for the year 1810, it is proper to continue it to the appointment of the regent, that the whole of the transactions in the houses of lords and commons relative to that important business may be seen at one view. Accordingly, in the house of commons, on the 1st of January, 1811, the house having resolved itself into a committee, Mr. Perceval, after dwelling upon the shock his majesty's feelings would sustain upon recovery, if he found any material alteration in his household, declared, that, if a separate establishment for the regent was thought necessary, the expence would not exceed fifteen thousand pounds. He then submitted the following resolution: "That it appears to this committee, that the care of his majesty's royal person, during the continuance of his majesty's illness, should be committed to the queen's most excellent majesty; and that her majesty should have power to remove from, and to nominate and appoint such persons as she shall think proper, to the several offices in his majesty's household, and to dispose, order, and manage, all other matters and things relating to the care of his majesty's royal person, during the time aforesaid; and that, for the better enabling her majesty to discharge this important trust, it is also expedient that a council should be appointed, to advise and assist her majesty in the several matters aforesaid, and with power from time to time, as they may see cause, to examine upon oath the physicians and others attending his majesty's person, touching the state of his majesty's health, and all matters relative thereto."

(*t*) It appears, by the report of the lords' committee, that the king's illness began in a gentle form on the 3d of October; that it continued unabated till the 25th, when his majesty himself first consulted sir H. Halford on the propriety of taking medicine; on the 28th, he became incapable of transacting business. In the first week of November, his disorder was at the highest pitch to which it had ever yet reached. The last of the royal family that saw him was the queen; and he was twice visited by the lord chancellor, and once by the chancellor of the exchequer. All the physicians were of opinion that his majesty would recover, and be capable of transacting business: this opinion they founded on the soundness of his majesty's constitution, preserved by his temperate habits of life; but they declined limiting his recovery to any period. Dr. Willis made a curious distinction between mental derangements and insanity, and thought his majesty's disorder ought to be placed between them.—The report of the committee appointed by the house of commons was nearly to the same purport.

Lord

Lord Gower dissented, and proposed, as an amendment, that that part of the motion from the words "queen's most excellent majesty" should be omitted, and that there be inserted in its place, "together with such direction of his household as may be suitable for the care of his majesty's royal person, and the maintenance of the royal dignity." An animated discussion ensued; when the house divided, ayes two hundred and twenty-six, noes two hundred and thirteen—majority against ministers thirteen.

The next day, January 2, the report of the committee on the state of the nation was presented by Mr. Lushington. The resolutions being read, the question was put, that the report be received; when a long and animated discussion arose. Lord Porchester proposed, as an amendment to the first resolution, that the concluding words—"subject to such limitations and exceptions as shall hereafter be provided," be left out; but no division took place on it: and the chancellor of the exchequer having moved an amendment to the same resolution, which went to restore it to its original state, it was lost by a majority of three.

In the house of lords, January 4, in a committee on the state of the nation, the earl of Liverpool moved the reading of the resolutions which had been brought up from the commons. He said, that great maxim of the constitution, "the king can do no wrong," ought always to be kept in view; and applying it to the prince of Wales, should he, in the capacity of regent, become possessed of regal power, care should be taken that he should be made incapable of doing wrong. His lordship, after dwelling upon the resolutions, declared that the first four had his perfect concurrence, but it would be necessary to amend the fifth. He concluded by moving the question upon the first resolution. To this the marquis of Lansdowne objected, and moved, that all that part of the first resolution, connected with and following the words "subject to such limitations and restrictions, as shall be provided," &c. be omitted.

A division taking place on the marquis of Lansdowne's amendment to the first resolution, there appeared for it one hundred and five, against it one hundred and two; majority against ministers three.

The earl of Liverpool then proposed an amendment to the second resolution, by omitting the power given to the regent to appoint peers in cases of naval or military atchievements; and extending the restrictions generally to the grant of peerages, by which he met the wishes of lord Grenville: for the amendment one hundred and six, against it one hundred; majority in favour of ministers six.

The third and fourth resolutions were carried without a division.

An amendment being proposed by lord Liverpool to the fifth resolution, respecting the household, restoring it to its original state as proposed by the chancellor of the exchequer in the lower house, the numbers were, ayes ninety-seven, noes one hundred and ten; majority against ministers thirteen.

In the house of lords, January 8, the lord president and the lord privy seal were appointed to attend the prince of Wales with the address, requesting his royal highness to take upon himself the regency, in conformity with the terms of the resolution; and earls Harcourt and Morton to attend the queen.

In the commons, the same day, Messrs. Perceval, Ryder, R. Dundas, and the Master of the Rolls, were appointed to accompany the lords president and privy seal with the address to the prince of Wales; and lords J. Thynne, Clive, Palmerston, and colonel Disbrowe, to attend her majesty.

On the 10th, the deputation appointed to wait on her majesty, proceeded to Windsor, with the address of the two houses, expressing a hope that her majesty would be graciously pleased to undertake the important duties proposed to be invested in her majesty, so soon as an act of parliament should have passed for carrying the said resolution into effect. To which her majesty assented, and signified her assent thereto in a short but well-turned speech.

And on the 11th, at two o'clock, the deputation from the two houses went to Carleton House, to present to his royal highness the resolutions to which the two houses, after long discussion, had agreed to. The lords and gentlemen, all in full dress, were ushered through the superb suite of rooms to the drawing-room, where his royal highness stood. The deputation advanced according to their order of precedency, making the usual reverences. The lord president then read from a paper in his hand—"That they were a committee appointed to attend his royal highness with the resolutions which had been agreed to by the lords and commons, for the purpose of supplying the defect of the personal exercise of the royal authority, during his majesty's illness, by empowering his royal highness to exercise that authority in the name and on the behalf of his majesty, subject to such limitations and restrictions as shall be provided. And that they were directed to express the hope which the lords spiritual and temporal and commons entertain, that his royal highness, from his regard to the interests of his majesty, will be ready to undertake the weighty and important trust proposed to be invested in his royal highness, as soon as an act of parliament shall have been passed for carrying the said resolutions into effect."

To which his royal highness made the following reply:

"My lords and gentlemen—I receive the communication which the two houses have directed you to make to me, of their joint resolutions, on the subject of providing for the exercise of the royal authority during his majesty's illness, with those sentiments of regard which I must ever entertain for the united desires of the two houses.—With the same sentiments I receive the expressed hopes of the lords and commons, 'that, from my regard for the interest of his majesty and the nation, I should be ready to undertake the weighty and important trust proposed to be invested in me,' under the restrictions and limitations stated in those resolutions.—Conscious that every feeling of my heart would have prompted me, from dutiful affection to my beloved father and sovereign, to have shewn all the reverential delicacy towards him inculcated in those resolutions, I cannot refrain from expressing my regret, that I should not have been allowed the opportunity of manifesting to his afflicted and loyal subjects that such would have been my conduct.—Deeply impressed, however, with the necessity of tranquillizing the public mind, and determined to submit to every personal sacrifice consistent with the regard I owe to the security of my father's crown, and the equal regard I owe to the welfare of his people, I do not hesitate to accept the office and situation proposed to me, restricted as they are, still retaining every opinion expressed by me upon a former and similar distressing occasion. In undertaking the trust proposed to me, I am well aware of the difficulties of the situation in which I shall be placed; but I shall rely with confidence upon the constitutional advice of an enlightened parliament, and the zealous support of a generous and loyal people. I will use all the means left to me to merit both.

"My lords and gentlemen—You will communicate this my answer to the two houses, accompanied by my most fervent wishes and prayers, that the Divine Will may extricate us and the nation from the grievous embarrassments of our present condition, by the speedy restoration of his majesty's health."

In the house of lords, the same day, the earl of Liverpool, after an explanation, stating that the names of the duke of York and one of his royal brothers had been omitted at their request, moved the issuing of letters patent under the great seal for opening parliament by commission.

The house divided on the motion—Contents, fifty-one; non-contents, thirty-three.

In the house of lords, on January 15, the lord chancellor, the archbishop of Canterbury, the lord president, the lord privy seal, the duke of Montrose, and the earl of Liverpool, having taken their seats as commissioners to open parliament, and the speaker of the house of commons with a number of members being in attendance at the bar, the lord chancellor said,—"My lords and gentlemen, Forasmuch as for certain causes his majesty cannot conveniently be present here in his royal person, a commission has been issued under the great seal, authorizing the lords in the said commission named, to declare the causes of your meeting, and to do in all respects in his majesty's name, which commission you will now hear read." The commission was then read, after which the lord chancellor resumed—"My lords and gentlemen, in virtue of the commission which has been now read, authorizing the lords therein named to declare the causes of your meeting, and to do in all respects in his majesty's name, we have only to call your attention to the afflicting circumstance of his majesty's indisposition, and to the necessity of making due and suitable provision for the care of his majesty's sacred person, for the maintenance of the royal dignity, and for the exercise of the royal authority, in such manner and to such extent as the exigency of the case may seem to require."

On the 16th, the regency bill was read a second time.

On the 17th, The house went into a committee on the regency bill; when thirteen of the clauses were, after much discussion, disposed of.

The next day, the house resolved itself into a committee, when the clauses in the regency bill were discussed, and the blanks filled up.

On the 21st, the report of the regency bill was ordered to be taken into consideration; and on the question that the amendments be read, sir F. Burdett vehemently opposed it, declaring that to have a person at the head of affairs, who had long been incapable of signing his name to a document without some one to guide his hand; a person long incapable of receiving petitions, of even holding a levee, or discharging the most ordinary functions of his office, and now afflicted with a severe mental malady, was a most mischievous example to the people of this country, while it had a tendency to expose the government to the contempt of foreign powers.

A discussion then arose on amendments being proposed by the opponents of ministers to several clauses, with a view of divesting the bill of the restraints upon the regent's government; but they were uniformly rejected.

In the commons, on the 23rd of January, the motion for reading the regency bill a third time produced a short discussion; after which the bill was passed.

In the house of lords, January 25, the house resolved itself into a committee on the regency bill.

On the clause limiting the period of the restrictions to the 1st of February, 1812, lord Grenville proposed to insert August instead of February, which would give six months for the duration of the restrictions.

After a considerable debate, the committee divided on the motion, "that the words of the original clause should stand part of the bill;" when the numbers were—Contents ninety-six; non-contents one hundred and eight—majority against ministers twelve. On the marquis of Lansdowne's amendment; contents one hundred and seven, non-contents ninety-eight—majority against ministers nine.

On the 28th, the order of the day being read, for taking into consideration the report of the regency bill, the duke of Sussex addressed their lordships at great length, and with much warmth, against the bill.

Lord Grenville moved an amendment to the clause for limiting the period of the restrictions till the 1st of February, 1812, by proposing that the word "August" be inserted instead of the word "February." At length, after a vehement debate, a division on lord Grenville's amendment took place:—contents eighty-four, proxies thirty-eight—non-contents eighty-eight, proxies fifty-one, majority for ministers seventeen. Six other divisions followed, the result of which was, that the amendments made in the committee, where absentees were not allowed to vote by proxy, were all over-ruled; and the bill restored to the state in which it came from the commons, with the exception of some verbal alterations.

The regency bill was passed on the 29th, and sent to the commons, with a message desiring their concurrence to the amendments. And on the 31st, the amendments to the regency bill were agreed to by the commons.

The regency bill, with amendments, was brought up to the house of lords on the 1st of February. The earl of Liverpool laid on the table the proposed form of the commission for giving the royal assent to the regency bill; and gave notice of his intention to move a resolution on the subject to-morrow, if no observations were likely to be made that would lead to debate; or of postponing it till Monday, if a discussion was likely to arise.

On the 2nd, the earl of Liverpool proposed a resolution authorizing certain lords to apply the great seal to a commission for granting the royal assent to the regency bill.

In the house of commons, February 4, subsequently to a conference with the lords, Mr. Dundas appeared at the bar with a resolution of the lords, in which they desired the concurrence of the commons to the following resolution: "That it is expedient and necessary that letters patent, under the great seal, be issued for the purpose of giving an assent in the king's name to the regency bill. This resolution, after a vehement debate, which was not entirely free from some portion of illiberality, was carried.

In the house of lords, February 5, another conference took place between their lordships and the commons, which was followed by an announcement that the resolution of Saturday, February 2, had passed the other house. Their lordships afterwards temporarily adjourned; when the lord chancellor entering in his robes, stated that a commission had issued under the great seal, for giving the royal assent to an act which had passed both houses of parliament. The archbishop of Canterbury, the lord chancellor, earls Camden and Westmoreland, and the duke of Montrose, afterwards took their seats as commissioners for giving the royal assent to the regency bill. The speaker and a number of members of the house of commons being in attendance at the bar, the lord chancellor said:

"My lords and gentlemen, Inasmuch as, for certain causes, his majesty cannot conveniently be present here this day, a commission has issued under the great seal, to us and other lords directed, reciting the letters patent of the 15th January, for opening and holding this present parliament, and the passing of an act agreed upon by both houses, and notifying the royal assent to the said act."

The commission having been read, the lord chancellor declared, "that in obedience to the commands, and by virtue of the powers vested in the commissioners, they gave his majesty's royal assent to the said act."

On the 12th, the lord chancellor, the archbishop of Canterbury, earls Camden and Westmoreland, and the duke of Montrose, having taken their seats as commissioners; and the speaker, with many members of the lower house, being in attendance, the lord chancellor said, that it not being convenient for his royal highness the prince of Wales, regent, to be personally present that day, a commission had issued under his majesty's great seal, authorising the opening and declaring certain further causes for holding that parliament.

The commission was then read *pro formâ*; after which the lord chancellor delivered a speech from his royal highness.

The commons then withdrew from the bar, and the commissioners quitted their bench. The lord chancellor having taken the chair, the earl of Aberdeen, after dwelling upon the principal topics of the speech, moved an address to the prince regent, expressing their confidence in his royal highness, and condoling with him on the death of the princess Amelia; which, after some trifling dissent, was agreed to.

In the commons, the same day, the speaker and the other members having returned from hearing the speech of the prince regent read, Mr. Milnes moved an address to the prince regent; which was carried, and a committee appointed to prepare the same.

And on the 13th of February, Mr. Milnes presented at the bar the report of the committee on the address to the prince regent, which after some discussion was agreed to.

The remainder of the parliamentary transactions of this session were but of trifling import, and on the 24th of July the houses of lords and commons being met, the deputy usher of the black rod having summoned the house of commons to attend in the house of lords, to hear the royal assent, by commission, given to the gold coin bill, and the militia interchange amendment bill; which being done, the lords commissioners authorized by the letters patent of the prince regent in the name of his majesty, proceeded to read the regent's speech on the occasion: after which a commission for proroguing the parliament was read; and the lord chancellor, in obedience to the commands of his royal highness the prince regent, in the name and on behalf of his majesty, prorogued this parliament to Thursday, the 22d day of August next, to be then here holden.

The 22d of August, being the day to which the parliament was prorogued, the lord chancellor took the woolsack in the house of lords, when the commons being sent for, Mr. Ley, jun. assistant clerk of the lower house attended at the bar. His royal highness the prince regent's commission for farther proroguing the parliament was then read; which declared the parliament farther prorogued until Friday the 4th day of October; when the houses met, and parliament was farther prorogued until the end of November.

The generality of the debates which followed, on the assembling of the parliament, being of little import, we do not see the least necessity for entering into a detail of them, but shall immediately advert to our affairs in other parts of the world.

The day after the delivery of the prince regent's speech in the house of lords, when he accepted the office of regent, an Extraordinary Gazette was published, a supplement to which appeared on the 15th. These contained details of the military and naval transactions which took place

place on the capture of the isles of France (*u*) and Banda, the only remaining possessions of the French in the Indian seas. By the capitulation of the isle of France, the land and sea forces, officers, subalterns, and privates, were to retain their effects and baggage; not to be considered as prisoners of war, but to be conveyed, at British expence, with their families, to some parts in European France. Private property, of course, was to be respected, and the inhabitants maintained in their religion, customs, and laws. The following vessels were found at port Napoleon; La Minerva, fifty-two guns; La Bellona, forty-eight; L'Astrée, forty-four; La Manchée, forty-four; Iphigenie, thirty-six; Nereide, thirty-six; (these two were formerly English frigates;) Le Victor, sloop, twenty-two; L'Entreprenant, fourteen; and a new brig (name unknown) fourteen; The Charlton, Ceylon, and United Kingdom, (formerly English East Indiamen;) and twenty-eight merchant vessels of various burdens, from one hundred and fifty to one thousand tons; besides five gun brigs.

On the 5th of March, 1811, an attack was made by general Graham, with the division under his command, upon the French army under marshal Victor, before Cadiz, composed of the two divisions of Rufin and Laval. The contest was severe, and the result most brilliant and victorious on the part of the allies. Marshal Victor's force consisted of eight thousand men; that of general Graham five thousand British and Spanish troops. The loss of the enemy was very considerable; the field being covered with their slain, not less than thirteen hundred men being stated to have fallen. Besides which, the allies took generals Rufin, Rousseau, and Bellegarde, (the former of whom was wounded, and the second of whom died afterwards of the wounds he received,) and about four hundred and twenty rank and file; together with an eagle and six pieces of cannon. The loss on the side of the allies consisted of one thousand two hundred and forty-three killed and wounded; but most of the latter were expected to recover. When the expedition against the rear of the French was planned, an arrangement for an attack on the French batteries in Cadiz bay, for the purpose of operating a diversion, was made. But this attack, on account of the unfavourable weather, could not be executed till the 6th, the day after general Graham's action, when it was carried into effect, with all the bravery and coolness of British seamen. All the batteries on the east side of the bay, from Rota to St. Mary's, with the exception of Fort Catalina were carried by storm, the guns spiked, and the works destroyed.

On the 25th of March, marshal Beresford had a partial action with the enemy near Campo Major, by which it appears, that the French were pursued to Badajoz, with the loss of between five and six hundred men. The loss on the side of the allies amounted to twenty-four killed, sixty-nine wounded, and seventy-seven missing. The enemy abandoned a considerable supply of provisions when they left Campo Major. They likewise abandoned Albuquerque.

By a dispatch from marshal Beresford, dated April 13, 1811, it appeared, that having completed the bridges over the Guadiana, he crossed that river on the 5th, and that the French attacked his advanced posts on the 7th, in the neighbourhood of Olivença, but were repulsed with loss. The French then withdrew the garrisons, excepting three hundred men from Olivença, and three battalions from Badajoz, on the same day; and on the 8th, the whole corps of Mortier, consisting of six thousand men, took up a position between Albaeira and Santa Martha. General Cole laid siege to Olivença, which surrendered on the 14th, and marshal Beresford had his head quarters on the 12th at Santa Martha, the enemy having retired.

By dispatches from lord Wellington, dated the 8th and 10th of May, it appeared, that the enemy's whole army, consisting of the second, sixth, and 8th corps, and all the cavalry that could be collected in Castile and Leon, including nine hundred of the imperial guard, together with some battalions of the ninth corps, crossed the Agueda at Ciudad Rodrigo, on the 9th, and made two desperate attacks on the British army, for the purpose of relieving Almeida. The contest, though very severe, terminated in the compleat repulse of the enemy, and the allied army continued to hold its position. On the 7th, at night, the French army retired from the position which they occupied on the preceding day on the Duas Casas. On the 8th, the enemy continued their retreat to the woods between Calligoes Espejas and Fuentes de Honor. On the 9th, they crossed the Azava; and on the 10th, the Agueda, leaving Almeida to its fate. In the action of the 3rd of May, the British loss consisted of twenty-two killed and one hundred and seventy-one wounded; that of the Portuguese, fourteen killed and thirty-three wounded. On the 5th, the British loss consisted of one hundred and forty-eight killed and eight hundred and seventy-two wounded; the Portuguese loss, fifty killed and one hundred and fifty-eight wounded. The number of the allies missing on the two days was three hundred and sixteen. The enemy's loss was much more severe.

Indeed, since Massena's retreat from Portugal, which happened but a little time before these partial actions took place, it was confidently asserted, that the French armies were either destroyed, or reduced to so disorganized a state as to render their escape from Spain problematical; and that the return of Massena to Paris was occasioned by a conviction, that nothing more on the part of the French could be achieved in Spain or Portugal. This, however, appears to have been very far from the truth; for by the advices which were received from the Peninsula about the close of June, our affairs seemed to wear a serious aspect. By these advices we learn, that marshal Soult made his re-appearance at the head of thirty thousand men, on the same ground where the last battle was fought; after which battle lord Wellington laid siege to Badajoz; but by the fresh movements of the French, his lordship was compelled to raise the siege of that town. Marshal Marmont advanced from Placentia in Spain, with a large French force; Massena also, with the remains of his army, returned, with a view to join Soult; the French raised the siege of Cadiz, and marshal Victor advanced with his forces, to strengthen the main army under Soult: in consequence of which movements, the advanced guards of the two armies had an action near Albuera, in which the French were said to have lost two thousand men in killed and wounded; but the loss on the part of the allies was stated to have been nearly equivalent.

Previous to lord Wellington's abandoning the siege of Badajoz, he made two sanguinary attempts to take the place by storm, but he was completely unsuccessful, and lost about eight hundred men. His lordship, however, candidly confessed, "that he was unfortunately mistaken in his estimate of the quality of the means necessary to take the place (*v*)".

The fall of Tarragona, which the French took possession of, occasioned great discomfiture in the minds of the Spaniards; fears were entertained for other important places; and these were in some measure realized by the surrender of Figueras, at discretion, on the 19th of July. The garrison consisted of three thousand five hundred men, and near three hundred and fifty officers. The blockade of Figueras lasted four months, during which time two thousand men perished within the walls.

On the 20th of September, captain Carteret, of his majesty's ship Naiad, had an action with part of the Boulogne flotilla of gun boats and praams. This action was fought in the presence, and at the particular instance of the French emperor, who conceived that the capture of the Naiad would have been the consequence. In this, however, he was sadly disappointed, and had the mortification to behold one of his praams, bearing a commodore's flag, taken by the English, which with a good glass he might have seen shortly after the battle safe under the guns of Dover Castle.

Ciudad Rodrigo had been for some time blockaded by the English under lord Wellington, and a considerable body of Portuguese and Spanish auxiliaries; the French were said to have totally evacuated Portugal, but they suddenly returned with a view to relieve that important fortress; in consequence of which a desperate battle was

(*u*) The isle of France is about thirty-three miles long and twenty-one broad. The Abbé Raynal says of this island, "What a misfortune for France should she suffer herself to be deprived of it."

(*v*) On the 9th of June, 1811, the British army in Portugal amounted to fifty thousand men; of which number thirty thousand were stated to be actually fit for duty; seven thousand wounded, but doing well, and likely to be able in a short time to return to their duty; and five thousand sick, which was stated to be no extraordinary number, as the unhealthy season had commenced at the time this account was made up.—The thirteenth regiment of light dragoons went out to Portugal about eighteen months prior to this period, and were nearly one thousand strong; since that time, however, they received reinforcements, at different times, to the amount of five hundred; but so constantly had they been in action, and so severely did they suffer, that on the 1st of July, 1811, they could only muster sixty men and horses fit for duty.

fought,

fought, in which the French were completely successful, and the English raised the siege of Ciudad Rodrigo, towards the close of September. By lord Wellington's dispatches it appears, that "the Portuguese artillerymen attached to the guns, which were for a moment in the enemy's possession, were cut down at their guns." Again, "The enemy having collected for the object of relieving Ciudad Rodrigo, the army of the North, which were withdrawn from the attack which they commenced on general Abadia in Gallicia, in which are included twenty-two battalions of the imperial guard, and general Souham's division of infantry, composed of troops recently arrived in Spain from the army of Naples, and now drawn from the frontiers of Navarre, where they had been employed in operations against Mina, together with five divisions, and all the cavalry of the army called of Portugal, composing an army of not less than sixty thousand men, of which six thousand were cavalry, and one hundred and twenty-five pieces of artillery; I could not maintain the blockade of Ciudad Rodrigo, nor could any efforts which I could make, prevent, or materially impede the collection of the supplies, or the march of the convoy for the relief of that place. I did all that I could expect to effect without incurring the risk of great loss for no object; and as the reports, as usual, were so various, in regard to the enemy's real strength, it was necessary that I should see their army." This battle was fought on the 25th of September, and by lord Wellington's return of killed, wounded, and missing, it appeared that the total was, of the English, one hundred and sixty-one; and of the Portuguese, one hundred. By this defeat lord Wellington retreated sixty miles from the field of battle, to Trexada, where his second dispatch is dated from.

After the relief of Ciudad Rodrigo, marshal Suchet advanced against general Blake, and completely defeated the Spanish army under his command. After twenty days' labour and fatigue, Suchet informs us, he succeeded in making a practicable breach in the walls of the castle of Saguntum; but during this period general Blake, with a view to save Saguntum from falling into the hands of the French, advanced to give Suchet battle, and compel him to raise the siege. This was on the 24th of October; a battle ensued, and the result was, that after seven hours hard fighting, the Spaniards were entirely broken and put to flight, with the loss of six thousand five hundred killed, wounded, and prisoners: the latter amounted to four thousand six hundred and thirty-nine, of whom two hundred and thirty were officers, forty colonels or lieutenant-colonels, two field marshals, sixteen pieces of artillery, eight caissons, four thousand two hundred and eight English muskets, and four stand of colours. The day after this battle, which was fought on the 25th of October, Suchet summoned the castle of Saguntum to surrender; and the lieutenant-colonel of artillery, who was sent with an answer to the summons, was conducted through the midst of the officers and prisoners, that he might have no doubt as to the issue of the battle which had taken place the day before. Saguntum accordingly surrendered, and the garrison, added to the men taken from the army under general Blake made the total amount of prisoners seven thousand two hundred and eleven, of whom upwards of three hundred and sixty-nine were officers.

On the other side, general Girard having crossed the Guadiana, and taken a position at Caceres, with a body of French, lord Wellington directed general Hill to endeavour to dispossess him. General Girard, however, left Caceres, and arrived at Arroyados Molinos, on the morning of the 28th of October, when he was surprized by general Hill, and a battle ensued; the result of which was, that two hundred French were killed, and one thousand taken prisoners, including general Biron and the prince d'Aremberg, two colonels, and forty officers, with all their artillery and baggage. General Girard was badly wounded.

After the fall of Saguntum, the key to Valencia, general Blake threw himself into it with seventeen thousand men: Suchet, however, continued his approaches, and, on the 26th of December, made a furious attack upon the Spanish lines. After a slight resistance, these were broken, and the whole army put to the rout. Blake, with about five thousand men effected his escape into the city, whilst Mahi and the other Spanish generals retreated to Allayada.

On the 29th of December, general Hill surprized and took Merida, with very little loss, as appears by his letter to lord Wellington of the 30th, the French having evacuated it during the night.

On the 12th of January, 1812, Suchet sent an account of the capture of Valencia to his government, which capitulated on the 9th. He says, that the lines were six thousand toises in extent, and that Valencia expended twelve millions of reals, and employed some thousands of men for two years in erecting them. By the surrender of Valencia the French took three hundred and seventy-four pieces of artillery, one hundred and eighty thousand pounds of powder, three millions of cartridges, sixteen thousand one hundred and thirty-one prisoners of the line, one thousand nine hundred and fifty sick in the hospitals, one thousand eight hundred cavalry and artillery horses, twenty-one stands of colours, eight hundred and ninety-three officers, twenty-two generals or brigadiers. Bonaparte on this occasion, justly appreciating the value of this conquest, and the merits of Suchet, created him duke of Albufera.

On the 19th of the same month, lord Wellington took Ciudad Rodrigo by storm. But the surrender of Valencia was a conquest of by far the greater moment. By the acquisition of Valencia, Suchet obtained possession not only of the chief part of the Spanish regular forces, consisting of upwards of sixteen thousand men, but also of an entire province, which from its situation gave him the command of the sea-coast of the Mediterranean, from Barcelona to the Straits of Gibraltar; while lord Wellington, by the capture of Ciudad Rodrigo, gained only a small portion of territory.

Some time after the taking of Ciudad Rodrigo, lord Wellington laid siege to Badajoz. On the 25th of March he opened batteries on an outwork of that fortress called La Picwina, which he took by storm on the 26th. By the return of killed, wounded, and missing, from the 18th to the 26th, it appears that we lost, nine officers, five serjeants, one drummer, one hundred and fourteen rank and file killed; thirty-four officers, twenty serjeants, two drummers, five hundred and thirty rank and file wounded; and eleven rank and file missing. At length, on the 6th of April, Badajoz was taken by storm; but by lord Wellington's return of the killed and wounded, it will appear that the conquest was dearly bought,—seventy-two officers, fifty-one serjeants, two drummers, nine hundred and ten rank and file, killed; three hundred and six officers, two hundred and sixteen serjeants, seventeen drummers, three thousand two hundred and forty-three rank and file wounded; and one serjeant and sixty-two rank and file missing.

Thus it appears, that to obtain possession of Badajoz, we lost nearly five thousand brave men. On the night of the storming of Badajoz, which was not in our possession till after six hours hard fighting, a letter from an English officer says, the carnage was horrible to the last degree. The French had employed every imaginable contrivance for repelling the assault. From the peculiar situation of the place it was necessary to scale, although a large breach was effected: the enemy threw down the ladders as fast as they were reared, and thus precipitated whole companies into the fosse. When at last our men established themselves on the walls and leaped down, they fell on *chevaux de frize* formed of old swords ground to the utmost sharpness. There were trenches and breastworks across the streets, and these also undermined ready for blowing up.

While lord Wellington was employed in the siege of Badajoz, the French were by no means inactive: they made a very considerable diversion on the northern bank of the Tagus, which, though not successful in the relief of Badajoz, its original intent, was yet productive of very injurious consequences. Marmont overrun an immense range of country, even to the vicinity of Abrantes. In this excursion the plunder he acquired was considerable, but the property he destroyed was much greater. On the south of the Tagus, however, the British arms were crowned with success. The cavalry of Soult, with a similar view to that of Marmont, had advanced as far as Villa Franca, where they were overtaken and defeated by sir Stapylton Cotton. During the action the enemy's loss was very considerable, and about one hundred and fifty prisoners, including a lieutenant-colonel, two captains, and one lieutenant, with about one hundred and thirty horses, were brought off the field.

On the 19th of May, general sir Rowland Hill obtained a victory over the French at Almarez, in which the enemy had about one hundred killed and three hundred taken prisoners. The loss on the part of the English was one captain, one lieutenant, one serjeant, thirty rank and file killed; two captains, six lieutenants, five ensigns, ten serjeants,

jeants, one drummer, and one hundred and twenty rank and file wounded.

In consequence of the success of general Hill, lord Wellington advanced towards Salamanca, which he reached on the 16th of June. The same night the enemy evacuated the town, leaving about eight hundred men in the fortifications which they had erected on the ruins of the colleges and convents which they had destroyed. The British entered the town on the 17th. While the French were in possession of Salamanca, they destroyed thirteen out of twenty-five convents, and twenty-two out of twenty-five colleges, which existed in this celebrated seat of learning.

Major-general Slade had an action with his cavalry against that of the French under general L'Allemand. At first the British appeared to be successful, and the French retreated; but returning to the charge they completely threw the English into confusion, and repulsed them. The loss on the part of the English was, two serjeants, twenty rank and file killed; twenty-six rank and file wounded; two officers, ten serjeants, one hundred and six rank and file missing; one officer's horse wounded; one missing; six troop of horses killed; fourteen wounded; one hundred and twenty-seven missing. Those that were missing it appears were taken prisoners by the French.

Lord Wellington, however, although he had entered Salamanca on the 17th of June, did not obtain possession of the forts till the 27th, which were garrisoned by only eight hundred men, as above stated; but, from his return of killed and wounded, it appears that he must have had a difficult task to get possession of them. He states, that the loss of the allied army employed against Salamanca was, two captains, three lieutenants, one ensign, five serjeants, one drummer, and one hundred and three rank and file, and twenty-eight horses, killed; one general staff, one lieutenant-colonel, one major, ten captains, ten lieutenants, five ensigns, fourteen serjeants, seven drummers, and three hundred and thirty-three rank and file, wounded; two lieutenants, eleven rank and file, and five horses, missing. Grand total of killed, wounded, and missing, five hundred and nine!—The grand total of prisoners taken in the forts of St. Vincente, St. Cayetans, and La Merced, at Salamanca, amounted to seven hundred and six!

On the 21st of July, the French army under the command of Marshal Marmont was defeated by that of the allies, commanded by lord Wellington, duke of Ciudad Rodrigo, in the fields of Salamanca, after seven hours continued firing, in which the infantry, as well as the cavalry and artillery of both nations did prodigies of valour. The French were successively dislodged from their advantageous positions, and lost all the artillery which they had placed there. Their loss in men was estimated at ten or twelve thousand, more than four thousand being taken prisoners. The loss of the allies in killed, wounded, and missing, by the return made afterwards was five thousand eight hundred and seventy-nine (*w*).

Dispatches were received from the marquis of Wellington, dated the 13th and 15th of August, which contain intelligence of the allied army having entered Madrid, after an inconsiderable resistance on the 12th. On the capture of Madrid the allies took two thousand five hundred prisoners, one hundred and eighty-nine pieces of cannon, nine hundred barrels of powder, twenty-three thousand two hundred and fifty-four stand of arms, and great magazines of clothing, provisions, and ammunition. It seems that lord Wellington, having entirely dispersed Marmont's army, and ascertained that the remains had retreated upon Burgos, he felt himself at liberty to look for more important points of enterprize, and moved from Cuestar, on the 6th of August, to Segovia and St. Ildefonso, on his route to Madrid. In this advance the Portuguese cavalry under general D'Urban suffered a severe check, having been seized with a panic prior to a charge on a body of French cavalry which defended a pass near Majalahonda. The English, however, arriving, the enemy retreated, leaving some guns which had been captured in this unfortunate affair. At length the allied army reached the capital of Spain, and lord Wellington, by the prompt and energetic measures which he adopted, soon obtained possession of the place.

Lord Wellington had for some time laid siege to Burgos, but had hitherto been able to make but little progress for want of a sufficient quantity of battering cannon. He lost during the siege a great number of men. He had sprung several mines, but was repulsed with loss in every attempt. At length on the 18th of October, the mine which he had prepared was sprung at seven in the morning; but the French had been employed in countermining it, and their mine exploded at the same time. Our brave troops immediately stormed the castle, but without success: we lost in this attempt upwards of one hundred men killed, and a great many more wounded. So much time having been consumed before this well defended fortress gave opportunity to marshal Soult and king Joseph, in great force, to advance towards Madrid. Fearing, therefore, that we were not secure in the possession of the capital, lord Wellington determined to raise the siege of Burgos, and advance to the relief of Madrid. He consequently raised the siege of the castle of Burgos on the 21st of October, leaving the rear guard of our army, under sir Edward Paget, but without the least hope of his being successful. Lord Wellington, however, found it prudent to abandon Madrid, and continue his retreat to Portugal, for it would have been the height of madness to have risked a battle with the French forces for the salvation of the capital. Lord Wellington, when joined by general Hill, had about fifty thousand effective men; but Marmont's army, consisting of near forty thousand men, was expected shortly to join marshal Soult, whose army amounted to between fifty and sixty thousand, so that it was probable he would have been completely overwhelmed, had he not continued his retreat.

On the 24th of October, general Ballasteros addressed a letter to the minister at war, dated Head Quarters, Grenada, in which he declined to serve under lord Wellington; in consequence of which he was dismissed from his command in the Spanish army. From this time till April 1813, nothing of any importance took place between the adverse armies in the Peninsula: they seemed to be in a measure inactive, each party appearing to keep the other in check, but neither of them daring to adopt offensive operations. At length, as appears by the dispatch, dated Castalla, April 14, a battle was fought on the preceding day, between general Murray and Suchet, who commanded the French army in person. The French loss amounted "fully to three thousand men. Upwards of eight hundred men were buried only in front of one part of the line." The loss on the part of the allies amounted to six hundred and fifty-eight in killed, wounded, and missing, of whom one hundred and forty-five were killed. This appears rather incredible: that the loss on the part of the enemy in killed should amount to seven times as many as that of the allies is rather too much for us to believe.

Having brought our history of the war in the Peninsula of Spain and Portugal to the latest period, we shall now endeavour to give as clear an account of the Russian war as our limits will admit. We have before had occasion to advert to the falsity of the Russian bulletins during the former war, and we do not find that those of the present are deserving of greater credit; we shall therefore draw our account from such documents as appear to be least liable to objection.

Towards the close of the year 1810, Russia altered her political system: the Ukase respecting commerce was its first act (*x*). In February, 1811, five divisions of the Russian army quitted the Danube by forced marches, and proceeded to Poland. By this movement Russia sacrificed Wallachia and Moldavia. When the Russian armies were

(*w*) General Marmont was wounded by a shell towards the close of the battle, near the right shoulder, and so badly, that he was forced to be carried off the field on a litter by six grenadiers. At Penaranda his arm was amputated.

(*x*) The Russian Ukase of the 19th of December, 1810, which destroyed the commercial relations of France with that empire; the admission of English commerce, contrary to treaty, into her ports; her armings, which, from the commencement of 1811, threatened the invasion of the duchy of Warsaw; and finally, the protest respecting Oldenburg, annihilated the treaty of alliance between France and Russia. It no longer existed when on both sides armies were forming for reciprocal observation. The whole of the year 1811, says the Duc de Bassano, the French minister for foreign affairs was, however spent in conference and negociations with Russia, in the hope of withdrawing, if possible, the cabinet of Petersburgh from the war, upon which it appeared to be resolved, and to obtain a knowledge of its real intentions. It is proved to the certainty of evidence, that that power proposed at the same time to depart from the conditions of the treaty of Tilsit, to place herself in peace with England, and to menace the existence of the duchy of Warsaw, making use of the pretext of indemnities claimed for the duke of Oldenburg.

united and formed, a protest against France appeared, which was transmitted to every cabinet. Russia by that announced, that she felt no wish even to save appearances; and all means of conciliation employed on the part of France were ineffectual.

Towards the close of 1811, six months after it was manifest in France that all this could end only in war, preparations were made for it. The garrison of Dantzic was increased to twenty thousand men. Stores of every description were conveyed to that place; and considerable sums of money were placed at the disposal of the department of engineers for the augmentation of its fortifications. The French army was placed on the war establishment. The cavalry, the train artillery, and the military baggage train, were completed. In March, 1812, a treaty of alliance was concluded between France and Austria, by which the latter was to furnish thirty thousand men; the preceding month a treaty had been concluded between France and Prussia.

In April the first corps of the French Grand Army marched for the Oder, the second corps to the Elbe, the third corps to the Lower Oder, the fourth corps set out from Verona, crossed the Tyrol, and proceeded to Silesia. The guards left Paris. On the 22d of April, the emperor of Russia took the command of his army, quitted St. Petersburgh, and moved his head quarters to Wilna.

In the commencement of May, the first corps arrived on the Vistula, at Elbing and Marienburg; the second corps at Marienwerder, the third corps at Thorn, the fourth and sixth corps at Plock, the fifth corps assembled at Warsaw, the eighth corps on the right of Warsaw, and the seventh corps at Pulawy. The French emperor set out from St. Cloud on the 9th of May; crossed the Rhine on the 13th, the Elbe on the 29th, and the Vistula on the 16th of June.

All the means of effecting an understanding between the two empires became impossible. The spirit which reigned in the Russian cabinet hurried it on to war.

General Narbonne, aid-de-camp to the French emperor, was dispatched to Wilna, and could remain there only a few days. By that was gained the proof, that the demand which had been made by prince Kurakin, and in which he declared, that he would not enter into any explanation before France had evacuated the territory of her own allies in order to leave them at the mercy of Russia, was the *sine qua non* of that cabinet.

The first corps advanced to the Pregel. The prince of Eckmuhl had his head-quarters, on the 11th of June, at Konigsberg.

The marshal duke of Reggio, commanding the second corps, had his head-quarters at Wehlau; the marshal duke of Elchingen, commanding the third corps, at Soldass; the prince Viceroy, at Rastenburg; the king of Westphalia, at Warsaw; the prince Poniatowski, at Pultusk. The French emperor moved his head-quarters, on the 12th, to Konigsberg, on the Pregel; on the 17th to Insterburg; and on the 19th to Gumbinnen.

A slight hope of accommodation still remained. The emperor had given orders to count Lauriston to wait on the emperor Alexander, or on his minister for foreign affairs, and to ascertain whether there might not yet be some means of obtaining a reconsideration of the demand of prince Kurakin, and of reconciling the honour of France, and the interest of her allies, with the opening a negociation.

The same spirit which had previously swayed the Russian cabinet upon various pretexts, prevented count Lauriston from accomplishing his mission; and it appeared, for the first time, that an ambassador, under circumstances of so much importance, was unable to obtain an interview, either with the sovereign or his minister. The secretary of Legation, Prevost, carried this intelligence to Gumbinnen; and the emperor issued orders to march, for the purpose of passing the Niemen. Napoleon then caused a proclamation to the soldiers to be inserted in the orders of the army; in which it is said, "At Tilsit, Russia swore eternal alliance with France, and war with England. She now violates her oaths. She refuses to give any explanation of her strange conduct, until the Eagles of France shall have repassed the Rhine, leaving, by such a movement, our allies at her mercy."

On the 23d of June, the king of Naples, who commands the cavalry, transferred his head-quarters to within two leagues of the Niemen, upon its left bank. The marshal prince of Eckmuhl, commanding the first corps, moved his head-quarters to the skirts of the great forest of Pilwisky. The second corps, and the Imperial guards, followed the line of march of the first corps. The third corps took the direction of Marienpol; the Viceroy, with the fourth and sixth corps, which remained in the rear, marched upon Kalwarry. The king of Westphalia proceeded to Novogorod, with the fifth, seventh, and eighth corps. The first Austrian corps, commanded by the prince of Schwartzenberg, quitted Lemberg, made a movement on its left, and drew near to Lublin. The pontoon train, under the orders of general Eble, arrived on the 23d, within two leagues of the Niemen. On the 23d, at two in the morning, the French emperor arrived at the advanced posts near Kowno, took a Polish cloak and cap from one of the light cavalry, and inspected the banks of the Niemen, accompanied by general Haxo, of the engineers, alone. On the 24th, the emperor proceeded to Kowno; but it would be unnecessary to mark the various movements of the army; therefore we shall only mention the most important places.

At this period the emperor of Russia was at Wilna, where he had been for some time with part of his court and guards, and one part of his army occupied Ronikontoni and Novtroki. The Russian general Bagawout, commanding the second corps, and a part of the Russian army, having been cut off from Wilna, had no other means of safety than by proceeding towards the Dwina (*y*). Several Cossack officers, and officers charged with dispatches, were captured by the French light cavalry.

On the 27th the French emperor arrived at the advanced posts, and put the army in motion for the purpose of approaching Wilna, and attacking the Russian army at day-break of the 28th, should it wish to defend Wilna, or retard its capture, in order to save the immense magazines which it had there. One Russian division occupied Troki, and another division was on the heights of Traka.

At day-break of the 28th, the king of Naples put himself in motion with the advanced guard, and the light cavalry of general count Bruyeres. The marshal prince of Eckmuhl supported him with his corps. The Russians every where retired. After exchanging some cannon-shot, they crossed the Wilia in haste, burned the wooden bridge of Wilna, and set fire to immense magazines, valued at many millions of rubles: more than one hundred and fifty thousand quintals of flour, an immense supply of forage and oats, and a great mass of articles of clothing, were burned. A great quantity of arms and warlike stores, was destroyed and thrown into the Wilia. At mid-day the French emperor entered Wilna. In the afternoon the bridge over the Wilia was re-established, and another constructed.

The division Bruyeres followed the enemy by the left bank. In a slight affair with their rear, about eighty carriages were taken from the Russians. The polish light-horse of the guard made a charge on the right bank of the Wilia, put to rout, pursued, and made prisoners, a considerable number of Cossacks.

On the 25th, the duke of Reggio crossed the Wilia; and next day he marched upon Javou, and on the 27th, on Chatoui. This movement obliged the prince of Wittgenstein, commandant of the first corps of the Russian army, to evacuate all Samogitia, and the country lying between Kowno and the sea; and to retire upon Wilkomir, after obtaining a reinforcement of two regiments of the guards.

On the 28th a rencounter took place opposite Develtovo. The Russians were driven from one position to another; and passed the bridge with so much precipitation, that they could not set fire to it. The Russians lost three hundred prisoners, among whom were several officers, and about one hundred killed or wounded. The French loss amounted to about fifty men.

The Russians then set fire to their grand magazine at Wilkomir; but a part of it fell into the hands of the French.

Hitherto the campaign had not been sanguinary; and in all the skirmishes the French did not make above one thousand prisoners. But the Russians lost the capital and the

(*y*) The Niemen is navigable for vessels of two or three hundred tons, as far as Kowno. The communications by water are also secured as far as Dantzic, and with the Vistula, the Oder, and the Elbe. The Wilia, which flows by Wilna, is navigable for very small boats from Kowno to Wilna. Wilna, the capital of Lithuania, is also the chief town of all Polish Russia. Wilna contains from twenty-five to thirty thousand inhabitants, with a great number of convents and fine public buildings. About twenty-four hours after the Russians received intelligence that the French had passed the river at Kowno, the Russian court left the place.

greater

greater part of the Polish provinces. All the magazines of the first, second, and third lines, the result of two years' care, and valued at more than twenty millions of rubles, were consumed by the flames, except that part which fell into the power of the French. In fine, the head-quarters of the French army were now in the place where the Russian court had fixed its residence for six weeks.

In consequence of the destruction of the triple line of magazines, the emperor Alexander gave orders for the speedy establishment of magazines at Witepsk, Ostrow, Weliki-Louke, and Pskoff.

The Russian army, however, was posted and organized in an advantageous manner.

The first corps, commanded by prince Wittgenstein, consisted of eighteen thousand men, including artillery and sappers. The second corps, commanded by general Bagawout, consisted of the same numerical force. The third corps, commanded by general Schomaloff, amounted to twenty-four thousand men. The fourth corps, commanded by general Tutschkoff, consisted of eighteen thousand men. The Imperial guards were at Wilna. The sixth corps, commanded by general Doctorow, consisted of eighteen thousand men: this corps afterwards formed a part of the army of prince Bagrathion. The fifth corps was commanded by prince Bagrathion, and amounted to forty thousand men.

Notwithstanding this immense army of the Russians, the French continued to advance, and the Russians to retreat, destroying almost every thing in their way. The immense magazines which they had in Samogitia were burned by themselves, which occasioned an enormous loss, not only to their finances, but still more to the subsistence of the people.

The corps of Doctorow, however, viz. the sixth corps, was, till the 27th of June, without any orders, and had made no movement. On the 28th it assembled, and put itself in motion, in order to proceed to the Dwina. On the 30th, its advanced guard entered Soleinicki. It was charged by the light cavalry of general baron Borde Soult, and driven out of the village. Doctorow, perceiving that he was anticipated, turned to the right, and made for Ochmiana. General baron Pajol arrived at that place with his light cavalry, at the moment when Doctorow's vanguard entered it. General Pajol charged. The Russians were sabred and overthrown in the town.

General Doctorow, seeing his route intercepted, fell back upon Olchanoni. Marshal the prince of Eckmuhl, with a division of infantry, the cuirassiers of the division of count Valence, and the second regiment of light cavalry of the guard, moved upon Ochmiani, in order to support general Pajol.

The corps of Doctorow, thus cut off and driven towards the south, continued to prosecute the movement on the right by forced marches, with the sacrifice of its baggage, upon Smoroghoni, Danowcheff, and Robouilnicki, whence he made for the Dwina. This movement had been foreseen. General Nansouty, with a division of cuirassiers, the division of light cavalry of count Bruyeres, and count Moran's division of infantry, advanced to Mikailitchki, with a view to cut off this corps. He arrived on the 3d at Swin, at the time when it passed that place, and pushed it briskly. He took a large number of waggons, and obliged the Russians to abandon some hundreds of baggage carts. From these incessant skirmishes Doctorow's army suffered severely.

At this period torrents of rain fell during thirty-six hours, without intermission. The weather suddenly changed from extreme heat to very severe cold. Several thousands of horses perished by the effects of this sudden transition; and convoys of artillery were stopped by the mud. This terrible storm, which fatigued both men and beasts, retarded the march of the French army; and the corps of Doctorow, which successively fell in with the columns of general Borde Soult, of general Pajol, and general Nansouty, narrowly escaped destruction.

Prince Bagrathion marched towards the Dwina; and the king of Westphalia entered Grodno the same day. The Hetman Platoff was at Grodno with his Cossacks. When charged by the light cavalry of prince Poniatowski, the Cossacks were dispersed in every direction; and at that town the French found materials for one hundred thousand rations of bread, and some remains of the magazine.

On the 5th of July, general count Sebastiani arrived at Vidzoni, whence the emperor of Russia had departed on the preceding evening.

The general of brigade Roussel, with the ninth regiment of Polish light cavalry, and the second regiment of Prussian hussars, passed the Dziana on the same day, overthrew six Russian squadrons, sabred a great number, and took forty-five prisoners, with several officers; and general Nansouty took one hundred and thirty Russian mounted hussars and dragoons prisoners.

Marshal the prince of Eckmuhl entered Minsk on the 8th, and found there considerable magazines of flour, hay, clothing, &c. Prince Bagrathion had already arrived at Novoi-Sworgiew; and perceiving that he was anticipated, sent orders to burn the magazines; but he was too late, for the French under the prince of Eckmuhl had got possession of them.

The king of Westphalia was on the 9th at Novogrodek; general Reynier, at Konina: magazines, baggage waggons, quantities of medicines, and straggling parties continually fell into the hands of the French. The Russian divisions were straying in these countries without any previously arranged route, pursued on every side, losing their baggage, burning their magazines, destroying their artillery, and leaving their places defenceless.

General baron Colbert took, at Vileika, a magazine of three hundred quintals of flour, an hundred thousand rations of bread, &c. He found also at Vileika a chest containing two hundred thousand francs, in copper money.

Since the opening of the campaign, the French took from two thousand to two thousand five hundred Russian prisoners: their own loss was but trifling in comparison with that of the Russians.

Thus, ten days after opening the campaign, the advanced posts of the French were upon the Dwina. Almost the whole of Lithuania, containing four millions of inhabitants were conquered. The operations of the war commenced at the passage of the Vistula; and the French army by making forced marches from the period of passing that river, advanced upon the Dwina. The distance between the Vistula and the Dwina is greater than that between the Dwina and Mosiere, or Petersburgh.

The French emperor erected upon the right bank of the Wilia an entrenched camp, surrounded by redoubts; and constructed a citadel upon the mountain, on which was the ancient palace of the Jagellons.

On the 4th of July, marshal the duke of Tarentum set out from his head-quarters in Rossien, the capital of Samogitia, one of the finest and most fertile provinces in Poland; the general of brigade, baron Ricard, with a part of the seventh division, to march upon Poniewicz; where he arrived so suddenly, that the Russians had not time to destroy their magazines, which contained thirty thousand quintals of meal. He also took one hundred and sixty prisoners, among whom were four officers.

The march of the army from Kowno upon Wilna, and from Wilna upon Dunaburg and Minsk, obliged the Russians to abandon the banks of the Niemen, which the French immediately passed. When the prince of Eckmuhl seized upon the strong place of Borisow, upon the Beresina, sixty thousand pounds of powder, sixteen pieces of besieging artillery, and some hospitals, fell into his power. Considerable magazines were set on fire by the Russians, but a part was saved by the French.

On the 10th of July, general Latour Maubourg sent the division of light cavalry, commanded by general Rosnieki, in advance towards Mir. It met the Russian rear guard at a short distance from that town; when a very brisk engagement took place, and the Polish division remained master of the field. The general of Cossacks Gregoriow was killed, and one thousand five hundred Russians were killed and wounded. The loss of the French at the utmost, was not more than six hundred, in killed, wounded, and prisoners. The bodies of the Russian general of division count Pahlen, and of the Russian colonels Adronoff and Jesowayski were recognized on the field of battle.

The diet at Warsaw, being constituted into a general confederation of Poland, named prince Adam Czartorinski for its president. This prince, aged eighty years, had for fifty years been marshal of the diet of Poland. The first act of the diet was to declare the kingdom of Poland re-established. A deputation from the confederation was presented to the French emperor at Wilna, and submitted to his approbation and protection the act of confederation.

The prince of Schwartzenberg had his head-quarters on the 13th, at Prazana. On the 11th and 12th he occupied the important position of Pinsk, with a detachment, which took some men and considerable magazines.

On the 12th, general baron Pajol, who was at Ighoumen, sent

sent captain Vandois with a part of the cavalry to Khaloui. This detachment took there a part of two hundred carriages, belonging to Bagrathion's corps, and made prisoners six officers, two hundred cannoniers, three hundred men attached to the train, and eight hundred fine artillery horses. Captain Vandois, finding himself fifteen leagues distant from the French army, did not think it practicable to carry off this convoy, and burnt it. He took with him, however, the horses and the prisoners.

On the 15th, general Grouchy sent a party on Star Lepel, which took considerable magazines, and two companies of miners, of eight officers, and two hundred men.

On the 18th, at two in the morning, general baron Colbert entered Orcha, where he took possession of immense magazines of flour, oats, and cloathing. He afterwards passed the Borysthenes, and proceeded in pursuit of a convoy of artillery.

Smolensk was now in alarm, and every thing was removing to Moscow. An officer, sent by the emperor Alexander to cause the evacuation of the magazines of Orcha, was quite astonished to find the place in the possession of the French. This officer was taken with his dispatches.

While Bagrathion was briskly pursued in his retreat, anticipated, separated, and removed from the main army,—that army, commanded by the emperor Alexander, retreated on the Dwina. On the 14th, general Sebastiani, following the rear-guard, killed five hundred Cossacks, and arrived at Drouia.

On the 13th, the duke of Reggio advanced upon Dunaburg, burnt the fine barracks which the Russians had constructed there, took a plan of the works, burnt some magazines, and took one hundred and fifty prisoners. After this diversion on the right, he moved on Drouia.

On the 15th, the Russians, who were concentrated in their entrenched camp of Drissa, to the number of from one hundred to one hundred and twenty thousand men,—being informed that the French light cavalry did not keep a strict watch, threw over a bridge, sent across five thousand infantry and five thousand cavalry, attacked general Sebastiani unexpectedly, drove him back one league, and caused him a loss of one hundred killed, wounded, and prisoners, among whom were a captain and a sub-lieutenant of the eleventh chasseurs. The general of brigade St. Genies, who was mortally wounded, remained in the power of the Russians.

On the 18th, the Russian army evacuated their entrenched camp of Drissa, defended by twelve palisadoed redoubts, united by a covered way, and extending three thousand toises on the river. These works were entirely destroyed by the French. The immense magazines they contained were either burnt or thrown into the water.

On the 19th, the emperor Alexander was at Witepsk.

On the 20th, the king of Naples passed the Dwina, and covered the right bank of the river with his cavalry. All the preparations the Russians had made to defend the passage of the Dwina, were useless. The magazines they had been forming for three years were entirely destroyed; the same happened to their works, which, according to the report of the people of the country, cost the Russians in one year not less than six thousand men.

In their movements, the Russians were obliged to destroy their baggage, and to throw their artillery and arms into the rivers. The Poles of the Russian army availed themselves of this precipitate retreat to desert; and waited in the woods till the arrival of the French. The number of Poles who deserted the Russian army, were calculated at twenty thousand men.

On the 20th, the prince of Eckmuhl advanced upon Mohilow; the garrison of which consisted of two thousand men, who defended it; but they were sabred by the light cavalry. The French now occupied Mohilow, Orcha, Disna, and Polotsk, and were advancing on Witepsk, where the Russian army was concentrated.

The emperor of Russia and the grand duke Constantine quitted the army, and repaired to the capital. On the 17th, the Russian army left the entrenched camp of Drissa, and marched towards Polotsk and Witepsk. The Russian army which was at Drissa consisted of five corps-d'armée, each of two divisions, and of four divisions of cavalry. One corps-d'armée, that of prince Wittgenstein, remained for the purpose of covering St. Petersburgh; the four other corps, having arrived on the 24th at Witepsk, crossed to the left bank of the Dwina. The corps of Ostermann, with a party of the cavalry of the guards, put itself in motion at day-break of the 25th, and marched upon Ostrovno.

On the 25th of July, general Nansouty, with the divisions Bruyeres and St. Germain, and the eighth regiment of light infantry, encountered the Russians two leagues in advance of Ostrovno. Several charges of cavalry took place; all of which were in favour of the French. The Russian cavalry, of which a part belonged to the guards, was overthrown. The batteries which the Russians opened upon the French cavalry were carried. The Russian infantry, who advanced to support their artillery, were broken and sabred by the French light cavalry.

On the 26th, the Viceroy marching with the division Delzon at the head of the columns, an obstinate action of the advanced guard, of from fifteen to twenty thousand men, took place a league beyond Ostrovno. The Russians were driven from their positions one after another; and the woods were carried by the bayonet (z).

On the 27th at day-break, the viceroy made the division Broussier file off in advance. The eighteenth regiment of light infantry, and brigade of light cavalry of the baron de Piré, wheeled to the right. The division Broussier marched by the great road, and repaired a small bridge which the Russians had destroyed. At day-break, the Russian rear-guard, consisting of ten thousand cavalry, was perceived drawn up *en echellon* on the plain; their right resting on the Dwina, and their left on a wood lined with infantry and artillery. General count Broussier took post on an eminence with the fifty-third regiment, waiting till the whole of his division had passed the defile. Two companies of voltigeurs had marched in advance, alone; they skirted the bank of the river, advancing towards that enormous mass of cavalry, which made a forward movement, and surrounded these two hundred men, who concentrated themselves with the greatest coolness, and remained during a whole hour hemmed in on all sides; they are said to have killed and wounded more than three hundred of the Russian horsemen. The division Delzon defiled on the right. The king of Naples directed the wood and the Russian batteries to be attacked. In less than an hour all the Russian positions were carried; and they were driven across the plain beyond a small river which enters the Dwina below Witepsk. The French army took a position on the banks of this river, at the distance of a league from the town. The Russians displayed in the plain fifteen thousand cavalry, and sixty thousand infantry. A battle was expected next day, the French emperor spent the remainder of the night in reconnoitring the field, and in making his dispositions for next day; but at day-break the Russian army was retreating in all directions towards Smolensk.

In these three actions of Ostrovno the French took ten pieces of cannon of Russian manufacture, (the cannoniers were sabred;) twenty caissons of ammunition; one thousand five hundred prisoners; five or six thousand Russians killed or wounded. The Russians had three generals killed or wounded. A considerable number of colonels and superior officers of their army remained on the field of battle.

On the 28th at day-break, the French entered Witepsk, a town containing thirty thousand inhabitants. It has twenty convents. The French found in it some magazines, particularly one of salt, valued at fifteen millions.

While the French army was marching on Witepsk, the prince of Eckmuhl was attacked at Mohilow. Bagrathion passed the Beresina at Bobruisk, and marched upon Novoibikow. At day-break on the 23d, three thousand Cossacks attacked the third regiment of chasseurs, and took one hundred of them, among whom were the colonel and four officers, all wounded. The *generale* was beat; an action commenced. The Russian general Sieverse, with two select divisions, began the attack. From eight in the morning till five in the afternoon, the firing was kept up on a strip of wood, and at a bridge which the Russians wished to force. At five, the prince of Eckmuhl caused three chosen battalions to advance, put himself at their head, overthrew the Russians, carried their positions, and pursued them for a league. The loss of the Russians is estimated at three thousand killed and wounded, and one thousand one hundred prisoners. The French lost seven hundred killed and wounded. Bagrathion repulsed, retired upon Bickow, where he passed the Borysthenes, to advance towards Smolensk.

(z) General Roussel, a brave soldier, after being the whole day at the head of the battalions, was visiting the advanced posts at ten at night, when a sentinel took him for an enemy, fired upon him, and the ball shattered his skull.

The

The heat at this time was excessive, greater than what it is in Italy. The thermometer was at twenty-six and twenty-seven degrees; even the nights were warm.

General Skamenskoi, with two divisions of the corps of Bagrathion, having been cut off from that corps, and not being able to rejoin it, entered Volhynia, effected a junction with the division of recruits commanded by general Tormasoff, and marched upon the seventh corps of the French army. He surprised and cut off the Saxon brigadier-general Klengel, who had under his command an advanced guard of two battalions, and two squadrons of prince Clement's regiment. After a resistance of six hours, the greater part of this advanced guard were killed or taken.

On the 19th, the Prussian general Grawert attacked the Russians at Eckau, in Courland, took two hundred prisoners, and killed a considerable number. When general Grawert had effected a junction with general Kleist, he drove the Russians before him on the road to Riga, and invested the tête-du-pont.

On the 20th, the Viceroy sent to Welij a brigade of Italian light cavalry: two hundred men charged four Russian battalions of the depôt, who were on their route to Twer, broke them, took four hundred prisoners, and one hundred waggons loaded with military stores.

On the 30th, the Aid-de-camp Traire, who had been sent forward with the Queen's regiment of dragoons of the Royal Italian guard, arrived at Ousvrath, took a captain and forty men prisoners, and obtained possession of two hundred carriages loaded with flour.

On the 1st of August, the Russians crossed the Drissa, and presented themselves in battle array in front of the second corps. The duke of Reggio allowed half their corps to cross, and as soon as he perceived about fifteen thousand men and fourteen pieces of cannon over, he unmasked a battery of forty pieces of cannon, which played upon them with grape-shot for nearly an hour. At the same time the divisions Legrand and Verdier made a running charge with the bayonet, and drove the greater part of the Russians into the river. All their artillery and military chests were taken, three thousand prisoners, among whom were several officers, and one of general Wittgenstein's staff, together with three thousand five hundred men killed or wounded, are the result of this affair.

The emperor of Russia had ordered levies of men in the two governments of Witepsk and Mohilow; but before his ukases could reach those provinces, the French were masters of them.

General Ricard, with his brigade, entered Dunaburg on the 1st of August; where he found twenty pieces of cannon; all the remainder having been taken away. The duke of Tarentum also arrived there on the 2d. Thus Dunaburg, which the Russians had been fortifying for five years, where they had expended several millions, which cost them more than twenty thousand men during the labour, was abandoned without firing a musket (*a*).

On the 8th of August, twelve thousand of the Russian cavalry marched upon Inkovo, and attacked general count Sebastiani's division, which for half a league was obliged to fight, retreating all the way, suffering and causing equal loss to the Russians. A company of voltigueurs, of the twenty-fourth regiment of light infantry, forming part of a battalion of that regiment, which had been confided to the cavalry, to maintain a position in a wood, was taken. The French had about two hundred killed and wounded; the loss of the Russians was not so great.

On the 14th, at break of day, general Grouchy marched upon Leacbri, chased two regiments of Cossacks from it, and there found the corps of general count Nansouty. The same day the king of Naples, supported by the duke of Elchingen, arrived at Krasnoi. The twenty-seventh Russian division, consisting of five thousand infantry, supported by two thousand cavalry, and twelve pieces of cannon, was in a position before that town: it was attacked and forced by the duke of Elchingen. The twenty-fourth regiment of light infantry attacked the small town of Krasnoi with the bayonet, with great intrepidity. The taking of eight pieces of cannon, fourteen caissons, one thousand five hundred prisoners, with a field covered with more than one thousand Russians, were the result of the battle of Krasnoi, in which the Russian division, consisting of five thousand men, suffered a loss of nearly half its number.

On the 16th, in the morning, the heights of Smolensk were commanded by the French. The town presented to their view an enclosure of walls of four thousand toises, ten feet thick, and twenty-five feet high, intersected with towers, several of which were armed with cannon of a heavy calibre. The French emperor reconnoitred the town, and placed his army in its position on the same day. Marshal the duke of Elchingen had the left leaning on Borysthenes, the prince of Eckmuhl the centre, prince Poniatowski the right; the guards were placed in reserve in the centre, the viceroy in reserve on the right, and the cavalry under the orders of the king of Naples, at the extremity of the right; the duke of Abrantes, with the eighth corps, lost his way, and made a false movement. The 16th, and half of the 17th, was passed in observation. A fire of musketry was kept up along the line. The Russians occupied Smolensk with thirty thousand men, and the remainder of their army was formed upon the fine positions upon the right bank of the river, opposite the town, and communicating by three bridges. Smolensk is considered as a strong town by the Russians, and the bulwark of Moscow. On the 17th, at two in the afternoon, seeing that the Russians had not debouched, that they were fortifying themselves in Smolensk, the French emperor marched upon the right, and ordered prince Poniatowski to change his front, the right in advance, and to place his right to the Borysthenes, occupying one of the suburbs by posts and batteries, to destroy the bridge, and intercept the communication of the town with the right bank. During this time, the prince of Eckmuhl received orders to attack two of the suburbs which the Russians had intrenched, two hundred toises distant from the town; and which were each defended by seven or eight thousand men, and heavy cannon. At two in the afternoon, count Bruyeres' division of cavalry, having driven away the Cossacks and Russian cavalry, approached the bridge highest up the river, a battery of ten pieces of artillery established upon this ground, opened a fire of grape-shot upon that part of the Russian army which was upon the right bank of the river, and quickly obliged the Russian masses of infantry to evacuate that position. The Russians then placed two batteries of twenty pieces of cannon in a convent, to annoy the battery which played upon the bridge. At three, the cannonade commenced. At half past four a very brisk fire of musketry began; and at five, the divisions of Morand and Gudin carried the Russian entrenched suburbs, and pursued them to the covered-way, which was covered with Russian dead. The duke of Elchingen attacked the position which the Russians had without the town, seized upon it, and pursued them to the glacis. At five o'clock, the communication of the town with the right bank became difficult, and could only be accomplished by isolated men. Three batteries of breaching twelve pounders were placed against the walls at six in the evening; one by Friant's division, and the two others by Morand's and Gudin's divisions. The Russians were driven from all the towers by howitzers, which played upon them.

The general of artillery, count Sorbier, rendered the occupation of the covered way by the Russians impossible, by two enfilading batteries. The battle continued the whole night; three breaching batteries played with the utmost activity: two companies of miners were attached to the ramparts. The town was now on fire in several places; and an hour after midnight, the Russians abandoned the town, and retired across the river. At two o'clock, the grenadiers who first led to the attack no longer found resistance, the place was evacuated; two hundred pieces of cannon, and one of the first towns in Russia were in the power of the French, and that too in sight of the whole Russian army.

The combat of Smolensk, which we might justly term a battle, an hundred thousand men having been engaged on the different sides, caused the Russians a loss of four thousand seven hundred men, left dead on the field; of two thousand prisoners, the greater part of whom were wounded; and of seven to eight thousand wounded. Amongst the dead were found five Russian generals. The French loss amounted to nine hundred killed, and three thousand two hundred wounded. The general of brigade, Grabouski,

(*a*) In consequence of the taking of Dunaburg, Napoleon ordered, that a park of one hundred pieces of artillery, which he had formed at Magdeburg, and which had advanced upon the Niemen, should retrograde to Dantzic, and be put in depôt in that place. At the commencement of the campaign, two besieging parks of artillery had been prepared; one against Dunaburg, the other against Riga.

was killed, and the generals of brigade, Grandeau and Dalton, wounded.

The French did not succeed in quenching the fire which consumed the town, until the 19th, the French sappers having worked with great activity. The houses in the city were filled with Russians dead and dying (*b*).

After the battle of Drissa, the duke of Reggio, knowing that general Wittgenstein, had been reinforced by twelve third battalions from the garrison of Dunaburg, and willing to draw him to an engagement near the defile below Polotsk, caused the second and sixth corps to be ranged in order of battle below Polotsk. General Wittgenstein followed him, attacked him on the 16th and 17th, and was repulsed. At the moment when the duke of Reggio was making his dispositions to profit by the victory, and to close the Russians in the defile, he was struck on the shoulder by a biscayan (*c*). General Gouvion St. Cyr took the command of the second and sixth corps. On the 17th, in the evening, the Russians retired through the defile. General Verdier was wounded. General Maison succeeded him in the command of his division. The loss of the French was estimated at one thousand men killed and wounded. The loss of the Russians to two thousand five hundred. The French took five hundred prisoners.

On the 18th, at four o'clock in the afternoon, general Gouvion St. Cyr, commanding the second and sixth corps, opened the Russians, by causing their right wing to be attacked by the Bavarian division of the count de Wrede. The battle extended the whole length of the line, and the Russians were thrown into confusion, and pursued for two leagues, as long as day-light permitted; twenty pieces of cannon, and one thousand prisoners, remained in the power of the French army. The Bavarian general, Deroy, was wounded.

On the 19th, at break of day, the bridge being finished, the marshal duke of Elchingen crossed over to the right bank of the Borysthenes, and pursued the Russians. At one league from the town he encountered the last column of the Russian rear-guard. It was a division of five or six thousand men stationed on fine heights. He caused them to be attacked with the bayonet by the fourth regiment of infantry of the line, and by the seventy-second ditto. The position was carried; and three or four hundred prisoners fell into the hands of the French. The flying Russians retired on the second column, which was posted on the heights of Valentina. The first position was carried by the tenth of the line, and towards four o'clock in the afternoon, the musketry fire was kept up against the whole of their rear-guard, which presented about fifteen thousand men. The duke of Abrantes had passed the Borysthenes at two o'clock, to the right of Smolensk, and he found himself close upon the rear of the Russians. Four divisions then advanced to support their rear-guard, and, among others, the divisions of grenadiers, which until now had not come forward; five or six thousand cavalry formed their right, whilst their left was covered by woods, filled with tirailleurs. It was of the greatest consequence to them to keep this position as long as possible, it being a very fine one. The French on their part attached no less importance to it, in order to accelerate the retreat of the Russians, and cause all the carriages filled with wounded and other articles to be abandoned, which were protected by the rear-guard. This was what gave rise to the battle of Valentina, one of the finest feats of arms in military history. At six o'clock in the evening, the division of Gudin pushed forward a column on the centre of the Russian of position, which after an hour's combat, was forced. General count Gudin was mortally wounded. General Girard took the command of the division. The Russians, after this battle, precipitated their retreat in such a manner, that on the day of the 20th, the French troops marched twenty leagues, without being able to find the Cossacks, and every where picking up the wounded and the stragglers.

The loss of the French in the battle of Valentina was seven hundred killed, and two thousand six hundred wounded. That of the Russians was upwards of one thousand five hundred: the French took one thousand prisoners, mostly wounded.

Thus the only two divisions of the Russian army, which had not suffered by the preceding combats of Mohilow, Ostrovno, Krasnoi, and Smolensk, now suffered by the battle of Valentina (*d*).

General count Caulincourt entered Viasma on the 29th of August, at day-break. The Russians had burned the bridges, and set fire to several quarters of the city. Viasma is a town of fifteen thousand inhabitants: there are four thousand burghers, merchants, and artizans; there are thirty-two churches. Considerable resources in flour, soap, drugs, &c. and large magazines of brandy, were found by the French. The Russians burnt the magazines; and the finest houses in the town were on fire when the French arrived. Two battalions of the 25th were employed with much activity in extinguishing them. It was got under, and saved three quarters of the town. The Cossacks before they left it committed the most dreadful pillages. All the population of the towns retired upon Moscow.

The French head-quarters were, on the 1st and 2d of September, at Ghjat (*e*). The Russians set fire to Ghjat, as well as to the other places which they abandoned; but the French entered in time to extinguish it. The French army rested on the 2d and 3d in the vicinity of Ghjat, and threw six bridges over that river.

On the morning of the 5th, the French army was in motion, and in the afternoon, they perceived the Russians formed with their right upon the Moskwa, the left upon the heights on the left bank of the Kologha. At one thousand two hundred toises in advance of the left, the Russians had begun to fortify a fine height, between two woods, where they had placed nine or ten thousand men. The French emperor, having reconnoitred it, resolved to carry this position. Two hours afterwards the attack commenced. In one hour the redoubt was carried, with the cannon; the Russian corps driven from the wood, and put to flight, leaving nearly the fourth part of their men on the field of battle. At seven in the evening the firing ceased.

On the 6th, the day was passed in reconnoitring. The position of the Russians was exceedingly strong. The Russians were estimated at one hundred and twenty or one hundred and thirty thousand men, and the army of the French consisted of about the same number.

On the morning of the 7th, prince Poniatowski put himself in motion to turn the forest on which the Russians rested their left. The prince of Eckmuhl marched on the skirt of the forest. Two batteries of sixty cannon each, commanding the enemy's position, had been constructed in the night. At six o'clock, general count Sorbier, who had the armed battery on the right with the artillery of the reserve of the guard, commenced the fire. General Pernetty, with thirty pieces of cannon, skirted the wood, turning the head of the Russian position. At half-past six, general Compans was wounded; at seven, the prince of Eckmuhl had his horse killed. The attack advanced: the musketry commenced. The viceroy, who formed the French left, attacked and carried the village of Borodino. At seven, the marshal duke of Elchingen put himself in motion, and, under the protection of sixty pieces of cannon, bore upon the centre. A thousand pieces of cannon spread death on all sides. At eight o'clock, the Russian positions were carried, their redoubts taken, and the French artillery crowned his heights. The advantage of position, which the Russian batteries had enjoyed for two hours, now belonged to the French. A part of the Russian artillery was taken; the rest were withdrawn to their lines in the rear. In this extremity they attempted to restore the combat, and to attack those strong positions which had fallen into the hands of the French. Three hundred pieces of French cannon placed on these heights,

(*b*) Of twelve divisions, which composed the grand Russian army, two divisions were broken and defeated in the combats of Ostrovno, two met with the same fate in the battle of Mohilow, and six in the battle of Smolensk.

(*c*) A small piece of field-ordnance, probably so called from having been first used in the mountainous province of Biscay.

(*d*) It is curious to observe, that in the midst of all these disasters, the Russians never ceased to chant *Te Deums*; they converted every thing into a victory; but, in spite of the ignorance and brutality of these people, even this began to appear ridiculous to them, and their eyes, by the advance of the French army, began now to be opened.

(*e*) The Ghjat river empties itself into the Wolga, and is navigable to the Caspian Sea. The city of Ghjat contains a population of eight or ten thousand souls. Many of the houses are built of stone and brick. There are many parish churches, and several manufactories of linen cloth. Agriculture has made great progress in this country within the last forty years. It no longer bears any resemblance to the descriptions which are given of it. Potatoes, pulse, and cabbages, grow there in abundance; and the granaries are generally full.

thundered

thundered upon their masses, and their soldiers died at the foot of those parapets which they had raised with so much labour as a protecting shelter.

The Russians still held their redoubts to the right. General count Morand marched thither, and carried them; but at nine in the morning, attacked on all sides, he was obliged to give way. The Russians attacked the French centre, and for a moment it was feared that they might carry the village which was burnt; the division Friant advanced thither: eighty pieces of French cannon immediately arrested the enemy's columns, which stood for two hours in close order, under the chain shot, not daring to advance, and unwilling to retire. The king of Naples decided their uncertainty. He caused the fourth corps of cavalry to make a charge, who penetrated through the breaches which the cannon-shot had made in the condensed masses of the Russians, and the squadrons of their cuirassiers; they dispersed on all sides. The general of division count Caulincourt advanced at the head of the fifth regiment of cuirassiers, and entered the redoubt on the left by its gorge. From this moment there was no longer any uncertainty. He turned upon the Russians the twenty-one pieces of cannon which were found in the redoubt. Count Caulincourt was killed by a cannon-ball. It was now two in the afternoon; the Russians had lost all hope; the battle was ended; but the cannonade still continued; the Russians now fought for retreat and safety, but no longer for victory. The loss of the Russians was enormous; from twelve to thirteen thousand men, and from eight to nine thousand Russian horses, were counted on the field of battle: sixty pieces of cannon and five thousand prisoners were taken by the French; whose loss was estimated at ten thousand men in killed and wounded; that of the Russians was calculated at forty thousand. Forty Russian generals were killed, wounded, or taken. General Bagrathion was wounded. The French general of division Montbrun, was killed by a cannon-ball; general count Caulincourt, who was sent to occupy his place, was killed by a shot of the same kind, an hour afterwards. The French generals of brigade Compere, Plauzonne, Marion, and Huart, were killed; seven or eight generals were wounded, the most of them slightly.

Such is a sketch of the battle of Moskwa, fought a few leagues in the rear of Mojaisk, and twenty-five leagues from Moscow, near the little river Moskwa. The French fired sixty thousand cannon shot.

After the battle of the Moskwa the French army pursued the Russians upon Moscow, by the three routs of Mojaisk, Svenigorod, and Kalouga; and on the 14th of September at mid-day, the French entered Moscow.

The city of Moscow is as large as Paris; it is an extremely rich city, full of palaces of all the nobles of the empire. The Russian governor, Rostopchin, wished to ruin this fine city when he saw it abandoned by the Russian army. He armed three thousand malefactors whom he had taken from the dungeons; he also summoned six thousand satellites, and distributed arms among them from the arsenal.

The French advanced guard, arrived in the centre of the city, was received by a fire of musketry, which issued from the Kremlin. The king of Naples ordered a battery of a few pieces of cannon to be opened, and soon took possession of the Kremlin.

The French emperor took up his abode in the Kremlin, which is in the centre of the city, like a kind of citadel, surrounded by high walls. Thirty thousand wounded or sick Russians were in the hospitals, abandoned, without succour, and without nourishment.

Moscow is the *entrepôt* of Asia and of Europe. Its warehouses were immense; every house was provided for eight months with necessaries of every description. It was only the evening before, and the day of the entrance of the French, that the danger became known. Moscow, one of the finest and richest cities in the world, is no more. On the 14th, the Russians set fire to the exchange, to the Bazar, and the hospital. On the 16th, a violent wind arose. Three or four hundred ruffians set fire to the city in five hundred different places at the same moment, by order of the governor Rostopchin. Five-sixths of the houses were built of wood; the fire spread with a prodigious rapidity; it was an ocean of flame. Churches, of which there were one thousand six hundred, above one thousand palaces, immense magazines; nearly all fell a prey to the flames. The Kremlin was preserved. The loss is incalculable for Russia, for her commerce, and for her nobility, who had left all there. The French bulletin says, it is not over-rating its value to state it at many milliards. About one hundred of these incendiaries were apprehended by the French and shot; all of them declared that they acted under the orders of Rostopchin, and the director of the police. Thirty thousand sick and wounded Russians were burnt. The richest commercial houses in Russia were ruined. The clothing, the magazines, and the equipments of the Russian army were consumed. They have thus lost every thing: they would remove nothing, because they thought it impossible for the French to reach Moscow. When they saw all in the hands of the French, they conceived the horrible project of destroying by fire this first capital, the centre of the empire; and they reduced to beggary two hundred thousand respectable inhabitants. The inhabitants endeavoured to stop the progress of the flames; but the governor had taken the horrid precaution to carry off or destroy all the engines.

In the twenty-first French bulletin it is said, "Three hundred incendiaries have been arrested and shot; they were provided with fuses six inches long, which they had between two pieces of wood: they had also squibs, which they threw upon the roofs of the houses. The wretch Rastopchin had these prepared, on pretence that he wished to send a balloon, full of combustible matter, amidst the French army. He thus got together the squibs and other materials, necessary for the execution of his project.

The fires subsided on the 19th and 23th; three quarters of the city were burned; among other palaces that beautiful one of Catharine, which had been newly finished: not above a quarter of the houses remained.

While Rostopchin was taking away the fire-engines of the city, he left behind him sixty thousand muskets, one hundred and fifty pieces of cannon, more than six hundred thousand balls and shells, one million five hundred thousand cartridges, four hundred thousand pounds of gunpowder, four hundred thousand pounds of saltpetre and sulphur. It was not till the 19th, that the powder, saltpetre, and sulphur were discovered at a fine establishment, half a league from the city by the French, who every day discovered cellars full of wine and brandy. Manufactures were beginning to flourish at Moscow: they were destroyed. The conflagration of this capital will throw Russia one hundred years back.

The colours taken by the Russians from the Turks in different wars, and several curious things found in the Kremlin, were sent off for Paris. The French found a Madonna enriched with diamonds; which they also sent to Paris.

In the 24th bulletin, dated October 14, it is said, the engineers have taken a plan of the city of Moskow, in which those houses are marked which were saved from the flames. It results, that we did not succeed in saving more than the tenth part of the town; the other nine-tenths exist no longer.

All the sick belonging to the French, who were in the hospitals of Moscow, left them on the 15th, 16th, 17th, and 18th of October, for Mojaisk and Smolensk. The artillery caissons, the ammunition taken; a great quantity of curious things, and two trophies, were packed up and sent off on the 15th. The French army received orders to bake biscuit for twenty days, and hold itself in readiness to march: in effect, the French emperor left Moscow on the 19th. The head quarters were the same day at Disna. On the one side, the Kremlin has been armed and fortified, and at the same time it has been mined, in order to blow it up.

The Russian Cossacks appeared in great numbers, and the French cavalry; the advanced guard of cavalry placed in advance of Veukovo, were surprised by a horde of Cossacks, who were in the camp, before they could mount on horseback. They took part of general Sebastiani's park of artillery, one hundred baggage waggons, and made about one hundred prisoners.

Marshal the duke of Treviso remained at Moscow with a garrison.

After Moscow had ceased to exist, the French emperor determined either to abandon this heap of ruins, or only occupy the Kremlin with three thousand men; but the Kremlin, after fifteen days' labour, was not judged sufficiently strong to be abandoned for twenty or thirty days to its own forces. It would have weakened and incommoded the army in its movements, without giving a great advantage. Twenty thousand men would have been necessary to protect Moscow from the beggars and plunderers.

Moscow

Moscow is, at present, a truly unhealthy and impure sink. A population of two hundred thousand wandering in the neighbouring woods, dying with hunger, came to these ruins to seek what remains, and vegetables in the gardens to support life. It appeared useless to compromise any thing whatever for an object which was of no military value, and which has now become of no political importance. All the magazines which were in the city having been carefully examined, and the others emptied, the French emperor caused the Kremlin to be mined. The duke of Treviso caused it to be blown up at two o'clock *a. m.* on the 23d: the arsenal, barracks, magazines—all were destroyed. This ancient citadel, which takes its date from the foundation of the monarchy—this first palace of the Czars, has been destroyed! The duke of Treviso has marched for Vereia. The emperor of Russia's aid-de-camp, baron Winzingerode, having, on the 22d, attempted to penetrate at the head of five hundred Cossacks, was repulsed and taken prisoner, with a young Russian officer named Nareskin. On the 19th, the head-quarters were in the castle of Troitskoi: they remained there on the 20th. On the 21st they were at Ignatien; the 22d at Pominskoi, all the army having made two flank marches; and the 23d at Borowsk.

On the 27th of October, prince Poniatowski marched upon Vereia. On the 23d, the French army was about to follow this movement; but, in the afternoon, they learnt that the Russians had quitted their entrenched camp, and were on march to the little town of Maloyaroslavitz. The viceroy received orders to march. Delzon's division arrived on the 23d, at six in the evening, on the left bank; took possession of the bridge, and caused it to be repaired. In the night between the 23d and 24th, the Russian division arrived in the town, and took possession of the heights on the right bank, which are extremely advantageous. On the 24th, at day-break, the battle commenced. During this time, the Russian army appeared quite entire, and took a position behind the town. The divisions Delzon, Broussier, and Pino, and the Italian guard, were successively engaged. Two-thirds of the Russian army were engaged to maintain this position; but this was in vain, for the town was taken, as well as the heights. The Russians retreated so precipitately, that they were obliged to throw twenty pieces of cannon into the river. Towards night, the marshal prince of Eckmuhl debouched with his corps, and all the army was in order of battle, with its artillery, on the 25th, in the position which the Russians occupied the night before.

The French emperor moved his head-quarters on the 24th to the village of Ghorodnia. At seven in the morning, six thousand Cossacks, who had slipped into the wood, made a general huzza in the rear of his position, and took six pieces of cannon, which were parked. The duke of Istria set off at a gallop with all the horse guards. This horde was sabred; the artillery it had taken was recovered, and several of his waggons were captured; six hundred of these Cossacks were killed, wounded, or taken; thirty men of the guards were wounded and three killed. The general of division, count Rapp, had a horse killed under him.

The emperor marched to Maloyaroslavitz, reconnoitred the position of the Russians, and ordered an attack next morning; but in the night they retreated. The French emperor then directed the movement upon Vareia. On the 26th, head-quarters were at Borowsk, and on the 27th at Vereia.

In the battle of Maloyaroslavitz, general baron Delzon, a distinguished officer, was killed with three balls. The French loss was one thousand five hundred men killed or wounded; that of the Russians five or six thousand. The French found on the field of battle one thousand seven hundred Russians, amongst whom were one thousand one hundred recruits, dressed in grey jackets, having hardly served two months. The Russians had three generals killed; and general count Pino was slightly wounded.

The French imperial head-quarters were, on the 1st of November, at Viasma, and on the 9th at Smolensk. The weather was very fine up to the 6th, but on the 7th winter began. The ground was covered with snow. The roads became very slippery, and very difficult for carriage horses. The French lost many men by cold and fatigne; night bivouakings (*f*) were very injurious to them.

Since the battle of Maloyaroslavitz, the advanced guard of the French saw no other enemy than the Cossacks, who, like the Arabs, pour upon the flanks, and fly about to annoy.

On the 2d, at two in the afternoon, twelve thousand Russian infantry, covered by a cloud of Cossacks, intercepted the communication, a league's distance from Viasma, between the prince of Eckmuhl and the viceroy. The prince of Eckmuhl and the viceroy marched upon this column, drove it from the road, and overthrew it in the wood; took a major general with a good number of prisoners, and carried off six pieces of cannon.

Since the bad weather, from the 6th to the 11th, the French lost more than three thousand carriage horses, and nearly one hundred caissons were destroyed.

The cold weather began on the 7th; from that moment the French lost every night several hundred horses, in consequence of bivouaking. Arrived at Smolensk, the French had already lost many cavalry and artillery horses.

The cold suddenly increased; and on the 14th, 15th, and 16th of November, the thermometer was at sixteen and eighteen degrees below the freezing point. The roads were covered with ice; the cavalry, artillery, and baggage horses, perished every night, not only by hundreds, but by thousands, particularly the German and French horses. In a few days, more than thirty thousand horses perished; the French cavalry were on foot; the artillery and baggage were without conveyance. It was necessary to abandon and destroy a good part of the cannon, ammunition, and provisions.

This army, so fine on the 6th, was very different on the 14th,—almost without cavalry, without artillery, without transports. "Without cavalry, (says the twenty-ninth French bulletin, dated December 3,) we could not reconnoitre a quarter of a league's distance; without artillery, we could not risk a battle, and firmly await it: it was requisite to march, in order not to be constrained to a battle, which the want of ammunition prevented us from desiring; it was requisite to occupy a certain space, not to be turned, and that too without cavalry, which led and connected the columns. This difficulty, joined to a cold which suddenly came on, rendered our situation miserable. Those men, whom nature had not sufficiently steeled to be above all the chances of fate and fortune, appeared shook, lost their gaiety, their good humour, and dreamed but of misfortunes and catastrophes; those whom she has created superior to every thing, preserved their gaiety, and their ordinary manners, and saw fresh glory in the different difficulties to be surmounted.

"The enemy, who saw upon the roads traces of that frightful calamity which had overtaken the French army, endeavoured to take advantage of it. He surrounded all the columns with his Cossacks, who carried off, like the Arabs of the desert, the trains and carriages which separated. This contemptible cavalry, which only make noise, and are not capable of penetrating through a company of voltigueurs, rendered themselves formidable by favour of circumstances. Nevertheless, the enemy had to repent of all the serious attempts which he wished to undertake: they were overthrown by the viceroy, before whom they were placed, and lost many men.

"The duke of Elchingen, with three thousand men, had blown up the ramparts of Smolensk: he was surrounded, and found himself in a critical position, but he extricated himself from it with that intrepidity by which he is distinguished. After having kept the enemy at a distance from him during the whole of the 18th, and constantly repulsed him, at night, he made a movement on the right, passed the Borysthenes, and deceived all the calculations of the enemy. On the 19th, the army passed the Borysthenes at Orza; and the Russian army being fatigued, and having lost a great number of men, ceased from its attempts.

"The army of Volhynia had inclined, on the 16th, upon Minsk, and marched upon Borisow. General Dombrowski defended the bridge-head of Borisow with three thousand men. On the 23d, he was forced, and obliged to evacuate this position. The enemy then passed the Beresina, marching upon Bobr; the division Lambert formed the advanced guard.

"The second corps, commanded by the duke of Reggio, which was at Tancherein, had received orders to march upon Borisow, to secure to the army the passage of the Beresina. On the 24th, the duke of Reggio met the division Lambert, four leagues from Borisow, attacked and defeated it, took two thousand prisoners, six pieces of cannon,

(*f*) These are extraordinary night-guards for the security of a camp or army.

cannon, five hundred bággage waggons of the army of Volhynia, and threw the enemy on the right bank of the Beresina.

" On the 26th, at break of day, the emperor, after having deceived the enemy by different movements made during the day of the 25th, marched upon the village of Studzeanea, and caused, in spite of an enemy's division, and in its presence, two bridges to be thrown over the river. The duke of Reggio passed, attacked the enemy, and led him, fighting, two hours. The enemy retired upon the tête-du-pont of Borisow. General Legrand, an officer of the first-rate merit, was badly, but not dangerously, wounded. During the whole of the 26th and 27th, the army passed.

" The duke of Belluno, commanding the ninth corps, had received orders to follow the movement of the duke of Reggio, to form the rear guard, and keep in check the Russian army from the Dwina, which followed him. Partonneaux's division formed the rear-guard of this corps.

" On the 27th, at noon, the duke of Belluno arrived with two divisions at the bridge of Studzeanea. Partonneaux's division set out at night for Borisow. A brigade of this division, which formed the rear-guard, and which was charged with burning the bridge, marched at seven in the evening, and arrived between ten and eleven o'clock; it sought its first brigade and its general, who had departed two hours before, and which it had not met with in its route. Its researches were in vain; some uneasiness was then conceived. All we have since been able to learn is, that the first brigade set out at five o'clock, missed its way at six, went to the right in place of proceeding to the left, and marched two or three leagues in this direction; that, during the night, and benumbed with cold, it rallied at seeing the enemy's fires, which it mistook for those of the French army. Thus surrounded, it was taken. This cruel mistake must have caused us a loss of two thousand infantry, three hundred cavalry, and three pieces of artillery.

" All the army having passed, on the morning of the 28th the duke of Belluno guarded the tête-du-pont upon the left bank: the duke of Reggio, and behind him all the the army, was upon the right bank. Borisow having been evacuated, the armies of the Dwina and Volhynia communicated; they planned an attack on the 28th, at break of day. The duke of Reggio caused the emperor to be informed that he was attacked. Half an hour afterwards, the duke of Belluno was on the left bank. The duke of Elchingen immediately followed the duke of Reggio, and the duke of Treviso followed the duke of Elchingen. The battle became warm. The enemy wishing to turn our right, general Doumere ordered a charge of cavalry at the moment when the legion of the Vistula was engaged in the woods, to pierce the centre of the enemy. The enemy was defeated and put to the rout, together with his cavalry, which came to the assistance of his infantry. Six thousand prisoners, two standards, and six pieces of cannon fell into our hands. On his side, the duke of Belluno vigorously charged the enemy, defeated him, took from five to six hundred prisoners, and did not suffer him to advance within reach of the cannon of the bridge. General Fournier made a fine charge of cavalry.

" In the battle of the Beresina, the army of Volhynia suffered much. The duke of Reggio was wounded, but his wound was not dangerous. He received a ball in his side.

" The next day (the 29th) we remained on the field of battle. We had to make our choice between two routes—that to Minsk, and that to Wilna. The road to Wilna led through a very fine country. The army being without cavalry, deficient in ammunition, and horribly fatigued by fifty days' march, carrying in its train all the sick and wounded of so many battles, stood greatly in need of getting to its magazines.

" On the 30th, the head quarters were at Plechnitsi; on the 1st of December at Slaike; and on the 3rd, at Molodetschno, where the army received the first convoys from Wilna. All the wounded officers and soldiers, and whatever else could be of embarrassment, with the baggage, &c. were sent off to Wilna."

The generals, officers, and soldiers, suffered greatly from want. Numbers lost their baggage by the loss of their horses, and several by the effects of the cossacks' ambushes. The cossacks took numbers of insolated persons, of geographical engineers, who were taking positions, and of wounded officers, who were marching without precaution, preferring running the risk, to marching slowly, and going with the convoy.

In all these movements the French emperor continually marched in the middle of his guards—the cavalry commanded by the duke of Istria, and the infantry commanded by the duke of Dantzic. The prince of Neufchatel, the grand marshal, the grand equerry, and all the aides-de-camp and military officers of the household, always accompanied his majesty. Our cavalry was dismounted to such a degree, that it was necessary to collect the officers, who had still a horse remaining, in order to form four companies of one hundred and fifty men each. The generals there performed the functions of captains, and the colonels those of subalterns. This sacred squadron, commanded by general Grouchy, and under the orders of the king of Naples, did not lose sight of the emperor in all these movements.

On the 5th of December, the French emperor, having called together at his head quarters at Smorgonie, the viceroy, the prince of Neufchatel, and the marshals dukes of Elchingen, Dantzic, Treviso, the prince of Eckmuhl, the duke of Istria, acquainted them, that he had nominated the king of Naples his lieutenant-general, to command the army during the rigorous season. Napoleon, in passing through Wilna, was employed several hours with the duke of Bassano. He travelled *incognito*, in a single sledge, with and under the name of the duke of Vicenza. He examined the fortifications of Praga, surveyed Warsaw, and remained there several hours unknown. Two hours before his departure he sent for count Potocki, and the minister of finance of the grand duchy, with whom he had a long conference. He arrived on the 14th, at one o'clock in the morning, at Dresden; and on the 18th, at half after eleven o'clock at night he arrived at Paris.

Thus have we given as clear an account of the war in Russia as seemed consistent with truth, and at the close of it, which is taken from the twenty-ninth bulletin, a series of the greatest hardships, the severest privations, and the most dreadful sufferings, was experienced by the French army. Various reports of the death or insanity of the French emperor had been circulated, but the arrival of this bulletin put a final stop to the absurd speculations which had been formed upon those suppositions. He arrived safely at Paris, in good health, and immediately proceeded to business. The wretched remains of his army he quitted at Smorgonie, a town about 50 miles from Wilna, but it does not appear that he left it before it had reached a place of comparative safety. So intense indeed was the cold which destroyed the French army, that at Copenhagen, on the 19th of December, Reaumur's thermometer was 13 degrees below *Zero*, and at Wilna it was 25 degrees below the same point. From the custom-house at Copenhagen to the coast of Sweden, the Sound presented one continued surface of ice; and it was said, that if the frost should continue but a few days longer it would soon be passable on foot. Some of the Danish ships, which were detained by the ice, had sent home their crews to the different provinces to which they belonged. Thus it is evident that it was not the effects of the Russian prowess, but the intense cold, that overcame the French army.

Two large divisions of Prussian troops, amounting to thirty thousand men, and forming the whole of the 10th corps of the Grand Army, capitulated to the Russian general De Diebetsch. Nothing so clearly shews the weakness to which the French army was reduced, as a circumstance attendant on this capitulation. General D'Yorck, who commanded the Prussians, being at Tawroggen, about twenty-five miles from Tilsit, on the 30th of December, entered into a convention with the above general, positively on behalf of his own troops, and conditionally on behalf of those under general Massenbach, which latter were at the moment with the French general Macdonald. D'Yorck immediately sent notice of the step he had taken to general Massenbach, who, notwithstanding the threats and remonstrances of Macdonald, actually marched away from him with his whole division, which the French general was not strong enough to hinder.

The king of Prussia received intelligence of the treason of general D'Yorck on the 14th of January, 1813, and immediately ordered, that " all means should be taken to seize the said general, and send him to Berlin, where he should be tried and punished for his crime." M. de Natzmer,

aid-de-camp to the king, set out on the morning of the 5th for Konigsberg, charged with a letter, by which his majesty, after having declared that he could not ratify the convention concluded by general D'Yorck, considering, that the dispositions to be taken with respect to his troops, belong, according to the treaty of alliance, to his majesty the emperor of the French, and afterwards to the king of Naples, as his lieutenant-general, invites this prince to give his orders to general Kleist, and to express them to major de Natzmer, who will make known to the Prussian corps the wishes of their sovereign.

About the close of January, general Rapp, a brave and intrepid soldier, was governor of Dantzig, where he had a garrison of thirty thousand good troops; and the place was said to be provisioned for two years. Dantzig was blockaded by the Russians, who had advanced to the Vistula in great force. Time after time this fortress was said to have surrrendered to the Russian forces; but although it had been besieged as it were by the Russian and Prussian soldiery ever since the middle of February, and they had lost many men before its walls, it was still in the hands of the French in the middle of June, the Russians, however, got possession of Konigsberg, Elbing, Marienberg, and Marienwurder.

The Russian army kept advancing and made their entrance into Warsaw; after which they marched towards the Oder, for the purpose of fighting and dispersing such French troops as might have been collected in and about Posen. An action of some importance there took place, in which the Russians, from the amazing disparity of the French army, were victorious; and on the 20th of February, two days after the battle, they occupied Berlin, with nineteen thousand men. They then proceeded to Hamburgh, which they entered on the 28th.

There does not appear to have been any French force capable of disputing the field with them.

The king of Prussia having left Berlin and proceeded to Potzdam, and his capital being in possession of the Russians, determined him at length to veer about once more, and to enter into an alliance offensive and defensive with the emperor Alexander.

Although the French forces were not in sufficient strength to oppose the numerous hordes of Russians with their Prussian auxilliaries, yet the genius of the French emperor was on the alert. By the beginning of April he had an army of nearly one hundred and fifty thousand men in the field; but the Russians, who found little to oppose them advanced to the Elbe, which they crossed. By this time, however, the principal line of assemblage of the French forces was from Mayence to Bamberg, following the serpentine course of the Mayne: thus the troops under the duke of Treviso were at Frankfort, with Sebastiani and Lefevre; Souham at Aschaffenberg; the prince of Moskwa had his head quarters at Hanau; the Bavarian general Wrede was at Bamberg; and Hesse and Baden were uniting in the vicinity of Wurtzburg.

The Russians who had crossed the Elbe under generals Dormberg and Tschermcheff advanced against general Morand at Luneburg, where he was with three thousand five hundred French forces. A very obstinate battle took place between the French and Russians, which was completely in favour of the latter, the whole body of the French being killed, wounded, or taken; but it should be recollected, that the Russian force was three times greater than the French. They, however, enjoyed their conquest but a short time; for the French sent ten thousand men to retake the town, which they did, and put the Russians to flight.

The Russians and Prussians advanced upon, and took possession of Dresden, the capital of the king of Saxony, who was persuaded to enter into a league against France; but these successes of the Russians at length roused the active Napoleon, and he set out from Paris on the night of the 15th of April, to put himself at the head of his forces in the neighbourhood of Magdeburgh; and although greatly inferior in point of numerical strength to the Allies, he had ordered reinforcements to be continually sent to join his main army.

Affairs at the close of April, began to wear rather a gloomy aspect at Hamburgh. The French, who drove the Russians out of Luneburg, marched into Hamburgh on the 29th; but the Russians and the detachments of the Hanseatic legion had provisionally recrossed the Elbe, deeming themselves not in sufficient force to meet the French. Thorn and Spandau, however, surrendered to the Allies. The emperor Alexander and the king of Prussia had also marched upon, and took possession of Dresden, the capital of the king of Saxony, as above mentioned, who had withdrawn to Prague.

Napoleon by this time, had joined his army, and a partial battle took place on the 1st of May at Weissenfels, in which marshal Bessieres, the duke of Istria, was killed, and the French advanced upon Lutzen. The emperor Alexander and the king of Prussia, learning that the French army had debouched from Thuringia, adopted the plan of giving battle in the plains of Lutzen, and put themselves in motion to occupy that position; but they were anticipated by the rapidity of the movements of the French army: they, however, persisted in their projects, and resolved to drive the French army from the position it had taken. The Allies debouched and passed the Elster at the bridges of Zwenkaw, Pegau, and Zeits. At nine in the morning of the 3rd of May, Napoleon heard a cannonade from the side nearest Leipsig. The allies defended the small village of Tastenau, and the bridges in advance of Leipsig. The French emperor now waited the moment when these last positions should be carried, to put in motion all his army in that direction, make it pivot on Leipsig, pass to the right bank of the Elster, and take the Allies *à revers*; but at ten o'clock the Allies debouched towards Kara, upon several columns extremely deep: their numbers appeared immense.

The battle now became brisk. The Allies, who appeared certain of success, marched to reach the right of the French, and gain the road of Weissenfels; but in this they were disappointed, and the field of battle was soon covered with the best of the enemy's cavalry. The great efforts of infantry, cavalry, and artillery, were directed against the centre. The village of Kara was taken and retaken several times. The battle embraced a line of two leagues, covered with fire, smoke, and clouds of dust. The Allies having bent their principal force upon the French centre, it gave way; but general Drouet with a battery of eighty pieces of artillery opened a dreadful fire upon the Allies: they now gave way on all sides. The duke of Treviso obtained possession of the village of Kara, overthrew the Allies, and continued to advance, beating the charge. The cavalry, infantry, and artillery of the Allies now retreated on all sides; which being followed by the French, they fled and were pursued for a league and a half. The French soon arrived at the heights which had been occupied by the emperor Alexander, the king of Prussia, and the Brandenburgh family during the battle. The French made several thousand prisoners, notwithstanding the inferiority of their numbers. The loss of the French, in killed and wounded, amounted to ten thousand men: that of the Allies, who were greatly superior in numerical strength, was estimated at upwards of twenty thousand. The prince of Hesse Homberg was killed, the young prince-royal of Prussia was wounded, and the prince of Mecklenburg-Strelitz, nephew to the queen of England, was killed. The Allied army amounted from between one hundred and fifty to two hundred thousand men, while that of the French did not exceed one hundred and thirty thousand, and most of these new-raised forces.

In consequence of the battle of Lutzen, the French advanced about eighty miles, though the Prussian account intimates that the Allies remained masters of the field of battle.

The French emperor entered Dresden on the 8th of May. As the French advanced after the battle of Lutzen, several affairs of minor importance took place. The king of Saxony, who had been obliged to leave his capital when the Russian and Prussian combined army advanced upon it, returned to it at mid-day on the 12th, when the French emperor and he embraced each other. So far therefore, from joining the Allies, as it was fondly expected, and positively asserted, the king of Saxony, after his conference with the emperor of Austria at Prague, surrendered his fortresses to the French, and joined Napoleon with the whole of his forces (*g*).

On the 18th Bonaparte left Dresden, and arrived be-

(*g*) The king of Saxony is the most powerful and respectable of the German princes, next to the emperor of Austria, and by thus completely detaching Saxony from the cause of the confederates Bonaparte gained a decided superiority over the Allies.

fore

fore Bautzen on the 19th, at ten in the morning; after which he employed the remainder of the day in reconnoitring the position of the allies. At noon, on the 20th, a brisk cannonade commenced in the neighbourhood of Bautzen, which lasted six hours; during which several charges were made by the allies without success; for general Compans took possession of Bautzen; and general Bonnet, by a running charge, took possession of a plain which rendered him master of the whole of the centre of the allied forces, and at seven in the evening they were driven back on their second position. The French emperor entered Bautzen at eight in the evening. The battle of Bautzen was the prelude to the battle of Wurtchen.

On the 21st, the French emperor marched towards the heights, three quarters of a league in advance of Bautzen, at five o'clock in the morning. At eleven the duke of Treviso advanced one thousand toises from his position, and engaged in a dreadful cannonade before all the redoubts and entrenchments of the allies, and by the manœuvres of the French they were kept in a state of uncertainty respecting the real point of attack. At length the allies, finding that the French had succeeded in turning their right, began to retreat, and this retreat soon became a flight; and at seven in the evening, the prince of Moskwa and general Lauriston arrived at Wurtchen. The allies being now forced from all their positions, left the French masters of the field of battle, who found it covered with the dead and wounded, and took several thousand prisoners.

On the 22nd, at four in the morning, the French army was again in motion. The allies had continued their flight during the whole of the night, by all the roads, and in every direction. The French did not find their first posts till they had passed Weissemburg; nor did they offer the least resistance, until they had gained the heights in the rear of Reickenbach. General Lefebure Desnouettes, at the head of one thousand five hundred horse of the Polish lancers, and the red lancers of the guards, charged and overthrew the Russian cavalry in the plain of Rettenbach. In the battles of the 20th and 21st the French estimated their loss at eleven or twelve thousand men in killed and wounded. On the 22nd, the duke of Treviso was wounded, general Kirgener was killed on the spot, and the duke of Trioul (Duroc) was mortally wounded, and died twelve hours afterwards. On the 23rd, general Reynier entered Goerlitz. The allies burnt a great quantity of their baggage, blew up a number of parks, and distributed through the villages great quantities of wounded, ten thousand of whom remained in the power of the French.

On the 29th of May there was a severe engagement at Ochsenwarder: the Hanseatic legion, Prussians, and English riflemen, made a strong resistance against the enemy; but owing to a blunder of captain Muller, who took a party of the French, they being commanded in English, to be English, one thousand five hundred men took possession of Ochsenwarder. General Tettenborn informed the senate, that he had no longer the means of defence, and left it entirely with the senate to adopt such measures as they thought proper; after which he left the place, and at mid-day on the 30th, the Danes, five thousand strong, with a park of artillery, entered Hamburgh, having the French general Bruyere, at their head; at seven in the evening one thousand five hundred French *gens d'armes* entered the town (*h*).

On the 1st of June, an armistice having been previously proposed, the duke of Vicenza, on the part of the French and the Russian and Prussian plenipotentiaries, count Schouvaloff and general Kleist, exchanged their full powers, and neutralized the village of Peicherwitz. Forty infantry and twenty cavalry, furnished by the French army, and the same number of men furnished by the allied army, respectively occupied the two entrances of the village. On the 2nd, in the morning, the plenipotentiaries had a conference to fix the line which, during the armistice, should determine the position of the two armies. In the mean time, orders were given from the head quarters of both armies, that no hostilities should take place. The armistice was signed on the 4th; and it was agreed that hostilities should cease till the 8th of July inclusive, and that they should not re-commence without giving six days notice to that effect. By this armistice the French were to remain in possession of every thing which it occupied on the 8th of June at midnight.

Having brought our account of the war between France and Russia to the latest possible period, the middle of the year 1813, it is necessary that we revert to our parliamentary history, in which, however, we find but little worth recording; but we must not pass over without notice the assassination of the right honourable Spencer Perceval, on the 11th of May, 1812. As the right honourable gentleman was entering the lobby of the house of commons, about a quarter after five o'clock in the afternoon, where a considerable number of persons were standing, a Mr. Bellingham, a merchant of Liverpool, drew out a small pistol from his pocket, and fired at Mr. Perceval, who received the contents in his left breast, the ball entering his heart. Mr. Perceval moved forwards a few faultering steps, and then fell. The only words he uttered were, "I am murdered," but the latter word was inarticulate, the sound dying between his lips. He was instantly taken to the room of the speaker's secretary, to the left of the lobby, where he expired in about ten or twelve minutes. His brother, lord Arden, among several others, was present at his death. Mr. Lynn, the surgeon, who examined the wound, found that the ball, which was of a large size, had penetrated the heart near the centre, and had passed completely through it. The deed was perpetrated so suddenly, that the man who fired the pistol was not instantly recognized by those in the lobby; but a person passing at the moment behind Mr. Perceval, seized the pistol, and the assassin was instantly secured, and asked if he were the villain who shot the minister; to which he replied, "I am the unhappy man; my name is Bellingham." There were found on his person the fellow pistol to that with which he effected the fatal purpose, and a bundle of papers folded like letters. The pistol found upon him was loaded. He was then conducted to the bar of the house of commons, where the greatest confusion prevailed; but on order being restored, general Gascoigne said, in an audible voice, "I think I know the villain; and walking up to the assassin, and looking him in the face, inquired, "Is not your name Bellingham?" To which he made no reply.

On the examination of witnesses by the magistrates before whom Mr. Bellingham was taken, general Gascoine, the member for Liverpool, stated, that he had seen Bellingham often, and that he had received petitions and memorials from him respecting some claims upon government, which he ought to have been allowed. These demands originated in services which Bellingham performed in Russia, but for which he complained he had received no remuneration. He had made numerous similar ineffectual applications to Mr. Perceval, and to the Speaker. He said, that he had made application to every person likely to procure him redress; and that he had at length been driven to despair, by being told at the public offices, he might do his worst. "I have obeyed them," added he: "I have done my worst, and I rejoice in the deed."

On the following morning (May 12,) the coroner's inquest sat on the body of Mr. Spencer Perceval, and after the examination of several witnesses, the jury returned a verdict of "Wilful murder against John Bellingham, alias Ballingham." Suffice it to say, that Mr. Bellingham was tried for his offence at the Old Bailey, on the 15th, and being found guilty, was executed agreeable to his sentence, on the Monday after he had committed the murder. It was the opinion of several persons that Mr. Bellingham was *insane*, and they blamed the precipitancy with which he was brought to trial. It is certain that he had been insane; and one of the witnesses who voluntarily came from

(*h*) The conduct of the crown prince of Sweden (Bernadotte) on this occasion appears to have something mystical in it. He entered Germany at the head of twenty-four thousand men, and eighty pieces of artillery, but when applied to by the senate of Hamburgh, he replied, "That Hamburgh was at present but a minor object, compared with his ulterior movements, and that the fate of that city must be decided by the issue of the contest for the general deliverance." Thus Bernadotte constantly appeared to be in the way to do something; but took care always to avoid coming into action; indeed it could not be expected that he would become the enemy of his old master Bonaparte. Sweden, however, was paid by England, and the crown prince must appear to do something. The treaty which the English ministers entered into with Sweden, was at length reluctantly laid before the house of lords on the 10th of June, and the next day before the house of commons. The substance of this treaty is, "That the English pay *One Million of Pounds sterling per annum*, as a subsidy; that Great Britain shall cede the island of Guadaloupe to the Swedes; and the English shall assist the crown prince in his views on Norway with a sufficient naval force. Guadaloupe to be delivered to the crown prince three months after the Swedes make good their landing in Germany." Now Bernadotte did land with a powerful army on the shores of Germany, but has hitherto remained inactive; the English, however, are bound by treaty to give up the island in August to the Swedes!

Southampton,

Southampton, and knew him from a child, and was well acquainted with his family, swore that his father died insane in Titchfield Street, Oxford Road, and that Bellingham appeared to be deranged whenever he mentioned his affairs in Russia (*i*).

In consequence of the death of Mr. Perceval the country was for some time without a person at the head of the government, and it was not till several gentlemen had been applied to, whom the contention of party would not allow to take an active share in the administration, that an efficient ministry could be formed. At length the following noblemen were appointed to the principal offices in the administration: The earl of Liverpool, first lord of the treasury; the right honourable N. Vansittart, chancellor of the Exchequer; lord Eldon, lord chancellor; the earl of Harrowby, president of the council; lord Castlereagh, secretary of state for foreign affairs; lord Sidmouth, secretary for home affairs; earl Bathurst, secretary at war; lord Melville, secretary of the admiralty; the earl of Westmoreland, lord privy seal; lord Buckinghamshire, board of controul; and lord Mulgrave, master of the ordnance. On the 30th of July, this parliament was prorogued.

We have before observed that the parliamentary history of this period contained very little matter of importance; therefore, we shall pass over the debates of a trifling nature, and conclude with the observations on the late treaty with Sweden, which took place in the house of commons on the 18th of June, 1813.

Mr. Ponsonby, in the house of commons, when the late treaty with Sweden was animadverted upon (*k*), said, in allusion to that part which concerned Denmark, the honourable gentlemen (lord Castlereagh) observed, that the treaty said—"The two contracting powers, being unwilling, *if it can be avoided*, to make an enemy of the king of Denmark."—If it can be avoided! How modest are their expressions! how gentle their manners! how kind their intention! Being unwilling to make an enemy of the king of Denmark! Unwilling to make an enemy of whom? of a monarch with whom neither of the parties pretended to have the slightest cause of quarrel. But, feeling this virtuous reluctance, what do they propose to do—"They will offer to his Danish majesty, to procure for him a compleat indemnity for Norway, by a territory more contiguous to his German dominions, provided his Danish majesty will cede for ever his rights to the kingdom of Norway." Here are the deliverers of Europe, contracting between themselves, for the purposes of their own base ambition, to take from an unoffending potentate, a portion of his ancient territory—to tear from him who wore the crown of Denmark, a most valuable part of his dominions, that it may be given to one of these parties, as an equivalent for that which had been wrested from him. But, it seems, they are to give to the king of Denmark—a full compensation for Norway: that is, by granting to him "certain other territories, more contiguous to his dominions in Germany!" I do beseech you, sir, to look to the circumstances under which this flagitious offer was made. France was to be driven back to her ancient boundaries; Germany was to be delivered—all Europe was to be freed from the grasp of the French emperor, by the united force of Russia and Sweden! and in order to induce the people of Germamy to make an effort against France, how did these liberators act? They take a part of Denmark and give it to Sweden—a province to which neither had any claim—and they offer an indemnity to the former by some dominions contiguous to his German territories. The policy of this stipulation, which must disgust the people of Germany, is equal to its injustice. And how any cabinet in this country, acting under a monarch remarkable for his own good faith, and high sense of honour, remarkable for his own scrupulous attention to the dictates of justice—a monarch, the greater part of whose reign has been spent in carrying on a bloody and expensive war, to prevent France from establishing the very principles contained in this treaty:—that the ministers of such a king could have the hardihood to call upon that monarch and the nation which he governs to accede to a treaty like that entered into between Russia and Sweden, exceeds any thing to be found in the history of courts, or of the world. Sir, if the ministers of this country absolutely wanted to establish the system of France throughout Europe—that system so often and justly reprobated—they could not have adopted a proceeding better calculated to produce that effect, than by advising the crown and parliament to sanction this convention. Do we, sir, throughout the whole of it, find any one sentence expressive of an anxiety for the liberties of mankind, or the general interests of the world? Yet, sir, notwithstanding the abominable and atrocious stipulations which this convention contains, we are made to say, in our treaty with Sweden, which recognizes the convention, "that the transfer of Norway from its rightful monarch—that the separation of the people from their lawful sovereign, shall take place with every possible regard and consideration for the hapiness and liberty of the people of Norway."

Lord Castlereagh defended the treaty, and concluded by expressing his hopes, that the house would reject the address to the prince-regent, praying that he would order the substance of the late negociation between this country and Denmark, relative to the pacific proposition made by the latter kingdom to be laid before the house, an address which, if carried, he said, would mark ministers as unfit for their situation, and expose them to disgrace in the face of our allies, and of all Europe.

Mr. Canning said, as an obstacle to peace, he particularly lamented the stipulation of this treaty. We had bound ourselves to give a priority to Norway and Guadaloupe in our negociations, which placed us at the mercy or caprice of the enemy, and would almost enable him to dictate his own terms in admitting equivalents. Why was it forgotten, that Portugal, Spain, and Sicily were to be provided for in our negociations, as objects of primary importance?

And Mr. Whitbread considered the annexation of Norway, stipulated for in this treaty, as one of the worst acts and most mischievous examples in the history of modern times. It rivalled the worst acts of the French revolutionists. What should we have thought if France had proposed the annexation and perpetuity of Ireland to the kingdom of Spain. The present case was equally flagrant.

We have now to advert to our affairs with the United States of America, and the circumstances which preceded the war in which we are at present engaged with that power. For a long time disagreements had subsisted between the two nations, principally occasioned by the pretended right of British officers searching American ships for British seamen, and if any such were found on board the American vessels, their forcibly taking them out and compelling them to serve on board his majesty's ships of war. This, however, the Americans strongly remonstrated against; and negociations were set on foot, but the matter was never amicably adjusted. The orders in council too, was another source of discontent, and these were still, notwithstanding the negociations, continued in full force, by which the Americans suffered greatly in their trade.

At length, in the beginning of June, 1812, intelligence was received, that a bill had been brought into the house of representatives, which contained seven clauses relating to the matters in dispute with this country. It passed the first reading by a majority of fifty-three to twenty-eight, and after this decisive progress had little difficulty in proceeding through the remaining stages. In this bill, which was entitled, "A Bill for the more effectual Protection of American Seamen, &c." it is enacted, "That any British or other subjects, proved to have been guilty of impressing American seamen, shall be deemed *pirates* and *felons*,

(*i*) The right honourable Spencer Perceval was second son of the late lord Egmont, by Catharine, third daughter of the honourable Charles Compton. He was born on the 1st of November, 1762, and was therefore in the fiftieth year of his age. He was married in August, 1790, to Jane, second daughter to sir Thomas Wilson, bart. by whom he had twelve children. The Irish title of lord Arden descended to Mr. Perceval's full brother, in right of their mother, who was of the Northampton family; and from one of this family Mr. Perceval took the name of Spencer, and by his connection with it he established his interest in the borough of Northampton, which he long represented in parliament. Mr. Perceval was admitted a student of Lincoln's Inn, December 16, 1782; called to the bar in January, 1786, and made a bencher in February, 1796. He became solicitor-general in Mr. Addington's first administration, and afterwards attorney-general, when Mr. Law was made chief justice of the king's bench. In this office he continued till Mr. Pitt came again into office, and retained it till the death of that minister. When the administration of lords Grenville and Grey resigned, Mr. Perceval came into office as chancellor of the Exchequer and of the duchy of Lancaster, under the name and sanction of the duke of Portland, as first lord of the treasury; and when that nobleman died, became and continued till the moment of his death at the head of the administration. Such was the feeling of the government on account of Mr. Perceval's assassination, that, notwithstanding the immense taxes the nation had to pay by reason of the war, fifty thousand pounds were granted to his younger children, one thousand per annum to his eldest son, and two thousand per annum to his widow, which upon her demise was to be enjoyed by the eldest son.

(*k*) See the note above, p. 631.

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and punished with death; such persons to be tried on the spot, wherever they may be found:

"That the president be authorized to order the ships of war of the United States to bring in any foreign armed vessels that may be found on the coast, molesting American ships, or hovering on their shores.

"That American seamen, who shall have been impressed, shall be authorized to levy on British debts, or British property in America, as an indemnification, for the time of detention, at the rate of thirty dollars a month each; an exhibition of that claim by the creditor, &c. in America, to be considered a sufficient discharge to the claimant in Great Britain."

By the further clauses of this bill, the American flag is made to cover all persons on board, excepting such as may be in the actual service of Great Britain; and it is ordered, that the government do seize so many British subjects in the United States, or in the territories of Great Britain, as shall be equivalent to the number of Americans detained on board the British navy; these hostages to be detained until exchanged by the usual way of cartel.

The above transaction of the American government seems to have roused the British ministers to a sense of their danger, and in the supplement to the London Gazette of the 23rd of June, appeared a revocation of those noxious decrees, the orders in council, so far as they related to America. The British minister also followed up this revocation by granting licences of protection to such American vessels as might in consequence take out British ladings, to secure them from capture in the event of acts of hostility having commenced between this country and the United States, before their arrival (*l*).

When Mr. Foster, the English ambassador in America, received the declaration of the British ministry of the 14th of April, relative to the orders in council, he sent it, with a short complimentary note, to Mr. Munroe, to which the latter replied by a question, desiring to know whether the rescinding of the Berlin and Milan decrees with respect to America, would be such a revocation as would render the orders in council of Great Britain invalid and nugatory? Mr. Foster not giving a satisfactory answer to this inquiry, the president sent a message to the house of representatives, recommending a declaration of war against his Britannic majesty. This subject was deliberated upon with closed doors, and was decided in favour of war, by a majority of seventy-nine to forty-nine.

At length, owing to the delays of the British ministers in rescinding the orders in council with respect to America, a message was sent to the senate and house of representatives of the United States, dated the 1st of June, in which the Americans sum up their complaints against Great Britain under three heads: The impressment of American seamen; the right of putting an entire coast in a state of siege, by what are called Paper Blockades; and the effects of the orders in council. This message, which is signed by the president, was shortly after followed by

"An act, declaring war between the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland and the dependencies thereof, and the United States of America and their territories.

"Be it enacted, by the senate and house of representatives of the United States of America, in congress assembled, 'That war be and the same is hereby declared to exist between the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland and the dependencies thereof, and the United States of America, and their territories, and that the president of the United States be and is hereby authorized to use the whole land and naval forces of the United States to carry the same into effect, and to issue to the private armed vessels commissions or letters of marque and general reprisal, in such form as he shall think proper, and under the seal of the United States, against the vessels, goods, and effects of the government of the said United kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, and the subjects thereof.'

"June 18, 1812. (Approved "JAMES MADISON."

The Americans shortly after sent a squadron of ships to sea, under the command of commodore Rodgers, and a body of land forces to Upper Canada, under the command of general Hull.

On the 16th of August, major-general Brock, captured the important post of Fort Detroit and two thousand five hundred men under brigadier-general Hull, commander of the North-Western American army, without the loss of a single man.

On the 19th of August, the United States' frigate Constitution, Isaac Hull, esq. commander, fell in with the British frigate Guerriere, commanded by Jas. R. Dacres, esq. A well-fought action took place, in which the commanders and crews of both ships behaved with the greatest courage and magnanimity; the Guerriere was a perfect wreck, and compelled to strike her colours, after which she was set fire to by orders of captain Hull, and blew up in about half an hour.

Another victory was obtained over the Americans on the 13th of October, when nine hundred prisoners, and the commander of the American forces, surrendered themselves on the field of battle; but the English commander, general Brock, was slain in the beginning of the action.

On the 25th of October, the Macedonian frigate, of thirty-eight guns, commanded by captain John Surman Carden, was captured by the United States, commodore Decatur. On board the English frigate were one hundred and four killed and wounded.

In the supplement to the London Gazette of January 9, 1813, was published a long recriminatory declaration of the British government, in reply to a message of the president of the United States. This declaration expresses the intention of the prince regent rigidly to abide by the British system of blockade, avows a determination never to give up the right of search, and throws upon America the whole blame of the war.

This verbose, but important declaration, (though it be infinitely too long for us to insert,) relative to the war with America, demands a few observations, in which we shall simply confine ourselves to one topic—the right claimed by Great Britain of searching American vessels for British seamen. This we are persuaded is the real foundation of the dispute between the two countries; and we cannot help expressing our concern that each party seems determined not in the least to recede from the pretensions it has laid down. Were we to analyze the ground of this difference, we should find the whole to arise from the similarity of language, dress, and habits, which characterize the English and the American sailor. It is that which creates the abuse; and it is the abuse the Americans chiefly complain of.

The position advanced by the English in this declaration—that a man is born with certain bonds of allegiance, which he cannot legally transfer to another country, is, we think, incontrovertible. And we certainly agree with the declaration in its assertion of the right to taking English subjects wheresoever they may be found. It is of the most vital importance to England that she ever maintains this right; but in acting upon it she should be willing to give every security to the Americans, that it is English subjects, and them alone, whose allegiance she claims, and whose services she insists on. That the exercise of this right is, and ever will be, from existing circumstances, peculiarly open to abuse, there can be no question; but we cannot help entertaining the idea that arrangements might be made, which would have the effect of reducing those abuses to a very narrow compass.

The complaint of the Americans is, that under pretence of searching for British seamen, their vessels are boarded, and without further proof than the mere assertion of an English naval officer, the best of their crews are selected, forced into the British navy, and ultimately compelled to fight against the country that gave them birth. Such is the American statement; and we are compelled to acknowledge it too often substantiated by facts. On the other hand, the British assert, So long as you hold out inducements for our sailors to desert, by their easy attainment of American letters of naturalization, so long must you be subject to the injuries consequent on the right of search. From this slight view of the ground of our quarrel with the United States, it is clearly apparent, that each party must concede something, or the war must be eternal: and this we imagine might easily be done

(*l*) In consequence of this revocation of the orders in council, the accounts which were received in London towards the close of June from the country were filled with relations of the rejoicings of the manufacturing districts. At Sheffield, Birmingham, and Stafford, bonfires, bell-ringing, and firing of cannon, announced the revival of hope in the industrious; and in a letter from Leeds it was said, "The beneficial effects of the repeal of the orders in council are already apparent, in the impulse given to the woollen trade. Bales of cloth, which have been stored in the warehouses of the American merchants for months, in some instances for years, are now in transit to the place of their destination; and we are peculiarly happy to state, that there were more purchasers in Leeds cloth-hall one morning, than there has been on any market day since the enactment of the celebrated orders in council."

without compromising the interests or the honour of either nation.

The Java frigate, of forty-six guns, sailed from Spithead early in November, 1812, for the purpose of conveying general Hislop and suite to Bombay; but she was fell in with off the coast of Brazil by the Constitution frigate, belonging to the United States; and after a serious action, in which captain Lambert, of the Java and many of his officers and men were killed, was taken; but, like the Guerriere, she was reduced to such a state of wreck, that the enemy could not carry her into port. She was therefore destroyed. The loss sustained on board the Java was sixty-nine killed, and one hundred and seventy wounded; whilst the loss on board the Constitution was only nine killed and twenty-five wounded.

On the 23rd of April, 1813, dispatches were received by government from lieutenant-general sir G. Prevost, dated Quebec, February 8, containing an account of the total defeat of a part of the American army, under the command of general Winchester, at French Town, on the river Raisin, twenty-six miles to the south of Detroit, on the 22nd of January. The American force engaged amounted to upwards of one thousand men, of whom about five hundred, including the general and two field officers, were taken prisoners, and the remainder either killed or wounded. General Proctor, who commanded the British force engaged, spoke highly of the conduct of his troops. The loss sustained by the British amounted to twenty-four killed, and one hundred and fifty-eight wounded.

In the London Gazette of June 5, was a letter from sir George Prevost, which announced that colonel Macdonell had crossed the river St. Lawrence, and had surprized the Americans at Ogdenburgh, and taken eleven pieces of cannon, four officers, and seventy men prisoners.

Thus have we brought our account of the war with America to the latest possible date; and have only now to mention the unhappy difference which took place between the Prince Regent and his Royal Consort, and although we lament that such difference should ever have subsisted, yet we cannot but rejoice that her Royal Highness has completely established her innocency against the false accusations that were made against her honour and her life.

In the autumn of 1794, his majesty thought it adviseable that the prince of Wales should be married, which was accordingly hinted to his royal highness, but in so delicate a manner, as to leave it entirely to his option. The matter rested for some time, till one day, his royal highness praising the person and accomplishments of his sister the princess Mary, before the duke of Clarence, the duke observed, she was very like the princess of Brunswic, whom he had the honour of knowing, and had conversed with. Upon this the prince became more inquisitive, and the duke so satisfied him in all particulars, as to afford him the highest gratification. The affair again dropped for some time, till on the morning of a great gala, at Windsor, his royal highness mentioned it to a great personage, who was pleased with the proposal, and it was immediately communicated to the queen, who felt equal satisfaction. Overtures were then made to the court of Brunswic, which were favourably received; after which his majesty appointed the right honourable James earl of Malmesbury, "to negociate, conclude, and sign a treaty of marriage between his royal highness the prince of Wales, and the princess Caroline Amelia Elizabeth, daughter to his most illustrious highness the duke of Brunswic and Lunenburg." The treaty of marriage being concluded in December, 1794, was transmitted to the court of St. James's, and was sent back, on the 16th of the same month, finally ratified.

On the 24th of March, 1795, her serene highness the princess Caroline of Brunswic left Hanover, where she had resided some time after her departure from Brunswic, and proceeded on her route to England, where she landed at Greenwich Hospital, on the 5th of April. They were married on the 8th, and addresses from the city of London, and other corporations, were presented to their majesties and to their royal highnesses, which were graciously received, and appropriate answers returned. On the 7th of January, 1796, her royal highness was delivered of a princess at Carleton House; and on the 11th of February, the infant princess was baptized by the name of Charlotte Carolina Augusta (*m*).

On the prince of Wales's marriage with this illustrious lady, he was emancipated from his enormous accumulated debts; but her royal highness brought other claims to love and gratitude. She was truly represented at the time as a person of great beauty, but not greater than her sweetness of manners, her acquired accomplishments, and her strength and greatness of mind. She was received in England with transports of joy: addresses of admiration and gratitude poured in upon her from all quarters, and her husband was congratulated as the happiest of men. A similar torrent of addresses poured in upon the birth of the princess Charlotte of Wales. In short, no events seem ever to have caused such unmixed joy in this country, as did the marriage of this illustrious lady and the birth of her child. And who, at that day, could have anticipated, that a time would arrive, when the mother would have to complain, and even to make public her complaints, of being debarred a free communication with that child?

The tranquillity of the prince and princess was, however, but of short duration; for, only one year and twenty-two days, that is, about three months after the birth of the princess Charlotte, his royal highness, after the most mature deliberation, wrote a letter to his consort, in which he said, respecting "the terms upon which they were to live,"—"Our inclinations are not in our power, nor should either of us be answerable to the other, *because nature has not made us suitable to each other. Tranquil and comfortable society, however, is in our power. Let our intercourse be restricted to that.*" This letter was dated April 30, 1796.

Matrimonial differences, we know, are of that delicate nature, that we think they should ever be left to be terminated by the parties who are most interested. In the case, however, before us, a stigma, the most undeserving, had for years rested on the lady, which deprived her of many of the privileges of her rank; and owing to that, she was compelled to live in a state of seclusion at Montague House on Blackheath. At length his majesty, in 1806, by a commission, appointed certain lords to enquire into her royal highness's conduct, and to make a report thereof to his majesty. This was accordingly done, and the noblemen who made the enquiry, entirely exculpated the princess from the charges exhibited and sworn to against her. Her royal highness was afterwards re-admitted to his majesty's society, from which she had been secluded; and very little would have been known of the depositions of the witnesses examined against her, particularly sir John and lady Douglas, and a few others, but for the exertions of Mr. Spencer Perceval, who collected them together, and printed them in a volume, which contained his majesty's commission for entering on the inquiry, (commonly called the Delicate Investigation,) and several letters from her royal highness, his majesty, the lord chancellor, and others, on the subject (*n*).

One of the principal facts which lady Douglas charged her royal highness with, was that of being brought to bed of a boy during her separation from her royal consort, and when no intercourse had subsisted between them; but of all the filthy, obscene, false, and diabolical depositions, that were ever sworn to, that of lady Charlotte Douglas is one of the worst. "Independently of the princess's confession to me, I can *swear* (says the wife of him, who is now major-general sir John Douglas) that she was pregnant in 1802." But that which her ladyship here swears *upon her own knowledge* to be *true*, is now known to all the world to be *false*.

On the investigation of the princess's conduct, Sophia Austin, a poor woman, positively swore, that she was herself brought to bed in Brownlow Street Hospital, and produced a copy of the register of the child's birth,—of the very child which lady Charlotte Douglas swore was the princess's.

Her royal highness's defence, written by the late Mr. Spencer Perceval, lord Eldon, and sir Thomas Plomer, occupied one hundred and eighty folio pages, and comprized answers to all the material charges brought against her royal highness, and refuted them in so natural, so easy,

(*m*) The princess Charlotte of Wales was born precisely nine months from the day of the prince of Wales's marriage, and will be eighteen years of age on the next anniversary of her birth-day, that is, January 7, 1814. The princess, who is their only child, is, of course, heiress to the throne.

(*n*) This book, which was so full of false accusations, calumny, and perjury against her royal highness, it was attempted to suppress, by the purchase of the copies; but the book had been published, it was gone abroad; and notwithstanding the large sums that had been lavished, to get the whole of the copies into their hands, those who had the direction of it were miserably disappointed.

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and so unpremeditated a manner, that he must be a sceptic indeed, who, after reading it, can for a single moment doubt the innocence of this much injured lady.

From what transpired, it was abundantly evident, that for years before the first enquiry took place, that her royal highness had been surrounded with spies and informers, whose business it was narrowly to watch her conduct, and carefully to register every action upon which a bad construction, in their *upright* opinion, might be put. She never rose an hour earlier in the morning, or sat up an hour later than usual in the evening, but it was noted down, with all the exactness of the most rigid accountant. *Every* gentleman who visited her underwent the same scrutinizing observation. If she walked, she walked with some wicked design;—if she rode, she must have had some motive for riding, and that must have been a bad one;—if she ate in the same room with a gentleman, that was considered, at least, as suspicious;—and if she sat on the same sofa with one, although a hundred ladies were present, that was proof positive. In short, every one must be convinced, and coincide with Mr. Whitbread, who declared in the house of commons, that the allegations against her were too serious to be ridiculous—yet too ridiculous to be serious.

When his majesty, the princess of Wales's uncle and father-in-law, was in bodily health, he was friendly to her royal highness, and if any restrictions had been put upon her with respect to her visits to her royal daughter, she could, and would have appealed to his majesty, and they would have been removed; but no such restrictions were then put upon her: this was an after matter, which at length became so intolerable towards the close of 1812, that her royal highness resolved to apply to her husband, the prince regent, upon the subject. Consequently, in the beginning of 1813, her royal highness addressed a long letter to the prince regent, which appeared in most of the public papers of the day.

In consequence of the publication of this letter, a fresh enquiry was set on foot, which commenced on the 11th of February, 1813, and continued several days; after which the commissioners made their report to the prince regent, which tended to establish the princess of Wales's innocency, and yet allowed that she ought to be restricted from visiting her royal daughter.

This report occasioned the princess of Wales to apply to parliament, throwing herself upon its wisdom and justice. Accordingly, in the house of commons, on the 2nd of March, the Speaker addressed the house on the subject, and read the letter which her royal highness addressed to him on the subject of the report just mentioned. In her royal highness's letter to the Speaker is the following passage: "The princess of Wales is, therefore, compelled to throw herself on the wisdom and justice of parliament, and she earnestly desires a full investigation of her conduct during the whole period of her residence in this country. Her royal highness fears no scrutiny, however strict, provided it be conducted by impartial judges, and in a fair and open manner, before a tribunal known to the constitution. It is her royal highness's wish either to be treated as innocent, or proved guilty."

This, as might be supposed, occasioned a vast deal of debate in the house of commons, on the 2nd of March, 1813; and on the 4th, when the speaker called on Mr. Cochrane Johnstone for the motion which he had promised to make relative to the princess of Wales, Mr. Lygon, member for Worcestershire, said, he felt it to be a duty imperative on him, to move the standing order, that strangers should withdraw. This motion called forth loud expressions of disapprobation; but the speaker of course felt it his duty to enforce the standing order of the house, and the gallery was cleared. Mr. Bennett then moved that the house should adjourn. After a debate, in which some members supported Mr. Bennett's motion, while others opposed it, a division ensued, when the numbers were, against the adjournment two hundred and forty-eight, for the adjournment one hundred and thirty; majority one hundred and nine.

The report made to the prince regent was signed by twenty-one members of the council; and Mr. Whitbread said, that if the report was correctly given in the newspaper, (the Pilot of March 4,) he concurred with her royal highness, that aspersions were cast upon her which tended to the insecurity of the state; for there certainly was one passage ambiguously worded, that an inference might be drawn from it, that her royal highness had been guilty of great misconduct; whilst it might also bear the construction, that she was no further blameable than for such things as might be considered but trifling offences.

Lord Castlereagh said, that the report would not bear any such construction as Mr. Whitbread had put upon it, and contended, that the question for the consideration of the council was not one of charge, but one relating to regulations under which her royal highness was to be allowed to see her daughter.

Mr. Whitbread then read the report.

Mr. Cochrane Johnstone said, as the gallery had been cleared, he should postpone making his motion.

Mr. Lygon said, that whenever the motion was made he should move for the clearing of the gallery; and,

Mr. Bennett declared his intention, that whenever the gallery was cleared upon a motion on the subject, to persist in his motion of adjournment. He should repeat his motion, "that the house do now adjourn."

Mr. York expressed his regret that the honourable member (Mr. Bennett) would persist in his resolution, which, he said, would tend to impede the progress of public business.

But sir John Newport trusted that the honourable member (Mr. Bennett) would exercise the power he held of moving an adjournment; and that he would not be deterred by the threats of any man, however high in authority. He begged to remind gentlemen of a period, when a late right honourable friend of his (Mr. Fox) was exhausted by his application to his public duties, some of those gentlemen who, on this occasion, exclaimed against the question of adjournment, had themselves repeated that question, perhaps fourteen or fifteen times in the same evening.

At length, after a vehement debate, which continued till a late hour, Mr. Cochrane Johnstone said, he should bring on his motion again to-morrow.

On the 5th of March, therefore, Mr. Cochrane Johnstone brought forward his motion; and the proceedings of the house of commons on this occasion amounted to a compleat vindication and acquittal of the princess of Wales, not only from all the charges, but from all the aspersions that had been thrown out against her royal highness. In the course of his observations on so foul and false a conspiracy, he insisted that the charge against the princess before the commissioners, by sir John and lady Douglas, was nothing short of treason; that if the commissioners in 1806 had power to acquit her royal highness of the crime charged, they had equally the power to convict her; and what, he asked, would be the state of that country in which such a thing were even possible? Besides, he enquired, what became of sir John and lady Douglas? If he were rightly informed, they persisted in the same story; and if all they maintained were so notoriously false, why were they not prosecuted?

Lord Castlereagh opposed the motion, and said in effect, that her royal highness was completely acquitted by the commissioners; but with respect to sir John and lady Douglas, he said, that the first cabinet distinctly recommended a reference to the law officers of the crown, to consider of such a prosecution; and if it had not been instituted, it did not arise from any doubt in the minds of those law officers, as to the punishment that would be brought down upon the degraded and guilty heads of sir John and lady Douglas, but it was from a wish to avoid bringing such subjects before the public.

At the close of the debate, Mr. York requested Mr. C. Johnstone to withdraw his motion; but Mr. Johnstone refused to do so, adding, that it was a proud day for him, because it had completely established the innocence of her royal highness the princess of Wales.

The question was then put, and Mr. Johnstone's motion was negatived without a division. The house then adjourned.

On the 15th, the subject was again agitated in parliament, when a long desultory conversation took place on the subject; which was at length put an end to by the Speaker's stating, that he had listened with extreme pain to the desultory discussion which had gone on, no question being before the house.

On the 17th, Mr. Whitbread made a motion on the subject of the princess of Wales, which occasioned a very long debate, which tended to establish the innocency of the princess of Wales. On the 22nd, the subject was

again

again resumed, as it was on several other days, when long debates took place, all of which fully established her royal highness's innocency.

The innocency of her royal highness the princess of Wales was so completely established, that not even the shadow of a doubt remained on the minds of those who once thought her guilty. She most nobly triumphed over the foul aspersions which had been cast upon her character and her honour; she convinced the world that she feared no open investigation, by seriously demanding a fair and open trial, in which her innocency might be clearly shewn, or her guilt be made manifest. We applaud her energy in the late address which she made to her husband the prince regent, and in her throwing herself upon the wisdom and justice of parliament; in consequence of which her innocence is now made known to the country, and her honour established upon the most solid foundation, notwithstanding the perjuries of "suborned traducers" (*o*).

The circumstance of the princess of Wales's ill treatment was taken notice of in a very spirited manner by the city of London, a common hall meeting on the 2nd of April, the proceedings of which (though our limits will not permit us to give them) will be read with peculiar interest by generations yet unborn; and the more especially when they consider, that the business under contemplation was one in which party had no share. The zeal and energy manifested in defence of the injured, and in homage to her innocence, were universal. Humanity, and all England, were on one side in this question. Some individuals, who had been the most forward in traducing her character, it was confidently asserted, endeavoured to leave the kingdom, without even the ingenuousness to retract their slander, or the effrontery to persevere in it. Innocence, indeed, appeared to be armed with a spear for the overthrow of her enemies, as well as a shield for her own security. At this meeting of the common hall of the city of London, on the 2nd of April, 1813, as abovementioned, and which does infinite honour to the citizens of the metropolis, it was resolved, "That an humble, loyal, and dutiful address, be presented to her royal highness the princess of Wales, on the subject of the lately exposed, wicked, and cruel attempts against her royal highness's character and life."

The address of the city of London to her royal highness the princess of Wales, was delivered to her royal highness at Kensington palace on the 12th of April; and the princess returned a very appropriate and energetic answer thereto, in which are the following passages: "The sense of indignation and abhorrence you express against the foul and detestable conspiracy, which by perjured and suborned traducers has been carried on against my life and honour, is worthy of you, and most gratifying to me. It must be duly appreciated by every branch of that illustrious house with which I am so closely connected by blood and marriage; the personal welfare of every one of whom must have been affected by the success of such atrocious machinations. The consciousness of my innocence has supported me through my long, severe, and unmerited trials: your approbation of my conduct under them is a reward for all my sufferings."

The example of the city of London was followed by several cities and corporations in different parts of the kingdom. An address to her royal highness was presented from the city of Bristol on the 14th of April. The city of Westminster next presented an address; and the borough of Southwark did the same on the 30th.

On the 28th of April, the common council of London presented an address of congratulation to her royal highness. This was followed on the 29th, by an address from the city of Rochester; and on the 3rd of May, by one from the county of Monmouth. This was also followed by addresses from Berkshire, Worcester, Pembrokeshire, Sheffield, York, Middlesex, and many other places: to all of which her royal highness returned appropriate and affectionate answers.

We had closed our history of the war in the Peninsula, but the decisive victory obtained by lord Wellington over the French forces, on the 21st of June, 1813, near Vittoria, claims our attention; and we cannot close our labours without giving an account of the battle which was fought on that day—a day which will live for ages in the annals of the British empire.

The dispatches, from the marquis Wellington, (which were received at the war office on the 3rd of July,) are dated Salvatierra, June 23, and Trienyeen, June 24, 1813, say, The enemy's army, commanded by Joseph Bonaparte, having marshal Jourdan as the major general of the army, took up a position on the night of the 19th instant, in front of Vittoria, the left of which rested upon the heights which end at Puebla de Arlanzon, and extended from thence across the valley of Zadora, in front of the village Arunez. They occupied with the right of the centre a height which commanded the valley of Zadora, and the right of their army was stationed near Vittoria, and was destined to defend the passages of the river Zadora, in the neighbourhood of that city. They had a reserve in the rear of their left, at the village of Gomecha.

The nature of the country through which the army had passed, since it had reached the Ebro, had necessarily extended our columns, and we halted, says lord Wellington, on the 20th, in order to close them up, and moved the left to Margina, where it was most likely it would be necessary. His lordship reconnoitred the enemy's position on that day, with a view to the attack to be made on the following morning, if they should still remain in it.

The allies accordingly attacked the enemy on the 21st of June, and gained a complete victory over them, driving them from all their positions, and taking from them one hundred and fifty-one pieces of cannon, four hundred and fifteen waggons of ammunition, all their baggage, provisions, cattle, treasure, &c. and a considerable number of prisoners. The operations of the day commenced by lieutenant-general sir Rowland Hill obtaining possession of the heights of La Puebla, on which the enemy's left rested; which heights they had not occupied in great strength. The contest here, however, was very severe, and the loss sustained considerable. General Murillo was wounded, but remained in the field; and the honourable lieutenant-colonel Cadogan died of a wound he received.

Under cover of the possession of these heights, sir Rowland Hill successively passed the Zadora, at La Puebla, and the defile formed by the heights of the river Zadora, and attacked and gained possession of the village of Sahijana de Alava, in front of the enemy's line, which he made repeated attempts to regain.

The centre of the allied army was formed by four divisions, which were destined to attack the heights on which the right of the enemy's centre was placed, while lieutenant-general sir Rowland Hill should move forward from Sahijana de Alava to attack the left. The enemy, however, having weakened his line to strengthen his detachments in the hills, abandoned his position in the valley as soon as he saw our disposition to attack it, and commenced his retreat in good order towards Vittoria; and the allied troops continued to advance notwithstanding the difficulty of the ground.

In the mean time lieutenant-general sir Thomas Graham, who commanded the left of the army, consisting of the first and fifth divisions, and generals Pack and Bradford's brigades of infantry, and generals Bock and Anson's brigades of cavalry, moved forward on Vittoria, by the high road from that town to Bilboa. He had besides with him the Spanish division under colonel Longa, and general Giron, who had been detached to the left under a different view of the state of affairs, and had afterwards arrived on the 20th at Orduna, marched that morning from thence, so as to be in the field in readiness to support lieutenant-general sir T. Graham, if his support had been required.

The enemy had a division of infantry and some cavalry advanced on the great road from Vittoria to Bilboa, resting their right on some strong heights covering the village of Gamarra Major and Abechuco were strongly occupied as tetes-du-pont to the bridges over the Zadora at these places. Brigadier-general Pack, with his Portuguese brigade, and general Longa, with the Spanish division, were directed to turn and gain the heights, supported by major-general Anson's brigade of light dragoons, and the fifth division of infantry, under the command of major-general Oswald, who was desired to take the command of all these troops.

As soon as the heights were in our possession, the village of Gamarra Major was most gallantly stormed and carried by brigadier-general Robinson's brigade of the fifth division. The enemy suffered severely, and lost three pieces of cannon. At length the enemy retreated, and the whole of the allied army co-operated in the pursuit, which was continued by all till after it was dark.

The enemy turned to the road towards Pampeluna, but were

(*o*) An expression in the princess of Wales's Letter to the prince regent, dated January 14, 1813;

were unable to hold any position for a sufficient length of time to allow their baggage to be drawn off. The whole, therefore, of the latter, which had not already been taken by the troops in their attack of the successive positions taken up by the enemy in their retreat from their first position on Arunez and on the Zadora, and all their ammunition and baggage, and every thing they had were taken close to Vittoria.

The army under Joseph Bonaparte consisted of the whole of the armies of the South and of the centre, and of four divisions, and all the cavalry of the army of Portugal, and some troops of the army of the North. General Foix's division of the army of Portugal was in the neighbourhood of Bilboa, and general Clausel, who commands the army of the North was near Logrono with one division of the army of Portugal, commanded by general Topin, and general Vandermasen's division of the army of the North.

The killed and wounded on both sides were immense: that of the allies is stated at seven hundred and forty officers and men, and ninety-three horses killed; and four thousand one hundred and seventy officers and men, and sixty-eight horses wounded. The loss on the part of the French could not be ascertained.

On the 24th of July a dreadful action took place between the allied army under lord Wellington and the French forces under marshal Soult, in which the number of slain on both sides was considerable. The allied army wished to gain possession of St. Sebastian, in the Pyrenees, and the French, in course, wished to relieve it. On the 25th, lord Wellington effected three breaches in the walls of St. Sebastian, two of them practicable, and the order was given for the assault. Against this, however, the French had provided, by inundating a deep trench, which separates the isthmus on which the fortress stands from the continent. This obliged the assailants to retreat. The French in their accounts of this attempt state the loss of the English to be one thousand five hundred men, while the English assert that it did not exceed five hundred, a tenth of whom were said to be officers. The Scotch Royals under major-general Hay, and the ninth regiment, were dreadful sufferers. The former advanced to the assault four hundred and twenty men, and lost in killed and wounded two hundred and ninety-eight of the number, amongst whom were the whole of the grenadiers. Lord Wellington was upon the spot during part of the assault, but was soon called away to repel Soult, who was advancing with the double purpose, of raising the siege of St. Sebastian and that of Pampeluna. On the same day that the English assaulted St. Sebastian, the French general commenced his operations by driving in some of the English out-posts, and establishing himself on the heights of Altabisca. The whole of marshal Soult's force was estimated at upwards of thirty thousand men. The English were compelled to retreat, which they did in good order, the French taking comparatively but few prisoners. Marshal Soult attacked the English with the most determined courage and impetuosity; they thrice entered the British lines, but was always beaten back. The conflict was dreadful and sanguinary, it being carried on almost solely with the musket and bayonet, scarcely a cannon shot being fired on either side. It lasted from noon till five o'clock in the evening, when the French were repulsed. The nature of the ground being entirely mountainous hindered the employment of artillery or cavalry, the effect of musketry seemed too tardy and uncertain, and the impatience for close engagement was so manifest in the troops of both armies, that the hostile bayonets were reciprocally and almost constantly plunged in the breasts of the opposing combatants. Hence the victory was dearly purchased on the part of the English, whose loss amounted to between three and four thousand men; but that of the French is estimated at a much greater number.

We shall now wind up our historical researches; but as our history would be deemed incomplete, were we to pass over in silence the improvements which have been made in the various arts and sciences, we shall conclude with a few observations on those subjects.

CHAP. VI.

Observations on the Advancement of the Arts, Sciences, and Literature, with a View of such Portions of European History, as are requisite to elucidate their particular Progress in England.

IN a former part of our work we traced the progress of society to the close of the seventeenth century. And if we examine the history of the present period, and compare it with the annals of modern Europe during any preceding century, we shall find cause to congratulate mankind on the amazing improvement in the social system; which have, with a happy conformity, diminished the miseries and multiplied the enjoyments of the human race.

After ascertaining the interests of nations, and the rights of individuals, if human reason has not been able to restrain the ambition of princes, it has at least introduced into the operations of war a spirit of generosity little known among our ferocious and sanguinary forefathers. Persecution has ceased to kindle the faggot for the trial of orthodoxy, and the good of souls, or to fertilize the earth with the blood of infidels; and the peaceful citizen has seldom been disturbed in his industrious pursuits or ingenious labours by the ravages of intestine or civil war. If the most exact regulations of police have not proved wholly effectual to suppress private violence or murder, or to banish fraud from the transactions of men, offences have certainly been rendered less frequent. Property is become more secure than it was in the days of our forefathers; and the comforts and conveniences of life are more equally enjoyed. Asylums are every where provided for the poor and indigent, and hospitals for the diseased. Private festivities are enlivened by public entertainments. The pleasures of sense, refined by delicacy, are heightened by those of imagination and sentiment; while taste, in the contemplation of the beauties of nature and art, may be said to open new sources of satisfaction and joy.

The empire of Russia, though rude and barbarous at the beginning of the eighteenth century, has made great advances towards civilization. It has experienced the most sudden and fortunate change of any country of the same extent in the history of human affairs. But that change, has not been attended with such beneficial consequences as might have been wished to the body of the people, whom Peter I. found and left in a state of slavery; and notwithstanding the more generous policy of Catharine II. who endeavoured to revive a spirit of liberty among the lower classes, and extended encouragement and protection to her subjects of all degrees, the liberal and ingenious arts of Russia have been hitherto cultivated chiefly by foreigners; or by such natives as have been initiated in them abroad, and with whom they die. They are still in some measure exotics in that great and flourishing empire; not as the abbé Raynal insinuates, on account of the coldness of the climate, but because the mental soil is not yet sufficiently prepared for their reception. The influence of example, however, daily extends itself. Many of the Russian nobility and gentry have acquired a relish for polite literature, and are distinguished by humanity to their vassals, by polished manners, and elegant conversation. Russia has already produced generals and statesmen, and will probably give birth to poets, painters, historians, and philosophers; who collect in their train the whole circle of the arts and sciences.

Of the progress of improvement in Poland, where, besides other adverse circumstances, the feudal aristocracy still reigns, though not in all its austerity, the people are slaves, and the nobles tyrants, little can be said. Sweden and Denmark have lost much of their consequence, as kingdoms; but the sons of the north do not appear to be less happy, though they seem to have lost with their political freedom, their ancient spirit of liberty and independence. They enjoy more equally the means of a comfortable subsistence. Manufactures, commerce, and agriculture, have made considerable progress among them; and it may be generally asserted, That every people, taken collectively, are happy in proportion to their industry. Nor are these countries without their men of genius and science. Sweden, in her Linnæus, boasts the honour of having given birth to the most profound naturalist of the present age.

Germany, during the period under review, has perhaps undergone

undergone less change than any other country of equal extent, in these particulars, notwithstanding the frequent wars by which it has been shaken, curtailed, and divided. Agriculture, manufactures, and the mechanical arts, have in the course of the last century made great progress in many parts of that empire.

The Swiss, so much distinguished by their integrity, their love of liberty and of their country, and so long accustomed to sell their blood to the different powers of Europe, as other nations do the produce of their soil, having fertilized with culture their barren mountains, and acquired a knowledge of the necessary arts, poured forth their surplus of population upon more wealthy states, in useful artificers and industrious manufacturers; and preserved at home their plain and simple manners, with their ancient independency and military character. Happy without wealth, they were strangers to luxury. Domestic duties among them supplied the place of public amusements, and public virtue concealed the defects of other matters. Till the annexation of their country to France, the Swiss possessed all the patriotic qualities that gave birth to their republic: while the Dutch, formerly as zealous in the cause of freedom, who acquired its full establishment by greater efforts, and exhibited to mankind for a century the most perfect picture of a flourishing commonwealth, are amazingly sunk; they are become dead to every sense of a public interest, and to every generous sentiment of the soul. The lust of gain has extinguished among them the spirit of patriotism, the love of glory, and the feelings of humanity. Avarice seems to be the ruling passion, and wealth the only merit in the United Provinces, now annexed to the French empire. In such a country the liberal arts must decline, and elegant manners cannot be expected.

If painting and architecture have continued to decline in Italy, music and poetry have greatly flourished in this classical country. Metastasio, perhaps inferior to none of her modern bards, has perfected her serious musical drama. But the Italian opera has been represented by some as unnatural and fantastical. All our fine old ballads, which so exquisitely paint the tender passions, are supposed to be sung by persons under the immediate influence of those passions; and if the stage be allowed to be a picture of life, there can be nothing unnatural in an actor's imitating on it, what is believed to have happened in the great theatre of the world. To do as little violence as possible to probability, Metastasio has contrived to throw chiefly into airs or odes, those parts of the musical tragedies, that would otherwise evaporate in soliloquy, in fond complainings, or in frantic ravings. The lyric measure is admirably adapted to the language of passion; and surely that person cannot possess a musical ear who should prefer simple articulation to such enchanting melody, as generally communicates to the heart the soul-dissolving airs of this delightful poet.

The state of society in Spain was greatly improved under the princes of the house of Bourbon. The ladies are no longer excluded from company by an illiberal jealousy; and the intercourse of the sexes becomes daily more general and easy. A taste for agriculture, for arts, manufactures, and even a passion for letters, was revived among the Spaniards; and a similar taste extended itself to the neighbouring kingdom of Portugal, after the expulsion of the Jesuits. But, alas! since the commencement of the present war in the Peninsula, arts, sciences, and literature have greatly fallen back, and should even a peace take place, it will be many years before the inhabitants of those countries can possibly make up for their loss of time.

In France, society attained its highest polish before the commencement of the last century. But the misfortunes which clouded the latter years of Louis XIV. threw a gloom over the manners of the people, and a mystical religion became fashionable at court. The fervour spread, especially among the softer sex; and Racine, complying with the prevailing taste, wrote tragedies on sacred subjects. The court, however, resumed its gaiety under the regency of the duke of Orleans; and his libertine example, with that of his minister, the cardinal du Bois, introduced a total corruption of manners; a gross sensuality that scorned the veil of decency; an unprincipled levity that treated every thing sacred and respectable with derision; and a spirit of dissipation, with extreme poverty, prevailed during a considerable part of the reign of Louis XV.

The Jesuits, the chief supporters of the bull Unigenitus, having rendered themselves odious by their share in the conspiracy against the life of the king of Portugal, fell in France under the lash of the civil power, for certain fraudulent mercantile transactions. They refused to discharge the debts of one of their body, who had become bankrupt for a large sum, and who was supposed to act for the benefit of the whole society. As a monk, indeed, he was obliged to do so. The parliaments eagerly seized an opportunity of humbling their spiritual enemies. The Jesuits were every where cited before those high tribunals, in 1761, and ordered to do justice to their creditors. They pretended to acquiesce in the decision, but delayed payment under various pretences. New suits were commenced against them, in 1762, on account of the pernicious tendency of their writings. In the course of these proceedings, they were compelled to produce their *Institute*, or the rules of their order, hitherto studiously concealed. That mysterious volume, which was found to consist of maxims subversive of all civil government, and even of the fundamental principle of morals, completed their ruin. All their colleges were seized, all their goods confiscated; and the king, ashamed or afraid to protect them, resigned them to their fate, and finally expelled them the kingdom, by a solemn edict, and utterly abolished the order of Jesuits in France.

An account of the revolution in France, which first expelled the Bourbon family, and successively elevated Napoleon Bonaparte to the premier consulate, and afterwards elected him emperor of the French, is particularly related in our annals of the reign of George the Third.

Many poets appeared in Britain within the time comprehended in our present survey. We have already mentioned Pope; his friend Gay not only distinguished himself as a fabulist, but acquired much applause by the vivacity and humour of the Beggar's Opera.

Born with a strong understanding, a benevolent heart, and an enthusiastic fancy—with all the powers necessary to form a great poet, James Thomson perceived that Pope had attained the summit of excellence in that mode of composition which he had adopted. He perceived there were other paths to fame which Pope had not pursued; and by making choice of blank verse, which was suited to the exuberance of his genius, to the grandeur of his conceptions, and to the boldness of his metaphorical images, as well as to the minute wildness of his poetical descriptions, he has left us in his *Seasons*, a greater number of just, beautiful, and sublime views of external nature, than are to be found in the productions of any of the poets since the days of Lucretius. The Seasons are characterised by elegant and accurate description.

But none of our lyric poets have so well imitated the philosophic good humour and good sense of Horace, as Akenside. Nothing can be more happily pursued than the whole train of thinking in his Ode on the *Winter Solstice*.

Akenside, susceptible to all the impressions of natural and moral beauty, who surveyed the universe with a benevolent eye, and a heart filled with admiration and love of the wisdom and goodness of the Supreme Being, has given us in his *Pleasures of Imagination*, a delightful system of the philosophy of taste, in all the pomp of Miltonic verse. The Pleasures of Imagination, his principal work, was first published in 1744, when he had not attained his twenty-third year. He was bred a physician, and died physician to the queen, June 23, 1770. The Pindaric Odes of this poet have great dignity in elevation of sentiment and elegance of diction.

Armstrong, like Akenside, a physician by profession, took his degree in 1732, but never arrived at much practice. He has bequeathed to mankind a valuable legacy, in his *Art of preserving Health*, while he has furnished the literary world with a more classical poem, in the same species of versification, than either the Seasons or the Pleasures of Imagination. Among his other poems, we may mention his *Œconomy of Love*, a piece of great merit, but too strongly tinctured with the licentiousness of Ovid.

Akenside and Armstrong may be classed together, not only as being both physicians, but as resembling each other in their taste for poetical composition.

There were many other poets and dramatic writers, whose works are deservedly held in estimation.

INDEX.

INDEX

TO THE FIRST VOLUME.

AGINCOURT, battle of, 266

Alfred ascends the throne of England, 38—Greatly harrassed by the Danes, *ib.*—Enters the Danish camp in the character of a minstrel, reconnoitres them, and obtains a compleat victory over them, 39—Spares the lives of the Danes, and settles them in England, 40—After rebuilding London, establishes a militia for the defence of the kingdom, *ib.*—Defeats the Danes in several engagements, *ib.*—Death of Alfred, 41—Character of Alfred, *ib.*

America, discovery of North, 346

Arteville, massacre of James d', 202

Arts, Sciences, and Literature, progress of in England, 243

Athelstan ascends the throne, 44—Overthrew the Danes, and compelled the Welsh to pay tribute to him, 45—His death, *ib.*

Baliol, John, king of Scotland, taken prisoner, and committed to the Tower, 171

Becket, Thomas à, a prelate of great haughtiness, 102—To ingratiate himself with the pope, he resigned the see of Canterbury into his hands, 106—After being sent out of the kingdom he is permitted to return, 107—Reconciled to king Henry, *ib.*—Proceeds to take possession of his diocese like a conqueror, 108—Murdered in Canterbury cathedral, *ib.*—His assassins retire to Yorkshire, afterwards to Rome, and are ordered to make a pilgrimage to Jerusalem, 109—Miracles said to be wrought by him after his death, *ib. note*

Berwick and Roxborough surrendered to the English, 115

Bolingbroke, Henry de, duke of Lancaster, seeks the recovery of his dukedom, 228—Ascends the throne of England by the title of Henry IV. 257

Breakspear, Nicolas, afterwards pope Adrian IV. life of, 241

Britain, origin of its name, 5—Original inhabitants of, *ib.*—Their chief commerce was with the Phœnician merchants, 7

Bruce, Robert, determines to rescue his country from the English yoke, 178—Acknowledged king of Scotland, 192

Cæsar, Julius, entertains the design of conquering Britain, 7—Lands at Ritupæ, *ib.*—Description of his landing, 8—Makes peace with the Britons, and returns to Gaul, *ib.*—Lands again, reconquers the Britons, and returns to Gaul, *ib.*

Calais taken by Edward III. 206

Canute ravages the eastern coast of England, 52—Obtains possession of the English throne, 53—Puts several English nobles to death, *ib.*—Conquers Norway, 54—His death, *ib.*

Caractacus, a British prince, carried to Rome in triumph, 9—Released from bondage, *ib.*

Chalons, Edward I. engages in a tournament at, which is attended with serious consequences, 161

Christ's Hospital London, founded by Edward VI. 431

Church, history of, 12, 30, 64, 95, 232, 293, 325

Church, affairs of, and progressive history of the Reformation, 406

Clarendon, disputes concerning the constitutions of, 107

Clergy, usurpations of the, enormous in England, 102

Commerce of England, observations on, 545

Constantine, supposed to have been born at Colchester, 11—Divided Britain into three provinces, *ib.*

Crecy, battle of, 204

Crusade, plan for one, to oppose the Mohammedans, 77

Crusaders take the city of Jerusalem, and commit dreadful cruelties, 81

Danes, Ethelred dies of a wound he received in an action with, 38—Alfred gains a victory over the Danes, 39—England infested by the Danes, 41—The Danes overthrown by Athelstan, 45—Edmund conquers the Danes, *ib.*—The Northumbrian Danes conquered by Edred, 46—The Danes invade England under Sweyn king of Denmark and Olave king of Norway, 50—The English become tributary to the Danes, *ib.*—Massacre of the Danes, 51—The Danes obtain possession of England, 53

Druidism, the religion of the ancient Britons, 6

Dunstan, an overbearing ecclesiastic, practises many artifices in favour of the monks, 48, *et aliis locis.*—His death, 65, *n.*

East-Anglia, kingdom of, founded by Uffa, 25

Ecclesiastical history, 551

Edgar succeeds to the throne, 47—An abominable libertine, 48—Edgar orders the isle of Thanet to be pillaged and laid waste, *ib.*

Edmund succeeds to the throne, 45—The Danes renew hostilities, and Edmund conquers them, *ib.*—Murdered by Leolf, *ib.*

Edmund Ironside ascends the throne, 52—Dreadful battle between Edmund and Canute, *ib.*—Barbarously murdered, 53

Edred ascends the throne, 45—Conquers the Northumbrian Danes, *ib.*—His death, 46

Edward the Elder succeeds to the throne of England, 41—England still infested by the Danes, *ib*—His death, 42

Edward the Martyr accedes to the throne, 48—Murdered by order of his mother Elfrida, 49

Edward the Confessor ascends the throne, 55—Earl Godwin makes war upon the king, 56—Edward banishes earl Godwin, 58—Restores him to his power and fortune, *ib.*—The Welsh infest the western borders of England, 59—Edward's death, *ib.*

Edward I. son of Henry III. absent from England when his father died, 161—Concludes a truce with the sultan of Babylon, and sails for England, *ib*—Does homage to Philip king of France, for the dominions he held in that kingdom, *ib.*—Lands at Dover, and was crowned seventeen days after his arrival, *ib.*—Applies himself to the correction of abuses which had crept into the government, *ib.*—Extirpates all bands and confederacies of robbers, 162—Banishes fifteen thousand Jews from the kingdom, *ib.*—Engages in a war against the Welsh, *ib.*—Compels Llewellyn to become tributary to him, 163—Again enters on a war with the Welsh, *ib.*—Llewellyn slain in battle, and Wales completely conquered, *ib.*—Calls his son Edward Prince of Wales, *ib.*—Goes to France to settle the differences on the continent, *ib.*—On his return to England, corrects the abuses which had crept in during his absence, *ib.*—Fines and deposes the judges for corruption, 164—Lays claim to the sovereignty of Scotland, *ib.*—Settles the succession to the Scottish throne, 166—Enters on a war with France, *ib.*—The French take and burn Dover, 167—Observations on the constitution and origin of parliament, *ib.*—Enters on a war with Scotland, and takes John Baliol its king, whom he commits prisoner to the Tower, 171—Makes an attempt to recover Guienne, *ib.*—Confirms the Great Charter, 173—War with Scotland, 174—William Wallace discomfits the English forces, putting many of them to the sword, *ib.*—Wallace revered as the deliverer of the Scots from the thraldom of the English, 175—Edward gains advantages over the Scots, but is at length obliged to retire, *ib.*—In a parliament at London, Edward confirmed the Great Charter and the Charter of the Forests, 176—Pope Boniface claims the authority of being liege lord of Scotland, *ib.*—Edward re-enters Scotland, but signs a truce with the Scots in the winter, 177—Again prepares for the conquest of Scotland, which at last he effects, but deems his conquest insecure while Wallace remained alive, *ib.*—William Wallace is soon after executed as a traitor, *ib.*—Robert Bruce determines to rescue his country from the English yoke, 178—Edward dies at Carlisle, on his march to Scotland, 179—Enjoins his son to prosecute the enterprize, and not to desist till he had conquered the country, *ib.*—Edward's character, *ib.*

Edward II. ascends the throne, 180—Receives the homage of some of the Scottish barons, *ib.*—Piers Gavaston, a favourite of Edward, gives cause of disgust to the English barons, 181—Edward determines to go to France, to do homage for the duchy of Guienne, *ib.*—Marries the princess Isabella, *ib.*—Gavaston banished the kingdom, *ib.*—Edward recalls Gavaston, *ib.*—The barons murmur thereat, 182—Gavaston again banished, *ib.*—Edward again recalled Gavaston, but the earl of Lancaster marching after him with an army, obliges Edward to fly by sea with his favourite, *ib.*—Gavaston taken prisoner and beheaded, 183—Edward embarks for France, *ib.*—Edward grants a truce to Scotland, and Robert Bruce strengthens himself in that kingdom, *ib.*—Edward marches against the Scots, and is obliged to retreat, *ib.*—The earl of Lancaster levies an army against the king, 184—The power of the earl of Lancaster bears down all opposition, 185—Edward lays siege to Berwick, which he afterwards raises, *ib.*—Makes peaceable overtures to Bruce, and a truce is concluded on, *ib.*—Makes a confidant of Hugh le Despenser, who advised the king to act with unbecoming severity, *ib.*—The king orders the two Despensers to be banished, *ib.*—Edward marches against the earl of Lancaster, and overcomes his army, 186—The earl of Lancaster taken prisoner, and beheaded, *ib.*—All his efforts unequal to the hostile conspiracies forming against him, 187—His queen Isabella at the head of a conspiracy against him, *ib.*—The bishop of Exeter seized and beheaded, *ib.*—The elder Despenser delivered up to his enemies, and hanged, *ib.*—The king taken, and confined in the castle of Kenilworth, *ib.*—The younger Despenser taken and put to death, 188—Edward required to resign his crown, which he assents to, *ib.*—Edward cruelly put to death, *ib.*—His character, *ib.*

Edward III. ascends the throne, 190—The city of London obtained an enlargement of its privileges, and the right of extending its jurisdiction over the borough of Southwark, 191—War with Scotland, *ib.*—The Scots make great devastations, and the king is unable to force them to a battle, *ib.*—Robert Bruce acknowledged independent sovereign of Scotland, 192—Mortimer, the queen's paramour gets possession of the estates of many of the nobles, *ib.*—Mortimer condemned as a traitor and hanged, 193—The queen Isabella degraded, *ib.*—Edward takes measures to rid the country of robbers, *ib.*

ib.—Plan for placing Edward Baliol on the throne of Scotland, *ib.*—War carried into Scotland, 194—The English at first successful against the Scots, *ib.*—Edward Baliol seated by Edward III. on the throne of Scotland, 195—Baliol shortly after deprived of his kingdom, *ib.*—Observations on the Salian Code, the law of an ancient tribe among the Franks, *ib.*—Edward makes great preparations for a war with France, which proves abortive, 197—Gains a great naval victory over the French, 198—Edward lays siege to Tournay, which he raises, and enters on a truce with the French, 199—Edward obliged to make his escape by stealth into England, *ib.*—Quarrels with John Stratford, archbishop of Canterbury, to whom he is afterwards reconciled, *ib.*—Count Montfort makes war with Charles de Blois, 200—Montfort is taken prisoner, 201—Heroic conduct of the countess of Montfort, *ib.*—Edward sends succours to the countess of Montfort, *ib.*—Edward goes to France with a large army, where, by undertaking too many sieges at the same time, he fails in all his enterprizes, *ib.*—Edward negociates a truce, *ib.*—On which a treaty followed, 202—Returns to England, *ib.*—Edward renews the war with France, and obtains a victory over the French at Aubroche, 202—John de Montfort escapes from prison, *ib.*—Massacre of James d'Arteville, a brewer of Ghent, *ib.*—Edward embarks for France with a large army, carrying with him his son Edward the Black Prince, 203—Gains great victories over the French, *ib.*—The battle of Crecy, in which the English are victorious, 204—The English are successful against the Scotch at Neville's Cross, 205—Takes the king of Scotland prisoner, *ib.*—Takes the town of Calais, 206—Origin of the motto, "*Honi soit qui mal y pense*," 207—Pestilence in London, *ib.*—Edward again embarks for France, and obtains various successes, 208—The Scots surprize Berwick, *ib.*—Baliol resigns to Edward his pretensions to the crown of Scotland, and receives a pension, 209—Battle of Poictiers, where Edward prince of Wales takes John king of France prisoner, *ib.*—Conducts the king of France to London, 212—Peace with France, *ib.*—Death of the prince of Wales, 216—Death of Edward III. *ib.*—His character, *ib.*

Edward IV. (duke of York,) ascends the throne, 297—Great numbers of the Lancastrian party executed, *ib.*—Henry's queen, Margaret, assembles an army in Yorkshire, *ib.*—Battle of Touton, in which the Yorkists are victorious, *ib.*—Henry and his queen retire to Scotland, 298—The parliament pass an act of forfeiture and attainder against Henry VI. and queen Margaret, *ib.*—Which act was extended to many noblemen and gentlemen, *ib.*—Margaret again assembles an army, and obtains some advantages, but is at length overcome, and again retires northward, 299—Queen Margaret protected by a robber, *ib.*—Henry VI. taken and committed to the Tower, *ib.*—Marries the widow of sir John Gray of Groby, *ib.*—Cruel treatment of Henry VI. 300—Coolness between Edward and the earl of Warwick, *ib.*—Insurrection in Yorkshire, 301—The earl of Warwick goes as an exile to Calais, and thence to Normandy, 303—Enters on a plan for the dethronement of Edward IV. *ib.*—The earl lands in England, levies forces against the king, 304—Edward flies from his army and embarks for the continent, *ib.*—The earl of Warwick releases king Henry from the Tower, and restores him to the throne, *ib.*—Edward lands with a small force at Ravenspur in Yorkshire, 305—Again assumes the title of king, *ib.*—Takes Henry VI. prisoner, and commits him to the Tower, 306—The earl of Warwick slain in battle at Barnet, *ib.*—Edward enters on a war with France, 307—Treaty with the king of France, 308—Queen Margaret released from prison, *ib.*—Edward accuses his brother the duke of Clarence, who is condemned, and privately put to death in the Tower, 309—Death of Edward IV. 310—His character, *ib.*

Edward V. ascends the throne, 311—Violent proceedings of the duke of Gloucester, 312—Lord Hastings murdered, 313—Jane Shore compelled to do penance at St. Paul's, *ib.*—Edward V. dethroned, and Richard III. proclaimed, 314—Murdered with his brother, in the Tower, 315.

Edward VI. succeeds his father Henry VIII. 418—Enumeration of the regents during the minority of Edward, *ib.*—Disagreements among the members of the regency, 419—The protestant religion confirmed, *ib.*—Images in churches ordered to be taken down and destroyed, *ib.*—Edward Seymour, earl of Hereford, and protector of the realm, advanced to the dukedom of Somerset, 420—The duke of Somerset beheaded, *ib.*—An English Liturgy or Common Prayer established to be used in churches, 421—Gardiner, a Catholic bishop, endeavours to obstruct the Reformation, 422—Joan Bocher condemned as a heretic, and committed to the flames, 423—Van Paris, a Dutchman, burned for being an Arian, *ib.*—Insurrection in Devonshire, 424—The insurrection suppressed, and the ringleaders executed, *ib.*—Insurrection in Norfolk, under one Ket, a tanner, 424—Ket taken and hanged at Norwich, *ib.*—The duke of Somerset committed to the Tower, 426—The duke of Somerset beheaded on Tower Hill, 429—The duke of Northumberland endeavours to persuade the king to set aside the succession of his sisters Mary and Elizabeth, 430—The king has first the measles, then the small pox, but recovers from both, *ib.*—Falls into a consumption, 431—Persuaded by the earl of Northumberland to set aside the succession of Mary and Elizabeth, in favour of Lady Jane Grey, *ib.*—Death of Edward, *ib.*—His character, *ib.*—

Edwy ascends the throne, and has a short but turbulent reign, 46—His queen basely maltreated, *ib.*—Dethroned, *ib.*—His queen murdered, 47—His death, *ib.*

Egbert, fist monarch of England, 36—Defeats the Danes, 37—His death, *ib.*

Elizabeth ascends the throne, 449—First acts of her reign, 450—Protestantism re-established in England, *ib.*—Particulars of the Reformation in Scotland, 453—Elizabeth sends reinforcements to assist the reformers in Scotland, 456—A law passed in Scotland for abolishing the papal jurisdiction, 457—Mary queen of Scots refuses to ratify the treaty of Edinburgh, 458—John Knox preaches in favour of the reformation in Scotland, 459—Mary queen of Scots becomes enamoured of lord Robert Darnley, 461—Proposal for declaring Mary queen of England, *ib.*—Persecution and massacre of the Hugonots in France, 463—Mary queen of Scots marries lord Darnley, 467—David Rizzio assassinated in the presence of Mary queen of Scots, 469—Henry lord Darnley suddenly taken ill, supposed to be from poison, 470—Henry lord Darnley's house blown up, and his dead body found in a neighbouring field, *ib.*—The earl of Bothwel charged with the murder of Darnley, brought to trial, and acquitted, 471—Bothwel seizes Mary's person, and she willingly remains with him, *ib.*—Queen Mary marries Bothwel, 472—Queen Mary escapes from Scotland, 474—Queen Mary lands in England, *ib.*—A new translation of the Bible published, 476—Rise of the Puritans, *ib.*—Insurrections in England, *ib.*—Puritans endeavour to reform religion, 484—Elizabeth takes a part in the affairs of the Netherlands, 485—The duke of Alva flatters Mary with being restored to liberty and her throne, 486—Execution of the duke of Norfolk, 487—The queen of Scots enters into various intrigues, *ib.*—The Hugonots massacred on the eve of St. Bartholomew, 488—Insurrection of the catholics in Ireland, 493—Plan to assassinate Elizabeth and liberate Mary, 503—The conspiracy discovered, 504—Mary's papers seized, and sent to the council, *ib.*—Resolution to bring Mary to trial, *ib.*—Mary appears before commissioners at Fotheringay castle, 505—Mary brought to trial, and being found guilty, sentence of death is pronounced against her, 506—The warrant for her execution read to Mary, 509—Mary queen of Scots executed, 511—Hearing that Philip king of Spain was preparing a large naval force to attack England, Elizabeth sent sir Francis Drake with a fleet to intercept his supplies, 513—Sir Francis Drake takes and destroys a vast number of ships, *ib.*—The Spanish navy destined to invade England denominated the INVINCIBLE ARMADA, 514—Measures taken to counteract the Spanish armament, *ib.*—The queen appears on horseback in the camp at Tilbury, 515—The armada sails for England, 516—The English fleet under admiral Effingham attacks the Spanish armada, and entirely destroys it, 517—The duke of Guise and his brother assassinated, 520—The king of France assassinated, *ib.*—Disputes with the Puritans, 521—Successes against the Spanish settlements in America, 524—The English take Cadiz, *ib.*—Affairs of Ireland, 527—The earl of Essex sent on an expedition against the Irish rebels, 529—Elizabeth displeased with Essex's conduct, 530—Elizabeth orders Essex to remain in Ireland till further orders, but he hastily returns to England, *ib.*—The queen orders Essex into custody, but afterwards liberates him, *ib.*—Essex again taken into custody, and conducted to the Tower, 533—Essex brought to trial, and sentenced to death, 534—The earl of Essex privately executed, *ib.*—Cuffe, Davers, Blount, and Merie, Essex's partizans, condemned and executed, 535—Successes of the English against the Irish rebels, 536—Elizabeth discovering that Essex had confided a ring to the countess of Nottingham, to deliver to her majesty, became inexorable, and died, 538—Elizabeth's character, *ib.*

English, observations on their progress towards civilization, 319

Essex, kingdom of, founded by Erchenwin, 23

Ethelbald and Ethelbert jointly reign in England, 38

Ethelred ascends the throne of England, 38—Dies of a wound he received in an action with the Danes, *ib.*

Ethelred ascends the throne, 49—The Danes invade England under Sweyn king of Denmark and Olave king of Norway, 50—The English become tributary to the Danes, *ib.*—The massacre of the Danes, 51—Sweyn again invades England, and again retires to Denmark, leaving his son Canute in charge of his forces, *ib.*—Canute ravages the coast of England, 52—Ethelred's death, *ib.*

Ethelwulf, king, makes a partition of his dominions, 37—Makes profuse grants to the church, *ib.*

Feudal Laws, the introduction of, attributed to William the Conqueror, 69

Feudal and Anglo-Norman government and manners, dissertation on, 247

Gournay and Mautravers, the murderers of Edward II. 188—Gournay beheaded at sea, *ib.*—Mautravers afterwards received a pardon, *ib.*

Government of England, observations on, 539

Hales, sir Robert, treasurer, murdered, 221

Hardicanute ascends the throne, 55—His death, *ib.*

Harold I. surnamed Harefoot, ascends the throne 54—His death, 55

Harold II. accedes to the throne, 60—Slain by an arrow at the battle of Hastings, 63

Hastings in Sussex, battle of, 63

Henry I. ascends the throne, 80—Grants a charter

charter of privileges to the people, 81—Condemns several noblemen who were his elder brother Robert's adherents, and confiscates their estates, 83—Takes his brother prisoner, and conquers Normandy, *ib.*—Involved in hostilities with Louis le Gros, king of France, 85—Barons of Normandy revolt from Henry, 87—Discontents in England, 86—Death of king Henry, 89—His character, *ib.*

Henry II. ascends the throne, 99—Crowned at Westminster, 100—Revokes the grants made by his predecessor, 101—Grants a charter of liberties, *ib.*—The Welsh make inroads in England, but are reduced to submission, *ib.*—The usurpations of the clergy enormous in England, 102—Henry's situation very unhappy, by reason of the encroachments of the papal power, 107—Invades the territories of the count of Auvergne, *ib.*—Allows Becket to return to England, *ib.*—Reconciled to Becket; and held the stirrup while the haughty prelate mounted his horse, *ib.*—Disputes concerning the Constitutions of Clarendon, *ib.*—Henry endeavours to reconcile himself to the pope after Thomas à Becket's murder, 109—Undertakes an expedition against Ireland, 110—Declares upon oath, that he was not concerned in the murder of Thomas à Becket, 112—Conquers Ireland, *ib.*—Troubled by, and at war with, his family, *ib.*—Makes proposals to his sons, 113—The king of Scotland makes an irruption into Northumberland, but is opposed by Richard de Lucy, who compels the Scottish king to retire within his own borders, 114—Henry II. arrives in England, and repairs to Canterbury to make his submissions to the ashes of Thomas à Becket, *ib.*—Walks barefoot, and prostrates himself before the shrine of that prelate, *ib.*—Victorious over his enemies, *ib.*—Compels the Scots to surrender Berwick and Roxborough, 115—Makes several beneficial regulations in the criminal laws, *ib.*—Divides England into four circuits, and appoints itinerant justices to try causes in their respective circuits, *ib.*—His son Henry requests his forgiveness for the crimes he had committed against him, 116—Is reconciled to his son Henry, *ib.*—His son Henry died, at which he is greatly afflicted, *ib.*—Grants the county of Huntingdon to the king of Scotland, *ib.*—Treats the Irish chieftains with scorn and derision, *ib.*—Progress of the crusade, 117—Goes to war with France and his son Henry, *ib.*—Accepts disadvantageous terms of accommodation, 118—Death of Henry II. *ib.*—His character, *ib.*

Henry III. ascends the throne, 142—Henry being an infant, the earl of Pembroke was appointed Protector, *ib.*—Louis, son to the king of France, has the mortification to find that most of the barons desert his cause, 143—Louis makes peace with the Protector, and evacuates the kingdom, *ib.*—Commotions in different parts of the kingdom, 144—War between Henry and the king of France, 145—Henry III. greatly attached to strangers, *ib.*—The earl of Pembroke openly declares his sentiments on the partiality shewn to foreigners, *ib.*—The barons refuse to attend the parliament, *ib.*—The earl of Pembroke treacherously murdered in Ireland, by the contrivance of the bishop of Winchester, 146—The pope engages Henry to attempt the conquest of Naples, 147—Violates the Great Charter, *ib.*—Swears to maintain the Great Charter inviolate, 149—Twenty-four barons appointed to draw up a detail of grievances, 151—The barons publish the Statutes of Oxford, which annihilate the prerogatives of monarchy, 152—The kingdom involved in great confusion, 153—Disputes between the king and the earl of Leicester, *ib.*—Llewellyn, prince of Wales has recourse to the protection of Henry, 154—Cruelties exercised against the Jews, *ib.*—The king makes his peace with the barons, *ib.*—Battle between the king's forces and the rebel army, *ib.*—King Henry and the king of the Romans taken prisoners, 156—The earl of Leicester usurps the sovereign power, and calls a parliament to meet at London, 157—From this parliament the English House of Commons is supposed to have derived its origin, *ib.*—Prince Edward escapes from confinement, *ib.*—The earl of Leicester slain, 158—The earl of Gloucester levies troops with a view to act against the king, *ib.*—The king reduces his English subjects to obedience, 159—Convokes a parliament at Northampton, in which the pope's legate announces a crusade, *ib.*—Holds a parliament at Marlborough, in which are enacted the Statutes of Marlborough, *ib.*—Prince Edward engages in the crusade, *ib.*—Death of Henry III. *ib.*—His character, 160—Laws passed in the reign of Henry, *ib.*

Henry IV. ascends the throne, 257—Insurrection against the king's authority, *ib.*—Several noblemen and gentlemen executed, 258—William Sautré burned for heresy, *ib.*—Owen Glendowr revolts, *ib.*—Glendowr makes great progress against the king's forces, 259—Death of Owen Glendowr, 260—Death of Henry IV. 262—His character, *ib.*

Henry V. ascends the throne, 262—Magnanimous behaviour of Judge Gascoigne, 263—Persecutes the Lollards, *ib.*—Sir John Oldcastle, lord Cobham, condemned to be burnt as a heretic, *ib.*—Makes his escape from prison, *ib.*—Lord Cobham assembles a few forces, but is taken, and afterwards burnt, 264—War with France, *ib.*—Rigorous measures adopted for the suppression of a conspiracy, 265—The battle of Azincour, 266—Troubles in France, 267—Henry lands in Normandy, *ib.*—Espouses the princess Catherine, 268—Death of Henry V. 270—His character, *ib.*—Revenues, &c. in the time of Henry V.

Henry VI. succeeds to the throne at the age of nine months, 271—The English again attempt the conquest of France, *ib.*—The king of Scots restored, 272—The battle of Orleans, (called the battle of Herrings,) 274—Joan of Arc, commonly called the Maid of Orleans, appears at the French court, and promises to raise the siege of Orleans, 275—The English retire from before Orleans, 276—Charles, king of France, marches to Rheims, and is there crowned, 277—Many places submit to Charles, *ib.*—The English greatly discomfited, *ib.*—Henry VI. lands at Calais, 278—The Maid of Orleans taken prisoner, *ib.*—and burnt alive at Rouen, 279—Roger Bolingbroke, a mathematician, condemned for a magician, and executed at Tyburn, 282—Margery Gourdimain, a female vendor of love-powders, burnt in Smithfield, *ib.*—A truce with France, *ib.*—The duke of Gloucester arrested, and soon after found dead in his bed, 283—His estates confiscated, *ib.*—Various cruelties exercised, *ib.*—The French every where successful against the English, 284—The duke of Suffolk seized and beheaded at sea, 285—Insurrections in England, under Jack Cade, *ib.*—The insurgents rout a detachment of the king's troops, 286—Jack Cade seizes lord Say and Seale, and his son-in-law sir James Cromer, who are beheaded, *ib.*—Jack Cade taken and beheaded, *ib.*—Richard duke of York aspires to the crown, 287—The English driven out of France, 289—The duke of Somerset arrested and sent to the Tower, but soon released, 290—The duke of York raises an army, and marches towards the metropolis, *ib.*—The royalists defeated at St. Alban's, *ib.*—The king wounded, and conducted to London, *ib.*—The royalists defeated at Northampton, 291—Henry again taken prisoner, *ib.* The duke of York slain in an action against the forces under queen Margaret, 292—Several nobles put to death, *ib.*—Margaret obtains a victory over the Yorkists, and the king is retaken by his own party, *ib.*—Edward duke of York enters London, *ib.*—Henry VI. dethroned, 293—Edward proclaimed king at London, *ib.*—Committed to the Tower, 299—Cruelly treated, 300—Restored, 304—Again taken by Edward IV. and committed to the Tower, 306—Queen Margaret and her son taken prisoners, *ib.*—The queen sent to the Tower, and her son murdered, *ib.*—The king died in the Tower, *ib.*—Queen Margaret released from prison, 308

Henry, earl of Richmond, lands at Milford Haven, with a small force, 317—Henry advances to Bosworth, where Richard III. is slain, 317, 318—Ascends the throne under the title of Henry VII. 326—The two contending houses of York and Lancaster united by Henry's marriage, 327 Suppresses an insurrection, 329—Lambert Simnel personates Richard duke of York, who was murdered, *ib.*—Simnel proclaimed at Dublin, 330—Simnel taken prisoner, pardoned, and made a scullion in the king's kitchen, *ib.*—Troubles in France, 331—Henry takes part in the war, 334—Makes peace with France, 335—Perkin Warbec, origin of, *ib.*—Perkin Warbec personates Richard duke of York, 336—Perkin Warbec lands in England, 337—Many of his partizans taken, and put to death, *ib.*—Repulsed from the coast of Kent, Perkin retired to Flanders, 338—Perkin lands in Scotland, and is favourably received by the Scottish king, *ib.*—Perkin retires out of the kingdom, *ib.*—Insurrection in the West of England, 339—The rebel forces overcome in the neighbourhood of London, *ib.*—Henry demands that Perkin be delivered up to him, 340—Perkin takes on him the appellation of Richard the Fourth, *ib.*—Lady Catharine Gordon, Perkin Warbec's wife, taken prisoner in Cornwall, *ib.*—Perkin persuaded to deliver himself into the king's hands, *ib.*—Perkin's life granted him, and he is confined in the Tower, *ib.*—Perkin enters on a plan to effect his escape, 341—Perkin is arraigned, condemned, and executed at Tyburn, *ib.*—The king's eldest daughter Margaret, married to James king of Scotland, *ib.*—Employs two ministers (Empson and Dudley) to second his rapacious views, 342—Requests the king of Castile to deliver into his hands Edmund de la Pole, duke of Suffolk, 343—Commits the duke of Suffolk to the Tower, *ib.*—His death and character, *ib.*

Henry VIII. ascends the throne, 347—Empson and Dudley attainted, found guilty, and executed, 348—Henry marries Catherine, infanta of Spain, *ib.*—Henry advanced Thomas Wolsey, dean of Lincoln, to the office of prime minister, 351—Early life of Wolsey, *ib. n.* Makes an expedition to France, 352—Battle of Guinegâte, commonly called the Battle of Spurs, *ib.*—Henry takes Tournay, and bestows the see on Wolsey, *ib.*—Battle of Flouden, in which the English are successful, 353—Makes peace with Scotland, *ib.*—Peace with France, 354—Wolsey made archbishop of York, *ib.*—Affairs of Scotland, 355 Wolsey appointed the pope's legate with extraordinary powers, 357—Francis king of France solicits an interview with Henry near Calais, 358—Account of the interview, *ib.*—The duke of Buckingham executed, 359—Troubles in the church, *ib.*—The pope publishes the sale of indulgences, 360—Martin Luther preaches against indulgences, *ib.*—Henry writes a book against Luther, and obtains the title of Defender of the Faith, 361—Henry declares war against France, 362—Affairs of Scotland, *ib.*—Wolsey aspires to the papacy, 363—An insurrection in several places, 366—The insurgents pardoned, *ib.*—Cardinal Wolsey builds Hampton Court, which he presents to the king, 367—Pretends that his marriage with Catherine was unlawful, 369—Enamoured of Anne Boleyn, *ib.*—Obtains a divorce from queen Catherine, 370—Cardinal Wolsey ordered to retire from court, 372—Henry marries Anne Boleyn, 376—Dr. Cranmer created archbishop

bishop of Canterbury, *ib.*—Subjects the monasteries to a visitation, 378—Establishes his own supremacy, *ib.*—Cranmer adopts the protestant tenets, 379—Elizabeth Barton, practises impostures, 380—John Fisher, bishop of Rochester, is beheaded, *ib.*—Sir T. More beheaded, 381—Queen Catherine's death, *ib.* Entertains the idea of abolishing the monasteries, 382—Anne Boleyn loses the king's favour, 383—Jane Seymour obtains an ascendant over Henry, *ib.*—Anne Boleyn sent to the Tower, *ib.*—The queen Anne Boleyn, and her brother the viscount Rocheford beheaded, 384—The king marries Jane Seymour, *ib.*—Insurrections on account of the king's innovations, 386—The insurrections suppressed, *ib.*—Death of queen Jane Seymour, 387—Establishes Protestantism, 388—Proposals for espousing Anne of Cleves, the lady comes to England, and Henry espouses Anne of Cleves, *ib.*—Obtains a divorce, 390—Fixes his affection on Catherine Howard, niece to the duke of Norfolk, *ib.*—Commits Thomas Cromwell to the Tower, *ib.*—Cromwell beheaded, *ib.*—Marries Catherine Howard, 391—Authorizes a persecution against the Protestants, *ib.*—Orders the countess of Salisbury to be executed, *ib.*—Persecutions in Scotland, 392—Catherine Howard accused of licentious manners, 393—Several persons executed for concealing Catherine Howard's frailties before marriage, *ib.*—The king next married Catherine Par, 396—Affairs of Scotland, *ib.*—Orders the litany to be celebrated in the vulgar tongue, 399—Cranmer sent to the Tower, *ib.*—Anne Ascue tortured for denying the real presence, *ib.*—Anne Ascue burned alive, 400—Catherine Par narrowly escapes a snare laid to entrap and imprison her, *ib.*—Orders the duke of Norfolk and his son the earl of Surrey to be arrested, *ib.*—The earl of Surrey executed for high treason, 401—The duke of Norfolk ordered for execution, but saved by the king's dying the night previous, *ib.*—Manner of the king's death, *ib.*—His will, *ib.*—His character, *ib.*

Heptarchy, the Saxon, united under Egbert, 28

Honorius, the Roman emperor, resigned the sovereignty of Britain, 11—The Romans finally leave Britain, *ib.*

Jerusalem taken by the crusaders, 81—Murderers of Thomas à Becket ordered to make a pilgrimage to, 109

Jews, cruelties exercised against, 154—Banished from England, 162

Infidels, Richard I. engages in a crusade against the, 120

John succeeds to the throne, 127—Disagreements between John and the Normans, 128—Murders his nephew Arthur, 129—The king of France obtains several victories over him, 130, 131—John's conduct exposes him to contempt, 131—Disputes between the pope and John, *ib.*—The pope's interdict against John, 132 John confiscates the estates of the clergy who obeyed the interdict, *ib.*—Excommunicated by the pope, 133 The pope's legate, requires John to resign his kingdom to the church, 134—John swears fealty and obedience to pope Innocent III. and his successors, 135—Offends the barons by his insolence, *ib.* Langton shewsa copy of Henry the First's charter, *ib.*—The barons demand a renewal of Henry the First's charter, 136—Disturbances in consequence of the barons' demand, *ib.*—The barons proceed to levy war upon the king, *ib.*—A conference takes place between the king and the barons at Runnemede near Staines, *ib.*—The king signs MAGNA CHARTA, *ib.*—John makes war upon the barons, and burns many towns, 138—The barons offer to place Louis, son of the king of France, on the throne of England, *ib.*—Louis lands at Sandwich, and obtains several victories over John, 139—Shewing too great a partiality to Frenchmen, Louis displeases the barons, *ib.*—Death of king John, *ib.*—His character, *ib.*

Ireland, Henry II. undertakes an expedition against, 110—Observations on the original peopling of Ireland, *ib.*—Conquered by Henry II.

Kent, kingdom of, founded by Hengist, 22

Kent, considerable damage done to the coart of, by an extraordinary inundation of the sea, 80

Lancaster, death of John of Gaunt duke of, 228—*See* Bolingbroke.

Learning and the Arts, progress of, 13, 548

Leicester, disputes between Henry III. and and the earl of, 153—Usurps the sovereign power, 157—Slain in battle, 158

Leolf, an outlaw, stabs Edmund king of England, 45

Liberties, Henry I. grants a charter of, 81—Confirmed by Henry II. 101

Literature, Arts, and Sciences, retrospective view of, 321

Llewellyn, prince of Wales, seeks protection from Henry III. 154—Slain in battle, 163

London Bridge built, 80

London burnt by the Danes, 37

———, great part thereof consumed by fire, 80—Pestilence in, 207

MAGNA CHARTA, the sacred basis of English liberty, signed by king John at Runnemede, 136—Copy of, 139—Violated by Henry III. 148

Manufactures, state of the English, 546

Marlborough, a parliament held at, 159

Mary I. troubles at the commencement of her reign, 432—Lady Jane Grey set up by the protestants, *ib.*—Lady Jane Grey proclaimed queen, *ib.*—Mary asserts her right to the crown, *ib.*—Mary joined by the catholics, and proclaimed at Norwich, 433—Lady Jane Grey deserted by her friends, returns to a private station, *ib.*—Several noblemen and gentlemen taken into custody, for espousing the cause of Lady Jane Grey, *ib.*—The duke of Northumberland executed, *ib.*—Lady Jane and lord Guildford found guilty of treason, *ib.*—The duke of Norfolk, bishops Gardiner, Tunstal. and Bonner, released from the Tower, 434—Several bishops committed to prison, *ib.*—Judge Hales killed himself, *ib.*—Cranmer thrown into prison, *ib.*—Sentence of high treason pronounced against Cranmer, *ib.*—Proposals for Mary's marrying Philip, son to the emperor of Germany, 435—Dispute concerning the real presence, 436—Insurrections under sir T. Wiat, 437—Wiat surrendered and is shortly after beheaded, *ib.*—Attempt to draw Elizabeth into a snare, *ib.*—Lady Jane Grey and lord Guildford, executed, 438—The duke of Suffolk executed, *ib.*—Philip of Spain arrives in England, 439—Mary and Philip are married at Winchester, *ib.*—Philip protects Elizabeth from the malice of the queen, 440—Persecution against the protestants, *ib.*—John Rogers burnt in Smithfield, 441—Dr. John Hooper, bishop of Gloucester, burnt in his own diocese, *ib.*—Mr. Lawrence Saunders burnt at Coventry, *ib.*—Philpot, archdeacon of Winchester, burnt in Smithfield, *ib.*—Dr. Robert Ferrar, bishop of St. David's, burnt at Carmarthen, *ib.*—Bishops Ridley and Latimer burnt at Oxford. *ib.*—Death of Stephen Gardiner, 443—Archbishop Cranmer degraded, 444—Cranmer burnt at Oxford, *ib.*—Affairs of the continent, 443—Attempt to entrap Elizabeth on the subject of the real presence, 447—Death of Mary, *ib.* Her character, *ib.*

Mortimer, queen Isabella's paramour, gets possession of the estates of many of the nobles, 192—Condemned as a traitor, and hanged, 193

Neville's Cross, battle of, 205

Ordeal, trial by, abolished in the reign of Henry III. 161

Otterbourne, battle of, 226

Pandolf, the pope's legate, requires king John to surrender the kingdom to the church, 134

Plantagenets, recapitulation of the history of, 318

Poictiers, battle of, 209

Provisions, prices of, 189

Reformation, history of, 406

Richard I. succeeds to the throne, 119—Engages in the crusade, 120—Carries on a successful war against the Infidels, 123—Detained by the Germans on his route to England, 125—Lands at Sandwich, *ib.*—Reconciled to his brother John, 126—His death and character, *ib.*

Richard II. ascends the throne, 219—Insurrection under Wat Tyler and Jack Straw, 220—Various insurrections, 221—Simon Sudbury murdered, *ib.*—Sir Robert Hales murdered, *ib.*—War with France, 220, 221, 222—Great devastations in England and Scotland, 222—Quarrel between the king and his nobles, 223—The duke of Lancaster returns to England, and effects a reconciliation between the king and the duke of Gloucester, 225—Battle of Otterbourne, 226—The king seizes the charter of London, which he soon after restores, *ib.*—Thomas Arundel, archbishop of Canterbury, impeached by the commons, 227—The earl of Arundel beheaded, *ib.*—The duke of Gloucester died suddenly at Calais, *ib.*—The death of John of Gaunt, duke of Lancaster, 228—Richard confiscates the duchy of Lancaster, *ib.*—Henry de Bolingbroke, the new duke of Lancaster, seeks the recovery of his dukedom, *ib.*—The duke of Lancaster becomes master of the kingdom, 229—Richard conducted to the Tower, *ib.*—The duke of Lancaster aspires to the crown, *ib.*—Articles of accusation against Richard, *ib.*—The duke claims the crown of England, 230—Death of Richard, 231—His character, *ib.*

Richard III. ascends the throne, 314—Sends to sir Robert Brackenbury to assassinate the two young princes, Edward V. and his brother Richard duke of York, 315—Battle of Bosworth, Richard is slain, 318—His character, *ib.*

Saxon reinforcements sent for by Hengist, 17—Drive the Britons into Wales, 21

Saxons invited to assist the Britons, 15—Remarks on the government, religion, and character of the Saxons, *ib.*

Stephen ascends the throne, 89—England involved in anarchy and confusion, 91—Matilda obtains the sovereignty of great part of the kingdom, 94—Stephen's death, 95—His character, *ib.*

Straw, Jack. *See* Wat Tyler.

Tyler, Wat, and Jack Straw, insurrection under, 220

Vortigern enamoured of Rowena, Hengist's daughter, 17—Cedes Kent to Hengist, *ib.*

William duke of Normandy lands in Sussex, 62—Battle of Hastings, 63—William I. gains possession of the throne, on the death of Harold, 66—Confiscates the estates of several English nobles, 67—Seizes the estates of the English, and confers them on his Norman mercenaries, 69—Suppresses an insurrection under Edwin and Morcar, 70—Punishes several with death or amputation of limbs for rebellion, 71—Dissensions in the king's family, 73—Commits great devastations in France, 74—Dies at St. Gervais near Rouen, *ib.*—His character, *ib.*

William II. ascends the throne, 75—Goes to war with his brother for the recovery of Normandy, 76—Narrowly escapes being put to death, *ib.*—Enters on a war with Scotland, *ib.*—Engaged in several petty wars with his relations and vassals, 77—Killed by accident in the New Forest, 80—His character, *ib.*

Wolsey, Cardinal, rise of, 351—appointed pope's legage, 357—disgraced, 372.

END OF THE FIRST VOLUME.

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INDEX

TO THE SECOND VOLUME.

AGRICULTURE, 61
Aix la Chapelle, peace of, 358
Allen, William, murdered in St. George's Fields, 398
Alliance, Quadruple, 331
Amboyna, massacre of the English at, 52
America, disturbances in, occasioned by the Stamp Act, 394—and on account of some duties imposed on various commodities, 399—The English ministry resolve to persevere in levying the duty on tea exported to America, 401—Three ships laden with tea sent to Boston, and the Bostonians empty their cargoes into the sea, 405—Port of Boston blockaded, *ib.*—Commencement of the war with the Americans, *ib.*—*See* George III.—War with the United States of America, 632
Anne, Queen, ascends the throne, 298—The earl of Marlborough directs the queen in her resolutions, *ib.*—The allies of the English active on the continent, 299—Progress of the war, 300—Disgraceful conduct of the English captains under admiral Benbow, 301—The duke of Marlborough caressed on his return to England, on account of his successes, 304—Union of England and Scotland, 306—The duke of Marlborough prosecutes his successes, 307—Quarrel between the Whig and the Tory factions, 308—Dr. Henry Sacheverel inflames the parties by his harangues, *ib.*—Sacheverel brought to trial and prohibited from preaching for three years, 309—Successful prosecution of the war, *ib.*—The Russian ambassador maltreated, 311—Conferences for a peace, 313—The duke of Marlborough declines in his interest at court, *ib.*—Attempt on the life of Mr. Harley, 314—The war prosecuted with vigour and success, 316—The duke of Marlborough dismissed from his employments, *ib.*—Utrecht fixed upon as the place for treating of peace, 317—Violent party disputes, 318—Peace of Utrecht, *ib.*—Party quarrels still prosecuted in the cabinet, 319—Death of queen Anne, 320—Her character, *ib.*
Argyle, duke of, lands in Scotland, is overpowered, taken, and executed, 260
Aspern, battle of, 609
Atterbury, Dr. Bishop of Rochester, committed to the Tower, 334—Impeached, *ib.*—Banished, 335
Bedloe, William, concerned with Titus Oates and Dr. Tongue in a pretended popish plot, 245
Bellingham, John, executed for the assassination of the hon. Mr. Spencer Perceval, 632
Bernard, Mr. fined one thousand pounds for preaching against Pelagian errors and Romish superstition, 88
Birmingham, riots at, 443
Black Hole at Calcutta, Mr. Holwell and his associates confined in, 366
Bonaparte, Napoleon, born in Corsica after that island belonged to France, 398—Account of the family of, 462, *n*—(*See* George III.)—Dissolves the council of elders, and is appointed First Consul, 489 Made emperor of France, 568—Divorced from the empress Josephine, 610—Marries Maria Louisa, daughter of the emperor of Austria, 612—(*See* George III.)
Boscobel, a farm house on the borders of Staffordshire, Charles II. succoured by one Penderell at, 194
Boyne, battle of, 278
Brussels, king James's negociations treated with ridicule at, 40, *n.*
Buckingham, duke of, assassinated by Felton, 78
Buenos Ayres, expedition to, 580
Burdett, sir Francis, sent to the Tower, 611
Byng, admiral, his conduct at Minorca, 366—Shot, 369
Camelford, lord, killed in a duel with Mr. Best, 565
Cameron, Dr. Archibald, executed for treason, 362, *n.*
Capel, lord, executed, 187
Carisbrook Castle, Charles I. conducted to, 177
Ceylon, cruelties in, 562
Charles I. ascends the throne, 63—His spouse Henrietta, a daughter of France, arrives in England, *ib.*—Admiral Pennington refuses to fight against the Protestants at Rochelle, *ib.*—Complaints of the parliament against the screening of popish recusants, 64—The Puritans powerful in the house of commons, who embraced the side of freedom, 65—Prosecution of Montague, a court chaplain, for Arminianism, 66—The duke of Buckingham, the king's favourite, becomes very unpopular, 67—Articles of accusation found by the commons against Buckingham, *ib.*—Sir Dudley Digges and sir John Elliot, managers of the impeachment against Buckingham, thrown into prison, 68—These members released, *ib.*—Grants a commission to the archbishop of York to compound with the catholics, *ib.*—Takes arbitrary measures to raise money, 69—Several persons committed to prison in violation of the Great Charter, *ib.*—Sends a fleet to assist the Hugonots, under the duke of Buckingham, 71—The fleet returns without effecting any good, *ib.*—Charles acts in an arbitrary manner, 73—The commons pass a law which they call a Petition of Right, 76—Copy of the Petition of Right, *ib. n.*—House of commons censure the conduct of Buckingham, 77—The duke of Buckingham assassinated by Felton, 78—Felton condemned to death, 79—Dreadful state of the people of Rochelle, *ib.*—Disputes in parliament on the subject of religion, 80—Oliver Cromwell, a member of the house, speaks on the side of Puritanism, 81—Cruelties exercised in Ireland, 83, *n.*—Bishop Laud acts in an arbitrary manner, 84—Various tyrannical acts and unjust persecutions, *ib.*—Bishop Laud has great influence in ecclesiastical and civil matters, 85—Bishop Laud's consecration of the church of St. Katherine Cree, 86—Sherfield, recorder of Salisbury, prosecuted in the Star-chamber for having destroyed, by order of vestry, some panes of painted glass, *ib.*—Sherfield fined five hundred pounds, and removed from his office, 87—The rev. Mr. Bernard fined one thousand pounds, for preaching against Pelagian errors and Romish superstition, 88—Alexander Leighton, D. D. put in the pillory, and his ears cut off, for writing against prelacy, *ib.*—Monopolies revived, 89—Prynne, a barrister of Lincoln's Inn, fined five thousand pounds, to lose his ears, and be imprisoned during life, for writing "Histrio Mastyx," *ib.*—Charles orders sports and recreations on Sunday, *ib.*—Laud made archbishop of Canterbury, *ib.*—Ship-money introduced, 90—Excessive fines imposed upon many noblemen and gentlemen, *ib.*—Prynne, Burton, and Bastwick most cruelly sentenced, and as cruelly treated, 91—Sir Arthur Hazelrig, John Hampden, and Oliver Cromwell, resolve to leave the country, but the ships in which they were to go were staid by an order of the council, 92—Williams, bishop of Lincoln, fined ten thousand pounds, and again eight thousand pounds, *ib.*—John Hampden brought to trial in the exchequer chamber for defending the liberties of the subject, 93—Charles attempts to impose the English liturgy, with a few alterations, on the Scotish nation, 95—The people begin to unite in opposition to religious innovations, *ib.*—The Scotch nobility, clergy, and gentry put forth the Covenant, 96—Charles orders a counter Covenant to be drawn up, *ib.*—Richelieu encourages the Scotish malcontents, 97—The covenanters in Scotland resolve to defend themselves by force of arms, *ib.*—The king sends an army towards the north, 98—Charles brought to terms with the covenanters, 99—Cardinal Richelieu concerts measures with the prince of Orange to attack the Spanish dominions, 100—The Spanish fleet destroyed by Van Tromp, the Dutch admiral, *ib.*—The parliament abridge the power of the crown with respect to the coin, 101—Discontents in Scotland become greater, 102—Charles discovers that the Scots are assisted by the cardinal Richelieu, *ib.*—D'Estrade, the French ambassador, haughtily treated by the queen Henrietta, 103—Colvil and the earl of Loudon sent to the Tower, *ib.*—The king orders William Balfour, lieutenant of the Tower, to execute Loudon, *ib. n.*—The king tears the warrant for Loudon's execution, *ib. n.*—The king's conduct towards Scotland debated in the English parliament, 104—The parliament being adverse to Charles's schemes, is dissolved, 106—Continual mutinies among the soldiers, 107—The Scots besiege and take Edinburgh castle, 108—The Scots take Newcastle, and the king's magazines of powder, ammunition, and provision, 109—The Scots petition for a redress of grievances, *ib.*—The English demand a redress of grievances, 110—The earl of Stafford, the king's general, attacked in the house of commons, 112—The earl of Strafford taken into custody, 113—Strafford impeached by the commons, *ib.*—Archbishop Laud accused of a design to subvert the laws and religion of the realm, 114—The citizens of London subscribe a petition against the hierarchy and government of the church of England, 115—Lord Wentworth taken from his tribunal in the court of King's Bench, and carried to prison, 116—The sentence against Prynne, Bastwick, and Burton reversed by the commons, 117—The impeachment of the earl of Strafford carried up to the house of lords, 119—The earl of Strafford found guilty of high treason, and beheaded, 126—The court of star-chamber set aside, and the marshal's court, which took cognizance of offensive words, abolished, 127—The king abridged of a considerable part of his authority, 128—The king goes to Scotland, to settle the differences, *ib.*—Plan to expel the English from Ireland, 130—One hundred and fifty-four thousand protestants slain in the province of Ulster, 131—The king charged with being concerned in the Irish rebellion, 135—The king demands five members of the house of commons, and lord Kimbolton, 138—Lord Kimbolton, Denzil Hollis, sir Arthur Hazelrig, Hampden, Pym, and Strode, accused of high treason in the house of peers in his majesty's name, *ib.*—The king, fearful of the people, retires to Hampton Court, 139—Petitions presented to the commons by many of the counties, promising to defend the privileges of parliament, 140—The breach between the king and parliament daily grows wider, 141—The king declares sir John Hotham, governor of Hull, a traitor, for refusing to admit him into the place, 142—The parliament justify sir John Hotham, *ib.*—The king prepares himself for defence against

against the parliament, *ib.*—The king erects the royal standard at Nottingham, 143—The fleet declares for the parliament, *ib.*—The parliamentary forces compel the earl of Hertford with his army to fly before them, 144—Declaration of the king, 145—Battle of Keinton, or Edgehill, *ib.*—The earl of Essex, the parliamentary general, takes Reading, 146—Sir W. Waller, parliament general, takes Winchester, Chicester, Gloucester, Hereford, and Tewkesbury, 147—The royalists successful in the west, *ib.*—Hampden mortally wounded, 148—Bristol taken by the royalists, *ib.*—The king lays siege to Gloucester, 149—The parliament forces compel him to raise the siege, 150—The battle of Newberry, *ib.*—Sir Thomas Fairfax beats the royalists at Wakefield, *ib.*—Oliver Cromwell beats the royalists at Gainsborough, *ib.*—Lord Fairfax beaten at Atherton Moor, *ib.*—Royalists beaten at Horn-Castle, *ib.*—The *Solemn League and Covenant* framed at Edinburgh, 151—Affairs of Ireland, 152—Excise on beer, wine, &c. introduced, 153—The king makes some artful attempts to procure a peace, but is frustrated, *ib.*—Death of the famous Pym, 154—The royalists gain some successes, *ib.*—Sir Thomas Fairfax beats the royalists, *ib.*—The royalists beaten at Marston Moor, 155—The king's general, the marquis of Newcastle, leaves the kingdom, *ib.*—The king's forces discomfited at Newbury, 156—Cromwell and the Independents avow their republican principles, 157—The Self-denying Ordinance framed, 158—Cromwell invested with the direction of the parliamentary army, *ib.*—Archbishop Laud brought to the scaffold, 161—The battle of Naseby, in which the king's army was nearly destroyed, 166—Fairfax beats the king's forces at Lamport in Somersetshire, *ib.*—Fairfax takes Bridgewater, *ib.*—Fairfax takes Bristol and Prince Rupert's forces, *ib.*—Colonel Jones beats the king's forces at Chester, *ib.*—Various successes of the parliamentary forces, 166, 167—The king flies from Oxford, and arrives at the Scotish camp before Newark, 168—The Scotish generals and commissioners set a guard upon the king, *ib.*—The king strictly guarded, 169—The parliament and the Scots lay proposals before the king, which he refused to accept, *ib.*—The king delivered by the Scots to the English commissioners, and conducted to Holdenby in Northamptonshire, *ib.*—Death of the parliamentary general, Robert Devereux, earl of Essex, *ib.*—Disputes between the parliament and the soldiery, 171—Cornet Joyce seizes the king at Holdenby, 172—Cromwell, who had directed the seizure of the king, arrives in London, and puts an end to the deliberations of the parliament, *ib.*—The king's friends allowed by Cromwell to have access to him, he was allowed to correspond with the queen, and his children allowed to visit him, 173—The military gains the ascendant over the civil authority, 174—Charles entertains the idea of uniting the Scots and the cavaliers, 175—The king talks haughtily to the commissioners, *ib.*—The king escapes from the camp, and goes to the Isle of Wight, 176—Colonel Hammond acquaints the parliament of the king's being in his possession, 177—The king conducted to Carisbrook Castle, *ib.*—The army determined to bring the king to a trial, *ib.*—The king closely confined, and his attendants dismissed, 178 Westminster Hall fitted up for the trial of the king, 182—The king conducted to Westminster Hall, where the solicitor of the commons makes his charge against his majesty, *ib.*—The king objects to the competency of the court, 183—The king found guilty, and sentence of death pronounced against him, *ib.*—Copy of the warrant for the execution of the king, *ib. n.*—The king beheaded, 184—The real person who struck off the king's head pointed out, *ib. n.*—The character of Charles the First, 185—Duke Hamilton, lord Capel, and the earl of Holland, executed, 187

Charles II. proclaimed in Palace Yard, and at Temple Bar, 216—Charles disembarks at Dover, is met by general Monk, and proceeds to London, *ib.*—Monk created duke of Albemarle, *ib.*—The king passes an act of general indemnity, 217—Those who had an immediate hand in Charles's death excepted from the bill of indemnity, *ib.*—The regicides brought to trial, condemned, and executed, *ib.*—Death of the duke of Gloucester, the king's brother, *ib.*—Death of the princess of Orange, *ib.*—The duke of York marries Ann Hyde, daughter to Edward Hyde, now earl of Clarendon, 218—The bishops restored to their sees, the ejected clergy recovered their livings, and the liturgy was again admitted into the churches, *ib.*—Madness of the fifth-monarchy-men, who were, to the number of sixty, either killed, or executed, *ib.*—Charles attempts to establish the church of England in Scotland, *ib.*—The Covenant declared unlawful, *ib*—Conference at the Savoy between twelve bishops and twelve Presbyterians, *ib.*—The Act of Uniformity, 219—Catherine of Portugal, to whom the king was betrothed, landed at Portsmouth, *ib.*—The festivity of the king's marriage clouded by the execution of criminals, 220—Lambert and Vane brought to trial and found guilty, Lambert being reprieved at the bar, and Vane being executed, *ib.*—On St. Bartholomew's day two thousand ministers ejected from their livings, *ib.*—Dunkirk sold to the French, *ib.*—During his exile Charles had been reconciled to the church of Rome, 221—James duke of York a thorough catholic, *ib.*—The catholics allowed the free exercise of their religion, *ib.*—Preparations for a war with the Dutch, 222—Great naval action between the English and Dutch fleets, *ib.*—The plague breaks out in London, and destroys nearly ninety thousand inhabitants, 223—Dreadful actions between the English and Dutch fleets, which continued several days, 224—Fire of London, *ib.*—Negociations for peace with the Dutch, 225—The Dutch enter the Thames, *ib.*—The earl of Clarendon impeached by the commons, and banished, 226—Charles engages in the Triple Alliance, *ib.*—Affairs of the French and Spanish monarchies, *ib.*—Act passed against conventicles, 228—The king forms his ministry of Clifford, Ashley, Buckingham, Arlington, and Lauderdale, the initials of whose names formed the word CABAL, 229—Blood forms a design of carrying off the crown from the Tower, 230—Blood pardoned, and becomes a favourite of the king, *ib.* Popery becomes a ground of terror, 231—Preparations for war against Holland, *ib.*—Actions with the Dutch fleet, 231, 232—Affairs of Holland, 233—Cornelius de Wit torn in pieces, *ib.*—Dreadful action between the English and Dutch fleets, 235—Charles entertains the idea of marrying the prince of Orange to the lady Mary, heir apparent to the crown of England, (the duke of York having no issue,) 239—The prince of Orange arrives in England, *ib.*—Negociations for peace at Nimeguen, 240—Peace of Nimeguen, 241—Severe laws enacted against conventicles, and ruinous fines imposed on preachers and hearers, 242—The case of Mitchel, who was executed at Edinburgh, *ib. n.*—Dr. Tongue pretends to discover a plot to shoot the king, in which Titus Oates was the principal contriver, 243—William Bedloe, a wretch, if possible, more infamous than Oates, pretends to great discoveries of a plot, 245—Edward Coleman tried for being concerned in the pretended popish plot, found guilty, and executed, 246—Father Ireland, Grove, and Pickering, executed, on the evidence of Oates and Bedloe, *ib.*—Hill, Green, and Berry executed for the murder of sir Edmondsbury Godfrey, *ib.*—The duke of York requested to retire beyond sea, 247—Attempt to exclude the duke of York from the succession, 248—Impeachment of five popish lords and the earl of Danby, *ib.*—Five Jesuits executed for the pretended popish plot, 249—Archbishop Sharpe assassinated near St. Andrews in Scotland, 250—The duke of Monmouth sent against the covenanters in Scotland, whom he overthrows and treats with lenity, *ib.*—The meal-tub plot pretended to be discovered by one Dangerfield, 251—Viscount Stafford examined for the popish plot, 253—Dissensions between the king and the parliament, *ib.*—Fitz-harris executed for a libel, 255—Various executions on the evidence of false-witnesses, 255, 256, —The duke of York the principal instigator in some of the executions, 257—The duke of Monmouth engages in an insurrection, and aspires to the crown, 258—The Rye House Plot, *ib.*—Monmouth sent to the Tower, *ib.*—Several persons executed for being concerned in the duke of Monmouth's rebellion, *ib.*—Algernon Sidney executed, *ib.*—Several persons executed, for the same offence, *ib.*—Titus Oates fined one hundred thousand pounds, *ib.*—Death of Charles II, 259—His character, *ib.*

Church, affairs of, 320

Coin, the parliament abridge the power of the crown with respect to the, 101

Colonies belonging to England, 60

Commerce of England, 59

Conventicles, severe laws enacted against, and ruinous fines imposed on preachers and hearers, 242

Copenhagen, attack on, 496, 589

Covenant, the, put forth by the Scotish nobility, &c. 96

Cromwell, Oliver, hindered from leaving the kingdom by an order of Charles the First's council, 92—(*see* Charles I.)—Circumstances attending the formation of the republic, 187—Cromwell lays siege to Tredah, (Drogedah,) which he takes by assault, and puts the garrison to death, 189—He takes Wexford, and used similar severity, 190—Cromwell completely conquers Ireland, *ib.*—James Graham, duke of Montrose, hanged at Edinburgh, 192—Charles II. proclaimed in Scotland, where he lands in the Frith of Cromarty, *ib.*—Cromwell declared captain-general of all the forces in England, *ib.*—Cromwell marches to Scotland, *ib.*—Cromwell defeats the Scots near Dunbar, 193—Charles II. escapes from Argyle and flies to the Highlands, but is persuaded to return, *ib.*—Charles advanced with his army towards England, 194—Charles II. advances to Worcester, 194—Cromwell completely overthrows Charles II.'s army at Worcester, and the king with great difficulty escapes, *ib.*—Charles goes to Boscobel, a lone house on the borders of Staffordshire, inhabited by one Penderell, a farmer, *ib.*—Charles meets with great difficulty in concealing himself from the vigilance of the parliamentary forces, *ib.*—Charles leaves England, and arrives at Fescamp in Normandy, 195—Cromwell's credit greatly increased after the battles of Dunbar and Worcester, *ib.*—Blake, who had defended Lyme and Taunton against the king, made an admiral, *ib.*—Blake pursues prince Rupert to the Tagus, and takes twenty Portuguese ships richly laden, *ib.*—Ireland and Scotland reduced to submission, *ib.*—General Monk successful in Scotland, 196—Hostile measures taken against the Dutch, *ib.*—The English make prize of above eighty Dutch ships, *ib.*—An action between the English and Dutch fleets in the Dover roads, 197—Dreadful battle between De Ruyter and sir George Ayscue, *ib.*—Action between the English, under admirals Blake, Bourne, and Pen, with a Dutch

a Dutch squadron under De Witte and De Ruiter, *ib.*—A furious battle between the Dutch and English fleets, in which the English were beaten, *ib.*—Another fierce battle between the English and Dutch fleets, under the same commanders, Van Tromp and Blake, lasted three days, *ib.*—Cromwell dissolves the Long Parliament, 198—Oliver Cromwell chosen Protector, 199—Makes peace with the United States, 200—Don Pantaleon Sa, brother to the Portuguese ambassador, murders a person on the exchange, *ib.*—Don Pantaleon Sa executed on Tower Hill, 201—The leaders of a conspiracy to bring in the king, taken, and capitally punished, 202—Affairs of Germany, and treaty of Westphalia, *ib.*—Affairs of Sweden, *ib.*—Affairs of France, *ib.*—The English resent the measures of the court of France, 203—The court of Spain courts the alliance of the Protector, *ib.*—Cromwell strikes terror into the different states of Europe by his naval preparations, 204—Cromwell makes war upon the Spaniards, and has various success, *ib.*—Cromwell urged to massacre the royalists, but always rejected such sanguinary counsels, 205—Cromwell friendly to the Independents, Presbyterians, &c. but kept the church of England in constraint, *ib.*—The Protector extremely vigilant in procuring intelligence, *ib.*—Cromwell's general behaviour and deportment such as might befit the greatest monarch, 206—Motion for investing the Protector with the dignity of king, *ib.*—Cromwell rejects the offer, 207—Cromwell allowed to appoint his successor, *ib.*—Richard, Cromwell's eldest son, introduced at court, and regarded as his successor, 208—Discovery of a plot of the royalists, *ib.*—The death of his daughter, Mrs. Claypole, greatly affected Cromwell, 209—Cromwell's death, *ib.*—Character of Cromwell, 210—Genealogical account of Oliver Cromwell and his family, *ib. n.*—Oliver Cromwell's funeral, 211, *n.*

Cromwell, Richard, Protector, 211—Henry Cromwell, Richard's brother, assured him of the obedience of Ireland, and Monk proclaimed the new protector in Scotland, *ib.*—Cabals entered into against Richard Cromwell, 212—Richard signs his demission in form, *ib.*—Henry Cromwell, deputy of Ireland, resigns his command, and retires to England, *ib.*—Monk resolves to restore the royal family, 215

Dardanelles, expedition to, 587

Despard, colonel Edward Marcus, executed for high treason, 502

Dogger Bank, naval action off the, 417

Duelling introduced in James I.'s reign, 21

Dunbar, Cromwell defeats the Scots at, 193

Edge-hill, or Keinton, battle of, 145

Excise on beer, wine, &c. introduced, 153

Eylau, battle of, 582

Falkland Islands, dispute with Spain concerning, 401

Farmer, capt. blown up in the Quebec, 412

Felton stabs the duke of Buckingham, 78—Executed, 79

Fenwick, case of sir John, 292—Beheaded, 293

Finances of England, observations on, 57

Fitz-harris executed for a libel, 255

Fox, death of the hon. C. J. 580

France, revolution in, 444—Louis XVI. king of, beheaded, 445—Marie Antoinette, queen of, beheaded, 447

George I. ascends the throne, 322—Lands at Greenwich, *ib.*—Party disputes between the Whigs and Tories, 324—The earl of Strafford impeached, 325—A reward offerred for seizing the Pretender dead or alive, 326—Insurrection in favour of the Pretender, 327—The earls of Derwentwater, Nithisdale, Carnwarth, and Wintown, the lords Widrington, Kenmuir, and Nairne, impeached, and pleading guilty, all except lord Wintown, receive sentence of death, 329—Vast numbers executed on account of the rebellion, 330—The king resolves to visit his Hanoverian dominions, *ib.*—Rupture with Spain, *ib.*—Quadruple alliance, 331 South Sea Company, *ib.*—Failure of the South Sea Company, 333—Dr. Atterbury, bishop of Rochester, committed to the Tower, 334—Bishop Atterbury impeached, *ib.*—Bishop Atterbury banished, 335—Death of George I. 326—His character, *ib.*

George II. ascends the throne, 337—Causes of dissension in the house of commons, *ib.*—England greatly infested with robbers, assassins, and incendiaries, 340—George Robinson, Esq. cashier, and John Thompson, warehouse-keeper to the Charitable Corporation, disappear in one day, and the affairs of the company investigated by parliament, 341—Several members expelled the house of commons for fraudulent actions, 342—Pragmatic Sanction confirmed by the diet of the empire, *ib.*—Remarkable instance of suicide, *ib.*—Georgia in America colonized, *ib.*—Debates in parliament, 343—The famous Gin Act passed, 345—Murder of captain Porteus, 346—Bill for punishing the magistrates and city of Edinburgh on account of the murder of captain Porteus, *ib.*—Death of the queen, 347—Admiral Vernon takes Porto Bello, with six ships only, *ib.*—Hard frost, 348—Expedition to the South Sea, *ib.*—Battle of Dettingen, 350—Misunderstanding between admirals Matthews and Lestock, 351—The chevalier Charles lands in Scotland, *ib.*—Progress of the Pretender, 352—Battle of Preston-pans, 353—Lords Kilmarnock, Balmerino, Cromartie, and others taken, 356—Cruelties exercised in the north, *ib.*—Execution of Mr. Radcliffe, titular earl of Derwentwater and others, for high treason in favouring the Pretender, 357—Peace of Aix la Chapelle, 358—Discontents of Frederic prince of Wales, 359—Contested election for Westminster between lord Trentham and sir George Vandeput, 360—Reformation of the calendar, and the New Stile introduced, 361—The king makes a voyage to the continent, *ib.*—War in the East Indies between the rival companies of France and England, 362—Dr. Archibald Cameron executed for treason, *ib. n.*—Establishment of the British Museum, *ib.*—Affair of Elizabeth Canning, *ib.*—Peace in India, 363—Preparations for war with France, 364—Progress of the war with the French in America, 365—Conduct of admiral Byng at Minorca, 366—Minorca taken by the French, 367—Fort Geriah, Angria's capital taken by the English, *ib.* Mr. Holwell and his associates confined in the Black Hole at Calcutta, *ib.*—Admiral Byng brought to trial, 368—Admiral Byng sentenced to death, and shot, 369—Gallant action of captain Forrest, 370—Various naval successes, *ib.*—The English successful in Africa, 373—Affairs of the East Indies, 374—General James Wolfe killed at the conquest of Quebec, 375—Naval successes of the English in the Mediterranean, 376—Gallant action of sir Edward Hawke off Belleisle, *ib.*—The war in Germany carried on with various success, but in which Frederic king of Prussia was mostly successful, 377—Petition for removing the magazine from the neighbourhood of East Greenwich, 278—The city of London ordered to be widened in the streets and paved, 379—M. Thurot makes a descent in Ireland, but is discomfited, *ib.*—General Amherst takes Montreal, *ib.*—Death of George II. 380—His character, *ib.*

George III. grandson of George II. ascends the throne, 381—Extract from the king's speech on the assembling of parliament, *ib.*—Advances the salaries of the judges, 382—Marries Charlotte Sophia, princess of Mecklenburg Strelitz, 383—Proposals for a peace, *ib.*—The allies successful by land, and the English by sea, 384, 385—War declared against Spain, 385—Successful attack on the Moro Castle, 386—The English make a descent on the island of Manilla, 387—Progress of the war, 388—Birth of the prince of Wales, 389—Peace restored, 390—Prosecution against Mr. Wilkes and others on account of the 45th number of the North Briton, *ib.*—Affairs of the East Indies, 391—The Delaware and Shawanese Indians renew the war, 392—Lord Byron tried for murder, and found guilty of manslaughter, 393—The silk weavers complain of the encouragement given to French silks, and commit outrages, *ib.*—The Isle of Man annexed to England, *ib.*—Disturbances arise in America, on account of the Stamp Act, 394—The Americans refuse to buy or sell English manufactures, 395—Death of his royal highness William duke of Cumberland, *ib.*—Contests in England on account of the Stamp Act as applicable to America, *ib.*—Commotions in consequence of the high price of provisions, 396—Carolina Matilda, his majesty's youngest sister, married to the king of Denmark, 397—Edward duke of York, his majesty's brother, dies at Monaco in Italy, *ib.*—Affairs of Corsica, *ib.*—The Corsicans assisted by the English, *ib.*—Corsica reduced under the French monarchy, 398—Napoleon Bonaparte, emperor of the French, born in Corsica after that island belonged to France, *ib. n.*—William Allen, murdered in St. George's Fields, *ib. n.*—The king of Denmark arrives in England on a visit to his majesty, *ib.*—Disturbances in America on account of some duties imposed on various commodities, 399—Mr. Wilkes expelled the house of commons, 400—The ministers resolve to persevere in levying the duty on tea exported to America, 401—Disputes on account of the Middlesex election, *ib.*—Dispute with Spain concerning the Falkland islands, *ib.*—Corruptions in the election of members to parliament discovered, 402—Mr. Wheble and Mr. Miller, printers of Newspapers, taken into custody for publishing the debates of the house of commons, and liberated, by the lord mayor and aldermen Wilkes and Oliver, 402—The lord mayor and Mr. Oliver committed to the Tower, *ib.*—Dispute concerning the subscription to the thirty-nine articles, 403—Death of the princess dowager of Wales, the king's mother, *ib.*—His majesty's sister, the queen of Denmark, charged with carrying on a criminal correspondence with the count Struensee, *ib.*—Counts Struensee and Brandt executed, 404—The queen of Denmark permitted to reside at Zell, where she died with grief, *ib.*—Three ships laden with tea sent to Boston, and the Bostonians empty their cargoes into the sea, 405—The port of Boston blockaded, *ib.*—Henry Sampson Woodfall, printer, and the rev. John Horne, cited before the house of commons for a libel, but at length discharged, *ib.*—Commencement of the war with America, *ib.*—Various measures adopted by the friends to peace to avert the impending storm, 406—The ministers determine to subdue the colonies, *ib.*—General Gage attacks the provincials at Lexington and Concord, and loses three times as many as the Americans, 407—Battle of Bunker's Hill, in which the king's troops are victorious, *ib.*—The congress declares the colonies independent, 408—The provincials defeated at the battle of the White Plains, *ib.*—Fire in the dock-yard at Portsmouth, for which James Aitken, otherwise John the Painter, was executed, 409—Progress of the war, *ib.*—General Gates captures general Burgoyne and his army at Saratoga, 410—Hostilities commenced between France and England, *ib.*—Engagement between the fleets of France and England off Ushant, 411—Admiral Keppel tried for misconduct and acquitted, *ib.*—General Clinton evacuates Philadelphia, *ib.*—Georgia

Georgia surrenders to the British troops, *ib.*—The Americans take the strong post of Stoney Point, with the garrison, stores, and ammunition, 412—Captain Farmer blown up in the Quebec, *ib.*—Capture of Fort Omoa on the Bay of Honduras, 413—Success of admiral Rodney against the Spanish fleet under Don Langara, *ib.*—Major André taken, and executed as a spy, 414—Riots in London, *ib.*—Lord George Gordon tried for high treason, and acquitted, *ib.*—Hostilities declared against Holland, *ib.*—St. Eustatius taken by admiral Rodney and general Vaughan, 415—Complaints against the conduct of Vaughan and Rodney at St. Eustatius, 416—Actions between M. de Grasse and sir Samuel Hood, *ib.*—Naval action off the Dogger Bank, 417—West Florida taken by the Spaniards, *ib.*—The Americans defeat colonel Tarleton at the Cowpens, *ib.*—Disgraceful action of a British officer at Fort Trumbull, *ib.*—Colonel Isaac Hayne executed by order of lord Rawdon and colonel Balfour, 418—Lord Cornwallis and his army surrendered to general Washington, *ib.*—The French and Spaniards attack Gibraltar, but fail in their enterprize, 419—St. Eustatius and St. Martin captured by the marquis de Bouille, *ib.*—Minorca taken by the Spaniards, 420—St. Christopher and Nevis captured by the French, *ib.*—Naval action between the English under admiral Rodney and the French under the count de Grasse, in which the former were successful, 421—The Royal George of one hundred guns lost at Spithead, 422—Paul Jones commits great depredations, 423—Preliminaries of peace signed between England and France, and England and Spain, 424—The definitive treaty of peace between Great Britain and France, Spain, and America, signed, 425—The coalesced ministers lord North and Mr. Fox dismissed by his majesty from their office, 426—Disputes in parliament, *ib.*—Distracted state of the British councils, 427—The great seal of England stolen from the lord chancellor's house, 428, *n.*—Scrutiny on account of the Westminster election, 429—Proceedings in parliament, 430—Death of Charles Edward Louis Casimir Stuart at Rome, known by the appellation of the Young Pretender, 434—The king afflicted with a dreadful malady, *ib.*—Proposal to make the prince of Wales regent during the indisposition of the king, 435—Debates on the subject, 435, 436—His majesty declared free from complaint, goes in procession to St. Paul's cathedral, 437—The subject of the slave trade debated, *ib.*—Proceedings in parliament, *ib.*—Dispute with the Spaniards concerning Nootka Sound, 439—Mutiny on board the Bounty, 440—Discussion on the war with Tippoo Sultan, 441—Riots at Birmingham, 443—Peace between Russia and the Porte through the mediation of Great Britain, *ib.*—Riotous assembly at Coventry on account of the high price of provisions, 444—Gustavus III. king of Sweden, assassinated by Ankerstrom, *ib. n.*—Revolution in France, *ib.*—The French king escapes from the Thuilleries, but is retaken, *ib.*—LouisXVI. condemned and executed, 445—The British ministry alarmed at the growth of republicanism, *ib.*—Hostilities against republican France, *ib.*—His majesty subsidizes the king of Sardinia, *ib.*—War decreed against Great Britain and Holland by the French national convention, *ib.*—Progress of the war, 446—The French become masters of Savoy, *ib.*—The Austrian Netherlands subjugated by France, *ib.*—Dumourier deserts the French service, *ib.*—Dumourier becomes a fugitive and a vagabond, 447—The queen of France beheaded, *ib. n.*—The duke of York's forces discomfited before Dunkirk, and himself escapes with difficulty, *ib.*—The English take possession of Toulon, but are speedily obliged to evacuate it, *ib.*—The English successful in the West Indies, 448—The English gain a decisive victory over the French fleet west off Ushant, *ib.*—The English take the island of Corsica, *ib.*—Trials of Thomas Hardy, John Horne Tooke, and others, who were all acquitted, 449—Holland subjugated by France, and the stadtholder obliged to leave it, 450—The prince of Wales marries the princess Caroline of Brunswick, *ib.*—Debates in parliament, *ib.*—The stadtholder and his family arrive in England, 453—The French remarkably successful, *ib.*—The French crush the revolt in La Vendée, *ib.*—Insurrection at Paris, 454—The allies severally make peace with France, 456—The fatal expedition to Quiberon, *ib.*—Cape of Good Hope taken by the English, 457—The king assaulted in his passage to the house of peers, *ib.*—Kidd Wake, a journeyman printer, imprisoned several years, *ib.*—Debates in parliament, 458—The princess Charlotte of Wales born, 460—Account of the family of Napoleon Bonaparte, 462, *n.*—Bonaparte amazingly successful in Italy, 463—Progress of the war, 464—Parliamentary intelligence, 467—The battles of St. Michael, Corono, Anguira, Rivoli, and La Favorite, in all which Bonaparte beat the Austrians, 470—Italy, the popedom of the other provinces subjugated by France, *ib.*—The British arms successful in the West Indies, *ib.*—The English obtain a signal victory over the Spanish fleet off Cape St. Vincent, 471—Admiral Duncan obtains a victory over the Dutch fleet near the Texel, *ib.*—Alarming mutiny in the English fleet, 472—Richard Parker, considered the ring-leader of the mutineers, executed on board the Sandwich at the Nore, 474 The king refuses to accept a petition from the city of London on the throne, which occasions a ferment in the city, *ib.*—Meeting called by the corresponding society assembled in the parish of St. Pancras, 475—Proceedings thereon, *ib.*—Disturbances in different parts of Scotland, *ib.*—Insurrections in Ireland, *ib.*—Parliamentary affairs, 476—Tax on Income, 477—Irish rebellion, 478—Switzerland subjugated by France, 480—Bonaparte sails for Egypt with a large armament, 481—Bonaparte takes the island of Malta, and afterwards lands at Alexandria, *ib.*—Disastrous expedition to Ostend, *ib.*—Admiral Nelson destroys the French fleet at Aboukir. 482—Minorca retaken by the English, *ib.*—Tippoo Saib slain in the assault at Seringapatam, 483—Expedition to North Holland, which was attended with some success, 484—A shot fired at the king, in the theatre, by James Hadfield, an insane person, 485—Affairs of parliament relative to the Union of Ireland, *ib.*—The nation now designated The United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, *ib.*—Bonaparte successful in Egypt, 486—Bonaparte takes Jaffa, and, as the Turks gave no quarter, he orders every tenth man to be selected and shot, 487—Bonaparte repulsed at St. John d'Acre, 488—Bonaparte successful in Egypt, 489—Bonaparte returns to France, *ib.*—Bonaparte dissolves the council of elders, and is appointed the first consul, *ib.*—Dreadful state of Genoa through the want of provisions, 490—The French successful in Germany, *ib.*—Bonaparte crosses the Alps, 491—and is signally successful in Italy, 492—Disturbances in England on account of the high price of corn, 493—Treaty of Luneville, by which the French acquired great accession of territory, 494—Mr. Pitt resigns the office of premier, 495—Observations on Mr. Pitt's administration, *ib.*—John Horne Tooke excluded from the house of commons, 496—Attack on Copenhagen, *ib.*—Death of Paul emperor of Russia, 497—The French forces evacuate Egypt, 498—Treaty of Amiens signed, 499—Loss of the Margate hoy, *ib.*—Affairs of parliament, 500—Apprehension of colonel Despard and others, 501—Colonel Edward Marcus Despard tried for high treason, found guilty, and executed, 502—Many of his associates executed, *ib.*—The French demand, according to the treaty of Amiens, possession of Malta, which the governor refuses, *ib.*—Sir J. Saumarez rewarded by his majesty for his services, *ib.*—An extraordinary forgery took place in London, 503—Correspondence concerning the treaty of Amiens, 504—Debates in parliament relative to Malta, 506—French declaration of war on account of the island of Malta, 512—Abstract of the English declaration of war, *ib. n.*—Debates in parliament, 513—Meeting of the city of London concerning the Income Tax, 529—Hanover taken possession of by the French, 531—The French successful by land, the English by sea, 533—St. Lucie taken by the English, 534—Plan for sea fencibles, 535—Debates in parliament, 536—Affairs of Ireland, 542—Lord Kilwarden murdered at Dublin, *ib.*—Loss of the Lady Hobart packet, 544—Fire at Westminster Abbey, 547—Debates in parliament, *ib.*—Trials of the insurgents in Ireland, 553—Parliamentary affairs, 554—Policy of Bonaparte, 555—Fate of Switzerland, 557—Mohammed Elfi Bey arrives in England, 558—Review of the volunteers, 559—Execution of Emmet and Russel in Ireland, 556—Demerara and Essequibo taken by the English, *ib.*—Correspondence between the king and the prince of Wales, 560—Affairs of parliament, 561—Cruelties in Ceylon, 562—The king's bounty to the cardinal of York, 563—Apprehension of general Pichegru, 565, *n.*—Duel between lord Camelford and Mr. Best, in which the former was killed, *ib.*—Affairs of parliament, 567—Napoleon Bonaparte made emperor of France, 568—Discomfiture of admiral Linois by the British China fleet, 569—Hurricane in the West Indies, 570—Loss of the Doris frigate, 571—Abuses in the navy department, *ib.*—Establishment of an Oriental college at Hertford, 572—Victory over the French and Spanish combined fleets off Cape Trafalgar, when admiral lord Nelson was killed, 574—Death of Mr. Pitt, 576—Trial of lord viscount Melville, who is acquitted, 577—Battle of Jena, 578—Naval actions, 579—The Cape of Good Hope taken by the English, *ib.*—Expedition to Buenos Ayres, 580—Death of the hon. C. J. Fox, *ib.*—Battle of Eylau, 582—Affairs of parliament, 583—Peace of Tilsit, 585—Expedition to the Dardanelles, 587—Disastrous expedition to the Rio de la Plata, 588—Expedition to Copenhagen, 589—Affairs of Spain, 590—The royal family of Portugal retire to the Brazils, 591—Death of the cardinal York, the last of the Stuart family, *ib.*—Convention of Cintra, 599—The duke of York accused of disposing of military promotions for money, 601—The duke of York resigns his office of commander in chief of the forces, 603—Disastrous expedition to Walcheren, 605—Death of sir John Moore, 607 Bonaparte takes Vienna, 609—Battle of Aspern, *ib.*—Bonaparte divorced from the empress Josephine, 610—Sir Francis Burdett committed to the Tower, 611—The duke of Brunswick driven from his dominions, takes shelter in England, 612—Bonaparte marries Maria Louisa, daughter of the emperor of Austria, *ib.* Hanover annexed to the kingdom of Westphalia, 613—Death of the princess Amelia, 615—His majesty afflicted with a dreadful malady, *ib.*—Debates on the regency, 616—His royal highness the prince of Wales appointed regent during his majesty's indisposition, 618—Lord Wellington successful in Spain, 619—War between France and Russia, 622—Progress of the war with Russia, *ib.*—

The

The Russians destroy Moscow, which is entered by the French while on fire, 627—The French army destroyed by the frost, 629—The French advance against the Russians, and after several actions, in which the French are successful, an armistice is agreed upon, 631—The hon. Spencer Perceval shot in the lobby of the house of commons, *ib.*—John Bellingham, the assassin of Mr. Perceval executed, 632—Debates on the treaty between Great Britain and Sweden, *ib.*—War with America, *ib.*—Progress of the war, 633—Unhappy difference between the prince regent and his royal consort, 634,—which terminates greatly to the princess's honour, 636—Lord Wellington gains a compleat victory over the French under king Joseph, *ib.*

Gibraltar attacked by the French and Spaniards, 419

Glencoe, massacre of, 283

Good Hope, Cape of, taken by the English, 457

Government of England, observations on the civil, 54

———, ecclesiastical, 56

Gunpowder treason plot discovered, 9

Hadfield, James, an insane person, fires a pistol at the king, in the theatre, 485

Hamilton, the duke of, executed, 187

Hanover annexed to the kingdom of Westphalia, 613

Hardy, Thomas, trial of for high treason, acquitted, 449

Harley, attempt on the life of Mr. 314

Hertford, Oriental college established at, 572

Hogue, the French fleet defeated near Cape la, 284

Holland, the earl of, executed, 187

James I. ascends the throne of England, 3—Hangs a thief at Newark without form or trial, *ib.*—Extremely lavish in bestowing titles, 4—Agrees to support the States-General in conjunction with the king of France, *ib.*—Discovery of a plot to place Arabella Stuart on the throne, and some persons were executed, 4, 5—Sir Walter Raleigh found guilty, upon very suspicious evidence of being concerned in this plot, but reprieved, and kept in confinement, 5—Resolves to hinder the growth of Puritanism in England, *ib.*—Some alterations in the liturgy agreed to, *ib.*—Proclamations issued ordering jesuits and popish priests of a particular description to leave the kingdom, and Puritans to conform to the established church, 6—Addresses the parliament in a copious harangue, *ib.*—Contests in the house of commons, 7—A spirit of liberty manifested in the house of commons, 8—The union of England and Scotland canvassed in parliament, 9—Peace with Spain concluded, 10—Gunpowder treason plot, *ib.*—Laws against popish recusants, 14, 15—The French king murdered by Ravaillac, 18—King James recommends the burning of Conradus Vorstius, an Arminian professor at Leyden, *ib.*—Edward Wightman and Bartholomew Legate burnt in England by king James's warrant, *ib. n.*—Attempts to civilize the Irish, *ib.*—Sudden death of Henry, prince of Wales, 19—Seizure and death of Arabella Stuart, 19—Robert Carr, becomes a favourite of the king, 20—Creates Robert Carr viscount Rochester, 20—Restores some families whom Elizabeth had degraded to their blood and dignities, *ib.*—Viscount Rochester wishes to espouse the countess of Essex, *ib.*—He reveals the matter to sir Thomas Overbury, who advises him to the contrary; he swears vengeance against Overbury, and procures his commitment to the Tower, 21—The countess of Essex divorced from her husband and married to Rochester, who is created earl of Somerset, *ib.*—Sir Thomas Overbury poisoned, *ib.*—Duelling introduced in James's reign, *ib.*—Public lottery (the first in England) to raise money, 22—Debate concerning impositions, *ib.*—James begins to estrange himself from Somerset, 23—Somerset arrested in the king's presence, 24—Several persons concerned in the murder of sir Thomas Overbury tried and executed, *ib.*—The king interferes in ecclesiastical matters, 26—Attempts to impose innovations on the clergy, 28 James sends Raleigh on an expedition to South America, 29—Sir Walter Raleigh beheaded, 31—Disputes between the king and the parliament, 37—Several members of parliament, who had spoken in defence of their religion and liberty, committed to prison, 39—Lord Digby sent to Spain to conclude a treaty of marriage between the infanta and the prince of Wales, *ib.*—James, a Calvinist, allows four thousand men to be raised in England to act against the Protestants, 40—James's negociations treated with ridicule at Brussels, *ib. n.*—James still prosecutes his views of marrying the prince of Wales to the infanta of Spain, 41—*Baby Charles* (the prince of Wales) and *Stennie* (the duke of Buckingham) set out for Spain, 42—Charles in his journey has a prepossession in favour of Henrietta a princess of France, 43—Letter from the prince of Wales to the pope, *ib.*—Charles and Buckingham return to England, 46—The match with the infanta broke off, 47—Henry Rich, earl of Holland, sent to France with proposals of marriage between the prince of Wales and Henrietta third daughter to Henry IV. 48—The proposal favourably received in France, 51—Massacre of the English at Amboyna, 52—Death of James, 53—His character, *ib.*

James II. a bigotted papist, ascends the throne, 259—Sends one Caryl to Rome to pave the way for the re-admission of England into the bosom of the church, 260—The pope advises him not to attempt what experience might convince him was impracticable, *ib.*—Titus Oates brought to trial and severely punished, *ib.*—The duke of Argyle lands in Scotland, but is overpowered, taken prisoner, and executed, *ib.*—The duke of Monmouth lands in the west, *ib.*—The duke of Monmouth taken, and beheaded, 261 Dreadful cruelties committed in the west by judge Jefferies, colonel Kirke, and others, *ib.*—The king endeavours to secure a catholic interest in the privy council, 262—James sends an embassy to Rome, and attempts to establish the catholic religion, 263—Exasperates the protestants by his arbitrary proceedings in favour of the catholics, 264—Commits the archbishop and six bishops to the Tower, *ib.*—The bishops brought to trial and acquitted, 265—The people determined to drive James from the throne, and invite the prince of Orange to fill it, *ib.*—William prince of Orange lands at Torbay with fourteen thousand men, 266—James despised and treated with contempt by those to whom he applied, 266, 267—James II. leaves the kingdom, *ib.*

Jefferies, Judge, commits dreadful cruelties in the west, 261

Income, tax on, 477

Joyce, Cornet, seizes Charles I. at Holdenby, 172

Ireland, cruelties exercised in, 83, *n.*

Ireland, plan to expel the English from, 130—One hundred and fifty-four thousand protestants slain in the province of Ulster, 131

Kilwarden, lord, murdered at Dublin, 542

Kirke, colonel, commits dreadful cruelties in the west, 261

Lamport, battle of, 166

Laud, archbishop, brought to the scaffold, 161

Learning and Arts, 61

Legate, Bartholomew, burnt in England, 18, *n.*

Lowdon, the earl of, sent to the Tower, 103—Charles I. orders William Balfour, lieutenant of the Tower, to execute Lowdon, *ib. n.*—The king tears the warrant for Lowdon's execution, *ib. n.*

Man, Isle of, annexed to England, 393

Manners, &c. of England, observations on, 269

Manufactures of England, 59

Marston Moor, battle of, 155

Meal-tub plot, pretended to be discovered by one Dangerfield, 251

Military and Naval history, 58

Monmouth, the duke of, engages in an insurrection, and aspires to the crown, 258—Sent to the Tower, but afterwards liberated, *ib.*—Lands in the west, 260—Taken, and beheaded, 261

Montrose, duke of, hanged at Edinburgh, 192

Moore, death of sir John, 607

Moro Castle taken by the English, 386

Moscow destroyed by the Russians, 627

Museum, establishment of the British, 362

Mutiny on board the English fleet, 472

Naseby, battle of, 166

Nelson, lord, killed in an engagement with the French and Spanish combined fleets off Cape Trafalgar, 574

Newbury, battle of, 156

Newcastle, and king Charles I.'s magazines of powder, ammunition, and provisions, taken at, by the Scots, 109

Nimeguen, peace of, 241

Nootka Sound, dispute with the Spaniards concerning, 439

Nottingham, Charles I. erects the royal standard at, 143

Oates, Titus, the principal contriver of a sham plot, through which he swore falsely against many, who were executed, 243—Fined one hundred thousand pounds, 258

Orange, the prince of, invited to fill the throne of England, 265—William prince of Orange lands at Torbay, 266

Overbury, sir Thomas, poisoned, 21

Perceval, Spencer, shot in the lobby of the house of commons, 631

Pitt, Mr. resigns the office of premier, 495—Observations on Mr. Pitt's administration, *ib.*—Death of, 576

Portsmouth, fire at the dock yard of, 409

Portugal, royal family of, retire to the Brazils, 591

Prynne, a barrister of Lincoln's Inn, fined five thousand pounds, to lose his ears, and be imprisoned during life, for writing "Histrio Mastyx," 89

Puritanism, James I. resolves to hinder the growth of, 5

Quiberon, fatal expedition to, 456

Radcliffe, Mr. titular earl of Derwentwater, executed for high treason, 357

Raleigh, sir Walter, beheaded, 31

Ravaillac murders the French king, 18

Republic, (The)—*See* Oliver Cromwell.

Right, copy of the petition of, 76, *n.*

Rio de la Plata, disastrous expedition to, 588

Royal George of one hundred guns lost at Spithead, 422

Rye House plot, 258

Ryswick, peace of, 293

Sacheverel, Dr. Henry, inflames the parties by his harangues, 308—Prohibited from preaching for three years, 309

Sharpe, archbishop, assassinated, 250

Sherfield, recorder of Salisbury, fined five hundred pounds for breaking a few panes of glass, 87

Sidney, Algernon, executed, 258

South Sea Company, 331—Failure of, 333

Stafford, viscount, executed for the popish plot, 253

Stamp Act occasions disturbances in America, 394

Star-chamber, the court of, set aside, 127

Stile, New, introduced in England, 361

Strafford, the earl of, taken into custody, and impeached by the commons, 113—The impeachment carried up to the house of lords, 119—The earl of Strafford beheaded, 126

Stuart, Charles Edward Louis Casimir, death of, 434

Sunday sports and recreations ordered by Charles I. 89

Tillotson, Dr. John, archbishop of Canterbury, death of, 289

Tilsit, peace of, 585

Tongue, Dr. pretends to discover a plot to shoot the king, (Charles II.) 243

Tooke, John Horne, tried for high treason, acquitted, 449

Toulon, the English take possession of, but speedily evacuate it, 447
Tredah (Drogheda) siege of, 189—Taken by assault, and the garrison put to the sword, *ib.*
Vienna, taken by Bonaparte, 609
Union of England and Scotland, 306—Union of Ireland, 485
Union of England and Scotland canvassed in parliament, 9
Utrecht, peace of, 318
Wake, Kidd, a journeyman printer, imprisoned several years, for an assault on the king, 457
Walcheren, disastrous expedition to, 605
Wales, his royal highness the prince of, appointed regent during the indisposition of his majesty, 618
Wellington, lord, remarkably successful in Spain, 619—*et aliis locis.*
Westminster Abbey, fire at, 547
Wightman, Edward, burnt in England, 18, *n.*
William III. and Mary II. accede to the throne, 275—James lands in Ireland, raises an army, and cruelly treats the protestants, 276—James lays siege to Londonderry, which he abandoned soon after that town received reinforcements, *ib.*—The Inniskilliners plundered and cruelly treated by James and general Sarsfield, 277—William lands in Ireland, *ib.*—James advantageously posted on the banks of the Boyne, where William determined to give him battle, *ib.*—The battle of the Boyne, in which William was successful, and James retreated with precipitation, 278—After the battle of the Boyne James retired to France, *ib.*—Action between the French and English fleets, in which the former were successful, 279—The earl of Torrington, who commanded the English fleet, sent to the Tower, and being brought to trial was acquitted, but the king dismissed him from the service, *ib.*—William returns to England, *ib.*—William's forces successful in Ireland, 280—James's army embarks for France, and Ireland is entirely subjugated by William's forces, 281—The massacre at Glencoe, 283—The French fleet defeated near Cape La Hogue, 284—Retirement and death of James II. 285—Death of Dr. John Tillotson, archbishop of Canterbury, 289—Death of queen Mary II. *ib.*—Her character, *ib.*—The war against France carried on with success, 292—Case of sir John Fenwick, *ib.*—Sir John Fenwick beheaded, 293—Peace of Ryswick, *ib.*—Death of the duke of Gloucester, 295—New settlement of the succession, *ib.*—The earl of Oxford and lord Somers impeached, 296—Death of William III. 297—His character, *ib.*
Wolfe, general, killed at Quebec, 375
York, archbishop of, commissioned to compound with the catholics, 68—Duke of, (*See* George III.)

END OF THE SECOND VOLUME.

DIRECTIONS for placing the ENGRAVINGS.

No.	SUBJECT.	Vol. I.	Vol. II.
1	FRONTISPIECE, to face the Title of Vol. I.		
2	Death of Charles I.		184
4	Death of Sir John Moore, at Corunna		607
6	Landing of Julius Cæsar	7	
8	Death of the Earl of Sandwich		232
10	Mary Queen of Scots landing in England	474	
12	Canute reproving his Courtiers	54	
14	Elizabeth Barton practising her Impositions	380	
16	Death of William II.	80	
18	Boadicea haranguing her Troops	10	
20	Death of Lord Darnley	470	
22	Matilda's Escape from Oxford Castle	94	
24	Massacre of the Druids	12	
26	The Heroism of Captain Farmer		412
28	The Shipwreck of Prince William		88
30	Queen Margaret protected by a Robber	299	
32	Charles I. parting with his Children		183
34	The Exposing of Prince Edwin	58	
36	Treachery of Elfrida	49	
38	Siege of Gibraltar		419
40	The Archduke Charles rallying his troops at the Battle of Asperne		609
42	Edward and the Duke of York smothered in the Tower	315	
44	Charles II. disguised as a Woodman		194
46	Seizure of Guy Fawkes		12
48	Death of General Wolfe		375
50	Fatal Effect of the Plague in 1665		225
52	Abdication of James II.		267
54	The young Earl of Richmond before Henry VI.	290	
56	William I. wounded by his Son Robert	73	
58	The Death Warrant read to Mary Queen of Scots	509	
60	Death of Wat Tyler	220	
62	Lord Sinclair advising King James to revenge the Murder of Mary Queen of Scots	512	
64	Becket assassinated	108	
66	The Victory of Poictiers	209	
68	Death of Cardinal Wolsey	372	
70	Henry VII. crowned in Bosworth Field	318	
72	Battle of Agincourt	266	
74	Heads of William I. William II. Henry I. and Stephen	66	
76	Eleanor doing Penance for Witchcraft	112	
78	The Prince of Wales brought before Edward after the Battle of Tewkesbury	306	
80	The Humanity of General Amherst		379
82	Departure of the Pretender from Scotland		356
84	The Burning of Archbishop Cranmer	444	
86	Cardinal Wolsey receiving a Letter sent by Henry VIII.	372	
88	The resigning of the Duke of York	312	
90	Magna Charta presented to King John	136	
92	Heads of Henry II. Richard I. and John	99	
94	Death of Henry V.	270	
96	Queen Elizabeth in the Camp at Tilbury	515	
98	Duke of Gloucester accusing Jane Shore of Witchcraft	313	
100	Mary Queen of Scots arrested	475	
102	Attempt to assassinate Prince Edward in Palestine	159	
104	Dreadful Fire of London in 1666		225
106	Buckingham assassinated by Felton		78
108	Vortigern and Rowena	17	
110	Death of Henry IV.	262	
112	Caractacus before Claudius	9	
114	Heads of Henry IV. Henry V. Henry VI. and Edward IV.	257	
116	Alfred in the Danish Camp	39	
118	The Siege of Calais	206	
120	Lady Gray's Interview with Edward IV.	300	
122	Heads of Edward I. Edward II. Edward III. and Richard II.	161	
124	Interview between Edward III. and the Prince of Wales after the Battle of Crecy.	204	
126	The Act of Union read before Queen Anne.		306
128	The Magnanimity of William Despreaux	124	
130	Death of Sir Philip Sidney	501	
132	Heads of Elizabeth, Mary, Henry VII. Henry VIII. and Edward VI.	326	
134	Lord Russel's last Interview with his Family		258
136	Heads of Queen Anne, George I. and George II.		298
138	Destruction of the French Fleet by Admiral Martin in the Bay of Rosas		604
140	Death of Lord Nelson		574
142	Heads of James I. Charles I. Charles II. James II. and William and Mary		3
146	Heads of George III. and Queen Charlotte		381
150	Death of Sir Ralph Abercrombie		497

The INDEXES at the End of each Volume.

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